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RHETORICAL STRATEGIES IN JOHAN PAULINUS' (LILLIENSTEDT) *FINLANDIA* (1678)
A Versified Oration in Greek from the Baroque Period*

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> "The *Fenni* are astoundingly savage and disgustingly poor; they have no weapons, no horses, no homes; herbs for food, hides for clothing, the ground for a bed; ... Their infants have no other refuge from wild animals and rain except to be covered by some network of branches; hither the young men return, here is their haven when old."[1]

Tacitus describes the *Fenni*, the nomads in the farthest North, in the end of *Germania* (46,3) with these degrading words. From the first century onwards, *Germania* dominated the common concepts concerning Nordic people, and *Fenni* were identified with Finns. Not earlier than the seventeenth century it was firmly rejected that Tacitus' *Fenni* were not Finns, but rather the Lapps (i.e., the Sami-people). One of the first to state this explicitly was Professor Michael Wexionius (ennobled Gyldenstolpe) who wrote a brief description of the history, geography and culture of Sweden and Finland which was published in Turku in 1650.[2] Wexionius describes Finns as valiant

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* First drafts of this article were presented at the NORFA Seminar (at Odense, 10.10.1998) and at the Finnish Archaeological Institute at Athens (2.12.1999). Paulinus' oration is edited by E. Sironen, in: T. Korhonen & T. Oksala & E. Sironen, Johan Paulinus (Lillienstedt): *Magnus Principatus Finlandia.* Suomen Suuriruhtinaskunta, Helsinki 2000 (in Finnish, but with an English summary and a catalog of Paulinus' texts, plus an *apparatus criticus* in Latin).

[1] Translated by J. B. Rives in Tacitus: Germania, Oxford 1999, 96–97.

[2] M. Klinge & A. Leikola "Fädernesland och födelsebygd", 620, in M. Klinge et al., Kungliga Akademien i Åbo 1640–1808. Helsingfors Universitet 1640–1990 I, Helsingfors 1988, 616–638. Wexionius was the first holder of the chair of Moral Philosophy and History at the University of Turku (Åbo). *Regia Academia Aboensis* was the first university in Finland, set up in 1640. Wexionius' *Epitome Descriptionis Sveciae, Gothiae,*

warriors and conquerors, a *topos*, which was familiar even to the brothers Johannes and Olaus Magnus, writers of the famous and influential histories of Scandinavia a century earlier.[3] As an example of the so-called Gothicism, the glorification of the ancient Goths or Swedes, Wexionius' history argues that Finns are among the most ancient nations as well, and descended from Noah.

The governor General of Finland, Count Per Brahe, who was the Chancellor of the University of Turku, had suggested Professor Wexionius write his history. The work inflamed the national pride of a country which had already been part of the kingdom of Sweden for four hundred years. Later on, Count Brahe was a patron of the young Johan Paulinus, a Finn, who delivered a versified oration on Finland in 1678 at Uppsala University. Paulinus' *Magnus Principatus Finlandia, epico carmine depicta*, or in brief, *Finlandia*, was dedicated to Count Brahe (and to Finnish Baron Knut Kurck), and it underlined of national superiority, which, however, prevailed first and foremost within victorious Sweden, a great power in the 17th century Europe.[4] Superiority in war demanded, as a balance, a superiority in cultural areas also, which the Swedes achieved by creating a glorious and heroic past. The most famous example of this was Olof Rudbeck's work *Atlantica sive Manheim*, the first part of which was published in 1679. Rudbeck stated that the legendary Hyperboreans, who lived in the regions beyond the North Wind (Βορέας), were actually the ancient Swedes. They were living a blissful life in a terrestrial Paradise and worshipping Apollo. Later, Sweden had been populated by descendants of Japheth, one of Noah's sons.[5] Rudbeck managed to connect Gothicism and its beliefs in Biblical ancestry with a classical concepts concerning the ancient Hyperboreans.

Fenningiae et subjectarum provinciarum was first issued in ten dissertations, each ten having a different respondent; Wexionius being a *praeses* and author. An enlarged version was published in the same year (1650). See J. Vallinkoski, Turun Akatemian väitöskirjat 1642–1828, Helsinki 1962–1966, numbers 4370–4379.

3 Their most important works are: *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (1555) by Olaus Magnus and *Historia de Omnibus Gothorum Suenonumque Regibus* (1554) by Johannes Magnus. They were the last Roman Catholic Archibishops in Sweden and living in exile after the Reformation, they published their works in Rome.

4 During the seventeenth century Sweden had defeated the Russians and the Poles and fought mainly successfully in the Thirty Years' War. At the height of its power, Sweden comprised Finland and the Baltic provinces of Estonia and Livonia, as well as parts of northern Germany.

5 See, for example, I. Kajanto, Humanism in a Christian Society I, Helsinki 1989, 24–26.

Johan Paulinus seems to create a classical ancestry even for Finns, when he claims in his *Finlandia* that Finns are descendants of 'Ιαπετός (line 58). Iapetos is mentioned by Hesiod as a son of Uranos and Gaia, father of Prometheus, and as a bad Titan repelling against the gods. Iapetos was, however, identified in the seventeenth century commentaries on the *Theogony* with Japheth, the son of Noah.[6] Paulinus' *Finlandia* carries on the prevailing "Rudbeckianism", connecting Christian and classical history.[7] Genrally speaking, Paulinus' panegyrics reflects for its part the patriotism of the seventeenth century.

This article will concentrate mainly on one aspect of this elaborate oration, namely on its rhetorical strategies to eulogize Finland and Finns as the most blissful nation and people. It is worthwhile, however, first to give some information on the literary genre and its conventions. Paulinus' *Finlandia* is probably the longest Greek poem written by a Nordic scholar during the Baroque period.[8] In addition to *Finlandia*, Paulinus wrote four other poems in Greek. Because the Greek poems and prose from the Renaissance and Baroque periods is a largely neglected area of study, I intend to give some ideas concerning Paulinus' models among ancient as well as contemporary authors as examples of general features of Greek poems of these periods.[9]

The world was distributed to the sons of Noah after the Deluge; Japhet obtained the western parts, i.e., Europe.

6 L. Barlaeus, In Hesiodi Theogoniam Commentarius luculentus, Lugd. Batavorum 1658, 11: *Sed revera non alius fuit Iapetus, quam Japhet, filius Noachi, Europaeorum pater.*

7 However, the first part of Rudbecks's *Atlantica* was published a year *after* Paulinus delivered his oration at Uppsala. But, ideas of *Atlantica* were certainly in the air. A. Hultin rejected the idea of "Rudbeckianism" in *Finlandia* by pointing out the peace-loving character of Finns in Paulinus' oration against Rudbeck's Swedes as brave warriors, see A. Hultin, Den svenska vitterheten i Finland under stormaktstiden 1640–1720 (SLSS 65, Finlands svenska vitterhet 4), Helsingfors 1904, 122–123. However, Hultin did not acknowledge the two "races" or generations of the Finns in *Finlandia*: the peace-loving ancestors and the war-like Finns, Paulinus' contemporaries.

8 There is evidence that its prestige was already acknowledged by contemporaries. The second edition was published in 1694. *Finlandia* is already included in Johannes Schefferus' *Svecia Literata*, Stockholm 1680, 324. A century later, M. Floderus in the *praefatio* of his work *De poetis in Svio-Gothia Graecis* I–IV, diss. Uppsaliae, Stockholm 1785–1789, lists Paulinus (Lillienstedt) as one of the three best Swedish poets in Greek and presents lengthly, although superficially, *Finlandia* on p. 75–80.

