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## Greek occasional poetry from the Swedish Empire

### The case of Josef Thun

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# Greek occasional poetry from the Swedish Empire

*The case of Josef Thun*

JOHANNA AKUJÄRVI



**H**UMANIST GREEK TEXTS, that is, texts written by western scholars in an archaizing Greek modelled on canonical works of Ancient and early Christian Greek literature, and their contexts, constitute a growing field of study in Sweden and beyond.<sup>1</sup> The project *Helleno-Nordica: The Humanist Greek Heritage of the Swedish Empire* is an important part of this trend, as it unites researchers from Sweden, Finland and Estonia to study the common cultural and educational heritage of these countries through the filter of the study and use of the Greek language, literature, sciences and history.<sup>2</sup> Humanist Greek was used in most of the genres of literature for which Neo-Latin was the first choice of language. The context is exclusively, or nearly so, educational or academic. It is a hypothesis that Greek, unlike Neo-Latin, was a marked choice in a nearly completely Latin environment. The overall aim of the research project is to better understand the uses of the ancient Greek past and language underlying the textual production by assembling a representative and transnational – though centred on the geographical area of the Swedish Empire – body of Humanist Greek source materials and other sources and by studying the Humanist Greek text production in its social, educational, literary and ideological contexts.

The following is an early report from the Swedish subproject, in two parts. First, the types of texts that were written in Humanist Greek are described and problems of finding them are discussed. Next, the study focuses on one of the

most productive and at one time much admired Swedish authors of Greek poetry, viz. Josef Thun (Josephus Thunius), or Θουνιάδης as he called himself on occasion when writing Greek; he wrote also Latin and Swedish poetry.<sup>3</sup> As a Greek poet he had an unusually good sense of form and grasp of the language, was uncommonly productive, and continued to write throughout his life. The purpose of the survey is not to engage in literary analyses of Thun's poems but to give an idea of the place of Greek poetry in his life. That he is (nearly completely) forgotten as an author is emblematic of the situation of Humanist Greek.<sup>4</sup>

### Searching for an unknown quantity of texts

In order to achieve its aims, an essential objective of Helleno-Nordica is to find and record all Humanist Greek texts produced in and by learned individuals from the Swedish Empire.<sup>5</sup> This means, in practice, that we do our utmost to localize as many texts – in manuscript, print or inscription – as possible. The Humanist Greek texts will be recorded in a HUG-Database both for internal use by project members and to create an open online bibliographic database of Humanist Greek texts from the Swedish Empire. The database is expandable, and it is our hope that bibliographies of other areas can be added later.

Much of what was written in Greek was occasional poetry, commemorating deaths, weddings, birthdays, and in particular academic events, viz. dissertations, degree ceremonies, promotions and the like at the academies and gymnasia of the realm. There are also other types of texts, such as wholly Greek dissertations, orations, applications for scholarships, rectorial addresses to students and academic staff. These are also for the most part texts written for very specific occasions.

Our knowledge of how much and what specific Greek texts were printed in different parts of the Swedish Empire is uneven. Thanks in part to good bibliographical tools,<sup>6</sup> but mainly to the previous studies of project participants, we have knowledge of about 400 Humanist Greek texts from or by scholars in Finland, and about 200 from and by scholars in Swedish Estonia and Swedish Livonia, with the Royal Academy of Turku (Åbo) and the Academia Gustaviana, later Academia Gustavo-Carolina, in Tartu (Dorpat) as important centres of activity. Continued searches in libraries and archives may yield some new texts, but it is unlikely that the figures will rise much.<sup>7</sup>

In the geographical area corresponding to modern-day Sweden, less is known about the situation. There are no previous modern studies to build on, nor any comparable bibliographical tools. Swedish occasional poetry is not registered in any separate bibliography and it is not included in Collijn's bibliography of Swedish seventeenth-century prints.<sup>8</sup> Nor are the eighteenth- or nineteenth-century catalogues of dissertations of Swedish universities and gymnasia helpful.<sup>9</sup> However, Lidén's *Catalogus disputationum* does record when a dissertation is written in Greek or Hebrew – the latter an even rarer occurrence. For instance, in the case of Henrik Ausius' dissertation on the education of youth, defended by Petrus Rezander,<sup>10</sup> Lidén informs us that the dissertation is written in Greek and was defended in the presence of Queen Christina, but there is no mention of the Greek dedication to the Queen by the respondent or of the gratulatory Greek elegiac verses addressed by the praeses to the respondent or of the Latin address to the respondent by Johann Freinsheim, professor at Uppsala, *historiographus regni* and royal librarian.<sup>11</sup> In contrast, Vallinkoski's bibliography of the dissertations of Turku Academy informs of all paratexts and the languages they are written in.<sup>12</sup>

However, two late eighteenth-century dissertation series from Uppsala University are essential guides in this search for unknown texts by unknown authors. Eric Michael Fant's *Historiola Litteraturae Graecae in Svecia* with supplement, and Matthias Floderus' *De poetis in Svio-Gothia Graecis* give valuable information on a large number of authors and texts, and, more importantly, on what types of texts to search for.<sup>13</sup>

Eric Michael Fant (1754–1817) was to become professor of history in Uppsala; his gradual advancement from student to professor can be followed on the title pages of this series.<sup>14</sup> Fant defended the first two parts under the presidency of Johan(nes) Floderus, professor of Greek, one *pro exercitio*, the other *pro gradu*; he was the praeses at the defence of the remaining parts. Inspired by the vindication of Swedish merits in the area of Greek studies, as he puts it, published by Olof Plantin 1736 in Wittenberg,<sup>15</sup> Fant's study develops the very summary presentation and gives details to the often bare lists of names of learned Swedes with some claim to Greek learning found in Plantin. Fant's study consists of a series of chronologically ordered biographical sketches of about 120 Swedes who were distinguished by their Greek learning until the end of the seventeenth century, supplemented with forty names from the eighteenth century. When possible, he stresses the support to and interest in Greek

studies of royalty, nobility, and renowned learned men; thus he devotes long sections to Queen Christina and Olof Rudbeck.<sup>16</sup> Fant presents the progress of Greek learning, both pagan and New Testament, in Sweden, through the biographies of learned men – Queen Christina and Wendela Skytte are the only women portrayed.<sup>17</sup> In each biography he gives a brief account of the person's education and career, citing in particular Greek text editions and/or studies on ancient or New Testament philology (mostly in the form of university dissertations), as well as Greek texts written by them.

Matthias Floderus (1766–1822) also defended the two first parts of his dissertation series under the presidency of the same professor, Johan Floderus, who was his father, the first *pro exercitio*, the second *pro gradu*, after which he changed roles and became the praeses.<sup>18</sup> It is noteworthy that both dissertation series began with Johan Floderus, but were written by the young scholars themselves. Floderus builds on Fant, perhaps even using Fant's collection of biographical details, prints, and manuscripts – *inter alia* a large number of Greek dissertations for the gymnasium and a Greek metrical oration written by the future professor of Greek at Uppsala University, Laurentius Norrmanus, when he was still a schoolboy – still preserved in Uppsala University library.<sup>19</sup> Floderus' main interest is Greek poetry by Swedes. He adopts Fant's chronological and biographical arrangement, selects twenty-four men whose poetry he finds most interesting and quotes and comments on the poetry that is only mentioned by Fant; in essence this is an anthology of Humanist Greek until the early eighteenth century. In the short preface Floderus explains that selectivity is necessary for both qualitative and quantitative reasons:

ea enim ferbuit olim versificandi mania, ut nullum ferme prodierit Academicum Specimen, cui non Graecos versus adleverint Studiosi, quos omnes si in Poëtarum numerum referremus, maximum certe injuriam illis faceremus

(At that time such a mania for versification raged, that hardly one academic specimen was printed for which students did not set up Greek verses. If we were to record all these in the band of poets, we would certainly do them great injustice.<sup>20</sup>)

In other words, there were too many too bad poets to make a comprehensive study of Swedish Greek poetry. Anyone working with the material will agree with Floderus, and notice that students are indeed a large category of authors.

However, even if the single Greek texts produced by every author are not interesting for their linguistic or literary qualities, they contribute to the understanding of the phenomenon. Therefore it is important to assemble as many texts as possible, not only the best specimens.

