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NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF JOHAN PAULINUS' *FINLANDIA*.

A baroque eulogy in Greek verses

ERKKI SIRONEN

1. Introduction¹

This article discusses some of the most interesting linguistic features of a Baroque hexameter oration, *Magnus Principatus Finlandia*, dating from the year 1678. I would like to pose my view of the language of the acclaimed *Finlandia*², fully aware that it is only one example of Baroque verse orations in Greek, which flourished in the then potent Kingdom of Sweden. In spite of the poem's richly variegated post-Homeric vocabulary, I would be inclined to consider *Finlandia* as having been conceived in the high language of epic Greek, taking its original title and meter into account and by it being heavily influenced by Hesiod's phraseology, especially that of *Works and Days*.³ This hypothesis may be in need of a modification after a more thorough analysis of the consistency of epic Greek and the amount of non-epic (actually Attic, *koine*, and Byzantine) elements in other similar contemporary Greek verse orations and their earlier models and, as far as possible, roughly

¹ The contents and more general background of this Baroque eulogy have been explained in Tua Korhonen's article above, on pages 63–87. See also the first critical edition in: Korhonen, T. & Oksala, T. & Sironen, E., Johan Paulinus (Lillienstedt), *Magnus Principatus Finlandia*. Suomen Suuriruhtinaskunta, Helsinki 2000. The Summary in English, on pages 178–182, gives the most relevant data. For a chronological catalog of texts by Johan Paulinus (ennobled in 1690 to Lillienstedt), cf. *op. cit.*, Appendix 1 on pages 184–191 (in Finnish and English), also written by Tua Korhonen.

² Henceforth thus shortened.

³ Professor Teivas Oksala has shown that *Finlandia* has closest intertextual proximities with Virgil's *Georgica*, see *op. cit.*, pages 135–143. I have come to the conclusion that the poem has only partly been composed on the model of contemporary *laudes patriae* orations, see *op. cit.*, pages 149–153.

contemporary prose orations in Greek will have been carried out. Thus, this is an endeavor to present one of the first looks at a particularly understudied phenomenon, the Greek language as used in 17th century Sweden.⁴

Johan(nes) Paulinus (1655–1732) had probably had the privilege of receiving extra tuition in Greek from his father, a clergyman schooled in Biblical languages, but he certainly learned his first classical language, viz. Latin, in his native Pori Grammar School.⁵ Johan started his studies at the University of Turku (Finland) in 1672, but before pursuing them at Uppsala (Sweden) from July 1677 onwards, he had written at least seven poems in Latin and four⁶ in Greek, the latter ones obviously under the tutelage of his philhellenic teachers like Ericus Falander, Petrus Laurbecchius, and Martin Miltopaeus. During the 1680's and 1690's the writing of Greek texts at the University of Turku was very busy. Johannes Gezelius the Elder was busy printing and reprinting teaching materials for Finnish schools.⁷ The Swedish universities also wanted to show the rest of Europe that they were capable of producing high quality texts in Greek as well as in Latin.

The hexameter poem *Finlandia* was performed by Paulinus, at that time only 22 years of age, probably on the 11th of March 1678, in the *Auditorium Gustavianum* at the University of Uppsala. Later on, not improbably during the same year, the verse oration consisting of 379 verses was printed in Stockholm with preceding Latin dedications to his patrons, Count Per Brahe and Baron Knut Kurck, followed by short Latin congratulations from Professors Martinus Brunnerus and Johannes Columbus. Columbus, as *Poëseos Professor Ordinarius* at Uppsala, was

⁴ For some rare exceptions outside the Nordic countries, cf. footnote 21 in Tua Korhonen's article above.

⁵ For a short background on the poet's *curriculum vitae*, cf. Korhonen, T. & Oksala, T. & Sironen, E., Johan Paulinus (Lillienstedt), *Magnus Principatus Finlandia. Suomen Suuriruhtinaskunta*, pages 10–25.

⁶ Cf. *Finnische Nationalbibliographie 1488–1700* (ed. by T.Laine – R.Nyqvist, Helsinki 1996), nos. 2766, 3995, 1029, and 1147 (between the years 1674–1675). Cf. also Korhonen, T. & Oksala, T. & Sironen, E., Johan Paulinus (Lillienstedt), *Magnus Principatus Finlandia. Suomen Suuriruhtinaskunta*, pages 11–20.

⁷ The two most important school books by Johannes Gezelius the Elder (initially published at Dorpat in Estonia in 1646 and 1647 respectively) were his *Poemata Pythagorae, Phocylidis, & Theognidis cum versione Latina* and *Grammatica Graeca*, reprinted at Turku in Finland in 1676 and 1675; the latter was also reprinted in 1685, before receiving a record number of 11 printings in Sweden between the years 1707 and 1801.

obliged to check the language of every poem composed in Latin or Greek. It remains pure speculation whether and to what extent Brunnerus or the more distinguished poet Johannes Columbus, or possibly others – such as Petrus Aurivillius, Julius Micrander, and Samuel Columbus – might have helped the young newcomer with his ambitious endeavor. *Finlandia*, the last known poem in Greek by Paulinus, has been acclaimed as a major Greek oration both by several contemporary literary historians and 18th century scholars working on the post-Reformation Greek literature of the Kingdom of Sweden. The text itself was reprinted as *Finlandia* in 1694,⁸ an extremely rare case as regards academic orations by students.⁹

2. Phonology

2.1. Vowels

The traditional epic Ionic η discolored by the Attic and *koine* α is found at least 15 times, all over the poem, e.g. in verses 47 ἔρας (cf. also chapter 4.1.), 101 ὄρας, 103 μακαρτέρα and λῖαν (repeated in verse 232), 112 παμβασιλείας, 122 ἐλευθέρα, 129 ἀγάνορι, 176 ἀέρα, 218 τρυφερᾶ, 271 θοά, 279 καθαρᾶς, 312 σόα together with πάτρα, and finally with γραῦς in verse 378. Perhaps only two cases, verses 271 (θοά ... Μοῖρα) and 312 (σόα ἐστὶν ἅπασά γε πάτρα) might be explained by Latin influence, the prevalent poetic language among 17th century intellectual circles, learned at a young age.