9 I have discussed some aspects of making Greek verses during Baroque period in northern

Johan Paulinus (1655–1732) was a 22-year old student when he delivered his Greek oration, the main function of which was to demonstrate his erudition.[10] It was not written for any particular festivities, but was part of his education. Writing orations in Latin belonged to the humanistic curricula of universities in early modern Europe. The medium of oration was popularly used to foster the prevailing patriotism, too, and numerous praises of localities were delivered, in which rhetoric, poetics and humanist moral values were closely knit together. To praise one's birthplace or city had a solid classical tradition behind it, also incorporated in Renaissance treatises on art of poetry and rhetoric. Accomplished panegyrics were well defined as literary genres and versifying had its poetic and rhetoric norms going back to Greek rhetoric. Poetry had a close connection with the rhetorical tradition which provided its basic thematic, structural, and stylistic framework. The most notable example of Renaissance treatises on poetics was Julius Caesar Scaliger's *Poetices Libri Septem* (1561), with its great influence on Baroque poetics in the northern parts of Europe. It has been argued that Scaliger's art of poetry is largely based on Greek rhetoric, especially a late third or early fourth century treatises on epideictic rhetoric attributed to Menander Rhetor.[11] Menander Rhetor prescribes not only the appropriate invention and arrangement of *encomia* of countries and cities, but also gives numerous examples and brief precepts. The art of laudatory rhetoric always makes it possible to find positive features of one's subject, or as Menander Rhetor says: "I have indicated how barren, sterile, waterless, or sandy countries should be praised (346,19-21)."[12] Thus, it depended only on the speaker's

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universities in my article "Γλῶττα eller γλῶσσα: att skriva grekiska dikter under barocktiden" in H.-E. Johannesson et al. (ed.), Tradition och förnyelse i Nordens renässansdiktning, Nordisk konferens 21.–24. 4. 1999, Göteborg (forthcoming in 2001).

[10] On Paulinus' life, see Summary in Korhonen & Kajanto & Sironen (n. *), 178–179.

[11] This has now largely been acknowledged, the first presenting this idea being O. B. Hardison (1962), see A. Ström, *Lachrymae Catharinae*, diss., Stockholm 1994, 47 n. 15. By the middle of the 16th century Menander Rhetors' treatise had achieved a wide circulation in Italy. It was printed in Venice in the first volume of Aldus Manutius' *Rhetores Graeci*, see P. Hastings, Analecta Romana instituti Danici 20, Rome 1992, 139.

[12] In D. A. Russell & N. G. Wilson (eds.), Menander Rhetor, Oxford 1981, 32. Menander has a short treatise about the praise of one's country (344,15–346,25) and a long one concerning the praise of a city (346,26–351,19). The former handles 'country' as a natural resort (χώρα).

rhetorical abilities whether he managed to make his subject attractive – not on the subject itself, whether it was worth the praise or not.[13]

In the seventeenth century many Finnish students panegyrized their birthplaces in orations at their own University of Turku and in universities abroad as well. Paulinus' *Finlandia* is extraordinary for its broader geographical viewpoint: the subject of praise is not a locality, but Finland as though it were an independent part of the kingdom of Sweden; it is a *laus patriae*.[14] Paulinus had, however, one predecessor in eulogizing on Finland in the form of oration. Johan Schäfer the Elder delivered his Latin oration *Finnoniae elogia* in 1650 at the University of Tartu in Estonia. This oration in prose is thematically much more down-to-earth than that of Paulinus. It describes Finland's history and the nature of Finnish people more in accordance with the concepts of its own time and not within the framework of the classical tradition. For example, Schäfer quotes many times the above-mentioned histories of Olaus and Johannes Magnus. The most extraordinary feature in Paulinus' versified oration on Finland was, however, the fact it was written in Greek.[15]

The language of Baroque poetry was mainly Latin (Neo-Latin), but verses were also written in modern languages and in Greek and Hebrew. Greek was classed both with Latin as a classical language and with Hebrew as

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13 For other rhetorical treatises and practical handbook concerning *encomia*, see for example T. Viljamaa, Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the Early Byzantine Period, Helsinki, 1968, 13–22.

14 Orations eulogizing localities in Sweden and Finland, see the catalog made by E. Sironen in Korhonen & Oksala & Sironen (n. *), 220–226. Paulinus has mainly the south-western part of Finland in his mind. The middle and northern parts of Finland were mainly unpopulated. In the end of the oration, Paulinus mentions Sweden and wishes kingdom well and success in war (line 349, and 355–359). The concept of *patria* is sometimes quite difficult to interpret in the context of the 17th century Finland, see Klinge & Leikola (n. 2), 617. About patriotic historiography during the 17th century in Finland, see I. Kajanto, "Finland", in M. Skafte-Jensen (ed.), A History of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature, Odense 1995, 180–183.

15 However, there is occasional poetry in Greek praising localities. For example, Melanchton wrote a short *hodoeporicon* (a description of a journey) in Greek (8 distichs) in 1547, which is a eulogy to the city Meissen, see S. Rhein, Philologie und Dichtung: Melanchthons Griechische Gedichte, diss., Heidelberg 1987, 230. A *hodoeporicon* is one kind of *propemticum* (an accompanying poem, good wishes to departing friends), but *not* all *propemptica* included eulogies for cities. Besides the *propemptica*, the *gratulationes* to the deliverers of oration, could include elements praising localities (or *patria*).

a biblical ("Holy") language. I think that three factors especially prompted Paulinus to choose Greek as his language in *Finlandia*. First, there were excellent experts in Greek at the University of Uppsala during Paulinus' time. The professor of Poetry, Johannes Columbus, who supposedly supervised Paulinus' exercises in poetry, wrote occasional verses in Greek.[16] The holders of the chair of Greek language, namely Petrus Aurivillius (1675–1677) and Julius Micrander (1678–1685), were active users of Greek language, too.[17] Secondly, Uppsala University had a short tradition of writing versified orations in Greek, especially in hexameter.[18] Thirdly, Paulinus' family and his years at the University of Turku (1672–1677) had provided the background for his Greek versifying.[19]

Johan Paulinus had already composed four occasional poems in Greek while studying in Turku.[20] The most important of them is Ἐπινίκιος παιάν, a paean or hymn of victory. It was a congratulatory poem (42 lines) for Johan Gezelius the Younger on his inauguration as extraordinary professor

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16 Columbus' two occasional verses in Greek are published in P. Hanselli, Samlade vitterhetsarbeten af svenska författare från Stjernhjelm till Dalin, Uppsala 1871, vol. 1, 388. However, Martin Floderus (note 8) mentions Columbus only in the footnote of his discussion of Columbus' famous brother Samuel, see Floderus, 44.

17 Aurivillius even gave a course in versifying in Greek in the autumn of 1677, which Paulinus might have attended. However, Aurivillius died suddenly at the end of the same year.

18 Above all the brothers Nicolaus and Jonas Salanus during the 1640's and Petrus Aurivillius and Andreas Thermaenius during the 1660's, see Floderus, 24–30 (Salanus brothers), 43–46 (Columbus), 54–61 (Thermaenius). Thermaenius' oration includes a short eulogy on Athens.

19 Paulinus' father, a vicar, was a known master of Oriental languages; his brothers wrote Greek verses – one of them, Simon, became professor of Greek and Hebrew at the University of Turku. During the 1670's, the Professor of Greek and Hebrew, Ericus Falander, lectured on (pseudo-)Plutarch and Isocrates, and Falander himself was the most industrious writer of Greek congratulations (in prose) at the University of Turku. The professor of Poetry (Martin Miltopaeus) and of Eloquence (Petrus Laurbecchius) wrote some Greek occasional verses as well.

20 Two of these are congratulations to his fellow-student and to his brother on their dissertations (1675, 1676), one wedding poem (1675), and one on an inauguration (1676), see the chronological catalog of Paulinus' texts in Korhonen & Oksala & Sironen (n.*), 185–186.

and a Doctor of Theology (1676).[21] The poem begins as a call for celebrating Gezelius' appointment:

1 Ἄρχετε Φιννόνιαί μοι Γήθεος ἄρχετε Μοῦσαι.
Κρηνίαδες, ποταμοί τε, μέλος, καὶ καλὰ ῥέετρα
Λίγγετε παντοδαπόν! Πολυγήθεσιν ἠδὲ ψίθυρσι
Νῦν Φύτα, Δένδρα, Δρύες, παμποίκιλα πλήθετε χείλη!
5 Σπεύδετε Στρυμόνιοι ποτὶ Φίννοσιν ὕδασι κύκνοι!
Δεῦτε δὲ νῦν λιγυροῖς ἅμα μέλπεσι ποικιλοδεῖροι
Ἀδόνες! ἠδ' ἦμαρ γλυκεραῖς τόδε κλείετ' ἀοιδαίς!

Ἄρχετε Φιννόνιαί μοι Γήθεος ἄρχετε Μοῦσαι.
Δεῦρω [!] Θεῶν, Ὀρφεῦ Κιθαρῳδες κλέος τε μελίκτων
10 Ἀμφεῖον! χελύεσσι σέβεσθε Φάος τόδ' ἀγαυαῖς!

