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Johannes Widekindi and the Origins of his Work on a Swedish-Russian War

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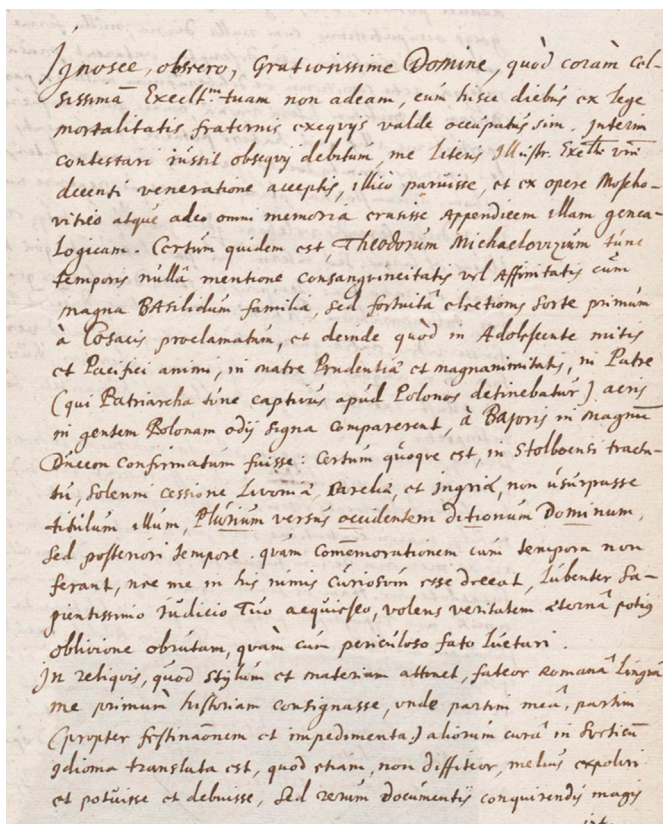
Compilation and Translation

Johannes Widekindi and the Origins of his Work on a Swedish-Russian War

ARSENII VETUSHKO-KALEVICH

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND THEOLOGY | LUND UNIVERSITY





Ignosce, obsecro, Gratiosissime Domine, quod coram col-
 lissima Excell^{ta} tua non adeam, cum his diebus ex lege
 mortalitatis fraternis exequijs valde occupatus sim. Interim
 contestari iussit obsequij debitum me literis Ill^{str}. Ect^o vni-
 versis atque adeo omni memoria crasse Appendicem illam genea-
 logicam. Certum quidem est, Theodorum Michaelovizium tunc
 temporis nullā mentione consanguinitatis vel Affinitatis cum
 magna Astrildum familia, sed fortuitā oblatione sorte primū
 à Costacis proclamatum, et deinde quod in Adolpheate natus
 et Pacifici animi, in matre Prudentia et magnanimitate, in Patre
 (qui Patriarcha sine captivitate apud Polonos detinebatur) ac in
 in gentem Polonam odij signa comparescent, à Bapori in magnam
 Duceem confirmatum fuisse: Certum quoque est, in Stolboensis trach-
 ti, Poloniam cessione Livoniae, Datcha, et Ingria, non usurpasse
 titulum illum, Plurimum versus occidentem ditionum Dominum,
 sed posteriori tempore. quam Commemorationem cum tempora non
 ferant, nec me in his nimis curiosum esse doceat, libenter Sa-
 pientissimo Iudicio Tuo acquiesco, volens veritatem aeterna potius
 oblivione oblitum, quam cum periculoso fato luctari.

In reliquis, quod Stylium et materiam attinet, fateor Romana lingua
 me primum historiam consignasse, unde partim mea, partim
 (propter fistinationem et impedimenta) aliorum cura in Latina
 gelima translata est, quod etiam, non diffiteor, melius excolui
 et potuisse et debuisse, sed verum documentis conquirendi magis
 int.

The work of Johannes Widekindi that appeared in 1671 in Swedish as *Thet Swenska i Ryssland Tijo åhrs Krijgz-Historie* and in 1672 in Latin as *Historia Belli Sveco-Moscovitici Decennalis* is an important source on Swedish military campaigns in Russia at the beginning of the 17th century. The Swedish version is also a significant monument of Early Modern Swedish language, whereas the Latin one is a most impressive piece of Swedish Neo-Latin historiography. Despite the importance of the work and the fact that the two versions are not identical, the relation between them has never been the subject to a thorough investigation. The dissertation seeks to analyze both the extrinsic and intrinsic evidence of Widekindi's working process and thus to elucidate the substance of his texts.



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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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Abstract <p>The purpose of the dissertation is to trace the working process of Johannes Widekindi (ca 1620–1678), Swedish historiographer of the Realm, when writing his bilingual history of the Swedish military actions in Russia in 1609–1617, published in 1671 in Swedish as <i>Thet Swenska i Ryssland tijo åhrs Krijgz-Historie</i> and in 1672 in Latin as <i>Historia Belli Sveco-Moscovitici Decennalis</i>.</p> <p>Chapter 1 of the dissertation consists of an overview of the Latin historiography during the Swedish Great Power period, together with a sketch of Widekindi's biography and an overview of his works. Chapter 2 deals with general information about <i>Historia Belli i Krijgz-Historie</i> and contains an overview of the previous research as well as a section on the aims and methods of the present dissertation. The subject of chapter 3 is the extrinsic evidence of the working process, provided primarily by the collection of letters from Widekindi to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie.</p> <p>Chapter 4 deals with Widekindi's sources. A detailed comparison makes it possible to evaluate the reliability of the author's own statement that he first wrote his work in Latin and then translated it into Swedish. Whenever there is no obvious correspondence to the wording of the source in either of two versions, one needs to apply detailed philological analysis of the differences between them. It turns out that the Latin version is, with certain reservations, the original one, whereas the Swedish version contains both passages translated from Latin (in certain cases revised with the help of the source) and those quoted directly after the source.</p> <p>Chapter 5 deals with Widekindi's translation technique. The quantitative TRIX-method is used to describe the formal correspondence between the source text and the target text, taking into account both the lexical equivalence between the corresponding substantives in two versions and the syntactical equivalence between the corresponding finite verb forms. Finally, there is a survey of some general differences between two versions, e.g. the lack of classical allusions in the Swedish version and the scarce and inconstant use of titles in the Latin one. Other bilingual editions and translations from Latin into Swedish from the same period serve as comparative background.</p>		
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Cover: Johannes Widekindi's letter to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie,
15 March 1672. Photo by Riksarkivet (the National Archives of Sweden)

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Lund, October 2019

Arsenii Vetushko-Kalevich

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Foreword

The work of Johannes Widekindi that appeared in 1671 in Swedish as *Thet Swenska i Ryssland tijo åhrs Krijgz-Historie* and in 1672 in Latin as *Historia Belli Sveco-Moscovitici Decennalis* is the most important published source about Swedish participation in the military campaigns in Russia at the beginning of the 17th century. The Swedish version, comprising almost 1,000 pages in quarto format, is also a quantitatively significant monument of the Early Modern Swedish language. Finally, the Latin version is one of the most impressive pieces of Latin historiography in Early Modern Sweden. Despite this threefold importance of the work and the obvious fact that the two versions are not identical, the relation between them has never been subject to a thorough investigation. The present dissertation seeks to analyze both the extrinsic and intrinsic evidence of Widekindi's working process and thus to elucidate the substance of his texts.

Introduction: Latin historiography in 17th century Sweden

The 17th century, especially its second half, was the heyday of Neo-Latin literature in Sweden;¹ also more generally, Latin held its strongest ever position in Sweden in most linguistic domains during this period.

Diplomacy was a field in which the Swedish authorities were particularly interested in maintaining the position of Latin as a language that did not give priority to any of the great powers of Europe.² Many important international treaties were written in Latin, e.g. the Swedish-Polish truce of Altmark in 1629,³ and the peace treaties of Westphalia in 1648.⁴ In 1639, it was decided that all diplomatic writings not written in Latin would be answered in Swedish, and when in 1644 the Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna was addressed in French by French representatives, he answered in Swedish. The language policy changed somewhat in the second half of the century, but only regarding French.⁵

The 17th century saw a significant development of the Swedish educational system, which went hand in hand with the country's territorial expansion. In 1600, Sweden had only one university (Uppsala); in 1700 there were five. The universities in Dorpat and Lund were founded (in 1632 and 1666, respectively) in the newly acquired regions of Livonia and Scania; the university of Greifswald became Swedish in 1648 with the annexation of Pomerania; and the university of Åbo was founded in 1640.

The school education system also increased. In 1623, a gymnasium in Västerås was founded; by the end of the century, Sweden had about a dozen

¹ The best surveys on the period are Tengström 1973: 53–71, Helander 1994, Aili 1995: 139–154, Helander 2004: 15–23 and Helander 2012. Cf. also Lindroth 1975: 181–197. On the relation between Latin and Swedish in the 17th century, see Teleman 2002: 9–17.

² Cf. Jönsson 2001: 23.

³ *Sverges traktater* V, pp. 347–358.

⁴ *Sverges traktater* VI, pp. 333–455.

⁵ Forssell 1935: 46–47; Tengström 1973: 57.

gymnasiums. Both gymnasium and university education was conducted entirely in Latin, which was taught from the second year in primary school.⁶ When in 1677 Olof Rudbeck published a university programme in Swedish, it caused something of a scandal, with Johannes Schefferus accusing Rudbeck of vilifying the ingenious students by pretending that they did not understand Latin.⁷ Swedish entered lecture texts⁸ only in the last decades of the century;⁹ its explicit breakthrough came in the first half of the 18th century.¹⁰

Thus, Latin was the predominant language of science and scholarship. But its position was strong in prose genres and poetry as well. Many productive and skillful Latin poets, e.g. Erik Lindschöld and Olof Hermelin, arose in the second half of the century;¹¹ Latin historiography¹² flourished in the works of Johannes Messenius and Johannes Loccenius (see below); a Latin novel was even written, *Peregrinatio Cosmopolitana* by Olof Verelius.

The Swedish language had to adapt itself to, and struggle against, Latin dominance, and actually improved its position during the century. In 1651, the first manual in Swedish verse composition was published, *Manuductio ad poesin Svecanam* by Andreas Arvidi; one of its main goals was to show how to use classical meters in Swedish. The year 1658 was an especially important one in the history of Swedish poetry. Firstly, an epic poem *Hercules* by Georg Stiernhielm was published, the first significant poem in Swedish ever written in hexameters.¹³ Secondly, a poem *Thet Swenska Språketz Klagemål*, i.e. ‘The lament of the Swedish language’,¹⁴ written under the pseudonym Skogekär

⁶ For the role of gymnasiums in the Swedish educational system of the 17th and 18th centuries as well as a list of them, see Hörstedt 2018: 25–32 with further references.

⁷ Bergman 1918: 62. On other attempts to promote the position of Swedish at the university, see Teleman 2002: 16.

⁸ I.e. the preserved notes rendering the contents of the lectures, written by both lecturers and listeners. On this manuscript material and its classification, see Lindberg 2017: 41–44.

⁹ Ibid. 71–80.

¹⁰ Ibid. 117–122.

¹¹ The most detailed overviews over Swedish Neo-Latin poetry are Bergman 1895 and Johannesson 1968: 13–55.

¹² Stina Hansson’s claim that the national historiography connected with the Chancellery was still mainly written in Swedish (Hansson 1984: 64) is surprising, for almost all the most significant works produced by the historiographers of the Realm in the 17th century – or corresponding figures, like Messenius – were actually written in Latin. Persons such as Loccenius and Pufendorf were simply unable to write in Swedish.

¹³ For earlier examples of hexameters in Swedish, see Berg 1909.

¹⁴ For an English summary of it, see Jönsson 2004: 335–340. For a list of similar Early Modern defences of the European vernaculars, see Burke 2004: 65.

Bergbo, the real identity of whom is still undisclosed, saw the light of day.¹⁵ The poem depicts the miserable state of the Swedish language and then presents a programme for a bright future, which it indeed deserves, being, as we learn, the oldest and most reverend of all the tongues of the world. As pointed out by Stina Hansson, the programme generally corresponds to the tendencies which really took place in the 17th century: development of poetry and prose in Swedish, publication of teaching literature in Swedish, the study of “Gothic” and the medieval Swedish past.¹⁶ The retreat of Latin and the strengthening of Swedish are indicated among other things by the quantitative relation in occasional poetry. In the 1640s, 81% of all occasional poems written in Sweden were in Latin, with only 11% in Swedish. In the 1670s, the picture was different: 33% in Latin and 54% in Swedish.¹⁷ These tendencies were supported by the Royal Chancellery or people to some degree connected to it.¹⁸ It is significant that *Thet Swenska Språketz Klagemål* was advertised in the (only) Swedish newspaper, an honour bestowed only to publications of high political interest.¹⁹

Historiography²⁰ was one of the areas where Latin and Swedish coexisted. In the 17th century this literary genre became an issue of state concern in Sweden, to some extent connected with diplomacy. Consequently, the most important historiographical works of the Swedish Great Power era were written in Latin.

At the same time, this was a period of a large-scale development of historical research in Sweden.²¹ It was in the 17th century that Swedish scholars

¹⁵ The importance of these works for contemporaries is evidenced by the fact that both *Hercules* and *Thet Swenska Språketz Klagemål* were reprinted, the former in 1668 and the latter in 1706.

¹⁶ Hansson 1984: 25–28, 45–55.

¹⁷ Ibid. 98. The third most frequent language was German. It was considered the most important language after Latin for a Swedish nobleman in the 17th century, and more than 5% of overall Swedish book production was in German (Teleman 2002: 30–31).

¹⁸ Ibid. 114–115. Recent research has drawn attention to the term *hovspråk* (‘court language’), which designates a refined form of Swedish, seemingly cultivated in the circles around the Chancellery by the end of the 17th century, when it is still difficult to talk about any kind of literary norm (Widmark 2012: 47–51). This point is productive for further discussions on the role of the Chancellery in the history of Swedish in the 17th century.

¹⁹ Ibid. 35–38.

²⁰ The main focus of the following overview lies on the development of historical research in general and on large annalistic works on political and military history in particular. To include here everything that can be referred to historiography would have been irrelevant for the present study.

²¹ The most comprehensive account of the historical research and the conterminous disciplines in the Swedish Great Power era can be found in Lindroth 1975: 235–348. For shorter

began to collect and publish literary monuments of the past. It was also when pioneer works on Swedish legal history,²² literary history,²³ runology²⁴ and numismatics²⁵ emerged.

The key figure of Swedish historiography at the beginning of the century was Johannes Messenius (1579–1636).²⁶ In some respects, his scholarly activity anticipated research directions that developed in Sweden several decades later. Messenius was the first to publish Swedish medieval chronicles and the Latin *Chronica Regni Gothorum* by Ericus Olai (15th century); a continuation of this publication work in a comparable scale did not follow until 1667, when the College of Antiquities (*Antikvitetskollegium*)²⁷ was founded. Messenius' minor works, primarily *Sveopentaprotopolis*²⁸ and *Tumbae*, both published in 1611, foreshadow the development of research in local history continued in Schefferus' *Upsalia* (1666), Peringskiöld's collections at the beginning of the 18th century, and numerous university dissertations dealing

overviews see Norborg 1972: 198–208 and Skovgaard-Petersen 2012. As a part of Swedish Neo-Latin literary heritage the historiography of the 17th century is briefly mentioned in the general surveys on this topic, see above, n. 1. Articles on the historians mentioned here can be found in Swedish biographical dictionaries (*Nordisk familjebok*, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* and others); on Messenius, Schefferus and Pufendorf see also chapters in Björk & Johansson 2009. The views of 17th century historians on the distant past are discussed in Gustav Löw's monograph on the image of the ancient history of Sweden in Swedish historiography (Löw 1908: 97–160). Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe has studied the role of antiquarian mythography in the historiographical writings of the period in her book on Annus of Viterbo (Wifstrand Schiebe 1992: 33–67). Nils Ahnlund has provided an overview of Swedish 17th century writings on Gustavus Adolphus (Ahnlund 1944). Ingel Wadén has a section dealing with Messenius, and another dealing with Loccenius and Widekindi in his monograph about the sources on the Kalmar war (Wadén 1936: 78–106). Administrative and technical aspects of the position of historiographers of the Realm have been discussed by Bo Bennich-Björkman in his book dealing with writers as public servants (Bennich-Björkman 1970: 202–250). For remarks on the period in the light of conceptual history and philosophy of history, see Landgren 2008 and Lindberg 2012: 17–26.

²² The writings of Johannes Loccenius and *De jure Sveonum et Gothorum vetusto* (1674) by Johan Stiernhök. See Lindroth 1975: 307–310.

²³ *Svecia literata* (1680) by Johannes Schefferus.

²⁴ A recent study of Johannes Bureus' antiquarian output is Norris 2016.

²⁵ *Thesaurus nummorum Sveo-Gothicorum* (1691) by Elias Brenner. For an overview of its background, contents and significance, see Krasnobaeva 2018: 43–85. On Johannes Loccenius' contribution to the history of Swedish coins in his *Antiquitates Sveogothicae*, see Elfver 2014.

²⁶ For a detailed account of his life and works, see Schück 1920 and Olsson 1944: 3–19.

²⁷ A recent study concerned with this institution is Widenberg 2006.

²⁸ An essay containing lexical, grammatical and textological remarks on it is Tengström 1974.

with the historical topography of Swedish towns and regions.²⁹ Last but not least, during his work in the Royal Chancellery (1614–1616) Messenius began to systematize its documents and use them for his large historiographical project, mainly accomplished during his imprisonment in Kajaneborg castle in Finland (1616–1636), following an accusation of conspiring with the Jesuits. This work, *Scondia illustrata*, describes the events from the Flood up to the beginning of the 17th century and consists of 15 volumes. It is the first detailed overview of Swedish history after *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus* by Johannes Magnus (first published 1554).³⁰ Still largely depending on both Johannes Magnus and Saxo, as well as on the forgeries of Annius of Viterbo,³¹ Messenius highly benefits from using Icelandic literature as well as Swedish medieval documents.³² *Scondia illustrata* was accessible as a manuscript for historians throughout the following decades,³³ but it was not published until the beginning of the 18th century.³⁴

Apart from Messenius, Swedish historiography in the narrow sense of the word has not much to boast about in the first half of the 17th century. Perhaps the authority of Johannes Magnus, manifested through a summary in Swedish,³⁵ a versified summary in Latin,³⁶ and a Swedish translation,³⁷ was still regarded as too high to produce anything completely new.³⁸ *Historia Arctoæ* (1636) by Bishop Laurentius Paulinus (1565–1646) should be mentioned as the most ambitious piece of historiography of this period. This is, again, an overview of Swedish history, this time from the Creation until the

²⁹ A part of this huge topographical material (namely 18th century publications in Swedish) has been discussed in Legnér 2004.

³⁰ Literature on Johannes Magnus, whose work still remained influential throughout the 17th century, is extensive. The most recent contributions are a dissertation on the intentions and the methods of the author (Nilsson 2016) and the first ever complete translation of *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus* into Swedish, richly commented (Magnus 2018).

³¹ Wifstrand Schiebe 1992: 42–44.

³² The medieval sources of Messenius have been subject to a thorough study in Olsson 1944.

³³ Cf. Wadén 1936: 104 and Alkarp 2009: 205.

³⁴ By Johan Peringskiöld. A section not included in this edition, *Chronologia Sanctae Birgittae*, has been published by Ann-Mari Jönsson (Jönsson 1988).

³⁵ *Een kort och nyttigh chrönica om alla Swerikis och Göthis konungar* (1611) by Petrus Petrejus, reprinted in 1614 and 1656.

³⁶ *Amphitheatrum* (1610) by Johannes Messenius.

³⁷ *Joannis Magni Swea och Götha Crönika* (1620) by Ericus Schroderus.

³⁸ The lively historiographical activity in Denmark during the same period presents a bright contrast (Skovgaard-Petersen 2002: 123).

death of Gustavus Adolphus, preceded by a geographical description of Sweden, paralleled by the main events of the general history, and followed by the history of the Ostrogoths and Visigoths. Unlike Messenius, Laurentius Paulinus did not conduct any independent documentary research; he follows Johannes Magnus, wherever it is relevant.

An important step forward came with the efforts of Johannes Loccenius (1598–1677), a German from Holstein who was in Swedish service from the late 1620s. His interest in legal history, expressed through editions of and a lexicon to Swedish medieval law, was also profitable in his *Antiquitates Sveogothicae* (1647), the first cultural history of Sweden since *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555) by Olaus Magnus. Political and military history, on the other hand, are treated in Loccenius' *Rerum Svecicarum historia*. Its first edition, in five books, appeared in 1654; there, Loccenius begins with early medieval kings, refusing to talk about the more distant past for the lack of reliable sources: *ab illis temporibus ordiri visum est, quibus plura et expertae fidei documenta in subsidium vocari possent*.³⁹ The narrative, accurately following the sources and conspicuously free from evaluative remarks, goes to the end of Gustavus Vasa's reign. However, in the second edition (1662) Loccenius was compelled to include ancient Swedish history as well; in the preface he washes his hands of it and declares that he will just paraphrase Johannes Magnus in this initial part. In addition, the history now reaches the death of Charles X Gustav. All in all, the second edition consists of nine books. Finally, one more, slightly revised, version was published in 1676 as *Historia Svecana*.

The ancient history of Sweden was the object of high political concern and the reason for one of the bitterest conflicts in the history of Swedish historical research. In the 1670s, Johannes Schefferus⁴⁰ (1621–1679), the son-in-law of Loccenius and the founder of Swedish classical philology, and Olaus Verelius (1618–1682), the prominent editor of Icelandic literature and one of the pioneers of runology,⁴¹ disputed the position of the first Christian church in Uppsala. Several minor monographs⁴² were produced in the controversy which ended up in Verelius publishing a medieval document in support of his claims

³⁹ Loccenius, *Rerum Svecicarum historia* (1654), preface.

⁴⁰ Apart from a large number of monographs on specific historical topics, he also published a collection of anecdotes and moral examples from Swedish history, *Memorabilium Svecicae gentis liber singularis* (1671), modelled after Valerius Maximus. A Swedish translation of this book with a short introduction has been published recently (Schefferus 2005).

⁴¹ He also wrote a compendious overview of Swedish history in general, *Epitomae historiae Svio-Gothicae* (published posthumously in 1730).

⁴² For a complete list, see Kumlien 1967: 2 n. 2.

and Schefferus making a brilliant philological analysis of it, which could prove it a forgery.⁴³ However, the “patriotic” side, arguing for the most ancient and noble origins of the Swedish people and represented in this feud by Verelius, remained influential well into the 18th century. Its main monument is Olof Rudbeck’s enormous interdisciplinary treatise *Atlantica*, published in four volumes in 1679–1702.⁴⁴

Historiography dealing with the contemporary times was, in the middle of the century, institutionalized through the position of the historiographer of the Realm.

Historiographers had been employed in the Swedish Royal Chancellery as early as the 16th century, albeit without any specific title. Their main function was a propagandistic one, i.e. they had to describe historical events according to the official view of the Swedish authorities. Most illustrative in this respect are the anti-Danish pamphlet from 1547 by Georg Norman, a German in Gustavus Vasa’s service, and Nils Chesnecopherus’ report about the reasons for Sigismund’s dethronement, translated into Latin by Messenius. A secondary purpose of writing official history was to educate the young members of the Royal family and the nobility. Finally, the fear of the temporality of all things may also have played some role.⁴⁵

In the times of Gustavus Vasa it was mainly church officials who accomplished historiographical tasks, and during the reign of his sons and Gustavus Adolphus it was experienced clerks with a good foreign education, or foreigners.⁴⁶ The official title, *historicus regni*, is first attested for Daniel Heinsius in 1618. However, in the 1640s, when the position became permanent and no longer consisted of freestanding contracts, the title *historicus* was turned into *historiographus* (*historiograf* in Swedish), perhaps to discern this office from *professor historiarum* at Uppsala university, often called simply *historicus*. Nor was the second half of the title consistent: in the second half of the 17th century the *historiographus regni* (Sw. *rikshistoriograf*) was often referred to as *historiographus regi(u)s* (Sw. *kunglig historiograf*) or, in the documents issued by the king himself, *historiographus noster* (Sw. *vår historiograf*). This seems to be one of the absolutist tendencies in the nomenclature, like *kungliga råd* (‘Royal councillors’) common at that time

⁴³ Most recent contributions to the discussion of the document published by Verelius are Janson 2001, Alkarp 2009: 186–223 and Sävborg 2017.

⁴⁴ For a detailed overview of *Atlantica*’s contents see Eriksson 2002: 257–540. A large forthcoming monograph on the history and the impact of Rudbeckianism at the Scandinavian universities is Roling 2019.

⁴⁵ Bennich-Björkman 1970: 202–204.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 206–207.

(1680–1719), instead of *riksråd* ('Councillors of the Realm'), used both before and after. There is a type of intermediate variant attested for 1719, just on the verge of the Age of Liberty, when Jacob Wilde is called *Historiographus wid vårt Cantzli* ('historiographer at our Chancellery').⁴⁷

Usually historiographers combined two offices: e.g. Johann Freinsheim was not only historiographer of the Realm, but also Royal librarian, and later professor of eloquence at Uppsala; Loccenius was at the same time historiographer of the Realm and professor of law at Uppsala, and later Royal librarian. Johann Boeckler retained half of his salary when moving from Sweden to Strasbourg, and published the history of the Swedish-Danish war of 1643–1645 after his move. The habit of combining two positions only disappeared during the reign of Charles XII (it was also at that time that the simultaneous existence of two or three historiographers ceased).⁴⁸

Historiographers of the Realm managed to provide a continuous and detailed chronicle of political and military events from Gustavus Vasa until Charles X Gustav, especially valuable due to the destruction of numerous documents used by them in the fire of the Royal castle in Stockholm in 1697. Loccenius has been mentioned above. Aegidius Girs and Jonas Werwing wrote in Swedish the history of the early kings of the Vasa dynasty. Bogislaus Philipp von Chemnitz described in German the Swedish participation in the Thirty Years' War. Finally, the famous Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694), appointed historiographer of the Realm in 1677, described in Latin the events of 1630–1654 (*Commentarii de rebus Suecicis*, 1686) in 26 books, and the events of 1654–1660 in seven books (*De rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sveciae rege gestis commentarii*, 1696).⁴⁹

The events of the early 17th century were tackled by Johannes Widekindi, historiographer of the Realm 1665–1678. As we can see, the historiographers of the Realm used different languages – Swedish, Latin, and German – and sometimes two versions were published: both works by Pufendorf were translated into German immediately after the Latin publication. Widekindi published his work in Swedish and Latin. The working process of this less-known person when writing a history of the war in Russia is what I discuss below.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 212.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 222–225.

⁴⁹ A general characteristic of both works can be found in Malmström 1899: 24–35 and 76–84 respectively. A fundamental monograph on the latter work, in particular on its documentary sources, is Stade 1967. A recent contribution dealing with Pufendorf's methods and intentions is Krawczuk 2014.

1. The author

1.1. Widekindi's biography⁵⁰

Johannes Widekindi was born about 1620⁵¹ in the village of Bro in the province of Västmanland. His first name is spelled by himself as *Johannes* throughout his life in both Latin and Swedish writings;⁵² the form *Johan*, often found in modern scholarship, seems to appear at times only on some of the letters addressed to him.⁵³ *Widekindi* is the patronymic, the genitive form of *Widekindus*, which is a Latinization of the rare (and now completely extinct) Swedish name *Vidik*.⁵⁴ However, until the middle of the 1660s the historiographer called himself *Johannes Widichinni*.⁵⁵ A possible reason for

⁵⁰ The first biography of Johannes Widekindi was written in 1780 by the archivist Sigfrid Gahm (Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, X 210, fol. 295–327). The article in the first Swedish biographical dictionary (Gezelius 1780) is a summary of Gahm's account. Of the later contributions in biographical dictionaries (always more or less based on Gahm/Gezelius), Westrin 1921 and Wadén 1955 have independent value. Wadén has also provided detailed surveys of Widekindi's pedigree (Wadén 1948) and the "Widekindi affair" of 1675 (Wadén 1952). In *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, edited since 1917, the articles beginning with the letter S are not yet finished, so we will have to wait some years for the presentation of W.

⁵¹ 1618–1620 according to Gahm, fol. 296r.

⁵² It is shortened to *Iannes* in the epitaph of Johannes Terserus (no. 57 in Appendix 1) and to *Janus* in the epitaph of Widekindi's father (no. 64).

⁵³ Riksarkivet, Arkivfragment.

⁵⁴ On some of the letters addressed to him (see the previous note) he is actually called *Widichsson*.

⁵⁵ Last time in 1665 (in the epitaph of Elisabeth von Eyken); an intermediate spelling *Widichindi* can be found in the elogium of Axel Oxenstierna (1655) and is the most usual one in 1665–1669. *Widekindi* appears for the first time in 1668 as a subscription to the verses put into the copy of a book by Justus Lipsius, which Widekindi gave as a present to his friend Magnus Utter (also attested in the autographs beginning with 1669). These three main forms – *Widichinni*, *Widichindi* and *Widekindi* – are the most common and are richly attested by the autographs. There are also several anomalous variants: *Widichinnus* in the funeral oration on Johannes Rudbeckius (1646), *Widikindus* in the epitaph of Abel Kock (1668), *Widikindi* in the valedictory poem to Nicolaus Rudbeckius (1671), in the first version of *Vita Johannis Stiernhöök* (1676 or later), and in the poem addressed to the editors of the collection of Swedish proverbs (1677), *Witekindi* on the title-page of the commentary to Epictetus (1676).

the revision of the spelling is that Widekindi took into consideration some historical writings where the early-medieval Saxon leader Widukind is mentioned. Widekindi mentions him twice in connection with the genealogy of Charles XI, in the genealogical table from 1663 and in the *Panegyricus* from 1672,⁵⁶ and in both the orthography stands close to the spelling of his own patronymic (*Widichindus* and *Widichinni/Widichindi* in 1663, *Witekindus* and *Widekindi* in 1672). At the beginning of his career Widekindi also added his birthplace to his name, *Pontelius*⁵⁷ (derived from the Latinization of Bro, “bridge”; Widekindi’s older brother Laurentius used it as well⁵⁸) or *Westmannus*.⁵⁹

Widekindi’s father was Widichinnus/Widichindus Laurentii (1581–1642), the vicar of Bro.⁶⁰ His mother, Sara Olofsdotter (1591–1676), came from the province of Dalecarlia and was the elder sister of Johan Stiernhöök, a famous Swedish jurist.⁶¹ The brothers of the historiographer also achieved a certain progress in their careers: the older brother Laurentius was a teacher of Greek in Västerås Gymnasium,⁶² and his gravestone is preserved in the central passage in Västerås cathedral,⁶³ whereas the younger brother Petrus served as Royal librarian in 1669–1672.⁶⁴

Johannes Widekindi was educated in the first Swedish gymnasium, in Västerås,⁶⁵ and afterwards (from 1640) at Uppsala university.⁶⁶ He is reported to have served as a tutor for the powerful Gyllenstierna family during his study

The nominative instead of the genitive, as in the aforementioned *Widichinnus* and *Widikindus*, is also found in Widekindi’s epitaph, composed by Eric Wennaesius (1679), but this time in Swedish – *Widikinn*. For bibliographical data on Widekindi’s writings referred to here and further on, see Appendix 1.

⁵⁶ Fol. D2.

⁵⁷ In the funeral poem on Ericus Troilius (1645).

⁵⁸ Wadén 1948: 46.

⁵⁹ In a panegyric to Queen Christina (1650).

⁶⁰ On him see Ekström 1971: 878–879. On the difficulties in reconstructing his family tree, see Wadén 1948: 22–32.

⁶¹ For a detailed account of Stiernhöök’s genealogy, see Nelson 2005: 167–190.

⁶² Ibid. 47.

⁶³ Ekström 1976: 225.

⁶⁴ Biographical data on Laurentius and Petrus are collected in Wadén 1948: 46–49 and 49–52 respectively.

⁶⁵ He is mentioned in *Album Scholae Arosiensis* in 1638.

⁶⁶ Enrolled on 5 February 1640 (*Uppsala Universitets Matrikel*, vol. I, p. 86).

years.⁶⁷ There is no evidence that he obtained a degree at Uppsala, but on 19 October 1653 Widekindi became a magister at Oxford.⁶⁸ He must have returned to Sweden by the summer of 1654, as he is reported to have made a speech on the abdication of Queen Christina in her presence in Uppsala.⁶⁹ On 30 April 1655, he became *eloquentiae lector* at Stockholm Gymnasium.⁷⁰ At approximately the same time, Erik Oxenstierna, son of the former Chancellor of the Realm Axel Oxenstierna and himself the Chancellor of the Realm, committed to him the care of his father's library.⁷¹ We know nothing specifically about Widekindi's work at the Oxenstierna library after 1659, and as for the Stockholm Gymnasium, he most probably resigned in 1668,⁷² when the gymnasium moved to Gävle.

At the end of the 1650s, Widekindi attended Charles X Gustav during his wars against Denmark.⁷³ According to his own witness, he accompanied the King in summer 1659 in Elsinore, and the king honoured him with the nickname 'my philosopher'.⁷⁴

At the beginning of the 1660s, Widekindi won the favour of Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, Chancellor of the Realm since 1662, and in 1665 was appointed

⁶⁷ Bonde 1900: 119; Benzelius 1940: 21. This claim is cast into doubt in Wadén 1955, but there is at least evidence that Widekindi visited the Gyllenstierna house in Uppsala in 1650 (Akademiska konsistoriet 1970: 8, 14, 15) and was by the same time personally acquainted with Olaus Svebilius, who is known to have been a tutor of Gyllenstiernas (Petersson 1940: 51).

⁶⁸ Fasti 1820: 179. Widekindi (*Widechennius*) and two other Swedes promoted on that day are called *retainers to the ambassador of Christina queen of Sweedland* (the ambassador must be Israel Lagerfelt, on whose mission in 1653 see Heimer 1893: 111–126). Widekindi had begun his peregrination no earlier than March 1652 (Akademiska konsistoriet 1970: 93). Oxford University statutes are present in Widekindi's library catalogue, on which see below.

⁶⁹ Arckenholtz 1751: 337. Perhaps the speech is to identify as the printed poem on this very subject (no. 24 in Appendix 1).

⁷⁰ Widekindi's application for the position is, together with the Royal confirmation, published in Acta 1939: 29.

⁷¹ That is known from his letter to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie (see below, p. 39). In Johan Oxenstierna's epitaph Widekindi calls himself *Eloqu<uentiae> et Hist<oriae> P<rofessor> et Biblioth<ecarius> Oxenst<iernianus>*, and thus we may conclude, firstly, that he was still librarian of the Oxenstierna family in 1659, secondly, that beside eloquence he also taught history for some time. There is some evidence that Widekindi had access to Oxenstierna's library as late as in 1666 (AOSB I:1, XI n.), but it is not to exclude that it was then given to him due to his title of historiographer of the Realm.

⁷² But in no way earlier than in 1667, as the words *Eloqu<entiae> Prof<essor>* by his name in the poem celebrating the opening of Maria Magdalena school in Stockholm bear witness to.

⁷³ Cf. below, pp. 19 and 39.

⁷⁴ Widekindi, *Epicteti, Stoici Philosophi Enchiridion*, 149–151.

historiographer of the Realm. As such, he was given an office at the National Archives in 1667.⁷⁵ The end of the 1660s and the beginning of 1670s is the period of his most frenetic historiographical activity. In 1671 he published *Thet Swenska i Ryssland Tijo åhrs Krijgz-Historie*, and in 1672 its Latin version; at the same time he finished the now lost *Additamentum* to the history of Gustavus Vasa; by 1673, the history of Gustavus Adolphus was mainly finished as well, as witnessed by the extant dedicatory copy.⁷⁶

In 1675, the historiographer became an accidental victim of the struggle between the most powerful political groups of Sweden (M. G. De la Gardie's and Johan Gyllenstierna's) and spent two months in jail. Ingel Wadén has shown that the pretext for Widekindi's imprisonment in 1675 was his incautious political statements in private conversations, and that the actual reason for the imprisonment must have been the suspiciousness and irascibility of Pontus De la Gardie (the Chancellor's brother) at a moment of high political tension.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Bergh 1916: 419.

⁷⁶ See below, p. 17.

⁷⁷ In the article "Апология Юхана Видекинда" (i.e. 'The Apology of Johannes Widekindi', note the title), attached to the Russian translation of Widekindi's historical work (see below, pp. 34–35), there is a clear aspiration to find some connection between the publication of Widekindi's work on the Swedish-Russian war and the international politics at the beginning of 1670s, an aspiration which is a priori dubious because Widekindi, as will be shown further, wrote his book throughout the 1660s and his main goal was to glorify the De la Gardie family. One of the main ideas of the article is that the accusations against Widekindi were due to what he had written in the history of the Swedish-Russian war. The historiographer is supposed to have suffered imprisonment because he touched upon the foreign-policy subject which was lively debated at the Swedish Riksdags (Kovalenko et al. 2000: 541), improperly described the deeds of Gustavus Adolphus during the siege of Pskov (ibid. 545), was too mean in extolling the virtues of Charles IX (ibid. 558–560), and made his readers familiar with too many documents of political importance (ibid. 561). However, the only source that the authors of the article refer to regarding the "Widekindi affair" are the articles of Ingel Wadén, the one on this very subject and the other dealing with the confiscation of Widekindi's *Gustaff Adolphs Historia* in 1691. Thus, on the one hand, no further archive materials are used and on the other hand, Wadén is referred to quite incorrectly. For instance, he does not write a word about Charles IX, and least of all about Widekindi being asked about his attitude to this king during the process; but there were other, more natural questions put to the arrested historiographer, namely about his attitude to the ruling monarch, Charles XI (Wadén 1952: 30–33). Not a word is said in Wadén's article of even an indirect connection between the episode and Widekindi's historiographical writings. As for the siege of Pskov, Wadén talks about it firstly in the article about the affair of 1691, not 1675, and secondly in connection with a note by the censors who considered complaints about the lack of sources to be out of place in the official annals of the Realm (Wadén 1959: 60) – without calling it high treason, of course. To sum up, the claims of a connection between Widekindi's imprisonment and his writings are nothing but a grave misconception.

Widekindi was released at the end of October 1675 and retained both the office of historiographer of the Realm and his estate Menhammar outside Stockholm,⁷⁸ and in the following three years he published a commentary on Epictetus and several pieces of occasional poetry.⁷⁹ He died on Christmas Eve in 1678⁸⁰ and was buried in Storkyrkan in Stockholm on 16 March 1679.⁸¹ His gravestone is not preserved, but it must have been situated beside the magnificent grave of the famous diplomat Johan Adler Salvius in the southern part of the church, as it was there that Petrus Widekindi had been buried in his brother's *lägerstad* ('resting-place').⁸² Some time after the historiographer's death, in November 1679, some documents from the National Archives taken home by him without permission were found; the discovery caused a scandal at the highest political level.⁸³

Widekindi's wife, Anna Andersdotter Bergström, died in February 1680.⁸⁴ The couple did not leave any offspring.⁸⁵ According to the property inventory,⁸⁶ the common heritage was left to Widekindi's sisters – he had three of them, all married to clergymen in Dalecarlia and Västmanland – and to Anna's relatives. The most interesting part of the inventory is the catalogue of Widekindi's book-collection,⁸⁷ consisting of almost 1,000 volumes,⁸⁸ a huge library for a person in 17th century Sweden who was neither noble nor held a position at a university.

⁷⁸ He disposed it from at least 1673, as his poem praising it was published this year.

⁷⁹ Including his second-largest poem, *Vita Johannis Stiernhöök*.

⁸⁰ Gahm, fol. 306v. There seems to be no information preserved about the cause of his death. Thus the claim in the Russian edition that two months in prison led Widekindi to a loss of both his career and, later, his life (Kovalenko et al. 2000: 533), is groundless.

⁸¹ Stockholms stadsarkiv, Storkyrkoförsamlingen, Räkenskaper L I a 1, vol. 43, pp. 1, 7, 16, 21, 25. Cf. Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, N 464, fol. 138 (a printed invitation to the funeral ceremony signed by Widekindi's wife and sent to the diplomat Nils Gyldenstolpe).

⁸² Stockholms stadsarkiv, Storkyrkoförsamlingen, Räkenskaper L I a 1, vol. 36, s. 2.

⁸³ Gahm, fol. 310r–311v; Bergh 1916: 427–428.

⁸⁴ Stockholms stadsarkiv, Bouppteckningar 1685, fol. 89r. Ekström, when claiming that the marriage took place in 1675 and that Anna Bergström died in 1678 (Ekström 1971: 878), refers to the documents which in fact do not contain anything but Widekindi's property affairs, without any indication about his marriage and the death of his wife. Wadén 1955 mentions 1657 as the date for the marriage, unfortunately without indicating the source.

⁸⁵ Gahm, fol. 307r.

⁸⁶ Stockholms stadsarkiv, Bouppteckningar 1685, fol. 89–120.

⁸⁷ Widekindi is said to have had a large library in Menhammar in Gezelius 1780: 397 (after him Carlander 1904: 87).

⁸⁸ Fol. 101–120.

The first thing to note regarding this catalogue is that it almost exclusively consists of books in Latin. The Latin dominance itself is, of course, in no way surprising, but its degree is striking – books in other languages (mainly Swedish and German) are very few. As for thematic composition of the catalogue, the books on history are by far the most numerous. Historical accounts on almost all parts of Europe are well represented, from Iceland to the Ottoman Empire and from Russia to Portugal. In fact, a glance at the catalogue does not make it obvious that the owner of the collection was a Swede, although some of the most important works on Scandinavian history (Saxo, Magnus brothers, Messenius' *Sveopentaprotopolis*, Laurentius Paulinus Gothus, Svaning, Lyschander, Huitfeldt, Stephanius, and Arngrímur Jónsson) are there. There are several dozens of ancient authors, predominantly Latin.⁸⁹ Among the Greeks, the historians are the main group (there are editions of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Flavius Josephus, Plutarch, and Herodian).⁹⁰ Neo-Latin poetry is represented by Maciej Sarbiewski, Rasmus Glad, Maffeo Barberini, George Buchanan, John Owen and others.⁹¹ Widekindi was not alien to political philosophy, as the presence of Grotius and Hobbes bear witness to. Finally, it should be mentioned that he seemingly had a specific interest in two great Dutchmen, Justus Lipsius⁹² and Gerardus Vossius – both represented by several volumes in the catalogue.

1.2. Widekindi's writings

Long lists of Widekindi's works can be found in three large bibliographical handbooks. Just two years after the death of the historiographer, the monumental *Svecia literata* by Johannes Schefferus was published; in the second half of the 18th century Carl Gustaf Warmholtz compiled *Bibiliotheca*

⁸⁹ Of the most important authors, only Virgil and Caesar seem to be absent from the list.

⁹⁰ That does not mean that Widekindi read them in Greek. Most of the editions of Greek authors in the catalogue contain a Latin translation.

⁹¹ However, the catalogue does not contain any editions of Caspar Barlaeus and Johannes Narssius, whose poems Widekindi demonstrably used when composing his own (on Narssius see below, p. 24).

⁹² His interest in Lipsius is also attested, firstly, by a case heard by the university administration in 1652, when Widekindi and another student disputed the ownership of a book by Lipsius (Akademiska konsistoriet 1970: 93), and secondly, by Widekindi's poem on Lipsius in sapphic stanzas (see Appendix 1, no. 39).

Historica Sueo-Gothica in 15 volumes (published 1782–1817); finally, in the 20th century a catalogue of books printed in the 17th century was drawn up by Isak Collijn. However, these three reference works do not provide a complete list of Widekindi's works: Schefferus' enumeration stops at some point with generalising words *Poemata varia, carmina, Epitaphia partim edita partim inedita* and does not achieve comprehensiveness, Warmholtz takes into account only historiographical literature (albeit in a very broad sense), and Collijn does not mention manuscripts or occasional literature.⁹³ Thus, the list I am giving in Appendix 1 is the most complete catalogue of the writings by Johannes Widekindi, both printed and manuscript.

To begin with historical writings, Widekindi's first publication was *Lumen chronographicum* (no. 1 in Appendix 1). Two years later, a continuation of *Lumen* (no. 2) and an introduction to it (no. 3) were also published. *Lumen* and *Continuatio luminis* are huge chronological tables, notable in the history of Swedish historiography due to the fact that Widekindi was probably the first Swede to accuse of forgery the infamous Anniius of Viterbo, an Italian monk who fabricated several pieces of "historiography" (published as *Antiquitates Variae* in 1498) under the names of Berossus, Manetho, Fabius Pictor and other ancient authors. The forgeries were essential for the national historiographical tradition in various European countries; in Sweden, their influence can be traced back to Johannes Magnus.⁹⁴

Widekindi's activity as the historiographer of the Realm gave first results in 1671 with the publication of *Thet Swenska i Ryssland Tijo åhrs Krijgz-Historie*⁹⁵ (no. 4), which, together with its Latin version, *Historia Belli Sveco-Moscovitici Decennalis*⁹⁶ (no. 5), is the subject of the present dissertation. For general information about it, see section 2.1 below.

Two more pieces of historiography produced by Widekindi at the beginning of 1670s suffered an unlucky fate. *Additamentum* to the history of Gustavus Vasa (no. 6), aiming to complete the previous chronicles written by Erik

⁹³ Schefferus, *Svecia Literata*, pp. 184–186; Collijn 1946: 1015–1018; in Warmholtz 1782–1817 see the register. Unpublished bibliographical materials deserve to be mentioned as well. Anton von Stiernman's *Bibliotheca Suiogothica*, written in the first half of the 18th century and, apart from one of the seven volumes, never published, relies largely on Schefferus' work and does not list any of Widekindi's writings not known from other sources (Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, U 193, fol. 169v–176v). Yet another list can be found in Elias Palmskiöld's collection of biographical and bibliographical materials from the beginning of the 18th century (Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Palmsk 348, pp. 667–730), more independent but still far from comprehensive.

⁹⁴ See Wifstrand Schiebe 1992.

⁹⁵ Further on referred to as *Krijgz-Historie*.

⁹⁶ Further on referred to as *Historia Belli*.

Jöransson Tegel and Aegidius Girs (published in 1622 and in 1670 respectively), was not published at all and survives today only as a fragment. The publication of *Gustaff Adolphs Historia* (no. 7), almost ready by 1673, when the dedicatory copy⁹⁷ was presented to Charles XI, and definitely ready to be printed by 1676, was stopped by financial difficulties and by the tardiness of the censors. In 1691 the work was finally published by the widow of the printer Nils Wankijf, but then the censors discovered that some passages in the book were dangerous for international relations, primarily with Denmark. Besides that, they noted many drawbacks in Widekindi's way of working with his sources: on the one hand, including them into his own text without sufficient elaboration leads to the style being uneven, on the other hand the historiographer often mutilates the text of the sources, even when formally designing it as a quote. The censors came to the conclusion that the emendations, which had to be conducted to publish the book, were too numerous for it to be published in a revised condition. Thus, all the printed copies were confiscated and destroyed, apart from the 67 that had already been given away or sold.⁹⁸ The second part of the manuscript, which, according to the editorial preface, was also ready for publication, disappeared without a trace. It was believed that Samuel Pufendorf took it with him to Germany, and in 1744 a Swedish diplomat even made unsuccessful inquiries about the manuscript in Berlin.⁹⁹

What remains of *Gustaff Adolphs Historia* is still the main (along with *Krijgz-Historie / Historia Belli*) work of Widekindi. It is an extensive chronicle of the events which took place 1611 to 1617 and one of the most important sources concerning the Kalmar war between Sweden and Denmark.¹⁰⁰ Due to the subject, it also partly overlaps with *Krijgz-Historie*: to put it in figures, approximately one-third of the text finds correspondence in Widekindi's previous historiographical work.¹⁰¹

Other prose writings of Widekindi are mainly orations on significant events (nos. 8–11, 14, 66–71) and genealogical surveys (12, 15, 17, 18). The latter ones deserve a special mention. In September 1668, Widekindi was assigned

⁹⁷ Kungliga biblioteket, D 618.

⁹⁸ For more details about the publication and the confiscation of *Gustaff Adolphs Historia*, see Wadén 1959.

⁹⁹ Gahm, fol. 310r.

¹⁰⁰ Wadén 1936: 100–106.

¹⁰¹ This correspondence is usually quite literal; however, there are textual reasons to believe that Widekindi used a manuscript of *Krijgz-Historie* for the passages in question rather than the printed edition.

by the Swedish House of the Nobility to compile genealogical tables.¹⁰² In the scholarly literature one can find a claim that there are no traces of his work in this direction,¹⁰³ and even a notion that Widekindi was not interested in this work and must have been deadly tired of compiling genealogies of the nobility.¹⁰⁴ The published pedigree of the Brahe family (no. 15) and the unpublished pedigrees of the Oxenstierna (no. 17) and the Ribbing (no. 18) families allow the assumption that Widekindi did not neglect his task altogether. The genealogy of Charles XI (no. 12), as well as the genealogical appendix in *Krijgz-Historie*, containing the pedigree of the Rurikids and the Romanovs (see below, pp. 20–21), bear witness to Widekindi's more or less pure interest in genealogy. This interest is additionally evidenced by his book catalogue, which contains about a dozen books on genealogy of various kinds (Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum*, *Syntagma de familiis* by Reinerus Reineccius, *Arboretum genealogicum* by Johann Gans, *New Stambuch* by Petrus Albinus etc.).

The bulk of Widekindi's poetic production¹⁰⁵ is occasional poetry, with more than 40 preserved poems; about two-thirds of them funerary poems. Widekindi does not belong to the best Neo-Latin poets of 17th century Sweden, like Petrus Lagerlöf or Olof Hermelin; his poetic skills do not often leave any deep impression, while prosodic errors may be found in almost every poem. It should also be borne in mind that at least some of his poems are half-plagiaristic (see below, p. 24 and notes to nos. 26, 50, 52, 53 in the Appendix).¹⁰⁶

However, considering the relatively rich corpus (about 3,000 verses) and the high position of many of the addressees, Widekindi would certainly deserve a place in any advanced list of Swedish Neo-Latin poets. His contemporaries actually regarded him as both historiographer and poet: in the poem on Widekindi's death, Eric Wennæsius calls him *en rätt Götha skald och krönikeskribent* ('a real Gothic poet and chronist').¹⁰⁷ In the middle of the 18th

¹⁰² The text of the instruction was published: *Sweriges rijkes ridderskaps och adels instruction gifven herr Johan. Widichindi historiographo regio, hwilken han skal wara skyldigh stricttissime at efterfolia, vthi thenne honom anförtrorde matrikels formerande, och familiernes beskrifwande* (Stockholm 1668).

¹⁰³ Warmholtz, № 6966; Wadén 1955.

¹⁰⁴ Tarkiainen 1986: 183, 194.

¹⁰⁵ See also Vetushko-Kalevich 2019.

¹⁰⁶ The retellings of other poems, sometimes close to straight loans and centos, were not uncommon in the occasional poetry of the period; see Ström 2002.

¹⁰⁷ Kungliga biblioteket, Verser över enskilda. Also published in Wennæsius 1869: 201.

century, he was also honoured with a paragraph in the first overview over the Swedish Neo-Latin poetry.¹⁰⁸

The bibliographical handbooks mentioned above list only a few of Widekindi's poems. A more significant part of them is present in the huge manuscript collection *Carmina Suecorum Poetarum Latina*, compiled at the end of the 18th century by the clergyman Samuel Älf and preserved at the Diocesan Library in Linköping. However, Älf also misses many of Widekindi's poems, among others the longest one, the epic poem about the treaty of Roskilde, presented to Charles X Gustav (no. 27).

Among the addressees of Widekindi's occasional poems, two large groups can be discerned: 1) the regents and the nobles (nos. 22, 24–28, 30, 35, 38, 44, 55), and 2) the educated people, mainly the clergy, from the provinces of Dalecarlia and Västmanland (nos. 20, 21, 34, 36, 39, 40, 43, 52–54, 57, 64). The latter group corresponds perfectly to what we would expect Widekindi's social environment to look like. His father was a clergyman from Västmanland, his mother a daughter of a clergyman from Dalecarlia. Johannes Rudbeckius, the influential bishop of Västerås, was Widekindi's teacher at the gymnasium. Widekindi himself was a curator of Västmanland-Dala student nation at Uppsala in 1650–1651.¹⁰⁹ It is only natural that his "social capital" was concentrated mainly among fellow Västmanno-Dalecarlians, and it is interesting to observe how systematically it is mirrored by the occasional poetry.

To summarize, we see a historiographer primarily occupied with the history of the periods close to his own time, often composing occasional poetry (exclusively in Latin) and delivering speeches in the presence of royalty and the highest nobility. His range of interests is broad and includes, apart from history and genealogy, also law (no. 13) and moral philosophy (no. 16). Relevant for our present research problem is Widekindi's inclination to a compilative method of work, noticeable in several of his works, both prosaic and poetic.

¹⁰⁸ Ihre & Wåhlberg 1739: 22. As a sample, a passage from Widekindi's *Rustica vita* is quoted there. This leads the authors of later overviews, who mention Widekindi very concisely, to the (most probably groundless) claim that this poem made Widekindi famous (Bergman 1895: XLVII and after him Aili 1995: 149). Sadly, this is the only thing their reader learns about Widekindi.

¹⁰⁹ *Annales* 1926: 3.

2. The book

2.1. *Historia Belli Sveco-Moscovitici Decennalis / Thet Swenska i Ryssland Tijo åhrs Krijgz-Historie: general information*

Both¹¹⁰ versions of the history of the war in Muscovy were printed by the Royal printer Nils Wankijf. On the title page the Swedish version bears the year 1671, and the Latin one 1672; however, there is evidence that at least some copies were printed earlier, in 1669–1670.¹¹¹ The circulation was at least several hundred copies, as is suggested, firstly, by a relatively high number of copies preserved to the present day (several dozen copies of both versions can be found in LIBRIS and Worldcat), secondly, by the circulation of similar items published by Wankijf and his widow at the end of the 17th century: 1,000 copies of the Swedish translation of Sleidanus' *De quattuor monarchiis* were published in 1675,¹¹² and 830 copies of Widekindi's *Gustaff Adolphs Historia* were published in 1691.¹¹³ On the other hand, a circulation of significantly more than 1,000 copies was exceptional at that time.

Both the Swedish and the Latin versions are printed in the quarto format. The Swedish version contains 947 numbered pages, preceded by prose dedications to Charles XI and Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie and a poetic dedication to the latter, as well as a preface. The main text is, in the Swedish version, followed by a set of poems on the main characters of the work and on the cities mentioned in it, as well as an appendix describing the pedigree of the

¹¹⁰ The claim that there was one more version, combining the Latin and the Swedish text of the eight initial books (Osander 1725: 27 n. n), has not been confirmed by any further evidence and seems to be erroneous. Cf. Warmholtz, № 3480. However, in the light of the results I will come to in chapter 4, Osander's claim is interesting, sounding like a somewhat distorted piece of information received from Widekindi's contemporaries.

¹¹¹ Annerstedt 1910: 164.

¹¹² Schück 1923: 161.

¹¹³ Collijn 1946: 1016; Wadén 1953: 34.

House of Rurik and the House of Romanov. In some copies, in particular in the one preserved at the Russian State Library in Moscow¹¹⁴ and in one of the copies at the Royal Library in Stockholm, this appendix is shortened,¹¹⁵ whereas the 12 poems are enriched by two more, namely two short epigrams about the False Dmitrys and their consort Marina Mniszech.

The Latin version contains 436 numbered pages. Books 9 and 10, which in the Swedish version occupy almost half of the text, are substituted by summaries (two and four pages respectively). The dedication to Charles XI is not identical with that in the Swedish version. The prose dedication to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie is omitted, but the dedicatory poem is reproduced without any changes. The preface is included in the main text, i.e. located on the numbered pages after the summary of book 1. Several poems are added at the end compared to the Swedish edition, the total number reaching 18. One of the poems, the one about Novgorod, follows a prosaic appendix describing the history of the city. This appendix is, however, absent in some of the copies.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Videkind 2000: 495 n. ж.

¹¹⁵ In both cases, the narrative reaches the death of Tsar Michael and the enthronement of Alexey Mikhailovich. Omitted is the following discussion of the Romanovs' right (dubious in Widekindi's opinion) to the Russian crown. It looks plausible that the historiographer became aware of M. G. De la Gardie's discontent with the genealogical appendix (see below, p. 43) and already tried to take measures during the printing of the Swedish edition.

¹¹⁶ I am grateful to Peter Sjökvist (Uppsala University Library) for this remark.

Warnh. 3480

Thet Swenska i Ryßland
Tio åhrs

Rrigz = Historie/

Hwilket vnder twänne Sweriges Stor-
mächtige Konungars/

Konung CARLS IX.

Och

K. GUSTAF ADOLPHS

den Andres och Stoores Baner/

Storfursten IVAN VASIL-

VITZ SUISCHI och Ryßland

til hielp/

Först emoot the Rebeller och Lithower/ sedan the Päs-
ler/ på sidstonne emoot sielfwe Muskowiterne/ ifrån
år 1607. in til 1617.

Aff

Feldherren Gref. IACOB DE LA GARDIE

uthördt/ och medh en reputerligh Fæddh bijlagdt år / i lijka mån-
ga Böcker fördeelt och sammanfattat

Aff

JOHANNE WIDEKINDI

Histor. Reg.

Tryckt i Stockholm hos Niclas Bankijff Kongl.

