Georg Stiernhielm

Linguistic works, volume 1

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

Unpublished manuscripts edited with introduction

by

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 On the basis of his unpublished manuscripts, the majority of Stiernhielm’s writings on phonology, morphology, semiotics, sound symbolism and the variability of language are here published for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

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 The next chapter surveys his scholarly and scientific authorship in unpublished and published writings, taking his archive and his catalogues of planned writings as points of departure.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

Keywords
historical phonology, historical lexical morphology, phonosemantics, sound aesthetics, transformational grammar, polygraphy
Preface with acknowledgements

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

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

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

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

Grants for the printing of this volume have been provided by the Swedish Academy, Olle Engkvist’s Fond and the Editorial Board of Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
I acknowledge the receipt of these research and printing grants with joy and gratitude.

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

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

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

Uppsala, March 2023

Josef Eskhult
Table of contents

PART 1. INTRODUCTION

1. General introduction ................................................................. 13
   1.1 Purpose .................................................................................. 13
   1.2 Earlier research ....................................................................... 15

2. Stiernhielm’s life and intellectual contexts ..................................... 21
   2.1 Earlier biographical accounts .................................................. 21
   2.2 Ancestry, studies and early career ............................................ 30
   2.3 Early and middle career as an official ...................................... 41
   2.4 Antiquarian official and court poet .......................................... 56
   2.5 Refugee and final career as an official ..................................... 74
   2.6 Stiernhielm’s death and burial ............................................... 77
   2.7 Epilogue .................................................................................. 79

3. Stiernhielm’s authorship: an exploratory account .............................. 83
   3.1 Stiernhielm’s archive at the Royal Library ............................... 83
   3.2 Stiernhielm’s autograph notebook in Hannover ....................... 96
   3.3 Stiernhielm’s planned authorship ............................................ 99
   3.4 Stiernhielm’s poetical authorship ........................................... 111

4. Linguistic theory in general and in particular ................................... 113
   4.1 Linguistic theory in general: topics and contexts ...................... 113
   4.2 Phonology and morphology: principles of classification
      and semanticization .................................................................. 116
   4.3 Language philosophy: words in relation to reality ................... 119

5. Structural variability and transformability of language ..................... 122
   5.1 Theory of structural linguistic variability ................................. 122
   5.2 Sources of inspiration ............................................................ 124
   5.3 Proteus and polygraphia as unpublished writings ..................... 129

6. Manuscript sources and editorial principles .................................... 131
   6.1 Manuscript sources ............................................................... 131
   6.2 Editorial principles ................................................................ 132

PART 2. PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

7. Historical and comparative phonology ........................................... 137
   7.1 Swedish phonemes: an inventory .......................................... 137
   7.2 The origin of phonemes: a reductionist theory ......................... 141
   7.3 Hebrew, Latin, Greek and Swedish phonemes ......................... 156
8. Lexical and inflectional morphology ........................................ 178
  8.1 Historical formation of lexical morphemes ..................... 178
  8.2 Universal classification of lexical morphemes .................. 187
  8.3 Universal semanticization of lexical morphemes ............... 192
  8.4 Inflectional morphemes: interlingual observations .......... 200
  8.5 Gradation of phono-morphological terms ....................... 202

PART 3. LANGUAGE PHILOSOPHY

9. Reality, the linguistic sign, and mind: the relationship ........ 205
   9.1 Object and word: the relationship .................................. 205
   9.2 Word and meaning: the relationship .............................. 213
   9.3 Phonemes, meanings and colours: the relationship ......... 221

PART 4. TRANSFORMATIONAL GRAMMAR AND SEMANTICS

10. *Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum* ............................... 241
    10.1 The first circle: grammatical variability .................... 241
    10.2 The second circle: variability through synonymy,
        equivalence, and periphrasis .................................... 245
    10.3 The third circle: semantic variability through tropes ...... 251
    10.4 The fourth and fifth circles: variability through figures
        of speech and figures of thought ................................ 255
    10.5 Fifth circle: variability through figures of thought ....... 261
    10.6 Variability of classical maxims ................................. 264

11. *Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus* .......................... 271
    11.1 The engraved circle diagram ...................................... 271
    11.2 Theory and classification of linguistic variability ....... 279
    11.3 Morphological and syntactic variability .................... 302
    11.4 Lexical variability of epistemological stages ............... 325

12. *Polygraphia intelligibilis*: comprehensible polygraphy ........ 357
    12.1 A standard letter of best wishes in 1625 .................... 357
    12.2 A standard letter about familiar matters .................... 375
    12.3 A letter on European political news in 1646 ................. 392
    12.4 A birthday panegyric to the Queen in 1650 ................. 408

Appendices ............................................................................ 439
  Appendix 1: Alsted on morphosyntactic variability ............. 439
  Appendix 2: Alsted on the art of invention, circle 1 ............ 448
  Appendix 3: Farnaby’s categorization of semantic changes ...... 451
  Appendix 4: Stiernhielm on the order of things and notions .... 454
  Appendix 5: Stiernhielm on the interlinking of the universe .... 455
Bibliography .................................................................................................................. 456
Manuscript sources ..................................................................................................... 456
Printed sources ............................................................................................................ 458
Secondary literature ................................................................................................... 464

Indices .......................................................................................................................... 473
Index I: Names .............................................................................................................. 473
Index II: Subject matters and linguistic terms ......................................................... 487
Index III: Polygraphy: units of variation .................................................................... 505
Index IV: Swedish words occurring in the texts edited ............................................. 510
Index V: Words in Indo-European languages occurring in the texts edited ............. 514
Index VI: Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic words occurring in the texts edited .......... 516

Illustrations .................................................................................................................... 523
List of illustrations ....................................................................................................... 523
Painting and engravings ............................................................................................... 525
Samples of manuscripts, I: phonology, morphology, sound symbolism and sound aesthetics .......................................................... 528
Samples of manuscripts, II: transformational grammar ............................................. 542
Historical maps ............................................................................................................. 555
PART 1. INTRODUCTION
Figure 1. Portrait of Georg Stiernhielm at the age of 65. Oil painting by David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl, 1663. © Nationalmuseum (National Museum of Fine Arts). Localization: The Swedish National Portrait Gallery, Gripsholm Castle, Mariefred. Size: 92 x 112 cm. Stiernhielm is depicted as a scholar and scientist in black clothing with a white collar. His attributes are the instruments of a geometrician: a cube, a polygon, a sphere, a ruler, a compass, and a quadratic measuring rod, probably Baculus Carolinus. He argued that a geometrician should be able to measure everything only by means of a ruler, regula, and a compass, circinus (F.d. 9**, p. 91). At the lower-right corner, his coat of arms is displayed. He is flanked to the right by a broken column, behind which a rounded building is visible, a reference to his interest in Greco-Roman culture. To the left, a landscape is outlined, through which a brook flows. He displays an experienced and vigilant countenance. His left hand rests on a cane and touches a sword, a symbol of nobility. According to Göte Ask (2000: 13–14), the painting represents the best of Ehrenstrål’s production and conforms to a realistic style.
1. General introduction

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

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

¹ Stiernhielm himself only published two linguistic writings, viz. the conspectus of Runa Suethica (1651) and Praefatio de origine linguarum in the Swedish edition of Codex Argenteus (1671). Posthumously Stiernhielm’s Anticluverius, a refutation of Philipp Clüver’s Germania antiqua (1616), was published with his Dissertatio de Hyperboreis by Johan Hadorph in Stockholm in 1685. His Anti-Bochartus, a refutation of Samuel Bochart’s derivation of Celtic from Phoenician in Geographia sacra, vol. 2: Canaan (1646), was published in Acta literaria et Scientiarum Sueciae in 1738 (pp. 363–389) and 1739 (pp. 454–477). His Dissertatio de Opino and Observatio de etymo vocum fader, moder, broder, amma, barn, dotter, son were published in Greimir or þeim gaumlu saugum, laugum og íþdrotter in Stockholm 1763, pp. 203–219.
In designating Stiernhielm’s writings on these topics as his “linguistic works”, I am not referring to modern conceptions of linguistics, but to linguistics understood according to the standards of the emergent pre-disciplinary system of scholarly assumptions in language studies in the 17th century and in the entire early modern period.

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

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

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

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

In an article that examines Stiernhielm’s phonosemantic theory in relation to word choices and the use of stylistic devices in his poetry, the Scandinavian philologist Carl Ivar Ståhle (1913–1980) called attention to the fact that Stiernhielm’s linguistic and lexicographical writings make up the bulk of his surviving scholarly output, that this material mostly remains unpublished and that “it may be a while before it can be presented in a state that makes it possible to get a
clearer picture of Stiernhielm’s development as a linguistic scholar.”  
In 1968, Per Wieselgren tells about a plan to publish an edition of Stiernhielm’s linguistic writings. In 2011, Bernt Olsson regrets that Stiernhielm did not publish his linguistic writings and that his linguistic ideas are still only contained in his unpublished and disordered manuscripts in his archive at the Royal Library. This implies that his thoughts on various topics are found in completely different places, and are often undated or impossible to date.

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

1.2.2 On Stiernhielm’s morphological and phonosemantic theory
The theoretical background of lexical choices and stylistic devices in Stiernhielm’s Swedish poetry is explored by Carl Ivar Ståhle in an article from 1951 and in a couple of chapters of a study on Swedish versification and poetry in the age of the Vasa dynasty kings and of Sweden as a Great Power (1975). The article consists of four sections, the first of which follows lines of development of Stiernhielm’s etymological, morphophonological and phonosemantic

---


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

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

---

8 Ståhle, ibidem, pp. 65–70.
9 Ståhle, ibidem, pp. 70–84.
10 Ståhle, ibidem, pp. 84–94.
motivated relation between reality and the linguistic sign (in phonemes, morphemes and lexical roots), the conviction that one’s own national vernacular is a main language (that is, a language that traces back to the earliest time and is not derived from others) and the opinion that one’s own vernacular retains an original purity; and that this purity should be protected through the avoidance of foreign words and their replacement by loan translations (calques from the building blocks of the vernacular) and through the revival of old words. This kind of language patriotism was linked with a policy of language legitimacy that aimed to render the national vernacular functionally equivalent to cultural languages and to transform it into a language of literature and scholarship. Blume argues however that the cultural ideology that underlies the above assumptions and its programme for language reform has a distinctive character in 17th-century Sweden, as compared to Germany, namely the movement of Swedish Gothicism in general and Stiernhielm’s idea of the meaningful morpheme as the minimal semantic building block of language in particular. In contrast to synchronic views on the concept of “Stammwort” in the theory of von Zesen and Schottelius, Stiernhielm applies a historical perspective to the formation of the root. Blume argues that Stiernhielm’s conception of the root is axiomatic-deductive rather than empirical-inductive. He discusses Stiernhielm’s views on the phonosemantic formation of the root and their difference from the modern concept of roots and stems in the Saussurean paradigm. He argues that, in his lexicography and Swedish poetry, Stiernhielm performed a language renewal in which he joined his phonosemantic semiotics with a Gothicist ideology and the use of Gothic archaisms.

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

\(^{17}\) Blume, ibidem, pp. 213–217.
2. Stiernhielm’s life and intellectual contexts

2.1 Earlier biographical accounts

2.1.1 Survey of main contributions in early-modern times

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

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

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

---

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

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

20 In compiling the *Personalia*, Bergius presumably got information from the deceased’s family (Johan Markvard Stiernhielm and Christina Stiernhielm) and his circle of friends, above all Samuel Columbus. Bergius was certainly not installed as vicar of Klara Church until November 1672, but he may have met Stiernhielm during his appointments (1665–1671) as a chaplain of the Bonde family and as a court preacher in the service of the Queen dowager Hedvig Eleonora in Stockholm.
years 1667–1670, and in the following two years he had the opportunity to visit Stiernhielm frequently as tutor of the sons of the merchant Jacob Momma Reestierna in Stockholm. At the College of Antiquities, Samuel Columbus undertook the task “to write the art of Swedish poetry, such as it has begun to be cultivated” and was assigned the duty of systematizing the etymological lexicography of Stiernhielm. In his own authorship, Columbus qualifies as a Swedish poet and a linguistic theorist. His biography on Stiernhielm forms a part of his collection of tales or stories, Mål-roo eller Roo-mål, “Meal-entertainment or entertaining meals”, from the sayings of ancient writers and coevals, written during his stay in Paris in 1676–1678. He depicts Stiernhielm’s scholarly and intellectual character by reporting various statements Stiernhielm made from his youth until the end of his life, as related by other people whom he had met, or that he himself had heard. Stiernhielm is portrayed as a man possessing a Stoic attitude towards the vicissitudes of life, one who is endowed with great talents, having a joyful and contented mind in the face of the adversities of human existence, a follower of virtue with a sense of justice, a learned polymath, a religious freethinker, and not least a witty and cheerful companion of his patrons in the nobility and high officials of the 17th-century Swedish Empire. Columbus conveys Stiernhielm’s self-understanding in words and deeds, most notably in Stiernhielm’s request for his well-known epitaph: “As long as he lived, he lived happily” (Section 2.5.2). The collection of stories was published in part by Erik Ekholm in 1760.

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

21 See Ragnar Ekholm’s biography, Samuel Columbus. Bidrag till kännedomen om hans levnad och författarskap, Uppsala 1924. He got into contact with Stiernhielm in the years 1665–1666, when he was tutor of the sons of Mårten P. Blixencron.
23 Samuel Columbus, Mål-roo eller roo-mål, edited from the exant manuscripts by Bengt Hesselman, Stockholm 1935, pp. 21–43 (stories nos. 21–43).
25 Hufwedsson Dal, Collectanea till Georg Stiernhielms biografi, ms. X 296, fols. 1r–6v, UUB.
Collecting material for a three-part biography covering Stiernhielm’s life (vita), authorship (studia) and official appointments (officia), Hufwedsson Dal looked up Stiernhielm’s published and unpublished writings in the Archives of Antiquities, contextualized the underlying ideas through comparison with Stiernhielm’s contemporaries such as Hugo Grotius and Francis Bacon, and excerpted some of Plutarch’s biographies as a literary pattern. However, these collections are incomplete and in disorder. The finished part (which is titled Lucta, etc.) is divided into seven sections: (1) a eulogy of Stiernhielm, (2) his birth and character, (3) his ennoblement and first official appointments in Swedish Livonia, (4) his textual editing of Swedish laws with lexical explanations, (5) his treatise on the testing of metallic elements by their densities, Archimedes reformatus, (6) his Swedish poetry, Musae Suethizantes, (7) and his historical writings Anti-Cluverius and Dissertatio de Hyperboreis. This biographical essay was planned as the second part of Specimen biographicum de antiquariis Sveciae, the first part of which was published in 1724.

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


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

28 Celsius (1753: 11) states that during his education abroad Stiernhielm followed Carl Karlsson Gyllenhielm (1674–1650, count and admiral) on his travels. This is a mistake, as pointed out by Swartling (1909: 17, n. 5) and Nordström (Filosofiska fragment, vol. 1, XIX). He claims that during his first journey to the Netherlands Stiernhielm in the early 1620s made the acquaintance of Daniel Heinsius, Salmiasi, Maestertius, Blondel, Boxhorn and Johan Below and was inducted as a member of the Royal Society of Sciences. This only holds true of the official journey to the Netherlands from late 1648 to early 1649, when he made the personal acquaintance of these scholars. His election into the Royal Society of Sciences occurred even later, in 1669, and certainly upon his own proposal.
underpins his biography with source data in footnotes, which shows that he had done basic research. In the 1740s he had collected data for a Swedish biographical dictionary, in which Stiernhielm was of course included. His brother Magnus von Celse (1709–1784) compiled a biography with the title *Georg Stiernhielms lefwernes beskrivning*, “Description of the life of Georg Stiernhielm”, which survives in manuscript. It dates from around 1770 and in much it relies on *Lärde svänske*, though it contains more source references.

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

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

---

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

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

31 Schröder left biographical notes on Stiernhielm, ms. U 9 (biographica), UUB.
collected bellettristic works, which he admired as a model of good, pure Swedish and as the opposite to French classicism. This introduction has several merits, although Swartling (1909: 2–3) as a positivist scholar apparently disparages it. Hammarskold divides his presentation into nine chapters, the first of which discusses Stiernhielm’s ancestry, birth and education. The second concerns the age in which Stiernhielm lived, as reflected in a list of names of contemporary scholarly and literary celebrities. The third chapter treats the political, moral and literary condition of Sweden during Stiernhielm’s life. The fourth chapter outlines Stiernhielm’s career as an official, the fifth elucidates his personal character, and the sixth surveys his scholarly and literary authorship, with an overview of his archive at the Royal Library of Stockholm. The seventh chapter discusses Stiernhielm’s merits of as an author and a scholar. Based on Columbus’ account, the eighth chapter relates Stiernhielm’s death. The final chapter provides a study on the reception of Stiernhielm as a poet and a philologist (see Vol. 2, Section 18.1).

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

### 2.1.2 Survey of main contributions in modern times

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

---

34 Swartling, “Några bidrag”, p. 188, underlines the importance of using reliable and verifiable primary, documentary sources instead of the anecdotal materials that ultimately derive from Columbus’ collection of stories.
himself of everything from the Archives of the Swedish Government and the city archives in the Baltic states to personal archives, such as the then still intact archive of the Stiernhielm family at the estate of Vasula, north of Tartu, which at that time had quite recently (in 1890) been discovered by the Swedish librarian and scholar Harald Wieselgren (1835–1906). Importantly, Swartling in addition made use of and quoted from *Personalia* on Stiernhielm, the authorship of which he attributed to Terserus rather than Bergius. He composed a source-based intellectual biography, in which Stiernhielm’s life and his linguistic, political, antiquarian and literary ideas are explored against the background of 17\(^{th}\)-century thought. In his review of his 19\(^{th}\)-century precursors, he contends that such a documentary and contextualizing approach is what was lacking in the Stiernhielm biographies by Lénström, Geijer and Atterbom.\(^{35}\)

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


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


\(^{39}\) Nordström, ibidem, vol. 1, pp. V and CCXIX–CCXXIV. Swartling, ibidem, pp. 59–60, similarly argues that it was not until the 1650s that Stiernhielm began to devote himself to philosophical studies. For the role of the Queen, he refers to the
The next major advance is associated with Per Wieselgren. His main achievement is without doubt his textual edition of the letters and petitions from Georg Stiernhielm (1937–48) and letters to the same (1968a). When editing this correspondence he used, apart from judicial and personal archives, the Stiernhielm family archive, the most important remains of which he managed to rediscover after its temporary disappearance in the 1920s. In the 1930s, the archive in question was purchased by the Swedish Academy from Karl Kurt Stiernhielm.40 Wieselgren published transcribed Bergius’ *Personalia* on Stiernhielm in *Svio-Estonica* (1937, pp. 75–85). In his biography on Stiernhielm, *Georg Stiernhielm* (1948), he provides a well-informed, coherent and contextualizing narrative, though he does not document his primary sources, while in his edition of Stiernhielm’s letters and petitions and in his commentary (1957) he makes new biographical information available. His edition of the correspondence to Stiernhielm is also a mine of biographical information.

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

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

---


ancestry, education, benefactors and early career (chapters 3–7). He then turns to Columbus’ qualities as a biographer in *Roo-mål eller Mål-roo* (ch. 8). Next he describes the fateful event of 13 July 1641, when Stiernhielm injured his right hand in a tumult that originated in the rivalry and tensions between the German Baltic nobility and Swedish civil servants in Livonia (ch. 9). He supplies illustrations of Stiernhielm’s handwriting before and after the injury (pp. 70–71).

Twelve chapters then follow, in which Olofsson elucidates Stiernhielm’s scholarly, scientific and literary achievements from various thematic points of view – as a court poet (ch. 10), as a mathematical scientist (ch. 11), as an ideologue of the concept of nobility, where his meritocratic views are proved from the Hercules poem (ch. 13), as a linguistic theorist (ch. 14), as a philosopher (ch. 15), as a master of literary expressionism (ch. 16), as the father of Swedish artistic poetry in the use of metre, rhetorical devices, and word choice, particularly as the author of the Hercules poem with the intricate modern debate on the author’s motives (ch. 17), as the in modern times disputed writer of *Bröllops beswärs ihugkommelse*, i.e. “Memories of dear wedding troubles” (ch. 18), as a Latin poet (ch. 19), as a writer of obscene poetry (ch. 20), and as a jurist in the Swedish legal commissions of 1642 and 1643 and as a military.councillor and a member of parliament (ch. 21). The author also calls attention to Stiernhielm’s fate as a landlord in the Baltic provinces (ch. 12). Olofsson has succeeded in his aim of overcoming two obstacles to accessibility for modern readers – the Latin barrier that surrounds Stiernhielm’s writings in quotations in previous secondary sources, and the orthography of 17th-century Swedish. Olofsson filled a lacuna, namely the absence of a biography that integrates and unifies various earlier research findings and observations.

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

---

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

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

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

2.1.3 Aim and scope

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

2.2 Ancestry, studies and early career

2.2.1 Birthplace and ancestry

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

---

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

48 “Gammelgården” is located on a historical map of the Copper Mountain districts, *Tabula geographica över Kopparbergslagen* in 1640. For a more detailed historical map, see Bertil Boëthius, *Kopparbergslagen fram till 1570-talets genombrott*, Uppsala 1965, the attachment “Karta över Kopparbergslagen vid 1500-talets mitt”. For the parish of Vika, see Figure 28 below. Cf. Olofsson, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 6.
Stiernhielm himself and in the *Personalia*. It is confirmed by land register records. Olof Markvardsson owned several estates, and around 1615 he moved to another one in the vicinity, called *Diskarvet*. In most of the early modern biographies it is mistakenly assumed that Stiernhielm was born on some of the neighbouring estates, such as *Diskarvet* or *Svartskär* (actually *Svarttjärn*) in Kniva.

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

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

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


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

52 According to Stiernhielm’s own genealogy (ms. Palmsköld. 243, UUB, pp. 3 and 5) his ancestors – with addition of localities and approximate life times from Gustaf Elgenstierna, *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor*, vol. 7, Stockholm 1932, pp. 653 f. and Carl Szabad (ed.), *Supplement till den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor*, vol. 2 (2008), pp. 925–926 – were as follows: Nils Olufsson: Olaf Nielsen “who came from Denmark and brought a star” (in his coat of arms); Olof Olufsson (d. 1498) at Främsbacka, who was married to Ingeborg Jakobsdotter Svinhuvud; Markvard Olofsson at *Storgården* in Kniva, who flourished 1473–1499 and was married to Barbro Eriksdotter; Olof Markvardsson at *Storgården* in Kniva, who flourished 1534–1553 and was married to Kerstin Andersdotter, whose father was Anders Larsson Lillie af Ökna (1449–1529); Markvard Olofsson, who
family migrated from Denmark finds support in historical family research using DNA, according to which it is established that the Stjärna family has a Y-DNA structure that is typical of Central Europe some hundred years before the Stjärna family emerged in the history of Sweden in the 15th century. In that case, Wieselgren (1948: 6) rightly considered the name Markvard a sign of foreign descent. The family’s period of residence in Denmark appears to have been an intermediate stage of its migration from Germany to Sweden.  

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

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

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

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


Stiernhielm’s personalia”, fol. 1v, edited by Wieselgren (1937), p. 79: “har han [...] alt hvad han hörde och läste snartt fatta [...] och hade han ett ingenium universale [...] dy det var intet nestan något scibile eller weetskap, som kunde komma i mennisckeligens kundskap, det han icke hade lust att fatta.”

32
in Uppsala. Apparently he was enrolled in early 1612 at the age of about thirteen years. Stiernhielm was taught scholastic philosophy in its then re-emerging neo-Aristotelian form that Rudbeckius introduced in Sweden. In addition to neo-Aristotelian logic and metaphysics, he studied classical philology with a focus on the acquisition of linguistic ability in Latin. His teacher of Latin was Jacob Boose Rudbeckius (1583–1636), brother of Johannes Rudbeckius. The college records tell that on 7 October 1612 Georgius Olai, with the regional designation Cuprimontanus, i.e. “from Copper Mountain county”, recited by heart the second book of Caesar’s De bello Gallico. One month later he declaimed by heart Cicero’s first speech against Catiline. He continued his studies until June 1613, when the college was closed as a consequence of the academic controversy between Johannes Rudbeckius and Johannes Messenius (1579–1636). We do not know whether Stiernhielm continued his studies at Uppsala for another year or so before embarking on his educational journey abroad. No registration of a Georgius Olai is recorded in 1613 and 1614.