(Begin, O Muses of Finland, begin merrymaking with me. Spring-nymphs, rivers, beautiful streams: sing a manifold song! Bushes, trees, forests, all-variegated tongues, fill you up now with cheerful twittering! Hasten to Finnish waters, swains of Strymon! Come here, you clear-voiced nightingales with variegated necks! And celebrate also this day with sweet songs! // Begin, O Muses of Finland, begin merrymaking with me! Come here, Orpheus, cithara-player, of the Gods, and famous Amphion, of the singers! With your illustrious lyres, praise this light!)[22]

The most evident model for Ἐπινίκιος παιάν is an anonymous poem, Lament of Bion, usually attributed to Moschus.[23] Paulinus has only modified the song of lament into a song of joy. A refrain 'Begin, Muses of Sicily, begin your mourning!' (ἄρχετε Σικελικαὶ τῷ πένθεος ἄρχετε Μοῖσαι) is repeated fourteen times in Lament of Bion while the line 'Begin Muses of Finland, begin merrymaking with me!' is repeated six times in Paulinus' poem. Lament of Bion served as a model for another contemporary Greek poem in

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21 This publication (entirely in Greek) also included a congratulation – in prose – by Paulinus' brother, Simon.

22 The whole poem is edited by E. Sironen in Korhonen & Oksala & Sironen (n. *), 196–199. Very few modern critical editions of "Humanist Greek" (or "Neo-Greek") poetry have been published; one example is A. Ardizzoni, Poliziano: Epigrammi graeci, Firenze 1951. Rhein (n. 15) has edited Philipp Melanchthon's Greek verses in his dissertation and D. Robin has published (with no apparatus) some Fransesco Filelfo's Greek poems, which are even earlier than Poliziano's epigrams, see RQ 37 (1984) 173–206. Martin Crusius' *propempticum* (1582) is published by Walther Ludwig in Arctos 32 (1998), 139–141.

23 The Lament of Bion (126 lines) is itself an imitation, namely of Bion's own 'Lament of Adonis' and of the First Idyll of Theocritus.

Uppsala, namely Olaus Swanberg's lamentation for the death of Professor Johannes Loccenius.[24] It is noteworthy that Swanberg's long poem – it contains 217 lines composed in hexameter – was published in June 1678, in the same half of the year as Paulinus' *Finlandia* was delivered.[25]

Finlandia can be divided into the traditional divisions of oration: *exordium*, *tractatio* and *conclusio*, outlined in all Baroque oratory.[26] The *exordium*, i.e., the preface, consists of lines 1–52, in which Paulinus expresses the chief aim of his oration: he will praise the land and the war-like people of Finland. In this preface there is the traditional *modestia* of the poet concerning his ability to describe his subject, which recurs several times in the poem.[27] The preface includes an invocation to God, as well. The *tractatio* (lines 53–331) comprises the main part of the oration and the *conclusio* (lines 332–379) is merely a lenghty *votum*, a prayer for the king of Sweden (and Finland), Carl the XIth, for peace and for the success of the kingdom.[28]

According to the above-mentioned treatise of Menander Rhetor, the definition of the geographical position belongs to the eulogies of one's own country and city. Paulinus begins with geography, combining it with the prehistory of Finland, its first inhabitants.[29] The first Finns were κοκύαι

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24 Olaus Swanberg, Εἰδύλλιον *qvo patroni ... Iohannis Loccenii ... exequias quae ...*, Stockholm 1678. The refrain – Ἄρχετε Οὐπσαλικοὶ τοῦ πένθεος ἄρχετε Μοῦσαι ('Begin, Muses of Uppsala, begin the song of woe') – is repeated seven times in this funerary poem. Swanberg was more faithful to the model and also imitated it in parts other than the refrain. Lines 9–10 of his poem are nearly identical with lines 6–7 of Lament of Bion. On Swanberg, see Floderus (n. 8), 69–74. Loccenius was a famous professor of History and Roman Law at Uppsala.

25 However, Loccenius had died nearly one year earlier, in July 1677. But it was not uncustomary that there was a long time-span between actual death and funeral of the deceased.

26 The terms and the numbers of the divisions in orations (*partes orationis*) varied in rhetorical handbooks, e.g., *peroratio* pro *conclusio*. Usually there were five or six parts, see H. Lausberg, Handbuch der Literarischen Rhetorik, Stuttgart 1990, 147–150. The tripartition is sufficient for the present article.

27 These phrases of *modestia*, hesitation before the great subject, occur four times in Paulinus' oration (lines 28–38, 140–142, 252–255, 332–337) and function as structural elements of the oration as well.

28 Sweden was at war with Denmark. The peace of Lund was made in 1679.

29 Paulinus states that *Fenningia* was an ancient name of Finland (line 53). Cf. Michael Wexionius' *Epitome Descriptionis ... Fenningiae* and Plinius' *Aeningia* (nat. 4,96).

ὑπέρολβοι, blissfully happy ancestors (lines 72 and 85). The only problem was that they did not know the true religion, Christianity. The first Finns were thus pagans and worshipped wooden images. Paulinus stresses the importance of Lutheran orthodoxy for the creation of Finland. One of the poetic norms of praising one's country in the Baroque period was to praise its religion and Swedes even praised themselves as the most Lutheran of Lutherans in the world. The main part of *Finlandia* consists, however, of Paulinus' description of the people of his own time, the independent and happy peasants and the beautiful landscape with its gentle animals. This comprises the lines 108–232 and its obvious model is the happy farmers in Virgil's Georgics. In fact, Georgics served as the most imitated model for eulogies for one's country because of its famous *Laus Italiae* in the second book (2,136–176).

In the end of his *tractatio* Paulinus also praises the more civilized aspects of Finland. He mentions some noble families, who led the Finns in their battles.[30] The heroism of Finnish noblemen is so great, according to Paulinus, that it surpasses even the heroes of antiquity: Heracles, Achilles and Ulysses.[31] After describing Finns' fame as successful warriors (but not actual wars), Paulinus turns to his former *Alma Mater*, the University of Turku and reports elaborately all the disciplines and especially jurisprudence, which was his chief subject of study.[32] He even compares Turku with Athens: "Here at the University of Turku men with understanding mind master all the pure wisdom, all virtues graced by beautiful garlands, which the pride of Hellas, Athens, once possessed" (lines 278–280). This is a real *hyperbole*, because

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30 In fact, there is a shockingly rude attribution for the thus-far eulogized peasants as "dungy" (κόπριος, line 234), which makes a clear break between the description of farmers and that of noble men. Virgil, too, mentions separately the *genus acre virum*, the war-like heroes of Italy, but without highlighting the latter's superiority by the peasants' inferiority (2,167–172). Paulinus' point here is, however, only the difference between the outstanding and the common men.

31 Paulinus confines the age of peace only to the age of the forefathers: they had no worry about wars (cf. georg. 2,539–540). Although he states that his contemporary Finns are war-like (line 5, and 252–267), the valor is attributed first and foremost to the noblemen, the aristocracy of Finland.

32 The eulogy to *Themis* takes over 30 lines. Paulinus might imitate here a former eulogy – in Greek – on the lawcourts of Finland by one Henrik Schäfer (ennobled as Heerdhielm). This oration, which is now lost, was delivered in 1671 in Turku and only its Latin heading is known.

the University of Turku was a tiny little provincial university and had been established only thirty-eight years previously. But, like the language of advertisements today, the superlatives of Baroque poetry were interpreted by its audience in the lines of Baroque rhetoric – and not seen as merely pompous (or comical). The common heritage, the classical tradition, was a model and a goal to which to aspire – and even to try to surpass (*aemulatio*).

However, what were the strategies, which Paulinus used in praising his own country – which has (in fact!) no brilliancy in the areas of culture or history, which was remote and thinly populated, and where a cold climate affects the nature and agriculture? I shall here concentrate on passages mostly taken from the beginning of the oration, the praise of common people and Finnish nature, and begin with Paulinus' curious ambivalency in his notions of Greek gods and semi-gods.