1666 Boökr. Åhr 1671.

VH

The title page of the Swedish edition (Lund University Library)

HISTORIA
BELLI SVECO-
MOSCOVITICI

DECENNALIS,

Quod junctis armis cum Magno Moscorum DUCE

JOHAN. BASILIO SVISCHIO,

Primum adversus Rebelles & Lithuanos, mox

Polonos, tandem datâ causâ contra ipsos Mosco-

vitâs, auspiciis REGUM SVECIÆ

C A R O L I IX,

ET

G U S T A V I A D O L P H I

Ductu

JACOBI DE LA GARDIE,

Variâ fortuna ab Anno seculi hujus Septimo, in

decimum septimum gestum, & ardua pace com-

positum est,

Totidem Libris distincta,

scriptore

JOHAN. Widekindi.

H O L M I Æ,

Apud NICOLAUM WANKIJF REG. TYPOGRAPHUM.

ANNO MDCLXXII.

Johan. Widekindi.

The poems celebrating the cities of Moscow, Narva, Tver and Novgorod, present only in the Latin edition, are borrowed (with modifications) from Johannes Narssius,¹¹⁷ a Dutch physician and poet from Dordrecht, who praised Gustavus Adolphus with a series of poetry collections in the 1620s and later composed a whole epic poem about the deeds of the Swedish king.¹¹⁸ Of the remaining poems, however, at least some must have been composed by Widekindi himself, as they contain certain expressions recurring in his own poems.¹¹⁹

Each book in both the Swedish and the Latin version is preceded by a summary (the only exception being book 8 in the Latin version). As mentioned before, books 9 and 10 in the Latin text do not contain anything but such a summary. The Latin and the Swedish summaries were not written independently of each other, as they usually correspond to each other quite closely. Some mistakes suggest that the Swedish summaries are translated from Latin,¹²⁰ but, on the other hand, they are more informative on certain points and thus must have been subject to some revision.

The title of the work is remarkable in two respects. Firstly, it is different in the two versions: in Swedish the war is called *Thet Swenska i Ryssland Krijget* ('the Swedish war in Russia'), and in Latin *Bellum Sveco-Moscoviticum* ('the

¹¹⁷ Narssius, *Meva Pomerelliae... Aliaque poemata*, pp. 78–83.

¹¹⁸ On Narssius and his connections with Sweden see Wrangel 1897: 35 and Bolte 1933: XIII–XVI. The Oxenstierna collection of the Swedish National Archives holds a series of letters from Narssius to Axel Oxenstierna; in these letters the poet requested the Chancellor of the Realm to give detailed instructions on glorification of the Swedish victories and of the Swedish sovereigns (Gustafsson 1956: 127–133).

¹¹⁹ For more details, see Vetushko-Kalevich 2019.

¹²⁰ In the summary of book 1 we read: *Effter den Stora Ivan Vasilivitz död/ toges twenne hans Sönnar/ Ivan och Demetrius aff daga* ('After the death of Ivan Vasilyevich the Great, his two sons, Ivan and Dmitry, were killed'). That is incorrect: Ivan the Terrible was still alive when his son Prince Ivan died – in fact, it was himself who killed him, and Widekindi knows it perfectly (see *Historia Belli*, p. 14 and *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 12). The mistake is clearly prompted by the sequence of the absolute ablatives in the Latin summary: *Magno Basilide mortuo, ejus duobus filiis Johanne et Demetrio sublatis* ('When the great Basilides was dead and his two sons, Ivan and Dmitry, were killed'). *Thetta Rychtet* ('this rumour') further on in the summary of book 1 refers to a rumour mentioned too far before to be provided with a demonstrative pronoun; Latin has a simple *fabulam*. The incorrect *Zolkefski* instead of *Saltikoff* in the summary of book 5 can be explained by *Salsicovius* in Latin – it is not much better paleographically, but the plausibility of taking an unfamiliar form in Latin for a frequently recurring character is higher than the direct distortion of the Swedish form. The incorrect forms *Michaelovitski* and *Kodkevitzki* (cf. below, n. 605) in the same summary also clearly imply translation from Latin.

Swedish-Russian war'). In my opinion, however, one should abstain from any far-reaching conclusions regarding the general idea of the author, prompted by this difference. The two texts do not contain any significant differences as regards the author's attitude to persons and events. Neither can the difference in the titles be connected with the absence of the two last books in the Latin version: in fact, the official Swedish position (quite faithfully followed by Widekindi) implied that the full-scale war between Sweden and Russia began only with the enthronement of Tsar Michael in 1613. This means that by dropping the two last books (with the events of 1614–1621) Widekindi fails to describe the "Swedish-Russian" part of the war almost entirely. Furthermore, the page header throughout the Latin version is *Belli Svecici in Moschovia gesti liber... <number of the book>*, which corresponds closely to the Swedish title. One should also bear in mind that the attitude to book-titles in the Early Modern era was less meticulous than now – when working with, for instance, book-catalogues from the 18th century and earlier, it is difficult not to notice that the titles are sometimes rendered so freely that it is problematic to identify the books. Widekindi himself, several times referring to his previous work in *Gustaff Adolfs Historia*, calls it either *Muschovitiske Krigetz Historie*¹²¹ ('the history of the Muscovitic war') or simply *Muskovitiske Historien*¹²² ('the Muscovitic history'). Some confusion on the title pages is not unprecedented in Widekindi's earlier writings either – see the note on *Lumen chronographicum/chronologicum* below in the Appendix 1, no. 1. Finally, there might be a linguistic explanation to the difference. In case the Latin title (which is anyway less exact, as the Swedish forces first arrived as allies of Vasily Shuysky, and clumsy, as the 'Swedish-Russian war' is directly said to have initially been waged *junctis armis cum Magno Moscorum Duce*) was the original one, Widekindi may have considered the Latin word-formation unfitting for his Swedish text. If we take a look at all the passages where the model *Xo-Yus* is employed in the Latin text, we will see that of the 12 instances the adjective finds an exact correspondence in the Swedish text (*Xsk-Ysk*) only twice.¹²³ Different types of longer expressions corresponding to the Latin adjective are found elsewhere, e.g. *rerum Moscho-Polonicarum* is *thet Rysseske och Pålanske Wäsendet*,¹²⁴ and *rerum Sveco-Moschovitarum*

¹²¹ *Gustaff Adolfs Historia*, pp. 224, 296, 300, 343.

¹²² *Ibid.* pp. 4, 32, 243, 343, 351, 403.

¹²³ *Bellum Sveco-Polonicum (Historia Belli, p. 1) – Dhet Swenska Polnska Kriget (Krijgz-Historie, Första Book, Jnnehället)*; *bellum Sveco-Polonicum (Historia Belli, p. 4) – thet långsamme Swenske Pålanske Krigetz (Krijgz-Historie, Förtalet)*.

¹²⁴ *Historia Belli*, p. 37; *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 43.

corresponds to *thet som är passerat emellan the Swenske och Rysserne*.¹²⁵ Even more striking is the fact that the model *Xsk-Ysk* is not found anywhere else in the Swedish version (including the parts without correspondence in Latin), quite remarkably for an extensive text describing bi- and trilateral relations between the countries. An analysis of how widespread the model was in Early Modern Swedish in general would be interesting,¹²⁶ but it can anyway be claimed that Widekindi avoids it.

To conclude, it looks plausible that Widekindi's final variant of the title was the one we see in the Swedish version (and, shortened, in the page headers of the Latin version), and that along with aspiration for exactness he had linguistic/stylistic considerations in mind. The wording in the Latin title must have been the original one, and the fact that it was retained on the title page of the Latin edition may have simply been a mistake. After all, we have already seen (p. 21) and will see further (p. 80) that the printing process was somewhat chaotic.

Another problem is the length of the war.¹²⁷ Widekindi calls it *decennalis*¹²⁸ / *Tijo åhrs*, i.e. 'lasting for ten years', and says in the continuation of the title that it lasted from 1607 to 1617. In fact, it took *eight* years from the arrival of Swedish forces, under Jacob De la Gardie, in Russia (1609) until the Treaty of Stolbovo (1617). It is also in the spring of 1609 that Widekindi's narrative turns from an overview to a detailed chronicle in the beginning of book 3. On the other hand, the narrative in book 1 starts with Sigismund's setbacks in Sweden as early as at the end of the 16th century, and moves to Moscow in 1604 (with a digression on the events from 1584). It is thus not quite clear what should be taken as the starting point, and Widekindi never talks about it explicitly. Some passages in the text seem to imply that he has in mind the

¹²⁵ *Historia Belli*, p. 288; *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 355.

¹²⁶ In the entries *svensk-dansk*, *svensk-tyisk* etc. SAOB does not quote any examples earlier than from the 19th century. One of the oldest Swedish-Russian dictionaries, the one written by Bengt Mattsson in 1630, was called by its author *Dixionarium på ryska, och Svänscan straxt därbrede ved* (see Tarkiainen 1984: 14–16), i.e. again without the model in question. Latin dictionaries usually had Latin titles, but the title of the one published in 1773 by Abraham Sahlstedt is *Swensk ordbok med Latinsk Uttolkning*. Finally, as late as in 1836 a German-Swedish dictionary (by Carl Deleen) is published under the name *Tysk och Swensk ordbok*, not *Tysk-Swensk ordbok*.

¹²⁷ The oddity of the title in this respect has been noticed by Kari Tarkiainen (Tarkiainen 1986: 184, Tarkiainen 2017: 169).

¹²⁸ In classical Latin, 'lasting for ten years' is *decennis*. *Decennalis* meaning 'lasting for ten years' (and not 'recurring every tenth year') is attested beginning with Ammianus Marcellinus. See OLD and ThLL s. vv.

appearance of the second False Dmitry (whose campaign eventually forced Tsar Vasily Shuysky to resort to Swedish help):

Hisce copiis biennio ferme ante Svecorum in Moschoviam adventum pugnatum est¹²⁹ (*Historia Belli*, p. 41, after a short report about the second impostor's campaign).

Ab annis duobus has regiones invasimus¹³⁰ (*Historia Belli*, p. 78, Polish commander Zborowski writing to Jacob De la Gardie in the spring of 1609).

There are, however, no clearer indications than that. We can conclude that the starting point is both historically artificial and vaguely defined.¹³¹ In my opinion, it is easier to explain the 'ten years' not as describing Widekindi's conception of where his narrative starts, but as a literally and linguistically convenient attribute – he *was willing* to make his war last for ten years.

The historiographer needed to provide the war he was describing with some epithet, especially as there had been several wars between Swedes and Muscovites. Widekindi himself witnessed the one known as the Second Northern war, which ended by the Treaty of Cardis in 1661. On the other hand, the Livonian war (1558–1583) was among the subjects to be described by the historiographer when working with the times of Erik XIV and John III, and Widekindi actually alludes to it in the dedicatory poem to M. G. De la Gardie:

Vasiadum mox pone videbis maxima Regum
Acta: Et AVI in illis fortia gesta Tui.¹³²

But it was only modern historiography that christened these wars – in Widekindi's time they had no particular names. To use the duration of the war for an epithet is quite natural. But if the historiographer considers editing his work in Latin as well (no matter if the Latin title is the original one or not), he has to take into account that Latin did not have adjectives meaning 'lasting for

¹²⁹ "It was with these forces that military actions were conducted over the course of two years before the Swedes came to Muscovy".

¹³⁰ "We invaded these regions two years ago".

¹³¹ To make the confusion complete, on p. 2 of the Latin edition the year 1608 is indicated as the starting point.

¹³² "You will soon see the greatest exploits of the Vasa kings, and among them the bold deeds of your grandfather" (i.e. Pontus De la Gardie).

eight years' or 'lasting for nine years'.¹³³ *Bellum decennale* is the only way. It sounds quite memorable as well, creating a literary allusion to the Trojan war, called *bellum decenne* in Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 8.4.22, *Declamationes Minores*, 306.12.6 (cf. Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 921: *decenni Marte*; Petronius, 89: *decenni proelio*), and *bellum decennale* occurring several times in Servius' commentary to the *Aeneid*. Another *bellum decennale* of the Latin literature is Caesar's Gallic campaign (Ammianus Marcellinus 15.2), which in addition makes the lack of precision in using the expression not unprecedented.

2.1.1. Historical background

"Time of troubles" is a term used to describe the political and social crisis in Russia in the beginning of the 17th century.¹³⁴ It was commenced by the extinction of the ruling Rurikid dynasty in 1598, which coincided with great tensions and discontent among almost all social groups (with various reasons involved). Another important factor were the geopolitical ambitions – partly clashing with each other – of the neighboring states, Sweden and Poland. The more or less peaceful reign of Boris Godunov ended up in 1605 with the rise of the so-called False Dmitry, the man who claimed to be Ivan the Terrible's son Dmitry, who actually died in 1591. False Dmitry was the first and the most successful in the long chain of impostors, which were a characteristic trait of this period. With Polish help, the False Dmitry managed to defeat Godunov and became tsar himself, but only the following year was killed by a group of noble conspirators supported by popular discontent with the growing power of Poles in Moscow. Vasily Shuysky, an elderly and childless nobleman, was proclaimed the new tsar. The Poles were driven out of Moscow, but two years later they supported a new impostor, the second False Dmitry, and at the same time began to threaten with an open war. The second False Dmitry soon gained control over vast territories and partly blocked Moscow. By the spring of 1609 the position of Shuysky became alarming if not hopeless, so he consented to embrace the help proposed by Sweden in exchange for both financial and territorial concessions: the key condition was ceding to Sweden the Kexholm fortress. The Swedish King Charles IX had already proposed help to Boris Godunov four years before, despite the relationship between the two countries being far from cloudless and the stability of the Teusina peace treaty concluded

¹³³ Both *octennis* and *novennis* are late, rare and only referring to the age.

¹³⁴ The literature on the period as a whole is immense; detailed overviews in English are e.g. Platonov 1970 and Dunning 2001. For shorter overviews in reference works see Riasanovsky 1984: 157–174, Orchard 1985, Torke 2002: 56–65 and Perrie 2006.

in 1595 being dubious. The Swedish king was primarily concerned with the risk of Russia's submission under Poland and their subsequent military alliance against Sweden.



The main scenes of action in *Historia Belli / Krijgz-Historie*

A corps of a few thousand Swedish, Finnish, German, French and other soldiers led by Jacob De la Gardie arrived in March 1609,¹³⁵ and together with the forces of Prince Mikhail Skopin-Shuysky, a distant relative of the tsar, they drove False Dmitry's troops out of North-Western Russia. In the spring of 1610, De la Gardie and Skopin-Shuysky solemnly marched into Moscow which was now free from the surrounding leaguers of the impostor. However, in Moscow Skopin-Shuysky unexpectedly died, and in the summer of the same year Swedish-Russian troops suffered a crucial defeat from the Polish army near the village of Klushino. In addition, the Swedes were discontent with the tsar's delay in both paying the salary and fulfilling the territorial terms of the agreement. Therefore, they retreated and started their own campaign in North-Western Russia,¹³⁶ both to win advantage from the Russian crisis and to secure a buffer zone against the advancing Poles. At the same time, Vasily Shuysky was dethroned and Moscow again found itself under Polish control which lasted till 1612.

In the spring of 1611, the Swedes managed to seize Kexholm, previously promised to them by Vasily Shuysky. Thereafter De la Gardie undertook an expedition to Novgorod and in June pitched a camp nearby. His order from the king, received in winter 1610–1611, was to seize the city; on the other hand, Novgorod authorities were asked by the anti-Polish militia force, which was besieging Moscow, to provide Swedish help. The negotiations dragged on, and De la Gardie decided to storm the city. The seizure of Novgorod on 16 July 1611 became the greatest success of the Swedish military in this war, and De la Gardie got a considerable stronghold in North-Western Russia. In the treaty signed on 25 July 1611 Novgorod's people pledged to recognize one of Charles IX's sons as new Russian tsar. De la Gardie seriously and for a long time promoted the plan to summon from Sweden the younger son, Charles Philip.

The Swedish successes continued: Ladoga, Tikhvin and Staraya Russa were captured in the autumn of 1611, Oreshek (Nöteborg), Koporye, Yama, Gdov and Ivangorod in 1612. During the next year, however, a Russian counter-offensive took place, and the Swedes were driven out of some of these

¹³⁵ The most detailed account of the Swedish military actions in 1609–1617 can be found in Generalstaben 1936. For the initial period, Almquist 1907 is valuable as well. A good summary in English is provided by Kovalenko 2005 in combination with Löfstrand 2005. For shorter overviews see Nazarov 1982, Orchard 1988, Roberts 1992: 10–11, 36–39 and Lindquist 2002: 129–130, 158–159.

¹³⁶ It is sometimes called "the Ingrian war". The term seems, however, to be far from established in either Swedish or Russian scholarship. I have not found any instances of its usage before Sundberg 1998. Wholeheartedly admitting that it is more convenient to have a name for a war than to leave it anonymous, one can still remark that many of the most important sites of the conflict, such as Novgorod, Pskov and Staraya Russa, lay far outside Ingria.

fortresses. The military drawbacks were accompanied by political ones. Gustavus Adolphus, who succeeded his deceased father Charles IX at the end of 1611, resolutely opposed De la Gardie's dynastic plan. The arrival of Charles Philip to Novgorod was time after time put off, and when he finally arrived in Viborg in the summer of 1613, the political landscape in Russia had changed dramatically. The Poles were driven out from Moscow in October 1612, and in February 1613 Mikhail Feodorovich Romanov was proclaimed the new tsar. To create an independent state with the capital in Novgorod and Charles Philip as the nominal ruler was not an option the central Swedish government was interested in. Soon the dynastic plan was abandoned altogether, and after spending half a year in Viborg the 12-year-old Swedish Prince returned to Stockholm.

Eventually, the Swedes aimed to seize Russian towns and keep those they had seized. Their resources were, however, limited. The smaller fortresses passed from hand to hand, and the repeated attempts to capture Pskov, the first of which was led by the Swedish commander Evert Horn in summer 1611 and another by King Gustavus Adolphus himself in 1615, ended in failure.

The latter siege was directly aimed at speeding up peace negotiations. Both sides were stressed by the conflicts with Poland. Besides that, the great European trading powers, England and the Netherlands, were interested in access to the Russian market, and mediated between the two warring countries. After several months of preparations and discussions about the titles, the negotiations began in January 1616 in the village of Dederino between Ostashkov and Staraya Russa. The initial positions of the two sides were far from any compromise, and the negotiations, further complicated by the new Swedish assaults on Pskov, stopped several times. However, the diplomatic efforts of the English and the Dutch mediators (the former being rather favourable to the Muscovites, the latter to the Swedes) bore fruit, and in December 1616 the final session of the negotiations began in Stolbovo, not far from Ladoga. Six weeks later the Treaty of Stolbovo was finally signed.

Sweden gained the province and fortress of Kexholm, and the province of Ingria with the fortresses Yam, Koporye, Ivangorod and Nöteborg. Novgorod, Staraya Russa, Porkhov and Ladoga were restored to Russia, while Gdov was to remain in Swedish hands until the ratification of the peace and the drawing up of the new frontier. The Swedish king renounced his brother's claims to the Russian throne and recognized Mikhail Feodorovich as the Russian tsar. The Swedes also renounced their claims to the White Sea coast, while the Russians abandoned their claims on Estonia and Livonia, disputed ever since the peace of Teusina. Sweden was awarded 20,000 roubles as an indemnity. Swedish

trading centres were to be established in Moscow, Pskov and Novgorod, and Russian in Stockholm, Reval and Viborg.¹³⁷

It took quite a long time to draw up the frontier, the final settlement coming in 1621. Although the next war between the two countries took place in 1656–1661, the frontier remained unchanged for a century. For Russia, the peace of Stolbovo was an important landmark in bringing the Time of Troubles to an end. For Sweden, it was the first of the numerous expansions of its territory during the 17th century.

2.1.2. The contents of Widekindi's work

Book 1: Sigismund, king of Sweden and Poland, is dethroned in Sweden and wages war against Charles IX in Livonia, with varying success. The Poles consider making Russia their allies by bringing it into turmoil. For this purpose they send there the first impostor in 1604 and help him to obtain the Russian throne. However, he is soon killed (in May 1606) as a result of a conspiracy.

Book 2: The first False Dmitry is succeeded by Vasily Shuysky. Soon his power becomes endangered by the Bolotnikov rebellion and the campaign of the second False Dmitry.¹³⁸ The latter beleaguers Moscow, forcing Shuysky to negotiate with Sweden to receive military help. The negotiations culminate in February 1609 with the Treaty of Viborg, according to which, Shuysky has to pay the Swedish troops and cede Kexholm to Sweden.

Book 3: The Swedish forces arrive in the spring of 1609, led by Jacob De la Gardie. After uniting his forces with Prince Mikhail Skopin-Shuysky, a relative of the tsar, he wins several victories over the impostor. At the same time, Sigismund declares an open war on Muscovy and beleaguers Smolensk in the autumn of 1609. The second False Dmitry flies to Kaluga, and his camp is dissolved. In March 1610, De la Gardie and Skopin-Shuysky make a triumphant entrance into Moscow.

Book 4: Skopin-Shuysky unexpectedly dies. Despite inaccurate payment of the soldiers and the delay in ceding Kexholm, Vasily Shuysky manages to reach a new agreement with De la Gardie, who is now going to help him against

¹³⁷ The most recent monograph on the Treaty of Stolbovo is Selin 2017. The negotiations are described in Phipps 1983: 74–118. A detailed study of the economic aspects of the treaty is provided by Shaskolsky 1964. For an overview of the treaty in English, as well as further references, see Rowland 1984.

¹³⁸ Widekindi calls him the third one, and the third False Dmitry is consequently referred to as the fourth. This is because Widekindi takes yet another prince Dmitry, the one promised (but never demonstrated) by the leaders of the Bolotnikov rebellion to their adherents, for number two. Here and elsewhere I follow the numbering established in modern historiography.

the Polish army. The Swedish-Russian forces achieve some success, but suffer a crucial defeat in June 1610 near the village of Klushino. De la Gardie retreats in a north-western direction, and Vasily Shuysky is dethroned.

Book 5: In the autumn of 1610, the Poles garrison troops in Moscow and negotiate with the Muscovites to put Sigismund's son Prince Vladislav on the Russian throne. The second impostor is killed in Kaluga in December 1610; the third one appears in the north-west. In central Russia, a volunteer army is formed, and in the spring of 1611 the Polish garrison finds itself beleaguered. At the same time, the Swedes finally manage to take Kexholm and attack other fortresses in north-western Russia. De la Gardie approaches Novgorod. The intensive negotiations between De la Gardie, the authorities of Novgorod and the leaders of the volunteer army about new military assistance against the Poles on the one hand and new cessions of fortresses on the other come to a dead-end, and in July 1611 De la Gardie storms Novgorod. Its representatives sign an agreement about the election of one of Charles IX's two sons as Russian tsar.

Book 6: Several northern and north-western cities follow the example of Novgorod and acknowledge the Swedish prince as a successor to the Russian throne. King Sigismund finally manages to storm Smolensk. Evert Horn unsuccessfully attacks Pskov. The first volunteer army is dissolved. In Sweden, Charles IX dies and is succeeded by Gustavus Adolphus. Jacob De la Gardie informs him about the situation in Muscovy and pleads for a quick arrival of 10-year-old Prince Charles Philip to Novgorod.

Book 7: The arrival of Charles Philip is delayed. The third False Dmitry loses his allies and is killed. Moscow is liberated from the Poles by the second volunteer army. Its leaders negotiate with De la Gardie about the tsar election. Evert Horn takes Ivangorod.

Book 8: Mikhail Romanov is elected Russian tsar in the beginning of 1613. Charles Philip arrives in Viborg in the summer of the same year, and negotiations are conducted there between the representatives of Sweden and of Novgorod, but without success. The conflict between Sweden and the new authorities in Moscow turns increasingly into an open war. At the same time, Sweden and Poland negotiate a long armistice.

Book 9: At the meeting of the Swedish Estates in Örebro at the beginning of 1614, the relations with Poland and Muscovy are discussed. Charles Philip leaves Viborg, heading back to Sweden. Jacob De la Gardie unsuccessfully tries to persuade the people of Novgorod to be incorporated into the Swedish kingdom. Sweden and Poland conclude a two-year armistice. Gustavus Adolphus personally takes command of the siege of Pskov, during which Evert

Horn is killed. With the English king as mediator, Sweden and Muscovy start peace negotiations in Dederino.

Book 10: The negotiations go on throughout the 1616, despite recurring periods of military activity. The result is the Peace of Stolbovo in February 1617. Kexholm territory and Ingria are ceded to Sweden, whereas Gdov, Novgorod and Staraya Russa are returned to Muscovy. In the spring and the summer of 1618 confirmation ceremonies are held in Moscow and Stockholm. The demarcation of the new border takes several years.

2.2. Previous research

There is not a single monograph dealing with Johannes Widekindi's biography or his writings.¹³⁹ The Russian translation of Widekindi's work on the Swedish-Russian war turns out to be the most comprehensive piece of scholarship on this work. The translation was made in the Leningrad Institute of History in the 1930s. It is based on the Latin text (apart from books 9 and 10) and provided with an apparatus pointing out the differences between the Swedish and the Latin versions. The Latin text was translated by Sergey Anninsky, books 9 and 10 were translated from Swedish by A. M. Alexandrov, and the differences in books 1–8 pointed out by A. F. Kostina. Arkady Vasilyev and Vasily Geyman provided the text with commentaries. However, due to World War II, the manuscript was left unpublished and rested in the institutional archive until the 1980s, when it was revised and prepared for publication by a new research team, this time consisting mainly of historians from Moscow.¹⁴⁰ Still, it was not until the year 2000 that the translation was finally published. Apart from the translation itself and the apparatus mentioned above, it contains a commentary and two concluding articles. The main strength of the (extremely heterogeneous) commentary lies in the notes comparing Widekindi's text to the information provided by the Russian chronicles. Some passages in the concluding articles are also valuable, e.g. the general overview of Widekindi's sources.¹⁴¹ It should also be born in mind that the publication provided Russian-reading historians with access to an important historical source.

¹³⁹ For biographical literature, see above, n. 50. The scarce and usually short notes on Widekindi's writings other than the one we are dealing with here, occurring here and there in historical and philological research literature, are listed in Appendix 1.

¹⁴⁰ Videkind 2000: 507–508.

¹⁴¹ Kovalenko et al. 2000: 541–546.

Unfortunately, however, the edition cannot be regarded as satisfactory in any of its aspects. Translation mistakes are not infrequent; besides, translators have failed to make several simple emendations to the Latin text (see below, Appendix 3). The apparatus with the differences between the two versions contains, on the one hand, quite a few inexplicable omissions, and on the other, some superfluous and misleading remarks.¹⁴² Of the two concluding articles the first one, written in the 1930s, is too spoiled by the political rhetoric typical of its time, while the second, written in the 1990s, abounds with factual errors and even includes a full-scale fake story (see above, n. 77).¹⁴³ Still, I have to emphasize that this book has been the main piece of scholarship on Widekindi, and is in general of considerable value.

The preface and the notes in Helge Almquist's monograph *Sverige och Ryssland 1595–1611* (Uppsala 1907) can be regarded as the main independent study of Widekindi's sources. One should also take into account the preserved preparatory materials to this monograph, that is, Almquist's transcripts of the archive materials used by him.¹⁴⁴ These transcripts often contain references to Widekindi's texts. However, Almquist's actual goal was to describe the historical events of the period, not to search for the sources of an individual historiographer. Besides that, detailed comparisons between Widekindi's sources and the two versions of his work are only made at certain points in the monograph.

¹⁴² E.g. on p. 20 of the translation we learn that the Latin text has 'relative by marriage', while the Swedish has a more specific 'brother-in-law'. In fact, the words, *affinis* and *Swåger* respectively, mean exactly the same, see OLD s. v. *affinis* 2, 'related by marriage', SAOB s. v. *svåger* 1, 'om manlig släkting gm ingifte' (the Latin word can refer to both genders, but it is irrelevant in the context). On page 107 the translators make a difference between 'in his face' in Latin and 'in the presence of others' in Swedish, but what provokes this storm in a tea cup is just *coram* and *offenteligen*. Perhaps the most misleading note (considering possible conclusions by only-translation-reading historians) is connected with the election of the son of Charles IX as the new tsar: twice, on pp. 141 and 229, the apparatus contraposes 'the second son' (Latin) and 'either of the sons' (Swedish). The result is a flop in one of the concluding articles, when its authors claim (Kovalenko et al. 2000: 559) that 'either of the sons' in the Swedish text is systematically (!) substituted by 'the second son' in the Latin text. In fact, if one looks at all the instances when Swedish has 'either of the sons', one discovers that in 12 of them the Swedish word *enthera* corresponds to *alteruter* in Latin ('either'), and in three of them to *alter*. This word is indeed ambivalent, but in all three cases we are not prevented by the context to understand it in the same way, i.e. as 'either' (see OLD s. v. *alter* 4).

¹⁴³ This article, authored by Gennady Kovalenko, Alla Khoroshkevich and Andrey Pliguzov and here referred to as Kovalenko et al. 2000, is a modification of Pliguzov & Khoroshkevich 1993.

¹⁴⁴ Riksarkivet, Helge Almquists manuskript- och avskriftssamling, E 6797.

Widekindi's book is also dealt with in Kari Tarkiainen's works on the Swedish views on Russia in the 16th and 17th centuries. In the book *Se vanha vainooja*, Tarkiainen devotes a whole chapter to the Swedish historiographer.¹⁴⁵ However, for the main problems that are of interest for us, Tarkiainen does not supply any significant material. He also ignores the Latin version of Widekindi's book.

2.3. Aims and methods of the present study

In this thesis, I am seeking to reconstruct Widekindi's working process as far as possible, shedding light on its most basic elements, namely the treatment of the sources and the translation technique in both linguistic and literary aspects.

First of all, the extrinsic evidence is taken into account (chapter 3). This is provided mainly by the collection of letters from Widekindi to M. G. De la Gardie preserved in the National Archives of Sweden.

Afterwards, in chapter 4, the one dealing with Widekindi's sources, I will take Widekindi's sources one by one and analyze how the passages in question are rendered in the Swedish version and in the Latin one, to see which of them is dependent on the other. My method is largely inspired by traditional textual criticism. Like a textual critic, I am looking for divergences, dubious passages and mistakes – but in order to establish the relationship between the two versions rather than to reconstruct the archetype (i.e. in this case the source, which is most often at my disposal and does not need to be reconstructed). Like a textual critic, I have to evaluate the probability of the mistake, albeit usually the linguistic probability rather than the paleographic one. Like a textual critic, I sometimes need to have in mind not only the context of one specific literary monument, but also the actual historical circumstances of the events it describes.

In chapter 5, the one dealing with translation technique, my aims are more varied. To describe the formal correspondence between the source text and the target text, I use the TRIX-method developed by Lars Wollin and some other quantitative indicators. To characterize the differences between the two versions in other respects, I have tried to systematize the linguistic and literary phenomena I have observed in the course of the comparison. I have also aimed

¹⁴⁵ Tarkiainen 1986: 178–194. A shortened and revised version of this chapter can be found in Tarkiainen's recent book on the same topic (Tarkiainen 2017: 168–172).

to contextualize these observations with the help of other translations and bilingual texts published in Sweden in the 17th century.

3. Widekindi's own accounts about his working process

Kari Tarkiainen, the specialist in Swedish 17th century historiography, after quoting a passage from Widekindi's letter to his patron, Chancellor of Sweden Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, where the planned book is mentioned, states that it is not known how the work was effected.¹⁴⁶ This is, however, somewhat pessimistic. The small collection of letters can, as it turns out, tell us more about the history of *Historia* than we could have hoped for.

There are 11 letters from Widekindi to De la Gardie, preserved in the Swedish National Archives,¹⁴⁷ five of them in Latin and six in Swedish. It is difficult to point out what factors determined the choice of language, but at least in the first letter the use of Latin is quite understandable, as Widekindi had to show his learnedness and erudition¹⁴⁸ to the person whose patronage he was seeking.

The first of the letters was written in 1661, the last in 1672.¹⁴⁹ It deals almost exclusively with *Historia*. Previously, the letters have been studied by Tarkiainen (who quotes passages only from those written in Swedish), Theodor Westrin¹⁵⁰ (who paraphrases them, quite briefly, as is natural for an encyclopedia entry; this will be discussed further), and Sven Edlund¹⁵¹ (who is interested only in the letter treating the organization of the Stockholm Gymnasium), so I have found it necessary to begin with a synopsis of all the letters with particular emphasis on the references to *Historia*.

¹⁴⁶ Tarkiainen 1986: 184.

¹⁴⁷ De la Gardieska samlingen, E1596, Widekindi.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Sarasti-Wilenius 2003: 166.

¹⁴⁹ Copies of one more letter to De la Gardie, written by Widekindi in Latin during his imprisonment in 1675, are preserved in the Diocesan Library in Linköping (Br 3, № 41) and in the Royal Library in Stockholm (Engeströmska samlingen, B.II.1.1, fol. 230r–232r). The letter is irrelevant in the present context.

¹⁵⁰ Westrin 1921: 263–264.

¹⁵¹ Edlund 1954: 256.

Letter 1, 8 January 1661, Latin¹⁵²

We become immediately aware that Widekindi and De la Gardie have never met before: *Illustriss<imae> Excellentiae Tuae vultum subire audet haec ignoti nominis Epistola...* Widekindi pays compliments to De la Gardie's virtues and then describes his own background. Seven years have passed since he returned to Sweden and became a teacher at the Stockholm Gymnasium. The late Chancellor of Sweden Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna (1624–1656) committed to Widekindi to take care of his father's (i.e. the great Axel Oxenstierna's) library. There Widekindi found a lot of material concerning relations between Sweden and Poland and developed a desire to write a history of these relations beginning with the death of John III. In 1659 he presented this project to Charles X Gustav and gained approval. However, early in the next year the king died, and besides that, Widekindi found out that Habaeus and Loccenius¹⁵³ were already working on the same subject. Thus he switched to some other material (*arripui hunc, quem transmissa pagina intimat, laborem, eum magna ex parte absolvi, sed ita, ut multa restent*). Now he wants to finish the book, but his financial resources are straitened. Fortunately, there is a profitable position vacant in Stockholm (*tale munus, cui studia mea magna ex parte dicata*), and Widekindi asks for De la Gardie's help in obtaining it. He is sure that, whatever his duties in this post may be, he will still have enough time for yet another project (*alteri cogitato labori, si approbaris, contexendo*).

Letter 2, 2 March 1662, Latin

Widekindi expresses his deep concern about De la Gardie's illness (*post amissionem tot Patronorum*,¹⁵⁴ *non poteram non spiritu deijci*) and looks forward to seeing him in good health again. He has looked through *Messenianum scriptum*,¹⁵⁵ sent to him by De la Gardie. Messenius' attempt is, says Widekindi, praiseworthy, but a lot has to be corrected both in style (*non*

¹⁵² Whenever the place is indicated at all (and that is the case in № 1, 2, 3, 9 and 11), the letters are sent from Stockholm.

¹⁵³ Christian Hab(b)aeus (ca 1627–1680), ennobled in 1664 as Lichtenstern, was a diplomat and a Royal secretary. His only known work is *Ursachen, wodurch eigentlich die Königl. Mayst. zu Schweden bewogen worden, den Hertzog von Churland aus seinem Fürstenthumb hinweg in Verwahrung zu ziehen* from 1659, also translated into Latin in the same year. On Johannes Loccenius and his *Historia Rerum Svecicarum* see above, p. 7.

¹⁵⁴ Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna died in 1656, his brother Johan Oxenstierna in 1657, and King Charles X Gustav in 1660.

¹⁵⁵ On Johannes Messenius see above, pp. 5–6. It is probably the manuscript of *Scondia illustrata* Widekindi is talking about. About the fate of the manuscript from the death of its author until the publication (but without any details for the period from 1651 to the 1690s) see Olsson 1944: 20–25.

satis latini et florentis seculi cultum redolens) and in content. The history of most ancient times has to look more convincing. However, what does not seem too absurd may be left intact: Sweden has as much right to construct its glorious past as many other nations, from Assyrians to Danes, who use extremely doubtful writings of a certain Berossus¹⁵⁶ to achieve this goal: *detur et haec licentia nobis, ac veneratio antiquitati*.¹⁵⁷ Widekindi is ready to discuss Messenius' work when he meets De la Gardie personally.

Letter 3, 17 July 1662, Latin

After having experienced De la Gardie's benevolence, Widekindi turned back to his former interest in historiography, which he had temporarily left aside for legal studies after the death of Charles X Gustav. Now he is mainly occupied with *Lumen Chronologicum*, but works on another historiographical writing as well: *Caepi quoque tumultuum Sveo- et Moscho-Poloniensium initia historico caractere signare*. His other plans include notes on old Swedish law, critical notes on Messenius' work and preparation of its edition. But he has neither proper status nor income for pursuing his projects, whereas making too long a pause in the work is risky: after all, both Widekindi and his patron De la Gardie are mortal. If De la Gardie wants this work to be continued, he had better provide Widekindi with a decent position. His current one requires, among other things, glorifying the deeds of the royal family on different occasions, but he does not number it among his merits and does not get paid for it either. He does not want to attend funerals, as is common for some of his colleagues (*more aliorum hic in funera prodire, et pudet et dedecet honestatis cultorem*). Widekindi would be grateful for any position De la Gardie can help him to get.

¹⁵⁶ I.e. the forgeries of Annius of Viterbo; see above, p. 16. Thus, the letter provides us with a sort of background to Widekindi's harsh judgment, expressed two years later in *Lumen chronographicum*.

¹⁵⁷ Probably an allusion to Livy's preface, with a similar wording (Livy has *datur haec venia antiquitati*) and a similar context.

Letter 4, 1 March¹⁵⁸ 1663, Swedish

De la Gardie has promised Widekindi the position of a historiographer. Therefore, Widekindi asks him to provide him with an official document that would give him access to the National Archives, for he will need to get prepared for his new duties. He has also finished his *Lumen Chronologicum*, but complains about the high costs required by the printer. Widekindi suggests that his expenses may be covered by the gymnasium's salary of Tolstadius,¹⁵⁹ the deceased lecturer in theology.

Letter 5, 2 March 1663, Swedish

Widekindi begs pardon for writing to De la Gardie too often. He has found out that Tolstadius' salary for the year 1662 had been paid to Zacharias Klingius.¹⁶⁰ Thus he asks to get Tolstadius' salary for the year 1663 instead.¹⁶¹ Once again Widekindi asks De la Gardie for an improvement of his condition. He is tired of working as a teacher in a gymnasium and of all the speeches he has to hold *nomine publico* without getting a penny for it. He has just begun working on a history of ancient Swedish law as well as on the *pragmaticam historiam rerum nostrarum Mosco-Polonicarum* ('pragmatic history of our affairs with Poles and Muscovites'), where the deeds of De la Gardie's deceased father 'shine notably' (*märkeligen liusa*). He does not conceal that the subject is chosen deliberately, putting a quotation from Livy (4.35.7): *Eo nempe laborem lubenter impendimus, unde honos et emolumentum speratur*.

Letter 6, 3 June 1663 (?),¹⁶² Latin

Widekindi is still looking forward to getting the historiographer's position promised to him by De la Gardie. A conversation on his duties and salary can wait until De la Gardie has time for it, but now that Widekindi is ready with his *Lumen Chronologicum*, he needs to get access to the archives as soon as possible, to check some documents concerning both ancient and more recent

¹⁵⁸ This date is given in Tarkiainen 1986: 181, but, as far as I can see, it does not appear anywhere on the letter itself. However, the following letter, dated 2 March, suggests indeed that the preceding one had been written a day or two before.

¹⁵⁹ Andreas Matthiae Tol(f)stadius (d. 1659) was vicar of the Riddarholmen church in Stockholm. At the gymnasium he taught mathematics and theology.

¹⁶⁰ Zacharias Klingius (1603–1671) was bishop and Court chaplain. He taught theology at the Stockholm Gymnasium for several years.

¹⁶¹ The request was successful, as witnessed by the Royal order issued on 25 March 1663 (Riksarkivet, Riksregistraturet, vol. 350, fol. 578).

¹⁶² The year is not indicated, but as *Lumen Chronographicum* was published 1664, it must be either 1663 or 1664.

history. He compares his work to a geographical map, but applied to history. As for the work of Messenius, he does not know if De la Gardie has read his letter with a review of it, so he briefly repeats its contents. Widekindi leaves it to De la Gardie to decide whether he should go on with Messenius, *vel an propiora seculo nostro mihi committere placeat*.

Letter 7, 29 January 1665, Swedish

Widekindi reminds De la Gardie about his wish that the salary of Nicolaus Salanus,¹⁶³ who has left the gymnasium, should be paid to one of his students, who helps him with transcription of a minor work he is occupied with. There are two circumstances that make him repeat his wish: on the one hand, he has heard of some less worthy persons who aspire to the money; on the other hand, he wants to help a printer from Gothenburg, Amund Grefve,¹⁶⁴ to move his little press to Stockholm and thus to divide the sum between the two. He has no doubts that he will succeed, if De la Gardie helps him – just as he had done in 1663. Widekindi also expresses his deep discontent with the gymnasium, mentioning that he has already voiced his opinion to Biörenklou,¹⁶⁵ as De la Gardie had asked him to. He is eager to get a better position, since he has been watching the success of so many of his equals during the last ten years.¹⁶⁶

Letter 8, 8 May 1665, Swedish

Widekindi thanks De la Gardie for the new position he has been promoted to, *Charge på Cantzlie Staten*. Then he expresses his wishes and views concerning the organization of the printing house, the reformation of the gymnasium and a reward for his assistants.

Letter 9, 16 November 1666, Swedish

Widekindi is almost ready to proceed to what is now his direct duties, i.e. to writing histories, but asks De la Gardie for a respite, so that he may finish what he had begun before. Afterwards he is going to occupy himself with what De la Gardie has asked for, viz. the famous actions of his late father in the Muscovite war (*berömlige actioner uthi det Moschovitiske Krijgh*). He is also

¹⁶³ Nicolaus Salanus (1618–1671) was a clergyman. In the gymnasium he first taught Greek, later theology.

¹⁶⁴ Amund Nilsson Grefve (d. 1677) is known as the first printer in the city of Gothenburg.

¹⁶⁵ Mattias Biörenklou (1607–1671) was a diplomat and a councilor of the Realm. He was one of the key figures in Swedish political life in the 1660s.

¹⁶⁶ We do not know exactly whom Widekindi implies, but a person certainly belonging to the number of his more successful equals was Olof Verelius (born in 1618), from 1662 professor of antiquities at Uppsala.

eager to write annals, covering the years from the death of Gustavus Vasa (i.e. 1560) to his own time, in Swedish with a Latin compendium. He has already prepared some extracts for this work. The letter ends with a traditional plea for money: Widekindi has not yet been paid anything in the Chancellery and asks De la Gardie to keep his salary in the gymnasium.

Letter 10, undated (probably 1670¹⁶⁷), Swedish

Widekindi asks for 200 silver daler as a reward for his assistants. He is working on *Additamentum* to the history of Gustavus Vasa,¹⁶⁸ some additions to the history of King Erik's and King John's rule,¹⁶⁹ and the history of Gustavus Adolphus' first sexennium. He has almost completed them.

Letter 11, 15 March 1672, Latin¹⁷⁰

Widekindi begs pardon for not talking to De la Gardie personally, as he was occupied with the burial of his brother. He has followed De la Gardie's order and erased the genealogical appendix from the Latin version of his book (this appendix put into doubt the right of the Romanov dynasty to the Russian throne). He mentions that he wrote *Historia* in Latin first, and then translated it into Swedish, hastily and with the help of some other people. He should have polished it better, but he paid more attention to the factual truth and also thought that the style of the Swedish text should be simpler. The Swedish text may be improved in the second edition, he says. The greatest difficulty during the work was the lack of sources, although Widekindi has read countless letters, diaries etc. He tried to be moderate and not to make too many judgments. In relating speeches and letters, he rarely digresses from the actual words of historical figures and never from their opinions. Finally, Widekindi mentions his difficulties with printing his other books – the additions to the history of Gustavus Vasa and the history of Gustavus Adolphus' reign – and asks De la Gardie for help.

The letters provide us with some notion of the chronology of Widekindi's working process. It may be assumed that De la Gardie approved the publication of *Historia* after Widekindi's letter in November 1666. Perhaps it fitted well

¹⁶⁷ Widekindi mentions in the letter a scribe who had been recruited to help him thanks to a mediation of Erik Runell, the secretary of the Archive, a year before (*nästförlädnē år*). On the other hand, Sigfrid Gahm quotes a letter from De la Gardie to Runell with a request to find a scribe for Widekindi, dated 6 March 1669 (Gahm, fol. 301v).

¹⁶⁸ See Appendix 1, no. 6.

¹⁶⁹ Apparently never published.

¹⁷⁰ Edited in Vetushko-Kalevich 2016: 298–299.

into the political situation of the time. The tension between Sweden and Russia grew steadily during the second half of the 1660s and up to 1671, and Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie was the main advocate of an aggressive policy.¹⁷¹

However, what Widekindi had in mind during the composition of his work, was the glorification of his patron's father.¹⁷² This is what we learn from letter 9, and also earlier, from letter 5, written in March 1663. When did Widekindi actually start his work? The first explicit mention of *Historia* may be found in letter 3 (July 1662). But it can be proved that the work began even earlier. Let us go back as far as to letter 1.

Talking about his original project, the one on the history of Swedish-Polish relations, Widekindi describes it as *opus causa grave, consilijs multiplex, fortuna varia gestum*. Very similar wording may be found in the preface to *Historia* (p. 3): *Opus nascitur causa grave, consiliis multiplex, difficile iudicio, animorum affectibus, et rerum eventu varium: neque hactenus ex proposito et plano a quoquam tentatum*. It has been pointed out¹⁷³ that it is a veiled allusion to the beginning of Tacitus' *Histories* (1.2): *Opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox proeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum*. Does the similarity between the letter from 1661 and the preface published in 1672 prove that Widekindi was working on *Historia* as early as in 1661? Not necessarily: he could have coined the line earlier and liked his invention so much that he put it in on any fitting occasion. But we know that it was not Widekindi who coined it. The words are taken from a draft to a historical sketch on Swedish-Polish relations written by Axel Oxenstierna in the 1620s and partially extant to our days.¹⁷⁴ Oxenstierna's text goes: *Opus adgredior causa grave, consiliis multiplex, difficile effectu atque eventu varium, neque hactenus a quoquam tentatum*.

It may be argued that Widekindi used Oxenstierna's sketch during the work on his original project, a history of Swedish-Polish relations, but it is clear that he regarded the history of the Muscovite war as an integral part of these. In the preface to *Historia* Widekindi writes:¹⁷⁵ *Hoc... obtineam... parte laboris confecta viam mihi parasse ad bellum Sveco-Polonicum describendum, quod hoc antecessit, excitavit, fovit et sequutum majori animorum offensa...*

¹⁷¹ See Kovalenko et al. 2000, 533–540.

¹⁷² Interestingly, this feature of the work was remembered by the following generations. Olof Celsius, who became professor of history at Uppsala in 1747, lists Widekindi in his lecture drafts among such historians whose unreliability is caused by flattery (Annerstedt 1914: 341–342).

¹⁷³ Helander 2001: 42.

¹⁷⁴ See below, pp. 67–68 and 85–87.

¹⁷⁵ Pp. 4–5.

suspensum subinde induciis, dilatatum tractationibus, tandem in seculo hoc... usque ad sexagesimum <sc. annum> desaeviens, optata pace compositum est. The Muscovite war is thus *pars laboris*, not a different subject. Although the main part of the work on it was conducted later, the material which eventually became the basis of book 1 was already well known to Widekindi at the beginning of 1661.

There are also good reasons to establish the point at which the work was finished. In letter 10 Widekindi does not mention the history of the war in Russia among the books he is working on – thus, he had by that time completed it. On the other hand, De la Gardie in his letter to Runell (see above, n. 167) says that Widekindi needs a scribe to produce a fair copy of a historical work he is busy with (*att renskrifwa för Mons:r Vidichindi det Historiska Arbete han under händer hafwer*) and that a scribe with some knowledge of Latin is required for the task (*Skrifware, som det Latinska Språket någorlunda kunnigt är*). It looks quite certain that the work in question is *Historia Belli Sveco-Moscovitici*. As De la Gardie's letter was written in March 1669, it must have been ready or almost ready by that time. It would also harmonize perfectly well with the existence of some printed copies by the end of 1670 (see above, p. 20). The fact that Widekindi must have made some changes in the Latin version as late as in winter 1671–72, as is clearly witnessed by letter 11, only means that the printing process dragged on and that somewhat differing copies of the book were produced, a feature actually attested for both versions (see above, p. 21).

To learn more about the relationship between the two versions, let us now turn to the last of the 11 letters. There, Widekindi states that *Historia* was initially written in Latin and then translated into Swedish. This claim not only seems to have been ignored in the research dealing with the book – sometimes one gets the impression that the Swedish text is regarded as the original. The editors of the Russian translation call the Latin text ‘translation’ several times.¹⁷⁶ Kari Tarkiainen always refers to (and quotes) only the Swedish version in his works.¹⁷⁷ Vasily Geyman in his article, written in the 1930s and published together with the Russian translation of Widekindi in 2000, is more cautious, talking about ‘the Latin version’, ‘the Latin edition’, ‘the Latin text’, ‘the Latin

¹⁷⁶ Kovalenko et al. 2000: 545, 559, 560. Helander 2004: 187, 197 also mistakenly calls the Latin text *translation*, but the context may allow him to do so: he is talking about the Latin equivalents for modern (Swedish) terms.

¹⁷⁷ In his most recent book, however, the reader is informed that Widekindi wrote in Latin first, but without any references to the letters (Tarkiainen 2017: 169).

variant' and 'the Latin part'.¹⁷⁸ The same is true for Helge Almquist, who mentions significant changes between the two versions and acknowledges the inherent value of the Latin one.¹⁷⁹

Theodor Westrin follows the information that the work was first written in Latin with a somewhat misleading statement: 'The Latin version is hardly more than a compendium of the Swedish one'.¹⁸⁰ Strictly taken, this claim is absurd. It suggests that Widekindi, after having written the Latin text and translated it into Swedish, took the Swedish text as the base for writing a 'compendium' in Latin. It is not only general considerations that make such a theory look strange, but also the texts themselves. As will be shown further, wherever we know some Latin source of Widekindi, its text is mirrored in the Latin version not only with clear parallels in wording, but sometimes with striking similarities in punctuation, as irregular as it was in the 17th century, whereas the Swedish text may here and there be abridged.

If we have to understand Westrin's term 'compendium' in a more general sense, i.e. that the Latin volume is simply shorter than the Swedish one, the statement is still not quite correct. The Swedish book is technically twice as long as the Latin one, but the reason for this is that the Latin text for books 9 and 10 is simply missing. If we take only the first eight books, they cover 431 pages in the Latin edition and 562 pages in the Swedish one. The layout is similar: about 1,200 characters per page in both versions. Taking into account the structural differences between the two languages, the ratio looks almost perfect: if the versions were identical, we would presumably arrive at 500–600 pages of Swedish text. However, one should keep in mind that there are many passages missing in either of the versions, so this sort of arithmetic is almost pointless.

There was an important link in the textological development of *Historia* – a draft (*Concept*) mentioned in the dedicatory letter to De la Gardie. Widekindi says that he is leaving it in the archive. Unfortunately, this draft is not preserved. For this reason we have to rely on another type of evidence to trace the relationship between the versions, namely to compare them (passage for passage) with the historical sources used by Widekindi. The problem is made complicated by the author himself. The preface to the Swedish edition goes:

¹⁷⁸ Geyman 2000: 516, 519–520, my translation.

¹⁷⁹ Almquist 1907: XVI.

¹⁸⁰ Westrin 1921: 264, my translation.

Documenternes allegerande, aff hwilka Historien består/ hafwer iagh i Trycket/ så i thet Swenska som Latinska Exemplaret [...] vthelyckt/ effter som the i mitt Concept som i Archivo lembnas/ finnas; och thet skulle synas orijmligit at hängia redskapen widh Arbetet/ icke annorledes än en Handtwärckare wille knippa fjöl och tång widh wärcket som han giordt hafwer [...] At sättia i brädden eller Contexten alla theras namn/ aff hwilka thenne Historie är sammanhämtd/ skulle både wara ett owalkat och skrubbat Arbeta/ samt och hinder för den gode Läsarens intention, som wil medh en hast och uno quasi spiritu inhämta och betrachta Historiens bescaffenhet/ effter som thess troowärdigheet sigh nogsamt thess förvthan kan bekänna.¹⁸¹

What was the reason for this avoidance? We will probably never know exactly. That Widekindi rarely wrote a passage of his own, compiling everything from the sources, was hardly a fact he was uncomfortable with: for Early Modern historiographers, it was rather normal to work in this way. A somewhat more plausible suggestion would be that he felt shy about compiling very much (as we shall see) from authors who were either Poles themselves or connected with Poland. For an author with such a strong anti-Polish tendency as Widekindi it would be at least awkward to confess to the reader that his text is to a great extent woven of the accounts written by the arch-enemies.

However, there is an argument against such an explanation: Widekindi makes a similar declaration in his later writing, *Gustaff Adolfs Historia*. But there, all the *Protocoller*, *Registraturer*, *Fullmacher/ Rådslagh/ Besluth och Stadgar/ Missiver*, *vthgångne och inkomne Breff/ sampt Relationer*,¹⁸² which the text is compiled of, do not have that much to do with Poland; these documents are mostly Swedish. So it seems plausible that Widekindi's reference principles are to be explained by his aesthetic sensitivity, and that he indeed regarded it as "reader-friendly" not to clutter up the margins of the text.

There are some exceptions to Widekindi's habit of concealing his sources. Many of the documentary ones, especially in the last books, are provided with the dates when the letter quoted or paraphrased was written. References can be

¹⁸¹ "I have excluded the references to the documents, of which the History consists, both in the Swedish and in the Latin book, because they may be found in my draft which I leave in the Archive. And it would look absurd to hang the instruments on the work in the same way as if a craftsman would hang the file and the pliers on his work [...] To put in the margin or in the text all the names of those of whom this History is compiled would be an awkward work and an obstacle for a benevolent reader, who only wants to quickly absorb and to see the nature of this History, because its trustworthiness may be recognized without further reasons".

¹⁸² *Gustaff Adolfs Historia*, p. 2. On the use of the documentary sources there, see Wadén 1936: 100–101.

found in the Appendix about Novgorod in the Latin version (see below, section 4.3). As regards Widekindi's main Swedish predecessor in writing on the Time of Troubles, Petrus Petrejus, who is an important source, he is mentioned several times but, apart from the Novgorod Appendix, as a diplomat in action, not as a reference. An exception can be found in the tenth book: talking about the relations between Poland and Muscovy after 1613, in a passage rather irrelevant for his main argument, Widekindi mentions that these matters are described in the seventh and eighth books of the Polish historian Stanisław Kobierzycki.¹⁸³ The importance of this author to his Swedish colleague makes it quite natural to begin with him for an overview of Widekindi's sources, which is the subject of my next chapter.

¹⁸³ *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 928. There are also several indirect references ('Polish historians say' etc), especially in the account of the storm of Smolensk in book 6. Kobierzycki is also mentioned by Widekindi in *Gustaff Adolphs Historia* (p. 32), where he is called 'Zoberzeski', and in the list of sources in *Continuatio Luminis Chronographici*, which means that Widekindi became acquainted with *Historia Vladislai* not later than in 1666.

4. Sources and the use of them¹⁸⁴

4.1. Stanisław Kobierzycki as Widekindi's source

Stanisław Kobierzycki (ca 1600–1665) was active as a diplomat and a minor politician.¹⁸⁵ His writings are not particularly numerous – beside the one to be treated here, he also wrote a monograph *De luxu Romanorum* (published in Louvain in 1628) and a history of an episode from the Swedish-Polish war, *Obsidio Clari Montis Częstochoviensis* (1656) – but they bear witness to a perfect command of Latin eloquence. In 1655 he published *Historia Vladislai Poloniae et Sveciae Principis*. This book is also a significant source on the Russian Time of Troubles, being to a large extent based on the Polish archive documents just as Widekindi's is based on the Swedish ones. It also has a similar size (11 books on 952 pages), and one can draw further parallels between it and Widekindi's work: a commented Polish translation of Kobierzycki was published in 2005, just five years after the (somewhat more richly commented) Russian translation of Widekindi.

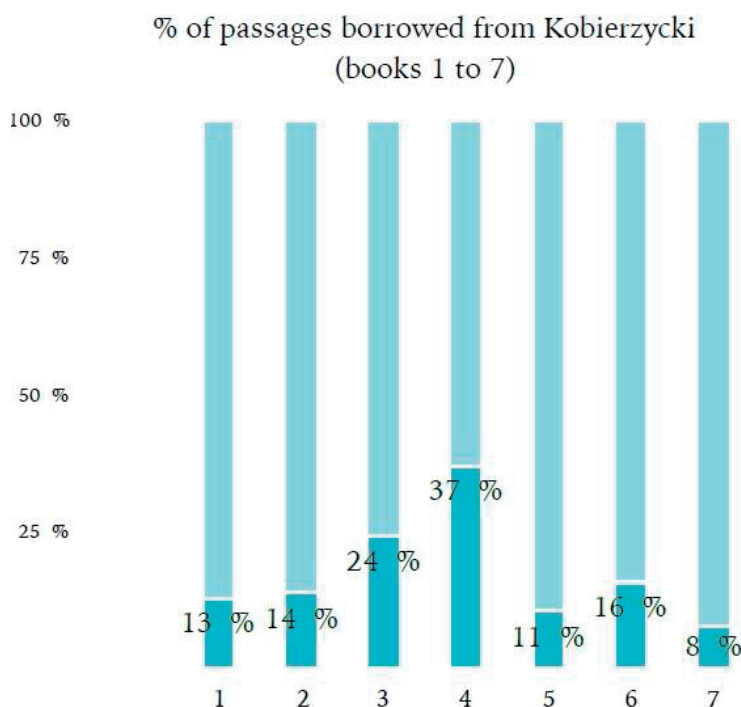
Kobierzycki was the main printed source of Widekindi. Almost all details of Polish-Russian relations, a subject extremely important for Widekindi's books 1 to 7, are borrowed from Kobierzycki.