Further examples of the influence of the Attic and *koine* on diphthongs can be found: in verses 76 (ὄλην instead of οὔλην), 134 (μόνον instead of

⁸ The new title page appears in Korhonen, T. & Oksala, T. & Sironen, E., Johan Paulinus (Lillienstedt), *Magnus Principatus Finlandia. Suomen Suuriruhtinaskunta*, page 159. This second edition included the original verse invitation by Johannes Columbus, dated on the 10th of March 1678, but excluded the dedications and congratulations. A critical edition of the whole (based mostly on the *editio princeps*, given in facsimile on pages 161–176), with a facing verse translation, is available on pages 34–67, followed by a commentary with a prose translation on pages 68–119.

⁹ I have been unable to track down any other example of a reprint in the genre of *laudes patriae* in the 17th century Kingdom of Sweden.

μοῦνον), 169 (πόας instead of ποίας, cf. verse 230), and 351 (ὄροισι instead of οὔροισι). This indicates a rather liberal attitude towards the epic language.

2.2. Consonants

Apart from five misprints mentioned in my critical apparatus and editorial principles (according to which I have, among other things, left the sporadic variation between κ~χ and τ~θ unchanged),¹⁰ there are only a handful of Attic features in consonants: φαρμάπτουσ' in verse 176, καταπλήττους' in 184, γλῶττα in 257 (repeated in the accusative case in verses 295 and 301) and κρείττονα in verse 337.¹¹ How many of these examples are due to carelessness remains a problem that cannot be resolved without an original version written in the author's hand.

3. Prosody and meter

3.1. Prosody

3.1.1. "Attic correption" of syllables

Because *Finlandia* frequently strays away from the epic vocabulary and diction, there are no less than 97 cases of "correption" (rather evenly distributed throughout *Finlandia*),¹² where the sounds βλ, βρ, γλ, γν, γρ, δρ, θρ, κλ, κρ, μν, πλ, πρ, σβ, σκ or σκλ, σμ, σπ, στ or στρ, σχ, τρ, φθ, φλ, φρ, χθ, χλ, and χρ, and even the double consonants ζ, ξ, and ψ, when following a short vowel, do not lengthen preceding syllables. I will begin my list with combinations of consonants and genuine double consonants ζ, ξ, ψ that lengthen preceding syllables in Homer.¹³

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pages 204–207. The changes affect also some capital letters, accentuation and punctuation, *iota subscriptum*, and include five smaller emendations.

¹¹ Cf., on the other hand, the epic Ionic Θέσσαλα, θήσσαας, χαράσσεις, and θάλασσα in verses 151, 214, 323, and 343, respectively.

¹² In Hesiod's *Works and Days* and *Theogony* I have detected only averages of 11 and 8 "correptions", respectively, whereas in the first 379 verses of the *Odyssey* I have detected 13 "correptions".

¹³ The only exception is the double consonant ζ, which does not cause lengthening in two

A) βλαψαμένου and βλάπτεται (both in verse 313); τειχεσιβλήτη (verse 42), στρεβλοῦ (verse 104), and στρεβλαί (verse 126), cf. lengthening in verses 287 and 314.

B) γλυκεῖα (verse 28) and γλωττον (verse 301), both at the beginning of the word.

C) πολυγνάμπτοις (verse 224), cf. lengthening in verses 11, 90, and 318, all inside the word.

D) γρῦπες (verse 181); ἀγρείους (verse 233), cf. lengthening in verses 149, 178, and 224.

E) μνάεσθε (verse 219), cf. lengthening in verses 3, 23, 35, 153, 170, 205, 213, 305, 335, and 370.

F) Σηκικά (verse 349) and σβέννυθι (verse 354), both at the beginning of the word.

G) σμερδαλέον (verses 173 and 311), both at the beginning of the word, cf. lengthening in verses 60, 75, 80, 110, 131, 146, 237, 345, and 365.

H) σπουδή (verse 137) and σπάργανα (verses 245 and 250), both at the beginning of the word, cf. lengthening in verses 3, 12, 21, 72, 274, 306, 311, and 357.

I) στῆσαν (verse 23), στρεβλοῦ (verse 104), στρεβλαί (verse 126), στρατός (verse 357), and στήσας (verse 377), all at the beginning of the word, cf. lengthening in verses 18, 19, 47, 53, 56, 73, 90, 108, 118, 122, 123, 125, 152, 165, 202, 214, 235, 275, 279, 282, 286, 298, 301, 302, 305, 309, 312, 314, 332, 339, 340, and 360.

J) σχεδόν (verse 22), cf. lengthening in verse 280.

K) φθόνω (verse 261), cf. lengthening in verse 66.

L) πολυφλοίσβοιν (verse 54).

M) φρονούσας (verse 326); κακοφράδμονι (verse 136) and ὀρθοφρεσιπλανέος (verse 286), cf. lengthening in verses 22, 52, 73, 75, 78, 81, 106, 134, 280, and 369.

N) χθονός (verse 112), cf. lengthening in verses 128, 171, 260, 346, and 371.

place names, viz. Zakynthos and Zeleia. – The corrected examples listed here begin with cases where the "correction" occurs at the beginning of the word (after the semicolon follow cases where the "correction" occurs within the word itself).

O) ζείδωρος (verse 65), ζεῦγος (verse 80), and ζυγούς (verse 267), cf. lengthening in verses 50, 67, 104, 131, 134, 138, 191, 208, 218, 284, 311, 324, 326, 328, 334, 339, 356, and 369.

P) ξένισσας (verse 21) and ξίφος (verse 70), cf. lengthening in verses 35, 37, 54, 71, 74, 76, 98, 126, 233, 237, 176, 192, 201, 244, 245, 263, 299, 304, 321, 344, 345, 375, 376, and 379.

Q) ψυχήν (verse 109) and ψεῦδος (verse 125), cf. lengthening in verses 21, 95, 187, 190, 194, 215, 240, 254, 272, 284, 289, 313, 325, 341, and 358.

In the following consonant combinations following a short vowel, the syllables are sometimes treated as short by Homer : βρ, δρ, θρ, κλ, κρ, πλ, πρ, σκ or σκλ, τρ, χλ, and χρ:

1) βροτοί (verse 8), βροτῶν (verse 46), βροτούς (verse 77), and βραβεΐα (verse 322), all at the beginning of the word, cf. lengthening in verses 69, 78, 132, 172, 177, 238, 246, 296, and 350.