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

56 Besides his directorship of the college (Collegium privatum), Johannes Rudbeckius was professor of mathematics, Hebrew and theology at Uppsala University until June 1613. In 1619, he became Bishop of Västerås and played an important part as educator of his diocese. At his installation as professor of Hebrew in 1610 he gave a public speech “On the importance and highness of Hebrew” (Om det hebreiska språkets värde och höghet) which is edited in Johannes Rudbeckius akademiska högtidstal, Lund 1922, pp. 69–86.
58 Lindroth, ibidem, p. 293. The college held the key writings of two neo-scholastic philosophers, Jacopo Zabarella (1533–1589) and Francisco Suarez (1548–1617).
61 Lindroth, “Stiernhielm’s studier”, p. 293. The controversy is described by Claes Annerstedt, Upsala universitets historia, vol. 1. It was related to the disagreement between Charles IX and Uppsala University. In 1609 King Charles had appointed Johannes Messenius as professor of jurisprudence. Cf. Sellberg, ibid., pp.140–142.
62 The main goals of Swedish students in the 13th and 14th centuries had been Paris and Bologna, in the 15th Prague and Leipzig, and in the 16th Rostock, Wittenberg.
and educational journey, which was called *peregrinatio*, served a dual purpose for Swedish students and young noblemen: it brought them into closer contact with the continental intellectual culture and offered them opportunities to obtain a wider knowledge of political circumstances outside the borders of the fatherland.

2.2.3 Foreign university studies: external course

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

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

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

34
Georgius Olai and Israel Olai, who enrolled at Rostock University in February 1614,⁶⁷ may be identical with Stiernhielm.⁶⁸

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

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

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

---

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


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

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

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

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

---

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

80 Swartling, ibidem, p. 17, note 1. Stiernhielm signed his obligation (Georgii Olai obligatio) on 9 September 1624 and promised not to attend Catholic universities. This letter is edited by Wieselgren, Samlade skrifter, vol. 3:2, pp. 313–315.
Celsius the Younger (1753: 11), Stiernhielm visited “Germany, France, Italy, England and Holland.” Bernt Olsson argues that the knowledge of Italian conditions exhibited in Stiernhielm’s writings may suggest that he studied at the University of Padua. In a draft of a letter (in F.d. 20) to Eric Petri Niurenius (c. 1592–c.1667), probably written in spring 1625, he tells about his plans for a journey to France. He was forbidden to attend Catholic universities in obedience to the decree of Arboga, but he was allowed to visit Huguenot centra of learning. Intentionally not matriculating, he may have transited through France and northern Italy according to the routes of le grand tour de France (Paris, Orléans, Saumur, Nantes, La Rochelle, Bourdeaux, Toulouse, Lyon or Marseille with Provence) and thence il giro d’Italia (Turin or Genua, Milan, Padua, and Venice). He was back in Greifswald in May 1626, when he congratulated his countryman Johannes Olai Moraeus (born in Mora in 1596) with an epigrammatic poem in Latin, printed in the thesis Cursus metaphysici, defended in Greifswald on 16 May 1626. Soon after he completed his two-year scholarship and returned to Sweden, specifically Västerås.

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

83 Through the decree of Arboga in 1617 Catholics were prohibited to stay in Sweden and Swedish students were forbidden to visit Catholic universities abroad.
85 Nordström, ibidem, p. XVIII. The poem is republished in Samlade skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm, 1:1 no. V; commented and translated ibidem, 1:2, pp. 582 f.
86 Swartling, Georg Stiernhielm, p. 21, note 2. In his diary, Memoriale quotidianum, bishop Rudbeckius states for 30 May 1626 that he had sent Georg Lilja 10 silver thalers on the behalf of the cathedral chapter.
87 Sörlin, De lärdas republic, p. 127; Niléhn, Peregrinatio academica: det svenska samhället och de utrikes studieresorna under 1600-talet, Lund 1983, p. 162 diagram III:3 on Swedish students matriculated at German universities in the 17th century. See also Sven Göransson, De svenska studieresorna och den religiösa kontrollen från reformationstiden till frihetsståden, Uppsala 1951.
philosophy and polemic theology (Mål-roo eller roo-mål, no. 21, p. 10). At the University of Helmstedt – which was a stronghold of the humanist and Aristotelian tradition of Philipp Melanchthon – Cornelius Martini had introduced neo-Aristotelian metaphysics in the early 17th century. In Wittenberg, Jacob Martini became a pioneer of neo-Aristotelian scholastics.88

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

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

---

88 The re-introduction of Aristotelism in Germany is described by P. Petersen, Geschichte der aristotelischen Philosophie in protestantischen Deutschland, Leipzig 1921. Cf. Nordström, Filosofiska fragment, vol. 1, pp. XXXI–XXXVII.
89 Swartling, ibidem, p. 18. In his above-mentioned declaration he states: “Studiis igitur, iis praesertim, quae mihi iniunctae sunt politico [sic! politices to be expected], historiarum et linguarum. quibus et tam olim animum addixi sedulo et diligenter incumbere, ut et vita et viribus caste et sobrie instituere omni nisi satagam.” That is: “I will with all my force strive to sedulously and diligently turn my attention to the studies that particularly are imposed on myself, of politics, history, and languages, to which I even formerly devoted my mind, and to live chastely and soberly in my conduct and with all my ability.” The entire letter is edited by Wieselgren, Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm, 3:1, pp. 313–315. Swartling and Wieselgren read politico, but the syntax requires the form politices (a Grecizing genitive singular with the omission of its main word, artis).
90 Stiernhielm’s linguistic works, Vol. 1, Section 12.1.2, unit 66 in the text edited.
91 Nordström and B. Olsson (eds.), Samlade skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm, Poetiska skrifter 1:1, p. 159; 1:2, p. 577. The poem in iambic dimeter is signed Georgius Lilia Cuprimontanus, politices et linguarum Europaearum studiosus.
92 The title of the volume is Loci communes Georgii Stiernhielm in adolescentia collecti, see the inside front cover of ms. F.d. 4:1. It consists of 297 pages, of which pp. 1–265 are paginated and pp. 266–297 unpaginated. The last page (p. 297) is the inside back cover. The topics are indexed by Stiernhielm himself on pp. 266–271.
model of that of Stobaeus, a 5th-century compiler of extracts from Greek authors. This notebook is an anthology of commonplaces, arranged in thematic order. The topics are politics and jurisprudence, (pp. 1–111), nobility (pp. 112–182 including excerpts from Cornelius Agrippa’s De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus, pp. 167–182), ethics on virtues and vices (pp. 183–233), philosophy (pp. 234 ff.), logic (pp. 246 ff., 263 ff.), Lullian art of invention (a synthesis of Lullian method of systematising the branches of learning drawn from Alsted’s Encyclopaedia; pp. 252–254, partly edited in Appendix 2), poetic phrases (pp. 257–258), Lipsian phrases (p. 259), rhetorics (the figures of speech and thought according to Alsted, Rhetorica, 1616; pp. 261–262), index of concepts and headings in the present notebook (pp. 266–271), a sonnet (p. 272), excerpts from Alsted’s De copia rerum et verborum (pp. 273–297), an abridgment of Cornelius Agrippa’s art of invention (pp. 280–291), general syntax (a system of morpho-syntactic transformation from Alsted’s Encyclopaedia; pp. 292–293, see Appendix 1), and a classification of ethics according to Aristotle (pp. 294–295). The notebook ends with a table of Alsted’s method of commonplaces (p. 296). Alsted’s system of universal knowledge and his conception of encyclopaedic learning obviously had a decisive impact on our author. In Alsted’s writings he found a counter-current to neo-Aristotelism. Alsted’s Encyclopaedia can be regarded as the culmination of post-Ramist German tradition.

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


94 Stiernhielm not only quotes from Classical Latin writers, but also from Late Latin poets, such as Claudian and Sidonius Apollinaris, and from prose writers, such as Apuleius and the Church Fathers. He shows a predilection for the works of Silius Italicus, in particular his Punica, where in book 15: 22–128 he found the crossroads motif of choosing between virtue and vice, a topic that he elaborated in his poem Hercules. Ancient Greek writers of poetry, epic and prose are to a lesser extent present. He quotes from Homer, Pindar, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato and Aristotle, and intensely studied the dramas of Sophocles. See Swartling 1909: 15 ff.
George Buchanan and Innocent Gentillet, but primarily from Alsted, whose compendium of politics he copied at the beginning (pp. 3–5).95

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

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

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

2.3 Early and middle career as an official

2.3.1 Administrative background and personal benefactors

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

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

---

95 Stiernhielm’s political notes in his book of commonplaces are analysed by Nils Runeby, *Monarchia mixta: maktfordelningsdebatt i Sverige under den tidigare stormaktstiden*, Stockholm 1962, pp. 123–126. Runeby shows how Stiernhielm’s notes—arranged under separate headings, e.g. *societas civilis, civitas, respublica, foedus, magistratus* and *aristocratia*—are related to contemporary political theory.
96 Georgius Olai Lilia is registered as *politices et etices lector* on 7 September 1626 in *Album scholae Arosiensis* 1618–1650, edited by W. Molér, Västerås 1905.
Stiernhielm’s first patron Johan Skytte in his role as a commoner who as a civil servant reached higher than Stiernhielm and had a different identity as an official. While Skytte developed a professional civil servant identity, Stiernhielm developed the role of the researching civil servant or the civil-servant-researcher. This is important for a fair evaluation of whether he fulfilled his duties as director of the National Board of Antiquities and the Royal Archives, the offices of *riksantivarie* and *riksarkivarie*.

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

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

---

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

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

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

101 On Skytte’s intellectual contexts and achievements as a Ramist educator, see Jenny Ingemarsdotter, Ramism, rhetoric and reform: an intellectual biography of Johan Skytte (1577–1645), Uppsala 2011.
Stockholm. On the recommendation of his friend Johannes Bureus, Skytte employed the well-educated Georg Lilia, a choice that most probably depended on Lilia’s adherence to Alsted’s post-Ramist method. Skytte summoned Stiernhielm to be a teacher at *Collegium Illustre* at the start of 1627.

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

103 J. Schefferus, *Svecia literata*, Holmiae/ Stockholm 1680, p. 51, gives the entire title: *Specimen primariae linguae Scanzianae continens declinationes nominum adjectivorum et substantivorum ut et syntaxin eorum*, that is “Specimen of the main Scandinavian language comprising the declensions of adjectives and substantives as well as their (morpho-)syntax.” The term *primaria lingua* refers to the concept of a main language rather than to an early period of the Swedish language.
104 Hjalmar Lindroth, *J. Th. Bureus, den svenska grammatikens fader*, Stockholm 1911–12, pp. 34 f. He quotes from *Specimen primariae linguae Scanzianae* in later Swedish grammarians, Eric Aurivillius (1643–1702), *Grammaticae Svecanae specime* in 1684 (published by Gustaf Stjernström in 1884) and Jacob Boëthius (1647–1718), *Dissertatio de nonnullis ad cultum svetici sermonis pertinentibus paragraphis* in 1684 (reprinted by Stjernström in 1881). Lindroth mainly collected Bureus’ grammatical observations from other works in manuscript or prints.
attempted to create a Swedish grammatical terminology. In all probability, Stiernhielm was familiar with these attempts, when he proposed a Swedish linguistic terminology (Vol. 2, Section 17.1). Bureus was also a collector and editor of law manuscripts and a pioneer in studying of the Swedish runes. As a specialist on runes and as a grammarian he applied phonetic perspectives. As a grammarian he documented dialectal varieties.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

118 F.d. 10 Lexicon Gothicum philologicum, fol. 174r: “Anno 1627, die 21 April. in disciplinam accepi illustres DDD. Schyttios Stockholmi”. Swartling quotes this passage (Georg Stiernhielm, p. 22), but refers to the inside of the cover, though this statement is found on the page before the inside of the back cover.
119 For instance, the Latin epitaph to Vendela Skytte, the well-educated daughter of Johan Skytte and Maria Neaf (Näf), see Nordström and Olsson (eds.), Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm, vol. 1:1, pp. 365–368. See also the Latin epigram in honour of Jacob Skytte, idem, ibidem, 1:1, pp. 368–370.
121 Bengt Skytte’s great lexicographical enterprise survives under the title of Sol praecipuarum linguarum subsolarium, “The Sun of the main subsolary languages”, as ms. Ihre 47 (464 pages), Uppsala University Library. There are also fragments at
underlying pansophical ideals. Later, as a state councillor, he was a patron of Stiernhielm.

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

2.3.4 Official in Swedish Livonia, 1630–1648

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

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

---

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


\(^{124}\) “Rikshuvudboken” for 1629 at National Archives of Sweden, vol. 30, p. 46. Georgius Lillia is one of three referendaries with an income of 800 silver thalers.
organization, and the educational systems in the three provinces. Skytte aimed to transform the feudal system of the Livonian society, to break the powerful position and privileges of the Corporations and to achieve a levelling of the social classes by a circulation of the four Estates. In so doing, he used Swedish educational and judiciary structures as a model.

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

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

---

128 Liljedahl, ibidem, p. 288.
129 For a list of the other members of the Court of Appeal in Tartu in 1634 and 1643, see Meurling, *Svensk domstolsförvaltning*, p. 276.
county of Tartu (Fig. 30). He authorized Stiernhielm (Georg Lilia) to hold the latter office (of Landtrichter) on 20 May 1630. Stiernhielm swore the oath of a judge on 10 November. The next year, the Court of Appeal sent him with other assessors to ask the king’s advice about the vague boundaries of its jurisdiction. When the deputation met Gustavus Adolphus in the royal headquarters at Werben in the principality of Brandenburg in August 1631, Stiernhielm took the occasion to apply for a renewal of his nobility, which was granted.\footnote{130}

In the spring of 1633, Skytte founded a General Consistory – a supreme ecclesiastical court (Supremum Consistorium) – for the supervision of ecclesiastical matters, schools and nursing in Livonia under the chairmanship of a layman, and with clergymen and laymen as assessors. The purpose was to relieve the Court of Appeal from cases concerning these fields and also to strengthen the power of the state over the church and to diminish the influence of Herman Samsonius, Bishop of Riga. Stiernhielm was appointed one of the two lay members of this court in May 1633. The clergyman assessors were the two professors of theology at Tartu University. As district judge, an office he resigned in February 1638, Stiernhielm served as chairman of the lower Consistory, which was established in 1636.\footnote{131} Quite understandably, after a couple of years he actually seems to have been overwhelmed with all these duties.

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

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

\footnote{131} Isberg, \textit{Livlands kyrkohistoria}, pp. 43 and 51.
\footnote{132} In a letter to Axel Oxenstierna from 1643, Stiernhielm states that he is qualified for the office of Deputy Chief Judge (vice President) of the Court of Appeal in Tartu, since he “is a Swede by his nationality, by his residence and citizenship a Livonian, by his civil status a nobleman, popular and of good esteem among the inhabitants of the province, an expert on the laws and customs of both nations, and one who does not violate justice out of a moderate regard for both of them.” See Wieselgren (ed.), \textit{Samlaede skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm}, vol. 3:1, p. 106..
\footnote{133} Helmut Piirimäe, “Georg Stiernhielm and Tartu” in \textit{Stiernhielm 400 år}, p. 90.
from 1633. As assessor of Livonia’s General Consistory he earned 200 silver thalers in 1636. Stiernhielm also acquired estates. In 1634 he purchased at a low price Jaama manor and early in 1636 he obtained the neighbouring St. Jürgenhof, both situated at the eastern outskirts of Dorpat. In March 1636 he bought for a cheap price the estate of Wasula, 10 km north of the city, from a Scottish immigrant by name Hans Tennet. To confirm his right of possession against the city of Dorpat, he safeguarded it as a donation, which was ratified in 1639 by the Swedish Regency and later confirmed by the Queen.134 In June 1640 he made an agreement with the city council according to which he exchanged St. Jürgenhof for Wasula.

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

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

135 According to a marginal note in Stiernhielm’s autograph, ms. A 4 4:o, fol. 59, Uppsala University Library, Stiernhielm stayed in Västerås on 2 February 1639.
137 See further Nordström, Filosofiska fragment, vol. 1, pp. CXCI–CCII. When Petrus Andreae Schomerus (1607–1660), professor of astronomy and physics in
The rivalry between the German Baltic nobility and the Swedish government in Livonia became the background of a conflict with the sons of the German Balt Fabian Wrangel, the governor of Tartu, Fabian and Helmich. Because of their outrageous conduct against some Swedish students, Stiernhielm as vice-governor had taken legal proceedings against them in 1640, but the young Wrangels refused to appear before the court. To cultivate a friendship with his colleague Wilhelm Ulrich, he accepted an invitation to a christening banquet for the assessor’s child on 13 July 1641. While the High Society of Dorpat were drinking beer and dancing at Ulrich’s home, the quarrel with the Wrangel brothers reignited. After a series of insults and displays of arrogance by both sides, Stiernhielm challenged his antagonists to a duel, but a tumult arose outside during which he was injured and lost the use of his right hand, and barely escaped with his life. He was still recovering from his injury in March 1642.

2.3.5 Participation on the law commission and in court culture

In the autumn of the same year, Stiernhielm was elected a member of the larger law commission with 19 members drawn from the district courts and the Courts of Appeal in Sweden, Finland and the Baltic provinces. The background was the need for revision, edition, and interpretation of medieval Swedish laws of the provinces and the cities. The Country Law of King Christopher from 1442 was printed 1632 in Tartu, vicar of the Swedish Church there and professor of theology in 1639, submitted his thesis on free will (De libero arbitrio) on 25 September 1639 under the chairmanship of Andreas Virginius, Stiernhielm wrote a congratulatory poem, Anapesticum Partheniacum. When Michael Olavi Bostadius, vicar in Tartu, and Johannes Gezelius were conferred master’s degrees on 18 October 1641, he composed a poem in Alcaic meter, Ode Alcaica. These pieces are published by Nordström and Olsson (eds.), Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm, vol. 1:1, pp. 170-175, and translated into Swedish by professor Birger Bergh, ibidem, 1:2, pp. 590–593. Between 1642 and 1649 Gezelius held the chair of Oriental languages and Greek. As professor he compiled textbooks in Hebrew and Greek and dedicated his Hebrew grammar to no one else than Stiernhielm (see Vol. 2, Section 19.1.1).

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


140 See F.d. 15, Arithmetica mnemonicum universalis, fol. 1r: “Dorpati scriptum cum aegrotavi ex vulnere manus dextrae, anno 1642 die 26 Martii absolutum.”
in 1608 and the City Law, issued by King Magnus Eriksson around 1350, was published in 1618. Some of the provincial laws had also been published, viz. those of Uplandia, Ostrobothnia and Helsingia (Uplandz laghen, Östgötha laghen and Hälsinge laghen), edited by Johannes Bureus in Stockholm 1607–1609. The royal answers to the inquiries from the Courts of Appeals about the interpretation of the medieval laws were precedent-setting. Stiernhielm arrived in the capital in autumn 1642, and the meeting took place in February–March 1643.\(^{141}\) In the same year Stiernhielm was chosen along with Johan Stiernhöök, Ericus Olai, Erik Bröms and Daniel Figrelius to be a member of a smaller commission for the revision of the procedure of lawsuits and criminal court legislation. Their work resulted in four proposed bills, presented on 8 August 1643. Stiernhielm prepared a new legal procedure for lower courts.\(^{142}\) The law commission also set the goal to publishing other provincial laws. Stiernhielm was entrusted the duty to publish the law codes of Westrogothia (Äldre Västgötalagen) and Sudermannia (Sörmlandslagen).

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


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

\(^{143}\) Regarding this source of inspiration, see Swartling, G. Stiernhielm, pp. 39–41.

\(^{144}\) Ståhle, Vers och språk, p. 200.
Cecilia Burea had apparently stayed behind in Wasula with their sons Johan Markvard (born in 1630), Gustaf (born in 1635) and Georg Otto (born in 1638) and at the end of April 1643 she still remained. Soon thereafter she likely crossed the Baltic Sea. On 6 September 1644 she gave birth to a daughter, who was baptized at the castle in the presence of the Queen, after whom she was named (de cuius nomine nomen sortita est) and who was her godmother (susceptrix), while two High officials of the regency were joint godfathers – the Lord High Seneschal Per Brahe (1602–1680) and the Lord High Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna. Also present were the state councillor Per Sparre (1592–1647) and the vice-governor Gyllenanckar – as well as some countesses as additional godmothers, including the countess von Thurn (Johanna Margareta von Baden-Hochberg), Magdalena von Waldeck, and Kristina Ribbing (wife of the Lord High Admiral Karl Gyllenhielm, as Stiernhielm notes).

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

145 Wieselgren, Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm. 3:2, pp. 103–104.
146 Stiernhielm’s annotations in the Stiernhielm family Bible, the copy of which is extant at Uppsala University Library: Biblia, thet är all then helgha scrifft på swensko, Stockholm 1618, with shelfmark: Sv. Rar. st. fol. 10:98 (copy no. 2). See the biographical notes on second inside back cover.
147 The estates comprised the following villages with land areas specified in terms of the unit of measurement in Ingria and Carelia obs, which before the reformation of taxation 1637 corresponded to 1.22 acres (4.936 square metres), but after 1637 to one acre only: Sista Palkina (Sisto Palkino) with eight old obs in the Eastern part of Kargalskoi pogost, moreover Lomacha (Lomakha), six old obs, and Arbala (Arbolovo, south-west of the fortress Caporie), fifteen old obs, both in the Western part of Kargalskoi pogost, and Poroszok (probably Sashino) fourteen old obs in the vicinity of Sista-Wodskoi (Sista) in Ratsinskoi pogost. See the letter of donation from 3 May 1645, edited by Wieselgren, Brev till Georg Stiernhielm, p. 140. For the location of these pogosts and estates, see Figures 33 and 34b. Stiernhielm was also granted some villages in Toldskoi pogost: Werdeia (Verdiya), Rasia Bolskoi (Bolshaya Rassiya) and Rasia Menskoi (Malaya Rassiya), but these estates had just before been given to Wendela Cramer (widow of the artillery officer Trojan Becker in Narva) who ensured possession of them by immission from the governor-general and sold them before the shipwrecked Stiernhielm arrived at Narva.
148 See letter to the Agency of Reduction (Reduktionskollegium) from Stiernhielm in 1664: “Men såsom iagh medh hustro och barn under wägen ledh vid Ulfund skippsbrätt, att iagh förrorsakades migh på 14 daghars tid i Refval att uppehålla […] See Wieselgren, Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm, 3:1, p. 236 (letter no. 141). In his commentary (idem, ibidem, 3:2, p. 254), Wieselgren identifies Ulfund with German Wolf Sundt, Estonian Aegna.
the archipelago of Alandia (so Columbus) and dated to Stiernhielm’s return to Sweden in 1648 or to his flight from Russian armed forces in June 1656.

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{151}\) On 2 December 1648 Appelboom writes from Amsterdam in a letter to Erik Oxenstierna that Stiernhielm is very busy to explore what can be useful to him in antiquities. See Swartling, Georg Stiernhielm, p. 48 (note 2).
burdened and heaped up excessively with a lot of scholarly and bombastic complimentary letters of good wishes and with magnificent, considerable titles. While at first he was called noble and well-born, he is now designated as illustrious, most illustrious, and even most reverend. And because his talks with them have been to their particular contentment, some of them have asked me about his person and quality, and let me know that they gladly wish to entertain a good correspondence with him concerning learned matters. Mr. Stiernhiälm sends his most diligent greetings back to you, my dear brother, and considers that he will depart from here within two or three days and directly return home. May God grant him a good journey.152

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


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

Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn (1612–1653) held the professorship of rhetoric for fifteen years (1633–1647), but in 1648 had succeeded Heinsius in the chair of history. In his historical and etymological research he had recently proposed an assumption on the relationship between German, Persian, Greek and Latin, with Scythian as their common historical ancestor. In modern linguistic historiography, this has become known as the Scythian hypothesis. Stiernhielm most likely discussed this question with him. Boxhorn may have expressed his views in the same way as he presented them to his colleague, the historian Georg Horn(ius), who describes his talks on Scythian with Boxhorn in his preface to the latter’s treatise on the origin of Gaulish, which was published posthumously as \textit{Originum Gallicarum liber}, Amsterdam 1654. In his own copy of this treatise, Stiernhielm has underlined the key passage of Horn’s preface in which the Scythian hypothesis is proposed, and in the margin has noted “rectissime”, that is “most rightly”.\textsuperscript{155} It was under the impact of Boxhorn’s idea about Scythian that Stiernhielm changed or at least modified his equation of Scythian with Noah’s language – as the common ancestor of the Semitic, Hamitic and Japhetic languages – into a concept of Scythian as only “Japhetic Scythian”, which in turn he subdivided into Asiatic and European Scythian. In his letter to Daniel Heinsius on 14 January 1649, Stiernhielm asks Daniel to send his greetings to his son Nicolas Heinsius and to his “beloved friend” (\textit{amores meos}) Boxhorn. During his visit he also received a book and a manuscript as gifts from Boxhorn – the second volume of the history of Portugal by the Portuguese historian Bernardo de Britto (\textit{Segunda parte da monarchia Lusitania}, Lisboa/ Lisabon 1609) and an Armenian-Latin lexicon in manuscript.\textsuperscript{156} After his departure from Leiden,
Stiernhielm entertained a correspondence with Boxhorn, though no letters survive, and we know that Stiernhielm sent him a copy of his printed conspectus of *Runa Suethica*.158

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

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

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


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

his guidance in the 1630s, and Johan Skytte maintained contact with him. Erik Oxenstierna, son of the Great Chancellor and a friend of Stiernhielm, had in the autumn of 1643 studied with Gerard Vossius, whose son Isaac Vossius in turn was engaged as royal librarian in Stockholm since 1648.

