

LAUS URBIS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FINLAND:
GEORG HAVEMAN'S *ORATIO DE WIBURGO* AND
OLOF HERMELIN'S *VIBURGUM*

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In 1694 Georg Haveman, a Finnish student from the town of Vyborg on the Finnish-Russian border, delivered a Latin oration at the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina*, the University of Tartu (in Swedish: Dorpat) in Livonia. The oration, the topic of which was Haveman's native town, was published under the title *Oratio de celeberrima Carelorum civitate, Wiburgo* ('An Oration about the Famous Karelian Town, Vyborg').¹ In published form, the oration was accompanied by a number of standard dedicatory and congratulatory pieces, including a text by the great Latinist Olof Hermelin, who was then *Professor Eloquentiae* at the University of Tartu.

Haveman's oration belongs to the epideictic subgenre of *laus urbis* ('praise of the town'), which is closely related to the *laus patriae* ('praise of the fatherland'). The oration deserves scholarly attention for three reasons:

¹ There is no modern edition of Haveman's oration. The present study is based on the original printed version; see Haveman 1694.

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First, although it is not a particularly outstanding or extraordinary piece of Neo-Latin writing, Haveman's oration clearly demonstrates how such *laudes urbis* were composed and what kinds of literary conventions they exhibited. Second, the oration is one of the earliest comprehensive descriptions of the town of Vyborg, situated in the border region of Karelia. Vyborg was subsequently to become the focus of numerous texts in various literary genres, even after Finland lost the town to the Soviet Union in the Second World War, and for this reason Haveman's oration occupies an interesting place in Finnish literary history. Third, Haveman delivered his oration on Vyborg while he was a student of Olof Hermelin's, and only a few years earlier Hermelin himself had composed an elegy to the town.

In what follows I first briefly discuss the descriptions of Vyborg that appeared prior to Haveman's oration, paying special attention to Hermelin's poem. I then offer an analysis of Haveman's oration. As background to my analysis, I also briefly describe the importance of the *laudes urbis* tradition and of academic orations in general in the curriculum of the (Finnish-) Swedish universities in the seventeenth century.

Olof Hermelin's Viburgum

In his valuable book *Ur Wiborgs historia* ('Out of Vyborg's History'), published in 1893, Gabriel Lagus refers to several texts about Vyborg written prior to Haveman's 1694 oration. Among these texts is Olaus Magnus's description of the Finnish town and its miraculous cave in his *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* ('A History of the Northern Peoples'; 1555); Michael Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe's equally positive presentation of Vyborg in his *Epitome descriptionis Sueciae, Gothiae, Fenningiae et subjectarum provinciarum* ('A Brief Description of Sweden, Gotland, Finland, and Their Provinces'; 1650); and the negative picture of Vyborg given by the German

Paul Moj who visited the town in 1669. Lagus also briefly mentions a consolatory oration by Petrus Carstenius, delivered some years before Haveman's oration and addressed to the inhabitants of Vyborg on the occasion of a great fire in the city in 1690. However, Lagus pays special attention to Haveman's oration, even offering a paraphrase of it in Swedish.²

In addition to these texts, we know of yet another that Lagus does not list but that is of special interest for the study of Haveman's oration, namely a brief Latin elegy by Olof Hermelin, which was written in 1691 or 1692 as part of a cycle of poems describing Swedish and Finnish towns.

Together with his somewhat older contemporary Petrus Lagerlöf, Olof Hermelin (1658-1709/1712) is considered the period's most important Swedish Neo-Latin writer.³ Hermelin was Professor of Eloquence and Poetry at the University of Tartu from 1690 until 1695, at which time he became Professor of Law.⁴ As Professor of Eloquence and Poetry in Tartu, Hermelin was responsible for assigning the themes of the orations the students were to write and deliver as part of his classes on rhetoric and poetry, and for helping with the organization of the material, to the extent that he sometimes even wrote the students' orations himself. Often lecturing on his great Roman model and recognized as a gifted orator himself, Hermelin was known as 'our Swedish Cicero'.⁵

² On Moj's description, see Lagus 1893, pp. 161-174; on Carstenius's oration, see op.cit., pp. 170-171; on Haveman's oration, see op.cit., pp. 174-176.

