

spiritual poems were the main products of Swedish letters in the 16th century. Two writers, the brothers Petri, take an easy prominence in so barren a period. Olaus Petri (1497-1552) and Laurentius Petri (1499-1573) were Carmelite monks who proceeded in 1516 to Wittenberg to study theology under Luther, and who came back to Sweden as the apostles of the new faith. Olaus, who is one of the noblest figures in Swedish annals, was of the executive rather than the meditative class. He found time, however, to write a *Chronicle*, which is the earliest prose history of Sweden, a mystery-play, *Tobie Comedia*, which is the first Swedish drama, and three psalm-books, the best known being published in 1530 under the title of *Någre Gudhelige Visor* ("Certain Divine Songs"). Laurentius Petri, who was archbishop, of all Sweden, edited or superintended the translation of the Bible published at Upsala in 1540. He also wrote many psalms. Laurentius Andreae, who died in 1552, had previously prepared a translation of the New Testament, which appeared in 1526. He was a polemical writer of prominence on the side of the Reformers. Finally, Petrus Niger (Peder Svart), bishop of Vesterås (d. 1562), wrote a chronicle of the life of Gustavus I. up to 1533, in excellent prose. The same writer left unpublished a history of the bishops of Vesterås his predecessors. The latter half of the 16th century is a blank in Swedish literature.

With the accession of Charles IX. and the consequent development of Swedish greatness, literature began to assert itself in more vigorous forms. The long life of the royal librarian, Johannes Buræus (1568-1652), formed a link between the age of the Petri and that of Stjernhjelm. Buræus studied all the sciences then known to mankind, and confounded them all in a sort of Rabbinical cultus of his own invention, a universal philosophy in a multitude of unreadable volumes. But he was a patient antiquarian, and advanced the knowledge of ancient Scandinavian mythology and language very considerably. He awakened curiosity and roused a public sympathy with letters; nor was it without significance that two of the greatest Swedes of the century, Gustavus Adolphus and the poet Stjernhjelm, were his pupils. The reign of Charles IX. saw the rise of secular drama in Sweden: The first comedy was the *Tisbe* of Magnus Olai Asteropherus (d. 1647), a coarse but witty piece on the story of *Pyramus* and *Thisbe*, acted by the schoolboys of the college of Arboga in 1610. This play is the *Ralph Roister Doister* of Swedish literature. A greater dramatist was Johannes Messenius (1579-1636), who, having been discovered plotting against the Government during the absence of Gustavus in Russia, was condemned to imprisonment for life—that is, for twenty years. Before this disaster he had been professor in Upsala, where his first historical comedy *Disa* was performed in 1611 and the tragedy of *Signill* in 1612. The design of Messenius was to write the history of his country in fifty plays; he completed and produced six. These dramas are not particularly well arranged, but they form a little body of theatrical literature of singular interest and value. Messenius was a genuine poet; the lyrics he introduces have something of the charm of the old ballads. He wrote abundantly in prison; his *magnum opus* was a history of Sweden in Latin, but he has also left, in Swedish, two important rhyme-chronicles. Messenius was imitated by a little crowd of playwrights. Nikolaus Catonius (d. 1655) wrote a fine tragedy on the Trojan War, *Trojenborgh*, in which he excelled Messenius as a dramatist. Andreas Prytz, who died in 1655 as bishop of Linköping, produced several religious chronicle plays from Swedish history. Jacobus Rondeletius (d. 1662) wrote a curious "Christian tragi-comedy" of *Judas Redivivus*. These

plays were all acted by schoolboys and university youths, and when they went out of fashion among these classes the drama in Sweden almost entirely ceased to exist. Two historians of the reign of Charles IX., Erik Göransson Tegel (d. 1636) and Ægidius Girs (d. 1639), deserve mention.

The reign of Gustavus Adolphus was adorned by one Stjernhjelm, the most considerable in all the early history of Sweden. The title of "the Father of Swedish Poetry" has been universally awarded to Göran Lilja, better known by his adopted name of Georg Stjernhjelm (1598-1672). This extraordinary man was born at Wika in Dalecarlia on the 7th of August 1598. He took his degree at Greifswald, and spent some years in travelling over every quarter of Europe. On his return he attracted the notice of Gustavus Adolphus, who gave him a responsible post at Dorpat in 1630, and raised him next year to the nobility. After the king's death Christina attached him, as a kind of poet-laureate, to her court in Stockholm. His property lay in Livonia, and when the Russians plundered that province in 1656 the poet was reduced to extreme poverty for two or three years. He died at Brunkeberg in Stockholm on the 22d of April 1672. Stjernhjelm was a man of almost universal attainment, but it is mainly in verse that he has left his stamp upon the literature of his country. He found the language rough and halting, and he moulded it into perfect smoothness and elasticity. His master Buræus had written a few Swedish hexameters by way of experiment. Stjernhjelm took the form and made it national. His greatest poem, *Hercules*, is a didactic allegory in hexameters, written in very musical verse, and with an almost Oriental splendour of phrase and imagery. In its faults as well as its beauties the style of Stjernhjelm reminds us of that of his great Dutch contemporary Vondel. He was certainly influenced by a writer a few months older than himself, the German poet Martin Opitz. The *Hercules*, which deals with the familiar story of the dispute for the hero between Duty and Pleasure, was first printed, at Upsala, in 1653, but was finished some years earlier. *Bröllops-Besvär's Thugkommelse*, a sort of serio-comic epithalamium in the same measure, is another very brilliant work of Stjernhjelm. His masques, *Then fagne Cupido* ("Cupid Caught") (1649), *Freds-af* ("The Birth of Peace") (1649), and *Parnassus Triumphans* (1651), were written for the entertainment of the queen, and have a charming lyrical lightness. He can scarcely, however, be said to have been successful in his attempt, in the first two of these, to introduce unrhymed song-measures. Stjernhjelm was an active philologist, and left a great number of works or language, of which only a few have ever been printed. He wrote letter A of the earliest Swedish dictionary, published in 1643, and a work on mathematics entitled *Archimedes Reformatus*. No brighter intellectual figure arose in Sweden till the beginning of the 19th century.