Fant's and Floderus' studies are old but valuable. They cite about 500 texts from the whole Swedish Empire. To date, Helleno-Nordica has records of more than 2,000 texts, that is, about 1,400 from Sweden proper in addition to the approximately 400 from Finland and 200 from Estonia/Livonia. The figure for Sweden is likely to grow with several hundreds of texts. Additionally, Fant and Floderus list authors and works and give crucial indications of where to search. They confirm that the most common types of Humanist Greek texts are occasional poetry, and that the Humanist Greek text production had a strong academic character.

In quantitative terms the Humanist Greek text production is much smaller than that in either of the two large languages Latin or Swedish, and for that reason it is expected that the corpus of Swedish Humanist Greek occasional poetry will be manageable, even allowing for a comprehensive study of the phenomenon. The great difficulty is finding the texts. Without bibliographies, and often not knowing who wrote what to whom, when and where, the collections and single prints have to be searched through for texts. Searches in the collections of occasional poetry in the Swedish national library – Östen Hedin's inventory, indispensable for anyone interested in the smaller languages, records 229 occasions of commemoration using Greek, but the number of Greek texts is doubtlessly higher since one print often contains more than one (Greek) text – the university libraries of Uppsala and Lund, and other, minor collections, with a focus on Greek texts have shown that, though many prints are preserved in more than one collection, many are not, so for comprehensiveness these very large collections need to be leafed through.

Gratulations to students for defending a dissertation are mostly found in the dissertations but have sometimes been torn out and assembled in collections like the one made by Samuel Älf (1727–1799), teacher, dean, Latin poet and ardent collector, and donated to the Linköping diocesan library. Älf intended to edit Neo-Latin poetry of the Swedish Empire, and though the edition was not realized, his collection of *Carmina Svecorum Poëtarum Latina a seculo XVI:o* in eight thick quarto and thirty-eight massive folio volumes (with a large number of supplementary volumes, called “variorum varia”) is a veritable goldmine

for students of Swedish Neo-Latin poetry. Älf has also included Greek poems by Neo-Latin poets in the collection to some extent.<sup>21</sup> Some of the Greek texts in the Älf collection are unica, like the two autograph manuscripts of poetic addresses to Fredrik I by Eric Tunelius (Tuneld),<sup>22</sup> or the manuscript by Thun that will be discussed below.

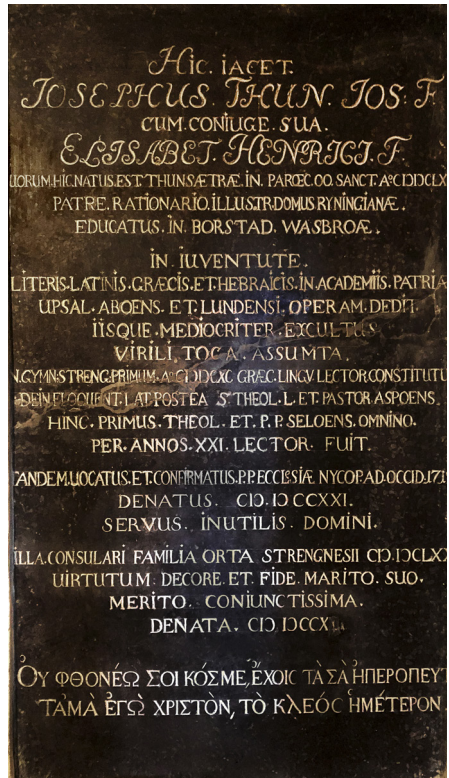
Dissertations constitute yet another big mass of volumes that have to be leafed through. Congratulations for obtaining a degree, for promotions, for orations – and the orations themselves – are sometimes found in the collections of occasional poetry, but also in other parts of the libraries' collections. However, the biggest practical problem is caused by Greek gratulations and/or dedications published in books, since these cannot be as conveniently ordered *en masse* as, for instance, dissertations can.

The peak of Humanist Greek text production in Sweden was the late seventeenth century, but texts are found from throughout the eighteenth century. Greek texts were still written and published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These will be recorded in the HUG-database when/if found, though the chronological focus of the Helleno-Nordica project is the Swedish Empire. When finished, the database will give a unique general view of the Humanist Greek text production of the geographical area of the Swedish Empire.

### Josef Thun

Josef Thun was born in Tunsäter a short distance from Nyköping in May 1661. He attended school and gymnasium in Strängnäs, where he made great progress in Latin and Greek.<sup>23</sup> After a short stay at Uppsala University (1679), he studied at the Academy of Turku (Åbo) 1679–1682; Latin, Greek and Hebrew were his main subjects, as he stresses on his tombstone. He spent a large part of the 1680s at the newly founded Lund University tutoring the sons of nobility. In 1688 he was appointed *lector poëseos* at Strängnäs gymnasium, but did not leave Lund until 1690 when he was made *lector* of the Greek language; in 1694 he took orders and eventually advanced to first *theologiae lector* and pastor. He was offered professorships of theology at the academies of both Pärnu and Turku, but declined under the pretext of failing health. He did not leave Strängnäs until 1712 when he was offered the position of dean of the western parish in Nyköping; there he remained until his death in August 1721.

In the year of Thun's death an *Elogium Josephi Thunii* was printed in the *Acta*



**EPITAPH** commemorating Josef Thun and his wife in Strängnäs cathedral. After a short biographical resumé of their lives written in Latin, Thun adds an elegiac couplet in Greek. (Photo: Catharina Fröjd.)

*literaria Sveciae*, a short-lived periodical on Swedish literary, scholarly and scientific news with international aspirations.<sup>24</sup> The anonymous author outlines Thun's biography and praises his erudition, language skills and poetry; in conclusion he lists some of Thun's works – orations and dissertations published during his service as teacher at the gymnasium as well as the collection of Latin and Greek poetry that he published already in 1682,<sup>25</sup> and unpublished manuscripts with not only Greek but also Latin and Swedish poetry. Finally, he quotes the elegiac distichs that Thun intended for his grave, still to be seen on the wall of Strängnäs Cathedral:

Οὐ φθονέω σοι κόσμε, ἔχεις τὰ σὰ ἡπεροπευτά<sup>26</sup>  
 Τὰμὰ ἐγὼ Χριστόν, τὸ κλέος ἡμέτερον.

(I do not envy you, world, you may have what is yours, you cheat. I may have what is mine, Christ, our glory.<sup>27</sup>)



After a lifetime of teaching – at school and in church – Thun continued to further the studies of the youth even after his death by donating (parts of) his book collection to the Strängnäs Cathedral Library, for the express benefit of the students at the gymnasium. The consistory decided that this substantial donation of 278 items, some of which consisted of more than one volume, would benefit the students best if it was to be turned into the cornerstone of a gymnasium library independent of the cathedral library. In time the *bibliotheca Thuniana* was integrated into the growing gymnasium library, but in the 1970s the donation was inventoried, sorted out from the rest of the collection that today forms the Rogge library, and placed separately in the stores. In the nearly 250 years that have passed, only 64 items of the donation have been lost, either sold as duplicates or simply missing.<sup>28</sup>

The catalogue of the donation gives valuable insight into what books Thun had in his library, though two factors create uncertainty. He did not donate all his books, and an unknown quantity was lost in the devastating fire of 1719 (see below).<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, in what was donated, theology is well represented with the bible in Hebrew (OT), Greek (Septuagint and NT), Latin (the Vulgate, Erasmus' translation as well as that of Theodorus Beza), French, and English, as well as with Bible commentaries, lexica, and much other theological literature; so is Greek and Latin philology with a considerable amount of text editions of ancient Greek and Latin authors, as well as collections of more contemporary authors of (Humanist) Greek and (Neo-)Latin poetry, such as those of Daniel and Nicolaus Heinsius, Hugo Grotius, Martin Opitz, Conrad Samuel Schurtzfleisch, as well as Marcus Musurus' ode in Plato and Laurentius Rhodomannus' brief history of the church.<sup>30</sup> There are also lexica and grammars of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. The donation contains a considerable amount of Swedish prints but consists mostly of books printed on the European continent. Most are in Latin or Greek, but there are also some in French, German and Swedish, as well as one in 'American-Virginian' – a translation of the catechesis printed in Stockholm, a reminder of Sweden's colonial enterprise in the New World in the seventeenth century.<sup>31</sup> Of his own hand he only included the biography of Eric Palmskiöld,<sup>32</sup> but none of his own Greek writings, except for the occasional gratulatory Greek paratext,<sup>33</sup> and the Greek epigram that went with the donation:

Στρεγγήσου Μούσαις τῶν βιβλῶν τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε  
Θουσιάδης θήκην τήν ἐο μνημοσύνην.<sup>34</sup>

(To the Muses of Strängnäs this collection of books was dedicated by Thouniades, a remembrance of him.)

