

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS
Studia Latina Upsaliensia
38:1

Georg Stiernhielm

Linguistic works, volume 1

Phonology, morphology, semiotics, sound symbolism
and transformational grammar and semantics

Unpublished manuscripts edited with introduction

by

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UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

2023

This book has been printed by grants from *Svenska Akademien* (the Swedish Academy), *Olle Engkvists stiftelse* (Olle Engkvist's Fund) and the Editorial Board of *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*.

Abstract

This is the first of two volumes that provides a textual edition of the linguistic works of the Swedish Renaissance polymath Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672). On the basis of his unpublished manuscripts, the majority of Stiernhielm's writings on phonology, morphology, semiotics, sound symbolism and the variability of language are here published for the first time. The texts edited shows how, in his linguistic theory, he starts from the smallest phonological and morphological building blocks, continues with their semiotic and phonosemantic functions and concludes with the variability and transformability of parts of speech (or word classes), of clause elements, and of the discourse or text itself as the supreme unit.

The edition is preceded by an introduction to Stiernhielm's impressive linguistic edifice. The biographical chapter accounts for the course of his life and elucidates how his linguistic thought is linked with his educational journey in Europe (1614–1624), his connections with the Swedish antiquarian Johannes Bureus (for a period of over twenty years, circa 1624–1652) and his acquaintance with prominent Dutch linguists and historians of his own time. The next chapter surveys his scholarly and scientific authorship in unpublished and published writings, taking his archive and his catalogues of planned writings as points of departure. The two subsequent chapters first explain various topics and contexts of Stiernhielm's linguistic thought and then explore the foundations of his phonology, morphology, phonosemantic and grammatical-rhetorical theory of linguistic variability. The last introductory chapter accounts for the manuscripts and the editorial principles employed.

Keywords

historical phonology, historical lexical morphology, phonosemantics, sound aesthetics, transformational grammar, polygraphy

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Distributor: Uppsala University Library,
Box 510, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden
www.ub.uu.se, acta@ub.uu.se

ISSN 0562-2859

ISBN 978-91-513-1103-6

<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-429233>

Printed in Sweden by By Wind, Ödeshög 2023

Preface with acknowledgements

This study originates in my research project about views on language origins, language relationships and linguistic change, as they are expressed in writings about the history of Semitic and Germanic languages in the early modern Republic of Letters. It was begun 14 years ago (in early 2009) and was initially supported by a grant from the Royal Society of Humanities in Uppsala (*Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala*). The scope was later narrowed down to a few linguistic theorists: the Swedish philologists Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672) and Johan Ihre (1707–1780), and the Dutch Orientalist Albert Schultens (1685–1750). At this stage the project was funded by a research grant from the Fund for Humanities and Social Sciences in Sweden (*Riksbankens Jubileumsfond*).

Research on the full range of Stiernhielm's theoretical linguistic works covering phonology, morphology, semiotics, phonosemantics, etymology and language classification was made possible by an Erik Allardt fellowship at the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies in the academic year 2014–2015.

My further research in 2016–2018 with an emphasis on improving the transcription of the texts being edited and broadening the selection of texts across the entire range of Stiernhielm's linguistic thought was supported by a grant from Birgit and Gad Rausing's Fund for the Humanities (*Birgit och Gad Rausing's Stiftelse för humanistisk forskning*).

I was able to continue my study on Stiernhielm's linguistic ideas with a project on his theory of linguistic variability, with the goal of producing a textual edition of his unpublished works *Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum*, *Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus* and *Polygraphia intelligibilis*. It was supported by two generous grants, one provided by Åke Wiberg's Fund (*Åke Wibergs stiftelse*) and the other by Birgit and Gad Rausing's Fund for the Humanities (*Birgit och Gad Rausing's Stiftelse för humanistisk forskning*). This research was performed in 2019 and 2020.

Grants for the printing of this volume have been provided by the Swedish Academy, Olle Engkvist's Fond and the Editorial Board of *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*.

I acknowledge the receipt of these research and printing grants with joy and gratitude.

I express my deep gratitude to Hans Helander, prof. em. of Latin at Uppsala University, for his support and advice. I am particularly indebted to him for his attentive perusal and valuable criticism of my work. He read my book manuscripts at various stages of development and greatly contributed to improving the form and contents of the final work.

I am indebted to Per Stille Ph.D. for checking my transcriptions of Swedish words in *Notae ad Platonis Cratylum* (Section 9.3.1). I am also grateful to Johan Heldt, BA, for checking the forms and spelling of Greek words.

I have submitted parts of the present textual edition to the Latin seminars at the Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University, and the Department of Romance and Classical languages, Stockholm University. I thank all the participants at these seminar discussions, in Uppsala particularly Chairman professor Gerd Haverling and the professors Hans Helander and the late Monica Hedlund as well as the professors of Scandinavian philology Henrik Williams and Lars Wollin, moreover Toumo Nuorluoto PhD and Charlotta Forss PhD, and in Stockholm, Chairman associate professor Maria Plaza, Göran Bäärnhielm PhD and Susanna Åkerman PhD.

Uppsala, March 2023

Josef Eskhult

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PART 1. INTRODUCTION



Figure 1. Portrait of Georg Stiernhielm at the age of 65. Oil painting by David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl, 1663. © Nationalmuseum (National Museum of Fine Arts). Localization: The Swedish National Portrait Gallery, Gripsholm Castle, Mariefred. Size: 92 x 112 cm. Stiernhielm is depicted as a scholar and scientist in black clothing with a white collar. His attributes are the instruments of a geometrician: a cube, a polygon, a sphere, a ruler, a compass, and a quadratic measuring rod, probably *Baculus Carolinus*. He argued that a geometrician should be able to measure everything only by means of a ruler, *regula*, and a compass, *circinus* (F.d. 9**, p. 91). At the lower-right corner, his coat of arms is displayed. He is flanked to the right by a broken column, behind which a rounded building is visible, a reference to his interest in Greco-Roman culture. To the left, a landscape is outlined, through which a brook flows. He displays an experienced and vigilant countenance. His left hand rests on a cane and touches a sword, a symbol of nobility. According to Göte Ask (2000: 13–14), the painting represents the best of Ehrenstrahl's production and conforms to a realistic style.

1. General introduction

1.1 Purpose

Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672) was a state official, mathematician, philologist, philosopher and poet in the Swedish Empire of the 17th century, and one of the most impressive polymaths of early modern Europe. He developed a systematic and coherent linguistic theory which must be regarded as a monument of the dawning linguistics of 17th-century Sweden and Europe. This intellectual edifice comprises everything from the smallest phonological and morphological building blocks of language to semiotics, sound symbolism, transformational grammar and semantics and further to a historical classification of languages of the ancient world (that is, those that were known at that time in Europe, Asia and Africa). This theory is documented in his manuscripts that represent either stray drafts or more or less finished treatises in his autograph and in non-autograph copies with his additions and corrections. With a few exceptions,¹ these linguistic texts are still unpublished. I have provided the first edition (*editio princeps*), in which most of the pertinent writings are presented in two volumes and arranged according to the main branches of modern theoretical linguistics.

The first volume provides a textual edition of the manuscripts on phonology, morphology, semiotics, sound symbolism, sound aesthetics, transformational grammar and semantics (vol. 1, chapter 7–12). The second volume contains his writings on etymological theory, his historical language classification and his programme for the renewal of the Swedish language (vol. 2, chapters 7–17).

¹ Stiernhielm himself only published two linguistic writings, viz. the conspectus of *Runa Suethica* (1651) and *Praefatio de origine linguarum* in the Swedish edition of *Codex Argenteus* (1671). Posthumously Stiernhielm's *Anticliverius*, a refutation of Philipp Clüver's *Germania antiqua* (1616), was published with his *Dissertatio de Hyperboreis* by Johan Hadorph in Stockholm in 1685. His *Anti-Bochartus*, a refutation of Samuel Bochart's derivation of Celtic from Phoenician in *Geographia sacra*, vol. 2: *Canaan* (1646), was published in *Acta literaria et Scientiarum Sueciae* in 1738 (pp. 363–389) and 1739 (pp. 454–477). His *Dissertatio de Opino* and *Observatio de etymo vocum fader, moder, broder, amma, barn, dotter, son* were published in *Greinir or þeim gaumlu saugum, laugum og íþdrotter* in Stockholm 1763, pp. 203–219.

In designating Stiernhielm's writings on these topics as his "linguistic works", I am not referring to modern conceptions of linguistics, but to linguistics understood according to the standards of the emergent pre-disciplinary system of scholarly assumptions in language studies in the 17th century and in the entire early modern period.

All the edited texts have been written in Latin, with the exception of the texts on Swedish language renewal. Apart from these Swedish texts (Vol. 2, Chapter 16), a couple of Latin texts (Vol. 1, Section 7.3.3 and Section 7.3.4) and the most extensive Latin writing, *De linguarum origine praefatio* (Vol. 2, Section 12.3), the edited texts have not generally been supplied with English translations, but this lack is to some extent compensated by the main introductions to each volume, and the separate preliminaries to several sections or texts, where their contents will be clarified.

Stiernhielm's theoretical linguistic thought is characterized by its systematicity, internal coherence and broad scope. The textual edition is intended to serve as a basis of further description and analysis of his achievements as a linguistic theorist within their cultural and scholarly historical contexts. I here confine myself with drawing up a short framework.

The theory of phonology and morphology (vol. 1, chapters 7–8) is a collection of different drafts of theoretical introductions to planned dictionaries, such as *Virgula divina* (1639) and *Runa Suethica* (1649–1652), of which merely small parts were completed and which thus survive in an incomplete state.

The major part of this volume concerns the drafts or writings on transformational grammar and semantics (chapters 10–12), which represent two separate treatises that Stiernhielm himself intended to publish as *Proteus rhetoricus* and *Polygraphia*. The "former" treatise was developed in two stages, the first of which was entitled *Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum* (1635). The second stage was called by the title *Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus* (1650). The other treatise, *Polygraphia*, is contained in a separate manuscript volume, and I have edited its main compositions, which can be dated between 1625 and 1650.

In an article that examines Stiernhielm's phonosemantic theory in relation to word choices and the use of stylistic devices in his poetry, the Scandinavian philologist Carl Ivar Ståhle (1913–1980) called attention to the fact that Stiernhielm's linguistic and lexicographical writings make up the bulk of his surviving scholarly output, that this material mostly remains unpublished and that "it may be a while before it can be presented in a state that makes it possible to get a

clearer picture of Stiernhielm's development as a linguistic scholar."² In 1968, Per Wieselgren tells about a plan to publish an edition of Stiernhielm's linguistic writings.³ In 2011, Bernt Olsson regrets that Stiernhielm did not publish his linguistic writings and that his linguistic ideas are still only contained in his unpublished and disordered manuscripts in his archive at the Royal Library. This implies that his thoughts on various topics are found in completely different places, and are often undated or impossible to date.⁴

1.2 Earlier research

1.2.1 On Stiernhielm's poetry, philosophy and correspondence

Stiernhielm's achievements in linguistics have been studied to a much lesser degree than his literary work, in particular his *Hercules* poem (the main contributions being: Hjalmar Lindroth 1913, Axel Friberg 1945, Bernt Olsson 1974, Eva Melkas 1971, Nils Ekedahl 2001), or his other scholarly and scientific work, such as on natural philosophy (Nordström's textual edition of natural philosophical writings with an introduction and incomplete commentary 1924) and geometry (textual edition of Stiernhielm's *Baculus Carolinus* in Swedish from 1663 with an introduction and commentary by Rolf Ohlson 1989), or his correspondence (Per Wieselgren's edition of letters to and from Stiernhielm in 1968 and in 1937–1957).

1.2.2 On Stiernhielm's morphological and phonosemantic theory

The theoretical background of lexical choices and stylistic devices in Stiernhielm's Swedish poetry is explored by Carl Ivar Ståhle in an article from 1951⁵ and in a couple of chapters of a study on Swedish versification and poetry in the age of the Vasa dynasty kings and of Sweden as a Great Power (1975).⁶ The article consists of four sections, the first of which follows lines of development of Stiernhielm's etymological, morphophonological and phonosemantic

² Carl Ivar Ståhle, "Språkteori och ordval i Stiernhielms författarskap" in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, vol. 66 (1951), p. 53. Referring to the bulk of linguistic works, he says: "Möjligen kommer det att dröja, innan det kan presenteras i ett skick som gör det möjligt att få en klarare bild av Stiernhielms utveckling som vetenskapsman."

³ Wieselgren refers to this plan in his edition and commentary on Letters to Georg Stiernhielm, *Brev till Georg Stiernhielm*, Lund 1968, p. 90 (lines 13–17).

⁴ See Bernt Olsson's biographical survey of Stiernhielm's life and work in Swedish biographical dictionary, *Svensk biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 33 (2011), p. 438.

⁵ Ståhle, "Språkteori och ordval i Stiernhielms författarskap", pp. 51–94.

⁶ Ståhle, *Vers och språk i Vasatidens och stormaktstidens svenska diktning*, Stockholm 1975, especially the sections "Stiernhielms vers, alliteration, asonans och slutrim i Hercules", pp. 233–251, and "Stiernhielms språksyn. Ljudens och fornordens symbolvärden i Hercules", pp. 251–269.

thought on the basis of his unpublished dictionaries (*Lexicon Gothicum*, c. 1626–39 and *Adelruna seu Sibylla Sueo-Gothica*, c. 1639–40) and his linguistic treatises (*Analogia rerum et verborum*, c. 1641, *Notae ad Platonis Cratylum*, c. 1640, *Mysterium etymologicum*, c. 1642, and *Runa Suethica* in the extant drafts of its two major parts, c. 1649–1652). The survey of Stiernhielm’s views on the origin of roots (defined as “meaningful morphemes”) is very detailed.⁷ In the second main section, Ståhle accounts for Stiernhielm’s sources of knowledge about Old Swedish and Old Icelandic words. These include *Kungastyrelsen*, i.e. rules of government for kings, published by Johannes Bureus in 1634, and several Swedish provincial laws and Icelandic sagas, primarily Barlaam and Josaphat’s Saga, Diderich’s Saga, and Saint Olof’s Saga. Ståhle refers to Stiernhielm’s different word lists from these sources.⁸ In the third main section, he shows how Stiernhielm’s choice of original and pure old words in his poetry is related to his use of the identified sources in his underlined words or clauses and his marginal annotations. Ståhle presents these words in an alphabetic list.⁹ The use of stylistic devices, such as alliteration, assonance, and end-rhyme, is connected with Stiernhielm’s study of Icelandic sagas, primarily that of Barlaam and Josaphat. The use of sound symbolism is demonstrated in the light of Stiernhielm’s notes on Plato’s dialogue *Cratylus*. Ståhle concludes that an acquaintance with Stiernhielm’s etymological and sound-symbolic thought will help us to a better understanding of his poetic achievements.¹⁰ In the chapter sections from 1975 he repeats and rewords these observations and exemplifies them more richly with quotations from Stiernhielm’s Swedish poetry.

Moreover, the Germanist Herbert Blume (1938–2021) explores Stiernhielm’s theory of morphemes and lexical roots in an article that forms a part of the conference volume of the 400 anniversary of Stiernhielm’s birth.¹¹ In demonstrating the points of similarity between the linguistic theories in Sweden and Germany in the 17th century, he argues that German linguistic theorists, such as Martin Opitz, Georg Harsdörffer, Philipp von Zesen and Georg Justus Schottelius, shared central assumptions with their counterparts north of the Baltic Sea. Among these assumptions are the belief in the

⁷ Ståhle, “Språkteori och ordval”, pp. 51–65.

⁸ Ståhle, *ibidem*, pp. 65–70.

⁹ Ståhle, *ibidem*, pp. 70–84.

¹⁰ Ståhle, *ibidem*, pp. 84–94.

¹¹ Herbert Blume, “Rötter och stamord. Stiernhielms och samtida tyska språklärds tankar om ordens byggnad” in *Stiernhielm 400 år: föredrag vid internationellt symposium i Tartu 1998*, Stockholm 2000, pp. 219–229.

motivated relation between reality and the linguistic sign (in phonemes, morphemes and lexical roots), the conviction that one's own national vernacular is a main language (that is, a language that traces back to the earliest time and is not derived from others) and the opinion that one's own vernacular retains an original purity; and that this purity should be protected through the avoidance of foreign words and their replacement by loan translations (calques from the building blocks of the vernacular) and through the revival of old words. This kind of language patriotism was linked with a policy of language legitimacy that aimed to render the national vernacular functionally equivalent to cultural languages and to transform it into a language of literature and scholarship. Blume argues however that the cultural ideology that underlies the above assumptions and its programme for language reform has a distinctive character in 17th-century Sweden, as compared to Germany, namely the movement of Swedish Gothicism in general and Stiernhielm's idea of the meaningful morpheme as the minimal semantic building block of language in particular. In contrast to synchronic views on the concept of "Stammwort" in the theory of von Zesen and Schottelius, Stiernhielm applies a historical perspective to the formation of the root. Blume argues that Stiernhielm's conception of the root is axiomatic-deductive rather than empirical-inductive. He discusses Stiernhielm's views on the phonosemantic formation of the root and their difference from the modern concept of roots and stems in the Saussurean paradigm. He argues that, in his lexicography and Swedish poetry, Stiernhielm performed a language renewal in which he joined his phonosemantic semiotics with a Gothicism ideology and the use of Gothic archaisms.

1.2.3 On Stiernhielm's transformational grammar and semantics

Bernt Olsson explores Stiernhielm's drafts of grammatical-rhetorical theory.¹² He argues that Stiernhielm was innovative, in spite of the fact that he was influenced by the rhetorical handbooks of Jesuit rhetoricians such as Wolfgang Schönsleder and Nicolas Caussin. Olsson argues that there are points of similarity between Stiernhielm's theory of structural linguistic variability and Chomsky's transformational and generative grammar of the 20th century. He regards Stiernhielm as an exponent of the rationalist and prestructuralist linguistic thought that manifested itself in the Port-Royal grammar and logic (Olsson 1974: 209). He writes:

¹² Bernt Olsson, *Den svenska skaldekonstens fader och andra stiernhielmstudier*, Lund 1974, pp. 194–212.

To Stiernhielm language has evidently what may be called a deep structure, a structure on a deeper level than that which is determined by the different vernaculars. Stiernhielm views language as a system that is built of interchangeable building blocks.¹³

Olsson regards Stiernhielm as a structuralist predecessor of Port-Royal grammar and logic, which Chomsky viewed as an example of rationalist linguistic thought and loosely called Cartesian linguistics.

Ever since the 18th century we have regarded language as a historical diachronic phenomenon. When linguists nowadays apply synchronic and structural aspects, they are linking to an earlier outlook. Chomsky has of course also seen the similarities between his linguistic theory and that of Port Royal, but the linguistic ideas that Chomsky finds in the grammar of Port Royal are things that Stiernhielm had expressed a couple of decades earlier.¹⁴

Olsson (1974: 209) cites a letter sent to him (of 31 March 1971) by Carl Ivar Ståhle to support the validity of his claim. He says that Ståhle has carried out a thorough study of *Proteus rhetoricus*. Ståhle's observations on it were published some years later together with a textual edition of a single page from *Polygraphia* (a draft of a birthday panegyric for the Queen from 1650). Ståhle argues that this is a handbook, or rather an aid, for the study of grammar and rhetoric and that it was devised as a transformational grammar and as a Latin synonym dictionary.¹⁵

Furthermore, Olsson argues that Stiernhielm developed his theory of linguistic transformability under the influence of the Renaissance theory of ciphers. At the same time he argues that Stiernhielm

¹³ Bernt Olsson, *Den svenska skaldekonstens fader och andra Stiernhielmstudier*, p. 209. The Swedish original reads: "För Stiernhielm har språket uppenbarligen vad man skulle kunna kalla en djupstruktur, en struktur på en djupare nivå än den som bestämmes av de olika folkspråken. Stiernhielm ser språket som ett system uppbyggt av utbytbara element."

¹⁴ Olsson, *ibidem*, p. 209. The Swedish original reads: "Alltifrån 1700-talet har vi betraktat språket som ett historiskt fenomen. Då man nu anlägger synkroniska och strukturella aspekter knyter man an till en äldre syn. Chomsky har ju också sett likheterna mellan sin språk teori och Port-Royalgrammatikens. Men de idéer som Chomsky återfinner i Port-Royalgrammatiken hade Stiernhielm uttryckt ett par decennier tidigare."

¹⁵ Ståhle, *Vers och språk i Vasatidens and stormaktstidens svenska diktning*, pp. 270–274: "den [referring to "Proteus rhetoricus"] är alltså här helt enkelt tänkt som en transformationsgrammatik. Men därjämte är den ett slags synonymysamling."

focused on the variability of the linguistic system as such, not on the communication of a hidden message, as in the field of cryptography (Olsson 1974: 198).

Olsson explores the secondary sources that Stiernhielm consulted in developing his theory on grammatical-semantic transformability. Above all he refers to Erasmus' *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum*, from which Stiernhielm copied several chapters (F.d. 13, the wrapper *Polygraphia*, fols. 37r–41v). and contemporary rhetorical handbooks by Jesuit scholars (Olsson 1974: 203–204). In terms of his general linguistic and ontological categorization, Stiernhielm is shown to stand in the tradition that traces back to Raymund Lull with *Ars magna combinatoria* (Olsson 1974: 205), though he relied on the German, philosopher, theologian and encyclopaedist Johan Heinrich Alsted as the transmitter and synthesizer of knowledge in the Lullian tradition. He used Alsted's *Consilium de copia et rerum verborum* (1610) as an indirect source of the Lullian art (Olsson 1974: 206). Stiernhielm excerpted and paraphrased it in his book of commonplaces (F.d. 4:1 at the end).

In an article from 1978 on the topics of language patriotism and language legitimacy, the above-mentioned Herbert Blume discusses the same topics as in his later article in the conference volume.¹⁶ One difference is that in this article he does not account for Stiernhielm's views on the constitution of the root, but enters into a discussion on the relation between Stiernhielm's grammatical-rhetorical theory and the Lullian art of combinations on the one hand, and Port-Royal grammar and logic and the Chomskyan transformational grammar on the other hand. This forms part of an investigation into whether a theory of a general grammar, or a general semanto-syntax, was lacking in 17th-century linguistic thought ("ein Defizit an Gedanken über allgemeine Semanto-Syntax"). Blume discusses the objection that the reception of Raymund Lull's *Ars combinatoria magna* by certain German and Swedish linguistic theorists was an attempt to fill this gap. He states that Raymund Lull aimed at "an art of invention of truths" ("Kunst der Wahrheitsauffindung"), which was based on the principle that certain rules of combination were applied to a limited number of universal concepts. Referring to Bernt Olsson, he argues that there is a contradiction in Stiernhielm's reception of *Ars combinatoria* in so far as Stiernhielm's *Proteus rhetoricus* is an

¹⁶ Herbert Blume, "Sprachtheorie und Sprachenlegitimation im 17. Jahrhundert in Schweden und in Kontinentaleuropa", *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, vol. 93 (1978), pp. 205–218. It was presented as a paper at a conference "Cultural contacts in the Baltic area in the 17th and 18th centuries" on the occasion of the celebration of Uppsala University's 500th anniversary in 1977.

attempt to reconcile the art of combining concepts in a universal language with the syntax of natural languages. He regards *Proteus rhetoricus* as a mechanism for inventing and varying rhetorical tropes and figures. He concludes that the early-modern reception of *Ars combinatoria* did not result in the theory of a general syntax. Blume thus makes a distinction between Port-Royal grammar and Chomskyan transformational grammar. The former sets out from a solely rationalist basis, while the latter is also founded on generative and non-static bases. Blume argues that Stiernhielm conforms to the latter, but hardly to the former. He also maintains that there is a fundamental difference between Stiernhielm and the grammar of Port Royal with regard to their views on the nature of the linguistic sign and the issue of whether it is motivated or conventional.¹⁷

¹⁷ Blume, *ibidem*, pp. 213–217.

2. Stiernhielm's life and intellectual contexts

2.1 Earlier biographical accounts

2.1.1 Survey of main contributions in early-modern times

If Stiernhielm wrote an autobiography, it is lost or at least has not yet been found. the antiquarian Nils Hufwedsson Dal (1690–1740) in his collections for a biography on Stiernhielm reports that the historian and manuscript collector Anders Anton von Stiernman (1695–1765) told him that he had seen Stiernhielm's "autograph journal of his course of life".¹⁸

Since the 17th century, several scholars have written on the life and work of Stiernhielm, the first of which was Olaus Andreae Bergius (1627–1692), who as vicar of Klara Church delivered an eulogy about "Stiernhielm's lineage, life and departure", henceforth called the *Personalia*.¹⁹ As far as it is possible to ascertain, this account is based on reliable first-hand information.²⁰ It touches upon Stiernhielm's Danish ancestry, outlines his education abroad, describes his career as a state official in Swedish Livonia and in Sweden, and ends with information about his intellectual gifts and natural talents, which "he used in the service of his country".

The second biographer was Stiernhielm's friend and pupil Samuel Columbus (1642–1679). He acquired direct and indirect knowledge through conversation and hearsay during his period of employment as one of Stiernhielm's secretaries at the College of Antiquities in the

¹⁸ Nils Hufwedsson Dal, *Collectanea till Stiernhielms biografi*, ms. X 296, p. 32r, UUB: "Stiernman säger sig hafva sedt desz egenhändig journal om sit lefwerneslopp". Nordström (*Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, p. VI) argues that in that case it is strange that Stiernman did not mention the autobiography in his account of Stiernhielm's life and work in *Bibliotheca Suiogothica*, vol. 3, ms. U 193, UUB.

¹⁹ In the copy at the Stiernhielm family archive, "the Vasula-archive", this source is titled: "Sal. Kriegerådets Georg Stiernhielms personalier" ("the deceased military counsellor Georg Stiernhielm's personalia"), now preserved at the Archives of the Swedish Academy, shelfmark: *Svenska Akademiens samlingar*, volume 291.

²⁰ In compiling the *Personalia*, Bergius presumably got information from the deceased's family (Johan Markvard Stiernhielm and Christina Stiernhielm) and his circle of friends, above all Samuel Columbus. Bergius was certainly not installed as vicar of Klara Church until November 1672, but he may have met Stiernhielm during his appointments (1665–1671) as a chaplain of the Bonde family and as a court preacher in the service of the Queen dowager Hedvig Eleonora in Stockholm.

years 1667–1670, and in the following two years he had the opportunity to visit Stiernhielm frequently as tutor of the sons of the merchant Jacob Momma Reestierna in Stockholm.²¹ At the College of Antiquities, Samuel Columbus undertook the task “to write the art of Swedish poetry, such as it has begun to be cultivated” and was assigned the duty of systematizing the etymological lexicography of Stiernhielm.²² In his own authorship, Columbus qualifies as a Swedish poet and a linguistic theorist. His biography on Stiernhielm forms a part of his collection of tales or stories, *Mål-roo eller Roo-mål*, “Meal-entertainment or entertaining meals”, from the sayings of ancient writers and coevals, written during his stay in Paris in 1676–1678. He depicts Stiernhielm’s scholarly and intellectual character by reporting various statements Stiernhielm made from his youth until the end of his life, as related by other people whom he had met, or that he himself had heard.²³ Stiernhielm is portrayed as a man possessing a Stoic attitude towards the vicissitudes of life, one who is endowed with great talents, having a joyful and contented mind in the face of the adversities of human existence, a follower of virtue with a sense of justice, a learned polymath, a religious freethinker, and not least a witty and cheerful companion of his patrons in the nobility and high officials of the 17th-century Swedish Empire. Columbus conveys Stiernhielm’s self-understanding in words and deeds, most notably in Stiernhielm’s request for his well-known epitaph: “As long as he lived, he lived happily” (Section 2.5.2). The collection of stories was published in part by Erik Ekholm in 1760.²⁴

In the mid 1720s, the aforementioned Nils Hufwedsson Dal wrote an intellectual biography entitled *Lucta Arachnes cum Minerva seu tela vitae generosi viri Georgii Stiernhielmii*, “Arachne’s contest with Minerva, or the web of life of the noble Georg Stiernhielm”.²⁵

²¹ See Ragnar Ekholm’s biography, *Samuel Columbus. Bidrag till kännedomen om hans levnad och författarskap*, Uppsala 1924. He got into contact with Stiernhielm in the years 1665–1666, when he was tutor of the sons of Mårten P. Blixencron.

²² See Stiernhielm’s report of the division of tasks at the College of Antiquities in a letter to the chancellor of the realm, Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, on 20 July 1668: “Samuel Columbus artem Poesis Sueticae, ut nunc coli coepta est, conscribendam suscepit, radicibus praeterea communibus omnium linguarum cum suis derivatis iampridem a Directore investigatis, nunc demum ordine dirigendis occupatur”, see Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm*, vol. 3:1 (1937–1948), p. 276.

²³ Samuel Columbus, *Mål-roo eller roo-mål*, edited from the extant manuscripts by Bengt Hesselman, Stockholm 1935, pp. 21–43 (stories nos. 21–43).

²⁴ Erik Ekholm, “Besynnerliga märkvärdigheter rörande Georg Stiernhielm” in *Kritiska ok historiska handlingar rörande svenska historien ok språket*, vol. 2, Stockholm 1760, p. 123 onwards. Cf. Swahn, *Ryktets förvandlingar*, pp. 109–110.

²⁵ Hufwedsson Dal, *Collectanea till Georg Stiernhielms biografi*, ms. X 296, fols. 1r–6v, UUB.

Collecting material for a three-part biography covering Stiernhielm's life (*vita*), authorship (*studia*) and official appointments (*officia*), Hufwedsson Dal looked up Stiernhielm's published and unpublished writings in the Archives of Antiquities, contextualized the underlying ideas through comparison with Stiernhielm's contemporaries such as Hugo Grotius and Francis Bacon, and excerpted some of Plutarch's biographies as a literary pattern. However, these collections are incomplete and in disorder.²⁶ The finished part (which is titled *Lucta*, etc.) is divided into seven sections: (1) a eulogy of Stiernhielm, (2) his birth and character, (3) his ennoblement and first official appointments in Swedish Livonia, (4) his textual editing of Swedish laws with lexical explanations, (5) his treatise on the testing of metallic elements by their densities, *Archimedes reformatus*, (6) his Swedish poetry, *Musae Suethizantes*, (7) and his historical writings *Anti-Cluverius* and *Dissertatio de Hyperboreis*. This biographical essay was planned as the second part of *Specimen biographicum de antiquariis Sveciae*, the first part of which was published in 1724.

Columbus' biography was known in manuscript to the historian, civil servant and politician Olof Celsius the Younger (1716–1794). In 1753 Celsius published biographies of Erik Göranson Tegel (1563–1635) and Georg Stiernhielm in a small treatise entitled *Lärde svänke* ("Swedish scholars") in Stockholm, which is the first printed biography of Stiernhielm (Celsius 1753: 10–24).²⁷ In the main, it is reliable, but there are some mistakes in the chronology.²⁸ Celsius

²⁶ Idem, *ibidem*, fols. 7r–223r. The outline can be reconstructed as follows: 1. Nativitas (Elogium et emblema, and Ortus et indoles, fols. 10–20), 2. Obitus (fols. 92–101), 3. Coniugium (fol. 47r), 4. Hermeneutica legum (21r–47r), 5. Mathesis (*ibidem* and fols. 209–223), 6. Metaphysica (fols. 138–157), 7. Iurisprudentia (fols. 198–205), 8. commercium literarium (fols. 173–183), 9. Lexicographica (fols. 118–137), 10. Oratoria (fols. 158–172), 11. Poetica (fols. 102–117), 12. Assessor Dicasterii et Consistorii Dorpatensis vice director (fols. 184–191), 13. Assessor revisionis legum (fols. 192–197), 14. Antiquarius Regni (fols. 48–86), 15. Collegii antiquitatum praeses (fols. 87–91). 16. Consiliarius militaris (fols. 7r–9v), 17. Commemorationes (fols. 206–208).

²⁷ The overview of his published works however only begins (on p. 24) and ends abruptly after the enumeration of *Anti-Cluverius* with *Dissertatio de Hyperboreis*.

²⁸ Celsius (1753: 11) states that during his education abroad Stiernhielm followed Karl Karlsson Gyllenhielm (1674–1650, count and admiral) on his travels. This is a mistake, as pointed out by Swartling (1909: 17, n. 5) and Nordström (*Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, XIX). He claims that during his first journey to the Netherlands Stiernhielm in the early 1620s made the acquaintance of Daniel Heinsius, Salmasius, Maestertius, Blondel, Boxhorn and Johan Below and was inducted as a member of the Royal Society of Sciences. This only holds true of the official journey to the Netherlands from late 1648 to early 1649, when he made the personal acquaintance of these scholars. His election into the Royal Society of Sciences occurred even later, in 1669, and certainly upon his own proposal.

underpins his biography with source data in footnotes, which shows that he had done basic research. In the 1740s he had collected data for a Swedish biographical dictionary, in which Stiernhielm was of course included.²⁹ His brother Magnus von Celse (1709–1784) compiled a biography with the title *Georg Stiernhielms lefwernes beskrivning*, “Description of the life of Georg Stiernhielm”, which survives in manuscript.³⁰ It dates from around 1770 and in much it relies on *Lärde svänske*, though it contains more source references.

The archivist and antiquarian Samuel Gagnerus (1731–1791) built on Columbus’ biographical stories, but reinterpreted them in *Äreminne öfver krigs-rådet Georg Stjernhjelm*, (“Glorious memory of the military councillor Georg Stiernhielm”), Stockholm 1776. He also relied on Stiernhielm’s manuscripts, which at the time were kept in the Archive of Antiquities where he was employed. With his bombastic prose in accordance with the classicizing French pattern of rhetorical amplification, he makes a synthesis of the ideals of the Enlightenment and the re-awakened Swedish patriotism, introducing Stiernhielm as a national hero of virtue and depicting him as an enlightened rationalist and Stoic thinker. Gagnerus also composed a brief essay in Latin for the use in school education, which has not yet been published (see Vol. 2, Section 21.1). His Swedish biography played an important role for the subsequent writers of minor surveys, such as Carl Gustaf Nordin in 1791 (Vol. 2, Section 21.2) and Jacob Erik Godenius from Lima in Dalecarlia (1781–1842) in the thesis *Memoria Stiernhielmiana*, published in 1805 under the presidency of the Swede Jacob Wallenius (1761–1819), professor of aesthetics, Latin and Oriental languages at the University of Greifswald.

The next major step in the biographical research on Stiernhielm is an outline by the critic and author Lorenzo Hammaršköld (1785–1827), whose life mirrored the transition from the age of Enlightenment to that of Romanticism. He relied on Gagnerus, but drew upon new biographical material in the unpublished collection of a history of Vestmannia and Dalecarlia by one of his correspondents, the bibliographer Johan Henrik Schröder (the now lost *Collectanea historica Westmanno-Dalecarlica*).³¹ Hammaršköld’s biographical outline forms the introduction to his textual edition of Stiernhielm’s

²⁹ See “Lärde och berömmelige svenske män”, X 201, Uppsala University Library, where Celsius on p. 703 gives biographical information on Stiernhielm, discusses the literary reception of his poem *Hercules* by Paschius and Spiegel, and mentions the other main works (*Anti-Bochartus*, *Linea Carolina*, *Systema Algebraicum* and *Bröllops besvär ihugkommelse*). On p. 713 he shows the pedigree of Stiernhielm.

³⁰ It is preserved as a copy, dated Blackstalund 18 Dec. 1775, in the biographical collections of Sigfrid Lorentz Gahm-Persson, ms. X 211, fols. 361r–381r, UUB.

³¹ Schröder left biographical notes on Stiernhielm, ms. U 9 (biographica), UUB.

collected belletristic works, which he admired as a model of good, pure Swedish and as the opposite to French classicism. This introduction has several merits, although Swartling (1909: 2–3) as a positivist scholar apparently disparages it. Hammarsköld divides his presentation into nine chapters, the first of which discusses Stiernhielm's ancestry, birth and education. The second concerns the age in which Stiernhielm lived, as reflected in a list of names of contemporary scholarly and literary celebrities. The third chapter treats the political, moral and literary condition of Sweden during Stiernhielm's life. The fourth chapter outlines Stiernhielm's career as an official, the fifth elucidates his personal character, and the sixth surveys his scholarly and literary authorship, with an overview of his archive at the Royal Library of Stockholm. The seventh chapter discusses Stiernhielm's merits of as an author and a scholar. Based on Columbus' account, the eighth chapter relates Stiernhielm's death.³² The final chapter provides a study on the reception of Stiernhielm as a poet and a philologist (see Vol. 2, Section 18.1).

Other 18th-century biographers of Stiernhielm are Carl Julius Lénström, *Stjernhjelm. Ett litterärt skalde-porträtt* (1838), Carl August Hagberg *Äreminne öfver Georg Stjernhjelm* (unpublished, 1839), Erik Gustaf Geijer, *Äreminne* etc. (1840) and Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom, *Svenska siare och skalder*, vol. 2 (1843). All of them mark a progress in the evaluation of Stiernhielm as a poet, and in the cases of Hagberg and Geijer even as a linguist and innovator of Swedish, but they do not add any new biographical knowledge.

2.1.2 Survey of main contributions in modern times

In modern times, the foremost *scholarly* biography was written by Birger Swartling (1879–1910), who presented it as a doctoral thesis at Uppsala University on 15 December 1909. Four years earlier, he published a preliminary study on Stiernhielm's life between 1630 and 1656 in a miscellany volume in honour of Henrik Schück.³³ Swartling had two famous Swedish scholars as his supervisors, the literary historian Henrik Schück (1855–1947) and the historian and politician Harald Hjärne (1848–1922). As a biographical method he used a meticulous historical documentation,³⁴ for which he availed

³² Hammarsköld, "Anteckningar till Georg Stjernhielms lefvernesbeskrivning" in *Georg Stjernhielms Svenska Vitterhets-arbeten* [...], Stockholm 1818, pp. 3–57.

³³ Swartling, "Några bidrag till Stiernhielms biografi 1630–56", *Studier tillägnade Henrik Schück på hans 50-årsdag den 2 november 1905 af vänner och lärjungar*, Stockholm 1905, pp. 188–213.

³⁴ Swartling, "Några bidrag", p. 188, underlines the importance of using reliable and verifiable primary, documentary sources instead of the anecdotal materials that ultimately derive from Columbus' collection of stories.

himself of everything from the Archives of the Swedish Government and the city archives in the Baltic states to personal archives, such as the then still intact archive of the Stiernhielm family at the estate of Vasula, north of Tartu, which at that time had quite recently (in 1890) been discovered by the Swedish librarian and scholar Harald Wieselgren (1835–1906). Importantly, Swartling in addition made use of and quoted from *Personalia* on Stiernhielm, the authorship of which he attributed to Terserus rather than Bergius. He composed a source-based intellectual biography, in which Stiernhielm's life and his linguistic, political, antiquarian and literary ideas are explored against the background of 17th-century thought. In his review of his 19th-century precursors, he contends that such a documentary and contextualizing approach is what was lacking in the Stiernhielm biographies by Lénström, Geijer and Atterbom.³⁵

In his extensive introduction to his textual edition of Stiernhielm's philosophical writings, Johan Nordström (1891–1967) relies on or supplements and revises Swartling's biographical account.³⁶ In the first and fifth chapters he explores, in fluent expository Swedish prose, the external course of Stiernhielm's life, mainly focusing on his philosophical writings and ideas.³⁷ By means of new perspectives he managed to establish the image of Stiernhielm as an eclectic, liberal and self-confident philosopher who opposed neo-Aristotelism and Lutheran orthodoxy using the weapons of Neoplatonism and Hermetism, in a synthesis that comes close to Comenius' universal philosophy. This image has had a great impact, and for a long time it guided the common opinion.³⁸ Nordström himself underlines that Stiernhielm embarked on his philosophical authorship relatively late, around 1650 at the age of about fifty years, and certainly at the instigation of the Queen.³⁹

³⁵ Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm. Hans lif och verksamhet*, Uppsala 1909, p. 3.

³⁶ Johan Nordström, *Georg Stiernhielm. Filosofiska fragment med inledning och kommentar*, Stockholm 1924, which was submitted as a PhD thesis on 13 December 1924 under the chairmanship of Anton Blanck. The opponents were the Swedish associate professors Victor Svanberg and Einar Tegen and the retired Danish lecturer Georg Christensen. In the preface, Nordström states that he began his studies on Stiernhielm's manuscripts in natural philosophy in order to elucidate "the speculative portions in (the poem of) Hercules." The introduction (numbered in Roman numerals, pp. III–CCCLXI) is the first volume, while the textual edition (pp. 3–202) and the commentary (pp. 205–294) is the second volume.

³⁷ Nordström, *Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, pp. V–XXI and pp. CLXII–CCLXIII.

³⁸ Historiographical reflection by B. Olsson, "Georg Stiernhielm – vem var han?" in *Stiernhielm 400 år: föredrag vid internationellt symposium i Tartu 1998*, p. 334.

³⁹ Nordström, *ibidem*, vol. 1, pp. V and CCXIX–CCXXIV. Swartling, *ibidem*, pp. 59–60, similarly argues that it was not until the 1650s that Stiernhielm began to devote himself to philosophical studies. For the role of the Queen, he refers to the

The next major advance is associated with Per Wieselgren. His main achievement is without doubt his textual edition of the letters and petitions from Georg Stiernhielm (1937–48) and letters to the same (1968a). When editing this correspondence he used, apart from judicial and personal archives, the Stiernhielm family archive, the most important remains of which he managed to rediscover after its temporary disappearance in the 1920s. In the 1930s, the archive in question was purchased by the Swedish Academy from Karl Kurt Stiernhielm.⁴⁰ Wieselgren published transcribed Bergius' *Personalia* on Stiernhielm in *Svio-Estonica* (1937, pp. 75–85). In his biography on Stiernhielm, *Georg Stiernhielm* (1948), he provides a well-informed, coherent and contextualizing narrative, though he does not document his primary sources, while in his edition of Stiernhielm's letters and petitions and in his commentary (1957) he makes new biographical information available. His edition of the correspondence to Stiernhielm is also a mine of biographical information.

In a brief article in the journal *Lychnos* 1954–1955, Sten Lindroth (1914–1980) demonstrates that Stiernhielm was educated at Johannes Rudbeckius' private school at Uppsala – a fact that so far had been unknown.⁴¹ In his intellectual history of Swedish learning, he elucidates Stiernhielm's linguistic and historical ideas in the context of Swedish patriotism and cultural policy in the period when Sweden rose into a Great Power in the early-to-middle 17th century.⁴²

The journalist, clergyman, and historical novelist Rune Per Olofsson (1926–2018) published a biography in 1998 with the title *Georg Stiernhielm – diktare, domare, duellant: en levnadsteckning* ("Georg Stiernhielm – poet, judge, duellist: a biography"). His work is the result of solid research of secondary sources, to which he often contributes his own perspectives. In his 22-chapters biography (218 pages) Olofsson follows a certain structure. After a preface and presentation of Stiernhielm (chapters 1–2) he deals with the latter's

proposed title "Templum Naturae iussu Christinae serenissimae Reginae Sueciae, magnae naturae sacerdotis, orbi arctoo reseratum a GS ianitore" (F.d. 4:4:1, 42v). The classical philologist Johannes Schefferus similarly undertook his treatise *De natura et constitutione philosophiae Italicae seu Pythagoricae* (Uppsala 1664) on the initiative of the Queen, which the author acknowledges in the preface.

⁴⁰ Wieselgren catalogues the contents of the three volumes of the Vasula archive: "Det Stiernhielmska familjearkivet från Vasula. Katalog tillägnad Svenska Akademien", *Svio-Estonica*, vol XIX, ny följd 10, Lund 1968, pp. 3–33. He also tells how he rediscovered the archive: "Stiernhielms återupptäckta familiearkiv. Ett meddelande", *Lychnos: lärdomshistoriska samfundets årsbok* 1936, pp. 262–271.

⁴¹ Sten Lindroth, "Stiernhielms studier i Uppsala" in *Lychnos: lärdomshistoriska samfundets årsbok* 1954–1955, pp. 291–295. Earlier biographers had assumed that Stiernhielm went through the elementary-school in Västerås.

⁴² Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria*, vol. 2, Stockholm 1975, pp. 267–271.

ancestry, education, benefactors and early career (chapters 3–7). He then turns to Columbus' qualities as a biographer in *Roo-mål eller Mål-roo* (ch. 8). Next he describes the fateful event of 13 July 1641, when Stiernhielm injured his right hand in a tumult that originated in the rivalry and tensions between the German Baltic nobility and Swedish civil servants in Livonia (ch. 9). He supplies illustrations of Stiernhielm's handwriting before and after the injury (pp. 70–71). Twelve chapters then follow, in which Olofsson elucidates Stiernhielm's scholarly, scientific and literary achievements from various thematic points of view – as a court poet (ch. 10), as a mathematical scientist (ch. 11), as an ideologue of the concept of nobility, where his meritocratic views are proved from the Hercules poem (ch. 13), as a linguistic theorist (ch. 14), as a philosopher (ch. 15), as a master of literary expressionism (ch. 16), as the father of Swedish artistic poetry in the use of metre, rhetorical devices, and word choice, particularly as the author of the Hercules poem with the intricate modern debate on the author's motives (ch. 17), as the in modern times disputed writer of *Bröllops besvär ihugkommelse*, i.e. "Memories of dear wedding troubles" (ch. 18), as a Latin poet (ch. 19), as a writer of obscene poetry (ch. 20), and as a jurist in the Swedish legal commissions of 1642 and 1643 and as a military councillor and a member of parliament (ch. 21). The author also calls attention to Stiernhielm's fate as a landlord in the Baltic provinces (ch. 12). Olofsson has succeeded in his aim of overcoming two obstacles to accessibility for modern readers – the Latin barrier that surrounds Stiernhielm's writings in quotations in previous secondary sources, and the orthography of 17th-century Swedish. Olofsson filled a lacuna, namely the absence of a biography that integrates and unifies various earlier research findings and observations.

The 1998 conference at Tartu University on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of Stiernhielm's birth resulted in a programme of the conference⁴³ and a conference volume with 23 articles on different aspects of Stiernhielm's life and work.⁴⁴ Stig Örjan Ohlsson contributed an article to the programme called "Georg Stiernhielm. Estonian official and father of Swedish poetry". The articles in the conference volume are generally innovative rather than conventional, aiming to place the scholarly, scientific and literary work of Stiernhielm within its intellectual and societal contexts. Stiernhielm's proposal for Swedish grammatical and rhetorical terminology is

⁴³ *Internationellt tvärvetenskapligt Stiernhielms-symposium: Tartu universitet, 5–7 VIII 1998, Tartu 1998* (107 pages).

⁴⁴ *Stiernhielm 400 år: Föredrag vid internationellt symposium i Tartu 1998*, edited by Stig Örjan Ohlsson och Bernt Olsson, Stockholm 2000 (368 pages).

edited by Stig Ö. Ohlsson together with an introductory exposition of his Finnish-Ugric kinship theory (pp. 199–217). His phonosemantic and morphological views are explained by Herbert Blume in the context of Swedish Gothicism and German Baroque linguistic thought. Stiernhielm's use of dialectal words is compared with that of contemporary author Agneta Horn by Gösta Holm, and his poetic usage is discussed in relation to his epigones by Bernt Olsson. There are also articles on David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl's portrait of Stiernhielm by Göte Ask, on Stiernhielm's relation to the court ballet by Gunilla Dahlberg, on his circle of acquaintances as it evolved during the course of his life by Thomas Lawrence, on Stiernhielm as a lawyer and jurist by Kjell Åke Modéer, and on his world view in its political and irenic contexts by Erland Sellberg, who argues against Nordström's positivist historiography, which makes Stiernhielm a pansophical pioneer of the scientific revolution with the same or competing standing as Aristotle and Descartes. Moreover, there is an article by Gunnar Pipping on Stiernhielm's standardization of the system of weights and measures, another article by Rolf Ohlson on Stiernhielm's innovative contributions as a metrologist, a discussion of Stiernhielm as a Latin poet by Birger Bergh, a new interpretation of the poem *Hercules* as a manifesto against the waves of French-inspired libertinism by Kurt Johannesson, and an analysis of Stiernhielm's classicizing conception of poetry in the self-biographic poem *Emblema authoris* by Jesper Svenbro.

Literary historian Bernt Olsson (1929–2013) is the author of the article on Georg Stiernhielm published in 2007–2011 in the Swedish biographical dictionary.⁴⁵ He accounts for Stiernhielm's career and scholarly and literary works in chronological order. After listing the dates of Stiernhielm's birth, studies and career and commenting on his ancestry and education, Olsson reviews his early linguistic theory on transformational grammar and phonosemantics. Olsson then describes the task imposed on Stiernhielm at the Swedish Law Commission 1642–45 to publish the provincial laws of Westrogothia and Sudermania. After that he discusses his activity as a geometrician in *Archimedes reformatus* (1643) and as a Swedish poet in the 1640s in the Swedish versions of ballets and the poem *Hercules*. He also pays attention to the language-mixing of *Discursus astro-poeticus* (1658), which in allegorical form represents the political events in Europe during 1657–1658 up to the Peace of Roskilde.⁴⁶ Like

⁴⁵ Olsson, "Stiernhielm, Georg", *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 33, Stockholm 2007–2011, pp. 431–443.

⁴⁶ Latin is here mixed with different European languages in order to stylistically characterize typical ethnic and linguistic features of the peoples of Europe.

Nordström, he argues that Stiernhielm developed his natural philosophy under the impact of Jan Amos Comenius. He refers to Stiernhielm's publication of the Gothic Gospels of *Codex Argenteus* together with the Swedish, Latin and Icelandic versions, but does not mention the important preface (viz. *De linguarum origine praefatio*). Finally, he ponders on the diverse modern views on Stiernhielm, in particular Columbus' image of Stiernhielm as a scholar possessing a Stoic calm, unmoved by the vicissitudes of human life, expressed not least in what he asked to be his epitaph: *Vixit, dum vixit, laetus*. All in all, Olsson makes a synthesis of 20th-century research on Stiernhielm.

2.1.3 Aim and scope

The biographical account below aims to outline Stiernhielm's course of life. This is partly justified by the fact that there is no previous biography in English. It is also important as a framework for the development of his linguistic authorship and I will consequently focus on matters that guided his formation and development as a linguistic theorist: his academic studies abroad, his acquaintance with Johannes Bureus from 1624 onwards in the latter's capacity as an antiquarian, lexicographer and linguist, his encounter with Johan Skytte in the latter's role as a Ramist educator, his intellectual networking with foreign philologists during his journey to the Netherlands from late 1648 to early 1649 and at the court academy of Queen Christina, and quite generally his connections with the court and Government during the reign of Queen Christina.

2.2 Ancestry, studies and early career

2.2.1 Birthplace and ancestry

At sunrise on 7 August 1598,⁴⁷ Göran – often spelled Jöran, as it is pronounced – Olofsson was born to Olof Markvardsson (1551–1647) and his wife Karin Matsdotter. According to the *Personalia*, his parents “hastened to bring him to the sacrament of baptism”, likely at Vika church. They lived on the estate *Gammelgården* in Kniva, a village situated in the parish of Vika in the county of Kopparberget in south-western Dalecarlia.⁴⁸ This place of birth is mentioned by

⁴⁷ Stiernhielm, ms. F.d. 4:3, envelope 1 (a horoscope for himself), fol. 1r: “Natus est Georgius Olai Lilia anno 1598, mense Augusto, die 7, hora 4.18 ante meridiem”, and F.d. 6, fol. 23v. “1598 die 7 Aug(usti) natus GS sub exortu solis.” This date of birth is also given in the *Personalia* on Stiernhielm.

⁴⁸ “Gamblegården” is located on a historical map of the Copper Mountain districts, *Tabula geographica över Kopparbergslagen* in 1640. For a more detailed historical map, see Bertil Boëthius, *Kopparbergslagen fram till 1570-talets genombrott*, Uppsala 1965, the attachment “Karta över Kopparbergslagen vid 1500-talets mitt”. For the parish of Vika, see Figure 28 below. Cf. Olofsson, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 6.

Stiernhielm himself and in the *Personalia*.⁴⁹ It is confirmed by land register records.⁵⁰ Olof Markvardson owned several estates, and around 1615 he moved to another one in the vicinity, called *Diskarvet*. In most of the early modern biographies it is mistakenly assumed that Stiernhielm was born on some of the neighbouring estates, such as *Diskarvet* or *Svartskär* (actually *Svarttjärn*) in Kniva.

Stiernhielm had three brothers, Lieutenant Johan Lilia, who served in the Dala regiment until 1636 and then in the naval artillery until 1642, Lieutenant-commander Lorentz Lilia, who served in the Navy and fell in the Danish-Swedish war in 1658, and Daniel (Lilia?), and one sister, Anna (–1638).⁵¹

As a mining landowner, his father had shares in Falu copper mine. For some years (1616–1620) he served as a bailiff of the Swedish Crown in eastern Dalecarlia, and during that time he gave accommodation to King Gustavus Adolphus at one occasion. His ancestors had been owners of mining farms – “bergsmän” – for several generations since the first half of the 15th century, when the Danish ancestor by name Olaf Nielsen migrated from Denmark to Sweden, according to the table established by the Vasa kings’ genealogist Ludvig Rasmusson (1520–1594).⁵² The tradition that the

⁴⁹ On the inside cover of the Swedish Bible of his wife Cecilia Burea, *Biblia thet är all then helga skriff på swensko*, Stockholm 1618, Stiernhielm states: “Anno D. N. 1598 die 7 Augusti circa ortum ☉ apud Cuprimontem in villa Gamblegården in Knifva natus sum Georg Stiernhielm parentibus Olao Marquardsson et Catharina Mattsdotter.” See copy no. 2 of this Swedish Bible edition at UUB (shelfmark Rar. 10:98 St. fol.). “Stiernhielm’s personalier”, *Svenska Akademiens samlingar*, ms. 291, envelope 3, 1r: “född wedh Kopparberget i Wijka sochn och Gamblegårdhen.” In 1928, a monument was raised on the site of the ruined foundations of this estate.

⁵⁰ Helmer Lagergren, “Georg Stiernhielms födelseort: ej Svartskär eller Diskarvet utan Gammelgården i Kniva”, *Dalarnas hembygds-förbunds tidsskrift*, vol. 3, 1923, pp. 129–137.

⁵¹ Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm*, vol. 3:2, pp. 232–233. The information in Swartling (*G. Stiernhielm*, p. 7, note 4) is thereby superseded. Anna married the copper-mining farmer Thomas Kröger. For their children and their economic ruin in 1638, which also brought about the ruin of his father-in-law Olof Markvardsson and disinherited Stiernhielm, see Wieselgren, *ibidem*, pp. 233–238.

⁵² According to Stiernhielm’s own genealogy (ms. Palmsköld. 243, UUB, pp. 3 and 5) his ancestors – with addition of localities and approximate life times from Gustaf Elgenstierna, *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor*, vol. 7, Stockholm 1932, pp. 653 f. and Carl Szabad (ed.), *Supplement till den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor*, vol. 2 (2008), pp. 925–926 – were as follows: Nils Olufsson: Olaf Nielsen “who came from Denmark and brought a star” (in his coat of arms); Olof Olufsson (d. 1498) at Främsbacka, who was married to Ingeborg Jakobsdotter Svinhuvud; Markvard Olufsson at *Storgården* in Kniva, who flourished 1473–1499 and was married to Barbro Eriksdotter; Olof Markvardsson at *Storgården* in Kniva, who flourished 1534–1553 and was married to Kerstin Andersdotter, whose father was Anders Larsson Lillie af Ökna (1449–1529); Markvard Olufsson, who

family migrated from Denmark finds support in historical family research using DNA, according to which it is established that the *Stjärna* family has a Y-DNA structure that is typical of Central Europe some hundred years before the *Stjärna* family emerged in the history of Sweden in the 15th century. In that case, Wieselgren (1948: 6) rightly considered the name Markvard a sign of foreign descent. The family's period of residence in Denmark appears to have been an intermediate stage of its migration from Germany to Sweden.⁵³

Through marriages with members of the Dalecarlia and Vestmannia nobility, the *Stjärna* family soon established itself as the leading dynasty of mining farmers at Copper Mountain. In the mid-16th century, they were, however, in decline and lost their exemption from taxes and accordingly their economic and social status as minor nobility ("frälseadel").⁵⁴ The family displayed a six-pointed star on its coat of arms on the shield and between the tassels of the helmet.

2.2.2 Schooling in Rudbeckius' private college in Uppsala

According to the *Personalia*, Stiernhielm's parents took care to have their son instructed "in true Christianity" and "literary arts". Göran thus passed some years at "schools, colleges and academies in the country with the greatest distinction and praise of his preceptors." He is said to have surpassed the fellow pupils in terms of memory and intellect. By his universal talent (*ingenium universale*) he comprised "everything that can be known or every science."⁵⁵

Stiernhielm can have been a pupil in the school of Västerås before he was educated at the private college of Johannes Rudbeckius

flourished at Storgården 1549–1598 and also possessed *Diskarvet*, *Kopparvet*, *Gammelgården* and *Staberg*. He was married to Cecilia Gregersdotter and was the father of Olof Markvardsson. Gabriel Anrep, *Svenska adelns ättar-tavlor*, vol. 4, p. 185, and Szabad, *Supplement*, omit Olof Olofsson among Stiernhielm's ancestors.

⁵³ Referring to the Y-DNA (the male chromosome), Norstedt, "Dimmorna kring Stjärnasläkten skingras med DNA", *Släkthistoria* 2018:2, argues: "Släkten tillhör haplogrupp R1a och den karakteristiska mutationen heter YP6378. [...] Stjärnagrenen som i mänsklighetens Y-DNA-träd kallas R1a-YP6378 har ingen känd koppling till Sverige före 1400-talet. Det är däremot tydligt utifrån placeringen i trädet att det finns ett ursprung i Centraleuropa några hundra år tidigare. Detta ger ett visst stöd för att Olof skulle kunna 'vara kommen av Danmark', i så fall en etapp i förfädernas flyttning söderifrån." See also the same, Norstedt, "Stjärnasläktens vid Kopparberget DNA och förhistoriska ursprung", *Släkt och Hävd* 2017, pp. 215–216 with a genealogical DNA-table.

⁵⁴ Olofsson, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 17.

⁵⁵ "Stiernhielm's personalia", fol. 1v, edited by Wieselgren (1937), p. 79: "har han [...] alt hwad han hörde och läste snart fatta [...] och hade han ett ingenium universale [...], dy det var intet nestan något scibile eller weetskap, som kunde komma i menniskeliga kundskap, det han ickie hade lust att fatta."

(1581–1646)⁵⁶ in Uppsala. Apparently he was enrolled in early 1612 at the age of about thirteen years.⁵⁷ Stiernhielm was taught scholastic philosophy in its then re-emerging neo-Aristotelian form that Rudbeckius introduced in Sweden. In addition to neo-Aristotelian logic and metaphysics,⁵⁸ he studied classical philology with a focus on the acquisition of linguistic ability in Latin. His teacher of Latin was Jacob Boose Rudbeckius (1583–1636), brother of Johannes Rudbeckius. The college records tell that on 7 October 1612 Georgius Olai, with the regional designation Cuprimontanus, i.e. “from Copper Mountain county”, recited by heart the second book of Caesar’s *De bello Gallico*.⁵⁹ One month later he declaimed by heart Cicero’s first speech against Catiline.⁶⁰ He continued his studies until June 1613, when the college was closed as a consequence of the academic controversy between Johannes Rudbeckius and Johannes Messenius (1579–1636).⁶¹ We do not know whether Stiernhielm continued his studies at Uppsala for another year or so before embarking on his educational journey abroad. No registration of a Georgius Olai is recorded in 1613 and 1614.

At the initiative of Johannes Rudbeckius (who himself had studied at Jena and Wittenberg), Stiernhielm and other pupils of the college continued their education at German Lutheran universities. Uppsala University had been reinstated in 1593, but the medieval practice of going abroad to study theology or law did not cease.⁶² The academic

⁵⁶ Besides his directorship of the college (*Collegium privatum*), Johannes Rudbeckius was professor of mathematics, Hebrew and theology at Uppsala University until June 1613. In 1619, he became Bishop of Västerås and played an important part as educator of his diocese. At his installation as professor of Hebrew in 1610 he gave a public speech “On the importance and highness of Hebrew” (Om det hebreiska språkets värde och höghet) which is edited in *Johannes Rudbeckius akademiska högtidstal*, Lund 1922, pp. 69–86.

⁵⁷ Sten Lindroth, “Stiernhielms studier i Uppsala”, *Lychnos* 1954–1955, p. 291.

⁵⁸ Lindroth, *ibidem*, p. 293. The college held the key writings of two neo-scholastic philosophers, Jacopo Zabarella (1533–1589) and Francisco Suarez (1548–1617).

⁵⁹ *Acta, hoc est lectiones, declamationes, disputationes et alia exercitia anni M.DC.XII in collegio privato M. Johannis Rudbeckii Nericii [...] ab eius discipulis et eiusdem collegii notariis annotata et divulgata*, Stockholm 1613, p. A4v: “Loco declamationis ordinariae Latinae nonae memoriter recitavit Georgius Olai Cuprimontanus librum secundum Caesaris de bello Gallico.” See Sten Lindroth, “Stiernhielms studier”, p. 292. Cf. Sellberg, “Stiernhielms världsbild”, pp. 143–144.

⁶⁰ *Acta, hoc est lectiones [...]*, Stockholm 1613, p. B2v.

⁶¹ Lindroth, “Stiernhielms studier”, p. 293. The controversy is described by Claes Annerstedt, *Uppsala universitets historia*, vol. 1. It was related to the disagreement between Charles IX and Uppsala University. In 1609 King Charles had appointed Johannes Messenius as professor of jurisprudence. Cf. Sellberg, *ibid.*, pp. 140–142.

⁶² The main goals of Swedish students in the 13th and 14th centuries had been Paris and Bologna, in the 15th Prague and Leipzig, and in the 16th Rostock, Wittenberg

and educational journey, which was called *peregrinatio*,⁶³ served a dual purpose for Swedish students and young noblemen: it brought them into closer contact with the continental intellectual culture and offered them opportunities to obtain a wider knowledge of political circumstances outside the borders of the fatherland.⁶⁴

2.2.3 Foreign university studies: external course

According to the *Personalia*, because of his great endowments Stiernhielm went abroad “to the most prominent universities, particularly in Germany”. He matriculated on 7 September 1614 at the University of Helmstedt as Georgius Olai Cuprimontanus Svecus.⁶⁵ The fact that he studied in Helmstedt as early as in 1614 has gone unnoticed by earlier biographers.⁶⁶ Nordström (1924) suggested that the former of the two Swedish brothers (*fratres Sueci*)

and Greifswald. In the 17th century, German universities retained their role as the main educational centres for Swedish students, but in the former part of the century the University of Leiden attracted the largest number of Swedish students, because of the Thirty Years War. For the various destinations and objectives of medieval and early-modern Swedish educational journeys, see Sverker Sörlin, *De lärδας republik – Om vetenskapens internationella tendenser*, Arlöv 1994, pp. 61–67 and 120–127. As far as the 17th century is concerned, see also Lars Niléhn, *Peregrinatio Academica. Det svenska samhället och de utrikes studieresorna under 1600-talet*, Lund 1983, the chapters “Svenska studenters resor utrikes” (The foreign journeys of Swedish students) and “Svenska peregrinationer under 1600-talet” (Swedish educational journeys abroad in the 17th century), pp. 150–167, where the author treats the enrolments of Swedish students at the following German universities: Altdorf, Helmstedt, Wittenberg, Tübingen, Rostock, Jena, Königsberg, Frankfurt am Main, Marburg, Strassburg, Leipzig, Giessen, Kiel, Halle, and Greifswald, and at Dutch universities (Leiden, Groningen, Franeker, Utrecht, and Harderwijk). Cf. Sörlin, *De lärδας republik*, p. 127.

⁶³ In the primary sources, the study tour is simply called *peregrinatio*. Sörlin (1994: 120; 123) makes a distinction between *peregrinatio academica* and *peregrinatio erudita*, the latter of which he equates with the grand tour of young noblemen from the 17th century onwards. As far as the Swedish nobility is concerned, the latter phenomenon is explored by Ola Winberg in his doctoral thesis titled *Den statskloka resan: adelns peregrinationer 1610–1680*, Uppsala 2018.

⁶⁴ Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 10.

⁶⁵ *Die Matrikel der Universität Helmstedt/ Album Academiae Helmstadiensis*, bearbeitet von Paul Zimmermann, Band 1, Abteilung 1, Hannover 1926, p. 239, for the autumn semester of 1614: “Georgius Olai, Cuprimontanus, Svecus.”

⁶⁶ Swartling (1909: 7) supposed that Stiernhielm began his university studies at Greifswald on 17 September 1614. Nordström, *Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, p. VII, discovered that this is a mistake for 17 September 1615, but did not call attention to the register of the University of Helmstedt. Other biographers, such as Christian Callmer, *Svenska studenter i Wittenberg*, Stockholm 1976 (Skrifter utgivna av personhistoriska samfundet 17), p. 70 (no. 371), certainly notice that Stiernhielm registered at Helmstedt, but record an incorrect date, viz. on 2 January 1616. This error is repeated by Bernt Olsson in his article in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*.

Georgius Olai and Israel Olai, who enrolled at Rostock University in February 1614,⁶⁷ may be identical with Stiernhielm.⁶⁸

A short time after his matriculation at Helmstedt, he continued his studies at the University of Wittenberg, where he registered under the name of Georgius Olai Wichoeus – “of the Vika district” – on 9 November 1614. Wichoeus is a variant of the more common spelling Vichaeus. After about one academic year he moved on to Greifswald, where he registered at the University on 17 September 1615 under the name of Georgius Olai together with two other Swedes (Johannes Petri and Laurentius Laurentii).⁶⁹ Early the next year, on 9 January 1616, he acted as respondent to the thesis *Dissertatio tertia de coeli partibus astris*, that is “Third dissertation on stars as bodies of heaven”, which formed part of the chairman-author Alexander Christiani’s series of publications on Aristotelian astronomy. On the title-page Stiernhielm adopts for the first time the name Lilia,⁷⁰ which he drew from a relative of his paternal grandfather, namely the nobleman Knut Andersson Lillie of Ökna (–1546), who was councillor, chief judge and knight during the reign of Gustav Vasa.

We do not know how long Stiernhielm remained at the University of Greifswald on this occasion. In the *Personalia* it is stated that he studied at the University of Strasbourg, a piece of information that Swartling and Nordström saw no reason to call in question. In earlier research, it is supposed that he also stayed at the high school of Herborn. Though Stiernhielm probably visited both these educational institutes, his surname – in different configurations as Olai, Cuprimontanus, Vichaeus and Lilia – do not occur in the registries.⁷¹

Since a Georgius Olai is recorded as having registered at Uppsala University in 1618 (2 February), it was previously assumed that Stiernhielm made a brief return to the fatherland in 1618, but this

⁶⁷ *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock*, vol. III (1611–1694), herausgegeben von Dr. Adolph Hofmeister, Rostock 1895, p. 12.

⁶⁸ Nordström, *Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, p. VI, note 3. However, in an article on the extent of Stiernhielm’s library, Otto Walde, “Om Georg Stiernhielms bibliotek: några anteckningar” in *Donum Grapeanum. Festskrift tillägnad överbibliotekarie Anders Grape*, Uppsala 1945, p. 112, demonstrates that the brothers Georg and Israel are sons of Olaus Canutii Helsingius, vicar of Stora Tuna. He refers to J.F. Muncktell, *Westerås stifts herdaminne*, vol. 2, Uppsala 1844, p. 391.

⁶⁹ Ernst Friedländer (ed.), *Aeltere Universitätsmatrikel. II Universität Greifswald*, erster Band, Leipzig 1893, p. 421.

⁷⁰ Stiernhielm called himself Georgius Lilia until 1633, when he began to use his noble surname Stiernhielm or the double surname Lilia Stiernhielm until the end of May 1634. In official records he was called Lilia or Lillie as late as 1642.

⁷¹ Gottfried Zedler und Hans Sommer, *Die Matrikel der Hohen Schule und des Paedagogiums zu Herborn*, Wiesbaden 1908; Gustav C. Knod, *Die alten Matrikeln der Universität Strassburg 1621 bis 1793*, Strasbourg 1897–1902.

student is to be identified as a son of Olaus Jonae Chrochius, vicar of Norrala in the county of Helsingia. However, the *Personalia* tell that Stiernhielm returned to his native country after some years of studies and visited his parents, who are said to have been pleased with his progress. The *Personalia* then state: “And as he still was young and inclined for travelling, he set off again for a ‘peregrination’ and learned the laws and customs of several peoples, the state and rule of republics and the principal languages and tongues.”⁷²

Stiernhielm returned to Germany, but information about where he studied is scanty. In his collection of stories, Columbus tells that his father Jonas Columbus studied at Wittenberg and Helmstedt at the same time as Petrus Helsingius,⁷³ Stiernhielm (“then called Göran Lillja”) and other Swedes.⁷⁴ Nordström proves that Jonas Columbus undertook his educational journey in Germany between the spring and autumn of 1622. Stiernhielm travelled to the Netherlands after his encounter with Columbus, at the earliest in the summer of 1622. It is likely that he stayed at the University of Leiden, though he is not found in the catalogue of matriculation. He may have followed the courses of prominent Dutch classical scholars, of Daniel Heinsius (d. 1655) in political science, of Gerard Vossius (d. 1649) in rhetoric and of Johannes Meursius (d. 1639) in history. The fact that he was familiar with some rare Dutch publications on etymology already around 1630 (see Vol. 2, Section 15.1) supports the assumption that he studied in the Dutch Republic. It is less probable that he visited the Spanish Netherlands.⁷⁵

In winter and spring 1624, Stiernhielm assisted his former teacher Johannes Rudbeckius in his reformation of the educational system in the diocese of Västerås, where the latter had been ordained bishop in 1619 and founded a high school (*Gymnasium Arosiense*) in 1623. According to the *Personalia*, Rudbeckius appointed Stiernhielm a

⁷² “Stiernhielm’s personalier”, *Svenska Akademiens samlingar*, ms. 291, envelope 3, fol. 1v; Wieselgren, “Personalerna över Stiernhielm” *Svio-Estonica* 1937, p. 79: “Och såsom han ännu var ungh och hadhe lust at förfahra världen, begaf han sigh till peregrination på nytt igen och inhempstadhe åtskillige nationers lagh och sedher, republiqvernas stat och regeringh, dee förnämste spräck och tungomåhl.”

⁷³ Petrus Jonae Helsingius ((1592–1663), subsequently vicar of Mora (1629–) and Falun (1641–), called ‘mäster Per’ by Columbus.

⁷⁴ Columbus, *Mål-roo eller Roo-mål*, in Hesselman’s edition (1935), p. 10, § 21.

⁷⁵ Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm. Hans lif och verksamhet*, p. 14, n. 2, argues that Stiernhielm visited “Belgium”, since he copied the epitaph of the Flemish humanist Justus Lipsius’ tomb in Leuven (ms. F.d. 23). Nordström, *Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, p. XV, does not consider this proof conclusive, since Stiernhielm probably found the text of the inscription in the second edition of Lipsius’ *Fama postuma* (1613).

lecturer of eloquence in 1624.⁷⁶ In the spring Stiernhielm evidently travelled in the diocese with the support of the cathedral chapter of Västerås.⁷⁷ Stiernhielm is thus not to be identified with the student who registered at Uppsala University in February 1624 as Georgius Olai Dalecarlus.⁷⁸ During his stay in Sweden in 1624 he got to know Johannes Bureus, the first Swedish antiquarian and Kabbalistic mystic. They shared an interest in the creation of secret alphabets and encrypted letters which were then en vogue. The most famous work in the genre was Johannes Trithemius' art of polygraphy (*Libri polygraphiae VI*, finished in 1508, published 1518). The first proof of their acquaintance is an encrypted letter.⁷⁹ The encounter with Bureus also bent Stiernhielm's mind to conduct research on literary and linguistic Swedish antiquities, but before embarking on such studies he wished to complete his political education abroad.

In September 1624 Stiernhielm embarked on a new journey abroad as holder of a scholarship from the cathedral chapter of Västerås.⁸⁰ He wended his way to Greifswald, where this time he focused on political science. On 28 June 1625 he defended his thesis titled *Dissertatio politica de ornatu Reipublicae* for the degree of Master of Arts. It was written by the chairman Johannes Trogophorus (1580–1626) and formed the fourth book of *Politica togata* (1626), which deals with questions about the legitimacy of wars of conquest and of religion, the education of princes in warlike and literary pursuits, and the fortification and beautification of cities (Swartling 1909: 21). Whether Stiernhielm remained in Greifswald for the entire duration of his two-year scholarship is uncertain. According to Olof

⁷⁶ "Stiernhielm's personalier", *Svenska Akademiens samlingar*, ms. 291, envelope 3, fols 1r-2r; Wieselgren, "Personalierna över Stiernhielm" *Svio-Estonica* 1937, p. 79: "Anno 1624 kom han åther hem i Fäderneszlandet, då han fick tilfelle besökia Biskopen i Wästeråsz [...] Johann Rudbeck, huilken fick sådant behagh till honom för desz färdigheet och förfarenheet i åtskillighe tingh, att han strax offererade honom Lectoratum eloquentiae dersammestedes."

⁷⁷ Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 16, note 6, where documents that date between 2 January and 24 April in the archive of the cathedral chapter of Västerås show that Georgius Olai Cuprimontantus received travel allowances.

⁷⁸ Nordström, *Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, XVI. In his diary (*Dagbok/ Johannes Rudbeckius*, ed. by B. Rud. Hall, Stockholm 1938, p. 105), Rudbeckius mentions a Georgius Olai Dalecarlus from Näs in Dalecarlia, who studied 14 years in Västerås and 18 months in Uppsala and in June 1625 applied to the consistory of Västerås for being ordained. I thank Pia Letalick Rinaldi at the Diocesan Library of Västerås for this piece of information.

⁷⁹ Wieselgren (ed.), *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm.*, vol. 3:1, letter no. 1, p. 3.

⁸⁰ Swartling, *ibidem*, p. 17, note 1. Stiernhielm signed his obligation (*Georgii Olai obligatio*) on 9 September 1624 and promised not to attend Catholic universities. This letter is edited by Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter*, vol. 3:2, pp. 313–315.

Celsius the Younger (1753: 11), Stiernhielm visited “Germany, France, Italy, England and Holland.” Bernt Olsson argues that the knowledge of Italian conditions exhibited in Stiernhielm’s writings may suggest that he studied at the University of Padua.⁸¹ In a draft of a letter (in F.d. 20) to Eric Petri Niurenus (c. 1592–c.1667), probably written in spring 1625, he tells about his plans for a journey to France.⁸² He was forbidden to attend Catholic universities in obedience to the decree of Arboga,⁸³ but he was allowed to visit Huguenot centra of learning. Intentionally not matriculating, he may have transited through France and northern Italy according to the routes of *le grand tour de France* (Paris, Orléans, Saumur, Nantes, La Rochelle, Bourdeaux, Toulouse, Lyon or Marseille with Provence) and thence *il giro d’Italia* (Turin or Genua, Milan, Padua, and Venice).⁸⁴ He was back in Greifswald in May 1626, when he congratulated his countryman Johannes Olai Moraeus (born in Mora in 1596) with an epigrammatic poem in Latin, printed in the thesis *Cursus metaphysici*, defended in Greifswald on 16 May 1626.⁸⁵ Soon after he completed his two-year scholarship and returned to Sweden, specifically Västerås.⁸⁶

2.2.4 Nature and extent of Stiernhielm’s education abroad

The main locations of Stiernhielm’s foreign education were as we have seen the German universities of Wittenberg, Greifswald and Helmstedt. This conforms to the general pattern of Swedish educational journeys of the 17th century.⁸⁷ At these universities he met neo-Aristotelism in the form of a Protestant orthodox scholastics. In his collection of stories on Petrus Helsingius, Columbus states that the main subjects of study at these centra of learning were scholastic

⁸¹ Bernt Olsson, “Stiernhielm, Georg”, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 33, p. 432.

⁸² Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, vol. 3:1, p. 5: ”Gallias meditor, in transcurso colloquio tuo frui spero et aveo.” Cf. Nordström 1924, vol. 1, p. XVIII.

⁸³ Through the decree of Arboga in 1617 Catholics were prohibited to stay in Sweden and Swedish students were forbidden to visit Catholic universities abroad.

⁸⁴ Ola Winberg, *Den statskloka resan*, pp. 146, 181; cf. John W. Stoye, *The English travellers abroad 1604–1667*, London 1952, pp. 33–69 (France), 175–195 (Italy).

⁸⁵ Nordström, *ibidem*, p. XVIII. The poem is republished in *Samlade skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm*, 1:1 no. V; commented and translated *ibidem*, 1:2, pp. 582 f.

⁸⁶ Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 21, note 2. In his diary, *Memoriale quotidianum*, bishop Rudbeckius states for 30 May 1626 that he had sent Georg Lilia 10 silver thalers on the behalf of the cathedral chapter.

⁸⁷ Sörlin, *De lärdas republic*, p. 127; Niléhn, *Peregrinatio academica: det svenska samhället och de utrikes studieresorna under 1600-talet*, Lund 1983, p. 162 diagram III:3 on Swedish students matriculated at German universities in the 17th century. See also Sven Göransson, *De svenska studieresorna och den religiösa kontrollen från reformationstiden till frihetstiden*, Uppsala 1951.

philosophy and polemic theology (*Mål-roo eller roo-mål*, no. 21, p. 10). At the University of Helmstedt – which was a stronghold of the humanist and Aristotelian tradition of Philipp Melanchthon – Cornelius Martini had introduced neo-Aristotelian metaphysics in the early 17th century. In Wittenberg, Jacob Martini became a pioneer of neo-Aristotelian scholastics.⁸⁸

During his ten years of university education Stiernhielm concentrated especially on ancient and modern languages, politics, and history. These are the subjects he claims to be his main emphasis in his declaration of intent when applying for the scholarship in 1624,⁸⁹ which agrees with the biographical information in his first exercise in polygraphy from 1625, in which Stiernhielm calls himself a student of languages, politics, history, mathematics, jurisprudence and ethics.⁹⁰ His career as a judge and antiquarian and his linguistic and geometrical writings make it plausible that this enumeration not only serves as a polygraphic example of variability, but also in fact testifies to his main fields of studies. In his congratulatory Latin poem to his friend Johannes Aschatii Salemontanus on the occasion of his defence of a thesis in Uppsala on 17 April 1624, he calls himself a student of political science and European languages.⁹¹

Stiernhielm's systematic notebook *Loci communes* from his years of studies (F.d. 4:1)⁹² and disorganized notebooks (F.d. 20 and F.d. 23, surveyed in Section 3.1.2) give a testimony to the nature and scope of his education. Stiernhielm created his *Loci communes* on the

⁸⁸ The re-introduction of Aristotelism in Germany is described by P. Petersen, *Geschichte der aristotelischen Philosophie in protestantischen Deutschland*, Leipzig 1921. Cf. Nordström, *Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, pp. XXXI–XXXVII.

⁸⁹ Swartling, *ibidem*, p. 18. In his above-mentioned declaration he states: “Studiis igitur, iis praesertim, quae mihi iniunctae sunt politico [sic! *politices* to be expected], historiarum et linguarum. quibus et tam olim animum addixi sedulo et diligenter incumbere, ut et vita et viribus caste et sobrie instituere omni nisu satagam.” That is: “I will with all my force strive to sedulously and diligently turn my attention to the studies that particularly are imposed on myself, of politics, history, and languages, to which I even formerly devoted my mind, and to live chastely and soberly in my conduct and with all my ability.” The entire letter is edited by Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 3:1, pp. 313–315. Swartling and Wieselgren read *politico*, but the syntax requires the form *politices* (a Grecizing genitive singular with the omission of its main word, *artis*).

⁹⁰ Stiernhielm's linguistic works, Vol. 1, Section 12.1.2, unit 66 in the text edited.

⁹¹ Nordström and B. Olsson (eds.), *Samlade skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm*, Poetiska skrifter 1:1, p. 159; 1:2, p. 577. The poem in iambic dimeter is signed Georgius Lilia Cuprimontanus, politices et linguarum Europaeae studiosus.

⁹² The title of the volume is *Loci communes Georgii Stiernhielm in adolescentia collecti*, see the inside front cover of ms. F.d. 4:1. It consists of 297 pages, of which pp. 1–265 are paginated and pp. 266–297 unpaginated. The last page (p. 297) is the inside back cover. The topics are indexed by Stiernhielm himself on pp. 266–271.

model of that of Stobaeus, a 5th-century compiler of extracts from Greek authors. This notebook is an anthology of commonplaces, arranged in thematic order. The topics are politics and jurisprudence, (pp. 1–111), nobility (pp. 112–182 including excerpts from Cornelius Agrippa's *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus*, pp. 167–182), ethics on virtues and vices (pp. 183–233), philosophy (pp. 234 ff.), logic (pp. 246 ff., 263 ff.), Lullian art of invention (a synthesis of Lullian method of systematising the branches of learning drawn from Alsted's *Encyclopaedia*; pp. 252–254, partly edited in Appendix 2), poetic phrases (pp. 257–258), Lipsian phrases (p. 259), rhetorics (the figures of speech and thought according to Alsted, *Rhetorica*, 1616; pp. 261–262), index of concepts and headings in the present notebook (pp. 266–271), a sonnet (p. 272), excerpts from Alsted's *De copia rerum et verborum* (pp. 273–297), an abridgment of Cornelius Agrippa's art of invention (pp. 280–291), general syntax (a system of morpho-syntactic transformation from Alsted's *Encyclopaedia*; pp. 292–293, see Appendix 1), and a classification of ethics according to Aristotle (pp. 294–295). The notebook ends with a table of Alsted's method of commonplaces (p. 296). Alsted's system of universal knowledge and his conception of encyclopaedic learning obviously had a decisive impact on our author. In Alsted's writings he found a counter-current to neo-Aristotelism. Alsted's *Encyclopaedia* can be regarded as the culmination of post-Ramist German tradition.⁹³

Stiernhielm's book of commonplaces mainly consists of excerpts from scholarly treatises and belletristic literature of early modern Europe, but there are also quotations from Greek and Latin prose and poetry.⁹⁴ A large section deals with politics, where Stiernhielm made excerpts from political theorists, among others Niccolò Machiavelli, Jean Bodin, Justus Lipsius, Henning Arnisaeus, Johannes Althusius,

⁹³ On Alsted's scholarship, see Howard Hotson's intellectual biography: *Johann Heinrich Alsted 1588–1638: Between Renaissance, Reformation and Universal Reform*, Oxford 2001; idem, *Commonplace learning: Ramism and its German ramifications, 1543–1630*, New York 2007, pp. 224–273; and idem, *The Reformation of common learning. Post-Ramist method and the reception of the new philosophy, 1618–c.1670*, Oxford 2020, see pp. 284–285 for a comparison between Alsted and Bacon. Hotson writes, p. 284: "The points of contacts between Bacon and post-Ramist tradition were numerous and highly significant."

⁹⁴ Stiernhielm not only quotes from Classical Latin writers, but also from Late Latin poets, such as Claudian and Sidonius Apollinarius, and from prose writers, such as Apuleius and the Church Fathers. He shows a predilection for the works of Silius Italicus, in particular his *Punica*, where in book 15: 22–128 he found the crossroads motif of choosing between virtue and vice, a topic that he elaborated in his poem *Hercules*. Ancient Greek writers of poetry, epic and prose are to a lesser extent present. He quotes from Homer, Pindar, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato and Aristotle, and intensely studied the dramas of Sophocles. See Swartling 1909: 15 f.

George Buchanan and Innocent Gentillet, but primarily from Alsted, whose compendium of politics he copied at the beginning (pp. 3–5).⁹⁵

In the chapter on syntactic variation in his *Encyclopaedia*, Alsted demonstrates the possibility of syntactic variation in Latin grammar. Stiernhielm used this chapters as a starting point in his theory of linguistic variability in *Proteus rhetoricus* in its two different stages of elaboration (c. 1635 and c. 1649–1651 respectively).

Stiernhielm's study of ethics is clear from his commonplace book, where he systematizes the virtues according to Aristotle's division in the *Nicomachean ethics* (books 3–6) and in *Handbook of Rhetorics* (I, ix, 5, 1366b) and joins it together with Cicero's classification of virtues. Here he obviously sided with Aristotle's definition of the concept of virtue as the midpoint between two extremes.

On 7 September 1626 Stiernhielm was employed as lecturer in political science and ethics at the *gymnasium* of Västerås,⁹⁶ where he served as a supply teacher ("vikarie") of Johan Olofsson, ennobled Stiernhök (1596–1675), who in 1626–1628 was absent for renewed studies of jurisprudence abroad.⁹⁷

2.3 Early and middle career as an official

2.3.1 Administrative background and personal benefactors

Stiernhielm's career as a state official coincides with the emergence and organization of a centralized government of the realm. This historical process can be seen as the external framework of his life as a civil servant. His social network, which included persons in the upper nobility and the powerful political elite, made his advancement possible, despite the financial troubles he faced throughout his life. His principal benefactors were successively Johan Skytte, Bengt Skytte and Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie.

Stiernhielm was promoted to posts in several branches of the state administration, and his patrons held high civil offices that may be unfamiliar to modern readers, and it will be helpful to get a deeper understanding of the nature of these high positions. I will consequently make a digression on the organization of the central Swedish government and the administrative hierarchy with its main functions at the middle of the 17th century. I will also comment on

⁹⁵ Stiernhielm's political notes in his book of commonplaces are analysed by Nils Runeby, *Monarchia mixta: maktfördelningsdebatt i Sverige under den tidigare stormaktstiden*, Stockholm 1962, pp. 123–126. Runeby shows how Stiernhielm's notes – arranged under separate headings, e.g. *societas civilis*, *civitas*, *respublica*, *foedus*, *magistratus* and *aristocratia* – are related to contemporary political theory.

⁹⁶ Georgius Olai Lilia is registered as *politices et etices lector* on 7 September 1626 in *Album scholae Arosiensis* 1618–1650, edited by W. Molér, Västerås 1905.

⁹⁷ Alvar Nelson, "Johan Stiernhök", *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 33, p. 443.

Stiernhielm's first patron Johan Skytte in his role as a commoner who as a civil servant reached higher than Stiernhielm and had a different identity as an official. While Skytte developed a professional civil servant identity, Stiernhielm developed the role of the researching civil servant or the civil-servant-researcher. This is important for a fair evaluation of whether he fulfilled his duties as director of the National Board of Antiquities and the Royal Archives, the offices of *riksantivarie* and *riksarkivarie*.

The Crown was in need of educated civil servants for the new system of education with its trivial schools, high schools (*gymnasia*) and universities, as well as for the judiciary at the lower instances of district councils (*häradssting* and *lagmansting*) and magistracies, and for the Courts of Appeal, which were now established as the higher instance – in Stockholm in 1614 (*Svea hovrätt*), in Turku in 1623 (*Åbo hovrätt*), in Tartu (Dorpat) in 1630 (for the provinces of Livonia, Ingria and Carelia), in Jönköping in 1634 (*Göta hovrätt*) and in Greifswald in 1655 – and finally for public administration on local, regional and central levels.

According to the Instrument of Government (*Regeringsformen*) of 1634, the central government consisted of five High Boards of the Realm.⁹⁸ Svea Court of Appeal (*Svea hovrätt*), which had certain nationwide functions, the War Council (*Krigskollegium*), the Admiralty (*Amiralitetskollegium*), the Chancellery or Government Offices (*Kansliet*) and the Treasury (*Kammarkollegium*).⁹⁹ The High officials of the State were directors of these departments. They were the Lord High Seneschal (*riksdrotsen*, i.e. the Steward of the realm), the Lord High Constable (*riksmarsken*, i.e. the commander-in-chief of the land forces), the Lord High Admiral (*riksamiralen*, i.e. the commander-in-chief of the navy), the Lord High Chancellor (*rikskanslern*, i.e. the Chancellor of the realm) and the Lord High Treasurer (*riksskattmästaren*). These high offices, which are here enumerated in order of formal dignity, existed until the formation of the Carolean autocracy in 1680. The holders of these offices made up the regencies of Queen Christina (1632–1644) and King Charles XI (1660–1672). In the reign of Gustavus Adolphus and the regency and reign of Queen Christina, Axel Oxenstierna (1583–1654) held the office of Lord High Chancellor. In the latter

⁹⁸ Cf. Hans Helander, *Neo-Latin literature in Sweden in the period 1620-1720: stylistics, vocabulary and characteristic ideas*, Uppsala 2004, p. 205.

⁹⁹ Emil Hildebrand (editor), *Sveriges regeringsformer 1634–1809 samt konungaförsäkringar 1611–1800*, Stockholm: Norstedt, 1889, pp. 7–14 (§§ 6–15). For the Latin terms of the High Boards of the central government, see Helander, *ibidem*, p. 206, with reference to Joh. Simonius' speech *De auctoritate regia* (1626).

regency, Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie held the same office. He strived to play the same role as his great predecessor, whom he certainly overshadows as a patron of culture and arts, but hardly as an effective politician.

The Instrument of Government (*Regeringsformen*) confirmed the status of the Council of the Realm (*Riksrådet*) as an important institution. It was an assembly of about 25 members (called *riksråd*), with whom the king was expected to consult.¹⁰⁰ In general, these were the representatives of the landlords, but to reduce the power of the high nobility, the kings appointed commoners as state councillors. This was the highest civil office (with an annual salary of 1500 silver thalers in 1650) after the High officials of the State, who were chosen from this assembly. In the time of the Carolean autocracy, the holders of this office were retitled royal counsellors (*kungliga rådgivare*).

In his career as a civil servant, Stiernhielm typifies the rise of a nobility of bureaucrats (*noblesse de robe*), as a group distinct from the high aristocracy and the lower nobility (*noblesse d'épée*). One of the first examples is Johan Skytte (1577–1645), who arose as one of the leading statesmen during the reigns of Charles IX and Gustavus Adolphus. His father was a merchant in Nyköping, Bengt Nilsson with the byname *Skräddare*, i.e. “Tailor”. During his studies in Frankfurt, Wittenberg, and mainly Marburg in the 1590s, Skytte – then called Schroderus as a Latinized form of his father’s byname – acquired excellent ability in Latin eloquence and was profoundly influenced by the Ramist educational programme with its emphasis on the liberty to seek knowledge freely – independently of Aristotelism – and on the practical utility of the arts and sciences (see Section 2.3.3 below). After his return to the fatherland in 1602, Skytte soon became the tutor of prince Gustavus Adolphus together with the prince’s other tutor, Johannes Bureus (1568–1652). Skytte was ennobled in 1604 and reached the next highest office – councillor of the realm – in 1617. In 1622 he became the chancellor of Uppsala University. As a Ramist, Skytte reformed the university curriculum in the constitutions of 1625 and established a professorship of eloquence and political science (the chair of *professor Skytteanus*).¹⁰¹ In 1626, he founded a new educational institute for young Swedish noblemen, *Collegium Illustre*, in

¹⁰⁰ Hildebrand, *ibidem*, p. 5, § 5. See further Björn Asker, *Hur riket styrdes: förvaltning, politik och arkiv 1520–1920*, Stockholm 2007, pp. 89–90.

¹⁰¹ On Skytte’s intellectual contexts and achievements as a Ramist educator, see Jenny Ingemarsdotter, *Ramism, rhetoric and reform: an intellectual biography of Johan Skytte (1577–1645)*, Uppsala 2011.

Stockholm. On the recommendation of his friend Johannes Bureus, Skytte employed the well-educated Georg Lilia, a choice that most probably depended on Lilia's adherence to Alsted's post-Ramist method. Skytte summoned Stiernhielm to be a teacher at *Collegium Illustre* at the start of 1627.

2.3.2 *Stiernhielm's early development as a Swedish vernacular philologist: his acquaintance with Johannes Bureus*

In his studies abroad, Stiernhielm had apparently not devoted much time to Swedish antiquities and the old Swedish language, but soon after his return he started his work on Swedish lexicography, dating his first undertaking *Lexicon Gothicum philologicum* 16 July 1626 (ms. F.d. 10, title-page). This research was inspired by Johannes Bureus, the founder of antiquarian and linguistic research on the Swedish language. Bureus was the first to pursue a systematic study of the language of medieval Swedish documents, such as the law codes, for its own sake, with the aim of exploring Old Swedish and enriching the contemporary language. As an antiquarian, he was a lexicographer, grammarian, collector and editor of medieval Swedish and Icelandic literature, and an expert on the Swedish runes.¹⁰² His Old Swedish dictionary was certainly not published, but survives in manuscript (F.a. 13, *Lexicon Gothicum*, one volume comprising the entire alphabet, A–Ö, Royal Library, Stockholm). His grammar of old or contemporary Swedish, titled *Specimen primariae linguae Scanzianae*,¹⁰³ was printed in Stockholm in 1636 in the form of a large table, but is now lost.¹⁰⁴ To replace Latin terms, Bureus

¹⁰² For a survey of Bureus' antiquarian work in these fields, see Henric Schück, *Kgl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets Akademien. Dess förhistoria och historia, vol. 1: Antikvitetsstudiets början*, pp. 78–98. As regards Bureus as innovator of a linguistic-literary exploration of old Swedish texts, see Ståhle, *Vers och språk i Vasatidens och stormaktstidens svenska diktning*, Stockholm 1975, pp. 209–214. For a general introduction, see Matthew Norris, *A pilgrimage to the past: Johannes Bureus and the rise of Swedish antiquarian scholarship 1600–1650*, Lund 2016.

¹⁰³ J. Schefferus, *Svecia literata*, Holmiae/ Stockholm 1680, p. 51, gives the entire title: *Specimen primariae linguae Scanzianae continens declinationes nominum adjectivorum et substantivorum ut et syntaxin eorum*, that is “Specimen of the main Scandinavian language comprising the declensions of adjectives and substantives as well as their (morpho-)syntax.” The term *primaria lingua* refers to the concept of a main language rather than to an early period of the Swedish language.

¹⁰⁴ Hjalmar Lindroth, *J. Th. Bureus, den svenska grammatikens fader*, Stockholm 1911–12, pp. 34 f. He quotes from *Specimen primariae linguae Scanzianae* in later Swedish grammarians, Eric Aurivillius (1643–1702), *Grammaticae Svecanae specime* in 1684 (published by Gustaf Stjernström in 1884) and Jacob Boëthius (1647–1718), *Dissertatio de nonnullis ad cultum svetici sermonis pertinentibus paragraphis* in 1684 (reprinted by Stjernström in 1881). Lindroth mainly collected Bureus' grammatical observations from other works in manuscript or prints.

attempted to create a Swedish grammatical terminology.¹⁰⁵ In all probability, Stiernhielm was familiar with these attempts, when he proposed a Swedish linguistic terminology (Vol. 2, Section 17.1). Bureus was also a collector and editor of law manuscripts and a pioneer in studying of the Swedish runes.¹⁰⁶ As a specialist on runes and as a grammarian he applied phonetic perspectives. As a grammarian he documented dialectal varieties.

The idea that the Swedes were descendants of the Goths was the essence of the Swedish state ideology. The Government endeavoured to prove Sweden's Gothic national identity and the objective was to find evidence not only in antiquities such as the runes and in so-called Gothic linguistic documents, that is, the medieval Swedish law texts and the Icelandic sagas, but also in the history of the "Sveo-Gothic" language. Stiernhielm's encounter and acquaintance with Bureus gave him a new impulse in this direction. It was Bureus who led him to the study of both sets of "Gothic" linguistic documents, that is, the Old Swedish and Old Icelandic texts. Between 1625 and 1627 Bureus compiled most of his "Gothic" dictionary, *Lexicon Gothicum* (F.a. 13).¹⁰⁷ Stiernhielm was inspired to set about a similar project. He got access to Bureus' lexicographical drafts and began studying medieval Swedish law. The compilation of a Gothic dictionary (of Old Swedish and Old Icelandic) was defined, in the provisional state instruction in 1630 for Swedish antiquarians, as their main priority.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Sylvia Danielson, *Samuel Columbus' språkprogram i En Svensk språkskötsel*, Umeå 1976, pp. 27–28. In his series of lectures on the cultivation of Swedish in 1691 (*Een kort anledningh till rectitudinem linguae vernaculae*, UUB, Palmsköld 406), Petrus Lagerlöf (1648–1699) exemplifies how Bureus translated grammatical Latin terms into Swedish, *Petrus Lagerlöfs collegium 1691 angående vårt svenska språks cultiverande*, edited by Hans H. Ronge, Börje Tjäder and Gun Widmark, Uppsala 1999, p. 119 and p. 177. Lagerlöf refers to Bureus' Swedish grammar as *Måålrunga* according to Palmsköld 406, and this word is suggested as the Swedish counterpart of the term *grammatica* according to another manuscript.

¹⁰⁶ Lars Wollin, "Drömmen om runverket: Johannes Bureus och den äldsta runologin" in *Blandade runstudier 1* (Miscellaneous Runic studies 1), Uppsala 1992, pp. 173–201 (with a summary in English). Elisabeth Svärdström, *Johannes Bureus' arbeten om svenska runinskrifter* (with a summary in German), Stockholm 1936.

¹⁰⁷ Carl Ivar Ståhle, *Vers och språk i Vasatidens och stormaktstidens svenska diktning*, p. 419, footnote 505.

¹⁰⁸ "Dätta hafwa Rijkens råd af Antiquariis att förvänta: [...] 3. Ett lexicon på vårt mål, therutinnan alla gamla ord ordh uttydas som i laghböcker och frödor hittas." see H. Schück, *Kgl. Vitterhets, historie och antikvitets Akademien. Dess förhistoria och historia*, vol. 1, Stockholm 1932, p. 138. A further analysis is available in the PhD thesis of Johanna Widenberg, *Fäderneslandets antiqviteter: etnoterritoriella historiebruk och integrationssträvanden i den svenska statsmaktens antikvariska verksamhet 1600–1720*, Uppsala 2006.

From a wider perspective, Bureus is the first exponent of vernacular humanism in Sweden. After the breakthrough of Latin Renaissance humanism, a shift occurred from the study of Classical languages to the study of European vernaculars. In southern and central Europe, this transition occurred in the course of the 16th century. With the rise of territorial states in early modern Europe, languages began to be considered an expression of political and cultural identity¹⁰⁹ and linguistic studies on vernaculars or national languages were justified on patriotic grounds. As a linguistic patriot, Bureus regarded Swedish as a main language.¹¹⁰ He defined this concept as a language with its own script, own grammar and own poetry.¹¹¹ Bureus undertook patriotic linguistic research, but had been forbidden to travel abroad to study, since Prince Charles (the future King Charles IX) feared that the study of Swedish antiquities would be lost, if Bureus died abroad.¹¹² Stiernhielm continued Bureus' vernacular philology and took it to a higher level by integrating it with foreign linguistic research, in particular the continental European discussion of language origins and relationships.

In his treatise *En svensk ordaskötsel* (1678)¹¹³ Samuel Columbus gives information about Stiernhielm as a pupil of Bureus:

At the time of Johannes Bureus, Stiernhielm was a young man. As he had an eminent, curious and inquisitive mind, he got on well with the old man. Through this acquaintance a great amount of knowledge flowed from Bureus to Stiernhielm, who at that time was called Göran Lillia, particularly as he imbibed Swedish antiquities and the study of words, just as you usually become like the person with whom you associate.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Saara Haapamäki, *Studier i svensk grammatikhistoria*, Åbo 2002, pp. 35–36; and Lars Wollin, “Från Donatus till modersmålet. Kring de nordiska grammatikpionjärerna” in Marianne Alenius et alii (eds.), *Latin & nationalsprog i Norden* (Renässanstudier 5), København, pp. 207–209.

¹¹⁰ Haapamäki, *Studier*, p. 40–42.

¹¹¹ Haapamäki, *Studier*, p. 41. See the textual edition of the “Ihreska fragmenten” in Hjalmar Lindroth, *J. Th. Bureus. Den svenska grammatikens fader*, p. 74 f.

¹¹² In his diary entry of 8 January 1603, Bureus writes: “Befalte F[örsten] N[oster] at iagh intet skulle färdas utrijkes och sade at om du dör der ute så förkomma antiquitates.” That is: “Our Prince commanded me not to travel abroad and said that, if you die out there, the (study of Swedish) antiquities will be lost.” See “Anteckningar av Johannes Thomae Agrivillensis Bureus”, ed. by Gustaf Edvard Klemming in *Sammlaren*, vol. 4 (1883), p. 27.

¹¹³ For a survey of key ideas in this treatise (such as language legitimacy, language origins and relationships, views on the principles of orthography), see Haapamäki, *Studier*, pp. 49–51, 55–59 and 68–74.

¹¹⁴ *En Svensk ordaskötsel*, ed. by Sylvia Boström, Stockholm 1963, p. 54.

In his interaction with Johannes Bureus after his return to Sweden in 1626, Stiernhielm got to know the cartographer and land surveyor Andreas Bureus (1571–1646), a maternal cousin of Johannes Bureus. Andreas Bureus had adopted his relative Cecilia Larsdotter Burea after the death in 1612 of her parents Lars Engelbrektson Bureus (Andreas' brother), vicar of Riddarholmen (that is, the Knights' Islet, Stockholm) and Märta Eriksdotter.¹¹⁵ Stiernhielm married Cecilia Burea on 3 January 1630. They celebrated their wedding at Norrby, the manor of Andreas Bureus in the parish of Vidbo.

2.3.3 *Stiernhielm's development as a rhetorical theorist: the impact of Johan Skytte and the acquaintance with him and his sons*

As a follower of the French philosopher Petrus Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée, 1515–1572), Johan Skytte encouraged Stiernhielm's project of developing a system of grammatical and rhetorical variability and his exercises on polygraphy. As a Ramist educator, Skytte stressed the role of eloquence as the natural, non-Aristotelian logic of human thought. He defined eloquence as skill in grammar and rhetoric, the rules of which should be acquired by direct study of the usage and examples of the approved Latin authors. Eloquence was regarded as a functional and indispensable tool for public administration, jurisprudence, political debate, diplomacy, teaching, poetry, entertainment, and satire.¹¹⁶

The post-Ramist tradition of Alsted (see above under 1.2.3), along with Skytte's emphasis on the importance of eloquence, inspired Stiernhielm's linguistic theory and practice of grammatical and rhetorical systems of variability. When he began developing this premodern theory of generative grammar he conceived of it as a rhetorical instrument (*instrumentum rhetoricum*), by which the skills of eloquence would be cultivated more quickly and efficiently. He explained the generative devices of variability and transformability in morphology, syntax, semantics and argumentative strategies by examples. This conforms to the didactics of Ramism, according to which one should learn grammar and rhetoric from textual examples

¹¹⁵ Wieselgren, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 15. The filiation of Cecilia Burea is stated in a note of the inside front cover of the above-mentioned Stiernhielm family Bible: "Anno D(omini) N(ostri) 1603 Die 23 Novembr. inter 11 et 12 meridie nata est Cecilia Burea parentibus Laurentio Engelberti Bureo et Märtha Erichsdotter."

¹¹⁶ Barbro Lewin, *Johan Skytte och de skytteanska professorerna*, Uppsala 1985, p. 12 in an undocumented quotation from Kurt Johannesson: "Grammatiken, dialektiken och retoriken gav en generell kunskap om detta språk, som således kunde användas såväl för administration, rättskipning, politisk debatt, religiös undervisning och uppbyggelse som för dikt, underhållning och satir."

rather than abstract scholastic rules.¹¹⁷ In the tradition of the Spanish polymath, mathematician and mystic Raymund Lull (1232–1316), Stiernhielm designated his different systems as circles (*rotae*), which he supplied with zodiacal and planetary signs as marks of recognition. The earlier drafts of this work (in F.d. 6b and F.d. 4:1), were entitled *Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum* and the later *Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus* (Chapters 10–11 below). He also developed a practical universal instrument of eloquence called *Polygraphia* (ms. F.d. 13; see Chapter 12 below), a genre that joined cryptography with exercises on grammatical and rhetorical variability. Stiernhielm refined the latter aspect of this genre, at the same time as he retained the art of encrypted writing. His first attempt dates from 1625, and his final masterpiece was written as a birthday panegyric to the Queen of Sweden in 1650 (Section 12.4).

In the spring of 1627 (21 April), Skytte entrusted Stiernhielm with the private tutelage of his sons,¹¹⁸ Johan Skytte (1612–1636), Jacob Skytte (1616–1654) and Bengt Skytte (1614–1683). Stiernhielm developed close connections with the Skytte family, some of whose members he honoured with Latin poems.¹¹⁹ In 1632, Jacob Skytte, during his time as headmaster of Tartu University, furnished Stiernhielm with a copy of a handbook of rhetoric, *De eloquentia sacra et prophana* (second edition, 1626) by the Jesuit rhetorician Nicolas Caussin.¹²⁰ The connection with Bengt Skytte was the most important and lasting one, because Bengt shared his tutor's theory and practice of multilingual etymological lexicography¹²¹ with its

¹¹⁷ Kurt Johannesson, *I polstjärnans tecken. Studier i svensk barock*, Stockholm 1968, p. 26. In the review of this PhD thesis (*Samlaren*, vol. 98, 1968) Sven Delblanc argues that Stiernhielm was not inspired by Skytte and Ramism. In his handbook of Swedish rhetorical tradition, viz. *Svensk retorik från medeltiden till våra dagar*, Falun: Norstedts, 2005, p. 169 f. Kurt Johannesson argues again that Stiernhielm's rhetorical theory is related to the influence from Skytte and Ramism on him. As a matter of fact, Stiernhielm's transformational grammar is closely connected with the post-Ramist tradition in Alsted, whose generative grammar Stiernhielm used as point of departure (Vol. 1, Ch. 10–11 and Appendix 1).

¹¹⁸ F.d. 10 *Lexicon Gothicum philologicum*, fol. 174r: "Anno 1627, die 21 April. in disciplinam accepi illustres DDD. Schyttios Stockholmi". Swartling quotes this passage (*Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 22), but refers to the inside of the cover, though this statement is found on the page before the inside of the back cover.

¹¹⁹ For instance, the Latin epitaph to Vendela Skytte, the well-educated daughter of Johan Skytte and Maria Neaf (Näf), see Nordström and Olsson (eds.), *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, vol. 1:1, pp. 365–368. See also the Latin epigram in honour of Jacob Skytte, *ibidem*, 1:1, pp. 368–370.

¹²⁰ Otto Walde, "Om Georg Stiernhielms bibliotek", *Donum Grapeanum*, p. 126.

¹²¹ Bengt Skytte's great lexicographical enterprise survives under the title of *Sol praecipuarum linguarum subsolarium*, "The Sun of the main subsolar languages", as ms. Ihre 47 (464 pages), Uppsala University Library. There are also fragments at

underlying pansophical ideals. Later, as a state councillor, he was a patron of Stiernhielm.

After less than one and a half years as a lecturer at the school for young noblemen, in the summer of 1628 (18 July) Stiernhielm was on the recommendation of Johan Skytte employed as a civil servant clerk (*kanslist*) at the Government Offices,¹²² which at the time was a spring-board to higher offices. Shortly after, in 1628, he followed the Swedish army during the summer campaign in Prussia as a correspondence secretary,¹²³ a duty for which his knowledge of Latin and modern European languages made him well qualified. In 1629 (1 January) he was appointed a referendary in the Government Offices, a post that put him in charge of reporting on petitions and request. At that time this office had a salary of 800 silver thalers.¹²⁴

2.3.4 Official in Swedish Livonia, 1630–1648

After a short career as a lecturer at the high school of Västerås and at a school for young noblemen in Stockholm, and as a secretary at the royal offices in the field and in the capital, Stiernhielm served as a civil servant in the judiciary of Swedish Livonia for eighteen years (1630–1648). His career as a lawyer in this province is closely connected with the territorial expansion of the Swedish Great Power in the Baltic area and Skytte's administrative reforms there.

A few months after the Treaty of Altmark (13 September 1629) Skytte had been appointed governor-general of Livonia, Ingria and Carelia (13 November). Swedish dominion over the latter two provinces had been ratified at the Peace of Stolbova in 1617. The conquest was now followed by the organization of the administration of these provinces. Johan Skytte was instructed to transport Swedish troops from Livonia to the planned new theatre of war in Germany, to secure the supply of grain from the Baltic provinces to the Swedish army for new campaigns, and to reform the public administration, the systems of taxation and public transport, the judiciary, the church

the Diocesan Library of Linköping (ms. Språkvetenskap 2, 68 pp.) and at the Royal Library in Stockholm (112 pp.). See further A. Grape, *Ihreska handskriftsamlingen i Uppsala universitetsbibliotek*, part II, Uppsala 1949, pp. 43–45.

¹²² According to the *Personalia*, Skytte was so much pleased with the instruction of his sons that he recommended Stiernhielm to Gustavus Adolphus, who “appointed him Notarius Archivi and after that Referendarius in the Government Offices.”

¹²³ The National Estimates, “Rikshuvudboken”, for 1628 at National Archives of Sweden (shelfmark: “Kammarkollegiet Generalbokhålleriet: Rikshuvudböcker och förarbeten därtill 1573–1725”), vol. 26, p. 53, where Jöran Olofsson Lilia is mentioned as *referendarius correspondentiarum* with a salary of 533 silver thalers.

¹²⁴ “Rikshuvudboken” for 1629 at National Archives of Sweden, vol. 30, p. 46. Georgius Lillia is one of three referendaries with an income of 800 silver thalers.

organization, and the educational systems in the three provinces. Skytte aimed to transform the feudal system of the Livonian society, to break the powerful position and privileges of the Corporations and to achieve a levelling of the social classes by a circulation of the four Estates.¹²⁵ In so doing, he used Swedish educational and judiciary structures as a model.¹²⁶

In 1630, Skytte founded the Court of Appeal for Livonia, Ingria and Carelia in Tartu (then Dorpat). He chose the same city as the site of a high school, which two years later, by a royal letter of privileges – the same as the ones given to the universities of Uppsala and Åbo (Turku) – was transformed into a university, called *Academia Gustaviana*. In the administration of the judiciary, it was Skytte's policy that the Swedish provinces should obey Swedish law. To a large extent Skytte managed to implement this policy, but he did not succeed in subordinating the city courts of Tallinn and Riga to the jurisdiction of the Court of Appeal in Tartu; instead they retained the right to turn to the Svea Court of Appeal. On 6 September 1630, he instructed the High Court in Tartu to judge in lawsuits "according to Swedish law, regulations of the (Swedish) realm, precedents and good Swedish and Livonian customs and usages."¹²⁷ Skytte also established district courts for the countryside of Livonia, where the provision of justice had been neglected, as opposed to the relatively well-functioning courts in the major cities. In this lower instance, the judges were instructed to follow "Swedish law, common sense and reasonable provincial customs."¹²⁸

To carry out his reform of the judiciary, Skytte integrated the local high officials in Livonia as assessors in the High Court in Tartu, for instance two lord mayors of Riga and the son Wilhelm Ulrich of the third lord mayor (Johann von Ulrich). He also brought Stiernhielm with him early in 1630, when travelling overland to Livonia around the Bay of Bothnia and the Finnish Gulf. As governor-general, Skytte appointed Stiernhielm assessor of the Court of Appeal¹²⁹ and later judge of one of the district courts of Livonia, namely that of the

¹²⁵ Alvin Isberg, *Livlands kyrkostyrelse 1622–1695*, Stockholm 1968, pp. 57–58.

¹²⁶ Skytte's reforms in Swedish Livonia are explored by Ragnar Liljedahl, *Svensk förvaltning i Livland 1617–1634*, Uppsala 1933, pp. 273–540. The letter of instruction, dated 10 December 1629, does not survive, but a copy of it is printed in Ernst Hj. Lundström, *Bidrag till Livlands kyrkohistoria under svenska tidens första skede från Rigas intagande till freden i Oliva 1660*, Uppsala 1914, pp. 228 ff.

¹²⁷ Anna Christina Meurling, *Svensk domstolsförvaltning i Livland 1634–1700*, Lund: Gleerup, 1967, p. 45.

¹²⁸ Liljedahl, *ibidem*, p. 288.

¹²⁹ For a list of the other members of the Court of Appeal in Tartu in 1634 and 1643, see Meurling, *Svensk domstolsförvaltning*, p. 276.

county of Tartu (Fig. 30). He authorized Stiernhielm (Georg Lilia) to hold the latter office (of *Landtrichter*) on 20 May 1630. Stiernhielm swore the oath of a judge on 10 November. The next year, the Court of Appeal sent him with other assessors to ask the king's advice about the vague boundaries of its jurisdiction. When the deputation met Gustavus Adolphus in the royal headquarters at Werben in the principality of Brandenburg in August 1631, Stiernhielm took the occasion to apply for a renewal of his nobility, which was granted.¹³⁰

In the spring of 1633, Skytte founded a General Consistory – a supreme ecclesiastical court (*Supremum Consistorium*) – for the supervision of ecclesiastical matters, schools and nursing in Livonia under the chairmanship of a layman, and with clergymen and laymen as assessors. The purpose was to relieve the Court of Appeal from cases concerning these fields and also to strengthen the power of the state over the church and to diminish the influence of Herman Samsonius, Bishop of Riga. Stiernhielm was appointed one of the two lay members of this court in May 1633. The clergyman assessors were the two professors of theology at Tartu University. As district judge, an office he resigned in February 1638, Stiernhielm served as chairman of the lower Consistory, which was established in 1636.¹³¹ Quite understandably, after a couple of years he actually seems to have been overwhelmed with all these duties.

Because of the instruction of these lower and higher courts, he specialized in both Swedish and Livonian law.¹³² His study of medieval Swedish law had an impact on his development as a lexicographer and language renewer. In his lexicography he explained old Swedish words and phrases, and in his Swedish poetry he used archaic or archaizing Swedish and Icelandic as the stylistic device of the Gothic archaism. In this way, he was able to combine his lexicographical work, which he had just begun, with legal studies of old Swedish law. In 1639 he began to develop the assumptions that are the bases of his Swedish lexicography.

As assessor at the High Court of the Baltic provinces Stiernhielm received a salary of 350 silver thalers;¹³³ the full amount was paid

¹³⁰ Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 26. Cf. Stiernhielm's *Personalia* (fol. 2v).

¹³¹ Isberg, *Livlands kyrkohistoria*, pp. 43 and 51.

¹³² In a letter to Axel Oxenstierna from 1643, Stiernhielm states that he is qualified for the office of Deputy Chief Judge (vice President) of the Court of Appeal in Tartu, since he "is a Swede by his nationality, by his residence and citizenship a Livonian, by his civil status a nobleman, popular and of good esteem among the inhabitants of the province, an expert on the laws and customs of both nations, and one who does not violate justice out of a moderate regard for both of them." See Wieselgren (ed.), *Samlade skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm*, vol. 3:1, p. 106..

¹³³ Helmut Piirimäe, "Georg Stiernhielm and Tartu" in *Stiernhielm 400 år*, p. 90.

from 1633. As assessor of Livonia's General Consistory he earned 200 silver thalers in 1636. Stiernhielm also acquired estates. In 1634 he purchased at a low price Jaama manor and early in 1636 he obtained the neighbouring St. Jürghenhof, both situated at the eastern outskirts of Dorpat. In March 1636 he bought for a cheap price the estate of Wasula, 10 km north of the city, from a Scottish immigrant by name Hans Tennet. To confirm his right of possession against the city of Dorpat, he safeguarded it as a donation, which was ratified in 1639 by the Swedish Regency and later confirmed by the Queen.¹³⁴ In June 1640 he made an agreement with the city council according to which he exchanged St. Jürghenhof for Wasula.

Stiernhielm visited Sweden for revision cases in 1633 and 1636 as the representative of the Tartu Court of Appeal before the Council of the Realm, which was the supreme tribunal. In February,¹³⁵ March and April 1639 he undertook a journey to Sweden, which he justified by his wish to visit his parents (Swartling 1909: 36, n. 2), but which also aimed to ensure copyright of his different scholarly treatises, among others his rhetorical instrument *Proteus* and his dictionary *Adelruna seu Sibylla Sueo-Gothica* (see the Letter of Royal copyright in 1639, Section 3.3.2 below). When returning to Livonia – this time across the Sea of Alandia and overland around the Finnish Gulf – he brought with himself some manuscript documents of Old Swedish from the Archives together with Johannes Bureus' own etymological manuscript collections and some prints.¹³⁶ Here we find a Swedish paraphrase of the Pentateuch, the chronicle of King Olof, the law of Sudermannia, Diderick's saga on five Swedish kings, a print of Jesu Syrach's book of wisdom in Norwegian and the law of Westrogothia.

During his time as a lawyer in Livonia, Stiernhielm maintained close contact with the professors and the local Swedish students of *Academia Gustaviana*. Petrus Schomerus and Johannes Gezelius were his intimate friends.¹³⁷ Stiernhielm is one of the dedicatees of a couple of academic dissertations and orations.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Wieselgren, *ibidem*, p. 87, letter number 55, dated 28.1.1639 and p. 141, letter no. 87 dated 16.6.1645. See E. Tender, "Die Streitigkeiten der Familie Stiernhielm mit der Stadt Dorpat", *Sitzungsberichte der Gelehrten estnischen Gesellschaft 1934* (1936), pp. 299–338. See also Katri Raik, "Famijlen Stiernhielms tvister med Dorpats stad om jordegendomar", *Ronor* 1990, issues 6–7, pp. 22–24.

¹³⁵ According to a marginal note in Stiernhielm's autograph, ms. A 4 4:o, fol. 59, Uppsala University Library, Stiernhielm stayed in Västerås on 2 February 1639.

¹³⁶ Stiernhielm enumerates his loans of manuscripts and prints in a letter to Anders Gyllenklou dated 28 January 1648. It is edited by Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm* 3:1, pp. 123–125, and commented upon, *ibidem* 3:2, pp. 114–115.

¹³⁷ See further Nordström, *Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, pp. CXCIX–CCII. When Petrus Andreae Schomerus (1607–1660), professor of astronomy and physics in

The rivalry between the German Baltic nobility and the Swedish government in Livonia became the background of a conflict with the sons of the German Balt Fabian Wrangel, the governor of Tartu, Fabian and Helmich. Because of their outrageous conduct against some Swedish students, Stiernhielm as vice-governor had taken legal proceedings against them in 1640, but the young Wrangels refused to appear before the court. To cultivate a friendship with his colleague Wilhelm Ulrich, he accepted an invitation to a christening banquet for the assessor's child on 13 July 1641. While the High Society of Dorpat were drinking beer and dancing at Ulrich's home, the quarrel with the Wrangel brothers reignited. After a series of insults and displays of arrogance by both sides, Stiernhielm challenged his antagonists to a duel, but a tumult arose outside during which he was injured and lost the use of his right hand, and barely escaped with his life.¹³⁹ He was still recovering from his injury in March 1642.¹⁴⁰

2.3.5 Participation on the law commission and in court culture

In the autumn of the same year, Stiernhielm was elected a member of the larger law commission with 19 members drawn from the district courts and the Courts of Appeal in Sweden, Finland and the Baltic provinces. The background was the need for revision, edition, and interpretation of medieval Swedish laws of the provinces and the cities. The Country Law of King Christopher from 1442 was printed

1632 in Tartu, vicar of the Swedish Church there and professor of theology in 1639, submitted his thesis on free will (*De libero arbitrio*) on 25 September 1639 under the chairmanship of Andreas Virginius, Stiernhielm wrote a congratulatory poem, *Anapesticum Partheniacum*. When Michael Olavi Bostadius, vicar in Tartu, and Johannes Gezelius were conferred master's degrees on 18 October 1641, he composed a poem in Alcaic meter, *Ode Alcaica*. These pieces are published by Nordström and Olsson (eds.), *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, vol. 1:1, pp. 170–175, and translated into Swedish by professor Birger Bergh, *ibidem*, 1:2, pp. 590–593. Between 1642 and 1649 Gezelius held the chair of Oriental languages and Greek. As professor he compiled textbooks in Hebrew and Greek and dedicated his Hebrew grammar to no one else than Stiernhielm (see Vol. 2, Section 19.1.1).

¹³⁸ Nordström, *Stiernhielm. Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, pp. CLXXXIV. Ene-Lille Jaanson, *Tartu ülikooli trükikoda 1632–1710*, Tartu 2000, catalogues ten prints in which Stiernhielm is a dedicatee by Swedish respondents, orators and authors from 1632 to 1655 and three prints to which Stiernhielm wrote congratulatory poems.

¹³⁹ The course of events is accounted for by Friedrich Bienemann, “Ein Tumult in Dorpat A:o 1641”, *Baltisches Monatsschrift*, vol. XLIX (1900), Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, pp. 34–35; and Olofsson, *Georg Stiernhielm*, pp. 67–74. Wieselgren published Stiernhielm's narrative, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, vol. 3:1, pp. 71–77, commented on it, *ibidem*, and translated it into Swedish in the article “Stiernhielm och Wranglarna”, *Svio-Estonica* 1937, pp. 58–72.

¹⁴⁰ See F.d. 15, *Arithmetica mnemonica universalis*, fol. 1r: “Dorpati scriptum cum aegrotavi ex vulnere manus dextrae, anno 1642 die 26 Martii absolutum.”

in 1608 and the City Law, issued by King Magnus Eriksson around 1350, was published in 1618. Some of the provincial laws had also been published, viz. those of Uplandia, Ostrobothnia and Helsingia (*Uplandz laghen*, *Östgötha laghen* and *Hälsinge laghen*), edited by Johannes Bureus in Stockholm 1607–1609. The royal answers to the inquiries from the Courts of Appeals about the interpretation of the medieval laws were precedent-setting. Stiernhielm arrived in the capital in autumn 1642, and the meeting took place in February–March 1643.¹⁴¹ In the same year Stiernhielm was chosen along with Johan Stiernhöök, Ericus Olai, Erik Bröms and Daniel Figrelus to be a member of a smaller commission for the revision of the procedure of lawsuits and criminal court legislation. Their work resulted in four proposed bills, presented on 8 August 1643. Stiernhielm prepared a new legal procedure for lower courts.¹⁴² The law commission also set the goal to publishing other provincial laws. Stiernhielm was entrusted the duty to publish the law codes of Westrogothia (*Äldre Västgötalagen*) and Sudermannia (*Sörmlandslagen*).

During his sojourn in Stockholm in 1642–1645 Stiernhielm devoted himself to literary, scholarly and scientific authorship. In the course of 1643 he published one preliminary study of his antiquarian dictionary, *Gambla Swea- och Götha-Måles fatebur*, and another pilot study of his Hebrew dictionary, *Magog Aramaeo-Gothicus*. Early in 1644 he had finished his *Archimedes reformatus*, in which he describes methods for determining the densities of gold, silver, copper, mercury, iron, lead and tin as natural minerals and as refined artefacts both as smithworks and as coins and their values. During the years 1643 and 1644 he authored two artful birthday poems to Queen Christina (*Heroisch fägnesång* and *Heroisch jubelsång*), the former of which followed the literary pattern of the German Renaissance poet Martin Opitz (1597–1639), “Komm schöner Morgenstern” in his *Geburtgedichte*.¹⁴³ These poems initiated Swedish artistic poetry and would have been epoch-making, even if the poem *Hercules* not had been written.¹⁴⁴ Stiernhielm thus took a conspicuously active part in the cultural and social life of the government and court.

¹⁴¹ See further Jan Eric Almquist, *Handlingar rörande 1642 års lagkommission, dess förutsättningar och verksamhet*. Lund 1937; and Carl Georg Starbäck, *Berättelser ur svenska historien*, Stockholm 1902, pp. 248–250.

¹⁴² *Processus iudicialis eller tingsmåla rätt som achtas och hållas skall å häradz och lagmans ting på H. K. M:tz vår aldranådigsta drottningis nådiga befalning författat af Georgio Stiernhielm*, Norrköping stadsbibliotek, Finspongsamlingen (1696 fol.), which is the book and manuscript collection of the Walloon-Swedish family de Geer with its origin in the collection of Louis de Geer, (1587–1652).

¹⁴³ Regarding this source of inspiration, see Swartling, *G. Stiernhielm*, pp. 39–41.

¹⁴⁴ Stähle, *Vers och språk*, p. 200.

Cecilia Burea had apparently stayed behind in Wasula with their sons Johan Markvard (born in 1630), Gustaf (born in 1635) and Georg Otto (born in 1638) and at the end of April 1643 she still remained.¹⁴⁵ Soon thereafter she likely crossed the Baltic Sea. On 6 September 1644 she gave birth to a daughter, who was baptized at the castle in the presence of the Queen, after whom she was named (*de cuius nomine nomen sortita est*) and who was her godmother (*suscepatrix*), while two High officials of the regency were joint godfathers – the Lord High Seneschal Per Brahe (1602–1680) and the Lord High Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna. Also present were the state councillor Per Sparre (1592–1647) and the vice-governor Gyllenanckar – as well as some countesses as additional godmothers, including the countess von Thurn (Johanna Margareta von Baden-Hochberg), Magdalena von Waldeck, and Kristina Ribbing (wife of the Lord High Admiral Karl Gyllenhielm, as Stiernhielm notes).¹⁴⁶

After being bestowed estates in Ingria in the county of Caporie (Koporye) by the Swedish Crown,¹⁴⁷ Stiernhielm moved with his family back to Livonia in the late autumn of 1645. During the trip they suffered a shipwreck in the strait “Ulfund” between the isle of Aegna and the peninsula of Viimsi in the north of the Bay of Tallinn.¹⁴⁸ In early modern biographies it was mistakenly located to

¹⁴⁵ Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*. 3:2, pp. 103–104.

¹⁴⁶ Stiernhielm’s annotations in the Stiernhielm family Bible, the copy of which is extant at Uppsala University Library: *Biblia, thet är all then helgha scrifft på swensko*, Stockholm 1618, with shelfmark: Sv. Rar. st. fol. 10:98 (copy no. 2). See the biographical notes on second inside back cover.

¹⁴⁷ The estates comprised the following villages with land areas specified in terms of the unit of measurement in Ingria and Carelia *obs*, which before the reformation of taxation 1637 corresponded to 1.22 acres (4.936 square metres), but after 1637 to one acre only: Sista Palkina (Sisto Palkino) with eight old *obs* in the Eastern part of Kargalskoi pogost, moreover Lomacha (Lomakha), six old *obs*, and Arbala (Arbolovo, south-west of the fortress Caporie), fifteen old *obs*, both in the Western part of Kargalskoi pogost, and Poroszok (probably Sashino) fourteen old *obs* in the vicinity of Sista-Wodskoi (Sista) in Ratsinskoi pogost. See the letter of donation from 3 May 1645, edited by Wieselgren, *Brev till Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 140. For the location of these pogosts and estates, see Figures 33 and 34b. Stiernhielm was also granted some villages in Toldoskoi pogost: Werdeia (Verdiya), Rasia Bolskoi (Bolshaya Rassiya) and Rasia Menskoi (Malaya Rassiya), but these estates had just before been given to Wendela Cramer (widow of the artillery officer Trojan Becker in Narva) who ensured possession of them by immission from the governor-general and sold them before the shipwrecked Stiernhielm arrived at Narva.

¹⁴⁸ See letter to the Agency of Reduction (Reduktionskollegium) from Stiernhielm in 1664: “Men såsom iagh medh hustru och barn under vägen ledh vid Ulfund skippsbrått, att iagh förorsakades migh på 14 daghars tid i Refval att uppehålla [...] See Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 3:1, p. 236 (letter no. 141). In his commentary (*idem*, *ibidem*, 3:2, p. 254), Wieselgren identifies Ulfund with German Wolf Sundt, Estonian Aegna.

the archipelago of Alandia (so Columbus) and dated to Stiernhielm's return to Sweden in 1648 or to his flight from Russian armed forces in June 1656.

2.4 Antiquarian official and court poet

2.4.1 *Appointment as director of the National Board of Antiquities and the subsequent journey to the Netherlands*

Stiernhielm received a command from the Queen on 29 February 1648 to come to Stockholm as soon as the sea was navigable. This was, to be sure, related to her intention to find a successor for the aged Johannes Bureus. On 1 September of the same year, the Queen appointed Stiernhielm director of the National Board of Antiquities (*antiquarius regni*) with an annual salary of 900 silver thalers.¹⁴⁹ She instructed him to travel to the Netherlands to buy books relevant to “antiquities that could be used for the glory of the Swedish nation” (*Personalia*) and granted him funds for this purpose (500 silver thalers) plus travelling expenses.¹⁵⁰ Her plan was certainly also to use Stiernhielm as an agent in persuading the Dutch scholarly elite to come to her court and form part of her little court academy.

At the end of November 1648 Stiernhielm arrived in Amsterdam, where he visited the bookshops of the Elsevier publishers.¹⁵¹ From there he made a trip first to Leiden, where he stayed until the first week after the new year, and thence continued to Utrecht. The Swedish diplomat and commissioner in Amsterdam, the nobleman Harald Appelboom (1612–1674) reports on the strong impression that Stiernhielm made on the Dutch scholars. In a letter to their common friend, his correspondent Bengt Skytte, he writes from Amsterdam on 29 January 1649:

[...] Mr. Göran Stiernhiäl[m] has recently returned from Leiden, where he has such an acquaintance and familiarity with highly educated scholars, such as Salmasius, Heinsius, Spanheim, Boxhorn, Mestertius and others, and in Utrecht with the professors there and in particular with the learned virgin van Schurman, likewise in this city with Vossius, to the point that he now is

¹⁴⁹ “Riksregistraturet” (Copies from the Government Offices) under “fullmakter” (letters of appointment), p. 108, 1 Sept. 1648, at National Archives of Sweden.

¹⁵⁰ See Queen Christina's letter, dated 15 September 1648 (Riksregistraturet) to her agent, the Swedish diplomat and state councillor Johan Adler Salvius (1590–1652). For a quotation of the letter, see Swartling, “Några bidrag till Stiernhielms biografi 1630–56” in *Studier tillägnade Henrik Schück*, p. 206.

¹⁵¹ On 2 December 1648 Appelboom writes from Amsterdam in a letter to Erik Oxenstierna that Stiernhielm is very busy to explore what can be useful to him in antiquities. See Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 48 (note 2).

burdened and heaped up excessively with a lot of scholarly and bombastic complimentary letters of good wishes and with magnificent, considerable titles. While at first he was called noble and well-born, he is now designated as illustrious, most illustrious, and even most reverend. And because his talks with them have been to their particular contentment, some of them have asked me about his person and quality, and let me know that they gladly wish to entertain a good correspondence with him concerning learned matters. Mr. Stiernhiälm sends his most diligent greetings back to you, my dear brother, and considers that he will depart from here within two or three days and directly return home. May God grant him a good journey.¹⁵²

Stiernhielm accordingly met the most distinguished humanists of his time in Leiden, primarily Salmasius, Heinsius and Boxborn. As the successor to the superstar Joseph Justus Scaliger, the French classical scholar Claudius Salmasius (1588–1653) held “the chair of celebrity” with the duty to honour the university by his presence, conversations, and writings.¹⁵³ The Dutch classical scholar and poet Daniel Heinsius (1680–1655) had held the chair of political science and history. In a controversy with Heinsius, Salmasius had quite recently (1639–1643) specialized in the regional varieties of ancient Greek, with a basis in the ancient definition of the dialect concept, in a series of treatises, of which *De Hellenistica commentarius* (1643)

¹⁵² Letter of 29 January 1649 from H. Appelboom to B. Skytte. Esplunda Archive, shelfmark E, number 4: Bengt Skytte’s correspondence (in two bundles of letters to him in the years 1648, 1649, 1655), National Archives of Sweden. It is quoted by Sam Clason, “Göran Stiernhielm i Holland”, *Historisk tidsskrift*, vol. 26 (1906), pp. 106–107. The letter reads in Swedish according to the original: [...] “H. Göran Stiernhiälm, som i desse daghar ähr här igienkommen från Leyden, där han medh dee höglärde, såsom Salmasio, Heinsio, Spanheimio, Boxbornio, Mestertio och fleere, samt i Utrecht medh professorerne där och särledes den lärde junghfru Schremans, såsom och här i stadhen medh Vossio een sådhan kundhskap och familiaritett contraherat hafver, att han aff dem nu graveras och överhoopas medh een hoop lærde höghtrafvande complimenter-bonus-dies-breeff och magnifijke anseeenlighe titlar: såsom där han i förstonne här kalladhes nobilis et generosus, kallas han nu illustris, illustrissimus, ja reverendissimus medh. Och emädhan hans conversation hafver varitt dem till synnerligt contentamente, hafve åtskillighe af dem låthitt fråga migh om hans persohn och qualitet, och låthitt förnimma, att de gärna ville hålla med honom godh correspondens in re litteraria. H. Stiernhiälm resaluterar min k(äre) b(oder) på det flitigaste och meenar innan 2 eller 3 daghar begifva sig dähdan och gienast mem åth. Gudh förläne honom en godh reesa.”

¹⁵³ P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, the Hague 1916, vol. 2, p. 243* (the letter of the Curators to Salmasius in the autumn of 1631); cf. Willem Otterspeer, *Groepsportret med Dame I. Het bolwerk van de vrijhet: De Leidse universiteit 1575–1672*, Amsterdam 2000, p. 87.

appears to be the most important.¹⁵⁴ Stiernhielm may therefore have discussed the concept of dialect and the causes of dialect splitting with Salmasius. They had the opportunity to continue their conversation after the learned French scholar arrived at the Swedish capital in August 1650. In his drafts of *Runa Suethica* (1649–1652) and in *De linguarum origine praefatio* (1671) Stiernhielm extensively quotes from Salmasius' *De Hellenistica commentarius*.

Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn (1612–1653) held the professorship of rhetoric for fifteen years (1633–1647), but in 1648 had succeeded Heinsius in the chair of history. In his historical and etymological research he had recently proposed an assumption on the relationship between German, Persian, Greek and Latin, with Scythian as their common historical ancestor. In modern linguistic historiography, this has become known as the Scythian hypothesis. Stiernhielm most likely discussed this question with him. Boxhorn may have expressed his views in the same way as he presented them to his colleague, the historian Georg Horn(ius), who describes his talks on Scythian with Boxhorn in his preface to the latter's treatise on the origin of Gaulish, which was published posthumously as *Originum Gallicarum liber*, Amsterdam 1654. In his own copy of this treatise, Stiernhielm has underlined the key passage of Horn's preface in which the Scythian hypothesis is proposed, and in the margin has noted "rectissime", that is "most rightly".¹⁵⁵ It was under the impact of Boxhorn's idea about Scythian that Stiernhielm changed or at least modified his equation of Scythian with Noah's language – as the common ancestor of the Semitic, Hamitic and Japhetic languages – into a concept of Scythian as only "Japhetic Scythian", which in turn he subdivided into Asiatic and European Scythian. In his letter to Daniel Heinsius on 14 January 1649, Stiernhielm asks Daniel to send his greetings to his son Nicolas Heinsius and to his "beloved friend" (*amores meos*) Boxhorn. During his visit he also received a book and a manuscript as gifts from Boxhorn – the second volume of the history of Portugal by the Portuguese historian Bernardo de Britto (*Segunda parte da monarchia Lusitania*, Lisboa/ Lisabon 1609) and an Armenic-Latin lexicon in manuscript.¹⁵⁶ After his departure from Leiden,

¹⁵⁴ On the Heinsius-Salmasius controversy and Salmasius' concept of dialect, see further Eskhult, "The concept of dialect in the works of three seventeenth-century linguistic theorists: Georg Stiernhielm Claudius Salmasius and Christian Ravius" in Raf van Rooy (ed.), *Essays in the history of dialect studies: from ancient Greek to modern dialectology*, Münster (Nodus Publikationen) 2000, pp. 95–100.

¹⁵⁵ See the copy of *Originum Gallicarum liber* (1654) at Uppsala University library. On its title page we find the signature "G. Stiernhielm manu propria".

¹⁵⁶ Otto Walde, "Om Georg Stiernhielms bibliotek: några anteckningar" in Donum Grapeanum: festskrift tillägnad överbibliotekarie Anders Grape, Uppsala 1945, p.

Stiernhielm entertained a correspondence with Boxhorn, though no letters survive,¹⁵⁷ and we know that Stiernhielm sent him a copy of his printed conspectus of *Runa Suethica*.¹⁵⁸

In Leiden, Stiernhielm – himself a jurist by profession – also met Jacob Maestertius (1610–1658) who held the chair of jurisprudence with expertise in Roman law. He evidently talked with the professor of theology Friedrich Spanheim (1600–1649), and probably met the Arabist and mathematician Jacob Golius (1596–1667) and the theologian Jacob Revius (1586–1658).¹⁵⁹ In Utrecht, he consorted with the famous female polymath, polyglot and poet Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678). Stiernhielm reportedly also conversed with the professors at the University of Utrecht. Though not specified by Appelboom, they must have been the professors of theology Gisbert Voetius (1589–1676) and Johannes Hornbeeck (1617–1666) and the professors of philosophy Jacobus Ravensperger (1615–1650), Daniel Berckringer (–1667) and Paul Voetius (1619–1667). However, Stiernhielm spent most of his time in Amsterdam, where he probably stayed in the house of the envoy or resident Appelboom and continued his intellectual interchange with the distinguished classical philologist Gerard Vossius (1577–1649)¹⁶⁰ for several weeks before and after his trip to Leiden and Utrecht. Vossius was an old friend of the Skytte family. Johan, Jacob and Bengt Skytte had studied under

118–119. The book has the dedication: “Suedicae Nobilitatis singulari ornamento Georgio Stiernhielmio”. The Armenic-Latin dictionary is *Dictionarium Armeno-Latinum*, catalogued as F.d. 22 (Royal Library, Stockholm). Swartling (1909: 48, n. 4) states that there is a sheet of paper in it with the remark: “Ex bibliotheca Vaticana autore Angelo Roscha commodata mihi data a clarissimo Domino Boxhornio 4 Januarii anno 1649.”

¹⁵⁷ This can be concluded from a letter from Johan Markvard Stiernhielm to Georg Stiernhielm on 24 December 1649, where the sender reports that Boxhorn has received a letter from G. Stiernhielm to him and excuses the delays in answering it, see Wieselgren, *Brev till Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 209.

¹⁵⁸ Letter from David Blondel to Stiernhielm on 18 July 1651, see Vol. 2, Section 13.1.1; Wieselgren, *Brev till Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 209.

¹⁵⁹ In his catalogue of real and virtual book possessions (Vol. 2, Section 15.3.2) Stiernhielm states that Golius and Jacob Revius possess books that he wishes to have: *Dictionarium Ibericum*, a mistake for *Alphabetum Ibericum*, Romae 1629, and the *Teuthonista* of 1477 by Gert von der Schueren.

¹⁶⁰ Vossius was professor of history at the high school of Amsterdam between 1632– and 1649). For an analysis of his historical method, see Nicolas Wickenden, *G.J. Vossius and the humanist concept of history*, Assen 1993. In published and unpublished treatises Stiernhielm refers to Vossius’ handbook of pagan historical mythology, *De theologia gentili et physiologia Christiana sive de origine et progressu idolatriae*, 2 vols. Amsterdam 1641, with the short title “De idololatria”. Sometimes he refers to Vossius’ so-called “anti-barbarous” Latin dictionary, *De vitiis sermonis et glossematis Latinobarbaris*, Amsterdam 1645.

his guidance in the 1630s,¹⁶¹ and Johan Skytte maintained contact with him. Erik Oxenstierna, son of the Great Chancellor and a friend of Stiernhielm, had in the autumn of 1643 studied with Gerard Vossius,¹⁶² whose son Isaac Vossius in turn was engaged as royal librarian in Stockholm since 1648.¹⁶³

2.4.2 Court poet

During the years 1649–1651 Stiernhielm acted as a Swedish poet on the occasion of the celebration of the Peace of Westphalia at the royal court in Stockholm. Entrusted to provide a Swedish text of court ballets, he composed *Then fångne Cupido*, “The Captive Cupid” (1649), *Freds-Afl*, “The Birth of Peace” (1649), and *Parnassus triumphans*, “The Triumphant Parnassus” (1650). The French text that underlies *Freds-Afl* is *La naissance de la paix*, which was written either by the Parisian poet Hélié Poirier or by none less than the French philosopher René Descartes after his arrival at the court early in October 1650.¹⁶⁴ *Then fångne Cupido* offers an array of classical metres such as Anacreontic, Sapphic, Adonic, Phaleucic and elegiac verses. In his other ballets, Stiernhielm almost exclusively used

¹⁶¹ E. Wrangel, *Sveriges litterära förbindelser med Holland särdeles under 1600-talet*, Lund 1897, pp. 67–70. F.F. Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his circle: his life until his farewell to the queen of Sweden 1618–1655*, Groningen: Forsten, 2000, p. 113 f. Wrangel’s study was soon translated into Dutch by Mevrouw Beets-Damsté, viz. *De betrekkingen tusschen Zweden en de Nederlanden op het gebied van letteren en wetenschap voornamelijk gedurende de zeventiende eeuw*, Leiden 1901.

¹⁶² Wrangel, *ibidem*, pp. 74–75.

¹⁶³ See Stina Hansson’s postscript to her edition and Swedish translation of Gerard Vossius’ *Elementa rhetorica* (1626), viz. *Gerhardus Johannes Vossius. Elementa rhetorica eller retorikens grunder*, Göteborg 1990, p. 36.

¹⁶⁴ The question of authorship of *La Naissance de la paix* has in modern times been the subject of scholarly discussion, which is summarized by Lars Gustafsson, “Was Descartes Queen Kristina’s Peace Advocate? The Authorship of *La Naissance de la paix*” in *Studia Neophilologica* 2017, pp. 1–19. The attribution to Descartes derives from Baillet’s biography on the philosopher (1691), a claim that was reiterated and supported with bibliographical documents by Albert Thibaudet and Johan Nordström in their article “Un ballet de Descartes. *La Revue de Genève*”, pp. 163–185. Their interpretation was questioned by Richard Watson in the article “René Descartes n’est pas l’auteur de ‘*La Naissance de la paix*’” in *Archives de philosophie* 53 (1990), pp. 389–401. Watson argues that Hélié Poirier was the author. We know that Hélié Poirier was entrusted with the task of writing the French text of the Captive Cupid (viz. *Le vaincu de Diane*). He made his debut with *Les Amours de Melisser*, in Paris in 1625, settled in the Netherlands in 1640, where he translated Erasmus’ *Encomium Moriae* (“In Praise of Folly”) into French and published a new collection of poems, which he dedicated to Queen Christina. He arrived in Sweden in 1648 or 1649. (Olsson, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 1:2, p. 234.) The French text of *La Naissance de la paix* is published by Nordström & Olsson (eds.), *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 1:2, pp. 303–316.

iambic and trochaic metres. *Then fångne Cupido och Freds-Afl*) are unrhymed, while *Parnassus triumphans* is rhymed and also exhibits a number of lyric passages.¹⁶⁵

As a genre, the ballet was invented in the Italian and French Renaissance and served the purpose to add lustre to the celebrations of princes and noblemen at their weddings, birthdays, coronations, victories or peace treaties. As an art, the ballet had three functions; to represent the social life of the time, to express the nature of things, and to propose philosophical and political ideas.¹⁶⁶ Except for some introductory and final parts, the texts were not read at the ballet, but only aimed to instruct the audience in their interpretation of the actions.¹⁶⁷ Stiernhielm did not leave any independent contribution to the ballet as a genre of dance and mimicry. On the other hand, his practical experience from the staging of these ballets and his literary work with them inspired and facilitated the completion of his poetic masterpiece *Hercules*,¹⁶⁸ the first version of which was already completed in January 1648.

Generally, it was the ballet master – at the Swedish court Antoine de Beaulieu from 1637 to 1663 – who developed the set of themes, to which the poets had to adapt themselves.¹⁶⁹ The French text was the original, which was translated or freely interpreted in the Swedish and German versions.¹⁷⁰ In translating the original or in interpreting the set of themes, Stiernhielm, however, proceeded independently, giving the texts greater stylistic refinement and a philosophical depth, by which he expressed his own ideas on the connections between virtue, wisdom, learning, culture, and glory.¹⁷¹ He considered his Swedish ballet pieces original enough to form part of his collection of Swedish artistic poetry (*Musae Suethizantes*, 1668). Furthermore, there are thematic parallels between the final part of *Parnassus triumphans* (323–350) and Stiernhielm's first draft of a polygraphic birthday panegyric to Queen Christina for her 24th birthday on 7 December 1650 on the prosperity of learning, religion, justice, trade and agriculture in the wake of the Peace of Westphalia (see 12.4.2).

As court poet Stiernhielm also wrote the Swedish texts to the allegorical processions, in German called *Aufzug*, in Swedish *upptåg*, that were a part of the coronation festivities in Stockholm in October

¹⁶⁵ Olsson, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 1:2, p. 385.

¹⁶⁶ Olsson, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 1:2, p. 230.

¹⁶⁷ Olsson, *ibidem*, 1:2, p. 230.

¹⁶⁸ Kajsa Rootzén, *Den svenska baletten*, Stockholm 1945, p. 20. See also Olsson, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 1:2, p. 233 (lines 5–10).

¹⁶⁹ Olsson, *ibidem*, 1:2, p. 232.

¹⁷⁰ Olsson, *ibidem*, 1:2, p. 232.

¹⁷¹ Olsson, *ibidem*, 1:2, p. 232; cf. pp. 380 f. and p. 384.

and November of 1650. In the processions, the partaking persons and carriages allegorically expressed certain ideas, which were explained in the accompanying commentaries.¹⁷² The coronation of Queen Christina took place on 20 October 1650. The first procession, called *La pompe de la félicité*, was performed on 24 October 1650. The next, *Virtutes repertae*, occurred on 11 Nov. 1650.¹⁷³ Stiernhielm titled his text of the former event *Lycksaligheetens Ähre-Pracht*, “The glorious splendour of blessedness”, and designated his text of the latter one as *Virtutes repertae eller the igenfunne dygders uptogh*, “Rediscovery of virtues or the procession of rediscovered virtues”.

2.4.3 Member of the court academy

After the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, Queen Christina gathered the elite of European intellectuals at her royal court, where an academy for scholarly discussions soon was founded. It convened once a week, first on sundays and later on other weekdays. There is only scanty information about its existence.¹⁷⁴ Weekly meetings were started up at the initiative of Georg Heinrich Ludolf in early 1650. In the fall of 1649 he had come to Sweden with his brother, the Orientalist Hiob Ludolf, in the company of Schering Rosenhane.¹⁷⁵ After a sojourn at the latter’s manor Tistad (north-west of Nyköping in Sudermannia) in October–December 1649, they arrived – after a short stop at Axel Oxenstierna’s castle of Tidö (south-west of Västerås) – at the court in Stockholm at the beginning of 1650. On the occasion of these informal meetings the Queen commissioned René Descartes to lay down the guidelines of a court academy.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Olsson, *ibidem*, 1:2, p. 399.

¹⁷³ Olsson, *ibidem*, 1:2, p. 232 and p. 422.

¹⁷⁴ Conclusive historical evidence of the Queen’s court academy in Stockholm was collected by Johan Nordström in the article “Några notiser on drottning Kristinas akademier”, *Lychnos* 1940, pp. 333–341, where the statutes are re-issued (pp. 334–335) from Baillet’s biography. The main evidence is a passage in the account of the life and work of Hiob Ludolf by the German historian Christian Juncker (1668–1714), *Commentarius de vita scriptisque ac meritis illustris viri Iobi Ludolfi*, Lipsiae & Francofurti 1710, pp. 56–57. Juncker used Ludolf’s autobiography as his source, see Lindqvist, “Hiob Ludolf och Sverige”, *Donum Grapeanum*, p. 606.

¹⁷⁵ Georg Heinrich Ludolf (1616–1689) had served as Swedish legation councillor (‘Legationsrat’) at the peace negotiations at Westphalia and as secretary to Schering Rosenhane (1609–1674), when the latter was Swedish envoy in Paris in 1648–49. He later became lord mayor of his native city of Erfurt. Hiob Ludolf (1624–1704) was tutor of Rosenhane’s sons, Bengt and Johan. Rosenhane reached the position of state councillor in 1650 (21 September) and was appointed member of the Government Offices (‘kansliråd’) the same year.

¹⁷⁶ Descartes’ biographer A. Baillet quoted the statutes in *La vie de Monsieur Des-Cartes*, Paris 1691, from the surviving manuscripts. The statutes were re-published by Charles Adam and Paul Tannery in the collected works of Descartes; *Oeuvres*

Descartes presented the statutes, with a clear order of discussion, to the Queen on 1 February 1650, the same day as he noticed the first symptoms of the cold that ten days later, having developed into pneumonia, was to end his life. The academy met regularly until June 1653, but in the last year it changed its focus from classical and comparative philology and philosophy to entertainment and libertine criticism.¹⁷⁷ Central topics of the meetings in the earlier stage of this royal academy were the cultural and linguistic contexts of the Old Testament and the Neoplatonic-Hermetic philosophy of Iamblichus (4th century) and Proclus (AD 412–485).¹⁷⁸

Famous participants at the court academy were the Dutch classical philologist and historian Isaac Vossius, the French star-polymath Claudius Salmasius, the Dutch classical philologist and Latin poet Nicolas Heinsius, the German Orientalist Hiob Ludolf,¹⁷⁹ the French Orientalist Samuel Bochart, the French polymath Pierre Daniel Huet, the French scholar Gabriel Naudé (Richelieu's librarian), the German classical philologists Johannes Freinshemius, Johannes Schefferus, Johann Heinrich Boecler, and Marcus Meibom, and the itinerant Berlin-born Orientalist Christian Ravius.¹⁸⁰ The meetings took place

11. *Le monde; description du corps humain; passions de l'âme; Anatomica; Varia*, Paris 1909 (re-published, Paris 1996).

¹⁷⁷ For an exploratory survey of the Stockholm court academy in its two stages and the linguistic ideas of its participants, see Susanna Åkerman, "The forms of Queen Christina's academies" in Donald R. Kelley and Richard H. Popkin (eds.), *The shapes of knowledge from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, Dordrecht, London, Boston: 1991, pp. 167–171; eadem, *Queen Christina of Sweden and her circle: the transformation of a seventeenth-century philosophical Libertine*, Leiden, New York, Köln 1991, pp. 104–107.

¹⁷⁸ Åkerman, *Queen Christina of Sweden and her circle*, p. 105.

¹⁷⁹ During his stay at Rosinghane's manor Tistad and in the capital, Hiob Ludolf prepared his Ethiopic-Latin dictionary, published in 1661, *Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum*. See Juncker, *Commentarius de vita [...] Iobi Ludolfi*, p. 53. Cf. the title of one of the three booklets sent to the Swiss Orientalist Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667) by Ludolf, *Compendium Lexici mei Aethiopici coeptum Stockholmiae A. 1650*, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, ms. F 79, fols. 314–371. During these stays, he also compiled a Swedish-German dictionary, which was published as *Dictionarium Sueco-Germanicum* by Gunnar Graumann and Lars Holm, Uppsala 2017 in the series *Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi*.

¹⁸⁰ Juncker states that rumour of the Queen's benevolence and liberality towards scholars attracted many prominent learned men to Sweden. He mentions the personages that gathered at the court, but it is unclear whether he equates them with the members of the academy. He refers to Freinshemius, Stiernhielm, Nicolas Heinsius, Isaac Vossius, Joakim Transehe von Roseneck, a certain Silversparre, Johan von Weidenhaijn, a certain Wallius, the medical doctor Sven Bröms(enius), Johann Heinrich Boecler and a theologian from Nyköping, Zacharias Klingius; see Juncker, *ibidem*, pp. 56–57. Nordström (1940: 337) argues that this enumeration is not a list of the participants in the academy, but does not exclude the possibility

on some specific weekday (which varied between Sundays, Fridays and Wednesdays) under the chairmanship of Freinshemius until August 1650, and of French physician Pierre Bourdelot from 1652 until June 1653. The topics changed from occasion to occasion, and were each time proposed by an initiator after whose introduction each member was expected to comment according to a certain order of discussion.¹⁸¹

These scholars did not merely come to Sweden on account of the liberality of the Queen,¹⁸² but also because they intended do research using the continuously increasing collections of books and manuscripts at the royal library (which was housed on five floors at the castle). The collections came from spoils of war and from the purchase of private libraries.¹⁸³ The principal duties of the royal librarian and his amanuenses were to catalogue and arrange the manuscripts and printed books.¹⁸⁴ In his catalogue (*Bibliothecae Christinianae catalogus*), Vossius listed among Bibles “Fragments of the Gospels in Gothic language and script” (*Evangelistarum fragmenta sermone et caractere Gothico*), which was actually the manuscript of the Gospels in Gothic that the Flemish humanist Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538–1614) had linked with the Bible translation of Bishop Wulfila and called *Codex Argenteus*.¹⁸⁵ The

that some of them belonged to it. Harald Wieselgren, *Drottning Kristinas bibliotek och bibliotekarier före hennes bosättning i Rom*, p. 47, interprets Juncker’s list as a list of members of the academy, but thinks that some names are less probable.

¹⁸¹ See Gunnar Eriksson, “Den lärda kulturen” in *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: Stormaktstiden*, p. 107. Juncker, *ibidem*, p. 56, states that on the pattern of academies in Italy and France, they gathered at the initiative of Georg Heinric Ludolf on settled days to talk about diverse topics in the royal library.

¹⁸² The imported scholars had very high salaries. According to the budget of the court in 1649 and in 1650, Freinshemius as royal librarian had an income of 3 569 silver thalers. In 1650 and 1651 Vossius as royal librarian would be paid 3000 (twice the salary of a state councillor). Freinshemius, now as *historiographus regni*, earned 2250. Johann Heinrich Boecler as *historicus regius* received 1600. See the archive of “Kammarkollegium, Generalstatskontoret, Personalstater 1649–1650 and 1651–1652” shelfmarks F 1 A: 12–13, and the draft of Rikshuvudboken for 1650, vol. 102, p. 47, at National Archives of Sweden.

¹⁸³ Oscar Garstein, *Rome and the counter-Reformation in Scandinavia. The age of Gustavus Adolphus and Queen Christina of Sweden 1622–1656*, Leiden, New York, København & Köln, pp. 588–591.

¹⁸⁴ Christina’s library had twenty-one main subject divisions (with the shelfmarks A–X), which are reconstructed by Otto Walde, “Till Kristinabibliotekets historia”, *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, vol. 2 (1915), pp. 131 f.

¹⁸⁵ Bonaventura Vulcanius, *De literis et lingua Getarum sive Gothorum*, identified the Gothic Gospel manuscript in Werden Abbey with the translation of the New Testament of Wulfila (see dedicatory letter p. 3v) and published samples from it of the Gothic language in Gothic characters with transcription, viz. the greeting of the angel to virgin Maria in Luk. 1:28, p. 31, the Lord’s Prayer in Matt. 6: 9–13, pp.

librarians of Queen Christina did not, however, realise the true nature of these fragment.¹⁸⁶ Isaac Vossius brought the book with him when he returned to the Netherlands, and it was his uncle Franciscus Junius the Younger who realized that it was the famous *Codex Argenteus* and completed the first edition of it in Dordrecht in 1665.

As no records of the academy meetings survive, the topics of discussion may only be explored in a wider perspective, by which the ideas of the members will be assessed from their publications. An account of this kind is provided by the Swedish intellectual historian Susanna Åkerman, who reviews the ideas at stake under the title of “Theological linguistics: taxonomy, relativism, nationalism”.¹⁸⁷ Below, “new perspectives on linguistic ideas” are offered as a supplement to Åkerman’s survey.

In the decades around 1650, comparative Biblical linguistics and general grammar were trends of thought. Ravius was an advocate of a relativistic approach to the then popular idea of the primeval status of Hebrew. He defined Hebrew as one of many dialects of the holy and primeval Oriental tongue, and from a structural and synchronic linguistic point of view considered Hebrew a dialect of equal footing with Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic and Samaritan.¹⁸⁸ As a linguistic theorist, Salmasius in *Commentarius de lingua Hellenistica* (1643) explained the origin and history of Greek dialects. In so doing he defined tribal ethnicity and geographical separation as criteria of

32–34, the song of Maria in Luk 1: 46–55 (Magnificat), pp. 35–40 and the song of Simeon in Luk 1: 29–32 (Nunc dimittis), pp. 40–42.

¹⁸⁶ Harald Wieselgren, *Drottning Kristinas bibliotek och bibliotekarier*, p. 28; Blok, *Vossius and his circle*, p. 35. However, Stiernhielm, *Adelrunae conclusiones*, writes: “Wulfila’s New Testament is now here in Stockholm after it has been found in the (Imperial) Library of Prague.” See Vol. 2, Section 10.3.2, thesis 12, p. 164.