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

---

161 Wrangel, Sveriges litterära förbindelser med Holland särdeles under 1600-talet, Lund 1897, pp. 67–70. F.F. Blok, Isaac Vossius and his circle: his life until his farewell to the queen of Sweden 1618–1655, Groningen: Forsten, 2000, p. 113

162 Wrangel, ibidem, pp. 74–75.


164 The question of authorship of La Naissance de la paix has in modern times been the subject of scholarly discussion, which is summarized by Lars Gustafsson, “Was Descartes Queen Kristina’s Peace Advocate? The Authorship of La Naissance de la paix” in Studia Neophilologica 2017, pp. 1–19. The attribution to Descartes derives from Baillet’s biography on the philosopher (1691), a claim that was reiterated and supported with bibliographical documents by Albert Thibaudet and Johan Nordström in their article “Un ballet de Descartes. La Revue de Genève, pp. 163–185. Their interpretation was questioned by Richard Watson in the article “René Descartes n’est pas l’auteur de ‘La Naissance de la paix’” in Archives de philosophie 53 (1990), pp. 389–401. Watson argues that Hélie Poirier was the author. We know that Hélie Poirier was entrusted with the task of writing the French text of the Captive Cupid (viz. Le vaincu de Diane). He made his debut with Les Amours de Melisser, in Paris in 1625, settled in the Netherlands in 1640, where he translated Erasmus’ Encomium Mortiae (“In Praise of Folly”) into French and published a new collection of poems, which he dedicated to Queen Christina. He arrived in Sweden in 1648 or 1649. (Olsson, Samlaed skrifter av Stiernhielm, 1:2, p. 234.) The French text of La Naissance de la paix is published by Nordström & Olsson (eds.), Samlaed skrifter av Stiernhielm, 1:2, pp. 303–316.
iambic and trochaic metres. Then fångne Cupido och Freds-Afl) are unrhymed, while Parnassus triumphans is rhymed and also exhibits a number of lyric passages. 165

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

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

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

165 Olsson, Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm, 1:2, p. 385.
166 Olsson, Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm, 1:2, p. 230.
167 Olsson, ibidem, 1:2, p. 230.
168 Kajsa Rootzén, Den svenska baletten, Stockholm 1945, p. 20. See also Olsson, Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm, 1:2, p. 233 (lines 5–10).
169 Olsson, ibidem, 1:2, p. 232.
170 Olsson, ibidem, 1:2, p. 232.
and November of 1650. In the processions, the partaking persons and carriages allegorically expressed certain ideas, which were explained in the accompanying commentaries.\textsuperscript{172} The coronation of Queen Christina took place on 20 October 1650. The first procession, called \textit{La pompe de la fêlicité}, was performed on 24 October 1650. The next, \textit{Virtutes repertae}, occurred on 11 Nov. 1650.\textsuperscript{173} Stiernhielm titled his text of the former event \textit{Lycksaligheetens Ähre-Pracht}, “The glorious splendour of blessedness”, and designated his text of the latter one as \textit{Virtutes repertae eller the igenfunne dygders uptogh}, “Rediscovery of virtues or the procession of rediscovered virtues”.

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

\textsuperscript{172} Olsson, ibidem, 1:2, p. 399.
\textsuperscript{173} Olsson, ibidem, 1:2, p. 232 and p. 422.
\textsuperscript{174} Conclusive historical evidence of the Queen’s court academy in Stockholm was collected by Johan Nordström in the article “Några notiser om drottning Kristinas akademier”, \textit{Lychnos} 1940, pp. 333–341, where the statutes are re-issued (pp. 334–335) from Baillet’s biography. The main evidence is a passage in the account of the life and work of Hiob Ludolf by the German historian Christian Juncker (1668–1714), \textit{Commentarius de vita scriptisque ac meritis illustris viri Iobi Ludolfi}, Lipsiae & Francofurti 1710, pp. 56–57. Juncker used Ludolf’s autobiography as his source, see Lindqvist, “Hiob Ludolf och Sverige”, \textit{Donum Grapeanum}, p. 606.
\textsuperscript{175} Georg Heinrich Ludolf (1616–1689) had served as Swedish legation councillor (‘Legationsrat’) at the peace negotiations at Westphalia and as secretary to Schering Rosenhane (1609–1674), when the latter was Swedish envoy in Paris in 1648–49. He later became lord mayor of his native city of Erfurt. Hiob Ludolf (1624–1704) was tutor of Rosenhane’s sons, Bengt and Johan. Rosenhane reached the position of state councillor in 1650 (21 September) and was appointed member of the Government Offices (‘kanslsråd’) the same year.
\textsuperscript{176} Descartes’ biographer A. Baillet quoted the statutes in \textit{La vie de Monsieur Descartes}, Paris 1691, from the surviving manuscripts. The statutes were re-published by Charles Adam and Paul Tannery in the collected works of Descartes; \textit{Oeuvres
Descartes presented the statutes, with a clear order of discussion, to the Queen on 1 February 1650, the same day as he noticed the first symptoms of the cold that ten days later, having developed into pneumonia, was to end his life. The academy met regularly until June 1653, but in the last year it changed its focus from classical and comparative philology and philosophy to entertainment and libertine criticism. Central topics of the meetings in the earlier stage of this royal academy were the cultural and linguistic contexts of the Old Testament and the Neoplatonic-Hermetic philosophy of Iamblichus (4th century) and Proclus (AD 412–485).

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


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

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

180 Juncker states that rumour of the Queen’s benevolence and liberality towards scholars attracted many prominent learned men to Sweden. He mentions the personages that gathered at the court, but it is unclear whether he equates them with the members of the academy. He refers to Freinshemius, Stiernhielm, Nicolas Heinsius, Isaac Vossius, Joakim Transehe von Roseneck, a certain Silversparre, Johan von Weidenhajjn, a certain Wallius, the medical doctor Sven Bröms(enius), Johann Heinrich Boecler and a theologian from Nyköping, Zacharias Klingius; see Juncker, ibidem, pp. 56–57. Nordström (1940: 337) argues that this enumeration is not a list of the participants in the academy, but does not exclude the possibility
on some specific weekday (which varied between Sundays, Fridays and Wednesdays) under the chairmanship of Freinshemius until August 1650, and of French physician Pierre Bourdelot from 1652 until June 1653. The topics changed from occasion to occasion, and were each time proposed by an initiator after whose introduction each member was expected to comment according to a certain order of discussion.¹⁸¹

These scholars did not merely come to Sweden on account of the liberality of the Queen,¹⁸² but also because they intended do research using the continuously increasing collections of books and manuscripts at the royal library (which was housed on five floors at the castle). The collections came from spoils of war and from the purchase of private libraries.¹⁸³ The principal duties of the royal librarian and his amanuenses were to catalogue and arrange the manuscripts and printed books.¹⁸⁴ In his catalogue (Bibliothecae Christianiae catalogus), Vossius listed among Bibles “Fragments of the Gospels in Gothic language and script” (Evangelistarum fragmenta sermone et charactere Gothico), which was actually the manuscript of the Gospels in Gothic that the Flemish humanist Bonaventura Vulcainus (1538–1614) had linked with the Bible translation of Bishop Wulfila and called Codex Argenteus.¹⁸⁵ The that some of them belonged to it. Harald Wieselgren, Drottning Kristinas bibliotek och bibliotekarier före hennes bosättning i Rom, p. 47, interprets Juncker’s list as a list of members of the academy, but thinks that some names are less probable.


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


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

¹⁸⁵ Bonaventura Vulcainus, De litteris et lingua Getarum sive Gothorum, identified the Gothic Gospel manuscript in Werden Abbey with the translation of the New Testament of Wulfila (see dedicatory letter p. 3v) and published samples from it of the Gothic language in Gothic characters with transcription, viz. the greeting of the angel to virgin Maria in Luk. 1:28, p. 31, the Lord’s Prayer in Matt. 6: 9–13, pp.
librarians of Queen Christina did not, however, realise the true nature of these fragment. Isaac Vossius brought the book with him when he returned to the Netherlands, and it was his uncle Franciscus Junius the Younger who realized that it was the famous *Codex Argenteus* and completed the first edition of it in Dortrecht in 1665.

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

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

---

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

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


188 Ravius followed a rationalist, mathematical method in agreement with Cartesian philosophy and universal language planning. As a theorist of Semitic phonology and morphology, he resorted to mathematization as his method of scientification, which he combined with a rather correct analysis of Semitic phonology. As a semantician, Ravius used an idealist method in making a distinction between primary abstract meanings and secondary concrete meanings through metaphor and metonymy. In his comparative linguistic theory, he used the term dialect as an analytical tool for a structural language classification. Ravius communicates these ideas in treatises that he had recently published before his arrival at the court in Stockholm: *Orthographiae et analogiae Ebraicae delineatio*, that is, “Outline of a Hebrew phonology and morphology” (Amsterdam 1646), *A general grammar* (London 1648), and *A discourse concerning the Oriental tongues* (London 1649). See further Eskhult, “The concept of dialect in three seventeenth-century linguists” in Raf Van Rooy, (ed.) *Essays in the history of dialect studies*, Münster 2020, pp. 102–204. See also my forthcoming article “The linguistic theory of Christian Ravius on the unity and diversity of the Semitic languages.”
the diversification of Ancient Greek. Salmasiu’s hypothesis formed part of his controversy with Daniel Heinsius.189

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

190 Bochart, Geographia sacra, pars prior Phaleg, Caen 1651, the map ‘Descriptio terrarum in quas dispersi sunt structores Turris Babel’ between the preface and p. 1.
192 Harald Wieselgren, Drottning Kristinas bibliotek och bibliotekarier, p. 39.
193 H. Wieselgren, ibidem, p. 47.
194 H. Wieselgren, ibidem, p. 46. Cf. Åkerman, Queen Christina of Sweden and her circle, p. 111: “We know that Christina read the two parts of Bochart’s book, Phaleg and Canaan, and that she in 1653 allotted a two day discussion to its ideas.
As we have seen, Stiernhielm was a member of this little royal club. As a linguistic theorist he had yet not published anything, but he had commenced his theorizing on the common origin and reunification of all languages. This topic is related to the name of Stiernhielm in Christian Juncker’s survey of the participants at the royal academy.\textsuperscript{195} Stiernhielm was deeply influenced by the linguistic theories of Ravius, Salmasius and Bochart, but he disagreed with the latter on the topic of the origin of the Celtic languages, which Bochart derived from Phoenician.\textsuperscript{196} Stiernhielm ought to have participated as a member between the start in February 1650 and the early August 1651, when he departed to the Baltic provinces. According to the \textit{Personalia}, Stiernhielm discussed philosophy with Descartes, whose \textit{Principia philosophiae} (1644) he acquired in the early autumn 1649, and with Salmasius “in all its departments”, and they “kindly gave him precedence and congratulated him on his great knowledge and enlightenment that he had from the Highest one”.\textsuperscript{197}

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

\textit{on the northern spread of tribes after Babylon and on the languages in the Phoenician colonies.” Åkerman cites the biography of Léon Tolmer on Huet as evidence of her claim (Pierre-Daniel Huet, 1630–1721: humaniste-physicien, Bayeux 1949, p. 159), but I have not been able to find any information except for a quotation on p. 156 from Gilles Menage’s \textit{Menagiana ou les bons mots}, vol. 1, Paris 1692, p. 324, where Bourdelot persuades the Queen to oblige Bochart to play badminton with her and then plays a trick on Bochart by prescribing the Queen a laxative so that she could not attend Bochart’s reading of his \textit{Phaleg} at the meeting.\textsuperscript{195} Juncker, \textit{Commentarius de vita […] Iobi Ludolfi}, p. 56: […] “Stiernhilmus, qui naturalem quandam omnes inter totius terrarum orbis lingus concordiam et harmoniam adeoque communia artium principia esse persuadebatur.”

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

\textsuperscript{197} “Stiernhielm’s personalier”, \textit{Svenska Akademiens samlningar}, ms. 291, envelope 3, fol. 5r; Wieselgren, “Personalierna över Stiernhielm”, \textit{Svio-Estonica} 1937, p. 82.

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

\textsuperscript{199} Ravius was invited by the Queen to the court in 1649. During the first period of his professorship of Oriental languages in Uppsala between October 1650 and October 1656 he entertained frequent contacts with the royal court. He was royal librarian for about three years, between October 1656 and June 1659.
grant him leave from his chair.\textsuperscript{200} Descartes reached Stockholm on 9 October 1650.\textsuperscript{201} Georg Heinrich Ludolf and Hiob Ludolf stayed throughout all of 1650.\textsuperscript{202} Huet and Bochart stayed for an entire year – between June 1652 and June of the next year. The German philologists at Uppsala (mentioned above) also entertained contacts with the court. In 1642, Freinshemius had been appointed Professor Skytteanus as the successor to Loccenius. Between 1647 and September 1650 he served as royal historiographer and librarian, and as tutor to Queen Christina in Roman politics. In the fall of 1650, he returned to Uppsala to hold the chair of eloquence for the coming academic year (until June 1651). In 1648, Johannes Schefferus had succeeded Freinshemius as professor Skytteanus, a position he held until 1680. In 1649, Johann Heinrich Boecler had been invited by the Queen to teach eloquence at Uppsala University. Appointed royal historiographer in 1650, he remained in Stockholm for some year.

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

2.4.4 Fallen into disgrace?

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

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

\textsuperscript{200} Blok, \textit{Isaac Vossius and his circle}, pp. 292–299.
\textsuperscript{201} Wrangel, \textit{Sveriges literära förbindelser}, p. 107; Blok, ibidem, p. 305.
\textsuperscript{202} Juncker, ibidem, p. 54: “ineunte anno MDCL fratre suo Georgio Henrico comitatus noster adiit commemorantem tunc in praedio suo, Tydôna, Axelium Oxenstierna, Regni Suecici Chancellarium”. “Non multo post cum Stockholmiam, regni caput, excurrisset, haud parum gavisus est conspecta ad mensam regina Christina” […]; p. 59: “exeunte igitur anno MDCL Stockholmia profectus” […].
Qui modo sartor erat, nunc Consiliarius audit:
In promptu res est; nam bene rem tetigit. 204
He, who a moment ago was a tailor, is now called Counsellor.
The thing is obvious, for he has done his business well. 205

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

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

203 Johan Holm was appointed to the position of “klädmästare” on 2 August 1649
and served as a chief chamberlain in 1650. In the Estimates of 1651 he is recorded
as “Kungl. Majst. klädemestare och öfverkammartenare” with a salary of 900
silver thalers. Early in 1652 (10 Jan.) he was appointed director of incomes from
interest (“kammarräntmästare”) and early in 1653 (24 Jan.) superintendent of the
court (“hovintendent”). On 16 July 1653 he was ennobled Johan Leijoncrona. See
further Nils Sylvan, “Johan Leioncrona” in Svenskt biografiskt lexikon, vol. 22,
204 Nordström & Olsson, Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm 1:1, no. XXII, p. 181; 1:2,
pp. 600 f.
205 The Latin phrase “bene rem tetigit” reminds of the phrase *rem acu tangere*, “to
hit the matter with a needle”, metaphorically “to hit the nail on the head”. The
phrase is ambiguous, because matter (*res*) can refer to Leijoncrona’s economical
business, but can potentially also imply an indecent or obscene relation between the
Queen and her former tailor. Cf. Maria Berggren, “När Musan talade latin. Georg
Stiernhielm som latinpoet” in Den nordiska mosaiken: språk- och kulturmöten i
gammal tid och i våra dagar: Humanistdagarna vid Uppsala universitet 1997,
edited by Rut Boström Andersson, p. 54.
206 Queen Christina was known as a Semiramis of the North and a Minerva of the
Parnassus at the time of her coronation. See Susanna Åkerman, *Queen Christina of*
But behold! how Envy behaves towards me, how she slanders me; she has deprived me of the festival dress vouchsafed to me – the gift of Minerva. Thus, I have to go about in clothes torn apart, but Envy, you know not, nor can you grasp what the Muse with her learned, pointed quill can do: she avenges herself, so that the dress will be expensive to you. For the Muse is similar to a bee; when hurt, she stings and in the wound there remains a barb.

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


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

208 See Wieselgren’s textual edition, _Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm_ 3:2, pp. 125 f.

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

In early August 1651\textsuperscript{211} Stiernhielm left Sweden to visit his manor Porosok, which he called Stiernlund,\textsuperscript{212} in Ingria, midway between Narva and Nyen (today St. Petersburg), with a twofold purpose: to have leisure for philological and philosophical authorship and to solve boundary disputes at his estates Porosok and Lomacha. He soon cleared up matters concerning Porosok with the proprietors of Sista-Wodskoy, who were the professors of the University of Dorpat. The lawsuit against Anthonius Rosenbröijer (1593–1678), landlord of Lonoska, was first (in 1651) decided in favour of Stiernhielm, but in the subsequent proceedings (1655) Stiernhielm was defeated.\textsuperscript{213}

Before leaving he had submitted his supplications in the above-mentioned note (F.d 9:8, 22r), the first of which was to be bestowed either an estate from the Crown in the province of Kexholmia or the expectancy of a number of homesteads in Ostrogothia. Stiernhielm states in a letter to the Queen in 1653 that the latter petition was granted shortly before his departure to Livonia,\textsuperscript{214} but it was never implemented. The second request was that his full salary (salarium integrum) for his offices as antiquarian of the realm and archivist be paid out without delay “for what remains of the last year and for the present year” (pro praeterito anno quod restat et pro praesenti). This request was granted on 12 July 1651.\textsuperscript{215} The period of salary due depends on the exact dating of the memorandum. The fourth petition was to be conferred a royal travel grant for a journey to the Netherlands to publish his scholarly works there because of the lack of necessary typefaces in Sweden. Obviously, this request was not granted, or he changed his plans because of his travel to Ingria.

\textsuperscript{210} Wieselgren, ibidem, p. 126.
\textsuperscript{211} In a letter to David Blondel, Stiernhielm states that he received Blondel’s letter on 7 August, when he was about to undertake the journey to Ingria. See Swartling, \textit{Georg Stiernhielm}, p. 50. For my edition of this letter, see Vol. 2, Section 13.1.2.
\textsuperscript{212} This is most likely the manor designated as Mysa Poroschska on a topographic map of Ingria: \textit{Ingermanlandiae seu Ingriae novissima tabula} (Nuremberg 1734). See Figure 35. The same site (Poroschska) is mapped by Matthaeus Seutter in \textit{Nova et accurata delineatio Ingriae et Careliae} around 1750.
\textsuperscript{215} Wieselgren, ibidem, p. 126.
2.4.5 Private scholar in the Baltic provinces and in Stockholm

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

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

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

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

---

1654, including a stay in Uppsala, where he took advantage of the opportunity to meet Christian Ravius and Johannes Schefferus. On 16 November 1653, he was asked by the Queen to act as the opponent in a public disputation, titled *Disputatio publica Mosaico philologica*, with the professor of theology Johannes Terserus as chairman. The act took place in Uppsala when the royal court was sojourning there because of a plague in the capital. The subject matter was the Latin translation and commentary on Genesis that Terserus had undertaken on the Queen’s commission and completed in 1652.\(^{218}\) Jordan Nicolai Edenius (1624–1666), a skilled student of theology and Hebrew, acted as respondent and recorded the dispute, in which Stiernhielm defended his views on the primacy and superiority of Swedish in relation to Hebrew (Vol. 2, Section. 14.2).

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

For the next two years – between June 1654 and June 1656 – Stiernhielm mainly stayed at his country estate Wasula, 10 km. north of Tartu, at that time in Livonia (today Estonia), but also for shorter periods at his manor in Ingria. During these years he was for the most part occupied with mathematical studies, but also wrote a substantial portion of his texts on morphology. He continued his co-operation with Johannes Megalinus (the tutor of his sons Gustaf and Otto), who submitted his thesis *Memoriale mathematicum* at the University of Dorpat in 1655. However, political events soon put an end to his scholarly pursuits in Livonia. In July 1655, Sweden entered into war with Poland-Lithuania. After the military successes of King Charles X Gustav at the Polish theatre of war, the Dutch Republic and Austria managed to drive Russia into open war with Sweden.\(^ {220}\) With Russia threatening to invade Estonia and Livonia in May 1656, the governor of the provinces, Bengt Skytte, Stiernhielm’s former pupil, ordered him in a letter dated 18 May\(^ {221}\) to put his wife, children and library in safety and prepare himself to flee from Wasula. At the beginning of June 1656 he left his estate,\(^ {222}\) which was actually


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

\(^{220}\) Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 91.


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

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

After nearly half a year Bengt Skytte offered him accommodation at one of his estates, the manor Marby on the island of Oknön, situated between Enköping and Strängnäs, not far from Skytte’s inherited castle of Grönsö (south-east of Enköping). Stiernhielm stayed at Marby for shorter or longer periods between the end of December 1656 and the summer of 1658. During this period he finished off a couple of geometrical and literary works, through

---

223 See Stiernhielm’s note in his own copy of Meric Casaubon’s *De quatuor linguis commentationis pars prior, quae de lingua Hebraica et de lingua Saxonica*, Londini/ London 1650, see the dirty sheet (verso) at the end of this book at Uppsala University Library, inventory no. 58 XI. 3, where he has written: “In Portu prope Waxholm die 13. Aug. 1656. GS.” That is: “At the port close to Vaxholm on the day of the 13th of August in 1656. Georg Stiernhielm.” He has filled the dirty sheet (recto–verso) with his etymology of the medieval Swedish verb and pronoun “a” in the sense of “to be, to have; one (*est. habeo. unum*) and its alleged derivatives.
224 In his letter to the Council of the Realm on 29 August 1656 and his letter to King Charles X Gustav on 25 November 1656 (Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 3:1, pp. 188–189 and 193–194), Stiernhielm complains about the unexpected assault of the Moscovites, through which he has lost his house and property. “Breadless and homeless” he cannot maintain himself and his family.
225 For these drafts of *Proteus rhetorius*, see Stiernhielm’s linguistic works, Vol. 1, Section 11.2.5.2: syntactic variability, text 2 (no. 2–11) and Section 11.2.6.
226 In F.d. 9** Stiernhielm dates various drafts in Marby between 30 Dec. 1656 (p. 42/40v) and 4 Feb. 1657 (p. 119/79r). In F.d. 19a, II (13v) a draft is dated Marby 12 March 1658. Johan III of Sweden donated the estate Marby to his governor, the Scottish mercenary officer Jacob Neaf, whose daughter Maria Näf inherited Marby. She married Johan Skytte in 1606. Their son B. Skytte took over the estate in 1645. 227 Obviously, he left his wife and his daughter at Marby during his trip to visit his relatives in his home district of Kniva in the spring 1657 (to clear up the dispute about the debts inherited from his father), likewise, when he went to Nyköping to communicate his geometrical ideas to friends at the end of November 1657 (F.d. 19:a, second wrapper, and F.d. 9**, fol. 80r/ p. 123; cf. Stig Nilsson, *Nomenklatur och terminologi*, p. 155) and during his trip to the royal court in Gothenburg in the spring and summer of 1658. His youngest son Gustaf followed him on his travels.
which he also hoped to attract the interest of some mecenat. Thus, he completed his didactic poem Hercules and his measuring rod Linea Carolina, by which he wanted to present a new standard of measurement (see Section 3.3.6). King Charles X Gustav soon (on 7 March 1657) granted him an allowance of 1200 silver thalers, though it was paid only in part (Swartling 1909: 94). On the order of the king, Stiernhielm travelled in the spring of 1658 to the royal court at Gothenburg, where he presented his Hercules to the king, who is said to have listened to it with pleasure. During his stay in Gothenburg he composed a political poem on the Swedish-Danish war of 1657–1658, entitled Discursus astro-poeticus mixtus et comicus, which he likely finished in the early summer of 1658.228

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

2.5.2 State official in Stockholm

After returning to Stockholm from Sundsvall at the end of April 1659, Stiernhielm was offered accommodation with his family in Bengt Skytte’s house in “the city within the bridges” at Järntorget.229

After that, as long as his wife lived,230 he rented an apartment in the northern suburb in the quarter of St. Peder at Lower Norrmalm. In the early 1660s he was requested to create a national standard of Swedish weights, lengths and volumes, which resulted in the table Mensurae Regni Suethiae, drafted in February 1662 (F.d. 19:a, II, fol. 19r) and completed as a copperplate engraving in 1664. His standardization was implemented in the Decree on Measures and Weights (“Plakat om mått och vigt”) in 1665. His decimal system of length was adopted in 1733.231 The government ultimately appointed Stiernhielm Director-General of Weights and Measures (27 April 1668).

