The Early Latin Poetry of Sylvester Johannis Phrygius
Edited, with Introduction, Translation and Commentary.

by
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Abstract

This thesis contains three major portions of the early Latin poetry of the theologian Sylvester Johannis Phrygius (1572–1628), one of the most prolific and important Swedish poets at the turn of the 17th century.

The verses exhibit marked influence from the Protestant Universities of Northern Germany at which Phrygius had studied. There Lutheranism had coalesced with the Humanist movement, so as to produce a highly creative cultural environment. It was through Jena, Wittenberg and Rostock that the learned culture of the Renaissance found its way into Sweden.

The first section consists of poems from Phrygius’ Ecloga prima print (1599), whose main part is an eclogue, a pastoral dirge on the death of the daughter of the bishop of Linköping. Vergil’s first eclogue is the model of the text, which is characterized by allegorical messages so typical of the period. The second consists of Threnologia dramatica, a dramatic lamentation in elegiac distichs written around 1600 in memory of King John III of Sweden. The third section is the Centuria prima print (1602), the main part of which consists of captioned moral distichs arranged in emblematic manner. These verses were meant to give guidance to a young nobleman on the virtuous path of life, as well as rhetorical and mnemonic aid. Commonplace material is present in abundance.

Altogether these poetic works strongly reflect the literary ideals of the Renaissance as well as historical realities in Sweden at the time, such as the civil war and the struggle against the forces of the Counter-Reformation. The aim of the thesis is to provide an interpretative context for Phrygius’ poems by finding and identifying Phrygius’ literary models and sources, allusions and intertexts, both ancient and contemporary ones, and to show how these texts mirror the dramatic events in Sweden during the decades around 1600.

Keywords: Sylvester Johannis Phrygius, John III of Sweden, Duke John of Sweden, Charles IX of Sweden, Neo-Latin, allegory, baroque style, consolatory literature, Counter-Reformation, eclogue, emblems, funeral literature, mannerism, occasional poetry, Vergil

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Abbreviations

Libraries and archives:

UUB  Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek (University Library of Uppsala)
KB   Kungl. biblioteket (Royal Library, Stockholm)
RA   Riksarkivet (National Archives, Stockholm)
LSB  Stifts- och landsbiblioteket i Linköping (Linköping Diocesan Library)
LU   Lunds Universitets Bibliotek (University Library of Lund)
VSB  Växjö stadsbibliotek (Växjö City Library)

Handbooks:

JPG  Latin Dictionary of Jonas Petri Gothus (1640)
BFS  Latin Dictionary of Basilius Faber Soranus (1686)
TLL  *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (1900–)
L&S  Latin Dictionary by Ch. T. Lewis & Ch. Short (1933)
K.-St. Latin Grammar by R. Kühner & C. Stegmann (1976)
Sz.  Latin Grammar by M. Leumann & J. B. Hofmann & A. Szantyr (1965)
SBL  *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (1918–)
1. Introduction

Sylvester Johannis Phrygius (1572–1628) is one of the best known Swedish scholars from the turn of the 17th century. His life and his works mirror the vicissitudes of the period, as well as the spirit of the times generally speaking. In consequence he has attracted the interest of historians of various disciplines in the past, but he has not so far been the subject of any large-scale study. The present thesis contains an edition of the major portion of his early poems written in Latin, with a translation and commentary. These works bear witness not only to his erudition and skill, but also to his stylistic ideals and development as a poet.

Although most readers will rightfully consider his poetry to be inferior to the masterly work of many of his contemporaries on the continent as well as to many works by later Swedish Latin poets, Phrygius must be regarded as one of the foremost representatives of early Swedish Neo-Latin poetry. He was indeed one of the most prolific poets of this period. His verses demonstrate a marked influence from the Protestant universities of Germany, where Lutheranism had by this time coalesced with the humanist movement so as to produce a highly creative cultural environment. Two of the works edited here testify to the importance of Phrygius in introducing this literary culture into Sweden. The Ecloga prima, an eclogue on a deceased daughter of the bishop of Linköping, and the Centuria prima, a collection of moral captioned distichs, are both among the very earliest extant works in their genres in Swedish literary history. In the third work, the Threnologia dramatica, a lament on the late John III, we see the fullest proof of what Phrygius considered to be the value of poetry. While lamenting a dead king, he celebrates a future one, aided by Pallas herself.

The poems treated in this thesis all served to improve his social status, composed in order to honour men of importance and influence in society.

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1 The term refers to the Latin poetry written in Sweden, or by Swedes, according to Neo-Latin principles until approximately 1630 (see Helander 2001, pp. 5 ff., for a discussion of definitions of the term ‘Neo-Latin’). After that Swedish Neo-Latin literature was gradually improved both regarding amount and quality, to a great extent thanks to the invitations of foreign scholars made by Gustav II Adolf and his daughter Queen Christina. It reached its peak about the years 1650–1720. Cf. Lindroth 1955, pp. 342 ff., Helander 1994, pp. 38 ff. and Aili 1995, pp. 139 ff.

2 Cf. Schück 1890, p. 636.

3 Some important works discussing the poets’ situations and the social importance of poetry in the Sweden of Phrygius are Lars Gustafsson’s essay “Litteratur och miljö” (1967), Bo Ben-
They give us a sense of the politically tense situation in Sweden in the years around 1600. In this dramatic struggle for supreme power Duke Charles (later Charles IX) succeeded in deposing King Sigismund, manœuvring himself step by step all the way to the crown. Composing dedicatory poetry to powerful men under such conditions was not an easy task. Which one would end up as the final victor? As we shall see, Phrygius notably failed at a crucial moment to join the winning side. What consequences did that have? In the event, he ended his life in the position of an ecclesiastical superintendent.

However, before treating such historical and biographical circumstances more thoroughly (section 1.3), a sketch of previous research (section 1.1), as well as an account of methodological considerations and decisions will be given (section 1.2). The subsequent remarks on what kinds of works Phrygius composed (section 1.4) will serve as a background to a more in-depth discussion of the poetical works edited here (section 1.5). Section 1.6 contains comments on the language and style of the poems studied (concentrating mostly on style); section 1.7 gives an account of the editorial principles used to establish the text. After the poems follows a list containing Phrygius’ extant works (section 5.1).

1.1 Previous research

1.1.1 Studies of Swedish Neo-Latin poetry

The study of Swedish Neo-Latin poetry has a relatively brief history, although certain first steps were taken already in the 18th century. The most important contribution from that period is Wåhlberg’s dissertation *De poetis in Sviogothia latinis* (1739), with Johan Ihre as praeses. Later in the 18th century, Olof Andersson Knös aimed at continuing the study initiated by Ihre/Wåhlberg with his *Historiola Litteraria Poetarum Vestrogothiae Latinorum*, a series of dissertations published 1776–1796. According to the preface of the first dissertation, his intention was to discuss Phrygius’ poetry as well, but it was not fulfilled, since the *Historiola* was never carried out according to plans. During the same century certain initiatives were also

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4 For the first two Per Svedelius was praeses and Knös respondens, and in the remaining eight Knös was the praeses and other students were respondentes. When Knös died in 1804, his relatives donated a large part of his collection of manuscripts and prints to the Diocesan Library of Skara. Included in it were six boxes with Neo-Latin poems having the title *Carmina Westrogothorum Latina*.

5 Among early studies of Swedish Neo-Latin poetry, IJsewijn 1990, p. 281 also mentions Svedelius’ *De poetis latinis dioecesos Westmanno- Dalekarlicae* (1802), and, incorrectly, Johan Hinric Lidén’s *Historiola litteraria poetarum Suecanorum* (1764–1772). The latter in fact deals only with Swedish poets composing in Swedish.
taken to compile anthologies, known as *deliciae*, of Swedish Neo-Latin poetry.⁶

Long-term scholarly indifference to or even disdain for such literature⁷, which consisted to a great extent in occasional poetry (panegyrics, laments, congratulations etc.), began to change some decades ago, and Neo-Latin poetry has gradually attracted ever more interest since. The early surveys made by the influential scholars Henrik Schück and Sten Lindroth, in the first part of *Svensk Literaturhistoria* (1890) and in the chapter “Reformation och Humanism” in *Ny illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria* (1955), respectively, contributed a great deal to the reassessment of these Latin works. These scholars not only shed light on these texts but also stressed their importance for understanding the intellectual life of the period. Through his many observations on Neo-Latin poets, Kurt Johannesson convincingly demonstrated that this was the case in his doctoral thesis *I polstjärnans tecken* (1968). Later, at the First International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies held in Louvain in 1971, Jan Öberg offered a brief survey of Swedish Neo-Latin poetry,⁸ while Birger Bergh wrote a chapter called “Reformations- och stormaktstidens svenska latindiktning” in *Den levande antiken* (1973), and Hans Helander outlined an important period of Swedish Neo-Latin literature in “Swedish Neo-Latin Literature 1650–1720” in *Mare Balticum – Mare Nostrum* (1994). More recently, Hans Aili has written a survey of the entire Neo-Latin literature of Sweden in *A History of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature* (1995). The most comprehensive work is, however, Hans Helander’s *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden in the Period 1620-1720* (2004), which represents a major step forward in the knowledge of Neo-Latin in Sweden. Its

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⁶ Important is Petrus Schyllberg’s *Prodromus deliciarum Svecorum poetarum*, published for the first time in 1722, and in a second edition in 1733–1734. Towards the end of the 18th century Samuel Älf in Linköping started collecting poems in order to compile a *Deliciae Poetarum Svecorum*, but the work was never printed. The collected material is now stored at the Linköping Diocesan Library (LSB). Information on this important material and the donation can be found in *Nya lärda tidningar* (1775), nos. 50–51, and in *Linköpings Biblioteks Handlingar* I (1793), pp. 337 ff. The *deliciae* genre had earlier found an excellent representative in the Dutchman Janus Gruterus (Ranutilus Gherus) who, at the beginning of the 17th century, published *deliciae* with poems by authors from *inter alia* Italy (*Delitiae CC Italorum poetarum huius superiorisque aevi illustrium*, 2 vols. 1608), and Germany (*Delitiae Poetarum Germanorum Huys Superiorisque aevi illustrium*, 6 vols. 1612). See further IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, pp. 479 ff. Regarding Gruterus’ editorial work see e.g. Sandys 1958, vol. 2, pp. 359 ff.

⁷ This indifference was certainly often related to a biased view of Neo-Latin generally speaking. Many Latinists and medievalists have until quite recently not realized the roles of Latin as the language of culture and science in the period 1400–1800. Even at the end of the 1960’s a professor of Latin in Stockholm could misleadingly write in a manual of Medieval Latin as follows: *Après la Renaissance, le latin a cessé de se développer et son histoire ne présente plus d’intérêt d’un point de vue linguistique. Il est devenu ce qu’on appelle souvent une langue morte* (Norberg 1968, p. 91). Waquet’s recent statement differs from this and is illuminating: “the language itself [sc. Latin] ...had been dead since at least the eighteenth century” (Waquet 2002, p. 272).

usefulness and importance for the present study can hardly be exaggerated. These articles and surveys, however, all describe Neo-Latin literature and poetry from a more general point of view. The bibliography on Swedish Neo-Latin literature in Jozef IJsewijn’s indispensable *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (1977), whose second edition is in two volumes from 1990 and 1998, offers important information regarding handbooks and previous scholarship, among other things. Sandys’ brief notes on Swedish Neo-Latin literature in *A History of Classical Scholarship* (1958, vol. 3, pp. 332 ff.) serve as a fine introductory survey for an English-speaking audience.

In the field of early Swedish Neo-Latin poetry, research has been rather fragmentary, although some important contributions have been published. In 1923 Johan Nordström edited and published Laurentius Petri Gothus’ work *Strategema Gothici exercitus*, printed in Wittenberg in 1559. In 1973 Birger Bergh continued the study of Laurentius Petri Gothus’ poetry by making an edition, including introduction, translation and commentary, of the works *Aliquot elegiae*, and *Urbs Stockholmia*, both of them probably written in 1561. The German-born poet Henricus Mollerus was the subject of an essay written by Kurt Johannesson in 1974 in which he also discussed general problems connected to the interpretation of Neo-Latin poetry. In his “Retorik och propaganda vid det äldre Vasahovet”, the same author had earlier also examined the poems of both Henricus Mollerus and Laurentius Petri Gothus as part of the propaganda coming out of the Swedish court. In 1929 Georg Ellinger also dealt briefly with Mollerus in his history of German Neo-Latin literature. In a work of popular scholarship from 1972, Gunnar Bäärnhielm and Åke Åberg presented the *Epithalamion* of Ericus Jacobi Skinnerus, composed for the occasion of the wedding between John III and his second wife Gunilla Bielke in 1585. There they also included a large portion of the Latin text. Also highly relevant in this context is Annika Ström’s doctoral thesis, *Lachrymae Catharinae. Five Collections of Funeral Poetry from 1628. Edited with Studies on the Theoretical Background and the Social Context of the Genre* (1994). These poems are close in time to Phrygius, and, moreover, Ström’s studies of funeral poetry as influenced by handbooks on rhetoric and poetry are important for understanding the dirges in the present thesis.

The poets mentioned above, Laurentius Petri Gothus, Henricus Mollerus and Ericus Jacobi Skinnerus, may be considered the most important representatives of early Swedish Neo-Latin poetry. Phrygius belongs in the same category as well, by virtue of the extent and importance of his literary pro-

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9 Bergh’s study was later fiercely criticized in a review by Jan Öberg in *Fornvännen* 70 (1975), pp. 49–56.
duction. Schück and several other scholars have stressed his prominent position among the poets at the turn of the century 1600.10

1.1.2 Studies concerning Phrygius

Two of the poems by Phrygius edited here, the *Ecloga prima* and the *Threnologia dramatica*, have earlier been briefly discussed in Kurt Johannesson’s above mentioned doctoral thesis *I polstjärnans tecken* (1968), in which other early Neo-Latin poets are treated as well. The *Ecloga prima* has also been dealt with both by Johannesson in his unpublished licentiate dissertation *Herde och Lantman. Studier i svensk 1600-talslitteratur* (1962), focusing on Swedish pastorals, and by Tore Wretö in *Det förklarade ögonblicket. Studier i västerländsk idyll från Theokritos till Strindberg* (1977). Furthermore, aspects of Phrygius’ literary production are mentioned in several other works. For instance, Lars Gustafsson’s doctoral thesis *Virtus politica* (1956) discusses the poems on the coronation of Gustav II Adolf.

Phrygius has also been the subject of certain minor studies that have been important for this thesis. Hans-Erik Johannesson’s 1987 essay, “Den förlorade texten. Sylvester Johannis Phrygius och hans ‘opus poeticum’”, gives an introduction to Phrygius and his works, and discusses the problem of Phrygius’ *Opus poeticum* (used several times by Phrygius to denote an upcoming but in the end never published work, cf. below sections 1.3.1 and 1.4). General introductions to Phrygius have been written by Ragnar Ekholm (1963) and Harald Schiller (1944), the latter being, however, less useful for our purposes. In 1908 Theodor Hjelmquist dealt with two of Phrygius’ Swedish poems in a brief linguistic study in which he concentrated on explaining certain expressions used by Phrygius. An interesting piece of research regarding Phrygius was produced by the young scholar Kjell Boström in his book *Jacob Matham och vädersolarna över Stockholm* (1958). On a visit to Amsterdam, Boström had come across an engraved copperplate that had been deliberately made to be of difficult interpretation (it was entitled *Oblique*), the orderer of which was particularly hard to establish. Boström claims that Phrygius must have been the man behind the work. The thesis is fascinating, although it is far too speculative, and its conclusion must be seriously called in question. When the book was published posthumously in 1958, five years after Boström’s death, it was furiously criticized in a review by Henrik Sandblad. Although many of the negative remarks are just, e.g. as regards methodological deficiencies, factual errors and rash conjectures, Boström’s work contains more of value than Sandblad admitted.11 This will

11 The review was published in *Lychnos* (1959), pp. 272–276. It must be said that Sandblad hardly does himself credit in this review despite being right in his main criticisms. He finds faults where there are none, gives great weight to misconceptions peripheral to the argument,
be obvious in a later chapter in this thesis which will try to outline Phrygius’ relationship to some members of the Swedish royal family.

Information on Phrygius’ life and work may be found in biographical dictionaries, the most important of which are the short note in vol. 6 of Svenska män och kvinnor (1949) in Gösta Gideon Molin’s Smolandi Upsalienses (1955) and the more detailed one in vol. 11 of Biographiskt lexicon öfver namnkunnige svenska män (1845). These articles, as well as pastoral records and biographical books of reference generally, were based on the information provided by Johan Gothenius in Götheborgska magasinet (1766), nos. 41–50. In his turn, Gothenius had gathered much information from the handwritten genealogical table of the chief magistrate of Jönköping, Nils Kellander, who counted Phrygius among his ancestors, Phrygius being Kellander’s maternal great grandfather.

There are no doubt other studies which could have been mentioned in this short report of previous research as well, such as ones that try to give an overview of the literary period or aspects of it, like Gunnar Castrén’s early and important Stormaktstidens diktning (1907), as well as certain lesser contributions to the study of the early Neo-Latin poetry. The above outline should, however, be sufficient in order to give an indication of prior scholarship. Above all it should show that Phrygius’ Latin poetry has not attracted very much attention up until now and has never been the subject of any more thoroughgoing study.

1.2 Methodological remarks

As indicated above, Phrygius’ Swedish poetical predecessors were quite few. When he started his literary career, poetry composed according to Renaissance standards had been being produced in Sweden for about half a century. Beginning in the 1550’s with Henricus Mollerus and Laurentius Petri Gothus, the custom of celebrating important occasions with elevated poetry grew stronger over the years. Mollerus was German by birth, and Laurentius was educated in Wittenberg. Their background clearly indicates where early Neo-Latin literary influences came from and in which tradition this poetry must be considered. The opportunities of getting a higher education in Sweden were for a long time limited, since education at Uppsala University had been suspended during the war of liberation. In consequence students usually had to attend universities on the continent. Despite the occasional earlier resumption of academic studies both in Uppsala and Stockholm and the final reopening of Uppsala University in 1593, Swedish students continued to go

and ridicules Boström’s very effort. In the end one does not even know whether Sandblad is annoyed at Boström’s interpretation or at the copperplate itself.

\textsuperscript{12} It is a remarkable fact that Phrygius is not included in Svenskt biografiskt lexikon.
to German universities for many years to come. Several generations of Swedish authors were thus formed and fostered in the German academic literary culture. This exchange seemed quite natural against the background of common Reformatory ideas and ideals. As will be seen, Phrygius is no exception to this pattern.

Thus far it is clear that Phrygius’ poems have to be read and interpreted from several different perspectives. It goes without saying that a well-founded and relevant interpretation of the selected texts is, along with the edition, the main purpose of a study such as this. Since the reading suggested here is closely related to complex issues concerning several aspects of Phrygius’ life, ideas, convictions and ambitions, it is necessary to enter fairly deeply into his social relations, his career and the political situation of Sweden. In addition to the kind of information customary in philological studies of this kind, regarding issues such as the author’s biography or the grammar and style of the texts studied, additional emphasis has been placed on comments of an historical and theological nature. These two aspects must neither be overlooked nor separated when discussing the domestic political developments during these years. Phrygius’ poems can hopefully also serve to provide a more detailed picture of the conditions for a young and ambitious poet working and striving to carve out a career during this dramatic period in history.

Accordingly, such a reading presupposes that we take authorial intention into account, just as readers of Phrygius’ texts have presumably always done. The works edited here are representatives of poetry that is socially embedded to such a degree that it would be misleading to attempt to disregard this aspect. For instance, the message communicated in them has certain addressees to whom Phrygius has a relation, on whom he wishes to impress and whose appreciation he tries to gain by singing their praise. To carry this out in turbulent times necessarily means choosing sides.

Knowledge about contemporary literary social conventions is necessary in order to approach an understanding of Phrygius’ intentions. In this kind of pre-romantic poetry the individual author’s role should be regarded as generally less important, and this has implications for modern readers as well.

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15 Cf. Hinds 1998, p. 49 “…one of the most persistent ways in which both Roman and Modern readers construct the meaning of a poetic text is by attempting to construct from (and for) it an intention-bearing authorial voice, a construction which they generally hope or believe (in a belief which must always be partly misguided) to be a reconstruction; and the author thus (re)constructed is one who writes towards an implied reader who will attempt such a (re)construction”, but also p. 144.
We should not allow ourselves to exaggerate an author’s inventiveness in a literature where manipulation of certain generic features, such as various topoi, themes and motifs, was both expected and required. Yet it is a fact that composing in accordance with such more or less set rules implies planning, organization, revision, etc. This in turn presupposes authorial intention.\textsuperscript{16} However, what has been said here does certainly not mean that readers (including ourselves) have always been able to interpret the texts in accordance with Phrygius’ intention or that he managed to convey his intended message successfully.\textsuperscript{17}

Related to the above mentioned aims is the creation of an interpretative context for Phrygius’ poems by means of references, in a broad perspective, to contemporary material, as well as any classical allusions.\textsuperscript{18} The indebtedness of Neo-Latin authors to ancient literature is unquestionable, and indeed programmatic, so scholars have usually concentrated on that relation. As a consequence they have neglected the synchronic perspective, and the immensely rewarding comparative study of literature contemporary with the texts they are working with. Neo-Latin literature is a vast territory, and adequate resources have often been lacking. These conditions are, however, constantly improving. Database searches for the classical literature have been possible for some decades, and now such useful tools are available for the Neo-Latin period as well. One of these is the database known as \textit{Camena – Corpus Automatum Multiplex Electorum Neolatinitatis Auctorum}, which is accessible on the Internet. Since it covers a huge part of the poetry composed in Germany in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, i.e. the precise literature with which Phrygius came in close contact during his time at various German universities, it is extremely well suited for a study of his poems, as will be seen.\textsuperscript{19}

As was indicated earlier, the material from Sweden prior to Phrygius is limited and manageable. Accordingly, I have been able to read through all the Swedish Neo-Latin poetry prior to Phrygius, this being collected in Isak Collijn’s \textit{Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600} (Collijn 1500), as a complement to other reading and database searches on the above mentioned literature. Searches in concordances of the Vulgate and some late Latin authors, as well as in such for the time enormously important works as the \textit{Disticha Catonis}\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{17} The idea is well formulated in Terentianus Maurus’ (1286) famous proverbial saying: \textit{Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli} (Walther, 10529).
\textsuperscript{18} That such a perspective, viz. taking contemporary material into serious account, is important in studies of Neo-Latin texts might seem self-evident, but practice has not really reflected it. The need for such an approach has been stressed in e.g. Rabbie 1996, pp. 39 f. and Høllander 2001, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{19} This holds good in spite of the immense amount of errors contained in the searchable texts of the \textit{Camena}-database. Below I have referred to passages located with the aid of the database to the actual prints, with a simple indication that they are available in \textit{Camena}. I have also included short biographical notes on the authors represented, and the name-forms and years of life given there will be used throughout in my thesis.
\textsuperscript{20} References are made to the edition of Marcus Boas (1952).
and Erasmus’ *Adagia*\(^{21}\) have also been carried out. A survey of Phrygius’ entire extant literary production has been an obvious prerequisite of the study of the poems in this edition, in order to uncover features characteristic of his linguistic usage and mode of thought.

Naturally, the study has been carried out under constant consultation of various dictionaries and handbooks. It should be stressed that some of these give excellent information on material contemporary to Phrygius. This is especially true for Henkel & Schöne’s *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Walther’s *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, and for Hoven’s *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance*.

Dictionaries contemporary with the works under investigation have turned out to be extremely useful for the study, especially those by Jonas Petri Gothus (JPG henceforth) printed in 1640, and Basilius Faber Soranus (BFS henceforth) printed in 1686 (the Cellarius edition).\(^{22}\)

As regards theology, Melanchthon’s *Loci praecipuae theologici* (1559) and the very Melanchthonian *Brevis Ratio et Methodus Discendi Theologiam* (1561) by the Swede Erasmus Nicolai Arbogensis have merited special attention. They were both used in the education of Lutheran clergymen, and Melanchthon’s theological *Loci* had, for instance, also been the subject of David Chytraeus’ lectures in Rostock during some years in the 1560’s.\(^{23}\)

With these resources and many more, the aim has been to find and identify Phrygius’ literary models and sources, allusions and intertexts (not least contemporary ones), as well as relevant thematic and linguistic parallels along with what we can discover of the historical reality as a guide for our interpretation.

The very use of parallels, so characteristic of contemporary philological research, is a constant subject for reflection and debate. The typology suggested by Roy Gibson is a valuable contribution to that discussion, not least since he gives clear examples of how parallels serve a wide range of ends in practice, and that the relations of resemblance can be very heterogeneous.\(^{24}\)

A reader should understand that the exact sense of a ‘cf.’ in the end only depends on the parallel itself.\(^{25}\) This does not mean that we should not try to classify the parallels into various main types in order to figure out what the

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\(^{21}\) References, if nothing else is stated, are made to the edition by Frobenius in Basel 1559.

\(^{22}\) For a brief discussion of the importance of these works see Helander 1995, p. 20.

\(^{23}\) Lindroth 1975, pp. 245 f. and Czaika 2002, pp. 61 f. and 144.


\(^{25}\) In addition Stephen Hinds’ words are certainly true that such a ‘cf.’ must be treated “as an invitation to interpret rather than as the end of interpretation” (Hinds 1998, p. 51).
author in question is actually doing.\textsuperscript{26} While Gibson sheds light on how commentators use parallels, Rabbie is more concerned with suggesting convenient principles for practical editorial work with Neo-Latin texts.\textsuperscript{27} Accordingly, he would only distinguish between three levels of imitation used by an author: when an entire poem is based on a model poem by another author; when a certain passage is based on a model passage in another author’s poem; and when a certain verse from another author is more or less modified. Rabbie further explains the last of these as “(almost) literal quotations of an entire verse … and thus going from half-lines and hyperbata to beginnings and ends of verses”.\textsuperscript{28} He continues:

Above all the end of the verse, the place where especially in the hexameter and the pentameter, but also in other metres, poetic necessity is the greatest, will – certainly in “lesser” poets – often occasion the use of standard formulas that can also be found more than once in other authors […] The use of “poetisches Formelgut” […] is an important aspect of the imitation as found in Neo-Latin poetry and therefore deserves the commentator’s attention.\textsuperscript{29}

With this in mind, one might state that the frequent occurrence of such previously used phrases, often appearing as formulas or seemingly fixed poetical building-blocks\textsuperscript{30}, can to some degree indicate a lack of skill in the poet under study.\textsuperscript{31} The validity of this conclusion has been taken as a starting-point in my study of Phrygius’ poems. However, while Rabbie suggests that such poetical building-blocks should be marked as ‘formulaic’ and/or explained with a reference to Schumann’s \textit{Hexameterlexikon}, a different strategy will be followed in the present thesis. The most important reason for this is that neither the label ‘formulaic’ nor a reference to Schumann would reveal anything concerning the prehistory of phrase of immediate relevance to the reader. Despite still his usefulness, Schumann is, as Rabbie admits, far from complete. Is it not obvious that it is interesting to get an indication of

\textsuperscript{26} This is exemplified with cases of imitation from Phrygius’ poetry in section 1.6.5 below. E.g. Karsten Friis-Jensen’s analysis of parallels to Vergil in the works of Saxo Grammaticus (\textit{Saxo og Vergil} 1975) demonstrated this need clearly.
\textsuperscript{27} Cf. Stephen Hinds: “practical criticism has to make its compromises with practicable criticism; and there will always be readings in which […] it will be more important to affirm the existence of a shared discourse than to classify the individual voices which make up that discourse” (Hinds 1998, pp. 50 f.).
\textsuperscript{28} Rabbie 1996, pp. 40 ff. (the references to Rabbie in the following discussion are also to these very pages). It is true that Rabbie renders these categories somewhat differently, limiting the imitations to works by authors from classical antiquity. But since he exemplifies the categories with imitations by Neo-Latin authors to both Late Latin and contemporary authors, it would be misleading to keep the exact labels here, just as it was in Rabbie’s own text.
\textsuperscript{31} But cf. what is said on this matter in section 1.6.5 below. Even among eminent ancient Roman poets this building-block practice can be attested.
where a phrase, i.e. a possible formula or poetical building-block, has actually previously occurred? Thus my intention in the present thesis has been to account to a reasonable extent for such earlier occurrences. Furthermore, an expression only once attested here may have been imitated many times without our knowledge, and so to speak, live a life independent of its originator, in other works, phrase-books, etc. All we can state is that it has occurred, and that it can thus be re-used and regarded as a poetical building-block, although we cannot decide whether it should really be regarded as ‘formulaic’ or not. These references in the commentary will most often be given without unnecessary quotation of cited instances. Compromises were necessary in order to avoid burdening the text with too many long references. There will thus be a focus upon certain kinds of phrases, e.g. recurring verse starts and verse endings, head-words with attributes (e.g. *praeduros labores*) and mechanical junctures (e.g. *usibus apta*)\(^{32}\), but not necessarily literally exact phrases (a verse ending like *fulmine belli* would not be separated from a *fulmina belli*). Examples of occurrences in ancient literature will, if these are many, mostly be limited to three in number\(^{33}\), those from Neo-Latin texts to one (further examples are easily retrieved from the databases mentioned above). As a rule attempts to prove direct imitation in such cases will rarely be successful\(^{34}\), but as was said earlier, the mere previous occurrence of it *could* point towards a lack of creative independence, and indicate that it should be treated as a poetical building-block. As in all attempts to locate traces from earlier authors, we cannot exclude the possibility of haphazard confluences\(^{35}\), still, given the wide-spread custom of collecting phrases and beautiful and wise sayings among students of Latin contemporary with Phrygius, our method should attempt to correspond at least to some degree with their practice.\(^{36}\)

Moreover, the decision to give less priority to mediaeval sources in the thesis certainly does not mean that such sources will be neglected. The dependent relationship of Neo-Latin to *all of earlier Latinity* must always be

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\(^{32}\) Roughly following the division suggested in Ollfors 1967, pp. 82 and 110. Cf. the discussion in section 1.6.5 below.

\(^{33}\) The selection of examples usually gives preference to the more important poets, and aims at giving some indication of the range of time during which the phrase occurs.

\(^{34}\) Cf. Friis-Jensen 1975, p. 88. Rabbie’s view that references to a single passage run that risk is correct (Rabbie 1996, p. 41). As Friis-Jensen (1975, p. 86) says, parallels consisting of unproved reminiscenses would in the first place be difficult to understand correctly for those unfamiliar with this complex of problems.

\(^{35}\) Accidental confluences are often mentioned as a pitfall in tracing parallels generally speaking. Stephen Hinds’ words serve as a highly relevant *memento*: “the fact that language renders us always already acculturated guarantees that there is no such thing as a wholly non-negotiable confluence, no such thing as zero-interpretability. This is the basic insight of the semiological intertextualist; and in principle, as well as for the more practical dividends which it can offer, it should be embraced within the philological allusionist’s enterprise, not treated as irrelevant or (worse) as a threat to it.” (Hinds 1998, p. 34).

\(^{36}\) This is further discussed in section 1.6.5 below.
taken for granted. This is particularly true because of the great impact of Christianity.\textsuperscript{37} As the reader will notice, references to mediaeval material have been inevitable, though, for obvious reasons, the focus is not there.

As to technical details, it should be noted that Latin authors and works are as far as possible referred to and abbreviated in accordance with the principles of the \textit{Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (TLL)}, with a slight alteration of the typography. In those cases where other authors and works have been abbreviated, my hope is that these will be understandable without explanation.

Passages from the Latin Bible are as a rule quoted from the \textit{Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam} (originally from 1592), as edited in the \textit{Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos} (1994). As can be seen below, especially in the \textit{Centuria Prima}-print, Phrygius was acquainted with some Latin versions of Holy Scripture. Since it was impossible to state exactly which Latin translations he used and quoted from in that work\textsuperscript{38}, and since we can see in the book-list from Phrygius’ time at the school of Linköping that the Vulgate but no other Latin Bible belonged to its collections\textsuperscript{39}, it seemed reasonable to follow that version.

1.3 Biographical notes

1.3.1 Phrygius’ life and career

Sylvester Johannis Phrygius\textsuperscript{40} was born 25 December 1572\textsuperscript{41} in Kalmar, a town on the East Coast of southern Sweden. His father Johannes Sylvester would later become the chief magistrate there.\textsuperscript{42} Kalmar was by this time a very important commercial centre, and its fortified castle was one of the

\textsuperscript{37} Cf. IJsewijn 1990, pp. 22 ff.

\textsuperscript{38} Phrygius’ biblical quotations have been compared to the Latin translations of the Bible made up to Phrygius’ time as treated in Josef Eskhult’s survey in “Latin Bible Versions in the Age of Reformation and Post-Reformation” in \textit{Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift} (2006).

\textsuperscript{39} The book-list in \textit{Album antiquum Scholae Lincopensis} at LSB.

\textsuperscript{40} Apart from the information given by Gothenius in \textit{Götheborgska magasinet} (1766), nos. 41–50, some contributions to Phrygius’ biography were made by Sigfrid Gahm Persson in \textit{Archivum Smolandicum}, vol. 9 (63): fol. 514 ff., manuscript material stored at VSB (Växjö City Library).

\textsuperscript{41} In the margin of p. 3 in the \textit{Oratio Encomiastica} in \textit{Agon Regius} (1620), Phrygius says that he was born in \textit{A.C. 1572. XXV. Decembris}. Ihré/Wåhlberg 1739, p. 14, incorrectly claimed that he was born in 1576. In Samuel Älfl’s collection (LSB W 25: 2) both dates can be found. The false year 1576 can also be obtained from the portraits of Phrygius in Linköping and Gothenburg. In both it is written that the painting was made \textit{Aet. Suae LI} in \textit{AC. MDCXXVII}.\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{42} Sylvander 1865, vol. II, 2, p. 676. In a footnote the author refers to the church accounts of 1605 in \textit{Kammar-Colleg. ark} (i.e. the Archives of the Kammarkollegium, which at this time oversaw the financial administration of the country).
strongest in the country. The family probably immigrated to Sweden from Germany during the reign of Gustav Vasa (1523–1560).

Several of Phrygius’ biographers claim that he became a student at Uppsala University at the age of 20, which is also mentioned in a poem by Jonas Rothovius in the Σχεδιάσματα (1600), but he is not listed in its earliest registers. After being ordained in 1598 Phrygius decided to continue his university studies abroad, like most other Swedish young men struggling to earn a higher education. As was customary for a young Lutheran, he began his university studies on the continent matriculating at the University of Rostock by the end of September 1598. That environment was much dominated by the spirit of David Chytraeus, who was still alive at this time. He then attended lectures at Stade on the Elbe (Hannover), where Otto Casmann was one of his teachers. At a later stage he studied at the University of Jena, and finally at Wittenberg, where he matriculated 11 March 1602 and received his master’s degree twelve days later. Like several other students of Swedish origin Phrygius won the title of poeta caesareo-laureatus. This was originally bestowed on poets by the Holy Roman Emperor in person, but was by this time often granted by professors at the Academies. In Phrygius’ case the title was conferred by the professor and famous emblematis Niko-

43 Michael Olai Gylstenstolpe says in his Epitome descriptionis Sueciae … (1650): Calmaria, antiqua urbs Smolandiae, clavis Gothici Regni ad orientem […] Arx adjacent invictissima …
45 David Chytraeus’ huge influence upon the development of the Swedish church, as well as his contact with John III, was recently discussed in Otfried Czaika’s David Chytraeus und die Universität Rostock in ihren Beziehungen zum schwedischen Reich (2002).
46 The information is e.g. given in Martin Brasch’s poem in Σχεδιάσματα (1600). For information on Otto Casmann see Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, vol. IV, p. 54.
47 Phrygius matriculated at the University of Jena in the summer of 1601 (Die Matrikel der Universität Jena, vol. 1, p. 238).
48 The intellectual climate among Swedish students at the universities of Rostock, Wittenberg and Jena at this time is described in Tham 1935, pp. 60 ff. The number of Swedish students visiting foreign universities increased at this time, since many wanted to avoid the political conflicts in Sweden, but also because the religious confrontations created a need for contacts with fellow-believers (both Catholic and Lutheran) on the continent. The strong contemporary focus on theological education should also be viewed in this light (Ahnlund 1913, pp. 171 f. and 176).
49 Album Academiae Vitebergensis, vol. 2, p. 488, and Callmer 1976, p. 50. The notes about Phrygius in the roll of students on whom a master’s degree had been conferred at the faculty of philosophy at Wittenberg’s university are: “1602 23/3: Sylvester Phrygius Calmariensis Suecus, P[oëta] L[aureatus], factus concinator aulae regiae et superintendens Gothoburgiae” (from Carlsson 1962, p. 212 f. The words in italics are in a later hand, which shows that the destinies of former students were noted). As regards the relatively high proportion of Swedes obtaining the degree in Wittenberg, in comparision to other academies, see Nilén 1983, p. 252.
50 Ihre/Wåhlberg 1739, p. 14, mentions e.g. Daniel Hjortvipa, Johannes Messenius, Andreas Gyldenklou and Laurentius Laurinus.
laus Reusner in Jena. Obviously Phrygius esteemed this honour highly, since as a rule he adds *poeta coronatus* to his name in his writings later.

In 1600 Phrygius was recalled to Sweden by the Cathedral Chapter of Linköping in order to become *rector scholae* in Vadstena, though it cannot be established whether he ever embarked on that career. In the same year Duke Charles appointed Phrygius, together with Johannes Bureus, the famous Swedish mystic, to assist Johan Jöranson Rosenhane in archiving and inventorizing the documents in the Government Offices. However, Phrygius returned to Germany in order to finish his university studies already in the summer of 1601, when he arrived at Jena. This indicates that there must have been problems early on. We will probably never know for sure why his time in Duke Charles’ service was so brief, but, as we will see in the next chapter, this circumstance must be taken into account when considering his view of and relation to the Duke in general.

After having gained his master’s degree in Wittenberg and returned to Sweden, Phrygius was in 1603 appointed headmaster of the Cathedral school of Linköping, by this time one of the foremost in Sweden. There he also became a *poenitentiarius*, i.e. responsible for pastoral care. He remained in these offices until 1610. On his leaving them he held a valedictory sermon in Linköping Cathedral, on 25 February 1610, in which he provides much information about his time in this town and his way of directing the school. Of special interest for us is that Phrygius complains in this sermon of having been neglected. He claims that there was no one who appreciated him or could plead his cause before the authorities, neither in his own nor his wife’s family. Since he was in fact married to one of the daughters of the bishop of Linköping, Petrus Benedicti (Oelandus), this seems somewhat surprising, even though the bishop himself had died in 1606. Furthermore some of his brothers-in-law, to whom the print was also dedicated, held important positions at the offices of Duke Charles. One explanation why he mentions his desire for better appointments in the sermon is that he wanted to have means enough to be able to publish his works in Swedish and Latin, among which he mentions an *opus poeticum*.

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51 A copy of the printed diploma can be found in UUB, shelfmark *Palmsk* 343, fol. 635. It is dated 13 December 1601. For information on Reusner see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 299 ff.
52 According to information in the collection with propemptika written in his honour on this occasion, entitled *Σχεδιάσματα* (1600).
53 See the short biography on him in a footnote in section 1.3.2 below.
54 Sjödin 1938, p. 26. The letter of appointment, with the date 16 December 1600, was printed in *Meddelanden från Svenska Riks-archivet*, vol. 2, part 9, p. 231 f. In the letter we can read that Charles appoints ‘the student Sylvester Johannis Phrygius, who at the moment lives in Linköping’ (my translation).
55 The sermon was printed as *Een christelig valetpredikning* in Stockholm 1613.
56 See here Ekholm 1963, pp. 35–51.
In 1610 Duke John, his most important patron and benefactor, accordingly appointed Phrygius vicar in the town of Skövde. John’s dukedom consisted in administrative precincts not only in Östergötland but also in Dalsland and Västergötland where Skövde is situated. Phrygius came to dislike his new situation very early. In 1611 he pleaded with the Duke’s council for a better appointment, and claimed that he would leave his office if his economic situation did not improve. One of the reasons for his dissatisfaction was, once again, that he wanted to be able to afford the publication of an *opus poeticum* and a *methodus concionatoria*.

In 1612, or perhaps 1615, Duke John decided to create a new superintendency out of those administrative precincts of the dukedom located in Västergötland and Dalsland. Skövde became the diocesan capital, and Phrygius was promoted to superintendent. However, when John died in 1618 the superintendency was withdrawn, and its parishes went back to their former dioceses. A new one was created shortly afterwards in Gothenburg out of administrative districts previously forming part of the Diocese of Skara. Phrygius was first appointed vicar there in 1619, and a year later he also received the title of superintendent. The royal letter of attorney is dated 26 April 1620. Valuable glimpses into Phrygius’ stay in Gothenburg are given in his letters to Gustav II Adolf and Axel Oxenstierna, now kept in the National Archives of Sweden (RA).

By this time the newly founded Gothenburg was still a small town, whose population to a great extent consisted of German, Scottish and Dutch immigrants. Some of them were members of the so-called Arminian church. Phrygius became responsible for their pastoral care as well. In 1622 he requested the king to forbid them to have a clergyman of their own, described the miserable conditions in Gothenburg and suggested necessary improvements: the rain came in into their hastily built church, the liturgical vestments were very simple, there was no vicarage, but Phrygius had to arrange

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57 See the short biography on him in a footnote in section 1.3.2 below.
58 That Phrygius planned to edit such a *methodus*, i.e. a treatise on preaching, is told already in the sermon for the wedding of *Isaac B. Rothovius* (1605). The plan is part of his heritage from his studies at Lutheran German universities. An indication of what the work might have looked like is given in the study of these kinds of treatises in Kreslins 1993, pp. 21 ff.
59 The superintendencies were introduced in Sweden by Gustav Vasa, who appointed superintendents for the new dioceses that had been created through divisions of old dioceses or in newly conquered districts.
60 The bishop of Växjö, Petrus Jonae, in a letter of 10 October 1619 to the Swedish chancellor Axel Oxenstierna pleaded for Phrygius not to be degraded but that he should become a superintendent even in Gothenburg. The letter is edited in Oxenstierna 1930, pp. 384–386.
61 Gustav II Adolf’s letters, both the one where Phrygius is appointed vicar in 1619, and the one where he is promoted to superintendent in 1620, can be found in copies made by Sigfrid Gahm Persson in UUB, X 217, fol. 364–368.
62 Named for Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609), a Dutch Reformed theologian who, among other things, repudiated the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. When Arminius’ ideas had been rejected at the Synod of Dort (1618–1619) many of his followers were forced into exile.
his own housing, etc. However, most interesting for us is what he says in the same letter about his writing efforts. For many years he had been preparing several theological and poetical works written in Latin, as well as some on theological subjects in Swedish. Recalling that Duke John used to pay him an annual wage for his work on these, he now asks Gustav II Adolf for the same. Thus he would also be able to print his *Opus poeticum*, which learned men in Wittenberg were eagerly awaiting. The German nation had not yet seen any Swedish poems, he claims. On the suggestion of the bishop of Wäxjö, Petrus Jonae, in 1626 he offered himself as a candidate for the superintendency in Kalmar, with the intention of replacing the recently deceased Jonas Rothovius and marrying his widow. But he would remain in Gothenburg until he died in 1628. From a letter from Phrygius to the king a year earlier in 1627, we know that he was ill, forced to lie in bed with a sickness affecting his hands and feet for which the doctors in the country knew no cure. Therefore he was planning to travel to the Netherlands or ask a Dutch doctor to come to him in Sweden. Phrygius died in 1628 and was probably buried in Gothenburg.

Phrygius had several children from his marriage with Kristina, daughter of the bishop of Linköping, Petrus Benedicti. She died in the plague of Gothenburg early in 1625. Their first-born son Jacob was born in 1603 but died only three weeks after birth. Johannes is also said to have died while still an infant. Sylvester Sylvestersson became a captain in the cavalry, and

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64 As can be seen in a letter from Petrus Jonae to Axel Oxenstierna, in Oxenstierna 1930, p. 413. The case is also mentioned in Phrygius’ letters to Axel Oxenstierna on Whitsunday and 8 September 1626, at RA (in *Brev till rikskanslern Axel Oxenstierna, ser. B. E690*).


68 In the *Memoriae reverendi et Clarissimi Viri* (1608), Phrygius added a moving piece of poetry, written in memory of his first son. Since the poem is the most personal and intense among the works preserved it is here reproduced *in extenso*:

>Hic JACOBE tui sita corporis ossa quiescunt,  
Qua Furiae sceptro luxuriante regunt.  
Ast animam Genius pia duxit ad agmina Christus,  
Qua omnigena justos prosperitate beat.  
Tempus erit, quum mille tuis excepta labellis,  
Ceu postliminij basia jure feram.  
Sed flos labe carens, fili suavissime, salve,  
Qui bona pro falsis vera beatus habes.

These four elegiac distichs are followed by a response verse in which the deceased son bids his parents farewell from heaven, describing paradise and how he is now enjoying eternal life.

28
Petrus Sylvester Phrygius became the first reader in history and poetry at the gymnasium in Gothenburg founded in 1640.69

One Joseph Phrygius is said to have been a county treasurer or book-keeper in Linköping. Whether he was Phrygius’s son or another relative cannot be determined. His daughter Birgitta married Petrus Columbus, poet and clergyman in Larv in Västergötland. His daughter Rebecka married Major Anders Bruce and died a widow in 1690.70

1.3.2 Historical background

As mentioned earlier, the years when Phrygius composed the poems under study were turbulent. The following notes will try to summarize both the events preceding and the contemporary situation in Sweden.71

Once Gustav Vasa had succeeded in winning the throne for himself (1523–1560), among other things he forced through the Reformation from 1527 onwards as well as the law of hereditary succession to the throne in the Succession Pact (Arvföreningen) of 1544. With those measures he intended to guarantee stability in domestic politics and a powerful royal house. After Gustav Vasa died, Sweden was first ruled by his eldest son Erik XIV (1560–1568).72 Erik was overthrown by his younger brothers Duke John and Duke Charles73, being succeeded by Duke John, who became John III (1568–1592)74. John’s reign was characterized by tensions between the royal house and the nobility as well as by religious controversies, which were nourished by his own strong interest in theology. The latter led to the Church Ordinance of 1571 and a new Liturgy (“the Red Book”) in 1576, innovations characterized by Catholic influences, the result being a kind of compromise between Lutheranism and Catholicism.

70 Some information on Phrygius’ children was retrieved from the pastoral records of Skara (Warholm 1874, p. 266 f.) and of Gothenburg (Skarstedt 1948, p. 3 f.), as well as from Molin 1955, p. 33. A note in the Samuel Ålf collection (W 25:2, fol. 155r) claims that Rebecka married the clergyman Laurentius Eriici Wallerius in Högsby in 1644. In the same note it is stated that Joseph’s entire name was Joseph Benedicti Phrygius, which would mean that our Phrygius was not the father.
71 Important works dealing with this historical period are e.g. Michael Roberts’ The Early Vasas (1968), Ingun Montgomery’s Värjostånd och lärostånd (1972), and Åke Andrén’s Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3. Reformationtid (1999).
72 For short biographical notes on Erik XIV, see the commentary on line 169 of the Threnologia dramatica.
73 Duke Charles (1550–1611), from 1607 called Charles IX, was the youngest son of Gustav Vasa and Margaret Leijonhufvud. He supported John III in deposing Erik XIV in 1568, and acceded his dukedom the same year. There were repeated conflicts between him and John as regards church politics, and this continued when Sigismund inherited the throne. Having been head of government in Sigismund’s absence, Charles succeeded in having the king dethroned in 1599, and was himself asked to accept the crown one year later. He was crowned in 1607.
74 For short biographical notes on John III, see the comments on the title of the Threnologia dramatica.
Especially the Red Book met with strong opposition from the clergy. John also negotiated with the Pope about the conditions under which the Swedish church could be reunited with the Roman Catholic, but without success.\textsuperscript{75} He himself was especially inclined to a theology of mediation, and influenced by the works of Georg Cassander.\textsuperscript{76} In his first marriage John was married to the Catholic princess Catherine, daughter of the Polish King Sigismund I. Their son, Crown Prince Sigismund\textsuperscript{77}, was also Crown Prince of Poland and had been brought up a Catholic. For a while John was also closely associated with some representatives of the Counter-Reformation, but his eventual Catholic inclinations were in any case weakened during the last period of his life. His second wife, Gunilla Bielke (1568–1597), whom he married in 1585, was of Lutheran confession and probably influenced him a great deal.

When Sigismund inherited the throne of Lutheran Sweden after John’s III death in 1592, he was already king in Poland. In order to stabilize and control the religious development in Sweden, Duke Charles, now the foremost Lutheran member of the royal family, summoned the Uppsala assembly\textsuperscript{78} in early 1593 at which the Swedish church, among other measures, adopted the \textit{Confessio Augustana} as its Symbolic Books. When Sigismund arrived in Sweden for the first time as king in September 1593 he was confronted with a \textit{fait accompli} regarding confessional matters along with a seemingly united church. Sigismund’s coronation took place in Uppsala in February 1594. The tensions between Sigismund and Duke Charles escalated with time, and Duke Charles used Sigismund’s Catholic confession and his many absences from the country in order to extend his own political powers.\textsuperscript{79} One of the principal questions in this controversy was the sanctity of oaths.\textsuperscript{80} Sigismund was the legitimate king, and to him the councillors and the Swedish people had sworn fidelity. This pledge of fidelity, however, had been given only after the king had sworn that he would not permit any foreign religious worship in the country. Sigismund had already the day before his coronation in 1594 signed a secret Catholic document through which he violated his oath.

\textsuperscript{75} On this specific question, see further Hildebrand’s \textit{Johan III och Europas katolska makter} (1898), and Hammargren’s \textit{Om den liturgiska striden under konung Johan III} (1898).

\textsuperscript{76} See further e.g. Hildebrand 1898, pp. 249 ff.

\textsuperscript{77} Sigismund (1566–1632), son of John III and Catherine Jagellonica, was elected king of Poland in 1587. When John died in 1592, Sigismund inherited the throne of Sweden as well. According to the traditional scholarly view it was generally believed that he wanted to reintroduce Catholicism in Sweden, since he was strongly influenced by Jesuit advisors and supported the Counter-Reformation. Having been defeated by Duke Charles, Sigismund was deposed in Sweden in 1599, but he never stopped laying claim to the Swedish throne.

\textsuperscript{78} See e.g. Andrén 1999, pp. 212–223.

\textsuperscript{79} However, contrary to Duke Charles’ propaganda, Sigismund’s two most recent biographers express strong doubts about whether Sigismund really had any plans to recatholize Sweden (Larsson 2005, p. 363, and Östergren 2005, p. 204).

\textsuperscript{80} This was obvious from early on. For instance, an ecclesiastical Synod opening 18 February 1595, led by Archbishop Abraham Angermannus was in several ways a reminder of what had been sworn by both sides at the coronation one year earlier (Ohlsson 1946, pp. 242 ff.).
Hence accusations of infidelity were frequent from both sides.\footnote{See e.g. the pamphlet *Förmaning och botpredikan till H.F.N. dr Höghet, Hertig Karl...* (manuscript at UUB, Palmsk. 33), in which some clergymen accuse Duke Charles of infidelity to the powers, and thus of disobeying God. See also the summary of Johan Skytte’s oration in defence of Duke Charles in Kalmar in 1603, where Sigismund is accused of having violated his oath in several aspects, related in Berg 1920, pp. 148 ff.} At the Riksdag of 1595 in Söderköping, Charles was recognized as regent while the king was absent. In 1597 he summoned the Riksdag of Arboga, which Sigismund tried to prohibit in vain, since Charles was supported by the estates. The same year, in order to secure his military power, Charles summoned the commander of Kalmar to surrender; that town was the last still controlled by men loyal to Sigismund. In 1598 Sigismund arrived in Sweden with armed forces, and the first town he regained control over was Kalmar. A decisive battle took place at Stångåbro outside Linköping 25 September, where Duke Charles’ army managed to defeat Sigismund’s troops. In May 1599 Kalmar fell after a long siege, and Sigismund lost his last stronghold in Sweden once again.

From 1599 and onwards Duke Charles was the real ruler of Sweden. He was recognized as king already in 1600 at the Riksdag of Linköping, though he did not start using the title until 1603.\footnote{Larsson 2005, p. 399.} During the Riksdag four noblemen still loyal to Sigismund were executed. This event is known as ‘Linköpings blodbad’ (the blood-bath of Linköping). Charles’ coronation did not take place until 1607, when he became Charles IX. In the meantime Duke John\footnote{John (1589–1618), Duke of Östergötland, was the only son of John III from his marriage to Gunilla Bielke. When Gunilla died in 1597, John was raised by his uncle Duke Charles. Johan Skytte was responsible for his education, and the education of Charles’ IX children Gustav Adolf and Mary-Elizabeth, during the years 1604–1606 (Berg 1920, pp. 109 ff.). John’s childhood was to be characterized by the fact that he was closest to the throne according to the Succession Pact from 1544, now that Sigismund had been deposed and Sigismund’s son Władysław had been disqualified (see further below). In 1612 John married Mary-Elizabeth, who however soon became mentally deranged. See further Folke Lindberg’s (who also wrote the article on John in *SBL*) “Hertig Johan av Östergötland och hans furstendöme” (1941), pp. 113 ff.} (son of John III), renounced all claims to royal power at the Riksdag of Norrköping in 1604, although he was closer to the throne than Charles according to the Succession Pact. When Charles died in 1611, his son Gustav Adolf inherited the throne. During the reign of Gustav II Adolf, Sweden would extend its influence on international politics, primarily through its for the most part successful participation in the Thirty Years War. Above all Sweden was then experiencing increasing domestic stability and more harmonious relations between king and nobility, since the latter had been granted more power. Much of this was probably due to the very influential and energetic nobleman and chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna (1583–1654).
1.3.3 Phrygius and the royal family

As mentioned earlier, Kurt Johannesson in his doctoral thesis I polstjärnans tecken (1968) dealt briefly with parts of two of the poems edited here, and offered valuable observations on the new cultural and literary currents that were becoming influential in Sweden in the later part of the 16th century. However, some of his statements there about Phrygius deserve a closer discussion. For instance, Johannesson calls Phrygius ‘the semi-official poet of the royal family’ (Kungahusets halvt officiella poet)\(^{84}\), a label later referred to as fact by Hans-Erik Johannesson.\(^{85}\) At first glance it might seem appropriate, given that Phrygius composed a considerable portion of his literary writings in order to glorify various members of the royal house. But it will here be argued that so general a characterization of poetic activities undertaken over the course of two decades gives a misleading picture of the conditions under which Phrygius wrote and struggled to get his works published.

First, as to the purely economical aspects, these may be summarized as follows. As long as Bishop Petrus Benedicti and Duke John still lived, Phrygius was their poet first and foremost (we know that he even received an annual wage for his poetical work from the latter).\(^{86}\) The one main exception would be Coronarium (1617), written for the coronation of Gustav II Adolf. Once Duke John had died in 1618 (Petrus Benedicti passed away already in 1606), Phrygius had to ask Gustav II Adolf and Gustav’s brother, Duke Charles-Philip, for support in order to afford the publication of his planned works. It is true that this resulted in his two great works of 1620 (Agon regius and Ährapredikning), but no other poetry apart from some minor pieces was printed after 1620, despite Phrygius’ many efforts to do so at the time.\(^{87}\) Does not even this brief sketch call for a reassessment of Kurt Johannesson’s description?

Furthermore, there are strong indications that Phrygius’ affection did not extend to the entire royal family. We must assume that he, like most other scholars in this precarious situation, had his own opinions regarding the respective merits of the combatants’ claims. This is the crucial point. It was impossible to be loyal to the whole royal family while such conflicts were taking place within it.\(^{88}\) Great caution and discretion were necessary. Indeed,

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84 Kurt Johannesson 1968, p. 63.
85 Hans-Erik Johannesson 1987, p. 11.
86 Actually a glance at Phrygius’ preserved works listed in the bibliography below is sufficient to see that this is the case, but support is also found in Phrygius’ biography. In Ähraskyldige lijkietsst (1618), Phrygius in the preface (epistola nuncupatoria) even calls Duke John nutritor, and on the first page ‘foster-father’.
87 As can be seen e.g. in his letters to Axel Oxenstierna (ser. B, E690), and in Göteborgs konsistorii...skrifvelser till Kongl. Maj:t (1620–1693), all at RA.
88 Kurt Johannesson himself highlights a similar case in his study on Henricus Mollerus. This poet celebrated the marriage between John III and Catherine Jagellonica with poetry, despite the fact that King Erik XIV had not approved of it. Johannesson raises the question if
matters were not definitely settled when Phrygius returned to Sweden in 1602.  

So, what stance did Phrygius take in this conflict? Johannesson seems to have supposed that his loyalty was with Duke Charles in the first place, and, in fact, argues that Phrygius had decided to dedicate his *Ecloga prima* to the duke secretly at the very moment when King Sigismund was surrounded by the duke’s troops in Kalmar, Phrygius’ native town. There are cogent reasons to question that assumption. In fact it is redundant to assume that the *Ecloga prima* was dedicated to anyone not mentioned in the poem’s title, and Duke Charles is omitted there. Johannesson was perhaps deceived by his own comparison with Vergil’s secret dedication of the first eclogue to Augustus. In Phrygius’ case the dedication to his patron Petrus Benedicti, bishop of Linköping, as well as to the cathedral chapter of Linköping, makes any secret dedicatees superfluous and thus less probable. Rather, we should suspect that Phrygius’ opinions were against Duke Charles, at least during certain periods.

Kjell Boström claimed in his *Jacob Matham och vädersolarna över Stockholm* (1958) that Phrygius disapproved of Duke Charles, offering some very convincing evidence. This is the great merit of Boström’s work, in spite of other deficiencies having to do with the eventual connection between Phrygius and a very enigmatic engraved copperplate stored in the *Rijksprenten-kabinet* in Amsterdam. This work of art, with an abundance of biblical symbols and texts, directs fierce accusations against Duke Charles, according to Boström. Both the interpretation of the copperplate and the attribution of it to Phrygius are supported by a great number of rather loose hypotheses. The validity of the results are not as strong as Boström claimed but, instead, rather weak. Nevertheless he actually manages to prove Phrygius’ negative opinion about Duke Charles.

It would need too much space to rehearse Boström’s entire argument here, but certain remarks will be made. First of all, Petrus Benedicti, Phrygius’ patron during his younger years as well as his father-in-law, had distinguished himself as an advocate of John’s III liturgical program as formulated in the Red Book. It is said that at the Uppsala assembly in 1593 where he was heavily pressed upon by Duke Charles, he changed his mind, accepting

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89 Cf. e.g. Ahnlund 1913, p. 169, and Tham 1935, pp. 41 ff. and 92 ff. The Oxenstierna family had traditionally been regarded as firmly loyal to Duke Charles, but both Ahnlund and Tham wished to balance that view.
90 Kurt Johannesson 1968, p. 63. The same idea was expressed in Hans-Erik Johannesson 1987, p. 10, whereas Wretö 1977, p. 96, avoids the question.
91 See below section 1.5.1 for a further discussion.
92 Cf. Ekholm 1963, p. 49, where the same conclusion has been drawn.
93 Boström 1958, pp. 61 ff.
94 For biographical information on Petrus Benedicti, see the commentary on the *Ecloga prima*. 

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and later eagerly supporting the resolutions adopted.\textsuperscript{95} This may imply something about Phrygius’ liturgical and theological standpoint.\textsuperscript{96} In fact Phrygius mentions John’s III liturgy in positive terms in a sermon composed in 1618, regarding it as an example of the king’s desire to promote godliness in the country.\textsuperscript{97} There is, however, no need to assume that Phrygius was a crypto-Catholic; he gives enough evidence to the contrary in his many sermons.\textsuperscript{98} In these he also refutes Calvinist practices, which better serves as one of the explanations for his aversion to Duke Charles, who had been accused of being a Calvinist and whose real religious standpoint has been discussed by Swedish historians for many centuries.\textsuperscript{99} It is possible but not sure that Phrygius’ shared some of John’s III theological inclinations.\textsuperscript{100} When, for instance, in the \textit{Ad lectorem praemonitio} he declares his method of composing the sermons in \textit{Vitae coelestis umbratilis idea} (1615), he says that he had the Bible at his right hand and at his left \textit{Perpetua orthodoxorum Patrum harmonia}, rendered into Swedish as \textit{Andarijke Fäders och höglärde mäns sanitäta Consentz och meningar}. The great emphasis laid on the Church fathers together with the Bible is actually a characteristic feature of John’s theological convictions as formed by the works of Georg Cassander, among others. It is true that even Melancthon and his followers had a more positive view of the Church fathers than Luther, though they still advocated great caution when reading them.\textsuperscript{101}

Secondly, in the manuscript of Swedish chronicler Joen Petri Klint\textsuperscript{102} on portents\textsuperscript{103}, now stored in the Linköping Diocesan Library (Cod. Linc. N 28),

\textsuperscript{95} Håhl 1846, p. 22, and Westerlund & Setterdahl, vol. 3, pp. 51 f.
\textsuperscript{96} Rhyzelius’ judgement of Petrus Benedicti was more circumspect. In his \textit{Episcoposcopia…} (1752) he said that Petrus was a gentle and peaceful man and that John III had not feared any contradiction from him as regards the new Liturgy, ‘but he seems always to have been right-minded and steady in the Evangelical faith’ (Rhyzelius 1752, vol. 1, p. 130).
\textsuperscript{97} On p. 9 of the \textit{Oratio encomiastica in Agon Regius} (1620). Later in the same work (p. 42) he says that the controversy that came about because of the liturgy was one of John’s III major mistakes, and he shows how the king disassociated himself from Catholicism when older (cf. Boström 1958, p. 66).
\textsuperscript{98} An obvious example here is the sixth sermon in \textit{Vitae coelestis umbratilis idea} (1615), occupied with the central Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith. Also, several of the emblems in the \textit{Centuria prima} (1602) concern central Lutheran ideas.
\textsuperscript{99} Montgomery 1972, pp. 17–22, gives an enlightening survey of previous research regarding Charles’ supposed Calvinism and demonstrates that opinions among scholars have differed widely on this subject.
\textsuperscript{100} Cf. Czaika 2002, pp. 396 f. While stating that the great majority of former students at the Lutheran university of Rostock was against John’s III liturgy, Czaika stresses that students could be found on both sides of the conflict.
\textsuperscript{101} Cf. e.g. Erasmus Nicolai Arbogensis’ words (1561): \textit{legendi sunt scriptores Ecclesiastici, quorum tamen aliquis habendus est delectus ... Caeterum in legendis scripturis veterum, semper in animo et conspectu, habenda est methodus Christianae doctrinae, nec ullum dogma recipiendum est, quod dissidentiat a Canonica scriptura} (quoted from Lindroth’s edition in 1948, p. 18 f.).
\textsuperscript{102} On Klint and this manuscript see further Sandblad 1942, pp. 211 ff.
\textsuperscript{103} It goes without saying that the relevance of astrology was as evident for Phrygius as for the rest of his contemporaries (cf. Lindroth 1975, pp. 260 ff., and Seznec 1953, pp. 56 ff.). Traces
there is a note which most probably originates from Phrygius and which contains information of the greatest interest. In a *prognosticon*\(^\text{104}\) from 1600 it is said that Phrygius had directed fierce accusations against Duke Charles, albeit using rather obscure and mysterious words. He claimed, among other things, that learned men were being expelled from the country and that men were wresting the royal power from its lawful heirs by cunning and crime.\(^\text{105}\)

The title of the text is: *M: Siluestri Joh: Phrygij Calmariensi almanach et prognosticon: p[ro] anno C 1601*. Among the notes we can read are ones for 13 February: *Skalckar och äslar triffwes, the Lärde och ärlige men fördriiffwes* (‘Scoundrels and asses enjoy themselves, learned and honest men are expelled’).\(^\text{106}\) It is tempting to assume that this prognosticon had something to do with Phrygius’ hasty return to Germany in 1601. For 5 April there is only: *Hemlige stemplingr* (‘Secret conspiracies’). For 23 April *Far forttt j titt goda företagande* (‘hurry ahead with your good undertaking’), with an addition in another ink, probably by Klint himself, saying *Tu H[ertig] Carll* (‘You Duke Charles’). For 18 July we read: *Wacta tig för olärde läkiare* (‘Beware of unlearned doctors’). For 2x [sic] September the note is: *Wacta tig Abel, att Cain bliffwer tig icke öfwermechtigh* (‘Beware Abel lest Cain get the better of you’).

The prognosis is followed by these malignant words:

\[
\text{Finis: Ellies annett beskriffwer. Then löss är herre: Ten herre är hertugh: then hertig är konungh: ten konungh gudh. Somlige aff wundersäterna, heffetigen doch hemligen, ter på arbeta, att the sin ofwerhett först genom förgifft: Truldom: falskhett: förrederij Anguinam mercedem giffa kunde, och tem sielf-fom så aff domstolen plundra, vtan och theres arffuinger ifrån spiran treng-}
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can be seen in many instances, e.g. in the way he uses astrological symbols, though he sometimes also repudiates astrology (see e.g. the funeral sermon for *Ulff Jönson Snäckenborg* 1610). In his note in Axel Oxenstierna’s *album amicorum* from 1602 (now at KB shelfmark: *Rogge Stb 1*), Phrygius used astrological symbols when quoting some lines from Bernard of Clairvaux (see Kurras 2004, pp. 76 f., where the text is reproduced, transcribed and translated). In some of his letters, e.g. to Erik Jöransson Tegel in February 1622 (*UUB, Palmsk.* 343, fol. 631), he adds the astrological symbol for the sun below his signature. In his funeral sermon on *Malin Rosengreen* (1608), he writes the date with the aid of astrological signs at the end of the preface. Note also his poem written for Laurentius Paulinus Gothus’ *Cometoscopia* (1613) where he expresses approval of what he considers to be serious astrology.

\(^{104}\) *Prognostica* would later be of great importance during Gustav II Adolf’s participation in the Thirty Years War. The genre had, however, been used concerning Swedish kings already in earlier times. See Sandblad 1942, pp. 87–96.

\(^{105}\) Fols. 194v and 195v.

\(^{106}\) Boström 1958, p. 63, noticed that these words are an allusion to the two lines *När Skalkar och Bofwar trijfwas,/ Och ährighe mâän fördriiffwas* from Jesper Marci’s famous and highly eschatological song *Stenen i grönan dal* (see Sandblad 1942, pp. 107 f.).
When this was written Sigismund had already been deposed in 1599. Sigismund’s son Wladyslaw was offered the opportunity to be brought up in Sweden and become a Lutheran king, but he never arrived. Phrygius could thus be alluding to Duke Charles’ actions against both the king and his son and, above all, against Duke John. The latter renounced all claims to the throne in 1604, though he was closer to it than Duke Charles. If we could be absolutely sure that the words come from Phrygius, it would be a clearcut case. That they at least mirror his views will become apparent from my analysis of his poems below.

Thirdly, some of Phrygius’ disticha in the Centuria Prima (1602) have the heading Prophylactica; Ad potestates. Both Kjell Boström and Ragnar Ekholm interpreted these as being directed against Duke Charles, and they could be right. Two examples will be given here. In distich no. 84, Phrygius perhaps though not necessarily alluded to Duke Charles’ well-known irascibility: Rex tenet ille bonum nullis superabile gemmis,/ Qui potis affectus est dominare suos. In no. 100 he stated that the wolf was now wielding the scepter: Simplicitas prisco regnavit ovina sub aevo;/ Nunc versa sceptrum pelle lupina gerit.

However, Boström claimed that Phrygius was on Sigismund’s side in the conflict with Duke Charles, and that may have been the case. There were many who remained loyal to the king, who had the constitution on his side and to whom the subjects had sworn their oath. Without a doubt the foremost example is Archbishop Abraham Angermannus. Himself a stubborn Lutheran forced into exile during John’s III reign due to his opposition to the Liturgy, he refused to violate the oath sworn to the Catholic King Sigismund and remained loyal to him. He was therefore deposed by Duke Charles in 1599, the same man who had made him archbishop in 1593. Angermannus’ standpoint shows that loyalty to Sigismund did not necessarily depend on Catholic inclinations. Unfortunately we cannot tell whether Phrygius

107 Cf. the lines about Carl in the abusive song in Hertigh Carls Slaktarebenck (1617): Och från sin Arfs Rätt tränga/ Sin Konung och Bror Sohn.
108 ‘Finis, the other describes something else. That vagrant[?] is lord, that lord is duke, that duke is king, that king God. Some of the subjects, eagerly but secretly, strive to be able to give their sovereign anguinam mercedem, first through poison, witchcraft, duplicity, treachery, and so plunder the court in their own favour, but also to force its heirs away from the scepter. Yes, if you would but put your glasses on, you will clearly see, that sworn fidelity and praise mostly will be covered with deceit in all the estates …’
109 Cf. section 1.3.2 above.
110 Boström 1958, p. 64, and Ekholm 1963, p. 49.
111 These verses are discussed much more extensively in the commentary below.
112 His fortunes were discussed in a thesis by Ragnar Ohlsson (1946).
113 Cf. Czaika 2002, pp. 353 ff. It was also the opinion of David Chytraeus that it might be possible to have a Catholic king in Sweden, provided the pure Evangelical doctrine prevailed.
really was on Sigismund’s side. If he was, it did not take long before he abandoned his cause. Once Sigismund had been dethroned in 1599, Phrygius obviously very soon sets all his hope on Duke John as the next king. Phrygius’ opinion of Duke Charles should, on the one hand, be viewed from this perspective, since this is what we can say for sure: Charles ruined Duke John’s chances of ascending the Swedish throne. On the other hand, Charles’ relentless way of manoeuvring himself all the way to the crown, along with his brutal and harsh actions against his enemies, gave rise to wide dissatisfaction. The well known libellous pamphlet *Hertigh Carls slaktarebenck* (1617), also containing some obvious lies and errors, is a good example of what Duke Charles’s opponents could think of him and his deeds.

Further remarks in connection with Phrygius’ relations to the royal family will later be made as called for in the commentary. For now only two observations should be added.

Turning to Phrygius’ published writings we should first consider how Duke Charles is mentioned there and when he is mentioned by name. We soon find that his name occurs quite seldom. While it is true that Sigismund is not mentioned at all, still, during Sigismund’s time in Sweden, Phrygius was not yet active as an author to any greater extent. In his works Phrygius characteristically displays great servility towards his patrons and powerful men in society, even when compared to his contemporaries, and we could also expect him to regard Duke Charles as a possible benefactor, but he apparently did not. Phrygius did compose poems in order to extol many other members of the royal house, e.g. Gustav Vasa, John III, Gustav II Adolf, and particularly Duke John. Of the instances found where Phrygius mentions Duke Charles by name, some are insignificant. More worthy of notice is, however, a mention in the title of *Dialogus nuptialis* written for the wedding of Duke John in 1612 to Duke Charles’ daughter Mary-Elizabeth (1596–1618). The reference is brief here. Charles is also mentioned in the title of *Ara Sepulchralis, Morti Praematurae Illustrissima Principissae ac Dominae, Dn. Maria-Elizabethae* from 1618 (in *Ähraskyldige Lijktienst*), where the

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114 See section 1.5.2 below.
115 The title may be translated as ‘Duke Charles’ slaughtering-block’. A facsimile edition with a postscript by Tor Berg was issued in 1915.
116 Cf. Schück 1890, p. 636, Boström 1958, pp. 59 ff., and Hans-Erik Johannesson 1987, p. 6. This servility can easily be observed in practically all of his prefaces (*epistolae nuncupatoriae*).
117 Cf. the list of Phrygius’ works below.
118 For instance Duke Charles’ name is in one case included in a simple enumeration of the participants in the funeral procession of John III. Two other mere mentions are at p. 48 in the *Oratio encomiastica*, where it is only stated that Gustav II Adolf now holds ‘his highly honoured father’s, K. Charles’, renowned position’.
119 As regards Mary-Elizabeth, Phrygius wrote in the title: *Celsissima atque Illustrissima Potentissimi Regis Suecici, etc. CAROLI IX. b.m. Filia, Dn. MARIA-ELIZABETHA, Domina mea gratiosissima.*
tone is somewhat more effusive.\textsuperscript{120} We later find Charles’ name in the more significant context of Phrygius’ dedication of his 1620 edition of Peder Svarts’ \textit{encomium} to Gustav Vasa.\textsuperscript{121} It is dedicated to King Gustav II Adolf and Charles-Philip, Duke of Södermanland, Närke and Värmland. Duke Charles is mentioned when Phrygius wishes to praise the parents of those to whom he dedicates the work.\textsuperscript{122} One gets the impression that Phrygius deliberately avoids mentioning Duke Charles. When he does, it is primarily in order to praise his sons. Even the description of Charles’ wife Christina actually contains more commendation than the duke gets. Further instances are found in the \textit{Ähraskyldige lijktenst} (1618), composed after the death of Duke John. On p. 32, in the biographical part on Duke John, Phrygius briefly mentions that Charles had given John the foremost tutors (among them Johan Skytte), for John’s parents had both died while he was still a child. On p. 37 Phrygius writes that Duke John assisted his most honourable uncle and father-in-law Charles, ‘praiseworthy in commemoration’, in the war against the Danes. The impression is clear: Duke Charles seems to be mentioned when circumstances demand it, but the laudatory adjectives are in general surprisingly few, considering that they are directed to a king.

We may suspect that Phrygius alludes to Duke Charles in other, less easily discovered instances. One example is in \textit{Agon Regius}, when describing the death-struggle of John III, he stresses how the king, having received his last Holy Communion, asked the clergyman what had become of the leftover wine and bread. The clergyman told him that he had consumed it all, and John III then exclaimed: \textit{Thet är rät; Ty thet borde icke förkomma}. (‘That is appropriate, for it should not be wasted’), a view reflecting the doctrine of transformation, which was a break with earlier Evangelical practices.\textsuperscript{123} Here Phrygius, disproportionately given the circumstances, emphasizes the opinion of John III on the Eucharist, which perhaps also reflects Phrygius’ own opinion (cf. above in this chapter). In this way he participates in the debate on the Eucharist that had taken place between the clergy and Duke Charles.

\textsuperscript{120} The title continues: \textit{Serenissimi Suecici quondam Regis, Caroli Noni, (Divinae memoriae) Filiae…}

\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Ährapredikning} (1620).

\textsuperscript{122} ibid. \ldots Her Fader, Konung Carl then Nyionde (högtprislig i äminelse) haffwer låtet, tå han ännu Hertigh war, (driffwen aff Gudomligh wälbehageligheft och upsååt) medeh een sådan tillbörligh Stätelighet, som sielffwa ächtenskapzens högheft, hoos Furstelige Personer kräffwer och fordrar, inkalla hjit i Rijket \ldots F. Christina \ldots And later: E.K.M.t som nu är thon äldre Sonen, haffwe alle Rijkzen Ständer samhelleliga keest, korat och krönt (sedan E.K.M.s höglofflige Fader gick heela werldennes wägh) til at besitia Swea och Göthe Rijkes Konungsgastol Men E.F.N. Hertig Carl-Philip, som äre then yngste Sonen, är thet berömlige Hertogömer, Sudermanneland, Närkie och Wärmeland &c. i händer leffwererat, hvilket och E.F.N:s höglofflige Fader, medan H.F:N: Hertig war, försichtelig och berömligha regeradt haffwer.

\textsuperscript{123} \textit{Agon Regius} (1620), p. 33. This way of treating the consecrated bread and wine is also in accordance with one of the ‘Ten Articles’ of John III from 1574 (Hammargren 1898, p. 22), as well as with the new liturgy of 1576 (Czaika 2002, pp. 224 f.).
The duke had even published a pamphlet on the subject in which, in a manner close to the Calvinist confession, he stressed the role of commemoration in the Eucharist, rather than the real presence. These differing views had a crucial bearing on the delicate question concerning the treatment of the leftover bread and wine.

With all these observations in mind, it is necessary indeed to modify Kurt Johannesson’s description of Phrygius as a ‘semi-official poet of the royal family’. Phrygius wrote just one work in praise of a living king (the Coronarium in 1617), the rest in praise of those long since dead. Only a few works were dedicated to royal persons other than Duke John. They were poems for queens, princes and princesses, both living and deceased. Yet Duke Charles, later King Charles IX, was omitted from these laudations, being neither the subject of any of the poems nor the dedicatee. As we have seen above, it is most probable that Phrygius even directed some harsh accusations against him.

Likewise, when in 1620 Phrygius edited *Agon Regius*, the large-scale laudatory work on John III, he had planned to dedicate it to this king’s son, Duke John (*Ianus redivivus*). Because the Duke passed away in 1618, Phrygius instead dedicated it to King Gustav II Adolf and Duke Charles-Philip, as we saw above. *Agon Regius* was thus primarily intended as an eulogistic gift to Duke John. When Phrygius produced a similar work for Gustav II Adolf, the Ährapredikning (1620), he did so with a eulogy on the king’s grandfather Gustav Vasa and not his father, Charles IX. The simple circumstance that Gustav II Adolf could be then described as a *Gustavus redivivus* probably contributed to the choice of subject. While we would have expected Charles to be an important figure, he is only very briefly mentioned in the publication. In this connection we could conclude that Phrygius in many ways regarded John III as the ideal ruler. John III is used as an example for other kings several times in his works.

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124 *Sanfärdigh underwijsning och rätt betänkiande om Herrans Jesu Christi natward, efter the tree evangelisters och S. Pauli ord, så som the them beskrifwit hafwe ...* (1607).
126 The possible objection that the conception of ‘royal family’ was wider in Phrygius’ days than it is nowadays would not change much. Kurt Johannesson was writing in our times, not in those of Phrygius, and a modern label that is misleading according to contemporary understanding should of course be avoided. Regardless of which understanding one has, the king always remains the absolutely most important member of the royal family.
127 According to his own information in the preface of *Ähraskyldige Ljúktienst* (1618).
128 The theme is much elaborated in the Coronarium (1617).
129 See e.g. *Vita coelestis umbratilis idea*, p. 83, and 92, the entire *Agon Regius* and the following *Oratio encomiastica*. The relations between John III and Duke Charles were often strained as well. John sometimes expressed the suspicions that Charles aimed at deposing him from the throne. This may be seen in a letter to his sister Elisabeth in 1586 (quoted in Normman 1978, p. 80).
It is also probable that his political standpoint was known to influential people\textsuperscript{130}, and that it had negative consequences for him and his career. There was a great need of educated men at this time in Sweden, and Duke Charles gave several competent men of lowly birth important positions at the Government Offices.\textsuperscript{131} As mentioned above, we know that the Duke had shown interest in Phrygius, asking for his services in 1601. In spite of this, Phrygius’ later appointments had chiefly to do with his patrons. When he became headmaster in Linköping, Petrus Benedicti was bishop of that town, while the title of vicar and superintendent in Skövde was due to Duke John. When John died and the superintendency was withdrawn, Phrygius was even demoted for a while, being merely appointed vicar of Gothenburg.

There is no doubt that Phrygius pitied his own lot. Already in \textit{Een Chris-
teligh Valetpredikning} (1613), as well as in several of his obsequious pref-
ares, he paints a gloomy picture of the conditions under which he is living. Obviously Phrygius did not think that he was appreciated in accordance with his merits.

1.4 Extant works\textsuperscript{132}

Phrygius’ works can easily be divided into separate groups, the most impor-
tant ones being his sermons in Swedish and his Latin poetry.

The sermons, having their origin in Phrygius’ position as a clergyman, are of various kinds. Most could be characterized as belonging to the epideictic genre, such as the many funeral sermons\textsuperscript{133} and the wedding sermons. In addition we find one valedictory sermon and an impressive collection of six sermons on the life in heaven based on the biblical narratives of the Trans-
figuration of Christ.

Phrygius’ Latin poetry should be considered as the more essential part of his literary remains, an assumption that is corroborated by his own actions. Especially noteworthy are his efforts to publish his \textit{Opus poeticum}. Moreover, like many of his contemporaries, he almost always added a Latin poem to whatever he was writing, no matter the main subject. We frequently find such poems in the prints of his sermons as well.\textsuperscript{134} Frequent are also Phry-
gius’ poetic contributions \textit{loco gratulationum} in works by his peers. The poems are for the most part written in elegiac distichs, though verses in hex-

\textsuperscript{130} E.g. Phrygius’ very brother-in-law, the chronicler Petrus Petrejus, had a fine appointment in Duke Charles’ chancellery.
\textsuperscript{131} Cf. e.g. Niléhn 1983, pp. 84 ff., and Larsson 2005, pp. 403 ff.
\textsuperscript{132} A complete list of Phrygius’ works can be found in section 5.1 below.
\textsuperscript{133} See Stenberg 1998, a doctoral thesis on funeral sermons in Sweden during the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries in which some of Phrygius’ sermons are used as a material for examination.
\textsuperscript{134} Stenberg estimates that poems occur in approximately one fifth of the funeral sermons from the 17\textsuperscript{th} century (Stenberg 1998, p. 217).
ameters, hendecasyllables, sapphics, and some other metres, can also be found, and they vary in length from 356 v. (*Threnologia dramatica*) to 2 v. (*Eteostichon*, among others).

Furthermore, Phrygius made editions of other authors’ works. Here poems and sermons from his own hand have usually been attached to the editions themselves, which, besides, he did not hesitate to improve as regards style and content according to his own tastes, his changes being more extensive in *Agon regius* than in *Ährapredikning*. It is also worth mentioning that he presented poems in Swedish in some of the prints. These have generally been characterized as much worse than his Latin ones. Certain prints also contain prose works in Latin.

The earlier mentioned works *Opus poeticum* and *Methodus concionatoria* were never published and appear to be lost. One could conjecture that the former was intended to be his collected poems, and the latter, as its title suggests, a homiletic manual. Phrygius mentioned, as we have seen earlier, the *Opus poeticum* on several occasions. In the letter to historian Erik Jöransson Tegel of February 1622 he wrote that he would print his *opus poeticum*, on which he had worked for almost 20 years, the coming summer in Frankfurt am Main or Wittenberg. Referring to this letter, Anders Anton Stiernman added that Phrygius had almost finished this work (*fere ad umbelicum perduxerat*). It was obviously close to printing by the end of 1625 when the Swedish poet Georg Stiernhielm wrote a laudatory poem to Phrygius that was probably intended to be included in the print *loco gratulationum* among other poems from Phrygius’ peers. This piece is a palindrome and offers a good example of Stiernhielm’s mannerism:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Is desipit, qui despicit</th>
<th>Tua mella, Phrygi, Musica</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Melos Catulli melleum.</td>
<td>Non despicit; qui suspicit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melos Catulli melleum</td>
<td>Melos Catulli melleum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qui despicit; non suspicit</td>
<td>Melos Catulli melleum,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tua mella, Phrygi, Musica</td>
<td>Is desipit, qui despicit.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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135 Some of Phrygius’ contributions in the editing of *Ährapredikning* have been touched upon in Sjödin 1938, pp. 18–34.
136 See e.g. the article in *Biographiskt lexicon öfver namnkunnige svenska män*, vol. 11, p. 219, and *Svenska män och kvinnor*, vol. 6, p. 124. Swedish was still an undeveloped language. We should not be surprised to find scholars at this time who were comparatively good Latin poets but less successful when they tried to write in their own vernacular language (cf. Helander 2004, pp. 24 f.).
137 Hans-Erik Johannesson 1987, p. 7, puts forward the idea that the manuscripts may have been destroyed in a fire, for example, the one that struck the chapter house of Gothenburg in the middle of the 18th century.
139 Stiernman 1731, p. 68.
Over the poem Stiernhielm had inscribed *Ad Cl. V. D. M. Sylvestrum Joh. Phrygium, Superintendentem Novae Urbis Gothoburgi, primum Poëmata sua edentem. Lusus extemporalis G. Liliae.* Following this was the note: *8. Decemb. Anni 1625 mi Gothob.*\(^{140}\) We can assume that Phrygius never obtained the financial means to carry out his project, inasmuch as no prints exist corresponding to what we know of the work.

Because they provide us to some extent with valuable biographical information, of special interest here is the fact that Phrygius had **two collections containing *propemptika*\(^{141}\)** dedicated to him. The first was published when he left Germany in 1600, the second when he left Germany in 1602.

### 1.5 The poems in this edition

The poems chosen for this edition are, on the one hand, the ones contained in the *Ecloga prima* print (1599), i.e. an eclogue (153 vv.), a short *Eteostichon* (2 vv.), and two *tumuli* (8 vv. and 6 vv.), and on the other, the *Threnologia dramatica* (356 vv.), a poem from the *Agon Regius* print (1620), as well as the Latin poems contained in the *Centuria prima* print (1602), i.e. a prayer to God in verse on the title-page (10 vv.), a dedicatory poem (12 vv.), the hundred moral captioned distichs (200 vv.), and finally a poem to Momus (26 vv.). The total number of verses is thus 773.

As will be demonstrated below, these poems constitute their own easily discernible group in Phrygius’ literary production. Probably written in a time span of five years (1597–1602) they all belong to his university period. They are the earliest composed individual poetic works from his pen that were published and bear witness to his development and growing ambitions. With these poems Phrygius became an introducer of the literary fashions of continental humanism to Swedish conditions.\(^{142}\) They all mirror the contemporary political tensions in Sweden as well as Phrygius’ own efforts at carving out a career.

All the poems in this edition are given a general treatment in this chapter which focuses on background information concerning date of composition, genre, certain contemporary circumstances, etc.

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\(^{141}\) A recent study of such collections was made by Kristi Viiding in *Die Dichtung neulateinischer Propemptika an der Academia Gustaviana (Dorpatensis) in den Jahren 1632–1656* (2002) in which the one dedicated to Phrygius in 1600 is mentioned. For an introduction to the genre from a Nordic perspective, see Harsting 1995, pp. 203–218.

1.5.1 The *Ecloga prima* print

*Ecloga prima*¹⁴³

The *impressum* of the title-page of the *Ecloga prima* print tells us that this eclogue, written on the death of Petrus Benedicti’s daughter Birgitta, was printed in 1599 in Hamburg. The exact date of Birgitta’s death is 16 April 1597, as can be found in the *Eteostichon* on her in the same print.¹⁴⁴ Thus we have two years functioning as years *post quem* and *ante quem* for the poem’s composition. We should assume here, especially given that it is a question of occasional poetry, that the poem was composed closer to the time of Birgitta’s death than to the date of publication. He probably wrote it already in 1597 immediately after her death, though we cannot rule out the possibility that the original text was revised to some extent before printing. That assumption has consequences for how we should understand the poem. In the following remarks, some of the views of Kurt Johannesson and Tore Wretö on the poem will necessarily have to be revised.¹⁴⁵ A few further details about the dating must first be discussed.

Kurt Johannesson suggested that the *Ecloga prima* should be interpreted as referring to the circumstances in Phrygius’ home town Kalmar at the time when the poem was written, which may be reasonable, considering Phrygius’ apparent allusions to Vergil’s first eclogue. As Johannesson remarks, Kalmar had been the scene of war in 1599. Let us consider what the basic situation would have been like, had Birgitta really died in the middle of April of 1599. Phrygius, who was by this time studying in Germany, must first have received news of her death which would probably have reached him only after several weeks. Then, he needed time to compose this elaborate piece of poetry, had to find financial means and finally to get it published. Though in theory it may have been possible to carry all this out in a short time, it seems rather unlikely in practice.

Still, there is no need to question the essential appropriateness of Kurt Johannesson’s interpretation, though we have to adjust it somewhat in time. Phrygius apparently expressed his fears for the escalating threats around Kalmar, but it must have been the situation of 1597 he was thinking of as he

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¹⁴³ A recent description of the state of research as regards the Neo-Latin eclogue can be found in Mundt 1996, p. 9 ff. In the subsequent chapter (p. 15 ff.), Mundt also gives a survey of the eclogue in Germany up to the middle of the 16th century. The most important work on the Neo-Latin eclogue generally is however still W. Leonard Grant’s *Neo-Latin literature and the pastoral* (1965). Valuable references to literature on the Neo-Latin eclogue are to be found in Skafte-Jensen 2004, p. 61, and in IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, pp. 62 ff.

¹⁴⁴ Kurt Johannesson 1968, p. 62 wrongly claimed that Birgitta died in 1599. In Westerlund & Setterdahl, vol. 3, p. 51, we read that Birgitta died in 1590, while Collijn 1500, vol. 3, pp. 311 f., surprisingly maintained that Birgitta died in 1595, even giving a reference to this *Eteostichon*. The conclusion is clearly wrong.

¹⁴⁵ Kurt Johannesson 1968, pp. 61–63, and Wretö 1977, 95–97. Subsequent references to Johannesson and Wretö in this section are to these pages.
wrote.\textsuperscript{146} By the time the poem was published there was or had been another period of troubles for Kalmar\textsuperscript{147}, a fact which probably accentuated both the relevance of the eclogue and Phrygius’ wish to publish it.

We have already touched upon the unlikelihood of the \textit{Ecloga prima} being secretly dedicated to Duke Charles, as Johannesson claimed. The fact that Birgitta died in 1597 and not in 1599 supports that assumption. In 1597 the decisive battle of Stångebro (25 September 1598), through which Duke Charles secured his power, had not yet taken place, and hence it was not yet clear that Charles emerge the final victor in this drawn-out struggle.\textsuperscript{148}

It is therefore reasonable to hold that Phrygius wrote the \textit{Ecloga prima} in Sweden at the age of 25, and not in Germany, where he did not go until 1598. His poetic immaturity\textsuperscript{149}, so obvious in this poem as compared to his later works, also supports an earlier dating. Phrygius had not yet developed his poetic craftsmanship to the full.

The content and structure of the eclogue are as follows:

1. 1–21. (\textit{Tore quid ... succedis}) Ebbe asks Tore why he is fleeing. Tore explains that he is an exile, having been forced to leave his beloved native districts.

2. 22–44. (\textit{Causa nec ... adegit}) Ebbe suspects that Tore has had to flee out of fear over a crime. Tore rejects this suspicion and describes his earlier hardships, as well as some strange events in the sky. He fears that all of this proves that the end is near for his flocks.

3. 45–71. (\textit{Si te ... recludam}) Ebbe suggests that these things are a sign of how nature was mourning Birgitta, the daughter of the bishop of Linköping, since she had died recently.

4. 72–90. (\textit{Jäppe: nec iccirco ... dedit}) Tore refutes the suggestion and claims again that they should be understood as portents threatening his native districts. Ebbe orders Tore to stop complaining, and Tore obeys after a while.

5. 91–145. Ebbe suggests that they should attend Birgitta’s funeral, and so they do. There is a break here in the pastoral setting. A neutral narrator is introduced in line 92, and continues speaking for lines 93–134, where there is a break in the dialogue.

I 91–98. (\textit{Si te ... Ibimus}) Ebbe’s suggestion, followed by a short description of the Cathedral and the clergyman.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{146} Cf. the comments on lines 28–40 of the \textit{Ecloga prima}.
  \item \textsuperscript{147} Cf. section 1.3.2 above.
  \item \textsuperscript{148} The unawareness of things to come can be illustrated by certain words in Daniel Hjortvipa’s \textit{Hexametron gratulatorium} (1597), written in honour of Duke Charles. Hjortvipa obviously hoped for a future peaceful relation between Sigismund and Charles: \textit{distantes schismata Fratres/ Multa serunt, placidos sese quos inter amicos/ Nemo neget fieri praesentes} (fol. A4v).
  \item \textsuperscript{149} Cf. the section 1.6 on language and style below.
\end{itemize}
II 99–134. (encomia solvit:) A part of the clergyman’s funeral sermon is related, including a quotation of Birgitta’s own words in lines 108–113 (Si non ... superest spes).

III 135–145. (Si ... non experta fuisset) Ebbe and Tore praise the virtues of Birgitta.

6. 146–153. (Iam satis) Ebbe invites Tore to his home for supper, since it has begun getting dark.

Johannesson stated that Phrygius’ Ecloga prima is modelled on Vergil’s first eclogue. As will be shown, there are several borrowings and reminiscences in the poem that from the very start direct the reader’s attention to Vergil. The Bucolica was traditionally interpreted as an allegorical work, not least during the Renaissance.¹⁵⁰ This was influential for the usage and development of the genre, which became immensely popular as a means of conveying various messages under the guise of allegory.¹⁵¹ The shepherds are often real persons in bucolic garb.¹⁵² Therefore, the historical context deserves extra attention. Johannesson suggested that Phrygius is concealed in both the characters Ebbe and Tore, just as Vergil was sometimes regarded as concealed in the characters Tityrus and Meliboeus. But we should not take this as certain. Johannesson here supports his reading on a not very successful reference to Melanchthon.¹⁵³ Even if he were right, we should avoid pressing the existing similarities between Phrygius’ poem and Vergil’s first eclogue too far. That Tore represents Phrygius is probably true, but we cannot take for granted that Ebbe does as well. There are expressions in the poem that may point in another direction.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ In Phrygius’ case Johannesson stresses the importance of Melanchthon’s Argumenta seu dispositiones rhetoricae in Eclogas Virgilii (1568).
¹⁵² In Melanchthon’s words, e.g.: Ita passim allegoriae in Bucolicis sparguntur, and Ut autem antea monui, significari res magnas figuratis narrationibus, qu aerendum est argumentum ex temporum illorum historiis (Melanchthon 1853, cols. 307 and 310). Cf. e.g. Skafte-Jensen 2004, pp. 61 ff., Helander 2004, pp. 475 ff. (for some examples of allegory in Neo-Latin literature) and IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, p. 62. Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe has studied the development of this allegorical, or rather autobiographical, reading of Vergil’s eclogues, from its earliest times up to the early Middle Ages in Vergil og Tityrus. En studie i selvbiografisk læsning af Bucolica (1998). As Nichols contends, by means of allegory pastoral poems could deal with the most elevated, ‘heroic’ subjects in the most humble literary style, to which the pastoral style was regarded as belonging ever since Donatus and Servius (Nichols 1969, 98 ff.). The development of the eclogue towards an increased and more abstruse use of allegory in the early Renaissance is discussed in Krautter 1983.
¹⁵³ In fact Melanchthon expresses the traditional view: Nam ordine recensetur factum a Tityro, qui Virgilium repraesentat. Meliboei persona adiecta est, ut contentione ornaretur et amplificareturcarmen, and later also: Locus primae Eclogae praecipuus est, quod Tityrus repraesentat ipsum poetam, cui concessu et munere Augusti facultates erant in tuto. Meliboeus est imago exulum, qui pulsi suis sedibus vagari et errare cogebantur. (Melanchton 1853, cols. 310 and 312).
¹⁵⁴ Cf. the comments on lines 86 ff. of the Ecloga prima.
Crucial here, in any case, is that Phrygius’ main intention in making references to Vergil must have been to recall the fate of the Roman poet and to indicate some similarity with his own situation. Johannesson must be right on that point. As is well known, Vergil’s farm had been confiscated and given to a soldier from the civil war. After Vergil appealed to Octavian, it was restored to him, and he was later able to enjoy a pleasant *otium* there (as represented by Tityrus in the first eclogue). That is generally supposed to be the background of not only of the first but also especially of the ninth eclogue. Phrygius’ readers should therefore consider the situation in both of them, since there are more reminiscences in Phrygius’ poem referring to the story about Vergil’s fate than contained in Vergil’s first eclogue alone. Tityrus, for instance, does not correspond very well to Tore (in contrast to Meliboeus who is the one in exile). In the ninth eclogue, Moeris, generally held to be Vergil’s bailiff, complains that a stranger is now the owner of his farm due to the civil war. Menalcas (Vergil) had, however, saved his farm by his song but was almost killed in a quarrel that arouse. In Vergil’s first eclogue things have been successfully arranged for Tityrus (Vergil), while Meliboeus still experiences hardships. In the ninth eclogue circumstances are less certain. Melanchthon says, among other things, that *pastor initio deplo-rat calamitates, quae existunt ex bellis civilibus* and later *tota haec Ecloga habet gravissimam querelam fortunarum Vergilii.* While the situation for the characters in the ninth eclogue (and for Meliboeus in the first) is more similar to Tore’s present one, in the first Tityrus has obtained a state of affairs for which Tore (Phrygius) is surely longing as well.

What is clear from the poem is that Tore (Phrygius) is in exile in regions close to Vättern and in a miserable mood. Are not his cattle devastated by the wolf? Does not Esbiörn claim it? For a reader who knows that civil war is imminent at the time of the death of Birgitta, Ebbe’s questions evoke Vergil’s fate from the very beginning. When Phrygius puts this in a poem dedicated to Petrus Benedicti and the Cathedral Chapter of Linköping, both the reader and the dedicatee should be reminded of why Octavian had helped Vergil – because of his songs! The adversities that had forced Tore to leave his home forebode, he claims, the destruction of his cattle by a wolf or a soldier (lines 42–45 and 79–82). Here it is overtly stated that the fear of losing property is connected to war, just as in Vergil, although the future form *orbabit* and the infinitive *intentare* show that Tore only expresses his fears, not something that has actually occurred. In Vergil’s first eclogue, Augustus

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155 Melanchthon explains this with the story of how the centurion Arrius, the new owner, almost killed Vergil, who saved himself by jumping into a nearby river (Melanchthon 1853, cols. 343 f.).

156 Melanchthon 1853, cols. 342 and 344.

157 Discussing Vergil’s first and ninth eclogues, Melanchthon stresses that both of them contain the *locus communis* of ‘civil discord and war must be avoided’ (Melanchthon 1853, cols. 310 and 342).
is praised for having helped the poet. In Phrygius’ poem, the deceased Birgitta is praised, together with her family, rather as a way of asking for assistance in hard times, one might say. Tore, the main character in Phrygius’ poem, differs in this way from Vergil’s Tityrus as regards situation and mood.

Moreover, as we saw above, it is not necessary to assume that Phrygius dedicated his poem secretly to anyone, even though Vergil might have dedicated his first eclogue secretly to Augustus. The very praise of Birgitta and her family is also probably more dependent on contemporary conventions in composing funeral poems and funeral sermons than it depends on the praise of Augustus in Vergil’s poem.

Thus we have here an eclogue probably written in 1597 by the 25-year-old Phrygius. The pastoral parts of the poem were mainly modeled on Vergil’s first eclogue: Phrygius alludes to it and borrows features of style and content from it in several instances. As we shall see in the commentary, Phrygius also used and alluded to Calpurnius Siculus’ first eclogue, as well as works by later authors in the pastoral tradition. Phrygius’ poem being written for the occasion of the death of Petrus Benedicti’s daughter, it was meant to honour and console the bishop but also to express his own hardships and suffering. Thus it cannot be regarded as a pure eclogue, but as a compound of eclogue and epicedium, i.e. a pastoral dirge. The dialogue-form of the eclogue, a characteristic of the genre ever since Theocritus, its dramatic possibilities and its openness towards new types of content were probably features that attracted Phrygius as well as being reasons for the genre’s popularity generally speaking. In the Threnologia dramatica (below)

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158 Eulogies on Birgitta are found in lines 60–72, 99–134, and 138–145.
160 Skafte-Jensen 2004, p. 29, stressed that Renaissance eclogues were often written by young men, just as Vergil wrote his eclogues in his youth. Cf. Grant 1965, p. 175, Stracke 1981, p. 9, and Hubbard 1998, p. 6 and 273. Likewise, in Marco Girolamo Vida’s De arte poetica young people are advised to begin with composing pastoral poetry (1.459 ff.). The study of Latin poetry in Swedish schools, begun in the fourth form according to the regulations of 1571, usually began with Vergil’s eclogues (Berg 1920, p. 20 and 32. Cf. Kurt Johannesson 1962, p. 15). This was hardly typical of Sweden. Curtius stressed that fact: Vom ersten Jahrhundert der Kaiserzeit bis zur Goethezeit hat alle lateinische Bildung mit der Lektüre der ersten Ekloge begonnen. Man sagt nicht zuviel, wenn man behauptet, dass demjenigen ein Schlüssel zur literarischen Tradition Europas fehlt, der dieses kleine Gedicht nicht im kopf hat (Curtius 1948, p. 195). Nichols has remarked that this is related to the hierarchical view of literary genres in which eclogues were regarded as belonging to the lowest (Nichols 1969, pp. 104 ff.). Likewise Melancthon: Bucolicum hoc carmen, quantumvis in speciem videatur humile, valde carum esse debet studiosae juvenitui (Melanchthon 1853, col. 313).
161 See Grant 1965, pp. 306 ff. where authors and works of this type are listed. He also states (p. 152) that funerary eclogues were very common in Italy and Germany, especially in the 16th century. Cf. IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, pp. 100 f.
and the *Dialogus nuptialis* (1612), he would continue practicing poetry similar to this poem in form.

**Eteostichon:**

The eclogue is followed by an *eteostichon*, a frequent term in this era, derived from the Greek words ἔτος, ‘year’, and στίχος, ‘line’ or ‘verse’. The *eteosticha* are included under the wider term ‘chronogram’.

When the capital letters designating Roman numbers are added up, the year 1597 is obtained. Phrygius probably wrote both the eclogue and the *eteostichon* in direct connection to her death. In any case we can establish that the existence of the *eteostichon* in the same print as the eclogue is a further clue to the reader for a proper understanding of the eclogue.

In accordance with Veronika Marschall’s terminology, Phrygius’ *eteostichon* on Birgitta, besides being an epitaph, should be regarded as an *Arithmetisches-Monatsnamen-Chronogramm*, since the reader must use multiplication in order to find out the exact day of the month in the first line. Phrygius also uses some characteristic features of the genre, i.e. metaphors of light (*noctes ubi mane fugavit*) and antithetical expressions. The morning puts the night to flight in line 1, and Birgitta unfastens the fetters of death in line 2, so there is a correspondence between the contrasting ‘night–new day’ in line 1, and ‘old life–new life’ in line 2.

**Tumuli:**

The last two poems of the *Ecloga prima* print were composed for a different occasion than the eclogue and the *eteostichon*. Birgitta’s sister Anna had recently died in childbirth, and Phrygius wrote these *tumuli* in order to honour Anna and her husband Laurentius Birgeri. The obvious reason for publishing them together with the two poems on Birgitta was the fact that Birgitta and Anna were sisters and daughters of Petrus Benedicti. A more speculative idea will be mentioned below, suggesting that Laurentius Birgeri is a possible model for the shepherd Ebbe in the eclogue.

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163 The most important recent study on chronograms is Veronika Marschall’s *Das Chronogramm* (1997). She describes earlier research on the subject on pp. 20 ff. Short notes and references to reading on the subject are also given in Ijsewijn & Sacré 1998, pp. 129–131. Some general observations from Swedish Neo-Latin are given in Helander 2004, pp. 462 ff.

The composing of *tumuli* (epitaphs for grave mounds) was popular in Neo-Latin literature. Occasionally even collections containing *tumuli* were published on the death of prominent men. The custom had its roots in ancient literature, where the *tumulus* in Vergil’s fifth eclogue (lines 42–44) is a striking example.

Besides the appearance of both ancient mythological characters and Christian ones, it is also noteworthy that these poems are written in the first person singular, which we also often expect to find in sepulchral poetry. The catalogue of Anna’s virtues is typical of the accounts of women’s lives too.

Both poems are *tumuli*, the second being entitled *Aliud Memoriae ejusdem*. This kind of variant on the same theme, introduced by phrases like *aliter, aliud, in eandem*, etc., is typical of baroque literature as influenced by e.g. Ausonius and the Greek Anthology.

### 1.5.2 Threnologia dramatica

On the title-page of the *Threnologia dramatica*, edited in the *Agon Regius* print of 1620, we read that Phrygius composed the drama in honour of the late King John III, who had died in 1592, and of the entire royal Family, while he was studying at the academies of Rostock and Jena. This implies that he wrote it around 1600, since he matriculated at Rostock in September of 1598 and at Jena in the summer of 1601 (see above section 1.3.1). He had mentioned the work already in the *Epistola nuncupatoria* of Åhraskylldig *lijktenst* (1618), describing it as “thet iagh på then tijden, som fortuna desultoria effterläät migh haffwa tilhåld in Musarum castris, carminice författade in aeternam Herois istius memoriam” (‘that which I composed *carminice* in *aeternam Herois istius memoriam* at that time, when *fortuna desultoria* allowed me to reside in *Musarum castris’). In the preface of *Agon Regius*, when explaining the contents of the print, Phrygius claims that he wrote the drama for two reasons. First, he wanted to honour John III, who had been the object of so much defamation in Sweden, and, second, he desired Duke...
John’s financial support for his theological studies (*studiorum theologicorum emissionem*), once John had started to rule his dukedom. With the historical context in mind we cannot help but consider this partly as an explanation *post eventum*. Duke John was born in 1589 and would not take up his government until many years later (he did not do so until 1606). The general tenor of the *Threnologia* demonstrates that Phrygius expected Duke John to become the next king of Sweden, once Sigismund had been deposed. It was also initially composed at the time when that scenario seemed most likely. During the first years after the *Riksdag* of 1600 in Linköping, where John had been outmanoeuvred in Duke Charles’ favour, the poem could not be published, since the situation was too precarious. Its publication had to wait until things had settled down.