In this epigram, as well as the epitaph in Strängnäs Cathedral, Thun commemorates events having to do with his own (after)life. However, most of his Greek poems were occasional poems written to commemorate and honour benefactors, friends and colleagues. The earliest of Thun's printed Greek compositions is, as we know to date, a *propemptikon* that he wrote to Johannes Gezelius Jr. in 1681 when the latter was leaving Turku Academy for a position as *superintendens* in the diocese of Narva and Ingria, the last, or at least the ones for the latest occasions, are the two above-mentioned epigrams for his own grave and book donation.

Unlike many Swedish authors of Greek, Thun appears to have had a continuous interest in expressing himself in Greek, as well as in Latin and Swedish.<sup>35</sup> However, given the early stages of the Helleno-Nordica project, this observation may need to be corrected later. And, unlike many authors of occasional poetry,<sup>36</sup> even after being settled in a good position he continued to write both poetry clearly intended for specific occasions and poems that were for more intimate occasions or for no apparent occasions.

In addition to the above mentioned *propemptikon*, Thun wrote and published a substantial amount of Greek occasional poems directed either at fellow students, colleagues, or (social) superiors, including royalty. His funerary poems, wedding gratulation, gratulation to a magister for obtaining the degree can be found in the regular collections of occasional poetry. But he also wrote a number of congratulations to students for doing their public defence and to authors for publishing books. These were printed as paratexts in the dissertations and books, respectively, as were the dedicatory verses that preface the dissertation that he presented *pro munere* at the consistory of the diocese of Strängnäs before being promoted to *lector* of Greek. All known poems by Thun are listed in the appendix to this contribution.

The forty elegiac verses congratulating Samuel Pufendorf, then *historiographus regni*, for publishing the *Commentarii de rebus Suecicis* from Gustavus Adolphus' campaigns in Germany until the abdication of his daughter and successor Queen Christina, undoubtedly gained the widest circulation of the poems by

his hand. Not only was Pufendorf's history a European publication, but it – with paratexts – saw a second, corrected and augmented, printing, too.<sup>37</sup> Thun's gratulation praises Pufendorf for his achievement by extolling his choice of subject matter and the common topos of the importance of a historian's work for remembering the deeds of excellence of great men. But he begins on a sombre note by reminding of the transience of all that is of this world, with the exception of ἀρετή:

Ἄλλοι μὲν χρυσὸν καὶ κτήματα μυρία κόσμου  
 Ὅσσα Δύσις τηλοῦ Ἀντολίῃ τε φέρει,  
 Προφρονέως σφετέρου κατέχοιεν ἀγάλματα θυμοῦ,  
 Ἡδέα τῆς καρδίας παίγνια καὶ φαέων.  
 Τῶν πάντων γε μὲν οὐδὲν ἐς αὔριον οὐδὲν ἔμμενεν,  
 Ἵκελα γὰρ ῥοδίων [!] στέμμασιν ἀκρεμόνων.  
 Ἡ δ' ἀρετὴ αἰῶνα πολύχρονον ἐκτρίβουσα  
 Γηράσκει μούνη καὶ πολιορκόταφος. (vv. 1–8)

(Others may readily hold on to gold and the countless goods of the world that west and east bring forth far away, as delights of their mind, as sweet playthings of their heart and eyes. Nothing, nothing of it all remains for the morrow, for they are like wreaths of rose spray. Only virtue, wearing out a long-lasting life, grows old and grey-haired at the temples.)

In Pufendorf's volume Thun's verses reached far outside the borders of Sweden – the question is whether many read it or any of the other liminary texts. Thun's text is the last after six Latin gratulations and one Greek, by Johann Georg Graevius, professor in Utrecht, which was printed first.

Thun wrote occasional poetry throughout his life. Some he published. Some seem to have been intended for their immediate and rather intimate occasion only (presented perhaps in a handwritten copy). Some were apparently not written for any specific occasion. Some or all (this is unknown) of his Greek poetry Thun collected and intended to publish. Some of the steps can be followed in letters from Thun to Eric Benzelius Jr. (1675–1743), preserved in Linköping Diocesan Library.<sup>38</sup>

In January 1717 Thun sent what he calls Greek poetic attempts (*'conatus poeticos in Graecis'*) to Benzelius, asking for his opinion regarding their quality, whether he thinks they might be worth publishing and can stand the inspection of the learned world (*'om dhe kunna tohla dagzliuset och den lärda världens*

påseende'). Thun appeals to their friendship and Benzelius' learning as he approaches Benzelius with this request.<sup>39</sup> Describing his plans, Thun says that he could have them printed at his own expense in Strängnäs, but he worries about distribution. The Swedish readership would be limited to 'our Academics' ('wåra *Academicos*') and he would prefer to reach a wider audience abroad, readers that find pleasure in such reading ('som *delecteras* af sådana *recreations* studier'). Thun apparently received a positive endorsement from Benzelius – only Thun's letters have been preserved in this correspondence – for which he thanks him profusely in a Latin letter sent in August 1717.

Paper, the price and lack of it, delayed the printing. Thun voices concern over paper already in the letter of thanks to Benzelius, and in the next letter (April 1718) Thun complains that there is no paper of good enough quality. Commerce and economy suffered as a consequence of the Great Northern War (1700–1721), which was to hamper Thun's edition project even more. The next letter from Thun to Benzelius is dated January 1721; in the nearly two-year interval Nyköping had been burnt almost completely to the ground in the Russian pillages of 1719. This delayed Thun's plan of publication. Thun's letter reveals that not only had he, like all residents of Nyköping, lost nearly all his possessions ('iag tillijka med andra miste all mit huusgeråd och en stor del af min timliga wälfärd'), but he had also fractured his knee very badly. All this had caused him great trouble and confusion, but when he had recovered, he resumed his publication plans. In April 1721 Thun discusses printing costs, acquisition of paper, the format of the book and number of copies to print. He is no longer interested in commissioning a large edition – no more than 400 copies. Friends and acquaintances will receive gift copies, but distribution and sales are a worry, and he does not know how he might find compensation for his expenses. Cost is thus a concern, but Thun still seems confident that the edition is feasible. However, in a letter dated May 1721 he explains that he must abandon the plans of having the collection published in his lifetime, but he does make testamentary provision for financing a posthumous printing, if there are any funds remaining after the death of his wife – they did not have any children. He asks Benzelius to be executor of the will, and sends him a signed copy of it. Therein he gives instructions regarding the book donation discussed above – his home did thus not burn to the ground and his library was not (completely) destroyed in the pillage – and the publication of the *Poëmata Graeca*.

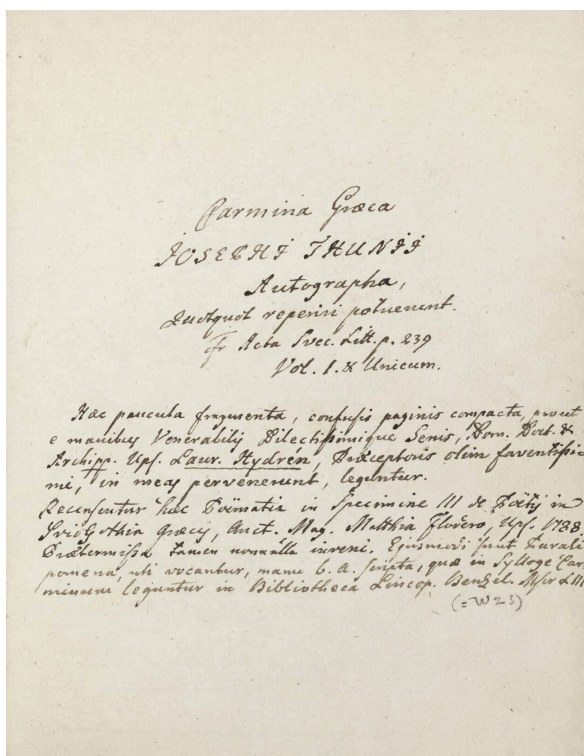
Thun's plans for publication are mentioned in *Acta literaria Sveciae* 1721.<sup>40</sup> From a note in Plantin's dissertation, it appears that attempts were made to realize the edition: he says that the manuscript had been sent to Johann Christoph Wolf in Hamburg for printing.<sup>41</sup> In his biographical note on Thun, Georg Gezelius apparently trusted that the plan had been realized and claims that Wolf indeed printed the edition.<sup>42</sup> Fant and Floderus mention the plans that came to nothing, and they both cite the titles of a number of unprinted poems that they know of and have read, even printing a poem or two for the first time.<sup>43</sup>

Floderus explains that the source of his knowledge of the unprinted poems is an autograph manuscript in the collection of the above-mentioned Samuel Älf. Like the volumes of *Carmina Poëtarum Svecorum Latina*, Älf also donated this manuscript to the Linköping Diocesan Library, where it can be still seen.<sup>44</sup> It is digitized, together with all other Greek manuscripts in the collections of that library.<sup>45</sup> From Älf's description of the manuscript on the first page, it appears that the manuscript had been in the possession of Laurentius Hydrén, cathedral dean of Uppsala, before it came into Älf's hands in the same state as it is now, viz. *confusis paginis*.<sup>46</sup> A copy of the *Amores sacri* as well as two funerary poems have been bound into the volume.

