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ANALYSIS OF A VERSE *PARENTATIO*: JOHANNES IHRE'S FUNERAL ORATION IN MEMORY OF TORSTEN RUDEEN

IIRO KAJANTO

Torsten Rudeen, 1661-1729, poet, scholar and bishop, is one of those members of the contemporary cultural élite whom Finland and Sweden with equal right can claim as their own. Though born in Värmland and educated at Uppsala, his perhaps most creative period was the years from 1692 to 1708 which he spent at Turku / Åbo, first as professor of poetry, and from 1706 that of theology. It was during this time that he supervised, co-authored, or composed by himself a considerable number of academic dissertations, many of which in their genuinely humanistic approach were superior to his colleagues' learned output in the *regia universitate Aboensi*.¹ Today Rudeen is, however, primarily remembered as a Swedish poet, who was breaking away from the baroque conventions. His most durable contribution to Swedish literature was his love lyric, largely inspired by his first wife, who died prematurely in childbirth. But Rudeen also wrote official patriotic poetry, celebrating Carolus XI and Carolus XII's victory at Narva.² By the time the troops of Peter the Great overran Finland in the Great Nordic War, Rudeen had already returned to Sweden, first as the ecclesiastical superintendent of Värmland, and finally as the bishop of Linköping, where he died in 1729.

At Rudeen's burial in the cathedral of Linköping on the 12th of September, A. Rhyzelius, the dean (*domprost*) delivered the Swedish funeral sermon, supplemented with a concise biography or *Personalia* of the departed, likewise in Swedish. The Latin memorial oration or *parentatio* was entrusted to Rhyzelius's brother-in-law, Johannes Ihre.³

¹ For Rudeen's biography, see Arvid Hultin, Torsten Rudeen. Ett bidrag till karolinska tidens litteratur- och lärdomshistoria. Skrift. utg. af Svenska litt.sällsk. i Finland 54 (1902).

² See Lars Huldén, in Finlands svenska litteratur 1, 1968, 113-22 and Carl Fehrman, in Ny illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria 2, 1956, 45-47.

³ The funeral sermon with *Personalia*, Ihre's *parentatio*, and two briefer *epicedia* recited at the burial were printed in one volume *sine loco et anno* (probably 1729). There is

Johannes Ihre, 1707-1780, has gained a reputation primarily as one of the pioneers of Swedish linguistics,⁴ but he began his university career as the professor of Latin poetry at Upsala in 1737, changing it in the next year for the prestigious Skyttean Chair of Eloquence and Politics.

In his Invitation to attend the *parentatio*, Rhyzelius provides some information about its origin.⁵ Although two Latin elegiac poems or *epicedia* were recited *ex rostris ecclesiasticis, pro ratione arcti temporis*, they did not meet the need of a proper biographical *parentatio*. Rhyzelius argues that keeping alive the memory of the dead was an ancient custom. He cites the annual memorial feasts of the Greeks and the Romans, *sacra feralia*⁶ as well as the similar feasts celebrated by the ancient Swedes once a month or annually. But, he claims, all these memorial services are overshadowed by the custom, prevalent in the learned world, of publicly commemorating the life and deeds of the men who had done great services to their country.⁷

Three points are here worth noting. First, the custom was confined to the *eruditus orbis*, which in practice meant people who understood Latin: the memorial orations were as a rule delivered in Latin, and continued to be so even after Latin had begun to go out of use as the *lingua erudita*. Secondly, these orations were made in memory of distinguished people, a fact which is closely connected with their being cast in an idiom which was accessible only to the educated élite. But it was not only statesmen and the like who were thus honored. In fact, the very members of the *orbis eruditus*, especially university professors, were perhaps oftener than any other social group immortalized by funerary orations.⁸ Finally, the *parentatio* was separated from the burial, though the interval varied from a few days to several months or even longer.⁹

Rhyzelius does not here explicitly quote the classical origin of the memorial address, to which many orators used to refer and which has been

another edition, likewise *sine loco et anno*, which does not contain the Swedish texts. I have used this latter edition. The pagination naturally differs from that in the former edition.

⁴ Gösta Holm, in *Svenskt biografiskt lexicon* 19 (1971-1973) 763-69.

⁵ *Parent.* 5.

⁶ Cf. Kurt Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* 1960, 98.

⁷ *Parent.* 6 *At longe meliori instituto per eruditum orbem mos invaluit fata & facta viro- rum, de rep. optime meritorum, aliquo post mortem & sepulturam tempore, publicis ser- monibus, parentationes vocamus, celebrandi.*

⁸ See Kajanto, *Humanism in a Christian Society II. Classical Moral Philosophy and Oratory in Finland 1640-1713*, 1990, 148-49.

⁹ *Ibid.* 73.

established by modern scholarship.¹⁰ He only mentions that because Linköping was also *Musarum sedes* – which refers to its gymnasium, whose *ephorus* or supervisor Rudeen had been – a *parentatio* was all the more called for. But because the teachers of the gymnasium, to whom this *pietatis officium* primarily belonged, might be distracted by other duties, the choice fell on Johannes Ihre, who happened to be staying at Linköping, preparing for his long *peregrinatio* to foreign institutes of learning. Rhyzelius praises Ihre, who at that time was only 22 years old, as "eloquent, just in bloom, and like his father".¹¹ Ihre willingly accepted the task, but because he was equally competent in composing verses, in any language and on any subject, *maluit elegiaco carmine occasum Phoebi nostri deflere, nostros planctus exprimere & praecipua facta ac fata ultima beatissimi nostri Episcopi commemorare*.¹²

Rhyzelius cites ancient precedents for verse *Parentationes*, such as the custom of the Romans of inserting the names of their famous departed in *saliare carmen*.¹³ But the pious dean cannot refrain from raising Ihre's elegiac oration above its ancient counterparts as *longe melius, quippe pium, Christianum*.