³ In 1699 he succeeded Petrus Lagerlöf as Royal Historiographer; cf. e.g. Johannesson 1968, pp. 52-54, 86-87, and 257-263; and Tengström 1973, pp. 68-70.

⁴ In this capacity Hermelin contributed to Erik Dahlbergh's monumental pictorial presentation of Sweden, *Suecia antiqua et hodierna*; cf. Lindroth 1997, pp. 333-335; and Tarkiainen 1986, p. 228.

⁵ On the honorific title 'vår svenske Cicero', see Olsson 1953, pp. 107-110 and 131. Hermelin's Latin production includes a long elegy *De miseriis vitae castrensium* (cf. Hermelin & Helander 1985); and a poem addressed to Charles XII, "Ad Carolum XII, Suecorum regem, de continuando adversus foedifragos bello" (cf. Hermelin 1989). He

In his Latin-language poetic cycle, *Hecatompolis Suionum* ('A Hundred Swedish Towns'), Hermelin describes 101 towns in the Kingdom of Sweden, including thirteen Finnish ones.⁶ Hermelin's poem about Vyborg is number 65 in the suite and is entitled *Viburgum*. In what follows I offer the original Latin version of the poem along with my English translation of the nine elegiac couplets:⁷

- 1 Fennica contiguis late colo litora terris,
Qua bibit aequoreas Voxa palustris aquas.
Pascua me tellus uberque liquentibus undis
Ditat, et in portus it nemus omne meos.
- 5 Hic habitant Sueones communia moenia Fennis
Et vitiat Goticum patria lingua sonum.
Par utrisque fides: par est concordia cunctis:
In regem studio certat uterque pari.
Hauserat hic primum sanctas Carelia leges
- 10 Numinis, et mores exiit inde feros.
Cum grauis incubuit victis Mars Sueticus oris
Edomitis froenum praesidiumque fui.
Praedantes retudi crebris discursibus arva,
Et tenui vigiles in statione rates.

also wrote poems in Swedish and translated Sebastian du Four's *Instruction d'un père à son fils* into Swedish; cf. Hermelin 1915, p. 115; and Olsson 1953, p. 66.

⁶ On the *Hecatompolis*, see Rolf Lagerborg's edition with introduction in Hermelin 1915; Olsson 1953, pp. 68-69; and Sironen 2007, pp. 267-269. The Finnish, i.e. Finnish, Karelian, and Ingrian, towns are *Vasa* (Finn.: Vaasa; Swed.: Vasa), *Viburgum* (Finn.: Viipuri; Swed.: Vyborg), *Aboa* (Finn.: Turku; Swed.: Åbo), *Nya* (Finn.: Nevanlinna; Swed.: Nyen), *Ulaborg* (Finn.: Oulu; Swed.: Uleåborg), *Caiana* (Finn.: Kajaani; Swed.: Kajana), *Ekenesia* (Finn.: Tammisaari; Swed.: Ekenäs), *Helsingforsia* (Finn.: Helsinki; Swed.: Helsingfors), *Kexholmia* (Finn.: Käkisalmi; Swed.: Kexholm), *Raumo* (Finn.: Rauma; Swed.: Raumo), *Nystadium* (Finn.: Uusikaupunki; Swed.: Nystad), *Biörnaburgum* (Finn.: Pori; Swed.: Björneborg), and *Borgo* (Finn.: Porvoo; Swed.: Borgå). On *Nya*, also known by the Latin name *Neovia* and actually situated in Ingria, see Halila 1987, pp. 22-23. The poems on *Raumo* and *Biörnaburgum* were translated into Finnish and discussed by Edwin Flinck (Linkomies) in 1916. Recently, Timo Sironen and Erkki Sironen have translated the poem on Oulu into Finnish; see Sironen 2007, pp. 267-269. See also Sironen, op.cit., p. 263, for Tore Wretö's Swedish translation of the whole of Hermelin's cycle, which was published after the completion of the present article.