As the title of the manuscript suggests (*Carmina Graeca [...] quotquot reperiri potuerunt [...]*), this is probably not the manuscript that would have been the basis of the planned edition, but a collection of scattered manuscript pages, most of the same size, equivalent to contemporary uncut quarto volumes; only a few pages at the end are half-size. The state of the manuscript supports that assumption: the pagination written on some of the pages is confused, and some of the poems have been broken up as the sheets were bound into the volume. Many of the poems are written in neat handwriting with no or very few changes, whereas others have words, phrases or lines crossed out and the new text written above the line, not always legibly.

The collection consists mainly of occasional poems, both previously printed ones, including, for instance, the poem discussed above addressed to Pufendorf (with some textual changes, such as correcting ῥοδίωv into ῥοδέωv) as well as several early congratulations to students on defending dissertations, and unprinted ones, which are often for unusual occasions, such as an address to Professor Laurentius Norrmannus upon Thun's returning the Aldine edition of the Greek anthology, with a very precise date,<sup>47</sup> an answer to a friend who

**TITLE PAGE** of the collected Greek poems by Josef Thun. The manuscript, which was possibly the basis for the planned edition, is kept in the collections of Linköping Diocesan Library (W.40).



asked for Thun's opinion on a translation from Latin into Greek (with two different translations of the same verses by Thun), and an invitation to a friend who has returned from Pärnu and neglected to pay him a visit. There are also translations, poems addressed to important men but not for an apparent occasion, and poems that address general occasions, such as a prayer to Christ for blessing in the study of Hebrew and an evening prayer, with a Latin version that has been crossed out. The main item of the collection is, however, a paraphrase in Greek elegiacs (and adonics) of the Song of Songs, which, however, seems to be both unfinished and incompletely preserved. The 306 verses of this paraphrase have a very large number of changes and the text breaks off in the middle of a sentence. The plan is to edit the manuscript as part of the Helleno-Nordica project.

Thun persistently commemorated events with poetic expression. The ephemerality of the world and of all that is temporal and humane is a recurring topos, and remembrance of what is good and notable is thematized in many of Thun's

13

Summo

ΣΑΜΟΥΕΛΙ ΠΥΦΕΝΔΟΡΤΙΟ

Cum incomparabile opus Historiarum de  
 gestis GUSTAVI MAGNI <sup>et Christianae Augustae</sup>  
 editum, quod comparant inedita

Ἄλλο μὲν χρυσοῦν ἔργον ἔσται ποσειδῶνα  
 ὅσα δὴσα τῆσδε ἀνολήγησθε φέρει.

Προσφώνεισ σφέτερον κατέχευε ἀνάμνησιν  
 ἡμεῶν

Ἡδὲα θεῶν κρείττε παύμα, εἰ φάσιν.  
 Τῶν πάντων γε μὴ αἰδῶν ἐς αἶρον αἰδῶν ἔμμενεν.

Ἐκελευσθε γὰρ ἡμεῶν σφραγίσαν ἀκροῦναι.

Ἡ δ' ἀρετὴ αἰῶνα πολυχρόνου ἐκέρχουσα  
 Τηράσκει μνήμη καὶ πολιορκία φησιν.

Τῆν ῥῆσιν Ἀχαιῶν ἰδὲ παλαιοῦσ, ἐνέουσ  
 χαίρων

Τῆν σάδοσ Ἀργείδου καὶ Φρυγίης στρατοῦσ.  
 Ὀΐβη τ' ἰωνίωσ τε καὶ ἑλλάδοσ εὐχοσ Ἀθῆνασ  
 καὶ Λακεδαιμονίωσ ἄμφω ἐξεσθῶσαν.

Ἡ τε γόθοισ ἠρτυνε μέγα κλέοσ ἡμετέροισι

AMORES SACRI, <sup>Stockholm 1732</sup>  
 Sive  
**CANTICUM**  
 CANTICORUM SALOMONIS  
 Elegis expressum:  
 In quo mutuus & plane admirabilis  
 inter Filium DEI & Ecclesiam ipsius  
 Amor, quafi per scenam exhibetur.

Accedunt & alia varii argumenti  
 Poëmata Græca,  
 Omnia studio  
**IOSEPHI J. THUN**  
 Sudermanniæ-Sveciæ  
 Anno, ære Christiane 1732 et xxxii.

H O L M I Æ,

Typis Joh. G. Eberdt.

**JOSEF THUN'S CONGRATULATION** to Samuel Pufendorf, which is likely to be his Greek poem with the widest circulation (from ms W.40 Linköping Diocesan Library)

**TITLE PAGE OF AMORES SACRI**, Josef Thun's small collection of Greek and Latin poems, printed in Stockholm shortly after finished studies in Turku/Åbo.

poems, as is to be expected given the occasion. Thun's concern is, however, not only the glory and memory of the addressee but also that of authors, including himself; see, for instance, the congratulation to Pufendorf and the epigram commemorating his book donation, made as 'a remembrance' of the donor. Moreover, the testament shows that he considered the printed collection a monument over himself, which he is particularly anxious to erect because of his childlessness, despite the ambivalence regarding the printing project voiced in some of the letters to Benzelius.

Not only his effort to publish a collection of his Greek poems in his old age,

but also the youthful small anthology *Amores sacri*, printed in 1682, the same year that Thun left Turku Academy, attest to him being unusually ambitious as a poet, at least in a Swedish context.<sup>48</sup> The main constituents of the anthology are a paraphrase into Latin elegiacs of the Song of Songs – evidently an important text for Thun –, a Greek hexameter Hymn to the Son of God, a series of thirteen epigrams in the twelve apostles (two in Peter), as well as four complimentary epigrams to four men – two in Strängnäs (Bishop Carl Lithman and Matthias Lidenius, teacher at the gymnasium) and two in Turku (Johannes Gezelius Sr. and Jr.), respectively – who, he says, have been as important in his young life as the apostles were in the early church.<sup>49</sup> None of the poems appear to have been for a specific occasion, at least not as they appear in the anthology – perhaps they had been presented to the addressees at some earlier occasion which is no longer known.

The poems are preceded by a verse dedication to Baron Sten Bielke and a prose preface *ad benevolum lectorem*. These attest to Thun's reading in both ancient Greek and Latin as well as Neo-Latin and Humanist Greek literature. He ventures that his paraphrase of the Song of Songs is the first into Latin elegiacs, as, to the best of his knowledge, all his predecessors have chosen other metres.<sup>50</sup> To the list of ancient Greek hymnographers such as Homer and Callimachus, Thun adds his near contemporary, the Dutch scholar and poet Daniel Heinsius, whose hymn to Pandora he considers to be a perfect example of the genre.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, for his Greek poems Thun has undoubtedly been inspired by Heinsius' poetry, at least in regard to form, viz. the combination of hymn and epigrams to notable men. But whereas Heinsius addressed his hymn to Hesiod's Pandora and wrote epigrams to ancient Greek philosophers (called *Peplus graecorum epigrammatum*),<sup>52</sup> Thun's hymn and epigrams are strictly Christian, the former being to the child of God and the latter addressed to the apostles and role models of the young man.