Ihre recited his *Lacrimas & flores in tumulum... Torstani Rudeen* on the 11th of November, on the feast day of St Martin, the day on which the late bishop used to receive his clergy. The text consists of 866 verses. The language and meter, except for a few slips in prosody,¹⁴ are correct. Above all, the discourse is remarkable for the fluency and clarity of expressions, features for which Ihre's Latinity was in general praised.¹⁵ The poem was delivered in the *acroaterium* or auditorium of the gymnasium, but whether or not from memory, as the classical tradition required, is unknown to me. It is equally uncertain whether Ihre elaborated the poem before submitting it to print, a practice which seems to have been fairly general.¹⁶ Ihre, though, had

¹⁰ Cf. especially John McManamon, *Innovation in Early Humanist Rhetoric: The Oratory of Pier Paolo Vergerio (the Elder)*, *Rinascimento* n.s. 22 (1982) 3-32; Idem, *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* 1989, 5-35.

¹¹ *Parent.* 6: εὖστομος, ἀρτιθαλής, πατρί εἵκελος. Ihre's father had once been Linköping's dean.

¹² *Parent.* 7.

¹³ He cites M. Antoninus Philosophus's son Verus as well as Germanicus, who were thus honored, SHA 1 (Teubner 1956) 66 and Tacitus, ann. 2,83.

¹⁴ E.g. 13, 21: caesura is lacking.

¹⁵ C.J. Lundvall, *Om romerska vältaligheten vid Upsala Universitet, under 17:de och 18:de seklerna*. Kongl. vitterhets historie och antiquitets acad. handl. 16 (1841) 32-33.

¹⁶ Kajanto, *Christina heroina. Mythological and Historical Exemplification in the Latin Panegyrics on Christina Queen of Sweden*, 1993, 38-40.

two months at his disposal to compose the poem. But these are marginal problems, which do not affect the present discussion, of necessity based upon the printed text alone.

It was not exceptional that panegyrics, of which funeral orations constituted a subgroup, could be composed in verse, although prose always predominated, especially if the discourse was delivered in public.¹⁷ Besides the meter, however, there are some general differences between prose and verse discourses. The present paper aims at dealing with some of them, although the limitations of space preclude an exhaustive discussion, which could easily swell into a book.¹⁸

The language, however, is not very unlike that in prose panegyrics. Oratory in general tried to imitate Ciceronian Latinity. Unclassical words were in general avoided, and syntax, except for a few mostly unrecognized medievalisms, unobjectionable. Moreover, expressions and phrases were to a varying extent borrowed from, or modelled upon, the diction of the *auctores probati*.¹⁹

In structure, Ihre's *parentatio* followed the models established by ancient rhetoricians, which had experienced only minor changes in later oratory. The contents of the oration are summarized below. The printed text was divided into sections, which I shall observe. There will be, however, a number of exceptions to the original divisions, but I shall not specifically note them.

The Structure of Ihre's *Parentatio*

<i>A. Proemium</i>	pages and lines
1 Ihre addresses the audience	9,1-8
2 Expiates upon the topos of <i>modestia auctoris</i> : he is not equal to expressing the great sorrow	9,9 - 10,12

¹⁷ Ibid. 37-38.

¹⁸ There are monographs which analyze a single oration, Emin Tengström, *A Latin Funeral Oration from Early 18th Century Sweden*, 1983, dealing with J. Upmarck's Funeral Oration on J.A. Bellman, and Per Landgren, *Lärdomens nytta. Johan Upmarck's installationstal för den skytteanska professuren 1699*, unprinted thesis, Gothenburg 1990.

¹⁹ For the stylistic peculiarities in different literary genres, see Kajanto, Johannes Schefferus on the *imitatio veterum*. *Arctos* 24 (1990) 73-84; Spinoza's Latinity, forthcoming in the collective publication *Spinoza e la philologie*.

3	Invokes God to help him	10,13-20
4	Omnipotence of death, in nature	11,1-18
	in human life, where its blows are often unjust	11,19 - 13,2
5	Sorrow of the bereaved, of the widow	13,3 - 14,2
	of the children	14,3-18
	of the clergy	14,19 - 16,12

B. *Propositio*

	Summary of the topics to be discussed, followed by a renewed protestation of the orator's immaturity	16,13 - 17,12
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C. *Curriculum vitae*