The claim of Stjernhjelm to be the first Swedish poet may be contested by a younger man, but a slightly earlier writer, Gustaf Rosenhane (1619-1684), who was a reformer on quite other lines. If Stjernhjelm studied Opitz, Rosenhane took the French poets of the Renaissance for his models, and in 1650 wrote a cycle of one hundred sonnets, the earliest in the language; these were published under the title *Venerid* in 1680. Rosenhane printed in 1658 a "Complaint of the Swedish Language" in thirteen hundred rattling rhyming lines, and in 1682 a collection of eighty songs. He was a metrist of the artistic order, skilful, learned, and unimpassioned. His zeal for the improvement of the literature of his country was beyond question. Most of the young poets followed Stjernhjelm rather than Rosen-

hane. As personal friends and pupils of the former, the brothers Columbus deserve special attention. Each wrote copiously in verse, but Johan (1640-1684) almost entirely in Latin, while Samuel (1642-1678), especially in his *Ode Sæthica*, showed himself an apt and fervid imitator of the Swedish hexameters of Stjernhjelm. Of a rhyming family of Hjärne, it is enough to mention one member, Urban Hjärne (1641-1724), who introduced the new form of classical tragedy from France, in a species of transition from the masques of Stjernhjelm to the later regular rhymed dramas. His best play was a *Rosimunda*. Lars Johansson (1642-1674), who called himself "Lucidor the Unfortunate," has been the subject of a whole tissue of romance, most of which is fabulous. It is true, however, that he was stabbed, like Marlowe, in a midnight brawl at a tavern. His poems were posthumously collected as *Flowers of Helicon, Plucked and Distributed on various occasions by Lucidor the Unfortunate*. Stripped of the myth which had attracted so much attention to his name, Lucidor proves to be an occasional rhymster of a very low order. Haquin Spegel (1645-1714), the famous archbishop of Upsala, wrote a long didactic epic in alexandrines, *God's Labour and Rest*, with an introductory ode to the Deity in rhymed hexameters. He was also a good writer of hymns. Another ecclesiastic, the bishop of Skara, Jesper Svedberg (1653-1735), wrote sacred verses, but is better remembered as the father of Swedenborg. Peter Lagerlöf (d. 1699) cultivated a pastoral vein in his *Elisandra* and *Lucillis*; he was professor of poetry, that is to say, of the art of writing Latin verses, at Upsala. Olof Wexionius (1656-1690?) published his *Sinne-Afvel*, a collection of graceful miscellaneous pieces, in 1684, in an edition of only 100 copies. Its existence was presently forgotten, and the name of Wexionius had dropped out of the history of literature, when Hanselli recovered a copy and reprinted its contents in 1863. We have hitherto considered only the followers of Stjernhjelm; we have now to speak of an important writer who followed in the footsteps of Rosenhane. Gunno Eurelius, afterwards enabled with the name of Dahlstjerna (1661-1709), early showed an interest in the poetry of Italy. In 1690 he translated Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, and in or just after 1697 published, in a folio volume without a date, his *Kungskald*, the first original poem in ottava rima produced in Swedish. This is a bombastic and vainglorious epic in honour of Charles XI., whom Eurelius adored; it is not, however, without great merits, richness of language, flowing metre, and the breadth of a genuine poetic enthusiasm. He published a little collection of lamentable sonnets when his great master died. Eurelius struck the lyre several times in honour of Charles XII., but these poems have all perished. He was a true patriot, and grief at the defeat of Poltava is said to have cost him his life. Johan Runius (1679-1713), called the "Prince of Poets," published a collection entitled *Dudaim*, in which there is nothing to praise, and with him the generation of the 17th century closes. Talent had been shown by certain individuals, but no healthy school of Swedish poetry had been founded, and the latest imitators of Stjernhjelm had lost every vestige of taste and independence.