For a while, in fact, Phrygius really did have good reasons for pinning his hopes on Duke John. When Sigismund was deposed at the *Riksdag* of 1599 in Stockholm, Sigismund’s infant son Wladyslaw should have been the successor according to the Succession Pact (*Arvföreningen*) from 1544. A message was sent to Sigismund in which it was stated that Wladyslaw must be sent to Sweden in order to receive a Lutheran upbringing, otherwise he would lose his rights to the crown. It had been decided that a response was to be made within six months and that Wladyslaw was to arrive in Sweden within the following six months. However, the assigned time passed without an answer (one may assume that nobody really believed that there would be any). According to the Succession Pact, Duke John was now next in turn for the throne, as the second son of John III. Everyone was aware of this, not least Duke Charles, who had made himself known as a true legitimist, abiding by the Succession Pact. Therefore he had from early on directed a great deal of attention towards Duke John in the debate on the succession. In spite of this, the Estates at the *Riksdag* of 1600 in Linköping asked Charles to accept the crown. The decision was not unanimous. In particular the nobility hesitated to violate the principles of the Succession Pact. In this resolution of Parliament, three disqualifying arguments against Duke John were especially stated. It was feared that John, if he became king, would resume contacts with Sigismund and that he might want to take revenge on all those supporting the deposition of Sigismund. Furthermore the country needed an adult ruler, not a child. In compensation a new royal dukedom was to be created for John. Charles, however, never gave any final response to the proposal, and John was by no means definitely excluded from his rights as a

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171 The same argument was made in Boström 1958, p. 65. But there the author claimed that this must mean that the drama was initially written for Sigismund and not Duke John.

172 This question of succession was the subject of Åke Hermansson’s doctoral thesis *Karl IX och ständerna. Tronfrågan och författningssutvecklingen i Sverige 1598–1611* (1962). The most critical phase was also touched upon in e.g. Hallenberg 1908 and Toijer 1930.

173 Lindberg 1941, p. 131 f.

174 Hermansson 1962, p. 87.
successor. In any event Charles was the de facto ruler at the moment, since John was under age. During the following years Charles threatened to abdicate from his position as ‘ruling hereditary prince’ several times in John’s favour. The reasons were presumably mostly tactical and hardly sincere, but Charles’ manoeuvres demonstrate that John’s legal right was not forgotten and could not be neglected. The question was more or less definitively settled in 1604. During the Riksdag in Norrköping Charles once again threatened to give up his rule of the country. Duke John responded with an oration in which he solemnly denounced all claims to the throne in favour of Charles and Charles’ heirs. John took up government in his dukedom in 1606, thus continuing to be a factor in domestic politics, although of less importance. The main exception from this was in 1611 when Charles died and his son Gustav Adolf was about to succeed him. John then had to repeat his denunciation from 1604. In exchange his dukedom was enlarged.

When Phrygius came up with the idea of editing Jonas Petri Nericius’ account of John’s III death-struggle, he obviously considered that the Threnologia should be published as well, despite its contents. Things had settled down by then. Gustav II Adolf was king and Duke John had twice denounced all claims for the throne. Besides, the drama was written in Latin, which limited the number of potential readers. There were however other problems in the process of publication. The preface of the entire Agon Regius is dated 21 February 1618. Two weeks later, 5 March, Duke John, who had promised to support the print financially, passed away (this of course made the publication of the Threnologia even less problematic). In the Ähraskyldige Lijktienst (1618), a memorial sermon in memory of John, Phrygius had to ask Gustav II Adolf and his younger brother Charles-Philip for financial aid. In 1620 Agon Regius was finally published.

One must bear in mind that the same year Phrygius also edited Peder Svart’s memorial sermon on Gustav Vasa in a similar laudatory print (with a preface dated 1619). The fact that both Gustav Vasa and John III are praised in extensive and expensive works in one and the same year makes the defense of John’s III religious policy in the Agon Regius somewhat more understandable for us. Such a defense could otherwise more easily be regarded as a provocation. By simultaneously praising Gustav Vasa, Phrygius could, however, neutralize expected criticism.

Thus there are two timepoints that must be taken into account to establish the dates of composition of the Threnologia. On the one hand Phrygius himself claims that the drama was composed while he was in Germany, and there are no good reasons for us to question that. Much of the content would

175 Helander 2004, pp. 24 ff. It is there stressed that the use of Latin often implied a means of expressing ideas unthinkable in the vernacular. Cf. Lindberg 2007, p. 49.
176 An extant receipt dated 5 May 1620 shows that Phrygius on that day received the paper intended for both these prints (Autografسامlingen, KB).
be pointless unless read in the historical context of the turn of the century. The spirit of that period permeates the poem. Lines 129 f. *Quum videam patrium fervere tumultibus orbem,/ Inque cruentato rore natare viros* would, for instance, have been quite unthinkable referring to the domestic situation in 1620. On the other hand, the text has most certainly been revised before being published in *Agon Regius*. There is a flagrant later addition in lines 188–198, since that section alludes to the death of Duke John in 1618. A comparison between the *Threnologia* and the *Ecloga prima* supports the suspicion that the revision to some degree also included stylistic features, since the language of the drama is more mature than that of the eclogue. A span of 20 years would explain that development. The reader must thus trust Phrygius’ own information about the date of composition, in order to understand the drama, while being aware of later additions and probable stylistic revisions.

Like the *Ecloga prima* (and the *Dialogus nuptialis* from 1612), the *Threnologia*, written in elegiac distichs, uses dialogue as a means of dramatizing the poem. Though we must assume that Phrygius did not intend to produce the work on stage, some features usually associated with that kind of drama can be singled out, e.g. the division into acts, passages of a more intense and rapid dialogue, and some uses of typically dramatical or colloquial words. If we want to look for ancient dramatical models, Senecan drama, immensely popular during the Renaissance, must be regarded as closest to that description. However, resemblances to Seneca will be left merely at that, since the differences are too great between the *Threnologia* and Seneca’s plays, e.g. as regards length, subject and plot. Taking the classical reminiscences in the text into consideration, we can also affirm that the most important ancient model was Ovid, not Seneca. This will be evident in the commentary below.

However, during the Renaissance the term drama had a wide sense (as it has nowadays as well). The definition in BFS is noteworthy: *Poëma dramaticum, ... in quo personae solae colloquuntur poëta ipso excluso; cujusmodi poëmata Comoediae, Tragodiae, Idyllia et Eclogae nonnullae*, where the dialogue-form is quite simply the distinctive mark of a dramatic poem. Julius Caesar Scaliger’s definition is more involved but in essence the same. Among other things Scaliger states: *Hoc genus διάλογητικὸν*

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177 Dirges were usually written in that metre. Cf. e.g. Grant 1965, p. 54.
178 An introduction to Neo-Latin theatre, including an extensive bibliography, can be found in IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, pp. 139 ff.
179 The discussion of whether the Senecan drama should be considered as a drama of recitation or not has not yet settled. A recent contribution can be found in Töchterle 1994, pp. 38 ff., where the author claims that Seneca’s dramas were actually designed for the stage. Braden was more sceptical on that point, but stated that both Seneca’s own dramas and plays by his imitators were performed on stage during the Renaissance (Braden 1985, pp. 39 and 104).
180 Similar information is given in JPG s.v. *drama.*
etiam ab gestu et actione δραματικὸν appellatum fuit. δρᾶν enim Dorica lingua significat agere, and later: Dramatici autem genera complura: quae max suis locis digeremus. Antiquissimum Pastorale, Proximum Comicum, e quo natum Tragicum. Poems written as dialogues are very common at this time in several different genres. Phrygius’ Threnologia dramatica must primarily be read and viewed in the context of funeral literature, even though its dramatical features are somewhat more elaborate than in typical poetical dialogues. The reader should also bear in mind that the dialogue-form to which the adjective dramatica in the title primarily refers was often used in funeral poetry during this timeperiod.

The term threnologia comes from the Greek θρηνολογέω, meaning ‘be-wail’. It occurs now and then in the Neo-Latin period to refer to dirges, alongside the more frequent threnodia. This latter is also used for the Threnologia dramatica in the title-page of the Agon regius, so Phrygius must have regarded them as synonyms. There are however reasons for us not to focus too much on the actual term. Hardison has pointed out that it is almost impossible to differentiate between the various kinds of funeral poetry (epicedia, neniae, threni, inferiae, etc.), because of terminological inconsistency in the various poetical treatises of the Renaissance. Annika Ström’s observation on the terminology of funeral poems in the poetics of Pontanus and Scaliger still deserves our attention. She concluded that a common factor was that different names implied a difference in situation rather than in content, e.g. whether a poem was to be attached to the tomb or recited during the funeral ceremony. In our case the situation is indeed important to keep in mind, since the text was written almost ten years after the death of

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182 Several studies in this field will be referred to in the commentary. Works of special importance for this paper are O. B. Hardison’s The Enduring Monument (1962) and Annika Ström’s Lachrymae Catharinae (1994). Lattimore (1942) on themes in Greek and Latin epitaphs and Esteve-Forriol (1962) on motifs in Roman lamentatory and consolatory poetry are helpful in tracing the ancient sources of different topoi. Johann (1968) investigated the ancient philosophical consolations. The exhaustive work Consolatio by Von Moos (1971–1972) treats a large number of funeral themes in both ancient and mediaeval literature. Valuable contributions on consolatory themes can also be found in Curtius 1948, pp. 88 ff., and Helander 2004, pp. 511 ff.
183 Cf. IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, pp. 100 f. Four of the lamentations, all composed by students, edited in Ström 1994 have a dialogue-form (cf. her observations on pp. 107 f. and 129). An example from Sweden before Phrygius is a dialogue between the dying husband and his wife written by Petrus Pauli Gothus in honour of his father Paulus Petri Sudercopensis (Memoriae...Pauli Petri, 1577).
184 As a matter of fact, it seems as if the term threnologia was especially popular in Germany shortly after the years 1600. A search in the German GBV-Union Catalogue gives 53 prints dated between 1550 and 1650 with the term Threnologia in the title. 26 of these were printed between 1602 and 1612. The term Threnodia occurred in the titles of 73 prints between 1550 and 1650, 13 of which were printed between 1602 and 1612.
185 Hardison 1962, p. 113
186 Ström 1994, p. 57
John III.\textsuperscript{187} Put simply, a funeral dirge is not to be expected after such a long time. The contemporary political situation in Sweden probably accentuated the feeling of grief. There had been religious conflicts and a civil war. Sigismund had been deposed and there was no king at the particular moment. Astrological and eschatological speculations increased anxieties about the future. To Phrygius the name of John III implied memories of a time of relative prosperity and stability.

As a lament, the poem contains several of the topoi customary in the genre, to be dealt with in the commentary as they occur. The prelude must be considered thematically separate from the rest, since its primary purpose is to express the author’s humble attitude before the great task of composing a lamentation on John III and his reflections on the demands of poetic composition generally.\textsuperscript{188} The content and structure of the \textit{Threnologia} are as follows:

\textit{Drama primum:}

1. 1–36. (\textit{Qui regit hic ... passus}) Pallas addresses the author, who faltering makes his way towards the Parnassus. The author describes his hardships. Pallas states that the road to Parnassus is easy for the learned man to travel.

2. 37–82. (\textit{Carpere nunc tibi fas est}) Pallas declares that the author ought now to compose an eulogy on the late King John III. The author adduces his lack of ability to handle such a great theme (a traditional \textit{recusatio}). Pallas insists and says she will aid him. After an intense exchange the author decides to accept the proposal (lines 64 f.), but expresses the problems in composing and prays for God’s assistance. Pallas however repeats her promise to guide him.

\textsuperscript{187} Adding extra weight to this are Scaliger’s words when discussing the difference between two kinds of epitaphs: \textit{Nemo enim iam annum bienniumve defunctum deflet} (Scaliger 1987 [1561], p. 168). In a similar way, regarding the relative absence of lamentation compared to eulogy in a funeral oration, Tengström concludes that it could depend on the fact it was held about six months after the death of the praised person (Tengström 1983, p. 102).

\textsuperscript{188} It is tempting to conjecture that the composition of the prelude was separated also in time from the rest of the poem. As we saw above, Phrygius informs us that he wrote it in both Rostock and Jena. This means that he worked with it during at least two periods of time, not counting his efforts just before the printing in 1620. Between these periods Phrygius spent some time in Sweden. Given this, one could suggest that Acts 2–4 were composed during the Rostock-period but Act 1 in Jena. Obviously Acts 2–4 contain the actual message of the poem, explaining why the work was begun at all. But the first act does not really have to do with the rest of the poem, so the motives for composing that part could have been different. Since Phrygius was granted the title \textit{Poeta caesareo-laureatus} on 13 December 1601 in Jena, one cannot help but suspect that the first act is somehow connected to that event. This would to some extent explain not only \textit{semel est...mihi visa.../ Arbor} in lines 7 f., but especially the very initiate reflections on the conditions for poetic composition, as well as the elaborate \textit{recusatio}.

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3. 83–90. (Multa quidem statui) Pallas notices that the Muses are approaching and leaves the author, having first kept him company on the way to the Aganippe.

Drama secundum:
4. 91–136. (Ut jecur ... Tityi ... vultur/ tondet) Duke John (Filius) laments the death of John III and the cruelty of life before Astraea who guards the memory of the late king at the tomb. Astraea admonishes Duke John to restrain his grief. John agrees but explains that the turbulent situation in the country makes it necessary to mourn.
5. 137–188. (Verum ... dum me ... moraris) Duke John asks Astraea’s identity. She reveals it and describes her experiences in Sweden during the previous century. John has to interrupt her and defend Erik XIV, when she touches on the cruel fate and reputation of this king. Astraea was forced to leave earth during Erik’s reign but returned when Duke John was conceived.

Drama tertium:
8. 207–298. (Quid te devoveam) Astraea and Pallas direct harsh accusations and curses against Lachesis, who kills before due time (insultatio mortis). Lachesis responds asking if they have lost their minds, and suggests that they should request medication. Pallas states that medicines are useless in this case. Astraea deprecates the brutality of the Fates, who kill people without respect to virtue, rank or age. Pallas asks Lachesis from where they have received that fatal power. Lachesis claims that the Fates are only servants. It is the will of God that everyone must die. Astraea urges Lachesis at least to mourn. Lachesis says that it is impossible but promises to pay respect to the name of John III.

Drama quartum:
9. 299–356. (Quid sceleris) Having listened to the conversation, Duke John expresses his bitterness before Pietas who consoles him. His parents are now by God’s will in heaven. Men must endure the conditions of human life. Pietas asks why John mourns when his parents are in heaven. Is that a cruel fate? John denies it is but states that he mourns out of piety. Pietas adds that John will meet his parents again on judgement day. Asked by John to adorn the tombs of his parents, Pietas says she will do so, and John promises that he will always worship her.
1.5.3 The *Centuria prima* print

**Introduction**

According to the title-page the *Centuria prima* was printed in Rostock in 1602. Since the last of the poems in it is dated in Lübeck 4 May 1602, when Phrygius had completed his university studies in Germany and was probably preparing to return to Sweden, we know that the printing was done after that date. The title-page, which includes a poem where Sweden prays to God for peace, shows that the dedicatee was a young Swedish nobleman, Per Nilsson Natt och Dag, who by this time studied in Wittenberg. The main part of the work, the actual *Centuria prima*, is surrounded by some shorter poems, as was so commonly the case in prints from this time. These may be summarized as follows:

*Deo trino et uno:*

This appears already on the title-page. Phrygius here in a *prosopopoeia* gives voice to the Swedish kingdom, which prays to God for peace. By the time when the print was produced, Sweden had experienced many hard years. After the battle of Stångebro in 1598, and the deposition of Sigismund in the summer of 1599, Duke Charles took revenge on his enemies in Sweden. Already in the summer of the same year Charles strengthened the Swedish forces in Estonia, and subsequently attacked the Polish forces in Livonia. During the summer of 1602, the Swedish army met great adversities, being attacked by Polish troops led by Jan Zamoyski. The *Centuria prima* was printed about that time.

*Domino Petro Nicolai:*

The dedicatory poem to Per Nilsson Natt och Dag immediately following the title-page is mainly structured in two parts, viz. *recusatio* (lines 1–6) and *laus* (7–12). This is the only instance in the work, the title-page excepted, in which Per Nilsson is mentioned or referred to for sure, and the words on him are few. The last two lines refer to his studies at the university (*Clarijs caep-tis*), and to his lineage (*patrius honos*) as a member of an old Swedish noble family.

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189 For biographical information on Per Nilsson, see the commentary on the title-page below.
190 BFS explains it as *ficta oratio alienae personae, ut Quintilianus interpretatur, cum rebus scil. mutis vel persona vel sermo tribuitur*, and JPG renders it similarly. For discussions of this figure in Neo-Latin, see e.g. Berggren 1994, pp. 41 f. and Helander 1995, pp. 37 ff.
191 Cf. section 1.3.2 above.
193 See further the notes on these lines in the commentary below.
ἐπεισάγματα:

In the original print the actual *Centuria prima* is followed by two short Swedish poems with the common heading *ἐπεισάγματα* (=additions), which have been omitted in the present edition. Both of them criticize and ridicule the cowardly people who do not want to leave home and experience new things. The wisdom of such persons is worthless, Phrygius says. According to Theodor Hjelmquist these poems are interesting above all because of their language. That holds true especially for ten synonyms for ‘mother’s darling’ or ‘milksop’ that we find at the beginning of the first poem, viz. *Buske-Pelle*, *gärsgriisz*, *morshans*, *Deggeföll*, *smörgåsenisse*, *Ammeföll*, *Hagekalf*, *Hemföding*, *Höstkyckling* and *Askefiis*. The aesthetic value of the poems is very little, Hjelmquist contends.

Finally, last in the print is a poem ironically directed and dedicated to Momus or blame and slander personified. Despite the fact that this motif was very popular in Renaissance literature generally, we may suppose that Phrygius himself had special private reasons for composing such a poem. Moreover, the final lines in it, where Phrygius expresses his excitement, and the entire poem is characterized by a force and engagement not often found in his writings. Hans-Erik Johannesson pointed out that the elaboration of this poem is skilful, and suggested that its target was a ‘less talented and envious poetical colleague’, which does not seem unlikely.

The print’s main section, the actual *Centuria prima*, consists of 99 captioned distichs or ‘naked emblems’. Though these naturally attract our greatest attention, there are some issues that should be discussed concerning the smaller poems as well. One such matter is the dedicatee of the print.

In his article on Phrygius’ lost *Opus poeticum*, Hans-Erik Johannesson offers an interesting reflection about Phrygius’ *Centuria prima*, viz. that these gnomological distichs are in no special way connected to Per Nilsson’s person or position in society. It rather seems as though the dedication is merely economically motivated, he contends. We should add that a work of this kind was very suited to all noblemen, given their ideal of both fine lineage

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194 They were discussed in “Två svenska smådikter av Sylvester Phrygius” by Theodor Hjelmquist, in *Språk och stil*, 8 (1908), 2, pp. 123 ff.
195 Hjelmquist 1908, p. 123.
196 See the commentary on this poem below for further notes on this character.
198 Hans-Erik Johannesson 1987, p. 10. On the same page Johannesson claims: *Verket har visserligen flera dedikationer på titelbladet, i första hand till en adelsyngling, Petrus Nicolai, ... men även den svenska kronan och kungen nämnas här* (‘It is true that the work has several dedications on its title-page, in the first place to a young nobleman, Petrus Nicolai, ... but the Swedish crown and the king are mentioned here too’). But Per Nilsson is the only dedicatee; Hans-Erik Johannesson has clearly misunderstood the Latin text here.
The question certainly arises whether there might be someone else to whom a connection could more easily be made, or if we should just consider the work as containing general paraenetic advice. Bearing in mind the conclusions above drawn from the *Threnologia dramatica*, namely that Phrygius was a supporter of Duke John who at the time was the closest legitimate heir to the throne, it is tempting to conjecture that the *Centuria prima* was initially intended for him.

A number of circumstances seem to support this hypothesis. Apart from the fact that several distichs in the work directly address the ‘powers’ (most obviously nos. 83–90, with the label *Ad potestates*), there are some emblems in particular that point towards the addressee being a young prince. The most striking example is no. 87, which has an imperative form of the verb in combination with *princeps* in the vocative. As can be seen in the commentary, the general tone, set by the many emblems on ruling and princely conduct, is also quite clearly more easily applicable to Duke John than to Per Nilsson.

On the other hand, this would probably be true of many emblematic collections in which advice to rulers are a stock ingredient, inspired as they were by contemporary mirrors of princes. One must also recall that the education of princes was generally regarded as a model for young men of the nobility.

There are other circumstances external to the text supporting the idea of Duke John as the initial dedicatee. In the years around 1600 Phrygius must quite simply have had many more motives for lauding Duke John. He had reason to expect a generous reward from this young prince if he dedicated to him a work originally planned on so large a scale. After all, the title is *Centuria prima*, implying that there may have been plans for at least more than one collection in a series. Phrygius might have expected to be appointed to a position close to John, perhaps even as his private tutor. In this context one should note that the use of sentences and emblems was strongly recommended in such treatises as Erasmus’ influential *Institutio Principis Christiani* (1516), as an effective means of imparting proper moral doctrines.

199 See e.g. Englund 1989, pp. 83 ff.
201 Cf. Losman 2005, pp. 152 ff. See also e.g. Gustafsson 1959.
202 Cf. Neque satis est, hujusmodi decreta tradere, quae vel a turbibus avocent, vel invitent ad honesta, infigenda sunt, infulcienda sunt, inculeanda sunt, et alia atque alia forma renovanda memoriae, nunc sententia, nunc fabella, nunc simili, nunc exemplo, nunc apophthegmate, nunc proverbio, insculpenda annulis, appingenda tabulis, adscribenda stemmatis, et si quid aliud est, quo aetas ea delectatur, ut undique sint obvia, etiam aliud agenti, and also later on: Proinde Principis animus ante omnia decretis ac sententiis erit instruendus, ut ratione sapiat, non usu. Porro rerum experientiam, quam aetas negavit, seniorum consilia supplebunt (quoted from Erasmus’ *Ausgewählte Schriften*, vol 5, pp. 122 ff. and 146). Similar advice is given in Per Brahe’s *Oeconomia eller Hushållsbok för ungt adelsfolk* from about 1580: Will man och seije sin Mening och skäll medh få ord som ofte för nöden är adt så skee måste Therföre adt man huareken hafuer wilie, tijdh heller Lägenheett, till att höre något långt tall,
That this recommendation was often abided by in practice can be seen in extant registers from the library of Erik XIV.\textsuperscript{203}

Likewise, it is not difficult to understand why Phrygius would have changed his dedicatory plans. When it became obvious to everybody that Duke Charles was about to win the crown for himself, it would have been tactically impossible to dedicate a work of this kind to another claimant to the throne. Since Duke John’s legal rights to the crown were stronger than those of Charles, the issue was a sensitive one. Strikingly, while Phrygius never again dedicated any work to Per Nilsson, he did compose a large amount of poetry in honour of Duke John. The choice of Per Nilsson as dedicatee seems to have been an exception that was perhaps merely an expedient solution.

*Centuria prima and the genres*

The dedicatory question most likely had a bearing also in other aspects, e.g. on the choice of genre. In classifying Phrygius’ work, we first notice the title, *Distichorum ad pietatem et bonos mores paraeneticorum centuria prima*, and the heading of the actual *Centuria prima* part of the print, *Distichorum gnomologicorum Centuria Prima*. As can be seen, the distichs are labeled ‘hortatory’ (*paraeneticus*) and ‘sententious’ (*gnomologicus*).\textsuperscript{204} Ragnar Ekholm viewed these captioned distichs in connection with such collections of moral sayings as the widely used *Disticha Catonis*\textsuperscript{205}, i.e. the short moralizing maxims collected between the end of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century and the beginning of the 4\textsuperscript{th}, allegedly written by Cato the elder. That work, on which Erasmus had written a widely spread commentary, was according to the Swedish school regulations of 1571 to be studied in the second form\textsuperscript{206}, so Phrygius must have been well acquainted with it.

Equally true, however, is the view expressed prior to Ekholm by the art historian Kjell Boström who had characterized the *Centuria prima* as being of ‘emblematic nature’ though he only briefly mentions the work.\textsuperscript{207} The title of the work cannot conceal the fact that it is very related to the genre of em-

\textsuperscript{203} Kurt Johannesson 1969–1970, p. 18. In this article Johannesson stresses the great use of such works containing emblems, sentences, etc., in Erik’s rhetorical education.

\textsuperscript{204} Scaliger in his poetics explains a paraenetic poem as *Est enim Paraeneticus* quod praecepta continet Sapientiae (Scaliger 1987 [1561], p. 157). For a short introduction into the classical and post-classical Greek gnomological tradition, giving the early history of the term with many references to further reading, see Searby 1998, pp. 28 ff.

\textsuperscript{205} Ekholm 1963, p. 48.

\textsuperscript{206} Hall 1921, pp. 26 and 32, Berg 1920, pp. 19 f. On the popularity of this work in education, see e.g. Moss 1996, p. 26, and Waquet 2002, pp. 33 and 37.

\textsuperscript{207} Boström 1958, p. 61.
blem books, immensely popular at this time.\textsuperscript{208} This will be shown clearly in the commentary below. Phrygius came in especially close contact with the emblematic genre during his studies in Jena in 1601–1602. One professor there, Nikolaus Reusner, was one of the foremost authors of emblematic books and had edited some comprehensive collections.\textsuperscript{209} As mentioned in section 1.3.1 above, Reusner was the one who bestowed on Phrygius the title of \textit{Poeta Caesareo-laureatus} in 1601. At this time Reusner must have been working on the collections that he edited in 1602.\textsuperscript{210} Phrygius must certainly have been familiar with Reusner’s work.

If there are reasons to suspect that Phrygius’ plan was to dedicate the \textit{Centuria prima} to a wealthy prince, we cannot exclude the possibility that he initially also had intended to adorn the headings and distichs with pictures, following the most common emblematic pattern of \textit{inscriptio} (heading), \textit{pictura} (picture) and \textit{subscriptio} (here the distichs).\textsuperscript{211} Albrecht Schöne, whose theories on emblems have been the most influential, albeit also much criticized\textsuperscript{212}, describes these features in the emblem as follows:

Die \textit{pictura} (Icon, Imago, auch Symbolon) zeigt beispielsweise eine Pflanze oder ein Tier, Geräte, Tätigkeiten oder Vorgänge des menschlichen Lebens, eine mythologische, biblische, historische Figur oder Szene [ … ] Über dieser \textit{pictura} … erscheint in der Regel eine kurzgefasste Überschrift, die … \textit{inscriptio} (Motto, Lemma), die nicht selten antike Autoren, Bibelverse oder Sprichwörter zitiert. Sie gibt in manchen Fällen nur eine Beschreibung des Abgebildeten, häufiger eine aus dem Bilde abgeleitete Devise oder knappe Sentenz, eine sprichwörtliche Feststellung oder ein lakonisches Postulat. Unter der \textit{pictura} schliesslich erscheint die \textit{subscriptio}, die das im Bilde Dargestellte erklärt und auslegt und aus dieser Bildbedeutung häufig eine allgemeine Lebensweisheit oder Verhaltensregel zieht … \textsuperscript{213}

As regards the relations between these three features, Schöne wished to modify the often stated view that the \textit{inscriptio} and the \textit{pictura} must necessarily pose an enigma to be solved in the \textit{subscriptio}\textsuperscript{214}:

\textsuperscript{208} For a general introduction to emblematics, see e.g. Bernhard F. Scholz’ article in Der Neue Pauly, vol. 13, s.v. \textit{emblematik}.
\textsuperscript{209} Two of Reusner’s works are referred to in Henkel & Schöne (1996 [1\textsuperscript{st} ed. in 1967]).
\textsuperscript{210} Cf. Boström 1958, pp. 62 and 101.
\textsuperscript{211} For a brief survey of the two main scholarly currents regarding how text and picture interact in emblems, see Daly 1979, pp. 16 ff.
\textsuperscript{212} See e.g. Scholz 2002, pp. 247 ff. and 276 ff., and Visser 2003, pp. 190 ff. (with references to further literature critical of Schöne in footnote 6 on p. 191). The criticism in these authors concerns, above all, Schöne’s concepts of \textit{die ideelle Priorität der Pictura} and \textit{die potentielle Faktizität seines Bildinhaltes}.
\textsuperscript{213} Schöne 1993, pp. 18 f. (1\textsuperscript{st} ed. in 1964). An introduction to emblematic art in Swedish is given in e.g. Friberg 1945, pp. 14 ff. and Hansson 1978, pp. 149 ff. As regards its moral and didactic intentions, cf. e.g. Jöns 1966, p. 25: \textit{Unterrichtung und Erziehung ist die Aufgabe, die die meisten späteren Emblembücher erfüllen wollen}.
\textsuperscript{214} A view contested in Heckscher & Wirth 1959, col. 95.
Man wird der Fülle der Erscheinungen offenbar eher gerecht, wenn man das Emblem dahingehend bestimmt, dass seiner dreiteiligen Bauform eine Doppelfunktion des Abbildens und Auslegens oder des Darstellens und Deutens entspricht.\textsuperscript{215}

Still the most important feature of the emblem in this theory is the picture:

... sie und erst sie repräsentiert ganz unmittelbar, nämlich auf anschaubare Weise, was durch die emblematische subscriptio dann ausgelegt wird, indem diese die in der pictura beschlossene, über die res picta hinausweisende significatio offenbar macht.\textsuperscript{216}

The problem with this and other attempts to define the genre is that the 20th century scholars who dealt with the question based their theories on the total emblematic production that had developed over the course of the centuries.\textsuperscript{217} Schöne was, of course, aware of this but chose to outline a certain Kernbereich der Emblematik.\textsuperscript{218} His definition of the ideal emblem would thus automatically exclude many emblems as improper variants, especially from the early period when the genre was developing.\textsuperscript{219} This has recently been exemplified by Arn. S. Q. Visser in his doctoral thesis on the emblems of Johannes Sambucus. With knowledge about the production process, viz. that the poems for Sambucus’ emblems were completed before the designing of the pictures had begun and that many of these probably cannot be the result of collaboration between Sambucus and the engravers, Visser stresses that the epigrams have priority over the pictures in this case, both in the invention process and in the way the emblems communicate their message. This becomes especially obvious when the engraver has made mistakes or misunderstood the emblems. The pictures can in most cases be regarded merely as illustrations of the most central ideas put forth in the poems.\textsuperscript{220} A recent attempt to state an inclusive definition of the emblem genre, also acknowledging its great variety, is offered by Bernhard F. Scholz:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Schöne 1993, p. 21. Cf. e.g. Manning 2002, p. 20, and Daly 1998, pp. 48 and 103, the latter claiming that: “the erroneous view that emblematic images are arbitrary and necessarily obscure derives in part from the modern reader’s confusion when he meets one image with many different, at times contradictory, meanings”.
  \item Schöne 1993, p. 26
  \item Cf. Daly 1970, p. 388: “It is impossible to find a definition of the emblem, which can cover the many relationships of word to picture, thing to meaning, or the various forms and functions of those illustrated books calling themselves emblembooks”. See also Russell 1995, p. 151.
  \item It is necessary to realize both that Albrecht Schöne’s narrow definition guided the selection of emblems for the indispensable hand-book by him and Arthur Henkel (1967) and that its contents cannot really be regarded as representative of the entire genre (cf. Visser 2003, pp. 191 ff.). For criticism on its Bedeutungs-Register, see Daly 1998, p. 215.
  \item Visser 2003, pp. 121 f. and 199 ff. Russell 1995, p. 157, even says: “... in fact the picture was generally a secondary and subordinate element in the conception and execution of French Renaissance emblems”, and in p. 188: “… the early emblem was really a textually based production”. Cf. Manning 2002, pp. 80 ff.
\end{itemize}
Angesichts des Variantenreichtums der Emblematica empfiehlt es sich deshalb, das emblematische Textkorpus nicht als eine Menge von Texten zu betrachten, für die eine (einzige) Konjunktion von Merkmalen ausfindig gemacht werden kann, die für alle Embleme und nur für diese gilt. Das emblematische Textkorpus, wie es sich im Laufe von fast drei Jahrhunderten entwickelt hat … besteht vielmehr aus einer Anzahl Teilcorpora, d.h. aus Teilmengen, die nur durch partielle Ähnlichkeiten miteinander verbunden sind. Das Gesamtkorpus der Emblematica stellt, so gesehen, eine Teilmengenfamilie dar, der eine Bedeutungsfamilie entspricht.\footnote{Scholz 2002, p. 286.}

In his subsequent description of an emblem’s \textit{Normalform}, which comes close to its form in the Alciato edition printed in Paris in 1534, Scholz is very careful to emphasize that his attempt is only meant to serve as a preliminary standard description. Avoiding an overall definition, he seeks a concept of this textual corpus in all its varieties. By creating an inductive model of description for registration of emblematic variants, Scholz thinks it possible to reconstruct the history of the emblem with all its subgenres as literary forms corresponding to the varying expectations of contemporary readers.\footnote{Scholz 2002, pp. 290 ff.} When David Graham later argues for “a flexible typology of emblematic norms based more on functionality than on form or structure”\footnote{Graham 2005, p. 131. The problem with canonical emblematic structures, he says, is that “empirical examination of the emblem corpus quickly reveals many instances in which the physical presentation of emblems – in works clearly claiming emblematic status for themselves through their titles or other paratextual apparatus – fails at least superficially to correspond not just to the \textit{emblem triplex} model but to any hard and fast canonical structure one can imagine” (p. 134).}, he is dealing more or less with the same problem as Scholz had.

Accordingly, the fact that Phrygius’ work does not correspond to Schönme’s Idealtyp should not prevent us from primarily understanding it in an emblematic context, as Boström suggested. The term ‘emblem’ will thus often be used for Phrygius’ headings with distichs in this thesis. It is also worth noting that it was only gradually and fairly late in the 16th century that the term emblem acquired the sense of ‘combination of text and picture, meant to give a moral lesson’. In fact, \textit{emblema} not infrequently referred initially merely to the epigram.\footnote{See Russell 1975, pp. 337 ff., where the etymology and the history of the term is also recounted. The varying opinions among scholars about what Alciato himself meant when he used the word are discussed e.g. in Bernhard Scholz (1991) in his survey of research on the 1531 Augsburg edition of Alciato’s \textit{Emblemata}.} As shown in the commentary, most of the emblems in Phrygius’ work do not pose riddles, whereas that is often the case with very many of his contemporary practicians of the emblematic art (Alciato included).\footnote{Schöne 1993, pp. 20 f., Daly 1979, pp. 22 ff., and Visser 2003, p. 124.} Some of Phrygius’ emblems do not seem to be finished.
even according to what seem to be his own standards. For example, nos. 78 and 97 have headings consisting only of references to passages in the Bible (usually preceded by a proverbial saying or a label on the content of the distich). Nor should the absence of pictures surprise us. Financial considerations actually often forced authors of emblem books to omit the pictures and create *emblemata nuda*, since the inclusion of pictures was so expensive. In some cases emblems were not even intended to be illustrated. Even some editions of Alciato’s emblems are without images.\textsuperscript{226} Plans to include pictures in a work of this kind presupposes the hope of good financial support, most easily obtained from a wealthy dedicatee. A future king would surely seem very attractive from the dedicatory point of view.

Accordingly, if the plan was to dedicate the work to Duke John, it is likely that the intention was that the captioned distichs should be adorned with pictures. When Duke John was outmanoeuvred, Phrygius had to adapt himself to the circumstances. He found another dedicatee but with less financial means. When pictures could not be included, the work automatically moved closer to the tradition of moralizing distichs rather than emblems (hence the title), even though it remains closely connected to the genre emblem books.

Later on in the 17th century similar works were created in Sweden as edifying literature for young future rulers. Phrygius’ pupil from the school in Linköping Johannes Matthiae Gothus (the younger) in 1627 edited a collection of quotations of varying length from ancient authors, both in poetry and prose, arranged according to *loci communes* called *Gnomologia*. It was later used in the education of Queen Christina under the tutelage of Johannes Matthiae.\textsuperscript{227} In 1645 Schering Rosenhane prepared to dedicate an emblematic collection called *Hortus Regius* to the 18 years old Christina. An edition of the work, which has survived in one manuscript, was published in 1978 by Stina Hansson. Similarly, Christofer Larsson Grubbe (most probably Phrygius’ pupil as well in Linköping\textsuperscript{228}), published in 1665 with Royal privilege the first edition of his great collection of proverbs in Swedish *Penu proverbiale*, and dedicated it in the first place to the young Charles XI, but also to queen mother Hedvig Eleonora and the members of the Royal Council.

The young Johannes Loccenius in 1627 published his *IC. Epigrammata Quaedam Sacra et Moralia, Insertis Virtutum Praepicuarum ac Vitiorum*

\textsuperscript{226} Scholz 2002, p. 285; Russell 1995, p. 151, and Daly 1979, pp. 40 and 89 f. In a note on p. 113, Daly refers to the article on emblems by Heckscher & Wirth in *Realllexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte* where it is stated that as many as one-tenth of all emblem books do not include pictures. He ends with the question: “are we to discount such a large group of works that are considered by their authors to be emblems?”

\textsuperscript{227} Åslund 2005, p. 133. Johannes Matthiae has himself stressed the importance of the instruction given to him by Phrygius during his time in school (Holmquist 1903, p. 62).

\textsuperscript{228} Christofer Larsson Grubbe was born in Linköping in 1593, and in 1611 he matriculated at Uppsala University (*Svenska män och kvinnor*, vol. 3, p. 120). It is likely that he attended Phrygius’ lectures in Linköping prior to beginning studies at a higher academical level.
imaginibus per Emblemata adumbratis. A section having the title Virtutum Praecipiarum ac vitiorum Emblemata alique [sic] moralia follows no. 25 onwards in that work. These texts, which are headings with epigrams of varying length, are thus explicitly referred to as emblems. They all lack pictures and correspond to Phrygius’ distichs with headings in many ways. Quite a few of Loccenius’ emblems are artistically more elaborated, but that is certainly more easily done in somewhat longer epigrams. A couple of them also refer more explicitly to a picture created in the minds of the readers, using suitable deictic means.

But several resemble Phrygius’ emblems very closely. For example:

XXXI. Mansuetudo

Parte sui supera Sphynx est homo, belluaque infra:

Impetus & Menti subditus esto duci.

XLIII. Emblema Ventosae Loquacitatis.

Quam densas fumi nubes emittit in auras!

Sed nullum pondus, dum stipula ardet, habet.

LV. Vita humana.

Est peregrinari, non vivere vivere nostrum:

Mundus hic hospitium est, patria vera polus.

LX. Relaxatio animi.

Interdum mentem fas est animumque remitti,

Sed solvi penitus mentem animumque nefas.

LXV. Capua Annibali Cannae.

Romanis armis maiorem frangit inermis

Luxuries, animos huic Capua una capit.

If Loccenius called such epigrams with headings emblems, Phrygius’ work also deserves a similar label.

There were thus a variety of short moralizing texts, often including proverbs or references to other literature, dealing with important topics in limited and rhetorically condensed and effective sections. All of these should be understood in the context of the important tradition of commonplace books, i.e. collections of exemplary (as regards both language and content) sayings categorized under different headings. In school students were exhorted to collect beautiful and wise quotations, creating their own private common-

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place books. In addition there were a huge number of printed titles of this kind, which the readers could use as a rhetorical aid both in understanding and evaluating texts, but where they could also look for expressions with which they could adorn their own speeches and writings. Not least such works helped those who sought to acquire good knowledge of Latin to integrate grammatical and linguistic paradigmatic phrases. The close relation between emblems, sentences and commonplaces is seen in particular where actual collections of emblems were used and arranged under commonplace-headings, as in the Alciato edition by Rouillé and Bonhomme in Lyon 1550. In a brief study, Ann Moss gives the example of how Josephus Longius included emblems as a subsection under his commonplace heads, among groups as *sententiae*, ‘flowers’, maxims, etc., and thus transformed emblems completely into commonplaces, having taken away both pictures and explanatory texts.

Some scholars have also emphasized the connection between emblematic art and *artificiosa memoria*, the mnemonic method inherited from antiquity and still recommended in Phrygius’ days, according to which an orator should construe his speech in his mind with the aid of pictures. Emblems could thus be regarded as mnemonic pictures transferred from mind to print. The relation of both these features to emblems, the tradition of commonplac- ing and the *artificiosa memoria*, demonstrates, moreover, that emblems could be regarded as a vital tool in the art of rhetoric. Michael Bath even suggests that the theory of the rhetorical topos should be regarded as an adequate approach as we try to consider emblems from the aspects of authority and probability, rather than Schöne’s concept of ‘potential facticity’.

Whatever generic label we decide to place on Phrygius’ work, its purpose and use remains very much the same, viz. to deliver moral, rhetorical and mnemonic guidance and aid to the reader.

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232 See Ong 1976, pp. 103 f. for a brief discussion of the commonplace-tradition during the Renaissance, but especially Ann Moss’ *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (1996), and *Renaissance Truth and the Latin Language Turn* (2003), in which she stresses the importance of the commonplace-tradition in the Renaissance’s shift from Mediaeval Latin to Latin modeled on classical usage. As to the consequences of this tradition for understanding possible intertextual relations, see section 1.6.5 below.
233 It was reprinted with translation and annotations by Betty I. Knott, and an introduction by John Manning (1996).
237 Bath 1994, p. 5.
The contents of the *Centuria prima*

As will be immediately obvious to the reader, the emblems are not arranged in any systematic way, with a few exceptions, such as nos. 83–90 on a special theme and under the same heading. No. 1 appears to be a kind of summarizing label of the content of the work, having been placed there for emphatic reasons, in the same way as no. 100. The main impression is however that the arrangement of the emblems has come about quite haphazardly.

According to the title, the contents are meant to deliver moral instruction and advice (*disticha paraenetica*), and the absolute majority of the distichs does do this, even if the reader has to interpret some of them rather generously and creatively in order to find a moral sense. In such cases a remote paraenetic message can be singled out only with knowledge of the initial moral intention. Sometimes we are dealing with *exempla*, as in no. 17 where Nero is mentioned as a bad ruler, or in no. 22, which has to do with the fate of Judas. Sometimes the headings with distichs seem to be merely descriptive, with the aim of highlighting a certain aspect of a phenomenon, as in no. 10 on the motif of the church as a vessel. That is also true as regards no. 33, about the gifts of the three wise men, and no. 100 about the present bad times. As the reader will notice, a majority of the emblems can be included in this vague category.

The themes treated in the emblems cover a wide range of questions from many different sources. Undoubtedly most important are those concerning religion and faith, which in a wider sense Phrygius certainly meant that they all do. Also when a theme’s initial context is a pagan one, it is meant to be interpreted and understood in a sense in accordance with Christian (i.e. Lutheran) beliefs as well. It is not possible to categorize all the emblems into easily divided sections without violating their nuances, but a rough division into some large groups, which of course cannot be regarded as conclusive, will be informative and help demonstrate Phrygius’ main concerns.

To begin with, the exhortation to ‘believe in and rely on God alone’ must be regarded as the most common explicit or implicit paraenetic advice. It can e.g. be found in the much emphasized first emblem, but also in nos. 51 and 74, as well as in many more. In some cases typically Lutheran standpoints about faith are stressed, as in nos. 2 and 53. In others Phrygius refers to religious beliefs serving as incentives for a morally sound behaviour, as in nos. 22, 30 and 44, in which it is stated that crimes will sooner or later be punished. A similar intention forms the background of the theme *memento*

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238 The same is the case in emblem books by such renowned authors as Andrea Alciato, Achille Bocchi and Johannes Sambucus (Visser 2003, pp. 126). “Close examination of emblem books tends to reveal only occasional ‘micro-sequences’ of emblems in which individual emblems can clearly be shown to refer to those immediately preceding or following them” (Graham 2005, p. 147).

239 See e.g. no. 49 which speaks about dowries. It says that piety and chastity should be sought, avarice avoided.
mori (in nos. 32 and 42), this is also related to the idea that death is nothing to be afraid of (in nos. 54 and 65). No. 21 states that we are all sinners, and no. 82 that God cannot be deceived. Other moral advice about religion are e.g. nos. 9, 46 and 91 admonishing people to pray, and 41, 62, 64 and 80 on how to understand and live with suffering.

It is not surprising to see that the traditional deadly sins occur among things to be avoided. The most important is undoubtedly superbia, which appears in many emblems in different aspects. Most striking are nos. 24, 76, 77 and 92 about the limits of human wisdom in religious matters (which is interesting to find in this time of harsh religious conflicts). Warnings against avarice (avaritia) occur in nos. 37, 55, 57 and 71. Lust (luxuria) is treated in nos. 6, 12, 71 and 89, envy (invidia) most obviously in no. 39. Gluttony (gula) can be found in nos. 40 and 46, anger (ira) in nos. 71 and 84. Finally, sloth (acedia) is warned against in nos. 27, 34, 58, 59 and 71.

Many emblems deal with different aspects of governing. It is true that reflections on the conduct of princes are frequent quite generally in this genre. Nevertheless, if Centuria prima was initially written for the young Duke John when he was closest to the throne, that would explain the conspicuously high number of such emblems. Related to the tradition of mirrors of princes, political emblems would also become very popular in the 17th century.240 See e.g. nos. 17 and 72, about evil rulers, no. 19 on the mobile vulgus, no. 25 on all nations being brought under control with precepts, no. 79 about being a gentle ruler. As mentioned above nos. 83–90 are directed to the powers (Ad potestates) with advice on different matters of relevance for them, e.g. practical warfare and personal caution. Likewise emblems concerning youth and education occur in nos. 31, 36 and 63. The importance of marrying wisely occurs in nos. 6, 49 and 81. Given the the historical setting, it is easy to understand why we find emblems on themes such as the importance of concord (nos. 45, 48 and 78), of avoiding violence (69, 70 and 83), of oath taking (61 and 66), etc.241

Phrygius, like many of his contemporaries, proves in several instances that he agrees with Erasmus’ view from Institutio Principis Christiani that kings and princes should be an ethical model. They are vicarii Dei on earth, and should strive to correspond to their archetype, owning virtues such as mansuetudo, iustitia, pietas, sapientia and prudentia.242 In the Coronarium (1617) Gustav Vasa appears and asks personified princely virtues to honour the coronated King Gustav II Adolf with gifts, alluding to Erasmus’ simile on the king’s insignia and personal virtues243. Thereafter they address the

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241 Cf. section 1.3.2 above.
242 Erasmus’ Ausgewählte Schriften, vol 5, pp. 136 ff. and 150.
243 Quid sibi vult unctio, nisi summam in Principe lenitatem ac mansuetudinem, quod fere magnae potentiae comes esse soleat crudelitas? Quid aurum indicat, nisi singularem sapientiam? Quid gemmarum fulgor, nisi virtutes eximias minimeque plebejas? Quid ardens pur-
new king in turn with one poem each. The virtues are *religio, prudentia, temperantia, iustitia, fortitudo, liberalitas, candor* and *fides*. In the Ähraskyldige Lijktienst* (1618) Phrygius lists Duke John’s virtues, mentioning among others piety, matrimonial fidelity, righteousness, generosity and patience. In the *Oratio encomiastica* published in *Agon regius* (1620) he praises John III for his *pietas, prudentia, patientia, liberalitas, iustitia, superbiae detestatio*, etc., and for truly having been a model for his subjects.

Finally, in the *Centuria prima* there is advice of a more general kind. Nos. 43 and 67 maintain the advantages of an *aurea mediocritas*. Nos. 52 and 97 say that man is the forger of his own fortune (quite contradictory to no. 11 about God’s omnipotence), and that he must accordingly accept it as he himself has made it. Nos. 64, 68 and 74 recommend equanimity and flexibility of mind, nos. 3 and 56 encourage men to be soberly foresighted, while nos. 28 och 29 advise the avoidance of bad company.

Again, it should be borne in mind that the categories enumerated, in which not all emblems are mentioned, do not cover all the various inherent nuances. Emblems such as nos. 2 and 53, classified above with those on religion due to their strong Lutheran colouring, must also be read against the historical context and from a princely perspective, provided Duke John is agreed to be the initial dedicatee. Once the Catholic Sigismund had been deposed, it was absolutely crucial to emphasize that the future king had to adhere strongly to Lutheran beliefs.

**Concluding reflections**

If the dedication to Per Nilsson was only an expedient solution to allow the work to be published, albeit with less financial means and less reward, this may shed light on several features of this work. It could explain why the contents appear to be unconnected to Per Nilsson, why Phrygius never dedicated any other work to him, why the distichs with headings do not include pictures, why some of Phrygius’ *emblemata nuda* do not seem to be finished, why they are labeled as paraenetic distichs instead of emblems, etc. With this in mind it is also tempting to conclude that the publication was carried...
out in haste. Even if we cannot be sure of that, we can at least be certain from the print’s very simple layout that it was not an expensive print.246

1.6 Language and style

As an early representative of Swedish Neo-Latin poetry, Phrygius displays features typical of that period when we examine his language and style more closely. In Kurt Johannesson’s description of the style of Latin poetry in Sweden during the 17th century, the first decades are considered to be somewhat of a transition period. The development points towards an increased stylization and a greater influence from rhetoric.247 The technical skill and linguistic knowledge were also more rudimentary compared to later Neo-Latin periods. Examples of this from Phrygius will be presented below.

As was mentioned above, the reader of Phrygius’ poems in this edition will notice a linguistic and stylistic progression from the ones contained in the Ecloga prima print to the Threnologia (the Ecloga prima was published when Phrygius was 27 years old and the Threnologia when he was 48). The aim here is not only to depict the relationship of Phrygius’ Latin to classical Latin as described in modern handbooks, but also to compare it to grammatical and lexicographical authorities contemporary with Phrygius.

1.6.1 Orthography

As could be expected, Phrygius adheres to orthographical practices characteristic of the Middle Ages and the early Neo-Latin period. When his language differs from ancient practice, similar divergences can most often be found in contemporary handbooks as well. They were thus regarded as correct and in accordance with prevailing etymological theories. Neo-Latin orthography has been treated in several previous studies248, but some brief remarks on Phrygius’ spelling shall be given as an aid to the reader. These will not only demonstrate the main characteristics of Phrygius’ spelling but also the considerable progress in orthographical knowledge made once BFS

246 It is impossible not to compare it with the often very elegant and costly design of other emblem-books. See e.g. the Aureola emblemata (1587) by Nikolaus Reusner, Phrygius’ teacher in Jena. Apart from a heading and distich in Latin, each emblem contains a woodcut picture and a translation of the distich into German. Each emblem is surrounded by a woodcut frame and covers an entire page. On this book and its dependence upon Mathias Holtzwart’s Emblematum Tyrocinia, see Klecker & Schreiner 2003, pp. 159 ff.


was edited by the end of the 17th century, since the correct spellings can most often be found there.249

The spelling of oe, ae and e is often confused. Some examples are:

- *Mecoenas* (ecl. title) for *Maecenas*. Both JPG and BFS have *Mecaenas*. BFS also has the note “rectius *Maecenas*”.
- *laevis* (thren. 286) for *levis* (long e). Both JPG and BFS have *laevis*.
- *faedus* (cent. 40) for *foedus*. Both JPG and BFS have *foedus*.

There is often a confusion of ti and ci before vowels.

- *praenuncius* (ecl. 42) for *praenuntius*. Both JPG and BFS have *praenuntius*.
- *convitium* (thren. 343) for *convicium*. JPG has *convitium*, while BFS has *convicium*.
- *tristicia* (cent. 46) for *tristitia*. Both JPG and BFS have *tristitia*.

There is often a confusion of i and y.250

- *sylva* (ecl. 2) for *silva*. Both JPG and BFS have *sylva*. BFS also has a cross-reference from *silva* to *syla*.
- *lachryma* (thren. 141) for *lacrima*. JPG has *lachryma*, while BFS has *lacryma*.
- *hybernus* (cent. 27) for *hibernus*. JPG has *hybernus*. BFS has *hybernus* as well, but the main word *hyems* is followed by the note *vel hiems Latine*.

As the previous example shows, aspiration of consonants often occurs:

- *charus* (ecl. title) for *carus* in the sense ‘beloved’ (in the sense ‘expensive’ the spelling was always *carus*). Both JPG and BFS have *charus* (‘beloved’), but BFS also notes that “scribunt et *carus*”.251
- *thorus* (cent. 6) for *torus*. Both JPG and BFS have *torus*, BFS also having a cross-reference from *thorus* to *torus*.

There is frequent confusion in the use of p between m and s or t.

- *temsit* (ecl. 76) for *tempsit*. JPG has *tempsi* as the perfect of *temno*. BFS does not indicate the perfect forms252, but in the verbal noun *contentus* the p is missing. On the contrary:
- *sumptus* (thren. 131, 227). JPG has *sumptus* in the adjective, but *sumtus* in the noun. BFS has *sumtus* (noun), but in the examples following the word the spelling with a p occurs several times.

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250 Cf. especially Helander 2001, pp. 27 f.
252 The perfect form of the simplex *temno* is attested neither in OLD nor L&S.
As a rule, *n* is written instead of *m* before *qu*.

- *utrinque* (thren. 32) for *utrimque*. Both JPG and BFS have *utrinque*.

There is inconsistent spelling of double and single consonants, e.g.:

- *ogganire* (ecl. 86), *relligione* (thren. 108) and *imo* (thren. 121).

Another deviant spelling is:

- *quum* (ecl. 34, thren. 104, 129 and 329) sometimes for the conjunction *cum* (ecl. 52, 55, 105, thren. 83, 226, 243, 245, 259 and 336). Both JPG and BFS has both *quum* and *cum*.

A few other divergences in Phrygius’ texts will be noted in the commentary. In those cases the reasons are most often problems in correctly spelling Greek words or words from other languages (e.g. *Tithyos* in ecl. 149). A few mistakes also appear that are typical of a general uncertainty of spelling in Neo-Latin (e.g. *interemisque* in thren. 242).

### 1.6.2 Morphology

The morphology in Phrygius’ texts is almost completely classical. Some deviations occur, but these can often be found in other Neo-Latin authors as well. They are:

- *queis* (ecl. 12, thren. 17 and 19) for *quibus*. But *quibus* is more common (ecl. 121, thren. 53, 67, 115, 232, 247 and cent. 95). The form *queis*, being very common in Neo-Latin literature, is according to some contemporary grammatical authorities, e.g. Cellarius and Noltenius, chiefly poetical. It is however frequently found in prose too.

- *-eis* in the accusative plural (ecl. 31, 79, 80, 115). The ending was accepted in grammatical treatises of the 16th and 17th centuries, but it becomes rarer at the end of the 17th century.

The extended usage of the fifth declension. We meet the variant forms *maesticies* (thren. 128) for *maestitia* and *barbaries* (thren. 161) for *barbaria*. Variants from this declension are found often in Neo-Latin quite generally.

The ‘paragogic’ present passive infinitive ending in -*ier* occurs in *nascier* (thren. 111). The form was rare in ancient Latin. Plautus uses it at times in

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253 According to some authorities, Noltenius among others, the spellings *quum* and *cum* should be differentiated properly in order to separate the conjunction *quum* from the preposition *cum* (Ostlund 2000, p. 32.).


255 Helander 1995, pp. 23 f.

256 Helander 1995, pp. 22 f.

257 Helander 2001, pp. 31 f.
verse endings, and the classical poets display it when aiming at an archaic sound.258

A Neo-Latin deviation from ancient usage very often mentioned in handbooks today is the ablative singular of adjectives with the comparative ending in -i. Notably, in the only instance found in our texts, Phrygius has –e (Threnologia, line 190, meliore).

Some words written in Greek can be found in the texts. These are: τεκμήριον (ecl. title), στοργή (thren. 126) and, at the close of both Threnologia and Centuria prima, the phrase Πάντοτε Δόξα Θεῷ. These follow normal Greek morphology, as do certain transcribed Greek nouns appearing in the poems (also the case in classical Latin):

Arcton (ecl. 38) accusative of the second declension.
Tithyos (ecl. 149) genitive of the third declension.
Lebethridas (thren. 131) plural accusative of the third declension.
Themidos (thren. 139) genitive of the third declension.
Phlegetonta (thren. 156) accusative of the third declension.
Alciden (Momo 15) accusative of the second declension.

The word chely (thren. 164) is an ablative of chelys, a form occurring for the first time in Martianus Capella (5th century).259

1.6.3 Syntax260

Phrygius’ syntax also mostly adheres to classical principles (as we define them), though some discrepancies occur. These are either characteristic of Neo-Latin generally or due (especially in the eclogue) to Phrygius’ own deficiencies. Features diverging from classical syntax are noted in the present chapter if they occur more than once in the texts. Otherwise they will only be dealt with in the commentary. In the list below typical Neo-Latin discrepancies are accounted for first. In the later part, examples of personal deficiencies follow.

There is one example of the shifted perfect passive in the phrase Cum frons ... notata fuit (thren. 226), and one of the shifted pluperfect passive in Si mea ... mens non experta fuisset (ecl. 135), corresponding to the unshifted forms notata est and experta esset. These features occur already in ancient Latin, the pluperfect somewhat more frequently, but they were not common until late Latin.261

259 TLL, s.v. chelys.
260 General observations on Neo-Latin syntax are made in IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, pp. 410 f.
261 Kajanto 1979, p. 57 ff. Though it is often claimed that the shifted and unshifted forms were used without discrimination in Neo-Latin, Östlund has been able to show that there was actu-
The names of months are treated as nouns, clearly in *Altera lux saevi post idus fulsit Aprilis* (ecl. 50), probably in *OClO bIs ApRIILIs noCtIes VbI Mane fVgaVIt* (et. 1), a usage inherited from medieval Latin.\(^{262}\) In ancient Latin the months are generally adjectives.

The distributive numeral with plural nouns is sometimes used instead of the cardinals, just as sometimes in ancient Latin poetry and late Latin.\(^{263}\) In *thren. 271* we find *trina numina* instead of *tria numina*, and in line 310 *de trinis* instead of *de tribus [sororibus]*.

*Cum*-clauses with the indicative, where according to classical principles we most often would have expected the subjunctive, can be found in some instances:  *Sol quum ... vultus/ Abdidit, et ... processit* (ecl. 34 f.), *fulmina nam mortis cum sensit* (ecl. 105), *Cum mediae vitae vere petenda fuit* (*thren. 336*). This can be found in other Neo-Latin writers as well.\(^{264}\)

The pluperfect is sometimes used where we would have expected a perfect, e.g. *vix bis Castalij viserat alta jugi* (*thren. 2*), *corpus/ ... tinxerat omne luto* (*thren. 172*). This feature is common in all post-classical Latin.\(^{265}\)

The indicative in indirect questions can be found in two instances, viz. *Dic quis te docuit* (ecl. 86) and *Dic ubi tecta tenes* (*thren. 138*). This feature is common in Neo-Latin.\(^{266}\)

Phrygius has some instances of *quod*-clauses with the indicative or the subjunctive, where according to classical principles we would expect an accusativus cum infinitivo,\(^{267}\) viz. *thren. 275 ff*. *Quod perit injustus ... / fulmina quod fati nemo cavere queat,/ Fatorum jus est, and in Domino Petro Nicolai lines 1 f.* *testabor ... / Te quod amore colam, te quod honore sequar*. The subjunctive is probably most common by this time in literary texts.\(^{268}\)

The accusativus cum infinitivo with *facio* is not common in classical Latin.\(^{269}\) In Phrygius’ poems however we encounter the phrases *faciens [monumenta] vivere* (*thren. 44*), *facis ... saxa natare* (*thren. 252, 322*) and *quis-nam fecit [vos] habere* (*thren. 254*).

There is an unclassical use of the concessive *licet* with the indicative, inherited from late Latin, e.g. *Justus licet iste videtur* (*thren. 125*), *Hic licet in primo fuit aptus limine* (*thren. 171*), and *licet captum fugit ista tuum* (*cent. 77*). The regular subjunctive occurs in *thren. 235 f.*\(^{270}\)


\(^{266}\) Cf. Tengström 1983, p. 74 and Berggren 1994, pp. 52 f.


\(^{269}\) Cf. K.-St., I, pp. 694 f.

\(^{270}\) Cf. K.-St., II, pp. 443 f.
As regards Phrygius’ own deficiencies in Latin grammar, for example, there are quite a number of too free uses of elliptical expressions, that is, apart from the titles. Most of these are unproblematic, but some clearly deserve our notice. The phrase *Jäppe [inquit]:* (ecl. 72) is a conjecture and seems to be the only way of grasping the sense. In *ipse sub haec [inquit]* (ecl. 92) we have a similar case, but there we are aided by models from classical poetry. *Nil hominii melius [quam] ... nascier* (thren. 111) is of interest from a grammatical point of view. The omissions in the lines *Sortem [meam] Deus est miseratus iniquam./ Elysium rursus jussit [me] adire nemus* (thren. 185 f.) make the sense obscure, since the context does not indicate the obvious subjective accusative. These four examples are more extensively discussed upon in the commentary.

Some clauses suffer from a overly vague connection to their context, which can make the sense somewhat unclear. They are perhaps best understood as a kind of parenthetical explanation. This is the case with e.g. *ignotis ... / gramina* (ecl. 8 f.) and *Sint decies ...* (thren. 236). Some of them are here written between dashes, in order to mark them out from similar instances where Phrygius himself used a parenthesis, since the latter is also a rhetorical device. Dashes are omitted in 245 f. of the *Threnologia,* although these lines are awkwardly situated in the surrounding passage.

An unsuccessful word order appears in some instances. That is especially the case as regards the position of *non* in *Me natale solum non vertere crimem adegit* (ecl. 24). A similar instance is the position of *nequedum* in the clause *Obscurae nequedum praemissa crepuscula nocti/ Illius obtinuere locum* (ecl. 51 f.).

1.6.4 Vocabulary

Neo-Latin authors used words from all periods of ancient Latin, not only from the one today regarded as classical. The important thing was to have support in the *auctores probati,* among whom e.g. Plautus and Terence were generally considered to belong. However, other words were used by necessity as well. IJsewijn’s list of fields in which unclassical (or not ancient) words were more common, i.e. for political and social concepts, the ac-

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271 General surveys of the vocabulary of Neo-Latin can be found in e.g. IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, pp. 382 ff. and Helander 2004, pp. 65 ff.
272 Our conception of classical Latin, viz. the period from Cicero to ca. 120 A.D. is not wholly relevant here. From the Renaissance onwards scholars often divided the ancient period into several ages (named by analogy with Ovid’s *Aetates,* constituting a series of gradual decay. The *aurea aetas* in that classification normally also included authors today regarded as pre-classical or postclassical.
demic and ecclesiastical worlds, etc., has great relevance as we try to understand the conditions under which Neo-Latin authors had to work.274

All this is reflected in Phrygius’ poems. There are, however, also words bearing witness to a fondness for odd and obscure language. As a matter of fact, several of the rare words occurring in Phrygius’ poems can be found in Festus or in the Epitoma Festi of Paulus Diaconus that had been published in the important edition by Joseph Justus Scaliger 1575.275 Phrygius’ predilection for such words reveal an immature and stylistically sterile striving for effect. Compound words, which most often have ancient precedents but are sometimes later coinages, as well as words rare in ancient Latin abound in his texts.276 In these two categories Phrygius seems to stand out also when compared with other Latin authors of his age. For this reason, extra attention is paid to these words in this chapter.

The following list, not meant to be completely exhaustive, is divided into four different groups. The first refers to words that are ancient but unclassical (by our definition today) and/or words that must be regarded as rare in classical Latin. The second group contains neologisms, both those of sense and those of form (including one multiword term).277 The third group contains words borrowed from Greek, often through Christian influence. The fourth consists in compound nouns and adjectives, including both classical and unclassical ones. Some brief remarks on the words will be made; more detailed discussions are found in the commentary. For the categories Greek words and compound words remarks are mostly limited to a translation and a note on the Latin author in whom the word is first attested.278 As will be seen, geographical words and names are not taken into consideration. Likewise many of the words could have been mentioned under more than one heading.

Unclassical ancient and rare classical words (excluding compounds):

- *afflictio, -onis* (cent. 64) ‘affliction’. Used by Christian authors from the late 4th century and onwards (Souter, s.v. *adlictio*).
- *ansa, -ae* (thren. 143) ‘opportunity’. The word in this sense is very rare in classical Latin (only found in some instances in Cicero), but frequently used in Neo-Latin (Helander 2004, pp. 85 ff.).

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275 On which see further Grafton 1983, pp. 134 ff.
276 It is necessary to keep in mind that it is a general feature that words that had been rare in ancient Latin are sometimes much more common in Neo-Latin (Helander 2001, pp. 36 ff.). Helander also contends that a high frequency of words almost only found in glossaries is typical of early Swedish Neo-Latin authors (Helander 2004, p. 67).
277 As regards these terms cf. Benner & Tengström 1977, pp. 54 ff.
278 For those two categories information is taken from *TLL* if nothing else is stated.
• deliteo 2 (cent. 99) ‘lie hidden’. Attested twice in Ancient Latin, in a gloss and in the 4th century grammarian Diomedes (TLL).
• dimutilo 1 (thren. 300) ‘cut off’. Hapax in Colum. arb. 11.2.
• discupio 3 (cent. 65) ‘not to want’. This sense only attested in Vet. Lat. act. 6.1 in ancient Latin.
• dispesco 3 (ecl. 5) ‘divide’. Used mostly in late Latin it became very frequent in Neo-Latin academic texts (Helander 2004, p. 163).
• efficacia, -ae (cent. 9) ‘efficacy’. The word is mostly late Latin, though used already in Plin. nat. 11.12 (TLL, Krebs & Schmalz).
• efflictim (cent. 41) ‘very intensely’. Used as early as Naevius. Mostly pre- and post-classical (TLL).
• exhorreo 2 (cent. 14) ‘be terrified’. The word was used as early as Colum.10.154, but is mostly late Latin (TLL).
• flammeolus, -a, -um (thren. 149) ‘flame-coloured’. Hapax in Colum. 10.307.
• fornicatio, -onis (cent. 6) ‘fornication’. A late Latin word, first appearing in Vetus Latina. (TLL).
• fulcimen, -inis (ecl. 15) ‘prop’. Hapax in Ov. fast. 6.269.
• gemebundus, -a, -um (ecl. 102, thren. 327) ‘groaning’. First used in Ov. met. 14.188, later also in Homer. 349.
• glisco 3 (ecl. 27) ‘ardently long for’. See commentary.
• grunnire 4 (ecl. 56) does not occur in ancient Latin in this wider sense of ‘make noise’. (cf. TLL). The word is however explained in Paul. Fest. p.97M. Gruere dicuntur grues, ut sues grunnire.
• gurgustium, -i (ecl. 11) ‘hut’. Though used by Cicero (Pis. 6.13) and Suetonius (gramm. 11) the word is mostly late (TLL).
• Heliconiades, -um (thren. 211) ‘dwellers on Helicon’. Hapax in Lucr. 3.1037.
• inobedientia, -ae (cent. 63) ‘disobedience’. Used from Tertullian onwards (Souter).
• involucer, -cris, -cre (thren. 119) ‘unable to fly’. Hapax in Gell. 2.29.5.
• labesco 3 (thren. 210) ‘collapse’. The word occurs in a variant reading of Ciris 450, and is later attested from the Middle Ages in Du Cange.
• lapsus, -us (thren. 176) ‘mistake’. In theological terminology the word has the specific meaning of ‘sin’, denoting a failing which is against the will of God (cf. TLL, s.v. lapsus, I, A, 2, b, β, as well as Latham 1965, and Souter 1949).
• lessus (thren. 109) ‘funeral lamentation’. The word occurs only twice in Cicero (leg. 2.59 and 64). The declension is uncertain. See further in the commentary.
• mausoleus, -a, -um (thren. 350) ‘belonging to Mausolus’. Hapax in Prop. 3.2.21.
• menstruatus, -a, -um (cent. 21) ‘menstruating’. First attested in Vetus Latina. (TLL).
• *minutum*, -i (cent. 32) ‘minute’. The sense ‘a sixtieth part of an amount of time’ is attested as early as Augustine, see *TLL*, s.v. *minuta* (and *minutum*, A, 1, a, β), and Souter 1949, s.v. *minuta*.


• *nassa*, -ae (ecl. 30) ‘a fishing-trap made of wickerwork’. Used by Plautus, Cicero, Pliny (the elder), Silius Italicus and Juvenal. Also explained by Festus (*TLL* and *OLD*).

• *nupturio*, or *nubturio* 4 (cent. 49) ‘to want to marry’. In ancient Latin only found in Apul. 70.9, and in a variant reading of Mart. 3.93.18.

• *oblido* 3 (ecl. 115) ‘quell’. Occurs four times in classical Latin (in Cicero, Tacitus, Columella and Pliny [the younger]), and somewhat more frequently in late Latin (*TLL*).


• *oggannio* 4 (ecl. 86) ‘speak snarlingly’. The word occurs once in Plautus, once in Terence, and in some late Latin authors (*TLL*).


• *passio*, -onis (cent. 80) ‘the passion of Christ’. In this sense the word was first used by Tertullian (Blaise 1954, s.v. *passio*, 3), but is mostly late Latin in all other senses as well (Krebs & Schmalz).

• *popellus*, -i (cent. 79) ‘rabble’. Used once by Horace and twice by Persius (Forcellini).

• *praecipitanter* (cent. 13) ‘with headlong speed’. Hapax in Lucr. 3.1063.

• *propensio*, -onis (cent. 19) ‘propensity’. First used by Cicero, then later once by Augustine (*TLL*).

• *prosapia*, -ae (thren. title) ‘lineage’. Regarded as old-fashioned in classical Latin, the word became very popular in Neo-Latin (Helander 2004, pp. 136 f.). In ancient Latin it also had a vulgar nuance (Krebs & Schmalz).

• *pullaster*, -i (thren. 120) ‘pullet’. The word *pullastra* occurs in Varro rust. 3.9.9 designating ‘a young hen’. Forcellini also attests the adjective *pullaster*, -ra, -rum, which can be used substantivorum more.

• *querquerus*, -a, -um (Momo 14) ‘shivering’. The word is pre- and post-classical (L&S). Paul. Fest. p. 258 explains it *querqueram frigidam cum tremore a Graeco κάρκαρα certum est dici*.

• *resipiscentia*, -ae (Momo title) ‘repentance’. The word was first used by the late Latin author Lactantius (Forcellini, Krebs & Schmalz).

• *scatebra*, -ae (ecl. 115) ‘gush of water’. Found as early as Accius, and later in a few instances e.g. in Vergil, Pliny the elder and Apuleius (cf. *OLD*).

• *scintillula*, -ae (cent. 69) ‘little spark’. First attested in Tertullian (Souter).
• *sciolus, -i* (cent. 70) ‘smatterer’. In ancient Latin it occurs in this sense in the 4th century author Arnobius and some other authors (Krebs & Schmalz).

• *spissesco* 3 (cent. 43) ‘thicken’. The word only occurs twice in classical Latin, viz. in Lucr. 6.176 and Cels. 5.27.4.

• *subolfacio* 3 (ecl. 56) ‘scent’. Hapax in Petron. 45.10.

• *sustollo* 3 (cent. 93) ‘exalt’. Mainly pre- and post-classical (L&S).

• *tegmen, -inis* (cent. 72) ‘pretence, pretext’. This sense is not attested until late Latin (Souter).

• *temno* 3 (ecl. 76) ‘despise’. According to L&S “poet. and very rare” in this sense (cf. Krebs & Schmalz).


• *tinca, -ae* (ecl. 132) ‘a fish’. A late Latin word, first appearing in Ausonius. L&S has: “perh. the tench”. JPG likewise the Swedish word *sutare* (‘tench’).


• *ustrina, -ae* (ecl. 142) ‘place where dead bodies are burnt’. The word occurs in this sense in certain ancient inscriptions, and in Paul. Fest. p. 32M.

**Neologisms:**


• *dux, -cis* (thren. title) ‘duke’ in medieval Latin and in Neo-Latin (cf. e.g. *GMLS* and Hoven).

• *interlocutor, -oris* (ecl. title) ‘interlocutor’. The noun is created in analogy to *locutor*, which occurs in Aulus Gellius (TLL), from the verb *interloqui*, in the sense of διαλέγειν, occurring once in Terence, once in Seneca, and in some late Latin authors (Krebs & Schmalz). According to Spitzer it was coined during the Renaissance for participants in dialogues of the Platonic genre (Spitzer 1955, p. 119). It is attested in Hoven.

• *Magister, -tri* (ecl. title) ‘master’. Here it is the academic title (cf. e.g. *GMLS* and Hoven).


• *ordo senatorius dioecesis* (ecl. title) ‘members of the government of the diocese’, i.e. the cathedral chapter. *Senatus* was used in the sense of ‘government’ in Swedish medieval Latin (*GMLS*) and Neo-Latin (Helander 2004, p. 210).
• *plica, -ae* (cent. 1) ‘shred, particle (of danger, deceit, etc.)’ (Latham 1965, cf. *LLNMA*). Initially ‘hem, shred’. The word probably belongs to monastic Latin from the early 13th century (Hyrtl 1880, pp. 415 f.).

• *spira, -ae* (ecl. 59) ‘a kind of cake’. The ancient *spira* is mentioned in Cato *Agr.* 77. JPG translates the word with *bröd, kringla* (‘twist bun’).

• *subolfacio* 3 (ecl. 56). ‘perceive’. In classical Latin (hapax in Petron. 45.10), the sense is ‘smell’. Cf. BFS (s.v. *olfacio*), where apart from the meaning *odorari* even *cernere, audire, gustare*, etc. are given. The word *subolere* is attested in a similar sense in pre-classical Latin (Krebs & Schmalz).

• *sumen, -inis* (ecl. 59) ‘lard’. While this means ‘udder’ in ancient Latin, BFS says: *Plinio sumen idem videtur esse quod abdomen, a quo et sumen dici putat, Schmer.*

**Greek words**279:

• *acinaces, -is* (thren. 309) ‘a Persian sword’. First used in Latin by Horace.

• *antistes, -titis* (ecl. 101) ‘priest’ or ‘bishop’. First used in this sense in the 4th century by Lucifer Caralitanus (*TLL*, s.v. *antistes*, II, 2.).


• *chamaemelon, -i* (thren. 195) ‘chamomile’. Used by Pliny the elder.

• *chelys, -yn* (acc.) (thren. 164) ‘lyre’. First found in this sense in pseudo-Ovid *Epistula Sapphus*.

• *colophon, -onis* (thren. 68) ‘end’. First occurs in Paul. Fest. p.37M.

• *encomium, -i* (ecl. 98) ‘praise’. First used in *scholia in Horatium* from the 5th century, or perhaps earlier in a problematic passage in Quintilian (L&S, cf. Krebs & Schmalz).

• *eteostichon, -i* (et. title) ‘chronogram in verse’. A Neo-Latin coinage?280

• *gnomologicus, -a, -um* (cent. title) ‘gnomological’. Here an adjective, the form is also attested in Hoven as a noun in the sense of “writer of a collection of maxims”. The word *gnome* was used as early as Fronto (*OLD*).

• *gymnasium, -i* (cent. 92) ‘gymnasium’. The use of the word in this sense of ‘school for higher studies’ is attested from the Middle Ages on, see e.g. Latham (1965), *LLNMA*, and Hoven.

• *hepar, -atis* (thren. 213) ‘liver’. Used for the human liver by Ireneus.

• *obryzus, -a, -um* (cent. 33) ‘approved of in an *obryza* (test of the purity of gold)’. First attested in this sense in Vetus Latina.

• *panchrestum, -i* (thren. 231) ‘medicine good for everything’. As an adjective referring to medicine first found in Latin in Pliny the elder.

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279 The Greek words written with Greek letters are excluded. The list focuses on less common words and significations. Well-known ones such as *distichon, ecclesia* and *episcopus* are thus excluded.

280 There existed many different names referring to different kinds of chronograms: *chronostichon, carmen numerale, chronograph, etoemenehemerostichon*, etc. (Marschall 1997, p. 11.).
• *paraeneticus*, -i (cent. title) ‘admonitory’. First used in Latin by Seneca.
• *phalanx* (-angis) = *phalangium*, (thren. 159) ‘spider’. Used by Celsus.
• *prophylacticon*, -i (cent. 31) ‘precautionary advice’. Used by Oribasius.
• *scomma*, -atis (thren. 64, 180), ‘taunt’. Used by Macrobius (Forcellini).
• *smegma*, -atis (ecl. 54) ‘soap’, ‘cleansing preparation’. First used in Latin by Pliny the elder (*OLD*).

*stemma*, -atis (thren. 289) ‘lineage’. First used in this sense by Seneca, and not much later in Juv. 8.1, the famous *stemmata quid faciunt* (*OLD*).

• *techna*, -ae (thren. 104) ‘trick’. Found in Plautus (*OLD*).
• *threnologia*, -ae (thren. title) ‘dirge’. Obviously coined on the Greek θρηνολογέω, ‘bewail’. It is not attested in the Neo-Latin dictionaries consulted, but can be found quite often in the titles of dirges in Neo-Latin literature.
• *trias*, -adis (ecl. 104) ‘triad’. Used in the 5th century by Martianus Capella (Forcellini).

• *typus*, -i (cent. title) ‘book printer’s type’. The sense is attested in JPG (cf. Krebs & Schmalz, who actually allows it).
• *zelus*, -i (Momo 26) ‘zeal’. First used in Latin by Vitruvius (Forcellini), but mostly post-classical (Krebs & Schmalz).

**Compound nouns and adjectives**:  

_Ancient:_

• *aeripes*, -edis (Petro Nicolai 3) ‘bronze footed’. First used by Vergil.
• *auricomus*, -a, -um (thren. 166) ‘golden-haired’. First used by Vergil, but in a figurative sense.
• *carnivorus*, -a, -um (thren. 317) ‘carnivorous’. Used by Pliny the elder.
• *cunctipotens*, -ntis (cent. 97) ‘almighty’. First used by Prudentius.
• *fluctivagus*, -a, -um (ecl. 148) ‘wandering over the sea’. Used by Statius.
• *horrisonus*, -a, -um (thren. 13) ‘making a dreadful noise’. First used by Cicero.
• *ignivomus*, -a, -um (tum. 8) ‘fire-throwing’. First used by Fulgentius. Very common in descriptions of artillery fire in Neo-Latin (Helander 2004, p. 120).
• *lanificus*, -a, -um (thren. 253, 323) ‘wool-working’. Used by Lucilius.

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281 See Palmer 1954, pp. 102 f. and Bailey 1947, pp. 132 ff. for discussions on the coining of compound words among early ancient Latin poets under Greek influence. In the Augustan poets the use of compound neologisms is somewhat limited due to the criticism directed against earlier poets in this respect. Not until the 2nd century does the creation of new compounds increase again (Norden 1916, pp. 176 f.). The creation of new words and compounds was thereafter common both among Mediaeval and Renaissance authors (e.g. Norberg 1968, p. 72, and Castrén 1907, pp. 179 f.).
• **lauriger, -era, -erum** (thren. 131) ‘laurel-wreathed’. Used by Propertius.
• **lucifer, -era, -erum** (cent. 7) ‘light-bearing’. First used by Accius.
• **lucifluus, -a, -um** (thren. 25) ‘light-flowing’. First found in Iuvencus.
• **morigerus, -a, -um** (thren. 284) ‘compliant’. First found in the 3rd century B.C. in Naevius, but mostly pre- and post-classical, according to Krebs & Schmalz.
• **nubivagus, -a, -um** (thren. 320) ‘cloud-wandering’. First used by Silius Italicus (Forcellini).
• **odorifer, -era, -erum** (thren. 8) ‘sweet-smelling’. First found in Vergil.
• **omnivorus, -a, -um** (ecl. 64) ‘omnivorous’. First used by Pliny the elder.
• **primaevus, -a, -um** (ecl. 67) Found as early as Catullus in the sense of ‘young’. First used by Augustine in the sense ‘in the beginning of time’ (cf. Krebs & Schmalz).
• **refluus, -a, -um** (cent. 10) ‘flowing back’. First used by Ovid.
• **seminex, -ecis** (thren. 228) ‘half-dead’. First found in Vergil (OLD).
• **stelliger, -era, -erum** (ecl. 103) ‘star-bearing’. First found in Varro (OLD).
• **tabificus, -a, -um** (ecl. 102) ‘causing decay’. Used by Lucretius (OLD).
• **triseclis, -is, -e** (ecl. 127) ‘of three generations’. The compound *trisaeclisenex* was used about Nestor by Laevius (probably beginning of the 1st century B.C.) (ap. Gell.) (Forcellini).
• **undisonus, -a, -um** (thren. 292) ‘wave-sounding’. First found in Propertius (OLD).
• **vaporifer, -era, -erum** (thren. 321) ‘producing vapour’. First found in Statius (OLD).

**Medieval:**

• **fortanimis, -is, -e** (thren. 105) ‘brave-souled’. The second declension *fortanimus* is attested in Latham (1965).
• **minorennis, -is, -e** (thren. title) ‘under age’. Attested in e.g. Du Cange, LLNMA, and GMLS. Krebs & Schmalz label it as Neo-Latin.

**Neo-Latin:**

• **multivorus, -a, -um** (thren. 281) ‘eating many kinds of food’. Attested from the 17th century in Bartal (1901).
• **omniregens, -ntis** (cent. 60) ‘all-reigning’. See commentary.
• **poetifluus, -a, -um** (thren. 55) ‘poetry-flowing’. See commentary.
• **territremus, -a, -um** (ecl. 55) ‘earth-shaking’. See commentary.

1.6.5 Style

In the field of stylistics we again find many features in Phrygius’ poems which have been treated in earlier studies as typical of Neo-Latin poetry, sometimes with the remark that almost all of the stylistic devices in Neo-
Latin occur in Latin poetry of other periods as well. In Phrygius’ case there are some obvious features that could be regarded as lending their specific colour and tone to the texts, namely the following:

- Erudition
- Proverbs and Emblems
- Allusions and re-use of phrases
- Ancient mythology and Christianity
- Rhetorical figures

**Erudition**

Phrygius’ own view on the importance of learning is stated explicitly in lines 33–36 of the *Threnologia*. There Pallas tells the author struggling on towards Parnassus:

Semita sit quamvis praegrandibus obsita dumis,
Ad juga Parnassi qua grave ducit iter,
Non tamen est salebris nec callibus aspera DOCTO,
Mollis at aprico gramine, mollis Humo.

This idea permeates all the poems. There is an abundance of mythological and biblical names, rare words, Greek words, allusions to classical literature and the Bible, terms from medicine, names of insects and vegetables, metonymical expressions, etc. Both the *Ecloga prima* and the *Threnologia dramatica* contain other veiled messages beyond the set theme, which presuppose an erudite reader. To those who understand it, the allusion to Vergil’s first eclogue in the *Ecloga prima* reveals that there is a further stratum of meaning beneath the simple story about the herdsman Ebbe and Tore lamenting Birgitta. In the *Threnologia* Phrygius uses the motif of Astraea’s return to earth during a time of uncertainty and turbulence in order to announce his hopes that Duke John will become the new king of Sweden. Erudition is needed in order to recognize and understand vitally important aspects in the poems. Consequently, erudition here serves not only the purpose of demonstrating the author’s ability and learning but also of conveying a message in a precarious situation.

The idea of erudition prevades the literature of this time. Sten Lindroth sharply worded it thus: the work of art was ... *en intellektuell prestation, full av undermeninger, gåtor att tyda och halvt beslöjade litterära lån. Lärdom och utspekulerad sinnrikhet var poetens högsta dygd ...* ('... an intellectual achievement, full of hidden meanings, puzzles to solve and half obscured

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283 The occurrence of such terms and names represent a feature that Segel claims to be one of the most characteristic of baroque poetry, viz. ‘specificity’, i.e. the preference in imagery for the concrete and specific over the general. Segel 1974, pp. 115 ff.
literary loans. Learning and artful ingenuity were the poet’s highest virtue … ’ 284 The need for erudition was also continuously stressed in contemporary treatises on poetics. Fischer comments:

Dass der Poet die Fülle alles Wissbaren und die Mittel aller ‘Künste und Wissen-schaften’ beherrschen und anwenden müsse, fordern die Poetiker übereinstimmend. Das Postulat ist so geläufig, dass es oft zur blossen Floskel erstarrt ist. 285

Poetic talent was important286, but learning was stressed as equally necessary when striving to reach Parnassus. Sometimes these two prerequisites were identified with each other.287 Though all of Phrygius’ poems illustrate the view expressed by Pallas in the *Threnologia*, it seems clear that the poems of the *Ecloga prima* print, written in his youth, are characterized by a greater and more immature desire to show off his erudition, e.g. by the use of strange and rare words.

**Proverbs and emblems**

Besides other phrases from or allusions and references to classical passages, proverbial motifs and expressions very often recur in Phrygius’ poems. It is worthwhile looking into his sources of inspiration in this area. Contact with some of them can be attested from his immediate environment.

First, we can be absolutely certain that he was acquainted with Erasmus’ extremely popular *Adagia*. 288 The books belonging to the Cathedral school of Linköping were listed when Phrygius left his appointment as headmaster there in 1610. First on the list is *Sententiae Stobaei, in Fol.* an important work in this context, containing quotations from both profane and Christian Greek authors (including biblical ones). It was printed several times in the 16th century, arranged according to *loci communes* with parallel Greek and Latin texts. 289 No. 2 on the list is *Chiliades Erasmi adagiorum. in Fol.* 290 The *Adagia* answered perfectly to the practical needs of Renaissance authors, and the influence of this work on contemporary literature can hardly be overes-

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284 Lindroth 1967, p. 35 f.
286 Cf. e.g. Segel 1974, pp. 101 f.
288 It was printed in more than 150 editions and translations merely during the 16th century. (Payr 1972, p. XXX). For a discussion of its content, see e.g. Bolgar 1954, pp. 297 ff.
289 See e.g. P.G. Stanwood’s article “Stobaeus and Classical Borrowing in the Renaissance, with Special Reference to Richard Hooker and Jeremy Taylor” (1975).
290 *Album antiquum Scholae Lincopenisis*, stored in LSB, fol. 1. The other five books on the list are, some songbooks excepted, *Commentarius Johannis Sleidani de statu religionis et Reipub: in fol*, *Historia Ecclesiastica Eusebii in Fol.*, *Dictionarium Latino Graecum in Fol.*, *Dictionarium Latinum et Graecum in 4.to* and *Biblia vulgatae editionis in octavo.*
timated. It was not just a collection of proverbs. It also served as a *florilegium* of ancient literature and a compendium of classical culture and archaeology.\(^{291}\)

Second, one can be sure that Phrygius was familiar with the *Disticha Catonis* (this title was first used in Erasmus’ edition of 1517). As we saw above, this work was to be studied in the second form according to the Swedish school regulations of 1571.\(^{292}\) The similarities between the *Disticha Catonis* and Phrygius’ own moralizing *Centuria prima* (1602) were mentioned above as well. These two works, Erasmus’ *Adagia* and the *Disticha Catonis*, outstanding among many other similar ones, also occupy a very special position in the educational history of Western Europe, as being both so widely used and “imparting the basics of Latin while teaching morality”\(^{293}\).

Related to the field of proverbs is the one of emblematics\(^{294}\), which had its heyday during the Renaissance and was more influential than ever by the beginning of the 17th century. Andreas Alciato’s *Emblematum libellus* was edited in 1531 and achieved enormous success. It came out in over 170 editions altogether.\(^{295}\) It soon became the model for the construction of an emblem in the tripartite form of *inscriptio*, *pictura* and *subscriptio*. The generic characteristics were discussed in more detail in section 1.5.3 above, where we also saw Phrygius’ acquaintance with the great German emblematist Nikolaus Reusner and its possible consequence in his *Centuria Prima* (1602).

Emblematic motifs and themes were widely adopted into other genres as well. The frequent use of certain kinds of images and metaphors in contemporary literature is surely related to the great vogue of emblems.\(^{296}\) When Peter M. Daly discusses the use of such motifs in poetry of this time, he concludes with some methodological advice:

> The emblem-books are important as a cross-reference and check for the meaning of motifs in poetry … The emblem-books indicate what educated readers knew about nature, history and mythology, and furthermore how they interpreted this knowledge … By comparing poetry with emblem-books we may establish which words and objects were capable of visualization, and the

\(^{291}\) Payr 1972, p. XXVII. Cf. Bolgar 1954, p. 300: “[the *Adagia*] was the handbook to the past for which five generations had waited, which made the wisdom of the ancients accessible and ready for use”.

\(^{292}\) Berg 1920, pp. 19 f. and Lindroth 1975, p. 212.


\(^{294}\) E.g. Mario Praz claimed, when discussing the origins of the emblem, that: “Another impulse to the spreading of emblems came from the crystallization of ancient ethics in those collections of proverbs and maxims (chiefly Cato’s *Moral distichs*, Erasmus’ *Adagia*, and Stobaeus’ *Anthology*) which enjoyed such a vogue in the sixteenth century” (Praz 1939, p. 20). See also Bath 1994, pp. 42 ff.

\(^{295}\) Daly 1979, p. 11.

\(^{296}\) Friberg 1945, pp. 28 f.
basic meanings associated with those objects, all of which can increase our understanding of seventeenth-century poetry.\textsuperscript{297}

The great interest at the time in proverbs and emblems was certainly related to the focus upon different themes or motifs which was part of the legacy from classical Antiquity. For several reasons, the tradition of commonplaces became more important than ever during the Renaissance.\textsuperscript{298} A part of the explanation was that Latin was a foreign language for everyone, and its users had to learn ordinary Latin phrases and expressions by instruction. Since classical Latin was the obvious linguistic model, the use of sayings from that period made it easier to imitate it correctly.

According to Walter Ong, commonplace material generally plays an important role in the literature of societies passing from an oral to a literate state. Since the lexical and linguistic base of Neo-Latin, viz. classical Latin, was bound in and transmitted through a body of texts, his remark holds true to an extra degree during the Renaissance when sound yielded to the visual through print.\textsuperscript{299} Thus we should not be surprised to find this reflected in the poems studied here, especially as Phrygius was closely acquainted with these genres. Moreover, influential treatises such as the \textit{De arte poetica} by Marco Girolamo Vida\textsuperscript{300} recommended that these kinds of maxims be inserted into poems.\textsuperscript{301}

\textbf{Imitation, allusion and re-use of phrases}

The re-use of ancient proverbs and motifs is related to the habit typical of Neo-Latin authors of imitation (\textit{imitatio}) and emulation (\textit{aemulatio}) of ear-

\textsuperscript{297} Daly 1970, p. 394. Cf. Praz 1939, pp. 187 ff. In a later work Daly characterizes emblematic motifs in literature, in contrast to other visual images, as presenting “visual and concrete objects, which convey a clear, objective meaning” (Daly 1998, p. 91).

\textsuperscript{298} Related to this is the vogue for collecting phrases. Morhof in \textit{Polyhistor} treats works containing \textit{sententiae}, \textit{progymnasmata}, etc., in as many as 120 paragraphs (Morphof 1747, vol. I, pp. 236 ff., Cf. Moss 1996, pp. 280 f.). There existed extremely numerous works of that kind. See further below.

\textsuperscript{299} Ong 1976, pp. 103 f. and 108. Cf. Ong 1982, pp. 132 ff. See also the latter pp. 33 ff., as regards the importance of different mnemonic patterns (e.g. proverbs) in oral cultures.

\textsuperscript{300} Vida’s poetics was first printed in 1517 and gained great success. It was, for instance, of great importance for Julius Caesar Scaliger. In 1577 Vida’s treatise was printed in Stockholm, probably intended for use in the college opened by John III in Stockholm (Hans-Erik Johannesson 2002, pp. 104 and 109 f.). It was edited with a translation and commentary by R. G. Williams in 1976. The references in this paper are made to the text photographically represented in Williams work (the revised edition from 1527).

\textsuperscript{301} \textit{Saepe tamen memorandum inter ludicra memento/ Permiscere aliquid, breviter mortalia corda/ Quod moveat, tangens humanae commoda vitae,/ Quodque olim jubeant natos meminisse parentes} (2.278 ff.).
lier, most often ancient, authors. This feature has been treated at length by several other scholars.

Phrygius is not an exception to this general pattern. On the contrary, his poems abound in reminiscences from and allusions to both contemporary and ancient authors. Since these will be treated in the commentary, only four illustrative examples will be given here, representing four different types of imitation:

1. Phryg. ecl. 2: Nutantes resonare docens suspiria sylvas
   Verg. ecl. 1.5: formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas

2. Phryg. cent. 61: Teste voves Domino si quid, servare teneris.
   Teste scelus est fallere grande DEUM
   Nik. Reusner: Teste Deo si quid iures, servare memento:
   Teste scelus est fallere grande Deum.

   Ov. ars 3.340: Nec mea Lethaeis scripta dabuntur aquis.
   Ov. trist. 1.8.36: cunctane Lethaeis mersa feruntur aquis.
   Ov. trist. 4.9.2: et tua Lethaeis acta dabuntur aquis.

4. Phryg. thren. 67 f.: Quae quibus anteferam? Nostri quis carminis orsus?
   Quid medium, aut Colophon carminis hujus erit?
   Verg. Aen. 4.371: Quae quibus anteferam?
   Jon. Rotho. 36: Unde sed incipiam? Nostri quis carminis orsum
   Stat. silv. 1.3.34: Quid primum mediumve canam, quo fine quiescam?

As can be seen, the first allusion, which appears very early in the poem, directs the reader’s attention towards Vergil’s eclogue in which a similar line occurs very early as well. It thus indicates a special kind of relationship to that poem and a similarity in the situation depicted.

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302 As regards imitation in Vida’s and Scaliger’s poetics, see Vida 1976 [1527], pp. 96 ff. and Scaliger 1987 [1561], pp. 214 ff., but also the short notes in Cullhed 2002, 91–99.
304 Cf. Helander 1995, pp. 31 f. There the author discusses some few lines from Olof Hermelin, and shows how intertextual relations can take place on different levels even within very short passages.
305 See the commentary on the Centuria prima for further information.
306 See the commentary on the Threnologia for further information.
307 What Minna Skafte-Jensen says about Tycho Brahe’s use of Ovid as a model when describing his own fate is equally suitable in Phrygius’ case, except that the poet referred to is Vergil: “The Ovidian model is more than a learned reference; it is rather a mental template,
In the second example Phrygius’ distich is very close to lines from a poem by Nikolaus Reusner on the coronation of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II. These appear in a passage where the emperor is about to take the oath. The original context thus sheds valuable light on Phrygius’ distich and indicates the intended message of the moral obligations of princes and their commitment to truth.

In the third Phrygius has re-used a turn of expression first occurring in Tibullus and later three times in Ovid. We are not supposed to associate to the actual passages, although the general idea of oblivion, with its mythological implications, is the same in the Ovidian instances. The combination _Lethaeae aquae_ is also used as a kind of poetic building-block.

In the fourth example, one can discern influences from at least three earlier authors concerning the topos ‘in what order shall I relate’. While the first sentence quoted is clearly from Vergil, the second probably originates ultimately from Paulinus Nolanus (carm. 21.47). The immediate source, however, may have been a poem written by one of Phrygius’ friends, Jonas Rothovius. Finally, there is an instance in Statius’ _Silvae_ that may have influenced the last section in Phrygius’ series of rhetorical questions, even though he expresses it partly in phrases borrowed from other authors. These phrases are used here as a kind of poetic building-block.

Just from these few examples it is evident that imitation of and allusions to other authors and works serve different ends. It is thus necessary not only to try to locate and establish the source of the allusion but also to interpret it, seeking to understand its associations and the author’s intention in using it. Likewise allusions must be separated from instances in which the author adheres to established topoi where the intertextual relations do not point to individual texts but to the collective tradition. Again, our analysis should take into account the basic premises that different readers can experience topoi and allusions differently and that we cannot always be sure of the authorial intention. Thus, there is often a need to discuss alternative interpretations of literary echoes found in the texts.

However, one must also attempt to determine probable cases of borrowed phrases without allusions to a specific context. Students of Latin of that era were constantly exhorted to collect beautiful and edifying sentences from great authors. This is especially related to the method of basing the acquisition of elegant Latin on the study of classical examples, since all these phrases are used here as a kind of poetic building block.

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308 Cf. also Vida’s _De arte poetica_ 3.257 f. _Saepe mihi placet antiquis alludere dictis_/ _Atque alius longe verbis proferre sub iisdem._


young people who spoke different vernacular languages were supposed to master the pure classical Latin idiom and avoid the medieval.\textsuperscript{311} As aids to poetic composition they also had \emph{progymnasmata}, \emph{florilegia}, etc., in which phrases were listed thematically.\textsuperscript{312} Stressing that the printed commonplace-book was the most public place of exchange of recycled quotations, Ann Moss points out:

There is plenty of evidence from the third quarter of the sixteenth century for the continued association of the commonplace-book with an art of composition based on imitation concentrating more obviously on words than on the \emph{res} which structured argumentation. In northern Europe, at least, the two techniques were usually worked in tandem, however much some traditions stressed one more than another.\textsuperscript{313}

An ancient Latin expression could thus be transmitted into Neo-Latin in various ways. We certainly meet haphazard confluences with earlier used formulations as well as expressions borrowed directly from ancient authors. But what seems to be an ancient reminiscence may have been mediated through Renaissance collections of phrases, or through other Neo-Latin authors (cf. example 2 above).

Examples from Phrygius’ poems are:

- \textit{natale solum} (\emph{ecl.} 24): The combination can be found in ancient Latin in e.g. Ov. \emph{met.} 7.52, Stat. \emph{Theb.} 8.320 and Prud. \emph{c. Symm.} 2.155.
- \textit{iuga Parnassi} (\emph{thren.} 34): The phrase also in e.g. Verg. \emph{ecl.} 10.11, Sen. \emph{Ag.} 721 and Val. Fl. 6.392.
- \textit{praedurus labor} (\emph{cent.} 48): The combination occurs only in Val. Fl. 1.235, but is also mentioned under the heading \textit{Labor} in Melchior Weinrich’s \emph{Aerarium poeticum} (1677, p. 929 [Camena]).

To sum up: It is most often impossible for us to decide from where such and such a phrase has actually been taken. Nevertheless one should pay attention to the coincidences and reusing of turns of expression. Especially when we are studying Neo-Latin poetry, phrases must often be regarded as linguistic building blocks, collecting which was part of poetic training. Without pretending to be able to demonstrate direct influences or channels of mediation, we will thus in many cases be able to show that specific phrases were in

\textsuperscript{312} Cf. Dyck 1991, p. 61 f. See also in e.g. Ström 1999, pp. 85 ff. and Ström 2003, pp. 126–142. Titles of this kind mentioned by her are, among others, Fundanus’ \emph{Phrases poeticae seu sylvae poetarum locutionum uberrimae} from 1610 and Buchlerus’ \emph{Thesaurus Phrasium Poeticarum} from 1636 (it was first edited in 1607). The one most used in this study is Melchior Weinrich’s \emph{Aerarium Poeticum} (1677, 1\textsuperscript{st} ed. 1618).
\textsuperscript{313} Moss 1996, p. 199.
current usage, that they circulated and that the poet could have modeled his specific manner of expression on a previous occurrence. Likewise a clear separation must be made between conscious allusions and merely re-used phrases. Parallels are not necessarily allusions nor caused by conscious imitation.

Related to this practice of re-using phrases in Neo-Latin are aspects of ancient habits in verse-construction. On the one hand, Latin poems from antiquity usually contain so called *Poetisches Formelgut* as part of the legacy from Greek poetry. On the other, it is a fact that certain words tend to appear in the same places in hexameter, though the metre does not preclude other possibilities. Ollfors has studied this phenomenon in Lucan and named such words *Standwörter*. In analysing recurrent word combinations in his poet and charting their frequency, Ollfors makes a tripartite division into half verses, verse endings and mechanical word combinations. The latter is further triply divided into verse starts, main word with attribute, and completely mechanical junctures (exemplified with *campis acies* and *claude dolor*).

There is evidence in antiquity on how borrowed phrases were intended to be taken. In a famous passage Seneca the elder (*suas. 3.7*) mentions that Ovid had liked a certain Vergilian phrase (*plena deo*) and therefore used it just as he had done with many others, not with the intention of stealing it, but of borrowing it openly. Therefore he re-used Vergil’s *plena deo* in his tragedy (the lost *Medea*):

> Hoc autem dicebat Gallio Nasoni suo valde placuisse; itaque fecisse illum quod in multis alii versibus Vergilii fecerat, non subripiendi causa, sed palam mutuandi, hoc animo ut vellet agnosci; esse autem in tragoedia eius: “feror huc illuc, vae, plena deo.

It is true that well-known phrases coined by great poets are often borrowed by Neo-Latin poets with the intention of being recognized as well. This possibility should always be taken as a given. However, due to the generally stronger focus on phrases as a tool in composing and in language acquisition, this same possibility should not be exaggerated either.

Finally, the custom of searching for phrases and already formulated ideas in commonplace-books should also be recalled when assessing the range of an author’s classical learning. The intention is often to display erudition, but we can rarely decide which classical authors a poet has really read himself based only on the information found in his own texts. For instance, com-

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314 Otto Schumann’s *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon* (1979–1982) bears witness to this. According to his definition, formulas are independent of certain positions in the verse.

315 Ollfors 1967, p. 61. Ollfors adds the comment that proportionately few verb forms occur in this category, because of a greater metrical variation between different forms of verbs than of nouns and adjectives.

316 Ollfors 1967, pp. 82 and 110. As was stated above other terms have been chosen in this thesis. However, they aim at covering all of Ollfors’ groups.
monplace-books, together with collections of emblems and proverbs, provided readers with “the rudiments of a mythological compendium”.

**Ancient mythology and Christianity**

Characters and stories from ancient mythology are ubiquitous in Neo-Latin poetry, as well as in baroque literature generally speaking. Often there is also a rather flagrant coexistence of ancient mythology with biblical personalities and motifs, as in the case of Phrygium’s poems. In the eclogue, characters and *exempla* from ancient and biblical mythology appear side by side: Adam and Eve as well as Ceres and Neptune are present. In the *Threnologia* the situation is similar. The Christian God is referred to as Jupiter (147), *domator Olympi* (215), etc. The pagan and the Christian worlds overlap in learned poetry of this kind, yet the *religious* ideas are all Christian in the end. The *consolatio*, for instance, is based on the theme of the omnipotence of God (271 ff. and 301 ff.). The Fates are only God’s instruments and subjects. In some instances the interpretation can be somewhat ambiguous, as in the case of the *Pietas* character, acceptable in both a Christian and a pagan context. When the author prays for God’s assistance in his poetic undertaking (75–78), his choice of words makes one think of Apollo as well as the Christian God. None of this should surprise us. It was by then common practice to use pagan elements even in the most Christian contexts, e.g. divine names from pagan mythology can be found in epitaphs inside Christian churches. In Neo-Latin this *ethnicismus styli* was widespread, though always debated and sometimes criticized.

It may seem strange to us that orthodox Lutherans like Phrygium and most of his contemporaries did not hesitate to use names and ideas from pagan myth, while at the same time attacking the Catholic Church and practices violently. Nichols denies that any general assessment of the relationship between religion and Renaissance humanism can actually be made at all, since there will always be important exceptions to it. What is necessary, he contends, is to distinguish between the poet’s professed belief and the way he treats religion and mythology in his poetry. That might be the case, but nevertheless the practice is surely related to contemporary theories and discussions on pagan gods and culture.

From the age of the Church Fathers and throughout the Middle Ages, the pagan gods lived side by side with Christianity, while repeatedly condemned and warned against by representatives of the Church, more or less sincerely. One standard defence against such attacks had been, and was still in Phry-
gius’ time, *allegoresis*. Over time this reading tended to become moralizing and didactic (which in the Middle Ages led to such things as interpretations of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* as intended for the use of nuns). In addition there were euhemeristic ideas and theories that the gods had originated from the old Hebrews. According to Mantuan in his *Apologeticon* (a defense against critics blaming him for composing poetry), the use of names of pagan gods was unproblematic. Etymology made clear that these actually referred to the Christian God, not to those false gods “whose worshippers misappropriated them”.

The term allegory itself was, however, continually discussed. In Melanchthon a rhetorical view of allegory would be dominant and the traditional fourfold interpretation of the Bible abandoned. The difference between the Bible and poetry was, then, that the former was true in a literal sense, while allegory belonged to fictive discourses. In contrast to the scholastic focus on the formal study of pagan texts, Melanchthon stressed the importance of content. In order to avoid conflicts between offensive pagan literature and Christian views, he advocated a careful selection of authors. As was touched on above, another way of coming to turns with these kinds of problems in the face of attacks by members of the Church was to lay even greater stress on the moralizing and allegorical reading. Allegory then becomes a means of avoiding censure, and, as contended by Seznec, in this way the warnings of the Church actually encouraged its usage.