¹⁸⁷ Susanna Åkerman, *Queen Christina of Sweden and her circle*, pp. 108–117.

¹⁸⁸ Ravius followed a rationalist, mathematical method in agreement with Cartesian philosophy and universal language planning. As a theorist of Semitic phonology and morphology, he resorted to mathematization as his method of scientification, which he combined with a rather correct analysis of Semitic phonology. As a semantician, Ravius used an idealist method in making a distinction between primary abstract meanings and secondary concrete meanings through metaphor and metonymy. In his comparative linguistic theory, he used the term dialect as an analytical tool for a structural language classification. Ravius communicates these ideas in treatises that he had recently published before his arrival at the court in Stockholm: *Orthographiae et analogiae Ebraicae delineatio*, that is, “Outline of a Hebrew phonology and morphology” (Amsterdam 1646), *A general grammar* (London 1648), and *A discourse concerning the Oriental tongues* (London 1649). See further Eskhult, “The concept of dialect in three seventeenth-century linguists” in Raf Van Rooy, (ed.) *Essays in the history of dialect studies*, Münster 2020, pp. 102–204. See also my forthcoming article “The linguistic theory of Christian Ravius on the unity and diversity of the Semitic languages.”

the diversification of Ancient Greek. Salmasius' hypothesis formed part of his controversy with Daniel Heinsius.¹⁸⁹

Another important work under discussion was Samuel Bochart's *Geographia sacra*, the first part of which (*Phaleg*) deals with the dispersal of the descendants of Shem, Ham and Japheth across the earth (books 2–4). The first book begins with maps that shows the countries, into which “the builders of the Tower of Babel” were spread.¹⁹⁰ In the second part (*Canaan*) he discusses the Phoenicians as colonists of the ancient world and the identity and importance of their language. Bochart argues that Phoenician is so closely related to Hebrew that the speakers of these dialects could mutually understand each other.¹⁹¹ This was a claim that ran contrary to prevailing views on the exclusive primordial status of Hebrew. The Queen is said to have been so interested in this work that she demanded to receive each page as soon as it was printed when published in 1651.¹⁹² During the year that Bochart stayed in the Swedish capital, the Queen once asked him to give a summary of what he had treated in *Geographia sacra*, part 1. The Dutch envoy in Stockholm Conrad van Beuning (1622–1693) writes in a letter of Saturday, 8 February 1653: “Last Wednesday [that is, 5 February] our academy had a very splendid meeting, honoured by the presence of the Queen.” After stating that Bochart presented his *Phaleg*, he says: “He performed it so well that the Queen was captivated by his learning and admitted that in many regards he was more learned and more prominent than Salmasius.”¹⁹³ In a letter to Isaac Vossius of 12 April 1653, Bochart himself states that he has “presented the main contents of his *Phaleg* to the assembly, which here is called an academy.” This depreciatory reference to the little royal society in question was due to the fact that Bochart felt that he was met with opposition from Pierre Bourdelot (1610–1685) who at the time was acting as chairman of the academy. In his letter Bochart divides the members into three groups according to their response to his presentation: men of learning and judgement, who showed him great appreciation; men of honour who followed the example of the former; and ignorant and unkindly people, who did everything to disparage him.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ Eskhult, “The concept of dialect”, pp. 95–101.

¹⁹⁰ Bochart, *Geographia sacra, pars prior Phaleg*, Caen 1651, the map ‘Descriptio terrarum in quas dispersi sunt structores Turris Babel’ between the preface and p. 1.

¹⁹¹ Bochart, *Geographia sacra, pars altera Chanaan*, Caen 1646, cols. 699–701.

¹⁹² Harald Wieselgren, *Drottning Kristinas bibliotek och bibliotekarier*, p. 39.

¹⁹³ H. Wieselgren, *ibidem*, p. 47.

¹⁹⁴ H. Wieselgren, *ibidem*, p. 46. Cf. Åkerman, *Queen Christina of Sweden and her circle*, p. 111: “We know that Christina read the two parts of Bochart’s book, *Phaleg* and *Canaan*, and that she in 1653 allotted a two day discussion to its ideas

As we have seen, Stiernhielm was a member of this little royal club. As a linguistic theorist he had yet not published anything, but he had commenced his theorizing on the common origin and reunification of all languages. This topic is related to the name of Stiernhielm in Christian Juncker's survey of the participants at the royal academy.¹⁹⁵ Stiernhielm was deeply influenced by the linguistic theories of Ravius, Salmasius and Bochart, but he disagreed with the latter on the topic of the origin of the Celtic languages, which Bochart derived from Phoenician.¹⁹⁶ Stiernhielm ought to have participated as a member between the start in February 1650 and the early August 1651, when he departed to the Baltic provinces. According to the *Personalia*, Stiernhielm discussed philosophy with Descartes, whose *Principia philosophiae* (1644) he acquired in the early autumn 1649, and with Salmasius "in all its departments", and they "kindly gave him precedence and congratulated him on his great knowledge and enlightenment that he had from the Highest one".¹⁹⁷

Vossius arrived at the court in Stockholm on 21 March 1649 and stayed until the end of November 1651 (with the exception of a break during June–September 1650).¹⁹⁸ Ravius came in June 1650 and stayed at the court until September 1650, when he was appointed extraordinary professor of Semitic languages in Uppsala.¹⁹⁹ Salmasius was present from the end of August 1650 and remained one year, which was as long as the Curators of Leiden University

on the northern spread of tribes after Babylon and on the languages in the Phoenician colonies." Åkerman cites the biography of Léon Tolmer on Huet as evidence of her claim (*Pierre-Daniel Huet, 1630–1721: humaniste-physicien*, Bayeux 1949, p. 159), but I have not been able to find any information except for a quotation on p. 156 from Gilles Menage's *Menagiana ou les bons mots*, vol. 1, Paris 1692, p. 324, where Bourdelot persuades the Queen to oblige Bochart to play badminton with her and then plays a trick on Bochart by prescribing the Queen a laxative so that she could not attend Bochart's reading of his *Phaleg* at the meeting.

¹⁹⁵ Juncker, *Commentarius de vita [...] Iobi Ludolfi*, p. 56: [...] "Stiernhilmus, qui naturalem quandam omnes inter totius terrarum orbis linguas concordiam et harmoniam adeoque communia artium principia esse persuadebatur."

¹⁹⁶ In his *Anti-Bochartus* (for the full title of which see Section 3.3.6, no. 16 below) Stiernhielm refutes Bochart's Phoenician derivations of 50 Celtic words, for which he instead proposes Swedish etymologies. Stiernhielm wrote this treatise c. 1651.

¹⁹⁷ "Stiernhielm's personalier", *Svenska Akademiens samlingar*, ms. 291, envelope 3, fol. 5r; Wieselgren, "Personalierna över Stiernhielm", *Svio-Estonica* 1937, p. 82.

¹⁹⁸ Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his circle*, pp. 261–375. From Copenhagen he travelled in the company of Stiernhielm, who was returning from his visit to Holland. They reached the Swedish capital on Sunday, 21 March 1649.

¹⁹⁹ Ravius was invited by the Queen to the court in 1649. During the first period of his professorship of Oriental languages in Uppsala between October 1650 and October 1656 he entertained frequent contacts with the royal court. He was royal librarian for about three years, between October 1656 and June 1659.

granted him leave from his chair.²⁰⁰ Descartes reached Stockholm on 9 October 1650.²⁰¹ Georg Heinrich Ludolf and Hiob Ludolf stayed throughout all of 1650.²⁰² Huet and Bochart stayed for an entire year – between June 1652 and June of the next year. The German philologists at Uppsala (mentioned above) also entertained contacts with the court. In 1642, Freinshemius had been appointed Professor Skytteanus as the successor to Loccenius. Between 1647 and September 1650 he served as royal historiographer and librarian, and as tutor to Queen Christina in Roman politics. In the fall of 1650, he returned to Uppsala to hold the chair of eloquence for the coming academic year (until June 1651). In 1648, Johannes Schefferus had succeeded Freinshemius as professor Skytteanus, a position he held until 1680. In 1649, Johann Heinrich Boecler had been invited by the Queen to teach eloquence at Uppsala University. Appointed royal historiographer in 1650, he remained in Stockholm for some year.

In the oil painting “Queen Christina of Sweden and her Court” (Figure 2) the French painter Louis-Michel Dumesnil (1663–1739) tried to depict the members of the court with a focus on its academy. See the caption at the end of this book.

2.4.4 *Fallen into disgrace?*

In early August 1651, Stiernhielm left the Stockholm court to reside for a period in the Swedish Baltic provinces. Until the end of the 19th century, biographers believed that he had fallen out of grace with the Queen, because of witticisms in a statement and in an epigram. According to one story, Stiernhielm responded to the Queen’s favourite courtier, the above-mentioned French physician and libertine Pierre Michon Bourdelot in a biting manner when the latter accused him of being self-important and exacting. Bourdelot said “tu es morosus” and Stiernhielm replied: “tu es ultima syllaba”, that is “you are the last syllable”, namely *sus*, ‘swine’ in Latin.

According to another story, Stiernhielm authored a witty epigram against one of the Queen’s favourites, Johan Holm (d. 1687), ennobled Leijoncrona, who as a court tailor was entrusted with the purchase of clothing for the coronation and reached the position of master of the royal wardrobe in 1649. Johan Holm soon advanced to

²⁰⁰ Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his circle*, pp. 292–299.

²⁰¹ Wrangel, *Sveriges literära förbindelser*, p. 107; Blok, *ibidem*, p. 305.

²⁰² Juncker, *ibidem*, p. 54: “ineunte anno MDCL fratre suo Georgio Henrico comitatus noster adiit commemorantem tunc in praedio suo, Tydöna, Axelium Oxenstierna, Regni Suecici Chancellarium”. “Non multo post cum Stockholmiam, regni caput, excurrisset, haud parum gavisus est conspecta ad mensam regina Christina” [...]; p. 59: “exeunte igitur anno MDCL Stockholmia profectus” [...].

the status of nobleman and court counsellor.²⁰³ Stiernhielm mocked his career in an epigram:

Qui modo sartor erat, nunc Consiliarius audit:
In promptu res est; nam bene rem tetigit.²⁰⁴
He, who a moment ago was a tailor, is now called Counsellor.
The thing is obvious, for he has done his business well.²⁰⁵

In the case of Bourdelot, Swartling argues that Stiernhielm never met him, because this famous courtier only stayed in Sweden for a year and a half, from February 1652 onwards. As regards the epigram against Leijoncrona, Swartling contends that it must be of a later date than Stiernhielm's departure from the capital in the summer of 1651, since Holm received his letter of nobility in July 1653.

However, there is a passage in the ballet *Parnassus triumphans* that may be interpreted as a veiled criticism of Johan Holm. Stiernhielm here depicts a Muse with clothes torn apart, who regrets that she has been deprived of her festival dress. These lines may be autobiographical, but this possibility has so far been overlooked. Just as in the French and German versions, the Muse is staged as standing between the personifications of envy and slander, but in the Swedish version her addresses to them are much more detailed. After having complained about all forms of disparagement to Slander, the Muse addresses Envy and refers to the loss of her festival dress, "the gift of Minerva" – the goddess of prudence with whom Queen Christina identified herself.²⁰⁶ The Muse is introduced saying

²⁰³ Johan Holm was appointed to the position of "klädmästare" on 2 August 1649 and served as a chief chamberlain in 1650. In the Estimates of 1651 he is recorded as "Kungl. Majst. klädemestare och öfverkammartienare" with a salary of 900 silver thalers. Early in 1652 (10 Jan.) he was appointed director of incomes from interest ("kammarräntmästare") and early in 1653 (24 Jan.) superintendent of the court ("hovintendent"). On 16 July 1653 he was ennobled Johan Leijoncrona. See further Nils Sylvan, "Johan Leioncrona" in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 22, Stockholm 1977–1979, pp. 459 ff.

²⁰⁴ Nordström & Olsson, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm* 1:1, no. XXII, p. 181; 1:2, pp. 600 f.

²⁰⁵ The Latin phrase "bene rem tetigit" reminds of the phrase *rem acu tangere*, "to hit the matter with a needle", metaphorically "to hit the nail on the head". The phrase is ambiguous, because matter (*res*) can refer to Leijoncrona's economical business, but can potentially also imply an indecent or obscene relation between the Queen and her former tailor. Cf. Maria Berggren, "När Musan talade latin. Georg Stiernhielm som latinpoet" in *Den nordiska mosaiken: språk- och kulturmöten i gammal tid och i våra dagar: Humanistdagarna vid Uppsala universitet 1997*, edited by Rut Boström Andersson, p. 54.

²⁰⁶ Queen Christina was known as a Semiramis of the North and a Minerva of the Parnassus at the time of her coronation. See Susanna Åkerman, *Queen Christina of*

Men sij! huad avund mig beteer; hur' hon mig häder
 hon har mig afwänt mig beskärde högtijds kläder
 Minervae skänk, ty måst jag nu så rijfin gå
 men afvund du weest intet eller kanst förstå,
 huad Musa kan och hennes lärde spitze fieder:
 Hon hämnar sig; at thet dig blifwe dyre kläder.
 Ty Musa, som en bij, när som hon blifver skadd,
 hon stinger och i såret lefuer quar en gadd.²⁰⁷

But behold! how Envy behaves towards me, how she slanders me;
 she has deprived me of the festival dress vouchsafed to me –
 the gift of Minerva. Thus, I have to go about in clothes torn apart,
 but Envy, you know not, nor can you grasp
 what the Muse with her learned, pointed quill can do:
 she avenges herself, so that the dress will be expensive to you.
 For the Muse is similar to a bee; when hurt,
 she stings and in the wound there remains a barb.

In all probability this is an autobiographical passage with a message to Johan Holm as master of the royal wardrobe. The Muse is the alter ego of Stiernhielm himself. Her complaint can be related to Stiernhielm's annoyance that he was deprived of his festival outfit after the coronation in October 1650. In one of his manuscripts (F.d. 9:8, 22r), Stiernhielm wrote a memorandum, which consists of four petitions to the Government,²⁰⁸ the third of which is that the festival outfits be returned to him. The brief record cannot be dated, but the contents of the manuscript itself can be dated to about 1650. It must have been written after October 1650 and before early July 1651. The request was approved by the Government on 12 July 1651.²⁰⁹ In the book of wardrobe (*kledhe kammaren*) there is an issuance for the

Sweden and her Circle, Leiden: Brill, 1991, p. 103 in ch. 6: "Christina Minerva and the ancient model of learning". Christina is depicted as Minerva by the Flemish painter Justus van Egmont (1601–1674), National Museum, Stockholm.

²⁰⁷ *Parnassus triumphans* (written in November and December in 1650), lines 163–170. This passage lacks direct counterpart in the French original, where the Muse is introduced saying: "Enfin je suis desesperée / Je me vois si fort déchirée". The German text reads: "Die verschalkte Misgunst hat meine Kleider mir genommen." See Nordström and Olsson (eds.), *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 1:1, p. 111 (for the Swedish text) and 1:2, pp. 361 and 374 (for the French and German versions).

²⁰⁸ See Wieselgren's textual edition, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm* 3:2, pp. 125 f.

²⁰⁹ Wieselgren, *ibidem*, vol. 3:2, p. 126. The letter reads: "Wår Troo Tiänare och Custos Archivi Georg Stiernhielm ähr widh wår Chröningz högtijdh af whariehanda orsaak dhett då skedt är, worden med en hederskädningh förgäten. Altså hafwe Wij bewilliat att han den ännu bekomma skall" [...].

delivery of “the glorious clothing” (*ährekläder*) that he received “at the happy coronation of Her Royal Majesty” to “the archivist Göran Stiernhielm”.²¹⁰ The issuance is dated 28 July 1651. It is reasonable to interpret the verses quoted as a quick-witted personal criticism.

In early August 1651²¹¹ Stiernhielm left Sweden to visit his manor Porosok, which he called Stiernlund,²¹² in Ingria, midway between Narva and Nyen (today St. Petersburg), with a twofold purpose: to have leisure for philological and philosophical authorship and to solve boundary disputes at his estates Porosok and Lomacha. He soon cleared up matters concerning Porosok with the proprietors of Sista-Wodskoy, who were the professors of the University of Dorpat. The lawsuit against Anthonius Rosenbröijer (1593–1678), landlord of Lonoska, was first (in 1651) decided in favour of Stiernhielm, but in the subsequent proceedings (1655) Stiernhielm was defeated.²¹³

Before leaving he had submitted his supplications in the above-mentioned note (F.d 9:8, 22r), the first of which was to be bestowed either an estate from the Crown in the province of Kexholmia or the expectancy of a number of homesteads in Ostrogothia. Stiernhielm states in a letter to the Queen in 1653 that the latter petition was granted shortly before his departure to Livonia,²¹⁴ but it was never implemented. The second request was that his full salary (*salarium integrum*) for his offices as antiquarian of the realm and archivist be paid out without delay “for what remains of the last year and for the present year” (*pro praeterito anno quod restat et pro praesenti*). This request was granted on 12 July 1651.²¹⁵ The period of salary due depends on the exact dating of the memorandum. The fourth petition was to be conferred a royal travel grant for a journey to the Netherlands to publish his scholarly works there because of the lack of necessary typefaces in Sweden. Obviously, this request was not granted, or he changed his plans because of his travel to Ingria.

²¹⁰ Wieselgren, *ibidem*, p. 126.

²¹¹ In a letter to David Blondel, Stiernhielm states that he received Blondel’s letter on 7 August, when he was about to undertake the journey to Ingria. See Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 50. For my edition of this letter, see Vol. 2, Section 13.1.2.

²¹² This is most likely the manor designated as *Mysa Poroschska* on a topographic map of Ingria: *Ingermanlandiae seu Ingriae novissima tabula* (Nuremberg 1734). See Figure 35. The same site (Poroschska) is mapped by Matthaeus Seutter in *Nova et accurata delineatio Ingriae et Careliae* around 1750.

²¹³ Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, pp. 73–74. Stiernhielm accounts for the case with Rosenbröijer in a letter to the Regency in the early 1660s; see Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm*, vol. 3:1, pp. 216–221 (letter no. 128).

²¹⁴ Wieselgren, *ibidem*, p. 158 (letter no. 99): “Näst för min afreesa till Lifland Anno 1651 bevillade mig E: K: Maj: genom Biskopens Ioh. Matthiae intercession een Expectance opå 21 gårdar i Östergötland.” Cf. Swartling, *Stiernhielm*, pp. 73 f.

²¹⁵ Wieselgren, *ibidem*, p. 126.

2.4.5 Private scholar in the Baltic provinces and in Stockholm

Stiernhielm remained in the Baltic provinces from August 1651 until June 1653, chiefly devoting himself to linguistic and philosophical authorship. His first scholarly concern was to complete the five extant theoretical linguistic chapters of *Runa Suethica*. On the first page of his drafts he states that he began the work at his manor Stiernlund in Ingria. The drafts capture the essence of Stiernhielm's theory on language origins, language relationships and linguistic change. It is likely that the comparatively high level of his theorizing depends on the discussions of such topics that took place at the court academy in Stockholm. Stiernhielm dated the first page 11 September 1651. It is probable that he worked continually on linguistic problems during the whole period when he held the office as chief antiquarian of the realm. His successor Johan Axehielm (1608–1692) took office on 17 February 1652.

Stiernhielm applied a broader concept of Swedish antiquities than the one in use today. In the tradition of Johannes Bureus, he defined this term as comprising linguistic and literary antiquities – that is, old Swedish texts and their language – and partly also the archaeological remains, such as the runestones. His comparative linguistics was closely related to his claims about the great antiquity of the Swedish language and its preservation of the allegedly original links between reality itself and its linguistic signs. In his own opinion, Stiernhielm was performing his duties both as a researching antiquarian and as a researching archivist.

Stiernhielm was a member of a commission for determining with the Russians the question of defectors, who were in co-operation either with Swedish or Russian authorities, and for drawing the borders between Swedish Livonia and Russia.²¹⁶ In the summer and autumn of 1652, he stayed at the stronghold Neuhausen (Estonian Vastseliina, in Finnish Vastselinna), near the Russian border, in the Võru county of south-eastern Estonia. During these months he was apparently mainly busy with developing his ideas about cosmogony and theory of natural philosophy.

In June 1653 Stiernhielm travelled to Stockholm as a representative of the nobility of Ingria with a mandate to claim the same privileges as those of the nobility in Livonia. His efforts were fruitless, as were also his inquiries directed at the Lord High Chancellor to be conferred an estate or be exempted from taxation for some time.²¹⁷ He remained in the capital for one year, until June

²¹⁶ Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, pp. 74–75.

²¹⁷ Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, pp. 88–91. The letter to Axel Oxenstierna has been edited by Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 3:1, pp. 163–166.

1654, including a stay in Uppsala, where he took advantage of the opportunity to meet Christian Ravius and Johannes Schefferus. On 16 November 1653, he was asked by the Queen to act as the opponent in a public disputation, titled *Disputatio publica Mosaico philologica*, with the professor of theology Johannes Terserus as chairman. The act took place in Uppsala when the royal court was sojourning there because of a plague in the capital. The subject matter was the Latin translation and commentary on Genesis that Terserus had undertaken on the Queen's commission and completed in 1652.²¹⁸ Jordan Nicolai Edenius (1624–1666), a skilled student of theology and Hebrew, acted as respondent and recorded the dispute, in which Stiernhielm defended his views on the primacy and superiority of Swedish in relation to Hebrew (Vol. 2, Section. 14.2).

Stiernhielm apparently remained in Uppsala during the winter and spring of 1653–1654,²¹⁹ then moved back to the house he rented in Stockholm. In the early summer he returned to Uppsala with his son Johan Markvard to be present at Queen Christina's abdication and the coronation of Charles X Gustav on 6 June.

For the next two years – between June 1654 and June 1656 – Stiernhielm mainly stayed at his country estate Wasula, 10 km. north of Tartu, at that time in Livonia (today Estonia), but also for shorter periods at his manor in Ingria. During these years he was for the most part occupied with mathematical studies, but also wrote a substantial portion of his texts on morphology. He continued his co-operation with Johannes Megalinus (the tutor of his sons Gustaf and Otto), who submitted his thesis *Memoriale mathematicum* at the University of Dorpat in 1655. However, political events soon put an end to his scholarly pursuits in Livonia. In July 1655, Sweden entered into war with Poland-Lithuania. After the military successes of King Charles X Gustav at the Polish theatre of war, the Dutch Republic and Austria managed to drive Russia into open war with Sweden.²²⁰ With Russia threatening to invade Estonia and Livonia in May 1656, the governor of the provinces, Bengt Skytte, Stiernhielm's former pupil, ordered him in a letter dated 18 May²²¹ to put his wife, children and library in safety and prepare himself to flee from Wasula. At the beginning of June 1656 he left his estate,²²² which was actually

²¹⁸ Jacob Tengström, *Minne öfver Joannes Elai Terserus*, Åbo 1795, p. 176.

²¹⁹ Stiernhielm dates a page of his Welsh-Latin wordlist (with Swedish cognates) Uppsala 6 January 1654 (*Cambrica collecta Upsaliae die 6 Jan. 1654*; F.d. 6, 99r).

²²⁰ Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 91.

²²¹ See Wieselgren, *Brev till Georg Stiernhielm* (1968), pp. 250 f., letter no. 163.

²²² A headline in F.d. 9**, fol. 38r, reads: “Adversaria tumultuaria in fuga excepta, coepta in Wasula die 6 Junii Anno 1656” (Tumultuary notes written down in the flight, begun in Wasula 6 June 1656). Cf. Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 92.

ravaged and burnt by the Russians soon after his flight. Russian armed forces laid siege to Dorpat on 28 July 1656.

2.5 Refugee and final career as an official

2.5.1 Refugee and unemployed scholar

On 13 August 1656 Stiernhielm arrived at the port of Vaxholm in the archipelago of Stockholm.²²³ In the capital, his old friends the royal secretaries Daniel Behmer and Joachim Skyttehielm helped him in his destitute situation.²²⁴ Grateful for their kindness he dedicated to them a Latin poem, *Idyllion Anacreonticum*, in which he contrasts the power of money with true and proven friendship. The topic is the same as in his drafts from 1650 on *Proteus rhetoricus*, viz. the theme “Everything yields to money”, but is more elaborate in this poem.²²⁵

After nearly half a year Bengt Skytte offered him accommodation at one of his estates, the manor Marby²²⁶ on the island of Oknön, situated between Enköping and Strängnäs, not far from Skytte’s inherited castle of Grönsö (south-east of Enköping). Stiernhielm stayed at Marby for shorter or longer periods between the end of December 1656 and the summer of 1658.²²⁷ During this period he finished off a couple of geometrical and literary works, through

²²³ See Stiernhielm’s note in his own copy of Meric Casaubon’s *De quatuor linguis commentationis pars prior, quae de lingua Hebraica et de lingua Saxonica*, Londini/ London 1650, see the dirty sheet (verso) at the end of this book at Uppsala University Library, inventory no. 58 XI. 3, where he has written: “In Portu prope Waxholm die 13. Aug. 1656. GS.” That is: “At the port close to Vaxholm on the day of the 13th of August in 1656. Georg Stiernhielm.” He has filled the dirty sheet (recto–verso) with his etymology of the medieval Swedish verb and pronoun “a” in the sense of “to be, to have; one (*est. habeo. unum*) and its alleged derivatives.

²²⁴ In his letter to the Council of the Realm on 29 August 1656 and his letter to King Charles X Gustav on 25 November 1656 (Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 3:1, pp. 188–189 and 193–194), Stiernhielm complains about the unexpected assault of the Moscovites, through which he has lost his house and property. “Breadless and homeless” he cannot maintain himself and his family.

²²⁵ For these drafts of *Proteus rhetoricus*, see Stiernhielm’s linguistic works, Vol. 1, Section 11.2.5.2: syntactic variability, text 2 (no. 2–11) and Section 11.2.6.

²²⁶ In F.d. 9** Stiernhielm dates various drafts in Marby between 30 Dec. 1656 (p. 42/ 40v) and 4 Febr. 1657 (p. 119/ 79r). In F.d. 19a, II (13v) a draft is dated Marby 12 March 1658. Johan III of Sweden donated the estate Marby to his governor, the Scottish mercenary officer Jacob Neaf, whose daughter Maria Näf inherited Marby. She married Johan Skytte in 1606. Their son B. Skytte took over the estate in 1645.

²²⁷ Obviously, he left his wife and his daughter at Marby during his trip to visit his relatives in his home district of Kniva in the spring 1657 (to clear up the dispute about the debts inherited from his father), likewise, when he went to Nyköping to communicate his geometrical ideas to friends at the end of November 1657 (F.d. 19:a, second wrapper, and F.d. 9**, fol. 80r/ p. 123; cf. Stig Nilsson, *Nomenklatur och terminologi*, p. 155) and during his trip to the royal court in Gothenburg in the spring and summer of 1658. His youngest son Gustaf followed him on his travels.

which he also hoped to attract the interest of some mecenat. Thus, he completed his didactic poem *Hercules* and his measuring rod *Linea Carolina*, by which he wanted to present a new standard of measurement (see Section 3.3.6). King Charles X Gustav soon (on 7 March 1657) granted him an allowance of 1200 silver thalers, though it was paid only in part (Swartling 1909: 94). On the order of the king, Stiernhielm travelled in the spring of 1658 to the royal court at Gothenburg, where he presented his *Hercules* to the king, who is said to have listened to it with pleasure. During his stay in Gothenburg he composed a political poem on the Swedish-Danish war of 1657–1658, entitled *Discursus astro-poeticus mixtus et comicus*, which he likely finished in the early summer of 1658.²²⁸

After the Peace of Roskilde in 1658, Stiernhielm was appointed district judge of the province of Trondheim. He started his journey to take office and in September reached Sundsvall, where he stopped to wait for passable roads. In the meantime, however, the province was lost again after the Danish capture of the city of Trondheim in December 1658. Stiernhielm decided to winter in Sundsvall.

2.5.2 State official in Stockholm

After returning to Stockholm from Sundsvall at the end of April 1659, Stiernhielm was offered accommodation with his family in Bengt Skytte's house in "the city within the bridges" at Järntorget.²²⁹ After that, as long as his wife lived,²³⁰ he rented an apartment in the northern suburb in the quarter of St. Peder at Lower Norrmalm. In the early 1660s he was requested to create a national standard of Swedish weights, lengths and volumes, which resulted in the table *Mensurae Regni Suehthiae*, drafted in February 1662 (F.d. 19:a, II, fol. 19r) and completed as a copperplate engraving in 1664. His standardization was implemented in the Decree on Measures and Weights ("Plakat om mått och vikt") in 1665. His decimal system of length was adopted in 1733.²³¹ The government ultimately appointed Stiernhielm *Director-General of Weights and Measures* (27 April 1668).

²²⁸ It has been edited in Stiernhielm's collected poetical works, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 1:1, pp. 207–246 (798 lines). Kurt Johannesson, *I polstjärnans tecken*, p. 95, assumes this poem was written during Stiernhielm's stay in Gothenburg. Bernt Olsson, *Samlade skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm*, 1:2, p. 624, argues that this poem should be dated between the end of March and the beginning of June 1658.

²²⁹ Per Wieselgren, "Georg Stiernhielm som tomtägare och husbyggare", *Samfundet S:t Eriks årsbok* 1949, p. 80. Cf. Idem, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 80

²³⁰ Cecilia Burea died on 4 November 1663. In the family Bible, Stiernhielm noted: "Anno 1663, den 4 Novembr. afsomnade i Herranom mijn sahl. hustru Cecilia Larsdotter Bure."

²³¹ Pipping, "Georg Stiernhielm and his system of weights and measures", p. 178.

After the peace with Russia at Cardis in 1661 Stiernhielm did not return to the Baltic Provinces. Through the patronage of M. G. De la Gardie, who now was Chancellor of the Realm, Stiernhielm was appointed member of the college of reduction (14 December 1660, a position he inactively held until the autumn of 1662) and as a military counsellor (*consiliarius militaris*; *assessor collegii militaris*), a post to which he was appointed on 27 February 1661, but did not occupy until 1 August 1661 and for which he got an annual income of 1500 silver thalers.²³² By royal letter (of 30 September 1662), Stiernhielm was allowed an annual pension of 1500 silver thalers.²³³

In 1662 De la Gardie granted Stiernhielm three amanuenses for making fair copies of his work on the antiquities of the fatherland,²³⁴ that is his lexicographical work on Swedish and his linguistic theory concerning the origin and development of the Swedish language. In 1665, Stiernhielm began his studies of Mesogothic. The background was the repurchase of *Codex Argenteus* by De la Gardie in 1662, Fr. Junius' publication of it in 1665, and the decision of the Swedish government to prepare a re-edition of this remarkable work. The Chancellor also founded a state agency for antiquities (*Collegium antiquitatis*), of which Stiernhielm was appointed director on 17 December 1666 (with a salary of 1000 silver thalers). De la Gardie issued instructions for the care and cultivation of Swedish antiquities "*fornminnesplakater*" (28 Nov. 1666).²³⁵ During a couple of years the publications of this agency were paid for by the Chancellor, later by a state fund for culture (the *bibeltrycktunnan*, a barrel of Bible prints).

Stiernhielm became a member of the Royal Society of London on 15 November 1669, after having both eagerly and modestly proposed his wish to be elected in a letter (dated 21 Sept. 1669) to the president of this society, William Brouncker.²³⁶ The secretary Henry Oldenburg informed him of his election, programmatically stating that the society strives to unify natural philosophy into an omnibus volume, "from which a solid and fruitful system of natural science once can be built up". Stiernhielm was exhorted to send observations of natural objects to the society.²³⁷

In 1664, he bought two plots and built a stone house in the block of Sporren in Norrmalm on Drottninggatan (50–52).²³⁸ He kept an

²³² Swartling 1909: pp. 101–102, 113. Rikshuvudboken 1668, RA, vol. 119, p. 206.

²³³ The letter is edited by Wieselgren, *Brev till Georg Stiernhielm*, pp. 326–327.

²³⁴ See the same royal letter: Wieselgren, *Brev till Georg Stiernhielm*, pp. 326–327.

²³⁵ Widenberg, *Fäderneslandets antikviteter*, pp. 195–197.

²³⁶ Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, no. 176, pp. 298 f.

²³⁷ Wieselgren, *Brev till Georg Stiernhielm*, pp. 393 f.

²³⁸ Wieselgren, "Georg Stiernhielm som tomtägare och husbyggare", pp. 80–81. The street system of Norrmalm was laid out during the regency of Queen Christina

open house for his friends and often invited his amanuenses for dinner. During this time Stiernhielm was also often a guest at the homes of the High officials of the Realm, e.g. Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie and the Lord High Chamberlain Gabriel Oxenstierna.²³⁹

2.6 Stiernhielm's death and burial

2.6.1 Stiernhielm's death and Columbus' epitaphs

In the *Personalia* (fols. 5v–6r) Bergius tells how before his death Stiernhielm often met with the reverend and learned Johannes Terserus, then vicar of Klara Church, for conversation about “the blessed immortality of souls and their eternal relief after this life”, and that he received the Eucharist from Terserus with “the greatest veneration in true faith and with undespairing hope” on 7 March 1672. One and a half months later, on 22 April, “he left the stage of this corruptible world with Christian preparation in a state of grace”. The fact that Terserus still held his pastorate of Klara Church and was staying in Stockholm in the spring is confirmed by his diary.²⁴⁰

Columbus accounts for the Christian piety Stiernhielm exhibited on his deathbed, answering in the affirmative to the question whether he believed that a person is saved if he dies in the Christian religion, and agreeing that there is no other way. He goes on to give an account of Stiernhielm's death, reporting that he thanked God for endowing him with a body, a soul and other perfect gifts as a human being and also with health and his daily bread and rejoiced over his clean conscience, and the fact that he had not done anyone any injustice, and that his human shortcomings were forgiven. He then “made fine confessions to the clergymen, conceived a firm faith in Christ and departed very well from this life.”²⁴¹

Columbus expressed his admiration of Stiernhielm in an epitaph, which he proposed in three variants. The first of them reads:

and is still to a great extent preserved. Drottninggatan was named thus in 1639. See Marianne Råberg, *Visioner och verklighet, II: Stockholmskartor från 1600-talet*, Stockholm 1987, pp. 32–33, where the oldest extant map on the new street system is reprinted (Anders Torstenssons' general map from 1640).

²³⁹ Columbus, *Mål-roo eller roo-mål* (Hesselman' edition), pp. 15–16.

²⁴⁰ See Terserus' unpublished diary, *Ortus et vitae cursus Johannis Elai Terseri Dalekarli ab ipso conscriptus*, pp. 121–125 (shelfmark: Rålamb. Fol. N:o 142, Royal Library, Stockholm). Terserus arrived at Linköping on 8 January 1672, but decided to postpone his ordination until the next synod. He returned to Stockholm at the end of February, prolonged his pastorate of Klara Church until 1 November 1672 and stayed in the capital until 6 June 1672. At his next stay in Linköping in June and July 1672 he was ordained as bishop. To attend the diet he returned again to Stockholm. Arriving on 29 July 1672 he remained until the end of the year.

²⁴¹ Columbus, *Mål-roo eller roo-mål*, p. 24: “Sedan giorde han wackre bekännelser för Prästerne, fattade en stadig troo på Christum ok skildes mycket wackert hädan.”

In-under denna sten är Jöran Stiernhielm gömd,
 af lärdom ok förstånd, knapt troor iag nonsin glömd.
 “Under this stone is Jöran Stiernhielm hidden,
 of a learning and intelligence scarcely ever to be forgotten.”

The first two lines of the second variant (all in all six lines) are:

In-under denna sten har man Her Stiernhielm gömt,
 huars lärdom, wett ok skäl skal aldrig blifwa glömt.
 “Under this stone we have hidden Stiernhielm,
 whose learning, sense and reason will never be forgotten.”²⁴²

In addition to the third inscription, which partly reads: “I only say what he himself said to me: As long as I lived, I lived cheerfully” (*Vixit, dum vixit, laetus*), Columbus wrote an epigram in elegiac distich, in which he compares Stiernhielm to Aristotle, Plato, and Apollo. The last of them shows regard for his skill in Swedish poetry:

Si Brunkberg Pindus, si Suecia Graecia, Stiernhielm
 esset Aristoteles, esset et ipse Plato,
 Quin etiam Phoebus, tanto cum numine Musis
 praefuit Arctois unicus ille novem.
 “If Brunk(e)berg²⁴³ had been Mount Pindus,²⁴⁴ if Sweden Greece,
 Stiernhielm would have been Aristotle and Plato himself,
 even Phoebus, since he alone with such authority
 presided over the nine Muses of the North.”²⁴⁵

2.6.2 *Stiernhielm's burial*

Stiernhielm's funeral took place at Klara Church (Stockholm) on 28 June 1674.²⁴⁶ In accordance with his reputable social position, he got, as Columbus remarks, “a splendid burial with a procession and a funeral oration, as beautiful as anyone could wish himself.”²⁴⁷ Olaus Bergius officiated at the ceremony. Columbus himself also gave a oration on Stiernhielm's moral and intellectual character.²⁴⁸ As a late recompense for salary due, the Treasury of the central government

²⁴² Columbus, *Mål-roo eller roo-mål*, in Hesselman's edition (1935), p. 25.

²⁴³ From 1663, Stiernhielm lived at the foot of the western side of Brunkeberg, a boulder ridge in north-south direction in the district Norrmalm, Stockholm.

²⁴⁴ Mount Pindus is a mountain in northern Greece and southern Albania, in antiquity considered to be an abode of the nine Muses; cf. Index II, s.v. Muses.

²⁴⁵ Columbus, *ibidem*, p. 26.

²⁴⁶ G. Hellström, “G. Stiernhielms död och begravning”, *Svio-Estonica* 1937, p. 85.

²⁴⁷ Columbus, *Mål-roo eller roo-mål*, in Hesselman's edition (1935), p. 24.

²⁴⁸ The print of this four-page speech is titled *Öfwer Fordom Hans Kongl. May.tz TrooMan och Krijgs-Råd, Den Edle och Wälborne Herren, Göran Stiernhielm*.

(*Kammarkollegium*) paid for this funeral service, but the casket with Stiernhielm's earthly remains was removed to the mortuary, where it stood until 1688, when the son-in-law, chief judge Johan Sylvius and the daughter Christina took care that the corpse was buried at Sångå church in the parish of Färingsö (formerly "Svartsjölandet"), where Sylvius possessed the estate Brommaretorpet.²⁴⁹

At the inventory of Sångå church in 1797 the copper coffin was "for unknown reasons" taken up from the tomb under the altar and was placed in a shed, from where it was stolen in 1835. However, already some decades earlier – before 1808 – Stiernhielm's decayed limbs had irreverently been thrown out from their resting place.²⁵⁰

2.7 Epilogue

2.7.1 Stiernhielm's character

In the course of the reception of him as a citizen, poet, philosopher and philologist, the views on Stiernhielm have varied according to shifting currents and ideals. Bergius represents Stiernhielm as a man who faithful to his duties used his intellectual gifts and natural talents in the service of the Crown, one who had an extensive knowledge of languages, one who was versed in all the departments of philosophy and one who was an example of Christian piety and virtue.

Columbus represents Stiernhielm as ready-witted and judicious – "*ord-hittug ok klok-munnad*" – in his doings as an official and a scholar. In particular, he presents him as a Stoic, one who performs his duties, one who loves learning, virtue, and justice, and as a free-thinker, though on his deathbed a pious Christian. Celsius (1753: 22) characterizes Stiernhielm as follows: "Always joyful, ready for jokes and clever in witticism". According to Atterbom, two passions ruled him – the desire for wisdom and the desire for glory – while his ideals were friendship and generosity, and "from all his nature shone liberty, joy, profundity and honesty".²⁵¹

Columbus tells that Stiernhielm asked him to write his epitaph *Vixit, dum vixit, laetus*, "As long as he lived, he lived cheerfully" in Swedish. Columbus translates it: "Så länge han leefde, så leefde han glädd."²⁵² It is probable that the epitaph reflects a conception of a secular joyfulness, contentedness and cheerfulness.²⁵³ The statement should be read in the context of his concepts of health and happiness.

²⁴⁹ Hellström, *ibidem*, p. 86; cf. Olofsson, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 216.

²⁵⁰ Källman, "Stölden av Georg Stiernhielms kista", *Svio-Estonica* 1939: 118–128.

²⁵¹ Atterbom, *Svenska siare och skalder*, vol. 2, Örebro 1862, pp. 107 f. and 111.

²⁵² Columbus' funeral speech *Öfver ... Göran Stiernhielm*, p. 4; *idem*, *Mål-roo*, 26.

²⁵³ Johan Henrik Lidén (1741–1793), *Historiola litteraria Poetarum Suecanorum*, part 1, Upsaliae 1764, p. 28, interprets the epitaph as referring to a joyful mind.

In his poem *Hälsoprijs*, Stiernhielm declares that the one who has health “lives in daily joy without sorrow”, and “health (of the body and mind) is everything on which our secular felicity depends”.²⁵⁴ Columbus states that he once raised the question: “Who is happy in this world?” to Stiernhielm, who replied that it is he who is content with his official duties as the food of his soul (*pabulum animi*), at the same time as the performance of official duties supplies subsistence for the body.²⁵⁵ Columbus argues that Stiernhielm was satisfied with his lot and always used to say that “poverty is the companion of a good mind” (*bonae mentis comes est paupertas*),²⁵⁶ a statement often quoted by his premodern biographers. A similar wording: “poverty is the sister of a good mind” is attested in his philosophical drafts.²⁵⁷ Stiernhielm’s reputation as a dutiful Stoic in prosperity and adversity was by Sten Lindroth contrasted to his appearance before the court as a litigious landowner, incessantly occupied by protracted lawsuits.²⁵⁸

2.7.2 Stiernhielm’s eclecticism, free-thinking, and Stoic ethics

According to Swartling, the characteristic features that distinguish Stiernhielm’s authorship is the ability of systematization and synthesis and an interest in epistemological questions, which in a lucky combination supplied him with a more thorough understanding of the nature of science than that of his contemporaries.²⁵⁹ In developing his literary works and his linguistic and philosophical theories, Stiernhielm adopted an eclectic approach, for which Gothicism, post-Ramism, Stoic ethics, Neoplatonism and Hermetism were important sources. His precursor of encyclopaedic eclecticism was Johann Henrich Alsted, but he was also inspired by pansophism, a system of universal knowledge, proposed by Alsted’s pupil Jan Amos Comenius, who visited Sweden in 1642 and then entertained contacts with Swedish scholars such as Johannes Matthiae, a tutor of Queen Christina and bishop of Strängnäs (1643–1664).²⁶⁰

²⁵⁴ Stiernhielm, *Musae Suethizantes*, “Hälsoprijs” line 4: “Han lefwer glad i dagelig frögd förutan sorg” and line 43: “Hälsan allen är i hwilko beroor wår wärldzlige sällheet.” See *Samlade skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm*, vol. 1:1, pp. 142–143.

²⁵⁵ Columbus, *Mål-roo eller roo-mål*, p. 17–18, story no. 35 “Lycklig huem?”

²⁵⁶ Columbus, *ibidem*, p. 15, story no. 27 “Lärd fattigdom”.

²⁵⁷ See Nordström’s collection of Stiernhielm’s maxims, *Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 2, pp. 197–198, § III: “Bonae mentis soror paupertas”, edited from F.d. 9**, p. 121.

²⁵⁸ Lindroth, *Fru Lusta och Fru Dygd*, Stockholm 1963, pp. 92–94.

²⁵⁹ Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 5. Sellberg, “Stiernhielms världsbild”, p. 151.

²⁶⁰ Nordström, *Filosofiska fragment*, pp. CCXI–CCXV, asserts that Comenius’ pansophical and irenical religious ideas also were advocated by Louis de Geer, Johannes Elai Terserus, Johannes Gezelius the Elder, and Christian Ravius, whose brother Johann Raue was a close collaborator of Comenius, while Bishop Matthiae, de Geer and Ravius corresponded with Samuel Hartlib and John Dury.

When applied to religion, Stiernhielm's post-Ramist scientific method – that knowledge should not be based on authority, tradition and divine revelation, but should be attained by means of reason and empirical observation – turned into free-thinking, defined as “the free exercise of reason in matters of belief, unrestrained by deference to authority”.²⁶¹ Stiernhielm's libertarian views about some tenets of the Christian religion posed a problem to his first biographer Columbus.²⁶² According to Kurt Johannesson,²⁶³ Columbus' anxiety was related to the spread of libertinism in Sweden after the middle of the 17th century, ideas that had been advocated by Pierre Bourdelot and Gabriel Naudé at the royal court.²⁶⁴ It was easy to interpret Stiernhielm's free-thinking as a manifestation of such ideas. In the mid-18th century, the Swedish historian Johan Arckenholtz made such an assumption.²⁶⁵ Olof Celsius the Younger states: “In matters of religion Stiernhielm was a free-thinker”²⁶⁶ but he maintains that Stiernhielm repented on his deathbed.²⁶⁷ Atterbom argued that Stiernhielm's philosophy aimed at a reconciliation with Christianity, and in its moral aspects implicitly agreed with the biblical truths.²⁶⁸ Nordström regarded Stiernhielm's views on the cosmogony and the nature of man as an expression of hermetic Neoplatonism and as an implicit questioning of biblical tenets.²⁶⁹ Lindroth construed these views as an act of apostasy from Christian faith.²⁷⁰

²⁶¹ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. free-thinking.

²⁶² Columbus, *Mål-roo eller Roo-mål*, p. 22–23, states that Stiernhielm sometimes expressed doubts concerning the Christian religion, but does not specify them.

²⁶³ Johannesson, “Stiernhielm och libertinerna”, *Stiernhielm 400 år*, pp. 118, 123 f.

²⁶⁴ Sven Stolpe, *Drottning Kristina*, Stockholm 1966 (1st ed. 1960), pp. 179–183.

²⁶⁵ Arckenholtz, *Memoires concernant Christine, Reine de la Suède*, vol. 1, p. 336: “Il revint de son libertinage, car son ami intime l'Évêque Terserus, alors pastor de l'Eglise Ste. Claire à Stockholm, que l'assista dans ce ternier moment, dit dans son oration funèbre, qu' à la vérité, il n'avoit connu personne qui eut parlé de Dieu plus librement qui lui, mais qu'il ne connoissoit aussi personne, qui eut témoigné à sa mort un repentir plus sincere de tout ce qu'il avoit dit de trop libre pendant sa vie.”

²⁶⁶ Celsius, *Lärde svänske*, p. 23: “Uti religionens mål var Stiernhielm fritänkare.”

²⁶⁷ According to Celsius, *ibidem*, p. 24, Terserus declared in his funeral oration that “he did not know anyone who had spoken more freely about God than Stiernhielm, but on the other hand no one who more deeply had repented his outspokenness.”

²⁶⁸ Atterbom, *Svenska siare och skalder*, Uppsala 1843, pp. 64–66 (2nd ed. pp. 55–57): Stiernhielm's philosophical works “bevittna et ny-platonisk, men sjelfständigt fattad och till försoning med Christendomen syftande verldsåsigt.” According to Atterbom his philosophy entailed a virtue ethics, “dygdlära”, which emphasizes the unimportance of the material world and which agrees with the truths of the biblical word; and his fundamental error was the fascination for mystic idealism.

²⁶⁹ Nordström explored Stiernhielm's natural philosophy in *Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, pp. CCCIX–CCCXXXVII, and edited texts (*ibidem*, vol. 2) pertaining to the views on the Creation, the origin of evil, the nature of God, the nature of man, and

Earlier researchers have moreover raised and differently answered the question whether Stiernhielm in his poem *Hercules* presents a doctrine of virtues that conforms to Christian ethics and preaching more than Greco-Roman pagan intellectual currents. When summing up the previous discussion, Gunnar Broberg underlines Stiernhielm's eclectic union of Classical, Biblical, and Gothic cultural traditions.²⁷¹

Columbus was eager to emphasize Stiernhielm's strong sense of duty and virtue.²⁷² Stiernhielm advocated a kind of virtue ethics in which Stoic and Christian virtues were combined, which was far from exceptional in a time when the Classical humanistic educational programme held sway at Lutheran schools. The Church Fathers in the West, above all Augustine, had adopted the Stoic doctrine of main virtues: prudence (*prudentia*), courage (*fortitudo*), justice (*iustitia*) and moderation (*temperantia*), though subordinating them to the Christian virtues faith, hope, and love. This union of Greco-Roman and Christian virtues was transmitted to Western Christianity during the Middle Ages and was retained in the Lutheran Reformation.

the material world. He regarded Stiernhielm's views on these topics as heterodox, for instance the views on the nature of man as a dichotomous microcosm (ibid., pp. 170–172). The ontological, psychological and moral aspects of this dichotomy are more clearly represented in unpublished circle diagrams (F.d. 4:4:1, 65r; F.d. 4:5, 35r). According to Plotinus, Stiernhielm conceived the material world as something inherently evil (Nordström, ibid., pp. 32–48), which implied a questioning of the Fall. Stiernhielm argued that the Neoplatonic triad of unity, truth and goodness are the attributes of God and that the Zoroastrian and Hermetic views on God are in line with the biblical doctrine of the Trinity of God (Nordström, ibid., pp. 104 f.).

²⁷⁰ Lindroth, *Georg Stiernhielm. Hercules, jämte efterskrift* [...], Stockholm 1957, p. 32 f. (Johannesson, "Stiernhielm och libertinerna", p. 114, wittily argues that this image is Lindroth's self-portrait.) Stiernhielm's philosophical drafts do actually not allow any far-reaching conclusions; but it is obvious that he supported the idea of *philosophia perennis*, a perennial wisdom transmitted to a few sages of the Oriental and Western religious and philosophical traditions; see F.d. 5, 22r; Nordström, ibid. vol. 1, XLVI f., edited in vol. 2, p. 185 § 8; Sellberg, "Stiernhielms världsbild", pp. 139 and 149; Helander, *Neo-Latin literature*, p. 427. Stiernhielm's world view was an eclectic product of this idea of *philosophia perennis*, Neoplatonism, Stoicism and ecumenical pansophism, and his natural philosophy served the purpose to find a key to solving the political and religious conflicts of Europe; Sellberg, ibid., 155.

²⁷¹ Gunnar Broberg, "Dygdena – klassiska och kristna" in idem (ed.), *Gyllene äpplen: svensk idéhistorisk läsebok*, Stockholm (Atlantis) 1991, p. 382.

²⁷² Columbus, *Mål-roo eller Roo-mål*, p. 23, argues that Stiernhielm put virtue in the center of Christian worship: "He was of the opinion that the greatest worship of God is to perform one's duties and, as far as possible, do good to one's neighbour" and states that Stiernhielm emphasized a firm hope in God and a steady confidence in good intentions more than religious ceremonies, lengthy prayers, and much participation in the mass "as usual in the Papacy" and that he esteemed clergymen who exhorted people to contemplate the virtues and to practice justice, patience, humility, fairness, chastity, reliability, skill, dutifulness, diligence, and sincerity.

3. Stiernhielm's authorship: an exploratory account

3.1 Stiernhielm's archive at the Royal Library

3.1.1 Preliminaries: historical transmission

Soon after his death Stiernhielm's scholarly and scientific manuscripts were collected and transferred to the College of Antiquities.²⁷³ This was done at the request of the Regency of Charles XI in order that Stiernhielm's writings could be published for public use "in honour and praise of the author".²⁷⁴ In 1692, the College was transformed into the Archives of Antiquities, which were subordinated to the Royal Offices together with the Royal Library and the National Archives. Some years before this state agency ceased to exist in 1785, the Stiernhielm collection was on 27 September 1780 transferred to the Royal Library (where it had been temporarily stored between 1751 and 1767).

Until the middle of the 18th century Stiernhielm's archive had a system of shelfmarks that differ from the present-day ones. The chief antiquarian Carl Reinhold Berch (1706–1777) created a new system around 1758, when he catalogued the manuscripts of the Archives of Antiquities.²⁷⁵ Berch relied on the concise catalogues made in 1720, 1722, 1725 and a new system of classification in the early 1740s.²⁷⁶ Stiernhielm's archive now received the shelfmark F.d, where F is the abbreviation for *Fornkunskap*, that is, Antiquities and Archaeology. The sub-designation d refers to its sequential order in relation to the archives of previous antiquarians.²⁷⁷ This catalogue in the main agrees with the present-day one.

²⁷³ H. Schück, *Kgl. Vitterhets, historie och antikvitets Akademien*, vol. III:2, p. 124.

²⁷⁴ See the letter to Stiernhielm's heirs from the Regency dated 5 May 1672 in the registry of the Government Offices ("Riksregistraturet"), National Archives of Sweden. It is edited by Wieselgren, *Brev till Georg Stiernhielm*, pp. 409 f.

²⁷⁵ See C. R. Berch, *Förteckning öfwer Antikvitets Archivi handskrifter*, shelfmark U 93, Royal Library, Stockholm, pp. 182–185.

²⁷⁶ These inventories are extant as mss. U90:2, U90:3, U90:4, U 90:7 and U91:2:1 at Royal Library, Stockholm. See Göran Bäärnhielm, "Antikvitetskollegiet och KB:s latinska handskrifter" in Elin Andersson, Erika Kihlman, Maria Plaza (eds.), *Latinet i tiden: en festskrift till Hans Aili*, Stockholm 2014, pp. 72 and 76.

²⁷⁷ In the F collection, the archives of earlier antiquarians occupy the anterior letter designations. The archive of Johannes Bureus (1568–1652) has shelfmark F.a.; that

In the introduction to his publication of Stiernhielm's belletristic works in Swedish, Lorenzo Hammarsköld (1785–1827) specified more precisely than Berch had done the contents of the manuscripts in Stiernhielm's archive.²⁷⁸ He states that he used the catalogue of the Royal Library at that time, which was Berch's catalogue. Only the subdivisions of some volumes and portfolios differ considerably.

As indicated above, Stiernhielm's archive comprises his autograph notes, drafts of treatises, and contemporary copies of them by his amanuenses, often supplied with Stiernhielm's autograph additions and corrections. The copies were produced in the 1660s by his amanuenses, mainly the historian Claudius Arrhenius, ennobled Örnghjäl (1627–1695),²⁷⁹ the poet and linguistic theorist Samuel Columbus (1642–1679)²⁸⁰ and the student Abraham Tornaes, son of the clergyman Johannes Jonae Tornaes (1600–1681).²⁸¹

of Martinus Laurentii Aschaneus (1575–1641) has shelfmark F.b; and that of Jonas Haquini Rhezelius (–1666) has shelfmark F.c.

²⁷⁸ Hammarsköld, "Anteckningar till Georg Stjernhielms lefvernesbeskrivning" idem, *Georg Stiernhielm's vitterhetsarbeten*, Stockholm 1818, pp. 30–34.

²⁷⁹ Claudius Örnghjäl enrolled at Uppsala University in 1650 and served as Stiernhielm's amanuensis around 1662–1663, when he copied the following manuscripts: F.d. 2:2:2 (*Radix Ma*), F.d. 14 (*Anti-Cluverius*), F.d. 14a (*Discursus philologicus*) and F.d. 17 (*Magog Gothus*). After studies abroad he was appointed professor of logic in Uppsala in 1667, professor of history in 1668, historiographer of the realm in 1679 and *censor librorum* in 1689.

²⁸⁰ Columbus copied and did independent research for Stiernhielm's lexicography. He also drew up a list of Stiernhielm's preparatory works pertaining to his Swedish dictionary and to his etymological dictionary. I have edited this list in the appendix to Vol. 2. Columbus wrote collections of Swedish poems (published by P. Hanselli in *Samlade vitterhetsarbeten*, vol. 2, Uppsala 1856 and by Bernt Olsson and Barbro Nilsson, *Samlade dikter*, Stockholm 1995–1996. and a treatise on Swedish language cultivation (1678) which can be considered the first Swedish grammar.

²⁸¹ According to Stiernhielm's report to De la Gardie on 20 July 1668, Abraham Tornaes was assigned the task of copying of Stiernhielm's various treatises and editing and proofreading *Codex Argenteus*. See Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 3:2, p. 276. In a letter dated 29 January 1670, Stiernhielm recommends him to "Kämnärsrätten", the lowest level of the judiciary, in Stockholm. He states that Abraham Tornaes has been at the College of Antiquities during three years and has assisted him with arranging his various writings and treatises with a remarkable diligence (Wieselgren, *ibidem*, p. 300). In a letter to the Treasury of the central government, Stiernhielm complains that Tornaes has not received his salary for three years, from 1667 to 1669 (Wieselgren, *ibidem*, p. 306). Tornaes died the same year as Stiernhielm. On 16 December 1667 his father had sent Stiernhielm a letter of gratitude in which he thanked him for engaging in entertaining talks with his son and recommending him for a double royal scholarship. Johannes Jonae Tornaes was a prominent clergyman who promoted the education of the Sami people. He was vicar and then rural dean in Nedertorneå. He translated into Sami the Swedish Church handbook for common people, *Manuale Sveticum*, a prayer and hymn-book with a lectionary and a selection of psalms (1st ed. 1639) and

3.1.2 Survey of writings in Stiernhielm's collections

Below, the contents of "Stiernhielm's writings and collections" are specified as they are catalogued today, with additional specification of the contents of some volumes and collective files, i.e. portfolios, and with indication of the sizes of the edited texts in terms of their width and length. In the survey, information is also given about how the manuscripts are related to the textual edition of Stiernhielm's linguistic works. In Section 3.3, his planned writings are discussed in relation to the manuscripts in the collection F.d., and the question of to what extent they are published is explored.

On the whole, the first ten shelfmarks (F.d. 1–10) are folio-sized manuscripts, while the rest (F.d. 11–23) are quarto-sized manuscripts.

F.d. 1 *Lexicon Anglo-Saxonicum Latinum cum observationibus G. Stiernhielmii*, 195 leaves.²⁸² According to a note on the title page, this dictionary is compiled "by an unknown, but evidently Dutch author" (ignoto sed plane quovis Belgico conscriptum).

F.d. 2 *Collectanea per plurima ad lexicon etymologicum universale pertinentia*: a bundle of papers divided into several folders in four portfolios (viz. F.d. 2:1; F.d. 2:2, F.d. 2:3–F.d. 2:6, and F.d. 2:7).

F.d. 2:1 *Lexicon etymologicum Ulphila-Gothicum*. This is the original of the printed *Glossarium Ulphila-Gothicum*, 1670.

F.d. 2:2 *Radix Ma sive specimen etymologicum unius istius vocis*. This is a sample of etymological lexicography on the polysemous root *ma* in two versions. F.d. 2:2:1 is Stiernhielm's autograph (12 leaves, measuring 300 x 230 mm). F.d. 2:2:2 is a more elaborate non-autograph version by Örnhjälms (33 leaves, 310 x 327 mm). The preface is edited in Vol. 2, Sections 7.4 and 8.4.

F.d. 2:3 *Index vocum obscuriorum, quae occurrunt in legibus Suegothicis*: a list of obscure words in provincial Swedish laws.

F.d. 2:4 *Notata obscuriora ex Passionario veteri*, excerpts of words and phrases in a book on the Passion of our Lord (a manuscript from Vadstena monastery, shelfmark A3, Royal Library, Stockholm),²⁸³ 65 pp. in another handwriting than Stiernhielm's.

published it as *Manuale Lapponicum*, Stockholm 1648. He wrote a geographical description of the Lappmark regions around Torneå and Kemi, *Beskrifning öfwer Torneå och Kemi lappmarker* (1672, published in 1772).

²⁸² The dictionary comprises fols. 16r–123v and has an attachment on proper names, fols. 126r–129r. Many leaves are blank (fols. 1v–15v and 129v–195v). The measurements are 255 x 400 mm. Stiernhielm has added a few etymological notes.

²⁸³ A textual edition has been provided by Jonas Carlquist, *Wars Herra pino bok: Vadstenasystrarnas bordsläsning enligt Cod. Holm. A 3*, Uppsala 2006. Cf. Göran Bärnhielm, "Antikvitetskollegiet och KB:s latinska handskrifter", p. 68.

- F.d. 2:5 Nomenclatura quorundam propriorum Germanorum nominum ex Aventino.
- F.d. 2:6 Index vocum obscuriorum, 76 leaves (oblong folio).
- F.d. 2:7 Fragmenta varia 1. 2:7:1:1–11 lists of Swedish, Gothic, Welsh, Dutch and Icelandic words, and 2:7:1:2–5 *Philologus Celto-Gothus* (1636, 6 fols.),²⁸⁴ *Anti-Cluverius* (a fragment), *De etymo vocum Fader, Moder* (Vol. 2, Section 9.4) and *Collectanea perplurima ad lexicon etymologicum universale pertinentia* with a loose leaf on linguistic variability (Vol. 1, Section 10.6.2).
- F.d. 2:7 Fragmenta varia 2. no. 1 *Collectanea ad Lexicon Sveo-Gothicum*; no. 2 Letter to David Blondel (Vol. 2, Section 13.1.2).
- F.d. 3 *Mysterium etymologicum*. 12 leaves, of which 6v, 12r and 12v are blank. Size (in terms of width and length): 202 x 322 mm. This volume is a non-autograph fair copy of texts in the topics of etymology and phonology in ms. XXXII. 1715, G. W. Leibniz Bibliothek, Hannover, and in mss. F.d. 5 and F.d. 6. It has a few autograph additions by Stiernhielm. The following texts are found: *Mysterium etymologicum*, fols. 1r–3v (Vol. 2, Section 8.1.2), *De origine linguarum*, fols. 3v–4r (Vol. 1, Section 9.1.1), *Scrutinium literarum*, fols. 4v–5r (Vol. 1, Section 7.2.2), *De proprietate linguae Suethicae*, fol. 5v (Vol. 2, Section 11.5.2) *Dialecti Danicae proprietates*, fol. 6r (Vol. 2, Section 11.5.3) *De lingua Hebraea*, fol. 7r (Vol. 2, Section 11.3.6, text 1) *Hae radices sunt primae unius matris A*, fols. 7v–8r, a list of allegedly primordial word roots. *Principium literarum*, fol. 8v (Vol. 1, Section 8.3.2). *Ex matre A natae sunt*, fol. 9r, col. 1 (Vol. 1, Section 8.1.3). *Mysterium et fundamentum huius artis*, fol. 9r, col. 2 (Vol. 1, Section 9.1.2)
- Primarum radicum significationes generalissimae*, an inventory of original speech sounds, fols. 10r–11v (Vol. 1, Section 7.2.3).
- F.d. 4:1 *Loci communes G. Stiernhielmii in adolescentia collecti*, one volume (317x193 mm) . For a survey of this textbook see Section 2.2.4 (p. 40) below. Four leaves are added on *Proteus rhetoricus*, edited in Vol. 1, Sections 11.3.3 and 11.3.4.
- F.d. 4:2–4:5 is one file, which is divided into several folders, viz.:
- F.d. 4:2 *Ludus G. Stiernhielmii dictus Hercules*, a draft of a new strategy boardgame depicting a struggle between virtues and vices; see further under F.d. 20 below. Size: 212 x 325 mm.

²⁸⁴ *Philologus Celto-Gothus* contains etymological observations on the vowel A as the origin of some Swedish prepositions (*å, åt; efter*, and *am*, Gr. ἀμφί, Latin *ambi*) and adverbs (*än, ännu*, cf. Latin *perennare*; *ä, evid*, Gr. ἀεί, i.e. “always”, cf. Latin *aevum, aetas, aeternum*; and *äm*, i.e. “equally”, Latin *aeque*, cf. Latin *aemulus*).

- F.d. 4:3 A copy in four leaves with the measurements 162 x 210 mm of a horoscope for Sigismund II August (1520–1572), King of Poland, prepared in 1563 by the Austrian-born astronomer and mathematician Joachim Rheticus (1514–1576), who contributed to the spread of Copernicus' heliocentric world view, and horoscopes for himself (as Georgius Olai Lilia, three leaves measuring 205 x 330 mm) and Martinus Petri Blix (six leaves measuring 202 x 325 mm), prepared by Stiernhielm.
- F.d. 4:4:1 *Collectanea philosophica*, 68 leaves, mainly stray notes and some more or less complete drafts of natural philosophy, notably *Peplum Minervae*, edited by Nordström (1924, vol. 1: 3–46). Size: 208 x 319 mm. This volume also contains drafts of morphological and semiotic theory intended as preliminaries for the etymological dictionary *Clavis generalis*. These drafts are edited by myself (Vol. 1, Sections 8.1.1, 9.1.3 and 9.1.7). There are also drafts in the topics of sound aesthetics (Vol. 1, Section 9.3.2), language origins (Vol. 2, Sections 11.3.2, 11.3.3 and 11.7.1) and etymology (Vol. 2, Section 7.5).
- F.d. 4:4:2 *Collectanea philosophica et etymologica*, seven leaves in different sizes. Contents: a map on Europe in contours (1v–2r), a note on the types of language differentiation (3r; see Vol. 2, Section 11.7.1), a glossary of old Scandinavian and German words (4r–5v), Swedish dialectal words (6r–6v), the relation of vowels to colours and of diphthongs to elements (7v–8r; see Vol. 1, Section 9.3.2, texts 8 and 9; and 9.3.4), biblical proverb and classical maxims with the heading *Lumen ex arcto* (9r–9v).
- F.d. 4:5 *Duo opposita contraria*, 37 leaves (208 x 320 mm), drafts on *Peplum Minervae* and some linguistic notes, inter alia a diagram illustrating linguistic diversification (Vol. 2, Section 11.6.1).
- F.d. 5 *Runa Suethica et alia miscellanea ad lexicon etymologicum pertinentia*; one single volume, 146 folio-sized leaves measuring 210 x 324 mm with the exception of some inserted leaves in smaller sizes. The leaves have been numbered with a pencil in modern times, after 1924. There is also a former incomplete and incoherent pagination.²⁸⁵ The manuscript consists of drafts of linguistic theory (fols. 2r–3v and 33r–39v), natural philosophy regarding the relationship between light, *lux*, mind, *mens*, and matter, *materia* (fols. 4r–32v) and the agreement between reality and its linguistic expression in the chain of things (*catena rerum*,

²⁸⁵ The first 45 pages are not paginated, then the following pages are numbered as 23–141 (corresponding to fol. 56r–115v), continuing with 167–190 (corresponding to 116r–127v) and then jump directly to 215–246 (corresponding to 128r–143r). Cf. Nordström, *Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, p. 211.

fols. 40r–46r) and finally etymological “universal” lexicography (fols. 46v–143v), which consists of an incomplete dictionary arranged in ten pencil-drawn columns according to Stiernhielm’s morphological theory. There are many unwritten squares, columns and a large number of blank pages in the dictionary.²⁸⁶ According to Nordström (1924, vol. 1, p. 211), this volume was bound and repaired in 1843. Several texts are here made available. See Vol. 1, Sections 7.1.2.1, 7.2.2, 7.2.3, 8.1.3, 8.3.1, 8.3.2, 8.3.5, 9.1.1, 9.1.2, 9.2.5, 9.3.2, text 8, and 9.3.5, texts 1–3. See Vol. 2, Sections 11.1.2, 11.3.6, 11.5.2, 11.5.3, 13.3.1, 15.2.2–7, and 15.3.2.

- F.d. 6 *Collectanea ad Runam Suethicam*; one volume, 107 leaves (mainly in the folio size measuring 210 x 324 mm, but including some loose leaves in minor sizes).²⁸⁷ The volume consists of drafts of linguistics (comparative phonology, language origins and language kinship), natural philosophy, mytho-history on the Hyperboreans (60r–65v), etymology and lexicography (a word list on Welsh, 88r–104v). The dating in the manuscript is between 11 Sept. 1651 (fol. 68r) and February 1655. According to Nordström (1924, vol. 1, p. 212) most of the contents were written in 1651–1652. Several texts of this volume are edited. See Vol. 1, Sections 7.2.1, 7.2.4.2, 7.2.4.3, 7.3.3, 7.3.4, 8.3.1, 9.1.5; Vol. 2, Sections 8.5, 9.1.2, 9.2.1, 9.2.2, 9.6, 11.1.1, 11.3.1, 11.3.4, 11.3.5, 11.4.1, 11.5.1, 11.6.2, 13.3.3, 13.4 and 13.7. The first five chapters of *Runa Suethica* (fols. 68r–76v) are used for comparison in the edition of *De linguarum origine praefatio* (Vol. 2, Section 12.3).
- F.d. 6a *Utkast till Swea- och Götha-måles fatebur*; “Draft of the storehouse of the Swedish and Gothic language”, a bound volume of 239 written leaves with the measurements 310 x 197 mm. The dictionary comprises the entire alphabet. Cf. Vol. 2, Section 5.3.1.
- F.d. 6b *Utkast och anteckningar: filosofiska och filologiska*, that is, “Drafts and notes: philosophical and philological”; one file in three envelopes; F.d. 6b:1, contains linguistic and geometrical drafts (164 x 210 mm); F.d. 6b:2 philosophical drafts (210 x 325 mm); and F.d. 6b:3a–3b drafts of *Polygraphia* and *Proteus rhetoricus* (in different sizes, mainly in folio between 208 and 240 mm in width and between 319 and 355 mm in full). Pertinent drafts are edited in Vol. 1, Chap. 10–11. Stiernhielm’s excerpts in F.d. 6b: 1 from Farnaby, *Index rhetoricus*, is edited in appendix 3.

²⁸⁶ The following pages are blank: 55r, 60v–61r, 65r, 66r, 67r, 72v–88r, 121v–122r, 123r–127v, 129r–134v, 105–115v, 135v, 136v, 138v–139r, and 144r–146v.

²⁸⁷ The spine cover has the title “Utkast och anteckningar”, which is the title that both Swartling and Nordström used to refer to this volume. It should thus not be confused with F.d. 6b, which in modern times has been attributed the same title.

- F.d. 6c *Virgula divina*; one separate volume with 61 leaves in 4:o, which measures 172 x 235 mm, comprising a dictionary on words beginning with the letter A. The phonological introduction of this dictionary is here edited. See Vol. 1, Sections 7.1.1 and 7.3.2, and Vol. 2, Sections 7.1 and 7.3.
- F.d. 6d *Nativitates* (on the cover: *Astrologica*).
- F.d. 7 *Miscellanea etymologica*; a bundle of papers in one portfolio, which is divided into several folders:
- F.d. 7:1 *Miscellanea etymologica*, 125 leaves consisting of 20 quires with the measurements 210 x 325 mm, paginated as 1–109, 135–195, 94–96, and ten additional pages. This bound volume comprises drafts of linguistic theory mixed with word lists of Swedish or other languages. I have edited the drafts of phonological theory (Vol. 1, Sections 7.1.2.2 and 7.2.3), morphological theory (Vol. 1, Section 8.3.5), semiotic theory (Vol. 1, Sections 9.2.2 and 9.2.4), etymological theory (Vol. 2, Section 11.3.6, text 2) and a record of Swedish counterparts to Latin linguistic and rhetorical terms (Vol. 2, Section 17.2).
- F.d. 7:2 *Glossarium vetus Latino-Teutonicum*, 11 leaves.
- F.d. 7:3 *Observationes de permutatione literarum inter etymologizandum*, six leaves (of which 5v, 6r, and 6v are blank): Örnghjälms copy of various texts, a couple of which are used for the edition, since they contain autograph additions. See Vol. 1, Sections 7.3.4 and 8.1.2. See Vol. 2 Sections 7.7, 8.2 and 13.7.
- F.d. 7:4 *Voces sunt signa conceptuum* (Vol. 1, Section 9.2.1).
- F.d. 7:5 Word list, from B (*bak*) to W (*weta*), 14 leaves.
- F.d. 8 Catalogued as *Lexicon etymologicum*, the dictionary is in the manuscript titled *Lexicon Suecanum etymologicum*. It comprises a selection of words from the entire alphabet A–Y (fols. 17r–334r), but the lexicographical information is to a great extent incomplete. Fols. 336–410v are blank. See further Vol. 2, Section 5.3.1 (no. 6).
- F.d. 9 *Miscellanea etymologica*; a bundle of papers in one portfolio which is divided into a great number of folders (210 x 330 mm):
- F.d. 9:1 *Latinarum et Gothicarum vocum communes origines* 37 leaves with two columns (see Vol. 2, Section 5.5.4 for a description).
- F.d. 9:2 *Ex Wolfango Lazio: de gentium migrationibus, lib. II de lingua veterum Gallograecorum*, ten leaves measuring 212 x 335 mm.
- F.d. 9:3 *Analogia rerum et verborum*, eight leaves: Örnghjälms copy of etymological and phonosemantic notes on Greek and Hebrew roots and groups of consonants. Size 212 x 335 mm. Vol. 2, Section 5.4.
- F.d. 9:4 *Index vocum Suethicarum cum lingua Cambrica et aliis convenientiam habentium*: Swedish-Welsh word list for the entire alphabet A–Y, 22 leaves. Size: 212 x 335 mm.

- F.d. 9:5 *Haec sunt radices ortae* (1649): “universal” morphemes and their functions (fols. 1–7), and a list of Swedish morphemes for end-rhymes (fols. 8–12), drawn up by Stiernhielm as an inventory for his rhymed Swedish poetry in *Parnassus triumphans*.²⁸⁸ Size: 308 x 325 mm. Two texts are edited. See Vol. 1, Sections 8.2.1 and 8.3.3.
- F.d. 9:6 *Cubus radicum omnium*: a diagram, which presents a deductive-axiomatic theory of “universal” morphemes, and a list of morphemes with lexical etymologies in Swedish and other languages. Size: 212 x 325 mm. The diagram is edited in Vol. 1, Section 8.2.2.
- F.d. 9:7 *Radix Ma, Scha, Tha ... agg*: miscellaneous etymological notes written between November 1664 and January 1667. Size: 210 x 325 mm. At the end of the fourth quire with the size 163 x 210 mm., there are etymological aphorisms, which can be dated to c. 1640 and which are edited in Vol. 2, Section 7.5.1.
- F.d. 9:8 Lists of Welsh, Greek, Hebrew, Swedish and Hungarian words. Definition of rhetorical devices. A list of Swedish counterparts for Latin linguistic terms (Vol. 2, Section 17.1.3). Size: 210 x 330 mm.
- F.d. 9:9 Lists of Greek, Latin and German words. Size: 212 x 325 mm.
- F.d. 9:10 *Fröja*: *Naturae mater, anima vegetativa* (consisting of etymological notes). Size: 245 x 360 mm. Vol. 1, Section 7.2.4.1.
- F.d. 9:11 *Parallela deorum repraesentatio*. Size: 212 x 325 mm. Contains etymological and philosophical drafts. Two texts from this folder are edited (Vol. 1, Section 9.1.6; Vol. 2, Section 7.6).
- F.d. 9:12 *Problemata utriusque Lineae Carolinae et Pedis Romani*.
- F.d. 9:13 *Obsoletarum quorundam nominum Suethicarum ex lectione Ecclesiastici collectorum catalogus* (that is, a catalogue of outdated Swedish words collected from the book of Ecclesiasticus), compiled by Johan Axehiell. Size: 135 x 340 mm as oblong folio.
- F.d. 9:14 *Miscellanea etymologica* (in the quarto size, 165 x 210 mm).
 (1) *Declaratio obscurorum in lege Cimbrica, Norvegica* (26 leaves),
 (2) Swedish word lists A–D, E–GL, GR–H (35 leaves), (3) *Ex Bibliis Islandicis*, (4) *Excerpta* (three loose leaves) and (5) *Indices* of Latin words, A–V (22 leaves) with page references.
- F.d. 9:15 *Miscellanea etymologica* (in the quarto size, 165 x 210 mm).
 – Words lists (Latin-Swedish, Greek-Latin-Swedish, Hebrew-Latin-Swedish) from Enevald Svenonius, *Gymnasium capiendae rationis humanae* [...]. *Accessit digressio de lingua Latina*, Aboae 1662.
 – Swedish word list (five leaves)
 – Draft of the beginning of a Swedish dictionary, viz. *Virgula divina: a-anlete* (seven leaves). See above (Vol. 2, Section 5.3, no. 9).
 – Word list (six leaves)
 – Excerpts from Abraham Mylius/ van der Myl

²⁸⁸ Many of the rhyme morphemes and many words listed under each morpheme coincide with those used by Erik Axel Karlfeldt in his poetry. He is known as an imitator of 17th-century Swedish artistic poetry. There is a study of the rhymes in Karlsfeldt's early works by Nils Gobom, *Rimmen hos Karlfeldt*, Uppsala 1911.

- F.d. 9** *Adversaria quotidiana. Monile Minervae*. This bound and paginated volume (129 leaves) consists of philosophical drafts in 1656–1669. I have edited texts on language philosophy (Vol. 1, Section 9.1.4), the art of etymology (Vol. 2, Section 8.3), Swedish counterparts for philosophical Latin terms (Vol. 2, 17.3).
- F.d. 10 *Lexicon Gothicum philologicum*;²⁸⁹ one single volume, 174 leaves in oblong folio size. The contents are as follows:
- unnumbered fols. 1r–13v: miscellaneous notes on Roman gods and goddesses and Italic peoples like the Etruscans.
 - numbered fols. 1r–90v: the Gothic dictionary, from A until Ö. A note on phonology on fol. 63v is transcribed in Vol. 1, Section 7.3.5.
 - numbered fols. 91r–96r: a list of Swedish loanwords in Italian, Spain, French and English.²⁹⁰ numbered fol. 98r: legal Swedish phrases.
 - numbered fol. 100r–v: reciprocal Swedish verbs. unnumbered fol. 101r: proverbs. unnumbered fol. 102: Latin Suethicisms.
 - unnumbered fols. 103r–163r: a list of old and obsolete Swedish legal terms, begun in 1631.²⁹¹
 - unnumbered fols. 164r–165r: observations on the value of currency in the old Swedish law codes.
 - unnumbered fols. 165v–170v: a list of primitive Swedish words that are monosyllabic (*Primitiva linguae Sueo-Gothicae sunt simplicissima*).
 - unnumbered fols. 171r–173v: headed “the gods of the Goths, Swedes, Germans and related ancient peoples” but confined to the deity Thor.
 - unnumbered fols. 174r–175r (which is the back cover): some Finnish and Estonian words with Greek or Hebrew etymologies.
- F.d. 10a *Utkast till ett svenskt lexikon*, that is, “Draft of a Swedish dictionary”. This Swedish dictionary comprises the entire alphabet A–Ö, fols. 1r–73v. After it there is a word list of obsolete phrases and expressions in the county law code of Ostrogothia (Östgöta lag), fols. 76r–88v. See further Vol. 2, Section 5.3.1 (no. 5).
- F.d. 10b *Tragoediae Sophoclis quotquot extant carmine Latino reddita*, Antwerp 1570 (with the owner signature G. Lilia).

²⁸⁹ On the upper half of the title page: *Lexicon Gothicum a G. Lilia Sueo-Montano coeptum Anno 1626 12 Julii. Q(uod) F(elix) F(austumque) S(it). Detegens fontes linguae Gothicae atque itidem ex eadem in alias flumina*. On the lower title page the dictionary is retitled: *Georgii Stiernhielmii Adelruna seu Sibylla Celto-Gothica* with the addition: *presentata Illustrissimo Domino Cancellario Regni Orebrogiae die 5 Martii et retentum usque ad meridiem diei 7. Anno 1639*. That is “presented to the Illustrious Lord Chancellor of the Realm on 5 March and retained until noon of 7 March in the year 1639.”

²⁹⁰ “Voces Italicae, Hispanicae et Gallicae et singulares quaedam Anglicae ex lingua Gothica mutatae opera G. Lilia in Ålandia notari coepta in itinere in Livoniam 18 Jan. Anno 1634. Q(uod) F(elix) F(austum)que S(it).”

²⁹¹ “Vocabula prisca et obsoleta legum Suecorum Gothorumque explicata a Georgio Lilia, Supremi trium provinciarum Livoniae, Careliae et Ingriae Iudicii Assessore et Diocoeseos Dorpatensis Iudice Terrestri, Dorpati anno MDCXXXI.”

- F.d. 10c Bruno, Giordano, *De monade numero et figura liber*, and *De Triplici minimo et mensura speculativarum scientiarum* [...], both printed in Frankfurt am Main 1591 and annotated by Stiernhielm.
- F.d. 10d Caspar Ens, *Nucleus historico-politicus*, Coloniae / Cologne 1625, Eilhard Lubin, *Antiquarius*, Coloniae/ Cologne 1609, Andreas Ried, *Nova Ethica*, Giessae/ Giessen 1616. These books in 12:o are supplied with marginal notes by Stiernhielm, the last one with the owner signature of him as G. Lilia.
- F.d. 11 *Index vocum antiquarum cum explicatione*, fols. 1r–11v. The rest of the volume is a draft of Stiernhielm's Swedish dictionary: *G. Stiernhielmii fatebuur*, the entire alphabet A–Ö, fols. 12r–68v, and a supplement, fols. 85v–127v. Swedish words are listed with Latin translations and with reference to the source. There are also copies of medieval laws of the kings, fols. 70v–74r, and excerpts from the chronicle of St. Olof (King of Norway), fols. 74r–75r.
- F.d. 12 *Lexicon etymologicum Ulphilianum*. An incorrect title. Berch gives the more apt subtitle *notae in Novum Testamentum Ulphilae*. Two texts are edited; see Vol. 2, Sections 8.6 and 9.5.1.
- F.d. 13 Three envelopes: one is entitled *Polygraphia* with leaves in different sizes (fols. 1–7 measuring 205 x 320 mm, fols. 8–16 with the size 210 x 320 mm, fols. 17–31 with the dimensions 160 x 203 mm, fol. 32 with 168 x 310 mm, fol. 33 with 190 x 243 mm, fols. 34–36 with 208 x 325 mm, fols. 37–41 measuring 215 x 330 mm). Various texts are edited in Vol. 1, Chapter 12. The second (13:2:1) is titled *Specimen philologicum in primam literam A* 180 x 240 mm. The third (13:2:2) contains texts of linguistic topics, such as *Specimen linguae et philologiae Finnonicae* (208 x 318 mm; Vol. 2, Section 5.4.6) and the Gothicist ideas behind the dictionary *Adelruna seu Sibylla Sueo-Gothica* (160 x 205 mm; Vol. 2, Section 10.2).
- F.d. 13a *Computus decimalis*, 1r–8v, proposal of a decimal arithmetic for lengths, squares and volumes; *Arithmetica decimalis*, 10r–13v, in Swedish. The Latin term is translated “tiyonde-taals-räkning”.
- F.d. 14 *Anti-Cluverius*, 98 pp. Johan Hadorph published this treatise in 1685 An essay on the Germanic deity Oden, *De Oden, Othin, Godan, Wodan*, is attached, pp. 99–113 (cf. F.d. 6, fol. 83r–83v).
- F.d. 14a *Discursus philologicus de omnibus linguis in genere et in specie de Suethica et affinis*. 42 leaves, 162 x 210 mm. Fols. 4r–27r are paginated as pp. 1–47. This title of the front cover is also given by Berch (1758) and Hammarsköld (1818). Stiernhielm's drafts on ethno-linguistic topics are collected in a fair copy into one single volume by Claudius Örnhielm, supplied with autograph additions by Stiernhielm. The contents are as follows:

- Excerpts from Wolfgang Lazius, *De gentium migrationibus* (1557) and *Commentarii rerum Graecarum* (1558), 1r and 3r, and from Grotius, *Epistolae ad Gallos*, G. Vossius, *De vitiis sermonis*, and Mylius, *De lingua Belgica*; fol. 3v, edited in Vol. 2, Sections 13.5, 13.6 and 13.2.
- De linguis in genere* (fols. 4r–5r / pp. 1–3), edited in Vol. 2, Section 11.3.1. The rest (fols. 5v–16v / pp. 4–26) deals with the division of Germany into Ingevones and Istevones, the Vannian kingdom in Transylvania, the Hyperboreans, and the derivation of the names of Roman gods and goddesses from old Swedish.
- De Thor*, fols. 17r–18v/ pp. 27–30, and *De linguae Suedicae antiquitate*, fols. 17r–21v (pp. 30–36), edited in Vol. 2, Section 11.5.1.
- De convenientia linguae Suethicae cum lingua Phrygia*, fols. 22r–26r / pp. 37–45. Stiernhielm's autograph is found in F.d. 6, fols. 59r–59v.
- Voces Ebraeas cuius generis sunt Adam, Eva [...]*, the etymologies of biblical proper names, fols. 28r–31v, edited in Vol. 2, Section 9.1.2.
- Nomina deorum pleraque omnium gentium esse Scythica*: the origin of the tetragrammaton and theory of historical phonology, fols. 32r–35v, edited in Vol. 2, Section 9.2.1, and Vol. 1, Section 7.2.1.
- F.d. 15 *Arithmetica mnemonica universalis*, the contents of which is: *Memoriale arithmeticae universalis*, 2r–31v (with a proposal of decimal arithmetic, 3v) completed in Vasula on 26 March 1642. Moreover, mathematical equations, dated 31 Dec. 1655; logistics, 33r–47v; polygons, 48r–48v; algebra, 49r–53r; lengths, 57r–57v, weights; 59r–64r; weights and measures, 66r–70r; Jonas Bureus' calculations, 72v–78r; Stiernhielm's "stuver", 79r–83r.
- F.d. 16a "Enquiries of metal alloys", five leaves in 4:o.
- F.d. 16: catalogued as *Problemata stereometrica, statica, metallica et similia*, this volume (40 leaves) also consists of other treatises: (2) *Algebra resecta*, (3) *Arithmometriae linealis theoremata*, (4) *Trigonometria*, (5) *Arithmometria cyclica linealis*, (6) *Planimetria rectilinea*, and (7) *Planimetria cyclica*.
- F.d. 17 *Magog Gothus*, 85 leaves, a non-autograph fair copy of Stiernhielm's Hebrew-Latin-Swedish dictionary from אָבָה ('ābāh) "to be willing, wish", to תֹּתָה (tōtāh) "javelin, missile".
- F.d. 18: catalogued as *Geometria practica*, this file consists of eight envelopes: (1) *Algebra*, and *arithmetica linealis*, (2) astronomy, mainly in Johannes Megalinus' handwriting, (3) *Geometrica*, (4) *Hypomnemata in geometrica*, only in Megalinus' handwriting, (5) *Geometrica*, trigonometry, (6) *Geometria practica*, (7) *Geometria planorum numeris decimalibus expedita*, (8) *Progressio curiosa*, and *Notabiliora quaedam ex libris geometriae Alberti Dureri* [A. Dürer's *Institutiones geometriae*]
- F.d. 18a Johannes Fyholm, *En kort beskrifning, först om et lijthet säyerwärk [...] och sedan om itt stort Uhrwärk*. A copy of Johan Fyholm's manuscript description of a clockwork according to the one in Uppsala cathedral.

F.d. 19 *Diverse skrifter*, “Diverse geometrical writings”, on measures and weights 1657–1663; one file, divided into several folders.²⁹²

19:a in two wrappers, one titled *Linea Carolina*, 27 loose leaves, and a booklet of 28 leaves titled *Usus lineae Carolinae*, and the other wrapper comprising 34 leaves on the use of the Carolean ruler, and excerpts in Swedish from *Berättelse om Swea-Rijkes vigt och mål*,²⁹³ fols. 26r–31v.

19:b *Usus lineae Carolinae*, 20 leaves comprising five sections.²⁹⁴

19:c *Pes, amphora, et libra Romana demonstrata*, c. 36 leaves.

19:d *Baculus Carolinus*, dedicated to Charles XI in 1663, 43 leaves or 86 pages, of which pp. 7–8, 11–14, 27, and 57–86 are blank.

19:e *Archimedes practicus per lineam Carolinam*. Stockholmi typis viduae Hantschenii Anno MDCLXIX. A booklet of 20 leaves, 5r–17r with non-autograph text, which is a copy of F.d. 19:b, sections 1–4, here with Stiernhielms autograph marginal additions.

19:f *Constitutio et usus pedis Stockholmensis* (four written leaves).

19:g *Trigonometria*, a treatise by Benedictus Hedraeus, fols 1r–5r in Latin) and 5v–7v in German, and a treatise by Stiernhielm, fols. 9r–18r.

F.d. 20 *Spridda anteckningar*, that is “Stray notes”, catalogued as *Miscellanea* by Berch (1758), a notebook from Stiernhielm’s time at the University of Greifswald during the academic year 1624–1625 on geometry (27r–28v), politics (51r–118v with many blank leaves), secret scripts (125r–143r) and strategy boardgames (147r–163r). In *Trias primarum questionum politicarum* (110r–118r), the limits of the power of the sovereign king are discussed with reference to constitutional laws and natural law (see N. Runeby, *Monarchia mixta*, pp. 126–128). A new strategy boardgame is proposed in the guise of a struggle between virtues and vices (fols. 158v–163r).²⁹⁵ In a more elaborate draft, ms. F.d. 4:2 (fols. 1r–3r), this game is titled *Ludus Hercules*, “The Hercules game”.

²⁹² Cf. Harald Heyman, “Stiernhielms skrifter om mått och vikt”, *Uppsala universitets biblioteks minnesskrift 1621–1921*, Uppsala 1921, pp. 317–322.

²⁹³ *Svenska Akademiens samlingar*, vol. 289: 3, Archives of the Swedish Academy.

²⁹⁴ The sections are as follows: 1. *De constitutione et proprietate lineae Carolinae*, 2. *Usus lineae triplicis in permutandis corporum et vasorum aquae capacium figuris*, 3. *De usu lineae Carolinae proprio*, 4. *De specierum aquae graviorum invenienda proportione*, and 5. *De exploranda liquorum gravitate et proportione*.

²⁹⁵ Stiernhielm modelled the board of the game (two joined chessboards) and the geometrical forms of the pieces on the mathematical boardgame rithmomachy (“struggle between numbers in proportion”, in Latin *Rythmomachia*, also known as *Ludus Pythagoreus*), the knowledge of which had been revived in the 16th century, but the interpretation of the pieces as virtues and vices, the rules of movement and capture, and the purpose of the game are all different from those of rithmomachy. For an image of the different pieces and the starting setup from ms. F.d. 4:2, fol. 2v, see Gunnar Broberg “Dygderna – klassiska och kristna” in *Gyllene äpplen*, vol. 1, Stockholm 1991, p. 379, and Olofsson, *Georg Stiernhielm*, 1998, p. 117).

The names of the virtues and vices are drawn from the classical Stoic tradition, where the four cardinal virtues in the late Roman Republic (notably Cicero, e.g. *De*

- F.d. 21 *De Othino dissertatio*: an essay on the deity Oden, seven non-autograph leaves. It was published in 1763 in *Greinir* according to Arvid Mollerus' copy in R. 21 (fols. 25r–31v), Uppsala University Library, of a more elaborate original, perhaps F.d. 14, pp. 99–113.
- F.d. 22 *Dictionarium Armeno-Latinum*; a manuscript dictionary with provenance in the Vatican Library, conferred to Stiernhielm by M. Z. Boxhorn in 1649, according to a piece of paper in the volume.
- F.d. 23 A volume entitled *Aphorismi politici*, to which Berch (1758) added *aliaque collectanea*, 183 leaves, many of which are blank. In the modern catalogue, the title refers to the extracts of political maxims from Justus Lipsius, fols. 101v–111v, and from Caesar's *De bello Gallico*, fols. 141–143, but the volume comprises notes on several other topics, such as critical remarks on Ph. Clüver's *Germania antiqua*, an outline of a treatise on Swedish political science on fols. 34–38 – which for instance would discuss the pagan, papal and Lutheran religions of Sweden, the constitutional laws, the borders of the realm and the election of Swedish kings in the Middle Ages at “Mora sten” (the stone of Mora), south-east of Uppsala (see Runeby, *Monarchia mixta*, p. 131, and Swartling, *G. Stiernhielm*, p. X) – moreover a record of the epitaph on Justus Lipsius, fols. 40r–43r, notes on the historian Justin, fols. 98r–

inventione II, 159–164) are crystalized as prudence (*prudentia*), justice (*iustitia*), bravery (*fortitudo*) and moderation (*temperantia*), while the four main vices were injustice (*iniquitas*), luxury (*luxuria*), idleness (*ignavia*) and audacity (*audacia*; *temeritas*). Stiernhielm used the ancient Latin terminology for the four principal virtues and refers to their direct opposites as the four principal vices (*imprudentia*, *iniustitia*, *audacia* and *intemperantia*). Stiernhielm's subdivisions of the cardinal virtues and vices are well-known from the Stoic tradition as well (see Cicero, *De inventione* II, 159–164). Broberg observes that the four cardinal virtues are captains of Virtue (*Virtus*), the commander-in-chief in the game, and that Virtue is assisted by Christian virtues, such as penitence (*poenitentia*), to which hope (*spes*), mercy (*miser cordia*) and blessedness (*beatitudo*) are added. Broberg concludes that pagan and Christian virtues are supposed to fight under the same standard.

Stiernhielm's Hercules board game has attracted the attention of literary and some intellectual historians, since it is a precursor to his poem *Hercules*. Henrik Schück published the Latin text of the board game and its rules, see *Bibliografiska och litteraturhistoriska anteckningar*, Uppsala 1896, pp. 70–76. Broberg underlines that Stiernhielm's principle of the game is that two extremes cannot rule a man at one and the same time. Kurt Johannesson, *I polstjärnans tecken* (1968, pp. 27 f.) argues that the board game was not invented for diversion and recreation, but as a means for moral education, by which one would learn how virtues and vices mutually fight to win the mind of a man, in the guise of a play or a drama. The virtues and vices are connected to different military ranks, such as general, colonel, standard-bearer, major, and captain, and to soldiers such as scouts, guardsmen and engineers. The military ranks coincide with those of the modern strategy game *stratego*, but the pieces move and capture in a similar way as in chess, and their values are not hidden from the opponent, which is what is characteristic of *stratego*.

101v, and on the Persian religious reformer and alleged writer Zarathustra, known as Zoroaster, fols. 117v–121v.

3.1.3 Johan Nordström's system of references

In his introduction to and commentary on Stiernhielm's philosophical writings, Nordström consistently used his own system of manuscript references (arbitrary letter designations A–P in an order of sequence related to the order of priority in editing Stiernhielm's philosophy). At the outset of his commentary (vol. 2, pp. 206–213), he surveys the drafts and notes on natural philosophy in Stiernhielm's manuscript collections and explains how his system of references relates to the shelfmarks F.d. (but not the subdivisions in F.d. 2, F.d. 4 and F.d. 6). For the sake of clarity and compatibility, it is worthwhile to provide an overview of this system: A = F.d. 4:4:1 (and F.d. 4:4:2); B = F.d. 6b:2; C = F.d. 9**; D = F.d. 5; E = F.d. 6; F = F.d. 9; G = F.d. 4:1; H = F.d. 20; I = F.d. 23; J = F.d. 6d; K = F.d. 4:3; L = F.d. 15; M = F.d. 2; N = F.d. 7:1; O = F.d. 18; P = F.d. 19.

3.2 Stiernhielm's autograph notebook in Hannover

Stiernhielm's notebook of the early 1640s is extant at Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, Hannover, as ms. XXXII. 1715, which is titled *ADVERSARIA GEORGII STIERNHIELM facientia ad illustrationem nationis et linguae Gotho-Suedicae, inchoata Anno 1640 in Wasula*. The size is 195–200 x 312 mm. One of Leibniz's correspondents, the linguist and diplomat Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeldt (1655–1627) sent this volume to the German polymath early in 1698.²⁹⁶ On 1 January 1698 he announced his sending through the librarian of Wolfenbüttel, Lorenz Hertel (1659–1737).²⁹⁷ In a letter to Leibniz of 19 March 1698 Hertel reports that he has brought it to him in Hannover.²⁹⁸

Below, the contents of ms. XXXII 1715 are surveyed.

fol. 1r–2v: a non-autograph copy of *Mysterium etymologicum* (to “Sed de hisce alibi” in the latter half of the text) made in favour of Leibniz after this volume had been transferred to Hannover and written on sheets of a somewhat larger size than the rest of the ms. These pages are not found in the photostat N. 24.

²⁹⁶ On the cover of XXXII. 1715 there is a note that this volume should be returned to Sparwenfeldt in October 1697 – “Sparwenfeldio remittendae 1697 in Octob.” – obviously because Sparwenfeldt had in mind to send it for a loan to Leibniz.

²⁹⁷ Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeldt to Leibniz on 1 (11) January 1698, in Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, Reihe I (Allgemeiner politischer och historischer Briefwechsel), Band 15, Berlin 1998, p. 188, lines 6–15.

²⁹⁸ Lorenz Hertel to Leibniz, Wollenbüttel on 19 (29) March 1698, in Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, Reihe I, Bd. 15, p. 49, lines 9–10: “J’ay encore apporté le Catalogue des Mscrits. sur les quel Sternhielm a travaille.”

- fol. 3r: miscellaneous notes, mainly on Roman deities and virtues with counterparts in Swedish, but also quotation of proverbial sayings and Horace, *Ars poetica* 70–72.
- fol. 3v: a fourfold anagram of *veritas* (“truth”).
- fol. 4r: *Emblemata ad insignia Georgii Stiernhielm, nimirum auream stellam, confecta et applicata ab eodem G. St.* Twenty-two emblems of the star (*stella*) in Stiernhielm’s coat of arms.
- fol. 6r: The alphabet in the characters of different languages, viz. Samaritan, Ethiopic, Arabic, Syriac (Estrangela script), Hebrew (square script), Syriac (Serto script), Runic, Gothic (Ulphila’s); two anagrams of Georgius Stiernhielm (*Throni egregius miles* “a brave warrior of the throne” and *Linguis heros emergit* “a hero emerges through the knowledge of languages”).
- fol. 7v: list of Hebrew words, which forms a part of the next item.
- fol. 8r–19v: *Magog Gothus demonstrans radices Hebraearum vocum convenire et easdem esse cum radicibus linguae Suethicae*: a Hebrew dictionary, from אבה, *voluit, affectum et propensionem habuit erga aliquem*, to בנה, *quievit placide, consedit tranquile*; comprising alleged counterparts in Swedish, German, and Greek, sometimes in Italian, Spanish and French.
- fol. 20–24v: *Latino-Celtica*: Latin counterparts of Swedish words in alphabetical order from A to Y (*åker* “ager” to *yxa*, “ascia”).
- fol. 25r: The incipit reads: “Teudisca lingua non videtur fuisse vernacula Longobardis.” It is followed by a list of Greek words with alleged Latin and Swedish counterparts.
- fol. 26r: a list of Latin words with phonetic, but not semantic counterparts in Swedish (*Vocabula sono similia, sed sensu discrepantia*).
- fol. 26v: *Affinia et confusa*: demonstration of lexical polysemy.
- fol. 27r: a Welsh-Swedish word list (*Vocabula Gallo-Gothica*).
- fol. 27v: supplement to *Magog Gothus*, from א (aleph) to ש (šin).
- fol. 30r–32v: *Notae ad Platonis Cratylum*. Vol. 1, Section 9.3.1.
- fol. 33r: supplement to *Magog Gothus* on words beginning with aleph, e.g. אבב (’ābab) “to be green” and אבה “to be willing”.
- fol. 34v: enumeration of ancient Greek writers (historians, poets and philosophers).
- fol. 35r: *Authorum autoritas et aevum*: dating of ancient Greek historians and geographers.
- fol. 35v: a diagram of the sons of Japheth.
- fol. 36r: synchronizing of mytho-historical Mesopotamian rulers with the genealogical table in Gen. 10. Vol 2, Section 11.4.2.
- fol. 36v: proofs for the assumption that Scandinavia has been the homeland of the Goths since antiquity. Vol. 2, Section 10.3.

- fol. 37r–49v: *Adelrunae conclusiones*, Vol. 2, Section 10.3, interspersed with notes on related topics under the headlines of *Legum antiquitas* (43v) and *Literarum antiquitas* (44r–44v).²⁹⁹
- fol. 50r: *Vannianum regnum*, according to Tacitus, Pliny the Elder and Ortellius.
- fol. 52r–60v: continuation of *Magog Gothus* (*Continuatio Lexici Harmonici*), from נָטַב, *nutavit*, to תִּתֵּן, *iaculum, omne missile*.
- fol. 61r: Some omitted Hebrew words (*passim omissa*).
- fol. 62r–66r: *Analogia rerum et verborum* (comparison between Greek, Hebrew, Swedish and Latin words), a draft of the same writing as in F.d. 9:3.
- fol. 66v–68r: a non-autograph copy of the conspectus of *Runa Suethica* (which coincides with the manuscript draft in F.d. 6, fol. 1r–v, the draft on which the printing in 1651 was based).
- fol. 75r–76r: *Observationes sequentes exscriptae ex Lexico Forsteri* (excerpts from Johann Forster's Hebrew dictionary, *Dictionarium Hebraicum novum*, 1557).
- fol. 77r–79r: *Mysterium etymologicum*. Vol. 2, Section 8.1.2.
- fol. 83r–84r: *Poemata veteris linguae Sueo-Norreno-Gothicae*.
- fol. 89r: *Haeresis, Haereticus, Haeretarcha*. Description of eight heretical groups (1. Amphidoxi, 2. Theodoxi, 3. Heterodoxi, 4. Antodoxi, 5. Fratres Roseae Crucis, 6. Machiavellistae, 7. Athei, and 8. Epicuri Achristiani).
- fol. 90r: a copy of a Latin poem on a political topic, found on the triumphal arch in Warsaw celebrating the victory of Wladyslaw IV Vasa in the Polish-Russian war 1632–1634. The epigram was quoted by Eberhard Wassenberg, *Gesta Vladislai IV, Pol. et Suec. Regis*, pars II, liber 2, Gedani/ Gdansk 1643, p. 138.
- fol. 90v: two epigrams – one to Dionysius Beurrheus in 1644 and the other to the wife of Johannes Bureus in December 1643³⁰⁰ – and various notes on matrimonial legal questions (the degrees of distance between relatives in marriages, between Jacob and Rahel, and between Thomas and Berta of Denmark).

Following pages are blank: 4v, 5r, 5v, 6v, 28v–29v, 33r, 34v, 45v, 46v, 47v, 50v–51v, 68v–74v, 76v, 79v–82v, 84v–88v and 89v.

²⁹⁹ The text with the heading *Legum antiquitas* contains a quotation from Tacitus, *Germania*, and references to *Codex legum Longobardorum*, to Birger Jarl's preface to the Uplandia laws, and the preface of a contemporary author into Swedish laws and the laws of Ostrogothia. The text with the heading *Literarum antiquitas* consists of quotations from Guillaume Postel, *De originibus seu de varia et potissimum orbi Latino ad hanc diem incognita, aut inconcyderata historia*, Basel 1553 and from Salmasius, *De Hellenistica commentarius*, Leiden 1643.

³⁰⁰ These poems have been published among Stiernhielm's collected Latin poems; see *Samlade skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm*, 1:1, pp. 176–177 (nos. 13 and 14).

3.3 Stiernhielm's planned authorship

3.3.1 *Stiernhielm's polymathy*

As will have become evident from the above surveys, Stiernhielm planned to publish a great number of treatises in the following topics: Swedish and Latin poetry, linguistic theory, Swedish and comparative lexicography, Swedish history, geometry, mathematics, politics, cosmology, ontology and moral philosophy. Some of these works were actually published during or after his lifetime, while most of them only were left in manuscript.

Samuel Columbus regarded Stiernhielm's polymathy as the main reason why he did not succeed in publishing his treatises.³⁰¹ Since the 18th century, biographers have underlined Stiernhielm's encyclopedic erudition. This is a common thread throughout the centuries. His achievements are described, interpreted, analysed and evaluated in biographies, such as those by Celsius (1753), Gagnerus (1776), and Swartling (1909)³⁰² and in the Tartu conference volume on Stiernhielm (where the contributions by Erland Sellberg and Bernt Olsson highlight his breadth of learning).

Hammaršköld (1818, biographical introduction, chap. 7) sketches Stiernhielm's achievements as a jurist, historian, philologist, mathematician, philosopher, and poet. The political theorist and historian Erik Gustaf Geijer (1840) argues that Stiernhielm was a pioneer in his own time and anticipated scholarly and scientific developments in every field of his inquiry (Vol. 2, Section 21.4). When he states that Stiernhielm was "in everything a great beginner", a contextual reading of the passage in which this quotation occurs shows that Geijer is only referring to his inability to publish treatises. He did not accordingly imply that Stiernhielm's treatises are only on a basic or rudimentary level of knowledge. On the contrary, Geijer underlines Stiernhielm's greatness as an advanced pioneering scholar and scientist (see the reception studies, Volume 2, Section 21.4).

Stiernhielm himself drew up several lists of his planned treatises. These lists are edited below, and the different treatises are identified with prints, modern editions (including my own) and manuscript drafts, not only in the collection (F.d.) of the Royal Library, but also at other libraries. In general, I have specified and analysed only the first occurrence of a treatise.

³⁰¹ Columbus, *Mål-roo eller roo-mål*, in Hesselman's edition (1935), p. 21, story no. 24, second headline "Πολυπραγμοσύνη".

³⁰² Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, pp. ix–xx, drew up a list of Stiernhielm's manuscript and printed works in a thematic order under the headings of politics and constitutional law; philosophy; linguistic and antiquarian research; mathematics, mechanics and astronomy; and finally poetry.

3.3.2 Letter of Royal copyright in 1639

The regency of Queen Christina granted Stiernhielm copyright for the years for a number of treatises in a letter in Örebro of 9 March 1639. The titles of the treatises are as follows:³⁰³

1. Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum, cuius ope data sententia innumeris modis et schematibus mutari ac variari potest, eodem semper manente sensu.³⁰⁴
2. Baculus metricus medh dess usu på Swenska.³⁰⁵
3. Algebra på Swenska.³⁰⁶
4. Geometria practica på Swenska³⁰⁷
5. Adelruna seu Sibylla Sveo-Gothia priscam gentis et linguae Gothicae eminentiam ac maiestatem e temporum labe et invidiae nube in lucem vindicans.³⁰⁸

3.3.3 Complimentary poem in 1644

In 1643–1644, Stiernhielm published the first part of his antiquarian dictionary on Old Swedish *Gambla Swea- och Götha-måles fatebur*, the first pages of his etymological Swedish dictionary, then entitled

³⁰³ See Wieselgren, *Brev till Georg Stiernhielm*, pp. 88–89.

³⁰⁴ This treatise must be the earliest stage in the grammatical-rhetorical theory on linguistic variability in 1635. See the textual edition in Volume 1, Chapter 10.

³⁰⁵ This is the first evidence of Stiernhielm's plans for creating a measuring rod for weights and measures, which later resulted in two instruments of measurement: *Linea Carolina* (F.d. 19:2) in 1657 and *Baculus Carolinus* (F.d. 19:4) in 1663. The Swedish description of how to use the latter was transcribed by Torny Bondestam and published by Rolf Ohlon, *Från Stiernhielms Carl-Staff till metern*, Borås 1989. UUB holds no less than five different copies of *Baculus Carolinus* (mss. A 5, A 6, A 7, A 8a and A 8c), all titled "Carls Stafs skick, bruk och nytta". The Carolean staff was made of brass, was 90 cm long and formed a square, where each side was 8 mm. Each side had different sets of scales, which were described by Åke Rålamb in *Adelig öfning* (1690) and further explored by Rolf Ohlon, "Stiernhielm as metrolog och skapare av det svenska måttsystemet" in *Stiernhielm 400 år*, pp 191–195. Cf. Harald Heyman, "Stiernhielms skrifter om mått och vikt", *Uppsala universitets biblioteks minnesskrift 1621–1921*, Uppsala 1921, pp. 323–325.

³⁰⁶ Stiernhielm's autograph *Algebra Suethica* is preserved in ms. A 4, fols. 1r–58v, at UUB. The following hundred pages are autograph drafts of algebraic and arithmetic geometry. The rest, fols. 173r–306r, are a non-autograph fair copy of the first part. Hultman, "Svenska aritmetikens historia", *Tidskrift för matematik och fysik*, vol. 3 (1870), p. 50, 58 f., dates *Algebra Suethica* to Stiernhielm's stay in Västerås in the winter of 1639. It was supplemented in Stockholm in Dec. 1643 and in Uppsala in Febr. 1654. Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 3:2, p. 99.

³⁰⁷ The drafts of this geometrical treatise are probably extant in F.d. 18.

³⁰⁸ This is one of the titles of Stiernhielm's project on a Swedish etymological and antiquarian dictionary, which originally was begun as *Lexicon Gothicum* on 12 July 1626, but was retitled *Adelruna seu Sibylla Sueo-Gothica*, on the lower half of the title page, see F.d. 10, front cover.

Magog Aramaeo-Gothicus, and this geometrical treatise *Archimedes reformatus*. As an appendix to these publications³⁰⁹ there is a poem dedicated to Stiernhielm, written by the German-Swedish jurist and historian Johannes Loccenius (1598–1677). In the introduction to the poem he refers to Stiernhielm’s finished and unfinished treatises:

- Antiquarius³¹⁰
- Magog Aramaeo-Gothicus³¹¹
- Virgula divina seu clavis linguarum generalis³¹²
- Anti-Cluverius seu origines Sueo-Gothicae³¹³
- Tabula Mnemonica arithmethicae universalis³¹⁴
- Algebra
- Baculus metricus
- Archimedes reformatus³¹⁵
- Proteus rhetoricus
- Musae Suethizantes³¹⁶

³⁰⁹ I have used a copy of these treatises bound together into one book at Uppsala University Library, shelfmark Cronstedt 5, 1, 58.

³¹⁰ The Latin title of *Gambla Swea- och Götha-måles fatebur*, Stockholm 1643. On the verso of the title page in this print the title is given in Latin as *Antiquarius linguae Scandia-Gothicae*.

³¹¹ *Magog Aramaeo-Gothicus serenissimae Reginae Svecorum Gothorumque Christinae Gustavi Magni filiae) dedicatus*, Upsalia/ Uppsala, c. 1643.

³¹² This is one of the titles of Stiernhielm’s general etymological dictionary, later designated as *Babel destructa* in the conspectus of Runa Suethica, second part.

³¹³ This is the earliest evidence of Stiernhielm’s plans for a controversial pamphlet against Philipp Clüver’s *Germania antiqua*, in which the original homeland of the Goths was attributed to Prussia rather than Sweden. Stiernhielm’s copy of *Germania antiqua* in the 2nd edition of Leiden 1631 survives at Uppsala University Library in the collections of Gyllenhielm. Otto Walde, “Om Georg Stiernhielm’s bibliotek: några anteckningar” in *Donum Grapeanum* 1945, p. 120, reports that in this copy the chapter on the origin of the Goths contains a large number of Stiernhielm’s marginal annotations both before and after his hand injury of 13 July 1641. The treatise was finished by Stiernhielm in the early 1650s, supplemented in 1669 and published posthumously in 1685 by Johann Hadorph, *Anticluverius sive scriptum breve Johanni Cluverio Dantisco-Borusso oppositum gentis Gothicae originem et antiquissimam in Scandia vel Scandinavia sedem vindicans*, Holmiae/ Stockholm 1685. Hadorf dedicated the work to Bengt Oxenstierna as director of the Government offices.

³¹⁴ This work is extant in F.d. 15 *Arithmetica mnemonica universalis*, dated Vasula 1642. Cf. Wieselgren 1957: 99 f. According to Hultman, “Svenska aritmetikens historia,” *Tidsskrift för matematik och fysik tillegnad den svenska elementarundervisningen*, vol. 3 (1870), p. 56, a decimal system is here proposed.

³¹⁵ *Archimedes reformatus* was published in Stockholm without year of publication. The dedicatory letter to Queen Christina is dated 4 January 1644. It was published by Peter von Selow (Petrus à Selow). The treatise deals with the density, fineness, and utility value of metallic elements gold, silver, copper, mercury, lead, iron and tin and discusses the mutual relationship between their densities.

3.3.4 Letter to Axel Oxenstierna in 1645

In a letter to the chancellor of the Swedish realm, Axel Oxenstierna, before May 1645, Stiernhielm enumerates “the works he partly has finished and partly elaborates on daily.” He refers to eleven particular treatises as follows (see Wieselgren 1937–48: 110–111):

The wärck som iagh deels hafuer färdig och deels dageligh arbetar uppå äre i synnerhet thesze:

Algebra på nye och härtils osedde sätt och fördeelar med thesz regler och öfuer till trijhundrade exempel förklarad i gemeen-arithmetiske, geometriske, geodaetiske, astronomiske etc. uppgifter. På swänka. blifver till 3 finger tiock in 4.¹⁰

Arithmethica universalis mnemonica. till bägge thesze hafuer Peter von Selaw gutit en hoop nya characterer.

Baculus metricus. Thär uppå alle fortifications lineerne finns proportionerade:³¹⁷ iämbte alle stereometriske visir- och bysz mäster rode; en cylindrisk sol-säyare utan magnet etc. sampt thesz bruk och nytta, på swenska.

Antiquarius. Gamble Swea och Göthamålets fatebur. Blifuer ett stort werk.

Clavis generalis fere omnium linguarum. Thäruti först Swenska medh the Orientaliske Tungomålen tillika föres til communes radices, och sedan the andres ursprung och derivationes af thesze tees och bewijsas.³¹⁸

³¹⁶ This is the first evidence of a plan for a collection of Swedish artistic poems. The congratulatory poems *Heroisch fägne-sång* and *Heroisch jubel-sång*, celebrating Queen Christina on her 17th and 18th birthdays in 1643 and 1644 may have been the basis of this idea, which was developed by the creation of Swedish texts of court ballets and allegorical processions 1649–1650. At the request of his pupil Samuel Columbus (see *En svensk ordaskötsel*, edited by Sylvia Boström, Stockholm 1963, p. 55), Stiernhielm published *Musae Suethizantes, thet är sång-gudinnor nu först lärande dichta och spela på swenska* (Muses Suethizantes, that is song-goddesses first now learning to write poetry and sing in Swedish), in Stockholm in 1668.

³¹⁷ One side of the measuring rod *Baculus Carolinus* (1663) has two scales called *Linea fortificatoria*, which were intended for the creation of maps on fortresses.

³¹⁸ This is “General key to almost all languages, a key in which Swedish and the Oriental (that is Semitic) languages are first reduced to common roots and the origin and derivations of the other languages are then shown and proved.” Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm* 3:2, p. 100, states that this treatise was not published, but argues that it is similar to the preface on the origin of languages in the Swedish edition of *Codex Argenteus*. He also compares it to the conspectus of the planned work *Runa Suethica*. In this case, the reference to *Clavis universalis* is the first attestation of Stiernhielm’s plans for *Runa Suethica*, which was conceived in two parts: a historical-linguistic part on the origin and diversification of languages and the place of Swedish among the world’s languages, and a

Anti-Cluverius seu Origines Sueo-Gothicae VI libris sive dissertationibus comprehensae.

Proteus rhetoricus, id est Artificium variandae orationis infinities fere manente sensu eodem. Suethice et Latine.³¹⁹

Poesis nova Suethica.³²⁰

De possessionum, dominiorum, spoli et limitum actionibus, Suethice.³²¹

De raptu et bigamia, commentatio in libris 3.³²² Högh. bal. *Om Truldom och forgeringom* och deres mångahanda slag, samt huru thäri skall ransakas och dömas.

*Om skrocksokn och ofsokn*³²³ tractatus singularis.³²⁴

3.3.5 Letter to Mattias Biörnkrou in 1656

In a letter dated 23 September 1656 to his friend, the state secretary and distinguished diplomat Mattias Biörnkrou (1607–1671),³²⁵

lexicographical part which would provide an etymological dictionary with a more specific introduction based on morphophonological and phonosemantic principles.

³¹⁹ *Proteus rhetoricus* probably refers to the first draft from 1635, which is edited in Volume 1, Chapter 10. However, it may also be the first evidence of the later stage in the development of the grammatical-rhetorical theory on linguistic variability found in the drafts of *Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus*, edited in Volume 1, Chapter 11.

³²⁰ Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm* 3:2, p. 101, argues that this “New Swedish poetry” is related to Stiernhielm’s poem *Hercules* and his congratulatory poems for Queen Christina’s birthday celebrations in 1643 and 1644.

³²¹ This treatise on legal procedures concerning possession, property law, spoils and borders is extant under the title *Processus iudicialis eller tingsmåla rätt som achtas och hållas skall å häradz och lagmans ting* at Norrköping stadsbibliotek, (Finspongsamlingen 1696 fol.) von Celse mentions this work as “Tingsmåls rätts processen” in his biography on Stiernhielm (ms. X 211, fol. 365v, UUB).

³²² That is: “Commentary on rapes of women and on bigamy in three books.” These treatises probably do not survive.

³²³ “On magic and witchcraft and the multifarious kinds of them and on how trials and judgements in these matters should proceed.” This treatise is not extant.

³²⁴ The old Swedish legal word *offsokn* etymologically means “exceedingly much prosecution”, and “skrocksokn” etymologically means “lie-summons”, that is, unjust judgement because of false stories or false reports. In his list of old and obsolete legal Swedish words (*Vocabula priscaet obsoleta legum Suecorum Gothorumque explicata*, F.d. 10), Stiernhielm states under the entry *ofsökia* that he wrote a treatise on the topics in question (“en uthförlig discours öfver off- och skrocksokn”) on 25 July 1633 as a favour for Per Nilsson, governor of the county Kopparberget; see Ståhle, “Språkteori och ordval i Stiernhielms författarskap” in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, vol. 66 (1951), p. 67.

³²⁵ In the letter to Biörnkrou, Stiernhielm addresses him as his highly reliable old good friend and patron (“min högst-tillförlitelige gamble gode vän och gynnare”). He most likely get to know Mattias Arosiander (Biörnkrou), son of a miller, as a pupil in the high school of Johannes Rudbeckius in Västerås, when he taught eloquence (spring 1624) and political science and ethics (autumn 1626). In August

Stiernhielm enumerates the treatises he has completed in the course of his sojourn in the Baltic provinces between 1651 and 1656 (Wieselgren 1937–48: 191). These are as follows:

1. Anti-Cluverius de origine Gothorum, in quo multae antiquitates, etc.
2. Philosophia nova, vetustis principiis, sed a nemine uno recte intellectis et hactenus usurpatis, ad oculum demonstrata. Qua tota philosophia veterum explicatur, mysteria Zoroastris, Mosis, Hermetis, numeri Pythagorae et Platonis, Iamblichi, Plotini etc., item poetarum mythica et theologia naturalis ethnica excutuntur et dilucide enucleantur, quo ipso simul omnes aut enormes maxime veterum sectarum errores sponte patescunt et seipsos produunt.³²⁶

1627 Björnklou was enrolled at Uppsala University as Mattias Mylonius (where the Grecizing surname tells that he was the son of a miller). He was a tutor of Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie in 1632–1637. After some years on the chair of eloquence in Uppsala (1637–1640), he made a career as a secretary and diplomat in the Swedish State service. Among other things, he was Swedish negotiator at the negotiations that resulted in the Peace of Westphalia. In 1646, he was ennobled Björneklou. In 1661, he was appointed court chancellor and in 1664 he was chosen to be state councillor and deputy director of the Government Offices.

³²⁶ “A new philosophy demonstrated through old principles, which so far have not been rightly understood and used by anyone. In it, the philosophy of antiquity is explained, the mysteries of Zarathustra, Moses, Hermes Trismegistus, the numbers of Pythagoras, Plato, Iamblichus, and Plotinus etc. Similarly, the myths of the poets and the pagan natural theology are discussed and clearly demonstrated. By this, all the mistakes, particularly those of the ancient schools are at the same time made obvious and show themselves.” In his drafts on *Peplum Minervae*, “The robe of Minerva” from the period 1651–1656, Stiernhielm deals with the principles of nature and revises earlier views. A selection of texts was published by Nordström, *Georg Stiernhielm. Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 2: the dedicatory letter to Queen Christina, pp. 4–5 (F.d. 4:4:1, fols. 12v, 14v), a draft dated New Year’s Day 1652 on the basic natural principles (mind, light, and matter), pp. 6–20 (F.d. 4:4:1, fols. 34r–37r), a cosmological text on voidness, pp. 21–31 (F.d. 4:4:1, fols. 29v–32v) and a draft dated 4 April 1652 on the nature of man and the origin of evil in man, pp. 32–46 (F.d. 4:4:1, fols. 52v, 63v, 63r, 62r, 64r and 64v.). The first pages (Nordström, *ibidem*, pp. 6–8) were translated into Swedish by Hans Helander at the request of Rune Per Olofsson, who integrated the translation into his biography of Stiernhielm (pp. 153–155). A Swedish translation of *Peplum Minervae* is under preparation by Lars Nyberg. Stiernhielm made a synthesis of Stoic, Neoplatonic, neo-Pythagorean and Hermetic ideas, for which he relied on his own study of Plato, Plotinus, the Stoics, and *Corpus Hermeticum* and on his reading of Marsilio Ficino, J. Lipsius, Jean d’Espagnet, Fr. Patritius, Robert Fludd and Comenius (*Pansophiae prodromus*, London 1639, and *Physicae ad lumen divinum reformatae synopsis*, Amsterdam 1643). In his cosmology, he was likely influenced by Giordano Bruno and Pierre Gassendi. Nordström (pp. CCLXIII–CCCLXI) analyses the sources of inspiration, goals, methods and nature of Stiernhielm’s philosophical system.

3. Connubium Panos cum Echo, h. e. concordia vocum cum rebus. Qua produntur origines et radices universales, notionibus suis ex rerum principiis et natura ipsa petitis distinctae, omnibus in orbe terrarum (Americanis exceptis) linguis communes. Nova est scientia, nemini hucusque sperata, nedum tentata.³²⁷

4. Quod iam sub malleo, imo scalpro artificis habeo, de mensuris et ponderibus veterum Romanorum et modernorum. [...] Videbis spero, brevi, si adsint nervi, opus concinnum et ingeniosum.

3.3.6 *A list of forthcoming publications, c. 1659*

In an annotated manuscript copy of his *Bibliotheca Suigothica*, vol. III (1633–1659), Anders Anton Stiernman copied a list of writings that Stiernhielm intended to publish (ms. U 193, fols. 139r–140r, Uppsala University Library). This account is probably identical with the lost catalogue of forthcoming treatises that Stiernhielm attached to a letter addressed to King Charles X Gustav in 1659.³²⁸

Lista upå de värck G. Stiernhielm hafwer under händerne till att låta tryckia.

1. Lineae Carolinae descriptio, praxis et usus in mensuris, ponderibus, motibus, machinis, re metallica, re monetaria et probatoria auri et argenti per aquam etc.³²⁹

³²⁷ The main title metaphorically refers to the marriage between the forest god Pan, as a symbol of the realm of things, that is all the sense-perceptible world (*universus sensibilis mundus*, F.d. 9**, fol. 30r), and the Boetian nymph Echo, as a symbol of the realm of words, that is, the union between reality and its linguistic signs. The theory on lexical and inflectional morphology is proposed in various drafts that are edited in Vol. 1, Section 8.1: Historical formation of lexical morphemes, Section 8.2: Universal classification of lexical morphemes, and Section 8.3: Universal semanticization of lexical morphemes. Moreover, the definition of etymology as an autonomous and exact discipline is presented in drafts that are edited in Vol. 2, Sections 8.1: *Mysterium etymologicum*, Section 8.2: *Palmarium artis*, and Section 8.3: *Verborum scientia*, and Section 8.4: *Divinae huius scientiae fundamentum*.

³²⁸ For an edition of the letter, see Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, vol. 3:1, pp. 200–201. According to Nordström, *Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, CCLIII, Stiernman copied Stiernhielm's attached list before it was separated from the letter and disappeared after the 1720s.

³²⁹ Drafts of the treatise is extant in F.d. 19a and 19b. A copy titled *Linea Carolina hydro-metro-statica serenissimo Regi Suethicae Carolo Gustavo Gothoburgi anno MDCCVII dedicate* is extant as N. 509 at UUB. *Linea Carolina* is a ruler made of brass, 3 mm thick, 60 mm wide and 450 mm long. It is engraved on the front and the back with different scales with a duodecimal division that aims to show the relationship between Roman, Stockholmian, Parisian and other countries' measures of length and volumes and the mass of units of weight, water and other bodies. See L. Falkman, *Om mått och vikt i Sverige*, part 2, Stockholm 1885, p. 44. For a more detailed description, see Rolf Ohlson, "Stiernhielm som metrolog och skapare av det

2. De mensuris et ponderibus Suethiae ad pedem vel ulnam Stockholmensem recte et ex fundamentis Lineae Carolinae coordinandis.³³⁰
3. Pes et libra Romana vetus, vera, practice per Lineam Carolinam demonstrata atque hinc emergens scientia certa omnium mensurarum, ponderum et rei nummerariae antiquorum Romanorum, Graecorum, Hebraeorum, Arabum, Persarum, Aegyptiorum etc. comparatis iisdem Germanicis, Gallicis, Italicis, Hispanicis et uno verbo omnibus in mundo cognitis.³³¹
4. Problemata omnis generis mathematica, arithmetica, geodetica, fortificatoria, mechanica, algebraica etc. mira et hactenus vix cogitata soluta.
5. Trigonometria canonica sive ope tabularum sinuum.
6. Arithmethica mnemonica universalis.
7. Algebra Suethice novis compendiis.
8. Proteus et polygraphia ingeniosa.³³²
9. Umbra sapientiae humanae sive Philosophia vetus, vera Zoroastrea demonstrata.³³³

svenska måttsystemet” in *Stiernhielm 400 år*, pp. 182–190. Stiernhielm’s principle was that there was a fixed standard of the smallest unit *ass* (48 mg) in the Dutch troy weight system, and that this could be used as a basis for determining the units of mass, length and volume, a principle later to be applied to the metric system. Gunnar Pipping, “Georg Stiernhielm and his system of weights and measures”. *Stiernhielm 400 år*, p. 176, argues that the fundamental error was that “he adopted a unit of weight as a basis instead of a unit of length” and that “he chose a small unit, thereby multiplying the inherent errors, when using heavier weights.”

³³⁰ This is perhaps the same treatise as “Berättelse om Swea-Rijkes vigt och mål”, the Archives of the Swedish Academy, *Svenska Akademiens samlingar*, vol. 289. A copper engraving of the system, *Mensurae regni Svethiae*, was produced in 1664.

³³¹ This work is identical with F.d. 19:3, where Stiernhielm explores the measures and weights in the Classical and Oriental civilizations. For a similar enterprise, see Ludvig Falkman, *Om mått och vikt i Sverige*, part 1, Stockholm 1885, see pp. 6–43.

³³² This is the first evidence of plans to publish *Polygraphia*, the drafts of which mainly survive in F.d. 13, but also in F.d. 6b: 3b (for instance as early drafts of the birthday panegyric for Queen Christina in 1650) and F.d. 6 (fol. 20r “Poesis ornat hominem doctum”). I have edited Stiernhielm’s compositions of polygraphy; see Vol. 1, Chapter 12, and Section 10.6.4. One page of a draft of the panegyric to Queen Christina in F.d. 6b: 3b was edited by Carl Ivar Ståhle, *Vers och språk i Vasatidens och stormaktstidens svenska diktning*, Stockholm 1975, pp. 271–274.

³³³ Stiernhielm refers to a treatise with this title in his enquiry of Pythagorean and Neoplatonic philosophy of numbers, *Sacrosanctae trinitatis divinae mysterium, numeris et figuris repraesentatum*, dated 12 Dec. 1658 (F.d. 9**, pp. 80–81 and 95–99, see p. 97; cf. Nordström. *Stiernhielm. Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 2, p. 191). *Umbra sapientiae divinae et humanae* at Lund University Library is a copy of *Cogitationes de principiis naturae* N. 539, Uppsala University Library, which is Örnhielm’s copy of Stiernhielm’s dialogue on cosmogony in *Monile Minervae*, edited from ms. F.d. 6b:2 by Nordström, *ibidem*, vol. 2, pp. 47–59.

10. Runa Suethica et linguarum fons unus.
11. Swea och Götha urgamble tungomåhls fatebur, uti hvilka alle gamble ord som finnas i lagar och gamble böcker och handlingar, item isländske norske, danske och gamble engelske ord och termini, som medh vårt språk hafwa någon gemenskap, andragas och till fyllo utthydes.
12. Anti-Cluverius de origine et antiquitate Gothorum.
13. De nobilitate tractatus Suethice.
14. Poemata varia Suethica et Latina.³³⁴
15. Archimedes reformatus iam ante typis excusus est, sed auctor recudendus.
16. Samuelis Bocharti Origines linguae Gallicae ex Phoeniciaeductae in Suethicam iam reductae.³³⁵
17. Primum capitis Geneseos 22 linguis enarratum et etymologice explicatum reductis omnium harum linguarum dictionibus ad origines seu indices primas omnibus communes easdem plerasque in lingua Suethica existentes. Eiusdemque capitis 6 primi versus, quibus principia naturae creata comprehenduntur, physica enucleantur. Ubi mysteria alte hucusque abdita ex abyssu in lucem educuntur. Linguae hae sunt: Hebraea, Chaldaea, Syriaca, Arabica, Persica, Graeca, Latina, Gallica, Hispanica, Italica, Suethica, Germanica, Islandica, Anglica, Cambrica, Slavonica, Polonica, Bohemica, Ungarica, Finnonica, Esthonica, Lapponica. Accedunt forte et aliae, quarum nondum mihi facta est copia. Hoc nimirum sunt specimina docentia omnes in orbe cognito linguas ex una ortas ad unam qua radices possibile esse reduci.

³³⁴ This item shows that Stiernhielm planned a collection of his Swedish and Latin poems. The former were published in *Musae Suethizantes* in 1668. A collection of thirty-eight Latin poems was published by Bernt Olsson in 1973. See Nordström & Olsson (eds.), *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, vol. 1:1, pp. 155–200.

³³⁵ Stiernhielm's *Anti-Bochartus* was published posthumously from a copy in the possession of Baron Gustav Rålamb in *Acta literaria et scientiarum Sueciae*, vol. 4, 1738, art. II, pp. 263–389 and 1739, art. II, pp. 454–477. The title on p. 263 reads: "Anti-Bochartus seu vocabula veteris linguae Gallicae, quae origine Phoenicia esse probatur Samuel Bochartus, Geograph. sacr. part. II sive de coloniis Phoenicum, lib. 1, cap. 42, origine Gallica seu Celtica seu Scythica, id est Suethica, esse demonstrat Georgius Stiernhielm", that is, "Anti-Bochartus, or, on the words of the old Gaulish language that Samuel Bochart proves to be Phoenician in their origin in *Geographia sacra*, part 2, the part that deals with the colonies of the Phoenicians, book 1, ch. 42, but which Georg Stiernhielm demonstrates to be Gaulish, Celtic or Scythian, that is Swedish, in their origin." 50 words and proper names of Celtic origin are discussed. The second part of *Geographia sacra* was published in Caen in 1646. Stiernhielm evidently drafted his refutation after printing his conspectus of *Runa Suethica*, because he refers to it (*Acta literaria et scientiarum Sueciae*, 1739, p. 467). He also refers to his etymological dictionary *Lexicon universale* and *Clavis universalis* as forthcoming (*Acta literaria etc.*, 1738, pp. 364–365).

3.3.7 *A list of forthcoming publications, c. 1662*

In the manuscript collection of the archivist Elias Palmskiöld (1667–1719) at Uppsala University Library, one volume (ms. Palmsk. 356) contains a collection of material for a bibliography of Stiernhielm's works. This collection is placed in a bundle of papers between pages 387 and 389. It consists of no less than 94 unnumbered pages. On pp. 69–70 of it, Stiernhielm's forthcoming treatises are catalogued. This list may date from 1662 or early 1663, since Stiernhielm's edition of the Westrogothian law "Wästgötha lagbok" published in 1663 is here referred to as unpublished. At the same time, the list enumerates a planned publication of *Codex Argenteus* with a planned Gothic etymological dictionary. The 6th-cent. copy of Wulfila's Gothic Gospel translation known as *Codex Argenteus* was bought back to Sweden by the Chancellor of the Realm Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie (1622–1686) in 1662. At this time, Swedish philologists began to plan a new edition (see item 6). The list also mentions Stiernhielm's work on standardization and improvement of the Swedish system of measures, viz. *Linea Carolina*, which under this title was begun in the 1650s and completed during 1662–1663. See item 8.

All this evidence makes a dating to early 1663 most probable. The list begins with a sentence that means: "the works that G. Stiernhielm primarily aims to publish are the following." The list may have been drawn up on Stiernhielm's dictation by one of his amanuenses, perhaps Clas Örnhielm, who served in such a capacity in 1662–1663.

The wärck som G. Stiernhielm medh det första ämnar låta uthgå ähre desse:

1. Wästgötha lagen medh uthtydning uppå dess gamle ord och ordasätt.³³⁶
2. Gambla Swea och Götha tungomåhls fatebur, det är et lexicon eller ordbook öfuer alle gamble ordh och sätt till att tala som finnes in svenska lagen, andergamble böcker och skrifter uttydde till vårt tungomåls och lagsens rätta mening och förstånd. Deraf är litt. A allareda tryckt.
3. Anti-Cluverius är een tractat eller discours emoot Philippum Cluverium om Göthenes herkomst.
4. Runa Suetica om Swea och alla tungomåhls sanna ursprungh och förwandskap.³³⁷

³³⁶ *Wäst-Götha laghbook, uppå den Stormechtigste, höghborne furstes och herres herr Carl then Ellofftes, Sweriges, Göthes och Wändes konungs och arff-furstes [...] befalning uthaff ett off-gammalt MS.to som finns in Archivo Regni med flith uthskrifwin och i wisse balkar, flockar och §§. samman-fattat aff Georg Stiernhielm, Kon. M^{ts} Krijgsråd., Stockholm 1663.*

5. Lexicon etymologicum universale sive origines primaeque radices omnium linguarum vocabulis communes (linguas novi orbis semper excipio).³³⁸
6. N. Testamentum Ulphilae cum explicatione sive originatione vorum earundemque indice.³³⁹
7. Opuscula mathematica, arithmetica, arithmometrica,³⁴⁰ trigonometrica, Algebra Suetica etc.
8. LINEAE CAROLINAE constitutio, praxis et usus, cui accedit demonstratio veri pedis, unciae et amphorae Romanae et pes et usus Stocholmensis, ubi de harmonia mensurarum et ponderum Suethicarum.
9. Proteus rhetoricus ad copiam et varietatem orationis, omnibus linguis applicabilis.
10. Stegano- et polygraphica quaedam specimina.
11. Umbra sapientiae divinarum rerum et humanarum.
12. Monile Minervae vera et genuina Naturae principia rerumque genesin et ordinem exhibens.³⁴¹

³³⁷ Here *Runa Suethica* refers only to the first part of the original conspectus, which concerns the historical origin and diversification of languages. The first chapters underlie *De linguarum origine praefatio*. See Volume 2, Chapter 12.

³³⁸ This was originally the second part of *Runa Suethica*, a general etymological dictionary that Stiernhielm had planned and developed since the 1640s.

³³⁹ The new edition of Bishop Wulfila's New Testament translation as it survives in the Gospels in *Codex Argenteus* was published in 1671 under the title *D(omini) N(ostri) Jesu Christi s(acro)s(anc)ta Evangelia ab Ulfila Gothorum in Moesia Episcopo circa annum a nato Christo CCCLX ex Graeco Gothice translata, nunc cum parallelis versionibus Sveo-Gothica, Norraena seu Islandica et Vulgata Latina edita*, Stockholmiae/ Stockholm, Wankijf, 1671. The printing expenses were paid for by the Chancellor of the Realm Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie. See Henrik Schück, *Den svenska förlagsbokhandelns historia*, vol. 1, Stockholm: Norstedt, 1923, p. 157. The accompanying Gothic dictionary has the title *Glossarium Ulphila-Gothicum linguis aliquot affinibus per Fr. Junium, nunc Sveo-Gothica moderna et antiqua, cui innumerae accesserunt etymologiae et voces ex affinibus Orientalibus, Graeca et Slavonicis locupletatum et illustratum*, Holmiae/ Stockholm 1671. In the continuation of the title, Stiernhielm calls himself "Royal counsellor of his sacred majesty and director of the College of Antiquities".

³⁴⁰ arithmometrica] Extant drafts are found in F.d. 16.

³⁴¹ Monile Minervae] "The necklace of Minerva, which shows the true and genuine principles of nature and the emergence and order of things". Extant drafts were mainly written between 1656 and 1663. In F.d. 9**, p. 75 (fol. 57r), this treatise is dedicated to Charles X Gustav. In his PhD thesis, Nordström, *Georg Stiernhielm. Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 2, pp. 47–86, published as a selection of this treatise: the preface and dialogue on cosmogony of natural principles (F.d. 6b:2 (fol. 6r; fols. 2r–5v), a text on the genealogy of nature (F.d. 9**, fols. 14v–16v) and God as the principle of principles (Deus, principium principiorum, F.d. 5, fols. 6r–7v). Other coherent texts and loose drafts were also brought together by Nordström from F.d. 9** in the form of brief daily notes between 1656 and 1669. Nordström published

3.3.8 Report on ongoing work at the College of Antiquities

In a letter to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie of 20 July 1668 Stiernhielm describes the work of *Collegium antiquitatis*, beginning with a report on his own duties as director of the institute:

The task of the director Georg Stiernhielm is to bring together the different treatises on the origins of nations and languages into one synthesis. Relevant to this is *Magog Aramaeo-Gothus* or *A dictionary on the lexical roots that the Hebrew language and its relatives have in common with Gothic Scythian and with languages of Scythian origin*. Similarly, a treatise³⁴² and different dictionaries and specimens on different languages. These treatises teach us that internally Western and Oriental languages have a mutual kinship and descent, and finally that all languages have their first root and common stem in one and the same language of Noah, though always with the exception of the American languages and the languages of islands.³⁴³ Similarly, the Practical Archimedes, the treatise on measures, weights and coins of the ancients and the moderns, and many other well-known and completed booklets. For the delivery of these works nothing else is required than that Juno Moneta is present as a midwife.³⁴⁴

the conspectus of the chapters of *Monile Minerva*, pp. 200–202 (F.d. 9**, pp. 57–59/ fols. 48r–49r), a text on numerical speculation, no. 6, pp. 186–192 (F.d. 9**, pp. 80–81, 95–99), a draft on religious denominations, p. 193 (F.d. 9**, p. 115/ fol. 77r) where Islam is described as a political religion (“Religio Mahometana politica est”), a text dated Wasula 6 June 1656 on God as the only true and good divine mind, pp. 97–98 (F.d. 9**, pp. 35–36, fol. 38r–38v), a brief text on the three main principles of nature taking its point of departure in the Kabbalistic doctrine of the bright *aleph* and the dark *aleph* (F.d. 9**, fol. 37r), and several texts on man as a microcosm who reflects the order of the macrocosm by his intelligible and sense-perceptible abilities (pp. 170–171, F.d. 9**).

In *Monile Minervae*, edited by Nordström, *ibidem*, pp. 47–59 (from F.d. 6b:2 under comparison with the fair copy *Cogitationes de principiis universi*, N. 539, UUB), Stiernhielm puts forward a Neoplatonist and Hermetical explanation of the biblical account of the Creation, where he argues that everything can be reduced to the principles of mind, light, and matter. The dialogue on the creation (Nordström, *ibidem*, pp. 51–71) has been translated into Swedish by Bo Lindberg in G. Broberg (ed.), *Gyllene äpplen: svensk idéhistorisk läsebok* (Stockholm 1991), pp. 356–364. A new Swedish translation of *Monile Minervae* is being prepared by Lars Nyberg.

³⁴² treatise] probably “Dissertatio de linguis et vera linguarum origine”, which is the first part of *Runa Suethica* (according to the conspectus of 1651 and 1669).

³⁴³ the languages of the islands] Probably the languages in the islands of the West Indies in the Mexican Gulf. See Vol. 2, Section 12.3, p. 262 (footnote 864).

³⁴⁴ The Latin original reads: “Directoris Georgii Stiernhielmii labor est opera varia de originibus gentium et linguarum antehac a se conscripta in unum syntagma redigere. Quo pertinent Magog Aramaeo-Gothus seu Lexicon radicum linguae Hebraeae et affinium cum Gothica Scythica, et iis quae ejus sunt stirpis,

3.4 Stiernhielm's poetical authorship

3.4.1 Editions of Swedish poems

Stiernhielm obviously planned an edition of his Swedish and Latin poems (*Poemata varia Suethica et Latina*; Section 3.3.6, no. 14). As an author of Swedish poetry, Stiernhielm was active for a period of nine years, between 1643 and 1651. He collected his Swedish poems by their different genres – two congratulatory poems, one elegy, three ballets, two processions in allegorical form, one sonnet, one encomium, and his emblematic epigram as a poetic author – into one single volume entitled *Musae Suethizantes*, published in 1668. It was republished only once, in 1688, before Hammarsköld produced a new edition of Stiernhielm's complete belletristic works, which included a poem not published before, *Bröllops besvär ihugkommelse*.³⁴⁵ A new edition was prepared by Per Hanselli in his collection of belletristic works from Stiernhielm to Dalin.³⁴⁶ Stiernhielm's collected Swedish poetry was published by Nordström and Olsson in the series of the Swedish society of belles-lettres.³⁴⁷

Stiernhielm's Swedish panegyrics and court poems have been analysed as pieces of a Renaissance author by Sven Delblanc,³⁴⁸ who puts them in the context of Stiernhielm's education, cultural, political and moral programme and loyalty to the Crown and royal family.

Moreover, since the 17th century, Stiernhielm's *Hercules* has been republished in no less than fourteen separate editions. Johan Henric Lidén provided a sample of verses in his *Historiola litteraria poeseos*

communium; item Dissertatio et varia variarum linguarum lexica et specimina docentia linguarum tam Occidentalium inter se, quam Orientalium mutuas inter se cognationes et propagines, omniumque tandem stirpem primam ac stemma commune esse unam Noachicam Americanis et Insularibus plerisque semper exceptis. Item Archimedes Practicus de mensuris, ponderibus et pecunia veterum et modernorum pluraque alia nota et absoluta. Ad quorum partum nihil desideratur, nisi ut praesto sit obstetrix Iuno Moneta.” The Latin text with a Swedish translation is provided by Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 3:1, p. 273; 3:2, p. 291.

³⁴⁵ In the early manuscript tradition, this was considered an authentic work, which was taken for granted by Erik Benzeliuss the Younger, *Acta litteraria Sueciae* for the year 1721, p. 191 (cf. Sigbrit Swahn, *Ryktets förvandlingar*, p. 50), Olof Celsius the Younger, *Lärde svänske*, p. 18, and Johan Henric Lidén, *Historiola litteraria poetarum Suecanorum*, part 1 (1764), p. 29. In modern times, its authenticity was questioned by Johan Nordström (1914), but was reconsidered by B. Olsson (1970).

³⁴⁶ Hanselli, *Samlade vitterhetsarbeten af svenska författare från Stjernhielm till Dalin efter originalupplagor och handskrifter*, volume 1, Uppsala 1871, pp. 1–184.

³⁴⁷ *Samlade skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm*, Poetiska skrifter, vol. 1:1, Lund 1973 (republishing of *Musae Suethizantes*, pp. 9–143 with the addition of two minor poems, pp. 149–152; vol. 1:2, Lund 1976 (commentary, pp. 11–563).

³⁴⁸ Sven Delblanc, “Stiernhielm – renässansförfattaren” in Lars Lönnroth and Sven Delblanc (eds.), *Den svenska litteraturen, vol. 1: Från runor till romantik 800–1830*, Stockholm 1999 (1st ed. 1987), pp. 180–199.

Suecanae (1764, pp. 23–26).³⁴⁹ In a dramatized form, the poem was published in co-operation with Columbus as *Spel om Herculis vägeval* (that is, Play about the choice of Hercules at the crossroad) in 1669, republished in 1848 and 1955. Hercules and other poems of his have also been translated into French in the early 21st century.³⁵⁰

3.4.2 Editions of Latin poems and commentaries

During most of his lifetime, Stiernhielm was also active as a Latin poet. He did not gather his Latin poems into a separate collection, but did publish some of them, for instance congratulatory poems such as *Carmen iambicum dimetrum* in 1624, a poem to Jakob Skytte in 1632 and *Idyllion Anacreonicum* to Behmer and Skyttehielm in 1658. In modern times, the prints and drafts of his Latin occasional poetry have been collected, edited, translated and commented in the series of the Swedish society of belles-lettres.³⁵¹ Birger Bergh later published an article on Stiernhielm's assimilation of the Latin poetic tradition and his transformation or translation of it into Swedish.³⁵² Maria Berggren is the author of an article on Stiernhielm as a Latin poet with a focus on stylistic devices in the political poems *Satyra Batavica* on the Dutch-French war in 1670 in a lapidary style (no. 28 in the textual edition of 1973) and *Trophaeum Sibyllinum*, which commemorates the Swedish victory at the naval battle of Fehmarn in 1644 (no. 16),³⁵³ a palindromic poem in honour of Sylvester Johannis Phrygius (no. 38), an anagrammatic poem on the word *veritas* from 1646 (no. 17), and the congratulatory *Carmen iambicum dimetrum* from 1624 and *Ode alcaica gratulatoria* from 1641 (no. 12).³⁵⁴

³⁴⁹ Lidén's *Historiola* has recently been published by "Michaelisgillet" in Swedish translation by Krister Östlund with an introduction by Lars Burman: *Historien om svenska poesin och svenska poeter*, Uppsala 2023, see pp. 21–23.

³⁵⁰ *Hercules et autres poèmes / Georg Stjernhielm; traduit du suédois, introduction et notes par François Emion* (in the series Classiques de Nord 10), Paris 2006.

³⁵¹ Nordström and Olsson (eds.), *Samlade skrifter av Georg Stjernhielm*, vol. 1:1 Lund 1973, textual edition of 38 Latin poems, pp. 155–200. Swedish translation and commentary by Bernt Olsson and Birger Bergh, vol. 1:2, Lund 1976, pp. 577–619, with an introduction on Stiernhielm as a Latin poet and his Latin style (pp. 564–576) by Birger Bergh. For the poem in iambic dimeter from 1624, see no. 1, pp. 155–159, for the poem in iambic dimeter to Jacob Skytte, see no. 9, pp. 168–170, and as regards *Idyllion anacreonticum* in 1656, see no. 23, pp. 181–188.

³⁵² Birger Bergh, "Georg Stjernhielm: från latinpoet till den svenska skaldekunstens fader" in *Latin og nationalsprog i Norden efter reformationen*, 1991, pp. 115–119.

³⁵³ A triple anagram of *Danus*, *sunda*; *nudas*; *undas* is proposed: *DANUS in SUNDA nil habet nisi NUDAS UNDA*, "In the sound the Dane has nothing but bare waves".

³⁵⁴ Maria Berggren, "När Musan talade latin. Georg Stjernhielm som latinpoet" in *Den nordiska mosaiken. Språk- och kulturmöten i gammal tid och i våra dagar*, edited by Rut Boström Andersson, Uppsala 1997, pp. 53–59.

4. Linguistic theory in general and in particular

4.1 Linguistic theory in general: topics and contexts

4.1.1 *A general survey of the topics*

As a linguistic theorist, Stiernhielm developed a coherent theory of language from its smallest phonological building blocks, across phonosemantics and transformational grammar, to a classification of the known languages of Europe, Africa, and Asia with the explicit exception of indigenous American languages and the languages of the West India. His linguistic thought comprises the following fields:

- (1) comparative phonology of Swedish in relation to Hebrew, Latin, and Greek; and universalistic phonology concerning the origin and emergence of vowel and consonant phonemes;
- (2) historical morphology: the emergence of a universal set of morphemes and their universal meanings, and some remarks on inflectional morphology;
- (3) the structural variability of language in terms of semantics, syntax and grammar in *Proteus rhetoricus* and *Polygraphia*;
- (4) the semiotic and phonosemantic (i.e. sound-symbolic) function and nature of language and the relation of language to the natural principles of mind (*mens*) and light (*lux*) and matter (*materia*);
- (5) etymological theory and method;
- (6) historical origins and relationships of languages and linguistic change;
- (7) language purism for the renewal of the Swedish language and a proposal for Swedish grammatical and rhetorical terminology.

I have provided a textual edition of his main writings in these fields. The first volume of his linguistic works encompasses fields 1–4, while the second volume comprises linguistic works in fields 5–7.

4.1.2 *Ideological, scholarly and intellectual historical contexts*

Stiernhielm's linguistic system was part and parcel of the movement of Swedish Gothicism, which was the state ideology of the emerging Swedish Empire. The Swedish Government endeavoured to confirm its Gothic national identity by means of historical evidence. Antiquarians and philologists were instructed to search for such proofs not only in the Swedish runes, medieval Swedish legal codes

(i.e. law texts) and Icelandic sagas, but also in the past and present of the “Sweo-Gothic” language.

Stiernhielm developed his linguistic thought in the context of this cultural policy. As a Swedish official, particularly as a member of the law commission (1642–1645), as antiquarian of the realm (1648–1652) and as director of *Collegium antiquitatis* (1666–1672), he used his learning in the service of this objective. He had acquired profound knowledge of history, rhetoric, politics and ancient and modern languages under the tutelage of Johannes Rudbeckius (1581–1646) in Uppsala, and at universities abroad. As a student of the antiquarian Johannes Bureus from around 1626 Stiernhielm continued the project of producing an antiquarian and etymological dictionary of the Old Swedish vocabulary. From 1639 onwards he extended this inquiry into Swedish language history to cover comparative linguistic more generally, ideas that first were developed in the drafts of *Adelrunae conclusiones* (1640) and then in the drafts of *Runa Suethica* (1649–1652). The latter were partly published in his preface to the official Swedish edition (1671) of *Codex Argenteus* (the Gothic Silver Bible comprising the Gospels) with the title *De linguarum origine*.

In European cultural history, the Renaissance (1350–1600) is a major turning point. This fact also applies to the history of linguistic ideas. Fifteenth-century Latin humanists of the Italian Renaissance, such as Flavio Biondo, Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini and Francesco Filelpho, dissociated themselves from the medieval idea of the immutability of Latin and discovered that the language of the Romans, Ancient Latin, is embedded in a historical cultural specificity, which implies that it had undergone changes over time. Their successors, such as Claudio Tolomei, Lodovico Castelvetro and Celso Cittadini, turned their inquiry to the question of the emergence of their vernacular, i.e. Italian. When the Renaissance spread across Europe, questions were subsequently raised about the origin and history of other particular national languages or ancient languages, such as Greek and Hebrew. This led to the rise of Romance, Semitic, Germanic, and Finno-Ugric philologies, which generally developed separately, though with some mutual interaction. The Renaissance philologists thus became aware of the fact of linguistic change, and developed an awareness of the historical dimension of languages. The new sense of the historical changeability of languages conforms to a cultural pattern in the Renaissance described by the cultural historian Peter Burke as the emergence of a sense of history.³⁵⁵ Burke identifies three factors underlying this: (1) a sense of a historical

³⁵⁵ Peter Burk, *The Renaissance sense of the past*, London 1969, p. 1.

perspective, (2) an awareness of historical evidence, and (3) an interest in causal explanation in history-writing.

Stiernhielm's linguistic thought on phonology, morphology, and historical and comparative linguistics was motivated by the Gothicism ideology, but it was at the same time dependent on the discoveries of the new historical language philologies of the European Renaissance. Stiernhielm was acquainted with the findings in Latin, Romance, Germanic, and Finno-Ugric philology.

His linguistic thought on transformational grammar and semantics has no Gothicism political overtones, but mainly drew on Renaissance rhetorical theory, especially the rhetorical treatises or handbooks by Desiderius Erasmus, Gerard Vossius, Thomas Farnaby, Hermann Ulner, and Nicolas Caussin (see further Section 5.2.1).

Stiernhielm also depended on the tradition of polygraphic code-writing, which had been invented by the German humanist and abbot Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) and was developed by Duke August II of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1579–1666).

The intellectual foundations for Stiernhielm's linguistic theorizing may be summarized as follows:

- (1) Epistemological foundations: rationalism and empiricism, viz. reason (*ratio*) and experience (*experientia*) as the two principles of knowledge (*principia cognitionis* or *principia cognoscendi*).³⁵⁶
- (2) Philosophical foundations: Neoplatonic and Hermetic natural philosophy and in particular the triad of spirit (*spiritus*), light (*lux*) and matter (*materia*) in Jan Comenius' natural philosophy.³⁵⁷
- (3) Semiotic foundations: immediate presentation between words and things, and mediated representation through ideas or concepts.
- (4) Historical foundations: linguistic monogeneticism (the theory of a single primeval language that is the source of all others) and the process of dialectal diversification into new languages.

³⁵⁶ Post-Ramist philosophers proposed the Holy Scriptures, reason and experience as the principles of philosophy. In Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Encyclopaedia* (2nd ed. 1630, book 3, ch. 6, p. 76) these principles are called *Sacra scriptura*, *recta ratio* and *experientia*. Comenius, *Physicae reformatae synopsis* (1643, preface) argues that philosophy should be reformed by the methods of *sensus*, *ratio* and *Scriptura*.

³⁵⁷ Comenius, *Synopsis* (pp. 8, 20, 27–28) defined matter as a passive principle and a dark, invisible, physical and formless substance, susceptible to all forms, while he interpreted spirit (Gen. 1:2) as a life-giving principle and argued that the spirit used light (Gen. 1:3) as a tool, which is the active principle of movement with the power to lighten, move and warm. See Nordström, *Stiernhielm. Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, pp. CCXC–CCXCVI. In *Peplum Minervae* (F.d. 4:4:1, fols. 35r, and 63r, col. 2) and *Monile Minervae* (F.d. 6b:2, fol. 3v) Stiernhielm adopted Comenius' views on the functions of light to illuminate (*lucere*), move (*movere*) and warm (*calere*), and on the qualities of matter as distinguished by passivity, rest, darkness, cold and formlessness. Nordström, *ibid.*, CCCX f. and CCCXXIV f. See also F.d. 4:4:1, 20r.

In his linguistic theory and lexicography, Stiernhielm combined two epistemological currents, namely universalistic rationalism and particularistic empiricism. The universalistic approach is mirrored in his attempt to reconstruct the lexical stems of the original language of humankind.

The particularistic method is manifested in his endeavour to lay a theoretical linguistic foundation for the political and cultural claims of the Swedish Empire. In his broad project of language comparison, Stiernhielm shows himself to be an empiricist. He tries to validate his hypotheses with empirical data; *experientia* is one of his keywords. The political and epistemological dimensions are easily recognized in his preface to his edition of *Codex Argenteus*. He claims superior status for the Swedish language as the true inheritress of Gothic, the language of the brave and literary Goths remaining in the fatherland, that is the Swedes, in contrast to the migrating Goths. Stiernhielm's preface formed an integral part of Sweden's new self-understanding as a Gothic Great Power of Europe.

4.2 Phonology and morphology: principles of classification and semanticization

4.2.1 General assumptions

In order to prove the Swedish language's claims to primordality and antiquity – and to pre-eminence and dignity – Stiernhielm tried to identify its structural qualities. He followed two basic assumptions: (1) that the lexis of a language can be reduced to a number of basic lexemes, primitive word-roots, “stammord, grundord”, as Stiernhielm himself translates, when explaining the concept of *primitivum* in Swedish (F.d. 9:8, p. 3) and (2) that these basic lexemes have a natural relationship to the nature of the things that they signify.

In defending his first assumption, Stiernhielm argued that the primitive roots only consisted of one speech sound or one syllable. Accordingly, he uses monosyllabicity as a criterion for determining linguistic primordality. No language however can be expected to only have primitive roots – “Hebrew has few of them, Swedish has many more and the remaining languages have very few”, he declares (*Mysterium etymologicum*, § 12). Furthermore, in his justification of the second assumption, Stiernhielm developed a complex theory of sound symbolism or phonosemantics.

Phonology is defined as the study of the system of speech sounds in a language. Key terms of modern phonology are *phoneme*, that is, the smallest speech sound serving as a building block in a syllable and word, and *morpheme*, that is the smallest unit that carries a meaning. Stiernhielm's theory on the phonetic structure of early

modern Swedish has attracted some attention in modern times.³⁵⁸ Stiernhielm regards the original speech sounds and their combination into syllables as the smallest building blocks of language, which he calls *primitiva*, *radices* or *voculae*.

Stiernhielm drew up rules for the relationship of the primary roots to reality and considered this relationship to be a multifarious one so that each root originally had diverse meanings. The guiding rule is: *Omnes et singulae radices tot habent notiones generales, quot habet ipsum ens in suas affectiones et primas substantias divisum*, i.e. “All roots and individual roots have as many general meanings as the nature itself, divided into their properties and primal substances.”³⁵⁹ Thus, he deduced the original meanings from his ontological views.