2) δράκοντες (verse 173), cf. lengthening in verses 80, 167, 170, and 273.

3) θρασύς (verse 4), Θρέμμασι (verse 29), θράσος (verse 32), Θρηκίου (verse 258), and θρέμματα (verse 263); ἀνέθρεψεν (verse 272) and ὑπιθρόνοιο (verse 289), cf. lengthening in verses 14, 114, 122, 131, and 375.

4) κλύει (verse 48) and κλεψινόων (verse 325); παρακλήτορ' (verse 91) and ἀκλύστους (verse 339), cf. lengthening in verses 5, 188, 246, 276, 289, 299, and 374.

5) κρίνεις (verse 325), κρείττονα (verse 337), and κρύβδην (verse 365); Ἴπποκράτης (verse 293) and παντόκρατορ (verse 371), cf. lengthening in verses 9, 116, 280, and 353.

6) πλανητῶν (verse 299) and πλοκάς (verse 304); ἀπλᾶ (verse 94), πολυπλάγκτου (verse 146), καταπλήττουσ' (verse 184), and ὀπλίτης (verse 355), cf. lengthening in verses 25, 251, 254, and 286.

7) προσώποις (verse 266), προσελθέτω (verses 285, 292, and 307), πρόσωπον (verse 324), and πρίν (verse 340); ἄλλοπρόσαλλαι (verse 126) and κοπρίους (verse 234), cf. lengthening in verses 56, 111, and 272.

8) σκελοῖν (verse 54), σκληρύνει (verse 163), σκιούροις (verse 189), σκευῶν (verse 222), Σκύθαι (verse 264), σκοτίζω (verse 334), and σκῆπτρα

(verse 349), all at the beginning of the word, cf. lengthening in verses 69, 83, 84, 175, 184, and 288.

9) τροφός (verse 28), τράφες (verse 33), τραπέζας (verse 131), τρυφῶν (verse 195), τρυφήματα (verse 217), and τραπέζη (verse 218); πατρός (verse 13), πατρίους (verse 83), λυτρωτήν (verse 90), ἄλλοτρίους (verses 92 and 133), Ἀμφιτρωνιάδαο (verse 248), μετρήση (verse 297), πατρίς (verse 333), and κουροτρόφον (verse 352), cf. lengthening in verses 38, 52, 74, 101, 190, 211, 220, 261, 312, and 361.

10) χλευάζουσι (verse 134), cf. lengthening in verses 318 and 374.

11) χρυσοκόμης (verse 272) and Χριστοῦ (verse 284), cf. lengthening in verse 223.

Even though the Greek words with lengthened syllables were not written out here for reasons of space, they often constitute the same words or their derivatives as the non-lengthened ones. It would be interesting to investigate how many of the "Attic correptions" occur in untraditional non-epic contexts. Of the ones with the variation of "correption" and non-correption in the list above, the sounds βλ (five "correptions" against two non-correpted cases), θρ (7:5), κρ (5:4), πλ (6:4), πρ (8:3), σκ (8:7), and τρ (15:10) are more usually correpted than lengthened.

Paulinus' prosody seems to allow a great amount of poetical freedom, but one may ask how many of these had escaped the notice of *Poëseos Professor* Columbus and others. We must also bear in mind that the knowledge of metrics made progress in the following centuries.

3.1.2. Inconsistencies in vowel length

There is occasional fluctuation in vowel length as regards ε/η and ο/ω: verse 26 Περμεσσίδος (instead of Περμησσίδος or the more appropriate Περμησσοῦ) and 141 πωλείτε (probably instead of πολείτε, but for another possible interpretation, see also chapter 5.3. below). I have not normalized the spelling γνοστούς/γνοστήν in verses 357 and 358.

After the Late Antique period it was difficult to know when the vowels α, ι, and υ were to be measured long or short. A look at other examples of Greek verse-making in mid-17th century Sweden shows that Paulinus managed quite well. The following 12 errors in quantity, however, remain:

a) Λαερτιάδου (verse 249), τέχνας (verse 289), and Ἰουστινιανός (verse 293);

b) λιτήν (verse 38), κλίματα (verse 54), Σικελικούς (verse 149), σπίνους (verse 209), κοπρίους (verse 234), ἰκεσίοισι (verse 266), and νυνί (verses 268 and 308);

c) ὕδων (verse 229), ὑμεῖς (verse 262).

3.2. Meter

Paulinus' hexameter features some possibly Latinizing phenomena worth noting. To start with, *Finlandia* has only four spondaic verses, viz. verses 78, 195, 356, and 371, more like in a Latin than in a Greek hexameter poem.¹⁴

The three central caesurae at the beginning of the *Iliad* of Homer, are the κατὰ τρίτον τροχάϊον (around 48%), the πενθημιμερής (around 51%), and the ἑφθημιμερής (between 1–2%).¹⁵ According to my own survey of *Finlandia*, the proportions seem to be different: the κατὰ τρίτον τροχάϊον caesura (11.5%) would be over four times more rare, whereas the ἑφθημιμερής (16.5%) would seem to be much more common than in Homer. Could a part of the reason for this lie in a difference in Latin verse technique rather than in the different ways of assessing caesurae?

4. Morphology

¹⁴ In Hesiod's *Works and Days* and *Theogony* the average number of *versus spondaici* within 379 verses is as high as 24 and 25, and the same amount of text at the beginning of the *Odyssey* provides at least 20 spondaic verses. Cf. the statistics in G.E. Duckworth, *Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry. A Study in Metrical Variety*, Ann Arbor 1969, 3: Aratus has a spondaic in every 6.9 lines, Callimachus' *Hymns* in every 15.1 lines, Homer in every 19.4 lines, whereas Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in every 323.5 lines, Virgil's *Aeneid* has one in every 409.5 lines, (not to mention Horace's *Satires* and *Epistles* in every 4,081 lines). The corresponding numbers would be 15.5 in Hesiod's two major works and around 95 in Paulinus' *Finlandia*. A Duckworth-style study of the sixteen variations of dactylic and spondaic in the first four feet of *Finlandia* will have to be carried out on some other occasion.