In prose the 17th century produced but little of importance in Sweden. Gustavus Adolphus (1594-1632) was the most polished writer of its earlier half, and his speeches take an important place in the development of the language. The most original mind of the next age was Olof Rudbeck (1630-1702), the famous author of *Atlant er Manhem*. He spent nearly all his life in Upsala, building anatomical laboratories, conducting musical concerts, laying out botanical gardens, arranging medical lecture rooms—in a word, expending ceaseless

energy on the practical improvement of the university. He was a genius in all the known branches of learning; at twenty-three his physiological discoveries had made him famous throughout Europe. His *Atlant* (or *Atlantika*) appeared in four folio volumes, in Latin and Swedish, in 1679-98; it was an attempt to summon all the authority of the past, all the sages of Greece and the bards of Iceland, to prove the inherent and indisputable greatness of the Swedish nation, in which the fabulous Atlantis had been at last discovered. It was the literary expression of the majesty of Charles XI., and of his autocratical dreams for the destiny of Sweden. From another point of view it is a monstrous hoard or cairn of rough-hewn antiquarian learning, now often praised, sometimes quoted from, and never read. Olof Verelius (1618-1682) had led the way for Rudbeck, by his translations of Icelandic sagas, a work which was carried on with greater intelligence by Johan Peringskjöld (1654-1720), the editor of the *Heimskringla*. The French philosopher Descartes, who died at Christina's court at Stockholm in 1650, found his chief, though posthumous, disciple in Anders Rydelius (1671-1738), bishop of Lund, who was the master of Dalin, and thus connects us with the next epoch. Charles XII., under whose special patronage Rydelius wrote, was himself a metaphysician and physiologist of merit.

A much more brilliant period followed the death of Charles XII. The influence of France and England took the place of that of Germany and Italy. The taste of Louis XIV., tempered by the study of Addison and Pope, gave its tone to the academical court of Queen Ulrica Eleonore, and Sweden became completely a slave to the periwigs of literature, to the unities and graces of classical France. Nevertheless this was a period of great intellectual stimulus and activity, and Swedish literature took a solid shape for the first time. This Augustan period in Sweden closed somewhat abruptly about 1765. Two writers in verse connect it with the school of the preceding century. Jacob Frese (1691-1729), whose poems were published in 1726, was an elegiacal writer of much grace, who foreshadowed the idyllic manner of Creutz. Samuel von Triewald (1688-1743) played a very imperfect Dryden to Dalin's Pope. He was the first Swedish satirist, and introduced Boileau to his countrymen. His *Satire upon our Stupid Poets* may still be read with entertainment. Both in verse and prose Olof von Dalin Dalin (1708-1763) takes a higher place than any writer since Stjernhjelm. He was inspired by the study of his great English contemporaries. His *Swedish Argus* (1733-34) was modelled on Addison's *Spectator*, his *Thoughts about Critics* (1736) on Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, his *Tale of a Horse* on Swift's *Tale of a Tub*. Dalin's style, whether in prose or verse, was of a finished elegance. His great epic, *Swedish Freedom* (1742), was written in alexandrines of far greater smoothness and vigour than had previously been attempted. When in 1737 the new Royal Swedish theatre was opened, Dalin led the way to a new school of dramatists with his *Brynhilda*, a regular tragedy in the style of Crébillon père. In his comedy of *The Envious Man*, he introduced the manner of Molière, or more properly that of Holberg. His songs, his satires, his occasional pieces, without displaying any real originality, show Dalin's tact and skill as a workman with the pen. He stole from England and France, but with the plagiarism of a man of genius; and his multifarious labours raised Sweden to a level with the other literary countries of Europe. They formed a basis upon which more national and more scrupulous writers could build their various structures. A foreign critic, especially an English one, will never be able to give Dalin so much credit as the

Swedes as; but he was certainly an unsurpassable master of *pastiche*.

The only poet of importance who contested the laurels of Dalin was a woman. Hedvig Charlotta Nordenflycht (1718-1763) was the centre of a society which ventured to rival that which Queen Ulrica Eleonore created and Dalin adorned. Both groups were classical in taste, both worshipped the new lights in England and France. Fru Nordenflycht wrote with facility and grace; her collection of lyrics, *The Sorrowing Turtle-dove* (1743), in spite of its affectation, enjoyed and merited a great success; it was the expression of a deep and genuine sorrow—the death of her husband after a very brief and happy married life. It was in 1744 that she settled in Stockholm and opened her famous literary salon. She was called "The Swedish Sappho," and scandal has been needlessly busy in giving point to the allusion. It was to Fru Nordenflycht's credit that she discovered and encouraged the talent of two very distinguished poets younger than herself, Creutz and Gyllenborg. Gustaf Filip Creutz (1729-1785) was a Finlander who achieved an extraordinary success with his idyllic poems, and in particular with the beautiful pastoral of *Atis och Camilla*, long the most popular of all Swedish poems. In 1763, the year of the death of Dalin and of Fru Nordenflycht, Creutz ceased to write, having been appointed minister to Spain; he gave up poetry for politics. Gustaf Frederik Gyllenborg (1731-1808) was a less accomplished poet, less delicate and touching, more rhetorical and artificial. His epic *Tåget öfver Bält* ("The Expedition across the Belt") (1785) is an imitation, in twelve books, of Voltaire's *Henriade*, and deals with the prowess of Charles X. It is impossible to read it. He wrote fables, allegories, and satires. He outlived his chief contemporaries so long that the new generation addressed him as "Father Gyllenborg." Anders Odel (1718-1773) wrote in 1739 the famous "Song of Malcolm Sinclair," the *Sinclairsvisa*. The writers of verse in this period were exceedingly numerous, but it cannot be useful, in a sketch of this kind, to preserve the minor names.

