

Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum  
143 2022

*TO THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE*

Ideas, Ideals and Practices  
in Composing Humanist Greek  
during the Seventeenth Century

TUA KORHONEN



**Societas Scientiarum Fennica**  
The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters





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# Societas Scientiarum Fennica

The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters

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ἔπε ὦ χάριες καὶ Μοῦσαι αἰπὴε κάδμε  
ἔς γάμον ἐλθῆσαι καλὸν ἀέσπελ' ἔπος ;  
νῦν πνέεινεκα καὶ ὑμῶν μὴ γλῶττι μελίσθῃ  
τῷτο ὑπαρκέμεν ὥς δέϊ διὰ μευχαρεῖς.

ΤΟΙΓΑΡΟΤΝ.

Νῦν γε βαθεὺς πόνησ' πολιῆς ἀλὸς ἔϊα χαρήσῃ,  
νῦν τε μελάξῃ σὺ γαῖα, ἀπειρεσίη·  
ΠΑΡΝΑΣΣΟΣ δ' ἄρα καὶ γαυρῆ· Μοῦσαιφί ἄλυποι  
πρὸς τῷδ' ἐμοῦ μέλπετε ἀλλοῖμοι·  
ὦ ἄνα οὐρανίων βέλτετε προσέυχόμενοι  
κλύθε ἀμιν, κακὰ πλὴν πάντα ἄλαλκ' ἀπὸ τῶν  
Θρεπλῶν ἡμέτερων πμηλφῶν οἱ τεφανέντ' αἱ  
νῦν, ὅτε τῆς Σοφίης κλήτορες εἰσὶ καλῆς.

ERIC CAJAN.



Ericus Cajanus' congratulatory poem for the degree conferment ceremony at Turku in 1694.

See p. 221.

# 1. What is Humanist Greek? An Introduction

A couple of months after his arrival at the University of Uppsala in autumn 1677, Johan Paulinus, a Finnish vicar's son, delivered a Greek oration eulogising his native land, which had been part of Sweden since the coming of Christianity in the 13th century. Paulinus' verse oration, *Magnus Principatus Finlandia* comprises almost 400 lines in hexameter. It follows the rhetorical prescriptions for patriotic eulogies starting from a general description of the country and its location. Then follows a brief account of the prehistory of Finland based on the Bible and of its people's humble nature and ascetic way of life followed by Finns' accomplishments in war and culture. What was extraordinary was the high quality of Paulinus' Greek, considering that Greek instruction in Finland – at schools and at the Royal Academy of Turku (*Regia Academia Aboënsis*), founded in 1640, the first university in Finland – had concentrated largely on New Testament Greek. Paulinus imitated ancient Greek poets, taking lines and half lines and phrases from, e.g., Hesiod. However, what is interesting for the sake of the concept of “Humanist Greek” is that Paulinus seems not only to use a wide range of rare words – especially from late Greek epics<sup>1</sup> – but also three single words not attested in ancient Greek, patristic or Byzantine lexis but which are to be found in two later poems, of which one was written in Renaissance Italy and the other in Protestant Germany.<sup>2</sup> As far as can be known, these words were invented by their authors.

The first word is an adjective, ἐγερσιγύνη, ‘that which arouses women’, which Paulinus, in a disapproving tone, uses as an attribute of luxurious feasts (κῶμος) (*Finlandia* v. 130). The coined word, also combined with κῶμος (κῶμον ἐγερσιγύναικα), occurs in Angelo Poliziano's mocking epigram to the gnats (Εἰς τοὺς κώνωπας, 10 eleg), published at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Korhonen, Oksala & Sironen 2000, 119–126 (Sironen) and Sironen 2000, 142–144.

<sup>2</sup> Germany is, of course, not an ahistorical concept. I use it here to refer to the German soil of the Holy Roman Empire, part of which modern Germany was formed from. I also use the terms German-speaking territories and the German lands.

<sup>3</sup> Poliziano compares gnats to Eros. According to both Pontani and Ardizzoni, the editors of Poliziano's Greek poems, the word ἐγερσίγυναιξ is a neologism: Pontani 2002, 245–246: “nuova *Erfindung*”; Pontani refers to a word with the same meaning, ὀρσίγυναιξ, which was used by an anonymous poet and then cited by Plutarch (*Quaest. conv.* 671c); see also Ardizzoni 1951, 65. An English translation of Poliziano's poem by Martin Steinrück and Janika Päll is in Steinrück 2018, 333.

The Florentine poet Poliziano (1454–1494) was the first Italian humanist whose Greek poems were printed as a collection of epigrams, 50 in all, published posthumously (1498) shortly after the poet's death.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, Paulinus uses two neologisms created by Martin Crusius (1526–1607), an influential Greek professor (or, more accurately, *Professor Graecolatinus et Rhetoricus*) at Tübingen University. Around the middle of the sixteenth century, Crusius wrote a poem consisting of two parts: an invective and a eulogy entitled ANTIOΘΕΣΙΣ ANTIXPIΣΤΩΝ & ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ in which all the words of both parts are compound words.<sup>5</sup> The first part, which was printed separately in 1556, expresses criticism of, or simply animosity towards, Roman Catholics, especially Catholic monks, imitating invectives that can be found in the *Philosophers' Epigram* from the Hellenistic period (*apud* Athenaeus 4.162b).<sup>6</sup> Johan Paulinus uses two of Crusius' neologisms, calling Jean Calvin Ὁρθοφρεσιπλανέες (v. 286, the misleader of true minds) and the Roman Catholics Βιβλιοθεφυγάδες (v. 287, those who mishandle and misread the Bible). These words occur in Paulinus' description of the Faculty of Theology praising its Lutheran orthodoxy (vv. 286–287). Paulinus advises students to come to study at the university, because there they “can find good teachers, such as are / the scourge and undoing of Calvin the misleader or of the Papists who misread the Bible”.<sup>7</sup> Nearly a century earlier, a Swedish student in Helmstedt also imitated the *Philosophers' Epigram* with the same target, Catholicism – but without Crusius' invectives – in his Greek congratulation (68 eleg) composed in 1592.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Poliziano's twenty Greek poems composed in his youth were accompanied by 30 epigrams written between 1493–1494, some of which Poliziano aimed to publish in his collection. Pontani 2002, 315–318.

<sup>5</sup> Crusius published the poems in his *Poematum Graecorum libri duo* (1567), in which he gives slightly different titles along with dates (or mere year): ANTIXPIΣΤΟΙ. α φ ν Νοβεμβρίου ι β, ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΙ. α φ ν η. Note that Crusius does not use the old Attic calendar.

<sup>6</sup> The second part, praising the Protestants, was created later by Crusius. The two-part poem with Crusius' translation into Latin, was printed in Leonhard Engelhart's textbook of poetry (Engelhart 1565, N4v–O1r; VD16 E 1240). Engelhart also quotes Crusius' letter (dated 19 September 1564), where he reports to a friend on the writing of this poem and mentions that he has imitated the *Philosophers' Epigram*. Crusius' poems were also printed in Michael Neander's Greek grammar (Neander 1561, 435). On the *Philosophers' Epigram*, see Page 1981, 475–76.

<sup>7</sup> Crusius' translations of these words are *Biblosacrifugae* and *Mentebonaprivi* (Engelhart 1565, N4v).

<sup>8</sup> With his Greek poem, Laurentius Praetorius from Gävle celebrated the degree conferment ceremony of his compatriot Laurentius Paulinus Gothus, a future archbishop of Sweden. The poem lists the subjects which Gothus had studied and the presentation of theology included a critique of



May we then suppose that Paulinus, a 22-year-old student from a remote Nordic university in fact knew Angelo Poliziano's and Martin Crusius' poems? Or had he seen them cited somewhere and taken these words from some secondary sources that he had found in the university libraries in Turku or in Uppsala? Neologisms could also be included in contemporary lexica. The library of the Royal Academy of Turku, supplied by war booty as well as donations from Uppsala University and the Royal Library of Stockholm, had a good collection considering that the University – the former gymnasium and the only higher educational institution in Finland beside the gymnasium of Viipuri in Carelia – was founded only a few decades before Paulinus enrolled in it. The collection of the University Library of Turku also included Martin Crusius' vast *Germanograecia* (1585), which contains Greek poems by Crusius, his students and colleagues, although it does not contain ANTIOEΣΙΣ ANTIXPICTON & XPICTIANON.

If taken from contemporary lexica or from some other writer who had used these words, Paulinus might have been ignorant that he was imitating Crusius and Poliziano (and that these words were neologisms). However, we may suppose that both Poliziano and Crusius were at least known among Nordic scholars as writers of Greek poems. Another student from Turku, Josef Thun, a Swede, wrote a poetry collection, *Amores sacri*, comprising his own Latin and Greek poems. The main part of the book is a verse paraphrase of *Song of Songs* translated into Latin, which is followed by a section titled *Poëmatia Graeca*, which is the only published collection of Greek poems by a Swedish writer. Although the *Amores sacri* was printed in Stockholm in 1682, the preface is dated May 14th in Turku, Thun's birthday as he reports. Thun had turned twenty after studying in Turku for two years. The largest and most notable Greek poem of the section *Poëmatia Graeca* is *Hymnus in Filium Dei* (123 hex), a Greek paraphrase of the Nativity of Jesus.<sup>9</sup> In the preface to *Amores sacri*, Thun presents Greek literature, especially lyric poetry and hymns, and states that there are “quite a few in Germany and France who had saved Greek from barbarism and corruption and restored it in its

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the Roman Catholic Church. Praetorius borrows two compound invectives from the *Philosophers' Epigram* and his third compound invective is clearly inspired by it too. Korhonen 2019, 50–51. Gilles Ménage also used the *Philosophers' Epigram* in his satirical poem against his rival, Pierre de Montmaur (Εἰς Γαργύλιον, 2 eleg) in his *Miscellanea* (Paris 1650), see Pontani & Weise 2022, 387–389 (L-A Sanchi, J-M Flamand & R. Menini).

<sup>9</sup> Excerpts from the *Hymnus in Filium Dei*, Akujärvi 2018, 178 (vv. 1–8) and Korhonen 2004, 131 (vv. 73–78). For Thun's other Greek poems in the section *Poëmatia Graeca*, see below Chapter 2.3 (subsection “Genres of Shorter Greek Text”).

original form”.<sup>10</sup> Thun uses the common topos of his times on the “barbarism” of contemporary Greece and Greek language under the Ottoman rule and that scholars in the West had “saved” Greek.<sup>11</sup> The Ottoman/Osman conquest of Greece was seen as the beginning of the final decay of Greece. Thun mentions some men by name who had versified in Greek in the West:

But some who dare to write poems, orations and epigrams [in Greek] will see that theirs will be merited as good as by those who were born in Greece and have been educated there; such are [Angelo] Poliziano, [Daniel] Heinsius, [Joseph Justus] Scaliger, [Adrianus] Turnebus, [Martin] Crusius and [Laurentius] Rhodomanus, who wrote his *Palaestina* in such clean and polished verses that they are in no way inferior to those by Nonnus or Coluthus.<sup>12</sup>

By this name-dropping, using only surnames, Thun indicates that these famous scholars were also well known in Turku. Rhodomanus’ *Poesis Christiana Palaestinae* (1589), which is especially praised by Thun, was included in the university library.<sup>13</sup> The young student’s list implies that writing Greek poems and prose texts was an acknowledged phenomenon and the best poets – their names if not their poems – were known internationally. On the other hand, Thun did not mention some accredited German Greek poets, like Joachim Camerarius and Johannes Caselius, who are listed among many others in the letters to readers attached to *Palaestina* written by Rhodomanus’ teacher Michael Neander (1525–1595), Principal of Ilfeld Abbey School.<sup>14</sup> Thun’s list is shorter than Neander’s, but he names Poliziano as well as Heinsius, the famous professor at the University of Leiden, whom Neander failed to mention. These prefaces mentioning the names of classical, Renaissance and early modern Greek poets give the impression of a continuous tradition.

<sup>10</sup> *Unde factum est ut non pauci tam in Germania quam in Gallia existerint qui hanc linguam a barbarie & corrupta sequiorum aetate vindicarunt, & pristinae nitori restituerunt.* Thun 1683, A6.

<sup>11</sup> On this topos, see below Chapter 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Sed etiam qui ipsimet vires suas in poematibus, orationibus & epigrammatibus conficiendis, experiebantur, ut merito quis existimet illos in florentissima olim Graecia natos & educatos fuisse; tales sunt Politianus, Heinsius, Scaliger, Turnebus, Crusius & Rhodomanus qui Palestinam suam tam terso & polito carmine conscripsit, ut nullo modo Colutho suo vel Nonno videatur inferior.* Thun 1683, A6v. On Thun, see Akujärvi 2018.

<sup>13</sup> Kempe 1655, D2r-v. Thun praises the collection of the Turku University Library in his letter, see below Chapter 2.3 (“Greek Books at the University Library of Turku”).

<sup>14</sup> Rhodomanus 1587, 3, 4–8. See also Ludwig 2017, 134–135.

Multilingualism was part of the early modern poets' "self-fashioning": *poetae docti* were able to compose in many languages, including Greek, which has a special place as the "other" classical language.<sup>15</sup> However, an idealised reason for cultivating active skills in Greek was, as Thun's statement above specifies, to "save" the Greek language. In the preface to his *Germanograecia* (1585), Martin Crusius expressed his concern that Greece was "barbarised" (ἐκβαρβαρίζειν) under Ottoman rule. To counterbalance this, Crusius considered that Germany, in turn, had to be "Hellenised" (ἐξελληνίζειν).<sup>16</sup> "German Greece" (Greece in German clothes) had to be born – or it has already been realised in Germany. Crusius believed that the significance of Greek was not limited to educational institutions, but Greek poetry also flourished in everyday life and festivities – by which he apparently meant Greek poems and speeches written for and performed on various occasions. Crusius' active skills in Greek seem to have been exceptional and Greek was for him truly his second, actively used, learned language. In his own words, he was able to simultaneously translate German sermons into Greek – over six thousand translations have survived.<sup>17</sup> On account of his own remarkable skills, it was natural for Crusius to state that Greek literature formed a 3,000-year-old continuum, the latest phase of which was Greek literature created in Germany.<sup>18</sup> However, Crusius' idealisation of "German Greece" is understandable only in the context of Humanist Greek culture, which this book will explore. Crusius' longing for "German Greece" expresses a similar – but, in its nuances, a different kind of – nostalgia that Greece has often aroused in Europe and which Edgar Allan Poe famously referred to as "the glory that was Greece".<sup>19</sup>

### 1.1 Humanist Greek Culture

What, then, does the concept "Humanist Greek culture" include? Praising active skills in Greek was obviously part of the marketing of Greek, as well as its introduction into the curricula of schools and universities since the Renaissance. At the beginning of the 16th century, knowledge of Greek was still rare in

<sup>15</sup> On Steven Greenblatt's term "self-fashioning", see below Chapter 3.4.

<sup>16</sup> Crusius 1585, 2v.

<sup>17</sup> They are preserved in Crusius' literary remains. See Wilhelmi 2002.

<sup>18</sup> Ludwig 1998a, 29–31.

<sup>19</sup> From the second stanza of Poe's *To Helen*, the revised version. Poe 1845, 91.

Europe, and Greek needed its advocates. The importance of Greek as the epitome of humanistic education was often underlined by quoting the penultimate line of a poem (14 eleg) by Erasmus' teacher, Alexander Hegius von Heek, Principal of the school at Deventer in the Netherlands: *Qui Graece nescit, nescit quoque doctus haberi* (He who is ignorant in Greek, cannot be viewed as a learned man). The line was modified into Greek as ὃς μὴ ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἐλληνικὰ γράμματα ζεύξε, / οὐ δύναται συνετοῦ τοῦνομα ἀνδρὸς ἔχειν (He who does not *connect* Greek to Latin cannot be called a wise man), probably translated by Michael Neander,<sup>20</sup> or as ὃς μὴ ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἐλλήνικα γράμματα μίξει, / δηλονότ' οὐτιδανὸς κ' οὐ σοφός ἐστιν ἀνὴρ (He who does not *mix* Greek in Latin is clearly not worth much and is not a wise man).<sup>21</sup> Hegius' poem, moreover, states many contemporary aspects that emphasised the importance of Greek: "If one is willing to learn grammar, one must learn Greek; if one is willing to argue well, one must learn Greek." The poem continues that students of rhetoric, mathematics, the Holy Scriptures, medicine and history all need to study Greek. Hegius ends his verses: "All in all, no scholar cannot be ignorant of Greek."<sup>22</sup> The poem reflects the general opinion that educated, civilised men need Greek – not only for the sake of the liberal arts but also for that of the natural sciences.

The high esteem of Greek was seen in a comic light, too. Molière's *Les Femmes savantes* (1672) presents a salon of learned ladies who are members of the same family. The leading lady, Philaminte, is planning to establish an academy for ladies modelled on Plato's philosophical school on account of Plato's favourable attitude to the education of women in the *Republic* and especially in the *Laws*.<sup>23</sup> The contemporary enthusiasm for Greek as well as women's aspiration for education are satirically depicted and described as foolish. This is shown by the ladies' delight

<sup>20</sup> See Paulsen 1896, 67; 42; Bedaux 1999, 58. The Greek translation of these two verses forms a poem entitled Πρὸς τοὺς φιλομούσους παῖδας τετράστιχον, Hegius' modified line augmented by two more lines as a motto for Neander's Greek grammar, Neander 1561, the verso side of the title page.

<sup>21</sup> Johannes Posselius Sr. included this version in the Greek prose preface in his conversation manual of 1588, which Johannes Gezelius Sr. reprinted in Turku in 1690. It is also handwritten in the copy of Crusius' textbook (1610) deposited in the National Library of Finland.

<sup>22</sup> *Quisquis Grammaticam vis discere, discito Graece. / Argumentari qui vult bene, discito Graece. / Qui vult Rhetoricen perdiscere, discito Graece. / Sive Mathematicam quisquis vult, discito Graece. / Quique libros sacros vult noscere, discito Graece. / Artibus et Medicis qui intentus, discito Graece [...]* In summa: *Graji debentur singula doctis*. Gezelius Sr. printed the poem in Latin at the beginning of his Greek translation of Comenius' *Janua linguarum* (1631), see Gezelius Sr. 1648, A1. Johannes Petri (Arbogensis) quotes it (in Latin) in his Latin eulogy on the Greek language, Johannes Petri 1637.

<sup>23</sup> Molière 1976, Act III Scene II.

when a scholar who pretends to know Greek is presented to their salon, causing Philaminte to exclaim: *Du grec, ô Ciel! du grec! Il sait du grec, ma sœur!* (Act III, Scene V). However, the character who truly knows Greek, Vadius, is described in a more positive light as a true scholar when compared with Trissotin, a fake, who wants to marry Philaminte's daughter only for money and uses Philaminte's love of erudition as his strategy to achieve his goal.

Greek as part of the curriculum came late into the North. Compared with the Continent and the British Isles, there were not many universities in the Scandinavian countries at the beginning of the early modern period, simply due to the lack of population.<sup>24</sup> At the end of medieval times, Denmark, Norway and Sweden formed a political union during which the first two Nordic universities were founded, Uppsala University in 1477 and the University of Copenhagen in 1479. These Catholic universities with their medieval scholastic tradition were without Greek chairs, the instruction of Greek language only beginning after the Lutheran Reformation. In 1523, Sweden became an independent political unity while Denmark and Norway continued their pact. When the University of Copenhagen, which served both Denmark and Norway, was re-established in 1539 according to the Protestant curriculum, it received a Greek chair, the first in all Scandinavia. Although this Greek professorship had been established on account of the Reformation, the curriculum was markedly humanistic in tone. According to university regulations, the Greek professor should teach Greek grammar and interpret Greek authors like Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Sophocles, Euripides and, of course, the New Testament, especially the Pauline epistles. Moreover, the Copenhagen University ordinance stipulated that the Greek professor should "by his own example" guide students to write Greek poems and prose.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Scandinavia, broadly speaking, consists of five countries, in four of which, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland, people speak Scandinavian languages. Finnish belongs to the same family of languages as Estonian, Finno-Ugrian, but on account of historical associations Finland is often counted as part of Scandinavia. Finland was under Swedish rule for over 600 years after the coming of Christianity and formed the eastern part of the Swedish Kingdom. The Baltic Sea is the connecting *Mare nostrum* of the Nordic countries and the Baltic countries, that is, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

<sup>25</sup> No systematic research has yet been carried out on the extent of Greek poems and prose written at Copenhagen University. Pernille Harsting, who has studied 16th-century wedding poems in Denmark, states that of wedding poems, 72 were in Latin, five in Danish and only two in Greek (Skafté Jensen 1991, 54). This is a very small number. Finnish scholars, for instance, wrote 20 Greek wedding poems during the years 1652–1709.

Active skills in Greek were sometimes required in ordinances, which was the prescriptive (not merely the ideological) reason why Humanist Greek texts were written in educational institutions, universities, academies and schools in the first place. School ordinances and university statutes sometimes stipulated even the adoption of Greek stylistic exercises in the educational establishments.

Jakob Jespersen Danus (Jacobus Jasparus, fl. 1529–1549), who was called the Danish Homer, wrote several Greek poems, which were published in Antwerp. The first is a *cento* (28 hex), titled ΟΜΗΡΟΚΕΝΤΡΩΝ εἰς τοὺς γάμους, for an aristocratic wedding couple in 1541. He also wrote several poems in the publication *Anactobiblion et Heroepe*, published in Antwerp in 1544. It contains five poems in Greek, four of them with a translation into Latin addressed to five monarchs, Mary of Hungary and Charles II of Orléans among them. The poems were written in connection with the Peace of Crépy, which was made between Francis I of France and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.<sup>26</sup> Other sixteenth-century Danish Greek writers are Peter Aagesen, Niels Petersen and Niels Actander (1561–1618) with his biblical paraphrases, the most notable being an oration of over 200 hexameters. Hans Olufsen Slingerup for his part translated Cicero's second book of *De officiis* into Greek.<sup>27</sup>

In the course of the sixteenth century, the Danish humanistically oriented teaching practice lapsed from the ideals stipulated in the Copenhagen University statutes to a more or less complete concentration on the New Testament Greek and Christian authors. However, some Greek professors lectured on classical authors, like Hans Christophersen on Homer, Isocrates, Aristotle, Xenophon and Aristophanes in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>28</sup> Around this time, Denmark lost its position as a strong military power. Greek poems were still written by, e.g., Petrus Winstrup, who even published his Latin and Greek poems as a collection containing two books (*Epigrammata. Liber II*) in Copenhagen in 1653.<sup>29</sup> An Icelandic Torfi Pálsson (1673–1712) published a Greek funerary poem (28 eleg) in Copenhagen in 1695, which heavily imitated poems by Gregory of Nazianzus.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See HUMGRAECA Database (Päll). On Jespersen, see Harsting 1994.

<sup>27</sup> See HUMGRAECA Database (Päll).

<sup>28</sup> Jensen 1992, 89, 91–92, 127–128. In the case of a Greek poem that includes its Latin translation, it might be the case that the Latin version is the original and the Greek one a translation from Latin.

<sup>29</sup> Other Danish Greek poets were Petrus Borrichius and Bertel Aquilonius (1588–1650). See HUMGRAECA Database and Pontani & Weise 2022, 786–790 (single Greek poems by Borrichius and Aquilonius, edited by J. Akujärvi), 791–792 (two poems by Winstrup, edited by J. Päll).

<sup>30</sup> Pontani & Weise 2022, 793–794 (edited by T. Korhonen).

The 17th century was the Swedish Age of Greatness, especially after the military victories during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus (r. 1611–1632) and after the ‘Thirty Years’ War (1630–1660), resulting in geographical extensions that empowered Sweden. The enlarged kingdom is sometimes called the Swedish Empire or “Great Sweden”.<sup>31</sup> During the seventeenth century, three new universities were established in Sweden: in Tartu, in present-day Estonia (in 1632), in Turku (1640, Åbo in Swedish), in Finland, and in Lund (1666), in southern Sweden. The Catholic University of Uppsala, founded in 1477, ceased to function for a short time around the 1530s as a consequence of the Lutheran Reformation. Swedish and Finnish students travelled abroad, especially to Germany, to attain higher education as they had already done before during the late Middle Ages. The University of Uppsala was restored in 1593 acquiring then a Greek chair – though in the Faculty of Theology. In 1626, the chair was moved to the Faculty of Philosophy, and Greek professors acquired more humanistic tones in their teaching and research.

During the seventeenth century, many students and scholars on the northern fringes of Europe aspired to reach the ideal of active skills in Greek. This is indicated by 18th-century scholars who reported Nordic Graecism and enthusiasm for composing in Greek in the previous centuries. Olaus Plantin mentions in his *Hellas sub Arcto* (1730) that Nordic scholars have now not only welcomed the Greek Muses as their visiting guests but as permanent residents<sup>32</sup> – a common metaphor confirming the spread of humanistic education. Matthias Floderus, who in his work (1785–1789) presented the best Greek poets from Sweden, even wrote about *versificandi mania*, an obsession for versifying in Greek among Swedish students and scholars during the seventeenth century.<sup>33</sup> Enevaldus

<sup>31</sup> Sweden’s Age of Greatness (*stormaktstiden* in Swedish) is usually said to begin with Gustavus Adolphus’ rise to the throne in 1611 and to end with the death of Charles XII in 1718 during the Great Northern War, when Russia occupied Finland. However, Sweden lost Finland to Russia only after the Finnish War (1808–9). The expression “Sweden-Finland” has even been used in Finnish historiography. In the following, Sweden will refer to the geographical area of modern Sweden (e.g. a Swedish-born student = a student born in Sweden in its modern sense), whereas the Swedish Kingdom, the Swedish Empire or Great Sweden refers to the expanded Sweden of the 17th century, including not only Finland but also Estonia and some northern parts of Germany.

<sup>32</sup> [...] *sub frigido Septentrione, artium linguarumque studia non frigerent, sed perpetuo florerent* [...]. Plantin 1736, *dedicatio* (p. 5).

<sup>33</sup> Akujärvi 2021, 251; Korhonen 2004, 9–10; Floderus 1785–1789, A1: *Neque tamen nobis propositum est, de illis omnibus meminisse, qui Graece cecinerunt: ea enim ferbuit olim versificandi mania, ut nullum ferme prodierit academicum specimen, cui non Graecos versus adleverint studiosi, quos omnes si in poetarum numerum referremus, maximam certe injuriam illis faceremus*. As Akujärvi

Svenonius (1617–1688), Professor of Theology at Turku, but born in mainland Sweden, was praised for his polyglotism. He had published poems “not only in vernacular [Swedish] as well as in Finnish, German, Latin and Greek, which was not unusual” but he had also written poems in many ‘oriental’ languages.<sup>34</sup> Thus, versifying in Greek was *not* unusual, whereas writing in oriental languages was.<sup>35</sup>

Around thirty orations and forty dissertations in Greek were written in Swedish universities and gymnasia – some of them were not published and are only briefly mentioned in the bibliographies, or have been preserved as manuscripts.<sup>36</sup> Practice orations and dissertations were theses that were necessary in order to display one’s learning and progress, whereas *casualcarmina*, that is, occasional poetry and festive orations, were composed by students and professors for academic festivities. At the Royal Academy of Turku, the number of Greek texts, both poems and prose, amounts to over four hundred. I call this quantity of Greek texts the *Turku Greek Corpus* in this study. They were mostly written during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. It has been estimated that the Universities of Uppsala and Lund have produced over 1,500 texts, prose and poems, and the University of Tartu and the Tallin Gymnasium around 200 texts. If these numbers appear to be small and would not seem to reflect any *versificandi mania*, one needs to bear in mind that the number of students and professors was small in the Nordic universities and that not all Greek output was printed. If poems were not printed, they could at least be performed or presented in public, such as putting them on

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(*ibid.*) has noted, by *academicum specimen*, Floderus probably referred to dissertations. John Edwin Sandys (1958 III, 348) sarcastically noted that many Swedish scholars “were in the habit of writing Greek compositions, either in prose or in elegiac or in hexameter verse, but they very rarely produced any editions of Greek authors, and such authors as they happened to edit were seldom of special importance”.

<sup>34</sup> Stiernman 1719, Addenda [p. 172]: *Quidpe qui super vernacula, & Finnonica & Germanica & Latina & Graeca solita pridem & vulgata carmina [...]*. Stiernman quotes Laurentius Norrmannus’ memorial (1700) for Anders Spole from Småland (*Smolandia*, southern Sweden); Svenonius was also from Småland, which was the reason for mentioning him in Spole’s memorial.

<sup>35</sup> Svenonius wrote three poems in Greek: two Greek congratulations for dissertations at Turku (Vall. 3768, Vall. 11) and one funerary poem at Uppsala (Mel. 217). Svenonius learned Finnish in Turku, but no Finnish poems by him are known.

<sup>36</sup> See the lists of orations in Sweden and Finland in Korhonen 2004, 460–462 (28 at Uppsala and Turku, including lost orations). Two orations are missing in the list: Laurentius Norrmannus 1667 and Andreas Thormaenius 1668 (the latter mentioned, however, on p. 396). Numbers 15 and 16 are not lost: Petrus Aurivillius’ Greek orations were not printed but their manuscripts have survived. See ALVIN Database and Korhonen 2020, 712. For a Greek oration written by Petrus Goetschenius in Tartu, see Päll 2010, 124–125. For a list of dissertations in Swedish universities and gymnasia, see Korhonen 2021, 705–708.



display on the walls of an educational institution. A communal public nature characterised early modern occasional poetry. Although a poem might have been addressed to one person, it could have been performed for a larger audience.

When speaking of Nordic Humanist Greek – composed by Swedish, Estonian and Finnish educated men – one needs to bear in mind the transnational character of Nordic scholars (or European scholars in general). A person born in one of these regions, could easily move inside the “Great Sweden”. Johannes Gezelius Sr. (1615–1690) is a good example of this: his influence in promoting Greek studies and Humanist Greek production extended throughout these three countries. He was born in Romfartuna (in central Sweden) and studied in Västerås and Uppsala, but he acted as Professor of Greek and Hebrew in Tartu and later as Bishop of Turku (1664–1690). Instead of a separate national corpus, it is, in many cases, better to think of Swedish Greek Corpora or Nordic Greek Corpora comprising all Humanist Greek texts composed in the “Great Sweden”. However, student associations known as “nations”, were important identity markers in the Nordic universities, and are mentioned, for instance, in the signatures attached to occasional poems. *Nations* usually comprise regions or provinces of modern states, like *Ostrobothnia* in Finland or *Smolandia* in Sweden, that is, Pohjanmaa and Småland.

Humanist Greek texts reflected the general rhetorical training, literary culture and Greek humanism of the respective era. One aspect of the humanistic curriculum was the essential role of rhetoric (understood mainly as eloquence) and therefore the impact of rhetoric on every kind of writing – including Greek occasional texts. Rhetorical writing was intertextual, and it valued *imitation*, which meant that Humanist Greek poets could and were allowed to borrow lines or half lines from classical authors. Furthermore, poems and other works of literature which were read at schools and universities were often the same as those which were imitated. The canon of Greek authors was to some extent different from ours. It included names familiar to us, but also such texts that are not much appreciated today, such as the *Education of Children* (*De liberis educandis*) attributed to Plutarch and Pseudo-Phocylides’ maxims. The vocabulary from late antique epics by Quintus of Smyrna, Tryphiodorus, Coluthus and especially Nonnus was used, as Thun’s above-mentioned valuation of Rhodomanus’ *Palaestina* being as good as Nonnus and Coluthus indicated. Besides, students learned Greek from contemporary Greek textbooks, using contemporary Greek grammars and dictionaries, which influenced the norms and quality of their knowledge of morphology, prosody and syntax. Their linguistic quality is shown in their Greek occasional poetry.

Quintilian wrote that Cornelius Severus was a better versifier (*versificator*) than a poet (*poeta*) (*Inst.* 10.2.88). Many Humanist Greek poets – including those in Germany writing otherwise excellent Greek – were more like *versifiers* than genuine poets with poetic stamina. They were first and foremost students and learned men who lived in a period when versifying was a natural and expected part of the notion of a well-educated man. Besides, Greek versifying might often be a matter of practising one's skills in Greek rather than having literary ambitions, as was more often the case when versifying in Neo-Latin.

## 1.2 Studies on Humanist Greek and the Terms Used

Although recent decades in particular have witnessed an increasing interest in Humanist Greek, as early as the eighteenth century some scholars noticed the phenomenon starting with Johann Caspar Lösscher (1697) and Georg Lizelius (Lizel) among German scholars (1730).<sup>37</sup> One source for Lizelius was Johann Fabricius' huge *Bibliotheca Graeca* (1705–1728), which totalled 14 volumes. Although Fabricius concentrated on Greek editions, lexica, grammars and textbooks, he also mentions some Greek texts written by Western humanists.<sup>38</sup>

Following Lizelius (without, however, naming him), Olaus Plantin, a Swede, published his above-mentioned *Hellas sub Arcto* in Wittenberg in 1736. Plantin named his work *historia litteraria* and stated that his aim was to show that Greek literature was firmly established in Sweden. Plantin's exposition mainly contains lists (such as a list of Greek professors in all five universities of the Swedish Empire, including Greifswald)<sup>39</sup> and short presentations on some scholars and their Greek studies. In the end, he mentions some Greek epigrams, dissertations and orations written by students, and also discusses the pronunciation of Greek, which was obviously an issue when Greek orations and poems were delivered and performed. Of the poems, Plantin states that although Apollo would "despise" some of them, they still demonstrate an interest in Greek literature in the Swedish Kingdom.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> For a presentation of Lösscher's work (*Dissertatio de meritis Germanorum in Graecas litteras*), see Ludwig 1998a, 83–104 and of Lizelius' work, see Weise 2019a and Ludwig 1998a, 53.

<sup>38</sup> For instance, Martin Crusius in the fifth volume (Chapter 5), see Fabricius 1712, 676.

<sup>39</sup> Swedish Pomerania, including Greifswald, was part of Sweden during the period 1630–1815.

<sup>40</sup> Plantin 1730, 78: *Quantumvis autem sint, in Graecis Academica juventutis tirociniis, multa interdum, quae doctus fastidit Apollo [...]*.

A chain of influence from Lizelius onwards can be noticed. If Lizelius was Plantin's unacknowledged influence, Ericus Michael Fant confessed openly that Plantin had been a model for the series of dissertations which Fant supervised in Uppsala between 1775–1786. Although Fant states in his introduction that he will present famous Swedish New Testament and Greek scholars, Fant's treatise contains many more references to Humanist Greek texts than Plantin's work. Fant added two lists of Greek poems to his footnotes and even copied quite a few Greek poems in his treatise.<sup>41</sup> For Fant, Swedish Greek poets included some who resided in Turku. For Greek instruction in Finland, Fant's source was mainly Anders A. Stiernman's *Aboa literata* (1719), a sort of first history of Finnish literature, *Aboa* being the Latinised Swedish name (Åbo) for Turku. Matthias Floderus, for his part, used Fant's work in his *De poëtis in Svio-Gothis Graecis* (1785–1789), also a dissertation in series supervised by Floderus in Uppsala.<sup>42</sup> Floderus had chosen 24 Swedish Greek poets representing, in his view, the best Greek writers. Half of these men were Greek teachers, either in universities or at schools, the rest were clergymen or professors of theology, poetry or rhetoric. Three were either born or lived and worked in Finland: Johannes Gezelius Sr. (1615–1690), the Bishop of Turku, Petrus Laurbecchius (1628–1705), Professor of Poetry and later of Theology at Turku, and Bishop of Viipuri (Vyborg, in Carelia),<sup>43</sup> as well as the above-mentioned Johan Paulinus (ennobled as Lillienstedt). At the end of his introduction (p. A1v), Floderus mentions three men whom he deemed the best Greek poets (*praeter Parnassi procures*) in Sweden: Johan Paulinus, Josef Thun and Laurentius Norrmannus (1651–1703), Greek Professor at Uppsala, who wrote, among other things, a Greek oration celebrating the centennial jubilee of the Uppsala Church Assembly of 1593.<sup>44</sup> Quite often, Floderus refers to the New Testament and to a Greek (or Roman) author whose work the Swedish Greek poet in question had used or imitated. On occasions, Floderus criticises the content or

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<sup>41</sup> Fant 1775–1786 I, 22–24 note r, 118–199 note q. Some Humanist Greek poems in Fant's treatise, see *ibid.* I, 22–24, 93 and II, 18, 79. Fant's work comprises 12 dissertations with continuous pagination (I) and a supplement (II).

<sup>42</sup> A dissertation in series refers to a common type of dissertation during the early modern period and even later: students wrote and/or disputed parts of professor's work; the publication contains several title-pages but the pagination is often continuous from part to part.

<sup>43</sup> Viipuri is the Finnish name of this former Finnish city, which had been part of Russia since the Second World War. The name form Vyborg (based on Russian) is currently in general use.

<sup>44</sup> The oration was delivered in 1693 but only printed in 1738, together with Norrmannus' other orations. See Plantin 1736, 55; Fant 1775–1786 II, 74; Korhonen 2004, 461. In all, Norrmannus wrote 13 Greek texts, see HUMGRAECA database (Akujärvi).

language of the poems, such as Jonas Kylander's verse that God gives his presents to all (and not only to just men), Laurentius Fornelius' poem for its liberties with prosody, and Jonas Salanus' verse oration on the usage of particles.<sup>45</sup>

Later on, in Finland, Johan Jakob Tengström, Docent in the History of Literature at Turku, supervised a dissertation in series with different respondents, which, however, remained unfinished: *De viris in Fennia peritia litterarum Graecarum claris* (1814–1821).<sup>46</sup> Tengström states that his aim was to complete Fant's work by focusing on Finns who knew Greek, especially those who lived before the founding of the university in 1640. Tengström underlines the fact that Greek literature had been a model for creating and developing Finnish literature – that is, poetry, *Schöne Literatur* and factual literature written in Swedish and Finnish.<sup>47</sup> This was, of course, a standard topos on the relevance of Greek or classical languages for the progress of national literature in the vernacular. The topos was also used when emphasising the relevance of translations – that translating from classical languages to the vernacular “civilised” the vernacular language.<sup>48</sup>

In his later work (1836) listing the academic employees at the Royal Academy of Turku, Tengström mentions that Petrus Laurbecchius, Ericus Falander (ennobled as Tigerstedt), Simon Paulinus and David Lund – all except the first being professors of Greek and Hebrew at Turku – wrote a few Greek verses. Tengström critically adds that “stylistic exercises” in Greek had resulted in texts of “barbaric poor taste”.<sup>49</sup> The same kind of indignation is found in Ivar A. Heikel's history of classical philology in Finland (1894). Not only were there not many Greek verses composed at Turku University, Heikel complains, but they were “barbaric” and only some of them were even understandable.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Floderus 1785–1789, 8 (Kylander), 19–20 (Fornelius), 30–31 (Salanus); see also *ibid.*, 95 (Petrus Hedelinus).

<sup>46</sup> The university moved to Helsinki during the making of this dissertation in series. In Helsinki, Tengström (1787–1858) was appointed Professor of Practical Philosophy.

<sup>47</sup> In Finland, Swedish was the official language – used, for instance, in courts until the seventeenth century – and the language of the civilised class until the second half of the nineteenth century, when Finnish began to acquire linguistic equality with Swedish.

<sup>48</sup> Of course, Tengström does not take into consideration Finnish oral poetry, which Finnish scholars had already begun to praise in the previous century, like H.G. Porthan in his dissertation in series *De poësi Fennica*. Porthan 1766–1778 (especially 1778, 95–96). Tengström's focus was on literature created by educated people.

<sup>49</sup> Tengström 1836, 150 (in Swedish): *Grekiska stilöfningar [...] barbarisk smaklöshet*.

<sup>50</sup> Heikel 1894, 162.

In general, Tengström and Heikel were right in their judgement of the main lines: there are a lot of prosodic, morphological and syntactical oddities and mixing of linguistic registers in the Turku Greek Corpus. Some texts are difficult to fathom. However, both Heikel and Tengström saw only a minor part of the texts and Heikel's judgements also need to be read in the light of the 19th century's "hypercritical reaction", with its purist attitude to editing, along with its discarding as trivial many traditional elementary textbooks like *Golden Verses*, which was attributed to Pythagoras.<sup>51</sup> The reason why Heikel and Tengström did not have a complete picture of Greek texts written in Finland is that most of the Greek texts published at educational institutions were occasional short texts, which were printed as addenda – as *paratexts* – to a main text in Latin or sometimes in the vernacular.<sup>52</sup> Greek congratulations and dedications in Latin dissertations often thus fill in an empty space which, in a variant printing, could also be changed or deleted. However, some of the Greek texts were congratulations in *commemorative anthologies*, celebrating e.g., a deceased person, or weddings and inaugurations, and providing a printed memory of the occasion. Greek poems were among the Latin, 'oriental' and vernacular (Swedish, Finnish, German, French, English) occasional texts, poems and prose texts in these anthologies.

The aim of my dissertation in Finnish (2004) was to collect these mostly short Greek texts composed at the Royal Academy of Turku, place them in their historical context, provide a quantitative analysis and arrange them into different rhetorical subgenres, which partly explain their contents.<sup>53</sup> Searching for Greek texts was relatively easy on account of two bibliographies that contained excellent indexes – both now also available online: Melander (1951–1959) for occasional

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<sup>51</sup> Thom 1995, IX.

<sup>52</sup> Paratext is a term used with different meanings (see Genette 1987). Originally, it came into use with the postmodern discussion of intertextuality, highlighting texts that were concretely close to the main text (the literary work), which also have an influence on the reception of the main text (e.g., the back cover text which summarises the content of the book). Paratexts (or sometimes peritexts) in this sense are the title, motto, preface, introduction, author's name (including pseudonyms), back cover text and possible excerpts of reviews on the cover (which the writer does have a limited option to choose). The prefix (para- or peri-) refers to the fact that texts are attached 'around' the main text, in front of the main text, or, for example in the double cloth of a published book. Although congratulations for dissertations are seldom paratexts in the sense that they influence the interpretation of the main text, that is, the dissertation, they can guide its reception.

<sup>53</sup> See the Table of Contents in English of my dissertation written in Finnish on pp. 519–523, which is more elaborate than the Table of the Contents in Finnish at the beginning of the dissertation. The quantitative analyses, organised by decades, are also given in the tables: 1) the total number of Humanist Greek texts at Turku (p. 15), 2) the metres (p. 149), 3) the number of Greek texts in the commemorative anthologies (p. 191), and 4) paratexts in dissertations and orations (p. 283).

texts in commemorative anthologies (albeit ending in 1713) and Vallinkoski (1967–1969) on Greek *paratexts* (dedications and congratulations) in the Latin dissertations published at Turku.<sup>54</sup> However, for example, Greek congratulations for orations needed to be searched for oration by oration. Grasping the context, the phenomenon of Humanist Greek culture, was, however, much more difficult due to the lack of research and the fact that the research was carried out at a time when digitising old prints was in its early stages.<sup>55</sup> There were also only few individual articles on some Humanist Greek texts. Twenty-five years ago, I felt that I was carrying out research in a scholarly vacuum.

### Recent Studies

The situation is different now. Not only is it easy to search for possible sources of imitations with the help of databases (like the TLG), but also much of the material is digitised. For instance, nearly all dissertations from the Royal Academy of Turku with their Greek congratulations and dedications are digitised in the DORIA database maintained by the National Library of Finland.<sup>56</sup> German online “VD bibliographies” (VD = Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke) VD 16, VD 17 and VD 18 also show how much material is already digitised. Recent studies on teaching Greek during the Renaissance and early modern period have been published, such as Paul Botley’s (2010) comprehensive account of printed Greek grammars, lexica and textbooks up until 1529 and Federica Ciccolella’s articles and edited volumes (2017 and 2021). Studies on Greek instruction have been published, especially in Protestant countries (Ben Tov 2009), in recent years. There has also been considerable interest in humanists who were fluent in Greek, in their aspirations to be able to

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<sup>54</sup> See Vallinkoski, part I: <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2016-00009876>, part II: <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2016-00009873>; Melander (all three parts): <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2016-00009520>.

<sup>55</sup> Some databases existed already then, like GC (Grieschischer Geist aus Basler Pressen), MATEO (Mannheimer Texte Online. [www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo](http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo)) and CAMENA (Lateinische Texte der frühen Neuzeit).

<sup>56</sup> The DORIA database (the National Library of Finland, <https://www.doria.fi/handle/10024/50699>). Swedish dissertations are partly digitised in the DIVA portal (<https://www.diva-portal.org>) maintained by Swedish university libraries and archives. Old Swedish manuscripts can be found in the ALVIN portal (<https://www.alvin-portal.org>) maintained by, e.g., the Uppsala University Library. Links to old Estonian prints can be accessed from the online catalogue ESTER (<https://www.ester.ee>).

read and write in Greek, and the kinds of output this enthusiasm produced. New editions, especially those initiated by German and Italian scholars, have started to appear. A new edition of Poliziano's Greek epigrams was published with a more elaborate discussion on contexts (Pontani 2002), Stefan Weise published an edition on Laurentius Rhodomanus' *Arion* (2019), and Rhodomanus' Greek epics or epyllions have been studied by several scholars (Ludwig 2019, Weise 2020, Gärtner 2020). Stefan Weise also published a preliminary comprehensive presentation of German Greek poems and prose texts (2016) and Han Lamers and Raf Van Rooy of Greek texts from the Low Countries (2022). Naturally, research has concentrated on the best authors and/or best poems, but there has also been research that has concentrated on national corpora of Humanist Greek: Janika Päll on Estonian Greek texts in her several articles since the 2000s, Thomas Veteikis on Lithuanian Greek texts (2004) and Johanna Akujärvi on the Swedish corpus, mainly congratulatory texts for dissertations (2021).

A highlight of this field of studies thus far has been the publication of the anthology *The Hellenizing Muse: A European Anthology of Poetry in Ancient Greek from the Renaissance to the Present* (2022), edited by Filippomaria Pontani and Stefan Weise. It presents Greek poems from various European countries, including the Nordic countries, with critical apparatuses, translations and the context as well as general descriptions of Greek poetry in different countries or areas concerned. It opens one's eyes to the vastness – and quality – of central European material. A workshop arranged by the editors in Venice in 2018 provided a preliminary glimpse of the vast material in this book.<sup>57</sup> In addition, several conferences in this new field of studies have been arranged.<sup>58</sup> In the RSA conference in Berlin (2015), a panel entitled "What is Renaissance Greek?" was arranged that focused on the terminological problem: which term is proper for the Greek which humanists used in the West during and after the Renaissance?

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<sup>57</sup> Another anthology, including both Neo-Latin and Humanist Greek poems from countries around the Baltic Sea, *Anthologia Baltica* (edited by Gregor Vogt-Spira *et al.*) is forthcoming.

<sup>58</sup> The first one in Tartu 2014 (*Hellenostephanos*), in Wupperthal 2017, in Helsinki 2018 and again in Tartu 2021–2022 (a remote conference due to the Covid-19 pandemic). Papers on Humanist Greek texts have been presented in the special session of the Neo-Latin Conference in Albacete in 2018, and many presentations on the subject or tangent to it were presented in the Renaissance Society of America conferences organised in Berlin in 2015 and in New Orleans in 2018.

### **Humanist Greek, Renaissance Greek, Neo-Greek, the Archaising Form of Greek, New Ancient Greek, Neo-Classical Greek or, simply, Greek?**

Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571) mentions in his biography that after finishing his famous statue of Perseus (1554), many eulogising sonnets and poems in Latin and Greek were posted on the gates of his atelier. This was due to the fact that it was the holiday period at the University of Pisa, and professors and students had time to compose poems and praise his work.<sup>59</sup> Thus, Cellini connects writing poems in classical languages with academic life, and considers that Greek and Latin poems honoured his statue, which depicted a classical subject. Cellini did not recognise any difference between Latin and Greek poems composed by his contemporaries and poems in ancient Greek and Latin. Why do we, then, need to use any other term than Greek for the language of poems written by humanists from the Renaissance onwards? Friedrich Paulsen, for instance, briefly mentions the phenomenon of writing Greek poetry and simply uses the word *Griechisch* in his history of German higher education (1896), referring to poems written by Laurentius Rhodomanus and Martin Crusius.<sup>60</sup>

Dieter Harlfinger was the first to notice that these texts have been neglected. In his introduction to the catalogue of an exhibition arranged in Wolfenbüttel in 1987, he writes “man liebte es, sich auf Griechisch auszudrücken, in Vers und Prosa: ‘Humanistengriechisch’ (Neualt griechisch), ein Stiefkind der Forschung”.<sup>61</sup> Thus, Harlfinger provided the term *Humanistengriechisch* and in parenthesis, as if in explanation, *Neualt griechisch*.

The term *Humanist Greek* occurs in the title of the posthumously published (1977) collection of articles by Roberto Weiss on Greek texts written by Italian humanists during the 14th century. However, the term itself is not used by Weiss in his articles (some of which are in English, others in Italian) so that the title was most probably invented by the editors.<sup>62</sup> In his famous bibliography (1962), Émile Legrand speaks about “New Greece” (*la Nouvelle Grèce*), denoting the literature which the Byzantine refugees created and inspired Westerners to create. Diane Robin (1984) uses the term *Neo-Greek* to characterise Francesco Filelfo’s versified letters and poems from 1450s and 1460s. Some scholars content themselves with the mere word ‘Greek’, like Walther Ludwig (1998a) and before him Beriah

<sup>59</sup> Cellini 1927, Ch. XC.

<sup>60</sup> Paulsen 1896, 367–369.

<sup>61</sup> Ludwig 1998a, 52; Harlfinger 1989, XVII.

<sup>62</sup> Dionisotti, Fahy and Moores 1977.



Botfield (1861), who collected Greek and Latin “threshold” (liminary) texts in the *editiones principes* of Greek and Latin.<sup>63</sup> Both Anthos Ardizzoni (1951) and Filippomaria Pontani (2002), who published editions of Angelo Poliziano’s poems, did not see it necessary to speak, for instance, ‘Renaissance Greek’. The same also concerns Ilona Opelt (1968) in her article on Jesuit Pierre Boullé’s (Petrus Bovillius) two “Pindaric odes” and Stefan Rhein (1987) in his dissertation on Melanchthon’s Greek poems. Tomas Veteikis on Latvian Greek poems in his dissertation (2004) as well as Janika Päll, now a renowned *primus motor* in this field of studies, used mere “Greek” in her earlier articles from 2002 and 2003 presenting Greek poems and prose from Tartu.<sup>64</sup> When the context is clearly stated, the simple word “Greek” is obviously more preferable.

The terms used in the Wupperthal Conference proceedings (*Hellenisti!*, 2017, edited by Stefan Weise) were *neualtgriechisch* and “ancient Greek as a literary language”. However, the former is difficult to translate into English, and Greek as a literary language was mostly unattainable and only an inspirational ideal for some of those who experimented in Greek writing in early modern universities. Han Lamers and Raf van Rooy (2022) prefer the term New Ancient Greek, which covers – like *The Hellenizing Muse* – all Greek written from the Renaissance to the present. On the Neo-Latin side, Josef Ijsewijn briefly discussed in his seminal *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* the differences in the terms humanist Latin or Humanistic Latin and Neo-Latin, the former referring to Latin initiated by Renaissance humanists, the latter also including later writers of Latin, like Ludvig Holberg (d. 1754) and Walter Savage Landor (d. 1864). Neo-Latin was officially chosen as the term for this field of studies in 1975. However, John Monfasani suggested *neo-classical Latin* rather than Neo-Latin in his review of the *Companion*.<sup>65</sup> Neo-Classical Greek, without any further explanations, occurs in the Neo-Latin Lexicon available online (<https://neolatinlexicon.org/greek/>) maintained by Patrick M. Owens.

I prefer the term Humanist Greek,<sup>66</sup> which could be defined as Greek written from the early modern period until *Neohumanismus* by scholars who have a certain kind of classical and rhetorical education – which, of course, is

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<sup>63</sup> The same also concerns Nigel Wilson’s collection of the same texts (2016).

<sup>64</sup> See also Ström 1994, 286–288 and Ronchey 1994, 235.

<sup>65</sup> Ijsewijn 1990, 27–28. Monfasani 1992, 841.

<sup>66</sup> I used the term for the first time in a published work in 1997, inspired by Harlfinger’s statement. I found these texts while working as an expert in Greek in the making of the first bibliography of the oldest printed literature (1488–1700) in Finland (SKB), which was published in 1996.

not the same as we have, or the nineteenth century-scholars had. In the early modern period, writing in Greek was an established practice and part of Greek instruction. Humanist Greek was used at educational institutions in Europe until the progress of classical philology during the nineteenth century, after which composing Greek was only practised by very few learned men who excelled in Greek.<sup>67</sup>

One can also make a difference between Renaissance Greek – Greek used by Byzantine scholars and their Western, at first mainly Italian, students during the 13th and 14th century in the West. Renaissance Greek and Humanist Greek texts can be differentiated not only by era or geography but also by their subjects: the latter were likely to centre more on theological issues than the former. The complex history of Greek language, its division into vernacular and written language in the Byzantine Empire, which later gave birth to *katharevousa*, the conservative form of Modern Greek, complicates the picture. In the Byzantine Empire, archaising Greek was used in high quality literature as well as in juridical contexts. Moreover, Greek was used in the Eastern Church as a liturgical language and in the official context of the Greek Orthodox Church. The term ecclesiastic Greek or Church Greek is sometimes used in the histories of Greek language, referring to the special archaising form of Greek which to some extent is still used in some Greek Orthodox churches.<sup>68</sup> Greek was seen as a ‘holy’ language because of the New Testament, Greek liturgies and the Greek Church Fathers.

It is worth asking what the early modern humanists themselves thought about the Greek language and the Greek which they used to create their poems – did they see a difference between their usage and ancient models? New Testament Greek (with its Hebraisms and Latin influences) was sometimes referred to as *Hellenistica* and the terms *Turcograecia* and *Barbarograecia* that were used of the lands referring to vernacular, demotic Greek. There was, however, no special term for the Greek the early modern humanists used. The reason was obvious: they felt, and often stated, that they were writing in a continuum, that they were adding their Greek output – be it modest, good or excellent – to the history of Greek literature.

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<sup>67</sup> There were also some women who wrote in Greek. See below Chapter 2.1. *The Hellenizing Muse* does not present any poem written by an *erudita*.

<sup>68</sup> See, e.g., Horrocks 2010, 220–226, especially 220.

### 1.3 Research Questions and the Aims of this Study

One of my starting points has been the question why did humanists write the kind of Greek poems and prose that they did? Humanist Greek writings were obviously part of the early modern conception of literature, which differs to a large extent from modern or postmodern notions. Its key concepts are imitation and epideictic rhetoric. Its particular feature is exaggerated (therefore sometimes unintentionally comical) praise. The basic research questions can then be formulated as follows: How did Humanist Greek texts address the literary ideals of their time and what were these ideals? What is the ideological matrix that created Humanist Greek culture, the background for the transnational practice of writing in Greek? One aspect of the high appreciation of Greek is tied to ideas about the role classical languages have played in *moral* education. The Greek (and Latin) texts written by Western humanists also reflect the values which these languages represented, in that reading Greek and Latin and writing in these languages were vehicles for ethical development, such as self-restraint. Is it also the case, as I suggest, that they manifest rather abstract educational ideas about how to learn languages, how to learn to think, how to make arguments and how to display one's argumentation?

The book consists of five Parts including this Introduction. The methodological point of view of Parts two and three is historical-philological, whereas Part four relies more on the methodologies of the history of literature (especially genre issues). **Part 2** ("Cultivating Greek Writing") concentrates on how the continuum of Byzantine teaching practice and the model for the active use of Greek in the West contributed to the fact that active skills became an essential part of Greek instruction in the West. On the other hand, it is also argued that the influence of German Lutheran educational institutions and their practices as well as textbooks published for writing in Greek mostly in the German lands had a decisive effect on Greek instruction in the seventeenth-century Swedish Kingdom. The prerequisites for Greek production are also discussed, including Greek instruction in Swedish schools and universities, with a special focus on Finland. Part 2 ends by presenting general features of the Turku Greek Corpus (Chapter 2.3). **Part 3** ("Perceptions and Use of Greek Language and Culture") concentrates on the prestige and admiration of Greek, the "glory of Greece". It explores such issues as code-switching between Latin and Greek, the function of Greek phrases inside Latin texts, Greek as a "sacred" language as well as a code language in the Protestant context, as well as Greek citations and other intertextual practices which reveal aspects of Greek culture that were valued in the

early modern period. Features of early modern philhellenism (Hellenised names and other self-fashioning practices) are also in focus. In **Part 4** (“Deconstructing Academic Writing”), methods and practices of academic writing concentrating on imitation (and relationship of imitation with parody, cento, literary theft and plagiarism) are discussed. Also explored is the pervasiveness of epideictic literature in Humanist Greek literature and the interconnections of the terms rhetorical, epideictic and occasional literature as part of early modern academic writing practice. Chapter 4.3 focuses on the textual genre, which is mostly represented in the Nordic Greek Corpora as congratulations for dissertations. This was a poorly defined subgenre or form, and I suggest that it was firmly tied to the process of learning to write academic texts. Furthermore, the Nordic Greek production of this period coincides with the Nordic Baroque period with its manneristic (manieristic) features and, as Lennart Breitholtz puts it, its “propensity to *exceedingly* use the stylistic effects of classical rhetoric”.<sup>69</sup> Lastly, in **Part 5**, three case studies on details of Finnish Humanist Greek text production are presented, starting with applications for scholarship composed in Greek, followed by an analysis of a Greek dissertation from Turku and its paratexts. Finally, I discuss the person and case with which I began this Introduction, namely Johan Paulinus. His exceptional skills in Greek in the Turku context are scrutinised by going back to his Greek texts before *Finlandia*.

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This book was written under the auspices of the project *Helleno Nordica* (2017–2022, The Swedish Research Council, grant 2016-01881). The early drafts of some chapters are based on conference papers delivered during the *Helleno Nordica* project.<sup>70</sup> Many of the ideas of this book, or their seeds, were presented in my doctoral dissertation in Finnish nearly twenty-five years ago.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Breitholtz 1971, 400.

<sup>70</sup> Two months at the Wolfenbüttel Library, also visiting Rostock in autumn 2017, and listening to many excellent presentations on Humanist Greek texts by scholars from many different countries, on various occasions, in many countries, have given me a perspective on the Nordic Greek Corpora.

<sup>71</sup> **Sincere thanks** to the members of the *Helleno Nordica* project, Johanna Akujärvi, Janika Päll and Erkki Sironen and special thanks to Erkki and Janika who read the manuscript in its final phase and very special thanks to Johanna who read part of its earlier version; all suggested many valuable corrections – Johanna also with early modern Swedish. Many thanks go as well as to the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters for accepting this volume to be published in the series *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* – especially to Prof. Mika Kajava, the general editor of the series. Furthermore, I am indebted to Mark Shackleton and Christopher TenWolde from the

Editorial principles are always an issue when dealing with Humanist Greek and Neo-Latin texts. In addition to many ligatures, Humanist Greek often displays oddities in the use of accents and diacritical marks, words written in majuscules like the use of majuscules for emphasising some words, putting the accent on the first vowel of the diphthong, a grave (*gravis*) on a final syllable before a mark of punctuation, joining enclitics (like *τε* and *περ*) with the preceding word (similarly to Latin *que*), and using Latin exclamation and question marks. Humanists writing in Greek might also cut the word with a hyphen in an unusual way at the end of the line and had a different attitude to punctuation than what we as Greek scholars have been accustomed to. In addition to these features, there are clear mistakes, missing diacritical marks as well as possible printer's errors.<sup>72</sup> In this book, the accents and diacritical marks are “normalised” without comment, whereas odd words and clear mistakes are corrected with comments in the *apparatus criticus* or by adding [!]. Punctuation is left as it is, but my interpretation can be read in my translations. The abundance of majuscule initials (which could have an impact on the meaning of the word in question, but which often reflect only Baroque pomposity) is reduced at the beginning of a sentence after a punctuation mark and for personal names. Only some texts are presented in full; passages of texts are presented indented with an *apparatus similia*, sometimes also with an *apparatus criticus*.

The personal names of early modern scholars are mostly given in their Latinised form according to the practice of the **SKB**.<sup>73</sup> This is also true for ancient Greek names or their English derivatives (e.g., Aristotle). However, I use Josef Thun rather than Josephus Thun due to the now-established form of his name and due to his importance for Nordic Humanist Greek poetry. The names of laymen, noblemen, and civil officials are mostly given in vernacular forms. Regarding Byzantine names, I follow the present practice of keeping the Greek form (Musuros not Musurus). I use the somewhat clumsy term “**Sweden-born**” of those Greek writers in Turku, who were born in Sweden, like Thun. However, nearly all Greek writers in Turku were, in a sense, “Sweden-born”,

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Language Center at the University of Helsinki who revised my English as well as PhD Vesa Vahtikari for the layout of the book. All remaining errors still in the book are naturally my own responsibility.

<sup>72</sup> On the linguistic features of (printed) Humanist Greek, see Pontani & Weise 2022, 9–10 and Weise 2016, 124, and Weise's treatise on Rhodomanus' Greek in the *Arion*, Weise 2019b, 106–132; see especially 131–132 on the basic principles of editing Humanist Greek.

<sup>73</sup> See SKB, 39: “[...] die Namen Gelehrter haben lateinische Form. Vertreter des Bürgertums und der Beamtschaft haben schwedische Ansetzungsformen.” On the name form “Laurentius Rhodomanus” (not Rhodoman or Rhodomannus), see Ludwig 2019, 185–186.

because the Swedish Empire comprised modern Finland, Estonia and part of northern Germany. Still, “nations” as “student nations” (student associations), were important identity markers. By the term “**compatriot**”, I refer to students coming from the same region or province. The Greek term ὁμοχώριος in the Turku Greek Corpus may also refer to student associations, which were organised according to regions or provinces, or even by “tribes”, often based on regional dialects.

A valuable source of information on all students at the Royal Academy of Turku (1640–1826), including those who came from abroad, is the database *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli* (Student register), which is referred to in the footnotes of this study as **Register Database**. The database is maintained by the University of Helsinki.<sup>74</sup>

I indicate the Greek texts in this corpus by referring to three bibliographies: 1) congratulations and dedications in dissertations: **Vall.** = Vallinkoski (1967–1969), 2) occasional poems in commemorative anthologies: **Mel.** = Melander (1951–1959) and 3) congratulations for orations: **SKB** = *Suomen Kansallisbibliografia* 1488–1700 (The Finnish National bibliography 1488–1700). However, there are some texts which are not included in any of these bibliographies. In these cases, I refer to the bibliographical signum of the National Library of Finland, e.g., fv16720. For the Estonian material, I refer to **Jaanson** = Jaanson, Ene-Lille (2000) *Tartu ülikooli trükikoda 1632–1710*. For the Swedish material, I refer to the old catalogues of Lidén, Marklin and Collijn. Furthermore, the bibliographical data and possible references to digitised texts in the Nordic Greek Corpora are published in the database **HUMGRAECA** (<https://humgraeca.utlib.ut.ee/>) conducted at the University of Tartu (Professor Janika Päll) and created under the auspices of the *Helleno Nordica* project. HUMGRAECA contains Greek texts from the Nordic and Baltic countries collected by Johanna Akujärvi (Sweden), Janika Päll (Estonia and Latvia as well as some poems from Denmark) and myself (Finland).<sup>75</sup> Although I collected (or accidentally came across) some Swedish and Estonian Greek texts as comparison material for my dissertation

<sup>74</sup> See <https://ylioppilasmatrikkeli.helsinki.fi/>. The register was originally a manuscript which was destroyed in the fire of Turku in 1827 but which Vilhelm Lagus reconstructed in 1889–1895 and 1905. It was further supplemented during the 20th century and finally a database was created with supplements and revisions by Yrjö Kotivuori. The database is updated regularly and nowadays contains information from the memos (written in Swedish) of the meetings of the *Consistorium*, otherwise referred to in the following as **CAAP**.

<sup>75</sup> HUMGRAECA also contains recent (also from the 21st c.) Greek poems from the Nordic countries.

(2004), I owe many details concerning the Swedish and Estonian corpora for the HUMGRAECA database to the systematic hunting for Swedish texts by Akujärvi and for Estonian and Latvian texts by Päll.

Some words on the name of Finland's first university need to be given here. The complete name is the *Royal Academy of Turku* (or the Royal Academy of Åbo if the Swedish name of the city is used). The present University of Helsinki is its heir. However, there are two universities in present-day Turku: the University of Turku (founded in 1920) and the Swedish-language university the Åbo Akademi University (founded in 1918, *Akademi* is the Swedish word for Academy). Both are easily confused with the Royal Academy of Turku if one uses names like the Academy of Turku or the University of Turku. Therefore, I prefer the name the Royal Academy of Turku, although it is rather long or, alternatively, I use the form the Turku University (not the University of Turku) or, simply, **at Turku**. On the other hand, I use the names the University of Uppsala and the University of Tartu (officially *Academia Gustaviana*)<sup>76</sup> because there is no possibility of confusion.

### **The Aims of this Study**

This book presents the general features of quite a small Greek corpus (around 400 texts) from Finland and some features and texts of the other Nordic Greek corpora in general for an international audience. Compared to the central European material, especially the Greek texts written in Germany, the Turku Greek Corpus contains mostly short and conventional Greek texts. However, this corpus can function as a comparison material for larger corpora. Furthermore, although the quality of these texts might leave a lot to be desired, the Turku Greek Corpus is part of a larger, still understudied, phenomenon, the Humanist Greek culture. This book aims to justify the use of the term Humanist Greek and to delimit its use in the early modern period and ending with the coming of the era of *Neohumanismus*.

The cultural-historical goal is to outline this world of meaning, to discover the relevant textual framework and the context in which the Greek texts of the Royal Academy of Turku were produced and valued at a time when there was no classical philology or literature in the same sense that we have today. The methodological goal of this study is to clarify the perspective of the imitative

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<sup>76</sup> The University of Tartu was founded in 1632 (*Academia Gustaviana*) and re-established in 1690 under the name *Academia Gustavo-Carolina*. The university soon moved, however, to Pärnu (Pernau) and ceased to function due to the Great Northern War (1700–1721).

practice based on epideictic rhetoric that these texts reveal. This volume also proposes to shed light on the concept of occasional poetry and the “platforms” it was published under in Nordic countries in the seventeenth-century. It involves clarifying such terms as liminary verses, paratexts, *personale Gelegenheitsschriften* (for which there is no English equivalent) and commemorative anthologies.

Obviously, this book cannot provide an exhaustive presentation of the phenomenon of Humanist Greek or Humanist Greek culture in Turku, let alone in the Nordic countries around the northern *mare nostrum*, the Baltic Sea, or in their model environment, the universities in the German territories. Why not then pick and present the best Humanist Greek authors from this corpus? – a question that opens up the relevance of studying these texts *in extenso*. The answer is partly found in the word “Glory” in the title of this study: we do not glorify and have not glorified Greek language and culture for no reason, as is shown in early modern philhellenism, Humanist Greek culture, and even in the more modest experiments in composing in Greek in the early modern Swedish Empire.



## 2. Cultivating Greek Writing

Renaissance meant a general, pervasive revival of Greek language and literature in the West – one may even speak about the “Hellenization” of Europe.<sup>1</sup> Although medieval science was based on the works of many Greek authors translated into Latin and Arabic, it was Renaissance humanists who became extensively interested in Greek philosophy and history, poetry and rhetoric – and translations were no longer sufficient, the text had to be read in the original language, in Greek. Furthermore, Renaissance humanists emphasised their difference from medieval scholars, among other things by their knowledge of both classical languages. These ideas were eagerly adopted by scholars in German-speaking countries and its numerous universities, where many young men from the Nordic countries studied. The “Hellenization” of Germany happened along with the Reformation, so that it was more tied to religion than in Quattrocento Italy. Biblical paraphrases in Greek were especially popular in German-speaking countries.

The aim of this Part is to function as a general background for the introduction of the Turku Greek Corpus (Chapter 2.3). Ideas that are born and created in the centre always arrive in the periphery after a time lapse and often in modified dress. Of the vast phenomenon of Greek revival in Italy and its transfer “over the Alps”, only two details can be briefly discussed here, namely Byzantine teaching practices and the influence of Greek threshold verses composed in the first Greek editions. Chapter 2.1 ends with a preliminary reflection of the literary values of Greek verses in the West. Chapter 2.2 outlines the impact on – and also the differences between – sixteenth-century Greek production in the German lands and seventeenth-century *versificandi mania* in the “Great Sweden”.

### 2.1. The Legacy of Byzantium and Renaissance Italy

Early modern scholars are said to have mocked medieval monks’ ignorance of Hellenic civilization by putting in their mouths the idiom *haec Graeca sunt, non leguntur* when the monks discovered Greek among Latin texts.<sup>2</sup> However, during the Middle Ages, knowledge of Greek had obviously not been completely

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<sup>1</sup> For “Hellenization of the West”, see Monfasani 1983, 187.

<sup>2</sup> The origin of the saying is not known. “It’s all Greek to me” is from the 16th century. Burke 1992, 131.

forgotten in the West. There were a few individuals, like William of Moerbeke, who knew and even translated Greek, including Aristotle's *Politics*.<sup>3</sup> Greek was studied for a short time here and there during the major medieval revivals of Graeco-Roman learning – the Ravenna and Carolingian Renaissances – and Greek was one of the areas of interest which was manifested in glossaries and grammars that helped scholars to learn Greek. Due to the Greek population of *Magna Graecia*, Greek was spoken on the Italian mainland, and contacts with the Eastern Empire continued throughout medieval times.<sup>4</sup> The genre of *Hermeneumata*, dating back to late antiquity, is a case in point: these manuscripts contained both lists of words organised in various topics and colloques, i.e. short dialogues on everyday issues (greetings, teaching situations, etc.). The *Hermeneumata* sometimes also contained short texts, such as Aesop's fables. To a certain extent, Renaissance and early modern textbooks owe their content to this tradition.<sup>5</sup>

Although there is thus a continuity between the cultural values of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, two significant and well-known historical facts distinguish these periods where Greek learning is concerned, namely the fall of Constantinople (1453) and the invention of printing. Many Byzantine scholars needed to seek permanent refuge from the West, and they brought with them not only manuscripts but also their tradition of Greek teaching, their interpretative tools for reading Greek literature, and the idea and practice of Greek as a learned language. Byzantine scholars continued to compose Greek poetry in the West, such as congratulatory and funeral poems, but also narrative poems such as Demetrios Moschos' *Tò kát' Ἡλένην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον* (462 hex), which was written in Venice during the 1490s and published approximately ten years later with a Latin translation.<sup>6</sup> Renaissance humanists adopted the emphasis on active skills in Greek from Byzantine scholars and some even tried to raise Greek to the level of a language of communication, borrowing models for teaching Greek from Byzantine scholars and from the practices of teaching Latin. Enthusiasm for Greek did not remain a transient phenomenon as the printed book allowed for the more rapid spread of Greek learning than mere manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson 2017, 1. William of Moerbeke also began to translate Archimedes and Proclus. *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> A Southern Italian scholar Leonzio Pilato (Leontius Pilatus) had taught Greek in Florence already during the 1360s. Weiss 1977, 5–6.

<sup>5</sup> O'Hogan 2001, 150. On *hermeneumata* tradition, see Dickey 2012.

<sup>6</sup> An excerpt from the poem (vv. 357–374) and a short biography of its author can be found in Pontani & Weise 2022, 42–44 (G. Zoras, K. Yiavis & F. Pontani). Byzantine scholars also composed in Latin.

But why were some Renaissance humanists so enthusiastic about Greek? One reason is that Greek learning was dramatised as a novelty: it was part of Renaissance humanists' conceptualised separation from medieval times, "Renaissance" later becoming the term to mark the period between the Middle Ages and the early modern period. When Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1355–1415) started to teach Greek at the Florentine Academy in 1397, its principal, Leonardo Bruni, famously – and erroneously – stated that for seven hundred years no one in Italy had known Greek (*Septingentis iam Annis nemo per Italiam Graecas litteras tenuit*).<sup>7</sup> Chrysoloras' Greek teaching responded to an already existing need that discoveries of new manuscripts had aroused.<sup>8</sup> It was said that Petrarch (1304–1374) and Boccaccio (1313–1375) had tried to study Greek but had failed due to the lack of competent teachers.<sup>9</sup> However, among the next generation of humanists there was real knowledge of Greek, so that Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) and Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), for example, were able to write in Greek.<sup>10</sup> There were some others, like Poliziano's friends, Scipione Forteguerri<sup>11</sup> and Alessandra Scala (1475–1506), who also composed Greek poems, mostly epigrams.<sup>12</sup> However, as Vlado Rezar has noted, Italian scholars were rather slow in adopting the practice of writing in Greek. Versifiers in Greek were quite few, and initially their fame did not reach far.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Even before the conquest of Constantinople, the Byzantium sought help from the West against the Ottoman threat. Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos sent Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1350–1415) to act as a diplomat to Italy. Chrysoloras also gave private instruction in Greek when sojourning in Venice. The Chancellor of Florence, Coluccio Salutati, invited Chrysoloras to teach Greek at the Academy of Florence. Harlfinger *et al.* 1989, 3–4 (M. Manoussakas), Weiss 1977, 5–6.

<sup>8</sup> In 1423, Giorgio Aurispa brought from Constantinople a collection of more than 200 manuscripts, mostly classical authors. Pope Nicholas V systematised the translation of Greek classics by asking Theodoros Gaza (c. 1400–1475) to assemble scholars in Rome as Greek translators. Sandys 1958 II, 36–37. Reynolds & Wilson 1991, 148. Vorobyev 2020, 8.

<sup>9</sup> Wilson 2017, 2–3.

<sup>10</sup> Filelfo's 44 versed Greek letters were edited by Guido Cortassa and Enrico Maltese in 1997. As said (see above, p. 2 n4), Poliziano's poems were published as a collection posthumously.

<sup>11</sup> Forteguerri worked in the printing house of Aldus Manutius editing some Greek *editiones princeps* and wrote a treatise *De laudibus literarum Graecarum* (1504). For Forteguerri's Greek poem together with one by Aldus Manutius, see Pontani & Weise 2022, 100–103 (F. Pontani).

<sup>12</sup> For Poliziano's Greek epigram to Scala after seeing her performance as Electra in Sophocles' *Electra* in the Scala family mansion in 1493, see Pontani & Weise 2022, 95–96, 98–99 (F. Pontani); Scala sent a Greek epigram to him as an answer (see Ardizzoni 1951, Appendix 1) belittling her own talents as poet: she is a bee alongside to an elephant.

<sup>13</sup> Rezar 2018, 393. Some other early Greek epigrams were composed by Ambrogio Traversari,

Another reason for the enthusiasm of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian humanists for Greek was that they had embraced the Romans' interest in Greek language and culture. When reading the Roman authors more extensively, they noticed how incomplete their knowledge of Greek literature was. The third reason was the dramatic loss of Athens. Mehmed II and his troops captured Constantinople in May 1453 and Athens was conquered seven years later. Ottoman power was prominently concretised on the Acropolis when a mosque was placed inside the Parthenon (restored as a church in late antiquity), although the Parthenon did not yet have the same kind of iconic status that it has had since its restoration (by German architects) after Greece's struggle for independence. The Ottoman power sparked strong reactions in the West. In a letter dated June 1453, Pope Pius II complained that the conquest of Constantinople marked the second death of Homer and Plato, and that "the Greek poets' spring has dried up forever".<sup>14</sup> Andronikos Kallistos, one of Angelo Poliziano's Greek teachers, wrote a monody in which he asks where he can now go, and states that he "hates light, air and life". Markos Musuros' *Elogium Platonis* (200 eleg.) contains the most famous lamentation of the 'slavery' and 'loss' of Greece (vv. 127–134). Musuros (1470–1517) asks Plato to come back to earth (vv. 5–6) and, in the end, hopes that the Pope will support Greek instruction in Italy so that "a new Athens would be born in Rome" (v. 173).<sup>15</sup> The poem was printed in the first edition of Plato's *opera omnia* (1513). Lamenting the loss of Greece and promulgating the notion that Greece's legacy was the responsibility of Western humanists became standard topics.

### Teaching Greek in the Byzantine Manner

Although the idea of saving Greek was predominant among Byzantine refugees, there were also practical reasons for promoting Greek. As an important source of income for Byzantine scholars in the West was teaching Greek and aiding in editing Greek texts in printing houses, it was natural that they also sought to convince Westerners of the importance of Greek language and culture. Demetrios Chalkokondyles (c. 1430–1470) emphasised the usefulness of Greek in his

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who was a student of Chrysoloras, two Greek sonnets by Cyriacus of Ancona, and a few poems by Giovambattista Boninsegni and Andrea Dazzi, *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Sandys 1958 II, 73.

<sup>15</sup> Wilson 2016, 302–317. Pontani & Weise 2022, 49–51 (excerpt, G. Zoras, K. Yiavis & F. Pontani).

inauguration speech for professorship in Greek at the University of Padua (1463). Appealing to the authority of Quintilian, Cicero and Horace, who had all urged the reading of Greek authors, Chalkokondyles stated that Greek was needed for a perfect command of Latin. Furthermore, Chalkokondyles underlined that the Greeks were the first scientists, the inventors (*ductores*) of everything, and asserted that literature (*studia litterarum*) was adopted by the Romans from the Greeks.<sup>16</sup>

In a way, Byzantine literature was the inheritor of the Second Sophistic, the literary-philosophical movement of the first, second and third centuries. This meant that rhetoric played a central role in literature and Atticism was considered an ideal in prose, although what was thought to be its purest form naturally varied during the millennial existence of Byzantium. The language used in the Greek Orthodox Church was also (and is still nowadays) an archaising form of Greek. The final gap between medieval Greek literary language (*Hochsprache*) and the colloquial language from which vernacular, modern Greek was born, was created during the 12th century. After that, literary language, archaic Atticising Greek, was like a foreign language that had to be taught in schools rather like Latin in the West.<sup>17</sup> One may even speak of diglossia in Byzantine Greek as a difference existed between how the educated class spoke and how they wrote. *Hochsprache* was the model which Byzantine refugees brought to the West along with their contempt for vernacular Greek.

Imitation of ancient literature was a central pedagogical method that also kept the literary language 'pure'. Imitation was so pervasive that a kind of "aesthetics of imitation" and "modified repetition" – to use Ingela Nilsson's terms – dominated the verse composition during Byzantine times.<sup>18</sup> The art of writing involved imitation in terms of content, structure and style albeit varying in different genres and subgenres. In Byzantine rhetorically orientated schools, grammarians taught how to interpret the text, while teachers of rhetoric trained students in writing: how to express well and convincingly one's own chosen topic and especially others' ideas of it. Literary language was learned by different kinds of writing exercises. The tradition of *Progymnasmata*, "preliminary exercises", encapsulated by Theon and Aphthonius from the third and fourth century, were used in the instruction of rhetoric and writing. Under their guidance, paraphrases from ancient literature and eulogies, among other things, were composed. Because of its succinct form,

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<sup>16</sup> Geanakoplos 1976, 254–264, 296–302.

<sup>17</sup> Horrocks 2010, 212–214. Horrocks 1997, 164–165.

<sup>18</sup> Nilsson 2010, 202. Nilsson presents various intertextual techniques according to Gérard Genette's concept of transtextuality.

Aphthonius' work was more influential in the early modern period. He presented 14 *progymnasmata*: 1) re-telling of a fable (μῦθος), 2) narration of events, 3) elaborating and explaining an anecdote (χρεία) about what a person said or did, 4) elaborating and explaining a maxim, 5) refutation and 6) confirmation of some statement, 7) elaborating some common topic (κοινὸς τόπος), 8) encomium, 9) invective (ψόγος), 10) comparison (σύγκρισις), 11) characterisation (ἡθοποιία), 12) description (ἔκφρασις), 13) θέσις, that is a general question, like "Should a man marry?", and 14) proposal of law.<sup>19</sup>

A century before the fall of Constantinople, a broader interest in ancient literature, the Second Palaeological Renaissance, had arisen in response to Frankish occupation (c. 1204–1261). Byzantine scholars began to study ancient classics more closely than during the earlier Byzantine renaissances, which meant a broader canon of ancient writers at schools. The significance of ancient metrics for Greek poetry was understood in a new way and a new textual critical method was also adopted. The texts were studied and grammar was taught by the schedographical method in which the different nuances of the meaning of a single word and its relation to other words were taken into account. Manuel Moschopoulos' (1265–1313) schedographical work, *Περὶ σχέδων*, became a standard textbook in Byzantium from the end of the thirteen century onwards. Fevronia Nousia suggests that the one reason for its popularity was that it managed to bridge the stage from grammar to poetry and rhetoric, that is, proceeding from reading the mere grammar of texts by citing the main points of grammatical theory when reading the text.<sup>20</sup> In short, the schedographical method meant applying grammatical rules already learned by means of short compositions, texts (σχέδη) aiming at enriching students' vocabulary – by giving vast numbers of synonyms – and mastering orthography.<sup>21</sup> Moschopoulos' treatise is cast in a question-and-answer format containing 22 σχέδη, that is, adapted texts

<sup>19</sup> Theon's *progymnasmata* are 1) narration of events, 2) description, 3) description of character, 4) amplification of the topic, 5) explanation of unclear words and things, 6) summary, 7) anecdote and maxim, 8) letters, 9) dialogue put into a fictional context, 10) confirmation and refutation, 11) *locus*, 12) *dissertatio*, 13) eulogy and invective, 14) comparison, 15) *ethopoeia*, 16) thesis and hypothesis, 17) legislation. Thus, Aphthonius added fables, deleted some *progymnasmata*, and divided some into two parts (like Nr. 10 in Theon's list). On *progymnasmata*, see Hock 2012 and Hansson 2003.

<sup>20</sup> Nousia 2017. Another reason for its popularity was the then popular question-answer form, which was familiar both in the East and the West as well as the practice of parsing a sentence word-for-word. Guarino Guarini (d. 1460) was the first known Westerner to own a copy of Moschopoulos, which indicates that it was used for learning Greek in the West. Nousia 2017, 1 and 5.

<sup>21</sup> The term, see Trapp s.v. σχέδος.

containing secular and religious topics accompanied by brief commentaries on lexicography, orthography, grammar, morphology, syntax and etymology. The first nine *schedê* of the total 22 are from the Bible, but the rest deal with Greek culture, including one of Aesop's fables. *Schedê* 12–21 describe the causes of the Trojan War and the reasons for Achilles' wrath in the *Iliad*.<sup>22</sup> The pedagogical method becomes evident from the number of pages required for analysing each *schedos*: for the first text, Moschopoulos needs 45 pages to parse and explain it, whereas only three pages are required for the last. Thus, to interpret the first text, basic grammar on pronouns, prepositions and so on needs to be summarised.

Schedographic textbooks also influenced Byzantine literature. How one learned to read texts analytically at school had an effect on how one began to create one's own poems and prose. Besides methods of analysing texts, Byzantine scholars introduced writing instructions based on *progymnasmata* into the West. They taught the Greek literary language they had learned at school, but the language of instruction was mainly Latin. We have some information about their teaching methods. Chrysoloras, for example, first read the text aloud, then together with his students. Next, he carefully analysed the text using Byzantine scholia and the schedographic method, using etymological and grammatical explanations for the minutiae of each word. Chrysoloras' method of translation, however, concentrated not on word-to-word translation (*ad verbum*) but on the translation of thought (*ad sententiam transferre*) and the meaning of a sentence. Thus, translation was more like making a version, interpreting (ἐρμηνεύειν) the original text than translating in the sense of word-to-word and structure-to-structure translation (μεταφράζειν).<sup>23</sup> Many of Chrysoloras' students for their part taught Greek and translated Greek authors into Latin. Arriving in Rome in 1450, Theodoros Gaza, supported by Pope Nicholas V, translated many works, such as Theophrastus' work on plants.<sup>24</sup> However, Byzantine refugees might have had different opinions about teaching methods. Michael Apostolios (c. 1420–1480), an émigré after the fall of Constantinople, criticised the fact that Greek was not taught in Greek in the West and that too much emphasis was placed on translation from Greek into Latin.<sup>25</sup>

Translation had been a firm part of rhetorical education at least since the Roman Empire. Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.5.2–3) postulated that translation from

<sup>22</sup> Moschopoulos 1545. Aesop's fable Nr. 7 (Hausrath): The Cat, the Doctor and the Birds.

<sup>23</sup> Percival 2002, 93–95.

<sup>24</sup> Vorobyev 2020, 8.

<sup>25</sup> Percival 2002, 95.

Greek into Latin was in many ways useful for students: one obtained content (*rerum copia*) and richness of expression (*plurimum artis*). Practising translation was thought to be a decisive factor in achieving bilingualism in both Latin and Greek.<sup>26</sup> The first Greek-Latin dictionary was published by Johannes Crastonis, a monk from the Piacenza Carmelite monastery, in 1478. About five years later in 1483 he published a Latin-Greek dictionary, which bears the name *Vocabulista*.<sup>27</sup>

The first Greek grammars in the West were compiled by Byzantine scholars and some of them were written specifically for the “Latin audience”. It is noteworthy that the third edition of Konstantinos Laskaris’ grammar (1495) contained not only grammar but also a short Greek reader: prayers such as the Lord’s Prayer, the Apostolic Creed, an excerpt from the Gospels (John 1: 1–14), as well as ‘pagan’ authors: the Ps.-Pythagorean *Golden Verses* and maxims attributed to Phocylides. These two collections of pseudoepigraphical texts and the Christian catechetical texts became the basic reading in elementary Greek instruction in the West. Ps.-Pythagorean and Ps.-Phocylides’ instructive and admonishing maxims were imbued with Christian influence. The third favourite ethical maxims were Theognis’ gnomic poems, including lines attributed to him (Theognidea).<sup>28</sup>

As Musuros’ eulogy to Plato indicates, an obvious genre for Byzantine refugee scholars was Greek threshold verses, that is, Greek texts, poems and prose, which they attached in the first Greek prints (editions, textbooks and lexica) while working as language revisers in printing houses. These Greek poems and prose texts, which were, for instance, prefaces for readers or dedications might well have been the vehicles to inspire humanists to start versifying in Greek. The editions and textbooks were widely used and therefore attempts at writing in Greek were not confined to Italy, and such works did not remain a transient phenomenon.

### **Threshold or Liminary Texts in the *editiones principes***

The first, long-lasting Greek printing presses formed literary communities of learned men who knew Greek. Only a few years separated the appearance of the first editions of the most important Roman and Greek authors: in Latin in 1465–75 and in Greek in 1476–1518. Thus, the development of Greek typefaces took only slightly longer than the development of Latin typefaces, which suggests the demand for Greek prints. The printing house of Aldus Pius Manutius (Romanus)

<sup>26</sup> Ciccolella 2008, 80 and 132. Murphy 1990, 162.

<sup>27</sup> Wilson 2017, 136–137.

<sup>28</sup> On these works, see Botley 2010, 77–79, 98.



(1452–1516) in Venice, which had its first output in 1494, was surrounded by a thriving Greek colony that guaranteed Greek expertise. There was an abundance of Greek manuscripts due to the fact that Cardinal Bessarion had donated his substantial collection of manuscripts to the San Marco Library. The first printing house in Paris was established as early as 1470, but the most influential one was the Estienne family printing house, which began operating in the mid-16th century. The editing principles or suggestions for textual problems of early editions were long-lived – some of them are still valid today. However, in addition to their reading and text critical methods, early printed products differed in their typography from that of mid-19th century principles. Abbreviations and ligatures inherited from manuscripts were used. They were meant to keep the number of characters in a line constant and to align the right edge. The Greek typefaces with their ligatures and abbreviations created in Aldus' printing press served as a model for later Greek types.<sup>29</sup>

Aldus published 134 editions between 1494 and 1515, more than half of which were first editions, including Sophocles, Euripides, Thucydides, Herodotus, Demosthenes and Aristotle. The members of the *Neakademia*, the club formed around the printing house, discussed the philological problems of the texts and the choice of works to be printed partly in Greek, because many helpers in the printing houses came from the East, such as Markos Musuros. The Byzantine influence is seen in Aldus' *Rhetores Graeci* (1508–1509), which in addition to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (and *Poetics*), contains the cornerstones of Byzantine school textbooks of rhetoric, Hermogenes and Aphthonius, as well as two treatises on epideictic rhetoric attributed to Menander Rhetor, Διαίρεσις τῶν Ἐπιδεικτικῶν and Περὶ Ἐπιδεικτικῶν. The latter treatise had a great influence on the most important poetics of the sixteenth century, Julius Caesar Scaliger's *Poetices libri sex* (1561).<sup>30</sup> Aldus and his circle also published one of the most popular works of the early modern period: an expanded version of Erasmus' *Adagia* (1508). Erasmus stayed in Venice for about a year and the expertise of the Aldus circle of scholars was at his disposal. Therefore, the number of quotations in the expanded *Adagia*, especially in Greek, was considerably higher than in the first edition (1500). *Adagia* undoubtedly contributed significantly to the fact that certain

<sup>29</sup> In 1541, the Estienne Press published the royal Greek typefaces (*Les types Grecs de François I, Regii typii*). In 1573, Robert Estienne published a work in Geneva in which the *Regii typii* was presented, containing as many as 367 ligatures and abbreviations. The Royal Greek type gradually replaced the Aldus type and served as a model for later fonts. Barker 1992, 9. Barbour 1981, xxiii–xxiv. Proctor 1966, 145.

<sup>30</sup> Harsting 1992.

Greek maxims and verses became part of the educated European man's common knowledge.

The scholars of the *Neakademia* often wrote threshold texts or liminary texts in Greek prints in Greek. Threshold texts – poems or prose – include the publisher's or the author's prefaces, cover letters, dedications, and poems written to readers and sometimes to the publisher.<sup>31</sup> In the first Greek editions of the various printing presses in the 15th and 16th centuries, more than half have a Greek threshold text, especially a cover letter or poems or both.<sup>32</sup>

In the first edition of Plutarch's *Moralia*, published by Aldus (1509), Demetrios Doukas praises Aldus in his cover letter as a "saviour of the Greek language" (σωτήρ τῆς ἑλληνίδος φωνῆς) who has spared no effort or expense in giving us "this spiritual wealth" (ψυχικὸς πλοῦτος), of Plutarch.<sup>33</sup> The standard theme of Greek threshold texts praising the publisher or printer was to emphasise his diligence and generosity. Publishers, in turn, composed praise epigrams to the classical author to be published (e.g. Musuros' poem to Plato), but also eulogising poems or dedications to patrons, which introduced the work in question as well. The cover letters, often in prose and several pages long, addressed readers, who were called the friends of poets, students, close associates and φιλέλληνες. They usually began and ended with the letter formulas (εὖ πράττειν, ἔρρωσθε) and the closing clause usually had a date, often using the archaic Attic (moon) calendar with its names of the months.<sup>34</sup> Authors of threshold texts also had to create neologisms, such as the words for printing terms, as the title pages were often in Greek.

Writing Greek threshold texts continued north of the Alps. Henricus Stephanus (Estienne) often attached a Greek text of his own to his editions, which was included in their reprints as well. Michal Neander, Melanchthon's pupil and a vital contributor to active skills in Greek in German territories, wrote

<sup>31</sup> Van Dam 2014, 59 lists the functions of liminary texts as praising the author, commending the work and summarising the content. Van Dam also includes dedications as liminary texts.

<sup>32</sup> This estimate is based on Botfield 1861 and Wilson 2016.

<sup>33</sup> Legrand 1962 I, 89–93.

<sup>34</sup> The Attic calendar was used to various degrees by Byzantine scholars. Chrysoloras, for example, dated the year of his letter both from the "beginning" of the world and from Christ's birth, but used the contemporary calendar. See Legrand 1961 I, XXV. Aldus uses the Attic calendar in his letter to the Duke of Urbino in the *editio princeps* of Herodianus (1503), see Wilson 2016, 124. The clergy of the Eastern Orthodox Church did not seem to use the Attic calendar in their Greek correspondence with Western humanists – see the letter by the Archbishop of Ephesus to Anna Maria van Schurman – while Schurman herself did use this calendar. Schurman 1650, 155 and 158.

a Greek cover letter and poem in his Greek grammar (*Graecae linguae Erotemata*, 1561). However, Neander's grammar contains, besides his own liminary texts, three Greek *paratexts*, that is two congratulatory poems to Neander. The first (16 eleg) was written by Syphardus Saccus (Sigfried Sack) while the second is an enormously long poem including a praise of Greek language (nearly 800 lines in Sapphic stanzas) by teacher Heinrich Volcmarus from Thüringen.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, Neander himself composed a Greek prose dedication to Melanchthon and reprinted Crusius' ΑΝΤΙΘΕΣΙΣ ΑΝΤΙΧΡΙΣΤΩΝ & ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ without directly naming the author, speaking only of the famous German scholar and friend.<sup>36</sup> This implies that Crusius' poem was already well known (at least among philhellenes).

It might be useful to make a distinction between the two terms: liminary (or threshold) texts and *paratexts*. Liminary texts were written to explain and 'advertise' a book: after reading these texts, it was easier to cross over the 'threshold' (*limen*) and proceed to reading the book. The editor's preface is a present-day example of a liminary text. *Paratexts*, on the other hand, were written by friends, colleagues and – in the academic environment – teachers, praising the writer or editor of a book. However, a *paratext* could be an umbrella term for all texts attached to the book, whereas liminary texts can then be defined as a 'subspecies' of paratexts.

Daniel Heinsius composed several eulogies to Hesiod in his edition, which were reprinted in later collections of his Greek poems.<sup>37</sup> In the North, two of the rare examples of Greek threshold texts in Greek textbooks were written by Johannes Gezelius Sr., who held the chair of Greek and Hebrew in Tartu. The first one is an elaborate Greek dedication to Queen Christina functioning as a cover letter to his *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* (1649), in which Gezelius Sr. gives a brief history of Greek and urges the young Queen to continue her Greek studies.<sup>38</sup> The second threshold text by Gezelius Sr. is a cover letter (20 ll.) titled as Φιλομούσῳ τῷ ἀναγνώστῃ, εὖ διάγειν in his edition of poems, *Poëmata Pythagorae, Phocylidis et Theognidis* (Tartu 1646, Turku 1676).<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Volcmarus (Heinrich Volckmar, d. 1599) was a teacher and principal in the Gymnasium of Gera (Thüringen), DNB *s.v.* (Deutsche Nationalbibliothek [www.dnb.de](http://www.dnb.de)).

<sup>36</sup> Neander 1561, 430–433. VD16 N 377 (digitised). Reprints did not contain the dedication to Melanchthon, see in 1565: VD 16 V 2232; 1576: VD16 N 380; 1577: VD16 ZV 11404; 1586: VD16 N 381.

<sup>37</sup> On Heinsius' poetry collections in Greek, see Pontani & Weise 2022, 254 (H. Lamers & R. van Rooy).

<sup>38</sup> See below Chapter 3.1.

<sup>39</sup> Gezelius 1646. Gezelius mentions that he has used Melanchthon's translation for Theognis.

However, writing Greek threshold texts was not limited to Greek text editions and textbooks. Pierre Boule (Bovillius, 1575–1641), who taught classical languages at the Jesuit University of Louvain, composed two Greek eulogising odes (both entitled εἶδος πινδαρικών) to the works by two authors. Both Greek poems are also translated into Latin. The earlier poem (vv. 82) was written to the Jesuit Martinus Del Rio for his *Disquisitiones magicae* (1599), the latter (vv. 72) to *De iustitia et iure* by a Professor of Jurisdiction at Louvain. Boule compares Del Rio's study to Heracles' deed of bringing Cerberus from Hades and to Theseus, who helped Ariadne escape from the Cretan labyrinth.<sup>40</sup> In Sweden, Josef Thun congratulated Samuel Pufendorff on his history of Sweden (1686) by writing a poem in Greek (20 eleg), which was printed in this work. Pufendorff's history was so widely read on the Continent that it was reprinted in 1705.<sup>41</sup> Thus, an occasional poem reached a wider readership as a *paratext* in a popular work.

Although there was great enthusiasm for the Greek language, it should be acknowledged that it was taught, as W. Keith Percival puts it, as “a purely scholarly language, i.e., one which the student learned to read, write, and translate from, but in which he could not express himself freely”. According to Percival, Greek remained “a learned language, not with a view to complete communicative competence”.<sup>42</sup> It is certainly true that most early modern Greek writers in the West not only wrote poetically uninteresting texts but often wrote them (from today's perspective) in quite an awkward way, notwithstanding their competence in Greek. However, the ambitions of early modern poets might not have been the same as ours. Their aim, after all, was to follow certain rhetorical prescriptions defined according to literary genres rather than to express themselves ‘freely’.

However, there were some learned persons in the West whose poems are a pleasure to read even today. In his preface to Rhodomanus' *Palaestina* (1589), Michael Neander lists seven men who excelled in “Greek and Latin *eloquentia*”, mentioning four men with regard to Greek: Martin Crusius, Henricus Stephanus, Matthäus Dresserus (a professor in Leipzig) and Johannes Caselius.<sup>43</sup> In the

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Instead, he had translated into Latin *Golden verses* and (Ps.-)Phocylides: διαλέκτῳ ῥωμαϊκῇ, ἐφ' ὅσον δυνατόν, κατὰ λέξιν μεθερμηνευόμενα τοῖς φιλέλλησι.

<sup>40</sup> The poem contains many references to Greek culture. Like place names and the persons of Hades, Circe and Medea as well as Hermes and Calchas. On these two poems, see Opelt 1968.

<sup>41</sup> Akujärvi 2018, 169 (including an excerpt from Thun's poem).

<sup>42</sup> Percival 2002, 96 and 103. Of course communicative competence is an ideal in any language, even in one's mother tongue, and is, moreover, a culturally relative concept.

<sup>43</sup> Rhodomanus 1587, 3 (Neander's preface). The list of Rhodomanus' Greek works, see Weise 2019b, 15–16.

following, I present two poems from sixteenth-century Germany, which besides showing good knowledge of Greek, were also poems in the truer sense of the word, namely a concentrated, lyrical arrangement of words, than many of the verses by their contemporaries. The first is composed by an erudite poetess, the other by Caselius.

### Two Greek Poems from the End of 16th-Century Germany

Olympia Fulvia Morata was born in Ferrara in 1526. Her father, Fulvio Pellegrino Morata, was a private teacher to the Este family and Olympia Morata studied with Anna d'Este. Converted to the Reformation Church, she had to leave Ferrara with her husband, physician Andreas Grundler (Grunthler), for Schweinfurt, his hometown. Soon they moved to Heidelberg due to Grundler's appointment as Professor of Medicine. Morata died there at the age of 28 in 1555. She composed eight Greek Psalm paraphrases, seven of them in hexameter, and one in Sapphic stanzas, for which her husband composed music.<sup>44</sup> The topic of the following poem is that different persons have different predilections (cf. Sappho Fr. 16):

Ὀλυμπίας τῆς Μωράτης εἰς εὐτυχόν ποντανὸν κελτὴν.<sup>45</sup>

οὔποτε μὲν συμπᾶσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἦνδανε ταῦτο,	
κ' οὔποτε πᾶσιν ἴσον ζεὺς παρέδωκε νόον,	
ἱππόδαμος κάστωρ, πῆξ δ' ἦν ἀγαθὸς πολυδεύκης,	
ἔκγονος ἐξ αὐτῆς ὄρνιθος ἀμφότερος	
κάγὼ μὴν θῆλυς γεγαῖα, τὰ θηλυκὰ λείπων	5
νήματα, κερκίδιον, στήμονα, καὶ καλάθους.	
μουσᾶων δ' ἄγαμαι λειμῶνα τὸν ἀνθεμόεντα	
παρνάσσοῦ θ' ἱλαροὺς τοῦ διλόφοιο χορούς.	
ἄλλαι τέρπονται μὲν ἴσως ἄλλοισι γυναῖκες	
ταῦτα δέ μοι κῆδος, ταῦτα δὲ χαρμοσύνη.	10

<sup>44</sup> Although Morata most probably had learnt elementary Greek from her father, she continued her Greek studies under the tutelage of Jacobus Micyllus (1503–1558), Professor of Latin in Heidelberg, whose research subjects included Greek tragedies. He also wrote Greek poems. Micyllus had Morata's writings published – both Latin and Greek poems – after her death in 1558. Micyllus' own Greek poems were published in a collection of ancient epigrams that he edited with Joachim Camerarius in 1538. VD 16 C 406.

<sup>45</sup> Morata 1562, 248. The text is in the MATEO Database. The addressee, Eutychus Pontanus Gallus, has not been identified. Parker 1997, 283.

**Crit.** 4 αὐτῆς ed. corr. Parker **5** λείπον ed. **Sim.** 7 Mosch. *Europa* 63: λειμώνας ἐς ἀνθεμόεντας | **8** παρνάσσου [...] τοῦ διλόφοιο cfr. *S. Ant.* 1126

From Olympia Morata to Eutyclus Pontanus Gallus

Never did the same thing please the hearts of all.  
 And never did Zeus grant the same mind to all.  
 Castor is a horse-tamer, but Polydeuces is good with his fists,  
     both the offspring of the same bird.  
 And I, though born female, have left feminine things, 5  
     yarn, shuttle, loom-threads, and workbaskets.  
 I love the flowering meadows of the Muses,  
     and the pleasant choruses of double-crested Parnassus.  
 Other women perhaps delight in other things,  
     these are my object of care, these my delight.<sup>46</sup> 10

Olympia Fulvia Morata thus declares, employing a modified priamel structure, her preference for “the flowering meadows of the Muses” rather than housework. Her inclination was manifested in a conspicuous way not only in the poem itself, but also in reality: Morata is said to have taught Greek for a short period at the University of Heidelberg before her early death. Although this poem and Morata herself surely display and represent one of the wonders of Renaissance Humanism – a learned lady – what is of primary importance here is that the poem, although written for a certain person, does not refer to any occasion. It seems to be a poetic gift displaying the aspirations of an *erudita* and expressing a personal attitude. Some other women were famous for their linguistic skills. Poliziano’s friend, Alessandra Scala (1475–1506), wrote at least one Greek poem, an epigram (16 eleg) to Poliziano.<sup>47</sup> In England, Batshua Makin (1600–c. 1674), an advocate of higher education for women, compiled a trilingual poetry collection, *Musa virginea: Greco–Latino–Gallica*, published in 1616. She also corresponded, partly in Greek, with a religious and learned lady from Utrecht, Anna Maria

<sup>46</sup> Translation by Holt N. Parker 1997, 270 (slightly modified). See also Bainton 1997, 267–269. The Greek poem is followed by its Latin translation.

<sup>47</sup> See above Chapter 2.1 (note 12) and Parker 1997, 267–269. Parker also mentions (1997, 274) Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, whose collection of Greek, Latin and Hebrew poems was published in 1688. She matriculated from the University of Parma in 1678.

van Schurman, who for her part exchanged Greek letters with members of the Eastern Orthodox Church.<sup>48</sup>

Olympia Fulvia Morata personifies how *Graecia transvolavit Alpes* but also the multinationalism or transnationalism of Humanist Greek poetry due to the mobility of scholars in early modern period: her poem is (probably) composed in Heidelberg but its author was Italian. Transnationalism pertains to Humanist Greek poems in many countries, also in Scandinavia. The case of Johannes Caselius (or Kessel, 1533–1613) is different. Caselius represents the age when Greek studies had a firm hold in German territories and there were several German universities where experts in Greek could find occupation. After studies under Melanchthon in Wittenberg and under Joachim Camerarius in Leipzig, Caselius, an advocate of tolerant Protestantism, was appointed Professor of *eloquentia* in Rostock and later in Helmstedt (1589–1613), where he also taught philosophy and Greek. His collection of a hundred Greek and Latin poems came out in 1608.<sup>49</sup>

Caselius' ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΩΝ is not metrical, but the lines are arranged in kind of cola, in a lapidary strophic style. The vocabulary is simple – even a student who knows only elementary Greek would understand the poem – and effective:

#### ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΩΝ

Τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη ἄλλο ἢ παρ' ἡμῖν καλουμένη	
Ἀκαδημία; ἢ	
σοφίας ἀκρόπολις,	
ναδς ἀληθείας,	
ἐπιστημῶν θησαυρός,	5
πασῶν ἐλευθερίων τεχνῶν πανήγυρις,	
σωφροσύνης τε καὶ φιланθρωπίας παλαίστρα,	
φιλίας τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ἀρετῶν ἐργαστήριον	
πολιτικῶν ὀργάνων ὄπλοθήκη,	
παράδεισος θαυμασίων ψυχῆς ἡδονῶν,	10
πηγὴ θ' ἀπάσης τῆς ἐπὶ γῆς εὐδαιμονίας,	

<sup>48</sup> Makin and Schurman discussed the education of Princess Elizabeth. Korhonen 2009, 42. On van Schurman, see Pieta van Beek's articles, for instance in *Meilicha Dôra*, 269–298.

<sup>49</sup> For Caselius, including his Greek poem “On a restless man”, a short character study, see Pontani & Weise 2022, 174–176 (S. Weise).

τέλος δέ, καὶ ἡὼς τις, τῆς κοινῆς πάντων  
σωτηρίας πρόδρομος.

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9 ὀπλοθήχη ed.

A Eulogy to Universities // What else may our Academy, as we call it, be? An acropolis of wisdom, a temple of truth, a treasure chest of knowledge, a celebration of all *artes liberales*, an arena of judiciousness and love of humanity, a functioning home for friendship and human virtues, an armoury of political weapons, a paradise for the amazing delights of the soul, a spring for all happiness on earth, and, finally, as a rising Sun, a forerunner of salvation for all.

The eulogy is at the end of Caselius' treatise on the 'miserable' state of universities, especially his own, the University of Helmstedt (founded in 1576). The treatise bears the name Ἐλεεινὸν Συμβάν, *sive de Casu miserabili ad Academias* and it was printed in 1607. The Greek poem, however, was already written in 1594 as its date, at the end of the treatise, indicates.<sup>50</sup> Caselius offers a view that universities could be *acropoleis* of wisdom thus underlining what they were not at the time when the treatise was written. He does not use the common technique of his time, namely imitation, but instead creates new idioms. The list of positive Greek phrases ends with a reference to universities as the source of knowledge of Christian salvation, of theology and of exegesis of the Holy Scriptures. Morata's poem, by contrast – although religion played an important part in her life and fate – is without any reference to religion.

These two German Greek poems convey clear messages. Mostly the functions of Humanist Greek poetry were on the social rather than the literary level, that is, short Greek texts were tokens or gestures of Greek learning rather than bearing specific literary ambitions. In the next Chapter, the main focus is a preliminary comparison between German and Nordic Humanist Greek culture: what German writers contributed during the sixteenth century, and what is rather conspicuously missing in the seventeenth-century Humanist Greek output of Nordic scholars.

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<sup>50</sup> Caselius 1607, F4v. The Greek poem is on the last page of the publication. See VD17 23:252969T, with a link to the digitised text.



## 2.2. Humanist Greek from Germany to Sweden

The first German university to begin systematically providing instruction in Greek was the University of Leipzig in 1518, when Richard Crocus who was born in Scotland was appointed its first Professor of Greek. His most famous student was Joachim Camerarius.<sup>51</sup> As Stefan Rhein has listed, at the end of the 16th century, there were 18 Greek chairs in German universities.<sup>52</sup> Greek, moreover, was part of the curriculum in many schools. The number of Greek texts written under the auspices of German educational institutions is surely impressive. In the German context, it is reasonable to divide the corpus into school exercises by students and occasional poetry by professors on the one hand, and Greek poems by the best authors on the other. This division raises questions about the target readership and audience of these two groups. The texts written by students were to display their erudition as well as their active skills and linguistic quality in Greek, whereas Greek texts by professors could often be seen as a duty required by their position. German scholars with exceptional skill in Greek and who wrote ambitious Greek verses saw their readership as critical colleagues who were able to appreciate the quality of their Greek. One may even speak of *Greek literary communities* in Germany. Stefan Weise mentions some German centres of Greek writing, basing his estimation on Lizelius' work (1730): Wittenberg (e.g., Melanchthon and Rhodomanus during the 16th century; e.g., Konrad Schurzfleisch during the 17th century);<sup>53</sup> Ilfeld (e.g., Michael Neander, Lithuania-born Johannes Mylius);<sup>54</sup> Altdorf (e.g. Christoph Sonntag);<sup>55</sup> Tübingen (e.g., Martin Crusius); Rostock (e.g., Johannes Posselius Sr., Johannes Caselius), Helmstedt (e.g., Johannes Caselius also here); Giessen (e.g., Christoph Helwig); Halle (e.g., Paulus Dolscius) and Leipzig (e.g., Joachim Camerarius).<sup>56</sup>

Melanchthon's example might have been one of the decisive reasons that Greek verse composition was permanently included in German academic

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<sup>51</sup> Rhein 2020, 109

<sup>52</sup> On the first Greek professorships in sixteenth-century Germany, see Rhein 2020.

<sup>53</sup> Konrad Schurzfleisch (1641–1708), Professor of History in Wittenberg, whose collection of Latin and Greek poems were published in 1705. See NDB 23, 764–766.

<sup>54</sup> On this "school of Greek poets", see Weise 2019b, 20–26.

<sup>55</sup> On Sonntag, see Schultheiss 2004, 791–792.

<sup>56</sup> Weise 2020, 401–402. Weise mentions more names in connection with German Greek centres than I have given here. See also Lamers & Van Rooy 2022, 19–22 on "networks and communities of Philhellenes" in the early modern Low Countries.

practices.<sup>57</sup> In German territories, the conviction prevailed (and still prevails) that, as in Latin, composing in Greek was essential to learning Greek thoroughly – *ubi autem lingua Graeca, ibi quoque est poesis Graeca* as Lizelius (1730) puts it.<sup>58</sup> Martin Crusius, a long-time professor at Tübingen (1559–1607), regularly gave stylistic exercises in Greek.<sup>59</sup> Michael Neander in his preface to Rhodomanus' *Palaestina* (1589) argued for the importance of good examples for students (like *Palaestina*) and that to learn Greek well one needed to learn writing in Greek.<sup>60</sup>

The first two Greek poems composed by a German scholar were entitled *Graecum* and Διστιχον ἐλεγιακον (without accents). Both distichs are composed by Conrad Celtes (Konrad Celtis) in his collection of Latin epigrams from the end of the fifteenth century. Celtes (1459–1508) was a lecturer in classical languages at several German universities during his life.<sup>61</sup> These verses explicitly point to the beginning of Greek language studies in Germany: the first distich states that Celtes has brought the Greek language to his home country. They may have functioned as an example for German Greek scholars that writing Greek verses was 'possible' for a German too. At the end of the sixteenth century, writing aids for Greek composing started to be published. Through the influence of Germany and the Lutheran Reformation, Sweden, along with Finland and Estonia, started to cultivate Greek learning, which encouraged Nordic scholars to write in Greek.

The knowledge and teaching of Greek came to the North a little later than on the Continent. From the Greek books that were brought to the Nordic countries, one might speculate about the Nordic knowledge of Greek, although owning a Greek classic may merely show a bibliophilic interest or only a superficial affiliation to the 'glory' of Greece. However, Gustaf Trolle, the future Archbishop of Uppsala, studied elementary Greek at the University of Cologne in 1512 and owned Chrysoloras' Greek grammar (Paris 1507). The notes there (if they are

<sup>57</sup> Rhein 1999, 57. On Melanchthon as a teacher and inspiring example for his students for versifying in Greek, see Rhein 2017.

<sup>58</sup> Lizelius 1730, B2. See also the valuable excerpt of Constantijn Huygens' autobiography, where he recounts his Greek versification of youth. Composing poems in Greek was part of his mastering Greek. Lamers & Van Rooy 2022, 12. Huygens (1596–1687) was a Dutch poet and diplomat, father of the physicist Christiaan Huygens.

<sup>59</sup> Ludwig 1998a, 56.

<sup>60</sup> Rhodomanus 1589, A3 (p. 5). VD16 R 2105 (digitised). On Rhodomanus, see Pontani & Weise 2022, 179–184 (S. Weise) and Ludvwg 2019. Weise 2020, 397–398 (the first 12 verses of the *Palaestina*), Korhonen 2004, 77 (verses 6.140–146), and passages on Rhodomanus' other poems, Gärtner 2020, 217–219, 239–240.

<sup>61</sup> Weise 2016, 118 (Celtes' *disticha* included).

by him) would indicate that he used this grammar. Magnus Laurentii, Dean of the Cathedral of Linköping during the 1530s and 1540s, owned an edition of Homer (Strassburg, 1525). Mikael Agricola, a Finn who studied Greek and other biblical languages in Wittenberg during 1536–1539, also bought some Greek books, albeit in Latin translations, though the epigrams in his edition of Diogenes Laertius were in Greek.<sup>62</sup>

After the Protestant movement, young men from the Nordic countries studied especially in the Protestant centres of northern Germany, such as Rostock and Wittenberg. They became accustomed to the practice of composing Greek poems following their German colleagues' example. As far as we know, the first two Greek poems written by a Swede were composed in Wittenberg in 1559. Laurentius Petri Gothus (c. 1529–1579), the future archbishop of Sweden, studied at Wittenberg and published two Greek poems as threshold texts for his Latin verse treatise on Swedish history. The first poem, at the beginning of the treatise, addresses readers (8 eleg) and the second one, placed at the end of the publication, is a prayer (12 eleg). As Johanna Akujärvi has noticed, both poems conduct the interpretation of the treatise and do not merely display Petri's linguistic competence in Greek.<sup>63</sup> In addition, they follow the Byzantine and Renaissance Humanistic tradition in adding threshold verses to a book. Another future archbishop of Sweden and near namesake, Laurentius Paulinus Gothus (1565–1646), studied in Rostock but took his degree in Helmstedt in 1592. His four Swedish fellow students published a commemorative anthology in Paulinus Gothus' honour that contained three poems in Latin and one in Greek (34 eleg).<sup>64</sup> One of the Latin poets, Petrus Ruta, was in fact from Finland. Swedish and Finnish students thus contributed to commemorative anthologies, sometimes with Greek poems that were published in foreign universities. Alternatively, these students could be the addressees of the kind of anthologies that received mostly Latin as well as some Greek poems. Christianus Ruuth, who was born in Viipuri (in Carelia, eastern Finland) was congratulated by a Greek poem (24 hex) by

<sup>62</sup> Agricola's Greek books included Latin translations of Aristotle's *Opera omnia* (1538), Strabo (*s.a.*), and Diogenes Laertius (1535). Many quotations from Greek authors are in Greek in the Strabo edition. Some reader of Diogenes Laertius – perhaps Agricola – has written καλῶς in the margin beside the Homer quotation (*Il.* 3.65). Korhonen 2004, 80.

<sup>63</sup> Akujärvi 2020, 94–98. In the same article, Akujärvi presents two of Henricus Mollerus' Greek poems, which are slightly earlier and were printed in Mollerus' work on Swedish history (1557). Although Mollerus was born in Hesse, he was in the service of the Swedish Royal Court.

<sup>64</sup> Mel. 31. The writer of the Greek poem was Laurentius Praetorius. See Korhonen 2019, which also includes a presentation of Praetorius' other Greek poem written in Helmstedt.

his Swedish compatriot, Olaus Martini – also a future archbishop of Sweden – in Rostock in 1584. The publication, which also contains two poems in Latin, one of which praises Ruuth's knowledge of Greek as *solidus*, commemorates the degree conferment ceremony, which was directed by the Graecophile professor, Johannes Posselius Sr. The topic of Olaus Martini's Greek poem is honour, a common theme in classical poetry: those who truly deserve honour are those who are guided not by emotions but by reason. Because Ruuth is this kind of man, honour will follow him (νῦν σοι τιμὴ καλὴ ὀπηδῇ, v. 18).<sup>65</sup>

Although it is doubtful whether the inspirations and ideals to write Greek poetry in the Nordic countries could be solely traced to Germany, there might be at least one direct line of influence, namely that pertaining to dissertations written in Greek. Gabriel Holstenius, from middle Sweden, disputed a Greek dissertation on Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations* in the Halle Gymnasium in 1620 and, after returning to Sweden, supervised a Greek dissertation on Aristotle's notion of courage at Västerås Gymnasium in 1627. Johannes Gezelius Sr., the *praeses* of many Greek dissertations in Tartu during the 1640s, studied in Västerås. Many Greek or Greek–Latin dissertations were also later (1659–1670) defended (but not printed) at Västerås.<sup>66</sup> Thus, although examples of such long Greek texts as dissertations could be found elsewhere, we may suppose that here there may be a direct, even personal, line of influence.

### Guides on Writing in Greek

During the sixteenth century, especially towards the end of the century, treatises containing advice about writing in Greek, even types of guidebooks, started to be published.<sup>67</sup> One example is Johannes Bentzius' revised edition of his *Thesaurus elocutionis oratoriae Graecolatinus novus* (Basel 1581), which was titled *Thesaurus pure loquendi, et scribendi Graecolatinus novus* (1595).<sup>68</sup> The folio-

<sup>65</sup> Mel. 23. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 17.251, Hes. *Op.* 142. Korhonen 2004, 259 (an excerpt from the poem), Fant 1775–1786 I, 21–24 (the entire poem printed). Both Olaus Martini and Christianus Ruuth, as experts in Greek and Hebrew, attended to the translation of the Bible after returning home from Rostock, the former translating into Swedish and the latter into Finnish. Other Finns receiving Greek poems in their degree conferment ceremonies were Johannes Raumannus in 1597 and Nicolaus Carelius in 1601, both at Wittenberg. Korhonen 2004, 260–261.

<sup>66</sup> Korhonen 2020, 704–705, Korhonen 2018, 160–163. See also Päll 2020b, 425–427.

<sup>67</sup> For a fuller presentation of this topic, see Korhonen 2021, 238–249. Lizelius (1730) also mentions several phrasebooks and lexica useful for writing in Greek, see Weise 2020, 400.

<sup>68</sup> VD16 B 1733 and VD16 B 1734. Both are digitised. Johannes Bentzius (Bentz) was a philologist

sized textbook aimed, as its title suggests, to help in composing Greek prose texts, especially orations as well as even to discuss in Greek. Bentzius notices that there were hardly any textbooks for writing in Greek.<sup>69</sup> The *Thesaurus* contains three thematic parts: God and his creation, government and sciences, and arts and manual skills, which contain subtopics which could have served as a useful source of vocabulary when writing occasional texts, such as wedding congratulations.<sup>70</sup>

During the sixteenth century, many Latin-Greek, Latin-Vernacular-Greek and polyglottic dictionaries and lexica were published, which were aimed to assist in the practice of Greek composition. One example of a popular Latin-Greek dictionary was compiled by Dutch scholar Cornelius Schrevelius (1642).<sup>71</sup> Later editions of Schrevelius contained many additions, like maxims, entitled ΓΝΩΜΑΙ, with translations into Latin. Greek dictionaries, grammars and even editions could include short collections of maxims or a reader. Eilhardus Lubinus' dictionary, *Clavis Graecae Linguae* (Rostock 1604), was especially popular in the Nordic countries. It comprised a Latin-Greek dictionary as well as 734 short maxims.<sup>72</sup> In his edition of Coluthus and Tryphiodorus (1559), Michael Neander published the very texts used in Greek elementary instruction: poems by Ps.-Phocylides, Theognis (called γνῶμαι and referred to as *Theognidis gnomologia*) and Ps.-Pythagorean *Golden Verses* as well as paraenetic maxims by the Church Father Nilus (Neilos) the Elder of Sinai.<sup>73</sup> Johannes Gezelius Sr.'s *Grammatica Graeca* (Tartu 1647) contained the basic Christian dogmatic texts in Greek (*Capita Christianae religionis*) – the Decalogue, the Apostolic Faith, and prayers from Luther's *Catechismus*.

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in Strassburg. Probable the philologist and mathematician who lived from 1547 to 1599. DB *s.v.* > *Nouvelle Dictionnaire de Biographie Alsacienne* (2012).

<sup>69</sup> Bentzius 1595, 3v (Preface). He also opposed the view that it would not be useful to learn Greek and Latin together. Bentzius remarks that for each word he gives examples, compound words and attributes, as well as phrases which show how the word was used.

<sup>70</sup> For the topic *De matrimonio et affinitate*, Bentzius quotes relevant passages from Demosthenes and Isocrates, and gives such words as νόμφη, μνηστήρ and μνηστεύειν, which are related to weddings.

<sup>71</sup> *Lexicon manuale Graeco-Latinum et Latino-Graecum Lexicon manuale* (1642). *Gnomae* was added at least in the 1683 edition of Schrevelius. VD17 3:311913Z. See also Schrevelius 1690, 919–943. VD17 3:306218T.

<sup>72</sup> Lubinus 1604, see VD17 14:013703K. Maxims, see for instance Lubinus 1622, 361–425. Many maxims which were used in epideictic Greek texts at Turku can be found in Lubinus. Korhonen 2004, 468, 471.

<sup>73</sup> Neander 1559. VD16 N 393. For Nilus' maxims, see PG 79.

Gezelius added 48 maxims by Nilus along with Latin translations in its Turku edition (1668).<sup>74</sup>

Presentations of Greek literature could refer vaguely to Greek composition. Matthäus Dresserus (1536–1607), Professor of Greek and Hebrew at Leipzig, remarks in the preface to his Greek reader with commentaries, *Gymnasmatum litteraturae Graecae* (1574), that his book provides material for exercises, *ad comparationem, exercitationemque eloquentiae utiles*.<sup>75</sup> Dresserus' work contains letters by Church Fathers, pseudepigraphical letters and orations by Demosthenes and Dio Chrysostom, but also 'contemporary models' – as suggested in the preface (*cum exemplis recentibus*) – namely, Joachim Camerarius' Greek letter and Dresserus' own Greek letters, Greek oration and Greek and Latin poems. Dresserus' Greek poems were composed for various occasions, not adaptations for school use.<sup>76</sup> Dresserus thus published both a Greek reader and a collection of his own Humanist Greek texts at the same time.

Greek writing exercises could also be mentioned in grammars. Theophilus Golius (1528–1600), Professor of Moral Philosophy at Strassburg, gives one exercise in his influential Greek grammar (1541) and incorporates fifty Aesop's fables as reading texts – later editions have several other texts.<sup>77</sup> For pedagogical reasons, as Golius states, he did not give Latin translations of the Aesopic fables, because he aimed to inspire students to practise writing in Greek. The exercise is based on ancient *progymnasmata*: paraphrasing and translating a given text. The procedure was as follows: a student would first write down a Greek fable, then explain its content in his own words in Latin, then translate it into Latin, and finally translate it back into Greek so that the student's translation and the original Greek text could be compared.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Gezelius 1668, 4–14 (repagination). Gezelius' selection of Nilus (if it is made by him and not copied from some other Greek grammar) constitutes sentences mostly from PG 79, 1250–1264. Korhonen 2004, 93 n446.

<sup>75</sup> Dresserus 1574, title page. VD16 D 2710. Matthäus Dresserus/Dresser (1536–1607) studied at the University of Erfurt, and first became a Greek teacher in the *Erfurter Ratsgymnasium* and later Professor of Greek and Hebrew at Leipzig. NDB s.v.

<sup>76</sup> Dresserus 1574, 14. The book begins with a short essay on teaching Greek (*De modo discendi Graecam linguam*, pp. 15–16). The third part of Dresserus' book also contains the *Batrachomyomachia*, Gregory of Nazianzus' *lamentatio* and an epitaph to Basil the Great.

<sup>77</sup> In addition to Aesop's fables, the copy printed in Strassburg in 1684 (Golius 1684) contains maxims in prose and in iambic metre. Korhonen 2004, 31.

<sup>78</sup> Golius 1684, 48: [...] *omissa tamen interpretatione Latine, scilicet ut pueri, litteraturae Graecae principiis imbuendi, hinc materias exerciti styli petant, quas sua primum ipsi manu describendo, deinde*

Arvidus Tiderus, a vicar in Väckelsång, Sweden, translated part of Nathan Chytraeus' popular Latin grammar (1593)<sup>79</sup> into Swedish and published it in Uppsala in 1626. Later, Tiderus supplemented the 1632 edition of his translation with some additions, most notably an Appendix, which included a treatise entitled *Tractatus brevis de carminibus Latine, Graece & Hebraice componendis*. The treatise was written by Olaus Nicolai, the principal of Stockholm Cathedral School.<sup>80</sup> This translated and augmented version of Chytraeus' Latin grammar was reprinted several times in Sweden; three editions were also published at Turku in 1677, 1697, and 1708.<sup>81</sup> Although Olaus Nicolai gives only one Greek exercise – how to compose Greek elegiac couplets<sup>82</sup> – the appendix itself is proof that there was a need for this kind of guidance. Olaus Nicolai also mentions Johannes Clajus, Abdias Praetorius and Christophorus Helvicius as useful aids for versifying in Greek.<sup>83</sup>

Camerarius' pupil, Johannes Clajus (1535–1592), principal of the Nordhausen *gymnasium* and vicar in Bendeleben, wrote several Greek textbooks. Olaus Nicolai could have had in mind Clajus' *Graecorum poematum libri sex* (1570), which is a presentation of Greek poetry and could provide some help in Greek versifying.<sup>84</sup> The treatise on Greek poetry (1571) by Melanchthon's pupil Abdias Praetorius (1524–1573) contains passages from Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus and other Greek authors, but no clear instruction on Greek composing.<sup>85</sup>

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*Magistro suo, per praecipua eunte vocabula, breviter explicatas examinatasque, Latine convertendo, denique e Latinis iterum Graece reddendo, cum non inscite scribere discent.* The 1615 edition of Golius printed in Frankfurt was included in the collection of the Turku University library. Kempe 1655, F; Wallenius 1682, H2.

<sup>79</sup> See VD16 ZV 28590 (digitised). Nathan Chytraeus (1543–1598) was Professor of Poetics at the University of Rostock, his brother, David, was Professor of Theology. Both composed poems in Latin as well as in Greek.

