Royal Marginalia

King Eric XIV of Sweden as a Reader

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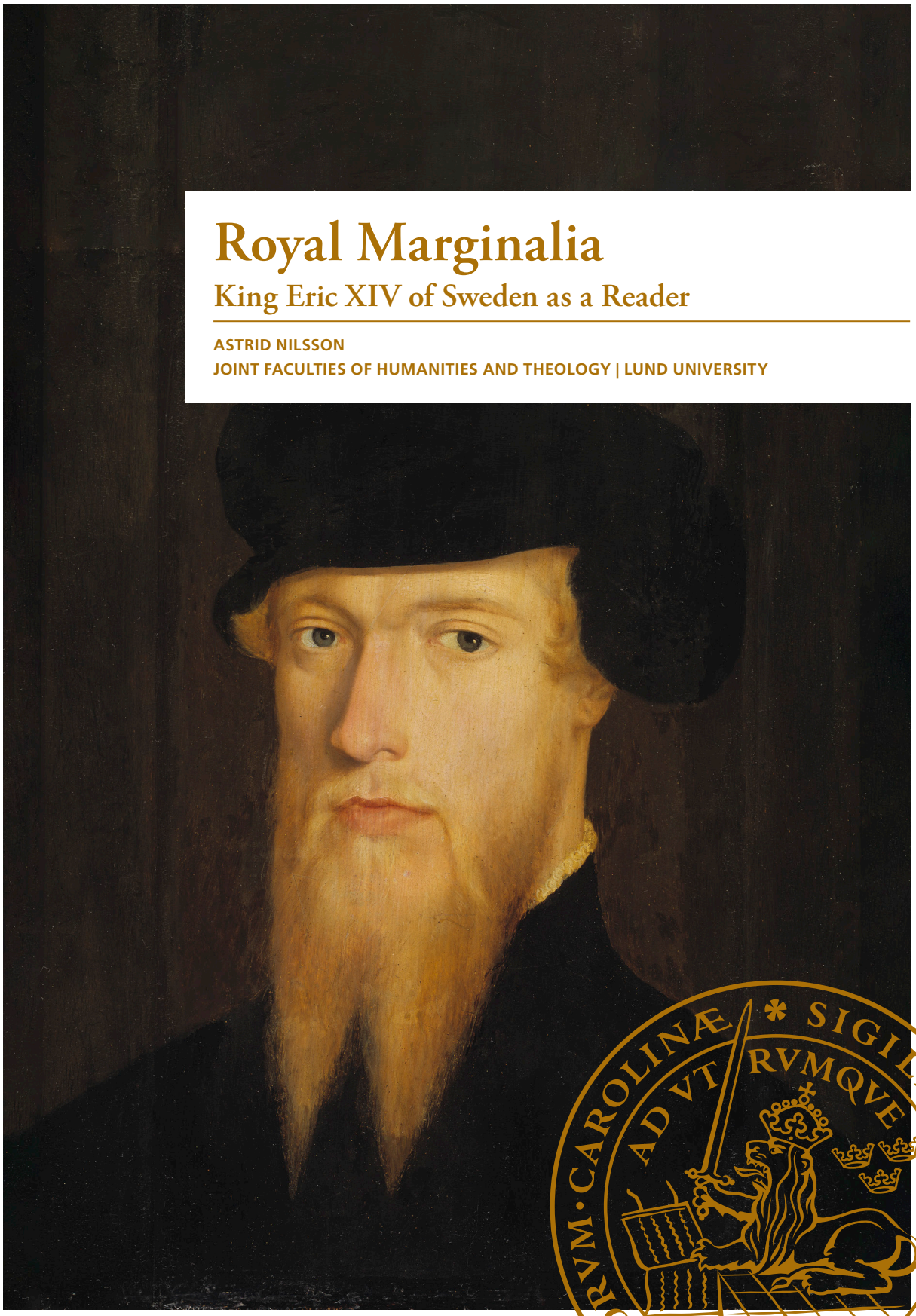
JOINT FACULTIES OF HUMANITIES AND THEOLOGY | LUND UNIVERSITY



King Eric XIV of Sweden (1533–1577) has gone down in history as bad and mad. He is reputed to have been killed with arsenic in a bowl of pea soup on the orders of his brother and successor John III. John III deposed his older brother, imprisoned him, and painted him in the darkest colours possible to justify his own accession.

Eric's dramatic life tends to overshadow the fact that he was also a very learned Renaissance king. It is his learning that is the focus of the present study. He owned a library of over 200 volumes, and of these, four are still extant. There are two works of history, Johannes Magnus' *Historia de regibus* and Sabellico's *Enneades*, one of geography, Strabo's *Geographia*, and one of astronomy, Stadius' *Ephemerides*, known to have been in Eric's possession.

The works contain marginalia, mainly in the form of little images in the king's hand. Through this study, it has been possible to establish that Eric XIV had devised a system of images, referred to as symbols in this study. Their function was marking material that was of interest to him in his role as king, as military commander, and as a learned man, and to make it easily retrievable. King Eric also left a few comments in writing. Taken together, the symbols and comments form what might be referred to as an intellectual biography of the unfortunate king.

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Coverphoto: Eric XIV (c. 1560), attributed to Domenicus Verwilt, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Photo: Åsa Lundén), public domain.

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MADE IN SWEDEN

For Gerd

Preface

This project originally began in January 2013, with a trip to a freezing Uppsala. There I first saw the little images by the infamous King Eric XIV of Sweden (1533–1577), whose reign (1560–1568) ended abruptly when he was overthrown and imprisoned by his younger brothers. He has gone down in history as mad and bad.

The little images were found in a Renaissance historical work by Johannes Magnus, about which I was writing my thesis, and I fell completely for them. At that moment, I had little time for pursuing my newly awoken interest, as I had a thesis to write and had visited Uppsala to look at Eric's notes only out of curiosity. I regarded them as a kind of fascinating code to break and presented them briefly at a conference in Marburg later that same year, but then I had to let go of the symbols and work on the thesis.

After finishing my thesis, however, nothing prevented me any longer from investigating Eric's marginalia, both the notes and the images, which seemed an increasingly enticing object of study for their own sake, rather than as a brief escape from my thesis work. This eventually resulted in the present study.

My work would not have been possible without the kind help of the librarians at Uppsala University Library (UUB), Stockholm University Library (SUB), and the National Library in Stockholm (KB), the three libraries where Eric's books are kept today. I particularly wish to thank Leif Friberg (SUB) for his ready assistance with anything connected to Eric's book by Strabo, as well as his kindness and interest in my work. In addition, I am most exceedingly grateful for being allowed to study the Sabellicus volume at the National Library, despite its rather fragile state.

I am greatly indebted to a number of people for their suggestions, comments, and discussions of my work, particularly to Arne Jönsson who kindly and generously commented on more than one of the drafts, to Kristiina Savin, for reading one of the final drafts, to Elena Dahlberg for helpful suggestions, as well as to Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe, to Jonas Nordin and to Josef Eskhult. I thank the members of the Latin seminars in Uppsala and in Lund respectively, and the seminar for book history in Lund, not least Tommy Näzell for giving me a book of whose existence I was unaware.

My thanks go also to the participants in the fourth Nordic Network for Renaissance Studies conference, to colleagues at the Swedish Institute in Rome, and to those attending the conference The History of Historical Thought in Early

Modern Scandinavia in Lund for interesting questions and suggestions after my respective presentations.

I owe David Bell many thanks for correcting my English.

My thanks go to Stiftelsen Hjalmar Gullberg och Greta Thotts stipendiefond, Åke Wibergs stiftelse and Gyllenstiernska Krapperupstiftelsen for funding my research and to Vetenskapssocieteten, Lund, for providing me with funding for a final journey. I am also greatly indebted to Kungl. Patriotiska Sällskapet, Magnus Bergvalls Stiftelse and Stiftelsen Konung Gustav VI Adolfs fond för svensk kultur for funding the printing and language checking of this book. Uppsala University Library and the National Library of Sweden provided the photos of the symbols.

Finally, I wish to express my warmest and most heartfelt gratitude to the dedicatee of this work, who has her own interest in Eric XIV, for being a remarkable source of encouragement and support.

Lund in May 2021

Astrid M. H. Nilsson

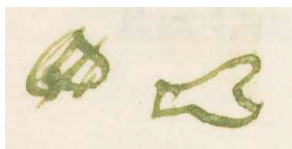
Table of contents

1 Introduction

This study began from a general fascination for the tiny symbols in Johannes Magnus' work on Swedish history and grew from there into a book that encompasses the four works still known to be extant of those that once belonged to King Eric XIV of Sweden (1533–1577). The margins of the works contain marginalia in the king's own hand, both in drawing and in writing, but they have never been studied in their own right. The aim of the present study is to analyse and contextualise the marginalia found in these works.

My doctoral thesis is devoted to the *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* 'History of all the Kings of the Swedes and the Goths' by Johannes Magnus (1488–1544). Naturally, my familiarity with that particular work made it very enticing to look at Eric's personal copy and investigate his marginalia.

The symbols in Johannes Magnus are made in ink: there are hearts, purses, swords and axes to mention just a few. A staggering majority of them correspond to underscorings in the main text, which suggests that the images are part of a system of symbols that mean something. In addition, some of them recur over and over again, which indicates that they refer to something particular in the text. Finally, on one page, there is a drawing that has been crossed out and replaced with another.[1] This, if anything, convinced me that the images are not doodles by a bored monarch, trying to make time pass during his imprisonment, but a system of symbols that carry meaning. With that as a point of departure, crossing out a symbol and replacing it with another does not imply artistic failure, but is instead a recategorisation of a piece of information. My study of the underscored text will reveal the meaning of the pictures in the margin, as far as possible, as well as provide material for discussing what is underscored, and why it is important.



In addition to the *Historia de regibus*, as just mentioned, there are three other known books which Eric has provided with marginalia: another work of history the *Enneades* by Sabellicus, the Latin translation of Strabo's *Geographia* (*De situ orbis*), and Stadius' *Ephemerides*, a work on astrology/astronomy. All the works will be presented below. Through these four works, a larger scope is provided for the study, although the copy of Johannes Magnus' work has the greatest number of

[1] JM 92; cf. Sab. 114.

symbols and has remained the focus of study. There are also some written marginal notes, which will be dealt with in a separate chapter. All translations in the present work are mine, unless otherwise stated.

1.1 Aim

The aim of this study is twofold: identifying the meaning of the symbols and contextualising both them and the comments against a contemporary backdrop. In the process I hope to answer the question of why something was important enough to remark upon by relating it to what is known about Eric XIV, his life, interests and learning. As an additional aim, I wish to make Eric's marginalia more readily available than they are now. To achieve this, the present work ends with an appendix with a list of all the comments and an illustrated list of his symbols.

1.2 Definitions and delimitations

The marginalia consist of images and texts, as well as musical notes by Eric XIV. There are occasional contributions by other owners of the works, earlier or later than Eric himself, but I shall not discuss these, unless necessary for my main focus, the traces of Eric's ownership. I term everything found in the margin *marginalia*, whether it is an image or a text, and whether it is found in an actual margin or on the margins of a work, such as on empty pages in the beginning. The marginalia outside the margins are few, and the distinction is not an important one in the present study.

There are various definitions of the term *marginalia*, and a lot of other terminological difficulties in previous research, as we shall see; the terminology I have chosen to employ here is adapted for the present work and its particular material of study. Marijken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude point to terminology as a particularly difficult area in the study of marginalia,[2] possibly because it is an emerging field of research where consensus has still to be reached from many studies of various kinds of marginalia, manuscripts, and printed books.

In the present study, I distinguish between four different categories of marginalia: *drawings* and *symbols* (with regard to images) and *writings* and *comments* (with regard to text). Symbols and comments are directly connected to the content of the work, even prompted by it, as suggested by the fact that they are usually

[2] Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude, "Introduction", in Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude (eds.), *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages. Practices of Reading and Writing* (Turnhout 2017a), pp. 1–9, p. 9.

accompanied by underscorings in the adjacent text. Drawings and writings, on the other hand, have no obvious connection to the content of the work, they just happen to be drawn or written in the margin or on empty pages, for want of other writing or drawing material. In Teeuwen's terminology, material written in a margin but with no obvious link to the main text would be labeled *attachment*. I do not use this term because I need to be able to differentiate between written marginalia and drawn marginalia and prefer shorter terms than *drawn attachment* or *written attachment*.

The symbols and comments are particularly interesting, because they show the erudition of King Eric as a Renaissance prince, an aspect that is sometimes overlooked due to his dramatic life, alleged madness and tragic death by poison.[3] And so, the symbols and comments are the focus of the present study.

1.3 Arrangement of the study

This study is divided into an introduction, two main chapters of analysis, and a concluding discussion. An excursus is found at the end and followed by an illustrated appendix of the symbols, as well as an index of the comments, with page indications.

The introduction describes the life of King Eric XIV, presents the four works that will be studied and their marginalia, and provides an overview of previous research on marginalia, in general as well as on those made by Eric. Thereafter follow the chapters of analysis.

The first chapter discusses and contextualises the comments, that is, the written marginalia that are linked to the text. The second chapter is devoted to discussion and contextualisation of the symbols and their meanings. I conclude the study with a discussion of Eric and his marginalia in a broader perspective.

1.4 Previous research – an overview

This overview of previous research falls into two main categories. The first one is the larger of them, and there I seek to give a general overview of research about marginalia, with a special focus on symbols used as marginalia and, if briefly, on terminology. It is not intended to be exhaustive, and I have given precedence to studies that in any way refer to individuals who used and developed systems of

[3] Roger Bonnichsen et al., "Ställningstagande till dödsorsaken", in Ragnar Casparsson and Carl-Herman Hjortsjö (eds.), *Erik XIV. En historisk, kulturhistorisk och medicinsk-antropologisk undersökning i samband med gravöppningen 1958 i Västerås domkyrka* (Stockholm 1962), pp. 312–321, p. 321.

symbols to find their way around in works they owned. The second category is smaller and consists in a presentation of what has been written about Eric's marginalia so far. That presentation *is* intended to be exhaustive.

1.4.1 Marginalia in general

The study of marginalia is a growing field of research no matter which time period is of interest, as we shall see in the following. A particularly substantial example is *Talking to the Text. Marginalia from papyri to print*, a two-volume work with 29 contributions, the result of a conference in Erice, Italy, in 1998. Its subheading presents the great time span of marginalia covered by the various articles: it is indeed from papyri to print from the French revolution, and the variety of perspectives found in the articles is equally great.[4] There are of course also studies that focus on shorter time-spans, such as *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages*, a 2017 collection of 26 articles introduced and edited by Marijken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude.[5] It is part of the result of a project about marginalia in medieval manuscripts, *Marginal Scholarship: The Practice of Learning in the Early Middle Ages (c. 800–c. 1000)*; the other main part is a database of the manuscripts studied, on which more below, and a number of other articles found on the project homepage.

Another way of delimiting the study of marginalia than that of a time period is that of a specific theme, as seen in *Scientia in margine* (2005). This volume with twelve articles treats marginalia in scientific manuscripts, for example marginalia in the Latin Euclid, in scientific manuscripts from Byzantium and in Macrobius' commentary to *Somnium Scipionis*, as well as in manuscripts that once belonged to engineers.[6]

Marginalia are to be studied not least because they add to our history of knowledge and of how works have been interpreted and studied, and can allow the study of several layers of marginalia from various centuries, of different hands, as well as of inks.[7] The longest article in *Scientia in margine* is entitled "Essai sur les

[4] Vincenzo Fera, Giacomo Ferraù, and Silvia Rizzo, *Talking to the text. Marginalia from papyri to print. Proceedings of a conference held at Erice, 26 September–3 October 1998* (Messina 2002).

[5] Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude, *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages. Practices of Reading and Writing* (Turnhout 2017b). https://www.marginalscholarship.nl/

[6] Danielle Jacquart and Charles Burnett (eds.), *Scientia in margine. Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen âge à la Renaissance* (Hautes études médiévales et modernes 88; Genève: Droz, 2005b).

[7] Danielle Jacquart and Charles Burnett, "Avant-propos", in Danielle Jacquart and Charles Burnett (eds.), *Scientia in margine. Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen âge à la Renaissance* (Hautes études médiévales et modernes 88; Genève 2005a), pp. vii–xii, p. viii, Brigitte Mondrain, "Traces et mémoire de la lecture des textes: les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques byzantins", in Danielle Jacquart and Charles Burnett (eds.), *Scientia in*

marginalia en tant que pratique et documents" and contains an extensive discussion of how to define marginalia. The author, for example, addresses the question of how to label writing on a blank page that is not found in a margin. In the end, the question is whether the use of term *marginalia* should be determined from the *placement* of the writing or from its *function*.

The difference between *marginalia fonctionnels* (such as an instruction to an illuminator) and *marginalia de lecture* (made after a manuscript or a printed book has been completed) is pointed out too.[8] In the end, the definition reached is that marginalia need to be found in the margins and have a relationship with the text, and that marginalia can be images too, if they are used instead of writing. Marginalia with no link to the main text are labelled *marginalia impropres* (similar to *attachment* by Teeuwen-van Renswoude).[9] But the word *marginalia* is still used as a point of departure for the definition.

As said earlier, in the present work the term marginalia is defined as text or images in a book, whether it is in the margin itself or on the margins of the book, such as empty pages, the inside of the covers and other blank spaces (above, p. 14). In establishing a terminology for marginalia and possibly arriving at some form of consensus, many more studies of marginalia from different time periods are necessary. Eventually, after enough studies have been conducted, it might be possible to achieve a more general terminology, arising from studies of several time periods and various kinds of marginalia, and taking into account the different terminological needs of varying kinds of investigation.

There is, of course, also research about printed marginalia, for example by William Slights, who has studied English books from the Renaissance. His collection of articles suggests that the marginalia had a controlling function, because the reader's attention would unavoidably be drawn to the marginalia.[10] This provided the author and publisher with a certain influence over what would be the focus of the reading. Slights has also written on scriptural annotation in one of the articles in the book (a reprint of an earlier publication).[11] Marginalia from an even later period (1700–2000) have been studied in *Marginalia: readers writing in books*:

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margine. Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen âge à la Renaissance (88; Genève 2005), pp. 1–25, p. 5. Cf. Teeuwen and Renswoude 2017b.

[8] Adolfo Tura, "Essai sur les marginalia en tant que pratique et documents", in Danielle Jacquart and Charles Burnett (eds.), *Scientia in margine. Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen âge à la Renaissance* (88; Genève 2005), pp. 261–387, pp. 266, 299, 305.

[9] Tura 2005, pp. 365–366.

[10] William W. E. Slights, *Managing readers: printed marginalia in English Renaissance books* (Ann Arbor, Mich. 2001).

[11] William W. E. Slights, "'Marginall Notes That Spoile the Text': Scriptural Annotation in the English Renaissance", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 55 (1992), pp. 255–278, this article is also printed in the collection Slights 2001, pp. 101–127.

the history of marginalia is presented briefly, as well as the various aspects such as their physical appearance, their function and other aspects.[12]

William Sherman, in his *Used Books*, discusses the marks left in books by their Renaissance readers.[13] He briefly presents earlier theoretical approaches to marginalia, for example that by Carl James Grindley. He studied marginalia in one of the three versions of the English medieval text *Piers Plowman*, attempting to classify the marginalia. On the first page of his article, he declares the problem of terminology already referred to in the present study. He has edited the marginalia and established categories for them with a link to the main text, classifying them as reading aids (translation and explication), polemical responses and ethical pointers.[14]

Sherman also introduces a "theory of marginalia" by Elaine Whitaker, with three main categories of readers' responses to a text: editing (critique or affirmation), interaction (for devotional purposes or social critique) and avoidance (using margins for doodling and daydreaming). Whitaker's classification is from a study of annotations in Caxton's *Royal Book*, a work of religious instruction from the late 15th century.[15]

Robert Hauptman distinguishes between two different types of marginalia in *Documentation*: ones placed in the work from the beginning, no matter if it is a manuscript or a printed work, and ones added later, by the reader or readers.[16] He points to various techniques for simplifying the retrieval of information, among them systems best described as forerunners of the footnote. Hauptman also refers to images, tiny illuminated figures that often have the same function as textual annotation or marginal comments.[17] This is of course reminiscent of the little images found in Eric's books.

The question of terminology is indeed a complicated one, not least because it depends both on the marginalia and their function in manuscripts or printed texts

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[12] H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia. Readers writing in books* (New Haven 2001).

[13] William H. Sherman, *Used books. Marking readers in Renaissance England* (Material texts; Philadelphia 2007). Whitaker and Grindley, see pp. 16–17

[14] Carl James Grindley, "Reading Piers Plowman C-text Annotations: Notes toward the Classification of Printed and Written Marginalia in Texts from the British Isles 1300–1641", in Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Maidie Hilmo (eds.), *The Medieval Professional Reader at Work: Evidence from Manuscripts of Chaucer, Langland, Kempe, and Gower* (Victoria, B.C. 2001), pp. 73–141.

[15] Elaine H. Whitaker, "A Collaboration of Readers: Categorization of the Annotations in Copies of Caxton's *Royal Book*", *Text* 7 (1994), pp. 233–242.

[16] Robert Hauptman, *Documentation. A history and critique of attribution, commentary, glosses, marginalia, notes, bibliographies, works-cited lists, and citation indexing and analysis* (2008), pp. 71, 74.

[17] Hauptman 2008, pp. 101–105, 130.

per se and on the needs of a specific research project. We have seen various attempts at categorising marginalia: according to whether the writer/editor or the reader wrote them, their overall purpose, whether they are in the form of images or text, their relation to the main text and so forth. Teeuwen's inclination of focusing on the *function* of annotation or marginalia in elaborating a terminology appears to be an excellent start for moving forward in the still long way to a more generally accepted, working terminology for marginalia. This is not least due to the problem that the terminology needs to be adapted *both* to marginalia as a phenomenon *and* to the distinctions necessitated by the demands of a certain study. For the purpose of the present one, it is necessary to be able to distinguish both between form (image or text) and between the functions of the marginalia.

Talking to the Text, the two-volume conference proceedings referred to earlier, contains several articles about manuscripts from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages containing symbols, e.g. Condello, Spallone and Maniaci in the first volume. The symbols – various geometrical shapes in a broad sense, simple symbols such as arrows, tiny squares, or variants of "X with dots"[18] – were used to link the *glossae* in the margin together with the main text.[19] The only shape with the slightest resemblance in Eric's work is an asterisk. There are references to three dots placed in a triangular shape, pointing upwards or downwards.[20] One of the authors presents a *tipologia dei rinvii*, or a typology of references: various principles for how to make references (basically footnotes as regards their function) on an overarching level.[21] She also shows a number of model manuscript pages for the arrangement of the different elements on a page – text, notes, images – and provides examples of how to use her model.[22]

All in all, most of these articles describe a system similar to our modern footnotes, where a mark is placed in the main text and a corresponding one outside of it to link it to information found somewhere else on the page. In Steinová's article in Teeuwen-van Renswoude, a number of marginal symbols used in Irish and

[18] For an overview of the kind of symbols used, see Emma Condello, "Ai margini di Virgilio. Paleografia e codicologia degli *Scolia veronensia*", in Vincenzo Fera, Giacomo Ferraù, and Silvia Rizzo (eds.), *Talking to the text. Marginalia from papyri to print.* (vol. 1; Messina 2002), pp. 59–82, p. 81.

[19] Condello 2002, p. 81, Maddalena Spallone, "L'uso dei margini tra scuola e filologia", in Vincenzo Fera, Giacomo Ferraù, and Silvia Rizzo (eds.), *Talking to the text. Marginalia from papyri to print* (vol. 1; Messina 2002), pp. 83–152, pp. 116–119.

[20] Spallone 2002, p. 133 (n. 3), cf the markings in Condello 2002, p. 81.

[21] Marilena Maniaci, "'La serva padrona'. Interazioni fra testo e glossa sulla pagina del manoscritto", in Vincenzo Fera, Giacomo Ferraù, and Silvia Rizzo (eds.), *Talking to the text. Marginalia from papyri to print* (vol. 1; Messina 2002), pp. 3–35, cf Tura 2005, p. 291.

[22] Maniaci 2002, pp. 31–35.

Carolingian manuscripts are presented and compared regarding their functions.[23] This is not the same thing as Eric's symbols, because his system is for marking passages in the main text with no further known use. Both types however still fall under the heading of "employing symbols to facilitate the perusal of a work".

Matthew Kempshall briefly refers to the use of images as marginalia in *Rhetoric and the Writing of History*. He describes a system for marginalia used by Ralph de Diceto, an English archdeacon active in the 12th century. In his system a crown was used as a symbol for the English kings, and the abbreviation PS signified religious persecutions.[24] This system worked as a memory aid and was at the same time used for making cross-references. This was important because it helped de Diceto record the past in order to remember it, which enabled him to understand it, and consequently use his new learning to become more prudent in his own life. Remembering was seen as an ethical activity, because it was a way of bettering oneself.[25]

Another more famous system, that of Robert Grosseteste (1175–1253), is described by Alberto Cevolini.[26] The key to the system where some 400 theological topics had their own symbols, is preserved, as opposed to the case for most other systems including that by Eric. The symbols themselves are letters, mathematical signs, and the signs of the zodiac, to give a few examples. There was no limit to adding potentially new signs. Grosseteste's system was however not mainly devised for *finding* information in the text, but for *remembering* it, as opposed to the function of later, printed indices, whose purpose are to help the reader find things, rather than to remember them.

The Teeuwen-van Renswoude project about early medieval marginalia resulted in a database, *Marginal Scholarship*, in addition to the book referred to above and a number of articles. The database allows searching for different kinds of marginalia or for special phenomena such as diagrams or drawings. The date of annotation is also provided, and the identity of the annotator, when possible, as well as rich information about the manuscripts themselves. The database is more fully introduced in Teeuwen's article in the volume discussed above.[27] Just as in the

[23] Evina Steinová, "Technical Signs in Early Medieval Manuscripts Copied in Irish Minuscle", in Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude (eds.), *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages. Practices of Reading and Writing* (Turnhout 2017), pp. 37–85.

[24] Matthew S. Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the writing of history, 400–1500* (Historical approaches; Manchester 2011), p. 20.

[25] Kempshall 2011, pp. 456–457.

[26] Alberto Cevolini, "Making *notae* for Scholarly Retrieval. A Franciscan Case Study", in Mariken Teeuwen and Irene Van Renswoude (eds.), *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages. Practices of Reading and Writing* (Turnhout 2017), pp. 343–367. For more information about Grosseteste, see the bibliography in Cevolini.

[27] https://marginalscholarship.nl/ and Teeuwen and Renswoude 2017a.

present work, the term *marginalia* is used as an umbrella term, divided into subcategories such as *annotation* (a comment which refers to the text) and *attachment* (written material that has nothing to do with the text). This is the same distinction as mine, where drawings and writings would be *attachments*, and symbols and comments *annotations*. The *Marginal Scholarship* system does, however, not provide the opportunity to distinguish between written and drawn material with relevance for the text, to the extent needed for Eric's marginalia. The category of illustrations and diagrams is not sufficient for this purpose. There are also various signs: technical ones, *signes de renvoi* (basically signs used to link "footnotes" to the text) in the manuscripts, but nothing with a function similar to that of Eric's symbols.

There is another database made by a group of researchers and researcher-librarians from British and American universities and libraries, the *Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe* (AOR).[28] The database consists of volumes from the libraries of Gabriel Harvey (1551/52–1631), a civil lawyer, and John Dee (1527–1609), astrologer and astronomer at the court of Elizabeth I. The database is comprised of a selection of 36 books in the possession of various modern libraries, 22 from Dee's book collection and 14 from Harvey's. Harvey as a reader has also been studied in an article by Anthony Grafton, pointing out his frequent use of astrological symbols for marking historical works: the symbol of Mars meant military matters, that of Mercury diplomacy and so forth.[29]

The works of these two very active writers of marginalia have been digitised and their marginalia are searchable, both writings and drawings, as well as various concepts, locations and other categories of interest. There are quite a lot of categories, for example the terms *symbol* and *drawing*, which are used also in the present study, but with a different definition of the terms than in the AOR.

The term *symbol*, when used in the AOR, signifies generally accepted symbols that carry the same meaning in other contexts as in the libraries of Dee and Harvey, such as astrological symbols. Other examples of terminology are *drawings* (such as crowns, that is, images that are not generally accepted symbols in the same way as an astrological or a mathematical symbol is), and *illustrations*, where Dee or Harvey has illustrated something explicitly mentioned in the main text, such as a ship or a laurel wreath.

My categories are instead based on the functions of images or texts in the books I study, and this necessitated the use a different terminology from that in the AOR, although the same words are used to some degree. There are no illustrations in Eric's books, because the images found there do not illustrate specific features explicitly referred to in the main texts, so that category is not needed here. Almost all images

[28] https://archaeologyofreading.org/

[29] Anthony Grafton, "*Discitur ut agatur*: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy", in Stephen A. Barney (ed.), *Annotation and Its Texts* (New York/Oxford 1991), pp. 108–129, p. 118.

in Eric's books would fit under the heading of *drawing* in AOR terminology, which makes the categories in the AOR less well-adapted for the purposes of my study.

In the definition of the AOR, the heart turned upside-down found in Eric would be classified as a *drawing*, because it is not a generally accepted or recognisable symbol with a specific meaning. I instead refer to it as a *symbol* because it is not only an image of an upside-down heart, but a symbol of hatred, if not a widely accepted one. My term *symbol* refers to an image that means something beyond the image itself, in the specific context of Eric's books.

There are some *symbols* (in my definition of the term) found in the AOR database, and labelled *drawings* there, for example crowns, just as in Eric's books, although in a simpler execution than his. I have found 16 different drawings (*symbols* in my terminology) in the AOR that are not found at all in Eric's books. There does not seem to have been any ready-made system that could just be adopted. But from the many examples in the AOR, it can be concluded that somewhat idiosyncratic systems of symbols were in use among Eric's contemporaries, as well as much earlier, as we have seen.

Another example of symbols is described in the bilingual (English and Estonian) *A Drawing Clerk* by Juhan Kreem.[30] There, a system where text is provided with symbols, i.e. images that have a meaning beyond that of pure decoration, is found in account books from Tallinn between the years 1432 and 1533, during which period nine different scribes kept the books. There are some recurring symbols, for example a horseshoe that is the symbol of a blacksmith and scales that refer to income from goods weighed in the weighing house. The symbols do not always appear in a consistent manner, but it is evident that they have a function, as the crown found next to a royal visit.

In other words, there are many examples from very different time periods of personalised symbol systems for use in the margins of books. We shall now move on to research dealing specifically with Eric's marginalia, usually found in smaller sections of works about other aspects of his life and times.

1.4.2 Eric and his marginalia

The marginalia in Eric's books have been referred to in different works and by various authors, as well as printed in part. In many works concerning Eric, some of his marginalia are reprinted as illustrations, as examples of what they look like.[31] In

[30] Juhan Kreem, *Linnaametnik joonistab/A Drawing Clerk* (Tallinn 2009).

[31] See for example Ingvar Andersson, *Erik XIV* (Stockholm 1979), Rudolf Elander, *Sturemordens gåta: en granskning av urkunderna* (Stockholm 1928), Brynolf Hellner and Ingvar Andersson, *Erik XIV* (Stockholm 1964), Jan von Konow, *Sturemorden 1567: ett drama i kampen mellan kungamakt och högadel* (Stockholm 2003), Herman Lindqvist, *Erik XIV: Prakt, drömmar,*

studies where Eric's mental condition is concerned, they have been found of interest as examples of his madness.

Victor Wigert discusses the long name lists in Sabellicus and Stadius as a symptom of schizophrenia. He refers briefly to the symbols as "egendomliga småteckningar" 'strange little drawings', and suggests a link between the underscorings and the symbols: "Kvinnotorserna utmärka ställen, som handla om kvinnor, två dolkar synas utmärka mord o. s. v. Dessa småteckningar torde endast vara att betrakta som egendomliga marginalmärken vid intressanta ställen i texten." 'The female torsos mark places referring to women, two daggers seem to mean murder, and so forth. These little drawings are probably to be regarded only as strange marginal markings of interesting passages in the text.'.[32] Wigert draws a strict line between marginalia in ink as those found in Johannes Magnus and marginalia in soot and water that are found in the other works. According to him, ink was used before and soot and water after Eric's mental illness had fully developed.

In his article, Nils Antoni studied how the marginalia can be used to throw light on Eric's mental health. He focuses on the writings in Sabellicus and just briefly mentions Strabo and Stadius, and as Wigert before him he points to the contrast between the actual texts, as the *Responsum contra Danos*, and the name lists. The symbols and comments are not discussed.[33]

Ingvar Andersson too devotes some pages to Eric's marginalia in his biography, still *the* biography of Eric XIV with its numerous reprints.[34] In a section about Eric's writings during his time alone in prison, he briefly presents the marginalia in Strabo and Sabellicus, but does not mention those found in Stadius or Johannes Magnus. In his article about Eric and astrology, he does refer to Stadius, but also claims that there are three known works in which Eric XIV has left marginalia.[35] The article is from 1936, when the copy of Johannes Magnus had only recently been discovered, as explained by Walde in 1933 in "Några böcker ur Benedictus Olais bibliotek", 'Some books from Benedictus Olai's library'.[36]

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mörker (Stockholm 2014), Knut Carlqvist, *Kung Erik av folket* (Stockholm 1996), pp. 386, 431 and in the image section between p. 224 and p. 225.

[32] Viktor Wigert, *Erik XIV: hans sinnessjukdom. Historisk-psykiatrisk studie* (Stockholm 1920), p. 159. All translations are mine, unless otherwise stated.

[33] Nils Antoni, "Erik XIV och schizofrenien", *Nordisk medicin* 72 (1964), pp. 1284–1293.

[34] Andersson 1979, pp. 279–290. The biography first appeared in 1935 and was edited and re-published several times. I use the edition from 1979.

[35] Ingvar Andersson, "Erik XIV och astrologien: en översikt över materialet", *Lychnos* 1 (1936), pp. 103–130.

[36] Otto Walde, "Några böcker ur Benedictus Olais bibliotek", *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 20 (1933), pp. 205–213.

In 1912, Carl Magnus Stenbock published part of the marginalia found in Strabo, Sabellicus and Stadius, as well as the notes by Eric in his 1566 and 1567 diaries.[37] The work has the character of a rough edition of the material with running commentary; the short biographical Latin notes in both diaries are published in full, but none of the astrological data found first on each day. For Strabo, about three pages are used on which the musical scores are introduced. For Sabellicus, Eric's marginalia are published in part, but only what I refer to as writings, that is, material that does not have anything in particular to do with the work, as well as a set of images, drawings of soldiers, knights, courtly women and a rather voluptuous, mermaid-like woman. The final 30 pages of the book are devoted to the writings – biographical notes and name lists – in Stadius.

Kurt Johannesson has also discussed part of Eric's marginalia in "Retorik och propaganda vid det äldre Vasahovet" 'Rhetoric and propaganda at the court of the early Vasas'.[38] As the long article is about rhetoric, the main focus is on how Eric (and the other Vasa kings) used rhetorical principles, and an object of interest to Johannesson is not least Eric's writings from the years in prison. An important part of his contribution is his critique of previous research, which he says has largely failed to take the rhetorical nature of Eric's writings into account and instead taken things he says at face value, as did Wigert, for example.

While Strabo and Sabellicus seem to have been relatively well-known in research from the beginning, Stadius and particularly Johannes Magnus, have drawn far less attention. An exception is the aforementioned article by Walde, which contains a few pages about books in the possession of Benedictus Olai, one of which was the copy of Johannes Magnus in which Eric XIV wrote his marginalia.[39] Walde briefly refers to the symbols, provides a number of examples of what Eric has drawn, and says in a footnote that "Sålunda angiva vapenavbildningarna att en strid eller ett krig nämnes i texten på detta ställe, förenade händer betyda fred eller giftermål, kvinnobyster att kvinnor äro nämda [sic!] i sammanhanget o.s.v." 'depictions of weapons mean that a battle or war is mentioned, hands joined together mean peace or marriage, female torsos that women are referred to in this context and so forth etc.", but it is no systematic study.[40] Otto Walde calls the symbols "ett slags observanda vid läsningen" 'a kind of *observanda* made during the reading'.[41] Johannesson briefly refers to the symbols also in *Gotisk renässans* (the English

[37] Carl Magnus Stenbock, *Erik XIV:s almanacks-anteckningar: hans dagböcker, ritningar och musiknoter i urval* (Stockholm 1912).

[38] Kurt Johannesson, "Retorik och propaganda vid det äldre Vasahovet", *Lychnos* (1969–1970), pp. 1–60, pp. 48–58.

[39] Walde 1933.

[40] Walde 1933, p. 211 (note 2).

[41] Walde 1933, p. 211.

translation is entitled *The Renaissance of the Goths*) and labels them mnemotechnic symbols, linked to the *ars memoriae* that was a part of rhetoric.[42]

To conclude, previous researchers have had reason to discuss Eric's marginalia as a phenomenon and as part of studies with a completely different focus than the present one, for example rhetoric, or for describing his mental condition. From this rather scanty previous research about Eric's marginalia (and about his writings during the imprisonment), it is clear that his marginalia, as a general phenomenon, are linked to important elements of his time: to rhetoric and to mnemonic practices. And so, the questions of how his system of marginalia was construed and of its function still remain unanswered. The comments and the symbols have yet to be discussed in their own right, and systematically studied as an example of Renaissance marginalia. The present work is an attempt to systematically investigate this question for the first time: on one hand, how the system was devised and how it worked, on the other what this might tell us about King Eric XIV, not least as a learned man of the Renaissance.

1.5 Eric XIV: life and library

Eric XIV has gone down in history as mad and bad, and as having been murdered by his younger brother and successor, John III, with pea soup seasoned with arsenic.[43] Much of the negative image of Eric was created by John III, in systematic propaganda aimed at denigrating Eric and justifying John's rebellion, the imprisonment of Eric, and John's own subsequent accession to the throne. As Sweden had been declared a hereditary kingdom by Gustavus Vasa in 1544, the actual heir to the throne was Eric's son Gustavus, born in 1568, not Eric's younger brother.

In his attempt to present a diagnosis for Eric XIV, Wigert claimed to see signs of an approaching mental illness as early as in the childhood of the king-to-be.[44] Basically everything in Eric's behaviour is interpreted in this light. A number of studies have, however, been conducted in which the king is portrayed in a less prejudicial manner, notably by Ingvar Andersson and by Rudolf Elander. Knut Carlqvist attempted to completely re-evaluate the king and his reputation and even

[42] Kurt Johannesson, *Gotisk renässans. Johannes och Olaus Magnus som politiker och historiker* (Stockholm 1982), p. 284, for the English translation, see Kurt Johannesson and James Larson, *The Renaissance of the Goths in Sixteenth-Century Sweden. Johannes and Olaus Magnus as Politicians and Historians* (Uppsala Studies in History of Science 9; Berkeley 1991).

[43] For a popular overview, see Dick Harrison, "Erik XIV – bildad och grym", *Populär historia,* 12 (2010), pp. 18–28.

