

APOSTROPHE AND SUBJECTIVITY
IN JOHAN PAULINUS LILLIENSTEDT’S
MAGNUS PRINCIPATUS FINLANDIA (1678)

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Praising one’s country or city was a popular topos in university orations of the seventeenth century, as *Magnus Principatus Finlandia* (‘The Grand Duchy of Finland’) exemplifies. This patriotic eulogy to Finland was delivered in 1678 by the then 22-year-old Finnish student, Johan Paulinus (1655-1732), during his first year of studies at Uppsala University in Sweden.¹ *Magnus Principatus Finlandia* (hereafter *Finlandia*) is a versified oration, a so-called *oratio ligata* or *oratio metrica*, composed of 379 hexameters, and – despite its Latin title – written in Ancient Greek.²

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¹ In 1690 Johan Paulinus was ennobled and added ‘Lillienstedt’ to his name. On the dating of *Finlandia*, see also n. 50 below.

² A modern edition of the Greek text is found in Korhonen, Oksala & Sironen 2000, pp. 34-66. In the Appendix to this article, pp. 26-35 below, I present an English translation of the oration. – Greek orations were not uncommon at Uppsala University in this period. For a list of Greek orations written by Finnish and Swedish students and professors in the period 1631-1729, see Korhonen 2004, pp. 460-462.

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In general, *Finlandia* follows the rhetorical prescriptions for patriotic eulogies, as outlined, for example, in the second of the two Greek epideictic treatises from the late second or early third centuries AD attributed to Menander Rhetor. First, the eulogy should give a general description of the country and its location; then, a brief account of the history of the country; and finally, it should praise the country's beauty, its people's accomplishments, and its ruler.³

As an overall thematic structure Paulinus pictures his oration as a spiritual journey in time and space. The journey begins with an overview of Finland's pagan history and the introduction of Christianity, and then jumps to the author's own time, describing the country as a paradise on earth, inhabited by gentle animals. The narration moves from the wilderness to the world of men, describing Finland as the home of peasants and praising the Finnish noblemen and the victorious Finnish army. Finally, Paulinus focuses on two important institutions situated in Turku (Swedish: Åbo), then the capital of Finland, namely the University and the Royal Court of Justice. In the epilogue, Paulinus expresses his hopes for peace in the Kingdom of Sweden, of which Finland formed a part at that time, and for King Charles XI's safety.⁴

A versified oration, *Finlandia* exhibits a trait typical of expressive lyric, namely a first-person narrator who steps forward in several parts of the text, for example in order to comment on the poet's own past. The oration also features many instances of the narrator speaking directly to both his audience

³ See Menander Rhetor 1981, I.2.344,15-367,8 (pp. 28-75). Encomium to a city is also dealt with in op.cit., II.3.383,9-388,15 (pp. 104-115). In *Poetices libri septem* of 1561, 3.119-120 (see Scaliger 1994, pp. 176-189), Julius Caesar Scaliger presented the disposition of patriotic eulogies in the same way as Menander Rhetor: first *locus*, then *urbs*. On the tradition of patriotic eulogies in the Middle Ages, see Curtius 1990, pp. 157-158.

⁴ Finland was a part of the Kingdom of Sweden for a period of c. 600 years, until 1809. In Paulinus's youth Sweden was constantly at war with Denmark and Germany.

and the various topics at issue. In what follows I examine the different examples of Paulinus's use of the figure of *apostrophe* and of what I term 'self-referential passages'. On the basis of this examination I argue that Paulinus's frequent use of these stylistic techniques lends a decidedly subjective quality to the oration.

Apostrophe: Classical Theory

The term *apostrophe* (from the Greek verb *apostrephein*) literally means "a turning back, a turning away".⁵ In the original oral situation this indicated that the speaker turned away from his primary or general audience in order to address another or a more specific audience.⁶ The Homeric invocation of the Muses, for example, is one form of *apostrophe*. However, as a figure of speech, the *apostrophe* implies the turning towards something. The grammatical case connected with the *apostrophe* is therefore the vocative: the *apostrophe* is, grammatically speaking, a turning of the discourse from the third person to the second person, directly addressing someone or something as 'you'.⁷ In the rhetorical context, *apostrophe* involves speaking to the subject matter of one's discourse, as if this absent person, thing, or abstract idea were present (and alive) and capable of hearing and understanding what is being said.

Greek and Roman orators such as Demosthenes and Cicero certainly made use of the technique of *apostrophe*. Nevertheless, the use of the word

⁵ I quote from LSJ, *s.v.*

⁶ The function of the *apostrophe* has been reevaluated by deconstructionist critics such as Jonathan Culler and Paul de Man; see Kneale 1999, pp. 11 and 17-20. In Kneale's view, the essential feature of *apostrophe* is its "redirecting of voice"; see *op.cit.*, p. 19. For Culler's view, see also notes 52 and 65 below.

⁷ On theories of *apostrophe*, from antiquity to the modern period, see Sonnino 1968, pp. 33-34; Lausberg 1990, §§762-765 and 271; A. W. Halsall's article in HWRh 1 (1992), coll. 830-836; Preminger & Brogan 1993, *s.v.*; Kneale 1999, p. 19; and Franchet d'Espèrey 2006, pp. 164-165.

apostrophe as a rhetorical term is not attested in Greek literature until the first century BC,⁸ and Greco-Roman rhetorical treatises only mention the figure in passing, if at all. An exception is Quintilian's first-century AD *Institutio oratoria*, which deals with the apostrophe in the context of forensic oratory, presenting it as a figure of thought and defining it as "discourse that is turned away from the judge's person", that is, discourse addressed by the speaker to a person other than the judge.⁹ Quintilian recommends the figure as a "remarkably effective" device for attacking the adversary, and a way of proceeding either to "some kind of invocation" or to "an appeal designed to create odium".¹⁰

The power of the apostrophe to arouse emotions, including negative feelings such as odium, is also stressed in the third- or fourth-century Greek treatise *On Types of Style* attributed to the rhetorician Hermogenes of Tarsus. According to this work, which became very influential in the Byzantine period and in the Renaissance, the use of apostrophe adds fervor to the speech and contributes to a sincere and animated style, as exemplified by Demosthenes' orations.¹¹ Further, in (Pseudo-)Longinus's treatise *On the*

⁸ Namely in the work of the Epicurean philosopher, poet, and literary critic, Philodemus of Gadara; see LSJ, s.v. III, with reference to Philodemus's *Peri parresias* 21.9.

⁹ "Sermonem a persona iudicis aversum"; Quintilian 2001, vol. 2, 4.1.63. This and the following translated passages from *Institutio oratoria* are quoted from Donald A. Russell's English translation, which accompanies his edition of the Latin text in Quintilian 2001. For a recent, detailed account of Quintilian's definition of the apostrophe, see Franchet d'Espèrey 2006.

¹⁰ "mire movet, sive adversarios invadimus"; "ad invocationem aliquam convertimur"; "ad invidiosam inplorationem"; Quintilian 2001, vol. 4, 9.2.38.

¹¹ See Hermogenes 1987, 301 (p. 58) as well as 262, 271, 314, and 360 (pp. 31, 37, 66, and 95).

Sublime, from the first century AD, the apostrophe is associated with the grand or elevated style, the *genus sublime*.¹²

As regards epideictic rhetoric, the apostrophe was a common feature in funeral orations and poems, articulating the grief and sharing it with the family of the deceased.¹³ Thus, Quintilian presented the figure of apostrophe along with that of *exclamatio* ('outcry') as a means of expressing grief or indignation. The apostrophe was often linked to another figure of speech, *prosopopoeia* (in which a thing or a person is presented as speaking) since both figures could be used to personify abstract entities or concepts.¹⁴

In classical rhetoric, the apostrophe was also seen as a device by means of which the orator could turn to a new subject. Quintilian defined this function as a kind of *aversio*, a turning from one thing to another in order to divert the audience's attention from the question at hand.¹⁵ The use of the apostrophe thus either involves or causes a change of subject; it is a technique that serves to get – smoothly or abruptly – from one thing to another.¹⁶

¹² See Longinus 1985, 16.1-3 (p. 101). However, according to *On Types of Style* 251, the apostrophe, like the parenthesis, "destroy[s] the Solemnity or Purity of a passage by breaking it up with interruptions and by upsetting the free flow of the passage and by making it more conversational"; see Hermogenes 1987, pp. 24.