<sup>80</sup> Tiderus 1632, 213–214.

<sup>81</sup> See SKB 861–863.

<sup>82</sup> The exercise requires one to first choose a couplet from an elegiac poet's work and then replace the original wording with Homeric and Hesiodic synonyms. Olaus Nicolai's example is taken from Theognis (1.149–150).

<sup>83</sup> Tiderus 1632, 216.

<sup>84</sup> VD16 C 3991. Clajus also published a treatise on prosody in Latin, Greek and Hebrew (1570) (VD16 C 3997), a Greek Grammar (*Grammatica Graeca Erotemata*, 1580), and a translation of Luther's *Small Catechism* into Latin, Greek and Hebrew (1572) (VD16 L 5021). On Clajus, see NDB s.v.

<sup>85</sup> The treatise was an augmented version of the first edition (Basel 1561). Praetorius (or Prätorius), his original name being Gottschalk Schulze, also wrote a treatise on Greek syntax (1558). Praetorius became later Professor of Philosophy at Wittenberg.

Christophorus Helvicius (1561–1617), Professor of Greek and Oriental languages at Giessen,<sup>86</sup> first published *Liber elegans de carminibus atque dialectis Graecorum* in Giessen (*s.a.*), and the second edition came out in Nuremberg in 1623. His treatise was clearly crucial to Swedish scholars (among others) as it was later published in Uppsala in 1694.<sup>87</sup> The first part discusses composing Greek poems (*De carminibus Graecis artificiose componendis*, pp. 1–31) and the second part (pp. 32–144) Greek dialects.<sup>88</sup> Helvicius' book contains one exercise that aims to demonstrate the richness of Greek synonyms. The exercise is constructed in the manner of Erasmus' *Copia* (Cap. 33). Hence, from one sentence it is possible to produce several sentences with approximately the same meaning as the original by providing several Greek synonyms for each sentence element (pp. 5–6).<sup>89</sup> For composing poems in Greek, he mentions exercises in *imitatio*, recommending the use the same kinds of exercises as in Latin composition. Helvicius especially recommends two exercises: 1) changing poems of a certain genre and metre into another genre and metre, e.g., iambic poems into trochaic verses and 2) combining two lines into one or dividing one line into two.<sup>90</sup>

Helvicius also advocates works by “Dinnerus” and “Vollander”, that is, two books of epithets by Conrad Dinnerus (*Epithetorum Graecorum farrago locupletissima*, 1589)<sup>91</sup> and by Johannes Volland (*De re poetica Graecorum, sive epithetorum Graecorum Lib. I* [...], second edition, 1592).<sup>92</sup> Arranged

<sup>86</sup> *Liber elegans* by Helvicius (or Helvicus, Helwich, Helwig) was first published in Giessen, as the title of the edition published in Nuremberg (1623) states. VD17 547:638949H and VD17 12:129830T (Helvicius 1623).

<sup>87</sup> Helvicius 1694. The university library at Turku contained a copy of Helvicius' work printed in Giessen in 1619. It is a 'universal' grammar: *Helvici Libri didacticè Grammatica universalis Lat. Gr. Hebr. Chald. Giessae 1619 una cum declinatione didacticae generalis, & speciali ad colloquia familiaria applicatione*. Wallenius 1682, Gv.

<sup>88</sup> The second part is comprised of tables that contain side-by-side forms in various dialects (*Attice, Ionice, Dorice, Aiolice, Poëtice*). These tables were certainly useful if students wanted to try to write in different dialects.

<sup>89</sup> See Abbot 1990, 117.

<sup>90</sup> Helvicius 1694, 29. See below Chapter 4.1, subsection “Exercises in Imitation”.

<sup>91</sup> See VD16 D 1770. On Dinnerus (Dinner), see Rhein 2020, 132. J. A. Fabricius mentions some Greek phrase books in the tenth part of his monumental *Bibliotheca Graeca*, see Fabricius 1721 X, 97–98.

<sup>92</sup> See VD16 N 416. Volland also published a work entitled *Elegantiae Graecae lingua* (Leipzig 1583). As a student, Volland wrote a compilation of several of Neander's works under the title *Locutionum et formularum Graecarum oratoriarum, secundum tria causarum genera distributarum et contextarum fere ad exempla et formulas epistolarum lib. I*. (Leipzig 1582). It has been digitised by the



in alphabetical order, Dinnerus' work provides attributes for words as well as a reference to the author quoted.<sup>93</sup> It is noteworthy that Dinnerus' list of the authors that he used contains not only ancient – including late antique epic poets (Coluthus, Tryphiodorus, Nonnus) – and Byzantine writers, but also Renaissance humanists and contemporary Western Greek writers: Janos Laskaris, Markos Musuros, Angelo Poliziano, Scipio Carteromachus, Joachim Camerarius and Paul Dolscius as well as two non-German names: Sebastian Castellio (Sébastien Châteillon)<sup>94</sup> and Johannes Baptista Camotius.<sup>95</sup> The list suggests that for Dinnerus, Renaissance and Humanist Greek writers formed a continuum of Greek writers reaching back to antiquity.<sup>96</sup>

Johannes Posselius Sr. (1532–1591), Professor of Greek at Rostock, composed both a writing manual for Greek, *Calligraphia oratoria linguae Graecae* (1585), and a Greek-Latin conversation manual (1587).<sup>97</sup> As its title suggests, the *Calligraphia* concentrates on Greek orations. The *Calligraphia* recalls, in fact, Vollander's and Dinnerus' works. In the introduction (p. 20), Posselius lists 90 authors that he quotes from in alphabetical order. In addition to familiar authors, the list contains many lesser-known names<sup>98</sup> and mentions one contemporary author, Guillaume Budé. Some entries could be considered useful for writing epideictic texts, like wedding congratulations. Posselius' Greek and Latin conversation manual,

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Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC10152832>.

<sup>93</sup> For instance, ἀγών, *certamen*: θεῖος – *Hom. Il. σ*; εὐρύς *Id. Iliad ψ*. (Cf. *Il. 7. 298, 8. 375 and 23. 258*).

<sup>94</sup> The French Protestant Sébastien Châteillon (1515–1563), Professor of Greek in Basel and a proponent of religious tolerance, composed a 50-page-long Greek epyllion on the life of John the Baptist, which was published along with his Latin paraphrase of the Book of Jonah (1545). Châteillon 1545, 34–84. VD16 C2133 (digitised). See Gärtner 2020, 235. In the following year, Châteillon translated a passage from Josephus entitled *Mosis institutio Reipublicae Graecolatina, ex Josepho in gratiam puerorum decerpta, ad descendam non solum Graecam verum etiam Latinam linguam*. VD16 J989 (digitised).

<sup>95</sup> Camotius, that is Giovanni Battista Camozzi (1515–1581), Professor of Philosophy at the University of Macerata, translated the Greek Church Fathers and commentaries on Aristotle, but also wrote commentaries in Greek on some works by Theophrastus and Aristotle. Lohr 1999, 32, 34.

<sup>96</sup> Dinnerus 1589, [after the preface and the paratexts]. The list is titled *E Recentioribus*.

<sup>97</sup> Several editions of both were published. On these two works, see Johnson 2006, 191–193 and 196–199. For a digitised version of *Calligraphia*, see VD16 P4405.

<sup>98</sup> The less familiar authors are Andocides, Charicles, Clitarchus, Eupolis, Oinopides, Phrynichus (i.e., Phrynichus), and Theophylactus. Posselius also mentions some Christian authors (like Basil and Chrysostom), late antique authors (Aphthonius) and Byzantine authors (Hesychius, Theodoros Gaza and *Suda*).

Οἰκείων διαλόγων βιβλίον Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ Ῥωμαϊστὶ (Wittenberg, 1587)<sup>99</sup> had as its predecessor the medieval *hermeneumata* tradition, but its most obvious model was Erasmus' conversation manual *Colloquia familiaria* (1518). Posselius begins with greeting formulas between students and their teacher, developing them into short dialogues and culminating in five longer dialogues, the first four of which take place between students. In the last and longest dialogue, a student has a lengthy discussion with his teacher on the right way to study philosophy (Περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ σπουδῆν ὀρθῶς διατάττειν, pp. Hr–I5r). Posselius' Greek-Latin *Colloquia* was also published in Turku in 1690.<sup>100</sup>

An example of a Swedish *thesaurus* containing useful Greek phrases and sentences with Latin translations is the octavo-sized *Gnomologia* (pp. 186), which was published by Nicolaus Salanus, a Greek teacher at the Stockholm gymnasium, in 1656.<sup>101</sup> At the age of only 21, Salanus (1618–1671), the son of the Bishop of Uppsala, delivered a Greek oration (219 hex) at the University of Uppsala on avoiding idleness (*De otio fugiendo*). His brother, Jonas, also gave a Greek verse oration (210 hex) on the liberal arts in the following year. Despite its name, Nicolaus Salanus' treatise is a *florilegium* rather than a *gnomologicum*. Salanus dedicated his book to two patrons who were known for their benevolence towards education, Count Magnus De la Gardie and Count Erik Oxenstierna.<sup>102</sup> In his four-page-long preface, which also functions as a dedication, Salanus states that knowledge of Greek is very useful and necessary for studying other disciplines (*maxime utilis, & in omni studiorum genere necessaria*, p. 3r) and students can learn phrases, epithets, poetical speech modes and prosody from them. On the title page, the very long subtitle states that the book contains sayings (*memorabilia dicta & illustres sententiae*) by ancient Greek poets and philosophers, naming 22 authors and telling that they are arranged alphabetically under certain topics.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Posselius 1587. VD16: P 4416 (digitised).

<sup>100</sup> Gezelius Sr. 1690. SKB 3093.

<sup>101</sup> On Salanus, see Collijn 1942–1944, 322. Fant 1775–1786, 1, 84–88; Floderus (1785–1789), 23–29. For a list of Greek orations in the Swedish Empire, see Korhonen 2004, 460–462. The first Greek oration was published at Uppsala in 1631.

<sup>102</sup> Magnus De la Gardie (1622–1686) held some of the highest offices in Sweden (e.g., the Lord High Chancellor) and was an eminent patron of sciences. Erik Oxenstierna (1624–1656), son of the Chancellor of State, Axel Oxenstierna, was one of the richest young men in Sweden. Gezelius Sr. dedicated his Greek translation of Comenius' *Janua* to Erik Oxenstierna, see below Chapter 3.1.

<sup>103</sup> *Ad certo titulos, secundum ordinem alphabeticum sunt redactae*. For example, for the first item, *Abscondere*, Salanus quotes two passages from Hesiod's *Theogony* (482–484 and 729–731), which

In all, Salanus' *Gnomologia* contains verses from some fairly unknown Greek authors, such as the epic poets Panyacides, Naumachius and Rhianus, as well as the mistakenly named Eumenus of Paros.<sup>104</sup> Salanus, however, mostly quotes Hesiod (including the *Scutum*), Theognis and Pseudo-Phocylides. The quotations are quite short; the longest being from Moschus' *Eros the Runaway* (6–23).<sup>105</sup>

### On the Greek Production of Germans and Swedes

Although elementary Greek began to be taught in the educational institutions of the Swedish Kingdom and its annexes during the second half of the sixteenth century, the academic environment did not necessarily encourage writing in Greek to the same extent as in German and other central European universities. During the 16th and even the 17th centuries, German scholars composed very long poems (although their congratulatory poems, for instance for dissertations, could be short). In the German lands many Greek poems – selected by the author or by his friends or pupils – were republished as *collections*, although they often included both Latin and Greek poems by the author. In addition to collections by the best-known names (Rhodomanus, Neander, Crusius, Heinsius), there was also, for instance, Konrad Samuel Schurzfleisch's *Poëmata Latina et Graeca* (1702).<sup>106</sup>

Besides Josef Thun's *Poëmatia Graeca*, which contained sixteen of his poems, and his failed plans to publish all his own Greek poems,<sup>107</sup> there was another Swedish Greek versifier, who planned (and failed) to publish a collection of Greek poems at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Michael Fant (1785–1786) reported that he owned an octavo-sized manuscript (pp. 72) by Olaus Flodman entitled *Svedia Graecissans, vel Δράγμα ποιητικὸν ποικίλων ποιητῶν* (Sweden speaking Greek, or a poetic handful by various poets).<sup>108</sup> According to Fant, it contained mostly *congratulatoria ad exercitia Academica* – that is, congratulatory

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include phrases ζαθέης ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης, ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἡρόεντι.

<sup>104</sup> Panyacides = Panyassis of Halicarnassus (5th c. BCE), Naumachius (2nd c. CE) and Rhianus (2nd c. BCE). Eumenus of Paros refers either to Eumenius, the fourth-century Neoplatonic philosopher, or Eumoirus of Paros, a Pythagorean.

<sup>105</sup> Titled *Cupidinis descriptio*, Salanus 1656, 60–61.

<sup>106</sup> Schurzfleisch 1702. Schurzfleisch (1641–1708) was a professor at Wittenberg and wrote under many pseudonyms, see VD 18 and VD 17 (this work, *Poëmata*, is not mentioned). See also Ludwig 1998a, 59, 83–84.

<sup>107</sup> Thun 1682. On Thun's plans to publish all his Greek poems, see Akujärvi 2018, 170–171.

<sup>108</sup> *Graecissans* from *graecisso* (medieval Latin) 'to act like a Greek', 'to speak Greek' (cf. *graecizo*). Lewis & Short 1878, s.v. *graecisso*.

Greek poems to respondents, published as paratexts of dissertations – which were also translated or were planned to be translated into Latin. However, the collection was never printed and the manuscript is no longer extant.<sup>109</sup> In any case, Flodman's plan indicates the early tendency to collect Greek poems written by one's compatriots, or at least share knowledge of them, as Lizelius (1730) and Plantin (1736) later did.<sup>110</sup>

A case in point is the manuscript of a small collection of religious Greek poems deposited in Tallinn. They were written in Berlin before the 1550s by a German scholar Gregor Krüger, who sent them to Tallinn City Council in order to ask their favour for some unspecific office. The collection contains a long poem in Latin and five poems in Greek, all in different metres (elegiac, iambic dimeter and trimeter, Sapphic and Asclepiadean stanzas), as Janika Päll has analysed. Besides displaying lingual skills, the function of these poems is to show Krüger's morality, as in the poem Σελήνη ἄφθονος (Moon without envy, 16 verses), in which Krüger hopes to be like a 'white-armed moon' (λευκώλενος).<sup>111</sup> Krüger identifies with the personified Moon, using direct speech, so that while it is Moon (the I-speaker) who is not envious of the sun but grateful for receiving light from it, the image refers to Krüger as a person who does not suffer from envy. Σελήνη ἄφθονος is a rare poem in the context of the Nordic Greek Corpora because of its imaginative flavour, along with its possible practical aim of winning favour.

Indeed, another significant distinction between Nordic and German Humanist Greek poetry is that German humanists did not compose only occasional Greek poems – or if texts were written for an occasion, they often seem to surpass their function. One example of an occasional poem which, in a way, surpasses its occasion, is Georgius Holfelder's Greek poem (46 hex) on the usefulness of predicting solar eclipses. This poem was published along with

<sup>109</sup> Fant 1775–1786, Suppl., 6–7; Fant mentions two Greek poems by Flodman. Flodman's manuscript, titled *Microcosmus Poetico-Suethicus*, which is in the University of Uppsala library, signum V 53b, contains no Greek poems. I thank Kia Hedell, the Uppsala University librarian, for this information. In 1722, Petrus Schyllberg, Professor of Poetry at Uppsala (1708–1729), later Bishop of Skara, published a collection of occasional poems by Olaus Hermelin, Petrus Lagerlöf and Johannes Columbus titled *Prodromus deliciarum Svecorum poetarum* (pp. 62). The book (digitised in ALVIN) also includes congratulatory poems for dissertations, albeit only in Latin.

<sup>110</sup> Another, slightly later example of this kind of interest, is the four manuscripts by Karl Friedrich Scheller (1773–1842) containing over 700 Humanist Greek poems, which he collected mostly from the Braunschweig area. See Päll 2020a.

<sup>111</sup> Päll 2018, 60–69 (excerpts of poems and their translations), 65 (a picture of one page of the manuscript). Krüger studied in Wittenberg and wrote a long oration in Greek in Tallinn, *ibid.* 61 and 74. See also Päll 2010, 118–119 and Päll 2020b, 414–418.

Johannes Paulus Sutorius' several-page-long Latin poem on a solar eclipse that occurred in Wittenberg in 1585. Holfelder's Greek poem does not mention Sutorius at all, so it can be classified as a poem on the solar eclipse in its own right, although it was published along with Sutorius' Latin poem on the same subject. The publication also contains a genuine congratulatory poem (14 eleg) in Latin to Sutorius.<sup>112</sup> The same kind of 'non-occasional' flavour can be found in a poem entitled 'Επίγραμμα by Cristophorus Crinesius, who was born in Bohemia. He wrote his Greek epigram (6 eleg) as a paratext for a dissertation titled *De Morte* in Wittenberg in 1611. Crinesius' poem is a reflection on death – death 'dies' when eternal life begins.<sup>113</sup>

However, some congratulatory poems that surpass their function can also be found in Uppsala and Turku.<sup>114</sup> One of the most interesting examples is Johannes Bilberg's poem (18 ia) to Johannes Palmroot, who defended a dissertation on the history of Greek in Uppsala in 1685. Bilberg laments the contemporary state of Athens under Ottoman rule, mentioning the respondent Johannes Palmroot only in the poem's heading.<sup>115</sup> At Turku, Professor of *eloquentia*, Christiernus Alander, wrote a poem (6 eleg) on thunder that imitates the image of Zeus hurling a thunderbolt in the second book of the *Iliad*. That it was, however, a congratulatory poem to Jonas Heurlin, who disputed on thunder under the presidency of Petrus Hahn in 1702, is indicated in its Latin heading:

*In disputationem / de / TONITRU, / modestissimi juvenis / Dn. Jonae Heurlini,  
/ amici commendatissimi.*

Ἕμῖσι τοῦ θάρσους ἀποαίνυται τερπικέραυνος  
τοῖς γαύροις πᾶσι, σμερδαλέως κτυπέων.  
Γαῖα δ' ὑπεστονάχισε, ὥς χθονίους δέος εἶλε,  
ὅττ' ὑψιβρεμέτης, ὁ μόνος ἐστὶ μέγας.

<sup>112</sup> VD16 S 10318. Sutorius or Schuster. The title page gives the date of the forecasted eclipse as 13 May, whereas Holfelder's heading mentions the date of the eclipse according to the Attic calendar (ἔτει α φ π ε τῇ τοῦ ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ).

<sup>113</sup> Slavíková 2020, 266–267. Crinesius (1583–1629) had studied in German universities and became a professor of theology in Altdorf in 1624. *Ibid.*, 255.

<sup>114</sup> Fant (1785–1789 Suppl., 3) mentions Zacharias Plantin's *Carmen Lyricum Graecum*, entitled Εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ Δάφνην εἶδος in folio format, without giving the year of publication. This lost poem could have been written merely "for art's sake" and not for any particular occasion. Plantin (1680–1733) was a teacher of Greek at the Härnösand Gymnasium in northern Sweden. For Plantin's four occasional poems, see HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi).

<sup>115</sup> See below Chapter 3.1.

Ἄλλ' ἄφες ἀλκὴ μέγαν κοναβῆσαι σοῖσι βέλεσσι,  
κῆδεταί ἄν μερόπων. Ὅλλυσι γαῖαν πυρί.

5

CHRISTIERN ALANDER.

**Crit.** 3 ὑποστονάχιζε ed. 4 ὅτ' ed. 5 μέγαν *metri gratia* 6 Ὅλλυσο ed. **Sim.** 3 Hom. *Il.* 15.781: Γαῖα δ' ὑπεστενάχιζε Διὶ ὅς τερπικεραύνῳ 5 μέγαν κοναβῆσαι cfr. Hom. *Il.* 15.648: σμερδαλέον κονάβησε 6 Hom. *Il.* 2. 780: Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν ὥς εἴ τε πυρὶ χθών πᾶσα νέμοιτο·

To Jonas Heurlin, the most commended friend, in a dissertation on thunder  
// When the Hurler of the thunderbolt thunders horribly, he takes half of the  
courage of those who boast. Earth groans, when fear overcomes those who live  
on earth, for only he who thunders from high is great. [5] But please stop to  
beat the ground strongly with your mighty bolts, they worry mortals. Earth  
perishes by fire. // Christiernus Alander

This strong poem reminds one of ancient Finnish spells to silence thunder, as though forecasting the apocalyptic fire prophesied by the Bible.<sup>116</sup> Besides writing five occasional poems in Greek that are unusually rich in their allusions to Greek culture (in the Turku Greek context), Alander supervised dissertations on humanistic issues, like *De pancratio* (1697), which contains a passage from Sophocles' *Ajax* as a motto on its title page and quotations from Greek authors that are not translated into Latin.<sup>117</sup>

Many of the longer Greek poems by German and continental humanists were also published with a Latin translation, especially when Greek poems were intended for a wider audience, helping those readers whose knowledge of Greek was less than perfect.<sup>118</sup> Latin translations were usually supplied in Latin poetry collections containing some Greek poems as well as in Greek poems to the nobility. This was also an indication of bilingualism and the supposed interconnectedness of two classical languages. However, Latin versions attached to occasional Greek poems in commemorative anthologies were rare due to the very *raison d'être* of Greek poems, namely that they tested their writers' skill and

<sup>116</sup> Vall. 1479. Some charms were conveyed to *Ukko* (the Old Man), the supreme god and personification of thunder (*ukkonen* in Finnish) in the Finnish pantheon. Krohn 1914, 116–126. Alander was from Åland, a Finnish island between Finland and Sweden, with a Swedish-speaking population and slightly different folk beliefs than in Finnish-speaking Finland.

<sup>117</sup> Vall. 107. *S. A.* 1250–1252. The quotations are, e.g., from Plutarch, Aristotle, Galen and Plato.

<sup>118</sup> The above-mentioned Olaus Flodman, who planned a collection of Humanist Greek poems, also wanted to include their Latin translations. Fant 1775–1786, Suppl., 6.

the addressee's ability in Greek. One could display one's linguistic excellence in Latin just by composing a good Latin poem.

It would seem that a wide variety of genres were used in 16th-century writing in Greek in Germany, despite our lack of knowledge of the scope of the corpus. Martin Crusius' folio-sized *Germanograecia* (1585) contains two parts: the first three books are of Latin and Greek–Latin orations and then there are three books of poems in Greek by Crusius, his students and his colleagues, including one short oration in Hebrew (p. 103).<sup>119</sup> The poems are arranged according to their genres: *genethliaca* (3 poems), *philica* (or *amicitiae*, 15 poems), one *ymbouleuticon* (advice on sobriety), *epigrammata* (13 poems), *propemptica* (17 poems), *syncharistica* (17 poems), *epithalamia* (19), *epicedia* (25), one *concio* (a funeral sermon), three letters and a *Bioporikon*, a versed autobiography by Laurentius Rhodomanus (p. 348ff).<sup>120</sup> The names of the above-mentioned genres are familiar from late antique and early modern treatises on epideictic rhetoric. The group of poems under the heading *philica* contains Crusius' poems to his friends, like Joachim Camerarius, eulogising friendship and not necessarily being tied to any occasion (pp. 112ff). An interesting but unspecific genre in Crusius' list is *syncharistica*, which he also calls *gratulationes*. They contain such poems as that written to the Duke of Brunswick on 24 February 1571. The occasion remains unclear, but the reason for this *gratulatio* is that the Duke has “re-established the true religion” in that area (*de instauratione verae Religionis*). In addition to these, *Germanograecia* contains Crusius' exposition on the advance of the knowledge of Greek in the West, with references to Greek poems by Western humanists (pp. 235ff).

Before *Germanograecia*, Crusius had already published Humanist Greek poems in his *Poëmatum Graecorum* (1567), containing, however, not only Greek poems nor only Crusius' own poems and Greek poems that were then

<sup>119</sup> *Germanograecia* is digitised, see VD16 C 6110. The Contents of the *Germanograecia* are listed on the verso side of the title page. The orations are as follows: after eight Latin orations and four Greek–Latin orations by Crusius (for example, on the epigram by Gregory of Nazianzus and on a Pythagorean maxim), five Greek–Latin orations by students (for example, on the Stoic concept of ἀπαθεία) with their Greek–Latin “answers” (*responsio*), and, finally, an oration in Hebrew without *responsio* (p. 103).

<sup>120</sup> On the *Bioporikon*, see Ludwig 2019, 197–214. Crusius' own private life is presented at least in his Greek poem on the children from his three marriages in the commentary part of the book (p. 113). The commentary also contains his unusual wedding poem (12 eleg) to his correspondent, Theodosios Zygomalas, and his 14-year-old fiancée Eirene in 1579, in which Crusius lists characteristics of women of different ages, inventing (humorous but also slightly misogynistic) compound words, such as a 60-year-old woman being χρηματοδιψήτρια (greedy for possessions). Crusius 1585, 232. On Zygomalas' wedding, see Rhoby 2005, 135.

republished in *Germanograecia*. *Poëmatum Graecorum* is divided into three parts. The first part consists of a transposition of the Evangeliary, or Book of the Gospels, into Greek verses as well as into Latin (pp. 1–217). The second part, which begins and ends with Crusius' letters to his students Erhard Cellius and Leonhard Engelhart respectively, contains the biblical story of Susannah composed in Greek and Latin verses by Crusius, seven Greek Psalm Paraphrases, which are translated into Latin by the above-mentioned students, and other religiously toned texts (*alia sacra, aut cum ipsis coniuncta*) including, however, also Petrarch's poem to Laura translated into Greek by Crusius. Furthermore, the second part contains Greek poems divided into three sections. The first section (*hospitalia epigrammata*) contains three guest book poems, which Crusius had written to his relatives, to a noble lady, and to an acquaintance when he was visiting their homes. The second section contains seven Greek liminary poems (*in libros epigrammata*) including, for instance, a poem in Samuel Siderocratis' *Iatromathematica*. The third section (*epitaphia et his affinia*) contains 16 orations or prefaces in Latin, and two in Greek. At the end of the third section, there are two letters: one by Crusius to Alexium Rhartum and Melanchthon's Greek letter to Patriarch Ioachim.

In his introduction to German Greek writers, Stefan Weise (2016) lists the following prose genres: 1) orations, 2) dissertations and other treatises, like Greek prefaces, 3) letters understood in a broad sense, 4) prose dialogues (like the ones in Posselius' conversation manual), and 5) prose translated into Greek (like *Confessio Augustana* and several translations of catechetical works).<sup>121</sup> All these prose genres, except prose dialogues (4), are to be found in the Nordic Greek Corpus. However, translations into Greek – whether from prose or poetry – were rare and, for example, Gezelius Sr.'s translation of Jan Comenius' famous encyclopaedia *Janua linguarum reserata* (1629) might not be original or totally original.<sup>122</sup> There are few Latin versions or translations of occasional poems, like Professor Johannes Bilberg's Greek congratulation (4 eleg) and its Latin version for a dissertation to Pehr Elvius in 1688.<sup>123</sup>

Although early modern Nordic scholars did not – as far as we know – write private letters in Greek in the manner of, e.g., Melanchthon, there are a few Greek

<sup>121</sup> Weise 2016, 125–132.

<sup>122</sup> See Päll 2020b, 424. Päll will publish an edition of Gezelius' *Janua* in near future.

<sup>123</sup> Four translations from Sweden (from Greek to Latin), one from Finland (from Greek to Swedish) and one from Estonia. Furthermore, Dane Jacobus Jasparus translated most of his Greek poems, addressing nobilities, in Latin. See HUMGRAECA database > Formal patterns and devices > *translatio*.



application letters for scholarships from Turku (see below 5.1). Furthermore, Professor of Poetics in Uppsala, Laurentius Fornelius, wrote an invitation in Greek for the delivery of an oration on Queen Christina printed as a broadsheet in 1646. It was probably pinned to a bulletin board for all to see. It also contains a short congratulatory poem to the deliverer.<sup>124</sup> German Hellenists, moreover, wrote Greek inscriptions, either in prose or verse, like Tübingen scholar Paul Dolschius' epitaph in Halle an der Saale.<sup>125</sup> A corresponding example from Sweden is Josef Thun's (d. 1721) Latin-Greek epitaph that he composed for himself. The Greek distichon is put at the end of the Latin prose inscription on the gravestone that can still be seen in the Strängnäs Cathedral (near Stockholm). It addresses the world (κόσμος) and chooses otherworldly goods to worldly goods.<sup>126</sup>

German scholars also added threshold (liminary) poems or prose to their Greek textbooks, such as Neander in his Greek grammar. However, the author's Greek liminary poems could also be added to a dissertation – at least there are two cases from Uppsala in two Greek dissertations supervised by Henricus Ausius. The respondent, Petrus Aurivillius disputed – and most probably wrote – a Greek dissertation on Aristotelian “ethical virtue” in 1658. The text is preceded by a preface in verse, Προοίμιον (44 eleg), which functions as an “unphilosophical” presentation to a difficult philosophical subject.<sup>127</sup> In the same year, Petrus Stalenus wrote a Greek dissertation (signing his dedication *auth. & resp.*), which contains a Greek poem (eleven and a half verses in hexameter) on the title page.<sup>128</sup>

Stefan Weise's list of poetic forms used by German Hellenists is impressive. Humanists experimented with various metrics: epigrams, anacreontics, aeolic poetry (Sapphic and Alcaic stanzas), elegies, hymns, bucolic poems, Pindaric odes, poetic paraphrases and *paignia* in different forms, that is popular manneristic

<sup>124</sup> The oration was delivered by young Johannes Paulinus (ennobled Olivekrantz). The oration is lost or was never printed. See HUMGRAECA database, *s.v.* Fornelius (Akujärvi).

<sup>125</sup> Weise 2016, 164–165.

<sup>126</sup> Akujärvi 2018, 166–167 (including also a picture of the Greek distichon). German scholar Andreas Sennert collected contemporary Latin funerary inscriptions in his book published in Wittenberg in 1678; it contains two Greek epitaphs – one of them to Paulus Eberus (d. 1569), a distichon with a translation in Latin. Sennert 1678, 230 (to Ebert), see also 224. Sennert 1699, see VD17 7:691108V. Some Greek epitaphs (ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑΙ) are also collected (and written?) with Latin translations by Konrad Schurzfleisch in his collection of Latin and Greek poems, see Schurzfleisch 1702, 300–306.

<sup>127</sup> See Korhonen 2020, 713.

<sup>128</sup> However, it looks like a quote because two and a half metra from the beginning of the poem are omitted (marked by: – – – – –). On Stalenus' Greek dissertations, see Korhonen 2010, 105–108. In addition to one's own (liminary) poems, it was common to print a Greek *motto* at the beginning of a work, on the title page or on its verso side.

devices like *acrosticon*. Although elegics and hexameter were the most popular metre, single and shorter examples of poems in different metres can also be found in the Nordic Greek Corpora.<sup>129</sup> What is especially missing in the Nordic Greek Corpora are songs accompanied by music. In the German lands, some Christian hymns were translated into Greek. Georg Leuschner (1589–1674) published his *Hellenodia Lutherana* consisting of Latin and German hymns, especially by Luther, translated into Greek, which could be sung in accompaniment to the original melody.<sup>130</sup>

Humanist Greek poems could also be clothed in contemporary poetic forms too but this was rare. In Minden, a German theologian Johannes Faes composed a Greek funerary poem (14 hex) in memory of Governor General for Swedish Pomerania Otto Wilhelm Königsmarck in 1690. Königsmarck, a Swede, was one of the leading officers of the Morean War and died in Greece in 1688. Faes' Greek poem is a Sonnet.<sup>131</sup> When the humanistic tradition to compose in Greek either ended altogether in many countries or diminished drastically, during the age of German *Neohumanismus*, new impulses to write poems in Greek were found by German scholars with an interest in translating contemporary German poetry, like Goethe and Schiller, into Greek.<sup>132</sup> There are some examples of the latter phenomenon also in Sweden, as well as two cases pertaining to Finnish literature from the nineteenth century.<sup>133</sup> In 1859, Johan Spongberg (1800–1888), a Professor of Greek in Uppsala, translated a Finnish folk poem into Greek (16 tro) titled Εἰδύλλιον (Ὠς ἀπὸ παρθένου ἀγροιώτιδος φεννικῆς).<sup>134</sup> The original, a beautiful and passionate love poem, *Jos mun tuttuni tulisi* (If only my companion would come), was composed by an anonymous folk poetess and was surprisingly frequently translated and well known outside Finland, partly due

<sup>129</sup> Weise also mentions “Supplementliteratur”, that is, philologists' attempts to complete an ancient poem – as Joachim Camerarius did for Theocritus' two *Idylls*. Weise 2016, 155.

<sup>130</sup> Weise 2016, 158–160 (“Lied”). *Hellenodia Lutherana* (VD 39: 148049B) is digitised by *Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden*, see <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/63707/1>.

<sup>131</sup> HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi). The Sonnet form was identified by Janika Päll. On Johannes Faes, see DB *s.v.*

<sup>132</sup> Weise 2016, 121–123, 161–164 (translations). Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf translated parts of the *Niebelungelied* into Greek. *Ibid.*, 162–163.

<sup>133</sup> On translations of Swedish literature into (Humanist) Greek in the nineteenth century, see Akujärvi 2021, 263.

<sup>134</sup> “A short Idyll (written by a Finnish country girl)”. Kleberg 1959.

to Goethe's German translation (via French) in 1810 titled *Finnisches Lied*.<sup>135</sup> Another example of Finnish interest is lector Zacharias Ahlin's Greek translation of the first act of a tragedy written in Swedish based on the myth of Ajax and composed by Finland's national poet J. L. Runeberg in 1864.<sup>136</sup>

There is one genre, however, that is nearly missing in the German material: drama, that is, dramas in Greek that were written in schools. Weise mentions, referring to Lizelius, Christopher Helwig's (1581–1617) translation into Greek of *Tobias* (1596), a play on Christian subject, as an example before *Neuhumanismus*.<sup>137</sup> Satire was also a rare genre. Joachim Camerarius composed a satiric epigram (13 eleg), which was published in 1538, a short dialogue (12 ll.) between a visitor (ξένος) and a personified piety (εὐσέβεια), where the former laments the disappearance of pious people.<sup>138</sup> It is perhaps telling that satire and comedy is completely missing in *The Hellenizing Muse* (2022), except by later writers.<sup>139</sup> But as the satiric and comic tones of a poem do not necessarily open up at first reading, the writer could have intended comicality that we today might fail to notice. However, the seeming absence of these two genres, satire and comedy, reveals the context in which Greek, the language of Aristophanes and Lucian, was identified at least by humanists in the northern parts of Europe. Greek was a solemn language especially in the seventeenth century due to its close relationship with the Protestant Reformation.

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<sup>135</sup> Goethe 1840 (*Sämmtliche Werke*, Stuttgart, p. 123). See the webpage on all the translations of the poem maintained by the Finnish Literary Society, <https://editiot.finlit.fi/exist/apps/tuttuni/index.html>.

<sup>136</sup> Ahlin 1864. Runeberg's *Kungarne från Salamis* (Kings from Salamis) in Swedish tells how Tecmessa and Teucer managed to obtain the rule in Salamis after Ajax's suicide. A curious detail is that Ahlin's translation was also Ahlin's successful disputation *pro munere* at the gymnasium of Skara (western Sweden). I am thankful to Johanna Akujärvi, who first informed me about Ahlin's translation.

<sup>137</sup> Weise 2016, 140.

<sup>138</sup> Schultheiss 2020, 174–175.

<sup>139</sup> Examples of Greek drama: John Christopherson's tragedy *Jephthah*, dated between 1544–1547, see Pontani & Weise 2022, 498–499 (S. Weise); the Greek passage of Isaac Zabanius' Latin play (1661), see Pontani & Weise 2022, 470–471 (F.G. Kiss & A. Németh); and German Johann Herrichen's three Greek idylls in dialogue form in 1668, see Pontani & Weise 2022, 189–192 (S. Weise). Other examples presented in *The Hellenizing Muse* are from later times: Julius Richter 1871 and Alvaro Rissa 2015.

### Melanchthon and the First Finnish Graecists

Before and after the Reformation a large number of Scandinavian and Baltic students studied in German universities, especially in Lutheran centres like Wittenberg and Rostock.<sup>140</sup> As mentioned before, the first Swede who wrote Greek was Laurentius Petri Gothus, later the second Archbishop of Sweden, while studying at Wittenberg under Melanchthon in 1559.<sup>141</sup> Moreover, Mikael Agricola and Erik Herkepaesus, two scholars who had a great impact on the Finnish Reformation, were Melanchthon's pupils and the first Finns who demonstrably had some knowledge of Greek, although no Greek text written by them is known. Both Agricola and Herkepaesus were later principals of the Turku Cathedral School – the former was appointed Bishop of Turku and the latter Bishop of Viipuri.<sup>142</sup> Besides Wittenberg, Herkepaesus studied at the University of Rostock, where also two other Finns, Matthias Marci and Ericus Erii Sorolainen, studied.

Greek literacy and the Reformation came hand in hand to Finland.<sup>143</sup> As in many small Reformed countries, the first landmark work printed in the vernacular was partly translated from Greek, namely the New Testament. Mikael Agricola, the father of literary Finnish, stated in the preface of his translation of the New Testament into Finnish (1548) that he had translated it “partly from Greek, Latin, German and Swedish”.<sup>144</sup> Agricola served as an assistant to the Bishop of Turku, Martinus Skytte, who had studied at the Dominican University in Naples. Skytte sent Agricola to Wittenberg under the tutelage of Melanchthon to complete his knowledge of the biblical languages. Greek instruction in Wittenberg was wide ranging during Agricola's study years (1536–1539), although it is not known to what extent the Finn attended or was able to attend this instruction. Melanchthon lectured on Isocrates, Demosthenes, Euripides,

<sup>140</sup> Nuorteva 2001 presents all the Finnish students who studied in foreign universities before the founding of the Royal Academy of Turku.

<sup>141</sup> Akujärvi 2020, 94–98 (Petri's Greek poems).

<sup>142</sup> Viipuri was the second episcopal see in Finland. It was founded in 1554 to serve the eastern half of the country.

<sup>143</sup> Oral culture lasted much later in eastern Finland than in Sweden, so that oral poetry could still be collected during the 19th century, resulting in the national epic, *Kalevala*, and a great deal of lyric poetry.

<sup>144</sup> According to Marja Itkonen-Kaila (1997, 10, 64–70), all four languages have affected the Finnish translation; see also Heininen 1976, 22–24. For a short description (in English) of Agricola's life and impact on Finnish reformation, see Traver 2001.

Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblon*, and explained parts of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.<sup>145</sup> Agricola passed his examination on New Testament Greek at the beginning of his second year, in autumn 1537. In the spring of 1539, one of the exams for completing his Master's degree was to translate from Greek into Latin. After matriculation, Agricola received a letter of recommendation from Melanchthon, which was a relatively common practice and not necessarily a token of Agricola's exceptional erudition.<sup>146</sup>

After returning to Turku, Agricola became principal of the Turku Cathedral School (1539–1548) and a member of the Cathedral Chapter until his appointment as Bishop of Turku, a position which he kept until his death. At that time, Greek was not yet part of the school syllabus in Swedish schools and it is reasonably evident that Agricola did not arrange the teaching of Greek in Turku during his principalship, following Melanchthon's principle that Greek would distract concentration on the study of Latin at the elementary level.<sup>147</sup> Agricola continued to cultivate his skills in Greek, at least according to one anecdote told of the Moscow Peace Mission, which culminated in the Treaty of Novgorod, 1557 and secured peace between Sweden and Russia.<sup>148</sup> The Swedish delegation to negotiate with Emperor Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible) included both Archbishop Laurentius Petri Nericius (d. 1573) – the first Lutheran archbishop of Sweden, who had also studied in Wittenberg – and Agricola. It is said that the Archbishop discussed differences between the Greek Orthodox and the Protestant churches with the Moscow Patriarch and that the discussion was conducted in Greek. The interpreter translated Greek into Russian for the Emperor, and, as it is told, Agricola smirked at the interpreter's numerous errors. This implies that Agricola also knew Russian,<sup>149</sup> but a more interesting issue is what kind of Greek did Laurentius Petri and the Patriarch of Moscow speak (if they spoke Greek at all)? An archaising form of Greek was

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<sup>145</sup> Melanchthon mentioned in his lecture programme that he would analyse Demosthenes little by little, so that those who had no text could write it down. In Melanchthon's view, writing the text down was a useful exercise: he reported that he himself had written out the *Epistle to the Romans* in Greek three times. CR 3, 378. Paulsen 1896, 365.

<sup>146</sup> Agricola also got a letter of recommendation from Luther. Tarkiainen & Tarkiainen 1985, 64–66.

<sup>147</sup> In his school ordinance of 1528, Melanchthon supported Comenius' view that pupils should only learn one foreign language at first. Hanho 1947, 14–15. Lagus 1890, 11.

<sup>148</sup> Tengström 1814–1821, 5. Heikel 1894, 17. Traver 2001, 6.

<sup>149</sup> Agricola was born in the parish of Pernaja in eastern Uusimaa (southern Finland) but studied in Viipuri, Carelia (near the Russian border).

used as a language of communication, at least between Tübingen humanists and the eastern Orthodox clergy.

Like Agricola, Erik Herkepaesus received a certificate or recommendation written by Melanchthon when he finished his studies at Wittenberg in 1551. Herkepaesus served as the principal of the Turku Cathedral School twice: first during 1555–1559, after which he was forced to resign. He was appointed again in 1562 until his second removal from the office in 1568. In his letters of appeal to Duke John of the Duchy of Finland (1556–1563) – later John III of Sweden – Herkepaesus explained that the reason for his first removal was that he had included Greek in the curriculum. This could well have been a successful strategy as the monarch had received a good classical education. Herkepaesus' appeal, however, came to nothing. It has been suggested that complaints about Herkepaesus' teaching of Greek worked as a convenient excuse for the Cathedral Chapter to get rid of a possibly difficult principal.<sup>150</sup>

Ericus Eriici Sorolainen (c. 1546–1625) began his studies at the Turku Cathedral School in 1563, that is, in Herkepaesus' second period as principal, so it is possible that he already knew some Greek before he enrolled at the University of Rostock (1573). Johannes Posselius Sr. was the Professor of Greek and David Chytraeus, a good Graecist and a pupil of Melanchthon, was the Professor of Theology. After graduating from Rostock, Sorolainen became principal of the school in Gävle (1578–1583), until his appointment as Bishop of Turku. Sorolainen was one of the developers of literary Finnish, but he also emphasised the ideal of *homo trilinguis* in his book of homilies in Finnish (*Postilla*, 1621)<sup>151</sup> by recommending to his target audience, the clergy, that everyone who teaches in parishes and schools should know Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He underlines that it would take a long time and a lot of study before these languages would be thoroughly learned.<sup>152</sup> In the *Postilla*, Sorolainen gives some explanations of Greek terms (φιλονεικία, ἐλέγχειν) and also refers to such names as Alexander the Great, Aristotle, Herodotus, Hesiod, Homer, Hyponactes, the Epicureans, Lysias, Menander, Plutarch, Pythagoras, Thucydides and Xenophon.<sup>153</sup> Sorolainen's

<sup>150</sup> Tengström 1814–21, 6–7 (an excerpt from Härkäpää's letter). See also Hanho 1947, 27 and Kajanto 2000, 57. Herkepaesus is a Latinised form of *Härkäpää* (Finnish), which means bull's head.

<sup>151</sup> Its obvious model was Luther's *Postilla* as well as *Postilla* by Jena's superintendent, Martin Mirus (1602). Kouri 1984, 214–216.

<sup>152</sup> Sorolainen 1621, 960. Kouri 1984, 210.

<sup>153</sup> Greek words and Greek persons, see Sorolainen 1621, 259, 302, 532, 575, 578, 613, 833, 941, and 964. In the context of Pentecost Monday, Sorolainen states that Homer, "the famous pagan *poeta*, praises one king, whose name was Agamemnon" and that Agamemnon spoke briefly but

studies in Rostock had certainly inspired him with ideals of German humanism, which he spread in his homeland. Four years later after Sorolainen, Matthias Marci from Åland enrolled at the University of Rostock, studying also under Posselius and Chytraeus. After graduation, Matthias Marci taught astronomy at the University of Rostock as a staff member. According to his own biographical remarks, written around 1581, he also taught Greek using Clenardus' grammar.<sup>154</sup> Matthias Marci is the first Finn known to have taught Greek at the university.

### Greek and Swedish Monarchs

As in many countries, such as France and England, monarchs in Sweden influenced the study of Greek and general humanistic studies. In 1566, Eric XIV of Sweden, the younger son of Gustavus Vasa, asked Archbishop Laurentius Petri Gothus to arrange the teaching of elementary Greek at the University of Uppsala.<sup>155</sup> Erik's brother, John III, contributed to the foundation of the Royal Gymnasium (*Gymnasium regium* or *Collegium Regium Stockholmense*) in Stockholm, where the teaching of Greek even included classical authors. It operated, however, for only a short time, from 1576 until the 1590s. During the 17th century, Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632) and his daughter Christina (1626–1689) invited famous scholars, or their sons, like Isaacus Vossius, the son of Gerardus Vossius, and Daniel Heinsius' son Nicolaus.<sup>156</sup> The most famous of the scholars, Descartes, lamented during his short and fatal stay at the Royal Court that the Queen focused on studying Greek at the expense of philosophy.<sup>157</sup>

Christina certainly tried to learn Greek in her twenties, Elizabeth I of England being her role model. Her teachers were German-born Johannes Freinshemius, Professor of Eloquence (*skytteanus*) at the University of Uppsala and Johannes

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when he spoke he spoke about "great and high things". Sorolainen 1621, 964–965. However, this reference to Agamemnon is directly, albeit in abbreviated form, taken from Martin Mirus' *Postilla*. Kouri 1984, 149.

<sup>154</sup> Nuorteva 1997, 266–267. Marci's teaching activity in Greek does not appear in the histories of the University of Rostock, so it was probably private.

<sup>155</sup> Annerstedt 1877b, 9. Collijn 1921, 117–118.

<sup>156</sup> Korhonen 2009, 49. The Dane Marcus Meibom, an expert on ancient music, was also invited to the Swedish Court and he arranged musical recitals of reconstructed ancient Greek music there. Päll & Valper 2014, 29.

<sup>157</sup> Korhonen 2009, 50. Christina also collected manuscripts, many of which she brought with her to Rome after her abdication of the Swedish throne in 1654. On Erik's and John's education, see Ingemarsdotter 2011, 68–69, Aili 1995, 134–135 and Ericson 2004, 43–46.

Gerdes, Professor of Jurisdiction in Rostock, who also translated Epictetus' *Enchiridion* together with Cebes' *Tabulae* into German (Stockholm, 1649). As a consequence of her enthusiasm for learning, many medals, with symbols of erudition, like the owl of Athena, were struck in Christina's honour, two of them even containing Greek, and several Greek eulogising poems were written to her as well as two orations on her in Greek was delivered, the earlier one, however, is no longer extant.<sup>158</sup> Furthermore, one Greek oration at Turku (1649) and two Greek dissertations were dedicated to Christina, one at Uppsala (July 1648) and the other at the Stockholm Gymnasium (1650).<sup>159</sup> It was believed that in autumn 1648 the Queen even attended as a guest the disputation of the former, a Greek dissertation on education according to the eighth Book of Aristotle's *Politics*.<sup>160</sup> Furthermore, Christina encouraged scholars to publish studies on certain subjects. The religious subject of the latter Greek dissertation (1650) dedicated to her was her suggestion, a fact that is mentioned on its title page.<sup>161</sup> Johannes Schefferus, Professor of Eloquence at Uppsala, tells in his preface of the dissertation on Pythagoreanism (1664) that the Queen had asked him to write on the subject already in 1653, when Christina had been interested in Neoplatonism.<sup>162</sup>

If the monarchs had some influence on initiating Greek studies, later it was school ordinances and the statutes of universities that had a decisive impact on both Greek teaching and Greek writing, because writing exercises

<sup>158</sup> On these medals containing Greek text, see below Chapter 3.2. The lost oration was held by Johannes (Paulinus) Olivekrantz in Uppsala on 20 May 1648. Fant 1775–86 I, 104 and von der Hardt 1701, 30. Neither of them mentions the exact title of the oration. See also Annerstedt 1877a, 396. Olavus Åkerman (Agraeus) wrote a substantial poem (84 hex) to Christina for her coronation in 1650. For a picture of the title page, see Päll & Valper 2014, 35 Nr. 75. For Greek poems written to Christina, see Kajanto 1993, 16–18 and 33–34.

<sup>159</sup> The oration: Gelzenius 1649; the dissertations: Ausius – Rezander 1648 and Gezelius Sr. – Emporagrius 1650.

<sup>160</sup> Christina attended at least three Latin disputations in 1647 and 1648 at the University of Uppsala, due to her interest in their subjects, or as part of her education, or to build up her image as an erudite Queen, or for all these reasons. Evidence of Christina attending the defence of the dissertation in Greek (1648) is based on a remark by H.G. Lidén in his catalogue of dissertations (1778). Korhonen 2010, 96 n32. Päll (2021, 751) refers to a handwritten remark on one copy of the Ausius – Rezander (1648) dissertation. It is not known when this note was written and whether it was based on Lidén.

<sup>161</sup> Ausius – Emporagrius 1650, title page. Korhonen 2010, 92 n14, Päll 2021, 751.

<sup>162</sup> Schefferus (1664) *De natura & constitutione philosophiae Italicae seu Pythagoricae*. Uppsala. Fant 1778–85 I, 91 and note n. Schefferus (1621–1679) was born in Strassburg and was one of the scholars Christina invited to her court.



were often mentioned in them. Furthermore, there were some teachers and professors who by their own example had a considerable influence on versifying in Greek.

### **Greek in Swedish Schools<sup>163</sup>**

As mentioned earlier, Greek was taught at the Turku Cathedral School during 1566–68 by the then rector, Ericus Herkepaeus, who had studied in Wittenberg.<sup>164</sup> Officially, it was the 1571 school ordinance that introduced Greek into the *curricula* of cathedral schools but only under private tutors, which probably meant extra expense for pupils willing to learn Greek.<sup>165</sup> The ordinance was prepared by the first Lutheran archbishop of Sweden, Laurentius Petri Nericius (d. 1573), who had studied at Wittenberg. The Swedish ordinance was largely based on Melanchthon's ordinance (1528 Wittenberg).<sup>166</sup> In any case, Martin Crusius stated in his *Germanograecia* (1585) that Greek had now reached the farthest North. His Swedish student, Petrus Jonae, had informed him of the Greek instruction given in Sweden.<sup>167</sup> But it was after the Uppsala Synod (1595), where the Lutheran faith was declared, that Greek instruction begun to be integrated and required in Swedish schools. Clenardus' Greek grammar was recommended to be used and the *Epistle to the Galatians* to be read as the first text.<sup>168</sup> Teachers obtained Greek textbooks. German-born Rector Johannes Mentz, at the Pori school (near Turku) during 1598–1600, owned a folio-sized lexicon by Johann Scapula (1594), which was later deposited at the Turku Cathedral School and then later at the university.<sup>169</sup> In 1604, the memorandum of the Consistorium of the University of Uppsala stated that students had to know some Greek before

<sup>163</sup> For a fuller presentation of this topic, see Korhonen 2021, 228–234 and Akujärvi 2021, 254–256.

<sup>164</sup> Tengström 1814–21, 6–7. Kajanto 2000, 57.

<sup>165</sup> Lagus 1890, 14. In medieval times, there were schools in every cathedral town, their primary task being to educate future clergy. *Ibid.* Turku Cathedral School was the only higher educational institution in Finland during the Middle Ages.

<sup>166</sup> Hanska & Lahtinen 2010, 83.

<sup>167</sup> Crusius 1585, 2v. Ludwig 1998b, 134, 147. For Crusius' Greek *propempticon* (34 hex) to Petrus Jonae in 1582, see Ludwig 1998b, 139–141.

<sup>168</sup> Clenardus' grammar was printed in Louvain in 1530. Ludwig 1998a, 77. For edition Köln (1534), see VD16 C 4128. On Nicolaus Clenardus (Nicolas Cleynaerts, 1495–1542), see Nuti 2014, 277–278.

<sup>169</sup> Vallinkoski, 1948, 92–93.

they enrolled at the University of Uppsala – then still the sole university in the Swedish Kingdom.<sup>170</sup>

Besides the collegium founded by John III of Sweden, there were two others, also short-time collegia, which had a more humanistic-orientated curricula: *Collegium Rudbeckianum* (1610–1613) and *Collegium illustre Stockholmense* or *Collegium Regium et illustre* (1625–c. 1632), which was intended for boys of noble families. The syllabus of the former, founded by Johannes Rudbeckius, a Rostock alumnus, contained besides the obligatory New Testament, such works as Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, Demosthenes' *First Olynthiac* and even Euripides' *Cyclops*. Besides Greek writing exercises, Rudbeckius is said to have encouraged students to converse in Greek.<sup>171</sup> Rudbeckius influences the humanistic flavour of the 1611 school ordinance, which stipulated besides the ordinary Ps.-Plutarch's treatise and Isocrates' orations, that Demosthenes, Homer and Euripides should also be read at the advanced level. The writing exercises included translations from Greek into Latin but also from Latin into Greek, along with the writing of short letters in Greek.<sup>172</sup> However, the school ordinance of 1611 was never quite realised, not only because it was not fully authorised by King Gustavus Adolphus, but also because there would not have been enough teachers competent in Greek to put it into practice. The school system was reorganised in the 1620s, when the statutes of the University of Uppsala were formulated and the gymnasium as an educational institution was introduced as a precondition for studies at the university.<sup>173</sup> The first gymnasium was founded in Västerås in 1623 and since it was established by the above-mentioned Rudbeckius, then Bishop of Västerås, it had from the start a comprehensive curriculum.<sup>174</sup> The first Greek teacher was Gabriel Holstenius, who had studied at the Halle gymnasium and had defended a Greek dissertation there.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>170</sup> Lagus 1890, 16.

<sup>171</sup> Palm 1976, 35. Lagus 1890, 18–19.

<sup>172</sup> Hanho 1947, 24–27, Hultin 1920, 6–7, Lagus 1890, 21. On the 1611 school ordinance with regard to Latin composition, see Ström 2003, 118–119.

<sup>173</sup> A list of Swedish *gymnasia*, see Hörstedt 2018, 30. During the 1640s, the Swedish school system contained a tripartite model including elementary schools; four-year “Trivial” schools (former Cathedral schools focusing on the medieval *trivium*), with elementary instruction in Greek; and four-year *gymnasia*, where Greek was taught at a more advanced level.

<sup>174</sup> Västerås is situated ca.70 kilometres southeast of Uppsala. Rudbeckius was appointed Bishop of Västerås in 1619.

<sup>175</sup> Korhonen 2018, 157–158. A list of these unpublished Greek dissertations, see Korhonen 2021, 707–708; see also Päll's catalogue, Päll 2021, 761–778.

The above-mentioned *Collegium illustre Stockholmense* for boys from noble families who aimed at political careers was founded on Johan Skytte's initiative, who had studied at Marburg. The curriculum included Demosthenes' *Olynthiacs*, an Aristophanes' comedy, Posselius Sr.'s Greek and Latin conversation manual (1587) and paraphrase of the *Gospel of John* attributed to Nonnus.<sup>176</sup> The *Collegium's* Greek-friendly statutes (*Ratio studiorum*) reflect the humanistic atmosphere prevailing in Sweden in the 1620s.<sup>177</sup>

The next school ordinance (1649), named after Queen Christina, following Comenian pedagogy, was, however, a setback regarding Greek instruction. It was largely developed by the then Professor of Theology at Uppsala, Laurentius Stigzelius, but the influence of Christina was supposedly quite considerable. Besides emphasising the liberal arts education and natural sciences, the ordinance admittedly increased Latin lessons, but it happened at the expense of Greek. Furthermore, the focus of Greek instruction was shifted back to New Testament Greek – which seems strange knowing Christina's interest in classical authors at this time. However, writing exercises are mentioned in connection with gymnasia: pupils should “imitate” the most highly regarded Greek authors in their exercises.<sup>178</sup>

Separate school ordinances that diverged from the national ordinance could also be suggested and issued. Bishop of Turku Johannes Gezelius Sr. issued his *Methodus informandi* for elementary schools in Finland in 1683, in which instruction in Greek largely concentrated on New Testament Greek. However, *exercitia Graeca* were also mentioned, although they could merely refer to grammatical exercises. Gezelius also suggested that schoolboys should keep practising Greek during their holidays by reading Aesop's fables in Greek – a collection of which Gezelius had conveniently published in Turku in 1669.<sup>179</sup>

The next national school ordinance (1693), called Carolingian after King Charles XI, recommended compendiums of maxims for Greek reading, such as sayings collected from Thucydides and Isocrates, collections of maxims by Church Father Nemesius of Edessa, “Pythagorean” sentences by Demophilus,

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<sup>176</sup> Lundstedt 1875, 26–28. For instance, Helvicius (1623, 29) listed Nonnus among the Greek authors he recommended imitating. On Nonnus' reception in Renaissance and early modern period, see articles by Francesco Tissoni and David Hernández de la Fuente in Brill's *Companion to Nonnus of Panopolis*, Accorinti 2016.

<sup>177</sup> On Latin writing exercises at the *Collegium illustre*, see Ström 2003, 121–123.

<sup>178</sup> Lundstedt 1875, 39.

<sup>179</sup> SKB 174. Korhonen 2004, 96–97.

and the *Disticha Catonis* translated into Greek by Maximos Planudes. All these texts were available and printed in Stockholm during the 1680s.<sup>180</sup> Weekly exercises in translation were mentioned as belonging to the Greek teaching at gymnasia. In 1701, Gezelius Jr. noticed that those who enrolled at university without having studied in gymnasia, had a very poor knowledge of Greek.<sup>181</sup> A final examination at a school in Hämeenlinna (a Finnish inland city) dated 1710 shows quite ambitious qualifications: at the primary level, students needed to know Greek grammar, the rules of accentuation and explain a passage from the Gospels, whereas at the advanced level students needed to provide a stylistic analysis of the Epistle of James. What is noteworthy is that the examiner reads out a text, which the student has to translate into Latin, and the senior students (*superiores*) even to translate into Greek.<sup>182</sup>

The following school ordinance (1724–1807) reflects how times were changing: at the so-called Trivial schools (< *trivium*), which were attended after elementary schools, only Christian authors were read: the Gospel of Matthew and pericopes (according to the liturgical year) along with Gezelius' *Grammatica Graeca* and Georgius Pasor's *Manuale Novi Testamenti*.<sup>183</sup> By contrast, the selection was broader at the gymnasia. After the first years with the New Testament and its stylistic idiosyncrasies (*idiotismi stili Sacri*) and Greek grammar, there were optional courses on Isocrates, Ps.-Plutarch's *Education* and a homily by either Chrysostom or Basil. In the third and fourth class, however, students might read Ps.-Pythagoras' *Golden Verses*, part of Homer's *Iliad* or Hesiod. As for writing exercises, translation from Latin to Greek from a text which was not known beforehand and *små imitationer* are mentioned. "Little imitations" refer to the writing exercises.<sup>184</sup> At the end of the eighteenth century, Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*, were also read in the upper classes of the gymnasium. The work was also printed in Turku in 1779. Greek instruction in Finnish schools obviously varied. Johan Browallius, Bishop of Turku (1748–1755), was so disappointed with the Greek instruction that he suggested that

<sup>180</sup> The editors were Jesper Swedberg and Haquin Spegel (at Skara gymnasium). For the *Disticha Catonis*, see Swedberg 1681; for Demophilus, see Swedberg 1682; for Demophilus and Nemesius, see Spegel 1685. The name of the last collection was Λέξεις ῥηταί.

<sup>181</sup> Lagus 1890, 70.

<sup>182</sup> Hultin 1920, 69. Lagus 1890, 70.

<sup>183</sup> However, the Turku meeting of the Synod of 1731 expressed the wish that the same authors would be read in so-called Trivial schools as in the gymnasia.

<sup>184</sup> See below Chapter 4.1, subsection "Exercises in Imitation".

Greek should only be started at university level because the teaching of Greek at schools was so poor.<sup>185</sup>

Despite the “little imitations”, enthusiasm for versifying in Greek had begun to diminish at the end of the eighteenth century – but also that this decline was partly caused by ordinances that did not emphasise writing exercises as an essential part of Greek instruction. Some kinds of grammatical exercises were surely not discarded though.

### **Greek at Uppsala and Turku Universities<sup>186</sup>**

Like the school ordinance, statutes determined the principles of instruction given at the Swedish Universities. The statutes were determined by the University of Uppsala (founded 1477, reorganised 1593), although other, minor Swedish universities in Tartu, Turku and Lund, founded in 1632, 1640 and 1668 respectively, could modify them for their own needs. Although some Greek was taught at the theological faculty at Uppsala during the 1560s, and more systematically during the 1580s, the first statutes in 1606 did not improve the situation. The separate Greek chair was issued at Uppsala only after the proper constitutions, along with new statutes, were issued in 1626. The universities of Turku, Tartu and Lund only had a chair in Greek and Hebrew, or “Sacred” Languages, so that Greek, Hebrew and other biblical languages were under the same professorship.<sup>187</sup> The 1626 statutes were drafted by two eminent and educated men, Count Axel Oxenstierna, the Chancellor of State, and Johan Skytte, and they were generous on behalf of secular authors. The statutes ordered that Greek professors should present stylistic models among ancient Greek historians, philosophers and poets like Homer, Euripides, Sophocles, Pindar and Theocritus. This meant that, during the seventeenth century, the Greek professor at Uppsala gave a course on at least one “profane” author yearly. For instance, Homer, Hesiod, Aristophanes and Theophrastus were taught at Uppsala according to the surviving lecture programmes.<sup>188</sup> Of course, the actual *curricula* did not always correspond to the ordinances given by the statutes, especially at Turku, Tartu and Lund, where the professor of

<sup>185</sup> Korhonen 2004, 88.

<sup>186</sup> See also Korhonen 2021, 234–238 and Akujärvi 2021, 256–259.

<sup>187</sup> The professorship was called *Linguarum Sacrarum professor*, *Linguarum Orientalium professor*, *Linguarum Hebraeae & Graecae professor*.

<sup>188</sup> Korhonen 2004, 100; Annerstedt 1877b, 278, *ibid.* 1909, 284–285.

Greek and Hebrew had to teach especially Hebrew, because it was not taught in schools.

In 1655, the new statutes, called Carolingian, were issued in Uppsala.<sup>189</sup> As regards Greek, they ordered that the professor should teach the theory and practice of the language with the help of the best Christian and pagan authors, especially the historians, orators, philosophers and poets whose writing style was exemplary. As in the 1626 statutes, good stylistic models were emphasised, except that no specific authors were mentioned. However, the 1655 statutes stressed active skills in Greek: the holder of the Greek chair had to train students in Greek declamations (practice orations) and disputations.

Lecture programmes (entitled, for instance, *Praelectiones academicae*, *Elenchus lectionum publicarum*) offer some glimpses into the actual Greek instruction given in the Swedish Empire. They are not extensively preserved from any seventeenth-century Swedish universities. However, what bears highlighting here is that the non-Christian Greek authors who were read in Turku were the same as those who were favoured in the *elementary* Greek courses throughout early modern Europe. With the exception of Aesop's fables, the texts included the Ps.-Isocratean *To Demonicus*, the Ps.-Plutarch's *Education*, the *Theognidea*, the sentence collections attributed to Phocylides and the *Golden Verses* attributed to Pythagoras, as well as the first book of the *Iliad*.<sup>190</sup> All of them were printed in Turku, the first two by Ericus Falander, the last one probably by David Lund – both were professors of Greek and Hebrew at Turku – and the rest by Gezelius Sr.<sup>191</sup> Although Hesiod was mentioned in the surviving lecture programmes of the Royal Academy of Turku only in 1728, students imitated Hesiod's verses in their Greek texts already during the 1640s and 1650s.<sup>192</sup>

Writing exercises (*exercitia stylilstili, compositio*) are sometimes mentioned in the lecture programmes. As far as one can conclude on the grounds of surviving programmes, writing exercises were given *privatim*. In 1677 at Uppsala, Petrus Aurivillius, Professor of Greek and a prolific Greek writer, promised to give exercises in Greek writing upon request (*exercitia quoque stili privatim petentibus*

<sup>189</sup> Schybergson 1918, 49–50.

<sup>190</sup> On the *Golden Verses* (*Aurea verba*) and Pseudo-Phocylides, see Botley 2010, 77–79; on teaching Pseudo-Plutarch's *Education of Children*, *ibid.*, 98.

<sup>191</sup> Falander 1671. SKB 1999; Lund 1695. SKB 1922. Korhonen 2004, 127–128.

<sup>192</sup> Korhonen 2004, 109, 124–125, and 184. On Greek authors who were lectured on in Turku, see *ibid.*, 105–110.

*non denegabit*) and to lecture *publice* on Isocrates and Homer.<sup>193</sup> At Turku, the first Professor of Greek and Hebrew, Martinus Stodius, who had studied in Wittenberg, announced in 1640 that he would teach Greek grammar *cum praxi* and further, in 1649, he promised to give *styli exercitium* in Greek. The university printing house had acquired its first Greek types around this time, in 1648 or 1649.<sup>194</sup> Consequently, it was possible for students to have their Greek products printed.

Because Greek was part of the professorship of oriental or “sacred” languages at Turku, it is obvious that not all holders of the chair had the same kind of interest in Greek. Petrus Bergius, the second professor (1654–1671), concentrated on Hebrew to such an extent that, in 1663, there were complaints that Bergius did not teach “profane” Greek authors nor did he guide students in Greek composition.<sup>195</sup> The next professor, Ericus Falander, promised to lecture *privatim* on Ps.-Isocrates’ *To Demonius*, as well as give *styli exercitium* in Greek in 1673.<sup>196</sup> During Falander’s professorship (1671–1682), the activity of composing Greek occasional texts increased significantly. Falander himself wrote 38 Greek texts, all of them in prose and mainly *gratulationes* for his students for defending dissertations.

Compared to Turku, many school editions of gnomic and other moralising Greek writers were published in Uppsala, Stockholm and Västerås. Besides the usual Ps.-Phocylides, Theognis and Ps.-Pythagorean *Golden Verses*,<sup>197</sup> there were many more, like Epictetus’ *Enchiridion* published by Johannes Paulinus, ennobled as Olivekrantz (Uppsala 1655), who also might bring out Euripides’ *Hecuba* (1651) and Theophrastus’ *Characters* based on Isaac Casaubon’s edition (Stockholm 1662).<sup>198</sup> An augmented edition of Theophrastus was published in 1669, also bearing the editor’s name: Johannes Schefferus, the above-mentioned

<sup>193</sup> *Praelectiones* 1677 (Uppsala).

<sup>194</sup> Tengström 1814–1821, 51–52 and Heikel 1894, 39. On the first Greek typefaces (1648/1649) at Turku, see below in this Chapter (“Printing Greek in Finland and their Inspection Process”).

<sup>195</sup> CAAP II, 485 (7 Oct. 1663). It was the Professor of Logic, Andreas Thuronius, one of the most brilliant scholars at Turku at that time, who found fault with Bergius’ teaching activities.

<sup>196</sup> *Praelectiones* 1673 (Turku).

<sup>197</sup> Besides Gezelius Sr.’s edition of Ps.-Pythagoras, Ps.-Phocylides and Theognis (Tartu 1646), a dissertation in two parts (1702–1703) was published as a commentary on *Golden Verses*. It was presided over by Olaus Celsius (respondents Johannes Ekberg and Lars Ferner). Lidén 1778 I, 351 (Nr. 11). Annerstedt 1909, 287.

<sup>198</sup> Epictetus (1655), Euripides’ *Hecuba* (1651), and Theophrastus (1662), see Collijn 1942–1944, 236, 244, 920.

Professor of *eloquentia* (Skytteanus).<sup>199</sup> *Disticha Catonis* with Scaliger's Greek translation was later published as a dissertation, commenting the maxims, supervised by Andreas Norcopensis and defended by Jesper Swedberg in 1681, whereas Maximos Planudes' translation of *Disticha Catonis* was published by Olof Rabenius in Västerås in 1701.<sup>200</sup> Schefferus also published Theon's and Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* in Uppsala in 1670 and 1680,<sup>201</sup> and already in 1647, he had published Aelian's *Various History* in Strassburg, which was reprinted in 1662 and 1685. Theophrastus' *Characters* was published for the third time by Erik Benzeliuss Jr. in Uppsala in 1708.<sup>202</sup>

Three manuscripts on lecture courses held by Israel Nesselius, a short-time Professor of Greek and Hebrew at Turku and, later, Professor of Greek at Uppsala, are interesting documents pertaining to the teaching of Greek literature in both universities.<sup>203</sup> The Turku *Collegium Graecum* was a private lecture, the lecture notes being signed by student Gabriel H. Peldan, dated *Aboae 1704*.<sup>204</sup> The course was well structured. Nesselius introduced Greek grammar (pp. 1–10) and then presented theories on the origin of the Greek language, concluding that it is based on Hebrew (pp. 11–14).<sup>205</sup> After that he discusses Greek dialects, naming

<sup>199</sup> Theophrastus (1669), see Collijn 1942–1944, 921.

<sup>200</sup> *Disticha Catonis* (by Nordenhielm/Norcopensis), see Lidén 1778–1780 I, 363 (Nr. 54); Rabenius 1701. In 1709 the famous mystic Emanuel Swedenborg defended a dissertation on Seneca and Publilius Syrus' maxims (with a Greek translation by J.J. Scaliger) under the presidency of Fabian Törner. Lidén 1778 I, 467 (Nr. 41).

<sup>201</sup> Schefferus 1670 and Schefferus 1680, see Collijn 1942–1944, 920. Schefferus 1647, see Collijn 1942–1944, 5 and Lindroth 1975, 211.

<sup>202</sup> Benzeliuss 1708. Benzeliuss' name is not mentioned on the title page, but see Annerstedt 1909, 289.

<sup>203</sup> On these lecture notes, see Korhonen 2004, 108–110. The Uppsala lecture notes are from the 1710s and 1720s: UB R26 (c. 40 pages) and UB Ihre (c. 130 pages), titled *Prolegomena de lingua Graeca feliciter addiscenda*.

<sup>204</sup> UB R25. The manuscript contains Nesselius' inauguration lecture entitled *Graecae privatis discipulis exhibitum atque communicatum, Aboae 1704* with a signature, "Gab. H. Peldan". Nesselius was officially appointed Professor of Greek and Hebrew at Turku only in 1705, but the previous holder of the chair, Isaacus Pihlman, was appointed Professor of *eloquentia* already in 1704. Peldan's signature is inscribed in the Turku *Collegium Graecum* and in the Uppsala *Collegium Graecum* in 1708. On Peldan, see the Register Database, *s.v.* The manuscript also contains Nesselius' Greek oration on ancient oracles and the lecture notes *Collegium linguae Romanae, Aboae 1709*, starting with *De eloquentia*. Nesselius was appointed Professor of *eloquentia* at Turku in 1707. See also Korhonen 2004, 108–109.

<sup>205</sup> Nesselius' topic in his inaugural lecture at Turku in 1706 was on the origin of languages: *De linguarum origine et fatis*. Holmberg 1932, 23 (Nr. 80).



seven: *aeolica, jonica, dorica, attica, boeotica, poetica and hebraica* (pp. 15–23). The rest of the course focused on introducing Greek authors from antiquity up until the Byzantine scholars, as well as Byzantine refugees in the West (pp. 24–42). It is noteworthy that Nesselius does not mention any Renaissance or Humanist Greek writers. He also briefly presents the contemporary textual critical method (*De methodo legendi scriptores Graeci*, pp. 42–44) as well as textbooks, dictionaries and philological research (pp. 44–48), like the above-mentioned Moschopoulos' textbook and even a contemporary Swedish one, namely Laurentius Norrmannus' edition on Theodoulos (1691).

Much later the university library in Turku bought Nesselius' Greek Collegium lecture notes from Carl Clewberg's estate. Clewberg was a Professor of Greek and Hebrew who died in 1765. The item is marked in the auction catalogue as *Isr. Nesselii Colleg. Graecum Mscr.* The lecture notes might have been handed down from one Greek and Hebrew Professor to another so that they had used the notes in preparing their own lectures on Greek language and literature.<sup>206</sup>

No research on Greek philology approaching modern standards was conducted at Turku. There were, naturally, dissertations on ancient history and mythology, such as on the Stoic concept of the periodic conflagration of the cosmos (*De ἐκπύρωσει Stoicorum*, 1692),<sup>207</sup> and even on "profane" Greek philology, like *Romanus bilinguis* (1703), in which Greek loanwords in Latin (like λῆϊος, λῆϊφος > *levis*) were studied.<sup>208</sup> Except for the New Testament, there were few textual critical analysis of Greek texts. The dissertation on Phocylides' fragment (*In verba Phocyllidae de quatuor generibus mulierum*, 1698), which was supervised by Christiernus Alander, contains the short Greek text on four animalised types of women (dog, bee, pig and horse) with pictures and an analysis only of the content.<sup>209</sup> Most dissertations on Greek language and culture, like these three, were from the end of seventeenth century, after the age of strict religious orthodoxy. Especially Torsten Rudeen, a Sweden-born Professor of Poetry, supervised many dissertations on Greek mythology. The most notably philological project – on Aristotle's *Poetics* – was presided over by Petrus Laurbecchius, Professor of Poetry.

<sup>206</sup> At Turku, Abraham Alanus lectured on Greek history in 1710 and Daniel Juslenius on Greek dialects in 1726. *Praelectiones* 1710 and *Praelectiones* 1726. On the auction catalogue see Vallinkoski 1975b, 170.

<sup>207</sup> Lund – Ekelund, 1692. Vall. 2329. The dissertation contains a Greek congratulation to Ekelund by Johannes Rogbergius.

<sup>208</sup> Pihlman – Turdin, 1703. Vall. 2949.

<sup>209</sup> Phoc. 2 (West), *apud* Stob. 4.22.192. Vall. 109. The respondent was Laurentius Qwist. The dissertation argues (on p. 23) that the poem was an imitation of a lost Sibylline Oracle.

The serial dissertation (1680–1682) has not been preserved in its entirety. It included the first short chapter of Aristotle's work (*Poet.* 1447a8 – 1447b27) with a translation into Latin, a commentary and a theory on poetry. Most of the Greek philological dissertations concerned biblical subjects, like the one on the food that the prodigal son ate in the biblical parable (*De vocis κερατίων significatu Luc. XV.16*), supervised by David Lund in 1697.<sup>210</sup>

By contrast, critical editions based on manuscripts were sometimes published at the University of Uppsala. Galen's *Protrepticus* was edited by Petrus Kistenius (1636) and Palaephatus by Martinus Brunnerus (1663), both based on a manuscript which Christian Ravius, the Professor of Oriental Languages at Uppsala, had brought from Constantinople. In 1664, Johannes Schefferus published two Greek treatises on military issues by Arrian and Mauricius, which were based on a manuscript that his Italian colleague had sent him. The fact that Mauricius' work has not been published before is mentioned on the title page (*nunquam ante publicata*).<sup>211</sup> Councillor of State, Claes Rålamb, brought a manuscript containing several treatises from Constantinople, which Greek professor Laurentius Norrmannus published as seven dissertations in 1687–1702, including Aristides' orations, rhetors Alexander and Minycius from the second century and some Byzantine authors like Phoibammon, Thomas Magister and Theodoulos.<sup>212</sup> In 1705, the librarian of the Uppsala University library, Erik Benzelius Jr., supervised (and wrote) a dissertation on three of Chrysostom's homilies based on a manuscript, the respondent being Andreas Rhyzelius. Benzelius had studied paleography at the Bodleian Library and had gained access to this manuscript of Chrysostom.<sup>213</sup> All these editions contain a Latin translation and commentary. Although these critical editions naturally do not reach modern

<sup>210</sup> Vall. 2472. The respondent was the youngest son of Johannes Gezelius Sr., Nicolaus Gezelius, who died in the same year at the age of only 15 years. Heikel (1894, 97–97) praises the dissertation for showing wide reading.

<sup>211</sup> Schefferus 1664, see Lindroth 1975, 212, Collijn 1942–1944, 831. Annerstedt 1909, 288. Plantin 1736, 76 note k. Palm 1993, 36.

<sup>212</sup> See Akujärvi 2021, 806–807. Lindroth 1975, 214–215, Annerstedt 1909, 288. The title of the Aristides (1688) begins Ἀριστείδου Ῥήτορος λόγοι δύο, and the fact that the texts were edited from manuscripts is mentioned on the title page (*de codice manuscripto descriptis ac editis*), see Norrmannus – Eek 1687. Lidén 1778–1780, 367 (Nr. 18).

<sup>213</sup> Benzelius – Rhyzelius 1705, 76. Lidén 1778–1780, 55 (Nr. 18). In his commentaries after each oration, Benzelius reports that the manuscript is *cod. Barocciano n:o 55* (Benzelius – Rhyzelius 1705, 76). The dissertation is digitised in the DIVA portal. See also Annerstedt 1909, 289. Palm 1993, 37 and Akujärvi 2021, 793–794 and 797–798 (Norrmannus' report of his editing and translation of Aristides).

standards, they are expressions of high confidence in the knowledge of Greek in Sweden.

In Uppsala, many dissertations were written not only on Greek culture but also on language – even on Greek pronunciation, like the one presided over by Samuel Skunk and defended by Olaus Swanberg in 1672. *De pronunciatione Linguae Graece* begins with the statement that articulated language is a uniquely human feature, and continues with thoughts about the first language (Adam's) after which the writer or writers (*praeses* and respondent) go from alpha to omega to prove the correctness of Erasmian pronunciation, supporting it with Greek loanwords in Latin. Hence, for instance, Greek *Beta* cannot be pronounced /bi:/ because the sound of sheep is described as βῆ βῆ by ancient Greek writers.<sup>214</sup> Besides the controversy on how to pronounce ancient Greek, the issue was imperative because Greek texts were read aloud in classes, and delivering Greek orations and Greek poems were not particularly unusual occurrences in early modern universities.<sup>215</sup> Furthermore, the opposition between Erasmian and Reuchlinian pronunciation manifested the difference in the notion of Greek between early modern humanists and their Greek contemporaries.<sup>216</sup>

### 2.3. Introduction to the Turku Greek Corpus

The first university in Finland was founded in the then capital of Turku (Åbo in Swedish) in 1640. The official name was the Royal Academy of Turku, *Regia Academia Aboensis*, and it was also called Christina's Academy (*Academia Christiana*) as it was founded during her reign. At the beginning, it had nine professorships, including the chair of "oriental" or "sacred" languages, which included not only Greek and Hebrew, but also other biblical and oriental languages, that is, semitic languages like Aramaic, "rabbinic language" (Talmudic Aramaic), the Syrian language and Arabic. However, only a knowledge of Greek and some Hebrew was assumed to belong to the lingual skills of an average educated man. Therefore, it

<sup>214</sup> Skunk – Swanberg 1672, §XIII. Lidén 1778–1780, 422 (Nr. 22). See also Päll on Greek pronunciation based on Estonian material, Päll 2005. Plantin lists some Greek dissertations and quite a few on Greek subjects in Swedish universities (mainly from Uppsala), Plantin 1736, 64–74 and 76–80 note m. Plantin also lists orations on Greek subjects, *ibid.* 76–77 note l.

<sup>215</sup> See Han Lamers' and Raf Van Rooy's reflections on recitations of (Humanist) Greek poems in the Dutch learned environments. Lamers & Van Rooy 2022, 22–24.

<sup>216</sup> Martin Crusius was on the side of itacism, see Crusius 1562, 9–10.

was reasonable to speak of the professorship as Professor of Greek and Hebrew.<sup>217</sup> The chair was in the Faculty of Philosophy, whereas New Testament Greek was also taught in the Faculty of Theology by the second professor of Theology. The specific Greek chair was founded only in 1812, that is, after the Finnish War (1806–1809), when Finland was annexed to the Russian Empire, and, shortly after that, the university was moved to Helsinki, the new capital.<sup>218</sup>

The Great Northern War (1700–1721) meant an interruption in the functioning of the University in Turku: the occupation of southern Finland by the Russians in 1713 caused most of the professoriate and other academic professionals to flee to Sweden. The university was reinaugurated in 1722.<sup>219</sup> The period before this interruption, the age of the “Old Academy” as it is called – or the Age of Humanism<sup>220</sup> – was also a period during which Greek texts were mostly written by Turku scholars and students. The total number of students in the period of the Old Academy was about 4,900.<sup>221</sup>

Students and teachers in Turku composed over 400 Greek texts – the number also includes texts written in Turku but printed elsewhere (like in Uppsala, Stockholm or Tartu), lost texts and manuscripts. They were published during the years 1648–1786, that is, from the time the first Greek typefaces were received in 1648/1649 until the last Greek text was published in 1786.<sup>222</sup> Many wrote

<sup>217</sup> The names varied: *Linguarum Sacrarum professor*, *Linguarum Orientalium professor*, *Linguarum Hebraeae & Graecae professor*. The list of Professors of Greek and Hebrew at the Royal Academy of Turku, see Halén 1993, 142–151, Korhonen 2020, 235 n54.

<sup>218</sup> The final move of the university to Helsinki only occurred after the Great Fire of Turku in 1827, which destroyed most of the University’s property, including its library. The university was then named the Imperial Alexander University of Finland in honour of Emperor Alexander I. Finland was, however, declared an autonomous Grand Duchy of Russia and it retained fundamentally Swedish laws, the Lutheran faith, and the university statutes were also similar to those in Sweden.

<sup>219</sup> Finland, especially the eastern parts, was also occupied by the Russian army during the second and third years of the Russo-Swedish War (1741–1743). This did not, however, cause such large-scale evacuations as had occurred during the Great Northern War.

<sup>220</sup> See Kajanto 1995, 164–165.

<sup>221</sup> Klinge *et al.* 1987, 308–309 (Table 1, John Strömberg). The total student population of the university in its Turku period (1640–1826) was 12,106 students. Many of them studied only a few years in Turku before moving, for instance, to Uppsala or before simply quitting their studies.

<sup>222</sup> For the list of texts in chronological order, see Korhonen 2004, 436–451. Some corrections and additions: p. 437: 1653 the anonymous writer [*Anonymi*] is Jacobus Eurenus; p. 438: 1660: I. Falader’s poem (24 hex) is not lost, Vall. 4428; p. 440: 1678 M. Nicander’s text 12 lines *pro* 22 lines; in 1679: O. Lauraeus’ poem 5 eleg *pro* 5 hex; p. 448: 1700: Procopaeus *pro* Procopoeus, 1703: E. Cajanus’ poem *pro* 1706, p. 450 Granrooth *pro* Granroth, Flege *pro* Fleege. The Comparison material, p. 454 Gubb *pro* Grubb, p. 456 Rubenus *pro* Rubenius, Norrmann *pro* Nortman,

several texts so that the total number of writers is 209.<sup>223</sup> Nearly 60 per cent were born in Finland but their mother tongue could have been Swedish, which was the prevalent language, especially in the western part of Finland. The remaining Greek writers came from Sweden or Estonia – only a few came from elsewhere, such as from Lithuania.<sup>224</sup> Especially during the first decennia of the university, most of Greek texts were written by Sweden-born students, often having a better basic training in Greek when enrolling in universities than Finland-born students.

Most poems and prose pieces are short (2–12 lines) although there are poems that extend to 44, 83 and even 123 lines as well as some prose texts that comprise several pages. The corpus consists of short texts (**Group 1A** and **B**), longer academic texts (**Group 2**), and manuscripts (**Group 3**). The first group (**Group 1A**) is divided into short epideictic texts in *commemorative anthologies* (*not* collections), that is publications addressed to one person or several persons containing texts of a certain genre, like a publication consisting of wedding congratulations to a certain couple by different writers, often in different languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Semitic (biblical) and modern languages, including Swedish and Finnish, especially since the end of the seventeenth century). Thus, commemorative anthologies were often multilingual, containing poems or prose texts of a certain genre to a certain person for a certain occasion. Poems could also be printed as separate leaflets or as broadsheets. There is no common, unequivocal, international term for these kinds of publications. In Sweden and Finland, they are often called *personskrifter/henkilökirjallisuus* (“person literature”), referring to the fact that they are public and private at the same time.<sup>225</sup> Another group of

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numbers (11) and (13) are the same, p. 457: Moraues *pro* Moraues, Hojer *pro* Höjer, Hofrenius *pro* Hoffwenius, Traukettel *pro* Trautzettel, Lagerlöf *pro* Lagerlöf, p. 458 Troilus *pro* Troilius. Additions: Martinus Stodius’ congratulation (6 eleg) to Jacobus Raumannus for his translation of Augsburg’s Confession in Finnish in 1651 (SKB 600); Claudius Agraeus’ congratulation (one Sapphic stanza) for a reprint of a serial dissertation in 1653 (SKB 1678); Daniel Juslenius’ poem (3 hex) in 1715 (mss), and Petrus Magni Hahn’s application for a scholarship in 1682 (mss) and a wedding poem by Andreas Thuronius 1652, see HUMGRAECA Database (Korhonen).

<sup>223</sup> For a list of writers and a reference to their Greek texts, see Korhonen 2004, 462–467.

<sup>224</sup> Foreign students at the Royal Academy of Turku can be searched with the help of the Register Database > *Ylioppilaat aikajärjestyksessä* (“Students in chronological order”) > *Maantieteellinen rajaus* (“geographical framing”) > *Syntymä- tai kotipaikka* (“place of birth or native place”), and, for instance, by the university town (e.g. Greifswald), which shows all the students who came from Greifswald or who had also studied in Greifswald. See also the Register Database > *Ylioppilaat aikajärjestyksessä* (“Students in chronological order”) > *Muiden yliopistojen ylioppilaat* (“Students of other universities”).

<sup>225</sup> They are not *ephemera*, transient documents of everyday life, like postcards, newspapers or menus. The title of Melander’s bibliography of commemorative anthologies from Finland (1562–

short occasional Greek texts (**Group 1B**) is congratulatory texts in dissertations and orations as well as dedications in dissertations. They are also “person literature” focusing on the addressee, but they can be called *paratexts*, because they are published along with a main text (a dissertation or an oration), which was usually in Latin. These paratexts were also multilingual. They are basically *not* threshold or liminary texts, which comment on the publication<sup>226</sup> – although both congratulatory and dedicative texts in dissertations and orations can also handle or refer to the subject of the dissertation or oration. *Congratulations for dissertations*, which comprises 267 Greek texts, is the largest group in the Turku Greek Corpus as well as in the Swedish and Estonian Greek Corpus.<sup>227</sup> These paratexts are easily discarded when speaking of early modern occasional literature, because they are less conspicuous: they are only addenda to the main text with which they were published and hence they are often not mentioned in national bibliographies. Furthermore, especially congratulatory texts (poems and prose) for dissertations form a poorly defined subgenre compared with, for instance, wedding congratulations, which had a solid tradition going back to antiquity. To define this genre (congratulations for dissertation) is therefore required (see below Chapter 4.3).

A significant detail with regard to these two groups (1A and 1B) is the expenses of their publication. In the case of paratexts (Group 1B), the printing of a dissertation or oration was paid for by the respondent of the dissertation or the deliverer of the oration, who had probably received funding from the people to whom he had dedicated the publication. Instead, the commemorative anthologies (Group 1A) were either paid for collectively – containing several poems and texts in prose by different authors – or they were paid for, for instance, afterwards by the very person(s) about whom and to whom the commemorative anthology was written.<sup>228</sup>

The Turku humanists wrote some longer texts (**Group 2**), namely seven orations (some of them lost) and one Greek dissertation, as well as one Greek preface for a Latin dissertation. Some orations were clearly practice orations, like Paulinus’ excellent *Finlandia* (1678), displaying the deliverer’s erudition,

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1700) begins with the word *Personskrifter*. See also below Chapter 4.2.

<sup>226</sup> See above Chapter 2.1 (“Threshold or Liminary Texts in *editiones principes*”).

<sup>227</sup> Akujärvi 2021, 252; for Estonian material, see Päll 2018, 86 (Table 1: *gratulatio (in dissertationem)*).

<sup>228</sup> It was as if the person who was eulogised and congratulated in a commemorative anthology had himself paid for his praises.

others were written to celebrate certain festive occasions. The Turku Greek Corpus also contains manuscripts (**Group 3**): seven application letters for the Royal scholarship were written in Greek within the years 1658–1693, asserting students' need for funding and their diligence. Because this text group is quite unique, it will be presented as a case study in Chapter 5.2.<sup>229</sup>

A particularly significant congratulatory poem (6 eleg) was written by Martinus Stodius, the first Professor of Greek and Hebrew in Turku, to vicar Jacobus Raumannus (c. 1600–1678), who had translated Augsburg's confession into Finnish. The translation (that also bears a Swedish title) was printed in Stockholm in 1651.<sup>230</sup> Stodius' poem is a rare Greek paratext in Turku because it was printed along with a publication whose main language was Finnish. Its main target audience was Finnish pastors in Finnish-speaking parishes. The circulation of this essential book in a Lutheran country was wide and along with it the practice – to congratulate in Greek – became familiar.<sup>231</sup>

The most active years of composing short texts, poems and prose in Greek in Turku were the last decades of the 17th century.<sup>232</sup> After the Great Northern War and the restoration of Turku University (1722) this tradition diminished: only 47 Greek texts were published, and – apart from two funerary poems (Group 1A) – they were paratexts (Group 1B): 30 congratulations for dissertations and 15 dedications in dissertations. The humanistic tradition to publish multilingual commemorative anthologies was coming to an end. However, the just mentioned two funerary poems are exceptionally long (in the context of the Turku Greek Corpus): Johan Welin's poem (127 hex) was published in 1728 as a separate leaflet and Martinus Peitzius' poem (49 hex) in 1737 as a broadsheet.

From this period (1722–1786), there are some other examples of exceptionally long or somehow noteworthy prose paratexts in dissertations.

<sup>229</sup> Swedish and Estonian Greek Corpuses include manuscripts with poems, see HUMGRAECA Database, manuscripts; the most notable is Josef Thun's manuscript collection, see Akujärvi 2018, 167. On Gregor Krüger's manuscript containing his Greek poems, see Päll 2018, 61–69. On Petrus Aurivillius' manuscripts, containing Greek orations and a dissertation, see Korhonen 2021, 712 and 713–716.

<sup>230</sup> Raumannus 1651, F2v (SKB 600). This text is missing in my list of the Turku Greek Corpus (Korhonen 2004, 436–451). Raumannus also translated Luther's *Catechismus* into Finnish in 1674 as well as other devotional literature. Jacobus Pauli Raumannus (1600–1678) was a teacher at the Turku Cathedral School before he became a vicar in Pirkkala (in central Finland).

<sup>231</sup> Ericus Cajanus wrote a Greek funerary poem (22 eleg) to his relative, which was published along with the *parentatio* in Finnish in 1706 (Mel. 1791). On Cajanus' imitation of Ps.-Phocylides, see below Chapter 3.5.

<sup>232</sup> See the Tables in Korhonen 2004, 191 and 283.

The two longest were written by Gabriel Maxenius (a dedication) and by Gabriel Holmudd.<sup>233</sup> The subject of Gabriel Maxenius' dissertation (1733) was the effects of Finnish magic spells. Despite the interesting topic, Maxenius concentrates on χάρις in his Greek dedication (32 ll.) – benevolence was indeed an obvious topic for dedications. However, Maxenius indirectly compares benevolence with magic spells by stating that *charis* manifests itself in its effects like the sun, which gives light, or like smoke which indicates fire.<sup>234</sup> The other exceptionally long Greek paratext is from 1754. Andreas Carling's dissertation, *De bysso*, discusses the expensive byssus cloth or sea silk in which the rich man was clothed in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19).<sup>235</sup> Besides briefly referring to the subject, Gabriel Holmudd considers the importance of studying history in his congratulatory prose text. Holmudd begins with a statement that history is the foundation of all other sciences, imitating the maxim "A beam is the foundation of a house".<sup>236</sup> However, Holmudd prefers natural history – the physical world as a manifestation of God's creation – rather than the history of humanity.

Although one cannot say that the tendency during the eighteenth century was fewer but longer Greek texts, some of those few who chose to write in Greek might have had more ambitious aims and their texts therefore have more interesting contents than many of those written in the previous century.

<sup>233</sup> In Uppsala, Gabriel Mathesius (1705–1772), born in Pyhäjoki (northwest Finland) wrote a Greek prose congratulation (53 ll.) to his compatriot, Gabriel Arctopolitanus, who disputed on the origin of Finnish religion (*De origine ac religione Fennorum*) in 1728. Mathesius discusses at length the topics of the thesis: after presenting theistic, deistic and atheistic views, he then paraphrases Xenophon's argument (*Mem.* 4.3.16.) that it is right to honour gods. He also lists the peculiarities of pagan religions, like sacrificing children and maidens, worshipping graven images (stones, trees, etc.) and, for example cats, as well as mentioning several nations – Frygians, Ethiopians, Persians, Egyptians, Scyths, Assyrians – seemingly based on his knowledge of Herodotus (2.66–69). He ends by stating that ancient Finns were not different, which Arctopolitanus, the addressee, shows in this dissertation. Although Mathesius' Greek is simple, he even uses dual forms. He was appointed Professor of Greek at Uppsala (1737–1745) only three years after his matriculation. Korhonen 2004, 296–297 (an excerpt from the Greek congratulation). See also HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi).

<sup>234</sup> *De effectibus fascino-naturalibus* (Vall. 393). Maxenius dedicated the dissertation to seven eminent men from Savo (in eastern Finland), a region where he had collected spells. Korhonen 2004, 364–365.

<sup>235</sup> Val. 2400. Holmudd was one of the opponents of the dissertation. The Greek congratulation contains only 48 lines, but line spacing is tight so that there are a lot of words on three pages in quarto format. For a translation of line 1–34 into Finnish, see Korhonen 2004, 344.

<sup>236</sup> Lubinus 1622, O6v: κατήλιψ οἴκου κρηπίς / *Fundamentum domum trabs est*.



One feature of Greek texts composed at Turku was that over 40 per cent were short prose texts, not poems. This especially concerns the largest text group, congratulations for dissertations. The metres of the Turku Greek Corpus included hexameter (122 poems) – a popular metre especially during the 1690s – and elegiac couplets (98 poems).<sup>237</sup> Very few experimented with other metrics: three writers used iambic dimetre or trimetre, three wrote Sapphic stanzas, two composed poems using *adoneus*, and two writers tried anacreontics, and one anapestics.<sup>238</sup> Of these experimenters, two names are particularly worth mentioning: Petrus Laurbecchius, Professor of Poetry, wrote one Sapphic and one iambic congratulatory poem in 1674, and student Matthias Salinius experimented with all above-mentioned five prosodic types during 1694–1695. One reason for Salinius' versatility could have been that professor Torsten Rudeen, who graduated from Uppsala, was a genuine poet in Swedish. Rudeen was appointed Professor of Poetry at Turku in 1692, a post he held until 1706. Rudeen did not compose Greek verses, but he inspected and corrected students' Greek poems when the Professor of Greek and Hebrew, Isaacus Pihlman, was found to be incapable of doing so.<sup>239</sup> Rudeen probably inspired Salinius, who wrote fourteen Greek occasional poems (from both groups, 1A and 1B) during 1693–1704, becoming thus the most prolific Greek student versifier in Turku. It is noteworthy that Salinius wrote poems especially to professors, in this way 'networking' with persons in position, and many of his poems that belong to Group 1A (especially congratulations for inaugurations) were published as separate commemorative leaflets, that is, the publications contained only Salinius' poem or two poems by him.<sup>240</sup>

For some reason, professors wrote Greek wedding poems but not Greek congratulations for their colleagues' inaugurations. To students, they primarily

<sup>237</sup> For a table of metrics in Greek poems published in Turku divided into different decennia from the founding of the university until 1786, see Korhonen 2004, 149.

<sup>238</sup> See HUMGRAECA Database (Korhonen), for example, *adoneus*: > Prosodic types (adon) + Place (Turku).

<sup>239</sup> CAAP IX, 579 (13 of April 1709).

<sup>240</sup> Of the congratulatory poems for inaugurations, two were for a rectorship and three for a professorship in five publications (Mel. 1390, Mel. 1467, Mel. 1479, Mel. 1681, Mel. 1685), that is, two of them contained two inaugural poems by Salinius. One publication contains a Latin poem by another writer (Mel. 1467). Salinius wrote a funerary poem (28 hex) for Professor David Lund's son in 1697 (Mel. 1633), five congratulations for dissertations and one congratulation for a degree ceremony (Mel. 1431). Salinius (d. 1737) was enrolled at the university in 1691. After graduation, he worked as a teacher at the Turku Trivial School before he was appointed vicar of Pöytyä (in south-eastern Finland). Two of his last congratulations for dissertations were written when he was already working as a teacher.

wrote congratulations for dissertations, especially for those dissertations which they themselves had supervised. Three professors who were prolific in Greek versifying also clearly influenced Greek texts written by students. During the 1670s, the professor of Greek was Ericus Falander (1671–1682), who himself wrote 38 short epideictic texts in Greek – all in prose. Students too seem to have preferred prose then. During the 1680s, Simon Paulinus (1684–1691) favoured elaborate headings in his Greek congratulatory texts and long headings also appeared in students' Greek texts. Nearly all of the 31 Greek poems composed by Professor David Lund (1691–1697) were in hexameter, and consequently this metre became the most popular in the 1690s among students as well.<sup>241</sup>

The vocabulary of many short Greek texts is quite concise and stereotyped. Thematics circled obviously around academic issues such as studying, the efforts and sacrifices one needed to acquire an education, learning and progress in studies, and the qualities needed in succeeding in studies. In funeral and wedding poems, themes were often taken from antiquity, due to the long tradition of these genres, though Christian overtones were also added. Eulogies to persons might, however, reveal interesting details of a person's life. In addition, congratulations for dissertations may also refer to the topic of the dissertation.

The number of Greek texts in the Turku Greek Corpus is an approximation because the concept of nation in this period is problematic. For instance, Josef Thun, a Sweden-born student, might during his study years (1679–1682) at Turku have composed the Greek poems in his collection *Amores Sacri* (Stockholm 1682) – the Greek psalm paraphrase *Hymnus in Filium Dei* and some poems in the section *Poëmatia Graeca*. His life and career was, however, primarily in Sweden. Therefore, his Greek poems, except the one congratulation for inauguration he published in Turku, are not counted as belonging to the Turku Greek Corpus.<sup>242</sup> This concerns even Johan Paulinus' *Finlandia* because it was

<sup>241</sup> Greek congratulations for dissertations: during the 1670s, 51 texts (37 in prose, 9 eleg, 3 hex, 2 other metres); during the 1680s, 74 texts (39 prose, 20 hex, 15 eleg); during the 1690s, 63 texts (15 prose, 35 hex, 12 eleg, 1 iamb), during 1700–1713 (before the Russian occupation), 19 texts (4 prose, 8 hex, 7 eleg).

<sup>242</sup> See the Introduction in this book. The section *Poëmatia Graeca* in Thun's *Amores sacri* contains 16 poems: the part titled *Epigrammata* contains twelve poems to twelve Apostles – in the Peter epigram Peter laments that he betrayed Jesus and the Paul epigram describes the dangers which the Apostles encountered on their journeys. The remaining four epigrams are eulogies written to Thun's mentors and acquaintances in Strängnäs and Turku: the Bishop of Strängnäs, Matthias Lidenius (Thun's Greek tutor in Strängnäs gymnasium; Thun compares their relationship with Achilles' relationship with his teachers, Phoenix and centaur Cheiron), Gezelius Sr. (Bishop of Turku) and Gezelius Jr. (Superintendent of Narva). The title of the last poem (5 eleg) refers to

published in Uppsala (1678) and Stockholm (1694), not in Turku. Although the question of “belonging” is not as such important as the mobility of students and scholars inside the Swedish Empire was great, the question of the impact of the university and the local community of letters on the composed Greek poems and prose is an interesting one. It is also true to say that students who came from mainland Sweden to study at the Royal Academy of Turku, were often better qualified in Greek and could thus heighten the level of Greek versifying in Turku.

### The Genres of Shorter Greek Texts

Short epideictic texts, poems and prose in commemorative anthologies (Group 1A) include 28 funerary and 20 wedding texts. They follow the traditional models and prescriptions of their genres: funerary texts contain to varying degrees the basic parts, *lamentatio*, *encomium* and *consolatio*, and Greek wedding congratulations often concentrate on certain topics, like the ideal marriage and the ideal wife combined with Christian ideas (*Proverbs* 31:10–31). Furthermore, Group 1A contains 25 congratulations for inaugurations to professors, extraordinary professors, rectors (principals) and bishops, whose basic thematic is leadership, as well as eight congratulations for attendants of the degree conferment ceremonies, one of them is for doctoral, all others for magisterial ceremonies.<sup>243</sup> There are also six texts belonging to other subgenres, like *propemptica*. Some subgenres of contemporary epideictic literature are missing in the Turku Greek Corpus, like Christmas and Easter greetings.<sup>244</sup>

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Gezelius Jr.'s appointment as Superintendent. However, Thun had already written a congratulation (24 eleg) to Gezelius Jr. in 1681 – his only poem published at Turku University (see below Chapter 4.5, subsection “Dialogues, *Prosopopoeiae* and Apostrophes”). The function of these two poems to Gezelius Jr. is different: the earlier one (1681) was an occasional poem, a congratulation for inauguration and a *propempticon* (Gezelius Jr. was leaving Turku, going to Narva). The second poem, published in *Amores Sacri* (1682) was a general eulogy to Gezelius Jr. and was not connected with any specific occasion.

<sup>243</sup> Greek congratulations for degree conferment ceremonies are only found in 1672, 1679, 1694 and 1700.

<sup>244</sup> These include a panegyric poem in the festivities of the founding of the Royal Academy of Turku in 1640, a congratulation for the Chancellor of the University by Johannes Gezelius Sr., a *propempticon* by Josef Thun (1681), two *epibateria* (in 1674 and 1689) and a well-wishing (39 hex) for a New Year (date unspecified, probably from the 1690s) by a prolific student writer, Enevaldus Wanochius. See Korhonen 2004, 191 (Table 3, numbers in different decennia). A name day poem (3 hex) by Daniel Juslenius, not printed, was found after 2004 and therefore is not included in the Table. On the subgenres of the Nordic Greek Corpora, see HUMGRAECA Database > Guidelines > List of Genres and Subgenres.

Paratexts (Group 1B) in dissertations and orations include short congratulations and dedications.<sup>245</sup> As mentioned earlier, congratulations for dissertations is the main text group with 266 texts. Congratulations were written to the student, the respondent, irrespective of whether he had written the dissertation or not. However, two congratulations were written for the doctoral (not the magistral) dissertation and therefore to the *praeses*,<sup>246</sup> and in one case one of the respondents of a dissertation in series wrote a congratulation to the *praeses* in the reprint of that serial dissertation.<sup>247</sup> Congratulations by professors and congratulations by students differ only to a small extent in their content and in their Greek, and there are very slight differences in the contents between congratulations for dissertations written by the respondent and written by the *praeses*, the professor.

Congratulations for deliverers of orations (19 texts) contain two textual experiments, namely one tautogrammatical poem (all words begin with the letter π) and one Latin–Greek poem; the beginning of the verses are in Latin, the remaining half in Greek. Congratulations for patriotic eulogies are thematically the most interesting texts in this group – like the one congratulating the eulogist of Turku and the eulogist of the region of Ostrobothnia (the northwestern coast of Finland).<sup>248</sup>

The rhetorical genre of dedication has its roots in antiquity. There are 17 Greek dedications in Latin dissertations, all except one written after the restoration

<sup>245</sup> See Korhonen 2004, 283, Table 4.

<sup>246</sup> *Disp. theologica inauguralis* [...] (1693). Vall. 1003. Besides Bishop Gezelius Jr., there were five other congratulators, all professors. David Lund and Christiernus Alander congratulated Johannes Flachsenius (*praeses*) in Greek. The dissertation also had a respondent, and – an extraordinary element – it was dedicated to King Charles XI. Lund's Greek congratulation is imposing in its layout, the heading beginning with *Gratia Regia*.

<sup>247</sup> In 1653, a Sweden-born student, Claudius Agraeus, composed two Sapphic stanzas as a congratulation for the reprint of the serial dissertations supervised by Michael (Wexionius-) Gyldenstolpe at Turku. The first stanza mentions the *praeses*: Γνώριμον πάντων ἀρετῶν πρεπωδῶν / οὐ μόνον σεμνὴ διδαχὴ σε εἶναι / ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὸν *Gyldenstolpe* ἔργον / τοῦτο διδάσχει [!] (Not only noble teaching instructs you to be familiar with all proper virtues but also the present work by Gyldenstolpe). The second Sapphic stanza bears the title πρὸς τοὺς συστρατιώτας in which Agraeus is speaking on behalf of his fellow respondents (first-person plural). An elaborate signature in Greek lists Gyldenstolpe's titles. The publication reprinted three dissertations (three respondents, Agraeus among them), collected in one volume and having a new title page that does not include the names of the three respondents. The congratulation was thus written only for the reprint and therefore to the *praeses*. This Greek poem is missing in my list of the Turku Greek Corpus (Korhonen 2004, 436–451). It has no specific Vallinkoski number (only the individual dissertations have: Vall. 4344, Vall. 4385 and Vall. 4386). It is now digitised in the DORIA database. SKB1678.

<sup>248</sup> Textual plays: SKB 1077 and SKB 441, patriotic orations: SKB 2043 and SKB 2017.

of the university (1722). Their texts are often arranged on a double-page spread. These texts use technical terms of ancient dedication (like the verb ἀνατίθημι), and refer to the ancient practices of *asylia* and *proskynema*.<sup>249</sup> In the same way as the congratulation for dissertations, dedications sometimes refer to the subject of the dissertation.

### Greek Dissertations and Orations

Besides the Greek dissertation on the Hebrew word *Shiloh* under the presidency of Simon Paulinus (1688) and Johannes Julinus' Greek preface to his Latin dissertation (1684),<sup>250</sup> there were seven orations written in Greek, though five of them are no longer extant. Two orations (by Henrik Heerdhielm and Ericus Falander) are festive orations, whereas the remaining five are practice or thesis orations, that is, their main function was to demonstrate their deliverer's erudition. The first Greek oration (10 pages) was written by Sveno Gelzenius, who cast the first Greek types for the university press in 1648/1649. Like a sermon, this oration discusses the resurrection of the soul and only contains references to the Bible, not to classical authors or Greek Church Father.<sup>251</sup> Johannes Burgman (Purmerus) wrote a funeral oration (Λόγος πένθιμος, 4 pages) for the memory of Charles X, who died on the battlefield in February 1660. Like *parentalia*, or *Furstenspiegel*, it describes the king's exemplary life and nature, and his bravery in wars.<sup>252</sup> Henrik Heerdhielm's (Schäfer) now lost oration was a eulogy to the Turku Court of Appeal, which was founded in 1623; Heerdhielm delivered his

<sup>249</sup> *Asylia* refers among other things to places (like temples) where, for example, refugees and even criminals could seek asylum. *Proskynema* is a token of obeisance (gestures, posture), which occurred for the first time in second-century letters and became popular during Byzantine times. For the *proskynema* formula in second-century letters written on papyrus, see, e.g., Ahtarides, Bagnall & Cribiore 2006, 89. Georgius Kijhl, who wrote the first Greek dedication (16 eleg) in Turku, dedicating his dissertation to Bishop Petrus Bång, includes a short reference to the ancient practice that in old times even minor writings were dedicated (ἀνατίθημι) to wise and exalted persons. Vall. 2197; see Korhonen 2004, 361.

<sup>250</sup> See below Chapter 5.2.

<sup>251</sup> SKB 1378. Λόγαριον περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως. For some excerpts from this oration, see Korhonen 2004, 401–408.

<sup>252</sup> SKB 3117. ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΕΝΘΙΜΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΑ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΧΩΡΗΣΙΝ [...] ΚΑΡΟΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΓΟΥΣΤΑΒΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ [...] δηλωσαι εἰρημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ Burgman. See Korhonen 2004, 409–414 for some excerpts from this oration and a picture of the title page on p. [535].

speech in November 1671.<sup>253</sup> The Greek oration by Johannes Justander (1688) titled “Short speech on the instability of human fate briefly presented” is also lost.<sup>254</sup> Ericus Falander’s Greek oration in memory of the first Chancellor of the University, Count Per Brahe (d. 1680)<sup>255</sup> and Johannes Petrus Flachsenius’ Greek oration on the importance of education and learnedness have not survived; they were probably only delivered and not printed. Flachsenius’ oration was written at the turn of the 17th century.<sup>256</sup> Thus, only Gelzenius’ and Purmerus’ orations (1649 and 1660) have survived.

<sup>253</sup> Schefferus 1680, 120. Plantin 1736, 49. Fant 1775–1786, 37. Daniel Tilas (d. 1789), a mining engineer, topographer and ardent bibliophile, also mentions Heerthielm’s oration in his manuscript *Topographica*, deposited at the Royal Library of Stockholm. See the second part, “Om städerna 1 § Åbo a)”. Tilas marked with a dash (–) publications which he had seen as quoted, reviewed or mentioned in bibliographical catalogues. He indicated publications which he owned with an asterisk (\*), whereas a circle (o) meant that he was not sure whether the title was correct, and that he had only heard of the publication. Tilas tagged Heerthielm’s oration with a dash (–).

<sup>254</sup> Λογοποιία τὴν τῶν λαχῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀκαταστασίαν συλλήβδην ὑπογράφουσα. This is Justander’s only known Greek text. Stiernman (1719, 125) merely gives the title, and *ibidem in 4*. Justander’s previous item in Stiernman’s list is *Disp. de quadrupedibus Ps. Hahn Aboae 1688 in 8* (see Vall. 2187). The work (Λογοποιία...) cannot be a Greek dissertation supervised by Petrus Hahn, who was Professor of Physics (he, however, wrote one, short Greek occasional text, Vall. 2153). Marklin (1820, 62) has mistakenly listed Justander’s treatise as a dissertation under the presidency of Simon Paulinus in 1678. Vallinkoski (Vall. 2748) and SKB 2824 follow Marklin. If the treatise is a dissertation supervised by Paulinus, the year (1678) is certainly wrong: Justander enrolled at the university in 1685 and Paulinus had obtained the professorship in the previous year, in 1684. If the year 1678 is a lapsus (*pro* 1688), it seems quite implausible that Simon Paulinus could have supervised *two* Greek dissertations in the same year (1688). Furthermore, the term λογοποιία refers rather to an oration, see Korhonen 2004, 383–384. Justander, later a teacher for a short time at the School of Turku, was Professor Ericus Justander’s son. As student and as Professor of Poetry, Ericus Justander wrote four Greek occasional texts and could have inspired his son to try his skills in Greek with this oration. Finally, the treatise could have been in Latin despite its Greek title, although this is not probable: Greek could occur in the titles of Latin dissertations and orations but if the title is totally Greek, as in this case, it suggests a treatise in Greek.

<sup>255</sup> Tengström 1814–21, 86–87.

<sup>256</sup> Stiernman 1719, 158: *De literarum atque eruditionis praestantia, Graece*. Stiernman mentions that Flachsenius’ orations (three in Latin and one in Greek) are still only manuscripts, that is, not printed (*omnes adhuc MSC. latenti*). Therefore, it is possible that they were only written and not even delivered. Johannes Petrus Flachsenius (later Flachseen) (d. 1732), Professor Johannes Flachsenius’ son, enrolled at the university in 1696. He had a scholarship (class II) during 1707–1709, see *Register Database*, Flachsenius Johan Petter. Professor of Theology Johannes Flachsenius (c. 1633–1704) obtained several Greek congratulations. He criticised the bad condition of the Chair of Greek and Hebrew at Turku (CAAP V, 415 (19 of March 1684)); his other son, Olaus, wrote Greek occasional verses and a scholarship application in Greek (see below Chapter 5.1). This is the “Greek-friendly” context for Johannes Petrus Flachsenius’ Greek oration.

Greek orations were also delivered by Finns at foreign universities. Gabriel Lagus gave a reasonably good oration on the human body (1665) in Greifswald, and Zacharias Brennerus on drunkenness in Tartu in 1691. However, although Brennerus was born in Finland, he studied and made his career in Tartu and Sweden. This also concerns the flower of Greek humanism in Finland, Johan Paulinus' *Finlandia*, which he delivered in Uppsala in 1678. However, although Paulinus' professional career took place outside Finland, he probably started to compose his verse oration as a student in Turku.

Most of the addressees of Greek occasional texts in Turku were students and other academics. There were, however, some exceptions. In the following, these "unusual" addressees are presented as well as texts pertaining to contemporary events, like wars. My exposition functions as providing a foretaste of the texts in the Turku Greek Corpus and considers the question why the writers chose Greek in these texts.

### **Non-academic, Female and Noble Addressees**

Four non-academic laymen – government or military officials – as well as four wives or brides of professors or of other academics, received Greek occasional texts by Turku scholars or students. In cases when the (male) addressee of a Greek text was a non-academic, he was still supposed to know some Greek, or to have some connection to the University.

The first case presented here is, however, from Uppsala but of the two addressees, one was born in Finland. It is a three-part Greek wedding poem (28 eleg) to Henrik Teit, assessor of the Swedish Board of Mines (*Bergskollegium*), and his bride, Anna Troilia, who were married in Uppsala in 1642.<sup>257</sup> Student Elaus Petri Terserus (d. 1647) also wrote a Latin poem addressing the bridegroom, which precedes the complicated – due to its imitation of Naumachius, Tyrtaeus and Solon – three-part Greek poem. The first part is addressed to both (Πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους), inviting the young couple to hurry up to "what they are longing for" (Σπεύδετε δεῦρο νέοι, ἅμα σπεύδετε οἷς πόθος ἐστί). The second part (10

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<sup>257</sup> Mel. 203. The publication was printed two years after the wedding (1644) in Stockholm. It contains two Latin poems and a poem in German – all with Greek headings. Henrik Teit had worked as Assessor in the Turku Court of Appeal before moving to Sweden. He was raised to nobility (as Teet) in 1653. See also Korhonen 2004, 221. Not much information on Elaus Petri Terserus is available. According to the Swedish National Catalogue (<https://libris.kb.se>), which, however, has no information on this publication, he died in 1647, that is, three years after he published these poems.

eleg) addresses the bride (πρὸς μνηστή),<sup>258</sup> and its subject is a common topic in wedding congratulations: the qualities of a good wife. Terserus imitates Naumachius, the second-century gnomic poet, whose surviving poetic fragments deal with this very issue. Terserus begins, however, with Mimnermus' verse about the futility of the loveless life,<sup>259</sup> continuing with Naumachius, that a wife is a consolation for a distraught man, and after that, imitating Tyrtaeus that her (*sc.* bride's) speech is "sweeter than that of Adrastus".<sup>260</sup> The poem continues by first imitating Solon and then again Naumachius – either by taking lines as such or slightly modifying them – about a good wife's qualities to create harmony and be like a queen among other women.<sup>261</sup> The third part of Terserus' poem (10 eleg), which is without a heading, continues to imitate Naumachius and Tyrtaeus by inviting good Marriages (γάμοι) to be present, after which Terserus focuses on inappropriate women. By imitating Tyrtaeus, Terserus ends that a "bad" woman is a curse even if the man (husband) is more beautiful than Tithonus and richer than Midas and Cinyras.<sup>262</sup> This would be an odd ending for a wedding congratulation, but Terserus continues in German – a language which the bride probably understood. The German poem, divided into ἐπιστροφή εὐκτική and ἀντιστροφή, addresses bride and groom and consists mostly of well-wishings. Thus, the three-part Greek wedding congratulation relies strongly on its ancient subtexts (Tyrtaeus, Solon and Naumachius) and it is an elaborate poem written to a non-academic person, Assessor Henrik Teit.

In Turku, two short wedding congratulations in Greek were published in 1656 to a non-academic bridegroom. Andreas Henricius Korhoinen from Viipuri (Caretia) wrote two Swedish wedding poems and a Greek *votum auctoris* (4 eleg), as it is entitled, to Berendt Muster and his bride Margareta Thesleff. Munster was Secretary at the Turku Court of Appeal and Margareta Thesleff a daughter of the assessor at the same institution.<sup>263</sup> The publication contains Swedish poems by two other writers: a tautogrammatical poem (all words begin with the letter s)

<sup>258</sup> Terserus has πρὸς μνηστήν.

<sup>259</sup> Line 1: τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τεῖνον ἄτερ μάκαρος θάλαμος, cf. Mimnermus (118 West): τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τεῖνον ἄτερ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης. Tyrtaeus 12.5–6: οὐδ' εἰ Τιθωνοῖο φυὴν χαριέστερος εἶη, πλουτοῖη δὲ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύρεω μάλιον.

<sup>260</sup> Line 3: ἀνδρὶ γὰρ ἀσχαλόωντι παραίφασίς ἐστιν ἄκοιτις = Naumachius 18 (Heitsch). Line 4: γλῶσσαν δ' Ἀδρήστου μιλίχόγηρυν ἔχει ≈ Tyrtaeus 12.8 (ἔχοι).

<sup>261</sup> Verses 5–6, cf. Solon 4.34–35 and vv. 7–10, cf. Naumachius 2–3, 5–6 (Heitsch).

<sup>262</sup> Verse 1 = Naumachius 7 (Heitsch), v. 2 ≈ Naumachius 8, vv.3–4, cf. Tyrtaeus 10.9–10, verses 7 and 9–10. cf. Tyrtaeus 12.1 and 12.5–6.

<sup>263</sup> Mel. 368. Melander 1928, 17.



and a light-hearted dialogue. Korhoinen's poem consisting of two Greek elegiac couplets in clear and simple Greek is a religious well-wishing for the bridal couple that God would be the guardian of their marriage and its offspring. Korhoinen's short Greek poem is thus a pious reminder of marriage as a sacrament and sacred institution, in otherwise a joyous publication. Another, even shorter, wedding congratulation (2 eleg) was written to bailiff Erik Tavast from a wealthy Finnish family (later ennobled as Tawaststjerna) and to his bride Beata. The distichon was written by Beata's brother, Petrus Pictorius, and it addresses only the bridegroom, Erik Tavast, as brother-in-law (γαμβρεύς, *sc.* γαμβρός), wishing him good luck in having made a compact of marriage (συνθήκη τῆς συζυγίας σου). Pictorius is thus underlining his new kinship with a very powerful relative. Pictorius' main contribution was a religious poem in Latin (entitled *Aliud*), which comes after the Greek distichon, and which was surely more easy to read than Pictorius' poor Greek.<sup>264</sup>

A longer Greek text, in prose, was written to the memory of Arwid Biugg, Regimental Captain of the Infantry in the northwestern coast of Finland, who died in Riga in 1676. Four years later, a memorial speech in Swedish by pastor Paul Wingius was published containing student Johannes Laibeck's Greek text (17 lines). Laibeck combines Christian and Greek virtues by describing how εὐσέβεια and καλοκάγαθία are the most colourful flowers, having the strongest fragrance, in the "rosegarden of virtue" (ἐν ἁλωῇ τῆς τῶν ῥόδων ἀρετῆς), which is a quite feminine eulogy for a military man. Laibeck may have been evoking Paul's words in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.<sup>265</sup> Laibeck also states that piety and nobleness connect people to each other and eventually rescue the state (σώζων κοινωνίαν τὴν πολιτικὴν), ending that the virtuous Captain is with God. The publication is dedicated to the widow and Captain's three sons. Laibeck was a vicar's son from Ostrobothnia (in northwestern coast of Finland) so he probably knew Arwid Biugg's family and, furthermore, the Captain's sons studied at Turku and Tartu and surely had some knowledge of Greek.<sup>266</sup> Another reason for choosing Greek could have been that the publication contains, besides Laibeck's Greek prose text, several Swedish and Latin poems, two of them by professors,

<sup>264</sup> Mel. 369. Korhonen 2004, 228 n194. On Erik Tavast, see Suolahti 1946, 198–199, Nr. 277–278.

<sup>265</sup> 2 Cor. 2:15: "[...] we are to God the pleasing aroma of Christ among those who are being saved and those who are perishing".

<sup>266</sup> Mel. 685. Korhonen 2004, 211. Arwid Biugg's three sons (Jöran, Erik and Sylvester) were inscribed in the student register under the name of Bjugg. Johannes Laibeck (Laiböck) eventually became a vicar but acted before that as a regimental pastor. Register Database, Laibeckchius.

Ericus Falander (Professor of Greek and Hebrew) and Daniel Achrelius (Professor of *eloquentia*). Laibeck was thus able to showcase his linguistic skills in Greek to the professors by contributing to the same publication.<sup>267</sup>

Women were seldom addressees in Greek occasional texts at Turku. Professor Simon Paulinus wrote a consolation (24 ll.) – his most fluent prose text in Greek – to the memory of Professor Johannes Flachsenius’ wife, Magdalena Wallenstierna, who died in 1685.<sup>268</sup> At first, Paulinus considers the shortness and misery of human life by quoting, as he acknowledges, “maxims and sayings by the Greeks”,<sup>269</sup> to counterbalance which he sets the Christian notion that death is a victory (Phil. 1:21). He thus opposes the pessimistic Greek view with the Christian view with its promise of resurrection. He also lists the contemporary ideals on good wifehood and womanhood both in the elaborate heading (“reputable housewife” and “my supporter”) and in his consolation address to the widower, Professor Flachsenius (ll. 15–19). He eulogises the deceased wife from the point of view of the community, as “a support for famished people” (ἀντίληψις πειναλέων) and as “a splendid mirror to us of all beautiful virtues” (ἡμῖν εἶσοπτρον καλοκαγαθίας παμπόλλης φωτεινότατον), and from the point of view of the family, addressing Flachsenius: “for you, she was a dearest wife and for your children, a tutor and caring nurturer”.<sup>270</sup>

Addressing briefly the bride of an academic or a deceased professor’s widow is obviously targeted to honour the academic himself. A slightly different case is Martinus Peitzius’ funerary poem (49 hex) in which he addresses the widow of the deceased Johannes Ervast. Peitzius’ poem was published as a decorated broadsheet in 1737.<sup>271</sup> Ervast had been Assistant in the Faculty of Theology but

<sup>267</sup> Another longer Greek text for a non-academic is a 1653 wedding congratulation (12 hex) by Jacobus Eurenus to the Organist of the Turku Cathedral Church, Michael Nachtigall, and his bride, a daughter of the Mayor of Turku (see below the text, Chapter 4.1). Nachtigall, however, had studied at Turku University, and organists were often included in the academic staff as music teachers. Mel. 312.

<sup>268</sup> Mel. 1004. There are four wedding poems which are addressed to both bride and groom (by Petrus Laurbecchius (Mel. 624), Henricus Paulinus (Mel. 654), Johannes Swanström (Mel. 1063) and Johannes Petrus Flachsenius (Mel. 1985), see Korhonen 2004, 229–231, 233.

<sup>269</sup> Mel. 1004. Line 8: αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γνῶμαι καὶ παροιμίαι. Maxims are to be found in Schrevelius 1690, 642 and Lubinus 1622, L5v, N2 and N5v. See below the heading of Paulinus’ poem, Chapter 4.4.

<sup>270</sup> Line 21: σοὶ μὲν γυναικα προσφιλεστάτην [pro προσφιλεστάτην], τέκνοις σου ἀναγωγὴν καὶ ἐκτροφὴν πολυμερίμνην.

<sup>271</sup> Peitzius 1737 (fv56571). The broadsheet contains a picture of a coffin below the heading in Latin, and the Greek text is laid out in two columns with pillars on either side. Peitzius had for

also served for a short time as Adjunct Professor of Greek and Hebrew, which explains the choice of language of the publication. Peitzius begins with an intense description of death's dreadfulness – Ervast was only 31 years old and newly married (in October 1736) when he died – by imitating phrases from Hesiod's *Works and Days* and *Theogony*, how “black night has begot that thief to mortals / it roams, clothed in mist, all over the broad earth” (vv. 3–4), and how Death “sins and devises presumptuous deeds” (v. 7) and has “a great scythe” (v. 10); Death is “an evil Night, wrapped in a vaporous cloud” (v. 21).<sup>272</sup> After that, Peitzius describes, using Homeric phrases, how Ervast married “a beautiful-cheeked girl from Tornio” and “brought her over the broad back of the sea to Turku”,<sup>273</sup> addressing then the young wife (vv. 26–42):

Αὔ σὺ δὲ κλῦθι ἐμοῦ, μάλα Θηλυτέρων μεγάλαιτος·  
 κλῦθι σαφῶς ταύτην δὲ θεοῦ πάρα μοῖραν ἔχεις ΣΥ,  
 αἰθέρι ναίοντος, τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἀστεροπητοῦ,  
 τοῦ καλέσαντος ἄνω ΕΡΒΑΣΤΥΑΔΗΝ ἐς Ὀλυμπον,  
 νίκην προφρονέως ὀπάσαι καὶ κῦδος ὀρέξαι, 30  
 ᾧ πέπον οὐχ ἑτεροζήλως διεδάσσατο μοίρας  
 δὴ ὑψιβρεμέτης ὅσγ', οὐρανῷ ἐμβασιλεύει·  
 ἦ μὰν πᾶς κατ' εἰκοδὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔπλετο δασμός.  
 Τοῖσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι μεμίζεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν,  
 ὄφρα ἐοῖς φράσσαιτο Θεὸς ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε, 35  
 ὄλβιος ὅστις ἔχοι ἀνοχὴν ἐνὶ ταῖς μελεδῶναις.  
 Δόσθω τοίγ' ὁ θεὸς κρατέειν τ' ἔλεος τε μέγιστος,  
 λησμοσύνην τε κακῶν ἄμπαυμά τε μερμηράων  
 μέτρον τηρήσειν, τότ' ἐν ὀλβίῳ ὄλβια πάντα.  
 Ἴκετο σὸς Γαμέτης ποτὲ κάλλιμα δώματα πατρός, 40  
 καὶ θαλίην ἀμνοῦ χριστοῦ πολῦτιμον ΙΗΣΟΥ,  
 τοῖο βαθυκτεάνου ῥα τελειοτάτοιο θεοῖο.