If we then return to Phrygius’ own poems, pagan gods must most often be understood allegorically there, sometimes representing different aspects of the Christian God, sometimes personifying genius, talent and inspiration. Objections to using pagan mythology in poetry still appeared now and then, and it happened that the usage caused conflicts. As Iiro Kajanto says: “[F]rom a more bigoted point of view it could still be repudiated, though without any visible effect”. There are, however, considerable differences between various genres. For instance, classical mythology is completely absent in Phrygius’ own sermons. And according to Minna Skafte-Jensen,

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322 Seznec 1953, pp. 87 ff. and 263 ff.
323 Euhemeros had contended that the pagan gods were deified ancient heroes. See Der neue Pauly, s.v. Euhemeros. The history of Euhemerism is related in Seznec 1953, p. 11 ff.
325 Moss 2003, p. 213.
326 Moss 2003, pp. 227 ff. and 249 ff. Cf. e.g. the words of Erasmus Nicolai Arbogensis, stressing the *regula Epiphanii* in his *Brevis Ratio et Methodus Discendi Theologiam* (1561), quoted from Lindroth’s edition (1948, p. 7): Divinus sermo, non indiget allegorica interpretatione, sed in propria sententia intelligatur. Indiget autem speculatione et sensu, ut materiae discernantur, et recte accipiantur.
327 Bolgar 1954, pp. 338 ff.
328 Seznec 1953, pp. 269 ff.
the mention of ancient gods in Danish school-books was actually forbidden in 1630 as part of the efforts to substitute pagan works with texts having a more Christian content. The passage in Ciceronianus, where Erasmus touches on the *ethnicismus styli*, is another example that lends nuance to Kajanto’s statement. Erasmus relates how he heard a sermon in Rome on Good Friday 1509, not only in the presence of Pope Julius II but also of many cardinals and bishops. The orator constantly referred to the pope as Jupiter: *quem [Iulium] apellabat Iovem O. M., qui dextra omnipotente tenens ac vibrans trisulcum et ‘inevitabile fulmen’ solo nutu faceret quicquid vellet.* Erasmus declares that he almost wept when the speaker compared Christ’s victorious death on the cross to the triumphs of Scipio, Aemilius Paulus and Caesar, and to the reception of the emperor into the circle of the gods. His verdict upon such circumlocutions was devastating: *Paganitas est, mihi crede, Nosopone, paganitas est, quae ista persuadet auribus et animis nostris … Iesum ore profitemur, sed Iovem O. M. et Romulum gestamus in pectore.* The practice could thus evoke strong emotions and was not always unproblematic, but practice shows – here Kajanto must be right – that pagan gods were usually accepted in poetry without any qualms. As Seznec says, prelates such as those attacked by Erasmus, who primarily aimed at a Ciceronian style, were also in the first place “true to their education”, though not against Christianity.

Obviously it was somewhat more difficult to handle ancient concepts as *fatum*(/Fates) and *fortuna*, which were so common in Neo-Latin literature. By their very nature, so to speak, they could easily come into conflict with the idea of an omnipotent God. *Fatum* could to a great extent be identified with God’s will (as in the *Threnolgia*, where his will is represented by the Fates, but cf. *cent.* 9), while *fortuna* was often used about the vicissitudes of fate in expressions of frustration and desperation, as a way of complaining of a cruel destiny without blaming God.

**Rhetorical figures**

It is well known that poetry was strongly influenced by rhetoric ever since ancient Latin literature. In certain periods it almost seems as though they were considered to be identical. Accordingly, Neo-Latin poetry has often been viewed against that background and regarded as completely dependent on rhetoric. Some scholars have reacted against such a view, since it often

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331 Quoted from Erasmus’ *Ausgewählte Schriften*, vol 7, p. 138. The phrase *inevitabile fulmen* is from Ov. *met.* 3.301.
332 Erasmus’ *Ausgewählte Schriften*, vol 7, p. 170.
333 Seznec 1953, p. 266
tends to diminish the creative and inventive aspects involved. Actually, authors of Renaissance treatises on poetics usually also stress the differences between poetry and rhetoric in the ever continuing discussion upon their relationship. Many of them agree that, besides the fact that poetry is metrically bound, there is a special poetical style that differentiates poetry from rhetoric. The loftiness of this style prevents it from being adapted to any of the usual rhetorical *genera dicendi*. Poetry is also often emphasized as the *ars* summarizing and completing the highest erudition. The most important difference has been expressed in these terms:

Der tiefgreifende Unterschied des Dichters vom Redner, die Auszeichnung des Poeten beruhen auf dem Wirken des poetischen Geistes, auf der so oft als „göttlich“ bezeichneten Kraft, die die Vollendung der Dichtung schliesslich aller Machbarkeit entzieht, weil sie dem Dichter, unerzwingbar, gegeben wird. Die Kraft bewirkt eigentlich die Besonderheit der Poesie vor der Rhetorik den dargestellten Inhalten wie der sprachlichen Gestalt nach.

Neo-Latin poetry ought to be considered and analyzed from a rhetorical perspective, but this is especially so as regards *elocutio*, i.e. the use of different tropes and figures where the relationship with rhetoric is at its most conspicuous.

The stylistic instructions of the poets were based on a relatively limited number of ancient figures and tropes, belonging to *elocutio*. These were transmitted in the handbooks, whereas the number of themes available for use (i.e. the *inventio*-part) was theoretically unlimited and not as dependent upon instruction and poetic instruction and advice. That does not mean that there were no favorite topoi or rhetorical figures – there were, of course, in abundance. The thematic impetus, however, is more likely to have been taken from the wider context of literature, religious ideas, political ideologies, personal experience, etc.

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338 Fischer 1968, pp. 97 f. Cf. Kurt Johansson 1974, pp. 58 f. In his preface to the *Bucolica* of Erasmus Lactus (1560), Melanchthon likewise contends that the poetical vein is really a work and gift of God (*venam vere opus et donum Dei esse*, fol. †4v).
340 Cf. e.g. Dyck: *Die Elocutio mit ihren Vorschriften ist die Nahtstelle, an der Poetik und Rhetorik seit dem Mittelalter zusammengefügt sind* (Dyck 1991, p. 67).
341 Dyck 1991, p. 79.
342 Cf. Vida’s *De arte poetica* 2.11 ff. *Nam mihi nunc reperire apta, atque reperta docendum/ Digerere, atque suo quaque ordine rite locare./ Durus uterque labor. Sed quos deus aspicit aequus./ Saepe suis subito inventen accommoda votis./ Altera nempe arti tantum est obnoxia cura...*
343 Cf. e.g. Segel 1974, pp. 97 f.
344 In the rhetorical handbooks the *inventio*-parts, suggesting suitable topoi, arguments, etc., also decreased at the end of the 17th century (cf. Helander 2001, p. 18).
Many rhetorical devices can be found in Phrygius’ poems. Some of them may be regarded as generally typical of Neo-Latin literature. Among these are antithesis, hyperbole, hypercharacterization and catalogues.\(^{345}\) Examples of the most common features in the texts will be described below. Less frequent ones will be dealt with in the commentary.

**Antithesis:**
Antithesis\(^{346}\) occurs in numerous instances, especially in the distichs of the Centuria prima. A frequent theme is ‘life and death’.\(^{347}\) Cf.:

- *Ille Sybillinos esset tam dignus in annos/ Vivere, crudelis quam Catilina mori.* (thren. 193 f.)
- *Calliditas prodest, simplicitasque necat.* (cent. 23)
- *Simplicitas prisco regnavit ovina sub aevo./ Nunc versa sceptrum pelle lupina gerit.* (cent. 100)

**Hyperbole:**
Hyperbole\(^{348}\) is also plentiful, often together with other stylistic devices, such as adynata, Überbietung and hypercharacterization. Cf.:

- *Quaes fera terga boum tot stabant clausa, tenebat/ Quot Socias Solomon, curae moderamina, lecti./ Corpora totque ovium nitidis cædentia lanis,/ Quot genuit Danaus, Senii fulcimina, gnatas./ Et tot lascivos simis cum matribus haedos,/ Quot numerat Soles solaris quilibet annus.* (ecl. 12 ff.)
- *Mille poetifluos poscit res ista magistros.* (thren. 55)
- *Qui vivace pium victi gravitate METELLUM,/ Gratifica justum relligione NUNMAM.* (thren. 107 f.)

**Hypercharacterization:**
This term, coined by E. Schwyzter, refers to the heavily pleonastic phrases abundant in Renaissance literature.\(^{349}\) Another term for this feature is congeries. Cf.:

\(^{345}\) Cf. Helander 2004, pp. 41 ff.
\(^{346}\) On the term, see Lausberg 1973, pp. 389 ff. For more examples from baroque literature, see Segel 1974, pp. 106 ff.
\(^{349}\) Helander 2004, pp. 49 ff., cf. Castrén 1907, pp. 173 ff. and Maurach 2006, p. 225. However, Vida in De arte poetica ridicules the misuse of this stylistic feature: *Quid tibi nonnullas artes, studiumque minorum/ Indignum referam? Sunt qui, ut se plurima nosse/ Ostentent, pateatque suarum opulentia rerum,/ Quicquid opum con Jesserunt, sine more, sine arte/ Insensum effundunt, et versibus omnia acervant,/ Praecipue siquid summotum, siquid opertum,/ Atque parum vulgi notum auribus...*(2.191 ff.)
• Virginei spiculum, jubar, aura, medulla, pudoris./ Pastorum fautrix, inopum Spes, Filia nostri/ Pontificis nuper vitalia lumina tristi/ Morte resignavit. (ecl. 60–63)
• Ad lessus, gemitus, curas, lamenta sub auras/ Luminis eduxit ... me genetrix! (thren. 109 f.)
• Annuit, insultans bufones, aestra, phalanges,/ Erucas, tineas, Chantarides, culices!/ Barbaries dedit acta fugam, vecordia, torpor,/ Tetricitas, sordes, fastus et ambitio. (thren. 159–162).

Catalogues:
The catalogue is common already in classical Latin epic but became even more popular in Neo-Latin literature where its use was also influenced by the many different kinds of lists in handbooks.350 The device was an excellent and efficient way of displaying erudition. The last example for the category above (Annuit…) is a good example, and our texts contain other instances such as:

• Nostra nec arva Ceres laetis vestivit aristas./ Nostra nec alma Pales errare armamenta per herbas,/ Aequoreosque greges nassas intrare nec atrox/ Neptunus, nec opes Plutus glomerare nitenteis,/ Nec pictas Satyri pedicis captare volucres/ Permitunt. (ecl. 28–33)
• Ad tumulum virtus olim si flevit ULYSSIS,/ Quum technis Ajax ludificatus erat,/ Cur non fortanimis Regis monumenta tenerem,/ Nobile qui a Suecico ducit AC- HILLE genus?/ Qui vivace pium vicit gravitate METELLUM,/ Gratifica justum relligione NUMAM. (thren. 103–108)
• Ira, Venus, gazae, fastus, cunctatio, multis/ Tristia flebilibus fata tulere modis (cent. 71).

Burdens:
Refrains can be found already in classical poetry. There are famous examples in some of Theocritus’ bucolic poems as well as in Catullus 64 and Vergil’s eclogues. The feature became very popular in Neo-Latin poetry.351 Phrygius uses it in both the Ecloga prima and in the Threnologia. Cf.:

• Desine meque tuis obtundere teque querelis (ecl. 78, 83 and 87, with some slight differences in wording).
• Me dolor ardenti quovis ardentior igni/ Detinet, indomitus devorat ossa dolor (thren. 135–136 and 181–182, the first line recurs slightly altered in lines 251 and 285).

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351 Helander 1995, pp. 33 f.
Parenthesis:
We find several examples of *interpositio*\(^{352}\) in the form of parenthesis. The intention is mostly to produce a tone of colloquiality and liveliness.\(^{353}\)

\((\text{sicut reor esse}) \text{ ecl. 46}, (\text{miser!}) \text{ ecl. 86}, (\text{crebra querela}) \text{ tum. II.4}, (\text{velut arboere}) \text{ thren. 99}, (\text{me judice}) \text{ thren. 111}, (\text{ceu sunt humana}) \text{ thren. 173}, (\text{velut omnibus}) \text{ thren. 175}, (\text{malum!}) \text{ thren. 307}, (\text{munera magna}) \text{ thren. 330}, (\text{absit jactantia}) \text{ thren. 353}, (\text{ut vulgo}) \text{ cent. 64}, (\text{velut ante}) \text{ Momo 1}, (\text{si cupis}) \text{ Momo 6.}\

Geminatio:
Various kinds of *geminatio*\(^{354}\), i.e. the repetition of single words or phrases, can be found in Phrygius’ poems. Cf.:

- *Faecundis faecunda Ceres decrevit in agris* (ecl. 73). The variant, which repeats words in different case-forms, is usually called *polyptoton*.
- *aque meo pendet milite nulla salus./ Nulla salus bello* (cent. title 6). This is an example of an *anadiplosis*.
- *Parca ferox tibi quid pro talibus imprecere ausis,/ Quo te devoveam nomine parca ferox* (thren. 315 f.). The term is here *epanalepsis*.

Some instances of the *anaphora*\(^{355}\) occur,

- in the *Ecloga prima*: *Quot* (13–17), *Nostra nec* (28–29), *Auguror* (42–43), *Sive sub* (89–90), *Sunt mihi* (ecl. 151–152) and
- in the poem to Momus: *Dicam* (7–11), *Hic nil* (8–12)

Alliteration:
There are many instances of alliteration.\(^{356}\) Cf.:

- *Quadruplicem miseranda parens quid Magdalis hauris/ Luctum, desertos Lachesi populant popenates,/ Summus ut Antistes sacratas visatit aras./ Desine tabernandata doloribus angh* (ecl. 99–102).
- *Memori nostros mente reconde modos* (thren. 206)

\(^{352}\) Lausberg 1973, pp. 427 f.
\(^{353}\) Cf. Palmer 1954, p. 79.
\(^{355}\) Cf. Maurach 2006, pp. 30 f., and Segel 1974, pp. 108 f., who stresses the frequency of this figure in baroque literature.
1.6.6 Prosody and metre

In the present poems there are only two different metres, viz. hexameters (Ecloga prima 153 lines) and elegiac distichs (Eteostichon, Threnologia, Centuria prima title, Petro Nicolai, Centuria prima distichs and Momo, 620 lines). In other works, however, Phrygius experimented quite freely, using and combining various metres in many different ways.

To start with, we notice that the poems do not contain any occurrence at all of hiatus and that there are comparately few elisions. In the total number of verses (773), not more than 29 instances of elisions can be found: 13 in the Ecloga prima print, 13 in the Threnologia, and 3 in the Centuria prima print. In most cases these elisions occur in the earlier part of the line (ten of them between the first and the second foot), but there are some exceptions. Most conspicuous is the elision after the first dactyl in the last hemiepes of the pentameter line thren. 262. In the hexameters elision never occurs in either of the last two feet.

Two versus spondiaci can be found: Omnivorae eximio mandabitur ornamento in ecl. 64, and Dum sutor crepidas ultra sapit irridetur in cent. 75. In both instances the fifth foot spondee is contained in the first part of a word with four syllables and preceded by a dactyl. The intention here is probably to give emphasis, just as in the classical poets.

In the hexameters, there is very often a caesura in the third foot (pent-hemimeresis), as could be expected given that it is by far the most common type in Latin hexameters. In fact it occurs in 441 of 462 lines, often together with other caesuras. In the remaining 21 lines there are always caesuras in both the second (trithemimeresis) and the fourth foot (hephthemimeresis). In these 21 lines all but one also contain a ‘weak’ caesura in the third foot (τομὴ κατὰ τρίτον τροχαίον), the exception being thren. 273 with diaeresis between the second and the third foot. Furthermore only two lines end

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357 Observations on Neo-Latin metre and prosody are made in Leonhardt 1996. Among other things the author summarizes the prosodical teaching strategies (pp. 309 ff.), stressing that metrical theory was probably of much less importance to Neo-Latin poets than the concept of imitatio when striving to write beautiful verse (p. 316). “Most authors of metrical treatises gave only short descriptions of the most common verses for school purposes” (p. 319). The same author made a survey of treatises on metrical theory from Late Antiquity to the Early Renaissance in his Dimensio Syllabarum (1989).

358 See section 5.1.1 below.


360 Cf. Crusius 1955, p. 50, as well as Leonhardt 1996, p. 315, who remarks that during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: “only the caesura was dealt with in the metrical treatises” (i.e. its frequency and position), but not metrical features as distribution of dactyls and spondees in the first four feet of the hexameter and the form of the verse ending.

on a word containing more than three syllables, viz. the above mentioned *versus spondiaci*, and in no instance is there a line ending on two disyllabic words. Monosyllabic endings occur in some lines.\(^{362}\)

In the pentameters, there is a strong predominance of disyllabic endings. In fact no line ends on a monosyllabic word, and only seven lines end on words containing three or four syllables.\(^{363}\)

By far the most common start of both hexameter and pentameter lines is with a dactyl, which is the case in approximately 75% of all lines. Quite generally it is probably wise not to ascribe too much nuanced intent on Phrygius’ behalf, as regards the variation of dactyls of spondees, with at least two important exceptions. These are one heavily spondaic section in *ecl.* 79–82 (see the commentary) and the last poem in the *Centuria prima* print, the piece ironically dedicated to Momus where not less than 17 of 26 lines begin with a spondee.

Furthermore, there are certain prosodical and metrical peculiarities in the poems that merit special attention:

In *ecl.* 93 *se uterque* must probably be regarded as a kind of synizesis, retaining the necessary long e, rather than as an elision, which would make the line impossible to scan.

In *ecl.* 130 the *ae* in *praeivit*, and in *thren.* 79 the *ae* in *praeibo* are treated as short. Since *ae* was by this time pronounced as a single vowel, this must be due to the principle of *vocalis ante vocalem corripitur*.

The final o is treated as short in *ecl.* 111 in *spero*, in *et.* 1 in *Octo*, in *thren.* 61 in *sumo*, in *thren.* 79 in *praeibo*, in *thren.* 85 in *comitabo*, in *thren.* 101 in *cedo*, in *thren.* 295 in *servabo*, in *thren.* 296 in *comabo*, in *thren.* 307 in *ommino*, in *thren.* 349 in *flagito*, and in *cent.* 91 in *oratio*, whereas it is long in other similar instances. The shortened o at the end of words can be found quite often already in classical Latin. At first it appeared only in words ending with iambs, but soon all kinds of words were affected.\(^{364}\)

The pentameter line *thren.* 64 is hypermetrical. The confusion could be due to the swift shift in speakers in this passage.

In *thren.* 215 the first o in *domator* is mistakenly treated as long. JPG indicates the vowel as short, as in *domitor*.

In *thren.* 217 the y in the rare word *Cyparsinus* is mistakenly treated as long, even though it is short in e.g. *Verg. georg.* 2.84. and *Aen.* 3.680.

In the second line of the distich in *cent.* 17 the final syllable of *illi* has erroneously been treated as short.

The second line in *cent.* 77 is one foot short. The type-setter could perhaps be the one to blame, even though the line is still grammatically correct.


1.7 Editorial principles

The following principles have been used for the presentation of the texts throughout this edition:

Very obvious misprints are corrected without remark. This is the case of confusion between b and d, and u and n, of spacing errors, as well as occasional mistakes such as *ptemit* for *premit* in *thren. 278* and *honps* for *honos* in *cent. 59.* Corrections of other printing errors are explained in what follows according to each published title.

Spelling has otherwise been generally retained, with the exception of u and v, which have been normalized according to the most common modern orthography. However, in the *Eteostichon* the letter V has been retained in order to keep its designation as a Roman numeral.

All kinds of accents have been deleted, with the exception of diaeresis. Accents in prints from this period were used, among other things, to denote the long vowel in ablative endings of the first and second declensions (usually with a circumflex) and the final vowel in adverbs (usually with a grave accent).

Abbreviations have generally been expanded without remark, with a few exceptions (e.g. references to the Bible in the *Centuria prima*). These include, for instance, the *linea nasalis* over the final vowel in *iuvencu(m)* in v. 88 of *Ecloga prima*, as well as every instance of the enclitic -q which has been expanded to -que. In the printed text *et* is written with an ampersand, but this has been altered to *et*. The ligatures *æ* and *œ* are written as *ae* and *oe*, while *ß* is written as *ss*.

Punctuation has been altered to conform to modern standards, as Renaissance practice in this field is often confusing to modern readers. The componitor may have been responsible for many of the peculiarities. To correct inconsistent Neo-Latinist punctuation by guessing the author’s preferences would likewise be an impossible task.

Capital letters have generally been retained, except when changes in punctuation have been made. In accordance with the practice in Renaissance

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365 Editorial questions concerning Neo-Latin texts are discussed in IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, pp. 460–475 (with several references to further reading on the subject).

366 These are very typical misprints in prints from the hand-press period, for which the componitor must be to blame. Since usually by this time one set the types in the stick reading from left to right as well as upside down and mirror-fashion, similar letters could easily be mixed up, especially if the types were wrongly replaced once the printing of the text was finished. On the printing technique during the hand-press period see Philip Gaskell’s *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (1972, or preferably the second impression from 1974), or in Swedish Bengt Bengtsson’s *Äldre typografisk teknik* (1946).

367 On the gradual disappearance of accents during the 17th century see Helander 2001, p. 28.

368 There are good reasons for keeping the punctuation following Renaissance conventions as well. One is that an adaption to modern principles will inevitably, albeit most often slightly, influence the meaning and rhythm of the texts (see Nichols 1979 [2], p. 835–850).

prints, they are normally used in order to lend extra emphasis to the word in question and hold therefore an interest for us. The same is the case with any original italics. These are retained as well, for the same reason.

However, words printed in ordinary types in the Ecloga prima print, where the main text is printed in italics, are written in italics in this edition, where the main text is written in ordinary types. The exception is the titles, where the texts have been represented in accordance with the print, i.e. italics for italics and ordinary types for ordinary types. The one hundred emblems of the Centuria prima edition imitate the original print too, since the inscriptio texts are written in ordinary types and the subscriptio texts are written in italics, except when words are stressed. This is for the convenience of the reader in order to separate inscriptio and subscriptio typographically (the same is done in the translation).

Quotation marks have been added, as well as the verse numbering written on the right side of the text.

In the following account of corrected misprints, the text written after the lemma is the reading found in the original print, while the text written in front of it is the corrected reading belonging to this edition.

1.7.1 Ecloga prima

The texts for Ecloga prima, Eteostichon and both Tumuli all belong to the same print. In establishing the text, all four copies accounted for in Collijn 1500 (vol. 3, pp. 311 f.) were collated. In three of them, viz. in the copies of UUB, KB and LSB, the same handwritten erroneous alteration was found (line 93), albeit in different hands. It will be briefly discussed in the commentary. The fourth copy, without alterations, belongs to LU.

The following corrections have been made in this edition:


The one case of handwritten alteration in the original prints (here behind the lemma) is:

ecl. 93 Vix tandem sacram se] Se tandem sacram.

1.7.2 Threnologia dramatica

The edition of the Threnologia dramatica was also based on a printed version, viz. the one in Agon Regius (1620). Three copies were collated when establishing the text\textsuperscript{370}, viz. the two ones at UUB and one at KB (F1700

\textsuperscript{370} This is also the number of copies suggested for collation in Rabbie 1996, p. 28.

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2986). In all of these printed errata lists were attached. The corrections noted there have been inserted in my edition without remark.

The following corrections have been made in this edition:


1.7.3 *Centuria prima*

Finally, the poems in the *Centuria prima* collection were based on the print from 1602 containing all of them. All three copies of it accounted for in Collijn 1600 (col. 715) were collated for establishing the text, viz. the ones at LSB, LU and KB. Certain handwritten alterations, some correct and some erroneous, are to be found in them. Whenever a correction is supported by such an alteration, it will be mentioned in the commentary.

The following corrections have been made in this edition:

2. The *Ecloga prima* print

2.1 Text and translation
ECLOGA PRIMA

super funus

Virginis omni virtutum gratia maxime conspicuae

BIRGITTAE,

Inculpata vitae integritate,

Vera eruditionis purpura et

Subacta judicii dexteritate,

INSTRUCTISSIMI VRI ac DOMINI

Domini Magistri Petri Benedicti Episcopi Lincopensis desideratissimae Filiae charissimae.

Tum

Eidem Domino ut Mecoenati omni pietatis cultu dignissimo

In gratitudinis tesseram

Decantata,

Tum

Reverenda, Amplissimae doctissimaeque ejusdem Dioecesis ordinis

Senatorii corona, multis nominibus colendissimae

in observantiae τεκμήριον

Nuncupata a

Sylvestro Johannis Phrygio Calmariensi.

Interlocutores

EBBE TORE.

HAMBURGI, Ex Typographeo Philippi de Ohr, MDIC
The first eclogue
on the funeral
of the virgin
Birgitta,
highly conspicuous for the grace of all her virtues,
for the integrity of her undefiled life,
the distinction of her true erudition and
the proficiency of her trained judgement,
the highly desired and beloved daughter of
the most educated man and lord
Master Petrus Benedicti, bishop of Linköping.
On the one hand
composed for this lord in his capacity of patron,
highly worthy of all pious homages,
as a sign of gratitude,
on the other
delivered to this diocese’s most reverend, prominent and learned
circle of councillors, with many honourable names,
as a token of respect,
by
Sylvester Johannis Phrygius from Kalmar.
Interlocutors:
Ebbe and Tore.
In Hamburg, from the printing house of
Philipp von Ohr, 1599.
Ebbe:

Tore:
“Exul ago, patrio dimotus limine, flavo In quo construxi septem gurgustia culmo. Queis fera terga boum tot stabant clausa, tenebat Quot Socias Solomon, curae moderamina, lecti, Corpora totque ovium nitidis candelis lanis, Quot genuit Danaus, Senii fulcimina, gnatas, Et tot lascivos simis cum matribus haedos, Quot numerat Soles solaris quilbet annus. Insuper hortus erat variis nitidissimus herbis, In cujus gremio dulci pellucidus unda Fons erat. Hic riguo nutrivit margine lymphis Allia cum meis, caules, narsturtia, rapas.”

Ebbe:
“Causa nec optatos talis variare penates, Te ferus infandi sed criminis horror adegit.”

Tore:
“Me natale solum non vertere crimen adegit, Sed fluibunda casae fortuna coëgit amorem Temnere. Tot casus istic perpessus, ut illos Occatis Parcae gliscam postponere fusis. Nostra nec arva Ceres laetis vestivit aristis, Nostra nec alma Pales errare armenta per herbas, Aequoreosque greges nassas intrare nec atroc Neptunus, nec opes Plutus glomerare nitenteis, Nec pictas Satyri pedicis captare volucres Permittunt. Nec erat qui falleret otia maesto. Nudius et quartus Sol quum sub gurgite vultus Abdidit et rutilans vesper processit Olympe, Viscera Telluris mugire voracis, aperto Flammam etiam coelo magnum per inane volantem”
Ebbe:
“Tore, why do you enter the rough woodlands, teaching the swaying woods to resound your suffering sighs? Your pale face indicates that you are fleeing! Whence do you lead these goats? Which god has sent you to these fertile pastures, where Vättern divides Gothic soils? Does not the wolf carry away its prey from the flocks with none to restrain it, as you ramble about in marshy valleys, or the cattle – it feeds on foreign pastures in unknown fields – does not cruel Esbjörn rightly claim it for himself?”

Tore:
“I am an exile, driven away from my native country, where I built seven huts of yellow straw. In these as many untamed oxen stood shut, as Solomon held bedfellows, the alleviations of sorrow, as many sheep shimmered white with shining wool, as Danaus gave birth to daughters, support during old age, and every solar year counted as many frisky kids, with their flatnosed dams, as it counted days. Furthermore there was a garden, shining with different herbs, in whose midst there was a limpid spring with fresh water. With its water it nourished here garlic with spignels, cabbage, cress and turnips through an irrigating ditch.”

Ebbe:
“Such a cause has not forced you to change your desired penates, but the wild horror of an unspeakable crime.”

Tore:
“A crime did not force me to leave my native soil, but the fluctuating fortune of my home compelled me to reject its love. I have there endured so many misfortunes, that I eagerly wish I could postpone them to the time when Fate has cut off the thread of my life. Ceres has not covered our fields with abundant awns, fostering Pales does not let our cattle graze in herbage, cruel Neptune does not let the ocean’s flocks swim into our fishing-traps, Pluto does not let us gather glimmering riches, nor do the Satyrs let us catch motley birds in springes. And there was no one to beguile the time for a gloomy man. When the sun three days ago hid its visage in the abyss and the gold-shimmering evening star advanced in the sky, we heard the bowels of the voracious earth roar, and even saw a flame flying through the great void in the open sky.”
Vidimus. Haec Boreae sese properavit ad Arcton.
Non aliter quam si vidisset desuper ipsum
Descendisse levi Phaebum temone Coruscum.”

Ebbe:
“Atmiranda referis portenta! Quid ergo minantur?”

Tore:
“Auguror esse luis praeununcia signa futura!
Auguror interitum gregibus portendere nostris,
Quos lupus orbabit, vel miles atrocius ipso!”

Ebbe:
“Si te nostra tenet praeceps audire Cupido
Omina, si par est (sicur reor esse), recludam,
Quae vagus hesterna mihi luce probavit Amundus.
Sed prius umbrosi subter fastigia tecti
Quam te deducam, tenuem formabimus orsum.
Altera lux saevi post idus fulsit Aprilis,
Obscurae nequedum praeunissia crepuscula nocti
Illius obtinuere locum, cum vectus ad urbem
Lincopicam querulo desicca legumina plaustro
Triticeos faetus et smegma ferebat Amundus.
Pendula territremis, fora cum populosa subiret,
Aera subolfaciens grunnière boatibus, hujus
Mox quaerit causam. Referebat forte Sivardus,
Restinctura sitim qui mala rubentia venum
Exposuit, calido tinctas et sumine spiras.
Virginei spiculum, jubar, aura, medulla, pudoris,
Pastorum fautrix, inopum Spes, Filia nostri
Pontificis nuper vitalia lumina tristi
Morte resignavit. Cujus pars terrea terrae
Omnivoreae eximio mandabitur ornamento,
Horalis prima dum linea stringitur umbra.
Enthea pars superum colit, unde recesserat, hortum.
Qua primaevus Adam rubra formatus arena
Arida viscato faedaverat ora cibatu.
Assidet illius Sociae, quae prima docebat
Pastorem blandis dedicere turgida vaccis
Ubera, et haedini spissare coagula lactis.”

Tore:
“Jäppe: ‘nec iccirco Tellus dedit alma boatus.
Faecundis faecunda Ceres decrevit in agris,

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It hastened to Boreas’ Nordic regions. It was just as if I had seen shining Phoebus himself descend from above in his swift wagon.”

Ebbe:
“You do relate remarkable portents! What then do they threaten?”

Tore:
“I forebode that they are omens indicating future afflictions! I forebode that they portend the end to our flocks, which a wolf will bereave of fathers and children, or a soldier, even more atrocious.”

Ebbe:
“If a violent desire to hear our omens holds you I shall reveal, if fitting (as I believe), what the wandering Amundus told me yesterday. But before I lead you in under a shading roof, we shall begin a little.

It was the second day after the Ides of fierce April, and the dawn, which is sent on ahead to the dark night, had not yet taken its place, when Amundus, carried on a creaking wagon, brought dried beans, harvested wheat and soap to the city of Linköping.

When he approached the crowded market-place, he heard bells of bronze grunt with earth-shaking roars, and soon he sought its cause. As it so happened, Sivardus related it, as he put up for sale red apples, which quench the thirst, and bread dipped in warm lard.

The apex, splendour, air and marrow of virgin modesty, patroness of shepherds, hope of the weak, our bishop’s daughter has lately closed her eyes in sorrowful death. Her portion of earth to earth all-devouring shall be committed as an excellent ornament, when the hourly line is touched by the first shadows.

Her divine part dwells in the heavenly garden, whence it had departed. There Adam, formed of ruddy sand, in the beginning of time defiled his arid mouth with entangling food. She sits beside his partner, who first taught shepherds to milk the turgid udders of fawning cows, and to thicken the goat milk’s rennet.”

Tore:
“Jäppe said that the fostering earth did not roar for that reason. Fecund Ceres has grown less in fecund fields,
Sacra fovere Pales pratis armenta remisit, 
Difficilemque maris Rector se praebuit, atque Praeses opum temsit fumantia liba. Cadentes 
Ipse etiam Phaebus flammias libravit et arcum.’’

Ebbe: 
“Desine meque tuis obtundere teque querelis.”

Tore: 
“Örjan, qui rerum fertur perquirere fonteis 
Et tempestatum vires callere latenteis, 
Jäpponi nuper lachrimis suggestit obortis 
Praesentem stabulis haec intentare ruinam.”

Ebbe: 
“Desine meque tuis obtundere teque querelis.”

Tore: 
“Vel prius exoptem tellus mihi faeta dehiscat, 
Quam videam Gothicis obtingere talia terris.”

Ebbe: 
“Dic quis te docuit (miser!) ogganire magistro? 
Desine nunc tandem me incendere teque querelis.”

Tore: 
“Tu senior, tibi me est aequum parere juvencum, 
Sive sub informes pluviis regnantibus umbras, 
Sive sub attegias properabimus. Ergo silebo.”

Ebbe: 
“Si te detineant privata negotia nusquam, 
Ibimus”, ipse sub haec, “miserum spectare feretrum.”

Vix tandem sacram se uterque ferebat ad aedem. 
Huc ubi dependent lychni laquearibus altis Incensi, et funus vinctum funalia flammis. 
Huc ubi pullatus calcans suggesta Sacerdos Eloquiui tali maerentia robore fulcit 
Pectora, Defunctae carptimque encomia solvit: 
“Quadruplicem miseranda pares quid Magdalis hauris Luctum, desertos Lachesi populante penates, 
Summum ut Antistes sacratas visitat aras? 
Desine tabificis gemebunda doloribus angi.

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Holy Pales has ceased to nurture the cattle in the meadows, the ruler of the sea has proved himself difficult to please, and the head of riches has despised fuming offerings. Even Phoebus himself has brandished his falling flames and his bow.”

Ebbe:
“Stop belabouring both me and you with your complaints.”

Tore:
“Örjan, who is said to investigate the sources of things and know the hidden forces of the weather, not long ago, with tears in his eyes, told Jäppe that this threatened our abodes with immediate destruction.”

Ebbe:
“Stop belabouring both me and you with your complaints.”

Tore:
“I would sooner the fertile earth open its gape for me, than see such things strike Gothic lands.”

Ebbe:
“Tell me (wretch!), who taught you to snarl at your master? Now leave off inciting both me and you with your complaints.”

Tore:
“You are older. It is fair that I, a young man, obey you, whether we will hasten in under shapeless shadows while the rain is reigning, or into huts. Thus I will be silent.”

Ebbe:
“If no private affairs detain you in any way, we shall go”, he himself said thereupon, “to watch the lamentable bier.”

Both at last with difficulty made their way to the sacred temple. Hither, where burning lamps hang in lofty vaults, and torches conquer death with their flames. Hither, where a black-clad clergyman, trampling his pulpit, strengthens mourning hearts with such an excellent eloquence, and piece by piece performs a sermon in praise of the deceased: “Magdalena, poor mother, why do you imbibe a fourfold grief, since Lachesis devastates your home and makes it deserted, when the bishop visits the sacred altars? Stop being tormented by dissolving sorrows, groaning woman.
Nam tua stelligerum nuper praelata per axem
Gnata Sacrae Triadi sonitus procudit amaenos.
Fulmina nam mortis cum sensit adesse propinquae,
Multa super pietate rogans, super Hercule multa
Quaerens, facundis ita vocibus ora resolvit:
‘Si non terrenum superest spes nulla parentem
Cernere, nodosis suprema nec oscula malis
Figere, nec gelidam dextrae conjungere dextram,
Spero figurata stellis regione parentem
Visuram aethereum corde exhilarante, priusquam
Heliadum sese genitor summergit in umbras.’
Et tu Nympharum stimulis agitata doloris
Turba, redundanteis fletus oblide scatebras.
Nam Rosa, quam defles, in agros translata supernos
Vernat, ubi vivis plantaria viva virescunt
Floribus, hyblaeos praeventit et herba liquores.
Sed quam te memorem? Te quamve Brigitta salutem?
Eloquar an taceam? Dictynnae jure Dianae
Assimilanda. Quibus vel caelo laudibus aequem
Temet, Quarta Charis? Generis Sol? Ardua Patris
Gloria? Dextra manus genitricis et unice nostrae
Urbis honos? Dotes naturae flumina nostri
Eloquii superant. Vel si recitare tenerer,
Me quater aestivi Solis lux orta loquentem
Inveniat, Nestor vel si dabit ora triseclis.
Nam bonitas animi, castae reverentia famae,
Et fidei integritas, et honestas incluta formam
Vicit. Et Attalicas vestes mellita praevit
Dulcedo morum frugique modestia vitae.
Ante leves ergo pascentur in aëre tincae,
Atque leves salso degent in flumine damae,
Posthuma quam Gothicus tua laus tabescat in oris.’

Ebbe:
“Si mea Lethaei mens non experta fuisset
Fontis aquas, fabre tibi cuncta referre studerem,
Quae bonus hesterna mihi luce probavit Amundus.”

Tore:
“Nuncia saepe refers nobis tristissima! Si non
Huic Parcae strictis ruperunt stamina filis,
Aequasset virtute suam famaque parentem.”
For your daughter, who recently was carried through the star-bearing vault, is producing lovely sounds to the holy Trinity. For when she sensed the thunderbolts of death near at hand, asking much about piety and inquiring much about Hercules, she loosed her tongue with so eloquent words:

‘If there is no hope left of perceiving my earthly father, of fastening some last kisses to his knotty cheeks, and of uniting my冷 hand with his hand, I hope I shall see my heavenly father with a rejoicing heart in a region fashioned with stars, before the Sire of the Heliades submerges himself in shades.’

You too, troop of nymphs, impelled by the torments of sorrow, quell the overflowing gushes of your tears. For the rose, whom you bewail, is blooming, brought to those heavenly fields where living nursery-gardens flourish with living flowers and the grass excels Hyblaean liquids. But, by what name shall I call you? Or how shall I salute you, Birgitta? Shall I speak or be silent? You should justly be compared to Diana Dictynna. With what words of praise shall I extol you to the sky? The fourth Grace? The sun of your family? Your father’s lofty glory? Your mother’s right hand, and the only honour of our city? The gifts of nature surpass the rivers of my eloquence. Even if I would have to continue reciting, the light of the summer-sun would find me speaking, when it has risen four times, nay, even if a very old Nestor will give voice to this purpose. For her soul’s kindness, the reverence of her chaste reputation, her faith’s integrity and her famous honesty surpassed her beauty. And the honey-sweet charm of her manners and the modesty of her frugal life were superior to her Attalian clothes. Sooner shall nimble fishes graze in the air, and nimble fallow-deers live in salt waters, than your posthumous praise decline in Gothic regions.’

Ebbe:
“If my mind had not experienced the water of the Lethean source, I would try to relate everything artfully for you, which the good man Amundus told me yesterday.”

Tore:
“You do give us very sorrowful messages many times! If the Fates had not broken her thread and cut off her string, she would have equaled her mother in reputation and virtue.”
Ebbe:
“Optima de medio sic grana leguntur, et atri
Sulphuris atra leves ustrina manebit.”

Tore:
“Sic Rosa de ruscis, rigidis sic lilia spinis.”

Ebbe:
“Si vigeant firma reliqua virtute sorores,
Tritaque Germanae penitus vestigia quaerant.
Iam satis. Angustis succede penatibus exors.
Tuta nec incurvae praebeat umbracula sylvae
Brachia, fluctivagos quia Sol abiturus in amnes
Tithyos, obliquo caput inclinabat Olympo.
Dulcibus ut praesens epulis non bella sit uxor,
Sunt mihi rapa tamen lentis assata favillis.
Sunt mihi bis-cocti panes. Sunt pinguia larda.
Larda novem piceis menses siccata Caminis.”
Ebbe:
“Thus the finest grains are gathered from the common stock, and the sulphur’s black burning pile awaits the light chaff.”

Tore:
“Thus a rose grows among butcher’s-broom, and lilies among rigid thorns.”

Ebbe:
“If her remaining sisters are strong in steadfast virtue, they should altogether seek the footprints trodden by their sister. Now enough. Come into my small home, poor man. The branches of the curved trees do not grant us safe shade, for the sun, which will disappear in the wavy waters of Tethys, has leaned its head against the slanting Olympus. Though my not handsome wife will be present at the delightful meal, still I have turnips, roasted in slowly glowing ashes. I have biscuits and fat pork, pork that has been dried for nine months in pitch-black furnaces.”
ETEOSTICHON.

OCto bIb AprILIs noCTes VbI Mane fVgaVit,
FIxa sIBI soLVIt VIInCLa BrIgItta neClIs.

ANNAE,
Eiusdem Sororis,
Faeminae, omnium muliebrium decorum laude or-
natissimae, Humanissimi et doctissimi viri Magistri Laurentii
Scholae Lincopensis Rectoris Thori sociae le-
crissimae.

Tumulus.

Dum peperi, perii. Socium dum prole beavi,
Aurea me superi vexit in arva soli,
Nec dotata manus, lautae nec gratia formae,
Nec gravitas, verae nec pietatis opus,
Nec favor urbanae Charitis, nec saeva Minervae
Cura, sed ILLIUS gratia, cura, favor,
Qui genus humanum scelerum mucrone notatum
Ignivomo Stygii traxit ab ore Lupi.

Aliud Memoriae ejusdem.

Hic tria complevi vitae septennia. Fluxum
Nec tamen aetatis conqueror esse brevem.
Nam quo pensa truces versant breviora puellae,
Hoc minus est patrium (crebra querela) malum.
Is sapit ergo, nihil Parcae qui dira moratur
Fulmina, vel Mortis triste perhorret iter.

In benevolentiae sigillum Posuit
Sylvester Johannis Phrygius Calmariensis
Eteostichon.

When the morning of the Sixteenth of April put the night to flight,
Birgitta unfastened the fetters of death that had been fixed to her.

To Anna,
her sister,
a woman, most gifted with the adornment of all female elegance,
the most excellent wife
of the most educated and learned man Master Laurentius,
headmaster at the school of Linköping.

A tumulus.

When I gave birth, I perished. When I blessed my husband with offspring,
my gifted hand did not bring me to the golden fields
of the heavenly soil, not the grace of my handsome figure,
nor my gravity, nor the work of my true piety,
nor my favours to the urban Charis, and not my care for the severe 5
Minerva, but HIS grace, care and favour,
who drew mankind, marked by the edge of sin,
away from the jaws of the fire-vomiting Stygian wolf.

Another in her memory.

Here I completed three septennia of life. I nevertheless
do not complain of the flow of time being too short.
For the shorter the grim maids spin their yarn, the less
there is of ancestral wickedness (so oft bewailed).
Thus, that man is wise who neither delays the dire blows 5
of Fate, nor is frightened at the sorrowful journey of death.

As a small sign of affection composed by
Sylvester Johannis Phrygius from Kalmar
2.2 Commentary

Ecloga prima:

Ecloga prima] We cannot know what Phrygius actually means by calling this eclogue the first. Of course it could mean ‘my first eclogue’, or less probably ‘the first eclogue written on Birgitta’s funeral’, or something similar. Wretö suggests that the title could have been meant as a clue to the readers on how the poem should be understood, pointing out Vergil’s first eclogue and how that poem was usually interpreted (Wretö 1977, p. 96). It could then also hint at the influences from Calpurnius Siculus’ first eclogue. Whatever Phrygius’ intention was, it is a historical fact that Phrygius’ poem is the first preserved eclogue in Swedish literature (Kurt Johannesson 1968, p. 62). In his study on Swedish (including Finnish) occasional poetry from before 1700 Johannesson found ca. 20 eclogues composed in Latin (Kurt Johannesson 1962, p. 16. Those poems are listed in a note of that work). With that in mind, we should at least acknowledge the possibility that Phrygius intended an additional allusion to a theme from ancient poetry by using prima in the title. In Verg. georg. 3.10–11 we read: primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,/ Aoni o rediens deducam vertice Musas. Vergil was then referring to the words on Ennius in Lucr. 1.117–118 Ennius ut nosterner cecinit, qui primus amoeno/ detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam, but probably also to similar lines from Ennius himself now only extant in fragments. The relation between these texts is a separate question (on which see Hinds 1998, pp. 52 ff.), but the idea recurring in them could perhaps indicate an intended nuance in Phrygius’ title. Horace likewise touches on it in carm. 3.30.12 ff. ex humili potens/ princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos/deduxisse modos. When Georg Stiernhielm later published his Musae Suethizantes (1668), the title continues: Thet är sånggudinnor, nu först lärande dichta och spela på svenska (‘that is muses, first now learning to compose and play in Swedish’). Phrygius could not rightfully claim to have brought the Muses to Sweden, but as far as we know the eclogue genre was not previously present in Swedish literature at this time.

super funus] To write super followed by an accusative in this sense is unclassical. What Phrygius wants to express with it is ‘on’, or in this context perhaps even ‘because of’. Super in the sense of ‘on’, i.e. equivalent to de, with the ablative is rather common in classical literature, and Phrygius uses this latter construction in line 106 of this poem (cf. K.-St., I, pp. 572 ff.).

omni virtutum gratia] Cf. the title to Phrygius’ Epistola consolatoria (1616): Ad virum consultissimum, omnique virtutum genere praecellentissimum. This kind of grammatical construction with two words in a causal ablative (here governed by conspicuae) and (most often) a genitive attribute occurs in several instances in the titles of Phrygius’ works, usually explaining the advantages of the person praised. As can be seen it occurs five times
only in this title, these probably also being examples of *enallage* (cf. the following remark).

**Inculpata ... dexteritate** In this rhetorical *tricolon* the praise of Birgitta focuses on the aspects of integrity, erudition and judgement. The first is hardly surprising. The praise of women at this time always refers to the virtuous life characterized by piety, chastity, modesty, etc. The other two deserve special attention. Erudition and good judgement were normally not often associated with women (cf. e.g. Kajanto 1990, pp. 158 ff.). Accordingly we probably here have to do with a young girl who had received some intellectual education in addition to ordinary female schooling which was more designed for household management.

In Scaliger’s poetics it was stated that women could also be praised for typical male virtues, if she displayed any, besides the characteristic female ones (Scaliger 1987 [1561], p. 97). When Kajanto made a comparison of selected rhetorical handbooks from this time he noted that, while Chytraeus in 1562 only mentioned the ordinary female virtues, in 1630 Vossius thought that a woman should in addition be eulogized whenever she surpassed what was expected of her sex, e.g. intellectually. Vossius should still be regarded as an exception, as Kajanto maintains (Kajanto 1990, pp. 163 f.).

The literary education that Birgitta received was probably not very comprehensive. Protestant reformers had recommended that parents with knowledge of reading should teach their children to read, not least since this was regarded as a part of religious instruction. In Protestant church ordinances in Germany it was also required that girls’ schools be established. However, even where such schools arose, instruction was limited. Moreover, the humanist movement did not really affect female education to any great degree. Juan Luis Vives, for instance, recommended that only women who were going to participate in public life should receive a humanist education, such as princesses and future queens, and Christian literature should be generally preferred to pagan even for them. The few women who in spite of this managed to acquire wide learning were almost all members of the nobility (Wiesner 2000, pp. 145 ff.).

There are, however, some other examples of women in Sweden from this time which were praised for their learned intellect. In Mollerus’ *Epitalthalamion* (1559) it is said that the bride’s mother, Margaret Leijonhufvud, was characterized by diligence in the practical and theoretical studies invented by Minerva: *studijs animi manuumque industria quorum/ Dicitur inventrix vertice nata Iovis* (fol. D2v). The funeral oration by Wilhelmus Simonius on Wendela Skytte, daughter of Johan Skytte, published in *Justa Funebria Illustri, Generosisissimae, & Litteratissimae Dnae, Wendelae Skytte* (1630), is conspicuous for heavily stressing the amazing erudition, literary style and taste displayed by the young Wendela. Somewhat later, Queen Christina of Sweden became famous for her love of the arts and learning, and she was
often compared to the most learned women in history (cf. Kajanto 1993 [1], pp. 91 ff.).

As regards grammatical structure, all three parallel lines should likely be understood as making use of *enallage*, for the adjective attributes *inculpata*, *vera* and *subacta* stand in the ablative and agree with the phrase’s main word but seem to belong more to the qualitative genitive (cf. Sz. pp. 159 f., and Maurach 2006, p. 37 ff.). The sense is thus *Inculpatae vitae integritate, Verae eruditionis purpura et Subacti judicii dexteritate*. This reading is also supported by parallels from earlier usages. For instance *inculpata vita* occurs in Ov. *met.* 9.672 f., Gell. 14.2.5 and *Dig.* 22.5, and *vitae integritas* in Cic. *Brut.* 265, Sall. *Catil.* 54.2 and Quint. *inst.* 7.2.33. No instances at all can be found of *inculpata integritas*. The same holds true for the other two lines as well. See further below.

**purpura** The word *purpura* was early used metonymically for magistrate or emperor (cf. Forcellini, s.v. *purpura*, 11), and in late Latin *purpuratus* could even be used with the sense of ‘distinguished’ (Souter 1949).

**Subacta judicii dexteritate** The phrase *judicii dexteritate* occurs also in a preface by Valens Acidalius: *ita etiam excolunt atque exercent, ut dexteritate judicii, ingenique solertia veterum gravitatem, dulcedinem atque elegantiam si non superent, aequent tamen, aut quam proxime accedant* (1603, fol. **5r [Camena]). No parallels have been found for *subacta dexteritate*, but the phrase *subacti judicii* occurs e.g. in a text by Martin Opitz: *[ad] judicii in hac quoque parte subacti bonitatem* (1631, p. 6 [Camena]). As regards this sense of *subigo*, cf. *OLD*, s.v., 4, b.

**Petri Benedicti** Petrus Benedicti Oelandus was born on Öland in 1531. He became a student in Rostock in 1558, where he probably also received his master’s degree. He was ordained later and appointed headmaster of the school of Uppsala in 1561. He was made a vicar in Söderköping in 1569, but remained in Uppsala, becoming professor of philosophy there in 1570, and professor of theology in 1574. He became bishop of Västerås in 1581, and finally bishop of Linköping in 1589. He died during the *Riksdag* in Örebro in 1606. Phrygius was to be his son in law and married to his daughter Kristina.

At the *Riksdag* of Stockholm in 1577 Petrus Benedicti signed the liturgy act of John III, and was rewarded with the episcopal see of Västerås but was later transferred to Linköping. During the Uppsala assembly, as mentioned earlier, Duke Charles forced him to apologize for his earlier mistakes and errors in liturgical matters, and he subscribed to the decrees of the assembly. In 1594 Sigismund tried in vain to make him archbishop (Håhl 1846, p. 22, Westerlund & Setterdahl, vol. 3, pp. 51 f., Ohlsson 1946, pp. 195 and 210).

**tesseram** The word in ancient Latin was used in several ways, in *tessera hospitalis, tessera frumentaria*, etc., which implied the understanding of it as a sign (properly speaking a square or rectangular one) during certain circumstances (cf. Forcellini, s.v. *tessera*). Phrygius here used it as a token in a wider sense.
ejusdem Dioecesis ordinis Senatorii coronae] The expression probably refers to the cathedral chapter of Linköping. The word senatus was often used in the sense of ‘government’ in Swedish Neo-Latin (Helander 2004, p. 210).

Interlocutores] The word is created in analogy to locutor, which occurs in Aulus Gellius (TLL). According to Spitzer it was coined during the Renaissance on the verb interloqui in the sense of διαλέγειν, which occurs once in Terence, once in Seneca, and in some late Latin authors (Krebs & Schmalz), for the participants in dialogues of the Platonic kind (Spitzer 1955, p. 119). It is attested in Hoven.

Ebbe, Tore] Quite remarkably Phrygius chose to use Swedish personal names in the eclogue, albeit some of them in Latinized form. His strongest reason was probably the Swedish setting, and his desire to emphasize its adaptation to Swedish conditions. That can also be seen in the geographical names and food mentioned. In fact, the Neo-Latin pastoral is almost always located in some real place, a fact stressed and exemplified by, among others, Fred J. Nichols (1979, p. 5), Margarethe Stracke (1981, pp. 42 and 49) and Minna Skafte-Jensen (2004, p. 29), though the names of shepherds are usually Greek wherever the scene takes place. As Tore Wretö remarks, Swedish names would not return in Swedish eclogues until ca. 150 years later. In the meantime authors of eclogues used names characteristic of the genre (Wretö 1977, p. 97).

Another question is why Phrygius chose the very Swedish names Ebbe and Tore as main characters without Latinizing them, their metrical advantages excepted (note that the Latinized variant Thorus of Tore is attested in other Neo-Latin poems, see Skafte-Jensen 2007, p. 99). We cannot but speculate upon the answer. Nevertheless, as Minna Skafte-Jensen contended, the allegorical eclogue was very well suited to the contemporary view that the world was made up of analogies. The poems themselves are often a kind of cipher, microcosms corresponding to some kind of macrocosm. In this game, aesthetic numerical patterns are a sign of the harmony that prevails in the system (Skafte-Jensen 2004, pp. 35 f. and 61 ff., cf. Kurt Johannesson 1968, p. 90, and Helander 2004, pp. 434 ff.). With that background we should be aware that the names Ebbe and Tore, containing the same number of letters, the first also a palindrome, may conceal some hidden meaning.

Some suggestions on whom the names represented in real life will be made below, since real-life models can be expected, both due to the genre and its proneness to allegories. A starting-point is, however, that Tore represents Phrygius.

Philippi de Ohr] Philipp von Ohr, a printer from Marsberg or Obermarsberg in Westphalia, was active in Hamburg between 1597 and 1608, while his heirs continued the work of the publishing house until 1614. Several of his products were musical prints, but the most famous one is without doubt Tycho Brahe’s Astronomiae instauratae Mechanica, which he produced in
Wandsbek in 1598 on Brahe’s private printing-press (Benzing 1982, pp. 182 and 475).

1. **Tore** The poem begins as can be expected with an eclogue. Vergil’s first eclogue starts in a similar way with the invocation *Tityre*. The ancient eclogues, i.e. those by Vergil, Calpurnius Siculus, Nemesianus, and the Einsiedeln eclogues (not known in the times of Phrygius), all have a name connected with Greek pastoral in its first line, with the exception of Calpurnius Siculus’ first eclogue (cf. Clausen 1994, p. 34).

**occlusis succedis saltibus** The openings of eclogues are usually shaped like this as well, presenting shepherds in the woods or under a tree (cf. Johanneson 1962, p. 17).

**aegra** Cf. Verg. *ecl*. 1.12 f. *en ipse capellas/ protinus aeger ago*. This Vergilian echo, and others of them below, where only the same single words appear, would not be evident unless we had known how closely Phrygius followed Vergil’s first eclogue. It is thus necessary to be more than usually sensitive when locating parallels from that very poem.

2. **resonare docens suspiria sylvas** Cf. Verg. *ecl*. 1.4 f. *Tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra/ formonsam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas*. This allusion appearing so early in the poem is important, since it points to Vergil’s first eclogue and makes clear the main literary model. It directs those readers, who did not understand it from the title, to a proper interpretation.

We find Vergil’s lines echoing in other eclogues from the Neo-Latin period as well, see e.g. the *Ecloga VI* by Joachim Camerarius: *Dumque vagus miser in desertis saltibus errat,/ Et resonare suam montana cacumina nympha,/ Et resonare docet viridantes gramine valles* (1568, p. 14 [Camena]).


4. **Aut quis te Deus haec in pinguia misit/ Pascua** Cf. Mantuan’s second eclogue: *Quis te Deus itas/ misit in ambages?* (Spagnoli 1568, p. 33). Gods are common in classical eclogues. The very word *deus* occurs nine times in Vergil’s eclogues and seventeen times in Calpurnius Siculus’. Ebbe’s question *Quis Deus?* is also characteristic here, since it indicates the conflict of two religious spheres, on the one hand the ancient, with numerous gods, and the Christian monotheistic belief.

The combination *pinguia pascua* e.g. occurs in Mantuan’s first eclogue (Spagnoli 1568, p. 17).
5. **Vetter** The mention of the Swedish lake Vättern gives a geographical indication of where this scene is meant to take place. One may conjecture that the districts to the west of Linköping, i.e. between this town and Vättern, are the ones referred to (cf. below). Kurt Johannesson has observed that shepherds very often meet close to some water (Kurt Johannesson 1962, p. 19). As regards the name *Vetter*, cf. Helander 2004, p. 287.

**Gothicos** Here and in the following we must understand the geographical name *Gothia*, and its contemporary associations, as it is explained by JPG:

Gothia … Regio Europae mari Balthico, Norvegia et Svecia proprie sic dicta terminata, haec est patria et genitale solum, unde egressi sunt domitores gentium Gothi, quorum praeclara fascinora [sic] passim apud Historicos legere est.

6–9. These four lines are difficult and contain grammatical inconsistencies and an unsuccessful word order. What is suggested here cannot be anything but a conjecture. It seems most appropriate to assume that *ut* (with *erras*) in line 6 is temporal ‘as’ or ‘when’. The position of *lupus* in line 6 would admittedly be strange in this reading, but the sentence would make sense. As regards the clause *ignotis … / Gramina*, see section 1.6.3 above. Ebbe’s questions would in this reading be connected to the fact that some lines earlier he has seen that Tore is on flight, and is now exposing himself and his cattle to great dangers.

We could perhaps be guided by Tore’s later words in lines 43 f. *Auguror interitum gregibus portendere nostris/ Quos lupus orbabit, vel miles atrocior ipso!* Despite the fact that Tore is the one speaking there but Ebbe in this instance, the expressions seem parallel. That could also imply a war-theme in Ebbe’s words, bringing it closer to Vergil’s situation. Would not your flocks be safer at home? Does not Esbiörn claim your cattle when you are on flight from your own districts? The exact meaning is not certain, but both questions, as well as Tore’s later words imply that he risks losing his property, just as Vergil had done.

6. **lupus** The wolf’s rapaciousness is proverbial (cf. Otto, pp. 198 ff.). It is a frequent motif in pastoral poetry (cf. Stracke 1981, p. 127), and in contemporary emblems as well (cf. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 450 ff.). Also the use of it as a fierce invective against human beings has many parallels (cf. *TLL*, s.v. *lupus*, I, 4. See Berggren 1994, p. 117 for a brief discussion of one example of the use of *lupus* designating enemies in Andreas Stobaeus’ poetry). Phrygius used the adjective *lupinus* in that way in gnome no. 100 in the work *Centuria Prima* below.

Shortly prior to Phrygius is the elaborated passage in Skinnerus’ *Epithalamion*, where Russia is compared to a wolf: *Sic lupus esuriens [Moscus], stimulante cupidine ventris,/ Et nemora et rupes et proxima tesqua pererrat,/
Incustoditum donec deprendit ovile,/ Tum ... / Irruit in numerum crudelis et omnia turbat,/ Dilaniatque omnes (1585, fols. B1r–v).

erras] Cf. Verg. ecl. 1.9 f. ille meas errare boves ... / ... permisit. It has the same verb but in different senses. Vergil used it in this instance for herds grazing. Cf. also Verg. ecl. 6.52 tu nunc in montibus erras.

8 f. pecus ... / ... Crudelis merito sibi vendicat Esbiörn] The line recalls Meliboeus’ complaints in Verg. ecl. 1.70 f. impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit/ barbarus has segetes, and 9.2 ff. O Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena nostri/ ... ut posessor agelli/ diceret: “haec mea sunt; vetere mi-grate coloni”, which was thought to refer to the soldier that now owned Vergil’s farm.

ignotis aliena remordet in arvis/ gramina] Cf. Verg. ecl. 1.49 f. non insueta gravis temptabunt pabula fetas,/ nec mala vicini pecoris contagia laedent, where Tityrus considers that Meliboeus will be able to remain in his lands.

10–21. In the following lines Tore explains that he has taken to flight. The reasons for this are given in lines 24 ff. He wishes to express how fortunate and wealthy his native district was, using indeed many hyperboles. Kurt Johannesson (1968, pp. 61 f.) asserted that these lines should be understood as referring to the riches of Phrygius’ home town Kalmar. Tore’s description of his former fortunes was however perhaps principally intended to express Phrygius’ need for assistance during the harsh times at hand. It was probably more influenced by the demands of the genre, than to express how Phrygius’ native abode really was, as Johannesson suggested. With the section 1.3.3 Phrygius and the royal family in mind, it is of interest that Kalmar actually had been well supported by John III during his reign, and that the town later would become Sigismund’s last outpost in Sweden. Duke Charles did not take Kalmar by force until the night between 1 and 2 March 1599, while the Kalmar castle resisted even longer, until 12 May the same year (Sylvander 1872, vol. III, 3, pp. 253 ff. and pp. 319 ff.).

10. Exul ago, patrio dimotus limine] Cf. Verg. ecl. 1.3 f. nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva;/ nos patriam fugimus. As regards Exul ago, cf. Ov. epist. 7.115 exul agor cineresque viri patri-amque relinquo, and e.g. the Petrus Lotichius Secundus’ Ecloga II: Exul ago, teneros meditor (quis credat?) amores (1603, p. 188 [Camena]). The combination patrio ... limine occurs in Verg. Aen. 2.620, and e.g. also in an elegy by Nikolaus Reusner (Operum ... pars prima, 1593, p. 13 [Camena]).

11. gurgustia] Here for the first time in this poem we meet a most characteristic feature in Phrygius’ poetry, viz. his affection for obsolete words. Although this word gurgustia was used by ancient authors as Cicero (Pis. 6.13) and Suetonius (Gram. 11), the Neo-Latinists usually found words like these in the editions of Festus and Paulus’ excerpts from Festus, which had been published among others by Joseph Justus Scaliger in 1575. Gurgustia can be found there, as well as in both JPG and BFS.
Clausen has demonstrated that the Theocritean and post-Theocritean herdsmen all live in caves, while in Vergil they live in cabins or huts, as here, and only use caves temporarily (Clausen 1994, p. 58 f.). But Vergil did not use the word *gurgustia*. In *ecl*. 2.29 we find *casa* (just as in line 25 of this poem), and in Calp. *ecl*. 7.42 *mapalia*, and also *casa*. The most frequent word in the Vulgate for hut is *tabernaculum*, e.g. in Lev 23:34 where we read *Quinto decimo die mensis huius septimi erit festum Tabernaculorum septem diebus Domino*. In this verse we also get an example of the importance of the number seven in the biblical context, and surely it is no mere coincidence that Phrygius’ huts also are seven. In line 90 Phrygius also used the word *attegia* for ‘hut’.

12–17. Cf. Verg. *ecl*. 2.21 *mille meae Siculis errant in montibus agnae*, where Corydon boasts about his fortunes (cf. Clausen 1994, p. 70, as regards the relation of this passage to Theocritus 11.34). A classical model for these kinds of comparisons, in order to express a great amount, can also be found in Ov. *Pont*. 4.15.7 ff.:

\[
\begin{align*}
quae numero tot sunt, quot in horto fertilis arvi \\
Punica sub lento cortice grana rubent, \\
Africa quot segetes, quot Tmolia terra racemos, \\
quot Sicyon bacas, quot parit Hybla favos.
\end{align*}
\]

12. *terga boum*] The phrase occurs in Verg. *Aen*. 5.404 f. In this instance in Vergil it refers to the ox-hides into which lead and iron had been sewn and of which the gloves usually worn by Eryx were made. In Phrygius’ text however, the expression should, in accordance with the context, be interpreted as *boves*, a rather awkward *pars pro toto* (cf. Maurach 2006, pp. 129 ff.).

*stabant*] Note that *stabulum*, with which *gurgustium* here is equivalent in sense, designating the dwellings of all kinds of animals, is derived from the verb *sto* (Ernout & Meillet, s.v. *sto*).

12 f. *tenebat/ Quot socias Solomon ... lecti*] In the Vulgate 1 Kgs 11:3 we are told about Solomon (both JPG and BFS have an *a* as the first vowel) that *fueruntque ei uxores quasi reginae septingentae et concubinae trecentae*, excepting the daughter of Pharaoh.

13. *Socias ... lecti*] Cf. the *tori socia*, which designates the woman’s part in a marriage, used e.g. by Ovid (*met*. 8.521, 10.268 and *Pont*. 2.8.29). *Torus* with its metonymical association to marriage is here replaced by *lectus*, since Solomon’s concubines are included.

6.68.5 *hic tibi curarum socius blandumque levamen* (to Castricus about his beloved Eutychos, who had recently died). Likewise Skinnerus mentions John’s III first wife Catherine Jagellonica as: *Regi fuerat requies et dulce levamen* (1585, fol. D2r).

14. *corpora ... ovium*] A parallel to the above mentioned *terga boum* modeled on another expression from Vergil, viz. the *corpora magna boum* in *georg.* 3.369.

15. *Quot genuit Danaus ... gnatas*] Danaus’ daughters, the Danaids, were fifty in number. The expression is proverbial for numerous offspring. Cf. *Cic.* parad. 6.44 *Si, ut aiunt Danao, quinquaginta sint filiae, tot dotes magnam quaerunt pecuniam.*

*fulcimina*] The word is hapax in *Ov.* fast. 6.269.

16 f. The point is that Tore used to own as many kids as a year has days, i.e. 365. The three examples of his wealth are somewhat inconsistent. Even though they are all used in the sense ‘very many’, there is quite a huge difference between saying that he had a thousand oxen and that he had fifty sheep in order to express his riches.

Anyway, what we see here is an obvious example of one of the most popular stylistic devices in Renaissance literature, viz. the hyperbole. It had earlier been suggested, by Quintilian among others, that it should be used with consideration, but by this time the device was used without restraints and strong hyperboles were even recommended (Helander 2004, pp. 45 ff.). As Helander stresses, the common theme of *Überbietung* (cf. Curtius 1948, pp. 169 ff.), viz. that contemporary features surpass the ancient, could to some degree explain this frequent use of hyperboles (Helander 2001, p. 16).

16. *lascivos haedos*] For frisky kids in eclogues, cf. *Verg.* ecl. 2.64 *lasciva capella* and *Calp.* ecl. 5.5 f. *vides ... capellas/ canaque lascivo concidere germina morsu.*

*simis cum matribus*] Instances in ancient literature where *simus* is used about the features of goats are e.g. *Verg.* ecl. 10.7, *Ov.* ars 2.486 and *Plin.* nat. 8.202.

*matribus haedos*] The hexameter ending occurs in *Verg.* ecl. 1.22, and *georg.* 3.398.

18–21. These lines, describing Tore’s former home and *locus amoenus* (observations regarding this topos in ancient poets are accounted for in Curtius 1948, pp. 189 ff.), have, rather surprisingly, been modeled on lines 60–76 of the poem *Moretum* (see Wretö 1977, pp. 22 ff. for a discussion of this poem’s relation to ancient idylls), part of the *Appendix Vergiliana*:

Hortus erat iunctus casulae, quem vimina paucha
et calamo rediviva levi munibat harundo,
exiguus spatio, variis sed fertilis herbis.
nil illi deerat quod pauperis exigit usus;
interdum locuples a paupere plura petebat.
nec sumptus ullius erat, sed recula curae:
si quando vacuum casula pluviaeve tenebant
festave lux, si forte labor cessabat aratri,
horti opus illud erat. varias disponere plantas
norat et occultae committere semina terrae
vicinosque apta circa deducere rivos.
hic holus, hic late fundentes bracchia beta
eecundusque rumex malvaeque inulaque virebant,
hic siser et nomen capiti debentia porra
grataque nobilium requies lactua ciborum,
<spinosi asparagi> crescitque in acumina radix,
et gravis in latum dimissa cucurbita ventrem.

The Appendix Vergiliana had been edited in 1471 and 1517, as well as in
1572, when Joseph Justus Scaliger published an edition of the collection and
gave it the name we now use.

This kind of ἐκφρασίς of gardens has an important literary predecessor
in the description of Alcinous’ garden and palace in the Odyssey 7.84–132.
(cf. Curtius 1948, p. 191). Likewise there are reminiscences in Verg. ecl.
9.39–42 from Theocritus’ description of Polyphemus’ garden in 11.45–49

... / ... / exiguus spatio, variis sed fertilis herbis.


20 f. These lines correspond to lines the 71–76 of Moretum, in which there is
also an enumeration of the vegetables growing in the garden.

20. lymphis] A poetical word, which the Romans for some reason connected
with the Greek νυμφή (Nisbet & Hubbard 1978, p. 60). For a brief summary
of the use of this word in medical history, see Örneholm 2003, pp. 29 and
36.

21. allia ... rapas] Both Kurt Johannesson and Tore Wretö remark that the
food and vegetables mentioned in the poem (also in lines 151–153 below)
are typically Swedish, and that this contributes to the description of the local

meis] The reference is to meum (spignel), the Greek μῆον. It is treated in
Plin. nat. 20.253. (Meum in Italia non nisi a medicis seritur et his admodum
paucis ... ) and Diosc. 1.3. (André 1956, p. 208). In fact the original print
has a circumflex above the e in meis, which has been deleted here in accord-
ance with the editorial principles. That type of accent was sometimes used
to denote a long vowel in Neo-Latin prints (cf. e.g. Berggren 1994, p. 57 ff.);
as is evident from the metre the e is long here.

narsturtia] A kind of very strong smelling cress. Phrygius’ spelling of this
word, usually written nasturcium (or –tium), must be a result of the common
opinion among the ancients that the word originated from the words nas,
naris, and torqueo, mentioned by e.g. Varro and Pliny the elder (cf. OLD, s.v. nasturcium). Cf. also Moretum 85 quaeque trahunt acri voltus nasturtia morsu. Worth noting is that neither JPG nor BFS have Phrygius’ spelling. The word occurs in line 195 of the Threnologia as well.

23. criminis horror[ The ‘horror of a crime’ is ambiguous. Does Tore hint that Ebbe is a criminal himself, or that he is afraid of another person’s crime? Ebbe’s answer in the following line seems closer to the first alternative, as Kurt Johannesson contended (1968, p. 62).

24–33. Cf. Petrarch (1974) ecl. 8.16 ff., where the author, in a shepherd’s guise, explains that he must leave Vaucluse for Italy because of the hardships endured by his cattle.

24. natale solum ... vertere[ The combination natale solum can e.g. be found in Ov. met. 7.52, Stat. Theb. 8.320 and Prud. c. Symm. 2.155. It is also attested in the proverb Natale solum dulce (Walther, 38497). As regards solum vertere for ‘move’, see OLD, s.v. verto, 23.

25. fluibunda ... fortuna[ The combination is e.g. suggested in Melchior Weinrich’s Aerarium poeticum (1677, p. 185 [Camena]). Cf. the comments on distich no. 7 in the work Centuria prima below.

25 f. amorem/ Temnere[ Cf. Verg. ecl. 3.109 f. where a variant reading is quisquis amore / aut temnet dulcis, aut experietur amaros. We have here to do with an ellipse of the subjective accusative me (typical of colloquial speech, cf. K.-S., II, pp. 700 ff., and Maurach 2006, pp. 97 ff.), as well as of an illius, or some similar pronoun, as an objective genitive referring to natale solum.

26 f. ut illos/ Occatis Parcae gliscam postponere fuis[ A difficult clause, in which both the words occo and glisco are very rare (cf. section 1.6.4 above). The usual signification of occo is ‘to harrow’ (cf. Fest. p.181.M. Occare et occator ab occaedendo dictum, quod grandes terrae caedat globos), but in this line we must interpret it as equivalent to seco, a reading that finds support in medieval uses of the word. Cf. Mythogr. 2.14 Clotho colum baiulat, Lachesis trahit, Atropos occat (see Du Cange, s.v. occo, 2, and TLL, s.v. occo, 2). Regarding the word glisco in this sense, i.e. ‘ardently long for’, see TLL, s.v. glisco, II, where it is claimed that the interpretation of the word in Stat. Theb. 12.639 as cum furore cupere is made non recte. JPG and L&S however support it. Fusus properly speaking means ‘spindle’, but here certainly refers to the thread of life.

The motif of the Fates spinning the threads that determine the life of men is one of the most frequent ones in Neo-Latin poetry. In occasional verses generally, but in the epicedia in particular, one can find numerous uses (cf. e.g. Ström 1994, pp. 80 f.). In the Threnologia dramatica the section from line 200 and onwards is dedicated to the motif of the Fates as symbols of man’s inevitable fate, but it also occurs in the tumuli.

28–40. Kurt Johannesson (1968, p. 62) suggested that these lines should be interpreted as allusions to actions of wars, and that these simple herdsmen,
who could not grasp political affairs, could merely interpret what they experienced as portents. We cannot however take for granted that Kalmar was the town where wars in that case took place, because of the misunderstanding as regards the time when Birgitta died and when the poem was written. There was no actual fighting around Kalmar in the spring of 1597, but there had been severe battles when the eclogue was published in 1599, so references to fighting there must imply that Phrygius had revised the poem *post eventum* before the printing in 1599 (Sylvander 1872, vol. III, 3, pp. 258 ff., Olsson 1961, p. 357 and Lilja 1983, p. 28). In any case, his information on the exact date of Birgitta’s death, Phrygius clearly indicates when the scene of the eclogue is meant to take place.

As asserted by Minna Skafte-Jensen (2004, pp. 63 f.) while discussing the eclogues of the Danish poet Erasmus Laetus, closeness to nature and nature’s capacity of conveying messages and portents are characteristics of the genre. What is referred to as portents in this poem should thus be understood merely as such, and not as descriptions of actual wars. Besides the general threat of a troublesome future, these could have alluded to circumstances in Kalmar, since the town at this time was threatened by Duke Charles, and a war was imminent. The conflict ended at the beginning of June 1597, when Duke Charles’ troops had surrounded the town, planning to take it by force, and the governor of Kalmar, Karl Gustafsson Stenbock, who had been appointed by King Sigismund, surrendered without battle. The council of Kalmar had for a long time maintained its loyalty to King Sigismund, and representatives of Kalmar and Småland did not appear at the *Riksdag* of Arboga in February 1597, which had been summoned by Duke Charles. Even afterwards, the citizens of Kalmar refused to recognize either the decisions taken in Arboga or Duke Charles’ authority, hence the duke’s aggressive stance against the town. As mentioned in the commentary on lines 10–21 above, there were wars in Kalmar in 1599. The cause was that King Sigismund had returned to Sweden in 1598 and won the town back. As a matter of fact, when Sigismund arrived in Sweden he first sailed to Kalmar, where he arrived on the 1 August 1598. The men loyal to Duke Charles surrendered almost immediately. Thus the duke had to fight to take the town again in 1599 (Sylvander 1872, vol. III, 3, pp. 258 ff. and Lilja 1983, p. 28).

Certainly people’s fear of the developments was not limited to Kalmar. For instance, in Daniel Hjortvipa’s *Epitaphium in Memoriam ... Nicolai Philippi* (1597) the present situation in Sweden is described: *Scilicet haud vides, patriae cogitesve tumultum?/ Praelia devastant Regiones undique!/ Tanta,/ Heu dolor, intestina lues, discordia crevit!/ Inde fames cunctis rigido Mavorte coorta est!*

The final decades of the 16th century, even apart from the struggle for royal power, were also a period marked by great uneasiness, eschatological speculations and the conviction that the final judgement was impending, accompanied by a general belief in portents (see further Sandblad 1942,
Phrygius’ own interest in astrology and prophecies were mentioned above, and there are literary testimonies from this very period about visions portending civil war and disaster. One such, from a context very close to Phrygius, is related by Johannes Messenius in his *S kondia Illustrata* (vol. I, part. 8, p. 50). It tells of two peasants who, in the region of Stängebro, saw Swedish and Polish armies in the clouds inflicting terrible slaughter. Afterwards they went to the town of Linköping in order to report their vision to the bishop, viz. to Petrus Benedicti, Birgitta’s father.

Beyond doubt it was reports like these that influenced the lines of our eclogue. We can also note the several similarities between this story and Phrygius’ poem.

As a matter of fact the reference made by Tore to bad harvests and harsh times obviously had its origins in real conditions. In Joen Petri Klint’s manuscript concerning portents, cited in 1.3.3 above, there is a section with the heading *Om en swår hunger och Dyrtidh wtij Swerige anno C 97 och 98* (‘About a period of severe hunger and escalating prices in Sweden in the years 97 and 98 [i.e. 1597 and 1598]’). Klint describes there a great famine and how many children and old people died. One could see dead bodies lying everywhere, in stables and barns, on snowdrifts and on the ground. Klint describes there a great famine and how many children and old people died. One could see dead bodies lying everywhere, in stables and barns, on snowdrifts and on the ground. We are told in a letter dated 9 April 1597 from the physician Henric Høyer in Norway to Carlolus Clusius in Leiden that the weather in Bergen at that moment was extremely cold and windy (*nocturno frigore et flatibus borealis*), causing his crocuses to delay and finally perish. In another letter dated 17 August 1597 Høyer mentioned that he interpreted the strange weather

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conditions that year as portents threatening all mankind (University Library of Leiden, Vulc. 101).

As a conclusion it could be stated that these lines, together with the lines 72–85, might especially express fears of a war in Kalmar and of Duke Charles’ advancing power and, in a wider sense, fears of large-scale civil war or even the end of the world.

28. Ceres] The goddess of grain, cf. e.g. Calp. ecl. 4.122 f. Ille dat, ut pri-
mas Cerei dare cultor aristas/ Possit.

29. alma Pales] The expression is used by Ovid in fast. 4.722 and 723. Pales was the goddess of flocks and herds, illustrated by e.g. Calp. ecl. 5.24 f. Sed non ante greges in pascua mitte reclusos,/ Quam fuerit placata Pales. Cf. especially Verg. ecl. 5.35 ipsa Pales agros atque ipse reliquit Apollo, where Pales’ abandoning the fields is a sign of how nature grieves for the death of Daphnis.

armenta per herbas] A hexameter ending in Verg. georg. 3.162 and Ov. met. 4.635.

30. nassas] A nassa is a fishing-trap made of wickerwork. Phrygius again uses an unusual word, which Festus explains in p.196.M: Nassa est piscato-
ria vasis genus, quo cum intravit piscis, exire non potest.

31. Plutus] The god of riches, the Greek Πλοῦτος, mentioned by Hesiod in Theog. 969–974. In ancient Latin literature he occurs in Phaedr. 4.5.12 Ven-
tente Pluto, qui Fortunae est fìlius.

32. Satyri] The Satyrs were wood-deities, mentioned e.g. in Verg. ecl. 5.73 and Calp. ecl. 2.12 f. Cf. Ov. met. 1.692 ff. Non semel et Satyros eluserat illa sequentes/ et quoscumque deos umbrosaque silva feraxque/ rus habet.

pictae ... volucres] The combination occurs also in Verg. Aen. 4.525 and georg. 3.243.

33. Nec erat qui falleret otia maesto] Cf. Mantuan’s first eclogue: nulla quies mihi dulcis erat (Spagnoli 1568, p. 8). This is said by a man in love to whom nature seems dead. In Erasmus Laetus’ eclogues the theme of herdsmen beguiling (fallere) time with sweet songs recurs repeatedly. See his first eclogue: Vates/ Saepe quidem tristes, musarum laudibus horas/ fallit (1560, fol. A3r), his second: Versus, longa quibus falluntur tempora, cum se/ Prata per effundunt pecudes and Omnia cantando qui tempora fallis (1560, fol. B2v), his third: Alternis igitur ... / Tempora fallamus (1560, fol. B8r), his fifth: Mens mihi certa fuit ... / ... tecum ludentes versibus horas/ fallere (1560, fol. D4r), and his seventh: Myrmix/ ... qui fallere tempora versu/ norat (1560, fol. H7r).

34. gurgite vultus] A hexameter ending in Catull. 64.14 and Claud. carm.min. 22.57.

34 f. Sol quum sub gurgite vultus/ Abdidit] Could be influenced by de-
scriptions of sunrise and sunset, as Verg. Aen. 12.114 f. cum primum alto se gurgite tollunt/ Solis equi, and Ov. met. 15.30 candidus Oceano nitidum caput abdiderat Sol.
35. *vesper processit Olympo* | Cf. Verg. *ecl.* 6.86 *invito processit Vesper Olympo*. The verse ending *Vesper Olympo* occurs also in *Aen.* 1.374 and 8.280, as well as in Catull. 62.1 and Sil. 16.38.

37. *magnum per inane* | The phrase occurs five times in Lucretius (1.1018, 1.1103, 2.65, 2.105 and 2.109), and once in Vergil (*ecl.* 6.31).

38. *per inane volantem* | The phrase occurs in Prud. *cath.* 10.146.

39. *Vidimus* | Zeugma (cf. Maurach 2006, pp. 95 ff.). This predicate is used for both preceding clauses. The expression *vidimus mugire* could however have been inspired by instances like Verg. *Aen.* 4.490 f. *mugire videbis/ sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos*, where a zeugma of a similar kind can be found.

Boreae | Here designating the god of the North wind, as in e.g. Verg. *georg.* 1.93 *Boreae penetrabile frigus*. Cf. also below.

The penultima of *Boreae* is here short. This is contrary to the most common classical usage. In Neo-Latin both the short and the long penultima can be found as well (Helander 2004, pp. 244 f.).

sese properavit | The verb *propero* as transitive is mainly poetical, but it also occurs in post-classical prose (cf. K.-St., I, pp. 95 f. and *TLL*, s.v. pro persecution, II, B, 3).

Arcton | The Greek ἄρκτος, ‘bear’. It often refers to the constellation the *Ursus maior*, but here it means ‘Nordic districts’. Cf. Ov. *met.* 13.726 f. *arctos/ ... spectat boreamque Peloros*. Swedish poets would be full of such references to their country emphasizing that it is situated in the North. Words used for describing Sweden are e.g. *Arctous, Aquilonaris, Boreus, Septentrionalis* and *Hyperboreus*. (Helander 2004, pp. 236 f. and 256). It has also been pointed out that this, especially later during the Carolian era, should be understood in connection to the strong belief in Sweden’s glorious past, as it had been portrayed by among others Johannes Magnus (Helander, H. & Hermelin, I. 1983–1984, pp. 53 f.).

40. *Phaebum temone coruscum* | Phoebus is referred to here, of course, in his capacity as sun-god. Literally the word *temo* signifies the yoke-beam of a chariot. Accordingly we have to do with a *pars pro toto* construction. Cf. line 25 of the *Threnologia* below: *Lucifluus rutilo nec sol temone coruscat*. Helios every day traversed the heavenly vault in a chariot of fire drawn by four horses. This is often referred to in literature, as in Lucr. 5.397, Ov. *met.* 2.48 f. and Stat. *Theb.* 3.407 f. Cf. also the comments on line 25 of the *Threnologia* as regards the verb *corusco*.

41. Admiranda refers | Cf. Calp. *ecl.* 1.31 *mira refers*, with the following lines (31 ff.): *sed rumpe moras oculoque sequaci/ quamprimum nobis divinum perlege carmen./ “qui iuga, qui silvas tueor, satus aethere Faunus,/ haec populis ventura cano”*. Phrygious’ lines 41–44 resemble this passage from Calpurnius Siculus’ first eclogue in several aspects. Corydon there asks Ornitus to read the prophetic words of Faunus inscribed on the bark of a beech tree, but the prophesy speaks of a Golden age that will be reborn (line
Thus, it is positive in tone, contrary to the interpretation of the portents here. The Calpurnian phrase *mira referes* seems to have been widely used in Neo-Latin. It occurs e.g. already in Boccaccio’s *ecl. 14.197* (Perosa & Sparrow, p. 16), as well as in Christoph Stummel’s *Studentes, comoedia de Vita Studiosorum* (1550, fol. B8v [Camena]), and in Johann Pincier’s *Aenigma iocosum Oedipus et Davus* by (Gruterus 1612, vol. 5, p. 82 [Camena]).

**42–44.** In these lines we are explicitly told how the simple herdsman Tore interprets the portents. He believes that the end is near, and a wolf (the devil?, Duke Charles?), or some soldier will destroy his home. We should compare these sinister words to Phrygius’ verses in the poem he wrote for Laurentius Paulinus Gothus’ *Cometoscoopia* (1613). Comets bring a message to us about the wrath of God. We should never think that they are not portents and warnings to us: *Quum facit ex alto diros fulgore Comoetas/ Culmine, vel reliquas emicuisse faces;/ Signa Deus terris altissimus exhibet irae,/ Et de venturis vult meminisse malis./ Haec, qui non fidei dotati munere, quique/ sunt in sincera relligione rudes,/ Non solide excutiunt; casu, temereque vagari/ Credunt, nec strictis legibus ista regi.*

**42. luis praenuncia signa futura**] Despite the grammatical structure in this sentence we must understand *futura* as referring to *luis*. Either we have to do with a misprint, the correct reading in that case being *futurae*, or an example of *enallage*, i.e. the expected genitive adjective (*futurae*) is moved to the governing case (*signa futura*), cf. Sz. pp. 159 f., and Maurach 2006, pp. 37ff.

**44. lupus ... vel miles atrociar ipso**] Cf. Mantuan’s third eclogue: *atque lupus milesque lupo furacior omni* (Spagnoli 1568, p. 40). In this eclogue by Mantuan shepherds interpret harsh weather as caused by human sins.

**45 ff.** Ebbe’s attempt to interpret the portents, later refuted by Tore, is based on the frequent theme of ‘mourning nature’ in eclogues, especially in pastoral dirges. He thus assumed that Birgitta’s death caused this harshness of nature because of its sorrow (cf. Curtius 1948, pp. 99 ff., Grant 1965, pp. 306 ff., Stracke 1981, p. 25 and pp. 50 ff., and Helander 2004, pp. 524 ff.). The main source of this theme in eclogues is Vergil’s fifth eclogue in which animals (24–28) and nature (35–39) mourn the death of Daphnis. Stracke remarked that in the eclogues from the Neo-Latin period, whom she has studied, generally: *Die Parallele zwischen menschlichen Regungen und Vorgängen in der Natur wird vor allem in Vergleichen mit Verhaltensweisen aus der Tierwelt fortgeführt* (Stracke 1981, p. 102.).

**45. te ... tenet ... audire Cupido**] This kind of construction with infinitive instead of genitive of the gerund, occuring as early as Ennius, can be found primarily in the poets and in late ancient Latin (K.-St., I, pp. 743 f. and *TLL*, s.v. *cupido*, 1, c).

*Cupido*] The god of love and son of Venus. Here his name is used metonymically for ‘desire’, although we must be aware that the type-setter perhaps was to blame for the spelling of the word with a capital. In classical
Latin *Cupido* is regarded as carnal lust personified, while *cupido* signifies desire in a broader sense (cf. *OLD*, s.v. *cupido* and *Cupido*).

46. (sicut reor esse)] The phrase occurs in Ov. *Pont.* 4.5.13. Vergil used the parenthesis in several instances of his eclogues too. Clausen has stressed the tone of colloquiality produced by the use of them, in which Vergil had imitated Callimachus. (Clausen 1994, p. 45.). Cf. section 1.6.5 above.

47. hesterna … luce] The combination found also in e.g. Ov. *Am.* 2.2.3, Mart. 1.68.5 and 4.15.1.

48 f. These lines, just as in 89 f., point towards what happens in lines 146 ff. when Ebbe asks Tore to visit his home for supper.


49. **tenuem formabimus orsum**] Cf. *Culex 2 ut araneoli tenuem formavimus orsum*.

50. **Altera lux … post idus … Aprilis**] Since we are told in the *Eteostichon* following this poem that Birgitta died *Octo bIs AprilIS*, we can assume that Phrygius wrongly used the *idus* of April for the 15th day of that month, and not the 13th. As regards the use of April as a noun see section 1.6.3 above.

**saevi … Aprilis**] April’s fierceness and capriciousness is obvious to everyone living in the Nordic countries and has become proverbial. Perhaps some lines from one of the Norwegian poet Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson’s poems express this most beautifully: *Jeg vælger mig april,/ fordi den stormer, fejer,/ fordi den smiler, smelter,/ fordi den øvner ejer,/ fordi den kræfter vælter, —/ i den blir somren til!* Cf. however also T.S. Eliot’s poem *The waste land*, first published in 1922: *April is the cruellest month, breeding/ Lilacs out of the dead land, mixing/Memory and desire, stirring/ Dull roots with spring rain*.

51 f. **Obscurae nequedum praemissa crepuscula nocti/ Illius obtinuere locum**] The sense must be that ‘it had not yet begun getting bright’, but that requires taking *nequedum* with *obtinuere*. The imagery is perhaps military, *praemittere* then having the sense ‘send on ahead as vanguard’, cf. e.g. Caes. *Gall.* 4.11.2 petebant uti ad eos equites, qui agmen antecessissent, praemitteret eosque pugna prohiberet.

The combination *obscurae nocti* also occurs e.g. in Verg. *Aen.* 2.420, Tib. 1.2.24 and Stat. *silv.* 1.6.90, while the verse ending *crepuscula noctem* occurs in Ov. *met.* 1.219 and *fast.* 5.163.

52 ff. **cum … / … / … ferebat Amundus**] We have to do with a rare variant of the *cum inversum*. The main clause has here the perfect and the *cum* clause the imperfect. We would have expected the opposite. Cf. K.-St., II, pp. 338 ff.

52 f. **ad urbem/ Lincopicam**] More geographical information. Linköping was mentioned as an episcopal see already in the 12th century. The building of its cathedral was started the same century, and a castle for the bishops
during the next. This was a time of increasing importance for the city, but this development was to some extent diminished because of the Reformation, when the Church lost much of its power (see further Kraft & Lindberg 1946, II, for information on Linköping in these times).

Trips from the countryside to town are common in eclogues, already occurring in Theocritus’ 7th idyll. Cf. also Verg ecl. 1.20 f. and 9.1.

54. Triticeos faetus] The combination occurs in Ov. fast. 1.693.

smegma] BFS describes the word as omne illud dicitur, quod purgat et abstergit. In JGP it is also specified as ‘soap’, and that must be what Phrygius intended. It is the Greek ἁμημα, with the same signification. As a possibly shocked reader might be aware of, the word does in contemporary medical terminology refer to something quite different, viz. “the secretion of sebaceous glands, [ … ] found chiefly beneath the prepuce” (Dorland’s Illustrated Medical Dictionary, s.v. smegma).

55 ff. Actually this way of introducing the theme of Birgitta’s death in the poem, viz. by letting the characters who enter into the town hear the church bells and ask why they are tolling, occurs in three of the funeral poems from 1628 edited in Ström (1994) as well. See p. 177, where an advena asks an incola in a poetic dialogue: Quid campanarum clamor in aure sonat? See also p. 180: Qui sit quod nullos hic pectinis audio bombos,/ pendula sed validis turribus aera sonant? and p. 211: cur campana novem consonat icta sonos?

55. territremis … boatibus] The territremus is perhaps a Neo-Latin neologism. The original source of this composite word could have been the Homeric ἐννοσίγαιος, ‘earth-shaker’ (e.g. Il. 13.43). See section 1.6.4 above. The combination also occurs in one of Johann Michael Moscherosch’s poems (1665, p. 73 [Camena]).

56. aera] The print followed for this edition has aëra, a mistake (cf. JPG and BFS s.v. diaeresis) that would make the line metrically incorrect, and which perhaps was due to the compositor. Thus it has here been altered to aera.

subolfaciens] Literally subolfacio would mean ‘smell’ or ‘scent’. It was used in that sense in Petron. 45.10, where it is a hapax. Here it is used quite freely.

grunnire] This rare word is unusual in this sense, i.e. not referring to the noise of animals. JPG for instance renders it with kackla/ grymta (‘cackle’/ ‘grunt’). See above section 1.6.4.

58. mala rubentia] This phrase occurs in Copa, line 19.

59. calido … sumine] The combination also occurs in Pers. 1.53. But in Phrygius’ text sumen (‘udder’) obviously must mean ‘lard’ and refers to the old Swedish custom of using lard instead of butter with some kinds of bread. Cf. BFS (s.v. Sumen, 2), which says: Plinio sumen idem videtur esse quod abdomen, a quo et sumen dici putat Schmer, lib. VIII. cap. II.
spiras] The recipe for ancient spira is given in Cato Agr. 77. JPG translates it with bröd, kringla (‘bread, twist-bun’), and BFS with crustulum, hence the translation.

60 f. Here for the first time we meet the subject and the purpose indicated in the title of the poem, viz. the praising of Petrus Benedicti’s recently deceased daughter Birgitta. For another example of panegyrics in eclogues see Nemesianus’ first eclogue (see also Grant 1965, pp. 331 ff. and Stracke 1981, pp. 22 ff.). This kind of (in most cases) asyndetic conglomeration of praising expressions, called hypercharacterization or congeries (see section 1.6.5 above), occurs in several instances in Phrygius’ poetry. See lines 122–125 and 128–131 of the present poem. See also his Memoriam hanc funereal ... in Nicolaus Grubb’s Speculum Vitae Humanae (1622), line 5: Rara fides, morum probitas, Candorque vetustus, and also his Epitaphium in the Memoriae reverendi et Clarissimi Viri, line 17–20: Vir bonus, eximius, cordatus, sobrius, aequus,/ Vir gravitate pius, vir pietate gravis,/ Vir probus, assiduos, verax, industrius, arte/ Clarus amans pacis, consilisque celer.

Castrén contended that during the Renaissance this feature was especially frequent in funeral poetry (Castrén 1907, pp. 173 ff.).

60. Virginei ... pudoris] The combination also occurs in Tib. 1.4.14. In Henricus Mollerus’ Epithalamion (1559) the words are used in the same positions and with the same inflection on Gustav Vasa’s daughter Catharine: Virginei Catharina decus sublime pudoris (fol. B1r).

61. Pastorum fautrix, inopum Spes] Cf. e.g. Erasmus Laetus’ 7th eclogue, in which Faustus represents the Danish King Frederick II: Utque sinu genitrix sobolem ... / ... fovet, geminataque viscera gestat:/ Pastores alio non pectore Faustus et arva/ Sospitet (fol. H8v), as well as a later pastoral dirge by Daniel Georg Morhof: Maxima post Daphnin cura et gregis unica nostri/ Spes et Pastorum tutela decusque suorum (1697, p. 492 [Camena]).

Surely Pastorum fautrix is meant to refer both to Birgitta as giving aid to herdsmen, in order to fit into the genre, and to Birgitta as a benefactor of clergymen, often called pastores as well. This Christian imagery, comparing the clergy to shepherds and the congregation to sheep, has ancient roots (sc. Jesus in John 10:11 and 14 called himself the good shepherd who would give his life for the sheep), and this kind of metaphorical language was one reason why the eclogue became so popular among Christian authors (Kajanto 1993 [2], p. 47, and Skafte-Jensen 2004, p. 35).

The phrase inopum Spes embraces allusions to the biblical hope of justice and alleviation through God or a Messiah (e.g. Ps 11:6, 71:13, 73:21, and Isa 9:4), and it resembles several expressions used in Christian hymns and poetry.

62. pontificis] The use of pontifex for ‘bishop’ was widely established already during the Middle Ages (cf. e.g. Du Cange, s.v. pontifex).

62 f. nuper vitalia lumina tristi/ morte resignavit] Cf. Verg. Aen. 4.244 (Mercurius) ... dat somnos adimitque et lumina morte resignat. Phrygius’
allusion to this Vergilian expression seems at first remarkable. Either he has completely misunderstood what the word *resignare* really means in his Vergilian model, and just wants to say that she has ‘closed her eyes through death’, or he assumes that Birgitta’s eyes have been opened again in her new life in paradise, thus following his Vergilian model more closely. One could also assume that he had been influenced by the meaning of the word during the Middle Ages, when *resignare* could signify ‘giving up, surrender’ (cf. Latham 1965, and *LLNMA*, s.v. *resigno*, as well as Hoven). JPG however solves the problem. One of the meanings attested there is *tilsluta* and *igenlåta* (‘close’) with a reference to the Vergilian passage above, which must have been what Phrygius wanted to express as well.

63–65. The lines tell us that Birgitta’s funeral is about to take place, and have echoes from the ceremonial quotation of Gen 3:19: *revertaris in terram de qua sumptus es: quia pulvis es et in pulverem revert eris.*

63. *pars terrea* I.e. Birgitta’s mortal remains. Cf. e.g. from an epitaph on Heinrich Julius Scheurl: *Scheurlei iacet hic pars terrea, coelica coelum/ Concessit* (in Witte 1677–1679, vol. 2, p. 109 [Camena]). See also below.

64. *ornamento* The *versus spondiacus* gives the word strong emphasis.

65. *Horalis prima dum linea stringitur umbra* This line must refer to a sundial. The *horalis linea* is a line showing what time it is (cf. *TLL*, s.v. *horalis*), and the shadow falling on it from the sundial’s indicator thus displays the time.

66–71. The setting of this passage is a mixture of the Garden of Eden in Genesis and Christian life in heaven. During the Renaissance pastoral poetry was often associated with the initial innocent and ideal world in terms of the myth of the Golden age, often modeled on Verg. *ecl.* 4, but sometimes also of life in paradise, even though themes from the Old Testament are not very common generally in Neo-Latin eclogues (cf. Grant 1965, p. 273). In fact it was commonly believed that pastorals were the earliest kind of poetry. This view was, among others, put forward by both Servius and Scaliger (Nichols 1969, pp. 99 ff.). The frequency of eclogues containing Christian subjects is certainly also due to the importance of the motif of the shepherd in the bible, as well as to the story of Christ’s birth, which was easily adapted to a pastoral setting (see the comments on line 61 above. Cf. Grant 1965, pp. 258 ff. and Levin 1969, pp. 6 ff.).

66. *Enthea pars superum colit, unde recesserat, hortum* Cf. the *tumulus* by Phrygius for Duke John in *Serenissimo Celsissimoque Principi* in the *Ähraskylålige Lijktienst* (1618): *Ad superos animus, fluxerit unde, redit.* As regards the notion of the spiritual part of a dead man returning to heaven, cf. also the first line in Phrygius’ short poem *Idem eidem* in the *Memoria Reverendi et Clarissimi Viri* print (1608): *Salve chare socer, dulcis pars addita coelo.*
The word *entheus* among Christian authors usually signifies ‘divine’ or ‘holy’ (cf. *TLL*, s.v. *entheus*, 1, and *JPG*). Note that the opposition *terrea* (line 63) – *enthea* reappears in other words below, in *terrenum* (line 108) – *aetherum* (line 112). The phrase in this sense occurs in other Neo-Latin authors as well, e.g. in an epitaph by Matthaeus Zuber: *Non perit in totum, qui terrae deserit orbem:/ Enthea pars nutu migrat in astra Dei* (1599, fol. B2r [Camena]). Cf. however e.g. also the lines of an emblem in Reusner (1581), p. 19: *Mens coelo, corpus terrae par esse videtur:/ Partibus his constat mundus uterque suis./ Illa quidem aetherea est: hoc est terrestre.*

**superum ... hortum** An allusion to the Elysian Fields and the Christian paradise. See further the comments on line 2 of the first *tumulus* below.

67. **primaevus Adam** The combination also occurs in August Buchner: *Primaevi Adami ne periret/ Penitus propago* (1694, p. 636 [Camena]) As regards *primaevus* in this sense, ‘in the beginning of time’, cf. *TLL*, I, B, 2.

68. **viscato faedaverat ora cibatu** The story of *lapsus Adami* is told in Genesis 3. The *viscatus cibatus* refers to the forbidden fruit.

69–71. **Sociae** obviously refers to Eve, who is described as a forerunner of civilization, being the first to milk and to make cheese.

70. **f. turgida ... / Ubera** The combination occurs e.g. in one of Vincentius Opsopoeus’ poems (1578, fol. O6v [Camena]).

71. **haedini spissare coagula lactis** The hexameter ending *coagula lacte* occurs in Tib. 2.3.14b and Ov. *fast*.4.545. In Vergil’s first eclogue we find another expression for the making of cheese, in line 34 *pinguis ... premeretur caseus*, and in line 81 *pressi copia lactis*.

72. **Jäppe** The line is difficult. The most probable solution would however be, especially when taking the next instance of Jäppe’s appearance (line 81) into consideration, to assume that Tore is referring here to what Jäppe has told him. Thus it is necessary to understand an elliptical *inquit*, or some similar verb, as the predicate to Jäppe. Cf. section 1.6.3 above.

**Tellus ... alma** The combination can be found in Ov. *met*. 2.272.

73–77. Tore does not approve of Ebbe’s suggestion and repeats what he said in lines 28–40 above, where almost the same enumeration is made.

73. **Faecundis faecunda ... agris** Once again an example of the *polyptoton*. The combination *fecundis agris* occurs in Claud. 3.190.

74. **Sacra ... Pales** The combination is suggested in Melchior Weinrich’s *Aerarium Poeticum* (1677, p. 192 [Camena]).


temsit] The word is according to L&S “poet. and very rare” in this sense (cf. Krebs & Schmalz)

fumantia liba] The combination also occurs in Hor. sat. 2.7.102. The recipe for ancient liba, cakes usually used at offerings, is given in Cato Agr. 75.

78. Desine meque tuis obtundere teque querelis] An allusion to Verg. Aen. 4.360 desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis, uttered by Aeneas at the highly dramatic moment when Dido accused him of trying to set sail in secret towards his predestined lands. The line occurs, with slight differences, twice more in what follows, in the lines 83 and 87 of this poem. In the last instance the verb is incendere, as in the Vergilian model.

These kinds of burdens are frequently used in eclogues (see Helander 1995, pp. 33 f. and especially Grant 1965, for examples of this feature in Neo-Latin poets), the main model being Vergil’s Eclogue 8, where the phrase incipe Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus, is repeated nine times in Damon’s song, and finishes with desine Maenalios, iam desine, tibia, versus. After that the refrain ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnis is repeated nine times in Alphesiboeus’ song, and finishes with parcite, ab urbe venit, iam parcite carmina, Daphnis. Vergil, of course, imitated Theocritus in this respect.

79–82. Notice in these four lines the very strong predominance of spondees. Only two dactyls occur, the ‘obligatory’ ones in the fifth foot of each line excepted. The rest are spondees. Phrygius’ intention here seems evident. He wants to add solemnity to lines containing a very ominous message.

81. lachrimis ... obortis] This very common combination occurs e.g. four times in Vergil, at Aen. 3.492, 4.30, 6.867, and 11.41. The position in the verse is in all instances the same as in Phrygius’ line. Ovid used it no less than 11 times.

82. Cf. the commentary on lines 28–40. Örjan’s interpretation of the portents supports what Tore says in lines 43–44.

84 f. Vel prius exoptem tellus mihi faeta dehiscat/ Quam ...] Cf. Verg. Aen. 4.24 ff. sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat/ ... / ... / ante, pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo, where Dido pledges herself to the memory of Syncaeus. The first part of the quotation from Vergil became proverbial. Erasmus discusses it in the Adagia, p. 649. Later Johann Bocer (1525[?]–1565) used it: Iam nunc mihi terra dehiscat (Mundt 1999, p. 30).

Furthermore, the combination tellus feta is suggested in Melchior Weinrich’s Aerarium poeticum (1677, p. 193 [Camena]).

85. Gothicis obtingere talia terris] The phrase explicitly shows that Tore’s fear refers to the situation in all of Sweden.

86 ff. In this line as well as in part of what follows, we are given some information that could help to identify Ebbe, if we wish to abandon the idea that Phrygius is concealed behind both Ebbe and Tore yet still interpret him allegorically. Here he calls himself magister. In line 88 we are told the he is
the elder, while Tore is young. In line 92 we read that Ebbe was on his way to attend Birgitta’s funeral. Of course, it is dangerous to try to establish the real model of Ebbe through such vague information. The word *magister* is also used several times in both Vergil and Calpurnius Siculus in the sense of ‘herdsman’, and the similar phrase *insultare magistro* occurs in an eclogue by Euricius Cordus (see below). The sense of ‘chief herdsman’ is also attested in ancient Latin (*OLD*, s.v. *magister*, 6, b). The main reason for avoiding those readings is certainly the expression *ogganire magistro*, which, it seems, would be rather pointless if referring to the discussion of two shepherds in reality. *Magister* in the sense of herdsman is neither attested in JPG nor BFS.

The identification suggested here would probably be even less convincing if we had not had access to the poems following the eclogue in the same print. There we can see that Phrygius was acquainted with the headmaster of the school of Linköping by this time, Laurentius Birgeri (for information on him see the remarks on the title of the two *tumuli* below), and he fits well into the description of Ebbe. Phrygius may have had him as a teacher (*magister*), if he ever studied in Linköping. We do know that Laurentius Birgeri had earned a master’s degree, and therefore could rightly be called *magister*. He was about a generation older than Phrygius, and earned his master’s degree in 1585. He was Birgitta’s relative, being married to her sister Anna, which could explain his intention to attend the funeral. Besides this, Laurentius Birgeri lived in Linköping at this time, while Phrygius (Tore) is referred to as a stranger. It is not impossible that Phrygius enjoyed Laurentius’ hospitality while staying in Linköping, especially if he ever studied under him. As we know, Phrygius would later marry another of Birgitta’s sisters, thus becoming connected to Laurentius. If Ebbe is to be interpreted as Laurentius Birgeri, this may also to some extent explain why the *tumuli* on his wife were published in the same print as the eclogue, in addition to the fact that all the poems concern daughters of Petrus Benedicti to whom the entire print was dedicated. The presence of these *tumuli* may then also be a clue as to the correct interpretation of the eclogue, just as the case is with the *eteostichon*. In any case the suggestion remains a conjecture (perhaps too a rash one).