As in his epitaph at the end of his life, Thun already here chooses a more Christian content for the ancient Greek form that Heinsius had not hesitated to use for profane themes. In this context, the first verses of the Hymn to the son of God are significant:

Ἐρῴετέ μοι Ἑλικωνιάδες, νόθον εὐχος αἰιδῶν  
 Ἐρῴε μοι Ἀργυρότοξε, σέθεν δ' οὐ μάντις ὑπάρχω,  
 Οὐδὲ τρίπους μέλειται ἀεσίφρονα χρησμῶν ἰάλλων,  
 Οὐ Κίρῳ, οὐδ' ἠλίθια Πίνδοιο κολῶναι.



Ἔψοσε νῦν δὲ καλεῖμαι ἐς οὐρανόν· ἔγροο θυμέ,  
 Ἐγροο, καὶ γαίης ἀνεμόλια πέμπε ταλαίνης·  
 ΧΡΙΣΤΕ μέλος σύ μοι ἰμερόεν, σέο γ' αἰὲν αἰοιδῆ  
 Ἐν στομάτεσσι γλυκεῖα πέλοι, φίλε σῶτερ ΙΗΣΟΥ! (vv. 1–8)

(Begone, Heliconian Muses, the false prayer of singers; begone Silver-Bowed Apollo, I am not your prophet; nor is the tripod, sending forth witless oracle, of concern to me; not Cirrha, nor the vain peaks of Pindus. I call now aloft to heaven. Wake up, soul, wake up and send off the emptiness of the wretched world. Christ, you are a lovely tune for me; may your song be sweet in my mouth forever, beloved saviour Jesus!)

As Johan Paulinus (Lillienstedt) had done a few years earlier in his Greek poetic university oration *Magnus principatus Finlandia* (1678), Thun inverts the topical initial invocation of Apollo and the Muses.<sup>53</sup> His driving away of the Muses, Apollo and all heathen inspiration and invitation of the guiding light of Christ, shows Thun's awareness of the poetic repertoire,<sup>54</sup> and, despite the topicality of such Christian apprehension vis-à-vis the temporal or heathen elements of antiquity, appears also to be emblematic of Thun's handling of what is profane and sacred. A similar juxtaposition of sacred and profane recurs in the dedication, and again the soft trifles of antiquity are rejected for Christ and the Church. This will be explored further in a later study.

The prose *praefatio* of the *Amores sacri* begins with an elaborate apology for poetic activity. Different people find pleasure in different pursuits, Thun begins; in military camps, for instance, soldiers are wont to engage in a great number of different leisure activities when given the chance, but some take the opportunity to exercise. Similarly many students, when they are given the choice, run out and engage in various divertissements, whereas 'I, Thun says, found that what caused fatigue is also what gives pleasure. Like Telephus, he adds, who was healed with fragments of the same spear that wounded him, he finds cure in the cause of his pain.<sup>55</sup> This paints the image of a student who enjoyed his studies and found pleasure in reading and writing poetry, which continued to be a central concern of Thun's throughout his life, as is attested by his effort to publish the *Poëmata Graeca* at the very end of his life.



1. The language variety is designated with different terms in modern studies. See, for instance, the recent volume edited by S. Weise, *Hellenisti! Altgriechisch als Literatursprache im neuzeitlichen Europa*, Stuttgart 2017 and the one edited by J. Päll & I. Volt, *Hellenostephanos. Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe. Learned Communities between Antiquity and Contemporary Culture*, Tartu 2018.

2. Funding from the Swedish Research Council (grant 2016-01881). Participants, apart from the author of this piece: Tua Korhonen and Erkki Sironen at the University of Helsinki, and Janika Päll, Jürgen Beyer, Kaarina Rein, and Neeme Närinä at the research centre of Tartu University Library.

3. O. Plantin, *Vindemiola literaria, in qua Hellas sub Arcto, sive merita Svecorum in linguam Graecam brevissime et modeste exponuntur*, Vittembergæ 1736, p. 34 n. e, 70 n. z; M.E. Fant, *Historiola Litteraturæ Græcæ in Svecia*, I–XII, Upsaliæ 1775–1784, pp. 2.76–80; M. Floderus, *De poëtis in Svio-Gothia Graecis*, I–IV, Upsaliæ 1785–1789, pp. 80–90. For Thun as a Latin poet, see J. Ihre (pres.) & J. A. Wählberg (resp.), *De poëtis in Svio-Gothia Latinis*, I–II, Upsaliæ 1739–1740, pp. 38–39.

4. This paper reflects research done until November 2017, except for the catalogue of Thun's poems in the appendix which was updated in September 2018 and corrected in August 2019.

5. The database is still being constructed, but will be available on the address <https://humgraeca.utlib.ut.ee> when released.

6. T. Melander, *Personskrifver hänförande sig till Finland 1562–1713. Bibliografisk förteckning*, Helsinki 1951–1959; J. Vallinkoski, *Turun akatemian väitöskirjat 1642–1828*, Helsinki 1962–1969; T. Laine & R. Nyqvist (ed.), *Suomen kansallisbibliografia 1488–1700*, Helsinki 1996; E.-L. Jaanson, *Tartu ülikooli trükikoda 1632–1710*, Tartu 2000; M. Klöcker, *Literarisches Leben in Reval in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (1600–1657)*, II, *Bibliographie der Revaler Literatur*, Tübingen 2005.

7. The latest numbers and estimates in personal communication with Janika Päll and Tua Korhonen.

8. I. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600-talet. Bidrag till en bibliografisk förteckning*, I–II, Uppsala 1942–1946; *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, I–III, Uppsala 1927–1938 does include data on occasional poetry, parts of the print and languages of paratexts.

9. J.H. Lidén, *Catalogus disputationum, in academiis et gymnasiis Sveciæ, atque etiam, a Svecis, extra patriam habitarum, quotquot huc usque reperiri potuerunt*, I–V, Upsaliæ 1778–1780; G. Marklin, *Catalogus disputationum in academiis Scandinaviæ et Finlandiæ Lidenianus continuatus*, Upsala 1820 and *Catalogus disputationum in academiis Sveciæ et Fenniciæ habitarum Lidenianus iterum continuatus*, Upsaliæ 1856.

10. H. Ausius (pres.) & P. Rezander (resp.), *Περὶ τῆς τῶν νέων παιδείας κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη, βιβλ. θ. κεφ. α. πολ.*, [Uppsala] 1648 (diss.).

11. Lidén 1778–1780, p. 1.53

12. Any random page will demonstrate this, but cf., e.g., Vallinkoski 1962–1969, p. 373, on S. Paulinus (pres.) & G. Aenelius (resp.), *Διατριβὴ ἢ φιλολογικὴ περὶ τῆς ἐτυμότητος, ὀρθοεπείας καὶ ἐμφάσεως τοῦ ὤληη*, [Åbo] 1688 (diss.), which shows the care with which details on paratexts are recorded.

13. Fant 1775–1784 and *IV decades virorum, scientia Graecarum litterarum in patria praesenti seculo celebrium, supplementi instar ad historiam litteraturae Graecae in Suecia*, I–II. Upsaliae 1785–1786 (diss.); Floderus 1785–1789.

14. For Fant’s biography, see N. Ahnlund & B. Hildebrand, ‘Eric Michael Fant’, *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 15 (1956), pp. 346–354.

15. Fant 1775–1784, p. ):3.

16. Fant 1775–1784, pp. 1.89–93 and 2.48–51.

17. Fant 1775–1784, pp. 1.69–71.

18. For Matthias Floderus’ biography, see B. Hildebrand, ‘Floderus, släkt’, *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 16 (1964–1966), pp. 188–189.

19. *Collectanea ad Historiam Litteraturae Graecae in Suecia*, signum U176–178. Vol. I collects prints, manuscripts, transcripts, notes (U176), vol. II–III is the master for the print (U177, 178).

20. Floderus 1785–1789, p. Ar–v.

21. For a description of all parts of the donation, see ‘Donationer till Linköpings Gymnasii och Stifts-Bibliothek, ifrån 1787, då nu varande Biskop J. A. Lindblom tillträdde Stifftet’, *Linköpings Bibliotheks Handlingar*, I, Linköping 1793 [pp. 312–371], pp. 337–354.

22. Linköping diocesan library, signum w 25 (Variorum Varia) vol. 24 (4:0): Προσφώνησις εὐκτική ἦν εἰς τὰ γενέσια τοῦ τῶν Σβηκῶν τε καὶ Γότθων [...] βασιλέως ΦΡΙΔΕΡΙΚΟΥ [...] and τῶν Σβηκῶν τε καὶ Γότθων [...] βασιλεὶ ΦΡΙΔΕΡΙΚΩ ἀπὸ τῆς Κασσίας εἰς τὴν Βασιλείαν εὐδαιμόνως κατελθόντι [...]. Both texts are dated 1731; the first was an oration delivered in Uppsala University, and later presented to the King in person, see M. von Platen, *Yrkesskalder – fanns dom? Om tillfällespoeternas försörjningsfråga*, I, [s.l.] 1985, pp. 144–145.