**Crit.** 28 σαφῶς ed. 35 ἀγαθόντε κακόντε ed. 37 κράτεει ed. 39 τόθ' ed. **Sim.** 28 αἰθέρι ναίοντος, cfr. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2. 412: αἰθέρι ναίων | Ὀλυμπίου ἀστεροπητοῦ cfr.

a few years studied in Uppsala before he enrolled in the Royal Academy of Turku. Besides this Greek poem, he wrote three Greek congratulations for dissertations and one Greek dedication for a dissertation. On Peitzius, see the Register Database, Peitzius Mårten.

<sup>272</sup> Verse 4 (≈ *Op.* 255), v. 7 (≈ *Op.* 241), v. 10 (≈ *Th.* 162), v. 21 (≈ *Th.* 757). See also Korhonen 2004, 215–216.

<sup>273</sup> Verses 17–19 Γῆμε [...] Τόρνηθεν καλλιπάρηον / [...] ἀνὰ τ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης / ἥγαγ' Ἀβωάσε [pro Ἀβωάδε] (cf., e.g., Hom. *Il.* 2.159: ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης). Tornio is situated beside the River Tornio, which empties into the Gulf of Bothnia; Ervast was born in the nearby town of Kemi.

e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.580 **30** νίκην προφρονέως ὀπάσαι καὶ κῦδος ὀρέξαι = Hes. *Th.* 433 **31** ὦ πέπον οὐχ ἑτεροζήλως δεδάσσατο μοίρας Hes. *Th.* 544: ὦ πέπον, ὥς ἑτεροζήλως διεδάσσαο μοίρας **32** οὐρανῷ ἐμβασιλεύει cf. Hes. *Th.* 71, *Op.* 111 **33** ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔπλετο δασμός cf. Hes. *Th.* 425 **34** μεμίζεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν Hes. *Op.* 179 **38** Hes. *Th.* 55 **40** δώματα πατρός cf. Hom. *Od.* 14.319

But hear me, YOU, the most honourable of wives, listen carefully, what you have obtained as your fate by the Olympian Lightener, God who dwells in Heaven, who called Ervast's son to Olympus [30] in order to give victory and grant honour. My dear child, the High-Thundering one, who rules in Heaven, does not distribute fates unfairly. Now verily, all is as it should be, as it was divided from the beginning. For good is mixed with bad among humans, [35] because God determined the good and bad for all. Happy is he who is given a way out of sorrows. May God grant you strenght, by his powerful grace, a forgetting of ills, a rest from sorrows, moderate pain, then happiness of every kind. Your husband reached the beautiful home of Father [40] and the honourable feast of JESUS, the lamb of the most mighty and perfect God.

Ervast's wife's name, Katarina Bäck (Catharina Baeck), is not mentioned here or anywhere in the publication. The long, surely rhetorical, address to her contains the consolation of resigning oneself to one's fate, to God's will, and that death happens according to God's will. An interesting twist occurs in verse 31, which is nearly an exact quote from *Theogony* (544), where Zeus blames Prometheus for having distributed the sacrificial share unfairly. Peitzius has negative οὐχ instead of ὥς, which makes a twofold negative, that is, that God *does* distribute the fates of humans properly.

In 1703, Countess Margareta Fleming received a Swedish, Latin and French New Year congratulation, which ends with a Greek quote, καρδίῃ ἄλληκτον πολεμίζειν ἢ δὲ μάχεσθαι, without translation or reference to the author.<sup>274</sup> One may wonder was she able to understand something of the quote (Hom. *Il.* 2.452) and what, then, was the reason for writing verses depicting a zest for war, “battle without ceasing”, for a woman. Noble women and men were rarely addressees of Greek poems at Turku. The Gyldenstolpe family was one of the more educated families in seventeenth-century Finland. Michael Wexionius (ennobled as Gyldenstolpe), born in Sweden but settled then in Finland, had written some Greek poems of merit as a student at the University of Uppsala before he came to Turku. His son, Daniel, received a Greek prose *epibaterion* (Il.

<sup>274</sup> Mel. 1795. The writer was C. Lindelius. The place of publication is missing. Melander informs us only about the Swedish poem.

20) when he came back to Turku after his *peregrinatio*.<sup>275</sup> Michael Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe's other son, Nils Gyldenstolpe (1642–1709) received a long Greek poem (39 hex) written by Enevaldus Wanochius, which was published as a separate, decorated publication. It represents a unique genre in Greek at Turku, namely *strenae*, New Year greetings. The poem is a eulogy to the addressee and wishes him well with a series of exclamations. The poem begins with a long eulogy to Jesus and his birth as mankind's salvation, which serves as a reference to Christmas time.<sup>276</sup>

One example of a publication tangential to a noble man is the decorated totally Greek broadsheet by a Finn, Magnus Fortelius, who wrote a Greek *propempticon* entitled Εὐχὴ εἰς τὴν εὐτυχὴ ὁδοιπορίαν to his patron Conrad Quensell. Quensell's employee, Count Magnus De la Gardie, is also mentioned in the long heading.<sup>277</sup> The broadsheet was published in Stockholm in 1658. The poem (41 hex) contains religious imagery and is laid out in three parts: the first five lines are between two decorated borders, and the rest of the lines are in two columns.<sup>278</sup> Although neither the heading nor the poem reveal where Secretary Quensell and the Count were travelling, there is at least a reference to travel by sea (ἀλὸς ὕγρα κέλευθα, v. 28). The date of the publication, expressed in the Attic calendar (August or September 1658), refers to the time when De la Gardie negotiated peace between Russia and Poland.

Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie's son, Count Gustaf Adolf De la Gardie, received two Greek poems in Turku, a congratulation (20 hex) for his appointment as University Chancellor by Johannes Gezelius Sr. in 1687 and a three-page-long dedication by the respondent, Georgius Aenelius, in the Greek dissertation dedicated to the Count in 1688.<sup>279</sup> Gezelius Sr. also congratulated

<sup>275</sup> Mel. 628. The text was written by a Sweden-born student Johannes Colliander, who imitated Ps.-Plutarch (5c–e) and addresses Daniel Gyldenstolpe as his patron. Korhonen 2004, 277. On the family of Gyldenstolpe, see Sarasti-Wilenius 2015, 11–23.

<sup>276</sup> Mel 8<sup>2</sup>. The date is missing but the title page gives Gyldenstolpe's title, *comes*. He was raised to the title of Count in 1693, see Korhonen 2004, 280–281. Samuel Nicolai Palumbus composed a long Christmas oration in Greek in Uppsala in 1624. It consists of two parts: a nine-page poem of Sapphic stanzas (234 lines) and a votum, HUMGRAECA database (Akujärvi).

<sup>277</sup> Mel. 401. Fortelius enrolled at Uppsala University in 1655. He disputed twice during the 1660s, when he was also enrolled at the University of Giessen. He died in 1668. On this poem, see Korhonen 2004, 275–275. On Fortelius (or Fordeell /Fordeel/ Fordoff), see the Register Database, Fortelius Magnus.

<sup>278</sup> Fortelius states that the Muses had encouraged him to write a well-wishing to his patron and that he hopes that Raphael would guard Quensell's voyage as the angel had guarded Tobias' journey.

<sup>279</sup> Mel. 1039 (SKB 114) and Vall. 2751. On the latter, see below Chapter 5.2.

the nobleman's son, Claudius Sparre, for his 1679 oration, *Trophaeum gloria sive de praemio virtutis*. The Greek poem (6 eleg) is written in majuscules to resemble an inscription.<sup>280</sup> Majuscules are also used in Gezelius Sr.'s third Greek poem written in Turku, which was also a congratulatory poem for oration (6 hex). Except for its Latin heading, it is, however, primarily a *votum* to the young crown prince, Charles XI, and a well-wishing to the Swedish Kingdom. The oration, written by student Henricus Sacklinus, commemorated the prince's 13th birthday on 24 November 1668.<sup>281</sup> Occasional poems, orations and dissertations were sometimes dedicated to royal persons, which usually needed permission from the Court.

### Casualcarmina and Contemporary Events

Sometimes occasional Greek texts were responses not only to the *occasio* but also some contemporary event. At the beginning of his wedding congratulation (8 hex.), Haraldus Almquist, a Sweden-born student, refers to the season of the wedding, which was held on 13 November 1681: Νῦν χειμῶν ψυχρὸς σπεύδει καὶ ὄρνιθες ἔνθεν / χθὼν νίφεται, ποιεῖ στεγανὴν ὁδὸν οὖσαν (Now it is winter and the cold makes birds fly from here, / the ground is covered by snow, which makes routes hard to roam). The description of winter functions as a contrast to the joys of love, whereas the bridegroom's occupation (vicar) refers to the fact that he has made a wise choice. The poem ends with a well-wishing and an entreaty to rejoice.<sup>282</sup> Almquist also provided a Swedish version with rhymes, titled *Thet är* (It is). Instead of the migratory birds mentioned in the beginning of the Greek poem, the Swedish version speaks of the long nights of winter.<sup>283</sup>

<sup>280</sup> SKB 3447. For the poem and its translation into Finnish, see Korhonen 2004, 355.

<sup>281</sup> SKB 3298. For the poem and its translation into Finnish, see Korhonen 2004, 354. Gezelius Sr., a prolific Greek writer during his professorship at Tartu, wrote only these three Greek occasional poems at Turku.

<sup>282</sup> Mel. 868. The wedding of Laurentius Strakelius and his bride Birgitta was celebrated in Hjerpå, Sweden, but the congratulation was printed in Turku. Almquist was a student at Turku University. He wrote two other Greek poems during his years at Turku: a congratulation for a dissertation (8 eleg) in 1680 (Vall 19) and a funerary poem (6 hex) in 1686 (Mel. 1022).

<sup>283</sup> *Thet är: Nu stundar vintern fall och nätterna fast långa / och Jorden hölies al / diup Snö gör vägar trånga* (It is: Now winter hastens here, and nights are long, / the ground in its entirety is held tight with deep snow, which makes roads narrow and hard to roam). Another "winter poem" was composed by Olaus Krogerus, who made an obvious wordplay on the respondent's surname, *Winter* (see below Chapter 4.5, "Animal and Plant Similes and Symbols").

Although seasons often only represent a passing remark in occasional poems, descriptions of spring in particular could result in short eulogies to spring, a time of joy after the cold Northern winters. Spring was also a symbol of resurrection in medieval hymns, which were translated into the vernacular and added to Protestant hymn books.<sup>284</sup> Laurentius Forbus' congratulation (13 hex) for a dissertation begins with a eulogy to spring (vv. 1–4):<sup>285</sup>

Εἰς ὄλβον πάντων ὥσπερ γῆν εἶαρ ὀτρύνει  
δὺν θάλλουσας ἡμῖν ἡδὸς καὶ τὴν νιφάδ' ὠθοῦν,  
ὥστε κατ' εἰωθὸς κρυηρὸν πέδον εὐφορον εἶναι,  
κῆλουν ὧτα μέλει πτηνῶν, καὶ κάλλει ὧπα

**Crit. 2** ὠδοῦν ed. **4** μέλω ed.

As spring revives earth like a blessing for everything, it breaks into us a pleasure of warmth and melts the snow banks, so that the field, which has got used to cold will be fertile; spring enchants ears with the song of the winged creatures and eyes with its beauty.

The date of the disputation was the first of May 1693. Forbus continues by stating that spring also causes students to study more eagerly, that warmth “heats”, that is, excites the intelligence. A description of spring thus serves as a symbol of reviving enthusiasm for education.

The seventeenth century was an age of territorial expansion for the Swedish Kingdom, which needed to be defended by constant wars. A Sweden-born student, Andreas Fornander, mentions the present war in the middle of his prose congratulation for a dissertation (18 ll.) to his compatriot: “You are fearless in this moment – when the frightening war cries echo in our native country – and rise to the podium.”<sup>286</sup> The disputation was held in October 1677, when

<sup>284</sup> Hemminki Maskulainen edited the seventeenth-century Hymn book containing medieval songs translated into Finnish in 1605. The small book also contains spring songs (*In vernali tempore, Tempus adest floridum*). SKB 4212.

<sup>285</sup> Vall. 2330. The respondent, Lars Matilainen, received another Greek congratulation, too, from Professor David Lund. Forbus was a vice principal at the elementary school of Oulu (northern Finland). Forbus does not refer to the subject of the dissertation, which discusses five questions mentioned in the long title (*Exercitum academicum, problemata quaedam [...] exhibens*), such as “Can the soul function separately from the body?”

<sup>286</sup> Lines 11–13: ἄφοβος ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ (ἐν ᾧ φοβεραὶ πολέμων ἀκοαὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν στρέφονται) τὴν καθέδραν ἀναβάς. Vall. 737.

Sweden waged war against Denmark. By the expression “in our native country”, or literally “in the regions of our country” (ἐν ταῖς χώραις τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν), Fornander refers in particular to Småland, his and the respondent’s home district in southern Sweden, because the southern parts of Sweden suffered most from the war. Josef Thun’s congratulatory poem (8 eleg) to A. A. Stiernman for his *Aboa literata* (1719) begins with a reference to the Great Northern War, the Russian occupation of Finland, and the escape of academics (vv. 1–4):<sup>287</sup>

Τίς φάτις ἠκούσθη; ὕπαρ εἰγ’ ἔγω ἢ ἐν ὀνείρω;  
 Ἄλλ’ ὕπαρ Αὐραϊκαῖς ἐλπίς ἔτ’ Ἀονίσι·  
 ἄς φυγάδευσεν Ἄρης τεμένων καὶ πατρίδος αἴης  
 θοῦρος ἐκάς· ζεῦγλαν δουλοσύνης ἐπιθείς·

What news do we get to hear? I wonder if I am awake or am I dreaming? However, hope is alive amongst the Muses of the Aura, whom furious Ares has expelled from their temples and hometown, threatening them by the yoke of slavery.

The first lines capture the dreamlike atmosphere of wartime when people were fearfully waiting for news from occupied Turku (situated beside the River Aura, hence “the Muses of Aura”). Thun was a former alumnus of the university. Other catastrophes than war could be mentioned in occasional texts. In the short prose congratulation (8 ll.) to his student defending a *pro gradu* dissertation on courage in August 1681, Greek and Hebrew professor Ericus Falander acknowledged the importance of the subject: “[...] we need to discuss courage in this time, when we have lived through destruction because of fire”.<sup>288</sup> In the previous summer, fire had indeed broken out and destroyed parts of the Cathedral of Turku and the modest buildings of the university nearby.<sup>289</sup> The respondent, Petrus Laconius, received five Latin congratulatory poems, which contain allusions to Agamemnon, Artemidorus, Plutarch, Achilles and Athene. Falander’s Greek prose text is quite matter of factly compared to them. Falander does not use the opportunity to refer to the Greek concept of courage in his text in Greek.

<sup>287</sup> For the poem, see Stiernman 1719, ): (2v. A facsimile of *Aboa literata* has been published by Reijo Pitkäranta containing a translation into Finnish. Pitkäranta 1990.

<sup>288</sup> Lines 3–5: ταύτης [sc. courage] γὰρ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ παρόντι λόγον ποιητέον ἡμῖν κακοπαθήμασι τῷ διὰ πυρὸς ἀφανισμῷ. Vall. 878.

<sup>289</sup> Fire also ruined the premises of the university library but, in all, this was nothing compared with the Great Fire of 1827, which demolished practically all of Turku and was one of the reasons why the university moved from Turku to Helsinki.



David Lund, also Professor of Greek and Hebrew, was inaugurated Professor of Theology in 1698, when the so-called Little Ice Age had caused large parts of Scandinavia to suffer from catastrophic harvest failures. The disastrous effect on crops caused a considerable loss of life. In Finland, especially the years between 1695 and 1697 were hazardous, and only in summer 1698 was a good crop finally grown. Because professors' salaries were partly paid for by crops, harvest failures had a considerable effect on their finances. Enevaldus Wanochius' congratulation to Lund (33 hex) was published in spring 1698 and it refers to these disastrous times:

Ἦττα πέλεν μεγάλη, στονόεις καὶ δεινὸς ὄλειθρος,  
 ἄλγεα πολλὰ Θεὸς γὰρ ὤρσεν χωόμενος κῆρ.  
 Μηδ' ἀλόγως τοιαύτην ἀρχὴν θῶμαι, ἐπειδὴ  
 ἐν ταύταις χώραις πενίη πέλεν οὐ παραβλητός.  
 Χίλια πολλὰ βροτῶν λιμὸς βλαβερὸς θανάτωσεν,  
 5 ἀνθρώπων παύρους κατέλειπεν, ἔκτεινε δὲ πολλοὺς  
 ἀργαλέον πείνη θειὸν ῥα δαμάσσατο λαόν,  
 πειναλέων μερόπων ὀλέκοντό κε μύρια συχνά,  
 τηλόθι ἐν Βορέᾳ συνέβη μεγαλεῖα τὰ δεινὰ.

**Crit.** 1 στενόεις ed. | ὄλειθρος metri gratia (ὄλεθρος) 2 ὦρσ' ἂν ed. 7 δειὸν ed. **Sim.** 2 ἄλγεα πολλὰ cfr., e.g., Hom. *Od.* 2.343 | χωόμενος κῆρ cfr., e.g., Hom. *Il.* 1.44 7 Ἀργαλέον πείνη θειὸν ῥα δαμάσσατο λαόν cf. Alc. frg 364.1–2: ἀργαλέον Πενία κακὸν, ἀσχετόν, ἃ μέγαρτον, δάμνησι λαόν

The downfall was great and the terrible destruction raised complaints, because God became angry, which caused a lot of pain. I would not call this kind of beginning absurd, because an unparalleled destitution dominates in these regions. [5] The hurtful famine exterminated several thousands of people, it saved few, killed many, hunger painfully slayed pious people, and tens of thousand hungry ones would have perished when a mighty disaster fell far in the Nordic lands.<sup>290</sup>

Pointing to God's anger as the cause of the famine was a generally shared opinion (v. 2, note the Homeric phrases).<sup>291</sup> Furthermore, Wanochius states, like many of his contemporaries, that famine had a negative effect on public

<sup>290</sup> Mel. 1678; SKB 4378. According to the title page, the inauguration occurred on 17 February 1698.

<sup>291</sup> Cf. Swiss scholar Heinrich Jackelmann's poem (163 hex) on the Basel plague in 1611, in which the terrible epidemic is seen as God's punishment. Pontani & Weise 2022, 334–336 (J. Päll & M. Steinrück).

morale and morals (v. 7), indicating that dying of hunger is not as dangerous as losing one's soul. Wanochius' seventh verse imitates Alcaeus' fragment (*apud* Stobaeus): "Poverty is a grievous thing, an ungovernable evil, who with her sister Helplessness lays low a great people."<sup>292</sup> Wanochius feels the need to justify beginning his tribute poem in such an unsuitable way by writing "I would not call this kind of beginning absurd" (v. 4). Horrific events have made him choose this lamenting tone. After the description of the famine, Wanochius highlights David Lund's academic merits and faculties (vv. 10–22), thus making an effective (but perhaps somewhat heartless) contrast with the dreadful events.<sup>293</sup> It is as if the disaster deepens the joy of the festivities. At the end, Wanochius prays that God will protect true faith and alleviate the famine, ending in a self-referential manner: "the verses end, and at once the Muse became silent, as just the shortness of time hinders writing more".<sup>294</sup> It is interesting that Wanochius' ending is nearly identical with the ending of a congratulatory poem written by the Swede Nicolaus Krochius in Wittenberg in 1601.<sup>295</sup> Wanochius had thus either imitated this poem written over 90 years earlier or they had the same source.

Georgius Ståhlberg's *epibaterion* (82 eleg) to Johannes Gezelius Jr. composed in 1689 contains interesting details from the historical point of view, although not providing any new historical information as such. The poem welcomes Gezelius Jr. back to Turku from his office as Superintendent (corresponding to the title of bishop) of Narva in Ingria.<sup>296</sup> Gezelius Jr. was, from a modern point of view, notorious for his work converting Greek Orthodox Ingrians to the Lutheran faith.<sup>297</sup> Ståhlberg for his part and along with many of his contemporaries, saw

<sup>292</sup> The modified line is to be found both in Lubinus' dictionary (Lubinus 1622, Nv) and Schrevelius' grammar (Schrevelius 1690, 937, Nr. 562).

<sup>293</sup> Academic celebrations could also have been cancelled because of the general suffering, with people dying in the countryside.

<sup>294</sup> Verses 32–33: ἐστὶ τέλος μέτρων καὶ αὐτίκα παύει Μοῦσα / ὅττι γράφειν πλείω χρόνος ὢν κομιδῇ βραχὺς εἴργει.

<sup>295</sup> A Swede, Nicolaus Krochius wrote a congratulatory poem (22 eleg) to a Finn, Nicolaus Magni Carelius, for a degree conferment ceremony in Wittenberg (Mel. 40). Wanochius' 32nd verse is identical with Krochius' 21st verse. However, there are some differences between the last verses of each poem.

<sup>296</sup> Ståhlberg wrote only two other texts in Greek: an application for a scholarship (1686) under the name of Fabricius (see below Chapter 5.1) and a short congratulation (6 eleg) for a dissertation (1688). Vall. 2197.

<sup>297</sup> On Swedish segregation politics in Ingria, see Isberg 1973. Gezelius Jr. also published a Finnish

Gezelius' work as civilising "barbaric", "pagan" Ingrians (vv. 35–38, 43–46, 56–62):

Τοῦ θ' ὑπερουρανίου λόγον ὥστε Θεοῦ ἐδίδαξε 35  
 δῆμους τοὺς τυφλοὺς, ῥῆμα μαθεῖν καθαρόν.  
 Βάρβαρα ἔθνεα ἤγεν ὅπου τὴν πίστιν ἐς ὀρθήν,  
 Ἰγγριάδων ἐπίσης λαὸν ἔτρεψε πολὺν  
 [...]   
 Αὐτὸς τὴν πᾶσαν διοδεύει Ἰγγρίδα, πίστιν  
 δοὺς πᾶσι, χριστοῦ καὶ ἀπέδειξεν ὁδόν,  
 γυνῶναι τὸν χριστὸν σωτήρ' ἐδίδαξεν ἀγλαόν, 45  
 βαπτισθῆναι ὁμοῦ θῆλυ καὶ ἄρσεν ἐᾷ.  
 [...]   
 Τὰς ψυχὰς πολλὰς ἦδ' ἔνικας τε Θεῷ,  
 τοῦνεκα δάκρυσιν Ἰγγρὶς ὅλη σοι νῦν ἀκολουθεῖ  
 δόκτορι καὶ μεγάλῳ ἔσχατον ἦδε μέλος.  
 Τὰς κραδίας πάντων γέμισε κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὀδυρμός,  
 θρήνος, ἄχος τε λύπη ἤτορα πάντα κλονεῖ. 60  
 Ὡδε νέοι πικρῶς κλαίουσι, γέροντες ἅπαντες,  
 ἄνδρες καὶ παῖδες, τοῦτο γυναῖκες ὁμοῦ.

[35] He taught the doctrine of God in Heaven to blind people, so that they would learn a sound doctrine. He guided barbaric peoples how faith was to be rightly observed and he converted numerous Ingrians [...] He travels through all Ingria proclaiming the faith to all, and he showed the Way of Christ: [45] he taught that Christ should be understood to be a glorious Saviour; he allowed both men and women to be baptised [...] You also won many lives for God; that is why the whole of Ingria now follows you with tears with a farewell song to the great doctor. Weeping and lamentation filled everybody's heart; [60] lamentations, anguish and grief drive their mind to confusion. Here young people weep bitterly, as do all the old; men and children weep as do women.<sup>298</sup>

The description of Ingrians as lamenting Gezelius Jr.'s leaving Ingria (vv. 57–62) is hyperbolic (not only do children, the elderly and women cry, but so do men) and from a modern perspective this might be put in an ironic light (perhaps they had another reason for crying other than Gezelius' leaving). However, as a rhetorical piece of writing, containing also two anagrams of the addressee's name, it is quite

tractate on his work in Ingria in 1686, reprinted in 1687. SKB 1505 and SKB 1506.

<sup>298</sup> The text is edited by Erkki Sironen. The poem, including its translation and commentary, will be published by T. Korhonen & E. Sironen in forthcoming *Anthologia Baltica* (see above p. 17 n57). See also Korhonen 2004, 278–280.

a remarkable poem in the context of the Turku Greek Corpus.<sup>299</sup> Ståhlberg's *epibaterion* was published as a four-page publication written entirely, including the title page, in Greek. It is the second longest Greek poem published at Turku University.<sup>300</sup> The first prerequisite for publishing longer texts in Greek at Turku was naturally a printing press with good Greek typefaces. This prerequisite is the topic of the following subsection.

### Printing Greek and the Inspection Process

During the period of the Royal Academy of Turku (1640–1827), there were three printing presses in Finland.<sup>301</sup> In addition to the Turku University press (1642–1827), there was the printing house of the Gezelius family (1668–1713), founded by Gezelius Sr., which published not only Gezelius' own Latin and Greek textbooks but also commemorative anthologies containing Greek texts and even some dissertations, although dissertations were mainly published by the university press.<sup>302</sup> For a couple of years (1689–1710) the Gymnasium of Viipuri also had a printing house with Greek typefaces. It produced some Greek textbooks, although there is no evidence of Humanist Greek texts being printed there.<sup>303</sup>

<sup>299</sup> Ståhlberg's poem begins with a greeting to the city of Turku and its university with a preliminary praise of Gezelius Jr. (vv. 1–6) followed by references to Gezelius Jr.'s years of study in foreign universities and his years in Narva (vv. 7–62). Near the end, Turku is congratulated on account of securing such an erudite and excellent scholar (vv. 63–74). At the very end, Ståhlberg addresses Gezelius Jr. with good wishes (vv. 75–82).

<sup>300</sup> Paulinus' *Finlandia* was, of course, the longest poem, an oration in verse, but it was published in Uppsala.

<sup>301</sup> On printing houses and their printers, see Perälä 2000 I, 95–98, 658–667 (*Griechische Buchstaben*) and Perälä 2000 II, 80–83, 94–95 (the references are to the German part of these books).

<sup>302</sup> In all, there are 37 publications containing occasional Greek texts from the Gezelius printing house. See HUMGRAECA Database > Printer > Winter (that is: printer Johan Winter). Gezelius' press continued to operate even after the Great Northern War under the ownership of H. C. Merckell until 1742, but it did not publish any Greek texts during Merckell's era.

<sup>303</sup> The Viipuri gymnasium press was founded on the initiative of Bishop of Viipuri Petrus Bång. Its publications are mainly lost due to the Russian occupation in 1710. Of the published Greek textbooks, a defective copy of Isocrates is preserved (SKB 1998). At the end of the eighteenth century, two commercial printing houses were established in Finland: that of Lodicer in Vaasa (1776–1838) and of Iversen in Viipuri (1798–1800). They did not print any Greek textbooks. Perälä 2000 I, 26–28.

Greek texts and other treatises were, of course, possible to print and publish aboard, such as on the other side of the Gulf of Bothnia. The first Greek books in the Swedish Kingdom were printed at the Royal Collegium of Stockholm (*Collegium Regium*) in 1584, when its printing house acquired Greek typefaces with the financial assistance of King John III, who had also helped to establish the Collegium. Jacobus Erii, the teacher of Greek at the Royal Collegium, published two textbooks for elementary Greek studies: Isocrates' *To Demonicus* and a modification of Luther's *Small Catechism* in Greek, to which Jacobus Erii had added some basics of Greek grammar. Furthermore, a medieval Greek grammar, *Donatus Graecus*, as well as some of Aesop's fables (in Latin), were printed for the Stockholm Royal Collegium's use.<sup>304</sup>

Three years later, in 1587, the same printing house published the first Swedish-Greek dictionary and phrase book by Elaus Petri Helsingius, Lecturer of Theology at the Skara Cathedral School, entitled *Synonymorum libellus, ex optimis Latinae et Graecae linguae scriptoribus congestus*. Helsingius' entries are single words or phrases in alphabetic order, sometimes containing the name of the author. However, not all entries contain Greek equivalents. The Ps.-Pythagorean *Golden Verses* is added at the end of the book.<sup>305</sup> The first Humanist Greek texts printed at the Royal Collegium of Stockholm were a Greek dedication (18 eleg) and a *votum* (22 eleg) by Benedictus Petri Leuchowius (1585–1683), Professor of Theology at the Collegium. They were attached to Leuchowius' commemorative anthology of Latin poems honouring certain professors and clergymen at Uppsala University. The title of the publication begins ΑΥΤΟΣΧΕΔΙΑΣΜΑΤΑ. *Ad reverendos* [...] (1611).<sup>306</sup> The first Greek occasional text printed at the Uppsala University press was written by Professor Johannes Chesnecopherus in 1615, a congratulatory poem (6 hex) for a dissertation, *De natura*, to its respondent Israel Columbus.<sup>307</sup> Chesnecopherus, Professor of Medicine and Physics at Uppsala (1613–1635), had studied in many foreign universities (Rostock, Marburg, Padua) before matriculating from Basel in 1606.<sup>308</sup>

<sup>304</sup> Collijn 1921, 118–122. Collijn 1932–33, 22–25.

<sup>305</sup> Collijn 1932–33, 51–53. Lundstedt 1875, 8. Some entries are presented in Korhonen 2021, 229.

<sup>306</sup> The genre of the texts in this commemorative anthology is unclear. It is not for a degree conferment ceremony. The addressees were Petrus Kenicius, a Finnish student Johannes Sveno Raumannus, Claudius Opsopaeus and Johannes Rudbeckius Sr. See HUMGRAECA database (Akujärvi). Raumannus was appointed Professor of Theology at Uppsala in 1610.

<sup>307</sup> See HUMGRAECA database (Akujärvi). On the printing press in Uppsala, see Bring 1962.

<sup>308</sup> SBL *s.v.* (Tor Berg).

Even before the Turku University press acquired its first Greek typefaces in 1648/1649, which were made by student Sveno Gelzenius, Turku scholars and students could insert Greek terms, phrases and quotes into their printed text by transliterating them in capital letters to distinguish Greek from Latin. For instance, in 1643, Ericus Ketarenius quotes Hesiod in his Latin speech, without a locus: OYK AIEI THEROS ESSEITAI POIEISTHE KALIAS.<sup>309</sup> Transliteration could be used even after the printing house acquired Greek typefaces.<sup>310</sup> This suggests that changing from Latin into Greek required, and requires, additional effort.

Missing Greek typefaces might, however, function as a suitable excuse for not writing in Greek. By 1649, the first professor of Greek and Hebrew, Martinus Stodius (1640–1654), had served in the office for nine years without supervising any dissertation (in Latin). When, in May 1649, the Consistorium required him to compose at least an oration, but in Greek, Stodius appealed to his workload and to the fact that the university's printing press did not have Greek typefaces yet. They were, however, just nearing completion (something which Stodius was surely aware) and were launched in June 1649.<sup>311</sup> Stodius fulfilled the wish of the Consistorium by composing his first Greek congratulation for the dissertation, the disputation being held on 13 June 1649.<sup>312</sup> Probably even earlier, Sveno Gelzenius, the maker of the Greek typefaces, delivered his sermon-like Greek oration on the resurrection of the soul. Professor Abraham Thauvonijs congratulated Gelzenius in Greek, praising the typefaces both in his poem (4 eleg)

<sup>309</sup> SKB 2124. Hes. *Op.* 503. See also the Latin oration by Ericus Myricus (1647, p. 6): *congregiamur APODORION TYS EPIGIGNOMENU TEN PATRIDA, vox heroica & magno Herē dignissima*. SKB 2629. The diphthong ου is transliterated as Y. The peculiar Greek passage is not a quote (ἀποδόριον not in TLG).

<sup>310</sup> For example, the dissertation supervised by Daniel Achrelius in 1680 contains an explanation of a Greek word which is transliterated: EXHYDRIAS *vocatur Graece, latine vero, ruptura nubium*. Achrelius – Tälpo 1680, 176. Vall. 10. The interpretation is, however, faulty, see Arist. *Mu.* 349b19: ἐξυδρίας (sc. ἄνεμος).

<sup>311</sup> Stodius' congratulation was, however, not the first Greek occasional poem published at Turku. Before the official inauguration of the typefaces, a Sweden-born student, Johannes Tobetius, wrote a Greek congratulation (8 hex) to his compatriot for the dissertation, which was defended in February 1648 (Vall. 4293), though it could of course have been printed later. For the poem, see Korhonen 2004, 1. The Greek typefaces could thus been in trial use in 1648 and early 1649. The first sample of the typefaces was completed already at the end of 1646. In May 1648, Gelzenius introduced his moulds with which he could print half a sheet. In all, the manufacturing of the first Greek types took three years 1646–1649. Korhonen 2004, 125–126.

<sup>312</sup> In the same month, Ericus Justander congratulated his fellow student with a Greek congratulation for a dissertation; the disputation was held on June 27, 1649. SKB 3175.

and in its heading: τῷ ΣΒΕΝΟΝΙ ΓΕΛΣΕΝΙΩ [...] σημάτων ἑλληνικῶν ἐν τῇ Φινλανδίᾳ ποιήθη αὐτοδιδάκτω. Thauvonius' verses stressed that Gelzenius had moulded the typefaces himself. Professor Martinus Stodius wrote the Latin invitation to the oration, dating it *Dominica IV à Trinitate* 1649, which refers to the beginning of June.<sup>313</sup> Gelzenius dedicated his oration to Queen Christina.

Gelzenius' typefaces fulfilled their function, but they were not of course equivalent to professionally made types, which were acquired in 1671. The university printing house published 43 Greek occasional texts with Gelzenius' typefaces. Their crudeness might be one of the reasons why Johannes Purmerus had his Greek oration printed in Stockholm, although he delivered it at Turku in 1660.<sup>314</sup> Apart from the poor quality of the typefaces, the paucity of texts could also be due to the then Professor of Greek and Hebrew, Petrus Bergius, who during his tenure (1654–1671) focused mainly on Hebrew and did not, as far as we know, write any Greek occasional texts. In 1667, Bishop Gezelius Sr. acquired Greek typefaces and offered them to the university's printing press to be purchased. However, the professors thought them too expensive.<sup>315</sup> The following year Gezelius Sr. invited the printer Johan Winter to come from Tartu to work in his newly founded printing house. As a former Professor of Greek and Hebrew in Tartu (1642–1649), Gezelius Sr. published Greek textbooks, some of which he reprinted in Turku as Bishop of Turku (1660–1690) and as Vice-Chancellor (*procancellarius*) of the university. They were typical of their time: *Poëmata Pythagorae, Phocylidis et Theognidis* (Tartu 1646 and Turku 1676),<sup>316</sup> which contains a succinct treatise on Greek poetry (prosody, dialects); *Grammatica Graeca* (Tartu 1647, at least 23 reprints with revisions, the fifth edition in Turku in 1675), based on Clenardus and Gualtperius;<sup>317</sup> *Janua linguae Graecae reserata* (Tartu 1648), a translation of Comenius' *Janua* into "New Testament Greek", which Gezelius Sr. did not reprint in Turku,<sup>318</sup> and *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*

<sup>313</sup> Trinity Sunday is the first Sunday after Pentecost; the earliest possible date is May 17. Stodius dated his invitation four Sundays after the Trinity Sunday.

<sup>314</sup> In October 1662, printer Peter Hansson applied to the Consistorium for permission to buy new Greek typefaces from Lübeck. The Consistorium would have given permission if the printer had paid for the costs himself. The new Greek typefaces were not acquired, and during the 1660s, only eight Greek paratexts were published. Korhonen 2004, 438 (in the list of Greek texts).

<sup>315</sup> CAAP III, 254 (15 of November 1667). Bishop Gezelius Sr. continued to rebuke the university's Greek typefaces in the meeting of the Consistorium in December 1669.

<sup>316</sup> Jaanson 514 and SKB 3118.

<sup>317</sup> Jaanson 533 and SKB 1414. On its popularity, see Heikel 1894, 125.

<sup>318</sup> Jaanson 596.

(Tartu 1649 and Turku 1686).<sup>319</sup> The collection of Aesop's fables in Greek and Latin was only printed in Turku in 1669 (and again in 1688), being the first Greek book printed in Finland. It contains 39 fables and, as a preface, a subchapter of Philostratus' *Imagines* (1.3.2), namely ekphrasis of a picture of Aesop surrounded by animals.<sup>320</sup> Gezelius published three other Greek books in Turku, which were not reprints from the Tartu period: pericopes on Sundays and holydays (1679), the Greek New Testament (1688) and Posselius' conversation manual in Greek and Latin (1690).<sup>321</sup>

In the early 1670s, four epideictic texts were still printed with the old "Gelzenian" typefaces at the university printing press. In the summer or autumn of 1671, the university printing press finally obtained professionally made Greek typefaces that could print longer texts. Hence, the printing house published a nearly 350-page text comprising an edition of Isocrates' orations and Ps.-Plutarch issued by Professor Ericus Falander, and a Greek oration (now lost) praising the Turku Court of Appeal by Henrik Schäfer (Heerdhielm) in 1671. During the 1680s, the university press published – beside a Greek oration and a Greek dissertation in 1688<sup>322</sup> – approximately 100 Greek short epideictic texts, of which 23 were published in commemorative anthologies and 77 as paratexts in Latin dissertations and in orations. During the 1690s, the ratio was 24 and 63. After that, in the first decade of the next century, the total ratio dropped to 25 due to the beginning of the Great Northern War: only six Greek texts appeared in commemorative anthologies and 19 paratexts in dissertations and orations.<sup>323</sup>

Although the university printing press acquired professional Greek typefaces, it did not contain majuscules of all sizes. In 1690, the title of the dissertation begins with the term ΣΞΕΔΑΠΙΟΝ (Short exercise), and the Greek majuscules are obviously handmade.<sup>324</sup> The *My* (M) in the initial vignette of Johan Welin's

<sup>319</sup> Jaanson 616 and SKB 1435.

<sup>320</sup> SKB 174 and SKB 175.

<sup>321</sup> *Dominicalia et festivalia evangelia* (SKB 941), Ἡ καὶνὴ διαθήκη (SKB 3127) and Posselius (SKB 3093).

<sup>322</sup> Justander's Greek oration is lost (SKB 2824), see above Chapter 2.3 ("Greek Dissertations and Orations"). On the extant Greek dissertation, see below Chapter 5.2.

<sup>323</sup> See the Table in Korhonen 2004, 15: "epideiktiset pientekstit I and II" = short epideictic texts in commemorative anthologies (I), paratexts in dissertations and orations (II).

<sup>324</sup> Vall. 4260. Although, there seems to be a good storage of initial vignettes for Latin letters in the Turku presses, ingenuity was needed with the printing of Latin texts too. Once Z was used as an N in the initial vignette on the first page of a dissertation (Wanochius – Tammelinus, 1690). Vall. 4260.



long funerary poem is turned to the left in order to form a sigma ( $\Sigma$ ) so that the decorative flower in the illustrated letter grows horizontally.<sup>325</sup> After the reinstalment of the university after the Great Northern War in 1722, the quality of paper becomes much worse and as a consequence the Greek texts look smudged. Dissertations also contained almost no decoration.

Books were printed by hand and text was typed as a mirror image, in which case orthography, when using unusual lettering, required special accuracy. Text written in an uncustomary alphabet, as in Greek, was certainly more time-consuming and expensive than in Latin. In large printing houses, the printer was assisted by learned proof readers, such as Erasmus in Froben's press in Basel. In the small printing houses, like the two in Turku, the printer might act as a proofreader too, but obviously the writers themselves could also assist and proofread the work. If this was not possible, however, the result might well be a large number of printing errors. In Turku, Martinus Miltopaeus, who wrote two Greek occasional poems and graduated in May 1653, worked as an assistant in the university's press in 1655. Five years later he was appointed Professor of *eloquentia*.<sup>326</sup>

The main goal of the printer was a visually finished result, including justified edges, for which purpose abbreviations and ligatures were used. Sometimes this aim made the printer even add or remove letters and spacing.<sup>327</sup> One can assume that it was also laborious to change the typefaces when the Greek phrase was placed among Latin *antiqua*. A student would make things much easier and even cheaper if he wrote his occasional and, of course, longer texts in Latin. Students paid for the printing even when the thesis was written by the professor, but the printing costs were also supported by the people to whom the work was dedicated. As mentioned earlier, epideictic poems written to upper middle class and noble persons, such as wedding and funeral poems, might receive compensation, i.e., its printing might ultimately be paid for by the addressee – or at least it was expected that the target person would aid the writer financially. Wedding and funeral poems could thus provide not merely kudos but earning opportunities for students.

Petrus Gyllenius, who was born in Karlstad (Sweden) but studied at Turku, kept a diary in Swedish nearly all his life. He did not write every day, nor even

<sup>325</sup> On Welin's Greek funerary poem (1728), see below Chapter 4.5 ("Dialogues, *Prosopopoeiae* and Apostrophes").

<sup>326</sup> Lagus 1890, 37. On proof-reading in the Estonian printing-houses, see Päll 2005, 104–106 and in Uppsala, Annerstedt 1909, 101.

<sup>327</sup> Laine 1996, 38–42 (Sirikka Havu). Printers' errors are evident if one compares a manuscript with the printed work, like Petrus Aurivillius' Greek dissertation (1658 Uppsala), whose manuscript is extant. See Korhonen 2021, 715.

every month, but he nevertheless presented a lively picture of his study years and his economic situation – he was a scholarship student – at Turku between 1648–1656.<sup>328</sup> According to his diary entries, Gyllenius was a private tutor in many families and also participated in student comedies for a fee. In addition, he wrote occasional poems, sometimes receiving a little payment for them. For example, in 1649, he reports that he received “one and a half *Rijksdaler*” from his wedding poem, most probably in Swedish, to a noble couple, Jöns Kurck and Christina Horn, who were married on 29 July 1649.<sup>329</sup>

Composing occasional poems to wealthy citizens could be a means of earning income, but obviously only for some writers and for poems written mostly in the vernacular.<sup>330</sup> Lasse Lucidor (Lars Johansson 1638–1674, born in Stockholm) was a professional poet in the context of seventeenth-century Sweden, living by the fees he received from his occasional poems. He was also a professional in the sense that his Swedish poems were exceptionally good and some of them were later adapted into hymns and are even known today. However, writing poems to eminent persons could be a delicate issue. Lucidor’s court case concerning his Swedish wedding poem *Gilliare kwal* (Suitors’ trials, 238 lines) is famous. It was performed in the sumptuous wedding celebration that even included the teenage Crown Prince Charles XI and his mother, Queen Hedvig Eleonora, in 1669. The poem was written to Count Conrad Gyllenstierna and his bride, and, as its name suggests, Lucidor humorously described the suitors’ difficulties, being ignorant of the fact that Gyllenstierna had nearly got into duels with his rival suitors and therefore he considered the poem to be a libellous. The Count was also offended because Lucidor had not mentioned all his titles, putting only several “*etc*”. Furthermore, the supposedly libellous nature of the poem was considered to be proved by the fact that Lucidor had used his pseudonym *Lucidor den Olycklige* (The Miserable Lucidor) and had not presented the poem himself to the bridal

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<sup>328</sup> The diary was edited at the end of the eighteenth century by Richard Hausen (digitised by the University of Gothenburg, <http://hdl.handle.net/2077/54910>). However, it is preferable to use the more accurate edition by Gardberg & Toijer (1962). Another diary (1659–1664) by Johannes Andreae Julinus and edited by Tilander (1968), also gives some information of his years of study in Uppsala and Turku.

<sup>329</sup> Gardberg & Toijer 1962, 109. The poem is lost but a comedy in Swedish by Jacob Chronander, which was performed at the wedding, has survived (SKB 858).

<sup>330</sup> For example, a Sweden-born student Petrus Stikander (Stijkman) tutored goldsmith Hugo Mörman’s children in Turku. Stikander also helped with the funeral arrangements for Mörman’s relative and wrote a funerary text (probably in Swedish), receiving for these services a sum of money from Mörman. See Suolahti 1946, 118 (information based on the Turku judgement books).

couple but had asked his friend to do it. Lucidor was remanded in custody in pre-trial detention. Although he managed to defend himself and was released, he was forced to pay a fine owing to the fact that he had not presented his poem for inspection before its printing.<sup>331</sup>

The case of Lucidor's wedding poem reveals two aspects about publishing occasional texts in this period: the importance of honour and respect, involving the mentioning of all titles, and the requirement that the text be inspected before printing. Lower class people were expected to respect their social superiors in the honour-conscious and hierarchical Baroque period. Permission was required to dedicate one's writing to noblemen, and this especially concerned poems dedicated to royalty. Hence one could usually not, for example, dedicate one's treatise to a monarch without first asking formal permission. Petrus Gyllenus mentions his visit to the Royal Castle of Stockholm in September 1651. He received funding to print his oration (in Latin) and a week later he gave the manuscript of the oration to Queen Christina or to her representative.<sup>332</sup> Another example of dealing with royalty is Johannes Purmerus' Greek prose oration lamenting the death of King Charles X Gustav, which was delivered in Turku in June 1660. The King died on 13 February and the invitation to the delivery of Purmerus' oration is dated 22 June 1660. The speech was probably given on the Memorial Day on June 24, when many other speeches on behalf of the King were delivered in Turku. Thus, Purmerus had four months to compose his Greek oration. The oration was, however, printed in Stockholm, most probably because the handmade Greek typefaces of the Turku University press were so crude – too crude for a publication with a Latin dedication to the King's son, the then four-year-old Crown Prince and his widowed mother, Queen Hedvig Eleonora.<sup>333</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> Hansson 1975, 127–131 and Hansson 2002, 145.

<sup>332</sup> Gyllenius' entries for the 7th, 11th and 16th of September 1651 (Gardberg & Toijer 1962, 162). Gyllenius also reports the slow printing process of this Latin tautogrammatical oration in verses (every word beginning with the letter c). He delivered it at Turku on 16 March 1651. In the diary entry of 24 July 1651, he writes that only two sheets of the oration were ready and that the third sheet would come out in the following spring (Gardberg & Toijer 1962, 16, 128). The oration was published the following year. The title page contains the year of print (1652) but also a chronogram, which refers to the year of the delivery (1651). The oration was dedicated to Queen Christina and Charles Gustav, her cousin and successor to the throne as Charles X Gustav. SKB 1735.

<sup>333</sup> SKB 3117. Mel. 423. See also below pp. 161–162 and p. 270. There were two students named Johannes Purmerus studying at the same time at the university. They were cousins, one was the son of the Mayor of Turku, the other the son of a magistrate. Korhonen 2004, 409–410.

However, the main reason for Purmerus, a Turku magistrate's son, being in Stockholm was that he had been temporarily dismissed from the university, probably from March 1659 until March 1660. The reason for his dismissal was a dispute concerning honour.<sup>334</sup> In Stockholm, he wrote a letter to Count Per Brahe, the Chancellor of the Royal Academy of Turku, in April 1660, asking for financial aid in order to continue his studies. He also mentions that he need to ask permission from the Queen and the young Crown Prince to dedicate his oration on the deceased King to them. That is, Purmerus asks whether the Count would help him be received at Court.<sup>335</sup> We may suppose that writing an oration in Greek was Purmerus' means of achieving appreciation when he returned to his *alma mater*.

The fact that publications in early modern university presses were under surveillance could also concern short occasional texts. It was precisely during the 1660s that sending wedding and funeral poems to addressees without inspection was forbidden.<sup>336</sup> In June 1662, members of the Consistorium of the Royal Academy of Turku discussed the problem that students wrote too many funeral and wedding poems where they referred to pagan gods by name (*deorum gentilium nomina*). Printers were then forbidden to print any student output without a professor's signature. In February 1663, the Consistorium had discussed the issues, that students and "other academics" liked to "*luxuriera medh titulis*". As a consequence, it was decided that not only professors of poetry and rhetoric but also the rector and dean needed to inspect dedications and honorary titles.<sup>337</sup> At

<sup>334</sup> Purmerus had argued that he is as good a man as Gabriel Gyldenstolpe, a nobleman's son. This dispute was discussed in the meeting of the Consistorium, where Purmerus had behaved too arrogantly for the tastes of those attending the meeting. Purmerus' father did not want to pay the fine and therefore Purmerus was expelled for a year from 9 March 1659 onwards. CAAP II, 129–133 (30 September 1658 – 5 November 1658), CAAP II, 140–146 (4 December 1658 – 9 March 1659).

<sup>335</sup> Korhonen 2004, 410. Purmerus' Swedish letter is, however, not dated and the place where it was written is missing. Carl Magnus Schybergson, who collected Brahe's correspondence, dated it between the 5th and 12th of April 1660 due to its original place in Brahe's archive. Schybergson 1932, 155–156, Nr. 120. Purmerus reports that he needs help because his father can no longer fund his studies due to a misfortune (*Wädhelledh*), without referring to his expulsion from the university. His more acute need is due to his arriving at a place where he has no acquaintances: "*Jagh är biijtkommen på denna fremmande orten för 3 weckor sedan, och derföre äre mine penningar alle hwilcka jagh hafuer uppehållit migh med, och är jag ej heller medh någon bekanter den jagh kunde lijta migh till [...]*", Schybergson 1932, 155. It is unclear whether Count Brahe helped Purmerus, nor is it known whether the Count answered this humble letter. At least the oration was printed. Purmerus' later career is not known. He probably moved to Sweden, see Suolahti 1946, 194.

<sup>336</sup> Hansson 1975, 127–131. Collijn 1942–44, 426.

<sup>337</sup> CAAP II, 362 (23 June 1662) and CAAP II, 431 (18 February 1663). See also Heikel 1894,

the end of the decade, in 1669, it was required that the titles of the persons and dedications as well as any writings of students needed to be inspected, and they also needed to be signed by the rector and dean before they could be printed.<sup>338</sup> This was plainly never realised – it was clearly too time-consuming a duty for them – but the stipulation implies that it was not seen necessary to inspect either the language or the content except in regard to proper expressions of honour and an appropriate attitude to religion. However, having said that, there is evidence to the contrary. When David Lund was Professor of Poetry (1688–1691) – before his professorship of Greek and Hebrew – he complained on several occasions that students' Swedish and Latin verses were printed without his inspection, which caused many deficient poems to be published. He did not mention Greek poems, however.<sup>339</sup>

One obvious prerequisite for writing and studying Greek was the availability of books. The students at Turku were not deprived of Greek editions. On the contrary, the university library collection was well supplied with classical literature, Greek editions and Greek studies for such a small provincial university founded only in 1640.<sup>340</sup>

### Acquisition of Greek Books

The same rules and practices were basically followed pertaining to the systematic arrangement of the collections of the four Lutheran university libraries in the Swedish Empire. Besides free copies from the printing presses<sup>341</sup> and buying books, an important factor for increasing library collections were donations. When the Turku gymnasium evolved into a university, it naturally inherited the collection of the gymnasium library with its modest 21 items.<sup>342</sup> However, these items included Johann Scapula's folio-sized Greek-Latin Lexicon (1594); two

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157. Sarasti-Wilenius 1996, 191.

<sup>338</sup> CAAP III, 307 (3 of February 1669).

<sup>339</sup> Hultin 1902, 68. Heikel 1894, 94–95.

<sup>340</sup> For a list of Greek editions in the Turku University library up to ca. 1750, see Korhonen 2010 and Korhonen 2011.

<sup>341</sup> Principally, from 1707 onwards, libraries should receive a free copy of every print published in the Swedish Empire, but this was not realised until the 1760s. There is a notable increase in the size of the collection at the end of the eighteenth century. Vallinkoski 1948, 212–216, especially 215.

<sup>342</sup> Vallinkoski 1948, 91–92. The Turku Cathedral School, established in the Middle Ages, was expanded in 1630 to include a gymnasium. The enlarged Cathedral School, in turn, was transformed into a university in 1640.

editions of Isocrates (Basel 1594, 2:0 and 1570, 8:0); sixteenth-century editions of Hermogenes (Strassburg 1570 and 1571) and Aphthonius (Leipzig 1596, also Frankfurt 1604); and Plato's *opera omnia* with Marcilio Ficino's translation into Latin (Basel 1546). In the first years of its existence, Count Per Brahe made several requests to Queen Christina, the nominal protector of the Royal Academy of Turku, for book donations as well as funds for a printing press and a bookshop. Soon the library received some notable donations and the collection expanded in fifteen years from 21 to 1,350 volumes, as shown in the library catalogue made by Axelius Kempe in 1655, to 1,600 volumes according to the library catalogue published in 1682 and attributed to Gabriel Wallenius, and to c. 3,500 volumes according to Johan Haartman's unpublished library catalogue dated 1755.<sup>343</sup> In sum, there was a prominent accumulation of books in the first decennia of the Turku University library as well as in the middle of the eighteenth century.

During the Thirty Years' War, the Swedish army obtained much valuable booty, including books and even libraries in Germany, Denmark and Holland. These captured book collections were kept by private citizens but were also donated to Uppsala University library and the Royal Library in Stockholm and some of them ended up in Turku. The most important donation, amounting to about 1,200 works, was received in April 1646 from Christina Horn, a widow of the Finnish general Torsten Stålhandske.<sup>344</sup> Stålhandske had seized the Dane Martinus Matthiae's library in October 1643. Martinus Matthiae, Bishop of Aarhus, had studied abroad, matriculating in Wittenberg in 1617 and in Leyden in 1620.<sup>345</sup> He was acquainted with the famous Dutch classical scholar, Johannes Meursius (1579–1639), which was the reason why he owned a considerable number of Meursius' works. The collection included well-known Greek classics, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Plato and Aristotle. Only eleven items in this collection have survived.<sup>346</sup> The most interesting of the surviving works as regards Greek studies is the *editio princeps*

<sup>343</sup> About the increase of volumes and estimations of the number of volumes in European libraries, including Uppsala and Lund, see Vallinkoski 1975a, 181–183.

<sup>344</sup> It was Stålhandske's widow, Christina Horn, who came from a culturally sophisticated Finnish noble family, who stated that it had been her husband's wish that Martinus Matthiae's library should be bequeathed to the Royal Academy of Turku. Vallinkoski 1948, 108.

<sup>345</sup> Bishop Martinus Matthiae (Morten Madsen, 1596–1643) died shortly before the Swedish army captured Jutland. Martinus Matthiae was Vicar at the sumptuous court of Christian IV of Denmark before his appointment as Bishop of Aarhus in 1627. Vallinkoski 1948, 108–109.

<sup>346</sup> The 11 items that survived fires, wars, etc. are listed in Vallinkoski 1948, 111–112, forming nowadays the *Auraica* collection.

of Manuel Moschopoulos' schedographic textbook, *Περὶ σχέδων* (Paris, 1545). The Turku copy contains several notes written both in pencil and pen. The notes made in pencil indicate that the writer had read the whole book. Some of them could have been written by Martinus Matthiae, but the date (20 January 1709) suggests that the reader was probably the briefly-employed Professor of Greek and Hebrew (1705–1709) at Turku, Israel Nesselius. As said, Nesselius mentions Moschopoulos' work in his *Collegium Graecum*.<sup>347</sup>

From the point of Humanist Greek, this donation contained such works as Rhodomanus' *Palaestina* (1589), Olympia Fulvia Morata's *opera* (1570), as well as Martin Crusius' *Turcograecia* and *Germanograecia*.<sup>348</sup> It was a mere accident, not a matter of choice, that the university library owned these books, but it is interesting that the educated Danish bishop included them in his collection. There were other donations and book acquisitions,<sup>349</sup> later especially from the estates of deceased bishops, professors and priests.<sup>350</sup> In 1767, Johann Fabricius' *magnum opus, Bibliotheca Graeca* (1705–1728) was acquired from Professor Carl Clewberg's estate.<sup>351</sup>

During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, there were some who evaluated the collection with regard to its classical authors. One was Josef Thun, who studied at Turku for a few years. In a memorial to Thun – a token of his enthusiasm for the Classics – it is stated that Thun studied “both languages” and reported his “findings” of classical authors deposited in Turku University library to the Royal Library of Stockholm.<sup>352</sup> Another acclaimer of the collection from

<sup>347</sup> The date is accompanied by a note: *iterato post viginti circiter annos*. See also Vallinkoski 1948, 111 n13, who reads the date as 20 July. Pencils were used from the end of the sixteenth century, although mass production only began at the end of the seventeenth century.

<sup>348</sup> Kempe 1655, D2v, F1r and D2r. The library also owned Anna Maria van Schurman's treatise on women's education (Leyden 1641) but not her collection of Hebrew, Greek, Latin and French poems and texts (Utrecht 1648). *Turcograecia* was also included in the University of Tartu library. For an introduction, with pictures, to the Tartu library collection with regard to Humanist Greek and early modern Greek textbooks, see Päll & Valper 2014.

<sup>349</sup> The second important donation was received nominally from Queen Christina. The books were duplicates from the Royal Library in Stockholm. Vallinkoski 1948, 188.

<sup>350</sup> For example, during the 1720s, that is, after the Great Northern War, when the university was finally back in Turku, folio-sized books on Greek orators and Greek poets were bought from Bishop Gezelius Jr.'s and Bishop Matthias Iser's estates (Iser had been Bishop of Västerås). Maliniemi 1929, 51, 73. Korhonen 2004, 120.

<sup>351</sup> Clewberg's estate consisted of nearly 140 items of Greek editions and research literature, especially on Homer. Vallinkoski 1975a, 130–133.

<sup>352</sup> Erik Benzelius Jr.'s speech on Thun's memory was published in the journal *Acta litteraria et*

the point of view of classical authors was Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804), Docent of *eloquentia* and writer of a history of Turku University library in which he postulates that *ita classicorum quos dicunt auctorum veterum, Bibliotheca Acad. pulchro satis instructa est penu.*<sup>353</sup>

Besides the university library, many professors, like Carl Clewberg (1712–1765), owned notable private libraries. During the seventeenth century, the second professor of Greek and Hebrew, Petrus Bergius (died 1691), owned an extensive library (c. 9,000 items) with many Greek grammars (Gualtperius and two copies of Clenardus) and lexica (Scapula, Schrevelius and Pasor), along with Greek classics (Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Euripides, Strabo, and Epictetus). He listed the items of his collection in his (unpublished) autobiography.<sup>354</sup> However, as mentioned above, Bergius was not an active instructor of Greek but concentrated on Hebrew, which obviously needed more instruction because it was not, like Greek, taught at schools.

But although these collection contained many books on and by Greek authors, how generally accessible were they? The students themselves had only limited access to the collections: the university library was open for only a few hours twice a week in the afternoons, and only professors were permitted to take out books as home loans. Students could loan books only with special permission from their professors. Some random pieces of information concerning borrowed books or books that had not been returned have survived. In 1673, the library asked the estate of Professor Georgius Alanus (d. 1664) to return, or to compensate if lost, 17 books, among them a Greek Psalter and Gregory of Nazianzus' letters (Ingolstad 1602), which Alanus had borrowed.<sup>355</sup>

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*scientiarum Svecia* (I, 236).

<sup>353</sup> Porthan 1771–1795, 258. Porthan was the great name of Finnish *Neohumanismus*. He also taught Greek *privatim* at the Royal Academy of Turku.

<sup>354</sup> Bergius 1664 (mscr). Bergius had divided his books thematically (e.g., *Poetici Graeci, Grammatici Graeci, Lexica Graeca*). Ancient Greek authors could also be found, for instance, under the heading *Mathematici*. Korhonen 2004, 122–123.

<sup>355</sup> Vallinkoski 1948, 242. Georgius Alanus from Åland was first Professor of Physics, then of Theology at Turku. For a list of his borrowed books, see Laine 1996, 79–92.



The spread of Greek learning was accompanied by the spread of Greek writing into the Nordic countries. Humanist Greek poems and prose texts were printed in the presses established in educational institutions, universities and gymnasia. However, because Greek came a little later to the North than elsewhere on the Continent, the content and ambitions pertaining to Greek versifying differed to some extent. At the Royal Academy of Turku, Greek production from the time when the university press began using Greek typefaces (1648/1649) until the end of the eighteenth century consisted mainly of short epideictic texts. Many external factors influenced Greek production, like the quality of Greek typefaces and the activity of professors of Greek, of Poetics and of Rhetoric. Because the teaching of Greek came at the same time as the Protestant Reformation in Scandinavia and the Baltic countries, the religious atmosphere of the time had an impact on the contents of Greek texts. The concepts of Greek language and culture – early modern philhellenism and Greek as a “sacred” language – influenced this period. In the following Part, these concepts or perceptions are the main focus, along with their realisations, expressions and practices.



### 3. Perceptions and Uses of Greek Language

Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) was one of the humanists who, although not being a Greek philologist as such, had a considerable influence on the wider interest in Greek with his *Adagia* and the first critical edition of the New Testament. Erika Rummel has identified three phases in Erasmus' attitudes to Greek language and literature. The first was Erasmus' enthusiasm for Greek in his study years, when he emphasised the "enchantment" of Greek poetry and literature in general and the pleasure of reading it. In the preface to his translation of Lucian (Paris 1516), Erasmus speaks of a garden of Greek poets whose flowers also bloom in the middle of winter (i.e., in the Northern countries with a colder climate than in the Mediterranean). While studying in Paris, Erasmus began to emphasise the intellectual and moral benefits of Greek studies. According to Erasmus, the corpus of Greek literature was comprehensively moral in its subjects – for instance, Xenophon's and Isocrates' instructions how to raise monarchs also contained suitable advice for Christian rulers – and Greek provided a rich vocabulary for various disciplines. In its final phase, Erasmus' Greek enthusiasm turned to a narrower Protestant conception as Greek was a particularly important subject in supporting the study of theology. In the defence of his Latin translation accompanying his edition of the New Testament (1516), Erasmus states that because the translations of the scriptures are always incomplete, scholars had to be able to read the Bible in the original languages.<sup>1</sup>

William Camden, the biographer of Elizabeth I of England (1533–1603), reported on the Greek studies of this exceptional woman, emphasising the usefulness of Greek and its moral aspect. With his teacher, a Cambridge professor Roger Ascham, Elizabeth is said to have read Isocrates, Sophocles and the New Testament in Greek. Camden underlined that Elizabeth did not study Greek and liberal arts for the sake of showiness (*pompa*), but because these studies were useful for cultivating virtues and for life in general.<sup>2</sup>

These functions of Greek language and literature – aesthetic, ethical, intellectual and theological – can be reduced to two when the first three are combined. Firstly, the study of Greek was believed to have an edifying effect, as Greek civilization was seen as the foundation of both the arts and the sciences, as

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<sup>1</sup> Rummel 1985, 15–17. On Erasmus' Greek studies, see also Thompson 1939, 861–863.

<sup>2</sup> Camden 1616, 24. Ascham's letters spread Elizabeth's reputation as a Queen who was fluent in Greek. Goldhill 2002, 56.

well as a prerequisite for a complete knowledge of Latin. Greek was a refining and perfecting finish for a humanistic education that included moral accomplishment. Secondly, Greek was thought to act mainly as a servant of faith, *ancilla fidei* or *ancilla theologiae*, which also included the ethical aspect – ancient philosophy – which like Roman Stoicism was a source of suitable maxims pertaining to Christian *ars vitae*. It seems quite plausible that the importance of Greek language and literature was more or less emphasised on the basis of the aesthetic-ethical aspect during the 16th century, whereas the religious-ethical aspects were the primary focus during the 17th century, after the Reformation.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, good knowledge of Greek – even active skills in Greek – may have been an integral part of one’s “personal politics”, as Simon Goldhill says about humanists after Erasmus.<sup>4</sup> It was a way to make a difference. Many early modern humanists used the term φιλέλλην of themselves. Martin Crusius even specified German early philhellenism by signing his letter (1579) containing a Greek poem with the phrase φιλέλλην χριστιανός.<sup>5</sup> Seventeenth-century humanism in the Nordic and Baltic countries was Christian humanism. Religion was an essential part of everyday life and Christian texts – the Bible, Christian hymns, the writings of the Church Fathers – governed the mental atmosphere and consequently influenced Humanist Greek texts. Early modern philhellenism can thus be called “Christian philhellenism”, which was different from the political philhellenism of the 19th century, which arose along with the fight for Greek independence. Christian philhellenism prevailed to a greater or lesser extent from the sixteenth century to the German *Neuhumanismus*. Its identification with Greek culture was manifested, for example, in the search for common features between one’s mother tongue and ancient Greek (both were under the ‘tyranny’ of Latin) and the use of Greek phrases along with Latin in everyday usage, sometimes even introducing Greek into the vernacular. The active use of Greek was promoted to such extent that ancient Greek was even sometimes seen as one of the literary languages of a civilised person, even a language of academic spoken communication, as Latin was.

The aim of this chapter is to present early modern philhellenism, like the ‘omnipresence’ and functions of Greek words and phrases in Latin texts and

<sup>3</sup> Han Lamers and Raf Van Rooy (2022) emphasise the aesthetic appreciation of Greek production in regard to examples from the sixteenth-century Low Countries and “its strong emphasis on poetry rather than prose”.

<sup>4</sup> Goldhill 2002, 59. Goldhill also speaks of self-formation, *ibid.* 297.

<sup>5</sup> Crusius 1585, 232. The letter was Crusius’ congratulatory epistle to Theodosios Zygomalas for his marriage in 1579, see above p. 57 n120.

sometimes among vernacular – resulting even using Greek endings in Greek in Latin words, like *periphrastikōs* (Chapter 3.2). Extensive quotations and paraphrases from Greek literature may also be considered to be a token of the philhellenism (Chapter 3.5). Secondly, I will briefly discuss Greek's position as one of the 'holy' languages, an important aspect in the Nordic Protestant countries (Chapter 3.3). Thirdly, Greek was not only important for identity policy reasons in early modern Europe (as naming herself as philhellene) but also for national image making (Chapter 3.4). I shall start, however, with some eulogies to Greek by early modern scholars as well as few negative approaches to it.

### 3.1. *Philograeci* and Early Modern Philhellenism

In the preface to his *Palaestina*, Laurentius Rhodomanus divided people into lovers of Greek language and culture (φιλέλληνες) and those who "hate" or feel dislike for them (μισέλληνες). The latter were those who felt that Latin was enough and that Greek literature could be read in Latin translation.<sup>6</sup>

Early modern Greek textbooks and lexica were obvious places where Greek could be advertised and eulogised. Henricus Stephanus reprinted Scipione Forteguerra's Latin speech on the usefulness of Greek in his *Thesaurus* (1572). Especially inauguration speeches for the Chair of Greek were occasions when glorifying Greek language and culture was appropriate, and professors' eulogies or parts of such eulogies were printed in Greek textbooks. Melanchthon stated in his inaugural speech for his Tübingen professorship (1518) that the liberal arts were the foundation of civilization. Greek was needed for both theology and philosophy – Greek was as important to life as air is to fire: it is not only the source of Christianity but of all the sciences. In 1563 in his inaugural address for the Greek professorship at the University of Rome, Marc Antoine Muret (Muretus) spoke about the Greek language as the source of all sophistication and as the originator and preserver of the liberal sciences.<sup>7</sup>

A quite extraordinary argument for propagating Greek learning, advertising the richness of Greek, and especially writing in Greek, is stated by Christopher Helvicus in his book (1623) on Greek poetry and dialects. In his second chapter, Helvicus states that it is easier to write in Greek than in Latin. He justifies the claim

<sup>6</sup> Rhodomanus 1589, 11–14.

<sup>7</sup> For Melanchthon's statement see Rhein 1987, 149–150, Burke 1992, 131; for Muret's statement, see Sandys 1958 II, 151–152.

by referring to the richness of synonyms in the Greek lexicon, the dialectical variety and abundance of epithets, and by its “freedom” in elision and prosody.<sup>8</sup> To lower the threshold for studying Greek, some writers reassured their audiences of the easiness of learning Greek. In his dedication to Count Erik Oxenstierna, Johannes Gezelius Sr. guaranteed that with the help of his Greek translation of Comenius’ *Janua* (Tartu 1648), students would learn to defend their arguments in Greek in only a couple of months.<sup>9</sup> The praise of Greek also became one of the standard subjects in academic treatises, orations and dissertations, even in short occasional texts. In 1652 in Tartu, Benjamin Krook, a Finn, delivered a eulogy in Latin to the Greek language,<sup>10</sup> while Ericus Indrenius praised the Greek language in Greek in his congratulation to the respondent of a Greek dissertation (1688 in Turku).<sup>11</sup>

Andreas Thermaenius (1638–1676) praised the Greek language in Greek at the Västerås Gymnasium in 1668. The oration, titled *Metrica oratio de praestantia et utilitate linguae Graecae in omnibus scientiis & disciplinis*, was not printed but its manuscript is preserved. The speech begins with a praise of Athens, which is called “Hellas’ pride” and is “especially loved by Pallas Athene”. It then moves to praise the Greek language and the Greeks – many nations, like Rome, had learnt a great deal from the Greeks. Thermaenius eulogises Plato, and mentions Chrysostom when presenting Greek as a “holy” language. He introduces different branches of science, referring to Jason and the Golden Fleece as well as the Trojan War when presenting history, Hippocrates and Galen when presenting medicine, and Ptolemy when presenting astronomy.<sup>12</sup> Besides this Greek oration, Thermaenius wrote a Greek dissertation at Västerås, also in 1668. Both were probably a means to obtain a position at the Gymnasium, and he was duly appointed teacher of Greek there in 1671.<sup>13</sup>

In Uppsala, Petrus Lagerlöf, Professor of Poetics, supervised a dissertation on the history of the Greek language (*Historiola linguae Graecae*) in 1685. It

<sup>8</sup> Helvicius 1623, Chapter 2.2 (*Caput I. Quod facilius sit, Graecum, quam Latinum carmen scribere*). On this work, see above Chapter 2.2 (“Guides on Writing in Greek”).

<sup>9</sup> Korhonen 2010, 93. Erik Oxenstierna was governor of Estonia during 1646–1651.

<sup>10</sup> SKB 2216; Jaanson 745. The oration has not been preserved.

<sup>11</sup> See below Chapter 5.3.

<sup>12</sup> Floderus 1785–1789, 55–61. Floderus criticised the oration for repetition and some of its religious details. The oration will be published by Erkki Sironen. Sironen forthcoming.

<sup>13</sup> Korhonen 2021, 706. Thermaenius composed ten occasional poems in Greek, see HUMGARAECA Database (Akujärvi). Thermaenius was appointed Vicar in Mora (Sweden) in 1676, just before his early death.

was probably written by the respondent Johannes Palmroot, because it was a *pro gradu* dissertation. Palmroot (1659–1727) was later appointed Professor of Oriental languages (1695–1707), and of Theology at the University of Uppsala.<sup>14</sup> In the second chapter, Palmroot lists the advantages of Greek, namely its *suavitas, foecunditas, perspicuitas, utilitas* and *copia*.<sup>15</sup> The short third chapter discusses the deterioration of the Greek language (*De linguae Graecanicae corruptione*), giving a letter written by a monk, Johannes Maximos of Chios, as an example: *stilum vulgaris Graecae Linguae [...] exhibebimus*. As Palmroot indicates, the letter had been taken from Crusius' *Turcograecia*.<sup>16</sup> The addressee of the letter was Theodosios Zygomalas (1544–c.1605), a scholar and official in the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Crusius and Zygomalas exchanged letters for many years as part of the ecumenical and diplomatic correspondence between the Tübingen humanists and the Patriarchate.<sup>17</sup> Palmroot first gives the letter and its translation in Latin and, then, a “purer”, abridged version of the letter, which he informs to have been composed by the addressee, Zygomalas.<sup>18</sup> Among the Crusius–Zygomalas correspondence, many “purer” versions, which Zygomalas had composed on Crusius' request, can be found. Crusius was interested in the difference between ancient and contemporary Greek – as well as vice versa, how ancient or Humanist Greek could be “converted” into modern Greek.<sup>19</sup>

The Lagerlöf–Palmroot dissertation (1685) contains a congratulatory poem (18 ia) in Greek by Professor Johannes Bilberg to the respondent Palmroot, which is from start to finish a lamentation on the contemporary condition of Greece and the Greek language:<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> On the title page: [...] *in dissertatione graduali a Johanne Palmroot Vestmanno*. The dissertation is digitised in the DiVA Database > Lagerlöf > Nr. 82. On Palmroot (Palmroth), see SBH II, 265 (Cecilia Thel).

<sup>15</sup> Lagerlöf – Palmroot 1685, 25–28.

<sup>16</sup> Lagerlöf – Palmroot 1685, 30.

<sup>17</sup> Rhoby 2005. According to Rhoby, Zygomalas was *protonotarius* c. 1573–1576.

<sup>18</sup> *Purior conversio hujus Epistolae, auctore Theodosio Zygomala, brevior*. Lagerlöf – Palmroot 1685, 29–32.

<sup>19</sup> Rhoby 2005, 256.

<sup>20</sup> For a lamentation on the contemporary Greek nation, see also the last part of Laurentius Ludenius' long Latin poem to Gezelius Sr. for his translation of Comenius' *Janua* into Greek: [...] *perit quondam Attica terra! Et qua Grajam olim, jam Turcia tota vocatur, / Helladis ut vix jam vestigia parva supersint*. Gezelius Sr. 1648, 8.

Καλαὶ Ἀθῆναι, Παλλάδος κλεινὴ πτόλις,  
 σεβάσμιόν ποτ' ὄμμα γαίης Ἑλλάδος.  
 Ἦ τῆς αὐτῆς ἰδρὶς ἔκλυες πάλαι,  
 τὸ φασγάνων πνέουσα καὶ πυρὸς μένος.  
 Ἦ παντοίης μήτηρ ὁμοῦ παιδεύσεως 5  
 σοφὴ πέφυκας, πᾶσι τιμιωτάτη.  
 Θρέπτειρα τῶν Μουσῶν πανάγρυπνος τ' ἔης,  
 γλώσσης τ' ἄγαλμα τῆς ἐλευθεροστόμου.  
 Τοίου κλέους δύστηνος ἐστερημένη,  
 πραθεῖσα νῦν τῶν βαρβάρων ὕπαι γοᾶς. 10  
 Στένω, δακρύσας, δυστάλαινά σε στένω,  
 θεήλατόν τε τῆς τύχης καταστροφὴν,  
 καὶ πότμον ἢ ῥ' ἄποτμον ἐν βραχεὶ χρόνῳ  
 σέλας τὸ σὸν γὰρ εἰς τόδ' ἦλθε συμφορᾶς,  
 πασῶν σε τεχνῶν ὥστ' ἄιδριν ἔμμεναι, 15  
 ὠδῖνας εἰ μὴ τῶν ἐλαιῶν ἐκδρέπειν.  
 Ἐρῶρει σθένος, γλώσσ' ἐστι μιζοβάρβαρος.  
 Μάτην Ἀθήνας εἰν Ἀθήναις καὶ σέβω.

Beautiful Athens, the famed city of Pallas, once the august light of Hellenic soil, who was formerly spoken of as skilled in battle cry, breathing the might of swords and fire, [5] who at the same time was the wise mother of various schools, most valuable to all; you are an ever-wakeful nurturer of the Muses, and a delight to the free-spoken tongue. Wretched, deprived of such glory, [10] sold by barbarians, you now weep. I sigh, I cry and sigh over you, most miserable one, your reversal of fortune brought about by the gods, your destiny truly turned into nothing in a short time. For your flame of splendour came to such misfortune, [15] that you are ignorant of all arts, other than plucking the new-born olives. Gone is your strength; your tongue is semi-barbarian; in vain I revere Athens in Athens.<sup>21</sup>

Bilberg's topic is the "barbaric" state of contemporary Athens. He mentions that contemporary Greek is "semi-barbarian", a mixed language (μιζοβάρβαρος, v. 17). Michael Neander uses the same term in Latin (*mixobarbara*) when describing the "mixture" of ancient and contemporary demotic Greek in his treatise on the history of the world (1582).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Trans. by Johanna Akujärvi, in Pontani & Weise 2022, 752–753 containing also the edited Greek text, *apparatus criticus et similia* and background information by Akujärvi. The translation into German, in Korhonen 2007, 61–62 and into Finnish in Korhonen 2004, 295–296.

<sup>22</sup> Ben Tov 2013, 194. The title of Neander's history is *Chronicon sive epitome historiarum*. VD16 N 356.



However, by μιζοβάρβαρος, Bilberg might mean Greek imbued with foreign elements, which Johannes Gezelius Sr. mentions in his Greek dedication to Christina of Sweden. Gezelius Sr.'s Greek-Latin lexicon for the New Testament was published in Tartu in 1649, and dedicated, with a seven-page treatise on the history and nature of the Greek language, to the Queen.<sup>23</sup> The function of the dedication, as Gezelius reveals at the end, was to encourage Christina in her Greek studies. Gezelius presents Greek from seven point of views: its antiquity, sacredness, sweetness, emphasis, abundance, usefulness and necessity – thus his perspectives are partly the same as Palmroot's.<sup>24</sup> The “abundance” (εὐπορία) of Greek means that the vocabulary of Greek is, in Gezelius' view, the richest compared to any language and that therefore no lexicon exists which contains all Greek words. As examples of Greek writers who produce “sweet” Greek, Gezelius mentions Demosthenes and Chrysostom, and claims that one can also find lovely phrases in the New Testament, which are lovelier in Greek than in any translations. Gezelius compares the sweetness of Greek to a river: καθὼς ποταμὸς μελίρρυτος ῥέει καὶ τοὺς τῶν νοῶν ἐνδομύχους διαπερᾷ (like a sweetly running river the Greek language runs into the nooks of one's mind, ll. 93–95). Although discussing all these seven aspects, Gezelius concentrates especially in the history and sacredness of Greek. Gezelius lists four periods in the development of Greek.<sup>25</sup> The last phase, from the conquest of Constantinople to the present day, meant that learned men from Constantinople brought their knowledge of Greek to the West, whereas in Greece the Greek language was destroyed, in Gezelius' view, by Turkish, Slavic, Latin and Italian loan words so that a deep barbarism (βαρβαρότης) rules in Greece. Gezelius tells that he has heard this from many of those who had visited Greece.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Lexicon was also published in Turku in 1686 without the dedication (Christina abdicated in 1654 and died in 1689).

<sup>24</sup> The seven characteristics of the Greek language according to Gezelius are ἀρχαιότης, ἀγιότης, ἥδυσμα, ἔμφασις, εὐπορία, χρηστότης and ἀναγκαιότης. See also Päll 2005, 93 and Korhonen 2004, 94–96.

<sup>25</sup> According to Gezelius Sr., the first period of Greek began from the time after the Flood (Noah's son Japheth and Japheth's son Javan) until the time of Linus, Orpheus and Musaeus. Javan then moved to Athens to where Cadmus brought the Phoenician alphabet. The second period is from Linus and other ancient Greek poets until the time of the Apostles. In this connection, Gezelius paraphrases Cicero's statement that, unlike Latin, Greek is known throughout the world. The third period begins from the Apostles and ends with the conquest of Constantinople. Gezelius Sr. 1649, dedication, ll. 24–41.

<sup>26</sup> Korhonen 2004, 95 n465 (the text passage). David Chytraeus, professor at Rostock, gave an even more hopeless picture of contemporary Greece in his *Oratio de statu ecclesiae hoc tempore in*

In 1693, Professor of Greek and Hebrew at Turku, David Lund, supervised and most probably wrote a dissertation on the well-known inscription to the unknown god at Athens (Act. 17:23). In connection with this he discussed the etymology of the word 'Athens' and quoted many Greek and Roman authors eulogising the city.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, Lund also complains about the contemporary state of Athens, claiming that ancient philosophical schools are nowadays "Turkish stables for horses". It was not, however, his own expression but a translation from a German travel book.<sup>28</sup>

Of course, there was also opposition to the tendencies to include Greek in the curriculum and even belittling of Greek culture and the Greeks. Already during the Italian Renaissance, there were many who thought that Latin was sufficient, as Greek literature could be made available to everyone by translating it into Latin. Lorenzo Valla stated in *De elegantii linguae Latinae* (1430) that the strength of Latin was its commonality, while Greek was divided into several dialects. Valla compared Latin with Roman law: just as Roman law was one law for many nations, so Latin had been one language for many nations. Greek, for its part, had not been able to create a single language, not even within its own borders.<sup>29</sup>

Roman and Greek writers were also compared with each other. In the fifth book of his *Poetics* (1561), Julius Caesar Scaliger argues for the superiority of Virgil over Homer, quoting abundantly from both – Homer is quoted in untranslated Greek. Scaliger also considered Oppian (understanding the two Oppians to be the same person) to be the best Greek epic writer.<sup>30</sup> Scaliger's attitude points to the high place that late antique epics had in the literary canon of the early modern period. Before Scaliger, Vadianus (Joachim von Watt, 1481–1551), one of the

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*Graecia Asia Austria Yngaria Bœmia &c.* (1569) based on the accounts of his friends. See Ben Tov 2013, 188–189.

<sup>27</sup> Vall. 2333. The respondent Aaron Hoffren disputed *pro exercitio*. Lund did not give Latin translations of his Greek quotes, supposing that they were understood in their original language.

<sup>28</sup> *Schola olim celeberrima penitus extincta, Academia cessit in hospitium eorum Turcicorum* (Lund – Hoffren 1693, 39). Lund's reference "Dietericus" probably denotes Johan Conrad Dieterich's *Antiquitates Biblicae* (Giessen 1671); Dieterich for his part quotes a travel book of a certain Johan Somnar. Asaph Ben Tov (2013) presents some German traveller's description of Greece from the sixteenth century.

<sup>29</sup> Trapp 1990, 10–11. Valla refers to ancient Greek dialects. For resistance to Greek learning during Erasmus' time, see Goldhill 2002, 29–43.

<sup>30</sup> Scaliger 1561, 5.3 (IV, 64–320 Vogt-Spira) and 5.9. (IV.428–448 Vogt-Spira). See also Robinson (1918) on Joseph Justus Scaliger's estimations of Greek and Roman authors.

most important literary critics of German Humanism, praised both Homer and Virgil, but in his treatise, *De poetica et carminis ratione* (1518), puts the Psalmist (“David”) beside them as their equal. For Vadianus, poetry in Hebrew was the original source from which Greek poetry had emerged.<sup>31</sup> This view shows the importance of classical literature although even higher esteem was given to the poetry of the Old Testament, especially the Psalms.

Three major reasons can be given to explain the negative attitude towards Greek. First, Greek was seen as an unnecessary subject: Latin was the primary language and Roman literature, although not necessarily viewed as better, at least was seen as more useful than Greek literature. Knowledge of Latin was seen as a sufficient accomplishment for a learned man because many Greek classics had already been or could be translated into Latin. Furthermore, if Greek was studied, it was mainly because of Latin: Greek was thus Latin’s servant, *ancilla Latinae* so to speak. Second, although Greek was a “sacred language” and therefore was necessary for true faith and salvation, at least in Protestant countries, ancient Greek culture was seen predominantly as a pagan or heathen culture and therefore was considered fundamentally futile or pointless – this idea was expressed already by Augustine about Homer (following Plato’s myth criticism). The third aspect concerning the negative attitude to Greek was that the Greeks (as people) were viewed with suspicion. The model for a Christian citizen was derived from the imperial Romans, who themselves had considered the Greeks of their time inferior to the great Greeks of classical Athens. From the time of the separation of the churches, Greece and Byzantium had been regarded as schismatics and eastern people as strange Orientals. Doubtful attitudes towards the Byzantine and Ottoman Greeks also led to conflict over who was allowed to ‘save’ the heritage of Greek culture, that is, whose interpretation of ancient Greek culture would prevail. It was important that ‘heretics’ did not barbarise Greece.

Renaissance and early modern humanists inherited many of their attitudes to Greek language and culture – pro and contra – from the Romans, especially from Cicero, who referred to himself as φιλέλλην.<sup>32</sup> One example of antipathy was associating Greek culture with a kind of lasciviousness, as Juvenal does when satirising the sexual habits of Roman women in his sixth satire. The passage in question asserts that Roman women admire not only the Greek way of dressing but that they speak “nothing but Greek” and express especially their emotions – their fears and anger, their joys and worries – in Greek. At Turku, this passage

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<sup>31</sup> Ghisu 1989, 142.

<sup>32</sup> However, on Cicero’s ambivalent attitudes to the Greeks, see Guite 1942.

is referred as an example of Roman *hellenomania* in a dissertation (1811) on the origin and success of Latin.<sup>33</sup>

### 3.2. Using Greek in Latin and Vernacular Texts

If composing Greek poems or using Greek as a language of literature, such as writing dissertations in Greek, was a more common practice than previous research on the Renaissance and early modern humanism has noticed, an even more common practice was quoting Greek and using Greek words and phrases in Latin and vernacular texts. Greek words in texts written in Latin or in the Latinised alphabet are usually quite noticeable and draw the reader's attention. Sometimes Latin prose texts might quite abruptly change into Greek – and there were also poems which use both classical languages, the language changing in the middle of the verse. All these cases indicate the humanistic ideal of being able to both read and write *in utraque lingua*. Furthermore, Latin texts that included Greek words and phrases may reveal something about attitudes towards Greek. One such manifestation was the use of Christian Greek vocabulary, suggesting that Greek would primarily be seen as a “holy language”.

European Humanists derived the ideal of Latin and Greek bilingualism from the Romans. Although there was a certain ambivalence towards Greek culture, especially in the late Republic, Roman writers acknowledged their debt to Greek by using Greek literary models and Greek loanwords in Latin literary language. Roman writers inserted Greek words into Latin text and quoted Greek authors diligently. Cicero could insert a quote from Homer in a letter and be sure that the recipient would understand it.<sup>34</sup> Especially during the Second Sophistic, knowledge of Greek was a criterion of sophistication, so that many chose Greek as their literary language.<sup>35</sup> However, although Greek was thought of as the

<sup>33</sup> Juv. 6.184–195. Juvenal even uses the Greek phrase ζῶῃ καὶ ψυχῇ when he maintains that Roman women talk Greek when making love, which, in his view, is improper, especially for older women. The term *hellenomania*: Vall. 2288 (Johannes Linsén (pr.) – Carolus Ottelin (resp.), see Pitkäranta 2018, 175.

<sup>34</sup> Cic. *Att.* 1.15.1–2 (Hom. *Il.* 22.268).

<sup>35</sup> For example, Aulus Gellius in the preface of his *Noctes Atticae* uses a loose Greek quotation inside his text: *Ego vero, cum illud Ephesii viri summe nobilis verbum cordi haberem, quod profecto ita est πολυμαθὴν νόον οὐ διδάσκει* (*NA Preface* 12). Whereas some Romans chose Greek as their literary language (Marcus Aurelius, Claudius Aelianus, Musonius, Favorinus and Philo), some who had Greek as their mother tongue used Latin (Ammianus Marcellinus and Priscianus).

language of culture, the Roman purists with their nationalistic emphasis also discussed whether it was proper to insert Greek words into Latin texts or whether it was something to be strictly avoided.<sup>36</sup> Horatius warned against the creation of new words, but if neologisms were needed they would be acceptable “if they spring from a Greek fount and are drawn there from but sparingly”.<sup>37</sup> Varro called those who preferred Greek terms *philograeci*.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, although Quintilian referred constantly to Greek authors and Greek rhetoricians and recommended that schoolboys should begin with Greek before Latin,<sup>39</sup> he did not accept that Latin texts would “become impregnated with Greek idioms” (*Inst.* 1.1.55–6).

In Protestant countries, Greek words and phrases, especially from the New Testament, could be used in the vernacular both in texts and conversation. One example of the latter is recorded in the memorandum of the meetings at the Consistorium of the Royal Academy of Turku in 1677. The discussions, conducted in Swedish,<sup>40</sup> were written down, and the memoranda show that professors did not use only Latin but occasionally also, at least in this case, a Greek word, ἀμνηστία, in their discussion.<sup>41</sup> Greek words and phrases could be used without translation even in Finnish. The end of Luther’s preface to his new German translation of the *Psalter* (1531) contains the transliterated phrase *Gnoti* [!] *seauton*. Luther’s preface was attached to the first translation of the Bible into Finnish (Stockholm, 1642), including the phrase – but in this case in Greek

<sup>36</sup> Kaimio 1979, 297–315, especially 302–314.

<sup>37</sup> Hor. *Ars P.* 52–54: *si Graeco fonte cadent parce detorta*. Trans. By H. Rushton Fairclough (LCL 194), Cambridge (Mass), 1926.

<sup>38</sup> Varro *Rust.* 3.10. See also Swain 2002, 163.

<sup>39</sup> “I prefer that a boy should begin with Greek, because Latin, being in general use, will be picked up by him whether we will or not; while the fact that Latin learning is derived from Greek is a further reason for his being first instructed in the latter” (*Inst.* 1.12–17). Trans. by Donald A. Russell in LCL 124 (Cambridge 2004).

<sup>40</sup> Swedish was the language of the educated classes in Finland, although during the seventeenth century there was a growing tendency to use Finnish too. The language of the international “Republic of letters” was Latin, the language of administration was Swedish. Greek in printed Finnish, the language of οἱ πολλοί, was rare.

<sup>41</sup> Professors discussed a certain quarrel between Professor Andreas Petraeus and Bishop (& Vice-Chancellor) Gezelius Sr. Professor of Greek and Hebrew Ericus Falander used the Greek word for amnesty in his comment in Swedish: *Effter det skall blifwa een ἀμνηστία den emillan må de opbrännas* (Because an amnesty between them will occur, shall they [*scil.* certain official letters] be burnt). CAAP IV, 379 (4 of April 1677). The word is written as ἄμνηστία. It depended on the secretary whether the Greek words or phrases among discussion were written in Greek or merely transcribed in the memoranda.

letters.<sup>42</sup> In 1703, a *parentatio* in Finnish, delivered in memory of vicar Johannes Cajanus, contains the Greek phrase τὸ λοιπὸν after the repeated Finnish word of the same meaning, *tästedes* (“hereafter”), alluding to the life after death.<sup>43</sup> Greek thus functions as an emphasiser of the religious meaning. However, τὸ λοιπὸν could also have been entered later into the written, printed version of the *parentatio*, but not pronounced on the occasion.<sup>44</sup>

Using Greek words in Latin texts was also an object of satire. In his *Laus Stultitiae* (entitled *Moriae Encomium* in its first edition, 1511), Erasmus mocked people who exhibited or flaunted their meager learning. The personified folly, *Stultitia*, satirises those who want to “present themselves as Thales”, calling them μωρόσοφοι, ‘folly and wise’, ‘foolishly wise’.<sup>45</sup> One feature of their foolishness is to put Greek words into their Latin texts in order to display their bilingualism:

*Visum est enim hac quoque parte nostri temporis rhetores imitari, qui plane deos esse sese credunt, si hirundinum ritu bilinguis appareant, ac praeclarum facinus esse ducunt Latinis orationibus subinde graeculas aliquot vuculas velut emblemata intextere, etiam si nunc erat his locus.*

Nor will it be amiss also to imitate the rhetoricians of our times, who think themselves in a manner gods if like horse leeches they can but appear to be double-tongued and believe they have done a mighty act if in their Latin

<sup>42</sup> SKB 3125, p. 285v: *Ja sinä löydät myös sijnä idze sinus, ja sen oikean γνώτι [!] σεαυτόν, ja myös idze Jumalan caickein luondocappalden cansa.* Luther 1531, 11: [...] *ja du wirst auch dich selbs drinnen und das rechte Gnoti seuaton finden dazu Gott selbs und alle creaturn.* See VD16B 3302 (however not 1531, but 1534).

<sup>43</sup> Mel. 1791. The speech was given by Johannes Wallenius, Rector of the School of Oulu (in northern Finland). The deceased, Vicar Cajanus, was father of Johannes Cajanus, who wrote the most valued (printed) poem in Finnish of the 17th century. The passage in question: *Tästedes on minulle tallelle pantu Wanhurskauden Cruunu jonga HERRA minulle anda: Ei ainoastaan minulle waan caickille jotca hänen ilmestystäns racastawat. Tästedes. τὸ λοιπὸν. Se minulda vielä puutu se vielä tacaperin on. Wanhurskauden Cruunu* (Hereafter the crown of piety, which GOD will give me, is saved for me – and not only for me but for all who love Him. Hereafter. τὸ λοιπὸν. I do not have it yet, it is still missing. The crown of piety.)

<sup>44</sup> Gregorius Kijhl’s Finnish wedding congratulation (1693) contains a Greek phrase Ὡς πάρεργον (As if for a supplement), which did not necessarily occur in the possible oral presentation of the poem in the wedding feast. For the poem in Finnish, see Melander 1928, 80.

<sup>45</sup> Erasmus 1511, 76 (Miller 1979, 74). Μωρόσοφος is a neologism invented by Lucian (*Alex.* 40). In the later, enlarged edition (Strassburg 1514, Basel 1515) both Greek and Latin are employed in the title: Μωρίας ἐγκώμιον *id est Stultitia Laus*.

orations they can but shuffle in some Greek words like mosaic work, though altogether by head and less to the purpose.<sup>46</sup>

Here *emblemata* is translated as mosaic work, which does not necessarily mean stone mosaics but also “inlaid design in wood”.<sup>47</sup> In classical Latin, *emblema* means decoration, especially an embossed ornament; it is a loan word from Greek, ἔμβλημα, a technical term used in architecture meaning a ‘relief’.<sup>48</sup> Erasmus might have played with the term’s semantic richness, different meanings: Greek words within Latin texts are like embossed ornaments, because they visually stand out from the context, or Greek words are sometimes like enigmas or emblems because knowledge of Greek was still rare in Erasmus’ times. *Morosophoi* thus insert Greek words into their Latin texts without true knowledge of Greek, merely to flout the intellect and without being to the purpose. In the *Laus Stultitiae*, as in his other works, Erasmus himself inserts both Greek words and quotes from Greek authors in Greek into his Latin text.<sup>49</sup>

Inserting Greek words is thus seen as showing off one’s erudition, but Erasmus’ passage also acknowledges that knowledge of classical languages and stylistic taste are needed in order to weave Greek words elegantly into Latin texts. According to Paul Saka, the semantic functions of quotations within the text include enrichment and emphasis.<sup>50</sup> What concerns quotations also concerns inserted Greek words and phrases. They might emphasise the main message and make readers focus more on the text simply on account of the different letters.

Thus, during the early modern period, Greek seems to have been used in Latin or vernacular texts for at least three purposes or effects: 1) to emphasise the argument and plausibility of the Latin text, 2) as decorations and visual elements,

<sup>46</sup> The text, see Miller 1979, 76; the translation, see Wilson 2005, 13. Wilson translated *Stultitia* in 1668.

<sup>47</sup> Miller 1979, 77.

<sup>48</sup> Erasmus’ *emblemata intertextere* is sometimes translated as weaving or plaiting embroideries because *emblema* also has the meaning of ‘embroidery’. Furthermore, during the Renaissance and especially after Andrea Alciato published his famous *Emblemata* in 1531, the word began to mean emblems, enigmatic pictures with verses that represent abstract concepts, often in a didactic or moralising tone. TLL s.v., LSJ s.v. Compare with Julia Kristeva’s famous statement that, “Any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another.” Kristeva, 1980, 66; Limat-Letellier 1998, 19.

<sup>49</sup> The very first page of the *Laus Stultitiae* contains a quotation from Homer (*Od.* 4.221) and the adverb δεκτικῶς, whereas Erasmus’ introduction has such expressions as φιλαυτία and “πρὸς τὰ ἄλφита (Ar. *Nub.*)” – that is, πρὸς τᾶλφита (Ar. *Nub.* 648 and 788).

<sup>50</sup> Saka 2017, 304.

like ‘embroideries’ or ornaments, and 3) as enigmas and purposefully puzzling inclusions of Greek words in order to create a cryptic impression, a kind of secret language decoded among acquaintances and Greek *aficionados* or when dealing with controversial subjects that could be hidden from adversaries who knew no Greek.

### As Emphasisers and Decoration

Latin-Greek code-switching involves introducing Greek words into a Latin sentence. Greek words and phrases might indeed denote the most important aspect of a sentence. At Turku, a Sweden-born student, Daniel Rosander, used both languages in the signature of his Greek congratulation (5 hex) which he wrote to his compatriot for his dissertation in 1655:

*Haec praestantissimo ac Doctissimo Dn. Philosophiae  
Candidato meritissimo, τῷ σπουδαστῇ ho-  
norando, in arrham τῆς αἰωνίου φιλα-  
δελφίας, αὐτοσχεδίως relinquebam*  
*Daniel H. Rosander / Smol.*<sup>51</sup>

Daniel H. Rosander, from Småland nation, composed these [verses] ex tempore to the most valued and erudite, merited candidate of philosophy, honoured student, and in order to ensure everlasting friendship.

The Greek expressions τῷ σπουδαστῇ and τῆς αἰωνίου φιλαδελφίας are used as if to provide the reasons for writing this congratulation. They emphasise the respondent’s industry and the friendship between him and Rosander.<sup>52</sup>

Another case is poems containing both Greek and Latin verses or half-verses. These are so called macaronic verses, although the term usually refers to poems containing Latin and the vernacular.<sup>53</sup> There is one case from Turku in 1662. Johannes Korp from Småland, like Rosander, begins his congratulation (10 hex) on the oration (*De superbia*) with a reference to the subject of the oration, arrogance:

<sup>51</sup> Vall. 4333. See also below Chapter 4.4 (“Subscription and the Expression “written in haste”).

<sup>52</sup> On the expression αὐτοσχεδίως, see Chapter 4.4 (pp. 246–248).

<sup>53</sup> Macaronic poems contain “words or inflections from one language introduced into the context of another”. OCD *s.v.*



*Frontem dum tumidam simul & στήθη ὑπέρογκα  
 affabre pingis, ἐϋξέστου ἐπὶ καρποῦ,  
 egregie hinc retegis νοῦ ἀνδρομέου τε ἄγαλμα·  
 atque farinae ejus qui sunt ἐς ἀτερπέα χόρον,  
 tandem proscribentur οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν* 5

**Crit. 1** ὑπέρογκα ed. **Sim. 4** ἐς ἀτερπέα χόρον Hom. *Od.* 11.94 5 οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 20.299

You skilfully describe a haughty forehead and a bulging chest, with good profit; you brilliantly uncover the image of the human mind, and, in the end, those of his kinds [*scil.* the arrogant persons] will be banned to a joyless region, whereas others will get to the spacious Heaven.

The opposite of an arrogant person is the addressee, the deliverer of the oration, Johannes Åhss, whom Korp also praises as a favourite of γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη (v. 6) and wishes him a happy return ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν (v. 7, e.g., Hom. *Il.* 2.140). Thus, the Homeric phrases supplement four lines (vv. 4, 5, 6, 7) of this 10-line poem.<sup>54</sup>

Latin-Greek code-switching in its more extreme form involves using Greek endings in Latin words. In the above-quoted passage of the *Laus Stultitiae*, Erasmus' passage *ac praeclarum facinus esse ducunt Latinis orationibus subinde graeculas aliquot voculas* could be translated "in their Latin orations they can but shuffle in some *endings* of Greek". In antiquity, the question whether to use Greek inflections or declensions in Latin words of Greek origin was a subject of some dispute. Quintilian expressed his preference thus:

More recent scholars, however, have started to give Greek names Greek declensions, though this is sometimes impossible. My preference is for following the Latin rule as far as elegance allows. I should not care to say *Calypsonem* on the analogy of *Iunonem*, though Caesar, following ancient precedents, uses this form.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> SKB 4441. Johannes Åhss or Åhs.

<sup>55</sup> *Inst.* 1.5.63: *Nunc recentiores instituerunt Graecis nominibus Graecas declinationes potius dare, quod tamen ipsum non semper fieri potest. Mihi autem placet rationem Latinam sequi, quousque patitur decor. Neque enim iam 'Calypsonem' dixerim ut 'Iunonem', quamquam secutus antiquos C. Caesar utitur hac ratione declinandi.* Text and translation by Donald A. Russell. Russell 2021, 154–155.

Thus, Quintilian would prefer Greek inflections/endings in Greek words, not *Calypsonem* but *Calypsoun*. Cicero also inflected Latinised Greek words with Greek declensions – but mostly only in his more intimate writings, such as his letters, as Hans-Johan Hartung has noticed.<sup>56</sup>

Thus, the discussion whether Greek loan words, when they were Latinised, should keep their Greek endings was begun already by the Romans. The practice of retaining Greek endings meant that the writer acknowledged that the word in question was a loan word, and in this way he showed his knowledge of Greek.

However, followers of the Romans, the Renaissance and early modern Humanists, went even further: they sometimes used *Greek letters* in their Greek inflections and endings of Latinised Greek words. The practice can be attested in the first Greek prints. Bartolomaeus Girardinus published the first edition of Ausonius in Venice 1472. The beginning of Girardinus' preface contains the plural genitive ending in Greek: *Ausonii Paeonii epigrammaTΩN libellum*.<sup>57</sup> This device emphasises the fact that *epigramma* is originally a Greek word.

Latinised Greek words with Greek letters in their Greek inflections and endings also occur in Latin dissertations of the Royal Academy of Turku: *periphraстикῶς*,<sup>58</sup> *antitheseως*, *astrophilων*.<sup>59</sup> Vice versa, Latin endings could be attached to Greek words (*ζητημάτum*) or create mixed words with a prefix transcribed in Latin letters (*προσφώνησις*).<sup>60</sup> Sometimes there is only one Greek letter in a Latin word, like in the adverb *tropiῶς* or the genitive *Haereseως*.<sup>61</sup> An

<sup>56</sup> Hartung, 1910, 20. In another passage, Quintilian pondered how to inflect Greek words when the context needed an ablative case, which was missing in Greek (*Inst.* 1.1.55–6).

<sup>57</sup> Pro *epigrammaTΩN* (sc. ἐπιγραμμάτων). The preface is printed in Botfield 1861, 139–140. Girardinus' preface also includes a Greek-Latin poem: αὐσονόνυς *fuera solus*: νῦν χεῖλε[ι] τε κόσμῳ (I had been only Ausonius, now with a beautiful tongue).

<sup>58</sup> On a line on comedy in Terence: *periphraстикῶς dictum, pro fabulas & Comoedias conscribere*. Alander – Prytz 1703, 5. Vall. 131.

<sup>59</sup> SKB 620 (Wittenberg 1606): *De Christo calvinianorum complectens ἐξέτασις totius antitheseως libelli visitorii*; SKB 2141 (1653): *Pro privilegiis ac dignitatibus philosophicis obtinendis doctorum & astrophilων placida censurae & συζητήσῃ*.

<sup>60</sup> SKB 1554 (1656): *Disputatio inauguralis aliquot illustrium ζητημάτum ethicorum decisionem adumbrans*; SKB 3314 (1698): *Εὐκτικῇ προσφώνησις in auspiciatissima introductionis [...]*; SKB 4362 (1685): Ἐναγισμός, *viro [...]* dn. *Samueli Petraeo [...]*, a funerary text by Andreas Wanochius; SKB 4372 (1683): *Λόγος πανηγυρικός, regni Sveo-Gothici felicitatem [...]*, a birthday congratulation by Andreas Wanochius. However, when only the final sigma is a Latinised letter like in Ἐναγισμός and Λόγος πανηγυρικός, one may suspect that these might be mere lapses of the printer.

<sup>61</sup> Elaus Petri Helsingius: *Synonymorum libellus* (Stockholm, 1587), p. A8. *Haereseως*: cf. Vall. 3995, p. B4v: *Ex data a nobis supra Haereseως Definitione [...]*.

English study on the hero cult in antiquity, published in Arnhem (Netherlands), defines its subject with a neologism, “herology”, writing it with an omega (and an unnecessary ‘o’): *herωologia*.<sup>62</sup> The Greek omega gives the word a Greek flavour and makes the neologism more conspicuous.

The practice of using Greek articles before the Latin infinitive to create an articular infinitive might have been quite common among early modern humanists. The Turku dissertation (1726) on Hebrew philology (its subject was *Psalm* 85) supervised by Daniel Juslenius contains two of these kinds of cases, the first one is *Formale hujus vocis est τὸ audire*, the second one is before the Hebrew infinitive, thus combining a Greek article and a Hebrew verb in a Latin sentence, that is, all three “sacred” languages.<sup>63</sup> Greek articles might be attached to a Latin substantive too, like *attamen REIPUBLICAE genus esse nequirunt, quatenus τὸ RESPUBLICA formam civitatis denotat*.<sup>64</sup> The article could be also inflected as *juxta primam τοῦ monstri significationem*.<sup>65</sup>

As Romans, European Humanists also raised the question whether one should insert Greek words and phrases into Latin texts. Under Martinus Miltopaeus’ presidency, the question was formulated as *An Graeca liceat immiscere orationi Latinae*? Miltopaeus was the writer of the dissertation taking a largely cautious position but admitted that Greek words can be used to emphasise Latin text (*emphaseos causa*).<sup>66</sup> The above-mentioned, modified translation of Alexander Hegius’ poem also speaks of “mixing” (μίγνυμι) Greek and Latin.<sup>67</sup> Mixing here, however, does not necessarily mean merely mixing Greek words, phrases and inflections but also adding quotations in the Latin text.

Inserting Greek words into the titles of publications, like Erasmus’ *Μωρίας ἐγκώμιον id est Stultitiae Laus*, can also be seen from the merely visual point of view, namely as decorations: the Greek text embellishes the Latin treatise with their smooth-edged letters. Greek was sometimes also used in the visual arts,

<sup>62</sup> Binns 1990, 71. In the Turku lecture catalogue from 1701 announcing the next year’s lectures, Andreas Pryss refers to Ovid’s work as *Metamorphoseōon Ovidi*. See *Praelectiones* 1701.

<sup>63</sup> Hahn – Almqvist 1689, 12 and 16. Vall. 1839.

<sup>64</sup> The passage is from the dissertation *De republica* so the Greek article points to the very subject of the dissertation – although why is it not a feminine article? Achrelius – Lilliegreen 1689, 18. Vall. 66. The same problem concerns the Greek article of the dissertation entitled *Τὰ Geometriae Liber I* (Vall. 2072) – *scilicet χρήματα*? In any case, the Greek article is fitting because *geometria* is a Greek loan word. Kexlerus – Purmerus 1655 (title). Vall. 2072.

<sup>65</sup> Hahn – Montelius 1690, 24. Vall. 1437.

<sup>66</sup> Miltopaeus – Petrejus 1670, 7 (*Questiones Rhetorica*).

<sup>67</sup> Ὅς μὴ ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα μίξει, / δηλονότ’ οὐτιδανός κ’ οὐ σοφός ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ.

paintings and etchings, inscriptions and medals, as a decorative element along with the verbal message. Two medals with Greek text were struck in honour of Queen Christina of Sweden. The earlier one (1653) contains a modified quotation from one of Christina's favourite authors, Marcus Aurelius: ΟΡΘΟΣ ΟΥΧΙ ΟΡΘΟ<Υ>ΜΕΝΟΣ (One must stand erect, not kept erect by others).<sup>68</sup> The other, struck in Rome after her abdication from the throne and conversion to Catholicism (1659, and struck again in 1665), depicts Phoenix rising from the flames, a symbol of resurrection, on the one side, and ΜΑΚΕΛΩΣ on the other. It has been suggested that the odd word, looking like an adverb, is simply a transcription of the Swedish word *makalös*, which today means 'unparalleled', 'unique', but during the 17th century (spelling *makelös*) meant 'without its other half' (cfr. *make* 'husband', *maka* 'wife', and the Swedish ending *lös* 'without').<sup>69</sup>

Engravings and paintings could contain Greek words or phrases.<sup>70</sup> Dutch artist Jan Theodor de Bry made different engravings from Jacobus Kemener's painting of a bouquet of flowers in 1604. One of these engravings contains both a Greek word and a Latin maxim: ΠΟΛΥΠΤΩΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΦΛΟΡΕ / *Flos speculum vitae modo vernat et interit aura* (Variance of flowers / Flowers are blown down by the wind: such is our life).<sup>71</sup> Although the function of the Greek word is decorative, it emphasises the pessimistic content of the Latin maxim. The famous etching by Albert Dürer on his acquaintance Erasmus (d. 1536) contains an inscription-like text, first in Latin, then in Greek:<sup>72</sup>

IMAGO ERASMI ROTERODAMI AB ALBERTO DURERO AD VIVAM  
EFFIGIEM DELINEATA / ΤΗΝ ΚΡΕΙΤΤΩ ΤΑ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ΔΕΙΞΕΙ  
MDXXVI

Picture of Erasmus of Rotterdam made by Albert Dürer drawn from life – [his] writings give a better [picture]. 1526.

<sup>68</sup> Marc. Aur. 3.5: ὁρθὸν οὖν εἶναι χρή, οὐχὶ ὁρθούμενον, see also 7.2. and 7.12. The medal contains the form ΟΡΘΟΜΕΝΟΣ.

<sup>69</sup> Plantin 1736, 38 note g. Korhonen 2009, 55.

<sup>70</sup> Greek verses are attached to the portrait of Pierre de Ronsard and his friend Cassandra in Ronsard's *Amours* (1552), see Pontani & Weise 2022, 370–372 (L-A Sanchi, J-M Flamand & R. Menini).

<sup>71</sup> Broos 1988, 67. See also the picture of Antonio Moro's self-portrait (1558) with a Greek poem by Dominius Lampsonius drawn on note paper. Pontani & Weise 2022, 216, 228–231 (H. Lamers & R. Van Rooy).

<sup>72</sup> Hayum 1985, 651 (picture), 668 (Greek text).

This text can be seen to contain all the three functions of Greek in a Latin text: it is an example of a visual or decorative use of Greek, although the Greek text emphasises Erasmus' work as a Greek scholar, which gives a better idea of Erasmus as an intellectual than a realistic portrait might. However, for those of Dürer's audience who had no knowledge of Greek, the text kept its secret. It was an enigma, but it might have encouraged viewers to decipher the meaning and in this way further Erasmus' programme of expanding knowledge of Greek.

At Turku, Professor of Medicine Elias Til-Landz supervised a dissertation on anatomy using a Greek term along with its explanation on the title page: 'Οστεολογία *seu dissertatio medica de ossibus*'.<sup>73</sup> This dissertation contains many Greek anatomical terms and quotations from Greek medical writers of which the Greek title gives a foretaste. Til-Landz was a 'philhellene' in that regard that he wrote one Greek congratulation and even owned a Greek manuscript of late antique medical writers, which, however, he failed to publish.<sup>74</sup> Besides their informative value, Greek words and phrases also served as decorations on the title pages of Latin dissertations of the 17th and 18th centuries. One common use of Greek phrases on the title page was inserting invocations, usually at the top of the title page or of the text proper. Instead of choosing a Latin invocation, many picked a Greek one, like Σὺν τῷ Θεῷ μόνῳ ἀθανάτῳ or Τοῦ ὑπερόχου Θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος.<sup>75</sup> It was also usual to put a Greek invocation at the end of the dissertation or a short *votum*, such as Μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ τιμὴ καὶ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν (cfr. 1.Tim. 1:17).<sup>76</sup> Greek invocations emphasised Greek as a sacred language, they functioned as signets, even as divine protection for the work and its orthodoxy.

It was not unusual to write the inspection formula, namely that the dissertation was inspected before its acceptance for oral disputation, in Greek on the title

<sup>73</sup> Til-Landz – Hasselqwest 1692 (title). Vall. 3978.

<sup>74</sup> The manuscript contained medical texts by two late antique and Byzantine physicians, Aetius and Paul of Aegina. Some of these texts had not yet been published in the time when H.G. Porthan, Professor of *eloquentia* and librarian, wrote his history of the Turku University library. Porthan 1771–1795, 141. Later, a dissertation containing one text by Aetius based on this manuscript and its translation into Latin was published in 1817 (Vall. 542). The *editio princeps* had, however, just been published. Korhonen 2004, 121–122.

<sup>75</sup> There are at least 22 different types of Greek invocations at the top of the title pages of Turku Latin dissertations between 1648 and 1700. However, they were mostly short (Α.Ω., α. ω., Α et Ω, Τ.Θ.Δ., sc. Τῷ Θεῷ Δόξα, Σὺν Θεῷ, Σὺν τῷ Θεῷ, ΙΧΘΥΣ) or there was just a simple attribute to God (Σὺν τῷ Θεῷ τρισεβλίστῳ/τρισεμγίστῳ/αἰωνίῳ/τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν).

<sup>76</sup> Falander – Laconius 1681. Vall. 878.

page, like ὀρθῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς φιλοσοφούντων κρίσει *exhibet* or εἰλικρινῶς φιλοσοφούντων κρίσει, or even Ὁμολογία καὶ ὁμοφροσύνη. Furthermore, the formulation of the date in Greek conformed to the Christian calendar: the number of years after the birth of Christ or God (χριστογονίας, θεογονίας), or of God-man (θεανθρωπογονίας) as well as παρθενοτοκίας and θεοτόκου.<sup>77</sup> Some title pages might contain all these elements.<sup>78</sup> Philhellenism may thus be palpable already on the title page. Besides Greek paratexts (congratulations and dedications), many dissertations contain Greek words, phrases and quotations within Latin texts, like adverbs (καταχρηστικῶς, πρώτῳ, δευτέρῳ) and substantives (ἔργα, πάρεργα) to emphasise a point. These phrases belonged to the general knowledge in the “Hellenised” Europe.

### As a Code Language

The third function of Greek in Latin or vernacular texts was to serve as a kind of code or secret language. Keeping diaries or written entries on calendars began to be quite a common practice during the sixteenth century. Martin Crusius kept his diary in Latin but used Greek when he described his dreams or, for instance, his daughter’s marriage, which he considered to be dismaying.<sup>79</sup> In the seventeenth century, a Danish bishop, Peter Hedlund, used many languages – Latin, German, Danish, Greek and Hebrew – in his calendars, which he kept a period of over 40 years. According to Minna Skafte-Jensen, Hedlund used Greek not only when he described his Greek studies but also when he reported something exceptional – a couple of times his Latin “changes abruptly into Greek as if emphasising the dramatic effect”, as Skafte-Jensen notes, such as witnessing an execution (as a

<sup>77</sup> There were several other variants, for example, σωτηρίου πάθους, ἐποχῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν and τοῦ λόγου.

<sup>78</sup> Like the one supervised by Petrus Hahn in 1690, containing two invocations: A.Ω. *Disputatio philosophica, de infantibus supposititiis, quam* Τοῦ ὑπερόχου Θεοῦ συνεργούντος, *et ampl. facult. phil. in Regia & illustri Finnorum Academia, consentiente, praeside [...]* Petro Hahn, *naturalis scientiae professore [...]*. *Placidiae* εἰλικρινῶς φιλοσοφούντων κρίσει [*et*] *publico examini, quā par est modestia, submittit Hemmingius M. Montelius, Wex. Smol. reg. stip. ad diem 24. Maji anni* τῆς παρθενοτοκίας *nonagesimi supra millesimum & sexcentimum [...]*. The dissertation itself contains several Greek phrases and some quotations without translations into Latin as well as a Greek congratulation to the respondent by Henricus Colliander. Vall. 1437.

<sup>79</sup> Margolin 1993, Göz & Conrad 1931, 343–343 (1 and 2 of September 1599). Once Crusius dreamed of being in Constantinople discussing with the Sultan, see Göz & Conrad 1931, 348 (6 of June 1598). See also Ben-Tov 2013, 181.

priest or as one of the spectators), or violent incidents in war.<sup>80</sup> In such cases, it is possible that the author felt that Greek was a sacred language that protected him from terrible things that might mentally infect him.

A Finnish religious extremist, Petrus (Petter) Schäfer (1662–1727), was imprisoned in 1707, first in the Turku Castle prison, then (due to the Russian occupation) in the Gävle Castle prison in Sweden, where he died. The reason for his imprisonment was his radical Pietism, according to which he considered Lutheranism to be a form of heresy.<sup>81</sup> In the beginning of his prison term, 1707–1714, Schäfer, who had taken his degree at the Royal Academy of Turku in 1688, kept a diary in Finnish, but sometimes used Latin or even a few words and a quote in Greek. On 12 July 1711 he heard about the death of an acquaintance, which led him to suggest a reason for it: *sula palowiina oli hänen αὐτόχειρ eli omamurhaajansa* (spirit drink was his αὐτόχειρ, that is, his own murderer). Dying of alcoholism was thus seen as suicide – αὐτόχειρ literally means death by one's own hand.<sup>82</sup> The fact that suicide was a delicate subject might have been the reason for his use of Greek, although Schäfer also included a translation as though for his potential reader. Schäfer wrote his diary practically for himself, with abbreviations, reporting even trivial and mundane things, at the same time documenting his prison term like a martyrdom to his faith.<sup>83</sup> Schäfer came from a well-to-do bourgeois family. His brother, Henrik Schäfer (ennobled as Heerdhielm), delivered an oration in Greek (1671) and had a successful career, ending as Vice President of the Svea Court of Appeal. Their father, Johannes Schäfer Sr., acted as respondent to one of Gezelius Sr.'s Greek disputations (1649), of which only the title page was printed, and he composed a Greek congratulation for a dissertation in 1653.<sup>84</sup> Petrus Schäfer's

<sup>80</sup> Skafte-Jensen 1991, 55–57.

<sup>81</sup> Schäfer had travelled in Russia, Germany, England and even in North America, where he met William Penn in the “New Sweden”, the colony of Swedish people in Pennsylvania. In Berlin, he met Jakob Späner, and in Quedlinburg, Gottfried Arnold. He taught a short time in August Herman Francke's educational institution for poor boys in Halle. Piispa 2000, 7–8.

<sup>82</sup> For suicide, Schäfer used an archaic Finnish word *omamurhaaja*, ‘his own murderer’. Schäfer was not isolated. He had many visitors who informed him what was happening, for example, in the university. See the diary entry for 3 December 1710 on the forthcoming delivery of an oration at the Royal Academy of Turku. Piispa 2000, 57.

<sup>83</sup> There are some other Greek words and the Greek-Latin quote: *ταλαίπωρος ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος Quis me liberabit ab hoc corpore mortis!*, for the entry on 9 December 1712 (cf. Rom. 7:12). Piispa (2000) transcribed the Greek, although the text is in Greek letters in the original diary.

<sup>84</sup> For Schäfer's (ennobled as Heerdhielm) Greek oration on behalf of the Turku Court of Appeal, see above Chapter 2.3 (“Greek Dissertations and Orations”). For Gezelius Sr.'s Greek disputation (respondent Johannes Schäfer under the name of Johannes Schepperus), SKB 1461, and the Greek

sister, Magdalena, married Professor of Greek and Hebrew Simon Paulinus in 1687 and the bridal couple received a Greek congratulation.<sup>85</sup> Petrus Schäfer thus clearly came from a “Greek-friendly” environment.

A more common way of utilising Greek in diaries was using Greek letters while writing in one’s mother tongue. Examples of this are the Frenchman Jean Gouberville, the English alchemist John Dee (1527–1608), and, from later times, August Strindberg.<sup>86</sup> Instead of Greek or Greek letters, it would, of course, have been possible to use, e.g., mirror writing if the language had only the function of cryptography.<sup>87</sup>

Greek, moreover, was used as a code language in Latin correspondence, while some Western humanists wrote letters in both languages. Guillaume Budé’s letters in Greek were written mainly to his fellow humanists – seven to his Greek teacher Janos Laskaris, three to Erasmus – and published in 1524. An augmented edition containing 59 letters with translations into Latin was published in 1574.<sup>88</sup> This edition also includes Budé’s letter of dedication in his *Commentarii linguae Graecae* (1529) to Francis I of France, which was translated into French soon after its publication. It is not only a courteous letter to the King, but contains an appeal to found an institution of higher education in Paris.<sup>89</sup> In some of his Latin letters to fellow scholars, Budé apparently used Greek as a secret language. He changed the language from Latin to Greek in a letter addressed to Erasmus, for example, when he discussed some events that occurred at the French court.<sup>90</sup>

Melanchthon’s remarkably extensive correspondence, over 9000 letters, includes seven letters entirely in Greek, written to his teachers, his students and

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congratulation, Vall. 4330. The information concerning the Schäfer (Shäfer/Schepperus) family gathered from Register Database and SKB Register.

<sup>85</sup> Mel. 1063. For an excerpt of this “romantic” poem (18 hex), see Korhonen 2004, 231–232.

<sup>86</sup> Foisil 1989, 352. August Strindberg scribbled in Swedish using Greek letters in some of his notebooks, like in his famous “Secret Diary” (*Den Ockulta Dagboken*). He did this when describing controversial things, especially matters relating to his third marriage, or he used code names for his acquaintances. Ollfors 2007, 143, 164–168.

<sup>87</sup> Greek could have been used as a secret language of educated minorities, such as the scholars and poets among the supposedly bisexual community of Angelo Poliziano’s friends. Steinrück 2018, 333–334.

<sup>88</sup> McNeil 1975, 24, 90.

<sup>89</sup> The textbook also contains another letter in Greek to those young people who were eager to learn Greek. Sanchi 2020, 45.

<sup>90</sup> McNeil 1975, 53. Korhonen 2004, 72. Greek as language of “intimacy” in Roman epistolography, see Pabón 1939.



to *literati*.<sup>91</sup> As a schoolboy, the letters Melanchthon wrote to his teachers in Greek can be seen as exercises and demonstrations of his linguistic skill in that language. When in turn he became a teacher, he wrote letters in Greek to his own students in order to encourage them to use Greek. Melanchthon's longest and most famous Greek letter was written in Wittenberg on 16 June 1525 to Joachim Camerarius.<sup>92</sup> In this letter, Melanchthon tells of the alarming news of Martin Luther's secret wedding (13 June), with the former nun, Katharina von Bora (ἡ Βορείᾱ). Melanchthon even criticises Luther's marriage by saying that in these times the best men in Germany should gather their strength and be careful not to ruin their fame.<sup>93</sup> He used Greek no doubt in order to give him the detachment he needed to handle the matter. When Melanchthon told of his own forthcoming wedding in his Latin letter to Camerarius, dated 11 November 1520, he too suddenly changes to Greek.<sup>94</sup> Greek as a sacred language might thus emphasise the holy sacrament of matrimony.

It was not only the carnal aspects of marriage that needed the protection of sacred language. In his letter of 1545, when reporting news of the war between England and France, Melanchthon changes the language into Greek, referring to the English army by the term *λυκάων*, a variant of *λυκάνθρωπος*.<sup>95</sup> The letter to Camerarius on 28 September 1528 begins in Latin, but Melanchthon changes to Greek when he rebukes a certain Hieronymus Schurff, who was critical of the Reformation:

*Vir est magnus ac sapiens, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ ἡμεδαπὴν φιλοσοφίαν. Πάνυ γὰρ μεμψίμοιρός ἐστι. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς μεταβαλόντας παλαιὰν διδασχὴν τῆς ὀνομασμένης ἐκκλησίας δοκεῖ μοι κακονούστερον καὶ πικρότερον τοῦ δέοντος διακεῖσθαι λογιζόμενος μὲν ἀκριβῶς τὰ σφάλματα καὶ τὰ σκάνδαλα, τὰ δὲ κατορθώματα οὐδενὸς λόγου ἄξια νομίζων. Si quid igitur cum eo voles, μέμνησο τοῦ Ἐπιχαρμείου, in quo verissime scriptum est, nervos inesse atque artus sapientiae.*

*He is a great and wise man, but he is not in accordance with our local ideas, for he is very querulous. In my opinion, his attitude towards those who make*

<sup>91</sup> Greek letters: CR 1 Nr. 33 and 71; CR 2 Nr. 176, 344 and 806; CR 4 Nr. 2421 and 92b. Melanchthon also included Greek epigrams in his letters.

<sup>92</sup> Camerarius published their correspondence after Melanchthon's death in 1560. He modified many of the letters, however. See Scheible 1977, 18.

<sup>93</sup> Scheible 1995, Nr. 408, 1–11.

<sup>94</sup> Scheible 1995, Nr. 111; CR 4, Nr. 92b.

<sup>95</sup> CR 5, Nr. 3283.

changes in the ancient teaching of the renowned Church is more ill-disposed and bitter than what is fitting for someone who exactly reckons errors and offences; he thinks that the corrections were not worth anything. *Thus, if you want to deal with him, remember the saying of Epicharmus, which is a very truthful sentence containing sinews and frame of wisdom.*

The criticism is expressed in the Greek part. In the end, Melanchthon asks Camerarius to answer his former letter dealing with politics not in Latin, but in Greek.<sup>96</sup>

Hence, privately discreet subjects, like marriage, as well as both civil and church politics, were topics about which Melanchthon chose to write in Greek. In a letter dated 11 March 1535, both these topics are written in Greek: Melanchthon reports the marriage of Henry VIII with Anne Boleyn, the king's second marriage, which led to his excommunication by Pope Clement VII in 1535.<sup>97</sup> Melanchthon was entertaining a guest from England, who had supplied him with the disturbing news of Henry's marriage and excommunication.

To use Greek as a secret language in a letter means that the message is not, of course, cryptic or enigmatic to the actual receiver, but is only unintelligible to those who have little or no knowledge of Greek. Changing Latin to Greek seems to occur when the writer is dealing with delicate matters – like sex, death and politics – and the aura of a sacred language makes them easier to express. But if Greek was used as a truly secret language, do we have Greek treatises containing, for instance, hidden disapproval of contemporary political systems? Hans Helander has given several examples of Swedish Neo-Latin texts that expressed criticism of the aristocratic *status quo* in an outspoken way. This criticism was in accordance with the ideals of classically educated men, which stressed that a man's status is based on his virtue, not on his aristocratic ancestry. In Helander's view, the forthright expression of these kinds of ideas, which contradicted commonly shared ideologies and hierarchies, was not possible in Swedish. Therefore, Latin could function as an "asylum of ideas".<sup>98</sup> Although stressing classical virtues was also important in Humanist Greek texts, at least in Turku Greek was more firmly tied to the *status quo* due to its function as a "servant of faith" (*ancilla fidei*).