The influence of Kobierzycki in Widekindi's text was discovered by Helge Almquist in his work *Sverige och Ryssland 1595–1611*, published in 1907. Almquist indicates about two dozen passages in Widekindi that originate from Kobierzycki, and the editors of the Russian translation of Widekindi repeat Almquist's notes with certain additions and specifications.

My aim is to give a fuller notion of the scale and the way in which Widekindi uses Kobierzycki. The scale may be seen in the following graph.

¹⁸⁴ For the list of specific passages, which form the material for this survey, see Appendix 2.

¹⁸⁵ For further details of his biography, see Kersten 1967 and Byliński & Kaczorowski 2005.



I have marked all passages which are either borrowed from Kobierzycki (usually with a very slight revision) or, in certain cases, are a clear paraphrase of him and counted the number of words in them. Whenever Kobierzycki's account is intertwined with material from another source (as, for instance, in the first book, where Widekindi, talking about the end of the first False Dmitry, combines Kobierzycki with a historical sketch by Axel Oxenstierna, or in the fifth book, where the death of the second False Dmitry is described after both Kobierzycki and Petrejus), the phrases taken from Kobierzycki are counted.

The fact that the amount of borrowings culminates in the third and fourth books is hardly surprising: they describe the events of 1609–10, when the Swedish forces came into direct contact with the Polish ones, and the Russian-Polish affairs were also Swedish to a higher degree than either before or afterwards. Book 8 is not included in the graph, as it only contains one short passage (pp. 429–430 of the Latin version, with no correspondence in the Swedish one) based on Kobierzycki; there are some more in books 9 and 10, but they do not constitute any significant part of the text, which is huge (the two books are

approximately as large as the eight preceding together) and consists mainly of Swedish-Russian affairs, accounted for in the Swedish sources of Widekindi.

It should be noted, however, that Widekindi does not limit himself to borrowing information from Kobierzycki. He was apparently so impressed by the work of his predecessor, that he sometimes also exploits its text even when there is completely no need for it. One example is the introductory passage at the beginning of the third book, copied from the end of Kobierzycki's second book (the substantial differences are here and elsewhere highlighted by myself):

<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , pp. 87–88	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 57
Caeterum (hactenus origines turbarum Moschoviae, et cruenta partium pro Imperio certamina) <u>Sigismundi Regis arma lacessita, obsidionis Smolensci initia</u> , contractiore exposita sunt stylo, veluti non ingrato praemisso lectori praeludio, facileque ex primis deducturo lineamentis, <u>qua via ad vastum Septentrionis Imperium propitia Vladislaum duxere fata</u> . In hac tamen rerum summa, plurima a me explicata dictaque esse scio, quae vel a nonnullis suppressa, vel certe per incuriam omissa sunt. Nunc quo propior ero in referendis <u>Moschorum erga Vladislaum studiis</u> , majore circuitu res prosequi consilium est, tantoque fidentius, quanto a <u>Commentariis</u> eorum, qui haec ipsa gesserunt, instructor sum, ita ut ex iis rariora quaedam neque divulgata hactenus promere possim. ¹⁸⁶	Hactenus origines turbarum Moschoviae, et cruenta partium pro imperio destinata, <u>consilia Polonorum, Svecorum Regis auxilia implorata, foedera pacta</u> pressiori stylo exposita sunt, non ingratum, ut spero, lectori praemissis lineamentis, ex quibus facile deducere poterit, <u>cujus Partis studio, fideque arma nostra primum Moschoviam intravere</u> . In hac rerum serie, plurima a me dicta esse scio, quae vel suppressa hactenus latuere, vel certe per incuriam aut studium partium omissa sunt. Nunc quo propior sim referendis <u>Svecorum pro Moschis studiis, et Polonorum e contra molitionibus</u> , majori circuitu circumlatorum armorum cursum, et gentium in contrarias partes ruentium obsequia, et fata exequi consilium est, tantoque confidentius, quanto a <u>litteris</u>

¹⁸⁶ “However, up to now I have spoken of the beginnings of Muscovitic troubles and the bloody rivalries of the parties for achieving the supreme power, so the provocation of King Sigismund’s forces and the beginning of the Smolensk siege are described in a compressed style, to first give the reader a pleasant introduction, so that he or she would be able to deduce from these first outlines, in what way the propitious fortune was leading Vladislav to the power over the vast North. But I know that in this summary I have explained and related many things which had been suppressed or in any case negligently omitted by the others. Now my aim is to describe the events the more thoroughly the further I proceed in talking about the predilection of Muscovites for Vladislav, and to do it in a way as reliable, as it is possible thanks to the memoirs of the acting persons themselves, so that I can take from them some pretty exclusive information, not divulged until now”.

eorum, qui haec ipsa gesserunt
instructor sum, ita ut ex iis collatis,
vera neque hactenus divulgata exponere
possim.¹⁸⁷

The only actual difference is that the Poles are substituted by the Swedes, with certain necessary consequences: instead of ‘the provocation of Sigismund’s forces’ Widekindi has described ‘the negotiations about the help from the Swedish king’, ‘the predilection of Muscovites for Vladislav’ is turned into ‘the Swedish efforts to help the Muscovites’ etc. Another example of this trick may be found in a further summarizing sentence:

<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , p. 91	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 41
His igitur copiis, et tam praevalido armorum robore, biennio fere ante <u>Sigismundi</u> in Moschoviam adventum, bellatum est. ¹⁸⁸	Hisce copiis biennio ferme ante <u>Svecorum</u> in Moschoviam adventum pugnatum est. ¹⁸⁹

Sometimes Widekindi puts Kobierzycki’s words into a completely different context. For instance, he finds parallels between Vladislav in 1610 and Charles Philip in 1612 close enough to borrow a passage from the beginning of Kobierzycki’s fourth book into his own seventh book:

<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , pp. 161–162	<i>Historia Belli</i> , pp. 339–340
STatuebat jam fortuna <u>Vladislao</u> initia causasque Imperii, quas per Legatos regios <u>Ducibus Tribunis</u> que	PRAestruerat jam fortuna initia et causas Muschovitici Imperij <u>CAROLO PHILIPPO</u> , quas per literas, per legatos

¹⁸⁷ “Up to now the beginnings of Muscovitic troubles and the bloody actions of the parties to achieve the supreme power, the plots of the Poles, the negotiations about the help from the Swedish king, the concluding of the alliance are described in a compressed style, to first give the reader a pleasant introduction, so that he or she would be able to deduce from these first outlines, whose side our forces support and trust when they first entered Muscovy. I know that in this summary I have explained and related many things which had been until now suppressed and hidden, or in any case negligently or consciously omitted by the others. Now my aim is to describe the military operations, the shifting loyalty and the fate of the peoples, the more thoroughly the further I proceed in talking about the Swedish efforts to help the Muscovites, and the contrary efforts of the Poles and to do it in a way as reliable, as it is possible thanks to the letters of the acting persons themselves, so that I can take from them some truthful information, not divulged until now”.

¹⁸⁸ “It was with these forces and this mighty power of weapons that the military actions were conducted over the course of two years before Sigismund came to Muscovy”.

¹⁸⁹ “It was with these forces that the military actions were conducted over the course of two years before the Swedes came to Muscovy”.

exercitus Demetrianj suggererat, Muschorum animis jam praeparatis feliciterque in partes transeuntibus, praesertim fastidio utriusque Principis, quorum dedecus apertiore indies fama noscebatur: neque aliud in promptu inveniebant remedium, quam si unus praepotensque legeretur, in cujus sinu securius tutiusque Imperij status conquiesceret. Augebat gloriam Vladislaj regia indoles, adolescentiae decor...¹⁹⁰

Regi Svecorum Nougardensis Domini cives suggererant, Muschorum animis undique jam praeparatis et in partes transeuntibus, partim odio Polonorum, partim fastidio novi falsi Demetrij, cujus dedecus apud Plescovienses apertiore indies fama noscebatur: Neque aliud in promptu remedium suppetebat, quam si tam benevoli potentisque Regis frater legeretur, in cujus sinu securius Imperij status conquiesceret; augebat spem, gloriam, laetitiam publicam... Principis regia indoles, aetatis flos et decor.¹⁹¹

Still, this sort of expression is vague enough to be borrowed without obviously distorting historical facts. Elsewhere Widekindi goes further than that. The scornful question of the Poles, whether Marina Mniszek married Tsarevich Dmitry for the second time is, in Widekindi, copied into the pretended answer of De la Gardie to Zborowski,¹⁹² while the sentimental tears of Muscovites during the secret negotiations with Sigismund along with the subsequent feast are placed by Widekindi into the scene of Vasily Shuysky's meeting with De la Gardie in March 1610.¹⁹³ We do not know to what extent (if at all) Widekindi's documentary sources prompted to him pieces of information to be

¹⁹⁰ "The fortune had already been laid down for Vladislav to ascend to the throne, which he had suggested to the officers and colonels of Dmitry's army through the king's ambassadors. The minds of the Muscovites had already been prepared, and they were happily taking his side, especially because of their aversion to both leaders, whose disgrace was being divulged more and more day by day. And they had no other remedy at hand but to choose just one and a powerful one, under whose protection the condition of the state would have confidently settled. The kingly nature of Vladislav and the grace of his youth increased his glory".

¹⁹¹ "The fortune had already been preparing for Charles Philip the grounds to ascend the Muscovite throne, which had been suggested by the citizens of Novgorod state through letters and ambassadors to the Swedish king. The minds of the Muscovites had already been prepared, and they were taking his side, partly because of their hatred of the Poles, partly because of aversion to the new False Dmitry, whose disgrace in Pskov was being divulged more and more day by day. And there was no other remedy at hand but to choose the brother of such a benevolent and powerful king, under whose protection the condition of the state would have confidently settled. The kingly nature of the prince, the blossom and the grace of his youth increased their hope, his glory and the public joy".

¹⁹² *Historia Vladislai*, p. 111 and *Historia Belli*, p. 81.

¹⁹³ *Historia Vladislai*, pp. 181–182 and *Historia Belli*, pp. 131–132.

designed in this way: in both cases it must have been materials from Jacob De la Gardie's archive, which is far from completely preserved.¹⁹⁴

An interesting rearrangement of Kobierzycki's words is made in book 3, as Widekindi describes the council in Poland concerning the open declaration of war against Muscovy. In Kobierzycki, there are several arguments against the war, several arguments in favour of it, and finally, its official declaration.¹⁹⁵ Widekindi faithfully copies the whole episode, but cuts out some arguments of the "pacifists" and adds that such people were very few.¹⁹⁶ The arguments are cut, but not deleted. The next chapter is the Muscovitic answer to the Polish accusations, expressed, as Widekindi tells us, in their complaints to foreign regents, notably Charles IX. This answer consists of nothing but these very extracts.¹⁹⁷

If we now turn from these compositional aspects to the general ideological tendencies which may be noticed when comparing the two authors, they are in no way unexpected. Kobierzycki dwells, for example, somewhat more on the treacherousness of Muscovites against Poles, committed after the murder of False Dmitry I.¹⁹⁸ He also has a strongly negative attitude to Vasily Shuysky, whom he often calls *tyrannus* ('Tyrant') etc. This attitude to a ruler who called for Swedish help against the Poles is of course missing in Widekindi; he obviously downplays it in all the passages taken from his Polish colleague. All the mentions of anti-Shuyskian opposition in the city of Moscow, as well as the secret negotiations of the Muscovites with the Poles, repeatedly described in Kobierzycki, are dropped by the Swedish author. It goes almost without saying that all the exaggerations concerning the Poles in Kobierzycki are neutralized in Widekindi:

<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , pp. 70–71	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 40
Jam et peracto bello Livonico adfuit praesto exercitus, cui Joannes Sapieha praeerat... saepius a nobis non sine elogio memorandum. ¹⁹⁹	Accessit etiam ex Livonia exercitus cui Johannes Sapieha praefuit... saepius a

¹⁹⁴ See below, p. 91.

¹⁹⁵ *Historia Vladislai*, pp. 72–81.

¹⁹⁶ *Historia Belli*, pp. 89–91.

¹⁹⁷ *Historia Belli*, pp. 92–93.

¹⁹⁸ *Historia Vladislai*, p. 77.

¹⁹⁹ "After the end of the war in Livonia there also came an army led by Jan Sapieha, whom we will repeatedly mention not without a eulogy".

nobis in posterum **cruentis conflictibus**
memorandus.²⁰⁰

Historia Vladislai, p. 245

Gosievius in **septingentos** equites...
incidit, collatis signis fudit... **suffecisse**
interim ratus, hosti tam prospero
primae salutationis officio animi
imperterriti reverentiam incussisse, in
arcem se recepit.²⁰¹

Historia Belli, p. 152

Gosievius... in **centenos aliquot**
equites... incidit... collatis signis
nonnullos fundit... et... **ultra**
progredi non ausus, se in arcem
recipit.²⁰²

Nor is it surprising that Widekindi, in his turn, does his best to glorify his homeland in general and De la Gardie in particular. The end of the third book, containing the successful march of Swedish and Russian forces towards Moscow, which they manage to rescue from False Dmitry's siege, is extremely rich in Widekindi's insertions of De la Gardie into the text of Kobierzycki:

Historia Vladislai, p. 93

Sed subito adventus Regius nihil tale
opinantes exterruit.²⁰³

Historia Belli, p. 111

Adventus regius, **et nostra vis**
imminens, exercitum Demetrianum
vario animorum motu distrinxerant.²⁰⁴

Historia Vladislai, p. 146

Hinc simultates, indeque magnis
expositae periculis legiones.²⁰⁵

Historia Belli, p. 116

Hinc simultatum offensiones, et inde
periculis expositae legiones, **imminente jam**
Scopino et Jacobo De La Gardie.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁰ "After the end of the war in Livonia there also came an army led by Jan Sapieha, whom we will repeatedly mention in connection with bloody battles".

²⁰¹ "Gosiewski came across 700 cavalymen, put them in the battle to flight and feeling it enough to inculcate a reverence for his bravery to the enemy with this first greeting, sheltered himself in the fortress".

²⁰² "Gosiewski comes across some hundreds of cavalymen, puts some of them in the battle to flight and, not daring to proceed, shelters himself in the fortress".

²⁰³ "But suddenly the arrival of the king frightened them, as they had not expected anything of this kind".

²⁰⁴ "The arrival of the king as well as our threatening power caused different opinions in Dmitry's army".

²⁰⁵ "Hence emerged the rivalries, and therefore the troops were exposed to serious dangers".

²⁰⁶ "Hence emerged the rivalries and the insults, and therefore the troops were exposed to dangers, while Skopin and Jacob were already approaching".

<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , p. 211	<i>Historia Belli</i> , pp. 118–119
Nec Scopino quispiam tunc rei militaris peritior habebatur, quippe cautus consilio providusque, castra optime firmare munitionibus palisque praefigere noverat, quos bis mille eum in usum curribus vehere solitus erat: manu impiger disciplinaeque militaris tenacissimus, suique septentrionis frigora in societatem pugnae, cum opus esset, advocans. ²⁰⁷	Nec utroque quisquam tunc rei militaris peritior habebatur. Quippe hic cautus consilio, castra optime firmare et munitionibus acutisque palis praefigere noverat, quos bis mille eum in usum secum circumferebat: Ille providus et manu impiger, disciplinaeque tenacissimus exercitatos milites suique septentrionis frigora in societatem pugnae, cum opus esset, trahens. ²⁰⁸
<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , p. 155	<i>Historia Belli</i> , pp. 123–124
Insuper Suyscii Scopinique conatibus animosi unita virtute obviam se ituros obstringunt. ²⁰⁹	Se unita virtute Jacobi , Scopinique conatibus animose obviam ituros obstringunt. ²¹⁰

The account of the battle of Klushino, in which the united Swedish and Muscovite forces were disastrously crushed by the Poles, follows Kobierzycki in the Latin version more or less accurately, but as it comes to the ‘disgraceful flight’ (*turpissime profugerant*) of Jacob De la Gardie and Evert Horn into the woods, Widekindi suddenly stops repeating the words of his source and informs us that De la Gardie and Horn simply went to the woods to call back their disgracefully fleeing soldiers.²¹¹ It is also interesting to note that the detailed account of the battle is by far the largest passage of Widekindi’s Latin text, where borrowings from Kobierzycki have no correspondence in

²⁰⁷ “And nobody was considered to be more experienced in military matters at that time than Skopin. Being cautious and provident, he perfectly knew how to establish a camp and to protect it with fortifications and piles. For this sake he usually carried with him in carts two thousand such piles. He was energetic and well-versed in military art and, when required, used the cold of his North as an ally in battle”.

²⁰⁸ “And nobody was considered to be more experienced in military matters at that time than the two of them. The latter <viz. Skopin>, being cautious in his decisions, perfectly knew how to establish a camp and to protect it with fortifications and sharp piles. For this sake he usually carried with him in carts two thousand such piles. The former <viz. De la Gardie> was provident and energetic and, being well-versed in military art, used, when required, the trained soldiers and the cold of his North as an ally in battle”.

²⁰⁹ “Moreover, they swear to bravely and unitedly resist the plans of Shuysky and Skopin”.

²¹⁰ “They swear to bravely resist the plans of Jacob and Skopin”.

²¹¹ *Historia Vladislai*, pp. 270–276, and *Historia Belli*, pp. 163–166.

Widekindi's Swedish version:²¹² there the account is shorter and probably based on De la Gardie's own reports.²¹³ When at the end of the chapter Widekindi makes an exception and translates some phrases from Kobierzycki into Swedish, he drops the words *prosterni Ducis nostri auctoritatem* ('that the authority of our leader is ruined'): the Swedish reader must apparently get a less maculated image of the great commander.²¹⁴

So much for the tendencies. Now I am going to turn to our main question, namely the one of the textological relation between the two versions of Widekindi's book. Comparing Widekindi's text with Kobierzycki's is, with such an amount of borrowings, of great relevance for this problem.

1. First of all, we are able to state that Widekindi did not use Kobierzycki in the two versions independently from each other. In general, the numerous changes made by Widekindi to Kobierzycki's text in his Latin version, are faithfully preserved in the Swedish one – this is as true for the passages quoted above as it is for the less meaningful changes made merely for stylistic effect. A couple of examples will suffice:

<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , p. 57	<i>Historia Belli</i> , pp. 21–22	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 23
In soceri Georgii Mnizek... gratiam amicitiamque proventus, vultu accommodato ibi, genus fugae, evitataeque	Promotus est ad Georgium Mniznek... cui aperta fronte, subdola mente genus fugae et modum evitatae coedis clarius exposuit. ²¹⁶	Han bleff promoverat til Georgium Mniznek... för hwilken han dristeligen/ doch falskt [...] bekiände/ huru han war

²¹² Other such instances include the above-mentioned characteristics of De la Gardie and Skopin (*Historia Belli*, pp. 118–119 after *Historia Vladislai*, p. 211), the description of skis (*Historia Belli*, p. 120 after *Historia Vladislai*, p. 212; Swedish readers are probably supposed to know what skis look like) and the short account of Polish domestic affairs in 1612–1613 (*Historia Belli*, pp. 429–430 summarizing *Historia Vladislai*, pp. 461–468), whereas the account of the seizure of the Joseph monastery (*Historia Belli*, pp. 147–148 after *Historia Vladislai*, pp. 234–236) and the above-mentioned passage on the Russians awaiting the new prince (*Historia Belli*, pp. 339–340 after *Historia Vladislai*, pp. 161–162) are drastically shortened in the Swedish version (*Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 180–181 and 419 respectively).

²¹³ Almquist 1907: 190 n. 1.

²¹⁴ *Historia Vladislai*, p. 278, *Historia Belli*, p. 168, to compare with *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 201.

²¹⁶ "He was forwarded to Jerzy Mnizek, to whom he openly, but mendaciously described in more details his escape and the way in which he avoided the murder".

caedis modum disertius
aperuit.²¹⁵

vndan kommen Mordet
och bortflydd.²¹⁷

That is, Widekindi inserts an antithesis where Kobierzycki has a more simple expression. The most common change (naturally not always conceivable in the Swedish text), though, is using synonyms, as for example *pressiori* instead of *contractiore*, or *pugnatum* instead of *bellatum* in the quotations above on pp. 51–52. Sometimes, albeit rarely, the attempts to vary the text of the source in this way are clearly unfortunate:

<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , p. 286	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 179	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 217
aliaque oppida explicandis per Moschoviam copiis opportuna ²¹⁸	aliaque oppida explicandis inter Moschuam armis idonea ²¹⁹	och någre andre emellan Moscou wälbelägne Orter ²²⁰

The four last words in Kobierzycki’s phrase are substituted by their synonyms – but placing these synonyms mechanically, Widekindi arrives at the completely meaningless ‘between Moscow’,²²¹ both in the Latin and in the Swedish version. Some further mistakes common to the two versions may be found. An inaccurate spelling of the original *cui* destroys the syntax in the Latin text and causes a slight distortion of meaning in the Swedish translation:

<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , p. 95	<i>Historia Belli</i> , pp. 111–112	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 137
Tenebantque anxios <Duces ac Tribunos> liberalia promissa	Praecipue duces Tribunosque... angebant liberalia promissa	Serdeles gick Öfwerstarna och Officerarne hårdt til

²¹⁵ “Forwarded to the benevolence and friendship of Jerzy Mniszech, [Konstanty Wiśniowiecki’s] father-in-law, he took a suitable countenance and described to him in more details his escape and the way in which he avoided the murder”.

²¹⁷ “He was forwarded to Jerzy Mniszech, to whom he openly, but mendaciously described how he avoided the murder and fled”.

²¹⁸ “And other towns convenient to unfold the troops in Muscovy”.

²¹⁹ “And other towns convenient to unfold the troops between Moscow”.

²²⁰ “And some other towns conveniently placed between Moscow”.

²²¹ *Inter* can mean ‘amid’ and then be used with substantives in singular, but hardly in phrases indicating geographical location. See ThLL VII.1.2126–2127. *Mosc(h)ua* is elsewhere in Widekindi’s text ‘Moscow’ (i.e. the city), not ‘Muscovy’ (i.e. the country).

Demetrii, cui necdum
asserto regimine, et ad
quod mox asserendum
nova adventantis Regis
arma ponerent obicem,
omnis penitus
exsolvendarum
pollicitationum
praecidebatur facultas.²²²

Demetrii, cum in
posterum asserendo
imperio, non hostium
solum, sed Regis arma
positura obicem: Et sic
solvendarum
pollicitationum praecidi
facultatem.²²³

sinne... at the stoore
Lyfften som Demetrius
them giordt hafwer/
vthan tuifwel lära gåå
tilbaka/ efftersom wij så
för Konungens som för
the Swenskas infall/
icke läre kunne hålla
vår lofwen/ och honom
på Stor-Förste Stoolen
sättia.²²⁴

Had the person translating the Latin draft into Swedish seen *cui* instead of *cum* (*efftersom*), the False Dmitry's officers would be more anxious about his promises than about their own.

2. Further, there is some specific evidence for the Swedish text having been translated from Widekindi's Latin. There are namely some mistakes in the Swedish text caused by the ambiguity or lack of precision in the Latin text:

<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , p. 142	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 115	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 141
<Miles> proposuisset, ut Rex Severia et Smolensco a Demetrio accepto, placatus discederet. ²²⁵	Petuntque, ut Rex, Severia et Smolensco a Demetrio acceptis, discedat. ²²⁶	Och begiärte at Konungen wille tråda ifrån Smolensco och vthur Severien/ then

²²² “And the officers and the colonels were anxious about Dmitry’s generous assurances, who was totally denied the opportunity to keep his promises without having asserted the throne, while the new armies of the approaching king put an obstacle to assert it soon”.

²²³ “Especially the officers and the colonels were anxious about Dmitry’s generous assurances, as the armies of both the enemies and the king were going to put an obstacle to asserting the throne, and thus the opportunity to keep promises would be denied”.

²²⁴ “Especially the colonels and the officers were anxious that Dmitry’s great assurances would undoubtedly go for nothing, as they were unable to keep their promises and assert for him the throne, due to the attacks of both the king and the Swedes”.

²²⁵ “<The soldier> suggested that the king would withdraw, satisfied with Severia and Smolensk, which he would get from Dmitry”.

²²⁶ “And they <Dmitry’s adherents> ask that the king would withdraw, having received Severia and Smolensk from Dmitry” – or “withdraw from Severia and Smolensk, received by Dmitry”.

Kobierzycki has a participial construction in an ablative, depending on *placatus*. Widekindi strikes out *placatus* from his Latin text and arrives at an ambiguous construction, to understand either correctly as an absolute ablative with a *Demetrio*, meaning ‘from Dmitry’ (as his adherents are asserting him on the Russian throne and only proposing to Sigismund the territories in question as a satisfaction), or incorrectly as an absolute ablative with a *Demetrio* meaning ‘by Dmitry’ or, incorrectly again, as a participial construction with local meaning depending on *discedat*. The person who translated it into Swedish was unlucky in his – indeed difficult – choice.

3. There is one more detail to claim: the Latin draft was not identical with the text submitted to the printers for the Latin edition; the draft was revised. This becomes clear due to some traces of Kobierzycki’s text in the Swedish version:²²⁸

<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , p. 150	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 117	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 144
Illum non regionis sed religionis expugnandae, ²²⁹ templorum non urbium hostem, eversorem rituum, expilatorem	Illum scilicet religionis potius extirpandae, templorum hostem, rituum eversorem, caenobiorum expilatorem	Nembligen honom wara infallen icke til at wäria vthan förhäria/ Kyrckior/ theras Religions och the Heliges Skrud/ Land och Städer etc. ²³²

²²⁷ “And they <Dimitry’s adherents> demanded that the king would withdraw from Smolensk and Severia, promised to them by Dmitry”.

²²⁸ Another possibility is that Widekindi consulted Kobierzycki once again when he prepared the Swedish text – cf. the treatment of Petrejus and of documentary sources described in the following sections. However, the character of revision is in this case different from what happens with the Swedish sources. In particular, there are no longer passages from Kobierzycki present only in the Swedish version (apart from books 9 and 10, of course), and to restore the word-play in Swedish after omitting it in Latin – see the first example here – is a dubious measure when one consults the source, especially at the same time as the mistakes in translation remain uncorrected. To sum up, it looks highly implausible that the instances of Swedish text standing closer to Kobierzycki are due to any additional work with the source.

²²⁹ The construction, repeated also in Widekindi’s text, is probably modelled after Tacitus, *Annales*, 2.59: *Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis*.

²³² “That he has invaded them not to defend but to plunder the churches, the attire of their religion and their saints, the land and the cities etc.”

Coenobiorum in
Moschoviam
advenisse.²³⁰

in Moschoviam
advenisse.²³¹

Widekindi makes a word-play (*wäria – förhäria*) in the Swedish text, trying to render Kobierzycki's paronomasia *regionis – religionis*. Hence we may conclude that this paronomasia was still present in the draft, but was then expunged during the preparation of the Latin edition.

Another instance of following Kobierzycki in the Swedish edition (= in the Latin draft), but shortening the expression in the Latin edition:

<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , p. 376	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 227	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 288
Flammis ambusti aediumque suarum involuti ruina miseri intereunt. ²³³	ingenti aedium ruina et hominum clade ²³⁴	Månge omkommo/ deels vthi sielfwe Eelden/ deels och aff sielfwe huusen som fölle neder/ ihiälslagne. ²³⁵

From the Latin text of Widekindi (the episode is the seizure of Smolensk) we only learn about the destruction of buildings and the fatalities during the fire, while Kobierzycki and Widekindi's Swedish text put these details into more explicit connection – so the Swedish phrase could hardly originate from Widekindi's Latin as we have it.

Having stopped by Smolensk in October 1609, the Polish king is doubtful whether he should go on or besiege the city. Żółkiewski pleads for the former alternative, Leo Sapieha and Gosiewski for the latter.

²³⁰ "That he has come to Muscovy to occupy not the region but the religion, as an enemy of the churches, not of the cities, as a destroyer of the ceremonies and a robber of the monasteries".

²³¹ "That he has come to Muscovy rather to eradicate their religion, as an enemy of the churches, a destroyer of the ceremonies and a robber of the monasteries".

²³³ "Burned by the fire and buried under the collapse of their houses, they perish miserably".

²³⁴ "With a huge collapse of the houses and peril of the people".

²³⁵ "Many died, some killed by the fire itself, some by the collapsing houses".

<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , p. 87	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 93	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 115
At Zolkevius... suadebat ulteriorem in Moschoviam progressum armorum. ²³⁶	Spretum prius consilium, dissvadente summo exercituum praefecto Zolkevio. ²³⁷	Til thet förre rådde honom öfwerste Feltherren Solkefski. ²³⁸

Thus the Swedish text is correct, while the Latin one has the opposite meaning. To be exact, the absolute ablative here may theoretically – just like the English translation in the note – be understood in a concessive sense, ‘although Żółkiewski pled against it (i.e. against *rejecting* the first alternative)’, but it seems more likely that the construction is a result of some inaccurate revision of the draft. Otherwise we would have had to assume that Widekindi – if it was in fact himself and not one of the people who helped him with the translation into Swedish – both (1) remembered what Kobierzycki meant and understood the problematic construction in a concessive sense and (2) did not find it ambiguous and thus made no corrections for the Latin edition. In my opinion, it is not very likely. As regards the possibility that *dissuadente* is a misreading of the printer, and the text of the manuscript actually had *dissentiente* or *dissidente*, i.e. a form of some intransitive verb, which is easier to understand in a concessive sense, Kobierzycki’s *suadebat* virtually excludes this possibility.

There are, besides that, quite a few phrases²³⁹ in the Swedish text that have no correspondence in the Latin one, although they are taken from Kobierzycki; for instance:

<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , p. 96	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 112	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 138
In horum utrumque peccare... plenum opus periculi... jusjurandum Hero praestitum	In utrumque peccare, rem periculosae aleae plenam esse. ²⁴¹	Bägges at förtörne/ synes fahrligit och icke rådsampt. ²⁴²

²³⁶ “But Żółkiewski recommended to move the war further into Muscovy”.

²³⁷ “The first alternative was rejected, the commander in chief Żółkiewski pleading against it”.

²³⁸ “The former alternative was recommended to him by the commander in chief Żółkiewski”.

²³⁹ As far as I could check, this is never the case with any passages longer than one sentence.

²⁴¹ “That to offend both of them is a very dangerous bet”.

²⁴² “To offend both of them seems dangerous and unwise”.

convellere... extremae
amentiae est.²⁴⁰

The ‘madness’ is dropped in the Latin text, but preserved (although modified) in the Swedish one.

To this group also belong, for example, the instances in the already-mentioned Polish council, where the words *emedan som Stilståndz Förbundet ännu intet war vtthe and igenom thet Mord the widh Bröllopsz Fästen bedrefwo på Pålackarna i Muschou* constitute a paraphrase of Kobierzycki’s text, but have no parallel in the Latin text of Widekindi.²⁴³

A perfect example to summarize the three phenomena we have observed in Widekindi’s working process when using Kobierzycki is provided by a passage from the sixth book, where the Polish seizure of Smolensk is described. The episode is based entirely on Kobierzycki. At the end, a huge blast in a powder magazine destroys a part of the city, and two weeks later the Poles find two people still alive under the ruins:

<i>Historia Vladislai</i> , p. 416	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 287	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 353–354
rudera... amovent. Et ecce attoniti reperiunt marem et faeminam spirantes viventesque. Faemina quidem hausto puriori aere confestim exanimis concidit: alter ad castra perductus, cum vinum adustum et balneum poposcisset, hausto vino non	duobus per duodecim dies inter rudera [quod mirum) superstitibus. ²⁴⁵	Tolff dagar ther effter funnes två karlar vnder gruuset/ som ännu wore lefwandes/ doch strax sedan the wore vptagne/ och hade ätit/ så blefwe the döde. ²⁴⁶

²⁴⁰ “To offend both of them is very dangerous; to break the oath given to the master is an extreme madness”.

²⁴³ *Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 109–110, to compare with *Historia Vladislai*, pp. 74, 77 and *Historia Belli*, pp. 89–90.

²⁴⁵ “Two persons remained alive among the ruins for twelve days, which is astonishing”.

²⁴⁶ “Twelve days later two gentlemen were found under the gravel, who were still alive, but died just after they had been taken up and had eaten”.

supervixit. Sedecim dies
 ruderibus coopertos [...]
 vitam protrahere
 potuisse, omnibus certe
 admirationi fuit.²⁴⁴

In this example we can assume, firstly, that Widekindi writes an inaccurate numeral symbol in his draft, something like XII, so that 16 days turn into 12 in both versions. Secondly, he (or his anonymous assistant) makes a mistake in the Swedish text when translating the ambiguous Latin *duobus*: instead of ‘male and female’ from Kobierzycki’s text there are two males, *två karlar*. Finally, when preparing the Latin edition, Widekindi decides to strike out the phrase about the further fate of these two people, which is thus only preserved in the Swedish text.

4.2. Petrus Petrejus as Widekindi’s source

Were there, at the time of Widekindi, any large reference works on Russia written by Swedish authors? In fact just two. As for *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555) by Olaus Magnus, where especially the 11th of the 22 books is rich in information related to Russia,²⁴⁷ Widekindi seems to ignore it. Perhaps he regarded it as outdated: as will be shown further, almost all the sources used by him directly were no more than 100 years old by the time of his own publication. Another work at his disposal was, on the other hand, quite relevant for his very subject: it was the chronicle by Petrus Petrejus, who spent some years in Russia just at the beginning of the 17th century.

Some background about Petrejus and his book should be given. He was born about 1570 in Uppsala as a son of the future bishop Petrus Benedicti. Petrejus studied at the university of Marburg and is the first Swede ever to write a university dissertation on a mathematical topic. It is not clear how and why he happened to make his way to Russia. In 1601–1605 he resided in Moscow and seems to have stood near to the court of the tsar. In 1608 he published, in

²⁴⁴ “They move the ruins away and are surprised to find a male and a female breathing and alive. The woman fell dead just after she had inhaled the fresh air; the other one was led to the camp, asked for some snaps and bath, but did not survive drinking the snaps. That they, having for sixteen days been covered with ruins, managed to remain alive, astonished everybody, of course”.

²⁴⁷ On the representation of Russia in *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, see Savelyeva 1983: 62–87.

Sweden, a concise report about the turbulent events of the recent years, *Een wiss och sanfärdigh berättelse, om några förändringar, som j thesse framledne åhr, vthi storfurstendömet Muskow skedde äre*.²⁴⁸ His experience was highly valued by King Charles IX, and in 1607–1610 Petrejus was sent several times to Moscow again. In spring 1611 we find him in Ivangorod, where, following the order of the king, he tries to negotiate with the third False Dmitry – and to see whether this impostor is similar in his appearance to the first one.²⁴⁹ Finally back in Sweden, Petrejus composes a large survey about Russia, published in 1615 in Swedish (with marginal notes in Latin) as *Regni Muschovitici Sciographia*.²⁵⁰ The book consists of six parts: the first one deals with the geography of Russia, the second with its history, and the four following shorter parts account for Russian ceremonies, military affairs, everyday life, and religion respectively.

Both the diplomatic performance of Petrejus and his extensive treaty were highly valued by the Swedish authorities, and he was rewarded with an estate, the name of which he afterwards used to add to his name: *Petrus Petrejus de Erlesunda*. Some years later he was forced to leave Sweden and move to Germany. There his *Sciographia* was translated into German and appeared in 1620 under the title *Historien vnd Bericht von dem Grossfürstenthumb Muschkow*. Some passages in the German version are abridged, and the terminology in it is less thorough,²⁵¹ but on the other hand it is updated: the second part of it includes the treaty of Stolbovo and the ceremonies of its confirmation.

Petrejus died in Sweden in 1622 of plague, shortly after his return from Germany.²⁵²

²⁴⁸ It is not certain whether Widekindi was familiar with this first writing of Petrejus as well. The only evidence for it seems to be the common claim that the first False Dmitry revealed his treacherous plans to convert Russia to Catholicism to his marshal Vasily Mosalsky (*Een wiss och sanfärdigh berättelse*, p. 134; *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 30–31; *Historia Belli*, p. 27; see Videkind 2000: 567 n. 55). The information may, however, be borrowed from *Tragoedia Demetrio-Moscovitica* by Matthias Schaum (fol. C iij; Schaum is almost certainly using Petrejus here), whose wording resembles somewhat more that of Widekindi.

²⁴⁹ A detailed study of Petrejus' journeys to Russia 1607–1613 may be found in Tolstikov 2012a: 132–139.

²⁵⁰ The word *sciographia*, often used in Neo-Latin (especially in the titles of scholarly works) with the meaning 'outline', owes its birth to the erroneous reading in Vitruvius, *De architectura*, 1.2.2 (Helander 2004: 171).

²⁵¹ For the differences in terminology see Tolstikov 2011.

²⁵² For further details about the life and works of Petrejus see Tarkiainen 1972, Tarkiainen 1997a, Tarkiainen 1997b, Tolstikov 2012a.

Widekindi mentions Petrejus several times,²⁵³ but only as a diplomat in action, not as a writer. The first time we meet Petrejus in Widekindi's text he is also provided with an epithet *Chronici Moschovitici scriptor* (in the Swedish edition less precisely: *Pehr Pehrsson (som hafwer Rysslandz lägenheet beskrifwit)*). Only at the very end of the Latin version, in an appendix about the location and history of Novgorod, can there be found a marginal note: *Petrei. p. 2. fol. 74*. The reference is in a certain way misleading; we will touch upon it further.

How large is the influence of Petrejus on his later colleague? Vasily Geyman, one of the initiators of the Russian translation of Widekindi, claims (in my translation): 'As regards the interior life of Russia, its history, geographic and suchlike details, Widekindi uses quite obviously *Historien von dem Grossfürstenthumb Muschkow* by his compatriot Petrus Petrejus'.²⁵⁴ Such an evaluation is somewhat exaggerated: of the approximately 50 passages, where Widekindi tells something about Russian geography (sometimes it is just figures about the distance between two places), it is only a dozen that originate from Petrejus, while the three large excursus, on Pskov, on Cossacks and the aforementioned appendix on Novgorod, are based on other sources, as will be shown in the next section.

The passages which may, with sufficient certainty, be regarded as borrowed or partly borrowed from Petrejus are listed in the Appendix. The list is, however, not unproblematic, as it is not always easy to discern Widekindi's borrowings from Petrejus from his borrowings from other sources. Some comments should be made, and I would like to dwell on the most significant aspects of this problem.

1) Petrejus or Stanisław Kobierzycki?

The Polish historian also uses Petrejus, and sometimes it creates an impression that Widekindi follows Petrejus, where the borrowing in fact goes via Kobierzycki. Ultimately, though, the answer is always unambivalent, because the text of the Latin version of Widekindi follows the wording of Kobierzycki quite closely.²⁵⁵ An interesting case is the end of the third book: the reception of the Swedes in Moscow is borrowed partly from Petrejus, partly from

²⁵³ *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 156 (= *Historia Belli*, p. 127); *Historia Belli*, p. 143; *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 293 (= *Historia Belli*, p. 231); *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 343 (= *Historia Belli*, p. 279); *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 465 (= *Historia Belli*, p. 374).

²⁵⁴ Geyman 2000: 518.

²⁵⁵ The information about the Polish delivery of Smolensk in III.14 is borrowed from Kobierzycki, *Historia Vladislai*, p. 78, and not from Petrejus, as is suggested in the Russian translation (Videkind 2000: 575 n. 135).

Kobierzycki, whose words, however, are taken from a completely different context.²⁵⁶

2) Petrejus or Axel Oxenstierna?

The manuscript sketch on the Swedish-Polish relations at the beginning of the 17th century, written by the Swedish Chancellor, is the base for the entire first book of Widekindi.²⁵⁷ Widekindi's Latin text represents here, again, just a slight revision of the source. Unfortunately, there is a lacuna in the preserved copy of Oxenstierna's account, and the corresponding part in the text of Widekindi covers the text from the middle of the fourth to the end of the ninth chapter of the first book. A couple of additions from other sources (namely Kobierzycki and David Chytraeus) may be identified, but the exact origin of most details in this section will probably remain uncertain forever.

Petrejus, known to Axel Oxenstierna as a diplomat and most probably read by him as well, is relevant here at two points. In chapter 7, Widekindi mentions the rumour about the poisoning of Tsar Feodor by Boris Godunov. The same rumour is mentioned by Petrejus, too,²⁵⁸ and the editors of the Russian translation regard him as Widekindi's source here.²⁵⁹ Ultimately the piece of information may originate from Petrejus, but it looks plausible that Oxenstierna, whose attitude to Godunov is clearly negative, repeated this assumption in the lost part of his writing – just as Matthias Schaum does,²⁶⁰ who could also be used by Widekindi.

The situation in the second of the two passages, about Gustav Eriksson in chapter 9, is different. Widekindi is talking about the visit of Polish and Swedish ambassadors in Moscow, but suddenly changes the subject in a somewhat clumsy way: *Hic etiam est ille qui Gustavum Regis Erics exulem filium... honoribus extulit.*²⁶¹ Several lines about Gustav's stay in Russia follow, abruptly ending with the words: *Vix dimissi erant Legati.*²⁶² The episode is thus a clear insertion of an account taken from one source into an

²⁵⁶ Kobierzycki, *Historia Vladislai*, pp. 181–182. See above, p. 53.

²⁵⁷ The suggestion that the first book of Widekindi is to a large extent based on Petrejus (Kovalenko et al. 2000: 541, similarly Tarkiainen 2017: 170) is, on the other hand, erroneous. For more details about Oxenstierna's sketch and Widekindi's use of it, see below, pp. 85–87.

²⁵⁸ Petrejus, *Sciographia*, II, p. 110; Petrejus, *Historien vnd Bericht*, p. 263.

²⁵⁹ Widekind 2000: 564 n. 31.

²⁶⁰ Schaum, *Tragoedia Demetrio-Moscovitica*, fol. B iij.

²⁶¹ "He <viz. Boris Godunov> is also the one who extolled with honours Gustav, the exiled son of King Erik".

²⁶² "Just as the ambassadors were dismissed..."

account taken from another. That the latter here is Oxenstierna and the former Petrejus is, in my opinion, very likely: the text of the episode with Gustav follows quite thoroughly the corresponding account of Petrejus (although Petrejus' account is far more detailed),²⁶³ and the episode with the ambassadors fits well into Oxenstierna's main interests, as he writes primarily about Swedish-Polish relations, and besides that, despite his general brevity, does not avoid the diplomatic details (e.g. in the preserved part he mentions certain *lites* between Charles IX and the first False Dmitry, which did not have any significant historical consequences).

3) Petrejus or Konrad Bussow?

Petrejus himself used for his chronicle a work by the German officer Konrad Bussow (1552/52–1617), an eyewitness and a participant of the events in Russia at the beginning of the 17th century,²⁶⁴ and, as regards contents, almost all non-geographical passages borrowed by Widekindi from Petrejus have correspondence in Bussow's text. Sometimes a suspicion may arise that Widekindi could have used Bussow directly: if Petrejus had a manuscript of his work,²⁶⁵ then it cannot altogether be excluded that his later colleague also had access to this manuscript. However, a detailed comparison of all the three texts (or actually five, if we count both versions of Petrejus and both versions of Widekindi) shows in all the relevant passages, that Widekindi stands nearer to Petrejus than to Bussow. For example, Bussow does not mention the safe-conduct given by Godunov to Gustav Eriksson,²⁶⁶ does not say a word about Sigismund's promise to keep the armistice given in his epistolary exchange with Vasily Shuysky,²⁶⁷ and the inhabitants of Putivl gather their forces at the beginning of the Bolotnikov rebellion from *dem weiten Felde* in Bussow's

²⁶³ Petrejus, *Sciographia*, II, pp. 119–122; Petrejus, *Historien vnd Bericht*, pp. 272–275. Petrejus also wrote a longer report about this remarkable offspring of the Swedish royal family (Svenska Riksarkivet, Manuskriptsamlingen, vol. 223, fol. 21r–26v); see Tarkiainen 1971–1972: 258 and more detailed Tolstikov 2012b. The report was published in 1913 by Henri Biaudet as anonymous (Biaudet 1913: 112–120); the fact that the Dresden manuscript used by Biaudet is identical to the one in Stockholm, safely attributed to Petrejus, has been discovered by Alexander Tolstikov quite recently.

²⁶⁴ Tarkiainen 1971–1972: 263–265. About Bussow's life and his writings see Smirnov 1961 and Orchard 1978 with further bibliography.

²⁶⁵ On the complicated and fascinating textual history of Bussow's chronicle, with Petrejus taking a conspicuous place in the stemma, see Smirnov 1961: 42–62.

²⁶⁶ *Sciographia*, II, p. 119; *Historien vnd Bericht*, p. 273; *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 19; *Historia Belli*, p. 18. Cf. Bussow, *Die Moskauer Chronik*, p. 209.

²⁶⁷ *Sciographia*, II, p. 207; *Historien vnd Bericht*, p. 376; *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 38; *Historia Belli*, p. 33. Cf. Bussow, *Die Moskauer Chronik*, p. 263.

account, whereas Petrejus – and after him Widekindi – denote this field as *Tatariske Ödhemarcker* / *Tartarische wüsteney* and *Tartariske Gebieter* / *Tartarorum desertis* respectively.²⁶⁸ Likewise the orthography of the Russian proper names in Widekindi's text stands closer to Petrejus than to Bussow: in Widekindi Grigory Shakhovskoy is called *Schac(h)opski* / *Schacoppius*, in Petrejus *Schac(h)opski*, in Bussow *Sachof(f)ski*;²⁶⁹ the town of Yaroslavl is, in one and the same context, called *Jaroslau* in Widekindi, *Jaroslav* in Petrejus, but *Ierislavia* in Bussow.²⁷⁰

I have not observed an opposite relation anywhere. Thus, one can quite reasonably claim that Widekindi did not use Bussow.

4) Petrejus or other historical-geographical sources?

Here we encounter perhaps the greatest difficulty: the variety of sources on the Swedish-Russian war is relatively small, and on the Russian Times of Troubles in general still possible to survey, but the historical-geographical details about Russia in general in the 17th century can originate from many dozens (or some hundreds?) of sources, both printed and manuscript. The details to be found in these sources are to a various degree stereotyped; for the 16th century there has recently even been constructed a “genealogical tree” of Rossica-literature.²⁷¹ Therefore one should always be cautious when talking about Widekindi's borrowings of geographical passages from Petrejus: the notes similar to those in Petrejus may simply go back to other sources. That is the case, for example, with the excursus on Don and Dnepr (VII.5). In both passages the corresponding information in Petrejus' text is scarce, Widekindi's details are more numerous and go at least partly back to other (so far not fully uncovered) sources.²⁷² As regards Dnepr, the use of Petrejus may actually be excluded altogether, because all the details common with his passage – and some more – may be found in the manuscript treaty about the Russian trade by the

²⁶⁸ Bussow, *Die Moskauer Chronik*, p. 266; *Sciographia*, II, p. 212; *Historien vnd Bericht*, p. 381; *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 34; *Historia Belli*, p. 40.

²⁶⁹ *Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 40–41; *Historia Belli*, pp. 34–35; *Sciographia*, II, p. 210 etc.; *Historien vnd Bericht*, p. 379 etc.; Bussow, *Die Moskauer Chronik*, p. 265 etc.

²⁷⁰ *Historia Belli*, p. 44 (the passage is absent in the Swedish version); *Sciographia*, II, p. 240; *Historien vnd Bericht*, p. 418; Bussow, *Die Moskauer Chronik*, p. 286.

²⁷¹ Mund 2003: 396–397.

²⁷² Cf. the cautious commentary in Videkind 2000: 602 nn. 399, 402.

German-Swedish diplomat Philipp Crusius von Krusenstiern,²⁷³ attested to be known to Widekindi.²⁷⁴

A geographical source, probably common for Petrejus and Widekindi, was the famous work by the Austrian diplomat Sigismund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*; Widekindi seems to owe to it the passages about Tver (III.11) and Pereslavl-Zalessky (III.20),²⁷⁵ and his text is on certain points significantly different from what Petrejus relates. However, there is a typical difficulty here, too: although some of Widekindi's phrases repeat Herberstein's text word for word, it cannot be determined whether he uses Herberstein or another source, the Italian-Polish writer and officer Alexander Guagnini²⁷⁶ in the passage about Tver, and the short passage about Pereslavl includes coincidences both with wording of Guagnini²⁷⁷ missing in Herberstein and wording of Herberstein missing in Guagnini. It is not clear whether Widekindi combined their texts himself or used some third source which combined these two;²⁷⁸ the only thing we can claim is that his source in the two passages was written in Latin.

It remains unclear from where Widekindi took his erroneous parenthesis about the Princess Olga in the excursus on Pskov (VI.9): according to him, her secular name was Helena, and Olga was her baptismal name – in fact, it was the other way round. The information about Olga can be found both in Herberstein²⁷⁹ and in Petrejus,²⁸⁰ who repeats Herberstein's account. Although neither of the texts includes the mistake made by Widekindi, it seems that the source here was Petrejus.²⁸¹ Both texts point to the most probable mechanism

²⁷³ *Gründtliche Nachricht und Anweisung Worinnen die Russische Handlung fürnemblich bestehe* (Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, L 161, fol. 10–34); the words about Dnepr may be found in fol. 14.

²⁷⁴ See below, pp. 84–85. Krusenstiern, as well as Widekindi (but not Petrejus), also mentions the distance from the village of Dneprovskoye to Moscow and they both write about only two cities the river passes by, namely Smolensk and Kiev, whereas Petrejus mentions also Vyazma, Dorogobuzh and Orsha.

²⁷⁵ Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, pp. 73, 78.

²⁷⁶ Guagnini, *Sarmatiae Europae Descriptio*, fol. 82. Widekindi also uses Guagnini in the appendix about Novgorod, see below, p. 82.

²⁷⁷ Guagnini, *Sarmatiae Europae Descriptio*, fol. 84.

²⁷⁸ There were no intermediaries in the tradition between Herberstein and Guagnini (Mund 2003: 397).

²⁷⁹ Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, p. 4.

²⁸⁰ *Sciographia*, II, 9; *Historien vnd Bericht*, pp. 148–149.

²⁸¹ Firstly, Widekindi's general wording does not resemble Herberstein at all, secondly, the orthography of the name in Widekindi and Petrejus (*Olga*) is different from Herberstein (*Olha*).

of Widekindi's mistake. Herberstein's text goes: *Commutatoque nomine Olhae Helena vocata est*, and Petrejus has a marginal note in Latin: *Olga accepto Baptismo Helena dicta est*. From the grammatical point of view, both phrases (especially the one in Petrejus) may look ambiguous if decontextualized, and Widekindi might have had something similar in his draft.

5) Petrejus or documentary sources?

This question arises in connection with episodes where the Swedes are directly involved (in the years 1611–1618), and each time it seems most natural to assume that Widekindi had access to the documents independently from Petrejus. If one compares the meetings of Jacob De la Gardie and Vasily Buturlin on 6 and 9 June 1611 in both historiographical works, it becomes quite clear that they are using the same protocol.²⁸² The same is true for the treaty confirmation ceremonies in Moscow in 1618.²⁸³ Somewhat questionable is the case with the account of the emergence of the third False Dmitry (V.9 in Widekindi) and the seizure of Novgorod (V.12): both fragments contain, in Widekindi's text, phrases that recall the text of Petrejus, but Widekindi could have had some documentary sources at his disposal as well.

If we now turn to passages where Petrejus is undoubtedly or almost undoubtedly Widekindi's source, there remain two natural questions, which we have not answered so far: 1) which version of Petrejus' work did Widekindi use? 2) in which language did Widekindi first write the fragments that are based on Petrejus?

With the relatively scarce material that we have – about two dozen passages, many of which contain only a few words, and none of which is more than 250

²⁸² A copy of this protocol is preserved in the De la Gardie collection in Tartu university library. Widekindi repeats it almost word for word in his Swedish version, pp. 295–304 (with a short insertion from another source), while Petrejus (*Historien vnd Bericht*, pp. 463–467) represents a paraphrase of it. It is therefore impossible to regard Petrejus as Widekindi's source here, as is done in the commentary to the Russian translation (Videkind 2000: 591 n. 305).

²⁸³ Here Petrejus used not the primary source, but a book published in 1619 in Hamburg, *Itinerarium oder ausführlicher Bericht, welcher gestalt Ihre Königl. Mayest. von Schweden vnlengest Abgesandter an die... Könige, von Gross Britannien vnd Dennemarcken... verreiset... Neben drey andern newen Tractätlein: Das Eine ist ein Procesz, welcher so wol bey I. K. May. von Schweden an den Grossfürsten in Muscow gesandten Audientz am 3. Maij... am 8. Junij gehalten worden. Das Ander... 28. Junij zu Stockholm... Das Dritte ist von der Rüssen oder Moscowiter Religion, Ceremonien, Gesetzen, Policy, und Kriegeshandel, wie auch von des Landes beschaffenheit*; see Tarkiainen 1971–1972: 280. Widekindi's account in his tenth book is much more detailed than Petrejus' and stands very close to the text of *Itinerarium*, which is caused by the use a common source (see below, p. 108).

words long – it seems an ambitious task to try to solve this equation with two unknowns. Still, some observations have transpired to be possible.

Which version of Petrejus’ work did Widekindi use? As regards the reference in the appendix about Novgorod, it points to the German edition of Petrejus. The erroneous *p. 2* instead of *p. 1* is probably just a mistake made by the typesetter, although it cannot be excluded that Widekindi implies the German version of Petrejus to be ‘the second part’ after the Swedish one.

However, the search for “intrinsic” evidence for Widekindi using the German version rather than the Swedish one has led to the opposite results. Firstly, there are three passages in the Swedish text of Widekindi where the text of the Swedish version of Petrejus is repeated word for word,²⁸⁴ namely the whole passage on Marina Mnischev’s flight in III.26, the reception of the Swedes in Moscow in III.28, and the murder of the second False Dmitry in V.5. But also in the passages where only contents of Widekindi’s text²⁸⁵ correspond to Petrejus, some details may be found that bear witness rather to the use of the Swedish Petrejus, however similar the two versions of Petrejus (unlike the two versions of Widekindi) are:

<i>Sciographia</i> , II, p. 213	<i>Historien vnd Bericht</i> , p. 381	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 34
Jstom Bascho... twingade vthi 4. wekors tidh öffuer 14. Slotzlän / til at swäria Demetrio på nytt igen. ²⁸⁶	Isthoma Bascho zwang binnen 4. Wochen 14. Häuser vnd Städte zum eyd/ dass sie Demetrio auffs neue schweren musten. ²⁸⁷	Hi 4. mensium spatium 14. Provinciis in obsequium redactis, urbi tandem graves incubabant. ²⁸⁸

²⁸⁴ The differences are mostly orthographical, with a few slight lexical changes as well. These passages, along with those where Widekindi, who is two generations younger, freely quotes Swedish documents from the beginning of the century, may perhaps be interesting for a researcher of the development of Swedish language in the 17th century.

²⁸⁵ I only quote the Latin text here. The differences in the corresponding Swedish text are either absent or insignificant for the discussion.

²⁸⁶ “Isthoma Pashkov compelled in the span of four weeks more than 14 provinces to swear allegiance to Dmitry again”.

²⁸⁷ “Isthoma Pashkov compelled in the span of four weeks 14 castles and cities to swear allegiance to Dmitry again”.

²⁸⁸ “After having bent to submission 14 provinces in the span of four months, they finally threatened the city”.

<i>Sciographia</i> , II, p. 255	<i>Historien vnd Bericht</i> , p. 434	<i>Historia Belli</i> , pp. 129–130
Medhan nu thenna oenigheet således warade/ drogh Her Jacob och Knäs Michael... til Knäs Wasili Zuski vthi Muskow/ och hadhe vti ett heelt år intaghet alla Slott och Städher som lågo emellan Finland oc Muskow/ och emellan Muskow och S. Nicolai. ²⁸⁹	Nach eroberung des hauses Mitrofwa zog der Schwedische Feldherr Graff Jacobus mit dem Reussischen Obersten... zu dem Grossfürsten in die Musscow/ vnd hetten in einem jahr alle Flecken vnd Städte/ so zwischen Finland/ Musscow vnd S. Nicolai gelegen/ gezwungen. ²⁹⁰	Hic fuit... modus solutae obsidionis Moschuae, qvae... tantum imperium ad extremum ita fatigavit, ut nulla superesset spes et redemptio ab ultima ruina, nisi per auxiliares Svecorum copias, qvae... jam omnes urbes castellaque in tractu Australi Septentrionalique inter urbem et Finlandiam, portumque S. Nicolai sita, falsae dominationis metu... liberassent. ²⁹¹
<i>Sciographia</i> , I, pp. 63–64	<i>Historien vnd Bericht</i> , p. 80–82	<i>Historia Belli</i> , pp. 243–244
Skal man thet öffuerwinna/ tå måste thet skee medh godha ²⁹² eller medh hunger . ²⁹³	Soll man es gewinnen/ so muss es durch Hunger/ oder Kranckheit geschehen. ²⁹⁴	Castrum hoc... munitum erat... ita ut nonnisi fame vel amica transactione ad deditionem compelli posset. ²⁹⁵

²⁸⁹ “As this conflict was going on, Sir Jacob and Prince Michael set forward to Prince Vasili Shuysky in Moscow, and they had taken in all the castles and cities between Finland and Moscow and between Moscow and St. Nicholas in the span of a year”.