Stiernhielm derived the etymological meanings from a particular set of qualities. He states: *Fluunt etyma vocum ex*, “the etymological senses of words are derived from”: 1. *essentia*, ‘essence’, 2. *potentia seu vi et virtute*, ‘power, force and might’, 3. *actione, operatione, usu*, i.e. action, activity, use, 4. *materia*, ‘matter’, 5. *forma interna*, ‘internal form’, 6. *figura externa*, ‘external form’, 7. *principiis naturae activis*, ‘the active principles of nature’, 8. *lucē*, i.e. light’, 9. *mente*, ‘mind’, 10. *generatione*, ‘generation, coming-to-be’,³⁶⁰ 11. *amore*, ‘love’, 12a. *rectitudine*, ‘rightness’, 12b. *bonitate*, ‘goodness’.³⁶¹

4.2.2 Inventory of universal and Swedish speech sounds

Stiernhielm identified a set of phonemes for all languages generally:

vocales, i.e. vowels: a, e, i, u, o.

consonantes: i.e. consonants: b, c, d, f, g, h, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v.

Stiernhielm states that the Old Nordic language had a more limited number of phonograms than the universal alphabet above. This is proved by the 16-letter runic alphabet, the Younger Futhark. He gives the forms of the long-branched runes with the exception of a few ones, mainly those for *a* and *n*, where he consistently chose the short-twig variants. Like Johannes Bureus, he appears to have stood in a double tradition: the medieval Swedish development of the Younger Futhark and new observations of the runic inscriptions in Sweden of the 10th and 11th centuries.

He also drew up a series of early modern Swedish phonemes:

Swedish vowels: a, e, i, o, u, y, and: å, ä, ö.

Swedish consonants: b, c, d, f, g, h, k l, m, n, p, q, r, s, t, v, x, z, w.

³⁵⁸ C.I. Ståhle 1951: 52–94 and Herbert Blume 2000: 219–229. Cf. Section 1.2.2.

³⁵⁹ Stiernhielm, *De usu et applicatione radicum ad notiones rerum*, F.d. 6, fol. 39v.

³⁶⁰ This is one of Aristotle’s categories of change in the nature, see *Physics* 224b 8–10 and *De generatione et corruptione* (Περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς) 319a 26–29.

³⁶¹ Stiernhielm, *De usu et applicatione radicum ad notiones rerum*, F.d. 6, fol. 39v.

4.2.3 Historical phonology: phonetic reductionism

Stiernhielm identifies a set of original vowels and consonants (a, ch, v, z, l, r, n, m), which he calls his etymological alphabet, *alphabetum etymologicum*. The consonant *ch* comprises *h*, *c*, *g*; while *v* comprises *f*, *b*, *p*; and *z* comprises *d*, *t*, *s*, *st*, *th* (F.d. 9:6, 1r). Stiernhielm argued that the vowel *a* is the matrix of all vowels and of some consonants (v, f, b, p from the vowel *u*; j and g from the vowel *i*). In a diagram on the origin and historical development of speech sounds he says:³⁶²

The origin and kinship of speech sounds agree with nature as follows:

	The matrix vowel /a/, /æ/ is modified or modulated into							
	_____ /				_____ \			
Swedish	ä.	e.	i.	ö.	y.	å.	o.	u.
Greek	η.	ε.	ι.		υ.	ο.	ω.	
Latin		E.	I.				O.	U.

From the vowel

	a _____ / \ _____	
	emerge	
	i.	u.
which also become the consonants	j.	v.

Jod is unproductive, while waw produces:

	v. _____ / \ _____	
f.	b.	p.
		φ.
		ψ.

The breath-sound /h/ is gradually aspirated and generates:

_____ / \ _____			
hh.	g.	k.	q.
ch.		x.	
χ.	γ.	κ.	
π.	λ.	β.	
	ϣ.	ϥ.	

³⁶² The Latin source text of this phonological classification is preserved in F.d. 6, fol. 85v (see Vol. 1, Section 7.2.1). For a copy of the Latin original, see Figure 5.

The sonorant /S/ adopts many speech sounds in its stage /Z/.
 /Z/ is resolved into:

d.	t.	th.	s.	sh.	st.	ds.
dh.				sc	ʒ.	ɹ.
				ʍ.		
				ʌ.		

This is the most convenient order of the alphabet:

a.	j.	v.	h.	z.	l.	r.	n.	m.
e.		f.	ch.	s.				
i.								
o.	b.	g.	sh.					
u.	p.	c.	sk.					
			st.					
			d.					
			t.					
			th.					

It seems clear that Stiernhielm has here founded his classification on phonetic criteria on a notion of the various places of articulation. In identifying some specific groups of related consonants (b-p-f; g-k-ch; and d-t-th), he anticipates Grimm's Law (see Vol. 2, Section 4.1.4).

4.2.4 Historical morphology

In his theory of the historical emergence of morphemes, Stiernhielm argues that the matrix vowel *a* was:

- (1) inflected in different patterns for the designation of genders, cases, numbers, mood, tenses and voices, and was joined with a speech sound that indicated such a grammatical function,
- (2) was changed into other vowels, e.g. *a* > *e* > *i*, and *a* > *o* > *u*
- (3) was diphthongized,
- (4) was obscured by the affixation of some other phoneme in the original set of consonants.

Relying on his basic phonosemantic theory, Stiernhielm classifies all phonemes and morphemes into semantic categories.

4.3 Language philosophy: words in relation to reality

4.3.1 The concept of a primeval natural language

Stiernhielm based his philosophy of language and mind on a set of ideas that has been called Adamicism. This is characterized by the view that Adam's language was received by Adam from God and that it gave rise to all other languages, though without preserving its

intrinsic nature to the same extent in every language. This primordial language is non-arbitrary, because its linguistic signs agree with the properties of their referents, and thus in the relationship between the words and their referents is non-conventional. It is semantically accurate because it is unambiguous; all its words are denotative in and signify the essential properties of their lexical denotations. It is epistemically dynamic, since it supplies the key to the order of things.³⁶³ These conceptions ought rather to be termed Cratylean Adamicism, since they are the result of a combination of the biblical narrative of Adam's name-giving (Gen. 2:19–20) – where it is not stated whether the name-giving was natural or arbitrary – and the opinions attributed to the character Cratylus in Plato's dialogue *Cratylus* (§ 383, § 430 and § 438).³⁶⁴ The first attempt at combining these views was made by the church historian Eusebius of Caesarea in *Preparatio evangelica* ("Preparations for the Gospel"), book 11.³⁶⁵ The common denominator of the positions of Moses and Cratylus is that a name-giver chooses names for things that already exist in the world. Through the act of name-giving, nothing new is created apart from the names. The view that there is a set of pre-existent things that the linguistic signs depict and label is called nomenclaturism.³⁶⁶

4.3.2 Sound symbolism

Stiernhielm joined the principle of the intrinsic agreement between the nature and order of things and the linguistic signs with the eulogy of his own national vernacular. Swedish is claimed to be the language that best answers to the criteria of primordality. He underpins this claim with a phonosemantic theory, which he in one text, *Notae ad Platonis Cratylum* (Vol. 1, Section 9.3.1), bases on sound-symbolic observations in Plato's *Cratylus*. In another treatise, *Mysterium etymologicum* (Vol. 2, Section 8.1.2), Stiernhielm contends: "Almost all Swedish words originate from onomatopoeia, where the sound and the letter agree with the signification of things."³⁶⁷

³⁶³ Michael Lasonsky, "Leibniz's Adamic language of thought", *Journal of the history of philosophy* 30:4, p. 528, accounts for the main features of Adamicism.

³⁶⁴ Cf. Roy Harris & Talbot Taylor, *Landmarks in linguistic thought I*, 2nd ed. London 1997, pp. 36–38.

³⁶⁵ Eusebius argues that Moses, in Gen. 2:19–20, teaches us that names are given to things by nature (*fysei*) and not by convention (*thesei*), and Plato in his dialogue *Cratylus*, only follows Moses. Eusebius quotes several passages in *Cratylus* 383a, 390a, 390de and 409de. Cf. Mark DelCogliano, *Basil of Caesarea's anti-Eunomian theory of names*, Leiden & Boston 2010, pp. 87–91.

³⁶⁶ Saara Haapamäki, *Studier i svensk grammatikhistoria*, Åbo 2002, pp. 44–46.

³⁶⁷ *Mysterium etymologicum*, § 4: "Omnia fere vocabula linguae Suethicae sunt facta per onomatopoeia, ubi sonus et literae conveniunt significationi rei."

This assertion conforms to Stoic sound-symbolism theory. In his treatise on dialectics, Augustine accounts for the phonosemantic principles of Stoic etymology as follows (*De dialectica* VI, 9): ‘The Stoics believed that the cradle of words is the intersection where the sense-perception of things agrees with the meaning of the sounds.’³⁶⁸ This similarity was exemplified with onomatopoeic words, such as the jingling of bronze (*aeris tinnitus*), the whinnying of horses (*equorum hinnitus*), the bleating of sheep (*ovium balatum*) and the blare of trumpets (*tubarum clangor*).

Stiernhielm is one of the earliest exponents of sound symbolism after antiquity. A well-known contemporary phonosemantic theorist is John Wallis (1616–1703), who in *Grammatica linguae Anglicanae* (1653), chapter 13, discusses sounds as symbols of things in different consonantal groups.

4.3.3 *Language, reality, and mind: the interrelationship*

In a draft text, Stiernhielm joins the theory of representationalism to his sign theory, while attempting to retain his sound symbolism. He considers the relation between words and thought as a primary and immediate relation, while defining the relation between thought and reality as secondary and mediated.³⁶⁹ For this distinction, he refers to exponents of medieval scholasticism, namely Dun Scotus, Thomas ab Aquino, and Dominicus de Flandria, whose semiotic theory marks a deviation from ancient and early medieval tradition that reaches back to Augustine, in so far as, from the middle of the 13th century, mental concepts begin to be defined as signs of things. The sign began to be defined as “something that represents something other than itself to a cognitive power” (*signum est, quod potentiae cognoscendi aliquid repraesentat a se distinctum*).³⁷⁰

Stiernhielm’s criticism seems to pinpoint precisely this conceptual change. From the 13th century the scholastic philosophers onwards are more interested, according to Stiernhielm, in formal than material aspects of language in their semantic theory of the signification of words. Stiernhielm tries to explain how this new scholastic semiotic theory differs from Plato’s and Aristotle’s semantic theory.

³⁶⁸ Augustine, *De dialectica* VI, 9: Haec quasi cunabula verborum esse crediderunt, ubi sensus rerum cum sonorum sensu concordarent. Cf. idem, *De dialectica* VI, 10.

³⁶⁹ Stiernhielm, ms. F.d. 7:4, fol. 1r: “Voces sunt signa conceptuum, ut conceptus rerum, et utrumque conjunctim repraesentant.” See Vol. 1, Section 9.2.1.

³⁷⁰ Stephan Meier-Oeser, *Die Spur des Zeichen: das Zeichen und seine Funktion in der Philosophie des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin 1997, p. 77 (chapter II, C. “Die geistigen Begriffen als Zeichen”) and p. 178; idem, “Medieval semiotics” (chapter 6, Mental concepts as signs), *Stanford encyclopaedia of philosophy* (2003, substantially revised 2011).

5. Structural variability and transformability of language

5.1 Theory of structural linguistic variability

5.1.1 *Systems of linguistic variability*

In his unpublished writings *Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum* (1635) and *Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus* (1650–1651), Stiernhielm proposes a theory of linguistic variability, in which the grammatical morpheme, the clause element, semantic universals, single words, phrases, clauses and sentences and finally the text as an overarching unit are represented as interchangeable building blocks of language that are possible to vary endlessly while retaining the same meaning. The title *Proteus* was inspired by the sea god Proteus in Greco-Roman mythology, who could assume manifold forms.

In *Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum* Stiernhielm posits five systems, or circles, of linguistic variability. The first is that of grammatical variability. The second comprises synonyms, functional equivalences and circumlocutions. The third is variability is achieved through so-called tropes, that is, semantic changes of proper and natural word meaning. The fourth and fifth systems consist of figures of speech and thought.

In *Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus* Stiernhielm presents his theory in terms of six systems of variability. As compared to his former treatise he now divides the first grammatical system into two different systems, of which the first achieves variability by the substitution of grammatical categories, such as case, person, grammatical gender, number, tense and mood. The second system consists of the exchange of clause elements or parts of speech and other devices.

Stiernhielm adds a new system, the synonymic and phraseological variability of semantic universals, which also function as consecutive epistemological stages in knowledge production. He begins with the *ontological* stage, namely existence or reality itself, which he defines as the sum of physical and mental entities that are accessible to the human intellect.³⁷¹ After reality, eleven *epistemological* categories

³⁷¹ F.d. 6b: 3b, first quire, 4v, col. 1. See Vol. 1, Section. 11.2.3.

follow: (2) sense-perception, (3) admiration, (4) doubt, (5) opinion, (6) possibility of finding a solution, (7) agreement with other facts, (8) common consent, (9) truth, (10) verified certainty, (11) knowledge, and (12) scientific statement.³⁷² Accordingly, this system contains a theory of the process of knowledge production all the way from sensation to scientific assertion.³⁷³ In *Proteus rhetoricus* Stiernhielm defines each of these epistemological categories and explains its role in the creation of knowledge.³⁷⁴ He is mainly occupied with providing a stock of equivalent Ancient Latin words, phrases and sentences in each field of semantic universals. In general, complete sentences, clauses and phrases are quotations of passages in Ancient Latin prose and poetry. The selection of phraseology was based on synonymous phraseological Latin dictionaries and to some extent on Stiernhielm's own reading of Ancient Latin authors.

As regards variability through lexical semantics and rhetorical syntax, the latter treatise conforms to the former. The fourth system is represented as the ability of the proper meaning to change into a transferred one mainly by means of the tropes metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche or irony. Stiernhielm does not exemplify this in any surviving draft, but he has left extracts from the Renaissance English humanist Thomas Farnaby's theorizing and exemplification of tropes in *Index rhetoricus* (1625).³⁷⁵ The fifth system achieves variability through figures of speech (*figurae verborum*) and figures of thought (*figurae sententiarum*). Accordingly, he does not treat these devices as belonging to separate systems, as he did in the treatise of 1635.

Finally, Stiernhielm proposed a new, separate system of discursive and textual variability attained through argumentative and descriptive strategies. In ancient rhetoric these strategies were associated with topics or general arguments (*topoi*; *loci communes*) for the invention of legal proofs or the stylistic amplification of them. This is the last

³⁷² F.d. 6b: 3b, first quire, 4v, cols. 1–2. Stiernhielm designates these categories as 1. Essentia, 2. Sensus, 3. Admiratio, 4. Dubitatio, 5. Opinio, 6. Possibilis, 7. Conveniens, 8. Consensus, 9. Veritas, 10. Evidentia, 11. Scientia, and 12. Assertio.

³⁷³ This categorization may be compared to how Stiernhielm classified the stages of sensory and mental perception leading from the external object through sensation, perception, thinking and opinion to the mental faculties of reason, intellect, and mind. In F.d. 6b: 3b, fourth quire, 1r (and in other drafts), Stiernhielm enumerates the corresponding categories in the opposite way as in the third system of linguistic variability, viz. *mens* – *intellectus* – *ratio* – *opinio* – *phantasma*, *cogitatio* – *apprehensio interior* – *sensus exterior* – *diaphanum* – *obiectum*. The adjective *diaphanus*, -a, -um means “transparent, clearly visible” from Greek διαφανής. In this context, the main word *medium* or *status* is implied, so that *diaphanum* refers to the medium by which something is clearly seen, or the state of being transparent.

³⁷⁴ Ms. F.d. 6b, 3b, first quire, fol. 4v, see Vol. 1, Section 11.2.3.

³⁷⁵ For a transcription of Stiernhielm's extracts, see Vol. 1, Appendix 3.

system of *Proteus rhetoricus* (1651).

The analytical tools of *Proteus rhetoricus* accordingly derive from classical grammar and rhetoric. The treatise was intended to provide readers with facility and richness of diction in the performance of language, qualities that could be used for public speaking. This intention is in turn related to the Ramistic programme of education. Stiernhielm emphasized that language consists of exchangeable units that can be varied infinitely (“innumeris modis, infinitis modis, infinities”)³⁷⁶ and demonstrated this in his practice of polygraphy.³⁷⁷ This view agrees with Wilhelm von Humboldt’s famous statement that to speak a language means to “make infinite use of finite means.”³⁷⁸ Stiernhielm’s systems for linguistic variability, especially the ones that concern morpho-syntax, semantic change and lexical synonymy, deserve to be called transformational, though this use of the term does not correspond with its meanings in modern transformational grammar. Stiernhielm developed this theory as a practical aid for varying linguistic usage – rather than as a descriptive model, though it is such a model as well.

5.2 Sources of inspiration

5.2.1 General classification and specification

Bernt Olsson suggests that Stiernhielm drew his inspiration for the above systems of variability from three kinds of sources, namely (1) the Lullian art, (2) writings on polygraphy, ciphers and cryptography, and (3) rhetorical handbooks, mostly by Jesuit rhetoricians. He refers to treatises of each kind, but his list ought to be completed with other works. I have found that Stiernhielm used the following sources:

- (1) the Lullian art as it was epitomized and developed by Johann Heinrich Alsted in *Consilium de copia rerum et verborum* (1610) and *Cursus philosophici encyclopaedia* (1620),³⁷⁹

³⁷⁶ See the titles of *Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum* according to the letter of copyright in 1639 (Section 3.3.2) and Stiernhielm’s letter to Axel Oxenstierna in 1645 (Section 3.3.4). For an English translation of the passages, see Section 5.3.1. The contention that the possibility of linguistic variation is unlimited is also made in the preface and introduction to *Proteus rhetoricus* (Sections 11.2.2–11.2.3).

³⁷⁷ See the birthday panegyric to Queen Christina, where Stiernhielm claims that his congratulatory applause is “possible to vary infinitely in words and their syntactic form, while remaining one and the same and unchanged in structure and meaning” (*verbis et forma infinities variabilis, dispositione et sensu una et immobilis*); F.d. 13, wrapper 1: Polygraphia, fol. 6r (see under Section 12.4.1).

³⁷⁸ Manfred Kienpointner, “Linguistics” in *Encyclopaedia of rhetoric*, edited by Thomas O. Sloane, Oxford 2001, p. 434.

³⁷⁹ See *Cursus philosophici encyclopaedia*, book 9 on oratory, section 1 on oratory in general, chapter 7, where Alsted drew up seven cyclognomic circles (pp. 476–479) which were copied by Stiernhielm in F.d. 4, pp. 252–254. See Appendix 1.

(2) writings on polygraphy, ciphers and cryptography,³⁸⁰ such as *De polygraphia libri sex* (1518) by Johannes Trithemius³⁸¹ and *Cryptomenytices et cryptographiae libri IX* (1624) by August II of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, but published under the pseudonym Gustav Selenus.

(3) Rhetorical handbooks and synonymous and phraseological dictionaries in the 16th and 17th century,³⁸² which in chronological order are:

Desiderius Erasmus, *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum* (Basel 1512),

Hermann Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex elegantissimarum Germanicae et Latinae linguae phrasium* (Frankfurt am Main 1555, re-issued in many editions until 1615),

Nicolas Caussin, *De eloquentia sacra et humana* (1617),³⁸³

Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Rhetorica* (Herborn 1616),

Jean de Backer, *Flores flavissae et elegantiae poeticae sive electorum poeticorum thesaurus* (c. 1620),

Thomas Farnaby, *Index rhetoricus* (London 1625),

Wolfgang Schönsleder, *Apparatus eloquentiae* (Augsburg 1630).

³⁸⁰ Stiernhielm's notebook F.d. 20, fols. 125r–143r, shows his interest in the art of cryptography during his studies in Greifswald in 1624 (one page, 134r, being dated 1 December 1624). He proposes cryptography through secret signs of vertical and horizontal strokes (*Alphabetum sanctum Georgii Liliae* and *Alphabetum naturae Georgii Liliae*; fol. 125r), through geometrical figures (fol. 135r–136v), through musical notes (fol. 135v), through alphabetical cipher (fols. 136r, 140r–143r), and through astronomical signs for planets and zodiacs (138r–139r). On some pages he has written messages in secret scripts with explanation of the meaning (132r–134r). When inventing these methods, Stiernhielm likely used Duke August's handbook of cryptography as a source of inspiration.

³⁸¹ In his notebook F.d. 20 Stiernhielm briefly quotes from Trithemius (fol. 139v).

³⁸² Bernt Olsson (1974) did not identify Farnaby's *Index rhetoricus* and Alsted's *Rhetorica* as sources of inspiration for Stiernhielm, but mainly focused on treatises by Jesuit scholars, viz. Caussin, de Backer and Schönsleder.

³⁸³ Stiernhielm possessed the second edition of Caussin's theoretical and practical rhetorical handbook, Cologne (Köln) 1626. On this front leaf of his copy he states that the book is a donation by Jakob Skytte of Duderhof (1616–1654), the first rector of the University of Tartu (Academia Gustaviana). He adds his signature and year of acquisition: "E donatione Illustr. D. D. Jacobi Skytte L. B. in Duderoff et p(ro) t(empore) Academia Dorpatensis Rect. Magn. Georg Lilia A^o 1632", see Otto Walde, "Om Georg Stiernhielms bibliotek: några anteckningar" in *Donum Grapeanum*, Uppsala 1945, p. 126; cf. Bernt Olsson 1974: 203. Jakob Skytte was a son of the Swedish statesman and Ramist educator Johan Skytte (1577–1645). During the academic year 1632–1633 he served as rector of Tartu University. The donation shows that the Skytte family was eager to promote Stiernhielm's theory of linguistic variability.

For his theory of syntactic variability, Stiernhielm also used a portion of a grammatical handbook, namely a chapter on Latin syntax in Alsted's encyclopaedia (1st ed. 1620, book 2, ch. 19; 2nd ed. 1630, vol. 2, book 6, ch. 19). Olsson did not discover this dependence, though he did realize the general impact of Alsted on Stiernhielm.³⁸⁴

5.2.2 *Proteus rhetoricus*

For most of his systems (nos. 1–2 and 4–6) of variability in *Proteus rhetoricus* Stiernhielm used contemporary rhetorical treatises as his models. For the third system he used the classification of ontological and epistemological categories in Alsted's treatise on the richness of topics and words, *De copia rerum et verborum* (1610).

In general, the first Renaissance humanist treatise on the theory and practice of linguistic variability was composed by Erasmus of Rotterdam in his rhetorical handbook on the copiousness of topics and words (1512).³⁸⁵ Erasmus provided prototypes of the first, fourth and sixth systems of *Proteus rhetoricus*.³⁸⁶ It is clear that Stiernhielm was acquainted with it. He sometimes referred to specific parts of it, but he mainly relied on further developments of rhetorical handbooks in the 17th century.

Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638) turns out to have been the most important source of inspiration to Stiernhielm. Alsted is best known as a encyclopaedist. He taught philosophy and theology at the high school of Herborn (1608–1629) and after that in Weissenburg, Transylvania (1629–1638). In the Latin grammar contained in his encyclopaedia he devotes a chapter to the topic of “varying syntax” (*syntaxis varians*). Stiernhielm created his second system of syntactic variability on the pattern of this chapter, which he excerpted in his book of commonplaces (F.d. 4:1, pp. 292–293, transcribed by me in Appendix 1). As he made the excerpts around 1625, he ought to have used the first edition of Alsted's encyclopaedia (*Cursus philosophici*

³⁸⁴ Alsted's chapter has the heading “Syntaxis varians” and is in Vol. 1, Appendix 1 edited from Stiernhielm's copy.

³⁸⁵ This treatise underwent many revised editions. The main title of the first three editions reads *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum commentarii duo*. From the 1523 edition in Amsterdam onwards the main title was changed to *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo*.

³⁸⁶ For the first system, see Erasmus, *De copia verborum commentarius primus*, pp. 54–60: “Ratio variandi per enallagen sive ἐτέρωσις.” For the fourth system, see idem, ibidem, p. 62: “Variandi ratio per metaphoram”, p. 68: “Variandi ratio per metonymiam” and p. 70: “Variandi ratio per synecdochen”. For the sixth system see, idem, *De rerum copia commentarius secundus*, pp. 197–230 on the methods of enriching the discourse through various devices of description and amplification. In one of his drafts (F.d. 6b: 3b, seventh quire), Stiernhielm sums up and synthesizes these sections in Erasmus's work (see Vol. 1, Section 11.2.7).

encyclopaedia, 1620). At the same time, he also copied a text on the art of choosing topics in public speaking (*Cyclognomica rhetorica*) from Alsted's *Encyclopaedia*, where Alsted draws up a universalistic categorization of all fields of knowledge and their linguistic expression. Stiernhielm titled this text *Artificium inventionis rerum et verborum*. The first paragraph deals with the transformability of linguistic structures (see Appendix 2).

Stiernhielm used Alsted's synthesis of the Lullian art (*Consilium*, 1610) for this third system of variability in *Proteus rhetoricus*, and contributed to a further systematization. He also added a more distinctive linguistic perspective than Alsted used, by focusing on variable synonyms, phrases and sentences in each epistemological field. For this purpose he took advantage of conceptual dictionaries of the phraseology of ancient Latin prose and poetry. He claims that he used the dictionary on prosaic phrases composed by Wolfgang Schönsleder, instructor of rhetoric at the Jesuit school in Munich, who compiled a phraseological dictionary on the basis of work by Marius Nizolius (*Thesaurus Ciceronianus*, 1538) and Antonius Schor (*Phrases linguae Latinae*, 1615). It is arranged according to common words and concepts (*verba communia*) rather than commonplaces (*loci communes*). The entries are subject headings of concepts rather than lexemes, and supply phrases and sentences from the work of ancient Latin prose writers, such as Cicero, Livy, Caesar, Sallust, Tacitus, Cornelius Nepos, Seneca the Younger, Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger, and Symmachus. Schönsleder sometimes also supplies quotations also from Plautus and Terence (as writers of comedy) and from grammarians, such as Varro, Festus and Nonius Marcellus. However, when compiling his phraseology of his twelve epistemic categories, Stiernhielm evidently mainly relied on the German jurist and philologist Herman Ulner's store of phrases (*Copiosa suppellex*), which is based on Plautus, Terence, Sallustius, Cicero, Symmachus and Roman lawyers, such as Ulpian. Stiernhielm refers to the same corpus of authors and the same examples as Ulner, and the examples often occurs in the same or only slight revised order of sequence.

Furthermore, Stiernhielm made use of a commonplace dictionary of Latin poetic diction, *Flores flavissae et elegantiae poeticae*, 1620, reprinted many times.³⁸⁷ It was compiled by Jean de Backer from the works of his lexicographic precursors: Jean Blumerel's *Elegantiarum poeticarum per locos communes digestorum flores* (Paris 1540) and

³⁸⁷ de Backer's dictionary was probably first published in 1620 in Cologne (Köln). It was republished there in 1643, 1647, 1648, 1652, 1653, 1656, 1662 and 1672, re-issued in Dortrecht in 1654, 1660, and 1671, in Antwerp in 1635, 1639, 1649, and 1669. Stiernhielm probably possessed the 1635 or 1639 edition in Antwerp.

Johann Buchler's (1570–1640) *Elegantiarum libri duo* (1604). It focuses on poetic epithets, synonyms, phrases and commonplaces with examples from the poetic fables and with information about Greco-Roman mythology.

In creating the fourth system, on tropes, Stiernhielm used the *Index rhetoricus* of the English classical philologist Thomas Farnaby as his main source of inspiration.

In developing the fifth system, on figures of speech and thought, Stiernhielm availed himself of Farnaby's *Index* as far as the figures of speech are concerned. He also utilized Alsted's handbook of rhetoric, *Rhetorica quatuor proponens libros universum ornatè dicendi modum* (Herborn 1616), from which he copied several pages from a chapter on the origin of rhetoric, *Genesis rhetorica*, p. 466, pp. 506–509, and pp. 515–516. The excerpts are found in ms. F.d. 4:1 (Loci communes), pp. 260–262.

Stiernhielm made use of Erasmus, *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum*, the book on subject matters, and Caussin, *De eloquentia sacra et humana*, as his models for developing his sixth system of linguistic variability. He refers to these treatises in his drafts.

5.2.3 Polygraphia intelligibilis: “understandable polygraphy”

Stiernhielm employed two treatises on polygraphy for his theory and practice of this art of encrypted “many-writing” which the Greek term literally means. He knew about Trithemius' *Polygraphiae libri sex* (1508, published 1518), where the principles of this art are taught and exemplified. In the first four books, Trithemius has compiled codewords in parallel columns, 24 words in each, with the cryptographic principle that a letter designation (in alphabetical order from A to Z including W) is prefixed to each word. The code words, as Hope H. Glidden has observed,³⁸⁸ are arranged in a grammatically coherent sequence. A short hidden message can be created by the combination of codewords that stand for letters. The message is created and deciphered by matching the codewords by their letters, column by column. Trithemius warns the sender of the message not to repeat code-words in the same column nor to pass over any column, because it would confuse the system of encoding.³⁸⁹

In his first attempt at polygraphy Stiernhielm used the handbook on cryptography by Duke August II of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, from which he evidently borrowed examples of linguistic variability.

³⁸⁸ Hope Glidden, “Polygraphia and the Renaissance sign: the case of Trithemius”, *Neophilologus* 71 (1987), p. 184.

³⁸⁹ Trithemius, *Libri polygraphiae VI*, Argentinae/ Strasbourg 1600, see the brief explanation (*brevis explanatio*) of the principles in the first book, p. 54, lines 8–12.

5.3 *Proteus* and *polygraphia* as unpublished writings

5.3.1 *References to Proteus*

In a treatise titled *Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum*, Stiernhielm proposed a theory of linguistic variability in which the grammatical, semantic and syntactic systems of variation for mnemonic purposes are associated with Autolycus, Vertumnus, Morpheus and Mercury, all of whom, in Greco-Roman mythology, had the ability to change their appearance. This rhetorical tool is dated Dorpat 16 April 1635. In a fragment of a planned public celebration in 1635, Proteus is introduced as chairman, explaining the contents of the systems:

Proteus, circulorum praeses, loquitur: [...]

VERUMNUS varias vestes sibi sumit et aptat
e NOTIONUM classibus.

Rhetoricam MORPHEUS subiens thema quodlibet ornat
lectis TROPORUM flosculis.

MERCURIUS tandem pompose illustrat id ipsum
mutatione SCHEMATUM.

Et sic vera satis fit transformatio, in omnes
dum nos figuras vertimus.³⁹⁰ [...]

In 1639 Stiernhielm was granted copyright for *Proteus rhetoricus*. In the letter of authorization, this writing has in English translation the title: “Proteus: a rhetorical instrument, by the aid of which a given sentence may be changed and varied in endless modes and endless figures, while the meaning always remains the same”.³⁹¹

In a letter to Axel Oxenstierna in 1645 (before May) in his capacity as chancellor of the realm, Stiernhielm refers to *Proteus rhetoricus* as a partly completed, partly still-in-progress treatise. He gives the title and subtitle of this work as “Proteus rhetoricus: a device for varying language almost endlessly, while the same meaning remains, in Swedish and in Latin.”³⁹²

³⁹⁰ See the Biographica-collection, vol. 79 under Stiernhielm (with the shelfmark: Riksarkivets ämnessamlingar, personhistoria), National Archives of Sweden. This commemoration is titled “In Proteum viri nobilissimi, strenui, consultissimi Dni. Georgii Stiernhielm”. The dedicatee is inter alia addressed by titles that he held until 1637 (“hereditarius in Kniva” and “Diocoeseos Dorpatensis iudex”). The quotation reads in English: “Proteus, chairman of the circles, speaks: Vertumnus takes up and adapts various expressions from the classes of meanings. Morpheus, who follows closely behind, embellishes any given theme with elegant selections of transferred meanings. Mercurius finally illuminates the same expression through the change of rhetorical figures. And thus the transformation will be complete, when we translate by all kinds of figures.”

³⁹¹ Wieselgren, *Brev till Stiernhielm*, pp. 88 f. For the Latin text, see Section 3.3.2.

³⁹² Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 3:1, p. 11. See Section 3.3.4

In a 1659 letter to King Charles X Stiernhielm attached a table of treatises that he had written in the course of 40 years (Wieselgren 1937–1948: 201). Before this attachment was lost, Anders Anton von Stiernman copied it in his notes to *Bibliotheca Sviogothica*, vol. III (ms. U 193, fol. 139, UUB), where *Proteus et polygraphia ingeniosa* is referred to. See my transcription of this list in Section 3.3.6 below.

In the early 1660s, Stiernhielm drew up a catalogue of treatises he planned to publish. *Proteus rhetoricus* here appears one of these treatises with the subtitle: “for the richness and variety of speech capable of being applied to all languages”.³⁹³ Stiernhielm accordingly here claims universal validity for his theory of linguistic variability. In the same catalogue, he also refers to *Stegano- et polygraphiae quaedam specimina*, ‘Specimina for cryptography and polygraphy’ as a forthcoming treatise (Vol. 1, Section 3.3.7, no. 10). This writing is to be identified with the drafts of *Polygraphia intelligibilis* in F.d. 13.

5.3.2 The main drafts of *Polygraphia intelligibilis*

Stiernhielm wrote *Polygraphia intelligibilis* as a companion to *Proteus rhetoricus* to exemplify grammatical, semantic and syntactic kinds of variability. He authored four main compositions. One piece is a congratulatory prose composition to Queen Christina of Sweden on her birthday in 1650. It has 67 structural units each with 21 variations of interchangeable words, phrases and clauses. It praises Christina as the maker of peace, acclaims her personal virtues and amplifies the political, religious and economic blessings of the Peace of Westphalia. The other compositions are some fictitious letters, one of which comments on the major political events in Europe in 1646. All these pieces were exercises of cryptography, as far as a hidden message was possible to create by the encoding of letters.

The principal parts of Stiernhielm’s *Polygraphia* are preserved in manuscript in the wrapper *Polygraphia*, F.d. 13, and are published below (Sections 12.1–12.4). I have titled them with their incipits.

- *S. amico. Magnopere delectarunt me Tuae literae*: 67 unit with 24 variations, written in 1625 (F.d. 13, fols. 18v–21v, 24r–27r).
- *S. P. D. Valde laetificarunt me mellitae literae tuae*: 80 units with 20 variations, uncertain date (F.d. 13, fols. 11r–13v).
- *Ave. Novissimis rogas, si quid e Germania*: 31 units with 23 variations, composed in May 1646 (F.d. 13, fols. 9r–10v).
- *Salve dies*: 68 units with 23 variations, invented in the autumn of 1650 (F.d. 13, fols. 1r–7v).

³⁹³ See ms. Palmsk. 356, Uppsala University Library, see the unpaginated bundle of papers after p. 387, the 70th page as counted from p. 387. See Section 3.3.7 above.

6. Manuscript sources and editorial principles

6.1 Manuscript sources

6.1.1 General remarks

Stiernhielm did not complete any special treatise on his phonological, morphological and phonosemantic theory, but it is possible to reconstruct the intellectual edifice he constructed on these topics on the basis of the relevant manuscripts. The present volume offers a textual edition of his writings on phonology, morphology, semiotics, phonosemantics and transformational grammar and semantics. The bulk of Stiernhielm's linguistic theoretical authorship on these topics are here, for the first time, made available in their Latin form.

Stiernhielm wrote most of his phonological and morphological texts as introductions to his works of etymological and multilingual lexicography, which are entitled *Adelruna seu Sibylla Sveo-Gothica*, "The Noble Rune or the Sueo-Gothic Sibyll" (1639), *Virgula divina*, "The Divine Staff" (1641) or *Runa Suethica*, "The Swedish Rune", of which the second part has the subtitle *Clavis linguarum primarum generalis* (c. 1649–c. 1652). These dictionaries only survive in drafts.

I have reconstructed the drafts of transformational grammar and semantics as integral parts of the different treatises that Stiernhielm himself gave the titles *Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum* (1635), *Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus* (c. 1649–1651) and *Polygraphia intelligibilis* (1625–1650). It is evident that Stiernhielm planned to publish all of them (Sections 3.3.2, no. 1, 3.3.4, 3.3.6, no. 8, and 3.3.7, no. 9). His theory and practice of structural linguistic variability and transformability anticipates modern transformational generative linguistic theory.

This textual edition of Stiernhielm's linguistic works can be seen as a continuation of the enterprise of publishing his collected writings that was begun by Johan Nordström, Bernt Olsson and Per Wieselgren in a series on Swedish authors published by *Svenska Vitterhetsamfundet* (The Swedish Society for Belles-Lettres), volume VIII. The present edition is not being published in this series, because it requires the use of Swedish in the introduction, in the translation of Latin texts and in explanatory notes and calls for strictly diplomatic principles of text editing.

Choosing Swedish would not correspond to Stiernhielm's original intention to reach both an international and Swedish readership by his use of Latin as the main vehicle for expressing his linguistic ideas. The requirement of a diplomatic edition does not agree with the principles of text editing which have turned out to be necessary for dealing with the nature and state of the manuscripts that are edited.

6.1.2 Manuscripts used for the present volume

The textual edition of Stiernhielm's linguistic works, volume 1, is based on autograph manuscripts as well as non-autograph copies at the Royal Library – National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

As far as the edition of Stiernhielm's writings on phonology, morphology, semiotic theory and sound symbolism are concerned, I have mainly used the following manuscript sources:

F.d. 3 *Mysterium etymologicum*

F.d. 4:4:1 *Collectanea philosophica*

F.d. 4:4:2 *Collectanea philosophica et etymologica*,

F.d. 5 *Runa Suethica*

F.d. 6 *Collectanea ad Runam Suethicam*

F.d. 7 *Miscellanea etymologica*

F.d. 9 *Miscellanea etymologica*, the wrappers 9:5 and 9:6

F.d. 14a *Discursus philologicus de omnibus linguis in genere*

I have used the black-and-white inverted photostat of Stiernhielm's autograph notebook on lexicographical, linguistic and historical matters from the years 1640–1650, *Adversaria Georgii Stiernhielm facientia ad illustrationem nationis et linguae Gotho-Suedicae*, ms. N. 24 at Royal Library, Stockholm,³⁹⁴ for the textual edition of one treatise: *Notae ad Platonis Cratylum* (Vol. 1, Section 9.3.1).

The textual edition of writings on transformational grammar and semantics, mainly the treatises *Proteus rhetoricus* and *Polygraphia*, is based on texts in three manuscript volumes, namely:

F.d. 4:1, the first and second loose quires.

F.d. 6b: 3a and F.d. 6b: 3b.

F.d. 13, the wrapper entitled *Polygraphia*.

6.2 Editorial principles

My general principle is to facilitate the reading of the Latin texts. This implies that it is necessary to amend punctuation according to modern principles, and also that it is sometimes acceptable to retain the original punctuation if this contributes to an easier understanding of the original text. It further means that the use of lower- and upper-

³⁹⁴ The original is preserved with the shelfmark ms. XXXII. 1715. at Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, Hannover.

case letters must be normalized according to modern principles. These measures depend on the editor's interpretation of the structure of the text, and are unavoidable, unless the basic work of manuscript interpretation is to be turned over to the reader.

In particular, I have applied following principles:

(1) The orthography of the manuscript or print is always retained (even if inconsistent and deviating from the standards of Classical Latin).

(2) Textual changes in the manuscript (e.g. corrections, deletions, additions above the line or in the margin) are to a large extent accounted for in a critical apparatus;

(3) The line and page breaks of the manuscripts are not retained, but the page breaks are marked by indication of the folio or page number within brackets in extra bold type.

(4) The edited texts have been divided into appropriate sections and paragraphs, sometimes by the introduction of numbering, which has been indicated within angle brackets.

(5) Unreadable words or letters are omitted and indicated by three dots within square brackets.

(6) The punctuation has been modernized, which for instance means that commas are removed before accusative with infinitive, before present participles and before absolute ablatives, except in cases where the original punctuation apparently facilitates, or is necessary for, a correct understanding of the syntax.

(7) The capitalization has been modernized, which means that lower-case letters are replaced with capitals at the beginning of new sentences and that capitalized first-letters of single words within a sentence, if they are not proper nouns, have been replaced by lower-case letters.

(8) The abbreviations and contractions of words have usually, but not always, been expanded. In so far as abbreviated or contracted letters are supplied, square brackets are used to indicate the letters that are added, with the exception of frequent and common abbreviations.

(9) Words being supplied by myself as editor have been indicated by pointed brackets, while words that are to be removed have been marked by brackets in extra bold types.

(10) The use of diacritic marks in Latin has been removed, and in Greek it has been normalized according to modern standards, for instance Stiernhielm's use of the grave accent in the last syllable of separate words, where modern principles require the acute accent.

- (11) I have in general not accounted for textual interference under points 5–10 in any critical note.
- (12) When single words are written in capitals, this use is retained, or represented by small capitals, as a typographical marker.
- (13) The Hebrew letter װ (*šin*) is for typographical reasons represented by the undotted form ʷ (that is, without a dot over its right branch), but the use of the grapheme ʵ (*śin*) is retained.

PART 2. PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

7. Historical and comparative phonology

7.1 Swedish phonemes: an inventory

7.1.1 *Vocales, diphthongi et consonantes*

Source: *Virgula divina*, F.d. 6c, fols. 1r–2r. Size: 175 x 235 mm. A photograph of fol. 1r is provided in Figure 4. See the Illustrations at the end of this volume. The dictionary is titled: “Georgii Stiernhielm nobilis Sueci Virgula divina, cuius ope lingua vetus Gothica ex orco in lucem revocatur, antiquitas, maiestas et ex ipsa rerum natira prompta indoles et proprietas mundo hactenus abscondita demonstratur, linguae in orbe terrarum praecipuae inter se conferuntur et errores originationum pro veritate vulgo recepti deteguntur, opus arduum et invidiosum, Zoilo obnoxium et Momo, serenissimae Reginae Sueciae inscriptum”. That is: “The noble Swede Georg Stiernhielm’s Divine staff, by means of which the old Gothic language is recalled from the Lower World, its antiquity, majesty, by the nature of things inborn quality and particular character, so far hidden from the world is demonstrated, the main languages around the globe are compared to each other and etymological errors generally considered as true are uncovered, a difficult and invidious work, exposed to critics (*Zoilus*) and slanderers (*Momus*), dedicated to Christina, the Queen of Sweden.”³⁹⁵

Dating: according to the title, 1641 (“Anno Christi 1641”).

Contents: Stiernhielm here makes an inventory of the phonemes of contemporary Swedish compared with Old Swedish – the vowels and their pronunciation, the diphthongs of an earlier stage of Swedish, and the consonants and their pronunciation. He also deals with intra- and interlingual change between particular consonants and between groups of consonants.

³⁹⁵ Zoilus (a cynic philosopher of Amphipolis in the early 4th century BC), and Momus (a literary figure in Hesiod, *Theogonia* 214) are here personifications of criticism and fault-finding. For the use of these words in Neo-Latin, see Hans Helander, *Neo-Latin literature in Sweden in the period 1620–1720*, Uppsala 2004 pp. 310–312. Stiernhielm also proposed a variant end of the title, which he deleted: “opus, in quo inveniant docti, quod callide exploratur, indocti quod non intelligant, ferolus [?] quod nase suspendat [...?], Zoilus quod mordeat, invidi quod callide traducant.”

(1r) GEORGII STIERNHIELM NOBILIS SUECI VIRGULA DIVINA [...].

A, litera vocalis, Gothis effertur sono clarissimo, aperto et puro, nihil declinante ad obscuritatem *O* vel ad tenuitatem³⁹⁶ *E*. Ad intermediarias enim exprimendas aliis utuntur singulari caractere distinctis. Quales sunt praeter *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *y*; *ā*, *ä*, *ö*. Quae haudquaquam sunt diphthongi, sed vocales, singulae unisonae. *Ā* medium sonum obtinet inter *A* et *O*, qualem agnoscunt quidam in / ַ /, Hebraeorum *chametz*, et in Gallico *au*. *Ä* media est inter *A* et *E*, qualem est Graecorum η, ovium *bä*, genuino sono exprimens. *Ö* media est inter *O* et *E*. Quam reddunt Galli per *eu*. *Y* Graecorum est *Y*, sono invariato, medio nimirum inter *U* et *I*, quem obtinet Gallorum *u* et Germanorum *ü* superne punctatum. Hae autem omnes in derivationibus, declinationibus et aliis accidentibus facile mutantur et abeunt una in aliam, antiquitus etiam in diphthongos, quae hodie apud nos in usu esse desierunt praeter eas, quae ab *i* et *u* incipiunt, quales deprehenduntur in vocibus *siö*, *sniö*, *siäl*. *suara*, *suäria*, *suart*, *suin*, *siutio*.³⁹⁷ Fuere autem priscis quamplurimae, scilicet *ai*, *au*, *ea*, *ei*, *eo*, *eu*, *ia*, *ie*, *io*, *iu*, *oi*, *ou*, *ua*, *ue*, *ui*, *uo*.

(1v) Coeterum, id quod dixi accidere vocibus, qua³⁹⁸ mutationem vocalium in derivationibus etc., idipsum contigit etiam, qua³⁹⁹ reliqua accidentia immobilibus pro varietate temporum dialecti vel usus, quem *penes unum arbitrium et vis et norma loquendi*, ut loquitur Horatius.⁴⁰⁰ Exemplo sit pro multis vox *arf*, qua proprie baculus vel telum ac deinceps quidvis propemodum in instrumento rustico scapus designatur. Haec praeter *i*, quod sciam, omnes reliquas admittit, una generali manente significatione, ut *arf*, *ärf*, *erf*, *örf*, *orf*, *urf*, *yrf*, item diphthongos *aurf*, *iorf*, *hiörf*; item vox *dagh*, i.e. dies, *dag*, *däg*, *deg*, *deig*, *daug*, *dög*, *dog*. Et haec in una dialecto.⁴⁰¹ Angli etiam consonantem mutant in *y*.⁴⁰² *day*.⁴⁰³ Alii abjiciunt, ut⁴⁰⁴ Itali *dì*, Hispani *día* e Latino *dies*.⁴⁰⁵

³⁹⁶ tenuitatem] Stiernhielm first wrote *exilitatem* and then replaced *exil-* by *tenu-*. The phrase “ad exilitatem literae E” is found in another text (Section 7.2.4).

³⁹⁷ praeter eas, quae ... *siutio*] This has been added in the margin (fol. 1r, col. 2).

³⁹⁸ qua] In Neo-Latin, *qua* can be used as a preposition in the sense “concerning”.

³⁹⁹ qua] Stiernhielm first wrote *quoad* and then changed it to *qua*.

⁴⁰⁰ quem penes ... ut loquitur Horatius] See Horace, *Ars poetica* (i.e. Epistles II, 3), lines 71–72: “si volet usus, quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi.”

⁴⁰¹ dialecto] Between *dialecto* and *Angli*, a clause has been crossed out: *Eandem vocem si ex aliis linguis adcitare placet, obiter*.

⁴⁰² etiam consonantem mutant in *y*] This has been added above the line.

⁴⁰³ day] After *day*, the Latin rendering, *Lat. dies*, has been crossed out.

⁴⁰⁴ alii abjiciunt, ut] This has been added in the margin (1v, col. 1).

⁴⁰⁵ dies] After *dies*, two clauses have been crossed out: *Verum de hisce plura suo loco. Nunc ad naturam vocalium*.

Consonantes habemus hodie Sueo-Gothi, quas habent Latini: B.
⁴⁰⁶ D. F. G. H. K. L. M. N. P. Q. R. S. T. V. X. Z. ac praeterea W.
 Vetus est Þ et F, solae ex Runicis inter Latinas retentae⁴⁰⁷ in
 manuscriptis et in Norraena sive dialecto Islandica, idque propter
 sonum peculiarem, qui aliis nullis exprimi potest. Þ valet fere *Tzh* et
 creditur eiusdem pronunciationis cum Hebraeorum נ. Anglis hodie
 etiamnum durat in *Th*. Et genuinum vetus þ Anglice *th*. Apud nos
 hodie mutatur in *th*. *t*. vel *d*. Perit enim cum ipsa litera þ genuina
 eius pronuntiatio. Nos tamen hoc observantes alia ea substituamus
 TH.⁴⁰⁸ *F* sumpta ex Runa ƿ vel Latina F in plerisque media est,
 propemodum inter F. et W.

NB. Antiquitus aspiratas habuimus HL. HN. HR. *Hluduig*, *hliom*,
 etc. Haec aspiratio postea in multis concrevit in C. <vel> K., ut *kring*
 a *hring*, Clodones etc.; <et> in G., ut *gnaga* ab *hnaga*, etc.; clypeus⁴⁰⁹
 a *hlina*, id est tegere corpus. In multis evanuit.⁴¹⁰

Graecorum θ olim pronunciabatur cum aliquo flatu, qui accederit
 ad S., unde et in S subinde transibat teste Martinio in *Deus*, p. 582.⁴¹¹

(2r, col. 1) Ex hisce inter se cognatae et maxime commutabiles
 sunt B. P. F. M. W.

Et inter se C. seu K. G. H. CH. Q. De C. vide Martin. in *Cacumea*
 in *caligo* etc.⁴¹² C. CH. Q. ignotae Gothis priscis fuere literae. Pro G.
 et H. uno usi sunt caractere et alterum communem habuere G. et K.

Similiter D. et T. TH. S. Z.

Interdum etiam mutantur invicem M. et N. et rarius L. et R, saepe
 vero HL. et R. Frequens et mutatio Fw. et G. Item G. W. et Y. ut
 Belg. *aughst*, Ger. *aust*, messis. *aud.* *ägd*. Item D. et G., et F. et H.
 Item W. HW. GW. et QU.

Exempla. *f.* ante *n.* abit in *m*: *refna*, *remna*; *hafn*, *hamn*; στεφω,
 στέμμα; *stäfna*, *stämna*; *sofna*, *somna*; *äfne*, *ämne*; *äfn*, *jämn*; M. P.
trampa, *trappa*.

⁴⁰⁶ B] Between B. and D, the letter C has been crossed out.

⁴⁰⁷ inter Latinas retentae] *superstites* has been crossed out on the line.

⁴⁰⁸ Et genuinum veryus ... substituamus TH] This has been added in the margin.

⁴⁰⁹ clypeus] i.e. *clipeus* (Classical Latin) or *clupeus* (Old Latin).

⁴¹⁰ NB. Antiquitus aspiratas ... evanuit] This has been added in the margin.

⁴¹¹ Graecorum θ ... teste Martinio ... p. 582] This has been added in the margin.
 The dictionary referred to is Matthias Martini's *Lexicon philologicum, praecipue
 eymologicum*, Bremen 1623, where the author, s.v. Deus, p. 582 (on the dialectal
 variation of Ancient Greek θεός) writes: "Dores et Lacones Σεός, Aeoles Σιός
 dicebant τ sublato et sibilo, quem habet spiritus, retento. θ enim pronunciebant non
 simpliciter ut τ, sicut hodie habent, corruptis veris sonis nostris oris vitia, sed cum
 aliquo flatu, qui accederet ad s, unde et in s subinde transibat."

⁴¹² Martin] In *Lexicon philologicum*, Martini discusses *cacumen* (p. 222) and *caligo*
 (p. 268), but does not argue that C is interchangeable with G, H or CH. He claims
 that C is prefixed in the formation of Greek words in relation to other Greek words.

(2r, col. 1–2) N. libenter inseritur inter vocalem et C. G. victus, vinco; *aga, ängia; dricka, drinken; haka, hank; siga, sincken; siunka.*

(2r, col. 2) W. multis vocibus tam a consona, quam a vocali incipientibus praeter essentiam vocis praeponitur, ut in *ord*, Germ. *Word; wredh*, vet. *reid*, et *oker, Wucher.*

(2r, col. 1) W olim pronunciabatur ut hodie HW. Anglis WH. Hac vero aetate non differt ab V. Italice elato.

(2r, col. 2) S omnibus fere vocibus, nescio qua, antiquitus praeponitur. Caute igitur in earundem etymo versandum.

(2r, col. 1) G. W. vide Cluver. p. 62, ubi exempla.⁴¹³ *aud, ägd.*

G. W. *lagh*, Angl[ice] *law. sâgh*, vidit, Anglice *saw. byggia*, Ger. *bauwen; bygd, böwd*; Goth[ice] *lôgha*, lavare; *slôgh, slaw.*

G. Y. *dagh*, Angl. *day; fager. Angl. faire.*

(2r, col. 2) F. in G. et K vel CH. *gafna, gagna; krafua, krava, kraga; stifta, stigta, stikta; skifta*, Ger. *schiften; skaft, Schaft; Kraft, Kracht.*

(2r, col. 1–2) J. et V. W. saepissime praefiguntur vocibus a vocali incipientibus nihil facientes ad ipsam vocis radicem: *en, eld, jen, jeld; âhr, ung*, Ger. *Jahr, jung; *auksa, wâxa; âr – war*; W. etiam consonantibus: **reide, wrede; *rita*, Angl. *writ.*

(2r, col. 1) Notandum venit in genere saepenumero reperiri in vocibus praeter literas characteristicas declinationum et coniugationum alias,⁴¹⁴ quae nihil faciant ad substantiam vocis, sed euphoniae saltem causa adhibeantur. Talis est D. post N. in plerisque, in *anda, ända, wânda*. In *binda, linda*, et Ger. *finden* euphoniae tamen causa ad sistendum tinnitum literae N. adponitur. **(2r, col. 2)** Et haec occurrunt in bene multis. Scite itaque erunt dignoscendae et in derivationibus praetereundae, nisi in magno errore incurrere velimus.

(2r, between col. 1 and 2): *bedia, böön; söder, sunnan; häda, hönsk; dusa, don; susa, sonus, sona; rasa, râna, rinna; siusa, skönia.*

(2r, col. 1–2, at the top of the page) Sonus B. D. G. F. in initio est durus, ut Hebraeorum א ב ג. In medio et fine non reperitur nisi duplicata. D pronunciatur ut DH. F. fere ut W. quare ei etiam plerumque *u* iungitur, ut in *hafua*, quamvis rectius scriberetur *hava.*

7.1.2 Different outlines of a vowel sequence

Sources: For the first vowel triangle, see F.d. 5, fol. 48r (edited by Nordström 1924, II: 232). For the second vowel triangle,⁴¹⁵ see F.d. 7:1, fol. 62r. The vowel square is found in F.d. 4:4:2, fol. 8r. For the

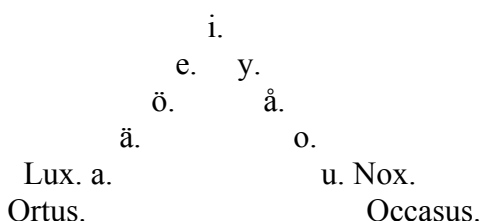
⁴¹³ Cluver. ... ubi exempla] Philip Clüver, *Germania antiqua* (2nd ed., Leiden 1631), pp. 62–63 on the change from G in Old High German to W in New High German.

⁴¹⁴ alias] *litteras* has been crossed out and replaced by *alias* above the line.

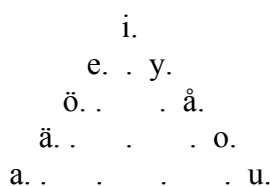
⁴¹⁵ Other outlines of vowel triangles are edited in Section 9.3.2, texts 3 and 4.

first diagram of a vowel gradation, see F.d. 4:4:2, fol. 7v, and for the second diagram of such a gradation, see F.d. 7:1, fol. 62r.

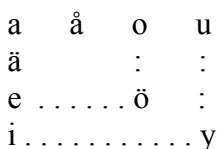
Vowel triangle 1



Vowel triangle 2



A vowel square



Vowel gradation

Diagram 1

A scale from 4 to 20:

a 4
e 8
i 12
o 16
u 20
ä 6
ö 12
y 16

Diagram 2

A scale from 1 to 15:

a 1
ä 2
e 3
å 5 1/2
i 6
ä 6 1/2
o 10
y 10 1/2
u 15

7.2 The origin of phonemes: a reductionist theory

7.2.1 Genesis et cognatio literarum

Sources: Stiernhielm's autograph original: F.d. 6, fol. 84v^{line 43}–85v (measuring 210 x 325 mm), and Örnghjälms fair copy including Stiernhielm's autograph additions, F.d. 14a, fol. 34r–35v. Örnghjälms copy was copied with its additions in ms. NKS. 150 quarto (*kvars*), the National Library of Denmark (the Royal Library, Copenhagen), fols. 24r–25r, and ms. R. 21, UUB, fols. 22r–23r. The text was written as the latter half of a chapter of *Runa Suethica*, part 1, chapter 26: *Nomina deorum pleraque omnium gentium origine esse Scythica* (for the first half, see Vol. 1, Section 9.2.1), where the topic is the

Scythian origin of the name of God (the tetragrammaton YHWH). In F.d. 14a, 34r, Stiernhielm remarks that the latter part does not pertain to this topic and should be treated somewhere else.

In the text edited below, Stiernhielm consequently turns to another question, which is the origin and kinship of vowels and consonants. In dealing with it, he posits a monovocalism of the vowel phoneme *a*, claiming that it has directly or indirectly produced all other vowels and consonants. He maintains that it first developed into two vowels: *i* and *u*, which changed into the consonants *j* and *v* respectively. As the phoneme of life and light, the vowel *a* presupposes aspiration. By a softer way of articulation, the consonant *h* emerged, and by a harder way of articulation, the consonant *s*, or when voiced, *z*, came out. The consonants *v*, *h*, and *z* produced three consonantal groups: (1) *b*, *p*, *f*; (2) *g*, *k/c*, *ch*, *q*, and (3) *d*, *t*, *sh*, *ts*.⁴¹⁶ Stiernhielm considers the consonants of each group interchangeable in languages or dialects of the same origin. The consonants *l*, *r*, *n*, and *m* are distinguished as a separate group, independent from the above-mentioned consonants.

Stiernhielm argues that every phoneme has an intrinsic ontological meaning: vowels represent different degrees of lightness, consonants different degrees of stuff (matter) and lightness. These categories are also related to the four basic elements of ancient natural philosophy.

(F.d. 6, 84v; F.d. 14a, 34r) Nimius sum in hisce minutiis, sed necessario ad evidentiam, quae liquidius patebit et viam aperiet ad maiora, si radix *a*, qua nomen est et unum significat, dixerim per sua genera et casus, eandemque, qua verbum est et significat *esse* et *habere* duxerim per sua tempora, modos, numeros et personas. Declinetur vox *a*, si vis, in prima declinatione. Erit: *ae. am. arum. as. is*; in tertia: *atis. ate. atum. atibus*. Conjugatione: *am-o, as. at. amus. atis. ant. abo. abis. abit. abunt. a. ato. ent. anto. are. asse. avi. aro*.⁴¹⁷

(F.d. 6, 85r) Quod in monosyllabis et uniliteris (ubi dantur) nominibus et verbis non minus licere, imo ipsius naturae legem efflagitare, quam in biliteris et polysyllabis omnibus omnino⁴¹⁸ puto in confesso esse.

Sed cum Scythica lingua, cui propria est et⁴¹⁹ in qua sola haec existit radix, hodie nusquam prima existat, sed in multas dialectos

⁴¹⁶ In assuming a relationship of dentals and sibilants, Stiernhielm was inspired by Valentin Schindler's Semitic phonology, to whose remarks on the letter *zayin* (ר) in *Lexicon pentaglotton*, p. 457, he refers in *Lexicon Gothicum*, F.d. 10, fol. 171r.

⁴¹⁷ Declinetur vox ... *avi. aro*] In F.d. 6, 84v, this passage is found at the bottom of the page, but was not copied in F.d. 14a and thus neither in NKS 150 and R. 21.

⁴¹⁸ omnibus omnino] In F.d. 6, this word order has been indicated by numbers.

⁴¹⁹ cui propria est et] This has been added in the margin.

scissa et a prima forma varie depravata deprehendatur, merito quaeret aliquis, qua potissimum dialecto grammaticae illae flexiones sint exhibendae, ut lucis aliquid et fidei afferant praesenti instituto? Si dixero Suethicâ aut Scandicâ, (F.d. 14a, 34v) ratio erit optima et manifesta, quod Scandia ipsissima fuerit et adhuc maneat, licet alio nomine (ut sunt⁴²⁰ tempora) Scythia Minor; lingua adhuc illibata et qua origines integerrima et simplicissima. Verum ne dentibus me exponam, quos acuit aemulatio gentium, una tabella exhibebo aliquot⁴²¹ dialectorum Scythicae et sororum Orientalium flexiones, saltem proximas et quae proposito unice inserviunt.

Hoc ut praestem cum compendio, inculcabo ut praecognita et omnibus, qui haec studia tractant, data et concessa.⁴²²

I. Vocalium omnium primam et simplicissimam esse *a*. Eam esse principium, fontem et vitam⁴²³ omnium reliquarum, in quas vario flexu mutatur et abit, semper sibi in sua essentia manens *a*, imo & sine puncto; sonum tibi exhibens, quem iubes, substrato puncto. Ex quo emergit omnes literas vocales nihil esse aliud, quam flexus et modulamina unius *a* vel &; in ipsa re nullam esse differentiam, praesertim in derivatione et collatione inter se vocum in variis dialectis.⁴²⁴ Vocalis *A* lucis est⁴²⁵ character, quae gradus et augmenta umbrarum admittit usque in illunem noctem. Hi gradus Latinis patuerunt solummodo quinque: *a. e. i. o. u.*, Graecis septem: *α. η. ε. ι. ο. ω. υ*, nobis novem: *a. ä. e. ö. i. y. â. o. u.* Sunt praeterea soni, toni et semitonia gradu tantummodo et diesi seu parvo commate de intervallo ad intervallum surgentia, in ipsa re nil nisi sonus. Discent, qui haec nesciunt, in *Nuptiis Panos et Echus* analogae esse lucem, motum et sonum atque iis opposita tenebras, quietem et silentium; idemque esse sonum auribus quod oculis lucem.⁴²⁶

II. Consonantes materiae instar habere; per se esse mutas et ineffabiles sine luce et vita vocalium. Ut ex materia prima,

⁴²⁰ sunt] In his copy, F.d. 14a, Örnghjälms read and transcribed this word as *sint*, a reading retained in NKS 150 and R. 21.

⁴²¹ aliquot] F.d. 6 has *omnium*, but in F.d. 14a this word was changed to *aliquot* by Stiernhielm.

⁴²² The following two paragraphs (*I. Vocalium omnium ... quod oculis lucem*, and *II. Consonantes materiae instar ... minus mobilia*) have been crossed over in F.d. 6, 85r, and therefore left out in F.d. 14a, 34v, according to Stiernhielm's instructions at the end of this text. (See F.d. 6, 85v, below the diagram.)

⁴²³ fontem et vitam] In F.d. 6, the change of order of these words has been indicated by numbers (1–2) above the line.

⁴²⁴ praesertim ... dialectis] In F.d. 6, this clause has been added in the margin.

⁴²⁵ Vocalis *A* lucis est] In the main text Stiernhielm first wrote *Lucis est character* and then added *Vocalis A lucis est etc.* in the margin.

⁴²⁶ Discent, qui ... oculis lucem] This passage has been added in the margin.

infusione lucis⁴²⁷, elementa <facta sunt>; ita soni vocalis accessu ex plane mutis factae sunt consonantes, elementa scilicet literaria. Horum quaedam, ut elementa mundi plus habent lucis, ut ignis et aer, quaedam plus materiae, hoc est tenebrarum et silentii, ut aqua et terra. Ignea sunt *j. v. f. h. s.*; *j.* et *v.* facta sunt ex *i.* et *u.* Quae sunt modulamina, ut dixi, ipsius *a*, characteris lucis. *H.* est spiritus, qui nusquam existit, nisi ubi vita et lux est. *S.* est sibilus, spiritus fortior, plus trahens ex materia.⁴²⁸ Horum proles sunt *f. b. p. ch. g. k. z. d. t.* Reliqua *l. r. n. m.* aquea sunt et terrea⁴²⁹ eoque minus mobilia.

(F.d. 6, 85r in the margin; F.d. 14a, 34v, in the main text)

ZF⁴³⁰

I. Vocales invicem per flexiones et dialectos permutari et unam abire in aliam eoque esse quoad radicem indifferentes; in vocabulis vero formandis et formatis significata figere et distinguere.

II. Literas consonantes ex vocalibus ortas *i.* et *u.*, item spiritus *h. s. z.* et ex omnibus hisce per gradationem et descensum ad solidiora orta, scilicet a *v. f. b. p. φ.* ab *h. ch. g. c.* et ex *z.* resoluta *s. sh. sk. d. t. th.* Ubi initio vocis reperiuntur ante ipsam vocalem radicalem, nihil derogare substantiae ipsius radiceis, e.g. *ha.* pro *a*, habet, nihil differt ab ipso *a*, sicut neque *sa. ja. va. Sem. sum.* pro *em. am.* etc.

(F.d. 6, 85v, for a copy of which, see Figure 5; F.d. 14a, 35r)

Erit itaque haec naturae conveniens genesis et cognatio literarum:

					a				
					æ				
					^				

Sueth.	ä.	e.	i.	ö.	y.	å.	o.	u.	
Graec.	η.	ε.	ι.		υ.	ο.	ω.		
Lat.		E.	I.				O.	U.	
Ab vocali					a.				
					^				

					i.		u.		
consonantes					j.		v.		

⁴²⁷ infusione lucis] Stiernhielm first intended to write *accessu lucis* (with the last word only begun as *l*), then crossed out this phrase and wrote *infusione lucis*.

⁴²⁸ ex materia] Stiernhielm first wrote *materiae* as a partitive genitive.

⁴²⁹ terrea] Though the manuscript reads either *terea* or *terra*, Stiernhielm otherwise usually refers to the speech sounds under consideration by the adjective *terrea*.

⁴³⁰ ZF] Perhaps this sign should be read as the symbol of the planet Jupiter: ♃.

Jod sterilis est, vav prolifica:

v.		
/ \		
f.	b.	p.
		φ.
		ψ.

Spiritus H sensim asperatur et generat:

H			
/ \			
hh.	g.	k.	q.
ch.			
χ.	λ.	Ⲅ.	
π.	γ.	x. ⁴³¹	
	ϣ.		ϙ.

Sibilis S assumit multum materiae in Z.

Z resolvitur in						
/ \						
d.	t.	th.	s.	sh.	st.	ds. ⁴³²
dh.				sc.	ʒ.	ɀ.
				ʁ.		
				ʁ.		

(F.d. 6, 85v; F.d. 14a, 35v)

Hic itaque erit ordo convenientissimus alphabeti:

a.	j.	v.	h.	z.	l.	r.	n.	m.
e.		f.	ch.	s.				
i.								
o.	b.	g.	sh.					
u.	p.	c.	sk.					
			st.					
			d.					
			t.					
			th.					

Sed si resolvas Z in simplices, erit

a. j. v. h. s. t. l. r. n. m.

⁴³¹ π. γ. x.] In F.d. 6, 85v, this line has been written above χ. λ. Ⲅ., but the present order of the lines has been indicated by numbers (1–2).

⁴³² Ds] Stiernhielm first wrote *ts*, which he then changed to *ds*.

Sed haec omnia omittantur reservanda ad *Nuptias Panos et Echus*. Hic solum adhibeantur quae supra scripta sunt in margine sub ZF. Reliqua omnia hucusque omittantur.⁴³³

De radice *a* et et nominis Jehovah etymo abstrusiora et planiora vide Vocabularium meum etymologicum in folio sub *a*.⁴³⁴

7.2.2 *Scrutinium literarum*

Sources: *Runa Suethica*, F.d. 5, fol. 35v (with the dimensions 210 x 324 mm) and fol. 36v, which is Stiernhielm's autograph, and F.d. 3, fol. 4v–5v (205 x 322 mm), which is a non-autograph fair copy. In relation to the original, the copy contains occasional misreadings and some lacunas. The edition below is based on the autograph. For a photograph of F.d. 5, fol. 35v, see Figure 6.

Dating: The text is the continuation of *De origine linguarum* (Vol. 2, Section 8.1.2), to which it refers in the second paragraph: “reliquae vocales, numero 8, supra enumeratae”, that is, “the other vowels that amount to eight, which are mentioned above”. *De origine linguarum* can be dated to early December 1655.

Contents: This text is an inquiry into the origin of the letters of the Swedish alphabet. In the first three paragraphs (I–III) he derives the vowels from variations or modulations of the phoneme /a/, which is considered the origin of all the others, leading first to the speech sound /i/ with its intensified articulation and then to the speech sound /u/ with its obscuration. He argues that the consonants originate from /v/ as a consonantized /u/, /h/ as an aspiration and /s/ as a sibilation. For this theory he refers to his other writings, such as the concluding diagram of the preceding text. He contends that not all the different pronunciations of the same vowel, i.e. allophones, have received a written character, because it would entail too many letters. He notes the English pronunciation of /a/ as /æ/, /i/ as /ai/ and /o/ as (a short) /a/. Regarding the phonemes /m/, /n/, /l/ and /r/, he claims that they have a phonosemantic origin – *m* as the speech sound of darkness, *n* as the speech sound of breathing, *l* as the speech sound of clarity or light, and *r* as the speech sound of colliding and compressing. At the end, he argues that every phoneme and word root can be traced back along the same path as it emerged.

(35v, col. 1)

Scrutinium literarum

Posito itaque A literarum omnium principio vocali et litera prima, dispiciendum qua ratione et quae literae ex illa sint generatae.

⁴³³ The last paragraph (*Sed ... hucusque omittuntur*) has been omitted in F.d. 14a.

⁴³⁴ De radice *a* ... meum etymologicum in fol. sub *a*] This sentence has been added by Stiernhielm in F.d. 14a, from where it has been copied in NKS 150 and R. 21.

I. Ex A levi solummodo flexu obliquantur reliquae vocales, numero 8, supra enumeratae. Ex illis I hebetato acumine lucis igneo, tenebroso madore aëris degenerat in consonantem madidam J, *Iod* Hebraeis familiarem et aliis, sed Graecis peregrinam et ignotam.

II. Iterum ex A obliquata et obfuscata⁴³⁵ in obscurum U nascitur consonans V, *Vau*, perdita nimirum per intervenientem nimis crassam caliginem omni vocalitate, dum vocalem sub se comprehensam quasi captivam ipsa mutiens effert et producit, ut audire est in syllabis *va*, *ve*, *vi*, *vo*, *vu*. Sequenti adhuc vocali, ut *vua*, *vue*, *vui* etc. acquirit nomen et characterem proprium Germanis⁴³⁶ W⁴³⁷ dictum. Cuius pronunciationem genuinam hodie obtinent Angli et Scoti. Sueci⁴³⁸ male per *vav* simplex efferunt.⁴³⁹ Itali et Galli W efferunt et transcribunt per *Gu*.⁴⁴⁰ Iam itaque duae natae sunt consonantes ex matre vocali A mediantibus filiabus acuta et ignea I et obtusa tenebrosaue U, nimirum *jod* et *vav*.

III. Aëris filiae germanae sunt H et S, prima lenioris aurae, spirans, altera pressioris venti, sibilans. D seu T ex aëris obstructi eruptione, ut in *ta* aut vehementer icti repercussione, ut in *at* generatur. Ex utraque S et T conflatur Z, utrique propterea communis et quasi utriusque copula,⁴⁴¹ utramque continens et radicaliter repraesentans.⁴⁴²

De Q notandum spuriam esse literam nec aliud quam *Hu* et reiecto H, *Vu* vel solum *u*. Quo notato facilis erit mutatio *Qu* in *P*. *F*. *V*. ut in *lefva*, *linquo*; *lifa*, *liquere*. *Quid*, **pit*, Sax[onice] *wat*, *hwas*, Dan[ice] *huis*; *pente*, *quinque*; *vief*, *funf*, *wijs*, πέντε, *fem*. Quinarius numerus vitae; *vivo*, *queo*.⁴⁴³

(35v, col. 2) Literae mentis (Minervae) sunt filiae matris suae interpretes. Sono invehuntur in auditum, notis in visum. Sonum per se nudum et informem variis induunt formis, univocum in multas voces articulate⁴⁴⁴ inflectentes. Quae voces mente animatae verba et

⁴³⁵ et obfuscata] In F.d. 5 *et* occurs in the margin and *obfuscata* above the line.

⁴³⁶ Germanis] In F.d. 5 *Germanis* has been added in the margin.

⁴³⁷ W] In F.d. 5 the phonetic explanation of W as *we* has been crossed out.

⁴³⁸ Sueci] In F.d. 5 *et Germani* after *Sueci* has been expunctuated and crossed out.

⁴³⁹ efferunt] After *efferent*, Stiernhielm crossed out two clauses: *Germani, inquam, per veram enunciationem vav simplicis. Ea enim est quae ipsorum we, non vero F.*

⁴⁴⁰ Qu] In F.d. 5 the clause *sed de his alibi* has been crossed out after *Gu*.

⁴⁴¹ copula] In *mater*. Above it *copula* has been written.

⁴⁴² Ex utraque ... repraesentans] This has been added at the bottom of F.d.5, 35v, col. 1. In F.d. 3, 5v, the addition has been written after the text in F.d. 5, 35v, col. 2, even after the text of the next paragraph (*De Q notandum ... queo*).

⁴⁴³ De Q ... *queo*] This has been added at the bottom of F.d. 5, fol. 35v, col. 2. In F.d. 3 the text added has mistakenly been written at the end of F.d. 5, 35v, col. 2

⁴⁴⁴ articulate] In F.d. 5 Stiernhielm first wrote *artificiose*, then crossed out the latter part of this word, *-ficiose*, and replaced by it by *-culate* in the margin.

hinc sermonem componunt, mentis intimae nuncium et legatum. Literarum caput et fons, imo substantia radicalis et ipsa anima, est ipsum A, quippe quod nihil est aliud, quam sonus simplicissimus atque purissimus ipsius lucis claritatem referens. Hoc sensim et gradatim deflectit et recedit a puritate sua in quasdam differentias, quae constituunt eas, quas vulgo vocant literas vocales. Quae revera literae non sunt aliae ab ipsa A, sed flexus et variatio soni A. Multae sunt hae variationes, sed quinque praecipuae⁴⁴⁵ tantum characteres sive notas obtinuerunt apud Latinos inclusa⁴⁴⁶ ipsa A, scilicet E. I. O. U. Graeci plures assumpserunt, ultra istas videlicet H. Y. Ω. Hebraei et reliqui Orientales adhuc plures agnoscunt, sed non nisi punctulorum quibusdam notulis ipsi A (Ⲁ) subiectis significatas. Nos Suethi novem colimus: *a. e. i. o. u. y. et ā. ä. ö.*,⁴⁴⁷ quae propter sonum, quem audiuntur habere medium, mixto vel duplici notantur caractere: *ā* est ipsum Graecum η, medium sonum obtinens inter *a.* et *e*; *ā* est medium inter *a* et *o*, sonans ut Gallicum *au*; *ö* medium tenet inter *o* et *e* et effertur ut Gallicum *eu*.

Summa: omnes istae differentiae, utut scribantur et efferantur, sint uniformi et bisoni seu diphthongi, non constituunt nisi differentes modulationes unius literae A, nullas vero alias formaliter differentes literas. Et quid? Anglos vide. Illi ipsum *a* pronunciant ut nos *ā*. Ex *i* faciunt *ei* diphthongum, et *o* in plurimis ut nos *a* efferunt. Latinis non est idem sonus *o* in *non* et *nonus*, nec idem sonus *e* in *medius* et *mensa*. Unde patet nimio plures futuras literas vocales, si omnes sonorum differentiae notas et literae nomen mererentur. Stat ergo non esse nisi unam literam veram vocalem A.

De literis ex A degenerare et obtenebrato in U et inde in *vau*, *v*, et hinc in F. Φ. B. P. hic et alibi scripsi. De *Iod* similiter, et H. Z. etc. Unde vero reliquae *m. n. l. r.* ortae sint, nondum accurate inquisitum est. Litera M ordini literarum V. B. F. etc. accensenda est. Ubique enim invenitur cum eis commutabilis. Bruta est et pure terrea. *Mä* maecant caprae. *Mu* mugiunt boves. *Mi* migolantur feles. *Mu* murmurant venti, aquae, terrae et viscera terrae. *Mu* mutiunt muti. Est ergo M, *Mem*, litera muta magno nisu os aperiens et claudens. N spiritus est et nasum possidet. L claritatis est et acuminis. Auditur in tuba clangente, in cymbalis, in fractione vitri et in iis quae voce nostra *klinga*, id est acute⁴⁴⁸ sonare, dicuntur. R est collisionis, compressionis, irae, furentis ignis et ruentis procellae. Auditur in sylvis in collisione arborum, in curru crepante, in hirriente cane.

⁴⁴⁵ praecipuae] In F.d. 5 this has been added in the margin.

⁴⁴⁶ inclusa] In F.d. 5 *scilicet* has been crossed out after *inclusa*.

⁴⁴⁷ *ā. ä. ö.*] In F.d. 5 these letters have here been written as *a^o. a^e. o^e.*

⁴⁴⁸ acute] *alte* has been crossed out on the line; *acute* added above the line.

Summa ex vi et vehementia nata est ignis et venti (qui ex igne derivatur) in materiam resistantem irrumpentis.

(36r, col. 2) Ut omnes res in unum ens referuntur, ex quo ortum habent, hoc est ad Deum ipsum, ita omnes omnium linguarum voces ex ipso A natae sunt atque ad ipsum A reduci debent ac possunt,⁴⁴⁹ eadem nimirum via retro, qua prorsum sunt profectae. M. P. B. Φ. F. Qu. formatae sunt ex V. et haec ab U., quae nihil aliud est quam A obscurum. Hinc facilis est ad A reditus. Aspiratarum classis CH. C. G. ad ipsam matrem H reducta facile expirat et nudam reliquit A. Ex sibilo S ortae D. T. TH. Z. in sibilum reversae ante A cito disparent. N. L. R. ut et M. sunt ancipites. ANA. ALA. ARA. AMA. Detritae sunt perditio A initiali in *Na, La, Ra, Ma*. Quae naturam et notiones retinent easdem quas habent *An, Al, Ar, Am*.

(36r, col. 3) Ut H spirat, S sibilat, ita R tremit, L liquet, *am* claudit, *ma* aperit, *am* ligat, *ma* solvit, *n* tinnit et suspirat. Tolle spiritum, sibilum tremitum liq[uet].

7.2.3 *Litterae simplicissimae et radices universales*

Source: *Runa Suethica*, F.d. 5, fol. 38v, which is Stiernhielm's autograph original, and F.d. 3, fols. 9r–10v, which is a non-autograph fair copy. Some passages of the text are quoted by Swartling.⁴⁵⁰ The title of this text is imposed by myself from phrases in the text itself (§ 1, § 8). For the original heading, see the edition, the first lines in italics. For a photograph of the original, see Figure 7.

Dating: probably around 1655.

Contents: Stiernhielm reconstructs the phonology and morphology of a universal language. He poses an original, universal set of vowels and consonants and compares them to Old Nordic (according to the Younger Futhark) and Swedish. In the number and order of the runes, he relied on Bureus' *Runa ABC-boken* (Stockholm 1611). Positing a set of original phonemes, he arrives at a classification of all other consonantal phonemes. He assumes that some classes of consonants developed from some original ones as follows: (1) f, b, p, φ emerged from the speech sound /v/, (2) ch, g, c/ k emerged from the speech sound /h/, and (3) þ, z, d, t, st, sh emerged from the speech sound /s/.

Furthermore, Stiernhielm proposes a set of original morphemes and puts forward rules for deriving the original morpheme in stems of more than two consonants.

⁴⁴⁹ debent ac possunt] F.d.3, fol. 5r, inverts the word order: *possunt ac debent*.

⁴⁵⁰ Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 79, notes. 2 and 4, p. 80, note 3, quotes several passages: § 1 (Omnium vocalium mater A, etc.); the first sentence of § 3, the entire § 4 (except for the last sentence: *Hoc itaque erit series*, etc.), and § 5 (omitting *et in linguis Scythicis pene indifferentes* and *sed quaelibet sua est*).

(F.d. 5, 38v; F.d. 3, 9r)

*Sequuntur primarum radicum significationes generalissimae,
ad quas reducuntur reliquae omnes speciales per suos gradus*
Literae simplicissimae omnibus linguis communes et ad quas omnes
omnium gentium literae reduci possunt et debent sunt:

vocales: a. e. i. u. o.

consonae: b. c. d. f. g. h. l. m. n. p. r. s. t. v.

Literae Graecorum primae, quas Cadmeas vocabant, 16 tantum fuisse
ait Plutarch., *Symposiaca*, Qu. 3, mihi pagina 667, tomo secundo.⁴⁵¹

“Nec ratione aliqua, sed casu et fortuito numerum et ordinem
literarum, qualis est, extitisse.”⁴⁵²

Nec plures olim novit Septentrio. Has etiam paucioribus notis
incluserunt, ut numerarentur in universum 15 hoc ordine:

𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈	𐤉	𐤊	𐤋	𐤌	𐤍	𐤎	𐤏	𐤐	𐤑	𐤒	𐤓	𐤔	𐤕
f.	u.	d.	o.	r.	c.	h.	n.	i.	a.	s.	t.	b.	l.	m.							
v.	th.			g.				e.				p.									

Vocales Suethi auxerunt, ut sint hodie numero novem, hac serie
pro sonorum differentia ponendae: a. ä. e. ö. i. y. å. o. u. Diphthongos
nullas agnoscimus praeter ia. ie. io. iu. iä. iö. iå., quae tamen nullae
erunt, cum *i* abit in *jod*.

Iam RUNA seu Cabala intellectus vocum requirit, ut secundum
naturam ordinantur haec elementa. Et erit:

1. Omnium vocalium mater A. Ea omnes continet, ad eam omnes
reducuntur, ut primam et puram. Haec enim lucis clarissimae nota.

2. Ex consonantibus⁴⁵⁴ factae sunt ex ipsis vocalibus J et V. Jod,
quia ab I vocali parum aut nihil differt et sterilis est, rejicitur. Jod
Hebraeorum et *Vau* mutuum habent in se transitum. Potest itaque

⁴⁵¹ Plutarch. ... tomo secundo] Stiernhielm probably used the first Latin translation of Plutarch's *Symposiacs* by Hadrian Junius (1511–1575): *Symposiaca problemata: hoc est convivales sermones, nunc primum Latine facti*, Parisiis/ Paris 1547.

⁴⁵² Literae ... extitisse] This is an addition in the margin (F.d. 5, 38v). The passages cited are found in Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales* IX, 3, 2–3. On occasion of the fact that the god Hermes (Egyptian Thoth), the inventor of writing, is associated with the number “four”, Plutarch says: “four times four provide the original set of letters, called Phoenician because of Cadmus, and later Palamedes added four of those invented anew and then Simonides added just equally many” (ibidem, IX, 3, 2). Plutarch presumably believed that the original set of letters was α, β, γ, δ, ε, η, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ο, π, ρ, σ, τ, since he reports that Palamedes increased it with ζ, υ, φ, χ and Simonides with θ, ξ, ψ, ω. He concludes that the number and order of letters is arbitrary: “For no reason, but by coincidence, the number and order of the letters, such as it now is, have come into being” (*Quaestiones convivales* IX, 3, 3).

⁴⁵³ 𐤀] Stiernhielm usually has this short-twig variant instead of the more common 𐤀.

⁴⁵⁴ Ex consonantibus] After this, Stiernhielm crossed out *puriore sunt, quae*.

tolerari sub V.⁴⁵⁵ V foecunda est et generat de se F. (φ.) B. P. Quarum una altera paulo est fortior, alias nulla est differentia. W duplex scilicet *uu*, ante vocalem *uua*, *uue*, *uui* etc. quae debet efferri ut *wh* Anglicum aut propemodum ut *hua*, *hue* etc. Suethicum. W male a nobis pro V usurpatur.⁴⁵⁶ (F.d. 3, 9v) Sufficeret enim ipsum V, quod eandem apud nos obtinet enunciationem. Germani vero⁴⁵⁷ pessime efferrunt per F.⁴⁵⁸

3. Proxima dignitate est litera H, quippe quae fere immaterialis puri spiritus est proles. Haec corporascit et per gradus indurescit in CH. G. C. Q ociosa est et⁴⁵⁹ duplex est a CU, CV, ut et X a CS, GS.⁴⁶⁰ Tertium locum sibi incorporalis spiritus S vendicat. Qui miscetur in Z et Þ (θ) et sistitur in D et rigescit in T. Þ hodie periit nec recte exprimitur per *th*, nisi Anglis, qui *th* ut þ, Graece θ, more veteri pronunciant, scilicet quasi *dhs*.⁴⁶¹

4. Supersunt graves quippe materiales, quas inepte grammatici liquidas appellarunt: *l. m. n. r*. L perspicua esse et facilis. R ignea est et violenta et aspera. N aerea est et levis. M limus est, aquam et terram continens, obscura, surda, muta.

Haec itaque erit series alphabeti naturalis:

V F B P H (ch) G C S D T L R N M.

5. Iam certum est literas cognatas tam in pronuntiatione, quam in scriptione inter se esse commutabiles et in linguis Scythicis pene indifferentes. Eo itaque me adduxit experientia, ut omnes eiusdem generis et classis⁴⁶² pro una et unam pro omnibus caperem. Sic pro *f*, *v*, *p*, *b* capio solam V, pro *h*, *ch*, *g*, *c* capio H aut CH, pro *s*, *t*, *d* et mixtis *þ*, *z*, *sh*, *st* (ʒ) capio Z, quae videtur aut media esse aut omnes complecti. Reliquae L. R. N. M. nec sibi nec aliis sunt cognatae, sed quaelibet sua est.

⁴⁵⁵ Iod Hebraeorum ... sub V] In F.d. 5, 38v, this has been added in the margin.

⁴⁵⁶ usurpatur] In F.d. 5, 38v, Stiernhielm first wrote *miscue usurpatur cum v et prius a Germanis pro ipso V*, but then crossed out this clause except *usurpatur*. F.d. 3 does not have *usurpatur*, but copies *pessime effertur per f* from the next line.

⁴⁵⁷ Sufficeret ... vero pessime] In F.d. 5, 38v, this has been written in the margin.

⁴⁵⁸ efferrunt per F] In F.d. 3, this has been left out.

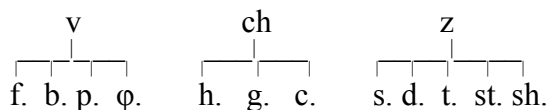
⁴⁵⁹ et] In F.d. 5, 38v, *aut* has been crossed; *et* has been added above the line.

⁴⁶⁰ ut et ... GS] In F.d. 5, 38v, this has been added in the margin.

⁴⁶¹ Anglis ... dhs] Cf. *Lexicon Gothicum philologicum*, F.d. 10, 3v: "Litera vetus Þ olim ut *tzh* fere exprimebatur, hodie ut *d* vel *th* effertur." Ibidem, fol. 170r: "Þ [...] media quaedam quasi TZH vel DHS, quam hodie nulla gens meo iudicio melius exprimit quam Angli in *th*, in quod Þ vetus litera cum ipsa fere pronuntiatione (qua illos [apud illos]) transiit." Ibidem, 171r: "Nunc vero literam et genuinum eius sonum in sermone moderno amisimus. Sonum retinent Angli ut dixi in *th*." Ibidem, fol. 171r, "Þ [...] quasi *thz*, lingua inter primores dentes cum spiritu prope exerta."

⁴⁶² eiusdem generis et classis] In F.d. 5, this has been added in the margin.

6. Postremo docet ipsa rei experientia constituendum brevis quoddam, quam voco Alphabetum Radicale: *a. v. h. s. l. r. n. m.* Simplicissime pro H et S in constitutione radicum usurpabo CH et Z propter maiorem evidentiam, quandoquidem hae sunt mediae et⁴⁶³ reliquas continent. **(F.d. 5, 39r)** Ad oculum:



Has literas principes cum tota sua subole voco *avechizo* aut *acheviox* seu *achavasa*.⁴⁶⁴ – **(F.d. 3, 10r)** Perinde enim est. Etenim licet V nata ex U vocali et propterea natales suas numerat usque de A. H tamen ubique post A, id est vocalem, quamvis praesentior est: *a. ha. en. hen.* etc., ita ut in Graecis praesertim Q inseparabilis sit, et stirps communis esse videtur sociarum V et S sive Z. Nam et *f* generatur ab *h*, et aspiratio *h* in *s* vertitur. Unde per consequens futura sit omnium classicarum mater et origo communis⁴⁶⁵ – ad imitationem Hebraici *ahevi* (אהוי). Reliquas voco *alrunim* (lrnm).

NB. V nata est ab *a*, quae litera est lucis. Sed male. Nata est ab U, quae litera est tenebrarum, opposita claritudini ipsius A. U est immaterialis et repraesentat aërem tenebrosum, sed V crassior est et materiata, ut vapor aut magis aquosa nubes caligans. Et hac ratione potior erit his alphabeti ordo:

a. ä. e. ö. i. y. â. o. u.
h. g. c. s. d. t. v. f. b. p. l. r. n. m.

Pro η veteres ε usurpabant. Plato in Cratylo.⁴⁶⁶

7. Literae *achavaz* sunt serviles nec quicquam faciunt ad substantiam radicum, nisi quod distinguunt seu variant et multiplicant, scilicet in fronte constitutae (ut in *cha, ga, sa, ta* etc.); a tergo iunctae idem praestant, ut in *ach, ag, ab, ap, ad, at*, maiorem tamen inducunt differentiam et alterationem. *Alrunim* vero utrinque adhibitae sui sunt iuris et dominae, licet ius et auctoritatem etiam

⁴⁶³ sunt mediae et] In F.d. 5, this has been added under the line.

⁴⁶⁴ seu *achavasa*] In F.d. 5, this has been added above the line.

⁴⁶⁵ aut *acheviox* ... origo] In F.d. 5, 39r, this has been written in the margin.

⁴⁶⁶ NB. ... Cratylo] In F.d. 5, 39r, this has been added in the right-hand margin. In the same note, Stiernhielm remarks on the transition of the consonant J into V: “J abit in V (praesertim Arabibus), Germanis quibusdam et aliis, qui G aut E et I pronunciant. Confunditur cum G, sed haec nullius sunt momenti.”

illae habeant translaticiam ab *a*, radicum omnium radice prima, penes quam directum est dominium in reliquas omnes.

8. Hinc emergunt radices universales et omnibus linguis communes. Prima *a* purissima et inde *ach*, *av*, *az*, *al*, *ar*, *an*, *am* septem sunt, quas puras denomino. Puram *a* autem obnubunt et obscurant a fronte suspensae utriusque generis literae, ut sic exoriantur septem aliae radices *cha*, *va*, *za*, *la*, *ra*, *na*, *ma*, quas affectas voco. Inter eas pro ancillis ipsius *a* habentur tres priores; (F.d. 3, 10v) posteriores 4 sui iuris sunt et maiori dignitate. Ab iisdem literis *achavaz* etiam reliquae purae obnubilantur. Quae ita affectae et obvelatae purarum ancillae appellari possunt. Singulae itaque purae tres habebunt ancillas, quae numero erunt 21. Et tot sunt omnino radices purae et affectae. Primariae et secundariae in universum cum ipsa matre 36 (numerus quadratus,⁴⁶⁷ cuius radix est 6, primus numerus perfectus). Diagramma vide pagina praecedente.⁴⁶⁸

9. In vocibus, quae in fronte binas vel trinas habent consonantes, ut nescias ad quam radicem referas, hoc tenendum: Proximam vocali esse radicalem, ut in *gnavus*, *na* est radix, in *krok ar* aut *ra* est radix. Possunt enim utraque. In *strigil*, *stringo*: *ar* vel *ra* est radix. Unde verbum *raa*, *raka*, *reckia*, *streckia*, *stricka*, stringere, nectere.

Proficiscitur haec duplicatio ex agilitate H et S cum sua subole, quae ut vocalibus, ita fere omnibus consonantibus inequitare gaudent. Olim aspiratae scribebantur et efferebantur *Hl*. *Hr*. *Hn*. Prolationem ipsam *hl* adhuc retinemus in *l* nostro crasso, cui⁴⁶⁹ ego in scriptione semper soleo praemittere *h*, ut in *hohl*, *bohl*. Quam pronunciationem nec omnes Suethi assequuntur. Hoc *h* ante *l*, *r*, *n* roboratur in *g* et *c*, ut ex *Hludove* fiat *Clodoveus*. Ex Scythico *hrae*, caro, factum sit Gr. κρέας. Ex *hnab*, al[iter] *snab*, gnavus etc. Barbarum fuit, quod Graeci nunquam usurparunt *þō* nisi aspiratum.

Affectae rectius forte vocolae vocabuntur affectae radicibus puris, e quibus ortae sunt ancillantes, praeter *la*, *ra*, *na*, *ma*, *cha*, *va*, *za*. Eas vocabo affectas aut 9 simpliciter secundarias. Et hoc stet fixum. Sic erit hic radicum numerus et ordo – *a*, *ach*, *av*, *az*, *al*, *ar*, *an*, *am*, *la*, *ra*, *na*, *ma*, *cha*, *va*, *za* – 15. Quod ratum esto. Totidem enim invenio notionum primarum classes praeter ens, quod omnes continet.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁷ quadratus] In ms. F.d. 5, 39r, this word has not been written by letters, but represented by the geometrical figure of a square, i.e. □.

⁴⁶⁸ Pagina praecedente] The previous page in F.d. 5 is fol. 38r, which has a diagram, called *Arbor genealogica vocularum primarum*, of the primary stems or monosyllabic roots, see Vol. 1, Section 8.2.3).

⁴⁶⁹ cui] *quod* has been crossed out on the line; *cui* has been added above the line.

⁴⁷⁰ Affectae ... continet] In F.d. 5, 39r, this has been added in the left-hand margin.

NB. *ch. va. za.* sunt radices affectae ipsius *a* et locum habent afficientes *ach. av. az.* ut terminationes ipsius *a* in notione entis. Sed ante *al. ar. an. am.* non sunt suae, sed faciunt voces affectas et formatas ex radice *alaranam*.

Item *ahavaz* in notionibus entis sunt aut terminationes ipsius *a* aut voces formatae. In notionibus lucis, ignis, aquae, terrae, si sunt ex *a, ǣ, ǣw* etc. sunt terminationes. Alias sunt voces formatae, ut in notiones entis ex *a* fit *ava* et *aga*, terminationes infinitivi. Unde *aud* et *āgn*, voces formatae, nomina scilicet verbalia, quibus significatur possessio; *ag*, punctura, vel *aga*, pungere, est radix,⁴⁷¹ sed respective et sic specialis suarum derivatarum, eademque⁴⁷² vox formata. Ex radice *a* notione unitatis, qua punctum et structurae continentur.

7.2.4 Scattered observations

7.2.4.1 Common runic letters for different vowels and consonants

Source: F.d. 9:10, fol. 2r. Size: 245 x 360 mm. Dating: around 1650.

NB. *ā, ä* non sunt singulares literae, sed saltem indicativae enunciationis ipsius *A*, quando scilicet declinat vel ad obscuritatem literae *O* vel ad exilitatem literae *E*. Sic et *Ö* literae *O* pronunciationem modificat.

Veteribus Gothis omnes vocales propemodum fuere una atque ea naturam habuit literae *ǣ*, quae capax est omnium punctationum. In alphabeto enim Runico una fuit litera communis *a* et *e*,⁴⁷³ posteriori aevo ad distinctionem coepta est puncto in medio notari. *O* ad distinctionem *a* et *e*, *ǣ*, duabus lineis ad medium notata est *ǣ*, quae et *o* et *ö* et *ā* sunt.

Sic *D* et *T* uno caractere communi notatae sunt. Item *H* et *G*, et *G* et *K*. Nec discernebantur nisi ex sensu. Post longe coeptae sunt punctis distingui. *L, N, R* et *S* duplicem habuere sonum, alterum scilicet quando fuere aspiratae praeposito *H* in principio vocis. Siquidem ita scriptae non reperiuntur, verum in loquela vulgi talis auditur, ut in voce *slādha, hslida*. *ǣ* *a, ä, ā*; [...] *ǣ* *ǣ* *ǣ* *ā, o, ö*; *ǣ* *e*; *ǣ* *u*; *ǣ* *d, t, dh, th*; *ǣ* *k, g*; *ǣ* *h, gh*; *ǣ* *t, d*; *ǣ* *b, p*; *ǣ* *f, v, u*.

7.2.4.2 Prima radix

Source: *Collectanea ad Runam Suethicam*, F.d. 6, fol. 24v with the measurements 212 x 325 mm. Dating: most likely c. 1651.

Contents: the monovocalism of the phoneme *A*.

⁴⁷¹ est radix, sed respective] Stiernhielm first wrote *non est radix, nisi respective*, crossed then out *non* and *nisi* and added *sed* above the line.

⁴⁷² eademque] Deleting *sed* on the line, Stiernhielm wrote *eademque* above the line.

⁴⁷³ *a* et *e*] Stiernhielm first wrote *a, e et i, j*, crossed then out *et i, j*.

Omnes vocales in voce radicali sunt una. Prima radix omnium vocum nihil est aliud, quam simplicissimus sonus et eiusdem character oculis subiectus et expressus per vocalem A.

7.2.4.3 Transitus literarum

Source: *Collectanea ad Runam Suethicam*, F.d. 6, fols. 19r and 19v with the measurements 205 x 325 mm.

Dating: most likely c. 1651.

Contents: the phonetic development from vowels into consonants.

(19r) Literarum transitus etiam fit per gradus proximos.

Ex a per e et i fit j.

Ex a per o et u fit v.

Ex e fit i, ex hoc j, ex hoc g.

Ex au (av), eu (ev) fit ay, ey, et sic ex f. <fit> g. et contra.

(19v) Transitus literarum vocalium in consonates:

a per e <transit> in j, ut ea, ja.

a per o et u <transit> in v, ut oa, ua in va.

7.2.4.4 Alphabetum Stiernhielmi

Source: Stiernhielm's own copy of Bibliander's *De ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum*, Zürich 1548, This copy is preserved at Uppsala University Library. The text has been written as a note in the margin of p. 152. This stray remarks dates from March 1652.

Dating: In the end-note of his own copy of Bibliander's book, Stiernhielm dates his reading of the book: *Perlustratus a G. Stiernhielm biduo ab 10 ad 12 Martii A^o 1652 in Stiernlund in Ingria*, that is "Read by G. Stiernhielm in the course of two days, from 10 to 12 March in the year 1652 at Stiernlund in Ingria."

Alphabetum Sternhelmi,
hoc est:

_____ a _____
<ä.> e. i. ö. y. å. o. u.

h. v. s. l. m. n. r.

Sub his continentur:

h.
┌───┴───┐
h. g. k. q.

v.
┌───┴───┐
f. b. p. φ.

s.
┌───┴───┐
z. th. t. d. st.

7.2.4.5 Literae achevioz

Source: *Miscellanea etymologica*, F.d. 9:6, fol. 1v, col. 2.

Dating: about 1651. The following page, fol. 2r, is dated 28 September 1651, see the introduction to Section 7.2.2 above.

Contents: the mutual non-exchangability of the phonemes *c*, *v*, and *z* except for the internal variation of each phoneme or rather phonetic groups or classes. See further Section 6.2.3 above (paragraph 6).

Literae *achevioz* non mutantur in se invicem nisi per gradus quoslibet in sua classe, sed aequo iure singulae sibi radicem et vocem puram vendicant. *H* hic non habet plus privilegii, quam reliquae, nisi quod propter mobilitatem suam est frequentius.

7.3 Hebrew, Latin, Greek and Swedish phonemes

In several minor writings, Stiernhielm tries to establish an original set of vowels and consonants in Swedish, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Such writings are transcribed and edited below.

7.3.1 *Hebraearum inter se literarum cognatio*

Source: F.d. 6c, *Virgula divina*, fols. 2v–3r. Size: 172 x 235 mm.

Dating: 1641.

Contents: Stiernhielm takes his point of departure in the classification of Hebrew consonants into gutturals, labials, dentals, palatals and linguals and in the common rule that speech sounds of the same place of articulation easily interchange.⁴⁷⁴ To show the historical kinship between Hebrew, Latin and Swedish consonants, Stiernhielm divides Latin and Swedish consonants phonemes into groups similar to those in the Hebrew tradition.

(2v) Porro, quandoquidem incredibilis est nostrae cum Hebraea, quoad voces primitivas, convenientia, paucis ostendere visum est tum Hebraearum inter se literarum cognationem, cum earundem in nostras transitum sive reditum. Cum in multis non immerito dubitare possis, utrobi prima sit radix et origo.

Grammaticis habentur cognatae et inter sese transitoriae eae, quae sunt unius instrumenti. Quales sunt:

Gutturales: ע ה ח א

Labiales: פ ב מ

Palatales: ק ג י צ

⁴⁷⁴ See for instance *David Kimchi's Hebrew grammar (Mikhlol)*, systematically presented and annotated by William Chomsky, New York (Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning), p. 11. See further my monograph Albert Schultens as the innovator of etymological Hebrew lexicography, Sections 11.1.3 and 11.1.3.

Dentales: ש ז ס צ ר

Linguales: ת נ ל ט ק

Hisce non obstantibus prehendes multas radices cognatas contineri sub initialibus א ה י ה נ ע. Nec minus magnam in significato affinitatem reperies in cognatione soni literarum ה ג ע כ ק. Quae pro qualitate sua significationem vel intendunt vel remittunt vel aliter efficiunt.

Prioris exemplum habeto in אבל, זבל, יבל, חבל, נבל etc. Posterioris in גזל, diripuit, תסל, absumpsit vel vastavit, לשך, debilitavit, פשל, lapsus est. Item געל⁴⁷⁵ irrisit, קלס, subsannavit, etc. Talia sunt תיה, vixit, kvick, vigor, vigetus. כוח, vis, virtus, keck, quickheet, et היה, fuit.

Quin et ס et ט. Haec usum habent in assignandis radicibus Hebraicis cum affinis suis.⁴⁷⁶ Et י et ו commutantur. In Arabica י Hebraeorum initiale semper mutatur in ו.

Item ז. צ. ש. et ט. ת. Exemplum est in radicibus זהר. צהר. שהר. טהר. Quae omnibus respondet Gothicum *skiär*, id est purus, serenus ab *ur*. ז et ר פרק. פון, fulgur; ut honor, honos, odor, odos.

Notanda erit variatio pronounciationis etiam in literis Hebraicis ut ב b. bh. f. v.

De S vide pulcra apud Martinium: "Spiritus hic flatu tenuissima vivificans H." Ausonius.⁴⁷⁷

(3r) Restat ut qua ratione nostrae, ut et Latinae, in radicum constantia Hebraeis respondeant, doceatur. Gutturales, praesertim in initio, ut plurimum omittuntur, quippe cum nulla nobis sit fere, quae ex aequo respondeat. Pro ה tamen ה in Latinis et nostris saepenumero emergit H, *ch*. nonnunquam *g* vel *k*, quod etiam in usu venit in כ ק ג ע, sed illustrius haecce ob oculos ponentur in tabula sequente:

ק ג ע כ ה ה א respondunt varie h. ch. k. q. g.

ע repraesentat H et G, sed in nostra ut plurimum abiit in G, nonnunquam densatur in K.

Labiales ב פ מ ך ut inter se, ita varie redduntur nostris b. f. v. p. m. w.

ל	L.	ז	ת
ס } manet fere	S.	צ } in s. st. sch. t.	ט } in d. t. th.
ר	R.	ש	ד

⁴⁷⁵ [לעג] This is an emendation. The proposed verb means "laugh at, deride". The ms. has the non-extant verb להג. The noun *lahag* means "study, meditation".

⁴⁷⁶ Haec ... affinis suis] This has been added in the margin (2v, col. 1).

⁴⁷⁷ Notanda erit ... Ausonius] This has been added in the margin (2v, upper part). Martini, *Lexicon philologicum*, p. 1075, s.v. H, quotes a passage from Ausonius, *Technopaegnion* 8, 13 (De litteris monosyllabis Graecis et Latinis), verse 19, which means: "I am the aspiration that by a breathing vivifies the most thin H."

A J V F B P H C H G K S T D Z⁴⁸² L R N M W Q TH

א י א פ ב ה ה ג כ ס ט ז צ, ל נ ר ק ת ע ק

Vocalium mutatio facit ad flexionem significationis in casibus et modis etc., item ad emphasin significationis, qua clarum, subtile, obscurum etc. intendo significare.⁴⁸³

A. complectitur omnes vocales.

I. quia ex vocali declinat in consonantem, secundum locum ab A meretur.

U. similiter, tertium.

F. sono et vi literae praecurrenti proxima est, unde a Scaligero et aliis habetur quasi media inter vocalem et consonantem, vide Martin.⁴⁸⁴ F literam Quintilianus l. 1, c. 7 Claudiano imperatori acceptam refert.⁴⁸⁵

B. ipso F est durior, et hac ipsa durior P est.

Reliquae ortae aut ab aspiratione H aut a sibilo S. Intenduntur et roborantur ea, quam vides, serie:

H. *ch. g. k.* seu *c.* G primitus non fuit. Pro ea C omnia munia obibat. Auson. Praevaluit postquam Gammae vice functa prius C.⁴⁸⁶

S. [*st.*] *z. d. t.*⁴⁸⁷ Z compositum suum habet a *ds* vel *ts*. Ablato sibilo manet *d* et *t*.

Restant liquidae, quae nullam habent inter se cognationem, licet saepe inter se commutantur. Haec sunt L. R. N. M.

Primum locum tribuo L. propter lucis indolem.

Secundum R., quia R. est litera IGNIS, vim et robur inferens. Propter mobilitatem proximus locus competere videatur.⁴⁸⁸

N. posterius colloco, quandoquidem naso magis quam ori inservit.

M. □ omnium erit ultima. Illa enim et os et sonum et significationem claudit, ligat et cohibet obscura, mugiens et bombylans.

Q. duplex est cu, kv. W. duplex est *Vu* proprium habens sonum Anglis hodie familiarem in *Wh*. Nos fere eundem exprimimus in

⁴⁸² T D Z] The present order has been indicated with numbers (1–3).

⁴⁸³ Vocalium ... significare] This passage has been added in the left-hand margin.

⁴⁸⁴ Martin] Matthias Martini's Greek-Latin dictionary, *Cadmus Graecophoenix, id est Etymologicum*, Breae/ Bremen 1625.

⁴⁸⁵ F literam ... refert] This sentence has been added in the left-hand margin.

⁴⁸⁶ G primitus ... prius C] This has been added in the left-hand margin. The author being referred to is Ausonius, who in his *Technopaegnion*, poem XIII "De litteris monosyllabis Graecis et Latinis", verses 21–22 says: "praevaluit post quam Gammae vice functa C // atque alium pro se titulum replicata dedit G."

⁴⁸⁷ S. [*st.*] *z. d. t.*] The manuscript originally had another order. The present order has been indicated by numbers (1–5). The combination *st.* has been crossed out.

⁴⁸⁸ p] The original wording of this sentence was: *R blaesi praesertim praestat vices ipsius L, ut ei propter commutabilitatem proximus locus competere videatur.*

hw, hue, monosyllabis *hwem, hwar*, Itali per *Gu*, alii per *Qu* eundem efferre nituntur.

Erit ergo alphabethum plenum:

A. J. V F B P W. H C H G K Q. S T Z D Þ.⁴⁸⁹ L R N M.

Constat ergo alphabetum praeter liquidas quinque literis principibus, quae diversarum naturarum singulae suam producant subolem praeter J, quod prolem non habet. J utrique classi V et H se associat.

A. vocalis omnis sui generis sonos recipiens et complectens, ut x omnia praevenit.

J. consonans orba et sterilis. Associat autem se plerumque ad H, interdum etiam ad V., et in G. mutatur nobis saepissime, ut *plöja, plögia; säija* etc.

V. consonans foecunda.

H. aspiratio, in prole asperata, h.e. asperatur in ch. g. k.

S. sibilus in prole cessans.

T. consonans solida et firma.⁴⁹⁰

Hinc patet quam maxime inter se sunt commutabiles, singulae scilicet in singulis classibus, praeterquam in liquidis, ubi L et R, M et N solum inter se transeunt. Transeunt etiam de classe in classem. G et V valde sibi sunt familiares. N ante G nunquam est radicale, *siunga* a *säija, sägia*, ut *quäda* etc.⁴⁹¹ N tamen assumit propter sonoritatem.

Sic erunt hae 10⁴⁹² totius alphabeti constitutivae:

A. J V H S T⁴⁹³ L R N M.

A. Phoebus est. Reliquae 9 sunt Musae. V. vel W. ultro se praeponit vocali nec raro consonanti, praesertim R. H. passim aspirat vocales. Ante consonantes L. N. R. olim esset quod hodie C. G. S. sibilo [...] ⁴⁹⁴sonante roborat.

Musas poetae finxere novem pro numero literarum nominis μνημοσύνης, i.e. memoriae, quae fuit Musarum mater, quacum Iupiter 9 iuges noctes concubuit, ut ex ea 9 Musas suscepit, ut docet Hesiodus in Theogonia.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁸⁹ S T Z D Þ] The order was originally S Z D T Þ. The present order has been indicated by numbers above the line (1–5).

⁴⁹⁰ In the left-hand margin, Stiernhielm argues that the letters A. J. V. H. S. T. correspond with the ones that are found in his own name: *Sunt autem: STIÄRNHULM, Stiurnhälm. STIÖRNHAULM. Stiörnheaulm*, though the first three variants have been crossed out. He compared the first element of this compound with the old Germanic forms of the verb ‘stear’, viz. *stiorna, stiura* and *styra*.

⁴⁹¹ N ante G ... *qväda*] This explanation has been added in the margin.

⁴⁹² 10] *novem* has been written on the line, but has been crossed out in a pencil. The number 10 has been added in a pencil above the line.

⁴⁹³ T] The letter T has afterwards been inserted between S and L.

⁴⁹⁴ [...] There is probably a lacuna here, because the right-hand corner is damaged.

⁴⁹⁵ Musas ... Theogonia] This passage has been added in the left-hand margin, but it is unclear where it should be inserted in the main text.

7.3.3 *Litterae diversae et paucae quaedam universales*

7.3.3.1 Preliminaries and Latin text

Source and dating: *Collectanea ad Runam Suethicam*, F.d. 6, fol. 7r–8r. Size: 210 x 322 mm. This text dates from between 1648 and 1651, since Stiernhielm refers to himself as “antiquarian of the realm” and as the successor of Bureus on this position. He held this office until early 1652. For a photograph of F.d. 6, fol. 7r, see Figure 9.

Contents: Stiernhielm’s phonetic and phonological theory was embedded in the contexts of etymological lexicography and language philosophy, which aimed at demonstrating the agreement of words with the nature of things, that is the ontological correspondence between words and the nature of reality. *Harmonia vocum cum natura rerum* is the heading of the text in the manuscript. The topic of the extant text however is the historical phonology of Swedish, Greek and Latin. For this reason, I have renamed it *Litterae diversae et paucae quaedam universales*, which I consider a more apt title taken from phrases in the text itself.

The text is divided into six paragraphs. Stiernhielm begins with a theoretical discussion of the production of speech sounds by the different organs of speech (§ 2), in an attempt at developing an articulatory phonetics. He proceeds to the invention of characters for writing, that is, letters (§ 3). He discusses the diversity of letters in relation to ethno-linguistic variation in general (§ 3) and in regard to the different sets of letters in Greek and Latin (§ 4). He does not agree to the ancient mytho-history that the Phoenician prince Cadmus introduced the alphabet in Greece through adoption of the Phoenician letters, because the Greek letters in his opinion differ too much from them. He then establishes a definite set of letters in Runic Swedish⁴⁹⁶ (§ 5) in comparison with the original set of Greek letters. Finally, he identifies a stock of letters and phonemes that are common to Greek, Latin, and Runic Swedish (§ 6). He argues that this stock of speech sounds is not only primordial, but also universal to all languages. He thereupon identifies groups of consonants, the members of which are argued to be mutually exchangeable (i.e. substitutable).

Stiernhielm relates his observations to the theory and practice of etymology. He exemplifies his theory with alleged old Swedish stems or words and with Swedish and German words (see §§ 5–6).

Harmonia vocum cum natura rerum

Litterae variarum nationum pro varietate assuetorum sonorum variae sunt et multiplices. Hinc quo gens quaeque a literarum cultu

⁴⁹⁶ Runic Swedish is a period in the history of the Swedish language, from 800 AD until 1200 AD.

alienior,⁴⁹⁷ eo pluribus ad brutales suos et fere inarticulatos sonos exprimendos opus habuerunt literis. Quod contingere videmus Moschowitis, Armenis, Aethiopibus et similibus.⁴⁹⁸

I. Ut universo mortalium generi sapientissimus rerum conditor unam mentem impertivit, ita quoque una organa ad unum effectum, mentis scilicet⁴⁹⁹ explicationem et mutuam communicationem, fauces, linguam, labia, dentes omnibus et singulis communicavit. Quibus potestatem indidit formandi distinctos aliquot et articulatos sonos, quorum varia permutatione, alternatione et commixtione ad nutum rationis et voluntatis voces et hinc sermo ad intelligentiam mutuam⁵⁰⁰ conformarentur.

II. Ut omnia prima, ita hi soni distincti simplicissimi fuerunt et numero pauci, paucis dictorum organorum motibus et configurationibus exprimibiles. Quos inter primos sapiens aliquis (quisque ille fuit) paribus notis⁵⁰¹ visibiles, cognoscibiles et legibiles facere feliciter aggressus est.

III. Notae istae, quas et signa, symbola,⁵⁰² characteres, literas et elementa vocum appellamus,⁵⁰³ hodie quidem pro diversitate linguarum diversae sunt et multiplices. Nec omnibus idem numerus. Si quae sunt prima, eadem sunt simplicissima. Certe Graecae et Runae priores sunt Hebreis, quia pauciores et simpliciores.⁵⁰⁴ Quo enim quaeque lingua a puritate et simplicitate primigenia longius recessit, eo plures et vitiosiores pronuntiationis depravatae modos⁵⁰⁵ sibi acquisivit et appropriavit. Quos ut exprimeret aut novos characteres effingere (quod in Moschovitica factum videmus) aut veteres additis aliquibus punctis et lineolis pro sonorum varietate distinguere et multiplicare, quod in Polonica experimur, necessum habuit.

Quin et cultus ipse linguarum ornatus aut compendii (ut visum est) causa nonnullas, licet minus necessarias, adinvenit, id quod in Graeca patet et aliis, praesertim in iis literis, quas duplices vocant, quales

⁴⁹⁷ cultu alienior] The original word order *alienior cultu* has been changed by numbers above the line.

⁴⁹⁸ Literae ... similibus] This paragraph has been crossed out in the manuscript.

⁴⁹⁹ Explicationem] The word *mutuam* has been crossed out before *explicationem*.

⁵⁰⁰ mutuam] The words *suam et alienam* have been crossed out on the line and replaced by *mutuam* above the line.

⁵⁰¹ The words *visibilibus et legibilibus feliciter* have been crossed out on the line.

⁵⁰² symbola] This word has been added above the line.

⁵⁰³ Stiernhielm crossed out *videntur omnes hisce paucis posse comprehendere: a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p r s t u* as the continuation of the sentence introduced by *Notae*.

⁵⁰⁴ Si quae sunt prima ... et simpliciores] This has been written in the margin.

⁵⁰⁵ pronuntiationis depravatae modos] Stiernhielm first wrote *pronuntiationis depravationes* and then changed *depravationes* to *depravatae* and added *modos*.

sunt X. Z. Φ. Ψ. Ω. et apud Hebraeos י צ פ ט; u. θ. th. Anglicum.⁵⁰⁶
Pro H, η, Graeci veteres ε usurparunt, et Z in nullo fere usu.
Plutarch.⁵⁰⁷

Cadmus si literas dedisset Graecis, Phoenicias dedisset. Falsum itaque videtur commentum. Verisimilius est Graecos unde rudimenta linguae, inde esse literas nactos a Barbaris, scilicet qui prius quam illi incoluerunt Graeciam, Pelasgis scilicet origine Thracibus seu Scythis. Certum est nos ab Graecis aut hos a nostris conditoribus Scythis literas accepisse. Hoc evincit numerus idem, idemque, si accurate inspicias, character.⁵⁰⁸

IV. Lingua Graeca primis temporibus 15 tantum literis efferri notarique contenta erat. Eae fuerunt A B Γ Δ E K Λ M N O Π P Σ T Y. Has Cadmus Graeciae intulisse fertur. Sed cur non Hebraicas ט פ ש צ י ? Latinae praeae <17 literae>⁵⁰⁹ sufficebant. Eae fuerunt: a. e. i. o. u. b c d f h l m n p r s t. G non habuerunt. Pro eo C usurpaverunt, deinceps et G et C promiscue habuerunt, ut *cervus*, *gervus*; *ceres*, *geres*; *acere*, *agere*. Q nesciverunt.

V. Europaeorum septentrionalium⁵¹⁰ praeae et praesentium mater Suethica, quam et Gothicam et generali nomine Scandicam appellamus, ut origini suae omnium proxima, ita et simplicissima, adhuc paucioribus contenta fuit characteribus. Quos ego ut maxime rudes et praeae impolitam redolentes, ita fere primos aut a primis proximos seu secundos non temere existimaverim. Sunt autem hi:

ı B P p P * | ı Y ı ı ı ı ı ı ı⁵¹¹

a b k d f h i l m n o r s t u

ä p g th ch y å v

e q dh ö

ts

P digamma Aeolicum. * est X. ı [i.e. ı] v inversum. Y, μ.

ı similem non habet. Alias est R.

ı Σ, Z inversum. ı T. ı U. P [K].⁵¹²

Número quindecim: quorum nonnulli posterioribus seculis aliam atque aliam picturam adepti sunt, ut videre licet ex tabula omnes differentias et species literarum Runarum consummatissimi et

⁵⁰⁶ ornatus ... Anglice] This has been written in the margin.

⁵⁰⁷ Pro ... Plutarch] This passage has been added in the margin.

⁵⁰⁸ Cadmus ... inspicias character] This paragraph has been written in the margin.

⁵⁰⁹ 17 literae] This ought to be supplemented. The manuscript only has three dots.

⁵¹⁰ septentrionalium] This word has been added above the line.

⁵¹¹ ı] After ı, the following clause has been crossed out: *Sunt autem numero 15*.

⁵¹² K] Stiernhielm here omits the Greek letter kappa (K).

venerandi viri Johannis Burei antiquarii Regni Sueciae,⁵¹³ praedecessoris mei optime meriti, anno 1599, (7v) cui tabulae certe omnem suam eruditionem Runicam debet, si fateri non nolit⁵¹⁴ vir alias doctus et⁵¹⁵ industrius Dominus Olaus Worm. Verum hoc quod Virgilio olim, id nostro aevo candidissimo illi Bureo contigit, ut non immerito sibi applicare decantatum illud:

Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores.

Ne vero huius rei mundus amplius sit ignarus, hic saltem memoratae tabulae titulum dabo: <Runakenslones lerespan, unde runar seu verae veterum Gothorum literae sciri et apte scribi queant, Ubsaliae Sueonum 1599.>⁵¹⁶

Nota: Aliud est farraginem vocum in diversis linguis consonantium dare, aliud est causas et rationes vocum dare. Et hoc nostrum est institutum.

Vulgus etymologistarum genealogiam vocum quaerunt non ex stirpe, sed ex collateralibus, ut *wind* derivant a *ventus*, quae sunt voces sorores, utraque ex stirpe seu motu *wehen*, radix affecta, a pura ἄω, ἄειν. Vulgus derivat voces non ex fontibus, sed ex lacunis. Non educunt ex radicibus vocum puris et informibus, sed ex vocibus derivatis et iam formatis.⁵¹⁷

Regula: Omnes radices affectae diriguntur ad modum radicum purarum et ducuntur per omnes radices puras, ut *ga*, *gav*, *gab*, *gah*, *gach*, *gal*, *gam*, *gan*, *gar*, *gas*, *gat*. An vero commodius ut unicuique radici purae subiungantur suae affectiones seu affectae, ut sub *av* *gav*, *ag gag*; *al gal*; *am gam*; *an gam*; *ar gar*; *as gas*. Et hoc commodius, ita tamen ut mater communis *a* pura ducatur cum suis affectis per omnes flexiones, quae etiam incidunt in multas consonantes, ut *a* in *āga*, *hāga*; *tego*, στεγω; *es*, ius; *er*, iuris; *ar*, *war*.

Error etymologistarum communis est consonantem primam praesertim mutare in aliam, ut Bis in Dis, H in S etc., quasi una ex altera necessario facta sit, cum saepe utraque sit ex una radice et pro ratione dialecti et idiotismi gentis, haec vel illa consonans in initio sit assumpta, ut liquet in *caput*, *hovud*; *canis*, *hund*.⁵¹⁸

VI. Sunt vero quot et quantumvis diversae diversarum linguarum notae, cunctas tamen ad hasce paucas primas et universales reduci posse et debere censeo: a e i o u. b c d f g h l m n p r s t.

⁵¹³ [Regni Sueciae] In the ms., these words have been abbreviated as *R. S.*

⁵¹⁴ non nolit] *non piget* on the line has been replaced by *non nolit* above the line.

⁵¹⁵ alias doctus et] This has been added above the line.

⁵¹⁶ *Runa-kenslones lerespon ... queant*] In the ms. (F.d. 6, fol. 7v), the title, place and date of publication have been omitted, but space has been left for the title.

⁵¹⁷ Vulgus ... formatis] This paragraph has been added in the margin.

⁵¹⁸ Error ... hund] This paragraph has been added in the margin.

Imo, si quis altius literarum scrutinium instituere velit, comperiet omnes vocales comprehendi in una *a*, reliquas vero nihil aliud esse quam modos sive deflexiones seu tonos ab *a* descendentes. Nota bene pronunciationem vocalium et diphthongorum Anglorum: *nothing*. *nathing*; *people*. *pipl*.⁵¹⁹

Latini prisci 16 tantum habuerunt: a e i o u b c d h l m n p r s t.

ƿ seu ɹ digamma Aeolicum a Varrone invecum aiunt.⁵²⁰

Digamma Aeolicum est ɹ [seu] ƿ, nostrum ɥ [seu] I=.

η non est vetus litera apud Graecos, sed ε. Plato in Cratylo.⁵²¹

Summa: Occidentales – Graeci, Hesperii, Celtae, sive quae fuerunt prima nomina Cecropii, Hetrusci et Hyperborei – omnes Iapetidae paene habuerunt easdem literas.

Graeci: A B Γ Δ H E I Ʒ K Λ M N O Π P Σ T Y

Latini: A B G D H E I F C L M N O P R S T V

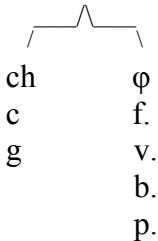
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Ital. Gu. Guat.
 Lat. Qu. Quat.
 Angl. Wh. What.
 Cambr. Gu. Gwat.

C. G. ante consonam in initio, item F. B. P., nascuntur ex aspiratione, quae olim praeponnebatur literis L. R. N.

hlad inde *glad*.
hlyta inde *flyta*.
hring inde *kring* et *wringa*.
hräcka, *bräckia*, frago, frango.
hnaga, *knaga* etc.
hnysa, *fnysa*.⁵²⁶

Aspiratio H est mater



J fit ex I et E ante A et reliquas vocales, ut ab *ea*, *ja*; *sneo*, *sniö*. J generat G.

De universa literarum natura, vide Gorop. *Hermath.* l. 3, p. 47 et mea in Cratylum Platonis.

Litera Runica **P**. Eam obtinuit vim et pronunciationem, quam apud Hebraeos פ (secundum Ravium),⁵²⁷ Graecos θ et hodie apud Anglos *th*, ut simul exprimet fere *dsh* vel *ths*. Est itaque fere eadem cum Z, ʔ, ʒ. Quorum ultimum *zade* a quibusdam etiam *stade* legitur. Unde in derivationibus cognotissimae sunt et ubique invicem commutabiles reperiuntur D. T. S. Z. ST. SH. TH. Quae omnes uni insunt **P**, cuius genuina pronuntiatio apud nos desiit, utcumque per D. T. et TH. tam scriptione quam voce exprimi consueta.⁵²⁸ In literatura hodierna scribitur per D. T. et TH., quod apud nos sono nihil differt ab ipso T.

S aspiratum SH (ʃ) apud nos non est in usu scriptionis. Auditur tamen in vocibus *siäl*, *sielf* etc. Quas quidam ex vulgo efferunt propemodum ut *Schäl*, *Schielf*. Germani superiores nostrum S ante

⁵²⁶ C. G. ante consonam ... fnysa] This paragraph has been written in the margin.

⁵²⁷ Ravium] Ravius, *Orthographiae et analogiae Ebraicae delineatio*, 1646, p. 3.

⁵²⁸ apud nos ... consueta] This remark has been written in the margin. The first part, *apud nos desiit*, replaces *hodie vulgo ignoratur* in the main text.

W. L. M. N. semper fere aspiratum exprimunt, ut pro *Svede Schwede, skrijn Schrein, slå schlagen, smijda schmeiden, snijda schneiden* etc.

Antecessores nostri hanc asperationem SCH nimis crasse per SK scripserunt, quod adhuc fere obtinet. In originationibus itaque multis pro unis tenendae sunt S. SH. SCH. SK. Eadem est radix *sea* et *skea*. S ante consonantem non est radicalis. Premit autem omnes fere, non aliter atque H vocales, et quidem utraque ad eundem effectum, scil. ad fortius urgendum, h.e. ad intendendum sonum et significationem.

T, *Tau*, vinculi naturam in vocibus habet. Plato in Cratylō.

Omnes vero literae omnium linguarum tandem reducuntur ad paucas hasce vetustis Graecis, Latinis et Sueonibus communes. Has vero ipsas in certas cognationes et stirpes dispescere ad maiorem in originationum scientia lucem perquam erit utile. Et primo quidem, quod ad vocales attinet, eae in universum novem sunt (nec plures nec pauciores puto dari per naturam, licet paucis nationibus aut notae aut usitatae sint). Nobis vero omnes quotidianae sunt. Sunt autem hae: a, ä, e, i, ö, y, å, o, u.

Literae indifferentes facientes omnes unam eandemque radicalem. אָהֵוִיז Hebraeis notum. Mihi vero hac voce comprehenduntur *Ahevioz*, id est: a. e. i. o. u., et intermediae: h. v. j. z.

h. ch. g. k		ex hisce		hv. vh.
v. f. b. p.		compositae et	{	gv. qv.
j.				
		mixtae		w.
z. d. t. s. st.		sunt.		th. dh. sh. sch. sk. sv. sp.

7.3.3.2 English translation

The agreement between words and the nature of things

I. Precisely as the Creator in his wisdom endowed one and the same mind to all mankind, he gave to everyone the same organs of speech – the throat, tongue, lips, teeth – for one aim, namely for the explanation of the mind and for mutual communication. To these organs he imparted the power of forming some distinct and articulate sounds. Through their differing exchange, modification and mixing, words are formed according at the command of reason and will. And in this way language is formed for mutual understanding.

II. Like every primordial matter, these sounds were distinct and very simple, and numbered only a few, able to be expressed by the movement and conformation of the aforementioned organs of speech. In primordial times, a wise man, whoever he may have been, successfully managed to make these sounds visible, recognizable and readable by means of corresponding marks.

III. These marks, which we also call signs, symbols, characters, letters and elements of words, are nowadays different and manifold

according to the diversity of languages. Languages do not all have the same number of such signs. If some signs are primordial, they are very simple. To be sure, the Greek letters and the runes are older than the Hebrew letters, because they are fewer and simpler. The more each single language has departed from the primeval purity and simplicity, the more speech sounds it has acquired and appropriated, and the more it has, in faulty ways, distorted pronunciation. To express them (the new speech sounds), it either was necessary to invent new characters – something that we see happened to the Moscovite, that is, Russian language – or to distinguish the old letters by adding some points and strokes according to the diversity of speech sounds – something that we experience in Polish.

Furthermore, for the sake of ornamentation or brevity, as it seems, the cultivated use of languages also invented some characters, though they are not necessary. This is obvious in Greek and other languages, in particular in those letters that are called double, such as X Z Φ Ψ Ω in Greek and ך ם ן in Hebrew and w, þ, th in English. Instead of H or η, the ancient Greeks used ε, and the letter ζ was to used at all according to Plutarch.

If Cadmus gave the Greeks their letters, he would have given them the Phoenician ones. This opinion consequently appears to be wrong. It is more likely that the Greeks came across the letters from where they drew the principles of their language, i.e. from the barbarians, that is, those who inhabited Greece before them, namely those who by their origin were Pelasgians, Thracians and Scythians. To be sure, it is either we who have got the letters from the Greeks or they who have got them from our ancestors, the Scythians. This is proven by our having the same number of letters and, if you look closely, the same letter-forms.

IV. In ancient times, the Greek language was satisfied with being spoken and written with only 15 letters. These were Α Β Γ Δ Ε Κ Λ Μ Ν Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ. Cadmus is said to have brought these to Greece. But why not ט ת ן ף ץ נ ף ץ as well? For archaic Latin 17 letters were sufficient. These were: a e i o u b c d f h l m n p r s t. They did not have the letter G, for which they used C. Afterwards they used G and C without distinction, e.g. *cervus*, *gervus*; *ceres*, *geres*; *acere*, *agere*. They did not know about Q.

V. Because Swedish – which we also call Gothic, and using a more general term Scandic, the mother of northern European ancient and modern languages – is the closest of all to its origin, in the same way it is the most simple,⁵²⁹ since it is content with comparatively

⁵²⁹ The word simplicity is used here in the sense of the quality of being free from artificiality and complexity in word formations.

few letters. I do not without reason think that they are the first ones or very close or secondary to the first ones, since they are so rough or remind one of the unpolishedness of antiquity. They are as follows:

ᐱ	ᐁ	ᐃ	ᐅ	ᐇ	ᐉ	ᐋ	ᐍ	ᐏ	ᐑ	ᐓ	ᐕ	ᐗ	ᐙ	ᐛ	ᐝ
a	b	k	d	f	h	i	l	m	n	o	r	s	t	u	
ä	e	p	g	th						å				v	
				dh						ö					
				ts											

ᐇ is the Eolic digamma. ᐉ is X.

ᐛ [that is, ᐗ] is v turned upside-down. ᐙ is μ.

ᐓ does not have any similar. R [and Greek ρ] is something else.

ᐕ is Σ and Z inverted.

ᐗ is T. ᐙ is U. ᐛ is K.

In later times, some of these runes got different forms, as we can see in the diagram by Johannes Bureus, our precursor as antiquarian of the Swedish realm, a diagram that shows all differences and kinds of runes and rests on all his learning about the runes, although Ole Worm, otherwise a diligent scholar, does not want to acknowledge this fact. However, what once happened to Virgil, has in our time befallen the most excellent Bureus, so that he rightly may apply the famous verse to himself:

I wrote these lines; another received the reward.⁵³⁰

In order that people shall not be uninformed about this fact, I here supply the title of this diagram: *Runakenslones lerespan, unde runar seu verae veterum Gothorum literae sciri et apte scribi queant, Ubsaliae Sueonum / Uppsala 1599.*⁵³¹

Please observe that it is one thing to give a miscellany of words that happen to agree in diverse languages and it is another thing to give the (etymological) causes and reasons for words. Our purpose is this latter. The majority of etymologists seek the genealogy of words not from the root (i.e. the etymon), but from the cognates, as they for instance derive *wind* from *ventus*, which are sister lexemes both derived from the stem or movement of *wehen*, a secondary root from the pure primary root ᾗω, ἄειν.

⁵³⁰ According to the story, Virgil wrote this line to reclaim his authorship of an epigrammatic distich in honour of the Emperor Augustus, which a contemporary poet by name Bathyllus had claimed as his own. See Charles Anton, *The Aeneid of Virgil with English notes, critical and explanatory*, London 1847, preface, p. ix.

⁵³¹ This publication consists of only one single folio, which in diagrams exhibits the different sets of runic letter forms. It was republished in the 19th century (1881). Parts of the diagrams are found in Hjalmar Lindroth's *J. Th. Bureus, den svenska grammatikens fader*, volume 1, Stockholm 1911, pp. 80–81.

All secondary roots are guided after the fashion of pure roots and are derived through the series of all pure roots, such as *ga, gav, gab, gah, gaeh, gal, gam, gan, gar, gas, gat*. It is perhaps more suitable to subordinate accidental or affected forms to the root to which they belong, such as to *av gav*, to *ag gag*, to *al gal*, to *am gam*, to *an gan*, to *ar gar*, to *as gas*. This is more appropriate, but in such a manner that the pure letter A, as the common origin, is led across all derivations with its accidental vowels. The derivations comprise a number of consonants, such as A in *äga, häga; tego, στέγω*; es: *ius*, er: *iuris*, ar: *war*.

The etymologists are mistaken in their common rule that the first consonant of a word usually changes into another, as *Bis* into *Dis*, H into S etc., just as the former necessarily has emerged from the latter, though both often are from one root. According to the nature of the dialect or idiom of any nation, one or another consonant is rather adopted in the beginning, as it is clear from *caput, huvud; canis, hund*.

6. How large and how great the diversity of the letters of different languages ever may be, I still think that all can, and ought to be, reduced to these first and universal ones: a e i o u. b c d f g h l m n p r s t.

Moreover, if anyone wants to undertake a more thorough inquiry into the letters, he will find that all vowels are comprised in one single A, and that the others are nothing but modes or derivations or tones descending from A. Note well the pronunciation of English vowels and diphthongs, *nothing* as *nathing*, and *people* as *pipl*.

The ancient Latins only had 16 letters: a e i o u b c d h l m n p r s t. It is said that the Aeolic digamma, F or Ϝ, was brought in by Varro.

The Aeolic digamma is written Ϝ or ϝ and corresponds to our (runic) ƿ or I=.

To sum up, the Occidental peoples – the Greeks, the inhabitants of Hesperia (i.e. Italic peoples), the Celts, or whatever the primordial names (of ancient nations) are, such as Cecropian Dalmatians, Etruscans and Hyperboreans. All of them are Japhethites and possessed almost the same letter-forms:

The Greeks:	A	B	Γ	Δ	H	E	I	Ɔ	K	Λ	M	N	O	Π	P	Σ	T	Υ
The Latins:	A	B	G	D	H	E	I	F	C	L	M	N	O	P	R	S	T	V
The Goths:	ⱦ	Ɱ	ⱦ	Ɱ	*		ƿ	ⱦ	ⱦ	ⱦ	ⱦ	ⱦ	ⱦ	ⱦ	ⱦ	ⱦ	ⱦ	ⱦ

The letter H was unknown to the Greeks.

The letter F was unknown to the old Latins and Greeks, but it was common among the Goths.

The letter G was ignored by the Latins. It sounded like C. Q was unknown to the old Swedes as well as to the Etruscans and the Latin tribes. Neither K nor C were known to the old inhabitants of Latium. The letter G served the function of both. Arabic G is pronounced as J, see Bochart 839.

The Goths used **𐍆** with dots for the letter P.⁵³²

W, as nowadays pronounced by ourselves and by the Germans, is nothing else than a simple V, which the Germans wrongly pronounce as F. However, formerly it was pronounced as V before U, consonant before vowel: *Vuat*, and it was pronounced (**8r**) as *hwat* is pronounced by ourselves nowadays. The genuine pronunciation of this letter still remains among the Englishmen, who in most words add an H to it, so that it becomes *Wh*. The Latins try to express the same sound by the combination Qu. The French and Italians by Gu. Accordingly, the speech sounds are related and the letters vary, and therefore they are to be considered as one and the same.

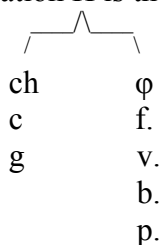
German. W. Wat. *Uu. Uuu. triplicated by Otfrid as *uuuarto*.
 Swedish. Hu. Huat.
 Italian. Gu. Guat.
 Latin. Qu. Quat.
 English Wh. What.
 Welsh. Gu. Gwat.

The letters C and G before vowel at the beginning, similarly F, B, and P arise from aspiration, which formerly was put before the letters L. R. N, as in

hlad, whence *glad*.
hlyta, whence *flyta*.
hring, whence *kring* et *wringa*.
hräcka, *bräckia*, frago, frango.
hnaga, *knaga*.
hnysa, *fnysa*.

⁵³² In the Middle Ages, dots was introduced in Swedish runes to distinguish the voiced stop from the voiceless one (as **𐍆̊**, G, from **𐍆**, K, and **𐍆̊**, from **𐍆**, T, which in the Younger Futhark was a graphemic variant of **𐍆̊**, T) or vice versa (as **𐍆**, P, from **𐍆̊**, B) and the voiced fricative from the voiceless one (as **𐍆̊**, V, from **𐍆**, F) or vice versa (as **𐍆** with a dot, TH, from from **𐍆̊**, ð).

The aspiration H is the mother of



J arises from I, and from E before the speech sound A and the other vowels, as from *ea* we have *ja*, from *sneo* we have *sniö*. J gives rise to G.

On the general nature of letters, see Goropius Becanus' *Hermathena*, book 3, p. 47,⁵³³ and my commentary on Plato's *Cratylus*. (See Vol. 1, Section 9.3.1).

The Runic letter **Þ**. It has obtained the same sound value and pronunciation as the letter **ט** (tet) among the Hebrews, according to the grammar of Christian Ravius,⁵³⁴ and as **θ** (theta) among the Greeks and nowadays as *th* among the Englishmen, so that *dsh* or *ths* (that is **ð**) is expressed at the same time. It is almost the same as **z**, **τ** and **צ** (ts), the last of which, namely **צade**, is read by some people as *şade*. Therefore, in derivations the letters D, T, S, Z, ST, SH and TH are cognate and are everywhere exchangeable with one another. All these occur in the speech sound **Þ**, the genuine pronunciation of which has ceased among us, however much it is wont to be expressed by D, T and TH in written and spoken form. In modern script, it is written as D, T and TH, the last of which in no ways differs from T.

The aspiration of S as SH is not in use in writing among us (i.e. Swedes), but is heard in the words *själ* and *själv* (that is *soul* and *self*). Some of the common people pronounce these words as *schäl* and *schälv*. The High Germans always pronounce our S as aspirated before W, L, M. and N, for instance *Swede* as *Schwede*, *skrijn* as *Schrein*, *slå* (that is 'to beat') as *schlagen*, *smijda* (that is 'to forge') as *schmeiden*, *snijda* as *schneiden*, etc.

Our ancestors wrote the aspiration SCH too roughly as SK, which still is the common spelling. In many etymologies, S, SH, SCH, SK ought to be considered one and the same speech sound. *sea* and *skea* are one and the same root. S before a consonant is not a radical letter.

⁵³³ Goropius' *Hermathena*] *Opera hactenus in lucem non edita, nempe Hermathena, Hieroglyphica, Vertumnus, Gallica, Francica, Hispanica*, Antwerp 1580.

⁵³⁴ grammar of ... Ravius] Ravius, *Orthographiae et analogiae, vulgo etymologiae, Ebraicae delineatio*, (1646), p. 19, § 37, claims that the Hebrew letter **ט** corresponds to Greek **θ** and is to be expressed as *th* with Latin letters.

It only has the function to push on almost all other consonants, in the same way as the aspiration H serves the purpose of pushing on the vowel, and in both cases to the same effect, namely to urge something more forcefully, that is to intensify the sound and the meaning.

T has the nature of a fetter (or obstacle) in the words. See Plato in *Cratylus*.

All letters of all languages are finally reduced to these few letters that were common to the old Greeks, Latins, and Swedes. It will be useful to distinguish them in certain kinships and descents for a greater light in the science of derivations of words. Firstly, as far as the vowels are concerned, they are in general nine in number – I think that there are neither more nor fewer according to the nature of the matter, though they are known and used by only a few nations. To us (Swedes), all of them are ordinary. They are the following ones: *ä e i ö y å o u*.

Letters that may be used indiscriminately to make up the same root are. The mnemonic word *'æhævi* is known to the Hebraists. In my opinion, in the mnemonic word *ahevioz*, the vowels a. e. i. o. u. and the half-vowels h. v. j. z. are included.

h. ch. g. k	/from these sounds/	hv. vh.
v. f. b. p.	/are composed/	gv. qv.
j.	/and mixed/	w.
z. d. t. s. st		th. dh. sh. sch. sk. sq. sv. sp.

7.3.4 *Linguae et pronunciationis vitia*

7.3.4.1 Preliminaries and Latin text

Sources and dating: Stiernhielm's autograph, *Collectanea ad Runam Suethicam*, F.d. 6, fol. 19r (with the measurements 205 x 325 mm) in comparison with his additions to Örnhielm's copy, F.d. 7:3, fol. 2v. The text dates from 1651–1652. For a photographic reproduction of the original (F.d. 6, fol. 19r), see Figure 10.

Contents: Stiernhielm here describes typical phonological features of European and Semitic languages. He conceives these features as examples of deterioration from the pristine phonological and morphological constitution of the primeval language of mankind. Characterizations of this kind are common in early modern Europe. An early instance is found in the Table Talk of the Reformer Martin Luther, who describes the distinguishing characteristics of the Germans, French, Spaniards, and Italians in terms of language, voice, gestures, customs, song, speaking, food, relationship to foreigners, conversations, love, hate, work and trade, and military service.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁵ *Martin Luther's Werke*. Tischreden. 4. Band, pp. 547–548. Luther states that the Germans have a voice like beef (*vocem bubulam*), while the French have a sweet-

However, in his description Stiernhielm does not rely on any literary source or model, but speaks from his own experience.

Stiernhielm reviews some phonological features. In Hebrew, he observes the frequency of sibilants and gutturals. In Greek, he is attentive to the diphthongs and the distinctive use of affricates. He sums up the phonological nature of Armenian, Ethiopic and Slavic as “an absorption of vowels and an absurd joining of consonants.” In German, he perceives the frequency of the *s*-sound and *sh*-sound as a characteristic feature. In Dutch, he remarks on the shortenings and contractions “with so to speak a dull and floating tongue”. In English, he observes that the speech sounds “are lengthened by a perverse distortion of vowels and diphthongs.” In Finnish and Estonian, he notes the difficulty that their speakers have in pronouncing the speech sounds *b*, *d*, and *f*. Concerning Danish, he says: “the Danes breathe their words and grunt in pronouncing them, just as if they were engaged in a struggle.” He finishes by highlighting some regional phonetic varieties of Swedish, either in the pronunciation or confusion of particular speech sounds or in terms of prosody.

Dialectus revera nihil aliud est quam sermonis primitivi in usum recepta depravatio. Quae scilicet deprehenditur in literis, syllabis, flexionibus, dictionibus.

Sed quae in dialectis Graecae linguae primitiva? Nulla. Omnes sunt dialecti. Pura et recta non una nisi in idea, in existentia, nulla.

Singulae gentes singularia et quasi nativa habent linguae et pronuntiationis vitia, quae tamen contrahuntur maximam partem ex consuetudine.

Litera apposita, item praeposita, naturâ suâ afficit radicem puram. Et hinc existunt dictiones natura genitae. Praeter haec apponuntur et praeponuntur literae temere et ex prava consuetudine vulgi dialectum introducentis. Et hinc confusio et temeraria vocis effectio. Exempla dabunt dialecti linguae Graecae.⁵³⁶

Hebraei omnia deturparunt turpissimis sibilis et aspirationibus gutturalibus.

Graeci dipht[h]ongis et literis duplicibus a puritate desciverunt.

sounding voice and an easy language (*vocem dulcisonam, sermonem facilem*). The Spaniards have a weeping voice and an elegant language (*vocem flebilem, sermonem elegantem*), while the Italians have a captivating language (*captiosum sermonem*). In their conversations, the Germans are commanding and intolerant (*imperiosi, intolerabilesque*), while the French are mild (*mansueti*), the Spaniards cautious (*cauti*) and the Italians prudent (*prudentes*).

⁵³⁶ Litera apposita ... dialecti linguae Graecae] In F.d. 6, this paragraph has been added in the right-hand margin.

Armeni, Aethiopes, etc. , absorbtione vocalium et absurdissimo consonantium coniugio longissime a fontibus abeunt. Eos proxime sequuntur Poloni et aliae quaedam gentes Sclavoniae.

Germani superiores nimis sissant et⁵³⁷ schizant.

Inferiores Batavi etc.⁵³⁸ lingua quasi natante et languida voces curtatas et contractas evolvunt.⁵³⁹

Angli et Scoti perversissima vocalium et diphthongorum distorsione mecissant; extra quod linguam habent ex multis male coalitam.

Galli omnium miserrime et scribunt et legunt.

Italorum et Hispanorum enuntiatio satis pura, sed lingua, ut et Gallorum, non una, non genuina.

Finnonnes quasdam literas nullo modo, nisi diu assueti, pronunciare possunt. Eae sunt b <et> d.⁵⁴⁰ F non habent.⁵⁴¹ S ante consonantem efferre nequeunt.⁵⁴² Esthones eodem fere vitio laborant, multo tamen meliores.

Dani voces trahunt et enunciando gemunt, quasi in agone iacentes.

Sueci varie pro genio singularum provinciarum. Smolandi lambdacizant.⁵⁴³ Nericii L crassum et aspiratum sonant. Dalecarli in fine acutum strident. Norlandi ineptiunt.⁵⁴⁴ Stokholmenses et Ostrogothi;⁵⁴⁵ optime voces efferunt, ut et Neritii, etiam Sudermanni. GS.⁵⁴⁶

7.3.4.2 English translation

Actually, a dialect is nothing but an established distortion in (living) usage in relation to the primordial language. This is found in letters, syllables, inflections and single words.

But which is the primordial one among the dialects of Greek? None. All (of them) are dialects. None (of them) is pure and correct except in theory,⁵⁴⁷ and not at all in reality.

⁵³⁷ et] In F.d. 6, *et* has been added above the line.

⁵³⁸ Batavi etc.] After *Batavi* etc., *vocabula contrahunt et* have been crossed out.

⁵³⁹ evolvunt] Stiernhielm first wrote *efferunt* between *voces* and *curtatas*.

⁵⁴⁰ b <et> d] Stiernhielm supplied these speech sounds only in F.d. 7:3.

⁵⁴¹ F non habent] In F.d. 7:3, this sentence is an autograph addition in dark ink.

⁵⁴² S ante consonantem efferre nequeunt] This sentence is only found in F.d. 7:3.

⁵⁴³ lamdacizant] In F.d. 6, the word reads *lambanizant*. In F.d. 7:3, Stiernhielm changed it to *lambdacizant* by crossing out *-n-* and adding *c* above the line.

⁵⁴⁴ ineptiunt] In F.d. 6, this word has been added by Stiernhielm in dark ink.

⁵⁴⁵ Stokholmenses] In F.d. 6, Stiernhielm first wrote *Uplandi et Stokholmenses*, then crossed out *Uplandi et* and added *et Ostrogothi* after *Stokholmenses*.

⁵⁴⁶ ut et Neritii, etiam Sudermanni. GS.] In F.d. 7:3, this has been added in dark ink on the line by Stiernhielm.

⁵⁴⁷ pure and correct] Stiernhielm here considers the quality of linguistic purity and correctness as a distinctive mark of linguistic primordiality.

Each people has particular and, so to speak, native faults of pronunciation, faults that for the most part are caused by habit.

Any speech sound that is added after and before (a word) naturally affects the purity of the root. Hence words arise that are born from nature. Besides, speech sounds have been added after and before either indiscriminately or through the preposterous habit of common people who (thus) introduce a dialect. From this habit, there arises confusion and haphazard creation of words. The dialects of Greek supply examples.

The Hebrews have distorted everything with unpleasant sibilants and aspirated gutturals.

The Greeks have diverged from (the original) purity by their use of diphthongs and mixed double consonants [that is, affricates].

The Armenians and the Ethiopians are far from their origins with their absorption of vowels and their absurd joining of consonants. The Poles and some other Slavic peoples follow them closely.

The Germans use the s-sound and the sh-sound too excessively.

The Dutch roll out shortened and contracted words with so to speak a dull and floating tongue.

The Englishmen and (English) Scots lengthen their vowels and diphthongs by a perverse distortion, except that they have a language that is badly mixed together from many.

The Frenchmen write and read the most miserably of all.

The Italians and the Spaniards have a pronunciation that is pure enough, but their language, just like that of the Frenchmen, is not of one and the same stock and is not genuine.⁵⁴⁸

The Finns cannot pronounce certain speech sounds unless they have had a long time to become accustomed to them. These are *b* and *d*. They do not have *f*. They cannot pronounce *s* before a consonant. The Estonians suffer from the same fault, but are much better.

The Danes breathe their words and grunt in pronouncing them, just as if they were situated in an agony.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁸ Stiernhielm held the view that Italian and Spanish were formed as mixed languages through a process of barbarization, where Latin was mixed with the languages of Germanic tribes. See further my article “Vulgar Latin as an emergent concept in the Italian Renaissance”, *Journal of Latin linguistics* 17:2, p. 214.

⁵⁴⁹ agony] In ancient Latin the Greek loanword *agon* refers to “a contest or combat in public games” (Lewis and Short, *A Latin dictionary*, s.v. *agon*). In Greek, *agon* originally meant gathering, then an assembly of the Greeks at the national games. After that it acquired the meanings of struggle in general, battle (in military sense), trial (in legal sense), a speech (in the court or before an assembly or ruler) and mental struggle or anxiety. See Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English dictionary*, s.v. ἄγων I–III. Stiernhielm probably intends both physical and mental struggle, likely aiming at the phrase *in agone mortis*, “in death struggle”.

The Swedes have varying pronunciation according to the nature of each county. The Smalandians are inclined to the l-sound. The Nericians have a thick and aspirated l-sound. The Dalecarlians have a hissing accent at the end (of words). The Norlandians talk ineptly [?]. The Stockholmiens and the Ostrogoths pronounce the words in the best manner, as do the Nericians and the Sudermannians as well.

7.3.5 Swedish *hw* and Latin *qu*

Source: F.d. 10, *Lexicon Gothicum philologicum*, the numbered fol. 63v (in the Swedish dictionary). Size (height and width): 308 x 88 mm. Dating: 1630s.

Contents: Stiernhielm argues that the groups of consonants *hw* in Old Swedish and *qu* in Latin were originally pronounced with an aspirated *w*. In English this original sound of a *w* is still retained, for instance in the pronoun *which*. He goes on to demonstrate the similarity of this sound combination in Swedish and Latin pronouns and adverbs.

Notatu dignum est, quod litera Qu videatur nata esse ex pronuntiatione Gothici W, cuius genuina prolatio olim erat, quae hodie nobis est HW, quam audimus in vocibus *hwadh*, *huilken*, *hwem*? etc. Et Angli etiamnum retinent in ipsorum lingua, ut in vocibus *wich*.

Hinc liquet omnes hasce particulas ex vetustissima Thuscorum Celtica in Latinam adscitas, quales sunt:

<i>Hwadh.</i>	Quid, quod.
<i>Hwem</i> , Dan[ice] <i>Huis</i> .	Quis, quem.
<i>Hwart.</i>	Quo.
<i>Hwadan.</i>	Qua-nam.
<i>Hwarest.</i>	Quo-loco.
<i>Huadh-måtto.</i>	Quo-modo.
<i>Huar-före.</i>	Qua-propter.
Ger[manice] <i>war-umb</i> .	Quo-circa.
Cur est <i>huru</i> . H in C.	
<i>Hue</i> vet[eribus] <i>ho</i> .	

8. Lexical and inflectional morphology

8.1 Historical formation of lexical morphemes

8.1.1 *De genesi vocum*

Source and dating: *Collectanea philosophica*, F.d. 4:4:1, fols. 27r, 27v, 48v, 49r with the measurements 208 x 319 mm. For a photostat of F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 27r, see Figure 11. The volume contains different datings from 1651 and 1652.⁵⁵⁰ This text conforms to Stiernhielm's principles of natural philosophy. It is likely that it was written at the same time as the majority of his philosophical writings (1652–1655).

(27r) *De genesi vocum*

Ut in rerum, sic etiam in vocum genesi concurrunt materia et forma. Materia et forma exterior consistunt in literis et earum varietate. Forma interior ipsaque anima seu mens consistit in notionibus rerum. Tria igitur concurrunt: corpus, vita, et mens seu anima. In corpore variatur forma et figura externa. In vita vis, vigor, vehementia, et econtra languor, debilitas, remissio. In mente distinctio formalis et notio rerum, quae ipsam formam internam et essentialem confert vocibus, rerum signaculis.

Quae corporibus rerum accidunt, colores et diversi habitus externi – ornatus et indumenta – eadem omnia analogice accidunt vocabulis. Aliter enim unum idemque sonat in ore Itali, Germani, Angli, Poloni, Finnonese alioque habitu induta cernitur vox Latina, quae civitate Germanica, alia, quae Gallica, alia, quae Polonica etc. donata est. Pronunciatione et scriptura non minus differunt, quam bracciae et hosae, et mantellum et chlamys et Sarmatica mastruga⁵⁵¹ inter se et a toga Romana.

Sequentes pro exemplo praeterea erunt vocum derivatarum ex una radice, de quibus pag. seq. Sic enim pullulant multa germina ex una radice.⁵⁵² De vigore quod dixi eiusdemque intensione et remissione,

⁵⁵⁰ Stiernlund 8 September 1651 (F.d. 4:4, fol. 50r) and some dates from the next year: Stiernlund 17 April 1652 (F.d. 4:4, fol. 52r), Stiernlund 4 April 1652 (F.d. 4:4, fol. 52v), Nyhusen (Neuhausen, Vastseliina) 17 Oct. 1652 (F.d. 4:4, fol. 41v).

⁵⁵¹ [matruga] This is an alternative spelling of *mastruca* in Medieval Latin. It means “a garment made of sheepskin”.

⁵⁵² [Sequentes ... ex una radice] This has been added in the margin.

consistit ille non solum in sensu interiore vocis, sed etiam literarum seu elementorum compagine defertur ad audientis aut legentis sensum exteriorem. Exempla huius rei bene multa suggerit Plato in Cratylo. Qui aliquid hac in scientia subolefecit et vidit, sed penetrare non valuit. Eius generis sunt:

Suethica *aga*, molestum esse; *agga*, pungere; *hacka*, icere; *tacka*, figere; *stacka*, truncare;⁵⁵³ *änga*, angere; *hängia*, strangulare, suspendere; *hangla* aegre adhaerere;⁵⁵⁴ *tagga*, vellere; *tocka*, urgere; *tugga*, mandare; *tängia* (a quo *tång*, forceps) premere, vellere; *stängia*, claudere; *stanga*, cornu petere; *wängia*, cingere, *twängia*, cogere, *trängia*, premere, *strängia*, stringere etc.

Item ex eadem radice *ag*, *ak* coniugata radici *ra*: *raka*, elongere; *wraka*, fugare, expellere; *räcka*, extendere; neutrum *ryka*, extenuari, rarescere, evanescere, expirare, fugere, item ruere et ferri in aerem; *fyka*, idem fugere, *stracka*, *sträcka*, vehementer tendere; *truga*, cogere; *trycka*, premere; *stryka*, stringere; *strunka*, truncare;⁵⁵⁵ item ex radice *ag*. *ah*. *draga*, trahere, *drangla*, aegre sequi; *drassla*, morari, trahere tempus; *drögia* idem, *dricka*, trahere humorem, i.e. bibere; *dräncka*, dare bibere; et *dränckia*, suffocare humore.

Ex paucis hisce manifestum est, quomodo sensus vocis intendatur et remittatur, ampliatur et restringatur pro lubitu et intentione mentis utentis et quam in his sint obtemperantes literae ad quidvis significandum habiles et aptae natae. Vides quam asperum sit *g* et *k* in radice *ag* et derivatis, quam auget *n* ante *g*, *k*, quam feriat *h*, quam premat *d*, *t*, quam tendat et trahat *r*, quam comprimant *dr*, *tr*, quam stringat et plane strangulet *str*. Vides quae sit emphasis in radice *ag* et quam nulla litera ociosa in ultimae intensionis vocula *strang*.⁵⁵⁶

(27r, col. 2) Ecce indolem nostrae linguae:

ang significat 1. angustum,

rang, 2. tortum,

wrang, 3. circulum, idem scilicet quam *ring*,

trang, 4. arctum,

strang, 5. ancterem, qui stringit et strangulat, coeundo in circulum,

rang, *rank*, 6. exilis et in longum porrectus.

(27r, col. 3) Concurrent hic radices *ta*, tangere, capere, tenere – quae etiam formatur in *taga* et *tenere* et *tendere* – et *ra*, quae fluxum insinuat et extensionem in longum, unde *rada*, *raka* et *draa*, *draga*.

⁵⁵³ *hacka*, icere; *tacka*, figere; *stacka*, truncare] This has been added in the margin.