<sup>96</sup> Scheible 1995, Nr. 712, cf. also CR 1, Nr. 12. Epicharmus' saying: probably referring to μέμνασο ἀπιστεῖν ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν (*apud* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.3.8).

<sup>97</sup> CR 1, Nr. 1263 (11 of March 1535). The wedding had taken place two years earlier (25 January 1533) and Elizabeth was born in September 1533. See also CR 2, Nr. 1040 (6 of April 1532) and Nr. 1222 (October 1534).

<sup>98</sup> Helander 2004, 27.

### 3.3. Greek as *ancilla fidei*

In 1661, Enevaldus Svenonius, Professor of Theology at Turku, supervised a dissertation on the Greek language (*De lingua Graeca & Hellenismo*), defining Greek as twofold: “profane” and “sacred”, and continuing by first listing Greek philosophers, orators, poets and historians before he focuses on *Sacri Scriptores*, like Greek Church Fathers, who defended the “true faith”. After that, he announces that he will focus only on the latter in this treatise.<sup>99</sup>

Isidorus (c. 560–636), Archbishop of Seville, listed Greek as one of the three holy languages, along with Latin and Hebrew.<sup>100</sup> During the early modern period, Greek as a sacred language had several obvious facets. The Protestants’ emphasis on *ad fontes* encouraged reading the Bible in its original languages as well being familiar with the Greek and Latin translations of the Old Testament, the *Septuaginta* and Hieronymus’ *Versio Vulgata*. Furthermore, many Greek Church Fathers had received a remarkable classical education and wrote in the literary language of their time, like Clemens of Alexandria, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus and Chrysostom – some of them, like Gregory of Nazianzus, were also notable poets. Although it was considered important to publish and study Church Fathers’ writings, the Protestants were also critical of their interpretations because the Scriptures were, after all, the most fundamental source of true doctrine (the idea of *sola scriptura*).<sup>101</sup>

The Church Fathers had also tried to reconcile Christianity with the Graeco-Roman ‘pagan’ civilization, to unite “Jerusalem” and “Athens”, which was important for early modern humanists as well.<sup>102</sup> Michael Neander mentions Gregory of

<sup>99</sup> *Est enim Lingua Graeca duplex: profana & sacra, illa est, qua Philosophi, Oratores, Poëtae & Historiographi, in artibus, orationibus, carminibus & historijs suis conscribendis usi sunt, ut Plato, Aristoteles, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Homerus, Pindarus, Theognis, Phocylides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus &c. Haec est quam Sacri Scriptores, Evangelistae & Apostoli in exarando N. Testamento: οἱ LXX alijque interpretes in vertendo veteri T. Nec non S. patres Graeci in defendenda fide catholica, & consignanda historia Ecclesiastica usurparunt, de qua h.l. agitur.* Note the Greek article οἱ in the expression “those Seventy who wrote the Old Testament”. *De lingua Graeca & Hellenismo* was the twelfth part of the serial dissertation *Gymnasium capiendae rationis humanae*. The excerpt is on p. 193 of the reprinted version, which comprises all dissertations of the series. Vall. 3695.

<sup>100</sup> Isid. *Etym.* 9.1.3–4. Kaczynski 1988, 2.

<sup>101</sup> Bolgar 1976, 201–202 (E. F. Rice Jr.). Browning 1969, 49–50.

<sup>102</sup> Tertullian (*De praescr. haeret.* 7) raised the question “What has Jerusalem to do with Athens?” Of course, Christianity was a Mediterranean religion deriving influence from the Graeco-Roman culture from its beginning. Paul already used the guidelines of ancient rhetoric when proclaiming his message.

Nazianzus and Apollinaris of Laodicea (s. 310–390) as examples of the unifiers of Christian and pagan education in his preface to Rhodomanus' *Palaestina* (1589). They infiltrated the dogmas of Christianity with classical literary forms and genres, which were then used as textbooks in Christian schools. The *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*, a hexametric psalm paraphrase based on the *Septuagint* and attributed to Apollinaris, was published by Adrianus Turnebus in Paris in 1552.<sup>103</sup> Another famous hexametric biblical paraphrase was that of John's Gospel, attributed to Nonnus. Paraphrases of biblical texts were a tool for interpretation because they involved recasting the Scriptures in different words, including amplifications and abbreviations of the original text.<sup>104</sup> Psalm paraphrases in Greek were quite a popular genre during the 16th century, composed for instance by Henricus Stephanus, Paulus Dolscius in elegiacs, Olympia Fulvia Morata, and Joachim Camerarius.<sup>105</sup> Even writing exercises included modifying and versifying biblical stories into poetry, and these modifications in the vernacular (like the passions of Christ) formed a literary fashion during the seventeenth century.

Apollinaris' *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* is mentioned by Paulus Dolscius in his preface to his own psalm paraphrase (1555) addressing young Greek students. Dolscius also discusses the controversy initiated by Angelo Poliziano as to which one is better poetry, the Psalms or Pindar. Poliziano supported Pindar, while Dolscius sided with the Psalmists, because for him Pindar's poems lacked the message of the salvation, although they are beautiful and embody divine providence.<sup>106</sup> Even Melanchthon, who lectured on Pindar at Wittenberg on at least four occasions, was convinced of the superiority of the Psalms over Pindar.<sup>107</sup>

Christian dogmas were a crucial part of the education given in Protestant countries. They could be learned in Greek too. Melanchthon's Greek textbook and chrestomathy contained Joachim Camerarius' Greek poem on Christian dogmas. Camerarius included it in his own catechism (Κατηχήσις τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ, 1551–1552), a Greek version of Luther's *Great Catechism*.<sup>108</sup> Several Greek translations of catechisms were composed during the 16th century. The *Great*

<sup>103</sup> On Apollinaris, see Faulkner 2019 and Golega 1960, 5–24.

<sup>104</sup> Usher 1997, 318. Clark & Hatch 1981, 99–100.

<sup>105</sup> The most famous Latin psalm paraphrases were composed by the Scottish reformer, Georgius Buchanan (1506–1582).

<sup>106</sup> Dolscius 1555, a2v–a3v. GG 59 ja VD 16 B 3122.

<sup>107</sup> Rhein 1999, 63 note 63, 64–69. See also Binns 1990, 323: the same topic, Psalms versus Pindar, in the poetics of an English theologian (1642).

<sup>108</sup> Harlfinger *et al.* 1989, 345–348, Nr. 168 and Nr. 169 (Christian Brockmann).

*Catechism* was translated into Greek for instance by Hiob Magdeburg (1560) and Johannes Mylius (1568). The *Little Catechism* was translated by Michael Neander (1558), Johannes Clajus (1572) – in four languages: German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew – and Johannes Posselius Sr. (1589). As mentioned earlier, a Greek Catechesis was published by Jacobus Erii in Stockholm in 1583.<sup>109</sup> While Jan Comenius' *Janua* combined the study of language with the study of subjects, these translations of catechetical works into Greek merged the study of Greek with the study of the synopsis of Christian dogmas – the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed (*Symbolum Apostolicum*) – which were usually learnt by heart in one's mother tongue at elementary school. The content of these texts, like the Lord's Prayer, was familiar and it supported the process of learning Greek and also stressed the 'sacredness' of Greek. From catechesis, pupils progressed to the Greek New Testament and from there to certain classical Greek authors.

Greek viewed as a sacred language can be traced in polyglottic publications, where the Greek contribution is especially Christian in its tone. One example is the Greek wedding poem by the above-mentioned Michael Wexionius (ennobled as Gyldenstolpe) in Uppsala in 1631. As a student at the University of Uppsala, Wexionius congratulated Professor Israel Bringius and his bride with a publication, which contains a Swedish song with notes and a humorous dialogue in Latin. On the back of the title page, Wexionius put a two-line prayer in Greek in which he invites Christ to be present at the wedding and to change the "bitter" water into wine.<sup>110</sup> Greek here has a sacred mission.

### **Biblical Greek and Church Greek**

Another aspect of Greek as a sacred language alongside the translations of Protestant doxologies and psalm paraphrases into Greek were treatises and dissertations on New Testament Greek. An important theological and philological question for the early modern humanists concerned the language of the New Testament and, in part, the *Septuagint*: they differed from the Attic dialect – but in what way? *Hebraistica* was often added to the list of Greek dialects to denote New Testament

<sup>109</sup> VD16 L 5260 (Iob Magdeburg), VD16 ZV 3168 (Mylius); VD16 L 5259 (Neander), VD16 L 5021 (Clajus), VD16 L 5273 (Posselius). The Greek and Hebrew parts of Neander's later polyglottic catechism (1582) were compiled by his students, Harlfinger *et al.* 1989, 348–349, Nr. 170 (Irina Wandrey).

<sup>110</sup> Mel. 129. Cf. John 2:1–11, the wedding at Cana. The same image is used by Joachm Saleman in Tartu in 1648 (Mel. 248).

Greek with its Hebraisms. In the preface of his translation of *Disticha Catonis* (1611), Joseph Scaliger criticised Maximos Planudes' translation from the 13th century for not being pure Hellenistic Greek (*a puritate Hellenismi aliena visa est*). He uses the terms *lingua Hellenistica* and *dicta Hellenistica* to describe the language of the New Testament.<sup>111</sup>

Greek as a sacred language can also be viewed from the perspective of medieval ecclesiastical Greek. Just as in Catholic countries Latin was a sacred language because it was the language of the liturgy, so in Byzantium the language used by the church, 'ecclesiastical Greek', was a sacred language. The use of "Church Greek" was not limited to the liturgy. It was also the language of church administration and the clergy. Martin Crusius was interested in the Greek language in a broad and manifold sense, including "ecclesiastical Greek" (*Ecclesiastica dialectus Graeca*) by which he meant the archaising form of Greek which the Greek Orthodox church used in the liturgy but also in its correspondence. Like many other German humanists, Crusius corresponded in Greek with eminent men of the Greek Orthodox Church. In 1558, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah II (1536–1595), sent a deacon to Wittenberg to gather information about the Reformation. He stayed as a guest in Melanchthon's home and apparently helped to translate the Augsburg Confession into Greek. *Augustana Graeca* was published in Basel in 1559 and in Wittenberg in 1587. It was given to the leader of the Eastern Church, the Patriarch of Constantinople, in 1575.<sup>112</sup>

Plans for translating liturgical work into Greek also occurred in Sweden. Though a son of the first Protestant King of Sweden, John III of Sweden was sympathetic to the Catholic faith, especially the ceremonial features of its liturgy.<sup>113</sup> He also combined Protestant and Catholic features in his Church Ordinance, which he sent to the Pope for approval, and drew up a Catholic-

<sup>111</sup> Scaliger 1611, A4v. VD17 32:647074Q. See also Boas 1952, 243 n4 and Ortoleva 1992, XXVI. Like many others, Claudius Salmasius, a professor at the University of Leiden whom Queen Christina invited to her court, proved in his book *Funus linguae Hellenisticae* (1643) that *Hellenistica* was not a separate dialect, but the common Greek spoken in that time. On the term *lingua Hellenistica* or *Hellenistica*, see Pitkäranta 1992, 38 and Pitkäranta 2018, 175 (in the Turku dissertations) and Jensen 1992, 119. Sandys 1958 II, 286.

<sup>112</sup> Jorgenson 1979. The editor of the former, Paulus Dolscius, assured readers in his dedication that he had translated without adding a word to the original text. However, the *Augustana Graeca* was not a direct translation of the Augsburg Confession, but a modified version for the Eastern Church, and Dolscius was not the only or even the main translator of the work. According to Martin Crusius, it was Melanchthon who was primarily responsible for the translation.

<sup>113</sup> John III had also married a Catholic Polish princess, Catherine Jagiellon of Sweden who was born in Milan, a daughter of the highly educated Bona Sforza and Sigismund I of Poland-Lithuania.

tinged new rules in the liturgy, *Liturgia Svecanae Ecclesiae catholicae & orthodoxae conformis* (the so-called *Röda boken*, “Red Book”) in 1576. It brought the liturgy used in Swedish churches significantly closer to Catholic forms of worship. Turku bishop, Ericus Eriici Sorolainen, despite being an alumnus of Wittenberg, the very centre of Protestantism, was tolerant of the monarch’s Catholic sympathies to the extent that he recommended *Röda boken* to the clergy of his dioceses. It has been suggested that John III even ordered Sorolainen to translate *Röda boken* into Greek around 1587 and planned to send it by delegation to the Patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>114</sup> The monarch’s aim was to establish relations with the Eastern Church and the Patriarchate, as Martin Crusius and other Tübingen humanists had successfully done. Church politics was an important part of the general politics in the era of religiously legitimised wars. However, there are no traces that a Greek translation of *Röda boken* was ever made. Instead, John III sent another proponent of his liturgical reform, Thomas Laurentii, Vicar of Turku, to study Greek under Martin Crusius in Tübingen in 1585 so that Thomas Laurentii would then serve in tasks of church diplomacy between the Swedish Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church. There is, however, no evidence whether Thomas Laurentii fulfilled this duty – although he studied for only half a year (1585–1586) at Tübingen, he was awarded a Master’s degree.<sup>115</sup> We may also question what kind of Greek Thomas Laurentii studied under Crusius: was it the archaising form of Greek in use in the Greek Church rather than modern Greek?

John III died in 1592 and his plans pertaining to church diplomacy were never realised. Walther Ludwig has argued that writing in Greek and translating Christian texts into Greek by such influential and fluent writers as Crusius and Rhodomanus even had lofty religious motivations. By these means there might not only be a hope of uniting the German Lutheran and Greek Orthodox Church (as a unified front against the Roman Catholic Church) but even a glorious possibility of the conquest of Greece and Constantinople by German-speaking lands in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>116</sup> There was indeed correspondence on these issues between Protestant humanists and officials in the Greek Orthodox

<sup>114</sup> Nuorteva 1997, 274–277.

<sup>115</sup> Crusius mentions him among twenty conferees: *Promoti Magistri Febr. 9. viginti quinque, inter quos, Thomas Laurentij, in Finnonia Aboensis Cathed. Ecclesiae primarius pastor*. Nuorteva 1998, 276 n68. Nuorteva, as Fant before him (1775–1786 I, 21), considers that Thomas Laurentii studied modern Greek with Crusius.

<sup>116</sup> Ludwig 2017, 130–131.

Church. Furthermore, many humanists at least cultivated the hope of winning back Greece and Constantinople.<sup>117</sup>

Combining Athens and Jerusalem resulted, of course, in many disputes. One such controversy concerned references to Graeco-Roman deities in Christian texts.<sup>118</sup> If Greek in Protestant countries was first and foremost the language of the New Testament, one might have expected that Nordic humanists would be careful about placing the Christian deity alongside of ancient deities. At the turn of the eighteenth century, Professor of Poetics at Turku Torsten Rudeen supervised several dissertations on ancient mythology and poetry, which were accused of being dangerous due to their polytheism. He answered the charge by stating that ancient poets already knew that there was only one god; they composed stories of gods that conformed to the morality of the ordinary people: stories involving many gods assured people that every crime would be punished by some god.<sup>119</sup> However, Humanist Greek writers rather casually used the name Ζεύς for God in their Greek poems, assuming that they would not be understood wrongly even during the strict Protestant Orthodoxy at Turku. In 1686 Georgius Aenelius, for instance, begins his congratulation (44 eleg) to Jacobus Julenius for Julenius' patriotic oration thus: "Every fatherland had to be honoured in many ways, Zeus, the prayed for, assigned a fatherland for all".<sup>120</sup> One standard theme in humanistic poetry from Renaissance onwards was inviting the Muses, the Graces and the Greek gods (Apollo, Athene) as patrons of science, arts and crafts, who would bring civilization and sophistication with them to one's homeland. This topos was modified by the assurance that this had actually already happened

<sup>117</sup> In 1544, A Cretan book dealer and scholar Antonios Eparchos (1491–1571) sent his *Lament on the Destruction of Greece* (103 eleg) to Pope Paul III as an appeal for a unified European front against the Turks. Pontani & Weise 2022, 56–57 (G. Zoras, K. Yiavis & F. Pontani).

<sup>118</sup> Kajanto 1989, 122–125. Marcus Helsingius, Principal of Turku Cathedral School (1595–1609), who had studied in Wittenberg, defended the right to refer to a "pagan" author (*ethnico poeta*) in his analysis of the *Epistle to Titus* written in 1596. Helsingius mentions the well-known passages in the New Testament where pagan authors, Epimenides, Aratus and a maxim attributed to Menander, are referred to (Tit. 1:12, Acts 17:28, 1 Cor. 15:33). Heikel 1894, 25–26. Tengström 1814–1821, 31–32. The treatise was never printed, and the manuscript was destroyed in the Great Fire of Turku in 1827. Tengström, who saw the manuscript, quotes a passage.

<sup>119</sup> Kajanto 2000, 114.

<sup>120</sup> Verses 1–2: Δεῖ δοξασθῆναι πολυειδῶς ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ἐκάστη / ἥντινα ὄρισε ἄν παντὶ ὁ ζεὺς ἄρετος [!]. SKB 2017. Zeus is written with a lowercase initial. V. 2: ἄρετος *scil.* ἀρατός/ἀρητός. The *patris* was Ostrobotnia (in western Finland), where both the deliverer of the oration, Jacobus Julenius, and the writer of the poem, Georgius Aenelius, were born. The signature of Aenelius' congratulation is metric (one distichon).



and that Greek divinities had permanently moved from Greece.<sup>121</sup> This may imply the conviction that contemporary Greece or the Greeks were no longer thought of as authorities on the purity of the Greek language.

### Keeping Greek Pure

A good command of Latin (Neo-Latin) – with Cicero as an ideal in prose writing – was a sign of a highly educated and civilised person. Since the late Hellenistic period, the Greek ideal of language purity had culminated in Atticism, which became synonymous with good prose style and could be a useful term for praising an addressee's skills in Greek. Poliziano received a Greek letter from Raffaello Maffei (Volterrano), who had studied under George of Trebizond. Poliziano answered him in Greek praising the quality of Volterrano's Greek that had reached to the pinnacle of "Atticism" in so short a time: εἰς ἄκρον ἐληλακέναι τὸν ἀττικισμόν.<sup>122</sup>

The requirement of pure Greek could lead to contrasts between Western humanists and their Greek teachers from the East, Byzantine refugees. Francesco Filelfo's Greek letters in verse did not receive unreserved approval from Theodoros Gaza.<sup>123</sup> Poliziano, who during his studies composed poems of praise in Greek for his Greek tutor, Johannes Argyropoulos, later claimed to know Greek better than his teacher. In 1493, Poliziano translated the 14th-century Latin poem on hermaphroditism into Greek, and Janos Laskaris made another version of it in what he thought was stylistically better Greek.<sup>124</sup>

Humanists were also dissatisfied with the translations of Byzantine scholars like Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609) in Maksimos Planudes' translation of the popular *Disticha Catonis*. Scaliger's comments on Planudes' translation were incorporated into the new editions of his own translation. Planudes' translation was first printed in 1495. Johannes Mylius translated the *Disticha* again into Greek in 1568. A new edition of Planudes' translation was issued in 1598, and

<sup>121</sup> Johan Paulinus uses the topos twice in his *Finlandia* (1678), once at the beginning (vv. 24–27) and once at the end (vv. 268–270). Korhonen 2000, 72–73.

<sup>122</sup> Ardizzoni 1951, 40–41 (Appendix, Nr. 5). Humanists could also discuss the quality of their Greek, as the correspondence between Simon Grynaeus and Erasmus indicated. In 1532 they composed a short dialogue (12 ia) in Greek between a bookseller and a philologist for the new edition of Aristotle; Grynaeus was not satisfied with the poem. See Pontani & Weise 2022, 225–227 (H. Lamers & R. Van Rooy).

<sup>123</sup> Legrand 1962 I, XLVII (Gaza's joking epigram on Filelfo).

<sup>124</sup> Godman 1998, 122. Legrand 1962 I, CXXXVII–CXXXIX.

soon after in 1605, Joseph Scaliger's translation. Matthias Zuberus translated the sentences into Greek once again in the 17th century. In 1697, a work was finally published containing all four Greek versions (Planudes, Scaliger, Mylius and Zuberus).<sup>125</sup> However, the reason for new translations was not (necessarily) the failures of earlier translations but the fact that succinct maxims can be translated in many ways.

During the 17th century, true knowledge of ancient Greek was considered to be so keenly a legacy of Western scholars that they could criticise the Greek that was used by contemporary eastern theologians. This is reflected in the attitude of Petrus Hedelinus (d. 1721), a Greek lecturer at the Karlstad Gymnasium in Sweden.<sup>126</sup> Archdeacon Dionysios from the Monastery of St. Athanasius in Thessaly visited Sweden and wrote some Greek poems in praise of Charles XII and his grandmother, Queen Hedvig Eleonora. However, Hedelinus was not pleased with the Archdeacon's style and so composed his own versions of the poems, *in puriorem Graecitatem translati*, as he put it. Besides 'polishing' Dionysos' Greek in both poems, Hedelinus also slightly altered the content of the eulogy to the Queen Mother. Addressing the Queen, the Greek Archdeacon compared the wisdom of Hedvig Eleonora to the wisdom of Sappho and Sibylla and stated that she was as famous as Semiramis: Σαπφούς καὶ Σιβύλης σοφίην γὰρ ὑπεργανόεις τε / Σεμίραμιν μεγάλην ἀξίακουστον ἔην (ll. 13–15).<sup>127</sup> Instead, Hedelinus' eulogy to the Queen included a rejection: "Go away ignorant prophets, go away Sapphos / go away Babylonian queens."<sup>128</sup> Hedelinus' primary target was not rebuffing Sappho or Semiramis but the representative of the 'wrong' church, the Archdeacon. However, it is quite telling of the Nordic Greek Humanism that Hedelinus wanted to purge the Greek Archdeacon's poem from its classical images.

<sup>125</sup> VD 17 1:043 6443Q.

<sup>126</sup> Karlstad is situated c. 300 kilometres west of Stockholm.

<sup>127</sup> The poems are printed in Floderus 1785–1789, 99–100. In the Archdeacon's poem: Σιβύλης metri gratia, ὑπεργανόεις: ὑπεραγνόεις pro ὑπεραγνέεις (ὑπεραγνέειν: Doric for ὑπεράγειν).

<sup>128</sup> Hedelinus' poem, ll. 13–14: Ἐρῶτε θεσπιαιοῖδ' αἰδοῦρες, ἔρῶτε Σαπφοί, / ἔρῶτε δ' ὄνασσαι αἱ βαβυλωνιάδες. See Floderus 1785–1789, 101. Hedelinus' poems raises some questions too: crasis (ὄνασσαι) metri gratia; βαβυλωνιάδες pro βαβυλώνιαι. Floderus calls Dionysios' Greek as *lingua Graecorum nova*. Hedelinus wrote eleven Greek poems: five funerary poems – one of them 162 lines long lamenting the death of Queen Hedvig Eleonora (1715) – four congratulations for disputations, one congratulation for an oration and one congratulation for a book. See HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi). See also Fant 1775–1786 Suppl., 5–6 and Floderus 1785–1789, 99–101.

Nordic lay populations as well as learned men had little contact with contemporary Greeks.<sup>129</sup> Some Greek refugees, emigrants or even frauds, however, visited the Swedish Kingdom. Petrus Gyllenius reports in his diary that he saw a Greek man in his hometown of Karlstad in 1648. The man “spoke both Italian and Greek, was tall, with black hair and a black beard, and wore a long robe in the Oriental fashion”.<sup>130</sup> This Greek man told the crowd gathered around him that he was the Bishop of Patmos before he was captured by the Turks. A Christian monk had then paid his substantial ransom and now he travelled around, collecting money to pay back his debt to the monk. For Gyllenius, the Greek refugee did not seem to be an inheritor of classical Greece – or an opportunity to learn Greek – but just a showpiece like a castrated Turk or a live lion, which he also reported having seen.<sup>131</sup> In their meeting in Turku on 20 April 1688, the Consistorium discussed whether to give financial aid to a Greek *exulant* (refugee or emigrant) named Mercurios Laskaris, who had donated two books to the university library. The Consistorium eventually decided to give him some support. Financial aid was also granted by the Turku Cathedral Chapter, in which connection Laskaris was called a ‘preacher’. “Mercurius Laskaris” also occurs as a teacher of modern languages in the University of Lund register. The person in question could well have been a charlatan and not even for that matter a Greek.<sup>132</sup>

Greek writers could be quite conscious about whether to use distinctly ancient Greek or Christian images in their texts. Josef Thun wrote long Greek funeral poems to two famous Swedish scholars, Olaus Rudbeckius Sr. and Laurentius Norrmannus, who died in 1702 and 1703, respectively. In both, Thun describes the deceased person’s life in Heaven. The addressee of the earlier poem (50 eleg), Olaus Rudbeckius Sr. (1630–1702), was Professor of Medicine and one of the first to study lymphatic vessels but was famous especially for his peculiar *Atlantica* (1689), by which he aimed to prove that Atlantis was, in fact, situated in ancient

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<sup>129</sup> Although most of the people in eastern Finland (Carelia) belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church, their liturgical language was not Greek because the parishes were under the Moscow Patriarchate until 1923.

<sup>130</sup> Gyllenius’ entry on 17 March 1648, see Gardberg & Toijer 1962, 95.

<sup>131</sup> Gyllenius’ entry on 7 and 11 June 1652. The lion was war booty from Prague and was kept in Stockholm Castle. *Ibid.*, 141, 295.

<sup>132</sup> CAAP VI, 314 (20 of April 1688). Register Database, *s.v.* In Lund’s student register, Melchior Farulphus Pius Ansprandrus de Lascaris or Mercurius de Lascaris was enrolled at the University of Lund on 10 January 1684 as a teacher of (modern) languages. Weibull & Tegner 1868, 430. Greek emigrants, some of them refugees, came to Europe during the seventeenth century to work mainly as artisans, e.g. tailors. Harris 1995, 202–203.

Sweden. *Atlantica* is an example of so-called Gothicism, a branch of historiography that invented a splendid imperial past for the Swedish Empire that was supported but also criticised by contemporaries.<sup>133</sup> Thun describes Heaven as the campus of Elysium, where Rudbeckius meets Homer, Plato and Solon, which was fitting for the writer of *Atlantica* which was saturated with references to classical culture. However, in a poem (118 eleg) to Laurentius Norrmannus, Heaven is a place where Norrmannus will meet Abraham and the Apostles. Although Norrmannus was Greek professor (1685–1691) who edited Greek texts from manuscripts that were brought to Sweden, he advanced to becoming Professor of Theology (1691–1703) and was even appointed Bishop of Gothenburg, an office he never filled on account of his sudden death. Therefore, it was appropriate to use Christian imagery in Norrmannus' funerary poem.

### The Image of Greek as a Conformist or Liberalising Subject

Hans Helander has stated that Neo-Latin literature “with all its potential and resources” was a crucial factor in the formation of early modern Europe and the great upheavals it brought with it: the Protestant movement, the Counter-Reformation, the emerging of nation states and, finally, the Enlightenment and the Scientific Revolution.<sup>134</sup> It was not only that Latin was the early modern *lingua franca*, but that this classical language offered in its nuances and complex sentence structures the possibility to discuss and publish treatises on these new matters, such as arguing for and against the new ideas in the sciences. At the end of the seventeenth century, there were confrontations between the rising Cartesianism and Pietistic-orientated theologians in Turku. On several occasions, Professor of Medicine, Laurentius Braun, who was born in Sweden, spoke and wrote on academic freedom and universities' independence from church or state control, even in his Latin prose congratulation for a dissertation entitled *Liber studiosus*. The dissertation was supervised by Christiernus Alander in 1697 and it raised hostile criticism among the more conservative professors at Turku.<sup>135</sup>

But how about Greek? We are accustomed to seeing Greek as a manifestation of the fresh air introduced by the Renaissance and by Classical Humanism. For Erasmus and especially the writers of the satire *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*

<sup>133</sup> Aili 1995, 132; Ingermarsdotter 2011, 89–91. At Turku, the Rudbeckian influence is visible, for instance, in the *Priscorum Sveo-Gothorum ecclesia* (1675) presided over by Petrus Bång. SKB 778.

<sup>134</sup> Helander 2004, 29.

<sup>135</sup> Vall. 104. Klinge *et al.* 1987, 422–424 (M. Klinge). Braun also acted as Rector in that year.

(1515–1519), knowledge of Greek was one feature by which the new philologists differentiated themselves from the still prevailing scholasticism, the members of which were ignorant of Greek language and culture.<sup>136</sup> In sixteenth-century Europe, many associated Greek with liberalisation, the support of liberal education and the abolishment of strict medieval scholasticism. Traces of scholastic methods still prevailed in seventeenth-century dissertations with their useful albeit conventional and often stereotyped etymological reflections in the beginning.

At Turku, Greek was considered first and foremost a sacred language, and moreover, it was intertwined with rigorous Lutheran orthodoxy – a dogmatic, conformist Protestantism, that was not favourably disposed to new scientific ideas. In the battle between conformist Orthodoxy and more liberal views, known experts in Greek and advocates of its instruction often seem to be on the side of conformism. One of the main influencers was Enevaldus Svenonius, Professor of Theology (1660–1687) and a proponent of Greek studies in Turku, who had studied in Wittenberg. His conformism hardened towards the end of his tenure, and he attacked ideas developed by other Protestant thinkers. In Svenonius' view, based on the German theologian Abraham Calovius' writings, only theology offers the authentic route to knowledge.<sup>137</sup> Svenonius wrote two conventional Greek congratulatory poems for dissertations, the former one being especially religious, although they contained wordplay with addressees' names according to the ideology of *nomen est omen*.<sup>138</sup>

As in central Europe, religious orthodoxy also caused a relatively large number of legal proceedings against (what was believed to be) witchcraft in Sweden, especially during the second half of the seventeenth century. Charges were often brought against common people who used folk remedies.<sup>139</sup> Some

<sup>136</sup> *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* contains several satirical references to Greek language, like the opinion that diacritics are unnecessary, Letter I.VI (Stokes 1909, 19–20).

<sup>137</sup> Heikel 1894, 52, 62. Svenonius had studied under Calovius and his *peregrinatio* had extended all the way to the Turkish border, almost to Constantinople.

<sup>138</sup> Svenonius' wordplays on respondents' names include Andreas Hygridius (Ἰγρίδιος), in 1673 (Vall. 3768) and Nicolaus Rydenius (ἐκ τῆς νίκης ὀνομά σου), in 1681 (Vall. 11). Svenonius' publication in memory of Carl Gyllenhielm contains poems in several languages, including Greek. It was published in Uppsala, but is now lost (Mel. 271).

<sup>139</sup> Isaacus Rothovius (1626–1652), Bishop of Turku from 1627, was notoriously intolerant towards ancient folk beliefs and rites that were still common in Finland. Unlike elsewhere in Europe, most indicted Finnish witches were men. In Sweden, witch hunts occurred especially during 1668–1676. Heikkinen 1969, 78–163.

witchcraft indictments were made against educated people. The first professor of Greek and Hebrew (1640–1654) at Turku, Martinus Stodius, was suspected several times of teaching students “necromantic arts”,<sup>140</sup> and later, when he became Professor of Theology, he was twice suspected of depraving students. First, he was accused of lending a kabbalistic book from his library to a student and later, in 1661, his teaching of language became under suspicion, especially when a student named Henrik Eolenius began to show exceptional skill in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Syriac. However, the case against Stodius was closed when further inspection showed that Eolenius’ language skills were greatly exaggerated.<sup>141</sup> These indictments reveal not only the delicate age of strict orthodoxy but also that exceptional language skills, especially in Oriental languages, could be seen as suspicious.

In 1671, Professor of Greek and Hebrew, Ericus Falander, published the school text edition of Isocrates’ orations, including *To Demonicus*, and Ps.-Plutarch’s *Education of Children*. It is quite characteristic of the hegemony of New Testament Greek in Turku that when two years later Falander lectured on *To Demonicus*, Bishop Gezelius Sr. – who was also Vice-Chancellor of the university – stated at a meeting of the Consistorium that Falander should teach New Testament Greek rather than Isocrates.<sup>142</sup>

However, Gezelius himself later published ‘pagan’ Greek authors in Turku on his own printing press, such as *Poëmata* (1676), a collection of poems by Theognis, Ps.-Phocylides and Ps.-Pythagoras and a collection of the Aesopic fables (1669 and 1688). He had already printed *Poëmata* in Tartu in 1646 and dedicated it to the young Baron, later Count, Gustaf Adam Banér (1624–1681).<sup>143</sup> The

<sup>140</sup> Tengström 1925, 148–154. In 1644, student Erik Michelsson’s parents complained that their son had become insane because of occult skills that Stodius had taught. Stodius answered that he had only taught *magia naturalis*, such as making fire with burning glass and invisible ink with potash alum.

<sup>141</sup> The 1656 case was more threatening as Stodius was in danger of being dismissed from his office and his parish. Stodius had acquired Michael Paletz’s kabbalistic book (*Ars cabalistica, sive cabala Christiana Michaëlis Paletzii*) when studying at Wittenberg. Chancellor Per Brahe put a stop to the accusations, arguing that large libraries, like Stodius’, often contained kabbalistic books. In 1660, however, Stodius resigned from his professorship ostensibly due to his age but in all likelihood probably due to these suspicions. Register Database, *s.v.* and Schybergson 1926, 36.

<sup>142</sup> CAAP IV, 158 (18 June 1673). Indeed, in 1679, the broad-minded Professor of *eloquentia*, Daniel Achrelius, criticised Gezelius’ views on instruction in classical languages, stating that they were dry and tedious. Achrelius did not name Gezelius, but the target was clear. See Laasonen 1977, 328–329.

<sup>143</sup> Banér visited Padua and Venice during his *peregrinatio*. In 1653, he was chosen as the

dedication contains Gezelius' 'defence' of pagan authors. Gezelius assures readers that one must not dismiss the ideas of the "wisest of peoples", namely the Greeks. Greek poems do not only civilise, they also provide "a forest (*sylva*) of speech and writing, contributing abundance and richness (*copia & ubertas*) to writing and speaking".<sup>144</sup> It is noteworthy that Gezelius stresses here active skills in Greek, even speaking Greek. Although the dedicatee, Count Banér, was still alive, the dedication was not reprinted in the Turku edition of *Poëmata* in 1676. Moreover, Gezelius' attitude to Greek might have narrowed after his years as Professor of Greek and Hebrew at the University of Tartu, which were also his active years of composing Greek occasional poems using classical imagery.

Professor Ericus Falander, for his part, showed that he was on the 'right', that is to say, the conservative side too. In December 1678, while Falander was Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, the Consistorium discussed the question whether the university press should cease publishing the serial dissertation supervised by Daniel Achrelius entitled *Contemplatione mundi*. Three dissertations had already been published. In Falander's view, one dissertation of this series was especially 'dangerous' for sound-minded, that is, religiously orthodox people, although he did not accuse Achrelius of Cartesianism.<sup>145</sup> A few years later, in 1681, Falander opposed "innovators" (οἱ νεωτεριστοί) in the beginning of his Greek prose congratulation (16 lines) to respondent David Lund, who will later become Professor of Greek and Hebrew. The subject of the dissertation, under the presidency of Johannes Flachsenius, was the inner principle, that is, the form, of physical objects.<sup>146</sup> According to Neo-Aristotelian notions, primal matter (*prima materia*) was not only physical but contained form – mere matter could not be called primal substance in their view. For them, the Cartesians were wrong in supposing that forms are accidental or occurred by mere mechanical chains

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Chamberlain of Queen Christina, and later he became Governor-General of Ingria. SBL *s.v.* (G. Wittrock).

<sup>144</sup> Gezelius 1646, 2v–3r: [...] *sed quod veluti sylvam quandem dicendi et scribendi contineant, plurimumque faciant ad copiam & ubertatem in scribendo atque dicendo consequendam* [...]. Jaanson 514.

<sup>145</sup> Falander wrote a Greek congratulation to one respondent of this serial dissertation in November 1678. Thus, he had acquainted himself well with the content of this dissertation in series. On the intrigue against Achrelius, see Sarasti-Wilenius 2000, 24 and Laasonen 1977, 317.

<sup>146</sup> Vall. 986. The long title of the dissertation goes as follows: *Exercitio philosophica de corporis naturalis interno principio altero, forma nempe substantiali, cumprimis utrum substantiae nomine vere & absque errore compellari possit ac debeat*.

of cause and effects.<sup>147</sup> These quite complicated metaphysical ideas<sup>148</sup> Falander summarised in his congratulation as follows (ll. 1–9):

Πάνυ ἄξιον θαυμάζειν τῶν νεωτεριστῶν τὴν τῶν φυσικῶν μορφήν  
ἐντελέχειαν οὐσιώδη οὖσαν συμβεβηκός τι εἶναι λεγόντων. Τοῦτο γὰρ  
οὐδέποτε τι ἐργάζεσθαι δύναται, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τῆς οὐσίας ὥσπερ ἀρχῆς πρὸς  
τὸ διαπράττεσθαι κινηθῇ· εἴτα δέ, οὐ δύναται ἐκ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος καὶ  
ὑποκειμένου εἰ μὴ συμβεβηκότως ἐν γίνεσθαι. Καὶ μόνον ἄρα ταῦτά ἐστι  
ἐντεῦθεν ὥς ἐκ πηγῆς ῥέοντα ἄτοπα;

It is worth to be surprised at reformers who say that the form of physical objects, which is foundational, would be somehow accidental. For nothing could happen if their realisations do not start off from Being; if this is the case, accidental and the basic substance cannot form an accidental unity. Then would it be possible to occur several irregularities – as if flowing from a source?

Falander praises Lund, the respondent, that he rejects these ideas advocated by “reformers” and that this firm rejection is good for Lund himself and for other students.<sup>149</sup> New ideas were considered dangerous because they might deprave students.

At the end of the seventeenth century, Cartesianism was largely accepted or at least tolerated also in Turku, quite a long time later than in Uppsala. One interesting detail of this schism between Aristotelianism and Cartesianism was that conservative Aristotelians could criticise such Cartesian views that we nowadays also criticise, such as the notion that animals are mere sensing machines.<sup>150</sup> This issue concerning animals could be discussed even in Greek. A Greek dissertation published at the University of Altdorf in 1712 named Ὁ Καρτησιὸς ἀντίγραφος

<sup>147</sup> Attempts were made to prevent publication of two dissertations supervised by Torsten Rudeen in 1697 (Vall. 104, and Vall. 3352). Both were on philosophy of mind. In the first case the primus motor was Bishop Gezelius Sr. See Klinge *et al.* 1987, 422, 435 (M. Klinge).

<sup>148</sup> Cfr. Arist. *Metaph.* 7.7.1032b1–2, 11.8.1064b15, 13.1076a8–14.

<sup>149</sup> In the following year (1682), Falander wrote a shorter Greek prose congratulation (9 ll.) to Johannes Laibeck who defended a dissertation whose subject was also Neo-Aristotelian primal matter (*De materia prima peripatetica*). However, Falander does not present ideas by “reformers” in this text but the ancient tripartite system of Greek philosophy (ethics, physics and logic). Vall. 4002.

<sup>150</sup> At Turku in 1740, a Sweden-born student, Benedictus Lund, disputed on animals’ affection of hate under the presidency of Johannes Browallius (Vall. 647 and Vall. 648). On p. 10 of the first dissertation (Vall. 647), he attacks the Cartesian view of animals and puts forward Leibniz’s views on emotions.



(An anti-Cartesian treatise) was supervised by Professor of Greek Christoph Sonntag and was defended by his son Henricus Sonntag. In the second chapter, the writer opposes the Cartesian idea of animals, asking whether it is probable that animals are αὐτομάτα, devoid of abilities to form any kind of judgement, that is, not only judgements based on rationality but also on impressions and perceptions (Πῶς δὲ εἰκός, τὰ θηρία [...] αὐτομάτων δίκην, ἄμοιρα πάσης καταλήψεως, οὐ μὴν λογικῆς, ἀλλὰ μὴν φανταστικῆς καὶ αἰσθητῆς;). The writer answers that animals feel pain and form judgements, and offers a long list of positive examples from the animal kingdom (oxes, swallows, storks, dogs, horses, elephants, bees, spiders, ants and snails), which reminds use of the many examples of animal intelligence and mental abilities in Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*.<sup>151</sup> Overall, Greek studies and classical philology have often been seen to be on the side of conservative trends in science and culture, as philologists are not generally seen to be the first to welcome new ideas.<sup>152</sup> However, in the early modern period, Greek might have been part of the process of a new ideology, such as national identity formation, obviously along with Latin. This is the topic of the next Chapter.

### 3.4. Greek and National Image Making

Exceptional knowledge of Greek might be used as an identity marker, as a form of self-identification or as cultural identification, that is, how others see someone. To be able to learn Greek in a short time, for example, was often seen as a sign of great intellectual skill. After Joseph Scaliger had studied a couple of months under the tutelage of Adrianus Turnebus, he continued by himself and claimed that he had learned to read Homer in a month's time.<sup>153</sup> Professor Johannes Freinshemius also stated that Queen Christina learnt to read Greek in one month's time – praise that was suitable to create an image of a learned queen.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Sonntag – Sonntag 1712, 2.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. the image of classical philologists in modern literature: the Greek master Byelikov in Anton Chekhov's *The Man in a Case* (Человек в футляре, 1898) and Serenus Zeitblom in Thomas Mann's *Doktor Faustus* (1947).

<sup>153</sup> Grafton 1983, 103–104.

<sup>154</sup> In Freinshemius' panegyric speech on Christina's 20th birthday in 1646. Plantin 1736, 37–38 note g and Fant 1778–1785 I, 90 note h. However, reading Greek may point to the fact that Christina was able to read Greek texts, Greek letters, without understanding their content.

While presenting Martin Crusius, Friedrich Paulsen called writing Greek poems *gelehrten Sport*.<sup>155</sup> As Walter Ludwig has shown, it meant much more to Crusius – it had a kind of national significance.<sup>156</sup> Crusius thought that Germany could be the new Hellas, the place where the Greek language could be “saved”, that is, where it could be preserved and remain pure. Although many other Germans who wrote in Greek and advocated Greek instruction and learning felt that it was their role and depended on their activity to preserve the Greek heritage, this view was also held by those who wrote in Greek in many other countries in the West, albeit with different emphases. These ideas were combined with rising nationalism in Europe. Crusius’ *Poëmatum Graecorum* (1567) and *Germanograecia* (1585) were examples of Crusius’ attempt to make Greek a language of letters that approached the status which Latin had as the academic *lingua franca*. That Greek too was written for many occasions proved, in Crusius’ view, that Hellenised Germany was, in fact, an actuality. Greek could be used everywhere and at all times.

Neo-Latin poems, which were mainly produced and published in the universities, were acknowledged to be part of the national literature. But the question remains about the status of Humanist Greek poems. Were they (or the best of them) seen as equally important, or were they merely considered exercises, experiments or *gelehrten Sport*?

Firstly, what is counted as literature or high literature is defined along with changes in cultural values and traditions, like the modern distinction between factional and fictional literature. The ancient stylistic tripartition, high, medium and low style was reproduced in the rhetorical handbooks of the early modern period. Early modern humanists obviously aspired to reach high style although what that meant could be different with regard to prose (medium style was sufficient in dissertations) and poetry (high aspirations were expected in versed orations). Secondly, the earliest histories of literature in the Nordic and Baltic countries – Johannes Schefferus’ *Suecia Literata* (1680) and its supplement concentrating on texts published in Stockholm, R. von der Hardt’s *Holmia literata* (1707), J. J. Phragmenius’ *Riga Literata* (1699) and A.A. Stiernman’s *Aboa literata* (1719) – simply listed the most important books, treatises and poems which were thus far printed in the quite recently founded printing presses in the educational establishments. Although such works contain biographies, history of science and valuations of the works

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<sup>155</sup> Paulsen 1896, 367–368. See also Paulsen 1897, 24–29.

<sup>156</sup> Ludwig 2017.

mentioned, they are basically bibliographies rather than critical histories of literature.

Stiernman published his *Aboa literata* when Finland was occupied by Russian troops and the university, including its library, had been relocated in Sweden. In his preface, Stiernman refers to Count Gustaf Rålamb's plan to establish a library that would contain all the works which Nordic scholars have published. The reason was, according to Stiernman, that Rålamb wanted "that people would know the progress their native country had reached in the areas of culture and especially that these accomplishments would be preserved for posterity".<sup>157</sup> Stiernman gave his material pertaining to Turku to Rålamb, and although the library was never realised, Stiernman decided to publish the bibliography of his material as a book in order to make the literature published in Turku known – mentioning at the same time that the title of the book would have been *Finlandia Literata*.<sup>158</sup> Stiernman dedicated the book to Counts Carl Gyllenstierna and Johan (Paulinus) Lillienstedt, writing the dedication to the latter in Greek (13 hex) – obviously as a tribute to Paulinus' *Finlandia*. Josef Thun, a former student at Turku and a prolific writer in Greek, congratulated Stiernman with a Greek poem (16 eleg). *Aboa literata* therefore already shows with its paratexts that writing in Greek was part of Finland's literature. Humanist Greek, however, naturally plays a minor role in *Aboa literata*. But Stiernman does nevertheless mention some of the more "conspicuous" texts – like Greek orations and Greek dissertations, and mentions, for example, that Nicolaus Fridelinus wrote *varia carmina Graeca*.<sup>159</sup> Fridelinus, a Sweden-born student, composed four congratulatory poems for dissertations and one for a degree conferment ceremony to his fellow students at Turku.<sup>160</sup> Some Humanist Greek texts were indeed included in the first national bibliographies.

Weight was also placed on continuity: the philhellenes stressed the continuity of using Greek, and the fact that the language had been kept alive for three thousand years. This included an emphasis on certain canonised authors as well

<sup>157</sup> Stiernman 1719, ): ( 3v: [...] *ut Patriae constet, in quantum progressa sit ingeniorum cultura, quaeque in posterum maxime curae restent.*

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, Praefatio.

<sup>159</sup> Stiernman 1719, 60, 110, 125, 126, 142, 158. On Thun's Greek congratulation to Stiernman, see above Chapter 2.3 ("Casualcarmina and Contemporary Events").

<sup>160</sup> Fridelinus' Greek poems: four congratulatory poems for dissertations presided by Petrus Hahn (Vall. 1527, 1529, 1530 and 1531) and one congratulatory poem for degree conferment ceremony (Mel. 1419) during 1694–1698. Fridelinus enrolled in the Royal Academy of Turku in 1691. He was tutor to Gezelius Jr.'s children and then for 18 years aided in completing the *Bibelverket*, the major exegetical work of the Bible initiated by Gezelius Sr.

as praise to eminent Graecists, calling them equivalent to Greek geniuses. Jean Dorat was *Homère gaulois* and *Pindare français*. The Dane Jacob Jasparsus was called *Homeri culus noster Danicus*. These are examples of philhellenism too.

### Philhellenism as Self-fashioning

Classical civilisation did not have any direct influence in the North – the Roman Empire never occupied Nordic countries, and there were no Antonine walls or other remnants except for some random Roman coins and merchandises. Early modern Nordic scholars might have felt themselves to be a little outside of the European tradition. During the seventeenth century, the solution to this “isolation” was to create a Hellenic history for one’s country, as the above-mentioned Olaus Rudbeckius did in his monumental *Atlantica*, with its grandiose ideas of Sweden as the lost Atlantis. There were other solutions too. As mentioned earlier, Olaus Flodman begun to collect Greek poems written by Swedes by the end of the seventeenth century, at the height of Swedish Greek poetic output, as a collection named *Svedia Graecissans*, *vel Δράγμα ποιητικὸν ποικίλων ποιητῶν*. The project was never finished, but it indicates the estimation of Greek and of Swedish Greek learning during the heyday of the Swedish Empire. This early Swedish philhellenism combined nationalistic and patriotic values and the appreciation of Greek language and culture. The title, *Svedia Graecissans*, acknowledges the fact that although living in the far North, Swedes were able to follow and imitate Greeks in their poetry.<sup>161</sup>

The philhellenism of the early modern period can be partly seen as love of Greek culture in general, as the term suggests, but also *identification* as a lover of Greek culture. Philhellenism is both a created ideology – philhellenists in different eras have had different nuances for the term “Greek culture” – and a discursive practice, that is, using the term philhellene, and especially using the term in Greek, φιλέλλην, is an example of this practice. In the threshold texts of early Greek prints (*editiones principes*), the term φιλέλληνες refers to a then quite small group of scholars who were able to read these prints, which were supposed and intended to increase the number of Greek experts.

In Tartu, Johannes Gezelius Sr. was one of the many who translated Comenius’ *Janua* into Greek, in Gezelius’ case into *koine* Greek, in 1648. On the title page, Gezelius mentions the target use of his translation: *primum privatis exercitiis destinata, jam vero in gratiam φιλέλληνης, quos Graece scribendi, loquendi ac*

<sup>161</sup> See above Chapter 2.2 (“On the Greek Production of Germans and Swedes”).

*disputandi desiderium tenet*.<sup>162</sup> Philhellenes for Gezelius were people who aspired to be able to not only write, but also to speak and dispute in Greek. Φιλέλληνες were thus a kind of “imagined community” to use Benedict Anderson’s concept, which he created to interpret nationalism. In Andersson’s view, nationalism grew along with the printing press, and the written word shaped the ideas of communities and nations.<sup>163</sup> We may assume that philhellenism as “imagined community” also grew and spread along with the *editiones principes* and later Greek textbooks and editions.

From the individual’s point of view, using Greek was a means to build up one’s philhellenic identity. The term “self-fashioning”, introduced by Stephen Greenblatt, combines both individual and social aspects (group-identity). Tom Deneire has analysed self-fashioning in early modern Latin and Dutch occasional poetry, pointing out the crucial imitative practice (imitating canonised authors) of the time. He distinguishes between intellectual, socio-cultural and poetical levels in self-fashioning. For example, socio-cultural self-fashioning is imitating a model text because it is a famous and authoritative text (cf. name-dropping), but from the intellectual point of view the occasional poem in classical languages self-fashions – creates an image of – a *poeta doctus* displaying his acquired lingual and intellectual skills.<sup>164</sup> One example of how to strengthen one’s philhellenic identity (and in an easier way than composing Greek poems), was Hellenising one’s name and inventing Hellenised forms of place names of one’s country.

### Hellenised and Transliterated Names

By the 15th-century, at the Neo-Platonist *Accademia* in Florence, names were translated into Greek rather than being Latinised. One of the first was Angelo Poliziano’s pupil, Scipione Forteguerri (1466–1515), who began to use the Hellenised form of his name, Carteromaco, sometimes also in Greek, Καρτερόμαχος.<sup>165</sup> Philipp Schwartzertdt became known by the Hellenised surname Melanchthon (Μελάγχθων), which his father-in-law, Johannes

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<sup>162</sup> Gezelius 1648, the title page.

<sup>163</sup> Anderson 1983.

<sup>164</sup> Deneire 2014, 38–52 (especially Table 3.1. on p. 39).

<sup>165</sup> There are several other examples, but to mention just two: Quihelmus Xylander (Wilhelm Holtzmann, Professor of Greek in Heidelberg) and Conrad Dasypodius (Konrad Rauchfuss or Hasenfratz, Professor of Mathematics in Strassburg), son of Petrus Dasypodius (Hasenfuss). If one’s original name was not very flattering, Latinising or Hellenising it might be a good policy.

Reuchlin, composed for him. Luther also sometimes signed his letters to his humanist friends by the name Ἐλευθέριος ('Free man'), which Joachim Camerarius also used as a wordplay in his poem on Luther.<sup>166</sup> In Tallinn, Gregor Krüger, a Mittenwalde-born writer in Greek, made Mesylanus his Hellenised name: μέσος and ὕλη.<sup>167</sup> There are also some cases from 17th-century Turku: Professor of Eloquence Martinus Miltopaeus partly translated his Finnish name *Ruskeapää* ('brownhead, redhead') into Greek by using the Greek word μῦτος ('red ochre', 'ruddle') and Finnish *pää* ('head') for the ending *-paeus*.<sup>168</sup> Clergy members of the families *Kettunen* (*kettu* 'fox') and *Jänis* ('hare') changed their surnames to Alopaeus (ἀλώπηξ) and Lagus (λαγώς, λαγός).<sup>169</sup>

When writing Greek poetry and prose texts writers often transcribed *ad hoc*, not Hellenised, their Latinised names if the entire title page was in Greek, as in Greek dissertations and orations. This was also the case in occasional leaflets when they signed their Greek or sometimes Latin text in Greek. Svenio Theodori Gelzenius, who made the first Greek typefaces at the Royal Academy of Turku, and published the first longer Greek text in the university's printing house, namely his oration (1649), transcribed his name as Σουήνωνος Θεοδώρου τοῦ Γελσηνίου, the middle name being conveniently already a Greek name.<sup>170</sup> Sometimes only the first name based on Latin was transliterated, as Georgius Ståhlberg did, Hellenising, with an article, only his Greek-origin first name: Γεώργιος ὁ Ståhlberg.<sup>171</sup> Simon Paulinus also added an article and transcribed his Hebrew-origin first name: Σίμων ὁ Παυλῖνος.<sup>172</sup> Magnus Gabrielis Westzynthius only transliterated his first name and Hebrew-origin patronym

<sup>166</sup> The poem is edited and translated in Schultheiss 2020, 174–176.

<sup>167</sup> Päll 2018, 60.

<sup>168</sup> Martinus Miltopaeus signed his Greek congratulations for two dissertations as Μάρτεινος Μιλτόπιος in 1657 (Vall. 3922 and Vall. 3922).

<sup>169</sup> Gabriel Lagus published a Greek oration in Greifswald in 1665, using the name form ὁ Γαβριὴλ ὁ Λαγὼς τοῦ Ἰωσήφ υἱός on the title page, that is, without inflecting the Hebrew name Joseph. SKB 2259.

<sup>170</sup> SKB 1378.

<sup>171</sup> Other examples include: Ὀλαος ὁ Wång (Vall. 114), Ἰωάννης Burgman (Mel. 423), Ἡλίας Til-Landz (Vall. 3977). Sometimes transliterations resulted in such name forms as Μάγνος δε λα Γαρδία for Magnus De la Gardie (Mel. 401); other variants for the same surname are Δελαγαρδία and Δε-λα-Γαρδία (both in Vall. 2751). Magnus, a popular first name in Scandinavia, was not Hellenised as Μέγας. For transliteration of German and Swedish names in the Estonian material, see Päll 2005, 101–102.

<sup>172</sup> Ståhlberg: Mel. 855, Paulinus: Mel. 1118, Vall. 2751.

as Ὁ Μάγνος τοῦ Γαβρίηλος, leaving out his quite complicated last name.<sup>173</sup> Professor Enevaldus Svenonius transliterated his name as Ἐνέβαλδος Σβενόνιος, where β corresponds to /v/, but fifteen years later his son Nicolaus used the form Νικόλαος Ἐνευάλδου Σβηνόνιος – thus for him, besides the variation between the letters *Epsilon* and *Eta* in ‘Svenonius’, υ corresponds to /v/ in ‘Enevaldus’. Usually the diphthong ου compensated for /w/ or /v/, so that the names of the printers Johan Wallin (Wallius) and Peter Wald were transliterated as Ἰωάννης Οὐάλλιος and Πέτρος Οὐαλδ. The expression “Junior”, could be Hellenised in different ways, such as Ἰωάννης Γεζήλιος ὁ νεώτερος or Ἰωάννης Γεζήλιος Ἰωάννου υἱός.<sup>174</sup> Gezelius Sr.’s grandson, Johannes Gezelius *Nepos* Hellenised or rather translated his name as Ἰωάννης Γεζήλιος ὁ Υἱοῦς in his congratulation for a dissertation in 1704.<sup>175</sup>

The general tendency was that Latinised names were transliterated and not Hellenised – this also concerned names in vernacular form. The surname *Oxelgreen* (meaning ‘bough of Swedish whitebeam’) was written simply as Ὠξέλγρην.<sup>176</sup> This pertains to place names too. Substantives, like ‘land’, were not given a Greek equivalent. Turku was Latinised according to its name in Swedish, Åbo, as *Aboa* (short first and third syllables, long second syllable). It was transcribed into Greek letters in various ways and with different kinds of diacritical marks: Ἀβῶα, Ἀβῶâ, Ἀβόη.<sup>177</sup> Finland (from Old Norse *Finnland*) was transcribed as either Φινλανδία, Φιννία, Φεννονία or Φεννία (from *Fenni* in Tacitus’ *Germania*).<sup>178</sup>

Place names were Hellenised, for example, on the entirely Greek title pages. The above-mentioned Greek memorial oration (1660) to King Charles X Gustav by Johannes Purmerus has an elaborate Greek title page in which the names of nations and lands (twenty in all, in majuscules) which the King ruled are listed, like Estonia as ΑΙΣΘΟΝΙΑ. The King is mentioned as ΜΕΓΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΦΕΝΝΟΝΙΑΣ

<sup>173</sup> Mel. 387. The Hebrew-originated patronym is inflected in the genitive in the form Γαβρίηλος and not as Γαβρηλίου (cf. *AP* 16.32).

<sup>174</sup> Mel. 855, Mel. 667.

<sup>175</sup> Vall. 2944.

<sup>176</sup> A vocative address (Κύριε Ὠξέλγρεν) in Johan Haglinus’ congratulation (14 lines) for a dissertation to Sven Oxelgreen in 1677 (Vall. 3789). Swedish *oxel* refers to Swedish whitebeam, related to the rowans.

<sup>177</sup> SKB 1378, Mel. 667 and Mel. 855 & Vall. 2751. Besides *Aboa*, see other Latin variants (and adjectives) in Helander 2004, 233.

<sup>178</sup> The form *Fenningia*, which Olaus Magnus (1539) used (according to Pliny’s term *Aeningia*, *NH* 4.96) was mentioned by Johan Paulinus (1678) in his *Finlandia* (Φεννιγγίη, v. 53) as the ancient name for Finland.

ΑΡΧΩΝ, “Grand Duke of Finland”.<sup>179</sup> In his petition letter asking for financial and other help from Count Per Brahe in April 1660, Purmerus remarks that he wanted the Count to help him contact the Royal Court “for the sake of the Finnish nation and language”.<sup>180</sup> This patriotic emphasis has perhaps nothing to do with his Greek oration, although he does mention it immediately afterwards. Purmerus was appealing to these high quarters, Count Brahe and, through him, the Royal Court, in order to continue his studies at Turku and to have his oration (the language of which he does not mention) printed.<sup>181</sup>

Especially patriotic orations were “patriotic acts” as such, and when written in Greek, they can be seen as a feature of philhellenism: the country or home district is as though included in the great classical tradition when it is eulogised in the revered classical language. Obviously, patriotic orations in Greek often contained *ad hoc* Greek transliterations of place names. The term *patria* referred not only to nations let alone states during the early modern period, but also to regions and “tribes”. In the universities, *patria* referred to the students’ associations which were formed according to the regions and home districts where students came from. However, usually only the Latinised names of nations (Ostro-Gothia, Smolandia) were used, with rare exceptions like οὐιβουργεὺς τὴν [?] σαουολαξία (a person from Viipuri in the district of Savo) in which the Swedish, not Finnish, name of the city Viipuri of the mostly Finnish-speaking district of Savo were transcribed.<sup>182</sup> The most unusual district name in the Swedish context occurs in the congratulation to Tobias Björck for his dissertation at Uppsala in 1729. The heading of the congratulation goes: Μουσῶν τῶν Οὐψαλίδων Προσφώνημα πρὸς τὸν Βικιάδην τὸν Ἰνδὸν Ἑσπέριον ὀτρηρὸν αὐτῶν θεράποντα (A Greeting from the Muses of Uppsala to their eager West Indian worshipper, the son of Björck). “West Indian” does not refer to the West Indies in the Caribbean but the inhabitants of Swedish colonies in Delaware, North America. Tobias

<sup>179</sup> Mel. 423. Swedish kings had had the title Grand Duke of Finland or Ruler of the Grand Duchy of Finland since 1577.

<sup>180</sup> Schybergson 1932, 155 (Nr. 120): “för den Finske nation och tungemålsens skull”.

<sup>181</sup> It is tempting to speculate that the expression “for the sake of the Finnish nation and language” refers to the oration and that it was first written in Finnish and only afterwards translated into Greek. However, practice oration, which Purmerus’ speech essentially is, was not allowed to be delivered and published in the vernacular. Furthermore, the oration itself does not suggest any traces of Finnish sentence structure or expressions, but this needs further study and the attention of an expert in seventeenth-century Finnish.

<sup>182</sup> Vall. 3991 (1674). Carelian city Viipuri is Viborg in Swedish, Wiborg or Wiburg in German; Savolaxia is the Swedish name for the Savo district in the eastern Finland.



Biörck was born in Delaware, but his family had come back to Sweden in 1714. In this dissertation, he was also called *Americano-Dalekarlus*.<sup>183</sup>

Besides personal and place names, also printing information on the title pages was transliterated into Greek, which produced neologisms. In addition, epithets occurring in the signature of a Greek occasional poem could be transliterated into Greek or transcribed and producing neologism. At Turku, Georgius Ståhlberg characterised himself as φιλανατολικόγλωττος (lover of oriental languages) on the title page of his *propempticon* to Gezelius Jr. in 1683. In his funerary text (1673), Nikolaus Wijkman praised his deceased fellow student to have been “very eager to learn”, φιλοπολυμαθέστατος. A German student at Giessen put his title as μουσικοελληνικοδιδάσκαλος in his congratulatory Greek poem and its Latin translation to a Swedish student in 1620.<sup>184</sup>

### Kinship between Greek and the Vernacular

Another feature of early modern philhellenism was the numerous writings that attempted to prove similarity or even kinship of Greek and the author's mother tongue. The antiquity of the language was a merit as such and kinship with eminent languages – sacred languages and/or classical languages – was an extraordinary distinction. Before the emergence of modern comparative linguistics, seemingly common morphological features and etymological connections between languages were seen as evidence that they were derived from each other. The narrative of the Tower of Babylon (Gen. 11:1–9) assured that all languages had a common origin. Languages from which other languages were descended were called cardinal languages and the oldest of them, the original language, was the language from which all others were derived. The original language was most often said to be Hebrew, sometimes either Greek or Latin, but in general, Greek was at least considered a cardinal language.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>183</sup> The writer was Samuel Troilius. See Törner – Biörck 1729, 43. The patronym Βιρκιάδης refers to the origin of the respondent's name (> Birka, a place in the island of Björkö, ‘Birch tree island’). Tobias' father, Ericus Biörck (or Björck), had been a priest in the Swedish colony in Delaware. Ruhnbro, 1988, 22, 133–137.

<sup>184</sup> Ståhlberg (Mel. 883); Wijkman (Mel. 601). The writer of the Giessen poem was Jacobus Myccius, the addressee was Andreas Petrus Grubb from Linköping (Sweden); the publication contains congratulations to attendants of the previous year degree conferment ceremony (Mel. 80).

<sup>185</sup> Trapp 1990, 9. Reduction also worked the other way around: many were enthusiastic about the idea of a single universal language, a common (e.g., mathematical) language (*lingua universalis*) that would be artificially created from the differentiation of languages in the future.

Kinship was justified by contact between peoples, and identical features were traced both in vocabulary and in linguistic structures. According to Joseph Burney Trapp, ideas of kinship were related to the power struggles between the vernacular and Latin, in which Greek acted as a third party. When the mother tongue was proved to be inherited from Greek, which was often recognised as older than Latin, it was possible to demonstrate its superiority over Latin. On the other hand, the kinship of the mother tongue with Greek also served pedagogical means: the similarity of languages was thought to be an advantage in learning Greek.<sup>186</sup> The nuances and dialects of the vernacular was seen as analogous to the variability of dialects of Greek (or its literary dialects), as opposed to the ‘monotony’ of Latin.<sup>187</sup> In France during the 16th century, a few hundred essays were published proving the kinship between Greek and French. Guillaume Budé noted vocabulary and grammatical similarities between French and Greek in his Greek textbook (1529). Henricus Stephanus admired the ‘vigour’ of the Greek sentence structure in his *Traité de la conformité du langage français avec le grec* (1565) stating that French and Greek were similar in spirit: they were light and amusing as opposed to ‘heavy’ and ‘stable’ Latin.<sup>188</sup> Advocating French and Greek kinship was sometimes called *celt-hellénisme* in contemporary treatises.

The antiquity of the Nordic languages was seen as evidence of the antiquity of the Northern peoples compared to the Mediterranean nations. As a manifestation of this, Gothicism and Rudbeckianism emerged in 17th-century Sweden. An attempt was made to establish a relationship between Swedish and Greek by, e.g., Johannes Palmroot in his 1685 dissertation.<sup>189</sup> In a posthumously published study, *De hyperboreis dissertatio brevis* (1685), Georg Stiernhielm, one of the finest Swedish historiographers of his time, stated that the Finnish language contained some words of Greek origin and that, although the origin of Finnish was unknown, it was remarkably reminiscent of Greek.<sup>190</sup> At the Royal Academy

<sup>186</sup> Trapp 1990, especially 9–10. See also Borst 1957–63, III.1, 1196–1205. According to Trapp, the effect of *anticiceronism* can also be seen in the admiration for the Greek language, namely the admiration for short, aphoristic forms. See also Lamers & Van Rooy 2022, 21–22: attempts to see similarities between Greek and Dutch languages, an attempt to ‘domesticate’ Greek (Van Rooy’s term).

<sup>187</sup> One advocate of this strategy was Raffaele Maffei who, during the 16th century, defended the vernacular against Latin by alluding to the Greek-speaking population in Southern Italy. Trapp 1990, 11–12.

<sup>188</sup> Trapp 1990, 16–18; Burke 1992, 140.

<sup>189</sup> Lagerlöf – Palmroot 1685, 8, 11–13. Palmroot, the respondent, wrote the dissertation.

<sup>190</sup> Collijn 1942–1944, 885. See also Idman 1774, 11. Palmroot (above Chapter 3.1) referred to Stiernhielm in his dissertation on the history of Greek language (1685).

of Turku, a few dissertations or other treatises were published that noted the similarity of some Finnish and Greek words. In the fifth part of his encyclopaedic dissertation in series, professor Enevaldus Svenonius, who was born in Sweden, listed some Greek words that resembled Finnish.<sup>191</sup> In his master's thesis presided over by Daniel Lund in 1697, Ericus Erii Cajanus (d. 1737) – who was the reformer of the Finnish Hymn book and certainly spoke Finnish – did not argue in favour of the kinship between Greek and Finnish, but between Hebrew and Finnish. However, he mentions in passing a few words of Greek origin that are found in Finnish.<sup>192</sup>

Daniel Juslenius (1676–1752), Professor of *eloquentia* at Turku, later Bishop of Skara (Sweden), was a notable man in helping to create the Finnish national identity in his treatises. In his dissertation *Aboa vetus et nova* (1700), Daniel Juslenius stated that the similarity of some Finnish and Greek words was due to cultural contact, not kinship.<sup>193</sup> However, Juslenius enlarged his position in favour of kinship in his inaugural speech (1712) when he was awarded the professorship of Greek and Hebrew at Turku. The oration was also published in Germany. Indeed, the very subject of the oration was the kinship of Finnish with Hebrew and Greek.<sup>194</sup> Juslenius considered Hebrew to be the first language from which Greek and Finnish were born in the confusion of tongues after the fall of the Tower of Babel. According to Juslenius, the phonetically similar words of these cardinal languages (Finnish and Greek) showed that the Finns had been in contact with the Greeks. Some of the similar words were originally Greek (θυγάτηρ > *tytär*), some originally Finnish (*liica*, of which genitive: *liian* 'overly' > *λίαν*). Kinship was proved especially by the abundance of vowels, diphthongs, and dialects in both languages. Besides, in Juslenius' view, Finnish reminds one of Greek because both are languages of the emotions and are able to express things succinctly and eloquently. Furthermore, the Finns with their rich folk poetry were equal to Homer.<sup>195</sup>

<sup>191</sup> Svenonius – Pryss 1660, 87–88. See also Heikel 1894, 57.

<sup>192</sup> Vall. 2350. Lund – Cajanus 1697, 7–8: *sicut enim in Lingu. Finnica quaedam voces ex Graecis generatae videntur vocabulis e.g. ποιμήν Pastor Paimen | ἔρημος desertum erima [pro erämaa] etc.* On Cajanus' Hymn book, see Suomi 1963, 283–285.

<sup>193</sup> Munster – Juslenius 1700, 25, 89. Vall. 2619. Heikel 1894, 150.

<sup>194</sup> *De convenientia linguae Fennicae cum Hebraea et Graeca*. The oration was printed (Nettelblad 1728, 157–168), but the printed oration is, according to Pietilä 1907, 146, shorter than the original manuscript.

<sup>195</sup> Nettelblad 1728, 157, 164. Pietilä 1907, 150–152. Heikel 1894, 150–151. It is noteworthy that Juslenius acknowledged the value of Finnish folk poetry, that is, before Romanticism and

As late as at the end of the eighteenth century, there were some who still kept this argument alive. Nils Idman, Vicar of Huittinen in southwestern Finland, published a 92-page treatise in Swedish entitled “An attempt to demonstrate the commonality between Finnish and Greek” (1774).<sup>196</sup> Pehr Gadd, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy in Turku, would seem to agree with Idman in his two-page preface. Gadd states that the Finns are the oldest Northern people and are related to the Scythians, as evidenced by both mythology and language. Finnish has preserved old forms due to Finland’s remote location.<sup>197</sup> Indeed, Idman’s starting point was his reflections on the origin of the Finns, namely where had these “first inhabitants in the North” come from? For Idman, the Finnish language proved that Finns had originally been a large tribe that has spread to Europe and Asia from the shores of the Black Sea.<sup>198</sup> Idman’s study was translated into French and was published in Strassburg. Although Christian Gottlob Heyne, the famous professor at the University of Göttingen, heavily criticised Idman’s work,<sup>199</sup> Idman was, nevertheless, conferred an honorary doctorate of theology at Uppsala in 1778.

Nils Idman was by no means the last in a long tradition. Old conceptions were still valid not only in the eastern part of the Swedish academic world. In Uppsala in 1771, just a few years before the publication of Idman’s treatise, a respectable scholar, Johan Ihre, supervised a dissertation in series on kinship between Greek and Swedish (*De harmonia linguae Graecae & Sviogothicae*).<sup>200</sup> It contains a historical treatise, with a list of words, but also an exposition on the grammatical similarities. Even in Germany and France, renowned scholars might

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its emphasis on folk culture. In this connection, Juslenius mentions Demosthenes’ eloquence, Xenophon’s lexical ‘sweetness’, Aristophanes’ subtlety and Lucian’s wittiness. Because of the kinship, it was easier, in Juslenius’ view, for Finns than other nations to learn Greek and Hebrew.

<sup>196</sup> *Försök at wisa gemenskap emellan finska och grekiska språken*. Idman (1716–1790) matriculated from the Royal Academy of Turku in 1738. His two dissertations (*pro exercitio* and *pro gradu*, Vall. 515 and Vall. 1603) did not concern linguistics. He served as a military chaplain before he was appointed in 1749 vicar of Huittinen after his father.

<sup>197</sup> Idman 1774, 2–3.

<sup>198</sup> In Idman’s view, it was only possible to study the origin of a nation with the help of its language (p. 7). Like many others before him who argued for the kinship of one’s mother tongue and Greek, Idman saw an analogy between the dialectical variety of Finnish and Greek literary dialects.

<sup>199</sup> Riikonen 2000, 43. This did not prevent Christfried Ganander from making extensive use of Idman’s research as a source for both his works, *Nytt Finskt Lexicon* (1787) and *Mythologia Fennica* (1789).

<sup>200</sup> The respondents were Nicolaus Clewberg (part 1 and 3) and Nicolaus Funck (part 2). The dissertation is digitised in the DIVA portal.

support the idea of a kinship between their mother tongue and Greek right up to the late eighteenth century.<sup>201</sup> These treatises already reflect the emergence of modern linguistics, as Greek, Germanic and Roman languages all belong to the Indo-European group of languages, and hence some of these similarities were later found to be justifiable.

### **“A School of Muses, a Renowned Theatre of Virtue”**

The seventeenth-century Swedish monarchs and rulers who showed their interest in education were part of the national image making that demonstrated that the Swedish Empire was a great power in which new universities were founded and flourished. New educational institutions were, however, mostly needed to educate Protestant ministers and to meet an increased demand for government employees. Hence, new Swedish universities fulfilled practical and economic rather than humanistic or cultural needs. The civilised image of a nation was, however, confirmed by eulogising its higher educational institutions, focusing especially those that followed ancient and venerable traditions.

In 1625, a Greek oration (382 eleg) was delivered in honour of the University of Uppsala and its professors entitled ΕΥΚΑΗΠΙΣΤΙΚΟΝ (A Speech of Good Fortune) by student Laurentius Fornelius a year after he had enrolled in the university. It was a practice speech, as Fornelius mentions in his dedication (*hoc Graec. Ling. Exercitium*), rather than a panegyric speech for a certain festivity at the university. Fornelius does not dwell on details of academic life but uses generic classical imagery (the Muses, the sacred spring of Castalia) including a eulogy to King Gustavus Adolphus (vv. 193–236) praising him for his adherence to the correct (i.e., Protestant) creed. As its title suggests, the speech congratulates Uppsala – referred to as a country (χώρα) – for its good fortune (v. 145, see also v. 156). It was the first Greek oration delivered at the University of Uppsala and its length, good Greek typeface and decorated frames on every page announce the notion that the Greek Muses did indeed dwell in Sweden.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>201</sup> In 1847, lexicographer Émile Littré translated the first song of the *Iliad* into reconstituted old French as a testimony of the kinship of the language of Homer and old French. Trapp 1990, 14.

<sup>202</sup> Fornelius 1625. On this oration, see Floderus 1785–1789, 15–20, who criticises its repetitions and, for example, χαρίεις as a fitting epithet only for God. Fornelius (1606–1673) also studied in Germany and Holland and became Professor of Poetics, then of Theology, at the University of Uppsala. He wrote the first textbook on poetics, *Poetica tripartita*, in Sweden in 1643. SBL s.v. and Fant 1775–1786 I, 65–66. On Fornelius’ other Greek production, see the HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi).

Many speeches and poems in Latin were written for the inauguration of the Royal Academy of Turku in June 1640. A Sweden-born student, Jonas Jonae Salemannus, composed a Latin poem, which is partly a dialogue between *Viator* and *Fama*. It announces that *Finnica tellus* can now be counted as among the world's civilised countries. The publication, printed in Stockholm, also contains a Greek poem (20 hex.), a *votum*, which is addressed to Isaacus Rothovius, Bishop of Turku and the first Vice-Chancellor of the new university. The Greek *votum* expresses gratitude to God for establishing schools and universities, stating that there are many educational institutions "in our country" (i.e., the Swedish Empire) which stand out favourably from the universities in other countries. Salemannus also applauds Queen Christina and other authorities for their "patriotic care" (πατρικὴ φροντίς, 9–11) of their subjects because they have fostered the liberal arts.<sup>203</sup> Although Salemannus was not a student at Turku, he was present at the festivities, which is expressed on the title page as *conditum a Jona Jonae Salemanno, solennitatis dictae αὐτόπτη*.<sup>204</sup> Concluding a Latin poem with a Greek *votum* confirmed the fact that the new-founded university in Turku promoted Greek Humanism.

Some cities were called the new Rome, some the new Athens, like, for instance, Florence, Milan, Coimbra and Wittenberg.<sup>205</sup> Turku was referred to as "our Athens" (*in nostris [...] Athenis*) in a congratulatory poem for a degree conferment ceremony in 1682, Ἀθηνῶν τῆς Φινλανδίας in a Greek dedication by Simon Paulinus in 1688, and as the Athens beside the River Aura (Ἀθῆναι Αὐραϊκάι) in a Greek dedication (13 hex) by A.A. Stiernman in 1719.<sup>206</sup> Athens did not merely evoke only the classical, 'pagan' city, but theological excellence and erudition in general. Ingemund Bröms, Lector of Greek at the Gymnasium in Strängnäs, and later, Professor of Theology at

<sup>203</sup> Mel. 172. The rest of the poem praises Rothovius' work as the founder of "this Academy". On account of Rothovius' great efforts, concludes Salemannus, Rothovius was appointed the first vice-chancellor (ἀρχιγραμματεῖς pro ἀρχιγραμματεὺς). At the very end, Rothovius is addressed directly.

<sup>204</sup> Salemannus might be the same person as Jonas Jonae Salanus (1622–1652), who had delivered a Greek oration in verse (210 hex) on the liberal arts in December of the previous year (1639), which was his first year at the University of Uppsala. Salanus' brother, Nicolaus, also delivered a Greek verse oration in December 1639. Both orations were printed in 1640. Korhonen 2004, 460. On the identification of Salemannus and Salanus, see SKB Register.

<sup>205</sup> Burke 1992, 128–129.

<sup>206</sup> Stiernman 1719, )( 2, lines 6–7. The addressee of the dedication (13 hex) was Johan (Paulinus) Lillienstedt. For Turku as Athens of the North, see also SKB 206 and Vall. 2751.

Turku (1711–1717), wrote biographies of theologians at Turku and named the work *Athenae Aboense*.<sup>207</sup>

Eulogising one's university by equating it with Rome or Athens could be done more indirectly. At Turku, Jacobus Rungius wrote a Greek congratulation (25 ll.) to his brother Johannes, who defended *pro exercitio* on the origin of rivers and springs in 1686.<sup>208</sup> Rungius uses a quite extraordinary Greek image (in the context of the Turku Greek Corpus), namely the *locus amoenus* in Plato's *Phaedrus* (229a–230b), although Rungius does not use Plato's exact wordings.<sup>209</sup> While Rungius' Greek is awkward, the picture is charming.<sup>210</sup> The text in its entirety is as follows:

Πρὸς ἄνδρα νεανίσκον, κράτιστον καὶ σπουδαιότατον  
 Κυρ. ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ ΡΟΥΝΓΙΟΝ,  
 περὶ πηγῶν καὶ θαυμάτων ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἀνειμένως  
 διαλεγόμενον, ἀδελφόν μου ἀγαπητόν·

Ἐπαινον ἐδίδου μέγιστον δῆμος ὁ Ῥωμαϊκὸς αὐτοῖς, οἱ ζῶόν τι ἄγνωστον καὶ ξένον, ἐλέφαντα νόμιον ἢ στρουθὸν ἐνάλιον πρῶτοι ἐκεῖνοις ἀπέδειξαν· Ἀλλὰ καὶ καλῶς αὐτοῖς συμβεβηκέναι οἶμαι, ὃς ὁ πάντων σοφώτερος καὶ πασῶν ἀρετῶν ἰσχυροτέρων ἔμψυχος [5] ὑπογραμμὸς Σωκράτης εἰς τὸ κατάλυμα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ξενίαν, δένδρον κομψὸν καὶ λαμυρόν, εὐρυχώροις καὶ εὖ χλωρίζουσι κλάδοις πεπλατυμένον, προπέμπειν ἡξίου· Ἐντεῦθεν γάρ, ἀπαλῶ ψύχει, ἥπιος αὖρα αὐτὸ ἐλίκμησε· Κρήνη ἢ ἀργυρέα Ἰλισσὸς γλυκερωτέρα κατέρρεζεν· Ἐκεῖθεν αἱ τῶν Μουσῶν ψάλτριαι [10] καὶ κιθαρισταί, φωνὴ τέττιγες ἀλαλαζούση καὶ εὐφροني ἐξήχοντο πανταχόθεν· ἀνὰ μέσον ὧν, οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ ζηλωτὴς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀντεραστής, τὸ τῆς σοφίας θείας μέλι καὶ τὰ τοῦ στέρνου ἱεροῦ κρυπτά, τοῦτο τὸ ἀλωπέκιον Ἀττικὸν ἐξέχευ· Νῦν δὲ μεγάλοις ὑποδείγμασιν, ἐὰν χρᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ πράγματι ἐξέσται, [15] μῦθους μὲν ἀπορούμεθα, ὅτι οὐκ αἰνέσουσί σε, ἀδελφὲ ἀγαπητέ, πεπαιδευμένοι ἅπαντες, ὅταν ἐν ταύταις ἤθελες σπουδαῖς τὸν θυμὸν σου ἀσκήσαι, αἱ ὁδὸν πρὸς τὴν στερεὰν διδαχὴν στοροῦσι τὴν εὐθεΐαν· τὰς γὰρ

<sup>207</sup> Stiernman 1719, 160. The work was never published.

<sup>208</sup> Vall. 28. *De fontium origine et miraculis*, supervised and written by Professor Daniel Achrelius.

<sup>209</sup> Pl. *Phaedr.* 229a8: Ὅρᾱς οὖν ἐκείνην τὴν ὑψηλοτάτην πλάτανον, cfr. Rungius: δένδρον κομψὸν καὶ λαμυρόν (ll. 5–6); *Phaedr.* 229b1–2: Ἐκεῖ σκιά τ' ἐστὶν καὶ πνεῦμα μέτριον, καὶ πόα καθίζεσθαι ἢ ἂν βουλόμεθα κατακλινῆναι, Rungius: ἥπιος αὖρα (l. 8); *Phaedr.* 229b7: Ἄρ' οὖν ἐνθένδε; χαρίεντα γοῦν καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ διαφανῆ τὰ ὑδάτια φαίνεται, Rungius: Κρήνη ἢ ἀργυρέα Ἰλισσὸς γλυκυροτέρα κατέρρεζεν. Cicadas, see Pl. *Phaedr.* 230c2–3.

<sup>210</sup> Rungius (d. 1721) inherited his father's office as Vicar of Loimijoki (modern Loimaa, south-western Finland). This is his only Greek contribution. His brother Johannes, the addressee of this congratulation, also wrote only one Greek text (Vall. 69).

καλλίστας τῶν πηγῶν χοροστασίας, ἐκεῖνα τῆς φύσεως βρέφη, τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν  
 δυναμέων θαύματα, [20] προσφιλέας ἐνεργείας ἐξαιρέτως ἐξετίθου· Τοῦτο  
 ἄρα ἐστὶν, ὃ Πλούταρχος λέγει· τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ πράξις αὐτοῦ κοσμεῖ, τὸν  
 ἀκρὸν τὰ κρίνα, τὸν ἀνδριάντα μὲν τὸ σχῆμα, τὰ πετεινὰ τὰ πτερὰ ἑαυτῶν·  
 οὕτως αὕτη ἡ συζήτησις τὸ κόμβωμά σου, λαμπρότης καὶ αὐγασμὰ ἐστίν·  
 Νῦν οὖν ὑπάγων ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἐπιστημῶν θρόνῳ, [25] Μουσῶν φυτευτηρίῳ  
 καὶ εὐδοκίμῳ τῶν ἀρετῶν θεάτρῳ ἀνδρίζου.

Johannes Rungius

**Crit.** 2 νόμισον ed. 4 ἔμψυκος ed. 9 γλυκυροτέρῳ ed. 10 ἐξήχοντο forma activa ex  
 analogia usus 13 ἄλωπῆκιον ed. 14 χρᾶσται ed. | ἐξέσσηται ed.

To the able and diligent young man, Mr. Johannes Rungius, who defends accurately and forthrightly a dissertation on springs and wonders, to my dear brother. // The Romans greatly valued those who first showed them some unknown and strange animal, like the elephant on land or flounder in the sea. But in my view, those were also lucky whom [5] Socrates, the wisest and a symbol of greatest virtues, valued as company to his place of visit and sojourn; There the beautiful, amazing, wide-ranging and green tree stirred by the soft breath of a gentle breeze. There the silvery Ilissus river bubbled its sweet water. There, the Muses' harpists and [10] lyre-players, cicadas, resounded strongly and gladly from all places. Socrates was among all this, although he was not a defender or lover of them;<sup>211</sup> and this little fox of Attica poured the honey of his divine wisdom and the mysteries of his divine mind. But now, if it is possible to use great examples in the same kind of situation, we [15] barely suspect that all civilised persons praise you, dear brother, when you wanted to occupy your mind with these kinds of studies, which will pave a direct road towards firm knowledge. You excellently present the beautiful choirs of springs, this offspring of nature, these miracles of nature, [20] these friendly forces. Plutarch said: "Action will beautify man, lilies the field, decoration sculpture, feathers birds." In the same way this thesis of yours is your decoration, your brilliance, your glory. Therefore, you come to manhood when you leave this throne of science, this school of Muses, this renown theatre of virtues. // Jacobus Rungius

On the one hand, the function of the *locus amoenus* by the Ilissus River obviously denotes the subject of the dissertation (although Ilissus is not mentioned among its rivers), but the picture of Socrates' resting-place beside the river also refers to the Royal Academy of Turku situated by the river *Aura* (cf. l. 8 αὔρα 'breeze'); on the other it pertains to the Royal Academy as a school for the study of humanities. Rungius ends with praising phrases of the university ("throne of science", "school of the Muses", "renowned theatre of virtues"), which remind one of – but do

<sup>211</sup> Cfr. Pl. *Phaedr.* 230d3. Socrates says that trees and countryside cannot teach him anything.



not imitate – those which Johannes Caselius used in his eulogy to the ideal university.<sup>212</sup>

Four maxims, which Rungius quotes – τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ πράξις αὐτοῦ κοσμεῖ, τὸν ἀκρὸν τὰ κρίνα, τὸν ἀνδριάντα μὲν τὸ σχῆμα, τὰ πετεινὰ τὰ περὰ ἑαυτῶν (ll. 21–23) – are not from Plutarch, as he claims. Two of them are from a Pythagorean collection, which was attributed to the second-century Pythagorean Demophilus, who was alleged to have collected the maxims of the Cynic philosopher Demonax.<sup>213</sup> One of the conspicuous devices to reveal oneself as a philhellenist, a lover of and expert in Greek literature, was to write in Greek but also to quote and paraphrase Greek authors – not only in composed Latin poems and texts in prose but also in one's Greek production. Some examples of quotes and paraphrases are presented in the next chapter.

### 3.5. Citations and Paraphrases in Greek Texts

Philhellenism was manifested in the active use of Greek not only in more or less officially academic contexts (such as congratulatory Greek poems) but also in more private settings, as in the *Album Amicorum* in which students visiting foreign universities collected verses from fellow students and professors, including those in Greek. The tradition to keep these “Books of Friends”, *Stammbücher*, was initiated at sixteenth-century German universities. Greek entries are usually quotations, seldom original Greek verses. However, sometimes the quote is inserted in a self-made Greek prose text, like the entry dated August 1559 by Olaus Magnus Suecus, a Swedish student in Wittenberg. He framed his quote from Hesiod (*Op.* 293) with a few Greek words of his own; he also translated his inscription into Latin.<sup>214</sup> Most of the Greek quotes by Nordic scholars seem to be taken from the New Testament, like the quote from the *Acts of Apostles* (14:22), which a Finn, Matthias Marci, inscribed in his Swedish fellow student's *Album*

<sup>212</sup> See above Chapter 2.1.

<sup>213</sup> Demophilus (124 Elter): Ἀνδριάντα μὲν τὸ σχῆμα, ἄνδρα δὲ ἢ πράξις κοσμεῖ. Elter's edition of Demophilus (1905) contains Demonax' fragments too. Bishop of Skara, Haquin Spegel, published Demophilus' *sententiae* among other maxims for benefitting the teaching of Skara gymnasium. The collection was titled Λέξεις ῥηταί (Skara 1685).

<sup>214</sup> Lambertus Callenius' Stammbuch, 238v. It is deposited in the Rostocker Bibliothek des Diakons Marienkirche. Signum MWII 163;11: imm. 1569. Sometimes an original poem in Latin could be quite elaborate, with manneristic devices, anagrams and acrostics. Many contain drawings which sometimes reached the level of visual artistry.

in Rostock,<sup>215</sup> whereas Professor David Chytraeus quoted Plato, without locus, in the same *Album*.<sup>216</sup> In Turku, two professors wrote a “non-Christian” Greek quote to visiting students’ *Alba*. Professor Michael Wexionius (Gyldenstolpe) quoted the line *πᾶρ [pro pân] προσδωκᾶν δεῖ ἄνθρωπον ὄντα* (A human being must expect everything) to Andreas Frisius, a visiting student, on 19 August 1658.<sup>217</sup> It is a modified sentence from Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, which occurs in a slightly different form in a comedy fragment by Menander.<sup>218</sup> Ericus Falander, for his part, quoted *Ad Demonicum* (19), mentioning the work but not the author in Andreas Pilarik’s *Album* of on 18 December 1674.<sup>219</sup> The passage is quite an apt quotation for a visiting student: it advises not hesitating to travel a long way to meet those who claim to offer useful information as it would be a great shame if merchants sail vast seas but young men do not undergo journeys by land. Samuel Alanus used the same passage (a comparison of diligent merchants *vs* lazy students) from *Ad Demonicum* in his Greek congratulation (23 ll.) for the degree conferment ceremony of 1679 in Turku.<sup>220</sup>

In general, citations indicate by some means or other that something has been quoted. The reader does not need to know the quoted text beforehand, as is the case with imitations when they are meant to be noticed. Usually, the source of the quote is mentioned more or less specifically – sometimes only the author or the title, sometimes both – either fully or in abbreviated form. Obviously, the source of the quote is seldom fully given in occasional texts, poems and prose, but it is surprisingly often expressed inadequately in early modern academic treatises as well, as in dissertations of this period.

<sup>215</sup> Nuorteva 1983, 30–31. Nuorteva 1997, 268 (picture of Matthias Marci’s inscription). Matthias Marci probably later taught elementary Greek in Rostock (see above Chapter 2.2). Nuorteva (1983) mentions eleven Greek entries, some of them are made by Finnish students in foreign universities and others by foreign students at Turku.

<sup>216</sup> Pl. *Prot.* 322c3 (also translated into Latin) in Daniel Rindfleisch’s *Album Amicorum* in 1600 (p. 42r). Mss. Meckl. P60. However, quotes from the New Testament in German *Stammbücher*, see Ludwig 2012, 127–159.

<sup>217</sup> Frisius’ *Album amicorum* is deposited in the Wolfenbüttel Landarchiv (signum Hs. VI.G. 13 Nr. 20).

<sup>218</sup> Xen. *Anab.* 7.6.11 (also Stob. 4.46.25), Men. *Andro.* 4.2. By later writers: Theodoretus *Epist.* 103.8, Arsenius *Apophth.* 2.52a.

<sup>219</sup> Pilarik’s *Album amicorum* is deposited in the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. I thank Ivona Kóllárová for the picture of Falander’s inscription, and Jürgen Meyer and Janika Páll for informing me of its existence.

<sup>220</sup> Mel. 738. Korhonen 2004, 265–256. In 1671, Falander published a school edition of Isocrates’ speeches, including *Ad Demonicum*. SKB 1999.

Paraphrase for its part can be considered an interpretative citation: the quoted text is alluded to by paraphrasing the author's own words, which clearly changes the original text to some extent.<sup>221</sup> Poetry paraphrases converting prose into poetry was one type of elementary writing exercise. Quotes from Roman authors were translated into Greek in Humanist Greek occasional texts, so they are not quotes *stricto sensu* but paraphrases. Translation practices were also more flexible than nowadays: translators could paraphrase, condense and expand the original work for the sake of clarity and readability<sup>222</sup> – as though making reader-friendly translations or adaptations. Both quotes and paraphrase can enrich text and they can also reinforce an argument. Quotes are one of the devices of *captatio benevolentiae* at the beginning of a text.

Of the approximately 400 texts that constitute the Turku Greek Corpus, only ten authors are named either in quotes or in paraphrases, of which some are, however, pseudo-quotes or pseudo-paraphrases. Authors who are named are Homer, Phocylides (in most cases: Ps.-Phocylides), Pythagoras, Democritus, Isocrates (mostly *To Demonicus*), Menander (*Sententiae*), Aristotle, Cicero, Epictet and Plutarch (mainly the Ps.-Plutarchean *On Education of Children*). Of these three, Homer, Democritus, and Aristotle are also paraphrased. An author's work is actually mentioned only twice: Isocrates' *To Demonicus* and Cicero's *Tusculum disputations*. In one case, a contemporary author, writing obviously in Latin, is paraphrased, namely ὁ Σκαλίγερος.<sup>223</sup> Furthermore, in some cases quotes may be without the author's name, but then it could be otherwise indicated by various typographical devices that it is a quote, such as by indentation. Besides the named authors, there are quotations or paraphrases from "sayings", "some singer", "a poet", "poets", "some wise man", "some from the top of education" (ἄκρος τῆς παιδείας), "some ancient wise man" and "ancient wise men", and "the Greeks".

<sup>221</sup> On different kinds of paraphrases, see Lausberg 1990, 530–531 (§§ 1099–1103).

<sup>222</sup> Thompson (1939, 878) on Erasmus' method of translating Lucian.

<sup>223</sup> Isocr. *Ad Dem.* 18 (Vall. 997) and Cic. *Tusc.* 5.6.18 (Vall. 998); Scaliger: Vall. 968 (1676). The quote of Scaliger states that studying without dialectic is a mistake. Thus the surname refers to Julius Caesar Scaliger, who stresses the importance of dialectic in his poetics, cf. Scaliger 1561, 1.2.3b (l. 74 Deitz): *Et sane dialectica scientia est communis omnibus generibus argumentandi*.

## Citations<sup>224</sup>

Students and scholars writing in Greek at Turku quoted ancient authors especially during the 1670s and 1680s in their Greek texts. Their quotes were generally taken from works that were part of the elementary Greek instruction in Central Europe. These editions were also published in Turku as two collections, namely (a) pseudo-Plutarchean *Education of Children* and four orations by Isocrates (1671), and (b) Gezelius' *Poëmata* (1676), which contained poems by Ps.-Phocylides, Theognis and Ps.-Pythagorean *Golden Verses*. Plutarch's name is mentioned six times, which means that he is the most quoted author, although most of the quotes are from the *Education of Children*.

Pindar is quoted twice (*Pyth.* 8.95 and *Pyth.* 4.278) in two occasional texts in prose without mentioning his name. Instead, reference is made to "the Greeks", or the anonymous phrase "rightly he said who said that" precedes the quotation. Both Pindar quotes are by professors of Greek and Hebrew, Simon Paulinus and Ericus Falander, respectively. Were these professors ignorant of the fact that they are quoting Pindar or was the source self-evident? Falander's quote is the famous characterisation of humans as a "dream of shadows" (*Pyth.* 4.278), which was well-known already in the early modern period. These two professors could also have found the Pindar passages from gnomologies.<sup>225</sup>

There are cases in which a writer wrongly names the author whom he is supposedly quoting. A Sweden-born student, Petrus Colliander, for instance, indicated that he was quoting Homer in his congratulatory prose (21 ll.) for an installation in 1681 (ll. 16–17):

ὁρθῶς ἀπέκριται [*pro* ἀποκέκριται] Ὅμηρος· Θεοῦ δῶρον ἔστι εὐτυχεῖν  
βροτούς, μηδαμῶς δὲ τῆς συγκυρίας καὶ τύχης, αἵτινες οὐδὲν εἰσί.

Homer rightly answered: A gift from the gods is fortunate to mortals, but a gift of fate and chance never, such gifts are nothing.

<sup>224</sup> For the list of citations and paraphrases in the Turku Greek Corpus, see Korhonen 2004, 468–469. Some of the quotes I was able to recognise only later (with the help of the TLG Database), so they are not included in the list.

<sup>225</sup> Simon Paulinus: congratulation for an inauguration in 1676 (Mel. 667), Falander: a funerary text in 1680 (Mel. 831).

Although the ‘gifts of gods’ is a well-known motif in Homer, the first part of the quote is from Aeschylus and it can also be attributed to Menander.<sup>226</sup> The latter part, the notion that the gifts of fate are worth nothing, occurs in Stobaeus’ anthology.<sup>227</sup> Colliander also quotes the proverb “small evil, great benefit” twice, in the beginning and in the middle of his text. First, he mentions that it is a proverb (Μικρὸν κακὸν, μέγα ἀγαθὸν παροιμιώδης λόγος γέγονε), and later he quotes it without any framing (l. 14).<sup>228</sup> Κακὸς refers in this context to the labours of academic life, which Colliander sees as “small” when compared with the merits.<sup>229</sup>

Student Christophorus Alanus indicates the quote by indentation at the beginning of his congratulation (30 lines) for a dissertation in 1685:

Τὴν εὖνοιαν ὑποβολιμαίαν καὶ παρέγγραπτον  
 ἐχόντων καθάπτεται ὁ ποιητής·  
     ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πύλησιν,  
     ὅς χ’ ἔτερον μὲν ἥπεύθει† ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ βάζει.  
 οὐκ ἀκόμμως μέντοι τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἀστείως

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2 κατάπτεται ed.

The poet attacks – very skilfully and very cleverly – those whose benevolence is false and forced: “For hateful in my eyes, even as the gates of Hades, is that man that learns one thing in his mind and utters another”.

Homer’s name is not mentioned and the famous lines (*Il.* 9.312–313) are slightly modified.<sup>230</sup> A few years later, in 1686, another student, who was also born in

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<sup>226</sup> Mel. 875. Cfr. Hom. *Il.* 3.64–66 and *Il.* 20.265, cf. also Thgn. 1. 1033–1036. Aesch. *Sept.* 625: Θεοῦ δῶρον ἐστὶ εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς, Men. *Sent.* 351. The addressee was Andreas Wanochius, Professor of History and Politics at Turku.

<sup>227</sup> Stob. 2.8.48.9–10: Μάτην ἄρα αἱ τύχαι καὶ τὰ ἄνισα δῶρα τῆς τύχης. Josephus and many others after him compare the gift of fate (δῶρον τύχης) to the gift of virtue, favouring the latter (Joseph. *De bello* 7.72).

<sup>228</sup> Μικρὸν κακόν, μέγα ἀγαθόν, see Diogenianus 62, Mazarinco.

<sup>229</sup> In 1655, Olaus Bergius attributed the sentence Μηδεὶς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσὶτω (Let no one ignorant of geometry enter) to Pythagoras, although this or a sentence of that kind was reported to be an inscription at the entrance of Plato’s philosophical school. Bergius adapted the sentence to his congratulatory poem (6 hex) for a dissertation by changing the word order: Εἰσὶθω [!] μηδεὶς ἀγαιομέτρητος [!]. Vall. 2072.

<sup>230</sup> Vall. 3828, Hom. *Il.* 9.312–313: ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πύλησιν / ὅς χ’ ἔτερον μὲν κεύθη ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἶπη. Line 1: κατάπτεται: the verb is not to be found in ancient and Byzantine corpora; it can be interpreted as Ionic form (κατά + ἄπτομαι).

Sweden, Magnus Sylvius, quotes Homer (*Il.* 2.298) in his prose congratulation (19 ll.) for dissertation without mentioning the author, attributing the line to “an ancient poet”. Sylvius put the quote as a separate line at the beginning of his text.<sup>231</sup> In both cases, we may ask was it self-evident for the writer and his audience that referring to “the poet” or “an ancient poet” is a reference to Homer in the same way as “the philosopher” meant Aristotle?<sup>232</sup>

Next year, in 1689, Christophorus Alanus quotes Ps.-Phocylides’ verse in his congratulation for an installation (20 eleg): Τὴν Σοφίαν Σοφὸς ἰθύνει, τέχνας δ’ ὁμότεχνος / ὥς τε γράφων φανερώς Φωκυλίδης ἐλάλει (A wise man guides wisdom, a craftsman craftsmanship, / as Phocylides stated, writing clearly).<sup>233</sup> As in the case of Falander’s quote from Pindar (“rightly”) and Colliander’s Homer quotation (“skilfully and amusingly”), here too the author or his words are in some way distinguished by the reference to “writing clearly”. Student Ericus Cajanus also quotes Ps.-Phocylides in his funerary poem (22 eleg) to his relative, Vicar Johannes Cajanus in 1706, but in an undefined way, the name of the author is not mentioned:<sup>234</sup>

Ἦστι βίῳ πᾶν ἔργον, ἐπὶ μὲν μοχθεῖν ἐθέλησθα, 1  
 νοητικὸν δουπεῖ Μάντιος ὥσπερ ἔπος.  
 οὐδὲν καὶ πέλει ἀνδρὶ ἄνευ κάματ’ εὐπετέες ἔργον,  
 μελλήσει μοχθεῖν, εἰ τ’ ἀνύβριστος ἔη.

1 Ps.-Phoc. 159: ἔστι βίῳ πᾶν ἔργον, ἐπὶ μὲν μοχθεῖν ἐθέλησθα. 3 Ps.-Phoc. 162: οὐδὲν ἄνευ καμάτου πέλει ἀνδράσιν εὐπετέες ἔργον

All life is work when you are willing to toil, as Prophet’s wise words aptly express. No good work happens without toil among humans, so you will be weary if you are a decent man.

<sup>231</sup> Vall. 4013. Sylvius’ quote is actually in the form αἰσχρὸν τοι θηρόντε μένειν κενεόντε νέεσται. The word θηρόν (pro δηρόν) is probably a printer’s mistake.

<sup>232</sup> The first school edition of Homer, containing the first Rhapsody, was published in Turku only at the beginning of the 1690s. SKB 1922.

<sup>233</sup> Mel. 1148, lines 11–12.

<sup>234</sup> Mel. 1791. Cajanus also imitates Theognis, see Korhonen 2004, 216. Cajanus’ Greek poem (22 eleg) is followed by a Latin poem titled *Epitaphium* (6 eleg). There were three men named Ericus Cajanus active in this time. The writer of this poem was Ericus Erii Cajanus (1675–1737), later vicar of Kruunupyy (western Finland). The other Ericus Erii Cajanus (d. 1712) was his father and Ericus Johannis Cajanus (1658–1723), Johannes Cajanus’ son, was his uncle.

Cajanus thus begins with a quote from Ps.-Phocylides, only indicating that it is a quotation by his use of the expression “Prophet’s wise words”. However, on the third line, Cajanus also quotes Ps.-Phocylides *verbatim*, but there is no suggestion that it is a quote. Cajanus also uses Ps.-Phocylides’ verse (42) later in his poem (v. 15), albeit in a somewhat modified fashion.<sup>235</sup> Again, there is no reference to the fact that he is quoting or using other author’s line. The first line is thus a quote, and the third and the 15th lines of Cajanus’ poem are to be interpreted as imitations.

We have the same kind of case – first a quote or quotes then “silent” quotes, that is, imitations – in Isaacus Pihlman’s congratulation (30 eleg) for a dissertation in 1681. Student Pihlman indicates that he is quoting Theognis by using majuscules:<sup>236</sup>

Κἄν εἰ φαύλων γλῶσσα ἀεὶ φιλοκέρτομος εἴη, 7  
 ΜΑΛΘΑΚΑ ΚΩΤΙΛΛΩΝ ΕΞΑΠΑΤΑΝ ΕΘΕΛΩΝ  
 κείνος ὅμως μ’ ἄδαῃς, γνώμην ἔχει ἔμπεδον αἰεῖ.

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**Crit. 8** ΚΩΤΥΛΛΩΝ ed. 9 ἔκπεδον ed. **Sim. 8** Thgn. 1.852 9 Thgn. 1.319: γνώμην ἔχει ἔμπεδον αἰεῖ

Moreover, if a moron’s language would always indeed love mockery, /  
 WANTING TO DECEIVE BY TALKING SOFTLY, / such a man is, in my  
 opinion, also ignorant who always has an unchanging mind.

However, also the end of the third line is a direct quote of Theognis but the context is different. Theognis postulates that a good man (ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ) has a judgement that is ever secure (has a steadfast mind in a positive sense). Pihlman marks another Theognis quotation with majuscules in the middle of his poem (ΜΗΓΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΚΡΗΤΗΡΣΙ ΛΟΓΟΙΣΙ ΕΜΗΝ ΦΡΕΝΑ ΤΕΡΠΕΙΣ, v. 15), which is, in fact, a modified quote of Theognis too (1.981). Later he only imitates Theognis, using the poet’s lines and phrases several times without indicating

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<sup>235</sup> Ps.-Phoc. 42: Ἡ φιλοχρημοσύνη μήτηρ κακότητος ἀπάσης. Cajanus modifies the Ps.-Phocylides’ line in quite an incomprehensible way: Ἡ φιλοχρημοσύνη κακότητος ἐπειδ’ ἔνι μήτηρ (v.15). Martinus Peitzius quotes the same line, mentioning Phocylides as his source in his congratulation for a dissertation in 1737. Peitzius uses the line to characterise Catholic priests. Vall. 3482.

<sup>236</sup> Vall. 986. Transliterated Greek was often written in majuscules before the Turku University press got its first Greek typefaces, see above Chapter 2.3 (“Printing Greek and the Inspection Process”).

that he is quoting.<sup>237</sup> Pihlman (1650–1707) was at the final stage of his studies when he wrote this poem (30 eleg), his only Greek contribution. However, was he aspiring for the professorship of Greek and Hebrew, after Ericus Falander (1671–1682), with this long poem? In 1682, a year after this congratulation for a dissertation, he was appointed vice-principal at the Turku Cathedral School. He only received the Chair of Greek and Hebrew much later (1698–1704), and he did not prove to be a very successful Greek instructor.<sup>238</sup>

Also finishing his studies was Arvidus Reuther who quoted Epictetus, a rare author to quote in the Turku Greek Corpus, in his prose congratulation for a dissertation (13 ll.) in 1679:<sup>239</sup>

καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ [*sc.* κόσμῳ] θαυμαστὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν πάντων Κτιστοῦ νουνεχῶς πεποιημένα ἀκριβῶς ἐρευνῶσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις θαυμάζουσιν. [5] Αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ὁδὸς πρὸς τὸ τὴν ὕψιστον θεὸν ἐπίγνωσιν, καὶ τὸ <ν> εἰς αὐτοῦ ὕμνον ὁμοῦ σὺν Ἐπικτήτῳ καθαρίζειν· εἰ ἤμην ἀηδὼν, ἐποίουν <ἄν> τὰ τῆς ἀηδόνης, εἰ κύκνος, τὰ τοῦ κύκνου. Νῦν δὲ λογικὸς εἰμί, ὕμνεῖν διαλείπτως με δεῖ τὸν θεόν, τοῦτό μου ἔργον ἔστι.

**20** Arr. *Epict. Diss.* 1.16.20–2: εἰ γοῦν ἀηδὼν ἤμην, ἐποίουν τὰ τῆς ἀηδόνης, εἰ κύκνος, τὰ τοῦ κύκνου. νῦν δὲ λογικὸς εἰμί· ὕμνεῖν με δεῖ τὸν θεόν. τοῦτό μου τὸ ἔργον ἐστίν

And they carefully study and marvel at all the wonderful things in the world, which are wisely created by the Creator of all. [5] This is indeed a way to know the highest God and to play a hymn to him on cithara with Epictetus: “If then I was a nightingale, I would play the part of a nightingale. If I were a swan, I would act like a swan. But now I am a rational creature, and I ought to praise God. This is my work.”

<sup>237</sup> Thgn. 1.981: μηδὲ παρὰ κλητῆρι λόγοισιν ἐμὴν φρένα θέλγοις. Imitations of phrases: verses 1–2, cfr. Thgn. 1.241; verse 3, cfr. Thgn. 1.761; verse 4, cfr. Thgn. 1.532; verse 13, cfr. Thgn. 1.89; verse 15, and verse 23, cfr. Thgn. 1.421.

<sup>238</sup> In the above-mentioned meeting of the Consistorium in April 1709, it was revealed that Pihlman had given students’ Greek poems to another person to inspect, see above p. 83. However, Pihlman supervised dissertations on the Greek language of the *Septuagint* and on Greek loanwords in Latin (Vall. 2945 and Vall. 2949). Pihlman received several Greek congratulations during his career. In his congratulatory poem on Pihlman’s inauguration of the Chair of Greek and Hebrew, student Matthius Salinius praises Pihlman as πολύγλωσσος (v. 7). Mel. 1685.

<sup>239</sup> Vall. 5. The quote is from Epictetus’ essay “On Providence”.



The subject of the dissertation was the Moon and the planets Mars and Venus. It was the fifth of the serial dissertation *Contemplationum mundi* supervised by Daniel Achrelius against which accusations of Cartesianism had been raised in December 1678.<sup>240</sup> Reuther's declaration that studying celestial phenomena was a way of knowing God (ὁδὸς πρὸς τὸ τὴν ὕψιστον θεὸν ἐπιγνώσιν, l. 5), and that playing hymns to God on "cithara" (τὸ εἰς αὐτοῦ ὕμνον κιθαρίζειν, l. 6) is an appropriate way for a rational being to know God (the Epictetus' quote) would seem to confirm that astronomy was a religious subject, and that accusations against Achrelius' serial dissertation were unfitting. Reuther also quotes the saying χαλεπὰ τὰ κάλα, which was cited in five other Turku Greek congratulations.<sup>241</sup>

Citations at this time might also be mottoes or a text heading, but usually writers quoted directly or indirectly in the body of their texts. Ericus Falander quotes Plutarch four times in his Greek congratulations, confirming that "True is Plutarch's thought that [...]" or "[...] it is true what Plutarch says."<sup>242</sup> The quoted author or his words were usually commented on positively, as shown in the examples above. When a quote needed to be inserted into a text, it might sometimes cause slight alterations and adjustments. Falander twice quotes a maxim that occurs in the collection of the Pythagorean Demophilus. In the first case, Falander quotes only half of the maxim at the beginning of his congratulation for a dissertation to Magnus Steen in 1682, changing the place of the main verb (δεῖ) and the present infinitive to an aorist infinitive:

Πλεῖστον πρὸς τὴν διδασχὴν ἐπιδίδωσιν αἱ περὶ τὸ ποσὸν οὔσαι τέχνηαι καὶ ἐπιστήμαι, ὃ κατανοήσας εἰς ἄκρον τῆς παιδείας ἐλληλακῶς [3] τις, εἶπε, δεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς μαθήμασι κοσμήσαι.

3 Demophilus 34 (Elter) = Demonax 16 (Mullach): Τὰς μὲν πόλεις ἀναθήμασι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς μαθήμασι κοσμεῖν δεῖ

<sup>240</sup> See above Chapter 3.3 ("Image of Greek as a Conformist or Liberalising Subject"). Reuther owned the above-mentioned Greek medical manuscript, possibly a war booty, which Professor of Medicine, Elias Til-Landz bought from Reuther's death estate (see above p. 135 n74). Reuther wrote another Greek congratulation in 1678, but it is no longer extant (Vall. 741), and two Greek congratulations were written to him. He studied during 1665–1679, receiving several scholarships, and soon after graduation he was appointed a second Extraordinary Professor in 1680 and an assistant in Philosophy. However, he died two years later.

<sup>241</sup> Mel. 738, Vall. 882, Vall. 2183, Vall. 42, Vall. 1517.

<sup>242</sup> Vall. 40 and Vall. 979. Falander's other quotes of Plutarch can be found in Vall. 983 and Vall. 884. In the latter, Plutarch repeats Arcesilaus' statement on poverty (*apud* Stobaeus 4.32a.17); Plutarch's fragment 152 (Sandbach).

Arts and sciences dealing with the quantitative elements are most gratifying for instruction. This was known by some who had reached the top of education [3] and who said that souls had to be decorated by mathematics.

The subject of this dissertation was mathematics (*theoremata nonnulla mathematica*).<sup>243</sup> Falander states that mathematics was not only edifying to the soul, it was also necessary – albeit difficult. Falander ends with the wish that Apollo would decorate (κοσμήσαι) Steen’s head with a wreath – thus making an analogy between a soul decorated by mathematics and a student decorated by a magisterial wreath. Two years earlier, in 1679, Falander had used the same (but in this case, a full) maxim without modifications at the beginning of his congratulation (13 ll.), attributing the maxim to “some ancient wise man”. The subject of the dissertation was astronomy. Falander also paraphrased – i.e. translated – an excerpt from Cicero and mentions the work as well: τὴν γὰρ Γεωμετρίαν καὶ ἄλλα μέρη τῆς μαθήσεως τετιμηκέναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάρτυς ἐστὶ Κικέρων ἐν ζητήμασι Τουσκούλάτοις (Cicero proves in the *Tusculum disputations* that the Greeks have honoured geometry and all other parts of mathematics, ll. 5–7). Besides, in this congratulation Falander imitates Isocrates’ *To Demonicus* twice (ll. 9–10).<sup>244</sup>

This way of modifying a quote and inserting it into one’s own text can be considered part of learning to write an academic texts, also theses. Teachers could show how to do it by their own example. Sometimes alterations were cases of *interpretatio Christiana*, such as when the number is altered: e.g. gods are changed to God. When more alterations occur, it is not a quote but a paraphrase.

## Paraphrasing

Paraphrasing means reporting an author’s text by using one’s own words, which obviously causes some changes in the text, such as changes in tense or, if one paraphrases a poem in prose, naturally also the metre. Ancient *progymnasmata*,

<sup>243</sup> Vall. 999. Supervised by Johannes Flachsenius. Falander signed the congratulation as σχεδιαστὶ ἔγραψε *Ericus Falander*.

<sup>244</sup> Vall. 998. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.5: *In summo apud illos honore geometria fuit*; Isocr. *Ad Dem.* 9 and *Ad Dem.* 19. The dissertation (*De Hypothesisibus astronomicis*) supervised by Johannes Flachsenius was an unusually careful work. It contains pictures, a large number of Greek quotes and many professors wrote a congratulation to the respondent, Jonas Grimsteen, a son of a Swedish farmer. Falander’s Greek congratulation contains an elaborate heading in Greek and the text begins with a decorous initial vignette.

for example, included writing exercises where prose was versified and verses were changed into prose.

In 1690, student Jacobus Brask gives the impression that he is quoting Democritus at the beginning of his congratulation (20 eleg):

Εὐφραδέως γοῦν Δημόκριτος πρόπαλαι μετέειπεν. 1  
Ἀψεύδεια ὕφυγε κρουνὸν ἐς ἀντροχαρῇ.

A long time ago Democritus correctly said that truthfulness flees to a cave-haunting spring.

Besides the fact that Democritus wrote prose, Brask's vocabulary is un-Democritean. For instance, the word ἀντροχαρής, 'cave-haunting', occurs only in the *Orphic Hymns* (11.12, 51.5) to Pan and nymphs. Brask was congratulating Ericus Qwist, who disputed on *Gallionismus* (i.e. Gallicanism), a movement that originated in Catholic France (hence the name), which advocated the separation of church and polity.<sup>245</sup> Brask's Greek congratulation concentrates on describing darkness, which dominates "this doomed life" (vv. 4–5), obviously referring to Catholic lands, except at the end, where Brask briefly addresses Qwist, assuring him that he will bring honour to his country and his parents. If the "spring" (κρουνός) in the pseudo-quote of Democritus refers to logorrhea – that truth disappears in overflowing speech – then the quote could be a further development of Democritus' maxim: ἀληθομυθεῖν χρεῶν, οὐ πολυλογεῖν.<sup>246</sup> Brask's paraphrase is thus a poetic interpretation that offers the metaphor of words gushing from a talkative person's mouth like water flows from a cave. However, the paraphrase is then too distant from the original Democritean meaning.

Another example of paraphrasing is student Johannes Rivelius' prose congratulation (34 ll.) to Johannes Flachsenius, who was appointed Rector of the university in 1686 – for the fourth time as Rivelius mentions (l. 9–10). According to Rivelius, when virtuous persons are leaders, they restore polity, whereas those who violate justice cause "an *Iliad* of woes" (l. 14), thus using the phrase, κακῶν Ἰλιάς, familiar for instance in Demosthenes.<sup>247</sup> Flachsenius, for his part, is one who lives and works well. Rivelius then refers to Aristotle (ll. 15–17):

<sup>245</sup> Vall. 4205. Brask calls Qwist his ὁμόγενος in the signature. On Gallicanism, see, for instance, the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. (A. Degert).

<sup>246</sup> Democr. 225 (D-K) and Democr. fr 44 (D-K): ἀληθόμυθον χρῆ εἶναι, οὐ πολύλογον.

<sup>247</sup> Mel. 1012. Dem. 19.148.

Τοιοῦτόν Σε εἶναι αἰδεσιμώτατε κύριε Ἐπιστάτῃ, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἥσθηνται  
 κωρὶς [*pro χωρὶς*] ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀξίων, παρ' ὧν γνήσιος ἔπαινος ἔρχεται, ὥς  
 ἀποτίθησι γίνεσθαι ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης

Such are you, most respected leader, for a long time noticed besides men of  
 honour from whom the most genuine praise comes, as Aristotle puts it.

This reminds one of the passage in the *Rhetoric* where Aristotle speaks of the enjoyment of a good reputation and honour, especially when praise comes from people one believes to be trustworthy, and from sensible persons (*Rhet.* 1.1371a12). In this case, the writer's paraphrasing does not stray too far from the original, Aristotelian meaning.

Both quoting and paraphrasing canonised authors reinforces one's argumentation. Learning to write academic texts consists not only in being able to formulate one's own ideas but also learning the correct ways of quoting and paraphrasing, repeating an author's words truthfully, sinking them into one's own text or, in paraphrasis, presenting a writer's ideas in one's own word, as well as commenting on the quoted or paraphrased author. These practices could be slightly different at different times and from university to university. In short congratulatory texts, quoting and paraphrasing can be seen as a preliminary practice for writing an academic text. However, rather than announcing their source, writers in this period generally imitated but did not quote ancient authors verbatim. This practice and the concept behind it – one of the most important literary concepts of the early modern period – is the topic of the next Part.

## 4. Deconstructing Occasional Academic Texts

Humanist Greek poems and prose were part of the academic literature of their time. Active skills in Greek were concentrated in educational institutions, and knowledge of Greek was (and is) rare outside academia. Humanist Greek texts were written inside the academic environment by students and scholars – priests, vicars, and bishops with academic education included. In addition, the addressees were men who had received academic education but now worked, for instance, as government or military officials. Addressing wives or brides of academics in Greek was usually merely a rhetorical gesture without the presumption that these women knew Greek.<sup>1</sup>

Philipp Melanchthon made a note of academic writing in his presentation on speeches. He, like many others, added a fourth to the three Aristotelian genres of oration – deliberative or political (συμβουλευτικόν), juridical (δικανικόν), and epideictic (ἐπιδεικτικόν) speeches – namely, didactic speeches: *ego addendum censeo διδασκαλικὸν genus*.<sup>2</sup> In Turku, Professor of *eloquentia*, that is, rhetoric, Martinus Miltopaeus adopted this fourth genre (*genus didascalivum/didacticum/exegeticum*) in his book on oratory (1669), mentioning that many speeches were delivered in schools and universities. Miltopaeus gives Cicero's treatise *De natura deorum* and Aphthonius' speech on wisdom as examples of didactic orations and mentions that paraphrasing and narrative techniques were specific features of didactic speeches. Miltopaeus seems to include dissertations, not merely orations, under this genre.<sup>3</sup> The genre was created to answer the need to determine academic treatises.

Early modern academic literature can be plausibly analysed from the point of view of rhetoric, considered the basis of writing. Manuals of rhetoric taught how to compose texts and saw imitation (*imitatio*, μίμησις) as a way to develop and finally create and polish one's own style. Imitation created intertextual links and sophisticated readers were expected to trace and recognise subtexts and well-known phrases. Unlike the 19th century or modern concept of the *autopoetic* writer with his unique genius composing original artworks, authorship during the early modern period can be seen to be based on *collectiveness* or collective material

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<sup>1</sup> See above Chapter 2.3.

<sup>2</sup> Melanchthon 1532, A7v [p. 12]. Sjökvist 2012, 59. Sarasti-Wilenius 2000, 47.

<sup>3</sup> Miltopaeus 1669, 168–224. In Achrelius' view, however, this new orational genre was unnecessary. Sarasti-Wilenius 2000, 47.

due to imitation. The bee was the classical animal metaphor for imitation: a busy bee collects honey from many and varied flowers and worked for its community. Authors were not expected to use their own ideas or words but to imitate, borrowing words, phrases, and even half lines or lines from other authors – in the case of writing in classical languages, from canonised Graeco-Roman authors.

Rhetoric served to support not only writing but also analytical reading. If one has learnt how to compose texts according to rules and guides of rhetoric, one used the same methods in analysing texts. In addition to analytical readings of texts, pictures and musical structures were composed for the purpose of being “read”. As Nicolaus Harnoncourt has famously stated, Baroque music was narrative – it “spoke” to its attentive listeners, it was sounded speech, *Klangrede*.<sup>4</sup> At Turku, a dissertation on the use of music in rhetoric (1703) presided over by Christiernus Alander, Professor of Rhetoric, emphasised the interrelation of music and rhetoric.<sup>5</sup> Songs were made and performed in many kinds of festivities and occasional poems could also be set to music – some cases of musical notations accompanying the vernacular, Latin and even Greek poems have survived – or rather a reference to a well-known piece of music with which a poem is meant to be sung along.<sup>6</sup> Many literary products were written for oral presentation, which of course affected the style, for example increasing redundancy, saying the same thing in many words in order to help the listener perceive the meaning.<sup>7</sup> Textual, visual, and musical aspects completed each other. Visual arts, like emblems, included textual elements and texts were attached to portrait paintings as in Dürer’s portrait of Erasmus. Visual embellishments (decorations, vignettes)

<sup>4</sup> Harnoncourt 1982, 156–160, 178. J.S. Bach had read Quintilian, and memorial or funeral *pavans* in England and *musique tombeaux* in France were greatly influenced by literary models bearing the parts of exordium – expression of sorrow – acceleration to despair – consolation. On *pavans*, see Rooley 1990, 90.

<sup>5</sup> Vall. 131. The title is *Rhetor musicus, seu specimen academicum de vi & usu musices in Rhetorica*. See Sjökvist 2012, 290–291. Alander wrote a Greek congratulation (12 hex) to the respondent of the dissertation, Samuel Preutz (Pryss), who was an organist. Alander’s Greek poem is published in Pontani & Weise 2022, 771–773 (T. Korhonen); there is a picture of it in Korhonen 2004, 338.

<sup>6</sup> The title of a Greek poem (16 ia dimetre) by Swiss writer Johannes Lavater published in 1643 guides the reader to sing it according to the melody of Ps. 134, that is, according to some Psalter which was in use. Pontani & Weise 2022, 340–341 (J. Päll & M. Steinrück). A Swedish wedding song (*En kort Bröllop-Sång*, 36 lines), which Daniel Hagerus (1666–1712, later Hagert), a Finn, wrote to his compatriot Georgius Kijhl in Turku in 1690, is set to music composed by a Stockholm court composer. Mattson 2012, 11.

<sup>7</sup> Hansson 2008, 99. Compare the situation to the practice of our times, when novels are written with a movie or audio book in mind.

and typographical means (figure poems) emphasised the targeted message, and functioned as a sign of respect for or playfulness towards the receiver. Poetic *Spielerei*, such as *acrosticon*, *eteostichon*, and *anagramma* are examples of Baroque mannerisms.

From its beginning, the Royal Academy of Turku had a chair of rhetoric as one of the eleven professorships founded in 1640. The university statutes stipulated a *rhetor*, as a professorship was called, although the more general title was *professor eloquentiae*, to teach rhetoric on the basis of Cicero, Quintilian, and Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. According to the surviving lecture programmes the professors taught rhetoric largely on the basis of the two Roman authors. However, Professor Israel Nesselius announced that he would lecture on "rhetoric based on Aristotle's work" in 1708.<sup>8</sup> From the practical point of view, the professor's task was to teach students both to speak and write sufficiently well in the literary language of Latin. Writing instruction included structuring speeches according to the rules of rhetoric, stylistic exercises, and writing letters. Sometimes the professor also had to make dispositions for students' writing exercises in prose, such as letters and speeches.<sup>9</sup>

The chair for poetry at the Royal Academy of Turku only functioned during 1655–1747, which corresponds with the "Age of Humanism" as well as Humanist Greek production in Turku, and with the summit of occasional poetry in general. The diminishing number of occasional poems and prose was a general trend and the termination of the chair was its consequence. According to the statutes, the Professor of Poetry taught poetics in accordance with "Aristotle and Horace or some other well-known author" and scrutinised the poems written by students. Alongside classical poetics, contemporary poetics, like Jacobus Pontanus' textbook on poetics (1594), which was mentioned in the Uppsala university statutes, were used.<sup>10</sup>

Professors of rhetoric and poetry supervised dissertations on literary topics, gave lectures on their subjects and gave guidance in writing on the basis of classical rhetoric and poetics. In 1709, the issue of discussion in the Consistorium meeting at Turku was the then professor of Greek and Hebrew, Abraham Alanus, who was blamed for not having inspected Greek poems composed by students. This even raised doubts about his competence in Greek. Alanus defended himself

<sup>8</sup> *Praelectiones* 1708. In the same year, Professor of Poetics, Abraham Alanus, promised to lecture on Aristotle's *Poetics*.

<sup>9</sup> For the school ordinance of 1611, see Hanho 1947, 24–27, 215–218.

<sup>10</sup> Ström 2004, 118–119.

by stating that the teaching of the *ars conscribendi versus* belonged to the duties of the Professor of Poetry, regardless of the language. Other professors objected by pointing out that, according to the 1655 statutes, Greek poetry was included in the domain of Professor of Greek and Hebrew, as was “teaching to write both poetry and prose in Greek.”<sup>11</sup>

The function of Greek occasional texts was not explicitly to display one’s erudition (like in the case of orations and dissertations); however, all texts written in Greek also had the role to show their writer’s ability to write in Greek. In the following, the “deconstruction”<sup>12</sup> of occasional academic texts begins with pondering on literary (or rhetorical) imitation – its affinities with literary theft – and introducing the concept of a syllogistic way of writing. It is followed by a discussion on the terms *occasional* and *epideictic*, the latter being divided into praise and blame since Aristotle (Chapter 4.2). The most popular genre of Humanist Greek texts in the seventeenth century Swedish Kingdom, congratulatory texts for dissertations, is on focus in the next Chapter (4.3) followed by presenting types of headings and subscriptions as well as the beginnings and ends of occasional texts (4.4). The chapter ends with an overview of manneristic devices as well as plant and animal similes in the Nordic Greek Corpora, especially in the Turku Greek Corpus.