²⁹⁰ “After the conquest of the castle of Dmitrov, the Swedish commander Count Jacob together with the Russian commander set forward to the Grand Prince in Moscow, and they had overmastered all the towns and cities between Finland, Moscow and St. Nicholas in the span of a year”.

²⁹¹ “Such was the way of freeing Moscow from the besiegement that had at last exhausted this large country to such a degree, that there was left no other hope and no other remedy to save it from utmost ruin than with the Swedish military help, which had already relieved all the cities and castles in the south and in the north between the city, Finland and the harbour of St. Nicholas from the fear of the false rule”.

²⁹² On this rare expression, see SAOB s. v. *god* 22b.

²⁹³ “If one needs to overmaster it, it has to be done either amicably or by starvation”.

²⁹⁴ “If one needs to overmaster it, it has to be done either by starvation or by a pestilence”.

²⁹⁵ “This castle was fortified in such a way that it could be compelled to surrender only by starvation or by amicable negotiations”.

The fact that Widekindi refers to the German edition in his marginal note in the appendix means only that he knew this edition. It is not even a quotation: the words *Scribunt Tyrannum de praeda ac manubiis trecentos carros preciosissimis onustos Thessauris avexisse* are borrowed from a work of J. C. Scaliger, mentioned at the same place, and the reference to Petrejus is only supposed to confirm these words. Perhaps Widekindi regarded the information in the German edition of Petrejus (*etliche hundert Wagen*, whereas it is *öffuer 600. wagnar* in the Swedish edition) as more plausible.²⁹⁶ There might be a purely technical explanation as well, as will be shown in the next chapter.

In which language did Widekindi first write the fragments that are based on Petrejus? This question is somewhat more complicated. On the one hand, we have the aforementioned (p. 72) three passages with reproduction of Petrejus' Swedish text in the Swedish text of Widekindi. In the Latin text they are dealt with in different ways: in III.26 there is only a marginal note *De his clarius pluriusque Svecica aeditio*²⁹⁷ instead of the passage; the passages in III.28 and V.5 are translated into Latin with some abridgements.

On the other hand, in most cases the Swedish text of Widekindi corresponds to the text of Petrejus only in its content: in five closely situated cases, namely in II.9, III.9, III.11, III.20 and III.25, including some geographical notes, a corresponding passage is present only in Widekindi's Latin text, and in other cases the passages look approximately the same in both versions – but without any visible reproduction of Petrejus' wording in Widekindi's Swedish text. Theoretically there are three possibilities: 1) the Latin text is translated from a free paraphrase of Petrejus in Widekindi's Swedish; 2) the two versions of Widekindi are based on Petrejus independently from each other; 3) the Swedish text of Widekindi is translated from his Latin.

Against the first possibility witness the following examples:

<i>Sciographia</i> , II, p. 255	<i>Historia Belli</i> , pp. 129–130	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 159
Medhan nu thetta oenigheet således warade/ drogh Her Jacob och Knäs Michael... til Knäs Wasili Zuski vthi Muskow/ och hadhe vti ett heelt åhr intaghet alla	Hic fuit... modus solutae obsidionis Moschuae, qvae... tantum imperium ad extremum ita fatigavit, ut nulla superesset spes et redemptio ab ultima ruina, nisi per auxiliares Svecorum copias, qvae...	Och war nu thenne nästan änden på then... Krijgzmachten/ som hafwer... Ryssland i tu åhr så twingat/ at ingen vthwägh war at bringa thet til rätta igen/ annars/ än igenom the Swenskos

²⁹⁶ *Sciographia*, I, p. 57b; *Historien vnd Bericht*, p. 74.

²⁹⁷ "For these events, see a more clear and detailed account in the Swedish edition".

Slott och Städer som lågo emellan Finland oc Muskow/ och emellan Muskow och S. Nicolai/ och **vppå alla vägar förjagat the Casacker och Poler.**²⁹⁸

jam omnes urbes **castellaque in tractu** Australi Septentrionalique inter urbem et Finlandiam, portumque S. Nicolai sita, falsae dominationis metu... liberassent, **cunctisque itineribus ac viis Cosacos Polonosque depulissent.**²⁹⁹

vndsätning... och war nu Zahren i sin frijheet åter stält/ Belägringen vphäfw/ **all then tracht** på hin sijdan Muskou/ in åt Archangel/ Finland/ Lijff- och Jngermanland ifrån the **Cassakers och Pählers ströfwande Partijer frij giordt.**³⁰⁰

Tractu in the Latin text looks like a bridge from the Swedish Petrejus to the Swedish Widekindi: in the Latin text it does not give any substantially new information, but, remaining in the Swedish text (as *tracht*), substitutes the ‘castles and cities’ there. Further on Widekindi keeps silent in Swedish about the ‘ways’, which are common for the Swedish Petrejus and the Latin Widekindi.

<i>Sciographia</i> , I, p. 103	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 322	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 397
Suchana Elff hafwer sitt vrsprung Tyio mijl offuan för Wolugda aff een Springkella. ³⁰¹	Urbs haec... lapideam arcem accepit... prope fluvium Suchana, qui 10 milliaria supra urbem ex Scaturigine oriens, per	Mitt igenom Staden flyter denne Suchana/ och kommer aldräförst 10 mijl vth om Staden vpspringandes vthur een Källa. ³⁰³

²⁹⁸ “As this conflict was going on, Sir Jacob and Prince Michael set forward to Prince Vasili Shuysky in Moscow, and they had taken in all the castles and cities between Finland and Moscow and between Moscow and St. Nicholas and chased the Cossacks and the Poles away from all the roads in the span of a year”.

²⁹⁹ “Such was the way of freeing Moscow from the besiegement that had at last exhausted this large country to such a degree, that there was no other hope left and no other remedy to save it from utmost ruin than with the Swedish military help, which had already relieved all the cities and castles in the south and in the north between the city, Finland and the harbour of St. Nicholas from the fear of false rule and chased the Cossacks and the Poles away from all the ways and roads”.

³⁰⁰ “And that was almost the end of that military force that had in two years exhausted Russia to such a degree, that there was no way left to fix it up again other than with Swedish help, and the tsar was restored to his freedom, the siege was raised, and all the territory on this side of Moscow up to Arkhangelsk, Finland, Livonia and Ingria was liberated from the drifting bands of the Cossacks and the Poles”.

³⁰¹ “The river Sukhona has its origin from a spring well ten miles above Vologda”.

³⁰³ “This Sukhona flows right through the city, originating from a well ten miles from the city”.

palustria loca manans,
mediam praeterlabitur.³⁰²

In fact, *vth om* here means the same as *offuan för*, because a river running through a town may only have its origin ‘above’ the town (i.e. upstream from it), but the formal coincidence with the wording of Petrejus in Widekindi’s Latin is strange, if we suppose that it is a translation from his own Swedish.

To the shifts of that kind also belongs the abovementioned (p. 69) *Tatariske Ödhemarcker*, rendered as *Tartarorum desertis* in Widekindi’s Latin text, but as a vaguer *Tatariske Gebieter* in his Swedish. Theoretically these examples do not exclude the second possibility, i.e. that the two versions follow Petrejus independently from each other. This possibility is, however, opposed by three other passages. Firstly, II.6:

<i>Sciographia</i> , II, p. 225	<i>Historia Belli</i> , pp. 39–40	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 47
När thetta Breffuet kom til Sandomir/ practicerade Woiwodens Slächt och wänner myckit ther vpå/ at the måtte vpwäckia någhon ny Demetrium/ then the tå på sidstonne fingo/ och funno en vng spitzfundigh karl... Thenne instituerade the vthi alla framfarne Saker... och när han noghsampt vnderwijster	Interea cuditur a Sandomiriensibus fatalis ille totius Moschoviae ruinae tertius Demetrius. Ingenium docile praeteritarum rerum memoria, et artibus sinoniis ³⁰⁵ instruebatur. ³⁰⁶	J medler tijdh draga the Sandomiriske fram then tridie ³⁰⁷ Demetrium, vptänckt och anbracht til heela Rysslandz största Förderff och Vndergång; Then samma/ som han war begåfwat medh ett snålt Ingenio, vnderwijsader wäl vthi gambla Historier/ och forna Tjiders Kunskap. ³⁰⁸

³⁰² “This city had a fortress of stone by the river Sukhona, which flows right through it, after originating from a well ten miles above the city and flowing through marshes”.

³⁰⁵ That *artibus sinoniis* does not have any correspondence in the Swedish text – or has an imprecise one, if we regard *forna Tjiders Kunskap* as such – is quite typical for Widekindi; see below, pp. 147–149.

³⁰⁶ “Meanwhile, the Sandomirians hammer out the third False Dmitry, destined for the ruin of all Russia. His receptive mind was trained in the memory of the previous events and in the skills of Sinon”.

³⁰⁷ On the numbering of the False Dmitrys, see above, n. 138.

³⁰⁸ “Meanwhile, the Sandomirians drew forth the third Dmitry, invented and presented for utmost ruin and destruction of all Russia. He was quick-minded and well versed in the stories of old and the knowledge of ancient times”.

war/ skickade the
honom til Putimel.³⁰⁴

The ambiguous *praeteritarum rerum*, a literal translation of *framfarne Saker*,³⁰⁹ means here, of course, not ‘stories of old’, but approximately ‘the contents of the preceding episodes’: the new impostor has to know exactly what he is supposed to have suffered in Uglich in 1591 and in Moscow 1606. The ambiguity of the Latin expression leads to a funny mistake in the Swedish text, which is consequently to be regarded as a translation from Latin.

Then again VI.13 and the Sukhona river:

<i>Sciographia</i> , I, p. 103	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 322	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 397
Suchana... löper mitt igenom Wolugda Stadh... och sedan åth Vstuga Stadh... Dijt kommer och en annan Elff... som heter Juga/ och falla så både tilhopa nedan för Slottet / ther the mista sina förra namn/ och kallas tilhopa Dwina. ³¹⁰	Suchana... mediam praeterlabitur, latoque alveo Usjugam usque fluit, ubi intra oppidum mixtus Iugae fluvio, mutato nomine dicitur Duina. ³¹¹	Suchana... kommer igenom Staden/ ther hon vthwidgar sigh/ och flyter in åth Vsluga/ hwarest hon tå in om Staden blandar sigh ihoop medh floden Juga/ tå förändrandes sitt namn och kallas Duina. ³¹²

One can ask oneself how ‘downstream’ became *in om* = *intra*. The easiest explanation is the similarity of the letters *t* and *f*: a somewhat inaccurately written letter in the word *infra* could lead to a mistake both in the Swedish text and in the printed Latin text. The efficiency of such an explanation is, in my

³⁰⁴ “When this letter was delivered to Sandomir, the relatives and the friends of the voivode put much effort into raising some new Dmitry, and finally they managed to get hold of one, as they found a young quick-minded man. They informed him about all the previous events and, when he was instructed enough, sent him to Putivl”.

³⁰⁹ Petrejus’ expression itself might look ambiguous, but this ambiguity is, in my opinion, eliminated by the context: a somewhat attentive reader has no chance to interpret *alla framfarne Saker* as the entire history of bygone times not only of general considerations, but also as soon as he or she sees the word *noghsampt* and wonders “enough for what?”

³¹⁰ “Sukhona runs right through the city of Vologda and then towards Ustyug. There comes another river as well, called Yug, and they merge downstream of the castle, where they lose their former names and are together called Dvina”.

³¹¹ “Sukhona runs right through it and with a broad course flows towards Ustyug, where it merges inside the city with the river Yug and changes its name to Dvina”.

³¹² “Sukhona runs through the city, where it broadens and flows towards Ustyug. There, it merges inside the city with the river Yug, changing then its name, and is called Dvina”.

opinion, an argument in favour of the priority of Widekindi's Latin. Another argument is the shift from *Slottet* in the text of Petrejus to *Staden* in the Swedish text of Widekindi. Had *oppidum* as an intermediary not been present here, it would have been worth inventing it, as it usually means 'a fortified inhabited locality', and although usually corresponding in Widekindi's Swedish to *Stad* or *Ort*, may also be found where the Swedish has *slått* and *fästning*.³¹³

One more, perhaps the most interesting, piece of evidence in favour of translation from Latin into Swedish may be found in V.5. Widekindi is telling the story about the murder of the second False Dmitry. According to the sources, a son of a Tatarian murza (i.e. nobleman, in Kobierzycki's account called *Cazimoviensis regulus*, 'a kinglet of Kasimov') lodged information against his own father, and Dmitry ordered the drowning of the murza. The murza had, however, some adherents, and one of them, called Urusov – or *Roslanof*, as Petrejus calls him by reason of his patronymic (Arslanov(ich)) – tried to kill murza's traitorous son for revenge, but accidentally killed another murza, and Dmitry imprisoned him for the murder. This imprisonment, together with the drowning of his patron (the first murza) instigated Urusov to kill Dmitry after his release.

That is how the sources, Petrejus among others, tell this complicated story. Widekindi paraphrases Petrejus and combines him here with Kobierzycki,³¹⁴ but the summary he gives is completely confused:

<i>Historia Belli</i> , pp. 210–211	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , pp. 262–263
Namque referunt hunc Vrozovum diu carcere mulctatum, ob inopinam et fortuitam caedem Mursae cujusdam, quem pro Cazimoviensis Reguli filio trucidasset, quod patri proditorie necem in aqua accelerasset . ³¹⁵	Ty thet berättas at thenne Roslanof hafwer länge suttit inne i Fängelse/ för ett Dråp som han oförwarandes hade begådt på en Murse/ i stället för Konungens Son i Cazimou/ therföre at han hembligen hade låtit dränckia hans Fader . ³¹⁶

³¹³ *Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 93 and 448, corresponding to *Historia Belli*, pp. 75 and 363 respectively.

³¹⁴ *Sciographia*, II, pp. 262–263; Kobierzycki, *Historia Vladislai*, p. 319.

³¹⁵ "Because it is told that this Urusov had for a long time been imprisoned for an unexpected and unwitting murder of some murza, whom he killed instead of the son of the kinglet of Kasimov, because he had traitorously caused the drowning of his father".

³¹⁶ "Because it is told that this Arslanov had for a long time been imprisoned for an unwitting murder of a murza instead of the son of a king in Kasimov, because he had secretly caused the drowning of his father".

To put the things approximately as they were, the Latin text lacks only an addition of something like *quem occidere in animo habebat* ('whom he planned to kill') before *quod*, which can probably even be reconstructed by a perspicacious reader. The Swedish text, on the other hand, is just a mechanical rendering of the Latin one, as becomes clear from the words *hans* and *hembligen*. Instead of *hans* it should be *sijn* – otherwise the subject of the subordinate clause is the False Dmitry³¹⁷ and the conjunction *therföre* is nonsense, because there is no cause-and-effect relationship with what has been said in the main clause. As for *hembligen*, it may often be a translation of *proditorie*, but only in a proper context: here *proditorie* in the Latin text describes the behaviour of the son towards his father, while the Swedish translator seems to be thinking about the False Dmitry as a subject and invents the 'secrecy', not found in Widekindi's sources.

This passage is, along with the aforementioned (pp. 74–75) III.28, interesting in another respect as well: the Swedish translation from Latin stands here just nearby the word-for-word reproduction of Petrejus' Swedish. The flight of Marina Mnischev is also located in a chapter where some passages are already borrowed from Petrejus.

In the light of what we already know about the history of Widekindi's text, it is in my opinion to claim that Widekindi used Petrejus in two stages: firstly paraphrasing him in Latin, then through the addition of the Swedish text into the Swedish version, either simultaneously with or after translating the Latin passages into Swedish. This addition takes place in all three cases in the chapters, where some excerpts from Petrejus were already present and thus prompted Widekindi to consult his source once more.

The influence of "the first Swedish Kremlologist" on the work of his compatriot is relatively modest. Of the six parts of Petrejus' book, Widekindi uses only the first two,³¹⁸ and only from time to time, usually to enrich the

³¹⁷ One may argue that the distinction between *hans* and *sijn* could be somewhat vague in the 17th century Swedish, as is the case in many languages; cf. e.g. *ejus* and *suus* in post-classical Latin. However, among all the (approximately 800) instances of pronoun *hans* in Widekindi's Swedish text I have only found one more example where we would definitely expect a form of *sijn* provided that the distinction followed the norms of today's Swedish (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 508): *Om han hade hafft meera hierta/ och hans Vndersåtares meera troo och stadigheet emoot fienderne* ('If he <viz. Vasily Shuysky> had had more bravery and more faithfulness and firmness of his subjects against the enemies'). This example is dubious: *Vndersåtares* seems to be a misprint for *Vndersåtare*, as the protocol used by Widekindi here (*Riksarkivet, Muscovitica*, vol. 17, fol. 32r) has a nominative (*Vndersåther*) – 'If he had had more bravery and his subjects more faithfulness and firmness against the enemies'.

³¹⁸ An (uncertain) exception is a detail in III.28: Jacob De la Gardie is not deprived of his sword as he comes to an audience with Tsar Vasily Shuysky, as Petrejus mentions in his third book.

information he was already provided with by Kobierzycki. It is always details and short excerpts; Widekindi never transcribes Petrejus page after page, as he transcribes Kobierzycki. Despite the scantiness of the material, it still allows for the claim that Widekindi mostly used the Swedish text of Petrejus, and his way of working with it helps us to get a more nuanced image of the history of Widekindi's own text.

4.3. Other literary sources

Now, apart from Kobierzycki and Petrejus, we turn to the literary sources of secondary importance that were used by the Swedish historiographer sporadically, once or twice. It is hardly possible to reconstruct the entire picture, but some material is enough for an overview.

The main exception from Widekindi's principle of not indicating his sources can be found in an appendix containing a short account of the geographical position and the history of Novgorod, with a remark: *Addendum ad p. 250*. It should have been included in the fifth book, which deals with De la Gardie's military actions in 1611, namely the seizure of Novgorod. This text is apparently a draft, submitted to the printing press at the very last moment: beside its general incoherence, we may note a very confused chronology (Widekindi first talks about events which took place in 1477, in 1494 and 1581, but then goes back to the year 1424 and finally to the 10th century). This draft contains references as well. I have managed to decipher all of them:³¹⁹

Sarnicius = Sarnicius St. *Descriptio Veteris et Novae Poloniae cum divisione eiusdem veteri et nova*. Cracoviae 1585. S. v. *Nouogrod*.

Chytraeo lib. 23. fol. 611. = Chytraeus D. *Saxonia, ab Anno Christi 1500. usque ad annum M.DC. Nunc tertium recognita, et integri Decennij accessione ad praesentem usque M. DC. XI. continuata*. Lipsiae 1611. Pp. 611–612.

Casp. Schulz l. 9. p. 398. = Schütz C. *Historia Rerum Prussicarum*. Danzig 1599. Fol. 398r.

However, Widekindi could borrow this piece of information from De la Gardie's own reports. Cf. also Loccenius, *Historia Rerum Svecicarum* (1662), p. 509.

³¹⁹ In Irina Kulakova's commentaries to this passage in the Russian edition (Videkind 2000: 628–631), Caspar Schütz and Eberhard von Weyhe are not identified; Julius Caesar Scaliger is confused with his son Josef Justus; Chytraeus is identified, but not the exact work by him.

- Crantz. l. 13. c. 15. = Krantzius A. Wandalia. De Wandalorum vera origine, variis gentibus, crebris e patria migrationibus, regnis item, quorum vel autores vel euersores fuerunt. Francofurti 1575. P. 301.
- Waremundus de Erenbergh in meditament. pro foederibus. f. 59. n. 68. =
Waremundus de Erenberg (aka Eberhard von Weyhe). Meditamenta pro foederibus, ex prudentum monumentis discursim congesta, in quibus variae et difficiles attinguntur Politicae quaestiones. Hanoviae 1601. P. 59.
- Christoff. Warsevicius de optimo statu libertatis l. 2. f. 166. = Warsevicius C. De optimo statu libertatis. Cracoviae 1598. P. 166.
- Petrei. p. 2. fol. 74. = Petrus Petreius de Erlesunda. Historien und Bericht von dem Großfürstenthumb Muschkow. Lipsiae 1620. p. 74.
- Scaliger. exerc. 249. f. 799. = Scaliger I. C. Exotericarum Exercitationum Liber XV. De Subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum. Francofurti 1607. P. 799.³²⁰
- Pius 2. in Europa lib. 2. cap. 27. = Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei Senensis... opera quae extant omnia. Basileae 1571. P. 419.
- Chrantz. lib. 11. Vandaliae c. 5. = Krantzius A. Wandalia. De Wandalorum vera origine, variis gentibus, crebris e patria migrationibus, regnis item, quorum vel autores vel euersores fuerunt. Francofurti 1575. P. 251.
- Gvagnin = Guagnini A. Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio, quae regnum Poloniae, Lituaniam, Samogitiam, Russiam, Massoviam, Prussiam, Pomeraniam, Livoniam, et Moschoviae, Tartariaeque partem complectitur. Spira 1581. Fol. 82v–83r.

David Chytraeus (1530–1600), German historian and theologian, is the main source of this appendix. The geographical data in the beginning are for the most part taken from his *Saxonia*.³²¹ The following words, from *Emporium per totam Europam clarissimum to labefactari libertas mercatorum caepit*, are likewise a paraphrase of Chytraeus. The same is true for the entire passage *Anno 1494. Omnes Hansae mercatores... quod jam diu fatiscere caepit*³²² and *In Germanorum cum merces adveniunt... penitus abolita*.

³²⁰ Widekindi's reference is incorrect: it should be *exerc. 259*.

³²¹ The distance to Viborg is probably taken from Petrejus, as well as the mention of the Cathedral of St. Sophia.

³²² Widekindi points out rightly that in the book by another German historian and Chytraeus' contemporary, Caspar Schütz, the reasons for Ivan III's wrath against the Hanseatic merchants are described somewhat differently (*in quibusdam variat*): in Chytraeus, a Russian is burned alive in Reval for sodomy, and the Revalians say that they will do the same to the Grand Prince himself, if he commits such a crime. In Schütz, two Russians are executed, one for sodomy and another for a coinage offence, but it is, along with *andere klagen* of the Russians, the only reason for Ivan's repressive measures, while the personal offense is not mentioned.

The passage on Perun and the remark on the course of Volkhov are taken from *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio* by **Alessandro Guagnini**, a native of Verona, who spent almost all his life in Polish service. Actually he is also the ultimate source for the story of two nobles (*Fuit tunc ex civibus... munusque mittens*), in which he refers to the reign of Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible), not Ivan III who put an end to Novgorod's independence. However, Guagnini's passage (fol. 101) is longer and its phraseology is not as similar to Widekindi's, who tends to abridge passages by excluding some phrases and retaining others rather than by paraphrasing. The key to this riddle is simple. Guagnini treats the episode in the part of his book that is quite remote from the story of the fall of Novgorod, and, most importantly, it is missing in the index. Widekindi took it from another source. This source was **Theodor Zwinger**'s gigantic collection *Theatrum humanae vitae* (Basileae 1604), the text of which (p. 808) is almost identical with that of Widekindi.

Despite the two references we have, Widekindi did not use the famous *Wandalia* of **Albert Crantz** directly (half-seriously, one may add: "because it does not have any index"). The first of these references is taken from *Meditamenta pro foederibus* by Wahremundus ab Ehrenberg (one of the pseudonyms of the early 17th century jurist **Eberhard von Weyhe**), the second is from Zwinger (*Theatrum humanae vitae*, p. 544).

In the main text of Widekindi's work we encounter two other large excursus, this time less draft-like and without any reference clues, namely the excursus on Pskov and on Cossacks.

In the sixth book, Widekindi treats the events that took place after the seizure of Novgorod. The repeated and unsuccessful attempts of Evert Horn to storm Pskov prompt an opportunity to describe its history and topography in the same way as was done in the appendix about Novgorod. The fact that the description of Pskov³²³ is mainly sewn together from two different accounts is obvious because of the awkward repetition of the geographical section, introduced by *ut dixi*. The first half is, again, almost completely taken from Chytraeus, whereas the second originates in *Commentarii de Bello Moscovitico* (pp. 119–121) by the Prussian diplomat and Stephen Báthory's secretary **Reinold Heidenstein**, printed in Basel in 1588. To be more exact, some remarks from Heidenstein are more or less word for word also included in the first half.³²⁴

³²³ *Historia Belli*, pp. 304–308, *Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 374–379.

³²⁴ For the erroneous parenthesis on the name of Princess Olga, probably borrowed from Petrejus, see above, pp. 70–71.

By the seventh book Widekindi had had numerous opportunities to talk about Cossacks (as they were an integral part of both the second and the third False Dmitry's forces and are mentioned *passim* starting from the second book), but it is only here, while describing rather insignificant skirmishes at the beginning of the year 1612, that he takes such an opportunity and dwells upon the subject.³²⁵ The resulting passage is approximately as long as those on Novgorod and Pskov.

Frequent mentioning of Poland in this passage can lead us to a suggestion that the source was Polish, and this proves to be perfectly correct: with slight abbreviations and changes of narrative order, almost everything beginning with the words *in quibus naturae miraculo munitis* is taken from pp. 109–115 of *Commentariorum Chotinensis belli libri tres* (1646), written by **Jakub Sobieski**, Polish politician and father of King John III Sobieski. Widekindi is, however, sincere in claiming the absurd etymology of the word Zaporohenses (*Zaporohenses a voce Tabor dictos puto, quae notat Castra*³²⁶) to be his own. In fact, the etymology becomes clear for a Polish reader as soon as Sobieski mentions the rapids (Porohy) of Dnepr, but Widekindi could hardly be acquainted with Slavonic prefixes and thus missed the point.

Two other phrases in this passage, *praedis ex hostico agendis assueti* and *adversus Turcas* (*quibus fere infensiores ut qui Christiani esse volunt*), are taken from another source, and here we face two problems. First, among the texts which we have already confirmed to be used by Widekindi, there are two (namely Zwinger, p. 4354, and Heidenstein, pp. 10–11) containing these words and a great part of what Widekindi tells in the beginning of this excursus about the rivers Don and Dnepr. Second, Widekindi could have used yet another source here without resorting to any of these two. Anyway, as far as this source or these sources (to which some common reference work obviously belongs, as especially the row of Tanais' epithets suggests) are not found, we shall decide ourselves between the two.

The differences are, indeed, very slight. Still it may be regarded as quite certain that Widekindi used Zwinger here: Heidenstein does not have the introductory words about frequent mentions of Cossacks; the wording of the last phrase is much closer to Zwinger, as is the punctuation and the spelling of the word *Borysthenes*. It would have been, in fact, a surprise if Widekindi had used Heidenstein here: while the siege of Pskov, mentioned above, is an essential part of Stephen Báthory's war with Russia, and it was natural to look

³²⁵ *Historia Belli*, pp. 346–350, *Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 428–433.

³²⁶ “I think that Zaporozhians are so called because of the word ‘tabor’, which means ‘camp’”.

for a description of Pskov there, the mention of Cossacks is somewhat more accidental, and Heidenstein's book does not contain any index.

Among the (still) unidentified parts in the beginning of the excursus, there is a phrase: *Porro tum demum Boristhenes dicitur, cum in Neperum Berisna cadit, vide Leuncl.*³²⁷ Here we have to do with a reference Widekindi forgot to strike out of the Latin version (in the Swedish one it is lacking, as are some other details from the passage). However, just as in the case with Crantz, Widekindi seems to have taken the reference from some other source, as Johannes Löwenklau simply says in his *De Moscorum bellis adversus finitimos gestis commentarius* that Borysthenes is nowadays called Berezina.³²⁸

Apart from the appendix and the two larger excursus, there are many shorter passages on Russian towns. Some of them are, as mentioned above, borrowed from Petrejus, but far from all. The passage on Vologda³²⁹ is an interesting case. Vasily Geyman claims in his commentary to the Russian translation³³⁰ that the passage is borrowed from Petrejus. But the text of Petrejus (*Sciographia*, I, pp. 49, 103) turns out to correspond to approximately only a half of what Widekindi says about Vologda and the Northern river route. Telling about Vologda in *Gustaff Adolphs Historia* (p. 32), Widekindi informs: *Om thenne Stadz och Slotz situation och beqwämligheet til Kiöpenskap/finnes... mehra vthi Oleario och sahl. Ståthållaren Krusenstiernas Tractat om then Moskovitiske Handel.*³³¹ Both references are of no help, as neither sources include passages corresponding to the one by Widekindi, but are still valuable, as they add new pieces to the literature we know to have stood at Widekindi's disposal. An acquaintance with the famous travel-book by Adam Olearius is not surprising; the mention of the diplomat **Philip Crusius von Krusenstiern** (1597–1676) is more interesting. Most probably, Widekindi is talking about his memorandum *Gründtliche Nachricht und Anweisung Worinnen die*

³²⁷ "Further, it is called Borysthenes only after Berezina falls into Dniepr, see Löwenklau".

³²⁸ *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarij Sigismundi Liberi Baronis in Herberstain... His nunc primum accedunt... Commentarius de bellis Moscorum adversus finitimos... scriptus ab Ioanne Leuuenclaio* (Basileae 1571), p. 208.

³²⁹ *Historia Belli*, p. 322, *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 397.

³³⁰ Widekind 2000: 600 n. 376.

³³¹ "About the position of this city and its fortress and its convenience for trade there is more to find in Olearius and in the treaty about the Muscovite trade by the late governor Krusenstiern".

Russische Handlung fürnemblich bestehe from 1646,³³² which has provided him with some information about Dnepr.³³³

So much for the digressions. A few words should also be said about the main narrative. Apart from Kobierzycki and the documents from the time of the war, an important source here is **Axel Oxenstierna**'s sketch about Swedish-Polish relations, *Historica Relatio rerum anno 1625 et sequenti huc usque gestarum inter Regna Sueciae et Poloniae*.³³⁴ It constitutes a base for the preface and for the whole first book of Widekindi's work.³³⁵ Unfortunately, by the time of its publication only an incomplete transcript had been preserved: in the middle of the fragment there is a long lacuna, and the text ends abruptly in the description of the events of the year 1606 (starting from 1598). In Widekindi's work, the first three and a half chapters are completely taken from this sketch; the lacuna begins in the middle of the fourth chapter; the text after it corresponds in Widekindi to chapters 10–16 of the first book, although this time with significant additions from Kobierzycki. Here is an example of what a combination of Oxenstierna and Kobierzycki looks like:

³³² The manuscript was held in the Royal Library in Stockholm, but in 1912 it was sent to the library of Kiev, and its further fate is unknown. However, a transcript is preserved in Uppsala (Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, L 161). See von Krusenstjern 1976: 32.

³³³ See above, pp. 69–70.

³³⁴ Published 1888 in the first volume of the still ongoing edition of Oxenstierna's writings (AOSB I:1, pp. 239–246). The fact that Widekindi uses this text has been noted by its editors (AOSB I:1, p. 244 n.).

³³⁵ Cf. above, pp. 44 and 67–68.

Sic deluso Gudenovio personatus Demetrius, subnixus copiis Sandomiriensibus et plurimis voluntariis Polonis, qui aut odio gentis Moschicae, aut spe praedae pellecti, exercitum ejus auxerant, confinia ingressus, paratam seditiosorum trahebat manum³³⁶ (*Relatio*, p. 245).

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Tum... crebrescit, superstitem esse Demetrium... apud imperitissimi cujusque promptas aures, aut rursum apud turbidos, saevaque Itoduni tyrannide fessos, eoque nova cupientes. Vulgabatur interim per Moschoviam credebaturque, finitimas arces passim metu, passim sponte, adventantis novi Ducis accepisse imperium³³⁷ (*Historia Vladislai*, pp. 58–59).

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Et deluso Gudenovio personatus Demetrius primo subnixus copiis Sandomiriensibus et plurimis Polonis, qui aut studio novitatis, aut odio gentis, aut spe praedae pellecti exercitum ejus auxerant, confinia ingressus paratam seditiosorum manum invenit, quae passim metu, passim sua sponte adventantis novi Ducis accepit imperium³³⁸ (*Historia Belli*, pp. 23–24).

It is difficult to decide which parts of chapters 5–9 originate from Oxenstierna; the editors of his text are talking about ‘significant additions’ from elsewhere, but apart from a couple of phrases from Kobierzycki and the digression on Prince Gustav, mentioned above,³³⁹ I have identified only the source for the parenthesis on the origins of Muscovy in the beginning of the fifth chapter: it

³³⁶ “As Godunov was deceived in this way, the False Dmitry, supported by the force from Sandomir and by many Polish volunteers, who had enlarged his army either due to their hate for the Russian people or attracted by the hope for booty, led a ready band of rebels, as he crossed the border”. The suggestion that the ‘ready band of rebels’ witnesses the use of Petrejus (Videkind 2000: 566 n. 43) is consequently a blunder.

³³⁷ “Then through the ready ears of the most ignorant people or among those who were unruly, tired of Godunov’s harsh tyranny and therefore eager for a change, the rumour spreads that Dmitry is alive. Meanwhile, it was told and believed all over Russia that the border fortresses, here from fear and there voluntarily, swore allegiance to the new prince as he reached them”.

³³⁸ “As Godunov was deceived, the False Dmitry, originally supported by the force from Sandomir and by many Poles, who had enlarged his army either due to their desire for adventures or their hate to the nation or attracted by the hope for booty, crossed the border and found a ready band of rebels, which, here from fear and there voluntarily, swore allegiance to the new prince as he reached them”.

³³⁹ Pp. 67–68.

is taken from Chytraeus' *Saxonia* again (p. 22). To be exact, chronologically we cannot exclude that it was Oxenstierna who used Chytraeus' text here, but it looks unlikely because a digression of several lines on the ancient history of Russia is somewhat out of place in his fairly concise essay on recent Swedish-Polish relations. In Widekindi's narrative it is far more appropriate.

The text of Oxenstierna could go on to some extent into the second book of Widekindi. In the later parts of the work it might occasionally have been used for the description of Swedish-Polish negotiations about the armistice in 1611 and later.

The sketch of Oxenstierna influences the style of Widekindi's first book significantly. The opening sentence of the main text is 155 words long, and so it goes on, with mile-long periods and a very high (1.4–2.0) number of substantives per verb form. As soon as Kobierzycki takes over as the main source, Widekindi's text becomes more simple and moderate. This shift is perhaps the main stylistic drawback of the text, which is otherwise quite elegant and pleasant to read.³⁴⁰

The official reasons for the murder of the first False Dmitry at the end of the first book (chapters 16–17) cannot be found in either Oxenstierna or Kobierzycki. They are a summary (with some obvious phrasal correspondences) of pp. 45–48 of the anonymous pamphlet *Tragoedia Moscovitica, sive de vita et morte Demetrii, qui nuper apud Ruthenos Imperium tenuit, narratio*, edited in 1608 by Cologne typographer Gerhard Grevenbruch.³⁴¹ Here, as elsewhere, Widekindi feels quite comfortable in using a source with a strong pro-Polish (in this case also Jesuitic) tendency and changing it in a way similar to how he sometimes changes Kobierzycki: here, for example, the words *largitionibus in ganeones, parasitos, citharoedos, et id genus homines*³⁴² are turned to *largitiones nimiae in Polonos, Ganeones, Parasitos, Musicos, etc.*³⁴³ It may be added that the opening words of chapter 5 *Russia seu Roxolania* (which are followed by the parenthesis from Chytraeus mentioned above) recall the opening words of the *Tragoedia*: *Russia, quae etiam Roxolania dicitur*.

Before Widekindi the Swedish involvement in Russian events at the beginning of the 17th century had been touched upon by another

³⁴⁰ Geyman's (or, most probably, his colleague Sergey Anninsky's) harsh criticism of Widekindi's language and style (Geyman 2000: 520) can only be explained by an insufficient familiarity with Neo-Latin literature in general and by the ambition to vilify the author, all too apparent throughout the article.

³⁴¹ Since 1609 a copy of *Tragoedia* could be found in Sweden (see Tarkiainen 1970: 117).

³⁴² "By the presents given to gluttons, parasites, musicians and other persons of this kind".

³⁴³ "The excessive presents given to Poles, gluttons, parasites, musicians etc."

historiographer of the Realm, namely **Johannes Loccenius** in the 2nd edition of his *Historia rerum Svecicarum* (1662). His account (pp. 507–513, 529–530) is rather short, but there appear obvious correspondences with Widekindi's wording in describing the treaty of Viborg³⁴⁴ and the seizure of Novgorod.³⁴⁵ In the former case (the treaty of Viborg) it looks like the two had a common source: it is only the opening words of the summary that coincide, while the rest of it significantly diverges.³⁴⁶ The source here could be the lost part of Oxenstierna's *Relatio*. As for the seizure of Novgorod, it is not to exclude that Widekindi borrowed some phrases from Loccenius.

To make the picture of the literary sources of the main narrative more complete, one should also mention *De motu civili in Polonia* by **Stanisław Łubieński**, published in his *Opera posthuma* (Antverpiae 1643), and *Chronica Gestorum in Europa Singularium* (Cracoviae 1645) by **Paweł Piasecki**.³⁴⁷ Widekindi quotes each of them once: Łubieński when describing the council in Poland about waging war against Muscovy,³⁴⁸ and Piasecki when talking about the beginning of the second False Dmitry's campaign.³⁴⁹ In both cases, the authors could be "suggested" to Widekindi by Kobierzycki, who (being more generous as regards references) mentions them in the margin here and there.

To summarize, Widekindi used as sources mainly Neo-Latin historical works, often connected with Poland. As we have already mentioned, from the middle of the 1650s he took care of Axel Oxenstierna's library. The main part of this book collection was, until the 1670s, held in the castle of Tidö, not far from Västerås;³⁵⁰ in 1732, a catalogue presumably describing the collection was published under the title *Catalogus librorum, qui in bibliothecis illustrium qorundam virorum, hoc tempore reperiuntur, et Holmiae vel simul, tota bibliotheca, vel separatim per partes, indigenis et exoticis, jam nunc usque ad finem mensis junii anni subsequentis: venduntur*.

³⁴⁴ *Historia rerum Svecicarum*, p. 507; *Historia Belli*, p. 53.

³⁴⁵ *Historia rerum Svecicarum*, p. 512; *Historia Belli*, pp. 247, 250–251.

³⁴⁶ The only thing Loccenius mentions afterwards is the ceding of Kexholm, while Widekindi (on whose account see below, pp. 94–98) omits this very detail.

³⁴⁷ The use of them by Widekindi has been previously noted by Almquist (Almquist 1907: 117 n. 1, 161 n. 4).

³⁴⁸ *Historia Belli*, pp. 90–91, from pp. 156–157 in Łubieński's book.

³⁴⁹ *Historia Belli*, pp. 39–40, from p. 253 in Piasecki's book.

³⁵⁰ Carlander 1904: 56–58; AOSB I:1, p. XI.

Indeed, it turns out that this catalogue contains quite a few of the printed sources used by Widekindi in *Historia*, namely:³⁵¹

Descriptio Sarmatiae Europae by A. Guagnini (1581) – p. 45, № 379 in the catalogue

Theatrum vitae humanae by Th. Zwinger (1604) – p. 67, № 568

Opera posthuma by S. Łubieński (1643) – p. 86, № 701

Chronica gestorum in Europa singularium by P. Piasecki (1645) – p. 87, № 711

Opera omnia (1571) by E. S. Piccolomini – p. 91, № 735

Preussische Chronica by C. Schütz (1599) – p. 103, № 826

Commentariorum Chotinensis belli libri III by J. Sobieski (1646) – p. 147, № 212

De optimo statu libertatis libri II by Ch. Warsevicius (1598) – p. 165, № 379

*Mußkowitzische Chronica*³⁵² by P. Petrejus (1620) – p. 197, № 612

De bello Moscovitico Stephani Regis Poloniae commentariorum libri VI by R. Heidenstein (1588) – p. 233, № 874

Exotericarum exercitationum libri XV by J. C. Scaliger (1576) – p. 373, № 600

Meditamenta pro foederibus by E. von Weyhe aka W. de Ehrenberg (1641–42) – p. 401, № 877

The presence of the German version of Petrejus in Oxenstierna's library is interesting, while the catalogue does not contain the Swedish one. As mentioned above, it is just the German version Widekindi refers to in the Appendix about Novgorod. So the reason for this could be a technical one, if the excerpts for the appendix were taken in the Oxenstierna library and the main text written elsewhere, with the Swedish Petrejus at hand. This suggestion is, however, doomed to remain highly speculative.

Apart from Krusenstiern's treaty and *Tragoedia Moscovitica*, Widekindi does not use works dealing specifically with Russian affairs. This is especially remarkable if one considers how many descriptions of Russia had been produced in Western Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries, and how rich Swedish book collections were in this respect.³⁵³ the royal historiographer could hardly lack access to a couple of volumes of that kind. Thus the

³⁵¹ If we compare this list with the catalogue of Widekindi's own library (see above, pp. 14–15), we will find out that the latter only contains Piasecki, Sobieski and Warsevicius. However, a copy of Kobierzycki's *Historia Vladislai*, absent in Oxenstierna's library, found its way onto the historiographer's bookshelf.

³⁵² So in the catalogue, *Historien vnd Bericht* is meant.

³⁵³ See Tarkiainen 1970: 114–117.

researcher dealing with passages like those treated here seeks almost automatically for traces of Sigismund Herberstein, Adam Olearius, Antonio Possevino and other famous names primarily associated with European Rossica-literature³⁵⁴ – but, apart from the scarce traces of the Herbersteinian tradition and a mention of Olearius in *Gustaff Adolphs Historia*, none of these authors seems to have been, to a significant degree, used by Widekindi. Considering this, as well as the scarceness of notes on Russian historical and geographical conditions in the text and Widekindi's rather calm and indifferent way to speak of Russians themselves (cf. the emotional and moralizing accounts of many previous authors like Petrejus or Olaus Magnus), we may perhaps perceive some details of Widekindi's attitude to his text. The learned digressions are a rare and secondary decoration to the text, making it a bit less monotonous – but they are not the main scope of the work. Widekindi is writing about political and military processes, about Jacob De la Gardie's glorious deeds, about treacherous Poles and so on, not about an exotic country in the East. This also fits well into his main project – to write about the recent history of Swedish-Polish relations.

4.4. Documentary sources

So far we have treated Widekindi's literary sources. Apart from these, the historiographer of the Realm had access to rich archive materials,³⁵⁵ some of them not preserved – this is what actually makes Widekindi's work valuable for modern historians.

The two main archives used by Widekindi for his work were the De la Gardie family archive and the Swedish National Archives, established in 1618. There is good extrinsic evidence for Widekindi's work at the National Archives, beginning from at least 1667.³⁵⁶ In fact, De la Gardie's reports and other documents relevant for Widekindi in the De la Gardie archive must also have been accessible for him through the National Archives – moreover, the National Archives must have contained the originals of the reports, whereas De la Gardie's family archive had drafts and copies. Still, there are good

³⁵⁴ The commentators of the Russian translation go so far as to claim that Widekindi 'must have known' Herberstein, Possevino and Paul Oderborn, but do not give any textual evidence for it (Kovalenko et al. 2000: 541–542).

³⁵⁵ For the passages where Widekindi combines literary and documentary sources to describe the same events, see the chapter on Kobierzycki.

³⁵⁶ Bergh 1916: 419, 427–428.

reasons to suggest that the work was in its initial phase largely conducted at the family archive. The National Archives were not open for the public, and Widekindi could not use them until he became the historiographer of the Realm in 1665, whereas we know from Widekindi's letters that the work (for which De la Gardie's reports were crucial) was in full swing as early as in 1662–1663.³⁵⁷ Another detail to take into account is Widekindi's own words in the dedicatory letter to the Latin edition: the documents used for the work are said to be dug out *e mortuorum scriniis* ('from the cases of the deceased'), a phrase somewhat more likely to imply Jacob De la Gardie than the Swedish Empire.

A large part of the documents used by Widekindi (or directly related to them, like copies, drafts and translations) is preserved to this day. The most obvious losses are De la Gardie's reports from the beginning of the campaign until July 1610, forming the base for large passages in Widekindi's books 3 and 4. The collection from De la Gardie's family archive, now located at the University of Tartu, mainly consists of the documents from the later period,³⁵⁸ and the incoming letters at the National Archives perished in the fire of 1697.

Other archives can have been consulted as well, but their significance for the work as a whole is marginal. At the beginning of book 10 the historiographer informs us that he quotes Gustavus Adolphus' speech at Helsingfors Riksdag in 1616 according to the autograph found by him at the library of Johan Skytte.³⁵⁹ At the end of book 8, a letter by Evert Horn to his brother Henrik is quoted (only in the Swedish version): it has been regarded as a reason to assume that Widekindi also had access to the archive of the Horn family.³⁶⁰ In my opinion, however, a report concerning the conditions of the Swedish army, sent from a high-ranking Swedish commander to a high-ranking Swedish diplomat does not necessarily need to have formed a part of a family archive rather than the National Archives.

Several times Widekindi complains about not being able to find the information he looks for in the documents.³⁶¹ The most conspicuous example

³⁵⁷ See above, pp. 40–41.

³⁵⁸ A catalogue of the collection was published by Johannes Lossius (Lossius 1882). Soon afterwards, some more boxes containing vitally important documents were rediscovered and catalogued by Benjamin Cordt (Cordt 1894). A recent overview of the significance of the De la Gardie collection in Tartu for the historical research on the Time of Troubles is Rabinovich 2013.

³⁵⁹ *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 727.

³⁶⁰ Kovalenko et al. 2000: 545.

³⁶¹ *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 473, 600–601, 640.

is the siege of Pskov by Gustavus Adolphus in book 9. Widekindi suddenly stops his narrative and inserts (in small print) the following note:³⁶²

Particularia huru wijdare medh Belägringen passerat är/ finner iagh intet igen/
effter Kongl. May:t/ til hwilken Breff och Relationer gingo/ war dher vthi sielff
tilstades; Wore någon/ antingen hwilkens Förfäder hade warit thär före/ och
något vptecknadt/ eller något Breff funnes til någon skrifwit/ beder iagh at han
wille migh dher om communicera, effter iagh seer at dhe främmande i sijna
Skriffter hålla dhenna Belägringen mycket notabel.³⁶³

All in all, several hundred documents (mainly letters) were used. Many of them are referred to without any precision, such as ‘Jacob De la Gardie reported to the King that...’; in certain cases the sender or the addressee remains unclear. For 93 documents Widekindi indicates the date,³⁶⁴ more rarely also the place of issue. These references are always included into the main text, apart from book 3, which includes 13 marginal references.³⁶⁵ Books 1 and 2 do not have

³⁶² *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 656.

³⁶³ “I cannot find the details of the further development of this siege, as the king, to whom the letters and the reports were addressed, was present there himself. If there is anybody having an ancestor who was present there and had written something down or if there is any letter addressed to somebody, please let me know about it, as I see that the foreigners hold this siege as a very notable one”. Believe it or not, some of Widekindi’s contemporaries seem to have been patient enough to reach the 656th page of the Swedish version. In Widekindi’s later work, *Gustaff Adolphs Historia*, where he, as regards the Russian affairs, only repeats the Swedish text of *Krijgz-Historie*, some more details about the siege are added, with a reference to a letter from the famous Swedish clergyman Johannes Rudbeckius to his less famous acquaintance Jacobus Zebrozyntius, the future bishop in Strängnäs. Albeit Rudbeckius was the sender, and not the addressee, we can assume that it was his son, Nicolaus Rudbeckius, who helped Widekindi here. He was closely acquainted with the historiographer (in the title of a congratulatory poem written by Widekindi in 1671 Rudbeckius is addressed as “Fautori, amico, denique affini”) and was, on the other hand, hardly unaware of the fact that his father had participated in the siege of Pskov as a field chaplain in the Swedish army.

³⁶⁴ I have managed to find 19 more references of this kind in the passages of *Gustaff Adolphs Historia* which Widekindi copied from *Krijgz-Historie*, and 26 more references in the dedicatory manuscript of *Gustaff Adolphs Historia* (Kungliga Biblioteket, ms. D 618). About a dozen documents used by Widekindi were identified by Helge Almquist, see footnotes in Almquist 1907 and in Almquist 1908. Almquist has also left many references to Widekindi in the margins of his transcripts of diverse documents from the beginning of the 17th century (Riksarkivet, Helge Almquists manuskript- och avskriftssamling, E 6797).

³⁶⁵ Regarding all Widekindi’s references, a high degree of cautiousness should be recommended. The dates are as distorted as all the numbers in the book; besides that, combinations of two documents are sometimes referred to as one, e.g. “Dat. Wästeråhs den 2. Febr. 1612” (*Krijgz-*

any precise references to the letters, and the imprecise ones can have been borrowed from elsewhere – this is at least true for the correspondence between Vasily Shuysky and Sigismund in II.2, and for Ivan Bolotnikov’s letter to Sandomir in II.4; Petrejus is the source in both cases.

The ways in which Widekindi quotes the documents vary from simple mentions and very short paraphrases to long literal quotations. Several documents, like the Treaty of Stolbovo (book 10), are rendered in their entirety, but many of the approximately two dozen quotations *designed as quotations*³⁶⁶ are preceded or followed by expressions which imply some kind of shortening,³⁶⁷ such as *pressiori stylo interseram, breviter eodem tenore quo perscripta sunt... intersero, cum literis... hoc fere sensu perscriptis*.³⁶⁸ This is particularly the case with Russian documents used by Widekindi in German translation.

On the other hand, many documents are, just like the literary sources, quoted word for word without any indication of the source or any quotation marking at all. A prominent example is Evert Horn’s report from 23 May 1610, occupying several pages in book 4; another is the protocol of negotiations in Viborg on 28 August 1613, representing almost a tenth of book 8. Both these documents fit well for Widekindi’s purposes: the former is a concise report about a three-month-long campaign; the latter provides a rare opportunity to insert a direct speech into the narrative.

The character of Widekindi’s documentary sources and their treatment in the two versions allows the work to be divided into three parts: 1) books 1–2; 2) books 3–7; 3) books 8–10.

Part 1: books 1–2

In fact, book 1 seems to be completely based on the literary sources accounted for above. If there were any documents used for it, they completed the narrative in chapter 9 (the notes on Swedish-Russian relations during the rule of Boris

Historie, p. 455) after a mixture of Gustavus Adolphus’ letters from 3 March and 30 April 1613.

³⁶⁶ I.e., in most cases, given in small print.

³⁶⁷ The list of the 18 documents quoted ‘without any visible omissions’ given in the Russian edition (Kovalenko et al. 2000: 543–544) does not take this piece of information into account.

³⁶⁸ “I will insert in an abridged form”, “I am inserting it briefly in the same sense as it is written”, “with a letter written approximately in this sense”.

Godunov), but the lacuna in Oxenstierna's *Relatio* makes it difficult to make any suggestions on that matter.

In book 2 there are two passages describing Russian-Swedish relations, plausibly based on documentary sources, namely chapter 5 and chapters 10–15 (or 9–15). There is, however, no apparent difference in the character of Widekindi's Swedish text and its correspondence to the Latin one compared to book 1 and other chapters of book 2: the two texts follow each other very closely, without any significant omissions in either of them.

The narrative in the first two books being very concise, it is difficult to identify specific documents that were used. Some conclusions can, however, be drawn. Firstly, we are most probably not dealing with one single narrative source such as Oxenstierna's *Relatio* – instead Widekindi makes use of several documents. This is suggested by the fact that Philipp Scheding is introduced as the governor of Narva twice.³⁶⁹

Identifiable documents in this part of the text are a letter exchange between Swedish representatives in Viborg and the governor of Nöteborg,³⁷⁰ a letter exchange between the Swedes and Mikhail Skopin-Shuysky in 1608,³⁷¹ the preliminary treaty between Skopin-Shuysky and the Count aff Mansfeldt in the autumn of 1608,³⁷² the protocol of the negotiations of Viborg in February 1609³⁷³ and, finally, the treaty of Viborg. Most of these documents seem to have perished – the events described are only echoed in other historical sources.³⁷⁴

An important exception is the treaty of Viborg. The ultimate source is preserved (published in *Sveriges traktater*). There, the treaty occupies 11 pages; in Widekindi's Latin text it is just 214 words long, in the Swedish one 342 words, that is, Widekindi's passage is a very short paraphrase of the treaty.

There are no major differences between Widekindi's Latin and his Swedish here either, but the following details suggest that Widekindi first paraphrased the treaty in Latin, and afterwards this paraphrase was translated into Swedish:

- 1) Widekindi's Swedish text does not bear any resemblance to the wording of the original, to such an extent that Koporye, Yama and Ivangorod districts are called *länder*, whereas the source has *lhän*; the

³⁶⁹ *Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 43, 54; *Historia Belli*, pp. 37, 45.

³⁷⁰ *Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 44–46; *Historia Belli*, pp. 37–39.

³⁷¹ *Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 54–56; *Historia Belli*, pp. 45–47.

³⁷² *Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 56–57; *Historia Belli*, pp. 47–48.

³⁷³ *Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 60–63; *Historia Belli*, pp. 50–52.

³⁷⁴ See Almquist 1907: 105–135.

paraphrase is, to be sure, quite short, but on other occasions when Widekindi's Swedish text is a direct paraphrase of a Swedish document, even if it is a very short paraphrase of a very long document (as, for instance, is the case with the acts of Örebro Riksdag, used at the beginning of book 9) *Krijgz-Historie* contains a lot of expressions borrowed from the source or close modifications of them;

- 2) let us take a look at the words and phrases present in only one of the versions:

No	The text of the treaty	<i>Historia Belli</i>	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i>
1	zaar och storfurste Wasilij Iwanowitz ³⁷⁵	Basilio Suischio	Stoor-Försten Vasilivitz Suischi ³⁷⁶
2	femtusendh man ³⁷⁷	quinque millia lectorum militum ³⁷⁸	5000 Män
3	huadh som gifues wår stormechtigste konungz och herres krigzfolck, medan the ther wistes, till prowiantt, att thett skall icke sätties them för dyrtt, vthan som thett går och geller emellan Rysserne sielfue ³⁷⁹	necessaria victui et amictui, pretio genti vsitato... militibus emenda exhiberet ³⁸⁰	at erläggia hwad som til Kläder och Födo kunde behöfwas för Soldaterne ³⁸¹
4	då hafue the, på theres zaar och	liberum transitum ex Finlandia per	skulle han effterlåta våra fritt fahra vtur

³⁷⁵ "Tsar and Grand Prince Vasily Ivanovich".

³⁷⁶ "Grand Prince Vasily Shuysky".

³⁷⁷ "Five thousand men".

³⁷⁸ "Five thousand select soldiers".

³⁷⁹ "What is given as provisions to the soldiers of our powerful king and lord, while they are sojourning there, should not be supplied to them too expensively, but rather at the price usual among the Russians themselves".

³⁸⁰ "That he would supply the soldiers with what is needed of food and clothes for the price usual in this nation".

³⁸¹ "To supply what the soldiers could need of clothes and food".

	storfurstes wegne, tilsagdt wår stormechtigste konung och dett Suenske herredömes krigzfolch... friitt durchtog för theres peninger egenom theres zaar och storfurstes landh, Coporie, Jama och Iwangorodtz lhänn och till Narfuen ³⁸²	tractum Coporiensem, Jamensem et Ivanogrodiensem, Narvam versus concederet ³⁸³	Finland genom Coporien/ Jamas och Jwangorodtz Länder/ in åth Narfwen öfwer åth Lijffland ³⁸⁴
5	mån de som icke wele gifue sigh vnder Wasilij Iwanowitz, dem skole the förföllie såsom fiendher ³⁸⁵	abnuentes armis persequerentur ³⁸⁶	och the som annorledes sinnade woro/ och höllo med the Påler och Demetrio , them medh Swärd förföllia ³⁸⁷
6	Och wår stormechtigste konungz och herres folck skole ingelunde, widh lifzstraf, biifalla Wasilij Iwanowitzes fiender eller hafue	Nec ulla collusio fieret cum utriusque hostibus ³⁸⁹	Jngen skulle med entheras Fiender/ hafwa något hemligt för Händer ³⁹⁰

³⁸² “Then, on behalf of their tsar and grand prince, they have allowed free passage for the soldiers of our powerful king and the Swedish dominion for their own expenses through the land of their tsar and grand prince, Koporye, Yama and Ivangorod provinces to Narva”.

³⁸³ “That he would allow a free passage from Finland through the territories of Koporye, Yama and Ivangorod towards Narva”.

³⁸⁴ “That he would allow our troops to freely pass from Finland through the lands of Koporye, Yama and Ivangorod into Narva and over towards Livonia”.

³⁸⁵ “But they will persecute as enemies those who do not want to swear allegiance to Vasily Ivanovich”.

³⁸⁶ “That they would persecute the dissidents”.

³⁸⁷ “And to persecute with sword those who are of different mind and adhere to the Poles and Dmitry”.

³⁸⁹ “And there should not be any collusion with each other’s enemies”.

³⁹⁰ “Nobody should have any secret affairs with the enemies of the other”.