In prose, as was to be expected, the first half of the 18th century was rich in Sweden as elsewhere. The first Swedish novelist was Jakob Henrik Mörk (1714-1763). His romances have some likeness to those of Richardson; they are moral, long-winded, and slow in evolution, but written in an exquisite style, and with much knowledge of human nature. *Adalrik och Göthilda*, which went on appearing from 1742 to 1745, is the best known; it was followed, between 1749 and 1758, by *Thecla*. Jakob Wallenberg (1746-1778) described a voyage he took to the East Indies and China under the very odd title of *Min Son på Galejan* ("My Son at the Galeys"), a work full of humour and originality. We have already indicated that Dalin's activity in prose was scarcely less abundant or less meritorious than that in verse. He wrote an important history of Sweden down to Charles IX. His contemporary Johan Ihre (1707-1780), a professor at Upsala, edited the *Codex Argenteus* of Ulfilas, and produced the first complete Swedish dictionary. In doing this he was assisted by the labours of two other grammarians, Sven Hof (d. 1786) and Abraham Sahlstedt (d. 1776). Karl Gustaf Tessin (1695-1770) wrote on politics and on aesthetics. Anders Johan von Höpken (1712-1789), the friend of Ulrica Eleonore, was a master of rhetorical compliment in addresses and funeral orations. In spite of all the encouragement of the court, drama did not flourish in Sweden. Among the tragedians of the age we may mention Dalin, Gyllenborg, and Erik Wrangel (d. 1765). In comedy Reinhold Gustaf Modée (d. 1752) wrote three good plays in rivalry of Holberg. In science Linnæus, or Karl von Linné (1707-1778), was the name of greatest

genius in the whole century; but he wrote almost entirely in Latin. The two great Swedish chemists, Torbern Olof Bergman (1735-1784) and Karl Vilhelm Scheele (1742-1786), flourished at this time. In pathology a great name was left by Nils Rosén von Rosenstein (1706-1773), in navigation by Admiral Fredrik Henrik af Chapman (d. 1808), in philology by Karl Aurivillius (d. 1786). But these and other distinguished savants whose names might be enumerated scarcely belong to the history of Swedish literature. The same may be said about that marvellous and many-sided genius, Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), who, though the son of a Swedish poet, preferred to prophesy to the world in Latin (see SWEDENBORG).

What is called the Gustavian period is supposed to commence with the reign of Gustavus III. in 1771 and to close with the abdication of Gustavus IV. in 1809. This period of less than forty years was particularly rich in literary talent, and the taste of the people in literary matters widened to a remarkable extent. Journalism began to develop; the Swedish Academy was founded; the drama first learned to flourish in Stockholm; and literature began to take a characteristically national shape. This fruitful period naturally divides itself into two divisions, equivalent to the reigns of the two kings. The royal personages of Sweden have commonly been protectors of literature; they have strangely often been able men of letters themselves. Gustavus III. (1746-1792), the founder of the Swedish Academy and of the Swedish theatre, was himself a playwright of no mean ability. One of his prose dramas, *Siri Brahe och Johan Gyllenstjerna*, held the stage for many years. In 1773 the king opened the national theatre in Stockholm, and on that occasion an opera of *Thetis och Pelée* was performed, written by himself. In 1786 Gustavus created the Swedish Academy, on the lines of the French Academy, but with eighteen members instead of forty. The first list of immortals, which included the survivors of a previous age and such young celebrities as Kellgren and Leopold, embraced all that was most brilliant in the best society of Stockholm; the king himself presided, and won the first prize for an oration. The principal writers of the reign of Gustavus III. bear the name of the Academical school. But we must first consider a writer of genius who had nothing academical in his composition.

Karl Mikael Bellman (1740-1795), the most original and one of the most able of all Swedish writers, was an improvisatore of the first order (see BELLMAN). The riot of his dithyrambic hymns sounded a strange note of nature amid the conventional music of the Gustavians. Of the academical poets Johan Gabriel Oxenstjerna (1750-1818), the nephew of Gyllenborg, was a descriptive idyllist of grace. He translated *Paradise Lost*. A writer of far more power and versatility was Johan Henrik Kellgren (1751-1795), the leader of taste in his time (see KELLGREN). He was the first writer of the end of the century in Sweden, and the second undoubtedly was Karl Gustaf af Leopold (1756-1829), "the blind seer Tiresias-Leopold," who lived on to represent the old school in the midst of romantic times. Leopold was not equal to Kellgren in general poetical ability, but he is great in didactic and satiric writing. He wrote a satire, the *Enebomiad*, against a certain luckless Per Enebom, and a classic tragedy of *Virginia*. He is little read now. Gudmund Göran Adlerbeth (1751-1818) was a translator, and the author of a successful tragic opera, *Cora och Alonso* (1782). Anna Maria Lenngren (1754-1817) was a very popular sentimental writer of graceful verse, chiefly between 1792 and 1798. She was less French and more national than most of her contemporaries; she is a Swedish Mrs Hemans.