#### 4.1. From Rhetorical Imitation to Plagiarism

J.C. Scaliger dedicated the fifth book of his *Poetices libri VII* (1561) to imitation but mainly focused on how the great writers had imitated each other, such as Virgil’s imitations of Homer so that he became the best epic poet in Rome. In antiquity, traditional textbooks of writing – textbooks of rhetoric – emphasised and encouraged imitation of those who were considered to be the best writers. According to Quintilian, imitation took place at all levels and stages of writing,

<sup>11</sup> CAAP II, 579 (13 April 1709): “Lära *compositionem linguae*, som är både *prosa* och *ligata*” (To teach *compositionem linguae*, both in prose and in verses). The discussion in the *Consistorium* was held in Swedish with occasional phrases in Latin or in other languages. Professors also reminisced about the practices of former professors as inspectors of Greek poems written by students: Isaacus Pihlman, the seventh Greek and Hebrew professor (1697–1704), had given those poems to the professor of poetry to inspect, whereas David Lund had inspected them himself.

<sup>12</sup> I use the term *deconstruction* in a sense ‘analysis’ and ‘opening’, not, of course, in its “Derridean” sense, that is, the meaning given to it by the poststructural philosopher Jacques Derrida. Poststructuralism has, however, had an impact on rhetorical studies, for instance, on the concept of *prosopopoeia* and by presenting the concept ‘performativity’, see Wagner-Egelhaaf 2015.



concerning both words and content (*Inst.* 10.2.27). Imitating content meant embracing the model author's ideas. For Lucretius, imitation was not so much transforming Epicurus' Greek prose into Latin verses but proclaiming Epicureanism in an attractive way. Lucretius states that he followed in the footsteps of Epicurus and imitated him out of love for the great philosopher (*propter amorem*, 3.3–13). A similar conception of imitation occurs in *On the Sublime*, attributed to Longinus. The author states that only imitation and admiration (μίμησις τε καὶ ζήλωσις) of the great prose writers and poets will help an aspiring writer to achieve mastery of elevated style (*Subl.* 13.2). Passionate, even envious admiration, ζήλωσις (cfr. zealot), may include competition, an effort to transcend the object of admiration, the master, and create a high style of one's own. The concept of *aemulatio* of Roman rhetoric captures this meaning.<sup>13</sup>

Two specific categories of imitation were later created: a "slavish" (*servilis*, *puerilis*) imitation characterises beginners. A high standard imitation (*liberalis*, *virilis*) is the mark of a master, who can innovatively use and transmute his subtexts, namely passages from canonised authors.<sup>14</sup> Erasmus warned that imitation did not mean borrowing linguistic ornaments from such great authors as Cicero, but the result of imitation could be compared to a child born from a writer's own head, as Pallas Athene was born from Zeus' head. Erasmus also used a medical metaphor: good writers enjoy the 'nutrition' that best suits themselves – that which embodies their own thoughts.<sup>15</sup> The above-mentioned Jacobus Pontanus' textbook on poetics (1594) likened imitation to taking medicine: the model authors must be absorbed as if into one's bloodstream.<sup>16</sup> In this way, imitation resembles *literary influence*.

However, while for Quintilian, Erasmus, and Pontanus the object of imitation was the best authors, best literary models, that is, literary imitation, for Plato and Aristotle μίμησις meant imitation of 'reality' or 'nature' – on which concept Plato's famously negative view of art was based: art is mimesis of reality, which for its part is mimesis of the (Platonic) Ideas. For Aristotle mimesis was part of our nature and he defined man as the most mimetic living being (*Poet.* 4.1448b7–8). We learn by imitating other living beings, but it is also part of the

<sup>13</sup> Quintilian states that one should not only interpret (*interpretatio*), but also compete with one's models (*Inst.* 10.5.5).

<sup>14</sup> Vossius 1647b, 14: *Modus imitationis est duplex: puerilis & virilis*. See also Sarasti-Wilenius 2000, 53, with references to the terminology of e.g. Quintilian, Miltopaeus (1669), and Vossius (1696).

<sup>15</sup> Randall 2001, 39.

<sup>16</sup> Ström 1994, 53.

artistic process: writers imitate (μιμεῖσθαι) nature or reality in their artworks, although literary genres (and their masters) obviously set the basic outlines of an artwork (such as Homer in epic).<sup>17</sup> Aristotle's *Poetics* was popular since the Renaissance, but its ideas on *mimesis* – and the various nuances of the term in this concise work<sup>18</sup> – were not discussed fully due to the basic idea of *mimesis*/imitation as imitation of model authors. Platonic and Aristotelian μίμησις can be called *poetic imitation* in order to distinguish it from literary imitation, or from *rhetorical imitation*, stressing the early modern emphasis on rhetoric.<sup>19</sup> The latter resulted in literary products which often seemed – at least from a modern point of view – homogenous. The topics, the structure – even the authors which were imitated – are the same and were repeated from text to text. The intention of rhetorical imitation was to vary on the basis of an ancient model – and at its highest level to even compete with that model.

Although rhetorical imitation has been a central part of ancient literature since the Second Sophistic, ancient literary critics discussed surprisingly rarely the distinction between these two kinds of imitations, poetic and rhetorical. One exception is Dionysius of Halicarnassus (60 BC – c. 7 CE) in his treatise Περὶ μμησεως. According to Dionysius, different authors choose different objects (poetic imitation) on the one hand, whereas certain writers must be imitated (rhetorical imitation), on the other. The latter is a normative instruction, but the former echoes the Aristotelian idea of different objects between tragedy (conspicuous persons) and comedy (ordinary or base persons).<sup>20</sup> Much later,

<sup>17</sup> Aristotle states that tragedy is not *mimesis* of persons but of action and life (βίος). Arist. *Poet.* 6. 1650a16–17. For Aristotle, *mimesis* was also part of the artistic creation: when creating characters in certain situations, the tragic poet needed to take the role of the person he described (cf. *Poet.* 17.1455a22–24, 1455a29–32).

<sup>18</sup> For the complicated concept of *mimesis* in Aristotle's *Poetics*, see Halliwell 2002 and Woodruff 1992.

<sup>19</sup> Rhetorical imitation can be seen to characterise the literature of certain periods, like late antiquity, Byzantine times, and the early modern period. However, one can argue that rhetorical imitation understood as imitating earlier artworks already had a solid foundation in early Greek oral poetry. Those who performed Homeric epics did not create “original” works, but they had a large number of ready-made *formulae* and themes that they could use. The mnemonic techniques of the oral tradition influenced the way texts were later created by adhering to certain standard topics and applying certain idioms. Likewise, orators had standard topics that were appropriate to each subject matter. The concept of authorship was flexible, which explains the abundance of ancient pseudoepigrahic literature.

<sup>20</sup> Dion. Hal. *De imit.* 9.2.1. Dionysius can refer to both kinds of imitation even in successive sentences, derivatives of the word μίμησις meaning ‘imitation’ in both meanings.

Phoibammon who lived in the 4th and 5th centuries, only discussed rhetorical imitation in his *Περὶ μιμήσεως*.<sup>21</sup> For Phoibammon, the central task of imitation was to find one's own literary style. He stated that one needs to decide which style was suitable for oneself and to focus on it; practising a chosen style means delving into the classics of that genre. Much later, Petrarch expressed a similar procedure: first it was necessary to study a wide variety of models, strive for the most suitable ones and, after that, create one's own style based on them.<sup>22</sup> Overall, learning to become a good writer meant a great deal of evaluative reading – deriving stylistic models from writers whose styles were suitable for oneself – although at the elementary level it was obviously teachers who set the imitative models for students.

The goal of rhetorical imitation was thus to develop one's own style with the help of the best style masters. Ancient Greek genre-specific, conservative literature is full of imitations of the masters of that genre, like the imitations of Homer in late antique epics. In this respect, intertextuality seems to be a very suitable term for classical literature.<sup>23</sup> The metaphor for intertextuality is patchwork or mosaic. However, an intertextual framework is a reworking not only of such concepts as imitation, paraphrase, quotation, and parody, but also such modern, pejorative concepts as plagiarism and literary theft. The attitude to the distinction between literary theft and literary influence is different during periods of strong, accepted rhetorical imitation and periods of author-centred conceptions of literature, when an author is expected to create something 'new' and original on "a blank white surface".<sup>24</sup> Even so, the difference between a romantic poet searching for his own

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<sup>21</sup> The text of Phoibammon was well known among Byzantine *literati* because it was incorporated into Hermogenes' corpus and thus into the canon of textbooks on rhetoric in schools. In Uppsala, Laurentius Norrmannus edited Phoibammon's text together with other late antiquity and Byzantine rhetoricians in 1687–1688. See above Chapter 2.2 ("Greek at Uppsala and Turku Universities").

<sup>22</sup> Hörnqvist 2000, 38–39.

<sup>23</sup> According to the intertextual framework, any kind of text (not only a literary artwork) is seen to consist of numerous subtexts or to include a variety of references to, influences from, and dependencies on other texts. For Julia Kristeva, who coined the term, a literary text is something whose meaning only opens up in *relation to* its subtexts, and therefore the meaning of a text is always infinitely ambiguous (because we – and not even authors themselves – cannot trace all its subtexts). In this limited sense, intertextuality is argued to best explain postmodern literature that seeks to question the relationship between language and reality, language and life/the world.

<sup>24</sup> However, postmodernism and its slogan "the author is dead" has changed the picture. Postmodern poets who use sentences they have found on the Internet to compose their own poems are akin to a rhetorical poet writing in Latin or Greek from the early modern period. Both writers are seeing poetry as a palimpsest, a text in which there is already some writing and traces of other texts.

voice is perhaps not so far from the early modern rhetorical poet searching for his own style through rhetorical imitation.

One of the attractions of early modern Neo-Latin and Humanist Greek texts is that they transfer the heritage of antiquity through their language – through their quotations, paraphrases and imitations of Graeco-Roman authors. Sometimes an early modern writer just silently took a suitable phrase or half-line, but he could also have intended that his ‘silent borrowing’, his imitation, would have been noticed.

### Examples of Imitation in the Turku Greek Corpus

When the quote, paraphrase or translation is not indicated in any indirect or direct way (such as indentation), we call it imitation. The writers of Greek texts at Turku imitated Hesiod (*Works and Days*, *Theogony*, *Shield of Heracles*) more than Homer, Aristotle (only *Politics*), Callimachus’ *Hymn to Apollo*, maxims attributed to Menander, Moschus’ *The Lament of Bion* (its refrain), Solon and, for example, the late antique epic poet Rhianus.<sup>25</sup> However, many imitations could be – especially phrases and gnomic-like expressions – *second-hand imitations*, taken from gnomologies and phrase dictionaries. For example, Rhianus’ phrase θεῶν ἑτερόρροπα δῶρα (1.2.) is included in the above-mentioned *Gnomologia* published by Nicolaus Salanus in 1655. Professor David Lund used it twice in his two hexametric congratulations for dissertations, in 1704 and 1705. In both cases, he changed the plural ‘gods’ to the singular, which makes it an *interpretatio Christiana*.<sup>26</sup> Lund might have been aware that the phrase was from Rhianus – at least Salanus mentions the author, albeit incompletely.<sup>27</sup>

Instead, several imitations from Ps.-Phocylides, Isocrates (*Ad Dem.*), Ps.-Plutarch (*De lib. educ.*) and Theognis/Theognidae could be called ‘genuine’, first-hand imitations because these texts were read both in Nordic schools and at Nordic universities. Cicero is the only Roman author who is imitated, or, in fact, translated, in the Turku Greek Corpus. He is both quoted (*Tusc.* 1.5) and imitated

<sup>25</sup> See the list of imitations in the Turku Greek Corpus, Korhonen 2004, 470–471 and 184–186. Callimachus and Moschus were imitated by Johan Paulinus and will be discussed in Chapter 5.3.

<sup>26</sup> Lund: Vall. 1488 and Vall. 2947. Salanus 1656, 112. For the gifts of the gods, see also Hom. *Il.* 3.64–65 and Thgn. 1033–1036.

<sup>27</sup> Salanus uses the abbreviated name forms (Ριαν. α = Rhianus, the first Book) but has the full name on the title page. The passage is under the heading *Insipiens, stultus* (pp. 111–112). The point of Rhianus’ passage is that we all err and bear the gifts of the gods in a foolish manner.

(*De orat.* 2.36) by the same writer, Professor Ericus Falander.<sup>28</sup> In 1675, Falander uses Cicero's *On the Orator* in his congratulation (5 ll.) to Petrus Serlachius on his dissertation, so that the translation takes up two lines of this short text:

πρὸς τὸν νεανίσκον σπουδαιότατον ΠΕΤΡΟΝ ΣΕΡΛΑΧΙΟΝ  
προσφώνησις <σ>χεδιαστική

Ἡ μὲν ἱστορία ἄρχη φρονήσεώς τε καὶ σοφίας ὀρθῶς καλεῖται,  
διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν μάρτυρα τῶν χρόνων, φωτεινὴν ἀλήθειαν,  
ζῶσαν μνήμην, παιδευτὴν τοῦ βίου, καὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἐρμῆν. καλὸν οὖν  
ἔργον ἐπιχειρήσας τῆς ἱστορίας ἀντιποιῶν, σπεῦσον ὥς ἥρξω καὶ καρ-  
πὸς σοι ἔσεται πολὺς. Ἐρρωσο.

ERICI FALANDRI  
Heb. & Graec. Ling. P.P.

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**Crit.** 4 ἐπιχειρήσεις ed. **Sim.** 2–3 Cfr. Cic. *De orat.* 2.36: *Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis*

A hasty greeting to a most industrious young man, Petrus Serlachius // History is rightly called the beginning of sense and wisdom, because it is the witness of the times, the light of truth, the living memory, the teacher of life, and the herald of antiquity. You have done good work in striving for history; continue as you have begun, and you will have an abundant harvest. Farewell. // Ericus Falander, Prof. of Greek and Hebrew.

The expression τῆς ἱστορίας ἀντιποιῶν (striving for history) refers to the subject of the dissertation, a translation of the life of Saint Ansgar, the “Apostle of the North”, from Swedish into Latin. The title page informs that the biography was first translated from Latin to Swedish, but it is here translated from Swedish again to Latin with comments.<sup>29</sup> Falander for his part does not indicate that he is translating Cicero. Was the passage so well-known that Falander did not need to mention the subtext? Or was the professor testing to see if the respondent would notice the translation or not? Or just inconstant habit of referring? However, Falander at least implies that he is using someone else’s idea by his use of the verb καλεῖται (“history is called”).

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<sup>28</sup> Falander quoting Cicero (*Tusc.* 1.5), see above Chapter 3.5.

<sup>29</sup> Vall. 735, under the presidency of Petrus Bång. The title goes as follows: *S. Ansgarius vulgo Svecorum Danorumque apostolus seu vita S. Ansgarii olim a quodam pontificio Latine scripta, ac postea ab alio in Svecicum idioma translata: At hic rursus in Latinum conversa, abbreviata et sobria censura theologica passim castigata, lucique publicae data.*

In Uppsala, the first Greek dissertation (1648) – the subject was education – supervised by Henricus Ausius contains a quote from Quintilian translated into Greek and then an imitation of the same author.<sup>30</sup> First it is noticed that, “as Quintilian says”, Demosthenes is a model orator (cf. *Inst.* 10.1.76). After that follows an anecdote of Demosthenes without revealing that the anecdote on Demosthenes is also taken from Quintilian (cf. *Inst.* 11.3.6.).<sup>31</sup> Translation from Latin to Greek was indeed one of the writing exercises, but in these kinds of cases one may wonder whether these translations integrated into Humanist Greek texts were meant to be noticed or not.

Jacobus Eurenus, a Sweden-born student, imitated several lines and half-lines from Hesiod’s *Works and Days* as well as from *Theogony* in his wedding poem (21 hex) to the Organist of the Turku Cathedral Michael Nachtigall and his bride in 1653. The topic of the wedding congratulation, without a heading, is the value of marriage for a man, containing only a short eulogy to the bridegroom at the end:<sup>32</sup>

Κόσμον ἐπειδὴ θαυμάσιόν τ', ἀγαθόν τε, καλόν τε,  
οἰκίζει Χριστὸς κτίστης τε περικλυτὸν ἄχρι,  
θαῦμα ἰδέσθ' ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῶς καὶ δαίδαλα πολλά,  
κνώδαλα ὅσ' ἥπειρος μὲν τρέφει ἡδὲ θάλασσα·  
ἄνδρα Θεὸς γαίης ἐξῆς σύμπλασσε ἄναρχος 5  
ἐξείπων πλεύρου καταζεύγνυμι ἀνδρὶ γυναῖκα,  
οὗν ἰθέως ποίησε Θεὸς ναὶ ὁμόζυγον ἀνδρί.  
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης ὁμονοῦν οὐ πάσιν ἔδωκε,  
αὐτίκα γὰρ πολλοὶ γαμέειν φεύγουσι· λέγοντες  
πῆμα μέγ' ἐστὶ γένος γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων, 10  
κηφῆνας βόσκουσι μὲν, οἱ βόσκουσι γυναῖκας,  
ἄλλότριον κάματον σφετέρην ἐς γαστέρ' ἀμῶνται·  
φεύζομεν οὖν δὲ γάμον, καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα γυναικῶν·  
ταῦτα φυλασσόμενοι ἄνδρες νοῦ λυγρὰ νοοῦντες,  
σοὶ τεύχουσι κακόν τε κακοῦ οὐκ ἔσσεται ἀλκή, 15  
ἀνέρι τῷ παύρου δὲ χρόνου οἶκοι μινύθουσι,

<sup>30</sup> Ausius – Rezander 1648. The title of the dissertation was “The education of the young according to Aristotle’s *Politics*, Book 8, Chapter 1”. This Greek dissertation is more like an oration in tone than an argumentative treatise.

<sup>31</sup> Korhonen 2010, 97 (the text passage of the dissertation). The text passage begins: “Someone had asked what is the most important aspect of a good orator, and therefore, the most important aspect of a good oration; Demosthenes’ answer was presentation.”

<sup>32</sup> Mel. 312. Imitations of Hesiod are underlined here, not in the original text. The poem is without signature but it is followed by Latin and Swedish poems, which are signed by Jacobus Eurenus. The publication also contains a Swedish poem, which is reported to have been composed to the tune of a German drinking song.

καὶ πάντες πάμπαν λείπουσι γέροντα ἄρωστον,  
 ἄλλοτε οὐδὲ φίλος, ξείνος τότε οὐδὲ ἀδελφός  
 ἔσται, γὰρ πάντες πλοῦτον ζητοῦσι γέροντος.  
 Οὖν ΜΙΧΑΗΛ φρονίμως ποιεῖς, γαμέων προτέρωσε. 20  
 Πάντοτέ ἐστι γυνὴ πειθήμων, ἀνδρόφιλος γε.

**Crit.** 8 ἔδωκα ed. 9 φεγύουσι ed. 13 φεύζομεν, cfr. Joh. Chrys. (MPG 64, p. 668 l. 15) 21 ἀνδρόφιλος hapax **Sim.** 3 Hes. *Th.* 581: τῇ δ' ἐνὶ δαίδαλα πολλὰ τετεύχατο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, 4 Hes. *Th.* 582: κνώδαλ' ὅσ' ἤπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἡδὲ θάλασσα || 8 Hes. *Th.* 601: Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης || 10 Hes. *Th.* 592: πῆμα μέγα θνητοῖσι, σὺν ἀνδράσι ναιετάουσαι | Hes. *Th.* 590: ἐκ τῆς γὰρ γένος ἐστὶ γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων || 11 Hes. *Th.* 595: κηφῆνας βόσκωσι, κακῶν ξυνήονας ἔργων || 12 Hes. *Th.* 599: ἀλλότριον κάματον σφετέρην ἐς γαστέρ' ἀμῶνται. || 13 Hes. *Th.* 603: ὅς κε γάμον φεύγων καὶ μέρμερα ἔργα γυναικῶν || 15 Hes. *Th.* 876: ναύτας τε φθείρουσι· κακοῦ δ' οὐ γίνεται ἀλκή 18 ἄλλοτε οὐδὲ φίλος, ξείνος τότε οὐδὲ ἀδελφος cfr. Hes. *Op.* 183 19 πάντες πλοῦτον ζητοῦσι γέροντος cfr. Hes. *Th.* 606–607

Because the Christ and the Creator have arranged this world as miraculous, good, beautiful, and so brilliant, it is wonderful to see; there are many curious works evenly distributed, many creatures which the land and sea rear up: [5] omnipotent God shaped man from earth and said: “I will connect woman, taken from man’s side, with man” and so God made a spouse to man. High-Thundering Zeus did not make all think in the same way because there are many who avoid marrying; [10] they say: “Womankind is a big bother, and those who support wives support drones; women collect others’ toil into their own stomachs; hence, we avoid marriage and treacherous tricks by women.” But those who think in this way, do so faultily, [15] mark you,<sup>33</sup> they add one badness to another; there will be no power with such a man, soon his property will become smaller, and everyone will entirely desert him when he is feeble and old; he will have no friend, no acquaintance nor brother because everyone will only seek old man’s property. [20] So, MICHAEL, you will do wisely to choose marriage. A wife is always obedient and loving to a husband.

Besides phrases and half lines, two of Eurenus’ verses (4 and 12) are direct borrowings from the *Theogony* (582, 599). Although there is no reference to the source, the short description of women being drones would indicate that the source is Hesiod’s passage on Pandora. Nicolaus Salanus included the passage on drones (*Theogonia* 595–599) in his book. Eurenus’ wedding poem was, however, published three years earlier than the *Gnomologia*.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> V. 15 σοι understood as an enclitic Particle, τοι ‘let me tell you, mark you, look you’.

<sup>34</sup> Salanus 1656, 16. Salanus refers to the *Theogony* passage as Θεογ. φ. στ. ε. Eurenus’ adjective ἀνδρόφιλος does not occur in modern dictionaries of ancient or Byzantine corpora (LSJ, Trapp etc.).

Nicolaus Crucelius' congratulation (38 ll.) on the dissertation by his compatriot Olaus Thunberg in 1679 is one of those cases when a writer begins with a quote but continues by imitating the author without mentioning that he is using that author's text. Crucelius' prose text is reprinted here with its original, short lineation – the publication was in octavo format:<sup>35</sup>

Πρὸς τὸν τὰς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ μεγίστας τιμὰς δεξιούμενον Κύριον,  
ΟΛΑΟΝ ΤΟΥΝΒΕΡΓ,  
πατριώτην μου καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἀκιβδήλως ἀγα-  
πητὸν, ὀρθῶς καὶ πεπαιδευμένως  
διαλέγοντα.

Σοφίαν πάντων τῶν κτημάτων ἀθάνατον λέ-	1
γει ὁ περὶ τοὺς λόγους δεινότητος Ἰσοκράτης·	
ὀρθῶς καὶ νουνεχόντως. τί γὰρ τῶν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν οὐκ	
εὐμετάβλητον; καὶ γὰρ <u>τὴν ῥώμην ἢ χρόνος ἀνα-</u>	[κάλλος]
<u>λίσκει ἢ νόσος μαραίνει</u> , τὴν δὲ τιμὴν ὁ φθόνος	5
διασύρει, πλοῦτος δὲ ἀβέβαιον, καὶ ὀλιγοχρό-	
νιον καὶ <u>τὸ μέγιστον, τοῖς πονηροτάτοις μέτεστι</u> . Τῆς	
δὲ σοφίας, <u>οὐδὲν κτῆμα σεμνότερον οὐδὲ βεβαιό-</u>	
<u>τερόν ἐστι, ταυτὴ γὰρ μόνῃ ἡμῖν συγγερᾷσκει</u> . Ἀλ-	
λά γε <u>χαλεπὰ τὰ καλὰ</u> καὶ δυσεύρετα· οἰκητή-	10
ριον ἑαυτῆς ἐν κρινωνιάῳ ἔχει τῷ μὴν ἡδίστῳ ταύτῃ ἢ	
βασίλισσα ἢ σεμνοτάτῃ, ἐν δ' ἀκρωτηρίοις τῶν	
ὄρων, καὶ διὰ τὰ τῶν πετρῶν κρημνότητα καὶ ἀκάν-	
θων κέντρας δυσεμβόλῳ, ὥσπερ μυθολογέουσι	
οἱ ποιηταί. πολλὴν οὖν ἀφὴν δεῖ ἐπιέναι πρὶν ἂν	15
γίνεσθαι σοφόν, καὶ χεῖρόν ποτε παιδεῖαν οἶμος.	
ἄραγε οὐ τὸ δυσάρεστον ἀδύνατον, ἀλλὰ <u>μελέτη</u>	
<u>τὸ πᾶν</u> , ἔφη σοφός. Σὺ οὖν, ἀδελφέ μου ὦ	
τιμιώτατε, διὰ παντὸς μὲν φιλομαθὴς καὶ ἐκ	
πρώτης τῆς ἡλικίας ἐν ταῖς τῶν μουσῶν παρεμ-	20
βολαῖς στρατιώτης οὐ ῥαθυμῶν ὑπῆρξας, καὶ <u>τὸν</u>	
<u>μὲν ὄκνον ψόγον, τὸν δὲ πόνον ἔπαινον ἡγούμενος</u>	
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν εἰς ἔργα καὶ προσευχὰς ἐμέρι-	
σας, καὶ οὕτως βήματι τούτῳ διττῷ πάντα <u>τὰ τῷ</u>	
<u>πλήθει φοβερὰ θαρσαλέως ὑπομένων</u> , μᾶλ-	25
λον δὲ πρὸς σκληρότατον τὸν τῆς πενίας κέντρον	

<sup>35</sup> Laurbecchius – Thunberg 1679. Vall. 2183. The National Library of Finland has two variant copies of the dissertation. Variant A does not include respondent Thunberg's Latin dedication, whereas Crucelius' Greek is corrected with a pen. Dissertations could be printed containing different kinds of paratexts.



λακτίζων τὰ τῶν μαθημάτων ἄδοτα ἐξετάζειν  
ἐπεχείρησας, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, δόξα τῷ Θεῷ, εὐτυ-  
χῶς. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐν βραχεὶ πάρεισι αἱ μοῦσαι βρα-  
βεῖον φερόμεναι ἄριστον. Σὺ δὲ σπεῦσον ὥς ἥρ-  
ξω πολὺ πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδοῦναι, οὕτως γὰρ  
παρὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἅπασιν εὐδοκιμήσεις εὐτυ-  
χῶς πράττων ἐρῶσο.

30

ἀσμένως ἔγραψα  
Nicolaus Crucelius

**Crit.** φιλοσοφία corr. manu, φιλοφία ed. | πεπαιδευμένος ed. || 1 τῶν, κτημάτων ed. || 3 ὑπ' οὐρανὸν corr. manu, ὑπὸ οὐρανὸν ed. 4 γὰρ καὶ ed. || 6 Διασύρει corr. manu, διασύβει ed. || 8 κτήμα corr. manu, πτήμα ed. || 11 τῷ μὴν corr. manu, ὦ μὴν ed. | ἐν κρινῶνι ed. || 13 κρημότατα ed. 14 μυθολογεῦσι corr. manu, μοθολογεῦσι ed. || 15 ἐπίειν ed. || 16 γίνεσθαι corr. manu, γίνεται ed. 17 ἀδύνατον corr. manu, ἀθύνατον ed. || 18 μου corr. manu, μουλέτη ed. | τό ed. || 19 φιλομαθῆς corr. manu, φιλοματῆς ed. || 21 ῥαθυμῶν corr. manu, ῥατυμῶν ed. 25 πλήτει corr. manu, πλήθει ed. | ταρσαλέως corr. manu, θαρσαλέως ed. || 26 κέντρα ed. 27 ματημάτων ed. | ἄδοτα corr. manu, ἄδυτα ed. || 28 ἐπεχείρησας corr. manu, ἐπεχείρισας ed. || 29 ἰδοὺ corr. manu, ἔδοῦ ed. || 30 φεροῦμεναι ed. | ὥς corr. manu, ὦς ed. || 31 τὸν ed. | ἐπιδοῦναι corr. manu, ἐπιδοῦναι ed. || 32 ἀγαθοῖς corr. manu, ἀγατοῖς ed. | εὐδοκιμήσεις corr. manu, εὐδοχιμήσεις ed.

**Sim.** 1 Ps.-Isocr. *Ad Dem.* 19: σοφία γὰρ μόνον τῶν κτημάτων ἀθάνατον || 4–5 cf. Isocr. *Ad Dem.* 6: κάλλος μὲν γὰρ ἢ χρόνος ἀνήλωσεν ἢ νόσος ἐμάρανε || 7 Ps.-Plut. *De liber. educ.* 5d: τὸ μέγιστον, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς πονηροτάτοις μέτεστι || 8–9 *Ad Dem.* 5 (virtue): οὐδὲν κτήμα σεμνότερον οὐδὲ βεβαιότερόν ἐστι | *Ad Dem.* 7 (virtue): μόνη μὲν συγγρασκει || 10 χαλεπὰ τὰ καλὰ cf. Plut. *De liber. educ.* 6c || 18 μελέτη τό πᾶν cf. Periander apud Diog. Laert. 1.99.72 || 21–22 *Ad Dem.* 7: καὶ τὸν μὲν ὄκνον ψόγον, τὸν δὲ πόνον ἔπαινον ἡγουμένη || 24–25 *Ad Dem.* 7 (virtus): τὰ δὲ τῷ πλήθει φοβερὰ θαρσαλέως ὑπομένουσα ||

To that who will receive the greatest honour in philosophy, Mr. Olaus Thunberg, who is my compatriot, truly loved brother and who disputes in a right and learned way. // "Wisdom alone of all possessions is immortal", Isocrates, the cleverest in speeches, rightly and sensibly says. For what under heaven is not changeable? For time destroys [5] and illness ruins strength, ill-will tears in peaces honour, wealth is unsecure and inconstant and, above all, even the vilest may possess it. About wisdom: it is a possession which is the grandest and the most enduring in the world, the only one which abides with us in old age. [10] However, good is difficult and hard to find, the noblest of queens has its dwelling-place in this meadow of lilies on the highest top of the mountains, where it is difficult to enter due to the inaccessible cliff

of rocks and the thorns of thistles, [15] as poets report.<sup>36</sup> One must endure much toil before one becomes wise, and the path to education is barren. But displeasure is not impossible, practice makes perfect, says a wise man. So you, my most honourable brother, you are a lover of education in every subject and [20] all from your very youth you have served as a not neglecting soldier in the company of Muses, you consider sloth a disgrace and toil an honour, you assign your soul to work and prayers, [25] and on this bipartite podium you support with fortitude all that which is fearful to the multitude, and you take to kick the most harsh thorns of poverty and seek to order the disorder of doctrines,<sup>37</sup> and this you do, glory to God, successfully. For Muses will soon give you the best prize. [30] So, proceed as you have begun, follow the path of virtue, because in that way you will be useful for good men. Farewell. // I, Nicolaus Crucelius, wrote this with joy.

As the *apparatus similitum* shows, Crucelius imitates the basic authors read in Turku, Isocrates (*Ad Dem.*) and the Ps.-Plutarchean *Education*. Although the *apparatus criticus* shows that Crucelius' text contains many simple mistakes, most of them seem to be mere lapses, perhaps made by the printer, like φιλοφία in the heading and μοθολογεύσι on line 14. The missing elision on the third line is more probably Crucelius'. Awkward errors are, however, unusually numerous. The reason could be that the respondent Thunberg did not print his dissertation in Turku but in Stockholm so that Crucelius himself was unable to oversee or check the printing of his Greek because he was in Turku. However, somebody has made corrections in ink to Crucelius' Greek. The most interesting correction is the word κάλλον in the margin of line four, noticing that Crucelius is using Isocrates' text but instead of beauty he speaks of strength, ῥώμην – according to Isocrates, time destroys and illness ruins beauty, κάλλον. So, did the corrector think that Crucelius should have imitated Isocrates correctly – or, that he should have revealed his source not only at the beginning but also here? However, imitation with modifications was the practice of the day and writing exercises

<sup>36</sup> Lines 13–14: κρημνός as 'cliff', not an adjective. The image of virtue dwelling on unclimbable rocks (δυσαμβάτοις ἐπὶ πέτραις) and can be seen only by those who toil, see Simonides fr. 579 and Hes. *Op.* 289–292. Line 15: ἀφή has various meanings (lightning, touch, grip, but also infection, like of plague); here it means toils and troubles. The sentence (πολλὴν οὖν ἀφὴν δεῖ ἐπιτεῖν [!] πρὶν ἂν γίνεσθαι σοφόν, καὶ χεῖρόν [!] πρὸς παιδείαν οἶμος, ll. 15–16) is awkward. It shows how difficult it was for Crucelius to write Greek without imitation. The ending σπεῦσον ὥς ἤρξω (ll. 35–36), see below Chapter 4.4 (subsection "*Conclusio*").

<sup>37</sup> The themes of the dissertation, titled as *Discursus philosophicus miscellaneas aliquot exhibens quaestiones*, was various: the possibility of metamorphosis, the origin of melancholy, the permissibility of suicide in certain cases, vows and oaths. Only Question 4 deals with a religious issue, the permissibility to have several religions in one state.

guided students to adopt that practice. Probably “the corrector” just mechanically corrected the well-known passage – he knew that Isocrates was speaking of beauty, not strength, in this passage.

Johannes Rungius wrote a Greek (12 eleg) congratulation for a dissertation on Fabius Maximus “according to Livius and other authors” in 1691. The subject was referred to in Rungius’ Latin poem (6 eleg) following the Greek one.<sup>38</sup> The addressee was Gezelius Sr.’s nephew, Laurentius Georgii Gezelius (1665–1744). The Greek poem strongly imitates Theognis:

Νῦν σε Θαλία σοφὴ κρὴ ἐφίμερον ὕμνον αἰδεῖν	1
νῦν εὐφρόγγον ἐπὶ χερσὶ λύρην ὀρέγειν·	
Φοῖβος ἄναξ χαρίτων, ὃς γράμματα πρῶτος ἔταξε,	
ψάλλει ἐν Ὀρτυγίᾳ, πολλὰ σοφίζόμενος.	
Νέστορος ἀντιθέου γλώσσαν σοφίαν τε ἀκούω,	5
καὶ αὐλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἱμερόεσσαν ὅπα.	
Ὅπτη τ’, ὥς μούσαις φίλον ἦτορ ἀγάλλεται ἤδη	
ὥς χαίρει δ’ ἔπεσι Δῆλος ἀπειρεσίῃ.	
Αἰεὶ δόξα μένει χρηστῇ τοῖς σόφροσιν· αἰεὶ	
εἰς φάος ἡλίου ἔφθασεν ἡ ἀρετή.	10
Ἀλλὰ παρὰ γνώμην μ’ εἶναι δεῖ πιστὸν ἐταῖρον	
τοῦτό τε συστοιχεῖν φθεγγομένοισι μέτρον.	

**Crit.** κρὴ ed. **10** ἡλίου ed. metri gratia **Sim. 1** Thgn. 1.993: ἐφίμερον ὕμνον αἰδεῖν **2** Thgn. 1.534: χαίρω δ’ εὐφρόγγον χερσὶ λύρην ὀρέγων **5** Thgn. 1.714: γλώσσαν ἔχων ἀγαθὴν Νέστορος ἀντιθέου **6** Thgn. 1.532: αὐλῶν φθεγγομένων ἱμερόεσσαν ὅπα **8** Thgn. 1.8: Δῆλος ἀπειρεσίῃ **10** Thgn 1.712: ἐς φάος ἡελίου **11** Thgn 1.716: ἀλλὰ κρὴ πάντας γνώμην ταύτην καταθέσθαι

Now, you wise Thalia, had to sing a lovely song, to take a well-tuned lyre in your hands; Phoebus, the Lord of Graces, who was first to put signs in order, sings in Ortygia, very cleverly; [5] I listen to divine Nestor’s words and wisdom and the beautiful sound of the flutes. See, how the Muses’ heart will be delighted, how Delos rejoices from end to end in words, and the good reputation of the wise will always remain; [10] virtue is always the first to reach the light of the Sun. I have to be the proverbial loyal friend; I have to match this poem with what has been said.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Q. Fab. Maximus, cunctatorem, ut a Livio aliisque melioris notae scriptoribus commendatum accepimus* (Vall. 69). Rungius’ Greek poem contains a short Latin heading and a signature.

<sup>39</sup> Thalia, the Muse of comedy, was sometimes counted as one of the Graces.

We need to consider here what occasion the poem is describing. Is it the moment of the writing of this poem (Rungius urging Thalia to sing) or the disputation, when the “I-speaker” is described to listen to the words of Nestor (that is, of Laurentius Gezelius)? However, the last line, especially τοῦτο μέτρον (v. 12) may refer to the Latin poem following the Greek poem, and which is preceded by an anagram of the respondent’s name. So, if the Greek poem is to be seen as a five-finger exercise before the main poem in Latin, then the topic of the Greek poem is versifying (Thalia is urged to sing, Phoebus sings in Ortygia, one needs to listen to Nestor’s wise words, and the Muses would be delighted with a good poem, which follows, in Latin). In any case, Johannes Rungius succeeds here in creating a quite strong, albeit ambiguous, celebrative image by imitating Theognis.<sup>40</sup> However, versifiers could imitate the subtext to such an extent that their poem resembles the genre of *cento*.

### Parody and Cento

In parody, the meaning of the subtext is intentionally changed. A valid quote needs to be a truthful reference, while in parody, the writer quotes the underlying text and changes its meaning, assuming that the reader knows and recognises the source of the parody. Thus, the reader needs to identify the subtext (and its genre) in order to understand what is parodied, and the author needs to have some awareness of what the audience knows. That some background text has been used can be expressed in many ways – or the text can be well known and then the references need only be vague. When Aristophanes parodied Euripides’ tragedies for comic purposes, quoting lines and imitating his style, he could be quite sure that the parody was recognised by the audience because of the manner of performance. The audience did not necessarily identify the specific passages but acknowledged the change of linguistic register. The target of the parody was both Euripides’ style (or tragic style in general) and Euripides himself.

Greek parody often meant transferring the form of the high style of the subtext into a trivial subject, or the tone of the text, as in phrases of funerary poetry. They might turn to parody if the object was non-human, such as funerary epigrams to animals. The well-known first lines of the *Iliad* were already a favourite source for parody or travesty in antiquity.<sup>41</sup> They could also be imitated

<sup>40</sup> Johannes’ brother, Jacobus Rungius alluded to the *locus amoenus* in the *Phaedrus*. See above Chapter 3.5 (“A School of Muses, a Renowned Theatre of Virtue”).

<sup>41</sup> See *AP* 9.572 and 11.400.

without parody in mind. Professor of Greek at Cambridge, Joshua Barnes (1654–1712), begins his massive biblical paraphrase of the Book of Esther transposed into hexameter (1679) with a modification of the *Iliad*'s first verses.<sup>42</sup> Barnes used the modified Greek verses for his own pious purposes and as a homage to Homer. At Turku, a student and the future national poet of Finland, Johan Ludwig Runeberg, used the same line in his comic epyllion on academic examination, Ἡ Ἀνάκρισις ἀκαδημαϊκή. Ἔπος γελοῖον (97 hex). Professor J. F. Wallenius, Runeberg's object of satire, was a physician, an expert on botany and zoology, and Professor of *eloquentia* (1805–1827) at Turku.<sup>43</sup> Although the *object* of the satire was the unpopular professor Wallenius, his "abhorred wrath", Runeberg parodies Homer, or the epic style, to transfer Homer's words into the genre of satire.

Aristotle used the word *παρωδία* in a modern sense when referring to the works of Hegemon of Tarsus (*Poet.* 1448a13). However, parody had another meaning in late antiquity, a meaning that approaches the concept of rhetorical imitation. The 30th chapter of Hermogenes' *On Forcefulness* is entitled Περὶ χρήσεως ἐπῶν ἐν πεζῷ λόγῳ (On the Use of Epic in Prose) in which he states that quoting epic poets is either coordination or 'collage' (κόλλησις) on the one hand, or parody (*παρωδία*) on the other. By the former, coordination, Hermogenes meant quoting or imitating verses, likening it to collecting. The latter, *παρωδία*, required, according to Hermogenes, interpretation (ἐρμηνεία) because one needs to join and reconcile two different kinds of texts – one's own and that of an epic poet so that they form a unity (ὥς μίαν γενέσθαι τὴν ἰδέαν).<sup>44</sup> The subtext is therefore reworked so that it is suitable for one's own text, but it is not a parody in modern sense.

*Parodia sacra* or *interpretatio Christiana* were common in Christian late antiquity and during the early modern period: an ancient pagan text was converted into a Christian one, for instance, by changing, as Professor Lund did with Rhianus' phrase, the polytheistic plural form of the gods into a singular

<sup>42</sup> Barnes' commentary to his Αὐλικόκατοπτρον, *sive Estherae historia poetica prapharasi* (Mirror of Courtiers, or, The History of Esther, 1600 hex) are also in Greek. See Kristine L. Haugen's presentation of it in ODNB, Published online 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1470>

<sup>43</sup> Runeberg's epyllion was not printed and its date is not known. The text was edited and translated into Swedish by Henrik Zilliacus who estimated the year of its production to be 1826. Zilliacus 1972, 123. Runeberg took his degree in 1827. Runeberg 1826 (?), vv. 1–3: Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Ὑαλληνίου ὀκρυόεσσαν / θυμοβόρην, στυγερὴν θ', ἧς εἵνεκα πόλλ' ἐπάθοντο / ἄλγεα λυγρὰ νέοι, Ἀκαδημίας ἄνθεα καλά. The text is re-edited and translated into English by Erkki Sironen in the forthcoming *Anthologia Baltica* (see above p. 17 n57).

<sup>44</sup> Herm. *Meth.* 30. 15–16 (Rabe).

God. The author took the text of the pagan author as the subtext but changed it to stand for his own Christian beliefs. Melanchthon mentions “sacred parodies” (*parodia sacra*), which used as their subtext Theocritus’ *Idylls*.<sup>45</sup>

At the beginning of the early modern period, parody was used in both senses – the modern senses and as rhetorical imitation. Henricus Stephanus published *Parodia & Centonum exempla* (1576), which introduced not only ancient parodies as parodies in the modern sense but also *centos*. However, Stephanus used the substantive παρωδός (‘parodist, reciter of parodies’) in the preface to his lexicon *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (1572) in the sense of a poetical *response* that adopted a respectful tone to a poem of the ancient author. First, he quotes Hesiod (*Op.* 719–720), and then modifies the verses into his praise of the Greek language as a treasure (θησαυρός), the very name of his lexicon:

γλώσσης τοι θησαυρὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστος  
 φειδωλῆς, πολλὴ δὲ χάρις κατὰ μέτρον ἰούσης·  
*ut Ascræus olim vates cecinit: at ego, non ut ὦδός, sed ut παρωδός, canere de*  
*Graeca lingua non dubitarim,*  
 γλώσσης θησαυρὸς γλώσσαν παρὰ πᾶσαν ἄριστος  
 Ἑλλαδικῆς, πασῶν χαρίτων πᾶν μέτρον ἐχούσης.

“The best treasure a man can have is a sparing tongue, and the great pleasure, one that moves orderly”, *so the poet of Ascrea once sang; but I, not as singer, but as a singer of response, have no hesitation in singing praise of Hellenic language: the treasure of Greek language is the best among all languages, it contains every measure of all graces.*<sup>46</sup>

Stephanus is “parodying” Hesiod’s verses, which means that he is using it as his subtext, as an understructure for his own verses. He admits that he is not a poet (singer) like Hesiod but a mere “parodist”. In a way, all Humanist Greek poets who heavily used ancient poetry as their subtexts can be valued as “parodists” in this sense – as singers of response.

The early modern writer could also announce in his title, by using words like *parodia*, that he had used a certain subtext. In 1663, a student at Västerås Gymnasium wrote a congratulation for a dissertation entitled *Parodia ad Od. I. Carm. lib. I Horatii*. It was not a parody of Horace’s ode but rather a pastiche of it

<sup>45</sup> Rhein 1987, 310–316.

<sup>46</sup> Stephanus 1572, 9. Modern editions of Hesiod have πλείστη instead of πολλή. The translation of Hesiod is a modified version of the translation by Hugh G. Evelyn-White (1914).

or even a homage to that ode.<sup>47</sup> However, it was more common to use a subtext silently, by imitating and by practising rhetorical imitation. For a modern reader this practice approaches plagiarism, at least when the subtext used is written by quite an unknown early modern author. However, the exploitation of works by central European scholars without references or with inadequate references was quite common in dissertations, at least at Turku. Responsible reference practice was in its making.

The title of the Uppsala dissertation on suicide (1678) defended under the presidency of Andreas Norcopensis suggests that the text would consist only of quotations: *Cento de Morte et nece voluntaria*.<sup>48</sup> However, although the text contains a large number of quotations and references to ancient and early modern authors, it is not a cento in the literary sense. *Cento* ('patchwork garment') is one of the few literary terms invented by the Romans and it became popular during the imperial period. It was translated into Greek as κέντρον. Cento usually means a poem whose verses are either wholly or partly composed of someone else's poem or poems. The foremost subtext for centos in Latin was Virgil and in Greek Homer (*homerokentra*). The most famous is Ausonius' cento written in 374 called *Cento nuptialis*, which also contains an explanatory treatise of the genre in its preface. For Ausonius, cento is light reading seasoned with ambiguities.<sup>49</sup> However, Christian writers used the cento to serve the purposes of connecting highly valued pagan literature and Christianity.<sup>50</sup> The two most famous Christian centos were arguably written by women: Roman Christian poetess Proba composed a Virgil cento on the life of Jesus in the middle of the fourth century, and Byzantine Empress Eudocia on the same subject in Greek in c. 455. Aldus published Eudocia's *homerokentra* as early as 1502 and Stephanus in 1578. Later on, Eudocia's work was sometimes incorporated into editions of

<sup>47</sup> See Saebeus, Claudius (praeses) – Gangius, Andreas (respondent), *De Categoriis* (Västerås 1663). A corresponding example von Nuremberg is Georgius Mundius' poem, but in Latin, in 1616. See VD17 23:296449H.

<sup>48</sup> The title begins: *Auspice Deo, et permittente veneranda [...] centonem de morte et nece voluntaria*. Nicolaus Daalheimius was the respondent. It was published in Stockholm and is digitised in the DIVA portal.

<sup>49</sup> Hunger 1978, 98. OCD *s.v.* cento. According to Ausonius, verses of centos could have two verses of the subtext(s) joined together, or one and a half verses or a mere half verse. Principally, one is not allowed to take two consecutive verses, and the original meaning is supposed to be changed.

<sup>50</sup> Emperor Julian published an edict in 362 which banned Christian teachers from teaching classical texts. It has been argued that the reason for the increase in Christian cento poetry was this ban, which could be avoided by writing centos. Clark & Hatch 1981, 99–100.

Homer, such as the *Odyssey* edition published in Amsterdam in 1650. Cento thus justified using non-Christian literature, like Homeric epics, in an extensive way and they functioned as a model how to “Christianise” pagan texts. The authors of *homerokentra* can also be seen as continuing the rhapsodic tradition, but in written, not oral form.<sup>51</sup>

Many Humanist Greek texts contain imitated sections to such an extent that one is inclined to call them centos. At Turku, before being appointed Professor of *eloquentia* in 1660, Martinus Miltopaeus composed two Greek congratulations, which could partly be seen as Theognis-centos: a wedding poem which Miltopaeus composed in 1652, and after his graduation in 1653, a congratulatory poem for a dissertation (1657).<sup>52</sup> By actively using Theognis’ lines in his poems, he created far more readable Greek poems than most of his fellow humanists at Turku. In Estonia, Rainer Brockmann’s bucolic wedding poem (71 hex) imitating Theocritus (1637) is more justly called a cento than Miltopaeus’ poems. Brockman was a Greek teacher at Tallinn gymnasium.<sup>53</sup> The cento as a literary subgenre can be seen as a masterpiece in the hands of a skilled, accomplished author.

In Miltopaeus’ case, however, we do not speak of plagiarism. The concept of plagiarism, literary theft, is rather a product of an author-centred era. At least, the term ‘plagiarism’ (*plagium* ‘kidnapping’) came into use only during the 18th century.<sup>54</sup> Was the era of rhetorical imitation thus more permissive about plagiarism? Were there plagiarism scandals? Erasmus clearly made a judgement on literary theft as such when his *Stultitia* ironically praises those as clever who

<sup>51</sup> Oral poetry is an advanced form of poetry in which the composer uses verses rather than single words as its units. Rey 1998, 68–86. Collectors of folk poetry could include sections of their own as Elias Lönnrot did when he compiled the *Kalevala*, inserting his own verses and modifying authentic verses in order to form an integrated narration.

<sup>52</sup> Mel. 280 and Vall. 3922. The wedding poem published in Pontani & Weises 2021, 766–767 (T. Korhonen). Miltopaeus (1631–1679) was born in Turku, came from a modest background, studied at the Royal Academy of Turku and never study abroad.

<sup>53</sup> Päll 2010, 121–123 and Päll 2018, 92–93. Päll has published the poem in Estonian journal *Keel ja Kirjandus* 6 (2013), 420–439, together with other Bucolic poems from Estonia. The wedding poem was addressed to Salomon Matthiae, Professor of Greek in Tartu. Brockmann (1609–1647) was also the first to publish poems in Estonian.

<sup>54</sup> Randal 2001, 43. In a way, the opposite of plagiarism is pseudo-epistolography, in which the author deliberately remains anonymous because he or someone else has attributed his texts to some famous historical or mythical author, like Orpheus or Hippocrates. The term pseudo-epistolography acknowledges the fact that letters or fictive correspondence between famous historical (e.g., Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra) or mythological people was popular – it was even one of the rhetorical exercises – in antiquity. In modern times, James Mcpherson’s *The Poems of Ossian* is an example from the late 18th century, and the practice of ghostwriting is an even more recent example.



transcribe whole discourses from another writers, and then “reprint them as their own” (*aliena pro suis edunt*), and who, though fearing to be “guilty of kidnapping” (*coarguantur plagii*) if discovered have, however, for some time enjoyed the credit of passing for genuine authors.<sup>55</sup>

Erasmus’ words seem to indicate that although authorship could be defined in different ways, its autonomy was still protected, and literary thefts condemned.<sup>56</sup> In the case of occasional literature, the author-centred concept of literature was crucial for two reasons. Firstly, one of the most important functions of occasional poetry was ‘networking’, to be socially known, and hence writers would clearly want to ‘own’ their texts, and would sign their verses (although they sometimes used only their initials). Secondly, straightforward imitation, mere utilization of others’ verses was seen as unskilled – at least in Neo-Latin poetry. It was not a compliment to receive verses which were slavish copies.

### Cases of Plagiarism and ‘Reusing’

One case which was condemned as plagiarism by contemporaries, occurred in Turku in 1659. Facts about the incident are, however, vague. A Sweden-born student, Ericus Wijkman, delivered an oration in Latin at a festivity organised by the Royal Academy of Turku. The oration was printed (now lost and the title is not known) and it was claimed to have been a copy of an oration given forty years earlier by a certain Laurentius Wallius.<sup>57</sup> Wijkman was even expelled from the university, but plagiarism was not the decisive reason for it. He had been one of the chief organisers of student’s protest because some students had been punished by the public juridical system and not by the university’s own juridical system, which was the general practice.<sup>58</sup> In this case, the charge of plagiarism functioned

<sup>55</sup> Erasmus 1511, 320–325; Miller 1975, 142. VD16 E 3180. Trans. by John Wilson (2009 [1668]). It is anachronistic to translate *plagium* here as ‘plagiarism’, and *plagiarii* as plagiarists. The editor Gerhard Listrius of the 1676 edition of *Stultitiae laus* comments on the passage by explaining the phrase *coarguantur plagii* that “kidnapping is a kind of theft, when other’s property is arbitrary taken; those who do it are called *plagiarii*” (*Plagium est furti genus, quoties abducuntur aliene mancipia aut liberi: id qui faciunt, plagiarii vocantur*).

<sup>56</sup> On plagiarism in seventeenth-century discourse, see Kivistö 2018, 112–131, especially 115–117.

<sup>57</sup> Laurentius Wallius may be Laurentius Olai Wallius (1588–1638), Bishop of Strängnäs (Sweden). SKB. Register *s.v.* According to LIBRIS.kb.se Database, he delivered two orations, *De Conscientia* and *Oratio de studii theologici praestantia* in Strängnäs, which both were printed in Wittenberg in 1615.

<sup>58</sup> *Kirjallinen kuukauslehti*, Nr. 6 (June) 1867, pp. 157–159. Klinge *et al.* 1987, 204–205 (M. Klinge).

as incriminating evidence of Wijkman's character. Clearly, plagiarism was not accepted, and it could be used as part of a charge.

Some cases of plagiarism obviously went unnoticed, like the following cases from Turku and Uppsala. Ericus Torsche (Torchen, Tors), a Sweden-born student, delivered an oration eulogising erudition (*Exercitium declamatorium in laudem eruditionis*) at the Royal Academy of Turku in July 1648. Over twenty years later, in May 1671, another student, Jonas Walbman, gave word-for-word the same oration at Turku, although the title (*Oratio brevis de eruditione ejusque laudibus*) was slightly different. One reason why Walbman's plagiarism was apparently never noticed and did not affect his career was that Torsche's oration, although delivered at Turku, was printed in Stockholm.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, many who eulogised erudition, a common topic in orations, used the same references and examples – why not then copy an older oration on that topic?

Another case of plagiarism, at least from our point of view, was a Greek translation of a Latin oration. A Finnish student, Andreas Keckonius, held a Latin prose oration of twelve pages (247 lines) on drunkenness at Uppsala in 1639.<sup>60</sup> Four years later, in 1643, Martinus Brennerus delivered a Greek oration on the same subject – also at Uppsala, but which was, in fact, a word-for-word albeit slightly abbreviated translation of Keckonius' Latin speech. Brennerus' Greek oration contains eleven pages (245 lines), and it was delivered *ex memoria* (cf. the title page). In 1643, Keckonius had already left Uppsala and it is unlikely that he was aware that his Latin speech has been translated into Greek by Brennerus and published without mentioning his name as the original author.<sup>61</sup> Nobody seemed to have noticed that Keckonius' speech had been plagiarised. Henricus Ausius, Professor of Greek, who wrote the invitation to attend Brennerus' oration, does not mention Keckonius. Translating a long Latin speech into Greek, memorising a text of some length, and delivering it by heart was a considerable achievement as such and could have been seen as a satisfactory demonstration of one's knowledge of Greek. Furthermore, Martinus Brennerus' uncle, Gabriel Brennerus, who was born in Finland, had delivered an

<sup>59</sup> Walbman's oration: SKB 4269. On Torsche and Walbman, see Register Database, *s.v.* Walbman was consecrated as a priest in 1672 and he became a curate in Normlösa (Sweden) in 1699.

<sup>60</sup> SKB 2057. Drunkenness and the dangers of alcoholism was a popular subject in orations and dissertations. Admonitions to sobriety were seen as part of the general education of good manners. Drunkenness was sometimes a topic in cautionary Christian hymns, too, see Kurvinen 1929, 169.

<sup>61</sup> Keckonius was appointed Assistant at the Royal Academy of Turku in 1640; two years later he became Rector at the School of Pori. In Uppsala, he had written a Greek congratulation (6 eleg) for oration in 1638 (SKB 3396). It is the earliest Humanist Greek poem by a Finn.

oration (in Latin) on the same subject already in 1634, at Uppsala, and dedicated it, among many others, to Martinus Brennerus' father, Canutus Brennerus. Keckonius might have known this speech, which was delivered five years before his Latin speech – at least he uses some of the same references (e.g., *Prov.* 23:31). However, Keckonius has many more references to ancient history (Alexander the Great, Antonius and Cleopatra) and ancient sources than Gabriel Brennerus.<sup>62</sup>

In their occasional poetry, students imitated Greek authors but also sometimes took some verses from the texts created by their fellow students. At Turku in 1655, Daniel Rosander, a Sweden-born student, wrote a Greek congratulation (7 hex), entitled Προσφώνημα, to his fellow student for a dissertation. Twenty-seven years later, in 1682, Rosander's compatriot Petrus Ulnerus wrote a congratulation (10 hex), also entitled Προσφώνημα, which was a little advanced in regard to its Greek, but Ulnerus uses the same phrases as Rosander (ἀγαθαῖς σπουδαῖς, ἄκρον διδασχῆς ἀπολέκτον, δόγματα λάμπρα) and, more conspicuously, Ulnerus copied Rosander's last line verbatim (Εὖγε Θεοῦ φίλε καὶ μουσῶν χαρίτων τε λατρευτά).<sup>63</sup> Either Ulnerus has seen and imitated Rosander's poem or they have had a common source.

The same kind of case is a congratulation (19 ll.) for a dissertation by Johannes Gezelius Nepos in 1698. Gezelius Nepos largely used Daniel Unger's congratulation (25 ll.) for a dissertation, published over thirty years before, in 1667. Only the lines 1–3, 5–6 and 12–15 of Gezelius Nepos' congratulation are not from Unger's text, and even lines 5–6 were taken from Ps.-Plutarch (*De liber. ed.* 5e).<sup>64</sup> However, Johannes Gezelius Nepos was only 12 years old, when he wrote this congratulatory text in Greek.<sup>65</sup> Contemporaries would perhaps call

<sup>62</sup> Gabriel Brennerus' oration, SKB 679. Brennerus' family was indeed interested in the subject. In 1691, Zacharias Brennerus, born in Finland but whose family was related to the Swedish Brennerus family, delivered an oration on drunkenness in Greek at the University of Tartu. Fant 1775–86 I, 122 note b, Cederberg 1939, 86–87. The oration was printed but is now lost, and it is not mentioned in Jaanson's bibliography (2000).

<sup>63</sup> Cf. line 9 in Ulnerus (Vall. 3809) and line 7 in Rosander (Vall 3926). Ulnerus, however, corrected Rosander's χαριθῶν to χαρίτων [*pro* χαρίτων]. Both describe in few words the subject of the dissertation. Dissertations dealt with different subjects.

<sup>64</sup> The Greek congratulations by Gezelius Nepos (Vall. 1465) and Unger (Vall. 2024). Unger imitated Isocrates in his lines 7–10 (*Ad Dem.* 5–6). He also mentions that the respondent will bring honour to Καρελία (Carelia, in eastern Finland), their πατρίς (l. 19). Gezelius' contribution is mainly to mention the subject of the dissertation (*De cerebro*): τὸ δειγμά σου περὶ τῆς Ἑγκεφάλου φυσιολογικόν (ll. 13–15).

<sup>65</sup> Moreover, according to the university's register he was only enrolled into university in the following year (1699). He was, however, already deeply tied to the academic world due to his father

it slavish or, rather, *puerile imitatio*. Six years later, in 1704, Johannes Gezelius Nepos wrote another congratulation (18 ll.) for a dissertation on the pillar of salt (*Gen.* 19:26). This quite competent text, containing both a Greek heading and a Greek signature, begins with a quote, Πλούταρχος περὶ τῆς γῆς ἔφησε [...] from Ps.-Plutarch (*De liber. ed.* 2b). “Plutarch” is later referred to as ὁ χαίρων ἐν παιδαγωγός (l. 5). Gezelius Nepos ends with the wish that the respondent would turn into a pillar, not like Lot’s wife, but a pillar in the temple of God (ll. 17–19, cf. *Rev.* 3:12).<sup>66</sup>

Borrowing from other student’s Greek texts did not only occur between paratexts of dissertations. Enevaldus Wanochius, a prolific student writer in Greek, composed a long funerary poem (44 eleg) to Johannes Gezelius Jr.’s son Nicolaus, who died at the age of fifteen in 1697. Wanochius imitates Hesiod’s *Theogony* and Theognis as well as maxims on the vanity of human life (like Glycon’s Πάντα γέλως καὶ πάντα κόνις καὶ πάντα τὸ μηδέν). Contrary to this pessimism, Wanochius addresses the young student of theology now living as an impeccable, ‘bleached’ (λευκανθείς) and bright citizen in Heaven, gazing at heavenly objects (vv. 31–32).<sup>67</sup> However, seven years before, Olaus Flachsenius had written a funerary poem (8 eleg) to Nicolaus’ grandfather, Gezelius Sr., which ends with nearly the same verses.<sup>68</sup>

A case in point is that a writer used word-by-word his own, previous text. Professor of Greek and Hebrew Simon Paulinus wrote nine congratulations to the students whose dissertations he had supervised (and in most cases also written), and eight for respondents of dissertations presided over by other professors. The professorship was a demanding one that included other Semitic (biblical) languages besides Hebrew. Hence, it is natural that he sometimes used the same expressions, reusing his own occasional poems. Lines 1–6 in Paulinus’ Greek congratulatory poem (8 hex) for Laurentius Stachaeus’ dissertation in December 1687 are the same as lines 1–6 in his earlier congratulation to Johannes Lindeberg in 1685. Furthermore, lines 7–8 of Paulinus’ poem to Stachaeus (December

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Gezelius Jr. and his grandfather Gezelius Sr., both in turn Bishop of Turku (and therefore the Vice-Chancellors of the university). The latter was also a well-known promoter of Greek studies at Tartu and Turku.

<sup>66</sup> Vall. 2944.

<sup>67</sup> Mel. 1621. For the imitations in Wanochius’ poem and the excerpt including Glycon’s line (*AP* 10.124), see Korhonen 2004, 214–215.

<sup>68</sup> Verses 7–8: Τοῦνεκα καὶ τε πόλου λευκανθείς [!] αὐτὸς ἄμωμος, νῦν λαμπρὸς πολίτης, οὐράνιον θεωρεῖ (Mel. 1195). The possible reader of both poems, Gezelius Jr. (father of Nicolaus and son of Gezelius Sr.) would surely have noticed the similarity.

1687) are the same as in his slightly earlier congratulation to Christophorus Alanus in May 1687.<sup>69</sup> The headings are also nearly the same in Greek poems to Stachaeus and to Alanus. The discipline of all these three dissertations presided over by Paulinus is Hebrew philology and the topic of all three congratulations is the water of life (ὕδωρ ζωῆς, cf. Rev. 22:17), that is, God's words, and that the Greek and Hebrew languages (γλῶσσαι καὶ διάλεκτοι Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἑβραίων) are the source of such life-bringing water.

Henricus Ausius, Professor of Greek at Uppsala, who wrote 48 congratulations for dissertations (one of them for a gymnasial dissertation), sometimes used his own previous verses. In May 1642, he starts his congratulation (6 eleg) to Axelius Haache who disputed on liberal arts with a line: Οἶον ἐπὶ δροσερῷ φέρεται λειμῶνι μέλισσα (As a bee passes through a moist meadow). Later, in 1656, the first line in his congratulation (6 hex) to Nicolaus Salanus for Salanus' gnomology, is identical except instead of δροσερῷ, there is καθαρῷ (sc. through a pure meadow). His sentences, however, have a different focus. In the first poem, Ausius continues with a comparison to spring: Haache is as industrious (ὀρμὴν καὶ σπουδὴν, v. 4) as a bee when spring has arrived after winter, whereas Salanus is like a bee in a pure meadow collecting various flowers, his work being as industrious (ὥς σπουδὴν κ' ὀρμὴν, v. 3) as a bee's.<sup>70</sup>

Students, too, might reuse their own Greek verses. At Turku, a Sweden-born student, Enevaldus Widbeckius, composed a distichon in Greek (with a Greek heading and signature) to congratulate his fellow student on his dissertation in December 1670. Only three months later, in February 1671, he recycled the verses by modifying them as the fifth and tenth verse in his much more elaborate congratulation (10 eleg) to his brother (ἀδελφῷ ὁμογαστρίῳ) for a dissertation. The Greek signature in the latter also bears the same kind of wording as in the previous congratulation.<sup>71</sup> In this case, the earlier Greek distichon served as a kind of draft for the more ambitious Greek occasional poem.

At the beginning of the early modern period 'slavish' or puerile imitation was part of elementary writing exercises. Verses or half verses were taken from a famous author's work after which the student-writer modified them morphologically and syntactically to fit his own text. Imitation has a much broader meaning than

<sup>69</sup> Paulinus' Greek congratulation to Lindeberg in 1685 (Vall. 2734), to Alanus in May 1687 (Vall. 274) and to Stachaeus in December 1687 (Vall. 2742).

<sup>70</sup> Salanus 1656. For another case of Ausius reusing his previous verses, see Akujärvi 2021, 275. In all, Ausius wrote 53 Humanist Greek texts. See HUMGRAECA database (Akujärvi).

<sup>71</sup> Vall. 707 and Vall. 3758.

mere copying, especially in treatises of writing exercises. Early modern Latin and Greek literalness plays with imitation, by means of which the model, the subtext, was transferred in many ways. As Tom Deniere summarises, imitation can include additions, substitutions, omissions and rearrangement of the subtext.<sup>72</sup> Christopher Helvicius (1623) suggests in his *Liber elegans de carminibus atque dialectis Graecorum* that the same exercises in *imitatio* should be used in Greek as in Latin.<sup>73</sup> Some of these exercises are presented in the following subsection.

### Exercises in Imitation

Early modern writing exercises could be mentioned in the school ordinances, the statutes of universities and in lecture programmes, like the ‘little imitation’ in the 1724 Swedish school ordinance.<sup>74</sup> These documents, however, do not specify the nature of these exercises, except they sometimes distinguish between ‘grammatical’ and stylistic exercises.

The 1626 Uppsala statutes named Jacobus Pontanus’ *Institutio poetica* as a work to be used for instruction on poetry. The later editions of the *Institutio*, such as those published in Leipzig 1620 and Amsterdam 1637, contain exercises designed so that students would make progress in composing poetry.<sup>75</sup> Pontanus laid out six exercises: (i) expressing the same topic in different words or in different poetical genres; (ii) expanding on the expressions of a short poem and, accordingly, (iii) converting prose into verses and vice versa; (iv) translating a Greek poem into Latin or vice versa; (v) changing metre, such as hexameters into elegiac couplets; (vi) relating a poem’s content or changing a poem’s meaning (e.g., making a parody). Pontanus saw translation as an exercise that taught the student to appreciate the nuances of both languages and to understand their “splendour, elegance, richness of vocabulary and morphology”.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Deniere 2014, 304–305.

<sup>73</sup> Helvicius 1623, 31. See above Chapter 2.2 (“Guides on Writing in Greek”).

<sup>74</sup> See above Chapter 2.2 (“Greek at Swedish Schools”).

<sup>75</sup> Ström 1994, 53. Annerstedt 1877b, 279. Pontanus’ *Institutio poetica* was first printed in Ingolstadt in 1594. It was often published together with Johannes Buchlerus’ *Thesaurus phrasium poeticarum* (1605), see VD17 12:129022H, also in the above-mentioned editions of 1620 (Leipzig) and 1637 (Amsterdam). For other contemporary treatises on poetics used in Sweden, see Ström 1994, 48–49.

<sup>76</sup> Pontanus 1620, 17: *Quae exercitatio ad utriusque linguae proprietatem, splendorem, elegantiam, copiam, figurarumque varietatem percipiendam non mediocritate valet*. On Latin style exercises in Riga and Estonian schools, see Päll 2012, 798.

Some of Pontanus' exercises remind one of 'grammatical' exercises (*grammatica*) presented in Johannes Schefferus' *De stylo illiusque exercitiis ad veterum consuetudinem* (1652–1653), whose second edition (1657) contained a large additional part, *Gymnasium styli seu de vario scribendi exercitio*. The two textbooks were printed together as one volume (1660), and later several times in Sweden and Germany.<sup>77</sup> At Turku, Schefferus' work was used by Professors of Eloquence Martinus Miltopaeus (1660–1679) and Daniel Achrelius (1679–1692) in their textbooks on rhetoric.<sup>78</sup>

Schefferus presents the ancient tripartite system of styles (high, medium, and low) and the concept of style before concentrating on exercises, which he divides into 1) grammatical (*grammatica*), which function as training for the 2) rhetorical exercises (*retorica*), that is, for the stylistic exercises proper. Rhetorical exercises are further divided into minor and major ones. *Imitatio* is seen as one of the minor rhetorical exercises.<sup>79</sup> Schefferus names seventeen types of 'imitations', which, in fact, are mostly modifications of ancient *progymnasmata*, especially those articulated by Aphthonius, as Nils Ekedahl has remarked.<sup>80</sup> Imitation is thus treated in a broader sense than merely 'borrowing' some phrases or verses, or following in the footsteps of a model author. 'Imitations' practise presenting subjects in a more extensive or more restricted way, making comparisons, writing dialogues, and to describe landscapes and characters. More extended rhetorical exercises (*maiora*) for their part aim to gain students' experience in expressing themselves by means of practice orations (*declamationes*) and speeches in imaginary juridical cases (*controversiae*).<sup>81</sup>

At Turku, Barthollus Thomae Rajalenius published a concise Latin grammar entitled *Breviarum grammaticae Latinae* (1683), which contains exercises mainly copied from Schefferus' work.<sup>82</sup> Like Schefferus, Rajalenius presents two kinds

<sup>77</sup> Schefferus' work was printed for the first time in 1670 in Jena and later at least four times. See Ekedahl 2003, 139, 158 and Collijn 1942–1944, 826–827. See also VD17 39:142672Z (Jena 1689).

<sup>78</sup> Miltopaeus 1669. See Sarasti-Wilenius 2000, 52. On Schefferus' importance in the Nordic countries, see Päll 2012, 790 and Ekedahl 2003, 139–140.

<sup>79</sup> Schefferus 1665, 172–183.

<sup>80</sup> Ekedahl 2003, 158. Schefferus mentions that an exercise is sometimes called imitation. Schefferus 1665, 21.

<sup>81</sup> Schefferus 1665, 191–193.

<sup>82</sup> However, Rajalenius only mentions Schefferus in passing, Rajalenius 1683, B5v. Rajalenius (d. 1708) studied at Turku and became Vicar of Rauma, on the western coast of Finland, in the same year as his concise Latin grammar, his only publication besides a dissertation, was published. His career was not successful due to his alcoholism. Register Database *s.v.* and NBF *s.v.*

of exercises. As daily practice for students, Rajalenius recommends grammatical exercises and mentions nine of them: 1) translating from Latin into Swedish; 2) *variatio*, i.e., transforming substantives into adjectives, changing active voices into passive, and changing the mood, tenses or persons of verbs; 3) *carminis solutio*, i.e., changing verse into prose; 4) translating from Greek into Latin; 5) *puerile*, that is basic not advanced imitation of some story (*historia*); 6) interpreting the grammatical structure of some maxims (*sentent[iae] explicatio per rationes*);<sup>83</sup> 7) writing simple letters; 8) describing something that one has seen; 9) interpreting the rhetorical structure of a fable.<sup>84</sup>

As for rhetorical exercises, Rajalenius, following Schefferus, lists four minor ones, which match his first five ‘grammatical’ exercises, although they are more demanding: 1) *variatio*, including changing phrases, figures, and forms; 2) changing prose into verse by changing the vocabulary; 3) elegant translation (*versio decora*); 4) more advanced *imitatio*. Seventeen ‘imitation’ exercises are then given, and, as in Schefferus’ textbook, they correspond to a certain extent to Aphthonius’ *progymnasmata*.<sup>85</sup> At the end of his succinct book, Rajalenius lists some authors and treatises that may be helpful in studying various languages. For Greek, he recommends Gezelius’ New Testament Greek dictionary,<sup>86</sup> Demosthenes’ and Isocrates’ orations, Plutarch’s writings pertaining to history, and some Greek poets: Homer, Phocylides (that is: Ps.-Phocylides), Theognis, and Hesiod. Moreover, Rajalenius mentions Schrevelius’ Greek dictionary, and “Volland” for Greek phrases, Neander’s epistolography,<sup>87</sup> and “Helvicius” for “writing Greek poems easily” (*carminum facile scribendorum artem*),<sup>88</sup> that is, Johannes Vollander’s phrase dictionary (1592) and Christophorus Helvicius’ *Liber elegans de carminibus atque dialectis Graecorum* (1623), which were discussed in Chapter 2.2.<sup>89</sup> Rajalenius refers to all these writers so vaguely that we may assume that they were quite well known in Turku.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Rajalenius used abbreviations throughout his grammar – perhaps for reasons of space.

<sup>84</sup> Rajalenius 1683, B6r.

<sup>85</sup> Rajalenius 1683, B6r–B7r.

<sup>86</sup> Gezelius’ dictionary was first published in Tartu (1649) and then in Turku (1686).

<sup>87</sup> Neander’s epistolography and other works by Neander useful for writing in Greek, see Korhonen 2021, 246n107.

<sup>88</sup> Rajalenius 1683, B8r.

<sup>89</sup> See above Chapter 2.2 (“Guides on Writing in Greek”). Note that both Olaus Nicolai and Rajalenius recommend Helvicius’ work as useful for versifying in Greek.

<sup>90</sup> Rajalenius 1683, B8r.



## 4.2. Occasional and Epideictic Literature

According to their rhetorical form, short Humanist Greek texts are mostly epideictic literature based on ancient models. They are also occasional literature, written for a certain occasion, and their social function is often more important than their literary value. In academic environments, the functions of these texts were to seek or acknowledge patronage and to strengthen existing connections and friendships. Naturally, therefore, they were mainly eulogising poems that would result in positive social cohesion. The eulogising, paying tribute to the addressee(s), was often exaggerated and hyperbolic.<sup>91</sup> However, abundant praise lavished on an individual was supposed to conflict with the Christian (especially pietistic) idea of man, which underlined humility.<sup>92</sup>

Exaggerated praise was also an object of ridicule. Erasmus satirises mutual eulogising expressed in academic occasional literature through the mouth of his *Stultitia*, who counts the follies of rhetoricians, poets, and different branches of learned men:

*Illud autem lepidissimum, cum mutuis epistolis, carminibus, encomiis sese vicissim laudant, stulti stultos, indoctos indocti. Hic illius suffragio discedit Alcaeus, ille hujus Callimachus [...].*<sup>93</sup>

But this is most charming thing, when they praise each other in turn by mutual epistles, poems, and encomia; fools praise fools, and unlearned the unlearned. One is complemented by being called Alcaeus, another Callimachus [...]

In this Chapter, the interconnection of these terms – occasional and epideictic – is discussed along with the ‘problematic’ abundant praise characterising these texts. After that, the focus is on the concept of epideictic literature, which is

<sup>91</sup> In Swedish literary history, the term *hyllningspoesi* (poetry paying tribute, homage) is sometimes used of seventeenth-century poetry in Sweden. See Breitholtz 1971, 438. Excessive eulogising can be compared with the hyperbolic language of modern advertisements, which may be more likely to cause a defence reaction to some persons than lead to commercial success.

<sup>92</sup> On the pietistic concept of man, see, for instance, Worden 2010, 113–114 (Luther against self-love and the extreme love of life as basically evil), and 135–138 (pietistic virtues, such as frugality, according to Calvin).

<sup>93</sup> Erasmus 1511, 337–339 (Miller 1979, 142). Peter Eckler (Erasmus 1922, 199) translated the passage as: “It is further very pleasant when these coxcombs employ their pens in writing congratulatory epistles, poems and panegyrics, upon each other, wherein one shall be complemented with the title of Alcaeus, another with the incomparable Callimachus [...].”

clarified by Aristotle's remarks on praise, panegyrics and invectives. The chapter ends with a short overview on the epideictic subgenres presented in some early modern treatises.

### **Occasional Literature – *personales Gelegenheitsschriftum* and paratexts**

Early modern occasional literature was written for some specific occasion, for a certain purpose, to a certain person or persons, and to a certain audience. To a large extent, the occasion and the addressee(s) defined the form and content of the text. The urge to write did not come from 'inside', that is, as a poetic impulse pressing a writer to write of his own impressions, ideas, and experience,<sup>94</sup> but from 'outside', that is, the occasion provided the *opportunity* to write (and perhaps also publish) a text – sometimes and for certain specific reasons in Greek. We may suppose that in some cases a teacher might even have admonished a student to write in Greek for a certain occasion, which can be compared the situation as when a teacher gives the subject for a student's theses.

The number of occasional, published verses and prose from European early modern universities is hardly possible to estimate.<sup>95</sup> In 2001, the first volume of *Handbuch des personalen Gelegenheitsschrifttums in europäischen Bibliotheken und Archiven* came out, edited by Klaus Garber and several others. The series concentrates on German-speaking and German-influenced countries, Estonia and Latvia included.<sup>96</sup> The attribute 'personal' is attached to the term 'occasional' (*personales Gelegenheitsschrifttum*), emphasising the fact that these verses were written for specific persons, not, as such, for a general audience.<sup>97</sup> Although Garber's work is most valuable, and also contains Greek texts, it includes fewer 'personal' occasional texts, which were published along with some main texts, that is, as *paratexts*, such as congratulations and dedications in dissertations

<sup>94</sup> However, Hungarian teacher Polyzoos Kondos describes his agonising pains in a Greek poem (236 hex) with a Latin translation dedicated to his physician, but this is quite a late poem (1797). For the beginning of the poem, see Pontani & Weise 2022, 472–473 (A. Németh).

<sup>95</sup> The number of occasional verses in Swedish commemorative anthologies from early modern times is at least 100,000 according to Per S. Ridderstad, one of the originators of Swedish studies on occasional verses, see Jönsson 2020, 13.

<sup>96</sup> Garber *et al.* 2001. Baltic countries: Volume 7: Tallinn; Volume 8: Tartu, Volumes 12–15: Riga. The 31st volume on poems published in Stettin came out in 2013.

<sup>97</sup> Or, especially to "private" persons rather than nobility (cfr. the Swedish term "*verser över enskilda*" used in the Royal Library in Stockholm). I thank Johanna Akujärvi who reminded me of this practice.

and orations. These paratexts were also ‘personal’ in the same sense as *personales Gelegenheitsschrifttum*. The reason for this omission is the obvious invisibility of paratexts in the library catalogues.<sup>98</sup>

However, folk poetry – ancient Greek archaic oral poetry included – can also be viewed as ‘occasional’ in the sense that it was usually created for certain occasions – for weddings (e.g., some of Sappho’s poems), funerals (funerary oratory for casualties, such as Pericles’ oration), and for different kinds of celebrations (e.g., *epinikia* for festivals around sport competitions).<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, rhetoric also draws attention to communication in a particular context: the ‘occasional situation’ (*occasio*) changes depending on whether it is a celebration, a lawsuit, or a political meeting, which defined the three original genres of rhetoric, epideictic, juridical, and political orations. The speaker or author considers the situation, and speaks in accordance with what is suitable (*πρέπον*, *aptum*, cf. Cic. *Or.* 70) to the specific occasion, taking account ‘where’, ‘when’ and ‘to whom’. Rhetorical training thus takes notice of the target audience, so that the speaker’s intentionality and consideration of the specific occasion are essential parts of the art of rhetoric.

Composing for an occasion – making poems like a handyman or technician for a certain occasion, creating functional literature (*Gebrauchsliteratur*)<sup>100</sup> – might fight against the notions of inspired poetry composition, which has been emphasised in modern literature since Romanticism but which was already current in antiquity with the idea of poets being inspired by the gods.<sup>101</sup> During the nineteenth century, the distinction between inspired poets and poet technicians could have been made between folk poetry and poetry composed by the educated classes. In the preface to his collection of Finnish lyric folk poetry, *Kanteletar* (1840), Elias Lönnrot<sup>102</sup> makes a distinction between academic/erudite poetry

<sup>98</sup> In Swedish and Finnish library catalogues, the similar term, *Personskriffter/Henkilökirjallisuus* (‘person/personal literature’) refers mainly to separately published occasional texts of mostly well-defined genres, like wedding congratulations and funerary poems. See above Chapter 2.3, p. 79.

<sup>99</sup> One may be reminded of Goethe’s saying that every poem of his is a kind of occasional poem (*Gelegenheitsgedicht*) because they had sprung from the moment. See Segebrecht 1991, 129.

<sup>100</sup> Beata Agrell stipulates rhetorical and functional literature (*Gebrauchsliteratur*) to be texts which are composed according to certain rules, aims at specific effects, and are made for specific purposes. Agrell 2007, 87. The concept *Gebrauchsliteraturforschung*, however, covers such items as letters, sermons, popular songs etc., see Schnyder 2015, in particular, 149.

<sup>101</sup> Democritus fr. B18 D-K; Plato *Ion* (534a–b), *Phaedrus* (245a), *Ar. Poet.* 17.1455a32–35. See e.g. Halliwell 2011, 13–18, 55–67, 17–21.

<sup>102</sup> Besides *Kalevala*, Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) collected lyrical, short poems sung by women

and folk poetry, appreciating both but comparing folk poetry to *a living bird*, a cuckoo (which was considered a positive bird in Finnish folklore), whereas a poem written by an erudite man is like *a cuckoo in a Swiss cuckoo clock*. Lönnrot, who was influenced by German Romanticism, with its emphasis on folk poetry and national languages, stated that folk poetry is *born*, whereas an academic poem is *made* – presenting thus the idea of the well-known Latin aphorism (*Poeta nascitur non fit*).<sup>103</sup> According to Lönnrot, folk poetry is not only spontaneous, but poets were often anonymous (*poeta anonymus*), so that poems had as if been made by nature, and were organically born and grown.<sup>104</sup> In contrast to *Naturpoesi*, poetry by educated men stressed skill and education as well as the classical idea that poems would preserve one's name forever.

The emphasis on the 'born poet' was not a product of Romanticism. The early Fennophile Daniel Juslenius stated – among many other exaggerated statements about Finnish people – that in Finland both educated and uneducated men created poetry because they had been given poetic skills like those of "the ancient Arcadians" conforming it by the above mentioned Latin aphorism in a modified form (*nasci Poëtas, non fieri*).<sup>105</sup> Juslenius himself composed occasional verses in Latin almost as a daily practice, two poems in Greek, but he also wrote in Swedish.<sup>106</sup> Already at the beginning of the 18th century, open criticism had been made on the technical and poetical quality of occasional poems. Samuel von Triewald, a Swedish civil servant and poet, criticised the low quality of many occasional

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from eastern Finland and Carelia and published them in the *Kanteletar* ("Maiden of the Kantele" – *kantele* is a Fenno-Ugrian zither-like instrument). It also contains incantations and charms, which was a specific Finnish genre of Fenno-Ungrian folk poetry.

<sup>103</sup> The first instance for this saying is in Ps.-Acro's commentary on Horace's *Ars Poetica*. See Ringler 1941, 497–498, 500–501.

<sup>104</sup> Lönnrot 1840, V (Preface). As his poetic motto for *Kanteletar*, Lönnrot chose a short poem which seems to speak for itself, telling that she (= the poem) does not know who has made her, perhaps it was a bird (a duck, mallard, teal, or merganser), which reminds one of Alcmæon's notion that he had learned to compose poems from partridges and other birds (Fr. 39 and 40). However, Lönnrot borrowed the line from the *Kalevala* (1849, 34.71–76), in which the speaker is the bitter figure of Kullervo, a man who does not know his parents. Thus, the original context gives a totally different tone.

<sup>105</sup> Juslenius 1700, 91. Juslenius refers to Sir Philip Sydney's *Arcadia* and Verg. *Eccl.* 10.32–33 (*pro* 10.40–41) on the Arcadians.

<sup>106</sup> Juslenius wrote a Greek congratulation (4 eleg) for a dissertation in 1724 (Vall. 1838) and a Greek poem (4 hex) to Andreas Browallius in 1715, which was not published. It is preserved in a manuscript, which contains Juslenius' short poems in Latin with dates. The manuscript is deposited in the Municipal Library of Skara (Sweden), signum *MS Vitterhet 3*. The entire manuscript is digitised in ALVIN.

poems in his satirical poem in Swedish, “Of those who call themselves poets”, published in Stockholm in 1707. In his view, the ancient Swedish term *skald* was only to be reserved for genuine poets.<sup>107</sup> Triewald’s criticism is targeted especially against occasional poems in Swedish, which reflects the increasing importance of vernacular literature. Lizelius (1730), too, pondered whether a born poet may write in other languages than his mother tongue. Floderus (1785–1789), for his part, when speaking of the *versificandi mania* of seventeenth-century Sweden, pointed out that although “hardly one academic specimen was printed for which students did not set to Greek verses”, all these writers could not be called poets (*poetae*).<sup>108</sup> This criticism was partly caused by the ideas of French classicistic movement in Sweden directed at the lack of writing technique and ignorance of metre.<sup>109</sup>

Nordic multilingual occasional poetry written by educated men was mainly printed in the presses of educational institutions. Later, from the second half of the eighteenth century onward, occasional poems in the vernacular, sometimes still in Latin, also began to be published in the first Nordic newspapers. Newspapers had, of course, a wider audience than most publications coming from academic presses. Along with this broadening of their audience – when their ‘personal’ nature had changed – came sharper criticism.<sup>110</sup> The criticism did not encourage people to compose poems – or if some were written, the writers were not encouraged to publish them.

Since the second half of the eighteenth-century, occasional literature has had a bad reputation – and often not without reason. These numerous eulogising poems which were written by students and scholars alike were transitory in nature: they were written, published, and then perhaps read only by their addressees – and then, kept in the nooks of libraries or family archives, and forgotten. Only the past decades have resulted in the re-evaluation of occasional literature on a larger scale.<sup>111</sup> Neo-Latin studies have contributed to a decisively changed attitude towards occasional Latin literature written by early modern scholars and

<sup>107</sup> On Triewald’s *Om dem, som inbilla sig vara Poëter*, see Ekman 2004, 182, Lilius 1994, 42–44.

<sup>108</sup> Lizelius 1730, B2. Floderus 1785–1789, Ar–v; Akujärvi 2020, 251 (Akujärvi’s translation of Floderus’ line).

<sup>109</sup> See, e.g., Akujärvi 2015.

<sup>110</sup> Ekman 2004, 182.

<sup>111</sup> The former interest focused mainly on occasional verses in the vernacular. In Finland, many composes of occasional poetry in Finnish attempted to write a kind of Kalevala metre, see, e.g., Juhana Swahn’s Finnish congratulatory poem for a dissertation (*De dolo Gibeonitarum*) in 1730. Vall. 489.

students. The same topics and same epideictic functions that defined late antique literature – such as the glorification of prominent men, lamenting and praising the dead, praising the bridal couple, which already occurred in archaic poetry – also characterised early modern occasional poetry.<sup>112</sup>

Aristotle's third oratorical genre, the epideictic, served as a general term for all those speeches that did not fit into the categories of the two main speeches, juridical and political speeches. After Plato, criticism of rhetoric focused on the epideictic genre, which was accompanied by the view of the 'decay' of rhetoric: the withering of political and juridical rhetoric was combined with withering of the Greek city-state and the Roman Republic. This attitude was inherited by modern research on rhetoric, which considered epideictic rhetoric only as a late and inferior genre.

### Epideictic Literature

Ancient literary theorists – grammarians, rectoricans, and sophists – conceptualised rhetoric more thoroughly than poetry. However, writers of rhetorical manuals of imperial and late antiquity made links between epideictic rhetorical poetry and archaic poetry by taking examples of archaic poetry. Menander Rhetor (in the third and fourth c. CE) mentioned Homer as the 'inventor' of monody.<sup>113</sup> Poetry thus also began to be analysed using the concepts of rhetoric, which also influenced the evaluation of poems. Late antique poems have been called rhetorical poems, and one speaks of the *rhetorising* of poetry. This meant creating poetry according to models of epideictic rhetoric as well as reading and interpreting them using the concepts of rhetoric.<sup>114</sup> Furthermore, it could include the notion of *not* making a fundamental difference between prose and poetry – that poetry was nothing more than prose in verses – a notion

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<sup>112</sup> The wider 'rehabilitation' of Latin occasional literature happened alongside of the 'rhetorical turn', a revaluation of rhetoric since the middle of the 20th century. Neo-Latin scholars started to analyse occasional poetry on the basis of ancient epideictic rhetoric, which, in fact, occurred along with the analysis of archaic Graeco-Roman poetry as well. In his seminal work (1972), Francis Cairns analysed Hellenistic and imperial poetry on the basis of a genre division of epideictic rhetoric and adapting this technique also to archaic poetry.

<sup>113</sup> Men. Rhet. 2.16.434.11–12.

<sup>114</sup> For rhetoric, this coming together of prose and poetry meant an increasing emphasis on *elocutio*; rhetoric started to be equated with picturesque speaking (and not, for instance, with clear and economic speech). Webb 1997, 343, 348. Kennedy 1980, 108–119. Enos 1996, 386. Martin Crusius paid special attention to the *speeches* in Homer, which is attested by his notes in his copies of Homer. Grafton 2002, 82–83.

with which Aristotle, for one, did not agree (*Poet.* 1.1447b16–18). However, at the same time, Aristotle presented often examples from poetry to illustrate his rhetorical concepts in his *Rhetoric*.

In the early modern period, these kinds of concepts concerning the relationship between rhetoric and poetry are to be found in poetics and different kinds of scholarly texts and textbooks. Erasmus, for instance, stated that he was fascinated by rhetorical poetry (*poema rhetoricum*) and poetic rhetors (*rhetor poeticus*).<sup>115</sup> Jan Comenius briefly introduces rhetoric and poetics in the 72nd chapter of his elementary pedagogical encyclopaedia, *Janua linguarum reserata* (1629), by linking them closely together. After the presentation of the orator's tasks, the eloquent poet, *poëta disertus*, who transforms prose into poetry, is presented: "from (metrically unbound) prose he fashions bound texts, creating (metrical) poems, which elegantly bring together verses and rhythm: he cleverly composes *epithalamia*, *epicedia*, *propemptica*, *epigram* and others; if he excels, he is crowned with the laurel".<sup>116</sup> Thus, it is possible to observe poetics in prose as well as the rhetorical figures used by poets (e.g. apostrophes). Gerardus Vossius states in the preface to his *Poeticae Institutiones libri tres* (1647) that there are many subjects which rhetoric and poetry have in common.<sup>117</sup>

Contemporary conceptions of literature can be observed in early dictionaries and encyclopaedias. Henricus Florinus, a clergyman in Paimio (southern Finland) and collector of Finnish proverbs, published a trilingual dictionary (Latin – Swedish – Finnish) in Turku in 1678. Under the title *De museo & re literaria* he discusses various words related to literature, rhetoric, and writing. *Ars liberalis* is translated into Finnish/Swedish as *Kirjallinen konst/Bookligh konst* ('literary technique'), *carmen*, *versus* as *Wärsy, runoi/Wers* ('verse, poem') and *Versiculus* as *Wärsyinel/Lijten Wers* ('short poem'). *Oratio Prosa* is explained to be *Puhe eli kirjoitus ilman wärsytäl/Ett taal eller skrift som inte är wers* ('speech or writing without verses'). It is illustrative of the contemporary literary conceptions that the second-last-mentioned term in this succinct section is emphatically *Encomium*.<sup>118</sup> Besides factual literature (scientific, religious, juridical, historical,

<sup>115</sup> A letter to Andrea Ammonio (2 December 1513). *Ep.* Nr. 283, 116–117, see also 110–112. Ferguson, Mynors & Thomson 1975, 270–271.

<sup>116</sup> [...] *e Prosa (soluta) ligatam faciens, versus & rhythmos concinnat eleganter Carmina (metrum) modulatur; Epithalamia (nuptialis) Epicedia, Propemptica, Epigrammata &c. fingit ingeniose: qui, si excellit, laurea coronatur.* Comenius 1638, 212–214 (LXXII. 751–754). Cf. also Gezelius 1648, Nr. 754. Gezelius Sr. translated *Janua* into *koine* Greek (1648).

<sup>117</sup> See Bloemendal 2009, 70.

<sup>118</sup> Florinus 1678, 39–44. Florinus translated *Encomium* into Finnish/Swedish as *Ylistös/Beröm*

etc.), printed literature in Finland during the 17th and 18th centuries in the sense of literature as *Schöne Literatur* was mainly learned eulogies, that is, encomiastic literature created by scholars. Furthermore, an encomiastic aspect is to be found in the conceptualisation of Christian hymns, too, although their main subject was of course not to eulogise mere mortals.<sup>119</sup>

Praising, even exaggerated praise, was the other and the essential part of epideictic speeches according to Aristotle. Aristotle's tripartite classification of orations differs in relation to time – past, present, and future<sup>120</sup> – but also with regard to their devices. As Aristotle defines in the *Rhetoric*, *examples* are suitable for deliberative and judicial speeches, whereas epideictic speeches operate by *augmentation* (αὐξησις).<sup>121</sup> Extending praise often meant exaggeration. Furthermore, in Aristotle's view, epideictic speech is addressed to an audience that pays attention to the skill of the speaker and not so much to the subject – that is, more to form than to content. The special purpose of epideictic speeches, in Aristotle's view, was to show (cf. ἐπιδεικτικός > ἐπιδείκνυμι 'to show') what is to be respected or what is to be despised. Hence, the epideictic speaker either praises or rebukes (in an extended way) and therefore, epideictic speeches are divided into speeches of praise and reproach (*Rh.* 1.2.1358b8 and *Rh.* 1.9. 136823–25).<sup>122</sup> Aristotle, however, concentrates only on praise speeches, omitting invective,<sup>123</sup> and he makes a difference between praise (ἔπαινος) and *encomium* (ἐγκώμιον): the former praises general goodness – the continuity of goodness, its greatness –

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('praise, commendation'). Florinus participated in revising the first Finnish Bible (1642) during the 1670s and 1680s.

<sup>119</sup> A Finnish hymnological manuscript in Latin from the sixteenth century ("Marttila 1556") divides hymns according to the following four groups, also twice giving a Greek equivalent to the term: *Hymnus eucharisticus* (ὕμνος εὐχαριστικός), *Hymnus encomiasticus* (ὕμνος ἐγκωμιαστικός), *Hymnus petitorius* and *Carmen exhortatorium*. Kurvinen 1929, 165, 33–37. The names reflect the influence of epideictic genres.

<sup>120</sup> Political speech is future-oriented, i.e., for decision-making, juridical speech points to the past, such as the interpretation of a crime which has been committed, and epideictic speech to the present, i.e., to the specific moment (καιρός).

<sup>121</sup> Ar. *Rhet.* 1.9.1368a27–33. Examples (from the past) fit best to deliberative/political speeches because future events are evaluated by past events, whereas *enthymema*, that is, rhetorical syllogism, which operates with particular examples, not by general statements like syllogism proper, is a convenient device in juridical speeches.

<sup>122</sup> Describing a hero's amazing deeds requires a more hyperbolic, or exaggerated, language – the 'lying' which Aristotle referred to in *Poetics* (24.1460a19). For Aristotle's ideas on the origin of literature, see Buchheit 1960, 132, Kennedy 1996, 183, and Walker 2000, 9.

<sup>123</sup> On invectives in ancient literature, see Nisbet 1987 and Koster 1980.



whereas encomium concentrates on individual good deeds (*Rhet.* 1.9.1367b21–28, *Eud. Eth.* 2.1.1219b8–16).<sup>124</sup> *Encomium* is thus a complimentary address for a specific deed in a specific moment, having thus aspects of thanksgiving and panegyric. Later, Quintilian states that the term ‘epideictic’ is mostly laudatory (*continet laudativum in se genus*) and implies display (*ostentatio*) rather than demonstration (*demonstratio*) (*Inst.* 3.4.13).

In the *Poetics*, Aristotle uses the dichotomy of praise and reproach when discussing the birth of poetry (ποίησις). He states that μίμησις is inherent to man, and that those who also had a sense of rhythm developed poetry from mere improvisation, ἐκ τῶν αὐτοσχεδιασμάτων (*Poet.* 4.1448b23, 4.1449a9). From these premises, poetry was further divided into two: better poets created poetry describing the actions of significant people (σπουδαῖοι), whereas the more superficial poets concentrated on describing actions of mediocre men or lower people (φαῦλοι). Because of this, praise (ὔμνος, ἐγκώμιον) and rebuke (ψόγος) were born – and, indirectly, the genres which are based on them, tragedy and comedy (*Poet.* 4. 1448b23–24). This implies that poets who rebuke or make fun of mediocre people are to be considered lesser poets, whereas better poets find something to praise in man.<sup>125</sup> Thus, only base poets make invectives because invectives reveal that the poet is unable to praise, and vice versa (if a person is praised, the poet himself is probably worthy of praise). Praising praise and criticising criticism can be seen as a sign of a hierarchal society, which early modern societies certainly were: the upper ranks did not criticise – by praising their peers, they strengthened their own position and the *status quo*, whereas criticism could well be regarded as slander if it came from the lower kind (cf. Thersites in the *Iliad*). Moreover, according to the Christian worldview on the Devil, he is among other things a slanderer (as the Greek translation, διάβολος,

<sup>124</sup> However, many editors, Kassel included, deleted the lines on ἐγκώμια in *Rhet.* 1.9.1367b (τὸ δ’ ἐγκώμιον τῶν ἔργων ἐστίν [...] διὸ καὶ ἐγκωμιάζομεν πράξαντα). According to LSJ, ἐγκώμιον is a laudatory ode, eulogy, panegyric, whereas ἔπαινος is an approval, praise, commendation, complimentary address, or panegyric. Hermogenes makes a difference between simple praise, ἔπαινος (‘Socrates is wise’), and more elaborate praise, ἐγκώμιον, see *Progymn.* 7.36 (Rabe).

<sup>125</sup> Korhonen 2012, 302–303. As Joseph Farrell (2003, 384) puts it: “Genre is thus an expression of character rather than a choice to be made among several freely available kinds of action or literary forms. A poet of serious character will produce serious poetry, which will involve the imitation of serious actions; a poet of less noble character will produce less exalted poetry that imitates baser actions. Genre is thus an expression of the affinity of certain individuals for imitating certain kinds of actions, and it derives from a similarity of character between the doer and the imitating poet.”

of the Hebrew word indicates), the one who criticises the divine order, whereas good angels constantly praise God and his creation.<sup>126</sup>

### Praise, Panegyrics and Invectives

As said, Aristotle mentions that epideictic speeches consist both of eulogies and invectives. However, he concentrates only to the first kinds. He divides praising speeches into three according to their functions: 1) a funeral speech, 2) a praise speech (ἐγκώμιον), and 3) a panegyric speech, which expresses especially celebratory praise (*Rh.* 1.9.1367b25–35). Aristotle does not define the difference between the latter two more specifically. However, the rhetorical textbook attributed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus states that panegyric speeches (πανηγυρικόν) can praise things related to the festival (πανήγυρις): the gods of the festival, the city where the festival is held, its ruler, the organisers of the festival, and competitions or prizes related to the festival.<sup>127</sup>

Some texts in the Turku Greek Corpus can be viewed as more panegyric and focus on celebration. Panegyric poems or prose texts aim to exalt a festive event and they have a stronger performative character than purely encomiastic texts. Printed panegyric texts commemorated the festival day. Matthias Salinius' congratulations for inaugurations (to professors and rectors) are of this kind, like Salinius' congratulation to Professor of Greek and Hebrew David Lund for his inauguration as Professor of Theology in 1698. The Latin title of this four-page publication – which contains only Salinius' Greek poem (18 hex) – begins with the Greek phrase denoting the genre or form of the poem: Εὐκτική προσφώνησις. The first lines of the poem are as follows:<sup>128</sup>

Εἶα! Τὴ αὖθις Φινλανδικὴ αἶα ἀεῖδει  
ἤκου [!] γηθόσυνά θ' ἀλαλάγματα τῇ ὀπὶ καλῇ;  
Τίπτε ἑοῖ Ἀκαδημεῖα ἄμμων κροταλίζων  
ὦδε, θριαμβεῦει οὕλη, σήμαντρά τε γήθους  
δείκνυσι τοῖσι κροτήμασι; [...]

<sup>126</sup> Milan Kundera expresses similar ideas in his novel *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (1978); for him, angels represent communists who praised, not criticised, the *status quo* in his former home country of Czechoslovakia, then part of the Eastern Bloc.

<sup>127</sup> Later, the 12th-century Byzantine rhetor, Georgios of Corinth, added a fourth type of speech, panegyric speeches, to the traditional three (judicial, political, encomiastic orations). Hunger 1978, 87.

<sup>128</sup> Mel. 1681. Verse 2 ἤκου understood as ἤκουα; ἑοῖ understood as pl. dat. However, later in the poem, Salinius speaks of 'us' ('all of us need to congratulate this teacher' (vv. 10–11).

Evoe! Why is the country of Finland again singing, I heard joyful sounds with beautiful voices? Why their entire university, applauding in this way, triumphs, and signs of joy [5] are shown by the sounds of rattles?

Salinius continues by stating that the reason for celebrations is Lund's inauguration, and, therefore we should congratulate Lund (τοῦνεκα συγχαίρειν [...] χρῆ πάντας ἄμματος, vv. 10–12). Another example of a distinctively panegyric poem (12 eleg), proper for the occasion, was written by Ericus Cajanus for the degree conferment ceremony at Turku in 1694:<sup>129</sup>

Ἔλθετε ὦ χάριτες καὶ Μοῦσαι αἶ ποτε Κάδμου  
 ἐς γάμον ἐλθοῦσαι καλὸν ἀείσατ' ἔπος.  
 Νῦν τίνος εἵνεκα καὶ ὑμῶν μὴ γλῶττα μελίσσῃ  
 Τοῦτο ὑπαρκέμεν ὥς δεῖ διὰ μουσαχαρεῖς;  
 ΤΟΙΓΑΡΟYN  
 Νῦν γε βαθὺς πόντος πολίης ἀλὸς Εἰα χαρήσῃ, 5  
 νῦν τε γελάξῃ σὺ γαῖα ἀπειρεσίῃ,  
 ΠΑΡΝΑΣΣΟΣ δ' ἄρα καὶ γαυροῦ Μούσαιφι ἄλῃποι  
 πρὸς τούτοις μετ' ἐμοῦ μέλπετε ἀλλόμενοι·  
 ὦ ἄνα οὐρανίων βέλτιστε, προσευχομένοισι  
 κλῦθι ἅμιν, κακὰ πλὴν πάντα ἄλαλκ' ἀπὸ τῶν 10  
 Θρεπτῶν ἡμετέρων τιμηλφῶν οἷ στεφανοῦνται  
 νῦν, ὅτι τῆς Σοφίης κτήτορες εἰσὶ καλῆς.

**Crit.** 1 Ei ἔτε ed. Ἐλθέτε corr. Pitkäranta 1993, 262 2 ἔπος; ed. 3 τόνος ed. 4 μουσαχαρεῖς. ed. 7 γαυροῦ. ed. 10 κλῦθ' ἅμιν corr. **Sim.** 1–2 cfr. Thgn. 1.15–16: Μοῦσαι καὶ Χάριτες, κοῦραι Διός, αἶ ποτε Κάδμου / ἐς γάμον ἐλθοῦσαι καλὸν ἀείσατ' ἔπος

Please come to sing your beautiful song, O Graces and Muses, who once arrived in Cadmus' wedding. Why should not your tongue now sing as it is proper for the sake of these Muse-loving men? THEREFORE [5] Now rejoice, the open, deep water of the torrid sea, and now rejoice, thou vast earth, and be proud too, Parnassus: sing and dance gladly with Muses and me, in honour of these men. O greatest Lord of Heaven, [10] hear us as we pray, rebuff all evil of these students raised by us, who now receive their wreaths because they have achieved a wonderful wisdom.

<sup>129</sup> Mel. 1420. See Pitkäranta 1993, 262 (the text and its translation into Finnish). The picture of the poem is in the beginning of Chapter 1.



other half of the epideictic literature, a kind of ‘invective’ (ψόγος): a criticism of the cold Nordic climate and winter, which functions as a contrast to the season of the occasion, spring, which heightens the time of the celebration of Alander’s appointment.

Invectives – contemporary ‘hate speech’ – are missing in the Nordic Greek Corpora, except for short direct invectives, like Johan Paulinus’ criticism, in his *Finlandia* (1678), of Catholics and Calvinists by using two words, which he borrowed from Crusius’ ψόγος against Catholic monks. However, although Paulinus pictures Finland as a Utopia, he also used negatives to define what Finland is *not*.<sup>132</sup> Grandiloquent epideictic texts may thus include their antithesis, invective. Early modern revilement used harsh language, especially in religious polemics, which has sometimes been called *grobianism*. Luther’s collection of poems slandering Catholicism, *Flugschriften*, uses colourful language, as is well known – for instance, he called Erasmus a bedbug that smells more horrible alive than dead. Reuchlin, for his part, called his opponents mules, pigs, and ferocious wolves.<sup>133</sup> One may suppose that hyperbolic praise required its counterpart, namely eruptions of negative emotions. However, this polarity of praise and criticism, blessing and curses – an abundance of hyperbolic praise in the epideictic literature and bold invectives in the religious and political polemics of the early modern period – might also make it easier to distance oneself from both praise and reproachful speech. Outspoken yapping is easier to bear mentally than ironic, insidious mockery. The rhetorically educated man at the beginning of the early modern period might not read praise or invective literally, but between the lines.<sup>134</sup> Besides, praise and slander expressed in a foreign language appear milder than in one’s native tongue. Praising one’s fellow student and friend as λευκανθείς

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<sup>132</sup> See the Introduction above and below Chapter 5.3.

<sup>133</sup> Examples are from Friedell 1928, 314 (Book I, Chapter VI). On early modern invectives in religious discussion, see Furey 2005 and on Luther’s *Flugschriften* and J. C. Scaliger’s attacks against Erasmus, see Conley 2009, 70–71, 73, 109–112. On Grobianism, see Einsiedel *et al.* 1964, Grobianus (Mario Pensa). At Turku, Professor Enevaldus Svenonius quoted Luther’s work on monks, including some abusive poems in his *Presbyter rite vocatus* 2 (1688). SKB 3674.

<sup>134</sup> However, people were scrupulous of their honour. The memos of the Consistorium meetings at the Royal Academy of Turku contain numerous examples of defamation cases against the members of the academic community, and the mockery is harsh and outspoken. On the other hand, there were several textbooks on how to behave in a more civilised way, like Erasmus’ *Libellus aureus* (1530), which was translated into Finnish and Swedish in 1665 (SKB 1047).

and θεόσεπτος seems perhaps completely fitting in Greek but hyperbolic in one's mother tongue.<sup>135</sup>

The hyperbolic praise of addressed persons also served as a rich source for laughter among the early modern satirists, such as François Rabelais, Jonathan Swift, and Ludvig Holberg from Denmark. Mikhail Bakhtin has even argued that the *blason* was a characteristic of 16th-century French literature. A *blason* combined praise with irony and ambiguity so that the slander could be playful.<sup>136</sup> If, in the official contexts of the academic world, praise had to be unambiguous and 'pure', mixed and ambiguous praise could be used at least in wedding congratulations, especially when both the writer and the addressee were of equal and 'inferior' status, hence likening praising to friendly irony.<sup>137</sup> The bridal couple might receive praise mixed with jokes, even mild insults. One example of this is the longest wedding congratulation (49 ll.) in the Turku Greek Corpus, written by Henricus Paulinus, the younger brother of Simon and Johan Paulinus, in 1675. In the beginning, Henricus wonders about the different choices that men must make where their brides are concerned (rich/poor, beautiful/not so beautiful, widows/young girls) and scolds the young groom, his friend Gabriel Keckonius, for deserting girls of their home district by picking a girl from elsewhere. However, this banter is combined with ponderings whether the reason for marriage is a mere coincidence or the will of God (concluding with the latter), and that Keckonius can be compared with Tobias (in the *Book of Tobit*) who was sent to Persia, where Tobias met Sarah (that is, found his wife not from his home town).<sup>138</sup> In the end, Paulinus expressed his sorrow that Keckonius will no longer be able to take part in the joyous bachelor life (ll. 42–44):

Ἀλλέω οὖν σφόδρα στερηθέντα με τοιούτου τοῦ γλυκίστου καθημερινοῦ  
συνήμονος, ὃς συζήτησι [pro συζητήσεσι] καὶ συνομιλίας ταῖς  
πεπαιδευμέναις, ὃς τῇ μουσικῇ καὶ εὐτραπελίᾳ καὶ νεανικαῖς παιδιαῖς  
πλειστάκις με ἠΰφρανε.

<sup>135</sup> These words occur in Ericus Castelius' congratulatory poem to Jacobus Rungius in 1691 (Vall. 1439), see below Chapter 4.4 (*Exordium*).

<sup>136</sup> Bakhtin 1968, 380–385.

<sup>137</sup> Quintilian defined irony as eulogising with mockery and mocking by eulogy. Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.55. Cf. Hermogenes, who defined εὐφημισμός as invective (ψόγος) that permeates a eulogy. *Progymn.* 7.36 (Rabe).

<sup>138</sup> Mel. 654. SKB 1029. For a picture of the text, see Korhonen & Sironen 2018, 16. The publication also contains a Swedish and Greek congratulation (6 eleg) by Johan (see below Chapter 5.3) and a Latin one by Simon. Henricus Paulinus worked as teacher in the School of Pori when writing this text.

Therefore, I feel great pain when I am deprived of my sweetest daily comrade who delighted me with common studies, scholarly conversations, and often also with music, jokes, and boyish pranks.

Wedding congratulations can thus mix stern Christian ideas with comradely scolding, as well as joy with sorrow, because weddings mean a change in one's friend's status and therefore remind one of valedictions.<sup>139</sup>

### **Epidictic Literature in Early Modern Poetics**

The ancient genres of epic, drama, poetry, including both epigrams and poems composed in lyrical metres, and satire, were presented in early modern textbooks on poetics and rhetoric. However, the concept of literature changes over the course of time and despite being ardent admirers and imitators of ancient Graeco-Roman literature, early modern writers certainly lived in a quite different literary landscape. The genres that were used most often by early modern writers in academic environment belonged to what was called epideictic rhetoric in late antiquity: *epicedium*, *consolatio*, *epithalamium*, *gratulatio*, *dedicatio*, that is, funeral poetry, congratulatory poems for weddings and degree conferment ceremonies, dedications for dissertations, etc.<sup>140</sup> Presentations and examples of these subgenres of occasional poetry could be added to early modern textbooks. They were often called *Silvae*, according to the collection of poems of Ausonius (4th century): a forest in its richness of species was a metaphor for the versatility of the literary field.<sup>141</sup> In early modern poetics, *Silvae* were presented after the main and traditional, Aristotelian, literary genres. In his influential and extensive poetics (1561), J. C. Scaliger began the introduction of poetic genres (*genera poematum*) with traditional literary genres (epic and drama, but also mimiambes, satire, pastorals) and then discussed epideictic genres, such as wedding speeches and poems.<sup>142</sup>

It is noteworthy that Jan Comenius concentrated only on genres of the *Silvae* in his presentation of a learned poet, *Poeta disertus*, who writes – as mentioned

<sup>139</sup> Students usually married only after taking their degree for obvious financial reasons, but another factor was that the Royal Academy of Turku did not approve of or even prohibited students from marrying during their study years. Välimäki 2009, 49.

<sup>140</sup> On new genres, see Ijsewijn and Sacré 1998, 46, 100–104.

<sup>141</sup> On the term *Silvae*, see Dam 2008.

<sup>142</sup> Scaliger 1561, 3.95–125 (III, 20–26 Deitz).

earlier – not only poems by converting prose into poetry but also composes the following kinds of poems: *nuptialia carmina* (*epithalamia*), *epicedia* (*epitaphia*), *propemptica*, *epigrammata*, and *anagrammata*. The last one – although very numerous in early modern Latin and Greek poems – is not a genre as such but a stylistic device or a formal pattern.

The genres of epideictic poetry (*Silvae*) were also often briefly discussed in Latin grammars because studying Latin was studying literary language and writing. The treatment was often more practical in grammar books (and, for obvious reasons, shorter) than in theoretical poetics or textbooks of rhetoric. As mentioned earlier, a Swedish scholar Arvidus Tiderus published a slightly modified version of Nathan Chytraeus' famous grammar in Stockholm 1622.<sup>143</sup> At the end of its later version (1708), Tiderus gives a short overview of poetic genres (*De carminum generibus*).

Tiderus states that poems can be categorised according to three characteristics: according to their prosodic form (*ex constitutione pedum*), their topic (*ex objectis*), or their *modus* (e.g., *Ode* and *Melos*). Tiderus focuses only on the topic. According to the topic or content (*objectus vel materia*), poems can be further divided into four groups: 1) the joyful subject, 2) praise, 3) sorrow, and 4) those which are between joy and sorrow. 1) The joyful subject (that is, the occasion) is the cause for birthday and wedding congratulations, greetings and farewells, and victory songs (*epinicia*). 2) Praise is the main subject of many poems, like hymns (anthems), thanksgiving for salvation (*soteria*), and sheer praise (*encomiastica*). The latter group (*encomiastica*) is divided into panegyrics (*panegyrica*) and student poetry (*paedeuteria*), which are, as Tiderus defines, like Scaliger, poems that a student writes in praise of his teacher.<sup>144</sup> Tiderus further outlines the difference between encomiastic and panegyric by stating that the former are composed mainly for reading whereas the latter are also intended for oral presentation. Tiderus thus distinguishes between encomiastic and panegyric praise, referring to what is mainly meant to be read and what is to be presented.<sup>145</sup> 3) The third group of poems on sorrowful subjects (*ex rebus tristibus*) contribute *elegiae*, whose subspecies are *threni*, *epicedia*, and *epitaphia*. 4) The last group, poems which are between joy and sorrow (*ex mediis*), means that neither joy nor sorrow has decisively caused

<sup>143</sup> Tiderus' version was also published in Turku. See above p. 49. Tiderus could have copied *de carminum generibus* from some later version of Chytraeus' grammar.

<sup>144</sup> Scaliger 1561, 107 (παιδευτήρια, III, 130–132 Deitz).

<sup>145</sup> The early modern practice included poems, which were either performed and printed or were only performed, or only printed.



their creation. These, perhaps surprisingly, include such manneristic experiments, typical of the Baroque style, as *emblemata*, *aenigmata*, *anagrammata*, *eteosticha*, *acrosticha*, *palindroma*, and *echones*. All of these are then explained in more detail by Tiderus.<sup>146</sup> By emphasising encomiastic poetry and textual plays like anagrams and acrosticons, Tiderus' presentation gives an accurate picture of academic versifying.<sup>147</sup> Some of the subgenres were, however, missing in ancient and early modern rhetorical manuals alike, like congratulations for dissertations, which was the most popular genre in the Turku Greek Corpus, and the topic of the next Chapter.

### 4.3. The Genre of Congratulations for Dissertations

Academic writing – theses and treatises – is rhetorical writing also in the sense that one of their aims is to *persuade* readers, which is done not only by argumentation and the evidence and references given, e.g., in the footnotes or in the margins, but also by the presentation and the valid logical connections between arguments. In many cases, this also concerns encomiastic *paratexts* of academic theses, dedications, and congratulations for dissertations and orations.

Literary genres guide both the writing process and the reception of the work – in writing or receiving a wedding congratulation one has some kind of expectation what kinds of things it would (or should) include. Rhetorical textbooks conducted, prescribed, and guided what kinds of topics should be used in different subgenres. As repeated several times, a congratulation for a dissertation was rhetorically undefined even though it was one of the most popular (sub) genres among students. The general term *gratulatoariae* or *gratulationes* that occurs in early modern textbooks contains all the possible species of congratulations. For instance, Miltopaeus lists six genres, which correspond to epideictic genres under the title *orationes panegyricae: nuptiales et epithalamiae, natalitiae vel genethliacae, funebres et sepulchrales, eucharisticae seu gratiarum actiones, gratulatoariae, and nuncupatoariae vel dedicationes*.<sup>148</sup>

Naturally, congratulations for dissertations used the same devices as all other encomiastic texts. However, they remind each other of their contents – as if students and professors have had a quite clear picture what they were expected

<sup>146</sup> Tiderus 1708, 217–220.

<sup>147</sup> Examples of manneristic devices in the Nordic Greek Corpora, see Chapter 4.5 below.

<sup>148</sup> Miltopaeus 1669, 411–452, especially 436–444.

to write. Therefore, congratulations for dissertations can be seen as *a new thematic subgenre* of encomiastic literature, which occurred when the number of universities increased and the practice of congratulating respondents and adding congratulations as paratexts in dissertations began.<sup>149</sup> The primary elements of this thematic subgenre are the writer, the target person, and the purpose of the text. The *writer* of congratulations for dissertations was either a professor or a student, often a companion or compatriot of the respondent or his teacher or professor; *the target person*, the addressee, was always a student – except in some rare cases (in the Nordic Greek Corpora) concerning a doctoral dissertation (*pro doctoratu*) – and *the primary purpose* of the text was to congratulate and praise the respondent of the dissertation, whether it was written by the student respondent or not. Sometimes there are references to a disputation, the oral part of the process, which was the student's only task in *pro exercitio* dissertations, which were written by professors.

Besides writing, *actio* (delivery), was indeed a vital part of rhetoric and rhetorical training. In universities and gymnasia, disputations were strictly formal performances in which each participants had their different roles (*praeses*, respondent, opponents, custos) as determined by the statutes of the university.<sup>150</sup> At Turku, the statutes stated that “the custos needed to take care that the respondent and the opponent had an opportunity to speak after each other, and that opponents could offer a defence for a maximum of one hour.”<sup>151</sup> Performers of this academic drama usually had the published dissertation at their disposal.

### From Printed Dissertation to Disputation

In 1693, Gabriel Procopoeus begins his Greek congratulation (13 ll.) for the *pro exercitio* dissertation to his younger brother Christianus – only 16 years old – by telling how he got to know about the time of his brother's disputation:

<sup>149</sup> The writings of a certain period may thus create ‘families’ (in a Wittgensteinian sense) without containing conspicuously idiosyncratic features.

<sup>150</sup> Ludvig Holberg describes in his satire, *Nicolai Klimii Iter Subterraneum* (1741), how in the fictive underworld disputations were set on a stage and disputants were pitched against each other while the audience made bets as they would on fighting animals. Holberg 1741, 35–36, 108 (Chapter 3). Holberg was, besides being an excellent satirist, Professor of History at the University of Copenhagen.

<sup>151</sup> Schybergson 1918, 49–50, 50–51.

Ὅταν διὰ τῆς σου ἐπιστολῆς ἐρμήνευσας, Σὲ μετὰ μικρὸν διαλέξεσθαι περὶ θέματος φιλολογικοῦ, οὗ τίτλον πρώτη ταύτης τῆς συζητήσεως σελὶς ἐμφανῶς γνωρίζει, παραντίκα χαρὰ μεγάλη τὴν μου καρδίαν κατέλαβε, ὅτε ἐπιχειρήσας τοιοῦτο τὸ ἔργον [...]

When you reminded me, by letter, that you will soon dispute on the philological topic which the title page of this dissertation clearly announces, my heart was seized by great joy because you had taken hold of that kind of work [...]

Gabriel Procopoeus thus gives the impression that he had not only been notified but had also received the dissertation in advance – either the printed dissertation, its manuscript, or at least its title page. The date of the disputation was December 20th. Gabriel makes a terminological difference between the forthcoming oral disputation (σὲ μετὰ μικρὸν διαλέξεσθαι) and the printed dissertation (πρῶτη σελὶς ταύτης τῆς συζητήσεως).<sup>152</sup>

The diary writer, Petrus Gyllenius describes his disputation in the entry for 4 December 1655. Its subject was monsters, that is, innate deformities, for example a fetus with two heads.<sup>153</sup> Gyllenius gives the names of his three opponents and five extra opponents, thus having no less than eight opponents and that the disputation lasted seven hours, from 8 am until 3 pm. One might wonder at the length of the oral disputation and the number of opponents because *De Monstris* in quarto format contains only the customary 16 pages: a preface (*Proemium*), 24 short chapters and, at the end, *consectaria*, questions.<sup>154</sup> In the evening, Gyllenius reports, his landlord (for whose children Gyllenius was a private tutor) arranged

<sup>152</sup> Vall. 2334 (in octavo format). These two sons of the vicar of Loimijoki were registered at the university in 1688. Register Database, *s.v.* In all, Christiernus received seven congratulations for his dissertation: four in Latin, one in French and, on the last page, tightly packed probably due to lack of space, two Greek congratulations. The other Greek congratulation (12 eleg) composed by student Ericus Castelius contains an obvious pun on the surname Procopoeus.

<sup>153</sup> Gardberg & Toijer 1962, XIV. Vall. 3912. Although it was a *pro gradu* dissertation, the *praeses*, Abraham Thauvonius, was the writer. On the title page of the published dissertation, the date of the disputation is 9 June 1655, which is certainly wrong because according to Gyllenius' diary, he was on holiday, riding and fishing in Sweden, in June. The former date may mean that the disputation was planned to be held in June – and the title page was printed then – but the disputation was postponed until December. It is unusual that Gyllenius mentions the Bishop of Turku (Aeschillus Petraeus) and the Rector of the university (Simon Kexlerus) on the title page.

<sup>154</sup> The questions contain yes/no answers, e.g., whether water nymphs, tritons, and nereids are monsters. The answer is negative (*An Nympha aquatica, Tritones & Neredes sint monstra? N*). The dissertation contains Swedish and Finnish folklore, even some Finnish words as well as Greek words and phrases, quotes from Pliny the Elder, Virgil and Ovid, and a contemporary case from Sweden: a child with two heads (with a reference to a certain Bazius, p. B3).

a celebration, and Gyllenius mentions that both *praeses* and *decanus* – who was the same person, Professor Abraham Thauvonius – and “many other guests” were present. However, he does not mention any speeches or congratulatory poems delivered or written for him, only that they drank Spanish wine and German drinks.<sup>155</sup> The printed dissertation (both variants) contains only one congratulation in Latin by Professor Enevaldus Svenonius.

The examination and printing process of a dissertation could be very short because dissertations were more like seminar papers than modern dissertations. Another student, Gustavus Polviander, wrote down the process from manuscript to published dissertation in his calendar in 1733. Polviander submitted his *pro gradu* dissertation Σχεδιάσμα *de laudatione funebri* to *praeses* Isaacus Björklund for preliminary examination on the 4th of April, Professor Björklund examined it for eight days, after which Polviander made corrections for four days and gave his manuscript to the printer on April 16th. After nearly two weeks, on the 28th of April, the dissertation was printed and the date of the disputation was set for the 5th of May.<sup>156</sup> The process had thus lasted only one month. Polviander’s printed dissertation contains two short congratulations in Latin, one written by his brother the other by a friend, but none by professors. These congratulations could have been written when Polviander’s manuscript had passed the preliminary examination and received permission to print, that is between 12 and 16 April when he himself made the final corrections. Congratulations needed to be given to the printer in good time to be published as the paratexts of the dissertation. However, the process might of course have been longer in some cases. Some Greek congratulations contain dates, which indicate that they were written a month before the disputation day.<sup>157</sup> In the case of *pro exercitio* dissertations, which were usually written by *praeses*, it is reasonable to suppose that the congratulations to respondents were written *after* the disputation, if congratulating the oral disputation. However, there are not many references to oral disputations – the respondent’s defence of the dissertation written by a professor – at least not in Greek congratulations.<sup>158</sup> If the thesis was written by

<sup>155</sup> Gardberg & Toijer 1962, 117.

<sup>156</sup> The university statutes of 1655 defined that dissertations had to be distributed six days before the disputations. Schybergson 1918, 49–50. The date of the disputation was often added by pen afterwards.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. congratulations by Andreas A. Heinricius and Magnus Peitzius in 1693 and 1744 (Vall. 4265 and Vall. 1618). In two Greek congratulatory texts, Professor Ericus Falander alludes to the disputation day, which is “a few days away”, παρ’ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας (Vall. 874 and Vall. 875).

<sup>158</sup> Furthermore, the division between a *pro exercitio* dissertation written by a professor and a *pro*

the respondent, a professor's congratulation could function as a recommendation for the dissertation. In this latter case, a congratulation could even express the professor's views on academic issues, as mentioned earlier in the case of Professor Laurentius Braun.<sup>159</sup>

As Johanna Akujärvi has noted, congratulatory texts for dissertations (which is also the largest text group in the Swedish Greek Corpus, containing over 700 items) have various kinds of emphasis: they could praise the respondent, describe the content of a dissertation and so on.<sup>160</sup> Congratulations for dissertations may bear features of other subgenres, like *propemptica* to students, which often refer to a student's success in his studies and praise his character. Another thematically close subgenre is congratulations for degree conferment ceremonies and for inaugurations: defending a dissertation means a promotion in one's studies and in one's academic career, namely a change in status. Therefore, in my view, the function of congratulations for dissertations was always to some extent not only to commendate for respondent's achievements but also congratulate whether it was a mere oral disputation or a written dissertation. This comes clear if we look at similar texts in Latin. Carolus Agrelius' Latin signature in his Greek prose text (ll. 19) to his brother for dissertation expresses the mode: *Fatri germano sic gratulabar Carolus Agrelius*.<sup>161</sup> Although *gratulationes* divided into different subgenres (like *epithalamia*) were an essential part of contemporary textbooks of rhetoric and poetics, which did not define a specific term for *gratulationes* for dissertations despite their popularity, the writers themselves could use genre terms, e.g., in their headings. What kinds of genre terms were then in use? What is the Greek equivalent for *gratulationes*?

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*gradu* written by a respondent is not clear. See, e.g., Sjökvist 2012, 22. Dissertations could be printed with different paratexts containing, for example, only congratulations by professors. In addition, the order of the congratulations could reflect academic status and hierarchy: first those by professors, then by students, which were sometimes put at the end, after the text of the treatise. Overall, congratulations suggest a student's academic network.

<sup>159</sup> See above Chapter 3.3, p. 150.

<sup>160</sup> Akujärvi 2021, 267. She prefers the term *commendatory texts*, which she defines as "laudatory addresses stressing the achievement of the respondent, the subject matter of the dissertation, the deserved honor he had obtained, in which the author delights, and the gain that awaits the addressee in the future – all, or few, or only one of these points are generally present." *Ibid.*, 268.