Thus, one of the two phrases present only in Latin has correspondence in the source (3), and the other is an addition (2). Three of the four phrases present only in Swedish are added by Widekindi himself (4–6), and the only one which has correspondence in the source (1) concerns the title of Vasily Shuysky, a piece of information which is by that time obvious for both the historiographer and his reader, and could be added or left out irrespectively of the wording of the source and the Latin text;³⁹¹

- 3) the difference that seems to be the most important is the phrase *cum alterius ignorantia, dissensu vel exclusione*³⁹² in Widekindi's Latin text, corresponding to *vthan then andras wettskap/ tilstånd och frija wilia*³⁹³ in his Swedish. Each of the three Latin substantives – *ignorantia, dissensus, exclusio* – is motivated by the wording of the source: there,³⁹⁴ the Swedes are not allowed to make peace with Poland without *wett och willie*³⁹⁵ of the Russians, the Russians are not allowed to make peace with Poland without *wettskap och willie* of the Swedes – *män huar så skedde*,³⁹⁶ i.e. if one of the parts makes peace with Poland, the other (Russian or Swedish) side should be *vthi samme friidsfördragett ingrepen medh*³⁹⁷ – hence *exclusio*. In Widekindi's Swedish version, however, *frija wilia*, the last of the three coordinated parts, is nothing but a variation of *tilstånd*. There are similar occasions in Widekindi's work, where a synonym is added in Swedish so that the number of coordinated parts is equal to their number in the Latin text (from which the Swedish text is translated in these passages), without rendering the full meaning.³⁹⁸

³⁸⁸ “And the soldiers of our powerful king and lord will in no way, under death penalty, adhere to the enemies of Vasily Ivanovich or have some community with them”.

³⁹¹ On the general predilection for titles in the Swedish version, see below, p. 159.

³⁹² “The other side being unaware, discordant or excluded”.

³⁹³ “Without knowledge, permission and free will of the other side”.

³⁹⁴ *Sverges traktater*, pp. 166–167.

³⁹⁵ “Knowledge and will”.

³⁹⁶ “But if it happens”.

³⁹⁷ “Included into the same peace treaty”.

³⁹⁸ E.g. *astu et opera* (*Historia belli*, p. 14) is translated as *list och ilfundigheet* (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 13), and *gloriae et ditionum* (*Historia Belli*, p. 114) as *ähra och mannligheet* (*Krijgz-*

However, it is not certain that Widekindi used the treaty itself: the opening phrases in his summary stand very closely to the wording of Loccenius (see above, p. 88), and the existence of an intermediary Latin-language source is thus undoubtable – the question is if it was only this source that was consulted by the author or the treaty itself had been in use as well. Still, apart from the treaty of Viborg, there are also some further reasons to consider the Latin text as the primary one in the whole second half of book 2:

- Russian patronymics and surnames are mechanically (and every time erroneously) deducted from their unremarkable and quite normal latinizations: *Glebovitzi*, *Golowi* and *Rostovi* from *Glebovitzius*, *Golovino* and *Rostovius* respectively in chapter 9, *Ododurofi* from *Ododurofio* in chapter 13³⁹⁹
- the *straxt* ('immediately') in the phrase *Smolenskou (hvilken aff Konungen i Påländ straxt bleff belägrat)*⁴⁰⁰ looks strange, as the siege commenced more than a year after the described events, a fact perfectly known to Widekindi, who will return to this siege several times in books 3–6; it must be an inaccurate translation of the vaguer *mox* ('soon') from the Latin text
- the Swedish text informs us that Mikhail Skopin-Shuysky will afterwards sometimes be called *Scopin* (*then wij här effter vndertijden läre kalla Scopin*⁴⁰¹). The name occurs in the next sentence, then again three pages later and... not a single time more in the whole text of *Krijgz-Historie* – the prince, who is a prominent character in book 3, is constantly called *Knäs Michael* there. The remark (*Scopini nomine in posterum nobis memorandum*,⁴⁰² note the absence of 'sometimes') is much more in its place in the Latin text, where Widekindi, like Kobierzycki, indeed usually calls the prince simply *Scopinus*

Historie, p. 140). More generally, there is a tendency (not restricted to the translation from Latin into Swedish) to adjust the quantity of coordinated elements in one version to the other without necessarily rendering the meaning of each of them; in such a way *minis precibus promissis* (*Historia Belli*, p. 86) corresponds to *medh straff/ hoot och goda ordh* (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 106) and *arma, viros, equos, lembos* (*Historia Belli*, pp. 278–279) to *Båtar/ Pråmar och Pinasser/ samt all Krijgzrustning* (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 343).

³⁹⁹ Note also *Vasili* for the expected *Vasilivitz* on pp. 53 and 61. When Widekindi further on in the text sees a patronymic in his Swedish/German source and follows this source without Latin mediation, the patronymic is never distorted into the first name as it is here.

⁴⁰⁰ "Smolensk, which was immediately besieged by the Polish king" (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 53).

⁴⁰¹ "Whom we will further on sometimes call Skopin" (*ibid.*).

⁴⁰² *Historia Belli*, p. 45.

To sum up: in the passages of book 2 presumably based on documentary sources, the documents are most probably first paraphrased in Latin and then this paraphrase translated into Swedish.

Part 2: books 3–7

Book 3 has an introductory note about the sources: Widekindi states that from now on his narrative will be more detailed as he is now provided with the letters of the characters themselves. Although the whole paragraph is a slight modification of a passage from Kobierzycki,⁴⁰³ it describes the change that actually takes place: from now on Widekindi's narrative is more detailed and to a large extent based on Jacob De la Gardie's reports.

A comparison of Widekindi's two versions with the text of De la Gardie's reports leads to two important observations. On the one hand, there are clear literal correspondences between De la Gardie and Widekindi's Swedish text, e.g.

De la Gardie to Charles IX, 1 April 1611	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 282
Och sender iagh EKMT i vnderdånighz här hooss een afrihtningh, huru lägenheeterne i Ladga siön förewete, så wore och gott, att een schantz måtte förfärdiges vdi Nyen, sex miler ifrån Nötheborgh, opå den ort, som EKMTz skantz mestare hafwer lägenheeterne afseedt, och weet EKMT der om v. berättelse göre.	Herr IACOB sände thesslijkest til Kongl. May:t en grundligh Affrijtning/ huru lägenheeterne wedh Laduga Siön/ och the andre Hampnerne ther omkring/ förewettade/ vnderwijsandes huru höghnödigt thet wore/ at en Skantz måtte byggias widh Nyen/ Sex mijlar ifrån Nötheborg/ och förthenskul sände han Skantzmästaren/ som Orthen besedt/ och om honom beskedh wiste/ til Kongl. May: i Stockholm/ at ther om göra nogare berättelse.
De la Gardie to the dowager queen, 8 May 1612	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 435
Om han wore denn sanschyllige Jwan Wasillivitz szonn då begäre de honom till sigh för deris Storförste, effter såsom de oppå sådant förbeholdh honom tilförende sworitt haffwa. Huar	Ther han wiste sigh wara den sanschyllige Ivan Vasilivitz son/ tå äskade the honom til sigh för en Storförste/ aldenstund the honom tilförende på sådant förbehåll swurit

⁴⁰³ See above, pp. 51–52.

och icke, så wele de medh honom inthett haffwa att schaffa.	hade; hwar och icke tå wille the medh honom intet hafwa at beskaffa.
De la Gardie to Gustavus Adolphus, 6 July 1613	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 497
Så såghe iagh fördenskuldh gärne, att iagh dher medh måtte förshåntt bliffwe, effter iagh heller lust haffwer migh i krigzsaker änn yttermere bruka lathe.	Men H. Iacob begärte på thet vnderdånigste at ther medh blifwa förskont/ effter han hade meera lust sigh i krigzsakerne bruka låta.

On the other hand, there are passages where the Latin text stands closer to the source⁴⁰⁴ or, more importantly, looks like an intermediate step between the wording of the source and the wording of *Krijgz-Historie*.

In book 5, De la Gardie lays down the Swedish demands in the negotiations with Novgorod; Widekindi gives an account of them in chapter 7. The representatives of the city have asked for some time to discuss these demands with the citizens, says De la Gardie in his letter to Charles IX on 1 April 1611, and on 23 April 1611 he writes to the King that these envoys have returned. This is reflected in the beginning of chapter 8 – but in the Swedish version with an obvious mistake:

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 224	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 283
Alegati Novogardenses accepto responso cum novis postulatīs in urbem regressi, tanta celeritate ea expediunt, ut cum plenis transigendi formulis sub exitu Aprilis Mensis in castra Nostratium redierint. ⁴⁰⁵	Sedan nu the Nougårdske Legater hade fådt beskedh vthaff Herr IACOB, reeste the tillbaka åth Staden/ medh några nya Postulater , och förrättade så snart sina ährender/ at the sidst vthi April komme til vårt Lager medh fulkomliga

⁴⁰⁴ E.g. *tormenta cum pulvere et globulis admoveri sensere* ('found out that cannons with powder and balls were approaching'; *Historia Belli*, p. 312) after De la Gardie's *förnumme, at vårt folch medh stycker och fyrmösser dijt vnder Ladga komne wore* ('found out that our soldiers had come under Ladoga with cannons and guns'; letter to Charles IX, 3 October 1611), to compare with *blefwe aff the Swenske hårdt tilsatte* ('were attacked hard by the Swedes'; *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 385), or in an episode after the seizure of Nöteborg, where Evert Horn leaves Claes Slang in the fortress and returns to Jacob De la Gardie himself in De la Gardie's report (to Gustavus Adolphus, 8 May 1612) and in *Historia Belli* (p. 351), whereas both Horn and Slang join De la Gardie in *Krijgz-Historie* (p. 434).

⁴⁰⁵ "As they received the answer with the new demands, the Novgorod envoys returned to the city and settled the matters so quickly that they returned to the leaguer of our forces with their full powers by the end of April".

The demands are not ‘some’, they were mentioned two pages before. The simple reason for the inaccuracy is that Latin does not have any markers for definiteness.

As the negotiations go on, a good friend of De la Gardie, Vasily Buturlin, comes to the Swedish leaguer as a leader of the Russian delegation. He is mentioned in the following way:

De la Gardie to Charles IX, 12 June 1611	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 233	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 295
een Rysch Woiwodhe Wasilli Jwanowitz Butterlyn ⁴⁰⁷	Palatinus Basilius Johannes Butterlinus Legatus Moschovitarum ⁴⁰⁸	en Woiwode Wasiliwitz och Ryssernas Abgesandt Iwanowitz Butterlin ⁴⁰⁹

As we can see, Buturlin is transformed into two people in *Krijgz-Historie*. De la Gardie’s text does not give a clue why it happens; Widekindi’s Latin text, on the other hand, provides Buturlin with appositions both before and after his name, and this seems to have prompted the error in the Swedish version.

In book 6, De la Gardie temporarily abstains from a siege of Nöteborg and Ladoga. Their resistance can give an example for other towns and fortresses, because

⁴⁰⁶ “As the Novgorod envoys had now received the answer from Sir Jacob, they travelled back to the city with some new demands and settled the matters so quickly that they returned to our leaguer with a complete instruction to negotiate an alliance by the end of April”.

⁴⁰⁷ “Russian voivode Vasily Ivanovich Buturlin”.

⁴⁰⁸ “Voivode Vasily Ivanovich Buturlin, the Russian envoy”.

⁴⁰⁹ “Voivode Vasily and the Russian envoy Ivanovich Buturlin”.

De la Gardie to Charles IX, 28 August 1611	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 278	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 342
deraf sedan stort rop i landet förorsakes ⁴¹⁰	fama bella constant ⁴¹¹	Krijgzsaker myckit aff Rychte bestå ⁴¹²

What we see in both the Latin and the Swedish text of Widekindi is an aphorism, originating from Curtius Rufus, 8.8. It is implausible that Widekindi could first use it in his Swedish text, where its recognizability would be far less probable.

The only conclusion we can make is that the Swedish is a translation from Latin, contaminated⁴¹³ by the text of the source, as the literal quotations from Swedish and the influence of Latin often go hand in hand – both can be found not only inside the same passages, but sometimes even inside the same phrases:

De la Gardie to Charles IX, 12 June 1611	<i>Historia Belli</i> , pp. 220–221	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 278–279
Och till eett wist tecken så hafwe dhe Nougordske <i>lathit settia</i> Jwan Michailowitz opå een stake, <i>derföre att han hafwer bracht dem att swergie de Påler.</i>	et in illius fidei Symbolum Johannem Michaelovitzium (qui eos in sacramentum Vladislai jurando adegisset) vivum nuper palo affixisse.	Och tå genast såsom til ett Symbolum <i>låt it sättia</i> Ivan Michaelovitz vthi Nougården lefwandes på en Påhle/ <i>therföre at han them hade bracht til at swäria</i> Konungens Son i Påland.
De la Gardie to Gustavus Adolphus, 10 April 1612	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 345–346	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 427
Szå blefwe och näst deris <i>Herpukor och Skalmeyer</i> 16 Phanor ifrån dem tagne	ipsum Ducem plurimosque cum omni ferme supellectile cepit; Sedecim vexillis directis	blefwe... Alexi medh en hoop til fånga tagen medh Bagager, Herrpukor och Skalmeyer/ och alt hwad the medh sigh hade

⁴¹⁰ “It would cause much gossip in the country”.

⁴¹¹ “Wars depend on rumour”.

⁴¹² “Military matters largely depend on rumour”.

⁴¹³ On the term “contamination” in textual criticism, see e.g. Willis 1972: 17–27.

It is more plausible that the translation from Latin was made first, and then the source was additionally consulted, rather than the two processes conducted simultaneously. Such an assumption is suggested by the very fact that translation mistakes were made and have remained in the text. Another argument in favour of it is the presence of several (clearly unintended) repetitions in the Swedish text. I have noticed the following instances of this phenomenon:

- the Polish commander Jan Kiernożicki flies after the defeat against the Swedes, one of his lieutenants has fallen in the battle (*Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 83–84)
- Skopin-Shuysky gives the Swedes 2,000 rubles and some fresh horses (pp. 107–108)
- De la Gardie sends to Sweden 13 captured banners of the enemy (pp. 128, 130)
- 6,000 (16,000 in De la Gardie's report) Russians beleaguer Poles, whose number (2,300 according to De la Gardie) is first contorted into '23', then rendered as 'not more than 3,000' (pp. 307–308)⁴¹⁴
- the inhabitants of Pskov close the gate when Evert Horn approaches the city (pp. 372–373)
- Mats Sigfridsson is appointed the admiral of the Swedish ships in Ladoga lake (pp. 534, 539)

In all of these cases the Latin text communicates the piece of information in question only once, corresponding either to the first or to the second of the two passages in the Swedish text. The validity of this argument in favour of two different phases of the work on the Swedish text is relative, as there is at least one instance where the repetition is already present in the source, but it looks very unlikely that it was the case in all the six episodes listed above.⁴¹⁵

Thus, Widekindi's Swedish text in the passages based on De la Gardie's reports (and to some extent in those based on Petrejus as well, see above, p. 79) has a double-layered character. He paraphrased them in Latin, but then

⁴¹⁴ De la Gardie's text in this passage is combined with the text of Kobierzycki (*Historia Vladislai*, pp. 432–433), which might have facilitated the confusion – but the numbers are taken from De la Gardie.

⁴¹⁵ Widekindi twice reports that De la Gardie and Evert Horn manage to borrow 40,000 (or 20,000 on the first occurrence in the Swedish text) rix-dollars from the merchants in Reval (*Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 536–537). First time he borrows this information from De la Gardie's letter dated 24 October 1613, second time from the letter dated 16 December 1613.

added some details from the source once again.⁴¹⁶ The job was often completed inaccurately and led to the repetitions I have accounted for. The Latin text remained, in its turn, untouched by the interpolations of that kind.

Some words should be said about other documents used in this part of the work, which, without having such fundamental importance to the main narrative thread as De la Gardie's reports, still occupy significant space, as they are often designed as complete (or almost complete) quotations.

Widekindi quotes five letters from Polish commanders to Jacob De la Gardie: from Aleksander Zborowski in book 3, from Stanisław Żółkiewski in book 5, from Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, from King Sigismund and from Aleksander Korwin Gosiewski in book 7. We can definitely claim that these letters were written in Latin and rendered by Widekindi according to the originals, while the quotations in the Swedish version are translations. Chodkiewicz's letter is actually preserved. For the others the following considerations should be taken into account: 1) Latin was the normal language in diplomatic correspondence between the Swedes and the Poles in the 17th century; 2) for the first two of the letters there is some external evidence: Zborowski's letter is called *ett Latinskt Breff* by Widekindi himself, and Żółkiewski's letter is mentioned in one of De la Gardie's reports as *ein latteinisch Breff*.⁴¹⁷ Finally, Zborowski's letter is quoted in Latin even in the Swedish version of Widekindi's text and only followed by the Swedish translation, and Sigismund's and Gosiewski's letters are quoted in Latin in *Gustaff Adolfs Historia*,⁴¹⁸ although this work by Widekindi is entirely Swedish.

The treaty between the citizens of Novgorod and Jacob De la Gardie, quoted at the end of book 5, is more problematic. A German translation from Russian is preserved (and published in *Sverges traktater*), made by the famous translator Hans Flörich⁴¹⁹ in 1613. Helge Almquist suggests⁴²⁰ that there was a Swedish version as well – it was, after all, Jacob De la Gardie who had the bargaining power and determined the conditions – and that it is this text Widekindi is quoting in his Swedish version. This is, indeed, likely to be the

⁴¹⁶ The chronology of the working process (see above, p. 91) allows us to speculate that during the first phase of the work Widekindi used the concepts and copies in De la Gardie family archive, and in the second phase the originals in the National Archives.

⁴¹⁷ *DelaGardiska arkivet*, p. 52.

⁴¹⁸ Pp. 148, 159.

⁴¹⁹ On this remarkable person, see Maier & Droste 2010.

⁴²⁰ Almquist 1907: 250 n. 1.

case. Although Widekindi's Swedish diverges from Frölich's German on several points, denying the possibility that it is based on it, it is still somewhat closer to the German text than is Widekindi's Latin version. Some idiomatic expressions are rendered in Swedish in a way that resembles the German version, e.g. *emoot bägges theras fiender... för en Man stå*⁴²¹ (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 324) where the German text has *wieder vnse beider fiende vor einen man sthen* (p. 202) and the Latin *junctis viribus eosdem <sc. hostes>... propellere*⁴²² (*Historia Belli*, p. 255).

The corruption that turned the Don, Volga, Terek and Yaik Cossacks into 'Dorpat, *Wolsin, Torzhok and Yama Cossacks' – *Dorpatensibus, Wolsinensibus, Torschensibus et Jamensibus* (*Historia Belli*, p. 266) – in the Latin text seems to be prompted by the Swedish text as an intermediary stage, *Dorske/ Wolske/ Torske och Jamiske* (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 331) in the latter being a fairly slight distortion of the expected *Donske/ Wolske/ Terske och Jaiske*, cf. *die Donsche kosaken, des auch die kosaken von der Wolga, von Terke, von Jeik* in the German version (p. 206).

There is also a translation mistake in the Latin text. The Swedish text (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 328) has a phrase *den vndsätning och bijstånd/ som H. M:t den Ryska Nationen i Zaar Wasilli Ivanovitz tijdh giordt hafwer*.⁴²³ The corresponding phrase in Latin (*Historia Belli*, p. 262) goes: *copias, quas sereniss. Rex meus Moschovitis miserat vivente Magno Duce Basilio Suischio*.⁴²⁴ But Vasily Shuysky is in fact still alive; he died more than a year later. His 'time' in the Swedish text is his reign.

Hence, we can conclude that the Latin text is a translation of the Swedish one – or of a Swedish text standing very closely to the one printed in *Krijgz-Historie*.⁴²⁵

⁴²¹ "To stand united against the enemies of them both".

⁴²² "To drive them away with a joint force".

⁴²³ "The help and assistance that His Majesty provided for the Russian people in the time of Tsar Vasily Ivanovich". In the German text (s. 203) the mention of Charles IX and Vasily Shuysky is split up between different sentences, but the meaning in general is the same.

⁴²⁴ "The force that my most serene king had sent to the Muscovites when the Grand Prince Vasily Shuysky was still alive".

⁴²⁵ Almquist, and after him the editors of the Russian translation (Almquist 1907: 250 n. 1; Videkind 2000: 594 n. 327) suggest that the Latin text was compiled from the Swedish and the German ones, adding that Widekindi indicates it himself, when he says: *Nunc ab utraque parte ratorum pactorum formulas... pressiori stylo interseram* (p. 252). It is not to exclude that Widekindi's text is, indeed, a combination of Novgorod's obligation in German and De la Gardie's lost obligation in Swedish (rather than a translation of one single text in Swedish). However, for the sake of accuracy, it should be remarked that *ab utraque parte rata pacta*

There are several Russian documents quoted in the text of Widekindi's work. Presumably all of them were available to the historiographer in German translation. A comparison between a preserved copy of the letter from the citizens of Novgorod to Charles IX and the two versions⁴²⁶ allows one to suppose that the Swedish text is independent from the Latin one. It stands closer to the German text in many small details, the most important of which is the place of the Swedish-Russian defeat in 1610 (*Zarousaimisa* in German and *Zarowåsamise* in Swedish,⁴²⁷ whereas in Latin it is substituted by the more familiar *Mosaicum*). Officialese formulas are more faithfully reproduced in the Swedish text. The nonce word *steenslott* (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 369) is a clear indication of the influence from the German text, which has *stenenslos*, while the corresponding word in the Latin text is a simple *arcis*.

On the other hand, the question of whether the Latin text is translated from Swedish here or is independently translated from German, should remain open. There are some shortcomings in the Latin text, but none of them can be regarded as clearly derived from the Swedish text as opposed to the German. The only phrase where the Swedish text seems to be an intermediary step is *pagos et Regiones*⁴²⁸ (*Historia Belli*, p. 299), corresponding to *Slott och Städer/Byar och Soknar*⁴²⁹ in Swedish (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 367) and *festung stede vnd flecke*⁴³⁰ in German. Such evidence is, in my opinion, not quite sufficient.

The same is the case with other Russian documents quoted by Widekindi: the Swedish text is, in all probability, independent from the Latin one but the status of the latter remains unclear, even more so as we do not have the German versions. For instance, it is tempting to explain such a mistake as *Monasterium Sumense, et Solonsko* (*Historia Belli*, p. 296; Suma is not a monastery) by the ambiguous Swedish phrase *Suma och Solonski Klöster* (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 365), but we cannot take for granted that the source did not have a similar ambiguous construction.

does not need to mean anything but 'a treaty concluded between both sides' and has an exact parallel in the Swedish version (p. 322), *Fredzfördraget bägge sijdor emellan*.

⁴²⁶ *Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 367–371, *Historia Belli*, pp. 298–302.

⁴²⁷ I.e. Tsaryovo-Zaymishche, a village 30 km from Klushino and 80 km from Mozhaysk. In book 4 of the Latin text it is mentioned several times as *Carovum*.

⁴²⁸ "Villages and regions".

⁴²⁹ "Castles and cities, villages and parishes".

⁴³⁰ "Fortresses, cities and towns".

Part 3: books 8–10

Book 8 has, again, an introductory note about the sources. It looks somewhat awkward.⁴³¹

Nos illis solummodo attendimus, quae bella in Muschovia gesta concernunt, quatenus scilicet de rebus hisce, ex literis, mandatis, consilijs, decretis, relationibus, alijsque monumentis nobis constare poterit: Eaque juxta seriem annorum mensiumque memorabimus.⁴³²

Our author has, by that time, used all these archive materials for some hundreds of pages, and his narrative has also been more or less chronological. What actually changes here is the situation with regards to the literary sources: short passages from Kobierzycki appear only four times in the last three books, and geographical notes borrowed from Rossica-literature are absent altogether. So Widekindi does not begin using documents in the eighth book; he begins using *exclusively* documents.⁴³³ This is not surprising due to the character of the events he is dealing with. Previously it was military campaigns and the political turbulence in Russia partly described by his Polish colleague Kobierzycki and his Swedish predecessor Petrus Petrejus, and often giving occasion for short or long digressions on Russian history and geography, also treated by different authors before him. Now Widekindi turns more and more, on the one hand, to the Swedish military actions and, on the other hand, to the peace negotiations and can only find his sources in the archives.

For the most part, the Swedish text in book 8 follows the sources directly, without mediation of the Latin text. Many passages are omitted or significantly abridged in the Latin version compared to the Swedish one, and it makes the latter twice as long as the former.

⁴³¹ *Historia Belli*, p. 377.

⁴³² “We are only occupied with the things that concern the war in Muscovy <i.e. as opposed to the war with Denmark, which is briefly mentioned before>, as far as it will be possible for us to know about these from letters, mandates, counsels, decrees, relations and other documents, and we will narrate about it chronologically”.

⁴³³ The exceptions (four short passages based on Kobierzycki) drown in the total volume of the text, and nearly all of the ca 50 geographical passages in Widekindi’s work are concentrated in books 3–7.

Books 9–10, absent in the Latin text, have the same character as book 8 in the Swedish text. For instance, several of De la Gardie’s negotiation reports from the autumn of 1616 are copied (although with some abridgements) to form chapters 6–8 of book 10. The text of the Stolbovo treaty (quoted in Swedish according to its Swedish text) is soon followed by a description of the Swedish diplomatic mission to Moscow in 1618. Widekindi begins (p. 888) and ends (p. 914) this description by informing us that it is a short paraphrase of a huge German protocol, which is as boring to read as the ceremonies described in it were boring for the Swedish diplomats to attend. The protocol is lost – probably it fell victim to the Stockholm castle fire of 1697⁴³⁴ – but there is another text originating from it, a German-language *Itinerarium*, published in Hamburg in 1619.⁴³⁵ Unlike Widekindi, who treats the entire journey of the Swedish diplomats from March until June 1618, *Itinerarium* focuses on its main event, the ceremonies in Moscow on 3 May 1618. However, this is enough to provide a series of remarkable parallels with Widekindi’s text.

<i>Itinerarium</i>	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i>
55–56: ließ der Großfürst durch den Okolnitz die Gesandten vmb jhre gesundtheit fragen	891: frågade Storfursten om Gesandternas sundheet igenom be:te Okolintze
56: inmittelst wardt hinter den Gesandten eine Banck mit einem Teppicht bedeckt/ gebracht/ darauff sie sich setzten/ vnd zugleich jhr Haupt deckten	892: J medler tijdh framsattes en stool medh Tappet betäckt/ ther vppå the sigh... satte och sina hufwuden täckte
56: Belangende des Großfürsten Person/ so ist Er... mittelmessiger statur	893: Belangande Storfurstens person/ så war han vthaff medelmåttigh statur
56: durch vnd durch mit Perlen/ laubwercksweise gearbeitet	893: medh stoor och små Perlor vthi Löffwäckswijs alt öfwer

Such close resemblance of the Swedish and the German wording can hardly be explained by the simple cognation of the languages. Latin as an intermediate link is hardly plausible here, so we have to assume that this enormously long passage of book 10 is translated into Swedish directly from German.

⁴³⁴ Tarkiainen 1986: 193.

⁴³⁵ Cf. above, n. 283.

Conclusions

The main observation of this chapter is the fact that Widekindi actually had some Latin draft to translate into Swedish not only in the parts based on literary (mainly Latin) sources, but also in those based on De la Gardie's reports. The role of that draft varies within the work, as can be seen from the following table:

	Latin text	Swedish text
books 1–2	original	translation
books 3–7	original or mainly original	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- translation, where the source is in Latin (at least 30% of the text);- translation, sometimes revised according to the sources, where the source is Swedish;- direct quotation of the sources (on certain occasions)
book 8	unclear: some passages certainly belong to the original draft, while others rather look like short paraphrase of the Swedish version	mainly direct quotation and direct paraphrase of the sources
books 9–10	absent	

In books 1–7 Widekindi combined his excerpts from De la Gardie with Kobierzycki and other Latin sources. Further on, the character of the sources is changed, as they become almost exclusively Swedish and German. That seems to be the principal reason for, firstly, the change in the working process in the Swedish text and, secondly, the defective character of the Latin text, which is compendium-like in book 8 and omitted further on.

The role of gaining access to the National Archives in the course of the work might have been significant. We cannot claim that the entire Latin draft was written before Widekindi could use the documents preserved at the National Archives, and that after that point he worked exclusively in Swedish: in book 2, as we have seen, the documents most probably originating from the National Archives are still paraphrased in Latin first. However, it is noteworthy that all the documents, beginning with book 4, that we can regard as originating from the National Archives (and not from the De la Gardie family archive, probably

accessible to Widekindi already in the beginning of the 1660s) are rendered in Swedish independently from Latin – quoted, when Swedish, and translated, when German.

It is uncertain whether Widekindi had some Latin draft for the last three books and what the status of the Latin book 8 is, i.e. if it was written before the Swedish version or after it. A passage⁴³⁶ based on De la Gardie's report from 13 April 1613, where the Swedish text does not bear much resemblance to the wording of the source and is probably translated from Latin, as well as an instance of unintended repetition,⁴³⁷ give some evidence in favour of the former suggestion. One may, on the other hand, suppose that the process for book 8 in the Latin part was two-phased. Widekindi can have had some fragmentary Latin draft based exclusively on De la Gardie's reports and used it on some occasions in the way he did in books 1–7. After having written the Swedish version (enriched with the documents from the National Archives) he completed this draft for book 8 with a paraphrasing translation from Swedish. But after book 8 he decided to stop, seeing that the task would require too much work to be feasible, as books 9 and 10 are, in the Swedish version, almost as large as all the preceding books taken together, and some of the documents (the treaty of Stolbovo alone is 32 pages in small print in the Swedish version) could not be just paraphrased – a full-scale translation was needed. At the same time, the historiographer was busy enough, working on several other projects by the end of the 1660s. It was then that the work on *Gustaff Adolphs Historia* and on the *Additamentum* to the History of Gustavus Vasa's reign began. Besides that, from Widekindi's letters it is clear that he was working on the history of Kings Erik XIV and John III.⁴³⁸ The historiographer of the Realm may have simply been too busy to polish the Latin version to a condition that he could consider publishable.

⁴³⁶ *Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 487–489; *Historia Belli*, pp. 387–388.

⁴³⁷ The last one in the list on p. 103.

⁴³⁸ See above, p. 43.

5. Widekindi's work as a bilingual text

Early Modern translations from and into Latin constitute a vast field of study,⁴³⁹ and there are many case studies concerned with specific details of translation technique. For instance, Joachim Du Bellay's Latin and French poems⁴⁴⁰ and the Latin text of *Diva Montis Sacri* by Bohuslav Balbín with its vernacular versions have been subject to research of this kind.⁴⁴¹ As regards material from Sweden, one can mention a dissertation dealing with a Latin translation of a Hebrew text.⁴⁴²

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the former (5.1) I am going to treat some linguistic aspects of the translation technique relevant for Widekindi's case. The latter (5.2) concentrates on the contents of the work and its stylistic features and has similarities in the concerned problems and the achieved results with the pieces of research just mentioned.

5.1. Linguistic aspects

Now that we have treated the first fundamental component of Widekindi's working process, i.e. his way of compiling material from different literary and documentary sources, we may proceed to the second component: the way to translate the compiled material. We encounter, however, some restrictions. To analyze the translation technique on a purely linguistic level, and not just to compare Widekindi's Latin (which is of a mixed nature) and his Swedish

⁴³⁹ Peter Burke talks about more than a thousand published translations into Latin (Burke 2007: 65), despite his strict criteria (ibid. 66–67). For an overview of translation studies concerning Neo-Latin, see Deneire 2014.

⁴⁴⁰ Demerson 1984; Ginsberg 1997.

⁴⁴¹ Bočková 2014.

⁴⁴² Eskhult 2007, in particular pp. 110–123 and 247–267.

(which is of an even more mixed nature), we have, firstly, to exclude contaminated passages. Secondly, the analysis of translation from Swedish into Latin is impeded by the fact that passages with a full-scale translation from Swedish into Latin are not numerous enough. The reverse situation, where Widekindi's Swedish is a translation from his Latin, is more usual and provides us with rich material to analyze. This material consists of the following passages:

- the first two books
- passages based on Kobierzycki, dealing mainly with Polish-Muscovitic affairs
- the two large digressions (on Pskov and on Cossacks) and many of the short ones
- letters from the Poles to Jacob De la Gardie and a letter from King James I to King Gustavus Adolphus.

The result is text material of ca 19,000 words in Latin corresponding to ca 31,000 words in Swedish; the first two books account for more than one-third of this material.

Firstly, I will try to give a general characterization of the translation, with the help of some quantitative indicators, in comparison with other translations of Latin historiographical texts into Swedish published in the 17th century. Thereafter, I will discuss some instances of the Latin linguistic influence on the Swedish text. Finally, I will treat the question of how many people engaged in the translation: as mentioned above (p. 43), Widekindi states that his text was translated from Latin *partim aliorum opera* ('partly with the help of other people'), and there is, indeed, some evidence that this was the case.

1. Quantitative indicators

To characterize the translation in general, I have used the TRIX-method developed by Lars Wollin. Its theoretical background is the formal descriptive direction of translation studies, originating from the works of Eugene Nida.⁴⁴³ TRIX (*translation index*) is the mean of the percentage of formally equivalent nouns and the percentage of formally equivalent (finite) verbs in a given pair of source text and target text.⁴⁴⁴ In practice (see the example on the next page) it means that, firstly, the analyzed sample is divided into macrosyntagms, and

⁴⁴³ See e.g. Nida 1959 and Nida & Taber 1969.

⁴⁴⁴ The most comprehensive description of the method is Wollin 2017a; for a short summary in English, see Wollin 2017b: 238–239.

all the nouns and the finite verbs in the sample are marked with “<” and “+” respectively. If corresponding elements are equivalent, they get an “x” before the mark, if not, a “z”. If an element does not have a correspondent or if its correspondent belongs to another part of speech and therefore remains unmarked, the note becomes double (x<x<, z<z<, x+x+, z+z+). To get the lexical TRIX, one should count the percentage of signs “x<” among all the “<”; to count the grammatical TRIX, one should count the percentage of signs “x+” among all the “+”. The average of the two is TRIX.

The arithmetic is, thus, as unsophisticated as it can be. There is, on the other hand, a problem of what should be regarded as formal equivalence, given all the structural differences between the languages in question. The general criterion for lexical equivalence is the presence of a word (or of its close synonym) among the translations in a relatively concise bilingual dictionary. For the grammatical equivalence I have strictly followed the manual (Wollin 2017a), confining the requirements to the finite verb having the same subject and belonging to a clause occupying the same position in the intrinsic hierarchy of the sentence (i.e., a main clause rendered in a main clause and a subordinate clause in a subordinate clause of the same syntactical degree).

Some specific principles had, still, to be developed for specific occasions. Here are the ones I have applied in my work.⁴⁴⁵

I. Lexical component

- If a Latin substantive corresponds in Swedish to a double translation⁴⁴⁶ *consisting of synonyms*, the lexical equivalence is evaluated for the

⁴⁴⁵ This list is not comprehensive; it is rather a selection of cases that I have judged to be frequent enough to require unified treatment.

⁴⁴⁶ Double translations are a phenomenon overlapping (but not identical) with and closely related to the so-called word-pairs. A word-pair is a combination of coordinated lexemes, more or less widespread in a given language, like *fröjd och gamman* in Swedish, *heart and soul* in English, *longe lateque* in Latin. The phenomenon (with special attention to Swedish) has been treated in a monograph by Gerhard Bendz in 1965, containing a classification of word-pairs, long lists of examples in several languages, and many interesting observations, e.g. on the relation of word-pairs to Behaghel’s law (Bendz 1965: 21–23). Word-pairs often occur in translations (Bendz 1965: 70–77; see also Eskhult 2007: 253–256). Swedish translations from Latin in the 17th century abound with both word-pairs and other (i.e. not necessarily widespread in the language in general) double translations – of the translators I mention below, Schroderus seems to be the one most fond of them, one of the samples containing as many as seven double translations. In the text of *Krijgz-Historie* the frequency of double translations varies from five to 15 per 1,000 words. Here follow some illustrative examples where the feature occurs twice in a sentence:

tectam hactenus **pravae** naturae larvam (*Historia Belli*, p. 16) – **listige och arge** Natur han här tills **dölt och twingat** hade (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 16)

double translation as a whole. If at least one of the elements of the pair is a normal equivalent to the correspondent, the whole pair gets a single equivalence note. The other word of the pair is left unmarked.

- If a substantive corresponds to a combination of two substantives, rendering different elements of the meaning, such as *patrimonium – Fädernes arff*, a double note is set on one side, and two separate notes on the other.
- Ethnonyms and proper names are not taken into account.

II. Grammatical component

- If there is doubt whether a macrosyntagm should be discerned or not (*qui/hwilken*-clauses, *quippe*-clauses etc.) – a question crucial for the intrinsic hierarchy of a sentence – punctuation is taken into account.
- A participle construction in Latin corresponding to a relative, a temporal or a causal clause in Swedish counts as equivalence.
- In particular, *ablativus absolutus* in Latin corresponding to a temporal or causal clause in Swedish counts as equivalence.
- *Accusativus cum infinitivo* in Latin corresponding to a content clause in Swedish counts as equivalence.

Here follows an example from Widekindi's text (pp. 172–173 in Latin, 208–209 in Swedish) with commentaries.⁴⁴⁷

alieno quam suo **discrimine** Reipubl. **consultum** cupiens (*Historia Belli*, p. 19) – williandes at Regementet måtte blifwa **vnderstödt och hulpit**/ händre genom andras/ än sin egen **fahra och äfwentyr** (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 20)

verae ducum Moschoviae propagini, ad quam **delendam**... subornari novam larvam (*Historia Belli*, p. 46) – then **rätte och sanskyllige** Storfurste ätten/ hwilken til at **vthsläckia och förgöra** thenne Fabel... war anstält (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 55)

⁴⁴⁷ For the sake of pedagogic simplicity I have chosen to leave out the simultaneous stylistic analysis; therefore, the sample does not contain dots and dollar signs used in the manual (Wollin 2017a: 11).

<p>Prima hastatorum z<z<equitum x<irruptione, z+constat mille circiter Polonos a nostris z<sclopetariis vel caesos, vel z<z<vulneribus confectos; inter quos primae z<z<notae z<z<centurio Stanislaus Lanckoromius veteranus z<equitum x<ductor caesus.§⁴⁴⁸</p> <p>x<Equi (propria x<x<confessione Polonorum) ducenti viginti sex interfecti, totidem pene x<x<vulneribus invalidi facti.§</p> <p>Ad haec intentus Volvievius (qui Carovi x+premebatur) levibus x<excursionibus z<z<stationes hostiles subinde x+lacessebat,</p> <p>sed totius z<z<praelii initi z<z<seriem edoctus x<animo x+concidit, ac se, x<castellum, x<arma, x<signa, x<militem, x<hostium x<potestati x+tradit.§</p> <p>Quo z<z<successu laetus elatusque Zolkevius, x<nuncios in x<castra Regia z+mittit.§</p> <p>x<Rex z<Missae z<officium cum toto z<exercitu solenniter x+peragit.§</p> <p>z<Pater Stephanus z<societatis Jesu jam antea transmissum a x<Pontifice Romano magnum x<indulgentiarum x<diploma ad z<z<exercitui implorandam z<caelitum x<opem x+recitat x+promulgatque:§</p> <p>Et Achacius Gorchovius x<ensem x<galerumque x<ritu usitato a</p>	<p>Vthaff the Pálniske z+bleff aff våra z<Dragoner i första x<Anfall slagne och qwetzte widh pass tusend z<z<Mann; Jbland hwilka en gammal kiäck och wäl öfwad x<Öfwerste til z<Häst/ Stanislaus Lanckomoriski benämbd/ x+x+wardt nederlagd:§</p> <p>Aff theras x<Hästar/ x+x+blefwe som the Pohler sielfwe z+z+bekände/ 226 nederkutne/ och nästan så många skadde och odugse gjorde.§</p> <p>När nu Volviefski (som x+lågh belägrat vthi Carov) x+x+sågh thetta/ x+giorde han som offast små x<Vthfall på x<x<Fienden/§</p> <p>men tå han x+x+förmärckte at the våra och Ryssarna z+z+hafwa tappert slagitz/ x+fälte han x<modet/ och x+gaff vp x<Skantzen/ tillijka med sin x<Gewähr/ x<Folek och x<Fahnor vthi x<Fiendens x<wåld.</p> <p>Hwarvthöfwer Zolkefski z+z+hugnades och z+z+bleff stoor på sigh/ z+sände strax x<bodh i x<x<Konungens x<Lägre ther om.§</p> <p>Tå x<Konungen x+låter giöra een allmänneligh z<Tacksäyelse z<Dagh öfwer heela z<Lägret/§</p> <p>och een z<Jesuit benämd Stephanus x+förkunnar och x+vpläser ett stoot x<x<Aflatzbreff/ til at therigenom få aff z<Gud ett nådigt x<Bijstånd til wijdare z<z<fortgång/ hwilket bemålte z<Munck z+z+hade fådt sändandes ifrån x<Påwen i Rom;</p> <p>tå Achatius Gorchoski och medh thet samma een x<Wärja och x<Hat/ som</p>
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⁴⁴⁸ Marks the end of a macrosyntagm.

x<Papa consecratos, x<Regi z+offert.§	effter wahnligt x<Bruuk aff x<Påfwen x+x+woro wijgde/ åt x<Konungen z+lefwererade.§
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As for the division into macrosyntagms, the only detail that requires a commentary is the relative clause beginning with *quo successu/hwarvthöfwer*. In Latin, relative pronouns are often put at the beginning of a sentence instead of demonstrative ones; such sentences can be treated as independent. In Swedish, however, the word-order is the primary criterion; thus, the clause has to be regarded as a part of the preceding sentence, despite the full stop.

As for the initial marking of nouns and finite verbs, I have chosen not to mark *pass* in the expression *widh pass*, as it is a fixed expression, where the noun has lost its original meaning.

Now to the main subject, i.e. x- and z-markings:

- the equivalence of military terms is difficult to evaluate, as there are no dictionaries of Neo-Latin warfare terminology. *Dragon* seems to be an unusual translation for *sclopetarius*;⁴⁴⁹ elsewhere Widekindi constantly uses the word *M(o)usqueterare*.⁴⁵⁰ On the other hand, *ductor* is too vague to be counted as equivalent to *öfwerste* (which normally corresponds to *tribunus*⁴⁵¹);
- *wardt* in the first sentence is marked with “x+x+”, as the grammatically equivalent *est* in the Latin text is implied;
- *confessione* in the second sentence is marked with “x<x<”, as the lexically equivalent *bekände* is not a noun; further on, we have the inversed relationship between *hostiles* and *Fienden*, *Regia* and *Konungens*;
- *sågh* in the third sentence is marked with “x+x+”, as the Latin text has a participial construction where Swedish has a temporal clause (see the rules above); the same is the case with *förmärckte* in the next sentence.

All in all, I have drawn 20 samples from the parts of the text where the Swedish version is a translation from Latin: four from the first book, four from the second, three from the third, two from each of books 4–7, and one from book

⁴⁴⁹ *Dragoner* cannot be regarded as corresponding to *hastatorum equitum*, as it is the Poles who attack and are *hastati equites*, whereas the defending *Dragoner* are *wåra*, i. e. the Swedes.

⁴⁵⁰ On the word *sclopetarius*, see Helander 2004: 193–196.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. Helander 2004: 197.

8. Every sample is 150–200 words long in the Swedish part. The results of the TRIx-analysis are as follows.

No	Passage	TRIX-lex.	TRIX-gram.	TRIX
1	10–11: Hic ea tempestate... Reip. Polonae, induxissent	53	33	43
	7–8: Således stodh på... i största roo			
2	15–16: Hoc Borissio authore... motus animorum observat	62	56	59
	15: Thenne Boris kom... Gemöterne sigh wände			
3	20–21: Interim Sigismundus Rex... liberandos animum intendisse	53	29	41
	22: J medler tijdh... the vnderkastade woro			
4	25–26: Non ingrata haec... praesidio addita, etc.	70	16	43
	28–29: J förstonne war... in vthi Ryssland			
5	34–35: Sed cum civibus... manum immisso tollitur!	68	36	52
	40–41: Men när Borgarena... hans Lijff ändade			
6	39: An sincere haec... iter per Poloniam	67	33	50
	46: Nu twiflade man... een annan Wägh			
7	42: Mosaiscum vi occupatum... ingenti clade hostium	58	67	62
	50–51: Mosaisko blef medh... vthan Fiendernes skada			
8	47–48: Eodem tempore, sicut... Martenson, ibidem confirmabatur	62	53	58
	56–57: Grefwen aff Mansfeldt... Rubler förvth sände			
9	77–78: De injuria nationis... est erga Deum	81	82	82
	98–99: Then Oförrätt och... är emoot Gudh			
10	90–91: Imo cum Suischius... sed seculis duratura	35	50	42
	110–111: Så kommo ock... hundrade åhrs tijdh			
11	124–125: Sed hi, cum... confecti sors eluderet	29	17	23
	151–152: Men när the... til intet göra			
12	156–157: Sed dum hos... ultra fluvium prosequuntur	57	50	53
	190–191: När han altså... Lodior öfwer Älfwen			
13	172–173: Prima hastatorum equitum... consecratos, Regi offert	59	60	59
	208–209: Vthaff the Pålanske... åt Konungen lefwererade			
14	213: Hinc Legati aperte... Alexandro Gosiovio relinquit	54	31	43
	267: Och alt för... knorll och morll			
15	226: Attentis ad haec... acta moresque observarent	33	30	32
	285–286: Thetta gaff nu... taal och gerningar			
16	283–284: Cui malo tollendo... destitutae, arma minitabatur	47	29	38
	349–350: Doch til at... in vthi Påland			

17	304–305: Plescovia, Russis Plskov... Revaliam milliaribus miscetur	62	28	45
	374–375: Först så är... andra sijdan Rewel			
18	348: Confluxere huc omnis... ante omnia colebant	41	38	40
	430: På thesse Orther... jagande och fiskiande			
19	365: Generose Fidelis nobis... promissa benemerendi occasiones	63	50	56
	450–451: Os älskelige och... godt at förtiena			
20	426: Gratissimum nobis est... conditionibus agi possit	47	57	52
	551–552: Thet är Oss... rättmätigt fordra kunna			
Average		55	42	49
Standard deviation		13	17	13

To contextualize these figures, I have also analyzed three other translations from Latin in 17th century Sweden: the translation of Messenius' *Sveopentaprotopolis* by Henricus Hammerus (1612), the translation of Johannes Magnus' *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus* by Ericus Schroderus (1620), and the translation of Curtius Rufus' *Historia Alexandri Magni* by Johan Sylvius (1682).⁴⁵² The results are as follows.

Hammerus

No	Passage	TRIX-lex.	TRIX-gram.	TRIX
1	7–9: Bizantium illud vides... in Oceano aestus	77	59	68
	14–15: Tu seer then... flodh i Westerhafwet			
2	16–18: Praeterea idem Ericus... diutina habitatione frequentata	63	57	60
	28–29: Thetta skrifwer och... widh macht hållit			
3	27–28: Vniversam autem oblationis... ad aras mactabantur	84	58	71
	42–43: Och hafwer Olaus... widh theras Altarae			
4	37–38: Qui privato regimine... olim celebrari consueverat	77	67	72
	56–57: Then som j... wana at celebrera			
5	46–47: Verum ad clarissimum... latii nomine impertiret	61	53	57
	70–71: Men wij wele... Ostraarus eller Furingaåås			
6	56–58: Hujus autem paganae... apud hyperboreos constituta	74	71	73

⁴⁵² I have used the second edition (1695).

	84–85: Och til thenna... j Norlanden nedhsatt			
7	65–66: Exceptus S. Adaluardus... et occasum minans	94	68	81
	98–99: S. Adalvardus blef... lutha och falla			
8	76–78: Verum undecimus secundum... potuerit operam usurpare	77	75	76
	112–113: Men then ellofte... them bruka kunde			
9	88–90: In eo portu... ex sorore nepotis	89	59	74
	126–127: J then hampnen... Oluf Skottkonungs Systerson			
10	100–101: Emporium Holmense... summo altari consepeliebantur	80	86	83
	140–141: Stockholms Stadh wardt... annan begrafne wordne			
Average		78	65	72
Standard deviation		10	10	8

Schroderus

No	Passage	TRIX-lex.	TRIX-gram.	TRIX
1	85: Quocirca Attilus Danos... iniurias amodo excogitarent	62	71	66
	60: Therföre och Attil... emoot the Swenske			
2	149: Proinde hic aliquis... et populis praefecisset	50	44	47
	120: Therföre kunde man... beprydd och begåfwat			
3	208: Sed maiores tunc... populo eludere posse	53	68	61
	180: Men Göthernas macht... bespotta the Romare			
4	273: Hic scio contra... Christi quingentesimum sexagesimumoctaum	71	73	72
	240: Her weet iagh... effter Christi börd			
5	339: Quocirca Symmachi et... et equos tractare	78	43	61
	300: Ty satte han... Wårjor och wapn			
6	406: At postquam Romanorum... temporis intervallo subacturum	58	38	48
	360: Sedan the Romares... at gifwa sigh			
7	474f.: Subortum est nihilominus... Teiae fata conscripsit	73	62	67
	420: Jcke thes mindre... affgång bedrifwit hafwa			
8	541: Nec multo post... historia Francorum) celebrauit	48	73	61
	480: Någon tidh ther... Biskopar wore församblade			
9	611f.: Quocirca omnibus Sueonum... suos remittere potuerunt	70	31	51
	540: Therföre reeste sigh... kunde heembära tijdender			

10	685f.: Quo comperto, iterum... ulla causa deducuntur	68	22	45
	600: Tå the Swenske... in på Slottet			
Average		63	53	58
Standard deviation		10	19	9

Sylvius

No	Passage	TRIX-lex.	TRIX-gram.	TRIX
1	3.12: "Tu quidem matrem... hac indole hausisset"	62	32	47
	210: J kalla mig... Natur som thenne!			
2	4.7: Vere et salubriter... quaeque tempori reseruentur	59	54	57
	250: Then som thetta... framdeles rörandes warder			
3	4.16: Tandem barbari quum... victore se gessit	68	75	71
	290: Omsijder/ effter som... war ännu twifwelachtig			
4	5.11: "Amisimus Graeciam; nulla... tibi futurus vltimus"	75	50	62
	330: Greklandet hafwa wij... eller och Jder			
5	6.8: Atarras cum trecentis... calorumque inpleuerant regiam	57	33	45
	370: Attarras war befalt... hela Palatzet vpfylte			
6	7.5: Ergo quidquid vini... deficientis exercitus esse	43	22	33
	410: Förthensskull måste the... vprättat och wederqweckt			
7	8.2: Ad vltimum DCC... peruiam incolae fecerant	62	37	49
	450: Men omsijder måste... igenom medh Järnhackor			
8	8.12: Regnabat in ea... castellorum fecerant speciem	76	65	70
	490: Omphis regerade tå... och opbygde Slott			
9	9.6: Quis enim tibi... tuam magnitudinem nouit?	63	50	56
	530: Hwem är then... någon ringa kundskap?			
10	10.5: Dimissoque vulgo velut... ipsi felices essent	52	48	50
	570: Ther effter/ sedan... J blifwa lycksalige			
Average		62	47	54
Standard deviation		10	16	12

As can be seen, all three translators show somewhat higher TRIX figures than the translator(s) of Widekindi's text into Swedish.⁴⁵³ The same is the case if

⁴⁵³ It should be mentioned that my material from Widekindi includes three direct document quotations (also designed as quotations), namely samples no 9, 19 and 20. There, the translator obviously does his best to make the wording of the Swedish text look close to the original, which results in anomalous figures in sample no 9 and relatively high figures for

we compare *Krijgz-Historie* with other figures for 17th century translations provided by Wollin.⁴⁵⁴

Thus, *Krijgz-Historie*, even where it is nothing but a translation from Latin, can be classified as a free translation, both lexically and grammatically. Besides that, the high standard deviation (a measure of variety between the samples) for *Krijgz-Historie* compared to other translations – only the grammatical component in Schroderus is less constant – is an additional reason to suppose that different people were involved in the work.

TRIX is a way to characterize the *lexical* and *grammatical* accuracy of the translation – or, to put it more exactly, to characterize the formal correspondence between the source text and the target text. I have also tried to evaluate in quantitative terms the *style* of the translation and to trace to what degree it is affected by the style of the original. To that end I have used three simple indicators: 1) the number of words in the translation compared to the original (expansion per cent); 2) the number of words per macrosyntagm; 3) the nominal quota, i.e. the relation between the number of nouns and the number of (both finite and infinite) verb forms.

For the second and the third indicators I have also counted the sample correlation coefficient, the measure of to what extent one variable is determined by another (min –1, max 1).

the grammatical component in the two last samples. If we exclude these three samples from the analysis, the average figures become even lower: 54 in the lexical part, 39 in the grammatical, overall TRIX 46.

⁴⁵⁴ Wollin 2014: 44–45.

	Hammerus	Schroderus	Sylvius	Widekindi
average expansion	44	57	101	67
expansion: standard deviation	22	24	33	24
average words/macrosyntagm, Latin	28	29	13	38
average words/macrosyntagm, Swedish	37	42	29	55
words/macrosyntagm: standard deviation, Swedish	13	19	7	30
words/macrosyntagm: correlation Latin–Swedish	0.84	0.95	0.19	0.79
average nominal quota, Latin	1.7	1.1	1.0	1.4
average nominal quota, Swedish	1.2	1.0	0.9	0.9
nominal quota: standard deviation, Swedish	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2
nominal quota: correlation	0.4	0.62	0.78	0.59

Average expansion characterizes (to some extent) how didactical the translator is. Sylvius' translation tends to be twice as long as Curtius' original, largely due to his exuberant care for the reader.⁴⁵⁵ *Krijgz-Historie* stands in this respect closer to the more original-orientated translations by Hammerus and Schroderus.

The correlation results for the number of words per macrosyntagm suggest similar conclusions. In deciding where to begin a sentence and where to stop it, Hammerus and Schroderus depend significantly on the original (Schroderus' attitude can actually be called slavish), *Krijgz-Historie* is somewhat freer, but still close to their pattern, whereas Sylvius does not care for the macrosyntax of the original at all. Interestingly, however, he is the one who is most influenced by the original as regards the nominal quota. Widekindi's figure in this respect is not noteworthy, being almost the same as Schroderus'.

Finally, the standard deviation of the amount of words per macrosyntagm in Widekindi's text is noteworthy. It might be partly due to the fact that different persons took part in the translation, but, with a relatively high correlation between the Latin and the Swedish texts, this standard deviation should primarily be explained with the stylistical differences in the Latin text.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. below, pp. 146–147.

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. above, p. 87.

2. The linguistic influence of Latin in the Swedish version

I am now proceeding to some specific instances of Latin influence in Widekindi's Swedish version.⁴⁵⁷

Thousands of *loanwords* are used in the translation.⁴⁵⁸ Quite often a loanword is prompted directly by the Latin text; sometimes they even gather in constellations, such as:

protestationibus, cum de limitibus, tum de auctoritate tractantium (*Historia Belli*, p. 13) – **protesterande** så om Gräntzerne etc. som om theras **authoritet** som **tractera** skulle (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 11)

non recte administratae Reip. (*Historia Belli*, p. 31) – at han **republiquen** intet rätt **administrerade** (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 35)

miserit Legatos pro confirmatione faederis Tusinensis (*Historia Belli*, pp. 37–38) – sände sina **Legater**, at **confirmera** thet som i Tusin slutit (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 44)

Most of such loanwords are, of course, well attested in the Swedish language of the 17th century, but some seem to be quite rare, e.g. *lineamenterne* (p. 23), *conjunction* (p. 31), *aemulera* (p. 36), *disordre* (p. 50). Any kind of linguistic patriotism expressed through an avoidance of loanwords is definitely not to talk about. In this respect Widekindi is similar to most of his contemporaries.⁴⁵⁹

As regards *calques*, I have noticed *effter gifwin Orsak* in the foreword, echoing *data causa* in the Latin title; *ett nytt Wäsende* (p. 20), a translation of *res novas* (*Historia Belli*, p. 19); *winna sitt vpsåth* (p. 24), a translation of *voti compotes fore* (*Historia Belli*, p. 23).

The problem of Latin *syntactical influence* on Swedish in the 17th century through translations is briefly touched on by Bengt Heuman in his monograph

⁴⁵⁷ Again, only the material listed on p. 112 is taken into account.

⁴⁵⁸ Apart from the oldest loans, like *mur* or *klöster*, they are usually printed in antiqua, not in blackletter as the rest of the Swedish text. This feature is quite common for the early modern typography.

⁴⁵⁹ An exception seems to be Olof Verelius, whose bilingual *Manuductio ad Runographiam* (the Swedish version of which is most probably a translation of the Latin one) is utterly parsimonious as regards Latin loanwords in the Swedish text.

Tendenser till fastare meningsbyggnad i prosatexter från svensk stormaktstid. Heuman shows how embedding the subordinate clause into the main one gradually becomes common practice in learned Swedish prose of the 17th century. The foreign stylistic influence (Latin, German and, to some extent, French) must have been an important factor in this development. However, Heuman gives a negative answer to the question of whether this influence found its way into Swedish through translations.⁴⁶⁰ He notes that both Schroderus and Sylvius (*translatores regii*) avoid embedding the subordinate clause into the main one, usually substituting this construction by putting the subordinate clause before the main one; the embedding of the subordinate clause before the verb is not attested in Heuman's investigated material from Schroderus and is somewhat less common in Sylvius than in Swedish prose of his time in general. These results are interesting, but in my opinion they should be treated as highly preliminary and not particularly representative; firstly, because Heuman treats only two of about 50 known translators; secondly and more importantly, because he treats just the two most productive (apart from Petrus Johannis Gothus) and experienced of them. One should bear in mind that 75% of translators were "amateurs", i.e. only translated one work in their career, and about 15% translated two to three works. Their total production arrives at about two-thirds of printed translations.⁴⁶¹ It would only be natural if the language and style of these translations differ in some respects from the products of their apparently more skillful colleagues.