⁷ I quote the Latin text from Rolf Lagerborg's edition; cf. Hermelin 1915, p. 117.

15 Ruthenique Ducis cum barbara terga fugassem,
 Fabula tunc ausis nascitur apta meis.
 Mugiit horribili non heic cava terra mugitu,
 Credite, foedifragos perculit ipse Deus.

- 1 I [= Vyborg] cultivate the coasts of Finland widely in the borderland,
 where the marshy river Vuoksi drinks the water of the open sea.
 The pastures and the fertile land on the border of the sea
 make me rich, and the products of the forests come to my ports.
- 5 Here the Swedes live side by side with the Finns,
 and the language inherited from our fathers corrupts the Gothic tongue.
 The Swedes and the Finns have the same faith; they live together in
 harmony.
 They are both equally eager to fight against the [Swedish] King.
 Here [in Vyborg] Karelia had first adopted the holy laws
 of God, and from that time on laid aside barbarous manners.
- 10 When the strong Swedish Mars, after conquering the coasts, attacked
 [Karelia],
 I was to the defeated both bridle and protection.
 With frequent excursions I restrained those who robbed the fields,
 and I kept the vessels on watch at their stations.
- 15 And when I had put to flight the barbaric troops of the Russian Prince,
 then the legend is born that is worthy of my bold ventures.
 It was not a cave that once wailed with a horrible wail,
 believe you me; it was God Himself who smote those who broke the
 alliance.

As is also the case in some of the other poems in the cycle, Hermelin, in *Viburgum*, employs the figure of *prosopopoeia* and lets the town speak as the first person narrator. Thus, in a monologue, Vyborg describes its location and prosperity (vv. 1-4), and mentions the people of various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds who live in the town and its surrounding area (vv. 5-8). The poem then focuses on the town's involvement in military matters on account of its being situated on the border between Sweden and Russia (vv. 9-14), and concludes with a reference to the tale of the miraculous cave in Vyborg and its terrifying sounds, which once scared away the enemy; according to

the poem, however, it was God who intervened and helped the people of Vyborg (vv. 15-18).

What makes this poem interesting to us is the fact that it was written only two or three years before Georg Haveman's *Oratio de Wiburgo*. It is quite possible that Hermelin, knowing that his student, Haveman, came from Vyborg, asked him specifically to deliver an oration concerning his native town. In fact, Hermelin's poem seems to have inspired Haveman to the extent that in his oration he mentions several things already described by Hermelin, for example the river Vuoksi, Vyborg's problems with warfare, and its miraculous cave.

The Golden Age of Latin Oratory

The son of a merchant, Georg Haveman was born in Vyborg around 1675.⁸ After attending the Gymnasium of Vyborg, in 1690 he matriculated at the University of Turku (in Swedish: Åbo) and then spent a year in Uppsala before attending the University of Tartu.⁹ We do not have much information about Haveman's studies in Tartu, apart from the fact that he participated in a demonstration by discontented students,¹⁰ and that, in 1694, under the rectorate of Gabriel Siöbergh,¹¹ he delivered the Latin oration under examination here, *Oratio de Wiburgo*.

⁸ Haveman died in Stockholm in 1717; cf. Westerlund 1923, p. 497. His family was of German origin, and sometimes his surname is spelled 'Havemann' in the German manner. On Germans in Vyborg at the end of the seventeenth century, see Lagus 1895, pp. 22-52; Schweitzer 1993, p. 29; and Ruuth 1974, pp. 75-77. For a comprehensive account of Haveman's life and work, see Haveman 2003.

⁹ See Alopaeus 1804-1817, pp. 289-302. According to Cederberg 1939, pp. 13-15, in the periods 1632-1665 and 1690-1710 there were 112 students in Tartu from Finland and Ingria. On students from eastern Finland in Tartu, see Saloheimo 1987.

¹⁰ According to the students, the University did not defend them sufficiently against the soldiers of the local garrison. On this issue, see Rauch 1945, p. 93.

¹¹ On Siöbergh, see also n. 30 below.