[44] Wigert 1920, pp. 17–19.

suggested that the interpretations of later historians were biased against Eric.[45] The latest biography, *Erik XIV – Prakt, drömmar, mörker* from 2014, is directed at a general audience. Its author claims that Eric is the most misunderstood of the Swedish monarchs, as he has had his history written by his enemies and was never granted the opportunity of presenting his own version.[46]

1.5.1 Early life and education

The future Eric XIV was born on 13th December 1533 to King Gustavus Vasa and his queen, Catherine of Saxe-Lauenburg. The accession ten years earlier of Gustavus Vasa, the first king of the family of the Vasas, had meant the end of the Kalmar Union, the union of the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden/Finland first established in 1397.[47]

There had been a lot of dissension over the Union, where the Union king was usually Danish. The dissatisfied Swedes had on several occasions proclaimed a king of their own, and internal conflicts constantly arose. But the union came to an end with the new royal dynasty of the Vasas in Sweden. To the more well-established, older royal families of Europe, the new Vasa dynasty was dubiously regal. For that reason, Gustavus Vasa wanted to marry a princess to establish his new royal dynasty through an advantageous connection.[48] He sent the archbishop Johannes Magnus to Poland in 1526 to negotiate a marriage to the Polish princess Hedwig.[49]

This plan was to fail, and eventually, the king married the aforementioned Catherine of Saxe-Lauenburg, who came from one of the numerous families in the Holy Roman Empire and had good relations with the Holy Roman Emperor, which provided a political advantage.[50] Eric's mother however died when he was two years old, after which his father remarried. The new queen was a Swedish noblewoman,

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[45] Andersson 1979, Carlqvist 1996, Elander 1928, cf the review of Carlqvist's work in Birgitta Odén, "Erik XIV omvärderad", *Lärt i Lund från Historiedagarna 1996, Aktuellt om historia* 1–2 (1997), pp. 9–14.

[46] Lindqvist 2014, pp. 211–213.

[47] Harald Gustafsson, "A State that Failed? On the Union of Kalmar, Especially its Dissolution", *Scandinavian Journal of History* 31 (2006), pp. 205–220.

[48] Ivan Svalenius, "Katarina (av Sachsen-Lauenburg)", *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* 20 (Stockholm 1973–1975), p. 777, Antoni 1964, p. 1286, cf Inken Schmidt-Voges, *De antiqua claritate et clara antiquitate Gothorum: Gotizismus als Identitätsmodell im frühneuzeitlichen Schweden* (Imaginatio borealis 4; Frankfurt am Main 2004), pp. 218–222.

[49] For a thorough discussion of this mission, see Gottfrid Carlsson, "Johannes Magnus och Gustav Vasas polska frieri. En utrikespolitisk episod i den svenska reformationstidens historia", *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 22 (1922), pp. 1–76.

[50] Svalenius 1973–1975, p. 777.

Margareta Leijonhufvud, and she became the mother of the rest of Gustavus Vasa's numerous children, not least of the future kings John III and Charles IX.

Gustavus Vasa, who is rumoured to have stabbed his Latin grammar with a knife in a fit of anger and left school forever, realised the importance of educating his children well and according to Renaissance requirements for a prince. Georg Norman, recommended by both Luther and Melanchthon, was appointed as tutor to Prince Eric and his brother John. He devised an ambitious programme for the education of the young princes, in accordance with Erasmus' famous *Institutio principis Christiani* (1516). Eventually the French Calvinist Dionysius Beurraeus took over.[51]

The careful education of the princes can be seen as a part of Gustavus Vasa's aim of establishing his own dynasty too. Eric was carefully taught to master the subjects necessary for a Renaissance prince: Latin, at least some Greek, modern languages, literature, history, cartography, philosophy, mathematics, military theory, the fashionable science of astrology, as well as more practical activities, such as fencing, shooting, singing, playing the lute, dancing and drawing. In 1544, Sweden was turned into a hereditary kingdom, making Eric the successor to the throne (the title of crown prince was however not used until the 1800s).[52]

Apart from his formal education, Eric received tuition in the practical duties of ruling a kingdom by working together with his father Gustavus Vasa. He was entrusted with tasks such as preparing letters for bailiffs, keeping an eye out for anyone trying to gain excessive benefits from the Crown's possessions, and he travelled around the country to fulfil his duties.[53] Eric XIV also took a very great interest in military matters, particularly in military theory. He had studied Caesar as well as Vegetius' famous military treatise *Epitoma rei militaris*, and was sometimes consulted by his father on matters of strategy.[54]

Gustavus Vasa naturally wanted to put Eric's education to good use; apart from his knowledge of military matters, his skills in astrology were very important, as they were used for example to find the perfect day for his sister Catherine Vasa's

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[51] Andersson 1979, pp. 19, 21–23, Ingvar Andersson, "Erik XIV", *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* 14 (Stockholm 1953), pp. 282–305, p. 284, Lars-Olof Larsson, *Arvet efter Gustav Vasa. En berättelse om fyra kungar och ett rike* (Stockholm 2005), p. 31, for Norman's education programme, see Victor Granlund (ed.), *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur 12 1538–1539* (Stockholm, 1890), pp. 302–319, Schmidt-Voges 2004, pp. 234–235.

[52] Andersson 1979, pp. 23–24, Simon McKeown, "Early signs of madness? Erik XIV of Sweden and his emblems of legitimation", in Ingrid Höpel and Lars Olof Larsson (eds.), *Emblematik im Ostseeraum: Ausgewählte Beiträge zur 10. Internationalen Tagung der Society for Emblem Studies* (Kiel 2016), pp. 19–28, p. 24.

[53] Andersson 1979, p. 27.

[54] For an overview, see Elander 1928, pp. 42–48, *Meddelanden från Krigsarkivet 4*, (Stockholm 1926), pp. 9–10.

wedding in 1559.[55] Astrology was to remain very important for Eric XIV throughout his life; in the 16th century, astrology tended to occupy a central place in people's lives. Statesmen could have the horoscopes of friends and foes alike presented to them in order to decide what was the best course of action with regard to each of them. By making a nativity, that is, a horoscope for the precise moment of someone's birth, it was believed that the future life of this individual could be accurately predicted. Eric himself had learnt the skill of making horoscopes, and some of the ones he made are still extant.[56]

1.5.2 Eric becomes king

In late September 1560, Gustavus Vasa passed away and Eric became king. As Eric was on his way to England to meet with Elizabeth I, his younger brother John began to arrange the funeral and prepare for the magnificent grave monument in Uppsala Cathedral.[57] Eric then turned to the preparations for his coronation, which was celebrated in Uppsala on June 29th 1561, a most lavish spectacle to emphasise the importance of the new king.[58] Eric even asked his previous teacher Dionysius Beurraeus, at that time stationed in England, where Elizabeth I had been crowned just two years earlier, to gather inspiration for the coronation.[59]

New regalia had been made, including the crown that remains the crown of the Swedish king (although the current king, Charles XVI Gustavus, is not crowned). Eric was dressed in expensive materials, for example a mantle of purple velvet, lined with white taffeta and embroidered with crowns in golden thread; it is kept in the collections of the Royal Armoury in Stockholm.[60] After the ceremony, led by the archbishop in the cathedral, the new king rode the short distance to Uppsala Castle for a banquet as lavish as the coronation itself. The new king had had special coronation coins, largesse money, minted for the occasion, and they were thrown among the people as gifts.[61] One of the foreign visitors, Heinrich Normann, the

[55] Andersson 1979, p. 53, Andersson 1936, p. 112.

[56] Andersson 1936, pp. 104–105, 113, 116, 120.

[57] Efraim Lundmark, "Gustav I:s och Erik XIV:s regalier", in Nils G. Wollin (ed.), *Svensk nyttokonst* (1926), pp. 47–76, p. 47, Birgitta Lager-Kromnow, "Johan III", *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* 20 (Stockholm 1973–1975), pp. 182–199, p. 186.

[58] McKeown 2016, p. 19.

[59] Lundmark 1926, p. 66.

[60] It can still be seen in the collections of the Royal Armoury in Stockholm, although the velvet is now rather brown than purple. Images of the mantle are in their database (no. 25940).

[61] McKeown 2016, p. 21.

ambassador from Pomerania, was an eyewitness to the events and had his secretary write a detailed account of the coronation and the accompanying festivities.[62]

1.5.3 The question of marriage

As a royal by birth, Eric could look for a suitable bride among the royal families of Europe from a stronger position than his father had been able to. It was of course not only a matter of romance or attraction. Eric had however expressly wished to see his prospective bride in person before making up his mind; he did intend to go to England to meet Elizabeth I in person.[63] An important aspect was foreign policy and Eric's chances of realising or advancing other political plans through an advantageous marriage. His first choice was Elizabeth of England, then still a princess, and he had copies of Johannes Magnus' work on Swedish history distributed in order to impress the English with the history of Sweden.[64] Through a marriage alliance with England, he would have the advantage of putting (mainly) Denmark under pressure trade-wise, because it would be in the mutual interest of England and Sweden to keep the sea routes between the countries open.

Eric started wooing Princess Elizabeth in early 1558, despite the fact that the entire idea was disliked by the English queen, Mary I ("Bloody Mary").[65] But on November 17th 1558, Queen Mary died, Elizabeth succeeded her to the throne, and there was nothing to prevent the marriage negotiations, apart from several rivals, not least at the English court, where Robert Dudley, later Earl of Leicester, was Elizabeth's favourite. Eric is claimed to have challenged him to a duel and thought about having him murdered to get him out of the way.[66]

Elizabeth is said to have liked Eric's portrait, but she then remarked that she could not possibly marry someone she had not seen in person.[67] Eric attempted to go to

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[62] The original is in German, but a Swedish translation with some parts of the text only paraphrased was published in Emil Hildebrand, "Henrik Normans resa till Erik XIV:s kröning 1561", *Historisk tidskrift* 5 (1885), pp. 259–296, Simon Fischer et al., *Den pommerske ståthållaren Henrik Normans ambassad till kung Erik XIV:s kröning 1561: reseberättelse* (Uddevalla 1990). The latter is an abbreviated, modernised and illustrated translation greatly indebted to Hildebrand. A manuscript copy in German is in Uppsala University Library, shelfmark E 276.

[63] Gunnar Annell, *Erik XIV:s etiska föreställningar och deras inflytande på hans politik* (Uppsala 1945), p. 206, Magnus Karlsson, "Three letters of proposal from Erik XIV of Sweden to Elizabeth I of England", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 58 (2009), pp. 81–101, p. 82.

[64] Lars Ericson Wolke, *Johan III, en biografi* (Lund 2004), p. 142.

[65] For an overview of the negotiations, see Karlsson 2009, cf Kristine Forney, "A gift of madrigals and chansons: the Winchester part books and the courtship of Elizabeth I by Erik XIV of Sweden", *The journal of musicology* 17 (1999), pp. 50–75, pp. 64–67, Andersson 1953, p. 286.

[66] Annell 1945, p. 207.

[67] Andersson 1979, p. 49.

England himself to woo her, but when he was about to depart in 1560, word reached him of his father's death. As the new king, he could not leave, and the trip to England had to be postponed. An intended visit in 1561 had to be cancelled due to very inclement weather.[68] In the end, Eric never went to England, and the marriage plans failed entirely after a few years. Several legates were sent to Elizabeth over the years, including Eric's brother John, his previous teacher Dionysius Beurraeus, and the nobleman Nils Gyllenstierna. Numerous documents are preserved from the English marriage negotiations, original ones or copies: letters to Elizabeth from Eric and to Eric from Elizabeth, as well as letters to and from Eric and his delegates, and other related documents.[69]

The king also briefly attempted to negotiate a marriage to Mary Stuart, recently widowed and now Queen of Scotland in her own right, possibly in an attempt to make Elizabeth jealous enough to reconsider, but these marriage plans too came to nothing. Before the negotiations with England had come to an end, new marriage negotiations started, this time to accomplish a marriage for Eric to Christina of Hesse, should the English plans fail.[70]

Eric intended to arrange a political alliance, through which he would have Hessian support in the upcoming war with Denmark, and such an alliance was to be a prerequisite for the marriage. The negotiations were well under way, although Christina's father, the Landgrave of Hesse, did not look with benevolence on Eric's insistence on a political alliance as a condition of marriage.[71] Then, unfortunately, a letter in which Eric chivalrously assured Elizabeth I that the intended marriage to Christina did not mean anything to him ended up in Danish hands. The Danes passed it on to the Landgrave of Hesse, who was furious and threw the Swedish legates out of his realm, which put an abrupt ending to the negotiations.[72]

In 1565–1566 began what was to become the final attempt to negotiate a marriage to a foreign princess. This time the intended bride was Renata of Lorraine, niece of the deposed Union King Christian II, which seemed to provide interesting possibilities for relations to Denmark, but these plans also failed. This intended marriage is referred to on several occasions in Eric's 1566 diary, so it obviously kept his thoughts occupied from time to time.[73] Among the Swedish nobility the view was that the king ought to marry one of them as his father had done, but that too came to nothing.

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[68] He described the failed journey and his feelings about it in chivalrous tones in a letter to her on the 12th November 1561 found in Uppsala University Library, E 277, pp. 247–254.

[69] For a list of Eric's letters to her, see Karlsson 2009, pp. 100–101.

[70] Andersson 1979, pp. 86, 93.

[71] Michael Roberts, *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden 1523–1611* (Cambridge 1968), p. 214.

[72] Annell 1945, p. 205.

[73] It is mentioned for example on the 11 and 15 March 1566, as well as on 5 July and 14 August.

The question of a suitable marriage was of the utmost importance to Eric, and in the failure of all his various legates to secure a marriage for him, he became increasingly suspicious. He blamed his legates for everything, going so far as to believe that the Swedish nobility failed the marriage negotiations on purpose to increase their own power by preventing their king from fathering a legitimate heir.[74]

1.5.4 The question of power

Eric wanted to be a great king, on par with his Renaissance colleagues in Europe, as seen from his great ambitions not least in marriage. Already during the coronation ceremony, some of the Swedish nobles were made counts and barons, just as at the courts on the continent. The motif on the largesse money from the coronation belongs to the tradition of *emblemata heroica*, emblems made for important or otherwise great figures. It gives the impression that Eric gained his power through divine providence, rather than through his father's political machinations. This is mirrored in the coronation, which had a strong religious side. The emblem was later printed by Jacob Typotius in *Symbola divina et humana* (three volumes from the early 17th century).[75]

The younger Vasa sons, John, Magnus and Charles, had been made dukes in Gustavus Vasa's will and were to rule their own duchies with great freedom, although still as part of the Swedish realm. The brothers, including the king, were supposed to consult with each other before making major decisions or undertaking important actions.[76] The younger brothers Magnus and Charles were to receive duchies, and John was already Duke of Finland, but Eric did not want to allow his brothers so vast a freedom as his father had provided.[77] He instead wished to see them more clearly subordinated to the crown. This was decided by the parliament in Arboga in 1561 in the Articles of Arboga, the statutes from that parliament meeting.[78]

John left for Finland and negotiated a marriage for himself to the Polish princess Catherine Jagiellon, as well as lent a great sum of money to her brother, the Polish king.[79] John also pursued another foreign political goal of his own. The Teutonic

[74] Annell 1945, pp. 210– 211, 213, Jerker Rosén, *Studier kring Erik XIV:s höga nämnd* (Acta Regiae Societatis humaniorum litterarum Lundensis 51; Lund 1955), p. 71.

[75] McKeown 2016, pp. 22, 24–25, Annell 1945, p. 81, Jacob Typotius, *Symbola diuina & humana pontificum, imperatorum, regum. Accessit breuis & facilis Isagoge Iac. Typotii.*, 3 vols. (Pragæ 1601–1603).

[76] Roberts 1968, p. 195.

[77] Andersson 1953, pp. 287–288.

[78] Elander 1928, pp. 14–15, Rosén 1955, p. 22.

[79] Elander 1928, pp. 19–20.

order (*Ordo domus Sanctæ Mariæ Theutonicorum Hierosolymitanorum*) had once been firmly established in part of what is now the Baltic countries, but its power was crumbling. The countries with an interest in the regions around the Baltic Sea all wanted their share: Sweden, Russia, Poland and Denmark. Duke John's dominions in Finland were of course admirably located with regard to his intentions of claiming more land for himself in the Baltic countries. But his marriage, his attempts to add land to his duchy, and his involvement with Poland meant that he was vastly overstepping the Articles of Arboga. Eric XIV was seriously displeased with his brother's attempts at increasing his influence, as well as with the blatant disobedience, and not least because he himself wanted a share of the former territories of the Teutonic order. In 1563, the king sent an army to bring his brother to heel. John was overpowered and brought to Sweden together with his wife. They were treated well, but kept imprisoned at the Castle of Gripsholm until 1567.[80]

Soon after becoming king, Eric established the High Court (Höga nämnden in Swedish), a kind of royal law-court. From supervising the jurisdiction in the duchies, which meant depriving the royal dukes of part of their responsibility, the court dealt increasingly with crimes against the crown and gained political importance.[81] With the help of this court, Eric tried to limit the power of the nobility and transfer as much power as he could to himself. The court at first consisted of members from both the nobility and the commoners, but this was soon to change into a majority of non-nobles, who eventually acted contrary to the interests of the nobility. Eric quite often chose well-educated men of the people to enter his service instead of noblemen, for example the president of the High Court, the royal procurator Jöran Persson (c. 1530–1568), who was the son of a priest, not a nobleman.[82]

The Swedish noblemen were all interrelated, as well as related to the Vasas, in particular through the families from which Gustavus' second and third wives had come (Leijonhufvud and Stenbock).[83] Two previous regents of Sweden had come from the Sture family, but to what extent they and other noblemen were actually trying to gain more power in relation to the king by conspiring against him remains uncertain.[84]

[80] Elander 1928, p. 28, Andersson 1953, p. 289, Lager-Kromnow 1973–1975, pp. 188–189, Ericson Wolke 2004, pp. 78–79.

[81] Jerker Rosén, "Jöran Persson", *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* 20 (Stockholm 1973–1975), pp. 553–555, p. 554.

[82] Rosén 1955, pp. 28–32, 37.

[83] Andersson 1979, p. 172.

[84] Odén 1997, p. 10.

1.5.5 War against Denmark

With the conflict with John barely over, Eric found himself at war with Denmark and Lübeck. On August 9th 1563, the Danish envoy formally visited the Swedish king in Stockholm to declare war.[85] This, the so called Nordic Seven Years War, was "det första moderna sjökriget" 'the first modern war at sea', mainly fought between the arch-enemies Denmark and Sweden.[86] Eric XIV had reorganised the Swedish defence into a standing army, rather than paying mercenaries, and continued his father's efforts at enlarging and modernising the fleet. A trace of his interest in military theory and war is found on the first pages of his copy of Sabellicus, where there are diagrams that show a regiment and some information regarding the pay of the soldiers and the various officers. Eric sometimes even trained his soldiers in person, as witnessed by his diary.[87]

The beginning of the war was disastrous for the Swedes: they lost Älvsborg, a castle on the west coast of Sweden, and of great importance because it provided access to the North Sea, with its opportunities for trade. Most of what is the west coast of modern-day Sweden was Danish in 1563. In an attempt to compensate for the loss of Älvsborg, Eric laid siege to the Danish city of Halmstad, further south on the west coast, but without managing to take the city, despite repeatedly threatening to inflict all sorts of terror upon the inhabitants if they refused to open the gates and let him in.[88] Soon after, he and his army had to leave to return to Sweden for the winter, and during their return, they were overtaken by the Danish army at the battle of Mared, in the province of Halland in what is today the southwest of Sweden. Although the battle was no great success for the Swedish army, Eric still counted it as a victory because his forces of home-drilled peasants had faced the Danish army, consisting mainly of professional soldiers, and done quite well.[89]

Eric soon showed himself to be far better at strategy and planning than at taking part in commanding the army. He returned to Stockholm with the excuse that in the camp, he could not be provided with such a standard as to befit his position. In addition, it was dangerous for the king to fight his own battles, as it would be a great danger to his country, should he be seriously wounded or killed. It was even suggested improper for a king to do battle with a person of lesser rank, such as the

[85] Andersson 1979, p. 126.

[86] For an overview, see Ulf Sundberg, *Svenska krig 1521–1814* (Stockholm 2002), pp. 42–72; quotation on p. 48.

[87] *Meddelanden från Krigsarkivet* 4, 1926, pp. 40–41. See also UUB, E 279a, 11 and 18 August.

[88] Eric Hägge, "Erik XIV och Halmstad", *Föreningen Gamla Halmstads årsbok* 61 (1984), pp. 13–18, pp. 13–15.

[89] Sundberg 2002, p. 54.

Danish commander Daniel Rantzau, who was eventually to beat the Swedes at the battle of Axtorna in 1565.[90]

In the following year, 1564, Eric XIV did however lay siege to, sack and destroy the city of Ronneby, in the province of Blekinge, which was then part of Denmark. He himself described the destruction of the city and the slaughter of the inhabitants as a righteous punishment for their refusal to surrender and later the same year entered his capital in a procession, as a hero just as triumphant as a victorious Roman general in Antiquity.[91]

The destruction of this very prosperous Danish city by Eric's men was later described as an act of tyrannical madness and cruelty, although it did not differ in the particulars from the behaviour of other regents in similar situations in the 16th century.[92]

The war went on until 1570, when peace was negotiated in Poland by King John III, as by then, his older brother had been dethroned.

1.5.6 The end of Eric's reign and the Sture murders

During his reign, Eric had had several mistresses, among them Agda Persdotter, with whom he had three known daughters, all bearing names with a classical ring to them: Virginia, Constantia and Lucretia.[93] He even suggested in a distichon on the final page of his 1566 diary that someone unable to enjoy the chaste kisses of a lovely girl is not a man, but a lifeless piece of wood:[94]

> Quem non formosae delectant casta puellae
> oscula non homo sed truncus habetur iners.

But eventually, Karin Månsdotter, the daughter of a lowly prison guard, caught his eye. In 1565, when she was in her teens, she was made chambermaid to Princess Elisabet Vasa, lived at the castle, and was provided with suitably sumptuous

[90] Andersson 1979, p. 145, on this battle, see *Meddelanden från Krigsarkivet* 4, 1926.

[91] Lars-Olof Larsson, "Erik XIV, Blekinge och Ronneby", *Ale, historisk tidskrift för Skåneland* 21 (1968), pp. 33–42, pp. 33–34, Albert Vejde, "Erik XIV och ödeläggelsen av Ronneby 1564", *Scandia: Tidskrift för historisk forskning* 2:1 (1929), pp. 54–64, p. 54, Andersson 1979, p. 146.

[92] Annell 1945, p. 168, on Ronneby, see Vejde 1929.

[93] Hans Gillingstam, "Agda Persdotter, hennes släkt och Erik XIV:s dotter Lucretia: en källkritisk studie", *Släkt och hävd* 2001 (2001), pp. 156–160, pp. 156, 160.

[94] UUB, E 279a, final page.

clothing for a life at court. The year after, Karin gave birth to their first child, a daughter named Sigrid. Eric and Karin married in secret in the summer of 1567.[95]

Eric's suspicions that the nobility was conspiring against him grew. Judging from a few notes in his diary from 1567, and from the way he dealt with the suspected noblemen, Eric himself seems to have believed that there was indeed a conspiracy.[96] As Gustavus Vasa, a nobleman, had rebelled against the Union King, which led to his later election as king, it was perhaps not unfathomable, but particularly not to a king as prone to suspicion as Eric XIV, that his own regime could in turn be threatened by another nobleman.

In early 1567, the suspects were brought before the High Court. The Parliament was assembled in Uppsala later that year to confirm the verdicts.[97] The suspects and the sentenced were all imprisoned at Uppsala Castle. On 24 May 1567, Eric is said to have rushed into one of the rooms there and personally stabbed one of the prisoners, the 23-year-old Nils Svantesson Sture. He ordered the guards to kill the rest of them, "except for Sir Sten", as well as his old teacher Dionysius Beurraeus, after which he vanished into the forest and was gone for three days. The clothes worn by some of the murdered noblemen are now in the collections of the Treasury at Uppsala Cathedral, with the holes from Eric's dagger and his soldiers' weapons still visible.

In modern psychology, Eric's mental condition would probably be described as a psychosis, but according to Eric's own descriptions, the traumatic experience was caused by the Devil.[98] His eventual recovery was consequently regarded by him as proof that he was once again enjoying divine grace.[99] The final part of 1567 seems to have been quite a happy time for him: he had recovered from his mental breakdown or, as he saw it, regained divine favour. His marriage to Karin Månsdotter was announced to the court on 28th December 1567, enabling him to have her beside him as his queen, if not yet crowned, and she was pregnant again.[100] In the early months of 1568, he set out on a fresh attempt to defeat the Danes and win the war, and Karin gave him a son and legitimate heir, Gustavus, who was named after his grandfather.

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[95] Sture Arnell, "Månsdotter, Karin ", *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* 20 (Stockholm 1973–1975), pp. 616–618, pp. 616–617, Carl Viksten, "Månsdotter, Karin Månsdotters härstamning", *Från stad och bygd i Medelpad* 10 (1954), pp. 133–144, pp. 135–136, 141.

[96] UUB, E 281, 4 and 5 May.

[97] Rosén 1955, p. 67.

[98] Wigert 1920, p. 62, Elander 1928, p. 138, Annell 1945, pp. 234–236, Lars Sjöstrand, "Erik XIV:s sinnessjukdom ett resultat av arv och dåligt samvete?", *Läkartidningen* 103 (2006), pp. 3647–3649, p. 3648, Andersson 1979, pp. 191–197, von Konow 2003, pp. 53–61.

[99] Annell 1945, pp. 227–228, 233, 235–236.

[100] UUB, E 279a, 28 December, Andersson 1979, pp. 252–253, 256.

Not everyone was as pleased with the marriage as Eric himself, however. Naturally, the king was expected to marry a foreign princess or at least someone from the Swedish nobility, not an ordinary girl of the people, although he had been granted by Parliament the right to marry anyone.[101]

There are no preserved authentic portraits of Karin, but she is reported to have matched Eric's opinion of a beautiful girl (buxom, of a sweet and happy disposition, and preferably blonde).[102] But most of the nobility, including Eric's brothers, were absent from her coronation in 1568. Soon, the dukes John and Charles and the nobility rose in rebellion. They did not look upon the king with a friendly eye, not least because of Eric's earlier treatment of John and his wife. The official marriage to and coronation of Karin Månsdotter was probably the last straw, because only months after these events, Eric was quickly defeated, deposed, and imprisoned together with his family. Jöran Persson, his faithful adviser, was tortured, sentenced to death and executed in a very brutal manner. As Eric had defended Jöran Persson and his actions in his service, even given him his position back after his own recovery in 1567, it was obvious that Eric had approved of Jöran's actions, and the adviser could not be used as a scapegoat, as had been done before.[103] Now, instead, they were both depicted as evil in King John III's attempts to justify his own rebellion.[104]

1.5.7 The final years: imprisonment

Eric and his family were moved around several times. The danger of attempts to place Eric back on the throne frequently preoccupied King John III.[105] He had good reason to fear an uprising, because there were several attempts at rescuing Eric during his years in prison, for example as early as in July and August 1569, less than a year after the imprisonment. John tried to keep only people faithful to himself

[101] Rosén 1955, p. 72.

[102] Annell 1945, p. 207.

[103] Rosén 1973–1975, pp. 554–555, Larsson 2005, p. 48, Annell 1945, p. 239.

[104] In 1569, John III published 24 articles revealing the reasons for deposing Eric and removing his family from the Swedish succession, "Sann och rettmätig orsak". They can be found in Emil Hildebrand (ed.), *Svenska riksdagsakter under tidehvarfvet 1521–1718. Andra delen, 1561–1592* (vol. 1) (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1899), pp. 317–342, Malin Grundberg, "Vasatidens ceremonier som manifestation av makten och som kommunikation med folket. Maktskapande och imageskapande vid Erik XIV:s kröning och vid hans avsättning", *Svenska folkets kungaminnen: kungligt imageskapande och kungligt kulturarv. Symposium på Livrustkammaren 2002* (2003), pp. 41–45, p. 43, Elander 1928, pp. 141–143, For an overview of the various defamatory writings, see Hasse Petrini, *Källstudier till Erik XIV:s och Nordiska sjuårskrigets historia* (Lund 1942).

[105] Alfred Gustaf Ahlqvist, *Konung Erik XIV:s fängelse och död: historisk afhandling* (Stockholm 1868), pp. 42–43.

and/or hostile to Eric around the deposed king, was generous to the guards, and not least to whomever of the noblemen who was charged with guarding the deposed king at that time, in order to prevent an escape.[106]

Eric was first kept as a prisoner in his own rooms at the Castle of Stockholm and later in other rooms at the same castle, where his father's treasury had once been located.[107] From there, he was moved to Finland, to John's previous residence at the Castle of Åbo (July 1570), and then to Kastelholm (on the island of Åland) where he remained a few months in late 1571. After that, he was moved back to Sweden and placed at the Castle of Gripsholm, that now belonged to his youngest brother Duke Charles, and where John himself had once been a prisoner.[108] Eric spent the time in prison with his family as often as possible, reading and composing, and writing, not least in order to try to present his version of events. Traces of this is seen in the margins of Sabellicus.

During the time in prison, Karin gave birth to two more sons who however died in their early childhood. King John III became wary of the possible threat to his own power if Eric's family continued to grow, and decided to separate him from them.[109] They had all been moved to the castle of Västerås in June 1573.[110] But very soon, Karin and the children were moved back to Finland, and Eric himself remained in Västerås. He was not informed of their separation, but is said to have waited for Karin, sometimes calling out for her, without ever seeing her or their children again. He even wrote to her in 1574, quite touchingly asking why she had not come when he called her name, as he did not know that she and the children had been living in Finland for months by then.[111]

As previously mentioned, Eric had probably suffered from a psychosis during the Sture murders, from which he recovered in late 1567 to early 1568. During his imprisonment, he eventually lost his mind, according to Wigert probably due to *dementia praecox*, a schizophrenic condition.[112] His illness has been diagnosed by medical men of a later era, apart from by Wigert also by Antoni in a 1974 article, and briefly presented by Sjöstrand in 2006. Antoni discusses Wigert's diagnosis, but arrives at the conclusion that the king is more likely to have been a psychopath

[106] Ahlqvist 1868, pp. 21–23, 34, 42.

[107] For a list of the castles where King Eric was imprisoned, see Wigert 1920, p. 102, Ahlqvist 1868, p. 8.

[108] Ahlqvist 1868, pp. 26, 30–32.

[109] Andersson 1979, p. 281, Ahlqvist 1868, p. 47.

[110] Ahlqvist 1868, p. 46.

[111] Andersson 1979, pp. 282–284, Antoni 1964, p. 1289.

[112] Wigert 1920, pp. 92, 165–166.

with paranoia than a schizophreniac.[113] He suggests that part of Eric's behaviour that is perceived as strange by us, can be explained due to the different expectations of a different time. The influence of astrology that was taken very seriously in this period might have affected the king's behaviour in a way that was perfectly sensible measured by 16th century standards.[114] In addition, the language used by his contemporaries for describing his condition is so different from modern terminology that one must proceed with extreme caution to avoid overinterpretations and misunderstandings. Sjöstrand suggests that Eric suffered from a schizoaffective disorder.[115]

Eventually, in October 1574, Eric was moved to the castle of Örbyhus in the province of Uppland, the last of his prisons.[116] There he was kept in isolation and without knowledge of the whereabouts of his family, until he died from arsenic poisoning on February 26th 1577. King John had ensured his own safety and the stability of his reign by giving the order to murder Eric, should it become necessary.[117] A rumour perpetuated through schoolbooks and encyclopaedias since the 17th century claims that Eric was poisoned on his brother's orders, with arsenic in a bowl of pea soup.[118] Establishing Eric's cause of death was one of the questions of interest when his tomb in the Cathedral in the city of Västerås was opened in 1958. After the king's remains had been investigated, it was concluded that he was indeed poisoned with arsenic.[119]

Arsenic, in the form of arsenic trioxide, As_2O_3, was fairly easy to come by, and untraceable in the body of the victim: there was no method for finding it until the early 1800s. The symptoms of arsenic poisoning are strikingly similar to the symptoms of cholera (diarrhoea, cold skin, sweating …), a frequent illness in those days, making the death look less suspicious. In addition, the poison dissolves easily into food or drink.[120] Large quantities were found in Eric's remains, although it is

[113] Antoni 1964, pp. 1291, 1293.

[114] Antoni 1964, p. 1285.

[115] Sjöstrand 2006, p. 3649.

[116] Gunnar Elfström, "Erik XIV på Örbyhus: traditioner kring en kunglig fånge", *Uppland* (Uppsala 1977), pp. 101–105, p. 101.

[117] Elfström 1977, p. 103.

[118] Elfström 1977, p. 104.

[119] Bonnichsen et al. 1962, p. 321.

[120] Roger Bonnichsen and Arne Dyfverman, "Kemiska undersökningar", in Ragnar Casparsson and Carl-Herman Hjortsjö (eds.), *Erik XIV. En historisk, kulturhistorisk och medicinsk-antropologisk undersökning i samband med gravöppningen 1958 i Västerås domkyrka* (Stockholm 1962), pp. 259–266, p. 259, Gunnar Lindgren, "De historiska dokumenten om Erik XIV:s död i modern medicinsk belysning", in Ragnar Casparsson and Carl-Herman Hjortsjö (eds.), *Erik XIV. En historisk, kulturhistorisk och medicinsk-antropologisk undersökning i samband med gravöppningen 1958 i Västerås domkyrka* (Stockholm 1962), pp. 53–59, pp. 55–56.

impossible to determine whether the poison had been mixed into pea soup or into something else. The fact that John III ordered his brother's murder, should there be a rebellion in his favour, makes the king a suspect, although he did of course not commit the murder in person.[121]

King John decided on the Cathedral of Västerås, some 80 kilometres south-west of Uppsala, as a burial place for his deposed brother. He claimed that Eric, as a murderous tyrant, had no right to rest in Uppsala Cathedral, as their great father, and thus wanted to give him a more unobtrusive place, but still in an important enough church.[122] There was no large grave monument for him then, only a coat of arms on the wall. The monument seen there today was not placed there until the late 18th century, on the initiative of King Gustavus III who wanted the long-dead monarch to have a more grandiose resting-place.[123]

1.5.8 Eric's library

King Eric XIV owned a library with some 200 volumes (there are 217 index points in the 1568 inventory) which was started during his years of study when books of interest were ordered by his teachers; Strabo and Sabellicus formed part of his library as early as 1550.[124] The library was apparently quite large for its time, not least as books could be hard to come by in larger quantities even later.[125] An inventory of the books in his possession was drawn up in 1568 by his friend and physician Benedictus Olai and the royal secretary and genealogist Rasmus Ludvigsson, and was edited and published in 1845.[126] The inventory is divided into themes such as history, law, theology, medicine, and the arts including poetry as

[121] Bonnichsen et al. 1962, pp. 320–321.

[122] Alf Åberg, "Erik XIV:s gravsättning och grav i Västerås domkyrka", in Ragnar Casparsson and Carl-Herman Hjortsjö (eds.), *Erik XIV. En historisk, kulturhistorisk och medicinsk-antropologisk undersökning i samband med gravöppningen 1958 i Västerås domkyrka* (Stockholm 1962), pp. 60–80, pp. 60–61.

[123] Åberg 1962, p. 69.

[124] Andersson 1979, p. 23, Annell 1945, p. 64.

[125] For inventories of some Swedish libraries during the 16th centuries, see the list in Otto Walde, "En svensk boksamlare från Vasatiden. Hogenskild Bielke och hans bibliotek", *Uppsala universitetsbiblioteks minnesskrift 1621–1921* (Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis; Uppsala 1921), pp. 193–267, pp. 195–196, Astrid Nilsson, *Johannes Magnus and the Composition of Truth. Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* (Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia 21; Lund 2016), p. 117, Bo Lindberg, *Inte vid helt sunda vätskor. Gustav Vasa och hans söner ur ett medicinhistoriskt perspektiv* (Uppsala 2017), pp. 119–120.

[126] Rasmus Ludvigsson and Benedictus Olai, "Concept till Inventarium öfver Konung Erik XIV:s Böcker, upprättadt den 27 september 1568", *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia 27 = Nya handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia 17* (Stockholm 1845), pp. 380–390. The original list is found at the National Library of Sweden in Stockholm (*Cod. Holm.* U 201:1).

well as musical scores. I shall only give a few examples of the works found there and then introduce the four works of which we know the current whereabouts.[127]

Under the heading of theology, one finds Luther, Melanchthon, several Bibles and the *Quran*, under that of history "Berosus" (probably part of Annius of Viterbo's famous forgeries), Orosius and Sabellicus, under the arts Virgil, Quintilian, and lute books, and under astrology Ptolemy's *Almagest*.

The list of works is, however, not complete. Although we know that Eric owned a copy of Johannes Magnus' work, it is uncertain if his chronicle is listed there: the entry says "Cronica Olaui Swinefotz", which can be a reference to Johannes Magnus' work or to that of his brother, and several other works are missing; the problem of incomplete inventories is not unknown in any period.[128] The current whereabouts of most of Eric's books are unknown to us; they may have been given away when some of the regents after Eric donated books to the universities of the realm, and some volumes might have left Sweden with Queen Christina in 1654, or been destroyed together with the old royal palace of Stockholm in the great fire of 1697. Some could also have ended up in Poland, when Eric's son Gustavus was sent there in 1575, or possibly when King Sigismund left Sweden in 1599. We know that one of Eric's diaries found its way to Poland, and from there to Paris.[129] It is however hard to track anything with the 1568 inventory as a point of departure, because of its lack of precision regarding titles, publication dates, and places. This does however not necessarily mean that none of them were brought to Poland; they could have been lost at some point since the 16th century.

Four books are still extant: two works of history, one of astrology or astronomy, and one of geography.[130] The copy of Johannes Magnus' *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* 'History of all the Kings of the Goths and the Swedes' (Rome 1554) is today in the collections of Uppsala University Library. The other three are Sabellicus' *Enneades* (Basel 1538, a work of history with a universal scope similar to that of Johannes Magnus), Stadius' *Ephemerides* (Cologne 1560, a work containing charts and tables for astrological or astronomical purposes), and Strabo, *De situ orbis* (Basel 1549, a Latin translation with parallel text in the original Greek). Sabellicus and Stadius are both in the collections of the National Library in Stockholm. Strabo is also kept in Stockholm, but at the university library.

Apart from these books, a number of other manuscripts are still extant: Eric's two diaries (1566 and 1567, kept in Uppsala and Stockholm respectively), a long speech

[127] On the library, cf Magnus Karlsson, *Erik XIV: Oratio de iniusto bello regis Daniae anno 1563 contra regem Sueciae Ericum 14 gesto* (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis Studia Latina Stockholmiensia; Stockholm 2003), p. 11.

[128] Andersson 1936, p. 115, Ingrid Svensson, *Kungliga biblioteket i ord och bild* (Stockholm 2018), p. 12, Spallone 2002, p. 151 (n. 4).

[129] Stenbock 1912, p. 5.

[130] Karlsson 2003, p. 18. omits Johannes Magnus.

against the Danish king for beginning an unjust war against the Swedes, letters and musical compositions, not to mention the material in the four books, which will now be presented.[131]

[131] For the speech, see Karlsson 2003.

2 The works and their marginalia

Under this heading I shall discuss the works and present the marginalia found in them, as well as touch on more material factors such as writing tools – usually a normal pen and ink, or soot, either as a mixture of soot and water written with a wooden stick, or just a wooden stick dipped in soot[132] – and attempt to date the marginalia more precisely than has previously been done.

Table 1. Publishing dates and places of the four works, approximation of when Eric received them. Overview.