1	Birth and early education	17,13 - 19,22
2	Prosopopoeia of Pallas, prophesying Rudeen's future greatness	19,23 - 21,10
3	Father's education	21,11 - 22,2
4	At the gymnasium of Karlstad, its teachers praised	22,3-16
5	Rudeen a diligent student	22,17 - 23,2
6	Goes to Upsala, praise of the University	23,3-22
7	Rudeen as a student, his diligence and early essays in versifying	23,23 - 24,20
8	his various studies	24,21 - 25,6
9	disputations	25,7-18
10	Apollo's prosopopoeia, urges that Rudeen should be crowned at the next <i>promotio</i>	25,19 - 26,16
11	Professor at Turku, invited by the King, initial hesitation	26,17 - 27,12
12	Arrival there, teaches eloquence	27,13-24
13	Bride comes to Turku	27,25 - 28,14
14	Wedding	28,15-20
15	Her immature death, Rudeen's great sorrow	28,21 - 29,10
16	Venus's prosopopoeia, urges him to mitigate	

his sorrow and to marry anew	29,11 - 30,10
17 Rudeen gives in, his second marriage	30,11-24
18 Career at the University of Turku,	
interprets Roman poets	30,25 - 31,4
composes the Finska Helicon	31,5-12
ordained a pastor	31,13 - 32,8
preaches in Finnish	32,9-16
19 Returns to Sweden as the superintendent of	
Värmland, his duties and virtues	32,17 - 34,12
20 Bishop of Linköping	34,13 - 35,20
21 An old minister's speech of welcome	35,21 - 37,4
22 Bishop's heavy duties	37,5-14
23 His health affected	37,15-24
24 Rewarded by Honorary Doctorate, his	
family ennobled	37,25 - 38,10
25 Final illness and death	38,11 - 39,2
26 His wife's anguish	39,3 - 40,8
27 Rudeen consoles her, he will be in Heaven,	
and God will take care of his family	40,9 - 41,12

D. *Peroratio*

Rudeen's fame will not die 41,13 - fin.

The topoi of the *parentatio* are traditional. The *proemium* or preface focusses upon the inadequacy of the orator for his task, upon the omnipotence of death, and upon the grief of the widow and children as well as of the clergy of the diocese. The preface is relatively long, 192 out of the total of 866 lines or almost one fourth. Long prefaces were not, however, exceptional. The *propositio* states that the orator will describe

... *varios... casus & fata Beati;*
Munera quae gessit: quo satus ille solo
Et quos pertulerit per tempora lapsa labores (16, 19-21),

that is, the biography and career of the late bishop.

The biography proceeds in a strictly chronological order from his birth through his primary, secondary and university education to his pro-

fessorship and pastoral duties in Finland, to his return to Sweden, first as the superintendent of Värmland, and finally as the bishop of Linköping. As is almost a rule in the funeral orations of the Christian age, Ihre gives much attention to Rudeen's illness and death, not sparing realistic details, and dwelling upon the wife's agony, and utilizing the usual topics of Christian consolation. The peroration is less specifically Christian: the promise to keep alive the departed's fame is more pagan than Christian.²⁰

Besides the late bishop's official career, considerable space is devoted to his marital life, to his reluctant journey to Turku, which meant leaving his young bride behind, to her joyous reunion with her bridegroom and the subsequent wedding, which was, alas, soon followed by her premature death. At Venus's advice, Rudeen marries anew, and this marriage is both fecund and long-lived.

For all that, the oration is far from being a mine of information on the biography of the deceased. Although prose *parentationes* were not handicapped by the limitations imposed by the meter and the requirements of poetic diction and style, they, too, usually fell short of completeness. But in epideictic oratory, the genre to which *parentationes* belonged, it was almost always the form that mattered, not the content. The vernacular *personalia*, composed in plain and unadorned language, which were appended to the funeral sermons of men of distinction,²¹ almost as a rule contain more data than do the considerably longer funeral orations.

A comparison of Ihre's *parentatio* with the six pages of Rhyzelius's *personalia* and other biographical material reveals that Ihre omitted many important phases and facts of Rudeen's curriculum vitae. We hear nothing about his scholarly achievements at Turku, which were far from negligible, or about the Cartesian quarrel in which he was involved. Again, a Finn may rightly wonder that Ihre does not even by a word refer to the Great Nordic War, which was raging during Rudeen's most active life and which possibly persuaded him to leave the doomed country and to return to safer Sweden. Finally, it is understandable though deplorable, that Ihre no more than Rhyzelius does not mention Rudeen's love lyric, his most durable literary achievement. Rhyzelius also ignores his patriotic poetry, which Ihre, though, duly acknowledges (see below).

Even though the orator mentioned a particular event or fact from Ru-

²⁰ See Kajanto, op. cit. (n. 8) 82-88.

²¹ Ibid. 73. A number of the *personalia* were published by C.A. Klingspor, *Sveriges adel under 1600-1700 talen. Samtida minnesteckningar jemte utmärkningar* 1-2, 1876, 1877.

deen's life, the information he gave was more often than not incomplete and even imprecise. Much of it is attributable to the above-mentioned restrictions springing from meter and style. Thus, it was always difficult to express numbers in verse, which were usually given by circumlocutions.²² In our oration, only a few passages record the departed's age at a particular date, for instance, Rudeen came to Upsala *vitae quum viderit actas / Non-dum bis brumas praeteriisse novem* (23, last l.); he stayed at Turku *per tria lustra* (33,2). Otherwise, to give his discourse some chronological framework, the orator resorted to the unpoetic remedy of providing the printed text with appropriate footnotes. There are no less than ten notes recording dates.²³ Thus, the passage relating his enrolment at the University of Upsala carries a footnote recording that this took place *Anno M.DCLXXVIII* (23), and his second marriage is stated to have been concluded *d. 19 Jul. An. M.DC.XCVI* (30). Five other footnotes supply more detailed information on other points, e.g. the somewhat obscure distich *Quamque Helicon sibi possederit ipse faventem, / Felici docuit mox Helicone suo* (31,7-8), is explained to allude to two orations in Swedish verses delivered *ex rostris academicis*, with the further piece of information that Rudeen claimed to have been the first to address the academic audience in the vernacular.²⁴