¹³ See Menander Rhetor 1981, II.9.413,23-29 (pp. 162-163), on the consolatory speech; and op.cit., II.16.435,30-436,2 (pp. 204-205), on the monody; in the latter passage Menander Rhetor uses the term apostrophe.

¹⁴ See Quintilian 2001, vol. 4, 9.2.26-27 (*exclamatio*), 9.2.29-37 (*prosopopoeia*), and 9.2.38-39 (*apostrophe*).

¹⁵ "Sed illa quoque vocatur *aversio* quae a proposita questione abducit audientem" ("The term Apostrophe is also applied to anything which serves to distract the hearer from the question at issue"); Quintilian 2001, vol. 4, 9.2.39. On *aversio*, see also Lausberg 1990, §848. Among many others, Sonnino 1968, p. 33, and Kneale 1999, p. 3, list *aversio* as the Latin equivalent to the Greek term *apostrophe*. Ernesti 1962, s.v. (p. 39), deals with *apostrophe* together with *conversio*.

¹⁶ See Quintilian 2001, vol. 4, 9.3.24-26, where Quintilian deals with *apostrophe* together with *metabasis* ('change'). According to Franchet d'Espèrey 2006, pp. 180-182, Quintilian's definition of the apostrophe as involving a change entails an "effet de rupture", that is, a sudden stop in the flow of the speech.

Renaissance rhetorical and poetical treatises dealt with the apostrophe along the lines of classical rhetorical theory. In his influential *Poetices libri septem* ('Seven Books on Poetics', 1561), Julius Caesar Scaliger treats the figures of *exclamatio* and *aversio*, but mentions the apostrophe only very briefly in the context of discussing *prosopopoeia*.¹⁷ Scaliger records two kinds of apostrophes, each distinguished by the manner in which the poet manages in a more or less elegant manner to embed the direct address in the given context. By quoting passages from Virgil's *Aeneid* and *Georgics* as examples of apostrophe, Scaliger indicates that the use of this figure requires skill.¹⁸

Apostrophe: Seventeenth-Century Theory and Practice

Apostrophizing the subject(s) of one's speech was a common technique in seventeenth-century rhetorical practice, frequently employed in all kinds of *encomia* and in other writings in the grand style. A common feature in Baroque orations, the figure is, however, treated only very sparingly in the period's rhetorical textbooks.¹⁹

A typical example of the use of the apostrophe in Swedish/Finnish Baroque literature is the conventional prayer to God (*votum*), with which most orations concluded. In the academic context, a eulogy to a professor often contained a passage directly addressed to his students, urging them to take the professor as their model. Likewise, and in accordance with the classical tradition, in seventeenth-century Finnish funeral orations it was customary to apostrophize either the family of the deceased, the deceased her-

¹⁷ On *exclamatio* (along with *acclamatio*, *iudicatio*, *elogium*), see Scaliger 1994, pp. 398-403 [3.39]; on *aversio* (with *castigatio*), see op. cit., pp. 524-527 [3.81].

¹⁸ See Scaliger 1994, pp. 426-427 [3.47].

¹⁹ On the use of apostrophe in Swedish/Finnish Baroque orations, see also Berggren 1994, p. 39; and Sarasti-Wilenius 2000, pp. 204 and 237.

self/himself, or personified Death. In patriotic orations, such as Paulinus's *Finlandia*, it was appropriate for the orator to apostrophize his fatherland.²⁰

Paulinus's *Finlandia* clearly reflects the instruction the young author had received at the University of Turku from 1672 to 1677, and at Uppsala University in the subsequent five-year period. To a certain extent the statutes of Uppsala University, which was the leading university of seventeenth-century Sweden, also determined the courses that were offered at other Swedish universities, including the University of Turku.²¹ Thus, the 1655 statutes stipulate that the Professor of Eloquence was to teach rhetoric according to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Cicero's *De oratore*, and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.²² However, only the earlier statutes of 1626 mention contemporary works such as the poetics by the German Jesuit and Professor of Eloquence, Johannes Pontanus (1542-1626), and the rhetorical textbooks by the German-Dutch polymath Gerhardus Johannes Vossius (1577-1649).²³

In his *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres* ('Three Books of Instructions in Poetics'), more precisely in the chapter on ornamental devices to be used in epigrams, Pontanus recommends, among other figures, the apostrophe. However, the presentation of the figure is short and incomplete. With examples taken from the Roman poet Catullus, Pontanus merely states that

²⁰ These observations are based on my reading of the Greek and Latin orations and epideictic poetry presented at the University of Turku during the seventeenth century. For examples, see Korhonen 2004, pp. 205, 206, 212, and 216 (funeral poetry); pp. 231 and 234 (wedding poetry); pp. 243 and 316 (congratulations upon the completion of a degree); and pp. 399 and 413 (orations).

²¹ The Uppsala statutes were issued in 1626 and 1655. The University of Turku was founded in 1640 and acquired its own statutes in 1661. However, in 1675, the statutes of Uppsala were again decreed to be valid in Turku as well; see Klinge 1988, pp. 117-118.

²² See Schybergson 1918, p. 60.

²³ On the statutes of 1626, see Annerstedt 1877, p. 279.

both deities and humans may be apostrophized at the beginning or in the middle of an epigram.²⁴

Vossius, on the other hand, gives a fuller presentation of the figure. Thus, in his *Rhetorices contractae libri V* ('Five Succinct Books on Rhetoric', first published in 1621),²⁵ Vossius, basing himself on Quintilian,²⁶ classifies the apostrophe, not as a figure of speech, but among the figures of thought that are concerned with *pathos* arguments, that is, as a device used to arouse the feelings of the audience.²⁷ According to Vossius, the apostrophe belongs to the group of figures that deal with emotions in general, along with, for example, *dubitatio* (deliberate doubting), *exclamatio*, *epanorthosis* (emphatic rephrasing), *aposiopesis* (deliberately stopping short), *sermocinatio* (direct speech attributed to a character), *prosopopoeia*, and *interrogatio* (the rhetorical question). In fact, Vossius deals with *interrogatio* in much more detail than the apostrophe, describing a rhetorical question as a means of creating *variatio* in the speech and of expressing the orator's attitudes towards his various addressees.²⁸ However, since the two figures are closely related, Vossius's description of the functions of the rhetorical question also applies to the main functions of the apostrophe in Paulinus's *Finlandia*, as we shall see below.

²⁴ See Pontanus 1594, p. 205.

²⁵ I have had access to the 1634 Jena edition at the University Library of Helsinki; see Vossius 1634.

²⁶ Vossius quotes Quintilian throughout his work (although not as frequently as he quotes Cicero), even using the same example from Virgil's *Aeneid* (3.55-57) as is found in Quintilian's discussion of the apostrophe (Quintilian 2001, vol. 4, 9.3.25); see Vossius 1634, p. 381.

²⁷ See Vossius 1634, pp. 369-382 ("De figuris pertinentibus ad argumenta pathetica", 'On figures used in pathos argumentation').

²⁸ See Vossius 1634, pp. 379-380.

Like Quintilian, Vossius also describes the apostrophe as a means of *aversio*, by which the speaker turns to someone (or something) other than the original addressee (or issue) of his oration. The *apostrophe* is of special use in attacks on one's adversaries, Vossius states, including expressions of blame, refutation, and grief – particularly if these are directed at absent persons or inanimate objects.²⁹

Since he counts apostrophe among the figures of thought, and more specifically among those relating to the emotions, in the subsequent part of his presentation Vossius describes the various figures that relate to specific emotions – for example *paianismos* (thanksgiving), *sarkasmos* (sarcasm), *execratio* (curse), *obsecratio* (appeal), *admiratio*, and *votum* (prayer) – illustrating these with examples that the modern rhetorician might well define as apostrophes.³⁰

Vossius also considers the apostrophe in his short primer, *Elementa rhetorica* ('The Rudiments of Rhetoric'), which was first published in Leiden in 1626 and later printed in many versions in several northern European countries, including Sweden and Finland.³¹ Here Vossius discusses the *apostrophe* in the context of *inventio*, presenting it very briefly along with three other figures of thought (*sermocinatio*, *prosopopoeia*, and *interrogatio*).³² Since generations of Swedish and Finnish schoolboys learned to write according to the rules presented in *Elementa rhetorica*, it is safe to assume that the young Paulinus had been introduced to the term apostrophe, if not to the full rhetorical technique, as part of his school education.

²⁹ See Vossius 1634, pp. 380-381.