Ambivalency toward Greek gods and spirits

In his above-cited Greek poem, Ἐπινίκιος παιάν (1676), Paulinus has already conducted the Muses to Finland. Both in the beginning of *Finlandia* (lines 24–27) and also at the end (lines 268–270) Paulinus declares that the Muses of Helicon have moved from their native land to Finland:

Εἶτα Διὸς Γενεὴ Μοῦσαι, αἳ ἀπ' εὐρυχόροιο
Ἑλλάδος ἠλάμεναι ὅσιόν θ' Ἑλικῶνα λιποῦσαι
Πιέριόν τ' ὄρος ἠδ' ἱερὸν Περμεσσίδος ὕδωρ
Εἰς σέο πείρατ' ἴον καὶ δώματα κάλλιμα στῆσαν.

(Then Muses, kin of Zeus, left spacious Hellas and holy Helicon, the mountain of Pieria, the sacred stream of Permessus, came to your land [i. e. to Finland] and set up fine temples.)[33]

Νυνὶ δέ Σου μέν, Ἀβῶά, ῥά Σου, ὦ ἠδὺ Λύκειον,
Μνησαίμην, Δῶμ' ἱμερόεν Μουσῶν ἐρατεινῶν
Κλωμακόεντος ἀπαὶ Ἑλικῶνος ἀπηλαμενάων,

33 "Your land", because the addressee of speech here is Finland itself; thus, a stylistic device called *apostrophe*, see for example Lausberg (n. 26), 377–379.

(Now I should like to mention you, Turku, and you, noble University, your lovely house of the charming Muses, who left their rocky Helicon.)

By this well-known *topos* Paulinus is thus confirming that Finland, too – as other European countries – is an heir of antiquity; Greek Muses are dwelling in Finland. In this he imitated Virgil who announced that he is going to lead the Greek Muses to Italy (georg. 3,10–11). Inviting and conducting Greek Muses to one's own country was, however, a common motif of the poetry of the Renaissance and Baroque periods.[34] In addition, western poets thought that they were giving Greek Muses a refuge because Greece was under the rule of Ottoman Empire.[35]

Thus, Muses were now in Finland and it would be natural for a poet to invoke their aid while creating a poem on Finland. One *locus classicus* of this *topos* is in the beginning of Hesiod's *Theogony*. But instead, Paulinus firmly rejects ancient gods and goddesses (lines 39–47):

Νῦν δέ μου ἀρξαμένοιο ἐκάς, ἐκάς, οἷοι ἀλιτροί
Δαίμονες ἠδὲ Θεαί· οὐ γάρ σοι, Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
Ο'Υ Διΐ Αἰγιόχῳ, οὔ θην πολυγηθέϊ Βάκχῳ,
Δήμητρ' εὐστεφάνῳ ἢ Ἄρεϊ τειχεσιβλήτῃ,
Ο'Υ Μούσαις, Χαρίτεσσι καλῶν Νύμφαις τε ναπάων,
Νηΐσιν ἢ Σατύροις, λήροις καὶ ψεύσμασ' Ἀοιδῶν
Ο'Υποτ' ἐπευξαίμην μελικῆς διὰ εἵνεκα μολπῆς,
Γνήσιον ἀλλὰ Θεὸν Μακάρων τε Βροτῶν τε Γενάρχην,
Πλάστην τῆς μὲν Ἔρας τε καὶ ἀστερόεντος Ὀλύμπου,

(Now when I am beginning my song, go away, away you rogues, deities and goddesses; for I would NEVER pray through my lyric song to you, Phoebus Apollo, NOT to you, Aegis-bearing Zeus, not to you, Much-cheering Bacchus, or to Well-crowned Demeter, or to Ares the Stormer of cities, NOT to Muses, or to Graces, to Nymphs of beautiful glens, to Naiads, to Satyrs, and to the empty lies of Singers, but to the true God, the Creator of the blessed and of mortals, moulder of the earth and starry Olympus.)

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34 It underlined especially the proficiency in classical languages (the base of humanist education), see J. W. Binns, Intellectual Culture in Elizabethian and Jacobean England. The Latin Writings of the Age, Leeds 1990, 21 with an example by John Leland from the middle of sixteenth century (the Muses "have crossed the snows", the Alps).

35 The Humanists even stated that their task was to keep Greek language in its pure, classical form, against the vernacular, i.e., Modern Greek, which is clearly stated in Johannes Gezelius the Elder's long prose-dedication – in Greek – to Queen Christina of Sweden, in his *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, Tartu 1649.

This kind of rejection was not uncustomary among Humanist poets. In the *invocatio* by John Shepery (1509–1542), a professor at Oxford University, there is the same kind of rejection: "I do not here invoke you, O Graces, nor you, O Muses who inhabit Helicon covered in green grass. For you serve poets while they narrate falsehoods. I do not need your help. I shall sing the truth. Thou, O Holy Father, Thou, Only Son of the Father, Thou, O divine breath of Father and son, be present."[36] Paulinus' rejection of the Muses – the most customary addressee of poetic *invocatio* – is made emphatic by a typographical device: writing negatives with capital letters at the beginning of the verses. The other rejected with the same device is the Supreme pagan God, Zeus. Thus, Paulinus is invoking solely and emphatically the Christian God. As I mentioned before, the piousness of Finns and the full blessings of 'true' Christianity, namely protestant Lutheran orthodoxy, are present throughout Paulinus' oration. This was common to this genre in the century of Thirty Years' War, the war which started as a conflict between Catholics and Protestants. In the praise of one's country there should be included a clear confession of one's faith.[37]

However, Paulinus tells us later that ancient gods and semi-gods are taking good care of the fields of Finland – indeed, perhaps even more than of the lands with more favourable climates, namely Greece and Italy (lines 145–155):

> But for whom it is not a great wonder, or who would believe, that on this edge of the evermoving world, where people are shut inside by the chilly Bear, gods and goddesses still wish to live; and it is difficult to know whether the Mother of all, Deo [i.e., Demeter], loves more in her heart the fields of Sicily than of Finland, whether the spouse of Zephyrus – with her nymphs all of whom delight in their hearts in round lakes and silvery streams and very beautiful springs – loves more

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36 Translated by J. W. Binns. *Non ego vos Charites, neque vos hic invoco, Musae / Quas Helicon viridi gramine tectus habet. / Inservitis enim, dum narrant falsa, poetis, / Non opus est vestra nunc ope, vera canam / Tu mihi, Sancte Pater, Tu Proles Unica Patris, / Tu Patris ac Nati flabile numen ades*, see Binns, 18.

37 In this light one should also consider Paulinus' invectives – not many – towards other Christian sects or towards Judaism, lines 19–21, 103–106 and 286–287.

> the Tempe of Thessaly than the valleys of Finland? But this is not any wonder ...[38]

As if answering some suspections concerning the fertility of Finnish soil, Paulinus is here praising especially the Finnish watercourses. A few lines later, he calls the Naiads as his witnesses and uses the same typographical device, writing the negative with majuscules: NO other country is so rich in springs (line 159).[39] The coldness of the climate and its cause, the constellation of Great Bear, Ἄρκτος – which Paulinus also used to define the geographical position of Finland – are mentioned in this passage.[40] But Paulinus states little later that cold and frost is only for good: it makes man's body stronger (lines 162–163).[41] Paulinus also reports that frost prevails only in winter – as if defending Nordic countries against Virgil's description of the cheerless life in Scythia which has *semper hiems* (georg. 3,349–383).[42]

Paulinus' obvious discrepancy – rejecting the pagan deities and at the same favouring them – reflects the fact that Humanism during the seventeenth century Scandinavia was always Humanism under the domination of Christian society.[43] It was not – as in Renaissance Italy – a clear admiration of pagan antiquity, but pagan antiquity interpreted in Christian terms.[44] During the Baroque period, the Christian God dwelled on or was a maker of 'starry Olympus' (ἀστερόεις Ὄλυμπος, line 47), but

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38 The chilly Bear is the constellation of the Great Bear (δυσθαλπὴς Ἄρκτος); the spouse of Zephyrus was Iris, who was believed to supply clouds with rain.

39 'Thousand lakes' was a favourite feature in later descriptions of Finland. The adjectivev τροχοειδής for λίμνη is found in Theognis 7 (West).

40 Cf. Menander Rhetor 344,19–30 (Russell & Wilson). The Swedes preferred more often to allude to the North Star, *Stella Polaris*, which was also a symbol of the monarch.

41 In this he agrees with current notions based on Hippocrates and Aristotle. People of the northern hemisphere were thought to be braver, too.