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


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

231 Pipping, “Georg Stiernhielm and his system of weights and measures”, p. 178.
After the peace with Russia at Cardis in 1661 Stiernhielm did not return to the Baltic Provinces. Through the patronage of M. G. De la Gardie, who now was Chancellor of the Realm, Stiernhielm was appointed member of the college of reduction (14 December 1660, a position he inactively held until the autumn of 1662) and as a military counsellor (*consiliarius militaris; assessor collegii militaris*), a post to which he was appointed on 27 February 1661, but did not occupy until 1 August 1661 and for which he got an annual income of 1500 silver thalers.\(^\text{232}\) By royal letter (of 30 September 1662), Stiernhielm was allowed an annual pension of 1500 silver thalers.\(^\text{233}\)

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

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

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


\(^{236}\) Wieselgren, *Samla skrifter av Stiernhielm*, no. 176, pp. 298 f.


\(^{238}\) Wieselgren, “Georg Stiernhielm som tomtägare och husbyggare”, pp. 80–81. The street system of Norrmalm was laid out during the regency of Queen Christina.
open house for his friends and often invited his amanuenses for dinner. During this time Stiernhielm was also often a guest at the homes of the High officials of the Realm, e.g. Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie and the Lord High Chamberlain Gabriel Oxenstierna.239

2.6 Stiernhielm’s death and burial

2.6.1 Stiernhielm’s death and Columbus’ epitaphs

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

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

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

---

240 See Terserus’ unpublished diary, *Ortus et vitae cursus Johannis Elai Terseri Dalekarli ab ipso conscriptus*, pp. 121–125 (shelfmark: Rålamb. Fol. N:o 142, Royal Library, Stockholm). Terserus arrived at Linköping on 8 January 1672, but decided to postpone his ordination until the next synod. He returned to Stockholm at the end of February, prolonged his pastorate of Klara Church until 1 November 1672 and stayed in the capital until 6 June 1672. At his next stay in Linköping in June and July 1672 he was ordained as bishop. To attend the diet he returned again to Stockholm. Arriving on 29 July 1672 he remained until the end of the year.
In-under denna sten är Jöran Stiernhielm gömd, af lärdom ok förstånd, knapt troor iag nonsin glömd.
“Under this stone is Jöran Stiernhielm hidden, of a learning and intelligence scarcely ever to be forgotten.”

The first two lines of the second variant (all in all six lines) are:
In-under denna sten har man Her Stiernhielm gömt, huars lärdom, wett ok skäl skal aldrig blifwa glömt.
“Under this stone we have hidden Stiernhielm, whose learning, sense and reason will never be forgotten.”

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

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

2.6.2 Stiernhielm’s burial
Stiernhielm’s funeral took place at Klara Church (Stockholm) on 28 June 1674. In accordance with his reputable social position, he got, as Columbus remarks, “a splendid burial with a procession and a funeral oration, as beautiful as anyone could wish himself.” Olaus Bergius officiated at the ceremony. Columbus himself also gave a oration on Stiernhielm’s moral and intellectual character. As a late recompense for salary due, the Treasury of the central government

---

243 From 1663, Stiernhielm lived at the foot of the western side of Brunkeberg, a boulder ridge in north-south direction in the district Norrmalm, Stockholm.
244 Mount Pindus is a mountain in northern Greece and southern Albania, in antiquity considered to be an abode of the nine Muses; cf. Index II, s.v. Muses.
245 Columbus, ibidem, p. 26.
248 The print of this four-page speech is titled Öfwer Fordom Hans Kongl. May. tz TrooMan och Krijgs-Råd, Den Edle och Wälborne Herren, Göran Stiernhielm.
(Kammarkollegium) paid for this funeral service, but the casket with Stiernhielm’s earthly remains was removed to the mortuary, where it stood until 1688, when the son-in-law, chief judge Johan Sylvius and the daughter Christina took care that the corpse was buried at Sånga church in the parish of Färingsö (formerly “Svartsjölandet”), where Sylvius possessed the estate Brommaretorpet.249

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

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

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

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

252 Columbus' funeral speech Öfver … Göran Stiernhielm, p. 4; idem, Mål-roo, 26.
253 Johan Henrik Lidén (1741–1793), Historiola litteraria Poetarum Suecannorum, part 1, Upsaliae 1764, p. 28, interprets the epitaph as referring to a joyful mind.
In his poem *Hälsoprijs*, Stiernhielm declares that the one who has health “lives in daily joy without sorrow”, and “health (of the body and mind) is everything on which our secular felicity depends”.\(^{254}\) Columbus states that he once raised the question: “Who is happy in this world?” to Stiernhielm, who replied that it is he who is content with his official duties as the food of his soul (*pabulum animi*), at the same time as the performance of official duties supplies subsistence for the body.\(^{255}\) Columbus argues that Stiernhielm was satisfied with his lot and always used to say that “poverty is the companion of a good mind” (*bonae mentis comes est paupertas*),\(^{256}\) a statement often quoted by his premodern biographers. A similar wording: “poverty is the sister of a good mind” is attested in his philosophical drafts.\(^{257}\) Stiernhielm’s reputation as a dutiful Stoic in prosperity and adversity was by Sten Lindroth contrasted to his appearance before the court as a litigious landowner, incessantly occupied by protracted lawsuits.\(^{258}\)

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

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


\(^{255}\) Columbus, *Mål-roo eller roo-mål*, p. 17–18, story no. 35 “Lycklig huem?”

\(^{256}\) Columbus, ibidem, p. 15, story no. 27 “Lärd fattigdom”.


\(^{260}\) Nordström, *Filosofiska fragment*, pp. CCXI–CCXV, asserts that Comenius’ pansophical and irenical religious ideas also were advocated by Louis de Geer, Johannes Elai Terserus, Johannes Gezelius the Elder, and Christian Ravius, whose brother Johann Raue was a close collaborator of Comenius, while Bishop Matthiae, de Geer and Ravius corresponded with Samuel Hartlib and John Dury.
When applied to religion, Stiernhielm’s post-Ramist scientific method – that knowledge should not be based on authority, tradition and divine revelation, but should be attained by means of reason and empirical observation – turned into free-thinking, defined as “the free exercise of reason in matters of belief, unrestrained by deference to authority”.261 Stiernhielm’s libertarian views about some tenets of the Christian religion posed a problem to his first biographer Columbus.262 According to Kurt Johannesson,263 Columbus’ anxiety was related to the spread of libertinism in Sweden after the middle of the 17th century, ideas that had been advocated by Pierre Bourdelot and Gabriel Naudé at the royal court.264 It was easy to interpret Stiernhielm’s free-thinking as a manifestation of such ideas. In the mid-18th century, the Swedish historian Johan Arckenholtz made such an assumption.265 Olof Celsius the Younger states: “In matters of religion Stiernhielm was a free-thinker”,266 but he maintains that Stiernhielm repented on his deathbed.267 Atterbom argued that Stiernhielm’s philosophy aimed at a reconciliation with Christianity, and in its moral aspects implicitly agreed with the biblical truths.268 Nordström regarded Stiernhielm’s views on the cosmogony and the nature of man as an expression of hermetic Neoplatonism and as an implicit questioning of biblical tenets.269 Lindroth construed these views as an act of apostasy from Christian faith.270

261 Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. free-thinking.
262 Columbus, Mål-roo eller Roo-mål, p. 22–23, states that Stiernhielm sometimes expressed doubts concerning the Christian religion, but does not specify them.
265 Arckenholtz, Memoires concernant Christine, Reine de la Suède, vol. 1, p. 336: “Il revint de son libertinage, car son ami intime l’Evêque Terserus, alors pastor de l’Eglise Ste. Claire à Stockholm, que l’assista dans ce ternier moment, dit dans son oration funèbre, qu’ à la vérité, il n’avoit connu personne qui eut parlé de Dieu plus librement qui lui, mais qu’il ne connoissoit aussi personne, qui eut témoigné à sa mort un repentir plus sincere de tout ce qu’il ait dit de trop libre pendant sa vie.”
266 Celsius, Lärde svenske, p. 23: “Uti religionens mål var Stiernhielm fritänkare.”
267 According to Celsius, ibidem, p. 24, Terserus declared in his funeral oration that “he did not know anyone who had spoken more freely about God than Stiernhielm, but on the other hand no one who more deeply had repented his outspokenness.”
268 Atterbom, Svenska siare och skalder, Uppsala 1843, pp. 64–66 (2nd ed. pp. 55–57): Stiernhielm’s philosophical works “bevittna et ny-platonisk, men sjelfständigt fattad och till försoning med Christendomen syftande verldsåsigt.” According to Atterbom his philosophy entailed a virtue ethics, “dygdlära”, which emphasizes the unimportance of the material world and which agrees with the truths of the biblical word; and his fundamental error was the fascination for mystic idealism.
269 Nordström explored Stiernhielm’s natural philosophy in Filosofiska fragment, vol. 1, pp. CCCIX–CCCXXXVII, and edited texts (ibidem, vol. 2) pertaining to the views on the Creation, the origin of evil, the nature of God, the nature of man, and
Earlier researchers have moreover raised and differently answered the question whether Stiernhielm in his poem *Hercules* presents a doctrine of virtues that conforms to Christian ethics and preaching more than Greco-Roman pagan intellectual currents. When summing up the previous discussion, Gunnar Broberg underlines Stiernhielm’s eclectic union of Classical, Biblical, and Gothic cultural traditions.\(^{271}\)

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

---

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


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

3.1 Stiernhielm’s archive at the Royal Library
3.1.1 Preliminaries: historical transmission

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

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

274 See the letter to Stiernhielm’s heirs from the Regency dated 5 May 1672 in the registry of the Government Offices (“Riksrätteförvaltningen”), National Archives of Sweden. It is edited by Wieselgren, Brev till Georg Stiernhielm, pp. 409 f.
277 In the F collection, the archives of earlier antiquarians occupy the anterior letter designations. The archive of Johannes Bureus (1568–1652) has shelfmark F.a.; that
In the introduction to his publication of Stiernhielm’s belles-lettres works in Swedish, Lorenzo Hammarsköld (1785–1827) specified more precisely than Berch had done the contents of the manuscripts in Stiernhielm’s archive. He states that he used the catalogue of the Royal Library at that time, which was Berch’s catalogue. Only the subdivisions of some volumes and portfolios differ considerably.

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


deliberative reads: 467.4x686.1

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

---

284 Philologus Celto-Gothus contains etymological observations on the vowel A as the origin of some Swedish prepositions (ä, åt; efter, and am, Gr. ἀμφί, Latin ambì) and adverbs (än, ännu, cf. Latin perennare; ä, evid, Gr. ἀεί, i.e. “always”, cf. Latin aevum, aetas, aeternum; and åm, i.e. “equally”, Latin aequo, cf. Latin aemulus).
F.d. 4:3 A copy in four leaves with the measurements 162 x 210 mm of a horoscope for Sigismund II August (1520–1572), King of Poland, prepared in 1563 by the Austrian-born astronomer and mathematician Joachim Rheticus (1514–1576), who contributed to the spread of Copernicus’ heliocentric world view, and horoscopes for himself (as Georgius Olai Lilia, three leaves measuring 205 x 330 mm) and Martinus Petri Blix (six leaves measuring 202 x 325 mm), prepared by Stiernhielm.

F.d. 4:4:1 Collectanea philosophica, 68 leaves, mainly stray notes and some more or less complete drafts of natural philosophy, notably Peplum Minervae, edited by Nordström (1924, vol. 1: 3–46). Size: 208 x 319 mm. This volume also contains drafts of morphological and semiotic theory intended as preliminaries for the etymological dictionary Clavis generalis. These drafts are edited by myself (Vol. 1, Sections 8.1.1, 9.1.3 and 9.1.7). There are also drafts in the topics of sound aesthetics (Vol. 1, Section 9.3.2), language origins (Vol. 2, Sections 11.3.2, 11.3.3 and 11.7.1) and etymology (Vol. 2, Section 7.5).

F.d. 4:4:2 Collectanea philosophica et etymologica, seven leaves in different sizes. Contents: a map on Europe in contours (1v–2r), a note on the types of language differentiation (3r; see Vol. 2, Section 11.7.1), a glossary of old Scandinavian and German words (4r–5v), Swedish dialectal words (6r–6v), the relation of vowels to colours and of diphthongs to elements (7v–8r; see Vol. 1, Section 9.3.2, texts 8 and 9; and 9.3.4), biblical proverb and classical maxims with the heading Lumen ex arcto (9r–9v).

F.d. 4:5 Duo opposita contraria, 37 leaves (208 x 320 mm), drafts on Peplum Minervae and some linguistic notes, inter alia a diagram illustrating linguistic diversification (Vol. 2, Section 11.6.1).

F.d. 5 Runa Suethica et alia miscellanea ad lexicon etymologicum pertinentia; one single volume, 146 folio–sized leaves measuring 210 x 324 mm with the exception of some inserted leaves in smaller sizes. The leaves have been numbered with a pencil in modern times, after 1924. There is also a former incomplete and incoherent pagination.285 The manuscript consists of drafts of linguistic theory (fols. 2r–3v and 33r–39v), natural philosophy regarding the relationship between light, lux, mind, mens, and matter, materia (fols. 4r–32v) and the agreement between reality and its linguistic expression in the chain of things (catena rerum,

285 The first 45 pages are not paginated, then the following pages are numbered as 23–141 (corresponding to fol. 56r–115v), continuing with 167–190 (corresponding to 116r–127v) and then jump directly to 215–246 (corresponding to 128r–143r). Cf. Nordström, Filosofiska fragment, vol. 1, p. 211.
fols. 40r–46r) and finally etymological “universal” lexicography (fols. 46v–143v), which consists of an incomplete dictionary arranged in ten pencil-drawn columns according to Stiernhielm’s morphological theory. There are many unwritten squares, columns and a large number of blank pages in the dictionary.286 According to Nordström (1924, vol. 1, p. 211), this volume was bound and repaired in 1843. Several texts are here made available. See Vol. 1, Sections 7.1.2.1, 7.2.2, 7.2.3, 8.1.3, 8.3.1, 8.3.2, 8.3.5, 9.1.1, 9.1.2, 9.2.5, 9.3.2, text 8, and 9.3.5, texts 1–3. See Vol. 2, Sections 11.1.2, 11.3.6, 11.5.2, 11.5.3, 13.3.1, 15.2.2–7, and 15.3.2.

F.d. 6 Collectanea ad Runam Suethicam; one volume, 107 leaves (mainly in the folio size measuring 210 x 324 mm, but including some loose leaves in minor sizes).287 The volume consists of drafts of linguistics (comparative phonology, language origins and language kinship), natural philosophy, mytho-history on the Hyperboreans (60r–65v), etymology and lexicography (a word list on Welsh, 88r–104v). The dating in the manuscript is between 11 Sept. 1651 (fol. 68r) and February 1655. According to Nordström (1924, vol. 1, p. 212) most of the contents were written in 1651–1652. Several texts of this volume are edited. See Vol. 1, Sections 7.2.1, 7.2.4.2, 7.2.4.3, 7.3.3, 7.3.4, 8.3.1, 9.1.5; Vol. 2, Sections 8.5, 9.1.2, 9.2.1, 9.2.2, 9.6, 11.1.1, 11.3.1, 11.3.4, 11.3.5, 11.4.1, 11.5.1, 11.6.2, 13.3.3, 13.4 and 13.7. The first five chapters of Runa Suethica (fols. 68r–76v) are used for comparison in the edition of De linguarum origine praefatio (Vol. 2, Section 12.3).

F.d. 6a Utkast till Swea- och Göta-måles fætebur; “Draft of the storehouse of the Swedish and Gothic language”, a bound volume of 239 written leaves with the measurements 310 x 197 mm. The dictionary comprises the entire alphabet. Cf. Vol. 2, Section 5.3.1.

F.d. 6b Utkast och anteckningar: filosofiska och filologiska, that is, “Drafts and notes: philosophical and philological”; one file in three envelopes; F.d. 6b:1, contains linguistic and geometrical drafts (164 x 210 mm); F.d. 6b:2 philosophical drafts (210 x 325 mm); and F.d. 6b:3a–3b drafts of Polygraphia and Proteus rhetoricus (in different sizes, mainly in folio between 208 and 240 mm in width and between 319 and 355 mm in full). Pertinent drafts are edited in Vol. 1, Chap. 10–11. Stiernhielm’s excerpts in F.d. 6b: 1 from Farnaby, Index rhetoricus, is edited in appendix 3.

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

287 The spine cover has the title “Utkast och anteckningar”, which is the title that both Swartling and Nordström used to refer to this volume. It should thus not be confused with F.d. 6b, which in modern times has been attributed the same title.
F.d. 6c *Virgula divina*; one separate volume with 61 leaves in 4:o, which measures 172 x 235 mm, comprising a dictionary on words beginning with the letter A. The phonological introduction of this dictionary is here edited. See Vol. 1, Sections 7.1.1 and 7.3.2, and Vol. 2, Sections 7.1 and 7.3.

F.d. 6d *Nativitates* (on the cover: Astrologica).

F.d. 7 *Miscellanea etymologica*; a bundle of papers in one portfolio, which is divided into several folders:

F.d. 7:1 *Miscellanea etymologica*, 125 leaves consisting of 20 quires with the measurements 210 x 325 mm, paginated as 1–109, 135–195, 94–96, and ten additional pages. This bound volume comprises drafts of linguistic theory mixed with word lists of Swedish or other languages. I have edited the drafts of phonological theory (Vol. 1, Sections 7.1.2.2 and 7.2.3), morphological theory (Vol. 1, Section 8.3.5), semiotic theory (Vol. 1, Sections 9.2.2 and 9.2.4), etymological theory (Vol. 2, Section 11.3.6, text 2) and a record of Swedish counterparts to Latin linguistic and rhetorical terms (Vol. 2, Section 17.2).

F.d. 7:2 *Glossarium vetus Latino-Teutonicum*, 11 leaves.

F.d. 7:3 *Observationes de permutatione literarum inter etymologizandum*, six leaves (of which 5v, 6r, and 6v are blank): Örnhjälm’s copy of various texts, a couple of which are used for the edition, since they contains autograph additions. See Vol. 1, Sections 7.3.4 and 8.1.2. See Vol. 2 Sections 7.7, 8.2 and 13.7.

F.d. 7:4 *Voces sunt signa conceptuum* (Vol. 1, Section 9.2.1).

F.d. 7:5 Word list, from B (*bak*) to W (*weta*), 14 leaves.

F.d. 8 Catalogued as *Lexicon etymologicum*, the dictionary is in the manuscript titled *Lexicon Suecanum etymologicum*. It comprises a selection of words from the entire alphabet A–Y (fols. 17r–334r), but the lexicographical information is to a great extent incomplete. Fols. 336–410v are blank. See further Vol. 2, Section 5.3.1 (no. 6).

F.d. 9 *Miscellanea etymologica*; a bundle of papers in one portfolio which is divided into a great number of folders (210 x 330 mm):

F.d. 9:1 *Latinarum et Gothicarum vocum communes origines* 37 leaves with two columns (see Vol. 2, Section 5.5.4 for a description).

F.d. 9:2 *Ex Wolfgango Lazio: de gentium migrationibus*, lib. II de lingua veterum Gallograecorum, ten leaves measuring 212 x 335 mm.

F.d. 9:3 *Analogia rerum et verborum*, eight leaves: Örnhjälm’s copy of etymological and phonosemantic notes on Greek and Hebrew roots and groups of consonants. Size 212 x 335 mm. Vol. 2, Section 5.4.

F.d. 9:4 *Index vocum Suethicarum cum lingua Cambrica et aliis convenientiam habentium*: Swedish-Welsh word list for the entire alphabet A–Y, 22 leaves. Size: 212 x 335 mm.
F.d. 9:5 Haec sunt radices ortae (1649): “universal” morphemes and their functions (fols. 1–7), and a list of Swedish morphemes for end-rhymes (fols. 8–12), drawn up by Stiernhielm as an inventory for his rhymed Swedish poetry in Parnassus triumphans. Size: 308 x 325 mm. Two texts are edited. See Vol. 1, Sections 8.2.1 and 8.3.3.

F.d. 9:6 Cubus radicem omnium: a diagram, which presents a deductive-axiomatic theory of “universal” morphemes, and a list of morphemes with lexical etymologies in Swedish and other languages. Size: 212 x 325 mm. The diagram is edited in Vol. 1, Section 8.2.2.

F.d. 9:7 Radix Ma, Scha, Tha ... agg: miscellaneous etymological notes written between November 1664 and January 1667. Size: 210 x 325 mm. At the end of the fourth quire with the size 163 x 210 mm., there are etymological aphorisms, which can be dated to c. 1640 and which are edited in Vol. 2, Section 7.5.1.

F.d. 9:8 Lists of Welsh, Greek, Hebrew, Swedish and Hungarian words. Definition of rhetorical devices. A list of Swedish counterparts for Latin linguistic terms (Vol. 2, Section 17.1.3). Size: 210 x 330 mm.

F.d. 9:9 Lists of Greek, Latin and German words. Size: 212 x 325 mm.

F.d. 9:10 Fröja: Naturae mater, anima vegetativa (consisting of etymological notes). Size: 245 x 360 mm. Vol. 1, Section 7.2.4.1.

F.d. 9:11 Parallela deorum repraesentatio. Size: 212 x 325 mm. Contains etymological and philosophical drafts. Two texts from this folder are edited (Vol. 1, Section 9.1.6; Vol. 2, Section 7.6).

F.d. 9:12 Problematas utriusque Lineae Caroliniae et Pedis Romani.

F.d. 9:13 Obsoletarum quorundam nominum Suethicarum ex lectione Ecclesiastici collectorum catalogus (that is, a catalogue of outdated Swedish words collected from the book of Ecclesiasticus), compiled by Johan Axehielm. Size: 135 x 340 mm as oblong folio.

F.d. 9:14 Miscellanea etymologica (in the quarto size, 165 x 210 mm).

(1) Declaratio obscurorum in lege Cimbrica, Norvegica (26 leaves),
(2) Swedish word lists A–D, E–GL, GR–H (35 leaves),
(3) Ex Bibliis Islandicae,
(4) Excerpta (three loose leaves) and
(5) Indices of Latin words, A–V (22 leaves) with page references.

F.d. 9:15 Miscellanea etymologica (in the quarto size, 165 x 210 mm).

– Swedish word list (five leaves)
– Word list (six leaves)
– Excerpts from Abraham Mylius/ van der Myl

288 Many of the rhyme morphemes and many words listed under each morpheme coincide with those used by Erik Axel Karlfeldt in his poetry. He is known as an imitator of 17th-century Swedish artistic poetry. There is a study of the rhymes in Karlfeldt’s early works by Nils Gobom, Rimmen hos Karlfeldt, Uppsala 1911.
F.d. 9** *Adversaria quotidiana. Monile Minervae*. This bound and paginated volume (129 leaves) consists of philosophical drafts in 1656–1669. I have edited texts on language philosophy (Vol. 1, Section 9.1.4), the art of etymology (Vol. 2, Section 8.3), Swedish counterparts for philosophical Latin terms (Vol. 2, 17.3).

F.d. 10 *Lexicon Gothicum philologicum*;\(^{289}\) one single volume, 174 leaves in oblong folio size. The contents are as follows: unnumbered fols. 1r–13v: miscellaneous notes on Roman gods and goddesses and Italic peoples like the Etruscans. numbered fols. 1r–90v: the Gothic dictionary, from A until Ö. A note on phonology on fol. 63v is transcribed in Vol. 1, Section 7.3.5. numbered fols. 91r–96r: a list of Swedish loanwords in Italian, Spanish, French and English.\(^{290}\) numbered fol. 98r: legal Swedish phrases. numbered fol. 100r–v: reciprocal Swedish verbs. unnumbered fol. 101r: proverbs. unnumbered fol. 102: Latin Suethicisms. numbered fols. 103r–163r: a list of old and obsolete Swedish legal terms, begun in 1631.\(^{291}\) unnumbered fols. 164r–165r: observations on the value of currency in the old Swedish law codes. unnumbered fols. 165v–170v: a list of primitive Swedish words that are monosyllabic (*Primitiva linguae Sueo-Gothicae sunt simplicissima*). unnumbered fols. 171r–173v: headed “the gods of the Goths, Swedes, Germans and related ancient peoples” but confined to the deity Thor. unnumbered fols. 174r–175r (which is the back cover): some Finnish and Estonian words with Greek or Hebrew etymologies.