23. Biographical details from K. A. Hagström, *Strängnäs stifts herdaminne*, II, Strängnäs 1898, pp. 312–315; R. Lundström, ‘Josef Thun och Bibliotheca Thuniana. Anteckningar vid inventeringen av Roggebibliotekets första donation’, in: *Från biskop Rogge till Roggebiblioteket. Studier utgivna till Strängnäs gymnasiums 350-årsjubileum*, Nyköping 1976 [pp. 102–112], pp. 102–104. See also ‘Elogium Josephi Thunii’, in *Acta literaria Sveciae Upsaliae publicata* 1721 [pp. 233–240], pp. 233–238, Fant 1775–1784, pp. 76–77, Floderus 1785–1789, pp. 80–81.

24. 'Elogium [...]' 1721, pp. 233–240.
25. J. Thun, *Amores sacri, sive Canticum Canticorum Salomonis elegis expressum [...]* *Accedunt et alia varii argumenti Poëmata Græca*, Holmiæ 1682.
26. The final *alpha* and half of *tau* are missing in the inscription – the slab has either been cut or the stonemason has spaced the inscription badly. The former seems more likely as half or whole letters are missing at the start and end of particularly long lines of the slab also in the biographical, Latin, part of the inscription.
27. The text is quoted according to the inscription in Strängnäs Cathedral, excepting accents. Also quoted in 'Elogium [...]' 1721, p. 240.
28. On the donation see Lundström 1976, pp. 104–112.
29. See P.-O. Samuelsson, *Bibliotheca Thuniana. Katalog över Roggebibliotekets äldsta bok-donation*, Strängnäs 2009 [<https://www.kb.se/download/18.22ec630916021ebba93121/1512466352508/Thunkatalog.pdf>, accessed 26 August 2019].
30. H. Grotius, *Poemata omnia*, Lugduni Batavorum 1645; D. Heinsius, *Poemata Latina et Græca*, Amstelodami 1649; N. Heinsius, *Poemata*, Lugduni Batavorum 1653; M. Opitz, *Florilegium variorum epigrammatum*, Francofurti 1644; C.S. Schurtzfleisch, *Poemata Latina et Græca*, Vittembergæ 1702; M. Musurus, *Carmen admirandum in Platonem*, Amstelodami 1676; L. Rhodomannus, *Historia Ecclesiae*, 1581 (this is one of the items that have been lost from the *bibliotheca Thuniana*).
31. *Lutheri Catechismus, öfversatt på american-virginiske språket*, Stockholm 1696.
32. J. Thun, *Imago politici Christiani in vita [...]* *Dn. Erics Palmiskiöldii*, Holmiæ 1707.
33. In C. Lundius (pres.) & J. Billovius (resp.), *Sciagraphia juris divini naturalis, positivi & gentium*, Upsaliæ 1700.
34. Text as in Samuel Älf's collection (Linköping Diocesan Library, signum w 25 vol. 11), except with corrected accents; also quoted in Floderus 1785–1789, p. 90.
35. Thun was an acclaimed author of Latin poetry as well, see Ihre & Wählberg 1740, pp. 38–39; Lundström (1976, p. 104) considers him a much better Latin than Swedish poet.
36. See von Platen 1985, pp. 8–12; P.S. Ridderstad, 'Diktning för tillfället', in: J. Christensson (ed.), *Signums svenska kulturhistoria. Stormaktstiden*, Lund 2005 [513–529], pp. 523–524.
37. S. von Pufendorf, *Commentariorum de rebus Suecicis libri XXVI: Ab expeditione Gustavi Adolphi regis in Germaniam ad abdicationem usque Christinae*, Ultrajecti 1686; [...] editio altera emendatior, Francofurti ad Moenum 1705.
38. Letters in *Bref til Ä.B. Eric Benzelius den yngre*, volume 5 1717–1719 and 6 1720–1721, Linköping Diocesan Library, signum Br. 10:5 and 10:6.
39. The friendship between Thun and Benzelius appears from Benzelius' letter collection. Apart from sporadic letters from Thun to Benzelius, there is another longer series of letters written between 13 March and 21 August 1709 (signum Br. 10:3). It is

initiated with a letter of condolences upon the death of Benzelius' father, Archbishop Eric Benzelius Sr., and ends with Thun thanking Benzelius for his hospitality during a summer visit; in between these Thun delivers the 44-verse long *Memoriae reverendissimi eminentissimique viri, D. Eri Benzelii* printed by Benzelius Jr. I treat both the correspondence and the poem in detail in another context.

40. 'Elogium [...]' 1721, pp. 182 and 239.

41. Plantin 1736, p. 70 n. z.

42. 'Thun, Joseph', in: G. Gezelius, *Försök til et biographiskt lexicon öfver namnkunnige och lärde svenske män*, III, Stockholm/Upsala/Åbo 1780, p. 274.

43. Fant 1775–1784, pp. 279–80; Floderus 1785–1789, pp. 81 n. e and 88–90.

44. *Carmina Graeca Josephi Thunii autographa, quotquot reperiri potuerunt [...]* vol. I. & unicum, Linköping Diocesan Library, signum w 40.

45. See <https://www.manuscripta.se/ms/100121> [accessed 20 November 2017].

46. 'Haec parvula fragmenta, confusis paginis compacta, prout e manibus [...] Laur. Hydrén [...] in meas pervenerunt, leguntur'.

47. Fol. 11v, marked p. 16: Ἐγὼ ἐν Ὀλμιά, ἔτει τῆς θεοτοκίας ,α χ π θ ἔκτη ἰσταμένου μηνὸς θαοργηλιῶνος 'I wrote this in Stockholm in the year 1689 of the birth of God, 4 April', for it is likely that Thun translates the names of the month according to the system that is found in e.g. J.G. Gezelius, *J.A. Comenij Janua lingvarum reserata aurea in Graecum idioma [...]* fideliter translata, Dorpati 1648, pp. 200–201 which corresponds to the one found in Th. Golius, *Grammatica Graeca sive educatio puerilis linguae Graecae*, Amstelodami 1635, p. 246.

48. For a short discussion of this anthology, see Tua Korhonen, *Ateena Auran rannoilla: Humanistikreikka Kunikaallisesta Turun akatemiasta*, Helsinki 2004, pp. 128–132.

49. Thun 1682, p. A5v.

50. Thun 1682, p. A5r.

51. Thun 1682, p. A6r.

52. Heinsius 1649, pp. 508–538 (Peplus); 540–544 (Hymnus). An edition of Heinsius' Greek and Latin poetry was part of Thun's donation (cf. above).

53. J. Paulinus (Lillienstedt), *Magnus principatus Finlandia. Suomen Suuriruhtinaskunta. Vuonna 1678 pidetyn kreikankielisen runopubeen editio, runosuomennos, suorasanaimen käänös sekä tausta ja selitykset*, by T. Korhonen, T. Oksala, and E. Sironen, Helsinki 2000, p. 48 (vv. 39–52). See also Korhonen 2004, p. 131.

54. It is particularly significant that Thun names the Muses Ἐλικωνιάδες, which is the epithet by which Hesiod begins to sing in the first verse of the *Theogony*: Μουσῶων Ἐλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' ἀείδειν.