Again, a particular biographical fact which Ihre recorded was often allusive and devoid of specific details. To quote a few examples, in Venus's prophecy of Rudeen's new and happy marriage – which of course is to be understood *ex post facto* – it is stated that the new wife will bless him with *numerosa proles* (30,7), but any one wanting more knowledge about his family has to turn to the *personalia*.²⁵ Further, Rudeen's far from negligible political role as a member of the *prästerståndet* (the clergy) at four meetings of the Estates (*riksdagen*), in two of which he was elected chairman of his estate,²⁶ is accorded one elegiac distich, which only laments the tedium of parliamentary sessions: *Concilio imprimis Regni quum jussus adesse, /*

²² Kajanto, *Latin Verse Inscriptions in Medieval and Renaissance Rome*. *Latomus* 52 (1993) 54-55.

²³ On pp. 18, 22, 23, 26bis, 30, 31, 33, 35, 41.

²⁴ These verse orations, published in *Finska Helicons underdånige Fägne-Sånger*, Åbo 1704, were birthday congratulations, one on King Carolus XI in 1696 and another on Carolus XII in 1702, which in practice praised his victory at Narva, see Hultin (n. 1) 160-82; Toini Melander, *Personskrifter hänförande sig till Finland 1562-1713*. Public. Univ. Library of Helsinki 22 (1951) 502 No 1540 and 564 No 1770, with bibl.

²⁵ *Personalia* 50. By his first wife Rudeen had a son, and by the second no less than 14 children, eight of whom survived.

²⁶ See Hultin (n. 1) 225.

Pertulit annosae taedia longa morae (37,13-14).

Even if the young poet really expatiated upon a point, he did not always supply all the details. From the Finnish point of view, the passage devoted to Rudeen's work as a pastor is of special interest. Many university professors had the good fortune to supplement their meagre and often irregularly paid earnings by acting as clergymen in the neighbouring parishes. Rudeen was ordained in 1699 as the pastor of Paimio, which he two years later managed to change for the more remunerative Piikkiö, and in 1706 he accepted the prestigious rectorate of the Swedish congregation of Turku / Åbo.²⁷ Rudeen is also said to have learnt, and preached in, Finnish.²⁸ The 28 lines in which Ihre dealt with Rudeen's pastoral work, a necessary antecedent to his later elevation to the bishopric, do not name any of these congregations (31,13 - 32,16). His knowledge of Finnish, though, is eulogized, perhaps a natural thing for the future great linguist Ihre:

*Non labor ille fuit minimus vernacula sacra
In Finlandiacis instituisse plagis.
Is tamen instituit divinus praeco, brevique
Insueti felix aemulus oris erat.
Quisque peregrino cognoscit in ore lepores
Indigenas linguae deliciasque suae* (32,9-16).

We may note the tribute Ihre pays to the graces of the Finnish language!

Despite all these shortcomings, to disparage a metrical funeral oration for omitted, incomplete or inexplicit information is to misunderstand what the audience expected from it. A Latin prose panegyric, and even more one in verse, was appreciated for its oratorical and poetical qualities rather than for the information it provided about the deceased's curriculum vitae. In this respect, Ihre's *parentatio* should be given, if not the highest, at least very high marks. What one misses in it is not information but a certain lack of warmth and emotion, a defect which was in general recognized as peculiar of Ihre,²⁹ and because of which the learned and erudite discourse on the late bishop may strike a modern reader as somewhat bloodless.

²⁷ Ibid. 183-85.

²⁸ Rhyzelius, *Personalia* 47. He praises Rudeen's ability to master a language which was generally considered one of the most difficult. Rudeen himself, though, in a letter argued that the difficulties of the language had been exaggerated, Hultin 184 n. 2.

²⁹ Cf. Lundvall, op. cit. (n. 15) 33 "Sällan eller aldrig finner man affectens värma" (In his writings we rarely find warmth of emotion).

The structure of Ihre's *parentatio* is perhaps not quite orthodox and traditional. By focussing exclusively on Rudeen's *vita*, he may appear to have disregarded one main ingredient of Latin panegyrics, the encomium of *mores* or virtues. But, in many panegyrics, the eulogy of virtues consisted in their schematic listing, from the cardinal four to Aristotle's eleven virtues, almost as a rule supplemented with the Christian *pietas*.³⁰ Rhyzelius's Invitation is a case in point: in one brief passage he succeeds in commending Rudeen for no less than nineteen virtues, all of them expressed by abstracts, from *aliis inserviendi pronitas* to *vultus et sermonis suavitas* (3). One cannot deny that such an accumulation of virtues, which often reminds us of medieval rather than humanist rhetoric,³¹ strikes us as arid and even unconvincing: one man cannot possibly be possessed of all the imaginable virtues.