F.d. 10a *Utkast till ett svenskt lexikon*, that is, “Draft of a Swedish dictionary”. This Swedish dictionary comprises the entire alphabet A–Ö, fols. 1r–73v. After it there is a word list of obsolete phrases and expressions in the county law code of Ostrogothia (Östgöta lag), fols. 76r–88v. See further Vol. 2, Section 5.3.1 (no. 5).

F.d. 10b *Tragoediae Sophoclis quotquot extant carmine Latino reddita*, Antwerp 1570 (with the owner signature G. Lilia).

---

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

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

\(^{291}\) “*Vocabula prisca et obsoleta legum Suecorum Gothorumque explicata a Georgio Lilia, Supremi trium provinciarum Livoniae, Careliae et Ingriae Iudicii Assessore et Dioceosae Dorpatensis Iudice Terrestri, Dorpati anno MDCXXXI.*”
F.d. 10c Bruno, Giordano, *De monade numero et figura liber*, and *De Triplici minimo et mensura speculativarum scientiarum* [...] both printed in Frankfurt am Main 1591 and annotated by Stiernhielm.


F.d. 11 *Index vocum antiquarum cum explicatione*, fols. 1r–11v. The rest of the volume is a draft of Stiernhielm’s Swedish dictionary: *G. Stiernhielmii fatebuur*, the entire alphabet A–Ö, fols. 12r–68v, and a supplement, fols. 85v–127v. Swedish words are listed with Latin translations and with reference to the source. There are also copies of medieval laws of the kings, fols. 70v–74r, and excerpts from the chronicle of St. Olof (King of Norway), fols. 74r–75r.

F.d. 12 *Lexicon etymologicum Ulphilianum*. An incorrect title. Berch gives the more apt subtitle *notae in Novum Testamentum Ulphilae*. Two texts are edited; see Vol. 2, Sections 8.6 and 9.5.1.

F.d. 13 Three envelopes: one is entitled *Polygraphia* with leaves in different sizes (fols. 1–7 measuring 205 x 320 mm, fols. 8–16 with the size 210 x 320 mm, fols. 17–31 with the dimensions 160 x 203 mm, fol. 32 with 168 x 310 mm, fol. 33 with 190 x 243 mm, fols. 34–36 with 208 x 325 mm, fols. 37–41 measuring 215 x 330 mm). Various texts are edited in Vol. 1, Chapter 12. The second (13:2:1) is titled *Specimen philologicum in primam literam A* 180 x 240 mm. The third (13:2:2) contains texts of linguistic topics, such as *Specimen linguae et philologiae Finnonicae* (208 x 318 mm; Vol. 2, Section 5.4.6) and the Gothicist ideas behind the dictionary *Adelruna seu Sibylla Sueo-Gothica* (160 x 205 mm; Vol. 2, Section 10.2).

F.d. 13a *Computus decimalis*, 1r–8v, proposal of a decimal arithmetic for lengths, squares and volumes; *Arithmetica decimalis*, 10r–13v, in Swedish. The Latin term is translated “tiyonde-taals-räkning”.


F.d. 14a *Discursus philologicus de omnibus linguis in genere et in specie de Suethica et affinis*. 42 leaves, 162 x 210 mm. Fols. 4r–27r are paginated as pp. 1–47. This title of the front cover is also given by Berch (1758) and Hammarsköld (1818). Stiernhielm’s drafts on ethno-linguistic topics are collected in a fair copy into one single volume by Claudius Örnhjälm, supplied with autograph additions by Stiernhielm. The contents are as follows:
Excerpts from Wolfgang Lazius, *De gentium migrationibus* (1557) and *Commentarii rerum Graecarum* (1558), 1r and 3r, and from Grotius, *Epistolae ad Gallos*, G. Vossius, *De vitis sermonis*, and Mylius, *De lingua Belgica*; fol. 3v, edited in Vol. 2, Sections 13.5, 13.6 and 13.2.

*De linguis in genere* (fols. 4r–5r / pp. 1–3), edited in Vol. 2, Section 11.3.1. The rest (fols. 5v–16v / pp. 4–26) deals with the division of Germany into Ingevones and Istevones, the Vannian kingdom in Transylvania, the Hyperboreans, and the derivation of the names of Roman gods and goddesses from old Swedish.

*De Thor*, fols. 17r–18v/ pp. 27–30, and *De linguae Suedicae antiquitate*, fols. 17r–21v (pp. 30–36), edited in Vol. 2, Section 11.5.1.

*De convenientia linguae Suethicae cum lingua Phrygia*, fols. 22r–26r / pp. 37–45. Stiernhielm’s autograph is found in F.d. 6, fols. 59r–59v.

*Voces Ebraeas cuius generis sunt Adam, Eva* […], the etymologies of biblical proper names, fols. 28r–31v, edited in Vol. 2, Section 9.1.2.

*Nomina deorum pleraque omnium gentium esse Scythica*: the origin of the tetragrammaton and theory of historical phonology, fols. 32r–35v, edited in Vol. 2, Section 9.2.1, and Vol. 1, Section 7.2.1.

F.d. 15 *Arithmetica mnemonica universalis*, the contents of which is: *Memoriale arithmeticae universalis*, 2r–31v (with a proposal of decimal arithmetic, 3v) completed in Vasula on 26 March 1642. Moreover, mathematical equations, dated 31 Dec. 1655; logistics, 33r–47v; polygons, 48r–48v; algebra, 49r–53r; lengths, 57r–57v; weights; 59r–64r; weights and measures, 66r–70r; Jonas Bureus’ calculations, 72v–78r; Stiernhielm’s “stuver”, 79r–83r.

F.d. 16 “Enquiries of metal alloys”, five leaves in 4:o.

F.d. 16: catalogued as *Problemata stereometrica, statica, metallica et similia*, this volume (40 leaves) also consists of other treatises: (2) *Algebra recta*, (3) *Arithmetiae linealis theoremata*, (4) *Trigonometria*, (5) *Arithmetria cyclica linealis*, (6) *Planimetria rectilinea*, and (7) *Planimetria cyclica*.

F.d. 17 *Magog Gothus*, 85 leaves, a non-autograph fair copy of Stiernhielm’s Hebrew-Latin-Swedish dictionary from אָבָה (’ābāh) “to be willing, wish”, to תֹּתָח (tōṭāḥ) “javelin, missile”.


F.d. 18a Johannes Fyholm, *En kort beskrifning, först om et lijthet säyverwärk* […] och sedan om itt stort Uhrwärk. A copy of Johan Fyholm’s manuscript description of a clockwork according to the one in Uppsala cathedral.
F.d. 19 *Diverse skrifter*, “Diverse geometrical writings”, on measures and weights 1657–1663; one file, divided into several folders: 292

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---


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


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

The names of the virtues and vices are drawn from the classical Stoic tradition, where the four cardinal virtues in the late Roman Republic (notably Cicero, e.g. *De
F.d. 21 *De Othino dissertatio*; an essay on the deity Oden, seven non-autograph leaves. It was published in 1763 in *Greinir* according to Arvid Mollerus’ copy in R. 21 (fols. 25r–31v), Uppsala University Library, of a more elaborate original, perhaps F.d. 14, pp. 99–113.

F.d. 22 *Dictionarium Armeno-Latinum*; a manuscript dictionary with provenance in the Vatican Library, conferred to Stiernhielm by M. Z. Boxhorn in 1649, according to a piece of paper in the volume.

F.d. 23 A volume entitled *Aphorismi politici*, to which Berch (1758) added *aliaque collectanea*, 183 leaves, many of which are blank. In the modern catalogue, the title refers to the extracts of political maxims from Justus Lipsius, fols. 101v–111v, and from Caesar’s *De bello Gallico*, fols. 141–143, but the volume comprises notes on several other topics, such as critical remarks on Ph. Clüver’s *Germania antiqua*, an outline of a treatise on Swedish political science on fols. 34–38 – which for instance would discuss the pagan, papal and Lutheran religions of Sweden, the constitutional laws, the borders of the realm and the election of Swedish kings in the Middle Ages at “Mora sten” (the stone of Mora), south-east of Uppsala (see Runeby, *Monarchia mixta*, p. 131, and Swartling, *G. Stiernhielm*, p. X) – moreover a record of the epitaph on Justus Lipsius, fols. 40r–43r, notes on the historian Justin, fols. 98r–

---

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

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

95
101v, and on the Persian religious reformer and alleged writer Zarathustra, known as Zoroaster, fols. 117v–121v.

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

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

Below, the contents of ms. XXXII 1715 are surveyed.
fol. 1r–2v: a non-autograph copy of Mysterium etymologicum (to “Sed de hisce alibi” in the latter half of the text) made in favour of Leibniz after this volume had been transferred to Hannover and written on sheets of a somewhat larger size than the rest of the ms. These pages are not found in the photostat N. 24.

296 On the cover of XXXII. 1715 there is a note that this volume should be returned to Sparwenfeldt in October 1697 – “Sparwenfeldio remittendae 1697 in Octob.” – obviously because Sparwenfeldt had in mind to send it for a loan to Leibniz.
fol. 3r: miscellaneous notes, mainly on Roman deities and virtues with counterparts in Swedish, but also quotation of proverbial sayings and Horace, *Ars poetica* 70–72.

fol. 3v: a fourfold anagram of veritas (“truth”).

fol. 4r: *Emblemata ad insignia Georgii Stiernhielm, nimirum auream stellam, confecta et applicata ab eodem G. St.* Twenty-two emblems of the star (stella) in Stiernhielm’s coat of arms.

fol. 6r: The alphabet in the characters of different languages, viz. Samaritan, Ethiopic, Arabic, Syriac (Estrangela script), Hebrew (square script), Syriac (Serto script), Runic, Gothic (Ulfila’s); two anagrams of Georgius Stiernhielm (*Thoroni egregius miles “a brave warrior of the throne” and Linguis heros emergit “a hero emerges through the knowledge of languages”*).

fol. 7v: list of Hebrew words, which forms a part of the next item.

fol. 8r–19v: *Magog Gothus demonstrans radices Hebraearum vocum convenire et easdem esse cum radicibus linguae Suethicae*: a Hebrew dictionary, from על, voluit, affectum et propensionem habuit erga aliquem, to נון, quievit placide, consedit tranquile; comprising alleged counterparts in Swedish, German, and Greek, sometimes in Italian, Spanish and French.

fol. 20–24v: *Latino-Celtica*: Latin counterparts of Swedish words in alphabetical order from A to Y (âker “ager” to yxa, “ascia”).

fol. 25r: The incipit reads: “Teudisca lingua non videtur fuisse vernacula Longobardis.” It is followed by a list of Greek words with alleged Latin and Swedish counterparts.

fol. 26r: a list of Latin words with phonetic, but not semantic counterparts in Swedish (*Vocabula sono similia, sed sensu discrepantia*).

fol. 26v: Affinia et confusa: demonstration of lexical polysemy.

fol. 27r: a Welsh-Swedish word list (*Vocabula Gallo-Gothica*).

fol. 27v: supplement to *Magog Gothus*, from א (aleph) to ס (sin).

fol. 30r–32v: *Notae ad Platonis Cratylum*. Vol. 1, Section 9.3.1.

fol. 33r: supplement to *Magog Gothus* on words beginning with aleph, e.g. אָבָב (‘ābab) “to be green” and אָב (’āb) “to be willing”.

fol. 34v: enumeration of ancient Greek writers (historians, poets and philosophers).

fol. 35r: *Authorum authoritas et aevum*: dating of ancient Greek historians and geographers.

fol. 35v: a diagram of the sons of Japheth.

fol. 36r: synchronizing of mytho-historical Mesopotamian rulers with the genealogical table in Gen. 10. Vol 2, Section 11.4.2.

fol. 36v: proofs for the assumption that Scandinavia has been the homeland of the Goths since antiquity. Vol. 2, Section 10.3.
fol. 37r–49v: *Adelrunae conclusiones*, Vol. 2, Section 10.3, interspersed with notes on related topics under the headlines of *Legum antiquitas* (43v) and *Literarum antiquitas* (44r–44v).299

fol. 50r: *Vannianum regnum*, according to Tacitus, Pliny the Elder and Ortelius.


fol. 61r: Some omitted Hebrew words (*passim omissa*).

fol. 62r–66r: *Analogia rerum et verborum* (comparison between Greek, Hebrew, Swedish and Latin words), a draft of the same writing as in F.d. 9:3.

fol. 66v–68r: a non-autograph copy of the conspectus of *Runa Suethica* (which coincides with the manuscript draft in F.d. 6, fol. 1r–v, the draft on which the printing in 1651 was based).

fol. 75r–76r: *Observationes sequentes exscriptae ex Lexico Forsteri* (excerpts from Johann Forster’s Hebrew dictionary, *Dictionarium Hebraicum novum*, 1557).


fol. 83r–84r: *Poemata veteris linguae Sueo-Norreno-Gothicae*.


fol. 90v: two epigrams – one to Dionysius Beurrheus in 1644 and the other to the wife of Johannes Bureus in December 1643 – and various notes on matrimonial legal questions (the degrees of distance between relatives in marriages, between Jacob and Rahel, and between Thomas and Berta of Denmark).

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

---

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

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

3.3.1 Stiernhielm’s polymathy

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

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

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

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


\(^{302}\) Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, pp. ix–xx, drew up a list of Stiernhielm’s manuscript and printed works in a thematic order under the headings of politics and constitutional law; philosophy; linguistic and antiquarian research; mathematics, mechanics and astronomy; and finally poetry.
3.3.2 Letter of Royal copyright in 1639

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

1. Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum, cuius ope data sententia innumeris modis et schematibus mutari ac variari potest, eodem semper manente sensu.

2. Baculus metricus medh dess usu på Swenska.

3. Algebra på Swenska.

4. Geometria practica på Swenska.

5. Adelruna seu Sibylla Sveo-Gothia priscam gentis et linguae Gothicae eminenciam ac maiestatem e temporum labe et invidiae nube in lucem vindicans.

3.3.3 Complimentary poem in 1644

In 1643–1644, Stiernhielm published the first part of his antiquarian dictionary on Old Swedish *Gambla Swea- och Gōtha-måles fatebur*, the first pages of his etymological Swedish dictionary, then entitled...
Magog Aramaeo-Gothicus, and this geometrical treatise *Archimedes reformatus*. As an appendix to these publications there is a poem dedicated to Stiernhielm, written by the German-Swedish jurist and historian Johannes Loccenius (1598–1677). In the introduction to the poem he refers to Stiernhielm’s finished and unfinished treatises:

- Antiquarius
- Magog Aramaeo-Gothicus
- Virgula divina seu clavis linguarum generalis
- Anti-Cluverius seu origines Sueo-Gothicae
- Tabula Mnemonica arithmeticae universalis
- Algebra
- Baculus metricus
- Archimedes reformatus
- Proteus rhetorius
- Musae Suethizantes

---

309 I have used a copy of these treatises bound together into one book at Uppsala University Library, shelfmark Cronstedt 5, 1, 58.
310 The Latin title of *Gambla Swea- och Götha-måles fatebur*, Stockholm 1643. On the verso of the title page in this print the title is given in Latin as *Antiquarius linguae Scandia-Gothicae*.
311 *Magog Aramaeo-Gothicus serenissimae Reginae Svecorum Gothorumque Christinae Gustavi Magni filiae* dedicatus, Upsalia/ Uppsala, c. 1643.
312 This is one of the titles of Stiernhielm’s general etymological dictionary, later designated as *Babel destructa* in the conspectus of Runa Suethica, second part.
313 This is the earliest evidence of Stiernhielm’s plans for a controversial pamphlet against Philipp Clüver’s *Germania antiqua*, in which the original homeland of the Goths was attributed to Prussia rather than Sweden. Stiernhielm’s copy of Germania antiqua in the 2nd edition of Leiden 1631 survives at Uppsala University Library in the collections of Gyllenhielm. Otto Walde, “Om Georg Stiernhielm’s bibliotek: några anteckningar” in *Donum Grapeanum* 1945, p. 120, reports that in this copy the chapter on the origin of the Goths contains a large number of Stiernhielm’s marginal annotations both before and after his hand injury of 13 July 1641. The treatise was finished by Stiernhielm in the early 1650s, supplemented in 1669 and published posthumously in 1685 by Johann Hadorph, *Anticluverius sive scriptum breve Johanni Cluverio Dantisco-Borusso oppositum gentis Gothicae originem et antiquissimam in Scandia vel Scandinavia sedem vindicans*, Holmia/ Stockholm 1685. Hadorf dedicated the work to Bengt Oxenstierna as director of the Government offices.
315 *Archimedes reformatus* was published in Stockholm without year of publication. The dedicatory letter to Queen Christina is dated 4 January 1644. It was published by Peter von Selow (Petrus à Selow). The treatise deals with the density, fineness, and utility value of metallic elements gold, silver, copper, mercury, lead, iron and tin and discusses the mutual relationship between their densities.
3.3.4 Letter to Axel Oxenstierna in 1645

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

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

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

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

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


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

---

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

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

318 This is “General key to almost all languages, a key in which Swedish and the Oriental (that is Semitic) languages are first reduced to common roots and the origin and derivations of the other languages are then shown and proved.” Wieselgren, Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm 3:2, p. 100, states that this treatise was not published, but argues that it is similar to the preface on the origin of languages in the Swedish edition of Codex Argenteus. He also compares it to the conspectus of the planned work Runa Suethica. In this case, the reference to Clavis universalis is the first attestation of Stiernhielm’s plans for Runa Suethica, which was conceived in two parts: a historical-linguistic part on the origin and diversification of languages and the place of Swedish among the world’s languages, and a
Anti-Cluverius seu Origines Sueo-Gothicae VI libris sive dissertationibus comprehensae.
Proteus rhetoricus, id est Artificium variandae orationis infinities fere manente sensu eodem. Suethice et Latine.319
Poesis nova Suethica.320
De possessionum, dominiorum, spolii et limitum actionibus, Suethice.321
De raptu et bigamia, commentatio in libris 3.322 Högh. bal. *Om Truldom och forgerningom* och deres mångahanda slagh, sampt huru thäri skall ransakas och dömas.
*Om skrocksokn och ofsokn*323 tractatus singularis.324

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

325 In the letter to Biörnklou, Stiernhielm addresses him as his highly reliable old good friend and patron (“min högst-tillförlitelige gamble gode wän och gynnare”). He most likely get to know Mattias Arosiander (Biörnklou), son of a miller, as a pupil in the high school of Johannes Rudbeckius in Västerås, when he taught eloquence (spring 1624) and political science and ethics (autumn 1626). In August
Stiernhielm enumerates the treatises he has completed in the course of his sojourn in the Baltic provinces between 1651 and 1656 (Wieselgren 1937–48: 191). These are as follows:

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

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

326 “A new philosophy demonstrated through old principles, which so far have not been rightly understood and used by anyone. In it, the philosophy of antiquity is explained, the mysteries of Zarathustra, Moses, Hermes Trismegistus, the numbers of Pythagoras, Plato, Iamblichus, and Plotinus etc. Similarly, the myths of the poets and the pagan natural theology are discussed and clearly demonstrated. By this, all the mistakes, particularly those of the ancient schools are at the same time made obvious and show themselves.” In his drafts on *Peplum Minervae*, “The robe of Minerva” from the period 1651–1656, Stiernhielm deals with the principles of nature and revises earlier views. A selection of texts was published by Nordström, *Georg Stiernhielm. Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 2: the dedicatory letter to Queen Christina, pp. 4–5 (F.d. 4:4:1, fols. 12v, 14v), a draft dated New Year’s Day 1652 on the basic natural principles (mind, light, and matter), pp. 6–20 (F.d. 4:4:1, fols. 34r–37r), a cosmological text on voidness, pp. 21–31 (F.d. 4:4:1, fols. 29v–32v) and a draft dated 4 April 1652 on the nature of man and the origin of evil in man, pp. 32–46 (F.d. 4:4:1, fols 52v, 63v, 63r, 62r, 64r and 64v.). The first pages (Nordström, ibidem, pp. 6–8) were translated into Swedish by Hans Helander at the request of Rune Per Olofsson, who integrated the translation into his biography of Stiernhielm (pp. 153–155). A Swedish translation of *Peplum Minervae* is under preparation by Lars Nyberg. Stiernhielm made a synthesis of Stoic, Neoplatonic, neo-Pythagorean and Hermetic ideas, for which he relied on his own study of Plato, Plotinus, the Stoics, and *Corpus Hermeticum* and on his reading of Marsilio Ficino, J. Lipsius, Jean d’Espagnet, Fr. Patritius, Robert Fludd and Comenius (*Pansophiae prodromus*, London 1639, and *Physicae ad lumen divinum reformatae synopsis*, Amsterdam 1643). In his cosmology, he was likely influenced by Giordano Bruno and Pierre Gassendi. Nordström (pp. CCLXIII–CCLXI) analyses the sources of inspiration, goals, methods and nature of Stiernhielm’s philosophical system.
3. Connubium Panos cum Echo, h. e. concordia vocum cum rebus. Qua produntur origines et radices universales, notionibus suis ex rerum principiis et natura ipsa petitis distinctae, omnibus in orbis terrarum (Americanis exceptis) linguis communes. Nova est scientia, nemini hucusque sperata, nedum tentata.\textsuperscript{327}

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

3.3.6 A list of forthcoming publications, c. 1659
In an annotated manuscript copy of his Bibliotheca Suigothica, vol. III (1633–1659), Anders Anton Stiernman copied a list of writings that Stiernhielm intended to publish (ms. U 193, fols. 139r–140r, Uppsala University Library). This account is probably identical with the lost catalogue of forthcoming treatises that Stiernhielm attached to a letter addressed to King Charles X Gustav in 1659.\textsuperscript{328}

Lista upå de värck G. Stiernhielm hafwer under händerne till att låta tryckia.
1. Lineae Carolinae descriptio, praxis et usus in mensuris, ponderibus, motibus, machinis, re metallica, re monetaria et probatoria auri et argenti per aquam etc.\textsuperscript{329}

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

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

\textsuperscript{329} Drafts of the treatise is extant in F.d. 19a and 19b. A copy titled \textit{Linea Carolina hydro-metro-statica serenissimo Regi Suethicae Carolo Gustavo Gothoburgi anno MDCCVII dedicate} is extant as N. 509 at UUB. \textit{Linea Carolina} is a ruler made of brass, 3 mm thick, 60 mm wide and 450 mm long. It is engraved on the front and the back with different scales with a duodecimal division that aims to show the relationship between Roman, Stockholmian, Parisian and other countries’ measures of length and volumes and the mass of units of weight, water and other bodies. See L. Falkman, \textit{Om mätt och vigt i Sverige}, part 2, Stockholm 1885, p. 44. For a more detailed description, see Rolf Ohlon, “Stiernhielm som metrolog och skapare av det...
2. De mensuris et ponderibus Suethiae ad pedem vel ulnam Stockholmensem recte et ex fundamentis Lineae Caroliniae co-ordinandis.  


4. Problematum omnis generis mathemathica, arithmetica, geodetica, fortificatoria, mechanic, algebraica etc. mira et hactenus vix cogitata soluta.  

5. Trigonometria canonica sive ope tabularum sinuum.  

6. Arithmethica mnemonica universalis.  

7. Algebra Suethice novis compendiis.  

8. Proteus et polygraphia ingeniosa.  


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

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

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

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

10. Runa Suethica et linguarum fons unus.
11. Swea och Götha urgamble tungomäths fatebur, uti hvilka alle gamble ord som finnas i lagar och gamble böcker och handlingar, item isländske norske, danske och gamble engelske ord och termini, som medh vårt språk hafwa någon gemenskap, andragas och till fyllo utthydes.
12. Anti–Cluverius de origine et antiquitate Gothorum.
14. Poemata varia Suethica et Latina.\textsuperscript{334}
15. Archimedes reformatus iam ante typis excusus est, sed auctior recudendus.
16. Samuelis Bocharti Origines linguae Gallicae ex Phoeniciaeductae in Suethicam iam reductae.\textsuperscript{335}

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

\textsuperscript{335} Stiernhielm’s \textit{Anti-Bochartus} was published posthumously from a copy in the possession of Baron Gustav Rålamb in \textit{Acta literaria et scientiarum Sueciae}, vol. 4, 1738, art. II, pp. 263–389 and 1739, art. II, pp. 454–477. The title on p. 263 reads: “Anti-Bochartus seu vocabula veteris linguae Gallicae, quae origine Phoenicia esse probatur Samuel Bochartus, Geograph. sacr. part. II sive de coloniis Phoenicum, lib. 1, cap. 42, origine Gallica seu Celtica seu Scythica, id est Suethica, esse demonstrat Georgius Stiernhielm”, that is, “Anti-Bochartus, or, on the words of the old Gaulish language that Samuel Bochart proves to be Phoenician in their origin in \textit{Geographia sacra}, part 2, the part that deals with the colonies of the Phoenicians, book 1, ch. 42, but which Georg Stiernhielm demonstrates to be Gaulish, Celtic or Scythian, that is Swedish, in their origin.” 50 words and proper names of Celtic origin are discussed. The second part of \textit{Geographia sacra} was published in Caen in 1646. Stiernhielm evidently drafted his refutation after printing his conspectus of \textit{Runa Suethica}, because he refers to it (\textit{Acta literaria et scientiarum Sueciae}, 1739, p. 467). He also refers to his etymological dictionary \textit{Lexicon universale} and \textit{Clavis universalis} as forthcoming (\textit{Acta literaria} etc., 1738, pp. 364–365).
3.3.7 A list of forthcoming publications, c. 1662

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

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

The wärck som G. Stiernhielm medh det första ämnar låta uthgå ähre desse:
1. Wästgötha lagen medh utthydning uppå dess gamle ord och ordasätt.
3. Anti-Cluverius är een tractat eller discours emoot Philippum Cluverium om Göthenes herkomst.
4. Runa Suethica om Swea och alla tungomåhls sanna ursprungh och förwandskap.