	J. Magnus	Sabellicus	Strabo	Stadius
published	Rome, 1554	Basel, 1538	Basel, 1549	Cologne, 1560
in Eric's library	1568? (gift from B. Olai)	1550 (Schute)	1550 (Schute)	1560?

2.1 A note on terminology

By the umbrella term *marginalia* I refer to anything found in the margin or on other available surfaces in the work, whether it has any connection to the text or not. As said above, when it concerns marginalia, there are two different kinds: images and texts. When it concerns images, I distinguish between *drawing* and *symbol*, and when it concerns text between *writing* and *comment.*

Drawings and writings have no connection to the main text; in their case, the work where they are found just happened to provide empty space for drawing or writing which could equally well have been done elsewhere. Symbols and comments on the other hand are clearly connected to and prompted by the content of the work. The symbols vary in size, most of them would easily fit within a square of two times two centimetres. The symbols with swords (the upright one and the prone ones) or the axe are larger; they are up to four centimetres tall or wide respectively.

The four books contain different kinds of marginalia. In the table below, I have not taken the number of occurrences into account. I only state the presence of any given category, although there are great differences: in Strabo, there are five symbols in the entire work, while Johannes Magnus, an equally large volume, contains some 170 symbols.

[132] Andersson 1979, p. 286.

Table 2. Overview of symbols, comments, writings and drawings in the works respectively.

	J. Magnus	Sabellicus	Strabo	Stadius
symbols	yes	yes	yes	no
comments	yes	yes	yes	yes
writings	no	yes	yes	yes
drawings	no	yes	yes	no

I shall return to this question in my presentation of each work that follows. First, I provide a short introduction to the work and its author, and some information on the particular volume, such as its provenance and current whereabouts. I then proceed to introduce the kind of marginalia found in the work.

2.2 Johannes Magnus

The *Historia de regibus* tells the story of the Swedish/Gothic kingdom from the very beginning with Noah's sons and grandsons, the first kings of Sweden, to Gustavus Vasa's early years in the 1520s.[133] The author draws on the Gothic tradition already established in Sweden, according to which the Goths in a distant past (in 1430 BC according to Johannes) had left Sweden in a magnificent exodus to the continent, and gradually conquered their way around Europe.

Johannes Magnus alternates between narrating what happened in Sweden and in the rest of Europe in the 24 books of the work. It was published posthumously by Johannes' brother Olaus Magnus in Rome in 1554. Prince Eric was fascinated by it and is reputed to have translated the work into Swedish during his imprisonment.[134] Unfortunately the translation has not been preserved, but it is said to have been taken care of by his brother, Duke Charles, and perchance to have been turned to ashes in the great fire that destroyed the royal palace of Stockholm in 1697.[135]

The *Historia de regibus* was originally bound with two different title pages. One version, the "pope version", bears the papal arms and is dedicated to Pope Julius III. The other, the "king version", has an image of two kings in armour and is dedicated to Eric and his brothers.[136] Gustavus Vasa regarded these two versions as duplicity on the side of the brothers Magnus and furiously wrote to his sons to complain.[137]

[133] For a fuller overview of the work, see Nilsson 2016, pp. 50–64.

[134] Andersson 1979, pp. 29–32, Wigert 1920, p. 139.

[135] Harald Wieselgren, "Reconditi labores: otryckta böcker af svenska författare från 15- och 16-hundratalen", *Samlaren* 11 (1890), pp. 27–42, p. 36.

[136] Nilsson 2016, pp. 50–51.

[137] Johan Axel Almquist (ed.), *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur 25, 1555* (Handlingar rörande Sveriges historia. Första serien Stockholm 1910), pp. 185–186, Johannesson 1982, p. 172.

According to Walde, King John III confiscated Eric's own copy of the work, and the extant copy with Eric's marginalia was originally the property of his friend and physician Benedictus Olai.[138] Walde does not give any further reference, and I have been unable to corroborate it, but it is reasonable to suppose that Eric's library was confiscated at some point, at least in part. It would seem strange that Eric used the copy owned by Benedictus Olai if his own were available.

The book is a folio of some 800 pages, bound in tooled brown leather with gold details. It was bound for Benedictus Olai, probably in Germany, and carries a golden B. O. as a mark of ownership on the outside front.[139] Two other owners are known: Claes Adolph Fleming and Magnus Brahe, both born in the late 1700s, and the latter's book collection was part of the library at the castle of Skokloster.[140] There it was to remain, until it ended up in Uppsala, at the University Library, under the shelfmark Sv. Rar. fol. 10:19a, ex. 2. On the extra pages bound at the end, there are some writings by others: Latin quotations of St. Augustine. These have nothing to do with Eric, however.

The marks of Eric's use of the *Historia de regibus* were rediscovered in the 1920s or 30s.[141] Everything by Eric's hand in Johannes Magnus is made in ink of different colours. There is one black to dark brownish ink, one in a greenish nuance, and a very little in reddish-brown ink. Ink colours can change over the course of centuries, depending on the ingredients used. Originally, all the marginalia were probably written in black ink; there is no reason to assume that the king had coloured ink in a strange, greenish tone for normal use.

2.2.1 Symbols and comments

Over the first 100 pages (with a few exceptions) of the work, 169 symbols are found (171 including ones that have been crossed out), and 8 comments (11 including those crossed out). Walde points out that there are a few comments in the book by its first owner Benedictus Olai.[142] In the book *Vilhelmus Lemnius och Benedictus Olai, lifmedici hos Eric XIV och Johan III*, about two of Eric's physicians, there are

[138] Walde 1933, p. 212.

[139] There are several images of the work in the Alvin online catalogue. See also the page reproduced in Johannesson 1982, p. 283.

[140] Walde 1933, p. 213.

[141] Walde 1933, p. 210.

[142] Walde 1933, p. 211.

a few samples of Benedictus Olai's handwriting, and the similarity to the hand in three comments in Johannes Magnus is indeed striking.[143]

Benedictus Olai's hand differs significantly from Eric's both regarding its smaller size and its letter shapes. The three comments in his hand are found on JM 35, 47 and 121. Two of them are references to Herodotus, suggesting that the fourth book of the *Histories* was the source of the information. The third has been truncated and is only partly visible, but seems to be about Herodotus' work as well.

2.3 Sabellicus

The other historical work in Eric XIV's possession was the first volume of a two-volume edition of Sabellicus' *Opera,* mainly the *Enneades,* titled *Rapsodiae historicae enneadum XI quinque priores uno continentur altero sex reliquae …* in that particular edition. There is a number of variant titles, for example *Rapsodiae historiarum enneadum ab orbe condito ad annum salutis humanae 1504*. Eric owned the first of two volumes with the works by Marcantonio Coccio Sabellico (1436–1506). He will hereafter be referred to by his Latin name Sabellicus, and his work either by his name, or as the *Enneades*.

Sabellicus made units of nine books, or enneads, instead of decades as Livy. The link to Livy is however very clear, through the words *ab orbe condito* 'from the creation of the world' in the title, which is an obvious reference to *ab urbe condita* 'from the foundation of the city'.

The work was probably started in 1491 and the first part (seven enneads), up to the sack of Rome by the Visigoths in 410, completed in 1498. The final version contains 17 enneads and tells the story of the world *ab orbe condito* up to the year 1504, two years before Sabellicus' death.[144]

Eric's volume was printed in Basel in 1538, as *Opera M. Antonii Coccii Sabellici in duos digesta tomos.* The first tome of the two, the one discussed here and the only one we know to be preserved, is the oldest known royal volume in Sweden.[145] The work was bound for Eric in 1550, by Henrik Schute, a bookbinder in Stockholm.[146]

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[143] Olof Hult, *Vilhelmus Lemnius och Benedictus Olai, lifmedici hos Eric XIV och Johan III. Ett bidrag till svensk läkarhistoria under Vasatiden* (Stockholm 1918). See the letters in appendices 3 and 4.

[144] Francesco Tateo, "Coccio, Marcantonio, detto Marcantonio Sabellico", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani 26* (Roma 1982), pp. 510–515, p. 514.

[145] *Kungliga bokband c. 1490–1962*, (Kungliga bibliotekets utställningskatalog 32; Stockholm 1962), p. 2. It is found under the heading "Kungliga bokband" (unpaginated) by Sten Lindberg.

[146] *Kungliga bokband c. 1490–1962,* item no 15 in the catalogue. See also Arvid Hedberg, *Stockholms bokbindare 1460–1880: anteckningar.* Bd 1 *Tiden från 1460 till omkring 1700* (Stockholm 1949), p. 21.

The binding, a folio, is in white leather tooled with allegorical and biblical figures. There were originally two clasps for closing, but only one of them remains today. It is very tightly bound and can be completely opened only in the middle.

Eric's copy later found its way into the collections of Hogenskild Bielke, a Swedish nobleman, and after his execution in 1605, it probably remained in the possession of his relatives, but this is uncertain. The work found its way into the *Collegium antiquitatis* (which no longer exists) in the 1720s at the latest, and ended up in the collections of the Swedish National Library.[147] There, the work is kept today under the shelfmark *Cod*. *Holm*. D 517 b.

In the *Enneades* there are symbols, comments, drawings and writings, in ink as well as in soot: either a makeshift ink of soot and water, or a wooden stick dipped in soot.[148] The ink is (brownish-)black, reddish-brown or greenish, the same colours described in the section about Johannes Magnus above. There is also a kind of very thin, reddish writing and drawing, where sometimes only the marks resulting from the stick (presumably) used for writing are visible and the text impossible to read.

2.3.1 Drawings

Sabellicus contains a number of drawings which are reproduced in Stenbock's work.[149] Eric used soot and water to draw women and men in typical court attire of the mid-1500s, the occasional peasant, as well as horsed knights in full armour and some infantry soldiers, that is: persons of different social standings in typical clothes, easily recognisable by anyone familiar with the fashion of his time.

The drawings of women, or some of them, have been claimed to be portraits of Karin Månsdotter, and one of them to be an "imaginary portrait of his daughter Sigrid."[150] While this is not impossible, the idea cannot be verified as there are no extant portraits of Karin Månsdotter to compare with, and no conclusive evidence as to whether Eric had any specific person in mind. In addition, why would the females be people in his life, but not the other drawings?

2.3.2 Writings

On the inside of the front cover, as well as on the final page, there are astrological symbols in ink, a chart drawn up by Eric himself with the traditional symbols and

[147] Walde 1921, p. 226, Stenbock 1912, pp. 74–75.

[148] Andersson 1979, p. 286. The information about the writing tools used by Eric after he had been deprived of ink and pen is presented in most works that deal with his marginalia.

[149] Stenbock 1912, pp. 168–187.

[150] Lundmark 1926, p. 70, Viksten 1954, p. 141, Carlqvist 1996, pp. 224–225, the image pages in between. The idea that one of the drawings is a depiction of Sigrid is found in Carlqvist.

the placement of the most important celestial bodies.[151] In the beginning of Sabellicus there are also several pages about the military, for example diagrams of an army, complete with calculations of the salary for the officers and soldiers, in soot and water, and more diagrams are found later.

He then presents arguments for his right to rule Sweden under the heading of *Argumentationes pro ivre haereditario R. Erici* […]. A majority of the writings (that are not name lists) in Sabellicus deal with political issues. They were probably written in spring in 1575.[152] Eric addresses the question of the succession, and argues in his own favour: he says that it was wrong to dethrone and imprison him. Wigert provides some examples of his syllogisms, Eric's *Argumentationes*.[153] There is a long *Responsum contra Danos*, published with a Swedish translation in *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia*, vols 13 and 14.[154] The edition is incomplete as there are errors, as well as words missing, because the original is partially impossible to read. So far it is the only published edition of this text.

Eric also devoted himself to genealogy and made a family tree of some 90 generations for himself, the *Genealogia Erici 14 regis Svecorum*. Each name – Adam and Eve, Aeneas, a number of British and Scottish kings, and eventually his mother Queen Catherine – is encircled and joined to the other circles with lines.[155] There is more than one family tree, and due to the difficulties of reading them, it is hard to know if all of them are made for Eric himself. There are, for example, studies of Spartan and Macedonian rulers, whose link to Eric is not obvious, but might have been linked to him, due to the genealogical theories of his time.

There are other name lists too, much harder to understand. Wigert took an interest in these lists of names as signs of the king's worsening mental condition: the more incomprehensible to us, the worse the king.[156] The name lists do give rise to a number of questions: Who were the people listed under the heading "God's holy angels whom I, King Eric XIV, use in my prayers to God (my translation from Swedish)"? Who are the fellows under headings such as "The king of India: Lasse Böös"? A fresh study of these writings could possibly reveal more about Eric's life and thoughts, but I shall not delve further into them, as they fall beyond the scope of the present study.

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[151] Andersson 1936, p. 128.

[152] Johannesson 1969–1970, p. 51, for an overview of the material, see Stenbock 1912, pp. 74–78.

[153] Wigert 1920, pp. 129–134.

[154] Erik XIV, "Responsum contra Danos, part 1", *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia 13 = Nya handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia 3* (Stockholm 1828b), pp. 135–236, Erik XIV, "Responsum contra Danos, part 2", *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia 14 = Nya handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia 4* (Stockholm 1828a), pp. 108–206.

[155] Cf. Wigert 1920, p. 158, Stenbock 1912, pp. 76–77. See Sab. 36–45.

[156] Wigert 1920, pp. 143–156.

2.3.3 Symbols and comments

Sabellicus contains 151 symbols and 12 comments which will be further discussed in the following two chapters. Material from Sabellicus will also be presented in an excursus, because the work contains two different kinds of symbols: the difference chiefly regards size and the level of detail. As Eric owned the *Enneades* as early as 1550, the possibility that some of the marginalia in ink were written long before his imprisonment cannot be excluded. It is however *likely* that the marginalia were made later.

Firstly, Eric received Strabo and Sabellicus the same year, and there are barely any symbols in Strabo, which there ought to have been if Eric had perused both works as part of his education and under the supervision of his teacher. Secondly, the symbols and comments in Johannes Magnus, which we know came into his possession quite late, and the symbols and comments in Sabellicus, have very much in common, which suggests that they were made at roughly the same time, rather than two decades apart. For my purpose of establishing the meaning of the symbols, or contextualising the comments, the question of when, exactly, the marginalia were made, is interesting, but not of crucial importance. There are symbols in ink on the same page as writings in soot and water. In such cases, Eric has written around the space occupied by ink, which makes it obvious that the ink symbols were there first.

2.4 Strabo

Strabo (64/63 BC–23/24/25 AD) described the known world in his Γεωγραφικά (*De situ orbis*), a work of geography arranged into 17 books. The work was probably written between 18 and 23 AD and has been preserved almost in its entirety, unlike Strabo's historical work, which has come down to us only in fragments. Our knowledge of Strabo's life is largely down to what he tells us in his own work.[157] The work was originally written in Greek and continues a proud tradition of earlier Greek geographers. According to Strabo, geography was a form of philosophy, and Homer is to be seen as the first geographer (and as the first historian and first scientist too), eventually followed by others such as Eratosthenes and Polybius.[158]

The work not only contains geographical data, but also anecdotes as well as the history of the people living in various places. It is preserved in some 30 manuscripts, which suggests its importance, and was translated into Latin in 1458 by Guarino

[157] Daniela Dueck, "Introduction", in Daniela Dueck (ed.), *The Routledge companion to Strabo* (Abingdon, UK 2017), pp. 1–6, p. 1.

[158] Germaine Aujac, *Strabon et la science de son temps* (Collection d'études anciennes; Paris 1966), p. 17.

Veronese.[159] Several other translations were to follow, not least by the professor of Greek in Basel, Xylander (1532–1576), and the importance of Strabo's work in the Renaissance can be traced in Erasmus' insistence that a prince had to be familiar with the geography of the country he was to rule.[160]

Eric's copy of Strabo was printed in 1549 in Basel. Each page has two columns, one with the original Greek and one with the Latin translation. The book is a folio bound by Henrik Schute in 1550, in whitish, tooled leather just as Sabellicus.[161] It found its way into the collections of the brothers Bergius in the 1770s and ended up in the library of the Royal Academy of Sciences, which is now part of Stockholm University Library (Berg.bibl. H.I, 3.2.n.10).[162]

There are very few traces of Eric's reading in Strabo; a mere handful of a special kind of symbol with underscorings, and one special kind of comment, reveal his interaction with the text. These traces will be discussed in an excursus. The marginalia consist mainly in drawings and writings.

2.4.1 Drawings

The drawings, reproduced in Stenbock's *Erik XIV:s almanacks-anteckningar: hans dagböcker, ritningar och musiknoter*, are two men dressed in typical court attire of the mid-16th century, and two landscapes.[163] It has been suggested that the portraits of the men are, or might be, self-portraits.[164] Johannesson agrees and says that it is probably Eric himself and points out that one of them is drawn in a typical pose for a rhetor.[165] But at Eric's own court, on the other hand, men dressed in such clothes would have been perfectly normal, so the presence of two pictures of people in contemporary attire is not evidence that they are self-portraits, any more than the

[159] Margaret L. King, *The death of the child Valerio Marcello* (Chicago 1994), pp. 67, 129.

[160] Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Strabo's reception in the west (fifteenth-sixteenth centuries)", in Daniela Dueck (ed.), *The Routledge companion to Strabo* (Abingdon, UK 2017), pp. 367–383, pp. 374–375.

[161] Hedberg 1949, p. 21. See also image no 13 ("plansch 13") at the end of the work.

[162] Arne Holmberg, "Om Bergianska biblioteket och dess uppkomst", *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 32 (1945), pp. 7–47, p. 46.

[163] Hellner and Andersson 1964, p. 40, Stenbock 1912, pp. 164–165. See p. 166 for the musical notes and p. 167 for a transcription into a modern musical score.

[164] Clas-Ove Strandberg, "Vetenskapsakademiens samlingar på SUB", in Märta Bergstrand (ed.), *Stockholms universitetsbibliotek 25 år: festskrift* (Stockholm 2002), pp. 43–52, p. 51, Eva Bergman, "Textilier i samband med begravningen", in Ragnar Casparsson and Carl-Herman Hjortsjö (eds.), *Erik XIV. En historisk, kulturhistorisk och medicinsk-antropologisk undersökning i samband med gravöppningen 1958 i Västerås domkyrka* (Stockholm 1962), pp. 141–166, p. 154.

[165] Johannesson 1969–1970, p. 58.

images of women in 16th century apparel in the *Enneades* have to be portraits of his wife or daughter.

2.4.2 Writings

The writings are the usual astrological notations, and they are found on a few of the pages in the beginning.[166] The most interesting part of the writings is however a musical score. The composition, which Eric apparently composed in his head, without instruments to try it out, was eventually rediscovered, and then played. In later years, the music has been recorded several times.[167]

2.4.3 Symbols and comments

Strabo contains one comment, and five symbols of a peculiar kind, a closed crown, accompanied by the usual underscorings in the main text. The comments and symbol seem linked to each other in meaning, an idea to which I have devoted an excursus. Neither will be discussed elsewhere in the present work.

2.5 Stadius

Stadius' *Ephemerides novae et auctae*, tables of the placement of important celestial bodies, was first published in 1554, but Eric's copy was printed in Cologne in 1560. The work contains an introduction of 124 pages with tables of the celestial houses for various geographical latitudes. It is followed by astrological calendars from 1554 until 1576, a spread of two pages for each month, with a line for each day and a little space for taking notes. The book is in quarto, provided with metal clasps, and bound in white pigskin, just as Strabo and Sabellicus.

Eric's copy of Stadius was then part of the library of the Banér family, until 1876 when the entire library was sold at an auction. The work was eventually to find its way into the collection of the Swedish bibliophile Birger Lundell. After his death, the book was sold and donated anonymously to the Swedish National Library in 1933. It is now kept in their collections under the shelfmark *Cod. Holm.* D 517 a.

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[166] Andersson 1936, p. 128.

[167] For an image of Eric's musical notes with a transcription into a modern musical score, see Johan Hinders, "Oväntat möte i biblioteket", in Eva Enarson, Leif Friberg, and Wilhelm Widmark (eds.), *Kompassriktning: 2000-talet. Festskrift till Catarina Ericson-Roos* (Stockholm 2011), pp. 195–204, pp. 198–199. Recordings of the music can be found for example on Youtube, as well as on the CD *Vasakungarnas hov/The Royal Court of the Vasas*, recorded by the ensemble *Hortus Musicus* from Tallinn (*Musica Vitae* 1993).

In Stenbock's 1912 edition of material by Eric, he states that the work has been recently bought and discusses it at some length. It was Birger Lundell who purchased the work and started investigating its history because he was fascinated by "de många underliga, obegripliga anteckningarna" 'the many strange, incomprehensible notes' in it.[168] The marginalia in Stadius' *Ephemerides* are mainly written.

2.5.1 Writings

Eric tended to use Stadius as a diary, adding brief notes, as for 1568, where it says on December 26 *liberi redditi iuniores* 'the younger children [were] returned', and there is a reference to his marriage to Karin Månsdotter on 13 July 1567.[169] There are also astrological symbols where Eric has devoted himself to calculations, as the lunar eclipse on 25 June 1572, but such symbols fall beyond the scope of my investigation.

There are some astrological notes for the days around the Sture murders, which present them from an astrological point of view and additional ones, where he has made horoscopes, in the work.[170] He normally writes in the outer margins, to the left or right.

The biographical notes are certainly connected to the contents of the work in which they are found because they are placed on specific days. They are, however, not comments in the definition used here, because they are not prompted by the contents of the work, but placed into the calendar. Eric appears to have used Stadius partly as a diary also during the earlier years. Later during his imprisonment, he wrote a lot in Stadius.

While the margins of Stadius do not allow longer notes, as the ones found in the actual diaries from 1566 and 1567, they still provide some information.[171] In the diaries, each day begins with brief astrological information, after which Eric has jotted down a few lines about what happened. The same link between astrological information for the day and biographical notes is found in Stadius.

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[168] Stenbock 1912, pp. 1–2. (See also the library catalogue entry on the volume which contains quite a lot of information.)

[169] Wigert 1920, pp. 106–110, Stenbock 1912, p. 133.

[170] For the calculations and writings in Stadius, see Andersson 1936, pp. 125–128, Rudolf Elander, "Erik XIV:s astrologiska anteckningar om Sturemorden", *Lychnos* 9 (1944–1945), pp. 281–289. One of the pages in Stadius is reproduced on p. 127 in Andersson and another on p. 285 in Elander.

[171] Uppsala University Library, E 279a. A copy of the 1567 diary is also found in the holdings of Uppsala University Library. The 1567 diary was copied in 1769 (E 281) and both diaries were copied again in 1787 (E 280 and E 282). The original of the 1567 diary is kept at the National Library in Stockholm, in the Rålamb collection (8:o, no 24), card 9423 in the card catalogue.

In addition, there are many long lists of names, as in Sabellicus, usually written in soot or in a mixture of soot and water. The name lists are usually found on empty pages, for example on the separate title pages between every year in the astrological diary. Stenbock has published a few pages in facsimile, which give a good overview of what the lists look like.[172] Some names have been identified, but for the most part we do not know to whom Eric refers. The name lists occur on almost every page with empty space, from the beginning of the book on.

2.6 A brief note on dating

The marginalia in the four books have previously been dated to Eric's imprisonment, between autumn 1568 and his death in 1577. Wigert suggests that all the lists of names found in Sabellicus and in Stadius are from the last part of Eric's imprisonment and a sign of a disturbed mind, but that everything reasonably understandable to us is from an earlier and more stable period. This view is criticised by Annell, who says that there is no evidence presented to support it. According to him, Wigert's reasoning is circular, because marginalia he finds hard to understand are dated to a later period in Eric's life, and simultaneously used to prove that Eric's mental condition was gradually worsening.[173]

Walde writes that the notes (symbols and comments in my terminology) in Johannes Magnus probably are the result of a calmer period in his life, or from the first years in prison.[174] He adds that as the marginalia are found in Benedictus Olai's copy of the work, not in Eric's personal copy, the second possibility is the most probable.

It is, however, uncertain when and where the images and texts were drawn and written respectively during these years. I shall not attempt to provide a precise dating, because that is not possible, but I believe that more light can be shed on the matter than has earlier been the case. To do so, I shall consider 1) the availability of empty space for drawing or writing, 2) what kind of "ink" has been used, 3) what kind of drawings, writings, symbols or comments are found, as well as 4) Eric's use of Stadius' work as a diary.

[172] Stenbock 1912, pp. 123, 126–127, 129.

[173] Annell 1945, p. 24, Wigert 1920, p. 143.

[174] Walde 1933, p. 212.

Table 3. Ink and soot/soot and water respectively as a medium of writing, Overview.

	J. Magnus	Sabellicus	Strabo	Stadius
ink	yes	yes	yes	yes
soot/soot and water	no	yes	no	yes
thin reddish	no	yes	yes	yes

Eric XIV had access to writing paper in 1572, but he was deprived of ink, pen and paper during the final part of his imprisonment, when he resorted to using the margins in Sabellicus and Stadius for writing, a mixture of water and soot instead of ink, and a small wooden stick instead of a pen (or just a wooden stick dipped in soot).[175] According to Antoni, Eric was deprived of his writing tools in 1574.[176] Eric has a tendency of writing mostly upper case letters when using soot, instead of alternating between upper and lower case as in his normal handwriting. This is probably due to his poor writing tools.

As the biographical notes in Stadius are placed in the astrological diary, they provide quite a good material for dating. The last note written in ink in Stadius is found on 23 January 1573, which constitutes a *terminus post quem* for when the ink was taken away for good. The next note in soot and water is from 30 January 1573, providing a *terminus ante quem*. There are tiny dots next to each new date, probably used to count the days, so Eric might have had to resort to soot a little earlier than the note would suggest, but between 23 and 30 January 1573, he no longer had access to ink and thus not to Johannes Magnus' work, which contains no notes in soot and water.

This is suggested also by the fact that the *Historia de regibus* is bound with some 40 blank pages at the end (with a different watermark than the rest of the work). There is but little writing on these pages, and none of it by Eric XIV. As pointed out already by Otto Walde in 1933, this indicates that Eric cannot have had access to it during the latter part of his imprisonment, because then he would of course have used these blank folio pages for writing and drawing, rather than filling any available surface in the other works.[177] This means that the translation of the *Historia de regibus*, which Eric reputedly made at Örbyhus, can hardly have been made there.[178]

In 1690, Eric's translation of *Historia de regibus*, which he was said to have prepared at Örbyhus, was copied, but undertaking the translation of an 800-page work in Latin obviously demands access to the work, as well as a lot of paper and ink, and Eric seems to have had neither at Örbyhus. He might have worked on the translation earlier, however: it is unlikely that the translation in itself was

[175] Wigert 1920, pp. 128, 103.

[176] Antoni 1964, p. 1291.

[177] Walde 1933, p. 213.

[178] Cf. Antoni 1964, p. 1291.

nonexistent, although there is reason to question the information of where it was made.[179]

It is very probable that Strabo was taken away at an earlier stage as well, because the margins in that work are almost empty and contains no marginalia in soot and water. It thus seems reasonable to presume that Eric was deprived altogether of the *Historia de regibus* by the end of January 1573 at the latest, and that Strabo was the next work to be taken away, but that he was allowed to keep Sabellicus and Stadius for much longer, perhaps until the end of his life.

Table 4. When were the books taken away from King Eric?

J. Magnus	Sabellicus	Strabo	Stadius
Between 23 and 30 Jan. 1573	death?	After JM. Later in 1573?	death?

The marginalia in ink thus date from before 1573 and those in soot from after that same date. The final note in Stadius is made on 20th November 1575, then in soot and water. After that point, the work might have been taken away, but it is also possible that Eric just did not write any notes in the astrological calendar anymore during the final period of imprisonment; as he was kept in isolation, he might not have had anything of which to make note.

[179] Wieselgren 1890, p. 36.

3 Eric XIV and his comments

In the present chapter, the discussion focuses on Johannes Magnus and Sabellicus. In their volumes, there are, in total, 24 comments by Eric, 13 in Sabellicus and 11 (of which three have been crossed out) in Johannes Magnus. There is one in Strabo too, but it will be discussed in an excursus, as it pertains to some of the material from the chapter about the symbols as well. The writings in Stadius (the very short autobiographical notes) fall outside the scope of my investigation: the little titbits of information in the astrological diary would be interesting for a biography, in cases where they reveal enough to allow contextualisation, but they do not throw any light over Eric as a learned man, in what way he read and understood texts.

As mentioned in chapter 2 above, there are three comments in Johannes Magnus written by the original owner of the work, Eric's friend and physician Benedictus Olai.[180] These comments will not be part of this discussion, as they are certainly not in Eric's hand.

A majority of the comments refer to chronology, an important part of historiography not least in Eric's time. I shall begin by briefly presenting chronology and its development up to the Renaissance to provide a backdrop for Eric's comments. All the comments by Eric, including the ones that have been crossed out, are found in Appendix II.

3.1 Chronology, an overview

Chronology, or the question of how to measure, divide, and order time, was of great importance in the Renaissance, when it developed greatly after centuries of efforts in calculating the dates and durations of historical events. Its (almost) canonical work was that of Joseph Justus Scaliger (Scaliger the Younger), *De emendatione temporum*, first published in 1583, and his second work, *Thesaurus temporum*, from 1606. Scaliger's enormous work gathered and discussed the efforts of earlier chronologers, thus bringing order to earlier history. Scaliger's scope was larger and

[180] Walde 1933, p. 211.

his level of ambition significantly higher than that of his predecessors: He studied 50 different calendars from various cultures in an attempt to combine them.[181]

A chronologer needed to know several languages to be able to understand different calendars – by Scaliger's time, even the Aztec calendar was available – and to read all kinds of works. Historiographical ones alone were not enough, but any work that could provide clues to establishing the correct order of historical events, even poetry was included. A reasonably good grasp of astronomy was also of importance, for example through Ptolemy's *Almagest*. Celestial phenomena such as solar and lunar eclipses or supernovas were thought to be heavenly parallels to important events on Earth.[182] In addition, a reference to a celestial phenomenon in *Almagest* could be linked to a mention of it in another work and help create a time line. The Bible was of course instrumental too, as everything was thought to have begun with the Creation.

3.1.1 On time

Time can basically be viewed as circular or as linear. In Antiquity, a frequent way of looking at it was circular, starting from a Golden Age that gradually deteriorated into a Silver Age, a Bronze Age and an Iron Age, after which the Golden Age was eventually to return. But with Christendom, a linear view of time gained importance: time now had a clearly defined beginning in the Creation, and an equally clearly defined ending in the Day of Judgment, which would mean the end of the world as we know it. Augustine claimed that a cyclical view of time was incommensurable with the linear view that could be extracted from the Bible. After the Day of Judgment, time would end, when everyone deserving it entered Heaven to live in eternal bliss.[183]

One of the earliest and most important chronologers was Eusebius (c. 265–340). He attempted to bring order to the complicated problem of calendars and dates in the past. His *Chronicle* has been preserved in translation and is a universal history of which Eric owned a copy.[184] Eusebius included a table where he placed time lines for several different empires and cultures next to each other to present their histories

[181] Anthony T. Grafton, "Joseph Scaliger and Historical Chronology: The Rise and Fall of a Discipline", *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History* 14 (1975), pp. 156–185, p. 160.

[182] Nilsson 2016, pp. 116–117.

[183] Herman Hausheer, "St Augustine's Conception of Time", *The Philosophical Review* 46 (1937), pp. 503–512, pp. 510–512, Kempshall 2011, p. 102. (cf. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 22.30)

[184] Ludvigsson and Olai 1845, p. 385.

in an easily comprehensible manner and show how various events related to each other, within the time frame provided by the Bible.[185]

Other medieval efforts within the discipline of chronology were those made by Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede. Isidore of Seville linked together the chronological efforts of Eusebius with the theoretical framework of the Six Ages of the World advocated by Augustine. The Venerable Bede improved chronology further by counting from the birth of Christ (*annus Domini*, AD) rather than from the Creation (*annus mundi*).[186]

Throughout the Middle Ages, the number of chronologers was immense. They all worked to bring order to the world and to solve bigger or smaller chronological problems, for example by counting the rules of Roman emperors in days and months, not only in years; the months added up to years quite quickly.[187] It was of course necessary to continue Eusebius' work by entering more information as the centuries passed, as was done by Jerome who also translated Eusebius' *Chronicle* into Latin. But no one reached the heights of their later colleague, Scaliger the Younger.

3.1.2 Chronology with Biblical foundations

All chronologers had in common that the Bible was a crucial document for computing time. Its special status as sacred literature played a part in this too. It began with the Creation, that is, the beginning of time and of the world, and also contained a description of the end of time (and of the world). By using the genealogies found in the books of the Old Testament, it was possible to establish time lines – chronology and genealogy in cooperation, so to speak.[188]

In the *Historia de regibus*, Johannes Magnus describes his calculations to determine when the Creation took place, according to the truth of the Bible, and remarks that anyone who does not calculate time in that way is speaking *contra publicam fidem* (JM 18).

There are several different translations of the Bible (or of parts of it), but here, only two will concern us: the *Septuagint* and the *Versio Vulgata*. The Old Testament had been translated into Greek from the original Hebrew in the *Septuagint* in Alexandria, completed in the 2nd century BC, while the Old Testament in *Versio Vulgata* was translated into Latin by Jerome in the late 4th century. The *Septuagint*

[185] Hildegard L. C. Tristram, *Sex aetates mundi. Die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren. Untersuchungen und Texte.* (Heidelberg 1985), pp. 19–20.

[186] Tristram 1985, pp. 24, 29–30.

[187] See e.g. C. Philipp E. Nothaft, "An Eleventh-Century Chronologer at Work: Marianus Scottus and the Quest for the Missing Twenty-Two Years", *Speculum* 88 (2013), pp. 457–482.

[188] Nilsson 2016, p. 119.

had had its chronology adapted to accommodate for the time span of the ancient Egyptian dynasties, whereas the *Versio Vulgata* had not. From this arose two "schools", one which calculated time with the *Septuagint* as its basis and one with the *Versio Vulgata* as the foundation for the reckoning of time.[189] The Egyptian dynasties posed a problem to Scaliger the Younger as well, because his way of calculating time could not accommodate them; there were then too many years, and some of the Pharaohs would impossibly have ruled before the Creation.[190]

In the second chapter of the Book of Daniel, King Nebuchadnessar has a famous dream about a statue composed of gold, silver, bronze and iron, with clay feet.[191] Daniel interprets the dream for him as symbols of four successive monarchies, including his own, which are all subjected to God. The four monarchies were interpreted as the Assyrian Empire, the Persian Empire, the Macedonian Empire/Greece and the Roman Empire, after which the world was expected to come to an end.[192]

By interpreting first the Franks under Charlemagne and then the Holy Roman Empire as a continuation of the Roman Empire (*translatio imperii*), it became clear that the Roman Empire still existed, which explained why the world had not yet come to an end, despite the end of the Roman Empire, the fourth of the kingdoms.[193] There are no traces of the theory of the four monarchies in Eric's comments, although it was familiar to him not least as he owned three copies of Carion's *Chronicle*, a universal history from the Creation to the 16th century by Johann Carion and Melanchthon first printed in 1532, as well as Orosius' work, where it is an important idea.[194]

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[189] Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship: Historical Chronology* (vol. 2) (Oxford–Warburg Studies; Oxford 1993), p. 7, Roderich Schmidt, "Aetates mundi. Die Weltalter als Gliederungsprinzip der Geschichte", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 67 (1955–1956), pp. 288–317, p. 293 (n. 33); cf p. 304, Ad Dudink, "Biblical Chronology and the Transmission of the Theory of Six "World Ages" to China: "Gezhi aolüe" 格致奥略 (Outline of the mystery [revealed through] natural science; before 1723)", *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 35 (2012), pp. 89–138, pp. 90–91, Tristram 1985, pp. 23–24.

[190] Grafton 1975, pp. 171, 173.

[191] The metals in this statue were linked to the thought of the Golden Age, the Silver Age and so forth, see Harold Louis Ginsberg, "In Re My Studies in Daniel", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 68 (1949), pp. 402–407, p. 404.

[192] Grafton 1993, p. 2.

[193] Isabel Rivers, *Classical and Christian Ideas in English Renaissance Poetry: A Student's Guide* (London 1994), p. 56. The idea of a succession of empires was however present already in ancient times: Doron Mendels, "The Five Empires: A Note on a Propagandistic Topos", *The American Journal of Philology* 102 (1981), pp. 330–337.

[194] Ludvigsson and Olai 1845, p. 385, Tristram 1985, p. 24, Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, "Carion's chronicle in sixteenth-century Danish historiography", *Symbolae Osloenses* 73 (1998), pp. 158–167, pp. 158–161.

3.1.2.1 The Six Ages of the World

A different way of calculating, also with foundations in the Bible, was the Six Ages of the World.[195] They were advocated by Augustine in *De civitate Dei* (22), and the idea became commonplace.[196] The six ages of the world were parallels to the six days God had worked during the Creation: the seventh age would be eternal bliss and rest in heaven. The years of each age were then scrupulously calculated by a number of early chronologers.

The first five ages were suggested by some to have lasted about 1,000 years each, and some people thought that the sixth and final age would also last for 1,000 years, a belief referred to as millenarism or chiliasm.[197] This of course meant that the world was growing old and decaying, an increasingly important idea in writings from the late Middle Ages on.[198] Time was running out and the end nearing; the Fifth Age had ended with the birth of Christ, according to Isidore of Seville, among others, and what was uncertain was the duration of the sixth age.[199] The division of history into six ages of the world figures prominently in Eric's comments, as we shall see.

3.2 Eric XIV as a chronologer

A staggering majority of the comments in Johannes Magnus and Sabellicus pertain to the area of chronology. Among the works owned by Eric were, as already mentioned, both Eusebius' *Chronicle* and Carion's *Chronicle*.[200] Eric once refers to Eusebius (JM 40; the comment has been crossed out), which suggests that he compared the time line of the two works, but for some reason was dissatisfied with his own efforts. A few examples of his comments from Johannes Magnus and Sabellicus will suffice as illustration of his way of thinking about chronology:

> A Diluuio incipit quod est initium Secundae Aetatis. (JM 18)
>
> From the Flood begins what is the beginning of the Second Age.

[195] For an introduction, see Schmidt 1955–1956.

[196] Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "The World and its Ages: The organisation of an 'encyclopaedic' narrative in MS AM 764 4to", in Gareth Williams and Paul Bibire (eds.), *Sagas, Saints and Settlements* (Leiden/Boston 2004), pp. 1–11, p. 4.

[197] Schmidt 1955–1956, pp. 294–295.

[198] James M. Dean, *The World Grown Old in Later Medieval Literature* (Mediaeval academy books 101; Cambridge, Mass. 1997), pp. 1–2.

[199] Schmidt 1955–1956, p. 290.

[200] Ludvigsson and Olai 1845, p. 385.

Paulo post initium secunde aetatis haec gesta sunt. (Sab. 3)

This happened soon after the beginning of the Second Age.

In tertiae aetatis initium incipiunt hec gesta (Sab. 6)

These events begin at the beginning of the Third Age.

Initium quarte aetatis (Sab. 27)

The beginning of the Fourth Age.

Autor incipit hic in Quarta Aetate Anno 67 (JM 37)

The author begins here in the Fourth Age, in the year 67.

Circa tempora Aot Judicis Israel incipit in Quarta Aetate. (JM 64)

Around the times of Aot, Judge of Israel, he begins the Fourth Age.