87. As we saw in the comments on line 78 above, this is close to Verg. *Aen.* 4.360 *desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis*, but Phrygius’ variant of it also occurs, actually with exactly the same words, in a poem in the print *Propemptica ... Martino Nigrino Valdenburgensi* (1591). Since one of Petrus Benedicti’s sons, Petrus Petrejus, also contributed a poem to that print, it seems reasonable to assume that Phrygius had read it.
88–90. The lines are modelled on Verg. *ecl.* 5.4–6 *Tu maior; tibi me est aequum parere, Menalca,/ siue sub incertas Zephyris motantisbus umbras/ siue antro potius succedimus.* Note the changes made by Phrygius. The word *senior* stresses Ebbe’s greater age, even though that was also Vergil’s intention (cf. Clausen 1994, p. 155, as regards the respect for seniority).

90. *attegias* A most unusual word, perhaps of Gallic origin, which became more common in Neo-Latin (cf. section 1.6.4 above). In ancient times it was only found in *Iuv.* 14.196, and *CIL* 13.6054. (Ernout & Meillet, and Walde 1938). It was adopted in Byzantine Greek as ἀτέγεια (Sophocles 1914).

91–145. This section develops the actual subject of the poem, the death of Birgitta. As Kurt Johannesson maintains, the compound eclogue (e.g. a pastoral dirge) often abandons the pastoral setting when the poem starts to deal with its main concern, which in our case is to praise Birgitta and her parents (Johannesson 1962, p. 25).

A neutral narrator appears for the first time in line 92 with the short *ipse sub haec*. That is followed by a long break in the dialogue in lines 93–134, where this narrator relates how Ebbe and Tore arrive at the cathedral and listen to the clergyman’s sermon.

92. *Ibimus ... spectare* Final infinitives were unusual in older Latin, but common from the Augustan poets and onwards, especially after verbs of motion and in poetry (K.-St., I, pp. 680 ff.).

*ipse sub haec* In this elliptical expression we must understand an *inquit*, or some similar verb, just as is the case at the beginning of the line in Verg. *Aen.* 5.394 *ille sub haec* (also in Stat. *Theb.* 3.516, 11.298 and Sil. 13.772.

93. *Vix tandem sacram se* As stated in section 1.7.1 above, alterations of the text written in different hands have been made in three of the copies examined (UUB, LSB and KB), these change these words to *Se tandem sacram*. According to Collijn, there are four copies of the *Ecloga prima* print in Swedish libraries (Collijn 1500, vol. 3, pp. 311 f.). However, the one at LU contains no alterations, which excludes the possibility that the corrections were made already by the printer. In this edition they are ignored as being metrically impossible. It seems most unlikely that Phrygius himself intended the alterations to be made.

*Vix* The explanation as to why it was difficult to move at this time is given in line 89, where it is said that *pluviis regnantibus* and that they should hasten in order to take shelter from the rain.

*sacram ... aedem* The expression probably refers to the Cathedral of Linköping (cf. the lines below). The word *aedes* in ancient Latin often refers to a temple, e.g. Ovid has *aede sacra* in *met.* 14.315 and 316. The word was sometimes used for churches during the Middle Ages (cf. *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jh.*, s.v. *aedes*, I, B, 1), and kept that nuance also in Neo-Latin (cf. BFS).

94 f. *Huc ubi dependent ... / ... funalia flammis* The lines have been taken, with slight changes, from Verg. *Aen.* 1.726 f. *dependent lychni laquearibus*
aureis/ incensi et noctem flammis funalia vincunt, where there is a description of Dido’s palace during the feast with Aeneas and his party. In Neo-Latin they were also alluded to e.g. in a poem describing the festivities at a wedding by Nicolaus Cisnerus: Atria collucent lychni laquearibus altis./ Et rutilis noctem vincunt funalia flammis (Gruterus 1612, vol. 2, p. 420 [Camena]).

94. laquearibus altis] Laquear in ancient times signifies ‘panelled ceiling’, but, as can be seen in JPG, in Neo-Latin it could be used for ‘vault’, and for ‘beamwork’. Since the Cathedral of Linköping is mainly built in the Gothic style, Phrygius must have been thinking here of ‘vaults’. This verse ending occurs in Neo-Latin, e.g. in one of Johann Lincke’s poems (Gruterus 1612, vol. 3, p. 1098 [Camena]).

96. suggesta] According to JPG and BFS suggestum can signify ‘pulpit’ (cf. also Blaise 1966, s.v. suggestus, 2). In ancient Latin suggestus designates an elevated platform or stage, cf. Liv. 8.14.12 rostris ... suggestum in foro ex-structum adornari placuit.

97. Eloquii tali maerentia robore fulcit/ Pectora] Probably inspired by Verg. Aen. 1.197 dictis maerentia pectora mulcet, where Aeneas calmly speaks to his comrades. The combination maerentia pectora also occurs in Lucr. 3.81, cf. however Ov. trist. 5.12.11 des licet in valido pectus mihi robores fulcit.

98. encomia] Here ‘sermon of praise’ (cf. JPG and BFS s.v. encomium). Important for us is that Encomium is sometimes used as a heading for the part of obituary sermons containing biographical data (personalia), and we may assume that this is the case here.

99–134. These lines relate parts of the encomium performed by the clergyman. Worth noting is that Phrygius here manages to convey several aspects characteristic of epideictic speeches at funerals in general and funeral sermons in particular. The main themes in most of these are luctus (here lines 99 ff.), consolatio (102 ff. and 114 ff.) and laus (most evidently in 119 ff.) (Stenberg 1998, p. 167, with further references in footnotes. See also e.g. Ström 1994, p. 58, and Ström 1999, pp. 109 ff. regarding the application of these on funeral poetry.)

Furthermore the clergyman’s speech contains the three themes, albeit of varying length, on which almost all the biographical sections in obituary sermons depend, namely familia (99 ff.), vita (most evidently in 128 ff.), and obitus (105 ff.). (The division and the terms have been taken from Stenberg 1998, pp. 111 ff., where a treatment of this part of the genre of funeral sermons is to be found. His chapter forms the starting-point for this discussion.)

The notes on Birgitta’s family, i.e. her genealogy, are here very short. We are told that she is the daughter of the bishop and his wife Magdalena. The part dealing with her life hardly deals with anything concrete, probably for several reasons, the most obvious being that Birgitta was a woman and that she died young. These facts imply that she did not even get the opportunity
of experiencing what would otherwise be related here. Thus her life is mostly described through the mention of virtues. The part dealing with how Birgitta died, resembling the genre of *ars moriendi*, not only tells us how she died, but also quotes her own words. This is characteristic of the *obitus* part in obituary sermons too. Both the *vita* and the *obitus* sections should be understood as displaying *exempla* in a laudatory manner, with the aid of which the audience could find guidance and comfort.


99. *miseranda pares*] The combination also occurs in *Epiced. Drusi* 95 and *Octavia* 882.

*Magdalais*] The first name of Petrus Benedicti’s wife and Birgitta’s mother was Magdalena (cf. the title *Memoriae Reverendi et Clarissimi Viri* in the list of Phrygius’ works.).

100. *desertos ... penates*] Proleptic in sense. That is not the case in Ov. *trist.* 1.3.95, where the combination also occurs.

*Lachesi*] Lachesis is one of the Fates. Cf. the *Threnologia dramatica* where she is one of the characters in the drama.


102. *gemebunda*] The word is rare in classical literature, first used in Ov. *met.* 14.188.

*doloribus angi*] The hexameter ending is also in one of Eobanus Hessus’ poems (1539, fol. 67r [Camena]).

103–104. The consolation, later returning in lines 116–118, is based on the belief that Birgitta now lives in a better place. She is with God and enjoys life in paradise. Naturally this theme has always been common in consolations in Christian contexts. Cf. Ström 1994, pp. 86 f., and Helander 2004, pp. 511 ff. and 516 ff. for examples in Swedish Neo-Latin literature. Ancient pagan examples of immortality, where some serve as *consolationes*, as a topos can be found in Lattimore 1942, pp. 48 ff. See also pp. 216 f., where it is stated that the theme is more frequent in Christian epitaphs.

103. *stelligerum ... axem*] The combination occurs in Prud. *ham.* 906. See further Ström 1994, pp. 116 ff. regarding common circumlocutions in Neo-Latin *epicedia*.

104. *Sacrae Triadi*] =*Sacrae Trinitati*. The word *Trias*, the Greek *τριάς*, frequently refers to ‘the Trinity’ (Sophocles 1914, s.v. *τριάς*), here in the
dative. Cf. e.g. Friedrich Taubmann’s poem with the title *Ad S. Triadem* (1597, p. 115 [Camena]).

**sonitus procudit** The phrase occurs also in Friedrich Taubmann: *sonitus procudis acutos* (1597, p. 123 [Camena]).

**106. Multa super pietate rogans, super Hercule multa** Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.750 *multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa*, where Dido asks Aeneas about the battles of Troy. Here the line is adapted to a Christian context. The introduction of Hercules’ name must be understood from the viewpoint of Hercules as an heroic incarnation of moral strength and as *pietas* embodied, a theme that was common during the Renaissance. The story about Hercules at the crossroads, known from the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, and later used by Silius Italicus in his *Punica*, was very famous and widely spread in Northern Europe during the 16th and the 17th centuries, and it was very frequent in the orations and occasional poetry at the universities. Melanchthon had also used it for pedagogical purposes, and at the University of Rostock several editions of Xenophon’s story were printed during the last decade of the 16th century (Friberg 1945, pp. 87 ff. and Lindroth 1967, pp. 17 ff.). The motif was popular in emblems as well (see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1641 ff. and Alciato, pp. 149 ff. and 194). Allegorical interpretations of ancient myths had a long history in Christianity by this time, as we saw in section 1.6.5 above. The interpretation was sometimes typological, which was not least the case regarding Hercules, who was sometimes seen as a parallel to Christ. One example of this is the 16th century Pierre de Ronsard’s *l’Hercule chrétien* (Jung 1966, pp. 105 ff.). In Sweden Georg Stiernhielm later wrote a hexameter poem in Swedish called *Hercules*, based on the story first told by Xenophon, which was to attract much attention and be widely admired. It was published in 1658.

**107. facundis ... vocibus** The combination is also found in Ov. *fast.* 4.245.


**108. terrenum ... parentem** I.e. Petrus Benedicti, who in 1597 was 66 years old (cf. *nodosis ... malis* in the next line).


**111. figurata stellis regione** On the theme of the deceased as now living among the stars, common in Neo-Latin literature, see Helander 2004, pp. 512 f.
111 f. Spero ... / visuram] Ellipses of the subjective accusative me and the predicative infinitive esse.


114. stimuli agitata doloris] The phrase stimuli agitata can be found in Ov. fast. 2.779 and Val. Max. 8.14 ext. 1, while the hexameter ending agitata doloris occurs in Ov. met. 6.595. See also the poem to Momus included in the Centuria Prima print, (1602), line 19: Invidiae stimuli agitans.

115. oblide scatebras] A characteristic phrase. Both words may be regarded as rare. Oblido occurs four times in classical Latin (in Cicero, Tacitus, Columella and Pliny [the younger]), and somewhat more frequently in Late Latin (TLL). Scatebra can be found as early as Accius, and later in a few instances in e.g. Vergil, Pliny the elder and Apuleius (cf. OLD).

116. Rosa] When Phrygius metaphorically describes Birgitta as a rose, a very common vanity motif in all times (cf. Fehrman 1952, especially pp. 365 ff., Castrén 1907, pp. 165 ff., the many emblems with the rose as a motif in Henkel & Schöne, especially the one in col. 292 with the heading Vita rosa est, and Hehn 1963, pp. 251 ff.), this should be seen from a wide range of aspects. Firstly we may assume that the metaphor in this specific case alludes to her external beauty. As can be seen in the poems below, this nuance can be found in other poems by him. Secondly, Phrygius’ metaphorical use of the flower most often seems to be connected to the fact that he is praising a person who has died young in the bloom of youth. Thirdly, the use of the flower (sometimes the rose) as a metaphor should be considered as a description of a good and noble person.

The motif presented in these three lines has an obvious parallel in some of Phrygius’ funeral poems in memory of Duke John of Östergötland (Serenissimo Celsissimoque Principi, in Åhraskyladige Lijktienst, 1618.). The duke had died the same year, only twenty nine years old. Three of the poems in the collection were completely based on the metaphor of the flower, in the same sense as in our poem:

IV. DE INSPERATO HUIUS FLOSCULI MICANTIS CASU.
Decidit ut vernus gelido flos rore rigatus,
Cum boreas Scythico turbidus orbe furit:
Sic DUX atroci Parcae cadit aclide sectus,
Sancta sydereae fertur ad arva plagae.
Nam Ducibus sacra tinctis baptismatis unda,
Stelliferi non sunt horrea clausa poli.
In quorum numerum situs est DUX jure Iohannes
Flosculus aspectu gratus, odore fluens,
Flosculus hic fragrans, Superum sacratus honori,
Wadzstenico Mortis falce resectus agro;
Quem jam Flos dia recreat JESSAEUS in umbra,
Ambrosius Triadi stillet ut inde liquor.
Flosculus hic etiam per amaena rosaria Divum
Nectit odoriferis bellula serta rosis;
Quo decore insigni circumdare tempora, nec non
Aspirante frui laetus odore queat.

V. ALIUD EIUSSDEM ARGUMENTI.
Ut rosa luciferum florescens lucis ad ortum
Ante cadit, quam lux proxima lustret humum:
Sic brevis hic vitae flos, mundi floret in horto,
Certa sed in Christi vita perennat agro.
Floruit aetatis medio DUX vere Johannes,
Nunc idem terrae flosculus inseritur.
Vere novo rutilus surgat redivivus in auras,
Aeterna spargens non sine fruge comas.

VI. ITEM ET HOC:
Ut cadit aprico moriens Libanotis in horto:
Ante diem mortis sic quoque falce cadit
Janus-Dux; sibi quem susceperat alma fovendum
Virtus, corque pium, mite, probumque dedit.
Ast ut justitiae Sol aestuet aureus; Olim,
Qui nunc aret humi, flos revirescet humo.

In the poem written by Phrygius to his first-born son (reproduced in extenso in a footnote to the section ‘Biographical notes’), he also uses the flower metaphor, lines 7 f. Sed flos labe carens, fili suavissime, salve ... In this case it is evident that he wishes to express the young child’s purity and innocence. In the tumulus included in the print containing the obituary sermon for Malin Rosengreen (1608), the first line begins in a similar way with Quae Rosa labe carens fuit.

As stated above, the rose, or flowers and herbs in general, have always been a much used vanity motif. It can be found both in the Bible and among ancient classical authors. During the Renaissance it was very frequent, especially in religious literature and funeral poetry. Examples can be found everywhere, but a noteworthy one is Philip Melanchthon’s poem In effigiem Ioannis Friderici ducis Saxoniae electoris tenentis manu flosculum violae (represented in Perosa & Sparrow, p. 442.), which starts with a comparison between a flower and the conditions of human life. In Petrus Erici’s Carmen de obitu Catharinae ... Reginae (1584), a personified Suecia praises the deceased Catherine Jagellonica in a way close to Phrygius’ usage here: Ut flo-
rum regina rosa est: Sic illa pudicas, / Inter matronas et rosa pulchra fuit (fol. A2v).

Wretö noted the fact that the rose was used for another Birgitta with strong connection to Östergötland, namely St. Birgitta of Vadstena, in the famous poem *Rosa rorans bonitatem* by Nicholas Hermansson (Wretö 1977, 96 f.).

117. plantaria viva] The combination is also found in Verg. *georg.* 2.27.
118. hyblaeos ... liquores] The adjective *Hyblaeus* refers to the Sicilian city Megara Hyblae, famous for its delicious honey. Vergil introduced *Hyblaeus* as an epithet in poetry, in *ecl.* 1.54 and 7.37 (see Clausen 1994, p. 52, where an exhaustive enumeration of the long-lasting frequency of the expression in poetry can be found). Its proverbiality is attested in Otto, p. 168. The combination *hyblaeus liquor* occurs in e.g. Melchior Weinrich’s *Aerarium poeticum* (1677, p. 272 [Camena]).

119 ff. In the following passage, where the clergyman expresses his difficulties of choosing the appropriate words for the praising of Birgitta through several rhetorical questions, he is clearly stating his own rhetorical *humilitas* but also formulates the great beauty and nobleness of Birgitta’s person. The motif of expressing the difficulty of formulating strong affections, either caused by beauty, fineness, nobleness, or grief, sorrow, etc, is very frequent in epideictic poetry (cf. Curtius 1948, pp. 91 ff. and Nisbet & Hubbard 1970, pp. 81 ff. See Berggren 1994, p. 108, Helander 1995, pp. 167 f. and 2004, pp. 533 ff. for an enumeration of some instances in Swedish Neo-Latin poetry where uses of this topos (usually called *recusatio*) can be found. A striking example in contemporary literature is the first stanzas of Dahlstierna’s Swedish poem *Kunga skald*, and it occurs in several of Phrygius’ works as well. For instance, in the *Serenissimo Celsissimoque Principi*, in Ähraskylige Lijktienst (1618), in the poem nr VII. *Memoriale lacrimosum* line 9f, he writes as follows: *Sed quibus id peragam numeris, sum nescius; unde/ Verbula tam rebus tristibus apta petam?* See also the *Threnologia dramatica*, lines 45 ff. of the *Drama primum* with commentary, found later in this thesis, where Phrygius forcefully depicts his hesitation and cries out his lacking ability, when commanded by Pallas to compose an eulogy on the late king of Sweden, John III.


Dictynnae ... Dianae] The Roman Goddess Diana was identified with the Greek Artemis, as was often Dictynna. The latter goddess, who was also called *Britomartis*, originated from Crete (see further Roscher, s.v. *Britomartis*). The mention of these two goddesses together by these names was rather unusual in ancient Latin literature. Instances can be found in Apul. *met.* 11.5 and Serv. *Aen.* 2.116. The reason for calling Birgitta Diana is probably, in
the first place, that Diana/Artemis was a virgin goddess. She was often connected with the nymphs, or even regarded as one of them herself (cf. the expression *nympharum ... turba* above).

Later on Queen Christina of Sweden would often be compared to and called Diana in panegyrical poems and orations, mainly because she never married and so Diana served as a fine *exemplum* of chastity (Kajanto 1993 [1], pp. 50 f.). Diana occurs in that aspect in emblems as well (see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1746 f.).

121. *Quibus vel caelo laudibus aequem* / *Temet*] Strongly influenced by Verg *Aen* 11.125 *quibus caelo te laudibus aequem?*, where the Latian orator Drances addresses Aeneas.

122 ff. As regards this conglomeration of laudatory comparisions, cf. e.g. the first lines in Johann Michael Moscherosch: *Hic est juris Amor; Non Martis at Artis amator.* / *Hic decus est Patriae, Spes Patris, Urbis honor* (1665, p. 85 [Camena]).

122. *Quarta Charis*] The Χάριτες, or *Gratiae*, are usually three in number, their names being Aglaia, Euphrosyne and Thalia (see the comments on line 5 of the first *tumulus* below as regards the ideas connected with the *Charites* at this time). This way of adding a name in praise to an established group has many parallels. After the St. Bartholomew massacres, Catherine de Médicis, for instance, was called *quarta Furia* by evangelical authors (Helander 2004, p. 331). Both the Dutch scholar Anna-Maria van Schurman and the Swedish poet Sophia Elisabet Brenner would later be called ‘the tenth Muse’ (see Helander 1995, p. 153, footnote 44, for references and a brief discussion of this epithet, which originally had been used for Sappho). Cf. e.g. the lovely *Ad Rosabellam* by Mattaeus Zuber: *Cum sis quarta Charis, cum sis Venus altera, quaeso,/ Quis Rosabella tuo nollet ab igne mori?* (Gruterus 1612, vol. 6, p. 1211 [Camena]).

122 f. *ardua ... / Gloria*] The combination is also found in Ov. *trist*. 4.3.74.

123. *dextra manus*] Proverbial. Both *manus* and *dext(e)ra* can be used in this sense of ‘her right hand’. See further Otto, p. 111.

124. *Dotes naturae*] The phrase is also found in one of Vincentius Opsopoeus’ poems (1578, fol. 15r [Camena]).

124 f. *flumina ... / Eloquii*] The phrase also occurs in one of Paulus Gisbicius’ poems (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 3, p. 408 [Camena]).

125 ff. We have to do with a very strange mixture of conditional clauses in this sentence, beginning with an unreal (or potential) one, viz. *si ... tenerer, / Me ... / Inveniat* but ending with the objective *si dabit*. The last clause (*Nestor ... triseclis*) is also somewhat separate in sense from the others, so it is in fact tempting to suggest that something (a line?) is missing. A clause in the future amplifying what was said in the previous clauses, like ‘nay, the summer-sun will find me still speaking when it has risen forty times’, would make the sentence more complete both grammatically and in content. For after all the idea that only four summers would pass does not really deserve
an allusion to Nestor’s age. In any case the aim is certainly to stress that Birgitta’s praise will last for a very long time.

Is the thought expressed here related to the well-known ‘manifold-mouth’ theme, though given a different twist? In Verg Aen. 6.625 ff., the Sibyl mentions the fates of the sinners in Tartarus to Aeneas and exclaims: *non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,/ ferrea vox, omnis scelerum comprenderes formas;/ omnia poenarum percurre re nomina possim.* In Vergil, speech could never express every horror, but in Phrygius Birgitta was such a wonderful woman that the tale of her will never end. On this topos, occurring in e.g. Homer, Ennius and Ovid, see Austin 1977, pp. 199 f. See also the study of Vergil’s intertextual relations with other authors using this topos in Hinds 1998, pp. 35 ff.

127. Nestor ... triseclis] Cf. Prop. 2.13.46 *Nestoris est visus post tria saeclae cinis.* Nestor’s age is proverbial (cf. Otto, p 242, Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1401 f., Walther, 38725c2 and Erasmus’ *Adagia*, p. 217). Phrygius used it in several instances to designate any man of old age. See e.g. his Latin poem in the print of his wedding sermon for Isaac B. Rothovius (1605), the *Threnologia dramatica*, line 260, and the first poem in *Palmsk 346*, line 27.

128–130. Nam bonitas animi ... / ... *formam*] Vicit] This is very close to an *epithalamion* by Petrus Lotichius Secundus: *Sed pudor, et probitas, et honestas regia cultum/ Vicit, et exsuperat castae reverentia famae* (1603, p. 218 [Camena]) We notice both the idea of virtue as more remarkable than outward appearance, and an exact verbal similarity. These lines from Petrus Lotichius are also later quoted *verbatim* in Daniel Hjortvipa’s *Panegyricus nuptialis ... Dn. Iohanni Alberto ... nec non ... Dn. Margaretae Elisabetae ...* (1608).

128. reverentia famae] A hexameter ending in Ov. met. 7.146, and 9.556.

130. Attalicas vestes] The combination can be found in Prop. 3.18.19. Attalus was the name of some kings of Pergamum. Plautus referred to Attalus I as wealthy in *Persa* 339, and later on the luxurious Attalus III was even regarded as the inventor of cloth embroidered with gold (cf. Nisbet & Hubbard 1970, p. 9 [on Hor. *carm. 1.1.11, the famous Attalicis condicionibus*], and Otto, pp. 43 ff.). Phrygius uses the word *Attalicus* in several other instances in almost the same sense, i.e. rich, splendid. In those instances, however, he does not refer to clothing. Cf. *Centuria Prima* below, gnome no. 35: *Dissipat Attalicas, raro coegit, opes.* and no. 45: *Dissipat Attalicas praeceps discordia gazas.*

131. Dulcedo morum] The phrase occurs also in one of Vincentius Opsopo- eus’ poems (1578, fol. B4r [Camena]).

132 ff. Ante leves ... / ... / ... tabescat in oris] Phrygius follows Verg. *ecl.* 1.59–64 *Ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi;/ et freta destituent nudos in litore piscis;/ ... / ... / quam nostro illius labatur pectore voltus,* with alterations such as the substitution of *cervi* with *damae,* and *piscis* with *tincae.* The first of Vergil’s lines also became proverbial (see Walther, 1140). Other
instances of *adynata* in eclogues from the classical period can be found in e.g. Verg. *ecl.* 8.52–56, Calp. *ecl.* 1.87–88 and Nemes. *ecl.* 1.75–80 (see Clausen 1994, 54 f., and Nisbet & Hubbard 1970, pp. 341 f. for references to further literature regarding *adynata*, i.e. impossibilities, in classical poetry).

The *adynaton* motif (regarding its development cf. also Curtius 1948, pp. 102 ff., and on the use of it in Swedish eclogues, Kurt Johannesson 1962, p. 25) was very popular in Neo-Latin poetry as well (Petrarch’s [1974] *ecl.* 11.98 ff. and 12.132 ff. are early instances), and many examples of this *ante* variant of it can be found (see Helander 2004, pp. 488 ff.). In Gunno Eurelius Dahlstierna’s poem *Kunga Skald*, the motif was also used in poetry written in Swedish. An amusing example of its usage in the vernacular can later be found in one of the poems of Israel Holmström, viz. *Een fiskare Broos wijsa gjord för älskanda Åkare och deras frutimmer*, line 41–48. He wrote (with great deal of ridicule, perhaps tired of the frequency of the motif): *Förr skal gråsten blij en limpa/ förr skall oxen wingar få/ förr skall suggan blij en simpa/ förr skall Stockholm lära gå;/ Brunckeberg blij förr een håter/ ock min Rumpa Apotheek/ förr än Elin iag förlåter/ Elin är min grijsesteek.*

(‘Sooner the granite will become a loaf/ sooner the ox will have wings/ sooner the sow will become a bullhead/ sooner Stockholm will learn how to walk,/ Brunckeberg will sooner become a ship/ and my bottom a pharmacy/ sooner than I leave Elin / Elin is my roast pork.’)

**133. salso … flumine**] Differing from here, this becomes a common circumlocution for ‘tears’ in Neo-Latin poetry. See e.g. the lines by Jacobus Pontanus: *Vos oculi tenero ne ne languescite somno:/ Fluminibus salsis ora lavate mea* (1594, p. 330 [Camena]).

**134. Posthuma … laus**] The phrase occurs also in a saying in Janus Gruterus’ *Bibliotheca Exulum* (1625, p. 452 [Camena]).

**135–137.** The reintroduction of the dialogue and the pastoral setting is not very successful. Suddenly Ebbe refers to what Amundus had told him in lines 47 ff. It seems that Amundus, who first introduced Birgitta in the poem, now serves as a means of closing the account of her funeral, and almost the same words are used as at the beginning. Ebbe says that he would have told Tore more of what had been related to him if he had not experienced the waters of Lethe, which here presumably not only refers to oblivion but also to the strong emotions connected to Birgitta’s tragic death. The reference to Amundus must thus mean something like ‘Amundus told me many other thing as well, but none of them are of any importance compared to the death of Birgitta’. However, the account of what Amundus had heard in Linköping should have ended already in line 71. Quite obviously it is Ebbe and Tore, who go to attend the funeral in lines 91–93 and listen to the sermon in lines 99–134.

**135 f. Lethaei … / Fontis aquas**] The expression refers to the underworld river *Lethe*, which induced oblivion by its waters. Cf. e.g. Ov. *ars* 3.340 *Nec*
mea Lethaeis scripta dabuntur aquis. To ‘drink from the waters of Lethe’ is proverbial, see Otto, p. 192, and section 1.6.5 above.

**experta fuisset** The so called shifted pluperfect passive (for the term and a discussion of this feature in Neo-Latin literature, see Kajanto 1979, pp. 57 ff. Cf. Sz., pp. 320 ff.), here in subjunctive as *experta fuisset* for *experta esset*. This is a very frequent feature in Neo-Latin. It existed already in classical Latin but was not common until late Latin (see Östlund 2000, pp. 42 f. for observations on the difference in sense between shifted and unshifted forms.).

137. **Quae bonus hesterna mihi luce probavit Amundus** The account of Birgitta’s funeral, is closed with almost the same line as when it began in line 47, the only difference being that *vagus* in line 47 is altered to *bonus*.

138 ff. **Si non/ … ruperunt … / Aequasset** Examples of this type of unreal clauses, not following the expected principles as regards the use of mood, can be found also in classical Latin (cf. K.-St., II, pp. 392 f. and 405).

138–140. The passage is obviously close to an epitaph by Georg Sabinus: 
*Aequassem virtute meum famaque parentem,/ Si concessa mihi debita vita foret./ Sed mea ruperunt fatales pensa sorores* (1568, p. 122 [Camena]). See later on also the lines in *Threnodia in obitum praematurum … D. Iohannis* (1618) by Phrygius’ pupil Johannes Matthiae Gothus (the younger): *Hei quanta erepta est Spes mihi morte tua:/ Aequasses virtute tuum, famaque parentem,/ Si concessa tibi debita vita foret*. As can be seen, it was based on the same passage from Sabinus. The first clause much resembles a line in the print *Scripta in funere … Iohannis Caroli Upsaliensis* (1562): *Si non ipsius rupissent stamina parcae* (fol. A2v).

139. **Parcae … ruperunt stamina filis** There is a great number of versions of this motif, cf. here only Sil. 1.281 f. *duraeque sorores/ tertia bis rupto torquerent stamina filo*.

141–143. Phrygius is not completely successful in his similes here. These lines are meant to illustrate the contrast between the virtuous Birgitta and the cruel and dangerous world into which she was born. An unattentive or ill-malicious reader could interpret the antithesis as referring to Birgitta and her mother and sisters, mentioned in the previous and following lines.

141 f. **Optima … / … manebit** These lines surely allude to John the Baptist’s words in Matt 3:12 (also in Luke 3:17): *Cuius (Christi) ventilabrum in manu sua, et permundabit aream suam et congregabit triticum suum in horreum, paleas autem conburet igni inextinguibili*.

143. In the line one must certainly understand an ellipse of *crescit*. The motif of tender roses (especially) and lilies growing even among the most horrible plants was popular in contemporary emblems (see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 295 ff.). For its proverbiality see Otto, 302, and Walther, 12634a, 26953f, 37627, 41195a3. Note especially Vulgate Cant 2:2 *sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias*.

151
ruscis] *Ruscum* was used twice by Vergil, *ecl. 7.42 horridior rusco* and *georg. 2.413. (regarding plants in Vergil see Abbe 1965).

144. **firma ... virtute** The combination is also found in *Culex*, line 326.
145. **vestigia quaerant** A hexameter ending in different inflections in *Lucr. 4.705*, *Ov. met. 6.560*, *Stat. Theb. 11.689* and *Sil. 3.309.

146 ff. The poems end in the same way as their Vergilian model, in lines 79–83. It is getting dark, and one of the shepherds invites the other home for supper, even rattling off some of the food available. Grant states that this kind of brief and abrupt ending in a poem is characteristic of both classical and humanist eclogues (Grant 1965, p. 121. Cf. Curtius 1948, pp. 98 f. and Stracke 1981, pp. 126 ff.).

146. **Iam satis** This concluding phrase occurs in *Hor. sat. 1.1.120*, and several times later in classical poetry. Cf. also the eclogue by the German Johann Bocer from the middle of the 16th century, where the two last lines are: *Iam satis, et gelidas iam nos vocat aestus in umbras,/ Abluet Hesperiis dum currum Cynthius undis* (in Mundt 1999, p. 10 ff.).

**succede penatibus** Cf. *Verg. Aen. 8.123 nostris succede penatibus hospes.*

**exsors** As regards the translation of this word cf. *TLL, s.v. exsors*, II, 2.

147. **umbracula sylvae** The verse ending also in one of Johannes Fabricius Montanus’ poems (Gruterus 1612, vol. 3, p. 102 [Camena]).

149. **Tithyos** Erroneously for *Tethyos*, a Greek genitive of *Tethys*, who was a sea-goddess and Oceanus’ wife. Her name is here used metonymically for the sea (cf. *OLD, s.v. Tethys, b*).

**caput inclinabat Olympo** The phrase also occurs in Georg Sabinus: *devexo caput inclinabat olympos* (1568[?], p. 52 [Camena]).

**inclinabat** Imperfect instead of the expected perfect, probably *metri gratia.*

150. **Dulcibus ut praesens epulis non bella sit uxor** As regards this line, which sounds like a Japanese politesse, cf. a similar invitation to dinner in Eobanus Hessus’ poem *Ioanni Algesino Groningo Suo etc.:* (1539, fol. 318v [Camena]):

> Crastina Phoeboeos ubi tertia contrahet orbes,  
> Iamque senescentem provehet hora diem.  
> Chare veni nostras Groninge rogatus in aedes  
> Quo peream si quid dulcius esse potest.  
> Te mea non formosa quidem nec amabilis uxor,  
> Penia convivam, sed generosa rogat.  
> Ne contemne preces dominae tam iusta rogantis,  
> O utinam famulae sit magis illa loco.  
> Illa tibi calido gelidos pro sumine ponet,  
> Sed tamen et castos et sine felle sales.
As in Eobanus Hessus’ text, Phrygius probably intended the nuance ‘my wife is not handsome, but generous’, considering the description of the food that follows.

Another reading is to suppose that Phrygius had intended that non should be read together with praesens, and this would be another example of Phrygius using too free a word order (cf. K.-St., I, pp. 818 ff. regarding word order in negative clauses). This would give the more pleasant sense ‘even though my handsome wife will not be present at the meal’. However, considering the parallel from Eobanus Hessus such a conjecture seems less plausible.

152. **bis-cocti** The word is explained by Jacob Johann Hoffman as: Panis, Gall. Biscuit, panis nauticus, quem Latini Buccellatum ... dixere. Sed et Biscoctum Galli appellant genus panis melliti, qui inter bellaria adponitur, saccaro et aliis rebus conditi ... (1698, s.v. Biscoctus [Camena]). See section 1.6.4 above.

**pinguia larda** The combination is also found in Ov. *fast.* 6.169.

152 f. **larda/ Larda** This variant of the stylistic figure geminatio is usually called anadiplosis (cf. Lausberg 1973, pp. 314 f.).

Eteostichon:

If we add up the letters written with capitals denoting Roman numerals, we get the year of Birgitta’s death, and that is 1597. However, if the small i in fVgaVit is regarded as a misprint for I, the sum would be 1598. A small reservation must thus be made, but an interpretation should in the first place be based on what we find in the printed text. We must also assume that a printer who made all instances but one of the letter i in capitals really knew what he was doing, and that a lower-case i accordingly should not be included in the sum of the numbers. In the first line of the couplet we are also informed of the exact date of her death (regarding general features of chronograms and eteosticha see section 1.5.1 above).

Phrygius frequently used eteosticha and chronograms, a kind of poem that clearly illustrates the manneristic tendencies so typical of the time. One can be found at the end of the *Herois quondam invictissimi* in Ährapredikning. The text is the following: TIbI JesU/ SoLI et Vero -reDeMptorI,/ -SIt gLorIa perennIs. In the margin the words Annus, quo aboluta are added. Thus these short lines are intended to indicate the year 1618 when the work was finished. Another instance where chronograms are used in Phrygius’ works is in the title of the obituary sermon for Ulff Jönson Snäckenborg, 1610, where the text tells when Phrygius held his sermon: ANNO ReDeMtorIs JesV ChrIstI, XIX Augusti. There is also one at the end of the *Epistola nuncupatoria* in the *Vitae coelestis umbratilis idea*, 1615, where the text tells when Phrygius finished his work: Schödviae depinxit ad Kal. Februarias, Anno Symbolico et votivo, Re Devs optata beet hVnC annVM. Another is at the
end of the Oratio Encomiastica, 1618, where the text is: SoLI Deo TrInVnI, esto gLorIa seMpIterna, In InfInItas perpetVlitates. And finally one can be found in Petrus’ Jonae Cursus Visitationis Dioecesis Wexionensis, 1605, where the text is Holmiae. d. 14. Iunii, anno DoMInICO, i.e. when Phrygius had finished his poem. In early Swedish Neo-Latin poetry a collection of eteosticha can be found in Henricus Mollerus’ Elegia de adventu (1562), containing not less than 16 different chronograms (fols. C2v ff.).

1. OCto bIs AprILIs] Sc. 16 of April. The names of months are very often treated as nouns during this period (cf. remarks on line 50 of Ecloga prima above). An obvious reason for writing ‘two times eight’, instead of sedecim, is that such an expression fits more easily into the metre. It is also necessary to keep in mind that circumlocutions of this kind were very typical of the poetical language during the entire baroque era (Castrén 1907, pp. 156 f.). Cf. e.g. an eteostichon by a Josephus a Pinu: Te vates nasci voluerunt fata Micylli,/ Aprilis bis lux tertia ut orta fuit (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 5, pp. 88 f. [Camena]).

2. soLVIt VInCLa] The phrase can be found in e.g. Catull. 64.367, Tib. 2.1.7 and 2.1.28. The expression also occurs in Christian poetry, as in the anonymous hymn Ave maris stella, line 9: solve vincla reis.


Earthly life is thus regarded as a punishment and death something positive, and these thoughts are common in all Christian literature. In the New Testament similar ideas are expressed by e.g. Paul in Phil 1:21 Mihi enim vivere Christus est, et mori lucrum, and John in Rev 2:10 Esto fidelis usque ad mortem, et dabo tibi coronam vitae. Cf. also the commentary below on lines 3 f. of the poem Aliud memoriae ejusdem.

Tumuli:

Annae] The deceased woman was, we are told here, Birgitta’s sister (Eiusdem Sororis) and another daughter of Petrus Benedicti (cf. Håhl 1846, p. 22. Westerlund & Setterdahl, vol. 3, p. 51 f.).

Magistri Laurentii] Laurentius Birgeri married Anna in 1595. He had studied in Greifswald, where he earned his master’s degree in 1585. In 1594 he was appointed domkyrkosyssloman and headmaster at the school of Linköping. In 1599 he became vicar in Kalmar, and he died in 1603 (Westerlund & Setterdahl, vol. 3, p. 272). As rector scholae in Linköping he was
known as a fine and skilful schoolmaster in the last decade of the 16th century. Isak and Jonas Rothovius in 1591 left their studies at the school in their hometown Kalmar in order to get a better education in Linköping (Ahllund 1913, p. 175 f. and Kraft & Lindberg 1946, II, p. 515). In a congratulatory poem to Isak Rothovius by his brother Jonas, printed in the Εὐφημίαι (1602), Laurentius is praised for his learning and kindness: Laurentio Bergeri artis Sophiaeaeque dabantur/ Lincopensiæae sceptræ regenda scholæ:/ Motus amore viri laudum, pietatis et artis,/ Laurenti imperio subdita membra dedit./ Cui vere intentus Sophiae fideique Magistro/ Collegit doctas cordis et artis opes.

Thori sociae] Cf. comments on line 13 of the Ecloga prima.

Tumulus:

1. Dum peperi, perii] Cf. Picinelli 1695, vol. 1, p. 7, where Dum pario, pereo is seen as a proverb for dying at childbirth. That phrase also occurs in e.g. an epigram by Peter Lindeberg: Dum pario pereo: et dum semper pareo Christo,/ Nunc sacra caelorum regna subire paro (Gruterus 1612, vol. 3, p. 1201 [Camena], as well as in Nikolaus Reusner: Dum pario, pereo: sed dum tibi pareo Christe,/ Coelica sunt per te regna parata mihi (edited with Lauterbach 1601, p. 155 [Camena]).

prole beavi] Common in Neo-Latin for ‘giving birth’. It occurs already in e.g. one of Conrad Celtis’ poems (1513, fol. E2v [Camena]).

2. Aurea superi … arva soli] The heavenly dwelling, once again making us think of both the Elysian Fields and the Christian paradise. The frequent use among Christian authors of describing afterlife in terms of golden could initially have been influenced by the frequency of this word (aureus) in the Vulgate in the Book of Revelation, where it occurs 14 times (cf. Lexikon des Mittelalters, s.v. Gold [cols. 1537 f.]). Ovid used superus for designating the gods’ abodes in e.g. met. 4.735 and fast. 3.324. The verse ending arva soli occurs also in one of Friedrich Taubmann’s poems (1597, p. 116 [Camena]).

3–6. Regarding this conglomeration of praising expressions see the commentary on the Ecloga prima, line 60 f.

3. dotata manus … gratia formae] Manus must here be understood as referring to Anna’s skill in practical work, while forma refers to her fine outward appearance. Cf. Stat. silv. 1.3.15 f. Quae forma beatis/ ante manus artemque locis! The description is somewhat inconsistent, especially when taking the words written in italics into consideration, and the reasons are probably metrical.

4. verae … pietatis opus] The same phrase can be found in line 340 of the *Threnologia dramatica* below. The verse ending *pietatis opus* occurs in Mart. *epigr*. 16.2, Prud. *ham*. 628 and *psych*. 239.

5. urbaneae Charitis] Usually the Χάριτες are goddesses representing beauty and charm, which they bestow upon intellectual and artistic activities (cf. the comments on line 122 of the *Ecloga prima* above). Here we perhaps should interpret it differently. Both JPG and BFS call them *beneficiorum Deae*, and one way of understanding this is that the *charites*, in the Latin spelling, were associated with the word *caritas*, which in medieval Latin and Neo-Latin is often spelled *charitas* (the latter spelling is also the origin of the English ‘charity’). Cf. Skinnerus’ description: *Has Charites dixit quondam sapientior aetas,/ Has bonitate pares et libertate sorores,/ Semper amore pari, quia mutua gratia iungit* (1585, fol. B4v).

5 f. saeva Minervae/ Cura] Minerva is the goddess of handicrafts, especially of spinning and weaving, as well as the goddess of wisdom and learning, cf. Ps. Sall. *in Tull. 7 quem Minerva omnis artis edocuit*. JPG and BFS describes her as *Disciplinarum Dea*, among other things, and presumably this is also what Phrygius wants to express here, especially since Anna’s husband was a headmaster. The sense is thus ‘my concern for education’.

The *saeva* should preferably be regarded as an *enallage* (for the term, see the comments on the title of the *Ecloga prima* above), the sense thus being *saevae Minervae*.

6. ILLIUS] Phrygius is of course speaking about Christ, who, according to Christian faith, saved the sinful human race from the power of the devil.


8. Ignivomo] This compound was used already in Vent. Fort. *Carm*. 3.9.3, albeit in the sense of *aestifer* (cf. *TLL*). It is very common in Neo-Latin in descriptions of artillery fire (Helander 2004, p. 120)

*Stygii ... Lupi*] Regarding *lupus* cf. the comments to line 6 of the *ecloga prima*. The Stygian wolf certainly designates the devil. Cf. e.g. a distich by Joachim von Beust: *Voce Dei victus Stygius tentator abibat:/ Qui pugnat Verbi numine, victor erit* (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 1, p. 642 [Camena]).

*traxit ab ore Lupi*] Cf. Mart. 10.48.14 *haedus inhumani raptus ab ore lupi*.

Aliud Memoriae ejusdem:

1. tria complevi vitae septennia] I.e. 21 years. See also the comments on the first line of the *eteostichon*. Cf. a similar line in an elegy by Georg Sabinius: *Nam duo complevit nondum septennia vitae* (1568[?], p. 76 [Camena]).

veniet lustris labentibus aetas. Ov. met. 15.179. adsiduo labuntur tempora motu (see OLD, s.v. labor, 4, as well as Nisbet & Hubbard 1978, p. 227, for more examples). It can be found in many Renaissance emblems as well (see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1342 ff.).

3 f. What Phrygius wants to express in these lines is that the earlier a man dies the better, in accordance with the theme so common in funeral poetry: ‘those whom God loves die young’ (cf. e.g. Von Moos, vol. 3, pp. 164 ff. and Ström 1999, pp. 109 ff., see also the comments on lines 111 f of the Threnologia below). In such cases the deceased will not have had time to accumulate the burden of sins. Compare how a similar idea is rendered in a poem in Θρῆνοι in Obitum ... Ioannis Aeschilli (1591) by Ericus Medolerus (fols. A4r–A4v):

O beatus terque quaterque, felix
O nimis quem sub viridis juventae
Flore, fatali tumulo, suprema
Excipit hora.

And some lines later:

Turpe delictum, scelerisque diri
Sordidam labem ecce dies adauget
Longa, crudelis premit ecce paena
Turpia facta.

However, consolatory texts contain a variety of ideas about premature and late death, suitable for all occasions. If an old man died, authors stressed the advantages of a long life (see e.g. Landtsheer 2007, pp. 182 ff.).

In his funeral sermons Phrygius had many occasions and reasons for reflecting on the question of death and its cruelty, and an attempt to relate his full thought on the subject would require too much space. Some remarks regarding his view on death, especially of young people, shall however be made.

Generally Phrygius states that there are two kinds of corporeal death (mors temporalis), namely the natural (mors naturalis) or sudden and violent (mors violenta). Natural death occurs when the person has suffered from illness and disease and has grown weak before death. A sudden and violent death occurs when a person is strong and healthy, and does not think of death (the obituary sermon for Anders Anderson Ekebladh til Törp, 1612, pp. 1 and 13.). In the obituary sermon for Erich Ribbing (1617) Phrygius described death by means of six similes, likening it to hay, a river, the flight of birds, etc. Important is that ‘natural’ should not be interpreted as ‘necessary’. In this sense Phrygius states that death is not natural nor in accordance with God’s intended creation, but it is the well deserved punishment for
mankind because of sin (cf. near the end of the obituary sermon for *Ulff Jönsons Snäckenborg*, 1610). As regards this view of death as *stipendium pecatti*, see Von Moos, vol. 3, pp. 132 ff. and 161 ff.

In the funeral sermon for *Ulff Jönson Snäckenborg* (1610) Phrygius closes by giving three reasons why God lets young people die. The first is that all people shall thereby be reminded of death as a punishment because of sin. The second is that God loves these young souls so much and has therefore pulled them away from the evil life on earth. The third is that a young man’s death should especially remind other young people of their own deaths, so that they feel less self-sure and proud, and avoid sin (cf. *cent.* 42). As regards this topos of ‘untimely death’, cf. e.g. Esteve-Forriol 1962, p. 138, Lattimore 1942, pp. 184 ff., Von Moos, vol. 3, pp. 46 ff., and Ström 1994, p. 78.

3. *truces puellae*] The combination occurs in Sen. *Oed.* 479, where it refers to the Amazons. The expression here refers to the Fates as representatives of inexorable destiny and is a parallel to Prop. 4.11.13 where they are called *immites*.

4. *patrium … malum*] The translation is based on the probability that *patrium* means ‘deriving from the ancestors’ (cf. *TLL*, I, A, 2.), and thus refers to the toils and hardship imposed upon mankind due to the *lapsus Adami* (Gen 3:16 ff.). The sense in the lines would then be ‘the shorter life a man gets, the less he has of toils and hardship due to the original sin, of which many complain’. This interpretation is also in accordance with the second reason for young men’s deaths mentioned above. It is furthermore necessary to read this expression in connection to *Eteostichon*, line 2, where life is described as a punishment.

Less probably, seeing that the lines are followed by *crebra querela*, one might take it that Phrygius is referring to the complaints of mourners when some close relative had died, blaming God’s cruelty (cf. Job). On this interpretation *patrium* would thus be read as ‘caused by the father’ (cf. *TLL*, I, B, 2.), though most theologians would not approve of such a statement. *crebra querela*] The combination occurs in e.g. one of Jakob Bidermann’s poems (1634, p. 68 [Camena]).

5 f. That is: One should not try to postpone death, or be frightened of it, since it is a sign of being loved by God if one dies young. Phrygius also deals with the theme of trying to postpone death in gnome no. 65 in the *Centuria Prima* (below).
3. *Threnologia dramatica*

3.1 Text and translation
THRENOLOGIA DRAMATICA

IN
aevitem laudem
SERENISSIMI & POTENTISSIMI PRINCIPI ac.DOMINI, Domini
IOHANNIS III,
QUONDAM
Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalarumque,
REGIS OPTIMI,
Testandae non tam
Erga religioso-defunctum Regem pietatis,
Quam erga totam Gostavianam pro-
sapiam Observantiae
ergo,
Decantata a
Sylvestro Johannis Phrygio Calmariensi,
Dum Rostochij et Jenae ad Salam in Ca-
stris Musarum meret.

PERSONAE DRAMATICAE:
Pallas
Autor
Johannes Dux {Filius Regius minorennis
Astraea
Lachesis
Pietas
[Regina Gunila
Rex Johannes]
A dramatic threnology
to
the eternal praise of
the most serene and mighty
prince and lord
John III,
once
the foremost king
of Swedes, Goths
and Vandals,
not so much in assurance of
my affection for
the piously deceased king,
as of my deference towards the entire
Gustavian family,
delivered by
Sylvester Johannis Phrygius from Kalmar,
while serving in the camp of the Muses,
in Rostock and Jena by the Saale.

The characters of the drama:
Pallas
The Author
Duke John {the king’s minor-aged son
Astraea
Lachesis
Piety
[Queen Gunilla
King John]
DRAMA PRIMUM
Praeludium exhibens.
Pallas et Autor.

Pallas:
“Qui regit hic duro titubantes stipite passus,
Vix bis Castalij viserat alta jugi.
Siste! Supercilium, puer hoc imberbis eundum
Est tibi, si nostri montis adire velis.”

Autor:
“Saepius Aonios statui lustrare meatus,
Et semel attritas inscius ire vias.
Nam semel est hujus mihi visa cacumine montis
Arbor, odoriferis luxuriosa comis.
Cujus odoratas nec hyems aquilonia frondes,
Ulla nec aestatis flabra, nec arma premunt!
Cujus Apollineam frutices decorare cohortem,
Et bene-sectorantem Martia castra solent.
Cujus et horrisono stipes nec fulminis ictu
Finditur (hinc Genios pellit ab aede malos).
Est mihi mens etiam sacris plantata sub umbris
Gramina inurbana carpere forte manu.
Queis Patronorum poliam solenniter urnas,
Nomen ut a sera posteritate ferant.
Queis meritas pictis de floribus ipse corollas
Contexam, sed nix praepedit alta pedes.
Hic quia nulla pedum vestigia, nulla rotarum
Symbola, nec bifidi culmina cerno jugi,
Flumina nec nitidis cerno purissima lymphis,
Impacto pernix quae pede fecit equus,
Lucifluus rutilo nec sol temone coruscat,
Sed piceis coelum nubibus omne latet,
Dum studeo latebrosa sequi compendia, saepe
Avius in scabros me rapit error agros.
Et me robustos dum spero figere gressus,
Haeret in obscoeno pes mihi saepe luto.”

Pallas:
“Non opus est, ut inuncta tuas tegat ocrea suras,
Et saevum talos calcar utrinque premat.
Semitas quamvis praegrands obsita dumis,
Ad juga Parnassi qua grave ducit iter,
The first drama
Displaying its prelude.
Pallas and the Author.

Pallas:
“He who here directs his staggering steps with a rough staff,
has scarcely twice seen the heights of the Castalian summit.
Stay your steps! You have to come hither, beardless lad,
if you want to approach the ridge of our mountain.”

Author:
“Many a time I have resolved to wander the Aonian trails,
and as an ignorant walk paths once trodden.
For once I saw a tree on the top of this mountain,
ish with sweet-smelling foliage.
Its sweet-smelling leaves neither the Northern winter,
nor any summerwinds, nor arms oppress!
Its branches are wont to decorate the Apollinean company,
and the man skilfully pursuing the campaigns of Mars.
Its trunk is not cleft by the horrid sounding stroke of the thunderbolt
(hence it expels evil spirits from the temple).
I am also minded to pluck the herbs planted
in a sacred shade with a boorish hand, as it happens.
With these I shall solemnly adorn the urns of my patrons,
so that they obtain reputation from late posterity.
With these I shall myself entwine well-deserved garlands of
coloured flowers, yet deep snow entangles my feet.
Since there are no footprints here, no wheel-tracks,
and I do not discern the summits of the two-peaked ridge,
since I do not discern those most pure rivers with clear waters,
which the swift horse made by the impact of his hoof,
and since the light-streaming sun does not gleam from its ruddy wagon,
but all the sky is hidden behind pitch-black clouds,
some devious course often carries me off to rough fields,
when I hasten to follow secret shortcuts.
And when I hope I will plant some solid steps,
my foot often sticks in filthy mud.”

Pallas:
“It is not necessary for anointed boots to cover your calves,
and and for savage spurs to press your both heels.
Though the trail be sown with huge bushes,
where the hard course leads to the heights of the Parnassus,
Non tamen est salebris nec callibus aspera DOCTO, 
Mollis at aprico gramine, mollis Humo. 
Carpere nunc tibi fas est mollia, si qua per hortum 
Lilia, funereis usibus apta, virent. 
Carpe verecundo ridentia gramina vultu, 
Carpe, sed, ut carpas sobrius ista, vide. 
Et simul e lauru victrices deterha frondes, 
Conficiens tenera Regia serta manu. 
Saxea nam Regis polies monumenta JOHANNIS, 
A nigris faciens vivere laude rogis.”

Autor: 
“Quid? Quid agat? Magno funebria carmina Regi 
Concinat, ambiguae conditionis homo? 
Quid? Quid agat? Quem Sors rerum premit indiga, tantum, 
Aetnaeo majus pondere, sumat opus?
Quid? Quid agat? Cujus sub germine pullulat aetas, 
Audeat in tantum velificare fretum? 
Uberioris egent Regis praeconia venae. 
Hic intonsa nihil Musa vigoris habet! 
Hoc faciant vates, quibus experientia major, 
Major et eloquij, judiciijque nitor. 
Mille poetifluos poscit res ista magistros, 
Qui merita laudum munera voce darent.”

Pallas: 
“Excute suspensae caecum formidinis aestum. 
Aptabo digitis plectra canora tuis. 
Omnia felici procedant Hercule. Tanta 
Desine curarum mobilitate premi.”

Autor: 
“Non ego sumo meas superantia munia vires. 
Est humeris dispar sarcina tanta meis.”

Pallas: 
“Aude aliquid!”

Autor: 
“Vires desunt!”

Pallas: 
“Laudanda voluntas 
Est aliquid prodire.”
yet it is not uneven with ruts and rough paths for a learned man, but smooth with sunlit grass and a soft soil. You should now pluck some tender lilies, suitable for funeral use, if any bloom in your garden. Pluck the cheerful plants with a modest countenance, pluck, but see to it that you pluck them soberly. Strip at the same time victorious leaves from the laurel-tree, making royal garlands with gentle hands. For you shall adorn King John’s marble tomb, and make it live through praise from ashes dark.”

Author:
“What? What is he to do? Is he, a man of doubtful condition, to sing funeral songs for a great king? What? What is he to do? Is he, whom a needy lot afflicts, to take on so great a work, heavier than Aetna? What? What is he to do? Is he, whose lifetime is emerging from beneath its bud, to dare set sail towards so great a sea? A king’s praises need a richer poetic vein. Here does not the unpolished Muse have any vigour! That should those poets perform, who have greater experience and greater elegance in eloquence and taste. This subject calls for thousand poetry-flowing masters, who would give the tribute of praise with a due voice.”

Pallas:
“Shake off your worrying fear’s blind anxiety. I shall fit the sonorous plectra to your fingers. May everything progress under a propitious Hercules. Cease being afflicted by such fickle worries.”

Author:
“I do not undertake duties exceeding my powers. Such a burden is unequal to my shoulders.”

Pallas:
“Dare something!”

Author:
“I lack the strength!”

Pallas:
“The will to go on a bit should be praised.”
Autor:
“Labor scottmata semper habet.
Carmina si fundam, fundam quia gratia mentem,
Et non laudati nominis ardor, agit.
Quae quibus anteferam? Nostri quis carminis orsus?
Quid medium, aut Colophon carminis hujus erit?
Si Libanus Cygni pennis, Nilusque papyrus,
Sepia vel laticem sangvinolenta darent,
Summa nec ex aequo sequerent fastigia rerum.
Dicerer officij nec meminisse mei.
Heu rigor includit mentem, nec amabile quicquam
Suggerit auspiciis Musa vocata meis.
Te, qui Sacra regis, vatum Pater alme, docente,
Impositi aggrediar grande laboris onus.
Ergo favens nostris animis illabere. Durum
Flecte vacillantis flamme vocis iter.”

Pallas:
“Ipsa praeibo, regens certo vestigia filo,
Dum sine supposito cortice nare queas.
Vel tua quo tenuis te non sinit ire facultas,
Adjutus poteris viribus ire meis.
Multa quidem statui, sed cum properare SORORES
Comperiar, cesso plura referre. Vale.
Heus! Prius ad fontem temet comitabo, latebras
In curvas aliter te vagus error agit.
Pegasus huc acri patefecit robore fontem,
Et Sacra Pegaseis nomina fecit aquis.
Hoc tua rorabis de fonte labella. Trahaces
Inde fluunt venae carminis instar aquae.”

DRAMA SECUNDUM
Filius Johannes Dux et Astraea.

Filius:
“Ut jecur obscoenus Tityi reparable vultur
Tondet, inardescens sic coquit ossa dolor!”

Astraea:
“Iane quid examinatis versat praecordia luctus?
Lumina quid mites ejaculantur aquas?”
Author:

“Work always has taunts.
If I pour forth songs, I shall do so because gratitude forces my mind, and not eagerness for a renowned name.
What should I prefer to what? How shall my song begin?
What shall be the midpoint, or what the ending of this song?
Even would Lebanon supply swan feathers, and Nile papyrus, or bleeding cuttlefish the ink,
I would not fairly follow the main heads of events.
I would be said to have forgotten my office.
Alas! A stiffness imprisons my mind, and the Muse, invoked in my auspices, suggests nothing delightful.
With you as teacher, benignant Father of poets, who rules holy duties, I will undertake the great burden of the work imposed on me.
Slip graciously, then, into my mind. Direct my wavering voice’s hard course through your spirit.”

Pallas:
“I myself shall lead the way, guiding your steps with a sure thread, until you can swim with no cork underneath.
Assisted by my powers, you will even be able to go whither your own poor ability will not let you go.
I have decreed many things indeed, but since I notice that the sisters are hastening, I desist from telling more. Farewell.
Ho! First I shall guide you to the spring, otherwise your random wandering leads you into winding bends.
Pegasus there opened a spring with enormous strength, and gave a sacred name to the Pegasean waters.
You shall moisten your lips from that source. Thence flow captivating streams of poetry just like water.”

The second drama
The son Duke John and Astraea.

The son:
“As a loathsome vulture gnaws at Tityos’ ever recovering liver, so a burning grief torments my heart!”

Astraea:
“Ianus, why does lifeless sorrow stir up your heart?
Why do your eyes shed gentle tears?”
Filius:
“Dira recordari quoties ego fata parentum
Auspicor, illachrymans mox lavat ora fluor.
Quid sibi, quae Patris circumstant agmina tumbam?
Cur feriunt nivea pectora casta manu?”

Astraea:
“Sub patris hac umbra (velut arbore) tegmen habebant.
Saeviter oppressis mite levamen erat.”

Filius:
“Sed, cedo, cur chari Tumulum pudibunda parentis
Virgo tenes? Vel quo busta jubente colis?”

Astraea:
“Ad tumulum virtus olim si flevit ULYSSIS,
Quum technis Ajax ludificatus erat,
Cur non fortanimis Regis monumenta tenerem,
Nobile qui a Suecico ducit ACHILLE genus?
Qui vivace pium vicit gravitate METELLUM,
Gratifica justum relligione NUMAM.”

Filius:
“Ad lessus, gemitus, curas, lamenta sub auras
Luminis eduxit blandula me genetrix!
Nil homini melius (me judice) nascier, inde
Sub primum vitae claudere fata diem.”

Astraea:
“Proh! Non tanta piam maculabit opinio mentem,
Vivere quod summum duxeris esse malum.
Hos puto felices, quibus annos ducere multos
Contigit in solida cognitione Dei.
Te Deus egregios Regni fabricavit in usus,
Ad nutum formans caetera fata suum.”

Filius:
“Involucris, matrem dum raptat ab equore milvus,
Pullastri moeror pectora nonne coquit?”

Astraea:
“Imo. Nec iccirco tua verbere pectora tundas,
Gutta nec ex oculis continuata ruat.”
The son:
“Each time I commence to call the grievous death of my parents to mind, soon a tear-shedding stream washes my face. What does it want, the crowd that stands around the tomb of my father? Why do they strike their pious breasts with snow-pure hands?”

Astraea:
“They had a shelter in your father’s shadow (as from a tree). He was a sweet relief for those who had been violently afflicted.”

The son:
“But, tell me, why do you, decent virgin, cleave to the grave of my beloved father? At whose command do you pay rites to the tomb?”

Astraea:
“If the steadfast man Odysseus once wept at the grave, when Ajax had been deceived by cunning tricks, why should not I cleave to the tomb of this brave king, who traces his noble descent from the Swedish Achilles? He who surpassed pious Metellus in enduring dignity, and righteous Numa in grateful religious observance.”

The son:
“To lamentation, groanings, worries and wailings, my charming mother brought me forth in this world! Nothing is better for a man (in my opinion) than to be born, and then to end the course of life during the first day.”

Astraea:
“Alas! Such an opinion shall not disgrace your pious soul, to consider living to be the greatest evil. I regard those as happy, to whom it was granted to live many years with solid knowledge of God. God fashioned you for outstanding purposes in the kingdom, when he determined all destinies according to his will.”

The son:
“Does not grief torment the heart of the pullet, not yet able to fly, when the kite snatches its mother away from the sea?”

Astraea:
“That is true. But you should not beat your breast with blows for that reason, nor should tears fall continuously from your eyes.”
Filius:
“Nescio qua nativus amor dulcedine multos
   Afficit, immemores nec sinit esse sui.”

Astraea:
“Sit modus angoris, Justus licet iste videtur
   Angor et hunc στοργήν plangere blanda monet.”

Filius:
“Sit modus! At nutrit minima non parte dolorem,
   Et gravis exercet viscera maesticioes,
Quum videam patrium fervere tumultibus orbem,
   Inque cruentato rore natare viros,
Cedere laurigeras sumptis Lebethridas alis,
   Marte sibi dubios incutiente metus.
Quis poterit tales animo lustrare furores
   Aequo, qui mentis sit modo compos homo?
Me dolor ardent quovis ardentior igni
   Detinet, indomitus devorat ossa dolor.
Verum Peligno dum me sermone moraris,
   Quae Dea? Quod nomen? Dic ubi tecta tenes.”

Astraea:
“Sum magni generosa Jovis, Themidosque propago.
   Sum DEA Justitiae, sumque ministra fori.”

Filius:
“Cur igitur spargis lachrymarum flumina? Quidve
   Triste? Gravi quodnam pectore vulnus alis?”

Astraea:
“Heu! Me justa manet vehementius ansa dolendi,
   Quae Suecicis toties ludificata plagis.
Nam pius Angelica dum vi Gostavus iniquo
   Svediacum fusio vindicat hoste solum,
Juppiter e liquido me misit ab axe, profanos
   Praecripiens quavis aede fugare Deos.
Mars ubi flammeolos in me detorsit ocellos,
   Admonitu, fundo subsequa verba, Jovis:
Haec est sola Patris, fraenat qui cuncta, voluntas,
   Hoc jubet, edicit, praecipit, urget, agit:
Mars procul ut Gothicis homicida fugetur ab oris,
   Praelia qui praeter fas violenta serit,”

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The son:
“The love of parents affects most people through a delightfulness
difficult to describe, and it does not let them forget them.”

Astraea:
“Let there be a limit to your anguish, though this anguish may
seem righteous and your gentle affection admonishes you to bewail him.”

The son:
“Let there be a limit! And yet my deep sorrow nourishes my pain
in no small degree, and vexes my heart,
when I see my fatherland raging with sedition,
men swimming in streams of blood,
and laurel-bearing Libethrides take up their wings and withdraw,

since Mars strikes them with doubt and fear.

What man could behold such furies with a calm
mind, provided that he is in possession of his senses?

Grief, more ardent than every fire, besets me,
and unrestrained sorrow devours my heart.
But while you delay me with your Paelignian speech, what goddess are you?
What is your name? Tell me where you have your abode.”

Astraea:
“I am the high-born offspring of great Jupiter and Themis.
I am the goddess of Justice, and servant of the courts.”

The son:
“Then why do you shed streams of tears? Why are you so sad?
What wound do you nourish in your grievous heart?”

Astraea:
“Alas! I wait for a due opportunity of mourning more immoderately,
who have been mocked so many times in Swedish territories.
For when the pious Gustav with angelic power slew
the treacherous enemy and freed the Swedish soil,
Jupiter sent me from the limpid sky, commanding me
to drive away the desecrating gods from every sanctuary.
As soon as Mars turns his flaming eyes towards me,
I spread the following words, on Jupiter’s admonition:
This is the one will of the Father, he who governs all things,
this he orders, declares, commands, insists and decrees:
that Mars, the homicide, shall be driven far away from Gothic coasts,
he who sows violent wars against divine law,

Filius:
“Si quid aberravit (ceu sunt humana) tegatur Infesta primi transitione patris. Naevus adhaerebat patrius (velut omnibus) ipsi. Subjacet humanis lapsibus omnis homo. Dicere nemo potest hominum: sum purus ab omni Sorde, premunt animum crimina nulla meum.”

Astraea:
“Nec decet hic larvis pugnare.”

Filius:
“Quiescat ab omni Scommate, quem voluit pace jacere DEUS. Me dolor ardent quovis ardentior igni Detinet, indomitus devoratossa dolor.”

Astraea:
and that he forthwith shall expel the idols of the Latian Baal, who by his deeds shows the way to Phlegeton.

For here shall be a place of peace, a seat of piety, an image of charming Pindus, and the temples of Sion.

He nods his approval, while attacking those toads, gadflies, spiders, caterpillars, maggots, blister-beetles and midges!

Barbarism was expelled and took to flight, but also frenzy, lethargy, sternness, meanness, haughtiness and ambition.

I leapt for joy, expressing my happiness with gestures, voice and lyres, and I eagerly arranged new victory processions in accordance with tradition.

Because of this propitious outcome I conceived a great hope of being able to lift my golden-haired head to the stars.

But when I had pitched my tents in many meadows, shameless Megaera attacked me with a disgraceful deceit.

For when Gustav had died, Erik received the fostering sceptre with a scarcely fortunate hand.

Though he was suitable in his first approach, still he stained all of his body with the mud of crime after a while.”

The son:

“If he made any mistake (as is human) it should be concealed, because of the outrageous transgression of his first ancestor.

The hereditary sin adhered to him (as it does to everyone).

Every man is exposed to human failings.

No man can say: “I am free from all baseness. No crimes afflict my mind.”

Astraea:

“It is not seamly to fight with ghosts now.”

The son:

“May he repose from every taunt, whom God wanted to rest in peace.

Grief, more ardent than every fire, besets me, and unrestrained sorrow devours my heart.”

Astraea:

“This was the decreed will of the heavenly king, who subdues every destiny through his decision.

What happened? God had compassion on my unfair lot. He ordered me to return to the Elysian grove.

I was kept in this place all the time, until charming Gunilla was led to Ianus’ bed.”
Gunilla:
“Hinc ego mortales libravi corpus in auras,
Sorte putans solita me meliore frui.”

Rex Johannes:
“Sed vitae mediis IS est sublatus in annis,
Qui fuit accessus semen et ansa mei.
Ille Sybillinos esset tam dignus in annos
Vivere, crudelis quam Catilina mori.
Ante Chamaemeli referent narsturcia formam,
Et piperis vires Trinacris Hybla feret,
Excidet illius nostro quam pectore vultus,
Vel pia Lethaeae nomina dentur aquae.”

Filius:
“Ecce puellarum veniunt tria corpora, Divis
Aemula.”

Astraea:
“Parcarum conspicor esse genus,
Tempora Divarum tristi redemita cupresso
Atque sepulchrali pectora fronde tegi.
Sed Lachesis, Lachesis claris exosa Dynastis,
Hac regione mihi conspicienda venis.
Alloquor! Interea Puer hoc requiesce sedili
Et memori nostros mente reconde modos.”

DRAMA TERTIUM
Astraea, Lachesis, Pallas.

Astraea:
“Quid te devoveam Lachesis, quae fila resectas
Ante diem, radio fila trahenda tuo?
Imprecor, ut Divae nomen radatur ab albo
Divarum! Sceptri sic-ne labescet honos?
Vos Heliconiades, quae Pindica finditis arva,
Sternite! Supremo dedite supplicio!”

Lachesis:
“Proh incandescis! Quid bilis in epate fervet
Udaque vipereo felle labella tument?”
Gunilla:
“From here I sent forth a body into the air of mortals,
considering myself being blessed with a lot better than the usual.”

King John:
“But he was carried off in the middle of his life,
he who was the seed and opportunity of my accession.
He should have deserved to live to Sibylline ages,
as much as cruel Catilina deserved to die.
Sooner the cress will resemble the chamomile’s sweetness,
and the Sicilian Hybla have the strength of pepper,
than his countenance will perish in our heart,
or his pious name be given to the waters of Lethe.”

The son:
“Behold, three female persons, vying with the gods,
are coming.”

Astraea:
“I perceive that it is the family of the Fates,
that the goddesses’ temples are encircled with austere cypress
and their breasts covered with funeral garlands.
But Lachesis, o Lachesis, so hateful to celebrated princes,
you come in bravery to me in this district.
I will speak to her! Meanwhile rest in this place, young lad,
and store our measures in your memory.”

The third drama
Astraea, Lachesis, Pallas.

Astraea:
“How shall I execrate you, Lachesis, who cut off the threads
before due time, threads that ought to be spun by your shuttle?
I pray that the goddess’ name be erased from the register of goddesses!
Shall the glory of the sceptre be disgraced in such a way?
You Heliconiades, who plough the fields of Pindus,
strike her down! Hand her over to the final punishment!”

Lachesis:
“Alas, you glow with fury! Why does the bile burn in your liver,
and why are your lips swollen, soaked by the viper’s venom?”
Pallas:

“Teque tuamque tribum rutili domator Olympi
Ad Phlegetontaeas praecipitabit aquas.”

Lachesis:

“Cur tibi pallidulam frontem Cyparsinus ambit
Circulus? Impatiens tene veternus agit?
Aut te mole gravat somni lethargus iniqua?
Teve animo captam dira phrenitis habet?
Juppiter altipotens vires medicaminis omnes,
Herbarum robur, notitiamque tenet.
Ad morbos dare solus habet medicamen, et omne
Callet, Paeoniae quod capit usus opis.
Nam generum Ceres fertur medicasse rapacem,
Cum frons Herculea lance notata fuit.
Fertur et ex illo Nymphaque Coronide sumptus
Semineces luci restituisse viros.
Hi dent aetheereos succos et pharmaca, magnam
Quae subiti possunt vim cohibere mali.
Hi dent Panchrestum validum, praelanguida morbis
Corpora sanandi vis quibus omnis inest.”

Pallas:

“Pharmaca nil, medicina nihil nec Apollinis artes,
Commoda nil medicis usibus herba valet!
Afferat alma licet divinus aromata Phaebus
– Sint decies medicis usibus apta – licet
Afferat annosus dulces Podalirius herbas,
Qui charus Phaebi dicitur esse nepos,
Tollere dira tamen non vulnera sortis acerbae
Arte Machaonia paeoniaque queunt.”

Astraea:

“Tetrica, dura, ferox, hominum scis parcere nulli,
Praeripis infantes, interemisque senes.
Parcere cum fas sit, duntaxat parcere justis
Jura sinunt nunquid litigiosa viris?
Tollere cum fas sit, duntaxat tollere viles
Jura sinunt nunquid litigiosa viros?
Cura quibus gravis est Regnorum tradita, quique
Rara doctrinae nobilitate virent.
Quos munus, quos rarus honos, quos mascula virtus
Ornat, et a summis gloria splendet avis.
O dolor ardenti quovis ardentior igni!”
Pallas:
“The ruler of gold-shimmering Olympus shall cast you
and your tribe headlong into the waters of Phlegeton.”

Lachesis:
“Why does a garland of cypress encircle your pale head?
Does an unbearable torpor vex you?
Does drowsiness oppress you with too great a force?
Are you caught by a dreadful delirium in your mind?

Jupiter, the mighty on high, owns all the forces of medicine
and strength of herbs, and he has knowledge of them.
He alone can give medicine to the sick, and he is skilled in
all that the use of Paeonian means lays hold of.
For he is said to have cured Ceres’ rapacious son-in-law,
when his forehead had been marked by Hercules’ lance.
He who was born from him and the nymph Coronis,
is also said to have restored half-dead men to life.
May they give divine juices and medicines,
to check the great powers of some sudden disease.
May they, who possess all powers of healing people weak
with diseases, give potent medicines, useful for every illness.”

Pallas:
“Not medicine, not drugs nor the arts of Apollo,
not herbs that are good for medical uses, none of them is potent!
Even if divine Phoebus brings life-giving aromas
– there may be a tenfold effective for medical use –
even if old Podalirius, who is said to be the beloved
grandson of Phoebus, brings sweet herbs,
still they cannot remove the dreadful wounds of cruel fate
with Machaonan and Paeonian art.”

Astraea:
“You stern, pitiless, fierce, you do not know how to spare
any man, you snatch away infants, and you kill old men.
When God permits you to spare, do not your litigious laws
at least allow you to spare righteous men?
When God permits you to snatch away, do not your litigious laws
at least allow you to snatch away worthless men?
To thom the burdensome administration of the kingdoms is entrusted,
and they are vigorous with a rare nobility of doctrine.
Them their office, rare honour, them male virtue adorn,
and their glory shines forth from the foremost ancestors.
O grief, more ardent than every burning fire!”
Lachesis:
“Tu facis in liquido saxa natare freto!”

Pallas:
“Dicite lanificae, saevissima numina, Parcae, 
Fatalem quis-nam fecit habere colum?
Abripitis pueros, juvenesque, virosque, nurusque, 
Quosque premit gelidos lassa senecta senes.
Haec toleranda foret tamen inclementia fati, 
Si modo non justos tolleret ista DUCES.
Impare cum reprobis trutina producitis aevum, 
Et sinitis Pylios transnumerare dies, 
Et simul immanes, purae rationis egentes, 
Secula tot degunt per nemora alta ferae.
Cervus in immensum fatales prorogat annos, 
Corvus habet vitae secula plura suae.
Sed quos Haeredes Deus optimus esse suarum 
Fixit opum, et celsi jura subire poli,
Tam fragili vitae sunt conditione. Feros 
Principibus gliscunt rumpere fila Deae. 
Hosne soles inter Regem numerare JOHANNEM? 
Nonne pudet talem despoliasse Ducem?”

Lachesis:
“Trina quod incusas fremebundo Numina vultu, 
Dirigis in superos tela trisulca Deos. 
Nos famulae sumus, infestae famulantia morti 
Organa. Nonne ejus lora subire decet?
Quod perit injustus, justus, praedives, inopsque, 
Fulmina quod fati nemo cavere queat, 
Fatorum jus est, Patrisque supreme voluntas, 
Cuncta sub imperij qui ditione premit. 
Hinc, ubi collubuit, nam jussa capessere fas est, 
Trudimur invita fila secare manu. 
Ergo multivorae mortis sub lege sit aequa, 
Sub geminis quicquid reptat ubique polis.”

Astraea:
“Tu lachrymas saltem suffundito, pectoris unam 
Morigerae guttam si pietatis habes. 
O dolor ardenti quovis ardentior igni.”

Lachesis:
“E laevi gelidam pumice quaeris aquam.”
Lachesis:
“You try to make stones swim in the liquid sea!”

Pallas:
“Tell me, wool-working Fates, you cruel deities, who determined that you should hold the fateful distaff? You snatch away boys, adolescents, men, young women, and those cold old men, whom weary old age weighs down. This severity of fate would however be endurable, if only it did not remove the righteous rulers. When you lengthen the life for the reprobate with an unequal balance, and let them complete the span of the Pylian lifetime, and likewise savage beasts, lacking pure reason, live for so many human ages in the deep forests. The deer prolongs its destined years immensely, the raven lives its life for many generations. But those whom God supreme has appointed to be the heirs of his power and to take on lofty heaven’s jurisdiction, live under so fragile conditions. The ferocious goddesses are eager to cut off the threads of the princes. Do not you usually count King John among them? Are you not ashamed of having despoiled such a ruler of his life?”

Lachesis:
“Since you reproach the three deities with a raging countenance, you direct three-forked spears against the heavenly gods. We are servants, instruments serving hostile death. Should you not subject yourself to its reins? That the unrighteous and the righteous, the very wealthy and the poor perish, and that nobody can avoid the thunderbolts of destiny, is the law of fate, and the supreme will of the Father, who holds all things beneath the sway of his authority. Because it so pleased him, for it is necessary to carry out orders, we are hence compelled to cut off the threads with unwilling hands. Therefore, whatever crawls anywhere under the twin poles must lie under the fair justice of much-devouring death.”

Astraea:
“At least shed tears in secret, if you have a drop of compliant piety in your heart. O grief, more ardent than every burning fire!”

Lachesis:
“You ask for cold water from the smooth pumice.”
Pallas:
“Scilicet insanis labor est, ea cura jocosis, 
Garrula in alterius verba dolore loqui.”

Astraea:
“Stemmata praetereo, quae perjucunda relatu 
Gnato, si praesens res pateretur, erant.”

Lachesis:
“Vach! Qui Gostavi Res vult expandere dictis, 
Tentat is undisonum claudere fonte salum.”

Astraea:
“Effera quin digito premis ora! Referre tui non 
Muneris est tanti munia laude DUCIS.”

Lachesis:
“Crede mihi, posthac Regis servabo JOHANNIS 
Nomen, et Elyseis busta comabo rosis. 
Ne deflenda meus pariat fastidia sermo, 
Illius hic filum stat resecare. Vale.”

DRAMA QUARTUM
Filius, Pietas.

Filius:
“Quid sceleris! Cur astra sinunt fatalia Parcam 
Stamina crudeli dimutilare manu?”

Pietas:
“Caeca nec astrorum vis, nec vis dira trahentis 
Fila Deae Patris causa fuere necis. 
Sed fuit aetherei Regis decreta voluntas, 
Arbitrio fatum qui domat omne suo. 
Siste sinus lachrymis implere! Quid edere questus? 
Nam PATER aeternae Sabbatha pacis agit.”

Filius:
“Non omnino (malum!) sum parte beatus ab omni, 
Sed celeri veniunt deteriora gradu. 
Namque meae tristi terebravit acinace matris 
Pectora de trinis nentibus una Soror.”
Pallas:
“Evidently it is a task for the insane, and a concern for the jokers,
to speak garrulous words at another’s grief.”

Astraea:
“I pass over his lineage, which would be wonderful
 to relate for his son, if the present situation would allow it.”

Lachesis:
“Alas! He who wants to expound Gustav’s deeds with words,
is trying to stop the roaring ocean at the source.”

Astraea:
“Hush your savage mouth! It is not your duty
to relate so great a ruler’s functions with praise.”

Lachesis:
“Believe me, I shall preserve King John’s name
hereafter, and adorn his tomb with Elysian roses.
Lest my speech produce a lamentable weariness,
it is now my determined resolve to cut off his thread. Farewell.”

The fourth drama
The son, Piety.

The son:
“What a crime! Why do the stars let Fate cut off
the fatal threads with a merciless hand?”

Piety:
“Neither the hidden force of the stars, nor the power of the goddess
who spins the dire threads, caused your father’s death.
But it was the determined will of the heavenly king,
who subdues every destiny through his decision.
Cease filling your bosom with tears! Why utter complaints?
 Surely, your father observes the Sabbath of eternal peace.”

The son:
“I am not blessed in all respects at all (alas!),
but worse things approach with fast steps.
For one of the three spinning sisters bored a dreadful
sword through my mother’s heart."
Acrior inde dolor! Dolor ossa pererrat, opimas 
  Qui nequit Hypocratis pertolerare manus. 
O si maerenti reparabilis esset. In omni 
  Turbine, quam vitam ducere suave foret. 
Parca ferox, tibi quid pro talibus imprecer ausis, 315 
  Quo te devoveam nomine, parca ferox? 
Carnivoro tanti surgant tibi corde dolores, 
  Ac tantum vulnus te furiale premat, 
Quantos Caucasaea suffert convalle Prometheus, 
  Nubivagam pascens viscere vivus avem. 320 
Siste vaporifero suffundere lumina rore? 
  Quid? Facis in rapido saxa natare freto!” 

Pietas: 
  “Haec vix lanificas mollit queremonia PARCAS, 
    Desine, littus aras! Desine, littus aras! 
Littus aras! Homines humana feratis oportet, 325 
    Nam Deus electos sic probat ipse suos. 
Desine flere tuos, Princeps gemebunde, parentes. 
    Desine, mandantis mens fuit illa Dei. 
Nam quem peccatis justam movetur ad iram, 
    Eripit egregios (munera magna) DUCES, 330 
Ut paret ingrato funesta pericula regno, 
    Quod verbi sprevit jussa tremenda sui.” 

Filius: 
  “Non est, crede, levis, queruli sed plena doloris 
    Causa, pij patris cernere fata sui. 
Cernere fata suae, levis est nec causa, parentis, 335 
    Cum mediae vitae vere petenda fuit.” 

Pietas: 
  “Dulcis utrique quies, utrique aeterna voluptas, 
    Blanda Redemptoris qui stat ad ora sui. 
Fata sed incusas quid talia?” 

Filius: 
  “Talia quis?” 

Pietas: 
  “Tu.” 

Filius: 
  “Nequaquam. Verae est sed pietatis opus, 340 

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Hence my sorrow was more intense! A sorrow that cannot undergo Hippocrates’ splendid treatment, passes through my heart. O, if she were but restorable for the mourning one. How sweet would it not then be to live, even in the midst of troubles.

Cruel Fate, how shall I curse you for such great crimes, by what name shall I execrate you, cruel Fate?

May such a great pain arise in your carnivorous heart, and such a great dreadful wound afflict you, as Prometheus suffers in the Caucasian Valley, where while still living he feeds a cloud-wandering bird with his intestines.

Stop filling my eyes with vapouring tears?

What? You try to make stones swim in the rapid sea!”

Piety:
“These complaints hardly appease the wool-working Fates, Stop it, you plough the sand! Stop it, you plough the sand!

You plough the sand! Men must endure the human conditions, for God himself examines thus those whom he has chosen.

Stop bewailing your parents, groaning prince.

Stop it, this was the mind of the commanding God.

For when he is provoked to just wrath because of sin, he snatches away the foremost rulers (men of high offices), in order to produce fatal dangers for an ungrateful realm, because it despised his word’s awesome commands.”

The son:
“Believe me, it is not an easy thing, but full of querulous grief, to behold the death of your own pious father.

To behold the death of your own mother is not an easy thing, since she had to be attacked in the spring of her middle age.”

Piety:
“The repose is sweet, and the pleasure eternal, for both of them, who stand before their Redemptor’s gentle eyes.

But why do you accuse such fates?”

The son:
“Who complains of them?”

Piety:
“You.”

The son:
“Not at all. But, it is the work of my true piety,”
Ut de defunctis generosum tester amorem,
Incretam lachrymis tristia damna meis.
Me dolor et lachrymis convitia plena retundunt.”

Pietas:
“Haec mel in hyblaem vertet amara DEUS,
Ut refugum flammis renovaverit acribus orbem,
Atque minax magno fulserit hora die.
Nam postlimini jure, parentis ab ore
Dulcia facundo basia mille feres.”

Filius:
“Spero. Sed obnixe te flagito, si qua per hortos
Frons Mausolaeis usibus apta viret,
Ut simul amborum tumulos solenniter ornes,
Et sedeas ad Avi busta superba mei.”

Pietas:
“Fiet.”

Filius:
“At ipse tuos (absit jactantia) sistam
Votivo celebres ture gravare focos,
Dum brevis Oceani potat formica liquorem,
Dum nec habet plantas sylva, nec astra polus.”

ΠΑΝΤΟΤΕ ΔΟΞΑ ΘΕΩ
that I show my noble affection for the deceased, 
and loudly complain of their sorrowful loss with my tears. 
Grief, and clamour full of tears afflict me.”

Piety:
“God will turn all this bitterness into Hyblaean honey, 
when he restores the receding earth in sharp flames, 
and the menacing hour shines forth on the great day. 
For just as according to a law of restoration, you will receive a thousand 
sweet kisses from your parent’s eloquent mouth.”

The son:
“That is my hope. But I entreat you earnestly, if any leafy boughs, 
suitable for Mausolean use, blossom in your gardens, 
decorate solemnly the graves of both at once, 
and take your seat beside my grandfather’s sumptous tomb.”

Piety:
“It shall be done.”

The son:
“But I myself shall persist in placing votive incense 
on your celebrated altar (absent ostentation), 
until a small ant has drunk all the Ocean’s water, 
until the woods no longer have any seedlings, nor the sky any stars.”

Glory to God always.
3.2 Commentary

Title:

**Threnologia dramatica** As regards the term *threnologia* and the dramatic features see section 1.5.2 above.

**aeviternam** This word (= *aeternus*) occurs in Pacuvius, in a linguistic note in Varro, and as an archaism in Apuleius. It is thus an example of Phrygius’ predilection for obsolete forms and words. Both *aeviternus* and *aeternus* are attested forms in JPG (s.v. *aeternus* and *aevitas*).

**Iohannis III** John III (1537–1592) was the son of Gustav Vasa in his marriage with Margaret Leijonhufvud. He was Duke of Finland from 1556, and King of Sweden from 1569, when he and his younger brother Duke Charles dethroned their elder brother Erik XIV. Phrygius in many instances gave proof of his high appreciation of John III, and he seems to have regarded him as an ideal ruler. Lines in the *Threnologia* of special importance in this regard will be discussed below. Phrygius attached himself closely to John’s III son Duke John.

**Suecorum** See Helander 2004, pp. 277 ff. for a discussion of the several variants of the name for Sweden and the Swedes, regarding which there was never any consensus.

**Gothorum** See comments on line 5 of the *Ecloga prima*.

**Vandalorum** The title *venders konung* was a part of the royal title ever since Gustav Vasa. He started using that part of the Danish royal title in response to the Danish Christian III who had begun using *göters konung* in his title, a phrase usually used by the Swedish kings. Probably the idea of the Goths having conquered those Vandals, who had been mentioned by the ancient authors, contributed to the decision to add the name to the title (Söderquist 1909, pp. 299 ff.). Examples can also be found where *Vandali* is simply used to denote the Swedish people (Helander 2004, p. 285).

**Testandae non tam … quam** This part of the title is interesting. It seems as though Phrygius wants here to dissociate himself to some degree from John III by stressing that the poem is in the first place meant to honour the royal family as a whole. Given the print’s prehistory, this seems like Phrygius’ explanation *post eventum*.

**religiose-defunctum** Even though we do not know for sure if the hyphen was written by Phrygius or added by the type-setter, this illustrates the predilection in Neo-Latin for neologisms and compound words.

**Gostavianam prosapiam** The expression refers to the royal dynasty descending from Gustav Vasa. Worth keeping in mind is also that when the drama was printed in 1620 Gustav Vasa’s grandson Gustav II Adolf was the king. In one of the poems in *Herois quondam invictissimi* in Åhrapredikning (1620) Phrygius called him *Suecicus phaenix redivivus* alluding to the grandfather’s name.
The word *prosapia*, which in classical Latin was regarded as old-fashioned as well as containing a vulgar nuance (Krebs & Schmalz), in Neo-Latin “becomes the word and the correct technical term to denote noble ancestry” (Helander 2004, pp. 73 and 136 f.).

*Dum Rostochij et Jenae ad Salam ... mereret*| Phrygius matriculated at Rostock University in September 1598 (Callmer 1988, p. 30), and at Jena in the summer 1601 (*Die Matrikel der Universität Jena*, vol. 1, p. 238). From this information we may establish with certainty only that the main part of the poem was written between 1598 and 1602, knowing that Phrygius returned to Sweden in 1602 where he had earned his master’s degree. We know thus that Phrygius worked on this drama both before and after his stay in Sweden in 1600–1601.

*Dum* in the sense of ‘while’ with a verb in the imperfect subjunctive rather than the present indicative is mainly postclassical. The analogy to *cum* contributed to this usage (K.-St., II, pp. 377 f.).

As regards *Sala* or *Sahlia*, it is the name of the two Saale rivers in Germany. Jena is situated on the Saxonian Saale (Helander 2004, pp. 273 f.).

In *Castris Musarum*| Phrygius attended the academies in the towns mentioned. The Muses and Apollo, accordingly, not only represent poetry during this period but also frequently academies and academic learning as well (Helander 2004, pp. 553 ff.). Many instances of this can be found in the *propemtica* to Phrygius, in e.g. the *Σχεδιάσματα* (1600) in the second poem by Iohannes Fabricius Finno lines 3 f. *Atra spectantes abeuntem veste sorores/ Stant Pindi spretis civibus ante sinum*, and the second poem by Daniel Nicolai Replerus lines 1 f. *Sororum/ Culmina pertentans linquere, tolle gradum!* The phrase *Castra Musarum* is very frequently used for universities in poems written in an academic context at this time (e.g. also in a poem in *Scripta in funere ... Iohannis Caroli Upsaliensis*, 1562, fol. B4v, as well as in one in *Carmina in honorem ... Petri Ionea Angermanni*, 1590, fol. A3r). It has no classical parallels, but Lucr. 2.8 *sapientum templa serena* expresses a similar idea. The use of *castra* and other words from military terminology in transferred senses was very common in Antiquity. For instance they were frequently used in elegiac love poetry (cf. *OLD*, s.v. *castra*, 5, c). Later on they were much used among Christians who considered themselves ‘soldiers of Christ’ (Palmer 1954, p. 193). An obvious example is Paul’s exhortation to the Ephesians in Eph 6:11 *Induite vos armaturam Dei*. Harold B. Segel stresses the presence of military imagery in baroque poetry, interpreting it as an expression of the age itself, a distinctive trait of which were conflicts of different kinds (Segel 1974, p. 89).

*Personae dramaticae*| The list of characters in the original print does not mention *Regina Gunila* and *Rex Johannes*, who appear in lines 188 ff. of this poem. As will be discussed more in detail below, that part must be assumed to be a later addition to the text and composed at the turn of the century. It cannot have been written before 1618, since it presupposes the death of...
Duke John. However, because these characters are part of the drama printed in 1620 with their lines indicated in the margins of the original print, they have been added to this list but placed in brackets.

**Pallas** The by-name of Athena or Minerva (cf. Vitr. 4.8.4 *Palladis Miner-vae*) was used independently for her already by Pindar (Roscher, s.v. *Pallas*). She was the goddess of wisdom and as such presided over art and literature. This is how we primarily should understand her in this poem.

**Autor** This spelling was rejected as early as the later half of the 1st century (Prob. *app. gramm.* 4.198.30 *auctor non autor*). But in Phrygius’ contemporary JPG (s.v. *author*) it is still correct in the sense of ‘author’. There it is *Author, seu, Autor* (the form *auctor* means ‘one who increases’). However, the correct spelling was soon discovered. Somewhat later BFS (s.v. *auctor*) has: *Auctor, sic enim potius dicendum, scribendumque est, quam Autor, ut Valla scripsit, vel cum aspiratione Author, ut alii.*

**Johannes Dux ... minorennis** For general information on Duke John (1589–1618), see a footnote to section 1.3.2 above. The word *minorennis* does not occur in ancient Latin. Its usage during the Middle Ages is however attested in e.g. Du Cange, *LLNMA*, and *GMLS*.

**Astraea** The goddess of justice, daughter of Zeus and Themis and sister of Pudicitia. As the goddess Dike (cf. Arat. *phain.* 105), she lived among human beings during the Golden age and was the last of the gods to leave earth. Cf. e.g. Ov. *met.* 1.150 *ultima caelestum terras Astraea reliquit* and *Octavia* 396 ff. *tenente regna Saturno poli./ tunc illa virgo, numinis magni dea,/ Iustitia, caelo missa cum sancta Fide/ terris regebat mitis humanum genus*. Dike is also the constellation *virgo* in the sky. Ovid is the first we know of who called her Astraea (Bömer *met.*, I–III, pp. 69 f. Cf. also Hes. *erg.* 197 ff., *Verg. ecl.* 4.6 and *georg.* 2.473 f.).

The motif of Astraea’s return to earth as a sign of the return of the Golden age, occurring already in classical poetry (e.g. *Verg. ecl.* 4.6 and *Hor. carm. saec.* 57 f.), can be found frequently in other Neo-Latin authors as well. Among Swedish authors we find it in e.g. Andreas Stobaeus, who, in the later half of the 17th century in the poem *Augur Apollo* (edited in Berggren 1994, p. 66, lines 22 ff.) directed to Charles XI, wrote: *Ip sa quidem Paeana canens Astraea choreas/ Ducit, et imposita Themis intemerata corona/ Subsequent.* *Redimita comas frondentis olivae/ Pax tubae placido sese inserit aurea gressu.* Later Stobaeus also wrote about Charles XII (Berggren 1994, p. 168, lines 88 f.): *sceptris habitatque sub illis/ Invisum Numen nobis Astraeas. In Berggren 1994, pp. 115 f. further examples from Neo-Latin literature are given. The German Johannes Bocer (1525[?]–1565) also reassuringly wrote to a prince: *Et rediit virgo, coelum quae clavibus aequis/ Iusticiae reserat sacros et rite labores* (in Mundt 1999, p. 22). Queen Elizabeth I of England was very often compared to Astraea: This virgin-goddess had thus returned to earth personified in the righteous ruler Elizabeth, and with her the Golden age was back (see Yates 1975, pp. 29 ff., for several examples
from contemporary literature, and for a discussion of the history of the motif).

In Christianity the pious reading of line 6 of Vergil’s fourth eclogue (Iam reedit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna) had even identified Astraea with Virgin Mary, who would have brought a Christian Golden age to earth. This identification occurs also during the Renaissance (cf. Levin 1969, p. 18 f. and Yates 1975, p. 34).

**Lachesis** Together with Clotho and Atropos she is one of the Fates spinning the thread of life (ever since Catull. 64.305 ff.). In the beginning they were goddesses of childbirth but were later identified with the Moirai from Greek mythology. Cf. in Latin literature e.g. Sen. Oed. 986 servatque suae decreta colus/ Lachesis nulla revoluta manu, and Mart. 1.88.9 cum mihi supremos Lachesis pervenerit annos.

**Pietas** Piety, i.e. the sentiment of duty toward gods, family, etc., personified. In Ov. met. 1.149 we can read that Pietas already had been defeated when Astraea left earth. She is thus associated with the Golden age as well. In this context Pietas is also invested with all kinds of Christian connotations. JPG translated it with Gudfructigheet/ en sann Gudztiaanst (‘devoutness/ a true worship’). The term must also be regarded as a Christian addition to those princely virtues that had been inherited from antiquity. Pietas as a firm devotion towards God was in fact the sovereign’s most important virtue (Kajanto 1993 [1], pp. 110 ff.). Cf. Daniel Hjortvipa’s words in Hexameteron gratulatorium (1597): Sancta Dei Pietas, sceptro dignissima virtus (fol. A3r). In Skinnerus’ Epithalamion (1585, fol. A3v) Pietas incarnate walks first in the procession of virtues.

**Regina Gunila** In 1585 John III in Västerås married his second wife Gunilla Bielke (1568–1597), who belonged to a family of the Swedish nobility. The marriage was much criticized, since the king had married someone beneath his rank. Duke Charles, who regarded it as a misalliance, even refused to attend the ceremony. See Ericus Jacobi Skinnerus’ Epithalamion, from 1585, written on the occasion of this wedding. Skinnerus tries in many ways to defend John’s choice and to explain why the king acted wisely (see Helander 2004, pp. 493 f.).

**Drama primum:**

The theme in the very first part of the drama, concerning the conditions of poetical composition, is very common among Phrygius’ contemporaries. As will be demonstrated with parallels below, the imagery of a laurel planted on the top of a mountain was commonly used for the hard task of the scholar. But, as Phrygius puts it here, we must assume that he had been strongly influenced by Georg Sabinus’ poem Ad Ioannem Bogum, Regis Poloniae aulicum. Elegia XII (1568[?], p. 187 f. [Camena]), both thematically and literally. Sabinus’ poem is here reproduced in its entirety, with the lines in cor-
rect order (left) with the resemblances from Phrygius’ poem written along-
side (right).

Cum novus Aonidum cultor puerilibusannis
Celsa petiturus culmina montis eram,
Culmina lauriferi montis,
quem fonte perenni
Bellerophonteus nobilitavit equus.

Saepeius Aonios statui lustrare meatus,
Et semel attritas inscius ire vias.
Nam semel est huys mihi visa cacumine montis
Arbor, odoriferis luxuriosa comis.

Flumina nec nitidis cerno purissima lymphis,
Impacto pernix quae pede fecit equus,
Hic quia nulla pedum vestigia, nulla rotarum
Symboali, nec bifidi culmina cerno jugi,
Flumina nec nitidis cerno purissima lymphis,
Impacto pernix quae pede fecit equus,
Lucifluus rutilo nec sol temone coruscat,
Sed piceis coelum nubibus omne latet,
Dum studeo latebrose sequi compendia, saepe

Meque per ignotos error agebat agros.
Obsita nunc dumis, limosaque rura vaganti,
Nunc mihi lassabant scrupea saxa pedes.
... sed nix praeedit alta pedes ...
Haeret in obscoeno pes mihi saepe luto.

At procul aerio residens in vertice montis
Vidit ut errorem Calliopea meum,
Risit: meque vocans, puer hac puer (inquit) eundum Siste! Supercilium, puer huc imberbis eundum
Est tibi, pars nostri si cupis esse chori.

Ostenditque viam, quae recto tramite, planum
Ad sacra Musarum limina ducit iter.
Ostia, non salebris, neque callibus aspera duris,
Ad juga Parnassi qua grave ducit iter,
Sed laeto viridis gramine, mollis humo.
Mollis at aprico gramine, mollis Humo.

Nec tamen inventu facilis: nec quilibet illam,
Floribus et lauris cum sit opaca, videt.

Nec tamen inventu facilis: nec quilibet illam,
Floribus et lauris cum sit opaca, videt.

Hac ego, certa sequens veterum vestigia vatum,
Conscendi proprio culmina celsa gradu.
Ipsa praeibo, regens certo vestigia filo.
Tunc alacri plausu testatae gaudia Musae,
Imposuere meis laurea serra comis:
Et Sulmone satus pharetrati lusor amoris,
Ipse mihi dono plectra sonora dedit.
Et simul e lauru victrices detræhe frondes,
Conficiens tenera Regia serra manu.
Aptabo digitis plectra canora tuis.

At memor errorisque molestorumque laborum
Quos subii quondam sustinuique puer.
Omnibus hanc doctis tyronibus esse putavi
Monstrandam, ostendit quam mihi Musa, viam.

… latebras
Nam video simili multos errore vagantes,
Pegasei frustra quaerere fontis aquam,
In curvas aliter te vagus error agit.
Pegasus huc acri patefecit robre fontem,
Et Sacra Pegaseis nomina fecit aquis.

Limosasque pigrae sordes haurire lacunae,
Dum nequeunt sacro fonte levare sitim.
Hoc tua rorabis de fonte labella.

Ergo brevem pueris confeci Boge libellum,
Aonius quorum pectora versat amor,
Ut qua perveniant ad docti limina Phoebi,
Indicio fiat semita nota meo.
Hunc legisse tibi si non est forte molestum,
Dum meus hic præsens hospes es, oro legas.

As can be seen, Phrygius’ loans from Sabinus are obvious. The theme is very similar, dealing with how a young lad takes his first poetical steps. However, Phrygius has reworked the theme to fit his own purposes and changed the scenery in various ways: Phrygius gives Pallas a role in his dialogue, while Sabinus used Calliope, to whom he also gives some lines to speak. The context is also very different. While Phrygius lets Pallas exhort the author to compose laudatory poetry on a king (John III), Sabinus relates how Calliope assisted him as a young boy, thus giving in his turn poetical help and encouragement to the sons of his host (Johannes Bogus). Phrygius’ recusatio has no counterpart in Sabinus’ poem.

Epiphanies are a stock ingredient in contemporary Neo-Latin poetry, usually early in the texts (cf. Harsting 1995, pp. 215 f.). There a god or goddess appears to the author and exhorts him to compose the poem in question. A scene similar to Phrygius’ occurs in e.g. the beginning of the poem Hy- menaeus in Honorem Coniugii … Erici Guldenstern (1563) by Ericus Petri (fols. A2r–A3r). There Pallas appears, encouraging the author to produce a laudatory poem.
1. *duro ... stipite*] The combination occurs in Verg. *Aen.* 7.524 (in the plural), where it however refers to some rude weapons.

*titubantes*] Phrygius wrote this drama somewhere between 1598–1602, and was accordingly between 26- and 30-years old at that time. In the end of 1601 he also won his title of *poeta caesareo-laureatus*, and was accordingly considered very skilled. We should thus already here regard Phrygius’ humbleness as primarily being part of the following *recusatio* (see below), but also as a reminiscence from Sabinus, where the uncertainty in writing poetry depends on a very low age. For a similar *recusatio*, being based on poetical inexperience, cf. Carolus Benedicti Praetorius in *Συγχάρμα ... Iohanni Suenonis* (1597): *Accipe nec tenui gradientem sperne Camaenam/ Passu* (fol. A4r).

2. *vix bis Castalij ... jugi*] Castalia was a well on the slopes of Parnassus, consecrated to Apollo and the Muses. Hence the Muses are sometimes called *Castalides*. Regarding that fountain’s function as a symbol of poetical creativity cf. Verg. *georg.* 3.291 f. *sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis/ raptat amor; iuvat ire iugis, qua nulla priorum/ Castaliam molli devertitur orbita clivo*. Vergil had in his turn in this passage, which echoes also in lines 21 f. below, been inspired by Lucr. 4.1 ff. (see further Mynors 1990, p. 226). Exactly what *vix bis* could refer to is hard to guess. If it alludes to earlier poetical experiences, which would they be? And why *vix*? Most important is however that Phrygius once again stresses his youth and inexperience.

*viserat*] The pluperfect for the perfect, presumably *metri gratia*.

3 f. *eundum/ est tibi*] Cf. Mollerus’ *Sertum Musarum* (1561), which likewise refers to a struggle to reach the laurel on Parnassus, echoing of Georg Sabinus’ poem as well: *Est tibi per duri carceta rigoris eundum,/ Dum te suscipiat denique summus apex*. So far in the poem we have met two circumlocutions for the Muses. In fact it existed many more of them, all depending on what places they were associated with. Cf. Varro in *ling.* 7.20: *Caelum dicunt Graeci Olympum, montem in Macedonia omnes; a quo potius puto Musas dictas Olympiadas: ita enim ab terrestribus locis aliis cognominatae Libethrides, Pipleides, Thespiades, Heliconides.*


5. *Aonios*] Aonia is that part of Boetia where Hippocrene and Aganippe on Mount Helicon are situated. The springs, which often stand metaphorically for ‘poetical inspiration’, were sacred to the Muses (cf. e.g. Nichols 1979, p. 5), who once in a while are called *Aonides* as well. Cf. Verg. *georg.* 3.11 *Aonio rediens deducam vertice musas*. Famous is also the passage in Hesiod’s *Theogony* lines 30 f., where the Muses consecrated
the author a poet with the gift of a laurel branch. In *carm.* 3.3.14 ff. Horace expresses his own poetical self-esteem and asks Melpomene to crown him with the laurel: *sume superbiam/ quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica/ lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam* (see further e.g. Hein 1963, pp. 223 ff., and Pauly, vol. 13, s.v. *Lorbeer*). The laurel is frequently represented in emblematic literature (cf. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 202 ff.), and the motif of the laurel-tree situated on the top of a rough mountain towards which poetic endeavours strive, can be found in several of Phrygius’ contemporaries as well (see below).

In agreement with Kurt Johannesson we could perhaps assume that with the expression *semel est … mihi visa … / arbor* Phrygius alluded to the bestowal of the title *poëta caesareo-laureatus* on him in 1601 (Kurt Johannesson 1968, p. 61). But if we do, then Phrygius must have written that part of the poem after 13 December that year (cf. the printed diploma in UUB, *Palmsk.* 343). Furthermore *semel* recalls the almost synonymous *vix bis* in the second line. In the previous line *semel attritas* should also probably be understood as a parallel expression. The author had seen the laurel-tree but once, when he had walked ‘the Aonian paths’. Taking all these instances into consideration, another possibility would be that Phrygius was referring to the publication of the *Ecloga prima*, which was at this time the only work he had published.

**odoriferis … comis** *TLL* comments on the compound word *odorifer* or *-us* as being *vox primitus poetica …* It occurs in e.g. *Verg.* *Aen.* 12.419 and Prop. 2.13.23. The phrase is parallel to the *odoratas … frondes* in the following line. Vergil, too, described the laurel as sweet-smelling in *Aen.* 6.658 *inter odoratum lauri nemus.*

**9–10.** This passage is ultimately modeled on *Verg.* *georg.* 2.293 ff. with its description of the advantages of the oak (*aesculus in primis*) which can be used to support vines. This tree has very deep roots, so …

> Ergo non hiemes illam [aesculum], non flabra neque imbres convellunt: immota manet multoque nepotes, multa virum volvens durando saecula vincit, tum fortis late ramos et bracchia tendens huc illuc media ipsa ingentem sustinet umbram.

In Erasmus Laetus’ 7th eclogue the strength of the laurel-tree had likewise been emphasized with Vergil’s passage as a model (1560, fol. H8r–v):

> … nulla comam convellunt frigora Lauro, Sidereisve cadit perflata caloribus: at se Suscitat et cariem contra fulmenque Tonantis, Et tentata gelu virides fovet aemula ramos, Invictosque Deo servat pulcherrima vultus …
The same is the case in a passage in Henricus Mollerus’ *Sertum Musarum* (1561, fol. B2r):

Daque tuis illi faustum virtutibus omen,
Non vulgare tuis frondibus omen inest.
Ut neque frigus iners, neque vis Aestatis et Austri,
Ut neque te coelo fulmina missa premunt.