Two writers of the academic period, besides Bellman, and a generation later than he, kept apart, and served to lead up to the romantic revival. Bengt Lidner (1759-1793), a melancholy and professedly elegiacal writer, had analogies with such German sentimentalists as Novalis. He led a strange wandering life, and died, still young, in extreme poverty. His poems appeared in 1788. Tomas Thorild (1759-1808) was a much stronger nature, and led the revolt against prevailing taste with far more vigour. But he is an irregular and inartistic versifier, and it is mainly as a prose writer, and especially as a very original and courageous critic, that he is now mainly remembered. He settled in Germany, and died as a professor in Greifswald. Karl August Ehrensvärd (1745-1800) may be mentioned here as a critic whose aims somewhat resembled those of Thorild. The creation of the Academy led to a great production of æsthetic and philosophical writing. Among critics of taste may be mentioned Nils von Rosenstein (1752-1824); the rhetorical bishop of Linköping, Magnus Lehnberg (1758-1808); and Count Georg Adlersparre (1760-1809). Kellgren and Leopold were both of them important prose writers.

The excellent lyrical poet Frans Mikael Franzén (1772-1847) (see FRANZÉN), and a belated academical Johan David Valerius (1776-1852), fill up the space between the Gustavian period and the domination of romantic ideas from Germany. It was Lorenzo Hammarsköld (1785-1827) who in 1803 introduced the views of Tieck and Schelling by founding the society in Upsala called "Vitterhetens Vänner" (see HAMMARSKÖLD). This passed away, but was succeeded in 1807 by the famous "Aurora förbundet," founded by two youths of genius, Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom (1790-1855) and Vilhelm Frederik Palmblad (1788-1852). These young men had at first to endure bitter opposition and ridicule from the academic writers then in power, but they supported this with cheerfulness, and answered back in their magazines, *Polyfem* and *Fosforos* (1810-1813). They were named "Fosforisterna" (Phosphorists) from the latter. The principal members of the school were the three writers last named (see ATTERBOM) and Karl Frederik Dahlgren (1791-1844), a humorist who owed much to the example of Bellman. Fru Julia Nyberg (1785-1854), under the title of Euphrosyne, was their tenth Muse, and wrote agreeable lyrics. Among the Phosphorists Atterbom was the man of most genius. On the side of the Academy they were vigorously attacked by Per Adam Wallmark (1777-1858). One of them, Atterbom, eventually forced the doors of the Academy itself.

In 1811 certain young men in Stockholm founded a society for the elevation of society by means of the study of Scandinavian antiquity. This was the Gothic Society, which began to issue the magazine called *Iduna* as its organ. Of its patriotic editors the most prominent was Erik Gustaf Geijer (1783-1847), but he was presently joined by a young man slightly older than himself, Esaias Tegnér (1782-1846), afterwards bishop of Vexjö, the greatest of Swedish writers (see GEIJER and TEGNÉR). Even more enthusiastic than either in pushing to its last extreme the worship of ancient myths and manners was Per Henrik Ling (1776-1839), now better remembered as the father of gymnastic science than as a poet. The Gothic Society eventually included certain younger men than these—Arvid August Afzelius (1785-1871), the first editor of the Swedish folk-songs; Gustaf Vilhelm Gumælius (1789-1877), who has been somewhat pretentiously styled "The Swedish Walter Scott," author of the historical novel of *Tord Bonde*; Baron Bernhard von Beskow (1796-1868), lyricist and dramatist; and Karl August Nicander (1799-1839), a poet who approached

the Phosphorists in manner. The two great lights of the Gothic school are Geijer, mainly in prose; and Tegnér, in his splendid and copious verse. Johan Olof Wallin (1779-1839) may be mentioned in the same category, although he is really distinct from all the schools. He was archbishop of Upsala, and in 1819 he published the national hymn-book of Sweden, now officially used in all churches; of the hymns in this collection, one hundred and twenty-six are written by Wallin himself.

From 1810 to 1840 was the blossoming-time in Swedish poetry, and there were several writers of distinguished merit who could not be included in either of the groups enumerated above. Second only to Tegnér in genius, the brief life and mysterious death of Erik Johar Stagnelius (1793-1823) have given a romantic interest to all that is connected with his name. His first publication was the epic of *Vladimir the Great* (1817); to this succeeded the romantic poem *Blanda*. His singular dramas, *The Bacchantes* (1822), *Sigurd Ring*, which was posthumous, and *The Martyrs* (1821), are esteemed by many critics to be his most original productions. His mystical lyrics, entitled *Liljor i Saron* ("Lilies in Sharon"), and his sonnets, which are the best in Swedish, may be recommended as among the most delicate products of the Scandinavian mind. Stagnelius has been compared, and not improperly, to Shelley. Erik Sjöberg, who called himself "Vitalis" (1794-1828), was another gifted writer whose career was short and wretched. A volume of his poems appeared in 1820; they are few in number and all brief. His work divides itself into two classes—the one profoundly melancholy, the other witty or boisterous. Two humorous poets of the same period who deserve mention are Johan Anders Wadman (1777-1837), an improvisatore of the same class as Bellman, and Kristian Erik Fahlcrantz (1790-1866), bishop of Vesterås, whose humorous polemical poem of *Noah's Ark* (1825) is a masterpiece.