As we see from these examples, Eric linked the events in Johannes Magnus and Sabellicus to the theory of the Six Ages of the World to provide a general framework for understanding their respective time lines. The margins of Sabellicus hold some printed references to the different ages. Sabellicus refers to them more systematically than Johannes Magnus, who usually only states the year in which a certain event took place without locating the year within any of the ages. None of the examples cited above are found near a printed reference to the theory of the Six Ages of the World, neither in the main text, nor in the margin.

3.3 Criticism of Johannes Magnus

The time line derived from the Bible was based in part on the genealogies of patriarchs, kings and judges in the books of the Old Testament, and their often

extremely long life spans. They provided a good starting point for anyone wishing to compute the number of years between two specific events as the number of years is explicitly stated in the Bible. This is of particular interest in the two cases where King Eric expresses mild criticism of Johannes Magnus' work for chronological/genealogical reasons, and thus shows his attentive reading of the work. Both times, he points out that a long time period contains a strikingly low number of kings. The number of years is not mentioned in Johannes Magnus' text on this particular occasion, and so must be the result of Eric's own calculations, or possibly comparisons with some other work. In another comment that has been crossed out (JM 40), he refers to Eusebius' chronological work, of which he owned a copy, which suggests that he has actively compared the time lines found in each of the works.

The first case is found at the beginning of the work:

> Hic facit magnum saltum autor dicens 3 Reges Regnasse 793 Annis. Sunt quippe a Diluuio usque ad tempora Saruch tot Anni. (JM 25)[201]
>
> Here, the author makes a great leap claiming that three Kings ruled during a period of 793 years. Because there are this many years from the Flood until the times of Saruch.

As seen from this quotation, Eric suggests that there are 793 years between the Flood and Saruch (also spelled Serug, referred to in Gen. 11:20–23). The king finds the information that three kings should have ruled during this period unreasonable According to Johannes Magnus, Magogus arrived in Sweden in the year 88 after the Flood. Two of his sons then ruled: Suenno was King of the Swedes and Gethar/Gogus King of the Goths, and the two peoples were named from their respective rulers. After them followed King Ubbo, and King Siggo. This is five kings, not three, but some of them ruled simultaneously, which might explain the number stated by Eric.

The other example is similar:

> Hic autor facit magnum saltum dicens 7 tantum Reges Regnasse a Saruco usque ad Otonielem iudicem nempe 860 Annis. (JM 37)
>
> Here the author makes a large leap by claiming that only seven kings ruled from Saruch until Otoniel the Judge, i.e., 860 years.

The note is found next to an enumeration of seven kings who are said to have ruled Sweden, but of which Johannes Magnus can reveal only the names, because no more

[201] Eric XIV has crossed out part of the comment (not rendered here) because he has made writing errors in it. For example, after *sunt quippe* he has first written *a Saruch us* before correcting to *A Diluuio*.

is known about them. Saruch (Serug) was just referred to. Othoniel (Othniel) was the first of the judges in the Book of Judges (3:7–11), where he is said to have fought Chushanrishathaim, King of Mesopotamia, and provided Israel with 40 years of peace.

From these two cases, as well as the note that begins *Secundum Eusebium* … 'According to Eusebius …', it becomes clear what an attentive reader Eric actually was, and interestingly, the mild criticism is directed at the computation of years and the rule of kings, not at any perceived assaults on the Swedish monarchy or the Protestant Church of Sweden.

Eric has also made a brief addition to the printed marginal comment. It says only *Philmerus,* VII. *Rex Externus*, but Eric has added *Magnus*, as the king is referred to by that additional name in the text, as a great ruler (JM 45).

During the great exodus of the Goths from Sweden, one of the three ships sent out to scout before the magnificent fleet with the majority of the Goths on board was slower than the others. That earned it (and the crew) the nickname *Gepanta*, which is derived from *gepa*, according to Johannes (JM 39). This word, he says, means someone who is a little slow or dim-witted. According to Svenska Akademiens Ordbok (SAOB), the largest, yet-to-be-completed dictionary of the Swedish language, *gepa* is a verb. There is a noun, *gepe*, with the meaning presented by Johannes; however, in view of the rather free spelling in Eric's time, such a small difference is hardly significant.[202]

Eric's note in the margin says *Tepa* (JM 39). This is a now extinct verb which means 'to jest with', 'to trick like a jester', or 'to act or talk in a silly, buffoon-like manner.'[203]

In this comment, Eric thus provides a synonym to Johannes' term, *gepa*. It might be taken as a correction or possibly as an addition to the word used by Johannes, as both *tepa* and *gepa* existed. However, for the etymology to be as clear as possible, the word *gepa* would seem preferable. This is the only case in all the four books discussed here where a Scandinavian word is used, otherwise, all Eric's comments are in Latin.

Here, Eric, the learned Renaissance man, is indeed speaking.

3.4 The Classical heritage – and the Norse

Apart from these chronological and, to some extent, genealogical comments, we find other traces of Eric's knowledge of particulars in mythology and in history. There are three such comments, two in Sabellicus and one in Johannes Magnus.

[202] SAOB, s.v. *gepa*.

[203] SAOB s.v. *tepa*.

Two of them refer to his knowledge of the Scandinavian and the Norse heritage, a history that was, at the time, not systematically studied, and one to that of Classical antiquity.

The comment in Sabellicus deals with the ancient custom of the Scythians of burying dead kings and chieftains with a lot of gifts, servants and anything else necessary for the afterlife. Eric comments as follows:

> In Noruegia antiquitus fiebat. (Sab. 8)
>
> This happened in Norway in ancient times.

Here, Eric suggests a parallel between the Classical heritage and that of old Scandinavian/Viking traditions, in this case in Norway. In his library, he actually had a few works of interest for Swedish history: apart from Johannes Magnus' work, he owned an old copy-book with letters by Swedish kings and bishops, two works on rather recent Swedish history, and an old Swedish rhymed chronicle.[204] He had certainly also noted Johannes Magnus' (and others') tendency of creating links between Gothic history and the Classical world by interpreting the one in terms of the other.

According to Johannes, for example Pliny had used the term *alter orbis* 'another world' (Plin. *HN* 4.96) to describe Scandinavia, because the northern lands were known to be very large area-wise, for which reason he found it appropriate to regard them as another world. The phrase is repeated several times in Johannes Magnus' work (as JM 4 and 294**)**, but then, it is used to draw parallels between the Norse and the Classical world. For example, a man named Thonno arrived at the Swedish court in an ancient past and became a trusted friend of the Swedish king Egillus. He was unfortunately a traitor who turned Egillus' men against him and then, eventually, started a war against the Swedes with the support of the Danish king. The wars are referred to as *bella servilia* 'slave wars' or 'ignoble wars', and Thonno himself as *alter Spartacus* 'another Spartacus' (JM 269). He is thus interpreted in classical terms. This is the case also for the great Gothic hero Starchaterus, Starkodder, who is referred to as *alter Hercules* 'another Hercules' (JM 172).

Eric left a comment about Hercules in Sabellicus, where he noted that Sabellicus went through the twelve labours. The king kept track by writing the corresponding number next to each mention in the margin, but eventually found that seven of the twelve are missing:

> Duodecim labores Herculis … 1 2 3 4 5 … Caeteros omittit autor. (Sab. 66–67)
>
> The twelve labours of Hercules … 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 … The author omits the rest.

[204] Ludvigsson and Olai 1845, pp. 382, 384.

The tale of the twelve labours of Hercules is still one of the most famous stories of Greek mythology. The first of the twelve labours was Hercules' defeat of the Nemean lion, whose pelt he (possibly) wore afterwards, and the second that of the Lernean hydra, whose heads grew back every time Hercules cut them off. The third and fourth were about catching animals: first the extremely swift hind of Ceryneia, then the very dangerous Erymanthean boar. The fifth labour consisted of cleaning the extremely filthy stables of King Augias in only a day.

Of course, Eric would recognise this well-known story instantly, but he probably made note of it also because Hercules was an important figure of the Renaissance. As a demi-god and famous hero, who embodied heroic virtue, he was a favourite motif in art, and frequently alluded to in propagandistic descriptions of Renaissance princes.[205] In France, Hercules was even celebrated as a god of eloquence and the ancestor of the French king, and the French kings Francis I and Henry II were portrayed as Hercules.[206] Eric, wanting to be on par with other European monarchs, brought Hercules to Sweden as an inspiration and as a role model. The ancient hero figures prominently on his exquisite plate armour from the 1560s, preserved today in Livrustkammaren, the Swedish Royal Armoury, and Eric also had his chamber in the Castle of Kalmar decorated with scenes from the life of Hercules.[207]

3.5 Gothicism

Another consequential element in Eric's comments is Gothicism. Here, Johannes Magnus' work is particularly important, because it was at the heart of Gothicism, the Swedish political ideology during the Age of Greatness, and of unparalleled importance culturally for the Swedish kings from Gustavus Vasa on. Gothicism can however be traced still further back, to an episode from the Council of Basel in 1432, where the Swedish archbishop demanded the best seating for himself as he represented the glorious and noble Goths.

This heritage was exploited by the early Vasa kings to legitimise their new rule. Gustavus II Adolphus used it both as a cultural foil for himself (as he could then set himself up as a modern parallel to Berico, the first Gothic conqueror king) and politically (to justify the Swedish entry into the Thirty Years War). The other kings in the Age of Greatness also saw the potential in stressing their Gothic ancestry.

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[205] Lena Rangström and Göran Schmidt, *Kung Eriks rustning* (Stockholm 2004), p. 34.

[206] Robert E. Hallowell, "Ronsard and the Gallic Hercules Myth", *Studies in the Renaissance* 9 (1962), pp. 242–255, pp. 244–245, 252–253.

[207] Rangström and Schmidt 2004, pp. 15, 34. For closeups of the Hercules details, see pp. 35, 36 and 37.

When the kings were no longer absolute rulers but mostly figureheads, after 1718, it was described in terms of returning to the ancient Gothic freedom.[208]

The Gothic myth was an important part of the conflict and constant rivalry between Sweden and Denmark, as both claimed to be the true descendants of the Goths. During this belligerent era, where Sweden and Denmark were natural enemies, the war was reflected also in the writing of historical works and poetry, where the rivalry between the countries regarding whose country was the actual Gothic *Urheim* was shaped.[209]

The most crucial point in the *Historia de regibus* is the great Gothic exodus from Sweden 836 years after the Flood, an event of fundamental importance in Johannes Magnus' work as it enabled him to claim the more well-known and relatively well-documented Gothic tribe on the continent as descendants of the Goths who had once left Sweden.

The Gothic women were claimed to have been the ancestresses of the fabled Amazons. This piece of information allowed Eric XIV to claim the two Amazon queens Lampeda and Marpesia as Swedes, and they are also depicted on his magnificent suit of plate armour.[210] Some traces of Gothicism as well as of the rivalry between Sweden and Denmark can be seen in the comments in both Johannes Magnus and Sabellicus too.

In Johannes Magnus' work, it is claimed that the Danish people originated from some Gothic/Swedish criminals who had been sent south to take up residence on the small southern lands that were eventually to become Denmark.

> Origo Danorum (JM 26)
>
> The origin of the Danes

This of course made the Danes of Eric's own time the offspring of crooks and criminals, a perfect topic for anti-Danish propaganda, and made the Danes furiously brand Johannes Magnus' work as scandalous lies and fiction, in the reply to Johannes, written by "Petrus Parvus", a pseudonym for the Danish historian Hans

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[208] Schmidt-Voges 2004, pp. 268, 212–273, 275, 348–351, See also Josef Svennung, *Zur Geschichte des Goticismus* (Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala 44:2B; Stockholm 1967).

[209] Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, "The Literary Feud between Denmark and Sweden in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and the Development of Danish Historical Scholarship", in Jean R. Brink and William F. Gentrup (eds.), *Renaissance culture in context: theory and practice* (Aldershot 1993), pp. 114–120, p. 114, Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV (1588-1648). Studies in the Latin Histories of Denmark by Johannes Pontanus and Johannes Meursius* (Renæssancestudier 11; Copenhagen 2002), pp. 121–122, Karlsson 2003, pp. 22–24.

[210] Rangström and Schmidt 2004, pp. 41, 45–49.

Svaning.[211] This is seen for example in the *Margaretica*, an epic poem in ten books from 1573 by the Dane Erasmus Laetus treating the history of Queen Margaret of Denmark (d. 1412), who was victorious against the Swedish king Albrecht (known as Albert of Mecklenburg in English) and founded the Kalmar Union in 1397.[212] The poem was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth I of England, to whom Margaret is likened.[213]

Not long after the Danish origins have been explained, a poem about the first Swedish king named Eric, is presented, and commented on as follows:

> Insignis exaltatio Sueciae continetur his versibus. (JM 27)
>
> These verses contain extraordinary praise of Sweden.

The Scythians were equated with two other tribes, the *Getae* and the *Gothi* already in Antiquity, and all three peoples are thus basically seen as "Goths".[214] Johannes Magnus also addresses this question early on, not least that Sweden and Scythia were the same (JM 16, 22). Sabellicus makes a brief excursus where he refers to the enormous country of Scythia and the unknown lands in the north. This description of Scythia, which could be corroborated by Johannes Magnus' geographical description, has merited a comment. The hand does not seem to be Eric's, unless he wrote with much less care than he usually does, but it is on a topic known to be of great interest to him from the underscorings in Johannes Magnus, so it has been included here despite its uncertain attribution:

> Scythiae descriptio (Sab. 7)
>
> Description of Scythia.

As Scythia was identified with Sweden/Scandinavia by the Swedes themselves, it was of course particularly gratifying to find a description of Scythia as a country that was populated very early in Sabellicus, a writer from the Italian peninsula with no reason to be pro-Gothic. This very clearly points to the Gothic myth and the rise of Gothicism, that culminated in the century after, mirrored in Eric's propaganda. Apart from his somewhat propagandistic plate armour that has already been referred to, he also ordered tapestries with motives from the lives of the earliest Gothic kings. The one with King Suenno is still preserved and found in the Treasury at the Royal

[211] Nilsson 2016, p. 97.

[212] On the Margaretica, see Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *Erasmus Lætus' Margaretica: Klassisk epos og dansk propaganda* (Studier fra sprog- og oldtidsforskning 312; København 1988).

[213] Skovgaard-Petersen 1988, p. 20.

[214] Nilsson 2016, p. 16.

Palace in Stockholm. The battle to gain renown for Eric himself as well as for his country was fought on many levels, and even mirrored here, in comments in the books of his private book collection.

One would however be mistaken to see this only as mendacious invention for the advancement of one's own country. While Gothicism and claims to a Gothic ancestry obviously provide a lot of opportunities for propaganda, the learned aspect should not be disregarded despite its containing errors and sometimes great ones. The research effort seen in Johannes' extensive work to establish a Gothic history, as well as the efforts of his predecessors, successors, and fellow contemporary writers of historical works, should not be discarded as mere propaganda. The interest in finding the most ancient data possible about the people, city, or country one studied has two sides: one of research, that consists in linking all available information together and try to find out about the past, not rarely with striking creativity, and one intending to praise one's own country, people, or city on the expense of that of someone else.

3.6 Conclusions

All taken together, the comments give a neat overview of Eric as a royal Renaissance scholar: they show his interest in the sciences *à la mode* such as chronology and genealogy, as well as pointing to his studying the works in his possession, such as Eusebius' *Chronicle*, by comparing them and computing the years. We also see that the important theme of Gothicism and the comments relating to the Norse heritage suggest an additional interest in matters pertaining to Scandinavia. While this might not be a feature specific of Eric himself – after all, there was an increasing number of learned people from Sweden and the other Nordic countries – it does suggest a growing interest beyond Antiquity, where the history of the countries in the north is on its way to being provided with a more prominent place.

Eric XIV presents himself through his comments as a learned prince of the Renaissance, familiar with the knowledge of his time and with a great interest in Antiquity, but also as somebody taking an interest in the early history of his own country. In the following chapter, we shall see a further development of these and other themes of relevance for and interest to Eric in his rather special position in life.

4 Erik XIV and his symbols

I shall now turn to addressing the symbols. As discussed in the overview of previous research, the use of symbols as markers for easily retrieving information of interest in books was far from a new idea. This practice was frequent much earlier than in the 1500s, and constitutes a link to other areas of importance in Eric's time and possible sources of inspiration for his choice of symbols: *emblemata* and heraldry. In both cases, meaning is conveyed in symbolic form, through images, and (for heraldry) in colour too: in short, information is presented with the help of visual arts, not in writing alone.

An emblem consists of an allegorical image with a motto and a few lines of text that provide an interpretation. And so, it unites the written word with an image. It was a very important genre in the Renaissance and beyond: the image in an emblem draws the eye and the text provides its full, intended meaning. Emblem books, with ready-made emblems, were printed as soon as printing had been invented. A particularly notable emblem book was that by the Italian Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), first published in 1531 and then reworked and re-published over a hundred times in its original Latin as well as in translation into French, Spanish and German.[215] Other emblem books are the three volumes by Jacob Typotius (1540–1601) *Symbola divina & humana pontificum, imperatorum, regum* (re-published several times) and Philippus Picinellus' (1604–1679) *Mundus symbolicus*, first published in Italian in 1635 as *Mondo simbolico*.[216]

The animals, items and other images depicted in an emblem could carry a lot of different meanings. The owl, for example, was associated with Athena, and in that capacity was a symbol of wisdom. The habit of being awake all night, when everyone else is asleep, linked the owl to watchfulness. But the habits of the bird and its somewhat eerie hoot also linked it to the powers of darkness, as in the description of the owl in the *Aberdeen Bestiary*, a text strongly inspired by the most

[215] See The Glasgow Alciato at https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/index.php

[216] McKeown 2016, pp. 22, 24–25, Annell 1945, p. 81, Typotius 1601–1603, Philippus Picinellus, *Mundus symbolicus*, vol. 1 (Cologne 1687), Rachel Masters Carlisle, "From "art of memory" to naturalism: Andrea Alciato and the development of the early modern emblem", *Comitatus* 49 (2018), pp. 165–187, p. 178.

famous bestiary, Physiologus, where the owl is likened to a sinner who delves in darkness to conceal his sins.[217]

In an emblem, the link between the text and the image is evident, because the one is necessary to explain the other. Emblem books from the same time provide insights into which images were used and what they could mean. Although there are no emblem books mentioned in the inventory of Eric's books, the interpretation of symbols in the manner of emblems was ubiquitous.[218] This must have been familiar to Eric, despite the lack of emblem books in his library which makes it impossible to suggest any direct influence. It will however be enough to trace a general link between the symbols he used, and the meaning of the depictions that were used in emblems.

Striking, memorable images were suggested long before to be useful as a memory aid, and the interest in mnemonics was on the rise in the late 16th century.[219] It was particularly stressed that the image used for memorisation needed to be invented or selected by an individual to match his or her own associations.[220] And so it is hardly surprising that it has been impossible to trace a direct influence between Eric's use of symbols and an hypothetical model system with the same symbols. But there are contemporary examples of systems of symbols used in a similar manner in the database *Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe* (AOR), which was presented in section 1.4: John Dee and Gabriel Harvey, both contemporaries of Eric XIV, used symbols to mark their works when they read.

Another matter of interest here is the commonplace book, the kind of notebook schoolchildren were taught to keep from the Renaissance until the 18th century, where they noted well-turned phrases, as well as important sayings and deeds (*exempla*) by the ancients they had read about. A commonplace book can thus be described as a collection of quotations that served the purpose of equipping the students for writing with neatly turned phrases and examples of rhetorical figures, with arguments for any situation, and also with a set of ethical guidelines that could, at least in theory, influence the behaviour of the students. Commonplace books were often arranged into categories to facilitate future reference to the quotations, which the schoolchildren were then to use in their own future writings; Alciato's work of emblems was sometimes structured as a commonplace book.[221]

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[217] See the Aberdeen Bestiary at https://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/ (f. 50r–50v).

[218] See e.g. the catalogue of German emblem books: John Landwehr, *German emblem books 1531–1888: a bibliography* (Bibliotheca emblematica 5; Utrecht 1972).

[219] Carlisle 2018, p. 168.

[220] Carlisle 2018, p. 169.

[221] A. S. Q. Visser, *Joannes Sambucus and the learned image: forms and functions of a humanist emblem book* (Brill's studies in intellectual history 128; Leiden 2005), pp. 186–187.

Erasmus, for example, provided instructions in *De copia* about how to arrange a commonplace book.[222] While commonplace books are obviously not the same as marginal comments, the underlying system of categorising information is similar. Marginalia are used for marking interesting material too, but then inside a single book, which might be recorded in a commonplace book at a later stage.[223] In printed books, the marginalia are usually found in an index, as in three of the four works under scrutiny in the present study (there is no index in Stadius), according to the same kind of organisatory principle.

A system for organisation is of course required for organising material, as that devised by Erasmus, and also by David Chytraeus (1530–1600), who provided his disciples with headings and sub-headings. Which headings and which sub-headings were to be used, and in which order they were to be placed, was however open to debate.[224]

An early example of the thematic division of content is found in Valerius Maximus' well-known *Facta et dicta memorabilia* from AD 31–32, which could be described as a kind of commonplace book where the deeds and sayings are gathered thematically, for example under the heading *De avaritia* 'On greed', *De pudicitia* 'On chastity', *De ultione¸* 'On revenge' and so forth. Moral categories were essential devices for thinking, so commonplace books could be based on the arrangement of virtues and vices in *Facta et dicta*, possibly with an addition of Christian values and virtues.[225] Valerius Maximus was immensely popular even in Antiquity for his stories, and his fame increased throughout the Middle Ages and even more so in the Renaissance, as seen through the great number of preserved manuscripts. The *editio princeps* was (probably) from 1470; Aldus Manutius printed the work in 1502.[226] His popularity faded when the ancient models were not as important any longer, and the historical material found in his work could be found in other works which were perceived as more rewarding reads.[227]

The moral categories were also linked to memory practices, as information carefully structured according to a system is easier to remember. Eric XIV may, to

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[222] Ann Moss, *Printed commonplace-books and the structuring of Renaissance thought* (Oxford 1996), pp. viii, 8, 10, 47, 83–84.

[223] Cf Moss 1996, p. 88

[224] Anthony Grafton, *What was history? The art of history in early modern Europe* (Cambridge 2007), pp. 209–214.

[225] Moss 1996, pp. 75, 92–93, 109–110.

[226] Valerius Maximus and D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Memorable doings and sayings* vol. 1 *[Books I-V]* (Loeb classical library 492; Cambridge, Mass. 2000), p. 8, Valerius Maximus and Robert Combès, *Faits et dits mémorables T. 1, Livres I-III* (Collection des universités de France; Paris 1995), p. 89.

[227] Gian Biagio Conte, *Latin Literature. A History*, trans. Joseph B. Solodow (Baltimore, Md. 1999), pp. 381–382.

some degree, have been influenced by the arrangement in that book in his choice of categories: he owned a copy of Valerius Maximus.[228]

In the following I shall present the symbols used by King Eric XIV in the *Historia de regibus* and define their meaning as closely as possible with the help of the underscorings in the text.[229] I shall present the quotations in their original Latin and provide paraphrases of their content in English in the main text. As the paraphrases are very elaborate, I have judged it superfluous to present translations as well; repeating the content of the paraphrases in English with slightly more detail would not add anything of substance to the argument. The symbols have been grouped together into roughly thematic sections, with inspiration from the arrangement of Renaissance commonplace books. In addition, I aim to explain briefly why Eric XIV singled out this information. It should however be kept in mind that not every symbol can be narrowed down to a specific definition; it is not possible to fully understand and reconstruct the patterns of association of someone else, even with the help of images found in contemporary emblem books.

The works studied here are those of Johannes Magnus and Sabellicus, because for the most part the exact same symbols are found in the *Historia de regibus* and in the *Enneades*, so they can corroborate each other.

Stadius contains no traces of Eric's system of symbols, and in Strabo only five symbols are found. They will be presented in an excursus as they are peculiar in comparison to the rest of the symbols regarding the size and level of detail. There are, in total, 169 symbols in Johannes Magnus and 151 in Sabellicus, and close to 40 different symbols – not counting ones that have been crossed out by Eric. The number of occurrences of a single symbol varies between one and around 40 in Johannes Magnus and Sabellicus taken together. I cite and discuss examples here, but for a complete list of pages where the cases are found, see the appendix. Most of the images of the symbols are from the *Historia de regibus*.

4.1 Royal characteristics

I shall start from symbols that refer to important character traits of a king, qualities also perceptible in his way of ruling: virtues and vices. One very important aspect was the question of greed and generosity, or *avaritia* and *liberalitas.* A tyrant would greedily and cruelly extort whatever he could from his subjects through taxes or plunder in order to enrich himself. A good king would not take more than his due

[228] Ludvigsson and Olai 1845, p. 382, Moss 1996, pp. 109–110, 123–124.

[229] For the locations of the symbols in Eric's works, see Appendix 1.

and be generous to his subjects. This is pointed out time and again in the famous *Institutio principis Christiani*, Erasmus' mirror for princes first printed in 1516.[230]

Greed and generosity form a corresponding pair with a certain interpretive force with regard to kings and their actions, and has been since Antiquity.[231] In "Sann och rettmätig orsak" 'True and just reason', the document where King John III denounced his brother Eric as a tyrant, he programmatically refers to Eric's greed manifested in the taxes imposed by him, a typical characteristic of a bad ruler.[232]

In Johannes Magnus, there are some symbols of relevance with regard to this theme: three tightly tied purses, two torn ones where money is pouring out from below, and one untied purse that lies down with money coming out of the opening. In Sabellicus, there are two tied purses and two untied purses, but no torn ones. A purse is also found on an emblem which discusses the destructive power of gold, symbolised by a bag filled with money, which is suggested to conquer everything bloodlessly.[233] The symbol is said to mean riches or abundance, as well as egoism.[234] This, of course, means that the purse is a symbol of gold, money, expenses and similar attributes. The use of a purse to represent riches of course also suggests the possibility of using it as a symbol of concomitant vices and virtues: greed as well as generosity. The fact that the same image could be used to convey different and even opposite meanings was an important feature of *emblemata* and made an explanation in text about the intended meaning of an emblem a necessity.[235]

4.1.1 The tied purse

Two of the three tied purses (here JM 69) in Johannes Magnus are used in relation to the ancient Gothic king Sigthunius. At the beginning of his reign, when he is making sacrifice at the great temple at Uppsala to give thanks for his accession, he asks the gods for a prophecy for his life and reign. He is informed that gold is a

[230] Desiderius Erasmus, Otto Herding, and Fritz Schalk, *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami, recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata* Ordo 4, T. 1 (Amsterdam 1974).

[231] Nilsson 2016, pp. 154–162.

[232] Hildebrand (ed.), *Svenska riksdagsakter under tidehvarfvet 1521–1718. Andra delen, 1561–1592* (vol. 1), pp. 317–342.

[233] Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1967), col. 1284.

[234] Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane 1450–1600: dictionnaire d'un langage perdu* (Genève 1958), cols. 52–53.

[235] Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the light of the emblem: structural parallels between the emblem and literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Toronto 1979), pp. 43, 71.

great danger to him and that his life is threatened through it, but that no other metal will ever have the power to harm or kill him:

> […] accepto per victimarios responso, didicit sibi ab auri metallo supremam perniciem, & mortem fatali necessitate imminere, ideoque summopere ab eo cauendum esse: a ferro, aut chalybe, caeterisque metallis nunquam violari, vel occidi posse. (JM 67)

Later, Sigthunius engages in a war with Denmark and is certain that he will win, as he knows from the prophecy that he cannot be killed with iron. But Gram, the Danish king, meets him in single combat with a club filled with gold. And so, Sigthunius is slain (JM 69).

From the prophecy, Johannes Magnus draws the conclusion that gold is dangerous to a greater number of kings than iron, and refers to kings who *auri ... fame laborantes* 'are struggling with their hunger for gold' and subject their people to poverty and themselves to premature death or exile through the inevitable rebellion of the poor, over-taxed people. The entire story about Sigthunius is thus turned into an *exemplum* of *avaritia*:

> Quippe plures Reges auro quam ferro periclitantur, dum auri sacra fame laborantes subditis inopiam rebellionemque, & sibi ipsis praematurum fatum, aut a regnis eiectionem accelerant. (JM 69)

The other case in Johannes Magnus deals with King Attilus, a Gothic king with a queen of Danish origin, Ursilia, and their son Rolvo. Rolvo had been made king of Denmark, but was summoned to Sweden by his parents on the instigation of Queen Ursilia. Attilus, who hated everything Danish, had begun to hate his wife as well, and she returned his feelings. With the help of Rolvo, she decided to take revenge on her husband for maltreating her, by emptying his treasury and leaving for Denmark. When Rolvo arrived, he was greeted by King Attilus with a great banquet where they discussed virtues and King Attilus himself stated that *liberalitas* was the most important virtue in a king. He was asked to prove it, and did so by presenting his guests with expensive gifts.

Eric's underscoring begins with Johannes' explanation that during the third day of the banquet, Attilus' treasure had been loaded onto carriages to have everything ready for departure, and the queen left her husband at night, with the moon to light her way. Rolvo kept talking to the king to keep his mind occupied and ensure that he did not inquire after the whereabouts of his queen. As soon as Rolvo was sure that she had got away, he asked for permission to leave and rushed after Ursilia to get away to Denmark with her and the treasure.

In this case, the vice of greed is found in Attilus' wife and son. Naturally, there is a hint of revenge too, as Attilus treated his wife badly because she was Danish by birth. The choice of revenge is however greedy, because it would have been

perfectly possible to murder the king to avenge herself (as another Danish queen did to her Gothic husband), but Ursilia settled for theft. Her greed and the generosity of the Gothic king are pointedly contrasted against each other through the conversation between Attilus and Rolvo about the virtues of kings and the aftermath where Rolvo robs Attilus.

In Sabellicus, the ways of the Scythian tribe are described – as seen in Johannes Magnus, the Scythians and the Goths were thought to be the same people, a misconception with roots in Antiquity. Here, there is a reference to theft once more, with the tied purse symbol, and Eric has underscored the statement that theft is regarded as the most serious of crimes by the tribe in question: *nullum furto grauius in gente flagitium habetur* (Sab. 7). Theft is, of course, not always the result of greed, but it *can* be, and a perfectly possible interpretation of the above quotation from Sabellicus is that acts of greed are regarded as the worst possible kind of crime.

In the final quotation in Sabellicus, it is further emphasised how serious a sin greed is through the story of a tomb in an Assyrian city. The ancestors of the citizens were buried just above the city gates, and there was an inscription on the tomb, suggesting that in the future, kings with few monetary assets would be allowed to lend from it, and those more well-off were instead to add to it. The tomb was kept intact until the times of the famous Persian ruler Darius, but he found it disgraceful that kings should pass under corpses when entering the city. And so, the tomb was demolished. There were no riches inside, but instead a stone with an inscription. It said that only someone of extreme wealth and greed would stoop so low as to take from the dead, that is, chastising the person disturbing the dead for his greed. I present only an extract of the underscoring here: […] *nisi pecunia inexplebilis esses, lucrique cupidus, numquam mortuorum urnas referasses* (Sab. 11).

As we have seen, these cases can be interpreted as references to greed in some way: Sigthunius' prophecy and Johannes Magnus' interpretation of it, Ursilia's and Rolvo's theft of King Attilus' treasures, and the inscription on the stones found inside the tomb after Darius' destruction of it, where *lucrique cupidus* is of course a way of saying "greedy". All these underscorings can be put under the heading of *avaritia*, one of the seven deadly sins, and next to each of them, the tied purse symbol is found.

4.1.2 The torn purse

There are other kinds of purses, too. As pointed out, a purse can refer to abundance and riches, and a purse where the content is removed is a symbol of generosity.[236] One is torn (next page, JM 81), because it is pulled together by a string just like the tied purse, but underneath, the money is pouring out.

[236] Tervarent 1958, col. 53.

There are only two torn purse symbols in Eric's preserved books, and both are found in Johannes Magnus. One is found next to a quotation about King Tanausius and King Sorinus, who lived in an ancient past. After a war in Asia (loosely defined), Tanausius, the Gothic king, has conquered vast lands. One of his allies is King Sorinus of the Medes, and Tanausius gives him all his new land as generous spoils of victory:

> Prima eorum societas, antequam regnum constituerent, erat cum Medis & eorum Rege Sorino, in quem Tanausius principatum omnium gentium a se deuictarum **liberalissima** donatione transfudit. (JM 50, the bold is mine)

In the margin (although not underscored) one finds the comment *Liberalitas principis commendabilis* 'the praiseworthy generosity of a king'. It is presented in Johannes' work as a case of *liberalitas*, the gift is called *liberalissima* 'very generous', and perceived as such by King Eric too.

The other symbol is found next to the story of the Gothic king Regnerus and the Danish king Frotho. In this case, Johannes writes that after a war, Regnerus generously provided Frotho with as many soldiers as he had lost in the recently finished war, after ensuring that Frotho would not fall out with his son-in-law Ubbo, who had invaded Denmark:

> Ea venia pro Vbbone impetrata, Regnerus tantum numerum militum exercitui eius adiecit, quantam manum eidem confecto nuper acerrimo bello abstulisset. (JM 81–82)

These purses symbolise *liberalitas,* the opposite of greed, and a great virtue in a king; in fact, one of the most important positive character traits of a king in Eric's time, as seen not least from Johannes Magnus' work. There Saint Eric, the royal patron saint of Sweden, is depicted as famous both for his generosity and for his piety.[237]

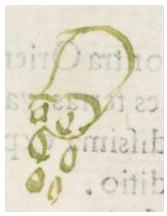
4.1.3 The untied purse

During a war, King Ninus of Assyria emerges victorious. When he returns to his home country, he meets King Arieus of Arabia, who has been of substantial assistance in the war. As said in the quotation, Arieus is rewarded by having some of the spoils of war sent to his kingdom:

[237] On Saint Eric, see JM 598–604; Nilsson 2016, pp. 161–162, 168–169.

> &Arieum cuius fida strenuaque opera fuerat in bello usus, parte praedae donatum in reguum [sic!] remisit. (Sab. 9)

This is an obvious case of *liberalitas*, or generosity, just as in the cases with the torn purse above. The case is a striking parallel to that of Tanausius. It appears that the



untied purse and the torn purse have an overlapping meaning. In addition, the torn one is found only in Johannes Magnus, and the untied ones are found in both works (here JM 81). Perhaps these symbols do not date from the same time, and the meaning of the symbols respectively might have been conflated. As we shall see in the following two untied purse symbols, one from Johannes Magnus and one from Sabellicus, the meaning here is not obviously *liberalitas,* at least not judging from the quotation itself. The context can however provide some clues.

Soon after the quotation about Regnerus in the previous section (*Ea venia pro Ubbone impetrata* …) follows a torn purse symbol. It is found next to a quotation, which says that Regnerus' queen Suanhuita always and everywhere showed herself to the fatherland, the nobility and the people in a way that made you believe that she had been born in Sweden instead of arrived from abroad:

> Quippe patriae, & Principibus, ac infimae plebi se talem semper & vbique exhibuit, vt non aliunde aduenisse, sed in Suetia nata fuisse crederetur. (JM 81)

This quotation does, however, not reveal anything concrete about what she was doing to gain such a great reputation. But as Johannes Magnus has stated elsewhere (JM 130–131) that generosity was a particular trait of the Goths, the quotation can be interpreted as a reference to *liberalitas*. It could also include a reference to courage, which Johannes says was innate in the Goths. Further up on the same page as the quotation, it is suggested that the northern females are almost as warlike as the men.

In Sabellicus, the symbol is found next to where he tells the story of a slave rebellion. All the slave owners and all males were put to death and their widows and daughters married off to slaves. Some were spared: the slave owners who were kind and clement with their slaves. One of them was named Strato. The quotation presents the fact that the slaves wished to appoint a king, and that they brought the entire matter before Strato:

> Hos ille quum ab nouae ciuitatis oculis seposuisset, ita accidit, ut quum primum consilia de creando rege moueri coepta sunt, is qui mitis fuit in dominos, ad Stratonem (id seni nomen fuit) totam rem detulerit. (Sab. 138)

This quotation does not contain any obvious link to generosity either, and it is not to be expected that a system of symbols of this kind is completely consistent, or that

it is entirely possible to reconstruct someone else's association patterns. The word *mitis* 'mild' could perhaps be regarded as encompassing some degree of generosity, for example in providing generously for one's slaves, as a mark of a good slave owner. I suggest that the untied and the torn purse refer to the same thing, generosity.

As referred to earlier, King Eric, as well as other contemporary kings, had special coins (known as "largesse money") made for his coronation in Uppsala, for throwing to the crowds that had assembled in the hopes of catching a glimpse of the new king; in a homily by the archbishop *liberalitas* was invoked as one of the virtues presiding over Eric's reign.[238] This lavish gesture can of course be interpreted as a manifestation of generosity. As *liberalitas* was a characteristic of a good king, Eric thus presented himself as such, through the largesse money, as well as through throwing a party for the common people in the streets of Uppsala, while he himself feasted in the castle.[239]

The pair of *avaritia* and *liberalitas* was important in the description of good kings and tyrants during this period, as seen in Johannes Magnus' own work. Tyrants, as a general rule, are greedy, whereas good kings are generous.[240] With tied and untied purses, Eric illustrated this opposition in his books, drawing on a symbol for gold and riches: the purse. A purse full of gold can represent greed as well as generosity. In an emblem, the accompanying text or motto would explain which was meant. In this case, instead, the purses look somewhat different to suggest the one or the other, and the explanation is found in the main text.

4.2 Politics: war and peace

Some symbols found in the margin are accompanied by underscorings that refer to important royal duties: politics, and notably wars. In this group are four symbols, which I term the upright sword, the prone swords, the axe, and the wheel. For illustrations, see below in the discussions of the symbols respectively.

4.2.1 The upright sword

The upright sword is a very frequent symbol in Johannes Magnus (next page, JM 55), where it occurs 27 times. There are 18 more in Sabellicus to corroborate the

[238] McKeown 2016, p. 21.

[239] Grundberg 2003, p. 42.

[240] Nilsson 2016, pp. 154–162.

meaning of the symbol in question. The upright sword is used as a symbol of victory in emblem books.[241]

In the following, I shall provide some examples of when Eric used this symbol. An upright sword is for example found next to a quotation about the Gothic monarch Regnerus. He was king of Sweden, with his residence in Uppsala, and managed to beat the Danish king Frotho, despite the might of the Danish force. Eric's underscoring is as follows:

> […] ipsumque Frothonem (quamuis totis Danicae potentiae viribus succinctum) extinxit. (JM 82)

Another upright sword is found next to an episode that takes place during the Trojan War, where the Goths who had left Sweden in 1430 BC were present, according to Johannes Magnus. The quotation describes Hercules' son Telephus, the twelfth external king of the Goths, who fights on the Trojan side. He faces Tessander, a Greek commander, and ends up giving him so serious a wound that he dies. As the Greek enemy is killed in the battle, Telephus is victorious. The upright sword symbol is found next to the following underscored words:

> Cui aduentanti Tessander Graecorum fortissimus Dux, se totamque sui exercitus aciem obiecit, tanquam Herculem patrem in fortissimo filio superaturus, at contrarium quam sperabat euenit. Nam a manibus Telephi vulnere cruento & mortifero suscepto, corruens expirauit. (JM 63)

A final example is that of the Gothic king Gadaricus, who had little difficulty in defeating the Scythians. They were not ready for battle, which made them easy to conquer when Gadaricus marched against them:

> Deinde Gadaricus arma viresque suas ad Scythas vsque extendit: quos cum ad praelium minime parati essent, haud difficulter superauit. (JM 44)

These three victories have in common that they are Gothic victories, and, consequently, Swedish victories, according to Gothicism as introduced in the previous chapter. The most frequent symbol used by Eric is in other words important simultaneously to his dynastic claims as a new monarch (and the first one of Sweden as a hereditary kingdom at that), and to his interest in history.