Inadvertently Heuman himself provides us with a perfect example of direct Latin influence when a subordinate clause is embedded before the verb: Widekindi plays a prominent role in his statistical account, being a representative of the most refined prose of the second half of the century.⁴⁶² However, now that we know that Widekindi's Swedish text is largely a translation from Latin – and Heuman does not take it into account – we may state that in at least four⁴⁶³ of six examples of embedding a subordinate clause

⁴⁶⁰ Heuman 1960: 88–93.

⁴⁶¹ The figures follow Hansson 1982: 14–15. Unfortunately, Hansson does not indicate which works from her list are translated from Latin, but my superficial search yields figures similar to these, which regard printed translations from all languages.

⁴⁶² Heuman 1960: 61, 68.

⁴⁶³ In one more the Swedish text probably gives a fuller rendering of the Latin draft than the revised Latin version, where the syntactical structure is changed; I do not quote it here.

before the verb taken from *Krijgz-historie* the text is compiled from the Latin source and thus the Latin version should be consulted.⁴⁶⁴

1	Och ther någon... funnes handla något som luppe emoot Stillståndet/ then samma/ om Ryssen kunde öfwerkomma/ <u>hade</u> han Macht handtera effter sin egen willia. ⁴⁶⁵	Si qui... contra inducias quicquam ausi fuerint, Moschus interemptos impune <u>tollat</u> .
2	Thenna/ fast än hans Broder... honom alfwarligen rådde/ at han sigh i thetta Bulret intet inmängia måtte/ <u>stodh</u> lijkwist fast widh sin fattade Resolution.	Is etsi a fratre suo... moneretur , ne se turbis hisce immisceret, <u>perstitit</u> tamen in proposito.
3	Men Konungen... när han således förnam gemevterna/ och hade wäl vthspanet/ huru thet stood til både i Staden Muskou som i thet Demetrianiske Lägret/ <u>skickar</u> strax ther emoot sine Gesanter...	Ille autem... explorato prius statu belligerantium ad urbem Moschuam, et animorum motibus exacte cognitis, legatos... <u>mittit</u> .
4	Herr Ewerdt Horn/ ehuruwäl han ingen sold hafwer bekommit för sine Soldater... tager doch medh sigh 2. tusend Engländer och Frantzoser/ och Baratinski 4. tusend Rysser/ och <u>reesa</u> ...	Edvardus Hornius a Suischio sollicitatus, quamquam stipendiis non rite solutis detrectantem traheret militem... assumptis tamen duobus millibus Anglorum Gallorumque, et Boratinus selectis quatuor millibus Moschorum... <u>advolant</u> .

These four examples are illustrative: in numbers 2 and 4 the embedding of the subordinate clause is a direct copy of the Latin structure, whereas in numbers 1 and 3 it is a rendering of *participium coniunctum* and *ablativus absolutus* respectively, which in both cases also stand before the verb.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁴ Heuman actually gives some Latin parallels for examples from Verelius' *Manuductio ad Runographiam*, just two pages after (Heuman 1960: 63), but not for examples from Widekindi.

⁴⁶⁵ The embedded clause in Swedish and the corresponding element in Latin are in bold style, the finite verb of the main clause is underlined.

⁴⁶⁶ The same is the case with Heuman's examples of attributive barrier (i.e. embedding of a subordinate clause, an adverb or the like between the noun and its closest attribute) taken from Widekindi (Heuman 1960: 44): *Han... bleff dödh/ icke vthan Fadrens (när sinnet nu war öfwer)... störste sorg* is a translation of the Latin (most probably going back to the lost

Thus the translator of Widekindi's text into Swedish seems to be more inclined to translate embedding by embedding than Schroderus and Sylvius are. Of course, this material is not as rich as to count as representative either; however, it seems to be quite illustrative. The question about the role of translations from Latin in the breakthrough of embedded clauses in 17th century Swedish should remain open for further research.

3. How many translators were there?

Last but not least, we should turn back to Widekindi's own words about his working process in the letter to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie. He claims that *Historia* was first written in Latin and then translated into Swedish, partly by himself and partly by other people.⁴⁶⁷ This is not quite correct: as we have seen in chapter 4, the Swedish text is sometimes a direct quotation from the source and sometimes a translation from Latin contaminated by the wording of the source. Perhaps the historiographer did not find it relevant to describe for the Chancellor all the details of his working process. However, as regards the help from other people, we do not need, of course, to suspect any falsity in Widekindi's statement. He did have some assistants in his work as historiographer⁴⁶⁸ and was indeed much occupied with various projects.

My attempts to find any statistic evidence for dividing *Krijgz-Historie* into parts created by different people have not led to any clear and certain results. Differences in rendering frequent Latin words in most cases do not constitute any patterns: the common situation is that there is one main possibility and several synonyms spread here and there without any visible conglutations. To turn to the Swedish text irrespectively of the Latin is somewhat more effective. Here is the distribution (%) of the negative particles *intet*, *icke* and *ey* – with the overall score of almost 300 occurrences in the material.

part of Axel Oxenstierna's historical relation) *Non sine parentis ad se reversi... maerore paulo post interiit*, and the immediately following example (only referred to, without a quotation) *Om hwilketz (mädan thet ett vphoff och tilfälle war/ at ock the Swenske kommo i spelet med) Begynnelse och framgång/ at man något meera wetta må* is a translation of the Latin *Hujus (quod causam invitamentumque Svecis eo armorum transferendorum dedit) ut origo seriesque exponatur*.

⁴⁶⁷ In case Widekindi was in fact one of the translators, it makes his Swedish text an instance of self-translation, a relatively rare phenomenon in general and an extremely rare one for Early Modern Sweden.

⁴⁶⁸ Bennich-Björkman 1970: 232. Cf. above, n. 167 and p. 45.

	<i>intet</i>	<i>icke</i>	<i>ey</i>
1	63	33	4
2	64	24	2
3	41	54	5
4	40	51	9
5	37.5	62.5	0
6	32	62	6
7–8	38	62	0

The particle *ey* is marginal,⁴⁶⁹ whereas between the two main alternatives we can see a clear predilection for *intet* in the first two books and a clear predilection for *icke* in the rest of *Krijgz-Historie*.

The distribution of (most often fully interchangeable) prepositions *på/vppå*, *i/vthi* and *aff/vthaff* points in the same direction.

	<i>på</i>	<i>vppå</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>vthi</i>	<i>aff</i>	<i>vthaff</i>	shorter variant overall	longer variant overall
1	96	4	73	27	98	2	86	14
2	97	3	88	12	99	1	93	7
3	95	5	65	35	96	4	82	18
4	91	9	69	31	91	9	82	18
5	76	24	66	34	84	16	74	26
6	90	10	38	62	69	31	61	39
7–8	90	10	35	65	78	22	61	39

Both in the overall score, and for each of the three pairs separately, the first two books show the lowest figures for the longer forms.

⁴⁶⁹ Noteworthy is its relative frequency (up to 30%) in books 8–10, i.e. in the parts of the text based directly on the Swedish sources. Another difference between the language of the translation and the language of the Swedish documents is the ethnonym ‘Poles’: they are almost always called *Pålacker* by Widekindi and his assistant(s), but increasingly often *Påler* in books 8–10, i.e. by Swedes at the beginning of the 17th century.

All these statistic results give, in my opinion, a strong impression that the first two books⁴⁷⁰ are to be separated from the others. These others are, however, difficult to come to any firm conclusion about.

Still, the clearest evidence that there was more than one person involved in the work is, in my opinion, provided by an odd passage in the middle of book 4 (chapters 7–8). It is peculiar for several reasons.

1. At least three serious translation mistakes are made in the space of three pages.

The passage describes Żółkiewski's arrival at the scene of the actions. He learns that the Swedish commander Evert Horn has not managed to seize the fortress of Belaya:

<i>Historia Belli</i> , 155–156	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , 189–190
Is comperto Hornii discessu metu obsidionis solutam esse Bialam... ad Suischianorum exercitum, quem Mosaisci degere rumor attulerat, festinare decreverat. ⁴⁷¹	När han nu förnam Herr Horn wara affrester/ och Bialam vpigfwen aff redzlo at han skulle där belägras/ tänckte han... skynda sigh effter dhen Suischianiske Krijghären/ som då sades liggia vthi Moschou. ⁴⁷²

The fortress is rescued from the fear of siege – in Swedish it is ‘left because of the fear’ that unidentified ‘he’ (referring most probably to Evert Horn) would ‘be besieged’ there – or possibly ‘encamp’⁴⁷³ there, which is somewhat better.

<i>Historia Belli</i> , 156	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , 190
Sed dum hos olim Demetrianos partim per alios partim ipse compellat, rationibus hortatur, et spe promissisque ad conjungendas copias invitat, edocetur, Ducem	När han altså dhesse fordom Demetrianiske/ endeels genom andra/ endels sielff ihoopdrager/ beweecker och förmaner han med stoora Lyfften them alla at wara eense med sigh och wara en Mann.

⁴⁷⁰ They also demonstrate a moderate statistic deviation as regards lexical component of TRIX, namely 7.

⁴⁷¹ “When he became aware that due to Horn’s retreat Belaya was free from the fear of a siege, he decided to hasten towards Shuysky’s army, which the rumour reported to stay in Mozhaysk”.

⁴⁷² “Now that he became aware that Sir Horn was gone and Belaya given up of fear that he would encamp there, he planned to hasten after Shuysky’s army, which was reported to stay in Moscow”.

⁴⁷³ SAOB s. v. *belägra* II.

Suschium Mosasci commorantem
praemisisse Gregorium
Volvievium.⁴⁷⁴

Sedan förkunnas dhet/ at Fältherren
Suschievius, hwilken lågh i Moschou/
skulle hafwa vthskickat Gregorium
Volieuski.⁴⁷⁵

The translator of the Swedish text has rendered the sentence almost meaningless, by understanding *hortatur* and *invitat* as predicates of the main clause and taking *compellare* for *compellere*.

<i>Historia Belli</i> , 157	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , 191
Plumbea glande amisso pedestris suae militiae ductore Martino Veihero, victoriae gratiam laetitiamque perdit. ⁴⁷⁶	Effter som hans Öfwerste för Soldatesken Martin Veiher war omkommen med sin munition/ förlorade han den hugnad och ähra han sigh då igenom victorien hade kunnat förskaffa. ⁴⁷⁷

The colonel is killed by a bullet – this detail is not mentioned in the Swedish text, where he ‘perished together with his equipment’ – probably the translator was unfamiliar with the expression *plumbea glans*.⁴⁷⁸

We have, of course, seen translation mistakes elsewhere in the text, but they are, firstly, never conglobated in this way and, secondly, usually prompted by some apparent ambiguity in Latin, not by its heavy syntax or rare words.

⁴⁷⁴ “But while he, partly through other persons, partly himself, is addressing these former adherents of Dmitry, encouraging them with different arguments, and inviting them with the help of hopes and promises to unite their forces with him, he is informed that Prince Shuysky who was staying in Mozhaysk, has sent forward Grigory Valuyev”.

⁴⁷⁵ “So when he, partly through other persons, partly himself, calls them together, he persuades and encourages them all with the help of great promises to come to enter into an agreement with him and to make common cause. Thereafter it is announced that commander Shuysky who was staying in Moscow, has sent forward Grigory Valuyev”.

⁴⁷⁶ “He loses all the profit and joy of victory by losing Martin Veiher, the captain of the infantry, through a lead bullet”.

⁴⁷⁷ “As his colonel Martin Veiher perished together with his ammunition, he lost the joy and honour which the victory could provide him with”.

⁴⁷⁸ On this expression, see Helander 2004: 183. – Another lexical stab in the dark of that kind seems to be *på sina Lodior* (‘on their boats’) in the same passage, corresponding (?) to *per uligines* (‘through the marshes’) in the Latin text.

2. Proper names are rendered in an unusual (even unique) way:

- Żółkiewski is called *Zolkoviskou* and *Zolkevius* instead of the usual *Zolkefski*⁴⁷⁹
- Shuysky is called *Suschievius* instead of the usual *Suischi*⁴⁸⁰
- Moscow is spelled twice in the passage as *Mosko*, whereas the usual variants are *Muskou*, *Muschou* and *Moschou*⁴⁸¹
- the town of Mozhaysk, *Mosaiscum* in Latin – not a rare toponym in Widekindi's work⁴⁸² – is twice erroneously rendered as *Moschou* instead of *Mosaisko*.

Again, there is no strict consistency in spelling proper names elsewhere in the text either (not to talk about some wild distortions of Russian toponyms), but this inconsistency is of different nature. One and the same person can, of course, have spelled Shuysky as *Suischi*, *Suischij* and *Sujschi*, but it would be very strange if the same person after repeating the name in these ways many dozens of times had suddenly chosen to invent some Latin-like alternative.

3. There are some peculiarities in the Swedish language of the passage:

- the rare demonstrative pronoun *dhenne här* occurs three times in the passage, i.e. as many as in the rest of *Krijgz-Historie*
- the word *Förstad* is used only once more in the text, and only here is it a translation of *urbs*
- the sentence *Ty skickades Kazanoski förvth tillijka medh Zoborosci at dhe genom sitt mootstånd skulle Fienden något lijtet vphålla* contains the verb *skicka* ('to send') with a final clause, a construction with only one parallel in *Krijgz-Historie* (279: *Herr Iacob... förskickade Cobron tijt... at han ther igenom försäkra måtte/ huruledes the woro til sinnes*); the goal of sending somebody by *skicka* and its compounds is elsewhere expressed through the infinitive (23 times, including five with the additional preposition *til*) or by a relative clause with *skulle* / *måtte* (eight times)
- the sentence *Herr Jacob De la Gardie han war tå stadder på Wägen emellan Mosko och Mosaisko* is noteworthy because of the pleonastic

⁴⁷⁹ This form occurs 49 times in the Swedish text; four more times as *Zolkeffski*, three more times as *Solkefski*.

⁴⁸⁰ 91 times in the Swedish text, not to count several slightly different orthographical variants.

⁴⁸¹ 172, 22 and 18 times respectively.

⁴⁸² 22 occurrences in the Latin text.

personal pronoun (*han*) after the subject;⁴⁸³ I have not observed any more instances of it in *Krijgz-Historie*.

All this is, in my opinion, enough to claim that the passage in question is originally translated by someone other than the main translator(s) of the rest of the text.⁴⁸⁴ Widekindi seems to have edited these pages (Żółkiewski's name, for instance, is also spelled in the ordinary way here), but not with such accuracy as to exterminate all the misses.

Conclusions

Widekindi's claim that he had some assistance in translating his Latin text into Swedish is corroborated by intrinsic evidence. Some statistic differences suggest that the two first books⁴⁸⁵ belong together and should be separated from the following books, although a temporal gap in the work of one and the same person is not to be excluded. On the other hand, the odd passage in book 4 is strong evidence that more than one person was involved in the translation.

Heterogeneous as it is, the Swedish translation from Latin is in many respects similar to other translations from Latin into Swedish in the 17th century, although it can be characterized as relatively free in both lexical and grammatical aspects. Just like other translations of the period, it also provides us with rich material to investigate different aspects of Latin influence on the Early Modern Swedish, some of which have been touched upon in this chapter.

5.2. Literary aspects

In this section I am going to treat the differences between the two versions. I have chosen not to divide these differences according to the textological situation, partly because this situation is too intricate, large segments of the Swedish text having been unsystematically revised after the translation from

⁴⁸³ See SAOB s. v. *han* I.1.g.γ.

⁴⁸⁴ It is difficult to determine the exact borders of the passage; yet more uncertain is, of course, whether the person who had his finger in the pie here also translated any other passages of the Latin text.

⁴⁸⁵ There are reasons to assume that it was Widekindi himself who translated them: firstly, it is just natural to realize that one has time troubles only in the course of the work; secondly, a revision of books 3–7 with the help of the sources might witness of some discontent with the translation.

Latin, partly because many of the tendencies I have identified actually work irrespective of which of the texts is the primary one. Thus, the analysis in this section should be regarded as “synchronic”; no or little attention is paid to the genesis of each passage, and phrases like “omission in Latin” or “improvement in Latin” should be taken for “omission in Latin or addition in Swedish” and “improvement in Latin or breakdown in Swedish” respectively. As for the genesis, a general statement will suffice and should be borne in mind: of course, the character of the sources is the most important factor at least at the level of the larger text-entities (paragraphs). I have not found instances where a large passage taken from Kobierzycki is present only in the Swedish version or, vice versa, where a large passage originating from some Swedish document from the National Archives is present only in the Latin version.⁴⁸⁶

The chapter is divided into three main parts. In the first part, I discuss the supposed ideological differences between the two versions and try to identify the actual ones. In the second part, I describe the differences concerning larger text entities, making an attempt to classify and explain the omissions and transpositions of them. The third part is called *Stylistic differences*, but this title is somewhat free; in actual fact, the chapter deals with a broad range of phenomena which concern smaller text entities (words and phrases) without affecting the actual message of each passage, but which at the same time are not confined to strictly linguistic details.

To contextualize my results in the third part, I have looked for similar features in some short excerpts from other Swedish-Latin bilingual editions and translations of the 17th century, namely:

- the first volume of Olof Rudbeck's *Atland eller Manheim* (1679), including Rudbeck's Swedish text, as well as the Latin translation by Andreas Norcopensis;
- *Manuductio ad Runographiam* (1675) by Olof Verelius with a parallel Latin-Swedish text;
- *Refractio Solis Inoccidui* (1695) by Johan Bilberg with a parallel Latin-Swedish text;⁴⁸⁷
- *Schola captivitatis* (1632, 2nd edition 1644) by Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm, with a parallel Swedish translation by Samuel Kempe;

⁴⁸⁶ Differences between the Latin and the vernacular versions due to the use of different sources have also been noted in Du Bellay's case (Tucker 1990: 133–136; cf. Ginsberg 1997: 435–436).

⁴⁸⁷ In neither Verelius' nor Bilberg's book is it indicated which of the texts is the original one. My own strong impression, especially regarding Verelius' book, where the correspondence between the two texts is stricter, is that the Swedish texts are translations from Latin, not vice versa. However, the question is definitely in need of an accurate scholarly analysis.

- the Swedish declaration of war against Denmark (*Manifest; förklarandes orsakerne...*) published in 1644 and its anonymous Latin translation (*Manifestum, declarans causas...*) from the same year;
- Ericus Schroderus' Swedish translation (1620) of *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus* by Johannes Magnus;
- Johan Sylvius' Swedish translation (1682) of *Historiae Alexandri Magni* by Curtius Rufus.

Whenever relevant, examples from these works will be given.

1. Ideological differences

Widekindi himself claims that the Swedish and the Latin version are intended to complete each other⁴⁸⁸ and sometimes even refers to the Latin version in his Swedish text and vice versa.⁴⁸⁹ By these conditions, any significant differences between the two versions concerning their main message(s) would have been surprising. My analysis has led to the conclusion that there are, in general, no such differences.

The editors of the Russian translation, in a search for a connection between the publication of Widekindi's work and the development of the Swedish-Russian relations in 1671–1672, imply that the Latin version is more 'Russian-friendly', because:

- it does not include the last two books with the open war events (1613–1617);
- it does not include the genealogical appendix, which casts into doubt the right of the Romanovs to the Russian crown;
- it does not include anti-Russian insults (*антирусские выпады*) like mordacious assimilation (*язвительное уподобление*) of the Russian orthodoxy to Catholicism;
- it depicts Poland as the only enemy of Sweden, whereas the Swedish version opposes both Russia and Poland to Sweden.⁴⁹⁰

As for the last point, one can only remark that as generalizing as it is, and as important as it could be, no evidence at all is adduced that might corroborate it.

As for the religious 'assimilation', the passage in question reads as follows (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 473–474):

⁴⁸⁸ In the dedicatory letter to De la Gardie in the Swedish version.

⁴⁸⁹ Widekindi, *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 157 (marginal note), Widekindi, *Historia Belli*, p. 127 (marginal note), p. 420.

⁴⁹⁰ Kovalenko et al. 2000: 559.

Thet är tilförena mäلت huru enständigt the Moschowiter anhållit hade om Hert. Carl Philips ankomst i Ryssland at ther blifwa antagen för theas Zar. Men orsaken til thetta drögmål/ hafwer man så vthtryckeligen vthur Archivo ey kunnat hämta. Enckiedrotningenes Moderliga hierta emoot sin yngste och än tå omyndige son/ syntes wäl wara thet högsta skäl som hindrade thetta förehafwande/ at Hertigen icke måtte sändas aff Landet/ och incorporeras vthi en Nation, hwilken än tå höltz före/ at wara til Religion så Heden/ som han aff våra bleff för grooff och Barbarisk til lefwerne och seder achtat. Men Konung Gustaff, som kände den Ryska Nation til Religion vthi thess rätta förstånd/ ju altijdh så godh Christen som the Påweske/ och til macht och rikedom swarsgodh emoot the störste Konungarijken vthi Europa, hade fattat ett nogare ögnemärke i på thet Ryska förehafwande.⁴⁹¹

The dowager queen is afraid to send her son into a ‘heathen’ country – but Gustavus Adolphus is better informed about Russian matters, and considers the nation ‘at least’⁴⁹² as Christian as the Catholics.⁴⁹³ The point is that to send Charles Philip (whose uncle, King John, had sent his son to rule Catholic Poland just a couple of decades before) to Russia is **not** a problem from the religious point of view. It is also noteworthy that Widekindi consequently avoids any direct or indirect evaluative judgements regarding the Russian Orthodoxy in both versions of his work. The reason for omitting this passage in the Latin version is his general commitment to be concise in book 8; the

⁴⁹¹ “It has been mentioned before how persistently the Russians applied for Prince Charles Philip’s arrival to Russia to be adopted as their tsar. But it has been impossible to find in the Archives the explicit reasons for the delay. The motherly heart of the dowager queen caring for her youngest and still underage son seems to have been the primary reason that prevented the Prince’s voyage from the country and his adoption in the nation that was among our people regarded as heathen in religion as well as rough and barbarian in character and customs. But King Gustavus, understanding that the Russian nation had a correct notion of religious matters and was at least as Christian as the papists, as well as capable in power and richness compared to the greatest kingdoms of Europe, had taken more interest in the Russian affairs”.

⁴⁹² See SAOB s. v. *alltid* 3.

⁴⁹³ The question of whether the Russians actually were to be regarded as Christians was of high importance for the Swedish authorities throughout the 17th century. The most essential contributions to the discussion were *Theses de quaestione, utrum Muschovitae sint Christiani?* (1620) by Johannes Botvidi and *Exercitatio Historico-Theologica de statu Ecclesiae et religionis Moscoviticae* (1704–1705) by Nicolaus Bergius. For modern research on these treatises, see Mokroborodova 2013 and Hedlund 2012 followed by Bergius 2019 respectively.

discourse about what the dowager queen thought and what Gustavus Adolphus understood better does not move the main narrative anywhere and can, without further ado, be left out as an insignificant detail.

Omission of the two last books is difficult to explain in terms of “pro-Russian” or “anti-Russian” tendencies. Certainly, they contain the description of the open Russian-Swedish war in 1613–1617 (as opposed to Swedish help against the Poles in 1609–1610 and the attempts to enthrone Charles Philip in 1611–1613, in both cases still parallel to the military actions against different Russian opponents), but it does not lead to any visible change of the author’s attitude and does not mean that Widekindi pretends in his Latin version that nothing happened after 1613. There is, in fact, evidence that he intended to publish in Latin something more than synopses of books 9 and 10. Describing the lengthy negotiations between the Swedes and the Poles about the armistice in 1613, Widekindi concludes:

Quae res per totum autumnum inter ipsos agitata, ad finem perducī non poterat ante XIII. Calend. Februarij AN. M DC XIV. **quod in illis actis non reticebitur**⁴⁹⁴ (*Historia Belli*, p. 429).

We cannot exclude that books 9 and 10 were ready for publication in Latin and that some political considerations of the Chancellor stood behind their omission. However, the drastic shortening of book 8, along with the type of the sources used (see the chapter on the documentary sources), rather makes one think that the reasons for leaving out the two last books were pragmatical, the translation of the huge Swedish- and German-language material into Latin being too time-consuming.

The only point where it is impossible not to agree with the editors of the Russian translation concerns the genealogical appendix. Its omission in the Latin version had, indeed, political reasons, as it was prescribed by Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie. Widekindi talks about it himself in his letter to the Chancellor:⁴⁹⁵

Interim contestari iussit obsequij debitum, me Literis Illustr. Excellentiae Tuae decenti veneratione acceptis, illico paruisse, et ex opere Moschovitico atque adeo omni memoria erasisse Appendicem illam genealogicam. Certum quidem

⁴⁹⁴ “These negotiations between them, dragged out through the whole autumn, could not come to an end until 20 January 1614, as will not be left unsaid in the chronicle of that time”.

⁴⁹⁵ Widekindi’s letter to M. G. De la Gardie, Stockholm, 15 March 1672. Cf. above, p. 43.

est, Theodorum Michaelovizium tunc temporis nulla mentione consanguineitatis vel affinitatis cum magna Basilidum familia, sed fortuita electionis sorte primum a Cosacis proclamatum, et deinde <...> a Bajoris in Magnum Ducem confirmatum fuisse. <...> Lubenter sapientissimo iudicio tuo acquiesco, volens veritatem aeterna potius oblivione obrutam, quam cum periculoso fato luctari.⁴⁹⁶

Apart from in the appendix, Widekindi apparently tried to restore the legitimacy of the Romanovs on some sensitive points in book 8. Thus, the following passage (*Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 486–487) has no correspondence in Latin:

Och hade the nu allaredo medh ett allmänt roop fäst sitt sinne och begär in på Metropolitens Knäs Feodor Romanoffs son/ som war til personen vthi en tilwäxande ålder medh en berömligh försichtigheet; til affkomsten/ aff the förnemligaste Familier vthi heela Ryssland/ **doch icke förbunden i blodet medh Vasiliorum familie**, hwilket är granneligen märckiandes för the praetexter skul/ som the aff thess falske föregifwande hafwa welat tagha til alla the Länder/ som den store Ivan Vasilivitz hafwer medh swerd eller list lagdt vnder Ryssland.⁴⁹⁷

– and somewhat earlier the slight difference when describing the election of the Grand Prince is characteristic: *plurimorumque vota ferri in Michaellem*

⁴⁹⁶ “Meanwhile, the debt of compliance compels me to attest that after receiving the letter of Your Illustrious Excellence with decent reverence, I have immediately obeyed to it and erased the genealogical appendix from the work on Muscovy and thus from all memory. Surely, Fyodor Mikhailovich was at that time firstly proclaimed the Grand Prince by the Cossacks and then confirmed by the Boyars without any mention of kinship or relationship by marriage to the great dynasty of the Basilids, but rather by an accidental election. I am gladly consenting with your most wise opinion and want the truth rather to be buried by an eternal oblivion than to struggle against the dangerous fate”.

⁴⁹⁷ “And now they had already, with common opinion, fixed their minds and desires on the son of the bishop, Prince Fyodor Romanov, who was, as regards his personal qualities, youthful and of praiseworthy cautiousness. As for origin, he belonged to the noblest families of Russia, but not a kinsman to the family of Vasilys, a detail to be observed in the light of the pretexts employed in their false claims when pretending to all the lands, which the great Ivan Vasilievich had subdued under Russia with either sword or wile”.

*Feodorovitzium*⁴⁹⁸ in Latin (*Historia Belli*, p. 386), but *en deel fallit på en widh namn Knäs Michael Feodorovitz*⁴⁹⁹ in Swedish (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 485).

So much for Widekindi's attitude to Russia. I have observed just two more (slight) ideological tendencies in the Latin version compared to the Swedish one, both regarding the image of the Swedes themselves.

Firstly, Widekindi (sometimes) omits or reworks in the Swedish version passages and phrases implying intrinsic discord between the Swedish royals or commanders. Thus, the only passage in book 1 which is not translated into Swedish goes as follows (*Historia Belli*, p. 9):

... Convulso quoque interno regni statu, ob studia partium, quae praecipuae dignitatis senatores errantibus obsequiis sectabantur. Quod tamen malum, forensi actione, nonnullis pro nocentibus, ex ratione temporis plexis, sublatum, deinceps evanuit.⁵⁰⁰

That is, the reader of the Swedish text does not learn here that the support of Charles IX in Sweden in the beginning of the 17th century was far from unanimous. A sentence on the next page seems to be modified in the Swedish text due to similar considerations:

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 10	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 7
Interim non desistebant exules ciere motus in Patria, missis hinc inde literis cum privatis ad incolas Regni; tum sub nomine Regio, ad Johannem Ducem Ostrogothiae, Sigismundi fratrem , quarum quaedam typis evulgatae extant, ut si vel hunc amoris fraterni necessitudo , vel illos taedium praesentis status, aut memoria veteris	J medler tijd wände the Landzflychtige icke åter at vpwäckia i Fäderneslandet buller och oenigheet/ genom åthskillige här och ther kringspridde Bref/ så privat som och vnder Konungens Namn skrefne/ aff hwilke någre äro på trycket vthgångne/ alt til then ändan/ at om någre woro som anten boro een ledzna til närwarande Stat, eller förde sigh thet

⁴⁹⁸ "That many people's votes were cast for Mikhail Fyodorovich".

⁴⁹⁹ "Some people supported the one whose name was Prince Mikhail Fyodorovich".

⁵⁰⁰ "As the internal condition of the realm was undermined as well, for the adherence to the diverse parties, inconsistently followed by the most distinguished officials. This calamity was helped by a legal action, where some persons were found guilty and penalized according to the conditions of the time, and from then on it vanished".

regiminis excitare posset, occasionibus
uterentur.⁵⁰¹

förra Regementet til minnes/ kunde the
thetta tilfälle få bruka sigh til godo.⁵⁰²

In book 5, Jacob De la Gardie tries to persuade Charles IX to give a decent reward to his officers, as the absence of such a reward may be as dangerous for the king as *Diadema capitis sui vellicare*⁵⁰³ (*Historia Belli*, p. 223). In Swedish, the potential damage is more vague, *så skadeligit som thet någon sinn kunde wara*⁵⁰⁴ (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 282). In book 6, a quarrel between the Swedish commanders is erased from the Swedish text: Evert Horn has to stop the attempts to take Pskov, *cum apparatus militaris ad tanti operis molimina perficienda a Narvae praefecto Philippo Scheding invidente forte gloriae Hornianae, negaretur*⁵⁰⁵ (*Historia Belli*, p. 310). In Swedish, the envy is not mentioned, Scheding refuses to send the guns *aff hwariohanda orsaak*⁵⁰⁶ (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 382). After the death of Charles IX, Jacob De la Gardie orders his soldiers to swear an oath to Gustavus Adolphus, and only the Latin text has an explanation: *Fluxa forte militum fide per conciliationes Polonicas*⁵⁰⁷ (*Historia Belli*, p. 335). Gustavus Adolphus could harbour some suspicions against De la Gardie himself *eo praesertim tempore cum sceptrorum Svecicorum jura controverterentur*⁵⁰⁸ (*Historia Belli*, p. 366) – the phrase is, again, omitted in Swedish.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰¹ “Meanwhile, the exiles did not stop provoking turbulence in their fatherland, sending here and there letters, some private and addressed to the inhabitants of the realm, others under the name of the king and addressed to John, the Duke of Östergötland, Sigismund’s brother; some of them have been published. The letters aimed at encouraging John, if he could be stirred up by the ties of fraternal love, or the inhabitants of the realm, if they could be stirred up by the aversion against the present regime and the memory of the previous rule, to use their opportunities”.

⁵⁰² “Meanwhile, the exiles did not stop to provoke noise and discord in their fatherland by spreading here and there numerous letters, written both privately and under the name of the king. Some of them have been published. Their aim was that, if there were some who were discontent with the present regime or remembered the previous rule, they could use this opportunity”.

⁵⁰³ “To pinch his own crown”.

⁵⁰⁴ “As harmful as it could ever be”.

⁵⁰⁵ “As the military equipment necessary for such large-scale operations was denied by Philip Scheding, the commandant of Narva, who was perhaps envious of Horn’s glory”.

⁵⁰⁶ “For various reasons”.

⁵⁰⁷ “As the fidelity of the soldiers was perhaps shaky due to the Polish intrigues”.

⁵⁰⁸ “Especially at the time when the right to the Swedish throne was disputed”.

⁵⁰⁹ One more mention of Gustavus Adolphus’ discontent with De la Gardie, this time concerning the negotiations with Novgorod, is made on p. 419 of the Latin text, with a remark: *Moverant Regi levem suspicionem invidi vel aemuli in aula* (‘Envious or rivalrous persons at the court

Secondly, the image of the Swedes in international politics is sometimes slightly better in the Swedish version than in the Latin. As Charles IX asks the English king to allow his ships to join the English ones in the Turkish territorial waters (with an intent to instigate the Turks against the Poles), the answer is as follows:

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 36	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 43
Responsum erat, Regem quidem annuere votis Svecorum, si commerciorum, non belli in Christianos excitandi causa eo ituri essent. ⁵¹⁰	Men såsom then Engelske Konungen/ intet annorledes wille ther til forstå/ än på Commerciernes Wägnar... ⁵¹¹

In the synopsis of book 4 De la Gardie's actions after the battle of Klushino are described in Latin as *discedit ad limites, et hostilia molitur*⁵¹² (*Historia Belli*, p. 134), but more innocently in Swedish: *reaser til Swenske Grentzen/ at samla een nye Armee*⁵¹³ (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 164). One of the possible reasons why the inhabitants of Kexholm resisted against the secession of the town to Sweden is *nostrorum praedandi libido*⁵¹⁴ (*Historia Belli*, p. 139) – the phrase is omitted in the Swedish text (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 170). In the last agreement between Vasily Shuysky and Jacob De la Gardie the paragraph with the Swedish obligations (eventually not fulfilled) is only present in the Latin text (*Historia Belli*, p. 141, cf. *Krijgz-Historie*, p. 173). Many inhabitants of Novgorod drown in the river during the city's seizure by De la Gardie at the end of book 5; in the Swedish text, there is a remark: *ehuru wäl Herr IACOB gaff Salvaguardie åth alla dem som intet Gewärn förde*⁵¹⁵ (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 318), also repeated in the synopsis (p. 229). The Latin text (*Historia Belli*, p. 250) does not contain such a remark, and in the synopsis (p. 187) it is the Swedes who *in aquam agunt*⁵¹⁶ the Novgorodians. In the same episode the

had made the King slightly suspicious'), which is also omitted in Swedish. This time, however, we may classify the omitted phrase as a sort of belletristic addition in the Latin text, as Widekindi's image of De la Gardie is largely based on Kobierzycki's image of Żółkiewski, who suffers a lot from *invidi vel aemuli in aula*.

⁵¹⁰ "The answer was that the king supported the Swedish wishes if they were going there for the sake of trade, not to raise a war against Christian people".

⁵¹¹ "But as the English king did not want to consent to it other than for the sake of commerce...".

⁵¹² "Retreats to the border and prepares hostile actions".

⁵¹³ "Travels to the Swedish border to levy a new army".

⁵¹⁴ "Our soldiers' desire for depredation".

⁵¹⁵ "Although Sir Jacob gave immunity to all those who did not bear weapons".

⁵¹⁶ "Drive into the water".

Latin text states simply: *Fit undique atrox caedes, stragesque late infertur a milite*⁵¹⁷ (p. 249), while the Swedish text contains a sort of justification: *Nu betala våra Ryssernas otrooheet medh ett skräckelighit nederlagh öfwer alt vthi Staden*⁵¹⁸ (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 318).

These examples show that Widekindi tends to be less “patriotic” in his Latin text. Perhaps it can serve as an illustration of less strict self-censorship in Latin writings compared to the vernacular writings, a phenomenon well attested for the period.⁵¹⁹ I would like, however, once more to underline that the image of the more unanimous and less culpable Swedes in the Swedish text is not a rule, but just a tendency, and a very slight one. It is not difficult to find passages where Swedish actions are questionable or some discordance between Swedish commanders⁵²⁰ is described in both texts. The norm is, anyway, that the contents of the Latin text exactly correspond to the contents of the Swedish one, and all the main ideas of the two versions are, of course, the same.

2. Omissions and transpositions

Insignificant details and belletristic digressions

Most of the passages omitted in either of the versions cannot be characterized as ideologically charged in one or another way. These are passages that are of secondary importance and can easily be left out without any damage to the main narrative. A good example is a summary of a letter from Philip Scheduling to Jacob De la Gardie in book 3 (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 87):

Jfrån Philip Scheduling kommo tijender/ at i begynnelsen på Iunio hafwe Pålackarna warit för Narfwen medh 500 Hästar/ och vthplundrat någre Byar/ hwilka när han wille möta/ läto the Jwanogrodiske Ryskar sigh medh Båtar see vth på Elfwen/ och altså har han intet kunnat blotta Staden.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁷ “A fierce slaughter takes place from all sides, and the soldiers bring about a vast destruction”.

⁵¹⁸ “Now our soldiers pay the Russians for their infidelity with a horrible slaughter all over the city”.

⁵¹⁹ Helander 2004: 26–28.

⁵²⁰ Charles IX’s and Gustavus Adolphus’ discrepancies with De la Gardie are mentioned here and there; another prominent example is Philip Scheduling’s quarrel with Evert Horn (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 414–415; *Historia Belli*, 335).

⁵²¹ “The news came from Philip Scheduling that the Poles had been by Narva at the beginning of June with 500 horses and plundered some villages. When he wanted to confront them, the

These manoeuvres conducted by some Polish squadrons far away, near to Narva, have nothing to do with De la Gardie's campaign in central Russia and perhaps only affect the number of possible reinforcements. Widekindi does not lose anything by leaving the passage out in the Latin version.

A reversed relation may be observed in book 4, where only the Latin text (*Historia Belli*, p. 162) has a sentence borrowed from Kobierzycki:

In cujus exercitu comparuere nonnulli Moschorum clari nominis Satrapae, Andreas Gallicinus, Daniel Murcecius, Jacobus Borutinius, Basilius Buturlinus, Suischio non omnes ex aemulatione invidiaque fidi.⁵²²

Of the four nobles mentioned here, only Golitsyn and Buturlin appear elsewhere in the text (and do not play any important role). The list can thus easily be omitted – the more so because Widekindi, as we shall see, has some problems in rendering in Swedish the Russian surnames from his Latin text. Likewise there are many positional details of the Klushino battle omitted, just those borrowed from Kobierzycki. For the list of geographical passages borrowed from Petrejus and omitted in the Swedish version, see above, p. 74. The omission of numbers in either of the versions (especially in the Latin one) is also very frequent.

A special type of passages omitted in either of the versions can be defined as “belletristic digressions”. Perhaps the best example in the Swedish text is the Marina Mniszech's flight to the second False Dmitry in book 3 (*Krijgshistorie*, p. 154–155), word for word borrowed from Petrejus. On the other hand, the Swedish does not contain a philosophical commentary on the death of Charles IX (*Historia Belli*, p. 315):

Sed ita eunt res mortalium, ut reliquorum in natura. Ingentem laetitiam confundit saepius major tristitia. Mare currit ad littora, eademque undis suis tegit, quibus mox magno tractu in fretum suum redeuntibus, reddit terras

Russians from Ivangorod came in sight on the river with their boats, so he was not able to lay the city unprotected”.

⁵²² “In his army appeared some distinguished Russian commanders, Andrey Golitsyn, Daniil Mezetsky, Yakov Baryatinsky, Vasily Buturlin, but not all of them were loyal to Shuysky because of rivalry and envy”.

profundo salo antea mersas:⁵²³ exaestuatur non minus mundus, et modo faustos, modo infelices, modo laetos, modo tristes casus exhibet.⁵²⁴

Other conspicuous examples of such belletristic passages present only in either of the versions (most often in the Latin one) include: rhetorical questions of Jacob De la Gardie in his address to the mutinous soldiers (*Historia Belli*, p. 86); the comparative characteristics of De la Gardie and Skopin-Shuysky (*Historia Belli*, p. 118 – see above, p. 56); the episode with the second False Dmitry's adherents inspecting the site of his murder (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 263–264, *ad verbum* after Petrejus); a quotation from Lucan in the description of Don and Dnepr (*Historia Belli*, p. 346); and the *elogium* of the third False Dmitry (*Historia Belli*, p. 355).

Transpositions

The narrative order in the two versions is far from identical. Only the first two books are completely free from rearrangements. Further on, they often concern passages based on the Swedish documentary sources. Most of the rearrangements are relatively simple – to take a short example, here is a passage from book 5, with the same elements denoted by the same letters:

<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 312–313		<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 245	
A	Nu brista the och aldraförst vth i fiendskap/ och sättia Eelden i the Klöster och huus/ som näst kring om Staden woro/ på thet at våra icke måtte hafwa något gagn aff dem/ ⁵²⁵	A	Hi primis diebus omnes circumjectas aedes Caenobiaque exurunt, ne Nostratibus commodo essent, ⁵²⁶

⁵²³ Note an allusion to Curtius Rufus, 9.9: *Reciprocari coepit mare, magno tractu aquis in suum fretum recurrentibus, reddebatque terras paulo ante profundo salo mersas.*

⁵²⁴ “But the things of mortals go on in the same way as other things in nature. An immense gladness is often ruined by an even deeper grief. The sea runs to the shores and covers them with its waves; soon, as they run with great pull back to their channel, it reveals the lands previously submerged in deep surge. The world seethes in the same way, and displays now fortunate, now unlucky, now glad, now grievous events”.

⁵²⁵ “Now, to begin with, they <viz. the Novgorod people> burst into hostility and set fire to the monasteries and houses that lay close around the city, so that our soldiers would not get any use of them”.

⁵²⁶ “In the first days, they <viz. the Novgorod people> burn down all the surrounding houses and monasteries, so that these could not be of any use to our soldiers”.

B	och begynte at skiuta aff Wallarna/ så wijda the någon aff the Swenske räckia kunde. ⁵²⁷	C	dehinc quotidianis excursionibus pabulatores nostros fatigant, a quibus subinde multi intercepti, plures caesi, plurimi intra munimenta repressi sunt. ⁵²⁸
C	Så woro ock många ifrån Lägret aff våra förspridde vthi Lähnet/ til at förskaffa Booskap och annat som war aff nöden vthi Lägret; på dem gjorde the ock så vthaff Staden vthfall/ men blefwe medh sådant alfwar tilbakaslagne/ så at mången Ryss måtte stupa/ förr än the in om sine Portar sigh frelsa kunde. ⁵²⁹	B	Nec desinebant quotidie crebris tormentorum explosionibus ex vallo Nostrates (qua fieri poterat) appetere. ⁵³⁰

However, there are more sophisticated cases, with puzzles consisting of up to a dozen pieces. This concerns, in particular, chapter 21 (20 in the Swedish version) of book 3 and two instances in book 8, namely chapters 3–4 and chapter 10 (9 in the Swedish version). Their common trait is that they describe military events not connected with each other, geographically distant from each other and, for the most part, of local importance. Widekindi seems to summarize one after another the chronologically close reports received by Jacob De la Gardie (or the Royal Chancellery) from different sites. The result is confused and compositionally questionable in both versions; however, some of the rearrangements clearly suggest that the Latin version is the improved one here. In book 3, we first learn in the Swedish version about the merits of the Swedish officer Christer Somme, who exercised the Muscovites in the military art (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 128). Then Widekindi writes about reinforcements, De la Gardie's negotiations with Shuysky etc. in a chaotic order. Finally, on p. 131, between the loosely standing message *Kommo och*

⁵²⁷ “And began shooting from the walls as far as they could reach any of the Swedes”.

⁵²⁸ “Thereafter, they exhaust by their daily excursions our foragers, who promptly captivated many of them and killed yet more, while the most part of the Russians were driven away behind their walls”.

⁵²⁹ “Besides, there were many of our soldiers spread from the leaguer in the province to provide cattle and other things that were necessary for the leaguer. They were also exposed to an assault from the city, but the Russians were forcefully driven away, so that many of them fell, before they could shelter behind their gates”.

⁵³⁰ “And they did not stop attacking our soldiers daily by the frequent shooting of their cannons from the walls, as far as it was possible”.

*Tijender at Coporien hade gifwit sigh*⁵³¹ and a passage beginning with *Then Swenske vndsättningen med thet Ryska anhang hade gåt ifrån Pereslawe then 19 Octobris*⁵³² (note the date) Widekindi turns back to Christer Somme and tells us that he had been wounded on 28 October, whereupon De la Gardie sent him to Sweden, praising his merits in a letter to the king. In the Latin version, the two passages on Christer Somme are united (*Historia Belli*, p. 104):

Christiernus Some, qui eos quotidie exercebat, et hactenus strenui fidiq̃ue ductoris in praeliis et oppugnationibus partes obiisset, commendatur Regi a Iacobo de monasterio vulgo Skobokloster cum adjacentibus feudis accipiendo. **Idem quoque**, cum ex vulnere, in praelio prope Slobodam accepto, in castris conualescere non posset, impetrata venia Viburgum eundi, summis elogiis militaribus a Iacobo ornatur.⁵³³

Another example, now from book 8: in the Swedish version the governor of Nöteborg, Hans Boye, asks for 400 soldiers as reinforcement (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 539), but this piece of information has nothing to do either with the preceding passage (on De la Gardie's letter exchange with the Russian commanders) or with the following one (on the assignment of Mats Sigfridsson as an admiral over Swedish ships in the lake of Ladoga). In the Latin version, the information about 400 soldiers for Hans Boye is contextualized, standing in a passage on the different redistributions of the Swedish forces in the autumn of 1613 (*Historia Belli*, p. 418).

Further examples of transposition in Latin being a clear improvement of the text are a restoration of chronological order on p. 70 (cf. pp. 87–88 in *Krijgz-Historie*, where the passage in question begins with a characteristic *Lijtet tilförenne komme tijender*⁵³⁴) and p. 102 (cf. p. 126 in *Krijgz-Historie*, where 26 September comes after 30 September).

All these examples bear witness to a more accurate elaboration of the Latin text compared to the Swedish one.

⁵³¹ "The news came that Koporye had surrendered".

⁵³² "The Swedish auxiliary troops with the Russian supplement had left Pereslavl on 19 of October".

⁵³³ "Christer Somme, who had exercised them daily and until then proved himself as a vigorous and faithful leader in battles and sieges, is recommended by Sir Jacob to the king to be honoured with Skobokloster monastery and the surrounding fiefs. He also was adorned by Jacob with most high military praises, when he was not able to recover in the leaguer from his wounds, received in the battle of Sloboda, and got permission to go to Viborg".

⁵³⁴ "Shortly before the news came..."

3. Stylistic differences

The target groups of the Latin and Swedish versions were not completely different – all the learned people and a large part of the noblemen might have been supposed to read both – but the average readership of the Swedish version could be regarded as less keen on stylistic embellishment and perhaps less educated in general. This assumption, which lies close at hand, is mainly corroborated by the comparison of the two texts, and the specific features uncovered by this comparison can be grouped as follows.

Elucidations

Unlike instances listed above on p. 103, sometimes the repetitions (or rather short reminders) are not completely out of place. Widekindi is more indulgent to the reader of his Swedish version than to that of his Latin. One of the points in the Russian answer to the Polish accusations in book 3 is: *Occisos vero Moschuae Polonos quis non merito iudicet, cum tyranno sublato, assertores ejus eadem ruina obrui necessum fuerit?*⁵³⁵ (*Historia Belli*, pp. 92–93). It is not difficult to understand which Poles are meant, as the massacre is referred to in the Polish accusations a chapter before and described in book 1. However, the Swedish text includes an addition (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 114): *Men at the Påler/ som med then falske Demetrio til Muskou komme/ woro ihielslagne/ hwem wil förtänkia heller förvndra/ at när sielfwe Tyrannen och theras Anförare bleff slachtat/ at icke the ock ju moste gå samma vägen?*⁵³⁶ The phrase *Ita inter trina adversa capita jam collidi caepit Resp. Moschovitica*⁵³⁷ (*Historia Belli*, p. 124) is provided with an obvious explanation in the Swedish version (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 150): *Altså war Ryssland mächta illa vthkommit then tijden/ som likkasom i stycken sletz emellan tre Händer/ the Pálniskes/ Swenskes/ och the Demetrianiskes.*⁵³⁸

Other kinds of elucidations can also be noted in the Swedish text compared to the Latin. A mention of the town of Pernaú is provided with a specification

⁵³⁵ “But who will hold that the Poles were killed in Moscow undeservingly, as it was inevitable that, when the tyrant was murdered, his adherents would be buried by the same collapse?”

⁵³⁶ “But as regards the Poles, who had come to Moscow together with the False Dmitry, who will be surprised or amazed at the fact that when the tyrant himself, their leader, was murdered, they had to meet the same destiny?”

⁵³⁷ “So the Russian state already began to be crushed between three opposite heads”.

⁵³⁸ “So Russia suffered heavily that time, as though torn to pieces by three hands, the Polish, the Swedish, and the one of Dmitry’s adherents”.

*vthi Lijfland*⁵³⁹ (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 101). A series of appositions is conspicuous in the excursus on the river Don:

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 346	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 428
Quidam duplo majorem Istro faciunt. Herodotus ejus fontes ex nescio quibus paludibus deducit. Mela eosdem Riphæis montibus tribuit. Idem Lucanus quoque lib. 3. ⁵⁴⁰	Somlige wilia säya at hon skal wara dubbelt större än den stoore floden Donau. Den gamle Historie-skribenten Herodotus säger at denna Dona skal hafwa sitt vhrsprung vthur ett Kärr/ men förmäler intet hwar thet samma Kärret är. Den förfarne Jordennes kretz beskrifware Mela säger åter/ at hon hafwer sitt vthlopp ifrån the nampnkunnige Bergen som kallas Riphæi; medh honom instämmer och så den märckelige gamle Poeten Lucanus. ⁵⁴¹

Similar generosity in the Swedish text as compared to the Latin one can be found in Sylvius' translation of Curtius Rufus. There, the translator helps his reader by reconstructing some obvious logical steps omitted in the original:

Curtius Rufus, 3.7	Sylvius, p. 191
Iam Alexander... ad urbem Solos pervenerat; cuius potitus ducentis talentis multae nomine exactis arci praesidium militum imposuit. ⁵⁴²	Nu war Alexander... til Staden Solos framgången/ hwilcken han öfwerwan/ belade honom med 200 Talent Penninge Straff/ therföre at Borgerskapet hade antagit Darii Partij och medhåld / och besatte Slättet med sitt Krijgzfolck. ⁵⁴³

⁵³⁹ "In Livonia".

⁵⁴⁰ "Some make it twice as long as the Danube. Herodotus deduces its origins from some unknown marshes. Mela attributes them to the Riphean mountains. Likewise Lucan in book 3".

⁵⁴¹ "Some hold it to be twice as long as the large river Danube. The ancient historiographer Herodotus says that this Don has its origin in a marsh, but does not report where this marsh is located. The experienced describer of the globe Mela says that it has its outflow from the famous mountains that are called Riphean; the remarkable ancient poet Lucan also agrees with him".

⁵⁴² "Now Alexander had arrived at the city of Soli. After having obtained it and exacted 200 talents as a penalty he garrisoned the fortress with his soldiers".

⁵⁴³ "Now Alexander had arrived at the city of Soli. He overmastered it, exacted 200 talents as a penalty, because the townspeople had supported Darius, and garrisoned the fortress with his soldiers".

et Pyramo amne ponte iuncto
ad urbem Mallum pervenit⁵⁴⁴

slår öfwer Elfwen Pyramus en Bryggia/ **går**
med Armeen ther öfwer/ och kommer til
Staden Mallon⁵⁴⁵

References to classical mythology and classical literature

Here we are dealing with probably the most obvious difference between the two versions: in the Swedish text, all the names of the Roman gods and other characters of classical mythology are erased. It is not surprising in itself,⁵⁴⁶ but the consistency of this rule is noteworthy.⁵⁴⁷ Among the most interesting examples one may mention the following:

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 43	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 51–52
Sed Demetriani illis in itinere interceptis quo certioribus argumentis firmaretur novi Amphitruonis authoritas, cogunt sponsam suam rursus verisimiliore specie auspicari imperium. ⁵⁴⁸	Men the Demetrianske fingo fatt them på wägen/ och på thet/ thenna vpdichtade Demetrii auctoritet, skulle så mycket meer tiltaga och bekräftas/ twinga the henne på nytt/ at blifwa Stoor-Furstinna. ⁵⁴⁹
<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 52	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 62
Nostrates, quorum mentes (ut dici solet) ex meliori luto finxit ⁵⁵⁰ Iupiter... ⁵⁵¹	Wåra som vprichtige woro/ och aff ett ährebarare Kynne och Sinne än the andra... ⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁴ “And after having bridged the river Pyramus he arrives at the city of Mallos”.

⁵⁴⁵ “He bridges the river Pyramus, crosses it with his army and comes to the city of Mallos”.

⁵⁴⁶ The same feature has been observed in Daniel Heinsius’ Dutch and in Martin Opitz’ German versions of their Latin poems (Deneire 2013: 71, 75, 77).

⁵⁴⁷ Classical allusions in a Latin translation from Hebrew made in Sweden in the same period have been observed by Josef Eskhult (Eskhult 2007: 249–250).

⁵⁴⁸ “But the adherents of Dmitry intercept them on their way and, to reinforce the authority of the new Amphitryon with yet firmer arguments, compel his bride to inaugurate the reign again with a more verisimilar spectacle”. The passage is taken from Kobierzycki, p. 71, but the comparison of the Second False Dmitry with Amphitryon seems to be Widekindi’s own.

⁵⁴⁹ “But the adherents of Dmitry intercepted them on their way and, to augment and reinforce the authority of this False Dmitry, they compel her to become the Grand Princess again”.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. Otto 1890 s. v. *lutum* 4.

⁵⁵¹ “Our representatives, whose minds, as the saying goes, Jupiter had fashioned of a superior clay...”

⁵⁵² “Our representatives, who were sincere and of more honest nature and mind than the others...”

There are also numerous references to specific passages in Latin literature.

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 250–251	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 319–320
Moschi... Jacobum ut fulmen bellicum... prosequuntur.	Ryssar... begynte på at... wörda och ähra Herr Iacob föga annorledes än som Gudh.

Here the Russians honour Jacob De la Gardie *föga annorledes än som Gudh* ('almost as the God') in the Swedish text, whereas the Latin text has the expression *fulmen bellicum* ('the lightning of war'). Perhaps it is a higher honour to be God, but it is a very specific achievement to make 17th century citizens of Novgorod read Virgil. *Fulmina belli* is namely an expression praising Scipios in the 6th book of the *Aeneid* (6.842); it can also be found in the poem of Lucretius (3.1034).⁵⁵³

Here is another example: in book 7, the adherents of the third False Dmitry find him more and more suspect; when interrogated about his origin, he can only utter unconvincing *verba trepida luctantia lingua* (*Historia Belli*, p. 353). This is an allusion on the Ovidian hemistich *cupida luctantia lingua* in an erotic context (*Amores*, 3.7.9). The Swedish text has a plain expression *löse vhrsächter*, i. e. 'loose excuses' here (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 435).

Generally, the frequency of classical allusions in the Latin text can be described as moderate: Widekindi is far from turning the history of Swedish-Russian war into a Trojan or a Punic war, but the chronicle is here and there decorated with references to antiquity. Sometimes Widekindi borrows them from Kobierzycki, but most often adds to the text of the sources (including the documentary ones) himself.

In other bilingual texts of the 17th century, allusions to classical mythology and literature are most often omitted in Swedish as well:

⁵⁵³ Widekindi alludes to the expression (*belli illud fulmen*) in his panegyric to Queen Christina (1644), this time to praise Charles IX. The allusion was, in fact, widely spread: Lars Fornelius in his epic poem *Gustavus Sago-Togatus* (1634) calls Gustavus Vasa and Charles IX *belli duo fulmina reges*, and the expression *fulmina Martis* can be found in *Carmen votivum in natalem Udalricae Eleonorae* (1682) by Johan Columbus and in *Panegyris Supra Laudibus Erics Lindschoeldi* (1690) by Gunno Eurelius Dahlstierna.

Bilberg, p. 8	Bilberg, p. 9
viros eruditione conspicuos, quorum magnis nominibus semper assurgimus ⁵⁵⁴	så högt upplyste Män ⁵⁵⁵
Gyllenhielm & Kempe, p. 4	Gyllenhielm & Kempe, p. 5
Aegyptiacis delicijs et divitijs inhiantes ⁵⁵⁶	på wällust/ och Rijkedomar all sin hogh sättiandes ⁵⁵⁷
Gyllenhielm & Kempe, p. 6	Gyllenhielm & Kempe, p. 7
Thrasones in poculis se ostentantes ⁵⁵⁸	låta see sigh wara tappre Hieltar til at swpa och swälia ⁵⁵⁹

There are, however, exceptions (but note the elucidation as well):

Verelius, p. 3, Latin column	Verelius, p. 3, Swedish column
ad iudicium ac censuram Alectus devocet ⁵⁶⁰	will att then furien Alecto skall öfwer hans wijsor döma ⁵⁶¹

Metaphors and other figures of speech

The Latin text is richer than the Swedish as regards more or less exquisite metaphors and comparisons. Here are some examples of the Swedish text being plain where the Latin contains these stylistical adornments.

The poor condition of the Swedish state at the beginning of the 17th century is compared to an illness of a human body:

⁵⁵⁴ “Persons distinguished by their erudition, whose great names we always rise to do honour to”. Cf. Seneca, *Epistles*, 64.10.