42 Scyths were often identified as ancestors of the Finns.

43 See Kajanto (n. 5), 12–13. As Kajanto states, Humanism (or "Classicism") was much more stronger in Sweden than in Finland.

44 Melanchthon found fault with Angelo Poliziano's statement that Pindar's Odes for their sheer poetical qualities were preferable to Psalms. Notwithstanding his enthusiasm for Greek Literature, Melanchthon placed the Holy Scriptures always first, see S. Rhein "*Italia magistra orbis terrarum*: Melanchthon und der italienische Humanismus", M. Beyer & G. Wartenberg (eds.) Humanismus und Wittenberger Reformation, Leipzig 1996, 385 ff.

while dutifully rejecting the ancient gods and spirits, the Humanist poet – equally piously – gave them their traditional epithets, as 'Aegis-bearing' for Zeus. However, in fact, ἀστερόεις is not a customary epithet for Olympus in Homeric language – but of Uranus (Il. 4,44).[45] "Starry Olympus" appears, however, already in the poem by Theodorus Metochites (1260-1332), thus, in Byzantine poetry.[46] Furthermore, Paulinus uses ἀστερόνωτος, 'with a starry back' as an epithet for Uranus later in his poem (line 298). This word, ἀστερόνωτος was first introduced by Nonnus, an epic poet from the sixth century. In Paulinus' poem there are also other words which were first used in antiquity by, for example, Quintus Smyrnaeus, Oppianus (two writers, both called by the same name), or later poets of the Greek Anthology.[47] Although Baroque poets had the same canon of classical writers as we do – Paulinus mentions Homer and Hesiod in *Finlandia* – they especially appreciated the epic poets of late antiquity, and perhaps even some of the Byzantine writers. This admiration for writers, who wrote in a pseudo-Homeric style, resulted in quite difficult reading.[48] But, if in *Finlandia* Paulinus used some vocabulary of later epic writers, his chief model for imitation in Greek literature was a very classical poet whose works are part of the canon, namely Hesiod.

Imitation of Hesiod

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45 Paulinus used ἀστερόεις Ὄλυμπος in his earlier Greek congratulatory poem (1675) composed in Turku. This poem was written for his brother Simon (see note 20). See Paulinus' other modifications of Homeric formulae and noun-epithets in E. Sironen's article in this volume.

46 Theodoros Metochites: Περὶ τοῦ Μαθηματικοῦ εἴδους τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τοῦ Ἁρμονικοῦ, lines 106–107 (printed partly in R. Guillard, Byzantion 3 (1926) 289). Olympus is here seen as an astronomical phenomenon, not religious.

47 As: line 134: πινυτόφρων (Q. S. 14,630), line 178: αἰολόνωτος (Opp. Hal. 1,125), line 79: πάνσκοπος (AP. 7,580, Julianus Aegyptus).

48 J. C. Scaliger even tried to prove that Oppianus (the writers of Halieutika and Kynegetika were for him the same person) was the supreme Greek poet, Poetics, 5, 9 (p. 428–448 Vogt-Spira). Laurentius Norrmannus published texts of one Byzantine author (Thomas Magister) at the University of Uppsala, see C. Annerstedt, Uppsala universitets historia II, Uppsala 1909, 288–289. Part of the reason for veneration was, of course, that the Byzantine writers (and Nonnus) were Christians. Metochites' poems as pseudo-Homeric, see R. Webb, "A Slavish Art? Language and Grammar in Late Byzantine Education and Society", Dialogos 1 (1994) 92.

One of the most important theoretical concepts for understanding Renaissance and Baroque poetry is *imitatio*. Johannes Buchlerus, the writer of a popular handbook of Poetics, compares the imitation of ancient authors to the absorbing of nutrition into blood: in the same manner one must absorb the classical texts.[49] Imitation was a crucial part of the exercises in versifying both at schools and at the universities. Schoolboys and students learned to write good Latin and mediocre Greek by imitating Virgil, Ovid, Homer, Hesiod and Theognis.[50] Imitation has, however, another level, when it is not a merely pedagogical method, and a way of demonstrating erudition, but rather to show one's ingenuity in versifying: to play with the meanings of the ancient author, to create new modifications and meanings from the model. The transformation of the original text, the language-play between the copy and the original were thus the practices of the most ingenious poets. This difference between two types of imitation (and imitators) was already acknowledged in antiquity, and refined in the Renaissance and Baroque treatises on rhetoric.[51] The modern term 'intertextuality' is comparable with the concept of this second kind of imitation: there is no explicit indication of the foreign, adopted, textual elements in the text. The reader may or may not notice the imitation.[52]

Paulinus imitated both the language as well the topics of Hesiod's Works and Days. What makes the texture of *Finlandia* greatly interesting is that some parts of Georgics are kinds of imitations of Works and Days, too – and Paulinus is thus using both the copy and the original.[53] The description

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49 J. Buchlerus, *Thesaurus Phrasium Poeticarum*, Paris 1637, 403–4. The place of *imitatio* in Baroque rhetoric, see for example, Ström 136, and in Renaissance poetry, G. W. Pigman III, "Neo-Latin Imitation of the Latin Classics", in P. Godman & O. Murray, Classical Tradition, Oxford 1990, 199–210.

50 According to my own study, Hesiod and Theognis were the chief models for versifying in Greek at the Univerity of Turku. The models for prose writing were Plutarch and Isocrates.

51 See the statements of Vossius and others given by Raija Sarasti-Wilenius, *'Noster eloquendi artifex'*, diss., Helsinki 2000, 53 note 52.

52 About intertextuality, see for example A. Laird, Powers of Expression, Expression of Power, Oxford 1999, 40.

53 It is not possible to give any detailed analysis of this mixed imitation here. However, Hesiod functioned more or less only as a "notional model" for Virgil, see R. Thomas, Virgil: Georgics vol. I, Cambridge 1988, 6. Paulinus' possible other models (whom he

of the life of the first Finns is mostly modelled on Hesiod's description of the Golden Age (lines 60–68):

Ο'Υτ' αἰσχυνόμενοι ᾤκουν τάδε τέρματα Κόσμου
Οἷοι ἀπαὶ θορύβων μέσσης χθονός, ἥσυχον ἦξαν
Αὖθι βίον μάκαρες δεινῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἁπάντων
Νόσφι πόνου στυγεροῦ καὶ γυιοκόρων μελεδώνων
Εἴκελον Ἀθανάτοις αὐτάρκεα θυμὸν ἔχοντες.
Γαῖα δὲ ζείδωρος καρπὸν τούτοισιν ἔνεικεν
Ἄφθονον εἰν ἰδίοις, ὥστ' οὔποτε δεινὴ Ἀνάγκη
Διζομένους βίοτον διὰ ἠεροειδέα Πόντον
Κινδυνευέμεναι ἐνὶ κύμασι πορφυρέοισι.

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60 Hes. erga 168 ἐς πείρατα γαίης.
61–63 Hes. erga 91 νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνοιο / νούσων τ' ἀργαλέων; cf. erga 113. Verg. georg. 2,459 *procul discordibus armis / fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus*, cf. 2,539–540, and also 2,467–8.
64 Hes. erga 112: ὥστε θεοὶ δ' ἔζωον ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες; cf. Hes. erga 170.
66–69 Hes. erga 117–118: καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα / αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον, cf. erga 172–3, and Hes. erga 236–7, 618ff, 682ff.

(The first Finns, the ancestors, lived here on the edge of the world, NOT knowing crimes, alone away from the confusion of central lands; happily they led their peaceful lives beyond the reach of all horrible things. Free from wretched toil and cares which gnaw the limbs; like immortals, having minds which were self-sufficient. The fruitful earth brought fruit abundantly, for each of them, for their own needs, so that there was no terrible necessity to seek for livelihood through the misty sea endangering their lives among purpurous waves.)

Thus, the first Finns, as a Golden Race, were like immortals (εἴκελος ἀθανάτοις), and the prehistory of Finland was a Golden Age (cfr. erga 109–126). There was no need for hard work, they were free from wretched toil (νόσφι πόνου στυγεροῦ) because the land was abundantly fruitful. The *topos* of the Golden Age was very common in poetic eulogies of one's native land, as well as in eulogies to kings. In the latter case, the theme functioned as a prophecy of the fortunate times that will come with the reign of monarch in question.[54] But Paulinus is not glorifying the future, but the past – as Hesiod

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imitated), see the list made by E. Sironen in Korhonen & Oksala & Sironen (n.*), 119-127.