In the *Enneades*, it is not always clear in what way a victory can be regarded as a Gothic victory, as Sabellicus, for obvious reasons, does not stress the opposition between Goths and non-Goths as Johannes Magnus does. But the fact that Eric marks something as a victory suggests that the victorious side is the one he prefers,

[241] Henkel and Schöne 1967, col. 1501, Tervarent 1958, col. 157. There are examples of such images in AOR as well.

as he was by no means obliged to mark all victories. In some cases, there might be a Gothic element present, as we shall see.

Sabellicus tells the story of when Hercules was travelling with the cattle of Geryon through Sicily.[242] There he met Eryx, a local king, and was challenged to single combat by him. Hercules was to receive the kingdom should he defeat Eryx, and Eryx to be given the cattle should he be victorious. Hercules then defeated Eryx:

> Ab hoc Eryce ad pugnam Hercules conditione prouocatus, ut uictus Hibericum armentum regi relinqueret, uictor regno uicti hospitis potiretur, caestibus ferocem alioqui iuuenem, crudoque certamini assuetum prostrauit. (Sab. 81)

This might be a Gothic victory because of Hercules' marriage to a Gothic princess, the sister of the eleventh Gothic king, as described by Johannes Magnus. The Gothic king Telephus was Hercules' son, which seems to have made it possible to claim Hercules himself as a Goth (JM 62). The importance of Hercules for Eric XIV and his contemporaries was presented in the previous chapter.

Another case marked with an upright sword suggests that King Zooaster was killed in a battle, although previous writers do not provide precise circumstances of his demise: he was killed, but in a war with the Bactrians or in one with the Assyrians?

> Sunt qui Zooastrem pugna uictum occubuisse tradant, Bactrianosque locorum natura fretos subigi non potuisse. Alij regem priore pugna incolumem excessisse aiunt, nec longo interiecto tempore bello ab Assyriis repetitum, medioque praelio interfectum. (Sab. 9)

The death of Zooaster, and the victory of Ninus, the Assyrian king, was possibly a Gothic victory too. On the previous page in Sabellicus, another victory of Ninus is described, it too marked with a symbol of an upright sword, indicating that any victory by Ninus is approved of by King Eric, and might have a Gothic element to it, at least to him.

In the third case, the underscoring cited below, also from Sabellicus, it is said that Herodotus writes about a number of Amazons, who had been abducted by the Greeks and were taken away onboard a ship. They killed their captors in their sleep in the middle of the sea and took over the ship:

> Herodotus autor est, plurimas Amazonum a Graecis abductas, quae quum medio mari ueherentur atque una dumtaxat naui, uictoribus insidiatas incautos ad unum

[242] For a brief overview of the myth and the sources for it, see Clemente Marconi, *Temple decoration and cultural identity in the archaic Greek world. The metopes of Selinus* (New York 2007), p. 206.

> iugulasse, mox sine remigio & uelificatione ulla, ad Meotidis praerupta delatas, equarum armenta temere pascentia diripuisse. (Sab. 76)

This is thus a victory for the Amazons, i.e. a Gothic victory, as the Amazons had Gothic origins. There are also kings or other important people apparently believed to be Goths found in the underscorings next to the upright sword. As suggested above, it is not always entirely clear why these people are thought to be Goths, because Sabellicus is not as explicit about it as Johannes Magnus. But a large number of underscorings marked with upright swords can easily be interpreted as Gothic victories. A victory not obviously Gothic to a modern reader can have been so to Eric, and even without a Gothic element, the symbol clearly refers to an interesting victory in the king's eyes.

4.2.2 The prone swords

Another symbol featuring weapons, and found where Johannes Magnus or Sabellicus write about death or defeat in a broad sense, is that of the prone swords, facing each other (here JM 57). The prone swords symbol is relatively frequent too, 30 cases in total, of which 15 in Johannes Magnus and 15 in Sabellicus. I have not been able to find a similar symbol elsewhere.

In this first example from Johannes Magnus, we are back in the Trojan war. Telephus' son Euriphilus, the thirteenth external king of the Goths, took over as king after his father's death in battle (which was also provided with the symbol of two prone swords). Euriphilus went in hot pursuit of the far too great Greek army, and was consequently defeated and killed in the prime of his youth to the great sorrow of his people and relatives:

> Verum dum fortius quam prudentius importunas ac potentes Graecorum turmas insequitur, ab eis non sine publico suorum planctu, praesertim matris & auunculi, in primo iuuentutis suae flore trucidatur. (JM 64)

A Gothic king being killed in battle can be described both as a Gothic death and a Gothic defeat. Another example of this is found back in Sweden, where another king, Asmundus, the twenty-first internal king, fought Hadingus, son of the Danish king Gram, and was killed in the battle, which was a Gothic death/defeat. His widow Gumilda received the news of his death and decided to commit suicide, inspired by famously virtuous women of old, in order to be buried at her husband's side. The Goths thus lost both their king and their queen: a Gothic death/defeat:

> At coniunx eius Gumilda imitata multas praeclaras foeminas, quas Ethnicorum commendant historiae, ne mortuo viro superesset, mortem sibi ferro consciuit, atque eidem (cum viro) tumulo ab amicis demandatur […] (JM 75)

As just referred to, the Amazons were descendants of the Goths who had once left Sweden. When the Amazons are defeated, the symbol of the prone swords is consequently found in the margin next to it. Marpesia was a legendary Amazon queen, one of the two Amazons whose images are found on Eric's magnificent armour from 1560.[243] Here, there are underscorings not only in the text, but even the printed marginal comment has been underscored. It says that Marpesia is killed in the end despite her strenuous fighting. She had killed an enormous number of barbarians with the support of her fellow Amazons, before she herself was killed:

> margin: Marpesia strenue pugnando tandem occiditur
>
> text: Itaque coactis viribus in praelium prodeunt: nec segniter occurrit Marpesia, quae suo foemineo agmine stipata, fortissime pugnans occiditur, occisa prius ingenti multitudine Barbarorum. (JM 56)

All the prone swords in Johannes Magnus, not just these examples, are found next to underscorings dealing with Gothic deaths/defeats, in a broad sense, such as the suicide of Queen Gumilda.

In Sabellicus, the death of the centaur Pholus, Hercules' friend, is described. It occurred when he was collecting arrows from the bodies after a battle. His death is Gothic in a broad sense, as he was a friend of Hercules:

> Pholus post pugnam quum sagittas iacentium corporibus eximeret, unaque manibus excidisset, fortitu casu ictus perijt. (Sab. 67)

Theseus, another of the heroes of ancient Greece, has his life described in Sabellicus' work. He too was a friend of Hercules. The underscoring quoted below comes from the famous story about Theseus and Ariadne and the Minotaur, the mythical monster found in a labyrinth on Crete. Theseus had volunteered to be one of the young people who were to be sacrificed to the Minotaur, because he thought he could slay the beast and so ensure that nobody would ever be sacrificed to it again.

On Crete, Theseus met the king's daughter, Ariadne, and they fell in love, so she helped him to find his way into the labyrinth and out again. He killed the Minotaur and they left together. But Theseus was then forced to leave Ariadne behind, asleep on the island of Naxos. In his hurry to leave before she woke up, he forgot to set

[243] For an image of the armour, complete with shield, see Rangström and Schmidt 2004, pp. 15, 41, 45–49.

white sails, which he had promised his father to do if he returned safe and sound. Instead, he retained the black ones, which he had when he left, and which meant that he was dead. When Theseus' father Aegaeus saw the black sails at a distance, he took his own life by throwing himself into the sea in the belief that his son had not survived the dangerous mission. The Aegean Sea was then named for King Aegaeus. The underscoring in Eric's book contains only the last part of the story, when Theseus' father throws himself into the sea in despair and the sea is named after him. While not an explicit defeat, it is definitely a depiction of a death, a suicide just like that of Queen Gumilda:

> sed nimia (ut sit laetitia occupatos, Aegaei mandata non obtinuisse, quo cum ex alto eisdem uelis quibus inde soluerant in terram cursum tenuissent, amissi ducis speciem praebuere, atque ita accidisse, ut senex de filij salute sollicitus, procul nigra conspicatus uela, actum de eius uita arbitratus ex eminenti specula, in subiectos pelagi fluctus sese praecipitem dederit. Sunt qui nomen ab eiusmodi casu mari deinceps datum existiment. (Sab. 86)

Johannes Magnus never refers to Theseus as a Goth and nor does Sabellicus. But if the death of Pholus above, as a friend of Hercules, was Gothic, it suggests that close friendship with a Goth might suffice, which makes this case, where the father of Hercules' friend Theseus is concerned, possibly a Gothic death/defeat. In addition, it is a very tragic death of a person of noble birth, as in several other cases.

My last example deals with the death of Aeneas, Roman/Trojan hero and founder of what was to become the Roman Empire. The Latins fought well, but their victory was tarnished by the death of Aeneas. It was uncertain if he had been slain in battle by someone or had an accident, and his body had disappeared into the river Numicus:

> Hanc quoque pugnam prospere Latini depugnarunt. Sed uictoria nihilo quam antea laetior ob Aeneae interitum: Incertum humana ui an casu praeceps actus, in Numico amne perijsse creditur. (Sab. 107)

Aeneas was believed by Eric to be his ancestor, as seen in the genealogy Eric drew up for himself in Sabellicus.[244] This qualifies Aeneas as a Goth, at least in Eric's eyes. Three of the greatest heroes of ancient times: Hercules, Theseus, and Aeneas, are thus seen as somehow linked to the Goths.

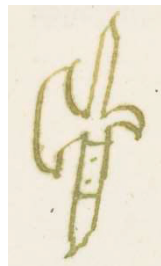
As we have seen, the prone swords are opposed to the upright sword: a symbol that means death and defeat, whereas the upright sword signifies victory. Both symbols have a certain significance with regard to Eric's interest in Gothicism both as an educated prince with good knowledge of the important areas of study of his time, and as a king who had an interest in his Gothic descent for propagandistic

[244] See e.g. Sab. 36–45, 92–102, Stenbock 1912, p. 77.

reasons, and, of course, in military matters. Should there be no Gothic element, it still means death and defeat.

4.2.3 The axe

A third symbol that is also a depiction of a weapon, and a reference to war in some respect, is the halberd, or the axe. The rather elaborate shape of the head could belong to both an axe and to a halberd, but the short handle suggests an axe, as seen here (JM 45). I have decided to term this symbol *the axe*, as does Johannesson.[245]



An axe could be a reference to the virtues of *clementia*, *constantia*, or *fortitudo* according to the emblem book by Picinellus (1681), of which the index is printed as an appendix in Henkel and Schöne.[246] In the books of John Dee, there are examples of an axe, if more schematic than the one to the right, which corroborate its use as a symbol. Dee used them as a symbol of someone's execution.[247] This is a different use than that of Eric, as we shall see, but still an example of using an axe as a symbol.

There are seven cases of the axe altogether: three in Johannes Magnus and four in Sabellicus. In the underscoring quoted below, Johannes Magnus tells the story of King Philmerus, the seventh of the external Gothic kings. His father, the late King Gadaricus, had had trouble keeping the Scythians loyal. The underscoring describes how King Philmerus cleverly decided that attacking is better than being attacked, and so secretly and swiftly ordered the Goths to prepare an attack:

> […] proinde adeo subito in hostes potentissimos se praeparauit, vt vnus idem dies Regiam illi dignitatem, & ineuitabilem belli necessitatem imposuisse videretur. Verum quia in tam repentino & non praecognitu motu, delectum militum facere non dabatur, vrgebat totam Gothicam gentem, quae armis apta erat, citissime ad arma convolare. (JM 45)

This might be described as a strategy of war, as it is a plan to catch the Scythians unawares to defeat them more easily.

Another strategy of war is found in the next underscoring, where King Rodericus' Vandal enemies are trying to ambush the Gothic army. The Vandal army was hiding in the forest not far from the harbour where the Swedish fleet was anchored, and wanted to sink it. But they were then attacked and killed by the Gothic army which had crept up on them from behind. Rodericus defeated cunning with cunning, as Johannes puts it:

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[245] Johannesson 1982, p. 284.

[246] Henkel and Schöne 1967, col. 2182.

[247] AOR (s.v. *axe*).

> […] summopere conantes aduentantis hostis exercitum ad insidias detrusum tollere, vel fugare. Sed astutia astutiam superante, Rodericus insidias in autores retorsit. Nam cum Vandali intra syluas & saltus non longe a portu, in quem Suetica classis contracta erat, latitarent, & occasionem submergendarum nauium per absentiam militum expectarent, circumuenti ab eis, quos se circumuenire sperabant, trucidantur. (JM 95)

The third axe in Johannes Magnus is found next to an underscoring about the Gothic/Swedish King Uffo. He was at war with the Danes, and the Danish army was trying to stay hidden in whatever hiding places they could find. They could not get past the Swedish army to return to Denmark or gather the army to do battle: they were basically under siege. When the Danish supplies ran out, the Danes started eating what they could find – even humans – until there was virtually nothing but soil left.

Uffo's strategy to keep the Danes both from doing battle and from returning home, with the result just described, is a war strategy in a broad sense. Although these events could have been described as Gothic victories, the important part is the strategy that leads to said victories, not the victories in themselves. This suggests the need for another symbol than the upright sword.

The axes in Sabellicus deal with the same theme. There is a description of a nocturnal attack by the Latins on the enemy camp, i.e. a war strategy. It worked, because the Latins were not expected by their enemies, and so the camp was completely overrun and thrown into chaos as the soldiers fled in all directions. Many of them were killed as a result of this strategy:

> […] ac cum his illum noctu hostium castra repente inuasisse, Lausoque Mezentii filio cum stationariis caeso, prius uallum irrupisse, quem ad eos, qui in planitie tendebant, peruenisset tumultus. Mox flamma conspecta, terribilique clamore ad aures delato, nocturna fuga, sine signis, sine imperio, disiectas hostium copias, multos quidem primo tumultu oppressos, plures in fuga caesos, alios locorum ignaros in anfractus, & abruptas crepidines praecipitatos. (Sab. 108)

On another occasion, Aeneas made sure that the civilians unable to fight, who might hinder any attempts at flight, were sent away discreetly to the mountain of Ida with an armed escort of the younger men. The most battle-hardened ones accompanied him to do a nightly battle with the enemies. The idea was to tire their enemies out and take the fortress they were holding. This, too, is a war strategy:

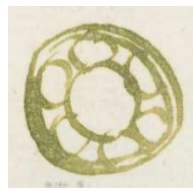
> […] omnem itaque imbellem multitudinem & caetera, quae ad fugam impedimento esse poterant, perte arcis ab hostibus auersa, silentio ad Idam praemittit, & cum his ex robore iuuentutis plurimos, quam abeuntibus subsidio forent, ipse cum lectissima uirorum manu hostem interim circa arcem nocturno praelio fatigat. (Sab. 103)

To sum up, axes are located next to underscorings that refer to military strategies in a broad sense. Incidentally, one of Valerius Maximus' categories is "military

strategies", which is a possible influence.[248] But it is also well known that military strategy and organisation of warfare was one of Eric's strengths as a ruler, although his understanding of the everyday tactics and of actually leading a battle were not. This can be seen in his way of handling the actual war with Denmark in which he was involved from 1563: he sometimes gave confusing, contradictory orders and soon left the army to return to Stockholm, where he spent his time devising strategies.[249]

4.2.4 The wheel

A final symbol that is relevant to politics and war is found in both Johannes Magnus and Sabellicus. There are five symbols that look like a large circle with a circle inside, and the gap between them filled with smaller circles (here JM 81). I have decided to term this symbol *the wheel* for reasons to which I shall return below. Three of the wheels are found in Johannes, two on the same page in Sabellicus. The number of smaller circles varies slightly, but the overall impression is the same. This suggests that the number of smaller circles is insignificant.



The wheel is found next to underscorings about diplomatic activities in a broad sense, for example staying true to a treaty or a command, or entering into one. This forms part of the royal duties in war and in peace, which might explain why it was interesting enough to Eric XIV to make him take note of it. As we shall see in the following, the theme of diplomacy is important here, as well as the virtue of *prudentia*. The wheel is more frequently, but not exclusively, linked to Fortuna.[250]

King Amalus was one of the first kings abroad after the great Gothic exodus of 1430 BC. He ruled roughly the modern Baltic states, and in order to defeat his enemies there, he entered into an alliance with the internal Swedish/Gothic king, Gotilla. This made it possible to defeat the enemy alliance of the three peoples. Here, Eric has underscored not only in the text itself, but also in the margin: "Amalus' providence", or *providentia*, a term similar in meaning to *prudentia*.[251]

margin: Amali prouidentia

[248] Val. Max. 7.4 (*Strategemata*).

[249] Sundberg 2002, p. 48, Andersson 1979, p. 145.

[250] Tervarent 1958, col. 325, Cf the wheel of fortune depicted in Julius Wilhelm Zincgref and Matthaeus Merian, *Hundert ethisch-politische Embleme* (Heidelberg 1986 (facsimile of the 1664 edition)), no. 94.

[251] ThlL, vol. X, 2, fasc. XV, col 2318, l. 72–73, col 2377, l. 22, 36.

> text: Amalus vt hostium conspirationes amicorum societate infringere posset, missis nuntiis Gotillam Gothiae & Suetiae Regem, Bericonis nepotem (de quo infra dicetur) contra ipsos in praelium excitauit. Et ita communibus duorum fortissimorum Regum armis Estones, Curetes, & Magnopolenses, manus victas Gothico imperio iterum tradiderunt, recepto in humeros gemino iugo pro simplici … (JM 42)

The next case deals with Humulphus, the son of the great Gothic king Berico, who initiated and led the magnificent exodus of the Goths. The exodus was partly undertaken in order to put an end to the internal strife and lack of peace and security in the fatherland. The new King Humulphus promised his father to take care of the domestic problems after he had left. Humulphus stayed true to his very prudent father's command. The underscored words speak of restoring peace and safety to all the inhabitants of *Gothia*, or Sweden, by suppressing the previous discord. It is also about keeping one's word, and about fulfilling an agreement to the letter, which can be described as diplomacy:

> Qui paternae iussionis obseruantissimus executor, mox post patris egressum ciuiles illas discordias, quas ipse pater alioquin **prudentissimus** penitus tollere nequiuerat, ita repressit & pacauit, vt sublatis odiis tranquilla vbique pax ac securitas inter omnes Gothiae incolas appareret. (JM 64, the bold is mine)

The third case in Johannes Magnus is about Prince Regnerus, who was mentioned earlier. He was heir to the throne of Sweden, but his stepmother took his rightful crown from him and sent him to guard the royal animal herds instead. The beautiful and noble Suanhuita fell in love with him and helped him by providing him with clothes befitting his rank, and a sword. He went to see the noblemen of the realm to ask for help to win his throne back. They decided that he was in the right, made him king and decided that his adversaries, including the stepmother, should be put to the sword (JM 81). Here too it is a matter of diplomacy, of an alliance between important people to make something desirable happen.

In Sabellicus, a man is also made king. His name was Strato, and after a slave rebellion in Tyrus, he was spared because he had been a mild master. He was asked for advice on how to elect a new king of Tyrus, gave a suggestion liked by the slaves, and was then made king himself. This is said to have shown the strength of the *prudentia* of free-born men (as Strato), as opposed to that of slaves.

> Tum uero apparuit quantum libera ingenia seruilibus praestarent **prudentia**. Vita itaque Stratoni & filio concessa, quadam deorum **prouidentia** sibi senem seruatum rati, regem constituunt. (Sab. 138, the bold is mine)

Here, the *providentia*, or foresight, of the gods and the *prudentia* of free men, are described as having played a part in making the wise Strato king. *Providentia* was used previously about King Amalus above, and *providentia* and *prudentia* (one of the cardinal virtues) are related words. In this last case, they seem to be used

alternately mainly to avoid repetition. The link between the two words was obvious already in ancient times.[252]

Further down on the same page in Sabellicus, another underscoring is found. There, Elisa/Dido, later queen of Carthage, was on a ship and begged for the aid of a group of noblemen. She was fleeing from her brother, with a lot of riches, because he was a tyrant who has committed patricide for financial gain. The noblemen agreed to join forces with her in her escape and to deprive her tyrannical brother of the wealth she had brought with her on the ship. This too is a form of alliance, in other words: an act of diplomacy.

Making treaties and alliances in order to make some form of plan become a reality can be described as an act of *providentia* or *prudentia*. Picinellus presents a quotation about *prudentia*: prudent people are characterised by *moderatio*, which can be symbolised by a wheel.[253] Typotius presents an emblem belonging to a cardinal where a wheel is depicted, ponders the question of *fortuna* and the respective roles of God and humans, and suggests that the wheel can be moved by wind, but also by industriousness, which includes *(im)prudentia*, although this is not discussed at any greater length.[254] The wheel could symbolise divine power, not least drawing on the vision of Ezekiel (1:1–28).[255]

These underscorings all refer to diplomacy which should be characterised by the virtue of *prudentia*/*providentia*. In the case of Amalus, who sent legates to Sweden in order to make an alliance before starting a war, there is no mention of *prudentia* or *providentia* in the text, but in the printed marginal comment, his act is explicitly referred to, and thus interpreted as, *providentia*. King Humulphus' father Berico is referred to as *prudentissimus*, and his equally prudent wish to remove all discord in *Gothia*/Sweden was carried out by his son, which is another example of *prudentia*. In the case of Elisa, she was threatened by her brother and showed her *prudentia* by fleeing to avoid getting captured and killed. The noble Regnerus did not go straight to his stepmother, as in the original story found in Saxo, but took the prudent action of rallying the noblemen of the realm to his cause before proceeding to get rid of the evil stepmother and anyone loyal to her.

An act of diplomacy, a treaty or alliance of some form, committed prudently in order to achieve a desirable goal, has a schematic wheel as its symbol. Diplomacy was of course part of the normal royal duties, which explains its relevance to King Eric XIV.

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[252] Sophie Aubert-Baillot, "De la φρόνησις à la prudentia", *Mnemosyne* 68 (2015), pp. 68–90, Robert W. Cape Jr., "Cicero and the Development of Prudential Practice at Rome", in Robert Hariman (ed.), *Prudence: classical virtue, postmodern practice* (University Park, Pa. 2003), pp. 35–65.

[253] Henkel and Schöne 1967, col. 2179, Picinellus 1687, p. 251. (s.v. *rota*).

[254] Typotius 1601–1603. vol. 2, pl. 45.

[255] George Ferguson, *Signs & symbols in Christian art* (London 1961), p. 183.

Taken together, these four symbols: the upright sword, the prone swords, the axe, and the wheel, can all be placed under the heading of foreign policy, as their meanings are diplomacy, victory, death/defeat, and military strategy. As we have seen, there are examples of similar symbols in early modern emblem books (apart from the prone swords), which clearly indicates the link to Renaissance imagery, although no direct link to a specific source can be demonstrated.

In the next section, additional symbols with bearing on politics are found. They have been grouped together because the symbols show Eric's regalia.

4.3 Regalia: crown, sceptre, and orb

Some of the symbols used by Eric XIV are typical regal symbols: the crown, the sceptre, and the orb, all part of the attributes of a crowned monarch. They are of special significance with regard to Eric, because the crown, orb and sceptre that still remain the most important Swedish regalia were made for Eric's lavish coronation in Uppsala on 29 June 1561. They are kept in the Treasury at the Castle of Stockholm.

King Eric ordered them from a goldsmith in Stockholm on 4 March 1561.[256] Much was new for Eric's coronation, the first one ever of a Protestant Swedish monarch, and also the first one ever of a Swedish king who had inherited his throne instead of been elected.

Apart from the regalia, a new coronation ritual had been prepared.[257] It is probable that Eric had been involved in the preparation of the ritual, as he was in that of the regalia. He gave his old teacher Dionysius Beurraeus the task of gathering inspiration for his upcoming coronation.[258] Queen Elizabeth was a Protestant monarch too, and her coronation was apparently thought suitable as a source of inspiration for Eric's. The great importance of the regalia and their symbolism is seen also in Eric's marginalia.

4.3.1 The crown

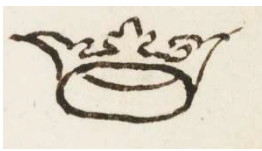
The crown symbol is an open crown, if not with the same number of points: there are crowns with three or four points (here JM 23 and 49), but the number does not

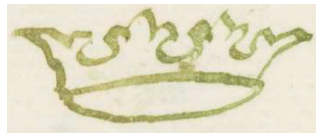
[256] Rudolf Cederström, *De svenska riksregalierna och kungliga värdighetstecknen, till H.K.H. kronprinsens 60-årsdag den 11 november 1942* (Stockholm 1942), pp. 103–104.

[257] See P. Janzon, "Erik XIV:s kröningsritual", *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 59 (1959), pp. 175–226.

[258] Ulla Ehrensvärd, "Le globe royal du souverain suédois Eric XIV", in Wouter Bracke (ed.), *Margaritae cartographicae. Studia Lisette Danckaert 75um diem natalem agenti oblata* (Brussels 2006), pp. 51–60, pp. 52–53, Lundmark 1926, p. 66.

seem to influence the meaning of the symbol. There are eleven crowns in total, five in Johannes Magnus and six in Sabellicus. Interestingly, when wishing to use the crown as a symbol, Eric used an open crown, the kind of crown that had been used by Gustavus Vasa, and which is seen in these two images.[259] An open crown is basically a development of the kind of plain metal ring worn in the early Middle Ages. But the new fashion for Renaissance monarchs, including Eric himself, was to wear a closed crown, like the crown still used by Queen Elizabeth II of England, or the crown of the Swedish king. Closed crowns do not have points, but metal arches joined together in the middle. The idea of a closed crown, as opposed to an open one with points, seems to have been quite new to Sweden, but from 1561 on, it becomes rather frequent.[260] I shall return to this question in the excursus at the end of the present work.





In Eric's coronation ritual, it is described that the archbishop (Laurentius Petri, brother of the famous reformer of the church Olaus Petri) crowned the king and then explained the symbolic meaning of the crown. He said that the crown meant "Konungzligh ähra och wyrdighz" 'royal honour and worthiness', and continued by wishing that the realm should be bettered through the rule of King Eric.[261]

One way of bettering one's country is to found cities. A king named Scarinus is said to have ruled Sweden. He prudently founded the city of Skara (in the modern province of Västergötland), on a place naturally defended through lakes and swamps, which then received his name. Next to his story, a crown has been drawn in the margin. The underscored text is as follows:

> Hic ex suo nomine Scaram ciuitatem Vestrogothorum in loco stagnis & paludibus admodum munito, tam prudenter erexit […] (JM 70)

There are two other cases singled out by Eric, where Johannes Magnus describes the foundation of a city by the Goths: of Ephesus and Smyrna (JM 55) as well as that of Uppsala. He says that Uppsala was founded by King Ubbo before the time of Abraham, and named Uppsala because it was the hall ("sal" in Swedish) of King Ubbo:

> margin: Vpsalia metropolis antiquissima

[259] Lundmark 1926, pp. 48–49, image 1–3.

[260] Cederström 1942, p. 112 and 119.

[261] Janzon 1959, p. 222.

text: Ab hoc Vbbone ante tempora Abrahae aedificata est vrbs Vpsalia: sic dicta a principio, quasi Vbbonis aula […] (JM 23)

Both of these cases are provided with a crown symbol: bettering the kingdom and so proving one's royal honour and worthiness. But the symbol is not merely used in a sense as specific as founding cities, because there are two other cases where it is a question of expanding the realm in a general sense, as in the case of the earliest kings of Sweden, Magogus and thereafter his sons. King Suenno, who is depicted on the famous tapestry kept today in the Royal Treasury in Stockholm, may not have founded any cities. There is however an interesting word here that links this underscoring in the text to the foundation of new cities: *propagator* 'enlarger', 'extender'.[262]

margin: Suenno 2. Gothorum Rex internus

text: Fuerunt huic Magogo quinque filii: quorum primus Suenno, Sueonicae gentis propagator fuit, & rector […] (JM 23)

Enlarging a people, or at least the dominion in which they lived, means extending the kingdom, or bettering it.

Finally, a crown in Johannes Magnus is found next to a part of the text where Johannes Magnus describes how the Goths under King Tanausius attacked Asia and extended their dominion there, demanding taxes from the new inhabitants, not as a prize for their victory, but as a sign that they belonged in their empire (JM 49). This too is a matter of extending a kingdom, and thus of bettering it. In *emblemata* from this period, the crown is a general symbol of a monarch, and more specifically symbolises a wise ruler, and his equally wise manner of ruling.[263] All the crown symbols in Johannes Magnus thus point to the rule of a king, to his bettering his kingdom in various ways, part of the art of ruling wisely.

The six crown symbols in Sabellicus corroborate this image. There is for example an underscored discussion on electing a king, where royal tasks and important qualities of a king are also briefly mentioned (Sab. 6), with defeating Asia (loosely defined) and imposing a modest tax there (Sab. 8). The conquest of Asia is the same as that referred to by Johannes Magnus, and Sabellicus too mentions the foundation of Ephesus and Smyrna:

Illustres Ioniae urbes Ephesus & Smyrna ab his conditae creduntur. (Sab. 76)

Finally, the following expression is printed in capital letters, which emphasise that it is an inscription, and it is about Aeneas, who is referred to as a "deified father on

[262] ThlL, vol. X:2, fasc. XIII, col. 1940, l. 59–60.

[263] Henkel and Schöne 1967, cols. 1258, 1261–1262, 1265.

earth": PATRI DIVO TERRESTRI, QVI FLVVII NVMICI VNDAS GVBERNAT (Sab. 107). Aeneas was namely worshipped as *Aeneas Indiges* or even *Jupiter Indiges*.[264] Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Antiquitates Romanae* tells the story of how Aeneas fell in battle against the Rutulians and Tyrrhenians, but his body was not found. Some think he joined the gods, others that he perished in a river. His people built him a shrine near the river with the inscription just quoted.

In addition, he is said to govern the waves of a river. To be sure, the idea of governing is here, but not explicitly "royal honour and worthiness", as in the coronation ritual; it is rather a question of the honour of being deified.

As in some other cases, the meaning of the symbol does not seem to suit every single case perfectly, but with all the cases taken together, the majority of the crown symbols clearly point to ways of bettering one's kingdom. That there is one less obvious example is to be expected, as suggested in the beginning, because *completely* reconstructing Eric XIV's associations from his symbols and underscorings is not possible. Not all symbols were necessarily drawn at the same time, which might affect their meaning.

Crowns are found in the AOR, in Harvey's books. He uses them when the text says something about a leader in war, a king or an emperor. For the emperor, a closed crown is normally used, a symbol that will be discussed in an excursus in the present work, but there are several open crowns, although they do not carry the same meaning as they do in Eric's system.[265] The symbolic meaning of Eric's own crown is mirrored in the meaning of his crown symbol: royal honour and worthiness, and bettering one's kingdom as proof of these qualities.

4.3.2 The sceptre

The sceptre, as other symbols, could have several different meanings in an early modern emblem. It was an attribute of royalty, and could also mean "watchful justice", as well as "ruling by the Grace of God".[266] At the coronation, the sceptre was presented to Eric XIV by the archbishop immediately after the crown was placed on his head. There too, Laurentius Petri explained the meaning of the lavish symbol: that "thu uthi rettferdighz, /som mz spirone bethydes/ titt folck regera och döma skallt": the sceptre is a symbol of the king's duty to govern and judge his people justly.[267]

[264] The Servius commentary to the Aeneid (Serv. *A*. 1.259), Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.64*,* Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.2.

[265] AOR (s.v. *crown*).

[266] Henkel and Schöne 1967, cols. 1268–1269, Tervarent 1958, cols. 336–337.

[267] Janzon 1959, p. 222.

There are four sceptres in total. One is found in Johannes Magnus (here JM 26) and the other three in Sabellicus. They are very similar to the one drawn by Eric for the coronation emblem, as well as found on coins from his reign.[268] In Johannes Magnus, the sceptre is accompanied by the following underscored text about a king who made just and health-bringing laws, and made sure to do everything he considered useful to preserve the realm:

> […] siquidem iustas & salutares leges, quas ea aetas permisit, constituit, & quicquid ad conseruandum Gothicae Reipub. statum vtile videbatur, summo conatu praestare curauit. (JM 26)

The lawmaker in question was the sixth internal king, and the first king named Eric, who lived around 357 after the Flood. He was, however, rumoured to be so excellent a king that some believed him to be the first of the Swedish kings. The Swedish song "Eriksvisan" was written about this particular king, according to Johannes, and follows directly afterwards. It has been debated earlier whether this song was actually an old Swedish song, or composed by Johannes Magnus.[269]

The sceptres in Sabellicus refer to the same subject area. The first case in Sabellicus deals with jurisdiction in "Ethiopia". A man created king can hand down a death sentence by sending a lictor with a death sign to the accused, who then takes his own life. On one occasion, someone who was supposed to die in this way tried to flee, but was strangled by his own mother:

> Quem regem creauerint, uelut numen sit, uulgo adorant. In quem is animaduersum uolet, lictorem signum mortis habentem ad eum mittit, quo inspecto, confestim quisquis ille est, domum reuersis sibi mortem consciscit. Ferunt quendam per haec morti destinatum quum de fuga agitare coepisset priusquam se periculo subtraxerit, zona a matre strangulatum. (Sab. 28)

All these underscorings, just as the one from Johannes Magnus above, deal with legislation or jurisdiction in a broad sense. The second is about the restitution of the city of Troy and its rule. King Laomedon had once refused to honour his promise of giving his horses to Hercules as a reward for saving his daughter from a sea-monster. Hercules returned with an army to exact revenge on the king, invaded and took over Troy. Laomedon was killed, but his son Priam was spared. He was then allowed to take over for two reasons: firstly, because he should be rewarded as an author of peace and secondly because he ensured that the (wrongfully imprisoned) Greek legates could be set free:

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[268] McKeown 2016, pp. 24–25.

[269] JM 27–28. On Eriksvisan, see e.g. Alan Swanson, "Eriks-visan: Disappearances of a Song", *Scandinavian Studies* 72 (2000), pp. 49–62.

> Saeuitum in eos et qui consiliorum regis fuerant conscij, Priamo & quia pacis autor reddendique praemij fuerat, & a legatis iniuriam arcuisset, urbs & Regnum restituitur. (Sab. 73)

The expression *iniuriam arcuisset* refers to avoiding injustice towards Hercules' legates, which then results in the peaceful restitution of Troy to the new King Priam. Although not explicitly a question of jurisdiction or legislation, it is still clearly within the area of keeping one's word and abiding by laws and agreements, which Laomedon had not done. Earlier in the text on the same page, the *iniuria* committed by Laomedon is referred to.

The third underscoring also has a significance linked to law and order: Jason absolves the daughters of King Pelias from his murder, of which they think that they bore at least some of the guilt (Sab. 74).

The *iustas et salutares leges* referred to in Johannes Magnus in the underscored text cited above are mirrored in the meaning of the sceptre as presented on his coronation day: a symbol of ruling justly, which seems to include legislation, jurisdiction, and fairness in ruling. John Dee has a sceptre where the text refers to taking care of the affairs of one's kingdom.[270]

While these two are of course two different aspects of the law: making it or interpreting it, the difference between legislation and the actual jurisdiction is not always clear-cut. In Johannes Magnus' work, both seem to be royal duties and fairly close to one another.[271] The sceptre in any case signified the worldly power of the sovereign, including jurisdiction, which explains why Eric uses it in a section that discusses fair laws and law-making in a broad sense.

4.3.3 The orb

In the world of emblems, the royal orb is a symbol of good government.[272] There

are five orbs altogether (here JM 21), and all are found in Johannes Magnus; there are none in Sabellicus. As said in Eric's coronation ritual, the orb represents the power of a king as a Christian king through his duty to take care of his kingdom as a *Christian* kingdom: "[…] een fulmechtigh och regerande Konungh, öfver ett heelt, weldigt och Christeligit Konungarijke, /såsom mz Äplet oc korsset betydes […]"[273]

[270] AOR (s.v. *sceptre*).

[271] Nilsson 2016, p. 173.

[272] Henkel and Schöne 1967, cols. 1269–1270, cf Donat de Chapeaurouge, *Einführung in die Geschichte der christlichen Symbole* (Die Kunstwissenschaft; Darmstadt 1984), p. 60.

[273] Janzon 1959, pp. 222–223.

The orb made for Eric for his coronation is quite an exact depiction of the earth, at least by the standards of the 1500s, and follows a map by Giacomo Gastaldi from 1556.[274] The cross on top of it is a symbol of a Christian realm. The orb was in part designed by the king himself, which mirrors his learning and interest in geography and related disciplines, also seen in some geographical works in his book collection. A royal orb which is provided with an actual map of the earth is very rare.[275] From the orb symbols in Johannes Magnus, the link between geography and the orb becomes evident, because the comments all deal in some respect with the geographical extension of the Gothic realm. In this case, the Gothic realm is understood in a very wide sense, as basically any place occupied by anyone thought to be of Gothic descent.

There is an underscored passage about the Goths who had gone into Asia, conquering as they went. The Gothic men who had wives and/or families back home wanted to return to them, but the others preferred to remain in the new country and asked their king, the aforementioned Tanausius, for land on which to settle. He refused them, but then, they asked Tanausius' friend Sorinus, king of the Medes, instead, and received what they wanted. This was very impopular with the rest of the Goths, and the ones "fleeing" to Asia were from that moment referred to as *Parthi* 'Parthians' in the Gothic tongue, which signifies someone who flees, or is timid and prone to flee, because they "fled" from the other Goths (JM 50). This is clearly a matter of geographical extension of the power of the Goths as the eventual result was the Parthian Empire. Johannes also refers to the foundation of the Babylonian kingdom (in the year 131 after the Flood), when its first king Nimbrotus, also known as Saturn, accessed his throne with the help of Noah, whose other descendants were the first kings of Sweden (JM 21).

There is also an underscored passage about the Gothic origins of the Amazons. The beginnings of the Amazons and their realm can be described as extending the Gothic realm according to the same logic that makes the Parthian Empire an extension. The underscoring quoted here corroborates, through the work of Orosius (c. 385–420), that the Amazons were indeed of Gothic descent:

> Margin: Exordium Amazonum
>
> Text: At ipse Paulus Orosius postquam earum memoriam fecerat, ad res Gothicas se conuertit, monstraturus eo contextu ipsas esse origine Gothas. (JM 51–52)

[274] Percy Ernst Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel: Wanderung und Wandlung eines Herrschaftszeichens von Caesar bis zu Elisabeth II* (Stuttgart 1958), p. 145, Ehrensvärd 2006, p. 59 (for a depiction of the orb).

[275] Ehrensvärd 2006, p. 54, Ludvigsson and Olai 1845.

The underscoring with the perhaps greatest contemporary relevance in Eric's time is found in the introduction, where Johannes discusses the geography of Sweden and addresses a particularly important question for Eric XIV: that of Scania, the province in the south of Sweden which was bought from the Danes by the Swedish king Magnus Eriksson in the 1300s and then taken back by force (and without reimbursement).