¹⁵ Cf. A.J.B. Wace – F.H. Stubbings, *A Companion to Homer*, 1963, 20, written by M. Bowra.

4.1. Nouns

Exceptional forms are rare, and most of them can be understood as having been formed in a more liberal "Humanist" Greek vein: a singular genitive case ἔρας (verse 47, remarkably with an "Attic" vocalism) has been formed from the indeclinable ἔραζε, just as μητιέτου (verse 57) is mentioned as a genitive case of the indeclinable μητίετα in Scapula's dictionary.¹⁶ The plural accusative of the third declension iota stem πόλις is printed for no obvious reason as πόλεας in verse 77 instead of the epic πόλιας (repeated in verse 253). Equally, in verse 152 the epic genitive Ζεφύροι' with elision could be changed into Ζεφύρου without the meter being disturbed. Another unnecessary deviation is the dentalization of the word κρεάτων instead of κρεάων in verse 225. In contrast, the irregular nominative plural ἰχθῶς instead of ἰχθύες in verse 171 and Ἡρακλέος instead of Ἡρακλῆος in verse 246 are both metrically motivated. Three examples of more clearly Attic or *koine* Greek variants are represented by the contracted forms of the reflexive personal pronoun αὐτόν, ἑαυτήν in verses 99 and 117, the genitive singular Ἄιδου instead of Ἀίδος in verse 291, and the genitive plural βασιλέων instead of βασιλήων in verse 344. The metaplasm of ζυγούς instead of ζυγά could also be explained by the meter.

Paulinus and his contemporaries could only do as well as the grammars and dictionaries at their disposal presented the various dialects and variants.

4.2. Verbs

Comments on rather numerous verbal anomalies follow, this time in the order of their appearance in *Finlandia*:

- 1) πέτασασσα (verse 21) instead of a metrically identical πέτασσα;
- 2) ἠλάμεναι (verse 25), when expecting a metrically inconvenient form like ἠληνάμεναι (from the rare verb ἠλαίνομαι, also mentioned in Scapula's *Lexicon*.);

¹⁶ The dictionary of Johann Scapula, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, London 1637, was widely known and used in the University of Turku. "Humanist" Greek dictionaries would deserve a study in their own right.

- 3) ἶον (verse 27) instead of a metrically identical ἴσαν;¹⁷
- 4) λέληφα (verse 32) instead of εἴληφα;¹⁸
- 5) ἔτισκον (verse 83) instead of ἐτίεσκον;¹⁹
- 6) ἄρξεια (verse 140) instead of a metrically identical ἄρξαιμι;
- 7) δυνατός κ' εἶην (verse 142) instead of a metrically identical κε
δουνηθείην;
- 8) ἀυλίζουσα (verse 208) instead of the more appropriate ἀυλοῦσα;
- 9) ἀπείργει (verse 255) instead of ἀποέργει (cf. also ὀνειργεῖν in verse
364);
- 10) θάμισσον (verse 316) with an imperfect ending, changed by me
into θάμισσαν;²⁰
- 11) θέτωσαν (verse 351) instead of the archaic and classical θέντων;
- 12) ἠρύξει (verse 376) belonging to a present stem ἐρεύγομαι;²¹
- 13) βαδίσσει (verse 379) instead of the post-Homeric future βαδιεῖ or
βαδίσεται;

As a last note on verbs, there is no need to excuse the shortened form of the present participle ὄντες in verse 35 because there are at least two similar instances in the *Odyssey*.²²

¹⁷ Cf., however, the forms ἦιον and ἀνήιον in the *Odyssey*, 23.370 and 10.446: taking the first sound for a lengthened augment, a form like ἶον could easily be generated.

¹⁸ A more probable explanation than the analogy of λέληκα, e.g. in Hesiod's *Works and Days* 207, may have been Gezelius' *Grammatica Graeca*, page 15 (τέτυφα, a very rare form of τύπτω), page 20 (λήβω, as if from ἔλαβον), and especially the theme forms of λαγχάνω and λανθάνω with their perfect forms λέληκα and λέληθα on page 36. Note, however, that the standard form εἴληφα would not break the meter: Μοιγ' εἴληφα κτλ.

¹⁹ The standard form ἐτίεσκον would not have broken the meter: πατρίους ἐτίεσκον ἄνακτας κτλ.

²⁰ Cf. Korhonen, T. & Oksala, T. & Sironen, E., Johan Paulinus (Lillienstedt), *Magnus Principatus Finlandia. Suomen Suuriruhtinaskunta*, page 206, with very few other emendations.

²¹ Paulinus seems to have regarded the intransitive aorist ἠρύγε as belonging to a non-existing active present stem ἠρύγω from which he built up the "future" form for his text.

²² Cf. 7.94 (ὄντας) and 19.230 (ὄντες). Gezelius' *Grammatica Graeca* (cf. note 7 above), page 59, simply calls this *prosthesis*.

5. Syntax

5.1. Use of cases

The use of nominative instead of the vocative as Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων in verse 40 is not unparalleled in Greek,²³ but cases like (the obviously Latinizing) "ablative" of comparison ᾧ in verse 95 instead of the appropriate Greek genitive can hardly be excused.

5.2. Prepositional usage

There are two inexplicable identical phrases with double expressions of cause διὰ εἵνεκα μολπῆς (verse 45, repeated as δῶρων διὰ εἵνεκα in verse 325).

5.3. Change of voices

The change of voices seems to be one of the recurrent features of the "Humanist" Greek texts, corroborated by contemporary dictionaries. In verses 140–141 *Finlandia* reads: γεωργοί,/ ... οἱ Φιννονίας πωλεῖτε ἄλωάς, which may be interpreted either as an active variant of the verb πωλέομαι²⁴ or as featuring an irregular form of the verb πολέω,²⁵ with a lengthened vowel. More unequivocal cases occur towards the end of the poem: φαιδρόμεν instead of φαιδροῦσθαι (verse 207), ὑπαλευέμεν instead of ὑπαλεύεσθαι (verse 227), κέλει instead of κέλεται (verse 338), μεγαλίσσομεν instead of μεγαλίσσομεθα (verse 370), and βαδίσσει instead of the non-metric βαδίσεται (verse 379).