⁵⁵⁵ “So highly educated persons”.

⁵⁵⁶ “Avid for Egyptian pleasures and riches”.

⁵⁵⁷ “Setting all their thoughts on pleasure and riches”.

⁵⁵⁸ “Displaying themselves as Thrasones over a glass”.

⁵⁵⁹ “Display themselves as bold heroes in drinking and gulping”.

⁵⁶⁰ “Appeals to the judgement and the opinion of Alecto”.

⁵⁶¹ “Wants his ditties to be evaluated by the fury Alecto”.

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 6 ⁵⁶²	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 2
atque sic distractis et animis et viribus Sveonum, vix quidquam sani in aegro corpore supereset ⁵⁶³	och altså skingrade Gemöterne och Machten i Rijket/ at thet ynkeligen war at påsee ⁵⁶⁴

The unstable relations between Sweden and Russia as well as the outbreak of the Livonian war are described with a chain of a comparison and metaphors:

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 13	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 11
Veluti tamen dolosis cineribus supposita perpetuis disceptationibus et protestationibus, cum de limitibus, tum de auctoritate tractantium, Ita sub Rege Erico et initiis Iohannis ventilata , ut funestissimi belli incendium Anno 1571. cum totius Livoniae ruina, dederint. ⁵⁶⁵	har thet likkwist... genom stadigwarande Trätor och protesterande så om Gräntzerne etc. som om theras autoritet som tractera skulle/ sakerna så trängdt och drifwit/ til thes the i K. Erickz tijd/ och K. Johans första Regementz åhr/ så wijda disputerade blefwe/ at ther aff wäxte åhr 1571 ett grufweligit Krijgh/ som förde medh sigh heela Lijflandz vndergång. ⁵⁶⁶

Vasily Shuysky's position in Moscow during the campaign of the second False Dmitry is compared to an imprisonment, and the arrival of the Swedish forces releases him:

⁵⁶² After Oxenstierna.

⁵⁶³ "And as the minds and powers of Swedes were pulled apart in this way, there was hardly any sound part left in the ill body".

⁵⁶⁴ "And thus <the adherents of Sigismund> pulled apart the minds and the powers in the realm, so that it was a pitiful sight".

⁵⁶⁵ "However, like to deceitful ashes, it was exposed to continuous debates and protests concerning both the borders and the authority of the negotiators, and ventilated during the reign of Eric and the beginning of the reign of John in such a way that in 1571 it brought about a fire of a most lamentable war with the entire collapse of Livonia".

⁵⁶⁶ "However, due to continuous debates and protests concerning both the borders and the authority of the negotiators it has brought the things so far, until they were disputed during the reign of King Eric and the first years of the reign of King John in such a way that in 1571 a horrible war broke out, which led to the collapse of entire Livonia".

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 130 ⁵⁶⁷	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 159
Basilius Suyschius, velut molesto, qvo per biennium ferme tenebatur, carcere solutus, vires suas laetus circumspiciebat. ⁵⁶⁸	och Stoor-Försten sielff höyeligen gladdes. ⁵⁶⁹

One of the numerous mutinies in De la Gardie's army is compared to a storm:⁵⁷⁰

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 171	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 159
non procul a pernicie erant, nisi de cauto ⁵⁷¹ consilio subduxissent, non alio tunc occurrente subsidio, quam cedere furentibus, paulisperque vela submittere densis fluctuum agminibus . ⁵⁷²	så at the wiste sigh icke säkre om Lijfwet/ ther the icke meer hade brukat Försichtigheet än som Myndigheet/ och en sådan theras Galenskap wettat tijdigt at vndwijka. ⁵⁷³

In yet another example, in the Latin text a metaphor is combined with an antithesis, but there is only a faded trace of the former in the Swedish text:

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 205	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 254–255
Sperare, etsi priores sub lunae silentio elegissent Ducem, nunc brevi habituros Patronum, caelo et sole testibus monstrandum. ⁵⁷⁴	Vthan the wille förhoppas/ at fast än the andra hembiligen och blindt vthwällia en Storfurste/ skulle the innan kort hafwa then

⁵⁶⁷ After Kobierzycki, *Historia Vladislai*, p. 225, with a substitution of *compede* by *carcere*.

⁵⁶⁸ “Vasily Shuysky, as if he were liberated from a tiresome prison, where he had been kept for almost two years, was gladly looking round at his powers”.

⁵⁶⁹ “And the Grand Prince himself was very happy”.

⁵⁷⁰ Widekindi is generally fond of maritime metaphors and comparisons.

⁵⁷¹ I suppose it is a misspelling of *se caute*.

⁵⁷² “They <viz. the officers of the mercenaries> were not far from a peril, if they had not been cautious enough to withdraw themselves from the council, as there was no other rescue than to concede to the troublemakers and temporarily lower the sails at the sight of the dense troops of the currents”.

⁵⁷³ “So that they <viz. the officers of the mercenaries> were not secure about their lives, if they had not used cautiousness rather than their authority and avoided such a folly”.

⁵⁷⁴ “They hope that, although their predecessors have elected a prince under the silence of the moon, they will soon have a protector who could be demonstrated in presence of the sky and the sun”.

som kunde förswara them/ och som tordes
låta see sigh i **dagzliuset**.⁵⁷⁵

There are, however, many instances of a comparison/metaphor in the both texts, like this:

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 176	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 214
quasi tamen evacuata seditiosorum fece laetus ⁵⁷⁶	doch war han vthi sin Mootgång endels gladh theröfwer/ at han then vproriske hoopen qwitt war/ och således then elacka Surdeegen vthränsat ⁵⁷⁷

Sometimes the metaphors used in the two texts are completely different:

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 90 ⁵⁷⁸	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 110
<Alii prolixè disserebant> ruptis imperii vinculis , munitionum ac provinciarum obtinendarum faciliorem occasionem fore. ⁵⁷⁹	När sinnen äre skingrade/ styrelse Compassen förryckt / och willwalla ibland Folcket/ så är lättare/ at intaga Land och Fästningar. ⁵⁸⁰

Here one can also recall the passage mentioned above in the section on the elucidations, including *trina capita* in Latin, but *tre Händer* in Swedish.

There are also examples of the Latin text being plain where the Swedish contains a figure.

⁵⁷⁵ “They were rather hoping that although the others elected the Grand Prince secretly and blindly, they would soon have the one who could protect them and who would dare to be seen in the daylight”.

⁵⁷⁶ “Rejoicing as something like the dregs of the mutineers were purged away”.

⁵⁷⁷ “However, in his setback he was partly rejoicing as he was rid of the mutinous mob and thus had purged away the disgusting sourdough”.

⁵⁷⁸ After Kobierzycki, *Historia Vladislai*, pp. 78–79, but the metaphor is added by Widekindi. Cf. Lucan, 1.4: *rupto foedere regni*.

⁵⁷⁹ “Others were verbosely arguing that when the bonds of the state are broken it would be easier to overtake fortresses and provinces”.

⁵⁸⁰ “When minds are dispersed, the compass of the rule disturbed, and there is confusion among the people, it is easier to take land and fortresses”.

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 156	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 191
Moschi... sclopis suis Polonos petunt, pugnatur strenue, Polonis veniunt in subsidiū Cosaci. ⁵⁸¹	Rysserna... anföllo Pålackerna medh sine Slungor/ så at dher höltz ett starckt qwastebad/ til dhess Cossakerna kommo Pålackerne til hielp. ⁵⁸²

A passage on the Swedish losses during the initial period of the campaign is preceded by the proverb: *Ther Träa hugges/ falla och så Spåner*⁵⁸³ (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 116) – it does not have any correspondence in the Latin text.

Such a figure as paronomasia is, of course, difficult to preserve; thus, *praetoribus velut praedonibus*⁵⁸⁴ (*Historia Belli*, p. 85) does not find any correspondence in the Swedish text. On a Swedish homeoteuton as a way to render paronomasia, see above, pp. 60–61. A very special case, where a Swedish idiomatic expression is translated into Latin by means of a homeoteuton, can be found in the treaty between De la Gardie and the Novgorodians: *rådh och dådh* (*Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 325, 332) as *consilia et auxilia* (*Historia Belli*, pp. 257, 268).

There is an instance of *figura etymologica* in the Latin version without a correspondence in Swedish:

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 232	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , pp. 294–295
recepit literas a Philippo Schedingo, quibus intelligit impostorem ipsi imposuisse ⁵⁸⁵	fick han breeff ifrån Philip Scheding/ Ståthållaren på Narwen/ och ther aff förnam huruledes han hade sigh i handel inlåtit medh den nydichtade Demetri ⁵⁸⁶

A chiasm in book 5 has no correspondence in Swedish either:

⁵⁸¹ “The Russians attack the Poles with their guns, it comes to a fierce battle, the Poles are rescued by the Cossacks”.

⁵⁸² “The Russians attacked the Poles with their guns, so that there was a harsh broom-bath there, until the Cossacks succoured the Poles”.

⁵⁸³ “Splinters will fly when the axe you ply”.

⁵⁸⁴ This paronomasia is well attested from antiquity. See Aquila, 27. Cicero uses it several times in the speech against Verres. A similar paronomasia (*praeda – praetor*) can be found in Propertius, 2.16.1–2 and Juvenal, 11.195.

⁵⁸⁵ “He received a letter from Philip Scheding, from which he understood that the impostor had imposed upon him”.

⁵⁸⁶ “He received a letter from Philip Scheding, the commandant in Narva, and understood from it how he had got entangled in negotiations with False Dmitry”.

<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 251	<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 320
ardentibus desideriis et magnis vocibus, protectorem <u>Regem</u> <u>Sveciae</u> , et <u>alterutrum filiorum</u> imperatorem expetunt	ther hoos medh största ödmukheet anhöllo at komma vnder Kongl. May:tz i Sverige beskydd/ och få enthera aff the vnga Furstar/ Kongl. May:tz Söner til Stoorförste

All in all, my estimation is that the instances where a Latin figure of speech does not have a correspondence in the Swedish text are at least as numerous as figures of speech present in both versions and those present only in the Swedish one taken together. However, all three situations are well represented, as they also are in other translations and bilingual texts of the period:

a) a figure is present only in the Latin text

Bilberg, p. 8	<i>Bilberg</i> , p. 9
quas semel ab ineunte aetate haurientes, cum lacte materno , ac educatione prava, vix tandem cum senio deponimus ⁵⁸⁷	hwilken är swår att släppa/ och hindrar vår Fortgång i många Wettenskaper så länge wi lefwa ⁵⁸⁸
Rudbeck & Norcopensis, p. 3, Swedish column	Rudbeck & Norcopensis, p. 3, Latin column
ty hafwa the intet som lefde in emot the gambra tjdens handlingar hittat på sanningen/ huru skulle the råkat på som några hundrade åhr senare hafwa lefwat? ⁵⁸⁹	frustra enim de rebus olim gestis lucem expectaverimus ab seculis remotioribus, si priora illa et rebus ipsis maxime vicina tempora prorsus caecutiisse credimus ⁵⁹⁰

b) a figure is present in both texts

⁵⁸⁷ "After we have once absorbed them <viz. prejudices> at a young age, together with mother's milk and with a wrong education, we hardly get rid of them with our senility".

⁵⁸⁸ "<Prejudice,> which is difficult to give up and prevents our progress in many sciences as long as we live".

⁵⁸⁹ "Because if those who lived at a time close to the deeds of old have not found out the truth, how would those who lived several hundred years later stumble upon it?"

⁵⁹⁰ "Because we will in vain expect the more distant times to shed light on the events of old, if we believe that the previous times, closest to the events themselves, were completely blind".

Verelius, p. 3, Latin column	Verelius, p. 3, Swedish column
Licet adversarium renovatis armis patentem haberet ⁵⁹¹	oansedt han behöfde intet stort at slijpa wapnen / emot thenna wederparten ⁵⁹²
Johannes Magnus, p. 623	Schroderus, p. 549
porta totius Suetiae appellari possit ⁵⁹³	må kallas Swerigis nyckel ⁵⁹⁴

c) a figure is present only in the Swedish text

Bilberg, p. 8	Bilberg, p. 9
reliquis vel ad latera, vel, si hoc capere potest, in ejusdem imo subsidentibus ⁵⁹⁵	och återigen de andre boo somblige på sijdjerna/ och somblige (om han det elliest kan fatta) under oss/ och krypa som Flugor under Taket ⁵⁹⁶
<i>Manifest</i> , fol. Aiiijr	<i>Manifestum</i> , fol. A3r
Wapn och Wäria: som hålla Nabolige Kongerijken och Republiker... i tööm och wedh skåal ⁵⁹⁷	arma; quae vicina Regna ac Republicas... in officio et observatione aequi continent ⁵⁹⁸

Lexical variation

Widekindi has a clear tendency to use different expressions in Latin where the Swedish text contains repeated or only slightly different words and phrases.⁵⁹⁹ A good example can be found in the description of the battle of Tver in summer 1609:

⁵⁹¹ “Although he had a rival unprotected against new weapons”.

⁵⁹² “Although he did not need to sharpen his weapons too much against this rival”.

⁵⁹³ “Can be called the gate of the entire Sweden”.

⁵⁹⁴ “Can be called the key to Sweden”.

⁵⁹⁵ “Whereas the others would sit down on the sides or, if he can perceive it, on its bottom”.

⁵⁹⁶ “And yet others live some on the sides and some (if he can perceive it) under us and crawl like flies on the ceiling”.

⁵⁹⁷ “Weapons and sword that keep the neighbour kingdoms and republics on a tight rein”.

⁵⁹⁸ “Weapons that keep the neighbour kingdoms and republics true to their allegiances and observant of justice”.

⁵⁹⁹ Cf. Eskhult 2007: 111–112, 257–267.

<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 103	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 83
Men Regnet som meera tiltogh/ förorsakade at hwardera Parten så skildes åth/ Fienden in i Staden/ Herr IACOB en halff mijl ther ifrån/ ther han lät slå sitt Läger. Then andra Dagen idkade Regnet lijka fast/ och hwardera förthenskull bleff vnder sine tent och taak. Then tridie Dagen vthi dagningen/ war Herr IACOB reede på Platzen.	Sed profluvium coeli et praeceps in noctem dies, incerta victoria pugnam terminarunt, secedentibus Demetrianis in urbem, nostratibus in vicina castra. Sequens dies pluvio Jove faecundus utrosque sub tentoriis tenuit. Tertia orientis solis fax , primo diluculo, Jacobum in campum Martium elicit.

In the Swedish text, Widekindi twice uses the word *Regnet* ('rain') and twice the word *Dagen* ('day'). In the Latin text, *pluvia* makes room for elegant circumlocutions in both instances, and *dies* is once substituted by a 'torch of the rising sun'.

The Swedes are beleaguering Ivangorod in 1610:

<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , p. 246	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 199–200
Och dageligen beflijtade sigh om medh goda ord at öfwertala the belägrade ther til/ at the måtte gifwa sigh. Men när the nu fåfängt bemödde sigh til at öfwertala them/ effter the icke een gång wårdade them medh något swar/ brukade the macht.	Hi quotidianis persvasionibus obsequia et deditionem obsessorum conciliare nitebantur. Cum verborum studia irrita essent, vis admota est.

In Swedish, the verb *öfwertala* ('to persuade') is repeated, in Latin this obvious stylistical drawback is remedied.

Evert Horn's attempt to storm Pskov in September 1611 is unsuccessful:

<i>Krijgz-Historie</i> , pp. 380–381	<i>Historia Belli</i> , p. 310
Thetta blifwer fuller så föregifwit vthaff Officererne , och kunde fuller någorlunda wara orsaken/ men Herr Horn gifwer skullen på the Officerarne som främst woro förordnade	Haec officiales nonnulli retulere. Sed Edvardus Hornius causam conjicit in primos ordinum ductores .

So, even a military term ('officers'), repeated in the Swedish text, is not safe from lexical variation in Latin.

The phenomenon becomes especially frequent beginning with book 5, as the Swedish documentary sources begin to prevail. That is, the repetitions in Swedish paralleled by variations in Latin are to a greater degree due to

deliberate variation in Latin translated from the Swedish of the sources (the wording of which either affects, or is simply reproduced in, Widekindi's Swedish text) than to tongue ties in Swedish when it is a translation from Latin. This corresponds perfectly to what we see in other bilingual texts of the period, and actually contradicts the modern notion of "translationese". The aspiration to polish a Latin text turns out to outweigh the natural habit of using the same translation for the same word. Although there are some examples of repeated Swedish words for different Latin words in the translations from Latin as well, the easiest way to find an ostentatious lexical variety in the Latin text as compared to the Swedish is to read Norcopensis' Latin translation of Rudbeck's Swedish. Already the very beginning of the preface to the reader contains a good example, where the Swedish text has two forms of the verb *läsa* ('to read') and two more of the verb *igenomläsa* ('to read through'), but not a single repetition in Latin:

Rudbeck & Norcopensis, preface, Swedish column	Rudbeck & Norcopensis, preface, Latin column
... bediandes honom der han intet hafwer tijd/ att detta werket en gång igenomläsa / han och intet blad der af läser / och der han intet hafwer tijd det tijo gånger igenomläsa / intet håller läser en gång.	Interim oramus sedulo, ut nisi Tibi satis otij fuerit ad haec omnia a capite ad Calcem pervolvenda , a Singulis quoque hujus operis partibus pagellisque, et manus tuas et oculos prorsus cohibeas ; atque etiam, nisi ea semel, iterumque aut saepius relegendo altius imbibere sustinueris , ne quidem semel perlegendo degustes .

Some specific instances of variation in Widekindi's Latin can be discerned. A common group of repeated expressions is the diplomatic formulas in the quoted or paraphrased treaties, letters and protocols dealing with Swedish-Russian negotiations. For example, the recurring expression *gagn och bästa* (or *gagn och goda*) is usually rendered as *commodum*, but once as *emolumentum* and once as *incolumitas*; the expression *för en man stå* (*emoot*) is corresponded first by *junctis viribus propellere*, then by *vires conjungere* (*contra*), and finally by *conjuratis animis armisque profligare*. In this respect, the Swedish version is more dry and formalistic than the Latin one.⁶⁰⁰

⁶⁰⁰ Sometimes, however, we can observe a series of the synonyms, substituting the uniformity of the source, in the Swedish version as well. In the preserved German translation of the treaty between De la Gardie and Novgorodians, the word *schelm(e)stuck* is repeated four times in three short paragraphs, and it looks plausible that the lost Swedish version of this document, used by Widekindi (see above, pp. 104–105), contained the repetition of the same

Widekindi's references to God throughout the text are another good example of variation – in this case perhaps additionally stimulated by what is called *ethnicismus styli*, the aspiration to avoid Christian terms in Latin texts, very common for early modern writers.⁶⁰¹ The word *Deus* sometimes occurs in the Latin text, but only twice outside reported speech and direct quotations of letters or speeches. When the Swedish text has *Gud*, it often corresponds to words like *caelites* (*Historia Belli*, p. 173), *superi* (p. 290) and *omnipotens* (p. 268) or expressions with *divinus* in Latin; sometimes the mention of God is omitted altogether.

Finally, a common instance of variation in Latin is the substitution of proper names by circumlocutions. Moscow is called *regni sedes*, (*domina*) *urbs* and *metropolis*, where the Swedish text has *Muskou* or *Staden Muskou*, the word *impostor* is several times used to denote the False Dmitry, and Sigismund is referred to as *Rex Poloniae*, just to mention the most regular circumlocutions. The Swedish text often contains in these cases the proper name,⁶⁰² either alone or with an apposition (*dhen Förföraren Demetrius*). At least twice the circumlocution in Latin causes a mistake in Swedish: *in urbe* (*Historia Belli*, p. 179) is translated as *vthi Smolensko* (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 218), although Moscow is meant,⁶⁰³ and *castellum* (*Historia Belli*, p. 244) is translated as *Nougården* (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 311), although Nöteborg is referred to.

The described feature is, of course, by far less customary than proper names standing in both versions or circumlocutions standing in both versions. It is noteworthy, however, that a reverse relation – with the Swedish text having a circumlocution and the Latin one a proper name – is extremely rare. To be exact, I have found 10 such examples, and four of them, located inside a space

word in Swedish – *skälmstycke*. However, it is not only Widekindi's Latin text (*Historia belli*, p. 264) that provides four different variants for the word here (*injuria damnove – vim – delicto – facinus*), but also the Swedish one (*Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 329–330: *orättwijsa – öfwerlast – missgernerig – misshandel*).

⁶⁰¹ On this feature of Neo-Latin literature, see Helander 2004: 75–80. Another clear instance of *ethnicismus* regards a comparison of De la Gardie with an angel: *hwilka förre gången honom fångnade såsom een Engel ifrån Himmelen* (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 216; 'Who had previously welcomed him as an angel from the sky') – *qui ut caelo lapsum antea suscipiebant venerabanturque* (*Historia Belli*, pp. 177–178; 'Who had previously received and revered him as if he had come from the sky').

⁶⁰² Similarly, Sylvius sometimes puts *Alexander* where Curtius Rufus has *rex* and *Perserne* where Curtius has *barbari*.

⁶⁰³ This is clear by itself, but additionally corroborated by a comparison with Kobierzycki (*Historia Vladislai*, p. 286). The one who translated the passage was confused by the mention of Smolensk in the previous sentence, whose inhabitants, however, *animis et viribus non conciderunt* ('did not lose their spirit and power'), in contrast to *metus et trepidatio in urbe* ('fear and alarm in the city').

of three pages in book 4, are remarkable. The Russian commander Grigory Valuyev, consistently called *Volvieuius* in the Latin text, is beleaguered by the Poles in Tsaryovo-Zaymishche (the attempt to rescue him eventually led to the Russian-Swedish defeat in the battle of Klushino). In the Swedish text (*Krijgz-Historie*, pp. 195–197) he is called *then beträngde Ryssen*, *then beränte Ryss*, *dhen beklämde Ryss*, and, last but not shortest, *then Ryssen som 6000 Mann starck/ skrijade thet han i klämman war*. It looks plausible that Widekindi (or his fellow-translator) was simply uncertain about how he should put a Russian surname, mentioned in the Latin text, in Swedish. This uncertainty also leads to the erroneous spellings *Volieuski* (twice on pp. 190–191) and *Volviefski* (p. 208).⁶⁰⁴ Widekindi is somewhat accustomed to the Polish surnames and sometimes models the Russian ones in the same way.⁶⁰⁵

Titles and other appositions

To mention one more small difference between the two versions, the Swedish text often accompanies a proper name with an apposition where Latin only has the name: *Grefwen aff Manssfält* (*Mansfeldus* in Latin), *Konung Sigismundus* (*Sigismundus* in Latin) and so on. Sometimes, as we have seen, the appositions are due to pedagogic considerations; *Rusinski then Demetrianiske Fältherrn* (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 67) can be adduced as one more example. In the absolute majority of cases, however, such appositions are simply ceremonial: the reader hardly needs to be repeatedly reminded of the fact that Charles is a king or that Shuysky is a grand prince.

The feature can be seen in Schroderus' translation of *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus*: e.g. three of the sons of Birger Jarl, referred to as Benedictus, Ericus and Magnus by Johannes Magnus (p. 625), are called *Hertig Bengt*, *hertigh Erik* and *hertigh Magnus* in the translation (p. 551).

⁶⁰⁴ Five times a correct form – that is, the form Widekindi could find in his Swedish sources – is used: *Velufiof*, *Volufiof*, *Volufioff*, *Voluffiof*, *Wolufioff*.

⁶⁰⁵ Cf. rendering *Dzenidovius*, i.e. Demidov, as *Dzendofski* on p. 208, and *Michaelovitius*, i.e. the patronymic Mikhailovich, as *Michaelovitski* on p. 228. The Polish surnames can suffer from this error as well: in the summary of book 5 no less a person than Jan Chodkiewicz is called *Kodkevitzki* (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 229). – To complete the discussion of circumlocutions seemingly caused by linguistic or paleographical uncertainty, I have to mention one more similar instance in the Swedish text and one in the Latin text: 1) the Chudov monastery, *Cudovo caenobio* in the Latin version (*Historia Belli*, p. 181), is called simply *ett Kloster* in Swedish (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 221); 2) the village of Pogoreloye Gorodishche, where Evert Horn leaves a part of his soldiers in April 1610, is referred to as *in pago quodam* (*Historia Belli*, p. 146) – in fact, more correctly than the Swedish text, which corrupts *Pagarologorodys* from Horn's report into *Pagaro logerandes* (*Krijgz-Historie*, p. 180).

4. Conclusions

Widekindi has made his own statement about his style in Swedish. It is preserved in the above-mentioned letter to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie:

Quod <sc. Sveticum idioma> etiam, non diffiteor, melius expoliri et potuisse et debuisse, sed rerum documentis conquirendis magis intentus, nihil cultui et nitori dans, malebam stylum populari et quo vulgus hominum loquitur modo fluere, quam aliquid verborum flosculis ambituque dare, putans omnem simplicis et ingenuae veritatis gratiam a Svecico sermone perire, si multum ornamentis litaretur. quae minus concinne, clare aut apte posita possunt... interim lumen a Latino textu, qui fulgidior, habere.⁶⁰⁶

Although such self-criticism reminds us of the habitual statements about one's unsatisfactory style in book-prefaces, from Antiquity⁶⁰⁷ up to Widekindi's own times,⁶⁰⁸ we have seen that the rhetorical elaboration of the Swedish text is, indeed, far inferior to the refinement of the Latin text.⁶⁰⁹ Besides that, the Swedish text is often poorly organized in disposition and contains unintended repetitions of information (see above, p. 103), caused by the complex process of its creation.

Other traits of Widekindi's Swedish version compared to the Latin are its more pedagogic nature and formal character. The former is manifested in the presence of some explanatory remarks and the use of proper names instead of circumlocutions. The latter is expressed through the preservation of repeated formulaic phrases and the more systematic use of titles accompanying proper names than can be seen in Latin.

⁶⁰⁶ "I admit that it <viz. the Swedish language> could and should have been polished better, but, being more intent upon collecting the documents and not concerned with adornments and splendour, I preferred that the style would flow in a popular way, used by common people, than to care about rhetorical embellishment, as I thought that the Swedish tongue will lose all the grace of simple and ingenuous sincerity, if too much attention is given to its decoration".

⁶⁰⁷ See Janson 1964: 126–134.

⁶⁰⁸ See Benner & Tengström 1977: 92–94.

⁶⁰⁹ Cf. the situation in Opitz' bilingual poems: "The German translation is much more straightforward both regarding language and structure" (Deneire 2013: 76).

6. Conclusions

Johannes Widekindi worked on his history of the Russian war throughout the 1660s. A Tacitean phrase in the letter to M. G. De la Gardie, dated 8th January 1661, proves him to have already got acquainted with Axel Oxenstierna's *Relatio* on the Polish-Swedish relations, which was to be the base for book one of *Historia Belli*. On the other hand, other external evidence allows a suggestion that he had finished his work around 1669 and that the printing of both versions began not later than in 1670. According to Widekindi's own statement, he wrote his book in Latin, and then translated it into Swedish with the help of some assistants. A comparison with the sources allows to check the claim regarding the order in which the two versions were produced.

The main literary source of *Historia Belli / Krijgz-Historie* was *Historia Vladislai* by Stanisław Kobierzycki. A detailed research of its use by Widekindi in books 1–7 (especially 3–4) of his work makes it possible to follow the textual development of his drafts. It becomes clear from the comparison between the texts that Widekindi's draft here was Latin. There are, however, some small discrepancies between Widekindi's Latin text and *Historia Vladislai*, due either to further modification of the Latin text after translating it into Swedish or (less probably) to additional use of Kobierzycki's text when producing the Swedish version.

As for another known literary source, Petrus Petrejus, it should be stressed that his influence on Widekindi's text is very moderate. The passages where Petrejus is used are short and rare. It is Petrejus' Swedish version that seems to have been mainly exploited by Widekindi; however, he was also acquainted with the German one. As for Widekindi's working process, most of the excerpts from Petrejus seem to be written first in Latin and then translated (back) into Swedish. On the other hand, we encounter several passages that repeat Petrejus' wording in Swedish. Thus, this scarce material prompts a suggestion that Widekindi additionally consulted the work of Petrejus after translating his Latin draft into Swedish.

Other literary sources of Widekindi, relevant only in certain parts of the work, include the abovementioned *Relatio* by Axel Oxenstierna, *Saxonia* by David Chytraeus, *Theatrum humanae vitae* by Theodor Zwinger, the

anonymous *Tragoedia Moscovitica, Commentarii Chotinensis belli* by Jakub Sobieski etc. The list of these secondary sources bears striking resemblances to the catalogue of Axel Oxenstierna's library, demonstrating its importance for Widekindi's work.

The most important group of the documentary sources was the archive of the De la Gardie family, in particular Jacob De la Gardie's reports from Russia. As an appointed historiographer of the Realm in 1665, Widekindi also gained access to the National Archives of Sweden and took advantage of the documents held there as well. A textual comparison of the preserved reports, protocols, treaties etc. with Widekindi's work deepens the notion we get from Widekindi's excerpts from Petrejus, revealing the complicated, double-layered manner of his working process in the Swedish text. Numerous mistakes and repetitions suggest that the historiographer wrote in Latin first, but having finished his draft translation into Swedish he consulted the sources again, quoting some passages word for word or modifying his translation from Latin. The distribution of these two types (i.e. direct loans and contamination) between the documents used is noteworthy: the documents from the National Archives mainly belong to the former, whereas De la Gardie's documents had been used already in the creation of the original draft. Besides, the work can be divided into three parts according to the substance of the Swedish text. In books 1 and 2 the entire Swedish text is a translation from Latin. In books 3–7 the base was still Latin, but both contamination and direct quotation from the Swedish-language sources (or direct translation of German-language documents into Swedish) are not infrequent. Finally, books 8–10 seem to be independent or mainly independent from the Latin text and consist of a series of quotations and paraphrases of various documents. The status of the Latin text in book 8 and in the passages corresponding to those quoted directly in Swedish in books 3–7 is unclear. They could be a part of the original draft, they could be a later paraphrase of the Swedish text, and they could also be a combination of both. Whether there was some Latin draft of books 9 and 10, is not known either.

As for the translation technique when translating from Latin into Swedish as expressed in quantitative indicators, we can claim that the work of Widekindi and his assistant(s) generally fits into the pattern of other 17th century translations from Latin, although looks somewhat freer in regard of the formal correspondence between the source text and the target text. There can be observed some instances of the Latin linguistic influence on the Swedish text when translated from Latin. It is difficult to answer the tempting question of how many translators were involved into the work, but a suspicious passage in book 4 clearly demonstrates the collaboration of someone unfamiliar with

the rest of the text, whereas some statistical details suggest the special position of books 1 and 2 as compared to the rest of the work.

A comparison between the two versions in literary respect allows, firstly, to refute the assumption that there are significant differences in the general message. Secondly, it makes it possible to characterize the Latin version as both better polished on the level of large textual entities and more refined on the level of specific phrases. The Swedish text, less provided with rhetorical embellishment and deprived of the references to Classical Antiquity, is at the same time more formalistic (with systematic use of the titles and documentary formulas) and more pedagogical.

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Abbreviations

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OLD = Oxford Latin Dictionary (1968)

SAOB = Svenska Akademiens ordbok (1893–), (Lund).

ThLL = Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (1894–), (München).

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worden. *Das Ander Jst im gleichen ein Proceß, welcher bey den Rüssischen Gesandten an J. K. May. von Schweden den 28. Junij zu Stockholm gehalten worden. Das Dritte Jst von der Rüssen oder Muscowiter Religion, Ceremonien, Gesetzen, Policy, und Kriegeshandel, wie auch von des Landes beschaffenheit* (1619), (Hamburg).

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Index nominum⁶¹¹

Adolph John I (1629–1689), Count Palatine, younger brother of Charles X Gustav
Alexander the Great (356–323 BC), king of Macedonia
Annius of Viterbo (1432–1502), Italian historiographer, forger
Aquila (3rd century AD), Latin grammarian
Aroselius, Laurentius Petri (1642–1693), Swedish clergyman, cousin of Widekindi
Baryatinsky, Yakov (d. 1610), a Russian commander in the battle of Klushino
Báthory, Stephen (1533–1586), king of Poland
Bengt Birgersson (1254–1291), Swedish prince, bishop of Linköping
Bergius, Nicolaus (1658–1706), Swedish clergyman, superintendent in Ingria
Berossus (4th–3rd century BC), Babylonian writer
Beyer, Helena (d. 1675), wife of Johan Stiernhöök
Johan Bilberg (1646–1717), Swedish astronomer, bishop of Strängnäs
Biörenklou, Matthias (1607–1671), Swedish scholar, diplomat
Birger Jarl (ca 1210–1266), Swedish regent, founder of Stockholm
Boeckler, Johann (1611–1672), German scholar, professor eloquentiae (Uppsala)
Bolotnikov, Ivan (1565–1608), leader of a popular uprising in Russia
Botvidi, Johannes (1575–1635), Swedish clergyman, bishop of Linköping
Brahe, Nils (1604–1632), Swedish warrior
Brahe, Per (1520–1590), Swedish statesman
Brita Jöransdotter (d. 1666), wife of Magnus Utter
Bussow, Conrad (1552/53–1617), German officer and writer
Buturlin, Vasily (d. after 1614), Russian statesman
Caesar (100–44), Roman statesman and writer
Charlemagne (742–814), king of the Franks
Charles IX (1550–1611), king of Sweden (1604–1611)

⁶¹¹ Only people born before 1700 are included. Those Swedes who did not have a surname (such as Johannes Widekindi) are located according to their first name.

Charles X Gustav (1622–1660), king of Sweden (1654–1660)
 Charles XI (1655–1697), king of Sweden (1660–1697)
 Charles XII (1682–1718), king of Sweden (1697–1718)
 Charles Philip (1601–1622), Swedish prince, candidate for election as Russian tsar
 Chemnitz, Bogislaus Philipp von (1605–1678), Swedish historiographus regni
 Chesnecopherus, Nils (1574–1622), Swedish statesman
 Chodkiewicz, Jan Karol (ca 1560–1621), Polish commander
 Christina (1626–1689), queen of Sweden (1632–1654)
 Chytraeus, David (1530–1600), German theologian and historian
 Claudian (ca 370–ca 404), Roman poet
 Columbus, Johan Jonae (1640–1684), Swedish poet
 Curtius Rufus (1st century AD?), Roman historian
 Dahlstierna, Gunno (1661–1709), Swedish poet
 De la Gardie, Jacob (1583–1652), Swedish Field-Marshal
 De la Gardie, Magnus Gabriel (1622–1682), Chancellor of Sweden
 De la Gardie, Pontus (1520–1585), Swedish warrior of French origin
 De la Gardie, Pontus Fredrik (1630–1692), Swedish statesman
 False Dmitry I (d. 1606), impostor, tsar of Russia (1605–1606)
 False Dmitry II (d. 1610), pretender to the Russian throne
 False Dmitry III (d. 1612), pretender to the Russian throne
 Epictetus (1st–2nd century AD), Greek Stoic philosopher
 Erik XIV (1533–1577), king of Sweden (1560–1568)
 Erik Birgersson (d. 1275), Swedish duke, son of Birger Jarl
 Fornelius, Lars (1606–1673), professor of poetry (Uppsala)
 Francken, Christian (1549–after 1602), German theologian, Jesuit
 Freinsheim, Johann (1608–1660), German scholar, Professor Skytteanus (Uppsala)
 Girs, Aegidius Laurentii (1583–1639), Swedish historian
 Godunov, Boris (ca 1551–1605), tsar of Russia (1598–1605)
 Golitsyn, Andrey (d. 1611), Russian statesman
 Gosiewski, Aleksander Korwin (d. 1639), Polish commander
 Grefwe, Amund Nilsson (d. 1677), Swedish printer
 Grevenbruch, Gerhard (active 1583–1632), German publisher
 Guagnini, Alexander (1538–1614), Polish historian of Italian origin
 Gustav Eriksson (1568–1607), Swedish prince, son of Erik XIV
 Gustavus I Vasa (1496–1560), king of Sweden (1523–1560)

Gustavus II Adolphus (1594–1632), king of Sweden (1611–1632)
 Gyllenhielm, Carl Carlsson (1574–1650), Swedish Field-Marshal, son of Charles IX
 Gyllenstierna, Johan (1635–1680), Count, Swedish official
 Hab(b)aeus, Christian (ca 1627–1680), Swedish diplomat, Royal secretary
 Hammerus, Henricus Petri (d. 1617), Swedish translator
 Heidenstein, Reinold (1553–1620), Polish historian
 Heinsius, Daniel (1580–1655), Dutch scholar, historiographus regni in Sweden
 Herberstein, Sigismund von (1486–1566), Austrian diplomat and writer
 Hermelin, Olof (1658–1709?), Swedish official, professor, historiographus regni
 Homer (9th or 8th century BC), Greek poet
 Horn, Evert (1585–1615), Swedish warrior
 Horn, Henrik (1578–1618), Swedish diplomat
 Isidor (d. 1619), metropolitan bishop of Novgorod
 Ivan IV (1530–1584), “the Terrible”, tsar of Russia (1547–1584)
 James I (1566–1625), king of England
 Johannes Magnus (1488–1544), Swedish historian, Archbishop
 Johannes Widekindi (ca 1620–1678), Swedish scholar, historiographus regni
 John III (1537–1592), king of Sweden (1569–1592)
 John III (1629–1696), king of Poland
 Kåhre, Truls (1600–1672), Swedish official, traveller
 Kempe, Samuel (1599–1670), Swedish official, translator
 Klingius, Zacharias (d. 1671), clergyman, bishop of Gothenburg
 Kobierzycki, Stanisław (ca 1600–1665), Polish official, historian
 Krantz, Albert (ca 1448–1517), German historian
 Krusenstiern, Philipp von (1597–1676), Swedish diplomat of German origin
 Laurentius Paulinus Gothus (1565–1646), professor (Uppsala), Swedish Archbishop
 Laurentius Widichindi (1616–1655), teacher at Västerås Gymnasium
 Lindschöld, Erik (1634–1690), Count, Swedish official
 Lipsius, Justus (1547–1606), Dutch classical scholar
 Loccenius, Johannes (1598–1677), German scholar, Professor Skytteanus (Uppsala)
 Löwenklau, Johannes (1541–1594), German traveller, classical scholar
 Łubieński, Stanisław (1573–1640), Polish historian, Royal secretary, bishop of Płock
 Lucan (39–65 AD), Roman poet
 Lucretius (1st century BC), Roman poet
 Magnus Birgersson (ca 1240–1290), king of Sweden (1275–1290)

Messenius, Arnold Johan (1608–1651), Swedish official, historiographus regni
 Messenius, Johannes (1579/80–1636), Swedish historian
 Michael I (1596–1645), tsar of Russia (1613–1645)
 Mniszech, Jerzy (ca 1548–1613), Polish statesman
 Mniszech, Marina (ca 1588–1614), Polish noblewoman, tsaritsa of Russia
 Mosalsky, Vasily (d. 1611), Russian statesman, supporter of the first two impostors
 Mezetskoy, Danilo (d. 1628), Russian statesman, diplomat
 Narssius, Johannes (1580–1637), Dutch theologian, physician and poet
 Norcopensis, Andreas (1633–1694), professor eloquentiae (Uppsala)
 Norman, Georg (d. 1552/53), Swedish official of German origin
 Oderborn, Paul (d. 1604), German theologian
 Olaus Magnus (1490–1557), Swedish scholar and historian
 Olearius, Adam (1599–1671), German traveller
 Olga of Kiev (d. 969), Russian princess
 Ovid (43 BC–17/18 AD), Roman poet
 Owen, John (ca 1565–ca 1625), Welsh Neo-Latin poet
 Oxenstierna, Axel (1583–1654), Chancellor of Sweden
 Oxenstierna, Carl Gustaf (1655–1686), Swedish diplomat, son of Erik Oxenstierna
 Oxenstierna, Erik Axelsson (1624–1656), Chancellor of Sweden
 Oxenstierna, Johan Axelsson (1612–1657), Swedish diplomat
 Palmskiöld, Elias (1667–1719), Swedish archivist
 Peringskiöld, Johan (1654–1720), Swedish antiquarian
 Peter the Great (1672–1725), tsar of Russia (1682–1725)
 Petrus Johannis Gothus (1536–1616), Swedish translator
 Petrus Petrejus (ca 1570–1622), Swedish official, historian
 Petrus Widekindi (1631–1672), Swedish orientalist, Royal librarian
 Piasecki, Paweł (1579–1649), Polish historian, bishop, Royal secretary
 Piccolomini, Enea Silvio (1405–1464), Italian humanist, Pope (under the name Pius II)
 Pompey the Great (106–48 BC), Roman statesman
 Possevino, Antonio (1533–1611), Jesuit, papal legate
 Pufendorf, Samuel (1632–1694), German jurist and historian
 Rudbeck, Olof (1630–1702), professor (Uppsala), scientist and historian
 Rudbeckius, Johannes (1581–1646), Swedish theologian, bishop of Västerås
 Rudbeckius, Nicolaus Johannis (1622–1676), Swedish theologian, bishop of Västerås
 Salanus, Nicolaus Jonae (1618–1671), Swedish clergyman

Saltykov, Ivan (d. 1611), Russian statesman
 Sapieha, Jan Piotr (1569–1611), Polish commander
 Sapieha, Lew (1557–1633), Polish statesman
 Sara Olofsdotter (1591–1676), mother of Johannes Widekindi
 Sarnicki, Stanisław (1532–1597), Polish historian
 Scaliger, Julius Caesar (1484–1558), Italian scholar
 Scheiding, Philip von (1578–1646), Swedish official
 Schefferus, Johannes (1621–1679), Professor Skytteanus (Uppsala)
 Schroderus, Ericus (ca 1575–1647), Swedish translator
 Schütz, Caspar (ca 1540–1594), German historian
 Seneca (ca 4 BC–65 AD), Roman Stoic philosopher
 Shakhovskoy, Grigory (d. 1612), Russian warrior
 Skopin-Shuysky, Mikhail (1586–1610), Russian statesman
 Shuysky, Vasily (1552–1612), tsar of Russia (1606–1610)
 Sigismund III (1566–1632), king of Poland and Sweden
 Skytte, Johan (1577–1645), Baron, Swedish official
 Sleidanus, Johannes (1506–1556), Luxembourggeois historian
 Sobieski, Jakub (1590–1646), Polish statesman
 Somme, Christer (d. 1618), Swedish warrior
 Stiernhielm, Georg (1598–1672), Swedish official, scholar and poet, polyhistor
 Stiernhöök, Johan (1596–1675), Swedish jurist, uncle of Johannes Widekindi
 Sylvius, Johan (1620–1690), Swedish translator
 Tegel, Erik Jöransson (1563–1636), Swedish historian
 Terserus, Johannes Elai (1605–1678), Swedish bishop, orientalist, Professor (Åbo)
 Urusov, Pyotr (d. 1639), Tatar prince, the assassinator of False Dmitry II
 Valerius Maximus (1st century AD), Roman historian
 Valuyev, Grigory (d. 1626), Russian statesman
 Vasily III (1479–1533), Grand Prince of Moscow (1505–1533)
 Verelius, Olof (1618–1682), Swedish scholar, antiquarian
 Virgil (70–19 BC), Roman poet
 Verres, Gaius (ca 120–43 BC), Roman magistrate
 Vitruvius (1st century BC), Roman writer
 Wankijf, Nils (d. 1689), Swedish printer
 Warszewicki, Krzysztof (1543–1603), Polish writer
 Wennæsius, Eric (1641–1684), Swedish poet

Weyhe, Eberhard von (1553–after 1629), German jurist
Widichindus Laurentii (1581–1642), Swedish priest, father of Johannes Widekindi
Widukind (8th century), leader of Saxons
Wilde, Jacob (1679–1755), Swedish historian, historiographus regni
Wiśniowiecki, Konstanty (1564–1641), Polish statesman
Władysław IV Vasa (1595–1648), king of Poland
Wolf, Hieronymus (1516–1580), German historian, translator
Zborowski, Aleksander (d. 1637), Polish commander
Zebrozyntius, Jacobus (1582–1642), Swedish clergyman, bishop of Strängnäs
Żółkiewski, Stanisław (1547–1620), Polish commander
Zwinger, Theodor (1533–1588), Swiss physician and polymath

Appendix 1. Johannes Widekindi's known writings

a) Historiographical writings⁶¹²

1. *Lumen chronographicum regnorum, rerumpubl., hominum, artium, rituum maxime memorabilium ab orbe condito per millenarios, secula, et annos continua serie in haec usque tempora diductum, addita ad finem tabulae clave authorum, qui de singulis fonte tenus accuratius scripsere.* Holmiae, Meurer, 1664.
The title-page seems to contain a mistake: instead of *chronographicum* there should have been *chonologicum*. It is the latter word that Widekindi uses in the title of his two following works (no. 2 and 3) and in the references to *Lumen* in the foreword to the family-tree of Charles XI (no. 11) and in the letters to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie.
2. *Continuatio Luminis Chronologici per novum foedus a Christo natum.* [Holmiae], Meurer, [1666].
3. *Introductio in lumen chronologicum, ... dn. Magno Gabrieli De La Gardie ... humilime ab authore inscripta.* Holmiae, Hantschenius, 1666.
4. *Thet Swenska i Ryssland Tijo åhrs Krijgz-Historie, Hwilket vnder twänne Sweriges Stormächtige Konungars, Konung Carls IX. Och K. Gustaf Adolphs den Andres och Stoores Baneer, Storfursten Ivan Vasilivitz Suischi och Ryssland til hielp, Först emoot the Rebeller och Lithower, sedan the Påler, på sidstone emoot sielfwe Muskowiterne, ifrån år 1607. in til 1617. Aff Feldtherren Gref. Iacob De La Gardie vthfördt, och medh en reputerligh Fredh bijlagdt är, i lijka många Böcker fördeelt.* Stockholm, Wankijff, 1671.
5. *Historia Belli Sveco-Moscovitici Decennalis, Quod junctis armis cum Magno Moscorum Duce Johan. Basilio Svischio, Primum adversus Rebelles et Lithuanos, mox Polonos, tandem data causa contra ipsos Moscovitas, auspiciis Regum Sveciae Caroli IX, Et Gustavi Adolphi*

⁶¹² The titles in each group are given in chronological order, as far as it is possible.

Ductu Jacobi De La Gardie, Varia fortuna ab Anno seculi hujus Septimo, in decimum septimum gestum, et ardua pace compositum est, Totidem Libris distincta. Holmiae, Wankijff, 1672.

6. Additamentum, eller Tilökning på någre tänckwürdige stycker som synas feela vthi Konung Göstaffz den I. Historie, hwilken aff Erick Göranszon Tegel vthförligen, och aff Aegidio Girs summewijs författat är. Stockholm, 1672.

The work has survived only partially: the two first pages of the trial print, pasted into the collection *Bibliographia Sveo-Gothica* of Elias Palmskiöld, are preserved in Uppsala⁶¹³, and an 11-page fragment of the final (?) draft may be found in the Royal Library in Stockholm.⁶¹⁴ In the preface, Widekindi reproaches Aegidius Girs for copying his chronicle word for word from Erik Jöransson Tegel, which is surprising if one considers the way Widekindi works with the sources himself.

7. Then fordom stormächtigste, Högborne Furstes och Herres Herr Gustaff Adolphs, den Andres och Stores Sweriges, Götes och Wändes etc. Konungs Historia, och Lefwernes Beskrifning, Then Första Deel. Stockholm, Wankijf, 1691.

b) Other prosaic writings

8. Panegyricus Christinae, Svecorum, Gotthorum, Vandalorumque Reginae, Semper Augustae, Ipso Suo XVIII. Natali, Qui est dies Decembris Octavus Anni MDCXXXIV. Aviti Regni Sveciae Gubernacula Feliciter Capessenti. Holmiae, Joannes Janssonius, 1644.

The earliest preserved work by Widekindi. “The language is in places obscure and the presentation of ideas inept”, is the judgement of a modern scholar (Kajanto 1993: 40).

9. Divino Viro Johanni Rudbechio, S. S. Theologiae Doctori celeberrimo, et Episcopo Arosiensi Excellentissimo, Cum funus sepulchro suo inferretur Arosiae anno Christiano 1646. 8. Iduum Octobris. Officium postumum consecratum Oratione. Tertio ab exsequiarum die habita in collegio eloquentiae. Upsaliae, Eschillus Matthiae, [1687].
10. Elogium Illustrissimi Comititis Et Herois Magni Qvondam Regni Sveciae Cancellarii Axelii Oxenstierna, etc. In quo nomine, omnes civilis

⁶¹³ Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, Palmskiöldska samlingen, vol. 348, pp. 678–681. Cf. Warmholtz, № 3044.

⁶¹⁴ Kungliga biblioteket, D 495.

prudential, et virtutum laudes honoresque, ad ornamentum gentis, seculi splendorem, admirationem viventium, memoriam et venerationem posteritatis, supra captum vulgi, exemplo pene inimitabili extant. In Regio Gymnasio Holmensi, Ann. Christiano M. DC. LV. XI. Kal. Aprilis. Humilima devotione dictum, et totidem verbis editum. Holmiae, Meurer, [1655].

The speech is mentioned by the famous Swedish clergyman Johannes Gezelius the Elder in one of his letters.⁶¹⁵

11. Oratio funebris In excessum S.R.M.tis Regnique Svecici Senatoris, Cancellarij magni, Praesidis Regnj Commerciorum Collegij, Generalis Gubernatoris Borussiae, et Judicis Provincialis Australis, Norlandiae, lapiae, Jempriae, et herdaliae. Perillustris et Excellentissimi Domini, D. Erics Oxenstierna Axelii F. Comitiss de Morea Australi, L. baronis in Kimitho, Domini in Tjydöön, Julestadh et Wiby, generis splendore, doctrinae praestantia et virtutum omnium gloria vere magni, Qui Frauenburgi in Borussia Anno 1656. 23. Octob. mortuus, Holmiae Anno sequentis 5. Iul. magnifica pompa tumulo suo illatus est, Dicta tertio ab exequijs die in Regio Gymnasio Holmensi. Holmiae, Meurer, 1658.
12. Genealogia Serenissimi et Potentissimi Regis Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Caroli XI ab ipsis fontibus per certas generationum successiones derivata, splendore etiam nonnullorum collateralium illuminata, fide scriptorum tam antiquissimae quam mediae atque novissimae historiae, qui singuli citari possent, si modus tabulae admitteret, aeternitati domus Regiae consecrata.

A manuscript, approximately two metres long and one metre wide, containing a huge genealogical tree. It is severely damaged and is preserved in the Swedish National Archives.⁶¹⁶ It is plausibly more or less identical with the one mentioned by Elias Palmskiöld in his list of Widekindi's writings in *Bibliographia Sveo-Gothica*.⁶¹⁷ There is, however, some difference: the copy mentioned by Palmskiöld is, according to him, preserved at Skokloster castle and bears the date 22 July 1663, whereas the dedication (to the Count Palatine Adolph John) in the copy from the National Archives is dated 15 September 1663.

The pedigree indicates the ancestors of Charles XI down to the dawn of time; the longest line includes Charlemagne, but it remains unclear how long it is exactly, as the lower part of the sheet is damaged. The tree is accompanied by quotations from Roman authors (Ovid, Seneca and

⁶¹⁵ *I förliden Torsdag, den 22 Martij, perorerade Dn. Johannes Widichinni öffuer Sal. Cantzleren, mycket vackert, och det på Gymnasium* (Gezelius 1860: 22).

⁶¹⁶ Riksarkivet, Genealogica, vol. 56.

⁶¹⁷ Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, Palmskiöldska samlingen, vol. 348, p. 739.

Claudian) and from Homer (in a verse translation into Latin), as well as some verses by Widekindi himself. In the *Praefatio ad benevolum spectatorem* the author mentions that the idea to compile a pedigree of the ruling monarch came to him when he was working on *Lumen Chronologicum*.

13. Axiomata qvaedam juris selectiora, secundum seriem alphabeticam. Holmiae, Wankijff, 1671.

In the preface Widekindi says that he has compiled the presented material for his lectures on Swedish regional law in Stockholm Gymnasium in 1659. Widekindi's interest in the law is attested by one of his letters to De la Gardie⁶¹⁸ and could be influenced by his uncle, the famous jurist Johan Stiernhök.

14. Panegyricus Sive Oratio Gratulatoria Serenissimo et Potentissimo Principi, Dn. Carolo XI, Svecorum; Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, ac Principi Haereditario, Magno Principi Finlandiae, Duci Scaniae, Estoniae, Livoniae, Careliae, Bremae, Verdae, Stetini-Pomeraniae, Cassubae et Vandaliae, Principi Rugiae, Domino Ingriae et Wismariae, nec non Comiti Palatino Rheni, Bavariae, Juliaci, et Cliviae et Montium Duci, etc. Cum decimum septimum aetatis annum et XXIV dies implens, XV. Kalendarum Januarij luce, anno MDCLXXII, regni Sveo-Gothici habenas haereditario jure capesceret. Holmiae, Wankif, [1672].

15. Imagines Illustrissimae Familiae Braheae. Wisingsburgi, Kankel, 1673.
A description of the coat of arms and of genealogy of Brahe family. Widekindi is the author only of the first part of this book. See Warmholtz, № 7011.

16. Epicteti, Stoici Philosophi Enchiridion Scholiis Illustratum, et proficientibus in ea disciplina inscriptum. Holmiae, Keyser, 1676.

In the preface Widekindi, recently released from jail, talks about the inspiration that the example of Boethius had given to him. The book is rather a commentary to Epictetus than an edition of him: the Latin translation (there is no Greek text) plays an auxiliary role and is certainly borrowed from elsewhere. A comparison of the first paragraph with the translations by Francken and Wolf⁶¹⁹ shows that Widekindi either combined them himself (and then one can talk about some independent value of the edition) or used a translation based on these two.

Kurt Johannesson's assumption (repeated by Sten Lindroth, who shortly mentions this book in his famous *Svensk lärdomshistoria*) that the publication was supported by Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie⁶²⁰ is

⁶¹⁸ See above, p. 40.

⁶¹⁹ Brown 2011: 47.

⁶²⁰ Johannesson 1968: 233–234; Lindroth 1975: 194.

highly dubious. De la Gardie's name is not mentioned anywhere in the book and is even absent from the list of the dedicatees, which consists of six other Swedish nobles.

17. Oxenstiernianae familiae descriptio

An undated manuscript.⁶²¹ It begins with the same epigram by John Owen as the genealogy of Brahe family ("Comburi possunt libri, monumenta perire..."), mentioned above (no. 15).

18. Genealogia Ribbingiana

An undated manuscript, part of Elias Palmskiöld's *Genealogica*-collection.⁶²² Cf. Warmholtz, № 7040.

19. Widekindi's letters

The letters have been preserved in the collections of some Swedish nobles in the Swedish National Archives and in Uppsala University Library. On his letters to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie see chapter 3.

c) Poetic writings

20. Lessus, Cum nunciaretur obitus amici desideratissimi, Fusus et Inscriptus memoriae ejus; quae sit in aeterna benedictione! *Part of:* Manibus Erii Un. Troilij Lexandensis, Qui, cum Hollandiam cogitaret, Naufragio submersus obiit citra ostium Varni prope insulam Anholt/ die 24 Nov. Anno Christiano 1645. suo 26. Juvenis virtutibus et litterarum Progressibus Eximij; Amici sui olim integerrimi et Charissimi, parentant. Upsaliae, Eschillus Matthiae. (= Älf⁶²³ IV, 202r–203v)

91 hendecasyllables followed by an *Epigramma postea scriptum*, consisting of 25 distichs. The printed version seems to have perished; the only copy known to us is thus Älf's transcript. A passage at the end of the hendecasyllabic part is interesting: the topos of the deceased looking from heaven at the worldly vanity and at his own burial is designed with clear allusions to the apotheosis of Pompey in the epic poem of Lucan (Luc. IX, 11–14).

21. The elegy at the beginning of the funeral speech for Johannes Rudbeckius (see above, no. 9; = Älf IV, 219r–219v)
Eight distichs.

⁶²¹ Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, X28a.

⁶²² Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Palmskiöldska samlingen, vol. 235.

⁶²³ Älf = Samuel Älfs samling, "Thesaurus poeticus, sive Carmina Svecorum poetarum Latina". Linköpings stifts- och landsbibliotek.