<sup>161</sup> Vall. 3676.

### *Gratulatio, Prosphonesis, Epigramma*

During the 1650s and 1660s, that is, during the first decades of publishing Greek texts at Turku, congratulatory texts for dissertations usually do not have any genre term. But the situation is also the same later: these texts did not bear clear genre-specific terminological indicators as such.<sup>162</sup> The reason for writing them was often alluded to in the signature: φιλίας ἔνεκα, φιλοθυμίας ἔνεκα, φιλαδελφίας ἔνεκα or by using a verb to express rejoicing (συνήδομαι ‘rejoicing with/together’).<sup>163</sup> Those which had a heading and/or a signature in Latin have some derivative of the verb *gratular* (*gratulatur*, *gratulabundus scripsit*, *gratulaturi voluit* and *gratulatio*) denoting joyous congratulation. The Greek equivalent of *gratulari* is συγχαίρειν ‘to wish one joy’, ‘to congratulate’ and ‘rejoice with or together’.<sup>164</sup> As said earlier, one of the genres, according to which Martin Crusius classified Humanist Greek poems in his *Germanograecia* (1585), was *syncharistica*, which he also called *gratulationes*. The verb συγχαίρειν and the noun derived from it, σύγχαρμα, is quite common in the Turku Greek Corpus. They can occur in the heading, in the text or in the signature (συγχαίρων ἔγραψα). A Sweden-born student, Gudmundus Amnelius, even uses the verb anaphorically in the beginning of six lines of his congratulation (10 hex) to Elisaeus Hwal, who disputed on whales (*Cetographia*) in 1683. Amnelius congratulates (συγχαίρω) Hwal twice, then Hwal’s parents, siblings, relatives, and ‘us’ (fellow students, compatriots). Amnelius’ wordplay with the Hwal family name (old Swedish ‘hwal’ means whale) refers to the occasion of the disputation: “Now you ascend to the podium in order to truly keep in memory the name of whales [i.e., the Hwal family] and your own talents.”<sup>165</sup>

<sup>162</sup> The total number of Greek congratulatory texts (poems and prose) for dissertations at Turku written during 1648–1784 is 267 (one text was found after I finished my dissertation). During the 1640s, that is, when the printing press obtained Greek typefaces in 1648/1649, only two Greek congratulations for dissertations were written, both lacking any genre-specific terms.

<sup>163</sup> “For the sake of friendship” (Vall. 3898, Abraham Thauvonius), “for the sake of brotherly love” (Vall. 3911), “for the sake of benevolence (φιλοθυμία)” (Vall. 4320). The word φιλοθυμία does not occur in modern dictionaries of ancient or Byzantine corpora (LSJ, Trapp etc). Φιλοθυμία was used by Ericus Justander in 1653. The verb συνήδομαι occurs in 1674 (Vall. 3991).

<sup>164</sup> Συγχαίρειν: the first occurrence is in Plut. *de virt. mor.* 451e. LSJ *s.v.*

<sup>165</sup> Vv. 3–4: νῦν καθέδραν βαίνεις ἐπ’ ἀληθεία διασφάζων / τοῦνομα τῶν κητῶν αὐτῶν καί τ’ ἴδια δῶρα. Vall. 39. This unusually long *pro gradu* dissertation supervised by Daniel Achrelius contains pictures of whales. Elisaeus Hwal, the respondent, wrote a few lines in Greek in his Latin dedication. He states that he has no silver or gold, but he dedicates this dissertation in Jesus’ name. Hwal’s compatriot, Nicolaus Sporling, wrote him a Latin tautogrammatical poem: all words begin with c, wordplaying with the word *cetus*.

The noun σύγχαρμα – a variant form is ἐπίχαρμα<sup>166</sup> – does not occur in ancient or Byzantine corpora. Its first occurrence in the Turku Greek Corpus is in Professor Ericus Falander's signature (σύγχαρμα σχεδιαστικόν) on his prose congratulation (9 ll.) in 1675. The second occurrence is in Professor Simon Paulinus' congratulatory poem (9 hex) in 1685.<sup>167</sup> Paulinus used σύγχαρμα ten times as a title in his 17 congratulations for dissertations and this probably influenced to its popularity.

Besides, there are some other rarely used terms. Christiernus Hammar entitled his congratulation (12 eleg) with the term συναίνεσις ('approval', 'consent'), confusing it perhaps with αἴνεσις ('eulogy') in 1682.<sup>168</sup> The term φιλοφροσύνη ('friendliness', 'cheerfulness') is used in 1684 and 1688.<sup>169</sup> Although the elegiac couplet was a popular metre in Greek occasional texts and the standard metre in ancient epigrams, the title ἐπίγραμμα is very rare: only four cases in congratulations for dissertations.<sup>170</sup> Simon Paulinus used the term Σύγχαρμα in his congratulation (14 hex) to Georgius Aenelius for his Greek dissertation in 1688, whereas Petrus Laurbecchius used the title Ἐπίγραμμα for his poem (19 hex) in the same publication.<sup>171</sup>

It would seem fair to title a short occasional poem in elegiac couplets *Epigramma*.<sup>172</sup> However, we may question whether such couplets bear features

<sup>166</sup> A heading ending with the word ἐπίχαρμα in the congratulation (10 eleg) for an oration by Simon Paulinus in 1675 (SKB 270).

<sup>167</sup> Falander: Vall. 996. Paulinus: Vall. 4010. Simon Paulinus uses the phrase σύγχαρμα αὐτοσχεδίως thrice. On the term αὐτοσχεδίως, see below Chapter 4.4 (Subscription).

<sup>168</sup> Vall. 3811. Hammar's congratulation does not, however, contain especially eulogising or congratulatory terminology as such. It refers to the subject of dissertation, which is the third volume of the series *Lytrodoxia Jesu*, entitled as *De emphatico nomine Messiae seu Christus*. Hammar compares Jesus with pelican feeding its chickens with her own blood and that Jesus, dying for all, has given "an everlasting grace" (πάγχρονιος χάρις) to all people.

<sup>169</sup> Vall. 42 and Vall. 2744. Φιλοφροσύνη was first used by Jacobus Gezelius, who had studied in Uppsala before coming to Turku, in his prose congratulation (28 ll.), and later by Professor Simon Paulinus in a short (2 eleg) congratulation.

<sup>170</sup> It was rare or altogether missing in other genres (congratulations for installations, for degree ceremonies). Martinus Stodius used the Latin term *epigramma* in his congratulation (6 eleg) to Jacobus Raumannus for his translation of the *Ausburg Confession* into Finnish in 1651 (SKB 600).

<sup>171</sup> Vall. 2751. On these congratulations, see below Chapter 5.2. Petrus Laurbecchius entitled his Latin congratulation for a dissertation (10 eleg) *Epigramma* and the following Greek poem in adonean units (16 verses) Ἄλλο in 1674. Vall. 2153.

<sup>172</sup> This concerns those Humanist Greek writers who imitated and have studied the *Greek Anthology*, like Joachim Camerarius. Jochen Schultheiss has categorised Camerarius' Greek epigrams according

of epigrams in the classical meaning, that is, including a kind of wittiness and economic expression. J. C. Scaliger's definition of epigram in his poetics (1561), which Gerardus Vossius follows in the next century, seems as such to fit the notion of occasional elegiac couplets of his time: "the epigram is a short poem indicating something, some person or act, or elaborating something from a thesis".<sup>173</sup> Especially the "elaboration from a thesis (*ex propositis*)" fits many academic congratulatory texts. However, Scaliger also required wittiness because he speaks about *argutia* ('wit') as the soul and form (*anima, forma*) of epigrams.<sup>174</sup> Although, as Jan Bloemendal notices, wittiness was not a defining feature of epigrams for Gerardus Vossius in his poetics (1647), a certain kind of point at the end of the poem, *acumen*, was needed.<sup>175</sup>

Besides Laurbecchius' Greek ἐπίγραμμα, the other Greek congratulations for dissertations titled ἐπίγραμμα were written by Johan Paulinus in 1676, by Laurentius Tammelinus in 1695, and by Professor Daniel Juslenius in 1724.<sup>176</sup> Although Paulinus' poem (4 eleg) imitates an inscription on the altar, it does not indicate *acumen* as such<sup>177</sup> nor does Tammelinus' hexametric poem (3 hex) with its usual wordings of congratulations. Only Juslenius' poem (4 eleg) aims at 'cleverness' when combining a biblical simile, which was the topic of the dissertation – Jesus cursing a fig tree so that it would not bear fruit, only leaves (Matt. 21:19, Mark 11:12) – and the advice or exhortation to the respondent that if he finds Jesus' 'honey-sweet fruit' (μελιιδέα καρπόν, cf. Hom. *Od.* 9.94), he will be praised by clever men.<sup>178</sup>

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to the genres of epideictic rhetoric, like dedicative, funerary, ephrastic etc. epigrams. Schultheiss 2020, 158 (the list of categories).

<sup>173</sup> Scaliger 1561, III, CXXV (204 Deitz): *Epigramma igitur est poema breve cum simplici cuiuspiam rei vel personae vel facti indicatione aut ex propositis aliquid deducens*.

<sup>174</sup> Scaliger 1561, III, CXXV, 170b (215 Deitz): *Epigrammatis duae virtutes peculiares: brevitatis et argutiae*. See also Bloemendal 2009, 73.

<sup>175</sup> Vossius 1647a, III, 107. See also *ibid.*, 109: *quorum maxime commendantur, quae argutam brevitate bono laudando*. Bloemendal 2009, 74.

<sup>176</sup> Vall. 969 (Paulinus), Vall. 3641 (Tammelinus), Vall. 1838 (Juslenius). That the term epigram (in Latin or in Greek) was also rare in the Swedish Greek Corpus, see HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi) > Heading.

<sup>177</sup> See below Chapter 5.3 ("Paulinus' Greek Poems before *Finlandia*").

<sup>178</sup> Vall. 1838. Both the entire heading and signature (Συγχάριον προσέθηκε ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΙΟΥΣΛΗΝΙΟΣ) are in Greek. The dissertation contains nine congratulations, two in Greek and seven in Latin.



More often than ἐπίγραμμα, the writers of Greek congratulations for dissertations at Turku favoured the term προσφώνησις ('addressing'), using variants like προσφώνημα or προσφώνη ('address'), referring to greeting.<sup>179</sup> Matthias Salinius, the prolific student Greek writer during the 1690s, used the title προσφώνησις or its derivatives, like Ἐπιφώνησις εἰλικρινής and Συγχαριστική προσφώνησις.<sup>180</sup> In ancient Greek, the term προσφώνησις referred to an address or public address; later, during the Roman times, it could refer to a dedication.<sup>181</sup> *Prosphonesis* reminds one of *prosphoneticon*, which is discussed in the second treatise attributed to Menander Rhetor. In the περὶ προσφώνητικοῦ [λόγου], 'On address speech' (II.414.31–418.4), *prosphoneticon* is defined as a short *encomium*, an encomiastic speech to a ruler, like a governor, which does not include all the elements of a eulogy proper. It is a 'likeness' of an eulogy (ἐγκωμίου εἰκὼν, II. 417.1). It concentrates on *actions* based on present occasions, whereas a full *encomium* would also contain eulogies of the addressee's origin, birth, and education.<sup>182</sup> Menander advises praising actions (πράξεις) that display the four cardinal virtues. However, for Menander, *prosphonesis* is basically a public address for rulers (governors) entering a city for the first time, followed by a celebration, which brings the genre close to a welcoming speech (*epibaterion*).<sup>183</sup> Menander's exposition is obviously not comparable as such to congratulations to the respondents of dissertations. However, congratulations for dissertations are not 'proper' eulogies. Sometimes they stress the action, the dissertation, oral disputation, or oral delivery, namely how the respondent has managed to handle the subject of the thesis. More often these congratulations

<sup>179</sup> The first one occurs in a Sweden-born student Daniel Rosander's congratulation (7 hex) for a dissertation in 1655. The headings contain only the word Προσφώνημα (Vall. 3926). Professor David Lund uses προσφώνησις three times (Vall. 879, Vall. 2338 and Vall. 2341).

<sup>180</sup> In 1695: Vall. 4020 and Vall. 2342; Χάρμα εὐκτικὸν in 1696: Vall. 4022. Salinius also uses προσφώνησις or its derivative for a congratulation for an inauguration: Εὐκτική προσφώνησις (Mel. 1681). For this genre, he also uses such headings as Εὐκτικὸν μέλος (Mel. 1685), Μέλος συγχαριστικόν (Mel. 1701) and σύγχαρμα (Mel. 1390).

<sup>181</sup> LSJ *s.v.* For the specific meaning 'dedication', see Plu. *TG* 8.6. The term could have a more official meaning, such as assignment, declaration, and report, in papyri and inscriptions.

<sup>182</sup> If the addressee's family is notable, a brief reference to it might, however, also be relevant in a *prosphoneticon*. The address speech can begin with a eulogy to the ruler before it moves on to a eulogy to the addressee. Russell & Wilson 1981, 329.

<sup>183</sup> Russell & Wilson (1981, 328) compare Menander's *prosphoneticon* to the corresponding speech (προσφωνηματικοί) presented in *On Epideictic Speeches* attributed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus; the latter also notices the speaker's part, that is, a speaker needs to consider or mention his own qualifications to give a speech on a specific occasion.

concentrate on the respondent's moral character and the kind of student the addressee has been.

Congratulations for *pro gradu* dissertations (written by respondents) and orations may be reminiscent of threshold (liminary) verses. While presenting epideictic rhetoric in his textbook on oratory (1669), Martinus Miltopaeus, Professor of *eloquentia* at Turku, discusses books and written works as objects of eulogising. In Miltopaeus' view, eulogies to written works have some features in common with didactic speeches. Moreover, they remind one of certain writing exercises, *progymnasmata*, namely *cria* (χρεῖα). According to Miltopaeus, one first needs to praise the writer's wisdom, and, secondly, the work, particularly its integrity and general usefulness. Furthermore, one needs to compare it with other works on the same subject.<sup>184</sup> Many congratulations for dissertations contain, indeed, these same features, praising the respondent's wisdom and praising the work, though they rarely refer to the usefulness of the dissertation. There is only one Greek congratulation for a dissertation in the Turku Greek Corpus in which the writer of the congratulation compares the dissertation with another treatise on the same topic. However, the comparison was the very subject of the dissertation, which was entitled "On renowned mountains named Ararat, especially compared with Johannes Goropius Becanus' work *Indoscythica*" (1679).<sup>185</sup> The *pro gradu* dissertation was written by Riga-born student Noachus Raulinius and supervised by Ericus Falander.<sup>186</sup> Sveno Dimberg, a Sweden-born student, congratulated Raulinius with a long prose congratulation (30 lines) in Greek, making an obvious pun on the respondent's first name. Dimberg congratulates (συνήδομαι) Noach Raulinius for his eagerness to defend "the *first* Noach's ancient dwelling-places".<sup>187</sup>

<sup>184</sup> Miltopaeus 1669, 302–316 (*De ratione laudandi dicta, aut scripta*), especially 302–304.

<sup>185</sup> *Disputatio historico geographica de inclutis montibus Ararat; imprimis contra Joan. Goropii Becani Indoscythica* (Vall. 883). Raulinius quoted Greek authors like Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Josephus, the Sibyllian Oracles, and the Greek Church Fathers. According to Dimberg, Raulinius fights not with arrows but with the weaponry (ὅπλοθήκη) of the Holy Scriptures as well as of the ancient Jewish, Arabic, Rabbinic, and Greek writings and their interpretations. Korhonen 2004, 306–307 (translation of Dimberg's congratulation).

<sup>186</sup> In his signature, Dimberg uses the substantive συγγραφεύς, 'writer', to refer to Raulinus: "These lines were given by Sveno Dimberg to the writer of this thesis, his dear friend."

<sup>187</sup> Lines 19–21: τὰ τοῦ πρώτου Νωάκου παλαιὰ οἰκητήρια. Vall. 883. Νωάκου pro Νωέ. Dimberg, a son of Vicar of Sunneberg in western Sweden, studied in Turku but graduated from Uppsala. He served as an Extraordinary Professor of Mathematics and assessor at the Turku Court of Appeal. Tengström 1836, 164. Later, he was Professor of Mathematics in Tartu, lecturing on Newton – possibly the first to do so in any Swedish university (Lumiste & Piirimäe 2001, especially 3–5) – and returned to Sweden because of the Great Northern War. He acted as the so-called

Dimberg praises Raulinius' courage when he dared to argue against Becanus' work, which he calls παραδοξολογία (ll. 6–7). Recently found remnants of the Ark function as supporting evidence for Raulinius' arguments.<sup>188</sup> At the end, Dimberg compares Raulinius' dissertation to David slaying Goliath and Samson slaying a lion, that is, a seemingly weaker opponent defends a mightier one. As a prize, Dimberg concludes, Apollo and 'native Muses' (Μοῦσαι ἡμεδαπαί) will present Raulinius with a laurel wreath.

Dimberg begins and ends with a letter formula (χαίρειν καὶ εὖ πράττειν and ἔρρωσο) including a date.<sup>189</sup> Some congratulations in prose were titled *Epistula gratulatoria*, which suggests that the short congratulations were seen as congratulatory letters.

### ***Epistula gratulatoria* and 'Syllogistic' Writing**

Ingemund Bröms, Professor of Theology, congratulated Johannes Gezelius Jr. for completing the first part of the first fullscale commentary on the Bible in Swedish, often called the *Bibelverket*, with a long prose congratulation of several pages in Latin in 1713. Its heading ended *Devotissima Per Epistolam Familiarem Gratulatio*, which thus defines the genre of the text. It is a congratulation in the form of a 'private' letter addressed to one person, Gezelius Jr. Bröms' 'letter' contains eight pages, an elaborate title page, and it was published as a separate leaflet, thus it was in effect a public private letter.<sup>190</sup> Greek epideictic short texts could – just like letters – begin with a greeting (εὖ πράττειν, χαίρειν καὶ εὖ πράττειν) and end with a valedictory formula (ἔρρωσο) preceding the writer's title and signature.<sup>191</sup> Instead of the greeting formulas, an *epistula*

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'lawspeaker' (*lagman* in Swedish), of which office he was ennobled as Dimborg. Raulinius studied in Turku but graduated in Rostock.

<sup>188</sup> Dimberg refers to contemporary travellers' descriptions of possible relics of the Ark, such as Olearius' (Adam Ölschläger). Raulinius & Dimberg 1679, B2v. Adam Ölschläger, a German diplomat, mentions in his *Beschreibung der Newen Orientalischen Reise* (1647) that he has seen a piece of the Ark on his travels in Persia.

<sup>189</sup> The date: ἔγραψα Ἀβόα τῇ τρίτῃ μετ' εἰκοστὴν μεσοῦντος μηνὸς σκιῶροφοριῶνος, τῷ τῆς χριστογονίας ἔτει α, χ' Ο' Θ'! (I wrote [this] in Turku 23 June, 1,679 years after the birth of Christ!). Dimberg's other Greek congratulation for a dissertation, written in Turku in 1678, also begins with a greeting formula (Vall. 746). It is more conventional and discusses the rocky path to virtue.

<sup>190</sup> Mel. 2128. The *Bibelverket* was a long-time project. Gezelius Sr. had started working on it and Gezelius Jr. concluded it.

<sup>191</sup> A greeting formula can also precede a poem, like Professor Petrus Laurbecchius' congratulatory poem (46 eleg) to Johan Paulinus for his verse oration in Latin (*Carmen oratorium veris*): Χαίρειν

*gratulatoria* may briefly address the receiver: Κύριε ΛΑΚΟΝΙΕ φύλε τίμιε.<sup>192</sup> Some examples of *epistula gratulatoria* contain dates.<sup>193</sup> There were also letters of condolence and dedicatory letters. An example of the latter is Andreas Backman's Greek prose dedication (23 lines) in 1753. Backman dedicated his dissertation to Henrik Hassel, Professor of *eloquentia*. Backman refers to his Greek dedication, to his own text (τὸ γραφίδιον τοῦτο, l. 3) as ἐπιστολή (l. 12).<sup>194</sup>

The guidelines for letter writing can therefore be applied to these kinds of short epideictic prose texts. Letter writing, its formulas, style, and form were already discussed in rhetorical textbooks in antiquity, the earliest Greek treatise being *On Style*, attributed to Demetrius of Phalerum. The treatise concentrates on private letters – which should be, as the writer puts it, “virtual images of one's soul” – but raises the question of the difference between a letter to friends and to rulers.<sup>195</sup> The rhetorical textbook, *Ars rhetorica*, by C. Iulius Victor from the 4th century CE, contains an appendix on the epistolary genre (*De epistolis*). Victor concentrates on the parts which in his view will distinguish letters from orations, namely the saluting and leave-taking formulations. According to Victor, letters basically follow the rules of rhetoric and therefore epistolography is a part of rhetoric. In late antiquity, letters were usually divided into the same three categories as orations: deliberative, juridical, and epideictic letters.<sup>196</sup> During medieval times, epistolography, *ars dictaminis*, flourished. The anonymous textbook, *Rationes Dictandi* (1135), presented proper salutations for persons from different status or classes. During the Renaissance, Cicero's and Pliny the Younger's letters were avidly read and ancient and medieval epistolographical

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καὶ εὖ διάγειν. The poem also functions as an invitation to the delivery of the oration (1674). SKB 2409.

<sup>192</sup> Ericus Falander to Petrus Laconius in 1680. Vall. 884. Henricus Montelius used the formula χαίρειν καὶ εὐδιάγειν in 1688. Vall. 1432.

<sup>193</sup> H. Flege wrote his Greek prose congratulation in Uppsala, including the date: *Dab. Upsal. d. 1. Martii 1734*. Vall. 509. Martinus Peitzius added the date in his Greek congratulatory poem for a dissertation: *Dab. Brahestadii d. 11. Sept.* [...] Anno Χριστογονίας 1744; the disputation was held a month later (17 of October). Vall. 1618. Ericus Justander dated his Greek wedding poem, entitled *Ode Pindarica*, as *Aboae 9 Novemb. Anno 1656*. The wedding, however, was celebrated only in the following year, on 17 February. Mel. 382.

<sup>194</sup> Vall. 2449.

<sup>195</sup> Demetr. *Eloc.* 227: σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰκόνα ἑκαστος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς γράφει τὴν ἐπιστολήν. Demetrius also compares a letter with a gift (δῶρον, 224). On letters to kings, see *ibid.* 234.

<sup>196</sup> Hansson 1988, 25.

treatises were studied. Erasmus, however, criticised letter-writing manuals for being too technical.<sup>197</sup>

Daniel Achrelius, Professor of *eloquentia* in Turku, published a letter-writing manual, *Epistolarum conscribendarum forma et ratio*, as a dissertation in series in 1689. Achrelius divided letters into four types: theological, political, rhetorical, and private letters (*familiares*).<sup>198</sup> The name of the third type, rhetorical letters (*epistola pomposa sive oratoria*), comes from the notion that “they treat a pleasant thing in beautiful language, showing cleverness”.<sup>199</sup> It includes such subtypes as dedicatory and congratulatory letters (*epistolae gratulatoriae*), rightful invectives (*epistolae vituperatoriae justae*), persuasive letters (*suasoriae*), letters of invitations to weddings and funerals, and letters of petition (*petitoriae officiosae*).<sup>200</sup> This division partly reflects the divisions or subgenres of epideictic poetry. Achrelius pays special attention to the ‘additional’ parts of letters, *de externis adiunctis epistolarum*, that is, to salutations, which notice official titles and the status of receivers, leave-takings (*valedictio*), subscription, and date formulations. He gives some examples of salutations even in Greek: εὐτύχει [*pro* εὐτύχει] and ἔρρωσο.<sup>201</sup> In his seventh chapter, Achrelius presents eight short dispositions (*breves & perspicuae dispositiones*). Examples of disposition follow the rhetorical structure *exordium*, *propositio*, *confirmatio*, and *conclusio*, structured to argue for something, and can be summarised as a basic formula as follows:

Title (*proloquium*)

Text (*materia*)

Introduction (*exordium*), *captatio benevolentiae*

<sup>197</sup> Bolgar 1971, 106–113 (A. Gerlo). Erasmus’ letter-writing manual (*Opus de conscribendis epistolis*) came out in 1522. In Protestant universities, epistolography was also important for interpreting Epistles in the New Testament.

<sup>198</sup> Achrelius 1689, 9–10. On p. 56, Achrelius quotes the slogan that letters are “virtual images of the writer’s soul” from the *On style* attributed to Demetrius. Gerardus Vossius’ rhetorical handbook (1606), reprinted in 1682 and 1689, was an obvious model for Achrelius. Sarasti-Wilenius 2000, 24.

<sup>199</sup> Achrelius 1689, 12: *Epistolae pomposae appellantur, qua pulcro rerum contextu, & florido ornatu verborum, scriptorum ingenia manifestant ac celebrant.*

<sup>200</sup> Achrelius 1689, 12–13, 63–65 (style), 86–104 (examples, dispositions). See also Hansson 1988, 29–33.

<sup>201</sup> Achrelius 1689, 48–53. See also Hansson 1988, 31.

Basic proposition (*propositio*)

Confirmation or refutation of an argument (*confirmatio, refutatio*)

Conclusion (*conclusio*)

Signature (*subscriptio*)

One of the preliminary writing exercises (*progymnasmata*) in antiquity was to formulate a thesis, i.e., an argument, and drawing a conclusion from it. In general, academic treatises strive to prove something, present a basic proposition, and then prove or confirm it. In a way, this can be seen to pertain to some short epideictic texts too. Harry Vredevel has noticed that in Erasmus' (Latin) poems the first line or lines function as a *propositio* in the logical sense, that is, a statement that expresses a concept that can be true or false.<sup>202</sup> The epideictic text, whose main function in the early modern period was praising, can then be seen as a kind of reasoning, a syllogism, which seeks to show that the target person deserves praise. The proposition in an epideictic text can be a general assertion (P), the confirmation of which (Q) is the action or character of the target person:

P Only hard work produces good results.

Q NN has worked hard.

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*Ergo* NN will produce good results (his dissertation is good).

The conclusion begins with or contains concluding words (διόπερ, οὖν, τοιγαροῦν). Especially in congratulations for dissertations, syllogistic structure seem to be very common. However, the proposition (P) could also be a particular example, in which case reasoning is an *enthymema* in the Aristotelian sense. Aristotle developed rhetorical reasoning in his *Rhetoric*, calling enthymema (ἐνθύμημα) a "distorted" syllogism, because it operates with a particular example, παράδειγμα (*exemplum*), not by general statements as syllogisms do. An example in rhetorical reasoning works by way of comparison, which functions as a proof of a proposition, that is, a praised person or thing is compared with another person or thing. Using comparison is indicated by using the conjunction 'as' (ὥς, οἷον) or by the typical syntactical structure of similes: as – so (ὥς – ὥς, ὥς – οὕτως).

Persons or things with which the addressee is compared could be either from

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<sup>202</sup> Vredevel 1995, 33. Stina Hansson speaks of the same phenomenon in early modern letter writing, pointing to a letter-writing guide from 1690, which uses terms borrowed from dialectics. Hansson 1988, 37–38.

actual life, contemporary and historical persons, or fictive, mythological persons and things. Ancient history and mythology could serve both as an ideal and as a precautionary example. In the Turku Greek Corpus, examples from Greek culture function essentially either in an equal relation to modernity or as an ideal to be pursued – rarely as precautionary examples. References to historical or semihistorical persons are quite rare, although Hippocrates, Pythagoras, Croesus, and Ptolemy II Philadelphus are mentioned in the Turku Greek Corpus. Fictive persons include Odysseus, Nestor, Andromache, Ariadne, Heracles and Cadmus. Furthermore, apart from the most common references to Apollo, the Muses and Pallas Athene as symbols, protectors and promoters of education, poetry and civilization, references to Greek gods by name are quite rare.<sup>203</sup> Examples from the Graeco-Roman culture may enliven the text and of course present the writer's knowledge of classical culture. Examples were also taken from the Bible.

In general, it seems that writers of epideictic texts in Latin – also longer texts, like orations – are much more versatile in their choices of classical allusions – at least at the Royal Academy of Turku. When the subject of the dissertation is, e.g., courage, the composer of a Greek paratext speaks in generic way, whereas the Latin paratexts in the same publication allude to Greek mythical persons (Agamemnon and Achilles) and refer to Greek writers (Artemidorus and Plutarch).<sup>204</sup> This may be related to the fact that Greek paratexts were often written in prose at Turku so there were more “prosaic”. Besides, the choice of language had an effect on the choices of allusions. Hebrew occasional poems quite naturally lacked classical allusions and imagery as their topics were taken from the Scriptures.<sup>205</sup> Latin was often considered *the* language of classical antiquity, whereas Greek had its twofold role as classical and ‘sacred’ language.

One aspect of students’ academic texts, including paratexts in dissertations and orations, is their function as exercises. In a way, dissertations can be seen as exercises too. H. G. Porthan named a Master's dissertation *chria* in his letter of 1798.<sup>206</sup> In modern Swedish, *kria* refers to a writing exercise on some given

<sup>203</sup> See the list in Korhonen 2004, 436–451. Isaacus Falander uses the ancient image of the ship of state in his congratulation for a dissertation (24 hex) on jurisprudence by his brother Ericus, the future professor of Greek and Hebrew, in 1660. He is not referring here to Plato (*Rep.* 6.488aff) or Alcaeus (fr. 326) but utilises Homeric idioms (*Il.* 1.308, 6.346 and 15.621). Vall. 4428. I found Isaacus Falander's poem after completing my dissertation (2004), so it is missing my list of the Turku Greek Corpus (Korhonen 2004, 436–451).

<sup>204</sup> For the dissertation on courage, Vall. 878, see above Chapter 2.3, p. 98.

<sup>205</sup> See Harviainen 2003 (based on the material from Turku).

<sup>206</sup> Klinge *et al.* 1987, 395 (M. Klinge).

subject, although the word originally meant one of the ancient *progymnasmata*, *chreia* (χρεῖα).<sup>207</sup> As mentioned earlier, Martinus Miltopaeus (1669) spoke of this exercise, *chreia*, in connection with eulogies to books and written works, explaining how students could gain benefit from elaborating an anecdote or a short story into an argument.

Janika Päll has analysed a valuable collection of such exercises, *chreiae*, which are deposited in the Archive of the University of Tartu. They consist of thirteen *chreiae*, one of them in Greek, from the year 1695.<sup>208</sup> The maxim, which is discussed in nine *chreiae*, including the Greek one, is taken from Ovid, namely the claim that sometimes the severity of a sickness surpasses a doctor's skill. As Päll states, the elaboration of a maxim usually contains a praise of the writer (in this case Ovid), presentation of the maxim as well as its explanation, followed by proving that the statement is true. *Chreia* can also include supporting examples. The Greek *chreia* was written by a Finnish student Ericus Castelius and, as Päll shows, it draws the conclusion both from a general statement (God does not always bless a doctor's work) and from a particular example (a certain Professor Crispinus Jernfeldt at the University of Tartu died despite the good care he received). Furthermore, as Päll points out, although Castelius' *chreia* has, as a sign of it being an exercise, the words αἰτία and παραδείγμα, it also has a eulogising element when it describes Professor Jernfeldt. Thus, a writing exercise could be used as *material* for an occasional text (i.e. a memorial text for the deceased Professor), at least when the person referred to is part of the same academic community.

If we take Miltopaeus' note on eulogies to written works, Päll's analysis of Tartu *chreiae*, and bear in mind the Greek liminary texts added to the Greek *editiones principes* and the textbooks as well as that the academic community aimed to educate students to make arguments, we may suggest that the model for congratulations for dissertations might originally have been eulogies for written works and treatises. In the early modern academic environment, dissertations were, however, not always (perhaps seldom) written solely by student respondents, so this genre would have been modified to congratulate a *person* and not a work, or if a work, only unspecifically. At the same time, the genre began to resemble a writing exercise – because congratulations for dissertations were often written by students – *chreia*, which took as its starting point some maxim or some proposition.

<sup>207</sup> *Kria* 'övningsuppsats', 'skoluppsats', pl. *krior*.

<sup>208</sup> Päll 2012 and Päll 2010, 135–138.



A maxim or an allusion to classical culture (*exempla*) are indeed efficient ways to begin one's text. The beginning and the end are as such significant parts in regard to the reception of the text.

#### 4.4. Beginning and Ending an Occasional Text

Before and after the occasional text proper, there were usually two important 'additional parts'<sup>209</sup> that could contain quite a lot of information – mainly to whom the text is addressed and by whom. Not all occasional Greek texts contain a heading but nearly all have a subscription or at least a signature. Because occasional poetry had a crucial social function – 'networking' and displaying one's erudition – the name of the writer was obviously mentioned. However, there are sometimes only initials.<sup>210</sup> Both the heading and the subscription could contain several lines, and *scriptio* is sometimes written in verse – continuing the metre of the text proper. Both – but especially the heading – were often designed visually so that they remind one of a lapidary text. A Greek text could have had a Latin heading and/or subscription and vice versa,<sup>211</sup> which underlines the bilingual ideal of the early modern period.

#### Heading

In his *Poetices*, J. C. Scaliger divided headings (*inscriptio*) into four groups – treating not only epideictic texts but works of ancient literature. Firstly, a heading may describe the content or main topic of the text (*materia, argumentum*), like Hesiod's *Works and Days*. Secondly, a heading may reveal the literary genre of the text (*genus poematum*), like *Epigrammata, Lyrica, Dithyrambica*. Thirdly, a heading may refer to the *modus* of the text, like *Cantus, Ode, Melos*. Scaliger does not explicate differences between *genus* and *modus*, but *modus* seems to refer especially to the performative context of the text.<sup>212</sup> Fourthly, a poem could be

<sup>209</sup> Professor Daniel Achrelius' expression, see above p. 239.

<sup>210</sup> A simple reason for omitting the subscription of a Greek poem would be that a writer had composed two or more poems in the commemorative anthology or as paratexts to a dissertation and his subscription was under the last poem.

<sup>211</sup> Greek signature in a Latin congratulation – all by Andreas Hasselqvist, written in the 1680s: Vall. 23, Vall. 3806 and Vall. 3807. A Latin signature in a Greek congratulations was quite usual; see, for example, Martinus Stodius' Greek congratulation in 1649 (Vall. 4301).

<sup>212</sup> Scaliger 1561, 3.126 (III.216–230, especially 220–222 Deitz).

named after the originator of the poetic genre, like *Anacreontica*, *Hipponactica* and *Pindarica*.

There are examples of these four types of headings in the Turku Greek Corpus. The names of genres (ἐπιτάφιον, εὐχή) are common in commemorative anthologies, whereas headings that reveal the content of the poem, like Ὡς ἀπὸ Ἀκαδημίας in Thun's *propempticon* (1681), are rare. Sometimes headings refer to the *modus* (Μέλος προσευκτικόν, Ἐπινίκιος παῖάν), especially in a celebratory context.<sup>213</sup> One poem with the heading *Ode Pindarica* in the Turku Greek Corpus bears a similarity to Pindaric odes only with its subheading 'strophe' (*Stroph.*) for its Greek part and 'antistrophe' (*Antistroφος*) for its Latin part.<sup>214</sup> Most common type of headings refers, however, to the function, the occasion and reason for writing the text (like friendship), which all influence on its content.

While treating the "outside" parts of letters in his letter-writing manual (1689), Achrelius states that the function of a heading (*proloquium*) is to serve as an honourable greeting to an addressee, which mentions his honorary titles. Simon Paulinus, Professor of Greek and Hebrew, often composed quite elaborate Greek headings containing information on the addressee. An example of this is the heading for a funerary poem to the memory of Professor Johannes Flachsenius' wife, Magdalena Wallenstierna, who died in 1685:

Κατάμεμψις καὶ παραμυθία,  
ὕπερ ἐν Χριστῷ Εὐθανασίας τῆς τὴν Εὐγένειαν, τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰ  
ἥθη, τὰ τοῦ γένεος αὐτῆς εὐπρεπέστατα, μάλιστα ἐπικοσμημέ-  
νης καὶ εὐφήμου Οἰκοδεσποίνης, τῆς  
ΜΑΓΔΑΛΗΝΗΣ ΟΥΑΛΛΕΝΣΤΙΗΡΝΗΣ, 5  
τῆς, ἐν τῷ διάγειν ἑαυτὴν ἐν ἡμῖν, Ἀγαθουργῆς μου ἐντιμοτάτης

**Crit. 2** Εὐθανασίας, ed. **3** εὐπρεπέστατα ed. **6** Ἀγαθουργῆς hapax | ἐντιμωτάτης ed.

A complaint and a consolation because of noble death in Christ of MAGDALENA WALLENSTIERNA, blessed with nobility, virtues, good manners, and with the most glorious descent; a honoured, pious mistress when living among us, and my most respected benefactor.<sup>215</sup>

<sup>213</sup> Ståhlberg, 1689 (Mel. 885), S. & J. Paulinus 1676 (Mel. 667).

<sup>214</sup> Indeed, the word *Antistroφος* contains both Latin and Greek letters. The poem (11 "Pindaric" verses) was written by Ericus Justander and published in 1657. Mel. 384. The Greek part (*Stroph.*), see Korhonen 2004, 235.

<sup>215</sup> Mel. 1004. Women kept their maiden surname (if they had one) when married. The couple

One could thus characterise and praise the target person and express one's relationship with her/him in the heading. It is obvious that headings occur more often in Greek congratulations for disputations than in commemorative anthologies because the title page of the disputation could not serve as a heading for paratexts as the title page served as a common title for all texts in the commemorative anthology.

The headings of the congratulations in dissertations from three prolific professors of sacred languages differ from each other. During the 1670s, half of Ericus Falander's Greek congratulations for dissertations and orations – all in prose – had a Greek title. Falander composed Greek headings especially when he acted as *praeses* of the dissertation, in which case his congratulation was the first in the publication. In the 1680s, Simon Paulinus usually composed Greek headings in his Greek congratulations for dissertations, whether he was a *praeses* or not. David Lund wrote a heading to his 31 Greek congratulations for dissertations but only one of them is in Greek as he wrote Greek congratulations with Latin headings. Professors' writing practices were also reflected in students' Greek writings. Especially during the 1670s and 1680s, students composed Greek headings in their congratulations for dissertations. From the 1690s onwards Latin was favoured in turn as the language of the headings.

The headings of congratulations for dissertations might reveal the topic of the thesis, as in this example, composed for a dissertation on the metaphysical subject *De aptitudinali propriorum separatione* (The proper differentiation of qualities) from the year 1693:

Πρὸς  
τὸν περὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ἐλευθερίους ἀκαμάτως  
ἀσχολούμενον καὶ τὰ τῶν τρόπων ἦθη σπου-  
δαιότατον  
Κύρ. ΙΑΚΩΒΟΝ ΦΟΡΣΤΗΡΟΝ,  
περὶ τοῦ ζητήματος τοῦδε (οὐχὶ τὰ ἴδια χωριστὰ  
πεφύκασιν εἶναι, τῆς μηδὲν ἦττον τῶν ὑποκει-  
μένων οὐσίας ἀκινδύνως ἔχοντος) εὐγλώττως  
τε καὶ νουνεχῶς διαλεγόμενον, ὁμοχώριόν  
μου τίμιον, σύγγραμμα εἰλι-  
κρινές

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Flachsenius and Wallenstierna had also received a Greek wedding poem when they were married in 1674 (Mel. 624). We do not know whether Magdalena Wallenstierna was Simon Paulinus' special patroness (the first person pronoun μοῦ). The term εὐθανασία, with an explanation of its meaning, occurs in the Swedish heading of a Swedish funerary text by Professor Enevaldus Svenonius in 1667. Mel. 510.

A sincere congratulation pertaining to him of unimpeachable character, who toils tirelessly over liberal arts, to Mr. Jacobus Forsterus, my reverent compatriot, who fluently and intelligently disputed on this research (that single qualities do not exist separately from the one which has nothing less than a firm basic substance).

The writer was Henricus Seidelius from Turku. The heading reminds one of lapidary poems and *technopaegnia* – some words are hyphenated in order to have a tapering form. The layout makes a distinct heading, differing from the rest of the text.<sup>216</sup> The dissertation was Forsterus' *pro gradu* and thus was probably written by him. Seidelius praises the fluent language of Forsterius' thesis (εὐγλώττως, l. 8) so that the heading has a congratulatory function. Headings of paratexts in dissertations often contain the name of the addressee – although the name was already on the title page of the dissertation. Mentioning the name indicates the personal character and social function of the occasional text form. For a writer, a more essential element than heading might often be the signature.

### Subscription and the Expression “written in haste”

Although the signature may contain only the writer's name, it is usually divided into two parts: the author's title and name, and the preceding short sentence before it (*subscriptio*). In the signature, the name and, for example, the student association or the province were usually written in Latin, although the names could also be transliterated into Greek, as Christiernus Hammar does in 1678: Τοῦ ὀνόματός σου ταπεινὸς λατρευτής // ΧΡΙΣΤΙΕΡΝΟΣ ΑΜΜΑΡ (The humble servant of your name / Christienus Hammar). The author's name and the subscription could be in Latin or Greek or one of them in Greek.

Professor David Lund twice combined Greek and Latin in the subscriptions for his 31 Greek congratulatory poems for dissertations: *Hanc προσφώνησις φιλίας καὶ τιμῆς ἔνεκα reliquit David Lund* and *Hoc Schediasmate, Ἐπινόσως ἔχων accinit David Lund*.<sup>217</sup> Signatures can contain personal information like in this latter case, illness, which did not hinder Lund from writing a Greek poem (6 hex) to the respondent of the dissertation he supervised. Although *schediasmate* seems to refer to his condition – that he cannot write more than a sketch due to his illness – Lund puts the same kind of expressions, mostly in Greek (σχεδιάσμα,

<sup>216</sup> Seidelius characterises the respondent as “of unimpeachable character” (τὰ τῶν τρόπων ἦθη σπουδαιότατον), an expression which also occurs in Isocratean *To Demonius* (4).

<sup>217</sup> In 1695 (Vall. 2341) and 1696 (Vall. 2347). Cf. also, e.g., Vall. 1469.

αὐτοσχεδιαστής), in most of his 31 Greek congratulatory poems for dissertations – either in the signature or in the heading.<sup>218</sup> The same expression is to be found in the signatures (or headings) of other productive Greek and Hebrew professors, namely those of Ericus Falander and Simon Paulinus. Professors teaching Greek were seemingly required to fulfil their obligation to write a congratulatory poem or prose in Greek whether they had time or not.

Student Matthias Salinius was an active writer of Greek occasional texts. In 1704, when he had already been appointed as the Lector of the Cathedral School of Turku, he wrote a Greek congratulation for a dissertation (12 eleg), signing it as Τιμῆς καὶ φιλίας ἔνεκα ἐνασχολούμενος ἐποίησε (Despite being very busy, [Salinius] made [this] because of honour and friendship).<sup>219</sup>

Student Henricus Seidelius' subscription, in his above mentioned congratulation for a dissertation from 1693, refers simply to the fact that his Greek verses were written quickly: ταῦτά τοι εὐφημῶν παῦρα / ἔγραψε τάχα / HENRICUS SEIDELIUS / *Aboënsis*.

However, one may wonder why students, then, used expression like “in haste” as professors and teachers? Do they seem impolite? These kinds of expressions may imply, however, that despite the shortness of time, the writer had decided to honour the addressee with his congratulation. Furthermore, they might at least hint to the ideal of spontaneity or even to the virtuosity of versifying. The verb αὐτοσχεδιάζειν has the connotation of improvisation. As said, Aristotle stated that poetry originally developed from improvisations, ἐκ τῶν αὐτοσχεδιασμάτων (*Poet.* 4.1448b23, 4.1449a9). For a versifier who wrote poems for different occasions, the ability to improvise proves his talents and poetical skills, namely that he could, quickly and seemingly spontaneously, create verses – just as a good orator could speak *ex tempore*.<sup>220</sup> Melanchthon uses the verb as a substantive in

<sup>218</sup> These expressions are usual in Lund's Latin congratulations for dissertations, too, like *Hoc schediasma occupatissimus reliqui* (Vall. 1469) and *hoc schediasmate adplaudit* (Vall. 2344). See also Vall. 1458, Vall. 1481. Cases where this expression is to be found in Greek (αὐτοσχεδιάζειν and its variants) in Lund's Greek congratulations for dissertations: Vall. 1003, Vall. 2330, Vall. 2339, Vall. 2342, Vall. 1471, Vall. 116 and Vall. 1476. Professor of Poetics, Torsten Rudeen, who was a talented poet in Swedish, uses the same kinds of expressions in his congratulations for dissertations, which he wrote in Swedish, in all 57 texts. Kajanto 2000, 163.

<sup>219</sup> Vall. 2633.

<sup>220</sup> Speaking without preparing was even listed as a subgenre of orations in Byzantine literature. Hunger 1978 II, 25–28, 148. Speaking *ex tempore* was the topic of one dissertation supervised at Turku in 1700 (Vall. 116). It refers (via Vossius) to Thucydides (1.138.4), who praises Themistocles for being the best discerner of extemporary matters (κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν). Alander – Alopaeus 1700, 24–25. Janos Laskaris (d. 1535) used the adverb αὐτοσχεδίως in the signature of

his Greek grammar when presenting the aorist tense: *Longius forsā immoror huic disputationi quam ferat τὸ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν*. Here the infinitive quite obviously refers to Melanchthon's 'caveat' that his exposition is only a preliminary sketch for a more thorough study.<sup>221</sup> The titles of two dissertations at Turku begin with the term Σχεδῆριον, which does not necessarily, as Hans Helander has noted, imply any "depreciating nuance" but is an expression of modesty.<sup>222</sup> *Modestia* was a useful rhetorical strategy in epideictic literature.<sup>223</sup> In Seidelius' case, τάχα is combined with ταῦτα παῦρα, expressing Seidelius' *modestia*. Belittling one's own abilities may strengthen the praise of the addressee: one is too young and/or too inexperienced to praise in a proper way the addressee. However, in the Turku Greek Corpus, the prefix αὐτο in αὐτοσχεδίως and the like may also point to the fact that the student has composed the poem himself and not with help of his teachers.<sup>224</sup> Moreover, σχεδιάζειν refers to exercises, which was one function of students' epideictic paratexts.

Like a heading, a *subscriptio* can convey the author's relation to the target person, with such expressions as "humble servant" (in the above-mentioned Hammar's signature), "a student of the respected teacher", or "for the sake of friendship". It can also express the author's state of mind, such as "benevolently" or "gladly", or in a funeral text "sharing the grief with you".<sup>225</sup> At the end of the text, the signature can therefore set the final tone of the text.

In congratulations for dissertations, the subject of the thesis can be mentioned even in the signature – especially if the text does not have a heading. Carolus Ericius' signature in his Greek congratulation for his compatriot reminds of a heading:<sup>226</sup>

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his poem, see Legrand 1962 I, CXXXIX.

<sup>221</sup> Melanchthon 1527, Hr. Botley (2010, 47) translates the sentence as "[...] I have stayed longer over this discussion than is appropriate for these hurried notes."

<sup>222</sup> In 1670 (Vall. 2565) and in 1690 (Vall. 4260). Helander 2004, 170–171 (*schediasma*, *schediasmation*).

<sup>223</sup> A hesitation before the subject, not trusting one's strength, is one aspect of *modestia*. It could also be a structuring element in longer poems: Paulinus' *Finlandia* contains four cases of *modestia*. See Korhonen 2000, 70.

<sup>224</sup> In 1679, Nicolaus Wijkman signed his congratulation for an oration αὐτομάτως γράψας Nicolaus Wijkman. SKB 2043. This does not point to 'automatic' writing but refers to spontaneity, even to that he had written the text without prompting.

<sup>225</sup> Petrus Linstorpius in 1686: Συλλυπούμενος παρέβυξε (Mel. 1022).

<sup>226</sup> Vall. 4335. The congratulation (6 hex), written in 1655, utilises generic classical imagery: Apollo and the wreath of ivy. The writer, Carolus Ericius, was inscribed in the university under the name

Σπουδαιοτάτῳ τῶν Μουσῶν ἐμοῦ ἐταίρῳ  
 ΙΩΑΝΝΗ ΝΗΖΗΛΙΩ τῷ περὶ φύσεως τῆς  
 φιλοσοφίας περικαλλέως φιλοσο-  
 φούντι τοῦτο τὸ ἐξάστιχον συγχαίρων  
 ἀπέλιπε *Carolus Ericius, Suderman.*

Carolus Ericius, from Södermanland, gave as a congratulation this six-line poem to my diligent friend of the Muses, Johannes Nezelius, who disputed very well on the nature of philosophy.

A signature may thus have had the same functions as a heading, mentioning not only the topic of the dissertation but even the name of the addressee. Latin congratulatory texts for dissertations may have had Greek headings or Greek genre-specific terms but also quite elaborate Greek signatures, like Andreas Hasselqvist's signature in 1681:

Τούτῳ τῷ δεκαστίχῳ, πολλοῖς ἐμπεποδισμένος,  
 τῇ τῆς γλυκύτητος σπουδῇ τε καὶ σπου-  
 δῆς γλυκύτητι, κυρίου Βουθελίου, ὁμοχωρίου  
 καὶ φίλου εἰλικρινεστάτου, συγχαίρειν  
 ἔθελεν

ANDREAS Hasselqvist / *Calmariensis.*

With this ten-couplet poem, ANDREAS Hasselqvist, from Kalmar, hindered by many things, wanted to congratulate Mr. Buthelius, his compatriot and true friend, because of his diligence in sweetness and sweet diligence.

Hasselqvist is using the rhetorical figure *contentio* (diligence in sweetness – sweet diligence).<sup>227</sup> He also composed two other Greek signatures to his Latin congratulations for dissertations.<sup>228</sup> All these three Greek signatures are similar – both in their layout and in their wording<sup>229</sup> – as if they were Hasselqvist's 'trademark'.

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of Karl Agrelius, but changed his name to Ericius and Eritz. Student Register, *s.v.* Agrelius Karl.

<sup>227</sup> Vall. 23. The Latin poem contains ten disticha. In the same publication, Professor Enevaldus Svenonius ends his Latin heading for his Latin congratulation (2 eleg) with the Greek word Δίστιχον.

<sup>228</sup> In 1680, for two parts of a dissertation in series (Vall 3806 and Vall. 3807).

<sup>229</sup> The first words of these Greek signatures came out in three different ways: Τούτῳ τῷ δεκαστίχῳ, Τούτῳ τῷ δεκαστίκῳ [!], and Τούτῳ τῷ δεκατριστίκῳ [!] – all are signatures for Latin congratulations of ten couplets by Hasselqvist.

### *Exordium*

An introduction (*exordium*) seeks to capture the attention of the recipient and to gain his sympathies (*captatio benevolentiae*). The following types of introduction occur in the Turku Greek Corpus: 1) imitating or quoting some famous author, 2) referring to animal world or nature, ancient culture, history, or mythology, 3) recognising one's own incapacity (*modestia*), and summoning the Muses for help, 4) making a reference to the occasion or to the conventions of the text type or genre, 5) giving the reason for writing, and 6) going straight to the point, i.e., starting to eulogise or congratulate the target person right away or, in a funeral poem, to offer condolences. Some examples of these five types are presented here:

1) Quoting or referring to a classical author or maxims and sayings was a good device to increase the confidence of the reader in the writer.<sup>230</sup> Georgius Aenelius begins with a comparison with ancient Greek culture:

Οἱ περὶ Πλάτωνα τότε δὴ τὰ δημόσια διαφερόντως εὐτυχῇ γενήσεσθαι, νομίζουσι· ἂν οἱ σοφοὶ καὶ οἱ τῆς παιδείας ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότες ἑαυτοῖς ἄρξωνται διακονεῖν· εἴτ' οὖν οἱ διακονήσαντες πάντοτε περὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς διδαχῆς σπουδάζουσιν.

Once upon a time, the Platonists thought that the state would be especially fortunate, if wise men and those who happened to have received a valid education begin to serve each other; then the men who were in charge would always be eager concerning wisdom and erudition.

Plato emphasises in the *Republic* that philosophers must first rule themselves, demonstrate self-control, before they are eligible to control others (*Rep.* 9.580, see also *Leg.* 6.763a). Aenelius' congratulation (29 ll.) is syllogistic in its structure: first he introduces a quality that is fitting for good leaders and then states that the addressee of the congratulation (Simon Paulinus) is an example (παράδειγμα) of such a ruler. Aenelius also refers to the festivity of installation, stating that today (σήμερον) Paulinus "will take over the Greek and Hebrew teaching", that is, Paulinus has been nominated as Professor of Greek and Hebrew.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>230</sup> Quoting in Humanist Greek, see above Chapter 3.5.

<sup>231</sup> Mel. 1431. As a title for Paulinus, Aenelius gives Ἄρχων τῶν φιλοσοφούντων, which, in this context, means Master of Philosophy.



2) Matthias Salinius begins his congratulation (16 eleg) for a dissertation in 1705 with a parable to the animal world:<sup>232</sup>

Ὡς ἐνὶ τῷ σμήνει σκιάοντι μέλιττα ἑκάστη  
 εἰς κοινὴν συνεχῶς ἔργα τίθησι ἑά,  
 Οὕτω δει μέροπας καμάτους σφετέρους καταθέσθαι  
 πρὸς χρῆσιν κοινὴν ὠφελίην τε βροτῶν.

2 τίθητι ed. 3 καμάτως σφετέρως ed.

As every bee in its shadowy nest continuously brings the results of its work to the common good, so the toils of every human need to be gathered for common use and for the benefit of all people.

The structure ὥς – οὕτω(ς), used in Homeric similes, indicates the comparative structure. Here the scientific community is compared with a nest, which is enriched by co-operation. Salinius also begins his congratulation (24 hex) for an inauguration in 1693 with a comparison with the animal kingdom: frogs and bees have their ‘kings’, so the university needs a Dean.<sup>233</sup>

3) For the degree conferment ceremony of 1694, Matthias Salinius wrote a Greek congratulation using lyric anapaestic dimeter (vv. 16), an uncommon metre in the Turku material. He begins with *modestia*:<sup>234</sup>

Ὡς σχοῖ ἐμὴν Ἀρχηγὸς Ἀπόλλων  
 συγγνώμην, ὀρέγωμαι ὕμνους,  
 περίσημοι κ’ Ἄνδρες κ’ ὕμνήσαι,  
 τοῖσι λίθοις στίλβοντας νυνί,  
 ἡδὲ λαβόντας στέμμι’ ἐρίτιμον

**Crit.** 1 Ἀρχηγὸς ed. 3 ὕμνᾶσαι ed., forma dorica

May Apollo the Master judge me kindly that I desire to sing of you, you most notable of men, who shine in a manner of jewels and obtain the wreath of honour.

<sup>232</sup> Vall. 3383. On animal symbols, see below Chapter 4.5 (“Animal and Plant Similes and Symbols”).

<sup>233</sup> Mel. 1390. Salinius is thus continuing the faulty tradition since antiquity that bees have ‘kings’, being unaware of queen bees. Magnus Nicander also begins with comparing studying to bees’ work in his congratulation (22 lines) for a dissertation in 1673. For an excerpt from Nicander’s text, see Korhonen 2004, 171.

<sup>234</sup> Mel. 1431.

A writer's modesty can be expressed by underlining one's lack of skill by referring to the god of poetry, Apollo.

4) Jacobus Eurenus, a Sweden-born student, begins his congratulation (4 hex) for a dissertation (1655) by invoking the Muses as well as referring to the occasion of writing:

Μοῦσα δίδασκέ με δαιδαλέως νῦν μέτρον αἰεῖδεν,  
μὴ κάλαμος κρώζῃ ψιθυριστῆς μέτρον ἄναλτον,  
ΠΟΥΡΜΗΡΟΝ ταχύνω παμπόλλου ἄξιον αἴνου  
δοξάζειν· φανεροῖ νομικῶς γὰρ γαῖαν ὀρίζειν.

1 Cfr. Hes. *Op.* 662: Μοῦσαι γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξαν ἀθέσφατον ὕμνον αἰεῖδεν

Muse, please teach me to compose a shining poem, may not the reed-pen in a defamatory way scratch an unsatisfactory poem; I will hurry to eulogise Purmerus, who is worthy of full praise, because he will present land surveying in the right way.<sup>235</sup>

These four hexametric lines pleading Muse to help in composing a poem function as a preface to the humorous, rhymed, 9-verse congratulation in Swedish, which is preceded by the words *Ergo sic*. The invocation to the Muses, the Graces, and to Apollo was usually panegyric: the gods were exhorted to come to sing and praise the person concerned. This type of *exordium* was used especially in inaugurations and wedding congratulations, but it also occurs in congratulations for dissertations.<sup>236</sup>

5) Ericus Castelius begins his congratulation (20 hex.) for a dissertation (1691) with a reference to his impulse to write:<sup>237</sup>

Ὅτι γράφειν με σμικρότατον βουληθῇ ἀπάντων  
τῶν θεραπόντων Μουσάων κοῦρος θεόσεπτος  
λευκανθεῖς ὁ Ἰωάννης ὁ κικλήσκεται ἄλλως  
Ῥούγγιος, ἀτρεκέως τούτῳ ἐπιγηθέω ἄρδην

<sup>235</sup> Vall. 2072. The subject of the dissertation was geodesy.

<sup>236</sup> In his congratulation (16 hex.) for a dissertation of 1680, Benedictus Littorin, a Sweden-born student, invites the Graces to come: Νῦν ἐγγίσατε ὦ χάριτες, καὶ εὔτονα μέτρα / ἔσατε, τῷ ὑμῶν ἡραστῇ ἀδιαλείπτῳ (Come here now, Graces, and sing melodious tunes with your tireless admirer). Here the invocation is both for Littorin to make a good poem with the help of the Graces but also that the Graces would take part in celebrating. Vall. 21. Note ἡραστῇ metri gratia pro ἔραστῇ.

<sup>237</sup> Vall. 1439. Rungius obtained another Greek congratulation (27 ll.) for his dissertation from Christianus Procopoeus.

I was sincerely pleased, when the godlike servant of all the Muses, glorious Mr. Johannes, by his other name, Rungius, wanted me to write even the smallest thing.

If Rungius really asked Castelius to write “even the smallest thing” (σμικρότατον), that is, something, it is a different procedure than when a Greek occasional poem is composed spontaneously, without prompting. Referring to the writing process was, however, Castelius’ rhetorical device also in his Greek poem (44 eleg) commemorating Johannes Gezelius Sr.’s death, which he wrote a year earlier, in 1690. He referred to the occasion of writing by starting with the lines “If my talent is made strong by some unknown power, / I hasten to willingly utter some gentle verses.”<sup>238</sup> Gustavus Granroth tells the reason why he started to write his congratulation (15 ll.) for a dissertation (1733):<sup>239</sup>

Ὅταν ἐνὶ νοῦν ἦλθε φιλία ἡμῶν εἰλικρινής, ἢ ἀπ’ ἐνιαυτῶν ἀπαλῶν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἀλλήλους τετηρημένη, ὀρμηθεὶς ἤδη εἰς τὸ προσήκον, καίπερ ἐν τάχει διὰ βραχέων τοὺς λόγους ποιῶ, καὶ χάρματι [5] πειράσω ἐμφανίζειν τὴν διάνοιάν μου·

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**Crit.** 5 πειρασῶ ed. | ἐμφανίζω ed.

When I recall our true friendship, which has been nurtured since our tender years and since childhood, it stirred me to begin this to what is fitting, and, although I write in haste and with only a few words, [5] I shall express my thoughts even with joy.

Granroth feels obliged to write because of a long-lasting friendship. He combines the reason for his writing with the topos of *modestia*. In general, friendship, φιλία, was said to be a reason for writing a *gratulatio* in many other parts of the congratulatory text: in headings, signatures, and in the text proper.

6) A short congratulation can also be started by going straight to the point, *ad rem*, as Gudmundus Amnelius does in the first six lines of his congratulation (10 hex) for a dissertation by using the verb συγχαίρειν.<sup>240</sup> Matthias Bill starts his

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<sup>238</sup> Verses 1–2: Εἴ τι κράτος στερεώση ἐμὴν εὐφυΐαν ἀμαυρόν, / σπέρχω ἔπη λιαρὰ προφρονέως δόμεναι. Mel. 1198. On Castelius, see below Chapter 5.1.

<sup>239</sup> Vall. 1557. Granroth’s ἐνί (l. 1) understood as εἰς. The poem was written to Ericus Munselius.

<sup>240</sup> Vall. 39. See above p. 232.

congratulation (8 ll.) for a dissertation in 1681 by stating that he did *not* need to congratulate (συγχαίρειν) his friend:<sup>241</sup>

Πολλοῖς μὲν ῥήμασι τῆς γνησίας φύσεως ἰσχύος τε καὶ εὐτυχίας συγχαίρειν  
σοι τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον μάτην εἶναι ἐνόμισα, ὅσῳ περ τὴν διάνοιάν μου καὶ  
ἦθος διαγνώναί σε εἶδον.

The more I know that you discern my thoughts and character, the more I consider it to be fruitless to congratulate with many words your true nature, strength and good fortune.

Bill's praise is indirect, and he thus uses *praeteritio*, saying partially so (not praising but, in fact, mentioning his friend's good qualities and fortune). A clearer example of *praeteritio* is found in Johannes Rivelius' congratulation for an inauguration (34 ll.) in 1686, emphatically beginning with a negative, partly in majuscules: ΟΥΔὲν λέγω περὶ τῆς εὐταξίας φρενός Σου.<sup>242</sup>

### **Conclusio**

As mentioned earlier, congratulatory formulas are often put at the end in syllogistic occasional texts, so that they appear to be the result of reasoning ('therefore NN should be congratulated'). Congratulations could thus be only a small part of the text, which, still, can be defined as *gratulatio*. The conclusion (*conclusio*) of a syllogistic text can also be panegyric ("so now is the time to celebrate!") or laudatory ("therefore NN is worthy of praise!"). In addition to being the result of reasoning, the end of texts might focus on the occasion, the present or soon to come celebratory event, or on the main task of the epideictic text proper, the praise of the target person without any kind of reasoning before that. The ending of texts, which belong to well-defined genres, like wedding congratulations and funerary poems, were often options that were given in rhetorical textbooks (like *consolatio* as a proper ending for funerary poems). In all, there were five types of endings: 1) the ending as a result (*conclusio*), 2) panegyric, 3) praise, 4) conclusion suggested by the genre, and (5) a wish or blessing (*votum*). In congratulations for dissertations, it was common to wish that the student would

<sup>241</sup> Vall. 877. *Praeteritio* or παράλειψις, see Lausberg 1990, 436–437.

<sup>242</sup> Line 20: "I do NOT speak about your well-ordered mind [...]". Mel. 1012. Partial majuscules in the negative (ΟΥΔὲν) beginning the sentence or verse in a poem were a common emphasis (cf. Paulinus' *Finlandia*, e.g., vv. 41, 43, 70 etc.). It could also be a printer's error.

continue as he has begun (σπεῦσον ὥς ἥρξω), which combined wishing and praising.<sup>243</sup>

Furthermore, a very common ending type in congratulations for dissertations was (6) the hope that the addressee will bring merit to his family, and fame and honour to his *patris* – a word which frequently occurred in this connection was δόξα ('reputation', 'honour'). Honour was a central early modern value, and it was experienced collectively: one's success is not only one's own but the success of the family, even a nation. This kind of ending can be called the *Doxa-type ending* and can also be found in Latin congratulations.

In a short dialogue of Johannes Posselius Sr.'s Greek-Latin conversion manual (Rostock 1587), the student is finishing his studies and is saying goodbye to and thanking his teacher. The teacher, in turn, praises the student and wishes him luck:

[...] ἵνα μικρῷ ὕστερον τῇ μὲν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ὠφέλεια, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις δόξα, τοῖς δὲ γονεῦσιν ἡδονὴ καὶ παραμυθία ὦν τυγχάνης

[...] so that you in a short while will later be useful to the church and the state, bring honour to your country and friends as well as be a delight and support to your parents.

The Doxa-type ending occurred for the first time in the Turku Greek Corpus in 1667, that is over twenty years *before* Posselius' conversation manual was published in Turku in 1690. The writer was Daniel Unger from Viipuri: ὅτι αἱ σπουδαί σου [...] τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὀνόματος δόξῃ, ἐκκλησίας καὶ πολιτείας οἰκοδομῇ, καὶ γε μὲν ἰδίᾳ ὠφελείᾳ καὶ εὐπρεπείᾳ ἀφθάρτῳ προσήκωσι ([...] so that your studies would be suitable to the honour of the name of God, the improvement of the church and the state, your own gain and an everlasting dignity).<sup>244</sup> Unger's model was probably Latin congratulations. The same goes for a few other congratulations for dissertations from the 1670s in which this type of ending occurs in a slightly different way from that found in Posselius.

<sup>243</sup> See below Chapter 4.5 ("Animal and Plant Similes and Symbols"), Krogerus' congratulatory poem to Winter). The phrase, cfr. Plat. *Prot.* 353b: πέraitνε ὥσπερ ἥρξω; *Gorg.* 494c διατέλει γὰρ ὥσπερ ἥρξω.

<sup>244</sup> Vall. 2024. As mentioned earlier, the young Johannes Gezelius Nepos, of the famous Gezelius family, used Unger's congratulation for his own congratulation in 1698 but also the Doxa-type ending. Much later, in 1726, Gustavus Fabricius seems to use, for his part, Gezelius Nepos' Doxa-type ending so the chain of lending was: Unger (1667) – Gezelius Nepos (1698) – Fabricius (1726).

The ending of Magnus Nicander's congratulation for a dissertation from 1678 is on the other hand a slightly condensed version of Posselius' passage. During the 1680s and 1690s, the Doxa-type ending was used almost word for word, following Posselius, and was even still adapted during the 18th century.<sup>245</sup>

After the Great Northern War and the occupation of Finland by the Russian army, the Turku University was re-established but the practice of writing Greek epideictic texts had changed. The endings of Greek congratulations increasingly hope that the student addressee will obtain some kind of prize (βραβεῖον, καρπός, μισθός, γέρας, ἄθλον) for his toils, as Jacobus Krook wished in the closing lines of his congratulation (30 lines in octavo format) for a dissertation in 1733:<sup>246</sup>

Διὰ τοῦτο ἐνδοτάτῳ ἐκ σπλάγχνων συγχαίρω σοι τῆς σοφίας σου, ἡθῶν τε καὶ τῆς τοῦ βίου ἀδιαφθοαρσίας, καὶ ὑπηνεγμένων τῶν πόνων ἀκαδημικῶν, εὖχομαι καὶ αὐτῶν, ὅπως μισθὸν τοῖς λόγοις σου συνήκοντα μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον λάβῃ.

**Crit.** 27 ἀδιαφθοαρσίας hapax **Sim.** 26 Dositheus 10.673.31 (Deledemos): ἐκ τῶν ἐνδοτάτῳ σπλάγχνων

Therefore, I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart for your wisdom, manners, and your pure way of life as well as you had borne your academic efforts; I wish and pray that you will soon receive a reward that is fitting your argument.

Krook's text begins with a common quote from Isocrates that wisdom is the only everlasting possession (*Ad Dem.* 19). The main topic of the syllogistic congratulation is the difficulties of acquiring education, which concern both rich and poor students. The respondent Ericus Ljung had been diligent and virtuous and therefore deserves praise.<sup>247</sup> The 'reward, remuneration', μισθός, which it was hoped would be received 'soon', may refer to an actual salaried post. Krook's occasional text lacks any kind of Baroque mannerism or humanistic flavour, which is in accordance with the atmosphere of the Age of Enlightenment – or the Age of Liberty as the eighteenth century is named in Finnish and Swedish

<sup>245</sup> For examples of Doxa-type endings in the Turku Greek Corpus, see Korhonen 2004, 143 n52, 163–164, 246, 249, 250, 259, 264, 288 n15, 297, 301–302, 305, 315, 316, 325, 335, 342, 370.

<sup>246</sup> Lines 25–30. Vall. 1558.

<sup>247</sup> Vall. 1558. Krook mentions that Ljung had been an orphan since childhood (l. 18). The topic of the dissertation was spoken language (*De sermone*).

historiography – which was reflected in the subjects of dissertations focusing on economics. The abstract references to virtue, the basic concept of humanistic education of the 17th century, were replaced by more material prizes.

#### 4.5. Baroque Mannerism, Rhetorical Figures and Similes

Mannerism (or manierism) is not a time-bound concept. Ernst Robert Curtius (1948) defined the term as an excess of devices, a fascination with various textual games, which was in vogue during late antiquity, some periods of the Byzantine era and during the early modern period, especially during the Baroque period.<sup>248</sup> The Baroque style is ornate and employs numerous superlatives. Periphrastic and rambling writing, with episodes, is another feature of this style. Baroque mannerism also involves a more frequent use of some rhetorical figures like *hyperbaton*, *paronomasia* and *versus rapportati*, in which the sentence structure is confusingly broken, and in which complicated sentence structures are used.<sup>249</sup> More conspicuous tokens of mannerism are the different kinds of *paignia*, light entertainment: figure poems in which the poem is, for example, shaped as the Grim Reaper as well as tauto-, pan- and lipogrammatic poems.<sup>250</sup> An occasional text was a gift from a writer to an addressee packed in ornamental packages à la Baroque mannerism.

Early modern culture was, especially during the Baroque period, performative in a sense that people ‘played’ themselves: their class and status needed to be shown in their appearance, like in their clothes and behaviour. The era also valued ceremonial performances. Festivities, like funerals for the nobility and other high status persons, could last for many days.<sup>251</sup> This also concerned more humble

<sup>248</sup> Curtius 1948, 275–276. For manierism in Byzantine literature, see Hunger 1978 I, 98–107. Postmodern literature also makes experiments with language, e.g. Georges Perec’s *La Disparition* (1969) is a lipogrammatic novel, whereas his *Voyage d’hiver* reflects on plagiarism and authorship.

<sup>249</sup> *Hyperbaton*: separating two words in a sentence as far apart as possible or contrary to normal sentence structure; *paronomasia*: playing with phonetic similarities and homonyms. A strange word order or repetition of words does not necessarily indicate a lack of skill or ignorance of syntax, but might instead reflect the literary ideals of the time.

<sup>250</sup> A certain letter is completely missing from the poem (*lipogrammata*). On *tautogrammata* and *pangrammata*, see below p. 259 n254.

<sup>251</sup> The sumptuous wedding (including a ballet, fireworks and a procession with references to classical deities) of the Danish prince-elect Christian and the Saxon princess Magdalena Sibylla in Copenhagen in 1634 lasted thirteen days. Wade 1996.

academic festivities. Petrus Gyllenius mentions a *mutatio rectoratus* at Turku (8 May 1649) in his diary. The festivities of this yearly celebration – professors took turns serving as Rector for a year – lasted two days. They contained an oration held by the former Rector followed by another one by the new Rector who was given his insignia. On the second day students gave two theatrical performances on the lives of the Apostles in which Gyllenius played the role of a peasant in which he received some remuneration.<sup>252</sup>

Dashing *Spielerei* especially suited texts which were created for festivities. These texts were published in commemorative anthologies, which usually contained several poems or prose texts – or several commemorative anthologies were published addressing same person(s). Hence, writers can be seen as competing for attention, hoping to be noticed among many others (cf. today's attention economy). To make a difference, for example using a manneristic device, is one way to draw attention to one's poem, to distinguish one's poem from a multitude of other poems. Among the paratexts in dissertations, there was less competition for attention because their number was usually (but not always) smaller than texts in commemorative anthologies. This seems to be one of the reasons why manneristic devices were more frequent in commemorative anthologies than in paratexts for dissertations – at least in the Turku Greek Corpus. Furthermore, academic theses called for more sober poems, not curiosities with textual plays and the occasion, disputation, was less splendid and called for less effort than, e.g., professor's wedding or inauguration. However, some manneristic (manieristic) devices were used in congratulations for orations, that is, not only festive orations but practice orations, like the Greek-Latin macaronic, congratulatory poem on oration by Johannes Korp, which was presented above in Chapter 3.2. The use of Greek in Latin texts is also a way to draw attention.

### **Tautogrammatical Poems and Other Manneristic Devices<sup>253</sup>**

The Turku Greek Corpus contains one tautogrammatical Greek poem by Claudius Agraeus (later Åkerman), a Sweden-born student. His compatriot, Jacobus Eurenus, published a Latin tautogrammatic practice oration on paradise – all

<sup>252</sup> Gardberg & Toijer 1962, 197–108. Petrus Gyllenius also reports the inauguration on 22 February 1649.

<sup>253</sup> Manneristic or manieristic devices are nowadays seen as part of 'artistic rhetoric' or *Rhetorisierte Literatur*, see Ernst 2015. These devices used in Nordic Greek Corpora, see HUMGRAECA Database > Formal Patterns.



words beginning with ‘p’ – comprising 396 hexameters in 1653.<sup>254</sup> Agraëus wrote a Sapphic stanza to him in which all words, including the heading (Προσθήκη, ‘Supplement’) and the signature, began with π. Agraëus also utilises the two meanings of παράδεισος, ‘paradise’ and ‘garden’.<sup>255</sup> Two years later, in 1655, a memorial was published in Uppsala for the deceased Elisabet Troilia, in which Agraëus’ brother, Olavus Åkerman, wrote a lapidary-style funerary poem (4 hex), where the letters of the first two verses begin with Α and the two last verses with Ω. The common invocation Α καὶ Ω functions as the heading of the short poem.<sup>256</sup>

Another example of a tautogrammatic occasional poem in Greek in the Nordic Greek Corpora contains an *acrosticon*, a popular manneristic device in Neo-Latin poems, but rare in the Nordic Greek Corpora – there are no examples of acrostics in the Turku Greek Corpus.<sup>257</sup> The tautogrammatic poem with *acrosticon* was written by a Finnish student Martin France, who had moved to Riga.<sup>258</sup> Furthermore, Laurentius Norrmannus, one of the eminent Nordic Greek writers, composed, as a student at the University of Uppsala, a fivefold tautogrammatic congratulatory poem (12 hex) with five acrosticha to Olaus Ungius (Ung) for his juridical dissertation in 1670. The first line consists of five words beginning with the first letter of the name of the respondent, Olaus Ungius: Ὠπάσαθ’ Ὠπόλλων Ὠιδᾶς Ὠδδάξατο Ὠὐτός (Apollo has given songs, he has stimulated you), the second line consists of words with *Lambda* as the initial (the second letter of the name Olaus), and so on. Words are arranged as five columns, one below the other. Hence, the initials of each of the five columns form the name of the respondent

<sup>254</sup> According to Ernst Curtius (1948, 285, 292) *pangrammatical* poems are poems in which every word begins with a same letter. However, the term tautogrammatical might be used instead. See Metzler s.v. *Tautogramm*, but see also *ibid.* s.v. *Pangrammatisch*.

<sup>255</sup> SKB 1077. Eurenus received four congratulations: three in Latin and this pangrammatic poem in Greek.

<sup>256</sup> The first line is: ΑΡΧΗ ΑΙΟΝΙΩΝ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ ΑΚΕΣΙΝ ΑΝ ΑΚΕΣΤΩΡ. Åkerman, later Professor of Jurisprudence, wrote eleven Greek poems, see the HUMGRAECA database (Akujärvi).

<sup>257</sup> There are eight in Swedish and Estonian material (HUMGRAECA Database, Akujärvi, Päll). There is an acrosticon duplex in a funerary poem by Gezelius Sr. from 1647, HUMGRAECA Database (Päll) and Korhonen 2004, 199–200.

<sup>258</sup> All the words of Martin Francke’s wedding congratulation (5 hex) with an acrosticon begin with Γ (Riga, 1651). Francke was the son of a priest from Turku who served in the Finnish-Estonian parish in Narva (Estonia) and studied in the Riga gymnasium. On Francke, see Pontani & Weise 2022, 789–790 (J. Päll).

and the lines make sense and form sensible albeit awkward meanings.<sup>259</sup> It would seem that using peculiar devices calls for using not only one but two at the same time; this does not increase one's understanding of the message but it does draw attention to the writer's skill. These unusual devices suggest that the writer has made an effort and they thus function as a kind of compliment to the receiver.

Laurentius Norrmannus also composed a Greek *chronostichon* (2 eleg) for a wedding in 1671.<sup>260</sup> Chronostichon is a text containing a *chronogram* in which specific, often majuscule letters can be read as numerals often revealing the year of the publication. This device was popular in Latin occasional texts but the only other Greek example in the Nordic Greek corpora is from Tartu (1652): chronogram is attached in acrophonic Greek numbers to a Greek wedding poem (2 eleg) entitled Ἑτεόστιχον.<sup>261</sup>

There are no lipogrammatic poems in the Nordic Greek Corpora, or thus far they have not been noticed, but there is one palindromic poem. Palindromes, that is verses or lines that read the same both backwards and forwards, were quite popular in Byzantine literature (called "Crab texts").<sup>262</sup> A palindromic poem is quite a challenging device in any language. However, one wedding congratulation (4 hex) titled Παλίνδρομον ἑλληνικὸν πρὸς τοὺς γαμοῦντας was published in Tallinn in 1644. The first line goes: Νῦν σύρε [pro σύρε?] σῶε μέλω, νέμε νολεμέως ἔρος νῦν (Now I take care of you, intact sister [?], let love firmly possess you now).<sup>263</sup> The writer, who continues after the palindrome with a French poem, signed his contribution only as "H. Kem.", which probably refers to Haquinus Kemannus.<sup>264</sup>

<sup>259</sup> HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi). Erkki Sironen found a variant of this poem in the University Library of Uppsala. He will publish both versions in the near future. On Norrmannus, later Professor of Greek in Uppsala, see pp. 13, 76 and 149 above. Another example of a Greek pangrammatic manifold acrosticon – with a Latin version – was composed by a Swiss scholar Hans Herder in 1696, see Pontani & Weise 2022, 306 (picture), 353–354 (M. Steinrück).

<sup>260</sup> See HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi) including the first line (*incipit*). As Akujärvi notes, three Latin chronosticha and a Swedish riddle following the Greek chronostichon may be composed by Norrmannus too.

<sup>261</sup> Mel. 289. Päll 2010, 132. Korhonen 2004, 168. Another *chronostichon* in a Greek poem from Tartu (1708) has Latin letter numbers. Jaanson 687. On chronograms, see Marschall 1997. Marschall presents many other manneristic devices with pictures in her chapter "Chronogramm und *Poesis artificiosa*".

<sup>262</sup> Hunger 1978, 105.

<sup>263</sup> The second word corrected as σύρε, faintly similar to *soror*. However, *Ypsilon* is long in σύρε and σῶε is masc. voc. The whole poem and a different interpretation by Janika Päll, see Päll 2018, 98.

<sup>264</sup> Haquinus Nicolai Kemannus (Håkan Kejman Nilsson, ennobled as Cederqwist). The

The most peculiar of these experiments in the Nordic Greek Corpora comes from Uppsala. It is a one-page figurative poem written by an unidentified writer (only the initials J. N. H. are given), who congratulated Gabriel Wickenberg on his disputation on geometry in 1754. It reminds one of figures in magical papyri because it contains minuscule letters without spaces, forming four diamond shapes. There is, however, one majuscule *Delta* in the centre of the page. As Johanna Akujärvi, who has deciphered the text, notes, the message is quite simple: one begins from the *Delta* to the right, and the following letters – without diacritical marks or spaces between the words – form a hexameter: Δεῖγμα φρενὸς τετράγωνον ἔη τόδε συγχαίρουσής (May this cubus be a token of the congratulatory mind), which can be read in eight directions. The poem is a *labyrinthus cubicus*.<sup>265</sup> This kind of text has demanded extra work not only from the author but also from the printer. The same pertains to five Greek *carmina figurata* composed by Swedish learned poets.<sup>266</sup>

More common, so to say, than these figures were anagrams: seven in the Turku Greek Corpus, six in the Estonian-Latvian Corpus, and twelve in the mainland Swedish Corpus. In Turku, the first two poems containing anagrams were already written in spring 1650, that is, just after the university's printing house had acquired the Greek typefaces. Both were congratulations for dissertations composed by Professor of Physics, Abraham Thauvonius.<sup>267</sup> Thauvonius had been one of the first students at Turku, enrolled in 1641, but then moved to Tartu, where he took his degree in 1647. Thauvonius' impulse to write Greek anagrams may even originate from Estonia, where the first Greek poems with anagrams were written in 1639 and 1641 (they were published in Tallinn). During the 1650s, anagrams were in fashion at Turku: three other Greek poems with anagrams were written: two congratulations for orations by Ericus Justander and Olaus Bergius in 1651, and a congratulation by Carolus Agrelius for an installation in 1658.<sup>268</sup> Perhaps these new university printing presses, the

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identification is made by Johanna Akujärvi (HUMGRAECA Database). The wedding couple was Georg Höjer and Anna Mager. Mel. 200.

<sup>265</sup> Akujärvi 2020, 268–269 with a picture of the text.

<sup>266</sup> See HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi). The rare Greek *Carmen figuratum* (in the form of Cross) with an anagram written by Johan Placcenius from Braunschweig was published in Tallinn in 1641, see Päll 2018, 95–96 (including a picture of the poem) and HUMGRAECA Database (Päll). Päll also mentions two *carmina figurata* from Zittau and Altdorf, *ibid.*, 95 n149.

<sup>267</sup> Vall. 3898, Vall. 4317.

<sup>268</sup> Greek anagrams written in 1650s: Mel. 256, Mel. 276 and Mel. 399. In 1663, see Vall. 3940 and in 1681, see Mel. 855. A Sweden-born student Johannes Rogbergius wrote three anagrams:

new medium in Estonia and Turku, inspired students to make experiments with visual tricks to see how a text might look on a page. Moreover, if one was slightly unsure with one's ability in Greek, anagrams and other visual games were like delicious icing on a not so well baked cake.

Lapidary poems mean poems that imitate inscriptions and attempt to give an impression of inscriptions in their style. The most conspicuous feature is using punctuation marks between words, which is taken to mean there are rhythmic halts between words as though they were pauses for meditation. Lapidary style was often used in Neo-Latin and vernacular poems, especially in funerary texts, but seldom in Greek poems in the Swedish Empire. One Swedish example is Magnus Blochius' one-page congratulation (45 lines) for Carl Wrede's installation as Rector of the University of Uppsala in 1690. It is an impressive broadsheet with the verso side empty so it might have been put on display on the day of celebration.<sup>269</sup> In Turku, lapidary style with punctuation was not used in Greek poems except for the ending line of the lapidary title page in a memorial publication for the death of Carl Creutz in 1677. The Greek line gives the reason for publishing the memorial: Συμπαθείας. Καί. Θεραπείας. Χάριν.<sup>270</sup>

Johannes Caselius' eulogy for universities, ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΩΝ, presented in Chapter 2.1, can be seen as a lapidary poem without punctuation marks. This also concerns long headings in which words are put in different lines. But in a strict sense, lapidary poems are poems only if their rhythm is based on the variation between short and long lines. One wedding prose congratulation (30 lines), written by Ericus Indrenius in 1689, imitates lapidary poems without dots in its layout. Indrenius discusses the institution of marriage in his mildly humorous congratulation to his half-brother Andreas Indrenius.<sup>271</sup> In Ericus'

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for a funerary poem (Mel. 1392) and a congratulation for a dissertation (Vall. 2366), both in 1692; moreover, his congratulatory poem (8 eleg) for a degree conferment ceremony (doctors) at Uppsala contains an anagram too. Despite the fact that the ceremony was held in Uppsala in 1692, Rogbergius printed his poem in Turku. Mel. 1347.

<sup>269</sup> Magnus Blochius or Magnus Gabriel von Block. HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi). Korhonen 2004, 237 n230. Greek titles in the lapidary style with punctuations in Greek epitaphs, see Schurzfleisch 1702, 301, 304, 306.

<sup>270</sup> Pii. Manes [...] Inter Praetorianos. Regios. Sginiferi [...] Dn. Caroli Creutz. Lib. Bar. In. Casaritz. De. Siunby. Malm. Et. Tammerfors. [...] In. Qualecunque. Moestissimae. Familiae. Doloris. Levamen. Memorati. Συμπαθείας. Καί. Θεραπείας. Χάριν. Mel. 688. The publication contains texts in Latin and Swedish. Creutz was buried in Turku Cathedral on 27 May, 1677.

<sup>271</sup> Mel. 1156. The bride, Elisabet Teet, was a daughter of the Pastor of a parish near Rauma on the western coast of Finland. Both Ericus (d. 1717) and Andreas (d. 1704) came from Pori, a nearby town. Their mother Agneta married twice, Andreas was born from the first marriage in

view, there is no better thing than marriage – God created it and made it divine, while Jesus honoured the wedding of Canaan with his miraculous work. Marriage is natural for humans because man is not an asocial (ἀφιλόανθρωπος) but a social being (ζῶον φύσει πολιτικὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1.1253a2). According to Indrenius, the whole of society would be in danger if marriage was cancelled. Moreover, marriage is an international institution:

οὐδεὶς ὄντως ὁ δῆμος, τόσον βάρβαρος, τῆς τε φιλανθρωπίας ἀλλότριος, παρ' ὄν,	20
ὁ γάμος οὐ μὴ τίμιος, τί; τόν, ὁ θράξ, τόν, σαυρομάται τόν, Ἰνδος, τόν, Ἀχαιός τόν, λατίνος, τόν, [ὁ] ἰουδαΐζων, τόν, πέρσης	25
τόν, προσέτι σβηκός, τόν τε αὐτὸς ὁ φίννω<v>, αἰδημόνως ἡδεσμένοι αἰδέσιμοι. Nῦν διόπερ, ἄνερ Ἀνδρέα ἀδελφέ, ἀνδριστὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνδρίζῃ γαμήσας,	30
ὅστις σαντῶ νύμφῃ τε αὐτοῦ μακάριος· τοῦτο τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ φιλάδελφος ἐπῆρεν.	

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**Crit. 24** ἀχαιάς ed.

And there is indeed no nation, which is so very barbaric and hateful to love between humans [20] that it does not value marriage. Why? A Thracian, Sarmatians, an Indian, a Greek,<sup>272</sup> [25] a Roman, one who confesses Judaism, a Persian, even a Swede and a Finn himself – modestly respecting, exciting respect for it. So now, brother Andreas, my good man, [30] entering marriage you, like a man, will truly become a man, who is blessed along with his own bride. / A loving brother brought this up with brotherly love.

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1656. Andreas enrolled in the Royal Academy of Turku in 1679 and Ericus six years later. Register Database *s.v.* Indrenius Erik. Ericus Indrenius wrote two other Greek congratulations, both for dissertations – one for Georgius Aenelius for his Greek dissertation (see Chapter 5.3) and another again to Andreas (Vall. 2744), both in 1688.

<sup>272</sup> Line 24 ἀχαιάς may be understood as ὁ τῆς Ἀχαιίας or ὁ ἐξ Ἀχαιίας. Line 26: ἡδεσμένοι understood as perfect tense participle of αἰδέομαι. The verb ἰουδαΐζειν was used by the Church Fathers referring to a person who is on the side of the Jews or imitating them. LSJ *s.v.*

As literary devices, Indrenius uses a repetitive sentence structure as well as paronomastic (αἰδημόνως ἡδεσμένοι αἰδέσιμοι, l. 27) and alliterative (ll. 29–30) passages – in the latter, words beginning with *Alpha* can be seen as a tautogrammatic passage. Indrenius effectively places a single word, an emphatic interrogative pronoun τί on line 22.<sup>273</sup> This kind of text takes more space than a normal prose text would. The layout has been planned with regard to how much space there would be in the publication for each poem.<sup>274</sup> The layout may also remind us of modern easy-read language (simplified language) developed for people who have difficulties in reading, or the parsing of sentences so that the sentence structure becomes clearer.

### Dialogues, *Prosopopoeiae* and Apostrophes

The most common rhetorical devices in the Turku Greek Corpus were addresses – congratulations usually addressed their receiver in the heading, in the text proper and even in the signature. There are some apostrophes and even *prosopopoeiae* but only one text contains a dialogue. However, there are at least thirteen examples with dialogic features in the Swedish Greek Corpus and one from Riga.<sup>275</sup> One example from Sweden is the prose wedding congratulation comprising two pages to Julius Micrander, later Professor of Greek (1677–1685), and his bride Anna Halenia. It was written by Micrander's brother Ericus at Uppsala in 1674. The poem is titled Διάλογος Φιλοθεώρου καὶ Ὑμεναίου. Another from Uppsala (1670) is a funerary poem (12 hex, broadsheet) written by Ericus Omaen to the memory of Gabriel Skunk entitled Λόγος τοῦ Θανάτου. It begins with Death's line Εἰμὶ ἐγὼ πάντων ἐχθρός, καὶ γ' εἴσομαι αἰεὶ, which is then answered by "the one who has died in Christ". The poem, however, continues as a monologic lamentation. The topos *dialogus mortis cum homine* was popular in medieval literature.<sup>276</sup>

<sup>273</sup> The interrogative τί may also be understood as 'what': "What [nations do value it]?".

<sup>274</sup> Indrenius' Greek text is put on the page on its own without a heading. The publication contains four Latin poems before Indrenius' contribution, a Greek and a Swedish congratulation; his signature is given after the Swedish poem. The last congratulation is a Latin prose text by bride's brother.

<sup>275</sup> HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi and Päll) > dialogus (formal pattern).

<sup>276</sup> Protestant hymns could also be put into the dialogic form, like Hymns depicting a dialogue between Christ and a sinner. See the Hymns by a Swedish poet Johan Wultejus (1639–1700) and by an anonymous Danish writer from c. 1600. *Virikirja* [Finnish Hymn Book] 1965, Nr. 308 and Nr. 309.

The only Greek dialogue in the Turku Greek Corpus occurs in the longest Greek poem published at Turku: Johan Welin's funerary poem (127 hex) in memory of the Bishop of Turku, Herman Witte in 1728. The dialogue is conducted in a dream between Death and the I-speaker (68–86).<sup>277</sup> In all, it is an extraordinary poem (by an extraordinary person)<sup>278</sup> in the Turku Greek Corpus, beginning with a description of a sunset with different birds going to rest, after which the I-speaker has a dream in which he first encounters a beautiful palm tree, then meets the personified Death:<sup>279</sup>

Τὸν προσέφη· Τίς δ' εἶ σύ; ἔμοιγε ἔειπεν ἐκεῖνος·  
 ἔμμι δυνάστης ἐν γαίᾳ, βασιλεύς τε κραταίος,  
 δς δύναιμι μέθοθεν καθ' ἅπαν πρὸς πάντας ἐάσα οὖν. 70  
 φεῦ λόγον· εἶπον ἐγὼν, εἰ καὶ βασιλεύς συ ἀναιδής;  
 αὐτὰρ ἔεις μᾶλλον δμῶς καὶ θεράπων τινὸς ἀνδρός,  
 ὥσπερ ἐμοὶ σεῖο σκῆπτρον δείκνυσιν ἀληθῶς.  
 ἡδὲ δοκῶ ἔμεναί σύ γε ἀνδράποδον διαπαντός,  
 ὥτινι σάρξ συνετρίφθη τοῖς χαλεποῖσι πόνοισι· 75  
 ἐσσι ἄναξ τάχα που καθάπερ τ' ἐνδύματα ἴσχεις,  
 καὶ οὕτω μέντοι βασιλεὺς οἴκτιστος ἀπάντων.  
 ὕβριζοντι ἐμοὶ λίην ὠργίσθη ἐκεῖνος,  
 τὴν δρεπάνην ζάκοτος σείων κεφαλὴν ἔο κινεῖ,  
 ὥς φάτο· καί σε ἅπαξ οὗτός γε σίδηρος ἔκοψεν 80  
 ἡρώτηκα ἐγὼ· ποῖ ποιεῖς σοῖο πορείαν;  
 πρὸς πλῆττειν δένδρον παρεὸν περικάρπιον εἶπε.  
 τοῦθ' ὥς ποιήσεις, πάντως, φῆν, θεῖον ἀπείργοι·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἄνικμον καὶ ξηρὸν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ δένδρον·  
 ἀλλὰ αἰεὶ θάλλων καθάπερ καὶ τὴν ἑώρας 85  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ ἐμοὶ πολλοῖς τ' ἤνεγκεν ὄνησιν.

**Crit.** 70 ἐάσαοι ed. 72 ἔει ed. 76 τάχαπου ed. 79 κίνει ed. 80 ἐκόψει ed. 83 τούτ' ὥς ed.

I asked him: Who are you? He answered me: "I am a master on earth, the strong king [70] who commands everybody, in every respect." "What do you

<sup>277</sup> Another example of a dream poem (20 eleg, the dreamer in Olympus) in Greek was printed in Bucharest in 1719, see Pontani & Weise 2022, 430–431 (VI. Rezar). The most famous dream poem is certainly *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* attributed to Francesco Colonna (Venice 1499).

<sup>278</sup> On Welin's life, see Korhonen 2002, 60–62 and Pontani & Weise 2022, 774–775 (T. Korhonen).

<sup>279</sup> Welin wrote poems in many languages, mostly, however, in Swedish. In Swedish funerary poems, he twice uses the question – answer format (Q. "Why does one live at all? A. Life is a valley of tears"), which was common in funerary poems. Korhonen 2002, 62.

say!" I exclaimed. "Are you a ruthless king? You are rather a servant and nurse of a certain man – your sceptre distinctly shows that to me. You are, in my opinion, [75] a slave ever after of the man whose body is shattered by horrible pains.<sup>280</sup> If you are a ruler only because you carry the ruler's signs, you will be the most pitiable ruler." That man got angry with me – I had been too bold indeed – shaking his hateful scythe he waved his head [80] and said: "This blade will soon cleave also you!" I asked him: "Where are you going?" He answered: "I will go and cut down that fertile tree". "May the Divinity prevent you from doing so", I said. "That tree is not dry and sapless [85] but it flourishes as even you saw and had additionally brought gain to me and many others."

However, Death cuts down the palm tree (φοῖνιξ) – which suddenly metamorphoses into the deceased Bishop Witte. Although φοῖνιξ surely refers to a tree, it brings to mind the bird of resurrection, the phoenix (φοῖνιξ). The third part of the poem contains the common elements of funerary poems (*lamentatio*, *laudatio* and *consolatio*).

All in all, examples of the Nordic Greek Corpora are more like tokens of dialogues compared with such a genuine dialogic funerary poem, which was composed by Joachim Camerarius in memory of Martin Luther and published in 1546. The fictitious dialogue (28 eleg) occurs between the gravedigger (κοσμήτωρ τάφου) and a passer-by (ξένος); the 'casting' is mentioned in the title and the names of the players are expressed in abbreviated form in the text (Κ. and ΞΕ.).<sup>281</sup>

In occasional poems containing a bi- or multilingual dialogue, Greek can be one speech or reply, as in the poem by Michael Wexionius in 1630. It begins with a dialogue in Latin between the "Lover of Muses" and his opposite, an uneducated man, and then Apollo discusses with the different Muses on learnedness: Apollo's lines are, perhaps surprisingly, in Hebrew. They are followed by Calliope's lines (18 eleg) in Greek, which contains a praise of the addressee, whereas the other Muses speak Latin.<sup>282</sup> 22-year-old Wexionius wrote this poem at Uppsala to his patron, Baron Carl Gyllenhielm.<sup>283</sup> Calliope's, Apollo's and the other Muses' lines can also be defined as *prosopopoeiae*, that is a text in which a thing or fictitious person is presented as speaking.

<sup>280</sup> Verse 75: συνετρίφθη (aor. pass.) translated here as the present tense.

<sup>281</sup> The poem and its translation, Schultheiss 2020, 169–170.

<sup>282</sup> Mel. 127. The polyglottic poem is not a *paedeution* because it is not addressed to a teacher. On the genre, *paedeution poema*, see above p. 226.

<sup>283</sup> After graduation, Wexionius (ennobled as Gyldenstolpe) moved to Turku and became an influential professor of politics writing, among other things, the first political history of Finland.



It is natural that it is Apollo or other deities of education who speak in person in the academic poems.<sup>284</sup> Laurentius Praetorius, a student from Gävle (Sweden), wrote two *propemptica* in Greek for his Swedish fellow students in Helmstedt in 1592. The previous one written to a certain Petrus Nicolai contains a *prosopopoeia*<sup>285</sup> in which Apollo addresses the writer, Praetorius, regretting his friend's departure, and explaining why the friend, Petrus Nicolai, is now leaving Helmstedt for his home in Sweden.<sup>286</sup>

Henrik Lilius, who has a place in Finnish literary history with his Finnish poem *Kehito-runot* ('Cradle-songs') in modified *Kalevala* metre (1728),<sup>287</sup> wrote a congratulation with Homeric idioms to Johannes Flachsenius for his second appointment as Rector (16 hex.) in 1703. Pallas Athene is speaking as if being present in the occasion:<sup>288</sup>

Γλαυκῶπις Παλλὰς, ΦΛΑΧΣΗΝΕΙΟΙΟ ΓΕΡΟΝΤΟΣ,  
 δερκομένη σκήπτρων ἄρτ' ἀπομένοιο Λυκείου  
 Ἀβοϊκοῦ, μείδησέ τε καὶ γηθοῦσα ἔειπεν·  
 μὴ τιμῆς μᾶλλον τῆς ἄξιος εἴσεται ἄλλος  
 μήδ' ἐμπειροτέρως τις Πιερὶ γόρον ἄξει 5  
 σκεπτοῦχος βασιλεὺς γὰρ τούτῳ κῦδος ἔδωκεν  
 ἡνιόχου, Νεφεληγερέτου δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.  
 Μοῦσαι καὶ Χάριτες, κοῦραι Διὸς, οὖν ἐκαέργου,  
 τῷ κυβερνήτῃ τοίῳ ἔπος ἄδετε καλόν.  
 †Ποτνείου† δ' οὕτως γοῦν συγχαίρω τείν, ἦβη 10  
 φιλομαθῆς, Κυβερνήτου· Σὺ δὲ Φοῖβε Ἀπόλλων  
 ἐσθλὰ δίδου τούτῳ δεινὰς δ' ἀπὸ κῆρας ἄλαλκε.  
 Ὡς φάτο· δώματα ἐς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο βεβήκει.  
 ῥήματ' ἐμοῦ ἀκοὰς ἡδὺς περιήχεεν ἠχώ·  
 ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ συγχαίρων χάρτ' ἐπέγραψα ταπείνως, 15  
 ὃς ΠΑΤΕΡ' ΑἸΔΕΣΙΜΟΝ τιμῶ, μεῦ ζῶντος, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ.  
 Ἕνρικός Λίλιος.

**Crit.** 2 Δερκομένη ed. 4 ἴσεται ed. 5 γόρ' ἀνάξει ed. 6 Σκεπτοῦχος ed. 10 corr. γοῦν. 14 ἀκοὰς scripsit ἀκήκοας 15 ἄλλαγε γῶ ed. **Sim.** 1–3 cfr. Hom. *Od.* 13.287: ὥς φάτο, μείδησεν δὲ θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη 7 ἐτελείετο βουλή cfr. Hom. *Il.* 1.5

<sup>284</sup> The *prosopopoeia* of a Christian person, the Apostle Peter, occurs in one of the twelve Greek epigrams for Apostles in Josef Thun's *Amores sacri* (1682). Peter laments that he denied Jesus.

<sup>285</sup> On *prosopopoeia*, see Lausberg 1990, 411–413.

<sup>286</sup> Both Praetorius' poems are presented in Korhonen 2019. For the passage of *prosopopoeia*, see *ibid.* 11–12.

<sup>287</sup> Suomi 1963, 305–306. The *Kalevala* metre is the archaic metre used in Finnish folk poetry.

<sup>288</sup> Mel. 1794. On Lilius' poem, see also Korhonen 2003, 52.

8–9 Thgn. 1.14–15: Μοῦσαι καὶ Χάριτες, κοῦραι Διός, αἵ ποτε Κάδμου / ἐς γάμον ἐλθοῦσαι καλὸν ἀείσαι· ἔπος 12 δεινὰς δ' ἀπὸ κῆρας ἄλαλκε Thgn. 1.13: κακὰς δ' ἀπὸ κῆρας ἄλαλκε 13 Ὡς φάτο· cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.188

While seeing FLACHSENIUS SENIOR soon to take the sceptres of the Lyceum of Turku, Gleaming-eyed Pallas smiled and said with pleasure: “One will not know any other man who is better qualified for this honour [5] or who would be more experienced to lead the chorus of the Pierian Mountain; therefore the Sceptre-carrying King gave the leader’s status to him and so the will of the Cloud-gatherer was fulfilled. The Muses and the Graces, daughters of Zeus, the Farworker, please sing two such beautiful songs to this leader. [10] In this way, at least, I congratulate you, youth eager for learning, of revered leadership.<sup>289</sup> Please, Phoebus Apollo, grant him what is good and ward off bad fate.” So she said and went to the palace of Zeus, the Bearer of Aegis. The words, a sweet echo, rang in my ears. [15] However, I have humbly written them down on paper,<sup>290</sup> I, who will honour all my life you, the reverend and the most noble patron. // Henricus Lilius.

After addressing the Muses and the Graces, Apollo, and “youth eager for learning” (vv. 10–11, that is, students at Turku), Athene goes to Zeus’ palace. Then a transition of direct speech – from Athene to Lilius – occurs while Athene’s words rang in Lilius’ ears. He writes down the words as a congratulatory poem to Flachsenius. The addressee, Flachsenius, is thus first congratulated (συγχαίρειν) by Athene (v. 10) and then by the writer, Lilius (v. 15). In the delivery of the poem, if the poem was performed, the transitions of direct speech and addressees could have been clarified by gestures.

As regards funerary texts, there are some cases of dead persons (or the tombstone) speaking – a common device in ancient Greek funerary texts, inscriptions and literary epitaphs – especially addressing his/her/its words to passers-by. In 1694, Magnus Wibelius, a Sweden-born student, wrote a prose

<sup>289</sup> Verse 11: Πορνείου is understood as masc. of πότνια ‘revered, august’.

<sup>290</sup> Χάρτα (v. 15) ‘delights’ but translated as ‘paper’, referring to χάρτης (cf. *charta*), that is, text, paper, writing. If χάρτα is understood as ‘delighted words’, the line goes as “I humbly, truly congratulating wrote these delighting words”.

lamentation (12 ll.) to his fellow student and compatriot Andreas Barliin, who had died after a severe illness in Turku.<sup>291</sup> In Wibelius' affected lamentation, it is as if Barliin, the deceased friend, is speaking:

ΑΠΟΤΑΞΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ

**Π**άντας τοὺς παραπικρασμοὺς νῦν κατα-  
 λείπω, κόσμον σὺν πᾶσι ματαιότησι  
 ἑαυτοῦ. Ὑπαγε σὺν ταῖς ὑπαγωγαῖς σου  
 σὺν κενῇ εὐπορίᾳ καὶ κοσμικαῖς τερ-  
 πνότησι ἃς τὸ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ ταχὺ 5  
 διαφθείρουσι καὶ κλέπται ἀποφέρουσι. Ἀποχώρει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ  
 σὺν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς σου αἱ μόνον εἰσὶ ἄλγος καὶ σκιά.  
 Ἡ ῥαδιουργία σου οὐκ ἀρέσκει μοι. Ἀδέω ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ  
 φαυλότητι. Ὑπαγε ὅτι ψευδὴς φίλος εἶ καὶ ἀπατεών,  
 πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἢ ψυχὴ μου σπεύδει. Ἐκεῖ ἐν εἰρήνῃ 10  
 σὺν πᾶσι ἀγίοις κατοικήσει καὶ αἰώνια χάρματα  
 κληρονομήσει.

MAGNUS WIBELIUS  
 O-Gothus

**Crit.** ΠΡΟΣΤΟΝ ed. 2 ματαιότης ed. 3 σὺν ταῖς ed. 6 ἀπεμοῦ ed. 8 Ἡραδιουργία  
 ed. 9 ψευθὴς ed. 10 ψυχή ed.<sup>292</sup>

Leave-taking from the world // Now I leave all bitter things, the world with all its vanities. Go away with your temptations, with your empty comfortable and worldly delights; [5] fire and water quickly destroy them, and thieves steal them. Go away from me with your pleasures, which are only agony and shadow. Your self-indulgence does not please me. I have had enough of this futility. Recede from me because you are a lying friend and a cheat. My soul hastens towards heaven. There in peace with the blessed he will<sup>293</sup> dwell and inherit everlasting joys. / Magnus Wibelius *Ostro-Gothus* [= from East Gothland]

<sup>291</sup> Mel. 1442 (SKB 2571). The publication, with the title in Swedish, contains one Latin prose text and seven poems in Swedish. The Greek text is reprinted here with its original lineation. It contains unusually many words set together (see *Apparatus criticus*). The original is laid out on a page of its own, has a decorated initial vignette and a decoration before the heading. For a picture of the text, see Korhonen 2004, [524]. Apart from this Greek text, no other text by Wibelius is known, nor is anything known of his studies in Turku or his later life. He enrolled at the university in 1686.

<sup>292</sup> Nearly every line contains hiatus/hiatuses.

<sup>293</sup> There is the change of person in the end, not κατοικήσω but κατοικήσει.

The text is strong in its negative attitude to worldly pleasures, its rejection of the temporal world as full of vanities (cf. *Eccl.* 1:2). Wibelius twice uses the same imperative, ὕπαγε, by which Jesus wards off the Devil (Matt. 4:10) as well as the synonymic imperative ἀποχόρει (l. 6). The paronomastic command Ὑπαγε σὺν ταῖς ὑπαγωγαῖς σου underlines the rejection of worldly futilities. This short text, with its simplicity, without even mentioning the dead friend's name, is an effective example of the pietistic worldview.

The aforementioned wedding poem (21 hex) from 1653, written to Michael Nachtigall, Organist at Turku Cathedral, contains a three-line *prosopopoeia* in which it is as if those who oppose marriage are speaking: “many who escape marriage say” (v. 9). The verses for *prosopopoeia* (ll. 10–13) are taken from the passage of Hesiod's *Theogony* (590–612).<sup>294</sup>

Both *prosopopoeiae* and apostrophes (addressing an absent, e.g., dead person or thing or place) were listed in contemporary rhetorical treatises as devices which arouse emotions.<sup>295</sup> In the Greek oration to the memory of King Charles X Gustav (1660), Johannes Purmerus apostrophises witnesses, “in the manner of the Greeks and Romans”, as he says, referring to ancient court speeches, in order to prove that he is speaking the truth about the King's character. Fictitious witnesses are foreign rulers, who testify that the King was warlike and courageous. After the ‘witnesses’ have spoken, the verdict is given (δικάζειν): the King was truly virtuous.<sup>296</sup> *Prosopopoeiae* and apostrophes may also create an unexpected change of narration in longer texts, like orations, and were thus an efficient device to provide structure and set the pace. In the delivery, apostrophes could be expressed by gestures and by the direction in which a gaze was pointed. Johan Paulinus' *Finlandia* (1678), comprising 379 hexameters, contains fifteen apostrophes addressing Finland, Apollo, forefathers, Finnish peasants, birds, classical Greek cities, Turku and its university, the Turku Court of Appeal, Themis and the Muses.<sup>297</sup>

<sup>294</sup> See above p. 192–193. They postulate that the tribe of women is a great trouble and like drones they reap the toil of others. The defence of marriage (ll. 15–19) is also taken from the same passage (*Th.* 605–612): those who avoid marriage would have no one to take care of them, and all will seek to claim their property.

<sup>295</sup> Apostrophes were, however, quite seldom discussed in early modern treatises. Korhonen 2008, 32–37.

<sup>296</sup> Mel. 421. Korhonen 2004, 413.

<sup>297</sup> Korhonen 2008, especially 38–39. Greek tragedy contains several apostrophes to places, like Oedipus addressing the places where his destiny was acted out (*OT* 1391–1399). Philoctetes addresses several times animals with whom he had lived in the desolate island of Lemnos (*Phil.* 1087–1094, 1146–1157).

As said, addressing the passer-by as the imagined reader of the epitaph had been a common device since antiquity. It can be considered apostrophising rather than *prosopopoeia*. Of the 29 Greek funerary texts at Turku, an imagined passer-by is apostrophised twice (ὁδοιπόρε and ὁδῖτα) and a reader once: ὦ ἀναγνῶστα.<sup>298</sup> Directly addressing the deceased person was also a common device since antiquity. The dead person could be apostrophised at the beginning or at the end of the text.<sup>299</sup> The writer could also apostrophise the subject of her poem just as Johan Paulinus addresses Finland at the beginning of his oration (vv. 17–27). These kinds of apostrophes are often affective. In the middle of his 123 hexametric-lines-poem in Greek, *Hymnus in Filium Dei* (1682), Josef Thun gently apostrophises the new-born baby Jesus, the subject of his poem.<sup>300</sup>

Addressing the Muses was a conventional form of apostrophe, which in some cases is an invocation, like seeking help for composing verses. Student Matthias Salinius imitated an obvious model, Hesiod's *Theogony* (2, 67–68, 97), in his congratulation (24 hex, two pages) on the inauguration of the former professor of Greek and Hebrew, Isaacus Pihlman, who was nominated Professor of Theology in 1698.<sup>301</sup> Salinius asks the Muses to sing and praise the addressee. In the same occasion, Enevaldus Wanochius for his part congratulated Pihlman with a Greek congratulation (18 eleg), which was also published in a separate decorated leaflet. Wanochius begins with the same kind of address to the Muses, imitating Hesiod's *Works and Days*.<sup>302</sup>

Δεῦτ' Ἑλικωνιάδες καὶ χαίρετε κηρόθι Μοῦσαι,  
 τηλόθι ναιετάουσ' ἐν κρυερῷ Βορέᾳ.  
 Δεῦρ' Πιερίδες γλυκεραί κ' οὔσαι παρ' Ἀβῶαν  
 Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, δεῦρ' ἔτε Καλλίκομοι.  
 Ψάλλετε ἥδ' ὃν μέλος πολλαῖς κλείουσι ᾠδαῖς  
 τόνγ' ὀνομαστὸν ἐόντ' ὑμέτεραν προβόλαν.

5

<sup>298</sup> The passer-by is addressed by Andreas Hasselqvist (23 lines) in 1672 (Mel. 583) and by Olaus Flachsenius (8 eleg) in 1690 (Mel. 1022); a reader is apostrophised by Nicolaus Wijkman (21 lines) in 1673 (Mel. 601). See also Korhonen 2004, 208.

<sup>299</sup> See passages of funerary texts by Ericus Falander (8 lines) in 1673, Ericus Castelius (44 eleg) in 1690 and Magnus Peitzius in 1737 in Korhonen 2004, 204, 212 and 215–217.

<sup>300</sup> For the text passage, see Korhonen 2004, 131.

<sup>301</sup> Mel. 1685. The congratulation was printed in a separate, decorated leaflet containing only this poem, titled Εὐκτικὸν μέλος. For the text passage, see Korhonen 2004, 184–185.

<sup>302</sup> Mel. 1686.

**Crit.** 4 Καλλίκομαι ed. **6** ὑμέτερον ed. **Sim.** 4 Sapph. 128: δευτέ νυν ἄβραι Χάριτες καλλίκομοί τε Μοῖσαι **5** Hes. *Op.* 1: Μοῦσαι Πιερίθεν ἀοιδῆσι κλείουσαι

Come here, Muses of Helicon and rejoice from the bottom of your heart, you who live in the cold country of Northern wind. Come here, you sweet Pierians at Turku, come here you beautiful-haired Muses of Olympus. [5] Sing a sweet song with many melodies of the famous one who is your defender.

As mentioned earlier, addressing pagan deities was a disputed issue. Because Pihlman was nominated Professor of Theology, both congratulations, by Salinius and Wanochius, also contain clear Christian elements after the panegyric beginning.

Apart from mentioning or invoking Apollo, the Muses and Zeus as well as using Athene as a mouthpiece (Lilius' poem above), ancient mythological figures are quite rarely mentioned in the short epideictic texts of the Turku Greek Corpus. One exception is Josef Thun's valedictory poem (24 eleg) to Johannes Gezelius Jr., who was appointed Superintendent of Narva (in Ingria) in 1681.<sup>303</sup> Thun mentions Andromache and Ariadne:

Ὡς ἀπὸ Ἀκαδημίας

Οἷχαι ὦ τριφίλητέ τε πᾶν πόθος· οἷχαι ἦδη  
 ἰδμοσύνης κορυφή, καὶ κλέος Εὐσεβίης·  
 Οἷχαι ἦ σὺ μὴν, ἄμμι δὲ πένθεα λυγρὰ λέλειπει,  
 δάκρυά τ' ἀδρανέων μιγνύμενα στονάχων.  
 Οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀνδρομάχῃ τ' ἐὼν πόσιν οὐδ' Ἀριάδνῃ 5  
 τὸ πλεόν Αἰγείδην ἔκλαε λειψαμένη·  
 Ὅσσον ἐγὼ δύστηνος ὀδύρομαι· ἴλατε Μοῦσαι,  
 ἴλατε, τι ψυχῆς εἰ μὲν ἐμῆς μέλεται·  
 Χήρη νῦν γὰρ ἐγώ, τὰ δέ μευ περὶ ὀρφανὰ τέκνα 10  
 εἵαται, οἷς ἄτῃ κῆρ δέδεται σμυγερῇ·  
 Τὸν δ' ἀπφῶν φωνεῦντι δυσάμμορα χρήματα δέ σφιν  
 ὤλετο, καὶ στυγερῇ παίγνια χηροσύνη  
 Αἰαί μοι, τί τὸ μῆχος ἐμῷ θυμάρμενον οἷτῳ  
 ἔσσεται; ἦ ψυχῆς θέλγμα τί τηκομένης;  
 Πάντα μάτῃν, καὶ οὗτος ἡλέμος ἔκπεσεν· οὐ γὰρ 15  
 νήματα μοιράων οὐδὲ λίνα τρέπεται.

<sup>303</sup> Mel. 857. The publication contains Thun's Latin poem of several pages before the Greek one. It was printed in Gezelius Sr.'s printing house in Turku, not by the Turku University press.

**Crit. 13** Αἶ ἄ' ed. **15** οὐγὰρ ed. **Sim. 15** Πάντα μάτην cfr. Eccles. 1:2, Joh. Chrys. Hom. 4.41–42: τὰ πάντα ματαιότης

You are going away, you thrice-loved and pined for, you, the acme of wisdom and famous for your piety. You are going away, painful sorrow is ours, and tears mixed with helpless sighs. [5] For Andromache did not weep more for her spouse, nor Ariadne more for the son of Aegeus when she was deserted. Poor me, I lament. Pacify me Muses, pacify me if you care for my spirit. I am now a widow, surrounded by orphaned children, [10] bound to a painful destiny. The most miserable thing to them is to lose their father and childhood in a hateful bereavement. Ah ah me! What will be the pleasing remedy to my doom? Is the spell of my soul going to melt away? [15] Everything is vain, and this lament will kill me. For the thread of the Moirai is not turned back into linen.<sup>304</sup>

The I-speaker emotionally identifies himself with the situation of a widow with orphaned children. However, Andromache, who lost her husband and her child Astyanax in horrible circumstances, is perhaps too strong an object of comparison – and Ariadne seems to be even more ill-fitting, because she was so brutally deserted by Theseus. The exaggerated grief has a – surely unintentional – comic effect and is comparable with the exaggerations Georgius Ståhlberg used in his *epibaterion*, which describes the lament of the Ingrians when Gezelius Jr. was leaving Ingria and returning to Turku (1689).<sup>305</sup> However, the I-speaker is not necessarily identified with Thun himself but with the Royal Academy of Turku, being thus a metaphor for the university as *mater* and students as her children, who are losing Gezelius Jr., the *professor extraordinarius* and Doctor of Theology. The poem is thus a *prosopopoeia* in which the university is speaking, feeling sorry for herself and asking Muses to console her: “Pacify me Muses if you care for my spirit” (vv. 7–8). The poem ends with the I-speaker hoping that his words would result in Gezelius Jr. returning to Turku (vv. 17–18), that he will arrive safely in Ingria (repetitive: νείσσο νείσσο) and that he will be fortunate (v. 21–23). Thus, fittingly for a *propempticon*, wishing happiness in arriving in Ingria ends the poem.

### Animal and Plant Similes and Symbols

In literature, animals and plants are mostly used either as descriptive elements, as enliveners of the narrative, or as similes and symbols. Johan Paulinus lists,

<sup>304</sup> Mel. 857. One of the Fates, Atropos, the incarnation of destiny, was the cutter of the life-thread.

<sup>305</sup> An exaggerated lament can be an inside joke, cf. the humorous, recent Greek poem (1950) for Bruno Snell's leavetaking, Pontani & Weise 2022, 277–278 (H. Lamers & R. Van Rooy). However, one can only joke with one's equals. Gezelius Jr., who came from a famous family, was over 30 years old in 1681, that is, over ten years older than Josef Thun.

and in some cases briefly describes, several factual and fictitious animals in his *Finlandia* (1678). They do not function as symbols, metaphors or similes but as descriptions of Finnish fauna – the animals that exist in Finland (like deer, bears, boars), and what do not (like lions, tigers, basilisks).<sup>306</sup> Obviously, animals have both positive and negative connotations, and a way to eulogise Finland was to emphasise that certain dangerous animals are missing in Finnish fauna. Sometimes one may suspect that a symbolic meaning lies behind the apparent description: “the horse, / who bears himself proudly, pastures luxuriously, / along with the he-goat, feeding in the woods, and the broad-browed steer”. Although the passage describes Finnish fauna, the lines may also reflect the three social classes: the proud nobility living in luxury, erudite men and/or priests with beards with their *Silvae* (epideictic texts), and peasants, beasts of burden.<sup>307</sup> Descriptive and symbolic references to animals could be combined. In the beginning of the above-mentioned Greek funerary poem containing a dialogue with the Majesty of Death (1728), Johan Welin lists no less than 31 bird species (e.g., swan, cuckoo, hawk, magpie) while describing how the sun is setting and birds are going to their rest (vv. 16–21), and he also mentions nocturnal birds, such as owls.<sup>308</sup> Although the long list may merely seem to give volume to the poem (and, again, it has an unintentionally comic effect that is unsuitable for a funerary poem), sleeping birds and the coming of night may symbolise the state of the university. The university had been evacuated to Sweden during the Great Northern War, and night could symbolise the Russian occupation and birds the Turku scholars who fled to Sweden. At the time when Welin wrote the poem, the university had only been functioning for six years after its reinauguration in 1722.

In general, plants and animals seem to have mostly symbolic and allegoric functions in early modern Humanist Greek poetry and they are not part of the narrative as actual animals. Johannes Posselius Sr. wrote a short animal ‘epic’, a battle between eagles and crows (Ἀετοκορωνομαχία / *Aquilae cum corvo duellum*). In these allegories, animals bear the usual connotations that go back to animal

<sup>306</sup> Korhonen 2000, 84–85. The obvious model is Verg. *Georg.* 2.140–142.

<sup>307</sup> *Finlandia*, vv. 194–196: Ἐν τοῖσι δ’ ὁ ὑπικάρηνος / δέιπνοις παντοίοισι τρυφῶν Ἴππος γαυροῦται / καὶ Τράγος ὕλοφάγος καὶ Ταῦρος ὁ εὐρυμέτωπος. Erasmus mentions that a beard is a sign of wisdom and compares the Stoics to goats in his *Stultitiae laus* (§ 11 Miller). He-goats feed in the woods, and woods bring to mind *Silvae*, the symbol of occasional literature. Horses, oxen and goats also appear in the medieval *Rota Virgiliana* based on Virgil’s three major works.

<sup>308</sup> A bee is mentioned among birds perhaps due to the fact that the ancient name for a bee in Finnish, *mettinen*, often referred to a bird too.



similes in Homer: the lions are majestic and the wolves are treacherous and cruel; lions represent Protestants, and wolves Catholics.<sup>309</sup> The symbolic meanings of animals were quite stereotypical, reminding one of the decorative iconography of the era that was found in commemorative anthologies.

There is no great variation of animal species or great innovations in the use of animals as symbols in the Turku Greek Corpus. Learning was compared, for example, with bees collecting honey, a simile familiar from Graeco-Roman literature. In wedding congratulations, the bride was compared to flowers, especially roses. A garden was an obvious symbol for an academic institution, whereas a frog pond was perhaps not. The latter was used in one congratulation for an inauguration: just as frogs who live in a pond need a leader (cf. the Aesopic fable, ‘The Frogs Who Desired a King’), so also the university needs a Rector.<sup>310</sup> Another Aesop’s fable is alluded to in Johan Welin’s congratulation for a dissertation (19 hex), published in 1730, in which Welin admonishes the addressee, Ericus Cajanus, to be like an ant:

Τοῦνεκα δεῖ ἄμμες, καθάπερ μύρμηκες ἔασσι, 5  
 ἔμμεναι ἀσκοῦντας, μήτ’ ἐν παρδείγματ’ ἀκηδοῦς  
 τέττιγος, ὃς νάρκη διάγει ἔο πάντα βίον γε,  
 μήτ’ ἐν ἀσελγείᾳ καιρὸν διατρίψαι ἀναιδῶς.  
 Τοῦτ’ ἄρα ἐσκόπεις παρὰ τοι Αὐτουργὲ δαΐφρον, 10  
 ὃς τὴν ἐκδίδως γλαφυρὴν διάλεξιν ἔκοντί,  
 ὥστε μὴ ἐν σιγῇ διάγειν ὥρας τε βίον τε,  
 ζῶδιον ὡς ἄλογον γαῖαν διαπαντὸς ὁρατόν.

**Crit. 5** Aeol. ἄμμες *Od.* 9.303 **6** εἴμμεναι ed. **9** ἐσκόπεις ed. | πάρα τοι: πάρεστί σοι  
 schol. Hom. *Od.* 3.342c **10** ἐξεδίδως ed. metri gratia **12** ὁράον ed.

[5] Therefore we need to be industrious, like ants, and not follow the example of the careless cicada, who lives all his life in a coma, nor disgracefully fritter away our opportunities in laziness. You, a wise writer, have examined these things; [10] you have produced an excellent disputation of your own accord, so that you do not spend your time and life in silence, like a mute little animal that can be seen everywhere.<sup>311</sup>

<sup>309</sup> Posselius 1604. VD17 12:636872L. See the wolf simile in Hom. *Il.* 156–163, in which wolves are pictured as revoltingly greedy. Lions were obvious symbols of the monarchy, like in a Swedish historiographical work (1554), see Nilsson 2017.

<sup>310</sup> In the Aesopic fable in Latin (Perry 44), the frogs ask for a king from Jupiter, which leads to disaster.

<sup>311</sup> Vall. 489. The topic of the dissertation was the deception of the Gibeonites (Joshua 9).

Welin refers here to the story of cicada (τέττιξ) of the Aesopic fable and not to grasshopper of the Finnish fauna.<sup>312</sup> If the ant is a positive animal and the cicada/grasshopper is negative, both are, however, *aloga*. The word ἄλογον (v. 12) may refer to the ‘irrationality’ of animals. But in this context, the meaning ‘speechless’, ‘without articulate speech’, ‘mute’ is, however, fitting too – although cicadas are not, like ants, silent animals as such. Welin does not base his image only on the ancient fable but on lived experience: these animals are small and one may see them “everywhere” (v. 12). Another symbol Welin uses is the *moly* plant (cf. Hom. *Od.* 10.305–306), which symbolised the difficulty of studying (v. 13). Before Welin, in 1695, Professor David Lund compared worthy education (παιδεία καλή) to moly: “I would call it [education] the moly of Homer, which is difficult to pull and dig up from earth.”<sup>313</sup> Instead of the moly plant, Simon Paulinus speaks about the plant of wisdom in his congratulation (7 hex) for a dissertation in 1685: its “root is bitter but its fruit sweet”. This expression is to be found both in Hermogenes and Aphthonius as an example of *chreia* (χρεία). Both of them attribute this saying to Isocrates.<sup>314</sup> Furthermore, Lund refers to the mandrake (μανδραγόρας) in his congratulation (13 hex) for a dissertation in 1696. Many strange beliefs were attached to this plant, such as the notion that the mandrake screams when it is dug up. Lund, however, only refers to the mandrake’s supposed narcotic effects.<sup>315</sup> The subject of this dissertation was fasting and the mandrake plant symbolised for Lund the drowsiness which is caused by excessive eating and drinking.<sup>316</sup>

Heresies were compared with animals who had a negative image. Johan Paulinus compares heresies to sharp-toothed vixens in his congratulation for the eighth dissertation in the serial dissertation on heresies supervised by Nicolaus Tunander in 1675.<sup>317</sup> A year earlier, in his Greek congratulation (18 ll.) for the third dissertation of the same series, Nicolaus Wijkman compared

<sup>312</sup> The Ant and the Cricket (Perry 373). The first written version of this fable is quite late (Syntipas 43). In another fable, the cricket is replaced by a beetle (Perry 112).

<sup>313</sup> Vall. 2339. Lund imitates the moly passage in the *Odyssey*, referring also to the Isocratean *On Demoniacus* (19), which states that good education is the best property for mortals. Korhonen 2004, 170.

<sup>314</sup> Vall. 2750. Aphth. *Progymn.* 3.23.16–17 (Rabe). See Isocr. Frag. 1 (Brémond & Mathieu). The saying is also attributed to Demosthenes (Dem. Frag. 13.28 Baiter & Sauppe). Golius names Aristotle as its author. Golius 1684, 80 (Nr. 18).

<sup>315</sup> Cf. Apul. *Met.* 14, Shakespeare: *Antony and Cleopatra* Act IV, Scene 5.

<sup>316</sup> Vall 2346. Korhonen 2004, 171 (excerpt from the poem).