⁵⁵⁴ *hängia*, strangulare ... aegre adhaerere] This has been written in the margin.

⁵⁵⁵ *truga*, cogere *strunka*, truncare] This has been added in the margin.

⁵⁵⁶ strand] In the margin, other derivatives of the root *ag* with the infixed *n* have been given: Adde *krängia*, a *kring*; *ränckia*; *rynckia*; *skrickia*.

(27r, col. 1) Quae tria habent significata ex una notione tactus molesti seu asperi, quod est puncti.

1. vinculum seu laqueus, eadem radice et emphasi Germanicum *strick* et Latinum * ex Graeco *anctēr*.

2. fit vox adiectiva et dicitur de homine: *en sträng man*, vir acer et asper. Inde Latini fecerunt *strenuus*.

3. dicitur de sapore et odore: *sträng smak och lucht*. Acerbus Latine est ex eadem radice. In qua voce concurrat ad *ag*. Germ. *herb* idem significans.

(27r, col. 2) In eo plane divina cernitur lingua Suethica et ei affines quod in nulla vocula litera aliqua sit ociosa. Unde reperiuntur plura etyma constituentia indolem et formam etiam minimae cuiusque vocis, in cuiusque vocis, in cuius signato plura concurrunt.

(27r, col. 3) E.g. *strå*, i.e. culmus, a nostro *halm*. In ea vocula 3 sunt: 1. *st* firmitudinis et roboris, quo erectus stat ex radice *sta*; 2. extensionis et longitudinis ex radice *ra*, 3. straminis, a *ströa*, sternere.

Sic *halm*, culmus, 1. ab *halla*, sustinere, 2. *håla*, celare, tegere, *hölja*, unde etiam *hielm*, galea. 3. a *huulva*, convolvere, cumulare.

In *culmus* sunt eadem, unde *columen*, *columna*, *celo*, et *culmo*. Suet. *scull*, fastigium, summum, caput.

(27r, col. 2) *Sten*, lapis: 1. a *stå*, 2. a *stinna*, extendere 3. a *stinna*, gravitare, unde *stinn luft*, *stinna på*, pondere premere.⁵⁵⁷

Hinc στενός angustus, id est in se compressus, quod est 4. etymon vocis *sten*, id est densus.

(27r, col. 1) Ex his obiter saltem intuenda maiestas et indoles linguarum Scythicarum prae omnibus aliis. Quid enim simile in aliis? Latina etc. Vide *Runam Suethic[am]* in princip[io] de propr[ietate] ling[uae] Sueth[icae].

(27r, col. 2) In elementis literarum, ex quibus miscentur et componuntur voces, duplex est natura: activa lucis, quae inest vocalibus, passiva materiae, quam repraesentant consonantes. Eae plus et minus ignis habent et lucis innatae. V, F, B, P natae sunt ex immateriali tenebrosa U et caliginem quandam offundunt vocalibus praefixae. H aerea est, sed ignescit et exasperatur in CH, G et K. S ventosa sibilat, sed fortiter in SCH, in Z fortius, et in ST sistit sibilum et firmatur. D dura est.⁵⁵⁸ T durissima et saxeae. R tremit, vibrat dum est ignea mixta materiae eoque furit et fertur impetu, alias fluit et surgit leniter ad lineam rectam. L diaphana lucis habet plurimum.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁷ *stinna på*] This dialectal phrase means “press on, push on”, see SAOB, *stinna* 3.

⁵⁵⁸ *dura est*] After *dura est*, the synonym *et saxeae* has been crossed out.

⁵⁵⁹ L diaphana ... plurimum] Stiernhielm first wrote the sentence: *L motum dans terrae, aquae et aeri vibrat* and then crossed it out to replace it with the present.

N angit et coarctat. M limus est ipsaque pigra, caligans et murmurans materia. ▢ carcer mortis.

(27v) Hisce iam constitutis videndum erit, qua ratione radix prima, quae unilitera et nuda similis est puncto et semini, fluat in lineam et pullulat in germen, ut induat formam et varias figuras et habitus assumat pro ratione aliarum atque aliarum significationum, in quas transit, ad modum oris et labii cuiusque nationis in quibus, in quibus vocolae ortae sunt, receptae et usurpatae. Ex puncto fluit linea. Ea non nisi duos modos primos habet. Est enim recta et curva. Recta manet immota nec datur nisi unimoda. Curva multiplex est: datur enim circularis, hyperbole, parabole, helice et variorum generum mixtae. Ex lineis componitur figurae innumerae etc.⁵⁶⁰

Etiam pueris notum est singulas voces in varios casus declinari et verba manente significato generali ad varios modos et tempora indicanda flecti, quod inepte dicunt coniugari. Hoc ipsum in prima vocula, ut fiat, vel maxime necessarium est. Ea enim nuda et simplicissima inanis et sterilis et sine mente sonus manebit, nisi ad distinctionem sensorum distinctas modos et formas induat et sic in diversos vocolas digrediatur. Quae vocolae deinceps in ulteriori progressu pro ratione multipliciter rerum multiplicentur in magnum auctum. Duabus igitur modis radix seu vocula prima digreditur in radices seu vocolas secundas. Primo per flexionem, quando ad designationem generis aut casus aut numeri aut modi aut temporis aut actionis, passionis, status assumit literam aut syllabam characteristicam pro diversitate idiomatum talia insinuantem (deinceps ex usu ortorum) manente una eademque notione.⁵⁶¹ Secundo, cum radix pura afficitur aut obscuratur:

1. aut mutatione vocalis purae et lucidae *a* in aliam vocalem seu sonum obscuriorem, qualis est *e. o. u.* aut intensiorem, qualis est *i*,

aut 2. adiectione alius vocalis, ut fiat bisona, quam vocant diphtongon,

aut 3. praefigendo literam consonantem, inter quas primae et maxime obviae seu promptae sunt aërae *h. v. s.* cum suis familiis, tardiores et graviore, eoque obscuriores sunt materiales, *l. r. n. m.* Mediae sunt *d. t.*

Nunc veniamus ad praxin. In qua omnium primo de mente, id est notione vocolae primae uniliterae *a* dispiciendum. Ea notio omnium rerum prima est, qua ens designatur et unum quid. Quod deinceps primi distinctione fluit in verum et bonum. Quarum notiones

⁵⁶⁰ Ex puncto ... innumerae etc.] This has been added in the left-hand margin.

⁵⁶¹ Primo per ... eademque notione] This has been added in the left-hand margin. It replaces the following expression: *assumendo, scilicet literam materialem, hoc est consonantem, vel ante vel post se.*

subdistinctae multiplicantur in significatus in diagrammate rerum suis ordinibus et classibus comprehensos et distinctos. Quales sunt sub essentia: natura, genus, indoles, duratio, tempus, aetas; sub uno, sub bono, sub vero etc., quae inveniuntur notatu. Proxime ad fluxum et flexum descendendum. Qui fit, ut dictum est, per ductum ad omnes aut pro ratione certi idiomatis ad varias literas. Res ipsa se declarabit. Vocula *a* significat primo ens, quid, aliquid, aliquis, quidam; item unus, una, unum – *a man*, *a konu*, unus vir et vir quidam, una foemina et foemina aliqua – flectitur in *ä* seu *æ*, *e*, *i*, *ja*, *je* et ad designationem generum masculini *an*, *en*, *am*, *ein*, foeminini *een*, *ena*, *ene*, *aine*, neutri *at*, *et*, *ed*, *id*, *it*, *idt*, *jet*, *iht*, *icht*, *ichts*, id est aliquid. Et afficitur seu obscuratur eadem vocula *a* praefixis consonantibus, ut evadat in *ha*, *va*, *sa*, *da*, *ta*, *na*, *ma*, *la*, *cha*, *ca*, *ga*, *hva*, *qua*, *tha*, *za*, *sta*. Quae omnia iterum flectuntur ad designandum genera numeros, casus, personas. Sed infinitum hoc erit per omnes linguas producere. Videbo num possim referre quasdam⁵⁶² saltem in tabulas aut cubum.

(48v, col. 1)⁵⁶³ Vox rationalis et significativa⁵⁶⁴ non secus ac res ipsa tria habet: materiam, lucem et mentem. Primum sunt elementa seu literae. Quarum scriptura in oculos incurrens pictura est et imago vocis alias invisibilis. Et haec imago corpus vocis refert et formam exteriorem. Secundum est sonus seu enunciatio, in voce ore elata, auribus perceptibilis, in picta vero seu scripta oculis se ingerens. Tam varius et multicolor est sonus, quam varia sunt elementa et eorundem mixtura. Quod in rebus visibilibus colores, hoc in voce soni sunt. Tertium mens est, forma scilicet interna, intellectus sive ratio, qua significat hoc vel illud, qua distinguit sensus et notiones, quae in rebus fundantur, ab invicem. Haec igitur tria, ut omnes res constituunt, ita voces symbola rerum constituunt. Omnia invicem sunt analogae. Nihil resonat Echo quod non prius audivit et didicit ex Pane. Fistula Panos nihil concordius, nihil suavius et ex omni parte perfectius.

(48v, col. 2) Distinctius: materiam et lucem referunt elementa seu literae. Lucem praestant vocales, puram et sinceram ipsa *a*, fons et sol reliquarum. Quae lucem affectam praestat et varie coloratam, ut videre est ex subiecto diagrammate. Materiam vero praebant eae literae, quae per se nullum habent sonum, quas consonantes aut sine

⁵⁶² quasdam] The ms. has *qdam* with a stroke above the letter *q*. I assume that the thought correlate is either *radices* or *voculae*.

⁵⁶³ This paragraph is quoted by Nordström, *Stiernhielm. Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1, CCXXXI, footnote 3.

⁵⁶⁴ Vox rationalis et significativa] Stiernhielm first wrote the clause *Vox humana aliquid significans*.

discrimine⁵⁶⁵ mutas voco. Hae vocalibus colligatae et⁵⁶⁶ animatae corpus vocis constituunt analogice vivum et organicum. Cuius forma interna est mens ipsa seu significatio in essentia rei significatae radicata. Externa vero sonus articulatus, et, quae visibilis est, pictura literalis.⁵⁶⁷

Haec elementa literarum correspondent elementis rerum. Aëri seu spiritui elementorum respondet H, quae asperascit in CH et G et induratur aut certe siccatur et magis sonora redditur in K. S ventosa est et propter vehementiam sibilat. Cessat sibilis in D et T. Blaesum sibilat in *θ. th. þ.* et fortius in *z. ds. ts.* In ST sibilum sistit, in SCH sinit [?]. V nebulosa est, nata ex U caliginosa litera noctis, quae opponitur literae lucis *a. f. b. p.* sunt umbrosae, madidae. L aetherea est et diaphana. R ignea tremit, stridet etc. N aquea vaporat, aërea tinnit. M terrea et aquea mutit, caligat, surdaque sordet, mortis character.

(49r, col. 1) *A* radix radicum: *a* & sine sono, nullo puncto affectum, est nomen DEI, entis, entium, ineffabile, omnia continens.

(49r, col. 2) Lingua in qua haec radix significativa viget et semper viguit procul dubio omnium est antiquissima et ex ea orta omnia, quae in aliis linguis usurpantur vocabula. Nulla enim vox aliquid significans auditur uspiam, quae non ex hac orta sit et significatus sui originem trahat.

Linguam vero omnium antiquissimam aio Scythicam esse, quam Noah et filii eius in Scythia residentes propagarunt ad suos posteros, qui inde universum terrarum orbem inundarunt. Quorum antiquissima nominis sunt *Getae* seu *Gutae*, *Gothi*, *Sahi* seu *Sagae*, *Saxae*, *Danae*, *Davi*, *Dani*, *Thraces*, *Garpi*, *Carpathii*, id est *Germani*. Sic enim nos etiam hodie vocamus Germanos, qui ipsi *Teutos* se appellant. *Parthi* seu *Persae*, *Tartari*, *Turcae* sunt nova nomina gentis vetustae. Inter novissimos etiam sunt *Ugri* seu *Inri*, hodie *Ungri* dicti. *Suethi* idem, qui *Scythae Hyperborei*, Hyperboraeorum insulam incolentes, inter antiquissimos sunt, *Gothis* permixti, quo nomine Romanis et exteris sunt celebrati. Horum linguam omnium adhuc integerrimam esse docebit praesens opus. De linguae Graecae et Latinae origine et affinitate cum nostris alibi etc. Hic sufficit ad oculum demonstrare omnes in una Scythica convenire tam Orientales, quam Occidentales.

(49r, col. 1) *Ens, unum*: *A* in lingua Suethica antiqua et omnibus cum illa cognatis, Germanica, Theutonica, Saxonica, Anglica etc. significat ens, unum, hoc, aliquid: *a man*, *a konu*, Angl. *a man*, *a woman*, id est, unus vir, una femina, vel vir quidam, aliquis; foemina

⁵⁶⁵ sine discrimine] The expression *in genere* ihas been crossed out on the line.

⁵⁶⁶ colligatae et] The words *colligatae et* have been added above the line.

⁵⁶⁷ Externa ... literalis] These clauses have been added in the margin.

quaedam vel aliqua. etc. Qua ratione ex hac radice huius notionis voces diversae in diversas linguas deriventur, videre est pag.

Quid, aliquid, hoc, illud. Ex hac vocula *a* porro nata sunt omnia omnium linguarum pronomina, adverbia loci. Terminus a quo, ad quem, etc. vide pag.

Esse. *A ESSE ET HABERE.* Est, habet, debet, oportet, decet, convenit etc. Huius notionis voces formatas vide pag. [...] ⁵⁶⁸

(49r, col. 2) Semper memineris omnes radices *a. av. ah. az. al. ar. an. am. va. ha. za. la. ra. na. ma.* quinque habere notiones generales: 1. Entis. 2. Mentis. 3. Lucis. 4. Materiae. 5. Privationis. Hae subdividuntur in suas classes. Entis sunt unitatis, bonitatis, veritatis notiones, etiam quae ex his oriuntur. Mentis sunt discretionis, scientiae, modi etc. notiones. Lucis sunt caloris, motus, spiritus, vitae notiones. Privationis omnia contraria.

8.1.2 *Vocum constitutio*

Sources: *Collectanea ad Runam Sueticam*, F.d. 6, fols. 19r–19v (the autograph having the dimensions 205 x 325 mm on fol. 19r and 205 x 280 mm on fol. 19v), and *Observationes de permutatione literarum* F.d. 7:3, fol. 3r, in which there is a longer addition by Stiernhielm as an explanation of the first paragraph.

Dating: the original text is from 1651–1655. The addition is most likely from the 1660s.

Contents: the ontological, phonetic, and phonosemantic principles in the formation of words.

(F.d. 6, 19r) Tria concurrunt in vocum constitutione: essentia, principia physica et literarum natura.⁵⁶⁹ Ex his coniunctis mens vocabuli vera et genuina elicitur. Essentiam abstracte et metaphysice considero. Materiam in concreto, physice.

(F.d. 7:3, the explanatory addition) 1. sonus, 2. vox, 3. notio. Sonus elementis articulatus fit vox. Elementorum usus est distinguere sonos et formare voces. Elementa formantur ore, labiis, dentibus, lingua, palato, gutture, faucibus mediante sono aëris ictu excitato. Elementorum seu differentiarum sonorificarum signacula visibilia sunt literae. Iis scribitur, notatur et exprimitur elementum vocis

⁵⁶⁸ Stiernhielm continues with the semantic derivatives from the root morpheme /a/ in its sense of being (*ens*): e.g. *posse, movere, agere, fieri, lux, spiritus, calor, aqua, terra, limus, materia, accidere, accedere, tangere, capere, and induere*, and in its sense of non-being (*non-ens*): *carere, egere, vacuum, mors, and malum*.

⁵⁶⁹ [essentia, principia physica et literarum natura] Stiernhielm first wrote: *essentia, id est forma interna, materia et literarum natura*, then crossed out *forma interna* and *materia*, and replaced *materia* by *principia physica*. In F.d. 7:3 *essentia, principia physica et literarum natura* are crossed out in a pencil.

articulatae.⁵⁷⁰ Vox nihil significans mortua est et bruta. Vox viva mente, hoc est notione et significato rationali, animata est.

(F.d. 6, 19r, col. 1) Literarum natura ex soni harmonia cum re significata examinatur. E.g. *agga* in essentia sua descendit ab unitate, cuius radix reperitur in Hebr[aea] אגא, in Ung[arica] *egy*, in Fin[nonica] ях. Consistit autem unitas materialis et concreta in puncto, cuspide, acie aut angulo rei corporeae, durae, asperae. Hinc morsus et puncturae significatio. In principiis patet vocem derivatam esse ex radice lucis אור, sed terrae commixtae, igneae scilicet, a quo durities et asperitas et in quo dolor et acerrimus sensus.

(F.d. 6, 19r, col. 2) Literae K. G. X. CH. natura est aspera, pungens, etc. Iam si intrudas literam א, ut fiat *ango*, intelliges praeter significationem iam dictam etiam angustiam et anxietatem⁵⁷¹ etc. Ad animum si referas, motum et vehementiam insinuat tibi natura ignis, fons motus et violentiae etc. Hinc iam exacte cognoscere licet naturam intimam cuius vocis, et per vocem, rei. Sic patebit acorem esse ab igne, sed amaritiem ex limo a radice *Ma*, *Moor*, limus. Nulla igitur vox temere facta in nostris linguis.

(F.d. 6, 19v) Literae nihil sunt quam varii sonorum modi vario oris et reliquorum organorum motu positive efformati et enunciati. Vocales sunt solius literae *a* varii modi, dum iam obscurius, iam exilius, iam rotundius, etc., effertur. Diphthongi eodem modo. Quae tamen nihil fere sunt nisi vitia inolita pronuntiationis certarum gentium.

8.1.3 Multiplicatio variarum vocum

Sources: F.d. 5, fol. 38r (Stiernhielm's autograph with the size 210 x 324 mm) and F.d. 3, 9r^{col. 1} – 9v (a fair copy, 205 x 322 mm). For a reproduction of the original (F.d. 5, fol. 38v), see Figure 12.

(F.d. 5, 38r; F.d. 3, 9r, col. 1)

Ex matre *A* natae sunt filiae septem: ancillae *av. ach. az.*, filiae *al. ar. an. am.*,⁵⁷² hoc est ipsum *a* purum assumit et copulat sibi omnes consonantes ad multiplicationem et diversimodam propagationem variarum vocum, quae ad denominationem et distinctionem omnium rerum requiruntur. Habent autem singulae hae filiae naturam et indolem suae matris. Eadem enim obtinent notiones universales,

⁵⁷⁰ elementum vocis articulatae] Stiernhielm first wrote *vox articulata* and then changed this phrase to *elementum vocis articulatae*.

⁵⁷¹ anxietatem] In F.d. 7:3 Stiernhielm in a pencil replaced *stricturam* on the line with *anxietatem* above the line.

⁵⁷² In the right-hand margin (F.d. 5. 38v) Stiernhielm adds the sentence: “Quomodo hae resolvantur in plures quasi cognatas, quae tamen eadem sunt, vide infra.”

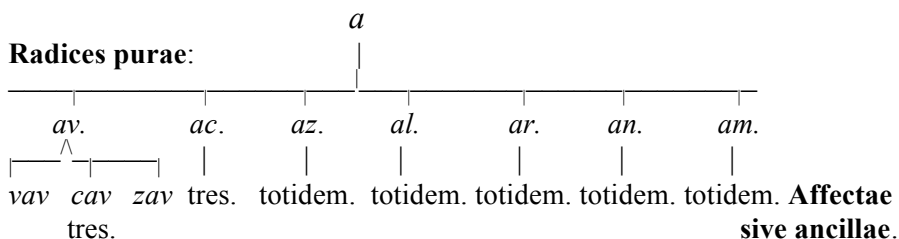
scilicet essentiae, unitatis, potentiae, habitus, actus, motus, emanationis, lucis, spiritus, factionis, productionis etc., licet multae aut plurimae hac aetate nos lateant, quippe quae desierunt et in desuetudinem abierunt. Nam utut primae hae voculae permanent et sunt immortales, valor tamen et aestimum, hoc est significatus huius vel istius modi, periit aut minimum obtenebratus est. Hoc vero cogitandum in nulla una lingua reperiri possibile esse omnes unius voculae aut radice significationes. Una enim hanc arripuit, alia aliam, tertia tertiam. Deinde nec unius linguae omnes aetates unius vocis eandem notionem perpetuo coluerunt et⁵⁷³ retinuerunt. Hinc fit, ut qui haec studia rite tractare velit, necesse habeat non solum ex plurimis, praesertim primariis, quae viguerunt et hodie vigent, linguis, sed etiam ex obsoletis et desitis varias et diversas vocum notiones eruat et annotet. Vocabulis idem est fatum quod hominum. Natorum in Scythia reperiuntur propagines in Graecia, in Scandia, in Hispania, quarum nulla cognatio amplius extat in Scythia. Vivunt et vigent alicubi nepotes, pro- et ab- (F.d. 3, 9v) nepotes, quorum avos et maiores iam olim mortuos nemo novit aut nominare potest. Sed de hisce sat.

Iam ipsa mater *a*, ut et 7 illae filiae purae et candidae, afficiuntur et quodammodo colorantur seu diversorum colorum habitibus vestiuntur ab iisque consonantibus quasi ancillantibus, dum antepositae faciunt ab *a*: *va*, *cha*, *za*, *la*, *ra*, *na*, *ma*; et ex filiabus: *vav* seu *bab*, *chab*, *zab*,⁵⁷⁴ item *vach*, *chach* etc. Ex *az*: *baz*, *chaz* etc.

Unde evadunt radices affectae ex *a* septem. Ex ex filiabus singulis tres, hoc est 21. Quibus additae 7 ex *a* fiunt universae 35 exempta matre pura *a*.

Porro notandum: ut multiplicantur hoc modo radices, ita etiam significationes, atque quo longius recedunt voces formatae a radicibus primis, eo plures et obscuriores eas nancisci notiones, quippe quae ultimo ipsis speciebus rerum et actionibus (ut ita dicam) modificatis applicantur.

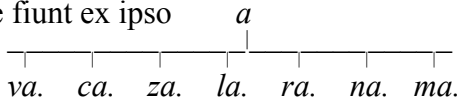
ARBOR GENEALOGICA VOCULARUM PRIMARUM



⁵⁷³ perpetuo coluerunt et] This has been added above the margin.

⁵⁷⁴ zab] After *zab* the morphemes *lab*, *rab*, *nab*, *mab* have been crossed out.

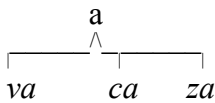
Deinde fiunt ex ipso



Idem notant quod ipsum *a*, hoc est omnes generales rerum significationes in se continent, scilicet in diversis linguis, olim in lingua Una et Prima. Quod etiam de superioribus *av. ah. az. al. ar. an. am.* intelligendum. Quae in primis notionibus nihil aliud sunt quam terminationes diversae ipsius radicis et vocalae *a*. Quod manifestum est in coniugatione ipsius *a* in notione esse: *a. es. est. er. am. an.* etc. Ubi notandum quod id quod in una lingua est tertiae personae in alia potest esse primae et sic de numero, tempore, modo, casu, genere et reliquis.

NB. Vocabula peregrina et ex aliis linguis adscita aliquid habent ex antiqua forma, licet ea ad idioma, in quo est peregrina depravata sit et deformata.

Ancillae radices



Matronae.

Radices ancipites

la ra na ma

al ar an am

In quibus consonans sola est radicalis, et vocalis iam ante, iam post sonum editum.

8.2 Universal classification of lexical morphemes

8.2.1 Mater A divina – ‘A’ as the divine mother of phonemes

Source and dating: *Miscellanea etymologica*, F.d. 9:5, fol. 1r–1v with the measurements 212 x 335 mm. The manuscript is dated at the top of the page: 11 June 1649 (*Anno 1649 scriptum 11 Junii*).

(1r) Mater A divina

Filiae, vocales: aj. av. ah. as. at. al. ar. an. am.

Musae, consonantes: ja. ha. va. sa. ta. la. ra. na. ma.

Plene, vocales: aj. av. af. ab. ap. ah. ach. ag. ak. aq. as. ad. at.
al. ar. an. am. at. ath. az. ast.

Plene, consonantes: ja. va. fa. ba. pa. ha. cha. ga. ka. qua. sa. da. ta.
tha. sta. za. la. ra. na. ma.

Et hae omnibus linguis et dialectis sufficiunt.

1. Radices vocales admittunt a fronte in derivatis varias et interdum omnes literas consonantes, quae generali radicis notione salva varie modificant et specificant significationem vocis. Imo pro varietate

linguarum et dialectorum ipsae radices in se admittunt. E.g. *Ana*, id est amare, bene cupere. Haec ipsa radix apud Hebraeos est אָנָה, apud Belgos *jonnen* et *gonnen*. Apud nos hodie est *unna*. In derivatis occurrunt *jöna*, Latine **geno, genero*; Suethice *kyn, köna*; Anglice *kind, genus*; Germanice *Kind, puer*; Suethice *gynnare, fautor, jöön, coniux, ven, amicus, Venus. fiyn. Juno. sven, son, filius, svena, pacare, skona, parcere. Germanice chuoa, quiare, kona; hunn, canis, κύνοϛ⁵⁷⁵ etc. Admittunt etiam duplicatas et triplicatas consonantes.*

2. Radices consonae post vocalem, aut si verbum est, mere vocalem radicalem et characteristicam assumunt varias literas consonas et terminationes, quae interdum nihil variant, interdum modificant significationem radicis generalem. E.g. *Ba, bet* et *bass* est idem, scilicet melius. *Ban, bata*, Suethice *båta, båtina*, scilicet utilem esse. Verba *baa, boa, bona*, parare, *bota*, meliorare; Germanice *bussen* (beo, bonus); Sclavonice *Boh, Bog*, id est beatus, dives, et Deus. *Bacil, bygning, buur, belosum* [?] ex eadem radice *Ba* vel *Va*.

3. Consonae omnes fere S praesumunt. Et eae quae ab L, R, N incipiunt patiuntur se ab G, K, B, T, R etc. includi imo et ab SK, SP generali notione salva modum pro natura harum literarum ex intentione mentis accipientes. (1v) E.g. Radix LA: G, K, S, P, ut fiat *gla, kla* etc. Quod in derivatis manifestius evadit. In *lius, *liost*, lux, *glija, glöa*, splendo, *blij, blijsa* etc. Radix RA, id est oriri etc. *groo* (germinare, est a g praeposito *ara*, quae idem significant, ut fiat *gara*, ‘creo’. Radix RA, discernere. *Rea, grea, skrea, brea*, explicare, *sprea*. Radix RA, discernere vel significare voce. *Roa, ropa, röst, rea* (Germanice *reden*), **röddu*, vox, *kria* (Gallice crier), clamo. Belgice *krijtan; skrija, skräkia, skräckia, skräma, skrymsl*, terriculamentum, *skrom-puka*, daemon personatus, fictus.

Nota bene hic obiter quomodo significationes vocum magis magisque abeunt a prima ut nihil videantur retinere ex indole radicis. Sed in similibus observanda est gradatio et quomodo proximum a proximo sibi discrepat. Ecce radix *rea* est loqui; *roa* (Danice *raabe*), clamare, *kua*, vociferari, *skrija*, lamentari, *skräkia*, instar vulpeculae gannire, *skräckia*, clamore terrere, *skräma*, pavefacere, *skrymsl*, terriculamentum, spectrum, *skrymslas*, abdere, abscondere se prae metu, *skrymslor*, latibacula. Ecce! Quid hic vel literarum vel significationis commune cum radice *raa*! Vera tamen est originationis. *Laa, ala*, id est clarum esse, communis radix iis quae auditum et visui obiecta sunt. *Lya, lyda, lysa, *liust*, lux, *liud*, sonus. Hinc *gäll, häll, gala, glama* et clamo. Ilamo, κλάζω, κλύω. [...]

⁵⁷⁵ κύνοϛ] The genitive of κύων, “dog”.

8.2.2 *Cubus radicum*

Source and dating: *Miscellanea etymologica*, F.d. 9:6, fol. 2r, in three columns. Size: 212 x 325 mm. The text is dated 28 September 1651. For a photographic image of the entire text, see Figure 13.

In the manuscript the text is arranged in one center column (col. 2) with supplementary columns in the margins of the right hand (col. 3) and left hand (col. 1). In is unclear how the text in the margins should be connected to the central main text. The edition follows the logical structure of the text. Stiernhielm provides a cube of root morphemes on the basis of his universal historical phonology.

(col. 2)

CUBUS RADICUM omnium positivarum filiarum unius matris.

		Mater	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	
		a	ach	av	az	al	ar	an	am	filiae
1.	ch									
2.	v									
3.	z									
4.	l									
5.	r									
6.	n									
7.	m									
Ancillae ministrantes matri et filiabus.										

In the manuscript, Stiernhielm first outlined a larger cube that had 10 x 10 squares. In this cube, the horizontal line comprised the vowel /a/ with nine syllables: *ah, av, aj, as, at, al, ar, an, am*, while the vertical line comprised nine speech sounds: *h, v, j, s, t, l, r, n, m*. In this diagram he accordingly posited 100 positive derivates of the mother phoneme /a/ in its positive sense. He writes: “Mater una est A. Filiae sunt 100.” From the same phoneme in its privative sense there arise just as many derived roots: “Totidem sunt radices privativae ex matre A privativa” (see fol. 2r, the right-hand top of the page).

The Latin text continues as follows:

(col. 3) Alphabetum etymologicum GS.

a

 ä. e. ö. i. y. å. o. u.
 ch. v. z. l. r. n. m.

Explicatum:

ch	v	z
└─┬─┘	└─┬─┘	└─┬─┘
h. c. g.	f. b. p.	d. t. s. st. þ.

(col. 1) Radix ach eadem est quae radices ac. ag. ah.

Radix av eadem est quae af. ab. ap.

Radix az eadem est quae ad. at. as. ast. ath.

Sic radix cha: ha. hua. qua. qua. ca. gua. ja.

Radix va: ba. fa. va. þa. [hva. qua.]

Radix za: da. ta. þa. sa. scha. sta. sca.

Lingua Suethica non agnoscit Z, sed resolvitur ex aliis plerumque in S. aut T. aut SK. et ST. et quae supra.

Aspiratio H post A facile principem obtinet locum. Illa enim reliquas omnes afficit:

bh. genuit v.

vh. <genuit> f.

ph. <genuit> p.

ch. th. sh.

hl. hr. hn. hv. faciunt gl. cl. gr. cr. gn. cn. qu.

H mutatur in v. f. c. s. th. z.

Summa: H est spiritus et anima omnium elementorum.

M terrae character solus vacat.

(col. 2) Contingunt 7 ministeria matri et totidem singulis septem filiabus. Erunt in universum 56. Cum matri ministrant sunt in maiori dignitate, quam cum filiabus inserviunt. Septem itaque sunt ministeria digniora.⁵⁷⁶ Reliqua minoris dignationis sunt 49.

(col. 3) Matris ministrae sunt: cha. va. za. la. ra. na. ma.

Filiae primae ministrae: chach. vach. zach. lach. rach. nach. mach.

Filiae secundae ministrae: chav. vav. zav. lav. rav. nav. mav.

Filiae tertiae ministrae: chaz. vaz. zaz. laz. raz. naz. maz.

Filiae quartae ministrae: chal. val. zal. lal. ral. nal. mal.

Filiae 5tae ministrae: char. var. zar. lar. rar. nar. mar.

Filiae 6. ministrae: chan. van. zan. lan. ran. nan. man.

Filiae 7. ministrae: cham. vam. zam. lam. ram. nam. mam.

Aliae radices non dantur, quae ad has reduci non possint. Hebraicae radices bisyllabae non sunt simplices radices aut enim habent literam otiosam aut praeter radicales formativam aut sunt ex duabus radicibus compositae. Quod accuratius intuenti facile patebit et a me suo loco fuse demonstrabitur.

⁵⁷⁶ ministeria digniora] After *digniora* the explanation *i.e. radices primae* has been crossed out.

(col. 2) Hoc est: radix una omnium mater est A. Ex illa nascuntur ut filiae *ach*, *av*, *az* etc., radices quippe ortae et secundariae omnes purae et clarae, simplices et nullius ministerio nixae, hoc est a vocali incipientes, nulla consonantium nube obumbratae. Mater vero ipsa *a*, cum obscuratur a praefixa sibi consonante, voco consonantem illam seu potius totam radicem, e.g. *cha*, *va*, *za*, *la*, *ma*, ancillam et ministram matris *a*, hoc est radicem primam latentem post consonantem, quae eam occultat et quasi invisibilem reddit. Alias libeat vocare hanc “matrem aut radicem primam affectam”. Filiae vero, hoc est radices secundariae, cum a praefixis consonantibus absconduntur, eas ipsas consonantes seu potius totas voces, quales sunt *chach*, *chav*, *chat*, *vach*, *vav* etc., ministras voco filiarum primae, secundae et sic deinceps. Quas etiam radices affectas nominare placuit.

Ut tres priores filiae *ach*, *av*, *az*, ita etiam tres priores ancillae *ch*, *v*, *z* sunt ditiores reliquis quatuor *l*. *n*. *r*. *m*. Plures enim habent vestes seu habitus. Habet enim *ch* praeter se ipsam simpliciores *h*. *c*. *g*. Habet *v* *f*. *b*. *p*. Habet *z* *d*. *t*. *s*. *st*. Quae omnes censentur et rediguntur ad tres illas, ut reliquas in se aut sub se continentes, scilicet *ch*, *v*, *z*.

Hic vero acri cautione opus est, ne radices affectae confundantur cum flexionibus sive formativis ministrarum matris seu radices primae affectae, e.g. *mala*, molere, non est a filiae 4tae ministra *al*, sed est saltem flexio seu formativa matris affectae, *ma*. Quae flectitur in formativas *mach*, *mac*, *mag*; *mab*, *maf*, *map*; *maz* *mad*, *mat*, *mas*; *mal*, *mar*, *man*, *mam*. Quae diversas recipiunt et exhibent significatus, ut videre est in radice huius diagrammate.

Hoc tamen verum est ad ultimum omnes ministras sublati consonantibus reduci posse ad puras seu filias et inde ad ipsam matrem, (col. 3) ut hic *mala* reducitur ad radicem *al*, unde *אלה*, *alam*, confringere, et Gr. *ἄλέω*, molo.⁵⁷⁷ (col. 2) Neque enim aliud sunt filiae seu secundariae respectu matris quam flexiones seu voces formativae radices primae. Formativas voco, quia ex iis formantur primae derivatae ad exhibendum alias atque alias notiones.

(col. 3) Notata in Stiernlund die 28. Sept. 1651.

⁵⁷⁷ *אלה* ... *ἄλέω*] The Hebrew verb *אלה*, *hālam*, means “hammer, strike; beat” rather than “to break in pieces, destroy”. Greek *ἄλέω* means “grind, pound, bruise”.

8.3 Universal semanticization of lexical morphemes

8.3.1 *De usu et applicatione radicum ad notiones rerum*

Source and dating: *Runa Suethica*, F.d. 5, fol. 39v. Some passages are quoted by Swartling.⁵⁷⁸ The text most likely dates from 1655. For a photographic picture, see Figure 14.

Contents: This text proposes a theory of semantic diversity of primary stems, or roots, and presents an ontological categorization in a number of classes, from which every primary stem draws its diverse meanings. Stiernhielm argues that word meanings originally were general and mutually different, because they derive from the diversity of metaphysical categories: (1) essence, (2) power, force and might, (3) action, activity, use, (4) matter, (5) internal form, (6) external form, (7), the active principles of nature, namely (8), light, 9), mind, (10) the act of generating, (11) love, (12a) rightness, and (12b) goodness. The last part of the text consists of an etymological exemplification of stem-words that are argued to draw their different meaning from two or more ontological categories.

Regula generalis de usu et applicatione radicum ad notiones rerum
Omnes et singulae radices tot habent notiones generales, quot habet ipsum ens in suas affectiones et primas substantias divisum. Omnis notio capitur aut γενικῶς aut ειδικῶς, generaliter aut specialiter, item proprie aut translate.⁵⁷⁹

Quae et quot sint subdivisiones entium in res et qualitates singulares, eae et totidem sunt notionum generalium subdivisiones in voces et vocum differentias seu vocabula formata. Genera rerum earundemque notiones primas ad duodecim classes totidem vocibus monosyllabis (praeter unam dissyllabam) comprehensas reduxi. Eae sunt:

Ens. Mens. Lux. Styx. Res. Vis. Fas. Fors.⁵⁸⁰ Spes.⁵⁸¹ Amor. Ops. Pax.

His omnia quae dici et cogitari possunt includuntur. Inter quae multa sunt, quae non capiuntur praedicamentis Aristotelis. Quorum primus author fuit Archytas Tarentinus Pythagoraeus, Platonis praeceptor.⁵⁸²

Et hoc ordine omnibus radicibus assignanda sunt diversae illarum significationes. Quae ad generales hasce reduci possunt et debent.

⁵⁷⁸ Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 78 (the categories, from *Fluunt etyma vocum* until *bonitate*), p. 81 (the preceding paragraph, from *In omnibus conveniunt* until *ita et in rebus*, and the first sentence, from *Omnes et singulae* until *divisum*).

⁵⁷⁹ Omnis notio ... translate] This has been added in the left-hand margin.

⁵⁸⁰ Fors] *Nunc* has been crossed out on the line. *Fors* has been added above the line.

⁵⁸¹ Spes] *Hic* has been crossed out on the line. *Spes* has been added above the line.

⁵⁸² Archythas] Archythas of Tarentum was a Pythagorean mathematician in the first half of the 4th century BC and a teacher of mathematics to Plato.

Corrigenda igitur erit methodus, et quae sub radicibus sunt in hoc libro consignata, ad hunc modum erunt digerenda et ordinanda.

Sed et hic iuxta notandum: Ordinem hunc quoad numerus et locum ubique servari non posse, praesertim ubi ex uno themate seu radice universali derivandi sunt rivi in omnes linguas. Ibi enim sequendae erunt voculae, ut quaeque simplicitate et generalitate⁵⁸³ sua alias praecedunt. Quo respectu derivatio grammatica viam monstrabit. Res vero significatae suam habent considerationem iuxta supra traditam methodum.

Notabile est, quam quod maxime: *plura dari unius vocis vera etyma et ex diversis rerum ordinibus diversa*. In omnibus enim conveniunt verba rebus. Ut res constant materia et forma, ita et verba. Ut in rebus est forma interna et externa, ita et in verbis. Obiectio: Veritas non consistit nisi in uno. Responsio: Omnia conveniunt in unum. Ex multis conficitur unum: 1. notione unitatis, dualitatis, i.e. distinctionis, pluralitatis, multiplicationis, 2. veritatis, 3. bonitatis.⁵⁸⁴

Fluunt etyma vocum ex 1. essentia, 2. potentia seu vi et virtute, 3. actione, operatione, usu, 4. materia, 5. forma interna, et 6. figura externa, 7. ex principiis naturae activis, 8. luce et 9. mente, 10. generatione, 11. amore, 12. rectitudine, 12[b].⁵⁸⁵ bonitate. In summa ex ordine rerum, quam comprehendit versiculus: *ens, mens, lux* etc. Hunc sequere!

Summa: Hoc ordine veniunt notiones generales et primae:

	└─ unum.	
Esse.	{	{ scire.
	└─ verum.	sentire.
	└─ bonum.	

Posse.

Movere.

Agere.

Habere.

Servare.

Dare.

Cupere.

Accipere.

Quiescere.⁵⁸⁶

Hic dici oportuit de notionibus privationis, quae proficiscuntur ex & tenebricoso seu A privativo, sed vide supra.

⁵⁸³ et generalitate] This has been added in the right-hand margin.

⁵⁸⁴ Obiectio ... bonitatis] This has been added in the right-hand margin.

⁵⁸⁵ 8 Luce ... 12b bonitate] In his first numbering Stiernhielm omitted *Luce*. After adding a number to *Luce*, he renumbered the rest except the last one (*12. bonitate*).

⁵⁸⁶ Summa ... Quiescere] This has been added in the left-hand margin.

NB. Res naturales mixtae et ortae ex generatione etc. ut non uno principio constant, ita nec voces, quibus significantur, unius notionis etymo constant. Sed ex variis componitur una rei proprie competens definitio. Id etiam in arte factis accidere docet experientia. Nec vetat quod vocolae ipsae sint pleraeque monosyllabae. E.g. *lus*, pediculus, duas habet notiones: 1. a parvitate **lutz*, *luzz*, *lißel*, *lisl*, est parvus; 2. a materia, unde generatur, lue scilicet vel eluvie corporis, quod Suethice *loa*, **lauga*, *löga*, eluere, unde Lat. luo, lavo; *luut*, lixivium, Germanice *Lauge* et *Löör*; *lord*, *lort*, *loder*, *ludder*, sordes, spuma et eluvium, et *laus*, *luus*, pediculus.

Sed et ipsum *loa* seu *löga*, **lauga*, ex duabus notionibus compositum est: 1. ex radice *la* privativa *laa*, delinquere, dissolvi, unde *lösa*, solvere, et Lat. lassus, lusus, luxare etc. Ex eadem radice est Gr. λύω, solvo, cognatum Latinum luo, et lavo.⁵⁸⁷ 2. Ex notione substantiali aquae seu⁵⁸⁸ liquoris, quae nostra lingua dicitur *la* et *lagh*, AS. *gelaecan*, rigare, Isl. *la*, i.e. aqua.⁵⁸⁹ Ex qua radice Latinum liqueo et liquor a *lag*, *läcka*, stillare, fluere, et *log*, et quod idem est Latinum lacus (Suet. *watu-loka*), Isl. *laec*, rivus. Hinc *lauga*, liquore dissolvere et expurgare sordes, et Latinum lavare, id est, aquare, aqua excutere et expurgare.⁵⁹⁰

Sic *bok*, liber, dicitur 1. a materia, fago, e qua communiter fiebat, et 2. a *bögia*, flectere, unde Lat. pago, Gr. πῆγνυμι et compingere, quod proprie de librorum factura dicitur.

Sic *leef*, *leev*, *Leib-brot*, *leefva*, *leepa*, *limpa*, *hlaif*, *leaf*, *laef*, *leipa*, *chleba*, panis, 1. a **laa*,⁵⁹¹ *leva*, Lat. levare, elevare; unde Cambricum *lefain*, Gallicum modernum *levain*, fermentum. 2. *leva*, *libba*, *löpa*; *hlava*, *klabba*, *klubba* etc. condensare, conglutinari, conglobare. Inde enim *lijf*, Germanicum *Leib*, corpus et globus, Suethicum *klubb*, massa farinarea. 3. a *leva*, vivere, victus. 4. *Leef*, *liuf*, charus, iucundus.

Sic Phrygium βέκ, panis, a *baka*, quod significat: 1. pinsere, batuere (*baka*); 2. assare in forno, igni coquere; 3. φάγω, edo, nobis obsoleto. Est etiam βέκ Hebraice בָּקָה, cibus, esca. Vide Schindlerum in בָּגָה⁵⁹² ex hac voce arguentem linguam Hebraeam antiquissimam.

⁵⁸⁷ lavo] In the margin, Stiernhielm here adds: “λύω, solvo, *lösa* (et *verliesen*, *verlieren*, perdere); λούω lavo, *löga*. Vide Voss. in luo, lues.”

⁵⁸⁸ substantiali aquae seu] This has been added in the margin.

⁵⁸⁹ AS. *gelaecan*, rigare, Isl. *la*, i.e. aqua] This has been supplied in the margin.

⁵⁹⁰ et Latinum lavare ... expurgare] This has been added in the margin.

⁵⁹¹ **laa*] In the margin, Stiernhielm explains this non-attested word as follows: “a *la*, altus, *lava* inusitatum, tollere; Latine latus, elatus. *Luft*, sublime et aër. *Lyfta*, extollere. *Lava*, structura in altum.”

⁵⁹² Vide Schindlerum in בָּגָה] Valentin Schindler, *Lexicon pentaglotton*, s.v. בָּגָה, p. 151: “Inde בָּקָה, cibus, esca. [...] Cum hoc congruit βέκ βέκκος, panis, Phrygibus.”

8.3.2 *Principium literarum*

Source: *Runa Suethica*, F.d. 5, fol. 37v, at the right-hand bottom of the page (Stiernhielm's original), and F.d. 3, fol. 8r–8v (the fair copy). Most of the text of F.d. 3, 8r, is quoted by Swartling (*Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 79, footnote 3).⁵⁹³

Contents: Stiernhielm here develops his theory of a dichotomous phonosemantic nature of the phoneme *a*.

(F.d. 3, 8r) A. Principium literarum. Sonus 1. simplex, 2. significativus duas primas notiones generales habent duo principia insinuantes, entia scilicet et non entis. **(F.d. 3, 8r)** Est enim A positivum unum et ens. Est et A privativum vanum et non ens: *a, an, vaan, vacuum*. Hinc occurrunt iisdem literis constantes radices oppositarum notionum.⁵⁹⁴

Ut ab A esse, notiones lucis spiritus, caloris, motus, vitae, vigoris, virtutis, copiae et omnis boni, item amoris et generationis et ea quae mentis sunt: veritatis, aeternitatis, constantiae, sapientiae, pulchritudinis, gaudii, splendoris, gloriae, sufficientiae, voluptatis etc. superiorum, coeli.⁵⁹⁵

ita ab A privativo notiones his et similibus omnes contrariae. Primae vero quasi generalissimae non entis, inanitatis, vacuitatis, vanitatis, falsitatis, fugacitatis, inconstantiae, evanescentiae, deinde et omnium quae materiae adiacent privationum, scilicet tenebrarum, caliginis, vaporum, frigoris, torporis, stuporis, rigoris, defectus, vitii, inopiae, odii, corruptionis, mortis, orci, inferni, item amentiae, confusionis, stultitiae, turpitudinis, abominationis et omnis mali.

8.3.3 *Radicum notiones secundariae*

Source: *Miscellanea etymologica*, F.d. 9:5, fol. 7v, col. 2. Dating: the middle of the 1660s.

Radicum notiones secundariae sunt quae qualitatem ex relationem aliquam inferant, e.g. patere, apparere, clarere, lucere; longum, latum, brevem, angustum esse sive extendere, pandere, secare, findere, angere, acuere, tundere, comminuere, frangere, componere et omnia.

Hinc Herodoti narratio dest de duobus pueris. [...] Inde vero, si quid uni voculae tribuendum linguam Hebraeam omnium fuisse primam, cur non probaretur?

⁵⁹³ Swartling omits *a, an, vaan, vacuum* in the first paragraph, *superorum, coeli* at the end of the second paragraph, and *et omnis mali* at the end of the third paragraph. Swartling misreads the last word of his quotation, viz. *abomisationis*, instead of *abominationis*.

⁵⁹⁴ Hinc ... oppositarum notionum] This is an addition beside the main text.

⁵⁹⁵ et eae quae mentis sunt ... coeli] This is also an addition beside the main text.

“18 February 1652”: “Catena rerum ex originibus verborum conflata et fabricata in eremo Ingriae die 18 Feb. 1652” (see F.d. 5, 43r).

Contents: In this text, Stiernhielm argues that all morphemes that are directly derived from the mother speech sound and root /a/ have either a positive or negative meaning, but that the phoneme /a/ with the meaning of light and movement itself lies in between these categories. He relies on Aristotle’s categorization of essential motion, more precisely the philosopher’s dichotomy between two kinds of substantial change in the nature, namely birth (γένεσις, *generatio*) and decay (φθορά, *corruptio*).⁵⁹⁶ He partly depends on Aristotle’s categorization of accidental change into qualitative, quantitative and spatial change,⁵⁹⁷ where quantitative change importantly is identified with increase or growth and decrease or decline (αύξησις καὶ φθίσις). Stiernhielm argues that every movement is directed toward either generation or corruption, and either increase or decrease. He applies all these categories to his etymological semantic categorization.

Radix *a* materialis cum ancillis *ab. ac. az.* Radix *a* materialis cum cum filiabus *al. ar. an. am.* In genere notandum omnem motum proficisci ex principio lucis ideoque omnem notionem lucis, motus et caloris derivari ex *a* radice, qua lux, non secus ac reliqua principia, implicite continetur. Explicat autem se illa notio primitus in verbo (seu actionis significatu) *aa. aha. ᾶω, αῶω*, lucere, calere, spirare. Iam tota natura consistit in motu generationis et corruptionis. Motus enim est ad profectum, est motus ad defectum. Motus enim est ad profectum, est motus ad defectum. Lux, calor, motus vita est. Accedentibus accedit vita, recedentibus propinquat mors. Movere igitur et spirare generale est et utrique, scilicet profectui et defectui, commune. Differentia consistit in terminis *in, ad, sub, ab* vel *ex. Adspirare* lucis afficit materiam ad participationem vitae, *inspirare*

⁵⁹⁶ In his treatises on natural philosophy, both *Physics* (Greek Φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις, ‘Lectures on the nature’, Latin *Physica*) book 5, 1–2, 224a 21 – 226b 17, and *On generation and corruption*, Περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς, book 1, 3–5, 317b 1 – 322b 33, Aristotle proposes a theory of a tripartite change of the essential movement:

1. from non-being (ἐκ μὴ ὄντος) to being (εἰς ὄν), see *Physics* 224b 8–10 and *De generatione et corruptione* 319a 26–29; from non-subject to subject (οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς ὑποκείμενον), see *Physics* 225 a 1–12. This change is called γένεσις, coming-to-be, generation.
2. from being (ἐξ ὄντος) to non-being (εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν); from subject to non-subject (ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς μὴ ὑποκείμενον). This change is designated as φθορά, passing-away, perishing, corruption.
3. from one form to another form (ἐξ ἑλλου εἶδους εἰς ἄλλο), see *Physics* 225b 24; from subject to subject (ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς ὑποκείμενον). This change is described as ἀλλοίωσις, alteration, and is conceived as accidental change.

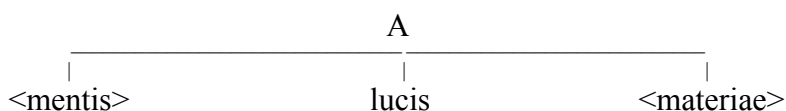
⁵⁹⁷ *Physics* 225b 7–9; 226a 23–36, *De generatione et corruptione* 319b 30–32.

<lucis> vivificat, *suspirare* <lucis> aegrotat, *expirare* <lucis> reliquit materiam morti. Hinc est, quod notio lucis seu motus, caloris, luminis et spiritus semper concurret in designatione corruptionis et interitus cum notionibus materiae: frigoris, quietis, tenebrarum. Hinc in via et progressu seu declinatione ad corruptionem inter utrumque media et mixta illa verba: *halare, vaporare, tepere, torpere, languere, segnescere, tristari, dolere, moereri, horrere, tremere, stupere, hebescere, fathisci, fatigare, fatuari, soporari, aegrescere, tabescere, marcescere, liquescere, liquari, destillari, fluere, diffluere, solvi, dissolvi, putere, foedere, fugere, vanescere, evolare, expirare, mori*. Item *pallere, fuscari, nigrescere, obtenebrescere*, etc.

Quae omnia in se continet implicite ipsum principium A, sed explicite in genere tamen dictae filiae ancillaeque. Ancillae sunt matronam hanc saltem vestientes ha, va. za, sed filias censeo la, ra, na, ma. Omnibus A matri sc. ancillis et filiabus subjiciuntur literae omnes, prout exigunt notionum varietates et natura, consuetudo atque usus cuiusque linguae et vocum declinationes ipsae ferunt et ultro se offerunt, ut a *daa*: *däf, dam, dagg, daw, dake, dwaal, daar, dars, daad, daan, daap, daab*.

Summa rei est. Ut in omni etymologia observandum, ita hic maxime tres esse fontes omnium notionum rerum, eosdem nimirum, qui sunt principia rerum: mentem, lucem, materiam. In hac verborum, quae defectum et interitum rerum inferunt, 1. mentis notiones eae sunt, quae privationem et non-entitatem insinuant, 2. lucis notiones halitus, aestus, ardorem, siccitatem et omnia ea quae lucis sunt intimant. In genere autem qua movet et spirat, utrique luci scilicet et materiae inservit haec notio. 3. Materiae notiones ex terrae et aquae naturae propria proficiscuntur. Ea consistit in elementis: densitas, gravitas, lentor, mollicies, fluor, liquiditas, fugacitas, vanitas, quae tamen omnia sapiunt naturam primaevam materiae primae. Sed quae sunt opposita: raritas, levitas, durities, fragilitas, tenacitas, stabilitas, firmitas. Lucis sunt effectus et affectiones in ipsa materia secunda.

Rite igitur distinguendum inter notiones triplices, ex trilici fonte scatentes in una litera A ceu radice prima concurrentes atque in unam coalescentes. Seu, si mavis, ex uno fonte literali A in tria ternarum primarum seu generalium atque ex istis derivatarum in multifidos amnes specialium notionum flumina principalia. Quorum divergia oculis subjicere operae erit pretium.



<privatio, non-entitas>

	ᾠω	pulvis. aquae. limus. ᾠᾠ. ᾠχα. ᾠga. aqua. ῶω.
purae: am. an. ar. al.	purae: av. ah. az.	purae: av. ah. az.
privativae: a. av. ah. az.	ar. al. an. am.	ar. al. an. am.
affectae: ha. va. za.	affectae: ha. va. za.	affectae: ha. va. za.
la. na. ra. ma	la. na. ra. ma.	la. na. ra. ma

Harum notiones sunt:	Harum notiones sunt:	Notiones sunt:
abesse, deesse,	halare, spirare,	densari, coagulari,
deficere, delassari,	exsiccare, arefacere,	tenebrescere, vapere,
remittere, rarescere	aestuerere, fervere	gravescere, stupescere,
minui, ad paucos redigi,	ardere, urere.	rigescere, lentescere,
ad nihil evanescere,	In quibus frequentes	mollescere, putescere,
mori. Nihil, vacuum,	sunt metaphorae.	frangi, foetere, devolari,
inane, abyssum,		nigrescere, diffluere,
Silentium, quies, malum.		fugere, evanescere.

8.3.6 The meaning of original morphemes

Text 1

Source: F.d. 13:2:2 fol. 30r, written in a pencil.

(6r, col. 1) Literarum nomina.

A. Unitas. *Ens.* Lux. *I.* idem. *Vis.*

Be. bi. Dualitas. *Potentia.* *Vis.*

Da, De. Di. Dualitas. *Vis* superne. et *Dissolutio.* *Imbecillitas,* et *Mors* inferne.

Da)(*Dō.* *Deus*)(*Mors.*

E. nexus. *Ef.* amor.

Ce. Ga, Ka. Divisio. *Vigor.* *Vita.* *Laetitia.* *Gaudium.* *Ignis.* cio. κέω.

Ha. idem. *Hio.* *Hiatus.* est chaos, ubi nulla rerum unio nisi confusionis. Inde *ῥῥῥῥ*, *hiska*, vastitas. *Hysua*, etc.

La. *Claritas.* *Lubentia.* *Voluptas.* *Laetitia.* *Risus.* *El.* idem. *Robur.* *Hoc.*

Ma. Mo. *Materia.* *Aqua.* *Terra.* *Am. Em.* *Mater.* *ämne*, *materia.* Item *Obstaculum.*

Na. *Prope.* *Extreme.* *An. En.* *Unitas.* *Amor.* *Propinquitas.* *Ad.* *Propensio,* *gratia.*

Ra. *Discretio* et *Fluxus* et *Robur.* *Er.* *Motus.* *Vis.* *Virtus.*

Sa. *Discretio.* *Hoc.* *Segregatio.* *As. Es.* *Unitas.* *Ignis.* *At.* *Unitas.* *Firmitas.*

Ta. Te. *Discretio.* *Hoc.*

STa. *Firmitas.* *Robur:* est vigor *materiae* consolidatus.

Or. Ur. *Lux.* *Ignis.* *Hebraice.* *Vis.* *Potentia.* *Virtus.* *Suethice.*

Text 2

Source: F.d. 6, fol. 19v.

al. la. lucis clarissimae.

ar. ra. lucis vibrantis.

umbra. lucis obscurae.

ag. radiosae. pungentis.

av. va. spirantis. moventis. vegetantis.

ah. ha. moventis.

as. sa. moventis.

8.4 Inflectional morphemes: interlingual observations

8.4.1 Flexio comparationis

Source: This text is found in F.d. 6, 86r, but is crossed over by an oblique stroke with the remark: “Excellently, but this does not pertain here being too far from the subject matter.”⁵⁹⁸ Dating: 1651–1652.

Contents: The text discusses the inflection of the numeral “one” and inflectional patterns in the comparative and superlative degrees in different languages. Stiernhielm argues that the Greeks came very close to the Scythians in their inflectional endings of adjectives in the comparative and the superlative.

Hisce ita constitutis fiat initium a notione unitatis. Dico monosyllabum *a* significare *unus*. *a. -um*. Hanc generum distinctionem habent pleraeque gentes. Scandicae et Saxonicae **a, an; ain, aine*; hodie *en, een*; AngloSax[onicae] *a, an, one, unus, unum, una. ena, AS. ana*, i.e. solus. Unde medicorum *ana*, id est ex singulis. Suethis peculiaris est terminatio neutrius in *T* et *et, it*, quod etiam in aliqua dialecto per *D* effertur *ed, id*. Roslagii praeponunt *j*: *jen, jet*, unus, [un]a, [unu]m. Scythis in Taurica Chersoneso adhuc in usu est (teste Busbequo in Epist. Turcica).⁵⁹⁹ Ita pro unum. Scythis antiquissimis *ar, ari* unum denotabat, a quo superlativus *arima* pro unicus, *arima-spu*, id est unic-oculus. Sic explicat hanc vocem

⁵⁹⁸ In Latin: “Pulchre, sed quae huc non pertinent, ut nimis longiqua a re.”

⁵⁹⁹ The word list of Crimean Gothic compiled by the Austrian ambassador in Istanbul Ogier (or Augier) Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522–1592) was published in *Legationis Turcicae epistolae quatuor*, Hanoviae/ Hanau 1595, pp. 144–145 (as part of the fourth letter). Two years later it was republished by Bonaventura Vulcanius, *De literis et lingua Getarum sive Gothorum* (Lugduni Batavorum/ Leiden 1597), pp. 51–53. In the list, the numeral words 1–13 are said to be *ita, tua, tria, fyder, fynf, seis, sevene, athe, nyne, tiine, thiinita, thunetua, thunetria* etc. These letters have been translated into English: *The Turkish letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, imperial ambassador at Constantinople*, Oxford 1927.

Herodotus in *Melpom.*⁶⁰⁰ Utraque vox in nostris adhuc emicat. *A* enim, ubi ad tempus aut ordinem applicatur, fit ex uno, punctum aut principium. Et erit in grammatica comparatione *a* positivus, quem alio vocabulo explicare nequeas. Comparativus vero erit *ar*, *aar*, id est prius. Superlativus *arst*, *arist* et *ast*, i.e. primum, aliter etiam *adr*, *adst* et *arim*, *arima*, *arm*. Saxonibus *eer*, *erst*, Germ. *eh*, *ehe*, *eher*, *ehst*, *ehist*, *erst*, id est prius, primum. Ex *arist* Graeci suum ἄριστος fecerunt; *ast* hodie etiam in usu est Roslagiis⁶⁰¹ et Alanis nostris pro valde, apprime. Ubi frequens est *ast-myckit*, id est apprime multum, hoc est plurimum; *ast-vacker*, i.e. apprime pulcher etc. Nos alii dicimus *myckast* et *vackrast*, ubi obiter notandum hanc flexionem comparationis vocis primae et uniliterae *a* retineri in omnibus quotcunque syllabarum dictionum comparatione. Sic ab inusitato positivo *ma* fiunt *meer*, *mäst*, id est plus, plurimum. *Na*, *när*, *näst*, prope, propius, proxime. *Quick*, *quickare*, *quickast*, agilis, agilior, agillimus. Quam eandem Scythicam comparationis flexionem, si oculos aperias, etiam in lingua Latina reperies in terminationibus *-or* et *-issimus* et *-imus*: verus, verior, verissimus, prior, primus. Graeci Scythiis proximi <fuerunt>.⁶⁰²

Spu, i.e. oculus. Eius verbum est *spea*, *speja*, videre, visitare, hodie explorare. A Gothiis nostris acceperunt Itali *spiare*, *spione*.

Sed ad rhombum. Graecis genera distinguuntur per εἷς,⁶⁰³ ἐνός unum, ἓν,⁶⁰⁴ unum, item ἰός,⁶⁰⁵ ἴα unde μία, unus, [un]a, solus, [sol]a. Hebraei nonnihil fere discrepant in הֶן, הֵן *hen*, *hena*, unus, [un]a. In אַחַד *ahhad*, quod Chald[ae] *had*, conveniunt cum nostro *et*.

8.4.2 Similitudo flexionum

Source: *Glossarium Ulphila–Gothicum*, Stockholm 1670, p. 78 s.v. *Haban*. For a photograph including this text, see Vol. 2, Fig. 21b.

p. 78: [...] Caeterum notatu digna est similitudo flexionum verborum Gothicorum et Latinorum, quae manifesto arguit linguam utramque primis temporibus fuisse unam, quae postea in diversas abierit dialectos. Similitudo haec patet in sequentibus:

⁶⁰⁰ See Herodotus, *Histories*, book 4, titled *Melpomene* (i.e. the Muse of Tragedy) chapter 27 (at the end): “we give the one-eyed race the Scythian name of Arimaspi, *arima* being the Scythic word for one, and *spu* for the eye.”

⁶⁰¹ Roslagiis] Stiernhielm first intended to write the equivalent *Rospigiis* (that is, inhabitants of Roslagen in Uplandia), but stopped after having written *Rospig*.

⁶⁰² Nos alii ... Scythiis proximi] This passage has been written in the margin.

⁶⁰³ εἷς] In the manuscript, Stiernhielm uses grave accent: εἶς.

⁶⁰⁴ ἓν] Stiernhielm similarly accentuates with grave accent: ἔν.

⁶⁰⁵ ἰός] The manuscript has ἰος.

Haba	Habeo, Ioh 10:12.	Haban	Habere, Marc. 6:18.
Habais	Habes, Ioh 6:68.	Habands	Habens, Mat. 8:2.
Habaith	Habet, Mat. 27:65.	Habandis	Habentis, Ioh. 10:21.
Habam	Habemus, Marc. 8:6.	Habandin	Habenti, Marc. 3:3.
Habaith	Habetis, Luc. 6:24.	Habandan	Habentem, Ioh. 10:17.
Haband	Habent, Mat. 6:5.	Habandona	Habentes, Mat. 9:36.
Habaida	Habuit, Marc. 7:25.		

8.4.3 Conjugation of the verb “to be” in English and Dutch

Source: F.d. 7:1, fol. 1r. The English and Dutch verbs “to be” and “zijn” are conjugated in the present and past indicative.

Anglica.		Belgica.	
I am.	I was.	Ick ben.	
Thou art.	Thou wast.	Ghy zijt.	Ghy waert.
He is.		Hij is.	
We are.	We were.	Wij zijn.	Wij waren.
Anglica. to be.		Belgica. wesen. zijn.	

8.5 Gradation of phono-morphological terms

8.5.1 Text 1

Source: *Collectanea philosophica*, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 8r.

Apex.	Radix.	a. — Notio generalis specialis
Litera.	Flexio.	am. ᾠω
Syllaba.	Vocula.	amo.
Vox.	Derivatum.	amor. ἔρως
Verbum.	Compositum.	deamo.
Sermo.	Notio.	ex unitate.

8.5.2 Text 2

Source: *Collectanea philosophica*, F.d. 4:4:1, 48v.

Apex.	Punctum.
Elementum	
sonorum.	Lux.
mutum.	Materia.
Litera.	Linea recta, curva.
Syllaba.	Corpus mixtum, vivum.
Vox.	Corpus vivum. Sensile animal.
Sermo.	Animal rationale.

PART 3. LANGUAGE PHILOSOPHY

9. Reality, the linguistic sign, and mind: the relationship

9.1 Object and word: the relationship

9.1.1 *De origine linguarum*

Sources: *Runa Suethica*, F.d. 5, fol. 35r (with the measurements 210 x 324 mm), which is Stiernhielm's autograph, and F.d. 3, fols. 3v–4r (a fair copy measuring 205 x 322 mm). For a photographic image of the original (F.d. 5, fol. 35r), see Figure 15.

Dating: The text is dated Wasula, 2 December 1655 (F.d. 5, 35r, col. 1 at the bottom).

Contents: Stiernhielm explores the ontological and phonosemantic principles of the origin of language. Stähle (1951: 9–12) has analysed Stiernhielm's argument as follows (in my summary):

The ontological principles of mind (*mens*), light (*lux*) and matter (*materia*) correspond on the level of language to the principles of reason (*ratio*), speech sound (*sonus*) and the unactualized linguistic material (*elementa*). The vowels are free from matter. The vowel /a/ is the purest, and from it all other vowels are derived. The consonants are linked to the principle of matter in language and each of them has a particular semantic function. The morphemes are derived from a certain system of combinations of vowels and consonants. The morphemes represent the basic conceptual fields of reality, while the secondary lexical derivations are supposed to represent the variety of reality.

(35r, col. 1)

DE ORIGINE LINGUARUM

Omnium principiorum principia sunt mens, lux, materia. Hinc igitur etiam dependent sermonis principia. Mentis est ratio, lucis sonus, materiae elementa. Omnia sunt analogia.

Mens ipsa sibi ratio est, sed in brutis rationem non exerit, nisi particulatim, quantum unicuique speciei competit. In homine totam, quantam materia capere potest, effudit. Ideoque solus homo capax est sermonis. Vide Bibliander, p. 108 etc.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁶ See Theodore Bibliander, *De ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius*, Tiguri/ Zürich 1548, p. 108, where the author discusses the concept of language or speech (*oratio*) mainly on the basis of Augustine and Aristotle. On the next page, 109, he continues with the definitions given by Quintilian, Diomedes and Priscian. He quotes from Augustine's *De dialectica*, chapter 5: "To speak is to

Lucis opus esse sonum clarum est ex attributis. Lumen seu claritas non semper est visibilis nec calor et motus sensibilis nec eo minus sunt et existunt. Lux enim semper sibi lux est, licet ab inferioribus non comprehensibilis. Comprehenditur tamen, quantum materiae admittit, duobus sensibus visu et auditu. Sono enim eadem, quae lumini accidunt, differentiae. Proprium est claritas, quae fuscatur gradibus obscuri,⁶⁰⁷ unde fit ut sonus proprie sit clarus, sed nec minus sonus sit, qui est obscurus et vix audiri possit. Claritati nihil officit nisi materia, cuius proprietas est tenebrae. Ut lucis, ita soni.

In materia – in orco et morte – tenebrae et silentium. In luce vita et sonus. In et ex motu sonus. In quiete silentium. Nihil sonat, nisi motum. Nullus motus nisi a luce. In laetitia sonus, in maerore silentium.⁶⁰⁸ Wasula die 2 Xbr. 1655.

(35r, col. 2) Sermonis principia sunt ratio, sonus, elementum. Elementum est materia disposita et in varia discriminata, apta ad compositionem vocis destinatae. Materia ipsa aër est idemque varie effectus: siccus, serenus, madidus, obscurus, tenuis, crassus. Rationis opus est distinctio et differentia sonorum. Quae triplex est: toni, flexus et articulationis. Toni est soni unius invariati depressio et exaltatio in altum et bassum, gravem et acutum. Flexus est proprie vocalis primae A in secundarias: ä. (η). e. i. γ. (υ) ö. å. (o) o. (ω) u.⁶⁰⁹

Articulatio est consonantium diversorum beneficio organorum oris humani ad id a Deo factorum naturalis conformatio, vel sic: est soni in diversas et inter se differentes voces conformatio.

Vox est sonus articulatus proprie. Voces primae et generales, nihil in specie significantes sunt eae, quae exprimuntur signis, quae vocamus literas. Vox specialis est verbum mente praeditum.

Voces literales⁶¹⁰ primae et radicales seu matres sunt. Radix et mater omnium est A. Eius filiae omnes sunt vocales omnesque

give a sign by means of an articulate utterance. A sign is something which is itself sensed and which indicates to the mind something beyond itself. By an articulate utterance I mean one which can be expressed in letters.” He quotes Aristotle’s definition of λόγος “speech, sentence” in *The Art of Poetry* 20 (1457a) as φωνή συνθετή σημαντική ἥς ἔνια μέρη καθ’ αὐτὰ σημαίνει τι, ‘a composite meaningful sound, some parts of which mean something by themselves’ (such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs, as opposed to connective words such as prepositions and conjunctions). He also refers to Aristotle’s definition in *De interpretatione* I, 4. He quotes the Stoic definition of λόγος as φωνή σημαντική ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπομένη, ‘a meaningful sound emitted from the mind’, and mentions Democritus’ definition of λόγος, ‘speech’, as ῥεῦσις τοῦ νοῦ, which Bibliander renders as *defluxus et quasi derivatio mentis*, ‘a flowing or like some derivation of the mind’.

⁶⁰⁷ obscuri] In F.d. 5 *tenebrarum* has been crossed out and replaced by *obscuri*.

⁶⁰⁸ In laetitia ... silentium] In F.d. 5, this has been written in col. 2.

⁶⁰⁹ *Elementum est materia* (ω) u] In F.d. 5 this passage has been crossed out.

⁶¹⁰ literales] After *literales* the word *sunt* has been crossed out.

diphthongi ac praeterea omnes consonantes eatenus, quatenus sono vocali illustrantur, animantur⁶¹¹ et auditu fiunt perceptibiles. Revera etenim consonantium per se mutorum principium est materia tenebrosa, cuius proprium est quiescere et silere. Consonantium igitur duo emergunt principia: prima lux et materia; secundaria sonus et materialis seu tenebrosa obsistentia. Ea ne uniformem et unicam tantum efficiat vocem, intercedit principium tertium: **(35r, col. 2)** mens omnia ad sufficientiam apte et numerose concinnans ac discriminans. Ipsius mentis opus est *b* differre a *c* et utrumque a *d* etc. Supremae praeterea mentis creatricis magisterium sunt lingua et cetera oris humani ad vocis ex arbitrio efformationem necessaria organa. Haec organa materiam, hoc est aerem obiectum, ea ratione verberant, premunt, collidunt, attenuant, liquidant, ingrossant, madidant, ut sonus in eo conceptus et elatus omnes illas qualitates et differentias efferat ac repraesentet. Hinc illa omnibus perceptibilis serenitas literae L, obscuritas literae M, duritas literae T, tenuitas H, mobilitas literae S.

(35r, col. 3) NB. omnia sunt analogia. Lux non splendet nec est visibilis nisi in tenebrosa materia. Ita nec sonus audibilis, nisi ex percussione obsistentis tenebrosae et per se silentis mutaeque materiae.

(35r, col. 3) Instrumenta, os hominis et oris partes: fauces, palatum, dentes, labia, lingua. In sermone sunt: spiritus, sonus, vox, articulatio, ratio, dictio (verbum), sermo.

Sermo Democrito est $\rho\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\omicron\upsilon$, *effluvium, derivatio mentis*.

Sonus in genere unus est indifferens et indistinctus, repraesentatus aliquo modo per $\aleph$ non punctatum, quod proinde sonat, ac substratum est punctum, per se nihil. Hic notabile est mysterium in analogia omnium rerum. Quarum principia sunt puncta, in se proxima nihilo, simplicissima et ab omni affectione pura, ita ut non possint dici hoc vel illud. Id etiam fieri in sono manifestum est. $\aleph$ principium est sonorum et omnis vocalitatis sensui auditus obiectae, sed per se silens et ante emanationem quiescens. Emanans autem auditur, directe et simplicissime in ipsa vocali *A* ($\aleph$), sed flexim et oblique in reliquis sonis *ä. e. i. o.* etc. Sic Rabbinis (metaphora ex hac doctrina sumpta) unum aiunt esse principium mundi: $\aleph$, aleph obscurum, quod idem in actu creationis transiit in $\aleph$ lucidum et sonorum etc.⁶¹²

⁶¹¹ illustrantur, animantur] In F.d. 5 these words occur in reverse order, which has been changed by numbers (1–2) above the line.

⁶¹² aleph obscurum ... lucidum et sonorum] Stiernhielm refers to the Kabbalistic ideas about the creation of the world as emanations of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. God is conceived as the dark aleph, who at the Creation is manifested as the bright aleph. In *De arte Cabbalistica* (1517), book 3, p. 523, Johannes Reuchlin

Est igitur א obscurum ac silens atque inde *A* lucidum et sonorum, fons et principium omnis vocis et vocalitatis. Inde per flexum vocalium omnis differentia indeque per articulationem consonantium cunctarum effigiatio et disliminatio.

9.1.2 *Mysterium et fundamentum huius artis*

Source and dating: *Runa Suethica*, F.d. 5, fol. 38r (autograph original) and F.d. 3, 8v, col. 2 (fair copy). In both sources, the text has been written on the same page as *Multiplicatio variarum vocum* (Section 8.2.3). The text was probably composed around 1655.

Contents: Stiernhielm comments on the Kabbalistic concepts of the dark aleph and the lucid aleph and uses them as a basis for his phonosemantic theory of different meanings of the speech sound /a/. From different dichotomies within the two Kabbalistic principles he elicits the notion of mind and distinction, the notion of light, and the notion of negation and loss, *alpha privativum*.

NOTA. *Mysterium et fundamentum huius artis seu scientiae*.

Litera *A* principium est omnium in rerum natura voce et scriptura cognoscibilium notionum rerum, eadem ratione, qua Rabbini א principium dicitur omnium rerum bonique malique. א lucidum, boni, א tenebrosum, mali (de quo vide Rob. Fludd in *Philosophia Mosaica*).⁶¹³ Illud principium est positivum, hoc negativum. Illud reale est lucis divinae invisibilis, quam mentem vocamus, et lucis mundanae visibilis, quae lux est primigenia, a Deo creata. Hoc tenebrarum, quae est materia prima, invisibilis, incomprehesibilis, incorporea, interminata ac propterea nec mente intelligibilis, caret enim omni et quantitate et qualitate. Hinc notiones omnes bonique malique ex una litera *A* proficiscuntur. Unde ex triplici notione prima ipsius *A* tria summa genera notionum emanant. Ex 1. *A*, unus, mentis et distinctionis <notio>, quae consistit in mensura, numero et termino, unde *A*, ‘Est’. 2. *A*, αω, luceo. 3. *A*, non, non est. Privativum, etc.

accounts for these speculations. As soon as God as the endless and unknowable one (*en Soph*) by the act of creation shows that he exists, the dark aleph is transformed into the bright aleph. Reuchlin quotes from the Kabbalistic work *Sefer ha-Bahir*, when stating: “At cum se ita ostenderit, ut sit aliquid et revera subsistat, tum aleph tenebrosum in aleph lucidum convertitur.” Robert Fludd, *Philosophia Moysaica*, 1638, fol. 69v, quotes the same passage in full. In *De praeternaturali utiusque mundi historia*, 1621, vol. 2, pp. 1 and 76, Fludd gives the same ideas a trinitarian Christian interpretation: the dark aleph is a symbol of the Father and the bright aleph can be compared to the Son or the Word. Cf. Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kabbala 1600–1660*, vol. 2, Stuttgart 2013, p. 100.

⁶¹³ Robert Fludd, *Philosophia Moysaica*, Gouda 1638, see fol. 69r–69v.

9.1.3 *Eadem verborum quae rerum genesis*

Source and dating: *Collectanea philosophica*, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 38v. Size: 208 x 319 mm. The text should be dated to about 1652.

Contents: Stiernhielm proposes the theory of a direct relationship between reality and language. He argues that meaning depends on the things words represent and that the order of things determines the meaning of words. This theory can be termed referential semantics or linguistic representationalism.⁶¹⁴ It implies that meaning is equated with its referent and determined by reference (whether it is a concrete object or a mental concept). I have included the latter part of the text, which consists of an account of the order of things, in Appendix 4.

Ad conformitatem igitur huius axiomatis: *eandem, qua ordinem, esse verborum, quam rerum genesin*, necesse erit, ut principio omnium rerum uno, primo, simplicissimo respondeat principium omnium vocum et verborum rationalium, hoc est secundum naturam ortorum; unum, primum, simplicissimum, ex quo omnium rerum conceptus et notiones ordine partim cognitionis (eae scilicet quae non nisi intellectu percipiuntur), partim ortus et generationis fluunt et se diffundunt. Iam in rebus summum conceptu et intellectu est ens et causa entis: ens entium. Ens est primum principium essendi internum, operandi et cognoscendi. (Quod desinit ab operatione, desinit ab esse.)⁶¹⁵ Eidem respondet in vocibus vox simplicissima et unilitera *A*. Haec radix et principium est omnium vocum in universum omnium linguarum, quae mente et ratione praeditae ortae sunt a prima, primo homine simul cum anima a Deo infusa, ut mox patebit. Huius *A* vocalae ignoratio peperit caliginem et ignorantiam, quam experimur, omnium linguarum, quia singularum vocum ignoratio et error in principio generat ignorationem et errorem in omnibus ortis. Sed ut pateat analogia rerum et verborum in instituto praesenti sequens diagramma subijciam. [...] Et hoc est ordo rerum et notionum.

9.1.4 *Eadem ratio verborum quae rerum*

Source and dating: F.d. 9**, fols. 78v–79r (pp. 116–117 according to the pagination). This draft was probably written in November 1656, because the next leaf (80r/ p. 119) is dated Stockholm 2 Dec. 1656.

Stiernhielm discusses his semantic and phonological principles. By relating them to his principles of mind, light and matter, he contends that there is a direct correspondence between reality and language.

⁶¹⁴ This principle differs from the theory of relational semantics, according to which meaning is defined as the function of the relations of words with other words. See Richard Waswo, *Language and meaning in the Renaissance* (1987), pp. 11–13.

⁶¹⁵ Ens est primum ... ab esse] This has been loosely added in the left-hand margin.

Eadem plane est ratio notionum quae entium, verborum quae rerum. Omnia ex uno in unam. In unitate simplex entitas et essentia sine differentia. At in binario, fluxu, divisione, multiplicatione non solum diversitas, sed etiam contrarietas et oppositio elucescit. Eodem igitur ordine ex una radice fluunt et ad eandem reducuntur vocabula rerum, quo res ipsae. Res in mente notione figuratur. Notio sono exprimitur, notio distincta sono distincto – et hoc est voce articulata et mente dotata – significatur. Haec rationis est et homini competit. Notio confusa brutorum est, quae sono confuso affectus et passionis tam violentas, quam naturales effundunt.

Vocis humanae articulatio certis comprehenditur articulis ceu primis omnis variationis elementis, etiam in hoc rerum analogiam sequens. Haec auditui propria, visui etiam percipienda per literas exhibuit ars daedala et divinus homini insertus intellectus. Elementa prima vocum literae oculis repraesentant contemplanda simul⁶¹⁶ et linguae pronuncianda auditui. – Res mira. Sonum explicat res muta, apex, linea, figura. Sonum (res invisibilis) visio exponitur.⁶¹⁷ – Inter has primatum obtinet *A* vocalium omnium mater indifferens et consonantium per se mutarum vita et anima. Qua ratione, id quod inter principia naturae praestet lux, hoc inter intelligibiles hasce et iam auditui et visui sensibiles vocis notas praestat Alpha. Mutae, silentes, tenebrosae, indifferentes, mortuae sunt reliquae. Alpha consonantes facit loquentes, lucidas, distinctas,⁶¹⁸ vivas et anima pollentes. Materia vocis sunt consonae, per se immobiles et nihil efficientes. Alpha dat motum vitamque confert et actum easque, ut legibiles fiant et audibiles, efficit. Ut beneficio lucis materia prima in distincta coivit elementa, ita vivificatione ipsius *A* literae distinctae sunt in elementa sono (**fol. 79r/ p. 117**) et enunciatione differentia. Qualia sunt *b, c, d*, etc. Earum autem coniugia cum *A* et filiabus vocalibus variaeque inter se commixtiones syllabas easdemque ipsas primas et simplicissimas voces generant. Sed nihil praeter voces et articulationem antequam mens accedat. Vox sono articulata et virtute ipsius Alpha animata animalis est, etiam bruti, ut ovis *bæ*, bovis *bu*, canis *vau-vau*, anguis *ess*, canis iterum *err*, cuculi *cu-cu*, alaudae *tireli*,⁶¹⁹ ut picas taceam, corvos, psittacos et id genus aves plures, quarum natura, industria humana excitata, cunctas potis est literas articulate proferre, sed mente carent voces istae.

Mente vox hominis a voce bruti distinguitur. Et hinc est, ut ipsum *A* – ut sonus, vox, nota, litera, elementum et principium omnis

⁶¹⁶ contemplanda simul] In the ms., the word order is indicated by numbers (1–2).

⁶¹⁷ Res mira ... visio exponitur] In the manuscript, this is a marginal addition.

⁶¹⁸ lucidas, distinctas] In the ms., the order is marked by numbers above the line.

⁶¹⁹ alaudae *tireli*] This has been added in the margin.

notationis vocalis et notabilis – primum notiones etiam principiorum realium primas et generalissimas in se comprehendit. Respectu literarum mutarum (quae materiam), principium vitae et motus ipsam lucem repraesentat; respectu vero notionum, omnium principiorum – materiae scilicet lucis et mentis – notiones omnes continet. Omnibus enim unus idemque sonus una vox et una litera A communis est, sed notiones, quae ex mente loquentis et scribentis proficiscuntur, in et sub eodem A diversae sunt. Atque hoc non solum literae et vocis primae A, sed omnibus inde ortis – et ex A et consonantibus – compositis accidit. Idque naturae ipsius vi ac instinctu et ipso, quod dicitur, fato.

Porro, ut in genesi rerum omnia ex puncto et hinc ex minimis oriuntur et augescunt, ita primo ex vovula et litera A ac deinceps minimis ortis, quales sunt *ab, ac, al, ba, ca, la* etc., omnes voces reliquae oriuntur et fere infinite multiplicantur. Illas igitur simplices ac nudas convenit radices seu radicales nuncupare. Quas observandum est singulas obtinere tres notiones generales ex ipsa natura materiae, lucis et mentis emanantes. Ex quibus porro in dictiones ortas derivantur notiones ortae et, ex suo quaeque genere, speciales, quales ex materia fluxus, eliquationis, vaporationis, tenebrarum, stuporis, corruptionis, languoris, mortis⁶²⁰ etc. notiones, ex luce claritatis, splendoris, caloris, fervoris, rapidi motus, actus, virtutis, vitae, vigoris⁶²¹ etc. notiones, ex mente numerationis, dimensionis, figurationis, formationis, potentiae, intellectus, electionis⁶²² etc. notiones. Quarum singularum ex primo quoque ortu progressionem, divisionem et multiplicationes mundo hactenus in hac scientia coeco exhibere constitui postquam literarum nativitatem, numerum, cognationes et potestates atque inde resultantium radicum chorum in scenam produxero.

9.1.5 Coniugium Cadmi et Harmoniae

Source and contents: *Collectanea ad Runam Sueticam*, F.d. 6, fol. 6v. Stiernhielm argues that the order of objective reality and the order of morphemes, words and meanings are structurally similar and joined together by a relationship of representation like an image, a mirror or an echo. Nordström (1924, vol. 1, p. ccxxxii) quoted most of the text.

Cadmum ex Phoenicia literas et sapientiam Graeciae intulisse omnibus notum et decantatum est. Eundem uxorem aiunt duxisse

⁶²⁰ Stuporis ... mortis] These words have been added in the margin. The order of the words *languoris* and *mortis* have been indicated by numbers above the line.

⁶²¹ actus ... vigoris] This is a marginal addition.

⁶²² potentiae ... electionis] This is similarly a marginal addition.

Harmoniam. In quo allegoriam insignem latere subodorantur sagaces. Eius sensum esse Cadmum logodaedalum Graecis multas voces et locutiones subministrasse, factas et fictas ad harmoniam rerum, sine qua futiles essent et inanis sonus sive anima et sensu. Ut enim res a rebus suis sibi peculiaribus, proprietatibus et terminis distinguuntur, ita rerum vocabula suis significatis ad rerum naturam conformatis, inter se distingui par est.

Generationem et seriem rerum imitatur generatio et series vocum. Quae cognatio, propinquitas et assimilatio inter se rerum, eadem omnino cognatio, propinquitas et assimilatio inter se vocum et significatorum. Ut cuncta radicanter et comprehenduntur in unitate entis, ita omnes in universum voces radicanter et comprehenduntur in unitate primae et simplicissimae vocis aut literae vocalis. Ex qua, ut ab ente substantiae et elementa indeque composita, ita literarum elementa, sonorum differentiae, voces simplices et compositae naturali ordine et progressu exoriuntur.

Et hoc ipsum est quod olim sub involucro mythico innuere voluere sapientes, cum ECHO, hoc est sonum et vocem, PANI, hoc est universitati rerum, indissolubili connubio nuptam et copulatam canerent. Eae enim rectae et ex natura ipsa natae voces redduntur, quae mundi ipsius indolem et intimas rerum fidelissime reddunt et veluti dictante ipso mundo concipiuntur et informantur. Vox etenim ratione animata nihil aliud est quam Echo Pani nupta, hoc est mundi ipsius simulachrum et reflexio. Quod nihil addit de proprio, sed tantum iterat et resonat.⁶²³

Tales nimirum sunt voces, quas edam, omnibus linguis communes et primigeniae etc. Vestigia rationis verba sunt. Praeter uxorem legitimam Echo, Pan etiam adamasse proditur Nympham Syringam. Qua nihil aliud innuitur, quam vox sive iam sermo cultior schematibus rhetoricis floridus.⁶²⁴

Syrinx est vox seu sermo potius accuratior et cultu expolita, quae numeris et phaleris sive poeticis sive oratoriis et tanquam modulamine reguntur. Cogitationum tesserae verba; verborum literae artes. Ne vero nos diutius moremur, progrediamur proprius ad inspiciendum hasce nuptias.

9.1.6 *Vocum etymon*

Source: F.d. 9:11, fol. 4r. This text forms part of a discussion of etymological principles, of which the majority is edited in Vol. 2, Section 7.6. Nordström (1924, vol. 1, p. ccxxi) quoted the text.

⁶²³ Et hoc ipsum ... iterat et resonat] This paragraph has been added in the margin.

⁶²⁴ Tales nimirum ... floridus] This paragraph has been added in the margin. It replaces a deleted passage on the nymph Syrinx in the main column.

Contents: It is contended that words represent things in a natural and motivated way in contrast to conventional representation.

1. Vocum etymon seu mentem veram elici aut dari haudquaquam possibile esse sine plena et exacta cognitione rerum. Principia enim et catena rerum insinuant principia et catenam notionum et intellectus verborum, quae nihil aliud sunt quam rerum veri et perceptibiles imagines et characteres⁶²⁵ et per sonum in aures, per scripturam in oculos incurrentes.⁶²⁶ 2. Principia et catenam rerum vice versa emicare ex genuino etymo verborum.

9.1.7 *Veritas vocum*

Source: *Collectanea philosophica*, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 53r, cols. 3–5. This text is an excerpt from a manuscript draft of the relationship between unity, truth and goodness (*unitas*, *veritas* and *bonitas*). The draft has the heading “Everyday notes for the memory” and the dating 1 April 1652: “Notae pro memoriae, coepae 1 April. 1652 in Stiernlund.”

(col. 2) Veritas et conformitas rei cum intellectu, scilicet Creatoris. Verum est, quod est, uti esse debet, vel uti se habere debet. Quod non saltem apparet ita esse, sed secundum se omnino ita est, ut esse debet.

(col. 3) Veritas infert conformitatem cum sua idea iuxta quam esse suum habet. Sic omnis creatura verum esse habet, prout congruit et conformatur cum idea mentis divinae. (col. 4) Ergo veritas est imago mentis creatricis in rebus creatis. GS.

(col. 2) Veritas ethica, veracitas dicitur. Est virtus consistens in sermone, prout his consentit cum mente eloquentis et cum ipso facto.

(col. 3) Veritas vocum et literarum consistit in significatione illarum rerum, quas significare debent, ut est verus rerum sensus.

9.2 Word and meaning: the relationship

9.2.1 *Voces sunt signa conceptuum*

Source: In F.d. 7:4, there are two very similar versions of the text in question: one on fols. 1r–1v (version A) and another on fol. 2r (version B). Version A is obviously a fair copy of version B. These versions are copies in another hand than Stiernhielm’s.

The edited text is in all probability Stiernhielm’s commentary on a semiotic treatise in the tradition of the scholastic philosopher Duns Scotus.⁶²⁷ See further Section 4.3.3 above.

⁶²⁵ imagines et characteres] The word order has been inverted by numbers (1–2).

⁶²⁶ et per sonum ... incurrentes] This has been added in the margin.

⁶²⁷ For a survey of Duns Scotus’ semantic and semiotic theory, see Dominik Perler, “Scotus on signification” in *Medieval Philosophy and Theology* 3 (1993): 97–120.

Contents: The first part of the text deals with the relation of words to thought and object. The latter part deals with the question of Adam's bestowing of names on the creatures.

(Version A, fol. 1r) V. Quaestio.⁶²⁸

(Version B, fol. 1r) Voces sunt signa conceptuum, ut conceptus rerum, et utrumque coniunctim repraesentant, quamvis unum immediate et primo, alterum secundo et remote. Quod probat Scotus, quaest. 1, huius capitis. Item Thomas, lib. prim. quaest. 13, artic. 1, Dominicus de Flandria, 4 Metaph. quest. 7, art. 4.⁶²⁹

Cum ergo hoc loco quaeritur de significatione vocum, non attenditur materiale illarum, prout literis et syllabis earundemque articulata pronuntiatione constant, citra respectum signandi conceptus, sed formale quatenus rebus ex illarum natura declarandis et conceptui nostro sistendis, quo respectu etiam imagines et symbola rerum indigentur. Posteriori modo Aristoteles voces intelligit, non priori. Vide Connimb. cap. 1 de signis quest. 4, art. 2.⁶³⁰

Deinde natura significare notat vel fundamentum agnoscere in natura, a quo conceptus occasionem impositionis desumit vel ex se et sua natura absque respectu alterius cuiusdam facultatis hoc et non aliud denotare. Illo, non hoc respectu, Plato in Cratylo⁶³¹ voces

⁶²⁸ V. quaestio] This heading is only found in the version B (F.d. 7:4, 2r).

⁶²⁹ Scotus ... art. 4] John Duns Scotus (1266–1308), either *Reportatio* 4.1.2 (*Opera omnia*, edited by Wedding, vol. 23: p. 546) or *Liber primus Peri hermeneias, quaestiones* 2 (*Opera omnia*, edited by Wedding, vol. 1, pp. 539–540), Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), *In Metaphysicam Aristotelis commentaria* I, XIII, 1, and Dominicus of Flanders, *Quaestiones in duodecim libros Metaphysicae*, IV, VII, 4.

In the passage referred to (IV, VII, 4, third observation), Dominicus of Flanders says: “Unde notandum est in tertio illud quod dicit Doctor Sanctus in de potentia, quest. prima, articulo primo, ad decimum quod in intellectu correspondet aliquid in re dupliciter. Uno modo immediate, quando scilicet intellectus concipit formam rei alicuius extra animam existens, ut hominis vel lapidis. Alio modo mediate, quando videlicet aliquid sequitur actum intelligendi et intellectus reflexus supra seipsum considerat illud. unde res respondent illi considerationi intellectus mediate, scil. mediante intelligentia rei.” In the final conclusion, he says: “Unde considerandum est, quod duplex est significatum nominis, etiam principale. Nam quoddam est primum et est conceptio. Aliud est secundarium et est res ad extra. Unde nomina primo significant conceptus animae, mediantibus quibus repraesentat res ad extra.”

⁶³⁰ *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu* are commentaries by Jesuit professors at the Coimbra College and the University of Évora on the main works of Aristotle, published in eight volumes 1591–1606 in Coimbra and after that reprinted in other European countries. Stiernhielm intends the commentary on Aristotle's *De interpretatione* (Περὶ ἑρμηνείας): *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis e Societatis Jesu. In universam dialecticam Aristotelis Stagiritae*, Conimbrica/ Coimbra: Loureyro 1606, see ch. 1 “on signs” (*de signis*), question 4, article 2, p. 52.

⁶³¹ Plato in Cratylo] This is a correction (in version A) to replace the misreading of the copyist, namely *Cato in Cantipo*, which has been crossed out.

significare autumat, quo pacto sane Aristoteli nullatenus, imo vero nec vero quiquam dissentaneum dicit. Quando enim Aristoteles lib. de interpretatione, cap. 2, de hac materia disputat, ita orationem inflectit, ut non tam fundamentum omnis naturae, a qua significationis ratio depromitur, quam naturae brutae intelligere videantur. Quorsum spectat similitudo a beluis desumpta in loco citato.⁶³² Quis enim vocum⁶³³ usus esset, nisi significarent illud, quod esset naturae rei significatae conveniens? Unde illa convenientia cum re significata, nisi penetrando ad rerum intimam naturam eademque speciem quandam in animo formando, quae a rebus abstracta atque animo obiecta facultati intelligibili repraesentatur, postea per vocem naturae illius rei homogeneam effertur.

Patet hoc imprimis ex Adami exemplo, qui adductis ad se animantibus non fortuita et ratione carentia nomina imposuit, sed inspecta uniuscuiusque animalis natura secundum hanc eius denominationes concinnavit utpote longe sapientissimus naturarum cuiusvis horum arbiter.

Nec secus omnis sapientiae author ipsi Adamo, Evae⁶³⁴ aliisque nomina indidit ad ipsam naturam prope accommodata, ut sacrae literae affatim evincunt. Denique per institutum vel impositionem intelligi potest vel impositio *divina* vel *humana*. Enimvero, cum Deum omnis boni adeoque et loquelae (**Version B, fol. 1v**) authorem agnoscere oporteat, non equidem video, quomodo et vocum inventionem huic iure denegemus. Unde et Plato in *Dialogo*⁶³⁵ de recta nominum ratione inspirationi divinae quaedam nomina accepta refert, imo divinam quandam virtutem ab initio hominem instruxisse refert rerumque nomina docuisse. Ut ergo veritas transcendentaliter nihil aliud infert quam congruentiam rei cum intellectu divino, ita et vocum significationes primario sunt ex instituto divino, secundario autem ex impositione hominum, instinctu hoc vere divino praeditorum, ut ea forma voces conflare possint, quae ad rerum proprietates explicandas quam proxime accedant.

9.2.2 *Voces sunt symbola rerum*

Source: *Miscellanea etymologica*, F.d. 7:1, fol. 41v, that is p. 54 according to the pagination of the manuscript.

⁶³² loco citato] Version A adds this in the margin to replace *l. c.* in version B.

⁶³³ vocum] In version A, this word was repeated twice, but its second occurrence has been crossed out.

⁶³⁴ Adamo, Evae] In margin of version B, Stiernhielm adds a brief etymological explanation of these proper names. Concerning the name Adam, he says: “a *dam* et *adem*, pulvis et spiritus.” About the name Eve, he says: “חַוְוָה *viva que, quick, kvo.*”

⁶³⁵ Dialogo] In version B, *Dialogo* has been added above the line, while *Libr.* has been crossed out on the line.

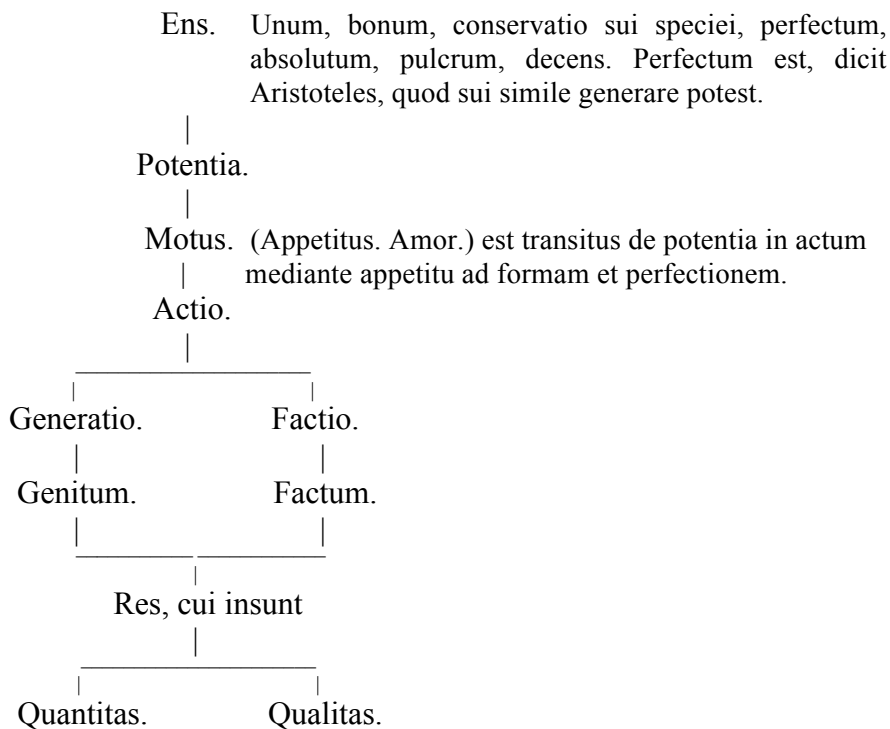
Contents: As stated above (Section 9.1.3), Stiernhielm argues that the order of objects (*res*, “things”) corresponds to the semantic order of words. In this text he also defends a logical approach to semantics: specific meanings are to be derived from general meanings.⁶³⁶

Voces sunt symbola rerum, mente conceptae, literis signatae, lingua enuntiatae. Quae igitur est ratio rerum, eadem est vocum.

Sed res omnes distinctae cernuntur in suis speciebus, quae referuntur ad sua genera, ut et haec ad sua usque ad genus generalissimum, quod omnia in se comprehendit et ex quo vicissim omnia in suos quasi rivos emanant et diffunduntur.

Ergo et voces eodem modo distinctae sunt et eandem inter se habent relationem. Multae ex uno genere in diversas species producuntur et eodem iterum reducuntur usque ad summum.

Ut igitur rerum, ita et vocum certa et distincta sunt genera eaque numero finita. Hinc sequitur, ut voces speciales ad generales atque hae ad unam solam, quae omnes in se contineat, rite reduci queant. Quod ut fieri possit, scala rerum erigenda erit, ad cuius exemplar scala vocum iuxta statui possit.



⁶³⁶ Stiernhielm clearly states his logical semantic method in *Anti-Bochartus*, p. 460: “Notiones rerum singularium semper oriuntur ex notionibus generalioribus, haud aliter quam res ipsae, et rerum species definitionem trahunt ex suis generibus.”

9.2.3 “Målet och bokstafwen äre ädle bodh-bärare”

Source: *Gambla Swea- och Göthamåles fatebur*, Stockholm 1643. In the preface, Stiernhielm reflects on the greatness, wonderfulness and incomprehensibility of language. He considers it a gift by which God has elevated man above all other creatures. In the excerpt below, Stiernhielm describes written communication as a great invention, in fact a miracle, which he exemplifies with the reaction of the American Indians to Western colonizers’ written communication. Stiernhielm similarly argues that speech is a movement of the voice to produce meaningful sound to signify one’s thought. He emphasizes the communicative function of speech and writing. The passage below is excerpted from the preface (pp. 3r–v).

9.2.3.1 The Swedish original text

(3r) At wij kunnom skrifwa och läsa, thet är, sättia thet oss sväfwat i hugh och hufwud, wåre osynlige, otastelige förebildningar och tanckar til papers eller annat sådant ämne, at en annan kan them medh sijne ögon görliga skoda och see, thet undrom wij intet. Hwilket doch ett såådant underwerck är at ingen til fyllest kan uthgrunda then stora hemligheet, som ther under ligger förborgat. Men *Indianerne*, thet elände usle få, som aldrigh hade hört eller seet slijkt; them kom thet sålsynt före, när the aff them, som först intogo landet, blefwo sände til hwar andre öfwer tiugu oc flere mijl, med en pappers-lapp och the märckte at then ene kunde see i pappers-lappen hwad then andre, som så långt borta war, wille och mente. Ach Herre! hwad the sigh grufwade! the tänckte intet mänskeligt om them, som sålunda kunde sijn-emellan betyda och förstå hwars annars tanckar.

Altså hafwer thet sigh och om målet. Hwilket icke är annat än at man medh rösten och röstens margfaldige bögiande, lämpande och länckiande beteknar och et mål gifwer åt sina tanckars obegripeligheet. Målet och bokstafwen betiäne både ett ämbete: thet ena bär ärende till örona, thet andre til ögonen: äre ädle bodh-bärare och därföre wäl wärde at man något upå them wänder, at man **(3v)** lærer rätt känna them, torffteliga nyttia them och at man them medh behörliche anfödd-bequämlige färgor och yrcke kläder och pryder, så framt någor aff them önskar hafwa gagn tillijka och ähra.

9.2.3.2 English translation

That we are able to write and read, that is, to put what appears in our mind and head, our invisible and uintangible ideas and thoughts, on paper or other similar material, and that another is able to behold and see them with his eyes, is not anything we wonder at. This is, however, such a miracle that no one can sufficiently make out how

great a secret that is concealed beneath it. But to the Indians, those poor and abominable creatures,⁶³⁷ who had never heard or seen such a thing, it was uncommon and strange, when those who first took the country sent them⁶³⁸ (as messengers) between themselves, at a distance of twenty miles and more, and they noticed that the one could see on the piece of paper what the other, who was so far away, wished and meant. O Lord! What dread they felt! And they did not think of them as merely human beings, those ones who were able to mutually signify and understand each other's thoughts in this manner.

The same is also the case of speech, which amounts to nothing other than to signify and give expression to incomprehensible thoughts with the voice and by the bending, adapting and linking of the voice. The speech and the letter serve one and the same function, the former going its errand to the ears and the latter to the eyes. They are noble messengers and therefore well deserve that we expend some effort upon them in order to learn them correctly, to use them sufficiently and to dress and embellish them with due native colours and clothing, if anyone wishes to draw gain and glory from them.

9.2.4 *An lingua aliqua homini sit naturalis?*

Source: F.d. 7:1, p. 146 according to the pagination of the manuscript, but according to the number of leaves fol. 93r.

Contents: Stiernhielm argues that language is motivated by nature, in opposition to the assumption of its semiotic arbitrariness, which was taken for granted by Johann Heinrich Alsted.

(Account of Alsted's argument, col. 1) Alstedius, *Physices* parte 6, cap. 7, regula 8, p. 765,⁶³⁹ quaerit an in hoc peccati statu lingua aliqua

⁶³⁷ creatures] Stiernhielm employs the Swedish word "fä", which properly means cattle, but it is used as a designation for uncivilized, detestable people. However, Stiernhielm may have had both the transferred and the etymological meaning in mind, since in a draft of *Runa Suethica* (Vol. 2, Section 11.3.4, the text of the next last paragraph) he describes the American Indians as a wild and inhuman people, a quality that prevents them from forming societies and thus contributes to dialect splitting among themselves. Stiernhielm states: "Causa multitudinis idiomatum apud Americanos est feritas et inhumanitas, quae homines in societates civiles coire vetat." He further tended to accept the pre-Adamite hypothesis, a belief in humans created before the biblical Adam. See *De linguarum origine praefatio*, p. 4 (Vol. 2, Section 12.3). In the *Runa Suethica* draft of the corresponding passage, Stiernhielm wrote that the existence of pre-Adamites is not unjustified ("non immerito"), but in the preface he changed it to a concession of the opposite "though heedlessly/inconsiderately" ("licet temere").

⁶³⁸ them] that is, the Indians. The Swedish text is entangled at this passage.

⁶³⁹ Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta*, Hernborn 1630 (2nd ed.), book 13 on physics, part 6, chapter 7, rule 8, p. 765.

homini sit naturalis? Sic respondet: “Adamo naturalis fuit lingua Hebraea, quae omnium est perfectissima⁶⁴⁰. Sed iam alia est ratio. Quia enim ex humano arbitrio voces dependunt, dici non potest quod aliqua lingua homini nunc sit naturalis.”

(Stiernhielm’s remarks, col. 2) Sed falsum est linguas dependere ex humano arbitrio. *Rothwelsk* et similes excipio. Quarum tamen voces omnes ex singulari naturae indole ortum habent.

(col. 1) Concedit ergo Hebraeam naturalem fuisse Adamo. Si Adamo, an etiam posteris Adami? Non, quia, natura ipsa in posteris Adami est corrupta. Sed lingua est incorrupta. **(col. 2)** Aiunt enim eam manere eandem. Ergo manet linguam naturalem esse, etsi nobis sit obscura etc.

(Account of Alsted’s reasoning, col. 1) Eadem est ratio intellectus et loquela. Sermo enim est index animi, character mentis, interpret et vector rationis. Materiale sermonis est vox articulata, formale est vis notificandi seu significandi rerum imagines intellectu conceptas atque adeo affectum et voluntatem.⁶⁴¹ **(Stiernhielm’s conclusions)** Ergo qualis est intellectus homini, talis est sermo. Sed intellectus est homini naturalis. Ergo et sermo seu lingua. Si lingua, tum singula vocabula, quibus lingua componitur, etiam singulae literae, quibus vocabula constant. Si lingua homini non est naturalis, neque vocabula erunt nec literae. Quod est absurdum. Vocabula sunt arbitraria. Ergo non naturalia. Ergo nullum arbitrium est naturale. Et hoc absurdum.

(Stiernhielm’s further remarks, col. 1) Exempli gratia vox *bombus*⁶⁴² est facta per onomatopoeian ex arbitrio fingentis. Ergo non est naturalis. Sic *pipio*, sic *crocito*, sic *strideo* etc. non erunt vocabula naturalia, sed ficta, arbitraria, artificialia, quasi hoc quod artificiale est, non etiam possit esse naturale, cum ars non solum imitetur naturam, sed etiam adiuvet, perficiat et manifestet naturam.⁶⁴³ Ars enim et arbitrium non opponuntur naturae ut contraria, sed ut diversa et potius subaltera. Si lingua est naturalis, etiam dialecti.⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴⁰ perfectissima] Alsted (in the 1630 edition) reads *antiquissima*.

⁶⁴¹ Sermo enim est index animi... affectum et voluntatem] These sentences are in reverse order found in Alsted, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 765 (in the 1630 edition): “Sermo consideratur quantum ad materiale et formale suum. Materiale sermonis est vox articulata. Formale est vis notificandi seu significandi rerum imagines intellectu conceptas atque adeo affectum et voluntatem. Unde sermo dicitur index animi, character mentis, interpret et vector rationis.”

⁶⁴² bombus] *Bombus* is a Greek loanword in Latin and means “a booming, hollow or deep sound” (in Greek βόμβος).

⁶⁴³ natura] After this word, the unfinished clause *Quod patet in aquaeductibus, in Alchymia*, in has been crossed out.

⁶⁴⁴ Si lingua ... etiam dialectus] This conclusion has been written in the right-hand corner at the bottom of the page, but belongs to this paragraph.

Lingua omnium prima est quae simplicissima et quae in se ipsa mentem habet et intelligentiam, ita ut omnium vocum causa et ratio in ipsa rerum natura fundata aperiri et reddi possit ex radicibus propriis. Talis Scythica, quae hodie in Suethica praesertim superstes vivit et viget.

(col. 2) Linguae mutantur non arbitrio hominum, sed communi omnium rerum cursu nullo hominum sentiente, nisi post elapsa secula. Violentam abolitionem excipio. Mutat autem natura sensim non substantiam, sed formam rei. Mutat per numeros et gradus rem eandem, ut extrema videantur longissime dissita; cohaereant tamen, si media recenseas. Non vero facit saltum ex uno genere in aliud, nisi post totalem abolitionem.

9.2.5 Semiotic maxims

Text 1

Source: *Runa Suethica*, F.d. 5, fol. 33r.

Dating and contents: c. 1650–1651. Stiernhielm proposes semiotic and epistemological maxims. The statement “to pursue philosophy without the concept of mind” is a criticism of Aristotelism as well as Cartesianism.⁶⁴⁵

Nemo intelligit signum, nisi significatum intelligat.
Nemo verba intelligit sine pleno intellectu rerum.
Nemo res intelligit sine pleno intellectu verborum.
Qui lucem non videt, in tenebris vivit.
Intellectus lux est mentis.
Sine mente philosophari
summa est
stultitia.

In English translation:

No one understands the sign, unless he understands the meaning.

No one understands the words without full comprehension of the
subject matter.

No one comprehends the subject matter without a full understanding
of the words.

The one who does not see the light lives in darkness.

The faculty of understanding is the light of the mind.

To pursue philosophy without the concept of mind
is the highest point
of stupidity.

⁶⁴⁵ Hammaršköld, “Anteckningar till Georg Stjernhielms lefvernes beskrivning”, p. 46, argues that the Platonic semiotic assumption of an identity between the sign and the signified made Stjernhielm accuse Descartes of *philosophari sine mente*.

Text 2

Source: *Runa Suethica*, F.d. 5, fol. 33r.

Veritati rerum nititur veritas conceptuum et verborum
Augustinus: Qui verba non intelligit, res minus intelliget.
Et ego assero: Qui res non intelligit, verba nunquam intelliget.

The truth of concepts and words rests on the truth of things.

Augustine: He who does not understand the words, will not comprehend the subject matter.

And I assert: He who does not comprehend the subject matter, will not understand the words.

9.3 Phonemes, meanings and colours: the relationship

9.3.1 *Notae ad Platonis Cratylum*

Source: *Adversaria Georgii Stiernhielm*, ms. XXXII. 1715, fols. 30r–31r, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, Hannover. For a reproduction of fol. 30r, see Figure 16. In editing the text, I have used the photostat extant at the Royal Library, Stockholm, ms. N. 24.

Dating: This text was at the earliest written in 1640. On the inside of the front page Stiernhielm dated the volume: *inchoata anno 1640 in Wasula*. It was finished before 13 July 1641, because it is written in his handwriting before he suffered an injury to his right hand.

Contents: This text can be divided into three parts. Stiernhielm first comments on Plato's *Cratylus* 425d–427c, from its Latin translation in Johannes Goropius Becanus, *Hermathena* (1580), book 3, pp. 46–47.⁶⁴⁶ Plato, *Cratylus* 426c–427d, attributes a meaning to fourteen phonetic elements (στοιχεῖα) in Greek, viz. *rho*, *iota*, *phi*, *psi*, *sigma*, *zeta*, *delta*, *tau*, *lambda*, *gamma*, *ny*, *alpha*, *eta* and *omikron*, and exemplifies with Greek words.⁶⁴⁷ Stiernhielm sets out from Swedish cognates of the Greek words that are referred to by Plato in the first ten Greek phonemes and claims a sound symbolism that is based on corresponding Swedish phonemes. In the second part (from fol. 30v, col. 3), he goes on to describe the sound value of Swedish vowels and consonants that are not treated in Plato's *Cratylus*. He certainly received this idea from Goropius Becanus, but in describing the pronunciation of the letters of the Swedish alphabet, he is much more comprehensive than his Flemish model of inspiration (who confines himself to Greek and Latin) and applies a distinct perspective on

⁶⁴⁶ Joh. Goropius Becanus, *Opera hactenus in lucem non edita, nempe Hermathena, Hieroglyphica, Vertumnus, Gallica, Francica, Hispanica*, Antwerp 1580.

⁶⁴⁷ For a diagrammatic survey, see Luca Nobile and Edoardo Lombardi Vallauri, *Onomatopoea et fonosimbolismo*, Rome 2016, p. 31.

sound symbolism mainly independent of Becanus.⁶⁴⁸ In the third part (from fol. 31v, col. 2), Stiernhielm also comments on some clusters of letters in Swedish, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew words.

In his study of linguistic theory and word choice in Stiernhielm's authorship, Ståhle (1951: 55–56) comments on the present text. He underlines the fact that Stiernhielm adopts Plato's theory of sound symbolism and that he tries to confirm it with phonematic material from Swedish. Ståhle exemplifies this with a selection of words drawn from Stiernhielm's extensive lists. He argues that Stiernhielm is independent in relation to Goropius Becanus.

(fol. 30r, col. 1)⁶⁴⁹

NOTAE ad Platonis Cratylum⁶⁵⁰

loco, quem adducit Goropius in *Hermathenae* suae libro 3. p. 47. Plato dicit vocem κίειν, qua ἰέναι, id est ire, notatur, peregrinam esse. Imo est Celtica. Eam vero linguam prisci Graeci Barbaram et in specie Schythicam, posteriores etiam Geticam appellaverunt. (fol. 30r, col. 2) Barbari in specie apud antiquos Phrygi appellantur et lingua barbara Phrygia. Vide Bochart. Eam innuere videtur Plato. Sed eadem illa est cum Thracica, Getica, Scythica. (fol. 30r, col. 1) κίειν enim purum putum est Germanorum *Gehen*, cuius radix simplicior apparet in nostro Gothorum *Ghā*, κίνησις, *gāng*.

στάσις,⁶⁵¹ quies, *stat*, *stånd*, *stille* (quod itidem a *stā*).

Deinde quod dicit RHO elementum pulchrum motionis instrumentum sibi videri.⁶⁵² Cuius rei adfert documentum in vocibus quibusdam. Id et nos manifestoprehendimus in nostra. In cuius

⁶⁴⁸ Goropius supplemented Plato's *Cratylus* 425d–427c with a phonosemantic account of the remaining letters of the Greek alphabet. In doing so, he mainly relied on Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Goropius also explained the sound values of the letters of the Latin alphabet on the basis of Martianus Capella.

⁶⁴⁹ In the second column of the page, there is a remark on Hebrew etymology that belongs to the latter part of this text. It reads: “NB. fundamentum affinitatis radicum apud Hebraeos constantium iisdem vel commutabilibus literis aliter atque aliter transpositis.” That is: “Duly observe the basis of the kinship between Hebrew roots that consist of the same or interchangeable radicals that are transposed in different ways.” This remark continues: “Item. Si quae voces ab hac naturali literarum indole abeunt, eae aut non sunt primitivae aut sunt ex alia significatione translata ortae, quales sunt *födha*, foetus, a *fā*, accipere; *afla* ab *afl*, robur; *kyna* a *ky*, *kue*, *kuad*, uterus; *הקלף*, acquirere.” The ms. actually reads *הקלף*, but this form should be emended.

⁶⁵⁰ Cratylum] Stiernhielm first wrote *Hermogenem* on the line, then added *Cratylum citant alii* above the line, and finally crossed out *Hermogenem* and *alii citant*.

⁶⁵¹ στάσις] Plato, *Cratylus* 426 D, briefly comments on the word στάσις as follows: “*Stasis* refers to the negation of motion and is named *stasis* for euphony.”

⁶⁵² Plato, *Cratylus* 426 D, refers to speech sound (in Greek στοιχεῖον, *stoicheion*) *rho* as καλὸν ὄργανον τῆς κινήσεως, ‘a fine instrument of motion’. Goropius, *Hermathena*, p. 47, translates: “Rho elementum pulchrum motionis instrumentum.”

argumenti demonstrationem vocabulis Platoniceis paria afferre non dubitabimus:

ῥεῖν, fluere, *rinna*, *renna*,⁶⁵³ *rasa* (et hoc delabentis aquae est), *rijdha* etc. *rund*, *röra*, *rör*, *rusa*; *brinna*, *brasa*, *brusa*, *frusa*, *frasa*.⁶⁵⁴

Eodem exprimi tremorem in τρόμος.⁶⁵⁵ Et nobis fortius in *darra*, *dalra*,⁶⁵⁶ *morra*, *röra*, *rulla*, *narra*.

Asperitatem in τραχεῖ.⁶⁵⁷ Et nobis in *sträng*, *strax*, *starck*, *stursk*, *strupa*, *aspera* *arteria*, *hård*, *draga*, *driva*, *tråda*, *trängia*, *tryckia*, *truga*, *wrängia*, *wrijda*, *wräng*, *wreed*.⁶⁵⁸ Haec non possunt exprimere Graeci.

Et in talibus κρούειν, pulsare. Nobis in *krossa*, *krysta*.

θραύειν, frangere. Nobis in *draga*, *drifua*, *bryta*, *bräckia*.

ἐρύκειν, trahere, vel *ryckia*, *raka*, *rata*, *räffsa*, *rita*, *braka*, *kraka*, *straffa*, *rappa*, *rifua*. Quae omnia fortiora fiunt in *wräka*, *strafsa*, *writa*, *krita*, *gräfua*, *skrifua*.

θρύπτειν, terere. Nobis in *tryckia*, *dryffta*, *drypa*, *be-dröfua*, *trampa*.

κερματίζειν, trucidare, *dräpa*, *mörda*.

ρέμβειν,⁶⁵⁹ *vertere*, *torna* (desistere et vertere), *ryggia*.

Item per φ, ψ, σ et ζ ea quae flatuosa sunt exprimi.⁶⁶⁰ Qualia sunt ψυχρόν, frigidum. ψ litera nos caremus nec ulla apud nos vox vel syllaba a ψ incipit. Nihilo minus non dubito, quin aequae efficaciter sit flatus ille pressus in nostro *frysa*, *fräsa*, *bläsa*, *fnysa*, *pysa*, *pusta*, *fysa*, *brusa*, *frusa*, *susa*, *rusa*, *sväsa*, *svissa*, *sviskra*, *svissla*, *tassla*, *fläsa*, *fösa*, *fissla*.⁶⁶¹

ζέον, fervens,⁶⁶² *siudhande*.

σείεσθαι, concuti, *rista*.

Δ tribuit vim compressionis.⁶⁶³ Rectissime. Et apparet in multis. Ger. *drucken*, *dringen*. *drifua*, *dricka*, *draga*. Comprimit et ligat. Eadem vis in T est: *tryckia*, *trängia*.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁵³ *renna*] Ståhle (1951: 55) reads, or rather modernizes, *ränna*.

⁶⁵⁴ *brinna* ... *frasa*] This has been added in the margin.

⁶⁵⁵ τρόμος] The dative of τρόμος, which means “a trembling, fear”.

⁶⁵⁶ *dalra*] Ståhle (1951: 55) reads, or rather modernizes, *dallra*.

⁶⁵⁷ τραχεῖ] The dative neuter of τραχύς (-εῖα, -ύ), “rough, rugged, harsh”.

⁶⁵⁸ *driva* ... *wreed*] This has been added in the margin.

⁶⁵⁹ ῥέμβειν] Plato has ῥύμβειν.

⁶⁶⁰ Plato, *Cratylus* 427A refers to the phonemes *phi*, *psi*, *sigma*, and *zeta* as “letters of the breath”, πνευματώδη τὰ γράμματα. Goropius translates this expression as “flatuosae litterae.”

⁶⁶¹ *sväsa* ... *fissla*] This has been added in the margin.

⁶⁶² *fervens*] After the Latin counterpart of ζέον “seething, boiling, simmering (of water)”, the otherwise non-attested spelling of the Swedish counterpart *siuande* has been crossed out, while the spelling *siudhande* has been retained.

T dicit utilem esse ad vinculi et stationis imitationem.⁶⁶⁵ Quod certe manifestum est in innumeris pene vocibus. T enim in fine videtur vocem et significatum quodammodo figere et vinctum concludere: *rätt, mätt, sitt, sätt, stat, det, mitt, ditt, sitt, fritt, giort, fast, hast* et omnia perfecta praeterita. Quod certe valde est emphaticum et admirabile: *ätit, druckit, sagt, giort, svorit, talt*. Quae omnia finitum quiddam et peractum inducunt. Huc refer totam congeriem eorum, quae derivantur a *stå*.

(fol. 30v, col. 3) Lambda ait laevem esse et pinguem et labilem.⁶⁶⁶ Vere. (30v, col. 2) Pro exemplo affert λεῖτοι, laeves; ὀλισθάνειν, labascere; λιπαρόν, pingue; κολλῶδες, glutinosum. (30v, col. 3) Talia enim etiam in nostra sunt: *slät, lätt, lee, leeka, lijn, leer, slask, slem, slicka, sluka, söla, sudla, ledd, ledhska, fahlna, falsk, fuhl, fuhlina, löpa* (labi), *falla, haal, leen, ludda, lijn, kleema*,⁶⁶⁷ *lijsa, lind, lindra, lijn, liuf, lust, list, lubrica fraus, lijf, lefua, lyte, feel, flå, flinga, fläsk, öhl, söhl, åhl, läp, läpia, lijpa, flipa; flyy, flyga, flägel, fladra, flärd, klatträ, klatte, klija, klå, laka, slaak, sleek, sleekia, flaak, laat*. NB. L finale in *syl, pryl, styl* (holl, *såll*), *pijl*. (30v, col. 1) *lieb, laaf, lope, libber, slibber, slippa, släpa, slijpa, slapna*. levis, laevis, lubricus, *slipprig*, labi, lingo, lingua, lux, lamina, flamma, lac, lacio, albus, lambo, labium, lana.

(30v, col. 2) L lucem et splendorem habet in *glija* et derivatis *blija, blijdd*. (30v, col. 1) NB. de L Suethico crasso aspirato, *hla, haal. lijda*, labi, *lij*, collis, *lius*, lux, *lioma, lijf, lee, lit, liof, lijk, lugen, leeta* (*lesen*).

(30v, col. 2) לָבֵן, albavit, Ar[abice] לָבֵן, lac, לָבֵן ignitus.

לָבֵן לָבֵן, id est unguentum, gummi.

לָבֵן, logha, flamma; לָבֵן, flammavit

לָבֵן, flamma et lamina splendens (*bladd, gladd*), gladius, lacio.

Ar[abice] לֵין *lein*, mollis, tener, *leen*. לֵין lambit.

לֵין, risit; לֵין Ar[abice]. *lahas*, linxit, G[ermanice] *leysse*.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶³ Plato, *Cratylus* 427A–B, refers to τοῦ δέλτα συμπίσεως ... τὴν δύμαμιν, ‘the sound value of the delta of compression’.

⁶⁶⁴ Eadem ... *trängia*] This has been added in the margin.

⁶⁶⁵ utilem ad ... imitationem] Plato, *Cratylus* 427 B (referring to the name-giver) says (referring to the primordial namegiver): “He appears to have thought the sound value (*dynamis*) of delta in its compression and tau in its fixedness of the tongue as useful for the imitation of binding and rest.” Goropius translates the last clause: “utilem ... ad vinculi et stationis imitationem.”

⁶⁶⁶ labilem] Plato, *Cratylus* 427B, says: ὅτι δὲ ὀλισθάνει μάλιστα ἐν τῷ λάβδᾳ ἢ γλῶττα κατιδών, ‘Perceiving that the tongue glides above all in the pronunciation of lambda’. Goropius, *Hermathena*, p. 47: “Quoniam porro maxime labat lingua in Lambda proferendo, id animadvertens” [...].

⁶⁶⁷ ludda, lim, kleema] These words have been added above the line.

⁶⁶⁸ leysse] One would rather expect the German word “lecken”.

שחל, *submis*se *susurravit* (lasen, *lysna*, ‘auscultare’)
 חטל Ar[abice]. *linivit*, *leta*; *litura*, *litera*, Belg[ice] *letter*, *letten*,
lyta, *lius*.

(30v, col. 2) Labanti, inquit, linguae γ succurrit:⁶⁶⁹ γλυκὺν, dulce; γλοιῶδες, lubricum: *glatt*, *gladd*, *glija*, *glijsa*, *glittra*, *gläntsa*, *glijna*; *flijna*, *flijsa*, *fleep*, *fleepa*, *flema*, *flem*, Ger. *glind*, *glijda*, *glans*.

Quin et nos Smolandis vitio vertimus mollitiem illam linguae, cum pro *bord*, *smord*, *giord* efferunt *bool*, *smool*, *giool* etc. *fård*, *fåål*; *gård*, *gåål*.

(30v, col. 3) Caetera persequitur ipse Goropius auctoritate Halicarnassaei utens in pronuntiatione linguae Graecae. Qui A longum pronunciari docet, ut os aperiatur plurimum.⁶⁷⁰ Quod liquet in nostris *gapa*, *apa*, *raak*, *flaat*, *faat*, *rapa*. *Apa* veteres pro *grāta*, Angl. *weep*.⁶⁷¹

H. η. Nostrum *ä*. Sic sonandum, ut oves balant:⁶⁷² *bäla*, rectius *bähla*, *biähla*, *bläkia*.

Å. vero nostram obscurius quam A, minus tamen obscure quam O efferimus in *stråla*, quod luporum est *pråla* etc.

E. sonum habet tenuem: *teen*, *leen*, *steen*, *reen*.

I. subtilius adhuc et acute sonat: *pijpa*, *sticka*, *riffua*. **(30v, col. 2)** I penetrat:⁶⁷³ *pijl*, *pinna*, *pijna*, *pigg*, *pijk*, *pijt*, *bill*, *bijla*, *drijl*, *kijl*.

(30v, col. 3) O. rotundum est:⁶⁷⁴ *root*.

⁶⁶⁹ Plato, *Cratylus* 427 B ἡ δὲ ὀλισθανούσης τῆς γλώττης ἀντιλαμβάνεται ἡ τοῦ γάμμα δύναμις, ‘the sound value of gamma helps (or assists/ takes part with) the gliding of the tongue’. Goropius translates: “Quatenus vero labanti linguae litterae γ facultas succurrit” [...].

⁶⁷⁰ A ... plurimum] Goropius, *Hermathena*, p. 47, says: “Dionysius Halicarnasaeus accerimus sermonis Graeci censor, sic A longum pronunciari dicit, ut os aperiatur plurimum et spiritus sursum ad caelum feratur.”

⁶⁷¹ Apa veteres ... weep] In the ms., this has been written in the next paragraph.

⁶⁷² ut oves balant] Goropius, ibidem, writes: “η vero, quod nostrum E longum est, sic sonandum, ut oves balant; efferri vult ut sonus ad linguae basim firmetur et os minus quam in A longo recludatur.”

⁶⁷³ I penetrat] This idea is taken from Plato’s *Cratylus* 426 E. Referring to the phonosemantic practice of the primordial namegiver, Plato says: “τῷ δὲ αἷ ἰῶτα πρὸς τὰ λεπτὰ πάντα, ἃ δὴ μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἴοι ἄν; ‘He employs Iota again for everything subtle, which can most readily pass through all things’. Goropius, *Hermathena*, p. 47, translates this passage: “Rursus litera Iota ad omnia tenuia, quae maxime per omnia penetrare queant.”

⁶⁷⁴ O. rotundum est] Similarly, this idea occurs in Plato’s *Cratylus* 427 C: εἰς δὲ τὸ ‘γογγύλον’ τοῦ οὗ δεόμενος σημείου, τοῦτο πλεῖστον αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ἐνεκέρασεν, ‘He needed the sign O for expressing γογγύλον (round) and made it the chief element of the word’. Goropius renders this: “Cum vero ad στρογγύλον, id est rotundum, opus haberet, O plurimum eius admiscuit, ut exprimeret rotunditatem.”

U. obscurum *skugga*, *skur*,⁶⁷⁵ *skiul*, *murra*.

Ö. dulce: *sööt*, ut *eu* Gallicum. Pro eo usi sunt olim nostri *saut*, *saur*, *daud*.

Y. atrox quiddam sonat: *grymm*, *ryta*, *skryta*, *tryta*. (30v, col. 2) *stygg*, *skrymsl* a *skräma*, spectrum; *skryp*, *skrymta*, *sky*; verbale nomen *skyggia* cum derivatis obscurum quid infert, ubi contra *skijna* lucem videtur innuere pura vocali *i*.

(30v, col. 3) B. et M. labiales sunt et frequenter in nostra commutantur. B. autem videtur claudere, ut et M obscurum quoddam murmur habere: *hum*, *huma*, *mumla*, *mun*, *morra*, *ramla*. M mugit: *Mu*, *Mu*. Litera bovina. ממה, vitium, μῶμος.

C. K. sonum fortem infert, unde apud nos in frequentativis frequens est, ut in *skaka* a *skydda*, Ger. *Schutten*, *Schocken*; *sticka* a *stinga*; *skrijka* a *skrija*, *skräckia* a *skräma*; *bräckia*, *läckia*. *bark*, cortex, *torcka* a *torr*, Ger. *treugen*. metathesis.

D. de D. iam supra ex Platone dictum est. (30v, col. 2) Hoc de D notandum quod in multis finalis non sit radicalis, ut in *fredh*, *wredh*. Quod et de G dicendum est, ut in *ta-ga* S[uethicum] etc., *dra-ga*. Radices enim sunt *ta*, *dra*, *la* (*la-ga*), *ha* (*högh*), A.S. *heu*, Goth. *haus*, G[ermanicum] *hos*.

(30v, col. 3) F. P. B. W. affines sunt et in plerisque apud nostrates indifferentes, praesertim apud priscos. Ii usi sunt singulari nota ꝥ pro eo quod nos exprimimus per *Fu*.

G. et K. saepe commutantur. Quod enim in G lenius sonat, hoc in K redditur stabilius. G premit. (fol. 30r, col. 2) [G premit], pungit, mordet, angit, ut in *aga*, *ängia*, *taga*, *tång*, tango, *tagg*, *tugga*, *naga*, *nagga*, figo, *sticka*, *pigg*, *pijk*, *picka*, *pricka*, pungo, (*örkia*, urgeo), sugo, *sacka*.

(30v, col. 1) Labiales sunt W. B. F. M. P. V. et saepenumero inter se commutantur. (31r, col. 2) B et M: glomus, globus.

(30v, col. 1) C. K. G. H. Q. X. cognatae sunt et facile inter se commutabiles. Et hae: D. Þ. T. S. Z.

Hae quoque L. R. et rarius N.: *lyckel*, *nyckel*. Non quadrat. Sunt enim diversa: unum a *luka*, alterum a *nykia*, unde *lyckia* et *nyckia*.

(30v, col. 1) Vocales, alia in aliam perpetuo transit. De litera *ham*, aliis *Am*, dicit Postellus ʏ, *ham*, adeo gutture profertur, ut transeat pluribus in G. Exempla allegat pag. scilicet 102.

(30v, col. 3) G. D. et F. in multis sunt commutabiles, praesertim in fine, etiam interdum in medio, ut in *stufu*, *stugu*, *stagh*, *stadh*, *kraga*, *krafua*, *stigt*, *stifft*, quod et *sticht* scribitur.

In his account of the opinion held by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Goropius writes: "O magnum, rotundum sonum habere dicit."

⁶⁷⁵ skur] here: "a simple building, shelter against rain". See SAOB, s.v. *skur* 4.

(31r, col. 1) H. lene est: *haal, hara* [?]. Ante L afficit L peculiari quodam sono, Gothis solis proprio. Qualis fuit olim in vocibus *Hludowich, Hlotarius*. Nec exprimitur ut Polonicum *l* clausum nec ut Hispanorum *ll*, in *llama*, nec ut Italorum *gl* anti *i*. **(30v on the top)** De *ll* Hispanico in principio, vide Meric. Casaubon., *de lingua Saxonica*, p.

(31r, col. 1) Veteres etiam usi sunt hac asperatione ante N. et R. in principio vocum, ut in *hneggia*, nobis *gnägga*, hinnire; *hråsnarr*, nobis *skrymtare*; *hring*, *ring*, annulus; *hrosa*, *rosa*, laudare.

J. Jod crassum est. Veteres multis praeposuerunt, ut *jär* pro *är*; *jäta* pro *äta*; *jeld* pro *eld*; *jos* pro *öste*; *jok* (Syr. 48, 26) pro *ökte*; *jörtna*–*hus* (49, 1) pro *örtahus*, id est *apothek*.

V. W. Id quod etiam fecerunt in V, *vau*, vel W in dialecto, praesertim Anglica, ubi *weep* pro *apa*, id est *gråta*, *writ* pro *rita*, id est *skrifua*; Germ. *woll* pro *ull*, vellus. Nos quoque moderni pro veteribus *raka* dicimus *wråka*, pro *reid*, *wredh* etc.

De L. dictum est supra. Hoc insuper notandum quod monosyllaba in L finientia post *i*, *y* vel *e* tenue, penetrans quoddam acumen inferat. Talia sunt *bijl*, *bill*, *ijsbill*, *pijl*, pilum, *sijl*, *drijl*, *wel* (telum), *del*, veteribus dolabra, unde *dela* et *deel*, id est *bråda*, et *tållia*, *kijl*, *stijl*, *syl*, stylus, *smijla*, id est *sticka sigh inn*; *pryl*. Item: *måål*, (*holl*, *såll*), *sijl*, לֵי, tenuis.

(31r, col. 2) HL fugacitatem illam et vanitatem inducit. Consideretur L, HL Gothicum ut H. HR. HN. atque ex duplici cuiusque literae sono, duplicem naturam. Est enim aspirata. NB. *fhly. Lioma*, id est splendere obscure, *hlioma*, sonare, tinnire obscure.⁶⁷⁶

(31r, col. 1) N. spiritum, qui naribus exprimitur, efformat, ut in *nāsa*, πνέω, spiro, πνεῦμα, *fnysa*, *fnaas*, *fnatt*, *snyte*, *snyta*, *snufua*, *snyfsel*, *snarra*, *snart*, *snorra*. **(31r, col. 2)** Alias N inter vocales, praesertim geminata, tinnit: *siunga*, *tunga*, *klinga*, tinnio, clango.

(31r, col. 1) P. patulum quiddam insinuat: *pateo*, *uppe*, *yppen*, *gapa*, aperio, *opp*, *oppa*, *yppa*, *yppna*, pando.

Q. est K. crassius, veteribus incognitum. Qui pro eo quod nos *quāda*, *quick* etc. scribimus *kuāda*, *kuick* etc. scripserunt. **(31r, col. 2)** ק apud Hebraeos vacuum videtur velle inferre.

(31r, col. 1) R. de hoc supra. **(31r, col. 2)** R. frangit et penetrat, praesertim post aliam consonantem: *grava*, *wrijda*, *rita*, *rifua*, *bryta*, *bräckia*, *bränna*, *bohra*, pango, rumpo. **(31r, col. 1)** R post B, F, P, V prurit et gestit erumpere in semen et generationem. Quod item facit post G, K.: *Gro*, *gräs*, *kry*, cresco, gramen, germino, grandesco (*kräka*); serpo, *orm*, vermis; *bruka*, *bruten*,

⁶⁷⁶ Lioma ... obscure] This has been added above the first line of this paragraph.

bära, frö, frya, frodha, fru, fruges, fructus, frumen. פִּירִי (pir-pire)⁶⁷⁷ pricka, s-pricka, sprucken. (per praepositum). vireo, unde vires et vis. πρήσσω, πρίω, πρίζω, vide פִּרְץ.

(31r, col. 1) S. Praeterquam quod ante vocales leni sibilo effertur, Italis peculiari in vocibus *si, cosi* etc., ante consonantes mascule exprimitur, praesertim ante K. KR. P. PR. Quas S in principio vocum etiam saepe praeter substantiam et radicem vocis assumit ad fortius exprimendam et augendam significationem, ut in *skrifua* pro *rifua* vel *rita*; *skrädha* pro *redha*, *stofft* pro *dofft* et *damb*. Sic etiam *spara* pro *parcere*; *smola* pro *mola* etc. *Spijk* pro *pijk*. *Smert* a *meor, mār*, vet. *smal*. Quid de hoc elemento dicat Goropius, vide locum citatum, p. 47.⁶⁷⁸ Alemannorum tumor, et sigma, notatur etiam, p. 58.⁶⁷⁹

T. durius est quam D, ut supra.

P. litera est vetus, media inter TH, T, et D, quam exprimebant propemodum ut THZ sono Anglis hodie peculiari in *that* etc. Hodie mutata est partim in D, partim in T et TH.⁶⁸⁰

X. vet. *six* pro *sägs*.

Z. ut *ts* vel *ds*.

⁶⁷⁷ פִּירִי (*pir-pire*)] The word פִּירִי, *p^eri*, means “fruit”. In his Hebrew-Aramaic dictionary, Wilhelm Gesenius relates the Hebrew verbal root פָּרָה, *parah* in the sense “to bear” to Indo-european roots such as Sanscrit *bhri*, ‘to bear’, Greek φέρω, Latin *fero*, Gothic *bairan*, English *to bear*, and German *bären*. In the sense of “to produce, to give birth”, he compares it to Latin *pario*, *fruor*, *fruges* and *fructus*. See Gesenius, *Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti libros*, Lipsiae/ Leipzig 1833, p. 767, s.v. פָּרָה.

⁶⁷⁸ locum citatum, p. 47] Goropius Becanus, *Opera hactenus in lucem non edita: nempe Hermathena* [...], in the treatise *Hermathena*, p. 47, he comments as follows on the speech sound sigma: “Sigma vero ingratum et insuave esse et odiosum valde et molestum, si frequentetur. Sibilum enim ferinam et brutalem potius vocem, quam ad humanam pertinere, et veteres idcirco rarius eo usos fuisse. Fuisse item qui carmina fecerint asigma, in quibus totis nullum sigma reperiretur. Haec Dionysiaca Allemannos et Sueuos male habebunt, qui non alia magis de causa Saxones et reliquos Germanos derident, quam quod studiose sigma vitent, quod ipsi contra tamquam generosissimum elementum magno spiritu efflant pro *dat das*, pro *wat was* et similia pro similibus dicentes.”

⁶⁷⁹ Alemannorum tumor ... notatur etiam] See Goropius Becanus, *Opera hactenus in lucem non edita*, p. 58: “Alemannis tumida omnia placent. [...] Apud eosdem tanto in honore sigma habetur, ut optime sibi lociti videantur, cum plurimum sibilant. [...] Permittamus itaque Alemannis, quantum velint in loquendo spiritum tumidis buccis efflare et totum sermonem sibilis exasperare.”

⁶⁸⁰ In the margin (fol. 31r, col. 2) besides the paragraph on the letter þ, Stiernhielm explains Greek, Dutch and Swedish words as follows: “Plato. φρόνησις, prudentia, B[elgice] *vrouesse* a *froden*, sed unde *froden*. A *frå*? Ex discernere? Id[em] σύνεσις, facultas animi perspicuens et discernens, B[elgice] *sinnesse* a *sinne*. *Froda* a *raa*, *rea*, *reda*, *rede*. *Frode* Lat[in]e] **fraus* in boni significatu.”

Quae de literis veterum tradat Arngrim Jonas, vide in initio ipsius *Crymogaeae* vel *Islandiae*.⁶⁸¹

Notandum est ultimo Gothis et Celtis pro varietate dialectorum tam consonantes, quam vocales in plerisque fuisse promiscuas et propemodum indifferentes, ut *duig* pro *dagh*, *mott* pro *matt*, *topt* pro *tomt*; *dupt*, *dofft*, *duft* pro *damb*. Pro *ā*, amnis *a*, *ö*, *o* etc.

(31r, col. 2) F B P M in fine ligant, occludunt, suffocant, perimunt. Item *däf*, *damp*, *damb*, *dam*.

(31v, col. 1) BL. FL. WL. ML. PL. fugacitatem et caducitatem inferunt, item inflationem, fluxum, et vanitatem: *blaa*, Ger. *blehen*, A.S. *be-blavan*, afflare, *blasa*, *flåsa*, *flema*, *flämta*. **(31r, col. 2)** *blähen*, unde *blama*, pustula, Germani pro *blåsa*.

(31v, col. 1) *ball*, *boll*, follis, balus.

L splendet: *la*, *lee*, *gla*, *luo*, *luceo*, *lumen*, *luna*. *gla*, *glija*, *glad*, *σέλας*, *γελᾶν*, *glijna*, *gläna*, splendo, *ἔλη*, *ἥλιος*, *häll* (radix), *ell*, *eld*, *gläna*, *ridere*, *glans*, *irrisio*, **gluna*, *inspicere*, *contemplari*.

Balat B.

Lucet L.

Mugit M.

Tinnit N.

Hirrit R. canina.

Sibilat S. serpentina.

Premitt T.

(31v, col. 2)

Standi consonantes significationes.

יָצַב stetit. *staf*. (Chal. Syr. Arab. גָּזַם, statuit. decrevit.)

יָצַב in Hiphil, statuit.

יָצַק fudit. *säckia*.

יָסַד posuit. fundavit. ordinavit. statuit. *sättia*.

יָסַד stabilivit. fulcivit. *stöda*.

נָצַב statua.⁶⁸² Chal. Syr. Arab. נָצַב, statuit.

יָשַׁב sedit. habitavit.

שָׁכַת cessavit. quievit. *sofua*. *saft*. *sauft*. Angl. *soft*. *sachta*. *säfuelligh*.

* *sif*. *sibbe*. AS. Syb. Pax. Quies.

⁶⁸¹ Arngrim Jonas ... *Crymogaeae* vel *Islandiae*] See Arngrimus Jona, *Crymogaea sive rerum Islandicarum libri tres*, Hamburg 1609, chapter 3 De lingua gentis. 'On the language of the nation', pp. 23–26.

⁶⁸² נָצַב statua] Stiernhielm vocalizes this word as the verb *nāṣab*, 'to put, to stand', but the sense of 'pillar, statue' requires the vocalization *n^eṣib*.

Rotunditatem notant גלל. אגל. יגל. tremo.⁶⁸³ גל motum habet.

קלע. עלג. עגל. לעג. געל. גלע.
עקל. curvavit. tortuosum fuit.

vices. vice. vägnar. (Germ. wegen. halben).
A kipp. capio. accipio.
חבל. afla. Inde significatio köpa. caupo. kaupata.⁶⁸⁴

(32r, col. 1) ר fluit, surgit, tendit in rectum:

ra, räa, rada, root, radix, radius.

ra, räa, rasa, reesa, rijs.

Or, öra, oriri, ordiri, ordo.

R. HR. diruit. הרס Arab. harras, diruit, destruxit. häria, ruo, rasa, rusa. Gal. raser.

TR. penetrat. drijla, terere, τρυπάω, cogn. τρύω, tero, τινάειν, τράειν, τερέω (Gall. trou) Germ. drehen, dreyhen, Goth. drifua, drijla, dörr, dures, thourug.

RT. KR. TR. scindit, fodit. מרט radicitus evulsit, wroten, pilos, plumas, uth-rotha, scalpsit.

שָׁרַט carnem incidit, laceravit; sára, sarga, skära, scharten.

חָתַר fodit.

דָּקַר fodit; dijkia.

פָּאַר פָּרַר, פָּרַה, פָּאַר fodit, perfodit.

נָקַר effodit.

קוֹר fodit (proprie venam aquae).

NB. עקקע fodit, pulsavit. sticka på ljusstake. kauka.

שׁוּ idem fere operatur quod gg. tugga etc.

השש Arab. hasc[s]asch, fregit.

דשש Arab. daschasch, contudit.

גשש Palpavit.

מָשַׁשׁ Attrectavit, palpavit.

שָׁכַשַׁךְ Lavit,⁶⁸⁵ in aqua agitavit.

⁶⁸³ tremo] This reading is probable, since the Hebrew verb יגל means “to be afraid”, for which tremo or trepido are appropriate translations.

⁶⁸⁴ caupo. kaupata] The Latin noun caupo means a tradesman. The Finnish verb kaupata, a Germanic loanword in Finnish, means “to sell, to try to sell”.

⁶⁸⁵ Lavit) Stiernhielm mistakenly wrote lavavit.

(32r, col. 2) W. GV. et G permutantur, ut in *Oden, Godan, Wodan, Gwodan, Guassus, Wassus* a *gosse*.

R fracturam, rupturam innuit. *Rijva*, G. *rupfen*, Sax. *ruppen*; *rijta*, *rista*, G. *reißen*, פָּרַץ, traho, *skrifua*.

GR. KR. SKR. fossuram, scalpturam, incisuram et scabritiem n(otant). *grafua, kreta, skrifua*.

PR. terebrat, πείρω, *bora, pijra, pirla, pärla, pirra, borra*, Ital. *burlare* pro agitare, vexare metaphorice; Lat. forare. Hinc Su[ethice] *priem*, subula.

RF. RB. urere. שָׂרַב calor, item locus deserti siccus. צָרַב⁶⁸⁶. צָרַב⁶⁸⁷ ussit. דָּרַב coarctatus fuit. דָּרַב, stimulus, ab inusitato דָּרַב siccatus fuit. בָּרַב⁶⁸⁷ Arab. *carab*. anxit. compressit. צָרַב excoxit, liquefecit. שָׂרַב, Chal[daice] סָרַב, ussit. *Schröien. skarp. skrabba. skrofla. skref. krokia. skrökia*.

(32v, col. 1) מ ם finale, claudit, ligat, *tämma, dämma*.

מָלַם Chal. בָּלַם *blam*: clausit, ligavit, strinxit.

עָמַם, abscondit.

חָסַם, Chal. clausit, ligavit. fascinavit.

מ murmurat, tumultuatur intus; turbat, mugit, muginatur.

מ est litera propria mutorum et balborum: *mum-mum, mumla, sumla*, turbare. *slim, sliö*, hebes, *stump*, obtusus, *stympa*, mutilare, Lat. *stlembus*, tardus, piger, eadem notione, *stum mutus, lämm, fönster-lämm*.

[...] ⁶⁸⁸

(32v, col. 2)

טָמַם contaminavit. tabefecit, contaminatus <est>.

טָמַם clausus, absconditus fuit.

טָמַן abscondit.

טָמַם obturavit. Domus. domare. *tämia. dämma*.

טָמַע mersus, occultatus fuit.

טָמַר abscondit.

טָמַש mersit.

טָמַת menstruum. Convenit cum primo.

טָמַם clausit, obstruxit.

⁶⁸⁶ [הרב] Stiernhielm vocalizes this root as *hæræb*, but aims at the sense of ‘dry’ or ‘dryness’, both of which requires other vowelpoints, so that the root is vocalized *chareb* (‘dry’) or *choræb* (‘dryness’). [...]

⁶⁸⁷ Below the Arabic verb כָּרַב (*karaba*) Stiernhielm adds Latin *curvare*, “to crook, bend, curve”, as a phonetic counterpart.

⁶⁸⁸ [...] A group of phonetically similar Hebrew words has been quoted from Forster (misspelt Forstnerus). The first of them is עָצַר “close, shut up, restrain, hold back”.

הום
המל. המה
המן. המם
הום

חתם item quod טום. Vide supra in voce.

דמה. דמם. דום

סתם.

אמם. Ch[aldaice], S[yrice]: *sema*. caecutivit. Item: excoecavit.

swijma. defici animo.

skyma. obumbrare.⁶⁸⁹

skem. lux obscurior; umbra luce mixta.⁶⁹⁰

skum, *skumt*. umbrosum.⁶⁹¹ *skymning*. crepusculum.⁶⁹²

skymlig. colore lucido et obscuro mixtus. color muceus.

Ger. *Schimpelen*. Murescere. *Schimpel* mucus.

(32v, col. 1)

ק cavitatem et vacuitatem fere semper infert.

Ut אָרר a corrosione et קלל a levitate, ita קבב a cavitare seu evacuatione, scilicet honoris et benedictionis, dicitur male precari, maledicere etc. Forst[erus].⁶⁹³

בָּקַב. בָּקַב. בָּקַב. בָּקַב. בָּקַב. בָּקַב. בָּקַב. בָּקַב. בָּקַב. בָּקַב.⁶⁹⁴

Notandum est solam metathesin literarum non efficere identitatem aut affinitatem vocum, sed diversas radices ex quibus oritur illa transpositio, ut hic קבב et בָּקַב. Quarum *Bac* oritur a *bōgia* ex radice *ba*, *bua*. *Cab* a *hāva*, χόω, cavo.

⁶⁸⁹ *skyma*] In F.d. 7:1, fol. 37r (p. 47), the Swedish verb *skyma* (i.e. *skymma*, “to dim, obscure”) is translated *officere luci*, “to obstruct the light”

⁶⁹⁰ *skem*] In F.d. 7:1, fol. 37r, the Old Swedish noun *skem* is explained as *splendor obscurior, umbra, lux obscurior*.

⁶⁹¹ *skum, skumt*] In F.d. 7:1, fol. 37r, the adjective *skumt*, “dark, darkish, obscure”, is rendered *obscurum, lux obscurior*.

⁶⁹² *skymning*] In F.d. 7:1, fol. 37r, this noun is translated *crepusculum vespertinum*.

⁶⁹³ Forsterus] Stiernhielm here used Johann Forster’s Hebrew dictionary, which is titled *Dictionarium Hebraicum novum, non ex rabinorum commentis nec nostratium doctorum stulta imitatione descriptum, sed ex ipsis thesauris sacrorum Bibliorum et eorundem accurata locorum collatione depromptum*, ‘A new Hebrew dictionary not relying on Rabbinical commentators neither imitating contemporary scholars, but drawing on the store of the Holy Bible and on accurate comparison between similar passages’, Basel 1557. In this passage (*Ut אָרר a corrosione until maledicere*), he quotes from Forster (1557:714), though omitting *male imprecari* before *maledicere*.

⁶⁹⁴ קבב ... בָּקַב] To explore the basic meanings, Forster posited different groups of phonetically and morphologically related words, in this case: בָּקַב, בָּקַב, בָּקַב, בָּקַב.

Texts 1a and 1b

First version (text 1a)

Second version (text 1b)

a.	lux.
ä.	lumen.
e.	lumen divergens.
ö.	lumen umbrosum.
i.	crepusculum lucidius.
å.	umbra lucidior.
o.	umbra.
y.	crepusculum tenebrosum.
u.	nox, tenebrae.

Source: *Collectanea philosophica*, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 2r.

a.	albus.	lucis.
ä.	flavus.	aurorae.
e.	viridis.	aquae.
i.	futilis.	[radius.] ignis.
ö.	ruber.	
y.	purp[ureus]	
â.	coeruleus.	crepusculum.
o.	fuscus.	[noctis] umbra
u.	niger.	tenebrae.

Source: *Collectanea philosophica*, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 2r. The progress of colours and vowels are shown in two triangle diagrams: its beginning as a white *a*, its culmination either as a reddish-yellow (*fulvus*, text 3) or a reddish (*rutilus*, text 4) *i*, its vigour as a purple *â* and its fullness as a black *u*. In text 4, *luteus* “orange” is replaced by *flavus* “yellow”.

Coloris vis inchoata, procedens,
vegeta, perfecta, satura.

		fulvus	
		i	
	y	.	ö ruber
viridis	e	.	å purpureus
flavus	ä	.	o coeruleus
albus	a	.	u niger

rutilus	i	rutilus
[flavus]	e	y ruber
[viridis]	ö	å purpureus
[luteus]	ä	flavus o coeruleus
albus	a	u niger

Text 5

Source: *Collectanea philosophica*, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 2r.

a	albus.	terrae. Albus omnes recipit colores. Videtur esse privatio.
		Potitus est omnes colores. ꝛ .
e	viridis.	aquae.
i	flavus.	ignis.
o	coeruleus.	aeris.
u	niger.	chaos. Nullum recipit colorem, imo omnes continet.
ā	medius inter album et viridem.	
ö	inter viridem et flavum. ruber. purpureus ex coeruleo.	

Text 6

Source: F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 3v. Cf. Nordström (1924, II: p. 232).

Egrege conveniunt vocalium toni vel soni cum colorum differentia.

Lux incolorata.	ꝛ sine puncto.
Albedo. est lux opaca.	a.
Flavedo.	ä. e.
Viror.	i.
Rubedo.	ö. y. <i>Rö.</i>
Caeruleitas.	o. å. <i>Blå.</i>
Nigredo.	u. <i>Bu. Ital. buio.</i>

Text 7

Source: Autografsamlingen, i.e. "Collection of autograph drafts", the first envelope, 1r, Royal Library, Stockholm. Stiernhielm derives the Swedish names for colours from verbal stems. Some etymologies are probable: *grå*, "grey" from *gryna*, "to dawn", *grön*, "green" from *gro*, "to germinate, sprout", *röd*, "red" from *rodna*, "to grow red, redden". The word *brun*, "brown", may be remotely related to *brinna*, "to burn", the causative of which is *bränna*, "to burn".

Nota de coloribus.

Suart a *sorna*, putrescere, acescere. *Sort-grå* a *grijs*, *gryna*, *gruwa*, creper. *Mörck* a *morckna*, putrescere; *mörna*, mollescere, item mitescere, dulcescere, maturescere.

Rödh a *rotna*, putrescere, *rodna*, rubescere, rubiginem contrahere.

Grön a *groo*, germinare, virescere, pullulare

Gohl, G[erm.] *gähl*, gelbus, a *gällna*, acescere. *gällia miölck*; *galla*.

Gäll. G. *Häll*, sonorus, it. clarus, hinc *gähl*, rutilus, splendidus.

(*Gull* a *gälla*, valere et solvere, et ab hoc *sölff*.) *Brun* a *bränna*, urere (certum). *Blå* proprie album, *biala*. *Huit*: *wett*, *viss*, *vita* (aliquid [?]).

Texts 8, 9, and 10

Sources: *Collectanea philosophica et etymologica*, F.d. 4:4:2, fols. 6v as no. 8, 8r as no. 9, and F.d. 6b:2, second wrapper, fol. 3r as no. 10.

Text 8	Text 9	Text 10
a. albus	a. albus	a. albus
ä. flavus	e. flavus	ä. flavus
e. rutilus	i. ruber	e. fulvus
i. ruber	o. coeruleus	i. ruber
ö. viridis	u. ater	ö. viridis
y. purpureus	ö. viridis	y. purpureus
å. griseus	y. purpureus	å. subcoeruleus. griseus
o. coeruleus		o. coeruleus
u. ater		u. ater

9.3.3 Vowels and diphthongs in relation to colours

Source: *Collectanea philosophica*, F.d. 4:4:1, 19r (303 x 285 mm).

Contents: Stiernhielm proposes a colour-vowel diphthong diagram. In the manuscript, the connections between different colours are shown by arches. In the outermost arch, white (*a*) is joined with white and black (*u*) through grey (*au*). On the next highest level, one arch connects white (*a*) and sky-blue (*o*) through ash-grey (*å*, *au*) and green (*ö*, *oe*), while another links yellow (*e*) and black through yellow black (*eu*) and reddish yellow (*subflavus*, *aquileus*). On the third level, white is arched with red (*ruber*, *i*) or reddish (*ruffus*) through yellow-beige (*incarnatus*, *ai*) and golden (*ei*), while red (*i*) and black (*u*) are tied through purple (*oi*) and brown (*ui*, *y*). On the lowest level, white and yellow are united in yellowish or pale yellow (*ä*, *ae*), while sky-blue (cerulean blue) and black are connected through dark blue (*ou*). For an image of this diagram, see Figure 17.

Griseus.				
au.				
Cinereus.	Viridis.	Fuscus.	Subflavus.	
å (au)	ö (oe)	eu.	Aquileus.	
Incarnatus.	Aureus.	Purpureus.	Subrubeus.	Brun.
Leibfarb.	ei.	oi.	ui. (y)	
ai.				
Subalbus.	Pallidus.	Subceruleus.		
ä (ae)		ou.		
Albus.	Flavus.	Ruber.	Ruffus	Ceruleus.
Niger.				
a	e	i	o	u

In F.d. 4:4:2, fol. 7v, Stiernhielm accounts for his views on the mutual connection between different colours, among which light red (*rutilus*) and red (*ruber*) are not, however, explained. In F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 18v, he comments on the disconnectedness between the colours and the order of things. These notes are transcribed as a clue to the above diagram.

[F.d. 4:4:2, 7v, col. 1] Flavus medius inter album et rutilum. Rutilus. Ruber. Viridis inter flavum et coerulum mediantibus utriusque duobus. Purpureus inter flavum et coeruleum mediante utriusque uno. Griseus aut fuscus est assecutus albo et atro (*ā*, *au*) aut subcoeruleus est ex albo (*ao*). [F.d. 4:4:2, 7v, col. 2] Viridis et purpureus sunt compositi, sed melius inter alios. Omnes enim colores suo origine sunt aequae simplices. Fuscus medius inter album et atrum.

[F.d. 4:4:1, 18v]. Colores non habent analogiam ad ordinem rerum. Non enim duci possunt ad unam causam et genus. Flavus, rubeus, coeruleus, albus et ater ut oppositi, ut lux et nox. Suam habent rationem. Reliqui nec illis nec inter se sunt affines.

9.3.4 Vowels and diphthongs in relation to elements and colours

Source and contents: *Collectanea philosophica et etymologica*, F.d. 4:4:2, 7v. Stiernhielm compares vocalic and diphthongal sounds with colours and the elements of ancient natural philosophy: *terra*, “earth”, *ignis*, “fire”, *aer*, “air”, *aqua*, “water”, and their transitional forms: *aether*, “ether, bright air”; *vapor*, “vapour”, *nebula*, “cloud, mist”.

	a	lux	<albus>
ai, ae	ä	aether	albus
	e	aer, aurora	flavus
	i	ignis	ruber
oe, eu	ö	vapor	viridis
ŭ	y	aer vespertinus	purpureus
au, ao	å	nebula	subcoeruleus
(öo)	o	terra	coeruleus
	u	aqua	ater

9.3.5 Separate gradations of the compared entities

Text 1: Gradation of daylight (from sunrise to sunset)

Source: *Runa Suethica*, F.d. 5, fol. 48r.