55. Thun 1682, p. A4v.

## Appendix. Josef Thun's Greek poetry

I. *In print*

In chronological order

HEADING / INCIPIIT	AUTHOR (IF NOT THUN) & TITLE OF PUBLICATION	YEAR & PLACE
ΩΣ ΑΠΟ ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑΣ / Οἴχεται ὦ τριφίλιπτε τὸ πᾶν πόθος· οἴχεται ἦδη	<i>Propempticon in discessum [...]</i> <i>Dn. Johannis Gezelii</i>	1681 Turku
Hymnus in filium Dei / Ἐδῶτέ μοι Ἑλικωνιάδες, νόθον εὐχος αἰοιδῶν	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In Judam Taddaeum / Οὐκ ἐπὶ παντὶ λίθῳ ὀλεσθήνωρ σκορπίος εὐδεις	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In Johannem / Πάθμε φίλη, πολύσημε, σὲ μὲν περὶ Κυκλάδες ἄλλα	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In Bartholomaeum / Παῖς κερραμέως κερραμηῖ μέλει, ὁ γραφῆι γραφῆος	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In Petrum / Πέτρε τί δακρυχέεις; τί σέθεν πέρι τόσον ἰάφθη	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In eundem / Ἡ ῥά τι τοι ξυνὸν Ῥώμη πέλε τέχνον Ἰωνά;	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
Thomas αὐτοπρόσωπος / Πρὶν μὲν ἐγὼ δύσπιστος ἦν Χριστοῖο μαθητῆς	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In Paulum / Ταρσογενὲς περίπυστε, στόμα μελίγηρος ἀηδὼν	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In Andream / ὦ μάκαρ, ὦ σεμοῦ κήρυξ μεγαλήτορ Ἰησοῦ	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
Jacobus Major αὐτοπρόσωπος / Μητέρα ἐμή, τί νυ τόσον ἐπήγαγες ἄφθονι κούρω	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In Philippum / Καί σε πάλαι κήρυκα μελίφρονα, θεῖε Φίλιππε	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In Jacobum minorem / Ἠγασάμην τεὸν αἰὲν ἀγήνορα θυμὸν Ἰακώβ	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
Matthias αὐτοπρόσωπος / Ἔσμεν θριοβόλοι, καὶ μάντιές ἐσμεν ἄμμοι	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In Simonem / Διε γέρον, σὲ μὲν ἄστυ τύχην Σολύμων ἀγορητῆν	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In Matthaëum / Αὐτὸς ἐὼν θνητὸς Χρισθῶ ὡς θνητοῖσι χαρίζῃ	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In Johannem Gezelium / Αὐτοὶ γὰρ κρατέοντε καὶ ἐκ κρατέοντος ἔφυσαν	<i>Amores Sacri [...]</i> <i>accedunt [...]</i> <i>poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm

JOHANNA AKUJÄRVI

In [...] Iohannem Gezelium / Εἴ ποτε τὴν καρδίην ἀρετῆ τινὸς ἀνέρος ἀγνή	<i>Amores Sacri [...] accedunt [...] poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In [...] Matthiam Lidenium / Καὶ σὺ Λιδηνιάδη, τίνα σοί ποτε μῦθον ἐνίσπω	<i>Amores Sacri [...] accedunt [...] poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In [...] Carolum Lithman / Ὅν ποτε Σαλάναι ΛΙΘΜΑΝΟΝ ἀγακλέα Μούσαι	<i>Amores Sacri [...] accedunt [...] poëmatia Graeca</i>	1682 Stockholm
In Disputationem [...] D. Iohannis Esbergii / Τίς πόνος οὗτος, Ἄριστε; β. Μέροψ α. τί τοι αὐτὸς ὀφέλλει;	J. Bilberg (pres.), J. Esberg (resp.), Μικροκοσμοσκοπίας <i>seu brevis tractatus de homine, I</i>	1683 Stockholm
/ Οἱμοὶ ἐγὼ δύστηνος ἀμχανήησι μεμαρπὼς	<i>Cenotaphium piis manibus [...] D. Danielis Siegel [...]</i>	1683 Stockholm
/ Ἄλλοι μὲν χρυσὸν καὶ κτήματα μυρία κόσμου	S. Pufendorf, <i>Commentariorum de rebus Suecicis libri XXVI</i>	1686 Utrecht
Εἰς ΠΛΑΤΩΝΑ / Ἡ ῥα παλαιγενέων ἐψεύσατο βιβλία φωτῶν	L. Norrmannus (pres.), J. Lifver (resp.), <i>Studiosus academicus</i>	1687 Stockholm
/ Οὐδὲ σὺ Πιερίδων ἔλαθες γένος, ἀγλαῆ μυστῶν	AAVV, ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΜΑΤΑ <i>amicorum cum [...] D. Jvarus Lund [...] summos in philosophia honores</i>	1688 Uppsala
Clarissimo Dno. Laurentio Norman/Φοίβου ἀντέλλοντος ἐκίδνατο νῦξ ἐρεβεννή	H. Stridsberg (pres.), L. Norman (resp.), <i>De Teraphim</i>	1684 Malmö
Epigramma in dissertationem [...] Johannis Lifver / Ἡἑλιος, ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ, καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει	G. Peringer Lillieblad (pres.), J. Lifver (resp.), <i>De ἡλιολαθρείᾳ, sive cultu solis idololatrīco</i>	1689 Uppsala
Juveni eruditione [...] cultissimo, Dn. Carolo Wessman [...] congratulatur / Νηὸν Ἀπόλλωνος χρησμώδεα, θεῖον ἔδεθλον	P. Lagerlöf (pres.), C.D. Wessman (resp.), <i>Cognitionem nostri &amp; inde resultantes aliquot obligationes breviter delineatas</i>	1689 Stockholm
A. Ω! / Οὕτω νῦν, περὶψυστε, τὸν ἱερὸν ὑπνον ἰαύεις	<i>Beatae Memoriae [...] Dn. Eliae Obrechtii [...] Sacrum</i>	[1698] Strängnäs
[...] ΕΡΡΙΚΩι BENZELΙΩι / Ἀρχιερεὺ ᾧ θέσμα καὶ ἱερὰ τόσσα μέμηλε	J. Thun (pres.), O.O. Bröms (resp.), <i>Meletemation exhibens ἱστορούμενα quaedam de Hellenistis</i>	1690 Strängnäs
Εἰς τὸν αὐτόν / Τί σὺλβει ἄτε κυκλοτεροῦς ἀμάρυγμα Σελήνης	<i>Monumentum seculare in prosperam memoriam concilii Upsaliensis</i>	1693 Strängnäs
A. Ω. / Ὁ Πρώμος Ἡρώων· κόσμιοιο σεβάσμος ἀυγή	<i>Plangor in septentrione super excessu [...] Caroli undecimi</i>	1697 Strängnäs

GREEK OCCASIONAL POETRY FROM THE SWEDISH EMPIRE

In ΣΚΙΑΓΡΑΦΊΑΝ [...] Dn. Jonae Billovii / Κύρβιας ἐν πραπίσι γραπτὸν τύπον ἄφθιτον ἀνδρῶν	J. Billovius, <i>Sciagraphia juris divini naturalis, positivi &amp; gentium</i>	1700 Uppsala
/ Φοίβου καὶ Μουσῶν γάνος· ἠϊθέων τε ἄωτος	<i>In nuptias Mag. Johannis Törnroos et [...] Dnae. Reginae Christinae Drosandrae [...] epigramma</i>	[1701] Strängnäs
/ Δίφρος ἐπὶ προθύροις συζευγμένος αὐχένιας ἵππων	<i>Memoriae Dn. Olavi Rudbeckii</i>	1702 Strängnäs
A. Ω. / Ποῦ μέγας Ἀονίδων μύστης; ποῦ θέσσελος ἀνήρ;	<i>Apotheosis [...] Laurentii Norrmani</i>	[1703] Stockholm
A. Ω. / Ἔσβησ· διε γέρον· φλογεροῖς ἐναλίγκιε πυρροῖς	<i>Memoriae [...] Erici Benzeli [...] sacrum</i>	[1709] [Stockholm]
Ad Eundem / Μέμφετο ταῖς Μοίραις νεκῶν βασιλεὺς ἀγέρωχος	M.G. von Block, <i>Åtskillige Anmärkningar Öfver närvarande Pestilentias [...] uti Norköping</i>	1711 Linköping
/ ΚΑΡΟΛΕ, κἄν σέο φέγγος ἐν Ἡώοισι βραδύνη	<i>In auspiciatissimum natalem [...] Huldaricae Eleonorae [...] et diem xviii [...] Carolino nomini sacrum</i>	[1714] Stockholm
Ad [...] Dn. Andream Antonium Stiernmannum / Τίς φάτις ἠκούσθη; ὕπαρ εἰγ' ἐγὼ ἢ ἐν ὀνειρώ;	A.A. von Stiernman, <i>Aboa literata, continens omnes fere scriptores</i>	1719 Stockholm

2. *In manuscript*

2a. Ms. *Carmina Graeca Josephi Thunii autographa, quotquot reperiri potuerunt [...] vol. I. et unicum*, Linköping Diocesan Library, signum w 40

In chronological order to the extent that the year of occasion is known.  
NB! Some of the poems in this manuscript also appear in print.