[54] M. Berggren, Andreas Stobaeus: Two Panegyrics in Verse, diss., Uppsala 1994, 21.

emphatically does. On the other hand, Paulinus is imitating the description of the peasants in Georgics, who are living as if during the Golden, i.e. Saturnian, Age, too.[55] However, Paulinus describes his forefathers also in terms of Hesiod's Fourth Race, or Generation, of the Heroes (erga 156–173). Finns are living at the end of the world, like Hesiod's heroes, whose dwelling-place is the Isles of the Blessed. Thus, the peripheral location of Finland is not seen in a negative way but instead, it is a priviledge; Finns are far from all troubles.[56]

Here again is the same typographical device – the negative is written by capitals at the beginning of line 60 – the forefathers did NOT do anything disgraceful (αἰσχύνομαι). This is underlining their god-like character, but also that – though pagans – they were virtuous. This is strengthened by two other negatives with majuscules in the description of forefathers: the forefathers did NOT care for the works of Ares (line 70, cf. georg. 2,539–540), and they were NOT disobedient to the authorities (line 85). Maria Berggren has noticed the use of negatives in Andreas Stobaeus' *Augur Apollo* (1672) in the passage (lines 89–127) where Stobaeus describes the period of Charles XI as a time of law and order. Stobaeus imitated especially Ovid's descriptions of the Golden Age by recounting the features which will not prevail during the panegyrized king's reign.[57]

Strategy of "*via negativa*"

However, while describing Finns of his own time, Paulinus concentrates first on praising what the Finns are not (lines 124–139) as well:

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55 Here we also find a reminiscence of Hesiod's reluctance, or fear, of sailing – as Hesiod put it in Works and Days: "It is fearful to die among the waves" (line 685), translated by Hugh Evelyn-White in LCL 57, London 1976.

56 Paulinus does not take the phrases only from the description of the Golden and Fourth Generation/Race, but even from the Fifth, namely of the description of the just men (lines 215–236). The phrase γυιοκόροι μελεδῶναι (cares which gnaws their limbs, line 63), is from the creation of Pandora. N.B. γυιοκόρος is a *varia lectio* of γυιοβόρος.

57 Berggren, 127. There ares two other passages with frequent negatives in *Augur Apollo* as well: lines 441–450 (safety of seafare, i.e., no pirates or sea-monsters) and 562–582 (healthiness of the climate, i.e., no excessive heat, resulting in the modesty of the people).

Τῇδ' ἐνὶ Ἡσυχίῃ βίον οἰκονομοῦσι Πολῖται
'Απλοϊκόν, Δόλος αἰνὸς ἄπεστ', ἀπόεστι δὲ ψεῦδος,
Μήδεα λοξά, στρεβλαὶ Τέχναι, Στροφαὶ ἀλλοπρόσαλλαι.
Ἐκδημεῖ δὲ δύσαυλος Ἔρις καὶ Φύλοπις αἰθοψ.
Ἐκδημεῖ Φθόνος ἠδ' Ἔχθος στυγεραί τε Ἀπειλαί.
Ἐκδημεῖ δ' Ὑπερηφανίη σὺν ἀγάνορι Κόμπῳ
Σὺν Κώμῳ τ' ὀλοῷ Σπατάλῃσι τ' ἐγερσιγύναιξι.
Δαισὶ γὰρ ἀθρύπτῃσιν ἐὰς κοσμοῦσι τραπέζας,
Εἶμα δὲ τηλεδαπὸν μαλακὰς ἀβράς τε χιθῶνας,
Ἀλλοτρίους χαιτῶν πλοκάμους καὶ λοξὰ Κορύμβων
Ἄμματα χλευάζουσι μόνον πινυτόφρονι θυμῷ.
Ἀλλὰ κακὴν Πενίην, ἣν Ἀνδράσιν Ὄκνος ὀφέλλει
Σὺν Λύπαις στυγεραῖς, ἅμα σὺν κακοφράδμονι Λιμῷ
Χώρης Φιννονίης καμάτων ἐξήλασε σπουδή.
Τὴν δὲ Φιλαργυρίην, ῥίζαν κακότητος ἁπάσης,
Ο'Υ τιμῶσιν ὁμῶς ὀλιγαρκέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες.

(The citizens lead here a simple life in tranquillity, without dire guile, away are falsehood, dishonesty, twisted tricks, deceitful dodges. Departed has inhospitable strife, feary combat, departed has envy and enmity, hateful threats, arrogance with headstrong boasts, with destroying revels and women-inspiring wantonness. They decorate their tables with humble meals, they only laugh with a sober mind at exotic clothes, at soft and luxurious garments, at the wigs, which are made of other people's hair and crosswise knots on the crown of the heads. But zeal at work has driven away from the country of Finland sorry poverty, which is caused by hesitancy, together with hateful troubles, and hunger which is bad in counsel. They do NOT, however, honor the love of money, which is the root of every evil, as they have a mind which is contented with a little.)

Life is still blissful because there are two factors effecting it: 1) the diligence of the people (σπουδή) and 2) the people lead a simple life. Thus, if the first Finns, the Golden Race, were not troubled with too much work, the Finns of Paulinus' own time were similar to Hesiod's addressee (Perses): smallholders, who keep hunger and poverty away through work and toil. Because Paulinus follows the example of Hesiod here and has two different races or, rather, generations, his contemporary Finns and their forefathers, he was successful in using Hesiod's different stages, the mythical and the factual. Instead, Virgil, as has been noted, had sometimes difficulties in Georgics to tie

together the Saturnian Italy and the peasants' hard struggle with nature, between the *aetas aurea* (*otium*) and *labor improbus*. [58]

The second factor for the bliss of farmer's life is their contentment with little: ὀλιγαρκέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες (line 139).[59] The line begins – once again – with a negative emphasized with capital letters: Finns are NOT greedy for money. Although Hesiod also speaks about the due measure of gaining riches, the emphasis on ὀλιγαρκής, being contented with little, recalls ancient Epicureanism.[60] Greek Epicureanism was not – as the word in its common connotations implied already during the Imperial Period – a life of pleasures of the stomach and lust. Instead, an Epicurean lived like a god, because he did not need anything, he was contented with whatever he already had.[61] Of course, Paulinus certainly did not obtain the idea of the pleasures of frugality from Epicurus' texts. Virgil's Epicureanism, adopted through Lucretius, has a flavour of this modest way of living.[62] In the middle of the 17th century the so-called *Beatus ille*-ideal became popular in Swedish Baroque poetry. It received its name from Horace's poem, which is a response – and partly a parody – to the encomium of rural life in Virgil's Georgics. In this theme there is a strong antagonism between the simple life in the countryside and the sumptuous, but empty and artificial life in the cities, especially at the court. Furthermore, Count Per Brahe, to whom *Finlandia* was dedicated,

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58 See Thomas (n. 54), 180. Virgil's peasants are, however, like the last relics of the Saturnian Age existing in the cruel times of Civil War, cf. georg. 2,532–540.

59 This is reflected also later, when the subject of the poem is assuring that he himself is content with simple life, as well (lines 221–227). Cf. georg. 2,472: *et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus.*

60 According to LSJ, this rare adjective ὀλιγαρκής occurs first in Lucian's Timon 57: ὀλιγαρκῆ δὲ καὶ μέτριον χρὴ εἶναι τὸν φιλοσοφοῦντα – –. These words are highly satirical, because they are uttered by Thrasycles, one of the flatterers, who comes to Timon, wealthy again, to plead for money. Lucian was part of the ordinary curriculum at the universities during the Baroque period. *Corpus Luciani* includes a short, (inauthentic) eulogy to the native land, too. It seems that Paulinus has not imitated it. The substantive ὀλιγαρκία, which Paulinus does not use, occurs first only in Suidas' Lexicon.

61 E. g. *Sententiae Vaticanae* 67 (Arrighetti). Epicurus warns that one should not collect too much property because it would be a hindrance to freedom. See T. Korhonen, "Self-Concept and Public Image of Philosophers and Philosophical Schools at the Beginning of the Hellenistic Period", in: J. Frösén (ed.), Early Hellenistic Athens, Athens 1997, 65.