³⁰ See Vossius 1634, pp. 381-382.

³¹ For a list of the Swedish and Finnish editions of *Elementa rhetorica*, see Stina Hansson's "Efterskrift" ('Postscript') in Vossius 1990, p. 46.

³² I refer to the only known Turku edition of *Elementa rhetorica*; see Vossius 1684, p. 42.

The Professor of Eloquence during the period when Paulinus was studying at the University of Turku, Martin Miltopaeus (prof. 1660-1679), also wrote a rhetorical textbook. In this *Institutiones oratoriae* ('Instructions in Oratory', 1669), Miltopaeus does not mention the figure of apostrophe, dealing exclusively with *prosopopoeia* in his discussion of the rhetorical devices used to arouse feelings.³³ Miltopaeus's successor, Daniel Achrelius (prof. 1679-1692), was to become the most important Professor of Eloquence at the University of Turku in the seventeenth century, not least thanks to his *Oratoria* ('The Art of Oratory', 1687). Achrelius's rhetorical textbook was published nearly ten years after the presentation of Paulinus's *Finlandia* and therefore had no direct influence on this work. Nevertheless it deserves to be mentioned here, in so far as it sums up the contemporary knowledge about the apostrophe and therefore may help us understand Paulinus's use of this figure. Achrelius's presentation of the apostrophe is basically modeled on the treatment of the figure in Vossius's *Rhetorices contractae*.³⁴ However, while listing the apostrophe along with five other figures of thought, Achrelius underlines that these do not occur 'in the context of dialogue' but rather 'in the context of reasoning'.³⁵ This indicates that, to Achrelius, the effect of the figures is not dependent on a 'silent dialogue' or a common understanding between the speaker and his audience as to the structure and contents of the speech. Rather, the apostrophe is used to create an abrupt and unexpected change in the narration (cf. note 16 above).

³³ See Miltopaeus 1669, p. 100.

³⁴ Cf. also Sarasti-Wilenius 2000, p. 195.

³⁵ See Achrelius 1687, pp. 95-96. The other figures are *epiphonesis* (acclamation), *prosopopoeia*, *epanorthosis*, *parresia* (speaking candidly), and *aposiopesis* (deliberate silence). The Ramistic distinction between the figures used in *dialogismo* and in *logismo* is also found in the rhetorical textbook by the Finnish schoolteacher Johannes Mentzius (see Mentzius 1600, p. A6r).

In Paulinus's time, it was customary for the speaker to begin his address by apostrophizing his listeners, often including passages of eulogy directed towards influential persons in the audience.³⁶ In his *Institutiones oratoriae* of 1669, Miltopaeus had classified this kind of apostrophe as *gratiarum actio*, an expression of gratitude that serves the same function as the *captatio benevolentiae*, the traditional appeal to the audience's friendly reception of a speech or a written work.³⁷ In accordance with this contemporary practice, Paulinus apostrophized and eulogized his audience in the opening of his Latin-language *Carmen oratorium veris* ('A Versified Oration on Spring'), which he delivered at the University of Turku in 1674, four years before his presentation in Uppsala of *Finlandia*.³⁸

Apostrophes in Finlandia

By contrast, Paulinus opens his versified Greek oration by apostrophizing, not his audience but the main object of the eulogy, namely his fatherland, Finland. What is more, throughout the text he employs the technique of apostrophe, all in all addressing something or someone as 'you' in no less than fifteen different instances. Thus, he directly addresses the main object of his eulogy, his fatherland, three times, whereas his other addressees vary from people to birds, places, institutions, gods, and, in two instances, his audience.

³⁶ In general, in modern literary theory, directly addressing those listening to one's speech (or those reading one's text) is not seen as exemplifying a real apostrophe. The same is true in classical rhetorical theory; cf. Lausberg 1990, §§271α and 759. In his recent study of the lyric address, William Waters only uses the term apostrophe about the author's directly addressing "unhearing entities", that is, absent people and things, and maintains that describing the author's directly addressing his reader as an apostrophe is a contradiction in terms; see Waters 2003, p. 3, n. 5. According to Kneale 1999, p. 12, the author's directly addressing his listeners (or readership) as 'you' can only be defined as an apostrophe if it involves a "redirecting of voice" (cf. n. 6 above).

³⁷ See Miltopaeus 1669, p. 666.

³⁸ On Paulinus's *Carmen oratorium veris*, see Kajanto 1995, pp. 175-176.

In the following list of apostrophes in *Finlandia* I have in each case underlined the specific addressee. The verse numbers refer to my English translation of the oration, which is published in the Appendix to this article, pp. 26-35 below.

- (1) Paulinus tells his homeland why it is worthy of praise (vv. 17-38).
- (2) He tells Apollo that he is not asking him for help with his verses (vv. 40-41).
- (3) He tells the forefathers of the Finnish people, that they were all wretched (vv. 89-94).
- (4) He tells his fatherland that it is now fortunate on account of its Christian religion (vv. 101-107).
- (5) He asks the Finnish peasants how best to describe their happiness (vv. 140-144).
- (6) He exhorts the audience to admit that Finland is more beautiful than Thessaly or Sicily (v. 155).
- (7) He tells the songbirds that he shall not forget to mention them in his eulogy of Finland (vv. 202-205).
- (8) He commands the gluttonous, luxury-loving people to leave Finland (vv. 216-220).
- (9) He reminds his audience that there are not only peasants but also noblemen in Finland (vv. 233-234).
- (10) He admonishes the classical Greek cities not to boast about their heroes (vv. 244-247).
- (11) He urges the enemy soldiers to admit that they have suffered at the hands of the victorious Finnish army (vv. 260-267).
- (12) He addresses Turku and its University (vv. 268-270).
- (13) He addresses and praises the Royal Court of Justice in Turku (vv. 308-331).
- (14) He begs Themis, the Muses and his fatherland to forgive that his eulogy is not worthy of them (vv. 332-336).
- (15) He prays to God (vv. 341-376).

Paulinus first apostrophizes Finland, which he initially calls his ‘much-loved country’ (v. 17) and then his ‘dear nurse’ (v. 28), and finally addresses as his ‘fatherland’ (v. 38). Apostrophe 1 thus sums up the overall narrative of the oration, which develops from a description of Nature into a description of the civilized *Patria*. Moreover, it eulogizes what Paulinus sees as the three most distinct features of the Finnish people, namely their piety, culture, and sense of justice (even reporting, in vv. 22-23, that Astraia, the ancient Greek goddess of Justice, now has made Finland her home).

Immediately after the paternal/patriotic word ‘fatherland’, there follows Paulinus’s ‘anti-invocation’ of the pagan god Apollo (apostrophe 2). Here, Paulinus points out that he is not praying for guidance to Phoebus or any other pagan deity – be it Zeus, Bacchus, Demeter, Ares, the Muses, the Graces, the nymphs, naiads, or satyrs. This dismissal of the pagan gods stands in sharp contrast to the rest of the oration where Paulinus’s attitude to the Greek deities is much more positive and, as such, in tune with contemporary literary conventions.³⁹ Thus, even though he does not invoke the Muses in the beginning of his oration, he nevertheless calls upon them towards the end of the work as evaluators of his poetry (apostrophe 14).⁴⁰

The list of the pagan deities takes up more space than the actual object of the invocation, the Christian God, whom Paulinus does not address directly by way of an apostrophe here; instead, he merely states that he is praying ‘to the true God’ (v. 45). The pagan gods are meticulously characterized with

³⁹ For example, in vv. 149-154, Paulinus writes that Demeter now lives in Finland and that the goddess might love this country more than places with a milder climate, such as Sicily and Thessaly; and in vv. 272-273 he writes that Apollo was his teacher at the University of Turku.

⁴⁰ In two places (vv. 24-27 and 269-270), Paulinus employs the traditional topos of the Muses leaving Greece and traveling to the poet’s homeland. Other positive references to the Muses are found in vv. 202, 306, 332, and 337.

traditional or quasi-traditional epithets (for instance, *Ares teichesibletes*, ‘Ares the stormer of cities’, v. 43). However, in his long concluding prayer in apostrophe 15, Paulinus directly addresses the Christian God, calling Him ‘Almighty, Earth-Shaker,/ Omniscient, Gentle-Hearted, People-Loving, always the Helper’ (vv. 371-372). Also apostrophe 4 expresses Paulinus’s Christian faith, congratulating Finland, first for having preferred Christianity to paganism and second for having converted to Lutheranism.