Ihre chose another method of depicting the virtues or the character of the departed: he makes them emerge from the description of his career and deeds. As a boy, he was keen on studies and avoided vices (19); at school and university, he earned a reputation for his industry;³² he was obedient to the king (27,2); affectionate husband (see p. 41); because of his Christian piety he tired of *Latii subnectere flores*, and instead of *Hesperidum septae* and fictae *Aganippidos undae*, that is, false pagan poetry, moistened his lips with *vivum Sion* (31,17-18). Relating his execution of the pastoral and administrative duties of a bishop, Ihre delineates the picture of a just but merciful, conscientious, benevolent and devout shepherd, who spurned the allurements of personal enrichment (33,19 - 34,12).³³ He praises Rudeen for the fact that *doctrinam similes iuvêre in pectore mores, / Monstrataeque vigil dux fuit ipse viae* (34,7-8), which suggests the classical requirement that to be really persuasive, the orator should be possessed of a good character, to be *vir bonus dicendi peritus*.³⁴ But this is of course a Christian principle as well, at least in the Lutheran Church, which did not separate an office and its holder as adroitly as did the Catholic Church.

Besides the meter, it was poetic diction that differentiated between

³⁰ See Kajanto, op. cit. (n. 8) passim, and especially 77-79.

³¹ Cf. the discussion of McManamon 1982 (n. 10).

³² 22 and 24. The latter page (l. 2) includes the well-known topos of *ingenio superante annos*, already found in Virgil, Aen. 9,311. For the history of the topos, see E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, transl. by W.R. Trask, 1973, 98-100.

³³ Cf. Rhyzelius, *Personalia* 51, and C. Echman, *logices et metaphysices lector* at the local gymnasium, in his *epicedium* 45-46, both of whom give a more detailed but also a more schematic and conventional account of Rudeen's virtues as an administrator.

³⁴ Quint. 12,1,1, quoting Cato the Elder. Quintilian maintained that only a morally good man could be a good orator; cf. Kajanto, *Porthan as a Classical Scholar* 1984, 76.

verse and prose panegyric. Now a Neo-Latin versifier faced a different challenge from that of his vernacular counterpart. With due allowance for the strict conventions of the baroque period, a vernacular poet could always pick up fresh and even racy expressions even from the parlance of the people or even create them himself. A Neo-Latin poet, after the relative freedom of medieval Latin had been discarded, had to observe the canonized doctrine of *imitatio*. Everything had to be learnt from a scrupulous scrutiny of the classical writers, *auctores probati*. Words and phrases were memorized or written down in personal notebooks, and deviations from the classical models were discountenanced and condemned.³⁵

Hence it is almost inevitable that in reading Neo-Latin verses, we frequently encounter phrases which had been borrowed from, or modelled upon, passages in classical Roman poets, primarily in Virgil, Horace, and Ovid. At worst, the compositions the would-be versifiers managed to produce were mere pastiches made up from the plundered goods of Roman poets. But not even a successful Neo-Latin poet could avoid classical borrowings, which the humanist theory of *imitatio* seemed to require. A skillful writer, however, used them with moderation and taste, more often than not altering the original phrase, though rarely beyond recognition.

In Ihre's *parentatio* it is not difficult to find phrases familiar to us from Roman poetry, but they are seldom obtrusively literal. I have not attempted a complete analysis of the poem's vocabulary, which could of course be done with a computer. In my opinion, such an analysis does not overly much help to elucidate the literary qualities of a poem. I give only a few select examples of Ihre's classical borrowings. The phrase *lacrimas ut leve sudet ebur* (9,14) recalls Virgil, *georg.* 1,480 *ebur aeraque sudant* and Ovid, *met.* 15,792 *mille locis lacrimavit ebur*; again, *variâ tellus cyclade picta fuit* (11,6)³⁶ may have been modelled upon Propertius 4,7,40 *aurata cyclade signat humum*; the distich *Non modo Paestanis radiant nova lilia campis: / Non vernis halat Trinacris Hybla thymis* (11,1516) had probably been inspired by Ovid, *ex pont.* 2,4,27-28 and *trist.* 5,13,22. *Cilicum nimbi* (12,5) for sprays of perfume is sufficiently singular to warrant its tracing to Martial, *spect.* 3,18; *luctificis laxans questibus ora* (15, last l.) has some similarity with Lucan 6,566-67 *dentibus ora / laxavit*, both phrases signifying deep sorrow. But I refrain from accumulating further cases, convinced that

³⁵ See Kajanto, Poggio Bracciolini and Classicism 1987, 20-21.

³⁶ *Cyclas* was "female's light outer garment having a decorated border," Oxf. Lat. Dict., s.v.

these samples sufficiently show Ihre to have been widely read in Roman poetry. He borrowed from them in appropriate places, but rarely produced literal quotations, which, when they occur, were usually phrases that had become proverbial, like Horace's wellknown *mors ultima linea rerum* (12,1 from ep. 1,16,79) and Ovid's *tempus edax* (42,3 from met. 15,234).

A peculiarity of poetic style ever since Hesiod, and especially in mannerism and baroque, was a certain predilection for periphrasis.³⁷ It was especially the denominations of offices and academic disciplines that our orator referred to by circumlocutions. In describing Rudeen's student days at Upsala, Ihre tells his audience that after relaxing by writing poems in imitation of Ovid's metamorphoses, Rudeen returned to serious studies:

*Sic ubi defessos ludendo refecerat artus,
Fortior Aonidum seria rursus obit.
Et manibus divina piis oracula versat,
Aut veneres discit, Gens Eberina, tuas
Aut ea, quae Samiae docuêre silentia turbae,
Tradita quaeque hortis sunt, Academe, tuis* (24,21-26),

which is followed by the famous simile of bees, which fly from one flower to another to collect honey and which Ihre applied to describe Rudeen's *polymathia*.³⁸ *Aonides* are the muses, the patronesses of learning (see p. 51). The next distich alludes to Rudeen's theological studies, which for a Lutheran consisted of a close scrutiny of the Bible. The hexameter suggests the Bible as the source of God's Word, and the pentameter the Old Testament as high poetry. *Gens Eberina* for the Hebrews is at least today a little known expression, cf. gen. 10,21, where Shem is called the ancestor of all the sons of Eber, but may have been more generally known in the Bible-saturated seventeenth century. The last distich specifies Rudeen's study of philosophy by mentioning two ancient Schools, first that of Pythagoras, who was born in Samos and who is said to have ordered his disciples to observe silence for five whole years (Diog. Laert. 8,10). The Gardens of Academus suggest Plato.