In verse 313 there is a single example of the formally medial βλαψαμένου used instead of the regularly passive form βλαφθέντος /βλαβέντος, the former of which would not even break the meter.

²³ Cases such as θεσπίζων instead of the vocative θεσπίζον in verse 311 and ὑψιμέδων instead of ὑψιμέδον in verse 341 are rather similar.

²⁴ According to Scapula's *Lexicon*, the verb means "to sell" and "to turn."

²⁵ According to Scapula's *Lexicon*, the verb means "to turn", "to plow," "to frequent." In favor of this interpretation, cf. also Nicander's *Alexipharmaca*, verse 245: πολέοντες ἀρούρας.

5.4. Irregularities in the use of the moods

More or less probably due to Latin, the subjunctive is sometimes used instead of the indicative. In verse 34 we have a relative clause with subjunctive οἷ ... τόδε λώϊον ἐκτελέσειαν expressing purpose,²⁶ instead of e.g. οἷ ... ἐκτελέουσιν or similar. In indirect questions Latin also used the subjunctive, cf. verses 298–299 ἰδμέναι, οἷσι νόμοις ... κυκλοφορῆ, τίς τάξις ἔη instead of κυκλοφορεῖ ... ἐστί. On the other hand, the Greek optative of indirect discourse is not used either.

It is difficult to see any reason, apart from the meter, why verse 250 uses a subjunctive δύνηται instead of δύναται.

5.5. μή instead of οὐ and vice versa

The use of οὐ and μή (along with words beginning with οὐ and μή) seems to be confused: μήτ' instead of οὔτ' (verse 12), μηδεῖς instead of οὐδεῖς (verse 30), μήτε instead of οὔτε (verse 95, twice in verse 93), as well as μή instead of οὐ (twice in verse 165). Can we safely suppose a further Latin influence in all of these cases? The Latin equivalents *neque*, *ne*, and *nemo* may well be presumed to have served here as the starting points when versifying in Greek. On the other hand, I have detected some examples of the opposite: οὐδ' ὧς (verse 36) instead of μήδ' ὧς, a similar case in verse 223,²⁷ and οὔποτε (verse 66) instead of μήποτε.

6. Modification of Homeric formulae and noun-epithets

On the whole, Homeric formulae appear very rarely, and they are usually modified, e.g. Ὀλύμπια δώματα ἔχειν becomes Ὀλύμπια δώματα ναίειν in line 341. Furthermore, some 17th century forms of epithets persist: τειχεσιβλήτης (verse 42) and γυιοκόρων (verse 63) instead of the modern

²⁶ Cf. the Latin syntax: ..., *qui hoc melius conficerent*.

²⁷ In line 233 the Latin *neque* probably made Paulinus choose οὐδέ instead of μηδέ. Note, however, that my mistaken punctuation and accentuation (οὐδ' ἄρα γ', ὧς οἴου, ἰδιώτας) should now be corrected to οὐδ' ἄρα γ' ὧς οἴου ἰδιώτας.

readings *τειχεσιπλήτης* and *γυιοβόρων*. Slight changes at the end of two epithets occur: instead of *καρχαρόδους* and *ἀγκυλομήτης*, one finds *καρχαρόδων* and *ἀγκυλόμητις*, both in verse 199 – the former combined with *ἄρκτος*, not with a dog, and the latter combined with *ἀλώπηξ*, not with Zeus. The *interpretatio Christiana* abounds: e.g. *μητίετα* is not combined with Zeus, but with *Θεός* in verse 57, and *ὑψίζυγος* goes together with *Χριστός* instead of *Ζεύς* in verse 284. The most pervasive innovation, however, lies in the innovative treatment of the majority²⁸ of noun-epithets into combinations that are either extremely rare or altogether unparalleled in Homer. I will list a selection of modified combinations of epithets from a large number of similar cases:

ἀγαυός: *μνηστῆρες*, heroes etc., not *ἀκρόπολις*, *ἥρωες*, *πόλεμος* κτλ. (cf. verses 116, 242, 252, and 295);

ἀγήνωρ: *θυμός/μνηστῆρες* κτλ., not *κόμπος* (cf. verse 129);

ἀγνός: *Περσεφόνεια/Ἄρτεμις* κτλ., not *μαντεῖον* (cf. verse 318);

αἶθοψ: *οἶνος/χαλκός* κτλ., not *φύλοπις* or *λιμός* (cf. verses 127 and 227);

ἀμβρόσιος: *νύξ/ὑπνος* κτλ., not *παράδεισος* (cf. verse 2);

ἀνθεμόεις: *λειμών/κρητήρ* κτλ., not *ἄγκος* (cf. verse 160);

ἀντίθεος: *ἔταρος*, heroes etc., not *ἀγωγός* (cf. verse 105);

ἀστερόεις: *οὐρανός* κτλ., not *Ὀλυμπος* (cf. verse 47);

δία: *θεάων/γυναικῶν/Καλυψώ*, not *Θέμις* (cf. verse 332);

ἐπιχθόνιος: *ἄνθρωπος/άνήρ/βροτός*, not *λαοί* (cf. verse 346);

ἐρατεινός: of places or *ἀμβροσίη/ὀμηλική* κτλ., not *Μοῦσα* (cf. verse 269);

ἐρικυδής: *τέκνον/υἱός/δαῖς/ἦβη/Λητώ*, not *Λαερτιάδης* (cf. verse 249);

εὐκομος: *Ἀθήνη/Λητώ/Ἑλένη* κτλ., not *ἔαρ* or *σεμίραμις* (cf. verses 1 and 193);

εὐρυμέτωπος: *βοῦς*, not *ταῦρος* (cf. verse 196);

εὐρύς: *οὐρανός/στρατός/νῶτα θαλάσσης/πόντος* κτλ., not *αὖλις* (cf. verse 351);

²⁸ Cf. the notably smaller number of more traditionally used epithets: *αἰγίοχος*, *ἀμύμων*, *ἀρηίφιλος*, *διογενής*, *εὐρυόδεια*, *εὐρύχορος*, *ἠεροειδής*, *μεγάθυμος*, *παιπαλόεις*, *πολύδακρυς*, and *ροδοδάκτυλος*.