Paulinus’s directly addressing Apollo (apostrophe 2) is thus elegantly combined with the listing of pagan deities.⁴¹ Another example of successful embedding of this technique in the oration is apostrophe 7, in which Paulinus shows himself just as anxious not to forget to mention the songbirds in his praise of the Finnish countryside as he was eager to exclude the pagan deities from his invocation. After addressing the songbirds in general, he lists five of them with short descriptions: the nightingale, the woodpecker, the lark, the chaffinch, and the robin (vv. 206-209). By listing several examples of the same kind, Paulinus varies his oration and makes it more voluminous. Moreover, by combining *enumeratio* with *amplificatio* and employing these figures in the context of apostrophe (cf. also apostrophes 2, 8, 10, and 11), Paulinus adopted a technique that was popular in the so-called mannerist literature of the baroque period.⁴²

Another device used to amplify and thus ‘strengthen’ the apostrophes is repetition. Thus, by way of anaphoric repetition of the imperative *eipate* (‘do

⁴¹ ‘for I would never pray through my lyric song/ to you, Phoebus Apollo, nor to aegis-bearing Zeus,/ much-celebrating Bacchus’ (vv. 40-42). In the Greek original, only the word ‘Apollo’ is in the vocative case.

⁴² Maria Berggren has observed the same combination of apostrophe and *enumeratio* in a versified Latin oration by Andreas Stobaeus; cf. Berggren 1994, p. 39. On *amplificatio* and *enumeratio* in Swedish/Finnish baroque literature, see further Castrén 1907, p. 173.

tell'), in verses 262-264 of apostrophe 11, Paulinus urges the soldiers of Germany, Denmark, Sarmatia, Russia, Livonia, and Scythia to humbly admit that they have met their superiors in the Finnish soldiers: 'Do tell [...] / do tell [...] / Do tell [...] do tell with one mouth / about how you tasted the violence and the strength of the / Finnish army!' (vv. 262-266). Repetition is also effectively used in apostrophes 8 and 10, and especially in apostrophe 13, where Paulinus repeats the vocative 'O Seat' as an anaphora at the beginning of three consecutive verses (vv. 310-312).⁴³

Paulinus directly addresses his audience two times in the oration, in apostrophes 6 and 9, which structure the oration in a symmetrical manner: apostrophe 6 is introduced ca. 150 verses from the beginning of oration, and apostrophe 9 is introduced ca. 150 verses from the end of the oration. In these apostrophes, however, Paulinus does not use the vocative case, but a finite verb in the subjunctive mood ('if you really ponder it', v. 155) and an imperative ('Do not think', v. 233), respectively, both in the second person singular.⁴⁴ Both apostrophes are introduced abruptly in the context of the oration and produce quite a stirring effect, engaging the interest of the audience of professors and students of Uppsala University and reminding them, not least by the orator's own example, that the Finnish culture compares to that of Greece and Italy and that Finland is inhabited by both peasants and noblemen: more than a beautiful wilderness, Paulinus's fatherland is a civilized country.

⁴³ The eulogy of the Royal Court of Justice ('O Seat', vv. 310-312) is quite long, both because jurisprudence was Paulinus's main interest at Uppsala University and because the oration was dedicated to the Counts Per Brahe and Knut Kurki, the latter of whom was the President of the Court in Turku.

⁴⁴ In apostrophe 8, Paulinus also uses the imperative. The phrasing of apostrophe 6 resembles Virgil's address to the reader, the so-called *cernas*-formula; cf. e.g. Curtius 1990, pp. 443-444.

In fact, the transition from nature to culture is presented in a rather surprising manner in the oration. Thus, in apostrophe 5, Paulinus eulogizes the Finnish peasants along with their country: ‘How should I sing about your happiness, you/ farmers, who plough the fields of Finland?/ How could I praise sufficiently your fertile soil’ (vv. 140-142), and later gives a brief, but vivid description of the peasants’ work (vv. 210-215). Yet, in apostrophe 9, addressing his audience, Paulinus suddenly dismisses the peasants, describing them as a lower class of people: ‘Do not think that Finland brings forth/ only private countrymen or filthy men with dull, slavish minds’ (vv. 233-234).⁴⁵

In apostrophes 3 and 8 Paulinus describes the qualities of the forefathers of the Finns as compared to the Finns of his own time. In general, the Finns possess both laudable and blameworthy features: as regards the forefathers, on the one hand, they were virtuous and had a natural sense of justice, on the other, they were pagans and thoughtless. In the same way, whereas in general Paulinus’s contemporaries are described as modest, they also include a group of luxury-loving, and therefore undesirable, people.⁴⁶ Thus, Paulinus first praises and then criticizes the Finnish peasants as well as the forefathers and the contemporary Finns, before leaving the subject. This mixed message of praise and blame, of eulogy and invective, also characterizes Paulinus’s use of apostrophes. As was the case in the beginning of the oration, also in apostrophes 3 and 8 Paulinus does not directly address the real object of his eu-

⁴⁵ ‘private countrymen’ (*idiotes*, v. 234), that is, people who are interested only in their own private life. Paulinus wants to underline that, fortunately, there are also noble families and brave soldiers in Finland, who have all contributed to Finland’s glory.

⁴⁶ Thus, in vv. 216-220, he banishes from the country all those who long for luxury, including ‘the gluttonous man’ (v. 218), describing them along the same lines as the fictitious monsters and actual dangerous beasts listed in vv. 169-181.

logy but rather the object of his criticism.⁴⁷ In apostrophe 3, he even employs the figure of *exclamatio* to emphasize the misery of the pagan forefathers: ‘O, yes, you were ever-wretched, you forefathers, for a very long time. O!’ (v. 89).

In vv. 113-115, Paulinus had admitted that Finland is a poor country that cannot boast of pyramids, golden palaces, or castles of marble. However, when he compares his own country to ancient Greece, he finds something favorable to say.⁴⁸ For example, in apostrophe 10 Paulinus admonishes the famous places of the ancient world not to boast about their heroes (‘So, be silent, Delos, you who boast of/ the swaddling clothes of bow-carrying Phoebus Apollo’, vv. 244-245), contrasting these to their Finnish counterparts (‘For mightier than Phoebus and the son of Amphitriton,/ [...] are the men whose fine swaddling clothes Finland/ can display’, vv. 248-251).

By mentioning Apollo, the mythological protector of arts and learning, along with Hercules (‘the son of Amphitriton’, v. 248) and the heroes of the Trojan War, and by contrasting them to the mightier Finns, Paulinus implies that the Finnish noble families are not only protecting Finland against its enemies but also making it a civilized country. Thanks to their courageous deeds, the noble families outshine the classical heroes. Here again, Paulinus does not directly address the objects of his eulogy, the Finnish war heroes (and their birthplaces), but instead apostrophizes their competitors.

⁴⁷ Cf. apostrophe 2, in which he addresses the pagan deities instead of the Christian God. In the same vein, the oration contains numerous negative formulations, as for example: ‘There are *neither* terrible dragons [...] / [...], *nor* blood-drinking scorpions, / *nor* terrible basilisks, *nor* sulfurous echidnas’ (vv. 173-175; my italics). For a discussion of what I have called Paulinus’s ‘strategy of the *via negativa*’, see Korhonen 2000, pp. 79-86.

⁴⁸ Such a comparison was a standard feature in patriotic orations; cf. e.g. Menander Rhetor 1981, II.3.383,18-26 (pp. 104-105).

The greater number of the apostrophes in *Finlandia* can be divided into two main groups: one formed by the ‘positive’ apostrophes 1, 4, 5, 7, 12, 13, and 15, which combine the use of the vocative case with laudatory descriptions of, for example, the Finnish peasants, the University of Turku, and the central subject, Finland; and another formed by the more or less ‘negative’ apostrophes 2, 3, 8, 10, and 11, which are directed towards such diverse addressees as Apollo, the forefathers of the Finns, and various enemy soldiers.

Apostrophe 12 of the group of ‘positive’ apostrophes further exemplifies an *aversio*, an abrupt change of topic: from the wars of the Finns, Paulinus moves directly on to apostrophizing and eulogizing the city of Turku and its University. He then lists the kinds of knowledge that could be acquired there, using the Greek deictic adverb *entha*, which in this context clearly means ‘here’.⁴⁹ by using not the second but the third person imperative of the verb, Paulinus repeatedly urges the interested student to ‘come here’ to study (*hodie proseltheto*, ‘let him come here’, vv. 285, 292, 307), as if Paulinus himself were ‘here’, that is, in Turku – and not in Uppsala, where he actually delivered his oration.⁵⁰

Thus, Paulinus imagines himself back in Finland, advertising, like a recruiter, for his former Alma Mater. This all gives a ‘here-and-now’ atmosphere to the oration. If one of the emotional powers of apostrophe is to animate, to confer life and immediacy on the text, using deictic adverbs and

⁴⁹ *Entha* can mean both ‘here’ and ‘there’; see LSJ, s.v.