As an example of circumlocutory expressions for offices I quote the

³⁷ Cf. Quint. 8,6,59; Curtius, op. cit. (n. 32) 275-78; Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics, ed. by Alex Preminger, 1965, 609.

³⁸ J. v. Stackelberg, *Das Bienengleichnis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen Imitatio. Roman. Forsch.* 68 (1956) 272-83.

passage from the *Proemium* in which Ihre, after the widow and children, turns to describe the sorrow of the clergy of the diocese:

*Vos quoque, queis Numen sacrum commisit ovile,
Et reseranda dedit limina celsa poli.
Mystarum praesens agmen venerabile Christi,
Vos, o! vos propius tanta ruina ferit* (14,19-22).

Comparing the clergy to shepherds and their congregation to a sheepfold was age-old (see below). The Greek word μύστης, "one initiated", was occasionally used for a pastor in ancient Christianity,³⁹ and more generally in humanist Latin.

Imagery, from simple metaphors to extended similes, constitutes the kernel of poetic diction. Here I must restrict myself to a few select cases. Because – except for *stylus philosophicus* or learned Neo-Latin (cf. n. 19) – humanistic Latin adhered to the principle of the *imitatio* of the best Roman authors, imagery was often borrowed from one or another classical poet, and hence unoriginal. The classical influence could work in subtler ways, too. Even if we cannot trace a particular image to a definite source, it may suggest classical rather than Nordic scenery, which points to literary inspiration.

The most conspicuous images and similes in Ihre's funeral poem sprang from bucolic poetry. For this there are two reasons. First, bucolic poetry enjoyed great favor in the baroque age.⁴⁰ But the most obvious reason for the extensive use of bucolic imagery was the fact that ever since antiquity, a Christian entrusted with the task of spiritually and sometimes materially guiding and helping his congregation was compared to, or conceived of, as a shepherd,⁴¹ and his charges as his flock. Pastor is still a generic name for a Christian minister in European languages.

It was Virgil's Eclogues that supplied rich material for these bucolic scenes. Thus, in comparing the clergy's grief to a flock which had lost its shepherd, the Virgilian background is evident in the very nomenclature:

Ceu solet in Siculis ovium grex debilis oris

³⁹ Thes. ling. Lat. 8 (1936-1966) 1758,69.

⁴⁰ For Sweden, see Fehrman, op. cit. (n. 2) 22-29.

⁴¹ The literature on the comparison is vast. It may suffice to name only one relevant work, Patrick Bruun in *Sylloge Inscriptionum Christianarum Veterum Musei Vaticani*, ed. H. Zilliacus, 2 (1963) 146-49.

*Non certâ moestis passibus ire viâ,
 Dum periit pastor: non prata virentia carpunt,
 Nec vitreô properant fonte levare sitim.
 Sed tristes errant, & chari fata Menalcae,
 Queis possunt lacrimis voceque triste gemunt (15,1-6).*

Menalcas is a generic name for a shepherd, found in Theocritus as well as in Virgil. Neither records his death, and the scene was composed by Ihre from bucolic elements.

The same page carries another extended simile of deep sorrow. The dazed, loudly wailing clergy – in itself unlikely, considering the usual Nordic reticence in expressing emotions – is compared to a stag, which, unexpectedly wounded by an arrow, fills the air with horrible bellowings (15,19-26).

Comparing the congregation to a flock and its ministers to a shepherd, heavily dependent upon classical Bucolica, may sometimes strike us as inappropriate and even absurd, thus in the following passage, which eulogizes Rudeen's final years as the superintendent of Värmland:

*Jam felix sibi visa fuit Vermlandica tellus,
 Et tacito fovit gaudia mille sinu.
 Cernebantur oves per florida ludere rura,
 Laetaeque alterno plaudere crure solum.
 Pastores patulâ cecinerunt carmen in umbrâ,
 Nec caulae infestos pertimûere lupos (34,13-18).*

Apart from the infelicitous image of dancing sheep, it is scarcely proper to visualize grave and somber Lutherans as gamboling in flowery meadows and of its pastors as chanting a merry song in the shadow of branches. The very topographical details recall a Mediterranean *locus amoenus* rather than a Nordic thicket or grove.