Accordingly Phrygius describes the laurel, in a metaphorical sense, as having deep roots as well. Therefore weapons are added to the list of forces unable to destroy the tree. Nothing can diminish the value of the achievements of art and intellect.

9. *hyems aquilonia* The combination occurs in Val. Fl. 6.715 f. We may perhaps suspect that in using this expression Phrygius also wanted to say that not even the cold climate in the Nordic regions could oppress the poetical creativeness and desire for a long-lasting honour through art (cf. Helander 2004, pp. 413 f.). Likewise there is this line concerning the laurel in Melchior Weinrich’s *Aerarium Poeticum: Boreaeque minas et frigora temnit* (1677, p. 399 [Camena]). Regarding *aquilonius* as referring to Sweden, see comments on the *Ecloga prima*, line 38, s.v. *Arcton*.

11–12. The laurel was associated with both warfare, poetry and academic learning. Cf. e.g. Petrarch’s sonnet no. 263 (1949): *Arbor victoriosa triumphale,/ honor d’imperadori et di poeti*. Swedenborg in a poem (edited in Helander 1995, p. 86, line 65 f.) later wrote *Se decor et miles lauru, decor-entque Poëtae,/ De Caeso figant bina trophaea Dano*. Petrarch himself was laureated on the Capitoline Hill in Rome in 1341. He was one of the first to be honoured in this way, when the ancient tradition of laureating talented poets had been resumed. Later on the title *laureatus* suffered a great inflation. The poets who could brag about it were *legio*, and not all of them were successful mountaineers on the slopes of Parnassus.

In ancient Rome victorious commanders were honoured with the laurel (in Plin. *nat.* 15.134. also called *pacifera*), cf. e.g. Hor. *carm.* 2.1.15 f. *cui laurus aeternos honores/ Delmatico peperit triumpho*, and Ov. *met.* 1.560 f. *tu [laure] ducibus Latiis aderis, cum laeta Triumphum/ vox canet et visent longas Capitolia pompas*.

As we saw in the comments on *in Castris Musarum* in the title above, the Muses and Apollo were also associated with the academies, which in their turn were often described in military imagery. Since the laurel was Apollo’s tree, the custom of laureating was adopted there as well. It was in the first place connected with the bestowal of the degree of *baccalaureus* (a word often claimed to be etymologically related to *laureus*), but later also to the master’s and doctor’s degrees (Nevéus 1986, pp. 114 f.). All this is reflected in a passage in *Carmina in honorem ... Petri Ionae Angermanni* (1590), written to celebrate the bestowal of the degree of master on Petrus Ionae:
Gnarus et in Phoebi castris pugnavit et armis/ Petrus, et evasit postmodo victor ovans:/ Phoebus adest, iuvenemque iubet cito poscere laurum,/ Praemia virtutis, praemia militiae.

11. Apollineam ... cohortem] With this combination Phrygius could refer both to poets and to scholars, using the word cohors, which we most often associate with military terminology. Cf. the comments on in Castris Musarum in the title above. Cf. also Joh. Paulinus Lillienstedt, who addressed students and professors at Åbo as Clarij sacra Concio Phoebi (quoted from Helander 2004, pp. 554).

12. bene-sectantem] Cf. the comments on religiose-defunctum in the title above.

Martia castra] The combination occurs in Tib.1.2.70.

13–14. It used to be said that the laurel was never struck by lightning. This is claimed by Pliny e.g. in nat. 2.146 and 15.133 ff. In the latter, which contains a major treatment on the laurel, information on the aspects treated above can also be found. Suetonius wrote about Tiberius (69) that the emperor protected himself with a laurel crown whenever there was a thunderstorm, so that he would be safe (also in Plin. nat. 15.135). Cf. e.g. Hor. carm. 2.15.9 f. tum spissa ramis laurea fervidos/ excludet ictus, and the quotation on the laurel from Mollerus above. The motif can be found in emblematic art as well (cf. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 203 f., and Schöne 1993, pp. 90 ff., on the use of it in dramatic texts).

13. horrisono] The word was used already in classical poetry, in e.g. Lucr. 5.109, Verg. Aen. 6.573 and 9.55. See further Austin 1986, p. 185 on compounds ending in -sonus.

fulminis ictu] A frequently used phrase. As a hexameter ending it occurs in e.g. Lucr. 3.488, Ov. met. 14.618, and Sil. 14.314.

14. hinc] = hac re. This use of pronominal adverbs instead of pronouns in different cases is mostly late Latin. See K.-St., II, p. 147, and Löfstedt, II, pp. 149 f.

Genios pellit ab aede malos] The idea that the laurel keeps away evil spirits is connected to it being considered to have purging and purifying forces (it was also very early used in medicine). Related to this is its power to deflect thunderbolts mentioned above. Actually, when Zedler’s great encyclopaedical work of the 18th century treated this characteristic of the laurel (escaping thunderbolts) it was noted: Daher heissen die Römer diesen Baum Plantam boni genii, das ist, ein Gewächs eines guten Geistes. (Zedler, vol. 18, col. 441). In Antiquity laurels were planted at the doorposts of the temple of Vesta and at the houses of the Flamines for this very reason (see Bömer fast., vol. II, pp. 151 f.). When in the 16th century in his Adagia Erasmus discussed the proverb genius malus, he stated, referring to Empedocles’ opinion as related by Plutarch:
Porro proverbium apparit e priscorum opinione profectum, qui singulis binos genios attribuunt, quos daemones vocant: neque hominibus modo, verum etiam locis atque aedibus, quorum alter perniciem nobis moliatur, alter iuvare studeat …

But nowadays, Erasmus says, the expression is used about every man who is accused of being guilty of our misfortunes. Regarding the use of the parenthesis cf. the comments on line 46 of the Ecloga prima.

15–18. The frequently used theme of the poet as bestowing an ever-lasting name and honour on important men must be understood from the perspective of poetry as an undestroyable monument, as formulated by Horace in carm. 3.30.1. Horace also stated, in carm. 4.9.25 ff., that men who lived earlier in time than Agamemnon had been forgotten because no poets had sung their praise (cf. Helander 2004, pp. 478 ff., including the references to works by Curtius and Delblanc). The theme was a favorite among poets wishing to draw attention to the worth of their poetical skill and work. This was especially the case in occasional literature, where authors were more explicitly dependent on the goodwill of recipients and employers. Phrygius accordingly states here that he has taken up poetry in order to extol his patrons.

Another aspect of these lines is that it presupposes the obvious desire among kings and princes for immortal renown, which is shown in equally frequent descriptions of virtuous and glorious deeds (cf. Helander 2004, pp. 420 f.).

15. sacrīs ... umbris] The combination is also found in Lucan. 9.240. Here it refers to the shades produced by the laurel tree.

16. Gramīna ... carpere] Usually used about animals grazing, as in Verg. Aen. 9.353, Ov. met. 1.209 and trist. 4.8.20.

17. poliam] The word is certainly not to be understood literally here, even though such an awkward reading would make sense as well. Besides the ordinary sense of the word, JPG has besmyckia (adorn), which must be what Phrygius intended in this metaphorical expression.


19 f. pictis de floribus ... corollas/ Contexam] Cf. e.g. a section in the poem Ad Illustrissimum Principem Albertum ... primum Prussiae Ducem by Georg Sabinus, where the poet mentions a forthcoming laudatory work (1568[?], p. 181 [Camena]):

Mons ubi sublimis Helicon se tollit in auras,
Roscida Musarum floribus arua nitent,
Quos neque sol aestu, Boreas neque frigore laedit,
Nec spoliant ulli veris honore dies.
His tibi contexam de floribus ipse coronam,
E ducibus qualem nemo sub axe gerit.

See also Johannes Posthius: *Insuper hanc vario contextam flore corollam* (1595, vol. 2, p. 43 [Camena]). As regards the *pictis floribus*, cf. Ov. *fast.* 4.430 *pictaque dissimili flore nitebat humus, Culex 70 florida cum tellus, gemmantis picta per herbas* and *Priap.* 3.10 *florido mihi ponitur picta vere corolla.* All of them refer to motley flowers.

**20–30.** The complaints expressed by the author here, following Sabinus’ model, should presumably be understood in two ways. Firstly, as part of the *recusatio*, he formulates his own difficulties as being due to his lacking experience and inspiration when attempting to write eulogies for his patrons. Secondly, and perhaps more interestingly for us, we could assume in these lines that he complains of the absence of Swedish literary models and of the custom of praising important men with poetry. The phrase *nix praepedit alta pedes* does point towards conditions in Sweden or at least towards in the Nordic regions (cf. the comments on line 9 above). It is striking that snow hinders the author on his struggle to reach Mount Helicon. He cannot see any footprints from previous wanderers and, accordingly, feels that he has to make his way and face the many difficulties on his own. Even though he did exaggerate, he was right to some extent. At this time the production of occasional poetry was rather meagre in Sweden, at least in comparison to Germany (cf. the footnote on the term *early Swedish Neo-Latin poetry* in section 1.1 above), but Phrygius had had some important Swedish forerunners.

Phrygius’ complaints may be compared to Lucretius’ proud declaration that he will wander untrodden paths in 4.1–5 *Avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante/ trita solo. Iuvat integros accedere fontis/ atque haurire, iuvatque novos decerpere flores/ insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam/ unde prius nulli velarint tempora musae* (also in 1.926–30). That passage was imitated among others by Vergil in *georg.* 3.291–293 and Nemesianus in *cyn.* 8–9.

Moreover, it was customary in the poetry of the time to describe the path to poetical fame as hard and difficult to travel. Cf. e.g. Henricus Mollerus’ *Sertum Musarum* (1561): *Per praerupta gravi, perque aspera saxa, labore,/ Difficiles aditus arx Heliconis habet.* Parnassus as the very hard to climb mountain of poetry is a popular motif in contemporary emblematic literature (see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 61 ff.). See also the quotation in the comments on line 3 f. above.

**21 f. pedum vestigia … / … cerno** Cf. Ov. *met.* 5.630 *neque enim vestigia cernit/ longius ulla pedum.*
22. **symbola**] Phrygius uses *symbola* (n. pl.), the Greek σύμβολον, almost as a synonym for the previous *vestigia*, and that is unusual. For example JPG lists ten different meanings for the word, but none of them comes really close to what we see here. L&S explains it as “a sign or mark by which one gives another to understand any thing”. Phrygius here uses the word in a wider sense, as any kind of mark. Cf. *Dialogus nuptialis*, lines 41 f. *Reor ergo parentum/ gnatam velle pedum symbola rara sequi.*

**bifidi culmina ... jugi** The mountain referred to is Parnassus, which despite having many high peaks was called διλόφος (double-crested) already by Sophocles. The reason is that the two peaks at Delphi were the most impressive and famous ones (Bömer *met.*, I–III, pp. 114 f.). Cf. e.g. Ov. *met.* 1.316 f., *mons ibi verticibus petit arduus astra duobus/ nomine Parnasos*, Sen. *Oed.* 227 *gemina Parnasi nivalis arx* and 281 *Parnasos biceps*. It is also noteworthy that no instance of *bifidus* referring to mountains is attested in *TLL*. In Neo-Latin it can, however, be found quite frequently, e.g. in the poem *Aliud* written to Phrygius by Petrus Erici Drivius Cuprimontanus in the *Σχεδιάσματα* (1600): *bifido turba novena jugo.*

23–24. The lines refer to the spring Hippocrene, or Aganippe, on Mount Helicon, which was associated with the Muses (already in Hesiod’s *Theog.* 1 ff.). According to the myth it came into being through the hoof-beats of Pegasus (*impacto ... pede fecit equus*). In Latin literature this is told in e.g. Prop. 3.3.1 f., Ov. *fast.* 5.7 f. (note the expression *Aganippidos Hippocrenes*) and *met.* 5.255 ff., while Aganippe is mentioned in e.g. Verg. *ecl.* 10.12 and Ov. *met.* 5.312. See further lines 87 ff. below. It is referred to in emblems as well (see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 62 f.).

23. **lymphis**] See the comments on line 20 of the *Ecloga prima* above.

25. **Lucifluus**] The compound was first used in Iuvenc. 3.294.

**temone**] See the comments on line 40 of the *Ecloga prima*.

**coruscat**] The word, rather unusual in the classical period, was more widely used in late Latin (cf. *TLL*). In mediaeval Latin it became very popular, especially in connection to miracles, cf. e.g. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, and *LLNMA*.

26. **piceis coelum nubibus omne latet**] Phrygius’ line is close to Ov. *met.* 11.549 f. *inducta piceis e nubibus umbra/ omne latet caelum*, in which a seastorm by night is described (see further in Bömer *met.*, X–XI, p. 383).

27–30. It is possible to discern traces from several proverbial expressions in this passage. The first two lines make one think of such as *Compendia mihi dispensia* (Picinelli 1695, vol. 1, p. 464), while the two last ones recall sayings as *In eodem haesitas luto*, on which Erasmus comments as follows: *In eos competit, qui sic implicant negocio cuipiam, ut se nequeant extricare. A viatoribus translatum ...* (Erasmus’ *Adagia*, p. 156. See also Otto, pp. 201 f.).

28. **Avius ... error**] The combination is also found in Sen. *Tro.* 563.
29. *figere gressus* The hexameter ending occurs in e.g. an *Epicedion* on Melanchthon by Johann Bocer (Gruterus 1612, vol. 1, p. 668 [Camena]).

31–36. The essence of Pallas’ response to Phrygius’ hesitations is obviously that any problems in composing poetry are due to a lack of learning. The way to Parnassus is delightful and easy to walk for the learned man (*docto*). Kurt Johannesson stresses this point: Great requirements of poetical talent and learning were a reality for poets at this time (Kurt Johannesson 1968, p. 61). In this passage Pallas merely emphasizes the importance of erudition, and in many respects this reflects how things were according to contemporary poetical treatises. Poetical talent was important, but learning was more often regarded as absolutely necessary when striving towards Parnassus (see section 1.6.5 above). But we must not forget that a considerable part of the prelude is dominated by the theme of *recusatio*. Phrygius’ statements of his lacking ability and the difficulties of composing must in the first place be assessed with his rhetorical purposes in mind.

Carolus Benedicti Praetorius, in the congratulatory print Ἑυφημίαι (1599) dedicated to Jonas Kylander, uses a similar metaphorical description of the obstacles that will meet a poet who strives towards Parnassus:

\[
\text{Si quis ad Aonii sitienter prata vireti} \\
\text{Scandere avet, Claria miles in arte bonus:} \\
\text{Hunc non frigus iners, non saevus terreat aestus,} \\
\text{Non juga, non sudor, continuusque labor.}
\]

31. *tegat ocrea suras* This hexameter ending occurs in e.g. Nikodemus Frischlin: *Et phalerato insignis equo: tegit ocrea suras/ Nigra genu tenus* (1598, p. 176 [Camena]). The word *ocrea* in ancient Latin means ‘greave’, but in Neo-Latin it most often refers to a ‘boot’. Cf. JPG, BFS and Helander 2004, p. 135.


33–36. Pallas’ description of the road to the heights of Parnassus, in which Phrygius imitated Sabinus, as we saw above, was probably modeled on Hesiod’s words about the path to excellence in *Erg.* 287 ff., a passage of enormous influence on later literature (see Friberg 1945, p. 98 ff.):

\[
\text{τὴν μὲν τοι κακότητα καὶ ἱλαδὸν ἔσπιν ἐλέσθαι} \\
\text{ὁμιδως· λείη μὲν ὄδὸς, μάλα δὲ ἐγγύθι ναίειν} \\
\text{τῆς δ’ ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοί προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν} \\
\text{ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρθὸς ῥὸς ἐς αὐτὴν} \\
\text{καὶ τοχχώς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὶν δ’ εἰς ἀκρον ἴκηται,} \\
\text{ὁμιδὴ δὴ ἐπείτα πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ ἔνδεια.}
\]

(“Badness can be got easily and in shoals: the road to her is smooth, and she lives very near us. But between us and the Goodness the gods have placed
the sweat of our brows: long and steep is the path that leads to her, and it is rough at the first; but when a man has reached the top, then is she easy to reach, though before that she was hard.\(^{373}\)

As Friberg stated in his work on Stiernhielm, who also used and elaborated this passage, Hesiod’s *Works and Days* was a standard text when teaching Greek poetry in school ever since Melanchthon (Friberg 1945, p. 111). For instance this passage referred to is also found in a very informal letter, probably from 1597, to Axel Oxenstierna from some fellow-students as an encouragement in his studies (Ahnlund 1913, p. 172). We could thus take for granted that Phrygius was familiar with the work as well. Furthermore the motif of the hardships of the virtuous path recurs repeatedly in descriptions of Hercules’ choice in contemporary literature (see Helander 2004, pp. 499 ff.).

On the other hand Phrygius’ (and Sabinus’) text was obviously influenced by Seneca’s *Oedipus*, lines 276 ff:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Frondifera sanctae nemora Castaliae petens} \\
\text{calcavit artis obsitum dumis iter,} \\
\text{trigemina qua se spargit in campos via.} \\
\text{secat una gratum Phocidos Baccho solum,} \\
\text{unde altus arva deserit, caelum petens,} \\
\text{clementer acto colle Parnasos biceps.}
\end{align*}
\]

This section is part of the passage in which Creon describes where and how King Laius was killed by a band of robbers on his way to the Castalian groves.

33. **Semia … obsita dumis**] Similar to the above quoted Sen. *Oed.* 277 *obsita dumis iter*. The phrase *obsitus dumis*, which also occurs in Sabinus above, is suggested under the heading *Desertus* in Melchior Weinrich’s *Aerarium poeticum* (1677, p. 774 [Camena]).

35. **DOCTO**] The above comparison with Sabinus showed that this aspect of the poet’s work is Phrygius’ own addition. In Sabinus the way to the Muses’ abode is easy to walk once the right entrance to it has been found, but for Phrygius only the learned man will delight in it. This is heavily emphasized in the print, all letters in the word being written in capitals.

36. **aprico gramine, mollis Humo**] This may be an echo, one even closer in Sabinus’ poem, of Ov. *ars* 3.688 *viridi caespite mollis humus*.

38. **Lilia, funereis usibus apta**] Already in the Old Testament the lily was a symbol of beauty, and in early Christian art it became a symbol of Christ. In medieval Christianity it served as a symbol of heavenly purity. This is illustrated in many representations of the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary.

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\(^{373}\) Hugh G. Evelyn-White’s translation in *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (1950), p. 25.
where the angel Gabriel often carries a lily in his hand (cf. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 305–307, and Walther, 37905a). Furthermore the lily shares much of its history with the rose, being beautiful (which explains *ridentia gramina* below), sweet-smelling and commonly used in gardens (Hehn 1963, pp. 251 ff.). That Phrygius, as people today do as well, associates the lily with funerals, must above all be understood from the fact that from early on it was used as an ornamentation of graves. Its short time of flowering turned it into a symbol of human life. An instance in classical poetry where the connection between lilies and death is visible is e.g. Anchises’ words in *Verg. Aen.* 6.883 *manibus date lilia plenis* (see Norden 1916, p. 346). Cf. also Lattimore 1942, pp. 135 ff., regarding the theme of giving flowers to the dead in ancient epitaphs. Here Pallas’ words *Carpere nunc tibi fas est mollia ... / Lilia* must quite simply be understood as an exhortation to compose funeral poetry. Cf. Swedenborg’s dirge on Eric Benzelius in 1709 (edited in Helander 1995, p. 48), line 23 *Ipsa ego defuncto spargam Tibi lilia, flores*.  

The phrase *usibus apta* can be found in poetry in *Ov. fast.* 3.666.  

39–40. These two lines are very close to, the second one even exactly the same as, two lines in the poem *In hortum Lutheri* by Johann Stigel: *Aspice iucundo ridentia lilia vultu,/ Carpe, sed ut carpas sobrius ista vide* (1566, fol. M7v [Camena]), where *Fides* advises the author in a dream how to live properly.  

39. *vereundo ... vultu* The combination is also found in *Ov. met.* 14.840.  

41 f. The laurel garlands to be made in memory of the deceased king stand for laudatory poetry. Cf. a passage in Henricus Mollerus’ *Sertum Musarum* (1561), written for the coronation of Erik XIV. While other people give gifts such as gold and pearls to the new king, Phoebus tells the Muses to present garlands, for their worth will never be diminished (fol. B1r):  

```plaintext
Ergo parate virens aeterno lumine sertum,
praebeat hoc vobis germina laeta nemus.
His ex arboribus virides decerpite ramos,
indeque solerti texite serta manu.
Magnos magna decent, violasque rosasque puellae,
sed validi Reges frondea serta gerant.
```

41. *e lauro victrices ... frondes* For the laurel as *victrix* cf. e.g. Tib. 1.7.7, *Ov. am.* 1.11.25 and *Mart.* 9.35.6. See also the comments on lines 8 and 11–12 above.  

42. *tenera ... serta manu* The *tenera manu* is a common poetical combination, e.g. in Catull. 61.211, Prop. 3.3.34 and *Ov. Pont.* 4.12.24, while the pentameter ending *serta manu* occurs e.g. also in one of Adam Siber’s poems (1565–1566, vol. 1 p. 428 [Camena]).  

43–44. The idea in these lines that the dead and cold marble will come to life through an act of artistic skill has many parallels in literature. Cf. e.g. *Verg.*
Aen. 6.847 f. excudent alii spirantia mollius aera/ (credo equidem), vivos
ducent de marmore vultus and Stat. silv. 4.6.26 f. laboriferi vivant quae
marmora caelo/ Praxiteles (see Austin 1977, pp. 261 f. for further examples
from ancient literature). In the celebrated poem Laocoon by the Italian
Iacopo Sadoleto, on the famous statue found in Rome in 1506, the marble is
depicted in several places as though it were alive. See e.g. line 11 veros,
saxo moriente, dolores and line 28 de vulnere marmor anhelum est (the
poem is reproduced in Perosa & Sparrow, pp. 185 f.). In an eclogue by Jo-
hannes Bocer (1525–1565) in which the church in the castle of Schwerin is
described, we encounter expressions like Sed quid iam statuas referam pic-
tasque tabellas,/ Quas agili dextra solers animavit Apelles,/ Sic, ut, si spec-
tes, vivas spirare putares? (edited in Mundt 1999, p. 66, lines 141 ff.). In
Phrygius’ poem the monument will come to life again through literary
praise, so there is a difference as compared to the examples above, but Phry-
gius was without doubt aware of the tradition of describing beautiful marble
statues and was influenced by it.

The expression a nigris rogis lends further antithetical weight to vivere
laude. Helander (2004, pp 42 ff.) has with Castrén (1907, pp. 167 ff.)
pointed out that antithesis was one of the most popular rhetorical devices in
baroque literature and very often based on this theme of ‘life and death’.

43. saxea … monumenta] As regards saxum to denote marble cf. e.g. Ov.
fast. 5.137 and Hor. carm. 4.8.7.

John’s III actual tomb is situated in the Uppsala cathedral where the king
was buried 1 February 1594. The same year Sigismund ordered the sepul-
chral monument, which was carved by the Dutchman Willem Boy in Danzig.
Due to a persistent lack of funds it was not paid for until 1782, nor placed in
the Uppsala cathedral until 1818 (Ericson 2004, pp. 343 f.).

polies] Again Phrygius uses this word, and again we must prefer to under-
stand it as ‘adorn’, though ‘polish’ would work as well. We must also bear in
mind that the word can be used about literary works, as in Ov. Pont. 1.5.61
cur ego sollicita poliam mea carmina cura (cf. OLD, s.v. polio, 3, b).

44. nigris … rogis] The combination occurs in Mart. 11.91.8.

45 ff. What we see in these lines is the culmination of Phrygius’ emphasis on
his own inability and modesty. This topos in usually called recusatio. See
Helander 1995, pp. 167 f. and 2004, pp. 533 ff., on this theme in Neo-Latin
literature with several illustrative examples, as well as Curtius 1948,
pp. 91 ff. and Nisbet & Hubbard 1970, pp. 81 ff. Inspired by models in clas-
sic poets as Horace (carm. 1.6) and Propertius (3.3) and rhetorical recom-
endations from Cicero and Quintilian, it abounds in Neo-Latin literature.
The kind of recusatio we find here, an ingratiating assertion of a lack of
personal and stylistic ability corresponding to the greatness of the king’s
deeds (vv. 51 ff.), is a very typical variety (Helander 2004, p. 533 f.).

In one of Gregor Bersmann’s poems (1576, p. 190 [Camena]), we find
this example of a recusatio from Neo-Latin poetry containing several aspects
similar to that of Phrygius as to the challenge and content of the work (cf. especially lines 50, 67 f. and 71):

In mare scribendi vereor me mittere vastum,
    Ingenij culpae conscius ipse mei.
Quare summa sequar tantum fastigia rerum,
    Qualis qui summam marmoris [sc. maris] haurit aquam.
Unde sed incepti surgat mihi carminis ordo,
    Quove ferar, dubium me modo mentis habet

45. Quid? Quid agat?] This exclamation, returning in lines 47 and 49 and followed by specific questions, forms an anaphorical tricolon. The *heu quid agat?* occurs twice in Vergil, in Aen. 4.283 and 12.486. The first of these expresses Aeneas’ difficulties in the choice between obeying his duty or following his affection for Dido. The phrase also appears in Ov. *fast.* 3.609, Val. Fl. 1.71, 7.309 and 8.370. In all these instances the words begin the hexameter line. In this deliberative exclamation, of course, Phrygius is speaking about himself, using the third person to dissociate himself from the thought of composing and to get the reader involved in the decision.

carmina regi] The hexameter ending also occurs in e.g. one of Adam Siber’s poems (1565–1566, vol. 1 p. 448 [Camena]).

46. Concinat] The verb often means ‘sing praises’ (*OLD*, s.v. *concino*, 1, b). It thus fits well in with the *funebria carmina*, one of the main purposes of which was to extol the deceased person.

ambiguae conditionis homo] Here probably more precisely ‘a man of a doubtful position in society’. A similar phrase was used by Friedrich Taubmann: *Cur nimis angustae conditionis homo est?* (1597, p. 290 [Camena]).


48. Aetnaeo majus pondere] The heaviness of Mount Etna is proverbial, as in Cic. Cato 2.4. [*senectas*] *plerisque senibus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere* (see further Otto, p. 7, and Walther, 34561).

49. sub germine pullulat aetas] This exact formulation occurs also in Petrus Michaelis Ostrogothus’ poem *Elegia in festo castorum angelorum* (1561), where one line is: *Vel quia nunc viridis sub germine pullulat aetas* (fol. A2v).

50. in tantum velificare fretum] Cf. poem VIII in Συγχάρματα (1602) written by Phrygius’ friend Haquinus Bergeri Urshultensis, line 14. *Cogerer in latum velificare fretum*. As regards the topos of an intellectual achievement depicted as a dangerous voyage at sea, cf. Helander 2004, pp. 506 ff. Moreover, in Marco Girolamo Vida’s very popular poetics *De arte poetica* (1.62 ff.), the comparision is made to the entire poetical undertaking: *Ante etiam pelago quam pandas vela patenti,/ Incumbasque operi incipiens, tibi digna supellex/ Verborum, rerum paranda est* (the passage imitates Verg.
georg. 2.41). Cf. also the very last line of the last poem from the *Centuria prima* print.

51. **Uberioris egent Regis praeconia venae**] Cf. Henricus Mollerus’ *Carminem elegiaco* (1555), where one can read: *Uberioris egent encomia vestra camaenae* (fol. B3r). The combination *uberioris venae* also occurs in the *Panegyricus sive Xenium* (1562) by Petrus Michaelis (Fecht) (fol. A3r).


52. **intonsa ... Musa**] This is a metaphorical expression for something like ‘unrefined poetical skill’. Regarding *intonsus* in this sense cf. Liv. 21.32.7 *homines intonsi et inculti* (see further *TLL*, s.v. *intonsus*, I, B).

**vigoris habet**] This pentameter ending also in Ov. *fast.* 2.396.

54. **eloquij, judicijque nitor**] The phrase *eloquii ... nitor* also in Ov. *Pont.* 2.2.49, but cf. also Nathan Chytraeus: *Laudibus eloquii judiciique valens* (1579, fol. 302r [Camena]).

55 f. Once again we touch on the ‘manifold mouth’ theme (see the comments on lines 125 ff. of the *Ecloga prima*).

55. **Mille**] As regards hyperbole, see the comments on lines 16 f. of the eclogue. A similar hyperbole occurring in a *recusatio* can be found in Henricus Mollerus’ *Epithalamion* (1559): *Quod si radicem, stirps haec tam nobilis unde/ Nascitur, et veteres dicere cogar avos,/ Ora dari centum cupiam mihi, plectraque centum* (fol. C2v).

**poetifluos**] A compound adjective, a neologism formed on the pattern of words like the Lucretian *largifluus* (5.598.). Cf. *lucifluus* in line 25 above. Such compounds ending in -*fluus* are listed in Gradenwitz 1904, p. 536.

**poscit res**] The phrase is often used among classical authors in contexts where in most instances we can translate it as ‘circumstances demand’, e.g. in Cic. *Att.* 2.25.2, Hor. *epist.* 2.2.190 and Liv. 10.43.4. In our case we clearly must understand *res* as ‘subject’ or ‘topic’ (cf. *OLD*, s.v. *res*, 9).

56. **laudum munera**] The phrase can be found in Verg. *Aen.* 8.273 f.

57. **formidinis aestum**] The phrase is also in Sil. 2.360.

58. **plectra canora**] The phrase seems rather common in Neo-Latin poetry. It occurs in e.g. one of Nikolaus Reusner’s poems (in *Operum ... pars prima*, 1593, p. 138 [Camena]).

59. **felici ... Hercule**] Hercules as piety incarnated was discussed above in the comments on line 106 of the *Ecloga prima*. Here we have to do with another aspect of Hercules’ personality, viz. his function as a *musagetes*, i.e. leader of the muses. It has been questioned whether this identification was primarily a misunderstanding or not, but the tradition existed. However, according to Eumenius (Roman orator, fl. 300 A.D.) in *Pro restaur. scholis* 7 Fulvius Nobilior c. 180 B.C. had founded a temple of *Hercules musarum* in the *Circus Flaminius*, since during his time as a proconsul of Greece he had heard that Hercules was a *musagetes* (also in Serv. *Aen.* 1.8 and Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.16. See Roscher, s.v. *Hercules musarum* [cols. 2970 ff.], and s.v.
musagetes). The motif can be found in emblematic literature (cf. Henkel & Schöne, col. 1651).

On the juxtaposition, cf. e.g. the 7th eclogue of Erasmus Laetus who speaks of the struggle of weak poets: *Sed tenui quadam ac ieiuna pallade multi/ Pierios tentant colles, et Apolline famam/ Adverso captant* (1560, fol. H7r–v), but compare, too, somewhat later in the poem, where Phaedrus exhorts Meliboeus to sing, *Nec tua formidat consuetos tibia cantus:/ Incipe, propitio res haec love target olympum* (fols. H7v–H8r).

61–62. Non ego sumo …/ … sarcina tanta meis] In Neo-Latin poetry cf. e.g. Gregor Bersmann: *Sed quid onus tenui dispar committo Thaliae?/ Non facit ad vires sarcina magna meas* (1576, p. 284 [Camena]).

61. superantia munia vires] Cf. Ov. *trist*. 1.5.56 *materia vires exsuperante meas*, in which Ovid has not strength enough to relate all his fortunes.

62. humeris dispar sarcina] The sense of this line is parallel to the preceding one and is an echo of Ov. *epist*. 4.23 *sarcinaque haec animo non sedet apta meo*.

63–64. These lines must be regarded as the climax of the first drama. The excited and dramatic conversation ends with the author changing his mind and realizing that the eulogy must be composed. In line 64 Phrygius fails to compose a correct pentameter line, exceeding the allowed number of metrical feet.

In fact both lines are very close to and perhaps modeled on these lines from *Epigrammata moralia* by Wenceslaus Morkowsky: *Aude aliquid, vires desunt? laudanda voluntas,/ Est ali quid prodire, labor tamen omnia vincit* (Gruterus 1612, vol. 6, pp. 1198 f. [Camena]).

63. Aude aliquid] Cf. Iuv. 1.73 *aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum,/ si vis esse aliquid* (The context is, however, quite different from ours).


64. scommata] The Greek σκῶμμα. The word is discussed in Macr. *Sat*. 7.3. *sunt alia duo apud Graecos nomina, λοίδορία et σκῶμμα*, quibus nec vocabula Latina reperio, nisi forte dicas loedoriam exprobrationem esse ac directam contumeliam: scomma enim paene dixerim morsum figuratum, quia saepe fraude vel urbanitate tegitur, ut alid sonet aliud intellegas. Krebs & Schmalz say that it is very much a late Latin word for convicium, maledictum, and that sense is also attested in JGP.

65. Carmina ... fundam] As regards fundo in this sense, see TLL, s.v. *fundus*, I, B, 1, d. Cf. Maurach 2006, pp. 68 f. (labelled under *callida iunctura*).

66. laudati nominis ardor] This phrase, along with the entire line, has obviously been inspired both as to word choice and sense by Ov. *trist*. 1.1.53 f. *Donec eram sospes, tituli tangebar amore,/ quae rendique mihi nominis ar- dor erat*.

The common topos ‘in what order shall I relate’ (see also section 1.6.5 above). In Phrygius’ text, where passages in at least three earlier authors are recalled, we must understand it not only as a way of describing the problems of composition, as a part of the recusatio, but also as meant to tell how amazing and filled with great deeds John’s III life had been. An elaborate and charming parallel on this theme, occurring in a recusatio as well, can be found in Henricus Mollerus’ Epithalamion (1559) on the wedding between Gustav Vasa’s daughter Catherine and count Edzard II (fol. C1r):

Sed verbis quibus utar, et ordiar unde: quid ante,
Quid post, quid potius, liberiusque canam:
In prato ceu virgo sedens studiosa virenti,
Nunc has, nunc illas pollice carpit opes.
Nunc thyma, nunc calthas, nunc lilia, nunc Amaranthum,
Nunc sibi consimiles demetit ungue rosas.
Et tamen in dubio est, et, quos magis eligat, haeret,
Nec quos nunc flores, quos secet inde, tenet.
Sic ego per sponsae dotes florentis iturus
Ambigo, quid primum, quid mediumve loquar,
Aut quid posterius. Dubium me copia reddit,
Nunc hic ordo placet, nunc placet ille magis.

67. Quae quibus anteferam] This is exactly as in Verg. Aen. 4.371, where Dido curses Aeneas when she has understood that he is going to leave her. Cf. above section 1.6.5.

Nostri quis carminis orsus] In the poem composed by Jonas Rothovius in Σχεδιάσματα, written for Phrygius when he left Germany in 1600, we read Unde sed incipiam? Nostri quis carminis orsus? This could be an important source of inspiration for Phrygius here, even though already Paulinus Nolanus in carm. 21.47 has Unde igitur faciam texendi carminis orsum. A variant occurs e.g. also in Nicolaus Theophilus: Unde mihi primum consurgat carminis ordo ([1562], fol. B4v).

67 f. Nostri quis carminis orsus? / ... carminis hujus erit?] The lines have obviously also been strongly inspired by Stat. silv. 1.3.34 Quid primum mediumve canam, quo fine quiescam?, where he expresses his difficulties in choosing what and how to relate when describing the marvellous villa of Manilius Vopiscus at Tibur.

Echoes of Statius’ line can be found elsewhere in Phrygius’ contemporar-ies as well. See e.g. Henricus Mollerus’ Epithalamion (1559): Sic ego per Sponsae dotes florentis iturus/ Ambigo, quid primum, quid mediumve lo- quar./ aut quid posterius. Dubium me copia reddit,/ Nunc hic ordo placet, nunc placet ille magis, as well as Ericus Petri’s Hymenaeus in Honorem Coniugii ... Erici Guldenstern ... (1563): Ast ego quid primo referam, unde exordia ducam?/ Quod mihi principium, quis mihi finis erit (fol. A4r).

69–70. A variant of this stylistic figure, meaning ‘even if I get all assistance possible’, can be found in Johannes Chesnecopherus’ epithalamium (1597), in honour of Nicolaus Johannis Nycopenesis and Birgitta Benedicti Schroderi:

Ecquis nunc tantas verbis comprehendere laudes
possit? quas meruit connubiale iugum.
Namque Maro venam mihi si daret: atque Pericles
Buccas, non possem concelebrare metro.
Ecquibus et verbis celebret tibi nostra Thalia
Laudes immensas, sponsa pudice, tuas?

69. Libanus Cygni pennas] Quill pens are most often associated with the goose, though in fact they could be made from feathers of almost any bird. Phrygius was certainly aware of this and preferred the swan because, apart from metrical advantages, it implies elevated associations with Apollo and the cygnea cantio (cf. e.g. Cic. Tusc. 1.73, Mart. 13.77.2 and Erasmus’ Ada-gia, p. 80) and with the most successful poets (e.g. Hor. carm. 2.20). Here Mount Lebanon will provide the writing tools. The mountain must surely be understood as a metonymy for that larger region in the Middle East (just as Nilus represents Egypt in the second part of the line), from which the alphabet was imported into Greece, according to tradition. In Plin. nat. 7.192 and Tac. ann. 11.14 we are told that it was Cadmus who brought letters there from Phoenicia. Phrygius has thus chosen Mount Lebanon in order to refer to the whole region, which, following the Cadmus tradition, he regarded as closely connected with the art of writing.

Nilusque papyrum] Egypt was the important producer of papyrus in the ancient world. JPG explained papyrus as Egyptisk röö, them man hafwer så beredt, at man kunne ther skrifwa på (‘an Egyptian reed, which has been prepared in such a manner, that it is possible to write on it’), but also simply as papir (‘paper’). Furthermore, the Nile as referring to the entire region is no mere coincidence. For the frequency of metonymical uses of rivers in Neo-Latin literature cf. Helander 2004, pp. 550 ff., with examples.

70. Sepia … laticem sangvinolenta] Secretion from the cuttlefish could be used as ink. Cf. Pers. 3.12 f. tunc querimur crassus calamo quod pendeat umor/ nigra sed infusa vanescit sepia lympha, while in nat. 35.43 Pliny says about different kinds of colours: mira in hoc saepiarum natura, sed ex iis non fit. The secretion is black and most often called atramentum (e.g. in Cic. nat. deor. 2.127). In calling the cuttle sangvinolenta Phrygius must be referring to the belief that its secretion was actually its blood. Cf. e.g. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 703 f., where a distich on the cuttle includes the words: fal-
litque cruore sequentes, and Helander 2004, p. 344, with an example of this thought from one of Gustaf Lillieblad Peringer’s works.

71 f. Similarly formulated words in a recusatio can be found in Henricus Mollerus’ Epithalamion (1559): Ut, si pro meritis hic illum tollere coner,/ ingenij videar non meminisse mei.

71. Summa ... sequerer fastigia rerum] The phrase originates in Verg. Aen. 1.342 sed summa sequar fastigia rerum. That use of fastigium, i.e. in the sense ‘main points’, has according to Austin 1971, p. 126, no classical parallel.


72. meminisse mei] A pentameter ending occurring in Ov. trist. 4.4.40, 5.13.18, Pont. 2.4.6 and Mart. 4.88.8.

73 f. nec amabile quicquam/ suggerit ... Musa] The passage is obviously inspired by Lucr. 1.22 ff. nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras/ exoritur neque fit laetum neque amabile quicquam./ te sociam studeo scribendis versibus esse, where the author praises Venus, without whom nothing lovely is made, and asks her to assist him in writing. Phrygius however states that he still lacks poetical inspiration.

75 ff. Phrygius’ prayer in these lines is connected to the theme of entusiasmos, i.e. the poet/prophet (vates) asking to be filled with divine inspiration (cf. TLL, s.v. entusiasmos). In classical Latin poetry it can be found in e.g. Verg. Aen. 3.89 (see below), 6.77 ff., Hor. carm. 3.4.5 and Lucan. 5.161 ff. In Neo-Latin the theme can also be associated with both literary and religious inspiration (cf. Hoven, s.v. entusiasmus). In De arte poetica (2.17 ff.) Vida says about poets beginning their work: primoque in limine semper/ Prudentes leviter rerum fastigia summa/ Libant (cf. above) ... / ... simul caelestia divum/ Auxilia implorant, propriis nil viribus ausi.

75. qui Sacra regis] Sacra in this context must presumably be understood in a wide sense. Nevertheless the word, together with alme and flamine (se below), informs us that the correlate to qui, namely vatum Pater alme, must be interpreted in this subordinated clause as the Christian God, who for Phrygius has replaced Apollo as the main source of poetical inspiration. We can also see in the following lines, through allusions and parallels, that the devotional terminology very much resembles the one earlier used in respect to Apollo.

vatun Pater] Cf. Stat. silv. 1.2.220 and 1.4.117, where the phrase refers to Apollo.

Pater alme] The combination also occurs in Prud. ham. 650, about the Christian God.

76. laboris onus] The hexameter ending occurs twice in Ovid, viz. in epist. 19.166 and Pont. 3.9.20.

77. nostris animis illabere] Cf. Verg. Aen. 3.89 da, pater, augurium atque animis inlabere nostris, where Aeneas prays to Apollo for guidance at Delos.
Williams contends that a frequent use with compound verbs of this dative, implying ‘a place to which’, is characteristic of the poetic style. Cicero construed it *inlabi in animos* (Williams 1962, p. 74).

In Neo-Latin literature this phrase obviously becomes especially common in prayers directed to the Holy Spirit. An illustrative example is the poem *Precatio ad Spiritum Sanctum* by Jacobus Micilus (1503–1558), where the six first lines are (1564, p. 509):

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Spiritus alme parens triplicis pars tertia regni,
Qui nova sedisti fonte columba sacro.
Tunc cum se tingi voluit Iordanis in amne,
Quem genitum e summa miserat arce Pater.
Huc ades atque animis clemens illabere nostris,
Et renova accensos luminis igne tui.
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> 78. *flamine*| JPG renders *flamen* with *blåst* (‘wind’), but it occurred with *sacrum* or *sanctum* already in medieval Latin in the sense of Holy Ghost (Latham 1965). The word was used in that way in Neo-Latin too, and it is a good example of the *Ethnicismus styli*, i.e. the use of pagan words in Christian contexts (Helander 2004, pp. 72 and 75 ff.).

> 79. *vocis iter*| The phrase is a pentameter ending in *Ov. Ib. 570*, but also occurs in other positions e.g. in *Verg. Aen. 7.534*, *Ov. met. 2.830*, and *Mart. 11.91.11.*

> 80. *regens certo vestigia filo*| Cf. Catull. 64.113 *errabunda regens tenui vestigia filo*, where Theseus finds his way out of the labyrinth with the aid of Ariadne’s thread, having defeated the Minotaur. Cf. also *Verg. Aen. 6.30 caeca regens filo vestigia*, which alludes to the same story (also in *Ov. epist. 10.71 f.* and *Prop. 2.14.7 f.*). Note that Phrygius exchanged the word *tenui* from Catullus’ passage with *certo*, underlining the importance and firmness of Pallas’ assistance.

> 83. *properare SORORES*| The Muses (cf. *OLD*, s.v. soror, 2, b), i.e. ‘poetical inspiration’, are coming here quickly, which points towards the *Drama secundum* where the actual subject of the poem appears. The phrase was used about the Fates in *Stat. silv. 3.3.20 nigrasque putat properasse sorores* in the sense that ‘death has come too soon’.

> 85. *ad fontem*| The spring, which returns in lines 87–90, is Hippocrene, referred to already in lines 23-24 above.

> 85 f. *latebras/ ... curvas*| Combination occurring in *Verg. georg. 2.216* and 3.544. In both of these instances it refers to the hiding-places of snakes,
which are denoted as curvae “to fit the snakes themselves”, as Mynors commented (Mynors 1990, p. 129). Phrygius is speaking about a rough and overgrown path in general.

86. vagus error] Combination in Ov. met. 4.502, Lucan. 7.546 and Val. Fl. 5.115.

87. Pegasus … patefacit … fontem] According to Hesiod (Theog. 280 f.), the winged horse Pegasus was son of Poseidon and Medusa and had sprung forth from her neck when Perseus decapitated her. His hoof-beat opened the spring Hippocrene on Mount Helicon during a singing contest between the Pierides and the Muses. The mountain had grown in size from pleasure, but returned to normal size at the hoof-beat, which had been ordered by Poseidon (Roscher, s.v. Pegasos [col. 1736]). Hippocrene was for the first time mentioned in Hes. Theog. 6, and later also in e.g. Strabo 8.6.21 and Paus. 9.31.3. f. Cf. lines 23-24 above. The expression patefacere fontem occurs in Lucr. 5.594 f. and Plin. nat. 31.8.

88. Sacra … nomina] The name is Hippocrene, the Greek ἵππου κρήνη, i.e. ‘horse’s spring’. It was sacred to the Muses. It is also noteworthy that according one theory the name Aganippe was created from ἄγαν, ‘much’, and ἵππος, ‘horse’ (Onomasticon, s.v. Aganippe).

nomina fecit aquis] An Ovidian phrase. Actually Nomina fecit followed by aqua in the dative occurs five times in his works, viz. met. 14.616, fast. 3.870, 4.284, trist. 1.1.90 and Ib. 370. Two of these tell us about how Icarus fell into the water and gave his name to the sea. One resembles Phrygius’ line in particular, and that is trist. 1.1.90, which in one reading is aequoreis nomina fecit aquis. Furthermore four of the Ovidian instances occur at the end of a pentameter line, and one starts a hexameter line.

89 f. The classical topos of receiving poetical inspiration by drinking from the waters of Hippocrene, or Aganippe (cf. Kambylis 1965, pp. 66–68 and 113–118), is very frequently used in Renaissance literature. See e.g. (besides Sabinus’ poem) Swedenborg’s In Poetae et Puellae Nuptias, lines 3 f.: si labra sitescant,/ Ex aganippeo plurima fonte bibas (edited in Helander 1995, p. 128). Likewise we read about the river Permessus in Johann Bocer that: hinc largos sumpsit promptissimus hauseus,/ Nec tetigit primis flumina larga labris./ Inde fluunt vati celeres in carmine vires,/ Proveniunt rebus verbaque digna suis (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 1, p. 678 [Camena]).

trahaces] Hapax in classical literature in Plaut. Persa 410. Literally ‘that draw everything to themselves’. As regards the translation here, cf. OLD, s.v. traho, 10.

90. fluunt vaeae carminis] That is ‘poetical inspiration flows’. Concerning vena in the sense of ‘poetic vein’ cf. the comments on line 51. See OLD, s.v. uena, 5, regarding its sense as ‘channel’ or ‘stream’. Here we must rather understand it as ‘what is transported in the veins’ (cf. OLD, s.v. uena, 7). This would explain the fluunt vaeae, where we would expect a fluunt venis or per venas.
Drama secundum:

91. obscoenus ... vultur] The combination occurs in Sil. 13.472. The vulture is described as obscoenus since it feeds on carcasses. Cf. also the avis obscoenus in e.g. Ov. am. 2.6.52, Plin. nat. 10.86 and Sen. Med. 732.

91 f. jecur ... Tityi ... vultur/ tondet] The main source here for the depiction of Tityos’ punishment was Verg. Aen. 6.595 ff:

   nec non et Tityon, Terrae omniparentis alatum,
   cernere erat, per tota novem cui iugera corpus
   porrigitur, rostroque immanis voltur obunco
   immortale ieucru tendens fecundaque poenis
   viscera rimaturque epulis habitatque sub alto
   pectore, nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis.

Vergil’s version was rather close to Homer’s in Od. 11.576 ff. The episode is also found in Lucr. 3.984 ff. Tityos, a giant, son of Zeus and Elare, raped Leto and was punished in the underworld, in a way that much resembles the punishment of Prometheus. A vulture ate from his liver, which was always being restored and healed (the same applies to Prometheus’ liver in Hes. Th. 523 f., except that the bird was an eagle). Other allusions to this story are e.g. Hor. carm. 3.4.77 ff., Tib. 1.3.75 and Ov. met. 4.457 f. It can also be found in emblematic literature (see Henkel & Schöne, col. 1658).

92. inardescens sic coquit ossa dolor] Cf. Verg. Aen. 9.66 duris dolor ossibus ardet. Regarding ossa in this sense, cf. OLD s.v. os, 1, e. The word coquo in the sense of ‘torment’ or ‘excite’ appeared as early as Ennius, and can later also be found in e.g. Plautus and Vergil, see OLD, s.v. coquo, 6. In Neo-Latin poetry the verse ending ossa dolor occurs in e.g. one of Jacobus Micyllus’ poems (1564, p. 193 [Camena]). As regards descriptions of the force of sorrow in consolatory writing, see Von Moos, vol. 3, pp. 50 ff.

93. Iane] When Astraea addresses the hereditary prince Duke John with the vocative form of Ianus (occurs in the beginning of a hexameter line in Ov. fast. 1.287 as well), she awakens associations of grandeur, for in Roman mythology Ianus was a king in Latium during whose reign the Golden age had prevailed. He shared power with Saturnus. In Ov. fast. 1.235 ff. Ianus himself says among others the following words:

   tunc ego regnabam, patiens cum terra deorum
   esset, et humanis numina mixta locis.
   nondum Lustinian facinus mortale fugarat
   (ultima de superis illa reliquit humum),
   proque metu populum sine vi pudor ipse regebat;
   nullus erat iustis reddere iura labor.
The story is also told in e.g. Macr. *Sat.* 1.7.19. The name Saturnus carries with it numerous allusions to this age, e.g. Ov. *met.* 1.89 ff. (see further Wifstrand Schiebe 1997, where it is argued that the story about Janus’ and Saturnus’ government in Latium actually has its origin in Vergil’s *Aeneid*). The motif of the Golden age in Neo-Latin literature was common in panegyrics for rulers (as in Laurentius Paulinus Gothus’ *Dialogismus* … from 1604, written for Duke Charles), and frequent in addresses at the coronation of kings (Helander 2004, pp. 430 ff.). In Christian contexts this literary theme is close to the Messianic hope of the righteous ruler who restores the conditions of paradise on earth, as in one of Caspar Weiser’s poems to Charles XI (*Polyhymnia* … , edited in Gejrot 1999, pp. 50 ff.).

However, Phrygius and his contemporaries were probably not only evoking associations to this Janus from Roman mythology. By this time historiography had taken some surprising turns, influenced by the falsifications of Annius of Viterbo and identifying Ianus as the Swedish people’s progenitor, viz. as Noah himself. Johannes Magnus related the story in his very influential *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* (cf. Johannesson 1982, p. 121): Noah and his descendants had disembarked from the ark in the Caspian mountains, in a region identified as Scythia. Noah’s grandson Magog became the ruler over a portion of this people who then lived in the region that is today Finland. In the year 88 after the Flood Magog crossed the ocean and landed in Scandinavia with his people who were later called Goths. Noah remained in Scythia sending groups of his people to populate other regions of the world. Italy was populated last of all countries, and there Noah himself went in the end of his life. He was finally buried in the Ianiculum in the future Rome. The great importance of Annius of Viterbo in Swedish historiography of the 16th and 17th centuries has been underlined in a study by Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe (1992). There she also pointed to the common identification of Janus and Noah in Swedish historiography at the turn of the 17th century, e.g. in Johannes Messenius’ *Amphitheatrum* (1610), in which he presents the genealogy of the Royal Family and gives the names of all previous Swedish kings. The first one, Noah’s grandson Magog, is described in the following words: *JANO gnatus avo, Sueonum moderator, et auctor/ Primus: tam prisco Suecia rege micat!* (quoted from Wifstrand Schiebe 1992, p. 41).

In fact the Swedish name Jan is, just as Johan and John (and several others), derived from Johannes. We may therefore assume that Phrygius also held that Johan and Ianus actually were the same names. In line 188 below John III is also referred to as Ianus (in both instances where it occurs in the drama it is nevertheless rendered as Ianus in the translation). In this connection, the reader should consider Duke John as a *Ianus redivivus* in a threefold
sense. In several later cases (e.g. in Acclamatio from 1608 and Ähraskylige Lijktienst in 1618) Phrygius addresses him as Dux-Iane. The rendering of Johannes by Ianus can be found in many other instances in the contemporary literature as well, and in fact it seems to be a common two-syllable rendering of Johannes in Latin poems. In some cases there is also an allusion to the ancient Ianus, as in Johannes’ Matthiae Strenae (1597), dedicated to Johannes Christophorus Fridericus from Stettin, where there is a play on words alluding to the connection between Ianus and January: Felices IANI voveo tibi IANE calendas. Worth noting is though that the two-syllable rendering in a Latin context of Johannes with Ianus is not necessary. In other instances we can find the name contracted to Jannes (see Ström 1999, pp. 127 ff., where it can be found in several of the poems).

The passage is important, since it is the first instance in the poem where we meet Phrygius’ view of Duke John as, if not the future king, at least the legitimate king of Sweden (cf. lines 117 and 183 ff. below). Furthermore it explains why Astraea and Pietas are two of the characters in the drama. As we have seen they are closely associated with the Golden age in the Ovidian passage referred to above, and while Ianus was the king both Astraea and Pietas lived among human beings on earth.

exanimis … luctus] TLL (s.v. exanimis) shows that there are no examples in ancient Latin of the word used together with abstract nouns, as here. The combination is later on e.g. found in one of David Pareus’ poems (1615, p. 118 [Camena])

praecordia luctus] The hexameter ending also found in Stat. Theb. 9.179.

94. ejaculantur aquas] For the phrase see Ov. met. 4.122 ff., but especially fast. 1.270 sumque repentinus eiaculatus aquas, where the words are spoken by the god Ianus himself. It is used about tears in e.g. one of Friedrich Taubmann’s poems (1597, p. 117 [Camena])

95. Dirá … fata parentum] Cf. Sil. 10.405 f. Pauli pariter ceu dira parentis/ fata gemunt. The combination dira fata occurs twice in the Senecian dramas, viz. Ag. 230 and Phaedr. 1271, as well as in Octavia 182. Just as in the passage quoted from Silius Italicus, we must understand fata in the sense of ‘death’ (cf. OLD s.v. fatum, 6). The fata parentum is a hexameter ending in Stat. Theb. 5.746, while the ending fata parentis occurs in e.g. Verg. Aen. 12.395 and Ov. met. 7.346.

96. flor] The word is post-Augustan (cf. TLL, where instances from Celsus and onwards are given). It is not attested in JPG. BFS implies that the word strictly speaking belongs to medical terminology, but examples of other uses are given as well. The word was mentioned in Festus (p.273M).

97–100. Could this refer to people in Sweden who approved of John’s III theological and liturgical aims? Maybe, but perhaps Phrygius instead wished to refer to pious people in general. That would explain the line Saeviter oppressis mite levamen erat. Such people in Sweden found relief in John III, the pious king. Furthermore line 97 recalls that magnificent scene in the
Book of Revelation where John saw a great multitude dressed in white and carrying palm branches and standing before the throne and the Lamb. One of the elders then asked (Rev 7:13 ff.): *Hi, qui amicti sunt stolis albis qui sunt? et unde venerunt.* This allusion to the chosen ones in heaven, who had come out of the great tribulation, gives further support to that assumption.

97. **Quid sibi ... agmina** Cf. the *dialogus* written by Iohannes Canuti Leneaeus included in the congratulatory print Ἐυφήμια (1599), which was dedicated to Jonas Kylander, line 3 f.: *Quid sibi turba velit iuvenum numerosa, docentum/Agmina.*

**Quid sibi** A dativus ethicus (cf. K.-St., I, p. 324), with which we have to understand an elliptical *volunt.*

98. **feriunt nivea pectora casta manu** The beating of the breast in order to express sorrow has ancient roots, and it is e.g. a frequent motif in Ovid’s poems. Cf. met. 4.590 nuda manu feriens exclamat pectora coniunx, fast. 4.454 feriunt maesta pectora nuda manu, trist. 1.3.78 feriunt maestae pectora nuda manus, etc. The theme returns in line 121 below. Phrygius used it also in Herois quondam invictissimi in Ährapredikning (1620), the first poem in Tumba Christianissimi ... line 5: pars laniat vultum, fletu pars pectora tundit.

The combination *pectora casta* can be found in Ov. *epist.* 13.30 and Tac. *dial.* 12.2, while the *nivea manu* occurs in Prop. 3.6.12.

99. **Sub patris hac umbra (velut arbore) tegmen** Even though the phrase *patris umbra* can be found in instances like Sen. *benef.* 3.32.5 and Quint. *decl.* 299.5.3, we must assume that Phrygius’ idea in this line is rather related to expressions in the Bible as Ps 16:8 *in umbra alarum tuarum protege me.* Furthermore *tegmen* is sometimes used referring to the shelter given by trees, e.g. Verg. *ecl.* 1.1 patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi and Apul. *met.* 8.4 frondosum tumulum ramorumque densis tegminibus umbrosum, and that explains the words in the parenthesis. Apparently the motif of kings and princes as trees, offering their subjects shade and shelter, is not unusual. We find it in Petrarch’s (1974) second eclogue, lines 13 ff.: *Corruit et colles concussit et arva cupressus ... Ingentis strepitu tremefacta ruine,/ Pastorum max turba fugit, quecumque sub illa / Per longum secura diem consederat umbra* (on the interpretation suggested by Thomas G. Bergin in Petrarca 1974, pp. 219 f., the falling cypress refers to the death of Andrew, husband of King Robert’s of Naples granddaughter Joan), as well as Mollerus’ variant (obviously inspired by Verg. *georg.* 2.293 ff., see the comments on lines 9–10 above) in Sertum Musarum, 1561, written for Erik XIV (fol. C3r):

Subque tuis recubent, patula velut arbore, sceptra,
Sub manibus tuti deliteantque tuis.
Sic, velut est quercus validissima robore, et altos
Proijcit in terrae viscera caeca pedes:
Atque tenax ibi tam fidis radicibus haeret,
Ne facile eveli turbine et imbre queat:
Tu quoque firmus eris, stabilique frueris honore,
Et facies sortis flabra minusque nihil.

100. Saeviter] As in the case of some other adjectives belonging to the second declension, the adverb of saevus in older Latin, at times even in classical Latin, was often formed by means of -ter (Kühner & Holzweissig 1912, pp. 1008 ff.). There was however also a strong general tendency in Neo-Latin to form new adverbs ending in -ter (cf. Hoven, pp. 642 ff.).

mite levamen erat] Cf. Ov. epist. 3.62 quis mihi desertae mite levamen erit.

101. cedo] The word belongs to the spoken language. It is e.g. frequent in Plautus (Mil. 355, 978, etc) and Terence (Andr. 383, 730, etc.). Its etymology has been much disputed. Some have regarded it as being the particle ce followed by an old imperative form of dare (Ernout & Meillet). Both BFS and JPG say that it is a verbum defectivum that only appears in the imperative.

101 f. pudibunda … / Virgo] The combination is also found e.g. in one of Conrad Celtis’ poems (1513, fol. 16r [Camena]).

102. Virgo] Cf. the comments on Astraea in the title above.

103 ff. The catalogue was one of the most notable features of Neo-Latin literature. The kind we meet here, with characters from ancient mythology and history, was a popular variety (Helander 2004, pp. 53 ff.). Famous ancient catalogues can be found e.g. in Hom. Il. 2.484 ff., Verg. Aen. 7.641 ff. and Hor. sat. 1.10.78 ff. In Phrygus’ short list we meet two names from Homer and two from Roman history.

103 f. The lines on Odysseus’ tears at the tomb of Ajax, whose adversary he had been in the contest for Achilles’ weapons, basically follows Sophocles’ version in Ajax 1376 ff. There Odysseus said that he wished to bury the dead man, now as much a friend as he was earlier an enemy, and to ‘leave undone none of the things that one should do for the noblest mortals’ (Hugh Lloyd-Jones’ translation in Sophocles’ Ajax, Electra, Oedipus tyrannus, 1994, p. 159).

Achilles’ arms had been appointed to Odysseus instead of Ajax, though the latter was regarded to be the best warrior after Achilles. Ajax then went mad with anger and committed suicide. In the Odyssey 11.543–564. Odysseus met him in Hades, but Ajax refused to speak even a single word. The story is also told in the Little Iliad of the Epic Cycle (where Ajax was even denied burial) and in Ov. met. 13.1–398. In later versions it is also told how Odysseus wept and wished to place the arms of Achilles at Ajax’ grave, but that Teucer did not allow it (Roscher, s.v. Aias [col. 131]). During the 16th century the theme of Odysseus’ tears at the grave of Ajax was spread by Andreas Alciato, among others, in the editions of his very popular emblem-
book (see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1685 f., and with another picture Alciato, p. 56).

103. *virtus ... ULYSSIS* A kind of abstractum pro concreto, as in Horace’s famous *carm. 3.21.11 f. narratur et prisci Catonis/ saepe mero caluisse virtus*. Cf. Maurach 2006, p. 76.

104. *flevit ULYSSIS* Hexameter ending in Prop. 3.7.41.

105. *technis* The Greek τέχνη. In ancient Latin the word is only attested in the comedians (Ernout & Meillet, s.v. tec(h)ina).

106. *ludificatus erat* We should according to classical principles have expected the subjunctive ludificatus esset in lines beginning with a cum historicum, but metri gratia Phrygius wrote erat. It is also noteworthy that ludifico(r) occurs both as an active and as a deponent verb. TLL comments on it with apud posteriores praevalent verbum act. (dep. rarissime legitur).

107. *fortanimis* I.e. ‘brave-souled’. This new compound is neither attested in our contemporary lexica of ancient Latin nor in the Neo-Latin ones consulted (JPG and BFS). The form fortanimus can however be found in Latham 1965. Latham translates the word as ‘resolute’. Phrygius uses it about a king in the poem for the publication of Erich Jörenssohn’s *Gustaffs historia* (1622) as well: *Mascula fortanimi cur non praeconia Regis/ Trad-eret.*


109. *a Suecico ducit ACHILLE genus* In this antonomasia, in its Vossian sense (i.e. a proper name is used instead of an appellative), Achilles refers to Gustav Vasa, John’s III father. He had once deposed King Kristian II by force and several times later had to fight enemies threatening his royal power. Later Gustav II Adolf would frequently be hailed as a new Achilles (Helander 2004, pp. 303 f.). Gustav Vasa was the first Swedish king of the Vasa family, and was accordingly regarded as its progenitor (cf. the expression *Gostaviana prosapia* in the title above). Since the succession to the throne was made hereditary in 1544, the intention was that all future kings of Sweden should be his descendants. Very important to notice here is that the line alludes to two passages in Curtius where it is stated that Alexander the Great traced his descent from Achilles (4.6.29 and 8.4.26). If Gustav Vasa was the new Achilles, John III was the new Alexander (cf. Helander 2004, p. 305). Likewise, in p. 12 of the *Oratio encomiastica* in *Agon Regius* (1620) Phrygius says that John resembles Alexander the Great because of his great knowledge in physicis, referring to the Macedonian king’s interest in natural history. It had also occurred in reality that John III compared himself to Alexander the Great (see Larsson 2005, p. 292).

107–108. For this enumeration cf. e.g. the lines in a *Satyricum carmen ...* by Heinrich Bebel: *Eniteas quibus ipse velis virtutibus, et sis/ Fabricio gravior defensorique Camillo,/ Relligione Numam vincas, pietate Metellum* (1512, fól. Cc4v [Camena]).
107. Metellum] This must be Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, who fought in Macedonia in 168 B.C., brought the message of victory from Pydna to Rome, celebrated a triumph and was famous for his four sons, who all became consuls. He is mentioned as an extremely fortunate man in Val. Max. 7.1. In Rome he built the temples of Iuno Regina and Iuppiter Stator. In several stories he is described as a wise and clever man, severe towards subordinate men but lenient towards the defeated (Pauly, vol. 3, 1899, cols. 1213 ff. Cf. BFS, s.v. Metellus, and Melchior Weinrich’s *Aerarium Poeticum* (1677, p. 1313 [Camena]). Cf. e.g. the much read Cic. *Tusc*. 1.35 where this Metellus is taken as an example of a very fortunate man who *nullum a fortuna vulner acceperit*, and Petrarch’s *Epist. metr*. 1.4.88. *et tibi rara fides maneant quantumque Metello/ sis nobis bene fida diu* (Perosa & Sparrow, p. 9).

108. Gratifica] The word occurs in late Latin, e.g. in Paulinus Nolanus, and it is frequently connected with gratitude towards the gods or God (cf. *TLL*, s.v. *gratificus*, 2), as in our case.

justum religione Numam] The combination *iustus Numa* can be found in *Ov. am*. 2.17.18. Numa was the second king of Rome after Romulus. Numerous religious institutions are said to be founded by him, as well as the Roman state cult (cf. Liv. 1.32.2). BFS (s.v. *Numa Pompilius*) describes him as *justitiae, & pietate insignis*. Cf. also e.g. Liv. 1.18.1 *inclita iustitia religioque ea tempestate Numae Pompili erat*, Tac. *ann*. 3.26 *dein Numa religionibus et divino iure populum devinxit*. The section on him in Melchior Weinrich’s *Aerarium Poeticum* (1677, p. 1315 [Camena]) is very illustrative. In *Coronarium* (1617) Phrygius himself expressed the hope that the recently crowned Gustav II Adolf would be *Numa P. iustior*. In his *Epithalamion* (1559) on Edzard II (count of East Friesland) and Catherine, Henricus Mollerus likewise wrote (about Edzard): *Tam Phrysiam [=Friesland] iustus vigil es moderatus habenis,/ Quam Numa Romanae Rex pius urbis opes*.

109–112. Life is so cruel that the best thing is to die as soon as possible. For the topos, see Von Moos, vol. 3, pp. 159 ff. Cf. the comments on the *Eteostichon* line 2, and the *Aliud memoriae ejusdem* line 3 above.

109. lessus, gemitus, curas, lamenta] This is an example of the stylistic feature called *hypercharacterization* (a term coined by E. Schwyzer) or *congeries*. It refers to those heavily pleonastic phrases which abound in Renaissance literature (Helander 2004, pp. 49 ff., cf. Castrén 1907, pp. 173 ff.).

lessus] The word occurs in ancient Latin only twice in Cicero (Leg. 2.59 and 64), for which reason its authenticity has even been questioned. It is nevertheless very common in Neo-Latin (often in the sense of ‘dirge’), and it was at the time considered to be classical (Helander 1995, pp. 144 f., and 2004, pp. 126 f.).

109 f. auras/ Luminis] The phrase is also in Lact. *Phoen*. 44. Both words are sometimes used in the sense of ‘world (of air and light)’. Cf. *OLD*, s.v. *aura*, 4, and *lumen*, 3.
110. Cf. the later added line 189 below, to which this one is parallel.

111–112. This thought was often used as a theme of consolation on the death of young men. Cf. *Aliud memoriae ejusdem* line 3 above, and the comments on it. Probably the most famous ancient passage expressing this idea is Sophocles’ words in *Oed*. Col. 1224 ff. μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἀπαντα νικά λόγον· τὸ δ’, ἐπεὶ φανῇ, βήναι κείθεν ὃθεν περ ἢκει πολύ δεύτερον ὡς τάχιστα (Not to be born comes first by every reckoning; and once one has appeared, to go back to where one came from as soon as possible is the next best thing374). Another instance where a similar idea is expressed is Herod. 5.4, where he mentions that among the Trausi newborn children are mourned, but the deceased are buried with gladness, since they no longer have to endure all the miseries of life. In the Bible there is the passage in Job 3:11 ff., which in the Vulgate runs: *quare non in vulva mortuus sum/ egressus ex utero non statim perii/ quare exceptus genibus cur lactatus uberibus/ nunc enim dormiens silerem et somno meo requiescerem.*

111. *Nil homini melius* | *Nil homini* is a hexameter beginning in Ov. *trist.* 5.5.27, where in the preceding lines Ovid has expressed his hopes that his *domina* will have a long life. The entire phrase recalls an instance, exactly the positive tone which it seems Phrygius wants Duke John to contradict, in Cic. *fin*. 1.57 *O praeclaram beate vivendi et apertam et simplicem et directam viam! Cum enim certe nihil homini possit melius esse quam vacare omni dolore et molestia maximis et animi et corporis voluptatibus. It also occurs in Plin. *nat*. 7.168 *natura vero nihil hominibus brevitate vitae praestitit melius.*

*melius … nascier* | We should expect to find a *quam* here, without which the phrase is grammatically incorrect. Probably it has been omitted *metri gratia*, but we may also suspect that the frequent use of comparative words like *plus, amplius, longius* and *minus* without a *quam* may have influenced the usage in this instance (cf. K.-St., II, pp. 471 f.).

*me judice* | A rather frequent expression in classical poetry. It occurs in e.g. Hor. *ars* 244, Ov. *met*. 10.613 and Calp. *ecl*. 2.22.

*nascier* | This so-called paragogic infinitive is archaic. Plautus used it, but only in verse endings, and the classical poets had it when they aimed at an archaic sound (Ernout 1945, p. 273). In Neo-Latin the form reappears, like many other obsolete forms and words. Phrygius used it on several occasions, e.g. in *Prophylacticon ad Christianum Lectorem* in the sermon for Malin Rosengreen (1608).

112. *fata diem* | Hexameter ending in Prop. 2.10.20.

113. *opinio mentem* | The hexameter ending occurs in e.g. one of Friedrich Taubmann’s poems (1597, p. 385 [Camena]).

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115. *annis ducere multos*] = *ducere vitam long(aev)am*. Cf. Schumann, II, s.v. *ducere vit(am)*.

116. *in solida cognitione Dei* With John’s III religious and theological activities in mind, a statement like this must be regarded as somewhat controversial, not only when the drama was written but also when it was published in 1620. There had been confrontations between John III and Duke Charles in these matters during John’s reign. Charles also had much of the clergy on his side against the king’s ‘theology of mediation’ (cf. Montgomery 1972, pp. 72 ff. and Ericson 2004, pp. 206 ff.). Accusations had even been brought forth which claimed that John III in reality had lost his right to the crown, and consequently that all of John’s sons had also done so, since he had tried to recatholicize Sweden. This opinion was even said to have been uttered by Duke Charles himself (Hallenberg 1908, p. 33). However, during John’s III own lifetime his piety was extolled, as we should expect. In Skinnerus’ *Epithalamion* (1585, fols. A3v–A4r) he is described as having been pious from childhood. He had not only studied the Bible carefully, but also many works of the Church fathers. In addition he had restored numerous churches and governed his kingdom as a *vicarius* of God (*summi/ Regis ad exemplum*, cf. e.g. Niléhn 1983, p. 111). *Pietas* incarnate thus walks first in the procession of virtues at his wedding.

However, the entire *Agon Regius* print was written in defence of John III. With the very first words of its *dedicatio* Phrygius explicitly said that the purpose of the print was to refute all the slander that adhered to the memory of John III. The most important theme in this refutation is that John had not in fact embraced any false religious and theological opinions. The defence culminates when the question of his suspected catholicism is treated. Phrygius maintains that John once denied the accusation of having contact with the Pope in the following words: *Men them, som beskylda och uthropa oss, i thenna handelen leeka och göra ett med then Romerske Påwen, bliffwer således swarat: At wij giffwe honom Fanin* (‘But to those who accuse us of coming to terms with the Roman Pope in these affairs it is answered: We do not give a damn about him’), from *Oratio encomiastica* in *Agon regius*, p. 46.

Moreover, the hemiepes *cognitione Dei* in Neo-Latin poetry occurs in e.g. one of Nikolaus Reusner’s elegies (1593, p. 156 [Camena]).

117. In this line we can see perfectly well, besides a possible allusion to Duke John as a future king, one interpretation of the word *utilitas* at the time of Phrygius. The highest aim of education was to produce competent people to serve the state. *Utilitas* thus often means being useful for the monarchy, and this is certainly related to the great contemporary need of well-educated men for the growing administration of the country (cf. e.g. Niléhn 1983, pp. 61 ff.). In the *Åhraskylige liktienst* (1618) Phrygius wrote about the infant John that *alle hade then förhopning, H. F. N. skulle i framtiden blif-
fwa Fosterlandet gagneligh (‘everybody hoped that H. F. N. [Duke John] would in the future be useful for his native country’).

The idea is also very frequently expressed in epideictic poetry, and some examples shall be given here. It is expressed in two Latin poems in the print *Carmina Gratulatoria in Honorem ... Christiani Bartholdi* (1584). Bartholdi had just won his master’s degree, so Petrus Erici Scarrensis addressed him in the words: *Divinoque suo tua pectora flamine firmet,/ Quo patriae possis utilis esse dieu.* In the poems written to Phrygius on his leave from Germany in 1602, the *Συγχάρματα* poem V, by Laurentius Laurentii [Laurinus?] Gothus, line 25 ff., we read: *Gratulor ergo tibi, vates lectissime, quod iam,/ Pallida quae peperit cura laborque capis,/ Et precor, haec Patriae felices cedat in usus/ Gloria, Laus, Tituli, Nomen et omen. Amen. See also poem IX,* written by Magnus L. Wellerius Smolandus, line 9 f. *Utilis quondam patrio sit orbis/Publicae curet studium salutis.*

117. **Deus ... fabricavit in usus** Cf. e.g. Johannes Clajus: *Quasque [Deus] salutares hominum fabricavit ad usus* (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 2, p. 501 [Camena]).

118. **Ad nutum formans caetera fata suum** Cf. e.g. Laurentius Petri Gothus’ line *O Deus omnipotens, nutu qui cuncta gubernas* (Bergh 1973, p. 32). The *ad nutum* is literally ‘by his nod’. To approve of something *nutu* or *ad nutum* is very often associated with the action of gods (cf. OLD, s.v. *nutus*, 2, b, and Walther 39133q and 39134).

119 f. As regards the desertion theme, implied here, see Von Moos, vol. 3, pp. 36 ff.

119. **raptat ab equore milvus** This line is indeed an awkward one, since it could refer to two different senses of the word *milvus*. Usually it means ‘kite’ (or any bird of prey), the rapacity of which (cf. e.g. Ov. *met.* 2.716 and Mart. 9.54.10) became proverbial (cf. Otto, pp. 222 f.). Illustrative are the words on it in *Apparatus Eruditionis* by Michael Pexenfelder: *Milvus seu Milvius pullastrorum raptor* (1670, p. 73 [Camena]). But *milvus* is also used for a fish in *Hor. epist.* 1.16.51, Ov. *hal.* 95 and Plin. *nat.* 9.82, in the last of which it is described as flying. The translation is therefore not completely certain. An added problem is how to understand *matrem* [sc. *pullastri*]. If *pullaster* (cf. below) was used in a narrow sense, *pullastri matrem* would be ‘hen’. Used in a wide sense, however, the phrase could also certainly refer to birds swimming on the surface of the sea.

120. **Pullastri** The word *pullastra* occurs in Varro *rust.* 3.9.9 designating ‘a young hen’. Forcellini (s.v. *pullaster*) also attested the adjective *pullaster, -ra, -rum*, which could be used *substantivorum more* too. JPG and BFS have the nouns *pullaster* and *pullastra* for pullets of either sex.

121. **verbere pectora tundas** Cf. line 98 above, as well as Lucan. 2.335 f. *contusaque pectus/verbere crebris.*

122. **Gutta ... ex oculis ... ruat** Cf. Prop. 4.1.144 *gutta quoque ex oculis non nisi iussa cadet* and Ov. *trist.* 1.3.4 *labitur ex oculis nunc quoque gutta*
meis. A similar phrase was recommended by Buchlerus (see Ström 1994, p. 83).

123 f. Nescio qua .../ ... sinit esse sui] The lines are strongly influenced by Ov. Pont. 1.3.35 f. nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctos/ ducit et im-memores non sinit esse sui, where the exiled Ovid formulates his love of Rome in a passage that became proverbial (see Walther 16524 and 38717d2). Ovid’s lines are almost literally quoted in Laurentius Petri Gothus’ Strategema Gothici exercitus, lines 407 f. (Nordström 1923, p. 272). The phrase nescio qua dulcedine also in Verg. georg. 1.412 f. and 4.55 f.

123. nativus amor] The combination is also found in one of Conrad Celtis’ poems (1502, fol. 12r [Camena]).

125–127. As regards the topos that grief must have a limit, see Von Moos, vol. 3, pp. 82 ff., as well as pp. 62 f. about sorrow as a duty.

This way of repeatedly mentioning a limit has parallels in e.g. Laurentius Petri Gothus’ poem Elegia de Reditu in patriam eiusdem, line 15 ff. Et satis et modus est, ceu nata orbata parente,/ Lugendi Regem, patria moesta, tuum./ Quis modus ob tantum Regemque patremque dolere,/ Patria cuius erat libera facta manu? (edited in Bergh 1973, p. 32), as well as in Petrus Erici’s Carmen de obitu Catharinae ... Reginae (1584): Sed modus in rebus servari debet acerbis,/ Indomitus damnum ne creet ipse dolor (fol. A3r). Later we find a similar one in Gunno Eurelius Dahlstierna’s dirge on Laurentius Nybelius from 1682, line 55 f. Siste pios fletus: modus est, Matrona, doloris,/ Impositus nobis: pagina sacra iubet (Dahlstierna 1920, p. 9).

125. Sit modus angoris] This is the main point in Phrygius’ Epistola conso-latoria (1616) as well. It is appropriate and just to mourn, but there must be a limit, since it is impossible to change destiny through tears.

126. στοργή] There are many instances where Phrygius uses a Greek word or expression. Examples of it can be found in almost every work. The reason, besides metrical advantages as here, was certainly to display erudition and knowledge.

127. minima non parte] Litotes (cf. Maurach 2006, pp. 122 f. The phrase occurs e.g. also in Lucr. 3.63 f. and 6.1259 f.

128. maesticies] A fifth declension variant of maestitia. According to Helder (2001, pp. 31 f.) this is a feature characteristic of Neo-Latin. The authors during this time were fond of such variants of this declension (avari-ties, luxuries, etc.), which they used to a greater extent than the ancient authors had done.

129 ff. These lines are important. They reflect the time when the poem was written, but not the time when it was published. As we saw earlier the great turbulence in Sweden during the years when King Sigismund was deposed also caused regular battles, such as the decisive one at Stångedro in 1598. The words cruentato rore natare viros certainly allude to the loss of lives in these wars, but we should perhaps not exclude the possibility that they also could refer to occurrences like those which took place during the Riksdag at
Linköping in March in 1600, when several noblemen still loyal to King Sigismund were executed. That event would later be called *Linköpings blodbad* (the blood-bath at Linköping).

The mention of the Muses leaving Sweden could be paralleled with what Phrygius wrote in Klint’s manuscript concerning portents as mentioned above, viz. *Lärde och ärlige men fördriffues* (‘Learned and honest men are expelled’). The departure of the Muses, however, is in this context due to the wars (cf. Helander 2004, pp. 411 ff. as regards the theme of the wandering of the Muses). Then it is probable to assume that Phrygius on the one hand refers to those intellectuals who had been loyal to Sigismund and fled from the country when he lost the royal power some years earlier, and on the other, to all those young men who, like himself, studied at different German universities during the uneasy political situation in Sweden.

129. *patrium … orbem* The combination is also found in Claud. 7.7.


131 f. *Cedere laurigeras …/ … *incutiente metus* As regards this theme of the Muses fleeing because of war, cf. e.g. Georg Sabinus (1508–1560): *Diffugiunt divae sumtis Libethrides alis,/ Disturbante sacros Marte furente choros* (1568[?], p. 160).

131. *laurigeras* The Muses are referred to as bearing laurels because of their association with Apollo, as in Prop. 3.13.53. (cf. TLL, s.v. *lauriger*, 1, a).

*sumptis … alis* The combination is also found in Ov. *met*. 5.288 and fast. 4.605.

*Lebethridas* I.e. the Muses. It would be spelled *Libethrides* in classical Latin. In accordance with the contemporary practices, Phrygius has restored the word’s Greek declension, with -as instead of -es in the plural accusative (cf. Helander 2004, pp. 69 f.). *Libethra* is a spring on Mount Helicon, where the Muses abide. Thus *Libethrides* refers to Muses, cf. Varro *ling*. 7.20 and Verg. ecl. 7.21. The word Λιβηθρίδες was used by Euphorion, and occurs in two Hellenistic anonymous poems (Clausen 1994, p. 219 f.).

132. *dubios incutiente metus* The combination *dubios metus* can be found in Stat. *Theb*. 1.195, while the hemiepes *incutiente metus* occurs in e.g. Johannes Posthius: *Bellona horribiles incutiente metus* (1595, vol. 1, p. 23 [Camena]).

133 f. *animo … / Aequo* A frequent combination in ancient Latin. Among the poets we find it in e.g. Lucr. 1.42, Hor. *sat*. 2.3.16 and Ov. *am*. 2.7.12.

134. *mentis … compos* The phrase also in Ov. *met*. 8.35 f., *Culex* 191 and Sil. 17.221.
135–136. These lines function as a kind of burden. The exact phrase returns in lines 181–182, while the first line is repeated with a slight change (the exclamation o instead of me) in lines 251 and 285. Neo-Latin authors’ fondness of refrains and burdens is discussed and exemplified in Helander (1995), pp. 33 f. Cf. also the comments on line 78 of the Ecloga prima.

135. dolor … ardentior] The combination can be found in Lucr. 3.663 and Octavia 543.


137. Paeligno … sermone] We cannot be exactly sure of what Phrygius means by this expression, but the use of these kinds of abstruse allusions must be regarded as characteristic of the literature contemporary with Phrygius (cf. e.g. Lindroth 1967, p. 35 f.). The Paeligni were an Italian people who lived in the Apennines. Ovid’s native town Sulmo was one of their most important towns, and he attests his Paelignian origins in several passages (e.g. in am. 2.1.1, 3.15.3 and Pont. 4.14.49). As was also mentioned by Ovid (in fast. 3.95 f. et tibi cum proavis, miles Pelnige, Sabinis/ convenit) it was believed that the Paeligni were descendents of the Sabini who were famous for their stern manners and severe morality (cf. e.g. Ov. am. 2.4.15, Mart. 1.61.1 and Iuv. 10.299). Paelignus sermo in this context could accordingly be understood as a ‘severe speech’ due to the apparently close association of Paeligni with the Sabini.

Another more plausible possibility would be to read Paelignus in this context almost as a synonym of ‘Ovidian’, because of the strong association between the word and the poet. As a matter of fact, besides the examples given above, both JPG and BFS (s.v. Pelignus) only mention this aspect as characteristic of the word. In contemporary poetry that use seems to be common as well. Cf. e.g. the Hodoeporicon ITineris Italici by Georg Sabinus: Imparibus numeris qui culto digna Tibullo, Dignaque Peligno carmina vate canit (1568[?], p. 68 [Camena]). A look at the words on Ovid in Melchior Weinrich’s Aerarium Poeticum (1677, p. 1218 [Camena]) gives further proof of that association. We do not know exactly why Filius calls what Astraea says an ‘Ovidian speech’, but it could be based on the circumstance that Ovid’s description of the Golden age was probably Phrygius’ most immediate source of inspiration for the introduction of Astraea into the drama (cf. the comments on the title and line 93 above), whom he could have regarded as a typically Ovidian character. The same holds true for the elegiac distichs, the metric verse usually associated with Ovid. It is also noteworthy that his poetry has several echoes in the drama. Because of all verbal similarities and thematical influences he must be considered to be the most important ancient source of inspiration.

138. Quae Dea?] The phrase occurs as a question in the beginning of hexameter lines in e.g. Prop. 2.32.56, 2.33.5 and Ov. fast. 6.481.
We would expect a subjunctive in this indirect question, but indicative can be found in such sentences in ancient Latin, as in e.g. Plaut. *Bacch.* 203 *Dic ubi ea nunc est, obsecro.*

Astraea presents herself and reveals her origin. Cf. what was said about her in the comments on her name in the title.

The combination *generosa propago* also occurs in the Homer. 625, and later on e.g. in Laurentius Petri Gothus (Bergh 1973, p. 16). The genitive of *Themidos* is Greek. Cf. the comments on line 131 above. The phrase *Themidosque propago* occurs e.g. also in one of Daniel Georg Morhof’s poems (1697, p. 742 [Camena]).

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Regarding this role of Astraea (Dike) and her close association with jurisdiction cf. Hes. erg. 213 ff. For *forum* in this sense cf. *OLD*, 5.

The phrase occurs in the pseudo-Ovidian *Epiced.* *Drusi* 225, and was recommended later by e.g. Buchlerus (Ström 1994, p. 83).

This hemiepes is e.g. also in one of Johann Ursinus’ poems (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 6, p. 1047 [Camena]), while a *vulnus alit* (about Dido) appeared in Verg. *Aen.* 4.2. Phrygius reuses the phrase in the poem *Dn. Petro Staleno* from 1603 (in Palmk. 346, UUB): *Vulnus alis venis, fervens est flamma medullas,/ Sub laeso tacitum pectore vulnus alis?*

The literal signification of *ansa* is ‘handle’. In Neo-Latin it was often used for ‘occasion’ or ‘opportunity’, a sense which it had very rarely in ancient Latin as well (see Helander 2004, pp. 85 f. for a long list of examples and a discussion of this word). Krebs & Schmalz argue that the word was used incorrectly by the Neo-Latinists, since they often took it in the sense of *causa*.

As regards poetic summaries of the glorious deeds of Gustav Vasa previous to Phrygius, see e.g. Laurentius Petri Gothus’ poem *In Obitum Incliti Regis Svetiae Gostavi Elegia* (edited in Bergh 1973, pp. 12 ff.), as well as the *Epicedion ... Gostavi, Suecorum, Gothorum, atque Vandalorum regis* by Michael Toxites, Henricus Mollerus’ *Carolus Canuti ... Carmine elegiaco celebratus* (1555) and his *Epithalamion* on Edzard II and Catherine (1559). Some parallels can also be found in Phrygius’ own laudatory poems on Gustav included in the print *Ahrapredikning* (1620). A somewhat more elaborated poetic account of the kings during the 16th century from Gustav Vasa to Sigismund (and Duke Charles) can be found in Daniel Hjortvipa’s *Hexametron gratulatorium* (1597).

Cf. Helander 2004, pp. 277 ff., as regards this way of denoting ‘Swedish’. For the suffix -iacus quite generally

**fuso ... hoste**] The combination is also found in e.g. Ov. *fast.* 5.578, Sil. 5.550 and Tac. *hist.* 4.78.

147 ff. The lines refer to how the Reformation brought about in Sweden, and how the Catholic Church lost its power in Sweden because of Gustav Vasa. The *Riksdag* in Västerås in 1527 is traditionally regarded as the most important event in that process. Cf. Laurentius Petri Gothus’ *In Obitum Inclyti Regis Svetiae Gostavi Elegia* lines 151 ff. For a discussion, including many examples, of the role of religious propaganda against the Catholic Church, in Neo-Latin literature, see Helander 2004, pp. 319 ff. Worth noting is that these lines tell us that Jupiter sent Astraea and with her everything needed for the Golden age back to earth already when Gustav Vasa had won the royal power. That Phrygius here regarded the return of the Golden age as a process can be seen below in lines 163 ff.

An example of a similar retrospective idealization of Gustav Vasa’s reign, quite understandable during this time, occurs in Melchior Ursinus’ *Carmen de Nuptiis ... Bartholdi Johannis ... et ... Gertrudis* (1598): *Aurea tum re-deunt Gostavi saecula Regis,/ Quilibet optatae pacis habebit opes.*

147. **Juppiter e liquido me misit ab axe**] Cf. Eobanus Hessus’ (1488–1540) Latin paraphrase of the Iliad: *Iuppiter alto/ Me tibi demisit coelo* (1540, p. 29). The words are uttered by the god who appeared to Agamemnon in a dream, saying that Troja would be destroyed.

In Phrygius’ text Jupiter refers to the Christian God (cf. Helander 2004, p. 78). *E liquido* is probably meant as *e liquido aethere* (cf. Bömer met., I–III, p. 25). As regards the rest of the line, cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.758 *in terras supero demissus ab axe,* as well as Phrygius’ own *Acclamatio* (1608), the poem called *Pietas,* line 7 f. *Deus ... / Stelligero nobis misit ab axe Ducem.* The juxtaposition *ab axe* occurs five times in Ovid’s poetry, viz. in *fast.* 3.368, *trist.* 1.3.48, 4.3.30, *Pont.* 4.10.43 and *Ib.* 34. Having both *e liquido* and *ab axe* in the same sentence looks pleonastic. Perhaps it was meant as an appositional explanation, i.e. ‘from the limpid sky, from heaven’. In any case, it is not very successful poetry.

147. **f. profanos/ ... Deos**] The combination also occurs in e.g. one of Nikodemus Frischlin’s poems (1599, p. 191 [Camena]). Phrygius’ reason for putting the words in the plural are that he regarded the Catholic view on the saints as heretical (cf. the expression *Latij ... simulacra Bahalis* in line 155.). In accordance with the Evangelical faith the statues and pictures of saints in a huge number of Swedish churches were destroyed or painted over. Cf. Laurentius Petri Gothus’ *In Obitum Inclyti Regis Svetiae Gostavi Elegia* lines 155 f. *Thuricremas Diium pedentim sustulit aras/ et quid peruersae Religionis erat.*
149. **flammeolus ... ocellos** The combination occurs e.g. also in one of Gregor Bersmann’s poems (1576, p. 316 [Camena]). The adjective *flammeolus* is hapax in ancient Latin in Colum.10.307, while *ocellus*, a diminutive of *oculus*, is used *metri gratia*. It is otherwise most often used in emotional expressions (cf. *OLD*, s.v. *ocellus*, and IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, p. 382, as regards the frequency of diminutives in Neo-Latin).

150. **subsequa** The word first appears in late Latin, viz. in Orosius 1.1. (*fl.* 410 A.D.), while the variant *subsiciuus* was used already by Julius Valerius (*fl.* 290 A.D.). Furthermore BFS attests the form *subsequus* with a reference to Orosius.

151. **Patris ... voluntas** The phrase is also in John 6:40 *Haec est autem voluntas Patris mei*.

152. **frenat qui cuncta** Sc. a circumlocution for *omnipotens*.

153. **Gothicis ... ab oris** The phrase is construed analogously with Ov. *met.* 7.407 and Lucan. 2.553 *Scythicus ... ab oris*, Sil. 4.52 *Phocais ... ab oris*, Stat. *Theb*. 6.332 *Thessalicus ... ab oris* and *silv.* 3.3.59 *barbaricus ... ab oris*. As regards *Gothicus*, see the comments on line 5 of the Ecloga prima.

154. **Praelia ... serit** Cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 2.397 f. *multaque per caecam congressi proelia noctem/ conserimus*, Liv. 31.6.4 *incusaverat bella ex bellis seri*, *ne pace umquam frui plebs posset* and Prop. 3.11.10 *armigera proelia sevit humo*.

155. **Latij ... simulacra Bahalis** The Baal of Latium certainly refers to the pope (cf. Helander 2004, p. 324 f.). As will be remembered *Baal* in the Old Testament is the most abominable of all pagan gods, the worst enemy of God (see e.g. 1. Kgs 18:16 ff.). Martin Luther’s view of the pope as the *Antichristus* was generally embraced by Phrygius’ Lutheran predecessors and contemporaries in Sweden, and became an important argument in the polemics against Catholicism in authors such as Olaus Petri and Abraham Angermannus (see Sandblad 1942, *passim*). See also Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1211, for an emblem where the pope is called *auctor mortis*.

In fact this comparision to the effect that through the Reformation Gustav Vasa destroyed the altars of Baal, as Gideon had done, occurs in the historical work *In Historiam Iudicum Populi Israel ... Commentarius* (1589) by David Chrytraeus as well (Czaika 2002, p. 307).

The hexameter ending *simulacra Baalis* occurs also in one of Martin Balticus’ poems (ca. 1560, fol. D2v [Camena]), but there it refers to the *Baal* of the Old Testament.

156. **factis** We could assume that the intention behind this word was not only to point to the theologically perverted actions of the Holy See, but also to hint at the moral perversion of some of the Renaissance popes. Moreover, this may also be an allusion to the Catholic view on the value of works in
order to win salvation. Martin Luther’s doctrine of *sola fide*, i.e. the justification by faith alone, was directed against this element in Catholic soteriology. **Phlegetonta** *Phlegethon* (in Homer *Od*.10.513 πυριφλεγέθων) is one of the rivers in the underworld, streaming with fire instead of water. Cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 6.550 f. *rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,* / Tartareus *Phlegethon*. Phrygius uses it as a metonymy for ‘hell’. The word is also attested in the sense of ‘the fire of hell’ as early as the Middle Ages (Latham 1965). In the poem beginning *Quicquid tentabam ... in Herois quondam invictissimi* in Ährapredikning (1620), line 7, he also later wrote the following words about the detested Christian II: *Nam Phlegetontaeis spaciover defessus in umbris.*

**157. sedes pietatis** The phrase can be found in *Culex* 369 f. *amaeni* Even though the word is syntactically connected to *Pindus*, it lends colour to *locus pacis* too. An allusion to the well-established motif of the *locus amoenus* (cf. e.g. Curtius 1948, p. 200 ff.) would be an effective way of giving an optimistic description of the future.

**158. Pindi** Pindus is a mountain range that divides Epirus from Thessaly. It was not traditionally associated with the Muses until it was so used by Vergil in *ecl.* 10.9 ff., where it was mentioned in connection to Parnassus and Aganippe (Nisbet-Hubbard 1970, p. 147). Another famous passage in classical poetry where this association is made is Hor. *carm.* 1.12.6. Certainly Phrygius thought of it in this way as well (cf. also JPG).

**fana Zionis** The Jewish temple was built on Mount Sion in Jerusalem (cf. e.g. Isa 2 and Micah 4). In Christianity the word *Sion* usually refers to the Church (cf. BFS). *Fana Zionis* should accordingly be interpreted as an equivalent to ‘Christian churches’.

**159–162.** In these lines we meet the asyndetic conglomeration of words again, i.e. the hypercharacterization. In the first two lines there is a short catalogue of invectives using names of insects, and in the last two there is a short one with personifications of bad human qualities.

**159. bufones** The word *bufo* was used for the first time in Verg. *georg.* 1.184 (Mynors 1990, p. 42). BFS, besides stating that it refers to the *rana rubeta*, gives a clue to why it appears here characterizing it as *veneni plena*. Melchior Weinrich’s *Aerarium Poeticum* describes its many bad qualities as well (1677, p. 474 [Camena]).

**aestra** Phrygius must mean the *oestrum*, the gadfly, which is also mentioned in Verg. *georg.* 3.147 ff. *volitans, cui nomen asilo/ Romanum est, oestrum Grai vertere vocantes,/ asper, acerba sonans, quo tota exterrita silvis/ diffugijunt armenta.* Both JPG (s.v. *oestrum*) and BFS (s.v. *oestrum*) attest that this insect often is used for *furor*.

**phalanges** The word, the Greek φαλάγγιον, refers to venomous spiders. The form used by Phrygius is attested in JPG, s.v. *phalax*. Cf. how it was used in Stobaeus’ poem *Augur Apollo* (Berggren 1994, p. 90) line 582 f. *Aufugient igitur Pestes et mille phalanges,/ Armavit quas dira Lues.*
160. Erucas] Even though questioned in the _OLD_ (s.v. _eruca_ and _uruca_) the word in this form is attested in both JPG and BFS. **Chantarides**] Phrygian must mean the _cantharis_, the blister-beetle, the Greek κανθαρίς. It was sometimes used as poison. JPG even rendered one of its significations as _En föräftzt dryck_ (‘a poisonous potion’). Cf. e.g. Ov. _Ib._ 308 _Cantharidum sucos dante parente bibas_.

culices] Regarding _culex_ as a word of reproach, cf. _OLD_ s.v. _culex_, 1. c. **161 f.** The kind of personification of abstract concepts presented in these lines has several models in ancient literature (see Norden 1916, pp. 213 f. and Bömer _met._, IV–V, p. 164). We find it as early as in Hom. _Il._ 4.440 and Hes. _Theog._ 211 ff., and in Latin literature e.g. in _Cic._ _nat. deor._ 3.44:

Caelesti quoque parentes di habendi sunt, Aether et Dies, eorumque fratres et sorores, qui a genealogis antiquis sic nominantur, Amor Dolus Metus Labor Invidentia Fatum Senectus Mors Tenebrae Miseria Querella Gratia Fraus Persistinacia Parcae Hesperides Somnia, quos omnis Erebo et Nocte natos ferunt.

in _Verg._ _Aen._ 6.273 ff.:

vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci
Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae
pallentesque habitant Morbi tristisque Senectus
et Metus et malesuada Fames ac turpis Egestas,
terribiles visu formae, Letumque Labosque;
tum consanguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis
Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum
ferreique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens,
vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis

as well as in Ov. _met._ 484 f. _Luctus comitatur euntem/ et Pavor et Terror trepidoque Insania vultu_. Personifications in Renaissance literature are touched on quite generally in Castrén 1907, pp. 161 f., and Berggren 1994, p. 41 f. in connection to Stobaeus’ poetry.

161. Barbaries] As regards the declension, cf. the comments on line 128.

162. Tetricitas] Hapax in ancient Latin in _Laus Pis._ 102 ff. _talis inest habitus, qualem nec dicere maestum/ nec fluidum, laeta sed tetricitate decorum/ possumus_.

165. Spes ... amplas] The phrase can be found in some readings in _Verg._ _Aen._ 2.503 _spes ampla nepotum_, as well as in Prop. 3.22.41 f. _ampla nepotum/ spes_ (cf. Austin 1964, p. 195 regarding an eventual connection between these two instances).

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**laetis successibus**] The combination also occurs in e.g. one of Rudolf Gwalther’s poems (1541[?], fol. 1r [Camena]).
The word (cf. the Greek χρυσόκομος) was probably first used by Vergil in Aen. 6.141 (Lucr. 6.152 used the composite lauricomus). Later it recurs in Sil. 3.608 and Val. Fl. 4.92. See further Norden’s (1916, pp. 176 f.) exhaustive comments regarding this word and other compound adjectives used in poetry.


168. turpi fraud] The combination can be found in Phaedr. 1.10.1.

Improba … Megaera petit] Cf. Sen. Med. 962 f. quem trabe infesta petit/Megaera, and Claud. 2.74 Improba mox surgit tristi de sede Megaera. Megaera is one of the Furies, spreading madness and terror. As such she is in Latin literature also mentioned in e.g. Verg. Aen. 12.845 ff., Lucan. 1.575 ff. and Stat. Theb. 4.633 ff. However, just as in Sil. 3.35 ff. at Stygius … / iani- tor … / vincla indignatur, metuitque Megaera catenas, the name here may refer to ‘the Furies’ collectively (cf. Onomasticon, s.v. Megaera, 1, 2, a).

Megaera’s attack on Astraea immediately after the ascent of Erik XIV to the throne could allude to several things. It is tempting here in the first place to think of Erik’s XIV escalating mental illness, and the turpi fraude as referring to some of the acts performed by the king when in a state of derangement (see further below). But the reference may also be to war, which can also be sent by the Furies (cf. Verg. Aen. 7.323 ff.). Erik’s foreign policy soon led to a military conflict against Denmark (the Seven Years’ War of the North, 1563–1570). Concerning the Furies we should also note that “their common designation and their individual names were often used about the Pope and his followers” (Helander 2004, pp. 330 f.), and we cannot exclude that possibility completely in our case (see the extensive comment on the allusion to Erik’s XIV reign in the next lines). If so, we would have to understand the Furies as something like ‘representatives of the Counter-Reformation’.

169. fato functus Gostavus] Gustav Vasa died in 1560 at the age of 64. The expression fato fungis for ‘dying’ was first used by Ovid in met. 11.557 ff. After Ovid it was mainly used by prose authors (Bömer met., X–XI, pp. 385 f.).

169–178. The lines refer to the reign of Erik XIV. However, Boström (1958, pp. 65 f.) put forth the idea that Phrygius is here actually speaking about Sigismund. Now Boström clearly exaggerated the importance of Sigismund in the poem. He based his entire reading of the Threnologia on the assumption that it was primarily written for Sigismund, whose return Phrygius would have expected, and not for Duke John. Boström regarded it as hardly probable that Phrygius had written the poem when Duke John was still a child and would not have any real power for many years. In his argument Boström did not mention the fact that Duke John was to be the next king according to the Succession Pact in the vacuum following the deposition of
Sigismund. Astraea’s return to earth when John was born (below) refers to that circumstance.

Nevertheless it remains probable that the apology proclaimed by Duke John in the following lines on Erik’s behalf could also include an allusion to the reign and dethronement of Sigismund. In fact the case of Erik’s deposition was compared to Sigismund’s, not only in the propaganda (Boström 1958, pp. 65 f.), but also when legal questions were discussed. Erik had been deposed against the principles of the Succession Pact in 1544, in which Gustav Vasa had stated that the throne was hereditary. Thus his case was considered to be a kind of legal precedent. The important thing was not to violate what had been decided in 1544 without very good reasons (cf. Hallenberg 1908, p. 16). In Sigismund’s case the fact that he had brought foreign troops to Sweden and his Catholicism were regarded as incompatible with Gustav Vasa’s testament, and here the discussion on the Furies above is of interest. In accordance with that, it may perhaps agree with Phrygius’ intentions to interpret the passage as an attempt to blame the Catholic Church and faith for having corrupted Sigismund and to mitigate the criticism of Sigismund, who after all was also John’s III son and the older brother of Duke John himself.

It is indeed necessary to realise these parallels between Erik XIV and Sigismund in order to understand the possible reasons for giving Erik such an important role in the poem. Of course, we cannot know exactly what Phrygius intended. Despite that we must not overlook the possibility that some contemporary readers of the drama could have interpreted the passage with this parallel in mind.

169. Ericus] Erik XIV (1533–1577), Gustav Vasa’s oldest son, born in the marriage with Catherine of Sachsen-Lauenburg. He became the new king when Gustav died in 1560 and was deposed by his brothers Duke John (John III), Duke Charles and the nobility in 1568. The opinion on his reign, which to a great extent has had its origins in those who deposed him, has often focused on his mental illness, his wars (the Seven Years War) and his marriage with Karin Månsdotter, who was a commoner.

The similarities with Henricus Mollerus’ Carmine elegiaco (1555), could perhaps merely be accidental. However, one can read there about the previous Erik on the Swedish throne, Erik of Pomerania: Postquam Teutonicis assumptus Ericus ab oris,/ Iam regeret Suecas Dux Pomeranus opes./ Caepit inhumana vibrare tyrannide sceptrum,/ Pressurus regni libera colla dati (fol. A3r).

170. parum fausta] An Ovidian juxtaposition, recurring four times in Ovid, viz. in epist. 11.113, 21.182, Pont. 2.11.2 and 3.2.80.

172. in scelerum … luto] The crimes referred to here must in the first place be the imprisonment of Duke John (John III) and his family in the Gripsholm Castle. John had had a very independent position as the Duke of Finland, and
Erik with all measures strived at limiting it. It is also probable that the phrase alludes to the brutal murder of some members of the noble Sture family in May 1567, in which Erik participated personally, but that time in a state of mental derangement. Because of this later event there was a final break between him and the Swedish nobility.

As regards *lutum* in this metaphorical sense, cf. *TLL*, s.v. *lutum*, II, and Otto, pp. 201 ff. The phrase *sceletonum luto* occurs e.g. also in one of Friedrich Taubmann’s poems (1619, p. 80 [Camena]).

Cf. also here Mollerus’ *Carmine elegiaco* (1555): *Ad quae cum reditum sibi desperasset Ericus/ Ob scelera ingenij multa, patere, sui* (fol. C3r).

The following lines include an apology for Erik based on the theological concept of original sin, caused by the Fall of Man (*Infesta primi transitione patris*) related in the third chapter of *Genesis*. The thought that sin was inherited and thus affected all mankind (*Subjacet humanis lapsibus omnis homo*) according to many theologians found support in the Bible in passages like Ps 51:7 and Rom 5:12. (see e.g. *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, s.v. *Sünde* and *Erbsünde*). The idea that no man can say that he is free from sin (*Dicere nemo potest hominum: sum purus ab omni/ Sorde …*) was furthermore forcefully illustrated in John 8:1 ff. in the story about the woman taken in adultery. It is reasonable to assume that Phrygius also wanted to allude to that famous passage here.

In fact this theme remains the most common one when Phrygius wants to defend the behaviour of human beings. He uses it e.g. also about John III when mentioning the conflicts regarding his Liturgy (in *Agon regius*, 1620, p. 42), and about Gustav Vasa when confronting the posthumous criticism against him (*Ährapredikning*, 1620, pp. 36 f.). No man is without shortcomings.