Haveman's oration is a typical example of a learned tradition that flourished at the universities of the Kingdom of Sweden, that is, in Uppsala, Lund, Turku, and Tartu.¹² The most popular genre in the period's oratory was the laudatory speech on various topics, especially in the form of *laudes urbis* and *laudes patriae*, that is, eulogies of the hometown or of the home region of the speaker. In his study of the orations delivered at the University of Tartu from 1632 to 1656, Matti A. Sainio listed 218 such patriotic orations.¹³ Focusing on the description of the orator's hometown or home region, these orations also often involved praise of the ruler, as well as discussions of politics, history, and moral-philosophical questions concerning virtues and vices. The period's Swedish-Finnish *laudes urbis* and *laudes patriae* were dedicated to a great number of towns, counties, and countries, for example Tartu (Johannes Claudius Rising, 1637),¹⁴ Småland (Jonas Nicolai Bringander, 1646), Riga (Jonas Nicolai Bringander, 1649), Finland (Johannes Schaeperus, 1650), Sweden (Daniel Petri Terserus, 1650, and Daniel Olai Mårngonstiärna, 1651), and Upland (Andreas Erics Lilonius, 1650). Some of the orations even concerned the history of such foreign cities and countries as Jerusalem (Johannes Schlechter, 1637), Moscow (Rudolphus Strauch, 1640), and Prussia (Ulricus Volbergen, 1640).¹⁵ One of the most important Finnish patriotic eulogies is Johan Paulinus's university oration *Magnus Principatus Finlandia*, which was presented in Turku in 1678.¹⁶

¹² On the tradition of learned oratory at Swedish/Finnish universities, see Kajanto 2000, pp. 170-197; as well as Klinge 1988, pp. 446-463; Laine 1997; and Sarasti-Wilenius 2000.

¹³ See Sainio 1978; on the study of Latin in Tartu, see Lill 1994.

¹⁴ On Rising's oration, see Lill 1994, pp. 100, 103.

¹⁵ See Sironen 2000, pp. 220-226.

¹⁶ See Tua Korhonen's contribution to the present volume, which includes the first English translation of Johan Paulinus (Lillienstedt)'s oration.

The description of different places and their history was also a very popular topic in university dissertations. The most important Finnish text in this genre is *Aboa vetus et nova* ('Åbo, Old and New'), which was defended in 1700 by Daniel Juslenius, who would later become the Bishop of Skara.

The seventeenth-century patriotic eulogies – whether in the form of dissertations or orations – all followed set conventions concerning structure and content. Thus, the *laudes urbis* usually offer a description of the origin of the town, the etymology of its name, its location, its public buildings (especially the town hall and the churches), its port and trade, as well as the wars that had blighted its peaceful life and proven the bravery of its citizens. These topics were all recommended by contemporary rhetorical handbooks for inclusion in poems of this epideictic subgenre.¹⁷

Georg Haveman's Oratio de Wiburgo

Apart from the discussion and Swedish paraphrase by Gabriel Lagus, passages from and references to Haveman's *Oratio de Wiburgo* can also be found in various historical works about Vyborg. However, a complete Finnish translation of the text, with postscript and notes, was not published until 2003.¹⁸

On the frontispiece of the original printed version of the oration are found the title, the place in which the oration was delivered, the name of the author, and the name of the Tartu university printer, Johan Brendeken. Seven printed pages follow, beginning with a dedication to the Governor of Vyborg, Anders Grelsson Lindehielm (1634-1705).¹⁹ The other dedicatees are the two Vyborg

¹⁷ See Sarasti-Wilenius 2000, pp. 78-80.

¹⁸ See Haveman 2003.

¹⁹ See Skoglund 1980-1981.

councilors and merchants, Peter Fremling and Henrik Haveman, Georg Haveman's father.