Among the poets who have been mentioned above, the majority distinguished themselves also in prose. But the period was not one in which Swedish prose shone with any special lustre. The first prosaist of the time was, without question, the novelist Karl Jonas Ludvig Almqvist (1793-1866), around whose extraordinary personal character and career a mythical romance has already collected (see ALMQVIST). He was encyclopædic in his range, although his stories preserve most charm; on whatever subject he wrote his style was always exquisite. Frederik Cederborgh (1784-1835) revived the comic novel in his *Uno von Trasenberg* and *Ottar Tralling*. The historical novels of Gumælius have already been alluded to. Swedish history supplied themes for the romances of Count Per Georg Sparre (1790-1871) and of Gustaf Henrik Mellin (1803-1876). But all these writers sink before the sustained popularity of the Finnish poetess Fredrika Bremer (1801-1865), whose stories have reached farther into the distant provinces of the world of letters than the writings of any other Swede except Tegnér (see BREMER). She was preceded by Sofia Zelow, afterwards Baroness von Knorring (1797-1848), who wrote a long series of aristocratic novels.

At the beginning of the romantic period a high position was taken as an independent thinker by Benjamin Höijer (1767-1812), who owed much at the outset to Kant and Fichte. Geijer also distinguished himself in philosophical writing, but the most original of Swedish philosophers has been Kristofer Jakob Boström (1797-1866), a peripatetic talker, who wrote little, but whose system has been reduced to literature by K. Claesson (1827-1859), Professor Axel Nyblæus (b. 1821), and other disciples. A polemical writer of great talent was Magnus Jakob

Crusenstolpe (1795-1865), of whose work it has been said that "it is not history and it is not fiction, but something brilliant between the one and the other." As an historian of Swedish literature Per Wieselgren (1800-1877) has composed a valuable work, and he has made other valuable contributions to history and bibliography. In history we meet again with the great name of Geijer, with that of Jonas Hallenberg (1748-1834), and with that of Anders Magnus Strinnholm (1786-1862), whose labours in the field of Swedish history were extremely valuable. Geijer and Strinnholm prepared the way for the most popular and perhaps the greatest of all Swedish historians, Anders Fryxell (1795-1881), whose famous *Berättelser ur Svenska Historien* appeared in parts during a space of nearly sixty years, an extraordinary example of persistent and uninterrupted work. As a legal historian the first place is easily maintained by Karl Johan Schlyter (b. 1795). Hans Järta (1774-1847) was a statesman who wrote with vigour on economical subjects. In science it is only possible to mention the celebrated names of Jöns Jakob Berzelius (1779-1848) the chemist, Elias Fries (1794-1878) the botanist, Karl Adolf Agardh (1785-1859) the physiologist, and Sven Nilsson (1787-1883) the palæontologist.

In the generation which has just passed away, the first poet of Sweden, without a rival, was Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804-1877), who divides with Tegnér the highest honour in Swedish literature (see RENEBERG). The other leading verse-writers were Karl Vilhelm Böttiger (1807-1878), the son-in-law and biographer of Tegnér; Johan Börjesson (1790-1866), the last of the Phosphorists, author of various romantic dramas; Vilhelm August von Braun (1813-1860), a humorous lyricist; "Talis Qualis," whose real name was Karl Vilhelm August Strandberg (1818-1877); and August Teodor Blanche (1811-1868), the popular dramatist. But Runeberg is the only great

SWEDENBORG, or SVEDBERG, EMANUEL (1688-1772), was born at Stockholm January 29, 1688. His father, Dr Jesper Svedberg, subsequently professor of theology at Upsala and bishop of Skara, was a pious, learned, and a brave man, who did not escape the charge of heterodoxy, and believed himself to be in constant intercourse with angels. Emanuel shared as a child his father's piety, and his parents thought that "angels spoke through him." His education embraced the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and, above all, mathematics with the natural sciences, but seems to have been curiously defective in theology. Endowed with unusual intellectual powers and an iron constitution, he acquired vast stores of learning in all those branches. Having completed his university course at Upsala, in 1710 he commenced the customary European tour, visiting England, Holland, France, and Germany, studying especially natural philosophy, though alternating it with the composition of Latin verses, little of the poet as there was in his nature. In 1715 he returned to Upsala, and devoted himself to natural science and various engineering works. From 1716 to 1718 he published a scientific periodical, called *Dædalus Hyperboreus*, a record of mechanical and mathematical inventions and discoveries. In 1716 he was introduced to Charles XII., who appointed him assessor in the Swedish college of mines. Two years later he distinguished himself at the king's siege of Frederikshall by the invention of machines for the transport of boats and galleys overland from Stromstadt to Iddefjord, a distance of 14 English miles. The same year he published various mathematical and mechanical works. At the death of

poetic name of this period. In prose there was not even a Runeberg. Novel-writing was sustained at no very high level by Karl Anton Wetterbergh (b. 1804), who called himself "Onkel Adam," by Emilie Carlén (b. 1807), whose autobiography has lately appeared, by Oskar Patrick Sturzen-Becker, "Orvar Odd," (1811-1869), by August Blanche, and by Marie Sofia Schwartz (b. 1819). Lars Johan Hierta (1801-1872) was the leading journalist, Johan Henrik Thomander, bishop of Lund (1798-1865), the greatest orator, Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813-1852) a prominent man of science, and Karl Gustaf af Forsell (1783-1848) the principal statistician of this not very brilliant period. Elias Lönnrot (1802-1884) is distinguished as the Finnish professor who discovered and edited the *Kalevala*. It is impossible to give an exhaustive list of names in so short a sketch as this.