62 About the influence of Lucretius on Georgics, see T. Oksala, Studien zum Verständnis der Einheit und der Bedeutung von Vergils *Georgica*, Helsinki 1978, 69–83.

was a man of ascetic nature: he despised the sumptuous way of living.[63] In the middle of the seventeenth century in Finland some sumptuary decrees were passed, too, which were directed, however, especially towards learned men, such as ministers with their luxurious clothes and wigs.[64]

Notwithstanding the realistic features of the poem (e.g., description of peasants' food, lines 221–232), Paulinus' picture of the Finns and their virtues is highly idealistic. As a member of the educated class addressing his oration to the same class, this tendency is understandable as a token of the nominal code: the code of the genre and its classical and Christian values. While praising the frugal life of the peasant, he was at the same time laying out an ideal before his learned audience: an ideal of simple life. However, the tone of those treatises, which addressed the common people themselves, the didactic books on farming and health-care, were completely different in their picture of common people: they are full of warnings especially against excessive feasts and hard drinking.[65]

When Paulinus compares the charming frugality of peasants on the one hand, and the hateful sumptuousness on the other, he uses the adjective ἐγερσιγύνη, 'arousing women', to describe the wantonness (line 130). The same word is to be found in Angelo Poliziano's epigram, written about two hundred years earlier.[66] The Italian was one of the first to write Greek poems

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63 K. Johannesson, I polstjärnans tecken, diss., Stockholm 1968, 238 ff. The contrast between city- and country-life in Georgics, see Oksala, 96–97.

64 The decrees concerning clothing and manners: 1668-08-03 and 1664-10-05 (see T. Laine & R. Nyqvist, Finnische Nationalbibliographie 1588–1700, Helsinki 1996, Seiten 388 and 392) and the Swedish Ecclesiastical Law 1686, 19. § 27. Of course, it was not permitted for a peasant or a bourgeois, even if he was rich, to wear the same kind of clothes as the nobility.

65 About this genre, see P. Rantanen, Suolatut säkeet, diss., Helsinki 1997, 58ff (a summary in English, p. 246–250). Rantanen points out in her dissertation founded on M. Foucault's theories of discourse the different kinds of discourses which depend on who is speaking to whom, e.g., discourse of glorious past, discourse of wretchedness. Count Per Brahe's own official report of his journey through Finland in 1638, when he was appointed as Governor General of Finland, gave a wholly different picture of Finnish people, of their laziness and drunkenness and many other vices and he made many suggestions for improvements, see General-guvernören öfver Finland, grefve Per Brahes berättelse år 1638, in: Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia 31, Stockholm 1850, 427–442.

66 Poliziano 1498, Εἰς τοὺς κώνωπας, line 5: τὸν κῶμόν τ' ἄδοντας ἐγερσιγύναικα πλανήτην ([le zanzare] che cantano la serenata vagante che sveglia le donne, transl. by Ardizzoni (n. 22), 65 (number 57)).

in West, and his Greek epigrams were published posthumously in 1498. Anthos Ardizzoni has suggested that ἐγερσιγύνη is a neologism of Poliziano.[67] Thus, did Paulinus know Poliziano's poem? There is a more explicit case of borrowing in Paulinus' curious words ὀρθοφρεσιπλανής (an epithet for Calvin) and βιβλιοθευφυγάς (an epithet for the Papists) in the description of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Turku (lines 286–287). These compound-words are from Martin Crusius' poem written in the middle of the sixteenth century.[68] Martin Crusius was a famous scholar and writer of a much-used Greek text-book.[69] Thus Paulinus also used modern – nearly 'contemporary' – Greek poems as sources.

In this passage describing Finns of his own time (lines 124–139) Paulinus constantly uses negatives and negative verbs (ἀπόειμι, ἐκδημέω). Thus, Paulinus seems to be defending Finns from the vicious outside world and at the same time praising Finland by affirming what Finns are not rather than by describing what they are. The rejected attributes are described as repulsive. This I call the strategy of *via negativa*. There is no accepted Greek or Latin term for this rhetorical device and it is hard to find an equivalent for it in rhetorical handbooks.[70] In the rhetorical treatise from the second century 'On the Method of Force' ἀπόφασις (37 Rabe) is mentioned, but it is a kind of modest method of praise, saying negatives but meaning positive – like

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67 Ardizzoni, 35 (apparatus).

68 Crusius' Greek poem has two parts: first critizing the Papists (or Monks), then praising the Protestants, the 'true' Christians. The poem consists only of compound-words and it is printed in Leonhard Engelhardt's textbook of poetry (*Poeseos aliquot piae exercitationes*, Tübing 1565), p. N4^{v}–O1. Engelhardt also quotes Martin Crusius' letter where he reports to a friend on the writing of his poem and mentions that he has imitated the so-called Philosophers' Epigram from the Hellenistic period (*apud* Athen. 4,162b, see D. L. Page (ed.), Further Greek Epigrams, Cambridge 1981, 475–76). Compound-adjectives were favoured by Attic comedy writers, but also by poets of the Baroque period as well, see I. Ståhle, Vers och språk i Vasatidens och stormakstidens svenska diktning, Stockholm 1975, 364–375, for example "sött-sokr-smickrande ordsätt" (sweet-sugar-flattering-expression).

69 On Crusius' life and significance for northern *Gräsistik*, see Ludwig (note 22), 133ff.

70 J. C. Scaliger presents briefly in the third book of his Poetics *aversio* and *castigatio* (cap. 81), *prohibitio* or ἀπαγόρευσις (cap. 82) and apophasis (cap. 88). *Aversio* and *castigatio* are perhaps too strong: Paulinus is not averting himself from the repulsive things: they form an essential part of the oration as well. The ἀπαγόρευσις seems like a usual negation. It was used as a term for a negative sentence by ancient grammarians, see Dionysius Thrax 19,20 (Lallot) and Apollonius Dyscolus 3,90 (Lallot).

litotes (e. g. οὐ κάκος = ἄγαθος – 'he is not a bad fellow').[71] Daniel Achrelius, the professor of Eloquence in Turku, mentions in his *Oratoria* (1687) (2,5; p. 101) ἀποδίωξις (*reiectio*), which is a firm rejection with indignation. The term occurs also in Melanchthon's rhetorical handbook.[72] But Paulinus is not only showing indignation, but giving positive alternatives. Thus the strategy could be likened to *correctio* (ἐπανόρθωσις), the basic construction of which is: not x, but y.[73]

Negatives and rejections are even more frequent, and the strategy of *via negativa* even more obvious, in my final passage (lines 168–186). It is a good example of high Baroque style which consist of substantives with elaborate attributes and it displays finely the stylistic device of *enumeratio*, in which ideas are made more concrete by elaborate lists of examples.[74]

Ο'Υδὲ μὲν ἰοβόλας Βοτάνας τίκτουσιν 'Αλωαὶ
Σαρδονικάς τε πόας. Ο'Υδ' ἀργαλέους Κροκοδείλους
Ο'Υδ' Ὑδρους ἑκατογκεφάλους Λίμναι Ποταμοί τε
Οἴδασιν, Ἤπιοι ἀλλ' Ἰχθῦς καὶ Κύκνοι 'Αοιδοί,
Χῆνες ἰδὲ Βρένθοι λιπαροὶ θοὰ κύματ' ἔχουσιν.
Ο'Υδ' ἄρα σμερδαλέοι μαλακοῖς Λειμῶσι Δράκοντες
Φρικτὸν ἑλισσόμενοι, οὐ Σκορπίοι αἱματοπῶται,
Ο'Υ Βασιλίσκοι ῥίγιοι, οὐ ψολόεσσαι Ἔχιδναι
'Αέρα Φιννονίην φαρμάττουσ' ὀξέσιν ἰοῖς.
Ο'Υδέ νυ δειμαλέος ταυροκτόνος ὀβριμόθυμος
Θηρῶν, Λὶς, Βασιλεύς· οὐ Τίγριδες αἰολόνωτοι
Πορδάλιές τε κακαὶ δεινοί τ' οὐ 'Ρινοκέρωτες,

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71 'On the Method of Force' was falsely attributed to Hermogenes, a rhetorican from the second half of the second century. The treatise has, however, been written in Hermogenes' time, see G. Kennedy, Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors, Princeton 1983, 102.