It cannot be denied that Neo-Latin poetry in general, which perhaps even more than Neo-Latin *Kunstprosa* observed the principle of *imitatio auctorum probatorum*, by applying details of classical life and manners to a quite different milieu, often impresses us as affected and artificial. Thus, the vocabulary of the ancient custom of cremation, of ancient funeral rites, and of the ancient manners of expressing sorrow, to a large extent utilized to describe Lutheran burials, may create an impression of unreality if

understood strictly *ad verbum*. Thus, the burial was consistently referred to as *rogus*, the funeral pyre (13,8; 32 last l.) or *bustum* (16,11), and the buried corpse as reduced to *favilla* (32,9) or *cineres* (29,5). The native region was said to be *ferali cincta cupressu* (10,5), which suggests a Mediterranean graveyard. But the poet sometimes combines classical and contemporary features. Wondering how to venerate the departed, he says *Ast ego quae spargam pretiosis cinnama bustis? / Queis tumulumve sacris accumulaboris?* (41,19-20), of which the hexameter suggests an ancient, and the pentameter a modern funeral rite.

It is, however, anachronistic to believe that Ihre's audience should have been shocked by these and similar discrepancies between words and reality. Schooled since childhood in Latin poetry, these expressions were familiar to them. Modern terms might have caused a ruder shock than did the scrupulous application of the sacrosanct principle of *imitatio*. Moreover, the age's literary tastes favored artificiality more than they did naturalness. Realistic details, except in the death scene, were indeed rare in Ihre's poem. One such is found in the passage relating Rudeen's departure from Turku and his laborious journey to Värmland:

*Jamque recesserunt Aboae fastigia, nubes
Atque eluctata est Svethica terra suas
(----)
Hinc iter insequitur TORSTANUS perque salebras
Et loca senta situ Vermica rura venit* (33,11-12 and 17-18)

I must of necessity omit to discuss many other classical loans, such as the topos of *adynata*: nature will sooner reverse its order than we should cease to venerate you (42,5-8). But there still remains one aspect of Neo-Latin poetry, which rightly can be considered one of its hallmarks, and that is the extensive use made of classical mythology in periphrases, similes, digressions, or simply as poetic decoration.⁴²

There was, however, no watertight difference between, say, a prose and verse panegyric. Mythological nomenclature embellishes the former no less than the latter. On the other hand, historical exemplification, which was a peculiarity of prose oratory, was also found in Neo-Latin poetry. The difference was one of degree rather than of kind. In poetry, mythology was

⁴² Cf. Kajanto, *Humanism in a Christian Society I. The Attitude to Classical Mythology and Religion in Finland 1640-1713*, 1989, 28-42.

normally much more conspicuous than it was in prose, while the reverse holds true for historical references.

It was especially the home of the Muses, Mount Parnassus, with its topographical and mythical details, that the poets cited as a symbol for poetry and learning. As an example, I quote the passage praising the University of Upsala:

*Heic, Auditores, heic est ubi regnat Apollo
Plurimus, heic tripodas deposuitque suos.
Heic sedes fixere sacras, Parnassia quondam,
Sed nunc Upsalici, numina docta, jugi.
Heic nunc invenies quos foderat ungula fontes;
Huc Dea migravit vertice nata Patris.
Heic Mystas Thymbraeus habet, quibus ore rotundo,
Singula Thespiadum pandere sacra dedit.
Tradere sive lubet Mysteria cana Tonantis,
Quôque coli summum Numen honore velit (23,7-17).*

Utilizing the old Rudbeckian idea according to which the ancient cathedral of Upsala had originally been a temple of Apollo,⁴³ Ihre claims that Apollo and the Muses, *numina docta*, had now taken their abode in the Swedish town. The spring opened by Pegasus's hoof, inspiring poets, is found there, and the goddess of wisdom, Pallas, who sprang forth from the head of Zeus, has also moved to Upsala. The four last lines refer to university education. Thymbraeus is a learned periphrasis for Apollo, derived from Thymbra, a place in the Troad, which possessed a famous shrine of the god.⁴⁴ *Thespiades* is a periphrasis for the Muses, originating from Thespieae, a town near Mount Helicon.⁴⁵ Tonans, an epithet of Jupiter, in humanist Latin often stands for God.⁴⁶ These four lines constitute a larger periphrasis, and can be translated thus: here Apollo inspires his devotees to interpret the sacred texts of the Muses, that is, classical poetry, and to explicate God's venerable mysteries and the right way of worshipping him.

Learned periphrasis, which put to test the audience's knowledge of classical literature, was indeed a hallmark of Ihre's, as it was of many Neo-

⁴³ Ibid. 26.

⁴⁴ Cf. Virgil, *georg.* 4,323 and *Aen.* 3,85.

⁴⁵ Cf. Cicero, *Verr.* 4,4.

⁴⁶ See Kajanto, *op. cit.* (n. 22) 53.

Latin poets' work. The deities of poetry could be simply called the Muses (16,13; 19,13; 22,17); *patriae Musae* (31,5) suggests Rudeen's Swedish poetry. The individual Muses were sometimes named, thus Calliope (see below) and Thalia (16,17). But periphrases, usually associated with places, were equally common, thus *Heliconides*, *numina Pindi* (26,1);⁴⁷ *Aonides* (see p. 46) or *Aonii vocalia numina clivi* (9,21) were derived from Aonia;⁴⁸ *Pieriae* (22,20) is of uncertain derivation.⁴⁹ The most usual of these geographical periphrases was *Pimplaea* (17,5; 29,7) or *Pimpleis* (24,5), obtained from Pimpleia, a village and spring in Pieria.⁵⁰ For *Thespiadae*, see p. 50.⁵¹

Topographical-mythical nomenclature was also used to suggest poetry and learning, schools and universities. Thus, on Rudeen's birth:

*Permessia turba tenellum
Mox aganippeo sedula fonte lavat.
Ipsa Charis proprios signavit in ore lepores
Et circumfudit dulcia mella labris* (18,9-12).