Swedish literature is not in a very lively condition at the present time. The most popular living poet is the Finn, Zakris Topelius (b. 1818). Of a higher artistic merit are the finished lyrics of Count Karl Snoilsky (b. 1841). King Oscar II. (b. 1829) is a genuine poet of the second order, as his father Charles XV. was of the third. Karl David af Wirsén (b. 1842) is an active writer on the conservative side. The best living author of Sweden is undoubtedly Viktor Rydberg (b. 1829), who has written masterly novels and historical works. The latest influences from Denmark and France are beginning to be represented by Stindberg the novelist, and by Fru A. Ch. Edgren, the most successful Swedish dramatist of the moment. The revival of literature which has been so marked in the other two Scandinavian countries has not yet spread into Sweden.

*Authorities.*—P. Hanselli, *Samlade Vätterhetsarbeten från Stjernhjelms till Dalin*; B. E. Malmstrom, *Grunddragen af Svenska Vätterhetens Historia*; P. Wieselgren, *Sveriges Sköna Litteratur*; Warburg, *Svensk Litteraturhistoria i Sammandrag*. (E. W. G.)

Charles XII. Queen Ulrica elevated him and his family to the rank of nobility, by which his name was changed from Svedberg to Swedenborg. The next years were devoted to the duties and studies connected with his office, which involved the visitation of the Swedish, Saxon, Bohemian, and Austrian mines. In 1724 he was offered the chair of mathematics in the university of Upsala, which he declined. Gradually his inquiring and philosophical mind led him to wider studies than those of his profession. As early as 1721 he was seeking to lay the foundation of a scientific explanation of the universe, when he published his *Prodromus Principiorum Rerum Naturalium* and had already written his *Principia* in its first form. Thirteen years later, in 1734, appeared in three volumes *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*, the first volume of which (his *Principia*) contained his view of the first principles of the universe, a curious mechanical and geometrical theory of the origin of things. The same year followed *Prodromus Philosophiæ ratiocinantis de Infinito et Causa Finali Creationis*, which treats of the relation of the finite to the infinite and of the soul to the body, seeking to establish a nexus in each case as a means of overcoming the difficulty of their relation. From this time he applied himself to the problem of discovering the nature of soul and spirit by means of anatomical studies. He travelled in Germany, France, and Italy in quest of the most eminent teachers and the best books dealing with the human frame, and published, as the results of his inquiries, among other works, his *Economia Regni Animalis* (London, 1740-41) and *Regnum Animale* (The Hague, 1744-45, London, 1745). But a profound change was coming over

him, which was to make of the scientific inquirer the supernaturalist prophet. Neither by geometrical, nor physical, nor metaphysical principles had he succeeded in reaching and grasping the infinite and the spiritual, or in elucidating their relation to man and man's organism, though he had caught glimpses of facts and methods which he thought only required confirmation and development. Late in life he wrote to Oetinger that "he was introduced by the Lord first into the natural sciences, and thus prepared, and, indeed, from the year 1710 to 1744, when heaven was opened to him." This latter great event is described by him as "the opening of his spiritual sight," "the manifestation of the Lord to him in person," "his introduction into the spiritual world." Before his illumination he had been instructed by dreams, and enjoyed extraordinary visions, and heard mysterious conversations. According to his own account, the Lord filled him with His spirit to teach the doctrines of the New Church by the word from Himself; He commissioned him to do this work, opened the sight of his spirit, and so let him into the spiritual world, permitting him to see the heavens and the hells, and to converse with angels and spirits for years; but he never received anything relating to the doctrines of the church from any angel but from the Lord alone while he was reading the word (*True Christian Religion*, No. 779). He elsewhere speaks of his office as principally an opening of the spiritual sense of the word. His friend Robsahm reports, from Swedenborg's own account to him, the circumstances of the first extraordinary revelation of the Lord, when He appeared to him and said, "I am God the Lord, the Creator and Redeemer of the world. I have chosen thee to unfold the spiritual sense of the Holy Scripture. I will myself dictate to thee what thou shalt write." From that time he gave up all worldly learning, and laboured solely to expound spiritual things. But it was some time before he became quite at home in the spiritual world. In the year 1747 he resigned his post of assessor of the college of mines that he might devote himself to his higher vocation, requesting only to be allowed to receive as a pension the half of his salary. He took up afresh his study of Hebrew, and began his voluminous works on the interpretation of the Scriptures. The principal of these is the *Arcana Cœlestia* in eight quarto volumes, which he printed in London between 1749 and 1756, professing to have derived the whole of it by direct illumination from the Almighty Himself, and not from any spirit or angel. His later work *De Cœlo et de Inferno* (London, 1758) consists of extracts and portions of the *Arcana*. His MS. work *Apocalypsis Explicata*, expounding the doctrines of the New Church, was prepared in 1757-59. In 1763 appeared his *Sapientia Angelica de Divino Amore et de Divina Sapientia*, containing the most philosophical brief account of the principles of the New Church. The long list of his subsequent writings will be found in the works mentioned below. His life from 1747 was spent alternately in Sweden, Holland, and London, in the composition of his works and their publication, till his death, which took place in London, March 29, 1772.