---

5. Lexicon etymologicum universale sive origines primaeque radices omnium linguarum vocabulis communes (linguas novi orbis semper excipio).

6. N. Testamentum Ulphilae cum explicatione sive originatione vocum earundemque indice.

7. Opuscula mathematica, arithmetica, arithmometrica, trigonometrica, Algebra Suetica etc.

8. Lineae Caroliniae constitutio, praxis et usus, cui accedit demonstratio veri pedis, unciae et amphorae Romanae et pes et usus Stockholmensis, ubi de harmonia mensurarum et ponderum Suethicarum.


10. Stegano- et polygraphica quaedam specimina.

11. Umbra sapientiae divinarum rerum et humanarum.


---

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

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


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

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

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

The task of the director Georg Stiernhielm is to bring together the different treatises on the origins of nations and languages into one synthesis. Relevant to this is *Magog Aramaeo-Gothus* or *A dictionary on the lexical roots that the Hebrew language and its relatives have in common with Gothic Scythian and with languages of Scythian origin*. Similarly, a treatise[^342] and different dictionaries and specimens on different languages. These treatises teach us that internally Western and Oriental languages have a mutual kinship and descent, and finally that all languages have their first root and common stem in one and the same language of Noah, though always with the exception of the American languages and the languages of islands.[^343] Similarly, the Practical Archimedes, the treatise on measures, weights and coins of the ancients and the moderns, and many other well-known and completed booklets. For the delivery of these works nothing else is required than that Juno Moneta is present as a midwife.[^344]

[^342]: A new Swedish translation of *Monile Minervae* is being prepared by Lars Nyberg.

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

[^344]: The Latin original reads: “Directoris Georgii Stiernhielmii labor est opera varia de originibus gentium et linguarum antehac a se conscripta in unum syntagma redigere. Quo pertinent Magog Aramaeo-Gothus seu Lexicon radicum linguae Hebraeae et affinium cum Gothic Scythica, et ipsis quae ejus sunt stirpis, the conspectus of the chapters of *Monile Minervae*, pp. 200–202 (F.d. 9**, pp. 57–59/ fols. 48r–49r), a text on numerical speculation, no. 6, pp. 186–192 (F.d. 9**, pp. 80–81, 95–99), a draft on religious denominations, p. 193 (F.d. 9**, p. 115/ fol. 77r) where Islam is described as a political religion (“Religio Mahometana politica est”), a text dated Wasula 6 June 1656 on God as the only true and good divine mind, pp. 97–98 (F.d. 9**, pp. 35–36, fol. 38r–38v), a brief text on the three main principles of nature taking its point of departure in the Kabbalistic doctrine of the bright *aleph* and the dark *aleph* (F.d. 9**, fol. 37r), and several texts on man as a microcosm who reflects the order of the macrocosm by his intelligible and sense-perceptible abilities (pp. 170–171, F.d. 9**).
3.4 Stiernhielm’s poetical authorship

3.4.1 Editions of Swedish poems

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

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

Moreover, since the 17th century, Stiernhielm’s *Hercules* has been republished in no less than fourteen separate editions. Johan Henric Lidén provided a sample of verses in his *Historiola litteraria poeseos*
Suecanae (1764, pp. 23–26). In a dramatized form, the poem was published in co-operation with Columbus as Spel om Herculis vågeval (that is, Play about the choice of Hercules at the crossroad) in 1669, republished in 1848 and 1955. Hercules and other poems of his have also been translated into French in the early 21st century.

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

349 Lidén’s Historiola has recently been published by “Michaelisgillet” in Swedish translation by Krister Östlund with an introduction by Lars Burman: Historien om svenska poesin och svenska poeter, Uppsala 2023, see pp. 21–23.
353 A triple anagram of Danus, sunda; nudas; undas is proposed: DANUS in SUNDA nil habet nisi NUDAS UNDAS, “In the sound the Dane has nothing but bare waves”.
4. Linguistic theory in general and in particular

4.1 Linguistic theory in general: topics and contexts

4.1.1 A general survey of the topics

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

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

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

4.1.2 Ideological, scholarly and intellectual historical contexts

Stiernhielm’s linguistic system was part and parcel of the movement of Swedish Gothicism, which was the state ideology of the emerging Swedish Empire. The Swedish Government endeavoured to confirm its Gothic national identity by means of historical evidence. Antiquarians and philologists were instructed to search for such proofs not only in the Swedish runes, medieval Swedish legal codes
(i.e. law texts) and Icelandic sagas, but also in the past and present of the “Sweo-Gothic” language.

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

(1) Epistemological foundations: rationalism and empiricism, viz. reason (ratio) and experience (experientia) as the two principles of knowledge (principia cognitionis or principia cognoscendi).³⁵⁶

(2) Philosophical foundations: Neoplatonic and Hermetic natural philosophy and in particular the triad of spirit (spiritus), light (lux) and matter (materia) in Jan Comenius’ natural philosophy.³⁵⁷

(3) Semiotic foundations: immediate presentation between words and things, and mediated representation through ideas or concepts.

(4) Historical foundations: linguistic monogeneticism (the theory of a single primeval language that is the source of all others) and the process of dialectal diversification into new languages.

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

³⁵⁷ Comenius, Synopsis (pp. 8, 20, 27–28) defined matter as a passive principle and a dark, invisible, physical and formless substance, susceptible to all forms, while he interpreted spirit (Gen. 1:2) as a life-giving principle and argued that the spirit used light (Gen. 1:3) as a tool, which is the active principle of movement with the power to lighten, move and warm. See Nordström, Stiernhielm. Filosofiska fragment, vol. 1, pp. CCXC–CCXCVI. In Peplum Minervae (F.d. 4:4:1, fols. 35r, and 63r, col. 2) and Monile Minervae (F.d. 6b:2, fol. 3v) Stiernhielm adopted Comenius’ views on the functions of light to illuminate (lucere), move (movere) and warm (calere), and on the qualities of matter as distinguished by passivity, rest, darkness, cold and formlessness. Nordström, ibid., CCCX f. and CCCXXIV f. See also F.d. 4:4:1, 20r.
In his linguistic theory and lexicography, Stiernhielm combined two epistemological currents, namely universalistic rationalism and particularistic empiricism. The universalistic approach is mirrored in his attempt to reconstruct the lexical stems of the original language of humankind.

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

### 4.2 Phonology and morphology: principles of classification and semanticization

#### 4.2.1 General assumptions

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

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

Phonology is defined as the study of the system of speech sounds in a language. Key terms of modern phonology are *phoneme*, that is, the smallest speech sound serving as a building block in a syllable and word, and *morpheme*, that is the smallest unit that carries a meaning. Stiernhielm’s theory on the phonetic structure of early
modern Swedish has attracted some attention in modern times. Stiernhielm regards the original speech sounds and their combination into syllables as the smallest building blocks of language, which he calls primitiva, radices or voculae.

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


4.2.2 Inventory of universal and Swedish speech sounds

Stiernhielm identified a set of phonemes for all languages generally:

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

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

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

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

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

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

359 Stiernhielm, De usu et applicatione radicum ad notiones rerum, F.d. 6, fol. 39v.
360 This is one of Aristotle’s categories of change in the nature, see Physics 224b 8–10 and De generatione et corruptione (Περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς) 319a 26–29.
361 Stiernhielm, De usu et applicatione radicum ad notiones rerum, F.d. 6, fol. 39v.
Stiernhielm identifies a set of original vowels and consonants (a, ch, v, z, l, r, n, m), which he calls his etymological alphabet, *alphabetum etymologicum*. The consonant *ch* comprises *h, c, g*; while *v* comprises *f, b, p*; and *z* comprises *d, t, s, st, th* (F.d. 9:6, 1r). Stiernhielm argued that the vowel *a* is the matrix of all vowels and of some consonants (*v, f, b, p* from the vowel *u*; *j* and *g* from the vowel *i*). In a diagram on the origin and historical development of speech sounds he says:

![Diagram of vowel and consonant development](image)

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

The matrix vowel /a/, /א/ is modified or modulated into

---

Swedish ä. e. i. ö. y. å. o. u.
Greek η. ε. ι. υ. ο. ω.
Latin E. I. O. U.

From the vowel

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a} \\
\text{} \quad / \quad \text{\textbackslash} \\
\text{emerge} \\
\quad \text{i.} \quad \text{u.}
\end{array}
\]

which also become the consonants

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{j.} \quad \text{v.}
\end{array}
\]

Jod is unproductive, while waw produces:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{v.} \\
\text{} \quad / \quad \text{\textbackslash} \\
\text{f.} \quad \text{b.} \quad \text{p.} \\
\quad \phi. \\
\quad \psi.
\end{array}
\]

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

---

hh. g. k. q. 
ch. χ. 
χ. γ. κ. 
נ. ת. ג. p.

---

362 The Latin source text of this phonological classification is preserved in F.d. 6, fol. 85v (see Vol. 1, Section 7.2.1). For a copy of the Latin original, see Figure 5.
The sonorant /S/ adopts many speech sounds in its stage /Z/. 

/Z/ is resolved into:

\[ \underline{d. \ t. \ th. \ s. \ sh. \ st. \ ds.} \]
\[ \underline{dh. \ sc \ \varphi. \ r.}\]
\[ \underline{\psi.} \]
\[ \underline{\psi.} \]

This is the most convenient order of the alphabet:

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

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

4.2.4 Historical morphology

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

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

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

4.3 Language philosophy: words in relation to reality

4.3.1 The concept of a primeval natural language

Stiernhielm based his philosophy of language and mind on a set of ideas that has been called Adamicism. This is characterized by the view that Adam’s language was received by Adam from God and that it gave rise to all other languages, though without preserving its
intrinsic nature to the same extent in every language. This primordial language is non-arbitrary, because its linguistic signs agree with the properties of their referents, and thus in the relationship between the words and their referents is non-conventional. It is semantically accurate because it is unambiguous; all its words are denotative in and signify the essential properties of their lexical denotations. It is epistemically dynamic, since it supplies the key to the order of things. These conceptions ought rather to be termed Cratylean Adamicism, since they are the result of a combination of the biblical narrative of Adam’s name-giving (Gen. 2:19–20) – where it is not stated whether the name-giving was natural or arbitrary – and the opinions attributed to the character Cratylus in Plato’s dialogue Cratylus (§ 383, § 430 and § 438). The first attempt at combining these views was made by the church historian Eusebius of Caesarea in Preparatio evangelica (“Preparations for the Gospel”), book 11. The common denominator of the positions of Moses and Cratylus is that a name-giver chooses names for things that already exist in the world. Through the act of name-giving, nothing new is created apart from the names. The view that there is a set of pre-existent things that the linguistic signs depict and label is called nomenclaturism.

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

---

365 Eusebius argues that Moses, in Gen. 2:19–20, teaches us that names are given to things by nature (fysei) and not by convention (thesei), and Plato in his dialogue Cratylus, only follows Moses. Eusebius quotes several passages in Cratylus 383a, 390a, 390de and 409de. Cf. Mark DelCoglano, Basil of Caesarea’s anti-Eunomian theory of names, Leiden & Boston 2010, pp. 87–91.
367 Mysterium etymologicum, § 4: “Omnia fere vocabula linguae Suehicae sunt facta per onomatopoeia, ubi sonus et literae conveniunt significatiuni rei.”
This assertion conforms to Stoic sound-symbolism theory. In his treatise on dialectics, Augustine accounts for the phonosemantic principles of Stoic etymology as follows (De dialectica vi, 9): ‘The Stoics believed that the cradle of words is the intersection where the sense-perception of things agrees with the meaning of the sounds.’\textsuperscript{368} This similarity was exemplified with onomatopoetic words, such as the jingling of bronze (\textit{aeris tinnitus}), the whinnying of horses (\textit{equorum hinnitus}), the bleating of sheep (\textit{ovium balatum}) and the blare of trumpets (\textit{tubarum clangor}).

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

\textbf{4.3.3 Language, reality, and mind: the interrelationship}

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

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

\textsuperscript{368} Augustine, De dialectica vi, 9: Haec quasi cunabula verborum esse crediderunt, ubi sensus rerum cum sonorum sensu concordarent. Cf. idem, De dialectica vi, 10.

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

5. Structural variability and transformability of language

5.1 Theory of structural linguistic variability

5.1.1 Systems of linguistic variability

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

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

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

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

---

371 F.d. 6b: 3b, first quire, 4v, col. 1. See Vol. 1, Section. 11.2.3.
follow: (2) sense-perception, (3) admiration, (4) doubt, (5) opinion, (6) possibility of finding a solution, (7) agreement with other facts, (8) common consent, (9) truth, (10) verified certainty, (11) knowledge, and (12) scientific statement. Accordingly, this system contains a theory of the process of knowledge production all the way from sensation to scientific assertion. In *Proteus rhetoricus* Stiernhielm defines each of these epistemological categories and explains its role in the creation of knowledge. He is mainly occupied with providing a stock of equivalent Ancient Latin words, phrases and sentences in each field of semantic universals. In general, complete sentences, clauses and phrases are quotations of passages in Ancient Latin prose and poetry. The selection of phraseology was based on synonymous phraseological Latin dictionaries and to some extent on Stiernhielm’s own reading of Ancient Latin authors.

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

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

---

372 F.d. 6b: 3b, first quire, 4v, cols. 1–2. Stiernhielm designates these categories as 1. Essentia, 2. Sensus, 3. Admiratio, 4. Dubitatio. 5. Opinio, 6. Possibilis, 7. Conveniens, 8. Consensus, 9. Veritas, 10. Evidentia, 11. Scientia, and 12. Assertio. This categorization may be compared to how Stiernhielm classified the stages of sensory and mental perception leading from the external object through sensation, perception, thinking and opinion to the mental faculties of reason, intellect, and mind. In F.d. 6b: 3b, fourth quire, 1r (and in other drafts), Stiernhielm enumerates the corresponding categories in the opposite way as in the third system of linguistic variability, viz. mens – intellectus – ratio – opinio – phantasma, cogitatio – apprehensio interior – sensus exterior – diaphanum – obiectum. The adjective *diaphanus*, -a, -um means “transparent, clearly visible” from Greek δωραφαίνης. In this context, the main word *medium* or *status* is implied, so that *diaphanum* refers to the medium by which something is clearly seen, or the state of being transparent.

373 For a transcription of Stiernhielm’s extracts, see Vol. 1, Appendix 3.

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

375 For a transcription of Stiernhielm’s extracts, see Vol. 1, Appendix 3.
system of Proteus rhetoricus (1651).

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

5.2 Sources of inspiration

5.2.1 General classification and specification

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

(1) the Lullian art as it was epitomized and developed by Johann Heinrich Alsted in Consilium de copia rerum et verborum (1610) and Cursus philosophici encyclopaedia (1620);\(^{379}\)

---

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

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


\(^{379}\) See Cursus philosophici encyclopaedia, book 9 on oratory, section 1 on oratory in general, chapter 7, where Alsted drew up seven cyclognomic circles (pp. 476–479) which were copied by Stiernhielm in F.d. 4, pp. 252–254. See Appendix 1.
(2) writings on polygraphy, ciphers and cryptography, such as *De polygraphia libri sex* (1518) by Johannes Trithemius and *Cryptomenytices et cryptographiae libri IX* (1624) by August II of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, but published under the pseudonym Gustav Selenus.

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

Desiderius Erasmus, *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum* (Basel 1512),
Hermann Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex elegantissimarum Germanicae et Latinae linguae phrasium* (Frankfurt am Main 1555, re-issued in many editions until 1615),
Nicolas Caussin, *De eloquentia sacra et humana* (1617),
Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Rhetorica* (Herborn 1616),
Jean de Backer, *Flores flavissae et elegantiae poeticae sive electorum poeticorum thesaurus* (c. 1620),
Thomas Farnaby, *Index rhetoricus* (London 1625),

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

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

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

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

5.2.2 Proteus rhetoricus

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

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

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

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

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

386 For the first system, see Erasmus, De copia verborum commentarius primus, pp. 54–60: “Ratio variandi per enallagen sive ἑτέρωσις.” For the fourth system, see idem, ibidem, p. 62: “Variandi ratio per metaphoram”, p. 68: “Variandi ratio per metonymiam” and p. 70: “Variandi ratio per synecdochen”. For the sixth system see, idem, De rerum copia commentarius secundus, pp. 197–230 on the methods of enriching the discourse through various devices of description and amplification. In one of his drafts (F.d. 6b: 3b, seventh quire), Stiernhielm sums up and synthesizes these sections in Erasmus’s work (see Vol. 1, Section 11.2.7).
encyclopaedia, 1620). At the same time, he also copied a text on the art of choosing topics in public speaking (Cyclognomica rhetorica) from Alsted’s Encyclopaedia, where Alsted draws up a universalistic categorization of all fields of knowledge and their linguistic expression. Stiernhielm titled this text Artificium inventionis rerum et verborum. The first paragraph deals with the transformability of linguistic structures (see Appendix 2).

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

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

---

387 de Backer’s dictionary was probably first published in 1620 in Cologne (Köln). It was reprinted there in 1643, 1647, 1648, 1652, 1653, 1656, 1662 and 1672, re-issued in Dortrecht in 1654, 1660, and 1671, in Antwerp in 1635, 1639, 1649, and 1669. Stiernhielm probably possessed the 1635 or 1639 edition in Antwerp.
Johann Buchler’s (1570–1640) *Elegantiarum libri duo* (1604). It focuses on poetic epithets, synonyms, phrases and commonplaces with examples from the poetic fables and with information about Greco-Roman mythology.

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

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

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

5.2.3 Polygraphia intelligibilis: “understandable polygraphy”

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

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

---


389 Trithemius, *Libri polygraphiae VI*, Argentiae/ Strasbourg 1600, see the brief explanation (*brevis explanatio*) of the principles in the first book, p. 54, lines 8–12.
5.3 Proteus and polygraphia as unpublished writings

5.3.1 References to Proteus

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

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

VERUMNUS varias vestes sibi sumit et aptat e NOTIONUM classibus. 

Rhetoricam MORPHEUS subiens thema quodlibet ornat lectis TROPORUM flosculis. 

MERCURIUS tandem pompose illustrat id ipsum mutatione SCHEMATUM. 

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

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

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

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

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

392 Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, 3:1, p. 11. See Section 3.3.4
In a 1659 letter to King Charles X Stiernhielm attached a table of treatises that he had written in the course of 40 years (Wieselgren 1937–1948: 201). Before this attachment was lost, Anders Anton von Stiernman copied it in his notes to Bibliotheca Sviogothica, vol. III (ms. U 193, fol. 139, UUB), where Proteus et polygraphia ingeniosa is referred to. See my transcription of this list in Section 3.3.6 below.

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

5.3.2 The main drafts of Polygraphia intelligibilis

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

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


– S. P. D. Valde laetificarunt me mellitae literae tuae: 80 units with 20 variations, uncertain date (F.d. 13, fols. 11r–13v).

– Ave. Novissimis rogas, si quid e Germania: 31 units with 23 variations, composed in May 1646 (F.d. 13, fols. 9r–10v).

– Salve dies: 68 units with 23 variations, invented in the autumn of 1650 (F.d. 13, fols. 1r–7v).

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

6.1 Manuscript sources

6.1.1 General remarks

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

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

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

This textual edition of Stiernhielm’s linguistic works can be seen as a continuation of the enterprise of publishing his collected writings that was begun by Johan Nordström, Bernt Olsson and Per Wieselgren in a series on Swedish authors published by Svenska Vitterhetsamfunden (The Swedish Society for Belles-Lettres), volume VIII. The present edition is not being published in this series, because it requires the use of Swedish in the introduction, in the translation of Latin texts and in explanatory notes and calls for strictly diplomatic principles of text editing.
Choosing Swedish would not correspond to Stiernhielm’s original intention to reach both an international and Swedish readership by his use of Latin as the main vehicle for expressing his linguistic ideas. The requirement of a diplomatic edition does not agree with the principles of text editing which have turned out to be necessary for dealing with the nature and state of the manuscripts that are edited.

6.1.2 Manuscripts used for the present volume
The textual edition of Stiernhielm’s linguistic works, volume 1, is based on autograph manuscripts as well as non-autograph copies at the Royal Library – National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

As far as the edition of Stiernhielm’s writings on phonology, morphology, semiotic theory and sound symbolism are concerned, I have mainly used the following manuscript sources:

- F.d. 3 Mysterium etymologicum
- F.d. 4:4:1 Collectanea philosophica
- F.d. 4:4:2 Collectanea philosophica et etymologica,
- F.d. 5 Runa Suethica
- F.d. 6 Collectanea ad Runam Suethicam
- F.d. 7 Miscellanea etymologica
- F.d. 9 Miscellanea etymologica, the wrappers 9:5 and 9:6
- F.d. 14a Discursus philologicus de omnibus linguis in genere

I have used the black-and-white inverted photostat of Stiernhielm’s autograph notebook on lexicographical, linguistic and historical matters from the years 1640–1650, Adversaria Georgii Stiernhielm facientia ad illustrationem nationis et linguae Gotho-Suedicae, ms. N. 24 at Royal Library, Stockholm,394 for the textual edition of one treatise: Notae ad Platonis Cratylum (Vol. 1, Section 9.3.1).

The textual edition of writings on transformational grammar and semantics, mainly the treatises Proteus rhetoricus and Polygraphia, is based on texts in three manuscript volumes, namely:

- F.d. 4:1, the first and second loose quires.
- F.d. 6b: 3a and F.d. 6b: 3b.
- F.d. 13, the wrapper entitled Polygraphia.

6.2 Editorial principles
My general principle is to facilitate the reading of the Latin texts. This implies that it is necessary to amend punctuation according to modern principles, and also that it is sometimes acceptable to retain the original punctuation if this contributes to an easier understanding of the original text. It further means that the use of lower- and upper-

394 The original is preserved with the shelfmark ms. XXXII. 1715. at Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, Hannover.
case letters must be normalized according to modern principles. These measures depend on the editor’s interpretation of the structure of the text, and are unavoidable, unless the basic work of manuscript interpretation is to be turned over to the reader.

In particular, I have applied following principles:
(1) The orthography of the manuscript or print is always retained (even if inconsistent and deviating from the standards of Classical Latin).
(2) Textual changes in the manuscript (e.g. corrections, deletions, additions above the line or in the margin) are to a large extent accounted for in a critical apparatus;
(3) The line and page breaks of the manuscripts are not retained, but the page breaks are marked by indication of the folio or page number within brackets in extra bold type.
(4) The edited texts have been divided into appropriate sections and paragraphs, sometimes by the introduction of numbering, which has been indicated within angle brackets.
(5) Unreadable words or letters are omitted and indicated by three dots within square brackets.
(6) The punctuation has been modernized, which for instance means that commas are removed before accusative with infinitive, before present participles and before absolute ablatives, except in cases where the original punctuation apparently facilitates, or is necessary for, a correct understanding of the syntax.
(7) The capitalization has been modernized, which means that lower-case letters are replaced with capitals at the beginning of new sentences and that capitalized first-letters of single words within a sentence, if they are not proper nouns, have been replaced by lower-case letters.
(8) The abbreviations and contractions of words have usually, but not always, been expanded. In so far as abbreviated or contracted letters are supplied, square brackets are used to indicate the letters that are added, with the exception of frequent and common abbreviations.
(9) Words being supplied by myself as editor have been indicated by pointed brackets, while words that are to be removed have been marked by brackets in extra bold types.
(10) The use of diacritic marks in Latin has been removed, and in Greek it has been normalized according to modern standards, for instance Stiernhielm’s use of the grave accent in the last syllable of separate words, where modern principles require the acute accent.
(11) I have in general not accounted for textual interference under points 5–10 in any critical note.
(12) When single words are written in capitals, this use is retained, or represented by small capitals, as a typographical marker.
(13) The Hebrew letter š (šin) is for typographical reasons represented by the undotted form š (that is, without a dot over its right branch), but the use of the grapheme Š (šin) is retained.
PART 2. PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY
7. Historical and comparative phonology

7.1 Swedish phonemes: an inventory

7.1.1 Vocales, diphthongi et consonantes

Source: *Virgula divina*, F.d. 6c, fols. 1r–2r. Size: 175 x 235 mm. A photograph of fol. 1r is provided in Figure 4. See the Illustrations at the end of this volume. The dictionary is titled: “Georgii Stiernhielm nobilis Sueci Virgula divina, cuius ope lingua vetus Gothica ex orco in lucem revocatur, antiquitas, maiestas et ex ipsa rerum natira prompta indoles et proprietas mundo hactenus abscondita demonstratur, linguae in orbe terrarum praecipuiae inter se conferuntur et errores originationum pro veritate vulgo recepti deteguntur, opus arduum et invidiosum, Zoilo obnoxium et Momo, serenissimae Regiae Sueciae inscriptum”. That is: “The noble Swede Georg Stiernhielm’s Divine staff, by means of which the old Gothic language is recalled from the Lower World, its antiquity, majesty, by the nature of things inborn quality and particular character, so far hidden from the world is demonstrated, the main languages around the globe are compared to each other and etymological errors generally considered as true are uncovered, a difficult and invidious work, exposed to critics (Zoilus) and slanderers (Momus), dedicated to Christina, the Queen of Sweden.395

Dating: according, to the title, 1641 (“Anno Christi 1641”).