The subsequent pages contain, without any heading, the author's preface, in which he addresses the dedicatees and, in accordance with *decorum*, belittles the importance of his own work and skills. There then follows a text by Olof Hermelin, inviting the reader to attend Haveman's delivery of the oration and specifying the time and date of the occasion. The theme of Hermelin's text is, not surprisingly, *amor patriae* ('love of one's country'). Hermelin discusses this theme in a rather abstract way, only in two cases referring to classical examples. At the end of the invitation, Hermelin praises his student Haveman for his ability to combine the study of law with the study of literature, contrasting Haveman to certain bad lawyers who neglect the *studia humanitatis* and therefore are only able to repeat a few erroneous and barbaric phrases.

The text of Haveman's oration, which comprises 20 unnumbered pages, opens with an apostrophe to the audience, followed by the *exordium* (pp. 1-5). The theme of the *exordium* is *amor patriae*, which Haveman develops by examples taken from ancient mythology and history. He briefly mentions that he has set aside his studies in order to praise his native town Vyborg, commending his oration to the benevolence of his audience. At the end of the *exordium* (p. 5), Haveman expresses the wish that he'll be able to safely reach the harbor, thus employing a commonplace metaphor for the successful composition and delivery of an oration.²⁰

The main part of the oration, the *tractatio* (pp. 5-19), displays the topics typical of the *laudes urbis* subgenre, beginning with a survey of Vyborg's

²⁰ On this metaphor, see Korhonen 2000, p. 115.

origin and history, and placing special emphasis on the coming of peace to the whole Vyborg area. In this part of the oration, Haveman refers to the troubles that had plagued the eastern border of the realm, before the Swedes had brought peace to the region:

But who does not know Archbishop Johannes, who was the second to hold this rank in Sweden, and who was brutally murdered by these robbers on his farm on Stäkesö?²¹ Who does not know about Sigtuna, the capital of the Kingdom and the most ancient and noble city of all the North, Sigtuna, which was so totally destroyed that from that time on it has never been able to regain its former splendor?²²

This historical account is followed by a description of the advantageous nature of the town's location. Haveman then comments on the castle, the plan of the town (especially its regularity), and the town hall. Thereafter he describes the three churches of Vyborg: the cathedral with its splendid bells, pulpit, and organs; the church where sermons were held in Finnish; and the church for those who were being cared for in the hospital. Also mentioned are the gymnasium and its founder, Erik Gyllenstierna (1602-1657),²³ as well as the local printing house. The cathedral and its organ especially inspire Haveman's eloquence:²⁴

²¹ "Praedium Almarstoechense" was a farm belonging to the Archbishop of Uppsala, situated on the island of Stäkesö in Lake Mälaren. On Archbishop Johannes, see also n. 33 below.

²² "An vero quis ignorat Archiepiscopum Johannem, qui secundus hanc dignitatem in Svedia tenuit, in praedio Almarstoechensi a praedonibus hisce crudeliter fuisse trucidatum? Sigtunam vero, regni caput, et toto septentrione vetustissimam nobilissimamque urbem, adeo excisam ut numquam ab eo tempore ad pristinam fortunam adspirare potuerit?"; Haveman 1694, pp. 8-9.

²³ On the learned Governor Erik Gyllenstierna, see Ruuth 1974, pp. 338-339; and Westerlund 1923, pp. 10-13.

²⁴ The much admired organ was built by German experts; the first organist in Vyborg Cathedral was Detlev Hunnius; see Lagus 1895, pp. 30-31; Dahlström 1991, pp. 56-60; and Dahlström 1995, pp. 153-154.

How great a flow of eloquence would ensue if I began more meticulously to enumerate the details of the cathedral; if I were able to describe its strong arches, the very heavy church bells, the splendid pulpit, the artistically decorated organ, and not least the beauty of its interior, which dazzles the eyes of the spectator with its splendor. But why linger over these things, when in my opinion everybody is able to understand what kind of things should be found in a famous city?²⁵

Along with the public buildings of the town, Haveman also describes some private houses, emphasizing their harmony and modesty, and comparing them favorably to houses in other countries:

Although in these private houses you do not find the elegance of the Gauls nor the magnificence of the Italians nor the cleanliness of the Batavians, you will still find them pleasant and not without refinement in their own way.²⁶

Haveman also discusses the climate of the region, good both for agriculture and for health, despite the severe winters. Stating that trade is also very lively, Haveman enumerates various products of the region such as grain, tallow, butter, seal oil, furs, and tar, along with pearls found in the river. These goods can be transported to and from the town by sea and by river, not only by boat in the summer but also by sled in the winter, when the water routes are frozen. Moreover, Haveman pays tribute to the good manners and the bravery of the inhabitants of Vyborg.