εὐστέφανος: Ἀφροδίτη/Ἄρτεμις/Θήβη κτλ., not Δημήτηρ or ἀρετή (cf. verses 42 and 279);

ζάθεος: regularly with names of places, not with αἶνος (cf. verse 32);
ζείδωρος: ἄρουρα, not γαῖα (cf. verse 65);

θεῖος: various heroes, not στόμα, ἀνγαί, νόος, or ἄνδρες (cf. verses 256, 277, 288, and 302);

θοός: νηῦς/νύξ/Ἄρης κτλ., not κῦμα or μοῖρα (cf. verses 172 and 271);

θρασύς: Ἔκτωρ/χείρ/πόλεμος κτλ., not θυμός (cf. verse 4);

ιερός: ἑκατόμβη, ἴς, μένος κτλ., not ῥέεθρον, ὕδωρ, μουσοπόλος, πέδον, or κύρτωμα (cf. verses 14, 26, 30, 241, 359, and 375);

κεδνός: ἀμφίπολος/ἄλοχος/μήτηρ κτλ., not πάτρη, σπάργανα, or ἀσκήματα (cf. verses 52, 250, and 288);

κλειτός: ἑκατόμβη/ἐπικούροι κτλ., not Δαναοί (cf. verse 301);

κρατερῶνυξ: ἵππος/ἡμίονος/λύκος, not γῦψ (cf. verse 181);

λευγαλέος: πτωχός/θάνατος κτλ., not μέριμνα (cf. verse 205);

μεγαλήτωρ: usually with a hero or θυμός, not παῖς (cf. verse 58);

μελιηδής: οἶνος/θυμός/καρπός κτλ., not εὐφροσύνη, ὕδωρ, or φιλία (cf. verses 1, 274, and 294);

ὄβριμος: ἔγχος/Ἄρης/Ἔκτωρ κτλ., not ἔργον, στρατός, or ἴμερος (cf. verses 69, 78, and 296);

περικαλλής: δίφρος/δέπας κτλ., not πηγαί (cf. verse 154);

πολυβότεια: χθών/Ἀχαιίς, not τίφος (cf. verse 191);

πολυγηθής: ὄραι, not Βάκχος (cf. verse 41)

πολυήρατος: Θήβη/ἠβη/εὐνή/γάμος, not γαῖα (cf. verse 17);

πολύφλοισβος: θάλασσα, not σκέλος (cf. verse 54);

στονόεις: βέλος/οἰστός κτλ., not νηῦς (cf. verse 338);

ὑσιπέτης: αἰετός, not τέτραξ (cf. verse 190);

χαροπός: λέων, not σκίουρος (cf. verse 189);

ψολόεις: κεραυνός, not ἔχιδνα (cf. verse 175);

ὠκύπους: ἵππος, not λάγως (cf. verse 189);

ὠκύς: Ἀχιλλεύς/ἵππος/νηῦς κτλ., not Βορυσθένης (cf. verse 15).

7. Imitation of ancient Greek literature

As was mentioned above, the ideological and part of the compositional background of the poem lies in *laus Italiae* of Virgil's *Georgica*.

Nevertheless, reading through Greek dactylic poetry has revealed that Paulinus' baroque *imitatio* concerned itself primarily with Hesiod. *Gnomologia*, a collection of Greek verse citations built around Latin topic words arranged in alphabetical order and published a generation before Paulinus' poem, is an obvious source, with some two dozen quotations from it.²⁹ On the whole, the borrowings concentrate much more on Hesiod's *Works and Days*,³⁰ than the *Theogony*,³¹ followed by less numerous – partly merely lexical – random borrowings from Homer's *Iliad*³² and *Odyssey*,³³ Callimachus' *Hymns*,³⁴ Pseudo-Phocylides,³⁵ Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*,³⁶ the *Batrachomyomachia*,³⁷ Theocritus,³⁸ and other minor sources of inspiration.³⁹ The ancient Greek sources of inspiration can be found, as they

²⁹ In the following footnotes 30–39, the underlining marks the more obvious 23 loans from J. & N. Salanus' *Gnomologia*, Uppsala 1656.

³⁰ For a kind of *index locorum*, cf. *Works and Days*, verses 23, 28, 50, 66, 90–91, 112, 113, 115, 117–118, 119, 134–136, 145–146, 170, 172–173, 195–196, 199–200, 203, 207, 221, 225, 227, 228–229, 230, 237, 243, 258, 267–268, 283, 363, 381, 382, 405–406, 473, 494–495, 525, 563, 568, 573, 580, 582, 583, 584, 591, 595–596, 608, 614, 638, 656, 658–659, 662, 664, 671–673, 686–687, 702–703, 767, and 815.

³¹ Cf. *Theogony*, verses 5, 27–28, 61, 88–89, 98–103, 139–140 (=501a), 226–232, 317–318, 525, 529, 565, 746, 825, 941, and 996.

³² Cf. the *Iliad*, verses 1.530, 2.309, 2.488–490, 2.617, 2.729, 2.825, 2.845, 3.165, 3.277, 3.446 (=14.328), 4.125, 4.166, 5.508, 6.171, 6.418, 7.69, 8.199, 8.483, 9.480, 11.544, 12.201, 12.313, 13.589, 13.822, 15.58, 16.387, 17.448, 17.549–550, 18.185, 18.554–555, and 22.487.

³³ Cf. the *Odyssey*, verses 1.142, 3.293–294, 3.366–367, 4.237, 8.28–29, 8.80–81, 8.551, 10.357, 11.109, 10.511, 11.328–330, 12.323, 13.238–241, 14.444–445, 16.447, 17.209–210, 19.172–173, 19.516–518, and 20.243.

³⁴ Cf. *Apollo*, verse 2; *Delus*, verses 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26–27, and 152; and *Diana*, verse 73.

³⁵ Cf. verses 10, 15, 42, 81, 155, and 211. This author was one of the three ethical poets (along with Pseudo-Pythagoras and Theognis, cf. below) included in a school set book printed in Dorpat in 1646 and republished in Turku in 1676. The relatively most frequent borrowings are from these three authors from *Gnomologia*, which indicates that Paulinus knew them well.

³⁶ Cf. 2.335, 4.275–280, 4.332, 9.173–174, 14.112, and 16.185.