72 Sarasti-Wilenius (n. 51) has made a comparison between Achrelius' and Melanchthon's terms of the figures of amplification, 196–197. The term ἀποδίωξις (as well as ἀπόφασις and ἀπαγόρευσις) occur also in Ernesti's Lexicon, see J. Ernesti, *Lexicon technologiae graecorum rhetoricae*, Leipzig 1795 (reprografischer Nachdruck, Hildesheim 1962).

73 Lausberg, 386–387. In 1703 Daniel Juslenius, later a professor of Oriental languages at the University of Turku, published his dissertation *Vindiciae Fennorum*, in which he defends Finns against the negative concepts commonly attributed to them using same kind of strategy: first rejecting, then correcting. On Juslenius, see Kajanto (n. 14), 181–183.

74 *Enumeratio*, see Lausberg, 337–340.

Βούβαλοι οὐ βλοσυροὶ στυγερώπεες οὔτε Βόνασσοι·
Εἶτα μὲν οὐ Γῦπες κρατερώνυχες οὐδέ νυ Γρῦπες
Ἀγκυλόδοντες (ἐνὶ Νεμέεσσί γε Φιννονίοισι
Τείρατα πάμπαν ἀνήκουστ') οὔποτε Πανὸς ὀπηδοὺς
Πώεα βοσκομένους καταπλήττουσ'. Ἀλλὰ δὴ οὗτοι
Ἐν Ζῴοις πραέσσι καὶ Οἰωνοῖς ἀκεραίοις
Ἄισμασι βουκολικοῖσι βίον τέρπουσιν ἀκηδῆ.

(The fields produce NEITHER poisonous plants nor Sardinian herbs. The lakes and rivers do not know troublesome crocodiles, NOR hundred-headed Hydras; but gentle fishes and singer-swans and wild geese and shiny water-birds inhabit the swift waves. There are NO fearful dragons coiling awfully among soft meadows, nor blood-drinking scorpions, NOR terrible Basilisks, nor sulphurous Echidnas, who would poison the air of Finland with their acid gifts, NOR fearful, strong-minded lion, the slaughterer of bulls, the king of animals, nor tigers with spangled back, nor evil panthers, nor powerful rhinoceroses, nor ferocious buffalos, horrible bisons, nor strong-clawed vultures, crook-toothed griffins which would terrify Pan's attendants, who pasture their flocks – these monsters are altogether unheard of in Finland's glades. But they [i.e. the shepards in Finland] enjoy life without sorrows with gentle animals and harmless large birds and singing bucolic songs.)[75]

This curious list of dangerous animals recalls of the Medieval and Renaissance bestiaries with their concentration especially on miraculous and imaginary animals, but the short passage in Georgics is the obvious model.[76] Virgil speaks, however, only about real animals, namely tigers, lions and snakes. After this list, Paulinus enumerates real animals that inhabit Finland and mentions such beasts as bear, wolf and lynx – but with positive connotations: they are hunters' game (lines 198–201). Although the beasts living in far-away countries, like crocodiles, were more or less imaginary to the Nordic peoples in those times, we clearly have two levels here: the real and the imaginary. The negatives with majuscules focus attention especially on imaginary beings: Hydra, Dragon, Basilisk. The function of this passage

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[75] Sardinian herbs: it was believed that one plant growing in Sardinia could cause a man to laugh himself to death (cf. *risus sardonicus*). Typhon and Echidna, who was half beautiful woman and half serpent, were the parents of the Hydra of Lerna. Hydra has 50 or 100 heads and it was Hydra's breath – not Echidna's – which poisoned the waters and turned the fields brown. The pollution in the air surrounding it could cause a man's death.

[76] Georg. 2,151–154: *At rabidae tigres absunt et saeva leonum / semina, nec miseros fallunt aconita legentis, / nec rapit immensos orbis per humum negue tanto / squameus in spiram tractu se colligit anguis.* Cf. also ecl. 4,24.

was surely to give exotic colour to the oration, but could these interesting monsters also be symbols of something?[77]

The typographical device of writing negatives with capital letters at the beginning of the verses occurs here frequently: in lines 168, 170, 173, 175, 177. If we recollect the earlier cases, Paulinus uses this device first in his rejection of pagan deities in lines 41, 43 and 45 (see above lines 39–47). Secondly, while describing the trouble*less*, *no*-wars-age of the forefathers, who were *not* disobedient in lines 60, 70 and 85 (see above lines 60–68). Thirdly, while underlining that Finns of his own time were *not* greedy for money, but contented with a little in line 139 (see above lines 123–139). Fourthly, while stating that *no* other country is so rich in springs as Finlands in line 159 (see above my translation of lines 145–155). Taking all together, there are 19 instances of writing negatives with majuscules at the beginning of the verses in Paulinus' oration. Mostly these cases concentrate in the first half of the oration (lines 1–186).[78] Although the diphtong ου seems always to be printed with capitals at the beginning of the verse, I think that Paulinus, as a master in Greek versifying, has his reasons for putting negative οὐ at the beginning of the verse.[79] While mentioning that there are *no* pyramids, *no* golden buildings, *no* marmorean castles in his country (lines 113–117), Paulinus does not use this device – obviously because he does not want to emphasize this. There is a difference between rejecting negative things like wars and Hydras and rejecting positive – or regarded as such – things like golden palaces. However, by this typographical device and by using negative sentences in general as well, Paulinus managed to make the deficiency – the absence – seem positive, while abundance – like luxurious way of life (see lines 124–139 above) – seem negative.[80]

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77 Symbols of paganism or heretics? At least, one may assume them to be symbols of evil. The Dragon in Stobaeus' *Augur Apollo* (line 87) is a symbol of the Catholic Church, see Berggren, 126. Stobaeus mentions, however, by name the Jews and Muslims in the passage.

78 He uses this device in his eulogy to *Themis* (lines 325, 327, 336), as well, and while stressing the inviolability of Sweden against its enemies (line 355). Other cases are in lines 11 and 233. The majuscules function like a reproachful exclamation mark in these cases.

79 Paulinus wrote the relative pronoun οὗ – similar in appearance to the negative οὐ – with capitals at the beginning of verses 271, 288 and 313. See also lines 7, 113 and 350.

80 Compare with the negative sentences used by Epicurus (ep. Men. 131-132) and Lucretius (2, 1-35).

Conclusion

Johan Paulinus' *Finlandia* includes many features of Finland and Finns, which were dominant (or became dominant later?) as distinguishing features in the descriptions of Finland. Paulinus describes the natural beauty of the scenery, the industry, modesty and war-like character of the people. Renaissance and Baroque poetry had, however, as its aim to recreate classical poetry. There were many imitators of Virgil's Georgics in Baroque literature, but the language which Paulinus had chosen, Greek, induced him to take more notice of its model, Hesiod's Works and Days, too. So, language, for its part, determined the use of the classical tradition (the texts of Greek and Latin authors), its transmission and transformation. Paulinus, like Hesiod, described different generations (Finns and their forefathers) and succeeded in linking the mythical with the factual. Thus he escaped the difficulties of the Georgics with its binding together the description of Saturnian Age and the peasants' hard struggle with nature.

I return back to my quotation from Tacitus' *Germania*, with its description of *Fenni* who were living in poverty: *no* fixed homes, *no* horses, *no* arms; *only* herbs for their food, *only* skins for clothing, *only* earth for their bed... Johan Paulinus' contemporaries knew that Tacitus' *Fenni* were not Finns, but many writers on Finland seemed to fight consciously or unconsiously against Tacitus' degrading picture. They tried strongly to prove that Finland *was* a fruitful country, that Finns *were* healthy, wealthy, and wise. Paulinus chose another strategy which echoes Tacitus' negatives. Paulinus used negatives, too, but the outcome of his *via negativa* is, in fact, positive: the first Finns had *no* arms, *no* troubles; Finns of Paulinus' own time had *no* envy, *no* disorder, *no* artificial luxury. Happiness consists more of the absence of negative things than the presence of positive (or regarded as such) things. But there seems to be one point in common in both of these descriptions. If Tacitus' *Fenni* had attained a state in which they have nothing to pray for, nothing to long for, and which state is, as Tacitus wrote, *res difficillima* – Paulinus' Finns did not need to hope for anything: like the ancient Epicureans, they were content with what they already had – A LITTLE.

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