The *tractatio* reaches its climax with the description of the cave in Vyborg and a miraculous incident that occurred in 1495, during the Russian-

²⁵ “Quanta dicendi ubertas nascetur, si singula accuratius paulo delineare adgrederer: si fornices validos, si campanas vastae molis, si suggestum splendidissimum, si organa affabre facta, sitorum denique internum cultum, qui intuentium oculos fulgore suo praestringit, describere possem; Verum his quid attinet immorari, cum quemlibet arbitrator cogitatione percipere posse, qualia haec esse deceat in urbe celeberrima”; *op.cit.*, p. 12.

²⁶ “In quibus si non Gallorum elegantiam suspexeris, vel Italorum lautitiam, vel Batavorum munditiam; nitida tamen, et suo cultu non destituta cernes”; *op.cit.*, p. 13.

Swedish war, when Knut Posse was Governor of the town.²⁷ It was possible to produce tremendous sounds in the cave, by having, for instance, an ox bellow in it. Such sounds could provide cover for soldiers hiding in the cave, allowing them to make surprise attacks on the enemy. According to the tale, so Haveman writes, Governor Posse created an explosion in the cave by filling a kettle with some chemical substance; the resulting noise frightened away the Russian invaders, thus rescuing Vyborg. Probably the tale of the explosion and the legend of the cave merged over the course of the years, and the cave was subsequently called ‘The Bang’ (in Swedish: “Smällen”; in Finnish: “Pamaus”).²⁸

Although etymological accounts were very common in the period’s Latin-language geographical, historical, and ethnographical texts, in his *tractatio*, Haveman does not discuss the etymology of the name Vyborg. In fact, whereas in the *peroratio* the word Vyborg is not mentioned at all, the name of the surrounding area, Karelia, is given twice.

The *peroratio* includes a list of those themes that Haveman had been unable to discuss in any detail earlier in the oration, for example the honesty of the town council and the skilful making of ships. As was the case in the dedication and in the introduction, also here Haveman employs the topos of *modestia*. In conclusion, he apostrophizes Vyborg and expresses his wish that the town continue to prosper:

²⁷ Here Haveman makes a curious mistake writing ‘Erik Posse’ for Knut Posse; see *op.cit.*, p. 18.

²⁸ This so-called ‘Blast of Vyborg’ was the subject of many texts, one of them the dissertation *De tonitru factitio Viburgensi* (‘On the artificial explosion in Vyborg’), presented in Uppsala, in 1740, by Antonius Bahde (with Johannes Ihre as *praeses*). In his dissertation, Bahde also briefly refers to Haveman’s oration; cf. Bahde & Ihre 1740, p. 14; and Lagus 1893, p. 218.

Hail to you, great parent, who abound with so many good things, who are renowned on account of so many fine qualities, who are delightful to me thanks to so many names. Hail to you, the glory and pride of Karelia. Hail to you, most noble marketplace. May the love of the true religion remain in you. May justice bloom in you as well as the citizens' eternal harmony. May the study of the best arts grow. May business increase happily in you from day to day. May God avert the attacks and fury of enemies from you and keep you undisturbed and invincible till the end of the world. I have spoken.²⁹

In the original printed version there follow another three pages, the first of which contains a poem composed by the Rector of the University of Tartu, Gabriel Siöbergh and dedicated to the town of Vyborg.³⁰ On the last two pages are printed a number of congratulatory texts (*gratulationes*) by Haveman's Finnish friends Nils Limatius, Lars E. Thorwöste, and Simon Wallstrenius.