⁵⁰ In his unpublished work on the Swedish kingdom, the later State Herald of Sweden, Daniel Tilas (d. 1772), mentions two Greek orations by Paulinus, one published in Turku, the other in Uppsala; see Tilas [s.a.], p. 200 (“Åbo lähn, om städerna, §1, Åbo a”). This indicates that Paulinus may in fact have written and delivered an earlier version of *Finlandia* at the University of Turku, in which case *entha* would definitely have meant ‘here’. However, Tilas’s reference is our only evidence for a possible, earlier version of *Finlandia*.

pronouns (e.g., *entha*, *hode*) certainly strengthens this effect.⁵¹ In what follows I wish to show that the first person personal pronoun can be used in the same emphatic way.

Self-Referential Passages in Finlandia

Jonathan Culler has usefully defined “the vocative of apostrophe” as “a device, which the poetic voice uses to establish with an object a relationship which helps to institute him”.⁵² In a similar vein, Francesca d’Alessandro Behr has suggested that by repeated use of apostrophes, the narrator is able to express sympathy for or dislike of the addressee, thereby appealing to the audience to share these emotions.⁵³ Clearly, the first-person speaker or narrator in any given literary work is rarely (if ever) the actual mouthpiece of the author. Nevertheless, in many parts of Paulinus’s *Finlandia*, the ‘poetic I’ seems to be virtually identical with its creator, the historical person and poet, Paulinus.⁵⁴ Indeed, in order to speak about himself and relay his personal experiences and his love of his native country, in many parts of his oration Paulinus lends his own voice to the ‘poetic I’. The use of apostrophe is one way of accomplishing this; another is the use of self-referential passages.

At the beginning of *Finlandia*, Paulinus refers to his Latin oration of 1674, *Carmen oratorium veris*:⁵⁵ ‘Earlier on, I praised the honeysweet merri-ments of spring’ (v. 1). This introductory verse, which is a learned allusion to

⁵¹ For another example, see apostrophe 8, v. 216, where Paulinus uses the deictic adverb *enthen* (‘thence’: ‘begone [i.e., go away *from here*] all you who long for manifold Sybaritic dainties’).

⁵² Culler 1977, p. 63. I owe this reference to Behr 2005, p. 195.

⁵³ See Behr 2005, p. 192: “Through repeated apostrophes, the Homeric narrator articulates his sympathy for the personage in question, and, in so doing, encourages the audience to share his emotional response.”

⁵⁴ See Preminger & Brogan 1993, s.v. “persona” and “voice”. Rabaté 1996 is the most comprehensive of the recent studies on the poetic/lyric ‘I’.

⁵⁵ See n. 38 above.

Virgil's *Georgics*,⁵⁶ displays Paulinus's mastering of the self-referential technique recommended in the period's rhetorical textbooks. Thus, in his *Institutiones oratoriae* of 1669, Miltopaeus discussed the type of exordium that takes its point of departure in the orator himself ("exordium a sua persona"), exemplifying this with the opening of Cicero's classical speech *On the Manilian Law*.⁵⁷ Here Cicero explains that it is his first address as a praetor and expresses his gratitude for the honor of speaking to the Roman people. This personal statement forms quite a long passage in Cicero's oration and as a *captatio benevolentiae* clearly serves to increase the goodwill of his audience.⁵⁸

In *Finlandia* we find many such passages in which Paulinus uses the first-person possessive or personal pronoun, or implicitly refers to himself by using the first-person singular form of the Greek verb.⁵⁹ Furthermore, there are eleven passages in which he emphatically lets the 'poetic I' speak. As appears from the following list, these 'self-referential passages' are often combined with apostrophes:

- (a) Paulinus refers to his earlier Latin oration (vv. 1-3).
- (b) He is now singing about a much greater subject, namely his country (vv. 4-7).

⁵⁶ See also Teivas Oksala's analysis of the passage in Korhonen, Oksala & Sironen 2000, pp. 136-137.

⁵⁷ See Miltopaeus 1669, p. 663.

⁵⁸ See Cicero 1927, *Pro lege Manilia* 1.1-3 (pp. 14-16). On this type of exordium, see Lausberg 1990, §275α.

⁵⁹ In total, the first-person singular pronoun (*ego*) is found seventeen times in the original Greek text (in vv. 4, 29, 30, 32, 38, 156, 204, 221, 222, 243, 255, 256, 257, 272, 273, 336, and 338). Since in Ancient Greek the ending of the verb form indicates both person and number, in the English translation I have had to use the word 'I' more frequently than it is used in the original.

- (c) He asks his 'dear nurse', Finland, not to get angry with him for boldly singing her praise, despite his lack of poetical skills (vv. 28-38). *This passage is combined with apostrophe 1.
- (d) He wonders how he can best praise the Finnish peasants and their land (vv. 140-144). *This passage is combined with apostrophe 5.
- (e) While he was resting under a tree, the songbirds made him forget his worries (vv. 202-205). *This passage is combined with apostrophe 7.
- (f) He would be satisfied with the simple lifestyle of the peasants (vv. 221-231). *This passage is preceded by apostrophe 8, in which he banishes from Finland all who love luxury.
- (g) He notices that he has digressed from his theme (v. 232). *This passage is followed by apostrophe 9, the second place in which he directly addresses his audience.
- (h) He would like to be able to sing about the victorious wars fought by the Finnish soldiers (vv. 252-259). *This passage is followed by apostrophe 11, in which he addresses the enemies of Finland.
- (i) He once was a student at the University of Turku (vv. 271-273). *This passage is preceded by apostrophe 12.
- (j) He is not sufficiently skilled to praise the Royal Court of Justice and his fatherland (vv. 332-337). *This passage is combined with apostrophe 14.
- (k) Comparing versifying to sailing, he announces that his boat must now seek a safe harbor (vv. 338-340). *This passage is followed by apostrophe 15, the concluding prayer to God.

The self-referential passages can be divided into two groups, the first of which contains those passages in which the first-person speaker reminisces about his past (a, e, f, and i), whereas the second contains those passages in which he reflects on his own practice as a poet (b, c, d, g, h, j, and k).

As regards the first group, only two of the self-referential passages recall real events in the past, namely (a), which alludes to Paulinus's earlier Latin

oration, and (i), which refers to his years at the University of Turku and is introduced abruptly by apostrophe 12: ‘Now I would like to mention you, Turku, and you, noble/ University’ (vv. 268-269). The two passages (e) and (f) focus on idyllic moments in the Finnish countryside, in the tradition of the (pastoral) *locus amoenus*.⁶⁰

As regards the reflections on his poetical practice, the clearest examples are passages (b), (g), and (k), from the beginning, the middle, and the end of the oration, respectively. First, the ‘poetic I’ sets himself a task (b), which, halfway through the oration, he suddenly realizes that he has not completed (g): after having stated that the frugal meal of the Finnish peasants is ‘enough’ for him (v. 221) and after having pictured himself resting after work by the river and letting sleep carry away his worries, all of a sudden he realizes that he has digressed from his main theme; thus far he has sung about the beauty of Finland’s nature and its peasants, but his most important task was to sing about the country’s accomplishments, above all its success at war. At the end of his oration, then, in self-referential passage (k), the narrator reminds himself that he must conclude his oration: ‘But now my boat is sighing and it tells me to leave/ the purple waves and quickly search for a sheltered port./ But before I fold my sails and white sheets,/ I pray to you, Father Almighty’ (vv. 338-341). The boat (the quill) advising the sailor (the poet) as to what he must do adds an unusual twist to this traditional comparison of poetical practice to navigation.⁶¹ The expression of weariness (‘now my boat is sighing’), however, is a standard topos in the obligatory appeal to the audience, *captatio benevolentiae*, with which the oration concludes.⁶²

⁶⁰ On this topos, see Curtius 1990, pp. 195-200.

⁶¹ For classical examples of this nautical metaphor, see Curtius 1990, pp. 128-130.