173 ff. Phrygius expresses himself very similarly to this in *Een Christeligh Valetpredikning* (1613), fol. f3v. When he there reflects on his previous time as headmaster in Linköping, he asks everybody to forgive all the mistakes he may have committed in the following words: *Nullus mortalium est absque naevis et peccatis, nec est Sanctus in terris, cujus non plura sint delicta et crimina, quam benefacta.* The same idea can be found in no. I, 5 of the *Disticha Catonis*, which is: *Si vitam inspicias hominum, si denique mores,/ cum culpant alios: nemo sine crimine vivit.*

Note the three instances of parallel expressions: *Naevus adhaerebat patrius (velut omnibus) ipsi – Subjacet humanis lapsibus omnis homo, sum purus ab omni Sorde – premunt animum crimina nulla meum*, and then: *Nec decret hic larvis pugnare – Quiescat ab omni Scommate.*

175. *Naevus … patrius* I.e. original sin. Cf. the comments on lines 3 f. of the poem *Aliud memoriae ejusdem* above, as regards this use of *patrius*. The word *naevus* in a transferred sense can be found as early as Symm. 3.34 (Forcellini, s.v. *naevus*, 2). During the Middle Ages it also appears in the
specific sense of ‘sin’ (cf. e.g. LLNMA, s.v. naevus). Both JPG and BFS later attested a metaphorical use of the word, while stating that it could refer to mendae vel vitia.

176. humanis lapsibus] We should not only understand lapsus in the sense of ‘mistake’, but also in the specific Christian meaning of ‘sin’, denoting a failing which goes against the will of God. Cf. TLL, s.v. lapsus, I, A, 2, b, β, Latham 1965, and Souter 1949, s.v. lapsus.

The combination with humanus occurs also in e.g. one of Albert Wighgreve’s poems (1601, p. 89 [Camena]).

179. Nec decet hic larvis pugnare] Cf. Plin. nat. praef. 31 cum mortuis non nisi larvas luctari [dixit], which Otto (p. 230) interprets as Tote [muss man] nicht verleumden. Cf. also gnome nr. 14 in Phrygius’ Centuria Prima (1602) below. The sense of this proverb as it is explained by Phrygius (and Otto) is thus close to a perhaps more famous proverb found in Diogenes Laertius (1.70), τὸν τεθνηκότα μὴ κακολογεῖν (in Latin de mortuis nihil nisi bene). The maxim was widespread and often used in literature in Phrygius’ times. Erasmus discussed the proverb in the Adagia, p. 80. See Walther, 35938. It can also be found in contemporary emblems (see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 397 ff., with examples from both Alciato and Reusner).

180. Scommate] See the comments on line 64.

181 f. See the comments on lines 135 f. The refrain is probably used quite simply in order to return to the drama’s real subject, i.e. the mourning of John III.

183. aetherei Regis] The word aereus is in JPG attested both as aether-eus and aetherius, while BFS gives only aetherus. It here refers to heaven in its Christian sense, but in ancient Latin to the abodes of the pagan gods (cf. TLL), as in Verg. Aen. 10.621 rex aetherii breviter sic fatur Olympi, where it refers to Jupiter. Cf. also the In Natalem Domini Bucolicum Poematum by Jacobus Pontanus: ipsa est domus inclyta regis/ Aetherei (1594, p. 488 [Camena]).

183–184. aetherei Regis …/ … domat omne suo] The lines seem strongly inspired by the poem In obitum Magnoldi ab Hutten Equitis Franc. by Petrus Lotichius Secundus: Deique voluntas,/ Arbitrio fatum qui regit omne suo (1603, p. 116 [Camena]). Cf. however also Ov. trist. 5.3.17 f. an dominae fati quicquid cecinere sorores,/ omne sub arbitrio desinit esse dei? Phrygius’ (and Lotichius’) words become an answer to the Ovidian question by stating that the Christian God is an omnipotens iudex, and that also the Fates must obey him. The line is repeated below in line 304. Cf. the comment on lines 135–136.

185. Sortem … miseratus iniquam] Cf. Verg. Aen. 6.332 multa putans sortemque animi miseratus iniquam and 12.243 Turni sortem miserantur iniquam. God showed Astraea compassion and let her leave the earth when Megaera had attacked her, i.e. when Gustav died and Erik was the new king. Phrygius took up the same idea in the poem beginning Enthea Gostavi … in
Herois quondam invictissimi in Ährapredikning (1620), lines 1 f. *Enthea Gostavi mens incolit aethera; sed pax/ et Themis, & Musae, religioque gemunt.* The Vergilian phrase borrowed here was, moreover, easily given Christian colouring, as in Petrus Michaelis Ostrogothus’ poem *Elegia in Natalem Diem Filii Virginis* (1561), where we find: *Est hominum Christus sortem miseratus iniquam* (fol. C3r).

186. **Elysium … nemus** The combination can be found in e.g. Sen. *Tro.* 158, Mart. 7.40.4 and 11.5.6. The Elysian fields were mentioned as early as Hom. *Od.* 4.563, and later extensively described by Vergil in *Aen.* 6.637 ff. as a place of the blessed in the underworld. In our text it represents the Christian heaven or paradise. The theme of ‘life in the Elysian fields’ was often used in consolations in order to assert that the deceased now spends his time in a better place (cf. Helander 2004, p. 512).

**jussit adire** The subjective accusative is omitted, and we have to understand an elliptical *me* referring to Astraea herself. This is in accordance with ancient usage, especially in colloquial speech, drama, etc. (cf. K.-St., I, pp. 700 f., and Maurach 2006, pp. 97 ff.).

187. **tantisper detenta sedilibus** Astraea had spent all her time ever since she left earth in the Elysan grove, obviously waiting to be able to return when conditions allowed it. As regards this wider sense of *sedile*, cf. Forcellini, *s.v.* *sedile*, 3.

187 f. **usque/ Ducitur in … thorum** Sc. ‘until Duke John was begotten’. As was mentioned above John III and Gunilla married in 1585, and *torus* certainly refers to their conjugal bed (cf. Forcellini, *s.v.* *torus*, 10). Duke John was their only child. With Duke John, according to Phrygius here, a great future ruler was born. Astraea returned to earth again and now cherishes the memory of John III.

189–198. As we can see there is a kind of break in the plot at this moment, when Astraea has explained her reasons for returning and Duke John is about to see the Fates arriving. The following section must be a later addition to what Phrygius had composed during his time in Germany. As a further proof of that, some things must be noted. Neither Gunilla nor her husband John III are accounted for in the preceding list of characters, neither of the entire drama, nor of this particular part of the drama. Both Gunilla and John III were dead when Phrygius wrote the drama, which was done during his time in Germany, i.e. the years around 1600, according to his own information in the title. In any event their conversation here must therefore be assumed to take place in heaven. In the verbal exchange between the queen and the king they must be talking about their only son Duke John. The duke died in 1618, and Phrygius’ work was printed in 1620, although it was written almost 20 years earlier. Phrygius must thus have inserted this scene with Gunilla and John III, bewailing from heaven the early death of their only son Duke John, before the printing in 1620. With this in mind we should consider the possibility of Phrygius having also made other
later alterations in the drama, although most of it most certainly was written already during his time in Germany. It is the political situation at the turn of the century and its implications that permeate the drama.

189. *Hinc … libravi corpus in auras*] Hinc is probably ‘from our conjugal bed’. The phrase *librare corpus* in the sense ‘to keep the balance’ is rather common (cf. *OLD*, s.v. *libro*, 2, b). As regards the frequent use of *librare* about flying (birds, Daedalus and Icarus, etc) cf. e.g. *Ov. am.* 2.6.11 f. *Omnes, quae liquido libratis in aere cursus,/ tu tamen ante alios, turtur amice, dole!*, *met.* 8.201 f. *geminas opifex libravit in alas/ ipse suum corpus motaque pependit in aura* and *ars* 2.67 f. *Inde sibi factas umeris accommodat alas,/ Perque novum timide corpora librat iter.* Passages serving as clues to a proper understanding of this strange sentence could be the Ovidian ones about how Daedalus learnt his son Icarus to fly. In the occurrence in *Ars amandi* they are standing on a hill and both are about to launch themselves into the air (2.72 *Hinc data sunt miserae corpora bina fugae*). It would not be very far-fetched to assume that Phrygius understood (misunderstood?) *librare* there as ‘launch’, ‘throw’ or ‘send forth’. If we consider the circumstances in our text (Gunilla is addressing John III, into whose bedroom she was led in the previous line) and the following lines we must conclude that *corpus* refers to Duke John as a newborn baby. The verb *librare* must thus mean something like ‘send forth’. Cf. this line’s parallel in lines 109 f. of this poem, as well as the words in the *Dialogus Nuptialis* (1612): *Nonne leves quae te Genitrix emisit in auras/ Est pietatis amans.* Actually JPG as one of the senses of *librare* attests *kasta eller skiuta* (‘throw or shoot’), and he mentions the phrase *librare telum* (e.g. in *Verg. Aen.* 9.417). Cf. also how Phrygius used the verb in line 77 of the *Ecloga prima*. Another passage as a possible source of inspiration is *Verg. Aen.* 11.547 ff. where Metabus fastens his infant daughter Camilla to a spear and hurls her over a river to save her from his enemies: *implicat atque habilem mediae circumligat hastae;/ quam dextra ingenti librans ita ad aethera fatur:* (555 ff.). Even though *librans* also there must be translated by ‘poising’, the passage is rather close to Phrygius’ line, since it is an example of the use of *librare* in connection to a baby. Furthermore *corpus in auras* is a hexameter ending in *Lucr. 3.570* and *Ov. epist.* 18.51. Regarding *aura* in this sense cf. *OLD*, s.v. *aura*, 4, a.

191. *vitae mediis IS est sublatus in annis*] As was said above Duke John died in 1618 at the age of 29.

192. *accessus semen et ansa mei*] Duke John was the only male child of John III who could add new generations to the family in Sweden when Sigismund had been dethroned. However, Duke John did not have any legitimate offspring, only one illegitimate child. As regards this use of *ansa*, see the comments on line 143, and the relatively unusual sense of *accessus* cf. *TLL*, s.v. *accessus*, IV.


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also Henricus Mollerus’ *Epithalamion* on Edzard II and Catherine (1559): *Nestoris aetatem sponso, sponsaeque Sibyllae, Attalicasque pia voce pre-cantur opes*. The correct classical spelling is certainly *Sibyllinus*. There were several Sibyls. Ten of them are mentioned in Lact. *Inst.* 1.6.8 ff.

193 f. Sybillinos … dignus in annos/ Vivere| For the topos of the deceased having been worthy of a long life, cf. e.g. *Eleg. Maec.* 1.3 f. *ut iuvenis de-flendus enim tam candidus et tam/ longius annoso vivere dignus avo*. In Neo-Latin poetry a similar instance occurs in e.g. Friedrich Taubmann: *Festin-\n\ntantem animam tua tradidit Ursula fato?/ Digna Sibyllinos vivere sola dies* (1597, p. 304 [Camena]).

194. cruelis … Catiline| The combination is also found in Sall. *Catil.* 31.1. The name Catiline could refer to false and conspiring men in general already in ancient literature, as in Iuv. 14.41. During the Renaissance his character and destiny was the subject of several literary works (see further Frenzel 1992, pp 129 f.).

195 ff. Here we meet again the *αδύνατον* motif, which can also be found in the Birgitta eclogue lines 132 ff. (see those comments) and in lines 355 f. of this poem. The sense is the same in all of these instances. Before the living people will forget the deceased, the most impossible thing in nature will occur. Of course these things will never happen, and the deceased will never be forgotten (cf. Von Moos, vol. 3, pp. 350 ff.). Regarding *adynata* in Neo-Latin literature see Helander 2004, pp. 488 ff.

195. Chamaemeli| The Greek *χαμαίμηλον*. Regarding its smell cf. e.g. *Plin. nat.* 22.53 *Anthemis … alii chamaemelon, quoniam odorem mali ha-\n\n\n\nbeat ... vocant.*

narsturcia| See the comments on line 21 of the *Ecloga prima*.

196. Trinacris Hybla| For the combination see Ov. *trist.* 5.13.22. See also the comments on line 118 of the eclogue above.

197. Excidet illius nostro quam pectore vultus| I.e. ‘than we will forget his face’. The line is strongly inspired by Verg. *ecl.* 1.63 *quam nostro illius la-batur pectore vultus*. As we saw in the commentary on the poem to Birgitta above, Phrygius used the earlier part of this Vergilian *adynaton* as a model in that poem. *Pectore vultus* is furthermore a hexameter ending in Verg. *Aen.* 4.4. Cf. however also Ov. *Pont.* 2.4.23 f. *non ego, si biberes securae pocula Lethes,/ excitere haec credam pectore posse tuo*. Obviously the Vergilian line was often re-used in Neo-Latin poetry. Cf. e.g. Johannes Bocer’s (1525[?]–1565): *Recedet/ Non tuus aeternum nostro de pectore vultus* (Mundt 1999, p. 44).

198. Vel pia Lethaeae ... aquae| i.e. ‘than we will forget his name’. As regards *Lethe*, see the comments on line 135 f. of the *Ecloga prima*. Cf. Ov. *ars* 3.340 *Nec mea Lethaeis scripta dabuntur aquis and trist, 1.8.36 cunctane Lethaeis mersa feruntur aquis, and 4.9.2 et tua Lethaeis acta dabuntur aquis. dentur| The present subjunctive is probably *metri gratia*.
199 f. puellarum ... Divis/ Aemula] Cf. the comments on Lachesis in the title. The phrase Divis/ Aemula, which sounds as if the Fates were not goddesses at all (albeit Tempora Divarum in line 201), must primarily refer to the circumstance that in Christianity they would be rivaling the omnipotent God, since they decide when men shall die. In Antiquity not even the other gods could have any effect on their decisions. Cf. e.g. Tib. 1.7.1 f. Hunc cecinere diem Parcae fatalia nentes/ stamina, non ulli dissoluenda deo and Ov. met. 15.780 f. verba iacit [Venus] superosque movet, qui rumpere quamquam/ ferrea non possunt veterum decreta sororum. Cf. also the comments on line 184 above and later in the poem, where it is stated that God alone is responsible.

201. Tempora ... redemita] Worth noting is that phrases with the transitive verb redimio (with that spelling in JPG) are often in classical poetry, differently from here, construed with an accusativus graecus. That is the case in the closest parallels, e.g. Verg. georg. 1.349 torta redimitus tempora quercu, Aen. 3.81 sacra redimitus tempora lauro and Ov. met. 14.654 picta redimitus tempora mitra.

tristi ... cuppresso] The cypress in the classical poetry was closely associated with death and frequently referred to as being used at funerals (see Nisbet & Hubbard 1978, pp. 235 f. and Hehn 1963, pp. 291 f.). Cf. e.g. Verg. Aen. 3.63 f. stant manibus arae,/ caeruleis maestae vittis atraque cupresso, Hor. epod. 5.18 cupressus funebris and Stat. Theb. 6.54 ff. Tristibus interea ramis teneraque cupresso/ damnatus flammae torus et puerile feretrum/ texitur. Cf. in Neo-Latin poetry e.g. the poem Ad tumulum Petri a Mencingen by Nathan Chytraeus: Sed iam Calliope, tristi redimita cuppresso,/ Et pullata venit (1579, fol. 54v [Camena]). The cypress occurs frequently in that sense in emblematic literature as well (see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 215 ff.).


203. Dynastis] Dynastis is from the Gk. δυνάστης. Cf. Cic. Phil. 11.31. reges, tetrarchae, dynastaeque, where it refers to Oriental rulers. It could also be used about any ruler whatsoever (TLL, s.v. dynastes, 2). Both BFS (where it is rendered as princeps) and JPG attest both forms dynastes and dynasta.

204. conspicienda] The word in this form occurs not less than fourteen times in Ovid and three in Tibullus. In all instances it is situated directly after the diaeresis in the pentameter line, just as in Phrygius’ text.

205. sedili] Cf. the comments on line 187.

206. memori nostros mente reconde modos] Cf. e.g. Eobanus Hessus’ Latin translation of the Iliad: Sed tu nunc memori mea pectore dicta reconde (in Homerii Ilias, 1540, p. 28). The line here occurs in Agamemnon’s account of his dream about the fate of Troy. It then recurs repeatedly in Hessus. The combination memori mente occurs also in e.g. Lucr. 2.582, Hor. sat. 2.6.31 and Ov. met. 7.521.
Drama tertium:

207. *devoeam* As regards the theme of *insultatio mortis*, which permeates the entire third drama and the beginning of the fourth with furious accusations against the Fates, see Von Moos, vol. 3, pp. 48 f.

**Lachesis, qua filamenta resecta** I.e. ‘you, who kill people’. Cf. e.g. Ov. *trist.* 5.10.45 f. *O duram Lachesin, quaet tam grave sidus habenti/ fila dedit vitae non breviore meae*, Sil. 1.281 f. *duraeque sorores/ tertia bis rupto torquerent stamina filo*, and the difficult phrase in the *Ecloga prima* lines 24 f. *ut illos/ Occatis Parcae giscon postponere fuis*. The word *resecto* (frequentative of *reseco*) is attested in late Latin (Souter 1949), but it is absent from both JPG and BFS.

208. **Ante diem** The phrase is often used about men who die prematurely (John III died at the age of 55), as in Verg. *Aen.* 4.620, 4.696 f. and Ov. *ars* 3.739. In Neo-Latin dirges it is extremely frequent. Iacobus Typotius in his *Iohannis III ... Laudatio Funeris* (1594) likewise said that the king perished by *immaturae morte* (fol. A3v).

**radio fila trahenda** Cf. Ovid’s description of the process of weaving in *met.* 6.55 f. *tela iugo vincta est, stamen secernit harundo,/ inseritur medium radiis subtemen acutis,/ quod digiti expediunt, atque inter stamina ductum/ percusso paviunt insecti pectine dentes*. That passage was also later quoted in Sen. *epist.* 90.20.

209 f. **albo/ Divarum** The phrase meaning ‘being counted among the gods’ is formed by analogy to instances like Apul. *met.* 6.23 *Dei conscripti Musarum albo* and Tert. *adv. Marc.* 5.1 *quem in albo apostolorum apud euan
gelium non deprehendo*, which are in their turn modeled on the usual way of listing public magistrates in ancient Rome (cf. *TLL*, II, A, 1).

A further nuance is given this by the contemporary custom among students of having an *album amicorum* in which friends could write greetings, short poems, etc. Apparently this affected the sense of *album*. Actually, when Melchior Weinrich in the *Aerarium Poeticum* translates the Latin phrase *Albo inscribere* the German version is *ins Stammbuch schreiben* (1677, p. 21 [Camena]). An alternative sense could then be ‘that she is not anymore counted among the friends of the goddesses’.

210. **Sceptri ... honos** The phrase also in *Ciris* 269.

**labescet** This very rare word occurs in a variant reading of *Ciris* 450. It is also attested in the Middle Ages by Du Cange, with the explanation *labe maculare*. Neither JPG nor BFS have listed it.

211 f. The invocation of the Muses to aid Astraea in fighting Lachesis implies the assumption that they are supposed to be angry because of John’s III death. In fact he spent enormous amounts of money on cultural projects. For instance he built and restored many churches and castles in Sweden. He also started a theological university in Stockholm in 1576.
211. Heliconiades] Those who live on the Mount Helicon, i.e. the Muses. The word is hapax in Latin literature in Lucr. 3.1037, and transferred from Hesiod’s wording in Erg. 1.658. Varro, as we saw above, had the form Heliconides in ling. 7.20.

Pindica] The word is a new form. See the comments on Pindi in line 158 above.

212. Supremo ... supplicio] The combination, referring to capital punishment, occurs in Cic. leg. 2.22.

213. bilis in epate fervet] I.e. ‘anger burns in your heart’. Cf. Hor. carm. 1.13.4 fervens difficile bile tumet iecur, Epod. 11.16 quod si meis inaestuet praecordiis/ libera bilis and sat. 1.9.66 meum iecur urere bilis. The liver was regarded as the seat of the emotions “at least from the time of Aeschylius” according to Nisbet & Hubbard (1970, p. 172), and emotional indisposition due to the bile (cf. TLL, s.v. bilis, II). In BFS both hepar and epar are attested forms, while JPG only has hepar. The word, the Greek ἧπαρ, is a somewhat more technical equivalent to iecur, which began being used in late Latin by way of medical terminology (Ernout & Meillet, s.v. hepar). It is interesting to note that Phrygius uses the Greek word for liver and not the Latin one. From the Renaissance and onwards we usually meet Latin anatomical terms, but Greek in the field of pathology (Helander 2004, p. 71). In the case of the liver the Greek hepar however seems to have prevailed. (cf. Langslow 2000, p. 153 f.).

214. Udaque vipereo felle labella tument] I.e. ‘you speak very harsh words’. Cf. e.g. Vincentius Fabricius: Non mea vipereo suffusa est lingua veneno (1685, p. 675 [Camena]). The combination vipereo felle occurs in Ov. trist. 5.7.16 and Pont. 1.2.16. Both fel and tumeo are furthermore often used in connection to strong emotions (cf. OLD, s.v. tumeo, 3, and fel, 2).

215. tuamque tribum] Sc. the Fates. Could not this also be a play with words, alluding to their number? BFS (s.v. tribus) states ... pars Pop. Romani, quem Romulus divisit in partes tres, thus claiming that the word is etymologically related to tres. Perhaps a phrase like tribus una soror, about one of the Fates or Furies, could also have contributed to the association. It occurs in e.g. Prop. 2.13.44, Ov. met. 10.314, Ib. 240 and Mart. 9.76.6.

rutili ... Olympi] Olympus, the mountain on the borders of Thessaly and Macedonia, was early referred to as the abode of the gods (e.g. Hom. Il. 2.13 ἄμφις Ὁλύμπια δώματι ἐχοντες ἄθανατοι). Later Olympus in that sense and as ‘sky’ or ‘heaven’ became almost equivalent (cf. Varro ling. 7.20 caelum dicunt Graeci Olympum), since the god’s dwellings sometimes were located in the sky as well. Cf. e.g. Catull. 62.1 f. Vesper Olympo/ exspectata diu vix tandem lumina tollit and Verg. georg. 1.450 emenso cum tam decedit Olympo [sol]. Phrygius however refers to the Christian heaven, the domator Olympi being God instead of Jupiter. In fact the similar phrase summi rector Olympi about God can be found already in an ancient Christian epitaph (Lattimore 1942, p. 313). Rutili alludes to, in addition to the sky at
dawn and dusk, the description of the new Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation: *ipsa vero civitas auro mundo simile vitro mundo* (21:18) and *et platea civitatis aurum mundum tamquam vitrum perluxidum* (21:21). The combination occurs e.g. also in one of Nikodemus Frischlin’s poems (1598, p. 143 [Camena]).

**domator**] The word is very unusual. In ancient literature it is only attested once, viz. in a questioned reading of Tib. 3.7.116, where it in fact could be a name. BFS does not mention the word. JPG does, however, with reference to Tibullus, and he renders it as an equivalent to *domitor*.

**216. Phlegentontaeas ... aquas**] See the comment on line 156 above.

**praecipitabit aquas**] The phrase occurs three times in Ovid, viz. *fast.* 4.164, *Ib.* 326 and 464. All three instances occur at the end of pentameter lines, just as in Phrygius’ text.

**217. Cyparsinus**] Regarding the cypress see comments on line 201 above. The form is a contracted Latin variant (neither in BFS nor JPG) of the Greek Κυπαρίσσινος. *Cyparissinus* is attested in *TLL* (s.v. *cupressinus*). The Greek word for cypress was introduced in Latin by Vergil in *georg.* 2.84 and *Aen.* 3.680.

**218. ff.** The lines contain names of three diseases which all effect mental health. The sense in all of them is thus ‘have you lost your mind?’ A useful work regarding the medical terms is Bartholomaeus Castelli’s *Lexicon medicum graecolatinum* (1607).

**218. veternus**] Cf. Castelli: *Veternus, hoc est gravis sopor, ... sive ignavia et stoliditas, ... dicitur autem Veternus, quasi veteranus morbus, qui Lethargus vocatur ...* JPG quite simply renders the word as *Sompnsiwka* (sleeping-sickness), while BFS claims that it means *hydrops [dropsy], qui homines efficit pigros*. In the poem for *Iohannes Magnus a Kalunda in the Anagramma* (1601) Phrygius himself says similarly: *Quod non somnifero pateris torpere veterno*.

**219. gravat ... lethargus**] Regarding *lethargus* (the Gk. λήθαργος) Castelli states: ... *passio est Phrenidi [sic] contraria, siquidem in ea marcor, et inexpugnabilis dormiendi necessitas adest, sic dicta, quod ea correptis omnium rerum oblivio accidat ...* JPG again has *Sompnsiuaka* (‘sleeping-sickness’), while BFS states ... *torpor, inexpugnabilis pene somni necessitas*. Cf. Lucr. 3.465 *gravi lethargo fertur in altum aeternumque soporem*.

**220. phrenitis**] The word, the Gk. φρενῖτις, is hapax in ancient Latin, in Fronto p.138 (124 N), Castelli wrote: *Phrenitim, mortales omnes eam affectionem appellitant, in qua Phrenas, idest mentem laesam esse videant ...* Est vero phrenitis mentis alienatio cum febre acuta, quando Cerebrum propria, primariaque affectione laborat ... JPG (s.v. *phrenesis*) has *Willa/Raserij* (‘delusion/fury’), while BFS explain it as *symptoma, et morbus aegrotantium, cum desipere videntur et furiosa loquentur*. See also *TLL* for examples and definitions.
In the following lines, where Jupiter is described as skilled in medicine and Paeon (Apollo) as the one who cured Hades (Pluto) wounded in his shoulder by Hercules’ arrow in Pylos, Phrygius probably received his inspiration from Hom. Il. 5.395 ff.

The way of presenting first Jupiter (221–224), followed by Apollo (225–226) and Asclepius (227–228) in one context perhaps took its start from Ov. fast. 1.289 ff. (a text alluded to by Phrygius both above and below in the poem). There we learn that both Jupiter and Asclepius had temples inaugurated on the same day and Ovid concludes: cepit locus unus utrumque/ iunctaque sunt magno templa nepotis avo.

221. Jupiter altipotens] Jupiter appears somewhat surprisingly here. Usually we do not meet him in connection to medicine, except to some slight degree in the Ovidian instance just quoted. We must, however, assume that Jupiter altipotens here stands for the Christian God (Deus omnipotens). That would to some extent explain the later phrase Ad morbos dare solus habet medicamen, which sounds very awkward when referring to Jupiter (Phrygius knew that this was not the case in mythology!), but logical in connection to the Christian God. A good example of tendency to adopt Jupiter’s attributes for the Christian God is the common wording Dei Optimus Maximus (cf. Helander 2004, pp. 76 f.).

The compound altipotens, created by analogy to e.g. the Lucretian altivolans and altitonans, occurs in Carm. epigr. 1562,3 about the Christian God (TLL). The combination is e.g. suggested in Melchior Weinrich’s Aerarium Poeticum (1677, p. 174 [Camena]).


Furthermore, the use of habeo with an infinitive, in the sense of possum, corresponds to the Greek ἕχω with an infinitive. The construction is frequent in Cicero’s works (cf. K.-St., I, p. 676, and TLL, s.v. habeo, caput alterum II, A).

224. Paeoniae ... usus opis] I.e. ‘medicine’, while understanding Paeoniae as ‘Apollonian’. Cf. Ov. met. 15.534 f. fortibus herbis/ atque ope Paeonia Dite indignante recepi. Παιήων is the physician of the gods in Homer (e.g. in Il. 5.401 and 900). He was later identified with Apollo, because of this god’s healing powers and connection to medicine, but his name was also used about among others Asclepius and Dionysus (Roscher, s.v. Paian). Worth noting is that both JPG and BFS (s.v. Paeon) refer only to the passage in Homer, and do not mention the connection to Apollo. Regarding the use of a short o in Paeonius, found as early as Vergil, see Bömer met., XIV–XV, p. 395. As regards phraseology, cf. also an Epicedion by Petrus Lotichius Secundus: Cognitus aut medicae profuit usus opis (1603, p. 231 [Camena]).
generum Cereris … rapacem] I.e. Hades (Pluto) who raped Ceres’ daughter Proserpina. The combination Cereris gener occurs in Ov. met. 5.415 and Iuv. 10.112.

fertur] We must probably understand a rather awkward shift of subject in this clause, thus reading fertur Paeon (Apollo) medicasse, referring to the paeoniae ... opis in the previous line. The alternative would be to continue reading ‘Jupiter’, while assuming that Phrygius identified Paeon with that god instead. That identification would be very unusual (cf. Roscher, s.v. Paian, V), and the following two lines would be unlogical. They clearly refer to Asclepius, and he was the son of Apollo (ex illo ... sumptus). A third possible alternative would be to assume that Phrygius regarded all the gods in ancient mythology as different apparitions of the mightiest god of all, Jupiter and/or the Christian God.

frons ... notata fuit] The combination frons notata occurs in Cic. p. red. in sen. 16, and fronte notatus in Mart. 3.21.1. But Homer’s text tells us that Hades was hurt in his shoulder (ὤμῳ). As regards notata fuit, see the comments on line 135 of the Ecloga prima.

ex illo Nymphaque Coronide sumptus] The line was influenced by Ov. fast. 1.291 f. accepit Phoebo nymphaque Coronide natum/ insula. They both refer to Asclepius, the god of medicine (cf. Cels. praef. 2), son of Apollo and the Coronis. In Latin literature his dramatic birth is described in Ov. met. 2.596 ff.

Seminæces ... viros] The combination can be found in Verg. Aen. 9.455 and Stat. Theb. 9.201.

Hi dent aethereos .../ ... cohibere mali] Cf. two lines in the poem In obitum Ioannis Stigelii by Henricus Husanus: Funde salutares succos et pharmaca misce,/ Quae subiti possint vim prohibere mei (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 3, p. 629 [Camena]).

aethereos succos et pharmaca] An exegesis (cf. Sz., pp. 782 f.), stressing the connection between the heavenly healing powers and medicine.

Panchrestum] The Greek πάγχρηστος (adj.). First used in Latin (as an adjective) by Cicero in Verr. 2.3.152. Both JPG and BFS render it as a noun.

praelanguida] The compound is not attested in ancient Latin, and JPG and BFS do not list it.

Pharmaca nil ... / ... herba valet] Cf. Prop. 2.4.7 f. non hic herba valet, non hic nocturna Cytaeis,/ non Perimedeae gramina cocta manu. As regards Neo-Latin poetry see e.g. the poem Ad Deum Opt. Max. Gratias ei agit recuperata valetudine ex febrilibus paroxysmis by Paulus Melissus Schede: Quippe absque te sit, pharmaca nil valent,/ Nil sucus herbae, nil manus artifex (1595, p. 80 [Camena]), and in another poem by that same author: Nil quidquam medicina, Dei sine munere, prodest:/ Hoc absente, nihil pharmaca mista valent (1586, vol. 2, pp. 71 f. [Camena]).
233. **Apollinis artes**] Sc. ‘medicine’. Cf. Ovid’s phrase *Apollinea arte* in *trist*. 3.3.10 and *Ib*. 264, but above all his *met*. 1.521 ff. where Apollo himself states:

> inventum medicina meum est, opiferque per orbem
> dicor, et herbarum subiecta potentia nobis.
> ei mihi, quod nullis amor est sanabilis herbis
> nec prosunt domino, quae prosunt omnibus, artes.

234. **Commoda ... medicis usibus**] Cf. e.g. Ortolph Marolt: *Gramina dum Medicis usibus apta lego* (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 4, p. 272 [Camena]). The phrase *commoda usibus* is obviously a variant of *usibus apta* in line 236 (the latter is also used in lines 38 and 350).

235. **aromata**] The Greek ἄρωμα. In Latin first used about medical herbs by Celsus in 2.21.7 (cf. *TLL*, s.v. *aroma*, 1.). It is in both JPG and BFS rendered as a *plurale tantum*.


The *annus Podalirius* is son of Asclepius (*Phaebi ... nepos*) and Epione. He and his brother Machaon were renowned as skilled in medicine (see *Hom.* *Il*. 2.730 ff.). Cf. e.g. *Cels.* *praef*. 3 *Huius [Aesculapii] deinde duo filii Podalirius et Machaon bello Troiano ducem Agamemnonem secuti non mediocrem opem commilitonibus suis attulerunt*. Podalirius lived much longer than his brother Machaon, who had been killed by Eurypylus. In *Paus.* 3.26.10 we are told that he got lost on his way home from Troy but finally settled in Syrnus. For allusions to his age in Neo-Latin poetry, cf. e.g. a biography on Johann Langius by Melchior Adam: *gloriam sibi conciliasset immortalem, vere ἰατρὸς φιλόσοφος*, et alter quasi *Podalirius*, *aetatis suae octogesimo anno completo, e vivis excessit Haidelbergae* (1620), p. 142 [Camena]), and Georg Sabinus: *Sic triplices ducant tibi stamina longa so- rores,*/ *Sic tua sit felix suspite prole domus:*/ *Sic, alter veluti Podalirius, arte medendi/ Languida mortifera corpora tabe leves* (1568[?], p. 150 [Camena]).

239. **dira ... vulnera sortis acerbae**] The combination *dira vulnera* also in *Sil.* 6.78, while *vulnera sortis* occurs in *Lucan*. 8.417, and *sortis acerbae* in *Sen.* *Herc.* *O*. 838 and *Val.* *Fl.* 3.285.

240. **Arte Machaonia paenoniae**] Sc. the art of medicine. Cf. e.g. Euricius Cordus: *Ut qui Paeonias clarique Machaonis artes* (1550[?], fol. 110v [Camena]). The combination *arte Machaonia* occurs in *Ov.* *Pont*. 1.3.5.

**241 ff.** The following lines once again touch on the theme of how death strikes equally at all men. See further the comments on lines 275 ff. below.
241. **Tetrica**] In classical Latin the word usually scans with a short e, but there are examples of the long e as early as Seneca (Ernou & Meillet). Worth noting is that BFS renders it with a short e. Both BFS and JPG furthermore maintain that the adjective *tetricus*, ‘stern’, is derived from the mountain Tetricus, which in the words of BFS is *mons in Sabinis arduus atque asper*. Ernout & Meillet claim that the derivation was made in the other direction.

**scis parcere nulli**] Phrygius alludes to the idea that the Fates (*Parcae*) got their name because they did not know how to spare (*parcere*) any human being, cf. Serv. *Aen*. 1.22. *dictae sunt parcae κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν, quod nulli parcant, sicut lucus a non lucendo, bellum a nulla re bella* (also in *georg.* 1.278). That etymological theory is also supported by BFS (s.v. *Parcae*). Ernout & Meillet and most modern scholars, however, hold to Varro’s opinion (cf. Gell. 3.16.9. ff.) that the word is related to *pario*.

As regards Neo-Latin poetry, cf. e.g. Erasmus Laetus’ sixth eclogue: *Ritene Parcarum nomen gessisse malignas*/ *Crediderim: nulli cum parcere dextera norit*/ *Vestra* (1560, fol. E6v).

242. **Præripis infantes, interemisque senes**] Cf. e.g. a Hieronymus Spartanus: *Qui [mors] solet aetatis nullum discrimen habere, Et petit infantes, et petit ille senes* (1550, p. 13 [Camena]). Both JPG and BFS have the correct spelling *interimo*.

243 ff. The idea that good men die and the worthless live on is alluded to here and returns more elaborated in lines 257 ff. below. See the comments on those lines.


244. **Jura litigiosa**] The combination can be found in e.g. one of Georg Sabinus’ poems (1568[?], p. 74 [Camena]).

247 ff. I.e. rulers, truly pious, noble and virtuous men should be spared.

247. **Cura … Regnorum tradita**] Cf. Liv. 3.18.6. *populi colendi velut hereditaria cura sibi a maioribus tradita esset quibus* The intended correlate must be the *justis/ ... viris* in lines 243 f., and lines 245 f. should thus be regarded as an awkward parenthesis.

248. **doctrinae**] Even though the word is often used in a wider sense (e.g. JPG has ‘erudition’), we should here primarily understand it as referring to theological activities (cf. *TLL*, s.v. *doctrina*, II, B, 8).

249. **mascula virtus**] The combination is e.g. also in one of Friedrich Taubmann’s poems (1619, p. 179 [Camena]).

250. **a summis gloria splendet avis**] The line certainly refers to noble ancestry. Cf. e.g. Hor. *carm*. 1.1.1. *Maecenas atavis edite regibus*.

251. Cf. line 135 above.

252. **facis in liquido saxa natare freto**] I.e. ‘you try to effect something impossible’. The line returns slightly revised in line 322. Erasmus mentioned a variant to this proverb, viz. *ferrum natare doces* (*Adagia*, p. 149), certainly
having the same sense as Phrygius’ line. It is also attested in Walther, 9361d and 36911. See the parallel proverb in line 286.

253. Dicite lanificae, saevissima numina, Parcae] Similar lines are used in several poems in the works of Eobanus Hessus, e.g.: Dicite crudeles infamia nomina [misprint for numina] Parcae (1539, fol. 172r [Camena]), and in two different poems Dicite fatales crudelia numina parcae (1539, fols. 19r and 177v [Camena]).

The composite lanificae, ‘wool-working’, is used about the Fates in Mart. 4.54.5, 6.58.7 and Iuv. 12.66, while the combination saeva numina occurs also in Verg. Aen. 11.901, Lucan. 2.44 and Sen. Oed. 75.

254. Fatalem … colum] The distaff is fateful since the Fates use it when deciding when men shall die. Cf. e.g. Ov. am. 2.6.45 f. septima lux venit non exhibitura sequentem,/ et stabat vacuo iam tibi Parca colo and Sen. Herc. O. 1180 f. perque tam turpes colus/ mea mors cucurrit. See further TLL, s.v. colus, II. The combination fatalem colum occurs in e.g. one of Eobanus Hessus’ poems (1539, fol. 148r [Camena]).

fecit habere] The subjective accusative vos is elliptical in this sentence.

255 f. A similar expression can e.g. be found in an undated Epicedion Sereniss. ac Potentiss, principis, ac D. D. Gostavi, Suecorum, Gothorum, atque Vandalarum regis by Micaelus Toxites: Infantes, pueros, iuvenesque, senesque, virosque,/ Mars rapit, and in a drama by Thomas Naogeorg: vastet ut et exterminet/ Urbes, virosque, nurusque, iuvenes et senes (1551, fol. F4v [Camena]), and in Nicolaus Johannis’ Carmen de Natali Pueri Iesu (1589): infantes mecum, iuvenesque virique senesque/ Incipiant pleno jubila plena sono (fol. A3v).

256. lassa senecta] The combination is also found in Sen. epist. 101.4.

257 ff. Death snatches away good people and lets bad ones have a long life. The topos is frequent in Neo-Latin dirges. It can be found as early as Hom. Il. 21.34 ff. Ovid expressed the idea about his dead parrot in am. 2.6.39 f. optima prima fere manibus rapiuntur avaris;/ inplentur numeris deteriora suis. It also appears in ancient epitaphs (Lattimore 1942, pp. 183 f.). For a list of more passages in ancient literature expressing it, see Esteve-Forriol 1962, p. 138. The proverb mors optima rapit, deterrima relinquit is accounted for in Erasmus’ Adagia, p. 822, and in Walther, 15189a and 38359c. In Neo-Latin poetry Ovid’s above quoted line also has echoes in e.g. Petrus Lotichius Secundus’ Ad deos maris in funere Delphini, lines 17 f. occidit innocuos tumidarum rector aquarum:/ optima cum pereant, deteriora man- nent (Perosa & Sparrow, p. 461 f.).

257. inclementia fati] The hexameter ending occurs in Stat. silv. 1.4.50. In Michael Abel it is used for this very topos as well: Optima quaeque prius rapit inclementia fati,/ Succedunt adeo deteriora bonis (1590, fol. E7v [Camena]).
258. tolleret] As is indicated in e.g. OLD (s.v. tollo, 13) and JPG (s.v. tollo, 5) the verb tollere is often used in the sense of ‘unjustly get rid of’ or ‘kill’. That nuance is worth noticing in this instance.

259. Impare … trutina] Cf. e.g. Plin. epist. 9.9.2 quam pari libra gravitas comitasque. Both trutina and libra are frequently used in these kinds of comparitions. See further TLL, s.v. libra, II, A, 2, and Forcellini, s.v. trutina, 4. Erasmus accounted for the proverbial eadem pensari trutina in Adagia, p. 162. Cf. also Paulus Melissus Schede: vel aequa ponderatis/ Impare vel trutina (1586, vol. 1, p. 114 [Camena]).

reprobis] The word was first used by Ulpianus (OLD), and later several times in the Vulgate. Both JPG and BFS have it. JPG even notes that it did not have any classical examples.

260. Pylios transnumerare dies] Pylius is a frequently used periphrasis for Nestor, who was born in Pylos. Because of his great age, his name and origin were proverbial from Homer on (Il. 1.247 ff.). See Otto, p. 242. Cf. e.g. Ov. met. 15.838 cum senior Pylius aequaverit annos, trist. 5.5.62 aequarint Pylios cum tua fata dies and Mart. 8.2.7 promisit Pyliam quater senectam. Phrygius used it also in Acclamatio (1608), in the poem called Pietas, line 9 f: Deus ... / In Pylij servet secula cana Ducem. Erasmus discussed the proverbial Nestorea senecta in Adagia, p. 217. See also Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1401 f., and Walther, 38725c2 and 38725f. The word transnumero is hapax in Rhet. Her. 4.63. JPG has listed it.

261. rationis egentes] The phrase occurs several times as hexameter ending in ancient poetry, e.g. in Lucr. 4.502, Verg. Aen. 8.299 and Ov. met. 15.150. An Ovidian passage referring to animals is in am. 1.10.25 pecudes ratione carentes. In Neo-Latin see e.g. Mollerus’ Epithalamion ... (1559): animalia ... / ... prudenti quae ratione carent (fol. A3r).

Several examples of the differences between animals and human beings in this respect can found in Seneca’s works. One of them is epist. 76.9 ff., where we read: In homine optimum quid est? Ratio; hac antecedit animalia, deos sequitur. Ratio ergo perfecta proprium bonum est, cetera illi cum animalibus satisque communia sunt. Other important passages are e.g. epist. 85.8 f. and 124.8 f.

262. Secula tot degunt per nemora alta ferae] Cf. a funeral poem by Nikolaus Reusner: Heu spes incertas hominum! tot secula degunt/ Expertes sensus lustra per alta ferae (in Operum ... pars prima, 1593, p. 177 [Camena]). As regards secula in this sense, cf. OLD, s.v. saeculum, 5. The combination nemora alta can e.g. be found in Verg. Aen. 12.929, georg. 3.393, and Sil. 2.74.

263 f. The longevity of the deer and of the raven is proverbial (Cf. Otto, s.v. cervus and cornix), and both have several ancient parallels. The most important one can be found as early as Hesiod:
“A chattering crow lives out nine generations of aged men, but a stag’s life is four times a crow’s, and a raven’s life makes three stags old, while the phoenix outlives nine ravens, but we, the rich-haired Nymphs, daughters of Zeus the aegis-holder, outlive ten phoenixes.”

This Hesiodan passage was later referred to rather extensively in Plin. nat. 7.153 and Auson. ecl. 5.1 ff. In ancient Latin the idea of long lives of these animals also stands out in passages as Verg. georg. 7.30, Ov. am. 2.6.35 f., Hor. carm. 4.13.23 ff., Iuv. 14.251 and Colum. 9.1.8. Erasmus dealt with the proverbial cornicibus vivacior in Adagia, p. 216.

Lines very close to these occur in several instances in Neo-Latin poetry, e.g. Friedrich Taubmann: Cervus in immensum vivaces porrigit annos:/ Corvus habet vitae saecula multa suae (1597, p. 290, [Camena]).

A similar expression of the unjustice between the length of the lives of human beings and those of these animals was later made in e.g. Naenia in obitum immaturum … Dn. Mariae Elizabethae (1618) by Johannes Matthiae Gothus (the younger): Vivere cornices multos dicuntur in annos,/ Et phenix perquam secula multa vidit:/ Cur nos ceu violae nobis florere videmur,/ mox tamen extincti terra lutumque simus.

263. fatales prorogat annos] The combination fatales annos is also in Tib. 1.3.53, while the hexameter ending prorogat annos occurs in Sil. 11.588.

265 f. The lines express the idea that earthly powers have been granted their positions by God and that they execute his will, in accordance with the formulation in Paul’s letter to the Romans 13.1 ff:

non est enim potestas nisi a Deo: quae autem sunt, a Deo ordinatae sunt …
non enim sine causa gladium portat. Dei enim minister est, vindex in iram ei qui malum agit.

Other instances in the Bible where that thought can be found are e.g. Prov 8:15 f., Wis 6:2 ff. and I Pet 2:13 ff. The motif is very frequent in literature during the 16th and 17th centuries when most European countries were ruled by absolute monarchs (cf. Helander 2004, pp. 387 ff.). For instance Schering Rosenhane’s very first emblem (p. 13) in Hortus regius, composed for Queen Christina, treats this theme.

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375 Hugh G. Evelyn-White’s translation in Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica (1950), p. 75.

267 f. Feroces/ ... Deae] Sc. the Fates, who are associated with several different epithets of this kind. They are e.g. described as *immites* (Prop. 4.11.13), *saevae* (Val. Fl. 5.531) and *iniquae* (Hor. *carm.* 2.6.9). See further *Onomasticon*, s.v. *Parca*.

268. gliscunt] See the comments on lines 26. f. of the *Ecloga prima*.

269. fila Deae] A hexameter ending in Ov. *Pont.* 1.8.64.

270. Trina ... numina] Sc. the Fates once again. The distributive numeral with nouns in plural is used instead of the cardinals, just as it also could at times be in classical literature (cf. Sz., pp. 212 f.).

271. tela trisulca] The combination is also found in Ov. *am.* 2.5.52, *Ib.* 469 and Claud. 6.14.


274. Organa] The Greek *ὄργανον*, used in Latin as early as Vitruvius.

275 ff. The idea about death striking equally at all people has an obvious parallel in one of Phrygius’ poems in Swedish, and the theme returns in most of his obituary sermons. The verses in Swedish are perhaps the ones in which he most successfully manages to express himself poetically in his mother tongue. That seems to have been his own opinion as well, since he quoted some of these lines in a later passage touching on the same theme (in the *Ähraskyldige Liktienst*, 1618, p. 13. Just before the quotation Phrygius has the distich: *Pauperibus reges, mors sceptras ligonibus aequat,*/ *Quos sors distinguuit, mors jubet esse pares*). The lines conclude the poem called *Een annan H.K.Ms. Sampt H:K:Ms. Högborne Drottningars wälförtiente åminnelse*, included in the *Ährapredikning*, lines 33–44:

Ty Döden haffwer jämpt sådan lagh
At han mäst kommer på then Dagh
Som man hadhe minst på honom tänckt
Och hans tillkommelse förvänt.
Ty när han haffwer befunnet
Glaset wara uthrunnet
Uthan åtskildnat dräper han
Så wäl en ung som en gammal man.
Så snart han en Drottningh tager
Som then blagarnskiortelen drager.
Så snart grijper han then Cronan bäär
Som then j walmar klädder är.

(For death always obeys such a law, that he mostly arrives on that day, when you have thought of him the least and not expected his arrival. For when he has found that the hour-glass has run out he kills without distinction a young
man as well as an old. He snatches away a queen as soon as him who carries a shirt of rough yarn. He catches him who wears the crown as soon as him who is dressed in simple cloth.)

Other instances where the same theme can be found in an elaborate form is the obituary sermon for Ulff Jönsons Snäckenborg, in the section called Tertii Loci Confirmatio, and in the sermon for Erich Ribbing, in which Phrygius writes I Dagh en Konung högt ärhat och Rijk/ I morgon et fuult och stinckande lijk (Today a highly honoured and rich king, tomorrow an ugly and stinking corpse).

The theme has precedents in ancient poetry, the most famous perhaps being Hor. carm. 1.4.13 f. pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas/ regumque turris. See Otto, p. 228 f., Nisbet & Hubbard 1970, p. 329, for some further ancient parallels, Lattimore 1942, pp. 250 ff.; about the use of it in ancient epitaphs, Curtius 1948, pp. 88 f. and Von Moos, vol. 3, pp. 113 ff.; for ancient and medieval examples, Helander 2004, pp. 520 f.; as regards a variant of this common topos in Neo-Latin literature; and Castrén 1907, pp. 129 ff. for general observations from Swedish Renaissance poetry; for occurrences of it in emblematic literature see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1000, 1002, 1305 f. and 1431 f. As regards the topos ‘everything that happens is the will of God’ used in consolations, see Von Moos, vol. 3, pp. 137 ff.

278. Cuncta … ditione premit] Cf. e.g. Philipp Melanchthon: Omnia sunt etenim [Deus] sub ditione tua (1579, fol. D2v [Camena]), and one by Adam Siber: Aeterna imperii quae ditione premis [Deus] (1565–1566, vol. 1, p. 133 [Camena]). The phrase ditione premit also occurs in Verg. Aen. 10.53, and according to some readings in Aen. 7.737.

279. jussa capessere fas est] Cf. Verg. Aen. 1.77 mihi iussa capessere fas est. The words are uttered by Aeolus when commanded by Juno to set his winds free.

280. invita … manu] The combination occurs in Ov. fast. 6.800.

fila secare] Cf. the comments on lines 207 and 268 above.

281 f. Cf. Phrygius’ Centuria Prima (1602), gnome nr. 65, below.

281. multivorae] This compound word, which we here must understand as an equivalent to omnivorus, is not attested in classical literature. Tertullian however used multivorantia, in the sense of ‘gluttony’, construed from the same words (Souter 1949, and TLL, s.v. multivorantia). The existence of the word during the Middle Ages is attested in Bartal 1901.

lege … aequa] The combination occurs in e.g. Cic. Verr. 2.3, Hor. carm. 3.1.14 and Verg. Aen. 11.321 f.

282. geminis … polis] Cf. Ov. fast. 3.106 geminos esse sub axe polos and fast. 6.718 et cinget geminos stella serena polos. In the Ovidian passages the poles refer to the morning and evening (Bömer fast., vol. II, p. 324). We cannot know whether Phrygius was aware of that. BFS (s.v. polus) says that the duo poli are Arcticus and Antarcticus. Nevertheless Phrygius surely
wanted to express ‘everything under the sky’, and thus adhered to the common poetical usage of polus (cf. Forcellini, s.v. polus, 3).

quicquid reptat] The phrase underlines the universality of death by its antithetical contrast to sub geminis polis. Even the tiniest crawling animals die (cf. OLD, s.v. repto, 1, b). The law holds good for all living creatures.

283. suffundito] Since fundere lacrimas or suffundere lacrimis would be the expected phrases (cf. OLD, s.v. fundo, 4, and suffundo, 3), we must assume that Phrygius wanted to convey the unusual – but logical as regards the prefix sub – sense of ‘crying secretly’. The context supports such an interpretation as well, as does a comparison with how he uses the verb in line 321 below.

284. Morigerae] The compound word can be found as early as Naev. com. 91.

guttam si pietatis habes] Cf. e.g. Epicedia in Obitum Reverendi & Clarissimi Viri, Domini Iacobi Rungii, ... scripta ab amicis (1595), in the poem by David Herlicius: in pectore guttam/ Tantum unam pietatis habes.

285. Cf. lines 135 and 181 above. Worth noting in this instance is that Astraea expresses Duke John’s earlier words. When they were then uttered, Astraea reproached him for being too filled with sorrow. Here Lachesis is not mourning at all, and this does not agree with Astraea’s opinion either. Justice demands that even the Fates feel grief when such a great king dies.

286. E ... pumice quaeris aquam] This proverb occurs in Plautus’ Persa, lines 41 f. nam tu aquam a pumice nunc postulas,/ qui ipsus sitiat. Its sense is ‘you demand something impossible’ (Otto, p. 290). Erasmus took it up in Adagia, p. 152. It is also attested in Walther, 34857.

laevi ... pumice] = levi pumice. The spelling laevis is attested in both BFS and JPG. The word does occur somewhat surprisingly here, since descriptions of the pumice as smooth are very hard to find. There are however many instances in ancient literature where it was mentioned as levis (short e), e.g. Plin. epist. 6.16.16, Aetna 482 and Sen. nat. 2.26.5, and several where its common usage for making books or the human skin levis (long e) is referred to, e.g. the famous verse in Catull. 1.2, Ov. trist. 1.1.11 and ars 1.506. Either Phrygius has confused the two words, while needing a long syllable metri gratia, or he wanted the levis (long e) to be understood as ‘pumice, which makes things smooth’. Contemporary authors actually use the same phrase, e.g. Nikolaus Reusner has: Quamvis sit male comptus hic libellus,/ Laevi pumice nec satis politus (in Operum ... pars secunda, 1593, p. 269 [Camen]).

gelidam ... quaeris aquam] The combination gelidam aquam occurs in e.g. Tib. 1.1.47, Ov. fast. 2.264 and Mart. 14.106.2, while the phrase quaeris aquam is used in other expressions which also sound proverbial. The examples below both have the sense of doing something absolutely pointless for some reason. Cf. Ov. am. 2.2.43 f. quaerit aquas in aquis et poma fugacia captat/ Tantalus and Prop. 1.9.16 insanus medio flumine quaeris aquam.

288. verba dolore loqui] Hemiepes in Ov. *trist.* 1.8.20, where a variant reading is *pauc tamen ficto verba dolore loqui.* Just as the Ovidian passage concerns accusations towards an unfaithful friend, the words in our case reproach Lachesis.

289. Stemmata praetereo] Cf. the poem *In mortem Beatam Sophiae Principis WIRtebergicae coniugis* ... by Nikolaus Reusner: *Cetera praetereo decorata alta, et stemmata clara, Et patris, et fratris nomina magna Ducis* (in *Operum ... pars prima* 1593, p. 245 [Camena]). Through this *praeteritio* Phrygius with a few brief words mentions the practically necessary element in eulogies, viz. the praising of a noble descent but without burdening the poem with long lists. Cf. in addition to Reusner above, e.g. in Henricus Mollerus’ *Epithalamion* (1559): *Ordo monet, paucis genus ut regale notetur./ Namque cani excursu sufficien tesse quit* (fol. C2v).

Cf. also the comments on *Gostavianam prosapia* in the title. What we meet here is a word equivalent to *prosapia.* In fact _stemma_, from the Greek _στέμμα_ and first used in this sense in Sen. *benef.* 3.28.2 (Ernout & Meillet), later also in e.g. Iuv. 8.1, seems to be extremely frequent in Neo-Latin as well. This is surely connected with the high value placed at the time on a fine lineage (cf. Helander 2004, p. 137).

290. erant] *Metri gratia.* We would have expected *essent* in this unreal conditional clause (*si praesens res pateretur*).

290 f. The sense is certainly that it is impossible to recount all of Gustav’s glorious deeds in words.

291. Vach!] The interjection is typical of colloquial and dramatic speech. It occurs very often in Plautus and Terence. Both JPG and BFS have the correct classical spelling *vah.*

Gostavi] Gustav Vasa. John’s III father. See the comments on line 106.

expandere dictis] Famous hexameter ending in Lucr. 1.126.

292. undisonum] Literally ‘wave-sounding’. The compound adjective was first used by Propertius in 3.21.18, and later also by Statius in *Ach.* 1.198 and 1.408, and Valerius Flaccus in 1.364 and 4.44.

293. digito premis ora] Cf. e.g. Ov. *met.* 9.692 *quique premit vocem digitoque silentia suadet* and Iuv. 1.160 *digito compesce labellum.* This signal to silence, especially typical of the Egyptian infant-god Harpocrates (Horus) but later also transferred to Hermes, occurs in the *picturae* of emblems as well (Henkel & Schöne, cols. 833, 1772, 1822 and 1823, and Alciato, p. 17). For proverbial occurrences see Walther, 5705, with references. The association to Harpocrates is also made in Erasmus’ *Adagia*, p. 871. For some notes on the history of the gesture, see Wind 1980, pp. 12 f.

295. Crede mihi] A frequent phrase in beginnings of hexameter lines in ancient poetry, e.g. found in Ov. *am.* 2.2.51, Prop. 1.2.7 and Tib. 3.10.3. Cf. Schumann, 1, 1979, pp. 489 f.
296. Elyseis ... rosis] The combination is also found in Prop. 4.7.60. There is also a note on roses in the Elysian fields in Tib. 1.3.58 ff.
298. stat resecare] We must understand an elliptical mihi. As regards stat with an infinitive in this sense, cf. OLD, s.v. sto, 18, b.

Drama quartum:

299. astra] The stars are referred to as representatives of fate. Cf. e.g. Verg. ecl. 5.23 deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater. See further TLL, s.v. astrum, I, C. As regards the identification of astral bodies with gods, see Seznec 1953, pp. 37 ff.
299 f. fatalia Parcam/ stamina] Cf. Tib. 1.7.1 f. parcae fatalia nentes/stamina, Ov. trist. 5.3.25 f. nentes fatalia Parcae/ stamina and met. 8.452 f. sorores/ staminaque impresso fatalia pollice nentes.
300. crudeli ... manu] The combination occurs in the same form and in the same position in the line in Ov. am. 2.14.24.
dimutilare] The word demutilo (with that spelling in both JPG and BFS) is hapax in Colum. arb. 11.2, where it is used in the sense ‘lop off’ (branches).
301. Caeca nec astrorum vis] As regards the idea that the stars are subjects of God’s omnipotence, cf. e.g. a series of poems on this theme by Johann Michael Moscherosch in his Epigrammata (1665, pp. 221 f. [Camena]), with the headings Omnia posse preces, Nihil astra nocent and Astra Inclinant, ducunt, trahunt. In them we meet lines as Astrorum is [Deus] Cursum et Vim corrigit, and Astrorum influxus nemo cavere potest/ Quam miserante Deo, and Sicque voluntatem formant [sidera], si Caeca voluntas? and Omnipotens Astris vim definitivit.

The combination caeca vis occurs in Sil. 17.592. Cf. OLD, s.v. caecus, 10, and TLL, s.v. caecus, II, B, as regards the specific sense of that word here.
301 f. trahentis/ Fila] The phrase is used in Mart. 6.3.5. See Bömer met., IV–V, p. 25 f., concerning the actual sense of traho in the process of spinning.
303 f. Once again a repetition of previous lines. These two are, with only slight differences, parallel to the lines in 183 f. Pietas now repeats Astraea’s words.
305. sinus lachrymis implere] Cf. Verg. Aen. 4.30 sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis. As regards the combination lacrimis obortis, see the comments on line 81 of the Ecloga prima.
edere questus] Hexameter ending in Ov. met. 4.588.
306. I.e. ‘your father John III now enjoys peace in paradise’. This consolatory topos is common. See the commentary to lines 103–104 of the Ecloga prima above.
The phrase, which sounds Christian, occurs also in pagan ancient literature. See e.g. Cic. Balb. 35, Verg. Aen. 4.99 and Sen. dial. 6.19.6.

The word was used in Latin (from Hebrew sabbàth, sometimes through the Greek σάββατον) already by Horace (sat. 1.9.69) and Ovid (rem. 220). JPG attests Phrygius’ spelling sabbathum, but BFS has sabbatum.

Obviously inspired by Hor. carm. 2.16.27 f. nihil est ab omni/ parte beatum. Erasmus treated the Horatian quotation as a proverb in Adagia, p. 656. See also Walther, 16631, 16633b, 16703 and 38748.

The lines refer to the death of Duke John’s mother Gunilla Bielke in 1597. Being orphaned at the age of eight, John was brought up by his uncle Duke Charles.

The acinaces is originally a short Persian sword, the Greek ἀκινάκης. It was first used in Latin by Horace (carm. 1.27.5). The combination occurs in e.g. one of Pantaleon Candidus’ poems (in Gotiberis, 1587, p. 77 [Camena]).

The line brings the Christian hymn Stabat mater to mind, lines 4 ff. cuius [matris] animam gementem/ … pertransivit gladius.

The phrase una soror occurs as an hexameter ending in Prop. 2.13.44, Ov. met. 10.314 and Mart. 9.76.6. In all of these instances the words are preceded by either de tribus or e tribus, and refer to the Fates or the Furies. The phrase de tribus una was however also used in other contexts (cf. Henriksén 1999, p. 98.). As regard trinis instead of tribus see the comments on line 271 above. In the poem Gostavus Primus. Nepoti, Gostavo-Adolpho in the Coronarium (1617) Phrygius however wrote Fila Patri rupit de tribus una Soror.

A Neo-Latin variant spelling of Hippocrates, which neither JPG nor BFS attest. It can e.g. be found in Otto Brunfels’ Herbarum vivae eicones from 1530 (Rydén & Helander & Olsson 1999, p. 95).

The word occurs only twice in ancient Latin, viz. in Acc. Trag. 91 and Lucr. 5.316. Both JPG and BFS attest it, the latter also with an obviously mistaken reference to Plautus.

Even though it is not necessarily the case here, manus in medical contexts often refers to the use of surgery (cf. OLD, s.v. manus, 8, d).

Cf. Friedrich Taubmann: Ullius, Herteli, nece si reparabiles esses/ Te nece mercarer protinus ipse mea (1597, pp. 289 f. [Camena]).

This sense of reparabiles, i.e. referring to living creatures, first appeared in Auson. ecl. 4.6 Phoenix, reparabiles ales. Phrygius used it in the same sense in Herois quondam invictissimi in Ährapredikning (1620). In the poem
starting with *Qua meat obliquus *… , lines 7 f. we read: *Sancte Pater Patriae, si jam reparabilis esses,/ Ut fieres nostri Rex, oculusque soli.*


315 f. **Parca ferox */ … parca ferox** The rhetorical device is a variant of the *epanalepsis* (cf. Lausberg 1960, pp. 312 ff.) A classical example of it can be found in Ov. *fast.* 4.365 f. *qui bibit inde, furit: procul hinc discedit e, quis est/ cura bonae mentis: qui bibit inde, furit.* See the comments on lines 267 f. regarding *Parca ferox.*

315. **pro talibus imprecer auis**| Cf. Mart. 7.24.7 *hoc tibi pro meritis et talibus imprecor auis*, while the phrase *pro talibus auis* also can be found in other instances in ancient literature, viz. Verg. *Aen.* 2.535, 12.351 and Sil. 13.697. This line, and the following, recalls the initial line of the third drama (207) above.

316. **Quo … nomine**| Cf. Sen. *nat.* 1.11.2 *Et quo te nomine dicam, Rhaetica?* and Lucan. 8.609 *scelus hoc quo nomine dicent, Qui Bruti dixere nefas?*

317. **Carnivoro**| This compound adjective can be found in classical literature only in Plin. *nat.* 9.78 and 10.199. Here certainly meant as a reproach of Lachesis, who decides when human being must die.

**corde dolores** The phrase is common in the end of hexameter lines. See Schumann, I, 1979, pp. 447 f.

319 f. Prometheus stole the fire from the gods and gave it to mankind. As a punishment Zeus fettered him to Caucasus and let an eagle eat from his liver, which however was restored every night. Hercules, with Zeus’ consent, killed the eagle and mitigated Prometheus’ pain (as is first told in Hes. *Theog.* 521 ff.). In classical Latin literature allusions to his punishment can be found in e.g. Verg. *ecl.* 6.42, Prop. 2.1.69. and Sen. *Med.* 709. For an example from emblematic literature, see Henkel & Schöne, col. 1657 Cf. the comments on Tityos’ punishment in lines 91 f. above.


320. **Nubivagam**| The compound adjective is hapax in Sil. 12.102.

**pascens viscere … avem**| Cf. also Tib. 1.3.76 *adsiduas atro viscere pascit aves* (about Tityos) and Ov. *Ib.* 194 *Hic inconsumpto viscere pascet aves.*

321 f. The lines are an answer to Piety’s demand to stop mourning in line 305. In the second line John uses the proverbial expression earlier used by Lachesis in line 252.

321. **vaporifero**| The compound adjective occurs three times in Statius’ works, viz. in *silv.* 1.3.45, 3.5.96 and *Theb.* 6.716.

**suffundere lumina rore**| Cf. Ov. *met.* 10.360 *tepido suffundit lumina rore.*
As regards the uselessness of mourning as a common topos in consolatory literature, see the references in the comments on lines 99–102 of the Ecloga prima above.

The word lanificus, ‘wool-making’, was used as early as Lucilius (239). Later it appears as an epithet to the Fates, as in Mart. 4.54.5 (puellae), 6.58.7 (sorores) and Iuv. 12.64 ff. (Parcae).

The classical spelling querimonia is attested in both JPG and BFS.

Proverbial for ‘labour in vain’, used as early as Ovid (OLD s.v. aro, 1, c, and Otto, p. 159). The repetition of the words has an intensifying effect. Daniel Nicolai Replerus S. in the Σχεδίασμα (1600) uses the same expression. He first tries to persuade Phrygius not to leave Germany, but then exclaims (lines 7 ff.): Non fraterna valent magis hortamenta, nec ulla/ Praemia, Musarum quae dabit tibi?/ Littus aro! repetit tellus te Gothica forsan,/ Ut doceas superas nescia corda vias. Erasmus treated the proverb in the Adagia, p. 148. See also Walther, 13912 and 37924, with references.

Death is part of human conditions and must be endured. If you are born, you must die. Cf. Cic. fam. 6.1.4 omnia humana placate et moderate feramus. The phrase humana ferenda can also be found in Cic. Tusc. 3.34.16 and Att. 15.20.3 (cf. Otto, p. 165). Cf. also the short Ἄστεστε (=one must bear) by Conrad Lejus: Ferre homines humana decet (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 3, p. 1003, [Camena]). On the topos in consolations, see Von Moos, vol. 3, pp. 118 f. and 122 ff.

God examining and tempting his people is a frequently occurring theme in the Bible. Cf. e.g. Wis 3:5 ff. quoniam Deus tentavit illos et invenit illos dignos se. Tanquam aurum in fornace probavit illos, et quasi holocausti hostiam accept illos, et in tempore erit respectus illorum ... Qui confidunt in illo intelligent veritatem, et fideles in dilectione acquiescent illi, quoniam donum et pax est electis eius, and James 1:12 ff., where it is stated that those who endure temptation are blessed, but it is every man’s lust, not God, that tempts people. Cf. gnome no. 62 of the Centuriae prima below.

The section has obviously been modeled on certain lines in a poem by Gregor Bersmann that forms part of Memoriae Anniversariae ... Divi Mauritii. Ducis Saxon. elect. etc. celebratae recitazione versuum ab adolescentibus quatuor, D. Mauritii alumnis, in conventu Solenni Lipsiae MDLVII ... (1576, p. 220 [Camena]). In the poem Germany mourns the deceased Duke Moritz von Sachsen:

At tu flere tuum Germania desine patrem.
Desine, mandantis mens fuit ista Dei.
Quod iubet ille, tibi non est contemnere tutum,
In famulos Dominus ius habet ipse suos.
Forsitan et iustam peccatis motus ad iram,
Eripit insignes, munera magna, viros.
Ingratoque parat maiora pericula mundo,
Qui verbi spernit dogmata sacra sui.

327. Desine flere tuos … parentes] Cf. also Euricius Cordus: Desine flere
 tuos Christi pia turba parentes (1550[?]), fol. 114v [Camena]). In Catull.
61.81 the verse start flere desine occurs.

gemebunde] The word is rare in classical literature, first used in Ov. met.
14.188, and later also in Homer. 349.

329 ff. The lines are very close to Gregor Bersmann’s, which were discussed
above. But while the German poet has ingrato … mundo, Phrygius alters the
text to ingrato … regno. These lines could thus perhaps contain a nuance of
criticism about how the Swedish people and clergy had reacted to John’s III
alleged theological interests and piety. Ever since John died at the age of 55
in 1592, there had been political instability in the country (funesta pericula),
culminating in civil war. The passage illustrates how these events could be
interpreted within the framework of divine retribution.

In contemporary Swedish literature we usually meet phrases of the oppo-
site kind when religion and theology are dealt with, i.e. how the Reformation
restored and purified the church in Sweden (cf. Helander 2004, pp. 337 ff.).
The opinion here, proposed by a Swedish Protestant clergyman, albeit under
the veil of a commonplace utterance, implying that Protestant Sweden as a
kingdom has despised God’s commands must thus be regarded as quite sen-
sational. That is especially the case if it includes a reference to the theologi-
cal views of John III.

330. munera magna] The combination occurs in e.g. Ov. ars 2.275, Mart.
6.63.5 and 14.14.2, but in a different sense from here. Cf. how munus is used
in line 249.

332. verbi sprevit jussa tremenda sui] Cf. Luke 10:16 Qui autem me sper-
nit, spernit eum qui misit me, and in John 12:48 Qui spernit me et non accipit
verba mea, habet qui iudicet eum.

The word tremendum later became of huge importance in the psychology
of religion. Rudolf Otto in his very influential work Das Heilige used it in
order to describe holiness in itself, which he formulated as a mysterium tre-
endum et fascinosum. Awe is there regarded as a central feature of reli-
gious experience.

sprevit] The subjunctive sperneret was expected in this oratio obliqua, but
sprevit is probably metri gratia.

333 ff. The lines contain a repetition of an entire phrase, viz. Non est … levis
… / Causa, pij patris cernere fata sui – Cernere fata suae, levis est nec
causa, parentis. This stylistic device was recommended especially for ex-
pressions of affection, e.g. in the poetical handbook of Georgius Sabinus
(Stöm 1994, p. 119).
333 f. Non est, crede, levis … / Causa] Cf. Jacobus Micyllus: Non res, crede mihi, levis est, cum seria frater/ Pro chari fratris vota salute facit (1564, fol. *5v [Camena]).

queruli … doloris/ Causa] Cf. Ov. trist. 3.8.32 numquam queruli causa doloris abest.

334. fata] As regards fata in this sense, cf. TLL, I, B, 2, b.

336. mediae vitae vere petenda] Duke John’s mother Gunilla died in 1597 at the age of 29. As regards ver in this sense, see OLD, s.v. ver, 1, b. Cf. e.g. Catull. 68.16 iucundum cum aetas florida ver ageret. For peto in this sense see OLD, s.v. peto, 2. Cf. e.g. Prop. 4.11.25 Cerberus et nullas hodie petat improbus umbras.

337. dulcis … quies … aeterna voluptas] Cf. Culex 89 illi dulcis adest requies et pura voluptas. The combination of the two words quies (or requies) and voluptas in one line in order to describe great pleasure appears also in Lucr. 6.94, Stat. silv. 3.3.106, Theb. 3.295 and Sil. 3.349. The dulcis quies occurs in e.g. Verg. Aen. 6.522, Culex 161 and Sen. Thy. 393.

338. Blanda Redemptoris … stat ad ora] Standing before Christ’s (or God’s) gaze is a common expression for life in paradise. Cf. e.g. Rev 22:4 Et videbunt faciem eius, I Cor 13:12 Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate: tunc autem facie ad faciem and Matt 18:10 angeli eorum in caelis semper vident faciem Patris mei, qui in caelis est. See also Blaise 1966, p. 443, for further examples from early Christian texts. The theme appears, of course, in Neo-Latin poetry as well. See e.g. a passage in Laurentius Petri Gothus, where the deceased speaks: fruar aspectu colloquioque Dei (Bergh 1973, p. 34), as well as in Piorum Immaturi obitus by Michael Abel: Eminet regno pius auspicato,/ Et Redemptoris faciem serenam/ Ad voluntatis libitum, pro-pinquo/ Sole, tuetur (1590, p. 11v [Camena]). Moreover, the combination blanda ora can be found in Mart. 7.87.9.

340. verae … pietatis opus] Cf. the comments on line 4 of the first tumulus above. As regards mourning as a pious duty, see the comments on lines 125–127 above.

341. generosum … amorem] The combination generosum amorem is also in e.g. one of Paulus Cherler’s poems (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 2, p. 274 [Camena]).

342. lachrymis tristia damna meis] Cf. Ov. fast. 4.11.10 lectaque cum lacrimis sunt tua damna meis. The combination tristia damna can be found in Ov. am. 3.7.72, fast. 1.60 and Stat. silv. 3.1.173.

343. This exclamation of great grief is a shorter variant of the ones he made above in lines 135 f. and 181 f.

344 ff. Consolation will be bestowed on all of God’s people on judgement day, when God creates a new heaven and a new earth. Then people will be reunited with their beloved dead. That is the final and conclusive argument against mourning, and rather unsurprisingly it is a common topos in consola-
tory literature too (cf. e.g. Ström 1994, pp. 86 ff. and Lattimore 1942, pp. 247 ff.).

344. mel in Hyblaeum vertet amara Deus] Cf. Tib. 3.4.95 haec deus in melius crudelia somnia vertat. As regards mel Hyblaeum see the comments on line 196 above. This line furthermore contains an antithesis based on Christian notions about God as the one who makes all things new (cf. e.g. Isa 43:19 and Rev 21:5). There is also a parallel in Petrarch’s (1949) Italian poem no. 215, lines 13 f.: pò far chiara la notte, oscuro il giorno,/ e ‘l mèl amaro, et adolcir l’assentio.

345. refugum … orbem] As regards the theme of the world becoming more and more decrepit, see Helander 2004, pp. 430 ff. and especially pp. 451 f.

346. minax magno fulserit hora die] Sc. the judgement day. Cf. e.g. a phrase suggested under the heading In novissimo die in the Aerarium Poeticon by Melchior Weinrich: Cum terris fulserit illa summa dies (1677, p. 143 [Camena]).

347. f. postliminiij seu jure … / … basia mille feres] Cf. the poem later written by Phrygius for his first-born son, who had died only three weeks old (reproduced in a footnote to the section ‘Biographical notes’), lines 5 f. Tempus erit, quam mille tuis excepta labellis/ Ceu postliminij basia jure feram.

348. basia mille] The phrase occurs in Catull. 5.7 and Mart. 12.29.4.

349 f. si qua per hortos/ Frons Mausolaeis usibus apta viret] The expression recalls Pallas’ words to the author in lines 37 f., where the text was si qua per hortum/ Lilia, funereis usibus apta, virent. The word mausolaeis (the adjective is hapax in Prop. 3.2.21) is an equivalent to funereis, even though implying a more sumptuous tomb, and by frons Phrygius probably therefore refers primarily to the lily (see the comments on line 38 above). Cf. also Serv. Aen. 6.215 Frondibus Atris aptis ad funera.
Cf. Prop. 3.16.24 sertisque sepulcrum/ ornabit custos ad mea busta sedens. The phrase *Avi busta* can be found in Ov. *fast.* 5.425, while *busta superba* occurs in Prop. 2.20.7. The *avus* is Gustav Vasa, who was buried in the Uppsala cathedral just as John III. The magnificent tomb of Gustav and his first two wives was carved in marble by Willem Boy.

The juxtaposition can be found e.g. in Johannes Lucius: *Feci sidereo vota precesque Patri/ Naviter exhortans (absit iactantia dicto)/ Sanctum, ut idem faceret nocte dieque, gregem* (1603, p. 29 [Camena]).

The combination can be found in Ov. *am.* 3.13.9.

Drinking all water of the Ocean would certainly be too much even for an industrious ant. Once again we meet the *adynaton* motif, previously used in the Birgitta eclogue, lines 132 ff. (see those comments) and in lines 195 ff. of this poem. As regards the exhortation to remember the deceased as a concluding topos in consolations, see Von Moos, vol. 3, pp. 350 ff.

*ΠΑΝΤΟΤΕ ΔΟΞΑ ΘΕΩ* = *Semper Deo Gloria.* Phrygius’ collection of *emblemata nuda* in *Centuria prima* below ends with the same Greek phrase.
4. The *Centuria prima* print

4.1 Text and translation
Aetherei qui sceptrum geris fulgentia regni,
  Qui pacis clavum militaeque tenes,
Est quoniam divina tuum Pax munus, egenis
  Seposito pacem redde furore Gothis.
Nam rata sumendis mihi non spes haeret in armis,
  aque meo pendet milite nulla salus.
Nulla salus bello. Pacem deposcimus a te,
  Rex bone, qui sanctae vincula pacis amas.
Haec largire mihi summis dona roganti,
  Semper agam tutis ut tibi grata locis.
The first hundred
distichs admonishing of
piety and good manners,
by Master Sylvester Phrygius
from Kalmar in Sweden,
a crowned poet,
to
the young Lord Petrus Nicolai of Säby,
most noble as regards both lineage and intellect,
who cherishes the sacrosanct muses
in the Athens of the Germans,
that is Wittenberg.

The Swedish kingdom
to God, triune and one,
for peace.

You, who bear the glittering sceptre of the heavenly kingdom,
who hold the helm of peace and war,
since divine Peace is your gift, put away fury
and give peace back to the needy Goths.
For no valid hope in taking arms clings to me,
and salvation does not depend upon my soldiers.
There is no salvation through war. We beg peace of you,
gentle King, who love the bonds of holy peace.
Bestow these gifts upon me, I humbly pray,
so that I may always do your pleasure in a safe region.

In Rostock
with the types of Stephanus Myliandrus
in the year 1602.
Generis nobilitate, virtutis decore, ingenijque acumin
consipicio adolescenti,
DOMINO PETRO NICOLAI
a Säbij amico et Domino meo honorando
Salutem per eum, Extra quem
nulla.

Hoc ego PETRE levi testabor munere, justo
Te quod amore colam, te quod honore sequar?
Iuppiter aeripedis non solum terga juvenci
Respicit aut Phrygij dona superba Midae,
Sed juvat interdum teneras lustrare Columbas,
Et quae sunt inopi liba parata manu.
Si tranquilla DEUS mihi fecerit otia, Musae
Annueritque manu doctus Apollo meae,
Tunc versu tibi digna canam praeconia, nomen
Ad seros mittens posteritatis avos.
Interea Clariejs pergas insistere caeptis,
Ut patrius per te promoveatur honos.

Tui Studiosissimus
Sylvester Phrygius
Calmariensis.
To the young Lord Petrus Nicolai of Säby,
    my honourable friend and lord,
conspicuous for his family’s nobility, his virtue’s grace
    and the acumen of his intellect,
Salutation through him, without whom
    there is no salvation.

Shall I with this slight gift, Petrus, bear witness to
    that I revere you with a righteous love, that I follow you with honour?
Jupiter not only regards the hide of a bronzefooted
    bullock or the Phrygian Midas’ magnificent gifts,
but sometimes it pleases him to behold tender pigeons
    and offering-cakes that were prepared by poor hands.
If God grants me time of undisturbed leisure,
    and learned Apollo assents to my Muse with his hands,
then I will sing your worthy praise in verse, sending
    your name to the late forefathers of posterity.
Meanwhile you should go on pursuing your Clarian undertakings,
    so that your ancestral honour is promoted through you.

Your most devoted
    Sylvester Phrygius
from Kalmar.
1. Auctoris Symbolon.

Fide Deo, delicta cave, fac propria, mundi
Temne plicas. Simplex credere, crede, Beat.

2. Meritum Christi fide apprehensum damnationi eximit.

Nec gradus officij, nec dos, nec facta, nec aetas
Salvant, sed Christi nixa cruore fides.

3. Ante onerum susceptionem vires metiendae.

Qui parat immenso sua carbasa credere ponto,
Viribus an par sit ponderet ille prius.

4. Omnis corruptus judex male verum examinat.

Munera seducunt recti de tramite mentem,
Et corruptelae labe cor inficiunt.

5. Laqueo isto, quem absconderunt, captus est pes eorum.

Fraudis in auctorem fraus multiplicata redundat.
Nescius in foveam, quam fodit, ipse cadit.

6. Coniugium libidinibus medetur.

I. Cor. 7. propter fornicationem unusquisque, etc.

Est praesens contra vetitos medicamen amores,
Corpora legitimi fune ligare thori.

7. Fortuna inconstans.

Ad lunae radium renovat sors lubrica mentem.
Luciferis stabilem vix reor esse tribus.

8. Si Deus a nobis, quis etc. Rom. 8. v. 31.

Si Deus a nostris stat partibus, hostica nunquam
Vis valet, aut nosmet tela cruenta premunt.


Fata preces frangunt, et caeli nubila tranant,
Et penetrant celsi lucida signa poli.


Obruitur multis Ecclesia sancta procellis,
Navis ut in refluo fluctibus acta salo.
The first hundred
gnomological distichs.

1. Author’s motto
   Confide in God, beware of crimes, act fittingly, despise
   the deceits of the world. Simple faith blesses. Believe that.

2. Christ’s favour comprehended through faith delivers from damnation.
   Neither rank of office, nor property, nor deeds, nor age
   save, but faith based on the blood of Christ.

3. Assess your strength before undertaking burdens.
   He who prepares to commit his canvas to the vast sea,
   must first ponder upon, if it is equal to his strength.

4. Every corrupt judge weighs truth badly
   Gifts seduce the soul away from the right course,
   and infect the heart with the stain of corruption.

5. By that snare, which they hid, their own foot is caught.
   Deceit redounds many times on its author.
   He himself falls unaware into the pit, which he dug.

   1 Cor 7. because of fornication let everyone, etc.
   There is a remedy at hand against forbidden desires, namely
   to bind bodies together with the rope of lawful wedlock.

7. Fortune is fickle.
   The uncertain lot renews its plan in the moonbeams.
   I hardly believe there is one fixed even for three days.

8. If God be for us, who etc. Rom 8:31.
   If God stands on our side, the hostile power never
   prevails, and blood-thirsty spears never press upon us.

   Prayers crush fate, and pierce the clouds
   of the sky, and penetrate the shining signs of the lofty heavens.

10. The Church is the boat of Christ. From Matt 8.
    The holy Church is tossed by many tempests,
    like a ship borne by waves on the refluent sea.
*Terra quod insomni versat molimine, Caelum
   Id tamen ad nutus digerit omne suos.*

12. Venus enervat Martem.
*Qui lasciva merent Veneris stipendia castris,
   His sua Mars aegre porrigit aera viris.*

13. Altius ascendens plus ponderis habet ad ruinam.
*Quo magis in caelum res ascendentibus altum
   Venerit, hoc gravius praecipitanter eat.*

*Exhorret natura, vetat numen, prohibit lex,
   Defuncti rabido facta nigrare sono.*

15. Non omne quod emicat aurum,
   nam sub clavata veste saepe scabiosus podex.
*Dormit odoratis coluber plerunque sub umbris.
   Sub Tyrio vulnus tegmine triste latet.*

*Qui Paphio tabet transfossus pectora telo,
   Quicquid agit, mentis lumine captus agit.*

17. Quo quis Neronior, eo felicior.
*Quo vitam quis agit mundo sceleratius, hoc plus
   Si modo res sceleri suppetat, illi placet.*

18. Nostra ipsorum vitia non videmus,
   cum aliena curiosis oculis perspiciamus.
*Proxima lustrando quivis oculator Argo,
   In propriis talpa caecior esse solet.*

19. Mobile vulgus.
*Est brevis, est fallax, levis est propensio vulgi.
   Ad quaevis flecti temporae voce potest.*

20. Non dormitabit neque dormiet,
   qui custodit Israel, hoc est Ecclesiam. Psal. 121. v.4.
*Non gravis illius sopor unquam claudet ocellos,
   Hebraeae curam qui regionis agit.*
11. Man proposes, but God disposes. From Prov 16:19. 
All of that, which earth engages in with sleepless effort, 
heaven nevertheless distributes according to its will.

To those men, who serve as lustful soldiers 
in the camps of Venus, Mars hardly offers his pay.

13. What rises higher is heavier when it falls. 
The more circumstances have approached high heaven 
for those who rise, the heavier they may fall headlong.

14. It is inhuman to fight with ghosts. 
Nature fears, the deity forbids, law prohibits, 
to darken a dead man’s deeds with enraged noise.

15. Not all that glitters is gold, 
for beneath purple clothes there is often a scabby arse. 
In fragrant shades a snake often sleeps. 
Beneath Tyrian clothes a sorrowful wound is concealed.

16. Love is blind. 
He who languishes transfixed through his heart by a Paphian spear, 
whatever he does, he does deprived of his mind’s light.

17. The more Neronian one is, the happier. 
The more criminally anyone lives his life on earth, the more it 
pleases him, provided his fortunes are sufficient for the crimes.

18. We do not see our own vices, 
though we look on those of others with curious eyes. 
A man who has a better sight than Argus when inspecting his neighbours, 
is usually blinder than a mole as regards his own affairs.

19. Fickle the crowd. 
The propensity of the masses is brief, fallacious and light. 
It can be swayed with words at any time.

20. He who protects Israel, that is the Church, 
shall not be drowsy or sleeping. Ps 121:4. 
A heavy sleep shall never shut the eyes of him, 
who cares for the Hebrew territory.
   Obscaeno pietas est nostrae simillima panno,
   Menstrua quem spurco tinxerat imbre nurus.

22. Osculum Iudae.
   Qui sub amicitiae velo fert oscula, ritu
   Hic Iudae stricto gutture fata subit.

23. Occasio furem facit.
   Opportuna parit multos occasio fures.
   Calliditas prodest, simplicitasque necat.

   Non potis est teneras rerum penetrare medullas,
   Hac dum sublustri nocte pererrat, homo.

25. Nulla gens tam barbara, quae non officijs dometur.
   Nulla sub illustri gens est tam barbara Phaebo,
   Quam non officij commoditate domes.

26. Quid opera in justificationis negotio efficiant?
   Acta fidel monstrant, sed nos vix acta beatos
   Efficiunt. Christi solius acta beant.

   Qui cupit hybernos laute transmittere soles,
   Fervidus aestivo grana calore legat.

   Qui picis attrectat, qui polluit omne, liquorem,
   Is solet immundas inde referre manus.

29. Ex eodem capitulio et verso: qui communicaverit superbo,
   induet superbiam.
   Talis eris, quales sunt, qui tua faedera servant.
   Tacta solet mundas pix temerare manus.

30. Non impunitum permanet omne nefas.
   Impietas nunquam solet evitare ruinas.
   Si non fert praesens, altera vita feret.
21. All our righteousness is like the rags of a menstruating woman. Isa 64:6.
   *Our piety is very similar to a filthy rag,
   which a menstruating girl has stained with her impure liquid.*

22. The kiss of Judas.
   *He who offers kisses under the veil of friendship, undergoes
   a fate after the manner of Judas, whose throat was strangled.*

23. Opportunity makes the thief.
   *An opportune occasion begets many thieves.
   Cunning is useful, and simplicity harms.*

24. Our wisdom is a shadow in the sun. Scaliger.
   *Man is not able to penetrate to the tender marrow of things,
   as long as he rambles about in this dim night.*

25. No people is so barbarous that it is not brought under sway by precepts.
   *No people under bright Phoebus is so barbarous,
   that you can not subdue it through the utility of precepts.*

26. What do works accomplish in the matter of justification?
   *Deeds demonstrate faith, but deeds hardly make
   us blessed. Only the deeds of Christ bless.*

27. Go to the ant, you sluggard, and consider her ways. Prov 6:6.
   *He who desires to spend the winter days sumptuously,
   should gather his grain while hot with the summer heat.*

   *He who touches liquid pitch, which stains everything,
   is want to get his hands dirty thereby.*

29. From the same chapter and verse: he who associates with a proud man,
clothes himself in pride.
   *You will be such as they, who keep your company.
   When handled, pitch usually dirts clean hands.*

30. No crime remains unpunished.
   *Impiety usually never escapes disasters.
   If the present life does not bring them, the other life will.*
31. Prophylacticon ad parentes.
Virga solet flecti, sed cum conscendit in auras
Aetherias, hanc vis flectere nulla potest.

32. Ne tardes ad Dominum converti, neque differas in dies singulos,
quia nulli crastina dies certa fuit.
Omnia postremam vitae non differ in horam.
Mortis certa hominum quemque minuta latent.

33. Magorum munera quid portendant.
Obryzum regem dubio procul arguit aurum,
Tura sacerdotem mascula, Myrrha crucem.

34. Otii et laboris commoda.
Otia laude carent. Labor anxius omnia vincit,
Et vivax celebri nomen honore parit.

35. Saepius migrans raro ditescit.
Translatis crebro qui sedibus oppida mutat,
Dispulit Attalicas, raro coegit, opes.

36. Tenacissimi sumus eorum, quae pueri didicimus.
Scilicet haec animis infixa tenacius haerent,
Enixe pectus quae puerile bibit.

Pone mali genitrix trahit omne moneta, caducus
Hanc quia pro supero numine mundus habet.

Alterius nummi plus creditur esse crumenae.
Semper ager segetis plus alienus habet.

40. Faedus vinarium raro firmum.
Vanus amicitiae quem firmant pocula nexus,
Et quem lauta bono tempore mensa facit.

41. Quos Deus impensissime amat, eos ad crucis et afflictionum scholas
Hunc Deus, efflictim quem diliget, optimus arcte
Corripit, ut perstet permaneatque bonus.
31. A prophylacticon for parents.
A sapling is usually bent, but once it rises
to the ethereal air no power can bend it.

32. Delay not in turning to God, nor postpone it from day to day,
for the morrow is certain for no one.
Do not postpone everything to the last hour of your life.
The inevitable minute of death is hidden for every man.

33. What the gifts of the Magi portend.
Pure gold indicates beyond doubt the king,
male incense the priest, myrrh the cross.

34. The advantages of labour and leisure.
Leisure is without praise. Anxious labour conquers all,
and engenders a long-lasting name of celebrated honour.

35. The frequent migrant rarely grows rich.
He who often transfers his abode and changes towns,
scatters his Attalian riches and rarely gathers them.

36. We are very tenacious of what we have learnt as children.
Indeed that which a youthful heart strenuously imbibes
remains more tenaciously fixed in our minds.

37. From Alanus. Money conquers, money reigns, money governs everyone.
The coin, the mother of evil, drags everything behind it,
for the perishing world considers it as its highest god.

39. Ours pleases others, theirs delight us.
Another’s purse is thought to contain more money.
Another’s field always has more crops.

40. A fellowship in wine-drinking is rarely firm.
That bond of friendship is vain which cups confirm
and a sumptuous table produces in good times.

41. Those whom God loves very dearly he leads to the schools of cross and
Greatest God firmly rebukes him whom he loves
intensely, so that he may remain and continue being a good man.
42. In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua, et in aeternum non peccabis. Ecclesiast. 7. v.40.
In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua, et in aeternum non peccabis. Ecclesiast. 7. v.40.
Nocte dieque brevis pervolve novissima vitae Tempora. Delinquens hac ratione minus.


44. Quicunque sine lege peccant, sine lege et peribunt. Rom. 2. v.12.
Hi sine lege graves solven ob crimina poenas, Caelesti patrant qui sine lege nefas.

45. Concordia res parvae crescent. Dissipat Attalicas praeceps discordia gazas, Quas stabili concors firmat amore fides.


49. Nupturientium dotes. Qui pius est sponsus dives satis esse putetur, Et formosa sat est, quae modo casta manet.

50. Excelsi animi est in ampla fortuna non sublime sapere. Disce, tenes qui res, sortis memor esse futurae, Nec placitis nimiam rebus habere fidem.

51. Iacta curam tuam super Dominum, etc. Psal. 55. v.15. Cura Deo tribuenda, probe nos nostra sequamur, Res non eventu sit caritura bono.
42. In all your works, remember your end, and you shall never do wrong. 
Sir 7:40.

Reflect night and day upon the final hour of your brief life. 
With that in mind you will sin less.

43. The human mind yields to the wind of fortune. 
Hearts dissolve in adversity, they grow fat in good times. 
Rarely do they follow the middle course.

44. As many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law. 
Rom 2:12.

Those without law shall be heavily punished for their crimes, 
since they commit crime without heavenly law.

45. Small fortunes grow through concord. 
Rash discord dissipates those Attalian riches, 
which concordant trust increases through firm affection.

46. Remedies for wantonness and sadness. 
Fasting removes wanton habits from the limbs. 
Prayers are medicine for the sick soul.

What is latent skill? Drowsy virtue? A concealed 
candle? A ship wanting an oarsman? A silent lyre?

48. One hand washes the other. 
Mutual care softens hard toils. 
A burden is lightened when you carry it with both hands.

49. The dowry for those who want to marry. 
A pious groom should be regarded wealthy enough, 
and a bride is beautiful enough, who but remains chaste.

50. It belongs to a noble soul not to be haughty in the midst of great fortune. 
Learn, you who govern, to be mindful of your future lot, 
or to be overly confident in good times.

51. Cast your burden upon the Lord, etc. Ps 55:15. 
We should entrust our burden to God, and pursue our own matters properly, 
then they shall not be denied a successful outcome.
52. Livius: Fortunam sibi ipsi facit. Vel: Colo quod aptasti tibi nendum.
   Si quibus propriae sortis faber esse putatur,
   Hanc talem, qualem fabricat, ergo ferat.

53. Divini favoris conciliatrix fides.
   Omnibus aetherei promittitur aura favoris
   Ex aequo, si cor, quod modo fidat, habet.

54. Ex Cypriano, De mortalitate.
   Mors non exitus est sed transitus ad meliorem
   Vitam. Qui negas hanc, Stultus, inire viam.

55. Crescit amor nummi, etc.
   Congestis nunquam rebus satiatur avarus.
   Donec opum crescit copia, crescit amor.

56. Vitulo summerso primum puteus clauditur.
   Nil juvat immissis occludere septa capellis.
   Quae post acta venit cautio, sera venit.

57. Rura colentium ingentia.
   Praecipiti vilis persaepe cupidine lucri
   Ingreditur longas rustica turba vias.

58. Ignaviae comes miseria, etc.
   Sordida pigritiam rerum comitatur egestas.
   Mancipium Satanae desidiosus homo.

59. Labor scholasticus improbus quid secum praemij?
   Est onus, est et honos, dulces servare Camaenas.
   Quae venit e duris gloria, major erit.

60. Iuste agens Deum comitem
   et recte factorum testem circumfert conscientiam.
   Nixibus omniregens Recte Deus afflat agentis.
   Hoc duce mens recti conscia robur habet.

61. Vota omnino reddenda. Ex Psal. 76. v.12.
   Teste voves Domino si quid, servare teneris.
   Iuratum scelus est fallere grande DEUM.
52. Livy: Man makes his own fortune. 
Or: What you have put on the distaff you must spin yourself. 
*If everyone is considered to be the craftsman of his own lot, 
he must bear it, such as he forges it.*

53. Faith is the intermediary of divine favour. 
*The air of heavenly favour has been promised equally 
to all, who has but faith in his heart.*

54. From Cyprian On mortality. 
*Death is not the end but a transition to a better life. 
You are a fool, who refuse to enter upon that road.*

55. The love of money grows, etc. 
*The greedy is never satisfied with his hoarded wealth. 
As long as his store of riches grows, his love grows.*

56. The well is first sealed once a calf has drowned. 
*It is of no use to close the fold when the goats have been sent into the fields. 
Caution that comes after events comes too late.*

57. The vast fields of the cultivators. 
*The rustic crowd very often enters upon long courses 
because of a rash desire for worthless profit.*

58. Misery is the companion of idleness, etc. 
*Squalid poverty accompanies sloth. 
An indolent man is the property of Satan.*

59. What reward does industrious schoolwork bring? 
*It is a burden, and also an honour, to pay deference to the sweet Muses. 
Greater will be the glory that comes of hard work.*

60. He who acts righteously has God as his companion 
and conscience as the witness of his virtuous deeds. 
*All-reigning God breathes favourably upon efforts by one who acts rightly. 
Under his command the mind has strength, conscious of what is right.*

61. Vows must be paid entirely. From Ps 76:12. 
*If you vow anything with the Lord as witness, you are obligated to observe it. 
It is a great crime to deceive God when he has been sworn by.*
62. Sanctorum afflictiones metallo fornaci ingesto assimilantur.  
*Argentum veluti spectatur in igne, malorum  
Sic fornace Deus pectora iusta coquit.*

63. Paena liberorum inobedientiae.  
*Qui disciplinam ludunt monitusque paternos,  
Hi misero vitam Claudere fine solent.*

64. Malum afflictionis, seu (ut vulgo) paena, patienter ferendum.  
*Quod Deus ob tacitae mittit faedissima culpae  
Pondera, mansueto corde feratur onus.*

65. Vitae limitem transilire discupiens insanus.  
*Stat sua cuique dies. Vitae stat meta. Sed ultra  
Qui cupit hanc ultra Currere, vana cupit.*

66. Nisi vel DEI gloria vel proximi utilitas requiratur, non est iurandum.  
*Cum versuta premit te non occasio, testem  
Peccatum dictis est adhibere DEUM.*

67. Qui amat periculum, etc.  
*Qui rapidis flagrant intendere carbas a ventis,  
Saepius in medijs emoriuntur aquis.*

68. Omnium horarum homo sapit.  
*Ille sapit, qui se laetis accommodat, et qui  
Rebus se maestis applicat, ille sapit.*

69. Magnam scintillula flammam excitat, etc. Ex Iacob. 3. v.5.  
*Lis res intuitu primo levis esse putatur.  
Excidium secum non leve saepe trahit.*

70. Disputatio ansatica.  
*Hoc rudibus vitij sciolis est: inter amicos  
Vincere si nequeunt artibus, arma parant.*

71. Praecipuae generis humani pestes.  
*Ira, Venus, gazae, fastus, cunctatio, multis  
Tristia flebilibus fata tulere modis.*
62. The saints’ sufferings resemble metal thrust into a furnace.
   *Just as silver is tested in fire, God heats up*
   *righteous hearts in the furnace of evils.*

63. The children’s punishment for disobedience.
   *Those who mock instruction and fatherly admonitions*
   *usually end their lives in a miserable way.*

64. Affliction, or punishment (as the saying goes), must be endured patiently.
   *The load that God sends because of the detestable burdens*
   *of an unmentioned crime must be endured with a gentle heart.*

65. He is insane, who does not want to leap across the boundaries of life.
   *The day is settled for everyone. The end of life is settled.*
   *But he who desires to hasten beyond it of his own accord desires in vain.*

66. Unless God’s glory or your neighbour’s benefit is at stake, you should not swear.
   *When a deceitful occasion does not urge you,*
   *it is a sin to invoke God as a witness to your words.*

67. He who loves danger, etc.
   *Those who ardently wish to set sail in swift winds*
   *often die in the midst of the sea.*

68. A man for all hours is wise.
   *He is wise who accommodates himself to happiness,*
   *and he is wise who adapts himself to sorrow.*

69. A small spark rouses a big flame, etc. From Jas 3:5.
   *A quarrel is at first glance regarded as a slight matter,*
   *but it often brings a destruction, which is not light.*

70. A Hanseatic dispute.
   *Rude smatterers have this vice: if they cannot win*
   *by art among friends, they take up arms.*

71. Plagues typical of the human race.
   *Anger, venery, riches, arrogance, hesitation,*
   *in lamentable ways bring mournful fates to many.*
72. Quicquid delirant Reges, etc.
   Quod facit exuto pietatis tegmine Princeps,
   Cogitur exitio pendere turba suo.

73. Uxor semel in adulterio depraehensa, raro, etc.
   Vel semel ingenui quae transilit arva pudoris,
   Rarius haec dextrum faemina carpit iter.

74. Regula in adversis.
   Cum ferit infestis hominem fortuna sagittis,
   Pendeat a solo mens onerosa Deo.

75. Ne sutor ultra crepidam.
   Dum sutor crepidas ultra sapit irridetur.
   De propria quivis judicet arte faber.

76. Scrutator maiestatis opprimetur a gloria. Proverb. 25. v.27.
   Scrutantem humanae rationi consona sacris
   In rebus vindex opprimet ira Dei.

77. Regula in divinorum mysteriorum sublimitate indaganda necessaria.
   Quod sensus oculi nunquam contingere possint,
   Crede, licet captum fugit ista tuum.

78. Ex Matth. 18. v.19.
   Mutua quando ligat fratrum dilectio mentes,
   Votis quod poscent id Deus omne dabit.

   Qui cupit ad vivum delicta secare popelli,
   Haut sibi fida satis regna tenere potest.

80. Passio Christi et nostra, etc., quomodo differant.
   Ut nebulam solis lux augustissima pellit,
   Sic nostram Christi passio dira fugat.

81. Infausti coniugij tortura gravissima.
   Non hominum casus furit inclementior ullus,
   Quam non felicis faedus inisse thori.
72. Whatever folly kings commit, etc.

What a prince does when his veil of piety has been put aside,
the crowd is forced to pay with its destruction.

73. A wife once caught in adultery, rarely, etc.

A woman who transgresses the fields of noble decency but once,
more rarely wanders the right road.

74. A rule in adversity.

When fortune strikes a man with hostile arrows,
his troubled mind should rely on God alone.

75. Let the cobbler stick to his last.

When the cobbler is wise beyond his shoes, he is ridiculed.
Each craftsman should judge of his own art.

76. A man that is a searcher of the majesty
will be crushed by glory. Prov 25:27.

God's avenging wrath will crush him who in sacred matters
searches for things agreeing with human reason.

77. A rule necessary for investigation into the sublimity
of the divine mystery.

You must believe what the perception of your eyes will never
be able to reach, even though it escapes your comprehension.

78. From Matt 18:19.

When mutual love binds the hearts of brothers together,
God will grant all that they ask for in their prayers.

79. The more indulgent the commander, the better he is obeyed. Seneca.

He who wishes to cut the rabble’s crimes to the quick,
cannot hold a kingdom that is faithful enough to him.

80. The suffering of Christ and our, etc., how they differ.

Just as the most august sunlight drives away the clouds,
Christ’s fearful suffering puts our suffering to flight.

81. The grave torture of an unfortunate marriage.

None of men’s misfortunes rages more mercilessly,
than to have entered into an unhappy marriage.
82. Non est consilium contra Dominum.

Non ars, non fucus, non mentis acumen et astus
Adversus Dominum, qui videt omne, valent.

83. Prophylactica. Ad potestates: I.

Nulla diu possunt consistere regna, protervus
Intestina domi cum movet arma furor.

84. II.

Rex tenet ille bonum nullis superabile gemmis,
Qui potis affectus est domitare suos.

85. III.

Non est in saevis redimantur ut obsita velis
Maenia. Plus gemitus et pia causa valent.

86. IV.

Est sapiens celebri cunctatio praestite digna.
Saepius infelix impetus esse solet.

87. V.

Nullos, esuriens princeps, continge, fideli
Sit nisi praelibet qui prius ore, cibos.

88. VI.

Astipulans et agens una sunt lege revincti.
Hic agit, ille jubet. Lictor utrunque premet.

89. VII.

Quando juventa vago per venas carpitur igni,
Fac opus, assidue quo teneatur, agat.

90. VIII.

Ex sermone potes, qui vir sit, noscere. Quaevis
Nam se nativo carmine prodit avis.

91. Oratione nil validius uspiam.
Confugium donat fessis oratio rebus,
Et fugat hostiles speque fideque manus.

92. Scientia omnibus numeris absoluta in caelesti gymnasio discenda.
Quicquid in his mundi ludis haurire nequimus,
In supero mens est discere gymnasio.
82. There is no counsel against the Lord.
Not art, nor pretence, nor the mind’s acumen and cunning
have any power against the Lord, who sees everything.

83. Prophylactica. To the authorities: I.
No kingdom can subsist for long,
when violent fury stirs up civil war at home.

84. II.
That king, who knows how to control his own affections,
possesses a good that cannot be surpassed by any jewels.

85. III.
It is not by means of aggressive ships that besieged cities can be rescued.
Lamentation and a pious cause are more effective.

86. IV.
A prudent delay is worthy of an illustrious ruler.
Usually an unfortunate rashness occurs more often.

87. V.
Touch no food, hungering prince,
unless there is someone, who first tastes it in his faithful mouth.

88. VI.
He who allows and he who performs are bound by the same law. The latter
performs, the former orders. The hangman shall restrain them both.

89. VII.
When youth are consumed by a wavering fire in their veins,
see that they do some work, with which they are always occupied.

90. VIII.
From his speech you can know, what kind of a man he is.
For every bird reveals itself through its native song.

91. Nothing at all is more powerful than prayer.
Prayer gives shelter in weary fortunes,
and puts the hostile troops to flight through hope and faith.

92. Knowledge that is perfect in every respect must be learnt
in the celestial gymnasia.
Whatever we cannot imbibe in the schools of this world,
is meant to be learnt in the heavenly gymnasiun
93. Deus superbis resistit, humilibus etc. Iacob. 4. v.6, I. Pet. 5. v.5.
_Quisquis ob has mundi sustollit pectora dotes,
Infensum iusto se sciat esse Deo._

94. Thesaurus malae linguae bonis maledicere.
_Illaudata viros ferit insipientia doctos,
Testaturque bonum quod mala lingua crepat._

95. Noli altum sapere.
_Grandia nemo petat nimis altae pondera molis.
Nam quibus ima placent, his dabit alta Deus._

96. In afflictiissimo huius vitae exilio Deo fidendum.
_Parce gubernanti multum confidere sorti.
Qui nusquam voluit fallere, fide Deo._

97. Ex Osea cap. 13.
_Mortales propriae sunt causa fabrique ruinæ.
A Domino manat cunctipotente Salus._

98. Justo non est lex posita. I. Tim. 1. v.9.
_Nulla manet justum neque lex neque paena. Rebellem
Subsequitur vindex, ira furorque Dei._

99. Quid sub Poëtarum volucris deliteat.
_Ethica sub fictis traduntur dogmata rebus,
Quae gravibus vatum luserit ordo metris._

100. Aevum superius et hoc nostrum quomodo differant.
_Simplicitas prisco regnavit ovina sub ævo.
Nunc versa sceptrum pelle lupina gerit._

_Πάντοτε δόξα Θεώ._
93. God resists the proud, but to the humble, etc. Jas 4:6, 1 Pet 5:5.
   Whoever exalts his mind because of the talents bestowed upon him in this world, must know himself to be hostile to the just God.