	Meridies.	
	Dies provecta.	Dies vergens.
	Aurora.	Crepusculum.
Ortus.	Diluculum.	Vespera. Occasus.
	Nox.	

Below the category of night (*nox*), Stiernhielm added the words for ‘evening’ in Old Swedish and ‘rest’ in German, Icelandic and Swedish: “*Quild. Vespera. a quijla, huijla, quiescere. G[erm.] Weil, Isl. bili. S[ueth.] hwila. mora, tempus, quies.*”

Text 2: Gradation of the life-age cycle

Source: *Runa Suethica*, etc. F.d. 5, fol. 48r. This text has been edited by Nordström (1924, II: 231). Without being crossed out in the ms., the inner series of the second column is replaced by an outer one.

	Meridies.	
	Status. ἀκμή.	
	Florere.	[Nutare.] Deflorescere.
	Crescere.	[Cadere.] Marescere.
Nasci.		[Mori.] Cadere. Nutare. Occidere.
Ortus.		Occasus.
	Quies. Chaos. Nihil.	
	Media nox.	

Text 3: Gradation of the vegetation cycle

Source: *Runa Suethica*, F.d. 5, fol. 48r.

Vegetationis motus gradus:

	Status.	
	Vigor.	Declinatio.
	Auctus.	Decrementum.
	Progressus.	[Solutio.] Lapsus.
Ortus.		Occasus.

Text 4: Gradation of generation and corruption

Source: F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 2r. Cf. Nordström 1924, II: 289–290.

In generatione hi sunt gradus, hebdomas geneseos:

1. Coitio. Mixtio.
2. Coagulatio. Concretio.
3. Conformatio. Coaptatio. Firmitudo.
4. Nutritio. Hic [vigor et vita incipit]. Attractio.
5. Augmentatio. Accretio. [Solis viventibus competit eaque ab anima active proficiscitur.]
6. Maturatio. Perfectio. Dulcedo.
7. Vigor. Summus status, ἀκμή, ac in ea seminis seu speciei suae nova generatio.

In corruptione hi sunt gradus oppositi ab ultimo ad primum gradibus generationis, ut naturalis vicissitudinis rerum manifestus appareat circulus:

[7.º Defectio. Declinatio.]

6.º Labes. Morbus. Marcor.

5.º Diminutio. Tabes. Decrementum.

4.º Putrefactio. [Marcor.] Tabes. Amaror.

3. Confusio. Deformatio.

2. Dissolutio. [Vapor.] Mucor. Limus. Privatio lucis. Mors.

1. Dissipatio. Pulvis. Vapor.

NB. generationis gradus et progressionem in his verbis apud Lipsium, *Phys[iologia] St[oi]corum*, p. 171: ignis “quia omnia conservat, alit, auget, sustinet sensuque afficit.”

Sed ut unum supremum constituatur ut apex, ἀκμή, cuspis, vigor, erunt utrinque pares gradus ascensus et descensus:

Generatio

Actio formae

ope lucis

Terminus ad quem

Status

Terminus a quo

Corruptio

Passio formae

materia prae-

Vita

Maturatio. Perficit

Marcor. Deficit.

dominante

Spiritus

Accretio. Crescit.

Decretio. Decrescit.

Succus

[Nutritio.] Vita. Viget.

Morbus. Languet. Pigratur.

Corpus

Conglutinatio. Proccedit.

Dissolutio. Recedit.

Coagulum

Coagulatio. Inchoat.

Confusio. Desistit.

Limus

Unitio. Contactus. Praeparat.

Dissipatio. Annihilat.

Chaos.

Quies. Privatio.

Terminus a quo.

Terminus ad quem.

In maturatione seu perfectione est dulcedo, pulcritudo, harmonia, gratus odor. Sed alteratio quo loco? Per totum est. [Hi sunt proprie gradus alterationis. Generatio enim et corruptio non sunt motus. Fiunt enim in instanti, qua existit aut desistit nova forma. Ergo generatio non fit, nisi in eo puncto, quo animatur semen.]⁶⁹⁵ Falsum est axioma materiam appetere formam [...].

⁶⁹⁵ Hi sunt ... semen] This remark, which has been crossed out in the manuscript, is a criticism against Aristotle's categorization of essential motion, “that which moves by itself” (Section 8.3.5, note 598). The categories of generation and perishing are here redefined and included in the category of alteration (ἀλλοίωσις). In his other writings, Stiernhielm however retained Aristotle's three kinds of change as separate entities. Nordström (1924, II, p. 290), in a comment on Stiernhielm's deletion of this passage, connects this critical remark to new anti-Aristotelian perspectives on the relationship between matter and form in early modern natural philosophy.

PART 4. TRANSFORMATIONAL GRAMMAR AND SEMANTICS

10. *Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum*

10.1 The first circle: grammatical variability

10.1.1 Preliminaries

In *Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum* Stiernhielm demonstrates the different kinds of variability in different systems, which he designated as circles (*rotae*):

System 1: morphosyntactic alterations (Section 10.1.2),

System 2: the use of synonymy, equipollency and periphrasis (Section 10.2),

System 3: the use of tropes, that is, methods of semantic change, specifically metaphor, metonymy or synecdoche (Section 10.3),

Systems 4 and 5: the use of rhetorical devices in figures of speech and figures of thought (Section 10.4),

System 5: the use of specific figures of thought: the beginning of another set of examples (Section 10.5).

In each of these systems, he exemplifies the variability by the set phrase *Probitas probatur et alget*, “Honesty is approved and yet freezes” (i.e. is left to shiver / is neglected), a passage taken from Juvenal’s *Satires*, 1, 74. As mnemonic aids, the systems are dedicated to some Olympian deities that in Greco-Roman mythology are known to be able to easily transform themselves, viz. Autolycus, Vertumnus and Morpheus, and to the deity known as Mercury by the Romans and as Hermes by the Greeks, who probably was chosen because he was the god of translators and the swift-footed messenger of gods. Besides, in *Discursus Astropoeticus* (lines 251 and 267), Stiernhielm used Vertumnus and Proteus as coded designations for Brandenburg, symbolizing its neutrality and political changeability.

In the first system, the original passage from Juvenal and the first example (Section 10.1.2, A) are divided into three structural segments or units. In other examples within the first system, he has explained the theory behind the variability of several examples in the margin, and sometimes directly following the examples. In the edited text, I have integrated these explanations as headings to the examples. The manuscript is damaged by moisture and stains of ink in some places (G. 3 and G. 4 in Section 10.1, G in Section 10.2). Stiernhielm used Johann Heinrich Alsted’s categorization of the variability of special

syntax “Syntaxis varians” as his pattern.⁶⁹⁶ This imitation mainly applies for the variations from “F. Q.1” to “K” in the first system.⁶⁹⁷

10.1.2 Morphosyntactic variability

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, eighth quire, fol. 4r. Size 210 x 340 mm. For a photographic picture of this faded folio, see Figure 18. The set phase is borrowed from Juvenal, *Saturae* 1, 74: *Probitas laudatur et alget*.

Dating: according to the date in the manuscript, 16 April 1635.

(4r) Vis videre PROTEUM?

G. Stiernhielm. Specimen Dorpati 16
Aprilis Anno 1635 editum.

En thema! PROBITAS⁽¹⁾ PROBATUR⁽²⁾ ET ALGET⁽³⁾. Juvenalis. *Satura prima*. Per primam rotam decurrens varios miscebit et assumet colores manente figura.

Rota prima Autolyçi est.

A. Bene facere⁽¹⁾ laus est,⁽²⁾ praemium vero nullum.⁽³⁾

A. N.T. Bene facere laus est, praemium vero leve vel exiguum. — Epitheton.

B. H.O.X. Probitatem laudamus et spernimus. — Ubi nota numerum pluralem et personam primam. Quod attinet ad heterosin numeri, <vide> L, et heterosin personae, <vide> M.

C. I.P.W. Probitatem etiamsi multi laudati fuerint, pauci tamen imitantur.

D. K.Q.X. Probitatem laudare mos est, at vulgo⁶⁹⁸ vilior alga est.

E. L.R.Y. Hominis probi laudes omnis aetas decantabit, imitari pauci dignabuntur.

Add. Q. Probos quamplurimos aetas nostra depraedicabit, paucissimos vero invenies qui imitari dignabuntur.

F. Q.1. Homo insignis probitatis vel homo insigni probitate ubivis laudatur vel bene audit, nullo tamen habetur in precio vel nullo tamen

⁶⁹⁶ Alsted, *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta*, 2nd ed. Herborn 1630, vol. 2, book 6, chapter 19, p. 369.

⁶⁹⁷ In his Book of Commonplaces (ms. F.d. 4:1, pp. 292–293) Stiernhielm copied Alsted’s *Encyclopaedia* from the first edition. For a transcription, see Appendix 1.

⁶⁹⁸ at vulgo] This is a marginal addition; *reipsa* has been crossed out on the line.

est precio vel nullius tamen est precii. – Nomina, quae communia vel quidem propria alicui sunt, regunt genitivum et ablativum.⁶⁹⁹

Q.2. Comparativus variatur 5 modis.⁷⁰⁰

1. Probitas est preciosior auro.
2. Probitas est preciosior, quam aurum.
3. Probitas est magis preciosiosa, quam aurum.
4. Non tam preciosum est aurum, quam probitas.
Non perinde preciosum est aurum, quam probitas.
5. Probitas praestat auro.
Probitas praestantia sua superat aurum.

Q.S. Probitas antecellit auro. — Dativus.

Probitas anteponenda, antehabenda est auro. Spernitur tamen etc.

Q.3. Superlativus variatur 9 modis.⁷⁰¹

Hisce et similibus modis infinitis colores potest Proteus et miscere et assumere. Experire succedet.⁷⁰²

1. Probitas est rerum omnium dignissima
2. <Probitas est> ex rebus omnibus <vel> inter res omnes laude dignissima.
3. Probitas omnibus rebus est dignior.⁷⁰³ Nihil probitate dignius. Nihil magis laudabile.
4. Nihil tam laudabile, quam probitas. Nihil aeque laudabile ac (atque) probitas. Nihil perinde laudabile atque probitas.
5. Probitas vincit res omnes dignitate. Nulli rei dignitate cedit. etc. Contemnitur tamen. etc.
6. Probitas res est tam excelsa, ut nulla res sit aequanda. Probitas res est tantae dignitatis, ut nulla cum ea comparari possit. Negligitur tamen. etc.
7. Probitas res est tam laudabilis, quam quae maxime. Negligitur. etc.
8. Probitas, si res ulla laudabilis est. Probitas est laudabilis et si qua res alia. Probitas quantum res alia nulla laudabilis est. Iacet tamen. etc.
9. Probitas ipse Deus est. Contemnitur. etc.

4. Variatio <dictionum> dignus et indignus⁷⁰⁴

⁶⁹⁹ Nomina ... ablativum] This explanation has been written in the margin.

⁷⁰⁰ Comparativus variatur 5 modis] This clarification is also found in the margin.

⁷⁰¹ Superlativus ... 9 modis] This clarification occurs in the margin.

⁷⁰² Hisce ... succedet] These clauses have been written in the margin.

⁷⁰³ dignior] After *dignior*, Stiernhielm crossed out *inusitatum* as a remark that the ablative of comparison is unusual.

- Probitas 1. digna est laude omnium
 2. digna est, quam omnes colant.
 3. digna est, quae ab omnibus colatur
 item: ut ab omnibus colatur.
 4. digna est ab omnibus coli.
 Spernitur tamen.

5. Variatio verbi fio.⁷⁰⁵

Probitas laudatur, qui fit ut ex aequo non colatur.

Probitas laudatur, utinam fieret, ut et colaretur.

Probitatem laudas; fac ut et colas.

Probitas laudatur. Rectius agendum, si fieri posset, ut etiam coleretur. etc.

6. Variatio <verbi> sum, ubi qualitas vel forma describenda sit.⁷⁰⁶

Probitas EST ea dignitate, eius dignitatis, in ea dignitate, ut ab omnibus laudem mereatur. Nemo tamen eam vult sectari.

G. Variatio coniunctionis discretivae.⁷⁰⁷

1. Etsi probitas laudatur, tamen alget.

Laudatur quidem probitas, verum parum colatur. etc.

2. Probitas ut in laude est umquam, ita in nullo est cultu.

3. Probitas laudatur, probitas alget.

4. Probitas laudatur, et alget.

5. Probitas laudatur, coeterum alget.

6. Probitas laudatur, contra eadem alget.

Variatio coniunctionis copulativae affirmativae.⁷⁰⁸

1. Probitas et laudatur et alget.

2. Probitas laudatur et eadem alget.

3. Probitas simul laudatur et alget,

aeque <perinde>, iuxta,

ex aequo, haud secus

laudatur ac <alget> etc.

4. Probitas <quemadmodum>⁷⁰⁹ laudatur, ita alget.

Non minus laudatur, quam alget.

⁷⁰⁴ Variatio ... indignus] This has been written in the margin

⁷⁰⁵ Variatio ... fio] This has been written in the margin.

⁷⁰⁶ Variatio ... describenda sit] This has been written in the margin.

⁷⁰⁷ Variatio ... discretivae] This has been written in the margin.

⁷⁰⁸ Variatio ... affirmativae] This has been written in the margin.

⁷⁰⁹ In examples 3 and 4 the text is partly damaged, either by a stain of spilled ink or by moisture of water. The words in pointed brackets are my conjectures.

Tam laudatur, quam alget.
5. Modus hic locum non habet, neque variatio coniunctionis copulativarum negantium. NB.

K. Supinum et gerundium.⁷¹⁰
Prompti sumus omnes laudare probitatem, colere nemo.
Laudatum veniunt omnes etc.
Probitas laudatu facilis est, non aequae cultu.
Laudatur probitas, sed non colendi causa.
Laudando probitatem, eandem spernimus.
Prone sumus ad laudandum, non vero colendum.

10.2 The second circle: variability through synonymy, equivalence, and periphrasis

10.2.1 Latin text of the main composition

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, eighth quire, fol. 4v and 1r. Size 210 x 340 mm.
Dating: 1635.

Per rotam secundam, quae VERTUMNI est, Proteus alia atque alia indumenta assumet adiutus synonymia, aequipollentia et periphrasi.

A. Quod si non esset mens mortalium, ut aequae probitatem colerent atque laudant, longe aequalius atque constantius sese res humanae haberent. Imitatio [Salustii] et phrasis Salustii: Si ita comparatum esset, ut etc.

B. Praeconia virtutis egregia audimus usquequaque. Studium nusquam sentimus. Virtutem passim verbis extolli animadvertit, coeterum si sane penitus introspicias, neglecta iacet.

C. Omnes bonitatem admirantur eamque laudandam existimant. Quotus vero quisque sibi amplitudinem putat?

Atque hoc quidem omnes mortales sic habent probitatem dignissimam esse, quae laudetur et extollatur. Quotum vero quemque inventurum te censes, qui ex animo eandem sectetur et amplectatur.⁷¹¹

Expende, quaeso, an omnes virtutem extollunt, at spernunt?

D. Dictis magnificis probitatem depraehendimus. Fas. Verum in rem si mentem defixeris, intelliges spretum omnibus. – Vel deprehendes, comperies, percipies, persentisces etc., quae etiam sub classe B usurpare poteris.⁷¹²

⁷¹⁰ Supinum et gerundium] This has been written in the margin.

⁷¹¹ Atque hoc ... amplectatur] This paragraph has been added in the margin.

⁷¹² poteris] After *poteris* Stiernhielm first wrote *apertissime*, but then crossed it out.

E. Candoris et integritatis laudes utique vehementer comperisti.⁷¹³
Quam frigide vero virtutes istae coluntur aequae te fugere (latere, clam
esse) non potest.

F. Et boni et mali virtutem magnificiendam asserunt (aiunt, fatentur,
prae se ferunt), in vitiis nihilominus maximam partem consenescent.

G. Virtuti herbam dant (manum porrigunt), subscribunt⁷¹⁴ omnes.
Sequitur nemo. Omne vel unum sentiunt honestatem laude
dignissimam. Pauci tamen eam colunt. Conspirant in hoc cuncti.

H. Nullus inquam repertus est tam perfrictae frontis, ut dubitaret de
laude et dignitate⁷¹⁵ probitatis (ut in dubium <veniret etc.>). Perpauci
tamen eam sibi <comparare> satagunt.⁷¹⁶

Nemo in incerto habet virtutem omnium rerum esse pulcerrimam.
Qui fit ergo, ut eam pene omnes maleferiati oderint?

I. Ipsa nobis veritas dictat et comprobat nihil luculentius synceritate
animi, sed nescio quo fato eadem nullum ferme apud mortales locum
inveniat.

K. Animum excolere virtutibus, quanti referat, notum est omnibus, et
negligitur ab omnibus.

L. Probitatis gloria palam est. Nemo tamen eandem persequenda
studet.

Conspicuum est ac inter omnes constat, quanti sit facienda
perfectio mentis. Quam pauci vero sunt, qui ei operam navare non
gravantur.

Manifestum et in medio positum et apertum est nihil sub luna
virtute esse splendidius. Sed ubi sunt cultores? Vide pos. Y.

M. Necessario omnes in bonitatis laudes rapimur. Qui fit, ut non
etiam ad imitationem?

⁷¹³ comperisti] Stiernhielm adds the synonyms *didicisti, nosti, cognovisti* in the margin.

⁷¹⁴ subscribunt] This word has been added in the margin. After *manum porrigunt* several unreadable words have been added above the line.

⁷¹⁵ dignitate] The text is here damaged. Only the first letters *dig-* are visible.

⁷¹⁶ The text of the manuscript is damaged either by moisture or a stain of ink. The words supplied in brackets are my own conjectures.

N. Nemo, puto, unquam extitit etc. Nemo unquam vixit, in vivis fuit, natus est. Nemo tam extremae unquam fuit malitiae, qui fortitudinem temperantiamque non putaverit laudandam. Sed, bone Deus, quam rari sunt, qui semper bonos esse student?

O. Per rationem, per naturam fieri nequit, quin virtus propter summam suam excellentiam cunctos in sui admirationem rapiat, sed, o Iupiter, quam difficile, quam arduum est eandem consequi.

P. Vide C, quo pertinet: Imaginare, sibi persuadere, persuasum esse. etc. Persuadet sibi velim virtutem nihil esse admirabilius etc., licet ab omnibus fere despiciatur.

Q. Virtutem verbis in coelum ferre (sustollere) cuivis facile (prorum, promptum) est. Eandem factis repraesentare (exhibere, demonstrare) nemini est difficile etc., non arduum etc..

R. Vide E.

S. Nemo sanae mentis, nemo, nisi qui cum ratione insanire volet, pernegabit, inficias ibit eum qui virtutem possidet, omnia possidere. Cur ergo tam pauci hasce sibi diutius comparare videntur.

(1r)

T. Virtuti verbis⁷¹⁷ refragatur nemo, opere vero omnes.

V. Certum et solidum id est probitate nihil pulcrius, nihil amabilius, sed unde accedit, ut amasium non inveniatur. Virtute nihil stabilius, nihil firmitus, at in leviculorum hominum pectore nullam habet anchoram.

⁷¹⁸ W. Nugas dixerit, qui animi integritatem non esse supra omnia amabilem dixerit. Infra veritatis terminos stetit reputabo, si qui auguste addunt⁷¹⁹ virtutem supra omnia, quae inter mortales bona habentur, eminere, ac primum locum habere negare audent. Nec mirum,⁷²⁰ si tales eam spernunt et despiciunt.

⁷¹⁷ verbis] Stiernhielm first wrote *aperte* on the line, but crossed out it and replaced it by *aperte verbis* above the line, but then crossed out *aperte* before *verbis*.

⁷¹⁸ In the margin Stiernhielm has written: *Vanus est vesanus, sub scientia. stultitiae.*

⁷¹⁹ auguste addunt] This expression has been crossed out in the manuscript, but has not been replaced by another verbal expression. For this reason, I retain it.

⁷²⁰ mirum] After *mirum*, the word *est* has been crossed out in the manuscript.

X. Absurdum et incongruum etc. est dicere virtutem rationi non esset consentaneum etc.

Y. Nemini occultum esse potest virtutem. Virtutis praestantia et splendor nemini potest esse obscurus. Virtus in occulto neminem latere potest etc. Taceat, qui virtutem neget rerum omnium preciosissimam. Silere praestat, quam dicere. etc. Fama virtutis neminem ignorare patitur, summa eius dignitate etc.

Loco tam excelso, tam conspicuo positum est virtutis solium, ut a nemine non suspiciatur; nemo non adorat; nemo thura succendit, vel quem ullum granum thuris sacrificaverit, neminem reperies. Plautus.

Z. Mirum et res prodigio simillima virtus simul suspiciatur et despiciatur. Res est somnio similis virtutem aequè admirari et despiciatui habere. Quod quum verbis virtutem evehimus, eandem opere conculcamus etc.

Si ultra haecce, amice tyro, indumentum indumento superinducere placet, et id levi negotio facere promptum erit. Experire saltem, e.g.

B. H. Nunquam auditum est excellentiam virtutis a quoquam in dubium revocari etc.

B. C. H. Non reor unquam auditum esse, ut quisquam probitatis dignitatem dubitaverit etc.; dubitare praesumpserit etc.

Plura, si animum attenderis, invenies in exemplis supra adductis.

10.2.2 An additional piece of variation

In F.d. 4:1, first quire, 2v, there is a variation of *probitas probatur et alget*, which obviously belongs to the second circle.

Candor amatur et deseritur. Honestas coelo tollitur, honestus solo volvitur. Pulchrum laudatur honestum.

Usquequaque celebratur virtus nec minus inops iacet.

Omnium ore predicatur virtus, simul inopsque macet.

Verbis virtutem extollimus, re ipsa iacere patimur.

Cunctorum ore simul virtus laudatur, inopsque marcet.

Probitatem adoramus, non erigimus. Ore ornamus virtutem, nemo re iacentem tollit, nemo erigit, manum iacenti nemo porrigit.

10.2.3 A draft on synonymous, equivalent and antonymic variability

Source: F.d. 6b: 1, tenth quire, fol. 1v–2r. Size: 164 x 210 mm. For a photograph of the entire text, see Figure 19.

Contents: Stiernhielm left a draft on the variability of the sentence *Probitas probatur et alget* through the devices of synonyms, related words and equivalents with their opposites (that is, antonyms).

Synonyma. Adfinia. Aequipollentia. Similia. Contraria. Periphrasis.⁷²¹
 Affirmate. Negate. Interrogative. Dubitative. Absolute. Modaliter.
 ¶ Mutatio partium orationis, ut verbum pro nomine et contra: Pro
 Probitas Probum esse.

<i>Abstracta synonyma.</i>	<i>Adiuncta diversa.</i>
Probitas.	Integritas.
	Pulchritudo.
	Synceritas.
	Amabilitas.
	Candor.
	Amplitudo.
	Honestas.
	Dignitas.
	Honestum.
	Maiestas.
	Virtus.
	Excellentia.
	Pietas.
	Eminentia.
	Humanitas.
	Decus
	Innocentia.
	Decor.
	Splendor.

<i>Concreta synonyma.</i>	<i>Epitheta diversa.</i>
Probus vir.	Amabilis.
Honestus.	Pulcher.
Virtute praeditus.	Dignus.
Virtute praeditus animus.	Eminens.
Virtute praeditum cor.	Vivida virtus.
Virtute praeditum pectus.	Ardua virtus.
Innocens.	Egregia virtus.
Pius.	Inclyta virtus.
Vir insigni probitate.	Fervida virtus.
Vir vitae probatissimae.	Candida virtus. etc.

Contraria

< <i>Abstracta synonyma.</i> >	< <i>Adiuncta diversa.</i> >
Improbitas.	Turpitudine.
Nequitia.	Dedecus.
Vitium.	Infamia.
Turpitudine.	Probrum.
	Labes.
	Macula.
	Scelus.
	Facinus.

⁷²¹ Synonyma ... periphrasis] The wording was originally: "Synonyma. Adfinia. Aequipollentia. Periphrasis. Contraria. Dubia, Translata seu Similia." The present word order was then indicated by numbers. *Dubia, Translata seu* were crossed out.

Flagitium

<Concreta synonyma.>

vir, pectus, cor, animus improbus.
 inverecondus. inhonestus.
 pudoris expers. nequam.
 omni vitiorum genere
 inquinatus. flagitiis vita comperta.
 coenum. lutum.
 carcinoma.⁷²² scabies mundi.

<Epitheta diversa.>

Detestabilis.
 Abominanda.
 Odiosum.
 Execrabilis.

Verbum.

Probum esse. Honeste vivere.
 Virtute eminere.
 Recte agere.
 Sedule virtutem operari,
 vivere, vitam agere.
 Operam dare virtuti.
 In virtute collocare aetatem, vitam etc.
 operam, studium, actiones suas.

Adverbium

Integre, probe, recte, honeste vivere.
 Pie, innoxie, innocenter, integre,
 syncere cum hominibus conversari,
 vitam instituere.

<Contraria.>

Improbe, nequiter, turpiter, indecenter, indigne, flagitiose, impie.

Passivum.

laudatur.
 celebratur.
 in coelum fertur.
 extollitur etc.
 decantatur.
 praedicatur.

Activum.

laudent.
 celebrant.
 adorare.
 venerari.
 exosculatur.
 amplexantur.
 honorare. suspicere.

Nomen.

laus.
 gloria.
 depraedicatio.
 splendor.

Adverbium.

laudabiliter.
 gloriose.
 alacriter.
 magnifice.

Affinia.

amatur.

Numerus. Persona. Tempus. Modus varientur.

Contraria: vituperatur.

vitio vertitur.

exprobrant.

probro ducunt.

vitio vertunt.

Dedecus

V[ide] s[upra].

et. Vide formulas copulandi, tribuendi, removendi.

Res pro persona. Nominatio rei pro persona.

⁷²² carcinoma] This is a Greek loanword from καρκίνωμα (τό), which means “crab, tumour or tumescence”.

<i>Neutrum.</i>	<i>Passivum.</i>	<i>Activum.</i>
alget.	contemnitur.	ab
friget.	spernitur.	
tepet inhonora.	parvi-penditur.	
iacet inhonorata.	despicitur.	
vilet despecta.	ostentui est.	
foedet.		
marcet. macet. ⁷²³		
sordet.		
riget. languet.		
flocchi-fit.		
nauci-<fit>.		
abhorrent.		
abominantur.		

10.3 The third circle: semantic variability through tropes

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, eighth quire, fols. 1v, 2r and 2v. Size 210 x 340 mm. The expected variations K, L, M, and N are lost. Dating: 1635.

(1v) Rotae tertiae MORPHEUS praesidet. Per eam in tropis ludit PROTEUS et varia ornamenta adsumit.

A. Animi cultus et exercitatio omnibus quidem admirationi est; imitatio perdifficilis et ardua. Deum in homine benefico agnoscimus et suspicimus. Eius vero vestigia sequi aspernamur.

Palladis vultum reverentur cuncti mortales, numen vero negligunt et spernunt.

Naturae nobilior indoles, qua ad perfectionem deducunt honesta educatio et multiugis crebra ad id, quod decorum est, tendens actio: Omnium mentes sui admiratione implet, paucos vero ad sui imitationem invitare valet.⁷²⁴

C. Metonymia et allegoria.

Virtus beata, illustris, clara, nobilis, spectabilis, ab omnibus adoratur.

Beatitatem et vitam beatam anhelamus omnes, viae vero quae ad eam ducit insistere dignantur pauci. Hic ad arcem, ad thronum felicitatis aspiramus,⁷²⁵ pervenire cupimus, sudamus, suspiramus, avemus, gestimus etc. omnes. Viam vero quam Dii dederunt ad eam

⁷²³ marcet. macet] These words have been written in the left-hand margin.

⁷²⁴ Naturae ... valet] This part of the variation A has been written in the margin.

⁷²⁵ aspiramus] This word has been added in the right-hand margin.

perveniendi, quia salebrosa est et sentibus obsepta, ingredi abhorremus etc. metuimus.

B. Permutata obiecta.

Cupiditatibus froena ponere, iram in potestate habere, dolori non succumbere divinum quoddam est, divinas apud omnes meretur laudes, verum qui faciunt non reperiuntur, nisi pauci admodum.

D. Nihil animo probitate praedito amabilius.

Nihil mente, virtute perfecta ornatius.

Nihil recta voluntate admirabilius.

Nihil recta ratione sublimius. etc.

D.E. Pectore honestatis pleno nihil iucundius etc.

E. Cui candidum est pectus, ei facile rubor vultum colorat. Pectora amamus candida et vultus rubori assuetos et genas ad verecundiae colorem faciles et vultus rubore tingi (sive suffundi) faciles; vel: genas pudoris (pudentiae) penicillo pingi faciles, genas virtutis coloribus aptas.⁷²⁶

F. Homine virtuoso nihil excellentius, nihil perfectius, illustrius homine virtute praedito, ornato.

G. Nihil aeque ad generandum in animis mortalium amorem vehemens et efficax, atque honestas morum. Quam tamen pauci valde assequi nituntur.

H. In adolescente voluntatem⁷²⁷, in viro candorem, in omnibus modestiam amamus, in nomine aemulamur.

Item: Praetextam rubor, togam candor ornat. Nec eo minus praetextatos experimur homines impudentes, togatos virtutis omnis expertes etc.

Item: et togam et sagum probitatis corona decet. Vel: Et togae et sagae belle convenit, sed quia multo sudore paratur, pauci eam adipisci contendunt.

⁷²⁶ et genas ad verecundiae colores faciles ... genas virtutis coloribus aptas] These clauses have been written in the margin,

⁷²⁷ voluntatem] This is a conjecture. The text is here damaged by moisture or spilled ink.

I. Probitas laudatur, sed o tempora! laudatur et alget. Haec tempora, hoc seculum virtutem aspernatur et odit.

(2r) O. Quae bona virtus possessoribus suis conferat, nemo videre non valet. O ineptas,⁷²⁸ coecas hominum mentes! Quis ea sibi comparare laborat?

Euge virtus! quam utilis et quam perspicua tua est possessio? Heu quam coeca econtra et stupida corda mortalium, qui tales sibi opes parare rebus omnibus posthabitis non satagunt?

Epiphonema. Virtutem homines laudant et oderunt. Adeo perversa sunt ingenia mortalium!

Virtutis splendorem fugimus, vitiorum nebulas amplectimur. Tanta nos obsedit dementia! Tanta animos nostros circumvallavit socordia!

Parrhesia. Stulti sumus, coeci et amentes, ne quid dicam asperius, qui cum infinita quotidie experiamur emolumenta virtutis, nunquam expergiscimur, quin⁷²⁹ voluptatis potius noxiis sordibus indormire perpetuo malimus.

P. Virtutem qui voluptati posthabent, omnia huius vitae – quid huius? etiam futurae vitae – commoda vanitati et tandem extremis miseriis postponunt. Qui virtuti infensus est, is felicitati, imo Deo ipsi, infensus est.

Q. Virtutis divinitatem agnoscitis, cultum fugitis. Vitiorum lutum detestamini, volutabrum quaeritis. O Deus, quousque tandem patere? quousque!

R. Exemplum proxime superius. Vos, o hypocritae, etc. qui etc. Vos aliquando Deus vel Dei vindicta inveniet.

Item: Virtuti blanditias dicunt et odio prosequuntur, sed ne nimium vobis⁷³⁰ placetote miseri. Erit enim tempus, quo vos ipsa, quam nunc tantopere amatis, voluptas perditum ibit.⁷³¹

Item: Virtutis commercia venditant et vitia improbi. Tu vero voluptas digno aliquando eos excipias contubernio.

⁷²⁸ O ineptas] This is a conjecture. The text is here hard to identify, because it has been exposed to moisture and consequently faded.

⁷²⁹ nunquam expergiscimur, quin] This has been added in the margin.

⁷³⁰ ne nimium vobis] The manuscript originally had the wording *nimium vobis ne*. The present order has been indicated with numbers 1–3 above the line.

⁷³¹ ne placetote nimium vobis] Stiernhielm first wrote *nimium vobis ne placetote*, but changed the word order by indicating the present order with numbers.

S. Virtus tacito modo videtur conqueri de ingratitude hominum, qui iactantiam [?] suam non ignorant multari [?]; malunt vero [?] in inquinamentis [?] vitiorum omnem aetatem volutari, quam [...?] in castris suis ad supremam gloriam ⁷³² contendere. ⁷³³

Item: Iure optimo de se virtus, imo veritas ipsa, praedicare potest:

Ego sum praeclara, et nemo mihi cupit;
venusta, et nemo deperit;
gratiosa, et nemo admiratur;
benefica, et nemo laudat;
modesta, et nemo observat;
fortis, et nemo veretur;
iusta, et nemo renovatur [?];
prudens, et nemo honorat;
sobria, et nemo colit;
dives, et nemo me acquirit;
fidelis, et nemo mihi fidit;
vita, et nemo me desiderat;
via, et nemo me quaerit [?].
lux, et nemo me sequitur [?]. ⁷³⁴
salus, et nemo me suspirat [?]. ⁷³⁵

(2v) T. Saepe et multis vicibus mecum cogitavi ⁷³⁶ pronioresne sint homines ad virtutum laudandam an ad nequitiam exercendam.

Quid dicam aut quemadmodum dicam? Aut quid omnino non dicam? Certe ea est temporum horum perversitas, ut omnes propemodum audias virtutem verbis ornare, vitium econtra execrari. Si vero rem propius inspexerimus, eosdem comperies hoc consecrare, illam praeterire. etc.

V. Vos ipsos appello, o improbi! Quid censetis? Quae vestra mens est? Sentiatisne vos fallere posse mundum? Putatisne latere Deum? Dum probitatem, pudorem et integritatem verbis usquipendatis, peni et ventri dediti luxuria et omni nequitiae genere diffluitis.

W. Quamquam probitatem laudare nemini denegamus, laudatione id tantum necesse tractari, hoc dicimus hominis esse nequam et improbi.

⁷³² contendere] The synonym *anhelare* has been crossed out before *contendere*.

⁷³³ Virtus... contendere] Many words of this unit are unreadable.

⁷³⁴ sequitur] This is a conjecture. The last word of the clause is hardly visible.

⁷³⁵ suspirat] This is a conjecture. The first letters of the word are hardly visible.

⁷³⁶ vicibus ... cogitavi] This is a conjecture. The words between *multis* and *pronioresne* are hardly readable. Stiernhielm may have used Cicero, *De inventione* 1,1, as his model: *Saepe et multum hoc mecum cogitavi*, "I have often and much deliberated with myself".

X. Quaeret quispiam, quid illi ipsi summi veri qui probitatis laude floruerunt. Nonne summis laudum et encomiis virtutem prosecuti sunt? Maxime! Sed attendite, quid respondeam. Laudibus divinis nonne illam celebraverunt simul et opere ferbuerunt? Non enim laudare sufficit, nisi et ipso actu observantiam tuam comprobare allabores.

Y. Virtutem laudas. Esto. Sed ut colas velim. Virtutem admirari bonae indolis signum est; concedo, sed ita ut, sic studeas etiam aemulari.

Z. Virtutem laudare res est laudanda. Etiam imitaris? Te laudo. Virtus, inquis, rerum est praestantissima. Ais: Ergo laudibus illustranda. Non nego. Sed hocine satis est? Haud. Quid ergo? Imitanda.⁷³⁷

10.4 The fourth and fifth circles: variability through figures of speech and figures of thought

Source: F.d. 13, wrapper Polygraphia, fol. 35r–36v. Size: 208 x 325 mm.

(35r)

Quarta et quinta rota MERCURIO consecrata PROTEO pompam conciliant.

A. 1. Virtutem quis sibi non putat extollendam, fovendam, magnificiendam, ornandam, celebrandam, in coelum evehendam⁷³⁸ et rebus omnibus antehabendam? Sed verbis et gestu reipsa friget.

2. O probitas, probitas, cuncti inclamant. Possidere vult nemo.

3. Probitas, inquis, probitas, rerum omnium prima est. Cur ergo tu ipse improbus es?

B. Nihil aequae inter mortales atque probitas laudatur. Laudatur et alget. Virtutem usquequaque celebramus, celebramus et in astra tollimus iidemque et deserimus.

C. Ea est virtutis maiestas, ut omnes omnino mortales cogat se admirari nec solum admirari, sed amare, nec amare modo, sed etiam honorare, nec hoc tantum, sed ut Deum adorare. Sed quid?

⁷³⁷ In the margin, Stiernhielm has written what rhetorical figure this variation (Z) belongs to, namely the dialogue: *Refer sub dialogismum* [... ...]. The words after *seu* are hardly readable.

⁷³⁸ Ornandam ... in coelum evehendam] This has been written in the margin.

Admirantur, amant, honorant, adorant virtutem. Vitio se dedunt et mancipant.

D. Cum exemplis asyndeton et polysyndeton.⁷³⁹

Ea virtutis est dignitas, ea auctoritas, ea maiestas etc. ut invitet, ut coget, ut compellat et abripiat omnium vultus, oculos, mentes in sui admirationem et amorem et reverentiam et cultum. Tantum tamen sibi mortales eius assequendae imaginantur laborem et difficultatem, ut paucissimos videre liceat, qui ad eius culmen ascendere nitatur.

Item: Probitas amatur. Probitas laudatur. Probitas celebratur etc.

E. Hic fere omnes modi sunt epistrophes.⁷⁴⁰

Omnium ore depraedicatur probitas, cunctorum laudibus decantatur probitas, communi omnium voce et clamore in coelum fertur probitas. Ast mentes omnium obsidet voluptas, sensus possidet voluptas, oculos occoecat voluptas, actiones⁷⁴¹ temerat voluptas.

Antitheta et tricola.

Item: Virtutem laudamus, nequitiam amamus.

Candorem admiramur, fraudes consecramur.

Modestiam dictis extollimus, impudentiam factis colimus.

Et cum paronomasia:

Non factis, sed dictis; non opere, sed ore. Probitatem colimus, non re, sed ore.

(35v)

F. Quis virtutem ore fert et oculis? Universus populus. Quis virtutem laudibus effert? Universus populus. Quis eam miratur, quis amat, quis colit? Universus populus. Quis eandem negligit, quis contemnit? Universus populus. Quis aspernatur, odit, execratur? Universus populus.

Virtus rerum est suavissima. Nemo eam expetit. Virtus rerum est pulcherrima.⁷⁴²

G. Probitas collaudatur, celebratur, ad Deos evehitur, et nihil minus vobis cordi est quam probitas.

⁷³⁹ Cum exemplis ... polysyndeton] This explanation is found in the margin.

⁷⁴⁰ Hic ... epistrophos] This explanation has been written in the margin.

⁷⁴¹ actiones] After *actiones* Stiernhielm first wrote *et facta* and then crossed this synonym out.

⁷⁴² Virtus ... pulcherrima] These clauses have been crossed out in the manuscript, but I think they should be retained.

H. Probitatem laudatis, celebratis. Probitatem vobis Deam faciatis. Qua tamen nihil apud vos frigidius.

Non quam laudatis virtutem, sed quam non laudatis. Nequitiam amplexamini.

Melius esset probitatem non depraedicare et colere, quam non colere et depraedicare. Virtutem qui colit, laudat. Qui non colit et laudat, frustra laudat.

I. Virtutem commendamus et contemnimus. Verbis collaudas, moribus collutulas.

Probitatem extollimus, pravitatem excolimus. Virtutem ore sectamur, re et ore insectamur.

Dictis non factis virtutem celebramus, non suspicimus, sed despiciamus.

More magis quam amore ducti virtutem exosculamur.

Virtutem ut hospitem salutas, ut hostem non admittis.

Virtutem idem laudas et laedis.

Virtutis laudibus immoramur, vitiorum sordibus immorimur.

Virtus in omnium incurrit oculos et vocolas.

Oneratis, non ornatis virtutem, quam verbis prosequimini, factis destituitis.

Ploce: Non omnibus virtus est virtus, sed iis tantum, qui opere ipso eam exprimere student.

Paroemion. et K. Non nisi probis probatur probitas. Non nisi probis probari potest probitas.

K. Quantumvis ore probitatem probare videantur omnes, nemini tamen nisi probo corde probatur.

Satius est virtutem colere et non laudare, quam si laudas et non colas.⁷⁴³

L. M. et N. Exempla habes sub E.

(36r)

K. Egregie officio nostro satisfacisse videmur, si probitatem ore feramus, animo fastidiamus.

Satis est, si ore probi simus. Factis nil necesse est, modo dictis non simus improbi.

⁷⁴³ non colas] Stiernhielm first wrote *nullum colas cultum*, then replaced *colas* by *exhibeas*, after that crossed this phrase out and chose to write *non tamen cola*, but finally deleted *tamen*.

Nequitiam laudibus ornemus, probitatem execramus. Sic felices erimus. Sic, sic aeterna manebit gloria. Virtutem laudate, vitia colite! et praemium condignum vos manebit.⁷⁴⁴

L. Huc pertinet adagia et paroemiae, qualia esse possunt:⁷⁴⁵

Virtus divina quaedam res est et divinis laudibus tollenda.

Item: Dii mihi videntur homines, qui virtutem possident et divinis laudum encomiis digni.

Quiddam divinum et homine maius videtur iis inesse, qui secundum virtutem vitam et actiones suas instituunt. Nescio tamen, quo malae sortis genio accadat, ut tales nemo aemulari animum inducat.

M. Virtus coelo est sublimior, ast fulgentior, aethere purior etc. Virtutis fulgor, fulmen,⁷⁴⁶ sublimitas, synceritas etc. Virtus splendet, rutilat, scintillat etc.

Virtus firmior est stabilior est fundamento terrae, universalior aere, aqua purior, igne magis perennans. Virtutem fundamentum, firmamentum, centrum, firmitas, constantia, flumen, fons, scaturigo, torrens, pelagus, lux, lumen, perspicuitas, claritudo, ardor, ignis, fomentum, flammae, incendium etc. Huc fluere, obruere etc.

Ex virtutis fonte manat (fluit, scatet, oritur, derivatur) omnis felicitas. Nobis animos clausos (obstrusos) tenet nequitia.⁷⁴⁷

M. O. Virtutis sublimitas coelos contingit.⁷⁴⁸

M. P. Virtutis fulgor omnium perstringit oculorum aciem, verum mentis abdita (adyta) impenetrabilis tenet vitiorum caligo. Virtutis fulgor omnium in se convertit oculos, etc.⁷⁴⁹

N. Virtus unica animi nostri tempestates serenat; ei itaque unice studendum. Huc pertinet: Virtus alget, virtus friget. Virtus omnium mortalium pectora sui amore incendit, verum spem potiundi difficultas plerisque extinguit.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁴ Nequitiam ... manebit] This passage of variation K occurs in the margin.

⁷⁴⁵ Huc ... possunt] This sentence has been written in the margin.

⁷⁴⁶ fulgor, fulmen] *splendor, fulgor* have been crossed out on the line; *fulmen, fulgor* added in the margin and the present word order has been marked by numbers (1–2).

⁷⁴⁷ Ex virtutis fonte ... tenet nequitia] This passage follows in the margin under the letter designation M. Stiernhielm first wrote: *Animos nostros clausos tenemus*.

⁷⁴⁸ M.O. Virtutis ... coelos contingit] This sentence has been written in the margin.

⁷⁴⁹ M.P. Virtutis ... oculos] The variation M.P. has been written in the margin.

⁷⁵⁰ M. Virtus unica ... extinguit] This passage has been written in the margin.

Virtus supra aethera volat. Virtutis laus vastum transjicit, transnatat oceanum, transfretat maria, peragrat universum orbem terrarum.

Virtus caput supra aethera effert, exserit.⁷⁵¹

N. P. Oculos omnium suo percellit lumine virtus, verum mentes occoecatas tenet (perstringit) vitium.⁷⁵²

O. Virtutis suavitas, sapor, sapientia, gustor, odor, dulcedo, asperitas, acredo, lenitas, acumen etc.

Virtutem delibare (primordiis labiis degustare) non sufficit, nisi ad intima mentis penetralia demittes.⁷⁵³

O.P.M. Virtutem primis digitis non satis est attingere; animo totam complectare necessum est, si velis ut vitia obruantur.⁷⁵⁴

P. Virtutem laudant etiam ii, qui eam nec de facie norunt. Haec est animi nostri labes, ut virtutem dum maxime praedicamus, vitia tamen sectamur.

P. Virtus oculis quidem omnium probata est et iucunda, verum animum titillat voluptas, verum mens voluptate prurit.⁷⁵⁵

Q. *Allegoria*. Virtus non solum in oculis gestanda, sed in animum demittenda est. Sic enim non solum ramos vitiorum ambutabit, surculos quotidie germinantes (gemmas trudentes) retundet et extirpabit, sed et radices funditus eruet et evellet.⁷⁵⁶

R. Honestatis studium varie ornamus, variis verborum coloribus depingimus, sed ut eodem mentes nostras expoliamus, tardi sumus et ignavi et inertes.

Virtutis imaginem decore nobis (adumbramus) formamus, venuste fingimus, terse limamus, nitide polimus, floride pingimus. Mentem

⁷⁵¹ N. Virtus caput ... exserit] This first paragraph of the variation N has been written in the margin.

⁷⁵² N.P. Oculos omnium ... vitium (perstringit)] The variation N.P. has been written in the margin.

⁷⁵³ Virtutem delibare ... penetralia demittas] This latter part of the variation O has been written in the margin.

⁷⁵⁴ O.P.M. Virtutem primis digitis ... vitia obruantur] The variation O.P.M. has been written in the margin.

⁷⁵⁵ P. Virtus oculis ... voluptate prurit] The continuation of the variation P has been written in the margin.

⁷⁵⁶ Q. Allegoria. Virtus ... evellet] The variation Q has been written in the margin.

vero ad eandem effigiare (effingere, exprimere) et conformare nemini in mentem venit.

(36v)

S. Exempla habes per totum, in voce *animus, mens*, etc., pro toto homine. Item in *digitus, labium, os, cor, pectus, viscera, praecordia, oculus, manus*.⁷⁵⁷ Synecdochen habes. Membrum metaphoricum in exemplis sub metaphora.

Item in hoc: Virtutem foris ne admirere. Intra tectum recipe et diffugiet tota cohors nequitiarum. Est exemplum, in quo concurrat cum S et N. Sic in multis. Si gloriam appetis et felicitatem consequi laboras, virtus sit tibi puppis et prora.

Si vis vivere beatus, non lingua, sed manibus pedibusque virtutem ut consequare enitere.

T. Universus terrarum orbis, universus mundus etc. virtutem admiratur etc.

V. Habitus ille mentis, quem prudentia disponit et gubernat, omnium animos quidem afficit. Quotus vero quisque operam dat, ut habitum sibi talem longo usu et multa exercitatione conciliet?⁷⁵⁸

V. S. Humanae mentis perfectis omnium oculis admirabilis est, verum paucis contingit.

W. Humanitatem quis non amat? Beneficentiam quis non colit? Comitatem quis non extollit? Sed in alio, etc.

Item: Mille sunt, qui virtutem ore profitentur, qui re vero, vix in mille reperies unum.⁷⁵⁹

W. N. Iustitia, prudentia, fortitudo, temperantia etc. omnium mentes ad se alliciunt, omnium oculos ad se raptant, nec eo plures, proh! habent cultores.

X. Numeri.

Virtutes eo sunt splendore, ut etc.

Habes exempla per totum in *omnis, omnes, homo, homines* etc. Item in persona secunda singulari pro prima plurali, ut passim et supra in S.

⁷⁵⁷ cor, pectus ... oculus, manus] These examples have been added in the margin.

⁷⁵⁸ V. Habitus ille ... conciliet] The variation V has been written in the margin.

⁷⁵⁹ W. Humanitatem quis ... reperies unum] The variation W has been written in the margin.

Y. *Nominis proprii pro communi.*

Liberalitatem laudat Euclio, modestiam Thraso, prudentiam Coroebus, frugalitatem Apicius, castitatem Thais, candorem Gnatho etc. Nullus vero, quod laudat, probat, vel laudant, inquam, omnes et damnant.

Z. Haec aetas valde foecunda est eorum, magnus hodie est proventus horum, qui etc., qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt.

Vocem Jacobi et manum Esau ubique deprehendes.

10.5 Fifth circle: variability through figures of thought

Source: F.d. 6b, 3b, tenth quire, fols. 1r–2r. Size: 208 x 325 mm.

This is a non-autograph fair copy, which is supplemented by some autograph additions in the handwriting of Stiernhielm after his hand injury in July 1641.

Stiernhielm here continued giving examples of variability through figures of thought, but did apparently not fulfil the present series of variations, which are numbered with Roman numerals (I–VI). In the first two variations he crossed out the letter designations (A and B) and replaced them by Roman numerals.

(1r)

Quinti circuli schemata.

Thema: Probitas laudatur et alget.

Aetiologia

I. Virtutem verbis evehimus, opere ipso ignavi; nec mirum, cum ingens sit inter dictum et factum intervallum. Item: Pronius enim est laudare, quam facere quae pulcra sunt. Item: Difficilia enim quae pulcra, et quae admirari et laudare facilius sit, quam in opus deducere.

Item: Ardua enim virtutis via, econtra facilis discimus Avernī. Item: Ad virtutis culmen per aspera sursum niti oportet; in vitiorum praecipitia facilis lapsus deorsum.⁷⁶⁰

Diatyposis.

Vide virtutis et voluptatis descript[ionem] apud Silium.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁶⁰ Item ardua ... deorsum] This example of aetiology has been added in the margin.

⁷⁶¹ Vide ... apud Silium] This reference is found in the margin, probably pointing to *Punica* XV: 33–120, where Silius Italicus lets Desire (*Voluptas*) and Virtue (*Virtus*) speak before the Roman commander Scipio Africanus. Silius modelled this on Xenophon's narrative of the topic of Hercules at the crossroad in *Memorabilia* II, 1, 21–34. Both these texts were a source of inspiration for Stiernhielm's *Hercules*.

II. Probitatem ut numen aliquod super pulvinaribus sedentem (vel in excelso throno considentem) corona, sceptro et syrmate conspicuam oculis venerabundis⁷⁶² suspicimus omnes, manibus tensis adoramus, colimus, veneramur. Qui vero fit, ut sacerdos eius despiciamus, nuditati et inopiae derelinquamus, stantes dejiciamus, deiectos conculcemus?

Item: Ad virtutis nomen videas omnes ceu venerabundos exilire, caput aperire, manus osculari, genibus flexis adorare ac bona dicere verba. Verum si quem virtutis cultorem, hominem probum ac sapientem, conspexerint fame confectum, macie tenuem, obsoleta tunica lacerum, coma et barba squalidum, rerum omnium egenum, cuiusvis ope et auxilio indigum, oculos protinus avertent, caput quassabunt, labiis vulgiter distortis⁷⁶³ ora torquebunt praeteribunt iacentem ac manus tendentem – taciti, qui minus mali haberi cupiunt; reliqui etiam maledictis et sannis insectabuntur.

Cum paronomasia.

Item: Virtutis nomen ceu numen adoramus humiles, devoti, oculis in coelum sublatis, poplitibus inclinatis, manibus protensis, toto corpore ad reverentiam compositi, ex imo praecordiorum suspiria trahentes. At si forte ad viam iacentem aliquem virtutis alumnum offenderimus fame et siti mactum, frigore horridum, sordibus paeditum, nuditate miserum, oculis limis⁷⁶⁴ despiciamus inopem, miseratione et auxilio destitutum praeterimus.

(1v) Antithesis

III. Virtutem verbis magnificamus, facto contemnimus; voce in coelos attolimus, opere ad inferos detrudimus; encomiis celebramus, moribus contaminamus (dehonestamus, collutulamur).

Aliud: Virtutem suspiramus, voluptatem quaerimus; probitatem laudamus, nequitiam amplectimur; honestatem praeferimus, turpia exercemus.⁷⁶⁵

Aliud: Virtutem optantes odimus, improbitatem aversantes (execrantes, detestantes, abominantes) amplectimur. Honestati studentes tupitudinem sectamur. Virtutem amantes fugimus, voluptatem fugientes colimus.

Item: Virtutem voluptatemque pariter sectamur et fugimus; verbo hanc, illam reipsa fugimus; illam verbo, hanc reipsa sectamur

⁷⁶² oculis venerabundis] This is an autograph marginal addition by Stiernhielm.

⁷⁶³ labiis vulgiter distortis] This is also an autograph marginal addition.

⁷⁶⁴ limis] The words denique traversis have been crossed out before *limis*.

⁷⁶⁵ exercemus] Stiernhielm has written *eligimus*, above the line without crossing out *exercemus*.

Item: Virtutem laudas? At non colis. Probitatem quaeris? At non amplectaris. Ore virtutis sanctissimus sacerdos, re vitiorum propudiosum mancipium. Item: Virtutem laudas? At laudatam non diligis. Probitatem quaeris? At inventam non suscipis.

Oxymoron. Virtutis ignavus laudator, vitiorum amicus insectator.⁷⁶⁶

Oxymoron. Item: Virtutem laudas, vitia insectaris, his amicus, infestus illi.

Item: Virtutem te colere ais. Quomodo autem congruit virtus ignaviae, labor desidia, modestia superbiae, innocentia avaritiae, sanctimonia voluptati?

Item: Virtuti te studere credamus? Superbum modestiae, avarum iustitiae, petulantem castimoniae, dissolutum continentiae, gulae denique et ventri deditum vitae sanctitati?

Item: Divinis laudum excomiis concelebramus aequitatem, prudentiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam, virtutes omnes, revera autem operam damus iniquitati, ignaviae, temeritati, luxuriae et vitiis omnibus.⁷⁶⁷

Item: Virtus non laudibus, sed operibus, non verbis, sed veritate, non dictis, sed factis rite colitur.

(2r) Alloecosis. Eodem fere modo statuitur.

IV. Quidam cum virtutem verbis extollunt, satis se fecisse arbitrantur, verum longe alia res est laudare et facere.

Virtutem verbis praetendere non sufficit, re ut demonstres opus est.

Oxymoron.

V. Virtus dulcis-amara⁷⁶⁸ est; eoque quam laudas, eandem fugis. Vel: ideoque eandem laudando fugis, fugiendo laudas. Plura vide supra sub antithesi, numero III.

VI. Antisagoge.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁶ insectator] *persecutor* has been crossed out on the line, insectator added above the line.

⁷⁶⁷ This paragraph is an imitation of the second speech against Catiline (*In Catilina* II, 25), where Cicero describes the fight between the Roman Republic and Catiline as a fight between virtues and vices. All virtues, *virtutes omnes* – specifically *aequitas*, *temperantia*, *fortitudo* and *prudentia* – fight against all vices, *vitia omnia* – specifically *iniquitas*, *luxuria*, *ignavia* and *temeritas*.

⁷⁶⁸ dulce-amara] In the margin, alternative expressions have been written in Latin, viz. *dulc-acida vel amara-dulcis*, and in Greek, viz. Γλυκύπικρά.

⁷⁶⁹ Antisagoge] No example follows in the manuscript. Stiernhielm equated this rhetorical device with that of *compensatio*, a well-balanced argument. In Lidell-Scott, *A Greek Lexicon*, s.v. ἀντισταγωγή, it is defined as a compensatory antithesis.

10.6 Variability of classical maxims

10.6.1 Pythagoras' aphorism: "Everything is changing"

Source: F.d. 6b: 1, second quire, fols. 1r–3r (3v and 4r are blank). Size: 164 x 210 mm. For a photograph of the first folio, see Figure 20. At the end of the text, Stiernhielm refers to the next quire in his manuscript volume, writing: "Sequitur variatio tropi", that is, 'There follows variation through tropes'. In the manuscript (F.d. 6b: 1) the following pages contain excerpts on the topic of tropes from the English rhetorician Thomas Farnaby's *Index rhetoricus*, third edition (p. 38 ff.), published in October 1633. Consequently, Stiernhielm copied it after this date, which gives a clue to the dating of the text under consideration (*Omnia mutantur*).

Moreover, Stiernhielm calls himself Georg Lilia in the heading of *Omnia mutantur*. As he ceased to call himself by this surname in May 1634, the present text predates the summer of 1634. This text and the ensuing extract from Farnaby's *Index rhetoricus* (F.d. 6b: 1 third and fourth quires) is clearly written in Stiernhielm's handwriting from before the injury to his right hand in July 1641.

Stiernhielm proposes variations of the sentence *Omnia mutantur*, that is, 'Everything is changing', which according to Ovid, *Met.* 15, 165 ff., is the doctrine of Pythagoras about the changeability of the world.⁷⁷⁰ He generates variations of this maxim by means of rhetorical syntax and argumentative strategies for the amplification of commonplaces. In the margin, he explains what rhetorical devices he means and divides them into figures of speech (*figurae dictionis*, which he abbreviates as *fig. d.* or *f. d.*) and figures of thought (*figurae sententiae*, abbreviated as *fig. sn.*). In the edited text, the marginal explanations are used as sub-headings of the variations. Stiernhielm also added a few words in the margin in dark ink to correct words and phrases in the main text. These additions are accounted for in the critical apparatus.

In some variations (5–14) Stiernhielm uses symbols for the planets Mercury (☿), Mars (♂) and Jupiter (♃) and the star Pallas, but he does not yet use them systematically, as he later was to do in his drafts of *Proteus rhetoricus* (see Sections 11.1.1 and 11.1.2 below).

Lewis and Short, in *A Latin Dictionary*, give the sense "a figure of speech by which one thing adduced is opposed to another; a counter-assertion."

⁷⁷⁰ In *Met.* 15, 177–182, Ovid makes Pythagoras say: "Nihil est toto, quod perstet, in orbe / cuncta fluunt" (there is nothing that endures in the entire world; everything flows), where the phrase *cuncta fluunt* renders the well-known aphorism πάντα ῥεῖ, of the Greek philosopher Heraclitus. The constant process of change in the cosmos was a common topic in hermetic and neo-Pythagorean philosophy.

(2r) Thema a Georg. Lilia per utrunque alphabetum perductum.

Omnia mutantur.

- A. A. A. Omnium rerum vicissitudo est.
A. A. B. Cunctatum, quae in mundo sunt, vivunt, vigent, sentiunt, perpetua mutatio est.
C. Γ. B. Nihil quicquam sol aspicit, quod vicissitudini non sit obnoxium.
D. Δ. C. Si quis contemplationem iniecerit super initia rerum
E. omnium: annon ea primum esse optima, deinde paulatim declinare⁷⁷¹ comperiet?

Communicatio. figura s[e]n[tentiae].

- E. E. D. ☿. A te si quaeram, quisquis es, o amice, qui ingenium in promptu habes, numnam quicquam tota tua vita stabile et firmum in hoc mundo deprehenderis? Certo scio hoc mihi responsi a te redditum iri: Nihil usquam nec in coelo nec in sole nec in sale reperiri, quod continuis mutationis vicibus non subiectum sit.⁷⁷²

Paronomasia. fig. d[ictionis].

- E. Γ. D. ♃. Anxie scrutanti mihi nunquid sub coelo quietum comperiri possit, occurrit rerum omnium mater ipsa natura negans quicquam in universa hacce mundi fabrica perpetuo fixum consistere posse.

Metaphora

- F. ♃. E. ♂. Opinione mea rotat omnia fatum.
F. ♃. F. ♂. Credo plane, nec fides cassa est, omnia sublunaria fatali quadam generationis et corruptionis necessitate perpetuo versari.⁷⁷³
F. X. ☿. Si quicquam rerum humanarum aeternum duxeris, nae valde te tua fallit opinio.

(1v)

⁷⁷¹declinare] Stiernhielm adds alternative phrases in the margin: *deteriora evadere* and *in deterius evadere*.

⁷⁷²vicinus non subiectumsit] Stiernhielm adds *obnoxium sit undis, fluctibus, Euripis* as alternative phrases in the margin.

⁷⁷³varsari] Stiernhielm writes *raptari* as an alternative word in the margin. After the main text he indicates an alternative construction and phrase: *vel: quod omnia versentur*. The entire sentence would read: 'quod omnia sublunaria fatali quadam generationis et corruptionis necessitate perpetuo versentur'.

- G. H. Δ. ♂. Stupidum blennonem eum esse oportet, qui res hasce mundanas e corruptili materia productas ignoraret aeternum durare nullo pacto posse.
- G. H. ♀. Stipes, caudex, asinus essem, si quae sciam ortum habere, ea ignorarem et occasum aliquando sortitura.
- G. I. P. ♀. Non me fugit cuncta insito quodam migrandi amore nunquam in eodem statu permansura.

Oxymoron fig. s[e]n[tentiae]

- H. K. ♀.⁷⁷⁴ ♀. Sub luna cuncta immutabili quadam mutabilitate iactari ambiguum non est: num et supra? Sententiae incertus haereo.
- H. K. ♀. Terra profecto, num et coelum corruptioni obnoxium sit, non immerito dubitari potest.
- I. L. O. Eorum sententiae, qui nusquam quicquam stabile esse asserunt libens manum porrigo.

Metaphora. Asyndeton fig. d[ictionis]. Similiter desinentia. fig. d.

- L.H.I.L.P. Pedibus ire non dubitabo in sententiam eorum, qui aiunt mundana cuncta perpetuo quodam vicissitudinis Euripo incessanter raptari, agitari, volutari.

Oxymoron fig.

- I. O. Constanti mundi inconstantiae ipsa quotidiana experientia herbam dat.
- K. L. N. Quis certabit unquam eorum sententiae, qui adstruunt humana cuncta incertis casibus ferri.
- K. N. Sanae mentis nemo unquam adversatus est experientiae⁷⁷⁵ communi nihil usquam in orbe terrarum eodem loco semper perdurare.

Polyptoton. fig. d[ictionis]

- L. O. V. Valde fallit et fallitur, qui autumat aliquam praeter inconstantiae constantiam in versatili hocce mundo templo reperiri.

(2r) Metaphora

- M. F. P. Neminem unum spero inficias iturum mundana omnia fluxa esse et caduca.

⁷⁷⁴ ♀] This is the astronomical symbol of the star Pallas. It is also the chemical symbol of sulphur.

⁷⁷⁵ experientiae] *opinion*i has been crossed out on the line and replaced by *experientiae* above the line.

Sed haec descriptio scilicet ad figuram amplificationis pertinet.

N. Q. Y In finitis rerum documentis comprobatum habemus nihil in universo hoc et pulcherrimo summi istius sapientissimique architecti Dei opificio usquam cogitari nedum nominari posse, quod non aeterna vicissitudinis lege usquam mutetur, alteretur et veluti in circulum continua migratione gyretur.

NB. Si vis, possunt haec binae connecti et fieri una descriptio hisce signis ✕.⁷⁷⁶

μερισμός. Distributio. fig. ampl[ificationis].

O. Q. Infra veri terminos me stetisse fatebor, si quicquam in

L. mundo perpetuo stabile fore adstruxero. ✕. Superna

D. coelo concamerata templa irretorto oculo aspice!

Metaphora. Sphaeras considera! Stellarum tam errantium, quam inerrantium choreas contemplare! Ducem earum et praesultorem⁷⁷⁷ Apollinem, id est solem, mundi oculum, cum sorore luna, maris domina, magna universi luminaria exacto examine perpende!

Anaphora. f. d. Nihil in singulis⁷⁷⁸ fixum, nihil quietum, nihil firmum, nihil praeter instabilitatem stabile⁷⁷⁹prehendes.

Oxymoron. Inferna iam si pensius tecum aestimare velis, magnam matrem tellurem mentis oculis circumcirca lustra, animantia, plantas, metalla cogita, mare marisque profunda accurato scrutinio excute!

Epizeuxis f. d. Nihil, nihil omnino usquam locorum oculos mentemve subibit, quod non aeternae mutationis atque adeo generationis, provectionis,⁷⁸⁰ auctionis, declinationis,⁷⁸¹ deminutionis et tandem corruptionis, interitionis⁷⁸² ac denuo vicissim generationis circulo⁷⁸³ comprehendatur.

Symploce f. d. Et ut verba compendii faciam. Hora horam, dies diem, nox noctem tradit.⁷⁸⁴ Dies nocti, nox diei vicissatim succedit.

⁷⁷⁶ NB. ... hisce signis ✕.] This is an autograph marginal addition.

⁷⁷⁷ praesultorem] *solem* has been crossed out on the line after *praesultorem*.

⁷⁷⁸ singulis] After *singulis* the words *stabile, nihil* have been crossed out.

⁷⁷⁹ praeter instabilitatem stabile] The word order is changed by numbers (1–3).

⁷⁸⁰ provectionis] This word has been written in dark ink above the line.

⁷⁸¹ declinationis] This word has been added in dark ink above the line.

⁷⁸² interitionis] This word has been added in dark ink above the line.

⁷⁸³ ac denuo vicissim generationis circulo] This replaces *tum denuo generationis vicissitudini* on the line: *ac denuo vicissim* was added in the margin, while *circulo* was added after *vicissitudini*, which was crossed out.

⁷⁸⁴ Hora ... tradit] This has been added at the bottom of the page and in the margin.

(3r)

Climax fig. d. Ver aestati, aestas autumnō, autumnus hiemi, hiems
veri cessim lampada tradent.⁷⁸⁵ Et omnia orta occidunt.
Metaph. Adag. Et ut uno dicam verbo (ut tribus dicam verbis): Omnia
orta cadunt.

- P. Quam potes fida disquisitione inquire, et humana cuncta perpetuo
gyro rotari comperies.
P. Rerum naturam exploranti nihil immobilitatis expers obveniet.
Q. A me si quaeris numnam in mundo quidquam sit aeternum? Aliud
respondere nequeo, nisi quod quotidianus rerum usus dictat nihil
esse durable.
R. Cuncta mutari sole adulto clarius est.

Metaph. in adag[iis].

- R. Liquet omnibus omnia terrena incerto et obliquo stare talo.
S. Sanis sat patet, insanis ingerere supersedes, sortis arbitrio humana
omnia gubernari.
T. Extra omnem dubitationis aleam est, quod in humanis sors omnia
versat.
V. In perplexo est an coeco fortunae arbitrio humanae res omnes
dispensentur.
V. Certe controversum est apud Ethnicos, apud veteres philosophos,
utrum providentia divina an vero coeca sortis dispensatione res
mortalium administrentur.
X. Nihil in contrarium adduci potest, quin omnia mundana fragilia
sint et caduca.
Y. Nemo mirabitur, si dicam omnia mundana in motu esse.
Y. Mirandum certe est nihil in mundo immutabile manere.
Z. Non incongruens, imo rationi consentaneum est, mundum
universum vicissitudinis rota volvi.

(4v)

Aa. Necessum est, ut fateantur omnes mundum nil nisi rotam esse.

Bb. Fieri potest, ut quis adeo stupidus sit,⁷⁸⁶ qui non cernat ea, quae
oriuntur, etiam aliquando occidere. Verum is egregie et bona fide
hallucinatur.

Γ. Non disconvenit dicere mundum perpetuam Syrtim esse, quae huc
illuc varia ventorum flamina iugiter versetur et circumagatur.

⁷⁸⁵ Ver ... tradent] Stiernhielm crossed out: *Hiemem aestas, aestatem hiems excipit*.

⁷⁸⁶ ut] *ut* has been crossed out after *sit* and replaced by *qui*.

Δ. In universa mundi machina quidquam perpetuo durabile putare absurdum est.

Inconcinnum fuerit, quod coepit, id et aliquando non desitutum arbitrari.

Sequitur variatio tropi.⁷⁸⁷

10.6.2 Quintilian's maxim about the variability of translation

Source: F.d. 2:7:1:5, fol. 7r (a loose small-sized leaf).

In an undated draft, Stiernhielm selected an aphorism from *Institutio oratoria* 10, 5, 5, in which Quintilian, in his discussion of translation as a rhetorical exercise, claims that eloquence will make translatorial variability possible. It reads: "Non adeo ieunam et pauperem natura eloquentiam facit, ut una de re bene dici nisi semel non possit." Stiernhielm chose the statement in question as point of departure for exemplifying linguistic variability.

Variatio

✎ Non tam sterilem atque miseram natura oratoriam fecit, ut de una materia copiose loqui nisi una vice non queat.

⊙ Haud unquam aeque cassam, nudam ac parvis opibus praeditam natura vim dicendi nasci voluit, quin materiam aliquam oblatam cum copia eleganter proferre multis sufficiens sit.

Tam pinguis et dives est ars bene dicendi, ut multoties de aliqua materia varie per eam dici possit.

♂ Eloquentia non adeo infoecunda ac exhausta a natura facta est, quin de variis rebus bene et copiose dici queat.

* Vix tam nuda ac misera eloquentia per naturam facta, ut una res non possit [pro]ferri⁷⁸⁸ variis modis.

10.6.3 A maxim about the connection between poetry and erudition

Source: F.d. 6, fol. 20r. Dating: around 1650. Size: 210 x 325 mm.

Stiernhielm proposes the maxim "Poesis ornat hominem doctum", i.e. "Poetry adorns a scholar", as a topic of amplification. He draws this

⁷⁸⁷ Sequitur variatio tropi] This sentence refers to Stiernhielm's copying of Thomas Farnaby's *Index Rhetoricus*, third edition 1633, more exactly his theory of semantic change in the doctrine of the tropes, such as metaphor, metonymy, etc. and their sub-categories. For a textual edition of these excerpts, see Appendix 3 below.

⁷⁸⁸ proferri] The text is damaged, since the piece of paper is torn apart here.

phrase from a rhetorical handbook, which I have not identified, but himself composed both examples, one in prose and the other in verse.

Sit specimen inventionis ad hoc thema: Poesis ornat hominem doctum.

Sit locus inventionis, p. 35: Bos, cor, dens.

Si quis est, qui in poesi non reponat ingens hominis doctrina
pollentis ornamentum, is certe naturae bovinae, quam humanae
proprior est, nec est, ut putem eundem cor habere ratione
praeditum. Tantum enim distat vir, cuius pectus acrimonia poetica
imbutum est, ab eo, qui ea caret; quantum leo vel ursus dentibus
armatus ab edentulo et inermi.

Fac versus:

Bos est, non homo, qui Clarias contemnere Musas
audet inexpertus. Pro corde habet ille peponem.
Nec sal pectori inest nec acetum. Dentibus orba
belua, morsibus atque irae patet illa minorum.⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁹ These verses are published in the collection of Stiernhielm's Latin poems, see his *Samlade skrifter* 1:1 (ed. by J. Nordström and B. Olsson) p. 198, and translated into Swedish (by Birger Bergh), *ibidem* 1:2, p. 616.

11. *Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus*

11.1 The engraved circle diagram

11.1.1 *The engraving and a transcription of the text*

Stiernhielm summarized his theory of linguistic variability in a diagram with six circles. If we move straight outwards from each module in the first circle, the diagram can be transcribed as follows:

Circle 1:  *Persona*

Circle 2: 1* Mutatio partium
orationis.

Circle 3:  ESSENTIA.

Circle 4:  Metaphora.

Circle 5: L. Paronomasia.
M. Synonymia.

Circle 6: I. Causatio.
II. Descriptio.

Circle 2: 2* <Mutatio>

Substantivi. Adiectivi.

Circle 3:  SENSUS.

Circle 4:  Metonymia causae.

Circle 5: N. Similibus casibus
finientia. O. Exclamatio.

Circle 6: III. Distributio.
III. Incrementum

Circle 1:  *Numerus*

Circle 2: 3* Epitheti.

Circle 3:  ADMIRATIO.

Circle 4:  <Metonymia> effecti.

Circle 5: P. Interrogatio.
Q. Dubitatio.

Circle 6: V. Congeries.
VI. Comparatio.

Circle 2: 4* <Mutatio> Adverbii.

Circle 3:  DUBITATIO.

Circle 4:  <Metonymia> subiecti.

Circle 5: R. Occupatio.
S. Concessio.

Circle 6: VII. Contrapositio.
VIII. Disiunctio

Circle 1:  *Genus*

Circle 2: 5* <Mutatio> Comparationis.

Circle 3:  OPINIO.

Circle 4:  <Metonymia> adiuncti.

Circle 5: T. Communicatio.
V. Prosopopoeia.

Circle 6: IX. Inversio.
X. Ratiocinatio.

Circle 2: 6* <Mutatio> Speciei.

Circle 3:  POSSIBILE.

Circle 4:  Synecdoche totius.

Circle 5: X. Praeteritio.
Y. Aversio.

Circle 6: XI. Expolitio.
XII. Circumstantia.



Figure 3a. Engraving of *Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus*, F.d. 5, 25r. Reproduction: Anna Guldager, Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm. The outermost circle of the major diagram has a diameter of 122 mm. The larger diagram is transcribed in Section 11.1.1 and interpreted and analysed in Section 11.1.2. The hexagonal star in the middle of the diagram may have been inspired by the six-sided star polygon in Stiernhielm's coat of arms.

The minor diagram shows different methods of lexical variation: synonymy, equipollence and periphrasis (which are the second circle or system of variation in the first draft of *Proteus rhetoricus*, Section 10.2) and their symbols: a light flower, a dark flower and a stylized ampersand. Stiernhielm used these marks to refer to such devices as translational procedures in the Latin translations of Polybius' preface to *Histories* by Niccolò Perotti and Isaac Casaubon (Section 11.3.5).

Circle 1: ★ *Casus*

Circle 2: 7* <Mutatio> Figurae.

Circle 3: ⚬ CONVENIENTIA.

Circle 4: ⌘ <Synecdoche> partis.

Circle 5: Y. Correctio.

Figurae dictionis et sententiae:

Circle 2: 8* <Mutatio> Copulae.

Circle 3: ⌘ CONSENSUS.

Circle 4: ⌘ <Synecdoche> generis.

Circle 5: A. Epizeuxis. ⁰—⁰—

B. Anaphora. ⁰—⁰—

Circle 1: ★ *Tempus*

Circle 2: 9* <Mutatio> Syntaxis.

Circle 3: ✂ VERITAS.

Circle 4: ‡ <Synecdoche>
speciei.

Circle 5: C. Epistrophe. —⁰—⁰

D. Symploce. ⁰—⁰—⁰—⁰

Circle 2: 10* <Mutatio> Metri

Circle 3: ⌘ EVIDENTIA.

Circle 4: Ironia.

Circle 5: E. Epanalepsis. ⁰—⁰—⁰

F. Anadiplosis. ⁰—⁰—⁰

Circle 1: □ *Modus*

Circle 2: 11* <Mutatio>
Phrasis

Circle 3: ⌘ SCIENTIA.

Circle 4: Tropi et affectiones
troporum: allegoria,
hyperbole, catachresis

Circle 5: G. Mediana. —⁰—⁰—⁰

H. Epanodos. ⁰—⁰—⁰—⁰

Circle 2: 12* <Mutatio>
Ordinis

Circle 3: ⌘ ASSERTIO.

Circle 4: Tropi et affectiones
troporum: allegoria,
hyperbole, catachresis

Circle 5: I. Polyptoton.

K. Climax.

11.1.2 Interpretation and explanation

In the engraving Stiernhielm argues that language starts from a single point in the middle, which is surrounded by six circles, each with categories that are provided with distinctive symbols. The innermost circle has six categories. The three next have twelve categories, the fifth has twenty-four and the last has twelve.

In the first stage, language adopts grammatical categories: person (*persona*), number (*numerus*), gender (*genus*), case (*casus*), tense (*tempus*), and mood (*modus*). This is the circle of morphological variability. Each category is supplied with a graphic symbol: the triangle (Δ) for person, the symbol of opposition (⌘) for numbers, the sign of conjunction (⌘) for gender, the asterisk (*) for case, the star (★) for tense, and the square (□) for mood.

Stiernhielm proceeds to the circle of syntactic variability, which he divided into twelve categories, each with a number (1–12) followed by an asterisk as its distinctive mark: (1*) change of parts of speech, (2*) change of substantive into adjective or vice versa, (3*) use or addition of epithet, (4*) addition of an adverb, (5*) use of the

comparison, that is, particularly the changing of an adjective in the positive into a comparative or superlative, (6*) use of a derivative noun or verb for a primitive word or vice versa, (7*) use of a compound noun or compound verb for a simple one, (8*) variation of the coordinative conjunction “and”, (9*) change of case syntax, for instance the replacement of *ablativus qualitatis* by *genetivus qualitatis* or application of different case government of verbs, (10*) change of the metre, (11*) change of the diction by use of synonyms, related or equivalent words, and (12*) change of word order. Stiernhielm has borrowed most of these categories from a chapter on the variability of syntax in the encyclopaedia of Johann Heinrich Alsted.⁷⁹⁰

Language can also be divided into semantic fields in accordance with the epistemological stages in the creation of certain knowledge. The variability of lexis and phraseology in each semantic field and stage makes up the third circle of variability. Stiernhielm enumerates twelve epistemic categories, for which he employed the symbols for the zodiac signs as mnemonic designations as follows:⁷⁹¹

1. Reality (*essentia*); sign of the ram (*Aries*) ♈
2. Sense-perception (*sensus*); sign of the bull (*Taurus*) ♉
3. Admiration (*admiratio*); sign of the twins (*Gemini*) ♊
4. Doubt (*dubitatio*); sign of the crab (*Cancer*) ♋
5. Opinion (*opinio*); sign of the lion (*Leo*) ♌
6. Possibility (*possibile*); sign of the virgin (*Virgo*) ♍
7. Agreement (*convenientia*); sign of the scale (*Libra*) ♎
8. Consent (*consensus*); sign of the scorpion (*Scorpius*) ♏
9. Truth (*veritas*); sign of the archer (*Sagittarius*) ♐
10. Evidence (*evidentia*); sign of the sea-goat (*Capricornus*) ♑
11. Knowledge (*scientia*); sign of the water-bearer (*Aquarius*) ♒
12. Scientific assertion (*assertio*); sign of the fishes (*Pisces*) ♓

Language moves forward to the circle of change of word meaning, by which the proper and natural meaning is changed into a transferred one by means of four principal tropes, viz. metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony, and by means of three accidental procedures, allegory, hyperbole and catachresis. This categorization makes up the

⁷⁹⁰ See Alsted, *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta*, vol. 2, book 6 on grammar, chapter 19 on syntax, under the heading varying syntax (*syntaxis varians*), p. 368. This categorization was copied by Stiernhielm from the first edition of the encyclopaedia into his Book of Commonplaces (F.d. 4:1, at the end of the volume).

⁷⁹¹ Stiernhielm also used some of these zodiac symbols to refer to different kinds of syntactic variation (see Section 11.3.3).

fourth circle. The limitation of the number of tropes to four goes back to Pierre de la Ramée's redefinition of the concept of trope and his criticism of Quintilian's broad definition of this concept, which had entailed the acceptance of fourteen tropes. However, the Dutch classical scholar Gerard Vossius, in his rhetorical handbooks, primarily *Institutiones oratoriae* (1606), allowed the three above-mentioned accidental sub-categories of the four main tropes. Stiernhielm evidently followed the Vossian classification, which was widespread in the 17th century.

In the fourth system, Stiernhielm used the symbols for the planets (which also are chemical symbols for elements) as designations of the four tropes with their different kinds of relationships.⁷⁹²

- ☉ Sun (gold) for metaphor
- ♄ Saturn (lead) for metonymy, cause-effect relationship
- ♃ Jupiter (tin) for metonymy, effect-cause relationship
- ♂ Mars (iron) for metonymy, person-object relationship
- ♀ Venus (copper) for metonymy, object-person relationship
- ☿ Mercury (mercury) for synecdoche, whole-part relationship
- ☾ crescent moon for synecdoche, part-whole relationship
- ☾ decrescent moon (silver) for synecdoche, genus-species relationship
- ‡ for synecdoche, species-genus relationship
- [...] a globe with a cross pierced by an arrow to designate irony.⁷⁹³

Stiernhielm did not, however, develop a theory of the nature of the four proper tropes and the three auxiliary tropes, but only excerpted the definitions and examples in *Index rhetoricus*, in its third edition of 1633, by the English humanist Thomas Farnaby (1575–1647).⁷⁹⁴

⁷⁹² In his treatises *Archimedes reformatus* (Stockholm 1644) and *Baculus Carolinus* (1663, published in 1989 by Rolf Ohlson, *Från Stiernhielm's Carl-stav till metern*, Borås, pp. 41–76) Stiernhielm used the astronomical symbols as chemical symbols.

⁷⁹³ This was a variant symbol for Mars and possibly for cast iron.

⁷⁹⁴ Stiernhielm, ms. F.d. 6b: 1, third quire, fols. 1r–2r (Royal Library, Stockholm). The complete main title is *Index rhetoricus scholis et institutioni tenioris aetatis accommodatus*, Londini/ London: Felix Kingston, 1633, which in practice was the 3rd ed., though formally it is the edition of 1640 that is called the 3th ed. on the title page. The 1st ed. was published in London 1625, 2nd ed. in London 1629. From the difference between the texts of the excerpt from the first and second editions it is clear that Stiernhielm used the third edition of 1633. Farnaby aptly and succinctly defines and exemplifies the four proper tropes: metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony. He divides metonymy into metonymy of causes (efficient, instrumental, and material), effect, subject, and attribute. He then deals with catachresis, metalepsis, hyperbole and allegory as accidental tropes, and finally discusses nine false tropes. For Stiernhielm's copy of Farnaby's *Index rhetoricus*, see Appendix 3.

The next circle deals with linguistic variability by means of rhetorical syntax, which is classified into figures of speech (*figurae dictionis*) and figures of thought (*figurae sententiae*). Stiernhielm selects twenty-three categories. Nine of them consist of the repetition of identical words in different positions in the sentence, either at the beginning, middle or end (categories A–H and K). Three categories are the repetition of words with relaxed word-equivalence (I, L and M). The next category (N) is a figure of word order, viz. homoeoptoton. The rest (O–Z) are a collection of different figures of thought, such as rhetorical questions or appeals (P, Q and T), emotional figures (O, V and Y), a dialectic figure (S), a figure of omission (X) and a semantic figure (Z). The selected set of figures of speech is catalogued and briefly explained below.⁷⁹⁵

- A. *Epizeuxis* (in Latin *geminatio*), repetition of a single word.
- B. *Anaphora*, repetition of a word or words at the beginning of successive clauses.
- C. *Epistrophe*, or *epiphora*, repetition of a word or words at the end of successive clauses.
- D. *Symploce*, the combined use of anaphora and epiphora.
- E. *Epanalepsis*, repetition of a single word or words for dramatic or emotional effects, sometimes by combining anaphora and asyndeton.
- F. *Anadiplosis* (*reduplicatio* in Latin), repetition of a word at the end of a clause and directly at the beginning of the next clause.
- G. *Mediana*, repetition of a word or words in the middle of two successive clauses.
- H. *Epanodos*, chiasmic repetition of a word or words.
- I. *Polyptoton*, repetition of the same stem or root in different grammatical cases.
- K. *Climax* (in Latin *gradatio*), a successive repetition of a consecutive words.
- L. *Paronomasia*, alliteration.
- M. *Synonymia*, the use of synonyms.
- N. *Similibus casibus desinentia*, “that which ends with the same cases”, in Greek a device called homoeptoton, which is defined by Lausberg as “the conclusion of successive cola by the same case form”.
- O. *Exclamatio*, the expression of distress or indignation in certain key words, such as “O tempora, o mores” in Cicero’s first speech against Catiline.

⁷⁹⁵ In explaining these categories, I follow Heinrich Lausberg’s classification and semantic definitions of figures of thought. See *Handbook of literary rhetoric: a foundation of literary studies*, Brill: Leiden, Boston, Köln 1998, pp. 335–410.

P. *Interrogatio*, a rhetorical question, “the expression of an intended statement in the form of a question to which no answer is expected” (Lausberg).

Q. *Dubitatio*, feigned hesitation towards the audience concerning the development of the speech.

R. *Occupatio*, the pretension of leaving out or not wishing to state that which is actually stated – either a subtle variation of *praeteritio* or the same as it.

S. *Concessio*, the concession to the opponent, “a concession of one or other of the opponent’s arguments” (Lausberg).

T. *Communicatio*, the deliberative request for advice from the audience (viz. the judges and opponents) concerning the most proper conduct in the past, present or future.

V. *Prosopopoeia*, personification, “the introduction of non-personal things as persons capable of speech or other personified behaviour” (Lausberg)

X. *Praeteritio*, “the announcement of the intention to leave certain things out” (Lausberg) but, in doing so, drawing attention to them.

Y. *Aversio*, turning the audience away from a question being proposed and discussed.

Z. *Correctio*, the speaker’s correction of his own expression into a stronger and more appropriate one.

In choosing the first ten categories (A–K) Stiernhielm clearly followed *Index rhetoricus*. In the expanded (third) edition of 1633, Farnaby discusses the same figures of speech (*schemata rhetoricae dictionis*), except for *mediana*, in the same order as in Stiernhielm’s account of this system of variability. In a separate copy Stiernhielm also excerpted Farnaby’s definitions and examples of these figures of speech.⁷⁹⁶ Moreover, he almost certainly drew some of the figures of thought (*schemata sententiae*) from Farnaby’s catalogue (viz. O, P, R, S, V and Z), since he has similarly copied it.⁷⁹⁷ He probably made these excerpts in 1634–1635, in the early stage of his theorizing on rhetorical variability. Stiernhielm has not left behind any other text on the fifth system of variation than the excerpts from Farnaby. In developing his theory he evidently also relied on Nicolas Caussin’s *De eloquentia sacra et humana*, book seven of which, on style (*elocutio*), lists in alphabetical order about 220 rhetorical devices – figures of speech and thought alike (see fifth edition, Paris 1637, pp. 357–458), a treatise to which he often refers.

⁷⁹⁶ Stiernhielm, ms. F.d. 6b: 1, third quire, fols. 2r–5r. 1r–4v.

⁷⁹⁷ Stiernhielm, ibidem, third quire, fols. 5v–10v and fourth quire, fols. 1r–1v.

In the outmost circle, Stiernhielm shows how a commonplace can be varied by means of argumentative and narrative strategies in the doctrine of the invention of arguments (*inventio*) and by means of linguistic devices in the doctrine of style (*elocutio*) in Classical rhetoric. Three categories (I, II and XII) are drawn from the theory of commonplaces (*loci*). Four categories are derived from the four kinds of amplification (IV, V, VI and X). The other categories are either figures of speech (III, VIII, IX) or figures of thought (VII and XI).

I. *Causatio*, accounting for the underlying causes of a case.

II. *Descriptio*, the description of thing(s), place(s), time(s), and persons.

III. *Distributio*, the distributive accumulation of words by means of co-ordinating addition of semantically supplementary words at a distance.

IV. *Incrementum*, augmentation or intensification in the linguistic description of an object.

V. *Congeries*, the accumulation or heaping of synonymous words or expressions.

VI. *Comparatio*, comparison from the lesser to the greater.

VII. *Contrapositio*, the opposition of two contrasting words or ideas, in Greek called antithesis.

VIII. *Disiunctio*, the disjunctive parallel clause structure of synonymous predicates or other clause elements (subjects, objects or adverbs).

IX. *Inversio*, a reversal from the natural or logical order of a narrative, in Greek designated as *hysteron proteron*, ‘the latter put as the former’.

X. *Ratiocinatio*, ‘(conclusive) reasoning’ when the public speaker asks himself a question to feign doubt and uncertainty.

XI. *Expolitio*, the embellishment or refinement of a subject matter through the variation of the linguistic expression.

XII. *Circumstantia*, the treatment of specific circumstances of a legal case or a subject matter.

11.1.3 The engraver

The diagram of *Proteus rhetoricus* was, according to its signature, engraved by the Dutch copper engraver Jan van de Velde IV (1610–1686), who had been invited to Stockholm by Queen Christina in 1649 and stayed there until 1655.⁷⁹⁸ This engraving is attributed to

⁷⁹⁸ Johnny Roosval and Gösta Lilja, *Svenskt konstnärlexikon: tio tusen svenska konstnärers liv och verk*, vol. 5, Malmö 1967, pp. 609–610. Jan van de Velde IV was first engaged as a copper engraver by King Christian IV at the Danish court in 1637. He worked for some years as a goldsmith in Haarlem in the Netherlands,

Georg Otto Stiernhielm (1638–1673) and dated to 1654 by Johannes Schefferus in *Svecia literata*.⁷⁹⁹ This mistake is widespread. Still, G. O. Stiernhielm did make copper engravings for other scientific and scholarly works by his father.⁸⁰⁰

11.2 Theory and classification of linguistic variability

11.2.1 Dedicatory letter: language as a building

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, eleventh quire (a loose leaf), fols. 1r–1v. Size: 165 x 210 mm. In a dedicatory letter of *Proteus rhetoricus* to Queen Christina, Stiernhielm compares the stepwise process of language learning in different stages to the construction of a building with different materials. In this metaphor, the acquisition of grammatical ability is compared to laying the foundation, while the acquisition of rhetorical ability is likened to architectonic embellishments. At the end, he praises Queen Christina for the new Swedish school decree (*Skolordningen*) of 1649, in which the classicist educational ideals of the Renaissance received a strengthened position.⁸⁰¹ The reference to this decree as recent gives a clue to a dating of the dedication.

(1r)

CHRISTINAE,

Serenissimae Suecorum Reginae.

⁸⁰² Ut aedes hominum, ita homines sapientiae sunt domicilia. Utraque suas commoditates suumque ornatum requirunt.⁸⁰³ Qui in structura

before being engaged by Queen Christina. According to Nordström (*Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1: CCXXII, n. 2) Jan van de Velde had come to Sweden in 1647.

⁷⁹⁹ Johannes Schefferus, *Svecia literata seu de scriptis et scriptoribus gentis Sveciae*, Holmiae/ Stockholm 1680, p. 179, where *Proteus rhetoricus* is listed as no. 17 among Stiernhielm's writings: "Proteus rhetoricus seu schema, cuius beneficio licet intelligere innumeras orationis variationes. Editus anno 1654 incisus aeri per ipsius filium, natu secundum."

⁸⁰⁰ G. O. Stiernhielm engraved the system of measurements *Mensurae regni Sveciae* (1664) – see the reproduction in R. Ohlson, *Från Stiernhielms Carl-staf till metern*, Borås 1991 – and the picture of a series of key philosophical concepts in the work *Monile Minervae* (F.d. 9**, fol. 1r, reproduced in Nordström, *Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 2, p. 50).

⁸⁰¹ See Georg Brandell, *Svenska undervisningsväsendets och uppfostrans historia*, part 2 (the era of the orthodoxy), Lund 1931, pp. 297–301 (the courses in the trivial school and the high school), p. 301 (the duties of lecturers), pp. 304–306 (the schedules). Brandell, *ibidem*, pp. 267–279, maintains that the pansophical educator Jan Amos Comenius had no impact on the new educational system in Sweden. According to Nordström, *Filosofiska fragment*, pp. CCIX f., Comenius had been invited to Sweden by Louis de Geer in 1642 and had received the commission to reform the education of the realm, but the Lord High Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, entertaining misgivings to pansophism, limited it to pedagogical formalities.

⁸⁰² Stiernhielm crossed out his first wording: "Ut in augusti templi alicuius exaedificatione multa et varia requiruntur, quaedam rudia ad fundamentorum ...

aedium, idem in eruditione hominis ad eloquentiam est processus. Saxa rudia et informia iaciuntur pro fundamentis rudieribus, interiora parietum inferciuntur, extima marmora eademque laevigata et splendide polita occupant; potissima et intima flosculis aureis et opere musaico tessellata refulgent.

Haud alia ratione homini literis exaedificando, inprimis vocabularum rudis moles pro fundamento subjicitur, cui ex rudimentis grammaticalibus parietes superstruuntur, qui nitore stili et sermonis⁸⁰⁴ superinducti tabulas rhetoricis flosculis picturatas, aptis locis dispositas, decenter exhibent et repraesentant.

(1v) Hoc opus ut recte instituatur,⁸⁰⁵ cum maxime intersit Reipublicae, reges hanc sibi curam esse voluerunt inter potissimas propriam. Quod nuper tuo exemplo, Augustissima, Sueciae comprobavisti, cum inter summa belli et pacis negotia scholarum reformationem ad hoc conscriptis undequaque viris doctissimis suscipere non dedignata fueris.

11.2.2 Preface: language as a well-ordered universe

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, first quire, fols. 2r–3v (written between fol. 1 and fol. 4 on a separate sheet of paper of a size that measures 165 x 214 mm). In the preface Stiernhielm represents the human mind and language as a well-ordered universe, a cosmos. This comparison justifies the use of zodiac signs.

(2r) Ratio nominis Coeli Musarum

(2v) Mens humana chaos est, eadem coelum. Chaos confusum, tenebrosum⁸⁰⁶ et informe, priusquam eruditionis luce irradiatur et dirigatur; coelum vero luce iam accepta pulcherrimum variis orbium et cyclorum ordinibus, planetarum facibus⁸⁰⁷ et sidorum et signorum regionibus et⁸⁰⁸ conformationibus distinctum et ordinatum. Et hoc coelum, hoc est mens. Talis, inquam,⁸⁰⁹ mens est sapientiae lumine illustrata, variis scilicet et diversis artium orbibus, disciplinarum astris et scientiarum schematismis decore conformata, in cuius sublimiori solio resedatur regina ratio. Phantasiae et opinionum

<substructionem> et interiorem parietem structuram quaedam politiora, ad ornatum exteriorem, quibus etiam aurum aut argentum obducitur et lapilli inseruntur.”

⁸⁰³ Ut aedes ... requiruntur] The introductory simile has been added in the margin.

⁸⁰⁴ et sermonis] This has been added in the margin.

⁸⁰⁵ Hoc opus ut recte instituatur] Stiernhielm first wrote *Huic operi recte instituendo*.

⁸⁰⁶ tenebrosum] This has been added in the margin.

⁸⁰⁷ facibus] *gyris* has been crossed out on the line.

⁸⁰⁸ et signorum regionibus et] This has been added above the line.

⁸⁰⁹ inquam] *enim* has been crossed out on the line.

circulationibus modum et leges perscribitur; contra in numerum et ordinem digeritur harmonia, filia omnium custode et thesauraria memoria.⁸¹⁰ Et hoc mentis coelum verum et proprium est Musarum domicilium. Hic Parnassus est, hic Cyrrha Castaliique fontes. Ubi Phoebus, sol rationis,⁸¹¹ summa tenens moderatur cuncta pulcherrima concinnitate invicem⁸¹² sibi respondentia coordinata.

Iam cur⁸¹³ hoc nostrum instrumentum oratorium a nobis coeli nomine insignitum fuerit rationem dabo. Tria sunt omnino, quae mente comprehenduntur: res, nomina, notae. Res explicat rerum nomina, hoc est sermo. Sermonem conservant notae seu characteres visus sensui expositi. Quorum beneficio sermo⁸¹⁴ et nomina fiunt visibilia et res absentes intellectui insinuantur per sensum visus. Rerum character est sermo. Sermonis character est scriptura.⁸¹⁵ Hinc sequitur, ut quidquid in mente est abstrusum et invisibile, idipsum beneficio linguae communicari possit auribus audibile et oculo subijci possit visibile. Ita enim a summa mente mentis opifice comparatum est,⁸¹⁶ **(3r)** ut per quae menti intelligibilia suppeditantur per eadem mens vicissim intellecta aliis regerat et communicet. Aliter enim nulla hominis cum homine fieri possit communicatio.

Hisce ita consideratis paulo propius ad sermonis contemplationem accedamus. Qui tanto intervallo distat a brutorum mutis vocibus, quanto ipsa ratio a non-ratione, quam brutalitatem vocant. Nec enim sufficit vocem edidisse, nisi per eandem etiam res et actio, persona, numerus,⁸¹⁷ tempus, modus, causa etc. rite exprimuntur. Et haec requirit sermo simplex et communis, quam cuilibet dictat simplex natura et oggerit consuetudo.⁸¹⁸ Sed a quo iterum differt sermo dictus et eruditus, quantum ipsa doctrina ab imperitia, cuculus a luscinia⁸¹⁹ et monochordium ab Apollinaea testudine.⁸²⁰ Namque non parvo inter se discrimine distant ars et natura, destinatio et temeraria consuetudo.

⁸¹⁰ filia omnium ... thesauraria memoria] This has been written in the margin.

⁸¹¹ sol rationis] This has been added in the margin.

⁸¹² invicem] This has been added above the line.

⁸¹³ cur] *qua ratione* has been written on the line.

⁸¹⁴ sermo] This has been added above the line.

⁸¹⁵ Rerum character ... scriptura] This explanation is found in the margin.

⁸¹⁶ At the bottom of the page there is a reference to Cicero: *Sermonibus Ciceromis pro Deiotarum*.

⁸¹⁷ res et actio, persona, numerus] This has been added above the line. The words *quis, cuius, cui, quem, quot* have been crossed out on the line.

⁸¹⁸ quam cuilibet ... consuetudo] This has been added in the margin.

⁸¹⁹ cuculus a luscinia] This has been added above the line.

⁸²⁰ testudine] After this word and before *Namque* a sentence *Ille enim naturae, hic artis* has been crossed out on the line.

Hanc autem ipsam sermonis pro lubitu formandi, mutandi, variandi, temperandi, ornandi, locupletandi artem in mente certis terminis, ordine et numero comprehensam⁸²¹ visum est id ipsum mentis archetypum certis cyclis aut rotis inclusum exprimere et quod supradictum est visibilem et quasi palpabilem reddere. Qui cycli seu orbis invicem ses ambientes, cum certis terminis scientificiis iisdem memoriae causa diversis Zodiaci signis, literis, numeris, asteriscis plantarum et aspectuum characteribus pulchre et varie sint inter se iuncti eoque ipso utrumque coelum, mundi scilicet vastissimam et pulcherrimam fabricam et sapientiae, quod mentis et Musarum domicilium esse supra diximus, repraesentant. Nihil absurdi commissurum me ratus (3v) sum, si ad illam similitudinem instrumentum hoc cyclicum Coeli Musici nomine insignirem. Protei nomini quod afficiunt nota est fabula, ad cuius (ne longior sum) fabricam et usum nunc festino⁸²² COELI MUSICI FABRICA.

Protei denominationem addere placuit, ut vicissitudinem et variationem multiplicem formae manente uno eodemque subiecto seu supposito. Ut enim ille assumere dicitur specimen modo ignis, modo fluentis aquae, modo mitis agni, trucissimi leonis, ita unus idemque sensus seu animi sententia variis iisdemque diversissimis verborum et locutionum ambitibus et formis, infinitis modis, hoc artificio mutari et variari potest, id quod res ipsa et experientia docebit.⁸²³

11.2.3 Introduction: classes of linguistic variability

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, first quire, 4r–4v. Size: 212 x 329 mm.

In the introduction to *Coelum Musarum* Stiernhielm explains his rhetorical theory of linguistic variability. After some remarks on his purposes, he describes the human mind as the domicile of the Muses (fol. 4r, left-hand column). After that, he gives the reasons for using the term *Coelum Musarum* (right-hand column of fol. 4r.). He then arrives at his general classification of linguistic variability and transformability. He distinguishes the following six classes under the heading *Fabrica Coeli Musici*, ‘the workshop of the sky of the Muses’: two grammatical classes – one morphological (circle 1) and the other syntactic (circle 2) – one class of twelve epistemological stages (circle 3.), one semantic class (circle 4) and two classes of rhetorical syntactic variation (circles 5–6). Stiernhielm accordingly

⁸²¹ comprehensam] *ratam est* has been crossed out on the line. After *ratam est* a clause has been crossed out: “ut aliis ad faciliorem apprehensionem visibilis et quasi palpabilis faceremus fieret.”

⁸²² festino] *Festinamus* has been changed to *festino*.

⁸²³ Protei denominationem ... experientia docebit] This paragraph has been added in the left-hand margin in the manuscript.

classifies linguistic variability into the following “circles” (*orbes* or *rotae*, fol. 4v):

1. simple grammatical changes (*mutationes grammaticae*) in a set of six different morphological groups,
2. simple syntactic transformations (*enallages grammaticae*),
3. epistemic categories (*notiones seu animi affectiones*, i.e. “notions or mental qualities”) in twelve classes, each with its opposites (*contraria*) and contradictions (*contradictoria*),
4. semantic change through tropes (*troporum lumina*),
5. figures of word arrangement (*figurae dictionis*) and figures of thought (*figurae sententiae*),
6. narrative and argumentative rhetorical strategies (*schemata et asterismi*).

(4r) Instrumentum hoc rhetoricum, quod orbibus quibusdam invicem se ambientibus⁸²⁴ comprehensum <est>, apprime utile est ad copiam verborum, immutationem vocum, varietatem dictionis et ornatum orationis comparandum. Viam aperit et lucem praefert praecipuo styli exercitio, imitationi.

(4r, col. 1) Hanc orbium sive rotarum quarundam volubilium compaginem CAELUM appellare placuit et quidem Musarum. Musarum enim opus est; Musarum manu fabricatum, ectypum divini Musarum domicilii, quod in mente humana charae propagini suae aedificavit aeternus Divum hominumque parens. Haec verae Musarum arx, vera sedes est. Nec enim usquam alibi incolunt aut commorantur hae Divae.⁸²⁵ Hic Parnassus, hic Helicon, Cirrha, Pindus et Pierius.⁸²⁶ Hic uberrimo foecundissimarum aquarum flumine celebratissimi fontes Castalia et Aganippe. Hic Aoniae valles, Pimplaeae sylvae, nemora Thespia,⁸²⁷ Thessala Tempe, et quidquid locorum, montium fontium et amoenitatum usquam gentium Musarum ditionibus et regno ascribitur, hic est. Frustra in montibus, in nemoribus, in aquis et fontibus haec numina quaeras, quae nusquam nisi in cerebro et mente hominis hospitantur aut domicilium tenent. Hoc nimirum est Caelum illud diversis orbibus compositum, quorum quilibet in tot diversas domos, tot mansiones, asterismos, numeros et signa distributus conspicitur. Hoc etenim rationis opus est: rerum et dicendorum universitatem digerere,

⁸²⁴ ambientibus] *complectentibus* has been crossed out on the line: *ambientibus* has been written on the line.

⁸²⁵ Nec alibi... hae Divae] This has been added in the margin. *Haec Aeonias* has been crossed out in the margin and replaced by *hae Divae*.

⁸²⁶ Pindus et Pierius] This has been added in the margin.

⁸²⁷ Hic Aoniae ... Thespia] This has been added in the margin.

dividere, dinumerare, diffinire et in certas classes et regiones dispescere, lumen et ordinem reducere, lumen rebus afferre et in ordinem reducere.⁸²⁸ Infinitas,⁸²⁹ quae ignorantiae mater est, et confusio, eiusdem nutrix et alumna, fugentur,⁸³⁰ eliminantur, tenebrarum nubes, quae intellectum involvebant, evolutae dispareant,⁸³¹ omnia niteant et ordinata⁸³² patefiant. Atque in hunc modum praeparata mens CAELUM et indubitatum est Musarum PALATIUM et officina, ex qua tam et tot divina et mirifica in mundum profecta miramur opera.

(4r, col. 2) Porro, ut alia ratio est, cur orbes hosce rhetoricos CAELUM Musarum cognominandos duxerim. Oratio variis modis mutatur, vertitur, versatur,⁸³³ volvitur, variatur. Hi modi, ut certi sint et definiti, reducti sunt in certas et ordine dispositas classes, quae porro suis sibi competentibus circulis seu rotis attributae pulchre ordinatum quoddam systema conficiunt et caeli instar repraesentant. Sic enim caelum pluribus orbibus et cyclis⁸³⁴ et zonis et circulis et regionibus⁸³⁵ distinguitur, ut stellarum exercitus et numerus alias visus⁸³⁶ innumerus certis cellis et⁸³⁷ cancellis inclusus et paucis quibusdam imaginibus seu asterismis dispunctus⁸³⁸ evadat numerabilis et captu humano comprehensibilis.

Caeterum ut imagines illae caelestes diversissimae inter se comparent,⁸³⁹ ut ipsa sidera alia regione rariora intermicant, alia refertissima refulgent, ut alia minora conspectum fere fugiunt,⁸⁴⁰ alia

⁸²⁸ lumen ... reducere] This has been written in the margin. In the main text, several clauses have been crossed out: “ut confusio vitetur, tenebrarum volumina, quae menti officiunt, dispellantur, <et> quae intellectum involvunt, evolvantur et dispellantur.” In the below lines, Stiernhielm reworded this passage

⁸²⁹ infinitas] After *infinitas*, *et confusio* has been crossed out, but has been added on the next line below.

⁸³⁰ confusio ... fugentur] This has been added in the margin. In the main text, the word *nutrix* has been crossed out.

⁸³¹ tenebrarum nubes, quae intellectum involvebant, evolutae dispareant] In the margin, this passage has been written in brackets in another wording: “tenebrarum volumina, quae intellectum evolvunt et obumbrant, evoluta disjicere et dissipare.”

⁸³² ordinata] This word has been added in the margin.

⁸³³ versatur] This word has been added in the margin.

⁸³⁴ cyclis] This word has been added in the margin and replaces *orbitis* on the line.

⁸³⁵ et regionibus] These words have been added in the margin.

⁸³⁶ alias visus] This phrase has been added in the margin.

⁸³⁷ cellis et] These words have been added in the margin.

⁸³⁸ dispunctus] Stiernhielm first wrote *comprehensus et dispunctus*, then crossed out *comprehensus et*.

⁸³⁹ comparent] After *comparent*, the phrase *et longe invicem discrepant* has been crossed out

⁸⁴⁰ fugiunt] After *fugiunt* Stiernhielm crossed out *et octo quaedam etiam oculorum aciem prorsus eludunt*.

maiora maiorem lucem fundunt, aliae primae et secundae magnitudinis ingentia circum se spatia ingenti lumine complent et immensum suo caelo splendorem et venustatem conciliant, haud aliter parvum hoc Caelum nostrum Rhetoricum suis circulis et regionibus distinctum diversissimos praefert titulos et classes, e quibus infinitae, sed non aequalis dignationis et pretii,⁸⁴¹ voces et dictiones, modi,⁸⁴² tropi, schemata et figurae ad orationis varietatem, ornatum,⁸⁴³ lumen et venustatem copiosissime, pro lubitu et exigentia depromuntur. Quae tamen omnia, inquam, non sunt unius valoris et splendoris. Ea enim quae humilis suppeditat grammatica, magis ad varietatem, quam ad ornatum conferunt.⁸⁴⁴

(4v, col. 1) FABRICA COELI⁸⁴⁵ MUSICI

Primus orbis sex radiis sive cuspidibus in stellam efformatus totidem simplicissimarum mutationum grammaticarum classibus subiunctis pro memoria aspectuum astronomicorum⁸⁴⁶ sigillis insignis est.

Secundus itidem numeris et astericis notabilis. Enallages grammaticas maioris operae continens numeris et astericis appositis distinctus est.⁸⁴⁷

Tertius ex notionibus seu animi quibusdam affectionibus nomina et classes sibi desumpsit, ubi intelligendum sub singulis nominibus etiam contraria contineri aut contradictoria, e.g. sub DUBITO Non dubito aut Certus sum. Sub VERITAS Falsitas aut Non verum est, etc. Nec aliud hic quaeritur, quam varietas phrasium hasce notiones exprimentium. Possunt autem phrases istae applicari omni sententiae seu enunciationi, quod admirandam orationis conciliat varietatem. Unde merito indumenta nuncupari possunt. Quorum alia et alia, iam in hunc, iam in alium modum efformata uni eidemque subiecto iniecta efficiunt, ut sententia, quam versas, in tot tamque multiformes⁸⁴⁸ figuras abeat, ut vix eandem esse agnoscatur. Non itaque abs re fuerit hanc rotam Musarum VESTIARIUM appellare. Cuius quo promptior sit usus, sedulus huius artis tyro sub quolibet rotae titulo sive classe pulcherrimarum, quas ex bonis authoribus

⁸⁴¹ sed non aequalis dignationis et pretii] This expression is found in the margin.

⁸⁴² modi] The word *modi* has been added in the margin.

⁸⁴³ ornatum] This word has been added in the margin.

⁸⁴⁴ Quae tamen ... conferunt] This sentence has been written in the margin.

⁸⁴⁵ Coeli] The spelling has apparently been changed from *Caeli* to *Coeli*.

⁸⁴⁶ aspectuum astronomicorum] This marginal addition replaces *Planetarum* in the main text.

⁸⁴⁷ Enallages ... distinctus est] This marginal addition replaces “quae zodiacum repraesentat, grammaticos habet asterismos” in the main text.

⁸⁴⁸ multiformes] *diversas* has been crossed out on the line; *multiformes* has been added above the line.

habere possunt, phrasium mundum, divitem et luculentum sibi instruat⁸⁴⁹ apparatus⁸⁵⁰ et ad usum reponat.

Viam praeibo. Nonnullas ad exemplum suppeditabo. Quas suo loco invenies. Orbis huius usus et dignitas tanta est, ut Musarum propriam merito censi possit, licet nihil debeat grammaticae, nihil cum rhetorica habeat commune. Ex universitate rerum et mentis operationibus, quae sapientiam gignunt, conflata est. Primae domus praeses est ESSENTIA sive ENS, quod universam rerum cognoscibilium complexionem tanquam sapientiae obiectum insidunt, et supponit.⁸⁵¹ Secundae, SENSUS, primam rerum apprehensionem ad intellectum refert. Inde (4v, col. 2) suboritur (3.) ADMIRATIO, cum scilicet primo intuitu quid et qualis res sit nondum licuit plane percipere, et hinc (4.) DUBITATIO, quae cogere porro⁸⁵² in unum incipit rationem, ut re hinc inde meditata et perpensa in (5.) OPINIONEM⁸⁵³ tandem aliquam condescendat. Hac leviter mota ultra disquirere pergit ratio num res aut concepta de re opinio sit (6.) POSSIBILIS, et an (7.) CONVENIENS rationi et naturae, tum (8.) CONSENSUS cum aliis, et harmonia plurium examinatur et diiudicatur. De quibus cum constat, emergit quaesita (9.) VERITAS. Quam illustrat infallibilibus demonstrationibus excitata et accensa (10.) EVIDENTIA. Et haec (11.) SCIENTIAM parit, quae ipsa genitrix est sapientiae. Cuius constans (12.) ASSERTIO nihil aliud est, quam ipsa doctrina, quam hoc ordine et processu menti humanae ingenerant MUSAE. Ecce pulchritudinem orbis nostri! Quem hoc respectu iure optimo seu OFFICINAM MENTIS seu MUSARUM MUSAEUM nuncupaveris.

Quartus orbis TROPORUM luminibus dicatus atque ditatus est.

Quintus FIGURARUM DITIONIS ET SENTENTIAE facibus et stellis⁸⁵⁴ varie resplendet.

Sextus SCHEMATA et asterismos integros ad declarationem⁸⁵⁵, probationem et amplificationem rerum ostendat. Quin et diversos

⁸⁴⁹ mundum ... sibi instruant] This has been written in the margin to replace the phrase *copiam sibi colligat* on the line.

⁸⁵⁰ instrumentum] *Instrumentum* has been added above the line and *copiam* has been crossed out on the line, as noted above.

⁸⁵¹ insidunt, et supponit] This probable reading is grammatically incongruous. The Muses (*Musae*) are perhaps thought to be the subject of *insidunt*, while existence (*essentia sive ens*) is the grammatical subject of *supponit*.

⁸⁵² porro] *porro* has been added above the line; *tandem* has been crossed out on the line.

⁸⁵³ SENSUS ... OPINIO] In the margin, Stiernhielm noted the verbal qualifications of sensation, admiration, doubt and opinion: *sensus videt; admiratio haeret, stupet; dubitatio vacillat; opinio librat*.

⁸⁵⁴ stellis] Deleting *asterismis* on the line, Stiernhielm added *stellis* above the line.

⁸⁵⁵ declarationem] This word has been added in the margin, where *explicationem*, has been crossed out.

aspectus ad animorum motus concitandos aut conciliandos figurat et repraesentat. Horum schematum vis non tam in verbis, quam in ipsis rebus sita est. Causas enim rerum allegat. Res describit, distribuit, comparat, invicem opponit. Rerum, non verborum solum, congeries, incrementa adhibet.

Hos omnes regit et connectit PHOEBUS in medio locum sibi vendicans, cuius radio circumlata SENTENTIA omnium singulorumque sinus lustrat et pererrat.

NB. ad copulam pertinet asyndeton et polysyndeton.

Ad synonyma pertinet affinia, adiacentia, adiuncta, paria, consentanea.

Ad aequipollentia pertinent opposita et relata, ut

Tu es meus pater, idem est quod Ego sum tuus filius.

Illa non est mea uxor. Ego non sum illius maritus.

Virtus est colenda. Vitium est fugiendum.

Virtus non est negligenda. Virtus est persequenda.

Virtus alget. Vitia fervent.

Ad periphrases pertinet primo brevis rei vel actionis cuiusque descriptio.

11.2.4 Circle 1: morphological variability

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, first quire, fols. 5r, col. 1, and 5v col. 1. Size: 212 x 329 mm.

Contents: Stiernhielm explains and exemplifies the first and second circles of variation under the heading *Declaratio et usus*, “Declaration and use (of the Heaven of Muses)”.

(5r) Declaratio et usus

In prima rota vox seu dictio variatur grammatice⁸⁵⁶ sex modis:

1. Per $\mathbb{C}$ casus, cum vox quae e.g. in nominativo reperitur, transponitur in accusativum vel alium quemvis, ut:

Haec mea laus est. Hoc mihi laudi est. Hoc mihi in laudem vertit. Hoc mihi in laude est.

Eius rei mihi venit in mentem. Ea res <mihi venit in mentem >

Non sum id nescius.

Non sum eius rei nescius.

Egeo tui. Egeo te.

Dives pecore – <Dives> pecoris.

Dono te libro – <Dono> tibi librum.

Impertiar te hac re. <Impertiar> tibi hanc rem.

⁸⁵⁶ grammatice] This word has been added in the margin.

Haec etiam referri possunt ad varietatem syntaxis.

2. Per ♀ numeros, cum singularis vertitur in pluralem et contra:
Romanus miles. Romani milites.

Omnem pecuniam absumsit. Omnes pecunias <absumsit.>

in pluralia:

ora, pro vultus <vel> os.

animi, <pro> animus.

Spiritus magnos sumere, pro Spiritum magnum sumere.

Nos quoque floruimus. Ego quoque florui.

Visi sumus oratores. Visus sum orator.

Haec etiam pertinere videtur ad synecdochen numeri.

3. Per ♀ genus, cum (1) genus nominis, e.g. neutrum in masculinum aut hoc in foemininum mutatur, ut:

Hic dies. Haec dies.

Pileus. Pileum.

Fac prout tibo commodum est. Fac pro commoditate tua.

(2) cum genus verbi, ut activum in passivum et contra, commutatur, ut:

Dicunt te doctum. Diceris doctus.

Bibitur gnaviter. Bibunt gnaviter.

Amo te. Amaris a me.

Item: Lachrymat. Lachrymatur.

Luxurio. Luxurior.

Fluctuo. Fluctuor.

Praevertere pro praeverti.

Praecipitat pro praecipitatur.

Avertit. Avertitur.

Reverto. Revertior.

Impertio. Impertior.

Assentio. Assentior.

Solet fieri. Solitum est.

Non quievit compesci. Non quieta est <compesci>

Desiit haberi in precio. Desita est <haberi in precio.>

Causa coepit agi. <Causa> coepta est.

Conspicor. Conspicio.

4. Per ♂ personas, cum invicem permutantur:

Hoc nemo dicat. Ego non dicam. Te cave dicas.

Videmus, quam vanum sit. Vides quam <vanum sit.> Quis non videt, quam <vanum sit.>

5. Per $\hbar$ ⁸⁵⁷ tempora:

Audio te studere. Audivi te studere.

Te depraedicant omnes. Te depraedicabit omnis aetas.

6. Per $\sphericalangle$ modos verborum:

Non dicam.

Non dixerim.

Non dixero.

Non sum dicturus.

Non volo dicere.

Variatio infinitivi, gerundiorum et supinorum:

Venit eripere.

Venit ereptum.

Venit erepturus.

Venit ad eripiendum.

Venit causa eripiendi.

Venit, ut eripiat.

Venit ad rem eripiendam.

In the next page (F.d. 6 b, 3b, first quire, 5v), Stiernhielm further exemplifies the three last categories of variation, classes 4, 5 and 6:

Exempla at varietatem personarum

Personarum variatio

Quid facias? Ut homo est, ita morem geras.

Aliter: Quid faciendum? Quid faciam?

Videas et flumina sicca. Aliter: videri poterant.

Ait Clodius, negat Cicero, pro Tu ais, ego nego.

Et tandem Turnum experiatur in armis, id est me.

Huc pertinet etiam apostrophe, aversio figura rhetorica. Item cum verbum personale et impersonale commutatur:

Bibitur. Bibunt. Dicunt. Dicitur. Bellant. Bellatur. Dici non potest.

Nemo facile dixerit.

Temporum variatio:

Memini legere. Memini legisse.

Vicimus, pro vincemus.

Salve. Salveto.

Nec te poeniteat calamo trivisse labellum, pro terere.

Animus meminisse horret.

⁸⁵⁷ $\hbar$] In the manuscript, space has been left blank for writing this zodiac sign.

Modorum variatio:

Salutabis. Salutato.

Si voles. Si volueris.

Cum vacabit. Cum vacaverit.

Huc pertinet infinitivum pro praeterito imperfecto in narratione frequens. Ille vero repugnare, pro repugnabat.

11.2.5 Circle 2: syntactic variability

Stiernhielm explains his system of syntactic variability in two texts. As stated above, he relied on Alsted's encyclopaedia (the heading *Syntaxis varians*) for his basic categorization of syntactic variability.

11.2.5.1 Syntactic variability: text 1

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, first quire, fols. 5r (col. 1, from line 38, and col. 2, and 5v, col. 1–2. Size: 212 x 329 mm. The text has the general title *Declaratio et usus*.

(5r, col. 1) Secundae rotae hae classes sunt:

Υ 1. Mutatio partium orationis, scilicet cum nomen in verbum, participium, adverbium aut pronomen aut contra mutantur, verbi gratia:

Ego te amo. Sum amans tui. Amore tui teneor. Amanter tecum vivo.

Aurora amica Musis. Musae amant Auroram. Amice convenit cum aurora Musis.

Prece numen amicat. Stat <pro>: numen sibi reddit amicum.

Non confido. Non est fiducia.

Non dubito. Non est mihi dubium.

Quid huc redisti? Quid huc reditio est?

Desine nugari! Desine nugas!

Huc pertinet infinitivus pro nomine:

Vivere mihi dulce. Vita mihi dulcis est.

Virtus est vitium fugere. Virtus fuga vitiorum.

Υ 2. Mutatio substantivi in adiectivum et contra:

Tantus amor laudis. Aliter: Tam laudabilis laus est.

Lucida stella micat. Aliter: Lux stellae <micat>. Stella sua luce <micat>.⁸⁵⁸

Iustus. Iustitia clarus.

Formosus. Insigni forma.

Versus Virgilii. <Versus> Virgilianus.

⁸⁵⁸ Lucida stella ... sua luce] In the manuscript, this example has been crossed out.

[II 3. Phrasis et periphrasis.]⁸⁵⁹

(5r, col. 2) ☞ 3. Epitheton additur aut mutatur:

Bellator acer. Aliter: <Bellator> ferox, audax etc.

Sic et: Te sine vita mihi amara est.

Aliter: <Te sine vita mihi> acerba est.

Hanc variationem iuvabit synonyma et affinitas. Copiam praestabit officina Textoris Ravisii, et Flavissae poeticae.⁸⁶⁰

Ω 4. Adverbium additur aut mutatur.

Flevit. Additur: amare.

Aliter: misere.

Aliter: acriter, vehementer.

Pulcher. Aliter: Valde pulcher

Doctus. Aliter: Mire dictus.

Horum sylvam in promptu habeat studiosus tyro.

ℳ 5. Comparatio cum vox aut dictio in positivo enunciata mutatur et contra per comparativum aut superlativum et contra.

Verbi gratia:

Virgo pulchra.

Aliter: pulcherrima.

Aliter: aliis pulchrior.

Variatur autem comparativus 5 modis et superlativus 9 modis.

Quorum exempla videbis infra in praxi synthetica.

6. ✎ Species: primitiva et derivativa.

^(1.) Nomina invicem commutantur, ut:

Parvus. Parvulus.

Atrides. Filius Atrai.

Herilis filius. Filius heri.

⁸⁵⁹ Stiernhielm here crossed out the category of periphrasis as a mode of syntactic variation, to which he attributed the zodiac of the twins: “II Phrasis et periphrasis: cum duabus vocibus aut phrasibus exprimitur una et vice versa. Amo, aliter: amore persequor; iustus, aliter: iustitia clarus, dives, aliter: divitiis praeditus.”

⁸⁶⁰ officina Textoris Ravisii, et Flavissae poeticae] Jean Tixier de Ravisi (in Latin Johannes Textor Ravisius, 1470–1542), *Synonyma poetica*, attached to *Epithetorum epitome*. This treatise was published many times in the 16th and 17th centuries. Stiernhielm may have used the 1634 edition in London. Jean de Backer, *Flores flavissae et elegantiae poeticae, sive electorum poeticorum thesaurus*, first published in Cologne (Köln) around 1620 and republished at least fifteen times between 1635 and 1672 in Cologne, Antwerp and Dortrecht. In all probability, Stiernhielm possessed the 1635 or 1639 edition.

Mos servilis, pro mos servorum.
 Opera rustica, ruralia, pro opera ruris.
 (2.) Verba, ut:
 agito, fugito, pro ago, fugio.
 palleo, pallesco;
 lateo, latito.
 Plures species vide apud grammaticos.

In the next page (F.d. 6 b, 3b, first quire, fol. 5v), Stiermhielm exemplifies the interchange between primitive words and derivatives:

(5v, col. 1) Exempla ad variationem speciei:

Ea sit cum deductitiis utimur pro primogeniis:

1. Derivativis pro primitivis, cum substantivo pro adiectivo, ubi quis pro pestilente pestem, pro scelesto scelus appellat. Italiae artes, aures Batavae, pro Italicae <artes>, Batavicae <aures>. Ut: magnitudine negotiorum prohibitus, pro magnis negotiis.
2. Cum diminutivis loco simplicium utimur: loquaculus, pro loquax; nasutulus, pro nasutus; paucula, pro pauca, paxillum, pro paulum.
3. Cum frequentativis verbis <utimur> pro primitivis: dicito, pro dico; volito, pro volo; iactito, pro iacto; factito, pro facio.
4. Cum comparativus et superlativus positivi loco ponitur: tristitior, pro tristis, facundissimus, pro facundus.
5. Cum patronymicis pro primogenio <ponitur>: Scipiades, pro Scipiones. Aeacides, pro Aeaci filii.

The categorization of syntactic variability continues as follows:

(5r, col. 2) 7. Figura variatur tam in verbis, quam in nominibus, cum composita usurpamus pro simplicibus et contra.

Ineptus, pro non est aptus.
 Sal non habet, pro insulsus.
 Aeternus; sempiternus.
 Ambulo; deambulo.
 Rego; dirigo.
 Animadvertite; adverte animum.
 Vir magnanimis; vir magnus animo.
 Magnopere; magno te opere.
 Exprobare; opprobare.
 Persolvere; resolvere, exolvere et aliarum.
 Adi grammaticos.

8. ≈ Copula variatur diversimode:

vir probus et doctus

Aliter: iuxta ac

non minus, quam

tam, quam etc.

Sylva habes infra.

8 [b]. ™ Particula, in qua scilicet aliqua elegantia videtur elucescere, aut additur aut mutatur. Harum elegantiarum pleni sunt libri Buchleri,⁸⁶¹ Vogelmanni⁸⁶² et aliorum. Exempla habes infra in praxi synthetica.

9. ♂ Syntaxis variatio conspicitur in talibus:

Vir antiquae fidei; <vir> antiqua fide.

Similis maioribus; similis maiorum.

Huc pertinet etiam syntaxis figurata. Mille exempla offeret grammatica. Variatio syntaxis:

Non te haec pudet.⁸⁶³ Terentius. Non te horum pudet.

Pudet dicere hac praesente verbum turpe.⁸⁶⁴ Terentius. Aliter:

Pudet me. Pudutum est.⁸⁶⁵ Cicero.

Ex copia verborum Erasmi.⁸⁶⁶

11. Phrasis consistit in mutatione synonymorum et affinium.⁽¹⁾ Hic non coacervantur ut in Rhetorica, sed tantum mutantur, ut:

Virgo, pro puella.

Bonus, pro probus.

Pro virtus, probitas,

Pro occidere, interficere, perimere, e medio tollere;

Ensis; gladius.

Domus; aedes.

⁸⁶¹ Johann Buchler (1570–1640), *Elegantiarum centum et undesexaginta regulae, lectissimis scriptorum, maxime Ciceronis exemplis, illustratae omnibus eloquentiae candidatis apprimè observatu necessariae*, Coloniae Agrippinae/ Köln 1608.

⁸⁶² Georg Vogelmann, *Elegantiarum latini sermonis praeceptiones aliquot, Tremoniae/ Dortmund*, republished 24 times until 1663 (Henricopoli/ Wolfenbüttel 1588), moreover seven times with the title *Elegantiae Latini sermonis* (1671–1694) and twice with the title *Encheridion Ciceronianum* (Magdeburg 1604 and 1619).

⁸⁶³ non te haec pudet] Terence, *Adelphoe* 754.

⁸⁶⁴ pudet dicere hac praesente verbum turpe] Terence, *Heauton timuromenos*, “The self-tormentor, 1041–1042. In the context the passage read (1041–1043): non mihi per fallacias adducere ante oculos ... pudet / dicere hac praesente verbum turpe at te id nullo modo / facere puduit.

⁸⁶⁵ pudutum est] For instance, Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 52: Nonne esset pudutum [...].

⁸⁶⁶ Erasmi] See Erasmus, *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum*, the book on words, chapter 13 on the change of persons, here from a personal verb to a impersonal one.

Addidi affinia. Vix enim duo vocabula inveniuntur significationis adeo adaequatae, ut nullo discrimine distent. Homines et mortales synonyma habentur. Ridiculum tamen fuerit passim et ubique hoc vel illud sine discrimine velle usurpare.⁸⁶⁷ Cura itaque in his et delectus habendus, quid quoque et quo loco sit decentius. Alia enim aliis sunt honestiora, sublimiora, nitidiora, iucundiora, vehementiora, vocaliora et ad compositionem concinniora. (Erasmus.)⁸⁶⁸

(5v) 11. PHRASIS mutatio in omnibus classibus occurrit. Consistit autem potissimum in synonymis et affinibus, aequipollentibus et periphrasi seu circumlocutione tam unius saepe verbi, quam sententiae.

11.2.5.2 Syntactic variability: text 2

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, fourth quire, fol. 1r–1v. Size: 208 x 319 mm. The first part (1:1–9) is autograph, the rest (2:1–12) non-autographic.

Secundae rotae modi sunt:

1. Mutatio partium orationis, ut:

1. Nominis et verbi:

Aurora amica Musis. Auroram amant Musae.

Prece numen amicat. Stat pro: numen sibi reddit amicum.

Non confido. Non est fiducia.

Spero. Spes est. Spem habeo.

Quid huc redisti? Quid huc reditio est?

2. Nominis et infinitivi:

Vivere mihi dulce. Vita mihi dulcis est.

Tuum scire. Tua scientia.

3. Nominis et participii:

⁸⁶⁹ Desiderio tui teneor. Tui desiderantissimus sum.

4. Verbi et participii:

Te amat. Est amans tui.

Amantem redama. Redama eum, qui te amat.

Nemo tui videndi cupientior. Nemo qui te magis videre cupiat.

⁸⁶⁷ Addidi affinia ... usurpare] This marginal addition replaces the deleted sentence *Huc pertinent etiam in speciem aequipollentia*.

⁸⁶⁸ Erasmus, *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum*, the book on words, chapter 11 (on variation through synonymy), where Erasmus in this passage (“alia aliis ... concinniora”) follows Quintilian’s argument and wording in *Inst. orat.* VIII, 3, 16.

⁸⁶⁹ Before this example, Stiernhielm crossed out his first example: *Est amans tui. Tenetur amore tui*.

Hoc dictum oportuit; hoc dicere oportuit.
Si quid recte curatum vis; si quid recte vis curari.
Cupit factum; cupit te conventum.

5. Verbi et supini:

Libitum est. Libuit.
Pertaesum est. Taeduit.
Misertum est. Misertus sum.
Puduit. Pudितum est.
Placuit. Placitum est.⁸⁷⁰

6. Verbi infinitivi, participii, gerundii et supinorum:

Venit eripere.
Venit ereptum.
Venit, ut eriperet.
Venit erepturus.
Venit ad eripiendum.
Venit eripiendi causa.⁸⁷¹

7. Nominis et gerundii:

Sthenelus sciens pugnae. <Sthenelus sciens> pugnandi.
Cupidus litium. <Cupidus> litigandi.
Magnum dat ferre talentum; magnum dat ferendum talentum.

8. Nominis et adverbii:

Meliuscula est (valetudo). Meliuscule est.
Plurimum est in foro. Plurimus est in foro.
Rarus est conviva. Raro <est conviva>
Multus est apud <aulam>. Multum est <apud aulam.> Frequens
est in aula.
Assiduus est in literis. Frequenter, assidue <est in literis.>

9. Nominis, verbi, participii et adverbii:

Amanter te complector. Amo te. Amans tui. Amore tui afficior.
Libens facio; libenter <facere>.
Cupio, cupidus, cupiens, cupide, cupienter facere.

2. Substantivi <et> adiectivi, cum substativum mutatur in adiectivum
et contra, ut:

Divitiis cedunt omnia, pro: Divitibus cedunt omnia.
Nummis cedunt omnia. Nummosis cedunt omnia.

⁸⁷⁰ 5. Verbi et ... placitum est] This paragraph has been written in the margin,

⁸⁷¹ 6. Verbi ... eripiendi causa] This paragraph has been written in the margin.

3. Epitheti, cum substantivo apposite iungitur adiectivum et contra ut: divitiis improbis, mollibus, operosis, grandibus, potentibus cedunt omnia.
4. Adverbii, cum nomen substantivum mutatur in adiectivum cum adverbio, e.g.
Divitiis cedunt omnia. Permut[atur]: opulenter viventibus cedunt omnia.
5. Comparativi, mutato nomine in adiectivum comparativum:
Ditioribus cedunt omnia.
Divitiores expugnant omnia.
Locupletiores vincunt omnia.
6. Speciei, cum dictio, quae aliunde originem trahit pro nomine substantivo ponitur, ut:
Pecuniosis cedunt omnia.
Numosis cedunt omnia.
Numatis cedunt omnia.
Numationi cedunt omnia.
7. Figurae, ubi dictio duabus vel pluribus partibus composita est:
Pecuniam viventibus cedunt omnia.
Auri-studiosiores superant omnia.
Thesauri-petae vincunt omnia.
8. Copulae, quando verba idem fere significantia vel diversa varie nectuntur, e.g.
Divitiae et thesauri vincunt omnia.
Cum, ac, et, nae, tam, sic, tam, quam, aequae, ex aequo, non minus perinde, quemadmodum, ut, simul, similiter, haud dissimiliter, haud secus, itidem et, non tantum, non modo, ita et, simul, sicut, sicuti, velut, veluti, pariter, pariterque, perinde etc.
- <9.> Syntaxis, cum pars aliqua dictionis varie construitur:
Divites nummorum vincunt⁸⁷² omnia.
Pecunia divitiores vincunt omnia.
- <10.> Metri, cum simplex dictio et soluta vocatur ad numerum, e.g. haec soluta “divitiis cedunt omnia” ita ligantur:

⁸⁷² vincunt] Crossing out *superant* on the line, Stiernhielm added *vincunt* above it.

Omnia divitiis cedunt.
Omnia perrumpens Regina pecunia vincit.

<11.> Phrasis, cum dictio multis et ornatis verbis exprimitur, e.g.
Auri sacra fames⁸⁷³ omnia sibi subjicit.
Quae esurire cogunt divitiae⁸⁷⁴ expugnant omnia.
Incubantes repertis divitiis⁸⁷⁵ omnia vincunt.

<12.> Ordinis, cum illa, quae in dictione fuere ultima, fiunt prima, et contra:

Divitiis cedunt omnia. Omnia cedunt divitiis.

11.2.6 Circle 3: lexical variability in epistemic stages

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, fourth quire, fols. 1v and 2r. Size: 208 x 319 mm. This variation sets out from Horace, *Epistulae* I, 1, 53–54: [...] “Quaerenda pecuna primum est. Virtus post nummos.” That is: “You must first seek money. Virtue after coins”. This is the same topic as in *Idyllion Anacreonticum* (1657).⁸⁷⁶ The text is non-autographic.

3. Rota

(1v) Variatio 1. per Essentiam

Cum dicimus omnes res, quaecunque sunt, vivunt, vigent, existunt, moventur, tale quid non esse vel tale quid praestare non posse. E.g.

Nulli rei in mundo viventi tam bene cedunt omnia, quam divitiis.

Nulla res existit, quae non cedat divitiis.

Nihil movetur in orbe, quod non cedat divitiis.

Sensus

Cum per 5 communes sensus rem describimus:

⁸⁷³ auri sacra fames] “Accursed hunger for gold”. This is a literary commonplace, see Virgil, *Aeneis* 3:56–57: *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames!*

⁸⁷⁴ Quae esurire cogunt divitiae] “riches that compel to hunger”. Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni* 7,8: *Quid tibi divitiis opus est, quae esurire te cogunt?*

⁸⁷⁵ Incubantes repertis divitiis] “Those who (in their seclusion) are inclined to the wealth they have won”. Virgil, *Aeneis* 6, 610: *et qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis.*

⁸⁷⁶ For the Latin text of *Idyllion Anacreonticum*, see Nordström and Olsson (eds.), *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm* 1:1, pp. 181–188. For a Swedish translation by Birger Bergh; see *ibidem*, *ibidem* 1:2, pp. 603–605. In one passage, Stiernhielm makes one of the two interlocutors state (lines 123–125, 130–136 and 142–144):

Moneta vera virtus, / vis, robur et potestas; / est portus, ara, turris. [...]

Hic gaudium, voluptas / et pulchritudo, forma / et gloria inclytumque
nomen decusque, splendor / et claritas genusque / sapientiaeque fama
et eruditionis. [...] / Est una, cuncta cunctis / Moneta sola, summum, /
regina, numen orbis.

Nemo non videt pecuniam vincere omnia.
Nemo non audit, quod pecunia vincat omnia.
Quis hoc non capit? Pecunia vincit omnia.
Dudum hoc omnes subolefaciunt, quod pecuniae cedant omnia.
Nullius sensus adeo est obtusus, ut hoc non percipiat, quod pecuniae cedant omnia.

Admiratio

Hic per verba admirationis res exprimitur, de re qua agimus:

Mirabile dictu est, quomodo pecuniae cedant omnia.

Non satis mirari possum potentiam pecuniae, cui etiam omnia summa cedunt.

Dubitatio

Hic non dubitando vel dubitationem prorsus omnem removendo rem dicimus:

Ego sane nullus dubito, quin toto in mundo pecuniae cedant omnia.

Quis, quaeso, iam in dubium vocabit quod pecunia superet omnia.

(2r) Opinio

Hic contrarium sentientes rejicimus et contrarium opinantes inserimus, e.g.

Sentiant, qui volent, virtuti nihil esse invium. Ego vero hoc constanter dicam, quod pecuniae nulla sit invia via, cui omnia semper cedant.

Verissima semper haec vetus opinio: pecuniae cedunt omnia.

Possible

Cum rem a possibilitate veram dicimus:

Quid possibilis est, quam ut pecunia res omnes cedant, cum totus orbis pecuniae serviat.

Nulli magis possibile est superare omnia, quam pecuniae.

Conveniens

Cum ex facto rei aequitatem probamus et probantes rogamus:

Quid magis convenire nervo rerum gerendae pecuniae, quam ut ipsi cedant omnia?

Consensus

Hic rem per omnium assensionem veram dicimus:

Omnium certe una haec res est unusque consensus omnium: pecuniae cedunt omnia.

Veritas

Cum ipsam experientiam pro veritate rei adducimus:

Quid multis est opus, ipsa experientiae veritas nos docet pecuniae
cedere omnia.

Evidentia

Cum certitudinem rei evidentem et infallibilem esse dicimus:

Clarum et perspectum hoc est omnibus, quod pecuniae cedant
omnia.

Scientia

Cum ad omnium notitiam provocamus:

Quis ignorat, quis nescit, omnes hoc sciunt, singulis hoc notum
est: pecunia vincit⁸⁷⁷ omnia.

Assertio

Hic per varios modos asserendi rem dicimus:

Affirmare hoc, asserere, pro certo dicere possum, quod pecuniae
omnia semper cedant.

11.2.7 Circles 4–5: explanation of some tropes and figures

Source: F.d 9:8, fol. 4r. Size: 215 x 330 mm.

As stated above, Stiernhielm has not left behind any other systematic text on the fourth and fifth system of variation than his excerpts from Farnaby's *Index rhetoricus* (ms. F.d. 6b: 1, third quire, fols. 1r–10v and fourth quire, fols. 1r–1v, Royal Library, Stockholm). However, he recorded, defined and exemplified some tropes and figures of speech. I have not been able to determine whether Stiernhielm copied the text below from a specific source. In any case, in his definition of the trope and the figure, he agrees with Conrad Dietrich, *Institutiones rhetoricae* (1616), p. 6. In defining and exemplifying the figure of a rhetorical question he relies on Alsted's *Encyclopaedia* (book 7 on rhetoric, chap. 13, rule 3: "Interrogatio rhetorica differt a vulgari", p. 388). Stiernhielm here follows the categorizations of the Ramist rhetorical tradition.

Tropus vocis significationem nativam mutat in aliam.

Figura orationis habitum immutat.⁸⁷⁸

⁸⁷⁷ vincit] *superat* has been crossed out on the line; *vincit* has been added above the line.

⁸⁷⁸ Tropus ... immutat] Conrad Dietrich, *Institutiones rhetoricae*, Giessen 1616 (1st ed. 1613), p. 6, where a Ramist definition of the trope is proposed, according to which the trope is restricted to change of isolated single words.

Metaphora est quicquid similitudo habet et exponi potest per sicut, <et> tanquam. Item animalium nomina hominibus imposita. Ad metaphoram. N[ota] B[ene] voces bestiarum translatae ad homines etc. ganire, latrare, pipire, arma fremunt. Plautus: Hic magnum est periculum ab asinis ad boves transcendere.⁸⁷⁹

Antonomasia pertinet ad synecdoche.

Metalepsis et metonymia effecti vel causae.

Hyperbole species duae sunt auxesis et meiosis.

Figuras syntaxeos puto in authoribus magis esse cognoscendas, quam imitandas.

Epistrophe dicitur antistrophe, conversio, epiphora. Ad epistrophem refert dicteria similiter cadentia et similiter finientia; isocola, antitheta.

Ad causationem translatio, μετάστασις.

Ad catachresin pertinet acyrologia.

Ad ironiam pertinet pertinet aganeitesis.

Sententia effertur affirmative, negative, interrogative, idque aut simpliciter aut per synonyma, per aequipollentia aut periphrases.

Enunciatio vero ipsa fit per signum universale aut particulare etc.

Ad contrapositionem, disiunctionem et inversionem pertinent communicatio, cum duo contrari uni dantur.

Reiectio. Paradiastole. Antypophora, id est antisagoge, compensatio.

Climax: Mars videt hanc visamque cupit potiturque cupita.⁸⁸⁰ Egregia exempla vide apud Causin. p. 300.

Interrogatio rhetorica non semper est simplex interrogatio, sed talis, cui gestus seu motus inest. Nam interdum est cum ironia:

Hic pietatis honos? Sic nos in sceptris reponis?⁸⁸¹

Inderdum cum dehortatione, querela, deprecatione etc.

Epitrochasmus est cum multa terribiliter interrogantur, ut apud Virgilium:

State viri, quae causa viae? Quive estis in armis? Quodve tenetis iter?⁸⁸²

⁸⁷⁹ Plautus: Hic ... transcendere] Plautus, *Aulularia* 234–235: Asini me mordicibus scindant, boves incursent cornibus. / Hoc magnum est periculum, ab asinis ad boves transcendere.

⁸⁸⁰ Mars videt ... potiturque cupita] Ovid, *Fasti* 3, 21. This sentence occurs as an example of the climax (“the ladder”, i.e. the gradual repetition of the same words to increase the force of the expression) in Alsted, *Encyclopaedia* (1630), p. 384.

⁸⁸¹ Hic pietatis honos? Sic nos in sceptris reponis?] Virgil, *Aeneis* 1, 253. In English translation (Venus reproaches to Juppiter for the fall of Troy): Is this the reward of piety? Is this the way in which you restore us to power?

⁸⁸² State viri... tenetis iter] Virgil, *Aeneis* 9, 376–377. Alsted, *Encyclopaedia*, 1630, p. 388, has *quodve* instead of *quove*.

11.2.8 Circle 6: topical variability by means of amplification and other argumentative and descriptive devices

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, seventh quire. Size: 208 x 319 mm.

Stiernhielm excerpted Erasmus, *De copia rerum ac verborum* (1512) and Caussin, *De eloquentia sacra et humana* (2nd ed. 1626). Erasmus classified the methods of amplifying a commonplace.⁸⁸³

(2r) Erasmus de copia rerum. Est liber 2 copia verborum.⁸⁸⁴ Hi modi sunt amplificandi:

1. Totum distribuere in partes.
2. Cum de specie loquimur, genus adiungere. Exemplum: Quum omnis eruditio plurimum adfert et adiumenti et ornamenti mortalibus, tum praecipue philosophia. Item: Omni quidem aetati foeda est libido, vero senectuti multo foedissima. Vide p. 250. forma minuta.
3. Rem proponere non nudam, sed cum enumeratione antecedentium (interdum), concomitantium et consequentium negotium. p. 253
4. Descriptio.
5. Digressio. Laus. Vituperatio. Locus communis.
6. Circumstantiae, quae partim sunt rerum, ut causa, locus, occasio, instrumentum, tempus, modus; partim personarum: patria, sexus, aetas, educatio, disciplina, habitus corporis, forma, fortuna, condicio, animi natura, studium, anteacta, commotio, consilium, nomen.
7. Congeries. 8. Incrementum. 9. Comparatio. 10. Ratiocinatio.
11. Correctio. rectius.
12. Expolitio. Exemplum vide p. 320.

(2v) Causatio. Aetiologia. Duaeologia. Epicrisis. Prosapodosis.

Descriptio. Characterismus. Diatyposis. Hypotyposis. Energiea (emphasis in uno saepe verbo). Ethologia 4 modos vide Ethopeia. Mimesis. Pathopeia. Apud Caus. p. 323.

Distributio. Apothasis. Separatio. Diaeresis, dicitur designatio (hypozeuxis, subiunctio, subinsertio, subnexio). Exemplum apud Causin. Merismus. Synathroismus. Palindromia. Paradiastole, id est discriminatio. Divisio. Expeditio. Exemplum vide apud Causin, p. 328.

Incrementum. Epipocle. Gradatio. Climax differens a climace dictionis. Exemplum vide Caus. p. 329.

Congeries. Synathrosismus, id est frequentatio. Exempla Caus. p. 329.

Comparatio. Homoeon. Icon.

⁸⁸³ In the book on topics (book 1), Erasmus accounts for eleven methods of varying and enriching topics and arguments. See Betty Knott's edition 1988: 197–230.

⁸⁸⁴ Est lib. 2. de copia verborum] This has been added above the line.

Contrapositio. Alloecosis, P. Rutil. (Antypophora, seu prolepsis, et subiectio, oppositio, obiectio). Antisagoge 8 modos vide, seu compensatio. Antitheton. P. Rutil. Antithesis. Enagonion. Oxymoron. Syncrasis. Apud Causin p. 325. Synoeceiosis. Scaliger. Cinnus.

Disiunctio. Diezeugmenon. Destructio. Evacuatio. Hyperbole. Subiectio. Paromologia.

Inversio. Anaclassis. Commutatio (Antimetabole, eadem diallelon et anaclassis). Decussatur sententiarum structura. Diallelon. Metathesis. Χιάστων. Chiasmus: est plecton, streptolyton.

Ratiocinatio. Apophasis seu aetiologia. Dialogismus. Sermocinatio. Exemplum Caus. p. 329.

Expolitio. Commoratio. Sustentatio.

Circumstantia.

11.3 Morphological and syntactic variability

11.3.1 *Honos alit artes*

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, first quire, 1r. Size: 212 x 329 mm. For a photographic image of this text, see Figure 21. Dating: most likely c. 1649–1650.

Contents: Stiernhielm demonstrates the variability of the Latin phrase *Honos alit artes*, that is, “Honour nourishes the arts”, which occurs in Cicero, *Tusc. disp.* 1, 2, 4. In the first circle of variation, the nominativ *honos* is varied by the different cases: the genitive, the dative, the accusative and the ablative in one set of examples, while *artes* is altered by the genitive and the dative in another set of examples. The morphological transformability is further exemplified in terms of number, person, gender, mood and tense. The singular *honos* is put in the plural (*honores*), while the plural *artes* is expressed by the singular (*ars*). By addressing honour and arts, the third person singular of the verb (*alit*) is changed to the second person plural (*convenitis*). The gender of the feminine plural *artes* is varied by the neuter plural *artificia*, while the active voice *alit* is transformed to the passive *aluntur* and the neuter verb *gaudent*. The finite form of the verb *alit* is varied by constructions with the infinitive. The present tense of *alit* is replaced by the past (*aluit*), the future (*alet*) and the passive periphrastic form (*alendae sunt*). In the second circle, the morphosyntactic variability is shown according to the specific categories enumerated in Section 11.1.2 above, here 1*–7* and 11*. In the first category, the parts of speech are varied. The noun *honos* is changed to a verb (*honorari*), and the verb *alit* is altered with a noun (*alimenta*). In the other categories, the abstract noun *artes* is changed to the noun of an agent *artium cultores*, epithets such as *bonae* and *liberales* are added to *artes*, and *meritus*

and *debitus* to *honos*, moreover adverbs such as *suaviter* and *mirifice* are supplied and comparison is introduced, etc.

Usus et praxis COELI MUSARUM exemplis demonstrata
Sit thema: Honos alit artes.

Per primae rotae

*. Modum 1. Casus.

Honoris fructu aluntur⁸⁸⁵ artes. Honori serviunt artes.
Honorem amant artes. Honore aluntur etc.

✎. Item:

Artium alimentum⁸⁸⁶ honos. Artium culturam alit honos.
Artibus gratissimum praemium honos est.

♂. Modum 2. Numerus pluralis pro singulari: Honores alunt artes.
Per singularem pro plurali: Ars alitur honoribus.

△. Modum 3. Persona.

O artes, o honores, quam pulchre convenitis!
O honos, o ars, quam decorum est vestrum coniugium!

♂. Modum 4. Genus nominis. Artificia volunt honores.
Genus verbi. Activum in passivum: Artes aluntur honoribus.
Neutrum: Artes gaudent honoribus.

□. Modum 5. Modus verbi.⁸⁸⁷ Finitum in infinitum:
Ars gaudet honorari.⁸⁸⁸ Artis honoribus ali certum est.
Honores alere artes clarum est.

✱. Modum 6. Temporum.

Semper honos aluit artes semperque alet.
Artes honore sunt alendae. Artibus honos merito habendus est.

Per secundae rotae

1*. Mod[um]: mutationem partium orationis. Nota. Hic synonymia, aequipollentia et periphrases simul adhibebuntur.

1. Nomen in verbum: Artes volunt honorari.
2. Verbum in nomen: Artium alimenta honos.

2*. <Modum: mutationem> substantivi in adiectivum etc.
Artifices aluntur honoribus.

Nomen rei <in> nomen personae:

Artium cultores honoribus aluntur.

3*. <Modum: mutationem> epitheti.

Bonae artes, liberales, pulchrae, ingeniosae etc.

⁸⁸⁵ aluntur] In the ms, this addition replaces *sustentantur* on the line.

⁸⁸⁶ alimentum] This marginal addition replaces *pabulum* on the line.

⁸⁸⁷ Finitum] The preposition *per* has been crossed out before *finitum*.

⁸⁸⁸ Ars ... honorari] In the manuscript, this sentence has been crossed out.

- Honos meritis, debitus, congruus etc.
 Honos iucundissimum, suavissimum artium alimentum.
 4*. <Modum: mutationem> adverbii.
 Honos suaviter alit artes, mirifice, etc.
 5*. <Modum: mutationem> comparationis
 Nihil aequae alit artes atque honos.
 Nullum efficacius artium alimentum ipso honore.
 Optatissimum artium alimentum. Suavissimum etc.
 6*. <Modum: mutationem> speciei nom[inis].
 7*. <Modum: mutationem> figurae. Compositum pro simplici.
 Inertia alitur contemptu artium.
 Per aequipollentia.
 Artium cohonestamentum honor.

11.3.2 *Ars longa, vita brevis est*

Source: F.d. 6b, 3b, ninth quire, fols. 1r–3r, 4v. Size: 240 x 355 mm.
 For a reproduction of the first folio of this text, see Figure 22.

Dating: uncertain, presumably from 1649.

Contents: Stiernhielm demonstrates the variability of the statement *Ars longa, vita brevis*, ‘Science is long, but life is short’, which is attributed to Hippocrates. After introductory remarks he shows variability through synonymy, equipollence and periphrasis (fol. 1r). He continues with grammatical variability through the change of case, number, person, gender, mood and tense (fols. 1v and 2r) and proceeds to syntactic transformability through the change of parts of speech (fols. 2v and 3r) and concludes with variability through the use of epitheton (fol. 4v), where he focuses on the accumulation of opposites of synonyms (that is antonyms) and on accumulation of closely related words (*adiuncta*).

(1r) Ut sol zodiacum atque adeo totum coelum suo lumine perfundit atque illustrat, ita rotula omnium intima sextuplici radio illustris,⁸⁸⁹ scilicet synonymiae, aequipollentiae, periphrasis, epithetorum, contrariorum et adiunctorum,⁸⁹⁰ universum orationis variandae coelum et artificium non solum percurrit, sed prae reliquis una possidet, animat et mirifice promovet.

Omnium itaque primum huius artis specimen edituro opus est, ut THEMA propositum in subiectum et praedicatum dispescat, tum ut cuiusque primo synonyma, deinceps aequipollentia (quae negationis additione, detractatione, geminatione et verbis contrariis constat) et

⁸⁸⁹ omnium ... illustris] Stiernhielm first wrote *triplici radio*. After that he added *sextuplici* below the line and *omnium intima* [...] *illustris* above the line.

⁸⁹⁰ epithetorum ... adiunctorum] These terms have been added in the margin.

periphrases sive circum-locutiones ac demum epitheta etc. diligenti indagine inquirat ac ob oculos sibi praeponat, postmodum suis circulis et classibus disponendae. Exempli gratia sit thema ARS LONGA, VITA BREVIS. Ergo PROPERANDUM, ubi subaudienda copula sive verbum substantivum, EST. Quod similiter, ubi et quot modis apte fieri potest, mutandum et variandum est.

<i>Subiectum.</i>	<i>Praedicatum.</i>	<i>Subiectum.</i>	<i>Praedicatum.</i>
ARS.	LONGA.	VITA.	BREVIS.

Synonyma.

Artificium.	magna.	lux.	momentanea.
Scientia.	tanta, quanta.	[spiritus.]	caduca.
Studium.	plurima.	[tempus.]	mortalis.
Disciplina.	varia.	aetas.	fragilis.
Doctrina.	uberrima.	dies.	fluxa. etc.
Facultas.	infinita.	soles.	angusta.
Vis.	innumera.	hora.	arcta.
Ratio.	ampla. ardua.	[spacium.]	fugiens.
Philosophia.	difficilis.	[curriculum.]	fugax.
Sapientia.	prolixa. perplexa	[cursus.]	instabilis.
	multiplex.		festina.
	multiformis. etc.		inconstans.
	perennis.		levis.
	aeterna.		praeceps.
	dives. copiosa.		praepropera.
	facunda. uber.		lubrica.
			volucris.

<i>Particula</i>	<i>Absolutum</i>	
ERGO	PROPERANDUM	est, sc. ad studium

Itaque.	festinandum.
Ideo.	accelerandum.
Idcirco.	maturandum. etc.
Ideoque.	Item: diligenter studendum.
Ea propter.	incumbendum [...] est omni
Propterea.	opera, studio etc. etc. etc.
Quamobrem.	laborandum.
Ea de re.	desudandum.
Eam ob rem. etc.	

Aequipoll[entia]

<*Subiectum Praedicatum*
Ars non est brevis.
non est facilis.
Tempore non brevi addiscitur.
Non brevi circumscripta gyro.
etc.

Subiectum Praedicatum>
Vita non est durabilis.
<Vita> non est diu permanens.
Hic aeternum non vivitur.
Cito morimur. Hominis numquam
non labitur aetas.
Mortalibus mors omni hora praesto
est, omni momento imminet.

<*Absolutum*>

Non cunctandum est.
non cessandum.
non nectendum moras.
non standum.
non dormiendum.
non oscitandum. etc.

Periphr[ases]

<*Subiectum Praedicatum*

Subiectum Praedicatum>

Artis opus
Philosophiae exercitatio, cultus,
Sapientiae cultura, studia,
Animi exercitia tanta sunt,
Musarum tam proluxa, tanti
Literarum moliminis etc. ut
Studiorum
Bonarum artium

Nullius hominis vitae spacium
iisdem omnibus capiendis,
sufficere queat, etc.
Bonae artes tot sunt ac tam
multiplices, ut nemo etiam
longissimae vitae mortalis
omnes et singulas recte
ediscere queat.

<*Particula Absolutum*>

Itaque omni studio elaborandum, ut plurimas et optimas, quam fieri
potest, maturime acquiramus.

Atque hisce solis nostri rhetorici usum, qua scilicet ratione
simpliciter indaganda sint synonyma, aequipollentia et periphrases,
monstrasse sufficiat. Plura dabunt classes notionum⁸⁹¹ et figurarum.

Nunc ad planetarum grammaticorum choream nos convertamus, ut
recte sciat PROTEUS in thematio nostro ad eorundem modulos
alternare pedes.⁸⁹²

⁸⁹¹ Plura ... notionum] Stiernhielm first wrote: *Plura dabit praxis troporum*.

⁸⁹² ut ... pedes] Stiernhielm first wrote: *simplicibus passibus themation nostrum ad cuiusque legem saltus alternare docturi*, and then crossed it out. In the next clause, *mutationem* has been replaced by *modulos*.

(1v) ROTA planetarum grammaticorum

1. Variatio orationis per * casus

› Casuum variationi praeest luna, ipsa variis casibus obnoxia:

N. Ars longa; vita brevis est.

G. Artis opus longum; vitae breve spacium est

D. Arti multa inest varietas; vitae mors usque imminet.

A. Ars artem subinde [excipit]; vitam mors⁸⁹³ vero excipit.

V. O ars, [quam] o inexhausta gaza; o vita, o mors!

Abl. Ars arte gignitur; vita morte clauditur.⁸⁹⁴

Omni itaque animi et corporis contentione annitendum erit, ne mortis hora praeventi rudes et indocti bestiarum vitam vixisse comperiamur.⁸⁹⁵

2. Variatio per ✕, scilicet numerum.

Pluraliter:

Vox VITA, quia hoc sensu plurali caret, substituenda erit aliqua ex synonymis.

N. Artes, Deus bone! quot sunt? Dies vero nostri, quam non multi.

G. Artium numerus innumerus est; dierum vero nostrorum brevis calculus.

D. Artes artibus catenantur, mortibus mortes.

Antithesis.

A. Artes nova quaeque lux novas praefert; lucas vero antegressas⁸⁹⁶ lux quaeque posterior devorat.

V. O artes, quam longa vestra series! O dies, quam breve vestrum est compendium.

Ab. Infinitis artibus vita humana condecorata⁸⁹⁷ est. Ipsa paucorum dierum constans momentis. Temporis itaque rei preciosissimae ratio habenda etc. Est properandum et studendum.

Atque hac ratione licet omnia sigillatim declinare, synonyma, aequipollentia, periphrases, antitheses cum suis epithetis et adiunctis. [Et hic in limine vide ne te obruat copia.] Vel si singulas periodes supra casibus applicatas exornare velis, aliis atque aliis synonymis, epithetis etc. Deus bone, quanta orationis proveniet messis.