⁶² Expressions of *captatio benevolentiae* are not only found at the beginning but also at the end of a speech; cf. Curtius 1990, p. 90.

Another such topos is the speaker's expression of doubt (*dubitatio*) and modesty (*modestia*), as he wonders if his praise will be able to match the importance of his subject matter.⁶³ Paulinus employs this topos in the self-referential passage (h): 'I would like to sing of the wars and bold battles fought by/ the Finnish soldiers [...] but my lack of talent prevents me from accomplishing so great a task' (vv. 252-253, 255). The topos of modesty is also found in self-referential passages (c), (d), and (j), which are combined with the apostrophes addressed to Finland (1), the Finnish peasants (5), and the Royal Court of Justice in Turku (14). In apostrophe 14, Paulinus begs the Court along with his fatherland and the Muses to forgive that his praise is not worthy of its object. However, in this respect even the poetical skills of Homer, Hesiod, and Orpheus would have been wanting, as appears from self-referential passage (h): 'even if I possessed the godly mouth of Homer [...] I could not sing songs that sufficed' (vv. 256 and 259).

Conclusion: 'I' and 'You' in Finlandia

In *Finlandia* the technique of apostrophe is employed to underline the structure and the main themes of the oration, to make the narration vivid, to change the subject of the discourse, and to express the author's (positive as well as negative) attitudes towards the various subjects that he addresses. In combination with the self-referential passages, the use of apostrophes also adds a flavor of subjectivity to the oration.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the apostrophe is used to establish a fictional 'I-you relation' between the speaker and the

⁶³ On *locus modestior* as a part of *captatio benevolentiae*, see Lausberg 1990, §§274-275, esp. §275ß; and Curtius 1990, pp. 83-85. On the figure of *dubitatio*, see Lausberg 1990, §§776-778.

⁶⁴ See Behr 2005, p. 194, on the apostrophe as indicator of "a shift from objective to subjective narration" in the specific context of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

absent addressee. Thus, already at the beginning of *Finlandia*, in apostrophe 1, Paulinus emphatically uses the first-person personal pronoun ‘I’ and addresses his fatherland as ‘you’. The combination of apostrophe 1 with self-referential passage (c), in which Paulinus wonders about his poetical skills, strengthens the ‘I-you-relation’.⁶⁵

However, Paulinus’s first-person speaker seems to be constantly unsure about his own part in this relation. Thus, he continuously reminds himself of what he needs to do, just as he expresses doubt about his own skills, and generally mistrusts the power of the poet and the truth of poetry.⁶⁶ These statements and confessions constitute the kind of meta-level in the oration that Francesca d’Alessandro Behr has characterized as a “direct commentary of the narrator”.⁶⁷ Although many of the self-referential passages feature such commonplaces as *dubitatio*, *modestia*, and *locus amoenus*, they nevertheless intensify the ‘subjective’ atmosphere, not least thanks to their frequent use in *Finlandia*. A patriotic eulogy could consist of detached statements about the merits of a country, but Paulinus clearly aimed at another kind of text and another kind of delivery, making his own voice heard nearly everywhere in the oration.

The apostrophes are made more vivid by their use in connection with self-referential passages, and vice versa. Thus, in many passages of *Finlandia*, Paulinus’s narrative ‘I’ nostalgically looks back on his past; by combining these passages with apostrophes in which he directly speaks to, for instance, the Finnish songbirds and his Alma Mater, addressing both of them as ‘you’,

⁶⁵ On this function of apostrophe, see Culler 1977, p. 63.

⁶⁶ In this regard, it is interesting to note that, in v. 45, Paulinus contrasts ‘the poets’ empty lies’ to ‘the true God’; cf. Korhonen 2000, p. 74.

⁶⁷ See Behr 2005, p. 190.

he is able to make the absent times, beings, and places seem present and embrace them as 'his own'. In this way Paulinus intensifies the bond to his subject, the 'poetic you', and at the same time brings forth a subjective 'poetic I'.

APPENDIX

Johan Paulinus Lillienstedt's *The Grand Duchy of Finland* (1678),⁶⁸
translated from the Greek by Tua Korhonen.⁶⁹

- 1 Earlier on, I praised the honeysweet merriments of spring,
groves with beautiful leaves and blissful paradises,
delighting myself in sweet sounding songs.
But now I aim to sing about a more heroic subject:
- 5 I want to sing about the nation of Ares, the Finns,
who desire to raise the din of war, and about spacious Finland,
which looks to the Great Bear above her head.
All the nations that rose-fingered Eos looks down upon,
think that Finland is situated on the edge of the world
- 10 and that she has only barbaric nations as her neighbors.
However, Finland is not unknown to the nations of the western,
eastern, southern, or northern shores of the eternal Oceanus.
And those who live on the shores of Father Rhine
or by the holy Rhone, or by the broad Tiber,
- 15 or by the swift river of Borysthene, and those who drink the water of the
beautiful-flowing Ebro, know Finland very well.
O, much-loved country, your name deserves to be renowned.
Firstly, because of your holy piety, which is the greatest virtue.
When at first the nation of Judea, the God-killers, and then mighty Rome
- 20 banished Piety from their homes, and she became homeless,
you, Finland, gladly opened the doors of your home and welcomed
her as your guest.
After Astraia, the maiden, was abandoned by nearly every hostile
country, she stayed with your countrymen.⁷⁰
Then the Muses, the kin of Zeus,
- 25 left spacious Hellas and the holy Helicon,
the mountain of Pieria, the sacred stream of Permessus,
and came to your land and set up fine temples.
But my dear nurse,⁷¹ do not become angry with me on account
of my presumption,
and although among your children I am totally unknown

⁶⁸ Original (Latin) title: *Magnus Principatus Finlandia*.

⁶⁹ I would like to thank Pernille Harsting and Russell L. Friedman for their substantial contributions to this translation.

⁷⁰ In Greek mythology Astraia was a goddess of justice.

⁷¹ Paulinus's home country is his nurse (Gr.: *trofos*), because it has raised him.

30 and although among the holy servants of the Muses I am nothing
and the Graces have not yet taught me to sing graciously,
I am, however, so bold that I dare to sing your praise.
Yes, you have so many others – you have brought about and
brought up so many
whose abilities would better qualify them for this task;
35 they would sing a better hymn, one worthy of you.
Nevertheless, do not scorn the gift of your humble servant,
but with earnest mind take this as recompense for all the kindness
that you, O my fatherland, have bestowed upon me.
Now that I am beginning my song, begone, begone rogues,
40 deities, and goddesses; for I would never pray through my lyric song
to you, Phoebus Apollo, nor to aegis-bearing Zeus,
much-celebrating Bacchus, well-crowned Demeter,
nor to Ares the stormer of cities, the Muses, the Graces,
nor to the nymphs of beautiful glens, the naiads, the satyrs,
45 nor to the poets' empty lies, but to the true God,
the Creator of the blessed and of mortals,
the Moulder of the earth and of starry Olympus;
I pray to Him who is All-Hearing and Omniscient and Almighty,
and who rules all of Heaven and earth.
50 Thus I pray for Him to sanctify my heart
and clarify my mind and guide my voice and my hand
so that I can compose a eulogy of my dear fatherland.
Finland (the ancients called it *Fenningia*) is the name
of the country, which is surrounded by the Baltic Sea
55 on both sides – it is situated between two gulfs.
At first the magnanimous children of Iapetus came here,
over a thousand years ago were they sent out
as envoys by the Omniscient God.⁷²
They were the forefathers and ancestors of the Finns
60 who lived on this edge of the world,
not knowing crimes, alone, away from the tumult of central lands;
happily they led their peaceful life beyond the reach of horrible things.
Free from wretched toil and cares, which gnaw the limbs,
like immortals they were self-sufficient.
65 The fertile earth brought forth fruit abundantly
for each of them, for their own needs,
so that it was not necessary to seek a livelihood traveling
through the misty sea, endangering their lives among the purple waves.
So they lived; and they did not care about the works

⁷² In Greek mythology, the Titan Iapetus was the father of Prometheus. In Paulinus's day, the Finns were believed to be the children of Iapetus (i.e., Japhet, the son of Noah) and to have come to Finland after the Flood.