HEADING / INCIPIIT	YEAR (IF IN MS)
Ἦς ἀπὸ Ἀκαδημῆς / Οὔχεται ὦ τριφίλητε τὸ πᾶν πόθος· οὔχεται ἤδη	1681
ΛΑΥΡΕΝΤΙΩ BOPEANΔΡΩ / Δευρό μοι ὦ μουσῶν τὸ μέγα κλέος· οὐ γλυκὺ νέκταρ	1682 (ε)
Piis manibus [...] Danielis Siegel[...] / Οἴμοι ἐγὼ δύστηνος ἀμηχανίησι μεμαρπῶς	1683
In disputationem [...] D. Iohannis Esbergii / Τίς πόνος οὔτος, Ἄριστε; β. Μέροψ α. τί τοι αὐτὸς ὀφέλλει;	1683



JOHANNA AKUJÄRVI

Viro summo Samueli Pufendorffio cum [...] opus Historicum [...] editurus esset / Άλλοι μὲν χρυσὸν τε καὶ ὄλβια μύρια κόσμου	1686
Ad [...] Dn. Ivarum Lund / Οὐδὲ σὺ Πιερίδων ἔλαθες χορὸν, ἀγλαὲ μυστῶν	1688
In dissertationem [...] Johannis Lifver / Ἡέλιος, ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ, καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει	1689
Ἰωάννη Βιλβεργίῳ / Πάσαν μὲν σοφίην ἠσκημένε, πλείστα δὲ κόσμου	1689
Ad V.A. Laur. Norrmanno cum Aldinam [...] / Τήνδε σοι, ἀγλαόβιβλε, πελασγίδος ἔρμα Κυθήρης	1689
In tumultum D. Joannis Lechandri / Ξεῖνε, τίς ἐν τούτῳ νεκῶν κευθμῶνι καθεῦδει	[1689]
In obitum [...] Dn. Matthiae Lidenii / Χαίρε, γέρον, λίην τεταλαιπωρημένε νούσοις	[1693]
In Σκιαγραφήν [...] Dn. Jonae Billovii / Κύρβιας ἐν πραπίσι γραπτὸν τύπον ἀφθιτὸν ἀνδρῶν	1700
In nuptias [...] Johannis Törneros et [...] Reginae Christinae Drosandrae / Φοίβου καὶ Μουσῶν γάνος· ἠιθέων τε ἄωτε	1701
Cenotaphium OLAVI HERMELINI / Ἐρμέλινον (τῷ μὲν Μούσαι κλέος εὐρὸν τέλεσσαν	[1709]
Κελευσματικὸν Ἀδόνειον ad [...] D. Ingemundum Brömsium / Τίττε χρονίζεις	1709
In puerum naufragum / Νηὶ σεσηπυίῃ ἐμβὰς γλυκὴν φέγγος ὄλεσσας	
Ad [...] Joa. Billbergium cum novum aedificium [...] instrueretur / Ὕλης ἄλις κέκοπτο	
Ad V.C. Matthiam Lidenium cum <i>primum</i> ei sua poëmata juvenilia Graeca offerret / Κεῖσο, σελί, Λειδηριάδη κοσμήτορι μουσῶν κούρων	
Viri, quem honoris causa reticeo, celeberrimi versus [...] / Πνεῦμα, δι' οὐ καὶ γαῖα, καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὸς ὑπερθεν	
Ex Politiani Latino / Ὅστις ἐρᾷς μουσῶν ἀνάπτυξον γράμματα Γραικῶν	
Oweni versus in appendice I. α. / Τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄτερο οὐδὲν ἔχει φύσις ἄμβροτον ἡμῶν	
Oweni versus in appendice I. β. / Πλὴν ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν μόνιμον μερόπτεσαι πεφύζει	
Oweni versus in appendice I. γ. / Χωρὶς νοῦ τ' ἀρετῆς τ' ἀνθρώπων ἔμπεδον οὐδέν	
Oweni versus in appendice I. δ. / Οὐδὲν ἄνευ ἀρετῆς σταθερὸν φύσις ἠθέλεν ἡμῖν	
Oweni versus in appendice I. ε. / Οὐδὲν ἄνευ ἀρετῆς πέλεται ἀνδρεοσι βέβαιοι	
Oweni versus in appendice I. ζ. / Τὴν ἀρετὴν μούνην τις ἀγῆρων, χρῆμά τε θεῖον	

GREEK OCCASIONAL POETRY FROM THE SWEDISH EMPIRE

Oweni versus in appendice I. ζ. / Νόσφιν τῆς ἀρετῆς τί κεν ἱερὸν ἄνδρες ἔχομεν;

Oweni versus in appendice I. η. / Ἐνθεον ἦ ῥά τ' ἔχει ἀρετὴ καὶ οὐποτε θνήσκει

Epigramma in Justinam [...] quod Latinè exstat apud Lud. Vivem [...] / Τὴν κεφαλὴν χαλκῷ μοι ἀνηλεῖ κόψεν ἀκοίτης

Responsum [...] communicationi, qua iudicium meum expetivit de versibus Propertii a se Graece redditis / Αἰτεῖς με κρίνοντα τειὴν μελιηδέα μούσαν

Quod ita Graece reddidi / Ἐνθάδε γραῦς μαστροπὸς [!] ἐν ἀμφιφορῇ καθεύδει

Quod ita Graece reddidi ἄλλως / Νέρθεν σεῦ μαστροπὸς [!], ἐριννεέ, γρηῦς ἰαύει

ELEGIA ad CRISTUM, pro benedictione in Studio Hebraico / Πατρὸς ἀειγενέτω τέκος ἄμβροτον, ἴλαθι ΧΡΙΣΤΕ

Votum vespertinum / Ἰλαθι Χριστέ ἄναξ ἡμῶν μόνη σῶτερ Ἰησοῦ

Ἄισμα ἀσμάτων / Τὸ στόμα τὸ ῥοδόεν κεῖν' ὦ ἐμὰ χεῖλεα θλίβοι

Itali cujusdam Anacreontica ad Salvinum professorem Graecae [...] / Κάμνοντος ἐκ μερίμνης

Ad V.A. Magnum Gabrielem Blockium [...] cum de Anacreotis mendis per literas egissemus / Μεσημβρινῇ ἐν ὄρῳ

Ad Rev. Dn. Ep. J.B. cum me [...] ad profess. Graecum Ups. vocatum iri speraret / Οὐ μοι μέλει Σαλείης

Viro [...] Dn. Erico Lindsköldio [...] Tilia effigiata in carmine / Ἐρρ' ἀπ' ἐμῶν περὰ πάντα, τάπερ θανατηφόρον ᾄδει

2b. Ms. Samuel Älf, *Carmina variorum tom. XI*, Linköping Diocesan Library, signum w 25.11 (fol.)

This manuscript contains copies of other of Thun's poems as well; this lists only the one not known in print.

HEADING / INCIPIIT

Öfwer den samling böcker Jos. Thun skänkte / Στρεγγήσου Μούσαις τῶν βίβλων τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε

2c. Ms. *Sylloge carminum*, collected by Eric Benzelius Jr., donated by his son Carl Jesper Benzelius to Linköping Diocesan Library, signum w 23.

HEADING / INCIPIT

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Carmen B. Joh. Arndtii pro vera Sapientia ad Christum Cujus initium est: Christe fac ut sapiam etc. graece redditum / Δὸς σοφίην μοι Χριστὲ σὺ γὰρ σοφίη Πατρὸς ἔσσι

In obitum Reverendissimi Archiepiscopi B. D.D. Haquini Spegel / Νῦν σε καὶ Ἀρχιερεῦ (ὁ νυ τοῦλλιπῆς ἡμετεράων

2d. Handwritten poem in printed book in Rogge Library, signum 12:31: *Theognidis, Phocylidis, Pythagorae, Solonis & aliorum Poemata gnomica. Multis in locis correcta additoque variantis scripturae notatio* [sic!], ed. F. Sylburg (Utrecht: ex officinâ Hermannii Ribii, 1651).

HEADING / INCIPIT

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ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΝ / Οἶος ἔην κλυτὸς ἀγνεΐη σοφίη τε Ἰωσήφ

3. Inscription in Strängnäs Cathedral.

HEADING / INCIPIT

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Hic . iacet / Οὐ φθονέω σοι κόσμε, ἔχοις τὰ σὰ ἠπεροπευτά