³⁷ Cf. *Batrachomyomachia*, verses 4, 11, 37, 121, 188, and 286.

³⁸ Cf. Theocritus, 1.61, 1.69, 4.22, 7.68, and 8.63.

³⁹ Cf. *Homeric Hymns* 3.252+292, 5.78, 32.3 and 34.4–5; Theognis, 1.7, 1.714, 1.993, and 1.1023; Oppian, *Cynegetica*, 1.68, 1.441, 2.100–102, and 3.268; Pseudo-Pythagoras,

occur within *Finlandia*, at the end of the recently published commentary.⁴⁰ Apart from around 15 possible borrowings from Paulinus' own earlier Greek poems and Andreas Thermaenius' still unpublished *Metrica oratio de praestantia et utilitate linguae Graecae* from 1668,⁴¹ possible further borrowings from other contemporary Greek verse orations must await study.

8. Some lexicographical notes

I will concentrate on some of the more noteworthy examples of the ca. 1,200 different words used in *Finlandia*.⁴² It would seem that about every fourth word is post-Homeric which shows how much Paulinus wanted to move away from Homer.⁴³

The change in meanings would deserve a study in its own right. I will give only one example of this. In line 238 the famous family of Kurck, patrons of Paulinus (along with ἄγγελοι in verse 350) are eulogized with the adjective ὀβριμοεργός. In the late 17th century, the word apparently had no

verses 31 and 35; Moschus, frg. 1.11–12; Oppian, *Halieutica*, 1.728; Tyrtaeus, 12.7–8; finally Xenophanes, *Περὶ φύσιος*, frg. 24.

⁴⁰ Korhonen, T. & Oksala, T. & Sironen, E., Johan Paulinus (Lillienstedt), *Magnus Principatus Finlandia. Suomen Suuriruhtinaskunta*, pages 119–126.

⁴¹ Cf. *Finnische Nationalbibliographie 1488–1700* (ed. by T.Laine - R.Nyqvist, Helsinki 1996), no. 2766 (*Νυμφίδιον Κάυχημα*), from the year 1675, verses 1, 3, and 4; *op. cit.*, no. 3976 from the year 1675 (Paulinus' congratulation), verses 2, 4, 12, 14, and 16–17; Korhonen, T. & Oksala, T. & Sironen, E., Johan Paulinus (Lillienstedt), *Magnus Principatus Finlandia. Suomen Suuriruhtinaskunta*, pages 196 and 198 (*Ἐπινίκιος παιάν*), from the year 1676, verses 6, 7, 17, 19, 23 and 27. Borrowings from Thermaenius' poem are cited in *op. cit.*, page 127: verses 34, 104, 111–114, 123–124, and 149–150.

⁴² For a full index of the Greek vocabulary of *Finlandia*, see *op. cit.*, pages 236–250, arranged along the principles of Liddell-Scott-Jones' *Greek-English Lexicon*.

⁴³ A comparison with a 97-verse humorous epic by a student against his professor (*Ἡ ἀνάκρισις ἀκαδημαϊκῆ. Ἔπος γελοῖον*, edited by H.Zilliacus in *Samlade skrifter av Johan Ludvig Runeberg* [general editors G.Tideström – C.-E.Thors] VIII.1. *Uppsatser och avhandlingar på latin*, Helsingfors 1969) by the future national poet J.L.Runeberg some 150 years after *Finlandia* may be out of place here because it was composed in an altogether different genre: its post-Homeric vocabulary is even less than 10%, with many of the formulae unmodified. This could be explained by the fact that Runeberg had just finished reading Homer for an examination, and, on the other hand, by a supposition that his era seems to have esteemed Homer and the classical canon more highly than 17th century orthodox Lutheranism.

bad connotations, as it is documented in two Byzantine lexica,⁴⁴ one contemporary lexicon,⁴⁵ and a commentary.⁴⁶

Paulinus makes use of several rare words, e.g. θειοκτόνος (verse 20),⁴⁷ ὑπέρολβος (verses 72 and 85),⁴⁸ οὐρανογεΐτων (verse 113),⁴⁹ ἐγερσιγύνη (verse 130),⁵⁰ ῥίγιος (verse 175),⁵¹ ὀρθοφρεσιπλανής and βιβλιοθεοφυγίας (verses 286 and 287).⁵² Even though there are as many as 59 Homeric *hapax legomena*,⁵³ Paulinus may not be expected to have had a list of them or an intention to use them as a way to show off his erudition.

44 *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* (ed. Latte, vol. II, page 733) ἰσχυρὰ ἢ μεγάλα ἐργαζόμενος ἔργα, μεγαλοπράγμων. and *Suidae Lexicon* (ed. Adler, part III, page 506) ὁ μεγάλα ἔργα ποιῶν.

45 J. Scapula's *Lexicon* (1637): "magna & ardua facinora edens."

46 C. Schrevelius explains the word in his commentary on Hesiod (1658) as follows: "fortium facinorum patrator."

47 I have been unable to find this word (or θεοκτόνος) in any dictionary.

48 The word can be found in Stephanus' dictionary; in Scapula's *Lexicon* the meaning was "exceedingly happy or rich."

49 Scapula's *Lexicon* lists ἄγρο-, ἄλι-, ἄστρο-, ἄστυ-, and ποταμογεΐτων.

50 Possibly Paulinus knew Poliziano's epigram no. LVII (numeration of A. Ardizzoni's edition from the year 1951).

51 According to Scapula's *Lexicon*, the meaning was "cold."

52 As Tua Korhonen has shown in Korhonen, T. & Oksala, T. & Sironen, E., Johan Paulinus (Lillienstedt), *Magnus Principatus Finlandia. Suomen Suuriruhtinaskunta*, pages 110–111, Martin Crucius' epigram against monks from the 1550's includes almost identical compound adjectives among its 23 lengthy compound words.