70 of powerful Ares, nor did they make use of the throat-cutting sword.
 They did not know of spears, bows, arrows; they did not need
 shields nor helmets. O, those blissful ancestors!
 When Cyrus, the chief of all Persians,
 swept his victorious army over immeasurable lands; or
 75 when the terror of the world, the pride of all Greeks,
 divine Alexander, storming over the whole continent,
 attacked cities and people with his irresistible army; or
 when the terrible Roman swordsmen, marching around the
 world, put under their yoke all who lived
 80 under the omniscient eyes of Phoebus;
 then the Finns lived safely in their homes,
 cultivating their land in peace, without fear.
 And the Finns were completely free and they honored of their own free will
 their leaders; there was no violence and no constraint;
 85 they were never unruly. O, those blissful ancestors!
 The ancient Finns were completely blessed with regard to
 material things, they were not in want of anything;
 but with regard to their soul, they were very unhappy.
 O, yes, you were ever-wretched, you forefathers, for a very long time. O!
 90 You did not know the Creator or the true Savior,
 or the hand of God, the Comforter of tender hearts;
 you worshipped foreign gods, offering them sacrifices
 on the altars, and these false gods had no life or mind,
 they had no eyes or ears, they were mere pieces of wood.
 95 But the Father, the Ruler on high, who is most merciful,
 noticed this thoughtlessness and felt pity,
 and although the Finns were hostile to Him,
 He finally took them as His friends and dispossessed them of
 the pictures of the false gods,
 and He made His mind clear to those wretched people
 100 and expressed His order: how they should worship Him as God.
 Yes, O my fatherland, that was a time of good fortune
 when God's grace was bestowed upon you. But even happier
 was the time when He put you back on the right path,
 which was shown by God-sent, great Luther.
 105 Before then you had been led astray
 by the intrigues of the ruler of Rome, who is notoriously
 worshipped as god throughout the entire world.
 And now, is there any kind of beauty or grace
 in regard to physical or spiritual things,
 110 with which my Finnish people is not blessed by the help of God?
 Who would deny, except Envy, which is always malicious,
 that the Finns should be counted as the foremost people in the whole world?
 I agree that Finland cannot boast of

- 115 Heaven-reaching pyramids, or golden palaces,
 or castles of marble. She does not shelter in a strong castle,
 with walls and broad foundations, or in towers of white marble,
 or in illustrious acropolises. Finland puts her faith only
 in God. What could be a safer shelter?
- 120 We have now heard that in other, fortified countries
 Ares shatters walls and overturns towers,
 destroying people and polluting all with blood,
 while Finland, although she has no castles, is altogether free,
 because the unshakable Helper shelters her.
 The citizens lead a simple life in tranquility,
 without dire guile; there is no falsehood,
 dishonesty, twisted tricks, deceitful deeds.
 Inhospitable strife and fiery combat have departed,
 as well as envy and enmity, hateful threats,
 arrogance with headstrong boasts, destructive
 130 revelry, and promiscuity that tempts women.⁷³
 The Finns adorn their tables with humble meals,
 with a sober mind they merely laugh at exotic clothes,
 at soft and luxurious garments, at the wigs on the crowns of heads,
 which are made of
 other people's hair and plaited in knots.⁷⁴
- 135 From Finland the zeal to work has driven away
 the sorry poverty that is caused by hesitancy,
 together with hateful trouble and hunger that results in bad counsel.
 The people do not, however, honor love of money, which is the root
 of all evil, since they are content with little.
- 140 How should I sing about your happiness, you
 farmers, who plough the fields of Finland?
 How could I praise sufficiently your fertile soil,
 your beautiful glades, purple meadows,
 and flowering fields that are like Elysium?
- 145 For, to whom is it not a great wonder, and who would believe,
 that on this edge of the ever-moving world,
 where the chilly Bear⁷⁵ forces people inside,
 gods and goddesses still wish to live?
 It is very difficult to know whether the mother of all, Demeter,
 150 loves in her heart the fields of Sicily more than those of Finland,
 whether the ivy-crowned spouse of Zephyrus

⁷³ The original Greek text has *egersigynaikos*, a neologism denoting what inspires or seduces women; cf. Korhonen 2000, pp. 82-83.

⁷⁴ The original Greek text has *loksa hammata*, which literally means 'crosswise knots', that is, hair that has been elaborately curled.

⁷⁵ The constellation of *Ursa Major*, the Great Bear; cf. v. 7.

and her nymphs – all of whom in their own hearts delight
 in round lakes, silvery streams, and very beautiful springs –
 love the Tempe valley of Thessaly more than the valleys of Finland.
 155 But this is no wonder, if you really ponder it,
 my witnesses are the naiads: there cannot be a country
 that is more blessed with pleasures and manifold joys.
 There cannot be a country with more springs,
 silver in color, from which streams flow over
 160 the flint-stones through the flowery glades.
 If it is freezing here, this only occurs in wintertime,
 and the cold makes the body strong and gives vigor to the limbs.
 There is enough heat in summer,
 in that exhausting time.
 165 Neither thistle nor thorn with many stems
 harm the fertile land here,
 but full ears of grain nod at the ground.
 The fields produce neither poisonous plants
 nor Sardinian herbs. The lakes and rivers do not know
 170 grievous crocodiles, nor hundred-headed hydras,
 but gentle fish and whooper swans,
 wild geese and shiny water birds inhabit the swift waves.
 There are neither terrible dragons coiling awfully
 among soft meadows, nor blood-drinking scorpions,
 175 nor terrible basilisks, nor sulfurous echidnas,
 who would poison the air of Finland with their acid gifts;
 nor are there the fearsome, strong-minded lion, the slaughterer of bulls,
 the king of animals, nor tigers with striped backs,
 nor evil panthers, nor powerful rhinoceroses,
 180 nor ferocious buffalos, nor horrible bison;
 neither are there strong-clawed vultures, nor crook-toothed griffins:
 these monsters – that have always terrified the followers of Pan,
 who pasture their flocks –
 are altogether unknown in Finland's glades;
 185 but the shepherds of Finland singing bucolic songs
 enjoy life without sorrows along with gentle animals and harmless birds.
 There are immense flocks of long-horned deer,
 which bound around the rugged rocks
 along with swift-footed hares and bright-eyed squirrels.
 190 Likewise there is the high-flying grouse with black feathers,
 sitting in the tree, and the crane who lives in the fruitful marshes,
 and the quail, floating in the air, and the overly-feathered
 dove, and the clear-sounding partridge.
 All those animals fill the woodland vales, where also the horse,
 195 who bears himself proudly, pastures luxuriously,
 along with the buck, feeding in the woods, and the broad-browed steer,

and the gentle, woolly lamb and the fertile sow
 with her beloved piglets. And if there should appear
 among them a sharp-toothed bear, or a fox, crooked of counsel,
 200 or a wolf, prowling by night, or the lynx with spotted fur,
 these are the welcome prey to the bow-carrying hunter.
 But my Muses should not forget you, singers to the
 lyre in the Finnish pine-woods,⁷⁶ because so many times
 when I was sitting under the beautiful trees of spring
 205 you cast out my gnawing cares with your song.
 Whose heart does not delight in the nightingale with its shifting notes,
 when with its clear flute it answers to the chattering
 green woodpecker, and to the early-wailing lark,
 or to the melodious chaffinch or the clear-voiced robin?
 210 And the old peasant rounds up his steer himself
 (it is not considered shameful) and he milks his shaggy she-goats himself,
 living a pious and modest life, far from all trouble.
 His wife stays indoors and carefully tends to everything,
 running the household: she knows how to command the servant-girls
 215 and how to offer refreshments and divide the daily bread.
 Thus: begone all you who long for manifold Sybaritic dainties
 and luxurious delicatessens and table settings, in which
 the gluttonous man invests all his money;
 and begone you who prefer the luxury of the courts of noble men,
 expensive vessels,
 220 silver pots, goblets with jewels or gold.
 Simple festivities are enough for me,
 meals eaten from earthen pots, frugal porridge
 eaten off of wooden plates, black beans,
 225 white cabbage, much-twisted radish,
 and round turnips with pork; thus peacefully enjoying
 also fresh goat-milk and fat cheese, I drive away hunger,
 and after work I do not need to sleep on a soft bed,
 which has been made of highly prized, scarlet fabrics,
 but, in the springtime, I sleep on the green grass
 230 beside the sweet-speaking river, and the slumber
 will hold me and nullify all my worries.
 But where have we been carried to? Too far from the path.
 Do not think that Finland brings forth
 only private countrymen or filthy men with dull, slavish minds.
 235 This country is also a mighty mother
 of primeval rulers and men like demigods.
 Who in the endless world does not know the divine family of Wittenberg,
 who does not know the strong family of Kurki,