22. Serenissimae ac Potentissimae Principi Christinae Augustae, Dei gratia Suecorum, Gothorum Vandalorum etc. Reginae gloriosae, Cum Augurium salutis Holmiae 9. Januarii Anno 1650. celebraretur, in pacis publicae gratulationem et subjectissimi affectus gaudium. Holmiae, Janssonius, 1650.
83 distichs. The poem is known as a good example of the deification of Queen Christina in the literature of 1640s and early 1650s⁶²⁴.
23. The elegy in Uppsala dissertation by Erik Utterkloo *Discursus Civilis, ad quaestionem, Num in Republ. gubernanda boni Mores plus momenti quam bonae Leges obtineant? ex C. Taciti de Mor. Germ. c. 19. exstructus* (Holmiae, Janssonius, 1651) (= Älf IV, 211v)
Eight distichs.
24. Auspicij Coronae Regni Svecici Quam avitam et auctam postquam decem annos feliciter administrasset Serenissima et Potentissima Regina Christina etc. Incomparabili exemplo resignat et transfert in celsissimum Principem Carolum Gustavum Regni Svecici haereditarium Principem etc. Upsaliae, Johannes Pauli, [1654].
149 hexameters.
25. The elegy at the beginning of the elogium of Axel Oxenstierna (see no. 10 above)
Eight distichs.
26. Tanti Parentis unicis haeredibus masculis, Filijs natalium splendore et generosae indolis praestantia illustribus, D. Axelio et Carolo Gustavo Oxenstierna Comitib. de Morea Australi, L. Baron. in Kimitho, Dnis in Tijdöön, Juulestadh, Wiby, etc. Dominis suis plurimum colendis, paternae vitae elogium. *Part of: Oratio funebris in excessum...* (see no. 11 above; = Älf IV, 216v–218r)
34 distichs. A part of this poem is an almost word-for-word reproduction of the previous one.
27. Aeternitati Pacis Sveo-Danicae Sacrum et Augustissimo Svecorum Regi Carolo Gustavo etc. Dicatum.
625 hexameters. A manuscript.⁶²⁵ As far as I know, it is not mentioned in any literature on Widekindi. Neither is it included in Älf's collection. It is the longest poetic work of Widekindi. It was presented to Charles X Gustav and dated 10 April 1658. The first half of the poem describes the victorious war against Denmark, while the second is of a didactic character, describing the provinces Sweden received according to the

⁶²⁴ Gustafsson 1956: 171.

⁶²⁵ Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, E 421.

Treaty of Roskilde, namely Scania, Blekinge, Halland, Bohuslän, Trondheim and Bornholm.

28. In obitum Perillustris et Excellentissimi Domini Dn. Johannis Oxenstierna, Axelii F. Comitis in Södermöre, Lib. Bar. in Kimitho et Nynäs, Domini in Fijholm, Hörnigzhalm, Tulgarn, Ekebyhoff, Söderbo etc. Reg. M.tis Regnique Svecici Senatoris, Marescalli Supremi, Judicis Provincialis Uplandiae, Praesidis Regij Tribunalis Wismariae, nec non extraordinarii Legati per Germaniam, Patroni sui Desideratissimi, qui A. 1657. 5. Decemb. Wismariae pie defunctus, Holmiae A. 1659. 17. April. magnifice tumulo suo illatus est. Holmiae, Meurer, [1659]. (= Älf IV, 204r–204v)

36 distichs.

29. Epitaphium Thesaurum mortalitatis sub hocce Saxo habes locupletissimum, Corpus scilicet, humaniorum et civilium virtutum studiorumque laude quondam decoratissimi Iuvenis-Viri Dn. Erii Andreae Utterkloo/ Curiae Holmensis Actuarii publ. et praeterea Notariatus in Collegio Opificum addicti, Cujus anima post depositum spoliolum Anno 1661. 17. April. in Coelum sublata, nunc summae felicitatis auctore et compendio Deo fruitur; exuviae matri suae in templo Holmensi primario decenti ritu primo die Maij redonatae sunt. S. l., s. a.

32 distichs.

30. Beatis Manibus Illustrissimi Excellentissimique Domini, Domini, Johannis Christophori Königsmarck/ Comitis in Westerwijk et Stegholm/ Domini in Rotenburk et Neuhausen/ etc. S. R. M.tis Regnique Svecici Senatoris, Campiductoris et Ducatum Bremae Verdaeque Gubernatoris. Qui antiquo et Senatoriae dignitatis honore in Svecia praelustri sanguine, sed temporum varietate diu alibi clariori, longa serie oriundus, natusque in Marcha Brandeburgica An. 1605. 2 Decemb. post tot honestamenta militaris industriae Svecorum auspiciis approbata, dimissionem impetrans An. 1663. 20 Febr. animam Coelesti suae origini, Corpus terrae matri resignavit, Holmiaeque sequentis anni 10. Julij tristi magnificentiae specie tumulo condendum obtulit Merita praeconia laudis. Holmiae, Meurer, 1663.

101 hexameters.

31. A poem (“Salve progenies divinae Carole stirpis...” accompanying the genealogical tree of Charles XI (see above, no. 12).

Eight hexameters.

32. Another poem (“Adspice majorum seriem...” accompanying the genealogical tree of Charles XI (see above, no. 12).

Nine hexameters.

33. One more poem (“Tu regere imperio populos...”) accompanying the genealogical tree of Charles XI (see above, no. 12).

Four hexameters. A variation of Verg. Aen. VI.851–853.

34. Elegia In Tumulum Generosae et omnium Matronalium virtutum laude decoratissimae Foeminae, Dn. ae Elizabethae von Eyken. Viri Amplissimi Solertissimique Dn. Marci Kochij, Praefecti Quondam Rei Monetariae apud Sveonas, conjugis olim dilectissimae. Cujus ingenium, Candor, Industria, Pietas, Pudor, Morum Elegancia et Sanctitas, grata Deo, Multis nota, probata bonis, Conjugi olim jucunda, liberis Praefulgida, Pauperibus propitia fuere. Obijt pie in Domino Anno 1665. die 3. Maij Corpus Terrae matri suae die 11. Junij ejusdem Anni in Templo ad Afwesta Forss insigni munificentia ab ipsa exornato, redditum est. *Part of:* Rudbeck J. Christeligh Lijkpredikan, Hwilken Vthi Afwesta Kyrckio widh Folkkrijck Försambling/ Anno 1665. then 11. Junij... bleff hållen. Westerås, Lauringer, 1666.

35 distichs.

35. Ad Illustrissimum Et Excellentissimum Dominum Dn. Claudium Tott, Comitem in Karlzborgh/ L. B. in Sundebij/ Dn. in Eekohlsund Lehall/ Regni Svecici Senatorem, Arcis urbisque Holmensis summum Praefectum, et militiae equ. General Locumtenentem. Cum amores suos solenni Nuptiarum pompa Holmiae An. 1665. in Jul. cum illustriss: ac generosissima Virgine Dn: Anna Margaretha Oxenstierna, N. Comitissa de Södermöre/ L. B. de Kimitho/ Domina in TiDoen et Julestad/ ad finem perduceret. S. l., s. a.

29 distichs.

36. Ad Virum Amplissimum, Consultissimumque Assessorem supremi Iudicii Regii Holm. Amicum integerrimum, Dn. Magnum Utter, Cum Funus honestissimae, Castissimaeque conjugis suae, Dn. Birgittae Georgii F. Quae Anno 1640. 29. Septembr. nata, nupta 1660, 30 Decembr. post multiplicem vero morborum luctam pie in Domino obiit Anno 1666. 26. Maij. Efferret, ac tumulo suo in templo Hol: primario die 19. Jun. ejusdem anni conderet. – Solatia Luctus Exigua Ingentis, maesto sed debito Amico. *Part of:* Terserus J. E. En Christeligh Lijk-Predikan Öfwer Then fordom Ehreborne, Gudhfruchtige och mycket Dygdesamme Matronas Hustru Brijta Jörans Dotters Jordefärd, Hållen vthi Stoora Kyrkian i Stockholm Åhr 1666 then 19 Junij. Stockholm, Hantsch, [1666]. P. 49–56. (= Älf IV, 226r–228v)

67 distichs.

37. Aeternitati Scholae ad S. Mariam, in: Rundelius A. A. Holmensis scholae ad S. Mariam inauguratio, consensu Ubsaliensis et Holmensis consistorii,

magistratus loci, et ecclesiae antistitem, nutuque viri plurimum reverendi, Dn. Laurentii Matthiae Myliandri, ... in praesentia auditorum, tam ecclesiastici quam politici ordinis, dignitate ac virtute ornatissimorum peracta. Holmiae, Hantsch, [1667] (= Älf IV, 219r)

Four distichs.

38. Epistola Consolatoria, Ad Illustrissimum Regni Cancellarium Dn. Magnum Gabrielem De la Gardie, Comitem in Lecköe/ Arnssburg et Pernau/ Lib: Baronem in Eckholmen/ Dominum in Hapsal/ Magnushoff/ Helmet/ Högentorp et Wennegarn/ In gemino charissimorum Pignorum funere, et summo luctu humili officii ergo transmissa. S. l., 1667.

84 distichs. From the poem we learn, among other things, that Widekindi paid visits to De la Gardie's residence in Wennegarn.

39. Amplissimo Clarissimoque Magno Vttero, Amico pl. honorando. [1668] (Älf IV, 219v–220r)

10 sapphic stanzas. Widekindi expresses his opinion (a very positive one) about Justus Lipsius. According to Älf, whose transcript seems to be the only preserved witness of the text, this poem was written in a copy of a book by Lipsius, given as a present to Magnus Utter.

40. Manibus Reverendi et Amplissimi Viri, Dn. Mag. Abelis Kochij, Reg. M.tis Concionatoris Primarij et Consistorij aulici praesidis, Amici sui desideratissimi, An. Domini M. DC. LXVIII. *Part of:* Pontinus M. Christi tianares bästa lofford och högsta löön... Nu Salige Herr M. Abelis Kocks, Hederlige Jordefärdh, i S. Jacobs Kyrckian på Norre Förstaden i Stockholm den 17. Martij An. 1668... hållen. Stockholm, Meurer, 1668.

56 distichs.

41. An elegy in the dissertation “Arma Forensia, sive De Probationibus” by Andreas Swanvall (1668) (= Älf IV, 216v)

Four distichs.

42. Honor Debitus Festivitati Nuptiarum splendidissimae Viri Spectatissimi atque Prudentissimi Dn. Johannis Petri, Argenti fodinae qvae ad Sahlam est Inspectoris Regij dignissimi, Matrimonio sibi jungentis Virginem tam animi qvam corporis dotibus ornatissimam Brigittam Snach Holmiae 26. August. Anno 1669, exhibitus. [Holmiae], [1669].

13 distichs.

43. Reverendissimo Amplissimoque Dn. Nic. Rudbeckio, S. S. Th. Doct. et Episc. Aros. Fautori, amico, denique affini, antiqua fide pl. observando, cum pararet abitum ad Arosienses et ei filia nata esset. *Part of:* Reverendissimo viro ac domino, dn. Nicolao Rudbeckio ... de episcopatu Arosiensi a serenissima regia majestate, suffragijs cleri Westmannici prius rite collectis, clementissime ipsi collato, testandi debiti affectus

ergo, ex animo gratulatur Joan. Claszon Wallwijk, civitatis Fahlun. syndicus. Holmiae, Meurer, [1671] (= Älf IV, 218r–218v)

19 distichs.

44. An ode preceding the *Panegyricus* to Charles XI (see above, no. 14).

38 hexameters.

45. Epitaphium D. Troilij Kähre, Senatoris Regiae Svecorum urbis. Holmiae, 1672.

18 distichs. The epitaph is still preserved on a column by the southern passage in Storkyrkan in Stockholm; one distich, describing the main character making acquaintance with “Mahumetanae deliria sectae” during the long peregrination in his youth, is left out of the epigraphic version compared to the printed one. The text of the inscription has been printed in Rüdling 1731: 54–56;⁶²⁶ for some reason the authors of the modern, 700-page description of Storkyrkan have abstained from rendering the text of the epitaph, providing instead an unreadable photograph of it and a Swedish translation of some phrases.⁶²⁷

46. Aeternitati Regiae Gustavianae Familiae, cujus insignia Manipulus. *Part of*: Widekindi J. Additamentum, eller Tilökning på någre tänckwürdige stycker... (see above, no. 6)

13 distichs.

47. Epitaphium Illustrissimi ac Generosissimi Praefati Comitis Senioris Petri Brahe de Wisingzburg. et R. S. Drotzeti. *Part of*: Widekindi J. Imagines Illustrissimae Familiae Braheae (see above, no. 15), pp. 12–13. (= Älf IV, 216r–216v)

13 distichs.

48. A distich about Nils Brahe in Imagines Illustrissimae Familiae Braheae (see above, no. 15), p. 16. (= Älf IV, 216v)

49. In tuguriolum meum Meenhammar, quod in vicina insula Ekeröen situm. S. l., [1673].

52 distichs. Probably the only piece of non-occasional poetry by Widekindi to be printed separately.

50. In Aulicam Vitam A. De Guevarra. *Part of*: [Guevara A.] En Härligh och Lustigh Tractat, Om Hoflefwernetz Förtreet och Mödesamheet, deslijes Landzbygdens eller Bondewäsendetz Lustigheet och Beröm... nu förwänd och transfererat på vårt Swenske Tungomåhl aff Erico Schrodero. Stockholm, Wankijff, 1675.

77 hexameters. The poem is basically a compilation of several poems present in the edition of Guevara's treaty from 1578. A mention of Wankijf, the editor, in the poem suggests that it was written specifically

⁶²⁶ I checked the correctness of Rüdling's text myself during a visit to Storkyrkan in 2018.

⁶²⁷ Roosval et al. 1927: 532.

for this edition, i.e. Widekindi compiled the material himself and did not borrow a ready compilation from elsewhere.

51. *Rustica Vita. Part of:* [Guevara A.] *En Härligh och Lustigh Tractat, Om Hoflefwernetz Förtreet och Mödesamheet, deslijes Landzbygdens eller Bondewäsendetz Lustigheet och Beröm... nu förwänd och transfererat på vårt Swenske Tungomåhl aff Erico Schrodero. Stockholm, Wankijff, 1675.*

50 distichs. The poem follows the previous one and seems to be entirely written by Widekindi himself.

52. *Cognato Suo Dilecto Domino. M. Laurentio Aroselio, Hist. et Poes. Lectori Cum Funus charissimae suae omnisque honestatis laude decoratissimae Conjugis, Sarae Joannis Terserae Arhosiae tumulo inderet Anno Christiano M DC LXXV. ipsis Idibus Julij. Solatia luctus Exigua ingentis, moesto transmissa Marito. Holmiae, 1675. (= Älf IV, 224r–225v)*

41 distichs. The poem contains several borrowings from the consolation for Magnus Utter (no. 36).

53. *Helena Beyer, cum Matre sua, genetrici nostrae communi reddita Holmiae in templo S. Nicolai An. Dn. M DC LXXV. XI. Kal. Aug. Marito suo Charissimo Dn. Johanni Stiernhökio, ultimum Vale et solatia dicit. (Älf IV, 231r–231v)*

20 distichs. Twelve of them are borrowed (with slight changes) from the consolation for Magnus Utter (no. 36).

54. *Vita Generosi Nobilissimique Dn. Johannis O. Stiernhöök, Aulae Reg. Consiliarij, nec non per Quatuor Regum, et bina administrantium procerum tempora Ministri quondam et Secretarij fidelissimi, qui A. M. DC. LXXV. VII. Kal. Jul. Octogenarius placide in Christo Holmiae obiit, et ibidem A. M. DC. LXXVI. V. iduum Febr. decenti ritu sepultus est. Holmiae, Eberdt, s. a. (= Älf IV, 208r–210v)*

102 distichs. This poem, the second-largest in Widekindi's poetic production, was printed three times: in 1676 (?) separately, some time later together with the funeral speech by Olof Swebilius,⁶²⁸ and recently in a monograph about Johan Stiernhöök.⁶²⁹ It is thus the only work by Widekindi to be published in a modern critical edition.

55. *Generoso Illustrissimoque Domino Carolo Gustavo Oxenstierna, Erici Filio, Axelii Nepoti, Comiti in Södermöre Lib. Baroni in Kimitho et Nynäes, Dn. Haereditario in Tidoen, Fyholmen etc. Post felicem ex peregrinatione reditum S. P. D. Holmiae, 1677.*

⁶²⁸ The slight differences between the two versions are accounted for in Helander 2005: 20–26.

⁶²⁹ Helander 2005: 28–44.

30 distichs.

56. Dominis Proverbiorum Sveo-Gothicorum Scriptoribus. *Part of*: Grubb L., Törning L. D. Veterum et novorum Proverbiorum Sueo-Gothicorum Auctarium. Stockholm, Wankijff, 1677. (= Älf IV, 218r)

Five distichs.

57. Beatis Manibus Reverendissimi et Excellentissimi Ostrogothiae Episcopi D. Joannis Elai Terseri S. S. Theologiae Doctoris, et Viri undique literarum, virtutum, meritorum ac honorum laude decoratissimi, Affinis sui desideratissimi, Qvi Anno MDCLXXVIII. V. Kal. Julii Lincopiae tumulo suo illatus est, ibidemque conditus extat, Sacrum. *Part of*: Brodinus J. Lijk-Predikan Hållen Tå Then HöghEhrewyrdige och Höghlärde Nu hoos Gudh/ Salige Herren/ Herr Joannes Elai Terserus, Den Helige Skriffitz widtberömbde Doctor... bleff... begrafwen i Linköpings Domkyrckia. Stockholm, Ebert, 1679. (= Älf IV, 211v–213v)

142 hexameters. The epitaph was twice reprinted in the 18th century.⁶³⁰

58. An elegy about Oxenstierna family in Oxenstiernianae familiae descriptio (see above, no. 17), pp. 9–10

Two distichs.

59. Ad Praelustrem Comitem in Chroneborgh Dominum Gabrielem Oxenstierna. *Part of*: Oxenstiernianae familiae descriptio (see above, no. 17), p. 12

Five hexameters.

60. An elegy about Oxenstierna family in Oxenstiernianae familiae descriptio (see above, no. 17), p. 13.

Three distichs (the first two of which are almost identical to no. 51).

61. Ad vnicum huius propaginis haerodem Generosum Illustrissimumque Dn. D. Carolum G. Oxenstierna Erics Filium Axelij Nepotem Comitem in Södermöre, Lib. Baronem in Kimitho etc. Dn. in Tidöen etc. *Part of*: Oxenstiernianae familiae descriptio (see above, no. 17), p. 14.

Three distichs.

62. In insignia Oxenstierniana. *Part of*: Oxenstiernianae familiae descriptio (see above, no. 17), p. 16.

Five distichs.

63. In insignia praelustris stemmatis Ribbingorum. *Part of*: Genealogia Ribbingiana (see above, no. 18).

Eight distichs.

64. Widichinnus Laurentii's epitaph in Bro

Eight distichs. On the authorship, see Vetushko-Kalevich 2019.

⁶³⁰ See Warmholtz, № 1982.

d) Lost writings

65. Oratio ligata de Piscibus. 1644.⁶³¹

This speech, as well as nos. 66 and 68–72 are only mentioned by Schefferus, who adds that he does not know if they were ever printed.

66. Oratio de Reginae jam viduae reditu, in praesentia Christinae Reginae Anno 1646.

67. A speech on the peace of Westphalia, delivered on 19 November 1648.⁶³²

Schefferus wrote an invitation to this speech himself, but does not mention it in his list of Widekindi's writings.

68. Oratio in depositione Imperii Christinae Reginae, Upsaliae 1654. valedictoria, in praesentia Regis et Reginae.⁶³³

69. Oratio in natales Principis haereditarii, mense Decembri An. 1655 in praesentia Regis procerumque in Gymnasio Holmensi.⁶³⁴

70. Oratio de quodam Generali nomine Wanoser, ad mandatum Caroli Gustavi Regis, Hafniae habita An. 1657.

The date looks suspicious, as Widekindi visited Denmark two years later.⁶³⁵

71. Oratio cum deponeretur funus Regium in templo arcis Holmensis, in arce Regia habita mense Aprili An. 1660.

72. Oratio carmine heroico in templo arcis Holmensis Anno 1660, tempore S. Andreae de morte Regia, praesentibus proceribus.⁶³⁶

73. In recuperationem Christianstadij quinta die aug. a. M.DCLXXVIII. peractam. Holmiae, 1678.

Collijn mentions one copy, at the Diocese Library in Linköping. The librarians have not managed to find it on my request, so there is a risk that the work (apparently a poem, as it is reportedly only two sheets long) is lost.

⁶³¹ A public invitation (*program*) to this speech was written by *professor poeseos* Lars Fornelius (Meyer 1905: 30, no. 223).

⁶³² Meyer 1905: 36, no. 277.

⁶³³ Perhaps identical with or including no. 24 above.

⁶³⁴ This speech is indirectly referred to by Widekindi in the dedicatory letter to Charles XI in *Historia Belli: Tot antequam natus eras desiderii inclamatus, sanctionibus consecratus, et postquam editus gratulationibus votisque exceptus, nunc fausti sideris instar non dubia felicioris tranquilliorisque seculi omina ostendis*.

⁶³⁵ See above, p. 12.

⁶³⁶ Referred to by the Swedish official Johan Rosenhane in his diary on the same day, i.e. 30 November 1660: *Effter prädikan på slättett, hade Vidikinnus een wacker parentation öffwer saligh Känungen på latinske värss* (Rosenhane 1995: 304).

Appendix 2. Sources of specific passages in *Historia Belli / Krijgz-Historie*

The following list does not cover all the preserved sources of Widekindi. It includes all the passages I have compared with their sources and those of the passages whose sources are probably lost, whenever they are discussed in chapter 4. Thus, the table is not far from comprehensive regarding books 1–5 and quite representative regarding books 6–10.

Following abbreviations are used:

CIX = Charles IX

DIg = Jacob De la Gardie

EH = Evert Horn

GA = Gustavus Adolphus

Kob. = Kobierzycki, *Historia Vladislai Poloniae et Sveciae Principis*

Ox. = Oxenstierna, *Relatio Historica* (AOSB I:1, pp. 239–246)

Petr. = Petrejus, *Regni Muschovitici Sciographia*

RA = Riksarkivet

TUL = Tartu University Library

book and chapter ⁶³⁷	passage (pages) – Latin in odd lines, Swedish in even	contents	source(s)	relation between the versions ⁶³⁸	discussion in chapter 4 (page)
preface	Scripturo bellum Sveco-Muscoviticum... interfuere, monstrare possim (2–4)	the authors' intention	Ox. 239	L ⁶³⁹	
	När man vil rätt... documenter vhwijisa och demonstrera (unnumbered pages)				
I.1–4	Initio seculi huius... coalitas facile opprimerent (6–11)	the conflict between Duke Charles and King Sigismund in 1598–1604	Ox. 241–243	L	
	När man skreff efter... störste Nöd och Trångzmähl (1–8)				
I.5	Russia seu Roxolania... fonte et origine repelere (12–13)	the origins of Muscovy	probably the lost part of Ox., with small additions from Chytræus 22 and Kob. 66	L	86–87
	Ryssland eller Roxolaniën... första begynnelse och vhrsprung (10–12)				
I.6–8	Magnus Moschorum Dux... artibus conservare nitebatur (14–17)	the ascension of Boris Godunov to the Russian throne	probably the lost part of Ox., with small additions from Kob. 54, 56	L	86
	Ivan Wasiliwitz Stoor-Försten... at fornera och stadfästa (12–17)				
I.9	Opportunum itaque sibi accidisse... hominis insolentis dominatus (17–19)	Godunov's diplomacy	probably the lost part of Ox., with an insertion from Petr. II, 119–122	L?	67–68, 86
	Therföre tyckte han at... Mans oljideliga Härskande (17–20)				
I.9–10	Unde veterum Principum memoria... quosvis casus firmat (19–20)	the rumour about Prince Dmitry	Ox. 244	L	
	Hwar affi när hwar... Händelse wara bewäpnat (20–21)				
I.11–16	Interim Sigismundus Rex... merito praeferretur, non repiriretur (20–28)	the rise and the fall of False Dmitry I	Ox. 244–246 and Kob. 57–68, 74 with small additions from some other source(s)	L	57–58, 60, 86

⁶³⁷ Numbering of and borders between the chapters follow the Latin version only. There are certain differences in the Swedish version, especially in books 3 and 8.

⁶³⁸ L means that the Swedish text is translated from the Latin one; S means that the Swedish text is independent from the Latin one; C means that the Swedish text seems to be translated from Latin but then reworked using the source.

⁶³⁹ Significantly reworked in Swedish.

	J medler tidh/ rådslogh... sin frija politte (22–33)	the reburial of False Dmitry I and the official reasons of his murder			
I.16–17	Hic XXIV. die... perstudiosum et musices gnarum (28–29) Thenna Suyschi lät... want een god Sångare (33–34)		<i>Tragoedia Moscovitica</i> 44–49	L	87
II.1	Erat is annus... redeo ad tragoediam Demetrianam (31–33) Thetta åhret 1606... then Demetrianiske Tragoedien igen (35–38)	the Rokosz in Poland	Ox. 246 and Kob. 35–47 with an addition from some other source(s)	L	
II.2	ZUSCHIO, uti dictum est... omnes jurandi formulae (33–34) När Suisch, som sagt... lijda medh then oskyldige (38–40)	the negotiations between Vasily Shuysky and Sigismund	Petr. II, 207–208, Kob. 74	L	93
II.3–4	Interea, sub ipsis turbis... tutelam Regis Poloniae (34–35) J medler tidh/ mådan... åth Konungen i Páland (40–42)	Bolotnikov rebellion	Petr. II, 210–220, 225, Kob. 70	L	72, 93
II.5	Rex autem Svediae CAROLUS... moliebantur iter per Poloniam (36–39) Konung Carl i Sverige... fara een annan Wågh (42–46)	first negotiations between Vasily Shuysky and CIX	unknown	L?	
II.6–9	Dum haec cum Svecis... simulachro inter se divisio (39–44) Medan thetta medh the... hielpen war förhanden (47–52)	the rise of False Dmitry II	Petr. II, 225, 237, 240, Kob. 70–71, 90–93, Piasecki 253–254	L	52, 54–55, 69, 76, 88
II.9–14	Plescoviam etiam (quam diu... summa haec fuit (44–53) wingade the Pleskowlitske Rebeller... ther på war thetta (52–63)	the situation in north-western Russia and the Swedish-Russian negotiations	unknown	L?	98
II.14	1. Ut Rex CAROLUS Basilio... loca, adversus communem hostem (53–54) 1. At K. CARL skulle... andre Orter emoot Pálacken (63–66)	the treaty of Viborg	the text of the treaty (<i>Sverges Traktater</i> , V, 158–168) via an unknown Latin source	L	88, 94–97
III.1–2	Hactenus origines turbarum... extorquere Dominatum satagebat (57–58)	situation at the beginning of 1609	Kob. 87–91	L	51–52

	Här tils hafwe wij omrördt... authoritet nogh beholt (68–70)				
III.4	Erat hic Scopinus... cum Svecorum Duce conveniret (62)	characteristics of Skopin-Shuysky	Kob. 225–226	L	
III.6	Thenne Knäsen Michael... kunna blifwa vthfördt (75–76)				
	quae urbs ad volgarn... S. Nicolai deferre solet (66)	parenthesis about Yaroslavl	Petr. I, 48	L?	
	som ligger widh ett River... Wahrer sickka til Archangel (81)				
III.7	Cum interjacentes aquas... accusati paenas dedere (68–69)	EH's victory by Staraya Russa	unknown	C?	103
	Så at the som med öfversten... ther sättila Lifwet til (83–84)				
III.11	Urbem hanc 36. milliaribus... cursum et nomen amittit (75–76)	description of Tver and Volga	Herberstein 73 / Guagnini 82, Petr. I, 56a		70
	—				
III.11	Alexander Zborowski de Ritui... 21 st. n. Iunii A. Domini 1609 (77–80)	Zborowski's letter to DiG	the original letter (probably lost)	L	104
	Alexander Zboroski til Ritwi... 21 Julij St. N. Åhr 1609 (98–100)				
III.12	an Marina Gorgona... nunc signa sequeretur (81)	a question about the marriage of the Second False Dmitry	Kob. 111 (different context)	L	63
	Om then Sandomiriske Furstinnan... Baneer han förer? (101)				
III.14–15	INterea Rex Poloniae... obrui necessum fuerit? (89–93)	discussions in Poland regarding a war against Russia and the Russian answer to the Polish accusations	Kob. 72–81, 129–130, Lubinski 156	L	54, 88
	JMedler Tijdht/ när nu Sigismundus... gå samma vägen? (108–114)				
III.16	TAlia consiliis querelisque... quandoque pugna confixit (93–94)	Sigismund's attack against Smolensk	Kob. 82–87	L	61–62
	THetta passerade alltså... och slogs medh Fienden (114–116)				
III.20	Urbs illa cum castro... frugum alimentorumque suppediat (102)	description of Pereslavl-Zalessky	Herberstein 84, Guagnini 78		70
	—				
III.20	Urbs haec cum castello... commoda vel graviter adversa (103)	description of Alexandrovskaya Sloboda	Petr. I, 44		

III.23	– Adventus regius, et nostra... animis ad Regem deferebantur (111–113) Thenne hans ankomst... bekymbersamme woro orn vthgängen (136–139)	disturbance in the leaguer of the Second False Dmitry	Kob. 93–108	L	55, 58–59, 62–63
III.24	Ille autem qvi jam dudum... legatis commissum a Rege (114–117) Men Konungen (hvilken allareda... fulmacht eller order at gaa (139– 144)	Sigismund's negotiations with different sides in Russia	Kob. 128–137, 141–150, 183	L	55, 59–60
III.25	Interea dum coeunt auxiliares... impedire ac premere poterant (118–120) J medler tijdh hade Herr... vthsände woro fetalle at inhämpta (145–146)	the relief of the Trinity Lavra	Kob. 211–212, Petr. I, 8 and some other source(s)	L	56
III.26	Interea dum Jacobus et Scopinus... a Rege subsidia et dona (122–126) J medler tijdh/ emädan Herr... aff Kungen/ at them stilla (149–154)	the distress in the leaguer of the Second False Dmitry and his flight	Kob. 151–158, 174–175, 191–208, Petr. I, 39, II, 249	L	56
III.26	– Thenne Marinam anammade... een lång tijdh sammanblewo (154– 155)	Marina's flight to the Second False Dmitry	Petr. II, 253	S	72, 74, 79
III.27–28	In castris a. Demetrianis... vires suas laetus circumspiciebat (128– 130) thet stoora Lägret/ som framman... sleiff höyelligen gladdes (157–159)	the situation by the spring of 1610	Kob. 208–211, 215–225, Petr. II, 255 and an unknown source (probably the lost reports of DIG)	C	72–75, 79
III.28	triumphantis ad instar ingreditur... flore miscuit et allexit (130–132) ther the medh stoort prä!... meer them förderfwade än the onda (160–162)	DIG's and Skopin-Shuysky's ingress into Moscow	Kob. 181–183 (partly different context), Petr. II, 256 and an unknown source	C	53, 72, 79
IV.1	Nam cum summa armorum... finem deducenda esset (136–137) Ty! effier såsom han tä... til sin ända föra (166–168)	Shuysky's suspicions against Skopin- Shuysky	Kob. 183–185 and some other source(s)	L	

IV.2	Nam hic die 23 Aprilis... susque deque habuit (139–140) ty then 23 Aprilis... for the misstanckar skul (171)	the death of Skopin-Shuysky	Kob. 185, 225	L	
IV.3	Namque magnus Dux... auxiliariis Svecis expectasset (141–142) –	Dmitry Shuysky is appointed commander-in-chief	Kob. 226		
IV.4	Namque hic dum vixit... cum Edvardo Hornio advenere (143– 144) Hvilken igen ther emot... then swenske Vndsättningen ankom (176–177)	Polish occupation of cities to the west from Moscow	Kob. 230–234	L	
IV.4–5	Hic 12 Feb. die... munimenta et praedam versis (144–148) Ty thenne war nu den... tända Elden på Hakelwercket (177–181)	EH's campaign in the spring of 1610	Kob. 234–236, EH's report from 23 rd May 1610 (RA, Handlingar rörande Ryska kriget)	S	93
IV.5–6	nostrates intra tormentorum ictus... Smolenscum obsident si obtinuisset (148–150) måste wära wijka... Kunnat tå åthniuta (181–182)	the seizure of Iosifov monastery by EH	Kob. 236–239	L	
IV.6	Litzovius palatus per agros... paulisper in poloniam excessit (150) Lisoiski ströfwär så sedan... som mentes/ til Polniske Gräntzen (183)	Lisovsky's retreat	EH's report from 23 rd May 1610	S	93
IV.6–7	Mosaicum quoque (olim ante unitam... adventuras fama tulisset (150–157) Mosaiko (som hafwer varit... skulle komma mehra Fölc (183– 192)	EH's attack against Belaya and Żółkiewski's arrival at the scene of operations	Kob. 240–265 with insertions from Petr. I, 41 and some other source(s)	L	55
IV.9	Ad sinistram campi partem... praedae victorum cesserunt (162– 168) Knäs Demetri Suischi... thes bättre vndkomma kunde (197–202)	the battle of Klushino	Kob. 265–279 and probably the lost report(s) of DIG	C/S	56–57
IV.11	Numerus caesorum a parte... consecratos, Regi offert (172–173)	the results of the battle	Kob. 279–282	L	

	Taalet vppå them som slagne... åt Konungen Iefwerade (208–209)	DIG's retreat	Kob. 281 and some other source(s)		
IV.12	Jacobus de La Gardie... Ducis cubile invadere (173–174)			C?	
	När nu Herr IACOB... Logemente och Sofwekammar (209–210)				
IV.12	sed Insuper hostium encomilis... spem, nobis conciliaverimus (175–176)	Żółkiewski's opinion about the battle of Klushino	Kob. 275	L	
	vthan och theras Berörm... på wår Sjida droge (213)				
IV.13	Itaque literas ad ipsum... rite numeret stipendia (176–177)	DIG writes to Shuysky after the battle of Klushino	DIG's letter to Vasily Shuysky, 29 June 1610 (TUL, DIG collection)	L	
	Therförre låter Herr... ährender handla kunde (214–215)				
IV.13	Ab altera parte Moschoviae... futurorum eventuum erant (178–179)	the resistance of Smolensk and the surrender of other cities to the Poles	Kob. 286	L	58
	På andra sidan Muschou... thet som ther effter hände (217–218)				
IV.14	Nam postquam tristem tola urbe... de conditionibus tractare incaept (181–183)	the events in Moscow after the battle of Klushino	Kob. 287–297, Petr. I, 11–12	L	
	Ty sedan såsom thet bedröfwelige Rychtet... begynte til at dagtinga medh them (220–224)				
V.1	Caeterum illo (Suischio)... urbi anonam assignata (188–189)	the situation by the end of the summer of 1610	Kob. 322–326	L	
	J medler tijdh skulle han... at skaffa nöyachtig Proviant (231)				
V.2	Magnifice et Generose Domine... Reg. Pol. Generalis (195–197)	Żółkiewski's letter to DIG	the original letter (probably lost)	L	104
	Wälborne Herre/ Högfährade... Fältherre/ Woivod i Kiou (239–242)				
V.3	Ivanogrodi obsidionem urgebant... licentia exempli peccabant (199–200)	unsuccessful attempts of the Swedes to seize Ivangorod in August 1610	Peder Nilsson's letter to Erik Elofsson, 24 th August 1610 (RA, brev till Karl IX:s kansli)	S?	
	Drefwe altså både... ifrå Narfwen och Råfwel (246–248)				
V.3	20 die Augusti... illam sentinam exhaustant (201)	the fire of Narva in August 1610		S?	

	Wijd samma tijd/ som... til sigh i Lågret (248–249)			Philipp Scheding's letter to Peder Nilsson, 24 th August 1610 (RA, brev till Karl IX:s kansli)		
V.4	Petro de La Ville qui praesidium... ejusque associis opponant (206–208) Så sände ock Herr IACOB... theas Fiender wore (257–259)	situation in the Ladoga and Kexholm districts in the autumn of 1610		DIG's letter to CIX, 9 th December 1610 (TUL)	L	
V.4–5	nunciatur falsum Demetrium... eligendum dlu ostentavit (209–211) komma tjiender at then falske... regerande Stoor-Furste i Ryssland (260–264)	the murder of the Second False Dmitry		Kob. 317–319, Petr. II, 262–266	C	72, 78–79
V.5	Hic exitus fuit... iam palam proderent (211–212) Sådan Endelycht hade... hoos sigh gömt hafva (264–266)	characteristics of the Second False Dmitry		Kob. 319–320, Petr. II, 225	L	
V.5–6	Nam cum Legati Moschuae... detrectantibus Moschorum proceribus (212–215) Ty effier såsom Gesanterne... någon troo eller hörsamheet (266–271)	Żółkiewski's departure from Moscow and the start of the anti-Polish movement there		Kob. 333–335, 341, 348–358, 363–370	L	
V.6	Cum agmen movetur, sub ipso... capienti, convēhi jussit (216–217) Men doch på thet at... dageligen föröktes och tiltoogh (273–274)	the unsuccessful Swedish assault on Oreshek		DIG's letter to CIX, 14 th february 1611 (TUL)	L	
V.7	JACOBO (uti Regi perscribit)... eripi passi fuissent (220–224) Tji Kongl. May:tz Breeff... lijfwet galla skulle (278–283)	the initial phase of DIG's Novgorod expedition		DIG's letter to CIX, 1 st April 1611 (TUL) with insertions from DIG's letter to CIX, 23 rd April 1611 (TUL), CIX's letter to the Russian estates, 28 th February 1611 (RA, Riksregistraturet) and some other source(s)	C	99, 102
V.8	Ablegati Novogardenses accepto... Viburgi detentos reddant (224–225) Sedan nu the Nougårdske Legater... ther fångne sätte (283–285)	the temporary settlement between DIG and the Novgorodians in April 1611		DIG's letter to CIX, 23 rd April 1611	C	100–101

V.8	Attentis ad haec urbani... subsidiiis annonaeque recipiendae (226– 228)	the achievements of the First volunteer army	Kob. 371–380	L	61
	Thetta gaff nu gemeene... Proviant bekomma kunde (285–288)				
V.9	Atque eadem tempestate qua haec... stipis indicio agnosceretur (229)	the appearance of the Third False Dmitry	Kob. 70 (different context), DIG's letter to CIX, 23 rd April 1611	C	
	Thet syntes ock nu som... ther hoos såldt knifwar (290–291)				
V.9	Jacobus de La Gardie in hoc perturbato... Novogardiam versus movere constituit (231–232)	DIG's strategic considerations in April 1611	DIG's letter to CIX, 23 rd April 1611	C	
	Herr IACOB hölt... nalkas nämare til Nougården (293–294)				
V.9	Jacobus acriori profundiorique... colloquium convenire velint (232– 233)	DIG's closer approach to Novgorod	DIG's letter to CIX, 12 th June 1611 (TUL)	L	101
	Men Herr IACOB hade... öfverläggja något sigh emellan (295)				
V.9–10	Jacobus hoc minime... Novogardiae imperatum est (233– 239)	DIG's negotiations with the Novgorodians in June 1611	the protocol of the negotiations, 6 th and 9 th June 1611 (TUL)	S	
	Herr IACOB war... nödlige liffmedel göra (295–304)				
V.10–11	At Iacobus (cui mora... obsessis mittere posset (239–242)	various minor negotiations, consultations and news in June 1611	DIG's letter to CIX, 12 th June 1611 with insertions from Kob. 432–433 and some other source(s)	C	103
	Men Herr IACOB hade... medh belägringen widh Smolenskou (304–308)				
V.11–12	Atque ut huius clariora documenta... ad Idus Julias indicit (243–247)	the exasperation of the conflict between DIG and Novgorodians and the former's preparations for the seizure of the city	DIG's letter to CIX, 28 th August 1611 (TUL) with an insertion from Petr. I, 63–64	C	73
	Doch gick han först... göra anfall på Staden (309–315)				
V.12	His pariter moti... importunaque Iacobus aspernabatur (251–252)	the delivery of Novgorod	DIG's letter to CIX, 28 th August 1611 combined with some other source (cf. Loccenius 512 and German version of Petr., 473)	L	88
	Här vthaff så wäl som vthaff siewfa belägringen... orjmlige aidesles förwågrade (320–322)				

V.12	POTentissimi et Serenissimi Principis... die 11. Jul. A. 1611 (252-271) Then Stormechtige Högborne Furstes... den 25 Iulij, Åhr 1611 (322-333)	the treaty between DIG and the Novgorod people	the original Swedish-language (?) document (lost; cf. the German version in <i>Sveriges Traktater</i> , 200-211)	S	104-105
VI.1	Aræm occupans imperator... alimentorum et pecuniae parum (273) Når nu Herr IACOB... Proviant ganska ringa (335-336)	the resources DIG found in Novgorod	DIG's letter to CIX, 28 th August 1611	L?	
VI.1	Per scriptum quoque ad Regem... violare nefas, pertinentibus (274) Så bleiff och skrifwit... Friijheeter icke beröfwa kunde (337)	DIG asks the King for supplies	DIG's letter to CIX, 3 rd October 1611 (TUL)	C?	
VI.2	Notheburgenses et Ladugenses, se studia... castellis illis interciperet (278-279) The Notheborgske och Ladogske finge... siöledes komma kunde (341-343)	the ambiguous attitude to the alliance with the Swedes in Oreshek and Ladoga fortresses	DIG's letter to CIX, 28 th August 1611	L	101-102
VI.4-5	Causam diutinae oppugnationis... Plescoviam gestarum redeo (281-288) Orsaken til en sådan långvarigh... Muskou/ Nougården och Pleskou (346-355)	the seizure of Smolensk	Kob. 380-384, 393-396, 403-427, 608-609	L	63-64
VI.6	Dum hoc modo Rex... postea non relicendum (288-290) MEDan nu Konungen således... icke förtligas skal (355-357)	the death of Prokopy Lyapunov	Kob. 429-434 and some other source(s)	L	
VI.7	Itaque quanquam nuper literas... hac venia frui (290-291) Therföre ehuruwål han efter sin önskan... theras trägne åstundan (358)	DIG decides not to return to Sweden, despite the King's permission	DIG's letter to CIX, 28 th August 1611	L	
VI.7	NOs Moschovitici Dominii Bajori... Anno 7119 23 Jun. (292-296) WjJ Muskouske Herskaps Bajorer... 7119 den 23 Iun. (361-365)	a letter from the First volunteer army to the Novgorod people	a lost (?) German (?) translation of the original document	S?	106

VI.8	Integro Regis Sveciae... 7119 die 27 Augusti (298–302) Título Regis Integro... Förvthan andre beñiente (367–371)	a letter from the Novgorod people to Charles IX	the original document (RA, Diplomatica Muscovitica 658)	S	106
VI.9	Plescovia, Russis Piskov... tormentorum vi compleverat (304– 308) Först så är Pleskou... heelt om besatte woro (374–379)	the description of Pskov	Chytraeus 166–167, Heidenstein 119–121, Petr. II, 9	L	70–71, 82
VI.10	Tiphinensis et Ladogenses postquam a Svecis... Regis Sveciae filium (312–314) När the vñhi Tiphin och Laduga blefwe... Konungens Son i Sverige (385–387)	surrender of Tikhvin and Ladoga and further achievements of the Swedes	DIG's letter to CIX, 3rd October 1611 with insertions from some other source(s)	C	
VI.12	Jaruslavia ducatus cum arce... mare effundit) situs (317) Förstodomēt Jaruslaou tilijka medh Slottet... hwijta Hafwet til Archangel (391)	note on Yaroslavl	Petr. I, 48	L?	
VI.12	Post Jaruslaviam omnis reliquus... in magnum Ducem asciscere (318–320) Efter Jaruslaou bewillade och så heela... wore the Swenske intel angenåhm (392–394)	DIG receives letters from various cities in Northern Russia and asks the King to speed up the arrival of Charles Philip	DIG's letter to GA, 23rd August 1612 (TUL)	C	
VI.13	Urbs haec antea lignea... exonerat in mare glaciale (322) Thenna Wologda bestodh tiförende... ther strömar vñh i Jisshafwet (397)	notes on Vologda and Sukhona river	Petr. I, 49, 103, Krusenstiern 14–15	L	75–78, 84– 85
VI.14	Interim Moschuae praesidiarios... erumpentium secessio, eripuit (322–324) VThur Muskou kommo nu the... denne lyckan vthur händerne (398–400)	the events in Moscow at the end of 1611	Kob. 434–441	L	
VII.2	Johannes Carolus Kodkevitz... Martij 24 Anno 1612 (332–333) Iohan Carl Chodkevitz... den 24 Martij An. 1612 (411–412)	Chodkiewicz's letter to DIG	the original document (RA, Diplomatica Polonica, vol. 302)	L	104

VII.2	Cumque haud dubijs indicijs constaret... oportune quaerenda monet (333–334)	the growing risk of a new escalation of the conflict with Poland	DIG's letter to GA, 22nd April 1612 (TUL)	C?	
	Och aldenstund Hans M:t noghsampt... Rijke och the nästomliggiande Potentater (412–414)				
VII.4	PRaestruebat jam fortuna... desiderijs quotidie expetebant (339–340)	Russian craving for Charles Philip	Kob. 161–162 (different context)		52–53
	EFter en så långsam möda... Herigens ankomst ifrån Swerige (419)				
VII.4	Toropecia, urbe 60 miliaribus... consensu diadema collatuos (340)	the people of Toropets and Ustyuzhna swear allegiance to Charles Philip	DIG's letter to GA, 8th May 1612 (TUL)	C?	
	Jfrån Tropis/60 milj ifrån Nougården... gifua sig vnder hans Regemente (419–420)				
VII.4	Nuper scilicet nomine Muschoensis... In diversa studia trahatur (342–343)	DIG's negotiations with Dmitry Pozharsky	DIG's letters to GA, 16th May and 23rd August 1612 (TUL)	C	
	At en stoor deel Ryske... at taga särdeles tanckar (422–423)				
VII.5	Plurima turba Zaporoviensium... prope Wolodam Lampsko constitit (345–346)	EH's skirmishes with the Cossacks	DIG's letter to GA, 10th April 1612 (TUL)	C	102
	Ett antaal Saporiske Cosaker... ther ifrån wihd Woloda Lampsko (426–428)				
VII.5	Crebra mentio Cosacorum... Kiowiensis Palatinatus reservantur (346–350)	notes on Don and Dnepr and on the Cossacks	Petr. I, 97–98, Zwinger 4354, Krusenstern 14, Sobieski 109–116 with small insertions from some other source(s)	L	69–70, 83–84
	Och efter såsom både vthi... Stadh vthi Woiwodskapet Kiou (428–433)				
VII.6	PROfligatis, eo modo, quo Cap. 4... tormentis oppugnandam, deinde Jamam (351)	the delivery of Oreshek	DIG's letter to GA, 8th May 1612	C	
	SEDan nu Cossakerne således... och sedan ther ifrån in för Jama (433–434)				

VII.6	Nuper enim emissis aliquot turmis... ipse sui proditor fuit (353)	the third False Dmitry's growing troubles in Pskov	DIG's letter to the dowager queen, 8th May 1612	C/S	99
	Öfverstar... dageligen vthi större misstancka (435)				
VII.7	Praeterea ipsis in subsidium... cum tormentis misit sunt (356–357)	DIG recruits 400 Polish mercenaries	DIG's letter to GA, 3rd July 1612 (TUL)	L	
	Thess förvthan så sände... sände til Evert Horn (439)				
VII.8	summa etiam spes affulserat... Posarskovius cum copijs subsequutus est (360–361)	hopes for an alliance between DIG and the second volunteer army in the summer of 1612	DIG's letter to GA, 3rd July 1612	C?	
	hade man godh förtröstning... hafwer Posarskou följdt efter medh sitt folk (443–444)				
VII.8	Paucis ante adventum diebus... Anno 1613 indict (361–364)	Polish withdrawal from Moscow and Sigismund's further setbacks	Kob. 441–462	L	
	Någre dagar tilförende kom... til Februarium år 1613 (444–450)				
VII.8	Sigismundus III. Dei gratia... Svetiae XIX.	Sigismund's letter to DIG	the original letter (probably lost)	L	104
	Sigismundus Rex (365–366)				
VIII.2	Sigismundus III. medh Gudz Nåde... Pålantz 25. Sweriges 19 (450–451)	the authorities in Moscow summon representatives from other cities for the tsar election	DIG's letter to GA, 24th January 1613 (TUL)	S	
	Moschoenses quoque nec minus... Novogardensibus notum esse (383–384)				
VIII.2	Men the som with Muskou wore... fordran hoos the Nougärder at installa (482–483)	Mikhail Romanov tries to avoid the Russian throne	DIG's letter to GA, 13th April 1613 (TUL)	C	
	Adolescens quoque Feodorovitzius... imperij capessenda exorarent (387–388)				
VIII.2	Then vnge Herren Michael... Regeringen öfwer alla Ryssar (487–488)		DIG's letter to GA, 18th March 1613 (TUL)	S	
	Itaque alla loca quaerenda... in potestatem redigi posse (390–391)				

	Sammaleides at Konungen beinagade... Holma vthi stoore Siön (494–495)	DIG's plan to occupy strategically important localities on the White Sea coast			
VIII.3	Interea Cosaci a Rege... reliquos late dissipavit (394) J medlier tijdjh ströfwade... hoopen wijda förföljde (493–494)	one more victory of EH against the Cossacks	DIG's letter to GA, 18th March 1613	C?	
VIII.4	Jacobus in Iulio recipit... Plescoviensibus captivus traditur (396–397) Men H. Iacob begärte... Vndersätarne til oboteligh skada (497–500)	Russians take over Tikhvin and Gdov	DIG's letter to GA, 6th July 1613 (TUL)	S	100
VIII.7	Novi legati Novogardensium... data esset domum redeundj (400–405) The nya Nougårdiske Sändebuden... sine huus och heern igen (505–514)	negotiations in Viborg on 26th August 1613	the protocol of the negotiations (RA, Diplomatica Muscovitica, vol. 17, fol. 31–35)	S	93
VIII.8	Undecimus Augusti dies... Novogardiam in Triumphum ducunt (412–413) Sedan skickade han sikh... förjagade the vthi en Ström (527–528)	Swedish achievements in the siege of Tikhvin	DIG's letter to GA, 1st September 1613 (TUL)	S?	
VIII.10	nec vicina Nougardiae et Stararusae... certum bellum denunciaret (417–419) Konungens breeff dat. 6. Sept... machten och lägenheeten tilsäger (534–539)	redistributions of the Swedish forces at the end of 1613	DIG's letters to GA, 12th and 24th October and 16th December 1613 (TUL) with an insertion from some other source	S	103
VIII.10	Gratissimum nobis est... 6. die Jan. (426–427) Thet är Oss ganska kärt... 6. Jan. 1613 (551–552)	king James' letter to GA	the original letter (probably lost)	L	
VIII.10	Qui tam ardentier Poloni... Turcicum in Valachia glisceret (429–430)	rebellions in Poland in 1613	Kob. 461–468		
IX.1	– – SAsom thetta åhret 1614... skedde) åhrligen hallas (565–576)	Riksdag of the Estates in Örebro in 1614	Acta of the Riksdag (Svenska Riksdagsakter) l:1, 343–374, 385–387, 461–464), GA's letter to Axel	S	

	Nu var den 20 Augi.... skildes the denne gängen ath (777–800)	the peace negotiations in the autumn of 1616	DIG's letters to GA, 21st August, 12th September, 14th October and 2nd November 1616 (TUL)		
X.8	– Skredh altså tijden fram... förehade/ förhindras kunde (801–814)	the peace negotiations in December of 1616	DIG's letter to GA, 20th December 1616 with an insertion from some other source (TUL)	S	
X.9	– den 22 dito, begofwo.... öfverens medh Konungens formular (818–829)	final details are settled in Stolbovo	DIG's letter to GA, 17th February 1617 (TUL)	S	
X.9	– W/J Stormächtigste Herre... den 1. Maij An. 1617. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS (830–862)	Stolbovo peace treaty and GA's confirmation of it	the original documents (<i>Sverges Traktater</i> V, 242–269)	S	
X.10	– Den 25 Mart. sändes... medh Ööl och Brännewijn (888–914)	the visit of the Swedish representatives to Moscow in 1618	a lost German-language protocol	S?	108
X.11	– Stillesändet skule begynnas... som wära fångziade i Muskou (931–932)	Deulino armistice between Poland and Russia	Kob. 606–608	?	

Appendix 3. Emendations to the Latin text

In the course of the work with both versions of Widekindi's book, as well as with its sources, I have made quite a few emendations to the text, usually confirmed or prompted by the Swedish text or the source. As they can be useful for a future critical edition of Widekindi, it is not out of place to publish a selection of them here, namely those which I consider the least obvious.⁶⁴⁰ The wrong word is, in each case, italicized.

P. 25: Caeso ita traditoque exercitu labascere imperium caepit... et summi *infirmique* suo discessu augere copias Demetrianas.

Scribendum: infimique

To compare: the Låga (Swedish version, p. 28)

P. 38: Caeterum cum omnes viae partim peste partim *patrociniis* rebellium Moschorum infestae essent, magnum Ducem datis literis excusare moram legatorum ad limites mittendorum.

Scribendum: latrociniis

To compare: Rölfwerij (Swedish version, p. 45)

P. 100–101: Mandata ablegatis tradita tot ambiguitatibus involuta... ut facile appareret Moschos... Polypos agere, et ab eventu suis commodis *initiare*.

Scribendum: inhiare

P. 266: Sin autem Svecis *ut* externis incolis concessa fuerit libera negotiatio in locis Moschoviae hactenus non sveltis aut per pacta Teusinensia non permissis...

Scribendum: aut

⁶⁴⁰ In fact, even these selected emendations are for the most part trivial. However, only a couple of them are implied to be made in the Russian translation from 2000, so the practice shows that they are not obvious for everybody.

To compare: eller (Swedish version, p. 330)

Comment: “Swedes or foreigners” is a formulaic expression, recurring several times in the treaty between Jacob De la Gardie and the representatives of Novgorod, to which this passage belongs.

P. 271: Nos itidem in ejusdem rei certitudinem et firmamentum, quod eadem fidei et obsequii pacta... servabuntur... Ego nempe Isidorus Metropolita Metropolita Magnae Nougardiae et Velikeluki, et nos Archimandritae... ut et nos... Mercatores, Opifices et cuiuscunque status homines, qui sub Magnae Nougardiae Dominio continemur, ut et *non* extranei Mercatores ibidem nunc commorantes, spondemus et praesens... instrumentum... propriis sigillis munivimus.

Scribendum: nos

To compare: des auch die fromden kauffleute (German translation of the same document, *Sverges traktater*, V, p. 211)

P. 307: Captavit itaque lubens hanc occasionem urbis occupandae Basilius, et tanquam futurus controversiarum arbiter et libertatis vindex, urbi exercitum admovit, eamque cum multis suorum ingressus, statim portas occupavit, et senatum *partes* ac plebem oppressit.

Scribendum: pariter

To compare: så wäl öfwer Rådet som öfwer Gemeene man (Swedish version, p. 377); senatu pariter ac plebe oppressa (D. Chytraeus, *Saxonia*, p. 167 – Widekindi’s source in this passage)

P. 323: Occasioni huic intenti Moschi, in absentia ejus summo impetu imminutum praesidium invadunt, et eo ardore oppugnant, ut Poloni *altorum* moeniorum munimenta deserere, seque intra arcem abdere cogerentur.

Scribendum: alborum

To compare: hwijta (Swedish version, p. 398); alborum (S. Kobierzycki, *Historia Vladislai*, p. 436 – Widekindi’s source in this passage)

P. 354: Cosaci Moschoenses putabant Moschuam *Vorsoviam* facturum.

Scribendum: versus viam

To compare: The vthskickade Soldater som ifrån Muskou wore/ meente at han sigh til Muskou achtade (Swedish version, p. 436)

Comment: The third False Dmitry is flying from Pskov. He can hardly hope for Polish help, as he has consistently positioned himself as an enemy of the Poles and looked for an alliance with the Swedes. Warsaw is *Varsovia* in Latin (cf. p. 287 of Widekindi’s text); *facere* for *iter facere* is very dubious Latin.

The common⁶⁴¹ abbreviation for *-us* looks approximately like “9” and thus can be easily confused with the letter *o*.

P. 365: Certo nobis persuademus Fid. T. non praetermissuram, has rei bene gerendae nominisque sui propagandi, ac de nobis totaque Repub. Polona *IIIX*. iterata Fid. T. promissa benemerendi occasiones.

Scribendum: juxta

To compare: In tantae benignitatis evidentius documentum, misisse iam Regiam Mtem juxta Pactum Nougardensium cum D. Jacobo Pontio, et promissa sua, cum consensu Serenissimae Reginae Matris, unice dilectum fratrem suum (p. 402)

Comment: The Swedish version (p. 451) renders this passage, belonging to Sigismund’s letter to Jacob De la Gardie, very free. The Latin text of the letter is also quoted in *Gustaff Adolphs Historia* (p. 148), and there it has “vix” instead of the number-like symbol, but it does not make sense and only provides additional evidence that the word was unreadable in the manuscript.

Poem “In Moschuam Metropolim Ruthenorum” (unnumbered pages at the end of the Latin edition): Donec eras felix armis, et divite gaza / *Turbata vix* pacis tum borealis eras.

Scribendum: Turbatrix

To compare: Vexatrix (J. Narssius, *Meva Pomerelliae aliaque poemata*, p. 78; Widekindi borrowed Narssius’ poem, slightly reworking it)

Swedish version, p. 929 (an inscription on the border stone): Huc Regni posuit fines Gustavus Adolphus / Rex *Svecorum*, fausto numine duret opus.

Scribendum: Sveonum

Comment: Prosodic mistakes are, of course, not unusual in Neo-Latin poetry, but concern more sophisticated cases – -örum in Gen. Plur. is unthinkable even for a schoolboy, and it does not matter if Widekindi here quotes a real inscription or turns some more plain material prompted by his source into a distich. The word “Sveones” (or “Sviones”) is often used to signify “Swedes”,⁶⁴² and it looks plausible that the typesetter was confused by the official Latin title of Swedish king, “Rex Svecorum”.

⁶⁴¹ In the 17th century it becomes, like other medieval abbreviations, rarer than before, but see e.g. the marginal note on p. 147 in Widekindi’s Latin version, which has *Horni9* for *Hornius*.

⁶⁴² See Helander 2004: 278–279 about the word and Helander 2010: 145 n. 12 about the vowel length in it.

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