Haveman and the Literary Tradition

With its lengthy and sometimes complicated sentences, Georg Haveman's oration is a typical example of the Baroque style. Favoring ornate and periphrastic language, Haveman's text is characterized by numerous superlatives and by the frequent employment of rhetorical questions and tripartite structures, such as three parallel questions or assertions. The text also contains quite a few similes and metaphors. Thus, Haveman underlines the theme of

²⁹ "Salve, magna parens, tot bonis beata, tot laudibus inclyta, tot nominibus mihi jucundissima. Salve, Careliae decus et ocellus. Salve, emporium nobilissimum. Maneat in te purae religionis amor. Floreat apud te justitia, et perpetua civium concordia. Crescat optimarum artium disciplina. Vigeant in te negotiationes, et laetissima indies incrementa sumant. Avertat a te DEUS hostium insultus, et furorem, et usque ad finem mundi tranquillam te invictamque praestet./ DIXI"; *op.cit.*, p. 20.

³⁰ On Gabriel Siöbergh, who was professor at the University of Tartu from 1690 until his death in 1704, see Rauch 1945, *passim*; and Recke & Napiersky 1966, pp. 198-202. Siöbergh's best-known work, *Metaphysica contracta*, is discussed in Piirimäe 1982, p. 188.

amor patriae by a lovely simile, comparing Ithaca, Ulysses' home island, with a small nest:

What do we read about Ulysses, the man who is celebrated forever for his cleverness? His fatherland was Ithaca, a small island in the Ionian Sea, not blessed with fertile soil and not splendid on account of palaces or buildings, but set upon rugged cliffs, like a little nest; yet, because his eyes had first opened on this island, he is said to have preferred it to immortality and the wealthiest kingdom.³¹

As Ithaca, despite its lack of natural splendor, was still dear to the great hero, so, we are to understand, is Vyborg dear to Haveman. In general, however, Haveman's references to Greek mythology and to Greek and Roman history are quite conventional. As for mythological figures Haveman only mentions Codrus (the legendary king of Athens), Ulysses, Hercules, Mars, and Themis (the goddess of law).³² On the other hand, Haveman refers to a number of historical persons from antiquity, including the Greek politician and poet Solon, the Roman historian Curtius, and the Roman Emperor Decius.³³

Haveman's oration is written in the period's standard Humanist Latin, employing classical syntax and vocabulary, and now and then a Grecism, such as the reference to Vyborg's hospital by the Greek word *xenodochium*. The text also displays a few neologisms in the form of Latinized place names

³¹ "Quid enim de Ulysse legimus, viro ad omnem posteritatem prudentiae laude celebratissimo? Qui cum patriam habuisset Ithaca, exiguam maris [J]onii insulam, non segete laetam, non palatiis, aedifiisque splendida sed asperrimis scopulis, instar niduli, adfixam; quoniam tamen hac lucem in ea primum conspexerat, illam immortalitati, opulentissimo regno praeposuisse fertur"; op.cit., p. 2.

³² Mentioning Themis was appropriate for the student of law Haveman.

³³ Haveman refers to only a few historical persons from the Kingdom of Sweden: Torchillus Canuti (Torgils Knutsson), Magnus Ladulasius (King Magnus Ladulås), Archbishop Johannes (successor to Stefan, the first Archbishop of Uppsala), Queen Christina, Erik Gyllenstierna, and [Knut] Posse.

and personal names, as well as new terminology deriving from the period's natural sciences and technology.³⁴

As appears from my analysis, Georg Haveman's *Oratio de Wiburgo* is by no means a brilliant specimen of its kind. However, it clearly exemplifies the way in which seventeenth-century Finnish university orations were both rhetorical exercises and exercises in moral philosophy, specifically emphasizing *amor patriae* and other civic virtues. They were also exercises in historiography and topography, although their value to the modern scholar as historical sources is minimal. However, Haveman's *Oratio de Wiburgo* played a noteworthy part in Finnish literary history, not least because the historical and topographical material collected and used by Haveman was recycled in many other orations, poems, and historical works.

³⁴ For example, *officina typographica* (printing house) and *nitrosa materia* (the chemical substance nitrate).

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