In Eric's speech against the Danish king concerning the unjust war against Eric himself, he addresses this delicate question.[276] In Johannes Magnus it is explicitly claimed that Scania and the two nearby provinces of Blekinge and Halland have always been rightfully Swedish/Gothic, but were lost to Denmark because the Danes were allowed by him (or at least not hindered) to cross the sea from Denmark and invade Scania. It is thus a matter of an unlawful usurpation due to the wicked or possibly negligent action of King Magnus:

> Dani enim transmisso brachio maris (quod Scandiam ab ipsis separare diximus) eas regiones ob malitiam, vel negligentiam Regis Magni Smeech (quemadmodum suo loco dicemus) occupauerunt. (JM 7)[277]

Certainly, this is not an explicit case of extending the realm, as what is said in the underscored text is actually that the realm has been diminished through the actions of the Danes. But through the description of these actions as an illegal occupation, and with regard to Eric's own claim to the provinces in question, the underscoring would seem to signify the reincorporation of them into the Swedish realm. In his speech, the *Oratio de iniusto bello regis Daniae anno 1563 contra regem Sueciae Ericum 14 gesto*, Eric refers to Scania and the provinces closest to it, emphasising that they have been unlawfully usurped by the rapacious Danish king.[278] Getting them back would mean enlarging the realm. To conclude, Eric uses the regalia symbols to represent the same things in Johannes Magnus and Sabellicus as they do in his coronation ritual, to take care of his realm.

4.4 Virtues, vices, and emotions

In the first section of this chapter, I discussed regal characteristics: greed and generosity, or *avaritia* and *liberalitas*. These are of course not only potential character traits of kings, but also examples of a vice and a virtue respectively. The seven capital vices, or deadly sins, were well-known since the Middle Ages, as well

[276] Karlsson 2003, p. 136.

[277] See also JM, book 21, chapter 6 and the *Oratio contra Danos* in book 23.

[278] Karlsson 2003, p. 138.

as the corresponding cardinal virtues. Vices and virtues could also be used as a principle for organising material, as seen in Valerius Maximus.[279]

Virtues, in addition, were a crucial aspect of government in the time before modern bureaucratic control, because the importance of individuals was greater, and virtues are embodied in persons, who show their virtues (or lack thereof) in action.[280] The virtues were not only of importance in a regent himself or herself, but also in everyone else who was placed in charge of public functions, as stressed in *Barnabok*, which is aimed at the children of the Swedish nobility.[281]

In the following, we shall explore Eric's use of symbols with an ethical and moral (broadly speaking) theme. I have included vices, virtues and some examples of what we would call emotions. These sometimes overlapped in Eric's time: love, for example, is both an emotion and one of the three Christian virtues. (Admittedly, the category might be regarded as anachronistic as it has been put together from a modern perspective rather than from one contemporary with Eric.)

4.4.1 The heart

An important symbol for love in the Renaissance, as well as in our time, is a heart.[282] One example of a heart is found in the AOR, in Dee's copy of *De natura deorum*, because of a reference to the human heart in the text (*Nat. D.* 1.92).[283] But there, it is an illustration, and not a symbol. There are twelve hearts altogether (here JM 82): five in Johannes Magnus and seven in Sabellicus. In Johannes Magnus, for example, the young Gothic king Euriphilus (who has already been referred to) joined the Trojan War because he was deeply in love with the Trojan princess Cassandra, to the point of braving any dangers or hardships for her sake:

> […] ob eximium Cassandrae amorem, quo adolescens accensus erat, omnia illa difficillima pericula itinerum & bellorum sustinuisse. (JM 64)

[279] Cf Moss 1996, pp. 109–110.

[280] Norman Jones, *Governing by Virtue: Lord Burghley and the Management of Elizabethan England* (2015), pp. 27–28.

[281] Tania Preste, "The King's Virtues in Swedish Mirrors for Princes c. 1300–c. 1600", in Staffan Fogelberg Rota and Andreas Hellerstedt (eds.), *Shaping Heroic Virtue: Studies in the Art and Politics of Supereminence in Europe and Scandinavia* (Leiden 2015), pp. 133–152, p. 140.

[282] Henkel and Schöne 1967, col. 1029, Tervarent 1958, col. 102.

[283] AOR (s.v. *heart*).

Romantic as this story is, it ends on a tragic note. Euriphilus went after the Greek enemies for Cassandra's sake. He was vastly outnumbered by the Greek soldiers and ended up being killed. There is however no doubt that the heart refers to his love for Cassandra.

In Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, and in Johannes Magnus too, quite some space is dedicated to the romantic story of the aforementioned Regnerus, a young prince who was sent by his stepmother to perform tasks far below his dignity as a prince and heir to the throne, to keep him out of the way.[284] He guarded a herd of swine in the forest when the fair Suanhuita came to help him regain his throne. His royal bearing betrayed him, according to her, and they fell in love and eventually married. Naturally, he managed to take back his throne and ruled for many years. When he died, Queen Suanhuita, who had now had half of her heart violently torn from her, according to Johannes, could not bear the pain of being separated from her husband, wished to be reunited with him, died very soon, and was buried in the same tomb:

> Nec diu charissima coniunx Suanhuita superstes erat, postquam dimidium cordis sui a suis visceribus auulsum, & tumulo inclusum aspexerat: tantum siquidem, & tam insuperabilem dolorem ex eo funere contraxit, vt necessarium fuerit ipsam in fata concedere, quando nullam aliam rem enixius pro remedio postularet, quam ipsam mortem, qua posset eodem tumulo cum extincto marito sociari. (JM 82)

Another example of a romantic story is the one of Meleager, Oeneus' son Atalanta, Schineus' daughter, and the hunt for the Calydonian boar, which is referred to by Sabellicus. As seen below, Meleager's love for Atalanta is explicitly mentioned (the bold is mine):

> Etenim Meleager Oenei filius, penes quem omnis fuit Calidonii apri perempti gloria, occisae ferae exuuias Atalantae puellae Arcadicae, in cuius **amorem** iuueniliter inciderat, dono obtulit. Erat puella Schinei filia. (Sab. 90)

Sabellicus also tells the well-known story (as stated in the remark in parentheses below) about Hypsipyle and Jason. The underscoring points out that she was pregnant and abandoned by him:

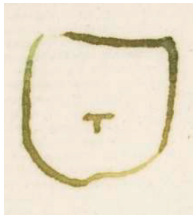
> Estque (quod satis constat) Hypsipyle grauida ab Iasone relicta. (Sab. 69)

[284] Saxo's version (*Gesta Danorum*, book 2, chapter 2) includes demons too; according to him, Regnerus' wicked stepmother was a demon, and rather than the "normal" battle in Johannes Magnus, where Regnerus receives support from the nobility and can claim his throne, there is a battle in the nightly forest, where all the demons are killed. In the morning light, the dead demons turn into their true form, and the stepmother is, of course, found to be among them.

Eric has marked this, too, with a heart, which suggests that his main interest lay not in Jason's abandonment of her, but in the romantic story as a whole. All the above examples point in the direction of romantic love, as expected with such a symbol.

4.4.2 The shield

A shield can mean several things in emblem books: bravery, fortitude and inventiveness, as well as suspicion.[285] These possible meanings have the common denominator that they can refer to protection: bravery and fortitude obviously so, but inventiveness and suspicion can also be of importance in the act of protecting someone. There is only one symbol in the form of a shield, in Johannes Magnus (JM 88), depicted here to the left.



In Johannes Magnus, the shield is found next to an underscoring about a fight between Danish and Swedish noblemen. They meet up and drink to discuss political events, wars, kings, various injustices and problems, only to end up fighting. As seen below, the fight is described in positive terms: it is emphasised that this was not a brawl between the lowly and wretched, but a noble fight between the best and the bravest of each people, which was then commemorated in songs:

> Verum quia inter pocula (sicut adhuc est mos illarum regionum) de bellis, de Republica, & de iure Regum, de illatis & acceptis iniuriis, de resarciendis damnis, & similibus grauissimis controuersiis sermo longius, quam commodius extraheretur, offensis inuicem acriter animis ad arma deuentum est: fit atrox & cruenta pugna, non inter abiectae sortis homines, sed inter praestantiores vtriusque partis proceres: de quorum eximia fortitudine, & inuictis vtrobique animis, plurima & praeclara carmina patrio sermone conscripta celebrantur. (JM 88)

That the fight and the great bravery of those involved were commemorated in song, recalls one of the symbolic meanings of a shield: fortitude and bravery. The shield in Eric's symbol system means bravery, *fortitudo*, one of the cardinal virtues.

4.4.3 The hands

One of the old Roman virtues has also been provided with a symbol of its own: *concordia* 'harmony'. *Concordia* was illustrated as a pair of hands or a handshake in emblem books.[286] Typotius presents an emblem with two hands and

[285] Henkel and Schöne 1967, cols. 1491–1493, Tervarent 1958, col. 50.

[286] Henkel and Schöne 1967, col. 1013, Tervarent 1958, col. 260.

the label *Concordiae aeternae* 'for eternal harmony'.[287] The clasping of hands in general meant some form of union.[288] The symbol in Eric's books, which I have labelled *the hands*, consists of two hands clasping each other. There are six cases in total: five in Johannes Magnus (here JM 23), and one in Sabellicus.

Already in the introduction, where Johannes Magnus describes the realms and people of Gothia and Suetia respectively, he points out that they belong together. From the beginning, he says, they lived together as in a single realm, joined together by nature herself. At the end of that description comes an underscored text passage where Johannes points out that the Goths and the Swedes will always prevail, as long as the *concordia* and *unitas* of the two peoples are maintained:

> […] perinde ac si eos praemonere voluisset, quod seruata inuicem **vnitate**, & **concordia**, non solum ipsi inuicti, sed caeterarum nationum victores essent futuri. (JM 5, the bold is mine)

There is another illustration of *concordia* in the case of the two kings Hundingus of Sweden and Hadingus of Denmark. They had agreed that should news of the death of the other arrive, the remaining party was to take action to ensure his own departure from life. Both kings wanted the other to have company in the journey to the Underworld and not have to leave alone:

> Siquidem inter eos ita conuentum erat, vt alter alterius fato comperto, mortem sibi quantotius acceleraret, ne absque comite solus ad infernas sedes properaret. (JM 78)

Although the word *concordia* itself is not used, the depiction of the harmonious relation between these two kings clearly illustrates the concept.

The single example in Sabellicus points in the exact same direction. Here, Sabellicus describes another union of two peoples – the inhabitants of Italy and the Trojan followers of Aeneas – under one name, *Latini*. At the end of the underscored text, the word *concordia* is mentioned, when Aeneas leads the armies of both people into war, supported by their *concordia*.

> Huiusmodi belli terrore perculsus Aeneas, ut Aboriginum studia ad maiora rerum pericula sibi conciliaret, arctiusque inter se utriusque gentis animi coalescerent, tam homines sui generis, quam veteres Latij accolas uno iubet nomine Latinos uocari. Quae res fecit ut Aborigines iam inde neque fide in regem, neque charitate fuerint Troianis inferiores. Aeneas cum per haec res suas firmiores reddidisset, etsi Hetruscorum tum opes florentissimae erant ac tam ualidae, ut a supero ad inferum

[287] Typotius 1601–1603. vol. 2, pl. 121.

[288] Ferguson 1961, p. 48.

> mare longe lateque pollerent, duarum tamen gentium **concordia** fretus suos in aciem ducit. (Sab. 107, the bold is mine.)

The two hands clasping each other, as we have seen, are a symbol of the virtue of *concordia* 'harmony' or 'unity'. Naturally there are also less warm feelings than love, such as hatred and the like, and vices standing against *fortitudo* and *concordia*, as we shall see in the following.

4.4.4 The reversed heart

From love and harmony, we now move on to hatred, discord and cruelty. Hatred, in a wide sense, is symbolised by a reversed (upside-down) heart (here JM 85). There are 36 reversed hearts in all, 12 in Johannes Magnus and 24 in Sabellicus. I use the word *reversed* here, a heraldic term that signifies turning something upside-down. I shall return to this term in section 4.8 and present it more fully. This symbol is used to mark various horrific or cruel acts, which can be described as illustrations of hatred and discord .

This first case is from Johannes Magnus and deals with a Danish attempt to free themselves from the Goths, who held sovereign power over them. After the great exodus from Sweden of a majority of the Goths under King Berico, the Danes had understood that the Goths left behind in Sweden, who were internally divided, had lost a great deal of their former might. And so, the Danes decided to try to rid themselves of the Goths:

> Cuius tempore cum Dani animaduertissent maximam Gothorum multitudinem cum Rege suo Bericone olim in alienas terras emigrasse, eoque exitu potentiam Gothorum, qui in patria remanserant, & ad mutuas dissensiones redierant, plurimum extenuatam, non distulerunt Gothicum imperium, cui per multa secula paruerant, a suis ceruicibus excutere. (JM 65)

This passage contains discord/hatred on two levels: within the Gothic realm, where the general dissent that first made King Berico initiate the exodus is one part, and outside it, in Denmark, where the Danes, subjected to the Goths, but trying to get rid of their hated masters constitutes the second part.

Another case is about the Amazons. Johannes says that some authors claim that the Amazons break the necks of their new-born sons, with the hatred normally seen in stepmothers:

> Affirmant etiam nonnulli ipsas nouercali odio aeditis masculis guttura confregisse. (JM 54)

In Sabellicus, we find a much greater number of reversed hearts than in Johannes Magnus, for example in the underscoring presented just below, where the theme of cruelty to infants is also found. It is the beginning of the story of Oedipus. The tale of the unfortunate prince's life is well-known, and, as said in the cited underscoring, soon after his birth, the poor infant had his feet pierced with a blade and was put out into the wild to die, in order to prevent the prophecy his father Laius had received from coming true:

> Hoc Laius responso instructus, uirilis stirpis infantem ex Iocasta non multo post editum, traiectis ferro pedibus in solitudines abijci iussit. (Sab. 97)

Another case in Sabellicus which is interesting because it is an inversion of love in a different manner than the ones just presented, is that of Ninus. He is said to have devoted himself to shameful lust, and to have been softer than all the eunuchs and the groups of harem girls. Here, it is not a matter of hatred as the opposite of love, but instead of a perverted form of love as its opposite:

> Caeterum ea Ninus per praefectos agere, ipse inter eunuchos & puellarum greges omnium mollissimus foedis se uoluptatibus immersit, quibus turpiter captus, aliquanto turpius consenuit. (Sab. 16)

Most of the reversed hearts in Sabellicus are references to innocent people being hurt, murdered or betrayed, as when Medea kills her sons (Sab. 75), but there are also cases similar to the one about Ninus just above, where the reference is to the opposite of love as shameful desire, rape and abduction (Sab. 15, 63, 88). The reversed heart thus means the opposite of love, both hatred and manifestations of hatred, and what might be called perverted forms of love.

4.4.5 The snake's head

There is one more reversed heart in Johannes Magnus, not counted in the total of 36 reversed hearts, because it has been crossed out and replaced. Its replacement is a symbol that looks like a snake's head with no tongue – the image to the right (JM 92) is the one where the similarity to a snake's head is the most striking. Further down in this section one of the other two is depicted. There are only three occurrences of a tongueless snake's head in the entirety of Eric's marginalia, all found in Johannes Magnus, and within five pages at that.

The replacement of a reversed heart with a snake's head shows that Eric changed his mind about how to categorise the passage. Obviously, one possible categorisation was hatred, but then, he changed his mind, which suggests that the

new category must be different, but not strikingly so. It is one of the two rare occasions where Eric has recategorised something. (The other is found on Sab. 114; there, an eye symbol replaces a P symbol.)

This recategorisation is made next to an example from the ancient Gothic past. It deals with Hotherus, who was in possession of every virtue imaginable and even knew magic. Hotherus had been educated at the Norwegian court, where the beautiful princess Nanna lived. Balderus, who ruled a small part of Denmark, wanted to marry her, but both she and her father refused. Balderus decided to use force to claim his prospective bride. Hotherus too gathered an army with the help of his brother Attilus, the Gothic king, to defend his Norwegian friends, and because he himself wished to marry Nanna. Soon, Balderus, and through him Denmark, was defeated in the war, as well as in his amorous plans when Nanna and Hotherus married. Hotherus' older brother Attilus, who had helped defeat the Danes, now made Hotherus king of the Danes, at their own request.

After the marriage to Nanna, Hotherus returned to Sweden as co-regent of his older brother. But the Danish faith was not kept. Despite having asked for Hotherus as their king, the Danes rose in rebellion under Balderus. Johannes Magnus then quotes Saxo on the treacherousness and unreliability of the Danes:

> […] qui affirmabat Danos acerrimum ipsius Hotheri aemulum Balderum in regni Daniae solium extulisse. Tam ancipiti (inquit Saxo) censura maiorum nostrorum sententia fluctuata est: noluit enim dicere, fidem eorum fractam, & honestatem violatam. (JM 92)

The same theme is touched on just two pages later, where the new Gothic king Rodericus, the son of Nanna and Hotherus, is said to be put through exactly the same hardship by the Danes as his father Hotherus, his uncle Attilus, and before that their father Hothebrotus:

> Sed idem & simile nogotium [sic] cum Danis subire coactus est, quale eius auus Hothebrotus, deinde patruus Attilus, & demum ipse pater Hotherus sustinuit. (JM 94)

In light of the previous underscored passage, it is quite obvious what is meant by *nogotium*. After the underscoring by Eric follows Johannes Magnus' explanation that the Danes are very obedient as long as their Gothic king is present in Denmark, but as soon as he leaves for Sweden, they refuse to keep faith or any oaths of loyalty. The Danes, in short, are not to be trusted. This is evident from the rest of the story of Rodericus, as continued in the last underscoring with a snake's head symbol, which describes a new uprising in Denmark, started by a man named Horuendillus. He governed part of Denmark as second in command to Rodericus himself. Rodericus had appointed Horuendillus and provided him with a royal bride, his own daughter Princess Gerutha, in order to make him keep his faith to the Gothic throne. That was not enough, because Horuendillus was very ambitious and did not want

any superiors. He ensured that anyone who might oppose him on his way to power was killed, including the king of Norway, who was a good friend of Rodericus. And so, Horuendillus betrayed the faith that had been placed in him.

> Sed maius aliquid erat, quod Horuendilliana ambitio postulabat. Quippe non contentus secundus a Rege haberi, regnum occupandum restabat, antequam animus eius satiari posse crederetur. Itaque quos putabat suis votis maxime repugnaturos, illos e vita tollendos curauit: in quorum numero erat Rex Noruegiae Collerus, prima amicitia Roderico coniunctus. (JM 96)

The snake's head can look different from the one above, as seen here (JM 96). The head above is much more pronounced, and the mouth more widely open, in comparison to the small mouth here. But the overall shape of a snake's head is still visible, and the treachery described in the underscoring next to each symbol is unmistakable, which suggests that all these three symbols really are snakes, despite not being identical. A snake, when it has a negative meaning – I regard the snake's head as a simplification – can be a reference to ingratitude, to the forces of evil, hidden dangers, and to steering clear of (presumably evil) strangers.[289] Hidden danger can be synonymous to treacherousness, or to strangers, and the Danes generally show themselves very unreliable and ungrateful in Johannes Magnus' work.

Unreliability is one of the most important characteristic traits of the Danes in Johannes Magnus (as well as of any other enemy of the Goths), which makes the snake, or the snake's head, a good choice as a symbol. The idea of enemies who do not keep their word is a very common theme, as seen in the expression *Punica fides* sometimes used by the Romans to depict the unreliability of their arch-enemies from Carthage.[290] Eric himself often points out that the Danes are unreliable.

Finally, the idea of using a snake to portray treacherousness has Biblical overtones, as it is found in Genesis, where the Devil deceives Adam and Eve after assuming the form of a snake. Incidentally, in Greek and Roman literature, snakes were not mainly symbols of evil, but of good.[291] The *ouroboros*, an ancient symbol where a snake devours its own tail, was frequent in Antiquity as a symbol of time, of continuity and of the circularity of time.[292] It can also be found on Renaissance *emblemata* in this capacity: as a symbol of eternity.[293] But with the spread of

[289] Henkel and Schöne 1967, cols. 631, 637, Tervarent 1958, col. 345.

[290] See e.g. Liv. 21.4.

[291] James H. Charlesworth, *The Good and Evil Serpent. How a Universal Symbol Became Christianized* (Anchor Bible reference library; New Haven, CT 2009), pp. 185–187.

[292] Charlesworth 2009, pp. 155–156.

[293] Henkel and Schöne 1967, cols. 652–656.

Christianity, the image of the snake as a figure of evil, a wily tempter, and the representative or even symbol of Satan, became predominant, as in the case here.[294]

4.4.6 The fool's cap

In the world of emblems, a fool is a symbol of foolishness.[295] The fool's cap drawn by Eric of course represents a fool too, through the probably most easily recognisable garment. The task of a fool was to make people laugh, which included allowing himself or herself to be laughed at, and the following underscorings depict events that may be described as demonstrations of foolishness. There are three fool's caps in total, two in Sabellicus and one in Johannes Magnus (here JM 78).

In Johannes Magnus, the deaths of the kings Hadingus and Hundingus are described, as mentioned above in the section about the hands, a symbol of *concordia*. They had been enemies, but agreed that if word reached one of them about the death of the other, he would take his own life, in order to accompany his friend in death.

Hundingus was told that Hadingus had died and kept the promise by deciding to take his own life. In the underscoring, Hundingus invited the nobility of the realm to a great banquet. In the middle of the room was a giant vessel filled with drink from which Hundingus personally served his guests. In the end, he drowned himself in it to keep his promise to Hadingus. Unfortunately, it turned out to be a false rumour, Hadingus was not dead, and when he learnt about the death of Hundingus, he hanged himself in front of his entire people to keep *his* promise:

> Proinde conuocata totius regni nobilitate, conuiuium magnificum tanquam mortuo amico parentaturus instruxit, & ne quicquam Regiae magnificentiae deesse videretur, iussus a Rege promus condus dolium ingentis magnitudinis cereali, siue melleo potu repletum aulae in medio collocauit. Ipse Rex pincernae officio pocula circumferens, pietatis ministerium implere putabatur. Satagebat enim omnibus modis ostendere, quod non tam propter amici casum, quam ob seruandam praestitam fidem laetus & gaudens in fata concederet. Igitur postquam omnes ebrietate suffusos aduertisset, seipsum in dolium dulcissimi liquoris praecipitans, ostendere videbatur, illud mortis genus dulcius existimari debere, quod pro amicitia & fide susceptum, gloriam laudemque meretur immortalem. Quo cognito Hadingus cogitabat, quo genere mortis maiorem, vel parem fidelissimo amico gratiam referre posset, (quanquam difficile crederet tam eximiam virtutem pari virtute, aut amicitia superari posse) non coram

[294] Ferguson 1961, pp. 16–17, Chapeaurouge 1984, p. 84.

[295] Henkel and Schöne 1967, cols. 1128–1132.

> satrapis & proceribus suis, sed toto populo inspectante, sese (ne perfidia notaretur) laqueo suspendi permisit […] (JM 78–79)

The first case about Hadingus and Hundingus has been described as a ridiculous episode by Albert Krantz, one of Johannes Magnus' sources, a description to which Johannes Magnus strongly opposes himself.[296] The description in the *Historia de regibus* contains praise for both the kings involved, and is not supposed to be about foolishness, but about noble bravery. But Eric apparently agreed with Krantz and regarded the episode as a ridiculous one.

In Sabellicus, the two cases where the fool's cap is used are about Hercules. The first relates the story of when he dressed up as a woman and served Omphale, and the second that of how Deianira was tricked into unknowingly poisoning her husband Hercules with a shirt, which led to his death.

> Oraculi praecepto usus Hercules, ut pristinam reciperet ualetudinem sese uenalem praebuit, seruiuitque diu ignotus Omphale uirgini (Sab. 90)

> Credidit Deianira, & amans & foemina nil mali suspicans. Comparat itaque illa fraudis inscia monstratam opem priusquam arbiter adesset. (Sab. 91)

Hercules dressed in a woman's clothes has a certain comic value, as appreciated by Tertullian (*De Pallio* 4). The gullibility of Deianira is another example of foolishness. I suggest, for these as well as for the Hadingus/Hundingus episode, with the choice of symbol as a guide, that they are examples of actions that Eric found foolish, or possibly comical.

4.5 Renaissance learning

Eric's education consisted of history, astrology and chronology, among other fields of study. The symbols to be discussed in this section are connected to these subject areas.

4.5.1 The book

The book is an attribute of Clio, the muse of history, a symbol of history, of knowledge and wisdom, and not least of applying what one has learnt.[297]

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[296] JM 79, cf Albert Krantz, *Chronica regnorum aquilonarium Daniæ, Svetiæ, Norvagiæ* (Argent. 1546), p. Sveciae I: ch 16.).

[297] Henkel and Schöne 1967, cols. 1287–1290, Tervarent 1958, cols. 250–251.

Applying historical knowledge in one's own life is the notion of *historia magistra vitae* manifested. And so, the symbol of history (or at least of historical sources) in Eric's system of symbols is a book. The book symbol is found ten times in all: seven times in Johannes Magnus and three in Sabellicus (here JM 3). In Johannes Magnus' work, some of the book symbols seem to correspond to more than one underscoring in the text. Most of the symbols are references to underscored titles and/or authors, from the introduction where Johannes Magnus presents his sources:

> Iordanis, & Ablabii […] Albertus quoque Crantzius (JM 15)
>
> Nec dedignatus sum etiam Ericum Vpsalensem, & Saxonem Danicum, quem Irenicus Ioannem Saxonem vocat […] (JM 17)
>
> Ablabium & Iordanem Gothos […] Dionem Graecum (JM 17)
>
> Blondum, vel Agathium […] Bernardum Iustinianum, vel Albertum Crantzium (JM 17)

Not every work referred to by Johannes Magnus and underscored by Eric is extant today. Nothing is known about Ablabius, apart from the fact that his work is referred to by Jordanes in *Getica*.[298] Dio Graecus can pose a problem. This name could – in theory – refer to two different people: Dio Cassius and Dio Chrysostom. But it cannot be taken for granted that Eric himself was aware of which one Johannes Magnus refers to (he always quotes Dio Cassius via *Getica*) and so it is uncertain if Eric understood *Dio Graecus* as synonymous to Dio Cassius. It cannot be concluded with certainty which of the authors Eric believed *Dio Graecus* to be. (As we saw, Ablabius' work is lost, but Eric still marked it, so it is hard to draw conclusions as to his knowledge.)

Other authors and works are marked with a book symbol in Sabellicus, in two of the three cases of that symbol found there: the Greek historian Ctesias from Cnidus and the poet Simonides:

> Ctesias Cnidius (Sab. 9)
>
> (ut Simonides memoriae prodidit) (Sab. 85)

[298] On the sources of Johannes Magnus' work, see Nilsson 2016, pp. 55–64. For a source study, see Hans Helander, "Johannes Magnus i sin europeiska samtid", in Kurt Johannesson and Hans Helander (eds.), *Johannes Magnus – Goternas och svearnas historia* (vol. 2) (Stockholm 2018), pp. 49–67, pp. 52–55 as well as throughout the commentary (vol. 2).

In Johannes Magnus, we find two more cases marked with the book, giving references to other historical sources. They have often been described as dubious, because we do not know to what, exactly, Johannes was referring.[299] For our purpose here, however, it does not matter, as the fact that it is marked with a book symbol is irrefutable. One of the underscorings is information found in "public annals", the names of very ancient kings (JM 37) The other refers to old songs that were composed by the ancient Goths to commemorate great deeds of their ancestors in their own mother tongue:

> Proinde praeclara maiorum gesta in carmina, et versus quodam poetico more, sed patrio sermone, redigere curauerunt. (JM 17)

After this presentation of seven of the eight book symbols, it can be concluded that they all refer to historical sources of some kind. One book symbol still remains, and it is found in Sabellicus. In the underscoring, the author discusses a topic closely related to that of sources: the invention of the art of writing, where it took place, and, not least, hieroglyphs (Sab. 28). It is also claimed in the text that these ancient symbols could be found on some monuments in Rome (which probably is a reference to obelisks). The link to sources is not as clear as in the other cases, because nothing is said of what information could be found, but the reference to monuments with writing on them could very well be described as a reference to a source.

Apart from being works of interest as sources because of Eric's well-known interest in history, the works and writers referred to in Johannes Magnus and Sabellicus have in common that they are **not** mentioned in the inventory of Eric's books from 1568, with the exception of Dio Graecus (if Eric understood the name as Dio Cassius and not as Dio Chrysostom). The book symbol can thus also be regarded as a device for drawing up a preliminary list of interesting books that the king wished to incorporate into his book collection. But all of the authors are sources, and Eric was very interested in history, not least if it could be used to strengthen his claims, and that of the Vasa family, to the Swedish throne. Another matter of importance was to be able to show that the kingdom of Sweden was as old as possible, or at least older than Denmark.

4.5.2 The eye

The eye is a symbol of sight and of related concepts such as insight, knowledge and learning, all metaphorical references to learning and the like.

[299] Nilsson 2016, pp. 97–103.

An eye can also be the symbol of a guardian of justice, of watchfulness, carefulness, and caution.[300] There are six symbols that look like an eye depicted from the side, three in Johannes Magnus and three in Sabellicus (here JM 48). On one occasion (Sab. 114), the eye replaces a P symbol that has been scribbled over – that is, the information found there has been recategorised from the P category to the eye category. This suggests that the meaning of the two symbols respectively is somewhat similar.

Johannes Magnus writes about Rodericus, who was nicknamed Slingabond, because when at sea, he threw a large golden chain from one boat to another – but he did not manage to throw it far enough, and it vanished into the waves:

> Quo factum est, vt citra destinatum locum collapsae, fluctibus interceptae perierint: vnde Roderico cognomen Slingabond (quod significat fundae funiculum, vel funditorem) euenit. (JM 95)

There is an underscoring in Johannes Magnus about the Scythians being attacked by the Egyptian king Vexores (or Sexoses), who sends them the message that they can either accept his dominance or prepare to fight. They, of course, choose the latter option and fight (JM 48–49, symbol on 48). This Gothic bravery, manifested so early in history, was naturally interesting to Eric, because of course, the Goths were still every bit as brave.

Three of the underscorings marked with an eye symbol refer to the origin of peoples: the Egyptians, the Goths/Scythians, and the division of the world between Noah's sons after the Flood. Sem received Asia, Cham Egypt and Africa, and Japhet (who is also called Atlas Maurus) Europe:

> Sem praefecit Asiae, Cham Aegypto, & Africae: cuius metropolis fuit Chammin. Iaphetum, vero (qui & Atlas Maurus dictus est, quod obierit in Mauritania, vt Diodorus in quarto insinuat) praefecit Europae. (JM 20–21, symbol on 21)

Sabellicus discusses the related question of the place which was first cultivated: Egypt or Scythia. He arrives at the conclusion that because of the climate, it is more likely that the *ager Damascenus* (in the modern Hebron area), was the first place to be inhabited: there, it was not as hot as in Egypt, nor as cold as in Scythia, making the climate ideal for cultivating the earth:

[300] Henkel and Schöne 1967, cols. 399–401, 988, 1010, 1012, 1266–1267. The symbol in col.1267 is originally drawn by Eric, Tervarent 1958, col. 286.

> Quare multo uerius sit dicere, mediam inter utranque terram, qualis est Damascenus ager, & alia circumiecta illi loca, quod sacrae etiam literae innuunt, primos hominum cultus fuisse sortitam, qui terrarum tractus non solum non esset ijs uitijs, quibus Aegyptus & Scythia, obnoxius: sed climatis ratione multo utraque regione temperatior. (Sab. 7)

In Sabellicus, there is another underscoring (25 lines, Sab. 6–7, symbol on 6) about the age of Egypt and Scythia respectively (that is, a theme that leads to the above quotation). So far, all the quotations have pertained to the origin of the Goths and to the immense age of the Gothic people.

Finally, there is the underscored passage in Sabellicus which was originally marked with the P symbol, which is a reference to patriotism, but recategorised with an eye. A legendary king of Athens, Codrus, was at war with the Peloponnesians.[301] He had heard an oracle reveal that the victorious side in the war would be that of which the king was killed. To guarantee an Athenian victory, he realised that he himself had to die, and so went into the enemy camp disguised as a common soldier, started a quarrel with a few of the soldiers there, and was killed. This was of course a great act of patriotism, with a king who sacrificed his own life for his country and explains the initial categorisation with a P. But the recategorisation with an eye instead probably is a reference to genealogy, as in the case of Hercules and other heroes from Antiquity who seem to be interpreted as Goths by Eric:

> Erat tum rex Athenis Codrus. Is quum forte inuestigasset quale hostes oraculum Delphis accepissent, sciretque futurorum, ut hostis eo bello uoti compos fieret, nisi ipse mortem occumberet, patriam, cui prima post deum humanae gentes debent officia, sua morte tuendam arbitratus, militari habitu amictus, ne si nobilem se obtulisset, uiuus in potestatem ab hoste redigeretur, sarmentis seruilem in modum onustus, hostium castra ingreditur. Ibi gregario a milite, quem in remorantium turba moto de industria iurgio uulnerauit, ferro est confossus. (Sab. 114)

The eye, to conclude, means knowledge about the Gothic past, specific and useful knowledge for Eric, and of interest for the application of Gothicism in his time. As this was part of his patriotism, it explains why the underscored text passage was redefined from the patriotism category to that of knowledge about Gothicism: the two categories are related, but not identical.

[301] The entire story is found in Karl Scherling, "Kodros", *Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 11 (Stuttgart 1922), cols. 984–994.

4.5.3 The sun

The next symbol is a sun, a symbol of truth and wisdom.[302] It is found only in Sabellicus (here Sab. 70) and only four times, then next to underscored text passages that refer in some way to premonitions, omens and other ways of foreboding the future. In the quotation below, Zooaster is claimed to have laughed at his birth, which was taken as an omen for his future wisdom. (Children were namely thought to be unable to laugh before their fortieth day.[303]) This extraordinary laughter at birth was consequently something of which to make note:

> Nunc ad Zooastrem redeo quem phama est subito natum risisse, manifesto futurae scientiae presagio. (Sab. 9)

There is also an example of how the Roman general Sertorius (c. 123–72 BC), then in command of Hispania, went through Africa, as told in Plutarch's vita from the *Parallel Lives* (Plut. *Sert.* 9). He had the tomb of the legendary wrestler Antaeus opened, a wrestler who had once fought and been defeated by Hercules.[304] The enormous size of the bones was taken as a frightful omen by those being there with him:

> Antaei cadauer septuaginta cubitorum in Tigenna Mauritaniae urbe a Sertorio, qui Hispaniae imperium aliquot annos obtinuit, refossum, spectatamque portentosam ossium magnitudinem ijs qui cum eo tunc erant. (Sab. 35)

Trying to predict the future was a crucial aspect of astrology, which was extremely important in Eric's time. With the help of a horoscope, the future could be predicted, and by making a nativity (a horoscope for somebody's moment of birth), information about his or her future character could be extracted.[305] Eric XIV prepared horoscopes himself, and his interest in astrology is obvious from his diaries, in which every day has notes about the locations of important celestial bodies. Some of the empty space in Strabo, Sabellicus and Stadius is taken up by astrological calculations too.

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[302] Tervarent 1958, col. 356.

[303] Michail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Cambridge, Mass. 1968), p. 69. cf. Plin. *Nat.* 7.2.

[304] See further on Antaeus in Max Wellmann, "Antaios", *Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart 1894), pp. 2339–2343.

[305] See Andersson 1936, pp. 103–106, Will-Erich Peuckert, *Geschichte der Geheimwissenschaften. 1, Astrologie* (Stuttgart 1960), pp. 114–124.

The ability of predicting the future can literally be described as a form of *providentia*, being able to "see" things before they happen, and is, in that respect, linked to prophesies and omens, phenomena that can be interpreted to say something about the future. *Providentia* is closely related to the virtue of *prudentia*, a form of practical wisdom gained not least through (political) experience.[306] And so, there is a link between the sun as a symbol of wisdom and the ability of (truthfully) predicting things yet to come: *prudentia* as a form of clairvoyance.[307]

4.5.4 The encircled number

In both Johannes Magnus and Sabellicus, a symbol which looks like a circle with the number 1 inside it is found (here JM 18). There are five cases in total, two in Johannes Magnus and three in Sabellicus. One aspect of the Renaissance study of history, of which the importance is obvious not least from Johannes Magnus' work, was chronology (see JM 18, 26). It was of course necessary to be able to explain *when* something had happened to be able to arrange historical events into the correct order, and not least to establish the number of years that had passed since the Creation of the world.

The science of chronology consisted in making sense of history by linking together the Bible, ancient Roman and Greek history, and as much other material as possible. A good understanding of astronomy or astrology, to reveal the position of various celestial bodies and important events in the sky, such as solar eclipses or the appearance of comets, as found in Ptolemy's *Almagest* was also vital for making a timeline. However, as I have already presented this in chapter 3, I shall not repeat myself further here.

Four of the total of five cases deal with numbers, and most of them with dates, as here in Johannes Magnus, where the number of years from Creation to the birth of Christ is established as 3960:

> margin: Anni a creatione mundi ad Christum 3960.
>
> text: […] inuenio ab Adam, & mundi creatione, vsque ad Christi natiuitatem, annos ter mille nongentos sexaginta. (JM 18)

One of the cases in Sabellicus (Sab. 9) also deals with time, but the other two are different. Here, Eric seems to have left the idea of chronology and expanded the meaning of the symbol to numbers in general, in a way similar to when the book

[306] Brendan Cook, "*Prudentia* in More's *Utopia*: The Ethics of Foresight", *Renaissance & Reformation* 36 (2013), pp. 31–68, pp. 32–33.

[307] Aubert-Baillot 2015, p. 75.

symbol went from written sources to writing. The circle with the number one inside refers to the number of Argonauts (Sab. 69), and to the enormous number of military men in the great army of Semiramis respectively:

> quinquies supra tricies centum milia hominum ab bellum coegisse, & in his equitum quingenta milia. (Sab. 12)

For the encircled number, I have not found any demonstrable inspiration on Eric's part in the world of emblems or heraldry, but its meaning, *numbers*, is clear.

I have now discussed four symbols: the book, the eye, the sun and the encircled number, as representatives of important branches of science in the time of Eric XIV: history, knowledge of importance for Gothicism in particular, astrology, and chronology. All of them, except the encircled number, can be found elsewhere with a similar meaning as in Eric's system.

4.6 Women

Eric left a short poem on the final page in his diary from 1566. There, he suggests that someone who is unable to enjoy the chaste kisses of a lovely girl is not seen as a man, but as a lifeless piece of wood:

> Quem non formosae delectant casta puellae
> oscula non homo sed truncus habetur iners.[308]

Eric lived up to this by having several mistresses before he eventually married Karin Månsdotter. As this took place as late as July 1567, he spent most of his reign with various mistresses. Eric XIV wished to meet possible marriage candidates in person before deciding about betrothal, to ensure that he would fall in love and so not feel tempted to commit adultery. This was of interest also in his foreign policy when he sought to forge an alliance through an advantageous marriage.[309] Eric's interest in women was later to be used against him in his successor's propaganda: a king who had so many mistresses as Eric was obviously too promiscuous and degenerate to be a good king.[310] This interest in women in real life might have something to do with his interest in historical material about women; in addition, there are two

[308] UUB, E 279a, the final page.

[309] Annell 1945, p. 206.

[310] See e.g. Hildebrand (ed.), *Svenska riksdagsakter under tidehvarfvet 1521–1718. Andra delen, 1561–1592* (vol. 1), pp. 329–330.

variants of the symbol found next to underscorings about women. I have not seen any probable model for this symbol.