⁸⁹³ vitam mors] The order of these words have been indicated by numbers (1–2).

⁸⁹⁴ vita morte clauditur] Stiernhielm first wrote this, crossed it out and replaced it with *morte accersitur* above the line, and finally resumed *vita morte clauditur* by adding this phrase below the line.

⁸⁹⁵ Omni ... comperiamur] This variation of the final part of the present set phrase has been written in the margin.

⁸⁹⁶ antegressas] This word has been added above the line to replace *anteriores* on the line.

⁸⁹⁷ condecorata] This word has been added above the line to replace *oppleta* on the line.

3. Variatio per ♀, id est personam, et in praemissis conspicua est et passim occurrit in proxime sequentibus.

4. Variatio per ♂ sive genus, intelligenda est tam de genere verbi, quam nominis. In nomine mutatur genus, cum vox mutatur in synonymam. In verbo genus activum abit in passivum et econtra, et haec interdum in neutrum vel deponens.

In themate praesenti ARS LONGA, VITA BREVIS. ERGO PROPERANDUM, verbum PROPERANDUM est neutrius generis nec in activum nec in passivum converti potest, nisi per synonyma <idem> significantia sive aequipollentia sive circuitiones, etc. Exempla sunt: (2r) Vetus et verum est verbum: ARS LONGA, VITA BREVIS. Nihil itaque cessandum duco; nihil intermittendum, quin studia bonae mentis gnaviter aggrediamus, alacriter capessamus ac strenue percolamus.

5. Variatio per ८, hoc est modos, et 6^{ta} per h sive tempora verborum. Coniunctim absolvitur hoc modo: Indicativo modo, tempore praesenti.

Quandoquidem ars longa, vita brevis est, recte factum puto quod studiis dies noctesque invigilo. *Per omnes numeros et personas.*

In passivum: Si palestra Musicae pulvere nunc conspergeris, si iugi labore defatigaris, proderit hoc olim, si cogites scitum illud: Artem longam, vitam brevem esse.

Tempore praeterito: Siquidem A[rs] l[onga], v[ita] b[revis] nemo inficias ibit, si quid in iuventuti didicisti, id tibi in senecta magno fore emolumento. etc.

<Tempore> futuro: Mature ad studia animum applicabis, nisi indocili senecta⁸⁹⁸ praeventus miseram et egenam⁸⁹⁹ agere vitam malis. Ars enim longa, vita brevis est. NB. Enunciationes de futuro non apte variantur per praeterita et vice versa.⁹⁰⁰

Imperativo modo, tempore praesenti: I piger, apes aspice! Tu, si sapis, dum aetas fervet, illas imitare! Omnes, dum licet, artes pervola, praecepta, monita, dicta divina et salubria collige! etc. Namque A[RS] L[ONGA], V[ITA] B[REVIS].

Optativo et subiunctivo <modo>: O, si Dii illam nobis dedissent mentem, ut quae nobis noxae, quae saluti futura essent prospicere possemus. Haudquaquam temporis immemores literarum culturam

⁸⁹⁸ senecta] After *senecta* the clause *vel inopina morte poeniri* has been crossed out.

⁸⁹⁹ praeventus miseram et egenam] This has been added above the line.

⁹⁰⁰ NB ... vice versa] This is a marginal addition.

negligeremus. Ante oculos habituri id quod dicitur: A[RS] L[ONGA], V[ITA] B[REVIS].

In genere depon., subiunctivo modo, tempore futuro person. 3. plur. num.: Parum senectae nostrae prosperimus, si nunc otiosi fuerimus, cum nihil sit vita humana fugacius, nihil arte prolixius.

Infinitivo praesenti: Literarum studia, dum floret aetas, insuper habere, mi Deus! quae dementia! etc.

<Infinitivo> praeterito: Artes in iuventute fideliter didicisse neminem unquam poenituit, cum vita brevis est, ars vero longa.

<Infinitivo> futuro: Literis et bonis artibus operam suam collocaturus cogitet id quod dicitur Artem esse longam, vitam brevem. Gnaviter⁹⁰¹ itaque id, quod facturus est, faciat.

Haec reservantur ad variationem syntaxis. Exemplum saltem hic unius et alterius unicum ponatur, supinum scilicet et gerundium.

Supinum: Si sapere nobis cordi est, sapientiam quaesitum eamus, dum patitur aetas. Ars enim longa, v[ita] b[revis].

Infinitivus pro supino: Eamus studere, eamus quaerere Musas, dum vacat etc. Adeamus visere Musas (pro: ad visendum). Parati simus cognoscere (pro ad cognoscendum). Ferant, in sinu gerant etc. Festinemus colligere divitias, quibus animum nostrum locupletemus etc.⁹⁰²

Gerundium: Dum studendi tempus est, studeamus gnaviter. Namque A[RS] L[ONGA], V[ITA] B[REVIS]. Usque dormiendo nihil profecerimus. Vigilando mentis bona acquiruntur. Vigilemus itaque, laboremus sedulo, cum artis via longa, dierum vero mensura mirum quam curta sit. ARS LONGA, VITA BREVIS. PROPERANDUM ergo.

Gerundivum pro gerundio: Properemus ad amplexandas Musas, ad colendas literas (pro: ad colendum) etc. Scientiarum excolendarum causa (pro: excolendi scientias) vigilemus. etc.

Gerundium pro gerundivo.⁹⁰³

(2v) Sequitur zodiacus continens heteroses partium orationis⁹⁰⁴ et alias quasdam affectiones⁹⁰⁵ grammaticas.

Per √ mutamus nomen substantivum in adiectivum et adiectivum in substantivum. ARS, VITA sunt immutabilia, nisi in alia substantiva

⁹⁰¹ gnaviter] *assidue* has been crossed out, *gnaviter* has been written above the line.

⁹⁰² Adeamus ... locupletemus] These examples have been written in the margin.

⁹⁰³ No example follows, but there are examples under the zodiac ♎ below.

⁹⁰⁴ Sequitur ... partium orationis] In the ms., this sentence replaces *Zodiacus grammaticus heteroses continet partium orationis*, which has been crossed out.

⁹⁰⁵ alias quasdam affectiones] Stiernhielm first wrote *alia quaedam accidentia*.

synonyma. Adiectiva vero, LONGA, BREVIS, cum synonymis et oppositis facili negotio mutantur in substantiva, LONGITUDO, BREVITAS, prolixitas, fugacitas, fuga etc. hoc modo:

Hac tanta aetatis fuga nemo non facile tam immensam bonarum artium amplitudinem superarit. Maturandum itaque. etc. Item opes, pelagus, etc.

Item: Tantas tamque inexhaustas sapientiae divitias tanta dierum nostrorum paucitas aegre assequetur, nisi mature evigilemus et serio in id incumbamus, ne fugientem horulam vacuum abire sinamus. Eiusmodi plura videre est in variatione tropica et passim.

✕ Nomen in verbum. ARS. VITA. scire, sapere, vivere, aetatem agere. artes discere, etc. Sapere prolixum est, aetas fugax.

Sophiae studium est infinitum, vivere vero nostrum perquam angustum.

Studere longum est, vivere arctum.

Item LONGA. BREVIS. durat, fugit. praecipitat, properat, exuberat.

Ars exuberat, praecipitant anni. Ars perennat, vita fugit.

II Circumlocutio verbi. Fieri non potest, quin artis opus sit infinitum et vita vice versa exigui momenti, quin itaque studeamus diligenter, sic fiet, ut vitae brevitatis studiorum assiduitate compensetur. Utinam, optandum esset. Sic futurum est. Sic fore spero. Fac, ut etc.

⊕ Nomen in adverbium LONGA, BREVIS, longe, breviter, prolixè, ample, immense, fluxe, celeriter, velociter, anguste, leviter, praecipitanter, etc., velociter abeunt dies nostri. Ars [manet longa] perpetuum manet. Discimus tractim, subito decedimus.

Et vice versa adverbium in nomen. Veloci fuga abeunt dies nostri. Ars manet.⁹⁰⁶ Longo temporum tractu ediscuntur artes, aetas vero cursu fugit.

∩ Verbum in participium. PROPERANDUM, properans, properatus, properaturus. Item FUGIT, fugiens, perennans, exuberans etc.

Perennantem artis prolixitatem, nisi indefessa studiorum assiduitate vicerimus, frustra fuerimus, vita nos destituyente, vel vita destituti.

Properato opus est, o iuvenes. Maturato opus est, si sapientes futuri simus.⁹⁰⁷ Scitis enim quam sit ars longa et vita quam parum durans.

⁹⁰⁶ manet] *perpetua est* has been deleted on the line; *manet* added above the line.

⁹⁰⁷ sapientes futuri simus] *sapere delectat* has been crossed out on the line and has been replaced by this wording.

Vita res fugax, quam quae maxime. Vita res fugax, ut si quae alia.
 Vita res fugax, si qua alia.
 Vita res, quantum alia nulla, fugax.
 Erras, si quicquam credis una vita fugacius.
 Ergo studeas volo, quam qui maxime. Nunc properandum, ut
 quam maxime.
 Nunc quaere, si unquam es quaesiturus sapientiam. Si alias
 unquam, nunc summa vigilantia utendum.
 Quantum potes stude, quoad fieri potest.

♪ Trib[uenta] et remov[enda].⁹¹³ Vide Erasmus. Cap. 34 et
 sequentia. Tum ars est longa, tum vita brevis. Et – et, tam – quam⁹¹⁴
 etc.

≡ Particula. Ergo, ideo, itaque, siquidem etc. Vide supra in
 Synonymis.

⌘ Syntaxis. Ars insignite est prolixa; insignis est prolixitatis; insigni
 prolixitate; insigni praedita prolixitate; gaudet prolixitate; vita etc.

(4v) Epitheta hic sunt synonyma praedicatorum; alia non requirimus.

<i>Contraria</i> sunt	ARTIS	VITAE	Praedicata LONGA ET BREVIS cum synonymis suis sibi invicem contrariuntur.
Otium.	Inertia.	Mors.	
Somnus.	Inscitia.	Decessus.	
Desidium.	Stultitia.	Abitus.	
Murcia.	Vecordia.	Obitus.	
	Secordia.		
	Ignavia.		
<i>Adiuncta</i> sunt	ARTIS		VITAE
Maiestas.	Magnitudo.	tanta.	Brevitas.
Excellentia.	Amplitudo.	quanta.	Caducitas.
Praestantia.	[Vastitas]	immensa.	Fugacitas. explorata.
Eminentia.	Immensitas	} incredibilis.	Fluxus.
	Immanitas.	mirabilis.	Festinatio.
	Infinitas.		Celeritas.

⁹¹³ tribuenda et removenda] Stiernhielm intends what he calls *formulae copulandi, tribuendi, removendi* in another passage (Vol. 1, Section 10.2.3 at the end).

⁹¹⁴ quam] The manuscript has *tam*, but *quam* is required. In *De duplici copia rerum et verborum*, book 1, 34, Erasmus proposes the coordination of *tam* with *quam*.

Difficultas.	Imbecillitas.
Prolixitas.	Infirmitas.
Profunditas. Foecunditas.	Fuga.
Moles. vis, momentum.	Celocitas. Velocitas,
	Parcitas dierum.

VITA

fugit. aufugit. diffugit. effugit.	vehementer. adeo.
labitur.	magno cum nisu.
currit.	magnopere. valde.
volat.	festinanter. praepropere.
avolat. praetervolat.	} cito. celeri gradu.
migrat.	propere penna. ocyor Euro.
properat.	
festinat.	

VITAE Tempus. Spacium. Hora. Cursus: celer, concitatus. Curriculum: breve. Momentum.

ARS docetur.	difficulter, magna cum difficultate,
addiscitur.	taedio, molestia, labore,
apprehenditur.	} aegre, laboriose, longo tempore,
capitur.	haud levi momento,
traditur.	non levi brachio, negotio etc.
hauritur.	
percipitur.	

Adiuncta cum synonymis.

STUDERE	diligenter, studiose, gnaviter,
operam dare	} fideliter, summa cum contentione animi
bonis artibus,	sedulo, assidue.
literis, bonae menti, etc.	
LABORARE. PATI.	

ARTIUM copia. opes. divitiae. thesauri. gazae. montes. pelagus. oceanus.

PROPERARE, etc. Synonyma cum adiunctis. Contraria cum adiunctis.

FESTINATIO cum epithetis. MORA cum epithetis.

DILIGENS in studiis. Synonyma cum adiunctis. Contraria cum adiunctis. DILIGENTIA in studiis. Synonyma cum epithetis. Contraria cum epithetis.

11.3.3 *Regina nostra forma et virtute laudabilis est*

Source: F.d. 4:1, first quire, fols. 1r–2r. Size: 165 x 210 mm. These leaves are added in an octavo-sized file between the front cover and this textbook *Loci communes*, which comprises the bulk of F.d. 4:1. Stiernhielm evinces the grammatical and syntactic variability of the complimentary statement *Regina nostra forma et virtute laudabilis est*, that is “Our Queen is praiseworthy for her beautiful shape and virtue.” It was directed towards Queen Christina of Sweden. Since she reigned between 1644 and 1654, this gives a clue to the dating of this work. It was designed as a specimen of *Proteus rhetoricus*. Stiernhielm uses certain planetary symbols for the different kinds of grammatical variability (which is the first circle, *prima rota*):

☾ the decrescent moon (silver) stands for the inflectional variability in the declension of nouns in the singular.

♿ Mercury (mercury) stands for the variability of the declension of nouns in the plural.

♀ Venus (copper) stands for the variability of the grammatical person.

♂ Mars (iron) stands for the variability of the gender of nouns.

♃ Jupiter (tin) and ♄ Saturn (lead) stand for the variability of moods and tenses.

He uses zodiac signs for designating different kinds of syntactic variability (which make up the second circle, *secunda rota*):

♊ Change of a noun into an adjective or an adjective into a noun,

♋ Change of a noun into a verb,

♌ Use of periphrasis (circumlocution),

♍ Change of a noun into an adverb or an adverb into a noun,

♎ Change of a verb into a participle,

♏ Use of supine, gerund or gerundive,

♐ Use of an impersonal construction,

♑ Use of a degree of comparison, not only the use of comparative or superlative, but also the use of a verb implying any kind of comparison.

(1r) PROTEI STERNHIELMIANI SPECIMEN.

Sit thema: *Regina nostra forma et virtute laudabilis est*.

PRIMA ROTA.

Variatio puerilis, Donatistica.⁹¹⁵

☾ *Reginae nostrae forma et virtus* [audabilis] e[st].

*Reginae nostrae formae et virtuti summa laus debetur.*⁹¹⁶

⁹¹⁵ Variatio puerilis. Donatistica.] This has been added in dark ink.

⁹¹⁶ summa laus debetur] Stiernhielm first wrote *summae laudes debentur*.

Reginam nostram forma et virtus cohonestant.

Regina nostra nihil formosius, nihil honestius.

♀ Omnes mundi Reginae, nostrae cedunt formae et virtutis gloriam.

Reginarum cunctarum nostra est formosissima et virtute praestantissima.⁹¹⁷

Reginis cunctis nostra forma et virtutum laudibus antecellit, excellit, anteit.⁹¹⁸

Reginas omnes nostra forma et virtute superat, exuperat.⁹¹⁹

<Reginas> omnes post se multis relinquit parasangis.⁹²⁰

Reginis omnibus nostra forma et virtute est excelsior, exsuperantior,

<Reginis omnibus nostra> forma et virtutis laude longe antecellit.⁹²¹

(1v)

♀ O Regina, quae forma et virtute decora es!

♂ O Regum decus! Forma et virtute celsissima,

Formae et virtutis merito a cunctis laudaris,

Forma et virtutis gloria cluis, fulges, enites⁹²² etc.!

ㄥ ♀ Regina nostra nulla alia comperta (visa) est formosior virtuteque eminentior.⁹²³

Regina nostra nunquam reperietur alia formosior,

<Regina nostra> non poterit inveniri ulla formosior. etc.

Reginae nostrae forma et virtute parem non facile inveneris;

<Reginae nostrae forma et virtute> par non facilis est inventu;

<Reginae nostrae forma et virtute> parem nemo facile inventurus est.

Reginae nostrae formam et virtutem omnes pariter laudatum ibunt;

<Reginae nostrae formam et virtutem omnes> laudando celebrabunt;

<Reginae nostrae formam et virtutem> laudandi studio cuncti rapimur;

<Reginae nostrae formam et virtutem omnes> laudandam censebunt.

(2r) SECUNDA ROTA.

Υ Regina nostra formosa et virtutis decora⁹²⁴ laudatur ab omnibus.

✕ Forma et bene-agere Reginae

⚭ nostrae mirum quantos sui excitant amores!

⁹¹⁷ virtute praestantissima] *virtuosissima* has been crossed out on the line, *virtute praestantissima* added above the line.

⁹¹⁸ excellit, anteit] This has been added in dark ink in the continuation of the line.

⁹¹⁹ exuperat] This has been added in dark ink in the continuation of the line.

⁹²⁰ omnes post se multis relinquit parasangis] This has been added in the margin.

⁹²¹ forma et virtutis laude longe antecellit] This has been added in the margin.

⁹²² enites] This has been added after *etc.* in the manuscript.

⁹²³ virtute eminentior] The words *magis virtuosa* have been crossed out on the line.

⁹²⁴ virtutis decora] *virtuosa* has been crossed out on the line.

- ⊕ Hinc, quod tam decore ac virtuose se gerit Regina Nostra ab omnibus laudem meretur.
- ⌚ Laudanda forma est et virtus Reginae Nostrae omnibus laudata
- ⌚ Vide supra in h.
- ⊕ Omnes convenit (decet, oportet, necesse est) laudare formam et virtutem Reginae Nostrae.
- ⌚ Regina nostra virtute et forma nemo mortalium est praestantior (excellentior, sublimior).
- Omnes homines antecellit, vincit, superat, superfulget forma et virtute.
- Regina nostra forma et virtute omnes laudem supergreditur.
- Comparisonem non admittunt forma et virtus Reginae nostrae.
- Omnem comparisonem excedunt virtus et forma Reginae nostrae.

11.3.4 *Vir sapiens aequae fert utramque fortunam*

Source: F.d. 4:1, second quire, fols. 1r–2v. This is a continuation of *Protei Stiernhielmiani specimen*. This sample of *Proteus rhetoricus* first (fol. 1r, upper half) shows the declensional variability in Latin of the Stoizicing statement “the wise man endures with equanimity both fortunes” (i.e. both good luck/ good fortune and ill luck/ misfortune) and then (fol. 1r lower half, and fol. 2v) demonstrates the variability of *fortuna* by means of the devices of related words, equivalents and periphrasis (*affinia*, *aequipollentia*, and *periphrasis*). After that (fols. 1v–2r), there are rhetorical variations of the same statement according to the devices of the sixth system (or circle) of variability. Stiernhielm here chooses the categories *causatio*, *descriptio*, and *distributio*. Though he did not call the first variation by a specific designation, it can be referred to as *ratiocinatio*. This is the tenth category in the sixth system, or circle, of linguistic variability. See the circle diagram.

(1r, upper half)

Thema variationis rhetoricae per stellam seu rotam primam:

1. * Casus.

N. Vir sapiens aequae fert utramque fortunam.

G. Viri sapientis est aequae ferre utramque fortunam.

D. Viro sapienti incumbit – vel: studendum est vel: danda est – opera, ut aequae ferat utramque fortunam.

A. Virum sapientem oportet, decet, convenit aequae ferre utramque fortunam.

V. O vir sapiens, tuum est aequae ferre utramque fortunam. Vel: Tu debes ferre utramque fortunam.

Ab. A viro sapiente aequae fertur utramque fortunam.

Sic etiam variari potest vox fortuna.

N. Aeque ferenda est viro sapienti utraque fortuna.

G. Aeque ferendus est cursus, status, casus utriusque fortunae.

G. <Aeque> ferenda mutatio, vicissitudo, alea, sors, rota, rotatio, conditio, ictus, discrimen, iniquiores vices.

<Aeque> ferendus lusus, ludibrium, gyros, orbis volubilitas, lubricitas.

D. Aequum se praebet vir sapiens utrique fortunae. In plur[ali]: Secundae fortunae)(adversae. Cicero. Utriusque fortunae casibus.

A. Tempestates, procellae, fluctus, flumina fortunae, ancipitis eventus casibus, stimuli doloris.

(1r, lower half)

Virtutem qui ducem habet, is fortunam habet comitem. GS.⁹²⁵

Quem penes est virtus, eum nulla laedere potest fortunae iniquitas.

Periphrasis et aequipollentia:

Qui virtute fertur, is inequitat fortunae etiam recalcitranti.

Virtute fraenare fortunam.

Livius: Is demum vir erit, cuius animum nec prospera fortuna statu suo efferet nec adversa infringet.⁹²⁶

Is mihi demum vir erit, non qui magnitudine et robore corporis stolide ferox est, sed qui invicta animi moderatione fortunae vel blandientis delicias vel saevientis minas superare et perferre valet. GS.

Vir sapiens.

Affinia: prudens, felix, beatus)(abiectus, angusti animi, dubia, excitata, inclinata, iacens, vitrea.

Synonyma. Vir homo fortis, magnanimus, aequanimus; vir forti, stabili, firmo, celso animo, viribus exsuperantissimis.

Cave vertenti te praebeas fortunae.

Omnia, quae cadere in hominem possunt,

<omnia, quae> accidere homini <possunt>

Humana omnia, res humana

Fortuna: mala et bona,

malae secundaeque res. Salust[ius].

secundarum ambiguarum rerum sciens. Tac[itus].

tempora tristia, secunda

nubila, serena

⁹²⁵ GS] The acronym of Georgius Stiernhielmus.

⁹²⁶ Livius ... infringet] Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 45, 8: "Is demum uir erit, cuius animum neque prosperae <res> flatu suo efferent nec aduersae infringent."

fors, quam obtulerit, quemcunque tulerit casum
 res prospera)(ambigua
 In rebus scaevis adfulsit fortunae nutus hilarior.
 In rebus prosperis et ad volutationem fluentibus

<Fortuna>	prospera	et	adversa.
	blanda		saeva
	blandiens		scaeva
	ridens		minax
	laeta		trux
	ludens,		truculenta
	ludiblanda		furens
	arridens		irata
	nitens		duriori conflictari
	renitens		
	splendens		
	secunda, propitia		
	florentissima		
	valida		improspira

(1r) <Ratiocinatio>

Fortuna orbis terrarum Regina celso supra omnia residens solio circumiacentibus et prono vultu adorantibus mortalibus varia dispescat munera, opes, honores, sceptras, coronas, ex humili miseros extollans in altum. Eadem fortuna Regina, quos modo extulit superbos celeri rotatu throno deturbat, opes etc., quas dedit, reposcens nudosque ultimo nec raro ipsa vita expoliatos relinquens idque nullo saepe merito, nulla culpa. Quod cum quotidie fieri et omni aevo retro factum esse comperiamus, quam favori et muneribus eius fidem esse habendam censeamus? Annon stolidum et vecordem atque ipso Coraebo stultiore⁹²⁷ putamus eum, qui eam perpetuo filo fidam et faventem fore promittit?

(2r)

Causatio.

Vir, cui sapientia subactum est pectus, spes suas non collocat in blandientis aura fortunae. Fallax enim est et levi momento dispellitur et in nihilum evanescit, dispalescit, disparet.

⁹²⁷ Coraebo stultiore] The phrase “more stupid than Coroebus” was a proverbial saying, see Erasmus, *Adagia* 1864: “stultior Coroebo”. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 2, 341–343: [...] “iuvenisque Coroebus / Mygdonides – illis ad Troiam forte diebus / venerat insano Cassandrae incensus amore.”

Stolidus est et stultior Coraëbo, qui splendenti nimium fortunæ rerum suarum columnen et arcem inædificat. Vitrea enim est et oculi nictu citius frangitur.

Descriptio.

Fortuna, quam esse dicam? Quibus tibi coloribus depingam? Quo caractere describam? An ut rerum humanarum dominam et arbitram supremam? Cuius coeco nutu cuncta gubernantur cunctaque statuntur caduntur? Cuius erratili, temerea vel larga vel avara manu omnes orbis terrarum opes mortalibus meritis pariter ac immeritis⁹²⁸ dispensantur aut auferuntur. Quæ modo ea quæ donavit felicibus aufert, et largitur miseris, nec his nec istis fida perpetuo.⁹²⁹ Iustos illa viros pauperie gravat, indignos eadem divitiis beat. Quæ dignis adimit, transfert ad impios etc. inconstans, fragilis, perfida, lubrica etc. Huic ergo ne fidas, consule. Dum nitet, frangitur, dum ridet, decipit. Item: Bifrons est fortuna; altera placidum, altera torvum tuetur. Sed opinione citius iam hanc, iam illam obvertit faciem.

Distributio.

Fortunæ bona sunt, quæ in ipsius manu est largiri; opes, honores, amicos, dignitatis, potentiam, imperium et plurima similia, verum enimvero omnia hæc invalida sunt et caduca. Nec perpetua manent possessores suos⁹³⁰ infidæ et fallacis fortunæ munera lubrica. Debilitantur opes, obscurantur honores, dilabuntur amici, exolescunt dignitates, potentia labescit, imperia vanescunt et omnia quæ beata habentur atque magnifica fortuna repetit clientibusque suis adimit.

(2v) Fortuna nolito tolli; tonante nolito mergi.

Rebus adversis animosus atque fortis appare.

Nimium secundis contrahes sapienter idem turgida vela.⁹³¹

Velificandum est fortunæ.

Nec enim semper vento licet navigare secundo.

Vir sapiens æque fert utramque fortunam.

(2v, col. 1) Sententia seu thema ipsum variandum constans subiecto et prædicato.

⁹²⁸ meritis pariter ac immeritis] Stiernhielm first wrote *meritis et immeritis*, then added *pariter* above the line and finally corrected the construction to the present wording *meritis pariter ac immeritis* by a marginal addition.

⁹²⁹ perpetuo] This has been added in the margin.

⁹³⁰ possessores suos] *possessoribus suis* has been corrected into *possessores suos*.

⁹³¹ Rebus adversis ... turgida vela] This passage is found in Horace, *Carmina* II, x, 21–24: Rebus angustis animosus atque/ fortis appare; sapienter idem/ contrahes vento nimium secundo/ turgida vela.

Sub hac continetur eiusdem enunciatio. Quae quintuplex: Copulativa, suppositiva seu conditionis (si), disiunctiva (aut), adversativa (quamvis, tamen, non, sed, at), relativa (tali, qualis).

Est autem enunciatio affirmativa, negativa, dubitativa, interrogativa, conditionalis. Sunt autem modi 4: possibile, impossibile, necessum, contingens.

Subiectum sua habet adiuncta, vel nomina substantiva habent sua adiectiva. Coniugata usum habent in plur[ibus] part[ibus] orat[ionis].

Nomen substantivum: sapientia

Adjectivum: sapiens, idemque substantive usurpatur.

Verbum: sapere

Adverbium: sapienter

Vir, homo)(non vir;

virilis animus, pectus)(vilis;

Contraria: stultus, stolidus, enervatus, abiectus, desipere.

(2v, col. 2) Sub synonymia etiam comprehenduntur etiam paria et affinia, ut sub sapiens: fortis, prudens, modestus. Sub aequipollentia, contraria, contradictoria, repugnantia, relata. Periphrasis etiam diversa admittit.

Hominis partes et membra sunt: mens, animus, anima, corpus, cor, pectus, caput etc.

Adiuncta sunt: virtus, sapientia. etc.

Synonyma et affinia:

Prudentia, prudens, adorea

Moderatio, moderatus

Fortitudo, fortis

Magnanimitas, magnanimus, cordatus, animosus

Verbo: moderari

Synonyma: regere, temperare. Nomen: temperantia, adorea.

aequo animo patitur)(iniquo <animo patitur>

fert)(cedit, labat, vacillet, superatur, vincit.

11.3.5 Variatio duarum interpretationum

(1) Preliminaries

Source: F.d. 6b: 3a, third quire, fol. 1r. Size: 214 x 330 mm. For a photograph of this text, see Figure 23.

Contents: Below, Stiernhielm exemplifies the semantic and syntactic variability of language in two different Renaissance Latin translations of Polybius' *Histories*, 1.1 (the introduction). Polybius' *Histories* was rediscovered in the Renaissance and translated into Latin by Niccolò Perotti (1429–1480) during 1451–1453. Perotti's

translation was printed for the first time as *Historiae* in 1472,⁹³² Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) provided a new translation for his edition in 1609.⁹³³ The Latin version was republished in 1610 in a slightly revised version without the Greek source text.⁹³⁴ A Greek-Latin parallel text in 1619, retaining the Latin revision of 1610 is retained. Stiernhielm used the revised translation in the 1610 or 1619 edition. The Dutch Classical philologist Jacob Gronovius republished Polybius with his review of the Greek text in Amsterdam in 1670. He, too, seems to have retained Casaubon's revised translation from 1610.

Stiernhielm chose two Latin translations of Polybius' introduction and provided the selected passage with his imitation-translation. He divided the texts into lexical and syntactic units that he supplied with a numbering system (which is based on the sequence of numbering in Perotti's translation) to facilitate mutual comparison. By indicating distinctive symbols in his first and second circles (11* for change of diction, 12* for change of word order, a square for change of mood, a simple asterisk * for change of case, a light flower for synonymy, and a stylized ampersand for periphrasis), Stiernhielm relates the divergences of translation to his theory of linguistic variability.

Polybius began his *Histories* (1.1) with a reflection on the value of historiography. The passage reads as follows in English translation:

If the praise of history had been passed over by former chroniclers, it would perhaps have been incumbent upon me to urge the choice and special study of records of this sort, as the readiest means men can have of correcting their knowledge of the past. But my predecessors have not been sparing in this respect. They have all begun and ended, so to speak, by enlarging on this theme: asserting again and again that the study of history is in the truest sense an education and a training for political life; and that the most instructive, or rather the only, method of learning to bear the vicissitudes of fortune with dignity is to recall the catastrophes of others.

⁹³² The title of most editions is: *Polybii Megalopolitani Historiarum libri quinque in Latinam conversi linguam Nicolao Perotto interprete*. It was republished several times (1521, 1522, 1530, 1542, 1548, 1549, 1554, 1557, 1597, 1608).

⁹³³ *Polybii Megalopolitani Lycortae filii Historiarum quae supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit. Latine vertit et commentariis illustravit*, Parisiis/ Paris (H. Drouart) 1609. It was published in Frankfurt a. M. the same year.

⁹³⁴ *Polybii Megalopolitani Lycortae f. Historiarum quae supersunt ex interpretatione Isaaci Casauboni*, [Frankfurt am Main and Hanau] 1610.

(2) Perotti's and Casaubon's translations of Polybius' preface

Exemplum variationis duarum interpretationum Latinarum ex Graeco Polybii.

Perotti.	Signorum in rotis.	Causaboni.
1. Si ab iis qui res gestas	12*	1. 2. 6. Si esset ab iis qui ante nos
2. ante nos		1. res gestas
3. scripserunt	11*	3. memoriae mandarunt
4. laudem Historiae		4. Historiae ipsius
5. praetermissam	*	5. praetermissa
6. esse contigisset,	@	4. laudatio,
7. fortasse necessarium	12*	7. necessarium iam fortasse
8. videretur,	℥	8. foret
9. ut universos	℥	9. omnes
10. ad suscipiendam	□	13. hortari, ut hoc
11. capessendamque		12. commentariorum genus @
12. historiam	@	11. potissimum eligant
13. hortaremur;	□	10. suscipiantque;
14. cum nulla		14. cum nulla sit
15. hominibus	℥	15. mortalibus
16. facilior		17. ad proficiendum
17. ad vitae institutionem		18. via
18. via sit,		16. expeditior
19. quam rerum ante nos gestarum		19. rerum ante actarum
20. cognitio.		20. scientia.
1. Verum		1. Verum
2. cum		2. quoniam
3. non aliqui		3. non alioqui
4. neque aliquatenus		4. neque aliquatenus
5. sed omnes,		6. sed, prope dixerim,
6. ut ita dicam,		5. omnes
7. hoc principio		7. hoc principio
8. hocque fine		8. et fine
9. utantur,	□	9. usi sunt,
		15. quum dicerent
10. ut veram disciplinam	@	10. verissimam quidem institutionem esse
11. exercitationemque		11. ad praeparationem
12. ad res civiles		12. ad capessendam Rempublicam
13. historiae		

[Perotti.]

14. cognitionem
15. dicant
16. eamque solam
17. ob exempla
18. alienorum incommodorum
19. effectricem et
20. magistram,
21. ut quis possit
22. fortunae
23. varietatem
24. aequo animo ferre. etc.

(3) Stiernhielm's translation

Variatio seu imitatio authoris.

1. Si a scriptoribus,
2. qui ante nos
1. rerum gestarum
monumentum
3. literis consignarunt,
4. Historiae
4. commendatio
5. neglecta
6. fuisset,
7. non abs re fortasse
8. fore videretur,
9. si omnibus
12. ad hoc scriptionis genus
10. amplexandum
11. fovendumque
13. calcar adderemus;
14. cum compertum sit nullam
15. genere humano
17. ad prudentiam
18. viam esse
16. compendiosiore
19. ea, quam monstrat rerum
ante gestarum
20. memoria.

[Casauboni.]

14. doctrinam illam,
- @ 13. quae ex historia paratur;
16. 20. magistram vero unicam
19. eamque praesentissimam,
21. ut possit aliquis
22. fortunae
23. mutationes
24. sufferre
- @ 18. aliorum casuum
- @ 17. commemoratione.

1. Verum
- [2.] cum
- [3.] nec pauci
- [4.] nec perfunctorie
- [6.] sed pene dixerim
- [5.] omnes serio
- [7.] ex hoc principio
- [8.] ad illum finem
- [9.] colliment,
- [15.] ut doceant
- [10.] veram et infallibilem
- [11.] ad Rempubicam obeundam
- [12.] normam
- [14.] et directricem (Helian)
- [13.] esse scientiam illam,
- [16. 20.] quam parit non
- [19.] tralatitia Historiarum lectio
- [21.] eamque unicam magistram
- [22.] praesentissimis
documentis
- [23.] eos informare ac efficere,
- [24.] ut discamus
- [18.] fortunae
- [17.] casus volubiles
intrepida sustinere mente.

(4) Critical remarks

Stiernhielm copied the texts of Perotti and Casaubon accurately, but there are minor deviations. In reproducing the former, he omitted the verbal complement *esse* before *dicant* in the second series (no. 15).

In copying Casaubon's translation, he twice transposed the word order of a sentence, once chose another spelling and once omitted a single word. Accordingly, in the first series of numbering (no. 7), he writes *iam fortasse*, where Casaubon in the 1609 and 1619 editions has *fortasse iam*. In the second series (no. 9), he transposes *sunt usi*, in the 1609 and 1619 editions, into *usi sunt*. In the first series (no. 14), he spells a conjunction as *cum* instead of Casaubon's *quum* in the 1609 and 1619 editions. In the second series (no. 24) Casaubon's translation of 1609 reads *generose ferre*. In the 1610 and 1619 editions we encounter *generose sufferre*. Stiernhielm omits *generose*.

11.3.6 Intralingual paraphrases of Livy and Sallust: samples

Stiernhielm also demonstrated syntactic variability by intralingual paraphrases of Classical Latin texts. He chose orations in Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 1, 16, 6–7 (Proculus Julius' speech to the Roman senate), 1, 41, 3 ff. (Queen Tanaquil's speech to her son-in-law), 4, 28, 4–5 (the Volscian soldier Vettius Messius' speech to his troops), 1, 12, 4–7 (Romulus' speech as commander-in-chief before the army between the Palatine hill and the Capitoline), 1, 24, 10–12 (Publius Horatius' speech before the people's assembly for his son accused of high treason), 5, 27, 12–14 (the speech of the Faliscan legates in the Roman senate), and 7, 24, 4–7 (the consul Popilius' speech before the Roman army in the defeat of the Gauls) and Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, § 85, 1–50 (Marius' speech before the people's assembly). These texts are found in F.d. 6b, 3a, quire 7 (8 leaves with the size 205 x 325 mm). In the left-hand column, Stiernhielm quotes the Latin text, which he divides in numbered syntactic units. In the right-hand column, he provides his Latin paraphrase.

To give a sample, Stiernhielm divides the opening of Proculus Julius' speech into three units and varies it in the right-hand column:

1. Romulus, Quirites,	2. Inclytae urbis nostrae fundator/ genitor/ conditor
2. parens huius urbis	1. Romulus, patres conscripti,
3. prima hodierna luce	3. sub diluculum/ diluculo.

The first clause of Popilius' speech ("Why are you standing there, my men?" *Ab urbe condita* 7, 24, 4) is divided into two units (the left-hand column) and varied as follows in the right-hand column:

1. Quid stas,	2. Hem socii,
2. miles?	1. quid cunctamini?

11.4 Lexical variability of epistemological stages

11.4.1 General inventory of linguistic expressions

Source: F.d. 6b: 1, first quire (fol. 1r–2v). Size 164 x 210 mm. Stiernhielm demonstrates how his epistemological categories with their dichotomous concepts can be varied lexically. The dichotomous concepts are marked by the symbol)(. In the heading he refers to *Apparatus eloquentiae* (1630) by the German Jesuit Wolfgang Schönsleder (1570–1651), whose work is a comprehensive alphabetic dictionary of ancient Latin phrases (with an extent of more than 1300 pages). As Bernt Olsson observed,⁹³⁵ Stiernhielm does not rely much on Schönsleder, but makes an original contribution with his inventory of synonymous lexical expressions of his epistemic categories.

In rota indumentorum 12 classium phrases in *Apparatu eloquentiae* Schönsleder sub titulis sequentibus inveniuntur:

Υ ESSENTIA: sub esse, dici, exercere, oriri, fieri, prodire, vita, vigere, homo, humana, omnia, omnes, mundus, vulgus, aliquando, semper, saepe, plerumque, ubique, nunquam, nusquam, communiter, quidam, pauci, multa, copia, multum, multo, omnino.

)(NIHIL: nemo, nullus, non.

⋈ SENSUS: sensus, sententia, sentire animo, cognoscere, intelligere, sapere, sapiens, sentire corpore, audire, videre, olfacere, gustare, tangere, praevidere, animus, animadvertere.

Π ADMIRATIO: mira, mirari, stupefactus.

)(STUPOR: eodem⁹³⁶ coecus, stultitia, stultus, amens, insanus, simplex, non sapere.

⊕ DUBITATIO: dubitare, dubium, ambages, ambiguum, perplexus.

)(FIDES: fides, fidere, constantia, fretus, fide dignus, credere, certum, evidens.

⊔ OPINIO: opinio, putare, cogitare; studio)(temere, improvisum; discernere, constituere animo; velle)(nolle; persuadere sibi.

⌘ POSSIBILE: possibile, potest, fieri,

FACILIS)(difficilis;

necesse)(evenire, superfluum, forte, casu.

)(IMPOSSIBILE: eodem incredibile, infinitus, innumerabilis.

⚭ CONVENIENS: eodem convenire, decet, honor, honestas, honeste, honestus, pulcher, rationi conveniens, naturalis, secundum naturam, aequum, ius, recte, rectum, bene, dignum)(indignum; simul particeps.

⁹³⁵ Olsson, *Den svenska skaldekonstens fader*, Lund 1974, p. 203.

⁹³⁶ eodem] This means *eodem modo*, that is “in the same way” and has here and below been used to introduce a set of synonyms.

-)(INCONVENIENS. horrere, abominari, absurdum, sine ratione.
-)(DEDECUS. eodem contumelia, pravus, infamia, inconveniens, malum, indecorum, inhonestum, turpe, sine honore, iniquum, iniuste.
- ℳ CONSENSUS: consentire, assentire, sentire idem, concordia, unanimis, testari.
-)(DISCORDIA. DISSENTIRE. eodem disputare, certare, pugnare, contra, adversari.
- ✂ VERITAS: eodem verus, verisimile, sincere.
-)(FALSUM: falsus, decipere, mendacium, mendax.
- ℥ EVIDENTIA: certum, certe, evidens, manifestum, celebris, egregius.
-)(OBSCURUM: idem: obscurus, obscure, latere, occultus, clam, tegere, occultare.
- ≡ SCIENTIA: scire, sciri, scire facere, discere, experiri, dicere, doceri, doctus.
-)(IGNORANTIA: nescire, nesciri, rudis, imperitus, inscius, errare.
- ✕ ASSERTIO: affirmare, suadere, persuadere, <persuade>ri,⁹³⁷ ita, affirmandi formulae, confirmare, probare, laudare, laudari, laudabilis, laus etc. dicere, loqui, dici, fama, defendere, fateri,⁹³⁸ tueri.
-)(NEGARE: eodem resistere, adversari, reprehendere, non, rejicere, tacere, taceri, contemnere, cedere.

11.4.2 Synonymics and phraseology of ancient Latin

Source: F.d. 6b: 3a, first quire, fols. 1r–6v, and second quire, 1r. Size: 214 x 330 mm. As indicated, Stiernhielm contrary to his own statement did not use Schönsleder's *Apparatus eloquentiae* (1630) as a source for his collection of Latin phrases. Schönsleder's anthology certainly has the sub-title: "in which the riches of the Latin language are gathered from ancient and approved writers, arranged into commonplaces and put forward to embellish, vary and amplify the speech."⁹³⁹ At least, I have not discovered any obvious dependence on it. Rather, Stiernhielm used other synonymous and phraseological dictionaries, such as the German philologist and lawyer Hermann Ulner's *Copiosa suppellex elegantissimarum Germanicae et Latinae linguae phrasium*,⁹⁴⁰ first published posthumously in 1567 (with a

⁹³⁷ persuaderi] Only the ending -ri has been written out in the ms.

⁹³⁸ fateri] This word has been added above *defendere*.

⁹³⁹ The full title reads: *Apparatus eloquentiae, in quo Latinae linguae opes ex antiquis probisque scriptoribus depromptae et in locos communes digestae ad orationem ornandam, variandam et amplificandam repraesentantur auctore Wolfgano Schönsleder e Societate Iesu, Augustae Vindellicorum 1630.*

⁹⁴⁰ that is: "Rich furniture of elegant phrases in the German and Latin language".

dedicatory letter from 1555) and then reprinted at least 18 times until 1615.⁹⁴¹

Stiernhielm's examples to a great extent coincide with those being found in Ulner's dictionary. As a Renaissance philologist, Ulner used Plautus, Terence, Cicero and Symmachus as his primary frame of reference and as sources for Latin colloquialisms. As a lawyer, he also quoted phrases in Roman jurists, such as Ulpian and Modestinus. The agreement between Ulner's and Stiernhielm's collections in the selection of preclassical, classical and late Latin authors can only be explained by the latter's use of *Copiosa suppellex*.

As far as Cicero's words and phrases are concerned, dictionaries of this kind depended on Mario Nizoli's *Lexicon Ciceronianum* in the first edition entitled *Observationes in M. T. Ciceronem* (1535). I have not explored whether Stiernhielm relied on Johann Philipp Pareus' (1576–1648) massive phraseological dictionary *Calligraphia Romana*. However, he apparently consulted Erasmus of Rotterdam's collection of Latin and Greek proverbial statements *Adagia* (first published in 1500). He possessed an early edition from Basel 1513.⁹⁴² In all probability, he also used Erasmus' summary of his Adages (*Epitome Adagiorum*).

By his thematic systematization and synthesis of examples from earlier handbooks, Stiernhielm nonetheless in some regard turns out to be innovative. It is uncertain to what extent he relied on his own reading of Ancient Latin literature. The genre of synonymous and phraseological dictionaries of Latin was however a plagiaristic one, like all lexicography else. The French classical scholar Jean-Baptiste Gardin-Dumesnil is a famous later writer in this genre.⁹⁴³

In editing Stiernhielm's collection of Latin synonyms and phrases, I have identified specific textual passages in ancient Latin authors, thus leaving common phrases aside.

(1r, col. 1) ESSENTIA. Coepit esse. Est. Existit. Extat.

⁹⁴¹ *Copiosa suppellex* belongs to the most successful dictionaries of the 16th century, see further Müller, *Deutsche Lexikographie des 16. Jahrhunderts: Konzeptionen und Funktionen frühneuzeitlicher Wörterbücher*, Tübingen 2001, pp. 196–203.

⁹⁴² According to Otto Walde, "Georg Stiernhielm's bibliotek", *Donum Grapeanum* (1945), p. 132, Stiernhielm's copy of Erasmus' *Adagia* survives in the Library of the Hvitfeldtska Gymnasium in Gothenburg (Göteborg).

⁹⁴³ Jean-Baptiste Gardin-Dumesnil (1720–1802), *Synonymes latins et leurs différentes significations avec des exemples tirés des meilleurs auteurs* (Paris 1777). It was translated into German as *Versuch einer allgemeinen lateinischen Synonymik* (three vols., Leipzig 1799) by Johann Ernesti.

Existere, exurgere, erumpere, fluere, effluere ex aliqua re.
Defluere: hoc totum e sophistarum fontibus defluit in forum.⁹⁴⁴
Cicero.

Emanare, oriri, exoriri, e, ex, a. Idem.
Originem accipere, trahere. Paulus <Diaconus>.⁹⁴⁵
Originem sumere. Ulpianus. Initium accipere. Cicero.
Hinc, ab isto initio, tractus, ductus est sermo. Cicero.
Sensim perniciēs illapsa in civium animos. Idem.
Ex quo haec omnia nata et profecta sunt, Idem.
Coepit esse. Ulpianus.

Iuri operam daturum prius noscere oportet unde nomen iuris
descendat.⁹⁴⁶ Ulpianus.
Iure gentium servitus invasit. Idem.
Cum utilitas pignorum irrepserit. Idem
Ex hoc iure gentium introducta bella.⁹⁴⁷ Herm[ogenianus].⁹⁴⁸
Multa Ciceronis scripta non extant.
Discordiae gliscunt.
Comparatum esse: natura, more maiorum.

Comparatum est.

Huc pertinet vivere cum synonymis et vigere, florere, crescere,
moveri, vigere, vegere.
Item circumlocutiones, ut:

Quicquid sol aspicit, oceanus habet,
et totus complectitur mundus, orbis.⁹⁴⁹ etc.

Quicquid mali per hos annos Cluentius
vidit, id omne ex matre est conflatum.⁹⁵⁰ Cicero.

⁹⁴⁴ Hoc ... in forum] Cicero, *Orator* 27, 96.

⁹⁴⁵ Paulus Diaconus] The author referred to is the Langobardian historian Paulus Diaconus in the 8th-century. He adridged the dictionary on specific Latin phrases that Marcus Verrius Flaccus had compiled, *De significatu verborum*. In so doing, he used the epitome edited and commented by Sextus Pompeius Festus. His work is therefore titled *Epitome Festi de Verborum Significatu*.

⁹⁴⁶ Iuri operam daturum ... descendat] Ulpian, *Digestae* 1, 1, 1 preface.

⁹⁴⁷ Hoc totum e sophistarum fontibus ... Ex hoc iure gentium introducta bella] All these examples are found in Ulner's *Copiosa suppellex* in approximately the same order of sequence (see the 1571 edition, s.v. Anfang gewinnen, pp. 21–23).

⁹⁴⁸ Hermogenianus] The author referred to is Aurelius Hermogenianus, a Roman lawyer in the late 3rd century and early 4th century AD. He made a summary of classical legal writings in his *Iuris epitomae*.

⁹⁴⁹ Mundus, orbis] *Mundus* has been written on the line and has not been crossed out; *orbis* has been added above the line.

⁹⁵⁰ Quicquid ... conflatum] Cicero, *Pro Aulo Cluentio* 61, 169: “quicquid mali per hosce annos A. Cluentius viderit, quicquid hoc tempore habeat sollicitudinis ac negotii, id omne a matre esse conflatum.”

*Horum contraria sunt*⁹⁵¹

Avolare, cadere, corruere, decidere, disperire,
Defervescere, deflorescere, extinguere, evanescere, exarescere,
extabescere. Cicero.

Dilabi. Sallustius. Ad nihilum venire, recidere. Cicero.

Ad irritum recidere. Papinianus.

Perire. [Paul.] Interire. [Ulp.] Intercidere. etc.

Adjectiva: Fragilis, caducus, infirmus, mortalis, fugax, fluxus,
mobilis etc.

(1r, col. 2)

In ESSE tempora considerantur praeteritum, praesens, futurum.
Omnes qui sunt, fuerunt et futuri sunt. Nati natorum et qui nascentur
ab illis. (olim).

Cicero: Quod persaepe et nostra et patrum memoria usu venit.⁹⁵²

Idem: Nihil post hominum memoria gloriosius accidere vidi.⁹⁵³

Idem: Ex omni memoria aetatum.⁹⁵⁴ (umquam).

Idem: Omnium gentium, seculorum omnium, omnis memoriae facile
princeps

Idem: Cratippus huius memoriae philosophorum facile princeps.

Idem: Omni – in omni memoria⁹⁵⁵ – id est tempore.

Idem: Multi etiam superiore memoria.⁹⁵⁶ Tacitus: vetere memoria.

Livius: Usque ad hanc memoriam.⁹⁵⁷

⁹⁵¹ Horum contraria sunt] All the words and phrases under this heading are found in Ulner's *Copiosa suppellex*, as regards those from *Defervescere* to *intercidere*, see s.v. Vergehen, pp. 402–403 in the 1571 edition. All the adjectives (from *fragilis* to *mobilis*) occur in *Copiosa suppellex*, s.v. Vergänglich, pp. 4–3 in the 1571 edition.

⁹⁵² Quod ... usu venit] Cicero, *Pro M. Fonteio* 23: "An vero vos id in testimoniis hominum barbarorum dubitabitis quod persaepe et nostra et patrum memoria sapientissimi iudices de clarissimis nostrae civitatis viris dubitandum non putaverunt?"

⁹⁵³ Nihil ... vidi] Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* book 10, 16: "Nihil post hominum memoriam gloriosius, nihil gratius, ne tempore quidem ipso opportunius accidere vidi quam tuas, Plance, litteras."

⁹⁵⁴ ex ... aetatum] Cicero, *De oratore* 1, 4, 16: "Quibus de causis quis non iure miretur ex omni memoria aetatum, temporum, civitatum tam exiguum oratorum numerum inveniri?"

⁹⁵⁵ in omni memoria] Cicero, *De legibus* 3, 10, 24: "'At duo Gracchi fuerunt.' Et praeter eos quamvis enumeres multos licet, cum deni creentur, nullos in omni memoria reperies perniciosos tribunos."

⁹⁵⁶ Multi ... memoria] Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 28: "Multi etiam superiore memoria cives Romani sua voluntate, indemnati et incolumes, his rebus relictis alias se in civitates contulerunt."

Cicero: Ut mea memoria est.⁹⁵⁸ *Så långt iag kan tänckia tillbaka.*
Hac aetate, tempestate, hoc tempore, seculo, aevo.

(1v, col. 1) SENSUS

Sentire. Plautus. Persentiscere. Terentius.

Cognoscere, colligere, intelligere, percipere, comprehendere,
comperire, deprehendere, animadvertere, notare. Cicero.

Videre

Cernere, oculis aspicere aliquem, conspicere, inspicere, introspicere,
perspicere, circumspicere, oculis tueri, contueri caelum et ad caelum,
intueri aliquem, obtueri, spectare, aspectare, inspectare, contemplari,
oculos alicui rei et ad aliquam rem adjicere, conjicere in aliquem,
dejicere.⁹⁵⁹

Oculos inferre in curiam.⁹⁶⁰ Cicero. Oculos emittere. Plautus.

Ante oculos mihi versatur, vel obversatur; ante oculos esse; in
oculos ferri, id est amari.

Ante oculos statuere, ponere, proponere; in oculis constituere,
subjicere sub aspectum.

Aspectu sentire, percipere, reflectere.

Aspectum aliquo referre.

Obtutum aliquo figere,⁹⁶¹ vel in aliqua re.

Sensum videndi et oculorum habere.

Oculis venaturam facere.⁹⁶² Plautus. oculis uti.⁹⁶³ Idem.

Oculos pascere. Symmachus.

(1v, col. 2) Tropice. Lynx. Lynceus. Lynce[o] perspicatior. Lynce[o]
oculatio. Lynceis oculis contemplari.⁹⁶⁴ Horatius.
Haurire oculis.⁹⁶⁵ Virgilius. Sic et auribus.

⁹⁵⁷ usque ad hanc memoriam] Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 2, 41, 3: “tum primum lex agraria promulgata est, numquam deinde usque ad hanc memoriam sine maximis motibus rerum agitata.”

⁹⁵⁸ ut mea memoria est] Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 13, 31, 4.

⁹⁵⁹ Cernere ...] Most of these examples of variety except for the two last ones are found in Ullner, *Copiosa suppellex*, 1571, s.v. Sehen, p. 373.

⁹⁶⁰ Oculos inferre in curiam] Cicero, *Pro M. Fonteio*, 43: “Age vero, nunc inferte oculos in curiam, introspicite penitus in omnis rei publicae partis.”

⁹⁶¹ Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2, 42, 107: “obtutum in cauda maioris figere dicas.”

⁹⁶² Oculis venaturam facere] Plautus, *Miles gloriosus* 990: “viden tu illam oculis venaturam facere atque aucupium auribus?”

⁹⁶³ oculis uti] Plautus, *Miles gloriosus* 336: “Neque te quicquam sapere corde neque oculis uti?”

⁹⁶⁴ Lynceis oculis contemplari] Horace, *Sermones* 1, 2, 90–91: ... “ne corporis optima Lyncei contemplare oculis.”

Obire oculis. Plinius. *se kring sig*
 (convisere omnia loca oculis.⁹⁶⁶ Lucretius).
 Oculis contrectare.⁹⁶⁷ Tacitus. Lactantius. Metaphor. De sensu ad
 sensum. Catachresis.
 Deponere oculos in aliquam.⁹⁶⁸ Horatius.
 Ferre oculos passim per cuncta.⁹⁶⁹ Virgilius.
 (Ferre aliquem in oculis. Cicero. In oculis gestare, esse. Cicero.
 Terentius. *ser en gärna. hafua en altid för ögonen. älska en.*)
 In oculis habere aliquid.⁹⁷⁰ *gifua acht på.* Plautus.
 In oculis incurrit res aliqua. Cicero.
 Quorum in vultu habitant oculi mei.⁹⁷¹ Cicero.
 Oculis lustrare, pererrare cuncta.

(1v, col. 1) *Non videre*

Erudito homine oculis capto.⁹⁷² Cicero.
 Possunt aliquando oculi non fungi suo munere. Idem.
 Oculis privare. Idem. Glaucomam ob oculos objicere.⁹⁷³ Plautus.
 Oculis aliquid subtrahere. Symmachus.
 Obtutum effugere. Aspici non posse. Cicero.
 Caecutire. Talpa caecio rem esse.

Audire

Auscultare, aures adhibere, alicui dare. Cicero.
 Aures alicui praeberere, votis applicare. Symmachus.
 Aures ad rem patent, vocibus personant. Cicero.
 Sonitum usurpant.⁹⁷⁴ Plautus.

⁹⁶⁵ Haurire oculis] Virgil, *Aeneis* 4, 661: “hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto / Dardanus.”

⁹⁶⁶ convisere ... oculis] Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 2, 357: “omnia convisens oculis loca.”

⁹⁶⁷ Oculis contrectare] Tacitus, *Annales* 3, 12: “Nam quo pertinuit nudare corpus et contrectandum vulgi oculis permittere.”

⁹⁶⁸ Deponere oculos in aliquam] Horace, *Carm.* 1, 36, 17–18: “Omnes in Damalin putres / deponent oculo [...]”

⁹⁶⁹ Ferre oculos passim per cuncta] Virgil, *Aeneis* 2, 569–570: [...] dant claram incendia lucem / erranti passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti.

⁹⁷⁰ In oculis habere aliquid] that is: “to keep something in sight, to watch, observe something”; Plautus, *Pseudolus* 855–857 [...] iam edico tibi, / ut nostra properes amoliri omnia / tum ut huius oculos in oculis habeas tuis.

⁹⁷¹ Quorum ... oculi mei] Cicero, *Orationes Philippicae* 12, 2: Hic etiam fautores Antoni, quorum in vultu habitant oculi mei, tristiores videbam.

⁹⁷² Cicero, *De finibus* 19, 54: “Equidem e Cn. Aufidio, praetorio, erudito homine, oculis capto, saepe audiebam” [...].

⁹⁷³ Glaucomam ... objicere] Plautus, *Miles gloriosus* 146–148: “ei nos facetis fabricis et doctis dolis / glaucumam ob oculos obiciemus eumque ita / faciemus ut quod viderit ne viderit.”

Hoc ad aures perveniunt. Cicero. Ad aures permanarunt. Corn[elius Nepos]. Verbum ad aures accidit.⁹⁷⁵ <In> Vat[inium].
Auribus percipere. Cicero. <Auribus> prehendere. Symmachus.
Aurium obsequia tibi commodabo.⁹⁷⁶ Idem.

(2r) *Tangere*

Rem acu tetigisti.⁹⁷⁷ Terentius. Manibus palpare.
Qui, quae complecti tota nequeunt, haec facilius divulsa
contrectant.⁹⁷⁸ Cicero. Hoc me vix tangit. Idem.
Filo Arachneo subtilius.⁹⁷⁹

Gustare

Gustare ego eius volo sermonem.⁹⁸⁰ Plautus.
Gustatu percipere, de gustu cognoscere. Cicero.
Labris primoribus gustare.⁹⁸¹ Cicero. Habere pietatis gustum.
Rei publicae partem gustare.⁹⁸² Cui cor sapit, ei non sapit palatus.
Saporem percipere. Sed ipsi hoc neque attingere nec sensu nostro
gustare possemus.⁹⁸³ Cicero.
Stipes Aethiops, sine sensu, sine sapore, elinguis, tardus.⁹⁸⁴ <Cicero>

⁹⁷⁴ Sonitum usurpant] Plautus, *Casina* 631: "Perii: unde meae usurpant aures sonitum."

⁹⁷⁵ Verbum ... accedit] Cicero, *Oratio in Vatinius* 2, 3

⁹⁷⁶ Aurium ... commodabo] Symmachus, *Epistulae* 1, 64 "ego tibi ut linguae obsequia nego, ita aurium commodabo."

⁹⁷⁷ Rem acu tetigisti] Plautus, *Rudens* 1305–1306: GRIPUS PISCATOR: "Tum tu / mendicus es? LABRAX LENO: Tetigisti acu. "Are you then a beggar? You have touched the matter with a needle (i.e. you have hit the nail on the head).

⁹⁷⁸ Qui ... contractant] Cicero, *De oratore* 3, 6, 24: "Sed quoniam oppressi iam sumus opinionibus non modo vulgi, verum etiam hominum leviter eruditorum, qui, quae complecti tota nequeunt, haec facilius divulsa et quasi discerpta contrectant."

⁹⁷⁹ Filo ... subtilius] This phrase has been added in the margin

⁹⁸⁰ Gustare ... sermonem] Plautus, *Mostellaria* 1063: Erus meus hic quidem est. Gustare ego eius sermonem volo.

⁹⁸¹ Labris primoribus gustare] Cicero, *De natura deorum* 20: "Hunc censes primis, ut dicitur, labris gustasse physiologiam, id est naturae rationem, qui quicquam, quod ortum sit, putet aeternum esse posse?" Idem, *De oratore* 1, 19, 88: "haec autem esse penitus in media philosophia retrusa atque abdita, quae isti rhetores ne primoribus quidem labris attigissent."

⁹⁸² Rei publicae partem gustare] Cicero, *Ad familiares* 12, 23, 3: "Habes formam rei publicae, si in castris potest esse res publica; in quo tuam vicem saepe doleo, quod nullam partem per aetatem sanae et salvae rei publicae gustare potuisti."

⁹⁸³ Cicero, *Pro Archia* 17: "Quod si ipsi haec neque attingere neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus, etiam cum in aliis videremus. Quis nostrum tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut Rosci morte nuper non commoveretur?"

⁹⁸⁴ stipes ... tardus] Cicero, *Post reditum in senatu* 14: Cum hoc homine an cum stipite Aethiope constitisses, nihil crederes interesse; sine sensu, sine sapore, elinguem, tardum [...] diceres.

Odorari

Ut subolet mihi.⁹⁸⁵ Plautus.

Odoror, quam sagacissime possum, quid sentiant iudices.⁹⁸⁶ Cicero.

Annon sex totis mensibus prius olfecissem, quam ille quicquam coeperit.⁹⁸⁷ Terentius.

Qui non odore ullo, non tactu, non sapore capiatur.⁹⁸⁸ Cicero.

Nunquid aliquo sensu perceptum sit, aspectu, auditu, tactu, odore, gustatu. Idem.⁹⁸⁹

Huc pertinet: indagare, investigare et similia.

(2v, col. 1) ADMIRATIO

Mirum, portentum, miraculum, prodigii simile, re et dictu inopinatum et mirabile. Admirabile ac singulari. Cicero. Incredibile.

Hoccine credibile?⁹⁹⁰ Terentius.

Admiratio est in hoc. Cicero. Admiratione dignus. Mirandus. Idem.

Mirari, vehementer admirari, demirari, stupecere, obtupescere, admiratione obstupefieri, Cicero.

Satis non posse decernere.⁹⁹¹ Terentius.

Hoc mirandum illi accidit. Fit admiratio populi. Admirationis quid afferre, habere. Maximis admirationibus aliquid agere.⁹⁹² <Cicero>

Admiratione commovere, afficere. Admirabilitatem facere, praebere, inferre. Admirationem alicuius excitare.

Ad, vel in, admirationem aliquem traducere. Admirans est ille te. De hoc non admiror. In hoc te admiror. In hoc nihil miror.

⁹⁸⁵ Ut subolet mihi] Plautus, *Trinummus* 615: "Propemodum quid illic festinet sentio et subolet mihi."

⁹⁸⁶ Odoror ... iudices] Cicero, *De oratore* 2, 44, 185: "omni mente in ea cogitatione curaque versor, ut odoror, quam sagacissime possim, quid sentiant, quid existiment, quid exspectent, quid velint, quo deduci oratione facillime posse videantur."

⁹⁸⁷ Annon ... coeperit] Terence, *Adelphoe*, act 3, scene 4: Sinerem illum? an non sex totis mensibus prius olfecissem, quam ille quicquam coeperit?

⁹⁸⁸ Qui non odore ullo ... capiatur] Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 42: "Quam ob rem si quem forte inveneritis, qui aspernetur oculis pulchritudinem rerum, non odore ullo, non tactu, non sapore capiatur, excludat auribus omnem suavitatem, huic homini ego fortasse et pauci deos propitios, plerique autem iratos putabunt."

⁹⁸⁹ Nunquid ... gustatu. Idem] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (II, 5, 59), a work that previously was attributed to Cicero.

⁹⁹⁰ Hoccine credibile] Terence, *Andria* 625: "Hoccinest credibile aut memorabile?"

⁹⁹¹ Satis ... decernere] Terence, *Adelphoe*, act 4, scene 2, lines 5–6 Quid hoc malum infelicitatis! Nequeo satis me decernere, nisi me credo huic esse natum rei ferundis miseriis.

⁹⁹² Maximis ... agere] Cicero, *De finibus omnium bonorum et malorum* 5, 22, 63: "quotiens hoc agitur, ecquandone nisi admirationibus maximis?"

De hoc, hoc miror quid sit; in hoc admirandum est. Mirum vel mirandum in modum. adv.

Suspiciendus et admirandus homini Deus. Cicero.

Contemptus

Ostentum hoc mirabile nil habet.⁹⁹³ Cicero. Assis ne facere.

Rumores senum severiorum omnes unius aestimemus assis.⁹⁹⁴ Catullus.

Gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit.⁹⁹⁵ Livius.

Salutis causa rei familiaris commoda negligenda.

Omnes despiciere homines; prae se neminem putare. Despicatui ducere. Pro nihilo putare, ducere, habere; flocci, nauci habere.⁹⁹⁶

Parvi ducere. Ducere infra se; minimi facere, putare; ponere in minimis. Cicero.

Nihili, nauci facere; nihili, non magni pendere; pro stercore, despiciatum, despiciatui habere. Plaut.

Parvi pendere, facere. Sallustius. Non flocci pendere.

(2v, col. 2) Inane et leve aestimare. Huc pertinet: supersedere, sicco pede praeterire. etc.

(3r, col. 1) DUBITATIO⁹⁹⁷

Dubium, incertum, obscurum, suspensum, ambiguum, ambigue positum esse. Cicero. **(3r, col. 2)** Tropice: vacillare, fluctuare.

(3r, col. 1) Adeo varia belli fortuna ancepsque Mars fuit.⁹⁹⁸ Livius. **(3r, col. 2)** pendere.

(3r, col. 1) Dubitationem adducere, afferre, habere. **(3r, col. 2)** in suspensio. **(3r, col. 1)** Scrupulum et dubitationem alicui injicere. **(3r, col. 2)** haerere. Animum alicuius dubium facere. Animos suspensos tenere. Cicero.

(3r, col. 1) Tenere aliquem suspensum. Symmachus. **(3r, col. 2)** haesitare.

(3r, col. 1) Dubitanter dicere, facere. **(3r, col. 2)** alea.

(3r, col. 1) Animum meum incertat. Plautus. Dubitare aliquid, vel de aliqua re. Dubitant, haesitant, revocant se. Cicero.

⁹⁹³ Ostentum ... habet] Cicero, *De divinatione* II, 31 Atque haec ostentorum genera mirabile nihil habent.

⁹⁹⁴ Rumores ... assis] Catullus, *Carmina* 5, verses 2–3.

⁹⁹⁵ Gloriam ... habebit] Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 22, 39, 19.

⁹⁹⁶ Omnes despiciere ... nauci habere] These phrases are catalogued with examples in Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex*, s.v. Verachten (395–396 in the 1571 edition).

⁹⁹⁷ Dubitatio] Several words and phrases are found in Ulner's *Copiosa suppellex* s.v. *Zweifeln* and *Zweifelhaftig*, pp. 259–261 in the 1571 edition.

⁹⁹⁸ Adeo ... fuit] Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 21, 1, 2 on the Second Punic War: “et adeo varia fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit ut propius periculum fuerint qui vicerunt.”

Addubitare. De aliqua re ambigere, haerere, pendere animi, esse suspenso animo. Teneri implicatus; ancipiti cogitatione distrahi. Idem. incerto scire. Plautus.

Subsistere: Quantum ad filium familias, utrum est, in servo subsistimus.⁹⁹⁹ Ulpianus.

Sibi diffidere; opinionis esse ambiguus; incertus animi, sententiae incertus addubito. Res crepera et anceps dubium me habet. Sym. Non cito dixerim. Cicero. varius incertusque agitari.¹⁰⁰⁰ Sallustius.

incertis futurorum casibus obligari.

discruciarī¹⁰⁰¹ incerto. multum anxius.

Res deducta in dubium. Habere haesitationem. Paulus <Diaconus>.

Habere quaestionem, in quaestione versari, in contentione, in casu positum esse. Cicero. in discrimine esse. Livius.

in dubio esse. Sallustius. in ambiguo esse. Plautus. in ambiguo collocare.¹⁰⁰² Symmachus. In dubium venire, trahi, vocari, revocari. Cicero. in dubium deduci. Symmachus. in incerto habere. Caesar. Sallustius. non certum, ambiguum habere. Cicero. non satis constare. Caesar.

certo certius est. Ulpianus.

Ambiguum non habere; dubitationem tollere. Hoc ambiguum solvit. Non ambigi potest. Exploratum habere; exploratum esse alicui. Cicero. Opinionis dubium respuit. Symmachus. Non dubium est. Non venit in dubium. Livius.

(3v) OPINIO. cogitare. credere, sperare, expectare.

Nos, ut opinio et spes et coniectura nostra fert, tuti sumus. Ut opinio nostra est. opinio inveteravit. Cic. Falsam de illis habent opinionem. Antea eram in illa opinione populari. Cic. Opinio me falsum habet. Sym.

Opinari, cogitare, statuere, autumare, arbitrari, iudicare, divinare, existimare, secum ducere, suspicari, conjicere. Eo esse consilio. Opinionem mente comprehendere. Sic habere persuasum.

Reor: Rentur eos esse, quales se ipsi velint.¹⁰⁰³

⁹⁹⁹ Quantum ... subsistimus] Ulpian, *Digestae* 3.3.33, but the interrogative pronoun *utrum* is a mistake for *verum*, so that the sense is: "As far as the son of the family is concerned, this is true, but in the case of a slave we are in doubt (or we hesitate)."

¹⁰⁰⁰ varius incertusque agitari] The manuscript has *agitari*, but the active voice *agitare* would be expected. Sallustius, *Jugurtha* 74: varius incertusque agitabat.

¹⁰⁰¹ discruciarī] In the manuscript the spelling has been changed from *discrutiari*.

¹⁰⁰² in ambiguo collocare] Symmachus, *Epistulae* book 1, letter 86.

¹⁰⁰³ rentur quales ... ipsi velint] Cicero, *Topica* 78. This phrase occurs in Ulnier, *Copiosa suppellex*, s.v. Meinen, p. 310 (in the 1571 edition).

Habere: Atque hoc quidem omnes mortales sic habent prosperitatem vitae a Diis se habere.

Animum inducas, si sit aliqua Respublica, in ea te esse oportere iudicio omnium.

Coniectare. Credo plane, nec fides cassa esse. Animo persuadere. Opinionis falsus putare.¹⁰⁰⁴ Si bene aestimo; ut mens augurat; ut opinione metior. Reliquo eum fiduciae suae. Opinione mea dico. Mea sententia. Sym. Meo animo. Cic. Nisi me fallo. Idem.

Ego amplius deliberandum censeo.¹⁰⁰⁵

Si mei arbitrii res fuat. Terentius.

Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt.¹⁰⁰⁶ Caesar.

In opinionem discedere, venire, incidere. Abire ad opinionem vulgi. Me spes frustratur. Spe opinione, coniectura falli, decipi, fraudari. Idem.

Tropice

Trutina, statera examinare. Non artificis statera, sed quadam populari trutina examinantur.¹⁰⁰⁷ Cic.

Non, si quid turbida Roma

elevat, accedas: examenve improbum in illa

castigas trutina: nec te quaesiveris extra.¹⁰⁰⁸ Persius.

Pensari eadem trutina.¹⁰⁰⁹ Horatius.

Suspendere in trutina. Iuvenalis.

Trutinare verba. Persius. Trutinor. deponens. Idem.

Idem Persius:

Scis etenim iustum gemina suspendere lance

ancipitis librae, rectum discernis, ubi inter

¹⁰⁰⁴ Opinionis falsus putare] “to think as mistaken in one’s opinion”. Symmachus, *Epistulae* 8, 21, 1: “Indulgere te otio opinionis falsus putabam, tu vero animum lectione, labore corpus exerces.”

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ego amplius deliberandum censeo] Terence, *Phormio* 457. This phrase is also found in Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex*, s.v. Meinen, p. 310.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ad eas res ... satis esse duxerunt] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 1, 3, 1,

¹⁰⁰⁷ Non artificis statera, sed ... examinatur] Cicero, *De oratore* II, 38, 159, where Cicero defends his popular oratorical style in contrast to logical discourse: “haec enim nostra oratio multitudinis est auribus accommodanda, ad oblectandos animos, ad impellendos, ad ea probanda, quae non aurificis statera, sed populari quadam trutina examinantur.”

¹⁰⁰⁸ Non si ... extra] Persius, *Satira* 1, 5–7.

¹⁰⁰⁹ eadem pensari trutina] “to be weighed on the same scale”. This is listed as a proverb in Erasmus’ *Adagia* no. 415 (I.V.15). The phrase occurs in Horace, *Epist.* 2, 1, 29–30: “Si, quia Graiorum sunt antiquissima quaeque/ scripta uel optima, Romani pensantur eadem/ scriptores trutina, non est quod multa loquamur”, that is: “If, because each of the oldest works of the Greek is still the best, we weigh our Roman writers on the same scale, there is no reason to speak much.”

curva subit, vel cum fallit pede regula varo,
et potis es nigrum vitio praefigere theta.¹⁰¹⁰

Non opinari

Cum hoc illi improvisum inopinatumque accidisset. Ex vel de improvise. Praeter opinionem, optatum, spem, cogitationem Cic. Contra spem, contra ac ratus quis est. Salust. Repente, subito, nec opinanti accidit. Cic. Improvise; contra opinionem. Caesar. Ex nec opinato. Liv. Opinionem alicui detrahere, tollere. Hanc excutere opinionem mihi radicitus volui.¹⁰¹¹ Cic.

(4r, col. 1) POSSIBILE

Facile esse

Facultas, potestas, optio datur. Facultas est, optio et potestas mea est, mihi liberum est, in potestate mea situm est, integra liberaque sunt omnia, soluta.

Nulla est recusatio; facultas fert. Ipsa negotii natura nobis dabit facultatem.¹⁰¹² Integra est nobis iudicandi potestas.¹⁰¹³ Cicero.

Res est in manu, potestas evenit. Plautus.

Difficile

Pro virili parte, pro tenui parte, pro facultate, quoad possum, quantum possum, quantum in me erit. Cicero.¹⁰¹⁴ Quod ad me attinet.¹⁰¹⁵ Livius. Quoad possibile est. Modest[inus].¹⁰¹⁶ Quoad eius fieri

¹⁰¹⁰ Scis ... theta] Persius, *Satira* 4, 10–13.

¹⁰¹¹ Hanc ... volui] Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1, 46: “Hanc excutere opinionem mihimet volui radicitus eoque fui fortasse longior.”

¹⁰¹² Ipsa negotii natura nobis dabit facultatem] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4, 41, 1 on the use of conjectural reasoning in lawsuits which cannot be used freely “unless the nature of the matter gives us the means”: “Sed non erit, tamquam in plerisque, ut, cum velimus, ea possimus uti: nam fere non poterimus, nisi nobis ipsa negotii natura dabit facultatem.”

¹⁰¹³ Integra est nobis iudicandi potestas] “We have the full power to form our own opinion.” Cicero, *Lucullus* 8: “hoc autem liberiores et solutiores sumus, quod integra nobis est iudicandi potestas nec ut omnia quae praescripta et quibus et quasi imperata sint defendamus necessitate ulla cogimur.” This statement conforms to Ramist didactics (on which, see Vol. 2, Section 12.3, viz. the explanatory notes on Stiernhielm’s introductory declaration of scientific independence).

¹⁰¹⁴ Pro virili parte ... quantum in me erit] All these phrases are listed by Ulner with further more exact quotations from Cicero in his collection of ancient Latin phrases *Copiosa suppellex*, the 1571 edition, s.v. “Nach meinem vermögen”, p. 319–320.

¹⁰¹⁵ Quod ad me attinet] Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 2, 31, 10: “Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultra cives meos neque ipse frustra dictator ero.”

¹⁰¹⁶ Quoad possibile ... Modestinus] The expression is from the Roman 3rd-century lawyer Herennius Modestinus, who is quoted as an authoritative jurist (300 times) in Justinian’s *Pandectae*, where the phrase in question is found in book 27, 1:

poterit. Cicero. Si ullo modo est, ut possit, quod spero fore. Ter[entius]. Facultatem consequi. Sub suam potestatem subijcere. Valere. Pollere viribus. Potestatem, facultatem, vim habere. Potestate valere. Cicero.

Impossibile

(4r, col. 2) Haec pertinet ad inconueniens
et haec ad dissensum.

(4r, col. 1) Est hoc auribus animisque hominum absurdum.¹⁰¹⁷
Cicero.

Istud ne Pitho quidem ipsa persuaserit. Adagium.¹⁰¹⁸

Non persuadebis, ne si persuaseris quidem. Adagium.¹⁰¹⁹

Catilina, si iudicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor.¹⁰²⁰ Cicero.

Tu aquam in pumice nunc postulas.¹⁰²¹ Plautus.

Simul flare sorbereque haud facile factu est.¹⁰²² Idem.

Garriet, cui neque pes unquam neque caput comparet.¹⁰²³ Idem.

Nudo vestimenta detrahare.¹⁰²⁴ In aëre piscari, in mari venari.¹⁰²⁵
Idem.

“Faciam autem, quoad possibile erit, de his doctrinam manifestam.” This is quoted by Ulner in his *Copiosa suppellex* (the 1571 edition), pp. 320.

¹⁰¹⁷ Cicero, *Pro Quinto Roscio* 1: “Fraudavit Roscius! Est hoc quidem auribus animisque omnium absurdum.”

¹⁰¹⁸ Erasmus, *Adagia* 1, 5, 74, no. 474, under the heading *Momo satisfacere et similia*, “to satisfy the critic and similar expressions”: *de re nequiquam probabile: Istud ne Pitho quidem ipsa persuaserit*, “about that which is not at all probable: ‘not even the goddess of Persuasion will persuade this’”. Momus is blame and slander personified (Hesiod, *Theogonia* 214). Pitho is persuasion personified (in Latin *Suada*). On Momus as typus, see Helander, *Neo-Latin literature in Sweden*, p. 310 f.

¹⁰¹⁹ Erasmus, *Adagia*, 2, 7, 56, no. 1656 Non persuadebis, ne si persuaseris quidem.

¹⁰²⁰ Catilina ... competitor] Cicero, *Epistulae ad Brutum* 1, 1, 1,

¹⁰²¹ Tu aquam ... postulas] Plautus, *Persa* 40 f. “quod tu me rogas; nam tu aquam a pumice nunc postulas, / qui ipsus sitiāt.” This phrase is explained by Erasmus in his *Adagia* no. 375 (I, IV.75). The pumice-stone was proverbially dry. Hence, the meaning is “you demand a thing that is impossible”.

¹⁰²² Simul . factu est] Plautus, *Mostellaria* 791: “simul flare sorbereque haud factu facilest” that is: “to blow and to swallow at the same time is not an easy thing.”

¹⁰²³ Garriet ... comparet] Plautus, *Captivi* 614: “garriet quoi neque pes umquam neque caput compareat.” He will be chatting stuff to you, of which neither the feet nor the head is ever visible.”

¹⁰²⁴ Nudo vestimenta detrahare] Plautus, *Asinaria* 92: “nudo detrahare vestimenta me iubes.” That is: “You ask me to strip the garment off a naked man.”

¹⁰²⁵ In aëre piscari, in mari venari] Plautus, *Asinaria* 99–100: “Iubeas una opera me piscari in aere, / venari autem rete iaculo in medio mari.” “In the same manner, you may command me to fish in the air and to hunt with a javelin as a net in the midst of the sea.” Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* 374 (I.IV.74).

Furari litoris arenas.¹⁰²⁶ Ovid. Sidera coelo addere.¹⁰²⁷ Idem.
Virgultea scaphula Aegaeum transmittere. Lucianus.¹⁰²⁸
Solem adiuuare facibus. Gratianus.¹⁰²⁹

(4v) CONVENIENS

Decorum, dignum, honestum, utile est. Quid deceat et quid aptum sit personis. Convenit iis rebus, quas gessi. Conducit, expedit, prodest, proficit, necesse est, oportet, non abhorret, ius postulat, patitur. Cicero.

Illud permagni referre arbitror. Magni interest mea, una nos esse. Terentius. Congruit gravi et bono praesidi. Ulpianus.

Quae res ad officium imperii tui pertinet. Cic. Oratoris proprium officium est atque munus. Idem. Mei officii est meminisse.¹⁰³⁰ Idem. Haec fuerunt partes meae praecipuae. Idem. Hoc nihil ad te, nostrum onus est. Idem. Putavi maxime convenire officio meo.¹⁰³¹ Adolescentis est maiores natu vereri.¹⁰³² Cicero.¹⁰³³

Inconueniens, absurdum

Nihil ad rem est.¹⁰³⁴ Terentius.

Herculis cothurnos aptare infanti.¹⁰³⁵ Quintilianus.

¹⁰²⁶ Furari litoris arenas] Ovid, *Amores* 2, 19, 49: "ille potest vacuo furari litore harenas." "He can only steal sand from the empty beach."

¹⁰²⁷ Sidera coelo addere] Ovid, *Amores* 2, 10, 13–14: "Quid folia arboribus, quid pleno sidera coelo, in freta collectas alta quid addis aquas?" "Why do you add leaves to the trees, why do you add stars to the full sky, why do you add collected water to the sea?" Erasmus, *Adagia* 3144 (IV.2.44): Sidera addere coelo.

¹⁰²⁸ virgultea ... transmittere. Lucianus] This phrase, which derives from Lucian, *Hermotimus or concerning the sects*, occurs in Erasmus' *Adagia*, no. 1056 (II.1.56).

¹⁰²⁹ Solem adiuuare facibus. Gratianus] Erasmus, *Adagia* 3725 (IV.8.25).

¹⁰³⁰ Mei officii ... meminisse] Cicero, *Ad familiares* 8, 10 (at the end).

¹⁰³¹ Putavi ... officio meo] Cicero, *Ad familiares* 15, 2: "maxime convenire officio meo reique publicae conducere putavi parare ea, quae ad exercitum quaeque ad rem militarem pertinerent." "I have thought that it best agrees with my duty and that it is useful to the Republic to arrange those matters that pertain to the army and the military power."

¹⁰³² Adolescentis ... vereri] Cicero, *De officiis* 1, 120: "Est igitur adulescentis maiores natu vereri exque iis deligere optimos et probatissimos, quorum consilio atque auctoritate nitatur." "It is thus the duty of a young man to revere his elders and to choose the best and most approved of them, on whose counsel and authority he relies."

¹⁰³³ All the phrases of this paragraph occur in Ulner's *Copiosa suppellex*, s.v. Gebüren in the 1598 edition, pp. 213–214.

¹⁰³⁴ Nihil ad rem est] The phrase means "Nothing is to the matter; it has nothing to do with the point; it is irrelevant." It is recorded in Cicero, *Orator* 218 "Nihil ad rem est, protrema quam longa sit." In Ulner's *Copiosa suppellex*, s.v. belangen, this passage is wrongly attributed to Terence (see the 1589 edition, p. 87).

Sus Minervam.¹⁰³⁶ Cicero.
 In toga saltantis personam inducere.¹⁰³⁷ Martialis.
 Iungere vulpes.¹⁰³⁸ Vergilius.
 Currus bovem trahit.¹⁰³⁹ Lucianus.
 Lucernam adhibes in meridie. Lucianus.¹⁰⁴⁰

Huc: importune insistere, indecenter, inconcinne, impolite, invita
 Minerva, praepostere aliquid dicere vel perficere.

Etiam: impudens, morosus, sordidus, et similia.

(5r, left-hand col.) CONSENSUS

Uno ore, una mente et voce consentire. Idem sentire, una sentire.
 Omnes ad unum idem sentire. Sentire cum aliquo. Assentire et
 assentiri alicui. Inter sese, et de aliqua re congruere. Conspirare cum
 aliquo. Mihi cum illo convenit.¹⁰⁴¹ Ire in alicuis sententiam. Ad
 conditionem alicuius accedere, descendere, conditionem accipere,
 suffragari alicui. Cicero.

Discedere in alicuius sententiam. Sallustius.

Decurrere in sententiam. Iulianus.

Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent. Livius.

Et ideo itum est in hoc. Ulpianus.

Et ego Celso acquiesco. Idem.

Pro sententia Iuliani facit. Idem.

¹⁰³⁵ Herculis ... infat] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VI, 36: "Nam in parvis quidem litibus has tragoedias movere tale est quasi si personam Herculis et coturnos aptare infantibus velis." Erasmus has the phrase in question in his collection of proverbs (Adagium 2567 / III, VI, 67).

¹⁰³⁶ sus Minervam] This is a common phrase with the verb *docet* implied, so that it means "(Will) the swine/ the pig (teach) Minerva?" Cicero, *Academica posteriora* 1.5, 18 "Nam etsi sus Minervam, ut aiunt, tamen inepte, quisquis Minervam docet." For more references, see Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Hildesheim 1962 (reprint of the 1890 edition), s.v. Minerva, p. 224.

¹⁰³⁷ In toga ... inducere] Martial, *Epigrammata*, book 2, preface (§ 3): "Noli ergo, si tibi uidetur, rem facere ridiculam et in toga saltantis inducere personam."

¹⁰³⁸ iungere vulpes] See Virgil, *Eclogae* 3, 91: "atque idem iungat vulpes et mulgeat hircos." This is listed as a proverb in Erasmus' *Adagia*. The phrase *iungere vulpes* means to yoke foxes for agricultural labour, i.e. to do something absurd.

¹⁰³⁹ Currus bovem trahit] "The cart draws the ox." In *Dialogues of the Dead*, Lucian says ἡ ἄμαξα τὸν βοῦν ἐλαύνει. Erasmus quotes this in his *Adages* (Adagium 628).

¹⁰⁴⁰ Lucernam adhibes in meridie] This phrase is included by Erasmus in his *Adages* (Adagium 1407). In the summary (*Epitome Adagiorum*) it occurs under the heading of absurd matters (*absurda*), just as some of the above phrases, e.g. *Sus Minervam*. Erasmus attributes the phrase to Diogenes Laertius.

¹⁰⁴¹ mihi cum illo convenit] The manuscript has *convenit mihi cum illo*, but a new order of these words have been indicated by numbers above the line (1–4).

Cum Caesare Lentulus consul facit. Cicero.¹⁰⁴²
 Stare a mendacio contra veritatem.¹⁰⁴³ Idem.
 Cum illo haud stares, Phaedria.¹⁰⁴⁴ Terentius.
 Voluntati eius subscribendum erit. Marc.¹⁰⁴⁵
 Communi animo consilioque administrant rempublicam. Livius.
 Communi sententia aliquid statuere. Cicero.
 Approbat sententiam Cottae. Idem.
 Probare, et dare consensum. Modest[inus].¹⁰⁴⁶
 Comprobare. Scaev[ola]. Pro rato habere. Idem.
 Ratum habere. Paulus.¹⁰⁴⁷
 Concedo in leges tuas;¹⁰⁴⁸
 quotiens sententia nostra concordat.¹⁰⁴⁹
 Sententiae manum porrigere. Sententiae accedere. Concordem
 sententiam super aliqua re tenere. Herbam dare alic[uius]
 voluntati.¹⁰⁵⁰ A quorum definitione non decet deviare.

¹⁰⁴² Cum Caesare Lentulus consul facit] Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 6,8 (where Cicero reports news about Caesar to whom the pronoun *ille* implicitly refers): “cum illo praetores designatos, Cassium tribunum, Lentulum consulem facere”, that is, “the elected praetors Cassius the tribune and Lentulus the consul side with him.” This passage was quoted as *Cum Caesare Lentulus consul facit* by Marius Nizolius in his phraseological alphabetical index on Cicero’s authorship: *Observationes in M. T. Ciceronem* (Venetiis, Venice 1538), fol. 223v, s.v. facio. It was repeated by the subsequent compilers of phraseological Latin dictionaries, such as Antonius Schorus (van Schore) and Hermann Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex*, 1571, p. 78. The phrases on the concept of consensus quoted above (from *Uno ore* until *Iuliani facit*) are also found in Ulner’s *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), pp. 76–78, s.v. Beifallen, though not in the same order of sequence.

¹⁰⁴³ Stare a mendacio contra veritatem] Cicero, *De inventione* 1, 4 “Quibus in controversiis cum saepe a mendacio contra verum stare homines consuescerent.”

¹⁰⁴⁴ Cum illo ... Phaedria] Terence, *Phormio* 269 “Nam ni haec ita essent, cum illo haud stares, Phaedria.”

¹⁰⁴⁵ Voluntati eius subscribendum erit. Mart.] This phrase occurs in *Digesta* 26 of the Roman mid-second-century lawyer Ulpianus Marcellus. It is quoted in Justinian’s *Digesta* 1.7.18 “Non aliter enim voluntati eius [...] subscribendum erit.” Ulner has this phrase in his *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), p. 78, with the author attribution as Marcel. In subsequent editions it was only abbreviated Mar.

¹⁰⁴⁶ dare consensum] Ulner’s *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), p. 103, s.v. Bewilligen. Ulner attributes it to the Roman lawyer Herennius Modestinus who in the early 3rd century AD composed different legal works: *Responsa*, *Differentiae* and *Regulae*. On Modestinus, see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. 2003, p. 689.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Comprobare. ... Ratum habere] Ulner’s *Copiosa suppellex* (1571). p. 103, s.v. Bewilligen. The phrases occur in the same order of sequence.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Symmachus, *Epistolae* 3, 44.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Symmachus, *Epistolae* 5, 42.

¹⁰⁵⁰ herbam dare alicuius voluntati] “to comply with someone’s wishes”. The phrase *herbam dare* means “to acknowledge one’s defeat”. It refers to the practice in rural competitions to give the adversary a herb from the field as a sign of one’s defeat. See Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 161 s.v. herba.

Cui proverbio ne videar esse confinis. Symmachus.¹⁰⁵¹
 Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.¹⁰⁵²
 Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum.¹⁰⁵³ Horatius.
 Pollicem premere.¹⁰⁵⁴ Plinius. Calculum addere album.¹⁰⁵⁵

(5r, right-hand col.) *Dissensus*

Altercatio, certamen, certatio, concertatio, dimicatio, controversia, disceptatio, luctatio, lis, iurgium, rixa, bellum, pugna. Cicero. Litigium. Ulpianus.¹⁰⁵⁶

Disceptare, digladiari, certare, concertare, decertare, conflictari, conflagere, litigare, contendere, rixari, luctari, pugnare.¹⁰⁵⁷ Cicero.

Iurgare, altercare, Terentius. Commutare verba. Idem. Lites sequi. Idem. Habere altercationem, controversiam. Facere altercationem, contentionem. Descendere, venire certamen. In aciem dimicationemque veniamus. Contendere iurgio.¹⁰⁵⁸ Cicero.

(5r, col. 1) VERITAS

Ingredi viam. Res uti facta dicere.¹⁰⁵⁹ Plautus.
 Rem loquitur meram.¹⁰⁶⁰ Ne dicam dolo.¹⁰⁶¹ Terentius.
 Non Apollinis magis verum, quam hoc responsum est.¹⁰⁶² Idem.
 Animum referre ad veritatem.¹⁰⁶³ Cicero.

¹⁰⁵¹ Cui proverbio confinis] Symmachus, *Epistulae* 10,1. This phrase also occurs in Erasmus' *Adages* (Adagium 696).

¹⁰⁵² Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci] "The one who joins the useful with the agreeable, carries off every vote (i.e. approval)." Horace, *Ars poetica*, 343.

¹⁰⁵³ Fautor ... ludum] Horace, *Epistulae* I, 18, 66.

¹⁰⁵⁴ pollicem premere] "To press the thumb against the palm of one's hand" as a sign of approval or praise. See Pliny the Elder, *Nat. hist.* 28, 25.

¹⁰⁵⁵ calculum addere album] "to give a white voting stone", i.e. to pass the verdict of not guilty, to acquit. The phrase originates from the Attic judicial practice to give a white stone for acquittal and a black stone for guilty verdict. Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Altercatio ... Ulpianus] These periphrases of the notion of dissension are listed with quotations from Cicero and Ulpian by Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), s.v. Hader, pp. 235–237.

¹⁰⁵⁷ disceptare ... pugnare] These synonyms are found in Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), s.v. Haddern, pp. 237–239.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Iurgare, altercare ... Contendere iurgio] See Ulner, *ibidem*, pp. 237–239.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Res uti facta dicere] Plautus, *Amphitruo* 459–460: "ibo ad portum atque haec uti sunt facta ero dicam meo."

¹⁰⁶⁰ Rem loquitur meram] Plautus, *Persa* 93.

¹⁰⁶¹ Ne dicam dolo] Terence, *Adelphoe* act 3, scene 3 "Est hercle inepta, ne dicam dolo, absurda."

¹⁰⁶² Non Apollinis ... responsum est] Terence, *Andria* 698 "non Apollinis mage verum atque hoc responsumst."

¹⁰⁶³ Animum refer ad veritatem] Cicero, *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino* 48 : "Age nunc, refer animum, sis, ad veritatem et considera" [...].

Veritatem retinere. Idem. Veritatem asserere. Symmachus. Verum attingere. Vera nunciare. Veritate aliquid aperire. Vere tecum agam. Cicero. Ex vero loqui. Veritati adesse vel amicum esse. Symmachus.

Convenit dictum cum fide morum.¹⁰⁶⁴ Idem. Veritas valebit. Iudicio veritatis coactus. Non possum non confiteri.¹⁰⁶⁵ Nunquam diffitebor. Ipsa mihi veritas manum iniecit.¹⁰⁶⁶ Cicero.

Quae proxime ad verum accedunt. Cicero. Ipsa veritas dictat et comprobatur.

Mendacium, falsitas, error

Mentiri. Ementiri. Veritatem debilitare, perfringere, deprimere, demergere, abstrudere, contaminare. Cicero.

Mendaciis onerare, confundere vera cum falsis. Nihil veritati linquere. Abesse a vero. A veritate desciscere. Veri cognitionem conturbare. Idem. Veri dignitatem corrumpere; fidem veri occultare; infra terminos veritatis stare. Symmachus. Homo totus ex fraude et mendacio compositus. Cicero.¹⁰⁶⁷

Ferre alicui fraudem.¹⁰⁶⁸ Circumvenire, fraudare, facere alicui fraudem, facere fucum. Catoni imposuit Milo.¹⁰⁶⁹ Hic nos decepit, fefellit, induxit.¹⁰⁷⁰ Cicero. Facere fallaciam.¹⁰⁷¹ Dare verba. Deludere dolis.¹⁰⁷² Terentius. Falsum habere. Ludificare. Sallustius. Frustrari.¹⁰⁷³ Livius.¹⁰⁷⁴

¹⁰⁶⁴ Convenit ... morum] Symmachus, *Epistolae* 1, 28: "Convenit dictum cum fide morum tuorum."

¹⁰⁶⁵ Non possum non confiteri] Cicero, *Ad familiares* 9, 14, 1.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ipsa ... manum iniecit] Cicero, *Pro Quinto Roscio* 48: Mentitus est Cluvius? Ipsa mihi veritas manum iniecit et paulisper consistere et commorari coegit. Vnde hoc totum ductum et conflatum mendacium est?

¹⁰⁶⁷ Homo totus ... mendacio compositus] Cicero, *Pro Cluentio* 26, 72: Hic ille planus improbissimus ... qui esset totus ex fraude et mendacio factus.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ferre alicui fraudem] *Fallere, decipere* has been crossed out on the line.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Catoni imposuit Milo] "Milo imposed upon/ deceived Cato." Cicero, *Epistolae ad Quintum* II, 4, 5: "Ita legibus perniciosissimis obsistitur, maxime Catonis, cui tamen egregie imposuit Milo noster."

¹⁰⁷⁰ Hic nos ... induxit] Cicero, *In Pisonem* 1, Hic in fraudem homines impulit, hic eos quibus erat ignotus decepit, fefellit, induxit.

¹⁰⁷¹ Facere fallaciam] Terence, *Andria* 212: "me infensu' servat nequam faciam in nuptiis fallaciam."

¹⁰⁷² Deludere dolis] Terence, *Andria* 582–583: "ego dudum non nil veritu' sum, Dave, abs te ne faceres idem quod volgu' servorum solet, dolis ut me deluderet."

¹⁰⁷³ frustrari] For instance, Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 2, 15, 5 "nec Tarquinius spe auxilii, quod nullum in me est, frustrabo."

¹⁰⁷⁴ Ferre alicui ... Livius] Most of the words and phrases in this paragraph are found in Hermann Ullner's *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), s.v. betriegen, pp. 95–96.

Eludere, oblinire os,¹⁰⁷⁵ sublinire os offuciis. Facere technam. Circumducere. Hunc in transennam doctis ducam dolis.¹⁰⁷⁶ Plautus. Dolum alicui facere. Ulpianus.¹⁰⁷⁷

(5v, col. 2) EVIDENTIA¹⁰⁷⁸

Evidentes et perspicuae res. Cicero.

Quod omnibus patet et aequè promptum est mihi atque aliis. Idem.¹⁰⁷⁹

Cum illa pateant, in promptu sint omnibus. Idem.¹⁰⁸⁰

Artem cognitis penitusque perspectis rebus contineri.¹⁰⁸¹

Manifestum et in medio positum et apertum. Idem.

Omnia sunt ante oculos posita. Idem.¹⁰⁸²

Quod conspicuum est et inter omnes constat.

Esse patefactum, exploratum, notum, pervulgatum, luce clarius.

Idem. Liquet, in ore omnium est. Idem.

Apparet, id quidem, inquit Philippus, etiam caeco. Livius.¹⁰⁸³

Illustre, in oculis situm esse, in aperto esse. Sallustius.

In confesso esse. Ulpianus. elucet, palam est, in apico, in propatulo est.

In lucem emergere. Arc. enitescere. Sallustius.

Eminere, ex latebris erumpere. Cicero.

Palam permanere. Plautus.

¹⁰⁷⁵ oblinire os] Plautus, *Captivi* 781–783: Quanto in pectore hanc rem meo magis voluto,/ tanto mi aegritudo auctior est in animo./ ad illum modum sublitum os esse mi hodie!

¹⁰⁷⁶ Hunc ... dolis] Plautus, *Persa* IV, 3, 11, where the entire line reads: “Hunc ego hominem hodie in transennam doctis ducam dolis.”

¹⁰⁷⁷ Eludere, oblinire ... Ulpianus] Most of the examples in this paragraph are found in Ulner’s *Copiosa suppellex*, 1571, s.v. betriegen, pp. 96–97.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Evidentia] Many phrases under this epistemic category are drawn from Ulner’s *Copiosa suppellex*, Frankfurt (am Main) 1571, s.v. Offenbar and Offenbar werden, see pp. 328–333.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Cicero, *Pro Lucio Murena* 28: Quod enim omnibus patet et aequè promptum est mihi et adversario meo, id esse gratum nullo pacto potest. This sentence is found in Robert Estienne’s *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, s.v. promptus. -a, -um. Nizolius’s dictionary on Cicero’s style, s.v. promptus, and Herman Ulner’s *Copiosa supellex phrasium Latinae linguae*, Utrecht 1626, p. 197, s.v. klaer, klaer zijn (manifestum).

¹⁰⁸⁰ Cicero, *De oratore* 1, 6, 23: sed cum illa pateant in promptuque sint omnibus, neque ea interpretatione mea aut ornatius explicari aut planius exprimi possint.

¹⁰⁸¹ Cicero, *De oratore* 1, 20, 89 (referring to an Attic orator called Menedemus): Artem vero negabat esse ullam, nisi quae cognitis penitusque perspectis et in unum exitum spectantibus et numquam fallentibus rebus contineretur.

¹⁰⁸² Cicero, *De oratore* 1, 43, 192: Omnia sunt enim posita ante oculos, conlocata in usu cotidiano, in congressione hominum atque in foro.

¹⁰⁸³ Livy, *Ab urbe condita* XXXII, 34, 3.

Huc <pertinet> declarare, aperire, patefacere, dilucidare, illustrare, exponere, explanare, enucleare, enodare, explicare, interpretari, discutere ea quae obscurant.

Huc <pertinent> translationes a sole, die, luce, facibus, ut:
luce meridiana, solo adulto clarius etc.¹⁰⁸⁴

*Obscuritas*¹⁰⁸⁵

Latent ista omnia crassis occultata et circumfusa tenebris. Sal.¹⁰⁸⁶

Obscurare. Afferre obscuritatem et tenebras. Obscuritate involvere. Obducere tenebras rebus clarissimis. Obcaecare, offundere, offundere noctem, caliginem. Cicero. Offundere tenebras. Sal.¹⁰⁸⁷ Luminibus officere, offendere prospectum. Nocere lumini. Lumen impedire. Ulpianus. Lumen recludere. Mart.¹⁰⁸⁸

(6r) SCIENTIA: scire, cognoscere, experire

Prudentia, industria, solertia, ratio, intelligentia, sagacitas, acies mentis, acies, acumen ingenii, ingenium acre, acerrimum. Cicero.¹⁰⁸⁹

Prudens, summa prudentia, summo ingenio, magna exercitatione, alta mente, studiis et optimis artibus praeditus. Sapientissimus.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Huc translationes ... clarius etc.] In the manuscript these lines have been added below the heading of *Obscuritas*, but they belong to the category of *Evidentia*.

¹⁰⁸⁵ obscuritas] All phrases and quotations under this category are encountered in Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), s.v. Tunckel machen, pp. 391–392.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Latent ista omnia ... tenebris. Sal.] This phrase occurs in Cicero's philosophical treatise *Lucullus*, § 122: "Latent ista omnia Luculle crassis occultata et circumfusa tenebris, ut nulla acies humani ingenii tanta sit, quae penetrare in caelum, terram intrare possit." The attribution to Sallustius is accordingly a mistake.

¹⁰⁸⁷ offundere tenebras] This phrase occurs in a work wrongly attributed to Cicero *In Crispium Sallustium oratio* or *Invectiva in Sallustium*, see § 2, 3.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Lumen recludere. This is a phrase deduced from Ulpianus Marcellus, *Digesta* as quoted in Justinian's *Digesta* 8.2.1: "sed ita officere luminibus et obscurare legatas aedes conceditur, ut non penitus lumen recludatur, sed tantum relinquatur, quantum sufficit habitantibus in usus diurni moderatione." The final clause in extra bold typeface is quoted by Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex*, s.v. Tunckel machen, p. 392 but attributed to Martial (i.e. the Latin poet Marcus Valerius Martialis). The phrase luminibus officere in the main clause is also quoted by Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex*, s.v. Tunckel machen, p. 392 but attributed to Ulpian.

¹⁰⁸⁹ prudentia ... ingenium acre] These synonyms of the concept of knowledge occur in Ulner's *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), s.v. Verstand, pp. 414–415.

Acerrimus in rebus inveniendis et iudicandis.¹⁰⁹⁰ Vir catus et providus. Consideratus, consultus.¹⁰⁹¹

Doctrina ornatissimus. Vir praeclara eruditione atque doctrina. Eruditus et doctrina excultus. Homo multa doctrina et artibus politus, politissimus. Callidus, peritus. Vir summi consilii et magni animi.¹⁰⁹²

Artium studiis eruditus. Studiis affluens, in studiis versatus, artium disciplina instructus. Non illiteratus. Literarum non experts.¹⁰⁹³ In veteribus scriptis studiose et multum volutatus. Exercitatus et agitatus in optimis curis. Homo plurimo rerum usu. Cato multarum rerum usum habens. Non tam doctus, quam quod magis expertus. Caeterarum artium homines spectati et probati. Viri literati ac studiis doctrinaeque dediti.¹⁰⁹⁴

Quo quisque ingeniosior et solertior. Adolescens illustri ingenio et industria. Cicero. Ingenio validus; valde acutus et multum providens. Sapiens et multum prospiciens in posterum. Scientissimus. Sallustius. Perspicax. Terentius.¹⁰⁹⁵

Scio. Habeo. Teneo. Cognitum habeo, non ignoro, non sum nescius. Scientiam meam non fugit. Scientia comprehendo; me non praeterit. Perspectum et certum est mihi. Cicero.

Inscientiae, ignorantiae

Rabula indoctus, inurbanus, rusticus. Cicero.¹⁰⁹⁶ Genus hominum rude, hebes¹⁰⁹⁷ et impolitum. Idem.¹⁰⁹⁸

Servi agrestes et barbari. Homo asper. Oratione durus, incultus, horridus. Idem.¹⁰⁹⁹

¹⁰⁹⁰ Acerrimus in rebus inveniendis et iudicandis] Cicero, *Orator* 172: “Sed quis omnium doctior, quis acutior, quis in rebus vel inveniendis vel iudicandis acrior Aristotele fuit?” This passage is by Ulner or some of his precursors paraphrased as *Aristoteles acerrimus in rebus inveniendis et iudicandis* (*Copiosa suppellex*, p. 416 in the 1571 edition).

¹⁰⁹¹ Prudens ... consultus] Ulner includes these synonymous words and phrases of the concept of sensible in *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), s.v. *Verständig*, pp. 415–418.

¹⁰⁹² Doctrina ornatissimus. Vir summi consilii et magni animi] These examples are with some change also found in Ulner’s *Copiosa suppellex*, pp. 417–418.

¹⁰⁹³ Artium studiis eruditus. ... Literarum non experts] These phrases are listed in the same order of sequence by Ulner in *Copiosa suppellex*, s.v. *Verständig*, p. 418.

¹⁰⁹⁴ In veteribus scriptis ... doctrinaeque dediti] These passages are quotations from Cicero, all of which are found in Ulner’s *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), pp. 418 f.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Quo quisque ... Sallustius] These examples except for *ingenio validus* instead of *ingenio praeditus* are found in Ulner’s *Copiosa suppellex*, s.v. *Verständig*, pp. 415–417. Under the heading *sciens*, the quotation with the superlative *scientissimus* is attributed to Cicero instead of Sallustius.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Rabula indoctus ... Cicero] Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), s.v. *Grob*, p. 234

¹⁰⁹⁷ rude, hebes] In the manuscript, the order of these words have been changed to the present one by numbers (1–2) above the line.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Genus ... impolitum] Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), s.v. *Grob*, p. 234.

Omnis eruditionis expers et ignarus. Imperitus rerum. Expers politioris humanitatis. Homo sine ingenio, sine literis. Ineruditus. Inexercitatus. Indocilis. Tardus. Inscius. Plumbeus. Idem.¹¹⁰⁰

Quae sunt dicta in stultum: caudax, stipes, asinus. Terentius. Quid stas lapis? Idem.¹¹⁰¹

Huc: imprudens, amens, demens, stolidus, delirus etc.

(6v, col. 1) ASSERTIO

Affirmare. Omni asservatione affirmare.

Aliquid asservare firmissime. Adiurare.

Asserere. Pro certo dicere. Fateri.

Pro certo polliceor hoc vobis atque confirmo.

Affirmate promittere.

Aio: Quid ille aiat aut neget

Annuere: Quaesivi agnosceretne signum? Annuit.¹¹⁰² Cicero.

Comprobare, approbare et plura huc referenda invenies supra et sub titulo Consensus.

(6v, col. 2) Huc pertinet: polliceri, promittere, praedicere, praesagire.

Negatio

Negare, denegare, inficiari, recusare. Cicero.

Abnegare, pernegare. Ulpianus.

Abnuere, ire inficias. Terentius.

Detractare, tergiversari, nolle etc.

Vide Dissensus.

(7r) Calumnia. Mendacium

Vide emblema Saavedrae XII, p. 77: EXCOECAT CANDOR.¹¹⁰³ Quod proprie pertinet ad principem. Ego tale lemma effingo: ORIENS

¹⁰⁹⁹ Servi agrestes ... Idem] Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), s.v. Grob, p. 234.

¹¹⁰⁰ Omnis eruditionis ... Plumbeus. Idem] Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), s.v. Grob, p. 234–235.

¹¹⁰¹ Quae sunt ... Terentius ... Idem] Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), p. 235.

¹¹⁰² quaesivi ... Annuit] Cicero, *In Catilinam* 3, 10: “tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo et quaesivi cognosceretne signum. Adnuit” [...].

¹¹⁰³ emblema ... Excoecat candor] Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1584–1648), *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano: representada en cien empresas*, Munich 1640, reprinted many times (1642, 1650, 1669, 1675 and so on). Emblem XII means: “the radiance of truth – that is, candour, sincerity, veracity – blinds – that is, dispels, clears up, and convicts – falsehood, deceit, fraud, and wickedness”. Saavedra argues that sincerity ought to be a virtue of princes: “Dignissima principe victoria fraudes et technas ingenuitate, veritate mendacium triumphare.” Stiernhielm likely used the first edition of the Latin translation titled *Idea principis Christiano-politici centum symbolis expressa*, Brussels 1649, since the page reference agrees with it.

FUGABIT EAS.¹¹⁰⁴ Aut: LATIBULA QUAERENT. Aut: NON
SUSTINEBUNT.¹¹⁰⁵ vel: QUO SOLFUGA CEDIS?

Quaedam ad meum ingenium pro memoria excerpta vel aliter applicata. Quanto ingenia sunt grandiora, tanto mendaciis magis sunt exposita.¹¹⁰⁶ Sic et Taciti illud: Cuncta magnis imperiis (ego dico ingeniis) obiectari solita.

Eruditionis sublimioris radii obtrectationum nebulas facile ad se attrahunt.¹¹⁰⁷ Item: In magnis ingeniis omnia in sinistram trahuntur partem et calumniis sunt obnoxia.¹¹⁰⁸ Quod res aperta nequit officere, saepe calumnia molitur aut cuniculis occultis aut cuneis insertis. Qua in re forti animo opus habet, qui se cupit emergere, regia ad celebritatem (gloriam, eruditionis culmen), ad sapientiae fastigium (fertur, graditur) grassatur via, ne cursum suum immutet aut importunis calumniantium vocibus ab eodem retardari se sinat.¹¹⁰⁹ Pl[ura] v[ide] p. 80.

Mendacia, ut calore solis nebulae, veritatis vi et fulgore dissipantur.

Emblema XXXV. Tuba. Lemma: INTERCLUSA RESPIRAT,¹¹¹⁰ virtus scilicet, ex Cic[erone]: Multorum improbitate depressa virtus emergit et innocentiae defensio interclusa respirat.¹¹¹¹

Aliud memini emblema: Ranarum in palude nocturnarum coaxantium ordinarie, sed face aut lucerna accensa conticentium. Cum lemmate meo: CONTICESCUNT.

Aliud: Stella nocte micans. NOX NON OFFICIET vel ADVERSIS ILLUSTRIOR vel: NOCTE CORUSCAT, vel: CORUSCAT IN ATRIS vel: CALIGINE FULGET.

¹¹⁰⁴ eas] The pronoun implicitly refers to *tenebrae* or *nebulae*.

¹¹⁰⁵ Latibula quaerent ... non sustinebunt] In these clauses, *tenebrae* or *nebulae* is implicitly the subject.

¹¹⁰⁶ Quanto ... exposita] Saavedra's maxim "the greater the kingdoms, the more vanity and lies they are exposed to" is here applied to the field of learning. In *Idea principis* (1649, p. 79), Saavedra states: "Quanto Monarchiae sunt grandiores, tanto vanitati et mendaciis magis exposita sunt."

¹¹⁰⁷ Eruditionis sublimioris radii ... attrahunt] Saavedra, *ibidem*, p. 79, states: "Fortunae benignioris radii obtrectationum contra se nebulas facile attrahunt."

¹¹⁰⁸ In magnis ingeniis ... sunt obnoxia] Saavedra, *ibidem*, p. 79, states: "In magnis imperiis omnia in sinistram trahuntur partem et calumniis sunt obnoxia."

¹¹⁰⁹ Quod res aperta ... retardari se sinat] With the exception of the clause – "qui se cupit emergere, regia ad celebritatem ... grassatur via" – this passage is quoted from Saavedra, *ibidem*, pp. 79 f.

¹¹¹⁰ See Saavedra, *Idea principis* (1649), emblem XXXV, p. 231. Saavedra quotes the below passage from Cicero, in which he replaces *veritas* with *virtus*. He explains the quotation as follows, *ibidem*, p. 231: "Flamma generosae mentis facile extinguitur, nisi fortunae adversae ventus eam exsuscitet."

¹¹¹¹ Cicero, *Pro Cluentio* LXV, 182: "Hoc uno modo, iudices, saepe multorum improbitate depressa veritas emergit et innocentiae defensio interclusa respirat."

Cantat in aerumnis iustus, et plorat impius in sceleribus suis.

Draco ad fontem a Cadmo sagitta traiectus. Lemma: CLAUSA PATEBIT, scilicet sapientia, e medio sublata ignorantia, quae ad eam aditum obsidebat et arcebat.

Ovidius, *Met.* 3, fol. 4: furit ille et inania duro vulnera,
dato ferro figitque in acumine dentem.¹¹¹²

Post[ea]: Sed leve vulnus erat, quia se retrahebat ab ictu
laesaque colla dabat retro plagamque sedere
cedendo arcebat nec longius ire sinebat.¹¹¹³

Aliud lemma: PALLADE FRETUS ignorantiam conficiam.

Aliud: PALLADIS ARMIS, scilicet novus Cadmus linguarum fontem
ab ignorantiam hactenus obsessum aperiet, literarum adita faciet,
undas veritatis haurire volentibus, etc.

11.4.3 Lexical and phraseological categorization

Source: F.d. 6: 3a, fourth quire, fols. 1r–2r with the size 208 x 319 mm. The text comprises nine epistemic categories (those from *essentia*, essence, to *veritas*, truth). This edited manuscript is not in Stiernhielm's handwriting. There is a complete autograph draft in F.d. 6b: 1, eleventh quire, but it is not arranged into the set of letters from a to z. There is a non-autograph copy, which is divided into the letters of the alphabet, see F.d. 6b: 3b, but it is incomplete, since it only comprises four categories (∇ *Essentia*, ∞ *Sensus*, II *Admiratio* and ∞ *Dubitatio*). I have chosen the non-autograph fair copy (F.d. 6: 3a, fourth quire, fols. 1r–2r) as basis for the textual edition, because several passages are more extensive than in Stiernhielm's autograph. The copyist may have had another original at his disposal, but it is more likely that Stiernhielm dictated to the copyist what is lacking in his original autograph. I have thus used the drafts to correct the fair copy where it is faulty.

(1r)

∇ *Essentia*

- a. Esse. fieri. exstare. existere. inveniri.
- b. Reperiri. repertum esse. natum esse. vivere.
- c. Spiritum ducere, originem sumere, accipere, trahere.
- d. Sub sole, sub coelo, in terris, inter mortales.
- e. inter homines bonos, doctos, sapientes, prudentes
barbaros, stultos, stupidos, indoctos.
- f. Inter probos, pios
malos, scelestos, dissolutos, turpes, improbos, impios.

¹¹¹² Ovid, *Metamorphoses* III, 83–84.

¹¹¹³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* III, 87–89.

- g. Inter viros et foeminas, iuvenes et senes.
- h. Inter pauperes et divites.
- i. Inter nobiles et ignobiles.
- l. Inter religiosos et prophanos.
- m. Inter cives et milites.
- n. Inter summos et imos.
- o. Inter illustrissimos, spectatissimos, honoratissimos.
- p. In infima plebe, in sorde plebeia.
- qu. Nemo hominum viget, apparet, reperitur, ortus est, coepit esse, positus est in hoc mundo.
- r. Nemo hominum, qui initium accepit.
- s. Nemo hominum natus est unquam, qui non consentiat. Pacem esse etc.
- t. Inter omnes qui vitam traducunt, perducere
- u. Vitam conterere, degere aetatem.
- w.
- x.
- y. Homo audax, imprudens, effrons,¹¹¹⁴ perfrictae frontis.
- z. Nemo coelesti vescitur aura, illo homine impurior.

⚡ Sentire

- a. Quis omnium hominum unquam vidit.
- b. Quis omnium hominum unquam audivit.
- c. Quis omnium hominum unquam accepit.
- d. Quis omnium hominum unquam relatione accepit, sermone etc.
- e. Ne fando quidem auditum est.
- f. Sol nunquam vidit, orbis terrarum nunquam habuit.
- g. Nunquam, nullo unquam tempore visum est.
- h. Quis tam caecus, surdus est, ut qui non.
- i. Oculis, auribus captum esse oportet, qui non.
- l. Omni sensu orbatum puto, qui.
- m. Omnis sensus expers est, insensatus.
- n. Stupidus, stipes, bardus, blenus, caudex, asinus, belua,¹¹¹⁵ bestia quavis stupidior.
- o. Hebes, vecors et amens. Vide Stupor, item Stultus.
- p. Ratione caret, qui.
- qu. Omnes qui rationis munere fruuntur. Vide Ratio.
- r. Rationis usu destitutos esse necesse est, qui etc.
- s. Mentis suae non est, qui etc.
- t.

¹¹¹⁴ effrons] This is the reading of the drafts as well as the fair copy. The word forms *effrenus* or *effrenatus* would have been expected.

¹¹¹⁵ caudex, asinus, belua] These words have been written above the line.

- u.
- w.
- x.
- y.
- z. Neminem spero inficias iturum.
Non suspicor repertum iri aliquem tam hebetem.
V[ide] Certus et incertus.

II Admiratio

- a. Miror.
- b. Mirabundus requiro, numquis ...
- c. Quis non miretur, si quispiam hominum tam omnis sensus et rationis expers reperiatur etc. Hic esse copulata γ,¹¹¹⁶ ϣ, II, et sic semper plura loca possunt cumulari.
- d.
- e. Summa admiratione dignum iudico, si quis.
- f. Non mirandum est homines ratione carentes et stultos sentire, quod
- g. Stupeo, cum audio.
- h. Obstupesco.
- i. Attonito similis sum.
- l. Superat admirationem.
- m. Obrigesco quasi Gorgone conspecta, cum audio
- n. aliquem tam effractae frontis invenire.
- o. Moveor admiratione cum ordior etc.
- p. Cui non est miraculum, si quis etc.
- qu. Trahit in prodigium
- r.
- s.
- t.
- u.
- w.
- x.
- y.
- z.

☞ Dubitatio

- a. Haud dubius sum. Haud scio an fieri possit, ut.
- b. Utrum impudentior ille qui negat.
- c. An cordatior ille qui asserit. etc.
- d. Haud facile dictu est. Haud facile dixero, dixeris, dixerit aliquis.
Difficile dictu est.

¹¹¹⁶ rationis expers ... copulata γ] This text has been added above the line.

- e. Parum exploratum est. Parum comperimus.
- f. Haereo, quid dicam, quid dicendum est mihi, quid sentiam. Quid agam, nescio. Dubito an.
- g. Quis est, qui dubitare debeat dicere.
- h. Noli dubitare, asserere. Dubium ¹¹¹⁷cautior an audentior
doctior¹¹¹⁸ an stultior.
- i. Sine dubitatione. Non est dubium, quin.
- l. Homo sine dubio versatur bonus, laetus. Dubio procul, procul dubio.
- m. Suspisor fore, ut aliquis. Coniectura ducor ad suspicandum. Coniectura prospicio fore ut, futurum <ut>.
- n. Non dubitant quidam affirmare, negare, quod supra.
- o. Non facile est scribere, asserere[re].¹¹¹⁹
- p. Vide quid dicant insolentes quidam.
- qu. Magnum quid aggrediuntur qui audent asserere, defendere illam opinionem.
- r. Item hoc dicere sustinent? Non metuunt dicere; non trepidant.
- s. Quo evadat res haec, sum in metu.
- t. Non vereor, verebor, metuo, timeo, formido affirmare.
- u. Non vereor quam in partem iurisconsulti; quod *sim*¹¹²⁰ dicturus; accipiant (improbi, pigri, qui otia amant, somni olientes, indocti)
- w. Non pudet eos haec negare. Non cepit¹¹²¹ eos pudor.
- x. Non erubescunt, et pudet impudica loqui.
- y. Si in ipsis pudor esset, non negarent.¹¹²² Non titubant dicere.
- z. Exspecto, expectat animus,¹¹²³ quid dicturi sint, sitis.
Vos quorsum animi vestri sententiam flectatis (flecturi sitis)
In exspectando sum. Gell[ius].¹¹²⁴ Opperior, quid dicturus sit.
Suspendo animo exspecto. Magna me tenet expectatio.
Illi, quid dicturi sint, vehementer exspecto.
Non suspisor reperturum iri aliquem tam hebetem. etc.¹¹²⁵

¹¹¹⁷ cautior] The autograph draft and the incomplete copy have the enclitic particle *ne* (viz. *cautiorne*)

¹¹¹⁸ doctior] The fair copy (F.d. 6: 3a, fourth quire, fol. 1r) mistakenly has *doctior*. In the draft Stiernhielm writes *dictiorne*, thus with an enclitic interrogative particle.

¹¹¹⁹ Asserere] The fair copy has *assere*. In the draft Stiernhielm wrote *asserere*, which has been retained in the first copy.

¹¹²⁰ sum] The fair copy (F.d. 6: 3a, fourth quire, fols. 1r) has *sim*. Stiernhielm wrote *sum* in his draft.

¹¹²¹ cepit] The fair copy has the spelling *coepit* instead of *cepit*, which Stiernhielm has in his draft.

¹¹²² negarent] The fair copy mistakenly has *negent*. Stiernhielm has *negarent* in his draft.

¹¹²³ animus] Stiernhielm has a common abbreviation of this word in his draft. The copyist did apparently not understand it.

¹¹²⁴ In exspectando sum] Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 3,7, 11: “in exspectando sunt.”

(1v)

Opinio.

- a. Opinor, puto, credo.
 - b. Existimo, arbitror, reor.
 - c. Autumo, censeo.
 - d. Iudico.
 - e. Cogito.
 - f. Sentio, aio.
 - g. Suspikor, praesagio.
 - h. Auguror, ariolor.
 - i. Divino, conjicio.
 - l. NOMINA. opinio. sensus.
 - m. Sententia.
 - n. Iudicium.
 - o. Arbitrium.
 - p. Censura, cogitatio.
 - qu. Fides.
 - r. Ratio, augurium.
 - s. Coniectura.
 - t. Suspicio. Mens. Animus.
 - u. Qui coniecit bene hunc vatem perhibeto optimum.
 - w. Quantum auguror coniectura.
 - x. Coniectura capere ex; auguratur animus meus.
 - y. Multum eum illa fefellit opinio.
 - z. Falluntur omnes, qui eam fovent sententiam.
- Opinionem malam animo combibere.
Optime aliqua de re existimare.
Prave sentire de aliqua re.
Radicitus excutere opinionem aliquam.
Inveteravit istius rei opinio.¹¹²⁷

Possibile

- a. Possibile est.
- b. Potest fieri, ut.
- c. Qui potest? Id est: Quomodo <potest>.
- d. Potest, ut alii ita arbitrentur.
- e. Potest, ut neget quisquam.

¹¹²⁵ Non suspikor ... tam hebetem] This phrase is only found in Stiernhielm's draft.

¹¹²⁶ Vide certus et Incertus] This reference only occurs in Stiernhielm's draft.

¹¹²⁷ opiononem ... istius rei opinio] These variations have been written separately in the continuation of the lines m, n, o, p and q in the column titled *Opinio*.

- f. Sed potestne, ut fiat? factum sit? futurum sit aliquid?¹¹²⁸
- g. Facile est.
- h. Proclive, in proclivi est. In eo quid est negotii?
- i. Ludus est homini non hebeti, gnavo.
- l. Perfacile, perexpeditum est. Vide Facile.
- m. IMPOSSIBILE. Facile dictu, impossibile factu.
- n. DIFFICILE. arduum.
- o. Mirifica difficultas rei.
- p. Arduum dictu, factu.
- qu. Asperum factu. etc.
- r. In arduo est.
- s. Inexplicabile, impeditum, inenodabile.
- t. Haud promptum fuerit numerum inire.
- u.
- w.
- x.
- y.
- z.

Ω Convenientia

- a. Conveniens, consentaneum est naturae, rationi.
- b. Absurdum, alienum a ratione.
- c. Res abhorrens a fide.
- d. Credibile, incredibile. Vide credere. Vide contra.
- e. Non cohaerent ista.
- f. Neque abhorret vero, et a vero. Vide verisimile.
- g. Conspirant omnes mecum de illa re.
- h. Unum atque idem sentiunt omnes.
- i. In unum conspirant.
- l. Concordare cum aliquo.
- m. Inter se congruere concorditer.
- n.
- o.
- p.
- qu.
- r.
- s.
- t.
- u.
- w.

¹¹²⁸ futurum sit aliquid] In his draft Stiernhielm wrote *futurus sit aliquis*. In the fair copy, the copyist changed this phrase to *futurum sit aliquid* by changing -s in *futurus* into m and -s in *aliquis* into d.

x.
y.
z.

ℳ Consensus

- a. Consentiant in eo omnes boni.
- b. Probant, approbant, assentiuntur.
- c. Mecum faciunt, a me stant.
- d. A meis partibus sunt.
- e. Assistunt mihi.
- f. Auctores, approbatores, subscriptores habeo.
- g. Subscribunt, subsignant, suffragantur meae sententiae, meis dictis, meae opinioni.¹¹²⁹
- h. Suum addunt calculum, album calculum.
- i. Confirmant, huic sententiae adhaerent.
- l. Dissentit nemo.
- m. In confesso est rem sic et sic esse.
- n. Ratum omnes habent.
- o. Omnes in hanc eunt sententiam.
- p. Illud certum, comprehensum, perceptum, ratum, firmum, fixum scisse vis.
- q. Discessionem faciunt in meam sententiam.
- r. Dissentit nemo. Refragantur omnes, improbant.
- s. Damnant hanc opinionem. Adversantur mihi multi.
- t.
- u.
- w.
- x.
- y.
- z.

(2r)

✂ Veritas

- a. Vere ut dicam.
- b. Ut vere loquar.¹¹³⁰
- c. Id mihi, ne mentiar, gratum est.
- d. Sum¹¹³¹ verus?
- e. Non Appollinis magis verum atque hoc responsum est.
- f. Contra verum nituntur, qui audent¹¹³² dicere.

¹¹²⁹ meis dictis, meae opinioni] This has been written above the line.

¹¹³⁰ Ut vere loquar] In his draft Stiernhielm wrote *Ut verum loquamur*.

¹¹³¹ Sum verus?] This is Stiernhielm's wording. The copyist has *Num verus?*

¹¹³² audent] Thus reads Stiernhielm's draft, but the copyist distorted it into *audiunt*.

- g. Vident hoc omnes, quibus ad dispiciendam veritatem non est offusa caligo.¹¹³³ Seneca.
- h. Satis liquido, compertum est.
- i. Persuasum est nobis de re ista.
- l. Id nobis pro percepto liquet.
- m. Quam nihil invenio unquam hoc certo certius.
- n. Exquisitum est nobis.¹¹³⁴
- o. Indubitabile est.
- p.
- qu.
- r.
- s.
- t. VERITAS. Verum, certum est, nemini clam est.¹¹³⁵
- u.
- w.
- x.
- y.
- z.

¹¹³³ Vident ... caligo] Lucius Annaeus Seneca the Younger, *De beneficiis* 5, 4: “nae ille tunc merito et sibi et ceteris, quibus ad dispiciendam veritatem non erat offusa caligo, supra eum eminere visus est infra quem omnia iacebant.”

¹¹³⁴ Satis liquido ... Exquisitum est nobis] The copyist first mistakenly copied these phrases (letters h–n) under the category of consent (*consensus*) for letters t, u, w, x, y and z, but crossed out them and wrote them under the category of truth (*veritas*). There are some differences between the wordings. Under the letter designation of l, *mihi* and *nobis* differ, and under the letter designation of m, *invenies* and *invenio* are found to vary. The probable reference to René Descartes as “Cart.” only occurs in the text crossed out here: “Id mihi pro percepto liquet. Cart.” (see letter x, under the category of consent). In his *Meditationes de prima philosophia*, book 2 (on the nature of the human mind), § 1, Descartes writes for instance: “pergamque porro donec aliquid certi, vel, si nihil aliud, saltem hoc ipsum pro certo, nihil esse certi, cognoscam.” That is: “I will continue further until I learn something certain, or, if there is nothing else, at least just hold this as certain that there is nothing certain.”

¹¹³⁵ Verum. ... clam est] I have supplemented this line from the previous page.

12. *Polygraphia intelligibilis*: comprehensible polygraphy

12.1 A standard letter of best wishes in 1625

12.1.1 Date and sources of inspiration

Source and date: F.d. 13, the wrapper entitled *Polygraphia*, fols. 18v–21v, and 24r–27r. Size: 160 x 203 mm. For a photograph of fol. 26v, see Figure 24. This composition was drawn up in 1625, which can be deduced from units 58–61, viz. *descriptum Holmiae A. C. 1625*. This early date is also corroborated by the fact that Stiernhielm partly relies on Duke August's work on cryptography (for the impact of which, see Section 12.1.3). The author calls himself Georg Lilia (unit 65), a name that Stiernhielm only used until 1634.

Stiernhielm's source of inspiration was a contemporary handbook on cryptography, *Cryptomenytices et cryptographiae libri IX*, published in 1624 by Duke August II of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1579–1666) though writing under the pseudonym Gustav Selenus. August devotes one chapter (book 4, ch. 8, pp. 144–160) to polygraphy, that is, encoded 'many-writing', and argues that the polymath Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) invented this genre in the treatise *De polygraphia libri VI*, 1518. Stiernhielm was of course acquainted with Selenus' and Trithemius' works. In his notebook for the year 1624 (F.d. 20, 139v) he quoted a passage from Trithemius.

Stiernhielm shows the semantic and stenographic variability of the epistolary style in the 17th century. Stenographic abbreviations are evinced in certain set phrases, such as the acronym S. P. D (*salutem plurimam dicit*), in forms of address, such as Your Eminence (*Tua Amplitudo*), Your Excellency (*Tua Excellentia*) or Your Honour (*Tua Honestas*) and in abbreviations of common words or place names.

12.1.2 General wording of the letter

According to the choice of the first variation (a), the letter reads in its Latin original as follows:

(1) S[alutem] (2) amico. (3) Magnopere (4) delectarunt (5) me (6) tuae (7) literae (8) mellitae. Quas (9) nuper (10) attulit (11) N. (12) tabellarius (13) tuus. (14) Ex quibus (15) cum gaudio (16) intellexi (17) te (18) vir (19) care (20) et (21) amplissime (22) cum tuis (23) valere. (24) Laudatus sit (25) Deus. Qui (26) suos

(27) semper (28) tegit (29) benigne. (30) Proinde (31) scito (32) T[uae] H[onestati] (33) me (34) hic (35) Dei (36) clementia (37) valere. (38) Non possum (39) dicere (40) quantopere (41) velim (42) te (43) videre. (44) Quare (45) enixe (46) contendo (47) quam ocissime (48) huc (49) te conferas. (50) His (51) concludo (52) optans, ut (53) Deus (54) velit dare (55) tibi (56) longam vitam. (57) Vale. (58) Descrip[tum] (59) Holmiae (60) 1 (61) Januarii (62) A[nno] C[hristi] (63) 1625. (64) Tuus (65) Georgius Lilia (66) studiosus (67) manu mea.

In English translation the letter reads:

(1) Greetings (2) my friend. (6) Your (8) mellifluous (7) letters (4) pleased (5) me (3) exceedingly much. (13) Your (12) courier (11) N. (9) recently (10) brought them. (15) With enjoyment (16) I have understood from them that (17) you, (19) dear (20) and (21) respected (18) gentleman, (23) are well (22) with yours. (25) God (24) be praised. He (27) always (29) kindly (28) protects (26) his own. (30) Similarly, (31) it shall be known (32) to your honesty that (33) I (37) am well (34) here (36) thanks to the mercy (35) of God. (38) I cannot (39) say (40) how much (41) I wish (43) to see (42) you. (44) Consequently, (46) I insist (45) eagerly (49) that you make your way (48) here (47) as soon as possible. (50) In doing so, (51) I conclude (52) wishing that (53) God (54) wants to give (55) you (56) a long life. (57) Farewell! (58) Written (59) in Stockholm (61) 1 (62) January (63) 1625. (64) Your (65) Georgius Lilia (66), a student (67), by my own hand.

12.1.3 Impact of Duke August's exercise of polygraphy

In general, Stiernhielm is independent of Duke August's example of polygraphy, but shows a direct dependence in fifteen units, which as compared between Duke August and Stiernhielm are: 1–1, 2–2, 4–7, 5–19, 6–20, 7–21, 13–12, 15–16, 22–44, 46–57, 47–58, 49–60, 50–61, 52–64 and 57–67.¹¹³⁶ These units make up 22%. Stiernhielm may also have looked up Trithemius' books on polygraphy, but there is no conclusive proof of his dependence. He may have used Trithemius for the phrase "as soon as possible" (unit 47), which occurs in the latter's *Polygraphia* (p. 135, the edition of 1600), but he perhaps used Duke August's unit 14 as model.

Duke August supplies an example of an encoded message in his exercise on polygraphy (1624: 161). Stiernhielm does not, however, exemplify the function of cipher-writing in this composition.

¹¹³⁶ Duke August's variation refers to the former numbers, see Gustavus Selenus, *Cryptomenices et cryptographiae libri IX*, 1624, pp. 149–160 (book 4, chapter 9).

12.1.4 *S. amico. Magnopere delectarunt me Tuae literae*

12.1.4.1 Latin text

(18v) 1.	2.	(19r) 3.
a. S.	a. amico	a. magnopere
b. S.D.	b. patrono	b. valde
c. P.S.D.	c. fratri	c. supra modum
d. D.S	d. domino	d. immodice
e. p. s. d.	e. agnato	e. vehementer
f. D.S.P.	f. affini	f. mirum in modum
g. D.P.S.	g. doctore	g. miris modis
h. P.D.S.	h. praeceptor	h. maiorem in modum
i. S.P.D.	i. socio	i. mirandum in modum
k. s.d.	k. compatri	k. plurimum
l. S.P.D.	l. commensali	l. non mediocriter
m. s.d.p.	m. contubernali	m. summopere
n. p.d.s	n. sodali	n. maxime opere
o. d.s.	o. collegae	o. summe
p. Salve	p. magistro	p. maxime
q. Ave	q. tutor	q. mire
r. Salutem	r. curator	r. [admirabiliter] non parum
s. Salutem d.	s. cognato	s. extreme
t. Salutem p.	t. promotor	t. [ita ut nihil supra] Deus quam.
u. S. dicit	u. hospiti	u. o quam
w. S. dicit P.	w. iuveni	w. mirifice
x. Salut.	x. rector	x. multum
y. Sal. pl. d.	y. commilitoni	y. non modice
z. Salutem plurimam dicit	z. moecenati	z. non leviter
4.	5.	
a. delectarunt	a. me	
b. delectaverunt	b. nos	
c. affecerunt	c. cor meum	
d. recrearunt	d. meum cor	
e. recreaverunt	e. pectus meum	
f. exhilarerunt	f. meum pectus	
g. exhilaraverunt	g. animam meam	
h. erexerunt	h. meam animam	
i. confirmaverunt	i. animum meum	
k. confirmarunt	k. meum animum	

l. firmaverunt
 m. firmarunt
 n. refrigeraverunt
 o. refrigerarunt
 p. refecerunt
 q. oblectaverunt
 r. permulserunt
 s. extulerunt
 t. refocillaverunt
 u. refoellicarunt
 w. gaudio perfunderunt
 x. laetitia affecerunt
 y. voluptate imbuerunt
 z. solatio erexerunt

6.
 a. Tuae
 b. Vestrae
 c. T[uae] H[onestatis]
 d. H[onestatis] T[uae]
 e. V[estrae] H[onestatis]
 f. H[onestatis] V[estrae]
 g. V[estrae] P[raestantiae]
 h. P[raestantiae] V[estrae]
 i. T[uae] P[raestantiae]
 k. P[raestantiae] T[uae]
 l. T[uae] Exc[ellentiae]
 m. Exc[ellentiae] T[uae]
 n. V[estrae] Exc[ellentiae]
 o. Exc[ellentiae] V[estrae].
 p. Cl[aritatis] V[estrae].
 q. V[estrae] Cl[aritatis].
 r. Cl[aritatis] T[uae]
 s. T[uae] Cl[aritatis]
 t. Amp[litudinis] V[estrae]
 u. V[estrae] Amp[litudinis]
 w. Amp[litudinis] T[uae]
 x. T[uae] Amp[litudinis]
 y. Candoris T[uae]
 z. Synceritatis [Tuae]

l. cor nostrum
 m. nostrum cor
 n. pectus nostrum
 o. nostrum pectus
 p. nostrum animum
 q. animum nostrum
 r. sensus meos
 s. meos sensus
 t. oculos meos
 u. ocellos meos
 w. spiritus meos
 x. meos spiritus
 y. praecordia mea
 z. medullas meas

7.
 a. literae
 b. epistolae
 c. paginae
 d. schedae
 e. literulae
 f. schedulae
 g. epistolia
 h. scripta
 i. tabellae
 k. [syngrapha] scripturae
 l. cerae
 m. chirographa
 n. chartae
 o. chartulae
 p. pugillares
 q. fasciculi
 r. gratulatoria
 s. nuncia
 t. responsoria
 u. responsa
 w. rescripta
 x. pagellae
 y. nunciatoria
 z. relationes

(19v) 8.

- a. mellitae.
- b. mellitissimae.
- c. dulces.
- d. dulciculae
- e. suaves.
- f. suavissimae.
- g. dulcissimae.
- h. iucundae.
- i. iucundissimae.
- k. excultae.
- l. doctae.
- m. eruditae.
- n. officiosae.
- o. gratiosae.
- p. lepidae.
- q. ornatae.
- r. ingeniosae.
- s. falsae.
- t. facetiae.
- u. melleae.
- w. limatae.
- x. politae.
- y. tersae.
- z. acutae.

9. Quas, Quae

- a. nuper
 - b. pridem
 - c. non ita pridem
 - d. novissime
 - e. nuperrimae
 - f. non diu est quod
 - g. pridie
 - h. pridie huius diei
 - i. heri
 - k. hodie
 - l. iam
 - m. modo
 - n. iammodo
 - o. iam nunc
 - p. in tempore
 - q. opportune
 - r. commodum
 - s. commodum tempore
 - t. opportuno tempore
 - u. loco
 - w. iusto tempore
 - x. debito loco
 - y. debito tempore
 - z. hora commoda
- expectato

10.

- a. attulit
- b. tulit
- c. dedit
- d. retulit
- e. tradidit
- f. reddidit
- g. apportavit
- h. reportavit
- i. obtulit
- k. portavit
- l. detulit
- m. porrexit
- n. mihi attulit
- o. mihi dedit
- p. mihi tradidit
- q. mihi obtulit
- r. mihi reddidit
- s. ad me tulit
- t. ad me retulit
- u. ad me reportavit
- w. ad me detulit
- x. secum habuit
- y. a te transtulit
- z. mihi porrexit

11.

- a. N.
- b. N. N.
- c. N. N. N.
- d. Petrus
- e. Jobus
- f. Georg[ius]
- g. Nicolaus
- h. P. N.
- i. R. N.
- k. N. Ran.
- l. Pet[rus] L.
- m. Laur[entius]
- n. Olaus
- o. Rosaeus
- p. Huld[ricus]

12.

- a. tabellarius
- b. tabellio
- c. libertinus
- d. servus
- e. sospes
- f. cliens
- g. amicus
- h. verna
- i. contubernalis
- k. [delator] puer
- l. nuncius
- m. [fidelis] agaso
- n. domesticus
- o. scriba
- p. intimus

(20r) 13.

- a. Tuus.
- b. T[uae] H[onesta]^{tis}
- c. Pastoris.
- d. Consulis.
- e. Vester.
- f. V[estrae] H[onesta]^{tis}
- g. Sacellani.
- h. M. P.
- i. Noster.
- k. Libeonis.
- l. Capitonis.
- m. Eliae.
- n. Pauli.
- o. Meus.
- p. Hortulani.

q. And[reas]
 r. Sveno
 s. Ludov[icus]
 t. Reimerus
 u. Marcus
 w. Claudius
 x. Strabo
 y. Gibbus
 z. Luscus

q. [consiliarius], cursor
 r. amanuensis
 s. librarius
 t. libertus
 u. filius
 w. nepos
 x. consanguineus
 y. affinis
 z. frater

q. Aeditui.
 r. Ragivaldi.
 s. Stentoris.
 t. Nasuti.
 u. Trauli.
 w. Thrasonis.
 x. Militis.
 y. Navarchi.
 z. Centurionis.

14.
 a. ex quibus
 b. quib.
 c. quib_{us}.
 d. quibus.
 e. ex qb_{us}
 f. ex qbus
 g. ex quib.
 h. ex quib_{us}
 i. ex quibus
 k. de quibus
 l. Per quas
 m. Unde

n. qb.
 o. qb_{us}
 p. qbus.
 q. e quib.
 r. per quas
 s. ex his
 t. ex illis
 u. quarum tenore
 w. Har^{um} sensu
 x. Illar^{um} medio
 y. Ex quar^{um} tenore
 z. Ex quar^{um} sensu

15.
 a. cum gaudio
 b. cum laetitia
 c. cum exultatione
 d. cupide
 e. libenter
 f. optato
 g. libentissime
 h. cum desiderio
 i. non sine desiderio
 k. non sine gaudio
 l. non sine laetitia
 m. non sine exultatione
 n. non illibenter

o. ut volui
 p. ut optavi
 q. cupidissime
 r. cum voluptate
 s. suaviter
 t. affectuose
 u. cum suavitate
 w. iucunde
 x. cum iucunditate
 y. ad votum
 z. pro voto, ex
 sententia
 laetanter, laetus,
 gaudenter, gaudens,
 exultans,
 libens, lubenti animo.

16.
 a. intellexi
 b. cognovi
 c. sensi
 d. hausi
 e. percepi
 f. cepi
 g. accepi
 h. agnovi
 i. animadverti
 k. perpendi
 l. conspexi
 m. perspexi

n. excepi
 o. concepi
 p. recepi
 q. inveni
 r. didici
 s. novi
 t. expendi
 u. habui
 w. reperi
 x. comperi
 y. consideravi
 z. adverti

17.
 a. te,
 b. T. H[onestatem],
 c. H. T.
 d. vos,
 e. V. H.
 f. H. V.
 g. V. Praest[antiam],
 h. Praest. V.
 i. T. Praest.
 k. Praest. T.
 l. T. Excel[lentiam],
 m. Excel. T.
 n. V. Eccl.
 o. Excel. V.
 p. Cl[aritatem]. V.
 q. V. Cl.
 r. Cl. T.
 s. T. Cl.
 t. Amp[itudinem]. V.
 u. V. Amp.
 w. T. Amp
 x. Amp. T.
 y. Prud[entiam] T.
 z. Nobil[itatem] T.

20.
 a. et
 b. ac
 c. atq[ue]
 d. atq[ue] etiam
 e. &
 f. et
 g. idemque
 h. ac etiam
 i. aequae ac
 k. atque
 l. iuxta ac
 m. et simul
 n. simul ac
 o. ut et
 p. ac simul

(20v) 18.
 a. vir
 b. patrone
 c. Moeceas
 d. fautor
 e. hospes
 f. affinis
 g. amice
 h. sodalis
 i. frater
 k. magister
 l. doctor
 m. praeceptor
 n. contubernalis
 o. commensalis
 p. commilito
 q. homo
 r. studiose
 s. promotor
 t. tutor
 u. consanguinee
 w. iuuenis
 x. adolescens
 y. senex
 z. rector

21.
 a. amplissime
 b. celeberrime
 c. clarissime
 d. excellentissime
 e. munificentissime
 f. gravissime
 g. splendidissime
 h. acutissime
 i. integerrime
 k. benignissime
 l. modestissime
 m. eruditissime
 n. doctissime
 o. solertissime
 p. praestantissime

19.
 a. care
 b. dulcis
 c. iucunde
 d. amate
 e. honorate
 f. suavis
 g. lepide
 h. humane
 i. probe
 k. mansuete
 l. spectate
 m. magnanime
 n. magnifice
 o. ornate
 p. honeste
 q. prudens
 r. provide
 s. optime
 t. suavis
 u. docte
 w. sincere
 x. dilecte
 y. exculte
 z. ingeniose

22.
 a. cum tuis
 b. et tuos
 c. tuosq[ue]
 d. ac tuos
 e. atque tuos
 f. tuosque
 g. cum v[est]ris
 h. et v[est]ros
 i. v[est]rosque
 k. ac v[est]ros
 l. atque v[est]ros
 m. vestrosque
 n. cum amicis
 o. amicosque
 p. et amicos

20.
 q. et simul
 r. simul et
 s. iuxta et
 t. simulque
 u. iuxtaque
 w. ut etiam
 x. aequae atque
 y. iuxta atque
 z. similiterque
 pariter ac, pariter
 atque, iuxta quam

21.
 q. gratissime
 r. amicissime
 s. felicissime
 t. charissime
 u. familiarissime
 w.
 x. optatissime
 y. clementissime
 z. laudatissime

22.
 q. ac amicos
 r. atque amicos
 s. cum familia
 t. familiamque
 u. et familiam
 w. ac famulam
 x. atque familiam
 y. familiamque
 z. domumque

(21r) 23.
 a. valere.
 b. bene valere.
 c. recte valere.
 d. recte habere.
 e. feliciter vivere.
 f. incolumes esse.
 g. sospites esse.
 h. valentes esse.
 i. vigere.
 k. multum valere.
 l. sospiter florere.
 m. felices vigere.
 n. bona valetudine
 esse.
 o. bona val[etudine]
 frui.
 p. frui valetudine.
 q. pancratice valere.
 r. heroice degere.
 s. athleticè vivere.
 t. pugillice agere.
 u. pulcre florere.
 w. probe aetatem
 transigere.
 x. belle aetatem
 portare.
 y. ex sententia valere.
 z. ex voto vivere.

24.
 a. Laudatus sit
 b. Benedictus sit
 c. Glorificatus sit
 d. Celebratus sit
 e. Laudetur
 f. Celebretur
 g. Magnificetur
 h. Glorificetur
 i. Extollatur
 k. Evehatur
 l. Laude concelebretur
 m. Laudibus evehatur
 n. Laudibus extollatur
 o. Praedicetur
 p. Encomio celebratur
 q. Grato ore laudatur
 r. Honoratur
 s. Honoribus prosequitur
 t. Corde et ore celebratur
 u. Grata voce praedicatur
 w. Voce magna
 cantatur
 x. Semper laudatur
 y. Assidue cantatur
 z. In secula benedicatur

25.
 a. Deus.
 b. Deus Opt.
 c. Deus ter Opt.
 d. Deus ter. O. M.
 e. Deus Opt. Max.
 f. Ter Opt. Max.
 g. Domin. N[oster]
 h. Salvator N.
 i. Redemptor N.
 k. Creator Mundi.
 l. Sustentator Universi
 m. Gubernator
 Mundi.
 n. Jesus Christus.
 o. Christus Jesus
 p. filius Mariae.
 q. filius Dei.
 r. Deus Pater.
 s. Deus, mens aeterna.
 t. Rector Orbis.
 u. Deus, origo boni.
 w. Rector mentium.
 x. Mundi conditor.
 y. Deus deorum.
 z. Deus α et ω.

26. Qui	27.	(21v) 28.
a. suos	a. semper	a. tegit
b. fideles suos	b. nunquam non	b. protegit
c. servos suos	c. continuo	c. servat
d. cultores suos	d. assidue	d. conservat
e. Christianos	e. subinde	e. tuetur
f. gregem suum	f. aevum	f. custodit
g. paucos suos	g. aeternum	g. iuvat
h. invocantes numen	h. in aeternum	h. adiuvat
i. servientes numen	i. in secula	i. regit
k. laudantes numen	k. aeviternum	k. sanat
l. oves suas	l. diutissime	l. gubernat
m. oviculas suas	m. longissime	m. sospitat
n. pusillos suos	n. omni t[em]p[o]re	n. curat
o. pupillos suos	o. [in oi tpre], perenniter	o. fovet
p. orphanos suos	p. in o[mn]e tempus	p. promovet
q. clientes suos	q. omni momento	q. auget
r. obsequentes ei	r. o[mn]em aetatem	r. adauget
s. oboedientes ei	s. per omnem aetatem	s. adumbrat
t. tribulatos	t. per longas series	t. benedicit
u. abiectos	u. in o[mn]e seculum	u. nutrit
w. contemptos	w. in t[em]p[us] aeternum	w. alit
x. celebrantes numen	x. in multos annos	x. amat
y. adorantes	y. in diem extremum	y. diligit
z. confidentes ei	z. in secula seculorum	z. amplectitur
29.	30.	31.
a. benigne.	a. Proinde	a. scito
b. clementer.	b. Deinde	b. sciat
c. misericorditer.	c. Dein	c. notum [tibi] sit
d. paterne.	d. Proin	d. certum sit
e. liberaliter.	e. Demum	e. certiore[m] [te] facio
f. munifice.	f. Postea	f. certum [te] facio
g. egregie.	g. Denique	g. innotescat
h. eximie.	h. Porro	h. sciat volo
i. fortiter.	i. Verum	i. sciat velim
k. coelitus.	k. Tum	k. animadvertat
l. largiter.	l. Enimvero	l. certor sit
m. magnifice.	m. Tum etiam	m. certifico
n. benefice.	n. Ulterius	n. resciscat

29.	30.	31.
o. bene.	o. [Huc accedit quod] Rursum	o. cognoscat
p. optime.	p. Quin et	p. notum facio
q. prudenter.	q. Quinetiam	q. non ignoret
r. sapienter.	r. Quinimo	r. non sit ignara
s. abunde.	s. Coeterum	s. sis gnara
t. oppido.	t. Tandem	t. respondeo
u. potenter.	u. Ultimo	u. responsum volo
w. mirabiliter.	w. Sic etiam	w. refero
x. mire.	x. Ad ultimum	x. rescribo
y. mirifice.	y. Postremo	y. manifestum facio
z. manifesto.	z. Quod reliquum est	z. certam volo
ampliter.		Non fugiat, non lateat, non celetur.
32.	(24r) 33.	34.
a. T. H.	a. me	a. hic
b. H. T.	b. me quoque	b. hoc loci
c. V. H.	c. me etiam	c. hoc loco
d. H. V.	d. me similiter	d. hoc locorum
e. Praest. T.	e. me et meos	e. ruri
f. T. Praest.	f. tuos [hic]	f. in urbe
g. P. V.	g. nos tuos [hic]	g. in hac urbe
h. V. P.	h. Georgium tuum	h. in hac civitate
i. Ex. T.	i. Liliam tuum	i. in villa nostra
k. T. Ex.	k. me, tuum	k. in suburbio
l. Ex. V.	l. nos	l. in oppido
m. V. Ex.	m. nos [hic]	m. in arce
n. T. Amp.	n. nostros [hic]	n. in tuguriolo
o. Amp. T.	o. meos [hic]	o. domi
p. V. Amp.	p. nos quoque	p. in aedibus nostris
q. Amp. V.	q. meos quoque	q. extra urbem
r. Prud. T.	r. amicos [hic]	r. in hac terra
s. T. Prud.	s. familiares [hic]	s. in hoc populo
t. T. Dig.	t. familiam meam	t. in hac Republica
u. Dig. T.	u. me cum meis	u. in hoc regno
w. V. Dig.	w. me tuosque [hic]	w. in academia
x. Dig. V.	x. parentes	x. in hac regione
y. Prud. V.	y. affines	y. hic terrarum
z. V. Prud.	z. cognatos	z. sub hoc coelo
T. Candor.		
V. Integr.		

35.

- a. Dei
- b. Numinis divini
- c. Omnipotentis
- d. Cunctipotentis
- e. Cuncta-videntis
- f. Omniscientis
- g. Regis regum
- h. Domine
dominantium
- i. Divini Numinis
- k. Summi Entis
- l. Numinis
- m. Maiestatis Divinae
- n. Rectoris superni
- o. D[eus] O. M.
- p. Numinis sancti
- q. Dei Opt[imi]
- r. N[ostri] Domini
- s. Domini Dei
- t. Verbi incarnati
- u. filii Dei
- w. D. N. Jesu
- x. Jesu, filii Mariae
- y. Aeterni Dei
- z. Supremi Numinis,
Coeli, Superum

(24v) 38.

- a. Non possum
- b. Non queo
- c. Nequeo
- d. Non libet
- e. Non licet
- f. Non vacat
- g. Non possibile est
- h. Non facile est
- i. Difficile est
- k. [Arduum] Onus est
- l. Non proclive est
- m. Impossibile est
- n. Moles est
- o. [Onus] Arduum est

36.

- a. clementia
- b. potentia
- c. beneficio
- d. beneficentia
- e. liberalitate
- f. munificentia
- g. benignitate
- h. bonitate
- i. virtute
- k. facilitate
- l. lenitate
- m. largitate
- n. benevolentia
- o. gratia
- p. misericordia
- q. miseratione
- r. probitate
- s. caritate
- t. ope
- u. auxilio
- w. comitate
- x. opera
- y. adiumento
- z. intercessione

39.

- a. dicere
- b. scribere
- c. referre
- d. effari
- e. fare
- f. eloqui
- g. enunciare
- h. docere
- i. monstrare
- k. indigitare
- l. demonstrare
- m. declarare
- n. exhibere
- o. edocere

37.

- a. valere.
- b. vigere.
- c. florere.
- d. virere.
- e. florescere.
- f. virescere.
- g. vigescere.
- h. superesse.
- i. ex sententia valere.
- k. bene valere.
- l. valere et vivere.
- m. valere et vigere.
- n. ex voto vivere.
- o. bene agere.
- p. fauste agere.
- q. pulcre valere.
- r. optato vivere.
- s. feliciter degere.
- t. belle aetatem agere.
- u. pulcre virere.
- w. eximie florere.
- x. probe vigere.
- y. excellenter virescere.
- z. adhuc superesse.

40.

- a. quantopere
- b. quanto opere
- c. quam vehementer
- d. quam valde
- e. quam intense
- f. quam efflictim
- g. quam misere
- h. quam oppido
- i. quam unice
- k. quam plurimum
- l. quam multum
- m. quanto studio
- n. quanto desiderio
- o. quam enixe

(24v) 38.

p. Molestum est
q. Molestia est
r. Non est in proclivi
s. Labor est
t. Prolixum est
u. Nimis longum esset

w. Non commodum est
x. Intempestivum est
y. Nolo
z. Non volo

39.

p. fidem facere
q. fidem firmare
r. confirmare
s. exprimere
t. notum facere
u. ostendere

w. notificare
x. persuadere
y. suadere
z. clarificare

40.

p. quam ardentem
q. quanto ardore
r. quam cupide
s. quam sitientem
t. quam amanter
u. quanta cum
contentione
w. quam corditus
x. quam animitus
y. quam medullitus
z. quam ex animo
quam appetenter, quam
affectuose, quanto
affectu, quam studiose

41. a. velim

b. velimus
c. cupiam
d. cupiamus
e. desiderem
f. desideremus
g. ardeam
h. ardeamus
i. aveam
k. aestuem
l. aveamus
m. gestiam
n. gestiamus
o. sitiam
p. sitiamus
q. aestuemus
r. appetam
s. appetamus
t. affectem
u. affectemus
w. studeam
x. studeamus
y. enitar
z. enitamur
nitamur, laborem
percupio, discupio,
opto

42. a. te

b. vos
c. T. H[onestatem]
d. H. T.
e. V. H.
f. H. V.
g. Exc. V.
h. V. Exc.
i. Exc. T.
k. Amp. T.
l. T. Exc.
m. T. Dig[nitatem]
n. Dig. T.
o. Dig. V.
p. V. Dig.
q. T. Amp.
r. T. Praest[antiam]
s. Praest. T.
t. Praest. V.
u. V. Praest.
w. V. Probit[atem]
x. V. Integ[ritatem]
y. V. Syncerit[atem]
z. V. Prudent[iam]
V. Claritatem,
V. Splendorem

(25r) 43. a. videre.

b. visere.
c. visitare.
d. cernere.
e. convenire.
f. alloqui.
g. spectare.
h. amplecti.
i. complecti.
k. ulnis cingere.
l. sermocinari.
m. sermones serere.
n. sermonem habere.
o. verba facere.
p. conversari.
q. conversationem habere.
r. coram colloqui.
s. habere colloquia.
t. colloqui.
u. discernere.
w. disputare.
x. dissertationem habere.
y. verba serere.
z. ultro citroque verba facere.
colludere, ludere, iocari, iocos
habere, hilares esse, genio
indulgere

44.	45.	46.	ut
a. Quare	a. enixe	a. contendo	
b. Qua-re	b. diligenter	b. contendimus	
c. Quamobrem	c. etiam atque etiam	c. peto	
d. Quam ob rem	d. officiose	d. petimus	
e. Quapropter	e. amice	e. rogo	
f. Propterea	f. amanter	f. flagito	
g. Proinde	g. studiose	g. rogamus	
h. Idcirco	h. omni studio	h. flagitamus	
i. Idcirco	i. omni nisu	i. oro	
k. Proin	k. assidue	k. desidero	
l. Igitur	l. ardentem	l. oramus	
m. Ergo	m. maximo opere	m. posco	
n. Itaque	n. quantum possum	n. poscimus	
o. Hoc propter	o. omni contentione	o. expeto	
p. Unde	p. cupide	p. expetimus	
q. Haec causa est	q. affectuose	q. appeto	
r. Propter hoc	r. ex corde	r. volo	
s. Propter hac re	s. ex animo	s. volumus	
t. Propter-ea	t. omni affectu	t. cupio	
u. Proin itaque	u. ex imis visceribus	u. cupimus	
w. Propter hoc	w. appetenter	w. percupio	
negotium	x. humiliter	x. postulo	
x. Hoc est, cur	y. humillime	y. postulamus	
y. Hinc est, cur	z. reverenter	z. supplicor	
z. Unde est, cur	suppliciter	opto, voveo	

(25v) 47.	48.	49.
a. quam ocysime	a. huc	a. te conferas.
b. ocyster	b. domum	b. eas.
c. ocysus	c. in urbem	c. pergas.
d. cito	d. rus	d. contendas.
e. quam citissime	e. ad nos	e. venias.
f. citissime	f. ad me	f. advenias.
g. mature	g. ad tuos	g. devenias.
h. maturrime	h. ad amicos	h. appropinques.
i. quamprimum	i. ad expectantes	i. properes.
k. subito	k. ad optantes	k. curras.
l. quantocyus	l. in civitatem	l. festinas.
m. celeriter	m. in oppidum	m. advoles.
n. celerrime	n. in suburbium	n. proficiscaris.
o. quam celerrime	o. in villam	o. iter suscipias.

p. confestim
 q. extemplo
 r. illico
 s. velociter
 t. festine
 u. e vestigio
 w. raptim
 x. repente
 y. propere
 z. statim
 praesto, mox

p. in hanc gentem
 q. in patriam
 r. in arcem
 s. in hoc ~~regnum~~ locum
 t. in hanc Republicam
 u. in academiam
 w. Witebergam
 x. in hanc provinciam
 y. ad locum solitum
 z. in nidos usitatos

p. iter facias.
 q. decurras.
 r. iter diriges.
 s. gradum moveas.
 t. adproperes.
 u. te praecipites.
 w. accurras.
 x. gressum dirigas.
 y. iter capias.
 z. visas.
 referas te, excurras.