⁷⁶ Gr.: *hedyllyrai kitharistai*, literally ‘singers to the *lyre* and players of the *kithara*’.

or the Ares-loving family of Horn or that of Fleming,
 240 or the high-aspiring stock of Creutz,
 all these that the holy land of Finland has born?
 One day is not enough for counting all her courageous
 heroes – the clear light of the sun will disappear before that.
 So, be silent, Delos, you who boast of
 245 the swaddling clothes of bow-carrying Phoebus Apollo.⁷⁷
 Be silent, Thebes, you nurse of bold Hercules,
 and you, Larissa, nurse of Achilles, and you, Ithaca, nurse of Ulysses.
 For mightier than Phoebus and the son of Amphitrión,
 mightier than the son of Aeacus and of renowned Laertes
 250 are the men whose fine swaddling clothes Finland
 can display and whose lovely nurse she was.
 I would like to sing of the wars and bold battles fought by
 the Finnish soldiers, I would like to tell about those nations and grand cities
 that they destroyed with their shiny weapons,
 255 but my lack of talent prevents me from accomplishing so great a task,
 for even if I possessed the godly mouth of Homer, the son of Maion,
 and the honeyed tongue of the old man of Ascra,⁷⁸
 and the clear voice of Orpheus of Thracia,
 about these soldiers I could not sing songs that sufficed.
 260 O, you Germans, our enemy, who live by the green shores of the Rhine!
 And you Danes, who radiate fiery wrath!
 Do tell, as your conscience exhorts you,
 do tell, you, the nations from the far end of Sarmatia!
 Do tell, you, the Russians, the people of Livonia, and the Scythes,
 do tell with one mouth
 265 about how you tasted the violence and the strength of the
 Finnish army! How you begged, face down,
 mercy from your vanquishers and had chains put around your necks.
 Now I would like to mention you, Turku, and you, noble
 University, you, lovely house of the charming Muses,
 270 who left their rocky Helicon.
 I was the dweller in this home so long as swift Fate determined;
 here golden-haired Apollo taught me elementary subjects,
 here he made me used to sweating at the palaestra of Aeonía,
 here the Castalian spring unceasingly flows
 275 with light honey-sweet brooks, which can wash away
 dangerous thoughts, adjust young minds,
 and illuminate the heart with divine sparks.
 Here men with understanding minds master

⁷⁷ Delos was proud to be Apollo's birthplace, just as Thebes was proud of fostering Hercules, Larissa of fostering Achilles, and Ithaca of fostering Ulysses.

⁷⁸ That is, Hesiod.

all pure wisdom, all the virtues adorned with beautiful garlands
 280 that the pride of Hellas, Athens, once possessed.
 He who desires to learn the wisdom of
 theology, which shows the way to Heaven, and to
 draw the holy, untroubled waters from the deep-eddying Oceanus⁷⁹
 and with it to refresh the lambs of Christ seated on high,
 285 let him come here, where he can find good teachers, such as are
 the scourge and undoing of Calvin the misleader or
 of the papists who disregard the Bible.
 He whose noble mind is turned towards the worthy practise of
 majestic justice or towards the glorious knowledge
 290 by which it is possible to save the souls about to leave
 their pale bodies from the throat of all-devouring Hades,
 let him come here, where he can find good teachers;
 here is Hippocrates and divine Justinian.
 And he who courts the honey-sweet love of charming Peitho⁸⁰
 295 and wants to master the language of sweet-voiced Cicero,
 he who is filled with a strong desire to know
 how to measure the earth, the pole, and the universe
 and to know by which laws the starry skies go round their pole
 and what is the order of the wandering planets;
 300 or he who wants to learn oriental languages, in which are imbued
 the knowledge
 of God, and the learned language of the famous Danaids,
 and ancient history, the glorious deeds of famous men,
 and what kind of miracles nature hides inside her womb,
 and what deceits are hidden in the arguments of evil men;
 305 or he who desires to learn to sing
 a lyric song or a lovely hymn to the Thespian Muses –
 let him come here, where he can find good teachers.
 Now, it is no good to leave out your praise,
 O, you, admirable seat of Themis in Finland.⁸¹
 310 O seat, you are graceful to the pious, pure, and innocent people.
 O seat, you deal very strict justice to all who are guilty.
 O seat, your health is the health of the fatherland
 and if you are damaged, the fatherland is damaged, too.
 You are harmed when wrong judgments are given,
 315 it is your will to deal the justice of God to all.
 Once all people went to the glens of Delphi
 to visit the reverent, inspired Phoebus, beside the tripod,

⁷⁹ In Greek mythology, Oceanus was the river surrounding the world (cf. v. 12); here it symbolizes the doctrines of Christianity.

⁸⁰ In Greek antiquity, Peitho personified the art of persuasion.

⁸¹ In Greek mythology, Themis was a goddess of justice.

but now huge throngs from far away come to you
 to ask for advice from your holy oracle.⁸²
 320 And innocent people go away happily, but deeply
 lamenting those who have done wicked deeds.
 You give prizes, glory, and praise to the virtuous,
 but for the wrongdoers' necks you sharpen the sword of justice.
 You do not unjustly count the weights, and you do not let
 325 beguiling gifts influence your judgment.
 You do not allow boasters and arrogant people
 to brag but deal out judgments as they are due.
 You are the helper of those who have suffered and been hurt,
 the father of orphans, and the protector of poor widows.
 330 Yes, indeed! Please keep your integrity forever and ever
 so that Finland and its people will flourish.
 But have mercy upon me, divine Themis! You, sacred Muses, have mercy!
 Have mercy, fatherland of mine!, if I tarnish your
 glory with my graceless words,
 335 because I cannot eulogize you with
 an adequate hymn. I only try to praise in broad outline,
 to sing about great things with the help of my little Muse.
 But now my boat is sighing and it tells me to leave
 the purple waves and quickly search for a sheltered port.
 340 But before I fold my sails and white sheets,
 I pray to you, Father Almighty, who live in the house of Heaven,
 who is the beginning and end of everything,
 before whom the earth, the skies, and the sea tremble,
 I pray to you, King of kings, who decrees what the eternal laws are,
 345 all nations on the earth grow and diminish
 by your orders, which ward off death;
 I pray to you, my face downwards, I implore you, kneeling:
 may Finland flourish forever!
 And the royal scepter of Sweden!
 350 May the heavenly heroes, the angels, the doers of mighty deeds,
 build a huge camp around our borders!
 Grant us peace, which gives our children food, and grant us holy
 unanimity,
 drive away strife and battle, which bring forth so many tears,
 and appease the maddening mind of wrathful Moscow.
 355 May the soldiers of Denmark or the German horseman never
 boast of victories inside the borders of the Swedish kingdom, pillaging
 the country.

⁸² Just as, in antiquity, huge throngs visited the Delphic Oracle, so in Paulinus's time people visit the Royal Court in Turku, the Themis of Finland, to ask for advice and protection.

- Following the well-known path, the army of Sweden
 should fight against well-known countries⁸³
 and with its holy weapons gain the victory over Germany and Denmark.
- 360 But above all I now pray to you, immortal Father:
 shelter the anointed head, the hope of the fatherland,
 Charles XI, whom you yourself placed on the high throne;
 give him an exalted mind and virtue
 so that he can ward off the wrath of foes.
- 365 Always protect him so that deceit will never stealthily
 threaten him or violence openly damage him.
 Let him be guided by his own good sense,
 allow the white-coated victory to follow him under this sign⁸⁴
 so that you, O God, may at last grant us merciful peace.
- 370 Then we shall cheerfully praise your mighty name with melodious hymns,
 you Sabaoth, Almighty, Earth-Shaker,
 Omniscient, Gentle-Hearted, People-Loving, always the Helper.
 Then the crowd shall kneel down and praise and thank you
 in the beautifully built temples,
- 375 and the holy choir of the church shall resound with hymns
 that are echoed by the walls and gates of Turku.
 Inside the church also an old man walks, with heavy steps, with his staff,
 and his old wife saying her prayers holds in her
 trembling arms a dear little child.

⁸³ The Swedish army should not wage war against any nations other than those it was already fighting with. In 1678, Sweden was at war with Denmark; peace was made the following year.

⁸⁴ Paulinus probably alludes to the saying, “in hoc signo vinces” (‘in this sign, you will conquer’), associated with the Roman Emperor Constantine’s conversion to Christianity.

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