4.6.1 The female torso

The first of the symbols is a female torso which recurs five times, all in Johannes Magnus (here JM 53). It always corresponds to an underscored text pertaining to women. According to the following quotation, the Amazon queen Orithyia, daughter of Queen Marpesia, was very chaste and never allowed any man near her. Through her everlasting virginity, Orithyia could instead devote her energy towards winning admirable glory on the battlefield:

> Haec tantae erat pudicitiae, vt nunquam se permiserit ab aliquo viro cognosci, sed perpetua virginitate admirandam bellicae virtutis gloriam cumulauit. (JM 56)

Another underscoring where women (and men) are concerned is found in Johannes Magnus' story about the aftermath of the Flood. The earth had to be re-peopled, so every man took a wife who gave birth to twins, who eventually had twins too:

> Congressi vero coniugibus, perpetuo geminos aedebant, marem & foeminam: qui adulti, & coniuges effecti, & ipsi binos partu liberos aedebant. (JM 19)

The other text passages with the female torso next to them also deal with women, for example in the description of the Gothic women who wanted to be with their men and leave Sweden together with King Berico (JM 38). Wigert correctly suggested that female torsos seemed to "mark places referring to women", but only as a remark in passing, there is no study of this symbol in his work.[311]

4.6.2 The simplified torso

After JM 56, no more female torsos appear. There is however another, simplified version of the symbol, only a pair of breasts, occurring five times in all. In Johannes Magnus, there are two underscorings, on pages 68 and 71 (here JM 71), and in Sabellicus, there are four, but two of them are linked to the same symbol. They all deal with women too, and there is no striking difference as regards the corresponding content of the underscorings. However, Eric has, for some reason, changed the symbol by simplifying it into what looks like only two breasts. As the breasts are the most prominent part on the female torso, and as they mean the same

[311] Wigert 1920, p. 159.

thing, I refer to this symbol as *the simplified torso*, rather than *the breasts* to emphasise the link in meaning between the female torso and the simplified torso.

In Johannes Magnus, a simplified torso is, for example, found in the story about the adventures of Prince Gram. He came to Sweden in disguise to woo Princess Gro, and when he realised that there was nothing to fear from her father the king and that she requited his love, he removed his disguise and presented her with lavish gifts. Such are usually wont to secure girls' affections more quickly, according to Johannes:

> Tandem vbi Gram intellexit se de voluntate virginis securum, nec formidandas esse inscii patris insidias, depositis ferinis pellibus quibus amictus fuerat, concupito virginis amplexu potitur, datis prius pro sua Regia fortuna & magnificentia amatoriis donis, quibus puellarum animi citius capi consueuerunt. (JM 68)

Gram's abduction of Gro (despite her willingness) provoked another outbreak of the great enmity between the Swedes/Goths and the Danes. King Sibdagerus, a relative of Gro, went to Denmark with his fleet to avenge himself on Gram, by raping his sister and then abducting and marrying his daughter. The passage is thus mainly about women:

> Siquidem classe bellica in Daniam prouectus, primo sororem Regis stupro violatam infami pudore affecit, deinde filiam eius admodum speciosam violentius raptam in Noruegiam abduxit, abductamque sibi matrimonio copulauit, plurimum eo prospero facto exultans, quod vnam iniuriam geminata atque atrociore vindicasset. (JM 71–72, symbol on 71)

The simplification of the female torso is the only version found in Sabellicus. The following two cases share one symbol and are both taken from the story of Oedipus and refer to his mother-wife Iocaste. The first one is about their marriage:

> […] Iocastae dicitur connubium adeptus. (Sab. 97)

The second presents Iocaste as a mother both of Oedipus and of the children she bore her son. When they had married, Oedipus had several children through her: the sons Eteocles and Polynices and the daughters Antigone and Ismene:

> Sed quoquo modo Oedipus matris est nuptias sortitus (nam in re tam uetusta & fabulosa quod affirmem nihil habeo) plures ex ea liberos procreauit, uirilis stirpis, Eteoclem & Polynicem, Antigonam alterius sexus & Ismenem. (Sab. 97)

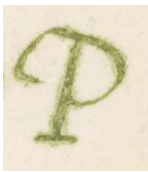
Most of the underscorings marked with the simplified torso contain references to love, marriage and procreation, and several of the torso symbols above refer to warlike women. This could possibly be used to argue that the symbols should not be regarded as two different versions with the same overall meaning. But with

regard to the underscoring above about re-peopling the Earth after the Flood, which has a female torso symbol, not a simplified one, it is reasonable to classify the two symbols as variants, in a way similar to the two different purses signifying *liberalitas*.

4.7 Letters: P and A

4.7.1 The letter P

Eric XIV also used the letter P as a symbol. It appears 21 times in total, 16 in



Johannes Magnus (here JM 83) and five in Sabellicus. It is a patriotic symbol, and it often means that something is good for Sweden, bad for Denmark, or, in some cases, both. In Sabellicus, the meaning of the symbol can be harder to define, because Denmark and Sweden, and their long-lasting conflict, do not play a role, and it is not always immediately obvious why someone is regarded as a Goth, but it is always clear that the act is one of patriotism.

In this first case, Johannes Magnus deals with the question of Scythians and *Getae* as different names for the Goths. He suggests that Scandia – Scandinavia, or, in Johannes Magnus' interpretation, Sweden – and the home of the Scythians were actually the same place, and this is so important that the information has been printed in the margin of the *Historia de regibus* for emphasis. The same goes for the next marginal comment, where the Goths and the *Getae*, actually two different tribes, are identified as the same people. Finally, in the text itself, Johannes informs his reader that many of the (ancient) Latin writers referred to Sweden/Scandinavia by the name of Scythia.

> margin: Scandia Scythica
>
> margin: Gothi & Gethae eadem gens
>
> text: Complures quoque Latinorum totam Scandiam, vti diximus, Scythico nomini attribuere […] (JM 22)

This underscoring emphasises two identifications that proved important for Swedish Gothicism: that of Scandia as the home of the Scythians, and that of the Goths with the *Getae*, which was made already in Antiquity and based on the similarity of their names. This of course enabled any writer to weave together the accomplishments of all the tribes, and was used to strengthen the claim that Sweden was the original

home of the Goths.[312] As the Danes in Eric's time also claimed Gothic descent, the question was one of great contemporary importance and prestige.

When Eric underscores material about the Danes, it is for example about the allegedly great number of times in ancient days when the Danish realm was subordinated to the Swedish king. In this underscoring it is said that the Danes tried to establish their own rule through rebellion that was crushed by the might of the Goths:

> Quamuis enim Dani post occasum Hothebroti successori filio eius Attilo male paruissent, seque nunc Helgone, nunc Roluone duce in libertatem vindicare tentassent, attamen sublatis eisdem rebellionis autoribus, tandem coacti Suecorum imperio colla submisere. (JM 89)

The cases in Sabellicus refer to for example Hercules, to Theseus and his father Aegaeus, and to King Minos. I quote two of them below. Eric appears to have interpreted Theseus, as well as Hercules, as a Goth, as suggested in the section about the upright sword and the prone swords. But their actions can be described as acts of patriotism either way; this symbol can mean patriotism in a general sense.

First, one of the two different men by the name of Minos (Sabellicus devotes some time to discussing them) thought that his nephew Androgeus had been killed in Attica. The other Minos, Androgeus' father, declared war on the Athenians:

> Sed quibuscumque primus ille Minos et parentibus natus, inualuit opinio Androgeum eius nepotem dolo in Attica extinctum: quapropter Minos iunior qui Androgeum genuit, Athenienses graui bello petierit. (Sab. 84)

In this second underscored passage, Theseus himself volunteered to go to Crete as one of the youths sacrificed to the Minotaur: he thought that he should not be protected by his status as a prince, but have his name entered among the other names when they drew lots about who would be given to the Minotaur:

> Fuit ea animi elatio caeteris admirationi, extollereque uno ore omnes illius fortitudinem, populareque ingenium. Contra Aegaeus orare filium, obtestarique ne ultro se periculo offerret, satis habituros ciues, si eius nomen in sortem deiectum uiderint, filiumque Aegaei, qui ciuitatis fit princeps in ordinem redactum. Pateretur suum nomen in sortem uenire, ut si pereundum fuerit, omnem orbitatis suae inuidiam in fortunam reijceret. (Sab. 85)

This can be regarded as an example of patriotism, where a noble young prince volunteers to (potentially) die for the sake of his fatherland. From the underscorings in Johannes Magnus, it is clear that P refers to something pro-Gothic, i.e. patriotic. The cases in Sabellicus corroborate the image of patriotic actions, although it might

[312] Nilsson 2016, p. 16.

be less clear whether the ancient figures were seen as Goths. And so, I have concluded that the P symbol means *patriotism*.

4.7.1.1 The Astrological Sun Symbol

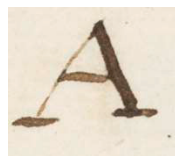
There are many astrological symbols in Eric's books where he makes astrological calculations, but as good as none used as symbols in the text itself. The only one is a symbol of the sun, a circle with a dot in the middle, found in Johannes Magnus (JM 83). In Johannes Magnus, it is found next to the P that marks the description of the extension of the Swedish/Gothic Empire after the victories of the ancient King Hothebrotus:

> […] industria Suetiae imperium a flumine Tanai versus Orientem, ad Albim fluuium, vel Visurgum in Occidentem extensum esset, & ampliatum (JM 83–84, symbol on 83)

The references to the Orient and the Occident are implicit references to the sun setting and rising respectively, which can explain the addition of an astrological sun symbol to the P. As there is already a sun symbol, it could of course not be used as a symbol of the actual sun, which explains the choice of the astrological symbol. But it is unclear whether Eric ascribed any importance to this symbol, as it is much less distinctly drawn and paler than the usual symbols, and lacks an underscoring of its own. It is used as an abbreviation for "sun" in Stadius (Sta., 1–2 January 1559): *Calmarnia paulo ante ortum* ʘ 'Kalmar shortly before sunrise'.

4.7.2 The letter A

Another letter symbol, A, appears eight times in total, four times in Johannes Magnus (here JM 2) and four times in Sabellicus. One of the As in Johannes Magnus looks slightly different; it is curved, somewhat smaller than the others, and found next to an underscoring of a Biblical quotation (Gen. 1:28): *Crescite et multiplicamini* (JM 20). But this letter shape is not unparalleled in Eric's writing, so there is not enough evidence to claim a different hand, although it *could* be by Benedictus Olai, the first owner of the book.



Two A symbols refer to underscorings which can be described as quotations that emphasise the use of and importance of history, as in this case:

> […] siquidem HISTORIA est (vt inquit Cicero) testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis. (JM 2)

The idea of *historia magistra vitae*, the famous quotation from Cicero, is well known to have been fundamental for Renaissance historiography, and the other underscored text is on the same theme.[313] The next underscoring is found in Johannes Magnus and explains the meaning of the word *Scytha*, as in *Scythians*, because according to Johannes Magnus, the Scythians are named Scythians after the Gothic word *Scytha* 'skytt' in modern Swedish, archer in English:

> margin: Scytha lingua Gothica sagittarium peritum designat.
>
> text: Deinde ab assidua exercitatione sagittandi dicti sunt Scythae: quod lingua Gothica sagittariae artis peritum designat. (JM 52)

This can be linked to the underscoring with the letter P above, where the three tribes of *Gothi*, *Getae* and *Scythi* are said to be one and the same, something of which Eric definitely approved.

In Sabellicus, there are three expressions that resemble *sententiae*, or some similar form of morally edifying and interesting saying with a certain relevance for monarchs, for example one that claims that victory and happiness arise from virtue, not from audacity, and one that says that desperation drives humans to dare just anything:

> […] uictoriamque & felicitatem a uirtute stare, non ab audacia. (Sab. 8)
>
> […] desperatio […] quae ad omnia extrema audenda impellit humanos animos. (Sab. 104)

With all cases taken together, the A symbol seems to signify some form of quotation or saying that gained the general approval of King Eric. The A could be an abbreviation of *approbatur, approbo* or another word that signifies approval, and so, the symbol means *approval*.

4.8 Changing the meaning of a symbol: technique

There are some symbols that are used both with the normal side up and reversed (upside-down). Apart from the heart, there is also the letter A, and a communion chalice with a holy wafer hovering just above. The heart and the reversed heart have already been presented.

[313] For the great importance of this notion in the Renaissance, see Rüdiger Landfester, *Historia magistra vitae: Untersuchungen zur humanistischen Geschichtstheorie des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance; Genève 1972). The other quotation is found on JM 1.

The heraldic principle of reversing, as in the case of a coat of arms of a traitor, was of course familiar to Eric XIV, as to any other aspiring regent in his time. In the *Oratio de iniusto bello regis Daniae anno 1563 contra regem Sueciae Ericum 14 gesto*, the speech where Eric explains that a war inflicted on him by the Danish king was unjust, he accuses the Danish king of unrightfully appropriating the Swedish royal coat of arms.[314] On a tapestry, a depiction of King Sueno, the first king of the Swedes according to Johannes Magnus, arms of pretention are found, which show not only the three golden crowns of Sweden, but also the three blue lions of the Danish coat of arms – in other words, Eric returned the favour.[315] There were however other ways of insulting people through the use of a coat of arms, such as reversing it. This is basically an insult or a way of dishonouring someone, as opposed to when it is displayed with the usual side up. There were nine different heraldic ways of dishonouring someone's coat of arms (abatements) and the worst one was reversing it.[316]

The decision of reversing someone's coat of arms (*subversio armorum*) ought to be made by courts of chivalry responsible for maintaining the rules of chivalry, but it also happened that people who were displeased with a certain nobleman reversed his coat of arms, as in the case of Duke John of Gaunt who had his reversed in 1377 by the people of London to show their dissatisfaction with him.[317] This suggests a relation of opposites: showing something with the right side up is normal, reversing it is a sign that something is amiss. Reversing something thus has the same function as adding a negating prefix such as *anti-*, *un-* or *in-* to a word.

In addition, there does not seem to be any obvious, well-established symbol for hatred and the like, whereas the heart is firmly established as a symbol of love. Reversing a well-known symbol (particularly one reasonably easy to draw) seems an easier option than inventing a completely new one. In the following, I shall present and discuss more symbols for which the same system has been used as for the heart.

[314] Karlsson 2003, p. 134 and 136, cf von Konow 2003, p. 34.

[315] An image is found at the home page of the Royal Castle in Stockholm: http://www.kungahuset.se/besokkungligaslotten/kungligaslottet/skattkammaren/historik/textilkungsvenotapeten

[316] Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford 1990), p. 68.

[317] Theodor Meron, "Shakespeare's Henry the Fifth and the Law of War", *The American Journal of International Law* 86 (1992), pp. 1–45, p. 3, Marcus Meer, "Reversed, defaced, replaced: late medieval London and the heraldic communication of discontent and protest", *Journal of Medieval History* 45 (2019), pp. 618–645, pp. 632–634.

4.8.1 The reversed A

The reversed A (here JM 2) is found 21 times in Johannes Magnus, whereof twelve times with no corresponding underscoring, and twice in Sabellicus. A majority of the reversed As in Johannes Magnus that lack a corresponding underscoring, have been placed where Johannes proudly claims to be the descendant of a noble family, discusses his own life, or moralises over history and draws parallels to his own time.

In the dedication letter to the Pope, Olaus Magnus describes his by then deceased brother Johannes as someone who was very eager to bring the kingdoms of the north back to the Catholic church and true faith. The northern kingdoms seemed to burn with the fires of heresy and Johannes (and now Olaus) wanted to put out the fires:

> […] cui vtique viro verae pietatis pleno, ad superos demigranti, assidua solicitudo inerat, si superstes fuisset, eadem Aquilonaria regna ad optabilem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae vnitatem reducere, & in perpetua obedientia reducta tenere: licet nunc in magna parte (heu dolor) haeresum incendiis conflagrare videntur, donec dexterae Excelsi mutatione, extinctis eisdem incendiis, vetustae Christianorum concordiae restitui concedentur. (JM, first page of the unpaginated dedication to the Pope)

That Eric did not approve of this direct attack on the new faith in his kingdom is hardly surprising through his status as a new, Protestant monarch.

Another example of the reversed A is found in the story of King Attilus, who has been discussed previously. He hated everything Danish, and had come to hate his Danish wife, Ursilia, too, just because she originated from Denmark. She decided to take revenge on him by stealing the gold that the previous king, Hothebrotus, had gained through his conquest of Denmark and some countries to the east. It would be used for funding the Danish army in order to free Denmark from the Swedes:

> Dixit inpromptu esse maximam auri vim, quam Hothebrotus ex deuictis Orientalibus nationibus, & subactis Danis coaceruauerat, antiquosque priorum Regum thesauros: qui si furtim in Daniam transuehantur, non solum Suecos potentia & bellorum neruo destituent, sed Danis opportunum auxilium, quo se citius in libertatem restituent, subministrabunt. (JM 85)

The idea of a queen of Danish origins secretly stealing her Swedish husband's treasure for funding a war against Sweden is obviously nothing the Swedish king would approve of, particularly not for one already at war with Denmark.

Finally, Johannes Magnus in his introduction excuses himself for possibly not including everything he knows or for making mistakes in his work, which he suggests is due to wicked humans, that is, the ones he says forced him to leave Sweden in a great hurry (among others the Protestant reformers of the church):

siue hominum malignitati iustius attribuatur (JM 3)

That Eric should disagree with this description is hardly surprising as it touches on matters of faith which were important to him too, not only to the previous generation. On the whole, most of the reversed A symbols in Johannes Magnus deal with something that might have political bearing on the Vasa dynasty and thus on the king. One of the two underscored passages in Sabellicus might also have something to do with Eric himself. It is said that the king is to leave first when on a (war) expedition and to return home as the last of all:

> Lege praeterea qui rex esset primus in expeditionem exibat, omnium ultimus domum reuertebatur. (Sab. 113)

In the war against Denmark, which began in 1563, it is well known that Eric did not follow this precept: although he did attempt to lead his army, his skills as a general were very dubious. He left the camp more than once during that war, created confusion through sometimes contradictory orders, and could not direct his men in person.[318] This can explain the reversed A as a mark of disapproval of the demands on a king in the underscoring from Sabellicus, because Eric's own way of handling war was very different from the demands voiced there.

The other underscoring in Sabellicus is a piece of information drawn from Herodotus. The Pharaoh Cheops was short of funding for his pyramid, and to get enough building material, he sold his own daughter as a prostitute. Every customer had to give her a large stone for the building. This is an obviously disgraceful act:

> Herodotus autor est hunc ipsum Cheopem pecuniae defectu filiam prostituisse: quae ut a patre iussa est, a singulis quos admisit lapidem unum exegit ad destinatum opus idoneum… Ex qua materia meretricio quaestu quaesita, pyramis extructa sit quaque uersum pedes trecentenos habens ac sexagenos. (Sab. 33)

The reversed A suggests that Eric disagrees with or disapproves of something found in the text, making it the opposite of the A in the usual direction, and so, the symbol means *disapproval*.

4.8.2 The communion chalice

A communion chalice, a drawing similar to Eric's communion chalice symbol, is used in an emblem about the miracle of communion.[319] It is a very rare symbol in

[318] Sundberg 2002, p. 48, Andersson 1979, p. 145.

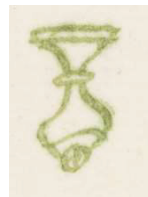
[319] Henkel and Schöne 1967, p. 1863.

Eric's books, with a single case, and then in Sabellicus (Sab. 29). It looks like a communion chalice with a holy wafer hovering just above it. The underscoring is about religious customs in Ethiopia, where God is worshipped according to the Christian rite:

> Hodie ut ex ijs accepimus qui in ea Aethiopia, quae Aegypto est proxima, plures sunt annos uersati, Christiano ritu Deum trinum & unum colunt. (Sab. 29)

In other words, the communion chalice is a symbol that refers to Christian religion. There are no communion chalices in Johannes Magnus, not because of any lack of references to the Christian religion, but because most of the references are found long after Eric stopped making notes in the work: Eric's symbols in Johannes Magnus are for the most part found on the first 100 pages, long before the Goths had become Christian.

4.8.3 The reversed communion chalice



Another symbol, a reversed communion chalice, is found in both Johannes Magnus and Sabellicus (here JM 73). There are five reversed chalices, two in Johannes Magnus and three in Sabellicus. In Johannes Magnus, one of the underscorings deals with worshipping Mars. The Goths, as worshippers of Mars, were seen as cruel because the cult demanded ample sacrifices of prisoners of war for their blood, as is seen below:

> Verum in hoc crudeles putabantur, quod Martem belli Deum semper (vt diximus) asperrima placauere cultura, morte videlicet captiuorum, opinantes bellorum praesidem aptius humano sanguine placari. (JM 60)

In Sabellicus, there are three reversed communion chalices. The first one is found next to a description of the development of religious beliefs in ancient Egypt, where they observed the heavens, the stars, the moon, and the sun, and eventually started to worship the moon under the name of Isis, and the sun under the name of Osiris:

> Qui in Aegyptum primo transiuere, quum aperto coelo agentes noctu sydera intuerentur, coelestium luminum motum pulchritudinemque mirati, quae eo intentius ab illis seruabantur, quo sereniores fiunt in ea terra quam alibi tempestates. Solem & Lunam, uelut certum illis inesset numen, pro diis colere coeperunt: Isidem hanc, illum Osyrim nominantes. (Sab. 3)

The second is found next to a passage that describes how Saturn arrived in Latium on the Italian peninsula as a stranger, and was believed to have come down to them

from Heaven. The inhabitants started worshipping him as a god, as the Son of Heaven. He was however mortal, not a god, and eventually died (Sab. 18). This case too is about non-Christian worship.

The third case refers to the foundation of the temple of the oracle in Delphi. There lived an evil demon, who, it is suggested, was the Devil and who provided ambiguous responses to anyone who asked a question. At first, there was no temple, but one was eventually constructed (Sab. 63).

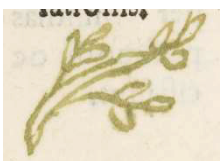
The idea of making the Devil responsible for the answers of the oracle turns anyone going to Delphi to consult the oracle into someone asking the Devil for advice, which makes this case too an obvious non-Christian practice. It is thus clear from all the cases that a chalice upside-down signifies a non-Christian religion or practice, such as magic. In other words: the communion chalice symbol has had its meaning changed into its opposite by being reversed, just as was the case with the hearts and the As.

4.9 Tree metaphors

The metaphorical use of tree parts is quite frequent, both with regard to matters of human interrelations, and concerning more abstract matters, as in the expression "the root of all evil", or when the word 'branch' is used to describe a company that originates as a side enterprise of another. A tree is a symbol of growth and development in emblems, and not rarely used in the context of people, for example as regards taking care of and bringing up one's offspring, or to depict ancestors and descendants.[320] Eric uses two elements related to trees as symbols: a branch (or possibly a tree sprout) and a tree stump.

4.9.1 The branch

In emblem books, a fresh sprout, or a branch, was used to symbolise a new addition to the family tree.[321] There is only one branch, and it is found in Johannes Magnus, next to an underscoring about the Amazons. Once a year, the Amazons met up with men from other tribes to conceive, and the following year, the men returned to take care of any male offspring. The girls remained with their mothers to be trained in the use of weapons and the art of war:



[320] Henkel and Schöne 1967, cols. 155–156, 158–159, 161

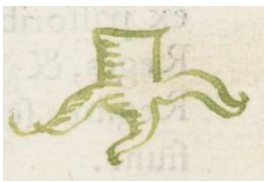
[321] Henkel and Schöne 1967, cols. 156–159.

> […] nundinas semel in anno constituunt, in quibus externos concubitus vicinarum gentium admittunt, ea conditione adiecta, vt reuoluto anno eadem die viri reuertantur, recepturi a matribus quicquid masculini sexus praeterito anno peperissent, quicquid vero foeminini aeditum esset, matres ad arma & praelia erudirent. (JM 54)

With only one example, it is impossible to further corroborate the meaning of this symbol, and I conclude that it is a reference to offspring, to the younger generation.

4.9.2 The tree stump

While the branch symbolises the younger and newer members of a family, the tree stump can be used as a symbol for the older generation(s).[322]



There are four tree stumps, two in Johannes Magnus (left, JM 79) and two in Sabellicus (right, Sab. 70). In Sabellicus, the tree stumps have new shoots: two in the underscored text passage cited below and four in the other.

In this first example from Johannes Magnus, a father, the Gothic king Asmundus, is beside himself with grief because he has lost his only son Henricus in battle. The tragic death takes place in an ancient past in a battle between the Swedish and the Danish armies. When the Swedish king attacks the Danish king Hadingus to avenge his son, Hadingus summons a demon to his aid, because he cannot defeat the Swedish king. But with the help of the demon, he manages to kill Asmundus too, although he receives a spear through his foot which leads to a permanent limp:

> Tribuit Saxo moestissimo patri carmina, quae ostendunt eius eximiam erga amissum filium charitatem, animumque ad moriendum obstinatissimum. Siquidem reiecto in tergum clypeo vtranque manum capulo iniecit, deinde furens & fremens Hadingum post peractam complurium necem ferocissimo impetu adoritur. At Hadingus videns sibi ineuitabile fatum imminere, nec quacunque humana ope illud auerti posse, mox sua numina, quorum cultui a cunis assueuerat, inuocat: aderat subito daemon Vagnopti forma indutus, suique cultoris & alumni partes in periculosam sortem inclinatas rursus erexit. Itaque necessarium fuit, vt Asmundus, qui humanis viribus superari nequiret, daemonibus congressus occumberet, quanquam non omnino moreretur inultus. Nam cum Hadingus suis numinibus adiutus ipsum amentata hasta transfixisset, inter exiguas vitae reliquias vulneratum interfectoris pedem perpetua claudicatione multauit. (JM 74–75)

The focus here is on Asmundus, in his role as a father, and symbolised by the tree stump, the "root" from where the younger generation grew.

[322] Henkel and Schöne 1967, col. 175.

In the other case in Johannes Magnus, the relation between an evil stepmother and the noble Prince Regnerus is discussed. She, a representative of the older generation, wishes to get rid of her stepson, who represents the younger generation, as seen from the reference to *privignus* 'stepson': he is defined in relation to her, not the other way around. The text is focused on her and her wishes, and so, the symbol next to it is a tree stump:

> Inter quos praecipuum locum habuisse videtur illud nouercale odium, quo a Thorilda Regina saepius ad mortem petebatur: quae quanto praeclariorem indolem in priuigno consyderabat, tanto maiores insidias eius capiti struere conabatur: nec quieuisset, donec sanguinem eius in poculo crudelitatis absorbuisset […] (JM 79)

In Sabellicus, the tree stumps have been provided with new shoots. The importance of relations is clearly seen in a very long underscoring where the two sons of Phineus are furious with their father for disrespecting their mother Cleopana and taking a new wife, whereafter he punished his sons for being overly eager in protesting against his behaviour to their mother (Sab. 70). It is thus a question once again of the older generation: the paragraph begins with informing us that Phineus had two sons, and continues to discuss his role as a father.

In another case, the text is about Priam of Troy, later King Priam. His father Laomedon has received legates from Hercules: Iphiclus and Telamon, and thrown them in jail. Priam first speaks against his father's actions in the council: the focus is on the father and his actions. Priam then gives the prisoners swords to help them escape, in order to tell Hercules and his companions about the great peril threatening them all from the Trojans:

> Tum Priamus, incertum, officio an periculi metu, duos occulte gladios custodiae intulit. Inde Iphiclo & Telamoni, submotis arbitris, patris & Iliensium consilium aperit. Monet ut incautos custodes adorti obtruncent, inte continuo cursu se ad socios recipiant, doceantque Herculem & alios, quantum nisi caueant, periculi ab Iliensibus immineat. (Sab. 73)

In this case the idea of an older generation is not equally obvious, because Priam is the one acting here, and goes against his father. As already pointed out on several occasions, however: the fact that not all symbols can be clearly placed into a certain category is due to the fact that it is impossible to completely recreate and understand the association patterns of someone else, let alone after over four centuries, when there is no key to the system.

4.10 Traditional signs

4.10.1 The index

The index, or manicule, might look very different, from the simplest hand with a pointing index finger to one where the wrist is visible too and provided with a lavish lace sleeve.[323] Normally, the index signifies the same thing as an arrow: that there is something notable in the text. It is found 755 times in Harvey's and Dee's books in the AOR.

The indices in Johannes Magnus and in Sabellicus are rather simple, as here (JM 71). There are seven indices altogether, one in Johannes Magnus and six in Sabellicus.

The one in Johannes Magnus is next to an underscoring about the Gothic king Sibdagerus. His predecessor, King Scarinus, was an old man who had been killed in an unfair duel with the young Danish king, Gram. The task of avenging the old Gothic king lay with the new. Sibdagerus became king because he was related to King Scarinus, and the people electing him wished the crown to remain in such a noble and brave family of kings who had given their lives for their country, rather than ending up in the hands of Gram, a usurping intruder from abroad:

> […] iustum et honestum existimantes, vt potius Regia dignitas in sanguine & familia eorum Regum, qui pro patria ceciderunt, permaneret, quam in Gramum alieni imperii inuasorem imprudenter collocatum diceretur. (JM 71)

In Sabellicus, the underscorings with an index treat different themes, for example the Amazons as descendants of the Goths (Sab. 77). They can also be war-related themes, as below. In the first underscored text passage, Sabellicus writes about the Egyptian Pharaoh Vexores and the Scythian king Tanais, who simultaneously gathered an army to conquer the other – not with the purpose of extending their own empire, only for amassing glory through victory:

> Verum finitimis nulla iniuria lacessitis, non imperium sibi ex ea uictoria, sed uictoriae laudem quaesiuere. (Sab. 6)

The second case from Sabellicus is about a war and the unbelievably gigantic size of the Assyrian army is described:

[323] For a history of the manicule, see Sherman 2007, pp. 25–52.

> […] ad decies septies centena milia peditum, equitum, cc. milia Assyrius in armis habuisse traditur. Currum ad haec & iumentorum tantum ut citra ruborem res alioqui incredibilis referri non possit. (Sab. 9)

Judging from these somewhat disparate underscored passages, it seems that the index in Eric's system of symbols has its normal function, that of pointing out interesting material in general.

4.10.2 The asterisk

One of the few symbols in Eric that is still in use in writing today is the asterisk, although not in the size seen here.[324] In the AOR, there are examples of asterisks in both Harvey and Dee, with an unclear definition, but in a much smaller size than Eric's. His asterisk is proportional to the other symbols and covers over a square centimetre. There are three asterisks in total, one found in Johannes Magnus and two in Sabellicus (here JM 2) and I shall present them all.

The first case is found in the beginning of Johannes Magnus, at the end of a long phrase that begins with a declaration about the great use of history and contains a description of how much energy Johannes has put into writing the work, and for whom it has been written. The underscoring is the end of the phrase, where he expresses his wish to spare no effort to benefit the glory and fame of his fellow countrymen:

> […] eorumque commodis, famae, & gloriae, excussa omni laboris inertia, consulerem. (JM 2)

The second and third cases are part of the story of the legendary Ninus. He has recently won a great war in the east and gradually increased his dominions. Now he is going to continue his conquest by going much further to the east than before, and by conquering all of Asia. He is filled with the thoughts of success and also with the spirit of those who came before him, and described as a man of great spirit:

> […] uir ingenti animo sed qui praesenti rerum successu adhuc maiores spiritus imbibisset […] (Sab. 9)

In the third case, Ninus is far to the east, and King Scaurobates of India describes the consequences of Ninus' warlike actions in an oration. He calls them very cruel and unfair, and the lines underscored by Eric are found within the speech. There, Scaurobates addresses Ninus. In a tricolon of Ninus' actions and his own, he claims

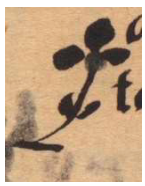
[324] Cf Tura 2005, pp. 279, 286.

that if he himself is at rest, Ninus thinks of war, if he himself acts for peace, Ninus makes hostile plans, and if he shows himself unarmed, Ninus takes away his freedom. These actions of Ninus are then generalised and described in a similar tricolon of opposites: he does not make war, but schemes, he is not victorious, but oppresses people, and he does not make people his subordinates, but robs them.

> Insidiari, ut uere dicam, id fuit, non bellare: opprimere, non uincere: latrocinari, non imperio subigere: si dum ego ocia foueo, tu bellum meditaris: si dum paci studeo, tu hostiliter insidiaris: si dum inermis occurro, tu libertatem adimis. (Sab. 13)

In these cases, as in that of the index just above, I have been unable to find a specific label for all three. They are, however, somewhat reminiscent of *sententiae*, just as the ones marked with an index. The last one is a double tricolon, and so pleasing both in content and in form, which makes it suitable as an excerpt both as a *sententia* about a king's behaviour in war *and* as a phrase whose structure could be re-used.

4.10.3 The flower



Another symbol, a flower, is found three times, but only in Sabellicus (here Sab. 3). The use of a flower as a symbol has an obvious link to florilegia, the medieval collections of particularly appealing and rhetorically interesting phrases, "flowers", and could be used to mark similes, metaphors and other literary ornaments.[325] It is linked to Eric's use of the index or manicule, because on one occasion (Sab. 2), it seems to refer to exactly the same place in the text, a story about a monstrous skeleton head kept as a treasure in a private home in Venice. The other two cases are shorter, as for example:

> malorum daemonum mancipio
>
> the slave of evil demons (Sab. 3)

This is quite a well-turned phrase, which appears to be the reason for Eric to have marked it. Here, we probably see the prince at work, as it is a symbol not found anywhere else in his books, and as Sabellicus was in his possession as early as 1550. His use of this particular symbol seems to have been abandoned later, in favour of the index. The other case seems to be just a useful phrase too. The index/manicule, which is far more frequent, already provided an option to mark phrases of a linguistic or content-related interest, and as we saw, Eric also used the asterisk on

[325] Sherman 2007, p. 27 and 48.

occasion. Presumably a third symbol with a similar function was not needed, which explains the rare use of this symbol in Eric's books.

4.10.4 A symbol of definition: *scilicet*

There is also a symbol that looks like an S with tiny marks around it (here JM 6).

There are seven such symbols in total, three in Johannes Magnus and four in Sabellicus. They have in common that they are found next to some form of definition of a concept, for example an explanation of something in the text. The following two cases of underscoring are both from Johannes Magnus and found in the geographical introduction to the work. We see an explanation of where the fabled Battle of Bråvalla took place: "the Battle of Bråvalla, namely on the fields of Bråvalla":

> margin: Brauellina pugna.
>
> text: […] in campis Brauellinis […] (JM 6)

According to Johannes, the battle took place not far from Kalmar, at the same time as the famous Battle of the Catalaunian Plains in 451 AD. Eric's underscorings can be seen as a name with a definition. The next case is another geographical reference, this time an explanation of *Biarmia* (in Russia, close to the northeastern border of Finland), a region divided into two parts, the *ulterior* and the *citerior*:

> margin: Biarmia duplex, Vlterior & Citerior.
>
> text: Habet Sueonia a Septentrione (vt diximus) Biarmiam suppolarem regionem: quae in Vlteriorem, & Citeriorem diuiditur. (JM 8)

In Sabellicus, there are no long underscorings with this symbol. Instead, there is only one word, perhaps two: *obeliscus* 'obelisk', *cicadis* 'crickets', and *bitumen* 'asphalt' (Sab. 11, 81, 11) In these cases, there are no definitions in the margin or in the text, but Eric might have marked for example *bitumen* because he wished to or intended to provide a definition: "*bitumen*, namely …". The symbols vary slightly, because in the one depicted, the "dots" around it are more like waves, in other cases, they are actual dots. But this is so minor a difference – reminiscent of the crown symbol with three or four points – that it does not affect the definition of this explanatory symbol, abbreviating the Latin word *scilicet* 'namely','that is'.

4.11 Rare or difficult symbols

There are a few symbols that are difficult because it is not obvious what the symbol itself is supposed to depict, or because it has been impossible to find any common denominator through my study of the underscorings. Sometimes it is also very hard to understand how a symbol relates to the underscorings. On such difficult occasions, I provide a tentative or preliminary interpretation, fully aware of the speculative nature of some of my suggestions, but in the hope that my bringing attention to these symbols will eventually lead to a more conclusive establishing of their meaning.

4.11.1 Four staves

This symbol is found three times, once in Sabellicus and twice in Johannes Magnus (here JM 96). It is only tentatively labelled, as I have not succeeded so far in establishing what is actually depicted here, but instead concentrated on the content of the underscorings and their common denominator. In this case, the four staves are of different lengths but in the others, the staves are of equal length, so it can hardly be a reference to drawing the shortest straw or some other form of drawing lots.

Two of the three cases refer to people who fall in some form of battle, a duel, or similar event. In Johannes Magnus, it is said that something that is achieved through crimes and other foul actions does not usually last long. He then narrates how a king, Horuendillus, comes to power through treason, but is soon killed by his brother Feugo. He too is killed, by Amletus, who takes over the throne, only to be killed in turn by Vigletus, who then becomes king:

> Veruntamen vt res scelere & flagitio partae, diuturnae esse non solent, ita Horuendillus regnum iniustitia, atque impietate comparatum, citius quam sperauerat a fratre suo Feugone trucidatus reliquit. Sed neque Feugoni felicius successit alieni regni per scelus occupatio, quandoquidem ab Amleto non sine publica omnium laetitia interfectus occubuit. Tandem quod Amletus in Feugonem perpetrauerat, hoc a Vigleto occisus sustinuit. Et ita complures tyranni breui tempore ad generum Cereris cruenta morte descenderunt. (JM 96)

Sabellicus very briefly relates the story of Seven against Thebes famously told by Aeschylus. Eteocles, Oidipus' son, was supposed to share the royal power with his brother Polynices, but banished him instead. The seven military leaders and an army under the leadership of King Adrastus, attacked Thebes to force Eteocles to give up the throne to his brother Polynices, but in the end both brothers were killed in a duel fighting each other. The other attackers, except for King Adrastus himself, also perished, for example Amphiaraus who was gobbled up by the earth:

> Illud iter plures conuenit, duces ipsos, qui septem numero fuerunt, praeter Argiuorum multitudinem, quae fuit propemodum immensa, alios alio casu absumptos, Adrasto dumtaxat seruato, qui fugienti similis Argos reuersus est. Capaneum murorum fastigia tenentem hostium impulsu idem cum scalis de turbatum, ac ui multa lapidum superne obrutum, Amphiaraum hiatu terrae absorptum, Polynicen cum Eteo de singulari certamine congressum, mutuis confectum uulneribus occubuisse. (Sab. 98)

In the other case in Johannes Magnus, the *Gepidae*, a tribe of Gothic origin, left the Goths during a period of turmoil, found new areas to occupy and acquired a king, after which they started posing a threat both to the Vandals and to the Goths:

> Siquidem eius tempore, suborto inter Gothos domestico tumultu, ad tantam seditionem deuenerunt, vt Gepidae siue sponte siue coacti, ab ipsis deficere, & sibi nouas sedes (vbi nunc Valachia est) quaerere cogerentur. Nec multo post tempore, subactis vicinis in maximam multitudinem coaluerunt, Regemque sibi praeficientes, non solum Vandalis, sed Gothis terrori ac formidini esse coeperunt. (JM 43)

From these three cases, I conclude that the symbol of four staves refers to some form of uprising or turmoil in a realm or tribe (and to different possible outcomes of such unrest). I thus tentatively label it *turmoil.*

A tentative attempt at explaining the choice of four staves is that the idea of a people divided through some form of turmoil, and subsequently dying or failing at something, can be seen as an illustration of the maxim *United we stand, divided we fall*. The old Roman symbol of *fasces* (in this case only staves, with no axe attached to them) was eventually, in early modern times, reinterpreted to mean unity.[326]

This is also a possible reference to one of Aesop's fables: An old man gives his sons a bundle of sticks and asks each son in turn to break it. When they have all failed, he cuts the string that holds the bundle together and breaks each stick individually. At the end, he encourages his sons to stay together, because as long as they are united, they will stand.[327] The four staves depicted by Eric could be a schematic depiction the separated sticks either in this bundle or in the Roman *fasces*: staves joined together are a symbol of unity, but alone, they are easily broken, which can be interpreted as turmoil.