Contents: Stiernhielm here makes an inventory of the phonemes of contemporary Swedish compared with Old Swedish – the vowels and their pronunciation, the diphthongs of an earlier stage of Swedish, and the consonants and their pronunciation. He also deals with intra- and interlingual change between particular consonants and between groups of consonants.

395 Zoilus (a cynic philosopher of Amphipolis in the early 4th century BC), and Momus (a literary figure in Hesiod, *Theogonia* 214) are here personifications of criticism and fault-finding. For the use of these words in Neo-Latin, see Hans Helander, *Neo-Latin literature in Sweden in the period 1620–1720*, Uppsala 2004 pp. 310–312. Stiernhielm also proposed a variant end of the title, which he deleted: “opus, in quo inveniant docti, quod callide exploratur, indocti quod non intelligant, ferolus [?] quod nase suspendat […?], Zoilus quod mordeat, invidi quod callide traducant.”
GEORGII STIERNHIELM NOBILIS SUECI VIRGULA DIVINA [...] 

A, litera vocalis, Gothis effertur sono clarissimo, aperto et puro, nihil declinantе ad obscuritatem O vel ad tenuitatem

396 E. Ad intermedias enim exprimendas alii utuntur singulari charactere distinctis. Quales sunt praeter a, e, i, o, u, y; â, ä, ö. Quae haudquaquam sunt diphthongi, sed vocales, singulae unisonae. Ą medium sonum obtinet inter A et O, qualem agnoscent quidam in /j/, Hebraeorum chametz, et in Gallico au. Ą media est inter A et E, qualem est Graecorum η, ovium bā, genuino sono exprimens. Ö media est inter O et E. Quam reddunt Galli per eu. Y Graecorum est Y, sono invariato, medio nimirum inter U et I, quem obtinet Gallorum u et Germanorum ü superne punctatum. Hae autem omnes in derivationibus, declinationibus et alii accidentibus facile mutantur et abeunt una in aliam, antiquitus etiam in diphthongos, quae hodie apud nos in usu esse desierunt praeter eas, quae ab i et u incipiunt, quales deprehenduntur in vocibus siö, sniö, siäl. suara, suäría, suart, suin, siutio.397 Fuere autem priscis quamplurimae, scilicet ai, au, ea, ei, eo, eu, ia, ie, io, ii, ou, ua, ue, ui, uo.


(1r) Coeterum, id quod dixi accidere vocibus, qua398 mutationem vocalium in derivationibus etc., idipsum contigit etiam, qua399 reliqua accidentia immobilius pro varietate temporum dialecti vel usus, quem penes unum arbitrium et vis et norma loquendi, ut loquitur Horatius.400 Exemplo sit pro multis vox arf, qua proprie baculus vel telum ac deinceps quidvis propemodum in instrumento rustico scapus designatur. Haec praeter i, quod sciam, omnes reliquas admittit, una generali manente significatione, ut arf, ärf, erf, örf, orf, urf, yrf, item diphthongos aurf, iorf, hiörf; item vox dagh, i.e. dies, dag, däg, deg, deig, daug, dög, dog. Et haec in una dialecto.401 Angli etiam consonantem mutant in y:402 day.403 Alii abjiciunt, ut404 Itali dì, Hispani día e Latino dies.405

396 tenuitatem] Stiernhielm first wrote exilitatem and then replaced exil- by tenu-. The phrase “ad exilitatem literae E” is found in another text (Section 7.2.4).
397 praeter eas, quae … siutio] This has been added in the margin (fol. 1r, col. 2).
398 qua] In Neo-Latin, qua can be used as a preposition in the sense “concerning”.
399 qua] Stiernhielm first wrote quoad and then changed it to qua.
400 quem penes … ut loquitur Horatius] See Horace, Ars poetica (i.e. Epistles II, 3), lines 71–72: “si volet usus, quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi.”
401 dialecto] Between dialecto and Angli, a clause has been crossed out: Eandem vocem si ex aliis linguis adicitare placet, obiter.
402 etiam consonantem mutant in y] This has been added above the line.
403 day] After day, the Latin rendering, Lat. dies, has been crossed out.
404 aliì abjiciunt, ut] This has been added in the margin (1v, col. 1).
405 dies] After dies, two clauses have been crossed out: Verum de hisce plura suo loco. Nunc ad naturam vocalium.

NB. Antiquitus aspiratas habuimus HL. HN. HR. Hluduig, hliom, etc. Haecc aspiratio postea in multis concrevit in C. <vel> K., ut kring a hring, Clodones etc.; <et> in G., ut gnaga ab hnaga, etc.; clypeus a hlina, id est tegere corpus. In multis evanuit.

Graecorum ṝ olim pronunciabatur cum aliquo flatu, qui accederit ad S., unde et in S subinde transibat teste Martinio in Deus, p. 582.

(2r, col. 1) Ex hisce inter se cognatae et maxime commutabiles sunt B. P. F. M. W.


Exempla. f. ante n. abit in m: refna, remna; hafn, hamm; στέφος, στέμμα; stäfna, stämma; sofna, somna; äfne, ämne; äfn, jämn; M. P. trampa, trappa.
(2r, col. 1–2) N. libenter inseritur inter vocalem et C. G. victus, vinco; aga, ängia; dricka, drinken; haka, hank; siga, sincken; siunka.

(2r, col. 2) W. multis vocibus tam a consona, quam a vocali incipientibus praeter essentiam vocis praeponitur, ut in ord, Germ. Word; wredh, vet. reid, et oker, Wucher.

(2r, col. 1) W olim pronunciabatur ut hodie HW. Anglis WH. Hac vero aetate non differt ab V. Italice elato.

(2r, col. 2) S omnibus fere vocibus, nescio qua, antiquitus praeponitur. Cauteigitur in earundem etymo versandum.

(2r, col. 1) G. W. vide Cluver. p. 62, ubi exempla.413 aud, ägd.

(2r, col. 2) F. in G. et K vel CH. gafna, gagna; krafua, krava, kraga; stifta, stigta, stikta; skifta, Ger. schiften; skaft, Shaft; Kraft, Kracht.

(2r, col. 1–2) J. et V. W. saepissime praefiguntur vocibus a vocali incipientibus nihil facientes ad ipsam vocis radicem: en, eld, jen, jeld; ähr, un, Ger. Jahr, jung; *auksa, wäxa; är – war; W. etiam consonantibus: *reide, wrede; *rita, Angl. writ.


(2r, between col. 1 and 2): bedia, böön; söder, sunnan; häda, hönsk; dusa, don; susa, sons, sona; rasa, råna, rinna; siusa, skönia.

(2r, col. 1–2, at the top of the page) Sonus B. D. G. F. in initio est durus, ut Hebraeorum ג ジ ビ. In medio et fine non reperitur nisi duplicata. D pronunciatur ut DH. F. fere ut W. quare ei etiam plerumque u iungitur, ut in hafua, quamvis rectius scriberetur hava.

7.1.2 Different outlines of a vowel sequence
Sources: For the first vowel triangle, see F.d. 5, fol. 48r (edited by Nordström 1924, II: 232). For the second vowel triangle,415 see F.d. 7:1, fol. 62r. The vowel square is found in F.d. 4:4:2, fol. 8r. For the

414 alias] literas has been crossed out and replaced by alias above the line.
415 Other outlines of vowel triangles are edited in Section 9.3.2, texts 3 and 4.
first diagram of a vowel gradation, see F.d. 4:4:2, fol. 7v, and for the second diagram of such a gradation, see F.d. 7:1, fol. 62r.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Vowel triangle 1} & \text{Vowel triangle 2} \\
\begin{array}{cc}
i. & \text{i.} \\
e. & \text{e.} & \text{. y.} \\
ö. & \text{. å.} \\
ä. & \text{. o.} \\
\end{array} & \\
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{Lux. a.} & \text{u. Nox.} \\
\text{Ortus.} & \text{Occasus.} \\
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

\text{A vowel square}

\begin{array}{cccc}
a & å & o & u \\
ä & : & : & \\
e & \ldots & ö & : \\
i & \ldots & \ldots & \ldots & \ldots & y
\end{array}

\text{Vowel gradation}

\text{Diagram 1}

\begin{array}{cccc}
a & 4 & \\
e & 8 & ä & 2 \\
i & 12 & e & 3 \\
o & 16 & å & 5 1/2 \\
u & 20 & i & 6 \\
ä & 6 & ä & 6 1/2 \\
ö & 12 & o & 10 \\
y & 16 & y & 10 1/2 \\
u & 15
\end{array}

\text{Diagram 2}

\begin{array}{cccc}
a & 1 & \\
ä & 2 & \\
e & 3 & \\
å & 5 1/2 & \\
i & 6 & \\
ö & 10 & \\
y & 10 1/2 & \\
u & 15
\end{array}

7.2 The origin of phonemes: a reductionist theory

7.2.1 Genesis et cognatio literarum

Sources: Stiernhielm’s autograph original: F.d. 6, fol. 84v line 43–85v (measuring 210 x 325 mm), and Örnhjälm’s fair copy including Stiernhielm’s autograph additions, F.d. 14a, fol. 34r–35v. Örnhjälm’s copy was copied with its additions in ms. NKS. 150 quarto (kvars), the National Library of Denmark (the Royal Library, Copenhagen), fols. 24r–25r, and ms. R. 21, UUB, fols. 22r–23r. The text was written as the latter half of a chapter of Runa Suethica, part 1, chapter 26: Nomina deorum pleraque omnium gentium origine esse Scythica (for the first half, see Vol. 1, Section 9.2.1), where the topic is the
Scythian origin of the name of God (the tetragrammaton YHWH). In F.d. 14a, 34r, Stiernhielm remarks that the latter part does not pertain to this topic and should be treated somewhere else.

In the text edited below, Stiernhielm consequently turns to another question, which is the origin and kinship of vowels and consonants. In dealing with it, he posits a monovocalism of the vowel phoneme a, claiming that it has directly or indirectly produced all other vowels and consonants. He maintains that it first developed into two vowels: i and u, which changed into the consonants j and v respectively. As the phoneme of life and light, the vowel a presupposes aspiration. By a softer way of articulation, the consonant h emerged, and by a harder way of articulation, the consonant s, or when voiced, z, came out. The consonants v, h, and z produced three consonantal groups: (1) b, p, f; (2) g, k/ c, ch, q, and (3) d, t, sh, ts. Stiernhielm considers the consonants of each group interchangeable in languages or dialects of the same origin. The consonants l, r, n, and m are distinguished as a separate group, independent from the above-mentioned consonants.

Stiernhielm argues that every phoneme has an intrinsic ontological meaning: vowels represent different degrees of lightness, consonants different degrees of stuff (matter) and lightness. These categories are also related to the four basic elements of ancient natural philosophy.

\[(F.d. \textit{6}, \textit{84v}; F.d. \textit{14a}, \textit{34r})\] Nimius sum in hisce minutiis, sed necessario ad evidentiam, quae liquidius patebit et viam aperiet ad maiora, si radix a, qua nomen est et unum significat, dixerim per sua genera et casus, eandemque, qua verbum est et significat esse et habere duxerim per sua tempora, modos, numeros et personas. Declinetur vox a, si vis, in prima declinatione. Erit: ae. am. arum. as. is; in tertia: atis. ate. atum. atibus. Conjugatione: am-o, as. at. amus. atis. ant. abo. abis. abit. abunt. a. ato. ent. anto. are. asse. avi. aro.

\[(F.d. \textit{6}, \textit{85r})\] Quod in monosyllabis et uniliteris (ubi dantur) nominibus et verbis non minus licere, imo ipsius naturae legem efflagitare, quam in biliteris et polysyllabis omnibus omnino puto in confesso esse.

Sed cum Scythica lingua, cui propria est et in qua sola haec existit radix, hodie nusquam prima existat, sed in multas dialectos

\[416\] In assuming a relationship of dentals and sibilants, Stiernhielm was inspired by Valentin Schindler’s Semitic phonology, to whose remarks on the letter zayin (ז) in \textit{Lexicon pentaglotton}, p. 457, he refers in \textit{Lexicon Gothicum}, F.d. 10, fol. 171r.

\[417\] Declinetur vox … avii. aro In F.d. 6, 84v, this passage is found at the bottom of the page, but was not copied in F.d. 14a and thus neither in NKS 150 and R. 21.

\[418\] omnibus omnino In F.d. 6, this word order has been indicated by numbers.

\[419\] cui propria est et] This has been added in the margin.
scissa et a prima forma varie deprehendatur, merito quaeret aliquis, qua potissimum dialecto grammaticae illae flexiones sint exhibenda, ut lucis aliquid et fidei afferant praesenti instituto? Si dixero Suethicâ aut Scandicâ, (F.d. 14a, 34v) ratio erit optima et manifesta, quod Scandia ipsissima fuerit et adhuc maneat, licet alio nomine (ut sunt tempora) Scythia Minor; lingua adhuc illibata et qua origines integerrima et simplicissima. Verum ne dentibus me exponam, quos acuit aemulatio gentium, una tabella exhibebo aliquot dialectorum Scythicae et sororum Orientalium flexiones, saltem proximas et quae proposito unice inserviunt.

Hoc ut praestem cum compendio, inculcabo ut praecognita et omnibus, qui haec studia tractant, data et concessa.422

I. Vocalium omnium primam et simplicissimam esse $a$. Eam esse principium, fontem et vitam omnium reliquarum, in quas vario flexu mutatur et abit, semper sibi in sua essentia manens $a$, imo $\alpha$ sine puncto; sonum tibi exhibens, quem iubes, substrato puncto. Ex quo emergit omnes literas vocales nihil esse aliud, quam flexus et modulamina unius $a$ vel $\alpha$; in ipsa re nullam esse differentiam, praesertim in derivatione et collatione inter se vocum in variis dialectis.424 Vocalis $A$ lucis est character, quae gradus et augmenta umbrarum admittit usque in illunem noctem. Hi gradus Latinis patuerunt solummodo quinque: a. e. i. o. u., Graecis septem: $\alpha$. $\eta$. $\iota$. o. $\omicron$. $\upsilon$. Nobis novem: a. ä. e. ö. i. y. å. o. u. Sunt praeterea soni, toni et semitonia gradu tandemmodo et diesi seu parvo commate de intervallo ad intervallum surgentia, in ipsa re nil nisi sonus. Discent, qui haec nesciunt, in Nuptiis Panos et Echus analoga esse lucem, motum et sonum atque iis opposita tenebras, quietem et silentium; idemque esse sonum auribus quod oculis lucem.426

II. Consonantes materiae instar habere; per se esse mutas et ineffabiles sine luce et vita vocalium. Ut ex materia prima,

420 sunt] In his copy, F.d. 14a, Örnhjälm read and transcribed this word as sint, a reading retained in NKS 150 and R. 21.
421 aliquot] F.d. 6 has omnium, but in F.d. 14a this word was changed to aliquot by Stiernhielm.
422 The following two paragraphs (I. Vocalium onium ... quod oculis lucem, and II. Consonantes materiae instar ... minus mobilia) have been crossed over in F.d. 6, 85r, and therefore left out in F.d. 14a, 34v, according to Stiernhielm’s instructions at the end of this text. (See F.d. 6, 85v, below the diagram.)
423 fontem et vitam] In F.d. 6, the change of order of these words has been indicated by numbers (1–2) above the line.
424 praesertim ... dialectis] In F.d. 6, this clause has been added in the margin.
425 Vocalis $A$ lucis est] In the main text Stiernhielm first wrote Lucis est character and then added Vocalis $A$ lucis est etc. in the margin.
426 Discent, qui ... oculis lucem] This passage has been added in the margin.
infusione lucis⁴²⁷, elementa <facta sunt>; ita soni vocalis accessu ex plane mutis factae sunt consonantes, elementa scilicet literaria. Horum quaedam, ut elementa mundi plus habent lucis, ut ignis et aer, quaedam plus materiae, hoc est tenebrarum et silentii, ut aqua et terra. Ignea sunt j. v. f. h. s.; j. et v. facta sunt ex i. et u. Quae sunt modulamina, ut dixi, ipsius a, characteris lucis. H. est spiritus, qui nusquam existit, nisi ubi vita et lux est. S. est sibilus, spiritus fortior, plus trahens ex materia.⁴²⁸ Horum proles sunt f. b. p. ch. g. k. z. d. t. Reliqua l. r. n. m. aqua sunt et terrea⁴²⁹ eoqve minus mobilia.

(F.d. 6, 85r in the margin; F.d. 14a, 34v, in the main text)

ZF⁴³⁰

I. Vocales invicem per flexiones et dialectos permutari et unam abire in aliam eoqve esse quoad radicem indifferentes; in vocabulis vero formandis et formatis significata figere et distinguere.

II. Literas consonantes ex vocalibus ortas i. et u., item spiritus h. s. z. et ex omnibus hisce per gradationem et descensum ad solidiora orta, scilicet a v. f. b. p. φ, ab h. ch. g. c. et ex z. resoluta s. sh. sk. d. t. th. Ubi initio vocis reperiuntur ante ipsam vocalem radicalem, nihil derogare substantiae ipsius radicis, e.g. ha. pro a, habet, nihil differt ab ipso a, sicut neque sa. ja. va. Sem. sum. pro em. am. etc.

(F.d. 6, 85v, for a copy of which, see Figure 5; F.d. 14a, 35r)

Erit itaque haec naturae conveniens genesis et cognatio literarum:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sueth.} & \quad \text{ä. e. i. ö. y. â. o. u.} \\
\text{Graec.} & \quad \eta. \quad \varepsilon. \quad \iota. \quad \upsilon. \quad \omicron. \quad \omega. \\
\text{Lat.} & \quad \text{E. I. O. U.} \\
\quad & \quad \text{Ab vocali} \\
\quad & \quad \text{a.} \\
\quad & \quad \text{i.} \quad \text{u.} \\
\quad & \quad \text{consonantes} \quad \text{j.} \quad \text{v.}
\end{align*}
\]

---

⁴²⁷ infusione lucus] Stiernhielm first intended to write accessu lucis (with the last word only begun as l), then crossed out this phrase and wrote infusione lucis.
⁴²⁸ ex materia] Stiernhielm first wrote materiae as a partitive genitive.
⁴²⁹ terrea] Though the manuscript reads either terea or terra, Stiernhielm otherwise usually refers to the speech sounds under consideration by the adjective terrea.
⁴³⁰ ZF] Perhaps this sign should be read as the symbol of the planet Jupiter: ∑
Jod sterilis est, vav prolifica:

\[
\begin{align*}
v. & \quad \backslash \underline{\mid} \\
f. & \quad b. \quad p. \\
& \quad \varphi. \\
& \quad \psi.
\end{align*}
\]

Spiritus H sensim asperatur et generat:

\[
\begin{align*}
hh. & \quad g. \quad k. \quad q. \\
& \quad \chi. \\
& \quad \lambda. \quad \beta. \\
& \quad \pi. \quad \gamma. \quad \chi. \\
& \quad \nu. \quad \beta.
\end{align*}
\]

Sibilis S assumit multum materiae in Z.

\[
\begin{align*}
d. & \quad t. \quad th. \quad s. \quad sh. \quad st. \quad ds. \\
dh. & \quad sc. \quad \chi. \quad \tau. \\
& \quad \nu. \\
& \quad \psi.
\end{align*}
\]

(F.d. 6, 85v; F.d. 14a, 35v)

Hic itaque erit ordo convenientissimus alphabeti:

\[
\begin{align*}
a. & \quad j. \quad v. \quad h. \quad z. \quad l. \quad r. \quad n. \quad m. \\
e. & \quad f. \quad ch. \quad s. \\
i. \\
o. & \quad b. \quad g. \quad sh. \\
u. & \quad p. \quad c. \quad sk. \\
& \quad st. \\
& \quad d. \\
& \quad t. \\
& \quad th.
\end{align*}
\]

Sed si resolvias Z in simplices, erit

\[
\begin{align*}
a. & \quad j. \quad v. \quad h. \quad s. \quad t. \quad l. \quad r. \quad n. \quad m.
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{[431]}\]

\[\text{[432]}\]
De radice "a" et et nominis Jehovah etymo abstrusiora et planiora vide Vocabularium meum etymologicum in folio sub "a".434

7.2.2 Scrutinium literarum
Sources: Runa Suethica, F.d. 5, fol. 35v (with the dimensions 210 x 324 mm) and fol. 36v, which is Stiernhielm’s autograph, and F.d. 3, fol. 4v–5v (205 x 322 mm), which is a non-autograph fair copy. In relation to the original, the copy contains occasional misreadings and some lacunas. The edition below is based on the autograph. For a photograph of F.d. 5, fol. 35v, see Figure 6.

Dating: The text is the continuation of De origine linguarum (Vol. 2, Section 8.1.2), to which it refers in the second paragraph: “reliquae vocales, numero 8, supra enumeratae”, that is, “the other vowels that amount to eight, which are mentioned above”. De origine linguarum can be dated to early December 1655.

Contents: This text is an inquiry into the origin of the letters of the Swedish alphabet. In the first three paragraphs (I–III) he derives the vowels from variations or modulations of the phoneme /a/, which is considered the origin of all the others, leading first to the speech sound /i/ with its intensified articulation and then to the speech sound /u/ with its obscuration. He argues that the consonants originate from /v/ as a consonantized /u/, /h/ as an aspiration and /s/ as a sibilation. For this theory he refers to his other writings, such as the concluding diagram of the preceding text. He contends that not all the different pronunciations of the same vowel, i.e. allophones, have received a written character, because it would entail too many letters. He notes the English pronunciation of /a/ as /æ/, /i/ as /ai/ and /o/ as (a short) /a/. Regarding the phonemes /m/, /n/, /l/ and /r/, he claims that they have a phonosemantic origin – m as the speech sound of darkness, n as the speech sound of breathing, l as the speech sound of clarity or light, and r as the speech sound of colliding and compressing. At the end, he argues that every phoneme and word root can be traced back along the same path as it emerged.

(35v, col. 1) Scrutinium literarum
Posito itaque A literarum omnium principio vocali et litera prima, dispiciendum qua ratione et quae literae ex illa sint generatae.

433 The last paragraph (Sed ... hucusque omittuntur) has been omitted in F.d. 14a.
434 De radice "a" ... meum etymologicum in fol. sub "a"] This sentence has been added by Stiernhielm in F.d. 14a, from where it has been copied in NKS 150 and R. 21.
I. Ex A levi solummodo flexu obliquantur reliquae vocales, numero 8, supra enumeratae. Ex illis I hebetato acumine lucis igneo, tenebroso madore aëris degenerat in consonantem madidam J, Iod Hebraeis familiarem et aliis, sed Graecis peregrinam et ignotam.

II. Iterum ex A obliquata et obfuscata in obscurum Unascitur consonans V, Vau, perdita nimirum per intervenientem nims crassam caliginem omni vocalitate, dum vocalem sub se comprehensam quasi captivam ipsa mutiens effert et producit, ut audire est in syllabis va, ve, vi, vo, vu. Sequente adhuc vocali, ut vua, vue, vui etc. acquirit nomen et characterem proprium Germanis W dictum. Cuius pronunciationem genuinam hodie obtinent Angli et Scoti. Sueci 438 male per vav simplex efferunt. Itali et Galli W efferunt et transcribunt per Gu. Lam itaque duae natae sunt consonantes ex matre vocali A mediantibus filiabus acuta et ignea I et obtusa tenebrosaque U, nimirum jod et vav.