<sup>317</sup> Vall. 3995, see below, Chapter 5.3, pp. 335–337.

heresies to wolves by quoting the passage from Matthew in which Jesus warns of false prophets who come in sheep's clothing but are "ravening wolves" (λύκοι ἄρπαγες).<sup>318</sup> Olaus Krogerus for his part compared heresies to snakes and pest insects in his congratulation for the fourth dissertation of the same series in the same year, 1674:<sup>319</sup>

Ἐπ' ἐλευθέραις διατριβαῖς φιλοκάλῳ δοκίμῳ τε νεανίσκῳ,  
Τῷ ΕΡΡΙΚῶ Μ. **Winter** περὶ τῶν αἱρέσεων κατὰ κράτος δια-  
λεξαμένῳ, πατριώτῃ καὶ φίλῳ μου ἐντιμοτάτῳ.

Χεῖμα ὄφιας ψύχων πάντ' ἔντομά τ', ἀέρα σαίρει,  
τοῦ μὴ ὀχλεῖσθαι πυκνὰ κακοῖς ἀγαθοῦς.  
Χεῖμα ὀνομαζόμενος, πατριῶτα, χεῖματ' ὁμοίως  
αἵρετικῶν ναρκοῖς, σεμνῷ ὑπὸ προέδρῳ.  
Κλείσω δὴ σπουδὴν· ἐξ ἔργων ναὶ δοκιμάσεις, 5  
Ζῆνα σέβων ἱκέτης σου προκοπὴν μεγάλην.  
Ὡστε κλέους τε τυχὼν τῇ δάφνιδι μὲν στεφανωθῇ,  
αὐτίκα σκιρτήσης χάρματι ἐν συνεχεῖ.  
προσφωνήσῃ ταύτῃ, εἰ καὶ σπεύσας ἀσ-  
μένως δήπου συνηδόμην  
ΟΛΑΟΣ Σ. ΚΡΟΓΗΡΟΣ  
οὐιβουργεὺς τὴν σαουολαξία

**Crit. 2** τοῦ pro τοῖς 4 προέδρῳ = προέδρῳ 7 τετυχὼν ed.

To the young man, an esteemed man and seeker of honour in liberal arts, Henricus M. Winter, who powerfully disputes on heresies, my compatriot and the most honourable friend // Winter freezes snakes and all insects, stir the air so that good are not harassed so much by bad. Your name is Winter, dear compatriot, and like winter, you cause heresies to hibernate, behind the proud podium. [5] I shall celebrate the effort; you prove by your works that you by honouring Zeus are a suppliant of great progress. So that you will be granted fame and you will be adorned with laurel, and soon you will hop for unintermittent joy. // With this greeting, Olaus S. Krogerus, from Viipuri, Savo, though in haste, would gladly rejoice with you.

The respondent's name is written in German Gothic type (*Fraktur*) in the original so that the wordplay with the name stands out more obviously. Although Krogerus' Greek is quite awkward (see e.g. the punctuation in vv.

<sup>318</sup> Vall. 3990. Cfr. Matth. 7:15.

<sup>319</sup> Vall. 3991.

5–6), this little poem is enlivened by its animal symbols. Cold winters are seen in a positive light, as they cause insects and snakes to hibernate, which is comparable with what Henricus Winter is doing to heresies while defending this dissertation “behind the proud podium” (v. 4). God is effortlessly called Zeus in a poem that discusses heresies. Krogerus also utilises the common plant symbol for academic achievements, the laurel or wreaths of laurel. The poem ends with a reference to a party (“you will hop”, i.e. dance, v. 8), the equivalence between dancing and hopping being common in old Finnish.<sup>320</sup> The signature refers to the fact that both Krogerus and Winter have studied at the Gymnasium in Viipuri, in eastern, Finnish-speaking Finland. Krogerus also points out that he is somewhat premature in his congratulation because Winter has not yet had his oral disputation.

Two years later Winter wrote a congratulation for a dissertation on logic to another Viipuri Gymnasium alumnus, Gustavus Bernerus. It is a long prose text (55 lines in octavo format) in which Winter begins with a quote from “Scaliger” that a curriculum that does not contain the subject of logic is a pitiable failure (ἐλκεῖνδὸν σφάλμα).<sup>321</sup> Most of the text discusses the importance of education.<sup>322</sup>

In the end, Winter compares respondent Bernerus with a thoroughbred horse (lines 40–47):<sup>323</sup>

Σπεύσον οὖν ὡς ἥρξω εἰς τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον· ἀλλὰ τί ἐγὼ παρακαλῶ σε  
σπεύδειν; ὁ διάπορος ἵππος κατὰ φύσιν εὖ μάλα τρέχει. τὸ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν  
ἐλαφρὸν ἐπεγείρει τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας ἵππους, ὧν οὐδεὶς ἕως ἄρτι φορτίῳ  
πέπτωκεν· ἐπὶ εὐγενεῖ τὴν ταχύτητα, μάτην προσβάλλεται τὸ ῥαβδίον.<sup>324</sup>

<sup>320</sup> See the *Dictionary of Old Literary Finnish*, s.v. hyppy (‘jump’), which is explained to be the same as *tripudium* and *saltatio*. The dictionary is available online: <https://kaino.kotus.fi/vks/>. See also Florinus 1678, 78.

<sup>321</sup> Scaliger, see above Chapter 3.5. The title of the dissertation is *De propositionibus modalibus, exponibilibus et hypotheticis*. Vall. 968. Winter also states that without logic (or dialectic) all education is like a shadow of a wall (καθάπερ σκιά τοῦ τοίχου, l. 7), i.e. that it is not an actual, strong wall. Logic was compared to a fence (φραγμός) around arable land by the Stoics (Diog. Laert. 7.40). After his studies, Winter was first appointed as Lector of Poetry and Mathematics, then Lector of Theology at the Viipuri Gymnasium.

<sup>322</sup> Winter imitates Isocrates’ line Σοφία πάντων τῶν κτημάτων ἀθάνατον (*Ad Dem.* 19), which Nicolaus Crucelius, three years later (1679) quotes at the beginning of his congratulation, see above Chapter 4.1 (“Examples of *Imitatio* in the Turku Greek Corpus”). Crucelius mentions Isocrates’ name, whereas Winter does not mention his source.

<sup>323</sup> Lines 42–47. Vall. 968. The expression οὐδεὶς ἕως ἄρτι φορτίῳ πέπτωκεν can be more literally interpreted to mean that an excellent horse has not collapsed under the weight of its load.

<sup>324</sup> Instead of εὐγενεῖ, Winter writes εὐγενῇ.

So continue in the future as you began. But why do I entreat you to work? An excellent horse runs by nature. A natural lightness inspires strong horses whom nobody has burdened with a load; it is unnecessary to use a whip when speed is the result of a noble nature.

A good horse runs of his own free will just as good students study without reprimands or harsh discipline.<sup>325</sup> This idea is also tied to the concept of class: progress is the result of a noble nature (εὐγενής). As presented in the previous Chapter (4.4), the phrase *σπεῦσον ὥς ἤρξω* (continue as you began), occurs several times in the end of the text (*Conclusio*) in the Turku Greek Corpus.

The mythical phoenix, a symbol of resurrection, is mentioned in a funerary poem (8 eleg) by Zacharias Lithovius in 1700: ΩΣ ΦΟΙΝΙΞ ΕΠΙ ΓΗΣ ΣΟΥ ΦΗΜΗ ΠΑΝΤΟΤΕ ΘΑΛΛΕΙ / ΕΙΠΕΡ ΧΘΩΝ ΚΕΥΘΕΙ ΝΕΚΡΑ ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΜΕΛΗ (As a phoenix, your fame will flourish everywhere on earth, even though soil covers your dead limbs, vv. 5–6).<sup>326</sup> The poem is written in majuscules like an inscription and is titled as epitaph (ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΝ). Another wild bird, a pelican, was a common Christian symbol. In iconography it is often depicted as feeding her offspring with her own blood. The belief was based on Physiologus and medieval natural histories and it occurs in two Greek congratulations for dissertations, both published in 1682. The first one (25 ll.), written by Professor Ericus Falander, even discusses whether this story, which many ancients and Church Fathers (οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησίας διδασκάλων) had also told, is true. In Falander's view, the story has not been proved, but he believes that pelicans have a genuine love towards their offspring (φιλοτεκνία, l. 12).<sup>327</sup>

<sup>325</sup> Cf. Pl. *Phaedr.* 253d: ἄπληκτος, κελεύσματι μόνον καὶ λόγῳ ἡνιοχεῖται (concerning the good horse in Plato's charioteer allegory).

<sup>326</sup> Mel. 1750. The deceased was Andreas Wanochius, Professor of Theology, aged 49, Enevaldus Wanochius' father. Lithovius (c. 1672–1743), later a vicar in Oulu (northern Finland), published some occasional poems in Finnish (Mel. 1715 and Mel. 1718). This was his only contribution in Greek. Φοῖνιξ as a 'date-palm', occurs in Johan Welin's long funerary poem (1728), see above, the previous subsection p. 266.

<sup>327</sup> Vall. 3809. See Korhonen 2004, 173–174 (an excerpt of the text). Falander quotes New Testament (1. Piet. 1:19, ll. 17–18) by referring to "the Apostle". Student Christiernus Hammar used the pelican symbol a couple of months later in his congratulation for a dissertation (12 eleg) (Vall. 3811). Hammar gives the background to the story: a snake killed a pelican's chicks, but she was able to resurrect them by feeding them with her own blood.

Jacobus Gezelius uses quite an unusual bird symbol in his congratulation (28 ll.) for a dissertation on courage in 1684. He begins by stating that, in Aristotle's view, courage (ἀνδρεία) leads to other virtues. However, those who are truly courageous are sons of *white hens*, who are ready to die for their country in order to attain a good death (καλὸς θάνατος). This is surely a mistake: the hen (ἀλεκτορίς) should be a rooster (ἀλέκτωρ) due to the fact that cocks were general symbols for ferocious fighters (cf. state-funded cockfights in ancient Athens). Although the belief in the terrifying effect of especially white roosters does not occur in ancient natural histories, some ancient sources state that white roosters were frightening even to lions.<sup>328</sup> Mistaking a hen for a rooster adds an unintentionally comic touch to the text.

In 1786, Docent Jakob Bonsdorff compares upbringing to gardening in his Greek dedication (18 hex). At that time, dedications in dissertations were most often written in Swedish, and less and less in Latin. Bonsdorff dedicated his doctoral dissertation to his father Petrus, Vicar in Hauho (in southern Finland), who had formerly worked as Lector in Greek at the Porvoo Gymnasium. Jakob's brother Johan was later Professor of Greek in Turku so there was certainly knowledge of Greek in this family.<sup>329</sup> What is exceptional (in regard to the Turku Greek Corpus) is that there are two printed versions of the Greek dedication: the earlier one (A) and the metrically better version (B).<sup>330</sup> The opportunity to correct the Greek poem is due to the delay of the disputation day (printed in A as 29 of March, in B as 13 of April). Although frequent prosodic mistakes are corrected by changes of words or phrases for the B, two words have correct accents in A, which are changed into wrong ones in B (μεμήλε, εὐτυχεῶς). However, there are numerous missing accents in both versions, which was common in Greek texts of that time. The subject of Jakob Bonsdorff's dissertation was textual criticism of

<sup>328</sup> Vall. 42–49. Rabelais mentions the belief in the first book of *Gargantua* (1534), referring to Alexander of Aphrodisias and Proclus' *De Sacrificio et Magia* (Rabelais 1926, 38). According to Proclus, the Devil takes the shape of a lion but in this form he is afraid of roosters; Proclus does not mention the colour of the bird (Proc. *Sacr.* 150.7–17). Furthermore, in the background may lie the Roman expression *gallinae filius alba*, which, however, refers especially to lucky people (*Iuv.* 13.141). Jacobus Gezelius was Gezelius Sr.'s nephew.

<sup>329</sup> Johan Bonsdorff was nominated the first Professor of Greek (and not of Greek and Hebrew/Holy/Oriental languages) in 1812, when the university was about to move from Turku to Helsinki. Jakob Bonsdorff became Professor of Theology in 1829.

<sup>330</sup> Vall. 544. The B is digitised in DORIA. It contains another dedication, in Latin. The picture of the A, see Korhonen 2004, 372. Both are preserved in the same volume in the National Library of Finland, signum Rv Diss. Norm. Bonsdorff.

the book of Isaiah. Rather than this topic, Bonsdorff concentrates on his father's care of him in his dedication, whose heading is in Latin:

Ὅφρα, Πάτερ χαριέστατ', αἰὲ μνήμων γε γενοίμην  
 ὧν εὐεργεσιῶν διὰ σεῖο Θεός μοι ἔδωκε,  
 τόφρ' ἂν ἐγὼ πάντως μάλα εὐδαίμων καλεοίμην;  
 ἀλλὰ μακάρτερος, ὁππότεν ἦθεα κεδνὰ φυλάσσω  
 τοῖς μ' ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδός, πολύμητις ἔησθα ἐθίζων. 5  
 Ὡς δ' ὅτε τις κηπουρὸς ἄνηρ ἐν γουνῷ ἄλωῃς  
 ἔτρεξεν νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἀπαλόν τε,  
 πολλὰ σοφῶς ἀπὸ χειμερινοῦ κρυεὸς ῥ' ἀπαμύνων  
 πολλάκις ἡδὲ βίας δεινῶν ἀνέμων ἀλεείνων  
 καὶ ὄμβρου, ὅτε κῦμα ῥέον βοτάνας κατακλύσσει, 10  
 τόσσα δὲ σοὶ παρ' ἐμῆς βιοτῆς συνεχῶς ῥα μέμλε  
 παντὶ ὑφ' ἡματι ἂν λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίοιο  
 δερκόμενος μὲν ἔην. Σοὶ γοῦν, περὶ φίλτατε πάντων,  
 παντάγαθος Θεός, ὃς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει,  
 δοίη, ὥς κεν εὐφρονα μακρόβιον τε γενέσθαι 15  
 καὶ ἐπὶ γήραος ἔσχατον εὐτυχέως ἀφικέσθαι  
 τέρμα θ' ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνοιο. Ὑπερθε δὲ μίσθον  
 τῆς γλυκερῆς τε καὶ ἀθανάτης ζωῆς σε δέχεσθαι.

*Parentis indulgentissimi*

*Filius obedientissimus*

*Jacobus Bonsdorff*

**Crit.** 1 χαριέστατ' ed. AB | αἰὲ μνήμων ἐγενόμην A 4 ὅπποτ' ἄρ' A 5 τὰ μ' ἀπὸ A | πολυμέρως ἦσθα A 8 κρυεὸς ἀπαμύνων A 12 ἡλίοιο ed. AB 13 δερκόμενος εἶην A | Σοὶ οὖν A 14 πανάγαθος A 17 πέρας ἄτερ A 18 γλυκύτατης τε πανολβίης ζωῆς A **Sim.** 6 ἐν γουνῷ ἄλωῃς Hom. *Il.* 9.534: γουνῷ ἄλωῃς 9 βίας δεινῶν ἀνέμων ἀλεείνων Hom. *Il.* 9.534: βίας ἀνέμων ἀλεείνων β 10 κῦμα ῥέον βοτάνας κατακλύσσει Pind. *Ol.* 10.10: κῦμα κατακλύσσει ῥέον 12 λάμπρον φάος ἡλίοιο e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.605: λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίοιο 16 e.g. Hom. *Il.* 22.60: ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ 17 ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνοιο cf. Hes. *Op.* 91

When, dearest father, I have always been mindful that God gave me good works through you, then I would be called in every way happy; but I am more blessed, when I cultivate the good manners [5] which you have taught me all the way from my childhood. As a gardener who nurtures a young, growing, and delicate sprout in the orchard land and protects it in every way and wisely from the winter frost and often also repels gusts of winds and heavy [10] rain when a flood overwhelms the plants, so you have always taken care of my welfare all days I have seen the clear light of the sun. Thus, let the absolutely good God, who lives in Heaven, [15] grant you, the dearest, that you are glad and live long and without any grievous pains. Let you receive the prize of the

sweetest and blessed life in Heaven. // The most obedient son of the gentlest parent, Jacob Bonsdorff

The elaborate simile is Homeric in length, going deep into the hazards of gardening without making an exact correspondence with nurturing children.<sup>331</sup> Bonsdorff addresses his father from a respectful distance as was customary even in Swedish dedications to parents at that time.<sup>332</sup>

Bonsdorff's dedication was the last Humanist Greek text printed at the Royal Academy of Turku.<sup>333</sup> Most of its prosodic mistakes were corrected in version B, and it shows good command of Homeric language. Furthermore, it is free of mannerism so typical in the Baroque period.<sup>334</sup> It is a herald of *Neuhumanismus*, showing that an understanding of Greek was increasing and the confidence in one's abilities to compose Greek poems was diminishing. Only the best ventured to write in Greek.

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<sup>331</sup> Herman Fränkel's famous characterisation of Homeric similes is that they conduct the reader to another world (Fränkel 1921, 89). The garden in question confronts quite disastrous events, which may refer to some tumultuous period of Bonsdorff's own life or the fact that many children in those days faced a premature death. Childhood was indeed perilous.

<sup>332</sup> Cf. the Swedish dedication by Andreas Carling to his father in 1748, Vall. 2400.

<sup>333</sup> J. L. Runeberg's comic epyllion was not printed (Zilliacus 1969). Runeberg enrolled in the Turku University in 1822 and matriculated in 1827. See above p. 199 n43.

<sup>334</sup> Ivar A. Heikel, who criticised so heavily the Greek poems composed at the Royal Academy of Turku, praises, with caution, this poem. Heikel 1894, 244.



## 5. Greek in Finland. Three Case Studies

--- Ἀλλὰ δὴ οὗτοι  
ἐν ζῳαῖς πράεσσι καὶ οἰωνοῖς ἀκεραίοις  
ἄσματος βουκολικοῖσι βίον τέρπουσιν ἀκηδῇ.<sup>1</sup>

Humanist Greek in Finland had some features which are worthwhile presenting more thoroughly. Firstly, the possible quite rare or thus far unnoticed phenomenon of writing application letters in Greek; secondly, the only Greek dissertation and especially its paratexts; and thirdly, the pride of Finnish Humanist Greek, Paulinus' *Finlandia* or rather its writer's path to mastery of Greek. The first two cases raise the question "Why in Greek?" and the third case "How did exceptionally good Greek poems promote one's career?". Both questions display the phenomenon of the 'glory' of Humanist Greek poetry.

### 5.1. Application Letters in Greek for Scholarship

The 17th century meant great geographical expansion, centralisation of the administration in the Swedish Kingdom and, consequently, an increase in administration and offices which demanded more civil servants and therefore a greater investment in education. This caused an increase in the number of higher institutions, gymnasia and universities, including an increase in the number of students. Universities answered the challenge of increased student population by providing scholarships for poor, talented and diligent students.<sup>2</sup> It is estimated that about a third or a fourth part of the students at Turku were scholarship students – although that was not necessarily true for all their years of study.<sup>3</sup>

In order to apply for a scholarship, one had to write a letter of application. At Turku, the scholarship was called a Royal bursary, corresponding to the name of the university, the Royal Academy of Turku. The distribution of scholarships was decided by the *Consistorium* of the university, which consisted of professors, including the professor whose turn it was to act as Rector for a year, and the Bishop

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<sup>1</sup> Paulinus 1678, vv. 184–186 (*Finlandia*). The pronoun οὗτοι refers to Finnish shepherds.

<sup>2</sup> One could also apply for and receive financial aid for occasional needs from the Consistorium without being a stipendiary. Klinge *et al.* 1987, 315 (John Strömberg).

<sup>3</sup> Klinge *et al.* 1987, 349–353 (Strömberg).

of Turku, who also acted as Vice-Chancellor. Sometimes the application was addressed to only one member of the Consistorium, like to the Vice-Chancellor, the Rector or Professor of Theology. Many of these handwritten applications are lost but there are 440 items from the period of the “Old Academy” (1640–1712), that is, before the Russian occupation.<sup>4</sup> They are in Latin except for seven in Greek written during 1658–1693.<sup>5</sup> Although we may suppose that scholarship applications in Greek were written in other educational institutions of the Swedish Empire as well as elsewhere, they are either lost or have yet not been studied or found in the archives of European universities.<sup>6</sup> One exception is the Greek application from the University of Tartu, which was written by a Finn, Ericus Castelius, in 1695. As a former student at Turku, Castelius could have obtained the idea of writing an application in Greek from his fellow students. Castelius was an active Greek writer: six, quite long *casualcarmina* are known to have been written by him while at Turku and Tartu.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, three of the six writers of Greek applications at Turku, Henricus Bartholinus, Olaus Flachsenius and Georgius Ståhlberg are known to have written other texts than their application letter in Greek.

In chronological order, the writers of the application letters in Greek are Esaias Naezenius (1658), Petrus Magni Hahn (1682), Georgius Ståhlberg (probably in 1687 as well as a second letter between 1687 and 1689), Olaus Flachsenius (1688), Carl Pontanus (1693), and Henricus Bartholinus (c. 1695). Naezenius’ and Hahn’s applications, are bilingual, containing both an application in Latin and its Greek translation. Both were written by Sweden-born students, whereas others were by Finns.<sup>8</sup> Although Ståhlberg’s two applications increase the number

<sup>4</sup> Vallinkoski 1675b, 4–18 (applicants listed according to the student associations, their districts of origin).

<sup>5</sup> Vallinkoski 1975b, 4–5, 8, 13, 17. Vallinkoski 1975b, 8. Vallinkoski has listed the oldest applicants according to the student association, giving the name and date. The applicants after the reinauguration of the university (1722–1826) are listed chronologically (*ibid.*, 19–28). The first applications for scholarship in Swedish were written only at the beginning of the 18th century, and since the middle of the 18th century the language is nearly entirely Swedish or Finnish.

<sup>6</sup> Elaus Petri Helsingius wrote a polyglottic (Swedish, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew) application to Duke Charles in 1601. Duke Charles became Charles IX of Sweden in 1604. The application was not, however, a plea for financial aid. Helsingius displayed his linguistic skills in order to obtain a position, possibly in the committee engaged in a new translation of the Bible into Swedish. HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi) and SBL *s.v.*

<sup>7</sup> For Castelius’ application, see HUMGRAECA Database (Päll). On Castelius’ other Greek output, see above p. 252–253.

<sup>8</sup> This may indicate that the practice of writing scholarship applications in Greek was not unknown in Sweden, although no items have been found or none have survived.

of applications to seven, his letters are nearly identical. Some applications do not contain dates but the dating could be either approximated or firmly deduced from the memos of the Consistorium. Only Hahn's application contains an exact date written by him (not by the secretary of the Consistorium).

Compared to the printed texts in (Humanist) Greek by students, which we expect to have been inspected to some extent by a professor before their printing, Greek applications were solely written by students themselves, and the manuscripts of these applications explain some of the obvious printing mistakes which were current in Humanist Greek.<sup>9</sup>

### Royal Scholarships and Displaying Erudition

There were three different levels of scholarship for students at Turku University. Usually, they obtained the smallest scholarship first (class I) and then they applied for the higher levels (class II and III). The fact that Henricus Bartholinus mentions that he is applying for a "second" (δεύτερον) may mean that he is applying for the scholarship for the second time after being unsuccessful in his first attempt, or that he is applying for the second, higher rank. According to the diaries of the Consistorium, scholarships were more likely to be given to applicants who already had a lower-level scholarship than those who were applying for the first time. Hence, in practice, obtaining a scholarship for the first time was most difficult. The best stipend (class III) was thought to cover all the expenses of living but because the monetary value of the bursaries varied from year to year (depending on the annual crop yield), bad years had an effect on the amount of the scholarship.<sup>10</sup>

The Consistorium decided who would obtain a higher or better scholarship, who would be discarded or deleted from the list, and who would be placed as a reserve (*expectantes*). Stipendiary students could prove their diligence and demonstrate their progress in studies by delivering more orations or disputing

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<sup>9</sup> Mistakes include the feature that the *iota subscriptum* is often absent in dative forms, and  $\chi$  is written with short aisles so it can easily be mistaken for  $\kappa$ . Moreover,  $\tau$  is often written long and  $\sigma$  is sometimes given a long upper aisle. However, the texts of most of these applicants suggest practice in Greek handwriting. Due to the lack of textbooks, we may suppose that students copied Greek texts quite frequently.

<sup>10</sup> Scholarships were sometimes given twice a year: at the beginning of the year for the spring term, and at midsummer for the autumn term. If applicants wanted to stay on the list, they needed to apply twice a year. Klinge *et al.* 1987, 350 (Strömberg). However, it is not known whether students also needed to write a letter of application twice a year or not.

(as respondents or opponents) more dissertations than was strictly required. Writing occasional verses in classical and ‘oriental’ languages could also be seen as a proof of diligence and demonstrate one’s progress. Furthermore, a scholarship did not only mean financial help, for stipendiaries usually received special training. Scholarship inspectors arranged exclusive practices in disputation for the stipendiaries and kept watch that they attended public disputations (often as opponents) and lectures. A scholarship was certainly a mark of status, indicating potential talent and better training. Students mentioned their position as a stipendiary, for instance, in their signatures on occasional texts, e.g., *reg. stip.*, τρόφιμος βασιλικός or βασιλικὸς θρεπτήριος.<sup>11</sup>

### Letters of Application

After a student had been accepted in the list of scholarship holders, he had to apply again if he wished to be awarded a higher-level scholarship. Thus, when students had already received the lowest scholarship and they applied again for the next level of scholarship, they needed to demonstrate their competence in their applications. However, what is striking – and so different from modern scholarship applications – is that applicants did not need to be specific about their progress nor were they required to explain in a more detail what they had achieved so far. Obviously, at least in small universities, like at Turku, the progress of students was well known to professors.

One obvious way of demonstrating and expressing an applicant’s erudition was the language and style of the application letter, whether written in Latin or Greek, or in both languages as in the case of Naezenius’ and Hahn’s applications. Visual elements, layout and handwriting were also clearly significant.<sup>12</sup> Some applications included quotations from or imitations of classical authors.<sup>13</sup> A Sweden-born student, Laurentius Christophori Bonaeus (Böskell), signposted his quote from Juvenal by means of indentation, mentioning also his source, “Juvenal *Sat.* 7”, in his Latin application dated 20 June 1655. The Juvenal passage quoted speaks of the damage that poverty can inflict and equates studying with

<sup>11</sup> For Greek terms for a stipendiary, see Vall. 2157 and SKB 4411.

<sup>12</sup> One example of visually flamboyant handwriting is Ericus Abrahami Hermoinen’s Latin application, dated 28 February 1649. See Applications, Hermoinen 1649 (mss).

<sup>13</sup> Sven Falck tells that he quotes Sallust (*litteris vel armis gloria acquiritur*) at the beginning of his Latin application (October 20 1670). Applications, Falck 1670 (mss). The quotation is underlined, not indented, but it is not by Sallust and instead reminds one of a passage by Valerius Maximus (6.1.17). My thanks to Arto Kivimäki for providing the reference to Valerius.

worshipping the Muses and with Bacchic rites: “For how can sober Poverty sing songs in the Pierian cave and grasp the thyrsus when there is no money, for a body needs money to support it both at night time and by day?”<sup>14</sup> Poverty seems to be one of the constant themes in scholarship applications. Bonaeus’ quote underlines the notion that *paupertas* could be positive (*sana*) in the sense that it teaches one to be content with little, but basic needs have to be fulfilled before one can concentrate on studies. However, instead of *sana*, Juvenal speaks of ‘sad’ or ‘unhappy’ poverty (*maesta paupertas*). Bonaeus has either modified the quote or used an edition which has this reading.<sup>15</sup>

Maxims and quotations of classical authors, sometimes clearly indented, obviously reflect the applicant’s erudition. Applications also contain allusions to Graeco-Roman culture, albeit often quite conventional references to Apollo and the Muses. Greek phrases may occur in a Latin application letter, like the one written by the diary writer, Petrus Gyllenius, whose application is dated June 20 1649: *Attamen adhibita diligentia et pietate ἀρχῇ τῶν ἀρετῶν hac possunt superari* (However, this can be overcome by using diligence and piety, *a starting point for virtues*).<sup>16</sup> Here, as is often the case, the use of Greek focuses attention on the important issue.

An application for a scholarship is basically a plea for financial assistance. The rhetorical form of applications is the letter of petition (*petitio*).<sup>17</sup> According to medieval epistolography, letters of petition contained *salutatio*, *captatio benevolentiae*, *narratio*, *petitio* and *conclusio*. Swedish headmaster Andreas Jonae Gothus mentions in his *Thesaurus epistolicus* (1619), written partly in Swedish, partly in Latin, around twenty different letter forms including *epistolae petitoriae*.<sup>18</sup> In his 1606 rhetorical handbook, reprinted in 1682 and 1689, Gerardus Vossius dedicated a whole chapter to petition. Requests were thus a rhetorically quite well-established form. Daniel Achrelius gives eight short dispositions (*breves & perspicuae dispositiones*), among them are also *dispositio petitoriae* in the seventh

<sup>14</sup> Bonaeus 1655, lines 59–62: *neque enim cantare sub antro Pierio thyrsusque potest contingere sana paupertas atque aeris inops, quo nocte dieque corpus eget*, cf. Juv. 3.7.59–62.

<sup>15</sup> However, Juvenal 1687 edited by Étienne d’Algay de Martignac has the same reading as, e.g., G. G. Ramsay (London 1918).

<sup>16</sup> Applications, Gyllenius 1649 (mss).

<sup>17</sup> Some applications are folded as envelopes and the addressee is written on the front. There are also traces of sealing wax. The sheet could thus function both as writing paper and as an envelope.

<sup>18</sup> Gothus 1619, 7–16, see especially 12–14: *formulae petendi Latinae*. On Gothus, see Hansson 1988, 25.

chapter of his letter-writing manual (1689).<sup>19</sup> Achrelius points out the importance of *captatio benevolentiae* in letters of petition, which might well be achieved if one refers to the addressee's former benevolence. It is important to assure the addressee that the writer can be trusted and will be diligent and reliable. In the *confirmatio*, the qualities that will support and justify the petition need to be listed. However, Achrelius warns against boasting too much about one's achievements. This kind of advice could have been one of the reasons why the letters of application for scholarships rarely provide a thorough progress report.

One of the seven students who functioned as respondents for Achrelius' epistolography was Henricus Bartholinus (or Barthollinus), who enrolled at Turku University in 1685.<sup>20</sup> In the following, I will first present Henricus Bartholinus' Greek application as an example of a rhetorical model for *petitio*, and then, briefly, the other Greek application letters.

### Bartholinus' Greek Application

Henricus Bartholinus' Greek application bears no date, but according to the memos of the Consistorium he was awarded the lowest class (I class) scholarship during 1691–1693, that is, he studied at least six years without scholarship. This application might be written either just before that scholarship period (in 1690 or 1691), or at the end of it (in 1693) if he was applying for the higher (II class) or highest (III) grant. However, Bartholinus mentions that he is applying for the “highest tribute” (τῆς ἀποφορᾶς τῆς μεγίστης, ll. 14–15). The wording refers to the third rather than the second grant: Bartholinus had applied before for the highest grant and is now applying for the second time and is hoping to be among the stipendiaries of the highest rank. Thus, the application was written in the middle of the 1690s.

Bartholinus begins with a descriptive metaphor of life as sailing in a stormy sea and by quoting two maxims of the undsteadiness of life in his *captatio benevolentiae*. Here is a translation of the text and its rhetorical structure is added in brackets:

[*Exordium*:] As long as we sail in the sea of the world, which is exposed to accidents caused by waves and storms, we are forced to walk through destiny's narrow paths. When fortune turns its wheel, we succeed (Τύχης κινούσης

<sup>19</sup> Vossius 1682, 210. Achrelius 1689, 114–115.

<sup>20</sup> Student register, *s.v.* Before acting as a respondent, Bartholinus had written a Latin poem to Achrelius in 1687, congratulating him on his nomination as Rector. Mel. 1035.

θαιρόν, εὖ πράττομεν).<sup>21</sup> As luck turns, we cry out for help in our anxiety. But fortune (τύχη) is even more varied, as they say, some become extremely rich, whereas others are deprived of prosperity and property. Therefore, suffering is common to all, life is a circle, success is unclear (Κοινὰ πάθη πάντων, ὁ βίος τροχός, ἄστατος ὄλβος).<sup>22</sup> As prosperity (εὐδαιμονία) is a great and desired thing, poverty is hard, evil and uncontrollable. Poverty is a heavy burden; bad luck already cast it upon me from my youth. Of the many damages that poverty offers to me and others who diligently make efforts in their studies, not the least is that it makes the way to virtue and wisdom (which guides us away from the easy way of things by its thistles) tiring, difficult and almost unattainable. [*Propositio*.] Therefore, I escape to you, you high leaders, asking for help concerning the greatest Royal scholarship, and as a suppliant (ἰκέτης) I now request you the second time to be admitted among the ranks of the Royal stipendiaries.<sup>23</sup> [*Confirmatio*.] Even if I am unworthy of such great charity, I will, however, turn to your kindness, being hopeful that you will consider me, an orphan who has no other aid, a deserving cause. The more you do for an orphan, the dearer you are to God and the more admired by good people. [*Conclusio*.] I will be, as is proper, most willing to honour you in the most extreme way and thank and praise you for your charity. // Henricus Bartholinus.

Bartholinus states that bad luck led to his poverty since childhood and that poverty is impossible to manage. He argues that while poverty brings many kinds of damages the greatest harm is that it makes the path to virtue and the pathway to wisdom very difficult to follow, or even makes it unapproachable. Because of his poverty and because it hinders his studies, he is now seeking help, like a suppliant (ἰκέτης), and even if he is unworthy of that kind of generosity, he will still turn towards the philanthropy of the addressees and hope that they will regard him, an orphan who has no other means of support, worthy of a scholarship. Bartholinus supports his application by assuring his addressees that he will be truly thankful

<sup>21</sup> Applications, Bartholinus c. 1690 (mss.), line 3. See Lubinus 1622, N7v. Lubinus' *Clavis* also contains translations of maxims into Latin; the maxim in the text here as *Fortuna cardinem movente bene nobiscum agitur*.

<sup>22</sup> Bartholinus c. 1690, (mss.), line 6. (l. 6). Ps.-Phocylides Nr. 27. Modern editions have, however, τροχός rather than τρόχος, a reading which is also in the Ps.-Phocylides edition published by Gezelius Sr. in Turku, Gezelius 1676, 25.

<sup>23</sup> Applications, Bartholinus c. 1690 (mss), lines 13–15 [*propositio*]: Πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὖν, προστάται μεγίστοι, ὥστε τῆς ἀποφορᾶς τῆς βασιλικῆς μεγίστους [*pro* μεγίστης], φεύγω τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἰκέτης νυνὶ δεύτερον ἡμῶν δέομαι ἐμὲ εἰς τῶν βασιλικῶν τροφίμων ἀριθμὸν δέχεσθαι [*pro* δέχεσθαι]).

and concludes with a pious entreaty: the more good one does for an orphan, the dearer one is to God and to all good people.<sup>24</sup>

Bartholinus later enrolled at the University of Tartu, where he wrote a Greek congratulatory poem (8 eleg) for a dissertation in 1697. This poem reveals Bartholinus' fondness for strong images: the common topic of the difficulty of achieving virtue is stressed as "the hard route in the stadium of the Muses" (ἐν Σταδίῳ Μουσῶν ἀργαλέος τε δρόμος) but he also underlined that a lover of the Muses (φιλόμουσος) "overcomes the labyrinths of the exertion" (τοὺς λαβυρίνθους τῆς σπουδῆς νικῶν).<sup>25</sup>

Bartholinus was born in Turku, which might have been a slight drawback where scholarships were concerned. Turku-born students could, for example, live at home and could get constant support from their families. In Bartholinus' case, it was important to emphasise poverty and lack of means. His father had been a well-to-do merchant, but his death brought about a change in the family's fortune, a fact that he refers to in his application.

Students' poverty was an emphatic topic in one long Greek congratulation (50 hex) for a dissertation in November 1694. Nicolaus Fridelinus, who was born in Småland (Sweden), congratulated his compatriot Johannes Helinus for his substantial *pro gradu* dissertation on birds (*De avibus*, pp. 90). The dissertation contained pictures, one even on its title page, which meant extra costs for the respondent Helinus when his dissertation was printed. However, Fridelinus concentrates on Helinus' poverty. On the one hand, poverty was a general fate for all servants of the Muses: "painful hunger gnaws him heavily, he lacks financial resources and fitting clothes". On the other hand, poverty pains especially Helinus: "you have had an uninterrupted, heavy battle against the burden of poverty and against other accidents."<sup>26</sup> Fridelinus encourages Helinus to endure poverty and be hopeful (vv. 22–25). Helinus was a son of an army corporal and had studied in Växjö gymnasium before he enrolled at the Turku University in 1691. Three years later, he was awarded the lowest scholarship (class I, autumn 1693 – autumn 1694) so that Helinus was in a better position than students without grants at

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Ps. 146:9, Matth. 18:5, 25:40. For a picture of the application, see Korhonen 2004, 148.

<sup>25</sup> SKB 3412. The poem also contains a modification of the maxim Χαλεπὰ τὰ καλὰ: Δύσκολα τὰ καλὰ.

<sup>26</sup> Vall. 1527 (*praeses*: Petrus Hahn). Fridelinus, lines 4–5: Ἀργαλέως πενίη ὅγε τείρεται ἀλγενοέσση, / χρηζίων βιότοιο καὶ εἴματα ἀρμοδίοιο. Cf. Enevaldus Wanoichius' congratulation after the years of famine in 1698 (above p. 99–100). Fridelinus, lines 20–21: νολεμέως γάρ σοι ὑσμίνη ἔσκε βαρεῖα / ξὺν πενίης τε καὶ ἄλλοις λευγαλείοισιν. Helinus dedicated the dissertation to four persons. It contains two congratulations by professors and five by fellow students.



the time (1694) when Fridelinus consoled his friend on account of his poverty.<sup>27</sup> Was this a way of assert compatriot's suitability to receive a better scholarship by arguing that Helinus was 'poor enough' for it? When Helinus' first scholarship (class I) ran out, he received both class II and class III scholarships (1695–1696), although he took his degree a few days after his disputation, in 1694. Scholarships were thus also granted to 'postgraduate' students.<sup>28</sup>

## Two Bilingual Applications

Naezenius' bilingual application, the first Greek one written at Turku, bears only the year in Greek: ἔτεος χριστογονίας ,αχνη. This application is unique among all the preserved Turku applications in classical languages, because it contains three poems in Latin. The first page is the petition proper in Latin, the second page contains the poems, and the Greek application letter, obviously a translation of the Latin one, is put on the third page. A university official has marked the date when the application had been received, 26 January 1659, on the blank verso side of the third page. The application is thus written in December 1658 (,αχνη) and officially received after Christmas and the seasonal holidays, in January 1659.

The poems in Latin do not as such bear any great relevance to the application proper. The first Latin poem eulogises Charles X Gustav (1620–1660) in six Sapphic stanzas, with a heading partly in Greek: Ὅδη σαφρ. [= Ὡτιδῇ Σαπφικῇ] *pro pace*. The descriptions of the victories of the Swedish King's battles against Poland and Denmark (the so-called Second Northern War 1665–1660) end with a plea for peace.<sup>29</sup> The second poem (20 eleg) eulogises not only the King, but also the homeland and its professors. The Greek heading of the third poem (6 hex) refers to the fact that it is a dedication to the King: Εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ἱδίων τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας σου αἰδεδσίμως ἔγραψα (I reverently wrote [this] in dedication to your excellency). Its first four lines are tautogrammatical: *Musa Mihi Mandidum Mars* [...] (The Muse mandated me to write on the works of Mars [...]). The cycle of the poems ends in a *votum*. The function of the poems

<sup>27</sup> On Fridelinus, see Korhonen 2004, 327–329.

<sup>28</sup> Helinus also applied for a scholarship in spring 1698 at Turku (his only surviving application Vallinkoski 1975, 13) although he had been ordained in Växjö.

<sup>29</sup> By the end of 1658, the fortunes of war had turned in favour of Denmark: Sweden had lost Copenhagen, which was defended by Danish-Norwegian armies aided by a Dutch fleet.

was obviously to show Naezenius' poetic skills and he probably intended the poems to be published.<sup>30</sup>

Naezenius begins his application, as he says, with "a maxim of ancient wise men", namely that poverty is the teacher of all arts, pressing on in hard situations and in adversity, rolling over steep rocks: *paupertas omnium magistra existit, durisque in rebus urgit egestas, ipsaque onorantem per ardua volvit saxa* (ll. 3-4) imitating thus the maxims of Apuleius and Persius.<sup>31</sup> Naezenius translated the sentence into Greek as ἡ πτώσις πασῶν τῶν τεχνῶν παιδευτῆς ὑπερχεῖ [*pro* ὑπάρχει], καὶ σκληροῖς ἐν πράγμασιν ἐπαναγκάζει ἀχρημοσύνη, μετ' αὐτῆς γε πονέοντα δι' ὀρθίων κυλίζει [*pro* κυλίνδει] λίθων (ll. 3-4, p. 3). Thus *egestas* is translated as ἀχρημοσύνη whereas *paupertas* as πτώσις.<sup>32</sup> Both are seen from a positive perspective.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, poverty has guided Naezenius to turn with humility to the Rector because he had helped 'foreign' students before.<sup>34</sup> Addressing especially the Rector may explain why Naezenius translated his application into Greek. In 1658, the Professor of Greek and Hebrew, Martinus Stodius, served as Rector.

Naezenius asks whether there are any free places left (*vacaverit locus* / τόπος κενός ἐστίν, ll. 10-11), which implies that he was applying for the first time. He assures his addressee that he is fighting against the utmost difficulties and makes his appeal more effective by vowing his sincerity in the name of God: *:/* μὰ δία *:/*.<sup>35</sup> Naezenius supposes that he would have to give up his studies if he does not receive any aid and mentions that he is already in the middle of his studies. This seems odd as Naezenius enrolled in August 1658 which means that he would have only studied at the university for half a year. Naezenius' arguments follow, however, quite meticulously Achrelius' guides for letters of applications: Naezenius points out that others in the same situation had been helped, and at the end of his letter he makes the assurance that he will justify the Rector's trust in him. However, this elaborate application was not successful. According to the

<sup>30</sup> However, as far as is known, these poems were not published, at least not in Turku.

<sup>31</sup> Apul. *Apol.* 18: *paupertas artes omnes praedocet* and *paupertas omnium artium repertrix*; Pers. *Sat.* 6: *durisque urgens in rebus egestas* [...] *per ardua*.

<sup>32</sup> But there is no equivalent for *onorantem* in Naezenius' Greek translation, quite the contrary: πονέοντα.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. with a medieval French saying "Hunger makes people resourceful" and the well-known proverb "Necessity is the mother of invention". Poverty is described as being useful in an oration held in Turku in 1653, *De paupertas ejusque utilitate* (SKB 3491).

<sup>34</sup> Line 8: *alii huc accedentes exotici* / ἄλλοι ἐνθάδε πορευόμενοι ἐξωτικοί.

<sup>35</sup> Parentheses marked by *:/* were more common in vernacular texts.

memos of the Consistorium, Naezenius managed to obtain a stipend for the lowest class of awards only in his third year of studies, in 1661.<sup>36</sup>

The other bilingual application was written by Petrus Magni Hahn, a Sweden-born student, like Naezenius.<sup>37</sup> The application contains four and a half pages of text, the first two pages in Latin (33 lines), and the remaining two and half in Greek (39 lines and a signature). The date of the application (29 November 1682) is probably marked by Hahn himself on the verso side of the last page. Hahn, the son of an Ingelstad magistrate, was born around 1652, studied at the Växjö school and gymnasium and was registered as a student at the Royal Academy of Turku in 1678 under the name of Ingelman. This application letter, written four years after his enrolment at Turku, is signed 'Petrus Hahn'. At that time, his namesake, Petrus Hahn, was Professor of Physics at Turku.

The Latin hand is good compared to that of the Greek, which bears the impression that the Greek part had been written in haste, especially towards the end. It also contains corrections. The word *κακῆϊνον* (l. 5) is written by mistake twice, the first one is underlined by Hahn or the reader of the letter. At the end, we find *γυμναρχῆ* (l. 32), with the corrective addition *ασι* put above it (*scil.* *γυμνασιάρχῆ*), and crossed-out superlative *βεβαιωτάτων* (l. 37, *scil.* *βεβαιότατον*).<sup>38</sup>

The application is addressed to the Rector and to professors. The Rector is translated by three expressions: *γυμνασιάρχῆ* (salutation and l. 32), *προστάτης* (l. 2), and *ἀρχιδιδάσκαλος* (ll. 7 and 30). The term 'application letter' is expressed in Latin as *supplici epistola* (l. 5) and in Greek as *ἐπιστολὴ ταπεινοτάτη* (ll. 5–6), and the Royal scholarship is *Regium stipendium* (l. 13) and *τρόφος βασιλικός* (l. 15). One particularly interesting feature is Hahn's reasons for applying. First, a grant would support him to buy books and clothes: *libra et velamenta corporis*

<sup>36</sup> Naezenius earned his living by giving private lessons. A year after this application, the memos of the Consistorium reported a quarrel between Naezenius and a tailor, the tailor claiming that Naezenius had hit him and had broken a window at his home. Naezenius defended himself by saying that the tailor had encouraged Naezenius' pupils to come to his home to drink and play cards. Naezenius was fined and pleaded mitigation on the grounds of poverty. At the feast of the Epiphany in 1662, Naezenius played the role of a peasant in a comedy written by a fellow student. Naezenius received a higher class stipend in April 1664 and he took his degree a month later in May 1664. Naezenius' future was brighter and he became a Vicar at Melby (Sweden). Korhonen 2004, 271.

<sup>37</sup> I failed to notice Hahn's application while working on my dissertation (2004).

<sup>38</sup> The Greek part is virtually a direct translation of the Latin except for one added sentence. It precedes a signature in Greek addressing the Rector and the professors to whom Hahn states that he is a loyal and humble servant.

*conciliabuntur* (l. 8) / τὰ βιβλία καὶ τοῦ τὰ σκεπάσματα χρωτὸς ἀγορασθήσεται (l. 8).<sup>39</sup> Second, Hahn states that “in this period, some achievement in the liberal arts will be shown (by him)” (*aliquot interjecto tempore specimina artium inveniuntur edentur* (ll. 9–10) / ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τινα ἔχνη τῶν τεχνῶν ἐλευθέρων [...] θήσεται (ll. 9–10). Thus, the scholarship period would further his studies and render some accomplishments possible. Hahn compares successful studies to sailing in stormy winds over vast seas: it requires an anchor (that is, support).<sup>40</sup> Hahn later refers to his need for clothes by quoting a saying that no one is treated decently who is in shabby clothes: *In vili veste nemo tractatur honeste* (l. 23).<sup>41</sup> The Greek translation is more descriptive and thus more effective: “Nobody who had wrapped oneself in tattered garments is received decently and with honour” (Τοῦ περιβεβλημένου ῥάκη ἐνδυμάτων οὐδεὶς σεμνῶς καὶ λαμπρῶς ἀντιλαμβάνεται, ll. 24–26). This justification for a grant seems quite odd given that Hahn came from a well-to-do family. His father was a member of the city administrative court in Växjö.<sup>42</sup> Like Naezenius, Hahn did not succeed with his application. In the October of the following year, 1683, Hahn enrolled in the University of Lund.<sup>43</sup>

## Two Applications in Greek by Georgius Ståhlberg

Georgius Ståhlberg was the composer of the long Greek *epibaterion* (1689) mentioned several times above.<sup>44</sup> Ståhlberg’s former name was Fabricius by which he signed his two, undated Greek applications for scholarships, named here A and B, with the supposition that A would precede B. The *terminus ante quem*

<sup>39</sup> The phrase *velamenta corporis* appears in the second-century historian Justin’s *Historia Philippicae* (2.6), whereas ‘coverings of the body’, σκεπάσματα σώματος (not σκεπάσματα χρωτός) is found in Philo (*Leg.* 3.239.6–7).

<sup>40</sup> Lines 17–18: *in literis fecerit progressum, qui ille, [...] ventum venatque pelagum immensa magnitudini vase exsuvie* / ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι προκοπὴν ποιήσῃ, ἢ ἐκεῖνος, ὅστις ἀμφιβλήστω ἄνεμον θηρεύσεις, ζητεῖ τῆς τὸ βάθος ἄλδος ἀγγεῖο ἀντλήσαι (ll. 17–21).

<sup>41</sup> This Latin maxim occurs in Michael Maier’s animal fable *Lusus serius*, Maier 1616, 95.

<sup>42</sup> Of course, Hahn’s father could have lost his fortune or the relationship between father and son could have been broken. The change of name on the letter of application does not in itself confirm the latter. Petrus’ father’s name was in fact Måns Nilsson *Hane* (old Swedish ‘rooster’), and in 1683 when Ingelman’s brother Nils also enrolled at the university, he did so under the name of Hahn.

<sup>43</sup> Register Database *s.v.* Ingelman. As far as is known, Petrus Magni Hahn did not dispute at Turku nor deliver any orations or publish any occasional texts at Turku.

<sup>44</sup> Mel. 885. See above pp. 100–102.

would be the change of the name from Fabricius to Ståhlberg, which occurred in 1689.<sup>45</sup> The differences between A and B are slight: the addressees are not the same which causes changes in grammatical number. A is addressed to one person who has three titles (Rector, Vice-President of the Cathedral Chapter and teacher of the Holy Scriptures) and B to the Rector, to teachers and to leaders of the university. Ståhlberg needed to change second person singular verbs in A into the second person plural in B (or vice versa if B was earlier). According to the memos of the Consistorium, Ståhlberg enjoyed the lowest class of scholarship (class I) from spring 1686 to spring 1687, the class II grant from autumn 1688 to autumn 1689, and the highest scholarship in 1690. Taking the change of name into account, A and B, signed Fabricius, are written during 1686–1689. During his rectorship Professor of Theology Enevaldus Svenonius was also a vice-president of the Turku Cathedral Chapter (1685–1686). Therefore, it is plausible that application A is addressed to Svenonius, who had all the above-mentioned titles. Because Svenonius died in 1687, A is written before that and is an application for the lowest kind of scholarship. It would therefore seem that B is a later modification of A. All in all, Ståhlberg enjoyed scholarships for four years during 1686–1690. The applications written in Greek were two of the many that he needed to write in order to ensure the continuation of his grant.

Ståhlberg was the son of a farmer and smith (thus the name Fabricius) from southern Finland.<sup>46</sup> He enrolled as “Fabricius” at the university in 1683, and received his first scholarship in 1686, so that he studied three years without aid. In his two Greek applications, Ståhlberg strongly emphasises his poverty. He states that nobody at this university or any other has suffered as much as he has. Furthermore, he says that he does not seek financial help only for himself “in the contests of the Muses” (ἐν τῇ τῶν μουσῶν ἀθλήσει) but also to support his elderly parents (A, l. 6; B, l. 4). He follows this by describing his childhood: he had worked as a shepherd for seven years before he went to school. Then he was supported by the citizen’s official quarter (πύλη) and by charity (φιλανθρωπία).<sup>47</sup> By the former, Ståhlberg probably refers to aid

<sup>45</sup> In 1688, a Greek congratulation signed only with the initials G.F. (= Georgius Fabricius) is supposed to be by him (Vall. 2197).

<sup>46</sup> His father’s employment suggests that his family could have been Finnish speaking. At least Ståhlberg came from a Finnish-speaking district.

<sup>47</sup> A, lines 9–12, B, lines 7–10: Πρῶτον ἔτρεφέ με, οἱ Κύριοι μακῆναι, ἑπτὰ τὰ ἔτη ἡ ἄτιμός τε καὶ ὀλίγα ὑπουργία ἢ βουκολική· εἰς τὴν δὲ σχολὴν ἀβοϊκὴν εἰσγεγραμμένον ἔτρεφέ με ἡ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ πύλη καὶ φιλανθρωπία. Αὗται δὲ μηκέτι μοι πάρεισιν αἱ βοήθειαι. Ståhlberg calls the “bucolic” work (ὑπουργία ἢ βουκολική) as degrading (ἄτιμος) and financially insignificant (ὀλίγα).

which was the result of the stipulation of 1624 which ordered that parishes were obliged to pay a form of tax which was then diverted into the schooling of poor boys.<sup>48</sup> Ståhlberg claims that now as a university student he is without aid, unlike when he was a schoolboy.

Ståhlberg's Greek *epibaterion* was written to Gezelius Jr., who was summoned back to Turku to help his father in his work at the end of 1689. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this long Greek poem (83 eleg) resulted in Ståhlberg obtaining the highest-class scholarship in 1690, a year after its publication. This was also when Gezelius Jr., the new Bishop of Turku, was a member of the Consistorium.<sup>49</sup> In the same year, Ståhlberg enrolled at the University of Uppsala but took his degree at Turku University in 1691. He succeeded in his social ascent and was appointed Rector at the Trivial School in his mother's hometown of Rauma, where he later became a vicar in 1703.<sup>50</sup>

All these applicants – Bartholinus, Naezenius, Hahn, and Ståhlberg – stressed their lack of means, even their poverty, in their requests for grants. However, two students, Olaus Flachsenius and Carolus Pontanus, would also give other reasons in their applications in Greek.

### Applying for Reasons Other than Poverty

Olaus Flachsenius' application is short, only seven lines, and is undated. The *terminus post quem* is November 1688, when Flachsenius was placed as a reserve (*expectantes*) on the list of stipendiaries. His first, the lowest, scholarship was granted in the following year, on 13 March 1689.<sup>51</sup> Between 1690 and 1692, he received the class II scholarship and in 1693 the highest scholarship. Flachsenius might have only been a teenager when he got his first scholarship. The handwriting, for one thing, is immature compared with other Greek and Latin applications. His date of birth is not known, but he was the son of Johannes

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<sup>48</sup> This stipulation ended a practice that reached back to medieval times of poor schoolboys wandering from parish to parish during their holidays begging for financial aid to support their next school year. In 1624, it was ordered that this would be stopped due to the disturbance it caused. Hanho 1947, 186–187 and 197–199.

<sup>49</sup> He obtained it first on 19 March and then on 19 November 1690. CAAP VI, 572 (19 March 1690) and CAAP VII, 27 (19 November 1690).

<sup>50</sup> Ståhlberg was tortured by Russian troops during the Great Northern War but survived. He died in 1730.

<sup>51</sup> CAAP VI, 396 (21 November 1688) and CAAP VI, 430 (13 March 1689).

Flachsenius, Professor of Mathematics, later Professor of Theology at Turku, who married his first wife in 1674.<sup>52</sup>

It is obvious that Olaus Flachsenius as the son of a Turku professor could not appeal to his poverty. In general, however, the sons of professors could receive a scholarship because of the policy of the Royal Academy of Turku to establish an educated class in Finland, meaning academic families whose members were Turku scholars of many generations.<sup>53</sup> Olaus had many other advantages compared to his fellow students, such as his father's academic networks and access to his library. However, the latter would prove to be a source of some awkwardness, as witnessed by the fact that the Consistorium discussed a case raised by Olaus' father, who was attempting to get his books back after his son had lent a number of volumes to his friends.<sup>54</sup>

Olaus Flachsenius begins his short letter (7 l.) by stating that the benevolence and kindness (εὐνοια καὶ ἀγαθοσύνη) of the addressees urges him to ask to be "counted among the royal stipendiaries" (τοῖς τροφίμοις τοῖς βασιλικοῖς συναριθμηθῆναι). Flachsenius uses quite a strong expression for applying: προσκυνῶν ἱκετεύω (I kneel down and beg for protection) – thus, using both *proskynema* formula and appealing like a suppliant (ἱκέτης).<sup>55</sup> Flachsenius clarifies his reasons for applying that he does not need financial aid (βοήθεια) as such but "rather a spike and a stimulator" (μᾶλλον κέντρον καὶ κινητήριον) to inspire his studies. This formulation refers to the practice that a scholarship student obtained better instruction, including private tuition, compared to other students. Although the dating of this application is unsure, at least Flachsenius had a scholarship for 1689–1693, a period in which he wrote a Greek funerary poem to Johannes Gezelius Sr. and a Greek congratulatory poem to Gezelius Jr. for his appointment as Bishop of Turku after his father's death, both in 1690.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Olaus (Olof) Flachsenius was enrolled at the university in 1681. If he was born around 1675, he was then only six years old. Hence, when he received his first scholarship, he would have been around 13–14 years old. He was deleted from the list of stipendiaries, however, in 1694. CAAP VII, 444 (27 March 1694). There is no information about his later life, only that he was alive when his father died in 1708. Register Database, *s.v.*

<sup>53</sup> The question whether grants should be given to professors' sons was even discussed in the Consistorium in 1644. Klinge *et al.* 1987, 350–351 (Strömberg).

<sup>54</sup> CAAP VII, 421–422 (19 of December 1693).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. dedications, see above Chapter 2.3 ("Genres of Shorter Greek Text").

<sup>56</sup> Besides Greek poems, Olaus published four poems in Latin during 1690–1691. See SKB 1237–1242.

Carolus Pontanus' hand is decorative and the application letter (18 ll.) comprises two pages with a custodian (catchword). The date, 24 March 1693, is written on the upper right side of the first page, probably by the secretary of the Consistorium. On the same day, Pontanus was listed among the applicants in that day's memorandum of the Consistorium – without mentioning that the application was composed in Greek. Pontanus' request was successful: only a week later, on 31 March, he was granted the lowest class (Class I) of scholarship. He enjoyed it for two years (1694–1695). Pontanus, born in southern Finland, enrolled at the university in 1691. He was thus granted a scholarship in his third year of studies. However, for some reason, he had to interrupt his studies later. He moved to Viipuri (in Carelia), where he tutored a merchant's children. He died at the age of 27 in 1697.<sup>57</sup>

Pontanus addresses his letter to the Bishop of Finland (Φιννία), who is also the representative (Ἐπιστάτης) of the Academy (*sc.* procancellarius), and to the Rector (Κυβερνήτης) as well as the teachers of theology and philosophy, in other words to the Consistorium. Pontanus thanks the addressees for their previous kindness to him and expresses his joy over it, thus following Achrelius' advice for letters of petition. Pontanus is hopeful that the recipients will be gracious towards the liberal arts and he praises the importance of their work: all members of “this nursery of disciplines” (ἐν τῷ φυτευτηρίῳ τοῖς λόγοις) need help from their teachers. Pontanus uses quite an official-sounding formulation for his request, which also suggests that this is not his first application (ll. 7–11):

Καὶ ὅταν οὗτοι πέφυκε, μετὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς ἱκετηρίας ταύτης πρὸς ὑμᾶς Κύριοι σπουδάζω ἐπιποθίαν ἔχων τοῦ ἐλθεῖν εἰς λόγον τῶν τροφίμων βασιλικῶν ὥσπερ καὶ πάλιν καὶ πολλάκις αἰτέομαι.

When this indeed not being the case (for me), by this application letter, I ask you, Sirs, to be counted among the scholarship students as I have asked before many times.

Pontanus does not appeal to his poverty as such but that he cannot study properly without financial aid: he is not sure whether he will finish the work which he

<sup>57</sup> Register Database *s.v.* Pontanus; CAAP VII, 316, 321–322, and 408 (24 and 31 March and 9 November 1693); CAAP VII, 446 and 524 (27 March and 12 December 1694). Pontanus was referred to as a student of theology in the commemorative anthology dedicated to him after his death (Mel. 1639).



has set out to do as successfully as he has planned,<sup>58</sup> but he will in any case exert himself “by the grace of God” (διὰ χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ll. 14–15). Pontanus ends by formally wishing that God will grant the recipients health for the rest of the year (διετήσιον ῥώνυσθαι).

Choosing Greek as a language in one’s application letter was designed to display one’s skills in Greek. But it was also a way to distinguish oneself from the other applicants. Flachsenius’ weak and Pontanus’ quite good but nondescript letter as well as Ståhlberg’s strong appeal to help him – and his parents *via* him – in his poverty were successful. On the other hand, Naezenius and Hahn with their bilingual applications as well as Bartholinus’ application consisting of gnomic sayings and following the prescriptions for letters of application were not. Naturally, however, there were other reasons for refusal or approval than the mere application letter.

The constant theme in these grant applications, usually on quite an abstract level, is poverty and its effects on studies and students’ lives. As said, the topic may also occur in congratulations. Professor Martinus Miltopaeus notes in his textbook on rhetoric (1669) that application letters are reminiscent of dedications.<sup>59</sup> This is true where Greek scholarship applications are concerned. Both *dedicatio* and *petitio* use partly the same terminology, combining humility and praise towards their addressees. Dedications in university dissertations were expressions of gratefulness and faithfulness to present and future patrons. The most elaborate Greek dedication is to be found in the only Greek dissertation at Turku, which is the topic of the next Chapter.

## 5.2. Functions of Greek Paratexts for a Greek Dissertation

The reasons for choosing Greek were connected to the image of Greek, namely what Greek as a classical and sacred language represented. Using Greek could also be stipulated at the official level. Dissertations could be written in the universities of the Swedish Kingdom in Latin, in Greek and in Hebrew.<sup>60</sup> Although only a few dissertations were written in Hebrew,<sup>61</sup> the number of published Greek

<sup>58</sup> Lines 11–13: Κἂν μὲν τὸ ἔργον /: ὥς ἐκ προαιρέσεως ὁμολογοῦμαι :/ εὖ ἐπιτελεῖν μήπου δύναμαι [...].

<sup>59</sup> Miltopaeus 1669, 445: *Dedicationes [...] quas quidem nonnulli ad themata generis deliberativi referunt, quod petitoriis epistolis sint valde affines.*

<sup>60</sup> Vallinkoski 1949, 4–5. However, the 1626 and the 1655 statutes do not define the language.

<sup>61</sup> Congratulatory texts were also written in Hebrew at Turku, and one oration in Hebrew was

dissertations from the Swedish universities (Uppsala, Tartu and Turku) is at least twenty during 1627–1671, and three come from the Swedish gymnasia (Västerås and Stockholm).<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, there are 21 unpublished Greek-Latin dissertations from the Västerås gymnasium written during 1659–1670 (some of them are undated), and two unpublished gymnasial dissertations without any information on the place or time of the disputation.<sup>63</sup> The number of university and gymnasial Greek or Greek-Latin dissertations is thus 44 – 46.<sup>64</sup> Most of the 18 published university dissertations in Greek were written around the middle of the seventeenth century. Five of them were supervised by Henricus Ausius, Professor of Greek at the University of Uppsala, during 1648–1658. Twice as many were published under the presidency of Gezelius Sr. at the University of Tartu during 1644–1647, although only seven are still extant. As mentioned earlier, the model for writing Greek dissertations came from Germany, which is also attested in the formulations on the title page, although there was no common usage shared by all.

At the University of Uppsala, the Greek dissertations under Ausius' presidency discussed such topics as education according to Aristotle's *Politics*, courage, civil *eudaimonia* according to the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and ethical virtue and practical philosophy from the Neo-Aristotelian perspective. At the University of Tartu, Gezelius Sr. supervised a series of so-called pneumatological dissertations with topics like "on the uncreated spirit", "on good and evil angels", and "on the origin and immortality of the soul". Gymnasial dissertations (at Västerås and Stockholm) treated both ethical themes (ethical virtue) and theological issues, but one of them also bears the title "physical theses on the cosmos".

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delivered for the hundred-year jubilee at Turku in 1740. Klinge *et al.* 1987, 460 (Klinge). Several dissertations in Hebrew were published in Uppsala. Harviainen 2003, 73 and 83 n32.

<sup>62</sup> Korhonen 2021, 705–706. See also Päll 2021, 761–778 (German and Swedish Greek dissertations 1604–1866). There are 28 *title pages* of dissertations written in Greek that were supervised by Gexelius Sr., all from the year 1649. They were probably title pages for oral disputations in Greek. See Korhonen 2018, 166–172. A translation into Estonian with a commentary of a Greek dissertation supervised by Gezelius Sr., see Friedenthal & Päll 2017.

<sup>63</sup> These two dissertations could, however, have been copies of two Västerås dissertations with the same titles. See HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi) > Anonymous > dissertations. The first one discusses ethical and theological virtues, whereas the other is on the concept of friendship according to Isocrates (*Ad Dem.*). Both topics occur in the unpublished dissertations from the Gymnasium of Västerås, Nr. 20 and Nr. 23. Korhonen 2021, 708.

<sup>64</sup> Korhonen 2021, 707–708.

Compared with this ‘heyday’ of Greek university dissertations at Uppsala and Tartu during the middle of the 17th century, the printing house of the Royal Academy of Turku published only one Greek dissertation in 1688, which was the last Greek dissertation published in the Swedish Kingdom. Four years before, in 1684, a student named Johannes Julinus wrote a Greek preface to his Latin dissertation. Before presenting the Turku Greek dissertation, it is worthwhile discussing this Greek preface to the dissertation entitled Γύμνασμα ὀρκολογικόν, *sub formali politico-historico exhibitum*.

### A Greek Preface (1684)

The dissertation was presided over by Andreas Wanochius and the respondent (and writer) was Johannes Canuti Julinus from southern Finland, who had enrolled at the university in 1679.<sup>65</sup> The disputation was held on 29 November 1684, over a month after Simon Paulinus had obtained the Chair of Greek and Hebrew (on 9 October 1684). However, Paulinus had taken care of the lectures of former, short-term professor of the Chair (Gabriel Forthelius, 1682–1684) since spring 1682 and had thus been Julinus’ Greek teacher at the time of writing this dissertation.

Julinus’ Greek preface (two octavo-sized pages, 37 lines) mentions the subject of the dissertation, oaths and solemn swearing, and its main argument is that without oaths an ordered society could not exist. Julinus begins with the well-known idea from Aristotle’s *Politics* (1.1253a) that humans are social beings (ζῷον πολιτικόν), without referring either to the author or the work.<sup>66</sup> According to Julinus, sociability is based on friendship: unlike wild animals, human beings revere the friendship (ἑταιρεία) of other rational (νοητικός) beings.<sup>67</sup>

καὶ οὐ μὴ ὡς θῆρες, οἳ εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν φωλεοὺς ἀναχωρήσαντες  
κατὰ φύσιν μονιούς, οὐδ’ ὡς τὰ πετεινὰ πλανώμενον. Οἱ τοιγαροῦν ἡρεμίται  
[*pro* ἡρημίται] μισάνθρωποι καὶ ἀπόλιδες ἄνευ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ συνοικίας  
διάγοντες. Ἀληθῶς ἐλεεινοὶ καὶ μὴ [*pro* οὐ] ἑαυτοῖς, οὐδ’ ἑτέροις χρήσιμοι·

<sup>65</sup> It was not a *pro gradu* dissertation, but Julinus signed his dedication *respondens et auctor*. His *pro gradu* dissertation was published in 1685. Julinus was later Chaplain in the parish of Laitila (Finland) and died in 1693. See Register Database, *s.v.* Concerning the question of authorship of dissertations in general, see, e.g., Van Rooy 2021, 541 and Sjökvist 2012, 22.

<sup>66</sup> Julinus strengthens the formula by saying that humans are “totally” social beings (Ἄνθρωπος τῇ φύσει ἐστὶ τὸ ζῷον τὸ ὅλως πολιτικόν). Note the strange use of the definite article τὸ.

<sup>67</sup> Julinus 1684, Preface ll. 3–8.

[...] and [human beings] are not like wild predatory animals, which return to their caves and nests being solitary in their nature, and not like those with wings being migratory by nature. Therefore hermits are misanthropes and asocial persons who live without the need for society and without the need for togetherness. They are truly pitiable and are not useful either to themselves or to others.

Unlike Aristotle, who included many animals in the sphere of sociability, even naming some, like bees, πολιτικοί, the idea of wild or predatory animals as asocial, is often made by the Church Fathers and medieval philosophers.<sup>68</sup> By contrasting solitary life and social, communal life, Julinus argues that the life of solitary people (ἀπόλιδες) is miserable.<sup>69</sup> Julinus' view is in accordance with Christian ethics when he asks how a human being can do charity work (ἔργα τῆς ἀγάπης) if he lives outside of society? How can one take care for (οἰκοδομεῖσθαι) matters of the church, God, and city? God has chosen human beings to be teachers of other human beings and did not order, for example, angels to teach humans.

Julinus' discussion follows the order of Aristotle's *Politics* from smaller to larger units, from *oikos* to *polis*, except that Julinus begins with a concept of friendship (ἑταιρεία) that results in polity (πολιτεία). God has not given all his gifts to one person but has provided everyone with the things that they necessarily need. When people live together, they also own some things together, which is the reason why society, the general order of things, and mutual help (φιλανθρωπία) will prevail. People build squares, streets (πλατεία, ῥύμη) and universities; different kinds of occupations are created in farming, technical matters and architecture. History provides evidence that cities and societies are born in this way.

By mentioning universities, Julinus can move on to different fields of study. Politics (πολιτική) is in his view the queen of the sciences. He also mentions grammar, which is concerned with "right writing", and logic, which "analyses propositions and problems forming syllogisms pro and contra certain disputed problems".<sup>70</sup> Julinus has taken this sentence almost *verbatim* from the Greek

<sup>68</sup> Arist. *HA* 1.1.488a8 and 8.1.589a3 and also *Pol.* 1.2.1253a7–9. For the medieval philosophers on the asociality of animals, see Toivanen 2020, 247–249.

<sup>69</sup> Aristotle notes that asocial persons who do not fit in the *polis*, who manage without *polis* (ἄπολις), are like two kinds of non-human beings, wild animals and gods (*Pol.* 1.1253a2–3).

<sup>70</sup> Julinus 1684, preface: ἡ λογικὴ περὶ παντὸς θέματος καὶ προβλήματος διαλογιζομένη περὶ ζητημάτων ἀμφισβητησίων ἀνασκευαστικῶς καὶ κατασκευαστικῶς συλλογισμένη συζητεῖ.

version of Comenius' *Janua*, which Gezelius Sr. published in Tartu in 1648.<sup>71</sup> After logic, Julinus mentions mathematics before returning to the political sciences to which this dissertation – written for the sake of exercise (ἄσκησεως ἕνεκα) – belongs. The dissertation is divided, as Julinus explains, into eleven “problems” (προβλήματα), one in each chapter. In the end, Julinus says that he has not written the preface “for the sake of self-aggrandisement but for the sake of the writers” (ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἑλληνιστὶ ἔγραψα μηδαμῶς ἀλαζονείας χάριν, ἀλλὰ τῶν συγγραφέων ἕνεκα). This refers to the fact that Julinus, especially in the first chapter of his dissertation, quoted quite a number of Greek authors – some quite unusual – by name.<sup>72</sup> In the seventh chapter, there is a long excerpt in Greek, which discusses hermits and misanthropes (pp. 28–29), which was also the subject of Julinus' preface in Greek. The writer's name is not mentioned but the excerpt is from Philo's *De specialibus legibus* (2.14.2–18.6). Julinus explains that he has not translated the Greek passage into Latin for lack of space and because the meaning of the text is clear.<sup>73</sup>

All in all, the tone of Julinus' Greek preface reminds one of the humanistically oriented Greek dissertations supervised by Henricus Ausius at Uppsala than the more or less strictly theological dissertations supervised by Gezelius Sr. at Tartu. The extensive quoting of Greek authors might have encouraged Julinus to write the preface in Greek. The recently appointed Greek professor, Simon Paulinus, might also have provided the impulse for adopting this unique ‘genre’ in regard to the Turku Greek Corpus, namely Greek prefaces to Latin dissertations.<sup>74</sup> Four years later, in 1688, Paulinus presided over the first and only Greek dissertation at Turku, the subject of which was strictly theological.

### The Greek Dissertation on *Shiloh* (1688)

The Turku Greek dissertation was disputed in early autumn 1688 and the respondent was Georgius Aenelius. Except for the invocations (both at the top

<sup>71</sup> The only difference is that instead of Julinus' ἀνασκευαστικῶς καὶ κατασκευαστικῶς, *Janua* published by Gezelius Sr. has ὑπὲρ καὶ ἀντί.

<sup>72</sup> Quotations are from Alexis, Philo of Alexandria, Clemens of Alexandria, Heracles' *In aureum carmen*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Diodorus Siculus.

<sup>73</sup> Julinus 1684, 29: *Qua Latinis exprimere verbis pagellularum velat angustia; alias etiam cuivis fere literato optime sunt obvia.*

<sup>74</sup> A corresponding but late (1866) example is the long Greek prose preface to a Latin dissertation supervised by Edvard Bång in Uppsala. See HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi).

of the title page and at the end of the text) and several quotes in Hebrew, the dissertation including the title page is totally in Greek. The passage from *Genesis* (Γενέσ. ΔΔΔΔΠΠΠΠ.ι) and the publishing year on the title page as well as the numbering of the subchapters are written in acrophonic numbers. As in the Greek dissertations supervised by Ausius and Gezelius Sr., the date of the disputation is given according to the Attic calendar (τῇ Βοηδρομιῶνος ἐπὶ δέκῃ).<sup>75</sup> The supervising is conveyed by the verb καθευθύνειν ‘guide’: “[...] the dissertation is supervised by Simon Paulinus, eminent professor of Hebrew and Greek and my valuable teacher, who is ready to help in everything”.<sup>76</sup> The personal pronoun (καθηγητῆς καὶ παιδευτῆς μου) and the tone suggests that the title page at least is written by the respondent, Georgius Aenelius.

Five paratexts, all written in Greek, are the most interesting part of this publication from the point of view of classical humanism. They include two congratulatory poems by the *praeses* and the Professor of Poetics, Simon Paulinus and Petrus Laurbecchius, and two congratulatory texts by fellow students, Ericus Indrenius (in prose) and Christophorus Alanus (in verse). The respondent Aenelius also composed a three-page Greek dedication, which is the longest dedication in Greek at Turku.<sup>77</sup>

The *Shiloh* dissertation is relatively long (24 pages, in quarto format) for a Nordic Greek dissertation.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, most of the Greek dissertations presided over by Ausius in Uppsala and by Gezelius in Tartu are quite ‘light’ in their treatment – one of them is more like an oration, others more presentations than argumentative dissertations.<sup>79</sup> The writer of the Turku Greek dissertation takes its subject much more seriously.<sup>80</sup> As the title page reports, the subject of this

<sup>75</sup> The month *Boedromiôn* refers to August or September. Γενέσ. = Γενέσεως.

<sup>76</sup> [...] κατευθύνοντος Κύρ. Σιμώνος τοῦ Παυλίνου τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων Καθηγητοῦ ἐπιδεξιότητος καὶ παιδευτοῦ μου τοῦ ἀξιοπίστου, [...]. Vall. 2751, the title page.

<sup>77</sup> The National Library of Finland owns two variants of the dissertation. Variant A contains all five paratexts: Aenelius’ dedication and the congratulations by two professors are at the beginning, and the congratulations by fellow students are put at the end. Variant B, on the other hand, contains only the two congratulations by fellow students, which are put at the beginning of the publication.

<sup>78</sup> Greek dissertations supervised by Gezelius Sr. comprises approximately six text pages and those by Ausius about ten text pages, though one of them is as long as 22 text pages (Ausius – Aurivillius, 1658).

<sup>79</sup> However, of the dissertations under Ausius’ presidency, dissertations by Aurivillius and Stalenus are more ambitious, see Korhonen 2021, 717–724, Korhonen 2010, 103–108.

<sup>80</sup> Twenty years later, in 1708, a Latin dissertation on the same subject under the presidency of Petrus Hahn, Professor of Natural Sciences, was published at Turku (Vall. 1505). The respondent

διατριβὴ ἡ φιλολογικὴ is the “etymology, correct form and meaning” (περὶ τῆς ἐτυμότητος, ὀρθοεπειάς καὶ ἐμφάσεως) of the term *Shiloh* (,שׁלֹה). The main point of the one-page preface (προοίμιον), ending with a letter-ending clausula (ἔρρωσθε), is to emphasise the relevance of the subject. Firstly, the writer – using the first person singular – expresses his concern that there are many wrong opinions on many religious questions, and these views have influenced religious instruction in general. One needs to seek knowledge from the Holy Scriptures, although there are many who want to obscure and hide the truth. The writer wishes to avoid too many overinterpretive twists (στροφαί) so he takes only one term, from the Old Testament,<sup>81</sup> namely the word *Shiloh* from the dying patriarch Jacob’s speech to his son Judah. The writer admits that his dissertation cannot be compared with the many, more profound, studies of this term, although he is convinced that due to its exactness (κατ’ ἀξίαν τῆς ἀπρεκείας) his exercise (τὸ πᾶρον ἄσκημα) is equal to many other studies. This humble kind of wording and the reference to the nature of his treatise, namely that it is an exercise (τὸ ἄσκημα), suggest that the writer of the preface was Aenelius rather than Paulinus.

The Bible passage (Gen. 49:10), which is referred to on the title page in acrophonic numbers, is translated according to the King James Bible as: “The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, / nor a lawgiver from between his feet / until Shiloh come; / and unto Him shall the gathering of the people be”. The context is, as the preface states, the Patriarch Jacob’s deathbed: Jacob is giving a blessing to his sons and offering this prophecy to his son Judah. In the King James’ translation the word *Shiloh* is not translated. In the contemporary Finnish and Swedish translation of the Bible, *Shiloh* was translated as “hero”, that is, “until the hero comes”, an interpretation which was common in Protestant vernacular translations. In the *Septuagint*, *Shiloh* has been translated as τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, “the things stored up for him”, and in the *Vulgata* as “he that is to be sent” (*qui mittendus* est). Nowadays it is translated as “to whom who has the power”.<sup>82</sup>

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was Jonas Collin and the title begins: *Discursus philologicus originem & naturam vocis Shiloh* Gen. 49:10 [...]. It is quite an extensive *pro gradu* dissertation, containing many more references to biblical scholars than the Paulinus – Aenelius dissertation. There is no reference to this previous Greek dissertation on the same subject, which is understandable as the Greek dissertation is very difficult to read. Yet another dissertation on *Shiloh* was published in 1744 under the supervision of Henrik Hassel, Professor of *eloquentia* (*Dissertatio philologica, vaticinium Jacobi de Schiloh* [...]), without any references to the previous two dissertations on the same subject (Vall. 1616).

<sup>81</sup> Lines 11–14: Τοῦ δὲ εὐλαβηθῆναι τὰς τῶν παρερμηνειῶν στροφάς, μιᾶς μόνον, ἐν τῷ νυνί, παλαιᾷς τῆς Διαθήκης λέξεως ἔμφασιν, προεθυμήθη ἐνερευνᾶν.

<sup>82</sup> *Shiloh* is translated as *sankar* in Finnish (cf. the Finnish Bible 1642 and 1685), *Hiälten* in Swedish (in the revised Gustavus Vasa Bible, the so-called Gustavus II Adolphus’ Bible (1618)).

The dissertation is divided into two parts, namely two “problems” (πρόβλημα), which are distributed in chapters marked by “§”. The shorter first part, which comprises six chapters, is a preliminary that presents the different basic etymologies that are suggested by writers of different religious sects, for instance by the Jewish exegetes, the Church Fathers, a few early modern scholars, a Byzantine scholar,<sup>83</sup> and the Catholic exegetists. The first part begins with an assertion of the importance of etymology. This was customary in contemporary dissertations, and in this case, it was the very subject of the dissertation. The interpretation of the word *Shiloh* begins with Jewish conceptions. According to the writer, Jewish teachers derive the word from the verb ‘to be quiet’. On the other hand, “wrong-minded Catholic priests” (οἱ ἱερονόμοι ψευδοκαθολικοί) interpret *Shiloh* to be a proper name that refers to a Jewish king or governor (to David or Jerobeam) or to Nebuchadnezzar. After referring to Εὐγύβινος, that is to the Italian Old Testament scholar and Counter Reformation polemicist Agostino Steuco (1497–1548), the writer (Paulinus or Aenelius) quotes Ὑντλάεος, that is, the Scottish Jesuit James Gordon Huntly (1541–1620). In the third chapter (§3), the writer presents the interpretation that occurs in Jewish preacher literature, especially that presented by Ῥασχί, namely Salomon ben Isaac (1040–1105), the Jewish exegete and commentator on the *Talmud* and the *Tanakh* (the Old Testament). According to the writer, Rashi interpretes *Shiloh* to refer to the Hebrew word, which means δῶρον or χάρισμα, a divinely conferred talent (cfr. Ps. 76:12). In the fourth chapter the writer presents the interpretation which, in his view, eminent scholars approve, namely, that the root for *Shiloh* is the Hebrew word meaning ‘to be in peace’. Therefore, *Shiloh* would mean ‘a bringer of peace’. The writer then announces: “This interpretation is our choice, too” referring by “our” to Protestants in general rather than merely to himself or

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In these seventeenth-century Finnish and Swedish translations, the biblical references are to Matt. 2:6 and John 1:45, which both refer to Jesus. Another modern interpretation is that *Shiloh* refers to a place near Jerusalem mentioned, for instance, in John 9:3. Koehler & Baumgartner 1990, 1370–1371. See also the New International Version: “The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, / nor the ruler’s staff from between his feet / until he to whom it belongs shall come / and the obedience of the nations shall be his.” The website <https://biblehub.com/genesis/49-10.htm> contains King James Bible, the New International Version and modern English translation. I thank Mark Shackleton for mentioning this website. The *Septuagint*, see TGL; the *Vulgata*, see <https://www.bible.com>.

<sup>83</sup> Gennadius, and of the early modern authors “Scaliger”, for instance, is mentioned on p. Cv. “Scaliger” refers to Justin Martyr’s *Apology*. Of the Greek Church Fathers, Athanasius, Eusebius, Ignatius, Irenaeus and Cyrillus are mentioned, and of the Roman ones, Cyprian and Hieronymus.



themselves (Paulinus and Aenelius).<sup>84</sup> However, he continues to present other views. In the fifth chapter, he refers to a passage from *Genesis* (13:3) and to Κίμχι, that is, the Jewish exegete David Qimhi (1160–1235), the writer of a Hebrew dictionary, and presents the interpretation that the root of the word *Shiloh* is the word meaning ‘baby’ or ‘new-born’.<sup>85</sup>

As seen from the previous short presentation of the first part, the writer mentions many scholars without giving any background information on them. As their names are transliterated into Greek, they are quite hard to identify at first. Due to the several quotes in Hebrew one may wonder whether it would have been “easier” to write the dissertation in Hebrew rather than Greek?<sup>86</sup>

In the second part (containing fourteen subchapters), the writer aims at an interpretation (ἐρμηνεία) of the Bible passage. He refutes the other interpretations and argues that the etymology referring to the meaning ‘bringer of peace’ is the most valid. He presents especially the views found in the Targum (the translations of the Old Testament into Aramaic) and in the central text of Rabbinic Judaism, the Talmud (Sanhedrim and others), and in the Masoretic text. In the fourth and fifth chapter, he aims to disprove the interpretation that *Shiloh* refers to King David.<sup>87</sup> He justifies it by four points – the fourth justification is based on the “Chaldean translation”, that is, on the Aramaic Targum, which proves for him that the prophecy concerns the Messiah in particular. The writer concentrates on this in the fifth chapter, where he mentions Targums Onkelos and Jonathan and the prophecy in the Targum of Jerusalem and the Masoretic texts (§ 6). The writer states that the etymological references to ‘a gift’ and ‘a new-born’ are valid by referring to the famous passage in Isaiah that prophesies that the “Prince of Peace” will be born (Is. 9:6).<sup>88</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Paulinus – Aenelius 1688, A4v (§ IIII): Ταύτην γε προαιρούμεθα ἡμεῖς τῶν ἄλλων προκρίνειν, ὥσπερ γνήσιον.

<sup>85</sup> The writer will return to this interpretation in the sixth chapter of part two. In the sixth and last chapter of the first part, he presents the passage in the *Talmud* that supports the “suckling” interpretation: the root of the word *Shiloh* is a word that refers to a small pouch, which in turn refers to a mother’s womb or a baby’s cradle.

<sup>86</sup> Neither Paulinus nor Aenelius wrote occasional texts in Hebrew. This is perhaps the place to admit that I am not a Hebraist so my presentation of this dissertation may include a lot of misunderstandings. However, Professor of Semitic Languages and Cultures Tapani Harviainen read and commented the chapter on the *Shiloh* dissertation, which was included in my dissertation in Finnish (2004).

<sup>87</sup> He tells that he bases his argumentation, his *enthymema* as he puts it, on different Targums in subchapters § 2–4.

<sup>88</sup> Is. 9:6: “For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government will be upon his

In the next chapter, the writer postulates that the last letter of the  $\psi\lambda\eta$  refers to the Virgin Mary (§ 9).<sup>89</sup> He divides the time of Isaiah's prophecy into three epochs: first, from the resurrection of Jesus until Jerome, the composer of the *Vulgate*; from Jerome's time (c. 320–420) to the Talmud, and from the Talmud to the present-day. He admits that not much progress has been made since the Talmud, that is, since the 7th century. In this connection, there is the first reference to the *Septuaginta*, “according to the seventy interpreters” (ἐξ ἑρμηνείας τῶν  $|\Delta|\Delta\Delta$  ἑρμηνευτῶν),<sup>90</sup> where *Shiloh* has been translated as τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ. In the writer's opinion, some of the Church Fathers (Ignatius and Irenaeus) as well as Gennadius interpreted the passage to mean “when comes the one to whom it [the kingdom] is reserved”. The writer states that this is also in accordance with the Targums Onkelos and Jonathan as well as with the prophecy of the Targum of Jerusalem: the passage in the latter refers to the one for whom a kingdom is reserved (§ 5).

At the end of part two (chapters 10–14), the writer aims to prove that this interpretation is according to Protestant Orthodoxy. Jesus, the bringer of peace, has come, and will come, instead of sins, death and the Devil. Chapter twelve (§Δ II.) is short:

[1] Ταῦτ' ἄρα πρὸς ἔτι ἀπολέκτω τῷ δόγματι συντρέχειν [2] ὑφηγείται ἀστρατεία, γενομένου τοῦ  $\psi\lambda\eta$ , ἡ καθολικὴ, πάσας ἀπεχθείας, [3] παρὰ προσδοκίαν, ἀναπαύουσα· ἀπαξάπαντα γὰρ πρὸ [4] τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ, πανταχοῦ γῆς, μόθων τε στροβούντων καὶ δυσμενῶν τῶν [5] ὀχληριῶν θυέλλαις πολυμερῶς ἐδιοχλήθησαν, [6] ὅπουπερ ἂν γε πολέμους ἐξήνεγκε πρὸς ἄλληλα παρορμηθέντα [7] ἔθνη. προσερχομένου δὲ  $\psi\lambda\eta$  ἡγουμένου πάντων τῶν [8] ἐθνῶν, θόρυβοι οἱ πολεμικοὶ ἀνεπαύθησαν μετεπειτά τε εἰρηνευόμενοι [9] καιροὶ ἐγίνοντο, ἐν τούτῳ μὲν δεινῶς, πρὸ τοῦ γε σφαλερωτέrais [10] ἤτταις ἀθλίως ἐταξώθη ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Ἰουδα· οὐ [11] μὲν πω Ῥάβδος ἐξελήφθη κατὰ προφητείαν τοῦ Πατριάρχου, [12] ὅστις Θεοφορούμενος, ταύτην τὴν κατάστασιν ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς [13] προεῖδον· οὐ χάριν καὶ τοιοῦτον ὄνομα ἐτέθη στρατηγῷ τῷ παντοκράτορι

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shoulders: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace.” See <https://biblehub.com/isaiah/9-6.htm>, for the different translations of this passage.

<sup>89</sup> This is argued by a series of pieces of evidence: firstly, because David was the first one of the dynasty, secondly, because of him, the kingdom was divided into two, thirdly, Jacob's prophecy refers to a mastery or dynasty bigger than one kingdom, and fourthly, if the prophecy had concerned David, the prophecies would have already been actualised and come true a long time ago.

<sup>90</sup> B2v and C1v. The line over  $|\Delta|$  (for the number 50 with acrophonic numbers) is missing in the passage.

οἷόν τε χρόνον τὸν ἀφωρισμένον μηνύσοι καὶ [14] τὰ ἐνδεχόμενα ἐν αὐτῷ.<sup>91</sup>

5 ἐδιωχλήθησαν ed. 6 ὅπυπεράν ed. 9 προτοῦ ed. 11 ἐξελεύθη ed. 12  
Θεοφερούμενος ed. 13 ὅτου χάριν ed | ἐτίθη ed.

§ 12. When *Shiloh* has arrived, a common peace abides, which will end all enmities against all expectancy, which fits with the chosen dogma; before his coming, storms of confusing struggles and hostile [5] disorders will arise everywhere on the earth, when all nations will begin wars attacking each other. But when *Shiloh*, the leader of all nations, has come, all the riots of war will end, and the era of peace will come; before that the disastrous [10] defeats will tax especially the kingdom of Judah. The patriarch inspired by God saw this fate for the kingdom of the Jews; according to his prophecy, the sceptre will, however, not be taken away from the kingdom; this name, *Shiloh*, will be given to the Almighty warlord, because the promises, which it includes, will be remembered even in the times of dispersion.

The future return of Jesus – his second coming or advent, his *παρουσία* (l. 4) – will thus begin the era of peace for all nations; the epithet *Shiloh* reminds us of this. The tone of this passage is *chiliastic*, in accordance with the religious doctrine of a thousand-year period of peace and prosperity. At the end, before an invocation in Hebrew, the writer uses the first person singular:

Εὐγγωμονεῖτε οὖν ἀναγνώσται ἀμυχροί, τά τε καθ' ὅσον παρηγμένα ἐπὶ  
τὸ εὐσεβέστερον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ἐμοί, τῷ περὶ ἡμᾶς σπουδάζοντι κατὰ  
προθυμώτερον, εὐνοϊκῶς ἔσχετε.

Thus, sincere recipients, who have attended to this most pious topic, handled with quite disregard, please receive benevolently [what I have said] and forgive me, who has most enthusiastically researched [the topic] for your benefit.<sup>92</sup>

The writer's *modestia* (the treatment has not matched the high topic) is combined with an assurance that the thesis is, however, argued for the benefit of the academic community. Simon Paulinus, although he was quite a prolific writer in Greek and supervisor of dissertations on Greek philology (albeit mainly on New Testament Greek) was first and foremost a Hebraist, whose most lasting academic achievement, a Hebrew grammar, was posthumously published in

<sup>91</sup> D1v–D2. Line numbers are added starting from the beginning of the chapter.

<sup>92</sup> 'Recipients': ἀναγνώστης 'reader' (LSJ) but also 'commentator' in the *Septuagint* (see DGE s.v.).

1692.<sup>93</sup> Therefore, it seems plausible that the content of this elaborate – although surely not original – presentation of the interpretation of the term *Shiloh* was composed by him. The question is, does he also write it in Greek or is that done together with the respondent Aenelius?

Aenelius enrolled at the Royal Academy of Turku in 1679. He wrote nine Greek occasional texts during 1684–1688, the first two of them in prose, after which he favoured elegiac metre. Aenelius wrote Greek especially during the years when he was awarded Royal scholarships (1684–1688). His first occasional text in Greek was a prose congratulation to Simon Paulinus for his inauguration as Professor of Greek and Hebrew in 1684. In the following year, Aenelius composed a prose congratulation to his fellow student Josephus Lauraeus for a dissertation on jurisprudence. It is difficult to consider whether these two prose congratulations are reminiscent stylistically of the *Shiloh* dissertation. In the first (29 lines), Aenelius begins quite fluently when referring to Plato's concept of rulers first needing to rule themselves (*Rep.* 9.580). After that, the text then begins to become somewhat muddled.<sup>94</sup> The second prose congratulation (31 lines) is more readable, beginning with a statement that human beings are the most perfect of all created beings, which is proved by observing both “the microcosmos and the macrocosmos”. At the macrocosmic level, there is order and holy law, which is not a “soulless” law inscribed in stone, but an eternal law carved in the immortal (that is, the rational) mind. The eulogy of the respondent then takes up the major part of the congratulation.<sup>95</sup>

Aenelius had already taken his degree, in July 1688, when he defended the Greek dissertation in August/September 1688. Furthermore, in 1687 he had been appointed *conrector* and *director cantus* at the school in his hometown of Vaasa on the northern-western coast of Finland.<sup>96</sup> He has defended his *pro exercitio*

<sup>93</sup> On Paulinus as Hebraist, Harviainen 1993.

<sup>94</sup> Mel. 959. See above Chapter 4.4 (*Exordium*). Aenelius does however allude to dogmatic schisms which, he writes, a good teacher like Paulinus (as Professor of Greek and Hebrew) could alleviate.

<sup>95</sup> Vall. 2192 (in 1685). In 1686, Aenelius composed his first Greek congratulation in verse (4 hex), a congratulation for a dissertation (Vall. 4201), after which he wrote all his other congratulations in verse. In the same year, his congratulation (44 eleg) for an oration (SKB 2017) was published, and in the next, in 1687, a long congratulation for an installation (42 eleg, Mel. 1087), a congratulation (8 eleg) for a dissertation (Vall. 49) and a funerary poem (28 eleg) (Mel. 1067). In October of the same year as the Greek dissertation with its Greek dedication (44 eleg), Aenelius composed a Greek congratulations for a dissertation (12 eleg) in 1688 (Vall. 928).

<sup>96</sup> Vall. 4235. The serial dissertations entitled *Disquisitione practicae* was supervised by Andreas Wanochius. Aenelius' father was a merchant, so that becoming a principal was for Aenelius an ascent in social (if not necessary in monetary) status. Student register *s.v.*

dissertation on “ethical virtue, especially according to Aristotle” in 1687, just before his appointment as vice-principal of the Vaasa school.<sup>97</sup> However, despite his profession in Vaasa, he still enjoyed a scholarship in Turku. He defended his *pro gradu* dissertation on 20 July – the subject was metaphysical (*de existentia rerum*)<sup>98</sup> – and he took his matriculation six days later on July 26, 1688. Aenelius’ Latin dissertations show that he was interested in philosophy (metaphysics and ethics) not in Hebrew philology.

The significance of this achievement – a Greek dissertation disputed in autumn 1688 *after* his matriculation – on Aenelius’ career is therefore quite unclear. Did Aenelius plan a Greek lectureship somewhere? Or perhaps it was Professor Paulinus’ aspiration that the Royal Academy of Turku should publish at least one Greek dissertation (and Julinus’ Greek preface for a dissertation in Latin was not enough)? At least one thing is clear, Aenelius did write the long Greek dedication.

### A Greek Dedication by the Respondent

Aenelius’ Greek dedication (signed ταπεινότης θεραπευτῆς Γεώργιος Αἰνῆλιος) is addressed to the Chancellor of the Royal Academy of Turku, Count Gustaf Adolf De la Gardie. It comprises three pages: on the first page, Aenelius lists De la Gardie’s honorary titles (e.g., the term ‘Chancellor’ is expressed as Ἀκαδημίας ἐν Ἀβόᾳ θεσμοθέτης) including the names of the Count’s manors and lands, which in Latin or Greek texts are often in the vernacular (here in Swedish). The titles are displayed ornamentally on different lines, reflecting the lapidary style.<sup>99</sup> At the end, the wishes for a prosperous life have a personal pronoun: Ἐξάρχω μου πραοτάτῳ καὶ ἐπικρατίστῳ εὖχομαι / Γῆρας Ὀλβιον καὶ Αἶδιον (I wish to my Chancellor, the gentlest and greatest, a happy and long old age) – ἔξαρχος thus refers to the Chancellor in this passage.<sup>100</sup> The same kind of ornamentally arranged prose dedications in Greek ending with a well-wishing line occur in Greek dedications to Queen Christina.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>97</sup> *Virtutis moralis definitionem, praesertim Aristotelicam*. Vall. 4235.

<sup>98</sup> Vall. 4055 (*praeses*: Simon Tälpo). It contains references, for instance, to Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*.

<sup>99</sup> The first name of the Count (in the dative) is transliterated as ΓΟΥΣΤΑΟΥΩ, but on the next page (in the dedicatory poem) it is ΓΟΥΣΤΑΥΩ (v. 13).

<sup>100</sup> On the same page, Aenelius also uses the expression προστάτης τῆς Ἀκαδημίας ἐν Ἀβόᾳ.

<sup>101</sup> In Gezelius Sr.’s Greek-Latin Lexicon (1649), and the Greek dedications by the respondents in two Greek dissertations: Ausius – Rezander (Uppsala 1648) and Gezelius Sr. – Emporagrius

Aenelius' dedication also contains, however, a long Greek dedicatory poem (44 eleg). A year before this dissertation, in 1687, De la Gardie was appointed Chancellor and was presented with a Greek congratulation (20 hex, titled as Σύνχαρμα) written by Johannes Gezelius Sr.<sup>102</sup> Aenelius' Greek dedication was thus the second Greek text addressed to Count De la Gardie after his nomination as Chancellor.

Following the custom of dedications, especially to high-ranking persons, Aenelius uses several times the *modestia* topos, beginning with his boldness in giving this publication to the Count. Aenelius mentions that "I dare to give this thesis which is translated according to custom of philhellenes" (τολμῶ ἔκθεσιν ἐκδιδόναι / τὴν μεταφρασθεῖσαν, τὸ φιλελλήνων καθ' εἰωθός, vv. 16–17). This could refer to the fact that the text is translated from Latin into Greek or paraphrased, i.e. not given word for word, into Greek. Basically, in ancient Greek, μεταφράζειν meant paraphrasing and translating, later, in Christian Greek, it also meant interpreting, but in the early modern context meanings could be mixed.<sup>103</sup> There is then a possibility that Professor Paulinus had written the text in Latin and only after it was finished, Aenelius transposed (μεταφράζειν) it into Greek. That is, Aenelius did not participate in the interpretation of the term *Shiloh*.

A few lines later, Aenelius addresses the Count expressing again his anxiety at being overbold in dedicating his thesis to the Chancellor (vv. 20–21), and uses the *proskynema* formula, that he "bows down in front of the glorious De la Gardie" (προσκυνέειν με / Τῷ ΔΕΛΑΓΑΡΔΙΗ τῷ μέγα λαμπροτάτῳ, vv. 35–36). Aenelius also mentions the subject of the dissertation, that the text passage is from the Old Testament (ἐκ παλαιοῦ λογίου, v. 18), and praises the Count's kindness by stating that De la Gardie has helped poor people and has been favourable to supplicants (ἰκετεύοντες, vv. 31–34). As mentioned earlier, letters of application for scholarships used the *proskynema* formula and appealed to the patron's 'obligation' to be kind to supplicants. The post of Chancellor at

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(Stockholm 1650). Emporagrius' dedication (1650) ends nearly the same way (Εὐχομαι Εὖ Πράττειν, Εἰρήνην, Ἥσυχίην Τε) as the heading of the dedication in Gezelius Sr.'s Greek-Latin Lexicon (1649): εἰρήνην καὶ ἥσυχον [...] κατάστασιν ταπεινότητος εὐχομαι).

<sup>102</sup> Mel. 1039. The main text of this publication is Daniel Achrelius' Latin oration, of which Gezelius Sr.'s Σύνχαρμα fills the empty space on the last page. Only the name "Johannes Gezelius" is indicated without an official title but most probably the writer was Johannes Gezelius Sr. and not his son, Johannes Gezelius Jr. For discussion on the authorship, see Korhonen 2004, 270–271.

<sup>103</sup> LSJ *s.v.* 'to paraphrase', 'to translate', Lampe *s.v.* 'to paraphrase', 'to interpret'. Henricus Stephanus (Estienne) used the verb in the title of his Psalm paraphrases (*s.a.*, *s.l.*): Ψαλμοί τινες ὑπὸ διαφορῶν εἰς ἑλληνικὰ μέτρα νεωστὶ μεταφράσθεντες. See also Vorobyev 2020, 7.

Turku was mostly an honorary office, whereas the Vice-Chancellor attended the meetings of the Consistorium. However, the Chancellor was expected to support or at least oversee the university's finances. Count Gustaf De la Gardie's family was rich, although it lost much of its property in the reduction of estates initiated by Charles XI during the 1670s.<sup>104</sup> The Count, however, probably funded or helped to fund the printing of this unique publication at the Royal Academy of Turku.

### Greek Congratulations by Two Professors

Both professors, Simon Paulinus and Petrus Laurbecchius, refer to Aenelius' profession in the headings of their Greek congratulations: Laurbecchius as ἐν τῷ φροντιστηρίῳ τῶν Οὐαζέων ὑποδιδάσκαλος (associate teacher at the school of the city of Vaasa)<sup>105</sup> and Paulinus as παιδευτηρίου τῶν Οὐασένσεων παιδοδιδάσκαλος (teacher of children at the school of the people of Vaasa). It is unusual that Aenelius' dedicatee, the Chancellor, Count Gustaf De la Gardie, is also mentioned in the congratulatory poem (14 hex) by the *praeses*, Simon Paulinus.<sup>106</sup>

Simon Paulinus' congratulation to Aenelius contains, typically for Paulinus, a long heading which begins with praising the respondent among other things for "this persistent achievement",<sup>107</sup> διατριβὴν ἑλληνιστὶ ἐβραϊκὴν, περὶ τῆς τοῦ ψᾶ

<sup>104</sup> The Privy Councillor, Count Gustaf Adolf De la Gardie (1647–1695) was the son of the famous Magnus De la Gardie, who held some of the most eminent offices in Sweden and whose wife, Gustaf Adolf's mother, Maria Euphrosyne, was the sister of Charles Gustavus of Sweden, who became king after Queen Christina's abdication. Charles XI had ordered a reduction of land so that the crown recovered the ownership of lands lent or given away to nobilities.

<sup>105</sup> Φροντιστήριον: the meaning of 'school' in the Greek dissertation dedicated to Queen Christina (Ausius – Rezander 1648, thesis 11). As is well known, φροντιστήριον was Aristophanes' comical neologism for the school of Socrates in *The Clouds*. However, it denotes 'school' already during the Byzantine times, see Trapp, φροντιστηρίτζιον. It refers to language preparatory schools in modern Greek.

<sup>106</sup> It is Paulinus' longest occasional *poem* in Greek. Paulinus wrote 23 Greek occasional texts, 16 are in hexameter, two in elegiac meter, and five in prose. HUMGRAECA Database (Korhonen). Most of them were composed when he was Professor of Greek and Hebrew (1684–1691). Besides congratulations for dissertations, he composed one congratulation for an oration, three funerary poems, and one congratulation for an installation.

<sup>107</sup> For the phrase "this work of persistency", Paulinus uses the Aristotelian philosophical word ἐντελέχεια in his heading, characterising the dissertation but confusing it with ἐνδελέχεια. Ἐντελέχεια was used in its philosophical sense (full, complete reality, cf. Arist. *de An.* 412a27) by Ericus Falander in his congratulation for a dissertation to David Lund in 1681. Vall. 986.

ὀρθοεπείας καὶ ἐμφάσεως. Paulinus mentions the conclusion of the dissertation, namely that the word *Shiloh* in the passage from Genesis refers to Jesus and to his attribute as the Prince of Peace (ἄρχων εἰρήνης, vv. 4–5). He praises the dedicatee, Count De la Gardie by asking “the Prince of Peace” to be a protector and adviser for Chancellor De la Gardie, who supports the instruction of the Holy Languages at Turku and “in the land of the North Wind” (ἐν γῇ βορρῶ, 13). This may imply that De la Gardie had financed the printing of the dissertation.

Paulinus thus seems to connect the characteristics of three subgenres: the heading of his poem congratulates the respondent Aenelius, although the poem itself is an invocation to Christ and a dedication to the Count De La Gardie. Paulinus begins, however, with a lament for the “desert and darkness” (Φεῦ! ἔρεβός τε ζόφος, ὦ μοι!, v. 1), which prevail, because there is no “security” pertaining to the Hebrew and Greek languages, which also concerns the epithet of Jesus, ὡς (v. 3). That is, there is no consensus concerning the interpretation of many passages, including that of *Shiloh*, in the Bible. After mentioning several other epithets of Jesus (Παρακλήτωρ, Σωτήρ, Καρδιογνώστης), Paulinus invokes Jesus – ὦ ὡς ἡμῶν! (O, our *Shiloh*!, v. 8) – and prays that Jesus always remains a protector to Gustaf Adolf De la Gardie (v. 8), who had been put on the height of Finland’s Athens (εἰς Ἀθηνῶν τῆς Φινλανδίας ἄκραν, v. 11).

Another professor congratulant was the long-time Professor of Poetry, Petrus Laurbecchius, who had, however, become Professor of Theology a few years before the publication of this dissertation. As Professor of Poetry, Laurbecchius supervised the most notable Greek philological project in seventeenth-century Turku, an edition of the first chapter of Aristotle’s *Poetics* with a Latin translation and commentary as a dissertation in series between 1673–1676. Furthermore, Laurbecchius wrote four occasional poems in Greek at Turku, 1674–1677 during his professorship of poetry,<sup>108</sup> and after a gap of nearly ten years, this one in the Greek dissertation. It was certainly a good reason to return to writing in Greek. His professorship in theology, however, shows in the pious content of the poem compared with his four other Greek poems.<sup>109</sup>

Laurbecchius’ congratulation contains an elaborate heading and the signature is in Greek. The subject of the dissertation is mentioned in the heading: περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματι ΣΙΛΩ [...] συγγεγραμμένην καὶ δημοσίᾳ τῶν φιλεβραίων τε

<sup>108</sup> Laurbecchius wrote one wedding congratulation in 1674 (12 eleg) and four congratulations for dissertations: two in 1674 (8 saph. and 16 adoneus), one in 1677 (8 eleg), and the one for the Greek dissertation in 1688 (18 hex). Mel. 624, Vall. 727, Vall. 2153, Vall. 3799, Vall. 2751.

<sup>109</sup> Later Laurbecchius was appointed Bishop of Viipuri, an office to which also belonged to serve as the Ephorus of the Viipuri Gymnasium.



καὶ φιλελλήνων ἐν ἑλληνίδι διαλέκτῳ παρεσταμένην (On the term *Shiloh* [...] written and prepared in Greek for the public of philhebraists and philhellenes). Although the verb συγγράφειν may refer to the co-writing of the dissertation (with the prefix συν) by both the *praeses* and the respondent,<sup>110</sup> Laurbecchius may refer here to the writer (Paulinus) and the translator into Greek (Aenelius).

Laurbecchius begins his poem by “an old saying by sacred people”<sup>111</sup> that if you know Christ well but other things not so well, you are still wise; if you do not know Christ, although you know other things, you are not sane (vv. 1–3). Laurbecchius addresses Aenelius as “you, Aenelius, the dearest friend of the Muses, who observes the meaning of the name of Christ”,<sup>112</sup> and specifies the subject of the dissertation as a “glorious work on the name *Shiloh*, by which men inspired by God called Him” (vv. 12–13).<sup>113</sup> Laurbecchius refers to Aenelius’ earlier Greek writings by mentioning that “many times you have shown that you have learnt Greek”<sup>114</sup> and that Aenelius “is also capable and able to speak (λαλεῖν) as a philhebraist here” (v. 17),<sup>115</sup> which may refer to the oral disputation in which – due to the several Hebrew terms and phrases – the respondent had to know Hebrew in order to pronounce words and phrases correctly. It was Aenelius’ knowledge of both Greek and Hebrew which was displayed in the oral disputation.

### Greek Congratulations by Two Fellow Students

Christophorus Alanus and Ericus Indrenius were both Aenelius’ compatriots, coming from southern Finland and belonging to the same student association. In May 1687 Alanus disputed on the subject of Hebrew philology – on diacritical marks in the Hebrew Bible – under Simon Paulinus’ presidency who also wrote a Greek congratulatory poem (6 hex) to him. Although it was Alanus’ first, *pro*

<sup>110</sup> The verb συγγράφειν denoted writing especially of official documents in ancient Greek. In 1679, Sveno Dimbodius uses the same expression in his signature: Ταῦτα τῷ τῆς Συζήτεως ταύτης Κυρίῳ συγγραφῇ [...] (This to the writer of this dissertation).

<sup>111</sup> Laurbecchius, v.1: Ῥῆμα μὲν ἐστὶν βροτῶν ζαθέων, καὶ αὐτὸ παλαιόν.

<sup>112</sup> Laurbecchius, vv. 7–8: Τοῦτο σκοπεῖς, μουσῶν Αἰνήλιε φίλταθ’ ἑταῖρε, / τοῦνομα ἐκφράζων χριστοῦ.

<sup>113</sup> Laurbecchius, vv. 8–9: Τοῦνομα ἐκφράζων χριστοῦ, σωτήρος ἀγλαοῦ / πάντων ἀνθρώπων; vv. 12–13: εἴτα θεοπνεύστοις ΣΙΛΩ ἀνδράσιν ἐκλήθη, / τοῦνεκ’ ἀγακλυτὸν ἔργον ἄγεις, ὅτι οὔνομα τοῦτο.

<sup>114</sup> Verse 16: Πολλάκις ἐνδείξας ἑλληνικά θ’ ὅτ’ ἐμάθησας.

<sup>115</sup> Laurbecchius, v. 17: ἐσσι καὶ ἔνθα σοφὸς δυνατός τε λαλεῖν φιλεβραῖος.

*exercitio* dissertation, he was also the author: he signed one of his dedications as *respondent et auctor*. One of the three variants of the dissertation was dedicated to Count Gustaf Adolf De la Gardie.<sup>116</sup> We might ask why did Alanus not act as a respondent for the dissertation on *Shiloh* in the following year. He at least had shown interest in Hebrew philology and, moreover, he wrote an occasional poem in Hebrew in 1689.<sup>117</sup> Alanus' *pro gradu* dissertation, disputed on March 1688, was, however, on a philosophical subject.<sup>118</sup> Besides, Alanus wrote fewer Greek occasional texts compared to Aenelius' nine, namely only three: a prose congratulation for a dissertation (30 lines) in 1685, this congratulation (12 eleg) in 1688, and a Greek (20 eleg) and Hebrew poems to Johannes Gezelius Jr. for his nomination as Bishop of Turku in 1689.<sup>119</sup>

Alanus' congratulatory poem praises Aenelius and, like Professor Paulinus' poem, mentions the "conclusion" of the dissertation that states that *Shiloh* means the bringer of peace.<sup>120</sup> Alanus makes two anagrams of the respondent's name ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΑΙΝΗΛΙΟΣ. Alanus works the first one, ΓΑΙΩΝ ΕΡΓΟΙΣ ΗΛΙΟΣ, into a metaphor of the sun: it is mightier than any other power (ἔργον) on earth and it guides other stars like a king (vv. 1–2). The sun is then equated with a bridegroom – as a reference to Psalm 19:5 and as a symbol of Christ. From his chamber, the bridegroom looks after everyone in a remote country (i.e., Finland, ἔσχατα γαίας, v. 3, cf. Hes. *Th.* 731) and shines where darkness prevails (vv. 3–4).<sup>121</sup> In the same way, *Shiloh* is the mightiest creator of justice and peace (εἰρήνη, δικαιοσύνη, vv. 5–6). Another anagram, ΗΛΙΟΣ ΙΝ' ΑΕΙ ΓΟΡΓΟΣ is constructed to characterise Aenelius as "spirited": ὅτι ΓΟΡΓΟΣ ΑΕΙ σύ / ὧς ἄδδην φανερώς γράμματα ταῦτα λαλεῖ (you are always spirited, which this writing clearly proves, vv. 9–10). In the end, Alanus compares Aenelius to the

<sup>116</sup> *Diss. Hebraeo-philologica [...] sive consecutionem et ministerium sensu accentuum Sacri Codicis hebraei idealiter exhibens* (Vall. 2741).

<sup>117</sup> Mel. 1148. See Harviainen 2003, 77.

<sup>118</sup> *De statu rerum universali*. Vall. 4054. Alanus was first appointed Lector at the Cathedral school in Turku, then Rector at the Trivial School in Oulu and ended as Vicar in the peculiarly named town of *Ii* (northern Finland).

<sup>119</sup> Vall. 3828, Vall. 2751 and Mel. 1148. In the Greek text for inuaguration (Mel. 1148), Alanus describes how it is possible to discern good order in a microcosmos (such as a human body) as well as in the macrocosmos. Good leadership is an expression of good order in which the lower part does not envy the upper part. Alanus' Hebrew poem precedes the Greek one.

<sup>120</sup> There is also a reference to Jakob's prediction: an "honourable plan uttered by father Jakob" (v. 7).

<sup>121</sup> Ps 19:5: "It [the sun as the glory of God] is like a bridegroom coming out of his chamber."

sun (ΗΛΙΟΣ) among “other planets” and states that he is among the chorus of Wisdom.

The other student congratulant, Ericus Indrenius, eulogises Aenelius without restraint, and concentrates on the language, Greek. Indrenius himself wrote three Greek occasional texts, all in prose, two of them to his elder half-brother Andreas.<sup>122</sup> Before the congratulation presented here, he congratulated Andreas (29 lines) for a dissertation on gratitude in May 1688.<sup>123</sup> In the following year, Indrenius wrote a lapidary style wedding congratulation in Greek (33 lines) to Andreas, as presented above.<sup>124</sup>

Indrenius' congratulation to Aenelius is an *epistula gratulatoria* with the letter-ending clausula: ἔρρωσθε. It had an unusually humanistic tone in the context of the Turku Greek Corpus, which fitted the unusualness of publishing a dissertation in Greek in Finland. It begins with a declaration concerning the usefulness of the Greek language. Like Alanus, who refers to Aenelius' fearlessness in using Greek, Indrenius praises Aenelius' courage: ἀνδρικῶς αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐλληνίζεις, but goes even further and hyperbolically praises Aenelius' style by listing the Greek writers from Homer to Xenophon which Aenelius had imitated (μιμεῖσθαι):

Ὅση ὄντως ἐλληνικῆς τῆς γλώσσης ἡ ὠφέλεια, ὅση τε ἐξοχῇ παντελῶς ἀδύνατος τοῦ παραφράζειν ὑπάρχω. Διὰ τοῦτο, μηδεὶς πρωτεύει ῥωμαϊκῆς τῆς γλώττης, εἰ μὴ ὁμοῦ, τῇ ἐλληνικῇ [5] ἐπιμελῶς σπουδάζῃ· ὅθεν, τοῦτο τὸ πολυθρύλλητον· Ὅστις οὐχ ἐλληνικὰ διδάγματα, ὁμοῦ συζεύγνυσι τοῖς ῥωμαϊκοῖς, ἐκεῖνος ἄραγε, τοῦ πεπαιδευμένου ὀνόματος πάντως ἀνάξιος.<sup>125</sup>  
οὐκ ἀφορῶ δὲν τρόπον, ὁ Θεολόγος τολμᾷ, ἐκ τοῦ μουσείου αὐτοῦ, ταύτην τὴν

<sup>122</sup> Born in Pori, north of Turku, and a son of a merchant, Ericus Indrenius attended the reputable Pori Trivial School before he enrolled at the university in 1685. He had thus studied three years before writing his first Greek prose congratulations in 1688. He was awarded scholarships between 1688–1690, concluding his studies in 1694 and later becoming a vicar in Messukylä. He died a prisoner in the Great Northern War. In his dissertations on philosophical subjects (a *pro exercitio*, supervised by David Lund in 1690 and a *pro gradu* by Simon Tälpo in 1693) he did not refer to Greek authors.

<sup>123</sup> Vall. 2744. The congratulation (29 lines) begins with a discussion on virtue (only virtue is something that endures) and after shortly presenting the subject of the dissertation it moves to Christian issues: the Holy Scriptures praise gratitude and beneficent people receive (spiritual) gifts. Ericus states that even nature hates ungrateful people as it does monsters (using a curious word: τερατωδεύματα). Korhonen 2004, 316–317.

<sup>124</sup> Mel. 1156, see above Chapter 4.5 (“Tautogrammatical Poems and Other Manneristic Devices”).

<sup>125</sup> Cfr. the Greek translation of Alexander Hegius' lines *Qui Graece nescit, nescit quoque doctus haberi*, above the Introduction, p. 6.

διάλεκτον, ἐκβάλλειν, ἐπειδὴ, αὐτὴ ἡ νέα διαθήκη, αὐθεντικῶς καὶ ἑλληνιστὶ ἀναγεγραμμένη ὑπάρχει. Καθὼς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐτέρας [10] τῆς χειρὸς ἑαυτοῦ οὐ μὴ δύναται ἀποστερεῖσθαι, ὡσαύτως, αὐτοὶ οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ποιηταί, ῥήτορες, ἱστορικοὶ τε, τὰ καθήκοντα αὐτῶν, μηδαμῶς οἶδασιν ἀποτελεῖν, εἰ ταύτης τῆς γλώττης ὑστερῶνται. πανταχοῦ οὖν σαντοῦ ἐπιμέλειά ἐστιν ἄξια μεγάλου ἐπαίνου, ὁ λαμπρότατος κυρ. ἀποκριθεὶς, ὅστις ἀνδρικῶς, αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, [15] ἑλληνίζει, ὥσπερ παροῦσα ἡ διατριβὴ ἢ πεπαιδευμένη φανερώς φανεροῖ, περὶ ἥνπερ συγγέγραφας κομψῇ τῇ μεθόδῳ ἐφ' ἥντινα, νῦν τὴν τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους διαφανὴ λέξιν, νῦν τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐξοχὴν, ἄρτι τοῦ Δημοσθένους αὐγὴν, ἄρτι τοῦ Ἡροδότου ἐκλογὴν, ἐνίοτε τοῦ τὸ ἔκδηλον Ξενοφώντος, ἐνίοτε τοῦ Θουκυδίδου βραχύτητα, [20] νῦν τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους σεμνότητα, νῦν τοῦ Ὀμήρου πολυμυξίαν, νῦν τῶν Ἡσιόδου, νῦν Σοφοκλέους, ἐτέρων τε ἀγχίνοιαν, ἀγχινόως μεμίμησαι! ἔρρωσο. // E. INΔΡΗΝΙΟΣ.

I am not, of course, the right person to discuss how useful and excellent a language Greek is. However, nobody can be skilful in Latin if one does not [5] work hard with Greek. It is well-known that if one does not connect one's knowledge of Greek with Latin, one cannot be called an educated man. Nor do I comprehend why any theologian would wish to eject Greek from his *Museum* – the original New Testament was of course written in true Greek. As one man does not let another cut off [10] his hands, so philosophers, poets, rhetoricians and historians have never been known make valid judgements if they lack this language. Therefore, your learnedness calls for great praise, you, the glorious respondent, who with courage [15] wrote (ἑλληνίζειν) this Greek thesis as this learned dissertation clearly shows, which you have written (συγγράφειν) on the subject of *Shiloh*, very cleverly imitating Isocrates' splendid style, Plato's magnificent style, Demosthenes' marvellous style in an exact way and Herodotus' choice of words, sometimes Xenophon's clarity, sometimes Thucydides' brevity, [20] sometimes Aristotle's dignity, sometimes Homer's versatility, and cleverly Hesiod's, Sophocles' and others' wit. Farewell. / E. INDRENIUS<sup>126</sup>

Indrenius' congratulation is syllogistic in structure: the eulogy in Greek functions as a premise explaining why Aenelius is to be praised, namely because the dissertation is in Greek. The verbs Indrenius uses here do not solve the problem whether Aenelius was the co-writer of the dissertation or not. The verb ἑλληνίζειν (in the present tense, l. 15) and συγγράφειν (in the perfect tense, l.

<sup>126</sup> Paulinus – Aenelius 1688, D3v (Variant A). Indrenius' congratulation is without heading. Indrenius has Σοφοκλοῦς instead of Σοφοκλέους.

16.) might both refer to either writing or speaking.<sup>127</sup> However, it is plausible that the former refers to the disputation and the latter to the written dissertation. Does this congratulation, which bears no reference to the subject matter, then suggest that the thesis has been jointly written (συγγράφειν) in Latin and that Aenelius had then the “courage” to translate (ἐλληνίζειν) the thesis into Greek? Or, could the verbs in this context refer only to the fact that Aenelius read the Greek dissertation (ἐλληνίζειν) in the disputation, which he had translated into Greek himself or together with Paulinus?

Although we may find some of the characterisations quite odd – how, for example, is it possible to speak of Thucydides’ brevity (βραχύτης) or Aristotle’s stylistic dignity (σεμνότης) – Indrenius’ text concentrates mostly on Greek as a classical language. It is an expression of the “glory of Greece”: a eulogy of Greek language and literature celebrating the longest Greek prose treatise published at Turku.

### Why in Greek?

All in all, the writer of the dissertation presents and seeks support especially from Jewish exegesis (namely the Talmud, the Targum and the Masora) and Jewish exegetes, David Kimhi and Salomon ben Isaac. He cites the Bible, especially in the eighth chapter of the second part. He mentions the Apostolic and Church Fathers, one early Byzantine scholar, as well as early modern scholars, like the Counter Reformation polemicist Agostino Steuco. Except for the Bible, the writer’s quotes and references are mostly given without exact *loci*.

However, compared with the Greek dissertation supervised by Gezelius Sr. in Tartu (1644–1649) and most dissertations by Ausius in Uppsala (1648–1656), this dissertation is more specific with its references – of course the subject is more specific too. Georgius Aenelius’ Latin dissertations show no interest in Hebrew philology but instead focus on metaphysics and ethics. Therefore, it is plausible that the main content, if not all, of the dissertation is created by the *praeses*, Professor and eminent Hebraist Simon Paulinus, and the thesis was then only translated into Greek by Aenelius who was able to cooperate in translating. However, Aenelius, then already matriculated and teaching in the School of Vaasa, might write the Greek title page, the dedication, and perhaps even the preface

<sup>127</sup> During the Classical period, ἐλληνίζειν refers to speaking Greek (Pl. *Men.* 82b etc.), whereas for Aristotle and many later writers, ἐλληνίζειν refers to writing (pure) Greek (Arist. *Rh.* 1407a19; SE *M.1.186*). LSJ *s.v.*

(using the first person singular). Besides helping to translate the text, he then defended the Greek dissertation with its Hebrew phrases and quotes. This meant that he needed to acquaint himself with the subject of the dissertation.<sup>128</sup>

An inspiration for writing a dissertation in Greek came naturally from the Greek dissertations published at Tartu and Uppsala. The supervisor of Tartu Greek dissertations, Gezelius Sr., had taken care of Greek studies by publishing Greek textbooks first at Tartu and then in his own printing house in Turku. He was Vice-Chancellor of the university during his bishopric until his death (1664–1690). Because Gezelius' name is not mentioned in any way in this Greek dissertation, he was not the initiator or instigator for the language of this work. However, one of Gezelius' three Greek congratulations composed in Turku was written to Count Gustaf Adolf De la Gardie for his inauguration as Chancellor of the Royal Academy of Turku in 1687.<sup>129</sup> A year later, this Greek dissertation was dedicated to the Count. The additional value of writing – or translating – the dissertation into Greek was a special token of honour to the new Chancellor. It also supported the image of the Royal Academy of Turku as a humanistic university, a university where learned men were able to cultivate Greek and write in Greek. Although its Greek cannot be compared with Gezelius' simple but quite effortless Greek and the more demanding Greek in the dissertations on Aristotelian topics presided over by Ausius, it is a sign that Greek had reached “the ends of the earth” (ἔσχατα γαῖας in Alanus' congratulatory poem to Aenelius). The impressive list of authors in Ericus Indrenius' congratulation, beginning with Homer, supports this image of Greek Muses finding a home in the far north. So too does Johan Paulinus' Greek poems, the subject of the next Chapter, especially his *Finlandia* with its eulogy to both Finnish peasants and academics.

### 5.3 Johan Paulinus' Development as a Greek Poet

Simon Paulinus' younger brother, Johan Paulinus, has a special place in the Finnish corpus of Humanist Greek poems. Whereas most of the texts have little or no poetic value, Paulinus' *Magnus Principatus Finlandia* (1678, the reprint of 1694 is entitled *Finlandia*) can be compared with the best achievements by continental

<sup>128</sup> Another possibility is that the Greek dissertation was merely delivered and read on the day of the disputation, but was not disputed and discussed on that occasion.

<sup>129</sup> SKB 114. Count Gustaf's father, Magnus De la Gardie had been Gezelius Sr.'s patron. Laasonen 1977, 13.

poets writing in Greek and classed among the very best of Humanist Greek poems published in the Swedish Empire. Besides *Finlandia*, Paulinus wrote only four occasional poems in Greek, all when he studied at Turku. Paulinus (ennobled as Lillienstedt) also belongs to the history of literature in Finland and Sweden on account of his Swedish and Latin poems, 18 and 15 poems respectively, most of them epideictic poems. His Latin *œuvre* contains one oration in verses (1674), whereas his most valued Swedish poems are the three-part *Messiad* in alexandrines (written around 1680 and printed in 1686), whose second edition bears the title *Christus nascens, patiens et triumphans* (1694), comprising 32 pages,<sup>130</sup> and his lyric love song *Klagan öfver Iris Afresa* (A lamentation on Iris' going away), which was published posthumously during the 19th century, and is his best-known poem. In addition to this, he also translated poetry from Italian, French and Neo-Latin into Swedish.<sup>131</sup>

Before presenting Paulinus' Greek studies and other Greek poems, the process of *Finlandia* – from delivery to the printed text – and the significance of this patriotic oration to Finnish national identity are discussed. At the end of this Chapter, the reasons for his extraordinary Greek skills and the importance of Greek poems to Paulinus' successful career are considered.

### ***Finlandia* – from a Student Oration to a Former of National Identity**

Paulinus, a 22-year-old student at the University of Uppsala, delivered his *Finlandia* on March 1678, but he might have composed a preliminary version when he studied at the Royal Academy of Turku.<sup>132</sup> Its contemporary importance

<sup>130</sup> SKB 2399, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition SKB 2394. The model was the poem by Martin Opitz. Enckell 1968, 97. The poem contains allusions to Greek culture (e.g., Minos, Rhadamanthys, Charondas, Solon, Lycurgus, Charon, the "Lake" Styx, the Rivers Plegethon and Lethe, the Stagirite (Aristotle), and "the kind physician from Kos" (Hippocrates)). *Christus nascens...* is digitised in the DORIA (Lillienstedt).