4.11.2 The shield-shaped face

There is only one case of this somewhat odd symbol (Sab. 7), and as a result my explanation is tentative at the best.

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[326] Chapeaurouge 1984, pp. 120–121.

[327] This fable is no. 53 in the Perry Index, an analytical survey of Greek and Latin fables in the Aesopic tradition found in Ben Edwin Perry, "Appendix", *Babrius and Phaedrus* (Loeb classical library 436; Cambridge, Mass. 1965), pp. 419–610, p. 430.

As seen here, the symbol has the shape of a shield, but with a face on it as opposed to the "normal" shield symbol. It is found only in Sabellicus, next to an underscoring about eating the flesh of one's deceased ancestors:

> defunctorum parentum carnibus uescuntur (Sab. 7)

From this only quotation, it would seem that the symbol is a reference to cannibalism. Why that would be of particular interest to Eric is hard to explain, so I suggest that it might be a symbol referring to something revolting, very odd or truly surprising; there is no other symbol that fills this particular function.

4.11.3 A musical instrument?

Eric's interest in music might be mirrored in one of his symbols, which somewhat resembles a lute with only its body drawn and without its neck. This symbol only occurs once, and in Sabellicus (here Sab. 27), accompanied by an underscoring that refers to music: the sound of three different instruments are heard, the satyrs are lascivious, and the night is full of stars. On only two lines, three different instruments are mentioned: *tibia* '[double] flute', *fistula* 'flute', 'pipe' and *cymbalum* 'cymbal':

> Micare eundem noctu crebris ignibus aegipanum satyrorumque lascivia impleri, tybiarum ac fistulae cantu, cymbalorumque sonitu circumstrepere. (Sab. 27)

The most striking part of the quotation is about music, which has led to my forming the hypothesis that the symbol is indeed a lute, if not completed. The idea of using a musical instrument as a symbol of music, for a king adept at playing the lute as well as at composing music of his own, is not too far-fetched an idea.

Eric is known to have composed for the lute; in Strabo, a large fragment of a musical score is preserved.[328] I have labelled the symbol *Instrument*, although that identification remains a hypothesis founded on a striking part of the quotation, and on the assumption that the symbol slightly resembles a lute, if incomplete.

The work of Henkel and Schöne contains some *emblemata* with musical instruments, a few harps and several columns about the lute. The emblems with a lute depict, for example, harmony, mild government and the art of ruling, but neither

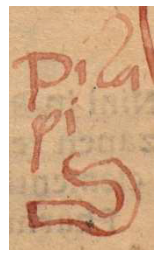
[328] Hinders 2011, pp. 198–199.

of these descriptions would seem to fit the quotation above. *Concordia* 'harmony' is also referred to in an emblem in Zincgref/Merian, and in Chapeaurouge.[329]

In the AOR database, a search on music gives a few results, although only in writing, there are no music-related drawings. And so, this identification remains highly tentative.

4.11.4 A strange symbol

There is a symbol found only once, and then in Sabellicus (Sab. 7). It looks like a snake's head with a tongue sticking out, or like the top part of a simple crosier placed in a horizontal position. The question remains what the symbol is supposed to depict, because neither of these two would seem to fit with the underscoring.



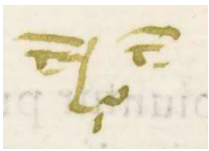
Eric has underscored a story about humans transforming into wolves. Some of the people of the *Neruii* are transformed into wolves and later become humans again. The tale of the *Neruii* can be found in Herodotus (4.105.1–2). The same kind of monster was found in Arcadia, where one of the people swam across a lake and was transformed into a wolf; after nine years, he resumed his original human form if he had not tasted human blood:

> Neruij Scytharum maxime infames, persuasum habuere finitimi eorum singulos quotannis in lupos transfigurari, iterumque homines fieri: quod monstrum in Arcadia quoque in Antaei familia gentile fuisse Euantes apud Graecos prodidit, ut unus ex ea gente sortito ad stagnum quoddam perductus, positis uestibus transnaret, confestimque bellua ex homine fieret, ac nono post anno, si humanum interim sanguinem non gustasset, pristinam reciperet formam. (Sab. 7)

Next to it, Eric has written *pilapi*, or possibly *picapi*, a word of uncertain meaning. It can be concluded that the symbol means werewolves, but what is actually supposed to be depicted remains uncertain.

[329] Henkel and Schöne 1967, cols. 1296–1301, Zincgref and Merian 1986 (1664), no. 97, Chapeaurouge 1984, pp. 122–123.

4.12 A biographical symbol?

Finally, there is the face symbol, or, rather, the variations of it. Faces can be found  in Dee and Harvey, but there, they are profiles in the margin, a kind of creatively designed large brackets, without any correspondence to underscorings in the text as here.[330] In Johannes Magnus and Sabellicus, different kinds of faces are found. Most of them are dissimilar, which obviously makes it very difficult to decide their exact meaning, despite their frequency (19 in total, four in Johannes Magnus and 15 in Sabellicus). In the following, I shall discuss some of the faces and suggest a hypothesis as to their interpretation.

One of the face symbols in Johannes Magnus is found above (JM 49). This face symbol is interesting, because there is a certain similarity to the actual contemporary portraits of Eric XIV (as the one on the front cover) particularly with regard to the nose and the clearly expressed philtrum just underneath. It looks similar in other paintings of King Eric, which are thought to generally provide good likenesses of him.[331] The underscoring next to this symbol is quoted below.

It is about the king of Egypt, Vexoses, who sent a delegation to the Goths whom he wanted to attack and defeat because he already ruled everyone else in the world. The Goths told the Egyptian envoys that they were very surprised that a happy and powerful king dared to attack the peaceful and harmless for no obvious reason, which made the Goths, the ones being attacked, wonder what kind of madness had possessed the king. The Goths then took up arms against them, followed the envoys back and attacked the Egyptian army. King Vexoses quickly fled for dear life together with the rest of his large army:

> Mirari se (dicunt) quaenam dementia cepisset tam felicem & potentem Regem, vt auderet, aut vellet contra pacificos & innoxios, eosdemque inopes, nulla lacessitus iniuria bellum suscipere, quod ei fuisset in propriis laribus magis formidandum: quique vtilius perpendisset incertam belli aleam, quam praemia victoriae, nullaque damna manifesta. Haec dicentes arma vnanimiter corripiunt. Nec legati tanta acceleratione sese ad reditum accingere poterant, quin e uestigio eos Gothi ceu rapidissimus torrens insequerentur: ipseque Rex AEgyptius cum tota sua multitudine,

[330] AOR (s.v. *face*).

[331] Torsten Romanus, "Jämförande studie av porträtt och kranium", in Ragnar Casparsson and Carl-Herman Hjortsjö (eds.), *Erik XIV. En historisk, kulturhistorisk och medicinsk-antropologisk undersökning i samband med gravöppningen 1958 i Västerås domkyrka* (Stockholm 1962), pp. 235–252. The painting, today in the collections of the National Museum in Stockholm: *King Eric in around 1560* by Domenicus Verwilt. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NM 910). It is the painting on the front cover of the present study.

> tam inopinato impetu aduentantis hostis pene obrutus fuisset, nisi a celerima fuga salutem quaesiuisset. (JM 49)

The underscoring of these lines can be interpreted as a reference to Eric's having members of the noble family of Sture killed, known in Swedish as *Sturemorden* 'the Sture murders', after which the king claimed that he had not at all been himself (see the biography of Eric in the introduction). After the murders at Uppsala Castle in May 1567, the king spent months recovering, and believing for example that his brother John had taken over as king. He claimed that it had all been the work of the Devil, and the experience haunted the king for a long time afterwards. When he came back to his senses, he thanked God and took it as proof that he was once more enjoying divine grace.

Eric has also underscored an episode where Balderus, the son of the pagan god Othinus and king of a small part of Denmark, proposes to Nanna, daughter of the Norwegian king and a mortal woman. She says that it is not *comme il faut* for someone with such a descent to marry a mere mortal, and in addition, gods have a tendency of not staying true to their word. It would be easy for him to dissolve the marriage bond between them, should he like, and so she refuses (JM 91). This idea of the unsuitable in a man of very high birth marrying a woman of a lower social standing, and his ability of breaking his word to her, could hypothetically be interpreted as a somewhat exaggerated reference to Eric's marriage to Karin Månsdotter, a girl of the people who was working at a tavern (or selling nuts in the street) in Stockholm, before she was eventually transferred to the royal castle, became Eric's mistress, and ended up as his crowned queen. As she was a girl of no particular importance, the idea that a marriage might be dissolved and she put aside in favour of a foreign princess was perhaps not unfathomable.

There is another case where it is suggested that it is not the clothes that reveal the true quality of a man. People should be measured not by their clothes or their birth, but by their *virtus*: the sons of noblemen may turn out very badly (JM 80). This could be a reference to Eric's preference of appointing advisers from relatively humble origins, such as Jöran Persson, rather than from the nobility, as well as of his mistrust and dislike for a number of noblemen. These cases led to my forming the hypothesis that Eric might have used faces as symbols for people in his surroundings, when something he read made him associate to someone familiar.

In Sabellicus, there are many more faces, and there, they are more different than the four faces in Johannes Magnus: there are faces with or without a moustache, round faces, thin faces, faces with a large nose or a small nose, faces with different expressions … It is somewhere between extremely hard and impossible to identify each and every version of this symbol as an actual person in Eric's life, with the help of one single underscoring that refers to an episode of which we may be ignorant, relating to somebody of whom there is perhaps no portrait preserved. With the few cases presented here as a point of departure, however, I propose the

hypothesis that the faces are tiny portraits of Eric himself or of people from his circle of friends, relatives, courtiers, and acquaintances. The deposed king might have associated information he found in Johannes Magnus or Sabellicus with these actual people, because the face symbols are usually dissimilar enough between them to be tiny portrait sketches, rather than depictions of reactions like modern-day emojis.

A possible argument in favour of my hypothesis is the general view of history in the times of Eric XIV. With the idea of history as *magistra vitae*, history was seen as something that could be learnt from, through the use of *exempla*. The study of history was encouraged with the argument that it served as actual, political education for the nobility, royalty and other people with power and influence. By learning about the great deeds and sayings of history, one could gain political experience in the quiet and safety of one's own study.[332] It was also a much quicker way to acquire knowledge than to learn from one's own mistakes: nobody can live for hundreds of years, but through an attentive study of history, it was thought possible to acquire the wisdom accumulated through centuries. This is pointed out on Eric's Sabellicus, where Cicero (*Orat.* 34.120) is quoted: *Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum* 'Being ignorant of what happened before you were born is always being a child'. The *exempla*, or great deeds and sayings of history, were interpreted in a new context, as parallels to contemporary events.

In other words, historical *exempla* were used as analogies. And so, I suggest that Eric could find information in historical events that was personally interesting to him, by using analogical thinking to associate it with his own time. The information carried meaning for him not only because it was interesting, but because it could say something about his own life, just the way *exempla* were supposed to work. Analogical thinking was of great importance in this period as a way of explaining the world.[333]

The task of attempting to establish of whom Eric thought when reading Johannes Magnus or Sabellicus, from a single quotation, is however far too speculative an exercise to be pursued. My tentative identification of this symbol will therefore remain a hypothesis.

4.13 Conclusions

Throughout this chapter, the meaning of a majority of the various symbols used by Eric XIV has been established in at least a broad sense – for an overview, see the

[332] See further Landfester 1972, Grafton 2007.

[333] Cf Joseph A. Mazzeo, "Universal Analogy and the Culture of the Renaissance", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 15 (1954), pp. 299–304.

appendix. As suggested earlier, it is not possible to reconstruct every association made by someone else, particularly not several centuries after his death (and even less if his alleged madness is taken into account). I have therefore not been able to fully explain or trace each and every symbol in a way that includes all the underscorings.

Sometimes the underscorings next to a certain symbol are too different to enable a reconstruction of their common denominator and so to provide a suitable name for the category. Sometimes it has proven impossible to establish with reasonable certainty what a symbol depicts, for example in the case of the four staves. That all the underscorings refer to some form of uprising or turmoil in a realm or tribe and that the symbol consequently means turmoil is clear enough, but the question of what, exactly, is depicted, leaves only a tentative answer. There are also the cases of the strange symbols, where it is obvious from the underscoring that they refer to werewolves and cannibalism respectively, but the symbols themselves remain riddles.

On a more general level, however, the contemporary influence on Eric's choice of symbols is clear, as shown by the similarities to motifs from emblems, as well as by the heraldic principle of reversing images to negate their meaning. As far as symbolic imagery goes, heraldry and emblems have some common traits. While there are no emblem books in the inventory of Eric's books, his familiarity with this form of emblematic/symbolic thinking is obvious, for example from the emblem for his coronation, drawn and devised by himself.

We have seen symbols with very diverse meanings in this chapter. The symbols in general use, such as the index and the asterisk, are found here. But they are actually the least interesting as they were so common. Eric had symbols for features of interest to anyone: vices, virtues, emotions, and interesting sayings as in any commonplace book. Religion, as well as history and other learned topics, were also of interest. He had symbols to display his approval or disapproval, to make note of references to women and relations between the generations, different aspects of rulership both in war and peace, and finally for important people in his own life.

There is no specific image that was demonstrably *the* model for any of the symbols used by Eric, or any symbol system that was a model for his entire system of references for that matter. But the use of symbols of various kinds for marking and finding material has predecessors, as well as clear contemporary parallels in the books of Dee and Harvey. They had their personal systems adapted for their personal interests and needs, and from my investigation, it is clear that Eric XIV too had a carefully developed system of his own that served his needs as a ruler of a Nordic country and as a well-educated man of the Renaissance. The choice of symbols was evidently inspired by contemporary ideas, but without any demonstrable direct influence.

In the following and final chapter, I shall discuss Eric's marginalia, both the symbols and the comments, from a broader perspective and refer to some of the material found in the overview of previous research.

5 Concluding discussion

The aim of this study has been twofold: identifying the meaning of the symbols and sketching a Renaissance context for both them and the written comments. I have also attempted to explain why Eric XIV chose to make note of a specific kind of information. Finally, I have made his marginalia available to a wider public, which is achieved by the list of his symbols and comments in the appendix.

The previous chapters have dealt with Eric's symbols and comments in order to learn what they meant and to contextualise them, using his marginalia as a starting point. In this final chapter, I shall broaden my perspective by discussing Eric's marginalia together as a Renaissance phenomenon.

Symbol systems for facilitating the retrieval of information are found from the early Middle Ages on, but precedents are not the same as models. In various other works, some symbols are found, not least frequent ones such as the index, but it seems somewhat less common with an entire system of symbols as that of Eric XIV. He was quite a talented artist, who possibly saw this kind of "note-taking" as a way of using his talent at the same time as marking important passages. While making brief notes in the margin to find important points is obviously an improvement on reading hundreds of pages in order to find a specific piece of information, images are even quicker to locate.

Through my investigation of Eric's comments and symbols, several categories have emerged. Some are of general interest, such as love and hatred and the Christian faith, others of a more particular interest, such as war and peace, diplomacy, and history. These categories alone could have been devised by anyone, but the combination of them: the duties of a statesman, learned interests in among other things history and chronology, women, Gothicism, as seen partly from comments, partly from the Gothic victories and deaths/defeats … is a mixture that considerably narrows the possibilities of who could be the individual behind the system.

The unparalleled significance of Gothicism, for example, is clearly visible in the careful markings of Gothic victories and deaths/defeats. Eric's ideas of kingship can be at least partly traced through symbols related to his task as king, as the crown, sceptre and orb, and the purses signifying generosity or its opposite. It has been possible to find many symbols in early modern works, but not all, so some seem to be his own inventions, among them the female torso.

Eric's use of first and foremost Johannes Magnus and Sabellicus can be described as a form of commonplace book, but kept within the works themselves. Had he taken the time to write the underscorings in the text as excerpts, they would have formed a commonplace book. The symbols would then provide the headings.

The choice of headings could be based on the categories in Valerius Maximus' immensely popular work. As the commonplace book needed to be adapted for individual needs and purposes, however, the categories needed modification in a completely different world than the Roman Empire. But they were still often ethical in character, in a way that could provide moral guidance and education: among Eric's categories, each with a symbol, we find prudence (diplomacy), love, concord, hatred, discord, untrustworthiness and fortitude.

In addition, the study of virtues and vices as well as what we would call emotions as forces behind historical development points to the view of history inherent in the expression *historia magistra vitae*: history as a long line of great – or horrible – individuals acting, feeling, and speaking, and providing models for imitation or rejection, in analogy with contemporary people. Provided that my hypothesis is correct, the face symbol is an example of such analogical thinking.

The symbols used by Eric were crucial both in his study of the works, and for remembering historical events, the people in them, and useful expressions on important topics. Singling out information was not only a way of studying history, but also a way of remembering important material.

Eric's system of symbols constitutes an example of how to choose categories for a commonplace book, of how to study a historical work, as well as of how to mark information with images in order to easily retrieve and remember it. His categories of memorable information reflect his personal interests and needs, but at the same time show a Renaissance man, practising his education. And so, we simultaneously see Eric, the individual, and Eric, the representative of his time. His symbols are clearly inspired by Renaissance imagery and thought, and yet he reveals himself in his choice of symbols, as well as in what he commented on. The selection of topics was relevant to a well-educated Renaissance king in a small country in northern Europe, eager to legitimise his rule and his dynasty by any means available.

As pointed out in the section about earlier research on Eric's marginalia, Wigert suggested that Eric's markings in the book signify interesting places in the text, Johannesson that they are mnemotechnic symbols for rhetorical purposes, Walde that they are designed as a kind of observanda.[334] They were right, as we have seen. But in the present study, for the first time, I have attempted to display in greater detail how the system worked, from where the inspiration came, as well as to make Eric's way of thinking more readily available by presenting all the symbols and comments found in his books. To conclude, Eric left us an intellectual auto-biography in the form of symbols and comments, or, in short: as royal marginalia.

[334] Johannesson 1982, p. 284, Wigert 1920, p. 159, Walde 1933, p. 211.

6 Excursus: Sabellicus, Strabo, and genealogy

Genealogy, how people were related to one another, had a bearing on chronology, not least as regards the use of the life spans of biblical figures for calculating time. The two disciplines could support each other and cannot be entirely separated in the quest for a working time line of world history. Genealogy was also of a certain propagandistic interest, in the respect that ancient ancestry was particularly desirable. But it should be kept in mind not only with regard to Gothicism, but also when referring to genealogy, that the propagandistic purposes and exaggerations that might first spring to mind are only part of the picture.

No matter how fantastic some of their exploits may be perceived today, the Renaissance researchers in genealogy provided a foundation which was further developed by later colleagues, naturally discarding or correcting some of the Renaissance findings in the process. Even from the famous forgeries by Annius of Viterbo (1432–1502), a clear understanding of what was expected from a historical method can be discerned, although Annius' way of using his understanding was questionable at best.[335]

King Eric put his learning to use by constructing a genealogical tree (or, in fact, several) for himself, using his vast knowledge to personalise history as he read it and making himself the last in a long line of illustrious monarchs. Gustavus Vasa had married a princess, Eric's mother, but she died when Eric was very young, and the rest of the children were the result of Gustavus Vasa's second marriage to the Swedish noblewoman Margareta Leijonhufvud. In the genealogical tree drawn up in Sabellicus, Eric only refers to his royal descent on his mother's side. His father is left out; Eric presents himself as the descendant of his mother, Catherine of Saxe-Lauenburg (1513–1535).

This has been interpreted as his wishing to show pride in his royal descent and as trying to make himself seem superior to his male relatives, but he refers to his father and brothers on other occasions with what seems to be pride.[336] The reason for mentioning only his mother in this particular context was certainly purely

[335] Christopher R. Ligota, "Annius of Viterbo and Historical Method", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987), pp. 44–56.

[336] Stenbock 1912, pp. 76–77.

genealogical: Eric was related to English and Scottish kings through her, not through his father, and as the genealogy ends with himself, the younger brothers would not have been mentioned no matter what he might have thought of them.

These genealogies are all found in Sabellicus. The longest one starts from the very beginning with Adam and Eve and goes via his mother to himself.[337] It is found in the margin over a number of pages and composed of names placed in circles and joined together by lines to show the relation between Eric's forebears.[338] Stenbock suggests that there is more than one genealogical tree, and there is. They are, unfortunately, often hard or impossible to read, because the colour of the writing is gone and all that is left are the faint marks made by Eric's sharpened wooden stick.[339] It might have deteriorated even more during the century that has passed since Stenbock's investigation; some words can be made out, but rarely enough to make sense of the genealogical tree. But among the names that *can* be read are Adam and Eve, Atlas, Aeneas, and some Scottish and English kings.

In Strabo, underscorings and comments all refer to persons and usually to relations – they are, in other words, of a genealogical nature – for example the underscoring *Admeto matrona Alcestis honora* about the royal couple Admetus and Alcestis (Str. 42).

Some of the crowns suggest that Eric wanted to use the material he marked for his own genealogy, but as the genealogical trees are so difficult to read, this remains a hypothesis. In Strabo's work, there is a reference to an important person from the Classical heritage: Strabo mentions the famous King Agamemnon by his patronym *Atrides* 'son of King Atreus', and Eric has written the following comment in the margin:

> Agamemnon Atreo genitus (Str. 14)
>
> Agamemnon, the son of Atreus

This comment is another example of the Classical heritage in Eric's studies in Strabo and is also accompanied by a closed crown symbol, the only kind of symbol found in Strabo.

Agamemnon is found in Eric's genealogical tree in Sabellicus (Sab. 175). A reason for Eric's interest in him and his father is thus that they belong to Eric's own genealogy. From this it becomes clear that the closed crown symbol does not mark royal duties, as the open one, but is directly linked to Eric's genealogical endeavour. They look the same as the closed crown on top of the crowned female torso above, and as the single closed crown, but with thinner and reddish-brown lines.

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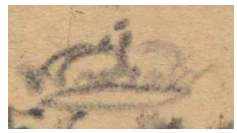
[337] Stenbock 1912, p. 77.

[338] Sab. 36–45.

[339] Stenbock 1912, p. 78.

The crowns are found in both Strabo (five crowns in the entire work) and Sabellicus (some fifty crowns throughout). The reddish colour is sometimes so faded that it is hard or impossible to see them, so this number is an approximation. The illustration here (Sab. 399) is one of the crowns in soot.



For this genealogical purpose, the king used two other symbols too that have not previously been referred to. They are separated from the rest of the symbols in the present work because they are dissimilar from the usual ones as regards the degree of detail, the medium of writing, and in many cases the size. These special symbols are either drawn in soot and water or in soot (here: crowned female torso, or possibly a crown and a large female torso Sab. 399), or in the reddish-brown, very thin lines found in both Strabo and Sabellicus and quite hard to see. Often, the symbols are visible only as thin markings where the writing tool has been pressed into the paper, but with almost no colour left.

These symbols are different also because they are found in Sabellicus in its entirety (the first one on Sab. 18, the last on Sab. 851.) But they are related to the text, as seen from the underscorings next to them, and so, they will be presented, if separated from the rest. The symbols are a large female torso, which alternates with the equally large crowned female torso, and the new crown symbol, depicted above, as opposed to the open crown that constitutes the usual symbol. The torsos and the crowned torsos are found exclusively in Sabellicus, but it is not always clear whether they are part of the same symbol (a crowned torso) or separate ones (a torso and a crown).

The female torsos (some twenty cases all in all) in Sabellicus usually refer to royal females in a distant past, for example when it is stated that the sister, or wife, of King Cambysis of Persia named Memphis (Sab. 31) or royal marriages, as that of Perseus to Andromeda (Sab. 65), or the daughters of Adrastus to Thydeus and Polynices (Sab. 98). Marriages are obviously important for genealogies, and Eric could find evidence to support his genealogical work in Sabellicus. That would explain why these torsos are different from the usual one, because they are not just symbols of women in general, but of women in his family tree, or at least women of a more specific genealogical interest.

The crowns, whether on top of a torso or on their own, are closed crowns, the kind Eric wore for his coronation, and the type of crown that was beginning to be used more frequently by monarchs in the Renaissance.[340] Eric's attempts to establish the new, royal house of the Vasas can be traced through different elements in his

[340] Cederström 1942, p. 112 and 119.

life, such as the coronation, which was clearly aimed at establishing the new king as a Renaissance monarch among other Renaissance monarchs. Using such a crown for genealogical purposes would seem to link his genealogy to one of the most important royal regalia.

I have not been able to verify if all the names marked with crowns are also found underscored in Sabellicus' text, because the genealogies are impossible to read in their entirety. In addition, some of the names in Eric's genealogy are well outside Sabellicus' scope and would not be found there anyway. But some of the names in Eric's genealogies that it is possible to make out have been marked with closed crowns in the text. It is not always clear how, or if, the names are linked to Eric. He took a particular interest in the kings of Macedonia (as Sab. 336 and 397), whose link to Eric himself is dubious. But no matter if it is Eric's genealogy or that of another family, it is genealogy. The underscorings in Strabo also deal with royal genealogy, as seen from Eric's interest in marking information about who ruled which country with a closed closed crown symbol (Str. 57).

In the genealogies, we see a (partly) demonstrable case where Eric has not only *marked* the text, but *used* the markings in the text as well. This suggests that Eric's way of marking his books with symbols corresponded to the normal use of a commonplace book: he marked interesting passages according to theme to ready his books for later use. It cannot be conclusively demonstrated as most of the material I have studied was in all likelihood from his imprisonment, and he did not write very much (apart from claiming to be innocent and wrongfully removed from his throne, but nothing from his underscorings is found there). But the evidence clearly indicates that Eric used these three symbols for collecting material for working on his own genealogy, a task of interest for the imprisoned monarch, as well as on the royal lines of Macedonia: it is unclear if there was a link to Eric himself there too. Unfortunately, the genealogies are often very difficult or impossible to read, but from what can be read, the link between the closed crowns, crowned large torsos, large torsos, and genealogy is clear.

7 Bibliography

7.1 Abbreviations

AOR=Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe (database)
JM = Johannes Magnus' work
KB = The National Library of Sweden (Kungliga biblioteket)
LLT = Library of Latin Texts (Brepols online, including the Cross Database Searchtool)
OLD = Oxford Latin Dictionary
Sab. = Sabellicus' work
SAOB = Svenska Akademiens Ord-Bok (online at https://www.saob.se/)
Sta. = Stadius' work
Str. = Strabo's work
SUB = Stockholm University Library (Stockholms universitetsbibliotek)
ThlL = Thesaurus Linguae Latinae
UUB = Uppsala University Library (Uppsala universitetsbibliotek)

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Swedish National Library, Stockholm, *Cod. Holm*. D 517 b.

Stadius, Johannes *Ephemerides novae et auctae* (Cologne 1560).
Swedish National Library, Stockholm, *Cod*. *Holm*. D 517 a.

Strabo, *De situ orbis* (Γεωγραφικά) (Basel 1549).
Stockholm University Library, Berg. bibl. H.I, 3.2.n.10.

7.3 Manuscripts

Uppsala University Library
E 276 Heinrich Normann's description of Eric XIV's coronation (copy).
E 277 Documents relating to the English marriage negotiations, 1561–1564.
E 279a Eric's 1566 diary (original).
E 280 Eric's 1566 diary, copy from 1787
E 281 Eric's 1567 diary (copy from 1769). The original is found in the National Library, Stockholm, in the Rålamb collection 8:o, no. 24.
E 282 Eric's 1567 diary, copy from 1787

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Alciato at Glasgow
https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/index.php
Alvin online catalogue
http://www.alvin-portal.org
Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe
https://archaeologyofreading.org/
Marginal Scholarship
https://database.marginalscholarship.nl/
The Sveno Tapestry
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Index locorum

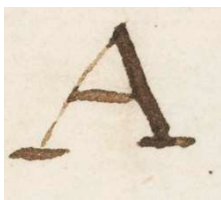
Ancient authors

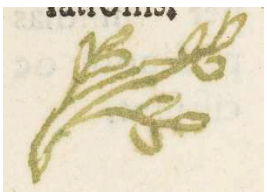
Biblical quotations

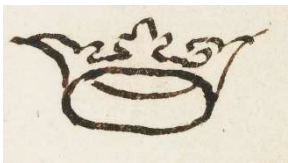
General index

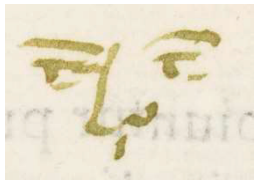
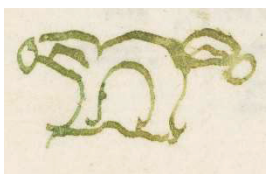
Appendix I. Symbols, an overview

In the following table, photos of all symbols are found (in the column Symbol). In the next column, Name/number, I present the name I use for the symbol, its meaning, where the photo in the previous column comes from, and how many occurrences of the symbols are found in the works by Johannes Magnus (JM) and Sabellicus (S) respectively; here are no images from Strabo or Stadius, and so I use a shorter abbreviation. The columns Pages JM and Pages S show on which pages in the works the symbol is found, with page numbers repeated for each time a symbol is found there. The final column, Comments, provides additional information if necessary. The symbols are placed in alphabetical order.

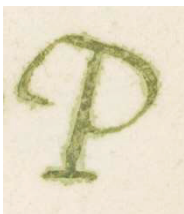
No	Symbol	Name/number	Pages JM	Pages S	Comments
1		A *Approval* p. 2, JM JM: 4 S: 4 Total: 8	1, 2, 52+20	8, 13, 65, 104	
2		Asterisk *Noteworthy* p. 2, JM JM: 1 S: 2 Total: 3	2	9, 13	

3		Astrological sun symbol *Sun* p. 83, JM JM: 1 S: 0 Total: 1	83	-	The symbol is faintly drawn.
4		Axe *Military strategy* p. 45, JM JM: 3 S: 4 Total: 7	45, 76, 95	80, 87, 103, 108	
5		Book *History/sources/writing* p. 3, JM JM: 7 S: 3 Total: 10	3, 15, 17, 17, 17, 17, 37	9, 28, 85	
6		Branch *The younger generation* p. 54, JM JM: 1 S: 0 Total: 1	54	–	

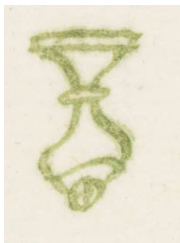
7		Communion chalice *Christendom/God* p. 29, S JM: 0 S: 1 Total: 1	–	29	
8		Crown *Bettering the kingdom* p. 23, JM JM: 5 S: 6 Total: 11	23, 23, 49, 55, 70	6, 8, 76, 107, 107, 137	The number of points varies.
9		Encircled number *Numbers/ Chronology* p. 18, JM JM: 2 S: 3 Total: 5	18, 40	9, 12, 69	
10		Eye *Knowledge* (about the Gothic ancestry) p. 48, JM JM: 3 S: 3 Total: 6	20, 48, 95	6, 7, 114	

11		Face *Biography?* p. 49, JM JM: 4 S: 15 Total: 19	49, 68, 80, 91	8, 12, 35, 52, 52, 60, 62, 67, 67, 67, 71, 72, 74, 139, 139	The face symbols are not identical.
12		Female torso *Women* p. 53, JM JM: 5 S: 0 Total: 5	19, 38, 51, 53, 56		
13		Flower *Beautiful expression* p. 3, S JM: 0 S: 3 Total: 3	-	2, 3, 3	
14		Fool's cap *Foolishness* p. 78, JM JM: 1 S: 2 Total: 3	78	90, 91	

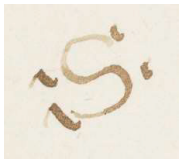
15		Four staves *Turmoil* p. 91, JM JM: 2 S: 1 Total: 3	43, 96	98	
16		Hands *Concordia* p. 23, JM JM: 5 S: 1 Total: 6	5, 23, 57, 62, 78	107	
17		Heart *Love/warm feelings* p. 82, JM JM: 5 S: 7 Total: 12	64, 81, 82, 91, 92	7, 18, 18, 69, 74, 75, 90	
18		Index *Noteworthy quote* p. 71, JM JM: 1 S: 6 Total: 7	71	3, 6, 9, 15, 15, 77	

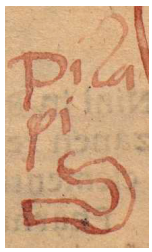
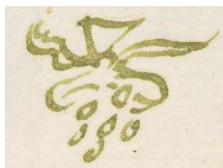
19		Instrument *Music* p. 27, S. JM: 0 S: 1 Total: 1	-	27	
20		Orb *Expanding the kingdom* p. 21, JM JM: 5 S: 0 Total: 5	7, 21, 50, 51, 52	–	
21		P *Patriotism* p. 83, JM JM: 16 S: 5 Total: 21	21, 22, 26, 27, 43, 65, 65, 67, 72, 76, 83, 87, 88, 89, 90, 93	84, 85, 90, 623, 626	
22		Prone swords *Death/defeat* p. 57, JM JM: 15 S: 15 Total: 30	42, 53, 56, 57, 58, 63, 64, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 77, 84, 94	14, 15, 67, 72[341], 86, 89, 89, 90, 91, 97, 98, 99, 106, 107, 139	Also JM 92 (crossed out and replaced with a snake's head)

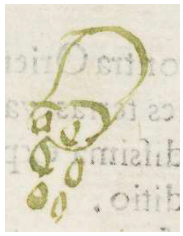
[341] The number on the page is erroneously printed as 27.

23		Reversed A *Disapproval* p. 2, JM JM: 21 S: 2 Total: 23	1, 2, 2, 2, 3, 6, 40, 43, 43, 69, 85, 114, 116, 133, 155, 182, 189, 298, 300 + twice in the dedication by Olaus	33, 113	
24		Reversed communion chalice *Magic/non-Christian* p. 73, JM JM: 2 S: 3 Total: 5	60, 73	3, 18, 63	
25		Reversed heart *Hatred, discord* p. 85, JM JM: 12 S: 24 Total: 36	41, 53, 54, 65, 66, 69, 77, 80, 84, 85, 85, 96	7, 8, 10, 15, 15, 16, 16, 63, 68, 68, 69, 71, 72, 74, 75, 75, 76, 85, 88[342], 97, 98, 98, 138, 138	
26		Sceptre *Law and order* p. 26, JM JM: 1 S: 3 Total: 4	26	28, 73, 74	

[342] The number on page 88 is 87, there are two pages with the number 87.

27		Scilicet *Definition* (of a term or similar found in the text) p. 6, JM JM: 3 S: 4 Total: 7	6, 8, 39	9, 11, 11, 81	
28		Shield *Fortitude; bravery* p. 88, JM JM: 1 S: 0 Total: 1	88	-	
29		Shield-shaped face *Cannibalism* p. 7, S JM: 0 S: 1 Total: 1	-	7	
30		Simplified female torso *Women* p. 71, JM JM: 2 S: 3 Total: 5	68, 71	97, 139, 619	

31		Snake's head *Treacherousness* p. 92, JM JM: 3 S: 0 Total: 3	92, 94, 96	–	
32		Strange symbol *Werewolves* p. 7, S JM: 0 S: 1 Total: 1	–	7	With a note: the word *picapi* or *pilapi*.
33		Sun *Wisdom/foresight* p. 70, S JM: 0 S: 4 Total: 4	–	9, 35, 51, 70	
34		Tied purse *Greed* p. 69, JM JM: 3 S: 2 Total: 5	67, 69, 86	7, 11	
35		Torn purse *Generosity* p. 81, JM JM: 2 S: 0 Total: 2	50, 81	–	

36		Tree stump *The older generation* p. 79, JM JM: 2 S: 2 Total: 4	74, 79	70, 73	
37		Untied purse *Generosity* p. 81, JM JM: 1 S: 2 Total: 3	81	9, 138	
38		Upright sword *Victory* p. 55, JM JM: 27 S: 18 Total: 45	40, 40, 44, 46, 46, 53, 53, 55, 55, 58, 63, 66, 67, 72, 74, 75, 82, 82, 83, 83, 83, 89, 91, 93, 93, 95, 95	9, 9, 9, 66, 66, 66, 67, 73, 76, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 88, 91, 94, 98	
39		Wheel *Diplomacy* p. 81, JM JM: 3 S: 2 Total: 5	42, 64, 81	138, 138	The number of small circles varies.

Appendix II. Comments

The comments made by Eric found below are listed by work, then by page. The comments in Johannes Magnus that are crossed out are listed too, with the indication that they have been crossed out.

Johannes Magnus

A Diluuio incipit quod est initium Secundae Aetatis (JM 18)

Initium Tertiae Aetatis (JM 23) (has been crossed out)

Hic facit magnum saltum autor dicens 3 Reges Regnasse 793 Annis. Sunt quippe a Diluuio usque ad tempora Saruch tot Anni. (JM 25)[343]

Origo Danorum (JM 26)

Insignis exaltatio Sueciae continetur his versibus (JM 27)

Reges Gotorum ante tempora Abrahae (JM 37) (has been crossed out)

Hic autor facit magnum saltum dicens 7 tantum Reges Regnasse a Saruco usque ad Otonielem iudicem nempe 860 Annis. (JM 37)

[343] Eric XIV has crossed out part of the comment (which is not rendered here) because he has made writing errors in it. For example, after *sunt quippe* he has first written *a Saruch us* before correcting to *A Diluuio*.

Autor incipit hic in Quarta Aetate Anno 67. (JM 37)

Tepa (JM 39)

Secundum Eusebium ex hac Annorum supputatione colligitur egressionem Gotorum contigisse ante tempora Abrahae. (JM 40) (has been crossed out)

Magnus (JM 45) (addition to the printed comment *Philmerus* VII. *Rex Externus*)

Circa tempora Aot Judicis Israel incipit in Quarta Aetate. (JM 64)

Sabellicus

Paulo post initium secunde aetatis haec gesta sunt. (Sab. 3)

In tertiae aetatis initium incipiunt hec gesta (Sab. 6)

Scythiae descriptio (Sab. 7) (possibly not in Eric's handwriting)

In Noruegia antiquitus fiebat. (Sab. 8)

In tertia aetate anno 133 fuit Exes (Sab. 18)

Initium quarte aetatis (Sab. 27)

In quarta aetate incertum quo tempore (Sab. 33) (next to the underscoring: Infantes duos … concessere)

In quarta aetate anno 93 incipit. (Sab. 60)

Duodecim labores Herculis … 1 2 3 4 5 … Caeteros omittit autor. (Sab. 66–67)

Historia haec incipit in quarta aetate anno 312. (Sab. 97)

In quarta aetate anno 328 incipit autor (Sab. 103)

Inicium huius historie est in quarta aetate anno 353 (Sab. 112)

Anno 476 in quarta aetate incipit circiter (Sab. 137)

Strabo

Agamemnon Atreo genitus (Str. 14)

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