50.
 a. His
 b. Hisce
 c. Hiis
 d. His paucis
 e. Hisce paucis
 f. Paucis his
 g. Paucis hisce
 h. Breviter
 i. Compendio
 k. Plura vellem, sed
 l. Compendiose
 m. Brevibus hisce
 n. Summatim
 o. In summa
 p. Ne multa
 q. Ne pluribus
 r. Ne diutius te morer
 s. Ne pluribus te morer
 t. Ne te detineam
 u. Ne te morer
 w. Raptim
 x. Plura alias, nunc
 y. Ne fastidio sim
 z. Ut verborum com-
 pendium faciam.
 Sat prata biberunt

51.
 a. concludo
 b. claudio
 c. abrumpo
 d. filum rumpo
 e. abscindo
 f. finem facio
 g. finio
 h. desisto
 i. manum de tabula
 k. colophonem addo
 l. nihil addo
 m. stylum condo
 n. calamus inhihero
 o. pennam refreno
 p. calamus sisto
 q. obicem objicio
 r. pessulum obdo
 s. pueri claudite rivos
 t. sileo
 u. taceo
 x. Harpocrati linguam
 y. stylum abjicio
 z. Sigalionem invoco,
 advoco

(26r) 52.
 a. optans
 b. cum voto
 c. cum votis
 d. cum precibus
 e. optando
 f. vota faciens
 g. votum faciens
 h. pie supplicans
 i. cum piis precibus
 k. rogans
 l. ex animo optans
 m. ex animo cupiens
 n. cordialiter optans
 o. vovens
 p. pie vovens
 q. animitus cupiens
 r. desiderans
 s. cum pio voto
 t. cum piis votis
 u. vovens ex animo
 w. ominans
 x. cum omine
 y. pie ominando
 z. bono omine

53. ut
 a. Deus
 b. Divina clementia
 c. Divina maiestas
 d. Numen divinum
 e. Sospitator aeternus
 f. felicitatis fons et origo
 g. Salvator N[oster]
 h. Salutis fons et origo
 i. Deus. Opt. M.
 k. Ens entium
 l. D. O. M.
 m. Triunus Deus
 n. S[acra] Trinitas
 o. Triuna potestas
 p. S[piritus] S. gratia
 q. Jesus, Dei filius
 r. Deus salus nostra
 s. Fabricator mundi
 t. Redemptor generis humani
 u. Rector cordium
 w. Creator mundi
 x. Dator salutis
 y. Summum bonum
 z. finis finium infinitus

56.
 a. longam vitam.
 b. Mathusalemaeam vitam.
 c. Nestoreos annos.
 d. diutinam salutem.
 e. longam aetatem.
 f. prosperitatem.
 g. felicitatem.
 h. omnia fausta.
 i. Nestoris aetatem.
 k. Perennem vitam.

54.
 a. velit dare
 b. velit tribuere
 c. velit largiri
 d. velit concedere
 e. velit donare
 f. velit servare
 g. velit conservare
 h. velit custodire
 i. velit impertiri
 k. velit communicare
 l. velit impertiri
 m. velit addere
 n. velit elargire
 o. dignetur dare
 p. dignetur largiri
 q. dignetur tribuere
 r. dignetur concedere
 s. dignetur conservare
 t. dignetur impertiri
 u. dignetur donare
 w. non dedignetur addere
 x. non dedignetur servare
 y. non dedignetur dare
 z. non dedignetur participare

(26v) 57.
 a. Vale.
 b. Vive felix.
 c. Valeas.
 d. Bene valeas.
 e. Diu vale.
 f. Sis sospes
 g. Bene vale.
 h. Valeto.
 i. Bene valeto.
 k. Dii te sospitent

55.
 a. tibi
 b. vobis
 c. Cl. T.
 d. T. Cl.
 e. Cl. V.
 f. V. Cl.
 g. T. H.
 h. H. T.
 i. H. V.
 k. Amp. T.
 l. V. H.
 m. T. Ex.
 n. Ex T.
 o. Ex. V.
 p. V. Ex.
 q. Prae. V.
 r. V. Prae.
 s. T. Prae.
 t. T. Praest.
 u. Praest. T.
 w. V. Dig.
 x. Dig. V.
 y. Dig. T.
 z. T. Dig.
 58.
 a. Descrip[tum]
 b. Conscriptum
 c. Confectum
 d. Descriptum
 e. Conscript.
 f. Dat.
 g. Perscriptum
 h. Obsignatum
 i. Script.
 k. Perscriptae

l. sanitatem perpetuam.
 m. florentem aetatem.
 n. seros annos.
 o. prosperam vitam.
 p. incolumitatem.
 q. cuncta felicia.
 r. cuncta quae optas.
 s. omnia quae cupis
 t. optata animi tui.
 v. multos annos.
 w. florem et vigorem.
 x. viridem senectam.
 y. hilarem aetatem.
 z. cuncta felici tenore
 fluentia.

l. Multum valeas.
 m. Cura valetudinem
 n. Cura, ut valeas.
 o. Vive valeque.
 p. Vive vale.
 q. Incolumis vive.
 r. Diu valeto.
 s. Vive, vire, vale.
 t. Vive et vige.
 v. Valetudinem cura
 w. Incolumis sis.
 x. Inserui valetudini
 y. Vive et vale.
 z. Vale aeternum.

l. Exaratum
 m. Exar.
 n. Perscrip.
 o. Datae
 p. Obsignatae
 q. Scriptae
 r. Exaratae
 s. Datum
 t. Descriptae
 v. Obsign.
 x. Confectae
 y. Inscriptae
 z. Inscript.

59.

a. Holmiae
 b. Arosiae
 c. Stockhol.
 d. Stockholm.
 e. StockholmI.
 f. Stockholmii.
 g. Stockh.
 h. Stock.
 i. Stocolm.
 k. Stockol.
 l. Stocholm.
 m. Stokh.
 n. Stokhol.
 o. Stokholm.
 p. Stokholmii
 q. StokholmI.
 r. Holmiae Sueonum
 s. Hol. Sueonum
 t. Holmiae Suedorum
 v. Holm. Sueonum
 w. Holmiae Suecorum
 x. Holm. in Suedia
 y. Holm. in R[egno] Su[eciae]
 z. Holmis.

60.

a. 1.
 b. 2.
 c. 3
 d. 4.
 e. 5.
 f. 6.
 g. 7.
 h. 8.
 i. 9.
 k. 10.
 l. 11.
 m. 12.
 n. 13.
 o. 14.
 p. 15.
 q. 16.
 r. 17.
 s. 18.
 t. 19.
 v. 20.
 w. 21.
 x. 22.
 y. 23.
 z. 24.

61.

a. Januarii
 b. Martii
 c. Aprilis
 d. Maii
 e. Junii
 f. Julii
 g. Augusti
 h. Septembris
 i. Octobris
 k. Novembris
 l. Decembris
 m. Februarii
 n. Jan.
 o. Mart.
 p. Apr.
 q. Mai.
 r. Jun.
 s. Jul.
 t. Feb.
 v. Aug.
 w. Sept.
 x. Oct.
 y. Nov.
 z. Dec.

63.
a. A. C.
b. Anno
c. An.
d. Ann.
e. Anni
f. anni
g. anno
h. an.
i. ann.
k. Aerae
l. Aerae C.
m. Aerae Ch.
n. Aerae Chr[istiana].
o. Anno S[alutis].
p. Anno P[artus]
V[irginis]
q. anno P[artus].
r. Anno C.
s. Ann. Red[emptoris]
t. Anno Chr[isti].
v. Anno D[o]m[i]n[i].
w. Anni D.
x. Anⁿⁱ cur.
y. An[no] Sal[utis]
z. Anni currentis

63.
a. 1625
b. 625
c. 1⁻6⁻2⁻5⁻
d. 6⁻2⁻5⁻
e. MDCXXV
f. MDCXXV
g. cIbIbCXXV
h. CIbIbCXXV
i. ∞CXXV
k. Mil. sesc. v. q.
l. MIbCXXV
m. ∞bCXXV
n. I⁻DCXXV
o. IXI b CXXV
p. 8IbCXXV
q. =1⁼6⁼2⁼5⁼
r. 6⁼2⁼5⁼
s. IXIDCXXV
t. 8DCXXV
u. ∞DCXXV
w. Mil. q. dq.
x. I⁻DCXXV
y. Mil. sup. q.
z. Sup. M. sesc. dq.

(27r) 64.
a. Tuus
b. Vester
c. T.
d. Tibi stud.
e. Tui studios.
f. Tui studiosiss.
g. Tibi Addict.
h. Tibi addictissimus
i. Tui cupientissimus
k. T. quem nosti
paratiss[imum]
l. T. obseq[uens]
m. T. obsequentiss.
n. T. amantiss[imus]
o. T. devotiss.
p. T. devotus
q. T. totus
r. Tuus ex asse
s. Tuus semper
t. Tuus dum vivo
v. Tuus q. semper
w. Tuus dum spiro
x. T. ad mortem
y. T. aeternum
z.

65. a. Georgius Lilia
b. G. Lilia
c. Georgius L.
d. Georg. L.
e. Georg. Lilia
f. Cuprimont.
g. Cuprim.
h. Cuprimontanus
i. Montanus
k. Suedus
l. Liliaeus
m. quem nosti
n. ut scis
o. Suedese
p. Suecus

66. a. studiosus
b. studiosus LL.
c. studiosus Polit.
d. studiosus Lingg.
e. studiosus Hist.
f. studiosus Math.
g. stud. LL.
h. stud. Leg.
i. stud. Lingg.
k. stud. Math.
l. stud. Hist.
m. stud. Polit.
n. st. LL
o. st. Leg.
p. st. Lingg.

67. a. manu mea.
b. manu sua.
c. m. m.
d. m. s.
e. m. p.
f. mpp.
g. mppria.
h. Mpp^{ria}
i. Mpp^{ria}
k. m'p.
l. MPp.
m. ° ° °
n. Mp.
o. M. pp.
p. Manup.

q. Sveo	q. st. Math.	q. Mea manu.
r. Lilia Suedese	r st. Hist.	r. Mpp
s. Lilia Suedus	s. st. Polit.	s. Mpp _{ria}
t. Lilia Sueo	t. st. Philol[ogiae]	t. MPpr.
u. Montanus Lilia	v. st. Philos[ophiae]	v. Mpp.
w. Lilia Montanus	w. st. Philos. Moral.	w. #/
x. Lilia Montis	x. st. Prud. Civil.	x. ##
y. Lilia Cyprinus	y. stud. Prud. Polit.	y. ≠
z. Lilia Cypr.	z. stud. Iur[is]	z. ^α X ^ω

12.1.4.2 Critical remarks

In one of the variations of unit 13 (z), Stiernhielm uses the Greek loanword *navarchus* (ναύαρχος or more frequently ναύάρχης), which is a common designation for admiral in Neo-Latin texts.

In unit 23, variation t, Stiernhielm uses the expression *pugillice agere*, which means “to live as a boxer, a pugilist”. In the variation of unit 32, Stiernhielm uses abbreviations of various expressions of courtesy, viz. *Tua Honestas*, *Tua Praestantia*, *Tua Excellentia*, *Tua Amplitudo*, *Tua Prudentia*, *Tua Dignitas*, *Tuus Candor* and *Tua Integritas*, which depending on what phrase they are governed by (in unit 31) occur in the nominative or are construed with the dative (e.g. *Tuae honestati*). In unit 43, Stiernhielm adds a number of synonyms below the letter z: *ea causa*, *eam ob rem*, *sic*, *ideo*, *ea ratione*, *ea propter*, *ea de causa*, *eam ob causam*, *quocirca*, *hanc ob rem*, *inde*.

Unit 63 deals with different manners of writing the year 1625 with Roman numerals. There are some logograms that require explanation. CIO, cIO, IXI, ∞, and 8 signify the cardinal thousand, *mille*, or the ordinal thousandth, *millesimus*. In all probability, the Roman numeral system originated from Etruscan tally-mark reckoning,¹¹³⁷ though this was unknown to Roman grammarians like Priscianus (who mainly proposed acrophonic principles from the names of Greek letters), and only began to be recognized by Renaissance scholars, such as the Italian jurist Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), the Italian mathematician Nicolo Fontana Tartaglia (1499/1500–1557) and the French humanist Pierre de la Ramée (1515–1572).¹¹³⁸ In Roman antiquity, the original Etruscan symbol for thousand – crossed strokes in a circle like ⊗ – developed into the forms (X) or (x) – which were known to Priscian – and moreover into a circle with a vertical stroke or (I). The form (x) soon developed into the horizontal 8, viz. ∞, and

¹¹³⁷ See Paul Keyser, “The origin of the Latin numerals 1 to 1000”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 92:4 (Oct. 1988), p. 530 and pp. 541–544.

¹¹³⁸ For an account of the tally-mark theories in the Renaissance and modern times, see Keyser, “The origin of the Latin numerals”, pp. 530–534.

into the compressed form of a circle with a vertical stroke.¹¹³⁹ It is uncertain what source Stiernhielm relied on, but the horizontal 8 was known in handbooks on Roman numerals, for instance those by Matthew Hostus (1582) and Gerard Vossius (1650).¹¹⁴⁰ The symbol Γ (the tally mark I with a macron) is a mark of thousand. In using this sign, Stiernhielm was undoubtedly inspired by Trithemius, *Polygraphia*, end of book 6.

Moreover, some abbreviations need to be clarified. In unit 63, variation k, the abbreviations *Mil. sesc. v. q.* mean [*anno*] *millesimo sescentesimo vicesimo quinto*. In the variation z the abbreviations *Sup. M. sesc.* stand for [*anno*] *supra millesimum sescentesimum*; the short form *dq.* is unclear to me, though *q.* still must stand for *quintus*.

In unit 66, the abbreviation *Pol.* signifies *Politices* (“of politics”), *Lingg.* stands for *Linguarum* (“of languages”), *Math.* for *Matheseos* (“of mathematics”), *Hist.* for *Historiarum* (“of histories”, namely the sacred and the profane history and the history of specific nations), while the contraction *LL.* either refers to *Legum* (“of the laws”) or *Linguarum* (“of languages”) and the short form *Prud. Civil.* implies *Prudentiae Civilis* (“of civil prudence”).

12.2 A standard letter about familiar matters

12.2.1 The general wording of the text with translation

Source: F.d. 13, *Polygraphia*, 11r–13v. Size: 210 x 328 mm. The text has 80 units, each with 22 variations. Units 1–20 and 33–37 more or less coincide with the first polygraphic composition.

In the Latin original, the text reads as below according to the first set of variations, at which Stiernhielm’s own transcription in F.d. 13, fol. 32r, aimed, but some unvaried words have been inserted here and there. I have retained the inserted words in the transcription below:

(1) S. (2) P. (3) D. (4) Valde (5) laetificaverunt (6) me (7) mellitae (8) tuae literae, quas (9) nuper (10) tulit (11) mihi (12) scriba (13) tuus. (14) E quibus (15) gaudenti animo (16) sensi, (17) te (18) vir optime, (19) bene valere. (20) Ego et mei (21) Dei (22) clementia (23) valemus.¹¹⁴¹ (24) Coeterum (25) Andreas (26) A. (27) A. (28) A. (29) amicus (30) meus (31) nuper (32) mortuus est (33) a nefando quodam (34) nebulone (35) misere (36) occisus. (37) Hodie (38) captus est (39) sanguinarius ille, (40) brevi (41) acerba

¹¹³⁹ Keyser, *ibidem*, p. 543.

¹¹⁴⁰ Matthaeus Hostus, *De numeratione emendate veteribus Latinis et Graecis usurpata*, Antwerp 1582; Gerard J. Vossius, *De universae matheseos natura et constitutione*, Amsterdam 1650. Cf. Keyser, *ibidem*, p. 532.

¹¹⁴¹ valemus] The first set of variations would require *vigemus*, but Stiernhielm here chose the variation *valemus*.

morte vicissim (42) puniendus. (43) Nam (44) Deus (45) non (46) sinit (47) grave aliquod (48) peccatum inultum. (49) Sed transeant haec, (50) ad alia: (51) Virum doctum (52) et (53) probum, (54) filium nobilis (55) A. (56) A. (57) A. (58) nosti. (59) Is fertur (60) amare (61) Annam (62) consanguineam tuam, (63) virginem (64) pulchram et dotatam, (65) consilio (66) illam sibi despondendi, (67) idque adeo (68) suasu (69) optimi senis, parentis sui. (70) Deus faxit, ut¹¹⁴² (71) quod actum est, dii propitii approbent. (72) Si quid apud vos (73) novi auditur, (74) id quaeso, (75) nobis perscribe. Vale. (76) At (77) pene oblitus eram: (79) ridiculum quiddam (80) praebebo.

In English translation: “(3) I send (2) my cordial (3) greetings. Your (7) mellifluous (8) letters, which (13) your (12) scribe (9) recently (10) brought (11) me, (4) greatly (5) pleased (6) me. From them (16) I understood (15) in a cheerful mind that (17) you (18) are well, (19) best gentleman. (20) I and my people (23) are well (22) thanks to the mildness (21) of God. (24) But (25) Andrew (26) A. (27) A. (28) A. (29) my (30) friend (31) recently (32) died, as he was (35) miserably (36) killed (33) by a nefarious (34) villain. (37) Today (39) the murderer (38) was caught and (40) in short time (41) he is to be punished (42) by a bitter death, (43) as (44) God (46) by no means (47) allows (48) any serious crime to be unpunished. (49) But let us leave this topic (50) and move to another one. (58) You know (51) the learned (52) and (53) capable gentleman (54) who is son of the noble (55) A. (56) A. (57) A. (59) It is told that (60) he loves (61) your relative (62) Anna, (64) a beautiful and talented (63) maid, (65) in order (66) to become engaged with her. (67) This is thus (68) with the advice (69) of his father, an eminent elderly gentleman. (70) May God bring about that (71) the gods favourably approve of what has happened. (72) If you hear (73) any news, (74) I request you (75) to write it to us. Farewell!

(76) But I have (77) almost (78) forgotten: (80) I will present (79) a ridiculous thing.”

For the unit 64 “beautiful and talented” there are two sets of variants in the text, one in the main text (64a and another in the margin 64b). It cannot be determined which of them Stiernhielm intended to be the final one. Consequently, I include both the variants in the edition of this text.

¹¹⁴² Deus faxit ut] This clause has not been included in Stiernhielm’s own transcription.

12.2.2 S. P. D. *Valde laetificaverunt me mellitae literae tuae*

1. a S.	2. a P.	3. a D.
e Sal.	e Pl.	e Dic.
i Salut.	i Plur.	i Dt.
o Salute [—]	o Plurim.	o Dico.
u Salutem	u Plurimam	u Dicit.
b Sl [—] m	b Pl [—] m	b Pr.
c.k.q Sl [—] t [—] m.	c.k.q Pl [—] r [—] m.	c.k.q Precor.
d Felicitatem	d Summam	d Precatur.
f Beatitatem	f Perennem	f Opt.
g Prosperit.	g Solidam	g Opto.
h Prospit.	h Perennantem	h Optat.
l Prospitat.	l Iugem	l Exopt.
m Prospitatem	m Florentem	m Exopto.
n Sanit.	n Virentem	n Exoptat.
p Sanitat.	p Viridantem	p Vov.
r Sanitatem	r Optabilem	r Voveo.
s Laetitiam	s Exoptandam	s Vovet.
t Valetudinem	t Illibatam	t Adprecor.
v.w Incolumitatem	v.w Perpetuam	v.w
y Valentiam	y	y
	laetificarunt	
4. a Valde	5. a delectarunt	6. a Me
e Vehementer	e delectaverunt	e Nos
i Magnopere	i affecerunt	i cor meum
o Summopere	o [recrearunt]	o pect ^{us} meum
u Mire	u recreaverunt	u pectus meum
b Miris modis	b [oblectarunt]	b animu [—] meum
c.k.q Mirandum in modum	c.k.q oblectaverunt	c.k.q animum meum
d Mirum in modum	d. refecerunt	d me
f Supra modum	f sublevarunt	f nos
g Immodice	g erexerunt	g cor nostrum
h Plurimum	h allevaverunt	h pect ^{us} nostrum
l Non mediocriter	l sublevaverunt	l pectus nostrum
m Maximopere	m [excitarunt]	m animu [—] nostrum
n Summe	n excitaverunt	n animum nostrum
p Maxime	p refocillarunt	p sensus nostros
r Extreme	r [exhilararunt]	r oculos nostros
s Mirifice	s exhilaraverunt	s ocellos nostros
t Haud leviter	t permulserunt	t spiritus nostros
v.w Impense	v.w levaverunt, sustulerunt	v.w
x Apprime	x relevaverunt, confirmaverunt	x
y Oppido	y arrexerunt, extulerunt	y
z Incredibiliter	z foverunt, relaxarunt,	z
	exsuscitaverunt	

7. a mellitae
 e mellitissimae
 i [mellitiss[im]ae]
 o [suaviss[im]ae], uberrimae
 u suavissimae
 b dulciculae
 c.k.q [dulciss[im]ae, lepidissimae]
 d dulcissimae
 f [iucundiss[im]ae]
 g iucundissimae
 h cultissimae
 l excultissimae
 m gratissimae
 n ornatissimae
 p lepidissimae
 r eruditissimae
 s optatissimae
 t acceptissimae
 v.w politissimae,
 x perpolitae, compositiss[im]ae
 y literatissimae, expectatissimae
 z exoptatiss[im]ae, tersissimae,
 elegantissimae

8. a literae tuae. Quas
 e litterae tuae. Quas
 i schedae tuae. Quas
 o schedulae tuae. Quas
 u paginae tuae. Quas
 b lt⁻ae tuae. Quas
 c.k.q lt⁻rae tuae. Quas
 d lit^{ae} tuae. Quas
 f lit^{ae} vestrae. Quas
 g lt⁻rae vestrae. Quas
 h l⁻rae vestrae. Quas
 l literae vestrae. Quas
 m litterae vestrae. Quas
 n paginae vestrae. Quas
 p pagellae vestrae. Quas
 r responsoriae vestrae. Quas
 s responsoriae nunciatoriae. Quas
 t responsoriales internuntiae. Quas
 v.w [literulae] consolatoriae. Quas
 x solatoriae. Quas
 y
 z

9. a nuper
 e nuperrime
 i novissime
 o proxime
 u modo
 b iam
 k.c pridem
 d iam pridem
 f non ita pridem
 g non diu est
 h hodie
 l heri
 m pridie
 n nudiustertius
 p opportune
 r commode
 s tempestive
 t tempore
 v.w mature
 x peropportune
 y percommode
 10. a tulit
 e attulit
 i dedit
 o tradidit
 u reddidit
 b obtulit
 k.c portavit
 d detulit
 f apportavit
 g reportavit
 h retulit
 l transtulit
 m regessit
 n pertulit
 p ptulit
 r porrexit
 s praebuit
 t exhibuit
 v.w reliquit
 x suppeditavit
 y advexit, adtulit
 z adportavit,
 repraesentavit

11. a mihi
 e ad me
 i nobis
 o ad nos
 u a te
 b abs te
 k.c a vobis
 d inde ad nos
 f inde a vobis
 g huc ad nos
 h
 l
 m
 n
 p
 r
 s nobis
 t
 v.w
 x
 y
 z
 12. a Scriba
 e amanuensis
 i scriba
 o Amanuensis
 u a manu
 b a pedibus
 k.c Nuncius
 d nuncius
 f servus
 g famulus
 h hospes
 l cliens
 m Amicus
 n amicus
 p Puer
 r puer
 s Cursor
 t Domesticus
 v.w Contubernalis
 x agaso
 y affinis
 z cognatus,
 agnatus

13. a Tuus.
e tuus
i Meus
o meus
u tuus quidam
b meus quidam
k.c Noster
d Vester
f noster
g vester
h quidam n[oste]r.
l qdam v[este]r.
m Quem nosti
n quem nosti
p Tibi notus
r tibi notus
s quem scis
t non ignotus
v.w bene notus
x bene cognitus
y quidam notus
z

14. a E quibus
e e Quibus
i e quibus
o e qbus
u e quib^{us}
b e qbs
k.c e quib.
d e qb.
f Ex Quibus
g Ex quibus
h ex Quibus
l ex quibus
m Ex qbus
n Ex quib^{us}
p Quarum lectione
r Quarum tenore
s Quarum sensu
t Quarum contentis
v.w Per quas
x Quibus visis
y Quibus lectis, perlectis
z Quibus inspectis
cognitis, relectis, revisis

15. a gaudenti animo
e cum voluptate
i desiderato
o suaviter
u ex sententia
b ex animi sententia
k.c cupide
d libenter
f libentissime
g optato
h ad votum
l pro voto
m lubenti animo
n lubens
p laetus
r gaudens
s libens
t exultans
v.w hilaris
x hilari animo
y alacri animo
z

16. a sensi
e persensi
i intellexi
o cognovi
u percepi
b sentio
k.c persentio
d intelligo
f cognosco
g percipio
h animadverto
l comperio
m accipio
n haurio
p comperi
r accepi
s perspexi
t didici
v.w colligo, notavi
x compertum habeo
y deprehendi, accepimus,
z intelleximus, percepimus,
cognovimus etc. perspectrum
habeo

17. a Te
e te
i Vos
o vos
u te tuosque
b te et tuos
k.c te ac tuos
d te cum tuis
f Te tuosque
g Te et tuos
h Te ac tuos
l Te cum tuis
m Te cum familia
n Te cum tota domo
p te cum charitatibus tuis
r Te atque tuos
s Te cum fratribus
t Te cum amicis
v.w Te cum necessariis
x
y
z

18. a Vir optime
qu. Vir honorate
i Amice honorande
o Amice dilecte
u Amice dilectissime
b D^{ne} amice
c Vir amicissime
d Vir amantissime
f Vir amande
g D^{ne} colende
h D^{ne} observande
l D^{ne} reverende
m D^{ne} venderande
n Vir clarissime
p Vir laudatissime
r Vir praestantissime
s Vir candidissime
t Vir spectatissime
v. w Vir splendide
e. Vir excellentissime
x. Vir splendidissime
y
z

19. a [plane] bene valere.	20. a Ego et Mei	21. a Dei
e. recte valere.	e. Ego ac Mei	e. Divina
i [bene] plane valere.	i Ego atque Mei	i Numinis
o belle valere.	o Ego cum Meis	o Coelesti
u melius valere.	u Ego Meique	u Superum
b meliuscule valere.	b Ego quoque et M.	b Supremi
c recte habere.	c Ego quoq. atq. M.	c D. O. M
d bene habere.	d Et Ego Meique	d D. T[er]. O.
f belle habere.	f Et Ego atque Mei	f D. T. O. M.
g melius habere.	g Et Ego cum meis	g Dei T. O.
h meliuscule habere.	h Et Nos	h Dei T. O. M.
l optime valere.	l Nos quoque	l Optimi Max.
m optime habere.	m Nos quoq.	m Ter Opt. Max.
n incolumes habere.	n Nos similiter	n Num. Divini
p sospites habere.	p Nos etiam	p Numinis Supremi
r valentes habere.	r Et Nos hic	r Mai[estatis] Divinae
s felices vigere.	s Nos quoque hic	s Omnipotentis
t felices florere.	t Nos etiam hic	t Numin ^{is} Coelestis
v.w athleticè valere.	v.w Etiam hic	v.w Cunctipotentis
e pancratice vivere.	e Et Tui hic	e Coelitum
x basilice agere.	x Etiam nos	x
y salvos et incolumes esse.	z	y
z sanos, salvos et sospites esse; pulchre esse.		z
22. a clementia	23. a vigemus;	24. a Coeterum
e. bonitate	e. valemus;	e. Coetero
i benignitate	i bene valemus, perbene;	i Ceterum
o beneficentia	o recte valemus, perbene;	o Cetero
u gratia	u belle valemus, perbelle;	u De coetero
b largitate	b optime, perbelle valemus;	b De cetero
c liberalitate	c pulcre, bellissime valemus;	c nisi quod
d facilitate	d probe valemus;	d solum quod
f lenitate	f ex voto valemus;	f at / quamvis
g munificentia	g ad votum valemus	g sed / quamquam
h benevolentia	h ex sententia valemus;	h excepto
l potentia	l egregie valemus;	l excepto quod
m miseratione	m vivimus, valemus;	m verum
n misericordia	n vivimus, vigemus;	n porro
p opera	p vivimus, viremus;	p attamen
r virtute	r valemus, vigemus;	r sed tamen
s ope	s salvi degimus;	s at sane
t gr̄a	t incolumes sumus;	t veruntamen
v.w indulgentia	v.w sani agimus;	v.w atqui
e	e belle habemus;	e etsi, tantum quantum
x	x Musice aetatem agere;	x tametsi
y	y	y licet

25. a Andreas	26. a A	27. a A	28. a A.	29. a amicus
qu. Ericus	e E	e E	e E.	e cognatus
i Ioannes	i I	i I	i I.	i agnatus
o Olaus	o O	o O	o O.	o consanguineus
u Ulricus	u U	u U	u U.	u necessarius
b Bernhardus	b B	b B	b B.	b famulus
c Conradus	c C	c C	c C.	c servus
d Dithmarus	d D	d D	d D.	d servitor
f Franciscus	f F	f F	f F.	f scribe
g Georgius	g G	g G	g G.	g amanuensis
h Henricus	h H	h H	h H.	h auriga
l Laurentius	l L	l L	l L.	l coquus
m Marcus	m M	m M	m M.	m sartor
n Nicolaus	n N	n N	n N.	n pictor
p Paulus	p P	p P	p P.	p secretarius
r Rudolphus	r R	r R	r R.	r contubernalis
s Sigwardus	s S	s S	s S.	s alumnus
t Thomas	t T	t T	t T.	t collega
v.w	w W	w W	w W.	w sodalis
x	x X	x X	x X.	x hospes
y	y Y	y Y	y Y.	y commensalis
z	z Z	z Z	z Z.	z procurator

30. a Meus	31. a nuper	32. a mortuus est,
e Tuus	e nup	e excessit,
i meus	i nuprime	i e vita excessit,
o tuus	o nuperrime	o vita excessit,
u me ^{us}	u non ita pridem	u emigravit,
b tu ^{us}	b pridie	b vita migravit,
c Noster	c nudiustertius	c e vita emigravit,
d Vester	d nudiusquartus	d ex vita emigravit,
f noster	f dudum	f a vita recessit,
g vester	g pridem	g e vita discessit,
h n ^o r.	h heri	h decessit,
l v ^o r.	l heri mane	l fatis concessit,
m olim meus	m ante biduum	m diem functus est,
n olim tuus	n ante triduum	n e vivis excessit,
p olim noster	p hac septimana	p fato functus est,
r olim vester	r hac hebdomade	r esse desiit,
s quondam meus	s hoc mense	s diem obiit,
t quondam tuus	t biduo	t mortem obiit,
w quondam noster	w triduo	w vita functus est,
x quondam vester	x hoc triduo	x periit,
y	y nunc quatrimum	y animam edidit,
z	z non interest triduum	z expiravit, cecidit, spiritum edidit, spiritum posuit, interiit,

33. a a nefando
 e a nefario
 i a scelesto
 o a scelerato
 u ab impio
 b a furioso
 c ab infesto
 d a saevo
 f a sceleroso
 g a sanguinolento
 h a cruento
 l a crudeli
 m a funesto
 n a truci
 p a truculento
 r a scelestissimo
 s a scelestissimo
 t a truculentissimo
 w ab impiissimo
 x a profligantissimo
 y a desperatissimo
 z ab impurissimo,
 atrocissimo

34. a nebulone
 e latrone
 i milite
 o praedone
 u sicario
 b homine
 c Busiride
 d Phalaride
 f nequam
 g homicida
 h insidiatore
 l helluone
 m scortatore
 n ganeone
 p lurcone
 r gulone
 s carnifice
 t mastigia
 w lenone
 x caupone
 y
 z

35. a misere
 e crudeliter
 i lamentabiliter
 o flebiliter
 u nefarie
 b nefandum in modum
 c nefarium in modum
 d flebilem in modum
 f miserum in modum
 g miserandum in modum
 h inhumaniter
 l insiduose
 m perfide
 n ex insidiis
 p immaniter
 r scelerate
 s scelerose
 t impie
 w saeviter
 x truculenter
 y
 z

36. a occisus.
 e interemptus.
 i caesus.
 o interfectus.
 u peremptus.
 b obtruncatus.
 c confossus.
 d necatus.
 f concisus.
 g gulam praecisus.
 h confectus.
 l deletus.
 m extinctus.
 n confixus
 p transfixus
 r transfossus.
 s iugulatus.
 t trucidatus.
 w mactatus.
 x exanimatus.
 y e medio sublatus.
 z oppressus.

37. a Hodie
 e Heri
 i Heri vesperi
 o Hac vespera
 u Hodie mane
 b Protinus
 c Actutum
 d Paulo post
 f Post paulo
 g In praesenti
 h In instanti
 l Modo
 m Illico
 n Confestim
 p Continuo
 r Mox
 s Statim
 t In continenti
 w In momento
 x Iam
 y
 z

38. a captus est
 e prehensus est
 i comprehensus
 o in vincula missus
 u in vincula coniectus est
 b in vincula abreptus est
 c in vincula raptus est
 d in vincula ductus est
 f in vincula compactus est
 g in vincula conclusus est
 h in vincula datus est
 l in carcerem datus
 m in carcerem compactus
 n in carcerem conditus
 p in carcerem contrusus est
 r in custodiam datus
 s in custodiam inclusus
 t in custodiam traditus est
 w in custodiam receptus est
 x in catenis constrictus
 y
 z

39. a sanguinarius
 e mali-feriatus
 i infelix
 o infaustus
 u infortunatus
 b aerumnosus
 c male-sanus
 d insanus
 f rabiosus
 g scelerosus
 h scelestus
 l scleratus
 m inauspicatus
 n infrunitus
 p furiosus
 r furibundus
 s sanguinolentus
 t cruentus
 w impiatus
 x atrox, truculentus
 y male-conciliatus
 z male-natus

42. vicissim
 a puniendus.
 e mactandus.
 i ferendus.
 o periturus.
 u interiturus.
 b tollendus.
 c interimendus.
 d perimendus.
 f trucandus.
 g obtrucandus.
 h conficiendus.
 l caedendus.
 m interficiendus.
 n occidendus.
 p casurus.
 r exanimandus.
 s sternendus.
 t necandus.
 w trucidandus
 x ulciscendus
 y
 z

40. a brevi
 e propediem
 i cras
 o die crastino
 u cras mane
 b perendie
 c postridie
 d post paucos dies
 f ad biduum
 g ad triduum
 h ad quatrimum
 l ad novendium
 m octiduum
 n hisce diebus
 p hoc mense
 r Die Martis
 s Die Saturni
 t Die Veneris
 w Die Mercurii
 x Die Iovis
 y quamprimum
 z

43.
 a Nam
 e Namque
 i Etenim
 o Quippe
 u Quia
 b Quoniam
 c Quando
 d Quandoquidem
 f Quod
 g Siquidem
 h En!
 l Ecce!
 m Ecquid?
 n Adeo
 p Sic
 r Equidem
 s Sane
 t Certe
 w Profecto
 x Pol
 y
 z

41. a acerba morte
 e atroci morte
 i digna morte
 o condigna morte
 u merita morte
 b commerita morte
 c crudeli morte
 d ultrici morte
 f dira morte
 g ultore gladio
 h ultore ense
 l ferali securi
 m ferali ferro
 n ferali poena
 p lictoris manu
 r carnificis manu
 s ultoris manu
 t ultrici manu
 w ultrici bipenni
 x truci fato
 y
 z

44.
 a Deus
 e Deus ultor
 i Deus vindex
 o Deus iustus
 u Deus sanctus
 b Deus severus
 c Iustitia
 d Sancta Iustitia
 f Ultrix Iustitia
 g Inviolata Iustitia
 h Iustitia Divina
 l Iustitia Coelestis
 m Astraea
 n Adrastea
 p Oculus Dei
 r Oculus vindex
 s Oculus iustus
 t Manus Dei
 w Manus ultrix
 x Manus gravis
 y Nemesis
 z

45. a non
e nunquam
i nu⁻quam
o nu⁻qua⁻
u nunqua⁻
b non unq.
c non unquam
d ⁻o⁻ unquam
f ⁻o⁻ u⁻quam
g ⁻o⁻ unqua⁻
h vix
l vix unqua⁻
m haud
n haud unq.
p nullo modo
r neutiqua⁻
s nequaqua⁻
t haudquaquam
w raro
x rarissime
y
z

46. a sinit
e [sivit], praetermittit
i dimittit
o dimisit
u transmittit
b [transmisit] patitur
c transit
d [transivit] remittit
f [transiit] permittit
g [transilit] fert
h [transilivit] perfert
l [relinquit] praetermittit
m reliquit
n [insuper habet] tolerat
p [insuper habuit] remittit
r praeterit
s praetergreditur
t solet sinere
w solet relinquere
x sinet praetergredi
y solet remittere
z solet pati, praetermittere,
solet ferre, solet permittere,
solet concedere

47. a grave
e atrox
i enorme
o infestum
u immane
b voluntarium
c magnum
d detestabile
f insolens
g improbum
h cruentum
l horrendum
m inexpressibile
n foedum
p tetrum
r pudendum
s infandum
t dirum
w abominandum
x impium
y
z

48. aliquid
a peccatum inultum.
e delictum inultum.
i facinus inultum.
o scelus inultum.
u flagitium inultum.
b maleficium inultum.
c malefactum inultum.
d peccatum impunitum.
f commissum impunitum.
g admissum impunitum.
h factum impunitum.
l malefactum impunitum.
m delictum impunitum.
n facinus impunitum.
p scelus impunitum.
r flagitium impunitum
s crimen impunitum.
t facinus incastigatum.
w scelus incastigatum.
x flagitium incastigatum.
y inceptum incastigatum.
z ausum, coeptum incastigatum.

49.
a Sed transeant haec;
e De his satis;
i Mitto tristia;
o Mitto moesta;
u Mitto moerore;
b Mitto mortes;
c Mitto aerumnas;
d Mitto mortalia;
f Mitto lugubria;
g Mitto funesta;
h Mitto feralia;
l Sat de his;
m Sed
n At
p Atque
r Transeant ista;
s Transeant tristia;
t Transeant funesta;
w Transeant feralia;
x Transeant mortes;
y
z

50.
a ad alia:
e ad laetiora:
I nunc ad alia:
o nunc ad laeta:
u nunc ad laetiora:
b nunc ad amoena:
c nunc ad amoeniora:
d iam gratiora:
f iucundiora dicam:
g iucundiora nunciabo:
h iucundiora commemorabo:
l iucundiora scribam:
m iucundiora audies:
n iucundiora memorabo:
p iucundiora narrabo:
r iucundiora referam:
s redeo ad gratiora:
t redeo ad suaviora:
w redeo ad suavia:
x redeo ad gaudia:
y
z

51.

a virum doctum
e virum eruditum
i virum nobilem
o virum clarum
u virum honoratum
b virum prudentem
c adolescentem pium
d ... mansuetum
f ... elegantem
g ... splendidum
h ... honestum
l iuvenem acrem
m ... florentem
n ... divitem
p ... lepidum
r ... cordatum
s ... opulentum
t ... facundum
v
x
y

52.

a et
e ac
i atque
o eundemque
u iuxta et
b iuxta ac
c iuxta atque
d aequae atque
f aequae ac
g aequae atque
h simul et
l simul ac
m simul atque
n non minus quam
p perinde ac
r perinde atque
s perinde quam
t iuxtaque
v pariter ac/ atque
x non secus ac/ atque
y

53.

a probum
e gnavum
i solertem
o celebrem
u gravem
b generosum
c ingeniosum
d beneficum
f syncerum
g magnanimum
h modestum
l magnificum
m candidum
n munificum
p acutum
r beatum
s liberalem
t fortem
v
x
y

54.

a filium Nobilis
e filium Generosi
i filium Domini
o filium Magistri
u filium D[omi]ni
b filium Consulis
c filium Praetoris
d filium Praesulis
f filium Mercatoris
g filium Antistitis
h filium Episcopi
l filium Rectoris
m filium Magnifici
n filium Senatoris
p filium Consilarii
r filium Tribuni
s filium Capitanei
t filium Praesidis
v
x
y
z

55.

a A
e E
i I
o O
u U
b B
c C
d D
f F
g G
h H
l L
m M
n N
p P
r R
s S
t T
w W
x X
y Y
z Z

56.

a A
e E
i I
o O
u U
b B
c C
d D
f F
g G
h H
l L
m M
n N
p P
r R
s S
t T
w W
x X
y Y
z Z

57.

a A
e E
i I
o O
u U
b B
c C
d D
f F
g G
h H
l L
m M
n N
p P
r R
s S
t T
w W
x X
y Y
z Z

58.	59.	60.
a nosti.	a Is fertur, asseveratur	a amare
e novisti.	e Is, [ut ferunt], memoratur	e adamare
i nostis.	i Is, [ut aiunt]/, proditur	i deamare
o novistis.	o Is dicitur	o deperire
u noscis.	u Is asseritur	u ardere
b noscitis.	b Is, [ut fama est], nunciatur	b diligere
c novimus.	c Is, [ut rumor est], narratur	c charam habere
d noscimus.	d Eum rumor est	d animum adiecisse ad
f noras.	f Eum rumor fert	f amorem habere erga
g noveras.	g Eum percrebuit	g amore amplecti
h tenes.	h Eum permanet	h amore complecti
l habes.	l Eum palam est	l amore prosequi
m tenuisti.	m Eum ferunt, asserunt	m amore inflammatum esse erga
n cognoscis.	n Eum constat	n amore captum esse erga
p cognosti.	p Eum patet	p amore teneri erga
r cognovisti.	r Eum liquet	r amore illigatum erga
s notum habes.	s Eum certum est	s amore correptum erga
t cognitum habes.	t Eum manifestum est	t amore flagrare erga
v	v Eum aiunt, asseverant	w
61.	62.	63.
a Annam	a consanguineam	a virginem
e Emerentiam	e cognatam tuam	e virgine ⁻
i Iulianam	i agnatam tuam	i puellam
o Oliveriam	o consobrinam	o puella ⁻
u Ursulam	u neptem	u puellula ⁻
b Barbaram	b propinquam	b puellulam
c Catharinam	c gentilem	c foemina ⁻
d Dorotheam	d ex fratre neptem	d foeminam
f Fabiam	f patrulem	f mulierem
g Gertrudem	g amitinam	g muliere ⁻
h Helenam	h sobrinam	h nympham
l Luciam	l ex sorore neptem	l nympha ⁻
m Mariam	m fratris tui filiam	m Nympham
n Nisam	n fratris mei filiam	n adolesce ⁻ tula ⁻
p Petronillam	p sororis tuae filiam	p adolesce ⁻ tulam
r Rachelem	r sororis meae filiam	r adolescentula ⁻
s Saram	s uxoris meae sororem	s adolescentulam
t Thrudam	t uxoris tuae amitinam	t Virginem
w	w affinem	w

64 [a]

a pulchram et dotatam
e animi et corporis dotibus ornatam
i pulchritudine eximia
o excellentis formae
u quae genus exuperat nobilitate morum
b non exuperabilis formae
c inexuperabili forma
d exuperantis formae
f facie et moribus concinnam
g vinnulam, venustam
h mollem, dulciculam, tenellam
l eximia specie
m moribus et forma fulgidam
n genere et forma nobilem
p tam virtute, quam stemmate claram
r forma, divitiis, virtute beatam
s ut prosapia, ita forma et moribus splendidam
t generis et formae nobilitate conspicuam
w
x
y
z

64 [b]

a eximia forma praeditam
e eximia specie donatam
i eximia pulchritudine dotatam
o eximia facie ornatam
u exuperanti forma decoratam
b exuperanti specie relucentem
c exuperanti pulchritudine conspicuam
d exuperanti facie illustrem
f forma egregia fulgidam
g forma summa fulgentem
h forma insigni coruscantem
l forma excellenti nitentem
m forma liberali celebrem
n facie honesta celebratam
p facie praeclara decantatam
r facie decora splendidam
s facie luculenta nitidam
t facie concinna commendabilem
w specie non vulgari praeclaram
x vultu venusto commendatam
y eminenti specie eminentem
z eminenti forma eminentem

65.

a consilio
e proposito
i voluntate
o intentione
u animo
b lubentia
c mente
d cupidine
f spe
g ardore
h aestu
l cupiditate
m studio
n aviditate
p destinatione
r instituto
s fine
t fine scilicet
v.w
x

66.

a illam sibi despondendi
e illam sibi desponsandi
i illam sibi nuptiis iungendi
o illam sibi nuptiis copulandi
u illam sibi coniugio devinciendi
b illam sibi coniungendi
c illam sibi in coniugem iungendi
d illam sibi coniugio iungendi
f illam sibi coniugio adiungendi
g illam sibi coniugio coniungendi
h illam sibi connubio coniungendi
l illam sibi uxorem ducendi
m illam sibi in uxorem accipiendi
n illam sibi matrimonio iungendi
p illam sibi matrimonio adiungendi
r illam sibi matrimonio coniungendi
s illam sibi in matrimonium ducendi
t illam sibi in matrimonium habendi
v.w illam sibi connubio sociandi
x illam sibi in connubium petendi

67.

a idque adeo
e idque sane
i idque maxime
o idque praecipue
u idque praesertim
b idque seorsim
c idque potissimum
d idque separatim
f idque aperte
g idque manifesto
h idque palam
l idque sigillatim
m idque prorsus
n idque prorsum
p idque porro
r idque plane
s idque omnino
t idque penitus
v. w idque non absque
x idque non nisi

68.	69.	70.
a suasu	a optimi	a Deum faxit, ut
e consilio	e sapientissimi	e Dii dent, ut
i suggestu	i prudentissimi,	i Deum precor, ut
o suffragio	o cordatissimi	o Deum precamur, ut
u voluntate	u probatissimi	u Deum imploro, ut
b favore	b experientissimi	b Caelites invoco, ut
c assensu	c consideratissimi	c Caelites obtestor, ut
d consensu	d cautissimi	d Deum veneror, ut
f calculo	f integerrimi	f Numen veneror, ut
g concordia	g consultissimi	g Numen adoro, ut
h prudentia	h perspicacissimi	h Voveo numen, ut
l providentia	l instructissimi	l Ex animo voveo, ut
m sapientia	m amplissimi	m Ex animo opto, ut
n ex sententia	n clarissimi	n Opto, ut
p ex animo	p spectatissimi	p In optatis mihi est, ut
r nutu, voto	r nobilissimi	r In votis mihi est, ut
s ad praescriptum	s lectissimi	s Vota facio, ut
t ex praescripto	t gravissimi	t Velim, ut
v.w ad nutum	v.w eminentissimi	v.w Cupio, ut
x ad votum, ex voto x		x In optatis habeo, ut

71.	propitii	72.
a quod actum est, dii propitius approbent.		a Si quid apud vos
e quae optant, assequantur.		e Si quid ibi loci
i ipsis, quod agunt, ex sententia procedat.		i Si quid ibi locorum
o ipsis haec res pulchre ex animi sententia eveniat		o Si quid illic
u ipsis facile exoptata contingant.		u Si quid istic aut alibi
b quod agunt, ipsis nobisque bene vertat.		b Si quid ibi
c quod optant, ex sententia conficiant.		c Si quid istic
d coepta ex sententia succedant.		d Si quid isthic
f quae agunt, bene et feliciter eveniant.		f Si quid isthic loci
g cogitata quam felicissime conficiantur.		g Si quid isthic locorum
h res haec ipsis eveniat prospera et secunda.		h Si quid isthic aut alibi
l semper omnia optata ferant.		l Si quid vestris oris
m omnia feliciter <optata ferant>.		m Si quid isthoc loco
n feliciter, prospere, fauste <optata ferant>.		n Si quid in vestris regionibus
p quae cupiunt, patiantur.		p Si quid in vestra regione
r haec ipsorum consilia Dii propitii fortunare velint		r Si quid alicunde
s omnia prospere cedant.		s Si quid uspiam
t optatis fortuna respondeat.		t Si quid usquam
v.w quae agunt, bene et prospere cadant.		v.w Si quid usquam gentium
x quae agant, bene et commodè cadant		x Si quid usquam locorum
y Deus, Dii, Numen coepta prosperent et secudent		y
z Propitius iidem coepta prosperent et secudent		z

73.

a novi auditur
e novi fertur
i novi circumfertur
o novi emergit
u novi habetur
b novi oritur
c novi exoritur
d novi exurgit
f novi surgit
g novi emanat
h novi vulgatur
l novi percrebuit
m novi percrebescit
n novi gliscit
p novi pullulat
r novi existit
s novi erumpit
t novi effluit
v.w novi exauditur
x novi enascitur
y novi crebescit
z novi increbescit

74.

a id quaeso
e id amabo
i id sodes
o id obsecro
u id rogo
b id oro
c precor
d contendo
f te flagito
g abs te flagito
h quaesumus
l rogamus
m precamur
n obsecramus
p obtestor
r amabo te
s ama me
t obtestamur
v.w te rogo
x age
y
z

75.

a nobis perscribe.
e nobis communica.
i nobis annuncia.
o nos fac certiores.
u nos fac participes.
b nobis enuncias.
c nobis significa.
d nobis expromas.
f nobis indica.
g nobis patefacias, aperias.
h nobis renuncia.
l nos reddas certiores.
m nos facias certiores.
n nobis indicas.
p nobis communices.
r nos ne celes.
s ad nos perscribe.
t ad nos perscribas.
v.w nobis significes.
x nos ne clam sit.
y <nos> trans mitte.
z

<76.>

a At!
e At at!
i At enim!
o At vero!
u At ecce!
b At nunc!
c At iam!
d At Hercule!
f At quid?
g En vero!
h Ecce vero!
l En autem!
m Ecce autem!
n Ohe!
p Eia!
r
s
t
v.w
x

<77.>

a pene
e fere
i ferme
o prope
u propemodum
b omnino
c penitus
d modo
f penitus fere
g penitus ferme
h penitus prope
l omnino prope
m prorsus fere
n prorsus ferme
p prorsus pene
r parum abfuit
s non multum abfuit
t nihil pene abfuit
v.w omnino fere
x omnino ferme

<78.>

a oblitus eram:
e oblitus sum:
i oblitus fui:
o excidit mihi:
u exciderat mihi:
b memoria excidit:
c oblivioni dederam:
d oblivioni tradideram:
f oblivioni tradidi:
g animo excidit:
h animo exciderat:
l e memoria elapsus erat:
m effluerat:
n effluerat mihi:
p me memoria effugerat:
r ex animo ieiceram:
s ex animo perdideram:
t memoria me destituit:
v.w effluxit:
x animo excessit:

<79.> a ridiculum quiddam	<80.> a [narrabo], praebebo.
e lepidum quiddam	e memorabo.
i iucundum quiddam	i [dicam], pandam.
o suave quiddam	o commemorabo.
u perridiculum quendam actum	u recensebo, percensebo.
b iocosum quendam mimum	b [enarrabo], producam.
c facetum quendam ludum	c [effabor], apparabo.
d salsum	d [afferam], promam.
f hilare quoddam factum	f [indicabo], exhibebo.
g laetum quoddam facinus	g praeferam, subijciam.
h amoenum quoddam facinus	h referam.
l gratum quoddam negotium	l [annunciabo], pangam.
m populare quoddam ludicrum	m [denunciabo], celebrabo.
n risu dignum	n edam.
p comicum quendam actum	p exponam.
r festivum quendam mimum	r edisseram.
s urbanum quendam ludum	s [scribam], expediam.
t periucundum quendam lusum	t expromam.
v.w scenicum quendam spectaculum	v.w [nunciabo], repraesentabo.
x ludicrum quendam iocum	x significabo.

12.2.3 Critical and explanatory remarks

In units 31 (y) and 40 (h), *quatrividuum* is an alternative spelling for *quadriduum*, a space of four days. In unit 32, the phrase *diem fungi* means “to experience one’s last day”. In unit 34, Busiris and Phalaris are the names of tyrants in Egypt and on Sicily, well-known for their cruelty in ancient Greco-Roman literature.

Section 12.1.4, unit 11, and Section 12.2.2, units 25 and 61, contain lists of Latinized personal names of West-Germanic, Greco-Roman and Scandinavian origins. Names of West-Germanic origins are Bernhardus, Conradus, Dithmarus, Gertrud (Gertraud), Henricus (Heinrich), Huldricus (Huldrich), Ludovicus (Ludwig), Rudolphus, Sigwardus, Thruda and Ulricus. In the early 17th century, these names were popular in northern Germany, where Stiernhielm had studied. Reimerus and Rosaeus are attested as German surnames; the former also as a given name. Their distribution between High and Low German remains to be explored.¹¹⁴³ Andreas, Georgius and Nicolaus are names of Greek origin, while Claudius, Franciscus, Laurentius, Marcus and Paulus are Latin first names. Strabo is a Greek surname and Luscus a Latin nickname. First names of Old Norse origin are

¹¹⁴³ The universities of Greifswald and Helmstedt were then located in the Low German speaking area and the University of Wittenberg on the dialect border. A study of the names of the German students in the university matricles would reveal their relative distribution in High and Low German. The standard work is W. Seibicke’s *Historisches deutsches Vornamenbuch*, 5 vols., Berlin 1996–2007.

Olaus (Olaf), Ericus (Erik) and Sveno (Sven/ Svein). Some names are of Semitic origin: Jobus, Johannes and Thomas. As biblical names, the former was common in Germany and the Netherlands, while the latter two belong to the universal European heritage. One surname, Gibby (Latinized Gibbus), is of Scottish origin. The female names mainly derive from the Greco-Roman tradition: Dorothea, Emerentia, Fabia, Iuliana, Oliveria, Petronilla, and Ursula. Anna (a variant of Hanna) and Maria¹¹⁴⁴ are however of biblical Hebrew origin.

12.2.4 Cipher writing: *Stiernhielm's example*

Source: F.d. 13, the wrapper Polygraphia, fol. 32r. Stiernhielm joins the units 1–75 into a text with an encoded message in German.¹¹⁴⁵

Salutem Pl. voveo. etc. Non mediocriter recreaverunt ocellos nostros acceptissimae l[itte]rae vestrae, quas nuper exhibuit nobis a manu noster.¹¹⁴⁶ E quibus lubens perspexi te cum amicis, vir amantissime, recte valere. Nos quoque Dei T.O. benignitate valemus optime. Veruntamen Georgius O.T.C. cognatus meus, ante triduum e vita discessit, ab impio quodam ganeone scelerose trucidatus. Actutum in vincula coniectus est infrunitus ille, die Saturni proxima carnificis ultrici manu obtrunculandus. Etenim Deus severus vindex haudquaquam transmittit immane aliquod facinus impunitum. Transeant tristia; redeo ad suaviora. Adolescentem splendidum iuxta et munificum, filium Capitanei T.G.I. noscitis, Eum, manifestum est, diligere Rachelem, consobrinam tuam, virginem generis et formae nobilitate conspicuam fine¹¹⁴⁷ illam sibi coniugio devinciendi,¹¹⁴⁸ non absque consensu probatissimi viri, patris sui. Opto, ut ipsis facile exoptata contingant. Si quid alicunde novi emanat, id, obsecro, ad nos perscribas. Vale.

Stiernhielm decodes the cipher as follows:

*Wer Lust hat zu Kunst,
dem gibt Got sein Gunst.*

¹¹⁴⁴ It derives from Mariam, the Greek form in the Septuagint of the pre-Masoretic Hebrew name *Maryam* (later *Miryam*), interpreted as *mar-yam*, “drop of the sea” by Eusebius. *Stilla maris* was reinterpreted as *stella maris* “star of the sea”.

¹¹⁴⁵ Wieselgren (*Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, vol. 3:1, p. 115, letter no. 72b) published this example of polygraphy with Swedish translation, idem, *ibidem*, vol. 3:2, p. 107, but did not publish the ensuing decoded message in German.

¹¹⁴⁶ a manu noster] This expression means “our secretary”.

¹¹⁴⁷ fine] This word corresponds to the letter /s/, but the intended cipher requires the letter /r/, which has been encoded as the word *instituto*.

¹¹⁴⁸ illam sibi coniugio devinciendi] This phrase, which encodes the letter /u/, does not answer to the intended cipher, which requires the letter /a/ (in the word *Traw*).

*Kunst gibt Gunst, Gunst gibt Brot:
Traw du nur Got.*

12.3 A letter on European political news in 1646

12.3.1 Historical contexts and wording of the letter

Source: F.d. 13, the wrapper Polygraphia fol. 9r–10v. Size: 210 x 328 mm. For photographs, see Figures 25a–25b. Stiernhielm shows the variability of diction in the treatment of a political theme, where the situation is the peace negotiations at the end of the Thirty Years' War. By the rhetorical figure of vivid description (*evidentia*, *hypotyposis*) he depicts the still imminent threat to peace posed by the Catholic League under the Pope, and contrasts it with the unexpected rescue brought by the fifth war of the Ottoman Turks with the Republic of Venice, which broke out in 1646. He mentions this war elsewhere in the manuscript (F.d. 13, envelope Polygraphia, fol. 22v). Moreover, Stiernhielm points to a cryptographic function of his polygraphia by showing how the letter designations can be joined into a hidden message (F.d. 13, 31r–32r). One of these formulations is dated 9 May 1646 at his estate Wasula. See Vol. 1, Section 12.3.3.

The Latin text reads as follows:

(1) Ave. (2) Novissimis (3) rogas, (4) si quid e Germania (5) audiretur novi, (6) id ut ad vos perscriberem. (7) Haec habe: (8) E Germania (9) scribitur/ refertur (10) negotium pacis (11) cum Caesare, (12) licet frustra (13) reluctante (14) cum consortibus (15) Papa, (16) oppido fervere. (17) Furant (18) effraenati (19) Bellonae filii. (20) Turbent, (21) sudent, conentur omnia; (22) Dii viam invenient. (23) Atque adeo (24) Turca (25) Christianorum (26) alias hereditarius hostis, (27) qui fertur terra marique (28) magnis copiis (29) aggredi Venetiis, (30) etiam invitus (31) negotium nobis promovebit.

In English translation: (1) Be greeted! (3) You asked (2) recently, (4) whether any news from Germany (5) has been heard (6) in order that I would write it to you. (7) Get this: (8) From Germany (9) it is written (told) that (10) the matter of peace (11) with the Emperor (16) proceeds very well, (12) though in vain (15) the Pope (14) with his companions (13) struggles against it. Let (18) the wild (19) sons of Bellona (17) rave! (20) Let them disturb, (21) let them sweat, let them try everything! (22) The gods will find a way of escape. (23) And thus (24) the Turks, (26) otherwise the hereditary enemy (25) of the Christians, (27) who are said (29) to be attacking Venice (27) on land and sea (28) with large armed forces, will (30) even against their own wishes (31) promote the matter in our favour.

12.3.2 Ave. Novissimis rogas, si quid e Germania

12.3.2.1 Latin text

(9r) 1.	2.	3.
a. Ave.	a. Novissimis	a. rogas
b. Salutem.	b. Denuo-datis	b. exigis
c.k. S.P.	c. Post-scriptis	c. obsecras
d. S. P. D.	d. Nuperrimis	d. precaris
e. Bene agere.	e. Novissime datis	e. poscis
f. Salvus sies.	f. Denuo-scriptis	f. exposcis
g. Bonam vitam.	g. Recentibus	g. cupis
h. Bene vivere.	h. Recenter missis	h. mones
i. Salve.	i. Proximis	i. flagitas
l. Felicitatem pr.	l. Posterioribus	l. efflagitas
m. Valetudinem et et laetitiam	m. Antemeridianis	m. obtestaris
n. Salutem pl.	n. Prioribus	n. hortaris
o. Sanitatem et laetitiam.	o. Postremo datis	o. postulas
p. Sis prosper.	p. Superioribus	p. expostulas
qu. Sis sospes.	qu. Antelucanis	qu. urges
r. Incolumitatem pr[ecor].	r. Postremis	r. petis
s. Perenne gaudium p[re]cor].	s. Matutinis	s. contendis
t. prosperitatem perennantem.	t. Recentioribus	t. expetis
u. Salutem et annos.	u. Recentissimis	u. oras
v.w. Salut. et gaudium.	v.w. Pomeridianis	v.w. exquiris
x. Te valere iubeo.	x. Vespertinis	x. instas
y. Gaudium perenne.	y. Annexis	y. sciscitaris
z. Opto quae optas.	z. Ultimis	z. exhortaris

4. a. si quid e Germania
- b. si quid apud nos
- c. si quid hic
- d. si quid hic loci
- e. si quid alicunde
- f. si quid hoc loco
- g. si quid his oris
- h. si quid his locis
- i. si quid hic vel aliunde
- l. si quid hic locorum
- m. si quid his regionibus
- n. si quid usquequaque
- o. si quid usquam
- p. si quid in hac terra
- qu. si quid ab exoticis
- r. si quid in nostra provincia
- s. si quid in hac provincia
- t. si quid ab exteris
- u. si quid uspiam
- v.w. si quid aliunde
- x. si quid hic terrarum
- y. si quid usquam terrarum
- z. si quid aliqua

6. a. id ut ad vos perscriberem.
- b. id ut ad vos scriberem.
- c. id ut ad vos referrem.
- d. id ut ad vos nuntiarem.
- e. id ut ad vos renunciarem.
- f. id ut vobis annunciarem.
- g. id ut vobis indicarem.
- h. id ut vobis expromerem.
- i. id ut vobis significarem.
- l. id ut vobis perscriberem.
- m. id ut vobis transmitterem.
- n. id ut vobis aperirem.
- o. id ut vos ne celarem.
- p. id vos ne clam haberem.
- qu. id ut vobis notum facerem.
- r. id vos ut facerem certiores.
- s. id ut vobis communicarem.
- t. id ut vobis notificarem.
- u. id ut vos redderem certiores.
- v.w. id ut vos facerem participes.
- x. id ut vobiscum participarem.
- y. id ut vobiscum communicarem.
- z. id ut vos redderem participes.

5. a. audiretur novi,
- b. ferretur rerum novarum,
- c. circumferretur novi,
- d. exoriretur rerum novarum,
- e. emergeret novi,
- f. evulgaretur rerum novarum,
- g. existeret novi,
- h. erumperet rerum novarum,
- i. manaret novi,
- l. haberetur rerum novarum,
- m. pullularet novi,
- n. oriretur rerum novarum,
- o. nunciaretur novi,
- p. efflueret rerum novarum,
- qu. exaudiretur novi,
- r. percrebesceret rerum novarum,
- s. vulgaretur novi,
- t. glisceret rerum novarum,
- u. afferretur novi,
- v.w. enascetur rerum novarum,
- x. prorumperet novi,
- y. promulgaretur rerum novarum,
- z. scriberetur novi,

- (9v)** 7. a. Haec habe:
- b. En, habe:
 - c. Scias igitur:
 - d. Scias itaque:
 - e. Age ergo:
 - f. Cognoscas itaque:
 - g. Ecce igitur:
 - h. Audi itaque:
 - i. Cape igitur:
 - l. Adverte animum:
 - m. [Nunc] ausculta igitur:
 - n. Da igitur aures:
 - o. Accipe itaque:
 - p. Aures praebe:
 - qu. Aures adhibe:
 - r. Lege ergo:
 - s. Attende:
 - t. Fac ergo audientiam:
 - u. Iam da silentium:
 - v.w. Adverte igitur:
 - x. Arrige aures:

8. a. E Germania
 b. Ex Germania
 c. Ab exercitu
 d. Ex castris
 e. Hamburgo
 f. Haga
 g. Amsterodamo
 h. Ex Holsatia
 i. Minda
 l. Lipsia
 m. Brema
 n. [Praga] E Westphalia
 o. Osnabrugo
 p. Ab exteris
 qu. Ab exoticis
 r. Hinc inde
 s. Hic
 t. Wismaria
 u. Stetino
 v.w. Lubeca
 x. Rostochio

10. a. negotium pacis
 b. tractatum pacis
 c. initia pacis
 d. principia pacis
 e. tractatus
 f. fundamenta pacis
 g. factionem pacis
 h. concordationem pacis
 i. tractatus pacis
 l. conciliationem
 m. exordia transactionis
 n. primordia transactionis
 o. pacificationis negotium
 p. compositionem pacis
 qu. conventionem pacis
 r. opus pacificationis
 s. tractationem concordiae
 t. sanctionem concordiae
 u. pacis negotium
 v.w. transactionem
 x. pacificationem
 <y.> agitationem pacis

9. a. scribitur, refertur
 b. fertur
 c. circumfertur
 d. adfertur
 e. fama est
 f. novellae sunt
 g. novellae ferunt
 h. auditur
 i. nunciatur
 l. certum est
 m. erumpit
 n. habetur
 o. rumor est
 p. emanat
 qu. celebratur
 r. percrebuit
 s. crebrum est
 t. frequens est
 u. vulgatur
 v.w. crebrescit
 x. notum est
 <y.> certiores sumus

11. a. cum Caesare,
 b. cum hoste,
 c. cum hostibus,
 d. cum inimicis,
 e. cum adversariis,
 f. cum Papistis,
 g. cum Austriacis,
 h. cum Aquila,
 i. cum Imperatore,
 l. cum legatis Caesaris,
 m. cum legatis Caesarianis,
 n. cum legatis Imperatoris,
 o. cum domo Austriaca,
 p. cum commissariis Imp[eratoris],
 qu. cum deputatis Imperatoris,
 r. cum Caesarianis,
 s. cum partibus Caesarianis,
 t. cum parte adversa,
 u. cum partibus adversis,
 v.w. malevolis nostris,
 x. cum Imperatoriis,
 <y.> cum Aquilio,

12. a. licet frustra
 b. etsi frustra
 c. etiamsi frustra
 d. admodum
 e. quamvis
 f. etiam atque etiam
 g. omnino
 h. omnibus viribus
 i. quantumvis
 l. sedulo
 m. gnaviter
 n. acriter
 o. nequaquam
 p. strenue
 qu. incessanter
 r. quantumlibet
 s. incassum
 t. invanum
 u. frustra
 v.w. aegre
 x. constanter
 y. multum
 z. impigre

14. a. cum consortibus
 b. cum complicibus
 c. cum sui similibus
 d. cum participibus
 e. cum aliis nonnullis
 f. cum rasis suis
 g. cum turba rasa
 h. cum adhaerentibus
 i. cum asseclis
 l. cum coniuratis suis
 m. cum parasitis suis
 n. cum paribus
 o. cum gregalibus
 p. cum sociis, porcis
 qu. cum auxiliatoribus
 r. cum tribulibus
 s. cum confoederatis
 t. cum cultoribus
 u. cum amatoribus
 v.w. cum amasiis
 x. cum pedi[s]sequis
 y. cum mancipiis
 z. cum Gnathonibus

13. a. reluctantem
 b. abnuente
 c. vetante
 d. pro viribus impediens
 e. detrectante
 f. denegante
 g. recusante
 h. aspernante
 i. renuente
 l. [turbante] contra-veniens, reclamante
 m. [invito] ringente
 n. dissuadente
 o. refragante
 p. dehortante
 qu. [adverso], obvertente cornua
 r. adversante
 s. resistente
 t. recalcitrante
 u. opponente se, repugnante
 v.w. dissentiente
 x. desciscente
 y. absterrente
 z. contra-nitente, obsistente

15. a. Papa,
 b. Pamphilo,
 c. Pamphilo Romano,
 d. Ganymede Romano,
 e. Pontifice,
 f.
 g.
 h. Propudio Capitolino,
 i. Papa Romano,
 l. Episcopo Romano,
 m. Sathana Romano,
 n. Beliale Romano,
 o. Pontifice Romano,
 p. Scorto Babylonico,
 qu. Prostibulo Babylonico,
 r. Iove Capitolino,
 s. Cerbero Capitolino,
 t. Tricipiti Capitolino,
 u. Tyranno Capitolino,
 u.w. Geryone Capitolino,
 x. Gephyrio Capitolino,
 y. Plutone Capitolino,
 z. Lenone,

16. a. op[p]ido fervere,
 b. prorsus fervere,
 c. impense fervere,
 d. impendio fervere,
 e. procedere,
 f. probe procedere,
 g. prospere procedere,
 h. pulchre procedere,
 i. recte succedere,
 l. sub manus succedere
 m. feliciter succedere,
 n. egregie succedere,
 o. ad votum succedere,
 p. optato cadere,
 qu. ex voto cadere,
 r. ex sententia cadere,
 s. ex animi sententia cadere,
 t. pulcherrime cadere,
 u. feliciter cadere,
 v.w. commode cadere,
 x. ad lubitum cadere,
 <y.> optime cadere,

18. a. effraenati
 b. amentes
 c. insani
 d. delirantes
 e. [nebulones], sacerrimi
 f. furibundi
 g. dementes
 h. atroces
 i. rabiosi illi, isti
 l. cerebrosi
 m. elleborosi
 n. temulenti
 o. effraenes
 p. ebriosi
 qu. indomiti
 r. feroces
 s. profligati
 t. conscelerati
 u. phrenetici
 v.w. exulcerati
 x.oestro perciti
 y. vecordes
 z. truces

17. a. Furant
 b. Insaniant
 c. Rumpantur
 d. Disrumpantur
 e. Valeant
 f. Pergant, angant sese
 g. Dissiliant
 h. Succenseant
 i. Excrucient se, quantum volunt,
 l. Crucient se, quantum volunt,
 m. Stringant se, quantum volunt,
 n. Torqueant se, quantum volunt,
 o. Suspendant se
 p. Cruci se figant
 qu. In malam rem
 r. In crucem
 s. In crucem, apage
 t. Latrent
 u. Fremant, frendeant
 v.w. Ebulliant
 x. Diris agantur
 y. Bacchentur
 z. Delirent

19. a. Bellonae filii:
 b. satyri:
 c. Thyrsigeri:
 d. Centauri:
 e. Cyclopes:
 f. Barbari Potitii:
 g. proci Penelopes:
 h. Cynoedi:
 i. sartores satoresque scelerum:
 l. fraudum sartores:
 m. Stygis satellites:
 n. noctis propago:
 o. Acherontis pabulum:
 p. Tartari fulcimina:
 qu. Acherontis pulli:
 r. Phlegetontis filii:
 s. Orci candidati:
 t. Theomachi:
 u. Gigantes:
 v.w. Mithragyrtae:
 x.
 y.
 z. Abderitae:

(10r) 20. a. turbent,
 b. murmurent,
 c. conturbent,
 d. disturbent,
 e. perturbent,
 f. inturbent,
 g. obturbent,
 h. tumultuentur,
 i. turbas cieant,
 l. turbas concieant,
 m. turbas concitent,
 n. turbas moveant,
 o. turbas faciant,
 p. turbas commoveant,
 qu. turbas dent,
 r. turbas excitent,
 s. ruant, misceant omnia,
 t. strepant,
 u. obstrepant,
 v.w. trepident,
 x. clament, mussitent,
 y. constrepant,
 z. crepent,

21. a. sudent, conentur omnia;
 b. desudent, elaborent;
 c. defatigent se;
 d. r[h]onchos cieant;
 e. cursent rursum prorsum;
 f. satagent rerum suarum;
 g. enitantur et contendant;
 h. agant, moveant omnia;
 i. cursitent sursum deorsum;
 l. omnes intendant nervos;
 m. omnes nervos contendant;
 n. suas partes agant;
 o. et Superos et Acheronta movento;
 p. summa contentione certent;
 qu. omnes vias persequantur;
 r. omnem lapidem moveant;
 s. omne saxum volvant;
 t. coelo tartara misceant;
 u. in perniciem nostram toto pectore incumbant;
 v.w. sacris misceant prophana;
 x. sursum deorsum [vertant] ferant omnia;
 y. omnem capiant laborem;
 z. nulli parcant labori;

22. a. Dii viam invenient.
 b. Superi viam invenient.
 c. Caelites viam invenient.
 d. Caelestes viam invenient.
 e. Fata viam invenient.
 f. nihil agent, vel: nugas agent.
 g. conata nunquam perficient.
 h. frustra Hylam inclamabunt.
 i. in caelum frustra iaculabuntur.
 l. Dii consilia nostra prosperabunt.
 m. ultimo saxum volvent Sisyphi.
 n. delphinum cauda ligabunt.
 o. Superi vota nostra secundabunt.
 p. Superi coepta nostra fortunabunt.
 qu. Superi desideria nostra propitiabunt.
 r. Superi suspiria nostra fovebunt.
 s. parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus
 t. aquilam tandem volare videbunt.
 u. effluet quicquid ingerunt.
 v.w. Caelites coeptis nostris favebunt.
 x. Caelites consiliis nostris favebunt.
 y. Caelites votis nostris favebunt.
 z. Caelites desideriiis nostris favebunt.

23. a. Atque adeo
 b. Adeoque
 c. [Praeterea] Nam
 d. Huc accedit, quod
 e. [Et] Nam quod magis est,
 f. Quid?
 g. Ecquid?
 h. Quid vero?
 i. Quin imo
 l. Quo tandem? / Namque
 m. Atqui/ Ecquid morantur?
 n. Quid ultra?
 o. Quin et
 p. Nam quod mirabere
 qu. Et ecce!
 r. Sed et / Ecquid cunctantur?
 s. Imo / Qui illos moramur?
 t. Coeterum
 u. Quin etiam
 v.w. Quid dicam?
 x. Et quid agant?
 y. Quo se vertant?
 z. Et quid proficiant?

24. Ipse
 a. Turca
 b. Turcus
 c. Caesar Turcicus
 d. Rex Turcarum
 e. Imperator Turcicus
 f. Princeps Turcicus
 g. Princeps Othomanicus
 h. Princeps Musulmanicus
 i. Turcarum Imperator
 l. Magnus Turcarum princeps
 m. Imp[erator] Mahumetanus
 n. Turcarum Monarcha
 o. Magnus Turca
 p. Monarcha Turcicus
 qu.
 r.
 s. Sultanus Turcarum
 t. Ottomannus
 u. Sultanus Othomannicus
 v.w. Sultanus Constantinopolitanus
 x. Sultanus Musulmanus
 y. Sultanus Mahometicus

26. alias

a. haereditarius	hostis,
b. iuratus	inimicus,
c. iuratissimus	osor,
d. irreconciliabilis	persecutor,
e. infensissimus	adversarius,
f. infestissimus	
g. acerbissimus	
h. perfidissimus	
i. truculentissimus	
l. immanissimus	
m. insolentissimus	
n. acerrimus	
o. perniciosissimus	
p. capitalis	
qu. pertinacissimus	
r. pervicacissimus	
s.	
t. atrocissimus	
u. internecinus	
v.w. ferocissimus	
x. importunissimus	
y. terribilissimus	

25.
 a. Christianorum
 b. Christianorum regnorum
 c. Christianorum populorum
 d. Christianorum hominum
 e. Christiani nominis
 f. Christiani coetus
 g. Christiani populi
 h. Christiani popelli
 i. Christicolarum
 l. fidelium
 m. Christi fidelium
 n. Baptizatorum
 o. Ecclesiae Christianae
 p. Sectae Christianae
 qu. Christo adhaerentium
 r. Christianitatis
 s.
 t. Christiadum
 u.
 v.w.
 x.
 y.

(10v) 27.

a. qui fertur	terra marique
b. quem ferunt	<terra marique>
<i>Vide alteram</i>	
<i>formulam, n° 59.</i>	

28. a. magnis copiis
 b. ingentibus copiis
 c. insanis copiis
 d. immensis copiis
 e. immanibus copiis
 f. immani manu
 g. valida manu
 h. ingenti manu
 i. incredibili manu
 l. incredibili exercitu
 m. ingenti exercitu
 n. insano exercitu
 o. immenso exercitu
 p. innumerabili exercitu
 qu. infesta manu
 r. incredibili apparatu
 s. amplissimo apparatu
 t. instructissimis copiis
 u. instructa manu
 v.w. robustissimo exercitu
 x. firmissimo exercitu
 y. metuenda manu
 z. insano apparatu

(10r) 30. a. etiam invitus
 b. hoc non agens
 c. invitis et aliud agens
 d. ingratias nec cogitantibus
 e. illorum ingratiis
 f. nolentibus volentibus
 g. insciens licet
 h. inscius licet
 i. ex-insperato
 l. inopinantibus, sub manu
 m. nec-opinantibus
 n. inopinanter
 o. ex-inopinato
 p. forte fortuna
 qu. improvise, contra ac rati sunt
 r. ex improvise
 s. praeter spem
 t. praeter intentionem
 u. insperata occasione
 v.w. peropportune
 x. commodum
 y. contra opinionem
 z. praeter opinionem

29. a. aggredi Venetos.
 b. ingredi fines Imperii.
 c. adoriri Ungaros.
 d. impetere, impetum facere in finitimos.
 e. bellum movere Venetis.
 f. bellum facere Venetis.
 g. bellum inferre Venetis.
 h. bellum sumere contra Venetos.
 i. bellum suscipere contra Venetos.
 l. bellum capere contra Imperium.
 m. bellum instruere contra Imperium.
 n. bellare cum Venetis.
 o. bellum gerere cum Venetis.
 p. belligerare cum Venetis.
 qu. bellum agere cum Venetis.
 r. ad arma ire contra Venetias.
 s. bellum ducere contra Rempublicam Venetam
 t. in armis esse contra Rempublicam Venetam.
 u. arma sumere contra Imperatorem.
 v.w. arma capere contra Imperatorem.
 x. arma ferre contra Imperatorem.
 y. contendere contra Imperatorem.
 z. bellum parare contra Imperatorem.

(10v) 31. a. negotium nobis promovebit.
 b. rem expediet.
 c. causam componet.
 d. pacificationem prosperabit.
 e. tractatus maturabit.
 f. pacem faciet, / rem expeditam dabit.
 g. pacem conficiet, / rem confectam dabit.
 h. pacem componet, / opus expeditum reddet
 i. pacem conciliabit, / negotium confectum reddet.
 l. pacem firmabit, / adferet.
 m. omnem controversiam dirimet.
 n. omnem controversiam distrahet.
 o. omnem controversiam tollet.
 p. omnem controversiam sopiet.
 qu. omnem controversiam finiet.
 r. omnem controversiam componet.
 s. omnem controversiam decidet.
 t. omnem controversiam sedabit.
 u. litem expediet.
 v.w. litem discutiet.
 x. litem dirimet.
 y. concordiam constituet.
 z. in gratiam nos rediget.

12.3.2.2 Critical and explanatory remarks

In many units, Stiernhielm adds more options below the last variation (the letter z) or in the margin. These additions are accounted for.

<i>Below no. 5 z</i>	irruere in
emanaret	erumpere in
dimanaret	involare
permanaret	invehi in
promanaret	imminere Ungaris
(remanaret)	incurrere in
referretur	impetum ad Venetos convertere
spargeretur	ire in ... Sal[lustius].
dispargeretur	movere in ...
crebresceret	condendere in ...
increbresceret	tendere in ...

Below no. 6 z:
<id ut> vobis impertirem

Below no. 28 z:
ingenti apparatu

In the margin of no. 29:
invadere

Below no. 30 z:
praeter suam voluntatem
praeter cogitationem
praeter cogitata

Below 31 z:
nos reconciliabit
opus conficiet

In unit 11, letter y, the name *Aquilus* “the eagle-like” is used as a nickname of the Holy Roman Emperor, because the eagle was the heraldic symbol of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. In John Barclay’s (1582–1621) best-selling novel *Ephormio’s satyricon* the character Aquilius is identified with Emperor Rudolph II.

Unit 14 offers a list of variations for the phrase “together with his companions”. The expressions *cum rasis suis* “with their tonsured people” and *cum turba rasa* “with their tonsured crowd” (letters f and g) refer to the monks with their tonsured heads.¹¹⁴⁹ In Unit 14, letter z, the name Gnatho refers to a parasite, since the character Gnatho plays this role in Terence’s play *Eunuchus*. As suggested by Terence in the person of Gnatho (*Eunuchus* 264 *parasiti ita ut Gnathonici vocentur*) the word soon began to denote a parasite in general (Cicero, *Amicitia* 94).¹¹⁵⁰

¹¹⁴⁹ For *rasi* and similar phrases (*cohors calva*, *cohors rasa*) as instances of anti-Catholic propaganda, see Helander, *Neo-Latin literature in Sweden in the period 1620–1720*, pp. 327–329.

¹¹⁵⁰ See Helander, *ibidem*, pp. 308 f.

Unit 15 contains various derogatory names of the Pope that are typical of Lutheran polemics against the Roman Catholic Church in the 16th and 17th centuries.¹¹⁵¹

In unit 15, letter *x*, *Gephyrius* refers to the Pope. It alludes to one of his titles, viz. *pontifex*, which etymologically means “bridge-builder”. The Greek word γέφυρα means “bridge”.

The phrase used in unit 16, letter *l*, *sub manus succedere* “to succeed according to one’s wish”, occurs in Plautus’ comedy plays. In *Persa*, lines 449–450 he writes: “si quam rem accures sobrie aut frugaliter, / solet illa recte sub manus succedere.” In *Miles Gloriosus*, line 873, he makes the character Palaestri say: “lepide hoc succedit sub manus negotium.”

Unit 19 contains polemic designations of the Catholic League. The designation *Barbari Potitii* (under letter *f*) is drawn from Plautus, *Bacchides* 123 (act 1, scene 2, verse 15): *stultior es barbaro Potitio*, “you are more foolish than the barbarous Potitius”. Early modern editions generally read *Potitio*, but also *Poticio*.¹¹⁵² The Roman grammarian Festus (*De verborum significatione*, book 13)¹¹⁵³ connects this passage with the patrician clan of the Potitii (*gens Potitia*) and the event that made them notorious for foolishness. In the early Roman Republic, the cult of Hercules at *Ara maxima* in Rome was led by the Potitii and Pinarii. Appius Claudius, in the year of his censorship in 312 BC, persuaded the Potitii to teach this ritual to public slaves and delegate the worship to them. As a punishment for their disloyalty, the twelve families of the Potitii later perished in a plague and the family line became extinct. This story is told by Livy (9, 29, 9), Festus and other ancient authors.¹¹⁵⁴ In his remark on *Bacchides* 123, Taubmann explains the expression *barbarus Potitius* as typically referring to any unskilful and rustic Roman priest of past

¹¹⁵¹ For an analysis of some of the designations (the Latin Baal, the Roman Belial, the Babylonian Harlot, the Capitoline monster, the Capitoline or Roman Cerberus and Pluto), see Helander, *Neo-Latin literature*, pp. 324–335.

¹¹⁵² In his edition of Plautus’ comedies in Wittenberg in 1605, Friedrich Taubmann (1565–1613) has *Poticio*, but in his explanatory note he has *Potitio*. Later printings have *Potitio*. According to the reading of the manuscripts, modern editions of the comedy (Ritschel 1886, Lindsay 1903, Ernout 1957, Barsby, *Bacchides* 1986) have *poticio* uncapitalized, a word attested nowhere else.

¹¹⁵³ Sextus Pompeius Festus, *De verborum significatione*, p. 217 in the 1880 edition of Karl Otfried Müller, p. 271 in the 1889 edition of Aemilius Thewrewk de Ponor, and p. 240 in the 1913 edition of Wallace Martin Lindsay.

¹¹⁵⁴ Festus, *ibidem*, p. 237 (Müller), p. 300 (de Ponor), p. 270 (Lindsay); Valerius Maximus *Memorabilia* 1, 1, 17, Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3,6, and Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidem* 8, 260.

times, and associates the name with the patrician clan of Potitii.¹¹⁵⁵ In *Bacchides* 122–123, Poticius is contrasted with the proverbially wise Thales, the famous philosopher of Miletus to whom Plautus also refers in *Captivi* 274. In the context, a Lydian slave is reproached for not knowing the personified gods: “Oh Lydus, you are barbaric. A man whom I considered far wiser than Thales is more stupid than Poticius, the barbarian, since you at such a great age do not know the names of the gods.”¹¹⁵⁶ In the Greek setting of the drama, *barbarus* must refer to a person who is not a Greek, in this case a Roman. In Stiernhielm’s use of the expression, *barbari* implies uneducated and uncivilized persons.

In unit 19, letter v.w. the word *Mithragyrtae* probably refers to begging monks. In ancient Latin, *Mitragyrtae* refers to the begging priests of Cybele, a Phrygian goddess.¹¹⁵⁷

In unit 22, letters *h* and *n*, Stiernhielm employs phrases that are proverbial sayings about vain exercises. The phrase *Hylam inclamare* “to call upon Hylas” refers to the vain seeking after Hylas, one of Hercules’ companions in the Argonautic expedition, who was carried off by the nymphs (Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. Hylas; see Virgil, *Eclogae* 6, 44).

The phrase *delphinum cauda ligare* “to tie the dolphin by the tail” (unit 22, letter *n*) refers to the difficulty of holding the dolphin by its slippery tail.

In unit 22, letter *s*, Stiernhielm quotes a line from Horace, *Ars poetica* 139 “The mountains will be pregnant and will give birth to a ridiculous mouse”, which refers to overly and unrealistic goals.

¹¹⁵⁵ Fr. Taubermann (ed.), *M. Accii Plauti Lat. Comediae*, Wittenberg 1605, p. 467 Festus’ explanation is dismissed as improbable by John Barsby, *Plautus. Bacchides edited with translation and commentary*, Warminster 1986, p. 107, but is accepted by Grace L. Beede, “Proverbial expressions in Plautus”, *The Classical Journal* 44: 6 (1949), p. 360. Commenting on *Bacchides* 122–123, she writes: “The Poticii, thus contrasted with the proverbially wise Thales, must be equally proverbial for their folly. This family, as a matter of fact, became extinct for its short-sightedness in handing over to public slaves, in the time of Appius Claudius, their duty of administering the worship of Hercules.” She argues that the proverbial expression *stultior barbaro Poticio* grew obscure since it alludes to a historical circumstance. Barsby (ibidem, p. 107) writes: “If Festus is right, Plautus is indulging in an incongruous Roman yoke by calling a Lydian slave ‘a foreign Potitius.’” However, Plautus, writing from a Greek perspective, instead compared the Lydian slave to “Potitius, the foreigner/ the barbarian.”

¹¹⁵⁶ Plautus, *Bacchides* 121–124: “o Lyde, es barbarus. / Quem ego sapere nimio censui plus quam Thalem, / is stultior es barbaro Poticio, / qui tantus natu deorum nescis nomina.” On line 123, Taubermann has *idem* instead of *is*.

¹¹⁵⁷ Frans J. Hartleben, *Dictionarium paroemiarum, idiomatum et expressionum figuratarum linguae Latinae selectiorum*, Budapest 1818, p. 153. For the latter part of the word, *agyrta*, see Helander, *Neo-Latin literature*, p. 84 f.

In unit 22, letter *t*, Stiernhielm alludes to the proverb *aquilam volare doces*, i.e. “you teach the eagle to fly”. See Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 372 (I.4.72), no. 393 (I.4.93) and 398 (I.4.98).

12.3.3 Cipher writing: Stiernhielm’s examples

Source: F.d. 13, the wrapper Polygraphia, fol. 22r, fols. 31r–31v and fol. 33r, Stiernhielm shows how the encoded units can be varied to express different hidden messages in different languages. The letter designations (a–z) of the variations make the cipher possible. The combinations of different variations across the thirty-one units enable the sending of different messages. Stiernhielm provides six examples. In examples 1, 4 and 6, the secret message is encoded in Latin, and in examples 2, 3 and 4 the hidden message is encoded in Swedish. In all these examples, Stiernhielm decodes the message. In the first example the encoded and decoded units are *Vesperi hora nona sis ad portam posti[cam]*, that is, ‘At nine in the evening you shall be at the back gate’. In the second example the hidden message is *Kom hit. Mor är inte hema. Jag har got ööl*, that is, ‘Come here. Mother is not at home. I have good beer’.¹¹⁵⁸ The third example contains the cipher *Jag kan inte komma. Sänd mig en häst hit*, that is ‘I cannot come. Send me a horse here’. The fourth example has the concealed sense: *Kom til mig. Gezelius är här. Kom snart*, that is, “Come to me! Gezelius is here. Come soon!” Stiernhielm was a friend of Bishop Johannes Gezelius the Elder, who dedicated his Hebrew grammar – *Grammaticae Trostianae epitome* (1647) to Georg Stiernhielm.¹¹⁵⁹ The fifth example has the hidden meaning *Regina Suecie desponsata est Carolo*, that is, ‘The Queen of Sweden is engaged to Carolus’, which refers to the rumour of an engagement between Queen Christina of Sweden and Charles (the future Charles X Gustav). In the last example Stiernhielm claims originality in developing the art of cipher writing. The message is *Georgius Stiernhielm invenit artem*, ‘Georg Stiernhielm has invented the art’ (of polygraphy).

Example 1

(22r)

V	e	s	p	e	r	i	h	o	r	a	n	o	n	a	s	i	s	a	d
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
p	o	r	t	a	m		p	o	s	t	i	c	a	m					
21	22	23	24	25	26		27	28	29	30	31								

¹¹⁵⁸ The decoded units should actually be: *Kom hit. Mor er inte hema. Jag har gat ool*, but Stiernhielm used some Latin letters to indicate Swedish speech sounds, the letter /e/ for Swedish /ä/, the letter a for Swedish /å/ and the letter o for Swedish /ö/.

¹¹⁵⁹ For a translation of Gezelius’ dedication, see Vol. 2, Section 19.1.1, p. 359.

Salut. et gaudia. Novissime datis contendis, si quid in hac terra emergeret novi, vos ut facerem certiores. Cape igitur: Ex Holsatia rumor est opus pacificationis cum Caesare, acriter refragante cum paribus suis Papa ex animi sententia, cadere. Excrucient se profligati Bellonae filii: disturbent, summa contentione certent; superi vota nostra secundabunt. Sed et Ottomanus Christianorum insolentissimus hostis dicitur terra marique <immenso exercitu>¹¹⁶⁰ bellum ducere contra Rempublicam Venetam. Is praeter intentionem pacem conciliabit.

Example 2¹¹⁶¹

(31r)

S. P. Postremo datis obtestaris, si quid his locis manarat novi, id ut vobis notificarem. Nunc ascolta: Osnoburgo percrebuit tractatus cum Caesarianis, quantumvis dissuadente cum cultoribus suis Pontifice, pulchre procedere. Valeant elleborosi illi Bellonae filii: turbas cieant, sudent, conentur omnia; conata nunquam perficient. Quid vero? Ipse Turca, Christianitatis acerbissimus hostis, qui dicitur terra marique instructissimis copiis bellum gerere cum Venetis, inopinato pacem nobis formabit. Vale et fave.

Scriptum et exactum in Wasula 9. Maj. 1646.

Sensus occultus est: *Kom hit. Mor är inte hema. Jag har got ööl.*

Example 3

(31r)

Bene vivere etc.

Novissimis tuis cupis, si quid hic audiretur novi, id ut vobis aperirem. Cape igitur: E Westphalia frequens est tractatus cum hostibus, nequicquam invito cum parasitibus suis Papa, ex animi sententia succedere. Valeant temulenti illi Centauri: turbas concitent, cursitent sursum deorsum; conata numquam perficient. Et quod magis est ipse Turcarum Monarcha Christiani popelli infensissimus persecutor, quem certum est instructissimis copiis terra marique bellum sumere contra Venetos, ex-insperato controversiam decidet. Vale.

Sensus: *Jag kan inte komma. Sänd mig en häst hijt.*¹¹⁶²

¹¹⁶⁰ immenso exercitu] Stiernhielm has missed to spell out this unit, which however must be supplemented from the letter designation in question (viz. o).

¹¹⁶¹ This example has been published by Per Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, vol. 3:1 (brev och inlagor), Stockholm 1937–1948, p. 114 (letter no. 72a). It has been translated to Swedish by Per Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, vol. 3:2, Stockholm 1957, p. 107.

Example 4

(33r)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22
K o m t i l m i g G e z e l i u s ä r h ä r

23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 <31>

K o m s n a r t t

Postremo datis obtestaris, si quid ab exteris manaret, id ut vobis perscriberem. Asculata igitur: Minda novellae ferunt factionem pacis cum adversariis impigre detrectante cum coniuratis suis Papa Romano feliciter cadere. In crucem, apage! effraenati illi Phlegetontis filii. Tumultuentur, sudent, conentur omnia. Superi suspiria nostra fovebunt. Nam magnus Turca, Christifidelium atrocissimus hostis, quem constat magnis copiis terra marique ad arma ire contra Venetos, praeter intentionem controversiam sedabit. Vale.

Example 5

(31r)

Incolumitatem pr[ecor] etc. Novissime datis cupis, si quid hic vel aliunde oriretur novi, it ut ad vos percriberem. Attende: Stetino fame est initia pacis cum Imperatore, quamvis pro viribus impediante cum aliis nonnullis Cerbero Capitolino, optato succedere. Suspendant se temulenti illi Orci candidati: turbent, coelo tartara misceant; Dii viam invenient. Nam, quod magis est, Sultanus Turcarum Christiadum iniuratissimus hostis, qui fertur incredibili apparatu terra marique bellum gerere cum Venetis, sub manu omnem controversiam tollet.

Christina regina Suecie desponsata est Carolo.

Example 6

(31v)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19
G e o r g i u s S t i e r n h i e l m

20 21 22 23 24 <25 26 27 28 29 30 31>

i n v e n <i t a r t e m>¹¹⁶³

¹¹⁶² hijt] In Swedish orthography of the 16th, 17th and 18th century the long vowel /i/ was spelled /ij/, but in his cryptography Stiernhielm here only used one letter (/i/).

¹¹⁶³ <25 ... m>] The letters of the units 25–31 have not been decoded by Stiernhielm in the manuscript, but are supplied by myself as editor.

Bonam vitam etc.

Novissime datis postulas, si quid in nostra provincia existeret novi, id ut vobis significarem. Iam da silentium: Hic frequens est sanctionem concordiae cum Imperatore, quamvis adversante cum paribus suis propudio Capitolino, succedere. Valeant cerebrosi illi Stygis satellites: turbas cient, suas partes agant; effluet quicquid ingerunt. Nam quod magis est ipse Turcarum Monarcha Christicolarum alias atrocissimus persecutor, qui fertur incredibili apparatu terra marique in armis esse contra Rempublicam Venetam, ipsorum ingratiis omnem controversiam dirimet.

12.4 A birthday panegyric to the Queen in 1650

12.4.1 Date, historical context, structure, and original draft

Source: F.d. 13, the wrapper *Polygraphia*, fols. 1r–5v. Size: 205 x 320 mm. Photographic images of fols. 1r–2r and 4v are presented in Figures 26a–26d. The text edited is Stiernhielm’s autograph fair copy. There are also incomplete drafts in Stiernhielm’s handwriting in ms. F.d.6b, 3b. These drafts are only used as reference material.

Bernt Olsson argues that Stiernhielm wrote this piece at the same time as *Heroisch Fägne-Sång* on the occasion of the 17th birthday of Queen Christina in 1643. However, this dating does not agree with the historical situation of this birthday panegyric, which includes the Peace of Westphalia. In his Swedish text of *Parnassus triumphans*, which he wrote in the autumn of 1650, Stiernhielm made use of the same motifs and similar phrases as in the birthday panegyric *Salve dies*, where he celebrates the Queen for the Peace of Westphalia¹¹⁶⁴ and for her virtues as a ruler in promoting letters and learning, religion, justice, trade and workmanship. On the basis of common motifs and phraseology I argue that Stiernhielm composed this panegyric for the Queen’s 24th birthday on 8 December 1650. At that time the Queen had gathered the elite of European scholars to form her court academy, for which René Descartes wrote the guidelines.

Stiernhielm demonstrates the semantic and syntactic variability of language in a set of 70 numbered units, each of which has twenty-one variations. Stiernhielm developed this as an example of *Polygraphia*. The units of the first variation (a) in the entire piece turn out as given below. I have marked every encoded unit by a number and in italics. Units that are not encoded, but varied, are marked in extra bold type. Units supplied with two or three numbers should be repeated two or three times (by different variations) in the decoding of the cipher.

The numbering has been changed in the manuscript from number 38 onwards. One of the examples of cipher writing (Section 12.4.3) were done before the new numbering was introduced. In the textual edition I have kept the former numbering within square brackets.

Salve dies, (1) *sol nitidissime*, (2) *lux alma*, (3) *diu* (4) *desiderata*,
salve! Quae nobis (5) *tot bona* (6) *refers*. Tu **enim** nobis **Reginam**
(7) *peperisti* **formae** (8) *dotibus* (9) *illustrem* (10) *et mentis* (11)
opibus (12) *admirandam*, (13) *doctam*, (14) *sapientem*, (15–17)
piam, (18) *sexus sui ornamentum* (19) *celsissimum* (20–21) *et*
seculi sui delictum. Cuius (22) *auspiciis* (23) *cordatis* pax (24)

¹¹⁶⁴ Queen Christina represented, and perceived, herself as the peacemaker of the world. She thought that she had achieved the Peace of Westphalia; see Sven Stolpe, *Drottning Kristina*, 2nd ed, Stockholm 1966, pp. 135–140.

optima rerum (25) *bello composito* (26) *mundo* (27) *reducta* (28) *vigescit*. *Germania* (29) *effreni* (30) *Martis vi* (31) *perculsa* (32) *in libertatem vindicata* (33) *gaudet* (34) *videns redditam* (35) *sibi* (36) *tranquillitatem*, [37] (37–38) *templis religionem*, [38] (39–40) *foro iustitiam*, [39] (41) *omnibus* [40] (42) *securitatem*. *Suecia nec minus gaudet*. [41] (43) *Suecia quid dicat?* *Quam illa patriam* [42] (44) *patriis* [43] (45) *insistens vestigiis* [44] (46) *multis et magnis* [45] (47) *beneficiis* [46] (48) *auxit*. *Religionem* [47] (49) *regnum commune* [48] (50) *vinculum* [49] (51) *unam* [50] (52) *conservat*. **Iustitiam fere** [51] (53) *collapsam* [52] (54) *reformavit*. [53] (55–56) *Mercaturam et opificia docuit*, [54] (57) *et quod maxime fuit arduum*, *toto* [55] (58) *Parnasso* [56] (59) *cum Apolline* [57] (60) *et Musis* [58] (61) *in Sueciam* [59] (62) *traducto* [60] (63) *barbariem profligavit*. **Quamobrem, quid multa?** [61] (64) *Haec propter et alia* [62] (65) *praeclare facta* [63] (66) *eam meritis coronamus laudibus*, [64] (67) *laetis plausibus* [65] (68) *ingeminantes*, *ut coepi*, *festas voces*: *Salve* [66] (69) *roseae Cynthiae*. *Salve* [67] (70) *festae dies!*

In English translation: “Be greeted, O day, (1) O most shining sun, (2) benign daylight, (3) long (4) desired, be greeted! (6) You bring us (5) so many **good things**. **For** (7) you brought us **the Queen**, (9) illustrious (8) in terms of her gifts **of beauty** and (12) admirable (11) in terms of the riches **of her mind**, (13) learned, (14) wise, (15–17) pious, (19) the highest (18) ornament of her gender (20–21) and the delight of her age. Through her (23) sensible (22) command (25) the war has been terminated and peace, (24) the best of things, (27) is restored (26) to the world and (28) begins to be revived. Germany, (31) which was stricken (30) by the violence of (29) unrestrained Mars (33) rejoices (32) after having been set at liberty, (34) when seeing how (36) the long missed quiet (35) is restored to herself, (36–37) religion to the church buildings, how (39–40) justice is returned to the courts of law and (42) security (41) to everyone. Sweden does not rejoice to any less degree. (43) What shall Sweden say? As she ¹¹⁶⁵ follows (44) in her ancestral **tracks** (48) she has increased her fatherland (46) with many and great (47) charitable deeds. (52) She preserves religion – the common (50) bond (49) of kingdoms – (51) in unity. (54) She has reformed **justice**, which had **almost** (53) collapsed. (55–56) She has taught trade and craftsmanship, (57) and what was most difficult, (63) she has defeated barbarity

¹¹⁶⁵ she] That is Queen Christina.

(62) after having transferred all (58) Parnassus (59) with Apollo (60) and the Muses (61) into Sweden. **Therefore, why say any more?** (64) Because of these and other (65) excellent deeds (66) we crown her with worthy **praises** and (68) we repeat, as I began, solemn words (67) with happy applauses: Be greeted, (69) Cynthian Diana! Be greeted, (70) festive day!

Stiernhielm claims that his polygraphy is “endlessly variable in words and forms, but immobile in its arrangement and meaning”. With the exception of some units (e.g. 1, 53, 69, 70) he supplies the text according to the options of the first variation, but he has varied the non-encoded units, which are put in extra bold types above, and he made use of some alternative options within the first variation.

(fol. 6r)

IN NATALEM
CHRISTINAE
SERENISSIMAE SUEONUM
REGINAE
ACCLAMATIO GRATULATORIA
verbis et forma infinities variabilis,
dispositione et sensu una et immobilis.

Salve Aurora gratissima, lux alma, diu desiderata, salve! Quae nobis tot gaudia refers. Tu enim Augustam nobis peperisti corporis dotibus illustrem et mentis opibus admirandam, doctam, sapientem, magnanimam, iustam, amabilem, sexus sui ornamentum celsissimum et seculi delictum. Cuius auspiciis et cordato consilio, pax optima rerum bello composito mundo reducta vigescit. Germania effreni Martis vi percussa in libertatem vindicata gaudet videns civibus redditam tranquillitatem, templis religionem, foro iustitiam, securitatem omnibus. Suecia non minus sibi gratulatur. Quam illa patriam patriis insistens vestigiis multis et magnis beneficiis auxit. Religionem avitam (**fol. 6v**) regnorum commune vinculum unam conservat. Iustitiam quodammodo nutantem restituit. Mercaturam et opificia docuit, et quod maxime fuit arduum, toto Parnasso cum Apolline et Musis in Sueciam traducto barbariem profligavit. Quid multa? Haec propter et alia praeclare facta eam meritis coronamus laudibus, laetis plausibus ingeminantes, ut coepi, festas voces: Salve Aurora, lux aurea salve!¹¹⁶⁶

¹¹⁶⁶ There are a few misreadings in Olsson’s transcription of this text (Olsson 1974: 195), e.g. *composita* instead of *composito* (unit 25), *perculsa* instead of *percussa* (unit 35), *gratidatur* instead of *gratulatur* (between units 42 and 43), *ardurem*

12.4.2 Original wording of the panegyric

An incomplete autograph draft is extant in F.d. 6b: 3b in the second, third, fifth and seventh quires. This draft reflects the earliest stage of composition that differs from the fair copy. The text of the original draft (F.d. 6b: 3b, second quire, fol. 1r, with the measurements 208 x 319 mm) is mainly written in pencil, but two passages have been supplemented with a pen. The wording is as follows:

Salve dies festa,
quae nobis ades
cum copia omnium bonorum.
Tu Reginam nobis peperisti
non corpore solum pulcram,
sed animi dotibus incomparabilem,
literis et sapientia instructam,
clementem, iustam, beneficam,
delicium hominum,
sexus sui cimelium,¹¹⁶⁷
Mundi miraculum.¹¹⁶⁸
Tu PACEM diu desideratam
Dei beneficio
et Reginae prudentia partam
post tot victorias
Marte debellato reportas
gaudentibus omnibus,
praecipue Germanis et omnibus misere oppressis,
qui apud se restituta libertate et pace,

instead of *arduum* (unit 57), *inducto* instead of *traducto* (unit 62), *Naec propteret* instead of *Haec propter et* (unit 64), and *praeclara* instead of *praeclare* (unit 65).

¹¹⁶⁷ *sexus sui cimelium*] “The treasure of her gender”. *Cimelium* is a Greek loan-word (κειμήλιον) in Latin, attested for the first time in late ancient Latin (Gregory the Great). In Neo-Latin literature it often refers to remarkable learned collections or precious books of a library; see further Helander, *Neo-Latin literature in Sweden in the period 1620–1720*, pp. 92–93, and myself, *Andreas Norrelius’ Latin translation of Johan Kemper’s Hebrew commentary on Matthew*, pp. 214–215.

¹¹⁶⁸ In the margin Stiernhielm has with a pen written a quotation from Virgil, fourth eclogue, verses 6–7 and verse 17, on the return of the Golden Age. The virgin that Virgil referred to is the virgin of justice (in Greek *Astraea*), but Stiernhielm applied this image to Queen Christina.

Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna
Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto
pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.
“Now even the Virgin returns and Saturn’s kingdom.
Now a new generation descends from the high heaven.
She will rule a pacified world by her father’s virtues.”

vigere postliminio vident
 religionem etc.¹¹⁶⁹
 Hinc ubique vigere videmus
 iustitiam,
 literas,
 mercaturam terra marique,
 agriculturam,
 artes et opificia.
 Unde merito gaudemus Sueci
 et tanti beneficii memores
 gratias agimus tibi, o Diva, sempiternas¹¹⁷⁰
 faustaue acclamatione repetimus:
 Salve festa dies etc.

In English translation:

Be greeted festive day!
 You approach us
 with a wealth of everything good.
 You begot us a Queen,
 who is not only beautiful with regard to her body,
 but also incomparable in terms of the gifts of her mind.
 She is equipped with learning and wisdom.
 She is mild, righteous, and munificent.
 She is the delight of people,
 the treasure of her gender,
 the miracle of the world.
 You bring back a long-desired peace
 by God's favour and the Queen's prudence,
 (a peace) won after so many victories
 and after the war has been finished.
 Meanwhile, everyone rejoices,
 in particular the Germans and all who are unfortunately oppressed,
 who perceive that freedom and peace are restored to them,
 and that through the right of postliminy¹¹⁷¹
 religion, etc., is flourishing (again).
 Therefore, we see everywhere that
 justice,
 learning,
 trade on land and on sea,

¹¹⁶⁹ praecipue Germanis ... religionem] This is found in the margin with a pen.

¹¹⁷⁰ et tanti beneficii ... sempiternas] This has been added in the margin with a pen.

¹¹⁷¹ Postliminy, *postliminium* in Latin, is the right of return and recovery of former ranks, privileges and estates.

agriculture,
arts and craftsmanship
are vigorous.

Thence, we Swedes are rightly joyful,
and mindful of such a great kindness
we offer you everlasting thanks, O goddess,
and with a favourable shout of approbation we repeat:
Be greeted festive day!

12.4.3 *Acclamatio gratulatoria. Salve dies: the Latin text*

(1r)

Polygraphiae intelligibilis a G. Stiernhielm excogitatae
exemplum et clavis.

Salve dies

1.

a Sol nitidissime, candide, splendide, fulgide, rutilare, clare, serene.

e Phoebe auree, auricome, pulchricome, Clarie.

i Cynthia rosee, fervide.

o Titan alme, radiare, radiante coma, rutilante coma, radiante, Clarie.

u Phosphore rosee, purpuree, roscide.

b Eos pulchre.

c Lucifer aurorae praevidere; faustae nuncie diei, lucis; optatae <nuncie lucis>.

d Hyperion.

f Mundi oculus fulgide.

g Aurora Croceis capillis, crocea, Punicea, purpurea, gratissima, iucundissima, suavissima.

h Matuta purpureo (conchiliato) Symmate venerabilis, spectabilis.

l Leucothoe.¹¹⁷²

m Pallantis.¹¹⁷³

n Fax.

p Lux immensi <mundi>¹¹⁷⁴, <lux> publica aurea, fulgida mundi.

qu Lampas.

r Tithonia coniux.¹¹⁷⁵

s Fulgor splendentis Olympi, Mundi.

t Decus Mundi unicum, aureum.

v Dies alma.

x

¹¹⁷² Leucothoe] This name (daughter of Orchamus, king of Babylon and Eurymone) is here a mistake for Leucothee, which in turn is a variant of Leucothea, which is a nickname of Ino, daughter of Cadmus. The Romans confounded Leucothea with Matuta, the Italic goddess of the morning or dawn (Ovid, *Fasti* 6, 545 Leucothea Graia, Matuta vocabere nostris); Cicero, *Tusc. disp.* 1, 12, 28 Ino Cadmi filia nonne Λευκοθέα nominata a Graecis, Matuta habetur a nostris). Stiernhielm thus employs the name Leucothee as a synonym of Aurora.

¹¹⁷³ Pallantis] This is another name of Aurora (Lewis and Short, *A Latin dictionary*, s.v. Pallas II C. Pallantis (-idos, idis) is a derivative of the giant Pallas, from whose uncle Hyperion (father of the god of light and sun Apollo) she descended (Lewis and Short, *ibidem*, s.v. Pallas II B).

¹¹⁷⁴ mundi] In the manuscript there are three dots between *immensi* and *publica*.

¹¹⁷⁵ Tithonia coniux] This is still another periphrasis of Aurora; cf. Ovid, *Heroides* 18, 111.

2.	3.	4.	salve!
a dies alma	a diu	a desiderata,	
e lux augusta	e multum	e expectata,	
i fax festa	i diu multumque	i cupita,	
o lampas candida	o multum diuque	o sperata,	
u dies augusta	u valde	u optata,	
ae lux alma			
b fax aurea	b vehementer	b exoptata,	
c lampas splendida	c ardentem	c expetita,	
d dies festa, festiva	d serio diuque	d sollicitata,	
f lux fausta	f flagranter	f et omnium votis desiderata,	
g fax augusta	g animitus	g et omnium votis cupita,	
h lampas lucida	h corditus	h et publicis votis optata,	
l dies pulcra	l ex animo	l et publicis votis exoptata,	
m lux formosa	m ex corde	m et unanimis votis expetita,	
n fax laeta, benigna	n plurimum	n et unanimis votis expectata,	
p lampas fulgida	p longe multumque	p et unanimis precibus sperata,	
qu dies auspicata	qu longe plurimum	qu et sanctis precibus exorata,	
r lux auspicatissima	r longe longeque plurimum	r et devotis precibus sollicitata,	
s fax auspicatissima	s ingenti desiderio	s et multorum sollicitata votis,	
t lampas auspicatissima	t ardenti desiderio	t	
v dies laetifica	v flagranti desiderio	v	
x lux laetifica	x ardentibus votis	x	

(1v) 5. Quae nobis

a tot	bona	6.
e tanta		a refers.
i tanta et tot	dona	e affers.
o tot tantaque		i largiris.
u tam ampla	munera	o vehis.
b tam larga		u advehis.
c tam multa	gaudia	b adducis.
d tam immensa		c reducis.
f tam ingentia	bonorum cumulum	d exhibes.
g tam insignia		f fers.
h tam eximia	bonorum mare	g impertis.
l tam egregia		h impertiris.
m tam divina	bonorum oceanum	l confers.
n tam luculenta		m praestas.
p tam illustria	bonorum myriades	n reportas.
qu tam splendida		p portas.
r tam opima	bonorum copiam	qu apportas.
s tam opulenta		r elargiris.
t tam pretiosa	bonorum flumina	s offers.
v tam solida		t subvehis.
x tam excellentia	bonorum montes	v revehis.
		x repraesentas.

Tu enim nobis Reginam	7.	a peperisti
Tu enim nobis Dominam		e genuisti
Tu enim nobis Rectricem		i edidisti
Tu enim nobis Principem		o eduxisti
		u produxisti
		b produxisti aethereas lucis in auras
		c eduxisti aethereas lucis in auras
		d eduxisti primas lucis in auras
		f eduxisti vitales in auras.
Tu enim nobis Augustam		g prima luce imbuisti
		h prima luce impertisti
		l Lucina favente dedisti
Tu enim nobis Dianam		m magni conscia partus
		n magni conscia <partus> edidisti
Enim		p celso demittis Olympo
		qu alto demittis Olympo
Etenim		r alto submittis Olympo
		s per coeli convexa remittis
		t per fulgentia coeli templa remittis
Quoniam		v aethere submittis ab alto
		x auspice numine donas

	8.	9.
formae	a dotibus	a illustrem
	e decore	e decoram, excellentem
	i maiestate	i splendidam
corporis	o exuperantia	o venustam
	u venustate	u inclutam
	b excellentia	b concinnam
faciei	c elegantia	c conspicuam
	d praestantia	d conspiciendam
	f concinnitate	f spectabilem
vultus	g nitore	g eximiam
	h splendore	h egregiam
	l fulgore	l incomparabilem
oris	m eminentia	m clarissimam
	n honore	n praeclaram
	p munere	p praeifulgidam
pulchritudinis	qu muneribus	qu ornamentis formosam
	r dignitate	r laudatissimam
	s specie	s praeclaram
speciei	t augusta gravitate	t coruscam, praecellentem
	v blanda gravitate	v pulcherrimam
	x forma	x nulli Dearum cessuram

10.
a et, nec non
e ac
i atque
o eandemque,
haud secus quam
u iuxta et
b iuxta ac
c aequae ac
d simul ac
f simul atque
g aequae atque
h non minus quam
l non minus atque
m non secus quam
n non secus atque
p pariter ac
qu pariter atque
r perinde et
s perinde atque
t atque eandem
v non solum, sed
x non solum, verum etiam

(2r) 12.
a admirandam,
e admirabilem
i mirandam,
o mirabilem
u incomparabilem,
b insignem,
c conspiciendam,
d spectabilem,
f suspiciendam,
g honorandam,
h venerandam
l reverendam,
m venerabilem,
n adorandam,
p inclytam,
qu pollentissimam,
r illustrem,
s augustam,
t florentissimam,
v adorabilem,
x extollendam,

11.
a opibus
e dotibus
i divitiis
o bonis
u virtute
b virtutibus
c vi, viribus
ingenii d vigore
f pollentia
g bonitate
indolis h excellentia
l politie
m dexteritate
n solertia
pectoris p industria
qu acrimonia
r divinitate
cordis s ingenuitate
t candore
v sinceritate
x pulcritudine

13.
a doctam, Musarum nutricem,
e Aonii gloriam chori,
i Pieriis studiis pollentem,
o artibus Aoniis delibutam, fideliter,
u aquis Castaliis bene delibutam, probe,
b quam Musae studiis excoluere suis,
c literatam, egregie, sincere,
d eruditam, pulcre, liberaliter,
f undis Clariis imbutam, penitus,
g studiis politam, Musarum alumnam,
h literarum studiis excultam, eleganter,
l Clario nectare potam, largiter,
m studiis inclytam, claram,
n literis politam, eximie, op[er]ido,
p bonis literis deditam,
qu bonis literis excultam, exercitatum,
r artibus liberalibus eminentem,
s multa scientia pollentem,
t omnigena scientia claram
v omnigena doctrina conspicuam,
x Musarum ambrosia enutritam,

14.	15. 16. 17.
a sapientem,	a piam,
e prudentem,	e magnanimam,
i cordatam,	i clementem,
o sapientiae consultam,	o benignam,
u sapientiae plenam,	u munificam,
b providam, Minervae filiam,	b comem,
c Palladis alumnam,	c iustam,
d cor Minervae, ocellum,	d amabilem,
f corculum Minervae, pupillum,	f beneficam,
g sapientiae Palladium,	g facilem,
h Coeli Palladium,	h affabilem,
l artibus Palladiis instructam,	l probam,
m artibus Palladiis armatam,	m liberalem,
n Aegide Palladia armatam,	n bonam,
p Aegide Palladia munitam,	p pectore candido,
qu quam et Pallas amat; patrio quae vertice nata est,	qu serenam,
r Palladi dilectam,	r candidam,
s Minervae amatam, sobolem	s placidam,
t Cecropiae madidam Latiaeque Minervae artibus,	t omnibus aequam,
v sapientiae lumine claram,	v exsortem fraudis,
x Quam non Quiris venustas, non	x servantissimam aequi
Pelasga latet elegantia,	
18.	19.
a sexus sui ornamentum, gemmam	a celsissimum
e sexus sui ocellum, Dianam,	e fulgentissimum
i sexus sui sidus, Venerem,	i fulgidum
o sexus sui lumen,	o lucidum, candidum
u sexus sui decus, Cynthiam,	u rutilum
b sexus sui honorem,	b aureum, serenissimum
c sexus sui gloriam,	c illibatum, unicum
d sexus sui florem,	d eximium, gratissimum
f sexus sui flosculum,	f celsum, purissimum
g sexus sui coronam,	g excelsum, pretiosum
h sexus sui fastigium,	h sublime, superbum
l sexus sui culmen,	l conspicuum
m sexus sui apicem, margaritam,	m limpidum, inaestimabile
n sexus sui astrum, columen,	n aureolum
p sexus sui stellam,	p regium, nitidum
qu sexus sui luciferum,	q regale, pulcherrimum
r sexus sui Phosphorum,	r rarum, coruscum
s sexus sui auroram,	s augustum
t sexus sui facem honestam,	t inclytum, [nitidum]
v sexus sui lucem,	v insuperabilem
x ... [Cynthiam],	x [indelebile],
	exuperantissimum

20. 21.

a et seculi sui delictum.
e et humani generis delictum.
i et hominum delictum.
o et Deum hominumque delictum.
u et populi sui gaudium.
b et gentis suae, civilium praesidium.
c et Mundi (Charitum) delicias.
d et temporum nostrorum miraculum, columnen.
f et hominum Deumque voluptatem.
g et portum periclitantium, solem principum.
h et exemplum principum.
l et normam et exemplar principum.
m et regum Helicen.
n et Cynosuram principum.
p et bonorum auxilium.
q et innocentium clypeum, asylum.
r et virtutis refugium.
s et afflictorum solatium.
t et Charitum merum mel.
v et Gratiarum complementum.
x et omnium desiderium.

22.

a et cordato, -a, -is
e et maturo <-a, -is>
i et maturato
o et regio, divino
u et constanti
b et insomni, provido
c et pervigili, providenti
d et incredibili
f et inextinguendo
g et indefesso
h et perenni, -ibus
l et perennanti, -ibus
m et indefatigabili
n et indesinanti
p et laborioso, impigro
q et iugi, arduo

r et assiduo, felici
s et prudenti, fortunato
t et sapienti
v et auspicato, -issim-
x et sedulo

(2v)

22. 23.

a x Cuius auspiciis
e v Cuius auspicio
i t Cuius consiliis
o s Cuius consilio
u r Cuius ope, felicitate
b q Cuius opera
c p Cuius auxiliis
d n Cuius auxilio, praesidio
f m Cuius bonitate
g l Cuius beneficio
h h Cuius benignitate
l g Cuius prudentia
m f Cuius providentia
n d Cuius beneficentia
p c Cuius cura
q b Cuius industria
r u Cuius solitudine
s o Cuius sapientia
t i Cuius sedulitate
v e Cuius virtute Herculea
x a Cuius Herculeis laboribus

24. pax

a optima rerum, aurea
e praestantissima rerum, alma
i multis trophaeis potior, candida
o mille trophaeis aucta, incluta
u multis superba trophaeis, victrix
b olea redimita comas
c innumeris circumdata laureis
d mille incluta laureis
f victoriarum comitatu stipata, frequenti
g crebris victoriarum successibus laeta
h multis laeta triumphis
l aeterno complectens omnia nexu
m alas plaudentibus victoriis
n laureola placidas pax redimita comas
p multis et variis redimita coronis
q gramineis, querceis pinnatisque
rostrata corollis
r Dea sospita rerum
s Dea sospita generis humani
t pulchris ditata trophaeis
v ab astrifero tandem optatissima coelo
x Numen tutelare seculi

25.

a bello composito
e bello debellato, sedato
i Marte debellato, expiato, sedato
o Marte pacato, fugato
u Marte superato, deiecto, delinito
b Marte strato, pulso, mitigato
c Bellona invita, Alecto, flagellifera
d Bellona frustra renitente
f Bellona frustra reluctante, Erinny
g nequicquam fremente Marte
h nequicquam frendente Marte
l fremente frendenteque Marte
m ingratiis Orci, Tisiphones
n ringente Cerbero, hirriente
p tricipiti frustra frendente
q torve tuente livore, crepante
r immane latrante Cerbero
s stomachante Megaera, refragante
t miserum quiritante Charonte
v rumpantur ut ilia Cerbero
x Eumenidum mala gratia,
Cerberus trifuca, triformis <multum
latrante>

27.

a reducta
e reddita
i restituta
o reparata
u renata
b redonata
c regenerata
d parta, firmata
f rursum parta
g renovata
h resecta
l instaurata
m restaurata
n stabilita
p redintegrata
q refocillata
r restabilita
s resuscitata
t resarcita, relata
v reposita
x resanata, denuo
inducta

26.

a mundo
e terrarum orbi
i terrae
o gentibus
u mortalibus
b hominibus
c generi humano
d generi mortali
f generi mortalium
g terrigenis, populis
h terricolis nationibus
l rerum universitati
m universo pene terrarum orbi
n cunctis propemodum nationibus
p potiori mundi hemisphaerio
q Europae
r Europae maximis Imperiis
s Europae florentissimis Regnis
t Europae cultissimis gentibus
v Europae partibus potentissimis
x Europae potentissimis
Rebus publicis et Statibus

(3r) 28.

a vigescit, affulget.
e florescit.
i virescit.
o revirescit.
u reflorescit, [reflor]-uit.
b viret.
c regerminat.
d reviret.
f undique ridet.
g ubique ridet.
h ubique nitescit.
l renitet.
m renidescit.
n renidet.
p refulget, [reful]-sit.
q revalescit.
r convalescit.
s iterum affulget.
t reviviscit, [revi]-xit.
v pullulescit.
x repullulescit.

29. Germania	30.	31.
a effreni, irati	a Martis vi	a perculsa, oppressa
e impii, furentis	e Martis violentia	e deiecta, afflicta
i diri, coeci	i Martis iniuria	i turbata, diruta
o duri, asperi	o Martis truculentia	o conturbata, turbata
u cruenti, crudelis	u Martis ferocia	u convulsa, luxata
b foedi, horrendi	b Martis tyrannide	b quassata, strata
c torvi, improbi	c Martis vehementia	c vexata, lacerata
d tetrici, immitis	d Martis atrocitate	d percussa, consternata
f tetri, iniqui	f Martis feritate	f foedata (interiit)
g luctiferi	g Martis furore	g deformata, perdita
h luctuosi	h Martis insolentia	h prope desolata (periit)
l infesti, vesani	l Martis insania	l prope devastata, despoliata
m truculenti	m Martis rabie	m prope defleta, internecioni data
n infausti	n Martis immanitate	n prope deplorata, correpta
p rabidi, inhumani	p Martis crudelitate	p prope animam agens
q indomiti	q Martis saevitia	q prope extincta, iugulata
r furabundi, effraeni	r Martis vesania	r exanimata, obruta
s fulminei, insani	s Martis fulmine	s deflorata, evecta
t superbi, immanis	t Martis procellis	t labefacta
v sanguinolenti	v Martis incendio	v [oppressa], conculcata
x ferventis	x Martis flammis	x [afflicta], eversa
32. [liberata, denuo]	33.	
a in libertatem vindicata [est]	a gaudet, vultus deteris lacrymis serenat	
e in libertatem asserta [est]	e laetatur, fletus comprimit	
i in libertatem recuperata	i sibi gratulatur, ora serenat	
o in libertatem recepta	o exultat, lacrymantia tergit lumina	
u libertatem denuo nacta	u serio triumphat, manantes oculos et saucia pectora tergit	
b libertatem denuo adeptam	b felicem se praedicat	
c libertate denuo potita	c beatam se reputat	
d libertate denuo recepta	d fortunatam se existimat	
f libertate denuo recuperata	f coelum digito contingit	
g libertate denuo restituta	g in coelo sibi agere videtur	
h libertate denuo stabilita	h coelum possidet, coelo potitur	
l libertate denuo restabilita	l in omnem laetitiam effusa est	
m libertate postliminio adeptam	m in omnem gaudium effusa est	
n libertate postliminio instaurata	n in publicum gaudium profusa est	
p libertate postliminio restaurata	p ingenti laetitia perfusa est	
q libertate postliminio reposita	q incredibili gaudio perfusa est	
r libertate postliminio vindicata	r incredibili gaudio fruitur	
s libertate postliminio reparata	s incredibili laetitia triumphat	
t libertate postliminio reperta	t tota in coelo est	
v libertate postliminio reddita	v a nulla sibi temperat laetitia	
x libertate postliminio resumpta	x nullius gaudii expers est	

34.

a videns
e cernens
i conspiciens
o sentiens
u perspicies, spectans
b intelligens, conspectans
c cognoscens
d comperiens, re ipsa <comperiens>
f experiens
g animadvertens
h persentiens, sibi plaudens
l gavis
m serio triumphans
n sibi gratulans
p sibi gratulata
q tripudians, sincero affectu
r gaudens, intime <gaudens>
s laetata, ex pectore laeta
t exultans, serio <exultans>
v cum videt
x cum cernit

36. tranquillitatem

a [tranquillitatem]
e diu amissam
i diu ademptam
o iam diu deploratam
u iam diu conclamata
b iam diu sepulta
c iam diu extincta
d iam diu publicam
f iam diu communem, collapsam
g iam diu universalem
h [securitatem] iam diu exultantem
l iam diu tantopere cupitam
m iam diu desideratam
n iam diu optatam
p iam diu expetitam
q iam diu petitam
r iam diu heu! nimium diu
s iam diu suspiratam
t iam diu tot suspiriis desideratam
v iam diu tot suspiriis expetitam
x iam diu tot suspiriis efflagitatam

(3v) 35. redditam

a sibi, populis suis
e civibus
i civitatibus
o urbibus
u universitatibus
b territoriis
c finibus
d limitibus
f statibus
g indigenis
h incolis
l terris
m nationibus
n gentibus
p filiis, ditionibus
q proli suae
r municipibus
s municipiis
t orbi suo
v portis
x pullis, soboli

37. 38.

a templis religionem
e templis Deos
i templis numina
o templis sacra
u templis Pietatem
b templis cultum
c templis cultum Dei
d templis cultum divinum
f templa religioni
g templa Diis
h templa Numinibus
l templa sacris
m templa Pietati
n templa cultui divino
p templa devotioni
q templa exercitiis sacris
r aras sacrificiis
s aras victimis
t aras flaminibus
v flamines aris
x thuribus aras

[38.] 39. 40.

a foro iustitiam
e tribu iura
i tribu leges
o tribu iudicia
u tribu exercitia legum
b egentibus exercitia legum
c egenis exercitia legum
d indigentibus exercitia legum
f requirentibus exercitia legum
g implorantibus exercitia legum
h oppressis exercitia legum
l afflictis exercitia legum
m afflictis auxilia legum
n subselliis suffragia
p iura com[m]unitatibus
q magistratui honorem
r auctoritatem curiae
s maiestatem imperio
t legibus vigorem, vim
v tribunalibus iura
x tribunalia iustitiae

[39] 41.

a omnibus
e cunctis
i universis
o singulis
u omnibus et singulis
b et nemini non
c et nulli non
d singulis et omnibus
f singulis et universis
g omnibus ordinibus
h omni hominum generi
l omni mortalium generi
m omnium ordinum hominibus
n omnium ordinum mortalibus
p unicuique
q unicuique
r unicuique
s domi forisque
t publice privatimque
v in communi
x [&] in publicum cuique

[40] 42.

a securitatem
e liberum rerum suarum usum
i liberum rerum suarum arbitrium
o liberum rerum suarum dominium
u liberam rerum suarum dispositionem
b liberam rerum suarum dispensationem
c liberam rerum suarum possessionem
d liberum rerum suarum fructum, fruitionem
f sua iura, laetum et honestum otium
g sua privilegia
h suas immunitates
l sua commercia
m suum quaestum
n suas artes vivendi, victum quaerendi
p suum opificium
q suum victum
r sui quaestus exercitium
s sui quaestus sua negotia
t liberam victus et amictus quaerendi rationem
v commerciorum usum
x negotiorum com meatum

(4r) [41] 43. Nec minus Suecia gaudet.

- a SUECIA quid dicat?
- e SUECIA quid dicat? Quid non dicat?
- i SUECIA quid dicat? Quid taceat?
- o SUECIA quid sentiat?
- u SUECIA quid cogitet?
- b SUECIA taces? Tacet? In aeternum non tacebit.
- c SUECIA nunquid tacet?
- d SUECIA mirum si tacet?
- f Suecia! non credibile est tacituram.
- g Quid vero Suecia dicis?
- h In patriam vero quanta contulit?
- l De Suecia quid dicam?
- m Nunquid Suecia gaudet?
- n Nunquid Suecia laetatur?
- p Nunquid Suecia habet, quo laetetur?
- q Nunquid Suecia habet, quo gaudeat?
- r Nunquid Suecia habet, quo exultet?
- s Ecquid est, quod Suecia gaudet?
- t Ecquid est, quod Suecia sibi gratulatur?
- v Suecia vero, quanto gestit gaudio?
- x

[42] 44. Quam illa patriam

- a patriis
- e paternis
- i ingentis patris
- o ingentis genitoris
- u ingentis satoris
- b magni satoris
- c celsi satoris
- d celsi sanguinis
- f celsi Gustavi
- g divi Gustavi
- h magni satus
- l magni ortus
- m magni parentis
- n divinis
- p augustis
- q auspicatissimis
- r heroicis
- s magnificis
- t magnanimis
- v ingentibus
- x <ingentibus>

[43] 45.

- a insistens vestigiis
- e insistens virtutibus
- i inhaerens exemplis
- o infixa gressibus
- u firmata passibus
- b suffulta coeptis
- c innixa factis
- d incedens documentis
- f grassata
- g ingressa
- h se inferens
- l illata
- m incumbens
- n excita
- p excitata
- q animata
- r erecta
- s roborata

- t ducta
- v illuminata
- x viam monstrantibus

[44] 46.

- a multis et magnis
- e divinis
- i ingentibus
- o vere regiis
- u heroicis
- b summis
- c plusquam humanis
- d eximiis
- f ineffabilibus
- g innumeris
- h incredibilibus
- l immensis
- m mirandis
- n inauditis
- p immane quantis
- q incredibile dictu quantis
- r nemo facile enarrabit quantis
- s tantis, quantis maiora cogitari
nequeunt
- t quot vix potest capere animus
- v quis dicet quantis
- x inaestimabilibus

[45] 47.

a beneficiis
e dotibus
i auctibus
o incrementis
u muneribus
b thesauris
c divitiis
d opibus
f opulentiis
g favoribus
h gratiis
l progressibus
m donis
n commodis
p decoribus
q officiis
r honoribus
s honestamentis
t ornamentis
v augmentis
x emolumentis,
eminentiis

[46] 48.

a auxit
e exauxit
i adauxit
o ornavit
u decoravit
b mactavit
c ditavit
d honoravit
f honestavit
g exaltavit
h evexit
l extulit
m venustavit
n exornavit
p affecit
q sibi devinxit
r condecoravit
s amplificavit
t cumulavit
v sibi obstrinxit
x aeternum sibi
conciliavit

[47] 49 <Religionem>

a [fidem unam Christianam] Regnorum
e [Religionem Christianam] Imperiorum
i [Religionem avitam] Rerumpublicarum
o [Religionem maiorum] Statuum
u [Religionem in unitate] societatum
b [Religionem patriam] universitatum
c [Religionem popularem] communitatum
d [Religionem receptam] com[m]unionum
f humanarum societatum
g humanarum mentium
h humanorum animorum
l humanorum pectorum
m humanorum cordium
n humanorum consortiorum
p humanae concordiae
q humanae unionis
r humanae vitae
s humanae amicitiae
t humanae conversationis
v pacis publicae
x pacis coetuum

[48] 50. commune

a vinculum
e fulcrum
i firmamentum
o fundamentum
u nexum
b ligamen
c anchoram
d retinaculum
f ligamentum
g catenam
h fraenum
l columnam
m columen
n solum
p symbolum
q pedamen
r pedamentum
s religaculum
t munimentum
v arcem
x claustrum

[49] 51.

a unam
e in unitate
i in unione
o integram
u illibatam
b venerandam
c puram
d immaculatam
f indivisam
g indivisibilem
h indissolubilem
l synceram
m incorruptam
n inconcussam
p intactam
q immotam
r sanctam
s sartam tectam
t sacrosanctam
v salvam
x

[50] 52.

a conservat.
e servat.
i protegit.
o tuetur.
u defendit.
b continet.
c continet et conservat.
d continet et tuetur.
f custodit.
g custodit et protegit.
h custodit et conservat.
l custodit et tuetur.
m conservat et tuetur.
n conservat et tutatur.
p conservat et protegit.
q conservat et custodit.
r tutatur.
s tutatur et defendit.
t fovet.
v fovet et tuetur.
x fovet et complectitur.

(54v) [51] 53. Fere, quodammodo,
propemodum Iustitiam, Astraeam

a [fere] collapsam
e vacillantem
i nutantem, tantumnon
o cadentem
u animam agentem
b iam terga vertentem
c iam fugam meditantem
d iam ad fugam alas pandentem
f ruentem
g ruinas trahentem
h ruinas minantem
l non satis validam
m titubantem
n labantem
p labentem
q lapsantem
r invalidam
s languentem
t aegram
v infirmam
x laceram [resarcit.]

[52] 54.

a reformavit.
e restituit.
i evexit.
o reposuit, in solidum <reposuit>.
u resanavit, sublevavit.
b reduxit.
c roboravit.
d corroboravit.
f confirmavit.
g suffulcivit.
h consolidavit.
l firmavit.
m sustinuit.
n stabilivit.
p restabilivit.
q iuivit.
r restauravit.
s instauravit.
t <instauravit.>
v refocillavit.
x adiuvit.

[53] 55. 56.

a Mercaturam et opificia docuit; Mercaturam docuit, opificia docuit
e Mercaturam et artes manuaras induxit, invexit.
i Mercaturam et artes manuaras introduxit, mercaturae.
industriam; opificiis solertiam conciliavit.
o Mercaturam ingentibus privilegiis dotavit et auxit.
u Mercaturam ingentibus privilegiis ad nos traduxit.
b Mercaturam in [suam] patriam invitavit et promovit.
c Mercaturam miris, multis modis auctiorem fecit, uberiorem.
d Mercaturam variis mediis ditiolem fecit, lucrosiorem.
f Mercaturam multis viis opimiolem reddidit, solertiorem,
g Commercia incredibilibus auctibus cumulavit.
h Navigationes in remotissimas terras et loca insolita suscepit.
l Navigationes ad dissitissimas orbis plagas lucrosissimas instituit.
m Navigationes etiam in ipsas Indias novis ductis coloniis instituit.
n Navigationibus Septentrioni hactenus ignotis nova Helice viam praemonstravit.
p Maria et littora nostris velis hactenus invisita aperuit.
q Artibus mechanicis et manualibus nobis ante incognitis pretium addidit.
r Artibus incognitis aut infrequentibus patriam ditavit.
s Artifices magnis praemiis in patriam invitavit.
t Multarum artium magistros honorabilibus privilegiis et immunitatibus in
v Artificia in immensum excoluit. || patriam allexit.
x Commercia in immensum excoluit.

[54] 57.

a Et, quod maxime fuit arduum,
e Et, quod ingentis fuit operae, operis,
i Et, quod ingentis erat molis,
o Et, quod tantae fuit molis,
u Et, quod inter maxima ferendum est,
b Et, quod inter prima censendum est,
c Et, quod ego pulcherrimum arbitror,
d Et, quod inter praecipua reputandum est,
f Et, quod maximi fuit negotii,
g Et, in quo palmarium situm arbitror,
h Et, quod Herculei fuit laboris,
l <Et, quod Herculei fuit laboris,>
m Et, quod Herculei fuit operis,
n Et, quod Herculei fuit animi,
p Et, quod Herculei fuit nisus,
q Et, quod Herculei fuit conatus,
r Et, quod Herculei fuit incoepti,
s Et, in quo Cadmeae olim gloriae nihil cedit,
t Et Cadmum aemulata
v Et, quod Cecropiis olim Phoenix
Cadmus praestitit,
x Et, quod olim Carmenta Latinis
<praestitit>,

[56] 59.

a cum Apolline
e cum Phoebos
i cum Cynthio
o cum Delio
u cum Patareo
b cum Lycio
c cum Thymbraeo
d cum Latonio
f cum Latoo vatū patre
g cum deo Delphico
h <cum deo Delphico>
l cum Pythio
m cum praeside Pythio
n cum duce Delio
p cum rege Delio
q cum vate Cyrrhaeo
r <cum vate Cyrrhaeo>
s cum ipso Paeane
t cum laurigero
v cum intonso
x cum crinito

[55] 58.

a toto Parnasso
e toto monte Parnassio
i toto Helicone
o toto Helicone monte
u toto Cyrrha, Pindo
b toto vertice Cyrrhaeo
c tota Pimpla
d toto monte Pimplaeo
f toto monte Aonio
g totis montibus Aoniis
h toto Pierio monte
l totis collibus Pieriis
m tota Hyantia, Libethra
n totis montibus Hyantiis
p toto Parnasso bivertici
q toto Parnasso bicorni, bicipiti
r arce Parnassia
s arce Heliconia
t ipso fonte Castalio
v ipso fonte Pegaseo, Clario
x ipso Permessio fonte

[57] 60.

a et Musis
e et sororibus Aoniis
i et sororibus Castaliis
o et sororibus Heliconiis
u et sororibus Camoenis
b et sororibus Heliconae colentibus
c
d et sororibus Hyantiis
f et divis Pimplaeis
g et divis Thesbiadibus
h et choro Thesbiadum
l
m et choro Hyantidum
n et choro Castalidum
p et choro Pimpleidum
q et choro Aganippidum
r et choro Libethridum
s et choro Pieridum
t et choro Pegasidum
v et choro Heliconiadum
x et choro Aonidum

[58] 61.

a in Sueciam
e in Suediam
i in Suethiam
o in Sueoniam, aquilonaria regna
u in Suioniam
b in Suionas
c <in Suedos, Suecos, Suethos>
d in Sueonas
f sub Arcton
g sub Arctum
h sub Parrhasiae virginis axem
l <in Sithonias ursas>
m sub Maenalias ursas
n sub gelidos Triones
p sub inocciduos Triones
q in Boream
r in Borealia regna
s sub axem Boreum
t sub aquilonem
v sub aquilonis orbes
x sub axem Maenalium, sub
Bootem, sub Lycaonium Bootem

[59] 62.

a traducto
e translato
i transposito
o transvecto, illato
u accito,
b invecto
c contracto
d accersito
f adscito, promotus
g attracto,
h transposito, conscripto,
l collocato
m invitato, translocato
n evocato
p excito
q congregato
r aggregato
s transportato
t transfretato
v excitato, pellecto,
x transscripto, traiecto,
reposito

(5r) [60] 63.

a Barbariem profligavit, regno suo eiecit.
e Barbariem abegit.
i Barbariem fugavit.
o Barbariem disiecit, debellavit.
u coecam ignorantiae noctem <disiecit>.
b altam ignorantiae caliginem dispulit.
c mentibus incubantem barbariem depulit.
d terrae incubantem barbariem depulit.
f ingeniis insidentem caliginem <depulit>.
g ingeniis insitam ignaviam <depulit>.
h ignaviam popularium mentes obsidentem <depulit>.
l <inertiam> popularium animos soporantem <depulit>.
m inertiam popularium diutino sopore suprimentem <depulit>.
n inertiam popularium diutino sopore oppressos detinentem <depulit>.
p profundas ignorantiae tenebras, inertes <depulit>.
q Orcinas, Stygias, labyrinthicas, furvas tenebras <depulit>.
r somnolentam ingeniorum noctem dispulit.
s ignorantiam fumosam ingeniorum labem sustulit, nubem.
t diutinis ignorantiae tenebris obductas suorum mentes religavit.
v Cimmerias animorum tenebras ad Rhiphaeos relegavit.
x ignorantiam animorum pestem (mortem) eiecit regno.

Quamobrem, quid multa?
 Quapropter, quid multis?
 Propterea,
 Proinde,
 Qua de causa,
 Quare,
 Ea propter,
 Ergo,
 Igitur,
 Hinc, Inde, Unde,
 Haec propter,
 Quae cum ita sint,
 Quae cum ita se habeant,
 Ob quod, ob quae,
 Quae quando ita se habeant,
 Quae quandoquidem ita se habeant,
 Quae siquidem ita se habeant,
 Quae posteaquam ita se habeant,
 Hanc ob rem,
 Hinc ergo merito, iure
 Non igitur immerito,

[61] 64.

a Haec propter et alia
 e Propter quae et alia
 i Propter iam dicta et alia
 o Propter commemorata et alia
 u Propter memorata et alia
 b Propter quae modo dicta et alia
 c Ob quae dicta
 d Ob quae et multa alia
 f Ob quae et innumera alia
 g Ob quae et nemini non nota alia
 h Ob quae et nemini non decantata alia
 l Ob quae et non celebrata alia
 m Ob quae et utrique Polo concelebrata alia
 n Ob quae et utrique Polo cognita alia
 p Ob quae et utrique Polo notissima alia
 q Ob quae et omnibus terris notissima alia
 r Ob quae et cunctis nationibus notissima alia
 s Ob quae et toto coelo notissima alia
 t Ob quae et terrarum orbi notissima alia
 v Ob quae et omnibus mundi plagis notissima alia
 x Ob quae et etiam syderibus nota alia

[62] 65.

a praeclare facta, magnifice
 e praeclare gesta, heroice
 i praeclare instituta
 o praeclare constituta
 u praeclare ordinata
 b praeclare comparata, statuta
 c praeclare invecta, introducta
 d praeclara facinora
 f divina facinora
 g vere regia facinora
 h inclyta facinora
 l magnifica facinora
 m heroica facinora
 n heroica facta
 p heroica gesta
 q heroica statuta
 r heroica instituta
 s
 t
 v
 x

[63] 66.

a eam meritis coronamus laudibus
 e eam meritis celebramus praeconiis
 i eam meritis cantamus encomiis
 o eam meritis decantamus
 u eam meritis concelebramus
 b eam meritis vehimus
 c eam meritis evehimus
 d eam meritis tollimus
 f eam meritis extollimus
 g eam meritis sustollimus
 h eam meritis ferimus
 l eam meritis efferimus
 m eam meritis prosequimur
 n eam meritis ornamus
 p eam meritis afficimus
 q eam meritis mactamus
 r eam meritis dicimus
 s eam meritis praedicamus
 t eam meritis decoramus
 v eam meritis canimus
 x eam meritis coelo aequamus

(5v) [64] 67.

a laetis plausibus
e laetis vocibus
i laetis clamoribus
o laetis acclamationibus
u laetis applausibus
b laetis acclamatibus
c laetis cantibus
d faustis cantibus
f resonis cantibus
g concinnis cantibus
h argutis cantibus
l tinnulis cantibus
m clarisonis cantibus, iubilatibus
n vocalibus cantibus, hymnis
p canoris cantibus
q melicis cantibus
r dulcisonis cantibus
s festis cantibus
t festivis cantibus
v multisonis cantibus
x sonoris cantibus

[66] 69.

a Salve rosee Cynthie!

[67] 70.

a Salve festa dies!

[65] 68. , ut coepi,

a ingeminantes festas voces
e tergeminales faustas voces
i resonantes
o iterantes Paeon, io Paeon
u repetentes
b exclamantes festivum iubilum
c concinentes
d personantes
f cientes, tergeminales
g extollentes
h efferentes, inclamantes
l sustollentes
m tollentes
n tollentes in coelos
p tollentes in aethera
qu tollentes in sydera
r tollentes in astra
s tollentes in altum
t aethera ferientes
v sidera ferientes
x coelos ferientes

12.4.4 Critical and explanatory remarks

Unit 1

At the outset of the panegyric, Stiernhielm heaps up various poetical appellations of the day or the dawn by using epithets of the sun-god Apollo and Aurora, goddess of the morning. As epithets of Apollo we encounter the descriptive names *Phoebus* “the radiant”, *Cynthius* “the Cynthian” as being born at mount Cynthus on Delos, Titan “the grandson of Titan”, *Clarius* “the Clarian” as worshipped at a temple and oracle-place in the town Claros in Ionia, and at last *Hyperion* “the sun”. *Phosphorus* and *Lucifer* are “the light-bringer, morning star”, *Eous* “the morning star”. Other names of Aurora are *Matuta*, *Leucothea*, *Pallantis* and *Tithonia coniux* (see unit 1, the footnotes).

Stiernhielm uses some poetical synonyms of the day or day-light, namely *fax*, *lux*, *lampas* and *fulgor*. Similarly, he employs a couple of periphrases of the day-light, namely *mundi oculo fulgide* “flashing/shining eye of the day” and *Decus mundi unicum, aureum* “the only or golden ornament of the world”.

Unit 13, letters *e* and *i*

The phrases *Aonii gloria chori* and *Pieriis pollens studiis* are in all probability drawn from Jean de Backer’s phraseological dictionary of Classical Latin poetry, *Flores flavissae et elegantiae poeticae*, s.v. *doctus*, i.e. learned, p. 245 in the 1647 edition.

Unit 14, letters *qu*, *t* and *x*

In the phrases *qu* and *t*, Stiernhielm imitates Classical Latin poetry. At the variation *qu* he makes use of a phrase encountered in Lucanus’ epic poem on the civil war, *Pharsalia* 9, 350, where the author states that Pallas, who was born from her father’s head, loves Tritonis (the nymph of a salt lake in Libya): “Hanc et Pallas amat, patrio quae vertice nata.” At the letter *t* Stiernhielm employs a phrase that derives from Martial’s *Epigrammata* 1, 39, 3: “si quis Cecropiae madidus Latiaeque Minervae / artibus”, that is “if anyone is filled with the arts of the Cecropian (that is, Athenian) and Latin Minerva”.¹¹⁷⁶

At the letter *x* Stiernhielm draws his phrase from Jean de Backer’s synonymous poetical dictionary, where language learning in Greek and Latin is described as *Quiris venustas* “Quiritian, that is Roman, beauty” and *Pelasga elegantia*, “Pelasgian, that is Greek, elegance”.¹¹⁷⁷

¹¹⁷⁶ de Backer, *Flores flavissae et elegantiae poeticae* (Cologne/ Köln 1647), s.v. *doctus Graece et Latine*, p. 346.

¹¹⁷⁷ de Backer, *ibidem*, s.v. *doctus Graece et Latine*, p. 346.

Unit 24, letter *a*

The reference to peace as the best of things alludes to Silius Italicus, *Punica* 11, 592 f. *pax optima rerum / quas homini novisse datum est*.

Unit 25, letter *v*

The clause *rumpantur ut ilia Cerbero*, “so that Cerberus’ belly is torn apart”, is a humorous imitation of the famous expression in Virgil’s *Eclogae* 7, 26: *invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro*, “so that Codrus’ belly bursts with envy”. Codrus was the name of a wretched poet. The sense is: “so that the Pope’s belly bursts with envy”. In the draft (F.d. 6b,3b, fifth quire, 2v), Stiernhielm used Virgil’s expression.

Unit 25, letter *x*

The last phrase is *Cerbero triffauci, triformi*, that is “with the three-faced or threefold Cerberus” with ellipsis of a verbal complement. I have supplemented “multum latrante”, that is “much barking”, from the draft in F.d. 6b, 3b (fifth quire, fol. 2v).

Unit 33, letters *i*, *o* and *u*

In unit 33, letters *i* and *u*, Stiernhielm uses phrases from Statius’ poetry. At the letter *i*, the phrase *ora serenat* occurs in the epic poem on Thebes, *Thebais* 2, 57: (infernaque nubila vultu/) discutit et vivis adflatibus ora serenat. The sentence of the variation *u* is encountered in the fifth book of Statius’ miscellanies, *Silvae* 5, 5, 43–44 f: [...] “nunc tempus, amici, / quorum ego manantes oculos et saucia tersi/ pectora.”

In unit 33, letter *o*, Stiernhielm adopts the phrase *lacrymantia lumina tergere*, “to dry crying eyes”, which is attested in the poem *Moretum* previously attributed to Virgil; line 108 reads: “Saepe manu summa lacrymantia lumina tergit.”

Units 39 and 40, letters *e*, *i*, *o* and *u*

Stiernhielm here inflects the noun *tribus* in the dative singular only with the alternative ending *-u* instead of *-ui*. He uses the word in the sense of “the common people, commonalty”.

Units 55 and 56, letters *n* and *t*

The meaning of the variation under letter *n* is as follows: “As a new constellation the Great Bear (= Charles’s Wain) she showed the way for navigations into the North that so far had been unknown.”

For reasons of space, the last words of this variation, *patriam allexit*, are written on the next line (letter *v*), where I have added two vertical strokes to separate *patriam allexit* from the next variation (*v*).

Unit 61, letters *c*, *l* and *h*

For the expected variations *c* and *l* there is no text in the fair copy. I have supplied variations from the synonyms in Stiernhielm's draft of this panegyric in F.d. 6b, 3b. The circumlocution of the constellation the Great Bear, *Ursa Maior*, as "the sky of the Parrhasian virgin" is found in Classical Latin poetry: Ovid, *Tristia* 2, 190 "*Parrhasiae gelido virginis axe premor.*"

Unit 63, letter *l*

The manuscript has the adjective *iners* (that is "inactive, idle") in the accusative, *inertem*, but the syntax requires a noun, such as *inertiam*, (that is "inactivity, idleness, laziness").

12.4.5 Cipher writing: Stiernhielm's examples

12.4.5.1 Preliminaries

Source: F.d. 13, wrapper Polygraphia, fols. 6v, 7r and 7v.

Stiernhielm designated his exercise of polygraphy as comprehensible in the sense that the cipher writing, though encoded, is not hidden as in cryptography. He gives two examples. In the first example he joins the units of the former numbering (nos. 1–67) into a variation with the hidden message "May God preserve Christina of Sweden safe and sound. So pray all good people." In the second example he joins the units of the latter numbering (nos. 1–68) into a composition with a hidden message, which is a statement by Seneca the Younger.

12.4.5.2 The first example

Variatio prima ex clavi extemporanea, cui subest sensus occultus:

Deus servet Christinam Sueciae diu sospitem et incolumem, sic precamur omnes boni.

(fol. 6v) Salve Hyperion, lux augusta, valde et multorum votis sollicitata, salve! Quae nobis tam opulenta affers munera. Tu enim Principem nobis alto submittis Olympo, oris blanda gravitate decoram eandemque¹¹⁷⁸ animi viribus illustrem, Pieriis studiis pollentem, sobolem Minervae omnibus aequam, clementem, bonam, sexus sui gemmam, inaestimabilem afflictorum solatium, populi sui gaudium. Cuius virtute Herculeae et maturis consiliis candida Pax bello debellato generi mortali restituta reflorescit. Germania fulminei Martis truculentia deflorata libertate postliminio restaurata ora serenat, exultans serio civibus suis redditam iam diu desideratam tranquillitatem, templis deos, flaminibus aras, leges foro, subsellis

¹¹⁷⁸ eandemque] According to the given message this unit should be *atque eandem*.

suffragia, universis suas vivendi artes. Nec minus Suecia beatam se praedicat, quam illa paternis illata passibus heroicis donis exauxit. Religionem cordium communem religaculum in unione continet et conservat, iustitiam labantem restauravit, artes manuaris invexit, mercaturam miris modis uberiores fecit, et quod ego pulcherrimum arbitror, toto Parnasso suo cum Praeside et Camoenis in Boream¹¹⁷⁹ transvecto inertiam diutino sopore animos supprimentem eiecit. Ob quae et alia praeclare gesta eam meritis praedicamus laudibus, laetis acclamationibus iterantes: Salve fax fulgida, fax festa salve.

(fol. 7r)

D e u s s e r v e t C h r i s t i n a m S u e c i a e
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25.

d i u s o s p i t e m e t i n c o l u m e m, s i c
26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50.

p r e c a m u r o m n e s b o n i. etc.
51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67.

12.4.5.3 Explanatory remarks

Unit 22 occurs twice, but Stiernhielm disregards this fact. Originally the double unit 22. 23 was numbered 21. 23, but after having added one number (17) to the units 15–16, he changed the numbering of the five units (17 was corrected into 18 and 18 into 19 and the double unit 19. 20 into 20. 21). In unit 23 Stiernhielm’s choice (*consiliis*) corresponds to the letter *t* rather than *c*, though, in the above key to the cryptography he retained the most common orthographic form of the Latin designation of Sweden, viz. *Suecia*. However, *Suetia* is an alternative spelling of *Suethia*.

12.4.5.4 The second example

Stiernhielm provides a second example of cipher writing, in which the hidden message is a quotation from Seneca the Younger. It is: “A good mind is not bought and is not borrowed. And I think that if it was for sale, it would not have any buyer” (*Epist. morales* III, 27, 8).

(7r) Variatio secunda ex clavi extemporanea (ut omnes), cuius sensus occultus est dictum Senecae: *Bona mens nec emitur nec commodatur. Et puto, si venalis esset, non haberet emptorem.*

¹¹⁷⁹ sub Boream] This variation (unit 59 in the former system of numbering) is required to correspond to the letter designation *r* in Stiernhielm’s clarification of the hidden message. In the edited text above, it corresponds to the letter designation *q*. In the ms., it is unclear whether *sub Boream* belongs to the designation *q* or *r*.

Salve Phoebe auree,¹¹⁸⁰ lampas candida, plurimum desiderata, salve!
 Quae nobis tam divina affers bona. Tu enim Christinam nobis magni
 conscia partus edidisti, corporis specie praeclaram haud secus quam
 ingenii solertia admirabilem studiisque inclytam, cordata omnibus,
 aequam, munificam, candidam, sexus sui astrum fulgentissimum,
 (7v) Charitum delictum. Cuius consilia et regia bonitate pax victoriis
 plaudentibus alas pacato Marte generi humano reducta revixit.
 Germania cruenti Martis vesania deiecta, liberate reparata ingenti
 laetitia perfusa est percipiens orbi suo restitutam tranquillitatem, iam
 diu deploratam, victimis aras, numina templis, iura tribunalibus et
 omnium ordinum mortalibus securitatem. De Suecia quid dicam?
 Quam ingentis Patris roborata documentis multis et divinis
 honostamentis amplificavit. Religionem imperiorum munimentum
 inconcussum tuetur. Iustitiam labantem consolidavit. Mercaturam et
 artes manuales inexit,¹¹⁸¹ <mercaturam in patriam invitavit et
 promovit¹¹⁸²> et quod ingentis fuit operae, arce Parnassia cum
 Phoebus et tota Pieridum cohorte in Suediam invitatis inertes
 ignorantiae tenebras dispulit. Ob quae et toti orbi¹¹⁸³ concelebrata et
 alia praeclare constituta eam meritis dicimus laudibus, laetis vocibus
 tollentes: Salve festa dies etc.

12.4.5.5 Decoding of the cipher

Except for the units 1 and 55–56, where Stiernhielm has confused the
 letter designations of *e* and *b*, the above text corresponds well to the
 decoded message. Below follows a clarification of the cipher, unit for
 unit. This is not written out in the manuscript.

B o n a m e n s n o n e m i t u r n e c c o m m o d a t u r .
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

E t p u t o , s i v e n a l i s e s s e t , n o n
 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53

h a b e r e t e m p t o r e m .
 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68

¹¹⁸⁰ Phoebe auree] The decoded message would require unit 1 b, *Eoe pulchre*.

¹¹⁸¹ Mercaturam ... inexit] This variation (unit 55 e), does not agree with the
 intended cipher. Instead, the unit 55 a, *Mercaturam et opificia docuit*, is required.