Permessus was a river on Mount Helicon, and *Permessia turba* naturally the Muses; *aganippeus fons* a fountain sacred to the Muses, and Charis anointing the newborn's lips with honey, thus prophesying future literary genius, recalls famous classical legends.⁵² In plain language, the passage suggests that the newly born son was endowed with a keen intellect and poetic talent. In arguing that he was not equal to praising Rudeen (cf. p. 40), Ihre says that he would not have dared to undertake the task

*Si vel mille forent linguae; Si Calliopaea
Permessi doctas evacualet aquas;
Si mihi Maeoniis incedere Musa cothurnis
Pindaricisve daret plectra movere modis* (16-17).

Maeonii cothurni, from Maeonia in Lydia, suggest Homer. The sentence *Si*

⁴⁷ Cf. Lucret. 3,1037.

⁴⁸ Kl. Pauly 1 (1964) 417. The periphrasis was popular especially in Roman literature.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 4 (1972) 848.

⁵⁰ Horace, *carm.* 1,26,9 *Pipleis*, a variant.

⁵¹ Cf. Ovid, *met.* 5,310.

⁵² See Kajanto, *op. cit.* (n. 8) 154 for references.

Calliopaea... "even if Calliopaea emptied all the learned waters of Permesus", in plain language, even if I exploited all the resources of my learning or art, is no doubt somewhat affected.

As the synopsis of the contents of the discourse (p. 38-40) shows, the poem contains three longer prosopopoeias or personifications, which were greatly in vogue ever since Homer.⁵³ In the first, *Jove nata virgo* or Pallas Athene foretells to Rudeen's father his son's future greatness as a poet, scholar, and bishop (20-21). This literary device serves as an anticipation or *propositio* of the subsequent discourse. Apollo's briefer monologue, urging the University to crown Rudeen's learning with laurels (26), that is, to confer upon him the degree of *magister philosophiae* at the next Commencement ceremony, is poetically justified because Apollo was the patron of academic learning. Finally, Venus's advice to Rudeen, in deep sorrow after his wife's premature death, to restrain his sorrow and to take a new wife, foretelling a happy marriage (29-30), in a mythical guise vindicates Rudeen's new marriage. All these personifications were poetic digressions, which no doubt lent the *parentatio* liveliness and color.

Despite all these references to and appearances of the ancient deities, no one took them for anything more than poetic decoration or as symbols. They were long since defunct, and could even be made to represent the Christian God (see p. 50). There were, however, pagan entities that may have possessed more substance and reality than the gods of the classical Greek and Roman pantheon, and they were Fate and Fortune. Because I have elsewhere dealt with these long-lived legacies of antiquity as well as with the theologico-philosophical attempts to incorporate them into the Christian system,⁵⁴ I shall here be content with some general remarks.

Fate, the immovable and preordained lot of man, was usually cited as the agency of death, and so it was in Ihre, too. The following passage, lamenting the omnipotence of death, is exceptionally classicizing:

*Si mores Lachesis Saturni tempore dignos
Respiceret torquens fila severa colis,
Tum certe haud Stygias, nisi Nestore senior, undas
RUDENIUS noster cerneret umbra recens* (12,7-10).

⁵³ Bernard Dupriez, *A Dictionary of Literary Devices*, transl. and adapted by Albert W. Halsall, 1991, 340-41.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.* (n. 42) 126-78 (including astrology); *Fortuna in the Works of Poggio Bracciolini*. *Arctos* 20 (1986) 25-57; *The Idea of Fate in Poggio Bracciolini*. *Arctos* 22 (1988) 59-73.

Saturni tempus was the Golden Age when manners were still pure and uncorrupted. If Lachesis, the spinner of the unrelenting threads, had taken regard for Rudeen's blameless character, surely he should have crossed the river Styx to Hades only at an age higher than Nestor's. The very word *umbra* for "soul" has a classical flavor. Considering that Rudeen died at the age of 69, which few at that time achieved, the lament may sound somewhat exaggerated. Three lines later Ihre continues:

*Sed DEUS astripotens, immensi conditor orbis,
Cur tua tam nobis incubat ira gravis?
Fatave cur ausu Nostrum rapuistis iniquo?
Tanto terra fuit visane digna Viro?
Illa (scil., terra) malos homines satis educat: haecce videtur
Fatiferis Lethi falcibus apta seges (12,13-18).*

This only repeats the idea already voiced in the preceding verses, but the Christian God and Fate are here juxtaposed, a not rare combination in post-classical literature.⁵⁵ But in this and in other similar cases, it is pointless to inquire into the intentions of the author. He scarcely gave any serious thought to the discrepancy, or if he did, probably remembered the traditional Christian identification of Fate with God's will. Going on in the same vein, Ihre deplores the fact that Fate turns a blind eye on the wicked but plagues the innocent, all of which are traditional topoi in the laments on death's might.

In this *parentatio*, Fortune, the agency of the capricious ups and downs in human life, is rare, and appears with her traditional traits: *Gaudia sed raro nobis sincera perennant / Et Fortuna brevi statque caditque mora* (28, 21,22), which serves as an introduction to the story of Rudeen's first wife's premature death.

University of Helsinki

⁵⁵ Kajanto 1988 (see above) 63-64.