He was a man who won the respect, confidence, and love of all who came into contact with him. Though people might disbelieve in his visions, they feared to ridicule them in his presence. His manner of life was simple in the extreme; his diet consisted chiefly of bread and milk and large quantities of coffee. He paid no attention to the distinction of day and night, and sometimes lay for days together in a trance, while his servants were often disturbed at night by hearing what he called his conflicts with evil spirits. But his intercourse with spirits was often perfectly calm, in broad daylight, and with all his faculties awake. Three extraordinary instances are produced by his friends and followers in proof of his seership and admission into the unseen world. But there exists no account at first hand of the exact facts, and Swedenborg's own reference to one of these instances admits of another explanation than the supernatural one. The philosopher Kant was struck by them in 1763, but in 1765, after further inquiries, con-

cluded that two of them had "no other foundation than common report (*gemeine Sage*)." See Kehrbach's edition of Kant's *Träume eines Geistessehers* (Leipsic, 1880).

Swedenborg's theosophic system is most briefly and comprehensively presented in his *Divine Love and Divine Wisdom*. The point of view from which God must be regarded is that of His being the Divine Man. His *esse* is infinite love; His manifestation, form, or body is infinite wisdom. Divine love is the self-subsisting life of the universe. From God emanates a divine sphere, which appears in the spiritual world as a sun, and from this spiritual sun again proceeds the sun of the natural world. The spiritual sun is the source of love and intelligence, or life, and the natural sun the source of nature, or the receptacles of life; the first is alive, the second dead. The two worlds of nature and spirit are perfectly distinct, but they are intimately related by analogous substances, laws, and forces. Each has its atmospheres, waters, and earths, but in the one they are natural and in the other spiritual. In God there are three infinite and uncreated "degrees" of being, and in man and all things corresponding three degrees, finite and created. They are love, wisdom, use; or end, cause, and effect. The final ends of all things are in the Divine Mind, the causes of all things in the spiritual world, and their effects in the natural world. By a love of each degree man comes into conjunction with them and the worlds of nature, spirit, and God. The end of creation is that man may have this conjunction and become the image of His Creator and creation. In man are two receptacles for God,—the will for divine love and the understanding for divine wisdom,—that love and wisdom flowing into both so that they become human. Before the fall this influx was free and unhindered, and the conjunction of man with God and the creation complete, but from that time the connexion was interrupted and God had to interpose by successive dispensations. At last the power and influence of the spirits of darkness, with whom man associates himself by his sin, became so great that the existence of the human race was threatened, and Jehovah was necessitated to descend into nature to restore the connexion between Himself and man. He could not come in His unveiled Divinity, for the "hells" would have then perished, whom he did not seek to destroy but only to subjugate. Another purpose of Jehovah's incarnation was the manifestation of His divine love more fully than ever before. Swedenborg wholly rejects the orthodox doctrine of atonement; and the unity of God, as opposed to his idea of the trinity of the church, is an essential feature of his teaching. Another distinctive feature is that Jehovah did not go back to heaven without leaving behind Him a visible representative of Himself in the word of the Scripture. This word is an eternal incarnation, with its threefold sense—natural, spiritual, celestial. And Swedenborg is the divinely commissioned expounder of this threefold sense of the word, and so the founder of the New Church, the paraclete of the last dispensation. That he might perceive and understand the spiritual and the celestial senses of the word he enjoyed immediate revelation from the Lord, was admitted into the angelic world, and had committed to him the key of "correspondences" with which to unlock the divine treasures of wisdom. Swedenborg claimed also to have learnt by his admission into the spiritual world the true states of men in the next life, the scenery and occupations of heaven and hell, the true doctrine of Providence, the origin of evil, the sanctity and perpetuity of marriage, and to have been a witness of the "last judgment," or the second coming of the Lord, which took place in the year 1757. It was then that the New Church, or the New Jerusalem, was inaugurated, and Swedenborg claimed to be the divinely appointed prophet and teacher of its doctrines, and maintained that his revelations excel all that preceded them.

*Swedenborgianism.*—Swedenborgianism, as professed by Swedenborg's followers, is based on the belief of Swedenborg's claims to have witnessed the last judgment, or the second advent of the Lord, with the inauguration of the New Church through the new system of doctrine promulgated by him and derived from the Scriptures, into the true sense of which he was the first to be introduced. The doctrines of the New Church are those of the internal sense of the word as revealed to Swedenborg, who received them into his understanding and published them through the press and not as a preacher. They are briefly—(1) that the Lord Jesus Christ is the only God, that in Him there is the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Father being His infinite divine nature or soul, the Son His glorified human nature or divine body, and the Holy Spirit the life proceeding from His divine humanity for the salvation of man; (2) that the Father in His eternal humanity descended as the Lord Jesus Christ to the earth, assuming fallen human nature, that in it he might conquer hell and deliver mankind from its influence; (3) that the Sacred Scriptures are the true word of God, accommodated to the understanding of angels and men, and constituting the perpetual medium between heaven and the church, the law of correspondence having been revealed by the Lord to Swedenborg as the key for their interpretation; (4) that man is not saved by faith alone but by a life according to the word, the summary of which is the decalogue; (5) that heaven is made up of those who