94. The repository of an evil tongue is to slander honest people.
   Detestable stupidity strikes learned men, but that which an evil tongue rattles about demonstrates what is good.

95. Do not be highminded.
   Nobody should desire the great influence of a too elevated power.
   For to whom the lowest is pleasant, God will give the elevated as well.

96. One must trust God in this most afflicted exile of life.
   Refrain from confiding too much in a governing fortune.
   Trust God, who never wants to deceive.

97. From Hosea chapt. 13.
   Human beings are the cause and the forgers of their own destruction.
   Salvation emanates from almighty God.

98. The law is not made for the righteous man. 1 Tim 1:9.
   Neither law nor punishment is in store for the righteous.
   God’s avenging wrath and fury chases the rebel.

99. What should be concealed beneath the veiled language of poets.
   Moral principles are handed down under fictitious themes, which the troop of poets produces in venerable verses.

100. How the past age and ours differ.
   Sheep’s simplicity reigned in a former age. Now that its hide has been turned inside out, wolfish wickedness holds the sceptre.

   Glory to God always.
MAGISTER SYLVESTER PHRYGIUS
Calumniensis Poëta Laureatus Caesareus

Nasuto, umbratico, maleleco et ab omni honestate relict
Momo salutem, respiscientiae spiritum, sanctioremque et meliorem mentem continenter precatur.

Si dictis tenuem mordes (velut ante) Minervam,
In naevos tenuis non erit illa tuos.
Namque tueum cunctis ab origine pandet.
Et ne me de te fingere tale putes,
Sincera probitate viros usuque probatos
Adducam, firmans (si cupis) omne notis.
Dicam, quid dicit de te gens Musica? Thraso,
Hic nil mentis habet nec pietatis, ait.
Dicam, quid dicit de te gens aulica? Gnatho,
Hic nil frontis habet nec rationis, ait.
Dicam, quid dicit de te gens infirma? Bardus,
Hic nil cordis habet nec probitatis, ait.
Non me contineo, quin nostrae viscera mentis
Effundens, Momo querquera dicta sonem.
Vix reor Alciden tot monstra necasse, latenter
Enecat insontes quot tua lingua viros.
Hac ratione tibi cum RES, tum gloria crescit,
Gloria pellustrans solis utramque domum?
Invidiae stimulus agitaris, et illius aestro,
Qui vivo vivam temperat igne pietem!
Quisnam sic vegetam mentem sensusque beatos
Fascinat, et fastus corda furore coquit?
Quisquis is est, Momi certe invidet ille saluti,
Furari sudans, quem tenet ore, cibum.
Sed quo me tandem mentis calor aridus aufert?
Candida iam zeli contraho vela mei.

Lubecae, Anno 1602, IV Nonis Maji.
Master Sylvester Phrygius,  
from Kalmar, Caesarean laureate poet,  
continuously prays for welfare, a spirit of repentance,  
and a purer and better mind to Momus,  
the witty, idle and slanderous, devoid of  
all honesty.

If you carp at tender Minerva with your words (as before),  
she will not be tender towards your faults.  
For she will recount your crime to all from its very beginning.  
And lest you think that I invent such things about you,  
I shall adduce some men of sincere probity, tested by experience,  
and certify everything (if you wish) with distinctive marks.  
Shall I say what the Muses’ people says about you?  
Thraso claims: he has no mind nor piety.  
Shall I say what the people at the courts says about you?  
Gnatho claims: he has no decency nor reason.  
Shall I say what the feeble people says about you?  
The Stupid claims: he has no heart nor probity.  
I do not restrain myself from crying out my shivering words to Momus,  
pouring out the innermost parts of my mind.  
I hardly think that the Alcides has killed so many monsters,  
as your tongue in secret deprives innocent men of their lives.  
Is it for this reason that both your thing, and more so  
your glory grows, a glory that travels through both abodes of the sun?  
You are urged by the goads of envy and by his frenzy,  
who tempers living pitch with living fire.  
Who bewitches so active a mind and such blessed sentiments,  
and torments hearts with arrogant fury?  
Whoever he is, he surely envies the welfare of Momus,  
struggling to steal the food that he holds in his mouth.  
But, indeed, where does my mind’s arid heat carry me?  
I now furl the white sails of my zeal.

In Lübeck, in the year 1602, 4 May.
4.2 Commentary

Title page:

**Magistri**| As mentioned above Phrygius earned his master-degree 23 March 1602 in Wittenberg. Accordingly this print is the first in which he used his new title.

**Poëtae Coronati**| The words refer to his title *poeta caesareo-laureatus*, which he had been granted 13 December 1601 in Jena. He used it for the first time in this print as well.

**Paraeneticorum**| The word παραινετικός (hortatory) was first used in Latin by Seneca in *epist. 95.1*. Both JPG and BFS (*s.v. paraeneticus*) translate it in the sense of *admonitorius*.

**Centuria Prima**| The number of distichs in the print is not actually 100, but only 99. For some reasons number 38 is missing, in what could perhaps be a mistake made by the type-setter.

Again the word *prima* raises questions similar to those mentioned in the commentary to the *Ecloga prima*. However, here we must in the first place assume that Phrygius’ initial intention was to create a larger work, of which these hundred distichs were merely supposed to be the first part.

**nobilissimum … Petrum Nicolai a Säbij**| Per Nilsson Natt och Dag of Säby (1584–1634), who studied at Wittenberg by this time, was a member of an old Swedish noble family. He was the son of Nils Nilsson, who was Steward of the Household of Queen Gunilla and Queen Christina (married to Charles IX), and one of the judges in Linköping in 1600. Per matriculated at Wittenberg in October 1601, and was still there in March 1604 according to a note in an *album amicorum* (*Callmer 1976, p. 49*). He was, according to unverified information in later sources, appointed Counsellor at the Chancellery of Duke John in 1612 and the Duke’s Princely Counsellor in 1616. He was the district judge of Bankekind in Östergötland between 1612 and 1621 (*SBL*, vol. 26, p. 413).

At UUB (U 3) there is a letter dated 1605 from Phrygius to Nicolaus (Nils) Chesnecopherus and Per Nilsson, then employed at Charles’ IX Chancellery. In it Phrygius asks them to plead his cause in front of the king, on behalf of his school in Linköping. One must assume that Phrygius thereby tried to benefit from the earlier close contacts with Per Nilsson, this print included.

As regards the changed role of the nobility in society by this time, as well as the development towards a new ideal for noblemen, leading to an increased number of noblemen studying at the academies as a preparation for service in royal administration, see e.g. Niléhn 1983, pp. 90 ff.

**Sacrosanctas Musas**| The ancient pagan use of the word *sacrosanctus*, an obvious compound of *sacer* and *sanctus*, was explained by Festus in p.318. *Sacrosanctum dicitur, quod iure iurando interposito est institutum, si quis id*
violasset, ut morte poenas penderet. Cuius generis sunt tribuni plebis aedilesque eiusdem ordinis. In Christian authors, among whom it occurs very frequently, it should most often be regarded simply as a stronger variant of sanctus. Blaise thus translates it très saint, sacro-saint (Blaise 1954). JPG has aldraheligast (‘most holy’), while BFS has maxime sanctum; inviolabile.

Germanorum Athenis] Cf. Jonas Bergeri Rhotovius in the Συγχάρματα (1602): Athenis Teutoniceis. Similar phrases were used about many other cities as well. In Swedish Latin literature the university town of Uppsala was often compared to Athens (Helander 2004, pp. 47 f. and pp. 153 f.).

Deo Trino et Uno] The singular form trinus in this sense can be found in some few instances already in classical Latin, see OLD, s.v. trini, 3, b. As regards the phrase Deus trinus et unus and the very common trinunus, ‘triune’, in Neo-Latin (cf. Helander 2004, pp. 156 f.).

Regnum Suecicum pro pace] In this phrase, a prayer for peace in a Sweden plagued by the conflicts between Sigismund and Duke Charles, one must understand an elliptical precatur, or some similar verb.

As regards different ways of writing ‘Swedish’ in Latin, where Suecicus is only one possible variant, cf. Helander 2004, pp. 277 ff.

1–2. The invocatio is a common ingredient in poetical works. The most famous one is perhaps Lucretius’ invocation of Venus in the very beginning of the first book of De rerum natura. The feature is treated by Quintilian in inst. 10.1.48 Nam benevolum auditorem invocatione deorum, quas prae-sidere vatibus creditum est, ... facit [auctor]. Curtius, when dealing with that aspect of Dante’s works, offers the opinion that Die Poeten bedürfen der invocatio, weil sie von den ‘höheren Substanzen’ eine ‘Göttliche Gabe’ erbitten müssen (Curtius 1948, p. 244).

1. Aetherei ... regni] See the comments on line 183 of the Threnologia dramatica, where Phrygius used the phrase aethereus rex about God.

2. Qui pacis clavum militiaeque tenes] The clavum tenes is a proverbial expression for ‘holding the helm of the ship of state’ (cf. Helander 2004, pp. 509 f.). An early instance of it is in Cic. Sest. 20 clavum tanti imperii tenere et gubernacula reipublicae tractare. See further TLL, s.v. clavus, 2. For examples from emblematic literature, see Henkel & Schöne, col. 1454. Here it is used about God reigning in his heavenly kingdom. The genitives pacis and militiae explain what falls under that supreme power.

Cf. e.g. the very first line in Hugo Grotius’ poem about the Twelve Years’ Truce, De induciis from 1609, where God is invoked in a prayer beginning with: Armorum pacisque potens (1670, p. 281).

2–3. The lines are parallel. God decides when peace shall be granted.

3. divina tuum Pax munus] Cf. e.g. Janus Gruterus’ Bibliotheca exulum (1625, p. 626 [Camena]) under the heading Pacis: Pax alma, magni maximum munus poli.
4. *Gothis*] See the comments on line 5 of the *Ecloga prima*.

5–6. The lines are parallel. Personified Sweden does not believe that war can lead to any good.

6. *aque*] The enclitic –que in classical Latin is usually not connected to the preposition *a*, as it is here. But there are important exceptions, as *Verg. georg*. 4.347 *aque* Chao (cf. K.-St., II, p. 583). The *a* was written in lowercase in the original print, in spite of being the initial of the line.

6–7. *nulla salus*/ *Nulla salus*] This is an example of an *anadiplosis*. See the notes on rhetorical figures in section 1.6.5 above.

7. *Nulla salus bello. Pacem deposcimus a te*] The line is closely modeled on *Verg. Aen*. 11.362 *nulla salus bello, pacem te poscimus omnes*, where Drances asks Turnus for peace in a line that became proverbial (Walther, 18955 and 39060e2). The first three words of it are also repeated by Turnus in 11.399. They summarize the message in the two previous lines in Phrygius’ poem. The monosyllabic ending that is the result of Phrygius’ alterations here is called unusual by Quintilian (*inst*. 8.3.20) and was generally avoided, but Renaissance poets could find occasional support for it in, for instance, Lucretius and Vergil and, above all, in Horace (cf. Crusius 1955, p. 54, Raven 1965, p. 94, and Leonhardt 1996, p. 316). If there was a variant reading *pacem deposcimus omnes* of Vergil’s line that Phrygius used, his changes would be more easily understandable. The change of *omnes* to *a te* would then mainly be due to his intention to conform to the language of prayer, addressing and asking God for peace.

8. *qui sanctae vincula pacis amas*] Cf. e.g. the first line in Hugo Grotius’ poem *De inducitis*, which ends with the notion of God as *pacis amator* (1670, p. 281).


10. *agam ... grata*] Probably Phrygius wanted to express here a sense similar to *facere alicui gratum*, which JPG (s.v. *gratus*) translates as *göra en til wilie* (‘do someone’s pleasure’). Another possibility would be to read *agere gratam* here as a metrically preferable equivalent to *agere grates* or *agere gratias*. Such a conjecture however does not seem necessary.

**Rostochii**] Apparently Phrygius had the work printed in Rostock when he had left Wittenberg and was on his way back to Sweden. In Wittenberg he received his master’s degree 23 March 1602. About one week later (*IKl April.*) he wrote a poem in the *Album amicorum* of Axel Oxenstierna, still in Wittenberg. The last poem in the print is dated 4 May 1602 in Lübeck, not far from Rostock.

**Typis Stephani Myliandri**] The printer Stephan Möllemann (Müllmann, Myliander) from Mecklenburg was a citizen of Rostock in 1560. He married the widow of the printer Ludwig Dietz, and continued his work until 1610.
In 1580 he was appointed printer of the University of Rostock (Benzing 1982, p. 394).

Domino Petro Nicolai:

**Salutem per eum, extra quem nulla** I.e. *salutem per eum [dicit], extra quem nulla [salus est]*. There is a play on the semantics of *salus* here, making an adequate translation difficult. *Salus* means ‘sound health’ in the common phrase of greeting, but it is also the word for Christian ‘salvation’. Accordingly *eum* here refers to Christ, without whom nobody could reach salvation. As regards the second part of this phrase, it is impossible not to think of Cyprian’s often quoted words in *epist. 73.21 extra ecclesiam nulla salus* as the probable model for the expression.

3–6. Once again we meet the theme of *recusatio*, i.e. the author expresses his poor knowledge of composing poetry. Phrygius adduces a parallel: God pays not only attention to the greatest and most expensive sacrifices but also to small gifts given by poor people, as is told in the gospel story in Mark 12:41–44 and Luke 21:1–4, about the poor widow who offers all she has. Likewise 2 Cor 8:12 has: “For if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not”. Just as God places great value on offerings made by poor people, it is Phrygius’ wish that Petrus Nicolai will find pleasure in the work dedicated to him, which he asserts was completed with great effort by a weak poet.

In Skinnerus’ *Epithalamion* the poet similarly asks the king to receive his gift, reminding him of the generosity of the gods who do not despise sacrifices made even by simple farmers (1585, fol. A3r):

… clementissime Regum,
Quantumvis tenuem non dedignabere Musam,
Sed veluti superos, cum grex agrestis adorat,
Numina, non, humilis contemnunt vota, coloni,
Sic quoque dum pressus pressus gravitate, relinquuo,
Maxima quaeque alius post me celebranda Poetis,
Os quibus Aonio Musae lavere liquore,
Atque minora sequor, placido me respice vultu.

Later on in the same poem the thought returns: *tenuem ne despice Musam,/
Nam superis etiam, si mens bona, soepe probari/ Exiguum officium, testan-
tur sydera Divis* (1585, fol. C2v).

Another famous episode on the same theme is Plutarch’s story in *Artax. 5.1*, where a poor man meets the king Artaxerxes and offers him water scooped up with his own hands. The king accepted the gift with great delight, and rewarded the man generously. That story is referred to in the *recu-*
satio of other authors contemporary to Phrygius, e.g. Apollonius Menabenus, when dedicating the work to some potentate (see Helander 1996, pp. 32 f. and 134).

Moreover, there is also a distich in the Disticha Catonis urging this attitude towards poor givers, viz. I.20: Exiguum munus cum det tibi pauper amicus/ accipito placide, plene laudare memento.

3. Iuppiter] Jupiter is here the Christian God. The name is thus used in accordance with what was said in section 1.6.5 above about the coexistence of ancient mythological and Christian characters.

aeripedis] The compound was first used by Vergil in Aen. 6.802 (about the Arcadian deer, captured by Hercules), analogous to the Greek χαλκόπους (e.g. in Hom. II. 8.41), and later on by a few other authors. Some of them use the word in connection to taurus (Ov. met. 7.105 and Val. Fl. 7.545, both with reference to the brazen-footed bulls that Jason had to domesticate).

terga juvenci] The verse ending occurs in Ov. fast. 5.531 and Stat. Theb. 9.334.

4. Phrygij ... Midae] The combination is also found in Cic. div. 1.78. The wealth of the Phrygian King Midas was proverbial (see Otto, p. 222, and Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1604 ff.), since according to myth he turned everything he touched into gold, when his wish to have that power was granted by Bacchus, as is told in Ov. met. 11.100 ff. among others.


5. teneras ... columbas] The combination can be found in Pers. 3.16, Mart. 13.66 and Serv. Aen. 5.213 (which refers to the instance in Persius).

Doves are not only tender but also often used as symbols of simplicity, innocence and timidity, among other things (cf. TLL, s.v. columba, II, A, and Otto, pp. 88 f.).

6. liba] As regards these kinds of cakes used at offerings, cf. line 76 of the Ecloga prima.

7. tranquilla DEUS mihi fecerit otia] Cf. Verg. ecl. 1.6 deus nobis haec otia fecit. The combination tranquilla otia occurs in Lucan. 2.266 f.

Composing poetry belongs to leisure activities. The same message is implied in distich no. 99 below.

7–8. Musae/ Annueritque ... Apollo meae] I.e. ‘if Apollo fills me with poetical inspiration’. Musa is here used in a transferred sense, which was common already in classical poetry, cf. OLD, s.v. Musa, 2, b. As regards the theme of enthusiasmos, see the comments on line 75 ff. of the Threnologia. In that section of the poem the recusatio similarly leads to the enthusiasmos.

doctus Apollo] The combination also occurs in e.g. one of Johann Ursinus’ poems (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 6, p. 1048 [Camena]).

9. digna ... praeconia] The combination can be found in Lucan. 4.813.
9–10. Cf. line 18 of the Threnologia: Nomen ut a sera posteritate ferant, as well as the comments on lines 15–18 of that poem.
10. **Ad seros … avos** The phrase occurs in e.g. David Pareus: *Sileat si Teutona tellus,/ Exterus ad seros pandet id orbis avos* (1615, p. 153 [Camena]). As regards this way of using the word *avus* when referring to future relatives, cf. also Verg. *georg* 4.208 f. *multosque per annos/ stat fortuna domus, et avi numerantur avorum.*

11. **Clarijs** Claros was a town in Ionia, where there were a grove and an oracle that were sacred to Apollo. The word *Clarius* is thus very often used in the sense of ‘Apollonian’. Cf. e.g. Ov. *met* 1.515 f. *mihi Delphica tellus/ et Claros et Tenedos Patareaque regia servit* (said by Apollo).

12. **patrius per te promoveatur honos** Cf. e.g. Johannes’ Matthiae *Strenae* (1597): *Vivat et in temet praeclari fama parentis/ Te simul haeredem rep- periatque suum,* and Rosenhane’s dedicatory words to Queen Christina in *Hortus regius*, lines 1 ff. (p. 11): *Praeclarus ad virtutem stimulus est illustri sanguine nasci. Et decus est splendori proprio merita iungere maiorum; Ac ita duplici gloria coruscare.* The phrase *patrius honos* can be found in e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 5.601, *Ciris* 500 and Stat. *Theb.* 3.478. As regards the sense of *patrius*, here ‘inherited from the ancestors’, see the comments on line 4 of the *Aliud memoriae ejusdem.*

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**Centuria prima:**

**gnomologicorum** The word, here an adjective, is borrowed from the Greek γνωμολογικός, which is ‘sententious’ (γνώμη = maxim). The word *gnoma* is defined in JPG and BFS as a synonym of *sententia*, while the form *gnomologicus* is merely attested as a noun in Hoven in the sense of “writer of a collection of maxims”.

1. This first emblem is obviously meant to serve as a kind of summary, in short biblically coloured phrases mentioning the habits necessary for a Christian seeking salvation and a good life. For a similar one, see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1422 f.

**Symbolon** The word was used in line 22 of the *Threnologia* (see the comments on that line). Here the sense is different. It refers specifically to a kind of sentence or maxim, i.e. ‘the author’s motto’. Cf. JPG, s.v. *symbolum*, 10, and BFS, s.v. *symbola*, 2. If the work was meant to be illustrated with pictures, the word *symbolon* in the heading could here be used in a sense closer to our ‘symbol’ (JPG, s.v. *symbolum*, 9) and refer to the depicted. That is the case e.g. in Alciato, pp. 15 and 45.

**Fide Deo** Similar phrases in e.g. Sir 11:22 and John 14:1. The *subscription* in an emblem by Nikolaus Reusner also ends with this same exhortation (Henkel & Schöne, col. 874). Many proverbs attested in Walther begin with these words, see 9436–9438 and 36925.

**delicta cave** Cf. e.g. Sir 38:10 *Averte a delicto, et dirigite manus, et ab omni delicto munda cor tuum.*
mundi/ Temne plicas] Cf. e.g. 1 John 2:15 *Nolite diligere mundum, neque ea quae in mundo sunt*. Both JPG and BFS render the word *plica*, which is not attested in ancient Latin, simply as ‘hem’. According to Hyrtl, who points to its importance in anatomical terminology, it belongs to monastical Latin from the early 13th century. He even contends as regards anatomy that *alle Faltenbildungen heissen Plicae* (Hyrtl 1880, pp. 415 f.). In Latham 1965, however, it is implied that it was also used in a transferred sense during the Middle Ages as a “shred, particle (of danger, deceit, etc.)”, and that probably points us right. Moreover, in *LLNMA*, which also gives examples of this subtle, negative distinction of the word, it is noted that *simplex*, often used in a moral sense, was sometimes regarded as etymologically explained as *sine plica*. It is rather probable that this was Phrygius’ opinion as well, since the second line of the distich then gains antithetical weight *Temte plica- cas, simplex credere … Beat.*

**simplex credere**] Cf. Prud. *apoth. praef*. 31 f. [Deus] *deque inbecillis subiugavit fortia,/ simplex ut esset credere*. For this view of simplicity as something desirable in faith, cf. e.g. the epigram *Sancta simplicitas* by Johann Michael Moscherosch: *In Sacris simplex crede; haut ita cede profanis:/ Fulcitur sancta simplicitate Fides* (1665, p. 197 [Camena]), and a drama by Sixt Birk, edited in the *Dramata Sacra* (1547, vol. 2, p. 38 [Camena]) by Johannes Oporinus: *Sed non pugnat, ut/ Opinor, hoc quod simplex est, sapi- entiae:/ Prudensque simplicitas est virtus maxima,/ Deoque valde grata.*

Instances of an infinitive with an adjectival attribute are rare in classical Latin, but became more common in late Latin (K.-St., II, p. 666).

2. In the second emblem we meet one of the most debated theological subjects during the time of ecclesiastical Reformation, i.e. the question of justification. The Lutheran opinion of *sola fide* was contrasted to the Catholic view that acts and deeds to a greater degree co-operate with faith in justifying man (see *Theol. Realenzyklopädie*, s.v. *Rechtfertigung* IV, 2–3). Not surprisingly the closing phrase *Christi nixa cruore fides* indicates that the Lutheran view should be regarded as the appropriate one. One must avoid sinning and committing crimes, but only faith justifies (*fides sine operibus est mortua*. *immo non est fides*, with Luther’s words, quoted from *Theol. Realenzyklopädie*, s.v. *Glaube*, VI, 2.1). Cf. Melanchthon’s emphatic words about faith in his *Loci praecipui theologici* (1953 [1559], p. 361):

Fide sumus iusti, id est, fiducia misericordiae propter Christum sumus accepti, non propter nostras virtutes ... Ideo necesse est sic intelligi hoc dictum: Fide habemus remissionem, id est, hac fiducia, quod propter Filium Dei recipiamur.
As was mentioned in a footnote above, the sixth sermon in Phrygius’ work *Vitae coelestis umbratilis idea* (1615) treats the doctrine of justification by faith more extensively, especially in pp. 169 f.

Moreover, the expression *apprehensum fide* touches on the idea that Christ’s work cannot be grasped by intellectual efforts, but as a gift from God through faith. As Martin Luther himself formulated it: *Fides acquisita sine infusa nihil est, infusa sine acquisita est omnia* (quoted from *Theol. Realenzyklopädie*, s.v. *Glaube*, VI, 2.1). Thereby the idea is also related to the doctrine of predestination, which was taught to a varying degree by many of the reformers, Luther included.

**Christi nixa cruore fides** Cf. e.g. Friedrich Taubmann: *Quaeque est in Christi sanguine nixa Fides* (1619, p. 202 [Camena]), as well as a passage in a poem on the birth of Christ by Henning Conradinus: *alacri corda novata fide:/ Quae Christi meritis et sanguine nixa rubenti,/ Carpit iter caeli* (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 2, p. 955 [Camena]).

3. The idea proposed in this emblem, that man should not assume tasks that exceed his powers, occurs also in the prelude (lines 61 f.) of the *Threnologia* above, as a part of Phrygius’ *recusatio*.

Proverbs similar in sense are easily found as well, e.g. Walther, 38246d: *Metire pondus antea quam suscipis*, and 44079a: *Ultra vires nihil aggredendum*. In Alciato, p. 66, there is an moral emblem, labelled under *stultitia*, with the heading *In eos qui supra vires quicquam audent*. In the *Disticha Catonis* IV.33 we also read: *Quod potes id tempta: nam litus carpere remis/tutius est multo quam velum tendere in altum.*

**Qui parat immenso sua carbas a credere ponto** The line recalls *Threnologia*, line 50: *Audeat in tantum velificare fretum?* See the comments on that line and Helander 2004, pp. 501 ff. for an extensive collection of examples of this topos, where it is also stated that “any enterprise may in fact be compared to a voyage at sea” (p. 506, but cf. also Castrén 1907, p. 163 f.).

As regards the phrase *carbas a credere*, cf. Sen. *Herc. f.* 152 f. *carbas ventis credit dubius/ navita vitae*, while the combination *immenso ponto* occurs in Ov. *trist.* 1.2.39.

The verse ending *credere ponto* furthermore occurs in Ov. *met.* 13.900 and Lucan. 5.540, as well as in a panegyrical poem printed in 1502 on a *collegium poeta rum et mathematicorum* in Vienna by Vincentius Longinus Fleutherius, where the study of foreign languages is in the same way compared to a voyage at sea (as an appendix in Celtis 1502, fol. q8r [Camena]): *Nitimur externas primum cognoscere linguas/ Crassaque barbarico formam verba palato/ Quae stil lant veluti concretis Stitia gemmis/ Guttatim: donec liquidis exuberet undis/ Alueus eloquii: atque ausit se credere ponto.*

4. The text for the *inscriptio* has been taken from Hor. *sat.* 2.2.8 f. *Male verum examinat omnis/ corruptus iudex*. That motto also occurs in Neo-Latin.
collections of phrases, e.g. in Melchior Weinrich’s *Aerarium poeticum*, under the heading *De iurisprudentia* (1677, p. 233 [Camena]). There is also a heading called *corrupta iudicia* in Erasmus’ *Adagia*, p. 816, and one called *munerum corruptula* in p. 827.

As regards the sense in these parallels, cf. e.g. emblem no. 63 with the heading *Quatuor sensus corruptelae* in Nikolaus Reusner’s *Aureola emblematum* (1587 [Camena]): *Saepe solent hominum sensus pervertere rectos/ Quatuor haec: Odium, Munera, Terror, Amor*, as well as Alciato, p. 157, lines 7 f., and Walther, 6269: *Dona trahunt multos, ad tartara crimina stultos*, with a variant in 36409fr.

**recti de tramite** As regards the expression, cf. e.g. Prov 12:28 *in semita iustitiae vita iter autem devium ducit ad mortem*, Prud. *apoth. praef.* 11 f. *quas si quis errans ac vagus sectab itur rectum relinquens tramitem*, and a passage in Gregor Bersmann: *a recti non deflexere bonique/ Tramite, Iuridici pars admiranda senatus* (1581, p. 32 [Camena]).

5. As stated in the print, the text for the *inscriptio* is taken from Ps 9:16 *In laqueo isto quem absconderunt comprehensus est pes eorum*, in the reading of the Vulgate. The reference to Proverbs 26 is in the first place to v. 27 *Qui fodit foveam incidet in eam*, as can be seen in the second line of the distich. Both Bible verses are discussed in Erasmus’ *Adagia*, p. 43, and attested in Walther (e.g. 37813). Cf. also Alciato, pp. 185 f., on the same theme.

**in foveam, quam fodit, ipse cadit** The biblical proverb referred to above, turned to verse, recurs several times in Neo-Latin poetry, e.g. in Johannes Clajus’ *Ecclesiastes Salomonis*, chapter 10: *Sed quicumque fodit foveam, labetur in illam* (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 2, p. 494 [Camena]), and in Friedrich Widebram’s paraphrase of the 9th psalm (1579, fol. B7v [Camena]): *Impius in foveam, quam foderat, incidit ipse*.

6. This emblem must be understood in the light of the aversion to monastical life within Lutheranism and the allowance for priests to marry. The Lutheran stance was supported by Paul’s words in 1 Cor 7:9 on how sexuality within marriage prevented man from ‘burning’, as well as on theories claiming that celibate life was harmful for most people. See e.g. the Swedish reformer Olaus Petri’s works *Een liten boock i hvilko clos terleffwerne förclarat warder …* (a small book in which monastic life is explained) and *Een liten undervisning om Echteskapet …* (instruction on matrimony) from 1528 (both printed in his *Samlade skrifter*, vol. 1, 1914). The second part of the *inscriptio* refers more exactly to 1 Cor 7:2 *propter fornicationem autem unusquisque suam uxorem habeat, et unaquaeque suum virum habeat*, a passage to which also Olaus Petri refers in his work on marriage. Furthermore, both 1 Cor 7:2 and 9. are explicitly referred to in the 23rd article of the *Confessio Augustana*. The former is also quoted by Melanchthon in his *Loci Praecipuae Theologici* (1952 [1559], p. 340), and followed by the comment:
Hoc mandatum omnibus, qui sentiunt se non esse idoneos ad coelibem vitam, praecepti coniugium, laicos et sacerdotibus.

In the sermon for the wedding of Isaac B. Rothovius (1605), Phrygius attacks the general Catholic view on marriage, according to which it is something impure, he claims. But Catholics are wrong, because from the moment when God’s law was given to Moses all the priests in the Old Testament were married, as well as many of the holy men occurring in the New Testament. In the Formula honestae matronae (1615) he expounds his opinion in accordance with that of Olaus Petri, mentioned above. Celibate life is unnatural and against God’s will. He also relates that when an inspection of monasteries was carried out by Henry VIII in England, a great number of sins and perversities was revealed there. In Een Christeligh Valetpredikning (1613) Phrygius likewise states that marriage is the remedium and expedient of illicit sexual relations.

Another poetical rendering of the thought expressed in Phrygius’ distich was also given in e.g. Skinnerus’ Epithalamion on the wedding of John III and Gunilla Bielke. There personified Suecia, as part of an explanation why John was marrying a second time, says that God had ordained marriage as a remedy for carnal lust and as a consolation in the difficulties of human life (1585, fol. C4v):

Ut qui non summa divini numinis aura
Afflatus, cohibere suam sine compare carnem
Posset, sed stimulos etiam sentiret amoris,
Huic medicina foret, vitaeque onerisque levamen,
Sanctus amor nexu, qui firme pectora iungit.

vetitos … amores] The combination can be found in Ov. ars 1.283 and trist. 2.1.498.
Corpora legitimi … thori] Cf. Ov. fast. 5.23 ff. donec Honor placidoque decens Reverentia volut/ corpora legitimis imposuere toris./ hinc sata Mai- estas, quae mundum temperat omnem/ quaque die partu est edita, magna fuit. It is no mere accident that Phrygius alludes to a text where Honour and Reverence are connected with marriage. The context in the Ovidian passage thus adds something to the rightfulness of marriage in Phrygius’ distich.

Another important aspect of this allusion is that the passage in Ovid actually concerns the birth of the goddess Majesty. The assumption that Phrygius’ entire work in the beginning was intended for Duke John as the future king gains extra weight from such factors.

Not surprisingly these four lines from Ovid were also used in Neo-Latin discussions on the nature of majesty. An example can be found in Christoph Besold’s Dissertatio Politico-Juridica, de Majestate in Genere: ejusque Juribus specialibus. In the second chapter De Maiestate Personali. Quatenus ea aliquam Divinitatem habere videatur … (1626, fol. B2r [Camena]) Be-
sold refers to and quotes Ovid, among others, in order to demonstrate that majesty is an instrument of the divine powers, and thus also of divine origin.

7. As regards the actual wording of the inscriptio cf. Cic. nat. deor. 3.61 Fortuna ... quam nemo ab inconstantia et temenitate seiuget and Manil. 3.527 nec inconstans servat fortuna tenorem. Similar mottos occur in emblematic literature, see Henkel & Schöne, col. 1800. The theme of the fickleness of fortune is, not surprisingly, frequent in Neo-Latin poetry. See e.g. Jacob Balde’s poem De Sortis et Mortis in Humanas Res Imperio ... (1660, vol. 1, pp. 424 ff. [Camena]). Several proverbial variants are attested in Walther (e.g. 37027e and 37029e2).

Ad lunae radium] The phrase ad lunae radios occurs in Ov. met. 4.99 (in the scene when Thisbe sees the lioness). In Phrygius’ distich we should understand it as ‘every night’, cf. TLL, s.v. luna, I, C, 4, while keeping in mind that the moon sometimes stands for inconstancy and obscurity. Cf. e.g. Shakespeare’s words in Antony and Cleopatra 5.2.237 f. “I am marble-constant; now the fleeting moon/ No planet is of mine”. As regards the moon as a motif in literary history, see further Frenzel 1992, pp. 547 ff.

sors lubrica] The combination occurs in Sen. benef. 4.34.5, as well as in the inscriptio of contemporary emblems (see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1547 f.).

Luciferis] The compound, created by analogy to the Greek φωσφόρος, can be found already in Acc. trag. 331. As regards the poetical use of the word in the sense of ‘day’, cf. OLD, s.v. lucifer, 2, b.

8. The text in Rom 8:31 according to the Vulgate is: Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?, i.e. ‘If God be for us, who can be against us?’ This saying of Paul’s for Phrygius probably also recalled what Jesus says in Matt 12:30 Qui non est mecum, contra me est, i.e. ‘He that is not with me is against me’ (variant readings in Mark 9:40 and Luke 9:50). The proverb, with variants, is attested in Walther, 28437b–28439a.

tela cruenta] The combination tela cruenta e.g. also in Rhet. Her. 1.18.22, Ov. trist. 2.1.529 and Sil. 2.169.

9. This emblem on the importance of prayers is based on Sir 35:21–22: Oration humiliantis se nubes penetrabit, et donec propinquet non consolabitur, et non discedet donec Altissimus aspiciat. Et Dominus non elongabit; sed iudicabit iustos, et faciet iudicium; et Fortissimus non habebit in illis patientiam, ut contribulet dorsum ipsorum, which is a part of a passage that warns against contempt for the poor and powerless. A wording similar to the inscriptio is attested in Walther, 39701k: Preces piorum exaudit illico Deus (1624). For an emblem similar in sense, see e.g. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1338 f.

precum efficacia] The word efficacia is mostly late Latin, albeit used as early as Plin. nat. 11.12 (TLL, Krebs & Schmalz). As regards the wording
here, cf. e.g. ode XI by Johann Flittner: *At qualis efficacia/ Potest precum esse talium* (1620, p. 69 [Camena]), as well as the *Theatrum historicum theorectico-practicum* (1668, p. 476 [Camena]) by Christian Matthiae, under the heading *Acta Quartii Anni Ministerii Christi*, no. 10: *Iesus Discipulis suis praescribit precum formulam, earumque docet efficaciam.*

**caeli nubila tranant** Cf. e.g. the words on the *beati* in the *Aerarium poeticum* by Melchior Weinrich: *Qui caelestem agitant humanos corpore vitam,/ oblittique hominum caeli cava nubila tranant* (1677, p. 163 [Camena]).

**celsi lucida signa poli** Cf. Mart. 9.71.8 *ut niteant celsi lucida signa poli*, and also the hemiepes *lucida signa poli* in Tib. 1.4.20.

10. The biblical passage referred to is Matt 8:23–27, which contains the story of how Christ calmed the storm. This was applied to the life of the Church from very early on, and it is not unlikely that Matthew himself had intended it to be so, since he altered it slightly compared to how it is related in Mark 4:35–41. However, the motif of the Church as a ship appeared at least as early as Tertullian, and it has been very popular (for a survey see *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, s.v. Schiff). Cf. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1154 f. In Neo-Latin literature an illustrating example is the elegy *Navicula ecclesiae* by Michael Abel, where the first two lines are: *Fluctuat hybernans Ecclesia, quale phaselus,/ Quam fera tempestas, quam furor urget aquae* (1590, fol. L6v [Camena]). See however also the poem by Rompler von Löwenhalt given as an example of an emblematic poem in Daly 1998, pp. 133 f. There the motif is elaborated somewhat further.

**Obruitur … Ecclesia … / Navis ut** Cf. e.g. two lines in Georg Fabricius: *Saepius obruitur communi Ecclesia fluctu,/ Haeret et in caeco, navis ut acta, vado* (1567, vol. 2, p. 61 [Camena]).

**fluctibus acta** The phrase occurs in e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 1.333, *Ov.* *met.* 11.721 and Val. Fl. 2.603.

11. The biblical verse referred to is Prov 16:9: *Cor hominis disponet viam suam, sed Domini est dirigere gressus eius.*

The exact wording of the *inscriptio* is common. It can e.g. be found as a heading to one of Peter Lindeberg’s epigrams (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 3, p. 1212 [Camena], as well as in one of Johann Michael Moscherosch’s poems (1665, p. 25 [Camena]). It is attested in Walther as well, viz. in 11102 and 37258a.

However, poetical circumlocutions for it can be found too. One example, which is rather close to Phrygius’ version, is a passage in a *προπεμτήριον* by Bernard Praetorius: *multa quidem proponit homo, disposta sed illa/ Digerit; et nutu Deus arbitrioque gubernat/ Cuncta suo* (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 5, p. 440 [Camena]).

**Terra … Caelum** This antithetical pair is intended to correspond to the *Homo–Deus* of the *inscriptio*. 297
molimine] The word was first used in Latin by Lucretius (4.902), who had a predilection for this 3rd declension neuter ending in –men and himself introduced many words with that ending (Bailey 1947, pp. 134 ff.).

ad nutus] See the comments on line 118 of the Threnologia.

12. The association here is naturally first to the mythological story related in Homer Od. 8.266–305, where Hephaestus traps Ares and Aphrodite making love in his bed. That scene is told or alluded to in several Latin authors (for an outline of its history see Bömer met., IV–V, pp. 67 ff.), often with a remark on the tempering of Mars’ warlike mind. See e.g. Lucr. 1.29–43, where the lines 31–34 read: nam tu sola potes tranquilla pace iuvare/ mortalis, quoniam belli fera moenera Mavors/ armipotens regit, in gremium qui saepe tuum se/ reicit aeterno devictus vulnere amoris, and Ov. ars 2.561–592, where the lines 563 f. are: Mars pater, insano Veneris turbatus amore,/ De duce terribili factus amator erat.

The theme of Venus weakening male strength and vigour is also represented in several Neo-Latin poems and emblems. See e.g. one by Johannes Kreihing, where the twofold inscriptio reads: Odit victoria somnos. Perdunt vina, Venus, segnisque socordia Martem (1661, p. 125 [Camena]), as well as an elegy by Michael Abel: Ipse nec enervat vires uxorius ardor,/ In thalamum penetrat non Venus ulla meum./ Non insanus amor iuvenilia robora frangit (1590, p. N5r [Camena]). A similar proverb is discussed by Walther (7111).

Veneris … castris] As regards the use of military imagery in the field of love, cf. the comments on in Castris Musarum in the title of the Threnologia above, and Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1762 f.

aera] The aera (militaria) should here be understood as a synonym to stipendia in the first line, which lends strong antithetical weight to the distich.

13. The gnome is a common one, appearing in many different variants. A famous parallel is Hor. carm. 2.10.10 celsae graviore casu/ decidunt turres (see the notes in Nisbet & Hubbard 1978, pp. 162 f.), but a close one is also e.g. Jerome: quanto altior est ascensus, tanto durior descensus. For further examples see Otto, p. 17 (from where Jerome is quoted here). See also Walther (900), with references to several other instances.

In Neo-Latin it is given in several variants in Janus Gruterus’ Bibliotheca exulum … (1625, p. 278 [Camena]), under the label of Excellentiae. Some examples are: Ut ruat maiore lapsu, summa magnates petunt, and Altior ruina summas semper affligit domos, and finally Altius quanto cadendum est, altius tanto strepit.

praecipitanter] The word is hapax in classical Latin in Lucr. 3.1063, who extended the use of the ending –ter, thus creating many new adverbs (Bailey 1947, pp. 136 f.). Cf. the comments on line 100 of the Threnologia.
14. As regards this inscriptio, see the comments on line 179 of the Threnologia.

Exhorret[ Though used as early as Colum. 10.154, the word is mostly late Latin (TLL).

rabido ... sono] The combination can e.g. be found in one of Euricius Cordus’ poems (1550, fol. 269r [Camena]).

nigrare] In classical literature the word in a transitive sense is hapax in Stat. silv. 2.6.83.

15. The earlier part of the maxim is common with different variants, but was first made popular through Alain de Lille’s Liber Parabolarum (Moss 1996, p. 26). It is attested several times in Walther, viz. in 17266, 38861a and 38953d1: Non omne quod lucet aurum est. In the Disticha Catonis we meet a gnome that is similar in sense in IV.31: Demissos animo et tacitos vitare memento:/ quod flumen placidum est, forsan latet altius unda.

clavata veste] The word clavatus applied to clothes or shoes is explained by Festus (p.56): Clavata dicuntur aut vestimenta clavis intertexta aut calcia- menta clavis confixa. This instance was quoted by BFS (s.v. clavus), while JPG (s.v. clavatus) explains the word as referring to thet som haffuer halff- frunda ... knappar (‘that which has semicircular buttons’). However, as we can see in the second line of the distich it is the association with the purple colour that is intended. The clavus was also the purple stripe on clothes denoting a man of senatorial rank (TLL, s.v. clavus, 4).

Dormit odoratis coluber ... sub umbris] Cf. Verg. ecl 3.93 latet anguis in herba. Those words are often heard of in the same sense as in our line. The combination odoratis umbris can be found in Colum. 10.296.

Sub Tyrio ... tegmine ... latet] The combination Tyrio tegmine can be found in Stat. silv. 5.1.215. The city of Tyre on the Phoenician coast was famous for its purple-dye industry, and is hence especially associated with that colour. See OLD, s.v. Tyrius, 1, c, for further examples in classical literature of Tyrius in connection with garments. The phrase sub tegmine latet occurs in Lucan. 7.499.

16. As regards the blindness and folly of love, see Otto, p. 23, who lists early instances of the theme such as e.g. Prop. 2.14.18 insano nemo in amore videt and Hor. carm. 1.18.14 caecus amor sui. See also the comments on the passage in Horace in Nisbet & Hubbard 1970, pp. 236 f., with references to further reading. That majesty and love do not go well together for this reason is declared in Ov. met. 2.846 f. The motif occurs in emblematic literature, see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 429 ff, as well as in many Neo-Latin poems. One example is two of the short poems on the theme Amor insipiens by Elizabeth Jane Weston: Et malesana Venus, rerum et sapientia victrix/ Vix in divino pectore conveniunt:/ Est in amore furor, qui lumina mentis obum- brat;/ Qui facit et summos desipuisse viros, and Novit amans amens cupidis
quid mens sua votis/ Optet: quid sapiat, non videt ullus amans (1608[?], vol. 2, fol. B4r [Camena]).

**Paphio ... telo** The town Paphos in south-west Cyprus was sacred to Venus, cf. Hor. *carm.* 1.30.1 *O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique.* According to Hom. *Od.* 8.362 f. Aphrodite landed there when she and Ares had been set free from Hephaestus’ bonds. Moreover, there is a famous description of her temple in Paphos in Tac. *hist.* 2.3 (Nisbet & Hubbard 1970, p. 345). The ‘Paphian spear’ thus refers to Amor’s arrow.

**transfossus pectora telo** Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9.543 f. *confixique suis telis et pectora duro/ transfossi ligno veniunt.* The accusative is Greek, just as in Vergil. The verse ending *pector a telo* can be found several times in Ovid (e.g. *met.* 2.504, 2.605 and 13.694), and recurs often in the classical poets after him.


17. As can be seen in the distich, the adjective *Neronius* (the correct classical spelling being *Neroneus*) is used in the sense of ‘wicked’ or ‘criminal’. As regards the motif of Nero as cruelty and folly personified, having roots already in Antiquity, see Frenzel 1992, pp. 575 ff., and Henkel & Schöne, col. 1703. In Melchior Weinrich’s *Aerarium poet icum* (1677, p. 1283 [Camena]) we find suggested words and phrases suitable to be used about this infamous ruler:


Sentences similar in sense, without mention of Nero’s name, are attested in Walther, e.g. 25698b *Quo quis nequior, hoc fortunatior* and 25699 *Quo quisquam est peior, tanto felicior exstat.* Nero is also used as the great negative model of a ruler in the short history of Swedish Neo-Latin poetry previous to Phrygius. Laurentius Petri Gothus has the lines *Si libet exemplis rem tradere, facta Neronis/ Aspice, si quando saevus in orbe furit* (Bergh 1973, p. 20), while Skinnerus (1585, fol. B1r) has: *[Moscus] superans feritate Neronem.*

**mundo** This is the key that makes the irony obvious. A bad and criminal life is easy, and often rewarded on earth. But for Phrygius moral efforts aim at heaven and eternal pleasures.
18. The gnome is related to Jesus’ words in Matt 7:3 *Quid autem vides festucam in oculo fratris tui: et trabem in oculo tuo non vides*, i.e. “And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother’s eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye” (also in Luke 6:41). Cf. e.g. an emblem by Laurentius Haechtanus (1579, embl. 42 [Camena]), in which the subscriptio is a quotation of Matt 7:3, and the inscriptio goes *In aliena vitia liinces [lynces] in nostra talpae*.

The idea can be found in ancient literature as well. A famous parallel, that is closer to Phrygius’ wording in the inscriptio than the instance in the gospels is Phaedrus’ version in 4.10 of one of Aesop’s fables:

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Peras inposuit Iuppiter nobis duas:
Propris repletam vititis post tergum dedit,
Alienis ante pectus suspendit gravem.
Hac re videre nostra mala non possimus;
Alii simul delinquunt, censores sumus.
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Aesop’s story is also alluded to in e.g. Catull. 22.21, Hor. *sat.* 2.3.299 and Sen. *dial.* 4.28.8. Maxims later based on or influenced by Phaedrus’ text are attested in several places in Walther, e.g. 34608k, 33312 and 39024f. Cf. also Otto, pp. 13 f.

**quivis** = *quisquis*. The finer distinctions in sense between different indefinite pronouns were lost already in late Latin, cf. K.-St., II, 1, p. 650.

**oculatior Argo** For the combination see Serv. *Aen.* 7.790. Argus with his many eyes and sharp sight became proverbial, as in e.g. Apul. *met.* 2.23 *vides hominem ... perspicaciorem ipso Lynceo vel Argo, et oculum totum* (see further Otto, p. 37). As regards his presence in Neo-Latin emblem books, see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1770 f., and in later maxims see Walther, e.g. 1344 and 34892d.

The exact expression *oculatior Argo* can also be found in several instances in Neo-Latin literature. In addition to Phrygius’ own line in the poem *Prophylacticon ad Ecclesiam Svecanam* published in Petrus’ Jonae *Nije Christelige Predikningar* (1609): *Stellatoque diu maneas Oculatior Argo*, we find an example in the *Paraenesis Scholaee ad docentes* by Hulderich Schober: *Nemo videre potest, quamvis oculatior Argo,/ Omnia* (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 5, p. 1403 [Camena]).

**talpa caecior** The bad vision of the mole is proverbial as well. See Otto, p. 340, Walther, 31000a, and Henkel & Schöne, cols. 489, for later occurrences of the motif. It is taken up in Erasmus’ *Adagia*, p. 117, and also e.g. in Paolo Manuzio’s paraphrase of Erasmus’ work, the *Adagia optimorum utriusque linguae scriptorum* ... (1603, p. 142 [Camena]).

19. The crowd is called *mobile* already in Hor. *carm.* 1.1.7 *mobilium turba Quiritium*, and 1.35.25 has *vulgus infidum*. The combination *mobile vulgus*
occurs for the first time Ov. trist. 1.9.13 mobile sic sequitur Fortunae lumina vulgus, but later on also in Sen. Herc. f. 170, Stat. silv. 2.2.123 and Sil. 16.315. Cf. Otto, p. 378, as regards its proverbiality. Variants are attested in Walther in e.g. 14985–14986a, 34189c, 38289 and 38289a1.

**propensio** The word is *hapax* in classical Latin in Cic. fin. 4.47.

20. The biblical verse Ps 120:4 is in the text of the Vulgate: *Ecce non dormitabit neque dormiet qui custodit Israel*. Phrygius’ addition *hoc est ecclesiam* refers to the identification of the Christian church as God’s new chosen people, as it is explained as early as Rom 9:6–8 *Non enim omnes qui ex Israel sunt, ii sunt Israelitae: neque qui semen sunt Abrahae, omnes filii: sed in Isaac vocabitur tibi semen: id est, non qui filii carnis, hi filii Dei: sed qui filii sunt promissionis, aestimantur in semine*. In Gal 6:16 Christians are also called *Israel Dei*. It was natural that the Christians reinterpreted the psalter and the entire Old Testament from that perspective.

The theme occurs in emblems, see Henkel & Schöne, col. 821. It is also alluded to in e.g. the poem on psalm 121 by Adam Siber: *Non dormitabit, sacrae qui praesidet urbi:/ Non venit in fessi lumina victa sopor* (1565–1566, vol. 2, p. 247 [Camena]).

**claudet ocellos** The hexameter ending is also in Prop. 2.13.17. On *ocellus*, cf. the comments on line 149 of the *Threnologia*.

**Hebraeae … regionis** The expression refers roughly to that part of the Middle-East where the biblical Israel was situated, certainly again here in the sense of ‘the Church’.

21. The biblical verse Isa 64:6 is according to the Vulgate exactly as in Phrygius’ text: *quasi pannus menstruatae universae iustitiae nostrae* (the expression *quasi pannum menstruaaet also in Est 14:16). The expression ‘rags of a menstruating woman’ refers to ceremonial impurity. Phrygius surely wants to stress the Lutheran view that the righteousness of man is nothing in itself, and cannot be improved by man himself, but only through the mercy of God. That is why man is *simul justus et peccator*. In this way the same passage from the Bible is also referred to in a drama by Nikodemus Frischlin. The apostle Paul there says: *Quid bona opera?/ Quasi vero nostra opera, etiam illa quae a renatis fiunt, aliquid/ mereantur: quasi non sint pannus menstruo pollutus, omnes iusticiae/ Nostrae? Quasi non sit Dei opus, iustificatio hominis, ne quis possit gloriarier?* (1592, fol. F4v [Camena]). Cf. also the comments on the 2nd emblem of this collection above.

**menstrua … spurco tinxerat imbre nurus** In the Old Testament there are many passages that express the view of a menstruating woman as ritually impure. This is most explicitly stated in Lev 15:19–24 where it is commanded that someone who touched a menstruating woman’s bed or chair should be regarded impure as well. On *imber* for bodily fluids, cf. *TLL*, s.v. *imber*, I, B, 2, a, γ.
22. The scene of Judas betraying Jesus with a kiss, as narrated in Matt 26:48–50, Mark 14:43–46 and Luke 22:47–48, is a common motif in Christian art (cf. Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie, s.v. Judas Ischariot), and was well suited to emblematic representations. There is e.g. a distich with the same heading made by Joachim von Beust: Ore Deum ficto prodit, quem vendidit aere:/ Has artes Iudae triste monile manet (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 1, p. 653 [Camena]), and a short poem by Jacob Balde: Duo concurrent, as-pice, vultus./ Se se MORS et VITA salutant./ Atra Diei Nox dicit, Ave (1660, vol. 4, p. 526 [Camena]). Proverbs on the theme are attested in Walther, 6430 and 20451.

velo] As regards velum in the sense of velamen and used metaphorically as ‘veil’ or ‘pretext’, cf. Forcellini, s.v. velum, 12.

stricto gature] Phrygius refers to the notice in Matt 27:5 that Judas committed suicide and hanged himself (cf. the triste monile in the quotation from von Beust above). However, there is also a version in Acts 1:18, which says that “falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out”.

23. The maxim is attested in Walther, 19682b and 39161. The motif also occurs in emblems, see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 540 f. and 1856 f. In Neo-Latin literature see e.g. an ode by Johann Flittner, which has the heading In eos, qui occasionem peccatis suppeditant, and in 34 lines treats the theme Vitanda non solum mala, sed et malorum occasio (1620, pp. 148 ff. [Camena]).

Calliditas … simplicitasque] As regards the antithesis, cf. e.g. Val. Max. 7.3. ext.3 praeceptum … nimis fortasse callidum videatur inimicumque simplicitati and Quint. inst. 4.2.57 plurimum tamen facit illa callidissima simplicitatis imitatio. Cf. however also expressions like the second line of Disticha Catonis III.4: simplicitas veri fama est, fraud ficta loquendi.

24. The reference to Scaliger is probably to Julius Caesar Scaliger’s Exoterica rerum Exercitationum Liber XV … Phrygius later refers to that work in the first part of the fourth sermon in Vitae Coelestis Umbratilis Idea (1615) dealing with the limits of human reason in spiritual, political and natural matters. In the margin of page 118 we read: Scaliger Exc. I. sect. I.. On p. 113 Phrygius likewise says:

I thenna werlde enj äre wij (in Schola particulari) omynigde, ofulkomlighe och staffuande Scholebarn: (sapientia nostra est umbra in sole, sägher Scaliger: Wår wijshet och förstånd utbrätta så mycket såsom en skugge i soolske-net) och höre icke eller see tusende gångor, hundrade tusende deelen aff wâr himmelska Salomonis konst och râdh, wijshet och snällheit.
(In this world we are [in Schola particulari] incapable, imperfect and spell-
ing school-children: [sapientia nostra est umbra in sole, Scaliger says: Our
wisdom and reason accomplish as much as a shadow in sunshine] and nei-
ther hear nor see a thousand times the hundred-thousandth part of our heav-
enly Solomon’s art and counsel, wisdom and goodness.)

The basic idea that the human intellect is limited during life on earth is
initially Platonic. The immediate association is to the well-known simile
about how men fettered in a cave as depicted in the 7th book of Plato’s Re-
public. But in the passage on p. 118 mentioned above Phrygius quotes a
saying from Aristotle’s Metaphysics about men’s feeble ability of correctly
comprehending the nature of things and states that Scaliger repeats those
words. At the end of the first section of the first exercitatio in Scaliger’s
work, the text is (1607, p. 4):

Patet autem quod dicebamus apertius in sempiternis rebus: quaram ad intel-
lectionem mentis nostrae directa acies tam imbecilla est, quam ad Solem in-
tuendum Nycticoracis oculus.

That this is the sense intended by Phrygius in the inscriptio is evident, but it
has not been possible to establish any direct verbal correspondence, despite
the fact that Phrygius uses exactly the same line twice.

However, there are verses in the Bible similar in sense, as e.g. 1 Cor
13:12 “For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I
know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known”. Cf. also the
emblem in Alciato, p. 11, having the heading Sapientia humana, stultitia est
apud Deum.

teneras rerum penetrare medullas| As regards medulla in this sense, cf.
OLD, s.v. medulla, 5, and TLL, s.v. medulla, II, B, 2. The combination ten-
eras medullas occurs in Ov. am. 3.10.27 and Lucan. 4.318, while rerum ...
medullas can be found in Iuv. 8.90. For the hexameter ending penetrare
medullas see Sil. 13.296.

sublustri nocte| The combination occurs in Hor. carm. 3.27.31 and Liv.
5.47.2.

25. The emblem could easily be directed to a future ruler, and as such it has
many contemporary parallels. The people should be controlled by rule, but
these apply as much to the ruler himself as to the people he governs. Cf. e.g.
Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1262 and 1433 f. A maxim with a similar first part is
attested in Walther, 39054i: Nulla gens tam barbara est, quin celitem agno-
scat Deum.

officijs| Cf. the definition made by Cicero in off. 1.3 Omnis de officio duplex
est quaestio: unum genus est, quod pertinet ad finem bonorum, alterum quod
positum est in praecptis, quibus in omnis partis usus vitae conformari pos-
sit. The word should in this context be understood in the later sense, i.e. as ‘precepts’ or ‘rules’ (cf. OLD, s.v. officium, 3).

26. Once more we meet a gnome on the question of the relation between faith and works in the Justification of man. See the comments on emblems no. 2 above. Phrygius’ distich summarizes what was said there rather well. 

**Acta fidelis monstrant** | Cf. the quotation from Luther in the comments on emblem no. 2 above, and Henkel & Schöne, col. 285, which has James’ (2:26) fides sine operibus mortua est as heading. Melanchthon’s in his Loci praecipui theologici (1953 [1559], p. 399 f.) explains how faith is expressed through deeds more closely:

Dupliciter autem fides exercetur in operibus, primum statuens, quod placeat obedientia, ut ante dixi. Deinde et auxilium petens, ut David scit gubernationem esse rem impeditam et periculosam, sed credit Deo placare suos labores propter promissam misericordiam. Deinde etiam auxilium petit et laboret in defensione populi et regendis moribus civium, quantum potest.

**beatos/ Efficiunt** | The phrase in this position in the lines is also in e.g. one of Friedrich Taubmann’s poems (1597, p. 173 [Camena]).

27. The biblical verse Prov 6:6 is according to the Vulgate: Vade ad formicam, o piger, et considera vias eius, et disce sapientiam. The theme of the diligent ant as an example for men was popular in several contexts, often with special regard to their way of storing food for the winter during the summer. Cf. Prov 30:25, and e.g. Otto, p. 141, Henkel & Schöne, col. 930 ff. and Walther, 10388a, and 37002a–37002d. In poetry see e.g. an Adhortatio ad discendum by Laurentius Corvinus: Quae legit aestivo formica sub aethere, gaudet/ Sed sub Hyperborea grana tenere nive (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 2, p. 636 [Camena]), and the De improvidentia futuri by Jakob Locher: Exemplum magni praebet formica laboris: Colligit et servat tempore quaeque suo (1572, pp. 138 ff. [Camena]). In the Disticha Catonis there is a maxim that is similar in sense in I.39: Conserva potius, quae sunt iam parta labore:/ cum labor in damno est, crescit mortalis egestas.

**hybernos … soles** | The combination can be found in e.g. Verg. georg. 3.302, Aen. 1.745 and Ov. met. 13.793.

28. The first part of the verse in Sir 13:1 is in the Vulgate: Qui tetigerit picem inquinabitur ab ea. There are several proverbs similar in sense, and a variant from the same biblical verse follows in the next emblem. The most common is however perhaps the one in transmitted in 1 Cor 15:33 corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia mala, which has Greek models (cf. Otto, p. 230. See also Walther, 2955, with references).
Phrygius mentions this proverb in Swedish (*Then som kommer widh tiäro, han wader besmittat*) in p. 16 of the *Oratio encomiastica* in Agon Regius (1620), while stressing the importance for a king to marry a good wife.

**immundas inde referre manus**] The combination *immundas ... manus* can be found in Ov. *ars* 3.756, while *inde referre manus* is a hemiepes in Ov. *Ib*. 610.

29. The second part of the verse in Sir 13:1 is according to the Vulgate: *qui communicaverit superbo induet superbiam*. See the comments on emblem 28 above.

**faedera servant**] The verse ending occurs also in Ov. *ars* 1.641, *fast*. 2.159 and Manil. 2.359.

30. All impiety will at least meet with its deserts after death; the distich thus encourages fear of God’s Judgement. Verses in the Bible touching on the destruction of the impious are e.g. Matt 25:41–46, Rom 1:18 and 2 Pet 3:7. Cf. Walther, 11657: *Impunita tua numquam peccata maneunt,/* *Ante Dei vultum quia nil remanebit imullet*, and 1118, with references. The same thought, viz. that sinners will be subjected to punishment, if not in life, then after death, is also expressed in Verg. *Aen*. 6.568 f. *quia quis apud superos furto laetatus inani/ distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem*. Moreover, we read that the guilty are usually punished in Hor. *carm*. 3.2.29–32: *saepe Diespiter/ neglectus incesto addidit integrum:/ raro antecedentem scelestum/ deseruit pede Poena claudio*. In Neo-Latin poetry cf. e.g. the passage in *Homilia XXXVII* by Johannes Clajus: *Constituitque [Deus] diem, quo res diiudicet omnes;/ Parua bonis aequo corde ferenda mora est;/ Nec tamen in tempus differt hoc omnia, verum/ Hoc etiam dirum punit in orbe nefas* (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 2, p. 560 [Camena]). Cf. also the emblem in Alciato, p. 34, about Nemesis pursuing every man. Likewise Rosenhane’s emblem no. 4 (p. 20) treats the theme that God avenges unjust rulers.

**Non impunitum permanet omne nefas**] The intended sense of this line must certainly be, since the distich tells us so, that every crime sooner or later will be punished. The negations are, however, confusing. The solution is probably to read *non* with *omne*, despite the interposition of several words, in the sense attested in late Latin of *nullum* (cf. Sz. p. 453), i.e. ‘no crime remains unpunished’.

Actually, in Iacobus Typotius’ *Oratio Inauguralis* (1594, fel. B2r–v) held at Sigismund’s coronation, a phrase was used that is exactly the same in sense and very similarly expressed. In a section dealing with Sigismund’s legal rights to the crown and how these should obviously be respected, God himself having been there as a witness when they were settled, Typotius says: *Expiatur scelus licet serius ... Peccatum nullum Deus sinit impunitum, and the sentence continues: Quomodo pacta solemnia patetetur [Deus] infringi, ad quae testis ipse sacrosancto verborum apparatu est advocatus? It
would perhaps be to go too far to claim that Phrygius alludes to Typotius’ saying, even though he might have. In any case a contemporary reader may have noticed the similarities. Then it could be interpreted in two ways: On the one hand as a reminder of Sigismund’s fate, and that it is a criminal act to depose a king in God’s eyes. On the other as a warning to future rulers against oath-breaking. As we saw above in section 1.3.2, Sigismund was accused of having violated the oath sworn at the coronation, in which he promised not to permit any foreign religious worship in the country. If the entire Centuria prima was intended for Duke John, an allusion to Typotius’ speech would not be unlikely.

31. I.e. ‘it is easy to bend a tiny twig, but a tree cannot be bent at all’. The advice to parents is accordingly to bend and form the children’s nature in accordance with their will from early on through education, in accordance with Sir 7:25 Filii tibi sunt? Erudi illos, et curva illos a pueritia illorum, but also e.g. Hor.epist.1.2.69 f. Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem, testa diu. That principle was evidently basic in humanist culture (see further Manning 2002, pp. 154 ff.). Cf. the quotation from Reusner below and Henkel & Schöne, cols. 495 f., and especially 153 f., where the subscriptio is: In teneris puerum flecte et sub vincula mitte, Ne mox tristitiae causa sit ille tuae. Flectenti cedet facilis tibi virga, sed arbor haec robur, vires, spernet adepta, tuas. As regards similar sayings, on the theme ‘one must learn in youth’, cf. Otto, p. 118, and Walther, e.g. 37756b and 39861i3, as well as no. 36 below.

Prophylacticon] The word, the Greek προφυλακτικός (‘precautionary’), first appears in Latin in the 6th century medical writer Oribasius. We must understand it as signifying ‘a precautionary maxim’, or something similar. The term returns in emblems nos. 83–90 below, as well as in a Prophylacticon ad Ecclesiam Svecanam by Phrygius published in Petrus’ Jonae Nije Christelige Predikningar (1609).

Virga solet flecti] Cf. an emblem with the heading A teneris assuescere multum by Nikolaus Reusner: Corrige, dum tener est, pueri cor. cernis, ut arbos/ Spernit vim: virgam flectit at ungue puer (1587, no. 13 [Camena])
auras/ Aetherias] The combination, in this very position in the lines, can e.g. be found three times in Vergil, viz. in georg. 2.291 f., Aen. 4.445 f. and 6.761 f.

32. The inscriptio is formed by two different gnomic sentences. The first one is Sir 5:8, which according to the Vulgate is: Non tardes converti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem. The second one appears in several different versions, most of them concerned with the ultimate hour of life, e.g. Mors certa – hora incerta (Walther, 38345f3). That is the sense also here, i.e. ‘do not delay turning to God, since you do not know if you die as early as tomorrow, and then it is too late turning to him’. Cf. Jakob Locher’s em-
blem with the heading De eo qui exceptiones quaerit ad emendandum se (1572, pp. 62 ff. [Camena]), which is similar in sense and based on the same biblical verse. As regards the uncertainty of tomorrow from the human perspective, cf. Walther, 3622 and 15117 with references, as well as Sen. epist. 91.16. nemo in crastinum sui certior, and Prop. 2.27.1 f. At vos incertam, mortales, funeris horam/ quaeritis. The thought is common in Neo-Latin dirges, as in e.g. first lines in one by August Buchner: Incerta prorsus vivimus et parum tuta,/ Has quotquot inter degimus terras./ Promittere nemo crastinam sibi lucem/ Potestve tempus vindicare venturum (1694, p. 527 [Camena]).


postremam ... horam] The combination occurs in Catull. 64.191.
mortis certa ... minuta latent] The word certa in this line should be understood in the sense of ‘inevitable’ (cf. OLD, s.v. certus, 6), rather than ‘fixed’ by God without men’s knowledge. Cf. e.g. line in Janus Gruterus’ Bibliotheca Exulum (1625, p. 530 [Camena]): Certius nil morte, mortis nil minuto incertius. And that we all have to die is, of course, a commonplace, cf. e.g. Erasmus’ Adagia, p. 817: Mors omnibus communis, and also Otto, p. 228, Esteve-Forriol 1962, pp. 150 f., and Helander 2004, pp. 520 f. See the comments on lines 275 ff. of the Threnologia above.

As regards minuta, the notion of it as a sixtieth part of an amount of time is attested as early as Augustine, see TLL, s.v. minuta (and minutum, A, 1, a, β), and Souter 1949, s.v. minuta.

33. The story of the gifts of the three wise men from the East is narrated in Matt 2:11, and what these gifts symbolized has traditionally varied somewhat. That the gold alludes to Christ the king (cf. e.g. Matt 2:2 and Prud. cath. 12.64) is evident. Gold was already in Antiquity associated with richness and sovereignty, and that association continues to be valid in Christianity, zumal im Hinblick auf Glanzvolle Ausstattung des Gotteshauses (Lexikon des Mittelalters, s.v. Gold [cols. 1537 f.]).

Moreover, incense is from early on strongly connected with worship and prayer, as can be seen in several passages in the Bible (e.g. Ps 141:2, Rev 5:8 and 8:3). As regards its liturgical use in Christianity, where it at first seems to have been avoided because of pagan associations but later grew in popularity, see Lexikon des Mittelalters, s.v. Weihrauch.

The connection between myrrh and Christ’s death on the cross should furthermore perhaps here be explained by the notice in Mark 15:23 that Jesus was offered wine with myrrh in order to ease the pain. Myrrh was already in Antiquity used in medicine, because of its anaesthetic potencies among others, and continued being so during the Middle Ages (Lexikon des Mittelalters, s.v. Myrrhe(nbaum)).

As regards early instances of the thought, see e.g. Ps. Mar. Victorin. phys. 22 tus ... obtulerunt magi ut deo, aurum ut regi, myrram ut passuro and the
spurious Claud. *carm. min. app.* 21.3 f. *dant tibi Chaldaei praenuntia munera reges:/ myrrham homo, rex aurum, suscipe tura deus.* An example from Neo-Latin poetry is Johann Oexlin, who wrote three poems on the same theme, the *Dona magorum*, also implying what the gifts represented (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 4, pp. 1175 f. [Camena]):

Myrrha hominem, sed thura deum reges decet aurum:
Cuncta simul Christum regem, hominem atque deum.
His donis, terras coelo delapsus ab alto,
Cum coleres lesu, te coluere magi.
At nunc mente Deo tibi nos, non thure litamus:
Nec donum est homini myrrha, sed obsequium.
Non aurum ferimus, sed laudum encomia regi:
Thure, auro et myrrha haec sunt potiora tibi.

Sit praesens Christus, non deerunt dona magorum.
A me illi. Praesens est: age dona para.
Thus dabis et myrrham, medicinis si bonus aegros;
Aurum, si tenues veste ciboque leves.

Christus et in caelis nunc regnat, et indigus idem
Non minus in terris per sua membra iacet.
Sint dona in terris thus, aurum, myrrha iacenti:
Regnant in coelis laus, amor, obsequium.

**Obryzum ... aurum** The ὀβρυζα (for different spellings when borrowed into Latin, see *TLL*, s.v. *obrussa*) is a test of the purity of gold. A description of it is given in Plin. *nat.* 33.59. The adjective *obryzus*, the Greek ὀβρυζος, thus refers to gold that has passed the test. As regards the entire phrase, see *TLL*, s.v. *obryzus*, 1.

**Tura ... mascula** The combination can be found in e.g. Verg. *ecl.* 8.65, Ov. *medic.* 94 and Apul. *apol.* 30.16. In the words of Clausen this is the “the choicest frankincense”, having the form of “white globules”. He thus explains *mascula* quoting Plin. *nat.* 12.61 *masculum aliqui putant a specie testium dictum* (Clausen 1994, p. 257).

34. As regards the message here, which probably has its most important initial inspiration in the Vergilian phrase re-used in the distich (see below), cf. e.g. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 930 f. and 1747 f., where one of Nikolaus Reusner’s emblems is reproduced. The *inscriptio* is the Vergilian *Labor omnia vincit*, and in the *subsriptio* the two first lines are: *Quaesiti formica tenax, patiensque laborum:/ Exemplo frugi nos monet esse suo.* But cf. also Alciato, pp. 143 and 147, as well as Walther, 13363, 15841a, 37764 and 37768.

Labor ... omnia vincit[ Cf. Verg. georg. 1.145 f. labor omnia vicit/ improbus. Mynors says that the expression “is a saying dear to all generous hearts, especially those engaged in education”, and he refers to Erasmus’ Adagia, where it is discussed (Mynors 1990, p. 30). See Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1524 f. and 1747 f., for emblems where it is used as a heading, besides the one discussed above, and Otto, p. 181. As we saw earlier we also find it in e.g. one of the Epigrammata moralia by Wenceslaus Morkowsky: Aude aliquid, vires desunt: laudanda voluntas,/ Est aliquid prodire, labor tamen omnia vincit (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 6, pp. 1198 f. [Camena]).

vivax ... nomen] The combination occurs in e.g. one of Paulus Cherler’s poems (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 2, p. 275 [Camena]).

35. Many variants of this sentence are attested in Walther, 26299–26300, with references. One is Raro ditatur, qui per loca multa vagatur (26300). Another naked emblem from Neo-Latin literature very similar to that of Phrygius, with the heading Migrans subinde, rare ditescit, was written by Peter Lindeberg from Rostock: Qui Dominos mutat crebro, crebro oppida mutat;/ Is minuet partas, non cumulabit opes (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 3, p. 1215 [Camena]).


Attalicas ... opes] The combination occurs in Culex 63. Cf. the distich in no. 45 below: Dissipat Attalicas ... gazas. As regards Attalicas, see the comments on line 130 of the Ecloga prima.

36. The inscriptio is a variant of Quint. inst. 1.1.5 natura tenacissimi sumus eorum, quae rudibus animis percepimus, which treats the early education of future orators. In the immediate context, the importance for children of having nurses who speak correctly and have upstanding characters is stressed. Quintilian’s line is attested in Walther, 43743a1. For an emblem on the same theme, see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1388 f. A related one occurred also in no. 31 above.

Johan Skytte became the tutor of the young Gustav II Adolf, and from 1604 also of Duke Johan. He mentions this idea in a mirror of princes entitled Een kort Underwijsning Uthi Huad Konster och Dygder Een Fursteligh Person skall sig öfwe och bruke (1604), which was addressed to Gustav Adolf:

Wij Swenske hafwe uthi een gammal ordsedh: Unger nimmer, gammal håller. Huilkens ordesedz rette mening är thenne, at ingen ting blifwer j enne
In an old proverb we Swedes say: The young man receives, the old keeps. The right sense of this proverb is that nothing is so well rooted in a man’s heart, and is kept for so long, as that which you give him and teach him in his childhood’)

**animis infixa tenacius haerent**] Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.64 *consumptis enim lacrimis tamen infixus haeret animo dolor*, but especially *In Hippocratis Aphorismos* … by Johannes Posthius: *Carmina nempe animis infixa tenacius haerent* (1595, vol. 1, p. 196 [Camena]).

**pectus puerile**] The combination occurs in Sil. 1.80 and Val. Max. 9.3.4.

37. The motto, travestying the Christian saying *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat* (no. 2789 in Walther’s *Initia carminum ac versuum*, but a variant is also attested in Walther, 35509), is a quotation from chapter 12 of the work *De planctu naturae* by Alain de Lille. However, the words also occur in a satirical poem contemporary to Alain de Lille, viz. in Walter of Châtillon’s 10th *carmen*. In Neo-Latin literature Alanus’ saying is also explicitly referred to and quoted e.g. by Johann Flittner: *Alanus etiam de conquestione naturae sidus causidicorum evolvit …* (1620, p. 22 [Camena]). For emblems, poems and proverbs on the same theme, of which there are several, cf. e.g. Henkel & Schöne, col. 1284, Walther, 21128a, 39482 and 39485 (*pecunie obediunt omnia*), and Johann Michael Moscherosch’s poem *Nummus cunctipotens. O tempora!* (1665, pp. 224 f. [Camena]).

**caducus/ … mundus**] See the comments on line 345 of the *Threnologia*, where the earth (*orbis*) is called *refugus*.

**pro supero numine mundus habet**] The sense must be understood in the light of words from the Bible such as Matt 6:24 *non potestis Deo servire et mamonae* (also in Luke 16:13) and the first of the Ten Commandments. As regards the construction *habere pro*, cf. K.-St., II, 1, pp. 18 f.

**supero numine**] The combination in singular only occurs in *Octavia* 981.

38. As mentioned above, no. 38 is missing in the original print.

39. The motto is one of several variants of a maxim found as early as Publilius Syrus (*sent.* 28): *Aliena nobis, nostra plus aliis placent*. See Otto, p. 13, as well as Erasmus’ *Adagia*, p. 219, and Walther, 786, with references, and e.g. the distich with the heading *Diversa diversis* by Elizbeth Jane Weston:

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376 The text is quoted from the reprint of Johan Skytte’s *Een kort Undervijsning Uthi Huad Konster och Dygder Een Fursteligh Person skall sig öfwe och bruke …* (1604), in *Reformpedagogik i Gustav Adolfs anda* (1932), p. 38.
Nostra placent aliis; et nos aliena probamus./ Sic diversa hominum mens tenet omne genus (1608, fol. B1r [Camena]).

In Alciato, p. 92, a similar idea is labelled under avaritia, the last line of the subscriptio being quasi non habes, non frueris quod habes (also close to the saying from Publilius Syrus).

**crumenae** In ancient Latin both this spelling and crumina are attested. The word is especially frequent in Plautus. JPG has crumena as well.

**Semper ager segetis plus alienus habet** Cf. Ov. *ars* 1.349 Fertilior seges est alienis semper in agris. Ovid’s line, with slight changes, is referred to as a proverb in Erasmus’ *Adagia*, p. 218 f. It is also attested in Walther, 9378 and 36914.

40. It has not been possible to attest the heading of this emblem anywhere else, but the intended meaning can be easily grasped, not least through other proverbial sayings. One close in sense occurs in an emblem in Otto Vaenius’ *Quinti Horati Flacci Emblemata* (1607), with the motto: A poculis absint seria (reproduced in McKeown 2006, p. 150), which should be seen in connection to Hor. *sat.* 2.2.4 ff.

Discite, non inter lances mensasque nitentis,
cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus et cum
acclinis falsis animus meliora recusat,
verum hic impransi mecum disquirite. “cur hoc?”
dicam, si potero. Male verum examinat omnis
corruptus iudex.

See also Otto, p. 22, as regards the motif of friends being loyal only in good times, and p. 372, concerning the foolishness of drunken people.

**amicitiae ... nexus/ ... lauta ... mensa facit** Cf. Publil. *sent.* P 52 *Plures amicos mensa, quam bona mens capit.* The phrase amicitiae nexus occurs in Ps. Quint. *decl.* 5.7 and Claud. 5.321, while lauta mensa is also in Colum. 12.49.5 and Lucan. 4.376.

41. The biblical verses referred to as an inspiration for the device are Prov 13:24 Qui parcit virgae odit filium suum; Qui autem diligit illum instanter erudit, and Heb 12:6 Quem enim diligit Dominus, castigat (a variant reading being corripit): flagellat autem omnum filium, quem receptit, the latest line being close to Prov 3:12 Quem enim diligit Dominus corripit, et quasi pater in filio complacet sibi. See Walther, 23716a, 24441 with references, 3984003 and 39847h1c. Cf. also a saying in the *Bibliotheca exulum* by Janus Gruterus: *Qui diligit vere severe corripit* (1625, p. 760 [Camena]).

**efflictim** The word is mostly pre- and post-classical. In ancient Latin usually used about a man’s intense love for a woman (*TLL*).
42. The quotation from Sir 7:40, paraphrased in the distich, is in complete accordance with the text of the Vulgate. See Walther, 38202, for a later occurrence of a part of the verse, and Henkel & Schöne, e.g. cols. 1033, 1291 f. and 1349 f., as regards the advice always to remember that death awaits every man. This idea also appears in several other proverbs, e.g. the well-known *memento mori* saying is sometimes similarly interpreted as our verse (as in Cramer, I, pp. 212 f.). In Neo-Latin literature see e.g. a distich with the heading *Memorare novissima* by Friedrich Taubmann: *Quicquid es acturus, meditare novissima tecum:/ Et numquam quicquam post doliturus ages* (1619, p. 203 [Camena]).

The same thought is also expressed in Swedish in Phrygius’ obituary sermon on *Nils Anderson, Liliehöök, til Fåredaal och Nybyy* (1620), p. 25: *Stoora Herrar, som äga många rikedomar, Gwll och gröna Skogar, Som bekläda höga ämbeter, och haffwa hwadh thersa hierta begärer ... skole ock så uthi sin Sundheet, wälmacht och medgång tänkia på ändan, på thet the aldrigh göra orätt, och illa.* (*Great men, who own a lot of riches, gold and green forests, who hold high official positions, and have what their heart desires ... should also in their health, prosperity and good fortune reflect on the end, lest they do anything unjust and wrong.*) In the obituary sermon on *Malin Rosengreen* (1608) Phrygius praises the deceased for having always behaved in accordance with this principle (fol. D3v).

**Nocte dieque** The hexameter start can be found in e.g. *Ov. met.* 2.343, 12.46 and *Stat. silv.* 3.5.57.

**brevis ... vitae** On the commonplace of life’s brevity, see Otto, p. 375.

**novissima vitae/ Tempora** The hexameter ending *novissima vitae* occurs in *Ov. Ib.* 529, while *novissima tempora* can be found in the same position in the verse in *Ov. met.* 11.757 f. (*Priamusque novissima Troiae/ tempora sortitus*).

43. The motto seems to lack close parallels. The idea that human beings are subject to fortune is old and has been formulated in several well-known sayings (see Otto, p. 143). The same is true as regards the metaphor of both good fortune as favourable wind, and its opposite. However, the exact phrase *fortunae ventus* cannot be found in ancient literature (whereas *ad fortunam inclinavit* e.g. occurs in *Liv.* 23.33.4).

It may be conjectured that Phrygius was inspired by the passage in Lucretius (6.175 f.) where the rare word *spissesco* used here occurs (cf. comments below). Lucretius explains there how lightening is produced. One way is when the wind enters a cloud, whirls around in it and makes it thick (*spissescere*). Then the cloud becomes heated by its own quick movement, whereafter the burning wind cleaves the cloud and scatters seeds of fire. Just as the wind makes the cloud grow thick in Lucretius, the wind of Fortune makes the human mind swell from haughtiness in Phrygius’ text (that good fortune can make men proud is also seen in the passage in Silius Italicus
Further support could be that the Lucretian passage, like Phrygius’ distich, also contains a slight antithetical tension between ‘thicken’ and ‘melt, dissolve’. The thickened cloud, which was hot by its own movement, is compared to a leaden bullet that melts (*liquescit*) when whirled a long distance.

Moreover, Phrygius’ distich may be a kind of response to Hor. *carm.* 2.10 (the *Rectius vives*), in which the *aurea mediocritas* is strenuously argued for (see below). Cf. lines 13 ff. *sperat infestis, metuit secundis/ alteram sortem bene praeparatum/ pectus.*

**fortunae ventum** Cf. e.g. some words edited by Johannes Ravisius: *prospero fortunae Zephyro adiuti* (1521, p. 196 [Camena]).

**Rebus in adversis** Hexameter beginning in Sil. 4.194, and in *Disticha Catonis* II.25 *Rebus in adversis animum submittere noli.* As regards Neo-Latin poetry, see e.g. Johannes Albinus: *Rebus in adversis est magnum fidere Christo* (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 1, p. 346 [Camena]), and Alciato, p. 141, line 7. One can suspect that Horace’s very famous phrase *rebus in arduis* from *carm.* 2.3.1. has echoes here as well.

**corda, secundis/ Spissescunt** Cf. Sil. 2.28 *heu caecae mentes tumefactaque corda secundis.* The word *spissesco* only occurs twice in classical Latin, viz. in Lucr. 6.176 and Cels. 5.27.4.

**medium** As regards the proverbiality of the notion of *aurea mediocritas*, see Otto, p. 216, Bömer *met.*, I–III, pp. 276 f. and Nisbet & Hubbard 1978, pp. 160 f. Cf. *Disticha Catonis*, 2.6 *Quod nimium est fugito, parvo gaudere memento:/ tuta mage est puppis, modico quae flumine fertur.* The thought appears somewhat surprisingly. If Fortune determines the fate of men, the middle way could hardly be an optional solution for avoiding haughtiness or lack of self-esteem. In this context we must thus understand it as a descriptive utterance as much as an admonishing one.

44. Rom 2:12 is according to the Vulgate: *Quicumque enim sine lege pec- caverunt, sine lege peribunt: et quicumque in lege peccaverunt, per legem iudicabuntur.* This verse and its surrounding context contain one of several aspects of Jewish law in Paul’s teaching, viz. that God’s judgement of the sinners strikes both those living under the law and those living without it. The words about those without law are in the first place to be understood as a defense of the gentiles, who have not heard of the law. Rom 2:13 has: “For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified”.

Phrygius’ interpretation of the verse in the distich obviously conveys a different sense. The heavy punishment here appears to apply to the people neglecting God’s laws and commandments in general, as a warning against sin. The original sense of the ‘law’, as something belonging to the Jews, has thus been lost. Cf. the first words under the heading *De lege divina* in Melanthon’s *Loci praecipui theologici* (1952 [1559], p. 278):
Lex Dei est doctrina a Deo tradita, praecipien, quales nos esse et quae facere, quae omittere oportet, et requirens perfectam obedientiam erga Deum ac pronuncians irasci Deum et punire aeterna morte non praestantes perfectam obedientiam.

**crimina poenas** Hexameter ending e.g. in Ov. *met.* 9.372, Lucan. 8.781 and Val. Fl. 4.430.

**patrant** As indicated above, the print has here the impossible *pateant*. A correction to *patrant* gives the obviously intended sense, considering that *patrant nefas* then corresponds to the *peccant* of the quotation from Romans in the heading. Krebs & Schmalz says about *patrare* that the word was old-fashioned already in classical Latin, and thus used *wenn man der Sprache eine altlernliche Färbung geben will*. But such nuances were not seldom lost in Neo-Latin. JPG translates it *inter alia* as *begåå* (‘commit’). In addition *patrant* is found in a handwritten correction to the print stored at KB.

45. The motto is a quotation from Sall. *Iug.* 10.6 *concordia parvae res crescent, discordia maxumae dilabuntur*. See Otto, p. 89 and Walther, 3043a for other proverbial sayings on the theme. Cf. e.g. Erasmus’ *Adagia*, p. 810: *concordia fulciuntur opes etiam exiguae*, and the emblems from Reusner in Henkel & Schöne, cols. 975 f. A good example of the popularity of the thought in Neo-Latin literature can be found in the *Aerarium poeticum* by Melchior Weinrich, under the heading *Concordia* (1677, p. 975 [Camena]), where some of the suggested phrases are quite simply various circumlocutions of it.

The idea that matters in an equal way grow worse through discord, which is present in the second part of the quotation from Sallust, appears in the first line of Phrygius’ distich. For parallels contemporary to Phrygius, see Henkel & Schöne, col. 1579.

We are told in the distich as well that Phrygius wanted *res* to be read as ‘fortunes’. In the original context, it refers rather to the ‘affairs of the realm’.

**Dissipat Attalicas … gazas** Cf. distich no. 35 above *Dispulit Attalicas … opes*. As regards *Attalicas*, see the comments on line 130 of the *Ecloga prima*. The combination *Attalicas … gazas* occurs e.g. also in Jacobus Pontanus’ first book of elegies (1594, p. 267 [Camena]).


**stabili concors amore fides** Cf. Hieronymus Osius: *Mutua quas stabili iungat amore fides* (1574, fol. Y8r [Camena]). The combination *concors fides* occurs in *Octavia* 791.

46. As can be seen, the *inscriptio* here is not a proverb, but rather a label of the message in the following distich. That prayer and fasting are intimately connected to a pious life is an idea deeply rooted in Christianity, as inherited from Jewish tradition, see e.g. Tob 12:8, Luke 2:37 and Acts 14:22. In the
Middle Ages detailed theological theories on their effects were elaborated. Phrygius’ view of fasting as a remedy for wantonness of the body and of prayer for sadness of soul, can, of course, be found there already (see Lexikon des Mittelalters, s.v. Fasten and Gebet).

**Lascivium tollunt habitum jejunia**] Cf. e.g. the poem *Ad Nonnum. Ieiunia non obesse sed prodesse* by Simon Rettenpacher: *Lascivos motus frenent ieiunia* (1893, p. 227 [Camena]).

**mentis ... medicina preces**] Cf. e.g. Nikolaus Reusner’s emblem with the heading *Medicina animae verbum Dei* (Henkel & Schöne, cols. 557 f.).

47. The exact wording of the motto has not been possible to attest, but for sayings similar in sense see e.g. Walther, 34910b: *Ars absque instrumentis fructus haud magistro offert suo*, 34921c: *Ars minime habenda est, que vite nil commodat*, and 44131a: *Usus et ars congruunt valent, usque relitto ars fugit, et remanet, quod fuit ante nihil*. Cf. also Henkel & Schöne, cols. 420 f. and 554 f., for emblems on the importance of utility. The references to passages in the Synoptics all refer to chapters where the simile states that no “men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candle stick” (Matt 5:15) Matt 5:16 continues with “Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works”.

But, the distich is quite obviously also modeled on Claud. 8.221 ff., in a passage where the conditions for power in Rome and Parthia are compared, and the words of Theodosius are related: *maior et utilior fato coniuncta potenti,/ vile latens virtus. quid enim? submersa tenebris/ proderit obscuro veluti sine remige puppis/ vel lyra quae reticet vel qui non tenditur arcus*. That passage is also later alluded to e.g. in the poem *Non cellanda virtus* by Simon Rettenpacher, which treats the same theme as Phrygius’ distich. Its lines 5–8 are: *Otium vita, cupidus tueri/ Nomen et famam tenui labore./ Quis lyrae est usus reticentis aut qui haud/ Tenditur arcus?* (1893, p. 12 [Camena]).

Moreover, is it not tempting to suspect some influence from the ideas of Petrus Ramus in this *inscriptio* where they also get support from biblical references? As we know, Ramus stressed the practical use of knowledge in opposition to the traditional scholastic Aristotelian predominance, and his thoughts were widely approved and adopted in many northern German universities.


**Navis egens remige**] Cf. e.g. Eobanus Hessus: *Te duce nostra data est ventis sine remige navis* (1539, fol. 95v [Camena]).

48. The *inscriptio* is a very popular proverb initially formulated in Latin by Seneca in *apocol. 9.6*, though on Greek models (see Otto, p. 210). It is at-
tested in many instances in Walther, nos. 14437, 14438 and 38127, with references. Erasmus cites it in the *Adagia*, p. 263. It appeared in Neo-Latin emblems, see Henkel & Schöne, col. 967. In contemporary literature it can e.g. be found in an epigram by Caspar von Barth: *Iuvandum amicos: sic manus manum lavat, / Sed usque ad aras; cura sit prior Deum* (in *Amphi-theatrum Seriorum Jocorum*, 1613, p. 285 [Camena]), and under the heading *Auxilii* in Janus Gruterus’ *Bibliotheca exulum* (1625, p. 103 [Camena]).

**Mutua ... cura**] The combination is also found in e.g. *Tib*. 3.1.19, *Ov*. met. 7.800 and *Mart*. 10.13.9.

**praeduros ... labores**] The combination occurs in *Val. Fl*. 1.235. It is also suggested under the heading *Labor* in Melchior Weinrich’s *Aerarium poeticum* (1677, p. 929 [Camena]).

**manu ... utraque**] For the combination in poetry see e.g. *Verg*. *Aen*. 5.460, Prop. 3.15.24 and *Sil*. 13.584.

49. Once again the *inscriptio* is only a label of the message in the distich, which wants to warn against marrying for a large financial dowry. Cf. e.g. the *Disticha Catonis* 3.12 *Uxorem fuge ne ducas sub nomine dotis, / nec retinere velis, si coeperit esse molesta*. Perhaps the instance in Plautus’ *Aulularia*, which has echoes in the first line of the distich (despite a different understanding of *virtute*), influenced the emblem. There the woman Eunomia tries to persuade her brother Megadorus to marry, saying that she can even get him a wife with a very big dowry (line 158).

The chaste woman is much eulogized by Phrygius in the sermon for the wedding of Isaac Rothovius (1605), with a special reference to Sir 26:19, which runs *Gratia super gratiam mulier sancta et pudorata*. In the *Formula honestae matronae* (1615) similar sayings occur in several instances. In one passage he accounts for virtues suitable to women, and at the end of it he says: *Förberörde dygder besmyckia mächta wäl een ächta qwinna, men een tuchtigh och kysk blygsamhet, både med åthäffuor och gärningar aldramäst* (‘earlier mentioned virtues adorn a married woman very much, but a fine and chaste modesty, both in behaviour and deeds most of all’). Later in the same sermon, when discussing female beauty, Phrygius expresses a view similar to the one in the distich: *Then är nogh wacker so m wackert gör, och haffuer ett reengiordt hierta genom troona* (‘handsome is as handsome does and such a one has a purified heart through faith’).

As regards the theme of virtue as superior to all things, including both riches and beauty, cf. e.g. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 196 f., 494, 1346 and 1432, as well as e.g. Nikolaus Reusner: *O pereat, strepitus lucri quem sor-didus urget: / Ac virtute magis copia magna iuvat* (in *Operum ... pars prima*, 1593, p. 134 [Camena]).

**Nupturientium**] The verb *nupturio* (or *nubt-*) is only found in Apul. 70.9. in Ancient Latin, and in a variant reading of *Mart*. 3.93.18. The *verba desiderativa in –urio* belonged to early Latin and were never an especially productive
class of verbs. The sense ‘to want to marry’ is also attested in both BFS and JPG.

**Et formosa sat est** | Cf. Prop. 2.18.30 *mi formosa satis, si modo saepe venis* (where a variant reading is *mi formosa sat es*).

**modo casta manet** | For the expression *modo casta*, with a verb in the subjunctive, see e.g. Tib. 1.6.67, *Ov. fast.* 4.412, and a similar one in 5.242. Cf. K.-St., II, pp. 446 ff., as regards the expected use of subjunctive in clauses with *modo* (in the second line of the distich in emblem no. 53 Phrygius has the subjunctive in such a clause). The *casta manet* occurs in e.g. Tib. 1.3.83 and *Priap.* 68.29.

**50.** What we meet here is a warning against hubris. While the *inscriptio* is close to 1 Tim 6:17 *Divitis huius saeculi praeceipe non sublume sapere*, the distich was probably strongly influenced by *Verg. Aen.* 10.501 f. *nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae/ et servare modum rebus sublata secundis*. Besides the message in both of Vergil’s lines corresponding to Phrygius’, there are obvious verbal similarities.

For other parallels, cf. e.g. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 775, an emblem with a picture containing the Icarus motif and the heading *Nimium sapere*, and 812 f., as well as Alciato, pp. 65 and 113. In Picinelli 1695, vol. 1, p. 212, there is a motto *Sublime non sapit*, on the theme of humility. See also Otto, p. 145, for proverbs treating the theme that too great a fortune makes people stupid, as well as the comments on emblem no. 76 below.

**sortis memor esse futurae** | Cf. e.g. Tobias Scultetus: *Debebas potius sortis memor esse futurae* (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 6, p. 59 [Camena]). The phrase *sortis memor* also occurs in *Ov. met.* 4.642 f., *trist.* 3.11.67 and *Val. Fl.* 5.528.

**51.** The quoted biblical verse, which in the Vulgate is Ps 54:23, goes: *Iacta super Dominum curam tuam, et ipse te enutriet; Non dabit in aeternum fluctuationem iusto*. As to Neo-Latin literature cf. e.g. Michael Abel with the same part of that verse as a heading (1590, fol. K6v [Camena]).

**non eventu sit caritura** | Cf. e.g. Johannes Major: *Eventu haec pietas non caritura suo est* (1584, fol. P3v [Camena]).

**52.** Is not the message here contradictory to the one in no. 11 above, where it is stated that almighty God decides everything? But the problem of man’s free will versus God’s omnipotence is inherent in Christianity itself.

The emblem contains several proverbial sayings on the same theme. The reference to Livy must be to 39.40.4 *fortunam sibi ipse facturus fussese videretur* (about Marcus Porcius Cato). Cf. Otto, pp. 143 f., as well as later occurrences as Walther, 9898a: *Fortunam sibi quisque parat*, and Erasmus’ *Adagia*, p. 468: *Sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam*. The second part of the *inscriptio* is e.g. attested in Walther, 35578, in Erasmus’ *Adagia*, p. 52, and
in Paolo Manuzio’s paraphrased Adagia (1603, p. 65 [Camena]). See also Otto, pp. 175 f. for variants of the motif.

**quisquis propriae sortis faber** This very common proverb occurs for the first time in Ps. Sall. rep. 1.1.2, where the author quotes Appius Claudius Caecus: *Sed res docuit id verum esse, quod in carminibus Appius ait, fabrum esse suae quemque fortunae*. See also Otto, pp. 143 f., Walther, 8623, 8627a, and Henkel & Schöne, col. 1806. The *quisquis* instead of *quisque* in Phrygians’ line must have metrical reasons.

53. The motto, which the distich paraphrases, evidently has its origin in a Lutheran context (cf. what was said in the comments on no. 2 above). Man is justified and granted God’s grace through faith. Cf. the definition of faith in Melanchthon’s Loci Praecipui Theologici (1953 [1559], p. 363):

> Fides est assentiri universo verbo Dei nobis proposito adeoque et promissioni gratuitae reconciliationis donatae propter Christum Mediatorem estque fiducia misericordiae Dei promissae propter Christum Mediatorem.

**Divini favoris conciliatrix** A similar phrase occurs in e.g. Ambrose, book 6 of Hexaemeron (chapter 9): *Manus est quae praecaris enitet factis, quae conciliatrix divinae gratiae sacris infertur altaribus.*

**Ex aequo** See comments on line 71 of the Threnologia.

54. The heading refers to Cyprian’s work De mortalitate. In the distich we can see that it more exactly to refers to its 22nd chapter, which begins: *Quod interim morimur, ad immortalitatem morte transgredimur nec potest vita aeterna succedere, nisi hinc contigerit exire. Non est exitus iste sed transitus et temporali itinere decurso ad aeterna transgressus. Quis non ad meliorea festinet? Quis non mutari et reformari ad Christi speciem et ad caelestis gratiae dignitatem citius exoptet?*

There are many parallels on the theme that death is a transition to a better life. The most famous one is probably Socrates’ words as related by Plato in the Apology (40 ff.). The same message is given by Cicero in the first book of the Tusculanae disputationes (see e.g. 118), where also Socrates’ ideas are referred to. As we saw above (the comments on lines 103 f. of the Ecloga prima and line 2 of the Eteostichon), the theme is frequently used in funeral poetry as well. Cf. also several emblems in Henkel & Schöne, cols. 997 ff., and especially the one in col. 998 having the heading Transitus celer est et avolamus, as well as a distich by Peter Lindeberg: *Transitus e vivis vitae caelestis origo est:/ Qui Christo didicit vivere, vivit homo* (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 3, p. 1206 [Camena]). In Iacobus Typotius’ Iohannis III ... Laudatio Funebris (1594) Cyprian’s words find echo as well: *Nam mors omnes vitae hujus miseriae ac caducae miserias finit. Si tamen mors est ad feliciorem vitam transitus* (fol. H2v).
55. The motto is an abbreviated quotation of Juvenal 14.139 *crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crevit*. The line became a very common proverb, and the second line of the distich is quite simply a paraphrase. It is e.g. attested in Walther, 3731 (with several references). Nikolaus Reusner used it as an *inscriptio* in an emblem (Henkel & Schöne, col. 1605). The phrase *crescit amor nummi* also occurs under the heading of *Avaritiae deditum esse* in Melchior Weinrich’s *Aerarium poeticum*.

For a distich on the same theme from the *Disticha Catonis*, see IV.1 *Despice divitias si vis animo esse beatus/ quas qui suspiciunt, mendicant semper avari.*

**Congestis nunquam rebus satiatur avarus**] The line is close to a proverbial saying from Publilius Syrus *sent. A.55 Avarus animus nullo satiatur lucro*, which was quoted by Seneca in *epist.* 94.43. It is attested in Walther, 1882 and 35091k. Picinelli 1695, vol. 1, p. 206, refers to the idea. Cf. Otto, p. 51, for other proverbs on the same theme, and Henkel & Schöne, col. 1714, where an emblem similar in sense, echoing Juvenal as well, from Nikolaus Reusner is reproduced.

56. The message of the emblem, that ‘measures must be taken in due time’, is explicitly expressed in the second line of the distich. It can be found already in ancient texts, but the formulation of the *inscriptio* could be a new invention. It is tempting to suspect that the detailed and somewhat unexpected scene described there could even refer to some of Phrygius’ own experiences.

**puteus clauditur**] The phrase occurs in Gen 29:10.

**immissis ... capellis**] We should probably understand an unwritten *pratis* or *campis* here. Cf. Colum. 2.17.6 *pecora ... pratis inmittere* and Paul. Fest. p.108, where the word *inpesere* is explained as *in laetam segetem pascendi gratia inmittere* (see also TLL, s.v. *immitto*, I, A, 1, a, β).

**Quae post acta venit cautio, sera venit**] Cf. e.g. the words by Jacob Masen: *Piscis unco interceptus frustra obluctatur. lemma. Sera est post vulnera cau- tio* (1681, p. 608 [Camena]), as well as Ov. *trist.* 1.3.35 *sero clipeum post vulnera sumo* (in Walther, 28104, as well), Walther, 2559: *Cautus sero fuit, post vulnera qui sibi cavit*, and Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1492 f.

57. The *inscriptio* must allude to the proverbial saying in Verg. *georg.* 2.412 f. *laudato ingentia rura,/ exiguum colito*, which Mynors, very closely following Otto, p. 303, considers to be explained by a quotation from Pallad. 1.6.8 *fecundior est culta exiguitas quam magnitudo neglecta*. Servius claims that the thought in Vergil comes from Cato’s *ad filium de Agricultura* (Mynors 1990, p. 154). Even in Phrygius’ distich the sense is that men rather should be content with modest circumstances and avoid *avaritia*. Vergil’s words are attested as a proverb in Walther, 13538a. For instances in which they are cited among Phrygius’ contemporaries, see e.g. the first two lines in
Gregor Bersmann: *Exiguum colito, laudato ingentia rura, Docens colonos ait poetarum Plato* (1581, p. 37 [Camena]), and Paolo Manuzio’s *Adagia* under the heading *Oportet agrum imbecilliorem esse* (1603, p. 1109 [Camena]).

**vilis … cupidine lucri/ … rustica turba** | Cf. Petrarch’s 7th poem in the *Canzoniere* (1949), lines 9 ff. *Qual vaghezza di lauro, qual di mirto?/ Povera et nuda vai philosophia,/ dice la turba al vil guadagno intesa.* The combination *vile lucrum* can be found in Stat. *silv.* 5.3.247, while *cupidine lucri* occurs in Ov. *ars* 3.373 and Claud. 3.100. Both of these Latin phrases are also included in Melchior Weinrich’s *Aerarium poeticum* under the heading *Avaritia* (1677, pp. 948 f. [Camena]). The *rustica turba* occurs in Ov. *met.* 6.348, Sen. *Phaedr.* 79 f. and Mart. 4.66.10.

58. The ‘etc’ that follows after the motto must mean either that Phrygius quotes a saying which he considers to be familiar to him and most others, as in the previous cases, or that he expects that any reader should be able to supply the following words based on the sense of the first part of the saying. Unfortunately it has not been possible to verify its source. However, the idea that sloth brings ruin is old. The most famous passage in ancient Latin literature expressing it, which has also become proverbial (Walther, 20518a–b), is perhaps Catull. 51.15 f. *otium et reges prius et beatas/ perdidit urbes.* Because of its destructive consequences, sloth was also regarded as one of the Seven Deadly Sins in Christianity. An immense number of proverbs on the theme can be found. See e.g. Walther, 20490, 21493b and 39358, with references, as well as Henkel & Schöne, cols. 985 f. and 1695.

**Sordida pigritiem … comitatur egestas** | Cf. Walther, 36202: *Desidiam et otium sequitur egestas,* and 37317b1: *Ignaviam et otium sequitur egestas.* The ending *comitatur egestas* occurs in Claudian’s famous passage containing personifications in 3.25 ff., viz. in lines 35 f. *Luxus populator opum, quem semper adhaerens/ infelix humili gressu comitatur Egestas,* and in Neo-Latin poetry e.g. in a witty distich by Johann Lauterbach: *Si tibi deficit aes, miser es, praepinguia non es:/ post res egestas, multos comitatur egestas* (1601, p. 154 [Camena]). The combination *sordida egestas* occurs in *Aetna* 371.

**Mancipium Satanae desidiosus homo** | Cf. Walther, 39547a1: *Pigritia est pulvinar satanae* (variants in Walther, 20503, 20518d, 39359, etc). The phrase *mancipium Satanae* is a verse start in e.g. Adam Siber’s poem *Pater orans pro liberis* (1565–1566, vol. 2, p. 376 [Camena]), while *desidiosus homo* occurs in Plin. *epist.* 1.8.2 and Mart. 1.107.2. In Prud. *ham.* 126 ff. there is also a thought about Satan with a similar wording: *novimus esse patrem scelerum, sed novimus ipsum/ haudquaquam tamen esse Deum, quin immo gehennae/mancipium.*
The question in the inscriptio alludes to the famous Vergilian saying in georg. 1.145 f. labor omnia vicit/ improbus; cf. the comments on emblem no. 34 above. The positive sense of ‘industrious’ of improbus is also attested in JPG, which has flitig, idog, with a reference to this passage in Vergil (cf. the discussion of the word in Mynors 1990, p. 30). But Phrygius’ question more precisely concerns the worth of labor scholasticus, i.e. hard work in school (see JPG and BFS, s.v. scholasticus), cf. Alciato, p. 144, where the inscriptio is Ex literarum studijs immortalitatem acquiri.

As for the distich, there is a striking (and perhaps somewhat more honest) parallel in Petrus Erici Scarensis, contained in the print Carmina Gratulatoria in Honorem ... Christiani Bartholdi (1584), which celebrates the conferral, in Rostock, of the master’s degree in philosophy on the dedicatee (fol. A4v):

Accipe quae texunt doctae tibi serta camenae,
Quae capiti imponit Phaebus et ipse tuo.
Huc contende libens, hic se tibi vera voluptas
Offeret et studiis digna corona tuis.
Non onus est sed honos, aliquid perferre molesti,
Nomine perpetuo clarus ut esse queas.

Est onus, est et honos] This must be an allusion to the etymological theory proposed by Varro in ling. 5.73 Honos ab onere: itaque honestum dicitur quod oneratum, which is followed by the proverbial quotation: et dictum: Onus et honos qui sustinet rem publicam (cf. Otto, p. 167, Walther, 7753, 11126 and 39295a, with references).

dulces ... Camaenas] The combination can be found in Hor. epist. 1.19.5 and Catalepton 5.12. The Camaeae were, in spite of their Roman origin, identified with the Muses as early as Livius Andronicus and Naevius (Roscher, s.v. Camaeae). Attempts to explain their name etymologically can be found in Paul. Fest. p.43: Camenas Musae a carminibus sunt dictae, as well as in Serv. Aen. 3.59 and Macr. somn. 2.3.4.

e duris gloria] The thought that true glory originates in toil and hardship was popular among Phrygius’ contemporaries. The prototype is Hercules. Cf. e.g. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 623, 655 f. and 1650 f., as well as Walther, 37126: Gloria sine labore nulla, 37778a: Labore firma comparatur gloria and 37779: Labore nascuntur honores, with references. Likewise, the poem Dialogismus ... (1604) by Laurentius Paulinus Gothus is followed by the phrase Labore paratur gloria. From a more scholarly point of view this is also cited in Johannes Matthiae Gothus’ (the elder) Ἐπίγραμμα ad Studentem Iuventutem (1597): Phoebus sed duro vendit sua serta labore/ Illis, qui Musas cum pietate colunt.

gloria, major erit] Hemiepes in Ov. epist. 12.76 and fast. 1.714.
As can be seen below there are traces in this emblem from several different proverbs concerning conscience. In the inscriptio Phrygius combines an idea from Quintillian with the Christian view, thus adding the assumption that conscience must originate in the laws of God. For similar emblems see e.g. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 579 f., 486 and 1181, as well as one by Nikolaus Reusner with the heading Conscientia mille testes and the distich Pisa canis fugitat crepitantia territus utre:/ Conscia mens folij territa voce pavet (in Aureola emblematum, 1587, no. 116 [Camena]).