¹¹⁸² <mercaturam in patriam invitavit et promovit>] This clause has to be added
 according to the letter designation intended in the cipher, viz. unit 56, variation b.

¹¹⁸³ toti orbi] According to the decoded message, this unit (64t) should be *Ob quae
 et terrarum orbi concelebrata* for the letter designation /t/. Stiernhielm partly
 confused it with the preceding variation (*Ob quae et toti coelo concelebrata*).

12.4.6 Thematic comparison with *Parnassus triumphans*

The birthday panegyric from 1650 shares a set of common topics and similar phrases with *Parnassus triumphans*, for instance lines 242–247, the seven ancient wise men of Greece sing about the Queen as patroness of culture:

Men nu: nu syns oss åter lysa
En sool med wijsdoms ljus beprydd
I thess beskärm wij hoppas finna
en stadig ewig-blifuand roo;
then store Swea Konunginna
will att wij jämt hos henne boo.

But at present, a sun now appears to shine for us again,
a sun adorned with the light of wisdom.
In its protection with hope to find
steady, everlasting rest.
The great Queen of Swea realm
wishes that we always will live together with her.

In lines 254–262, the Muses, who now have settled in Sweden, sing:¹¹⁸⁴

1. Vårt rikes fromma
står nu i blomma,
bracht i högste flor.
Parnassi högder
i lust och frögder
fijres av vår chor.

2. Aganippes källa
begrinner hälla
Cristalline flod.

1. The fortune of our realm
is now flourishing
and is brought to the highest flowering.
The height of Parnassus,
with happiness and joy,
is celebrated by our choir.

¹¹⁸⁴ For the topic “the migration of the Muses” in Neo-Latin poetry, see Helander, *Neo-Latin literature in Sweden 1620–1720*, pp. 411–416.

2. Aganippe's source
begins to flow forth
with water clear as crystal.

In lines 286–287, Homer, Pindar, Virgil and Horace, as restorers of poetry, underline the migration of learning and sing:

I Grek-land numeer en förgäfs Parnassum leeter
som finns i Swea-land med alt sit folk försätt.

In Greece, one seeks nowadays in vain for Parnassus,
which with all its people is transposed to the Swea-country.

In the the last entrance of final great ballet, Aurora and the Muses sing (lines 311–350). In the first stanza, we find the metaphor of a beautiful dawn arising over Sweden. In the second, there is a hope for the return of the Saturnian golden age, for which the draft in Latin contains a reference to the fourth eclogue of Virgil. In the third, Queen Christina is represented as the prolonged arm of her father, King Gustavus Adolphus. God has made the hand of Christina strong and victorious, so that the war on sea and land has ceased. In the fourth stanza, Stiernhielm describes how knowledge and learning (“mans-wet) with virtues and good customs have flourished as a result of the peace. In the following stanzas, the blessings of peace are enumerated with their consequences for various fundamental areas. In the fifth, piety thrives. In the sixth, justice prospers. In the seventh, trade and handicrafts are promoted. In the eighth, agriculture is furthered; the swords are forged into coulters and ploughshares with a clear allusion to Isaiah 2:4.¹¹⁸⁵ In the final stanzas the poet prays that need will be turned into abundance by the blessing of God.

Een purpur-lijflig fijn Aurora
tig stiger up, o Swea kär.
Lycksaligheetens horn hon bär
i föllie med then blomstran' Flora.

Then länge önskad, ofta spådde,
then första werldens gyllen tijd,
tig yppas, Swea liuf och blid:
CHRISTINAE hand tig thet förmådde,

¹¹⁸⁵ The Biblical passage reads: “They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither they shall learn war any more.”

Gustavi arm, Christinae hand är,
then Gud igenom himmelsk kraft
har gjort så stark och segerhaft
att stilt är örlig, krig och klander.

I landet blomstras prijs och heder,
af alt huad som en lära må
af alt hwad mans-wet kan förstå
af alsköns dygd och gode seder.

Thens högste tempel och hans stifter
och alt huad Guds och heligt är
af allman wyrdas när och fiär
Förökt med offr och milde gifter.

Rättfärdighet föruthan räncker,
och drögsmål, skipias huario man
all fund och list här intet kan
stort straf han får som rätten kränker.

I fred förutan wåld och wåda
med köpenskap och handwerks ijd
hwar gör sig om sin bärning flijt
och gå med gagn varann' til handa.

På landet Gud ock alt så fogar
att åkerman af ingo weet
som annat är än rolighet.
Af swärd är smidde rist och plogar.

Huad brist här är, och än kan feela
af ymnoghet och ährings frögd,
will Gud af rijke himmels högd
wårt hopp och bön ännu meddela.

Then regn och solskijn har i händer
och råder öfuer Jupiter
then Phoebi klarhets mästar är
wår brist i ymnighet han wänder.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Alsted on morphosyntactic variability

Preliminaries

Source: F.d. 4 (*Loci communes*), pp. 292–293. Size: 193 x 317 mm. The excerpts are from the first edition of Johann Heinrich Alsted's encyclopaedia. *Cursus philosophici encyclopaedia* (1620), book 2 on grammar (*de grammatica*, chapter 19 on syntax (*de syntaxi*). In the second edition, *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta*, 1630, the excerpted passages occur in the second volume (*tomus secundus*), book 6 on grammar, chapter 19 on syntax, pp. 368–370.¹¹⁸⁶ For a photographic reproduction of Stiernhielm's copy, see Figure 27.

Contents: Alsted divides his account in general syntax and special syntax. General syntax is further divided in accidental changes of the same parts of speech (*heterosis*), the exchange of different parts of speech (*antimeria*) and the use of another word (*metallage*). Special syntax is classified in alterations of the noun, the verb and the conjunction.

Stiernhielm relied on Alsted's account of special syntax in the first system of variation in *Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum* (1635). He used selected parts of Alsted's *syntaxis varians* as a foundation for his system of syntactic variability in *Proteus rhetoricus*, where some devices (number 2: *mutatio substantivi et adjectivi*, and number 3: *mutatio epitheti*) correspond to Alsted's categorization of accidental changes, while others answer to Alsted's observations about the variability of special syntax.

Dating: The excerpt can be dated from a complimentary poem to the superintendent of Gothenburg and Latin poet Johannes Sylvester

¹¹⁸⁶ Alsted, in turn, apparently used the Latin grammar by Caspar Finck and Christopher Helwig as his source of inspiration. It was published as *Grammatica Latina* in Giessen (Giessae Hessorum) in 1615, five years before the first edition of Alsted's encyclopaedia. In book 1, chapter 28, Finck and Helwig deal with syntactic exchange (*enallage*) in a threefold fashion, namely by the exchange of different parts of speech (*antimeria*), by alteration of accidents within the same part of speech (*heterosis*) and by the use of another word (*metallage*), see pp. 268–274. Alsted borrowed his tripartite model, but reversed the order of the first two elements; the alteration of accidents comes before the change of word classes. The examples are largely the same as those adduced by Flinck and Helwig.

Phrygius (1572–1628) on the occasion of his planned publication of a collection of Latin poems (*opus poeticum*). The poem is found at the bottom of the page in which the excerpts from Alsted’s *Syntaxis varians* ends. The poem is dated 25 December 1625, when it was sent to Gothenburg.¹¹⁸⁷ It has been published in the collection of Stiernhielm’s poetic writings.¹¹⁸⁸

In excerpting his source text, Stiernhielm selected and adapted it. Sometimes he omitted entire sentences. In other passages he removed one or more words and replaced them by connective words. In other passages again he paraphrased the omitted words. He also modified the numbering of the categories.

In the below transcription, Stiernhielm’s omissions are written out or marked within square brackets in extra bold types. His additions and new numberings are given within angle brackets. His adaptations and paraphrases are explained in footnotes. Deviations can on the other hand depend on the fact that Stiernhielm followed Alsted’s *Encyclopaedia* in its first edition (1620) and not in its second one (1630), which is the only one to which I have had access.

Stiernhielm’s excerpted text

(F.d. 4:1, p. 392, col. 1; cf. Alsted 1630, p. 368, col. 1)

Syntaxis varians

[*Syntaxis varians est*] quae unam eandemque sententiam aliis vocibus effert. [Estque generalis vel specialis. Generalis cernitur in enallage, quae est heterosis, antimeria et metallage.]

Heterosis est enallage accidentis cum eadem parte orationis¹¹⁸⁹ manente, accidens tantum mutatur, hoc modo:

1. *Nomen substantivum et adiectivum permutantur*: [ut,] Iuxta sententiam Homeri, et¹¹⁹⁰ Homericam. Fidelis amicus, et fides amici cognoscitur in rebus secundis. [Constans amicus nunquam satis laudari potest. Constantia amici nunquam satis laudari potest. Sic] scelus pro scelesto, pestis pro pestilente [ponitur].

2. *Nomen rei commutatur cum nomine personae*, et vicissim, [ut,] Nihil opus meis monitis <vel> [Nihil opus me] monitore. Te suasore, tuo suasu. [Tuis auspiciis: Te auspice. Tuo ductu. Te duce. Te impulsore: Tuo impulsu. Te instigante: Tuo instinctu. Te doctore

¹¹⁸⁷ Stiernhielm writes: “8. Decembr. Anni 1625 miss<um> Gothob<urgum>.” See ms. F.d. 4:1, Royal Library, Stockholm, p. 293.

¹¹⁸⁸ Johan Nordström and Bernt Olsson (eds.), *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, vol. 1:1. See Latin poems, no. IV, pp. 159–160.

¹¹⁸⁹ [parte orationis] This is a transposition of the word order in relation to Alsted 1630, who has *orationis parte*.

¹¹⁹⁰ et] Alsted has vel in the second edition, 1630. Whether the first edition had *et* or *vel* is unknown to me.

profeci: Tua doctrina profeci. Patrem consulem non desinit iactare: Patris consulatum non desinit iactare.]

3. *Proprium ponitur pro appellativo*: [ut,] Verres pro fure. Sardanapulus [pro] molli. [Croesus pro divite.]

4. *Appellativum [ponitur] pro proprio*: [ut,] Poëta pro Virgilio, Apostolus pro Paulus.

5. *Patronymicum [est] loco proprii*: [ut,] Priamides pro Hectore, Aeacides pro Achille.

6. *Nomina possessiva, gentilia aut patria [sunt] loco priorum*: [ut,] Cous senex pro Hippocrate. [Stagirita pro Aristotele.]

7. *Epitheta [sunt] loco priorum*: [ut,] Pius pro Aenea. Casta pro Penelope.

8. *Nomina gentium pro attributis earum ponuntur*: [ut,] Cres et Graecus pro mendaci. Latinus pro supercilioso. Germanus pro bellicoso. [...]¹¹⁹¹.

9. *Genera permutantur*: [ut,] Dies serena et [Dies] serenus. Hoc [fine], hac fini.

10. *Numerus pro numero ponitur*: Scribere militem, [scribere] milites. Hostis [habet muros], hostes [habent muros].

11. *Casus pro casu [ponitur]*: [ut,] Deus meus adiuva me, pro Deus mi. [In oppido Antiochiae, pro Antiochia.] Vos o Patricius sanguis, pro Patricie. Macte [esto virtute], et Mactus virtute esto. Est mihi nomen Petrus, Petri, Petro. It clamor coelo, et it ad coelum. [Haeret pede pes: haeret pedi pes.]¹¹⁹²

Huc pertinet variatio [nominis in una eademque sententia] per omnes casus in utroque numero [utriusque numeri, e.g. Aristoteles est omnium philosophorum sapientissimus]:

[Singularis]

N. *Aristoteles* a nullo [philosopho] superatur sapientia.

G. Summa est *Aristotelis* prae aliis philosophis sapientia.

D. Haud scio an quisquam *Aristoteli* sit aequandus.

A. Putasne *Aristotelem* ulli philosopho cedere sapientia?

V. Quam singulari, o *Aristoteles*, ornatus es a Deo sapientia!

Ab. Nemo philosophorum sapientior fuit *Aristotele*.

Plural[is].

N. Sint alii *philosophi* sapientes; at qui cum Aristotele comparari possit, nullus est.

G. Aristoteles facile est princeps omnium *philosophorum*.

D. Aristoteles palmam sapientiae praeripit aliis *philosophis*.

A. Aristoteles superat omnes *philosophos* sapientia.

(Alsted 1630, p. 368, col. 2)

¹¹⁹¹ Alsted here makes a brief digression on the nature of the relationship between grammar and rhetoric.

¹¹⁹² In Alsted 1630, the clauses in this paragraph have a different order.

V. Heus *philosophi*, Aristoteles excellit vos sapientia.

Ab. Aristoteles ex omnibus *philosophis* est maxime sapiens.

12. *Una declinatio [ponitur] pro altera*: [ut,] Mendus, Menda [Mendum tolle: et tolle mendam; cedo syngraphum: et syngrapham.] luxuria [regnat], [luxur]ies [regnat.] [Tempus Paschae, vel Paschatis.]

13. *Gradus comparationis permutantur*: [ut,] ille est doctissimus. Nemo eo est doctior.

14. *Derivatum pro primitivo, compositum pro simplici, diminutivum pro primo [ponitur] et contra*: [ut,] Libellus pro libro, decorum pro decus, perbellus pro bellus.

15. *In pronomine p[onitur] nonnumquam possessivum pro primitivo*: [ut,] Odio id fecit tuo, pro tui. Reciprocum pro primitivo: Respice Laërtem, ut iam sua lumina condāt,¹¹⁹³ pro ipsius.

16. *In verbo multiplex est heterosis [hoc modo]*:

1. *Unum verbi genus in aliud mutatur, ut activum in neutrum*: Nox praecipitat, pro praecipitatur. Quae res tibi vortat mali, pro vertatur. *Passivum pro activo*: Indutus sum vestes, pro indui. *Neutrum pro activo*: Corydon ardebat Alexin,¹¹⁹⁴ pro amabat. Huc [pertinent] illa: assentio, [assent]ior; Placuit, Placitum est. Causa coepit agi; et coepta est agi.

2. *Personae commutantur*: [ut,] Oratores visi sumus, pro Visus sum [orator]. Si quis me quaerat, praesto est, desine, pro praesto sum.

3. *Derivatum [ponitur] pro primo*: [ut,] lectito, pro lego, clamito, pro clamo.

4. *Simplex [ponitur] pro composito*: [ut,] Risit hominem, pro derisit. Scribit militem, pro conscribit. Temnere [divos, pro contemnere.]

4.¹¹⁹⁵ *Modi et tempora permutantur*: [ut,] Praedicabat hoc nobis, vel praedixit. Ille stomachabatur, vel ille stomachari. Dixerit hic aliquis, vel Dicet hic aliquis. Equidem istud non affirmaverim, vel [affirmave]ro, [vel affirmabo]. [...] ¹¹⁹⁶ Ne crede, [et Ne cred]as. [...] ¹¹⁹⁷ Memini videre, vel vidisse. [...] ¹¹⁹⁸ Si tales amicos in praelio habebitis, quales hic ostendimus, vicimus, pro vincemus. Te ad me fore venturum, pro esse. Cicero.

¹¹⁹³ Respice Laërtem ... condāt] Ovid, *Epistulae Heroidum* 1, 113: “respice Laerten; ut tu sua lumina condas” that is: “Consider Laertes, that you might close his eyes.” Alsted and Stiernhielm have *iam* instead of *tu* and *condat* instead of *condas*, so that the meaning is changed to “Consider Laertes, that he now closes his eyes.”

¹¹⁹⁴ Corydon ardebat Alexin] Virgil, *Eclogae* 2, 1.

¹¹⁹⁵ 4] This should be 5, but here Stiernhielm did not correct the faulty numbering of the original.

¹¹⁹⁶ In comparison to Alsted 1630 Stiernhielm here omits five examples.

¹¹⁹⁷ In comparison to Alsted 1630 Stiernhielm here omits several examples.

¹¹⁹⁸ In comparison to Alsted 1630, Stiernhielm here omits two examples.

17. *Synonyma inter se permutantur*: [ut,] Cedo ensem, [vel] gladium. Cedant arma togae. mars [cedat] arti.

Antimeria est unius partis orationis cum alia permutatio [quae fit hoc modo]:

1. *Nomen permutantur cum nomine*: [ut,] Omnia Ciceronis tibi patent, pro [omnia] mea; *cum verbo*: [ut,] Velle suum cuique est, pro voluntas. Iudicent alii, et aliorum esto iudicium; *cum adverbio* [ut,] Quid tibi aegre est, pro molestum; *cum coniunctione* [ut,] Illius ergo [venimus], pro causa; *cum interiectione* [ut,] Quid tu, malum, curas, utrum crudum an coctum edam.¹¹⁹⁹

2. *Pronomen commutatur nomine*: [ut,] Id negat Cicero, pro Ego [id nego]; *adverbio* [ut,] Quid maiora sequar, pro cur.

3. *Participium commutatur nomine*: [ut,] Lumen coruscum, pro coruscans. Ora sibila, pro sibilantia; *verbo*: [ut,] Amantem redama, pro Eum qui te amat [redama].

4. *Verbum commutatur nomine*: [ut,] Quae tua sententia est? pro Quid sentis? Non est mihi dubium, pro Non dubito; *participio*: [ut,] Non opus est dicto, pro dicere; *adverbio*: [ut,] Pene dixerim, pro fere; *coniunctione*: [ut,] Adde, accedit, pro praeterea. *Huc pertinet mutatio gerundii. (F.d. 4:1, p. 292, col. 2) Commutatur autem gerundium gerundivo*: [ut,] Visendae matris causa, pro Visendi matrem. *Supinum commutatur verbo*: [ut,] Venit spectatum [pro spectandi causa]; *participio*: [ut,] Abit spectaturus principem [pro spectatum]. *Verbum etiam eleganter commutatur supino priori*: [ut,] Is te perditum, pro perdis. Eunt sua repetitum, pro repetunt. Eamus scriptum, pro scribamus.

5. *Adverbium commutatur nomine*: [ut,] Sole recens orto [pro recenter]. Vivunt Bacchanalia,¹²⁰⁰ pro [Baccha]naliter. Plurimus est in foro, pro plurimum. Qui scis istuc, pro quomodo, aut unde.

6. *Coniunctio [commutatur] adverbio*: [ut,] Quando hoc tibi (Alsted 1630, p. 369, col. 1) molestum est, pro quia; *prepositione*: [ut,] Romulus cum Remo iura dabant, pro [Romulus] et [Remus].

Metallage est cum dictio aliqua materialiter sive technice ponitur: [ut,] Amicus est alter ego. Vetus illud Have. [Triste vale. Per miserere mei tollitur ira Dei.] *Ecce suum tirilitirelitiretirlire tractim Candida per vernum ludit Alauda solum.*¹²⁰¹

Syntaxis varians specialis [est, quae certis continetur regulis et praecipue cernitur in nomine, verbo, et coniunctione.]

Variatio nominis fit 4 [potissimum] modis:

I. *Nomina, quae inesse vel adesse quippiam alicui significant, regunt genitivum et ablativum*: [ut, Vir summae humanitatis. Vir summa humanitate. Vir summa humanitate praeditur. *Item*: Puer praeclarae indolis. Puer praeclara indole. Puer praeclara indole praeditus. *Item*:]

¹¹⁹⁹ Quid tu ... edam] Plautus, *Aulularia* 429–430 (3, 2, 15).

¹²⁰⁰ Vivunt Bacchanalia] Juvenalis, *Saturae* 2, 3.

¹²⁰¹ Ecce ... solum] “Behold! Only in the spring-time the white lark slowly sings her tirilitirelitiretirlire.” This is an instance of metallage,

Ennius ingenii maximi. [Ennius ingenio maximo]. Ennius ingenio maximo praeditus. Ennius ingenio maximus. [Homo antiquae virtutis et fides. Homo antiqua virtute et fide. Homo antiqua virtute etc. praeditus. Homo antiquus virtute et fide.]

II. *Syntaxis comparativorum 5 modis variatur:*

1. *Comparativi asciscunt ablativos*: [ut,] Virtus preciosior [est quovis] auro.
2. [*Loco ablativi ponitur*] *nominativus cum particula quam vel atque*: Virtus est preciosior quam aurum. [Amicior mihi nullus vivit,] atque [is est]
3. *Mutatur comparativus in positivum addito*¹²⁰² *magis [et ablativus in nominativum adiecta particula quam]*: Magis preciosa est virtus quam etc.[aurum.]
4. *Positivo adduntur particulae non tam, non perinde; [ablativo quam vel atque]*: [ut,] Non tam preciosum est aurum, quam virtus. [Non] perinde [preciosum est aurum] atque [virtus].
5. *Adhibentur*¹²⁰³ *verba, quae vim habent*¹²⁰⁴ *comparativorum*: [ut,] Virtus praestat auro. [Virtus] praestantia sua superat aurum. [Virtus] antepnenda, antehabenda¹²⁰⁵ est auro.

III. *Superlativus variatur 9 modis*: [ut,]

1. *Per genitivum pluralem*: [ut,] Mediocritas est rerum omnium utilissima.
2. *Per praepositionem inter vel ex*: [ut, Mediocritas] est inter [omnes res utilissima. Mediocritas est] ex rebus omnibus utilissima.
3. *Superlativi mutantur in comparativos*: [ut,] Mediocritas omnibus rebus est utilior. Nihil mediocritate utilius. Nulla res mediocritate utilior.
4. *Superlativi mutantur in positivos adiectis [particulis]* Nihil aequae, atque. Nihil perinde, atque. Nihil magis, quam. Nihil tam, quam. Nihil aequae utile ac¹²⁰⁶ mediocritas etc.
5. *Variantur superlativi per verba aequipollentia*: [ut,] [Mediocritas utilitate superat res omnes.] Mediocritas vincit res omnes utilitate.¹²⁰⁷ [Mediocritas utilitate nulli cedit rei.]
6. *Effferuntur per positivos cum particula*¹²⁰⁸ *tam et ut*: v.g. Mediocritas tam est res utilis, ut ei nulla res sit aequanda.
7. *Per formulas tam, quam qui; tam quam qui maxime*: [ut,] Mediocritas est res utilis, quam quae utilissima. [Mediocritas est res utilis, quam quae maxime.]

¹²⁰² addito] Alsted 1630 has: *adiecta particula*.

¹²⁰³ Adhibentur] Alsted 1630 has *adducuntur*.

¹²⁰⁴ habent] Alsted 1630 has *obtinent*.

¹²⁰⁵ antehabenda] Alsted 1630 does not give this word as an example here.

¹²⁰⁶ ac] Alsted 1630 has *atque*.

¹²⁰⁷ Mediocritas ... utilitate] Alsted 1630 has: *Mediocritas utilitate vincit res omnes*.

¹²⁰⁸ cum particula] Alsted 1630 has *adiecta particula*.

8. *Adhibentur formulae* si quisquam; ut si quis alius; quantum alius nemo: [ut, Mediocritas est res utilis, si quae alia res est utilis.] Mediocritas utilis, ut si quae res alia. [Mediocritas est utilis, quantum alia res nulla.]

9. *Hyperbole adhibetur*: Est ipsum fel, id est amantissimum.

IV. *Dignus et indignus tribus modis variantur*:

1. *Recipiunt ablativos*: [ut,] Dignus [est longissima] vita. [Indignus est tanto honore.]

2. *Ablativus vertitur in verbum activum*: [ut,] Dignus est, qui [longissime] vivat. [Dignus est,] ut [longissime] vivat.

3. *Ablativus vertitur in verbum passivum*: [ut,] Dignus est, qui (ut) a te ametur.¹²⁰⁹

<V.>¹²¹⁰ *Variatio verbis fit 6 potissimum modis*:

I. *Omnia tempora omnium modorum per verbum fio vel similia possumus circumloqui*, [ut haec sententia: Ita charus eris omnibus, sic variatur]

Ita fiet, ut charus sis omnibus, pro Sic charus eris [omnibus]

Ita fit, ut devincias homines [Alsted 1630: hominum animas], pro Sic devincis [tibi hominum animas].

Sic fiebat, ut maiores etc. – pro Sic subinde maiores progressus in studiis faciebat.

Hoc modo factum est, ut effugeret invidiam, pro Hoc modo effugit [invidiam].

His verbis fuerat factum, ut renunciaret studiis, pro His verbis adductus renunciaverat studiis.

Item, pro Vale: Fac ut valeas vel Fac valeas.

Utinam ex aequo me amares. Utinam fieret, ut ex aequo [me amares].

Si morem nobis gereret, [rectius omnino rebus suis consuleret] Si fieret, ut [morem] nobis gereret, [rectius omnino etc.]

(Alsted 1630, p. 369, col. 2)

Si persuasissemus ipsi haec, non fuisset coniectus in tantum periculum. Si factum fuisset, ut haec ipsi persuaderemus [etc.]

Si probaverit mihi suam diligentiam, magna me laetitia affecerit. Si factum fuisset, ut [suam mihi] probet [diligentiam, magna me laetitia etc.]

Ego iudicavi posse ipsum tibi satisfacere. [Iudicavi] fieri posse, ut is tibi satisfaciatur.

[Item:] Audivit ipsum tandem hisce rationibus permotum consensisse. Audivit factum fuisse, ut is tandem rationibus permotus consentiret.

[Item:] Spero ipsum e periculo liberatum iri. Spero fore, ut is e periculo liberatur.

¹²⁰⁹ Dignus... ametur] Alsted 1630 has: *Dignus est, qui a te ametur. Dignus est, ut a te ametur.*

¹²¹⁰ V] Alsted 1630 does not number this new superordinate category.

<VI.>¹²¹¹ *Activa et passiva permutantur*: [ut, Deus praemiis ornare solet hominum probitatem; et: Hominum probitas a Deo ornatur praemiis. Iracundiam qui vincit, hostem superat maximum; et: Ab quo iracundia vincitur, ab eo hostis superatur maximus. Non imagines, sed virtus clarum facit hominem. Non imagine, sed virtute homo fit clarus.]

<VII.>¹²¹² *Verbum sum, si qualitas vel forma describenda sit, genitivum vel ablativum adsciscit*: [ut,] Est eius sententiae. Est ea sententiae. Est in ea sententia.

<VIII.>¹²¹³ *Verbum infinitivum mutatur in finitivum*: [ut, Aiunt probos adolescentes depravari malorum consuetudine; et: Aiunt quod probi adolescentes depraventur etc.] Optavit parare divitias; et: Optavit ut pararet divitias.

<IX.>¹²¹⁴ *Primum supinum quatuor modis variatur*:

1. *Mutatur in gerendum*: [ut,] Venit repetitum pecuniam, et: Venit repetendi pecuniam causa. Vel: Venit ad repetendum pecuniam.

2. *Mutatur in participium passivum futuri temporis*: ut, Venit ad repetendam pecuniam. Vel: Venit repetendae pecuniae causa.

3. *Mutatur in participium activum futuri temporis*: [ut,] Venit repetituris pecuniam.

4. *Mutatur in verbum coniunctivi modi*: [ut,] Venit, ut pecuniam repeteret.

<X.>¹²¹⁵ *Duo ablativi consequentiae*¹²¹⁶ *ita mutantur, ut alter in nomen, alter in verbum abeat*: [ut,] Oppressa libertate patriae nihil est quod amplius speremus; et: Cum [oppressa sit libertas patriae, nihil est quod amplius speremus;] vel Postquam oppressa est libertas patriae, nihil est etc.

Variatio coniunctionis maxime est illustris in discretivis et copulativis.

(F.d. 4:1, p. 292, col. 1) Discretivae variantur 3 modis:

1. *Ipsae coniunctiones permutantur*: ut, Etsi est doctus, tamen non est probus. Vir eruditione quidem egregia, verum moribus illaudatis. Est ille quidem eruditus, verum parum probus.

2. *Coniunctiones mutantur in adverbia*: Vir est ut eruditione magna, ita probitate nulla.

3. *Omittuntur particula discretiva*: [ut,] vir eruditus, civis improbus. Vir est eruditus, at civis improbus. Vir est eruditus, coeterum civis malus. Vir est eruditus, contra civis improbus.

Variatio copulativarum cernitur partim in affirmatis, partim in negatis axiomatibus. In affirmatis adhibentur 5 modis:

1. *Permutantur ipsae [coniunctiones] copulativae*:

[ut,] Est vir et eruditus et probus. Est vir cum eruditus, tum probus.

¹²¹¹ VI] Alsted 1630 has II.

¹²¹² VII] Alsted 1630 has III.

¹²¹³ VIII] Alsted 1630 has IV.

¹²¹⁴ IX] Alsted 1630 has V.

¹²¹⁵ X] Alsted 1630 has VI.

¹²¹⁶ Consequentiae] Alsted 1630 has: *consequentiam notantes*.

2. *Posteriori voce adde idem, omissa priore coniunctione*:¹²¹⁷ [ut,] Vir est doctus et idem probus. [Vir est doctus] idemque probus.

3. *Prior convertitur in voculas istas*: simul, pariter, aequae, perinde, similiter, haud secus, haud dissimiliter, iuxta, ex aequo; ut, Est vir doctus simul ac probus. Vir aequae doctus atque probus. Est vir doctus pariter ac probus. Vir est similiter doctus et probus. Vir est haud dissimiliter doctus et probus. Vir est doctus iuxta ac probus.

4. *Prior coniunctio mutatur in voculas*: Non tantum, Non modo, Ut, Quemadmodum, Non minus, Tam etc. *posterior in particulas*: sed etiam, verum etiam, ita etiam, quam etc., ut: Vir est non tantum eruditus, sed etiam probus. Quemadmodum doctus, ita etiam probus. Tam doctus, quam probus.

5. *Varie mutantur subiectum et praedicatum his ferme modis*: Vir est, praeter magnam eruditionem, etiam probus.

Vir, praeterquam est doctus, etiam probus.

Vir est, de quo dubites doctiorne sit an melior.

Vir est, in quo cum literis probitas morum ex aequo certat.

Vir est qui literas aequavit cum vitae probitate.

Vir est cuius eruditioni respondet probitas morum.

Vir est qui parem morum probitate cum eruditione copulavit.

Vir magna quidem eruditione, verum probitate morum neutiquam inferior.

Vir est pari eruditione et probitate.

Vir est in literis egregius neque sui dissimilis in moribus.

Vir est clarus eruditione neque non illustris insigni probitate.

(Alsted 1630, p. 370, col. 1)

Eruditionem morum probitate aequiparat.

In hoc viro probitas aequat eruditionem.

In hoc viro eruditio cum probitate facit paria.

Eruditione probitateque iuxta clarus.

Vir est qua eruditionis, qua probitatis laude insignis.

Variatio in axiomatis copulatis negatis fit ferme eodem modo: e.g.

Vir est neque doctus neque probus.

Vir est indoctus et improbus.

Vir est cum indoctus, tum improbus.

Vir est indoctus idemque improbus.

Vir est indoctus simul ac improbus.

[Vir est indoctus] pariter ac [improbus].

[Vir est] aequae indoctus, atque improbus.

Vir est perinde indoctus, ac improbus.

[Vir est] similiter [indoctus], ac [improbus].

[Vir est] haud dissimiliter [indoctus] ac [improbus].

[Vir est] ex aequo indoctus ac improbus.

¹²¹⁷ Posteriori ... coniunctione) In Alsted 1630 the clauses have the reverse order: *Omissa priori coniunctione, posteriori additur vox idem*.

Vir est non modo indoctus, verum etiam improbus.
 Vir est non minus indoctus, quam improbus.
 [Vir est] tam indoctus, quam improbus.
 [Vir est] quemadmodum indoctus, ita et improbus.
 Vir est praeter insignem inscientiam, etiam improbus.
 Vir praeterquam quod est indoctus, est etiam improbus.
 Vir est, de quo dubites rudiorne sit an improbior. etc. ut in affirmatis.¹²¹⁸
 Vir pessimus est et nihilo doctior.
 Vir cui nihil omnino est bonarum literarum, bonorum quoque morum tantundem.

FINIS.

Appendix 2: Alsted on the art of invention, circle 1

In his *Encyclopaedia* (first edition 1620, second edition 1630) Alsted provides a theory of oratorical invention, which he designates as *Cyclognomonica oratoria*, “Epistemological circles on oratory”. The inventory of topics is represented in seven “circles” as follows:

First circle: language and its relationship to certain linguistic (that

is, grammatical, rhetorical and logical) and universal categories,

Second circle: reality, its nine accidents and some moral qualities,

Third circle: nine absolute qualities,

Fourth circle: nine relative qualities,

Fifth circle: scientific methods,

Sixth circle: theology,

Seventh circle: scientific and scholarly evaluation and criticism.

Each “circle”, that is, system, is followed by instructions for its use.

In drawing up this inventory of oratorical topics, Alsted states that he is making a synthesis of certain treatises of the Lullian art, primarily the Catalan mathematician, philosopher, encyclopaedist and mystic Raymund Lull’s (1232–1316) *Ars magna* (1273–1274) and *Ars brevis* (1308),¹²¹⁹ but also the French philosopher Pierre Grégoire of Toulouse’s (c. 1540–1597) *Syntaxes artis mirabilis in libros septem digestae* (Paris 1578), an unspecified treatise on circles of oratory (*rotae*)¹²²⁰ by the Italian philologist and philosopher Giasone de Nores (c. 1530–1590), the Dutch Frisian physician, mathematician and astronomer Cornelius Gemma’s (1535–1578) *De arte cyclognomica* (Antwerp 1569) and some unspecified treatises by the Italian humanist Jordano Bruno (1548–1600).

¹²¹⁸ etc. ut in affirmatis] Stiernhielm omits eight examples that consist of a negation of approximately those quoted in the above affirmative statements.

¹²¹⁹ In the fifth diagram, Alsted refers to the method of Raymon Lull.

¹²²⁰ In the seventh diagram, Alsted refers to Jason de Nores’ classification of three types of oratory, viz. demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial.

In the first circle Alsted suggests a method for linguistic variation called *Circulus primus pro copia verborum*, ‘First circle for the rich supply of words’. In his notebook on commonplaces, Stiernhielm copied this system and the other six systems (see ms. F.d. 4:1 *Loci communes G. Stiernhielmii in adolescentia collecti*, Royal Library, Stockholm, pp. 252–254). Bernt Olsson supposed this text to be an original work of Stiernhielm,¹²²¹ but it is not. The text corresponds to Alsted’s *Encyclopaedia*, 2nd ed., book 9 on oratory, sect. 1, ch. 7, pp. 476–479. Stiernhielm ought to have used the first edition of Alsted’s encyclopaedia *Cursus philosophici encyclopaedia* (Herborn 1620), because Stiernhielm’s notebook in question dates from the mid 1620s. In the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia*, the book on oratory is found in the second volume as book 25.

Stiernhielm supplies these excerpts from Alsted with the heading “Insigne artificium inventionis rerum et verborum”, that is. ‘A conspicuous artifice for the invention of topics and words’. He adds: “septem circulis, quae totidem planetis gubernantur, comprehensum”, that is, ‘comprised in seven circles, governed by as many planet’ (*Loci communes*, F.d. 4:1, pp. 251–254). This imagery was borrowed from Alsted’s reference to the seven planets (“Hi sunt septem illi planetae, qui discurrent in sphaera oratoria”).

The first “circle” classifies language into the fields of grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, lexicon, poetry, and metaphysics, in relation to the development of each field from simple to more complex entities. The former categorization is represented vertically (letters B–K) and the latter development horizontally (numbers 1–3).

Stiernhielm’s excerpt of Alsted’s diagram on linguistic variation

The first “circle” classifies language into the fields of grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, lexicon, poetry, and metaphysics, in relation to the development of each field from simple to more complex entities. The former categorization is represented vertically (letters B–K) and the latter development horizontally (numbers 1–3).

¹²²¹ Bernt Olsson, *Den svenska skaldekonstens fader och andra Stiernhielmstudier*, Lund 1974, pp. 205–206. The references to Raymond Lull and Giasone de Nores allowed Olsson to trace the contents to the Lullian art.

(p. 252) CIRCULUS PRIMUS pro copia verborum

	1.	2.	3.
B. Grammatica	Declinatio	Coniugatio	Syntaxis
C. Rhetorica	Tropus	Figura dictionis	Figura sententiae
E. Logica	Loca inventionis	Axioma	Syllogismus
D. Lexica	Synonyma eiusdem linguae	Synonyma diversarum linguarum	Epitheta et antitheta
F. Poetica	Rhythmus	Versus	Poëma
G. Metaphysica	Vocabula generalissima	Praedicamenta	Mixtio transcendentium et praedicamentorum
H. Circuli generales	Subiectorum	Praedicatorum	Quaestionum
I. Tres termini generales	Essentia	Scientia	Opinio
K. Disciplina propria	Vox	Phrasis	Amplificatio

USUS HUIUS CIRCULI

Si phrasis aut sententia offeratur, quam aliis verbis efferre placet, ingredi hunc circulum et ex grammatica pete artificium variationis. Ex rhetorica similiter <adhibe artificium variationis ibi explicatum.>

¹²²² Ex logica pete notas locorum inventionis, axiomatis et syllogismi. Huiusmodi termini sunt verbi gratia notae causae finalis; *ut, propter, gratia*; axiomatis universalis; *omnis, nullus non, non nemo, quilibet* etc. Ex lexica deprome voces phrasesque aequipollentes et commoda epitheta et antitheta. Porro adhibe poeticam et prosam commuta in rhythmum, versum vel integrum poema. Metaphysica suppeditat notiones primas generalissimas, ut sunt *unitas, veritas, bonitas, actus* etc., quae sententiis eleganter inferuntur. Idem de 3 circulis generalibus est iudicium. Tres termini generales κατ' ἐξοχήν sic dicti sub essentia continentur ista vocabula; *esse, non esse, possibile, non possibile, facile, difficile* et similia; sub sententia et opinione ista; *sentire, non-sentire, intelligere, non-intelligere, affirmare, negare, conveniens, absurdum, consentire, dissentire, quaerere* et similia. Huiusmodo vocabula plerisque sententiis inseri possunt. ¹²²³ Denique sententia oblata variari potest adhibita voce, phrasi aut amplificatione istius disciplinae, ad quam pertinet. Ita si sententia sit ethica, adhibentur termini ethici, si politica, politici.

¹²²² adhibe ... explicatum] This words have probably been omitted by Stiernhielm. At least, they are found in the second edition of *Encyclopaedia* (1630), p. 477.

¹²²³ As compared with the 1630 edition of *Encyclopaedia*, Stiernhielm here omits the examples of clauses with *verba sentiendi*.

Appendix 3: Farnaby's categorization of semantic changes

Source: In his notebook on *Proteus rhetoricus* (F.d. 6b: 1, third quire, 1r–2r,) Stiernhielm copied the definitions and examples of different types of semantic change in the English classical philologist and rhetorician Thomas Farnaby's *Index rhetoricus* (1625), using the third edition of 1633. Stiernhielm's copy is transcribed below.

Definitions and examples

(1r) Tropi 4:

Dat propriae similem translata #
metaphora vocem:

Coeptis adspirant; irarum
fluctuat aestu; laeta seges;
gemmae vites; duo fulmina
belli; ingenii flumen.

Atque metonymia imponit nova
nomina rebus:

1. Efficientis, ut:

inventoris: Marte, Lyaeo;
authoris: legitur Iuvenalis,
Livius ingens;
materiae: pinus, ferrum, aeris
acervus, arundo;
aut instrumenti: gladius,
lingua, arma manusque.

2. Effecti:

clades Libyae; mors frigida
pallet.

3. Subiecti:

a. Curii,
b. paterae,
c. Germania,
d. rostra,
e. Ucalegon,
f. cor, os,
g. patronus,

h. nox,

i. Amryllis,

4. Adiuncti:

k. fasces,
l. scelus,
m. aetas nulla,
n. libelli

Explanations in the margin

Non est alius tropus
frequentior quam metaphora,
non florentior, quippe quae
lumen et stella sit orationis
brevis et contracta in unam
vocem similitudo faciatque ad
copia, maiestatem, evidentiam
et festivitatem.

a. subiectum pro accidente.
b. continens pro contento.
c. locus pro incolis.
d. locus pro gestis in locis.
e. possessor pro re possessa.
f. sedes pro qualitate inhaerente.
g. patronus assumit personam
clientis.
h. tempus pro re in illo gesta vel
habitu eius.
i. signatum pro signo.
k. signum pro signato.
l. qualitas pro persona subiecta.
m. tempus pro subiectis illius.
n. locatum pro loco.

(1v) Confundit totum cum parte
synecdoche:

1. partis

o. Myrioum, Auster

p. hyems, tectum, mucro

q. Annibal

r. Anglus

2. totius

s. orator, color

t. annus

u. vixit

x. Atrides

o. species aut individuum pro
genere

p. pars pro toto

q. dux pro exercito velut pars
primaria

r. numerus pro numero,
singularis pro plurali et contra,
finitus pro infinito et contra

s. genus pro specie aut
individuo

t. totum pro parte

u. antecedens pro consequente.
Hoc autem alii metonymiae, alii
metalepsi adiudicant.

x. patronymicum commune pro
certo et determinato.

Contra quam sentit, solet ironia iocari,
scilicet egregiam laudem; pulchre;
bone custos.

4. troporum affectiones:

Durior est impropriae catachresis
abusio vocis:

vir gregis; ultorem promissi;
pulchra minatus.

Transcendit mediis gradibus

metalepsis ad altum:

Hinc movet Euphrates bellum.

Mirabar aristas.

^y Extenuans ^x augensve excedit
hyperbole verum:

Astra ferit. Pluma levior volat
ocyor Euro.

Continuare tropos allegoria adsolet:

Absque et Cerere et Baccho venus
alget. Claudite rivos.

^y Quae dicitur meiosis,
diminutio.

^x Quae dicitur anthesis, sublatio,
amplificatio.

Tropi falso habiti:

^a Antonomasia imponit cognomen,
ut

Irus, impius, Aeacides; Poenus;
Cytherea; poeta.

“Non equidem laudo” est ^b litotes,
“nec munera sperno”.

(2r)

A sonitu voces ^c onomatopoeia
fingit:

babalio, clangor, stridor,
tarantara, murmur.

^d Antiphrasis voces tibi per
contraria signat:

lucus, sacra fames, Euxinus,
symphorae, Parcae.

Dat ^d charientismus pro duris
mollia verba:

at bona verba precor; ne saevi
magna sacerdos.

^d Astismus iocus urbanus seu
scomma facetum est:

Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua
carmina, Maevi.

Atqui idem iungat vulpes et
mulgeat hircos.

Insultans hosti illudit ^dsarcasmus
amare:

In agros metire iacens. Hinc
nuncius ibis.

Solidae referens. Satia te
sanguine, Cyre.

Aethiopem lateremve lavare: e
paroemia dicta est.

^e Aenigma obscuris tecta est
sententia verbis:

Filiolus Cadmi profert Nilotis
arundo, quas serit e Cnidio
destillans sepia nodo.

^a Species synecdoches et
metonymiae.

^b Species synecdoches.

^c Metonymiae species.

Verum quam futile sit hoc
grammaticorum scitum, quam
intutum etymologistarum asylum,
vide J. Caes. Scaliger. *Poetic.* lib.
3, cap. 90, G. Finkum, lib. 1
Schediasma 42, C. Becmanum, *De*
originibus ling. Lat., et J. Ger.
Voss. lib. 4 *Instit. Orat.* cap. 13.

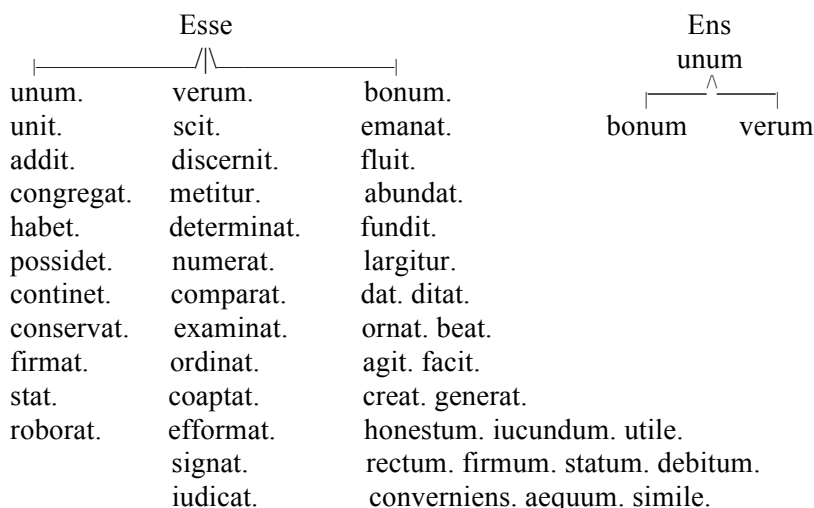
^d Ironiae species.

^e Allegoriae species.

Appendix 4: Stiernhielm on the order of things and notions

Source: F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 38v. Dating: c. 1652. Stiernhielm proposes his views on the order of things, *ordo rerum*, and the order of notions and meanings, *ordo notionum*. He sets out from the Neoplatonic triad of unity (*unitas, unum*), goodness (*bonitas, bonum*) and truth (*veritas, verum*). The text is the continuation of Section 9.1.3. In other texts, such as F.d. 5, 45r, the order of notions is shown in tree diagrams on the characteristic qualities of the principles of light and matter.

Sed ut patescat analogia rerum et verborum in instituto praesenti sequens diagramma subijciam.



Esse in se habet:

Posse: agere. fluere.

Habere: dare. fundere.

Fieri: in se habet actionem et respectu materiae passionem.

Essendi modi sunt:

Semper esse. — tempus. aetas. duratio. aevum.

Rectum esse. — fas. ius. aequum. debitum.

Conveniēns esse. — decus. pulchrum. ordo.

Perfectum esse. — firmum. forte. vis. robur.

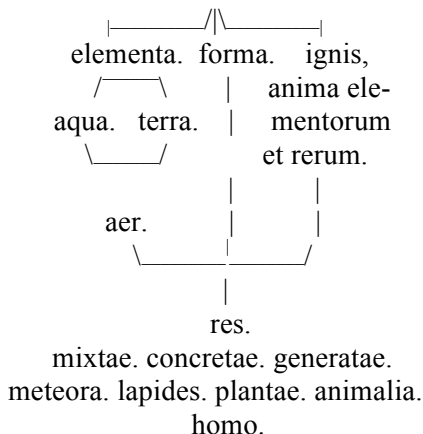
Frequens esse. — solere. mos. usus. studium.

Ens consideratur in sua essentia aut potentia aut substantia, cuius est ens reale:

Essentia. Dicitur	Potentia. Est vis	Substantia. Sunt
habitus.	seu facultas agendi	principia naturae
natura.	agendi in aliud vel	pura
potestas.	patiendi ab alio. Est	-----/ \-----
facultas.	principium agendi et	chaos. mens. lux.
vis. virtus.	patiendi.	affecta a se invicem:

genius. ingenium.
indoles.
nobilitas.
genus. generatio.
species.

status rei.
conditio.
duratio.
aetas. tempus.



Essentia

Unum stat. ·
Bonum fluit. |
Mens agit. S Δ $\odot$
dirigit et curvat,
componit, ordinat,
dum aptat materiam
scilicet in rerum generationem.

Substantia

Materia iacet, quiescit.
Lux movet.
Forma agit, regit.
Forma est rei cuiusque norma, ad quam
fit et facta est et operationes suas dirigit.

Mens seu intellectus, cuius habitus est sapientia, est principium agendi et in specie regendi ad normam unius et boni, hoc est veri, recti, et convenientis. Sic enim bonum definitur, quod est rei convenientis.

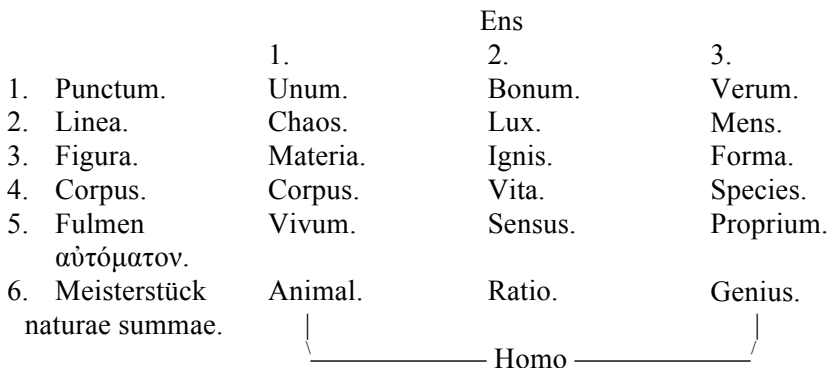
Mens agit et dirigit – ad verum et rectum – bonum, quod fluit in uniformiter stantem et quiescentem materiam.

Et hoc est ordo rerum et notionum. Iam videndum qua ratione ad hunc ordinem generentur et applicentur vocabula.

Appendix 5. Stiernhielm on the interlinking of the universe

Source: F.d. 4:5, fol. 14v. Dating: c. 1652.

Contents: the rise and mutual connection of the universe from the qualities of the supreme being (oneness, goodness and truth).



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¹²²⁵ This is diary of Johannes Bureus, for the period 1568–1617, see vol. 4, pp. 12–43, for the period 1618–1648, see pp. 71–126, and for 1651, see vol. 5, pp. 5–8, which is followed by an account of his unprinted and printed writings, pp. 8–25.

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- Musae*, goddesses of literary ability and creativity,¹²²⁷

located on Olympus with the spring Pimpla and the valley Tempe, on Helicon with the spring Aganippe, the Aonian valley, the Thespian groves and the river Permessus, on Parnassus with the spring Castalia and the port city Cyrrha, on Pindus, and in the province Pieria.

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Stiernhielm's notes on sound

(comedy), Polyhymnia (hymns and pantomime) and Urania (astronomy).

¹²²⁷ The names and functions of the Muses are: Calliope (epic poetry), Clio (history), Euterpe (flute-playing), Terpsichore (lyric poetry and dancing), Erato (lyric poetry), Melpomene (tragedy), Thalia

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<i>hnaga</i> 139, 166, 171	<i>saur</i> 226	<i>jär for är</i> 227	<i>*reide</i> 140
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Index VI: Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic words occurring in the texts edited

Stiernhielm refers to words in Hebrew and other Semitic languages in Hebrew square script, even the Arabic, Aramaic and Syriac ones. As regards the record and Latin rendering of Arabic, Aramaic and Syriac words, he relied on Valentin Schindler’s a comparative and parallel-contrastive Semitic dictionary, *Lexicon pentaglotton Hebraicum, Chsaldaicum, Syriacum, Talmudico-Rabbinicum et Arabicum* (1612), in which the practice of translitering words into Hebrew script is applied (because of the lack of types in Arabic and Syriac). In cases where he transcribed Arabic words he followed Schindler. As far as Hebrew words are concerned, Stiernhielm depended on the attestation and Latin translation by Schindler or Johann Habermann (Avenarius), *Liber radicum seu lexicon Ebraicum*, Wittenberg 1569.

Below, I have divided the Semitic words cited by Stiernhielm in three classes: (1) Arabic words, (2) Aramaic words, and (3) Hebrew words. I have first given the Semitic word with the Latin translation provided by Stiernhielm or, if a Latin translation is not found, I have supplied it from Schindler’s pentaglot dictionary and marked it with italics, which serves the purpose to distinguish Stiernhielm’s Latin translations from those of Schindler or other lexicographers.

To verify the occurrence and meanings of Semitic words I have consulted the following dictionaries: for Hebrew, *the Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English lexicon* (BDB, the 1996 revision of the

1906 edition: *A Hebrew and English lexicon of the Old Testament*), and David Clines, *Concise dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, for Arabic, Hans Wehr, *A dictionary of modern written Arabic*, edited by J. M. Cowan, Wiesbaden 1976 [1960]; and for Aramaic, Jacob Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums Arabic*, Leipzig 1867–1868.

Arabic words

דַּשַּׁשׁ, transcribed as *daschasch* (i.e.

dašaš), this verb is given the meaning of “to beat, bruise, grind, crush”¹²²⁸ (Schindler 1612: 414 cum דִּוֵּשׁ *contudit, comminuit, fregit fabas aut hordeum*)” 230

הַמַּל (hamala), *sprevit, aspernatus fuit*, “to spurn, repudiate” (see Schindler 1612: 444), in the fourth stem form “to neglect, omit, disregard, overlook”, in the sixth stem form “to be careless, negligent” 232

הָרַס (harasa) *diruit, destruxit*, “to tear asunder, destroy, crush, bruise” (Schindler 1612: 451: *diruit, destruxit, fregit, effregit, confregit, trivit, contrivit*) 230

הִשַּׁשׁ (hašša) *fregit*, “to break, break in pieces” (Schindler 1612: 452) 230

טָמַם (tamasa) *obturavit*, “to stop up” (Schindler 1612: 706) 231

טַמְתָּ (tamth), *menstruum*, “menstruation” and “a monthly term of office,

monthly service” (Schindler 1612: 707 where Avicenna is cited as a source) 231

כָּרַב (karaba) *anxit, compressit* (Schindler 1612: 894: *pressit, compressit, anxit, afflixit, sollicitavit, aggravavit*, etc.) 231

לָאֲדָן (ladan), a Greek loanword: *unguentum, gummi, storax, ladanum*, “ointment, gum, resinous gum, resinous juice” (Schindler 1612: 925a) 224

לָבָן (laban) *lac*, “milk” denoted from its white colour (Schindler 1612: 921) 224

לָבָן (lābān) *ignitus*, “glowing or incandescent, set on fire” (Schindler 1612: 922) 224, derived from *lubān*, “frankincense, olibanum”

לָחַס (lahasa) *linxit*, “to lick” (Schindler 1612: 944) 224

לָטַח (laṭakha) *linivit*, “to daub, besmear, anoint” (Schindler 1612: 945: Arab. *لَطَحَ* cum *ה'* *punctato, linivit, illinivit*) 225

לָיִן (layyin), *mollis, tener*, “soft, tender”, an adjective derived from the Arabic verb *lāna*” (Schindler 1612: 937, s.v. לָיִן) 224

נָצַב (naṣaba) *statuit*, “to set up, place” (Schindler 1612: 1148: *statuit, consuit, posuit, imposuit, fixit, infixit, inseruit, plantavit*) 229

Aramaic words

יִיתָא ('ithay) *est*, “there is” 158

¹²²⁸ This verb is not recorded by Jacob Golius (1653) nor in modern Arabic dictionaries, but a nominal derivative, *dašiš*, i.e. “a kind of porridge made of crushed wheat and butter” is recorded in Wehr’s *Arabic-English dictionary* (p. 281). In Hebrew, דָּוַשׁ (*dūš*) means ‘to thread on, trample on, tresh’.

אָטם (*'-t-m*) *clausit*, “to shut, close” (Schindler 1612: 63)
 בָּלָם (*b^elam*) *clausit*, *ligavit*,
strinxit, “to close, bind, draw
 tight, tie tight (Schindler
 1612: 206) 231
 אָהַם (*h^amā*) *tumultuatus est*, *sonuit*,
strepuit, *obstrepuit*,
murmuravit, *fremuit*, *garrivit*,
 i.e. “to raise a tumult, make a
 noise, make a roar, make a
 murmur, to roar, to chatter”
 (Schindler 1612: 443) 232
 הַמַּל (*h-m-l*), a root which in
 Aramaic has the nominal
 derivative המולה (*hamulā*)
sermo, *loquela*, *sonitus*,
tumultus (Schindler 1612:
 444), “speech, sound” 232
 חָד (*had*) *unus*, *a*, *um*, “one,
 anyone, someone”, *aliquis*,
aliquid “one, anyone” 201
 חָסַם (*h^esam*) *clausit*, *ligavit*,
fascinavit, (1) in Aramaic
 with the sense “to close, bind;
 (2) in Syriac “to emulate,
 follow eagerly, fascinate
 (Schindler 1612: 621–622)
 231
 טוּם (*tūm*) *clausit*, *occlusit*,
praeclusit, *obturavit*,
obstruxit, “to shut, close,
 close off, stop up, block”
 (Schindler 1612: 694)¹²²⁹ 232
 חָשַׁל (*h^asal*) *debilitavit*, “to
 debilitate, weaken (in Latin
infirmavit)”; cf. Schindler
 (1612: 670: *debilitavit*,
domuit, *quassavit*, *contudit*,
compressit, *contrivit*)¹²³⁰ 257

חָתַם (*h^atam*) (1) *signavit*,
obsignavit, *consignavit*,
sigillavit, “to seal, sign,
 subscribe” (2) *obtruxit*,
clausit, *conclusit*, *abscondit*,
occultavit, *finivit*, “to block,
 hinder, enclose, close,
 conseal, hide, limit
 (Schindler 1612: 675)
 טָמַע (*t^ema*) *mersus*, *occultatus*
fuit, “to be immersed,
 concealed” (Schindler 1612:
 706: *mersus*, *immersus*,
demersus, *occultatus est*) 231
 טָמַר (*t^emar*) *abscondit* “to conceal”
 (Schindler 1612: 706) 231
 טָמַשׁ (*t^emaš*) *mersit*, “to immerse”
 (Schindler 1612: 707 in the
 aph‘el stem אָטַמַשׁ: *mersit*,
tinxit, *intinxit*, *lavit*, i.e. “to
 immerse, wet, moisten, dip
 in, wash) 231
 יָתַב (*y^etab*) *sedit*, “to sit” during a
 shorter or a longer time, “to
 remain, stay, inhabit”
 (Schindler 1612: 813: *sedit*,
assedit, *consedit*, *desedit*,
mansit, *permansit*,
perseveravit, *moratus*,
commoratus fuit, *habitavit*)
 158
 נָצַב (*n^ešab*) *statuit*, “to set up,
 place, fix” (Schindler 1612:
 1148, in the stem aph‘el:
statuit, *constituit*, *posuit*,
imposuit, *fixit*, *infixit*, *inseruit*,
planavit) 229
 שָׂרַף (*s^eraf*) *ussit*, “to burn up”.
 Schindler (1612: 1948, s.v. שָׂרַף
 (*saraf*): *incendit*, *accendit*,
succendit, *ussit*, *adussit*,
combussit, *cremavit igni*).¹²³¹
 231

¹²²⁹ Aramaic dictionaries of modern times do not record this verb; only *tamam*, “to be finished”, is attested.

¹²³⁰ Johannes Buxtorf the Elder also gives the meaning *debilitavit* in his *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* (1639).

¹²³¹ Buxtorf (*ibidem*, 1639: p. 2531) similarly gives *urere* and *combuere*.

אָסם (*s^ema*) caecutivit, excoecavit,
 “to be blind; to make blind”
 (Schindler 1612: 1225) 232
 סָתַם (*s^etam*), “to stop up (about
 water), to seal up, conceal
 (about manuscript scrolls)”
clausit, obturavit, obstrinxit;
signavit, obsignavit (Schindler
 1612: 1250)
 שָׁכַשַׁךְ (*šikšak*) lavit, in aqua
 agitavit, “to wash, bathe,
 move in water” (Schindler
 1612: 1849 s.v. שָׁכַךְ, “to
 decrease, abate” (in Gen. 8:1
 about water)¹²³² 230
 תֹּר (*tōr*) *taurus, bos* “ox”
 (Schindler 1612: 1831) 158

Hebrew words

אָבָה (*’ābā*) voluit, cupiit, affectum
 et propensionem habuit erga
 aliquem (Avenarius), “to
 will, be willing, wish, have
 fondness and predilection for
 someone” 97
 אָבַל (*’ābal*) *luxit, tristis fuit, doluit*,
 “to mourn, grieve, be sad,
 sorrowful, mournful, feel
 pain” 157
 אֶגַל (*’egāl*) *gutta, stilla*, “a drop”
 (a dew-drop in Job 38:28)¹²³³
 אֶחָד (*’aḥad*) unus, a, um, “one
 (whole), single, anyone 201
 אָרַר (*’ārār*), *maledixit, execratus*
est “to speak ill of, curse,
 execrate”¹²³⁴ 232.

¹²³² Schindler regards it as a Talmudic
 Armaic (Rabb.) word. Buxtorf (1639:
 2389) similarly renders it *lavare*,
abluere, eluere.

¹²³³ Schindler (1612: 20) connects it
 with the notion of roundness, so that
 it agrees with the Hebrew verb *gālal*,
 “to roll, roll away”.

¹²³⁴ Forster, *Dictionarium Hebraicum*
novum (1557: 56 s.v. אָרַר, and 714

בָּג (*bag*) *cibus, esca* “food” (Dan.
 1:5, 1:16, 11:26, Ezech. 25:7;
 cf. Schindler 1612: 151) 194
 בָּגָה (*b-g-h*), allegedly deduced
 from the above noun,
 according to Avenarius
 (*Liber radicum seu Lexicon*
Ebraicum, 2nd ed. 1589: 65)
 with the meaning *comedit*
cibos lautiores et splendidos
 “to eat luxurious and splendid
 food” 194
 בָּזָק (*bāzāq*) *fulgur, coruscatio*
 “lightning” (Ezech. 1:14)
 בָּרָק (*bārāq*) *fulgur, splendor,*
coruscatio “lightning,
 brightness, glittering, flash”
 (Ex. 19:16, Ps. 77:19)
 גָּזַל (*gāzal*) *rapuit, diripuit*, “to
 seize or carry off by force,
 rob, ravage, snatch away”
 157
 גָּלַל (*gālal*) *volvīt, devolvīt*. “roll,
 roll away” 231
 שָׁגַשׁ (*giššeš*) *palpavit*, “to grope
 for” (wall)¹²³⁵ 230
 דָּוָם (*d-w-m*) *siluit*, “to become
 silent” (Schindler 1612:
 374)¹²³⁶
 דָּמָה (*dāmā*) *siluit, tacuit, quievit,*
tranquillus fuit, “to be silent,
 still, quite, tranquil”
 (Schindler 1612: 395)

s.v. קָבַב proposes *corrodere*, i.e. to
 gnaw as the original meaning.

¹²³⁵ In his Hebrew dictionary *Magog*
Gothus (ms. XXXXII. 1715, Leibniz-
 Bibl., Hannover) Stiernhielm explains
 it: “palpavit manibus ceu coecus
 attractando parietem.” He compares it
 with Swedish *gissa*, “guess, divine,
 conjecture”: “Goth[ice] *gissa* est
 coniectari, coniecturam facere.”

¹²³⁶ Stiernhielm, *ibidem*, renders it:
 “domitus est ut consilescat; siluit,
 conticuit”, that is, “he was subdued to
 become stil and keep silent”.

דָּמָם (*dāmam*) *siluit, tacuit, conticuit*, “to be silent”, etc. (Schindler 1612: 394)
 דָּקַר (*dāqar*) *fodit*, “to dig”; *transfixit, confodit* “to pierce, thrust through”¹²³⁷ 230
 דָּרְבָּן (*dārbān*) *stimulus*, “goad” 231
 הָיָה (*hāyā*) *fuit*, “to be, exist, become” 157
 הָלָם (*hālam*) *tudit, contudit, feriit, percussit*, “to beat, bruise, strike, strike through, hammer”¹²³⁸ 191
 הָרַם (*hūm*) *turbavit*, i.e. “to disturb, turmoil” (Schindler 1612: 432) 232
 הָמָן (*hāman*) *tumultuatus, rixatus fuit, turbavit*, i.e. “to raise a tumult, disturb, throw into disorder, quarrel, dispute” (Schindler 1612: 444) 232
 הָמָם (*hāmam*) *tumultum fecit, turbavit, conturbavit, concurrat, debacchatus est*, i.e. “to raise a tumult, disturb, confuse, run together, to rave like the Bacchantes” (Schindler 1612: 442) 232
 הֵנָּה, הֵנָּה (*hēn, hennā*) *eae*, they (fem.), *hae*, these (fem.) 201
 זָבַל (*zābal*) *habitavit*, “to dwell”, but in BDB “to exalt, honour” as deduced from *zēbul* in the sense “lofty abode” 157
 זָרַב (*z-r-b*) *coarctatus, contractus, fuit*, “to be forced, pushed, pressed” (Schindler (1612: 501); in the stem form *pu* “al (*zurab*) meaning “to be burnt, scorched” (Job 6:17) 231

חָבַל (*hābal*) according to Schindler (1612: 513–516) a polysemous root with three main meanings: (1) *ligavit, colligavit, alligavit; constrinxit, pignaverit*, to tie (a rope), bind; to oblige, pledge; (2) *peperit, parturivit, concepit, impregnatus fuit*, “to give birth to, conceive, be pregnant; (3) *solutus, dissolutus, disperditus corruptus fuit*, “to be loosened, dissolved, corrupted” 157, 230
 חָיָה (*hāyā*) *vixit*, “to live, remain alive” 157
 חָסַל (*hāsal*) *absumpsit vel vastavit* “to consume (of locust) 157
 חָרַב (*hārab*) *siccatus fuit*, “to be dry, dried up” 231
 חָרַב (*hæraeb*) *gladius*, “sword” 231
 חֹשֶׁךְ (*hōšæk*), *vastitas*, as “a vast void, dark place”. It means “darkness, obscurity” 199
 חָתַר (*hātar*) *fodit, effodit, perfodit, transfodit*, i.e. “to dig, dig up, dig out, dig through”; 230
 טָוֵם (*tūm*) *clausit, obstruxit*, “to close, block up” 231
 טָמֵא (*tāmē*) *contaminavit; tabefecit* “to be or become polluted, impure, unclean, contaminated; to melt, dissolve” (Job 18:3) 231
 טָמָה (*tāmā*) *clausus, absconditus fuit*, “to be closed, hidden” 231
 טָמָן (*tāman*) *abscondit*, “to conceal, hide” 231
 יָבַל (*yābal*) *fluxit*, “to flow”, in the hiph‘il stem *duxit*, “to conduct, bring, carry (away)” 157
 יָגַל (*yāgal*) *tremo*, “to shake, quiver, tremble” 230

¹²³⁷ Stiernhielm, *ibidem*: “transfixit atrociter, confodit, trucidavit.”

¹²³⁸ Stiernhielm, *ibidem*, translates: *confringere*, i.e. “to break asunder”.

יָהַב (*yahab*), dedit, “to give” 157
 יָסַד (*y-s-d*) posuit, fundavit,
 ordinavit, statuit “to put,
 place, lay, found, set, set up,
 set in order, arrange” 229
 יָצַב (*y-ṣ-b*) stetit, “to stand” 158,
 229
 יָצַג (*yāṣag*) in the stem hiph ‘il:
 statuit, “to cause to stand,
 place” 229
 יָצַק (*yāṣaq*) fudit, *effudit*, “to pour,
 pour out, shed” 229
 יָשׁ (*yēš*) *est, extat, praesto est,*
adest “there is” 158
 יָשַׁב (*yāšab*) sedit; habitavit “to sit,
 sit down; remain, stay, settle”
 229
 יָשַׁר (*yāšar*) “to be right, straight”,
 in the stem piel “to make
 straight” 158
 כָּרָה (*karā*), fodit, perfodit, “to dig,
 dig through” with the alleged,
 non-attested variants כָּרָא
 (*karā*), כָּרַר, (*karar*) 230
 כֹּחַ (*kōah*) vis, virtus, “strength,
 ability, power” 157
 כָּשַׁל (*kāšal*) lapsus est, “to
 stumble, stagger” 157
 לָבַן (*lāban*), in the hiphil stem:
 albavit, “to make white,
 whiten” 224
 לָהַב (*lahab*) flamma, “flame,
 blazing fire” 224
 לָהַט (*lāhaṭ*) flammavit, “to flame,
 blaze, burn” (Schindler 1612:
 926) 224
 לָהֵט (*lahaṭ*) flamma et lamina
 splendens, “fire, and a
 shining piece of wood or
 metal (Schindler 1612: 926)
 224
 לָעַ (*lū‘a*) lambit, “to lick, lap”
 (Schindler 1612: 937, who
 also gives *sorbuīt, absorbuīt,*
deglutivīt, “to swallow,
 swallow down, devour”) 224

לִוּץ (*lūš*) risit, *irrisit, derisit*, “to
 laugh, laugh at, scorn,
 deride” (Schindler 1612: 937)
 224
 לָחַשׁ (*lāḥaš*) submisso susurravit,
 “to whisper lowly or
 secretly” (Schindler 1612:
 945) 225
 לָעַג (*lā‘ag*) *irrisit*, “laugh at, mock,
 scorn, despise” 157
 מָרַט (*māraṭ*) radicitus evulsit, “to
 tear, pull or pluck out by the
 roots (that is, completely)
 230
 מָשַׁשׁ (*māššaš*) attrectavit, palpavit,
 “to touch softly, grope,
 search with hands”, feel
 one’s way” 230
 נָבַל (*nābel*) *flaccidus fuit, marcuit,*
emarcuit, elanuit, aruit;
stultus fuit, “to be flaccid,
 wither, fade (away); to be
 foolish”¹²³⁹ 157
 נָוַח (*nūah*) *requievit*, quievit
 placide, consedit tranquile,
 “to rest, to rest or sit down
 quietly” 97
 נָוַף (*nūf*) nutavit, “to nod; move to
 and fro, wave, shake” 93, 98
 נָקַר (*nāqar*) effodit “to gouge out
 (eye), peck out (eye)” 230
 נִצַּב (*nē‘šib*) statua, “pillar, statue”
 (Schindler 1612: 1148) 229
 סָעַד (*sā‘ad*) stabilivit, fulcivit, “to
 support, sustain, uphold” 229
 עָמַם (‘*āmam*) abscondit, *obtexit,*
obscuravit, “to put away,
 cover over, darken, conceal,
 hide” 231
 עָקַל (‘*iqqel*) curvavit (Avenarius
 (1589: 596), “to bent, twist,
 curve”, in the stem form

¹²³⁹ *Magog Gothus* says: “flavus fuit,
 expalluit, emarcuit. Proprie est florum
 et filiorum.”

pu 'al: tortuosum fuit, "to bent, crooked," 230
פְּרִי (*p^eri*) *fructus* "fruit" 228
פָּרַץ (*pāraṣ*) *rupit*, disruptit, perrupit, "to break, break to pieces/ asunder, break through" 228
קָבַב (*qābab*) *gibbosum fecit, cavavit, maledixit* "to make crooked, hollow; to curse" 232
קָלַל (*qālal*) according to Schindler (1612: 1614–16) in proper sense: *levis, parvi aut nullius ponderis fuit*, "to be light, be of small or no weight"; in transferred sense: *levis, vilis, spretus, contemptus, ignobilis, nullo honore dignus*, "to be unimportant, despised, contemned, scorned, ignoble, dishonoured" 232
קוֹר (*qūr*) *fodit* (proprie venam aquae), "to dig", in proper sense with a watercourse or a well as object (Schindler 1612: 1606) 230
קָלַס (*qālas*) *subsannavit*, "to deride, scorn, spurn" (Schindler 1612: 1619) 157
קָנָה (*qānā*) *acquirere, possidere* "to buy, acquire; to possess"¹²⁴⁰ 222
קָעָקַע (*qa^aqa'*) *fodit, pulsavit*; according to Schindler (1612:

1634, s.v. קָעַע): *sculpsit, fodit, stigmatisavit, pulsavit, sonuit*, "to carve, dig, stigmatize push, strike, sound") 230
צָרַב (*ṣārab*) *ussit* (Ez. 21:3), "to burn, scorch" (Schindler 1612: 1569) 231
צָרַף (*ṣāraf*) *excoxit, liquefecit, probavit* "to test (metal), to boil away, to melt, liquefy" (Schindler 1612: 1573, inter alia: *liquefecit, examinavit metalla, excoxit*) 231
שָׂרַט (*sāraṭ*) *carnem incidit, laceravit*, "to cut into the flesh/ body, to tear to pieces" (Schindler 1612: 1946: *carnem incidit usque ad sanguinis effusionem, concidit, laceravit*), in BDB "to incise, scratch" 230
שָׁבָה (*šābā*) *bello cepit, captum tenuit captivavit, abduxit* "to take captive, carry away" (Schindler 1612: 1786) 230
שָׁבַת (*šābat*) *cessavit, quievit*, (1) "to cease (to exist, to happen); (2) to rest" (Schindler 1612: 1800) 229
שׁוּב (*šūb*) *rediit, reversus fuit*, "to return, go back" (Schindler 1612: 1815) 230
שׁוֹר (*šōr*) *taurus, bos*, "ox" (Schindler 1612: 1831) 158
שָׂרָב (*šārāb*) *calor, aestus; item locus deserti siccus* "scorching heat, parched ground of the desert" (Schindler 1612: 1941) 231
שָׂרַף (*šāraf*) *combussit*, "to burn up" (Schindler 1612: 1954) 231
תּוֹתֵחַ (*tōtāḥ*) *iaculum, missile*, "javelin" (Job 41:21), otherwise "weapon of war, club" 93, 98

¹²⁴⁰ Schindler (1612: 1627) gives the following meanings in Latin: *paravit, comparavit, acquisivit, adeptus fuit, nactus fuit, possedit*. Stiernhielm, *Magog Gothus*, defines it as follows: "acquisivit generando, emendo, educando vel quacunque alia ratione fieri potest. Quoad significationem igitur examussim respondet nostro *afla* atque huic uno verbo 'parere sibi'. קָנָה igitur est *kōna, kynā*, gigno, vet. geno [...].

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Painting and engravings



Figure 2. Queen Christina of Sweden and her court. Oil painting by Louis-Michel Dumesnil (1663–1739): “La reine Christine de Suède, entourée de sa cour, écoutant Descartes faisant une démonstration de géométrie; en présence du prince de Condé, d’Elisabeth de Bavière princesse Palatine et du père Mersenne” (MV3464). Courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux et du Grand Palais. Photographer: Hervé Lewandowski. Location: Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.

The painting is unhistorical in the sense that historical persons in the painting were not all present at the court at one and the same time. Queen Christina is realistically depicted in a dark dress sitting at a table in

discussion with Descartes, who apparently is demonstrating geometrical figures. It is also possible to recognize other historical persons from their facial features and postures, e.g. the French polymath Marin Mersenne who is standing beside Descartes to the right. The person at the back in a dark blue outfit with a square clerical collar may depict Pierre Daniel Huet. The man who is sitting diagonally in front of him in a brown garment and holding a book may be Hiob Ludolf, a portrait of whom is extant in *Ad suam historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam commentarius*, Frankfurt am Main 1691. On the court academy in Stockholm, see pp. 63-68 above.



Figure 3b. *Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus*, Stiernhielm's system of linguistic variability in six circles (see Section 11.1.2), produced by the Dutch copperplate engraver Jan van de Velde IV (1610–1686) probably in Stockholm in 1654. It is identical with Fig. 3a. The outermost circle has a diameter of 122 mm. Location: Archives of the Swedish Academy, *Svenska Akademiens samlingar*, vol. 291. Photographer: Samuel Unéus.

Samples of manuscripts, I: phonology, morphology and sound symbolism

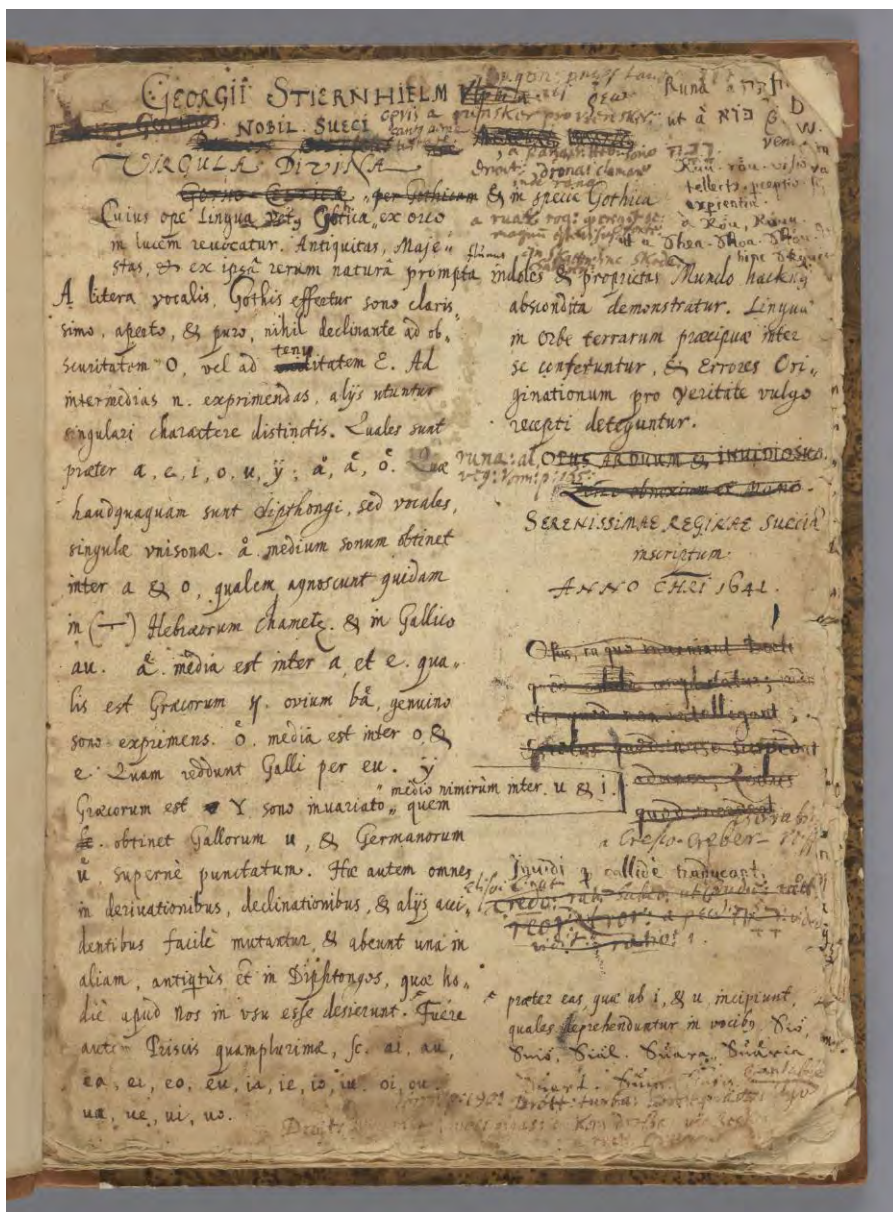


Figure 4. “Vocales, diphthongi et consonantes”, F.d. 6c, 1r (Section 7.1.1). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.

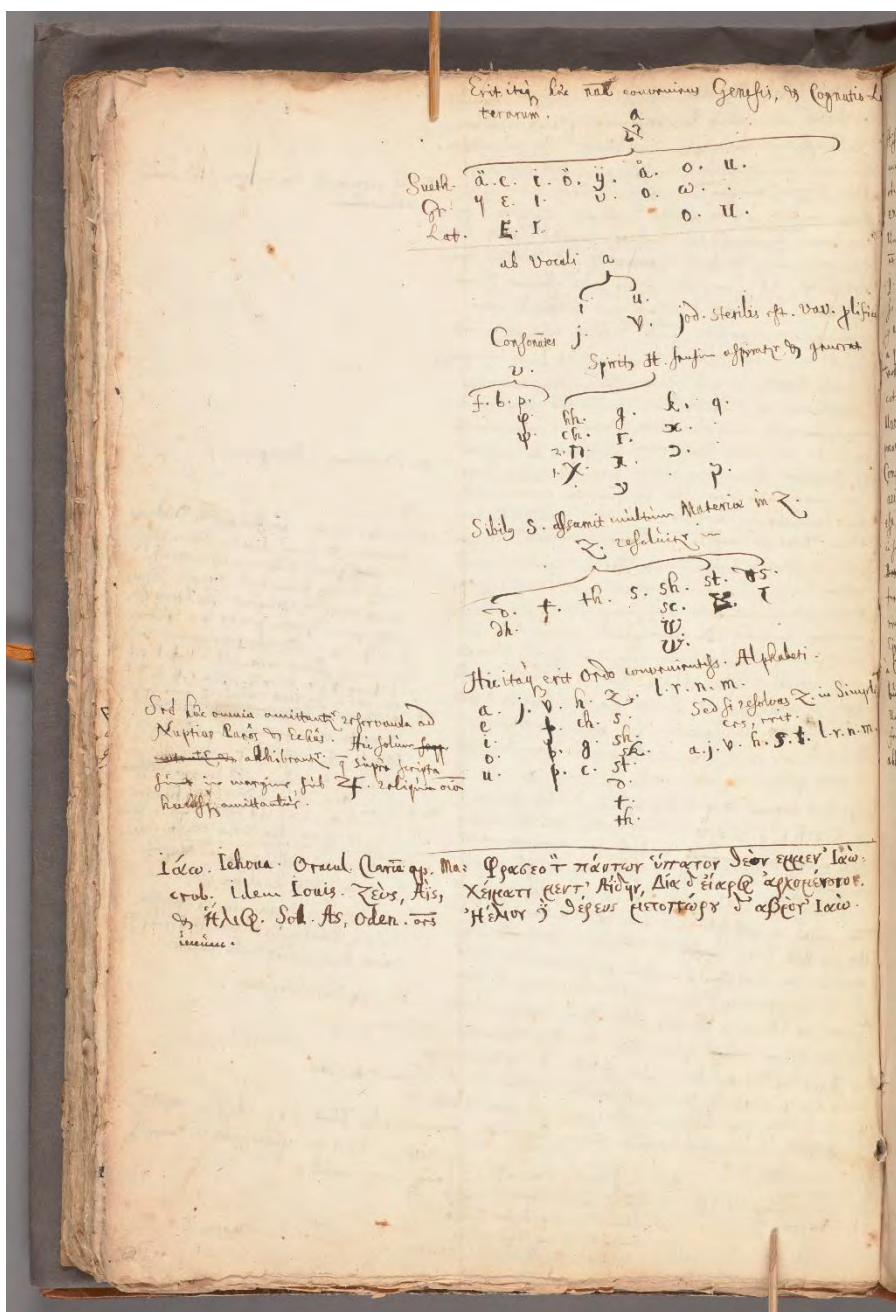


Figure 5. "Genesis et cognatio literarum", F.d. 6, 85v (Section 7.2.1).
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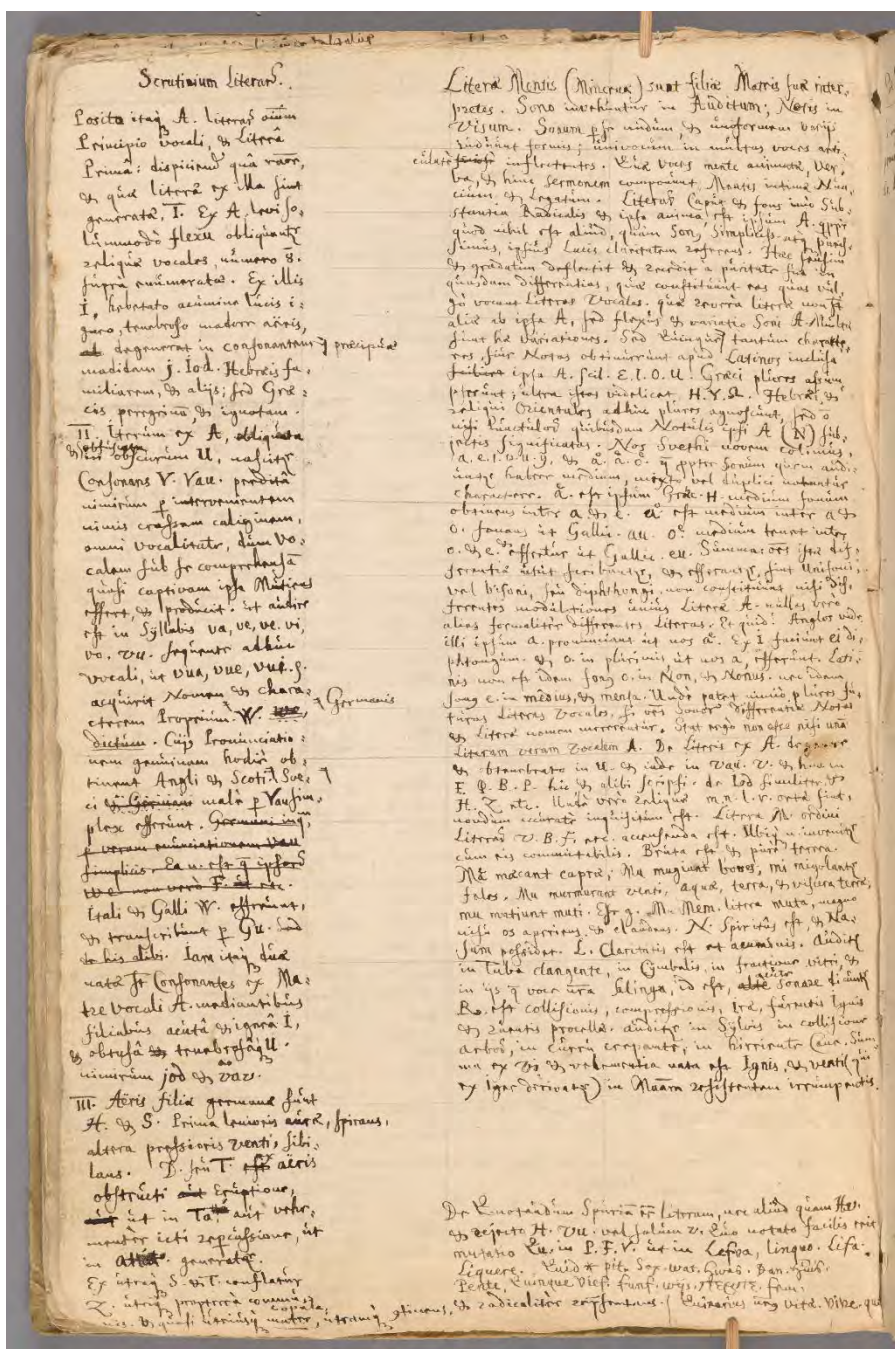


Figure 6. “Scrutinium literarum”, F.d. 5, 35v (Section 7.2.2).
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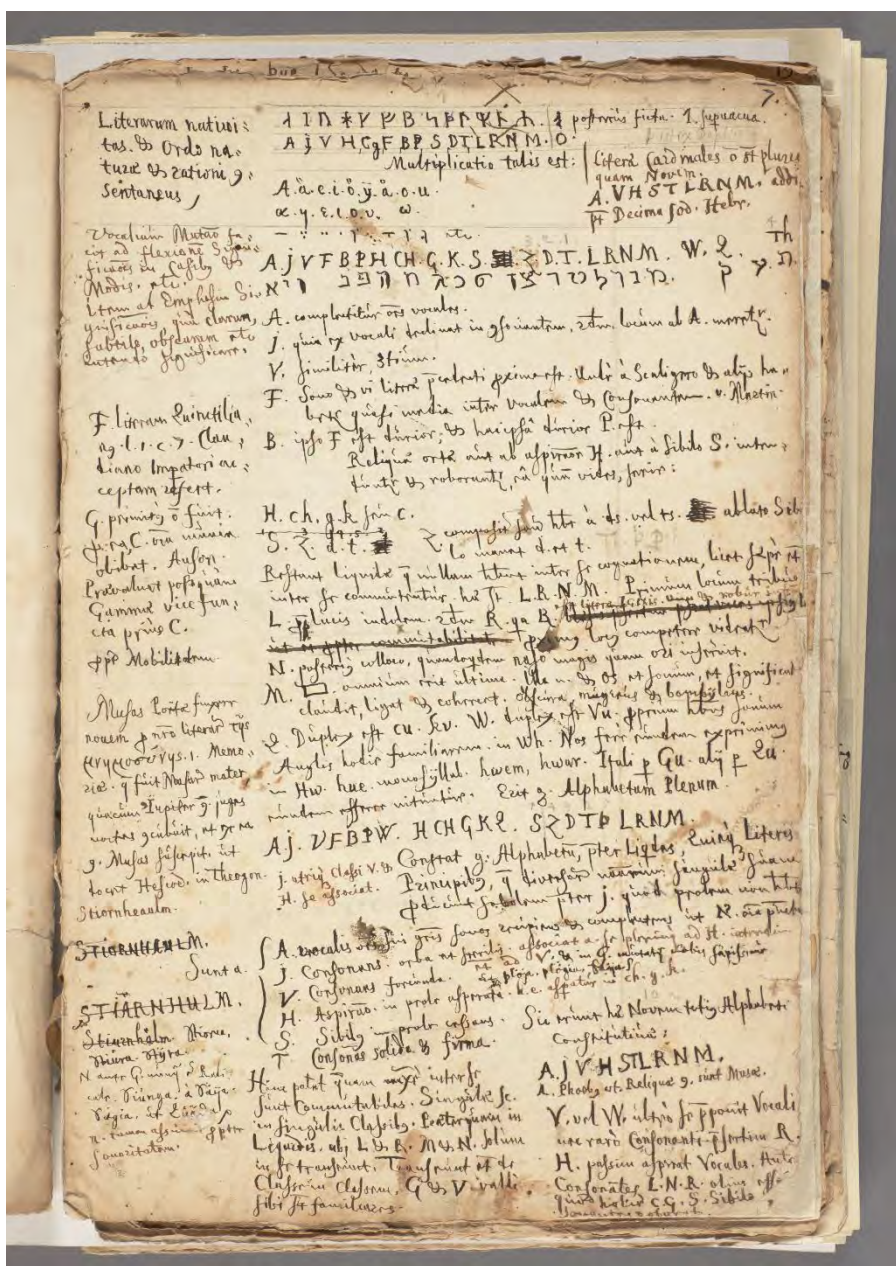


Figure 8. "Literarum nativitas et ordo", F.d. 7:1, 7r (Section 7.3.2).
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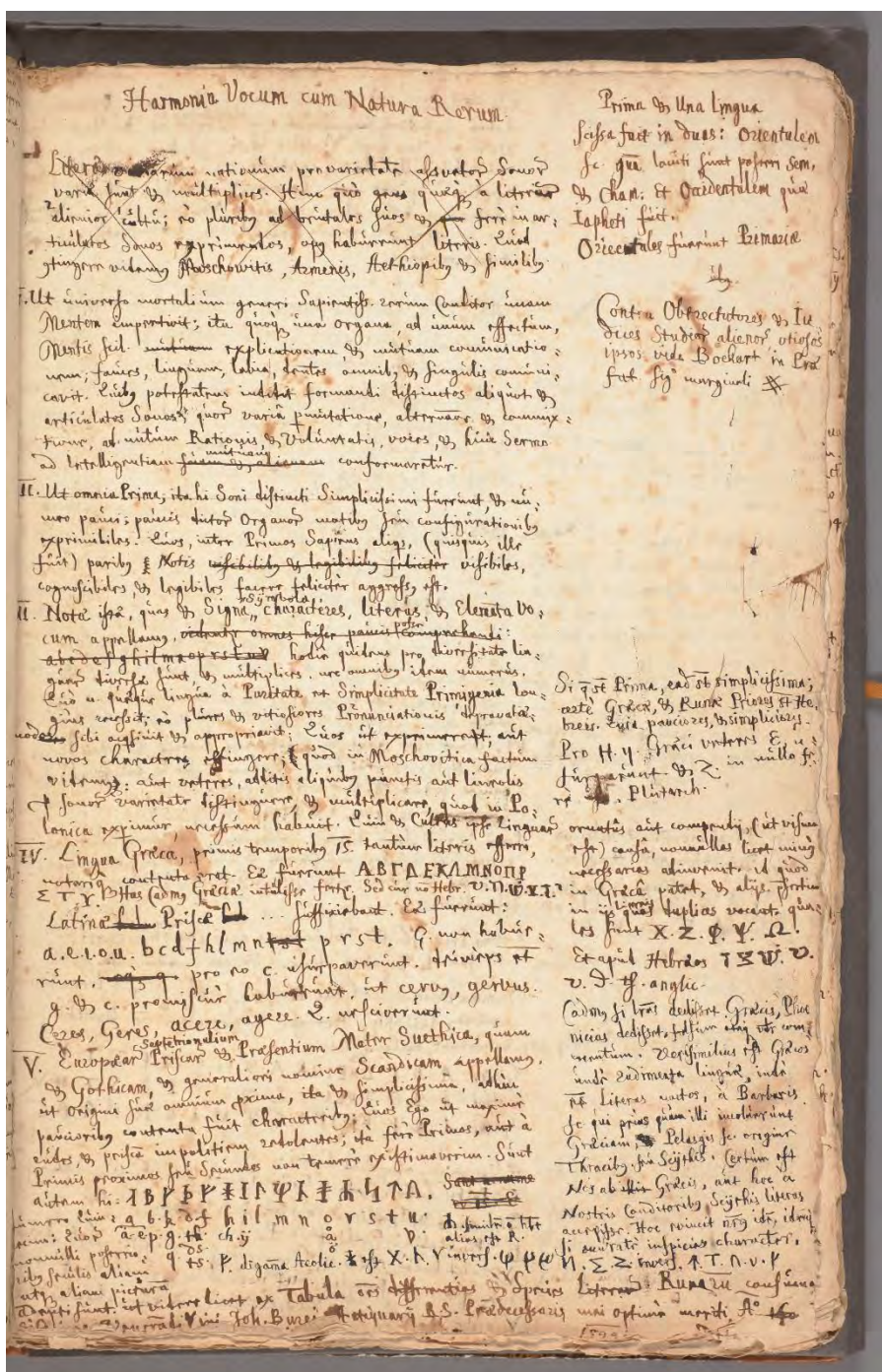


Figure 9. “Literae diversae et paucae quaedam universales” (original heading: “Harmonia vocum cum natura rerum”), F.d. 6, 7r (Section 7.3.3). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.

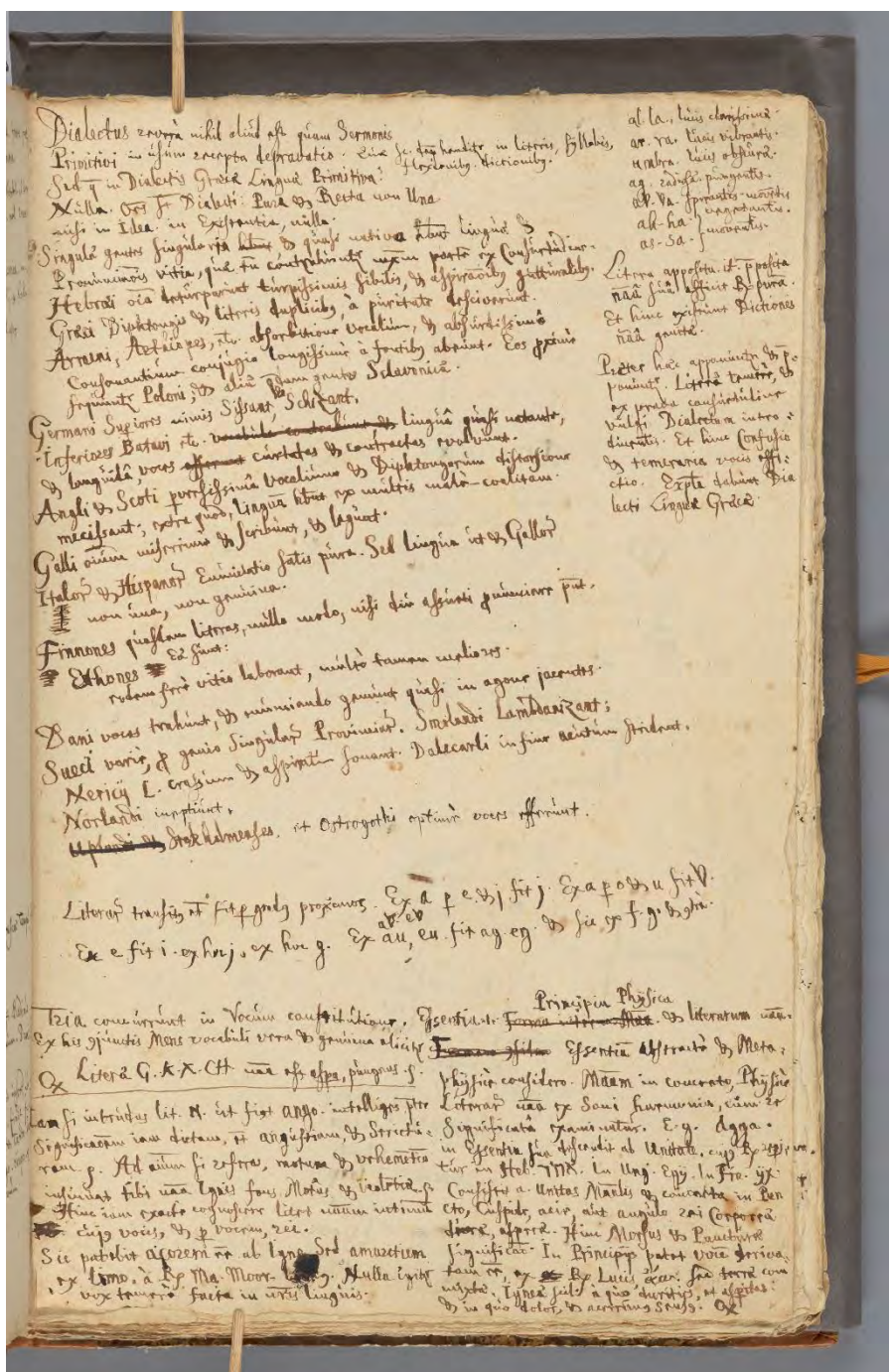


Figure 10. “Linguae et pronunciationis vitia” (title of the editor), F.d. 6, fol. 19r (Section 7.3.4). Great parts of the texts *Literarum transitus* (Section 7.2.4.3) and *Vocum constitutio* (8.1.2) also occur on this leaf. Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.

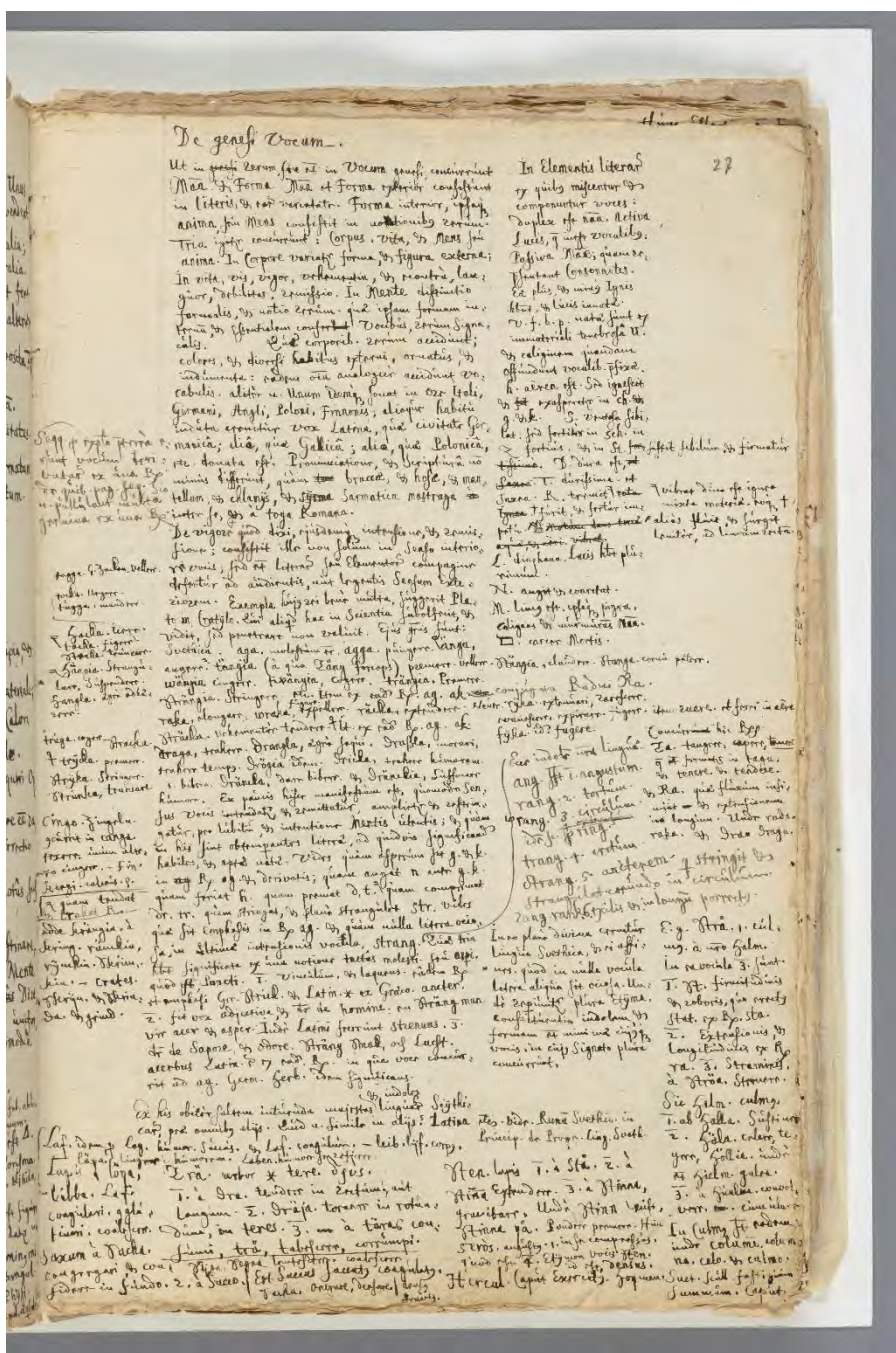


Figure 11. “De genesi vocum”, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 27r (Section 8.1.1).
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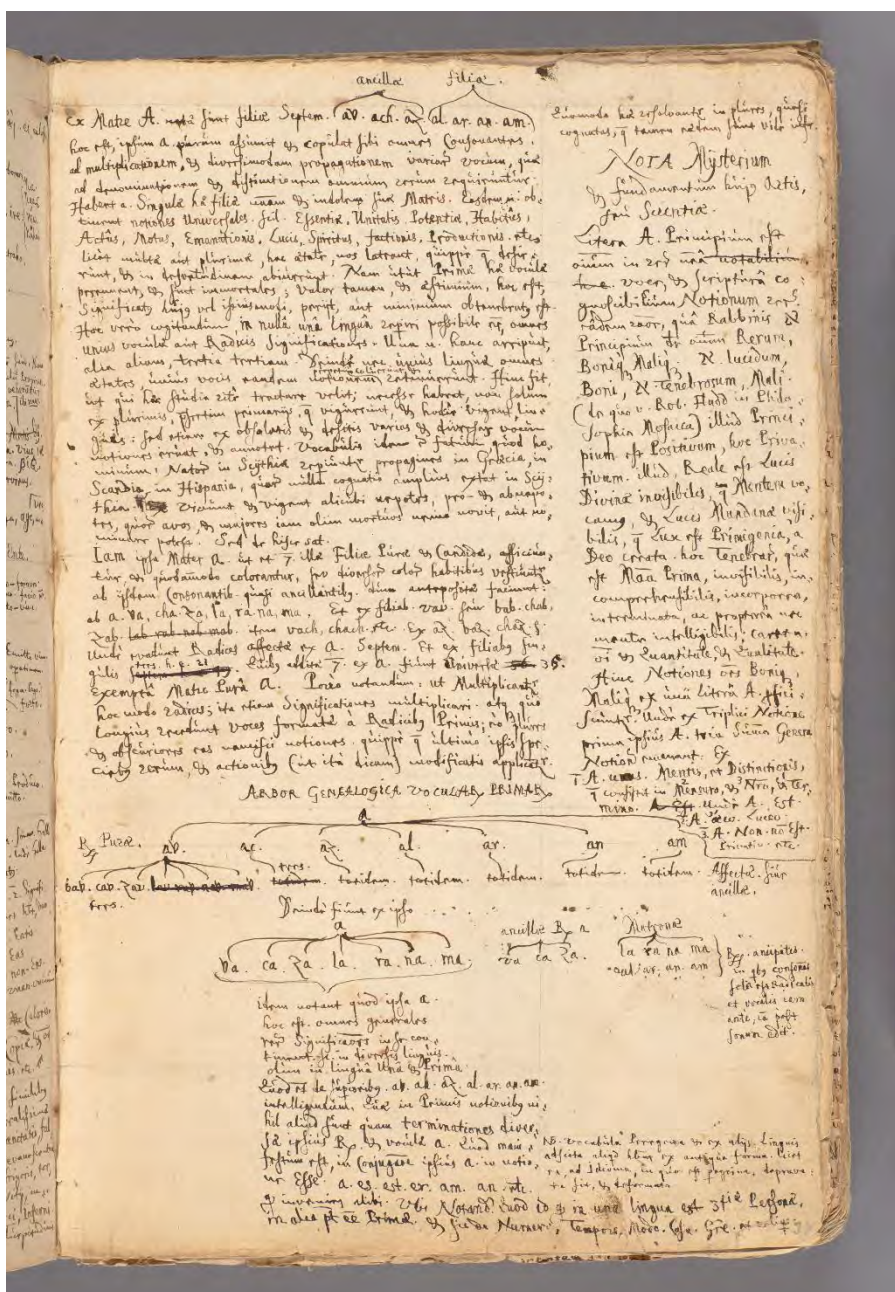


Figure 12. “Multiplicatio variarum vocum” (title of the editor) with a heading “Arbor genealogica vocum primarum”, F.d. 5, 38r (Section 8.1.3). Reproduction: Jens Östman, Kungliga Biblioteket.

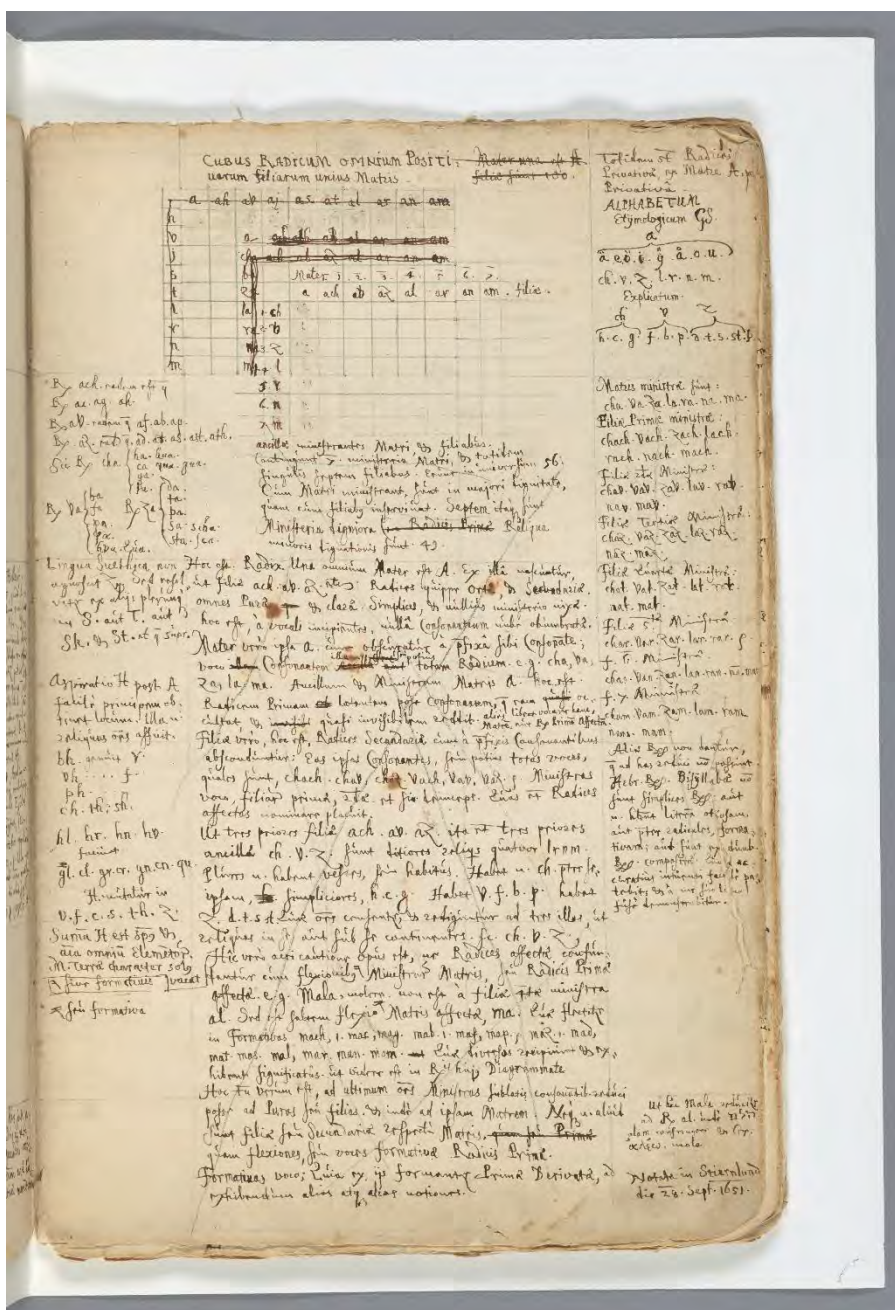


Figure 13. “Cubus radicum”, F.d. 9:6, fol. 2r (Section 8.2.2).
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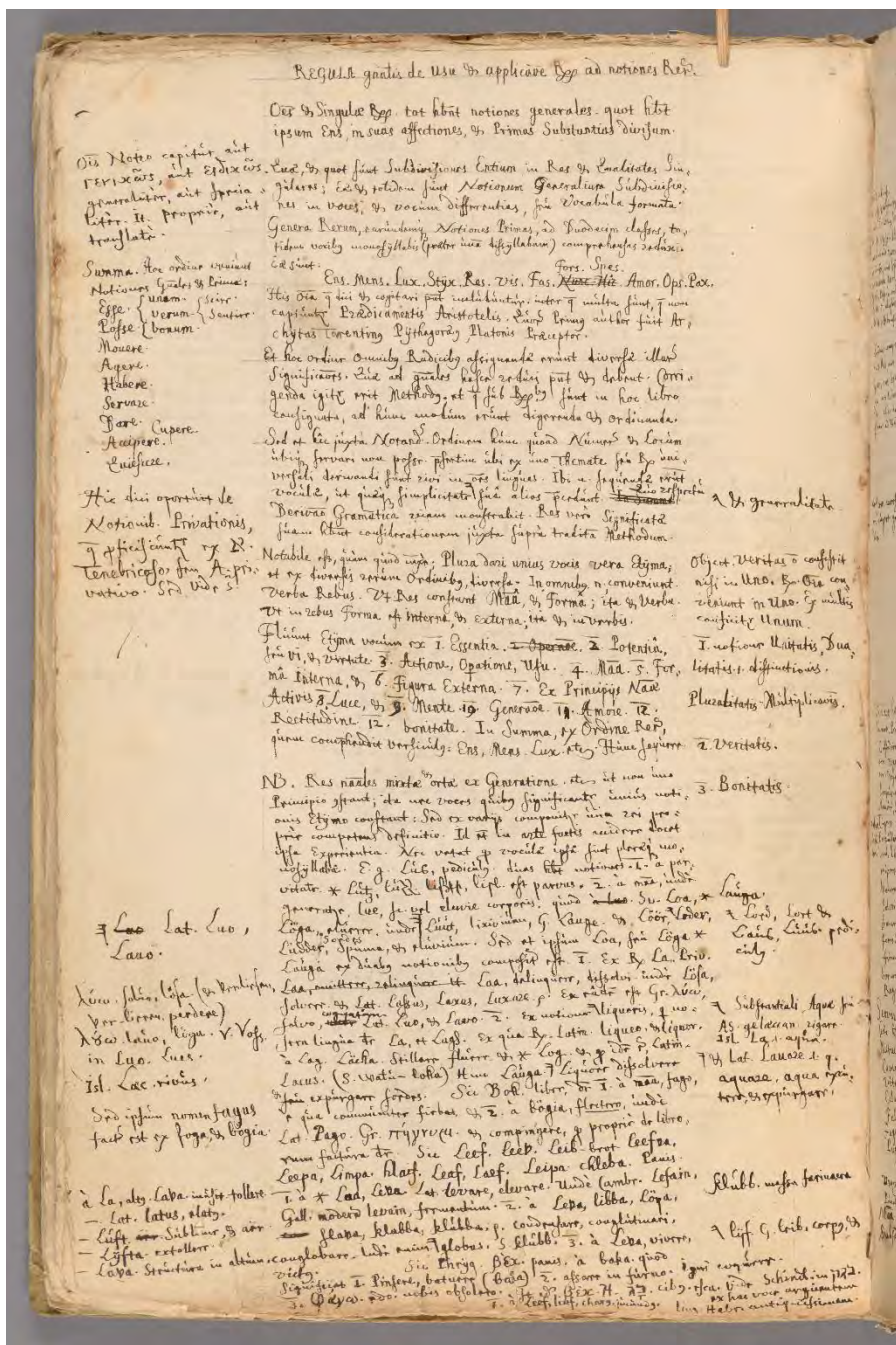


Figure 14. “De usu et applicatione radicum ad notiones rerum”, F.d. 5, 39v (Section 8.3.1). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.

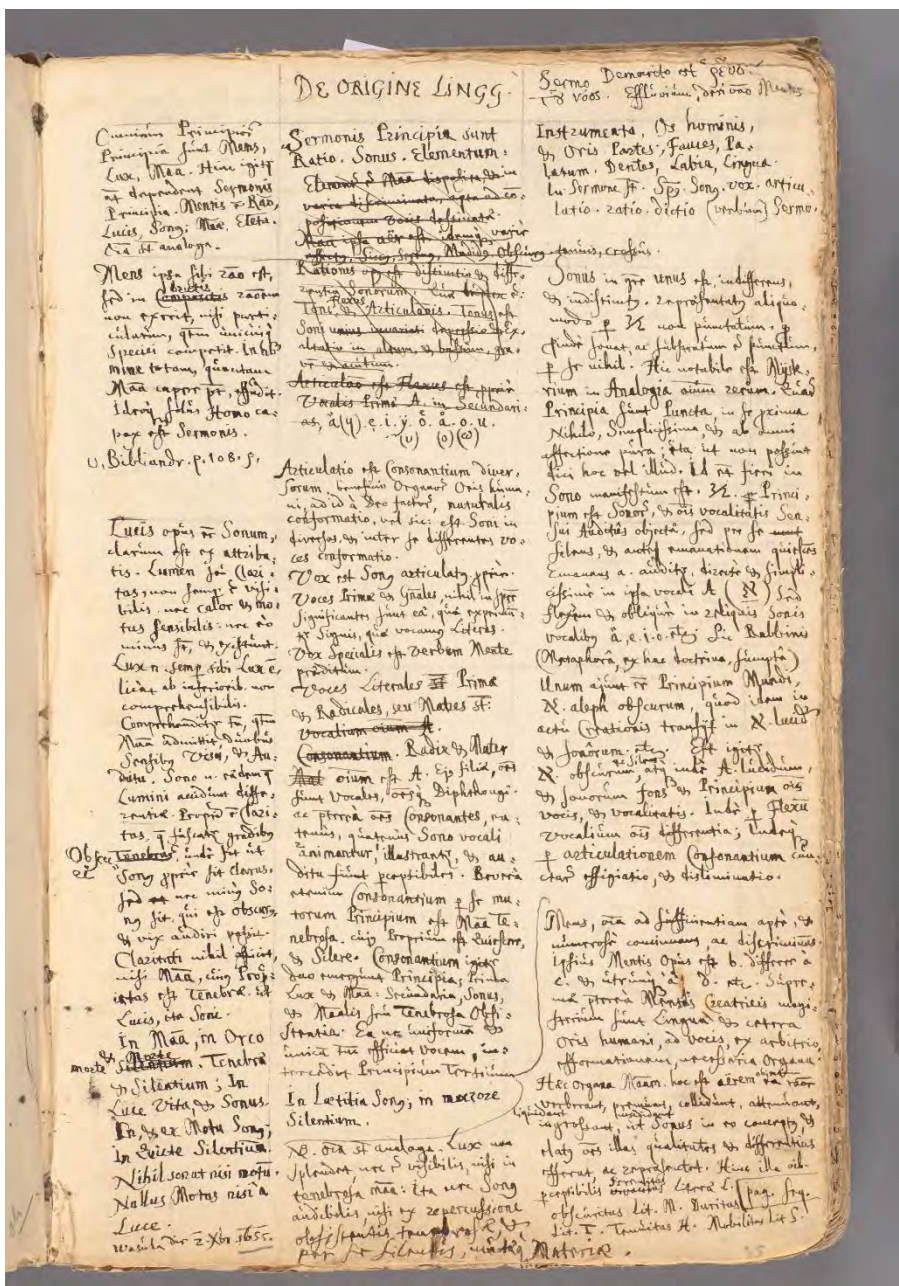


Figure 15. “De origine linguarum”, F.d. 5, 35r (Section 9.1.1).
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Samples of manuscripts, II: transformational grammar

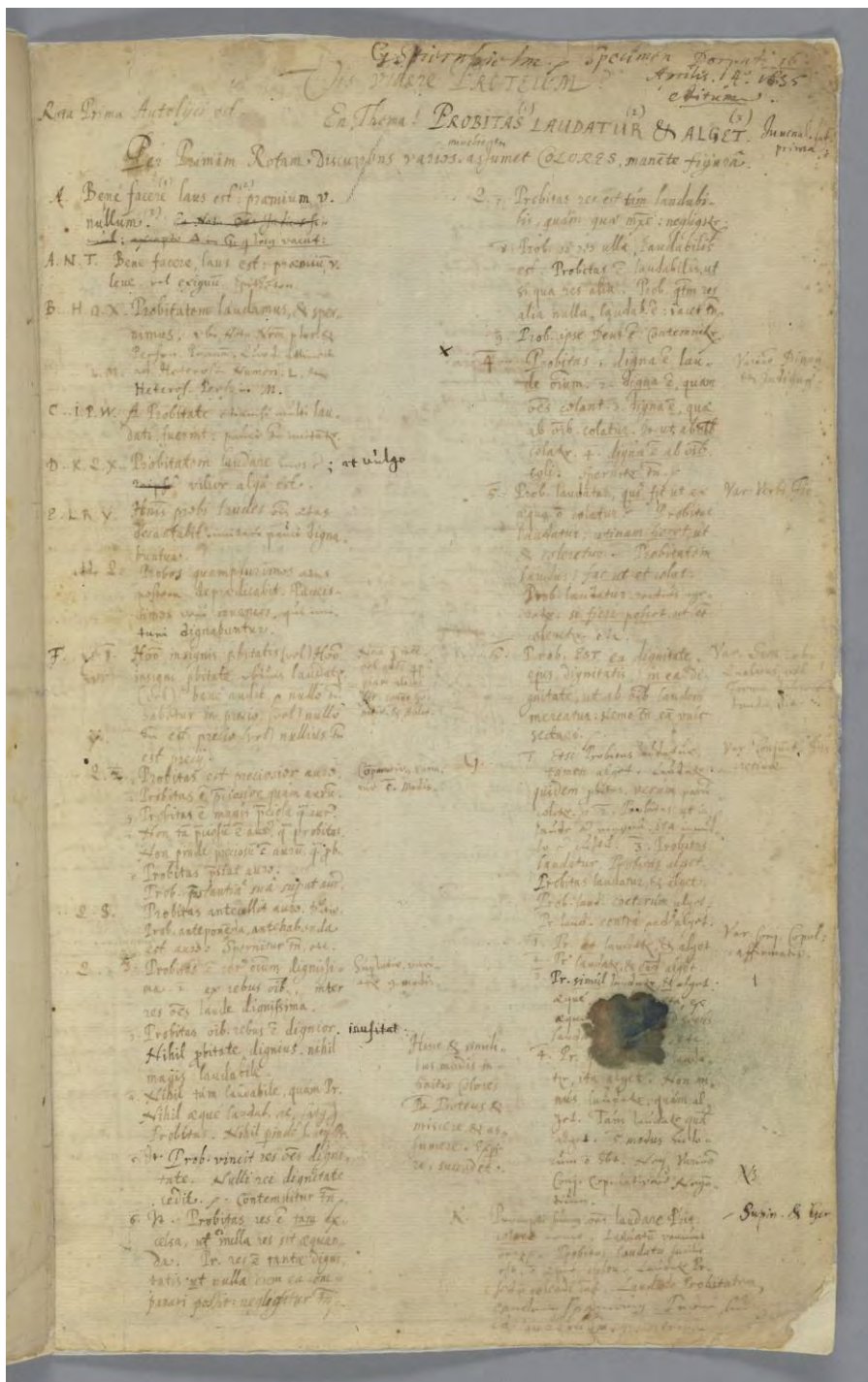


Figure 18. “Probitas laudatur et alget”: grammatical variation, F.d. 6b, 3b, eighth quire, 4r (Section 10.1.2). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.

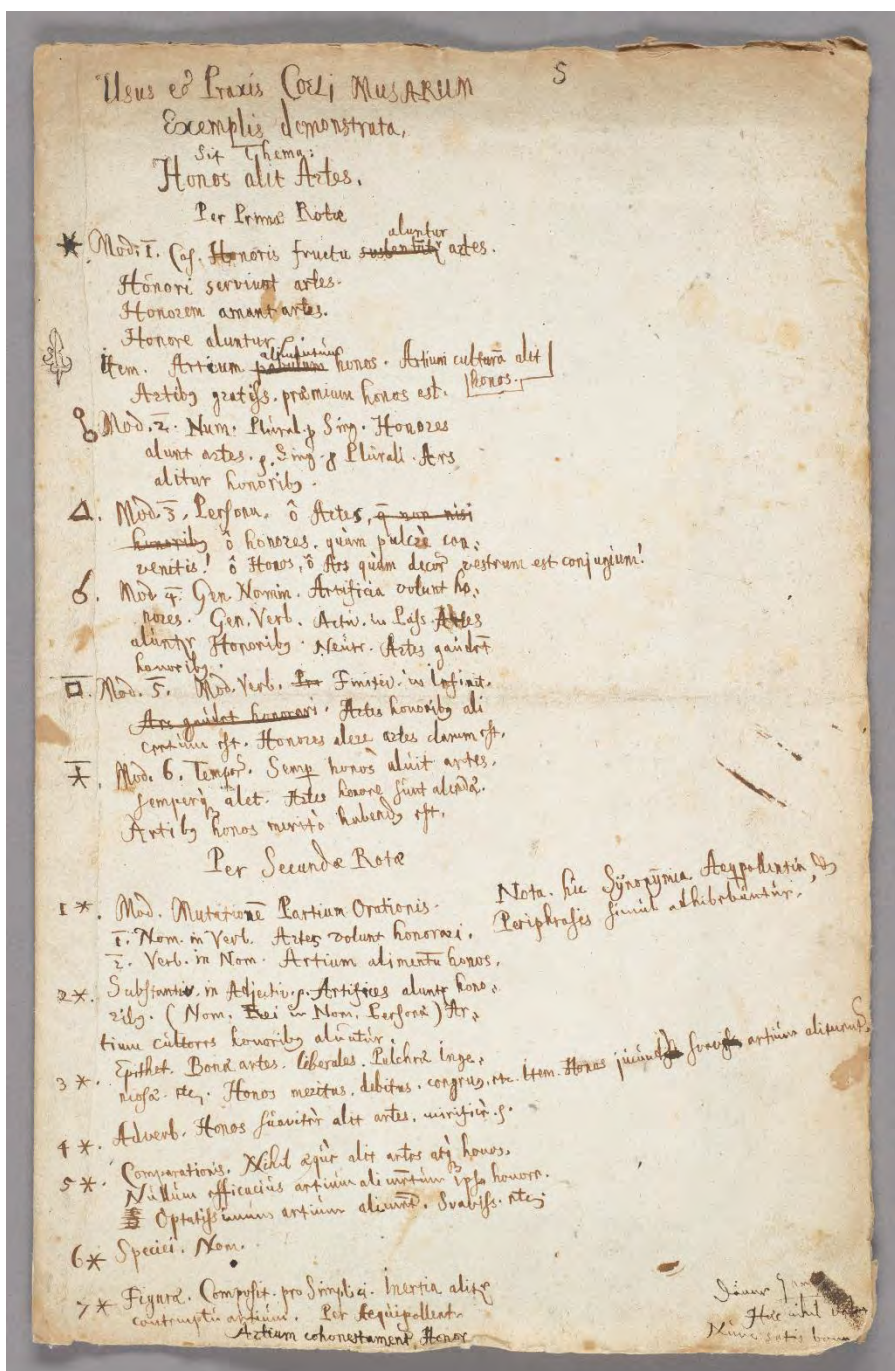


Figure 20. "Honos alit artes": grammatical variation, F.d. 6b, 3b, first quire, 1r (Section 11.3.1). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.

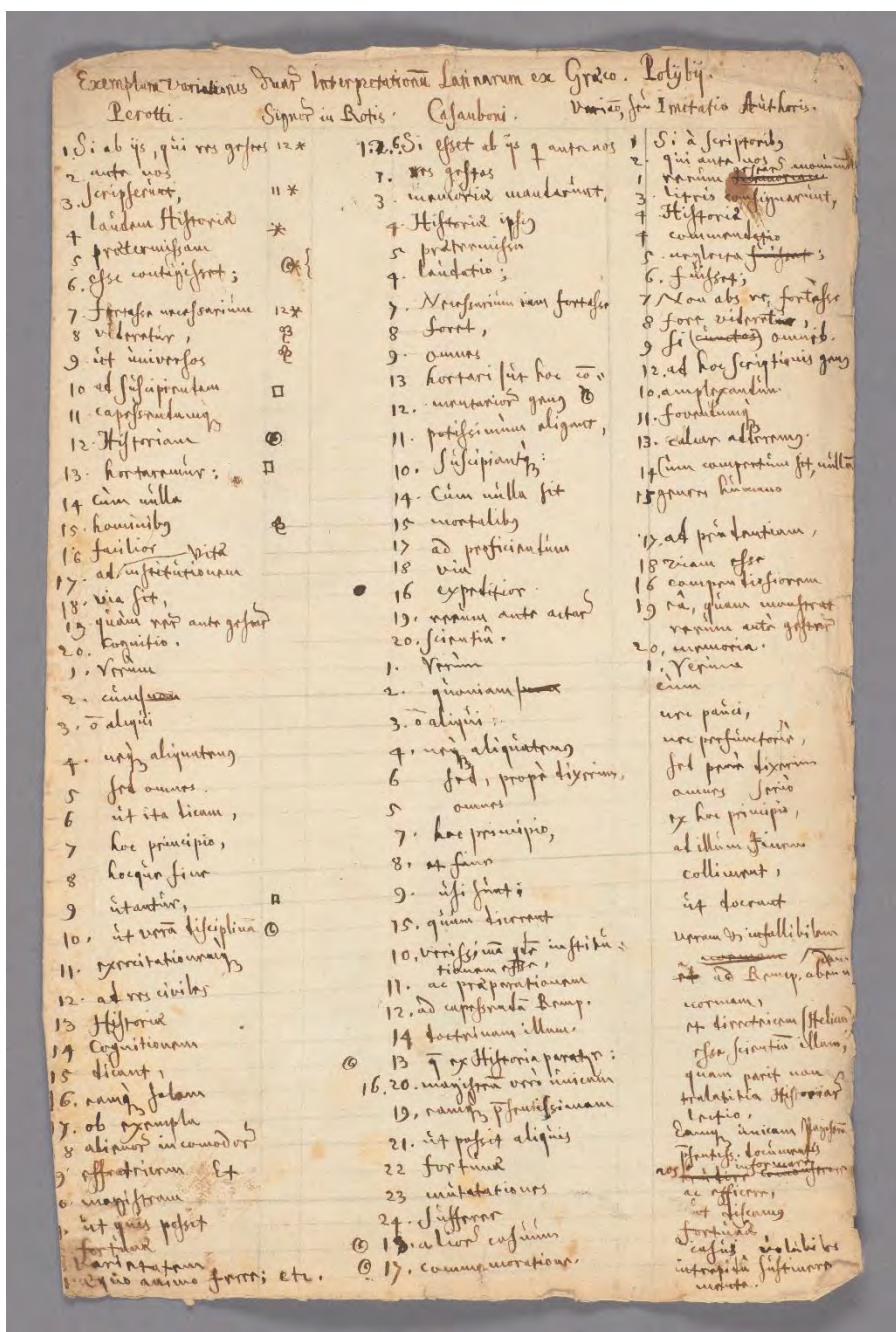


Figure 23. “Variatio duarum interpretationum”. Analysis of variation in the Latin translations of Polybius’ preface to Histories by Niccolò Perotti and Isaac Causabon. Stiernhielm attaches his own translation in the third column. F.d. 6b: 3a, third quire, fol. 1r (Section 10.3.5). Reproduction: Jens Östman, Kungliga Biblioteket.



Figure 24. Polygraphic letter of best wishes, units 57–67, F.d. 13, 26v (Section 12.1.4). Reproduction: David Frederiksen, Kungliga Biblioteket.



Figure 25a. Polygraphic letter on European political news in 1646, units 7–19, F.d. 13, 9v (Section 12.3.2). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.

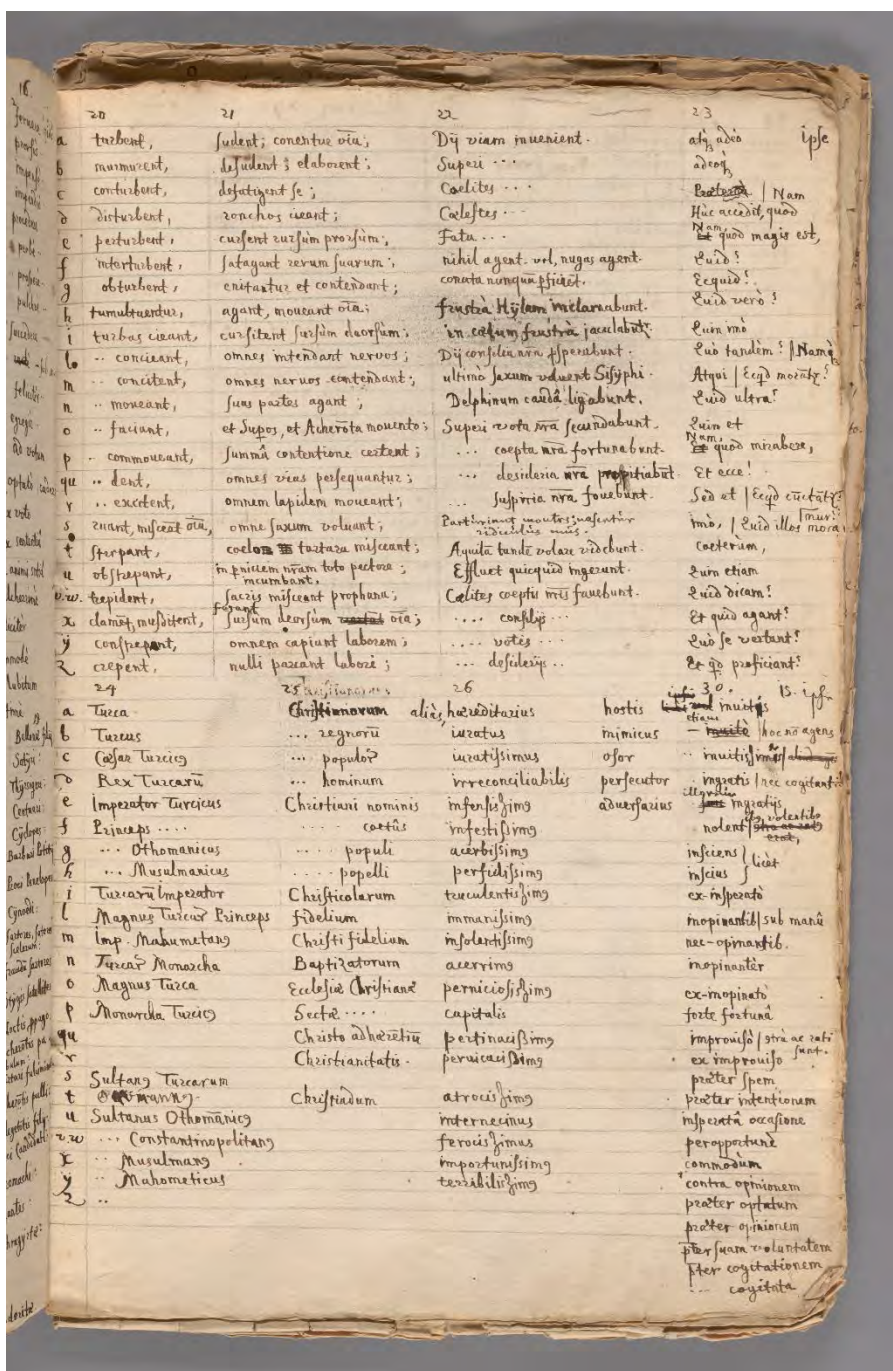


Figure 25b. Polygraphic letter on European political news in 1646, units 20–26 and unit 30, F.d. 13, 9v (Section 12.3.2). Reproduction: Anna Guldager, Kungliga Biblioteket.

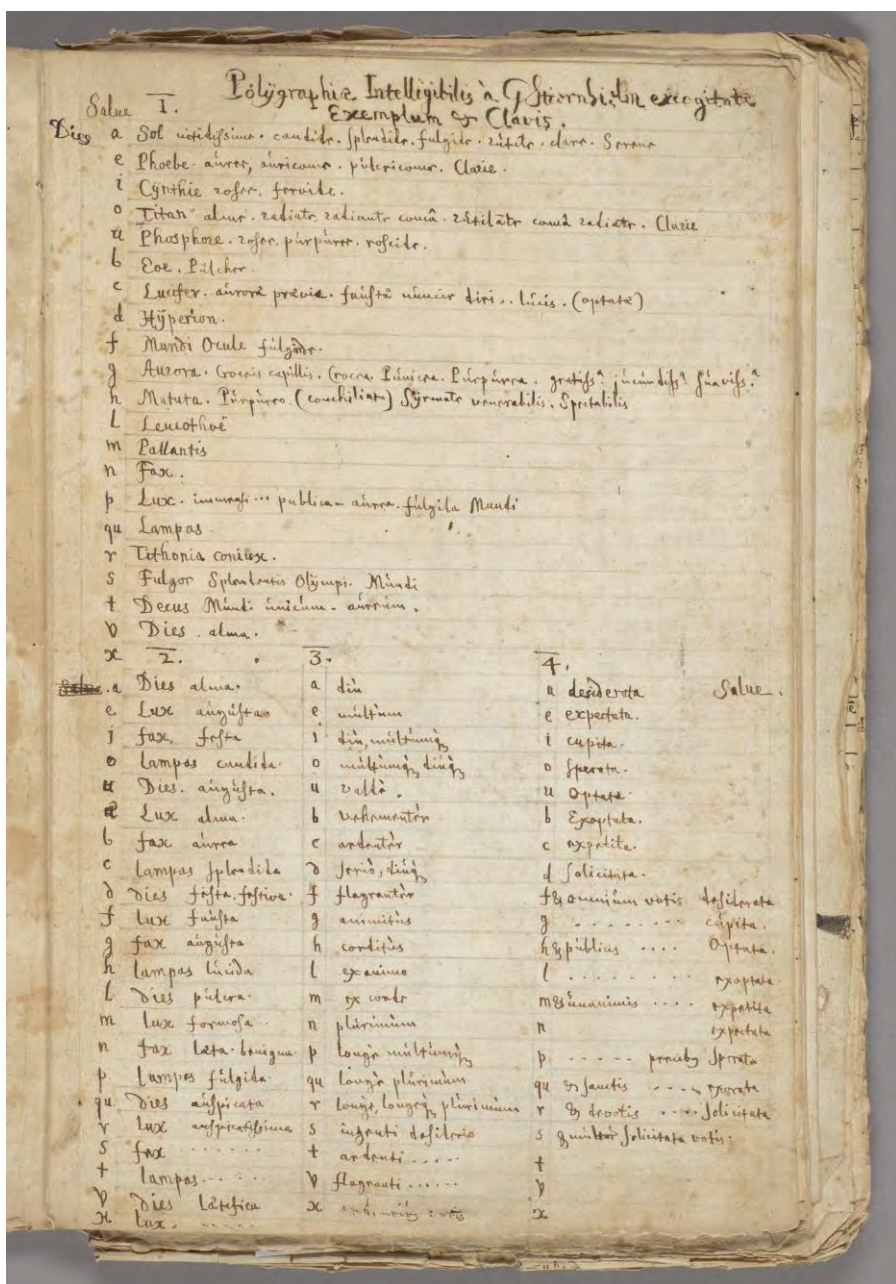


Figure 26a. Polygraphic birthday panegyric to Queen Christina, units 1–4, headed *Polygraphiae intelligibilis a G. Stiernhielm excogitatae exemplum et clavis*, that is, “Understandable polygraphy developed by G. Stiernhielm: an example and a key, F.d. 13, 1r (Section 12.4.3). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.

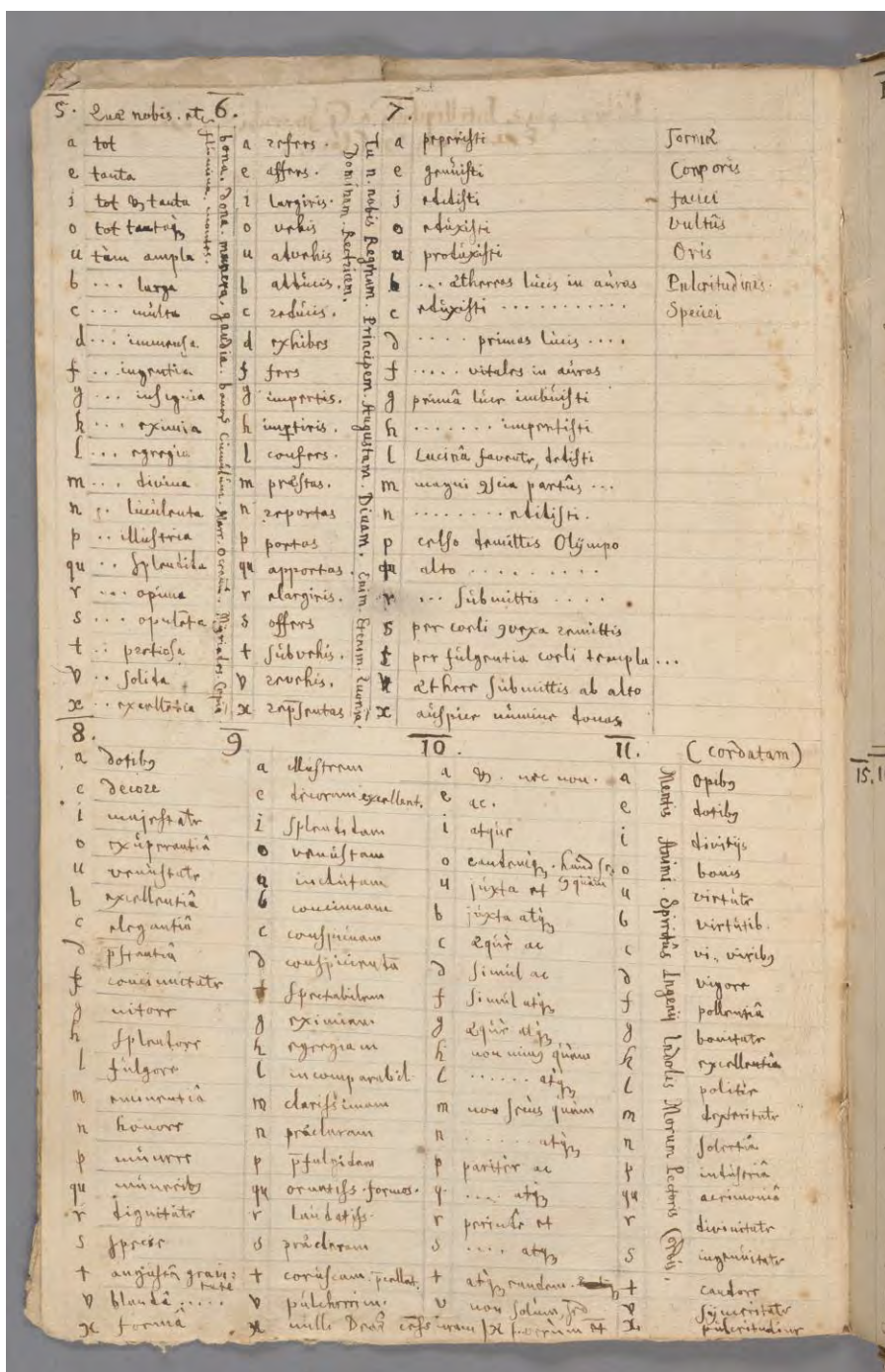


Figure 26b. Polygraphic birthday panegyric to Queen Christina, units 5–11, F.d. 13, 1v (Section 12.4.3). Reproduction: Anna Guldager, Kungliga Biblioteket.

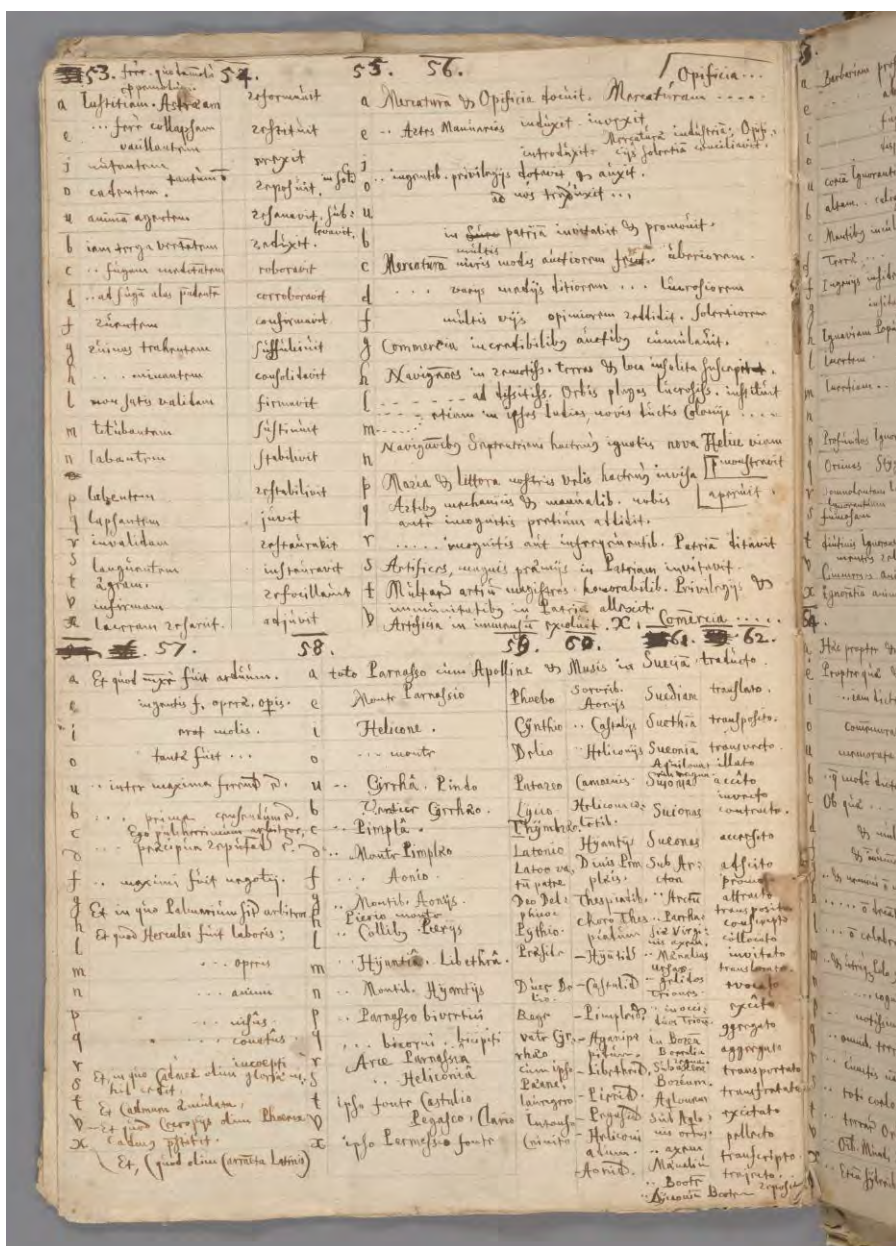


Figure 26c. A polygraphic birthday panegyric to Queen Christina, units 53–62, F.d. 13, 4v (Section 12.4.3). Reproduction: Anna Guldager, Kungliga Biblioteket.



Figure 27. Stiernhielm's copying of Alsted's *Encyclopaedia* (1st ed. 1620, book 2, ch. 19; 2nd ed. 1630, book 6, ch. 19) on the variability of Latin syntax. Source: Loci communes, F.d. 4:1, p. 292, edited in Appendix 1. Reproduction: Ann-Sofie Persson, Kungliga Biblioteket.

Historical maps



Figure 28. Topography of the parish of Vika, c. 1550. Source: Bertil Boëthius, *Kopparbergslagen fram till 1570-talets genombrott: uppkomst, medeltid, tidig vasatid*, Stockholm 1965, attachment. This map is an extract from the author's map on the Copper Mountain districts in the mid-16th century: "Karta över Kopparbergslagen vid 1500-talets mitt". Reproduction: Uppsala University Library. Stiernhielm was born at Gamlegården in Kniva district, which is situated in the northern part of Vika parish.

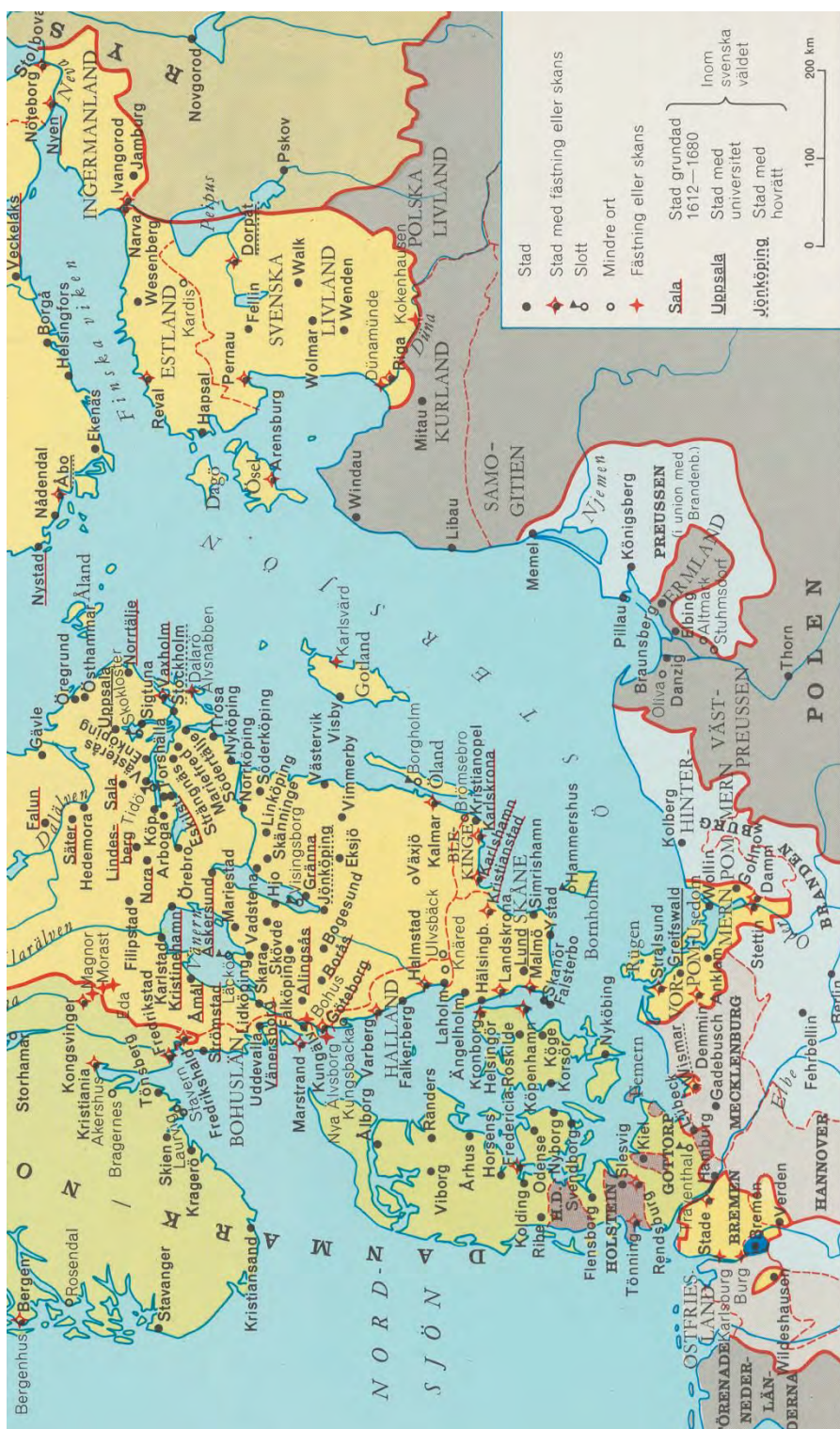


Figure 29. Southern Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea region in the mid-17th century. Source: Gustafson, *Atlas till historien*. Reproduction: Uppsala University Library.

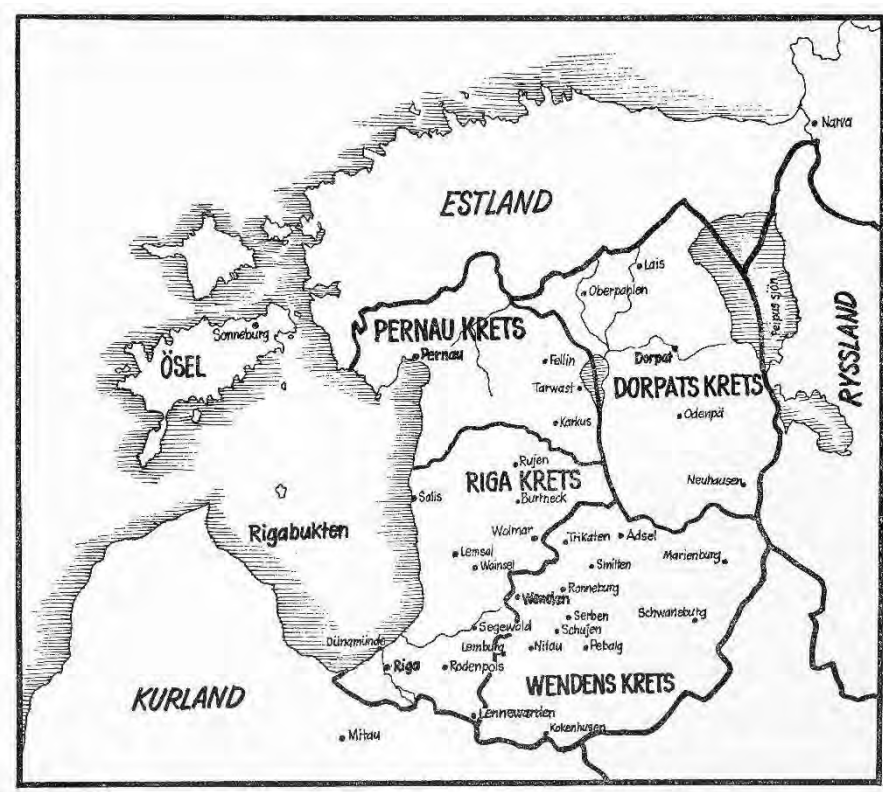


Figure 30. Judicial districts of Swedish Livonia. Source: Anna Christina Meurling, *Svensk domstolsförvaltning i Livland 1634–1700*, Lund 1967, p. 16. Reproduction: Uppsala University Library.



Figure 31. Panorama of Dorpat in 1553: the Bishop's Castle is to the left, the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul is on the hill in the middle, and before it the Church of St. Mary is visible in the town with Jaani Church to its right. The Cathedral was destroyed during the Swedish-Polish war of 1624. See Karl Inno, *Tartu University in Estonia during the Swedish rule (1632–1710)*, Stockholm 1972, p. 17.

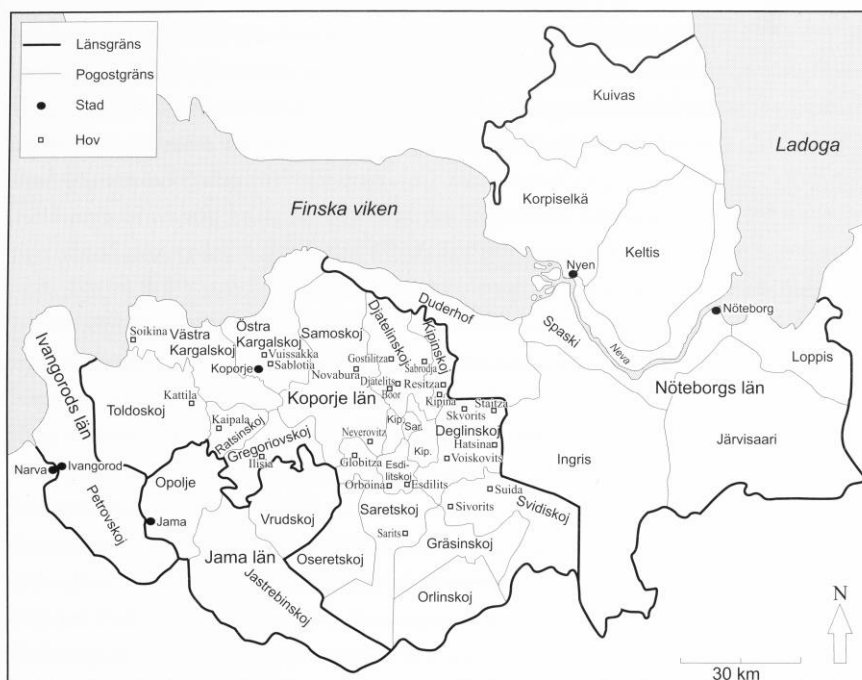


Figure 32. Administrative subdivisions of Swedish Ingria with the focus on parishes and royal court estates of Koporje county. Source: Kasper Kepsu, *Den besvärliga provinsen* [...], Helsinki 2014, p. 169. Reproduction: By the courtesy of the author, Uppsala University Library.



Figure 33. Stiernhielm's estates in Swedish Livonia. Source: Ludwig August Mellin, *Atlas von Liefland*, Riga 1796, map no. 6: Der Dörptsche Kreis, an extract. Reproduction: Uppsala University Library.

Stiernhielm's manor in Livonia was the medieval estate Wasula, which he first bought in 1636 and confirmed as an enfeoffment from the Swedish Crown in 1639.¹ He lived there in 1640–1642, 1645–1648 and 1655–1656. It is situated ten kilometres north of Dorpat at the Amme river (Amme jõgi river), which empties into the Emajõgi river (in German, Embach, in Latin, Embacca). From 1636 he possessed Jama Manor, near Dorpat to the east, which was bestowed as a fief, as was also the neighbouring estate St. Jürghenhof.² In 1639, the Swedish Regency also granted to him the village of Loffkatten as a fief. It is marked as “Gros Loffkatten” (Great Lohvka), some kilometres east of Dorpat. In 1648 he was by a royal letter of donation promised the estates Little Loffkatten (“Klein Loffkatten”) and Remusmöis.³

¹ The royal letter of donation is dated 28 January 1639; see Per Wieselgren, *Brev till Georg Stiernhielm*, Lund 1968, p. 87.

² See Wieselgren, *ibidem*, pp. 47–48. The royal letter is dated 29 March 1636.

³ See Wieselgren, *ibidem*, p. 152. The royal letter is dated 31 October 1648.



Figure 35. City of Dorpat, 1636: a westward-oriented map of fortification by Georgius Schwengel. Reproduction and source: the Military Archives of Sweden (Krigsarkivet), shelfmark: Foreign maps of cities and fortresses 1550–1989 (Utländska stads- och fästningsplaner), the Baltic Provinces, Dorpat, nr. 2. In 1635, Stiernhielm led the fortifications at the moat along the eastern and northern walls, and later developed scales for plan maps of fortifications (on the quadratic measuring rod *Baculus Carolinus*, 1663).

The entrenchments of the south-western side are shown. The gates and towers are displayed. A few public buildings are marked. In the middle of the city lay the Church of St. Mary, here designated as the Swedish Church (*die schwedische Kirche*). Opposite it the first university building of *Academia Gustaviana* (*die königliche Academia*) was situated between 1632 and 1639, housed in the former Jesuit College. In 1640, the university moved to a building opposite Jaani Church, called the German Church (*die deutsche Kirche*). Stiernhielm's office, the palatial building of the Court of Appeals, which he refers to as *Palatium Judicii A[ulæ] Regii*, was situated in the midway between the Swedish Church and Kuter Pfort (presently the site of Hotel Soho). Though not located on this map, this building is marked as *Hofgerichtes Haus* on another map in the same series (Dorpat, nr. 18).