<sup>131</sup> Paulinus also published an Almanac in 1680 (SKB 2392). Translations into Swedish: Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* (1590); Guillaume de Brébeuf's *Tiré des Entretiens Solitaires* (1660); Samuel Columbus' Latin funerary poems for Mårten Blixencrona (1667). They are printed in Hanselli 1863, 260, 263–267. For a chronological list (in Finnish and English) of Paulinus' poems and translations, see Korhonen, Oksala & Sironen 2000, 188–189 (T. Korhonen).

<sup>132</sup> Tilas' manuscript *s.a.*, 200 (in the second part, "Om städerna 1 § Åbo a"). While presenting Turku, Tilas mentions – *Paulini oratio De aboa idiomate graeco*. He does not mention the year of publication, and the title (*De Aboa*) refers to Turku, so Paulinus might have written a Greek oration *on Turku*, which he completed in Uppsala, broadening the scope so that the oration comprised more than Turku. Note the dash (–) in connection with Tilas' reference to this oration, which means that he had seen the oration referred to somewhere, in a bibliography or some bibliographies.

– for its composer at least – is hinted by the fact that Paulinus reprinted it in 1694, which was a rare thing for a practice speech. The speech was not written for a special occasion but was aimed to demonstrate Paulinus’ erudition, in this case especially his knowledge of Greek. Thesis orations or practice orations were part of normal oratorical practice for students and writing orations in Greek was rare but not a rarity in the Swedish Kingdom. *Finlandia* could have been translated into Latin but publishing such a translation in 1679 is not likely and would only be based on one piece of evidence.<sup>133</sup> It is more reasonable to suppose that a Latin translation could have been circulated at *Finlandia*’s delivery in March 1678, or the translation might have been composed between its delivery in March and the publication of the oration in June 1678.<sup>134</sup> Indeed, there seems to have been a four-month lapse between the delivery and publication of *Finlandia*. The title page is undated but two editions of *Finlandia* (1678 and 1694) together contain five versed paratexts in Latin with different dates. Chronologically, the first poem (19 hex) in order is composed by Professor of Poetry, Johannes Columbus, dated 10 March 1678. The poem is addressed to “readers” (*Lecturis S[alve]*). It does not contain an invitation as such. Instead, it functions as an introduction to the oration<sup>135</sup> by expressing the basic ideas of *Finlandia*, namely that Finnish soil provides no “pearls of Carmania” (*Carmanidos litora*) nor gold, but its fields are fruitful, homes are protected by thick forests and the mind of the people is modest. Columbus also states that Paulinus is able to praise *Finnonia* better when his guide is Thalia: *Plenius haec, Grajaque canit praeunte Thalia / FINNONIAE laudes patriae [...]* (vv. 17–18) – Thalia referring here to the Muse of bucolic poetry.<sup>136</sup> *Finlandia* certainly has features of bucolic poetry in its praise of idyllic country life. We have, for example, a melancholic poet – the first person speaker,

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He mentions *Finlandia* in the fourth part of his manuscript (Noorland, Lapland, Finland) and has marked it with an asterisk, so he had it in his own library. This suggests that there were two orations – or, at least, that Tilas believed that there were two orations, one on Turku, another on Finland. For Tilas’ notations, see above p. 88 n253.

<sup>133</sup> Floderus (1785–1789, 76) mentions the Latin translation of *Finlandia*, referring to Tilas who, for his part, mentions that it was probably translated into Latin, “– Skall äfven wara översatt till latin. *edita Holmiae* 1679 4:o”, in the fourth part of his *Topographica*. The dash means that Tilas had seen the translation referred to somewhere. See the previous footnote.

<sup>134</sup> *Finlandia* contains useful subtitles in Latin in the margins, which help explain the content: *Situs – Primi incolae – Mores – Felicitas ruris – Greges ferarum, avium, pecorum – Rusticus – Illustres – Bella – Aboa & Academia – Dicasterium*.

<sup>135</sup> Invitations usually contain the date of the occasion. Columbus’ poem contains his signature with a date: *P.P. Upsaliae a.d.x. Martii A. 1678*.

<sup>136</sup> Besides being one of the Graces, Thalia was also the Muse of comedy and idyllic poetry.



the poetic I – who lies beside a river listening to the singing of birds.<sup>137</sup> The date of Columbus' poem confirms that Paulinus delivered *Finlandia* in March 1678. However, Columbus' contribution was not attached to the 1678 edition (or the versions which are preserved), but only to the 1694 edition. Therefore, it seems plausible that Columbus' poem was published separately in 1678, like many other invitations to deliveries of orations.

Four paratexts in Latin were attached to the 1678 edition: Paulinus' two dedications dated 13 June 1678 – one to Count Per Brahe and another to the President of the Svea Court of Appeal in Stockholm, Knut Kurki (Kurck) – and two congratulations by professors: by Professor of Theology Martinus Brunnerus dated on 18 June 1678<sup>138</sup> and by Professor of Poetry Johannes Columbus, which is undated. Both professors refer to the fact that the oration is composed in Greek (*carmine Graeco*). The congratulations are very short (2 eleg), and Brunnerus' Greek signature implies a lack of time for writing: ἐν τῷ παρόντι τῷ ὄντι ἄσχυλος (in this moment without any free time). Whether or not Paulinus received financial aid for printing from Count Brahe and Knut Kurki to whom he had dedicated the oration on 13 June, he surely then had permission for printing so that the congratulators (Brunnerus and Columbus) had only few days to scribble something before the oration was printed and before the university summer vacation.

Because it was a patriotic oration, an oration eulogising one's home region – *patris*, depending on the context, referring to the state, the home country, the nation, or the home district – *Finlandia* has had a unique role as a Humanist Greek text in Finland's cultural history. It has been acknowledged as one of the earliest examples of *Fennophilia*. Early Finnish nationalism prevailed especially among the southern-western Finns, from where Paulinus' family came, and where many noble families with great estates were able to understand and even speak Finnish.<sup>139</sup> One of the predecessors of *Finlandia* was Johan Schaefer

<sup>137</sup> Paulinus 1678, vv. 202–204: ὅττι μέ γ'εἰαρινὸν θωκοῦντα καλοῖς ὑπὸ δένδροις / πολλάκι λευγαλέων μελέεσσ' ἔρρυσθε μεριμνῶν (so / when I was sitting under the beautiful trees of spring / many times you cast out my gnawing cares with your song).

<sup>138</sup> Before becoming Professor of Greek (1667–1669), Brunnerus published an edition of Palaephatus in 1663. As Professor of Theology, he was an advocate of strict orthodoxy and a leader of proceedings against witches. SBL *s.v.*

<sup>139</sup> Pori is situated on the south-western coast of Finland; Mouhijärvi, where Paulinus spent his childhood, is a small town west of Tampere but the vicariate contained areas larger than the mere town. Paulinus' father, Paulus Raumannus, was a son of the Councillor of Rauma (as his surname suggests), a neighbouring town to Pori. It has been stated that because the fiefs (landed properties)

Sr.'s Latin oration, *Finnoniae elogia*, which he delivered in the University of Tartu in October 1650.<sup>140</sup> Both had had a role in forming the Finnish national image and in influencing how Finland was later depicted, especially during the nineteenth century. This image included beautiful nature<sup>141</sup> and people who on the one hand were pious and humble, and who contented themselves with little (like Tacitus' *Fenni*), but on the other were also warlike.<sup>142</sup> *Finlandia* could also have had an immediate, contemporary influence too. Between the delivery (in March) and the publication of *Finlandia* in June 1678, a Sweden-born student at Turku, Laurentius Jonae Forsselius, wrote a Latin congratulation (48 hex) for a dissertation containing a eulogy to Finland. The disputation was held on 17 April 1678. The Latin poem stresses that Finland is a land of great natural beauty. The respondent was the namesake nephew of Johan Schaefer Sr., then Mayor of Turku, whose eulogy to Finland had most probably inspired Forsselius as well, for the respondent dedicated the dissertation to his powerful uncle.<sup>143</sup>

*Finlandia* was noted already in Johannes Schefferus' *Svecia literata* (1680) and in other contemporary treatises on national literature. Richard von der Hardt mentions both editions of *Finlandia* in his *Holmia literata* (1701) as well as A.

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in that area belonged to Finnish-born noble men, like the Kurki family, fennophilic ideas were born and people began to identify themselves as Finns (Suolahti 1963, 489). This part of Finland is still called *Varsinais-Suomi*, i.e. "Finland Proper".

<sup>140</sup> SKB 3378. Johan Schaefer Sr. (d. 1683), later Mayor of Turku, was Henrik Heerdhjelm's uncle and Simon Paulinus' father-in-law. This information is based on the Register Database pertaining to all three.

<sup>141</sup> Although Professor Johannes Columbus mentions forests in his Latin invitation (v. 12), they are missing in Paulinus' speech, if not Paulinus' *vάπται*, which refers to woodland vales (*Finlandia*, vv. 194–201). The passage describes farm animals grazing in the forested vales (horses, he-goats, oxen, sheep, and a pig with piglets) on the one hand, and wild animals (bears, foxes, wolves and lynxes) on the other. Forests were important mythical and reviving places in Finnish folk poetry. References to lakes are missing in *Finlandia* (cf. the modern image of "Finland: the land of a thousand lakes"), except in the context of Naiads (v. 153). Rivers and springs are, however, described (vv. 159–161). Paulinus' childhood home in Mouhijärvi was situated beside Lake Kirkkojärvi. However, Paulinus used ancient models rather than his lived reality in composing his poem.

<sup>142</sup> Many features of the image of Finland occur already in Olaus Magnus' *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555). The concept of warlike Finns was generally shared (see, e.g., Helander 2004, 349–350), especially after the Thirty Years War and the fame of the Finnish cavalry, the so-called Hacapelites.

<sup>143</sup> Vall. 2. The father of the respondent was Henrik Schäfer, Mayor Johan Schäfer's brother. The dissertation was the second in Daniel Achrelius' serial dissertation, *Contemplatio mundi*, which discussed clouds, natural light and colours. Hence, it is apparent that eulogising Finland's natural beauty in a congratulation was fitting in regard to the subject of the dissertation.

A. Stiernman in *Aboa literata* (1719), which is even dedicated to Paulinus – then enobled as Count Lillienstedt – with a Greek dedication. Later Fant (1775–1786) and Floderus (1785–1789) gave space for the presentation of Johan Paulinus, and Floderus mentions him along with Josef Thun and Laurentius Norrmannus among those who, in his view, were the best Greek writers in Sweden (p. A1v).

It is rather odd then that *Finlandia* is not mentioned in a dissertation entitled *Vindiciae Fennorum* (1703), which expresses an overstated Fennophilia and which Daniel Juslenius wrote under the supervision of his brother, Gabriel Juslenius, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Turku.<sup>144</sup> At this time, and after the reinauguration of the university, many publications were dedicated to Count Lillienstedt, who also owned manors and land in Finland. Hence, he had not been forgotten in his home country. After Fant and Floderus, *Finlandia* was probably not very well known until the turn of the nineteenth century.<sup>145</sup> In 1841, historian Gabriel Rein presented *Finlandia* in an article that discussed the earlier nationalistic treatises on Finland.<sup>146</sup> This inspired Axel Gabriel Sjöström, Professor of Greek at Turku University, which was moved to Helsinki, to publish a new edition of *Finlandia* in 1844 and to translate it into Swedish.<sup>147</sup> The university had then been nearly twenty years in Helsinki and was renamed the Imperial Alexander University in honour of Emperor Alexander I who had guaranteed autonomy to Finland, which was thus no longer a part of Sweden but was annexed to Russia. The less enlightened Nicholas I succeeded Alexander I to the throne in 1825.

In his Swedish preface, Sjöström states that, besides his Greek text, he is publishing a translation into Swedish because he was hoping for a broader audience, especially female readers. Sjöström underlines the nationalism of *Finlandia*, stating that it expresses those values which “we, Finns, mostly honour,

<sup>144</sup> Juslenius lists studies on theology and philosophy (in the broad sense) that were published in Turku. Juslenius 1703, 52–54, see also 72–73 (“important men”).

<sup>145</sup> The reason why Tengström failed to mention *Finlandia* in his *De viris in Fennia peritia litterarum Graecarum claris* (1814) is due to the fact that this serial dissertation was never completed – Johannes Gezelius Sr. is the last person Tengström discusses.

<sup>146</sup> Rein 1841, 47–49. Rein praises *Finlandia* as an enjoyable read and describes its contents. Rein also mentions its Rudbeckian tone together with a contemporary verse oration in Latin composed by a Finn, namely Matthias Martinus’ *Parnassus regum Sveciae* on Swedish kings (Turku 1686, SKB 2552).

<sup>147</sup> Sjöström refers in his preface (“Till Läsaren”) to Rein’s article and to the fact that he had access to a library of a certain Professor of Medicine and his brother, who happened to have *Finlandia* in their collections.

love and value: God, monarchs, and our home district”<sup>148</sup> – “monarchs” refers to governmental power, including the Emperor. Sjöström mentions in his brief preface that he had corrected a lot of “misprints” (i.e., corrected the Humanist Greek accentuation according to modern standards) but he does not refer to the fact that he also deleted those passages which refer to Finland as part of Sweden and to Russia as a dangerous enemy. These passages, comprising seven verses in all (vv. 263–267, 349 and 354), were deleted from the edition and therefore also from the translation. The longest deleted passage refers to the victorious border wars against the Russians led by Gustavus Adolphus in which the Finnish troops played a decisive role: the poetic I exhorts first the Sarmatians, then the Russians: “Do tell, you the nations from the far end of Sarmatia! / Do tell, you the Russians, the people of Livonia, and the Scythians, do tell with one mouth / about how you tasted the violence and / the strength of the Finnish army! How you begged, face down, / mercy from your vanquishers and had chains put around your necks.”<sup>149</sup> The deletion of line 349 for its part is quite understandable because it expressed the not current hope that “the royal sceptre of Sweden may flourish forever”.<sup>150</sup> In the last line (354) deleted by Sjöström, Paulinus prays that God will “appease the maddening mind of wrathful Moscow”.<sup>151</sup> By his deletions, Sjöström was thus practising caution concerning Russian politics, a necessary action for Finland to take at this time.

Sjöström’s edition with deletions possibly had a wide circulation.<sup>152</sup> During 1856–1876, Swedish literary historian Per Hanselli published in Uppsala a 22-volume reader of early Swedish literature. The sixth part includes a long presentation of Paulinus, reprinting many poems, including *Finlandia*.<sup>153</sup> Hanselli had used Sjöström’s edition, with corrections, and the seven lines

<sup>148</sup> Sjöström 1844, [2]: [...] *vi, F i n s k e, mest vörde, älske, och vördere: Gud, Förste och Fosterbygd*. The word ‘Finns’ is spaced to draw attention to it.

<sup>149</sup> Paulinus 1678, vv. 263–267: Εἴπατε Σαρματικῆς ἐξώτατα θρέμματα γαίης! / Εἴπατ’ ἀπαὶ στόματος Ῥοῦσσοι Λιβονοὶ τε Σκύθαι τε! / Πῶς ἄρα Φιννονίων γεύσασθέ νυ πολλάκι τευχῶν / ὁρμὴν ἠδὲ μένος; Πῶς ἱκεσίοισι προσώποις / νικητὰς ἐλίτεσθε ζυγοὺς αὐχέσσι λαβόντες;

<sup>150</sup> Verse 349: Καὶ γ’ ἄρα οὐλα ὁμῶς βασιλῆϊα Σβηκικὰ σκῆπτρα!

<sup>151</sup> Verse 354: Μωσκοβίης βλοσυρῆς μανιώδεα σβέννουθι θυμόν. In 1678, Russia waged war in the Caucasus and in Armenia.

<sup>152</sup> C. A. Gottlund, the first who translated Greek poetry into Finnish in 1812, had a copy of Sjöström’s edition and translation in his library. See Lilja *et al.* 1996, Nr. 26.32.

<sup>153</sup> Hanselli 1863, 225–316 (*Finlandia* on pp. 306–316), with comments on pp. 427–437. Hanselli also reprinted two of Johannes Columbus’ occasional Greek poems, *ibid.*, 388.

deleted.<sup>154</sup> The first translator of *Finlandia* into Finnish, Kaarlo Koskimies also used Sjöström's deleted version of the Greek text in 1910 – probably because he only had access to Sjöström and Hanselli or for political reasons. In 1910 Finland was still under Russian rule and the years from 1908 until independence in 1917 are called the years of oppression in Finnish historiography because Russia aimed to limit the former autonomy of Finland.<sup>155</sup> However, Toivo Lyy, the next translator of *Finlandia* into Finnish (1931), used the complete, original Greek text. All in all, *Finlandia* has been translated once into English and four times into Finnish<sup>156</sup> and it has been mentioned in the histories of literature and culture of Finland from the time of Sjöström's translation onwards. This was not unique for patriotic texts, which included praising towns and regions, in Latin.<sup>157</sup> In the Low Countries, there is a corresponding, though considerably shorter and more playful example in Greek, namely, Joseph Justus Scaliger's Greek poem (14 eleg) on Batavia composed around 1600. It was first parodied in Greek by Scaliger's student Daniel Heinsius, and later translated into German and Dutch, and a Latin version was also made.<sup>158</sup> Still, *Finlandia* might be a unique example of a Humanist Greek text which has had a strong influence on the formation of national identity – or, strictly speaking, at least its translations have had.

Although *Finlandia* is a patriotic eulogy, Paulinus' self-referential passages intensify the subjective atmosphere of the speech. The narrative describes a kind of spiritual journey in time and space beginning with an overview of Finland's ancient history when Finns were pagans but lived peaceful lives “at the edge of the world”, ἄκρος ἐνὶ πείρασιν γαίης.<sup>159</sup> The introduction of Christianity is rhetorically preceded by rejecting the Greek gods, which gives an ambivalent flavour to this speech, depicting Christian Humanism residing both in Athens

<sup>154</sup> See Erkki Sironen's comparison of all four editions (*Finlandia* 1678, 1694; Sjöström 1844 and Hanselli 1863) in Korhonen, Oksala & Sironen 2000, 204–205.

<sup>155</sup> On the “years of oppression”, see, e.g., Klinge 1994 87–90.

<sup>156</sup> Korhonen 2008, 52–61 (in English). The third and fourth translation into Finnish were published in 2000, in verse by the late Teivas Oksala and in rhythmic prose by the present writer. Korhonen, Oksala & Sironen 2000.

<sup>157</sup> On patriotic eulogies delivered at the Royal Academy of Turku, see Sarasti-Wilenius 2019, and for the list of *laudes patriae* in the Swedish Kingdom, see Korhonen, Oksala & Sironen 2000, 220–226 (E. Sironen).

<sup>158</sup> Pontani and Weise 2021, 244–248 (H. Lamers & R. Van Rooy).

<sup>159</sup> Paulinus 1678, v. 9 and v. 60. Cfr. Hes. *Th.* 731: ἔσχατα γαίης. The expression “the edge of Europe”, referring to Finland, became popular in Finland due to the title of a travel book by poet and translator of Greek classics Pentti Saarikoski in 1982.

and in Jerusalem. That is, on the one hand, Paulinus twice declares that the Muses of Helicon have moved from their native land to Finland,<sup>160</sup> and, on the other, he firmly rejects ancient gods, telling them to go away (39–47): “Now when I am beginning my song, go away you rogues, deities and goddesses, for I never pray through my lyric song to you Phoebus Apollo, not to you, Aegis-bearing Zeus, not to you, Much-cheering Bacchus [...]” continuing with rejecting Demeter, Ares, Muses, the Graces, Nymphs and Satyrs.<sup>161</sup> Thus, Paulinus uses a rhetorical device known as *reiectio*, ἀποδίωξις. However, Paulinus tells us later that Greek deities – like Demeter, Zephyrus and nymphs – are taking good care of the fields of Finland (vv. 149–154).

Paulinus uses this kind of ambivalence and the device of *via negativa* when he describes Finnish people and Finnish fauna, native human and non-human animals. The Finns do not honour the love of money or exotic, luxurious clothes or “wigs made of other people’s hair” (133) – referring to allonge-perruques.<sup>162</sup> The Finns lead and their forefathers led a simple life in tranquillity – this Horatian *Beatus ille* ideal was popular among the Swedish Baroque poets.<sup>163</sup> Paulinus applauded the simple life of peasant couples, their work, domestic animals and their food – and the poetic I even participates in the simple meal of the farmers (vv. 221–224). Another *reiectio* or *correctio*, namely not A but B, occurs when Paulinus states that there are no crocodiles, hydras, basilisks, echidnas, scorpions, rhinoceroses, buffaloes and so on in Finland but gentle fish and singer-swan. However, Paulinus gives native predators like bears, wolves, and lynx positive connotations (v. 200). In this way, *Finlandia* contains not only eulogies but also invectives, so that what is good is determined by what it is not.

A clear *reiectio* also occurs when Paulinus moves on to describe Finnish urban life: “Do not think that Finland brings forth only private countrymen or filthy

<sup>160</sup> “The Muses, kin of Zeus, left spacious Hellas and Holy Helicon, the mountain of Pieria, the sacred stream of Permessus, came to Finland and set up fine temples.” This is a well-known topos, used already by Virgil in *The Georgics*.

<sup>161</sup> Verses 39–41: Νῦν δέ μου ἀρξαμένοις ἑκάς, ἑκάς, οἷοι ἀλιτροί / δαίμονες ἡδὲ Θεαί· οὐ γάρ σοι, Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, / ΟΥ Δὲ Αἰγίοχῳ, οὐ θιν πολυγηθεί Βάκχῳ. See also Pontani & Weise 2022, 124–139 (E. Sironen). But the rejection of Muses was not uncustomary among Humanist poets. In England, Professor John Sheperry from the Oxford of the sixteenth century has a similar kind of rejection: “I do not invoke you, O Graces [...]” See Korhonen 2000, 72–76.

<sup>162</sup> Verse 133: ἀλλοτρίους χαιτῶν πλοκάμους καὶ λοξὰ κορύμβων. Johan Paulinus himself wore a periwig in the pictures of him which have survived.

<sup>163</sup> For the Horatian ideal of rural life in Swedish Baroque poetry, see Johannesson 1968, 234–235.

men with dull, slavish minds.”<sup>164</sup> Although Paulinus has at first shone a positive light on peasants, he changes his view and now sees them as ἄνδρες κόπριοι, cattle keepers who deal in manure. The image is clearly negative, especially because the poetic I had just been like a guest at a peasant’s cabin, depicting the food laid out. With this “invective” gesture, Paulinus exits the countryside (χώρα) and enters the city, Turku. He praises Finnish soldiers and their bravery but also two Finnish cultural institutions, the Royal Academy (vv. 269–307) and the Turku Court of Appeal (vv. 308–331). The eulogy to the university contains several branches of learning: theology, jurisprudence, medicine, rhetoric, poetics, physics, astronomy, language studies, and history, thus presenting this quite new institution as a fully functioning university, whose lecturers master “all pure wisdom, all the virtues [...] that the pride of Hellas, Athens, once possessed” (278–280) – Greek is specifically referred to as “the famous language of the Danaids” (v. 301).<sup>165</sup> Paulinus ends his poem in his own time, the time of young King Charles XI of Sweden and the war between Denmark and Sweden, which occurred between 1675 and 1679.<sup>166</sup>

The narrative movement in time and space is similarly a journey from nature and wilderness, from descriptions of frugal peasants and gentle fauna, towards civilization, that is, noble families, brave soldiers, and cultural institutions with governmental authority. From the feminist perspective, Paulinus’ patriotic oration, addressing a male audience and written in a language which very few females knew, represents the typical patriarchal mindset of its time, moving from feminine χώρα to hegemonic πατρίς. However, it ends with a touching picture of an old couple going to church (vv. 377–379) – perhaps the peasant couple previously described but now aged – the old woman carrying a baby in her arms. The little child may symbolise the Christianised and civilised Finland.

*Finlandia* is an interesting poem on account of its content but also because it is well structured and nuanced: it contains apostrophes and self-referential passages as well as listings (*enumeratio*) to give it volume, but they are balanced and add liveliness to the narrative. Moreover, Paulinus uses ancient imagery in a more thoughtful way than in his Latin oration, *Carmen Oratorium Veris* (1674).

<sup>164</sup> Paulinus 1678, vv. 233–234: ΟΥδ’ ἄρα γ’, ὥς οἶου, ιδιώτας μούνον ἀγρείους / ἢδ’ ἄνδρας κοπρίους καὶ ἀειδέα δουρικὰ ἦθη / τίττειν Φιννονίην.

<sup>165</sup> Verses 278–280: “Ἐνθα δὲ πάν, ὅ, τί γ’ οὖν πάρος Ἑλλάδος εὖχος Ἀθῆναι / ἢ σοφίης καθαρᾶς [...] / ἔσχον; verse 301: Δαναῶν κλειτῶν πολυίστορα γλῶτταν.

<sup>166</sup> It is called the Scanian War (the *Schonischer Krieg*, which was part of the *Schwedisch-Brandenburgischer Krieg*).

He imitates ancient writers and his near contemporaries (Crusius and Poliziano). But how did this poem come to be written, and what were the reasons, for Paulinus' exceptional ambition in writing in Greek?

### Paulinus' Greek Studies

One reason why Johan Paulinus was able to write such a long poem was that his family was "Greek-friendly". In his autobiography, which was published posthumously, Paulinus praises the education which he received at home, albeit not in any great detail. Paulinus was born in Pori on 14 June 1655. His father, Paulus Raumannus, one of the first *alumni* of the Royal Academy of Turku, was a teacher at the Pori Trivial School before he obtained a vicariate in Mouhijärvi.<sup>167</sup> Paulinus had two sisters and three brothers: Simon, Henricus, and Carl, two of them publishing Greek poems or prose texts. The younger brother, Henricus, wrote a humorous wedding congratulation. The elder brother, Simon, a professor of Greek and Hebrew, wrote 23 Greek occasional texts and supervised one Greek oration (1688) and one Greek dissertation (1688).<sup>168</sup>

Johan Paulinus' milieu was Greek-friendly not only at home but also at the two universities where he was enrolled. Paulinus was 17 years old when he was inscribed at the Royal Academy of Turku with his brother Simon in 1672. He remained there until 1677. Johan as well as Simon received royal scholarships but not for every term.<sup>169</sup> Since 1674, Johan was a private tutor to Carl Horn, who was a stepson of Baron Ernst Creutz (1619–1684), President of the Turku Court of Appeal. Interest in jurisprudence was the reason Paulinus moved to Uppsala, where the juridical faculty was much more active than the corresponding faculty at Turku. During his Turku years, Johan published six poems in Latin, four in Greek and one in Swedish. The most notable of these is his verse oration in

<sup>167</sup> Paulus Raumannus (d. 1682) held a Latin oration on schools in 1643, which is no longer extant. SKB 3147. He obtained a scholarship for 1644; in 1645 he gave up the scholarship probably because he started to work as a school priest. There is no evidence regarding Raumannus' *peregrinatio* to Germany or his studies on biblical languages there, although these details are mentioned in some popular articles on Paulinus (Ikola 1954, 23 and Koskenniemi 1954, 11).

<sup>168</sup> On the Greek oration (1688) possibly supervised by Simon, see above p. 88 n254; on Henricus' wedding congratulation, see above pp. 224–225). Carl Paulinus did not write in Greek; his application for a scholarship in Latin (24 of August 1688) has been preserved. Vallinkoski 1975, 9.

<sup>169</sup> Simon was granted a scholarship during the years 1674–1682, whereas Johan received a grant called *pecunia diligentiorum*, which was given to specially gifted students, 1676–1677. Register Database s.v.



Latin (496 hex), a eulogy to spring (*Carmen Oratorium Veris*) delivered on 11 May 1674.<sup>170</sup> The other poems he composed at Turku are occasional texts: two epideictic paratexts in Latin (one a congratulation for a dissertation and the other for an oration to fellow students) and two congratulatory poems to professors for inaugurations, one in Greek (see below) and the other in Latin to Andreas Petraeus, Professor of Physics, on his rectorship. In this publication (1674), the elder brother Simon contributed with a long congratulatory text in Greek (58 lines), which interestingly but in a somewhat generalised way refers to a schism between two “nations” in the university, probably referring to the Finland-born and Sweden-born student associations. Simon hopes for peace for the benefit of the πατρίς.<sup>171</sup> One may suppose that the brothers, who lived together in Turku, read each others’ writings and gave constructive critiques. Although Johan Paulinus does not seem to have been very active in his studies, he at least acted as respondent (*pro exercitio*) in a serial dissertation on logic in 1677.<sup>172</sup>

During Paulinus’ years at the Universities of Turku and Uppsala, professors in Greek, poetry and eloquence were active Greek writers. At Turku, the Greek Professor was Ericus Falander, Petrus Laurbecchius was Professor of Poetry, and Martinus Miltopaeus Professor of *eloquentia*.<sup>173</sup> Two Greek (prose) orations had been delivered in Turku before Paulinus’ time: a religious oration by Sveno Gelzenius in 1649 and a celebration of the Turku Court of Appeal by Henricus Schäefer (Heerdhielm) in 1671. Although Paulinus has not yet enrolled at the university in 1671, he may have at least known that the latter had been delivered. When Ericus Falander held a Greek funerary oration in memory of Count Per Brahe in 1681, Paulinus had left for Uppsala. However, in Uppsala, at least 19 Greek orations had been held before Paulinus’ *Finlandia*, most of them, however, prose orations.<sup>174</sup> One of them, Andreas

<sup>170</sup> SKB 2409. For the first 160 verses of *Carmen*, their translation into English, and a description of its contents by Timo Sironen in the forthcoming *Anthologia Baltica* (see above p. 17 n57).

<sup>171</sup> Mel. 637. See Korhonen 2004, 246. Although the language which they spoke at home was probable Swedish, it is reasonable to suppose that the Paulinus brothers also spoke Finnish. However, defining oneself as a ‘Finn’ during the seventeenth century was not determined by one’s mother tongue.

<sup>172</sup> Johan Paulinus’ congratulation to Andreas Petraeus (Mel. 637, SKB 2409); Paulinus’ *pro exercitio* dissertation, Vall. 967. For a chronological list of Paulinus’ poems, see Korhonen, Oksala & Sironen 2000, 184–190 (Korhonen).

<sup>173</sup> Falander wrote 31 occasional prose texts in Greek, whereas Laurbecchius five and Miltopaeus two poems in Greek. HUMGRAECA Database (Korhonen). For the chronological list of Finnish Greek writers and references to their Greek texts, see Korhonen 2004, 463–467.

<sup>174</sup> For the list of Greek orations from Sweden, see Korhonen 2004, 460–461.

Thermaenius' Greek verse oration on the usefulness of the Greek language bears some lexical and phraseological similarities with *Finlandia*. Thermaenius delivered it at the Västerås gymnasium in 1668 but it was never printed.<sup>175</sup>

Paulinus was enrolled at the University of Uppsala on 22 July 1677. Petrus Aurivillius, a very prolific Greek writer, was the Greek Professor at that time. He had written at least 23 occasional Greek poems, a very ambitious Greek dissertation (1654), and gave two verse orations in Greek, the earlier one being a funerary oration (264 hex) published in 1664.<sup>176</sup> Aurivillius announced in the lecture catalogue for the term 1677–1678 that he would continue to lecture *publice* on Isocrates' *To Nicocles* and the *Odyssey* and give *privatim* style exercises. However, Aurivillius died suddenly in Paulinus' first term at Uppsala, on 23 October 1677. The Extraordinary Professor of Greek, Julius Micrander, who had announced that he would lecture on Epictetus' *Enchiridion*, was elected as Aurivillius' follower (1678–1685). For the term 1678–1679, Micrander announced that he would lecture on very basic Greek prose texts that were common also at Turku: Pythagorean *Golden Verses*, Ps.-Phocylides' maxims and Isocrates' orations.<sup>177</sup> Micrander was a prolific Greek writer, writing 38 occasional poems in Greek, mostly during his Greek professorship.<sup>178</sup> Roman rhetoric was lectured on by Johannes Schefferus, *professor Skytteanus* and writer of *Gymnasium styli* (1657).

Professor of Poetry Johannes Columbus for his part announced that he would lecture on Roman poetry: Ovid's *Metamorphoses* during the 1677–1678 term and Horace during the following term. Columbus wrote four occasional poems in Greek and his brother, poet Samuel Columbus (1642–1679), three. Samuel, who gathered around him people who were eager to develop Swedish poetry, was perhaps the most important inspiration for Paulinus not only for his versifying in Swedish such poems as his idyllic *Iris* poem but also for his networking in Sweden.<sup>179</sup> Paulinus was acquainted with the noble family of Blixencrona to

<sup>175</sup> Sironen 2000, 127 mentions some reminiscences between Paulinus and Thermaenius. The oration will be published by Erkki Sironen (forthcoming).

<sup>176</sup> An excerpt from the funerary oration, see Pontani & Weise 2022, 773–775 (T. Korhonen).

<sup>177</sup> *Praelectiones* 1678–1679 (Uppsala).

<sup>178</sup> See HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi).

<sup>179</sup> For the Columbus brothers' Greek poems, see HUMGRAECA Database (Akujärvi). One congratulation (4 eleg) for an oration by Samuel Columbus is printed in Hanselli 1856, 240. See also Floderus 1785–1789, 43–46. However, in 1678, Samuel Columbus was in Paris, one of the cities of his four-year peregrination mainly in the German lands. Thus, he only became acquainted with Paulinus in the following year. On Samuel Columbus, see Breitholtz 1971, 454–457.

whose members he wrote many occasional poems, both in Swedish and Latin.<sup>180</sup> Paulinus also composed three Swedish occasional poems for royal persons: a Swedish poem (two triads) and a Latin poem (three stanzas) to celebrate the birth of princess Hedvig Eleonora (1681), a short Latin birthday congratulation to his age-mate and patron, King Charles XI (1690), and a Latin funerary poem on the death of Queen Ulrika Eleonora in 1693. During the 1690s, he wrote only a few poems. In 1694, Paulinus republished his *Finlandia*, and three years later he wrote a Swedish funerary poem. His last known poem (6 eleg), which was in Latin, is preserved as a manuscript and was written to celebrate the victory of the battle of Fraustad in 1706.<sup>181</sup> Paulinus, then Count Lillienstedt, and already 51 years of age, was Vice President of the Royal Swedish Tribunal in Wismar, the highest Court of Appeal in the Swedish territories of Germany. It was typical that persons active in composing poems in their youth and as young adults, ceased to do so when they began their careers. Academics were the exceptions, but Johan Paulinus did not choose an academic career. Despite the Greek-friendly environment at Uppsala, Paulinus' Greek production was mainly composed at Turku.

### **Paulinus' Greek Poems before *Finlandia***

Johan Paulinus' four Greek poems before *Finlandia* include a wedding poem (1675), two congratulatory poems for dissertations (1675 and 1676), and a congratulatory poem for an inauguration (1676).

Paulinus' first Greek poem was published in a commemorative anthology containing congratulations by three of the Paulinus brothers (*a triga fratrum Paulinorum*) to celebrate the wedding of their friend, Gabriel Keckonius, and his bride Margareta Eosandra in January 1675.<sup>182</sup> The publication, ΝΥΜΦΙΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΥΧΗΜΑ, contains, besides Henricus' humorous Greek prose and Simon's Latin congratulation, Johan's Swedish poem (42 hex) with its classical allusions (like Themis, Astraea, Pallas) that request the bridegroom to dance and rejoice: "Bacchus, how clever you are! Free yourself of your sorrows / dancing with Erato! / Play aloud, Amphion and Orpheus! / Always up, young blood, with feet knocking

<sup>180</sup> A bucolic Swedish wedding poem to Gustaf Blixencrona and Mätta Ribbin in 1680 is playfully signed *Titiro Tramontano*. Mel. 796. Paulinus' Swedish poems to the Blixencrona family are printed in Hanselli 1863, 268–279.

<sup>181</sup> Korhonen, Oksala & Sironen 2000, 187, 189 and 200–203. The manuscript of this victory poem was found by Erkki Sironen in the Uppsala University Library.

<sup>182</sup> Mel. 654 (SKB 2766), the title only begins with a Greek expression continuing then in Latin: Νυμφίδιον καύχημα, *in nuptiarum solemnities* [...].

the floor!”<sup>183</sup> A short well-wishing (6 eleg) in Greek, which utilises and modifies epic phrases, follows the joyful Swedish poem:<sup>184</sup>

ΟΛΒΙΟΔΑΙΜΟΝΑ δεῖ τοῦλύμπια δώματα ναίειν·  
 Πληρώσει γαῖην, ὄρνεα ὥς τε, γαμῶν.  
 Ἐκδημεῖτω ἔρις θαλάμου! κρέας ἔν παρὰ κοίτης  
 ἔστ’ ἀμφοῖν! Γενεᾶ θαλλέτω οἶκος αἰεί!  
 Ὅψια θές Λάχεσις δνοφερᾶς ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης  
 σώματα! Καὶ ψυχῶν ἔστω ἐπ’ ἄστρα κλέος!

5

**Crit. 1** τολύμπια ed. **5** κεύδεσι ed. **Sim. 1** τολύμπια δώματα ναίειν cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.18: Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχοντες, Hom. *Od.* 1.52, θεὰ δ’ ἐν δώματα ναίει, Hes. *Th.* 303: κλυτὰ δώματα ναίειν. **2** Πληρώσει γαῖην cf. *Gen.* 1:28 **3** Ἐκδημεῖτω ἔρις θαλάμου, cf. *Finlandia*, 127: Ἐκδημεῖ δὲ δύσαυλος Ἔρις cf. *Finlandia*, 128–129 **5** δνοφερᾶς ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.483, Thgn. 1.243

One must live happy in the Olympian dwellings: like birds he will fill the earth when he marries. May strife be absent from the bridal chamber! May you both be one flesh in the bed! May your home always flourish with offspring! [5] May Lachesis put your aged bodies beneath the depths of dark. And may your souls’ fame extend to the stars!

The poem combines the Greek idea of blissful gods living on Olympus with the Christian ideas of becoming one flesh (Gen. 2:24, Matt. 19:5 etc.) and of fecundity, “be fruitful” (Gen. 1:28). The idea of harmonious matrimony also occurs in Christian hymns celebrating marriage.<sup>185</sup> The common decoration of two lovebirds in Turku wedding publications is here used as a poetic image – birds as such were current in Paulinus’ poetry. Banishing *Eris*, strife, from the bridal chamber anticipates the passage in *Finlandia* (127–129) in which strife and combat, envy and enmity, threats and arrogance are said to have departed Finland.<sup>186</sup> The ending brings forth Lachesis, one of the Moirai, as a symbol of

<sup>183</sup> Paulinus 1675, vv. 35–37 (Swedish): Bacche, *nu war genial! Kling up sorg-drifwande stränger! / Dantzande Wijf* Erato! *Speler högt* Amphion och Orpheu! / *Immer op, ungt könt blodh, medh föttren smäller i golfve.* The Swedish part of Johan’s wedding poem is published in Castren 1907, 393–394.

<sup>184</sup> Fant 1775–1786 II, 46, Floderus 1775–1789, 80.

<sup>185</sup> See, for example, *Hää wirsi* (Wedding Hymn) in Jaakko Finno’s Finnish hymn book at the end of the 16th century, Finno 1583, Lv r–Lv j (LXXXVI).

<sup>186</sup> *Finlandia* 127–129: Ἐκδημεῖ δὲ δύσαυλος Ἔρις καὶ Φύλοπις αἶθοψ. / Ἐκδημεῖ Φθόνος ἡδ’ Ἔχθος στρυγεραὶ τε Ἀπειλαί. / Ἐκδημεῖ δ’ Ὑπερηφανή σὺν ἀγάνορι Κόμῳ.

death, and combines the classical idea of the eternal fame of one's name with the Christian image of souls in Heaven.

This Swedish-cum-Greek poem was Paulinus' first published poem. After the Swedish part inviting celebrations, the Greek part functions as a reminder of the religious meaning of marriage, advising people to live in harmony and peace, and referring to the life hereafter. Humanist Greek functions, once again, as a 'sacred' language.

In October of the same year, 1675, Johan congratulated his brother Simon with a much longer Greek poem (23 hex), one of the longest Greek hexametric poems published thus far at Turku.<sup>187</sup> As Paulinus' Greek wedding poem, it carries a foretaste of *Finlandia* in its vocabulary. Simon was a respondent for a *pro exercitio* dissertation belonging to a series of dissertations on heresies *sub praesidio* Professor of Theology, Nicolaus Tunander.<sup>188</sup> Paulinus compares heresies with vixen (σκαφῶραι,<sup>189</sup> ἄλώπεκες) who ruin wine orchards (cf. *Song* 2:15),<sup>190</sup> and with unclean hands and feet which pollute "heavenly spring":

Πρὸς τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας, Μουσῶν τε καὶ Χαρίτων θεράποντα π<ολύ>πιστον,  
Κύρ. ΣΙΜΩΝΑ τὸν ΠΑΥΛΙΝΟΝ, Κασίγνητον τρισφύλτατον,  
περὶ τῆς Αἱρέσεως δημοσίως διαλελεζόμενον, Σύγγραμμα.

Κηριτρεφέσσι βροτοῖς ἅμα τ' Ἀθανάτοισιν Ἀνάσσον, 1  
πάντ' αἶον λεῦσσόν τε, θελήμασι πάντα χαλινῶν!  
Ὡς ρά τιν ΟΙΝΟΠΙΕΔΟΝ σκάφοραι ἀλαπάξο<υ>σιν αἰναί  
καρχαροδοῦσι φυὴν ἵκελοι κυσίν; Ὡς ρά κ' ἐάσσεις  
οὐρανίδην παναγέσσι νάουσιν ἔραζε χαράδραις 5  
αἰρετικὸς παλάμησι περᾶν καὶ ποσσὶν ἀνίπτοις  
κρήνην, ἡπεροπεῖς, γλωσσασπίδας, ἀγκυλομήτους,  
καλλίναον μὴν πέρ τε θολόμεναι ἡδὲ κονίσσαι

<sup>187</sup> The other early examples of longish hexameter poems in Greek from Turku were a wedding congratulation (21 hex) in 1653 (Mel. 312) and a congratulation for a dissertation (24 hex) in 1660 (Vall. 4428). The latter was found after the completion of my dissertation and it is thus reported as missing in the chronological list of the Turku Greek Corpus, Korhonen 2004, 438.

<sup>188</sup> *De haeresi in genere*, Nr. 8. Vall. 3995 (SKB 3976). Simon received only three congratulations for his dissertation *pro exercitio*: one by the *praeses* and two by students (his brother and another student).

<sup>189</sup> Σκαφῶραι: Aelian mentions that σκαφῶρη is a Spartan name for vixen. Ael. *NH* 7.43.18.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. also Ezek.13:14 on foxes, which is an allegory of false prophets. *Reyncke Foss* (1498), the German version of the cunning and intriguing Reynard the Fox based on the Aesop's fable and later sources satirising the papacy, was used in anti-Catholic polemics. It was translated into Swedish and printed in Stockholm in 1621. SKB 3176.

πούλυπλόκως μεμαῶτας; Ἄταρ γ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι φίλον κῆρ  
 τίπτ' ἄγαν ἀχνύμενος μινύθω ὅταν ἄσπετα δῶρα 10  
 φράζομαι Ἀθανάτων ἀμῇ κεχαρισμένα Γαίῃ·  
 Ἦγε μὲν αἰρετικῶν κῆρας φέρει, ἦγε τε φέρβει  
 πότμον ἀλωπεκίοις, τε κόνιτρ' ὀσίων ἀπὸ πηγῶν  
 ἔνθα πέλουσι διυλίζοντες, ὄφρ' ὕδατα λευκά  
 πινέμεν ἡδὲ ποτιζέμεναι πανακήρατ' ἔχουσι. 15  
 Τοῖος ἔφυ μὲν ὁ φῶς, οὗ γραπτὰ κλέεσσον Ὀλυμπον  
 ἀστερόεντα περῶντ', Ἑλικῶνος ἰοστεφάνοισι  
 δμῶς πολύεργ[ε] Θεαῖς! κρασίησι ξύναιμε πάνηρες  
 μαῖσι ΣΙΜΟΝ θηησάμενος, φρονίμοισι μεναίνεις  
 σφαλλέμεν ἀντιφάσεις ἔπεσι. Φέρε! Ἱερὰν ἔδραν 20  
 ἀμβῆναι! νυχίη χερὶ πάνσοφα γράμματα ἑλίξαι  
 ἔνθα καὶ ἡματίη σε φανεῖ. ὦ σπεῦσον Ἀδελφέ!  
 Μάντις ἴδω στεφάνους Χρυσάορα Φοῖβον ὑφαίνειν.  
 IOANNOY τοῦ ΠΑΥΛΙΝΟΥ, Φίννωνος.

**Crit.** Τεράποντα π[...]πιστον ed. 3 σκάφοροι metri gratia 4 ἐάσσεις ed. **Sim.** 1  
 Κηριτρέφεσσι βροτοῖς cf. Hes. *Op.* 418 2 Πάντ' αἶον λεύσσειν τε, θελήμασι πάντα  
 χαλινῶν cf. *Finlandia* 48–49 πάντα λεύσσει, / [...] θελήμας' ἅπαντα χαλινῶι 4  
 Καρχαροδοῦσι φυὴν ἵκελοι κυσίν Hom. *Il.* 10.360: καρχαρόδοντε δύω κύνε  
 cf. *Finlandia* 199: ἄρκτος καρχαρόδων 6 ποσσὶν ἀνίπτοις cf. Luc. *Demonax*  
 4.2. (paroemia. gr. Diogeninus *Paroemiae* 1.49), Church Fathers, e.g., Zenobius 7  
 γλωσσασπίδας harax (*EM* 235.39) 10 ἄσπετα δῶρα Hom. *Od.* 20.342 12 Αἰρετικῶν  
 Κῆρας cf. *Finlandia* 287: βιβλιοθευφυγάδων κῆρας 14 ὕδατα λευκά cf. *Finlandia*  
 274: ὕδασι λευκοῖς 16–17 Ὀλυμπον Ἀστερόεντα cf. Astroniscus *De signis Iliadis* (*Il.*  
 8.46 scholia) 23 Χρυσάορα Φοῖβον cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.509

A congratulation to Mr. Simon Paulinus, my very dear brother, who steadfastly nurtures piety, the Muses, and the Graces, for disputing on heresies.

You who rule mortals born to misery as well as immortals, always guarding and harnessing all with Your will! Even so, do those horrible vixen, like sharp-toothed dogs, ruin wine-orchards? Even so, will You permit heretics to extend [5] hands and pollute heavenly springs, to live among the blessed, with unwashed feet; heresies which are deceitful, treacherous and cunning that have tried to make turbid and dusty that beautifully flowing spring with crafty ways?

However, why does my too much grieving heart [10] wither when I speak of the immortals' steady gifts that have been granted to our land in a special way? They will either abolish heresies or cast a hard fate on vixen and filter rubbish from those native holy springs, [15] so that they will have clean and uncontaminated water to draw.

Such is the man whose writings will reach the starry Olympus, the house of the violet-wreathed goddesses of Helicon.

And I will praise you, my beloved SIMON, rejoicing deep in my heart! [20] You have sought to refute counterarguments with reason! You ascend the

holy throne, at night you leaf through wise writings and during the daytime you announce them here.

Hurry up, brother! I, as a visionary, see Apollo with a sword of gold tying a wreath. // By Johannes Paulinus, a Finn.<sup>191</sup>

The common ancient imagery used in the heading (the Muses and the Graces) and in the encomium part of the ending (Olympus, Helicon, and Apollo, vv. 16–22) provides a humanistic frame for an otherwise religious poem. The rhetorical questions at the beginning, asking why God permits heresies to exist (vv. 4–5, 5–9), are left unanswered apart from the fact that the immortals' constant gifts (ἄσπετα δῶρα Ἀθανάτων), the interpretation and interpreters of the Holy Scriptures, will protect against heresies.<sup>192</sup> There are some phrases that precede *Finlandia* (see *app. sim.*), such as when Paulinus uses the Homeric-sounding phrase which only occurs in the *scholia Homerica*, Ὀλυμπον Ἀστερόεντα (vv. 16–17), which he reuses in *Finlandia* (ἀστερόεντος Ὀλύμπου, v. 47). Praise of the man whose writings reach “starry Olympus” is the *praeses*, Nicolaus Tunander (vv. 16–18), after which follows the eulogy of the respondent, the brother Simon, and his disputation (ascending to the podium and defending the dissertation, vv. 20–22). Simon preparing for the disputation is referred to in his “leafing through wise writings” at night and then defending the dissertation in the daytime (vv. 21–22). As mentioned before, Simon and Johan lived together in their study years in Turku so Johan might have keenly followed his elder brother's preparing for the disputation.<sup>193</sup>

After this religious poem, Paulinus composed his most important Greek poem besides *Finlandia*. It was published as a folio-sized broadsheet in Greek, which contains only the year 1676 (α χ ο ς), not an exact date, in connection with the printing information at the bottom of the sheet.<sup>194</sup> After the elaborate heading written in majuscules, beginning with the genre-defining phrase,

<sup>191</sup> The translation is divided into paragraphs; only verse 16 is indented in the Greek text.

<sup>192</sup> If instead of the plural Ἀθανάτων, there was a singular (Ἀθανάτου), the gifts would have been godsent.

<sup>193</sup> The memos of the Consistorium for December 1675 mention that the brothers' landlord had taken a legal action out against them because Simon and Johan had not paid their rent, their food or drink, or their tailor's bill. CAAP IV, 300–302 (10 December 1675). In the following spring, the Paulinus brothers published their broadsheet to Gezelius Jr., Ἐπίνικιος παιάν (see below). One wonders how they could afford to print it, or could they do so just because they had not paid the rent – or, did the addressee, Gezelius Jr., paid the printing expenses?

<sup>194</sup> Ἐκτυπωθεὶς παρὰ Πέτρῳ Ἀνζονίῳ τῆς Ἀκαδ. Βιβλιογράφῳ ἔτει α χ ο ς.

Ἐπίνικιος παιάν,<sup>195</sup> the broadsheet is divided into two text columns: the left column is the prose congratulation (40 lines) by the brother Simon, the right column is Johan's panegyric poem (42 hex). The back is empty so that the broadsheet could have been displayed on a wall on the day of the celebration, to which both texts refer. However, the subject of the celebration is not explicitly expressed in the heading nor in the texts by the Paulinus brothers.<sup>196</sup> Gezelius Jr. had been appointed Extraordinary Professor of Theology in November 1675 and, in June 1676, he was promoted as Doctor of Theology.<sup>197</sup> However, Gezelius Jr.'s appointment as extraordinary professor in November 1675 raised opposition in the academic community.<sup>198</sup> By publishing one of the most beautiful and decorated broadsheets of its time – and therefore an expensive item in 1676 – the Paulinus brothers might have shown that they were on Gezelius' side, as obviously they wished to have Gezelius Jr. as their patron, although he was only slightly their senior. Another reason for the vagueness of the celebration may be that the broadsheet celebrated both nominations.

Born in Tartu, Gezelius Jr. (1647–1718) was 17 years old when his father was appointed Bishop of Turku. He did not, however, study at Turku but at Uppsala and visited many European universities, pursuing studies in biblical languages and coming back to Turku in 1674 to help his father with his theological *opus maius* (*Bibelverket*). Soon after the above-mentioned nominations, he was appointed superintendent of Narva in 1681. He returned to Turku in 1689 and was nominated Bishop of Turku after his father's death (1690). His father's high

<sup>195</sup> Mel. 667, SKB 1029.

<sup>196</sup> The picture of the leaflet – two cherubs or winged cupids bringing a garland – was common in publications celebrating degree conferment and inauguration ceremonies in Turku. The heading refers to Gezelius Jr. having honoured the highest place of theology (ὁ ἐν ἄκρῳ τῆς ἱερᾶς θεολογίας ἐπίτιμος). The expression, which Simon also uses in his text (l. 21), seems to be a translation of *summi in theologia honores* used in doctoral degree conferment ceremonies. Both Simon and Johan mention Gezelius Jr.'s young age. He was 28 years old, which was young to become Doctor of Theology – most received the title at approximately 40 years of age at Turku – whereas the appointment of extraordinary professor under 30 years was not unusual. The heading (εἰς τὸν τῆς παναγέως θεολογίας καθηγητὴν δημόσιον παράγεται) as well as both Paulinus' brothers refer to teaching and guiding young men, which were considered suitable duties both for extraordinary professors and doctors of theology.

<sup>197</sup> Bishop Gezelius Sr. had suggested as early as March 1675 that the rank of doctor of theology should be granted to his son because he was working with the *Bibelverket* and the title of doctor would gain greater prestige for his work. In the same year, 1675, Gezelius Jr. was chosen to be a leading member of a private collegium for training in preaching founded by Gezelius Sr. Laasonen 1977, 75 and 383.

<sup>198</sup> Korhonen 1998, 31. Tengström 1825, 154–156.



status in Turku seems to have been the reason for his rapid ascension, although he was without doubt qualified in Biblical exegesis.<sup>199</sup>

Simon and Johan Paulinus had been inscribed at the university for four years before this publication. Simon – a 23-year-old student in 1676 – emphasises in his prose congratulation (40 lines) that youth is an advantage: the university is lucky when it obtains a man in his prime as a “teacher” (καθηγητής). Simon begins with a quote from Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.278) without mentioning the poet’s name, and instead referring only to “the Greeks”.<sup>200</sup> The passage from the *Pythian ode* refers to a noble messenger bringing honour, which Simon identifies with the sun. This may be a reference to a common pun on the name Γεζ-ηλιος. The sun, ἥλιος ὁ ἄγγελος (ll. 7–8), gives a good message when its rising announces great honour to come to the whole *patris* (ll. 1–11).<sup>201</sup>

References to “the fatherland” (πατρίς) are abundant in Simon’s prose congratulation. Simon praises Gezelius Jr.’s father (πατήρ) as a benefactor to both the church and the fatherland (πατρίς), and that in every way he looks after his home country’s welfare and has the faith that fathers had (πατρώα δόξα, l. 19). The messenger (i.e., the sun) urges the fatherland to rejoice three times over (l. 26). In the end, Simon rhetorically asks why one needs to speak longer (τί δεῖ μακρολογεῖν, l. 30) and continues by stating that the scholars at Turku are happy four times over. Simon uses the *Doxa*-type ending, addressing Gezelius Jr. and praying that he will bring benefit to the university and to the fatherland. The *patris* in these passages clearly refers to Finland, not Sweden. Simon prefers the term Φινλανδία for Finland, whereas Johan uses Φιννόνιαι for Finns.<sup>202</sup>

Although it is not known whether Gezelius Jr. supported Johan’s studies in any way, before or after this publication, Johan uses the term patron of Gezelius (Μαικίνας) in his signature. Johan’s poem (six stanzas, varying between 5–8

<sup>199</sup> Unlike his father, Gezelius Jr. did not write Greek poems. He received, however, six Greek congratulations at Turku. Besides the present congratulations by Paulinus’ brothers (1676) and a *propempticon* by Josef Thun (1681) due to his appointment as Superintendent of Narva (Mel. 857), he received three congratulations for his appointment as Bishop of Turku, one from Christophorus Alanus (Mel. 1148) and Olaus Flachsenius (Mel. 1202) and one from Georgius Ståhlberg, which is also an *epibaterion* (Mel. 885). Besides, A. A. Stiernman wrote a funerary poem for his memory in Stockholm, where he died in 1718 (fv03309).

<sup>200</sup> *Pyth.* 4.278. In the passage, Pindar refers to Homer: “a noble messenger,” he [Homer] said, “brings the greatest honour to everything”. However, this is not an exact quote (cfr. *Il.* 15.207). Melanchthon quotes the same passage, mentioning Pindar, in his letter. CR 3, Nr. 1750.

<sup>201</sup> Samuel Columbus’ wedding poem (17 hex) begins with a reference to the wedding day: the rising sun is a symbol of new life for the couple. See Pontani & Weise 2022, 741–743 (J. Akujärvi).

<sup>202</sup> In *Finlandia* (v. 53), Johan Paulinus states that *Fenningia* was the ancient name for Finland.

lines) is thematically divided into two parts: the first part consisting of the first three stanzas is a panegyric invitation to the Muses and to Finnish birds to sing joyful songs, and, furthermore, for Orpheus and Amphion to come to Turku.<sup>203</sup> The part ends with Gezelius Jr.'s arrival:<sup>204</sup>

Ἄρχετε Φιννόνιαί μοι γήθεος, ἄρχετε Μοῦσαι.  
 Κρηνιάδες, ποταμοί τε, μέλος, καὶ καλὰ ῥέεθρα  
 λίγγετε παντοδαπόν! Πολυγήμεσιν ἡδὲ ψίθυρσι  
 νῦν φυτά, δένδρα, δρύες, παμποίκιλα πλήθετε χεῖλη!  
 Σπεύδετε Στρυμόνιοι ποτὶ Φίννοσιν ὕδασι κύκνοι! 5  
 Δεῦτε δὲ νῦν λιγυροῖς ἅμα μέλπεσι ποικιλοδεῖροι  
 ἄδονες! ἡδ' ἡμᾶρ γλυκεραῖς τόδε κλείετ' αἰοδαῖς!  
 Ἄρχετε Φιννόνιαί μοι γήθεος, ἄρχετε Μοῦσαι.  
 Δεῦρο Θεῶν, Ὀρφεῦ Κιθαρχῶδε! κλέος τε μελικτῶν  
 Ἀμφεῖον! χελύεσσι σέβεσθε φάος τόδ' ἀγαναῖς! 10  
 ὦ Ἄνα, Φοῖβε, πάρει! Κοῦρας νεφεληγερέταο  
 Πιερίηθεν ἄγον Κρονίδευ, Μούσας Χάριτάς τε  
 ἀγλαῖην, καὶ Μνημοσύνην! Νιφόεσσι δὲ Φήμη  
 ἐν φαρέεσσι πρόσει! ὦ δευτέ νυ δέξια πάντα  
 ὄρνεα! ἡδ' ἡμᾶρ μελικαῖς τόδε κλείετ' αἰοδαῖς! 15

Ἄρχετε Φιννόνιαί μοι γήθεος, ἄρχετε Μοῦσαι.  
 ὦ ῥοδοδάκτυλ' Ἑῶ, πολυήρατε εὐρυοδείη  
 ἀρκτὴν χθον'! ὦ ἡμερόεν φάος! ὦ ἀγανῶπι  
 ἡμέρα! Χαῖρε μέγα! μέγα χαῖρέ νυ! Ἡ πολυίστωρ  
 ΓΕΖΕΛΙΟΣ, βροτέων γε τυχῶν νοῖ μητιόεντι 20  
 εὐκκληρος προσέχων, πρῶτ' ἀγνοῖς ποσσὶν ἀράσσει  
 Φιννονίου ἔδραν παναγὴ Ἑλικῶνος, ἐπ' αὐτῇ  
 θρέμμασι θευλογίαν σαλπίσσων οὐρανοδείκτην.

1 Ἄρχετε Φιννόνιαί μοι γήθεος, ἄρχετε Μοῦσαι, cfr. Mosch. *Ep. Bion.* (refrain), Theocr. *Id.* 1.64 (refrain)

Begin, Muses of Finland, begin the merry making with me. The nymphs of springs, rivers, and beautiful rivers: please sing a manifold song. And fill with your joyous twittering bushes and trees, forests, you many-voiced mouths! [5] Please hurry up towards Finnish waters, swans of Strymon! Come here, you clear-

<sup>203</sup> Paulinus also refers to Orpheus and Amphion in his Swedish wedding poem. Mel. 654.

<sup>204</sup> The poem has been translated into Finnish twice: into rhythmic prose (Korhonen 1998) and into hexameter (by Teivas Oksala in Korhonen, Oksala & Sironen, 196–199, which also contains a Greek text edited by Erkki Sironen). The edited text will be published with an English translation in the forthcoming *Anthologia Baltica*, see above p. 17 n57.

voiced nightingales with variegated necks! And end this day with sweet songs!

Begin, Muses of Finland, begin the merry making with me. Come here you two gods, Orpheus, the player of cithara, [10] and Amphion, the honour of singers. Pay respect to this light with your tortoise-shelled lyres! Please, master, be here! He brought the Cloud-gatherer's daughters here, the Muses and the Graces, Aglaia and Mnemosyne! Fame [15] in her snow-white garments is here! Come here you good birds all! Let this day echo with your sweet songs!

Begin, Muses of Finland, begin the merry making with me. O Rosy-fingered Eos, O you lovely, broad Northern land! O lovely light! O mild-eyed day! Hail to you, all welcome! Hail! Hail! The most learned of learned men, [20] fortunate in his wisdom, GEZELIUS, he ascends before the others to the holy Chair of Finland's Helicon and from there he will declare heavenly theology to his disciples!

The rhetorical *admiratio* is put to good use: the I-speaker is amazed at the beauties of the spring and early summer.<sup>205</sup> Calling for birds to fill Finland with songs brings spring with its migratory birds to mind – a splendid yearly event in Finland. Another sign of Finnish spring is “singing” rivers, as they freed from the icy cover of winter. Fame is in “snow-white” garments (13–14) but the epithet (νιφόεις) also brings to mind the snowy winters of the northern land. The refrain Ἄρχετε Φιννόνιαί μοι γήθεος, ἄρχετε Μοῦσαι, which begins all six stanzas of the poem, is a modification of the refrain in the *Lament of Bion* attributed to Moschus, whose versions were popular in Humanist Greek poems.<sup>206</sup> In the second stanza, the poetic I asks Orpheus and Amphion with their tortoise-shelled lyres to come to Finland, and Apollo, who will guide Muses, the Graces, and Mnemosyne from Pieria. By using classical imagery with piquant descriptive details Johan Paulinus creates a picture of Finnish spring. The third stanza focuses on the day of celebration, as Simon does in his congratulation, greeting the dawn of the day, “Rosy-fingered Eos”. The lovely light (ἡμερόεν φάος) may also evoke the light of spring and early summer after the darkness of winter, and the “lovely, broad Northern land” (πολυήρατος εὐρυόδεια ἄρκτωος χθών) denotes Finland – χθών referring to the countryside rather than to the whole country. From the countryside with its singing

<sup>205</sup> On rhetorical *admiratio* (part of *suavis oratio*), see Lausberg 1990, 186. In his *Carmen oratorium veris*, Paulinus, of course, describes more elaborately how the nature awakens after winter (for instance, verses 185–192). Paulinus 1674, A4v.

<sup>206</sup> This refrain, modified, also occurs in other contemporary Greek poems, such as the funeral poems by Rhodomanus (1573) and by a Swede, Olaus Swanberg (1676), and in a wedding poem, a Theocritus-cento by Rainer Brockmann in Tallinn in 1637, see Päll 2018, 92. Rhodomanus laments the death of Luther, see Gärtner 2020, 239–241. Swanberg's poem in memory of Professor Johannes Loccenius, entitled Εἰδύλλιον *quo patroni* [...], was published in Uppsala in the same year as Paulinus' poem to Gezelius Jr. Korhonen 2000, 70.

rivers and birds, the poem moves to the Royal Academy of Turku, where Gezelius Jr. is about to arrive in order to ascend the “holy Chair”, that is, to the Chair of (Extraordinary) Professor of Theology. His coming is preceded with Callimachean requests to rejoice: Χαῖρε μέγα μέγα χαῖρέ νυ!<sup>207</sup> As in his *Finlandia*, Paulinus first admires and eulogises Finnish nature before entering the civilised world.

The second part of the poem, consisting of the remaining three stanzas, depicts the young man as a god. Paulinus imitates the mighty passage of Apollo’s entering his temple in Callimachus’ *Hymn to Apollo* (2.1–8). Gezelius enters “with gentle steps to the holy Chair of Finnish Helicon” (ἀγνοῖς ποσσὶν ἀράσσει / Φιννονίου ἔδραν παναγῇ Ἑλικῶνος), while door locks are asked to open up “automatically” as well as the doors of northern Helicon (Ἀρκτόιο πύλαι Ἑλικῶνος). Apollo, too, is called “northern”, ἀρκτῶος, that is, the Apollo of the constellation of the Great Bear.<sup>208</sup> Furthermore, the Royal Academy of Turku is called the “holy temple of Phoebus”, which is “nodding” and its roofs, walls and vaults smile approvingly on Gezelius Jr.<sup>209</sup> The shorter fifth stanza asks the Muses to sing a paean to Gezelius Jr., whereas the last stanza is a prayer of long life and good health to him who is also called the “mirror of life” (ζωῆς κάτοπτρον). This reminds one of a *speculum principis*, a monarch setting his people an example of how to conduct their lives. Gezelius Jr. is thus depicted as godlike, and is honoured as a king in the second part of the poem. These passages may, again, seem comical – for a modern reader at least. Was a comical tone intended, since both the writer and the addressee were quite young men? However, there was a vast status difference between the son of the Bishop of Turku and the son of the Vicar of Mouhijärvi. Furthermore, exaggerated praises written in Greek would not have seemed as bold as they would have if written in one’s mother tongue.

In the same year as Ἐπίνικιος παιάν, Johan Paulinus composed his other Greek congratulation (4 eleg) for a dissertation. It was written to his compatriot Barthollus Thomae Rajalenius, the ill-fated writer of the succinct Latin grammar (1683) presented above.<sup>210</sup> The dissertation was the 29th of the serial dissertation *Collegium logicum* supervised by Jacobus Henrici Flachsenius and the disputation

<sup>207</sup> Cf. Call. *Aetia* fr. 112.8: χαῖρε, Ζεῦ, μέγα; *In Jovem* 1.91: χαῖρε μέγα, Κρονίδη.

<sup>208</sup> The North Star, *Stella Polaris*, was usually the symbol of Sweden and the Great Bear that of Finland. In his *Finlandia*, Paulinus defines the geographical location of *Finnonia* as a country which looks above its head to the Great Bear (v. 7). The Order of the North Star is one of the highest honours granted in Sweden, founded in the middle of the eighteenth century.

<sup>209</sup> Verses 29–30: ἐπινεύει Φοῖβοιο μέλαθρον [...] στεγὰς, τοίχους, καμάρας τ’ ὥς μειδάζουσι.

<sup>210</sup> See above p. 209 n82 and the Register Database s.v.

was held on November 18, 1676.<sup>211</sup> Paulinus did not discuss the subject of the dissertation, that is, how to combine syllogisms (*de constitutione syllogismi*). The short poem is not even 'syllogistic' in structure, it does not end by stating that Rajalenius has deserved praise for his efforts, only that glory will (as if automatically) follow his efforts:

Πρὸς Κύριον 'Ραιαλήνον 'Επίγραμμα

ΒΩΜΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΜΟΥΣΩΝ ΕΡΔΕΙΣ ΚΑ-  
ΜΑΤΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΠΟΝΟΥΣ ΤΕ·  
ΔΟΞΑ ΠΟΝΟΙΣ ΕΠΕΤΑΙ, ΚΑΜΑΤΟ-  
ΙΣΙ ΔΕ ΚΥΔΟΣ ΟΠΗΔΕΙ

Τοῦ Ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ  
JOHANNIS PAULINI

1 βωμόν ἐπὶ Μουσῶν ἔρδεις cfr. Hes. *Op.* 136: ἤθελον οὐδ' ἔρδειν μακάρων ἱεροῖς  
ἐπὶ βωμοῖς 4 κύδος ὀπηδεῖ cfr. Hom. *Il.* 17.251

An epigram to Mr. Rajalenius // You place hard work and effort on the altar of the Muses: fame follows these efforts; glory follows hard work. // From his brother Johannes Paulinus

The poem is entitled 'Επίγραμμα, whereas the genre name of Paulinus' previous congratulation for dissertation on heresies is Σύγγραμμα. The poem is written in majuscules (note the use of hyphens) imitating an inscription. The poem is like an epigram for the altar of the Muses upon which Rajalenius has set his 'offer', his efforts for this dissertation, which, however, he did not write. Dissertations in series were usually written by the *praeses*.<sup>212</sup> Much later, in 1691, Rajalenius, then the vicar in Rauma and in deep trouble on account of his private problems, married Paulinus' sister Kristina who, however, died a few years later.<sup>213</sup> By this time, Johan Paulinus had already been raised to the nobility, had become Lillienstedt.

<sup>211</sup> Vall. 969 (SKB 1147). As mentioned before, Johan defended (*pro exercitio*) one of the dissertations (Nr. 27) of this serial dissertation (Vall. 967).

<sup>212</sup> There are two variants of this dissertation, A and B. They contain five congratulations altogether, three from professors (among them Flachsenius with the signature *praeses et auctor*) and two from fellow students. SKB 1147. Rajalenius thus received more congratulations than Johan on the same serial dissertation on heresies, including even three from professors.

<sup>213</sup> Student Register, *s.v.* Rajalenius Bertil and *s.v.* Raumannus, Paul (Kristina's and Johan's father).

Johan Paulinus' Greek poems composed at Turku vary between humanistic and religious themes. This 'epigram' is without religious overtones, unlike Paulinus' other Greek congratulation for a dissertation. It may be related to the topics of the two dissertations, one discussing heresies, the other logic. It is noteworthy that these two paratexts, congratulatory poems for dissertations, are more matter of fact compared with the highly panegyric flavour of Paulinus' two examples of *personales Gelegenheitsschrifttum*, the wedding and inaugural poem published in a commemorative anthology and as a broadsheet, respectively. Paulinus continued to write poems in Uppsala and Stockholm. They were mostly published in commemorative anthologies or were preserved in private guest books.

### Self-Image as a Greek Poet

While studying at Uppsala, Paulinus, at Count Per Brahe's suggestion, was appointed adjunct lecturer in the Faculty of Philosophy at Turku in 1679, even though he had not applied for it. This post probably had few duties attached to it. Paulinus was not particularly industrious in his studies, though they did keep him at the University of Uppsala at least for a while. During his time there he did not defend any dissertations nor deliver practice orations (except for *Finlandia*), although he obtained a scholarship in November 1678. Paulinus' time at the Uppsala University was short as in December 1680 he got a note from the Uppsala Consistorium about not having enrolled for the autumn term.<sup>214</sup> He seemed to have concentrated on writing poetry, especially in Swedish to noble families, creating a network and possibly obtaining a fee for his poems. At the beginning of the 1680s he was the tutor for the children of the family of Baron Sten Bielke, the State Treasurer, who owned estates both in Sweden and Finland. On the third of April 1682, that is, four years after he delivered his *Finlandia*, Paulinus wrote a letter in Gräsö, an island in the northern part of the Stockholm archipelago, where the Bielke family owned an estate. The Swedish letter was addressed to Samuel Åkerhjelm Sr. (1639–1702), who was the secretary of the *Kammarkollegiet* (Chamber Collegium), a high Swedish administrative authority under the Ministry of Finance in Stockholm.<sup>215</sup> By this letter, which contains

<sup>214</sup> Sallander 1974a, 201 and Sallander 1974b, 210 (the meetings of the Consistorium of the University of Uppsala on November 27 1678 and December 18 1680).

<sup>215</sup> Samuel Åkerhjelm Sr. was also known as Samuel Agriconius. *Kammarkollegiet* is nowadays named as The Financial and Administrative Services Agency.

reference to his other letters written to Åkerhjelm,<sup>216</sup> Paulinus was courting favour with this influential man as well as referring to a professorship which he was not going to apply for any more:

[...] I send to you Mr. Secretary [Samuel Åkerhjelm], a *Ludicrum Epitaphium* to read in your leisure time, a poem that I composed recently about the hares, which the most excellent Mr State Treasurer [Sten Bielke] shot here last winter, in as much I bear in mind that His Excellency himself read it several times and not without mirth and appreciation. When I arrive in Stockholm, God willing, I shall seek an opportunity to show you, Mr Secretary, a number of other poems both in Greek, Latin, and Swedish, as well as even in French, which I have composed on various occasions at the universities of Uppsala and Turku and also in Stockholm, regarding which I – without boasting and only for your righteous ears, Mr. Secretary, persist – can in good consciousness offer resistance to my competitors, and I will no longer compete for the professorship against them, if they all are able to fabricate verses better or even equal to these. [...].<sup>217</sup>

The satiric epitaph, *Ludicrum Epitaphium*, on shot hares was not, as far as we know, printed nor preserved nor, despite its Latin title, its language known – it could after all have been written in Swedish or any other language that Paulinus and his patrons knew. The detail that Sten Bielke read it with pleasure (and several times) says something about the literary culture of the time. Furthermore, what is remarkable is that Paulinus was courting favour just by writing poems in many languages, and that he mentions the poems he wrote at Turku. In the end, there is even a reference to putting the poems together, as a collection may give him more credit as a poet than individual poems would. In the following year, 1684,

<sup>216</sup> Thus, Paulinus refers to a professorship – he does not mention in what field of studies – which Åkerhjelm would have helped him to get. Paulinus, however, tells that he had now decided to decline of the application process.

<sup>217</sup> [...] *skickar jag til Herr Secreteraren på en ledig stund at igenomläsa ett Ludicrum Epitaphium, der jag i sistens dicterade öfver hararna, som Hr. Riks-Skattmästarens Excell. här sköt i vintras, alldenstund jag minner mig på, at högbemälte H. Excell. det sjelf genomläste åtskilliga gånger, icke utan löje och behag. När jag kommer til Stockholm, vill Gud, skall jag söka lägenhet, at upvisa Hr. Secreteraren en hop af mina andra så väl Grekiska, som Latinska och Svenska, somliga ock Fransyska Poëmata, dem jag på åtskilliga tider tilfällen, både vid Academierna i Upsala och Åbo, som ock i Stockholm författat, på hvilka jag utan skräpp och allena för Hr. Secreterarens dygdiga öron at säga, kan efter min conscience bjuda trots alla mina Competitorer, och om de alle ihop bättre eller ock sådane kunna sammansmida, vill jag med dem intet mer om Professoratu täfla.* Floderus 1785–1789, 75–76. The letter was printed in the journal *Nya Svenska Bibliothek* (1762–1763, Part 2, 736) edited by Carl Christoffer Gjörwell Sr. from where Floderus copied it.

Paulinus began as a secretary for the president in the *Kammarkollegiet*, that is, the very same institute where the recipient of the letter, Samuel Åkerhjelm, worked. In 1685, the Consistorium of the Royal Academy of Turku had suggested that Paulinus should be given the open Chair of Jurisprudence at Turku, without him applying for the office. However, his studies in jurisprudence at Uppsala had supposedly been quite meagre. Thus the former *alma mater* still hoped to have Paulinus back at Turku. If Paulinus had eventually been appointed to this office, and had accepted it, perhaps the academic environment could have stimulated him to write more Greek poems.

In 1687, Paulinus wrote a Swedish wedding poem (14 lines), entitled *Sonnet*, to his brother Simon and his bride Magdalena, daughter of Johannes Schäfer. He regrets being absent from their wedding but is delighted with the family connection to the Schäfer family. The short poem was published as a separate publication in Stockholm.<sup>218</sup>

After the *Kammarkollegiet* Paulinus took up appointments in several high offices, marrying twice with a partner from a high status family, and had children with his second wife. In 1690, he was raised to the nobility, taking the name Lillienstedt. King Charles XI had some influence in the nomination.<sup>219</sup> Only noblemen could obtain higher offices. During 1692–1698, Paulinus-Lillienstedt was Secretary to the Svea Court of Appeal and acted as an executor in reducing lands formerly owned by noble families in southern Baltic lands. In 1694, he reprinted his *Finlandia*. There seems to have been no specific reason why, nearing his forties, he wanted to reprint it. He was not seeking any new post so there was no need to remind anyone of his extraordinary skills in the second classical language. In the same year, he also published an enlarged version of his main Swedish poem, *Den korsfäste Kristus*. In 1698, he was promoted to auditing secretary and member of several legal commissions. He was commissioned, for example, to bring Livonian law into line with Swedish law by recasting the Riga city law. In 1696, he published his last poems.<sup>220</sup>

Paulinus' connections to his Finnish *alma mater* were sporadic. Six dissertations at Turku were, however, dedicated to Paulinus or to Lillienstedt

<sup>218</sup> Mel. 1065. SKB 2408. Printed in Hanselli 1863, 280.

<sup>219</sup> To celebrate the nomination, Paulinus donated an expensive chandelier containing a Latin inscription, signed *Joh. Paul. a. Lillienstedt, Reg[ius] Secret[arius]*, to the church of his home town Mouhijärvi in 1691. Raevuori 1959, 408.

<sup>220</sup> Both were funerary poems, one in Latin on the death of Queen Ulrika Eleonora in 1693 and two Swedish poems in memory of Daniel Unger, the vicar of Stockholm in 1696 – signed only by the initials J. L. See Korhonen, Oksala & Sironen 2000, 189 (Korhonen). For the chronological list of poems written to Paulinus, see *ibid.*, 190–191.



during 1688–1706, such as a dissertation on Sibyllian oracles with pictures of Sibyllas in 1703.<sup>221</sup> As always, we may question whether the dedicatee, as was customary, helped financially with the printing of the dissertation and the pictures. The dissertation also contains many Greek quotations, which might have pleased the dedicatee, complimenting him on his renowned linguistic skills in Greek.

In 1705 he became vice-president at the Wismar Tribunal but acted in fact as president due to a long tenure leave of the actual holder of the office. The position included diplomatic missions, like the negotiations between disputes within the Lower Saxon lands. In 1710, he was appointed governor of Eastern Gotland in Sweden but soon after his arrival at its capital, Linköping, he was appointed to handle diplomatic issues concerning Italy, Prussia, and Denmark in the newly created position of authorised delegate at the Foreign Affairs Section pertaining to Roman Law. For these accomplishments he was awarded the rank of Count in December 1712. He even attended the warrior king, Charles XII, the successor of Charles XI, in some of his expeditions and engaged in diplomatic duties. In political historiography, Count Lillienstedt is best remembered as the other principal negotiator of the Treaty of Uusikaupunki, which ended the Great Northern War between Sweden and Russia in 1721. The negotiations closed with controversial and painful results: many parts of the Swedish Kingdom had to be handed over to Russia, which meant the end of the “Great Sweden”.<sup>222</sup> One of the most exciting passages in Paulinus’ autobiography is the description of how he and his entourage managed to cross the Gulf of Bothnia in winter on his way to the place of the treaty. Their boat ran into rocks and they had to stay overnight in a deserted Åland devastated by the Russian army.<sup>223</sup>

Johan Paulinus’ career as a lawyer, high official and diplomat rising to the nobility, and finally obtaining the rank of Count, was remarkably successful for a son of a vicar from the small parish of Mouhijärvi. One reason for his comet-

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<sup>221</sup> Vall. 2626. The *praeses* was Jacobus Flachsenius and the respondent Johannes Munster.

<sup>222</sup> On Paulinus’ career as a civil servant and diplomat, see Olson 1999, 68–69 and Törnégren 1853.

<sup>223</sup> After his death, the general opinion was that Paulinus-Lillienstedt and the other negotiator, Otto Reinhold Strömfelt, had been traitors, and had even taken bribes, because Sweden had had to pay too high a price for the peace with the Russians. This view was expressed in many contemporary memoirs and letters, even in a letter by King Gustav III of Sweden (1746–1792). An anecdote tells that this enlightened despot and patron of the arts and of economic liberalism, while visiting Turku, despised the portrait of Lillienstedt that was put on the walls of the Royal Academy of Turku. Hanselli 1863, 231–232. Cederberg 1931, 191. Cederberg’s article does not exonerate the negotiators completely from the above-mentioned charges. Paulinus’ autobiography can be seen as an apology explaining why he acted as he did in these negotiations.

like career was that he easily seemed to find important patrons and supporters, including King Charles XI (reigned 1660–1697), the great reformer, and followed by Charles XII (d. 1718), the warrior king. Paulinus wrote his Swedish autobiography as an old man, but it was published only about 20 years after his death (1775).<sup>224</sup> After mentioning his family and studies at Turku and Uppsala – and his “oration in Greek” – he states that he has never striven for any office, that he has not “burdened himself by wicked ambition”. This is one way to applaud one’s talents. Or possibly this claim also reflects Horatian Epicureanism, which the poetic subject displays in Paulinus’ poem of youth, *Finlandia*: one need not strive for anything, one should be happy and content with what one already has. Paulinus, who became very rich in his later life, owning many estates in Swedish Pomerania, Sweden and Finland,<sup>225</sup> used the poetic “I” to claim that even he, not only frugal peasants, would be satisfied with a simple life. This proto-ecological message contains an elaborate list of mostly vegetarian food (221–227):

Μοὶ δ’ ἄρκει λιταῖς μεταδαίεσθαι θαλίῃσι,  
 ἄρκει μοι κεράμων, ἄρκει ξυλίνων ἀπὸ σκευῶν  
 πόλῳ ἡϋτελεῖ, κυάμοις μελανοχροέεσσι,  
 κράμβαις ἀγροΐκαις πολυγνάμπτοις ἢ ῥαφάνησι  
 γογγυλίδεσσιν ἢ εὐτροχάλοις κρεάτων μεθ’ ὑείων, 225  
 εἶτα γάλακτι νεοβδάλῳ καὶ πίοι τιρῶ  
 ἡδόμενον σιγῇ ὑπαλευέμεν αἴθοπα λιμόν.

Simple festivities are sufficient for me, meals eaten from earthen pots, frugal porridge eaten off wooden plates are enough for me, black beans, white cabbage, much-twisted radish, [225] and round turnips with pork; thus, peacefully enjoying also fresh goat milk and fat cheese, I drive away burning hunger.

Count Lillienstedt died on one of his estates, near Stralsund. The inscription on his tombstone mentions his excellence as a Greek, Latin and vernacular poet (*Poesi Graja, Latina, Patriaque excellens*).<sup>226</sup>

Can we say that Paulinus’ Greek poems had a positive impact on his career and his becoming Count Lillienstedt? At least these poems were important for

<sup>224</sup> It was published by H. G. Porthan in several parts in Finland’s first national newspaper. See Porthan 1775, *passim*. Korhonen, Oksala & Sihvonen 2000, 211 (Korhonen).

<sup>225</sup> In Finland, he owned land and a manor in Ulvila (near Pori) and in Kalanti, and a house in Uusikaupunki, where the peace negotiations had been held. Raevuori 1959, 416.

<sup>226</sup> Floderus 1785–1789, 76 note b.

Paulinus himself. Versifying and composing in Greek was part of his identity as a young man, but also part of his self-fashioning and how he displayed himself to others, even at an advanced age. He was intent to show his poems (and not merely his Greek poems) to a high official (the letter to Samuel Åkerhjelm) and he decided for some reason to reprint *Finlandia* when he was nearing his forties. He saw it necessary to mention his Greek oration in his autobiography, and the fact that he excelled in composing Greek poems was even mentioned on his tombstone. The “glory that was Greece” also glorified him.



## 6. Concluding Reflections. Greek at the Edges of Europe

In 1894, Professor of Greek at the University of Helsinki, Ivar A. Heikel characterised the Greek poems written at the Royal Academy of Turku (1640–1826) in the following manner:

And the content! It is usually prosaic or at least rather trivial. Every now and then one does chance upon with a piece betraying poetic feeling and intuition, but they are too sporadic for one to dare to search for a skald.<sup>1</sup>

If Heikel had seen the whole corpus – called the Turku Greek Corpus (over 400 texts) in this book – his attitude would probably not have changed. He was searching for “poetic feeling” and “intuition”, which are rarely found in occasional verses in any language composed by amateurs. The content was “trivial” not only because the composers were not poets, but academics (students, teachers, clergy persons), but because the main goal of these texts was to praise persons, institutions, and countries. These eulogies might reflect genuine emotions, like when praising and congratulating one’s friend, or feeling joy and happiness for his academic achievements, when he finished his studies, or when he came back home after his studies abroad. However, it is not usually satisfactory to say plainly that ‘I am happy for you’, because it does not express one’s emotions fully; it is more efficient to use, for instance, metaphors and similes (‘I am glad like a cat welcoming her human back home’). The content or “message” is not what defines a poem as a poem, but the content of early modern humanistic poetry in classical languages, especially in Greek, is often predictable. Humanist Greek poems and prose texts seldom have such open declaratory contents as Olympia Morata’s and Johannes Caselius’ Greek poems presented at the end of Chapter 2.1.

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<sup>1</sup> Heikel 1894, 157 (in Swedish): “Och innehållet! Det är vanligen prosaiskt eller åtminstone rätt trivialt. Här och där påträffar man visserligen något stycke, som förråder poetisk känsla och intuition, men de stå alltför enstaka, för att man skulle våga sig på upptäkt efter en skald.” Strictly speaking, Heikel was Professor of Greek literature (1888–1926) in the *Imperial Alexander University in Finland*, the heir of the Royal Academy of Turku. The name of the university was changed to the University of Helsinki in 1919, after Finland’s independence from Russia.

The relevance of many Humanist Greek texts lies elsewhere than their literary value. Nevertheless, basic topics of poetry, such as love and death, are dealt with in these Greek poems, too, namely in the genres of wedding congratulations and funerary poems. They are iced with a thick layer of rhetoric because rhetorical guides and norms largely dictated which *topoi* were proper for each genre. However, one may ask whether all literature is ‘dancing around’ genres, even today? Original works are those that *renew* the genre, and early modern writers of occasional poetry in academic environments certainly try to *refresh* the genres by using, for instance, different kinds of manneristic devices (*acrosticha* etc.). The Baroque Period, with which the “Age of Humanism” in the Swedish Empire largely coincides, valued status and even ostentation, which might produce, from our perspective, pompous and superfluous and sometimes even unintentionally comical literary products, such as the exaggerated *lamentatio* in Georgius Ståhlberg’s *epibaterion* (cf. Chapter 2.3., pp. 100–102). Furthermore, literary ideals and expectations for the early modern Greek verses and prose texts came from epideictic rhetoric, especially from its late antiquity phase with its prescriptions as to how to praise different objects. For versifying, especially in classical languages, the method was *imitatio* of canonised authors or, in most cases, the authors which were read in schools and universities. All in all, the expectations for versifying were different in antiquity and during the early modern period than they are nowadays. Poetry always reflects the culture in which it is composed.

Humanist Greek was seldom a genuine language of communication. True, there were high aspirations and ideals. Stefan Weise (2016) ends his excellent presentation of Humanist Greek texts from Germany (*die neualt griechische Literatur*, as he calls it) with a notion that these texts show that “die Geschichte der altgriechischen Literatur nicht mit der Antike endet”. He is thus continuing ideas expressed by Martin Crusius and many other European humanists during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even during the eighteenth century, such as Lizelius in his *Historia poetarum Graecorum Germaniae* (1730). Friedrich Paulsen (1896) called Greek poems written by (German) humanists “Gelehrten sport”. German scholars with a good command of Greek may be seen as competing with their colleagues to write elaborate poems and imitate ancient authors in order to delight the connoisseurs, who might acknowledge the subtexts used. On the fringes of the European continent, it was more like a struggle to write in Greek by imitating Greek school-texts (such as Isocrates’ *Ad Demonicum*) in order to make one’s Greek better. The practice was often far from the ideals of the seventeenth century Swedish Kingdom, but not so much at its major university in Uppsala with its chair of Greek as in its three smaller universities (in Tartu,

Turku, and Lund), which had to manage with chairs of Greek combined with Hebrew and other Oriental/Biblical languages. However, Greek could be even used in such a practical niche as scholarship applications to the Royal Academy of Turku (Chapter 5.1).

The question of the international relevance of collecting and analysing the national Greek Corpus of such a small country as Finland, which I did in my dissertation (2004), may need to be stated. Why bother to collect and present mediocre poems and prose in (Humanist) Greek when there are better ones that are still waiting for a more thorough study? One need not necessarily search in the central European libraries for interesting Humanist Greek literary products. In addition to Josef Thun (Sweden), Johan Paulinus (Finland), and Rainer Brockmann (Estonia), there are other significant names from the Swedish Kingdom, which had already been dug up by Ericus Michael Fant (1775–1786) and especially by Matthias Floderus (1785–1789) in their works on Greek production in “Great Sweden”. Furthermore, vast masses of good Neo-Latin literature, written in the literary language of the time, still await researchers.

One answer to this challenge is that all Humanist Greek texts can be seen as *revitalising* an ancient language and an interesting field of study as such, because these texts are part of the classical tradition, which poses such questions as: how these texts imitated the ancient and early modern genres and the guidelines of rhetorical textbooks and poetics; how they reflected the ideals of Greek instruction and the given instruction but, of course, also the individuals’ skills with idiosyncrasies in using Greek; what kind of Greek was used, and why they wrote in that kind of Greek in that particular country (or university); and, can we trace national differences between Greek written in different countries, that is, for instance the influence of vernacular (in the case of Turku, both Swedish and Finnish)? One of the major linguistic questions concerning Humanist Greek, however, would be its closeness to and dependence on Latin (and Neo-Latin). Due to the practice of translation, and because Latin was the *lingua franca*, many Humanist Greek verses could be translations from Latin, so that the nucleus of a given Greek poem was written in Latin, which means that Latin comes through in the Greek. Nevertheless, the texts in the Turku Greek Corpus, despite containing many mistakes in prosody and syntax (e.g., congruence), are as such a quite surprising phenomenon in their totality because they were created in an educational atmosphere where the instruction of Greek was mainly concentrated on New Testament Greek.

Moreover, quantitative analysis of national Greek corpora is justified because it provides general outlines, e.g., which genres of occasional texts (wedding

poems, congratulations for orations, etc.) were the most popular and when they were, although there were many random reasons for the popularity of a certain genre or mode of writing – such as the popularity of writing prose texts, not poems, in Greek during the professorship of Ericus Falander at Turku. Students followed the Professor's example (Chapter 2.3, p. 84).

Another answer to the relevance of studying national corpora in their entirety (other than the national relevance) is that Humanist Greek texts reflect the early modern philhellenism that also illuminated the edges of Europe. In this book I have explored a set of converging ideas about the phenomenon of “Humanist Greek” by outlining, especially in Chapter 3, these texts in the context of *Humanist Greek culture*, the basis of which is early modern philhellenism, a definitely different kind of love for the Greek language and culture than the philhellenism of the nineteenth century. I explore its pervasive features – used not only by the best Greek writers – such as *ad hoc* Hellenising one's name, dropping Greek words and phrases into Latin texts, in the manner of the Romans, and speculating about the kinship between Greek and one's mother tongue. In addition, Greek could be used as a code language in correspondence by changing abruptly from Latin to Greek when one was discussing delicate subjects such as politics and unfit marriages. Early modern philhellenism also includes ideas of keeping the Greek language “pure”, and that western humanists are the inheritors and continuators of Greek literature. One interesting linguistic phenomenon reflecting early modern philhellenism, which calls for further study, is the use of Greek inflections, endings, and prefixes in Latin words of Greek origin that were written in Greek letters, for instance, *periphrastikῶς* (Chapter 3.2, pp. 131–133). This feature is a kind of *superplus* of philhellenism, like using the Attic month calendar (e.g., τῇ Βοηδρομιῶνος ἐπὶ δέκα η) when dating one's own Greek texts and acrophonic numbers instead of Arabic or Roman numbers. All in all, Humanist Greek culture means identification with the Greek culture, proclaiming oneself to be a philhellene, especially using the Greek term, φιλέλλην, but on a higher level it meant that educational institutions were seen as part of the Pan-European “Hellenising” movement since the Renaissance. When Jacobus Rungius eulogises the Royal Academy of Turku as a Μουσῶν φυτευτήριον καὶ εὐδόκιμον τῶν ἀρετῶν θέατρον and Josef Thun refers it as Ἀθῆναι Αὐραϊκαί, Athens on the banks of the River Aura, in the occasional texts published in 1686 and 1719, respectively (Chapter 3.4), they send a message – in Greek – that Greece has not only flown across the Alps but also the Baltic Sea; that the Nordic university in Finland can claim evidence of Greek learning.



It is not possible to tie together the many issues discussed in this study in this concluding chapter. I would like to point out only some of the outcomes. One of the basic problems in this field of study is defining the terminology we use in discussing these texts. There are three reasons for preferring the term Humanist Greek and not, for instance, New Ancient Greek (*neualtgriechisch*) when speaking at least of Nordic Greek corpora. “Humanist” refers to humanistic and rhetorical education, which was basically common throughout Europe, with different emphases, from the Renaissance until the nineteenth century. It cultivated eloquence and fine speaking, and therefore also poetry, albeit “rhetorical” poetry (cf. Chapter 4.2., p. 216–217). Especially in the Protestant countries it manifested itself as Christian humanism, also in the seventeenth-century Swedish Kingdom, where the humanistic *Zeitgeist*, however, soon faded due to the political situation and the Great Northern War (1700–1721). After that, composing verses became a more rare practice: the Age of Enlightenment, or the Age of Freedom as it is called in Swedish historiography, was characterized by interest in such practical matters as national economics, not humanistic ideals. Although Greek continued to be written after the eighteenth century, and is so even today by accomplished scholars, the commonly shared rhetorical background had begun to diminish, and with it the ideals and models of active bilingualism in classical languages. The belief in the importance of active skills in learning languages did not disappear (Greek composition continued as part of elementary Greek instruction in many universities, even in schools in Germany), but what did change was the emphasis on the stylistic exercises in Greek. Some manuals meant to guide composition in Greek were published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Chapter 2.2), but more important may have been the exercises based on ancient *progymnasmata*, which were mentioned even in the school ordinances and the statutes of the universities. They were sometimes called exercises in *imitatio*, so that the term was understood in a broader sense than merely imitating model authors (Chapter 4.1, subsection “Exercises in Imitation”). Furthermore, when the status of vernacular was strengthened and the amount of books began to proliferate, Greek poems written by students and professors were not seen as part of the national literature, as was the case with the first national bibliographical literary history of Finland, *Aboa literata* (1719). Johan Paulinus (1655–1732), who used both classical languages in his youth, later in life still composed some Latin poems, although more in Swedish, the high-status addressees of which, such as royals, could perhaps more truly appreciate – but he no longer wrote poems in Greek.

Another terminological issue is the descriptive terms that we are accustomed to use. Most of the texts from the Turku Greek corpus (cf. Chapter 2.3) are short texts, poems and prose texts, composed for various occasions according to the norms of epideictic rhetoric. They belong to two basic categories: the first are *paratexts* in dissertations and orations, composed and/or delivered by students and professors. These were basically *gratulationes* (for which the Greek equivalent is συγχαίματα). They were *paratexts*, because they were not published as separate, individual publications. They were *not* liminary (threshold) verses, because the function of liminary texts is to introduce a publication. The focus of a dedication or a congratulatory paratext in a dissertation was on the addressee, the person, not the publication. The second group consists of texts in *commemorative anthologies*, that is collections of texts, often in different languages – wedding congratulations, funerary texts, congratulatory texts for inaugurations, Christmas and New Year greetings etc., addressed to a specific person or persons. *Commemorative* refers to the idea that these printed publications mark an event, or festivity, which often marked an entrance into a new social status (like rites of passages), making something permanent out of a transient occasion. They were *anthologies* (not collections), because there were usually many writers, although they sometimes contain poems or prose texts only by one writer; sometimes publications were broadsheets, which might have been put on display on the day of celebration. Both text groups used the guidelines of epideictic rhetoric, and in the Turku context the occasions were nearly exclusively academic occasions, such as the defence of degrees. All in all, these short epideictic texts, from both groups, written for different academic occasions, could be divided into four basic types: a) praising, laudatory, and commendatory; b) congratulatory; c) panegyric, i.e., inviting to celebrate and rejoice; and d) syllogistic. Occasional texts could include all of these elements, or focus on only one feature.

This study suggests that writing Greek poems and prose texts in an academic environment was partly a product of writing exercises, and the overall structure of the texts often reflects the general goal of learning “academic writing”, that is, how to make an argument (cf. the so-called syllogistic congratulations), how to begin and end one’s text (Chapter 4.4), and how to quote and paraphrase in a valid way, that is, in order to learn academic reference technique, which was only starting to take form during the early modern period (cf. Chapter 3.5, 4.5). However, we may ask whether the practice of imitating model classical authors may have even collided with the pursuit of valid referencing techniques, or loosened the precision of referencing so that imitation converged on plagiarism (Chapter 4.1).

That these texts were occasional<sup>2</sup> is alluded to by the way humanist Greek poems were often signed with the expressions referring to haste, *αὐτοσχεδίως* and the like. However, I argue that this could also refer to spontaneity and ideal of virtuosity in poetical composition (cf. Chapter 4.4). We may suppose that professors and Greek teachers may have sometimes suggested that their students should write something in Greek, although there is no definite evidence for it in the Turku Greek Corpus. There were some cases when students expressed their impulse to write as having come from their fellow students (Chapter 4.4., subsection *Exordium*). However, in the case of Johannes Julinus' Greek preface, the instigator could have been Professor Simon Paulinus, who could also have asked Georgius Aenelius to translate Paulinus' Latin dissertation on Hebrew philology into Greek (Chapter 5.2).

In this study, the background of versifying in Greek in the West is suggested to be threshold (liminary) verses, which Byzantine scholars were first to compose in Greek *editiones principes* in their literary language, their archaising form of Greek. Later, Greek liminary verses and prose texts, such as cover letters, were added to many popular Greek textbooks (Chapter 2.1). These verses and prose texts were a concrete guarantee that Greek could be used as a kind of literary language in the Republic of Letters of the West, too.

Humanist Greek text production was both a form of self-representation (there were specific reasons for a certain person to write in Greek in a specific situation) and a sociocultural practice firmly based on ancient concepts of how to compose poems, how to write, and how to understand the function of literary artworks. To decipher the background for a short Greek poem or prose text written by an otherwise unknown person at a small university, a lot of details need to be taken into account: to whom was it written? On what occasion? Who was the Greek professor at that time, what kind of instruction in Greek had the writer possibly received? Did he write other poems or prose texts in Greek?

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<sup>2</sup> However, occasional poetry is a feature of oral literature as well – already in ancient Greek “song culture” poems were made for different occasions and festivities. In addition, occasional poetry can be seen as an *ahistorical* phenomenon. My 99-year-old aunt is an occasional poet, writing verses in Finnish especially for birthdays. Her rhymes take note of the person(s) in question, his/her life, and the occasion. One of her latest achievements is a tautogrammatical prose text in which every word begins with the letter ‘k’. Versifying is part of her identity, a feature for which she is known in our family. Her verses have been published in a local newspaper, but she has never thought to gather and publish them as a collection. If collected, they would, I suspect, show little or no influence from the contemporary poetry scene – the rich modernist and post-modernistic tradition of Finnish poetry – or the rules of epideictic rhetoric, for that matter.

Did he write Latin poems or poems in other languages? What was his family background? Did somebody write Greek poems to him?

Furthermore, classical scholars researching Humanist Greek literature need to have a knowledge of early modern poetics and rhetoric. They need to be aware of the early modern Greek canon and the difference in literary expectations; that is, writers were not expected to create something new, but to produce something in the old mould. They must be good Latinists, and especially know Neo-Latin, and be well-versed in Roman literature and the Roman canon in vogue during the early modern period. Moreover, they need to be aware of the religious atmosphere of the time, know Christian hymns – a chief poetic influence heard every week in churches and home services – current theological issues, the Bible, especially the New Testament and the Acts of the Apostles in particular, and also know the Greek Church Fathers (especially Gregory of Nazianzus), late antique epics (especially Nonnus), and even Byzantine literature.

The image of Greek was, at least during the seventeenth-century Swedish Kingdom, that of a sacred language, which might be the reason why the use of Greek was restricted to solemn subjects and genres (no satires in Humanist Greek!). In fact, poetry served the functions of Plato's ideal polity: praising eminent men, heroes, and gods (*Leg.* 7.801e). However, there could be possible hidden meanings, and even ironic or friendly invectives within these eulogising texts.

Humanist Greek culture had a connection to the ideals of Greek language and culture and the ideals of western humanists. Unlike a modern scholar who composes an occasional Greek poem, a Humanist Greek poet shared the ideals of their role as the continuators of the Greek literary tradition. Due to advances in philology, the self-confidence that one could in fact compose Greek poems that could be favourably compared with poems by ancient authors has been lost. The concept of poetry has also changed. Humanist Greek as a term is thus to be defined by its *function*: it was not only part of the Greek instruction of its time and also had important social functions, but was part of the ideals of humanism and the functions and duties of a Greek humanist.

\* \* \*

I conclude with a thought experiment: What would our European education look like if Renaissance Humanists had not been interested in acquiring active skills in Greek, and later European Humanists, especially in the German Protestant universities, had not kept alive the idea of truly bilingual humanists? Composing Greek poems was a fleeting phenomenon, but did it have any lasting consequences? For example, would the renaissance of Homer in the nineteenth century have been possible without the general knowledge of Greek? Did Humanist Greek contribute to Greek still possessing some sort of an aura of elitism ("glory")? And is that a bad or a good thing? Indeed, isn't it a good thing?



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- Crusius, Martin. 1585. *Germanograecia libri sex. In quorum prioribus tribus, orationes in reliquis carmina, Graeca & Latina, continentur [...]*. Basel.
- Crusius, Martin. 1562. *Puerilis in lingua Graeca institutionis, pars prima*. Wittenberg.
- Crusius, Martin. 1610. *Puerilis in lingua Graeca institutionis, pars altera, continens etymologiae tractationem*. Wittenberg.
- Dolscius, Paulus 1555. Δαβίδου προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως μέλος, ἐλεγείοις περιειλημμένον ὑπὸ Παύλου τοῦ Δολσκίου Πλαέως. *Psalterium prophetae et regis Davidis, uersibus Elegiacis redditum [...]*. Basel.
- Dresserus, Matthaeus. 1574. *Gymnasmatum litteraturae Graecae libri tres, orationum, epistolarum, et poematum ex autoribus profanis et sacris [...] ad comparisonem, exercitationemque eloquentiae utiles [...]*. Leipzig.
- Dinnerus, Konrad 1589. *Epithetorum Graecorum farrago locupletissima [...] ad communem philologorum utilitatem in lucem edita. Additus etiam in fine*

- index Latinorum nominum quae Graecis vel una, vel pluribus appellationibus respondent. Graeca quoque synonyma passim indicata [...].* Frankfurt.
- Erasmus 1511. *Moriae encomium id est stultitiae laus*, see Miller 1979
- Fabricius, Johan Albert. 1712. *Bibliotheca Graeca Liber V. De scriptoribus Graecis Christianis [...].* Hamburg.
- Fabricius, Johan Albert. 1721. *Bibliotheca Graeca X. [...].* Hamburg.
- Falander, Ericus (pr.) – Laconius, Petrus (resp.) 1681. *Discursus philosophicus, selectiores nonnullae quaestiones practicae exhibens [...].* Turku.
- Falander, Ericus (pr.) – Raulinius, Noach (resp.). 1679. *Disputatio historico-geographica de Inclutis Montibus Ararat; imprimis contra Joan. Goropii Becani Indoscythica [...].* Turku.
- Fant, Ericus Michael. 1775–1786. *Historiola litteraturae Graecae in Svecia I–XII.* [Parts I–II], Suppl. Uppsala.
- Finno, Jacobus Petri. 1583. [Yxi Wähä suomenkielinen *wirsikirja*]. Stockholm. SKB 4213.
- Floderus, Matthias. 1785–1789. *De poëtiis in Svio-Gothia Graecis I–IV.* Uppsala.
- Florinus, Henrik. 1678. *Nomenclatura. Rerum brevissima, Latino – Sveco – Finnonica [...].* Turku.
- Fornelius, Laurentius. 1625. Εὐκκληριστικὸν quo regiae Upsaliensium academiae felicitatem publicis omnino praeconiis concelebrandam, encomia proinde celeberrimorum professorum, gloriam, dignitatem, ac decus, insigni solertia studiosam juventutem humanioribus & ingenuis artibus ibi exornantium, exigua admodum & tenui avena attingit & modulatur. Uppsala.
- Gezelius, Johannes Sr. 1646. *Poëmata Pythagorae, Phocylidis & Theognidis cum versione Latina [...]* Accessit & brevis quarundam vocum difficiliorum analysis. *In usum Acad. Gustaviane [...].* Tartu.
- Gezelius, Johannes Sr. 1648. *J. A. Comenij Janua lingvarum reserata aurea. In Graecum idioma, vocabulis & loquendi modis sanctis Dei amanuensibus in N. T. usitatis, fideliter translata. Primum privatis exercitiis destinata, jam vero in gratiam φιλελλήνων, quos Graece scribendi, loquendi ac disputandi desiderium tenet, typis publicis consecrata.* Tartu.
- Gezelius, Johannes Sr. 1649. *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum [...].* Tartu.
- Gezelius, Johannes Sr. 1676. *Poëmata Pythagorae, Phocylidis & Theognidis cum versione Latina [...]* Accessit & brevis quarundam vocum difficiliorum analysis. *Ante annos XXX. Dorpati, in usum juventutis Academiae, et nunc in gratiam φιλελλήνων cum necessaria institutione de quantitate, praedipue literarum ancipitum α ι υ [...].* Turku.
- Gezelius, Johannes Sr. 1686. *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum, continens voces omnes*

*appellativas, tam Novi Testamenti, quam Januae lingv. Graecae, anno 1648. Dorpati editae. In quo ipsum thema, sequuntur ex eo derivata; haec excipiunt cum praepositione composita, tandem composita cum nomine, aliuque partibus orationis. Ad calcem addita est, ex manuali Pasoris, nominum propriorum explicatio. Denuo, in usum Φιλελλήνων excusum.* Turku.

Gezelius, Johannes Sr. 1668. *Grammatica Graeca, ex prolixioribus praecipuorum grammaticorum praeceptis in epitomen redacta ac primum in usum privatorum collegiorum Academiae Gustaviana; nunc verò, ad desiderium multorum, multis in locis, praecipuè quoad poësin, & N. T. dialectos aucta, et tertium edita. literis & sumptibus authoris.* Turku.

Gezelius, Johannes Sr. 1669. Μῦθοι τοῦ Αἰσώπου ἐκλεκτοί, Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ Ῥωμαιστί. *Fabulae Aesopi selectae Graece et Latine. In usum scholarum trivialium, Magni Ducatus Finlandiae editae.* Turku.

Gezelius, Johannes Sr. 1676. *In textus poenitentiales, quatuor dierum solemniū precum, Anni 1676. Breves dispositiones homileticae.* Turku.

Gezelius, Johannes Sr. (pr.) – Emporagrius, Johannes (resp.). 1650. Συζήτησις θεολογική, περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀδιαφοόρου. Ὅτι τις ἐπὶ τοῦ κελεύσματι [...] τῆς βασιλείσης προστεθήσεται [...]. Stockholm.

Golius, Theophilus. 1684. *Educationis puerilis linguae Graecae pars prima. Fabellae quaedam Aesopi Graecae, cum selectioribus apophthegmatibus. In usum gymnasii Argentoratensis. Editio nova correctior.* Strassburg.

Hahn, Petrus (pr.) – Almqvist, Haraldus (resp.). 1689. *Dissertatio ζητήσεις philosophicas exhibens* [...]. Turku.

Hahn, Petrus (pr.) – Montelius, Hemmingius (resp.). 1690. *Disputatio philosophica, de infantibus suppositis* [...]. Turku.

Hardt, R. von der. 1701. *Holmia literata.* Stockholm.

Helvicius, Christophorus. 1623. *Liber elegans de carminibus atque dialectis Graecorum Giessae olim editus, nunc vero in gratiam studiosae iuventutis renovatus, cum auctario seu Appendice Tabularum aliquot apprime utilium, et orationum Graecarum.* Nürnberg.

Helvicius, Christophorus. 1694. *Liber elegans de carminibus atque dialectis Graecorum, Upsaliae* [...]. *Olim Noribergae, nunc Upsaliae recusus.* Uppsala.

Holberg, Ludwig. 1741. *Nicolai Klimii iter subterraneum novam telluris theoriā ac historiam quintae monarchiae adhuc nobis incognitae exhibens e bibliotheca B. Abolini.* Copenhagen/Leipzig.

Idman, Nils. 1774. *Försök at wisa gemenskap emellan finska och grekiska språken, såsom tjenande til uplysning i finska folkets historie.* Turku.

Johannes Petri (Arbogensis). 1637. *Oratiuncula de Graecae linguae encomio.* Uppsala.

- Juslenius, Gabriel (pr.) – Juslenius, Daniel (resp.). 1703. *Vindiciae Fennorum*. Turku.
- Juvenal 1687 = Martignac, Étienne Algay de. 1687. (ed.) *Les Satyres de Juvenal et de Perse de la traduction de Monsieur de Martignac, avec des remarques*. Lyon.
- Kempe, Axelius. 1655. *Bibliotheca Academiae Aboensis sive elenchus* [...]. Turku.
- Kexlerus, Simon (pr.) – Purmerus, Johannes (resp.). 1655. *Tà Geometriae, liber I. De geometriae principiis* [...]. Turku.
- Lagerlöf, Petrus (pr.) – Palmroot, Johannes (resp.). 1685. *Historiola linguae Graecae* [...] Uppsala.
- Laurbecchius, Petrus (pr.) – Tuhnberg, Olaus (resp.). 1679. *Discursus philosophicus miscellaneas aliquot exhibens quaestiones*. Turku.
- Lidén, Joh. Henr. 1778. *Catalogus disputationum in academiis et gymnasiis Sveciae, atque etiam, a Svecis, extra patriam habitarum. Sectio I: Disputationes Upsalienses*. Uppsala.
- Lizelius, Georgius. 1730. *Historia poetarum Graecorum Germaniae a renatis litteris ad nostra usque tempora ubi eorum vitae, poemata et in priscos poetas Graecos merita recensentur*. Frankfurt/Leipzig.
- Lubinus, Eilhardus. 1622. *Clavis Graecae linguae cum sententiis Graecis cura Eilhardi Lubini*. Leipzig.
- Lund, David (pr.) – Cajanus, Ericus (resp.). 1697. *Lingvarum Ebraeae et Finnicae convenientia* [...]. Turku.
- Maier, Michael. 1616. *Lusus serius, quo Hermes sive Mercurius rex mundanorum omnium* [...]. Oppenheim.
- Marklin, Gabriel. 1820. *Catalogus disputationum in academiis Scandinaviae et Finlandiae Lidenianus continuatus a Gabr. Marklin. 1–3. Sectio I. Disputationes Upsalienses 3034. Annis MDCCLXXVIII.–MDCCCXIX. MDCCCXX. 1778–1819*. Uppsala.
- Melanchthon, Philipp. 1532. *Elementorum rhetorices libri duo*. Wittenberg.
- Miltopaeus, Martinus. 1669. *Institutiones oratoriae; classicorum authorum, Ciceronis imprimis, Caesaris* [...]. Turku.
- Miltopaeus, Martinus (pr.) – Petrejus, David (resp.). 1670. *Σχεδῆριον quaestionum nonnullarum philosophicarum* [...]. Turku.
- Morata, Olympia Fulvia. 1562. *Orationes, Dialogi, Epistolae, Carmina, tam Latina quam Graeca: cum eruditorum de ea testimoniis & laudibus* [...]. Basel.
- Moschopoulos, Manuel. 1545. *Περὶ σχῆδων. De ratione examinandae orationis libellus*. Paris.
- Munster, Johannes (pr.) – Juslenius, Daniel (resp.) 1700. *Aboa vetus et nova* [...]. Turku.



- Neander, Michael. 1559. *En lector, librum damus vere aureum [...]* Τὰ χρυσᾶ καλούμενα Πυθαγόρου ἔπη [...] *id est, Pythagorae camina aurea, Phocylidae poema admonitorium, Theognidis Megarensis poete Siculi gnomologia, Coluthi Lycopolitae Thebaei Helenae raptus, Tryphiodori poetae Aegyptij de Troiae excidio [...]* *Nili episcopi et martyris capita, sev paeceptiones de vita piè, Christiane ac honeste exigenda, Graecolatine.* Basel.
- Neander, Michael. 1561. *Graecae linguae Erotemata, quae hoc ordine explicata complectuntur, | 1 Etymologiam [...]* 2 *Regulas generales & speciales de accentibus.* 3 *Verba anomala & defectiua.* 4 *Syntaxes illas praecipuè, quae à Latina declinare uidentur.* 5 *Dialectos apud Poetas maxime obuias.* 6 *Regulas quasdam generales & speciales de syllabarum quantitate [...].* Basel.
- Nettelblatt, Christian von. 1728. (ed.) *Schwedische Bibliothec, in welcher verschiedene sowol zur alten als neuern schwedischen Civil- Kirchen- und gelehrten Historie gehörige, theils gedruckte und rare, theils ungedruckte Schrifften, Uhrkunden, Diplomata, Observationes, Inscriptiones [...]* *Samt den Novis literariis Sveciae, mit gebührendem Fleisz gesammelt, und zum Beweisz der blühenden Gelehrsamkeit in Schweden dargeleget werden.* Erstes Stück. Stockholm/Leipzig.
- Norcopensis, Andreas (pr.) – Swedberg, Jesper (resp.). 1681. *Dionysii Catonis Disticha de moribus ad filium, cum lemmatibus Sturmii, et Graeca versione Jos. Scaligeri [...].* Stockholm.
- Olaus Magnus Gothus. 1554. *Historia Olai Magni Gothi Archiepiscopi Upsaliensis, de gentium septentrionalium uariis conditionibus statibusque, & de morum, rituum, superstitionum, exercitiorum, regiminis, disciplinae, uictusque, mirabili diuersitate. Item de bellis, structuris, instrumentisque mirabilibus. Item de mineris metallicis, & uarijs animalium generibus, in illis regionibus degentium [...].* Basel.
- Paulinus, Johan. 1674. *Carmen oratorium veris, desideratissimae anni partis, amoenissimas voluptates complectens [...].* Turku.
- Paulinus, Johan. 1678. *Magnus principatus Finlandia, epico carmine depicta.* Uppsala.
- Paulinus, Simon (pr.) – Aenelius, Georgius (resp.). 1688. Διατριβὴ ἡ φιλολογικὴ, περὶ τῆς ἐτυμότητος, ὀρθοεπείας καὶ ἐμφάσεως τοῦ ,ὡπὴ Γενέσ. ΔΔΔΔΠΠΠΠ.ι [...] κατευθύνοντος Κύρ. Σιμώνος τοῦ Παυλίνου τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων καθηγητοῦ ἐπιδεδιοικτοῦ καὶ παιδευτοῦ μου τοῦ ἀξιολύστου [...] Τῇ τῶν εἰλικρινῶν τῶν φιλεβραίων καὶ φιλελλήνων δοκιμασίᾳ σωφρόνως παρίστησι Γεώργιος Αἰνῆλιος [...] τῇ Βοηδρομιῶνος ἐπὶ δέκα η. Turku.
- Paulinus, Simon & Paulinus, Johan. 1676. Ἐπινίκιος παιὰν εἰς πολὺκλειτον περιποικίλων, ἐπὶ παντὶ τῶν λόγων εἶδει, καμάτων θρίαμβον ὅταν,

ὑπερλαμπροτάτης τῆς βασιλικῆς μεγαλειότητος εὐδοκούσης, κύριος ἀνὴρ νέος τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς τὴν τε ἐμπειρίαν δαιμόνιος, κυρ. Ἰωάννης Γεζηλιος, Ἰωάννου υἱός, ὁ ἐν ἄκρῳ τῆς ἱερᾶς θεολογίας ἐπίτιμος, πρὸς ἐπιφανῇ τῆς Φινλανδίας Ἀθηναῖον, εἰς τὸν τῆς παναγέως θεολογίας καθηγητὴν δημόσιον παράγεται· εἰς προσήκουσαν τιμὴν εὐφημιζόμενο. Turku.

Plantin, Olaus. 1736. *Vindemiola literaria, in qua Hellas sub Arcto, sive merita Svecorum in linguam Graecam brevissime et modeste exponuntur*. Wittenberg.

Pontanus 1620, see Buchlerus 1620

Porthan, Henrik Gabriel. 1771–1795. *Historia Bibliothecae R. Academiae Aboensis* [...]. Turku.

Porthan, Henrik Gabriel. 1766–1778. *Dissertationis de poësi Fennica*. Turku. [Dissertation in series]

Porthan, Henrik Gabriel. 1775. (ed.) *Tidningar utgivne af et Sällskap i Åbo, år 1775: Femte årgången*. Turku.

Posselius, Johannes Sr. 1585. *Calligraphia oratoria linguae Graecae ad proprietatem, elegantiam et copiam Graeci sermonis parandam utillissima*. Frankfurt.

Posselius, Johannes. 1587. Οἰκείων διαλόγων βιβλίον Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ Ῥωμαϊστὶ. *Familiarium Colloquiorum Libellus, Graece et Latine, auctus et recognitus. Accessit et utilis Dialogus de ratione studiorum recte instituenda, item Oratio de ratione discendae ac docendae linguae Latinae et Graecae*. Wittenberg.

Posselius, Johannes Sr. 1690. Οἰκείων διαλόγων βιβλίον Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ Ῥωμαϊστὶ. *Familiarium colloquiorum libellus Graece & Latine. Autore Johanne Posselio. Nunc vero, in usum scholarum trivialium patriae, recusus*. Turku.

*Praelectiones* 1673 (Turku) = *Elenchus lectionum publicarum Dei o.m. auxilio in Regiâ Academiâ Aboënsi ab exactis serijs canicularibus anni MDCLXXIII, ad initium earundem, anni sequentis proponendarum* [...]. Turku.

*Praelectiones* 1701 (Turku) = *Catalogus praelectionum Academicarum*. Turku.

*Praelectiones* 1708 (Turku) = *Praelectionum academicarum series quas, divina suffulti gratia, professores singuli, facultatis sujusque, in regio ad Auram Athenaeo, a feriis aestivalibus, anni labentis 1708 ad eadem anni secuturi, studiosae juventuti, solenniter intimant, ferioque commendant, rectore Johanne Munster, Philos. Pract. & Histor. Prof. Ord.* Turku.

*Praelectiones* 1710 (Turku) = *Elenchus praelectionum quas, facultatum omnium, professores singuli in Regiâ Univers. Aboënsi, ad tenorem legum academicarum, exactis feriis aestivalibus anni MDCCX, ad initium earundem anni sequentis* [...]. Turku.

*Praelectiones* 1726 (Turku) = *Catalogus praelectionum publicarum quae in Regia*

- Academia Aboënsi a fine feriarum aestivalium anni MDCCXXVI ad initium earundem anni secuturi, per divinam gratiam proponentur.* Turku.
- Praelectiones 1677 (Uppsala) = Praelectiones academicae quas Deo duce professores facultatum in Academia Upsaliensi a mense Octobri Anni MDCLXXVII. ad idem tempus anni sequentis suis auditoribus proponere constituerunt.* Uppsala.
- Praelectiones 1678 (Uppsala) = Lectiones publicae professorum Upsaliensium à mense Octobri Anni 1678, ad eundem mensem Anni sequentis.* Uppsala.
- Praelectiones 1679 (Uppsala) = Lectiones publicae professorum Upsaliensium à die [] Octobris Anno 1679 in idem tempus anni sequentis.* Uppsala.
- Praetorius, Abdias. 1571. De poesi Graecorum libri octo [...] Quibus accessit & alius de generalissimis Poeseos considerationibus Libellus.* Wittenberg.
- Rabenius, Olof. 1701. Cato, cum versione Planudis, graecis & latinis e regione collocatis. Κάτων, καὶ μεταβολὴ Πλανουδεΐα, τῶν ἐλληνικῶν τοῖς λατίνοις ἐξ ἐναντίας κείμενον.* Västerås.
- Rajalenius, Barthollus. 1683. Breviarum grammaticae Latinae. Clar monstrans linguae ratione genuinam cui accessit quoque informandi modus cum exercitiis, futuro latinitatis studioso.* Turku.
- Rhodomani, Laurentii. 1589. ΠΟΙΗΣΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΗΣ. ΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΙΝΗΣ, ΗΤΟΙ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ, ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΕΝΝΕΑ. Poesis christiana. Palaestinae, seu historiae sacrae, libri novem [...].* Frankfurt.
- Salanus, Nicolaus. 1656. Gnomologia in qua memorabilia dicta & illustres sententiae Hesiodi Theognidis, Phocylidis, Pythagorae, Tyrtaei, Naumachii, Rhiani, Theocriti, Bionis, Moschi, Posidippi, Mimnermi, Simonidis, Lini, Callimachi, Solonis, Metrodori, Eratosthenis, Eumeni Parii, Musaei, Panyacidis, Menecratis et c. Ad certos titulos, secundum ordinem alphabeticum.* Uppsala.
- Scaliger, Julius Caesar. 1561, see Deitz & Vogt-Spira 1995 and 1998*
- Scaliger, Joseph Justus. 1611. Dionysii Catonis Disticha de Moribus ad filium nec non L. Annaei Senecae ac Publii Syri Mimi itemque nobilia aliorum dicta, illa de Sententia Jos. Scaligeri, ut et ista partim sic edita.* Wittenberg.
- Schefferus, Johannes. 1647. (ed.) Αἰλίου τοῦ Ποικίλης ἱστορίας. Cl. Aeliani sophistae variae historiae cum notis Ioannis Schefferi.* Västerås.
- Schefferus, Johannes. 1664. De natura & constitutione philosophiae italicae seu pythagoricae liber singularis.* Uppsala.
- Schefferus, Johannes. 1665. De stylo illiusque exercitiis ad veterum consuetudinem liber. Secunda hac editione auctior ac emendatior. Accessit ejusdem Gymnasium styli seu de vario scribendi exercitio liber. Secunda hac editione auctior ac emendatior.* Uppsala.

- Schefferus, Johannes. 1669. (ed.) *Theophrasti Characteres ethici, sive morum descriptiones Isaaco Casavbono interprete*. Uppsala.
- Schefferus, Johannes. 1670. (ed.) *Aphthonii sophistae progymnasmata item [...] Theonis sophistae progymnasmata*. Uppsala.
- Schefferus, Johannes. 1680. *Svecia literata seu de scriptis & scriptoribus gentis Sueciae*. Opus postumum. Stockholm.
- Schurman, Anna Maria van. 1650. *Opuscula Hebraea Graeca Latina et Gallica, prosaica et metrica*. Leyden.
- Schurzfleisch, Konrad Samuel. 1702. *Poemata Latina et Graeca una cum quibusdam inscriptionibus, collecta, conquisita et simul edita*. Wittenberg.
- Schrevelius, Cornelius. 1690. *Lexicon manuale Graeco-Latinum et Latino-Graecum. Ut illud in Belgio quintum prodiit semper auctius, praesertim quod ad dialectos et etymologicas thematum, investigationes attinet; ut et vocabul. Latinorum copiam. Ad calcem adiecta sunt, sententiae Graeco-Latinae, quibus omnia primitiva Graeca comprehenduntur. Editio novissima, ab innumeris mendis, quibus praecedentes editiones scatent sedulo repurgata*. Leipzig.
- Sennert, Andreas. 1678. *Athenae itemque inscriptiones Wittebergenses. Libri II*. Wittenberg.
- Skunk, Samuel (pr.) – Swanberg, Olaus (Resp.). 1672. *Disputatio de pronunciatione linguae Graecae [...]*. Uppsala.
- Sonntag, Christoph (pr.) – Sonntag, Heinrich (resp.). 1712. Ὁ Καρτήσιος ἀντίγραφος, τουτέστι, τὰ τοῦ Καρτησίου λήμματα πέντε ἀθεόλογα καὶ ἀφιλόσοφα. Altdorf.
- Sorolainen, Ericus Eriici. 1621. *Postilla, eli ulgostoimitus nijnen ewangeliumitten päälle cuin ymbäri aiastaian saarnatan Iumalan seuracunnasa [...]*. Stockholm.
- Spegel, Haquin. 1685. Λέξεις ῥηταί, sive *Sententiae insignes, in usum juventutis scholasticae ex variis collectae scriptoribus*. [...]. Λέξεις ῥήται *Graecarum sententiarum centuria prima ex Nemesio. Graecarum sententiarum centuria secunda ex Thucydide et Isocrate excerpta. Graecarum sententiarum [...] centuria tertia ex variis auctoribus selecta. Centuria quarta ex Clemens Alexandrini paedagogo conquisita. Centuria quinta, ex Demophilo*. Stockholm.
- Stephanus, Henricus. 1572. Θεσαυρὸς τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης. *Thesaurus Graecae linguae [...]*. I–IV. Paris.
- Stiernmann, A. A. 1719. *Aboa literata continens omnes fere scriptores, qui aliquid ab Academiae ejusdem incunabulis a.C. MDCXL. in lucem publicam edidisse [...]*. Stockholm.
- Swedberg, Jesper. 1681, see Norcopensis (pr.) – Swedberg (resp.) 1681
- Swedberg, Jesper. 1682. (ed.) Δημοφίλου ἐκ τῶν Πυθαγορείων ὁμοια, ἥ βίου

- θεραπεία. Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γνῶμαι Πυθαγορικάί. *Demophilii similitudines, seu vitae curatio ex Pythagoreis. Ejusdemque sententiae Pythagoricae. Cum versione et scholiis L. Holstenii* [...]. Stockholm.
- Svenonius, Enevaldus (pr.) – Pryss, Andreas (resp.). 1660. *Exercitationum philosophicarum quarta continuata secund, de origine linguarum imperio Svecico vernacularum* [...]. Turku.
- Tuhn, Josephus. 1682. *Amores sacri, sive Canticum Canticorum Salomonis elegis expressum* [...] *Accedunt & alia varii argumenti Poëmatia Graeca*. Holmiae.
- Tengström, Johan Jacob. 1814–1821. *Dissertatio academica de viris in Fennia peritia litterarum Graecarum claris*. Turku.
- Tiderus 1632 = Chytraeus, Nathan, Arvidus J. Tiderus & Olaus Nicolai. 1632. *Grammatica Latina in gratiam discentium magna ex parte in sveticum idioma* [...] *fidelitate translata a Arvido Joh. Tidero* [...] *nunc denuo sub incudem revocata* [...] *studio & opera Olai Nicolai Ubsaliensis* [...]. Uppsala.
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