Deum comitem] The combination can be found in e.g. Cic. nat. deor. 2.166, Ov. fast. 3.615 and Stat. silv. 4.6.81. Cf. also the Bibliotheca exulum by Janus Gruterus: Cui comes Deus beato perficit viam exitu (1625, p. 166 [Camena]).

recte factorum testem] Cf. Liv. 29.17.4 nobis recte perperamque factorum est testis.


omniregens] Probably a Neo-Latin neologism, formed on the pattern of words such as omnipotens, omnipollens, etc. It is e.g. also mentioned under the heading Deus omnipotens in Melchior Weinrich’s Aerarium poeticum (1677, p. 35 [Camena]).


mens recti conscia] The phrase is also in Verg. Aen. 1.604 and Ov. fast. 4.311. For occurrences of it in proverbial sayings see also Otto, p. 90., Walther, 3115, with references, and Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1474 f.

The Vulgate version of Ps 76:12, which the inscriptio summarizes, is in its entirety: Vovete et reddite Domino Deo vestro, omnes qui in circuitu etus affertis munera terribili.

The main influence for the construction of the distich has quite obviously been some lines in Nikolaus Reusner’s elegy no. 8 in Elegiarum liber secundus, written for the coronation of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II. When it is time for the new king to take the oath, we read: Teste Deo si quid iures, servare memento:/ Iuratum scelus est fallere grande Deum (in Operum ... pars prima, 1593, p. 98 [Camena]). As can be noted, the final line agrees entirely with Phrygius’ second line, and in the first lines there are only a few alterations, the sense remaining the same. Furthermore the context in Reusner’s poem, that of a king swearing the oath at his coronation, must add something to our understanding of the context in which Phrygius wanted his emblem to be seen. As mentioned in section 1.3.2 above, the sanctity of oaths had been a much discussed question in the conflict between Sigismund and Duke Charles. The supposition that Phrygius’ emblem was addressed to Duke John makes it even easier to understand why this theme appears.
The comparison of righteous people’s suffering with the purification of metal in a furnace can in the first place be traced back to Wis 3:1–6, but the thought also occurs in Prov 17:3. As can be seen below, Phrygius’ distich is influenced by both passages, and their message is summarized in the inscriptio. For emblematic representations, see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 90 f. and 92. Proverbs on the theme are attested in Walther, e.g. 31031, with references. As regards Neo-Latin poetry, cf. e.g. the poem Impositam unicumque affectionem ... by Georg Fabricius: Prudens ut auri vim probat artifex,/ Fornace quando versat, et ignibus:/ Sic quos paterno pectore diligit,/ Pur- gat, malorumque igne probat Deus (1567, p. 89 [Camena]).


fornace Deus pectora iusta coquit] Cf. Wis 3:6 Tanquam aurum in fornace [Deus] probavit illos [iustos]. As regards coquit, see the comments on line 92 of Threnologia dramatica.

In contrast to emblem no. 31 above, the advice on education is directed here to the child and stresses the importance of being obedient and ready to learn. The theme is, of course, very common. Several passages in the Bible are close to what Phrygius says here, but perhaps especially Prov 4:1 ff. and Col 3:20. Cf. also Disticha Catonis II, 31a: Instrue praeceptis animum, ne discere cessa,/ nam sine doctrina vita est quasi mortis imago. Paena ... inobedienciae] The phrase is also in e.g. one of Hieronymus Ziegler’s dramas (in Dramata Sacra, ed. Oporinus, 1547, vol. 1, p. 29 [Ca- mena]).

monitusque paternos] The combination occurs in e.g. one of Nikodemus Frischlin’s poems (1598, p. 90 [Camena]).

The admonition has first of all to do with equanimity and patience. For ancient parallels on the importance of accepting one’s destined lot, see e.g. Otto, p. 134, and Nisbet & Hubbard 1970, pp. 288 f. In the Christian context whatever happens is sent or allowed by God who knows and punishes even hidden sins (cf. Henkel & Schöne, col. 1625), and so it must be accepted and endured. Cf. e.g. Henkel & Schöne, col. 529 f. and 867, as well as Walther, e.g. 36902b. An illustrative example from Neo-Latin literature, where this theme occurs very frequently, not least in funeral poetry, is a passage in the poem Hagaris Ancillae Fuga et reditus: Ismaelis ortus by Georg Fabricius: Ergo Deus qui sancta probas, concordia seruas,/ Da nos tranquilla posse quiete frui:/ Atque onus impositi patienter ferre laboris;/ Discors ira, nocens et nimis acre malum est/ Si quid et in vita peccatur, plurima quando/ Est levitas, nutu corrige facta tuo (1567, vol. 2, p. 29 [Camena]).

tacitae ... culpae] The combination occurs in Iuv. 1.167.
The emblem must be interpreted in the light of the very common funerary topos ‘we must all die’ (see the comments on lines 275 ff. of the Threnologia above). Quite obviously the use of the widely spread Vergilian phrase stat sua cuique dies in the first line of the distich indicates the intended message for us.

However, we must acknowledge the ambiguities caused by Phrygius’ use of the verb discupio. The interpretation is also entirely dependent on how discupiens in the motto is understood. If we read it in its original sense ‘eagerly desire’ (see below), it is a matter of the perversity of a strong death wish. In the first place then, it is a condemnation of suicide (cf. e.g. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1685 and 1850 f.). But if the attested variant of understanding the prefix dis- in the verb as a negation (TLL, s.v. discupio, 2, and Niermeyer, s.v. discupio) is preferred, it concerns rather the vanity of trying to avoid death, given that we all must die. The distich can support either variant. In the first case ultra hanc ultero currere would mean: ‘to commit suicide’, and in the second rather: ‘to escape death of one’s own accord’. However, the last words of the second line support the second reading. Anyone wanting to avoid death does so in vain, but one who wishes to commit suicide can really do it.

discupiens] The word is only attested three times in Ancient Latin, viz. in Plautus, Catullus and Cicero, in the sense of ‘eagerly desire’. The sense ‘disregard’ occurs in the Vetus Latina (TLL). Worth noting is the fact that both JPG and BFS merely accounts for the first sense. But in the Middle Ages, as is attested in Niermeyer, the second occurred as well.


Vitae … meta] The phrase can be found in e.g. Ov. trist. 1.9.1, Mart. 10.50.8 and Apul. met. 4.20.4. Cf. Walther, 44403.

66. The inscriptio is a concise allusion to the famous words in Mark 12:30 f. diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua, et ex tota virtute tua. Hoc est primum mandatum. Secundum autem simile est illi: Diliges proximum tuum tanquam teipsum. Maius horum aliud mandatum non est. As can be seen, the phrase Dei gloria refers to the first part and proximi utilitas to the second. Cf. Johann Michael Moscherosch, at the end of an edition of his poems: da ut in omnibus desideris, in omni conceptu meo nihil tentem nisi quod a te et per te et ad tuam gloriam, et ad proximi utilitatem, salutemque meam vergat (1665, p. 229 [Camena]).

In the distich Phrygius, probably with Jesus’ words against oath-swearing in mind (see below), admonishes the reader not to invoke God as a witness when it is not absolutely necessary. The entire emblem must thus in the first place be regarded as a warning against swearing oaths recklessly, in cases where neither God’s glory nor the benefit of the neighbour can justify their
Phrygius explains his stance in this question in the sermon for the wedding of Isaac B. Rothovius (1605): *At uthi sådana wichtige saker som angåa Gudz ähra och ord, öffuerhetennes wälferdh och undergång, vår nästes och wärt eit liff, ähra och godz, är hwarken förbudit, at taga eedh, eller och göra eedh, och swäría uthan skrynterij rätt och heligt* (‘That in such important matters as concern God’s glory and word, the well-being and fall of the authorities, our neighbour’s and our own life, glory and property, it is forbidden neither to receive oaths nor to swear oaths nor to swear rightly and piously without hypocrisy’).

**testem/ ... adhibere DEUM** Cf. Cic. off. 3.44 *Cum vero iurato sententia dicenda erit, meminerit deum se adhibere testem.*

**Peccatum** One must assume that Phrygius refers to Jesus’ words in Matt 5:33 f. *Iterum audistis quia dictum est antiquis: Non perierabis: reddes au- tem Domino iuramenta tua. Ego autem dico vobis, non iurare omnino, neque per caelum, quia thronus Dei est: neque per terram, quia scabellum est pe- dum eius: neque per Ierosolymam, quia civitas est magni regis.*

67. The *inscriptio* is an abbreviation of the proverbial line in Sir 3:27 *Qui amat periculum, in illo peribit*, which in King James 3:26 is: “he that loveth danger shall perish therein”. Variants of it are attested in Walther, 23825a and 398402.

The distich depicts life as a voyage at sea, and that motif, a variant of which we encountered in line 50 of the *Threnologia*, is one of the most popular in Neo-Latin literature. See Helander 2004, pp. 501 ff. (with references to other relevant reading on the subject) for an extensive treatment of it. See also Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1453 ff. for the theme in emblems. An illustrative example in German Latin poetry previous to Phrygius is a passage in the poem on life *De una beata* by Johannes Fabricius Montanus: *Quaerimus extremo lapides Oriente iacentes;/ Per mare sollicitis advehi- musque viis./ Ah quemquam rapidis vitam committere ventis,/ Et maris au- daci pectore ferre minas!* (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 3, p. 108 [Camena]), but cf. also *Disticha Catonis* IV.33 *Quod potes id tempta: nam litus carpere remis/ tutius est multo quam velum tendere in altum.*

As can be seen below the distich bears witness to a strong Ovidian influence, as regards poetical colouring and verse-building.

**rapidis ... carbas ventis** Cf. Ov. trist. 1.2.91, where one reading is: *ferte – quid hic facio – rapidi mea carbas venti*. The combination *rapidis ventis* also occurs in e.g. Verg. Aen. 6.75, Ov. met. 1.36 and Sen. Med. 940. For the hexameter ending *carbas ventis* see e.g. Ov. epist. 7.171, Stat. Ach. 1.446 and Val. Fl. 4.422.

**mediis emoriuntur aquis** The phrase *inmoriuntur aquis* occurs in Ov. met. 7.571 and Pont. 3.7.40, while *mediis aquis* can be found in e.g. Ov. am. 2.11.50, Lucan. 6.675 and Val. Fl. 2.532.
The proverbial expression *omnium horarum homo* in the *inscriptio* ultimately comes from Quint. *inst.* 6.3.110 *de Pollione Asinto seriis iocisque pariter accomodato dictum est esse eum omnium horarum*. See Otto, p. 167, which explains it as *ein Mann, mit dem man traurige und hetere Stunden gleich gern verlebt* ... Erasmus cites it in the *Adagia*, p. 126. In literature it occurs in e.g. Jacobus Pontanus’ drama *Stratocles* (1594, p. 582 [Camena]). For emblems on the importance of adaptability, see e.g. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 723 and 886. *ille sapit ... / ... ille sapit* An *epanalepsis*, see section 1.6.5 above. The phrase *ille sapit* occurs, used in the same emphasized ways as here, i.e. in verse beginnings or endings, in Mart. 5.58.8, 9.10.2, 13.32.2, 14.210.2 and Iuv. 5.170.

James 3:5 is in the Vulgate: *Ita et lingua modicum quidem membrum est, et magna exaltat. Ecce quantus ignis quam magnam silvam incendit*, and in King James: “Even so the tongue is a little member, and boasteth great things. Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth”. Surely Phrygius has also been influenced by the many similars proverbial sayings in ancient Latin literature, such as Curt. 6.3.11 *parva saepe scintilla contempta magnum excitavit incendium* (see further Otto, pp. 311 f.). Walther, 41789, attests the variant *scintilla magnas parva flammas excitat*, which is also found under the heading *Parvae rei* in Janus Gruterus’ *Bibliotheca exulum* (1625, p. 616 [Camena]).

*intuitu primo* The combination is also found in e.g. the poem *Ad Ludovicum IV* by Nikolaus Reusner (in *Operum pars prima*, 1593, p. 266 [Camena]).

The emblem takes the Hanseatic League (see below) as the negative example of how partners cannot compete by peaceful methods. Phrygius’ long stay in different northern German cities can have given him a real opinion in the matter, but surely that opinion was not only Phrygius’ own. In the *Operis Politici ... editio nova* (1626, p. 137 [Camena]) by Christoph Besold one reads: *Et malum omen est, quod Hanseaticae Civitates, lites inter se fovere dicuntur, nec eae statim a socijs componuntur. Rerum item bella cum Civitatibus gesta; cunctando felicia fiunt.*

**ansatica** The adjective refers to the Hansa, or Hanseatic League, the trading organization founded by German towns that dominated the market in the northern Europe from the 13th to the 15th century. It lost its influence gradually over time, its office in London for instance closing in 1598. The last diet of the Hansa met in 1669. Cf. Graesse 1971, s.v. *Hanseatiae ... Phrygius’ spelling can also be found e.g. in a work by Jakob Bornitz: *Testantur hoc civitates maritimae, die Seestätte, et Ansaticae, die Hanse Stätte* (1625, p. 236 [Camena]).
Hoc rudibus vitij sciolis est, inter amicos] Cf. Hor. sat. 1.3.1 f. Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus, inter amicos/ ut numquam inducant animum cante re rogati.

sciolis] The word, a diminutive of scius, in ancient Latin occurs in this sense in the 4th century author Arnobius and some other authors. It was later explained by Isidore of Sevilla (Forcellini, Krebs & Schmalz). Both JPG and BFS account for it as well.

Phrygius actually comments on the word in Epistula nuncupatoria of V itae Coelestis Umbratilis Idea (1615), where he renders it as avundsman (envier, grudger), adding the Latin explanation: quibus nemo satisfacere queat, si vel rosas loqueretur.


71. The inscriptio simply serves as a summary of what is discussed in the first line of the distich, viz. five of the sins traditionally labelled as Deadly, rendered in words suitable for the elegiac distich. Ira thus corresponds to ‘anger’, Venus to ‘lust’ (luxuria), gazae to ‘covetousness’ (avaritia), fastus to ‘pride’ (superbia), and cunctatio to ‘sloth’ (acedia). Anger’s first position in the account is perhaps a mere coincidence, but cf. the proverbial Ira est ianua omnium vitiorum (Walther, 37682g). Likewise, Seneca in De ira said about it that nulla pestis humano generi pluris stetit (dial. 3.2.1).

generis humani pestes] It is not unusual that sins are referred to as plagues in then contemporary literature. Cf. e.g. Adam Siber: Accedunt animi, faci unt quae crimina, pestes,/ Ut premat offensi nos gravis ira DEI (1565–1566, vol. 1, p. 431 [Camena]), as well as a funeral oration by a Henricus Valesius, edited by Henning Witte: Duas res potissimum in vita tranquillitati obstare nemo est qui nesciat, ambitionem et avaritiam: geminas quasdam pestes ac furias generis humani (1677–1679, vol. 2, p. 120 [Camena]). As regards the combination generis humani, see the comments on line 7 of the first tumulus above.

flebilibus … modis] The combination can be found in e.g. Cic. Tusc. 1.106, Hor. carm. 2.9.9 and Sen. Herc. O.1091.


72. The inscriptio consists of the widespread proverbial saying from Hor. epist. 1.2.14 Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi in abbreviated form. See Otto, p. 300, and Walther, 25272. The sense of it is well explained in e.g. the poem Ludus Palamedis … by Jacob Balde: Quidquid magnanimo crinme fortiter/ Delirant proceres: plectitur ultimus/ In pago Corydon. noxa palatii,/ Exurit sterileis casas (1660, p. 140 [Camena]). Related to it is also the concept of a king or prince as an ethical model for his subjects, which was commonly stressed in contemporary mirrors of princes, with the aid of sayings such as Cic. fam. 1.9.12 quales in republica principes essent, tales
reliquos solere esse cives, and Claud. 8.299 ff. componitur orbis/ regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere sensus/ humanos edicta valent quam vita regentis. In Ährapredikning (1620), p. 37, Phrygius himself says concerning princes that: lijka som theras dråpliga gärningar äre berömlige och liufflige, upwäckiandes andre Menniskior til dygd och ähra: alltså kringlöpa theras brijster och laster, såsom en skadeligel smittosot, förandes monga medh sig utli fördärffwet (‘just as their great deeds are praiseworthy and lovely, provoking other men to virtue and glory, so their shortcomings and vices spread themselves, like an injurious infection, carrying many with it into destruction’). A more concrete rendering of this idea occurs in Alciato, p. 159, where the inscriptio goes Opulentia tyranni paupertas subiectorum.

pietas] As we saw above pietas was regarded as the princely virtue, being especially important for sovereigns and rulers.
tegmine] While classical Latin did not use this word abstractly, it is attested in the sense of ‘pretence’ or ‘pretext’ in late Latin (Souter).
Cogitur exitio pendere turba suo] Cf. the lines in the poem Dinae Iacobi Filiae Levitas ... by Georg Fabricius: Quod furiosus enim dux peccat, conscia fraudis/ Exitio pendit subdita turba suo (1567, vol. 2, p. 50 [Camena]).

73. The inscriptio is either an abbreviation of a proverbial saying familiar to Phrygius, which has not been possible to attest, or an abbreviation of a thought meant to be completed by the reader himself. Quite clearly the sense of it, as it is also expounded in the distich, is on the theme Semel malus, semper malus (Walther, 27869e). Cf. also Walther, 36893: Femina siquidem fuit ab initio peccati aucupatrix eritque semper inexhaustus malorum fomes.

As can be seen, the distich strongly emphasizes the contrast between Vel semel – Rarius, both having the first position in the lines.

Uxor ... in adulterio depraehensa] The phrase, frequent in juridical terminology, occurs in e.g. Gell. 10.23.4, Dig. 48.5 and 48.8, while in adulterio depraehensa also occurs in e.g. Cic. de orat. 2.275, Quint. inst. 6.3.87 and John 8:3.
ingenui ... arva pudoris] The combination ingenuus pudor can be found in e.g. Catull. 61.79, Iuv. 11.154 and Quint. decl. 298.10. As regards the phrase arva pudoris, which may seem to be a bold metaphor, cf. e.g. Ambr. virg. 3.7.34 campum castitatis tenebant.
dextrum ... carpit iter] The right way (dextrum iter) is not only to live a morally correct life, but a life aiming at God and eternal pleasures. Cf. Verg. Aen. 6.540 ff. hic locus est, partis ubi se via findit in ambas:/ dextera quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit,/ hac iter Elysium nobis, and e.g. the Officia Scholasticis praescripta by Martin Baticus: Mox virtutis iter sequare dextrum (ca. 1560, fol. F7v [Camena]). As regards dexter in the sense of ‘propitious’, as implied here, see TLL, s.v. dexter, II, B. The pentameter ending carpit iter occurs in e.g. Ov. fast. 3.604, 5.88 and trist. 1.10.4.
74. As regards the inscriptio, cf. the phrase rebus in adversis in emblem no. 43 above. Phrygius’ distich on how man must rely on God in hard times also clearly contrasts with Hor. carm. 2.3 (mentioned there), in which a calm and equable frame of mind is advocated as the proper attitude. The theme of the importance of always relying on God is, of course, extremely common in Christian writers generally. Illustrative examples are Henkel & Schöne, cols. 421 f., and Johannes Albinus: Rebus in adversis est magnum fidere Christo,/ Proximus hic, absens quando putatur, adest (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 1, p. 346 [Camena]).


Pendeat a solo mens onerosa Deo] Behind the idea expressed are perhaps Jesus’ words in Matt 11:28 Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis, et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos. As regards noticeable verbal similarities, cf. Georg Fabricius: Desinat in rebus mens fidere caeca caducis,/ Pendeat e solo spesque fidesque Deo (1567, vol. 2, p. 182 [Camena]).

75. The inscriptio consists in an abbreviated form of the very famous proverbial saying from Plin. nat. 35.85 ne supra crepidam sutor iudicaret. In that passage Pliny relates the famous story of how Apelles, when a shoemaker had criticized him for having painted a sandal incorrectly and then next time also found faults with the leg, exclaimed in annoyance that a cobbler should not go beyond the sandal in his criticism. Pliny ends the anecdote with the remark quod et ipsum in proverbium abiit. See Otto, pp. 97 f., Walthen, 16126a and 38586 (ne sutor ultra crepidam!), Erasmus’ Adagia, p. 198 (ne sutor ultra crepidam!), and e.g. also an emblem by Laurentius Haechtanus, where ne sutor ultra crepidam is the motto (1579, no. 73 [Camena]).

Dum sutor crepidas ultra sapit] For another poetical exposition of the proverb, cf. e.g. Daniel Georg Morhof: Non judex jam sutor erit: namque hic crepidam ultra/ Qui sapit, in crepida sic satis ille sapit (1697, p. 833 [Camena]).

irridetur] Note the versus spondiacus, which makes the word strongly emphasized.

arte faber] Pentameter ending in Tib. 1.3.48.

76. The Vulgate renders Prov 25:27 in the following way: Sicut qui mel multum comedit non est ei bonum, sic qui scrutator est maiestatis opprimetur a gloria. As can be seen, Phrygius wants the verb scrutor to be interpreted in another sense in his inscriptio than it is intended to be in the original context, where ‘majesty’ refers to an earthly dignity. Here it is rather ‘he who inquires into God’s majesty … ’, a reading supported by the message of the following emblem. Consequently we have once again to do with a warning
against hubris (cf. the comments on no. 50 above, and Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1386 and 1498). For an emblem on the same theme as this distich, i.e. the vanity and uselessness of human reason in sacred matters, see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 191 f. and Cramer, II, pp. 48 f. As regards Neo-Latin poetry, cf. e.g. the poem Nimis alta sapiens by Michael Abel: Ingenium mortale nimis sublimia scrutans,/ Perdit in aetherea robur alacre plaga./ Quae Deus humanae rationis ab arte removit,/ Linque, sat est animis, quo licet ire, vehi (1590, fol. C1v [Camena]).

For obvious reasons this warning sometimes had a bearing on astrology, an area in which men investigated into the plans of the Almighty quite openly. In Alciato, p. 112, there is an emblem labelled Astrologia with the heading Quae supra nos, nihil ad nos, where the picture and the subscriptio, offering the example of Prometheus, warn men against trying to know the plans of the Lord. Likewise, in a collection of poems on the funeral of a Polish duchess, the Threni in Exequias ... Catharinae Radivilae (1592), one passage asks the question why no comet appeared in the sky before she died. This dialogue between a young student and an astrologer ends with the latter’s words directed to the prying youngster: Magna petis, tenui nostrae nec pervia menti,/ A summo nisi sunt ista petenda Deo (fol. D1r).

consona sacris/ In rebus] For verbal similarities but with grammatical deviations, cf. Jacobus Micyllus: Et tribuis rebus consona verba sacris (1564, p. 240 [Camena]).

77. The rule is thus that man must realize that his capacity for grasping divine mysteries is limited, and that he must believe despite not understanding. This theme has always been common in Christianity, see e.g. 1 Cor 2:6–16. It was also early summarized in the famous words originating in Tertullian carn. 5 Credo quia absurdum (also in Walther, 3707a). Cf. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1546 f.

divinorum mysteriorum] As regards mysterium in this sense, see Blaise 1954, s.v. mysterium, 5. The phrase divinum mysterium is also a heading in Melchior Weinrich’s Aerarium poeticum (1677, p. 111 [Camena]). Several circumlocutions of it are given there, and they help us to understand what is contained in the concept:


sublimitate indaganda] Cf. Picinelli 1695, vol. 1, p. 303, where the phrase indagat sublimia applies to the field of astrology.

Crede, licet captum fugit iste tuum] The pentameter line lacks one foot, and is thus metrically incorrect.
As regards the sense, cf. e.g. the Paraphrasis Psalmi LI by Friedrich Widebram: *Hinc ignota mihi quondam sapientia caeli,/ Quae procul humanae captum rationis et omne/ Iudicium superat, totique abscondita mundo est,/ Nunc manifesta palam verbo caeleste salutis/ Praevia monstrat iter* (1579, fol. H2v [Camena]).

78. The verse Matt 18:19, which the distich paraphrases, is dressed in a language that sounds juridical. In the Vulgate it is: *Iterum dico vobis, quia si duo ex vobis consenserint super terram, de omni re quamcumque petierint, fiet illis a Patre meo, qui in caelis est.* The theme is related to the ones on the benefit of concord in no. 45 and on the power of prayer in no. 9.

**Mutua ... dilectio** Cf. e.g. under the heading *Dilectionis* in the *Bibliotheca exulum* by Janus Gruterus: *Quae mutua est, perennis est dilectio* (1625, p. 233 [Camena]).

79. The *inscriptio* consists in a quotation from Seneca’s *De clementia* 1.24.1. That work, in which Seneca discusses good sovereignty, was dedicated to the young emperor Nero and was well-known and important in Phrygius’ time. For instance the second edition of Jean Calvin’s commentary on it was printed in 1597. The saying is also attested in Walther, 40735a. Cf. Alciato, p. 161, which has a similar message. Rosenhane in *Hortus regius* quotes Seneca’s saying in emblem no. 3 (p. 17), which deals with this theme more extensively. Its *inscriptio* is a quotation from Claudianus 16.39 f.: *Peragit tranquilla potestas;/ quod violenta nequit ad vivum ... secare.*

The expression *ad vivum resecare* can be found in Cic. *Lael.* 18 and Colum. 6.12.3. It is cited as a proverb in Walther, 34464a, and in Erasmus’ *Adagia*, p. 463. Paolo Manuzio explains it in his *Adagia* in the following way: *M. Tull. libro De amicitia, Ad vivum resecare dixit, pro eo, quod est, rem exactius, quam sat est, ac morosius excutere* (1603, p. 572 [Camena]).

**popelli** The word, a diminutive and pejorative form of *populus*, is rare in ancient Latin. It occurs only in *Hor. epist.* 1.7.65, Pers. 4.15 and 6.50.

**fida satis** As indicated above, *satis* is my correction in this edition. It makes good sense and is supported both by a handwritten correction in the copy of LU and by parallels from classical poetry where *fidus* in an inflected form is immediately followed by *satis* (Verg. *Aen.* 2.377 and Stat. *Theb.* 7.456).

**regna tenere potest** Hemiepes in *Ov. epist.* 1.106.

80. Once again we meet an emblem on a theological subject. The idea behind it is certainly the concept of Christ as suffering for all mankind, as stated in e.g. Rom 5:9–10 and Eph 1:7. By his punishment and death all men were saved from sin and its consequences (the *satisfactio vicaria*), and this is also what the distich intends to express. The *etc* either only refers to an omit-
ted repetition of *passio* or to a saying familiar to and quoted by Phrygius, which has not been possible to verify.

**Passio Christi** The word *passio* designating the suffering of Christ was first used by Tertullian (Blaise 1954, s.v. *passio*, 3).

**nebulam solis lux … pellit** The line recalls the very common proverb *post nubila Phoebus*, with variants. See Walther, 22031, 39629, 39631, and Henkel & Schöne, cols. 24 f.

**augustissima lux** The combination occurs in e.g. one of Paulus Melissus Schede’s poems (1586, vol. 2, p. 145 [Camena]).

81. The emblem takes up the theme of unhappy marriage, a subject that occurs in several other contemporary authors as well. Cf. e.g. Nikolaus Reusner’s emblem on Philomela and Tereus represented in Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1596 f., and one in cols. 1521 f., as well as Walther, 31414b, 38066a and 43812. The idea that life in marriage could be very difficult, and that the wife was then to blame, certainly has a very long tradition. Examples are found already in the Bible, as in Prov 21:9 *Melius est sedere in angulo domatis, quam cum muliere litigiosa, et in domo communi* (also in 25:24), and Eccl 7:27 *Et inveni amariorem morte mulierem, quae laqueus venatorum est, et sagena cor eius, vincula sunt manus illius. Qui placet Deo effugiet illam; qui autem peccator est capietur ab illa*. Furthermore the Disticha Catonis 3.20 has: *Coniugis iratae noli tu verba timere, / nam lacrimis struit insidias, cum femina plorat*. As regards Neo-Latin literature, see e.g. the poem *In Coniugium iocus* by Johannes Posthiius: *Quaeris habere tua pacem cum coniuge? caecam/ Ducito, vel fiat caeca precare Iovem./ Neve ingrata domi vexent tibi iurgia mentem,/ Obtura auriculas qua potes usque tuas* (1595, vol. 1, p. 112 [Camena]), as well as one written by Johannes Lucius: *At (neque enim inficior) tam frugi femina cunctis/ Nequaquam obtingit maribus. Plerisque molestum est/ Et grave coniugium, felle ac mordacius atro* (1603, p. 76 [Camena]). Later this tradition was wonderfully satirized in an *Epitaphe* by the Swedish female poet Anna-Maria Lenngren (1754–1817): *Min Hustru hvilar här til verldens sista dag. Hon är i ro – och äfven jag* (‘My Wife rests here until the world’s last day. She is in peace – and so am I’).

Especially in the sermon *Formula honestae matronae* (1615) as well as in the wedding-sermon for Isaac B. Rothovius (1605), Phrygius expounded his thoughts on this theme. In the latter of these he holds, among other things, that an unhappy marriage should be regarded as a trial, its purpose being the man’s growth in virtue. Those who fear God will get a good wife, he also states, referring to Sir 26:3 and Ps 128. In the *Formula honestae matronae* he dedicates the third main chapter to how men and women should not behave. Among other things he says: *Een argh hustrw är ett halfi helwete i thenna werlden* (‘an angry wife is half a hell in this world’), after which he describes at length and exemplifies such a woman. In a somewhat more restrained section he refers to some of Martin Luther’s words: *Ingen owenskap*
är bittrare, och oenighet förkräcklighare, än then som upkommer emellan ägta markar, och syskione (‘no enmity is more embittered and discord more terrible than the one which arises between husband and wife, and brothers and sisters’).

hominum casus] The phrase can be found in e.g. Cic. de orat. 3.13, Ciris 454 and Stat. Theb. 7.705.

faedus … thorii] The phrase occurs in Lucan. 2.341 and 378. It is also recommended under Coniugium in Melchior Weinrich’s Aerarium Poeticum (1677, p. 580 [Camena]).

82. The inscriptio is a quotation from Prov 21:30, which in its entirety in the Vulgate is: Non est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium contra Dominum. It is also cited as a proverb in Walther, 3888a. In the distich Phrygius paraphrases the biblical verse and expounds it in accordance with the Christian belief that God sees and knows everything, the admonition being once again to avoid pretence and hubris. Cf. Henkel & Schöne, e.g. cols. 845, 1062 and 1843 f.

mentis acumen et astus] The phrase mentis acumen (also in Claud. rapt. Pros. 2.201) is very common in contemporary poetry. It is recommended in different variants under several headings (e.g. prudens and sapiens) in the Aerarium poeticum by Melchior Weinrich (1677, pp. 267 and 911 [Camena]). Cf. also the expression ingenii acumen in the dedicatory poem above. The mentis astus occurs in Sen. Tro. 752.

qui vidit omne] Passages in the Bible where this capacity of God is mentioned are e.g. Ps 32:13 De caelo respexit Dominus; videt omnes filios hominum, Prov 15:3 In omni loco, oculi Domini contemplantur bonos et malos and Heb 4:13 omnia autem nuda et aperta sunt oculis eius. In Melchior Weinrich’s Aerarium poeticum there is a heading Deus inspector rerum, under which several similar phrases are given on this theme (1677, p. 40 [Camena]).

83–90. At this point a series of eight ‘precautionary’ emblems directed to the powers of state appear. The fact that this theme takes up a great deal of space and is heavily emphasized should attract our attention. Earlier readers (Boström 1958, p. 64 and Ekholm 1963, p. 49) tried to understand them through the contemporary political situation, interpreting them in the light of Phrygius’ harsh message conveyed in the Prognosticon in Joen Petri Klint’s manuscript on portents, which was discussed above in section 1.3.3. They demonstrated that such a perspective is fruitful, but that should not lead us to exclude the possibility that some emblems may have several interpretative layers. These distichs need to be viewed with the suggestion in mind that the entire Centuria prima may have been intended for the young Duke John, who in Phrygius’ opinion was to be the future king of Sweden. Presumably we must understand this part as a series of exempla, some of which originate
in the immediate political and familiar context, implying warnings for a future ruler concerning the use of power as well as the circumstances in his kingdom.

83. The first distich deals with the fatal consequences of a civil war, suggesting a request for stability. The idea is close to Mark 3:24 *Et si regnum in se dividatur, non potest regnum illud stare,* and recalls Horace’s *Epod* 16, which begins *Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas,/ suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruuit.*

   It is hardly surprising to see this theme occurring in the first precautionary distich. The war’s negative consequences must have been obvious to everyone at this time.

**Prophylactica** See the comments on emblem no. 31 above.

**protervus/ Intestina ... movet arma furor** The combination *protervus furor* occurs in Sen. *Phaedr.* 268. For the *intestina arma* see Liv. 4.9.2. The *movet arma furor* can be found in e.g. the poem *Ad Nicolaum Isthuanfium …* by Johannes Posthius: *movet Turcicus arma furor* (1595, vol. 1, p. 237 [Camena]), which recalls the proverbial saying from Verg. *Aen.* 1.150 *furor arma ministrat,* and which is attested in Walther, 10123 and 37094b.

84. As can be seen, the second distich concerns the king himself, stressing how important it is that a ruler control his own temperament. Boström, referring to contemporary sources, says that this must be an allusion to Duke Charles, whose irascible temper was widely known in his own time (Boström 1958, pp. 64 and 102). This could be the case, but the theme is common in the genre and occurs often in contemporary literature as well, inherited as it was from ancient moral and political philosophers (see Van Houdt 2007, pp. 28 f., with references). A good example can be found in Henricus Mollerus’ *Sertum Musarum* (1561). There Clio gives a twig of an olive-tree to the new king Erik XIV as a symbol of restraint and equanimity (fol. B3r):

   Ut rapidos animi motus ratione gubernes,
   Nec contra placidi munera Regis eas.
   Nec rapere affectus menti patiaris habenas,
   Haec te Rex etiam planta monere potest.

See further e.g. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 888, 1029 f. and 1684 f., and proverbial sayings as Walther, 34562k: *Affectus equitatis est regni decus* and 3456212: *Affectus moderare! ab avis rex magnus in orbe,* as well as e.g. Vincentius Opsopoeus: *Nullius exemplo quamvis moveare potentis/ Quem turpi affectus labe sequare ducem* (1578, fol. C8v [Camena]).

**bonum nullis superabile gemmis** The phrase was probably modeled on Prop. 1.2.21 *facies aderat nullis obnoxia gemmis,* though *obnoxia* has been changed to its opposite *superabile.*
affectus ... domitare] Cf. e.g. Johannes Posthius: *Affectus Ratio regina domare ferox/ Debet, et ingenua fraena tenere manu* (1595, vol. 1, p. 138 [Camena]).

85. The emblem delivers advice for practical warfare by explaining the best method of achieving the relief of a captured town. No good parallel on the theme has been found in poetry, which, together with the fact that the distich is characterized by verbal originality and an ambiguity that could be intentional, indicates that Phrygius’ own contribution is greater than usual. A story somewhat similar in sense, viz. giving advice on how to achieve safety in dangerous circumstances, is the famous one about the beaver who in order to save his own life tears off his testicles with his teeth, because he is hunted for their sake. It is e.g. represented in Alciato, p. 165, the *inscriptio* being *Aëre quandoque salutem redimendam*.

Moreover, it is tempting to assume that the scene depicted in the distich alludes to the situation in Kalmar in 1599 (cf. what was said on the *Ecloga prima* at several points above). King Sigismund’s men had then been surrounded in Kalmar castle by Duke Charles’ army for several months and finally surrendered. The castle is also situated at the coast with the sea coming up close to its walls. Accordingly Phrygius’ own experiences can have been crucial here, both for the composition of the scene and for the message it delivers.

in saevis redimantur ut obsita velis/ Maenia] The clause is difficult. Both *velis* and *maenia* should probably be understood as examples of the figure *pars pro toto*, in which *vela* would refer to ‘ships’ and *maenia* to ‘cities’. The instrumental sense of *in* appeared in late Latin (K.-St., II, p. 564). As regards the combination *saevis velis*, cf. e.g. Hor. *carm* 1.37.30 *saevis Liburnis*.

However, the larger issue here is what Phrygius really wanted to say with *obsita*. The translation is based on the assumption that here it is more or less equivalent to *obsessa*, a word he could not have used for metrical reasons. No satisfactory parallel has been found that could support this reading, and so one may presuppose a free use of *obsitus* in the sense of ‘covered’ (cf. *TLL*, s.v. 2. *obsero*, II, A, 1, a).

pia causa] The combination occurs in e.g. Ov. *met* 6.496, *fast* 3.252 and 3.629. As regards *causa* in this sense, cf. Prop. 4.6.51 *frangit et attollit vires in milite causa*.

86. The distich on the tactic of delaying in warfare makes one immediately think of its prototypical tactician, Q. Fabius Maximus (Cunctator), who had become proverbial in Ennius’ words: *Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem* (see Otto, p. 101, and Walther, 36010). Cf. also Henkel & Schöne, cols. 248 (*Cunctando proficit*) and 617 (*Cunctandum sapieni*), as well as e.g. Walther, 36011b1 and 36016f. As regards Neo-Latin literature, cf. e.g the
line Plus valet quocunque solers praelio cunctatio under the heading Praelii in Janus Gruterus’ Bibliotheca exulum (1625, p. 659 [Camena]), as well as the heading Cunctatio prudens armis potior in Jacob Masen’s Familiarum argutiarum fontes (1711, p. 180 [Camena]). Cf. also Skinnerus’ description of John’s III wars in Livonia: Fabius ut alter, cunctando restituis rem/ Livonica, nusquam concedens territus hosti (1585, fol. B2r).

Boström argued that this emblem should be read as a description of King Sigismund and that Phrygius wanted to portray the king’s lack of initiative as something positive (Boström 1958, p. 64). Boström clearly exaggerated Phrygius’ loyalty to Sigismund (cf. above); we know that Phrygius’ engagement in the cause of Duke John was much stronger. We should thus probably understand the distich as a general exhortation to caution during military campaigns. A bolder suggestion would be that it concerns Duke John’s party, both as a description and an admonition in the actual circumstances, against Duke Charles’ ambitions. It could also contain some criticism of the military ability of Duke Charles, who by this time had experienced serious adversities during the wars in the Baltic regions and who would meet even greater ones later on.

sapiens … cunctatio … digna] Cf. Flor. epit. 2.13.71 sed accepta partium clade nihil cunctatus, ut sapiente dignum erat. The combination sapiens cunctatio (contatio) occurs in one of Philipp Melanchthon’s poems (1579, fol. I7v [Camena]).

praestite] The meaning of the word has obviously changed somewhat since classical Latin, where it is ‘guardian’ (OLD). JPG renders it as regent, höffding, i.e. ‘ruler, chief’.

87. What we meet here is perhaps the most interesting distich of all, from a historical point of view. The verb of the main clause is in the imperative mood, and princeps is thus a vocative. Certainly one could argue that this is a general message directed to princes in general. But the suspicion that the entire Centuria prima was initially intended for the young hereditary prince Duke John must doubtless lead our attention towards that specific historical person.

Furthermore, we must recall the words from Joen Petri Klint’s manuscript concerning portents, quoted in section 1.3.3 above. As we saw there, Phrygius says that some of the subjects are attempting to poison their sovereign in a context where the accusations were quite obviously directed against Duke Charles. Accordingly Phrygius’ fear was here manifested in a distich admonishing the use of a cupbearer (cf. Ekholm 1963, p. 49, who noticed the connection between these two texts, but who preferred to focus on Sigismund instead of Duke John, thus following Boström closely).

Nullos … continge … / … ore, cibos] Cf. Ov. met. 5.531 f. nullos contigit illic/ ore cibos. The wider context of this Ovidian clause is the well-known story about Hades raping Persephone. The words quoted refer to Jove’s one
condition allowing for the return of Persephone to heaven, viz. that no food touched her lips in the underworld. However, she had already eaten from a pomegranate.

88. The distich should probably be understood in the light of the preceding one. In fear for clandestine criminal acts Phrygius wants to stress that neither the originator nor the perpetrator can deny his responsibility. It is also tempting to suspect influences from the intense contemporary juridical discussions on the relation between sovereigns and their subjects. Erik Sparre, for instance, wrote in the 1580’s the thesis *Pro lege, rege et grege*, which was permeated by the idea that even sovereign power is bound by the law (Lindroth 1975, pp. 315 ff.).

It must be said that Boström misunderstood the message completely. His translation contains some grave errors (e.g. he obviously confuses *revincti* with *revicti*) that invalidate his historical interpretation (Boström 1958, p. 64). Cf. Ekholm 1963, p. 49, who is on the right path.

As regards the idea that both the powerful and the subjects people must obey law, cf. e.g. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1219 and 1271. See however also Alciato, p. 187, the *inscriptio* being *Parem delinquentis, et suasoris culpam astipulans*. JPG translates this word as *samtycka, gilla, bewilia* (‘consent, like, allow’), and BFS agrees. As can be seen in the second line of the distich Phrygius understood it almost as an equivalent of *iubeo*, to which it is intended to correspond in the chiasm.

89. Why would Phrygius address the authorities about young people’s problems in love? Does that not presuppose that he had the upbringing of a specific high-born person in mind, for whom men in power were especially concerned? Surely the young Duke John would fit that description. It is true that the 18-year-old Per Nilsson Natt och Dag, the dedicatee of the print, was young as well and was the member of an important noble family. Nevertheless his case would be less obvious.

We can also be sure that the distich really concerns the ‘fire of love’, once the allusion to Vergil in the first line has been identified. In the moralizing tradition contemporary with Phrygius, the dangers of a licentious life, especially among the youth, was a common theme, and models for it from classical literature, both positive and negative, could be found as well. See e.g. Sallust. *Cat. 7.4 Iam primum iuventus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usum militiae discerbat magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in scortis atque conviviis lubidinem habebant*. Cf. also Henkel &
Schöne, e.g. cols. 943 f. and 612 f., but especially 911, where the heading is *Brevis et dannosa voluptas* and the distich goes: *Qui circumvolitat deceptus amoris ad ignes,/ Nunquid naturam papilionis habet?*

Moreover, it is somewhat amusing to see that Phrygius’ advice to young people in this distich on how to cope with amatory desires could serve as a perfect illustration of Freud’s concept of sublimination, i.e. the directing of such unwanted desires towards a more socially valued end. As we saw in emblem no. 6 above, Phrygius held that another solution to the problem is quite simply to marry.

**juventa vago per venas carpitur igni** | Cf. Verg. *Aen. 4.2 [Dido] volnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni*. This famous line at the beginning of the fourth book of the Aeneid refers, of course, to Dido’s intense love for Aeneas. The combination *vago ... igni* occurs in Sen. *Herc. O.* 378, Lucan. 1.50 and Claud. *carm. min.* 26.62, while the hexameter ending *carpitur igni* also can be found in Ov. *met.* 3.490. The translation of *vagus* could here be in a sense rather similar to the Vergilian counterpart *caecus*, viz. ‘diffuse’. However, in the Senecan phrase cited above *vagus* implies promiscuity, and this alternative fits in our context as well. It is actually the more probable one. Cf. e.g. Mollerus’ *Epithalamion* (1559): *Qui Certo malunt includere limite flammas;/ Castra vagae Veneris quam malesuada sequi* (fol. A4v), as well as the *Epithalamion* (1585) by Skinnerus: *Ergo Deus liciti socialia foedera lecti,/ Approbat atque vagos, hostiliter odit amores* (fol. C4v).

As regards the destructive forces of this kind of love, cf. e.g. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 1394 f., where Vergil’s line is used as a heading.

**Fac opus, assidue quo teneatur, agat** | The line is quite obviously influenced by a passage in Ovid’s *Remedia amoris*, viz. 148 ff. *Adfluit incautis insidiosus Amor;/ Desidiam puer ille sequi solet, odit agentes:/ Da vacuae menti, quo teneatur, opus.*

90. The theme of the distich is very common, the best known saying perhaps being from Ps. *Sen. mor.* 73 *Qualis vir, talis oratio*, which is also cited in Erasmus’ *Adagia* (1559), p. 211. Some variants are found in passages in the Bible, as Sir 27:7 f. and Matt 12:34. Cf. Otto, p. 257, as well as Walther, e.g. 13804, 23251b, 28068, 28079, 39840a17f and 42238, with references, as well as the *Disticha Catonis* 4.20. *Perspicito cuncta tacitus, quid quisque loquatur;/ sermo hominum mores et celat et indicat idem.* For emblems on the theme see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 749 f., 1383 f. and 1402. Under the heading *Oratio* in Janus Gruterus’ *Bibliotheca exulum* (1625, pp. 620 f. [Camena]) there are several circumlocutions of the phrase *Qualis vir, talis oratio*.

Since the distich occurs in this context, it is tempting to read it together with no. 84 above as a possible reference to Duke Charles’ well-known irascibility. In Iacobus Typotius *Oratio inauguralis* (1594), held at Sigismund’s coronation, the orator actually addresses Duke Charles on a similar matter in
one section. First he praises the Duke for the affection showed towards King Sigismund, but then he begins to admonish him: A sound consideration of all things befits a prince most of all. The more honourable position in society a person has, the more he will have people watching him. He must therefore consider not only what he does, but even what he says, nay even what he thinks (fol. B4r–v):

… neminem magis decet prudentem rerum momentorumque omnium consideratio, quam principem, si rem spectes vel gloriam. Quo quisque digniori est honoris gradu, eo plurimum oculis expositus est, nec latet, et hac de causa videndum est, et non modo quid agat, verum etiam quid loquatur, immo quid cogitet.

se … carmine prodit avis] Cf. the proverb cited in Erasmus’ Adagia, p. 884: e cantu dinoscitur avis (also in Walther, 6845 and 36484d1), which is explained with the words: Sensus congruit cum illo, Qualis vir, talis oratio.

91. The power of prayer is, as we saw above in no. 9 as well, of course generally stressed in Christianity and among Phrygius’ contemporaries. As regards the inscriptio, cf. the words from the 5th century in Ps. Aug. orat. p.1228 Quid enim est oratione praecellit ius? Quid vitae nostrae utilius? Quid in tota nostra religione sublimius? For proverbs on the theme see Walther, e.g. 20342a, 39336a f., and especially 39341b Oratione quidnam in orbe fortius. There are some variants of it in Erasmus’ Adagia, p. 661, e.g. Dolori enim medetur una oratio.

Confugium ... fessis ... rebus] The words make one think of several famous passages in the Bible, as e.g. Ps 16:8 A resistentibus dexterae tuae custodi me, ut pupillam oculi. Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me, and Matt 11:28 Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis, et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos. Cf. also e.g. the poem Eripe me de inimicis by Adam Siber: Tu mihi confugium, tu iuxta me in arctis (1565–1566, vol. 2, p. 118 [Camena]).

hostiles ... manus] For the combination see also e.g. Plaut. Capt. 311, Cic. Tusc. 1.85 and Ov. fast. 2.468. The hostile troops in this context naturally belong to the devil. The depiction of Christian life in this metaphorical military sense as a fight against the devil has its best known prototype in Eph 6:11 ff. See also the comments on in Castris Musarum in the title of the Threnologia above.

speque fideque] Hexameter start in Ov. met. 7.648, where the ablatives are comparative. In Phrygius’ line they are instrumental. Hope and faith are, of course, two of the three theological virtues in Paul’s famous tricolon in 1 Cor 13:13 fides, spes, charitas. The Ovidian juxtaposition was apparently popular among Neo-Latin authors composing on Christian themes, as e.g. in
the poem *In Orebo monte* by Adam Siber: *Non dubitante Deum speque fideque sequor* (1565–1566, vol. 1, p. 60 [Camena]).

92. Human knowledge is limited during life on earth, cf. emblem no. 24 above, with comments, and *Disticha Catonis* II.2: *Mitte arcana dei caelumque inquirere quid sit./ cum sis mortalis quae sunt mortalia cura*. Even more similar in sense is e.g. Olaus Martini’s *Elegia ... de obitu Christoperi Petri* (1579): *Corporis exutus vinclis, hinc sorte supremam/ Accessit multo commodiore scholam./ Et quae non homini fas hic cognoscere, discit/ Illic aeterno cuncta docente Deo* (fol. A3r), and Iohannes Posselius’ (Dean of the faculty of *Artes liberales* in Rostock) consolatory words: *Non enim amiserunt hunc tam suavem amicum, sed praemiserunt in coelestem Academiam multo praestantiorem sapientia et omnium virtutum gloria, in qua perpetuus Rector et Praeses est Filius Dei* (in *Scripta in Funere Iohannis Caroli Upsaliensis* 1562, fol. A2v).

Given the wording here, the distich could be interpreted as though Phrygius both wants to deliver a warning against academical hubris and consolation for those who despair of the limits of their scholarly knowledge. What man can learn on earth is only as much as a pupil in an elementary school when compared to students at the gymnasium corresponding to heaven. The simile was apparently attractive to Phrygius the schoolmaster. His discussion follows the same line of reasoning as in the first part of the fourth sermon in *Vitae Coelestis Umbratilis Idea* (1615), pp. 113 f. This world is compared to a *Schola particularis*, while heaven is called *The lejfiandes Land och himmelska Universitet* (‘the land of the living and the heavenly university’). In p. 65 of that sermon heaven is likewise mentioned as *helgha Tree-faldigheetz evigha högha Schola* (‘the eternal high school of the holy Trinity’).

**Scientia omnibus numeris absoluta**] Cf. the words by Hermann Conring: *Nequevero nisi in solis Mathematicis disciplinis ... concessa est numeris omnibus absoluta scientia omnique vacans exceptione* (1663, p. 54 [Camena]). The phrase *omnibus numeris absoluta* can also be found in Quint. *inst. 10.1.70*, Plin. *epist. 9.38.1* and Gell.13.11.3. As regards the translation of *omnibus numeris*, see *OLD*, s.v. *numerus*, 12.

**ludis**] As regards *ludus* as a kind of elementary school, cf. *OLD*, s.v. *ludus*, 6, and JPG, who translates it as, among other things, *schole, öfningzhuus, läreschole* (‘school, training house’).

**supero ... gymnasio**] In Phrygius’ line *superus* is equivalent to *caelestis* in the *inscriptio*, cf. the comments on line 2 of the first *tumulus* above.

One of the senses given in JPG, s.v. *gymnasium* is *scholestufwa* (‘school-house’), cf. Hoven. Certainly the contemporary use of the word in Germany, where it designated a higher form of school at a level between the elementary school and the university, is what Phrygius is thinking of in the first place by his metaphor. The German system was more or less adopted also in
Sweden, where the first gymnasium opened in Västerås in 1623. After his poem following the sermon for the wedding of Isaac Rothovius (1605), Phrygius calls himself gymnasiarcha, referring to his position as a headmaster in Linköping.

93. Once again an emblem warning against hubris, but this time Phrygius bases his arguments on the Bible. As he himself tells us, the inscriptio is an abbreviated version of the last parts of Jas 4:6 and 1 Pet 5:5, both of which have the same wording in the Vulgate: Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. In the Greek text both the instances in Jas 4:6 and 1 Pet 5:5 are literal quotations of the Septuagint’s version of Prov 3:34, which in the Vulgate has been translated as: Ipse deludet illusores, et mansuetis dabit gratiam. There are other verses in the Bible that are similar in sense as well, as e.g. Job 22:29 and Matt 23:12 (Luke 14:11 and 18:14). For emblems on the same theme with this line as a heading, see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 388 f. and 1660 f. Cf. also Georg Carolides’ naked emblem with Deus superbis resistit as a heading and the distich being: Infima sustollit Dominus, premit alta: Superbos/ Despicit, ultrici persequiturque manu (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 2, p. 212 [Camena]). Furthermore Prudentius’ words in psych. 285 frangit Deus omne superbum became proverbial as well, see Walther, 9919, with references.

A conjecture is that Phrygius’ warning here concerns in the first place the intellectual field. The message of the preceding emblem, as well as the similar verse beginnings of the first lines of both distichs, could indicate that he has that scholarly sphere in mind in this one as well.

sustollit] The word is mainly ante- and post-classical, frequent e.g. in Plautus (L&S, s.v. sustollo).

pectora dotes] The hexameter ending occurs in Laus Pis. 161. As regards pectora in this sense, cf. OLD, s.v. pectus, 3, b, and 4, a. For dotes in this sense, see TLL, s.v. dos, caput primum, II, B, and OLD, s.v. dos, 3.

94. I.e. ‘Slander is evil and full of stupidity. It afflicts learned men (Phrygius himself?), but since those who commit it are insane, its target is in fact something good.’ Cf. the poem addressed to Momus that follows. For emblems on the evil of slander, see e.g. Henkel & Schöne, cols. 692, 928 and 933 f.

Thesaurus mala linguae] As regards this use of thesaurus, which became proverbial, see Otto, p. 347, Erasmus’ Adagia, p. 107, which has thesaurus malorum. That is also the case with Paulo Manuzio’s paraphrased Adagia (1602, p. 130 [Camena]). Cf. also Plaut. Merc. 163 and 641 thesaurum ... mali. Forcellini (s.v. thesaurus, 10) explains that it can have the sense in malam partem de acervo et cumulo rerum quarumcumque. Both JPG, who translates Plautus’ phrase with mycket ondt (‘much evilness’) and BFS (s.v.
2) observed the same nuance. For the combination *mala lingua* see e.g. Catull. 7.12, Verg. *ecl.* 7.28 and Ov. *am.* 2.2.49.

**Testaturque bonum quod mala lingua crepat** The sense of this line is revealed in similar proverbial sayings such as Walther, 38062b: *Mala lingua quem carpit, meliorem esse indicat.* Related in sense is also an emblem such as Henkel & Schöne, col. 1571 with the motto: *Virtus invidiam excitat.*

95. A warning against hubris again, as in several of the previous ones. The *inscriptio* is an abbreviated quotation of Paul’s words in Rom 11:20, which are *noli altum sapere, sed time* in the Vulgate (the phrase *altum sapere* also occurs later in Rom 12:16). It is attested as a proverb in Walther, 38846c. For emblems having the same *inscriptio*, see Henkel & Schöne, cols. 151 and 212, while two in col. 1616 have the similar *Altum sapere periculosum* and *Noli altum tendere*. As regards Neo-Latin poetry cf. e.g. Kaspar Brusch’s poem with the same heading (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 1, p. 819 [Camena]), which however, while attacking pride, argues in favour of the *aurea mediocritas.*

The meaning of the distich recalls several well-known antithetical sayings of Jesus stressing the importance of humility, as e.g. Matt 19:30 *mulit autem erunt primi novissimi, et novissimi primi* (also in 20:16), Matt 20:26 *quicumque voluerit inter vos maior fieri, sit vester minister: et qui voluerit inter vos primus esse, erit vester servus* (also in 23:11, Mark 9:34 and Luke 9:48), and Matt 23:12 *qui autem se exaltaverit, humiliabitur: et qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* (also in Luke 14:11).

**pondera molis** Hexameter ending in Ov. *met.* 15.1 and Calp. *ecl.* 1.84.

**quibus ima placent, his dabit alta Deus** Cf. the proverbial saying attested in Walther, 37539c *Infinimus suprema mutat numen orbis omnia.*

96. The message of the *inscriptio* recalls the tenor of Jesus’ valedictory discourse in John 14, which begins: *Non turbetur cor vestrum. Creditis in Deum, et in me credite. In domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt.* Man is in exile from his true home with God in heaven. Cf. the poem *Distichon de exilio Christi et Ecclesiae* by Philip Melanchthon: *Exul erat Christus, comites nos exulis huius/ Esse decet, cuius nos quoque cura sumus* (1579, fol. E2v [Camena]).

However, the distich focuses on the importance of not trusting in fortune rather than God, which is in accordance with the first of the Ten Commandments. Cf. Nikolaus Reusner’s emblem reproduced in Henkel & Schöne, col. 874, with the heading *Fide, sed cui, vide* (a common proverb, see Walther, 9443, with references). The last couplet of its *subscriptio* goes: *Fide, sed ante vide, cui tuto fidere possis:/ Et quia non tutum est fidere, fide Deo.* See also Reusner’s emblem on the same theme in cols. 421 f.

**exilio** As regards the word in this sense, cf. Blaise 1954, s.v. *exsilium.*
confidere sorti] The hexameter ending e.g. also in Nikodemus Frischlin: *Discite mortales nulli confidere sorti* (1598, p. 476 [Camena]).

Qui nusquam voluit fallere] Cf. e.g. some words by Rudolf Gwalther: *Nam fallere non potest Deus, qui veritas est ipsa* (1550[?], fol. 50v [Camena]). The perfect *voluit* is gnomic, cf. K.-St., II, 1, pp. 132 f.

fide Deo] See the comments on the phrase in the very first emblem above.

97. The 13th chapter of Hosea relates that God punished the tribe of Ephraim with death because of its rebellion and idolatry. Israel continues to commit such sins and is therefore threatened with its ultimate destruction as well.

The distich is a kind of Christian revision of the very popular proverb *Fa-ber est quisque fortunae suae* (see the comments about it in emblem no. 52 above). Man can only bring about his own ruin, while salvation comes from God. Should not the message here be regarded as a compromise of nos. 11 and 52 above?

A Domino manat cunctipotente Salus] Cf. Hos 13:4 *Deum absque me nescies, et salvator non est praeter me*. The composite word cunctipotens, certainly synonymous to omnipotens, was first used by Prudentius in *perist*. 7.56, but occurs in some other instances in ancient Christian literature as well (*TLL*).

As regards instances of this idea in Neo-Latin poetry cf. e.g. the lines in the paraphrase of Ps 62 by Friedrich Widebram: *Quaeso sile Domino, mens o tranquilla quiesce,/ Manat ab hoc omnis nam mihi fonte salus* (1579, fol. I4v [Camena])

98. As stated, the quotation comes from 1 Tim 1:9, which in the Vulgate is: *lex iusto non est posita, sed iniustis* ... Another instance where Paul expresses the same idea is Gal 5:18 *Quod si spiritu ducimini, non estis sub lege*. A righteous man does not need the law for moral guidance, cf. emblem no. 60 above. Exactly the same version as in Phrygius’ text is cited as a proverb in Walther, 37744d3, while the Vulgate variant is in 37868n.

One must note here, however, that according to Lutheran doctrines man is made *iustus* by faith in Christ only (see the comments on emblem no. 2 above). Luther himself referred to this verse in Paul and said that a man who is righteous by faith does not need the law but performs righteous acts spontaneously: *Hoc est quod vult Apostolus, quod sola fide iustificamur, non operibus, licet opera iam iustificati non omittamus. Et inde latius audet dicere, quod lex iusto non est posita, quia iam iustus ex fide non eget lege, sed sua sponte factit opera* (from “Resolutiones Lutherianae super propositionibus suis Lipsiae disputatis 1519” in Luther, vol. 2, p. 425). Moreover, the famous Lutheran phrase *simul iustus et peccator* summarizes the view that man, in spite of this justification, also always continues to be a sinner in need of forgiveness.
As regards *manere* in this transitive sense, where the subject is often something connected to or determined by fate, cf. *TLL*, s.v. *maneo*, II, B.

**Rebellem/ Subsequitur vindex, ira furorque Dei** The idea that punishment awaits criminals can be found in classical poetry as well, as in Hor. *carm.* 3.2.31 f. *raro antecedentem scelestum/ deseruit pede Poena claudio.* For “divine punishment is conventionally slow but sure” (Nisbet & Rudd 2004, pp. 34 f.), cf. the comments on distich 30 above.

*Rebellis* is a Christian *terminus technicus* for a man revolting against God (see Blaise, 1954). As regards the actual wording here, cf. Sen. *Med.* 173 *Vindex sequetur*. In spite of being rather unusual in the Vulgate, where it only can be found twice in the OT and twice in the NT, *vindex* seems to be something of an eschatological keyword in Christian Neo-Latin literature, in which it is highly frequent (it occurs also in Phrygius’ emblem no. 76 above). Melchior Weinrich’s *Aerarium poeticum* could serve as an illustrative example. There one encounters for instance the phrases *Deus vindex* (1677, p. 31 [Camena]), *Scelerum vindex, dans praemia rectis* (1677, p. 40 [Camena]), and *Vindex et ab igne potens ira Iehovae* (1677, p. 110 [Camena]). Quite obviously the popularity of the word in Neo-Latin depended to a great extent on its frequency in classical Latin from where it was transferred into new Christian associations. The juxtaposition *ira furorque* also in Stat. *Theb.* 4.661, but cf. also e.g. the famous passage in Rev 19:15 *ipse calcat torcular vini furoris irae Dei*.

99. The emblem expresses what must have been part of Phrygius’ poetical programme, viz. that one aim of poetry is to convey ethical teachings to the reader. That the purpose of poetry included moral guidance was held by many authors of treatises on poetics as well as by influential personalities such as Philip Melanchthon (cf. the quotation from Friedrich Taubmann below). In his *Ars poetica* Horace stated that poetry should *prodesse et delectare* (*ars* 333), words that were to be crucial for Phrygius’ contemporaries. But poetry should also be instructive (*docere*). It should give examples of proper behaviour, conveying both useful doctrines and a sense of the demands of reality. The poet, as well as the orator, must strive in his work for the edification and improvement of the society (Fischer 1968, pp. 83 ff. Cf. Kurt Johannesson 1974, pp. 58 ff.). When Julius Caesar Scaliger discusses the question in the very beginning of his important poetics, he refers, among other things, to a famous passage in Aristophanes (The Frogs, 1009 f.): *recte statuit Euripides apud Aristophanem in Ranis: interrogatus enim, quaenam potissimum virtus excitare queat nos ad cuiuspiam poetae admirationem: si non sine dexteritate, inquit, cives commonefacere sciat, ut fiant meliores* (Scaliger 1987 [1561], pp. 1 f.).

**sub Poëtarum volucris deliteat** Cf. e.g. the words on poetry in a letter in a collection of *Epistolarum reliquia* of Friedrich Taubmann:
Later in the same letter we read: … *quanti Sapientiae thesauri sub involucris huiusmodi fabularum (quaes prima fronte mera istis mendacia apparent) delitescant* (1597, pp. 608 f. and 611 [Camena]).

The expression *sub volucris* is obviously meant to correspond to *sub fictis rebus* in the distich. Accordingly we can be sure that the intended sense of *volucris* is the same which *involucrum* sometimes has in metaphorical usages. Cf. OLD, s.v. *involucrum*, b, and TLL, s.v. *involucrum*, I, B, 2, b, as well as Helander 2004, pp. 125 f. and 475 ff. Though not found in any of the dictionaries consulted on ancient Latin or Neo-Latin, the word-form *volucrum* is attested in the Middle Ages in both Du Cange and Niermeyer.

The verb *deliteo* is only attested twice in ancient Latin, viz. in a gloss and in the 4th century grammarian Diomedes (TLL).

**Ethica … dogmata** The combination is e.g. also in a paraphrase on Psalm 49 by Friedrich Widebram: *Ethica quae forment prudentem dogmata vitam* (1579, fol. G5v [Camena]).

The word *ethicus*, from Greek ἠθικός, was first used in this sense in Latin by Seneca (TLL), while *dogma* (Greek δόγμα) was used already by Cicero, and in a Christian context as early as with Lactantius (TLL).

**vatum luserit ordo** The phrase *vatum ordo* is e.g. also in Caspar von Barth’s *Recitatio* in the 4th book of his *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae* (1613, p. 101 [Camena]).

However, we could perhaps assume that Phrygius here specifically refers to theologians composing poetry in their spare time (i.e. to himself in the first place). The *vates*, who is also a divinely inspired prophet, is here included in an *ordo*, a term closely associated with the priestly office (cf. e.g. Latham, Du Cange, Hoven). In fact *vates* was also sometimes used about the priestly or episcopal rank in the Middle Ages (cf. e.g. Latham, Du Cange, Niermeyer). As regards *ludo* in this sense, see OLD, s.v. *ludo*, 8. The message delivered in the poems, as well as the rank and the importance of this kind of poets, also explains why the verses are called *graves*. But, as was mentioned in section 1.6.5 above, poetry was also often conceived of as being of divine nature in itself. This is perfectly illustrated in e.g. the poem *Poetica res divina* by Johann Glandorp: *Artis opus non sunt humana Carmina vatum,/ Carmina sed pleni numine sacra canunt* (in Gruterus 1612, vol. 3, p. 412 [Camena]).
The very last emblem is especially dealt with by both Kjell Boström and Ragnar Ekholm, and it is not difficult to understand why. In addition to its conspicuous position in the collection, suitable for conveying a message of special importance, these few lines are open to several different interpretations and associations based on the general message that present conditions are much inferior to previous ones.

Both Boström and Ekholm sought to read it as a direct reference to the domestic political situation in Sweden, where the wolf represents Duke Charles (they both translate *lupina* as if it were a noun) and the previous good times refer to Sigismund’s reign (Boström 1958, p. 64, and Ekholm 1963, p. 49). That reading depends on their overall conception of Phrygius’ political stance, but, given our current knowledge, the lines should be given a somewhat revised interpretation. We should probably still assume that they imply a hostile attitude towards Duke Charles. We can agree on that, but we must also be aware of the fact that Phrygius himself must have thought of alternative readings. Open accusations against a ruler such as Duke Charles just could not take place in print where an author’s name was given. If he were asked, Phrygius needed the possibility of explaining them in a way that did not expose himself to danger.

In order to clarify its literal signification, we may begin with the observation that *lupina* in the second line of the distich is an adjective, and the correlate was meant to be either *simplicitas* in the first line, as it is for *ovina*, or an unexpressed opposite produced by the antithesis of *ovina – lupina*. In both cases the actual sense would be the same. What the lines say is that in the previous age the simplicity of the sheep reigned, but now its complete opposite rules, viz. the wolfish wickedness (cf. the comments on *simplicitas* below).

However, the message that the present times are worse than the previous could be understood on different levels. First we should bear in mind that the concept of the world’s continuous decay was popular in Phrygius’ days, linked as it was to the motifs of the Golden age and the aging world, on which see Helander 2004, pp. 430 ff. and pp. 451 f. The belief that the judgement day was imminent was strong as well. From that perspective his lines could be regarded as generally valid, and explaining them by such an interpretation would not cause the author any trouble.

Secondly, the domestic political crisis in Sweden had grown worse ever since the death of John III in 1592, culminating in a civil war and the deposition of King Sigismund in 1599. After a while Phrygius must have become aware of Duke Charles’ intentions to seize the royal power for himself (cf. Phrygius’ notes from Klint’s manuscript in section 1.3.3 above), thus neglecting the legal rights of the young Duke John according to the Succession Pact. As we saw in the *Threnologia* above, Phrygius had obviously expected Duke John to be the next King. That ‘the wolfish wickedness’ also refers to Duke Charles’ rule in Sweden is thus likely. But when did the turn from
simplicitas ovina come about? Boström and Ekholm claim that it is Sigismund’s reign that is referred to in ‘the sheep’s simplicity’. The more probable assumption would however be that we must go further back in time, viz. to the reign of John III to reach that idealized time. John III is constantly considered as the ideal king in Phrygius’ works, and above all in the Agon Regius (1620). Moreover, the polarization between Sigismund and Duke Charles never occurs in his works. Actually Sigismund and his deposition are not mentioned at all, and it is hard to see much that could indicate a regret for Sigismund’s fate. What can be seen is a support for Duke John as well as a probable aversion to Duke Charles. A discussion of Phrygius’ stance during these years must be based on those two circumstances. Against this background it seems likely that even Sigismund’s rule should partly be included in ‘the wolfish wickedness’, characterized as it was by ever growing discord in religious and political matters.

Thirdly, it is necessary to note the consequences of the recent developments for Phrygius personally. When he wrote the Threnologia he seems to have had a strong belief in the future. As one of Duke John’s early supporters, he must have hoped to achieve a favoured position close to the Duke. When this expectation turned out to be a mistake, and he understood that Duke Charles prepared to take the throne for himself, he must have realized his own disadvantageous situation with regret. Under these circumstances, almost any previous time period at all could have been labelled as ‘a sheep’s simplicity’. Furthermore, the simile in the distich of a wolf in sheep’s clothing (see below) was indeed applicable to Duke Charles, who had made himself known as a true legitimist desirous of keeping to the regulations of the Succession Pact and who had therefore from early on directed very much attention towards Duke John in the discussion of the succession (Lindberg 1941, p. 131 f.). When Duke Charles’ true intentions gradually became obvious, his earlier proclaimed stance must have sounded false and deceitful.

Simplicitas] The word is rich in nuances. See e.g. BFS: Est itaque, et appellatur simplicitas, quae ingenue, candide, libere, ac liberaliter agit et loquitur omnia, a malignitate, fucis, adulationibus atque fallaciis aliena, nec insidiosa aliis, et sui secura. Cf. also Reusner’s emblem on simplicity reproduced in Henkel & Schöne, cols. 814 f. The sheep thus represents these good qualities, and the wolf all of its opposites.

prisco … aevo] The combination is e.g. also in one of Friedrich Taubmann’s poems (1597, p. 347 [Camena]).

versa … pelle] The phrase, as well as the dichotomy of sheep and wolf, alludes to a well-known proverb originating in Lactantius inst. 5.3.23, viz. lupum sub ovis pelle celare. Behind it is the saying in Matt 7:15 attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces, as well as old conceptions of the wolf as a symbol of wickedness or of the devil, and the sheep as symbols of simplicity or of Christ himself (cf. Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie, s.v. Lamm, Lamm
The motif of a wolf disguised as a sheep occurs also already in one of the fables of Aesop, and continues to do so in Neo-Latin literature, as in e.g. Hieronymus Osius’ paraphrase *lupus* (in *Phryx Aesopus habiti poetico*, 1574, fol. 97 [Camena]). See also Walther, 21158, with references.

Πάντοτε δόξα Θεῷ] I.e. *Semper Deo Gloria*. The Greek phrase ends this work, just as it ended the *Threnologia dramatica*.

Nasuto, umbratico, maledico:

**ab omni honestate relict**] Cf. Cic. *Rab. perd.* 23 nemo est ... tam ab omni non modo honestate sed etiam simulatione honestatis relictus.

**Momo**] The character Momus appeared in Hesiod’s *Theogonia* 214 as blame and slander personified. His proverbial popularity in Neo-Latin literature is attested in Helander 2004, pp. 310 f., with references to, among others, both JPG, BFS and the *Adagia* of Erasmus (*Momo satisfacere*). See the information under the heading *Momus* in Melchior Weinrich’s *Aerarium poeticum* (1677, p. 943 [Camena]), which is very instructive, and Henkel & Schöne, cols 1575 f., as well as Otto, pp. 226 f. and *Onomasticon* for some ancient examples.

Phrygius also uses the name of this character in his poem *loco gratulationum* in Erich Jörensson’s *Gustaffs historia* (1622): *Abdita sed gravibus verborum pondera rebus/ pagina (vel Momo judice) quaeque tenet. resipiscentiae*] The word, created from the verb *resipisco*, was used for the first time by the late Latin author Lactantius, who explained it as having this very sense and as equivalent to the Greek *μετάνοια* (Forcellini, Krebs & Schmalz).

1. **tenuem ... Minervam**] The combination occurs in Verg. *Aen*. 8.409. Minerva as the goddess of wisdom and learning is here used metonymically for intellectual enterprises. Cf. the comments on line 5 of the first *tumulus* above.

2. **naevos**] Cf. the comments on line 175 of the *Threnologia* above.

4. **ne ... fingere ... putes**] For the phrase see Verg. *Aen*. 8.42 and Sil. 8.178.

5. **Sincera probitate**] The combination occurs in e.g. the second book of Elias Corvinus’ *Iosephias* (1568, p. 23 [Camena]).

7–12. The following section is actually rather effective. Three parallel and anaphorical distichs consisting of rhetorical questions followed by answers are used in order to insult Momus. The names used create a small catalogue of characters generally held in contempt. It is furthermore amusing to see that Phrygius lets the braggart Thraso represent the poets, and thus also himself.
7. **gens Musica** Even though *musicus* certainly very often corresponds to our ‘musical’, i.e. having to do with music (cf. JPG), it is here necessary to prefer its original sense of ‘belonging to the Muses’, where stress is laid on poetical activities (cf. *OLD*, s.v. *musicus*, 1). This sense is attested also in BFS, where it is stated that it can include the meaning *Poeta, vel poeticis litteris eruditus*. The phrase occurs in e.g. several instances under both headings *Musarum* and *Musicae* in Janus Gruterus’ *Bibliotheca exulum* (1625, pp. 547 f. [Camena]).

**Thraso** Thraso is a character in the *Eunuch* by Terence, and this braggart soldier is an often occurring *typus* in Neo-Latin literature; see Helander 2004, pp. 314 f. Late Latin examples of its proverbiality have been attested as well (*Onomasticon*, s.v. *Thraso*, 2). JPG renders the name in Swedish simply as *skrytare* (‘boaster’), and cites the anonymous proverb *Si vis esse Thraso non deerit tibi gnato*, where one must assume that *gnato* is a misprint for *Gnatho*.

9. **gens aulica** The adjective *aulica*, from Greek αὐλικός, was used in classical Latin about things having to do with the imperial household. JPG likewise translates it as *thet som hörer till herregårdh/ eller herrehoff* (‘what belongs to a mansion/ court of a lord’). The phrase occurs e.g. under the heading *Aulae* in Janus Gruterus’ *Bibliotheca exulum* (1625, p. 97 [Camena]). In Alciato, p. 94, the emblem directed to the courtiers (*In aulicos*) is labelled *avaritia*. As regards the contemptuous attitudes toward courtly life that existed among Phrygius’ contemporaries, see e.g. Kurt Johannesson 1968, pp. 226 ff.

**Gnatho** Gnatho is a parasitical character in Terence’s *Eunuch*, who became a typus in Neo-Latin as well, see Helander 2004, pp. 308 f. He was also sometimes used in that way already in ancient Latin, cf. *OLD* and *Onomasticon*. The explanation in BFS is elucidating: *Gnatho ... maxilla, quam indefessam oportet habere parasitos ... Parasiti apud Terentium est.* JPG renders it similarly.

10. **frontis** The translation is something of a conjecture based on the immediate context. The *rationis* on the same line seems to need a word with a contrasting sense rather than a more similar one, just as in the previous line. The word *frons* (*-tis*) is often used in a wider sense, as ‘mind’ (cf. *TLL*, s.v. 2. *frons*, I, A, 1, b). But the connection of the word with *pudor* is strong as well (cf. *TLL*, s.v. 2. *frons*, I, A, 1, b, cols. 1357 f.). The latter sense is also stressed in BFS, where several examples are given. It is for instance stated there that *Persius pro ipso pudore frontem dixit*” (in 5.102).

11. **gens infirma** The combination occurs in e.g. one of Georg Fabricius’ poems (1567, vol. 1, p. 309 [Camena]).

13 f. **viscera mentis/ Effundens** The phrase *viscera effundens* is also in Sil. 10.183, while the hexameter ending *viscera mentis* occurs in e.g. one of Martin Hayneccius’ poems (1588, fol. ) (5r [Camena]).
14. querquera] The word is pre- and post-classical. An explanation of it is given in Paul. Fest. p.258 querqueram frigidam cum tremore a Graeco κάρκαρα certum est dici.


The descendant of Alcaeus referred to is certainly Hercules, whose labours including killing some horrible monsters. The accusative form is Greek, as customary with this and many other words of Greek origin already in classical Latin.

17. RES] The word RES [crescit] is strongly emphasized. Given the expression rumpantur ut ilia Momo (modelled on Verg. ecl. 7.26), rather common at the time (e.g. in the title of Daniel Hjortvipa’s Panegyricus nuptialis [1608]), one might expect an obscenity here, if understood in accordance with the sense of ilia rumpens in Catull. 11.20. As regards res used about the male sexual organ, see Adams 1982, p. 62.

18. pellustrans solis utramque domum] Cf. Ov. epist. 9.16 inplesti meritis solis utramque domum. The sun’s two homes is the far east and west, i.e. where it rises and where it sets. The sense is certainly that the glory travels through the entire world. The Ovidian phrase, besides being used in so many other poems in Neo-Latin literature as well, probably also reveals how res in the previous line should be read, viz. as corresponding to Ovid’s meritis (cf. OLD, s.v. res, 7). The phrase pellustrans domum occurs in Stat. Ach. 1.742, albeit in a different sense.

19. Invidiae stimulus agitatis] Cf. Apul. met. 5.27.2 invidiae noxiae stimulus agitata. As regards stimulus agitare, see the comments on line 114 of the Ecloga prima. The invidiae stimulus also occurs in Sil. 7.512 and Claud. 3.25.

aestra] See the comments on line 159 of the Threnologia dramatica.

19 f. illius … / qui] Could this refer to anyone else than the devil?

20. vivo vivam] A polyptoton. See section 1.6.5 above.

temperat igne] Cf. Calp. ecl. 4.92 ipse polos etiam qui temperat igne geluque,/ Iuppiter ipse parens. The phrase is also in Claud. carm. min. 26.62.

22. coquit] As regards coquo in this sense, see lines 92 and 120 of the Threnologia dramatica, with comments.


26. candida iam zeli contraho vela mei] Cf. Ov. trist. 3.4.32 propositique, precor, contrahe vela tui, and Pont. 1.8.72 et voti quaeso contrahe vela tui. For the combination candida vela see e.g. Catull. 64.235, Prop. 1.17.26 and Ov. ars 2.6. The contraho vela, which also occurs in e.g. Hor. carm. 2.10.23 and Sen. epist. 19.9, became proverbial, see Walther, 35736b and 44193a.

As regards the notion of poetical work as a voyage at sea, see the comments on line 50 of the Threnologia dramatica above.
Lubecae, Anno 1602, IV Nonis Maji| I.e. 4 May 1602. As we saw above Phrygius gained his master’s degree in Wittenberg 23 March 1602. He was probably now staying in Lübeck on his way home to Sweden. Phrygius’ poem *loco gratulationum* in Petrus’ Jonae *Cursus Visitationis Dioecesis Wexionensis* (1605), was signed *Holmiae a.d. 14. Iunii, anno DoMInICO*, i.e. in Stockholm 14 June 1602. By that time he had thus surely arrived there.
5. Bibliography

5.1 Phrygiana

The following list of Phrygius’ works is an attempt to account for his production. Completeness can not however be guaranteed, especially in 5.1.7, inasmuch as his contributions in that category are more difficult to uncover. For that reason thoroughness has not been aimed at to the same extent there.377

The list is done in chronological order under each heading. Words written in extra bold type are the ones used in references in the thesis. The principles used in quoting the titles are the same as in the editions here, with some exceptions. The punctuation and the ampersand have, for instance, not been altered, and capital letters have been treated more freely. The entire title is quoted, and in most cases also the impressum. Then follow the complete titles of individual works or groups of works, and the first line of each poem is quoted. Note that the list does not pretend to be bibliographical in a technical sense. For instance, in most cases only one copy of each print has been checked.

As will be seen, it is most characteristic of Phrygius, as it was of his contemporaries, to overload his titles with praises and laudatory dedications.378 These are often also very informative.

Exhaustive bibliographical information on Phrygius’ works has previously been given in Johannes Schefferus’ Suecia Litterata, 1680, Anders Anton Stiernman’s Bibliotheca Suiogothica, vol. 2, 1731, the Samuel Älf collection at LSB in volumes W 25:2 and W 25 a: 1, and Sigfrid Gahm-Persson in Archivum Smolandicum, vol. 9 (manuscript, stored at VSB). Other important bibliographies citing works by Phrygius are e.g. Carl-Gustaf Warmholtz’ Bibliotheca Historica Sveo-Gothica, 1782–1817, Isak Collijn’s

377 One work has been mentioned by Sigfrid Gahm-Persson in Archivum Smolandicum, vol. 9 (VSB) and Samuel Älf in W 25: 2 (LSB), the existence of which has been impossible to verify. That is an concio funebris on Duke Charles-Philip of Södermanland, Närke and Värmland from 1622. Probably Phrygius never printed such a work.
378 Cf. Per S. Ridderstad’s excursus on title-pages in Konsten att sätta punkt (1975), pp. 368–385, where he stressed the relationship between inscriptions and lapidary style and printed titles.
The best list of Phrygius’ Latin poems is in the Samuel Älf collection at LSB, W 25:2 and W 25 a: 1. However, the bibliography below represents a further step towards a complete list of Phrygius’ works.

5.1.1 Poetry

In separate prints:

1. “Tore quid occlusis succedis saltibus, aegra ... ” 153 vv. hexameters.
2. Eteostichon, “OCto bIs ApRIILIs noCTes Vbi Mane fVgaVlt ... ” 2 vv. elegiac distichs.

M. Sylvestri Phrygii Calmiariensi Sveci Poëtae Coronati Distichorum ad pietatem & bonos mores Paraeneticorum Centuria Prima, ad Et Gentis & mentis indole nobilissimœ adolescentem Dn. Petrum Nicolai a Säbij, SS. Musas Germanorum Athenis, hoc est Vitebergæ colement. Rostochii Typis Stephani Myliandi, Anno M.D.CII:
1. Deo Trino et Uno regnum Sueticum pro pace, “Aetherei qui sceptræ geris fulgentia regni ... ” 10 vv. elegiac distichs.
3. Distichorum gnomologicorum Centuria Prima, “I. Auctoris Symbolon. Fide Deo, delicta cave, fac propria, mundi ... ” 200 vv. elegiac distichs. with headings.
4. ἐπεισάγματα. I. Buske Pelle. Thet är: Gårsgriiss, Morshans, Deggeföll, smör-gåsenisse, ammeföll, hagekalf, hemföding, höstkykling, askefis etc: “När Buskepelle will sig så hemma stella ... ” 7 vv. doggerel verse.
5. II. “Then är eij bättre än som itt nööt ... ” 2 vv. doggerel verse.

**Acclamatio** ad Illusissimum Celssissimumque Principem ac Dominum, D. Iohannem, Regni Sveciae Principem Haereditarium, Ducem Ostrogothiae et Daliae, etc. Pro felici Ducatus Auspicio, Humilimae congratulationis ergo scripta a Sylvestro Iohannis Phrygio, poëta Coron. Caes. Scholae Lincopensis Rectore. Colophon: Stokholmiae Imprimebat Andreas Guttervitz. Anno Christi 1608:

1. Pietas, “Iam Dux Iane (novum virtutis lumen avitae ... ” 12 vv. elegiac distichs.
2. Probitas, “Quod Dux-Iane probus sis, quod placidissimus, aequo ... ” 10 vv. elegiac distichs.
3. Novo Suo Principi, Gothia: “Ut felicius et longius imperes ... ” 12 vv. the third Asclepiadean metre.
4. Novo Suo Nutricio Ministerium Ecclesiasticum in Ostrogothia: “Lora qui terrae Gothicae reflectis ... ” 18 vv. alternately Sapphian hendecasyllables and glyconics.379
5. Iohannes Dux Ostrogothiae et Daliae ἄναγραμματιζόμενος. Lux– Iosiae Dono taedia terge notas: “Te, nova Lux Gothica, Deus hac statione locavit ... ” 22 vv. elegiac distichs.


2. Idem Eidem, “Salve chare socer, dulcis pars addita coelo ... ” 2 vv. elegiac distichs.
3. Alia Apostrophe. Ad populum, qui honoris ergo defunctum Episcopum comitatur: “Quis funus Gothici praesulis audiens ... ” 8 vv. the third Asclepiadean metre.
4. In Obitum, Magdalene Jacobi, Matronae primariae; Epicedion: “Quam probitas, quam casta fides, quam vividam morum ... ” 10 vv. elegiac distichs.
5. Gener Socrui Suae, De beata immortalitate et celebri fama gratatur: ”Fortunata socrus facili quem lumine summis ... ” 8 vv. elegiac distichs.
6. Denatae προσωποποιεία Ad conjugem et sobolem: “Cum felix inter superas sine fine cohortes ... ” 18 vv. elegiac distichs.

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379 The metre is a late antiquity innovation, used by Boëthus. Crusius 1955, p. 124.

1. Ad Deum Trinum et Unum, Connubii Fundatorem: "Qui Paradisiaco junxisti primus in arvo ... " 6 vv. elegiac distichs.
2. The dialog between Johannes Dux and Maria-Elizabetha: "Te penes est Charitum quaia mansuetudo, Dearum ... " 166 vv. elegiac distichs.
3. Εὐχὴ Sapphica: "Qui sub innupto stabilivit aevo ... " 28 vv. sapphics.
4. Serenissimo, Potentissimoque Sponso: "Quum Deus irato tueatur lumine cunctos ... " 18 vv. elegiac distichs.


3. Gustavus Primus Virtutum comitatui: "O Nymphae vestes removete dolentibus aptas ... " 8 vv. elegiac distichs.
4. Religio: "Diligo Tergeminum cordato pectore Regem ... " 14 vv. elegiac distichs.
5. Prudentia: "Seu fundat radios jubar micantes ... " 14 vv. hendecasyllables (8 vv.) and elegiac distichs. (6 vv.).
6. Temperantia: "Modus quod in rebus si t omnibus, rerum ... " 8 vv. alternately Choliambus and catalectic iambic dimeters (4 vv.), and elegiac distichs. (4 vv.).
7. Iustitia: "Res pia cunctas hominum bilance ... " 14 vv. sapphics (8 vv.) and elegiac distichs. (6 vv.).
8. Fortitudo: "Hic dum chara fovet viscera spiritus ... " 16 vv. the third asclepiadean (10 vv.) and elegiac distichs. (6 vv.).
9. Liberalitas: “Lagior in tenues (non segnius imbre) Cohortes ... ” 12 vv. alternately hexameters and glyconics (6 vv.), and elegiac distichs. (6 vv.)
10. Candor: “Singulis prosum; noceoque nulli ... ” 14 vv. sapphics (8 vv.) and elegiac distichs. (6 vv.)
11. Fides: “Mandat inesse meis Fieri sermonibus; imis ... ” 12 vv. alternately hexameters and Paroemiacus (6 vv.) and elegiac distichs. (6 vv.)
12. Virtutum Chorus Regiae Maiestati: “Rex, bene-vive; loca stebili nos sede vagantes ... ” 2 vv. elegiac distichs.
13. Vir Tutum Comitatus Regni Ordinibus: “Vos, quibus est dulces coelorum didere gazas ... ” 16 vv. elegiac distichs.
17. Rex Gostavus-Adolphus Regno Suecico: “Me quoque cordata sub pectoris aede recandas ... ” 2 vv. elegiac distichs.
18. Sala Fluvius: “Omnia fulmineo reboant dum tecta boatu ... ” 21 vv. hexameters (13 vv.) and elegiac distichs. (8 vv.)
20. In Eandem, Ante annos aliquot lusum: “Si bene Gostavi Mentem tuearis Adolphi ... ” 4 vv. elegiac distichs.
22. Pro Pace et Evangelij curriculo: “Ne Deus omniregens, hostis det damna, Suecanos ... ” 4 vv. elegiac distichs.

Included in other prints, manuscripts or paintings:

In the Anagramma, 1601:
2. IV. Iohanni Magno a Kalunda: “Massica quod nusquam faedant te robora; te non ... ” 14 vv. elegiac distichs.
3. Responsio Abituriuntis: “Fortunae quamvis iubet inclementia sacras ... ” 4 vv. elegiac distichs.
4. V. Dn. Petro Drivio C.: “Invida (Palla diae lectissima gemma Coronae ... ” 14 vv. elegiac distichs.
5. In Calumniarum architectos: “Quum nihil intactum, nec inausam Mome relinquis ... ” 4 vv. elegiac distichs.
6. In eosdem: “Si Deus angelica nec te pietate creavit ... ” 8 vv. elegiac distichs.

According to Crusius 1955, p. 88, Sprichwortvers, used among others by Prudentius.
Phrygius must have intended that this poem should be printed below the portrait of Gustav II Adolf in the new edition of the bible in 1617 (“The bible of Gustav II Adolf”). It has however not been possible to find any copy where the poem is included. In fact it is also mentioned in Bergman 1918, p. 89, that Phrygius’ poem can be found there.
For full titles see section 5.1.7.
In Axel Oxenstierna’s *album amicorum*, 1602:
1. “Dum libet a studiis animum laxare severis ...” 6 vv. elegiac distichs.

In *Palmsk. 346*, UUB, 1603:

In the sermon for the wedding of *Isaaci B. Rothovij*, 1604:

In Petrus Iohannis Gothus’ *Bibelboock. Latiniska Monosticha*, 1604:
2. II: “Causa subest quod Petre crucem non ferre pigreris ...” 2 vv. elegiac distichs.
4. IV: “Ni sortis rabie patientia fracta labasc at ...” 5 vv. elegiac distichs (2 vv.) and hemiepes(3 vv.)
5. V: In omnia ejusdem opera: "Si tua nobilium mirantur scripta phalanges ...” 10 vv. elegiac distichs.

In Petrus’ Jonae *Cursus Visitationis Dioecesis Wexionensis*, 1605:

In the funeral sermon for *Margerete*, 1608:
In the funeral sermon for Malin Rosengreen, 1608:
1. Tumulus Generosae et Nobilissimae matronae Magdalenae Rosengren, etc: “Quae Rosa labe carens fuit, et virtutis amatrix … ” 14 vv. elegiac distichs.
2 Prophylacticon ad Christianum Lectorem: “Aspicis ut virides aestus sub tempora stirpes … ” 28 vv. elegiac distichs.

In Petrus’ Jonae Nije Christelige Predikningar, 1609:
1. Prophylacticon ad Ecclesiam Svecanam, de hisce Periochis Reverendi & Clarissimi Theologi, Dni M. Petri Ionae, Episcopi VVexionensis de eadem pie praeclareq; meriti: “Gens vaga Corporibus, sed Mentibus unica; vitae … ” 54 vv. elegiac distichs.

In Moses Pflicher’s Catechismus, 1610:

In the funeral sermon for Ulff Jönson Snäckenborg, 1610:
1. Mors et vita: “Mortuus in vitam redit una voce puellus … ” 8 vv. elegiac distichs.

In Johannes Messenius’ Signill, 1612:

In Een Christeligh Valetpredikning, 1613:

In Laurentius Paulinus Gothus’ Cometoscopia, 1613:

In Formula Honestae Matronae, 1615:
Thenne Måltijds Rijm, hwilka äre lijka som een Tilgifft här under satte, må een Gudeligh Hwsmodher lära sina barn.
In Vitae Coelestis Umbratilis Idea, 1615:

In Johannes Messenius’ Theatrum Nobilitatis Svecaneae, 1616:
1. Aliud: “Quod fuit ante Solon doctis operosus Athenis …” 8 vv. elegiac distichs.

In the funeral sermon for Erich Ribbing, 1617:
1. On the titlepage: “Quisquis agis vitam, vitae memor esto futurae …” 2 vv. elegiac distichs.

In Laurentius Paulinus Gothus’ Ethicae Christianae pars prima, 1617:

In the Ähraskyldige Lijktienst, 1618:
2. Animulae Sanctae Hujus Herois desideratissimi, Tam belli, quam pacis tempore Candidi: “Quantus eras terris Dux candide, tantis in altis …” 12 vv. the first Archilochian metre.


4. Iohannes, Dux Ostrogothu s, mundo valere-Jusso Se penitus in Caelituum famil-iaritem insinuat: “Munde vale; constans non es mihi patria, Coelum …” 8 vv. elegiac distichs.


In Agon Regius, 1620:


5. Then högtberömelige Drotningenes, Gunilae, Uthi sitt bedröffelige änkiestånd, Dagelige och Sidste önskning: “Tigh, o Herre, på thenne dagh ...” 4 vv. doggerel verse.


In Ährapredikning, 1620:


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383 This poem can also be found in Jonas Werwing’s Konung Sigismunds och Konung Carl den IX:des Historier, edited by Anders Anton Stierman in 1746, p. 291.
2. Tumba Christianissimi et potentissimi Regis, Gostavi I, Caroli Octavi Consanguinei, Stenonis Sture Principis Senioris Pronepotis ... (The title continues with a short description of Gustav Vasa’s life.): “Tristis ad hoc saevo prostrata rigore sepulchrum ...” 6 vv. elegiac distichs.


4. Regiones Exoticae Ad Magnatem Augustum, Et omnium Regnorum Septentrionalium excellentissimum ornamentum Gostvum I. Regem quondam Suecicum, Devotissimum, aequissimum et sapientissimum, Qui (a text in lapidary style follows): “Qua meat obliquus, seu rectus currat Olympus ...” 14 vv. elegiac distichs.


In Johannes Avenarius’ Jesu Christi Pinos Historia, 1620:

In Laurentius Paulinus Gothus’ Analysis Sacrorum Textuum, 1621:

384 Crusius 1955, p. 119, calls this metre the fourth Asclepiadean.
In Nicolaus Grubb’s *Speculum Vitae Humanae*, 1622:

In Erich Jörensson’s *Gustaffs Historia*, 1622:
1. Προσφώνημα, Ad Lectorem non-iniquum, avidis luminibus contuentem, Chronographiam hanc Gustavianam, Quam nunc primum publicae potestatis facit, Nobilissimus et Consultissimus Vir, Dns. Ericus Georgii, de Huffdestadh et Grundwijk, Cameræ Regiae Consiliarius fidelissimus: “Quae de Gustavo, Pate Regum, Rege Piores … “ 26 vv. elegiac distichs.

In Laurentius Paulinus Gothus’ *Loimoscopia*, 1623:

In Laurentius Paulinus Gothus’ *Ethicae Christianae, partis secundae*, 1624:

In Phrygius’ *portrait*, 1627:
1. “In terris faciem talem dedit arbiter aevi … ” 4 vv. the first Archilochian.

In Samuel Älf’s collection, W 25 a: 1, fol. 149r, undated:

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385 Phrygius’ poem is missing in some copies.
386 Samuel Älf has transcribed this poem in W 25:2, fol. 153, with the heading: *Ad reverendiss. atq. Praeclariss. Virum M. L. Paulinum Gothum Episc. Strengn. digniss. in Collata Summi Doctoratus Theologii Insignia, 1617*, and below he added that the poem later was printed in this book.
5.1.2 Prose in Latin and Swedish (except sermons)

**In separate prints:**

**Epistola Consolatoria** Ad virum consultissimum, omnique virtutum genere praecellentissimum, Dominum Petrum Andreae, Serenissimi Ostrogothorum Ducis &c. Camerarium prudentissimum, Ob Conjugis longe dilectissimae mortem acerbissime complorantem; Amicæ condolentiae & mutuae συμπάθιας ergo, consignata a Sylvestro Phrygio Superintendente S. Stockholmiae, excudebat Ignatius Meurerus, anno 1616.

**Included in other prints:**

In the *Memoriae Reverendi et Clarissimi Viri*, 1608.


In the funeral sermon for Margerete, 1608:

Spectatis, Industriis et prudentissimis viris Petro Matthiae, Praetori in Kind et Ydery, et Melchiori Wale, civi Sudercopensis, amicis integerrimis, Perpetuam a Deo felicitatem ex animo precatur Sylvester Iohan: Phrygius.

In Agon Regius, 1620:

Thens Höghborne Furstes och Herres, Herr Magni, Hertigz til Ostergöthlandh, yt-terste Affskeedh, Ifrå thenna timmeliga Skröpligheeten.

5.1.3 Sermons in Swedish

**In separate prints:**


**Vitae Coelestis Umbratilis Idea.** Thet är, Thet Himmelska lifzens, härlighetens och glädians eenfaldighe Affrijteelse och förebeläte, Uthkastat uti Sex Predikningar, öfwer then liuflige och märkelige Läro och tröstfulla Historien, hwilken thesee tree Jesu Christi H. Evangelister Matthaeus, Marcus och Lucas, Om then högtwalsignade Himmelskonungens och aldranädigaste Menniskofrelsarens vårs Herres Jesu Christi undersköne Glorification och ährerijka förklaring på thet H. berget Thabor, hafwa uthi sina Evangelii


Sylvestri Phrygii Enfaldighe Betänkiande, Om menniskiones älendighe lijffzlängd, sammenfogat til en Graffpredikning, som skulle blifwa hålden öfwer then Edle och wälborne Erich Ribbingz, Til stora Daala och Swansöö, Sweriges Rijkes Rådz Persons, och Lagmans i tijjohäradzlagh i Småland, Salighe Lijk: Huilken uthi Gudz barmhertighheetz äkallelse, affsompna-de på Säbij i wärmeland, sins K. Broders wälborne Boo Ribbingz etc. gård, Anno C. 1612, XXII. Octobris: Bleff ock nogot ther effter hederliga hemförd, och uthi Daala Kyrkio Midfastasöndagh, Anno Christiano 1613. medh Christelige Ceremonier nedersat. Tryckt i Stockholm, hoos Ignatium Meurer, Åår 1617.


Included in other prints:

In *Agon Regius*, 1620:
Sylvestri Johan. Phrygii Poetae L. Caesar ii, Oratio Encomiastica, Om then Stormächtinge och Högborne Furstes och Herres H. Johans then Tridies, Swerges, Göthes och Wändes Konungz, Stoorfurstes til Finland, Carelen, Wätzkepetin och Ingermanneland j Rysland; Och öfwer the Estar j Liffland Hertigz Dygerijke Leffwerne och högtprislige Mandomswärk. Elaborata Anno ab incunabulis Christi, M. DC. XVIII.

In *Ährapredikning*, 1620:
Sylvestri Phrygii P.L. Ora tio Praefatoria, Qua disseritur, Regem Serenissimum et Beatissimum Gostavum Primum, Parentem Patriae εὔστοργον, Esse dignissimum, Cujus memoria beata, Dum hic Sol (Patuli fax publica mundi) Mane oritur et vespere rursus ad occasum vergit, Redintegratur et exaltetur.

5.1.4 Phrygius’ editions of other authors’ works.


och besmyckat icke allenast medh Threnodia Dramatica, och H.K.Mtz.
högstålskade Drotningens Gunilae Epithaphiijs; uthan ock en wälfförtient Ora-
tion, om thens högtförtiente Konungens dygdefulle leffwerne: Restauratore
& authore, Sylvestro Johan. Phrygio, Sup. & Past. Schödv. Cum Sacrae
R.M. gratia & privilegio. Holmiae A.C. 1620. (Printed by Ignatius Meu-
rer).³⁸⁷

M. Johannis Coleri, Aureo-Montani Silesij, **Grundelige Betänkiande**, om
thet wederstyggelige och fördömlige Fyllerijt, Som nu i thenne arge Werld-
dennes sidsta uphälning, gåår i fullan duus, Förswenskat aff S. Erich Rib-
bing, Til Stoora Daala och Swansöö, Fordom Sverges Rijkes Rådh, och
Lagman uti tyio Häredzlagh i Småland, Nu andre gången öfwerseedt, och
uthi Trycket förfärdigat, effter thens S. Herrens eftterlåtna Husfrus, Wälbor-
ne F. Emerentiae Gyllenstiernes fljitige begär, aff Sylvestro Joh. Phrygio,
Sup. & Past. Schödviensi. (Printed in Stockholm by Olof Oloffson in
1620).³⁸⁸

5.1.5 Collections with *propemptika* to Phrygius

**Σχεδιάσματα** Viri a piate, a doctrina, ab experientia politissimi, adeoque
Socraticae & Sincieroris Philosophiae Civis excultissimi D. Sylvestri Iohan.
Phrygii Calmariensis, Ex Germania in patriam Anno ultimae Dei patientiae
1600. Ad scholam Vadzstenensem gubernandam ab amplissimo Dioecesis
Lincopianae Senatu revocati Abitui, Amoris, honoris & observantiae ergo ab
amicis & popularibus consecrata. Rostochii, Praelo Myliandrino. Eight Latin
poems and one Greek poem to Phrygius. The poets are Martinus Braschius,
Iohannes Achatius a Tydon Suecus, Iohannes Magnus a Kelunda Suecus,
Iohannes Fabricius Finno, Petrus Erici Drivius Cuprimontanus S., Ionas
Bergeri Rothovius S. and Daniel Nicolai Replerus S.

**Συγχάρματα** Novorum honorum inaugurationi Ornatissimi, Humanissimi
atque doctissimi viri Dn. Sylvestri Phrygii Calmariensis, Poetae Coronati,
cum ei phoebea laurea summusque in Philosophia gradus in celeberrima
Witebergensium Academia 23. Martii Anni 1602. Deo ter opt. max. feliciter
annuente. Rectore Magnificentissimo Illustrissimo Principe ac Dn. Dn. Au-
gusto, Duce Saxoniae &c. Prorectore Magnifico & excellentissimo viro
Ernesto Hettenbachio, Medicinae D. & Professore Pub. Decano Spectabili &
elarissimo viro Dn. M. Erasmo Schmidt, Graecae linguae Prof. publ.
decerneretur, fausti ominis & benevolentiae ergo ab amicis popul. Consecrata.
Excudebat Ioh. Faber, Typis Cratonianis. Eleven Latin poems to Phrygius.
The poets are Iacobus Fabricius Rostochinus, Isaac Bergeri Rothovius Śmo-

³⁸⁷ Collijn 1600, col. 714
³⁸⁸ Collijn 1600, col. 174
landus, Ionaus Bergeri Rothovius Sueco-Smolandus, Carolus Praetorius Wermelanderus, Ionaus Nicolai Oniensulanus S., Laurentius Laurentij Gothus, Daniel Iohannis Normalanten Gothus, Daniel Laurentij Gothus, Haquinus Bergeri Urshultensis, Magnus L. Wellerius Smolandus and Vincentius Corberus F.

5.1.6. Phrygius as editor of collections


5.1.7 Other prints or manuscripts where Phrygius’ poems occur

Axel Oxenstierna’s album amicorum. Manuscript now stored at KB, shelfmark: Rogge Stb 1, fol. 531r. Notes with greetings and one Latin poem, 1602.


Cursus Visitationis Dioecesis Wexionensis. Uthi hwilkom Huffuudgrunden aff then öffning medh Christi Församling, eftter Catechismi ordning uthi Visiteringen hållin, kortteliga är författat, Lärorom och Åhörarom nyttig att öffuerläsa och begrunda. Item, Hwstafflan, författat i sex Predicningar, allom them som på Ämbetes och Tiänsts wegna ther uthi rum haffua, nädtorftig att weta och öffuerwäga. Sammandragin och uthgångin aff M. Petro Iona

Catechismus uthi wise predicninger på huart huffuodhstycke, fordom stelt och predicat, aff then ährewerdighe herren Mose Flachern, doctore uthi then h. Scrifft, och kyrckeherde i then berömlighe Stadhen Kempton: Och nu aff Tyskon, in uppå wårdt Swenska Tungomåål, affsatt och transfererat, aff Enoch Haquini C. pastore in Svanshals. Tryckt i Rostock af Stephan Möleman, Anno 1610.


Then Stoormechtighe, höghborne Furstes och Christelighe Herres, Her 


Phrygius’ portrait. One copy in oil-colour on canvas in LSB, and one copy in oil-colour on sheet copper in the consistory-house of Gothenburg. On the paintings Phrygius’ symbolum, Phrygius’ age, year of composition and a poem of 4 vv. can be found.\textsuperscript{389} The poem is followed by the words: \textit{Sic vates de seipso}.


Samuel Älf’s collection, the \textit{Deliciae Poetarum Svecorum} stored at LSB. Phrygiana can be found in vols. W 25: 2, and W 25 a: 1.

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Adam, Melchior, \textit{Vitae Germanorum iureconsultorum et politicorum …} Frankfurt am Main 1620.
Balde, Jacob, \textit{Poemata}. Köln 1660.
Balticus, Martin, \textit{Poematum Martini Baltici Monacensis libri tres …} Augsburg ca. 1560.
Barth, Caspar von, \textit{Tarraei Hebi Amphitheatrum Sapientiae …} Hanau 1613.
\textemdash \textit{Tarraei Hebi Nobilis a Speriga Amphitheatrum Seriorum Jocorum …} Hanau 1613.
Barzaeus, Johannes, \textit{Ioannis Barzaei Heroum Helvetiorum Epistolae …} Freiburg 1657.
Basilius Faber Soranus, \textit{Basilii Fabri Sorani Thesaurus eruditionis scholasticae … jam olim post aliorum operas per Augustum Buchnerum recensitus et emendatus … huic novae editioni … cura et studio Christophori Cellarii}. Leipzig 1686.

\textsuperscript{389} The poem can be found on the back-side of the copy stored in Gothenburg, according to Sigfrid Gahm Persson in \textit{Archivum Smolandicum}, vol. 9 (63): fol. 514 ff.
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## 6. Indices

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