53 Cf. s.v. ἀγαιομαι, ἀηδών, ἄθυμος, ἀμηχανία, ἀμφιπέλομαι, ἀνθέω, βαρύθω, βρίζω, βῶλος, δεῖμα, Δήλος, διάγω, δίζω, δυσθαλπής, εὐτειχής, εὐχή, ζεῦγος, ἠδυεπής, ἠλύσιος, ἠμίθεος, ἠσυχία, θεόθεν, θεραπεύω, θράσος, Ἰαπετός, καταπλήσσω, καῦμα, κλωμακόεις, κοίτη, κόρυμβος, κουροτρόφος, κύαμος, λαθικηδής, λίγξε, λίθαξ, μαντεῖον, μελίγηρυς, μεταξύ, μετρέω, μηδεῖς, ὄνο(σ)τός, Πανέλληνες, πενία, περιτρέχω, πλήν, πλόκαμος, πολυγηθής, σέβομαι, σκέλος, σοφία, στάχυς, τοξοφόρος, τράγος, ὕμνος, ὑπαλεύομαι, ὑψικάρηνος, ὑώικερος, φαρμάσσω, φύσις, and χαροπός. The distribution from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is very even, somewhat less so within their various songs; the *hapax legomena* are centered slightly more around the central part of *Finlandia*. More importantly, only one of the *hapax legomena* has clearly been taken from Homer's text: verse 223 = *Iliad* 13.223 (κύαμοι μελανόχροες).

The most numerous derivatives and compound words begin with αἰολο-,⁵⁴ δυσ-,⁵⁵ εὐρυ-,⁵⁶ ἡδυ-,⁵⁷ θεο-,⁵⁸ κακο-,⁵⁹ καλλι-,⁶⁰ λιγ(α)-/λιγυ-,⁶¹ μεγα-,⁶² παν-,⁶³ πολυ-,⁶⁴ τρυφα/η-,⁶⁵ and ὑψ(ι)-.⁶⁶ Almost equally popular ending elements are -ειδής,⁶⁷ -θυμος,⁶⁸ -νοος/-νοια,⁶⁹ -πορος,⁷⁰ -σύνη,⁷¹ and -φρων.⁷² Paulinus obviously had a penchant for neuter derivatives ending in -μα because there are 32 of them,⁷³ while Homer has only 65

⁵⁴ Cf. s.v. αἰολόδερμος, αἰολόνωτος, and αἰολόφωνος.

⁵⁵ Cf. s.v. δύσαυλος, δυσθαλπής, and δύστηνος.

⁵⁶ Cf. s.v. εὐρυθέμεθλος, εὐρυμέτωπος, εὐρυόδεια, εὐρυτενής, and εὐρύχορος.

⁵⁷ Cf. s.v. ἡδυεπής, ἡδύλογος, and ἡδυλύρης.

⁵⁸ Cf. s.v. θεοκτόνος, θεολογία, θεόπεμπτος, θεόσοφος, and θεουδής.

⁵⁹ Cf. s.v. κακότης, κακοφράδμων, κακόφρων, κακόχαρτος, and κακώω.

⁶⁰ Cf. s.v. καλλιθέμεθλος, κάλλιμος, καλλιπέτηλος, and καλλίρροος.

⁶¹ Cf. s.v. λίγα, λίγξε, λιγυηχής, and λιγυρός.

⁶² Cf. s.v. μεγάθυμος, μεγαλήτωρ, and μεγαλίζω.

⁶³ Cf. s.v. πάγχρυσος, πάγχυ, παμβασίλεια, παμμήτωρ, πάμπαν, πάμπολυς, παμφάγος, παναγής, Πανέλληνες, πάνσκοπος, παντλήμων, παντοδαπός, παντοῖος, and παντοκράτωρ.

⁶⁴ Cf. s.v. πολυβότειρος, πολυγηθής, πολύγναμπτος, πολύδακρυς, πολυήρατος, πολυῖστωρ, πολύκαρπος, πολυπενθής, πολύπλαγκτος, πολύς, πολυστέλεχος, πολύτεκνος, and πολύφλοισβος.

⁶⁵ Cf. s.v. τρυφάω, τρυφερός, and τρύφημα.

⁶⁶ Cf. s.v. ὑπερεφής, ὑψίζυγος, ὑψιθόωκος, ὑψίθρονος, ὑψικάρηνος, ὑψίκερωσ, ὑψιμέδων, and ὑψιπέτης.

⁶⁷ Cf. s.v. ἀειδής, ἡεροειδής, πορφυροειδής, and τροχοειδής.

⁶⁸ Cf. s.v. μεγάθυμος, μειλιχόθυμος, and ὄβριμόθυμος.

⁶⁹ Cf. s.v. θελξίνοος, κλεψίνοος, ανδ ὁμόνοια.

⁷⁰ Cf. s.v. ἄπορος, εὐπορος, and νυκτίπορος.

⁷¹ Cf. s.v. ἀδروسύνη, εἰκαισύνη, and εὐφροσύνη.

⁷² Cf. s.v. κακόφρων, πινυτόφρων, πρόφρων, and σόφρων.

⁷³ Cf. αἶμα, ἄμμα, ἄσκημα, ἄσμα, βῆμα, γλαύκωμα, δεῖμα, δῶμα, εἶμα, ἔργμα, θαῦμα, θέλημα, θρέμμα, ἰδίωμα, καῦμα, κλίμα, κῦμα, κύρτωμα, μίμημα, νᾶμα, νόημα, ὄμμα, ὄνομα, ὀχύρωμα, στέμμα, στόμα, σῶμα, τέρμα, τέχνασμα, τρύφημα, χρῆμα, ανδ ψεῦσμα, more than half of which (the underlined ones) are post-

examples,⁷⁴ only double the amount in a vocabulary that is roughly nine times larger than that of *Finlandia*.

9. Conclusion

The whole genre of Baroque Greek verse orations should be studied thoroughly before any statement on the Greek usage in them may be formulated. As regards *Finlandia*, however, the following observations are basic: phonological, prosodical, and morphological phenomena reflect a liberal and flexible attitude towards the epic language, although it cannot be determined how much of this was simply overlooked in the process of finishing the printed oration. Syntax, on the other hand, is influenced by Latin (especially in the use of sunjunctive) more thoroughly than expected; partly lexicography (every fourth word is post-Homeric), but especially the change of voices shows that the latest periods were utilized in the creation of this Baroque eulogy.

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⁷⁴ The words are listed in the second edition of E.Risch, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*, 1974, 51. On the other hand, P.Kretschmer – E.Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* lists around 3,000 examples of words ending in -ma.