III. Aëris filiae germanae sunt H et S, prima lenioris aurae, spirans, altera pressioris venti, sibilans. D seu T ex aëris obstructi eruptione, ut in ta aut vehementer icti repercussione, ut in at generatur. Ex utraque S et T conflatur Z, utrique propterea communis et quasi utriusque copula, utramque continens et radicaliter repraesentans.


435 et obfuscata[ In F.d. 5 et occurs in the margin and obfuscata above the line.
436 Germanis[ In F.d. 5 Germanis has been added in the margin.
437 W[ In F.d. 5 the phonetic explanation of W as we has been crossed out.
438 Sueci[ In F.d. 5 et Germani after Sueci has been expunctuated and crossed out.
439 efferunt[ In F.d. 5 die Germani after Sueci has been crossed out. Stiernhielm crossed out two clauses: Germani, inquam, per veram enunciationem vav simplicis. Ea enim est quae ipsorum we, non vero F.
440 Qu[ In F.d. 5 the clause sed de his alibi has been crossed out after Gu.
441 copula[ In mater. Above it copula has been written.
442 Ex utraque … repraesentans[ This has been added at the bottom of F.d.5, 35v, col. 1. In F.d. 3, 5v, the addition has been written after the text in F.d. 5, 35v, col. 2, even after the text of the next paragraph (De Q notandum ... queo).
443 De Q … queo[ This has been added at the bottom of F.d. 5, fol. 35v, col. 2. In F.d. 3 the text added has mistakenly been written at the end of F.d. 5, 35v, col. 2
444 articulate[ In F.d. 5 Stiernhielm first wrote artificioso, then crossed out the latter part of this word, –ficiose, and replaced by it by –culate in the margin.
hinc sermonem componunt, mentis intimae nuncium et legatum. Literarum caput et fons, imo substantia radicalis et ipsa anima, est ipsum A, quippe quod nihil est alius, quam sonus simplicissimus atque purissimus ipsius lucis claritatem referens. Hoc sensim et gradatim deflectit et recedit a puritate sua in quasdam differentias, quae constituunt eas, quas vulgo vocant literas vocales. Quae revera literae non sunt aliae ab ipsa A, sed flexus et variatio soni A. Multae sunt hae variationes, sed quinque praecipuae\textsuperscript{445} tantum characteres sive notas obtinuerunt apud Latinos inclusa\textsuperscript{446} ipsa A, scilicet E. I. O. U. Graeci plures assumperunt, ultra istas videlicet H. Y. Ω. Hebraei et reliqui Orientales adhuc plures agnoscent, sed non nisi punctulatorum quibusdam notulis ipsi A (ジョン) subiectis significatas. Nos Suethi novem colimus: a. e. i. o. u. y. et ä. ä. ö.\textsuperscript{447} quae propter sonum, quem audiuntur habere medium, mixto vel duplici notantur charactere: ä est ipsum Graecum η, medium sonum obtinens inter a. et e; å est medium inter a et o, sonans ut Gallicum au; ö medium tenet inter o et e et effertur ut Gallicum eu.

Summa: omnes istae differentiae, ut ut scribantur et efferantur, sint uniformi et bisoni seu diphthongi, non constitutn nisi differentes modulationes unius literae A, nullas vero alias formaliter differentes literas. Et quid? Anglos vide. Illi ipsum a pronunciant ut nos ä. Ex i faciunt ei diphongum, et o in plurimis ut nos a efferunt. Latinis non est idem sonus o in non et nonus, nec idem sonus e in medius et mensa. Unde patet nimio plures futuras literas vocales, si omnes sonorum differentiae notas et literae nomen mererentur. Stat ergo non esse nisi unam literam veram vocalem A.


\textsuperscript{445} praecipuae[In F.d. 5 this has been added in the margin.}

\textsuperscript{446} inclusa[In F.d. 5 scilicet has been crossed out after inclusa.}

\textsuperscript{447} ä. ä. ö.[In F.d. 5 these letters have here been written as ã. â. ö.}

\textsuperscript{448} acute[alte has been crossed out on the line; acute added above the line.}
Summa ex vi et vehementia nata est ignis et venti (qui ex igne derivatur) in materiam resistentem irruptentis.

(36r, col. 2) Ut omnes res in unum ens referuntur, ex quo ortum habent, hoc est ad Deum ipsum, ita omnes omnium linguarum voces ex ipso A natae sunt atque ad ipsum A reduci debent ac possunt,449 eadem nimirum via retro, qua prorsum sunt profectae. M. P. B. Φ. F. Qu. formatae sunt ex V. et haec ab U., quae nihil aliud est quam A obscurum. Hinc facilis est ad A reditus. Aspiratarum classis CH. C. G. ad ipsam matrem H reducta facile expirat et nudam reliquit A. Ex sibilo S ortae D. T. TH. Z. in sibilum reversae ante A cito disparent. N. L. R. ut et M. sunt ancipites. ANA. ALA. ARA. AMA. Detritae sunt perdito A initiali in Na, La, Ra, Ma. Quae naturam et notiones retinent easdem quas habent An, Al, Ar, Am.

(36r, col. 3) Ut H spirat, S sibilat, ita R tremit, L liquet, am claudit, ma aperit, am ligat, ma solvit, n tinnit et suspirat. Tolle spiritum, sibilum tremitum liq[uet].

7.2.3 Literae simplicissimae et radices universales

Source: Runa Suethica, F.d. 5, fol. 38v, which is Stiernhielm’s autograph original, and F.d. 3, fols. 9r–10v, which is a non-autograph fair copy. Some passages of the text are quoted by Swartling.450 The title of this text is imposed by myself from phrases in the text itself (§ 1, § 8). For the original heading, see the edition, the first lines in italics. For a photograph of the original, see Figure 7.

Dating: probably around 1655.

Contents: Stiernhielm reconstructs the phonology and morphology of a universal language. He poses an original, universal set of vowels and consonants and compares them to Old Nordic (according to the Younger Futhark) and Swedish. In the number and order of the runes, he relied on Bureus’ Runa ABC-boken (Stockholm 1611). Positing a set of original phonemes, he arrives at a classification of all other consonantal phonemes. He assumes that some classes of consonants developed from some original ones as follows: (1) f, b, p, φ emerged from the speech sound /v/, (2) ch, g, c/ k emerged from the speech sound /h/, and (3) þ, z, d, t, st, sh emerged from the speech sound /s/.

Furthermore, Stiernhielm proposes a set of original morphemes and puts forward rules for deriving the original morpheme in stems of more than two consonants.

449 debent ac possunt] F.d.3, fol. 5r, inverts the word order: possunt ac debent.
450 Swartling, Georg Stiernhielm, p. 79, notes 2 and 4, p. 80, note 3, quotes several passages: § 1 (Omnium vocalium mater A, etc.); the first sentence of § 3, the entire § 4 (except for the last sentence: Hoc itaque erit series, etc.), and § 5 (omitting et in linguis Scythicis pene indifferentes and sed quaelibet sua est).
Sequentur primarum radicum significationes generalissimae, ad quas reducuntur reliquae omnes specialaes per suos gradus

Literae simplicissimae omnibus linguis communes et ad quas omnes omnium gentium literae reduci possunt et debent sunt:

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

consonae: b. c. d. f. g. h. l. m. n. p. r. s. t. v.

Literae Graecorum primae, quas Cadmeas vocabant, 16 tantum fuisse ait Plutarch., Symposiaca, Qu. 3, mihi pagina 667, tomo secundo. \(^{451}\)

"Nec ratione aliqua, sed casu et fortuito numerum et ordinem literarum, qualis est, exititisse."\(^{452}\)

Nec plures olim novit Septentrio. Has etiam paucioribus notis incluserunt, ut numerarentur in universum 15 hoc ordine:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccccccccc}
\text{ß} & \text{ä} & \text{æ} & \text{o} & \text{u} & \text{e} & \text{i} & \text{a} & \text{s} & \text{t} & \text{b} & \text{l} & \text{m} \\
\text{f} & \text{u} & \text{d} & \text{o} & \text{r} & \text{c} & \text{h} & \text{n} & \text{i} & \text{a} & \text{g} & \text{e} & \text{p} \\
\text{v} & \text{th} & \text{g} & \text{e} & \text{p} \\
\end{array}
\]

Vocales Suethi auxerunt, ut sint hodie numero novem, hac serie pro sonorum differentia ponendae: a. ä. e. ö. i. y. å. o. u. Diphthongos nullas agnoscimus praeter ia. ie. io. iä. iö. iå., quae tamen nullae erunt, cum i abit in jod.

Iam RUNA seu Cabala intellectus vocum requirit, ut secundum naturam ordinantur haec elementa. Et erit:

1. Omnium vocalium mater A. Ea omnes continet, ad eam omnes reducuntur, ut primam et puram. Haec enim lucis clarissimae nota.

2. Ex consonantibus \(^{454}\) factae sunt ex ipsis vocalibus J et V. Jod, quia ab I vocali parum aut nihil differt et sterilis est, rejicitur. Jod Hebraeorum et Vau mutuum habent in se transitum. Potest itaque

\(^{451}\) Plutarch. … tomo secundo] Stiernhielm probably used the first Latin translation of Plutarch’s Symposiace by Hadrian Junius (1511–1575): Symposiaca problemata: hoc est convivales sermones, nunc primum Latine facti, Parisiis/ Paris 1547.

\(^{452}\) Literae … exititisse] This is an addition in the margin (F.d. 5, 38v). The passages cited are found in Plutarch, Quaestiones convivales IX, 3, 2–3. On occasion of the fact that the god Hermes (Egyptian Thoth), the inventor of writing, is associated with the number “four”, Plutarch says: “four times four provide the original set of letters, called Phoenician because of Cadmus, and later Palamedes added four of those invented anew and then Simonides added just equally many” (ibidem, IX, 3, 2). Plutarch presumably believed that the original set of letters was α, β, γ, δ, ε, η, θ, κ, λ, μ, ν, ο, π, ρ, σ, τ, since he reports that Palamedes increased it with ζ, η, φ, χ and Simonides with θ, ς, ψ, ω. He concludes that the number and order of letters is arbitrary: “For no reason, but by coincidence, the number and order of the letters, such as it now is, have come into being” (Quaestiones convivales IX, 3, 3).

\(^{453}\) ] Stiernhielm usually has this short-twig variant instead of the more common ι.

\(^{454}\) Ex consonantibus] After this, Stiernhielm crossed out puriores sunt, quae.
tolerari sub V. V foecunda est et generat de se F. (φ.) B. P. Quarum una altera paulo est fortior, alias nulla est differentia. W duplex scilicet uu, ante vocalem uua, uue, uui etc. quae debet efferri ut wh Anglicum aut propemodum ut hua, hue etc. Suethicum. W male a nobis pro V usurpatur. (F.d. 3, 9v) Sufficeret enim ipsum V, quod eandem apud nos obtinet enunciationem. Germani vero pessime efferunt per F.

3. Proxima dignitate est litera H, quippe quae fere immaterialis puri spiritus est proles. Haec corporascit et per gradus indurescit in CH. G. C. Q ociosa est et duplex est a CU, CV, ut et X a CS, GS. Tertium locum sibi incorporalis spiritus S vendicat. Qui miscetur in Z et Þ (θ) et sistitur in D et rigescit in T. Þ hodie periit nec recte exprimitur per th, nisi Anglis, qui th ut ð, Graece θ, more veteri pronunciant, scilicet quasi dhs.


Haece itaque erit series alphabeti naturalis:
V F B P H (ch) G C S D T L R N M.

5. Iam certum est literas cognatas tam in pronuntiatione, quam in scripitione inter se esse commutabiles et in linguis Scythicis pene indifferentes. Eo itaque me adduxit experientia, ut omnes eiusdem generis et classis pro una et unam pro omnibus caperem. Sic pro f, v, p, b capio solam V, pro h, ch, g, c capio H aut CH, pro s, t, d et mixtis ð, z, sh, st (צ) capio Z, quae videtur aut media esse aut omnes complecti. Reliquae L. R. N. M. nec sibi nec aliis sunt cognatae, sed quaelibet sua est.

---

455 Iod Hebraeorum ... sub V] In F.d. 5, 38v, this has been added in the margin.
456 usurpatur] In F.d. 5, 38v, Stiernhielm first wrote miscue usurpatur cum v et prius a Germanis pro ipso V, but then crossed out this clause except usurpatur. F.d. 3 does not have usurpatur, but copies pessime effertur per f from the next line.
457 Sufficeret ... vero pessime] In F.d. 5, 38v, this has been written in the margin.
458 efferrunt per F] In F.d. 5, 38v, this has been left out.
459 et] In F.d. 5, 38v, aut has been crossed; et has been added above the line.
460 ut et ... GS] In F.d. 5, 38v, this has been added in the margin.
462 eiusdem generis et classis] In F.d. 5, this has been added in the margin.
6. Postremo docet ipsa rei experientia constituendum brevius quoddam, quam voco Alphabetum Radicale: a. v. h. s. l. r. n. m. Simplicissime pro H et S in constitutione radicum usurpabo CH et Z propter maiorem evidentiam, quandoquidem hae sunt mediae et reliquas continent. (F.d. 5, 39r) Ad oculum:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{v} & \text{ch} & \text{z} \\
\text{f. b. p. φ.} & \text{h. g. c.} & \text{s. d. t. st. sh.}
\end{array}
\]

Has literas principes cum tota sua subole voco *achevizo* aut *achavaza*.


NB. V nata est ab a, quae litera est lucis. Sed male. Nata est ab U, quae litera est tenebrarum, opposita claritudini ipsius A. U est immaterialis et repraesentat aërem tenebrosum, sed V crassior est et materiata, ut vapor aut magis aquosa nubes caligans. Et hac ratione potior erit his alphabetai ordo:

a. ä. e. ö. i. y. å. o. u.  
h. g. c. s. d. t. v. f. b. p. l. r. n. m.

Pro η veteres ε usurpabant. Plato in Cratylo.

7. Literae *achavaz* sunt serviles nec quicquam faciunt ad substantiam radicum, nisi quod distinguunt seu variant et multiplicant, scilicet in fronte constitutae (ut in cha, ga, sa, ta etc.); a tergo iunctae idem praestant, ut in ach, ag, ab, ap, ad, at, maiorem tamen inducunt differentiam et alterationem. *Alrunim* vero utrinque adhibitae sui sunt iuris et dominae, licet ius et authoritatem etiam

---

463 sunt mediae et] In F.d. 5, this has been added under the line.  
464 seu *achavaza*] In F.d. 5, this has been added above the line.  
465 aut *acheviez* … origo] In F.d. 5, 39r, this has been written in the margin.  
466 NB. … Cratylo] In F.d. 5, 39r, this has been added in the right-hand margin. In the same note, Stierihelm remarks on the transition of the consonant J into V: “J abit in V (praesertim Arabibus), Germanis quibusdam et aliis, qui G aut E et I pronunciant. Confunditur cum G, sed haec nullius sunt momenti.”
illae habeant translatitiam ab a, radicum omnium radice prima, penes quam directum est dominium in reliquas omnes.


NB. ch. va. za. sunt radices affectae ipsius a et locum habent afficientes ach. av. az. ut terminaciones ipsius a in notione entis. Sed ante al. ar. an. am. non sunt suae, sed faciunt voces affectas et formatas ex radice alaranam.

Item ahavaz in notionibus entis sunt aut terminationes ipsius a aut voces formatae. In notionibus lucis, ignis, aquae, terrae, si sunt ex a, āω, ēω etc. sunt terminations. Alius sunt voces formatae, ut in notiones entis ex a fit ava et aga, terminationes infinitivi. Unde aud et āgn, voces formatae, nomina scilicet verbalia, quibus significatur possessio; ag, punctura, vel aga, pungere, est radix, sed471 respective et sic specialis suarum derivatarum, eademque472 vox formata. Ex radice a notione unitatis, qua punctum et structurae continentur.

7.2.4 Scattered observations
7.2.4.1 Common runic letters for different vowels and consonants
Source: F.d. 9:10, fol. 2r. Size: 245 x 360 mm. Dating: around 1650.

NB. å, ä non sunt singulares literae, sed saltem indicativae enunciationis ipsius A, quando scilicet declinat vel ad obscuritatem literae O vel ad exilitatem literae E. Sic et Ö literae O pronunciationem modificat.

Veteribus Gothis omnes vocales propemodum fuere una atque ea naturam habuit literae א, quae capax est omnium punctationum. In alphabeto enim Runico una fuit litera communis a et e,473 posteriori aevi ad distinctionem coepta est puncto in medio notari. O ad distinctionem a et e, 1, duabus lineis ad medium notata est Æ, quae et o et ö et å sunt.


7.2.4.2 Prima radix
Source: Collectanea ad Runam Suethicam, F.d. 6, fol. 24v with the measurements 212 x 325 mm. Dating: most likely c. 1651.

Contents: the monovocalism of the phoneme A.

471 est radix, sed respective] Stiernhielm first wrote non est radix, nisi respective, crossed then out non and nisi and added sed above the line.
472 eademque] Deleting sed on the line, Stiernhielm wrote eademque above the line.
473 a et e] Stiernhielm first wrote a, e et i, j, crossed then out et i, j.
Omnes vocales in voce radicali sunt una. Prima radix omnium vocum nihil est aliud, quam simplicissimus sonus et eiusdem character oculis subjectus et expressus per voalem A.

7.2.4.3 Transitus literarum
Source: Collectanea ad Runam Suethicam, F.d. 6, fols. 19r and 19v with the measurements 205 x 325 mm.
Dating: most likely c. 1651.
Contents: the phonetic development from vowels into consonants.

(19r) Literarum transitus etiam fit per gradus proximos.
Ex a per e et i fit j.
Ex a per o et u fit v.
Ex e fit i, ex hoc j, ex hoc g.
Ex au (av), eu (ev) fit ay, ey, et sic ex f. <fit> g. et contra.

(19v) Transitus literarum vocalium in consonantes:
a per e <transit> in j, ut ea, ja.
a per o et u <transit> in v, ut oa, ua in va.

7.2.4.4 Alphabetum Stiernhielmi
Source: Stiernhielm’s own copy of Bibliander’s De ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum, Zürich 1548, This copy is preserved at Uppsala University Library. The text has been written as a note in the margin of p. 152. This stray remarks dates from March 1652.

Dating: In the end-note of his own copy of Bibliander’s book, Stiernhielm dates his reading of the book: Perlustratus a G. Stiernhielm biduo ab 10 ad 12 Martii Ao 1652 in Stiernlund in Ingria, that is “Read by G. Stiernhielm in the course of two days, from 10 to 12 March in the year 1652 at Stiernlund in Ingria.”

Alphabetum Sternhelmi, hoc est:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccccc}
  \text{a} & \text{ä.} & \text{e} & \text{i} & \text{ö.} & \text{y} & \text{å.} & \text{o} & \text{u} \\
  \hline
\end{array}
\]

Sub his continentur:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
  \text{h.} & \text{g.} & \text{k.} & \text{q.} & \text{v.} & \text{f.} \\
  \hline
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  \text{b.} & \text{p.} & \text{φ.} & \text{s.} \\
  \hline
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  \text{z.} & \text{th.} & \text{t.} & \text{d.} & \text{st.} \\
  \hline
\end{array}
\]
7.2.4.5 Literae achevioz
Source: Miscellanea etymologica, F.d. 9:6, fol. 1v, col. 2.
Dating: about 1651. The following page, fol. 2r, is dated 28 September 1651, see the introduction to Section 7.2.2 above.
Contents: the mutual non-exchangability of the phonemes c, v, and z except for the internal variation of each phoneme or rather phonetic groups or classes. See further Section 6.2.3 above (paragraph 6).

Literae achevioz non mutantur in se invicem nisi per gradus quoslibet in sua classe, sed aequo iure singulae sibi radicem et vocem puram vendicant. H hic non habet plus privilegii, quam reliquae, nisi quod propter mobilitatem suam est frequentius.

7.3 Hebrew, Latin, Greek and Swedish phonemes
In several minor writings, Stiernhielm tries to establish an original set of vowels and consonants in Swedish, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Such writings are transcribed and edited below.

7.3.1 Hebraearum inter se literarum cognatio
Source: F.d. 6c, Virgula divina, fols. 2v–3r. Size: 172 x 235 mm.
Dating: 1641.
Contents: Stiernhielm takes his point of departure in the classification of Hebrew consonants into gutturals, labials, dentals, palatals and linguals and in the common rule that speech sounds of the same place of articulation easily interchange. To show the historical kinship between Hebrew, Latin and Swedish consonants, Stiernhielm divides Latin and Swedish consonants phonemes into groups similar to those in the Hebrew tradition.

Porro, quandoquidem incredibilis est nostrae cum Hebraea, quoad voces primitivas, convenientia, paucis ostendere visum est tum Hebraearum inter se literarum cognationem, cum earundem in nostras transitum sive reditum. Cum in multis non immerito dubitare possis, utrubi prima sit radix et origo.

Grammaticis habentur cognatae et inter sese transitoriae eae, quae sunt unius instrumenti. Quales sunt:

- Gutturales: יָוָה
- Labiales: יָוָה
- Palatales: יָוָה

474 See for instance David Kimchi’s Hebrew grammar (Mikhlo), systematically presented and annotated by William Chomsky, New York (Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning), p. 11. See further my monograph Albert Schultens as the innovator of etymological Hebrew lexicography, Sections 11.1.3 and 11.1.3.

156
Hisce non obstantibus deprehendes multas radices cognatas contineri sub initialibus ע ה ר צ ש. Nec minus magnam in significatu affinitatem reperies in cognatione soni literarum ק כ ע נ ח י א. Quae pro qualitate sua significacionem vel intendunt vel remittunt vel aliter afficiunt.

Prioris exemplum habeto in יב, זבל, לב, אבל etc. Posterioris in גל, diripuit, טיל, ויב, debilitavit, יכשע, lapsus est. Item יבשל, קלת, subsannavit, etc. Talia sunt יב, יכ, vixit, kvick, vigor, vigetus. ב, ו, כ, ב, keck, quickheet, et יג, fuit.


Item י וה. Exemplum est in radicibus זבל, חבל, אבל, יבל, יבל. Quae omnibus respondet Gothicum skiär, id est purus, serenus ab ur. ז, ק, поб, fulgur; ut honor, honos, odor, odos.

Notanda erit variatio pronunciationis etiam in literis Hebraicis ut י ב bh. f. v.


(3r) Restat ut qua ratione nostrae, ut et Latinae, in radicum constantia Hebraeis respondeant, doceatur. Gutturales, praesertim in initio, ut plurimum omissuntur, quippe cum nulla nobis sit fere, quae ex aequo respondeat. Pro ח tamen ח in Latinis et nostris saepenumero emergit H, ch. nonnunquam g vel k, quod etiam in usu venit in כ ק ו, sed illustrius haecce ob oculos ponentur in tabula sequente:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>י</th>
<th>ע</th>
<th>ח</th>
<th>כ</th>
<th>ל</th>
<th>ר</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>י</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>י</td>
<td>in s. st. sch. t.</td>
<td>י</td>
<td>in d. t. th.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

475] This is an emendation. The proposed verb means “laugh at, deride”. The ms. has the non-extant verb לָהַג. The noun lahag means “study, meditation”.

476 Haec ... affinis suis] This has been added in the margin (2v, col. 1).

477 Notanda erit ... Ausonius] This has been added in the margin (2v, upper part). Martini, Lexicon philologicum, p. 1075, s.v. H, quotes a passage from Ausonius, Technopaegnion 8, 13 (De litteris monosyllabis Graecis et Latinis), verse 19, which means: “I am the aspiration that by a breathing vivifies the most thin H.”
1 initialis raro attenditur. Deprehenditur enim in multis nihil fere facere ad vocis substantiam. Tolli simul et tolerari posse. In HIPHER enim Hebraeis vanescit in ר, Chaldaeis in כ, ut γ, habere fecit, i.e. dedit, *gifua*.

et in כ, ita saepissime abit in w. et g.


Nonnunquam etiam ς Chaldaeis abit in כ, nobis et Latinis T, ut in voce ר, Chald. ח or, Latinis taurus, Goth. *tiur* ש, Chal. י, sedit.

Horum omnium exempla apud etymologicos passim invenies, et in mea ADELRUNA Hebraeo-Gothica abunde.

S. Ut aspiratio H ante vocales in initio vocis frequenter se offert, ita et sibilus S consonantibus saepe se praeponit ad intendendam et vehementiorem reddendam vocis significationem nec hoc in Suethica solum, sed etiam Latina. Quo cautius dispiciendum erit de substantialibus literis vocis, ne et S interdum imprudenter assumatur.

7.3.2 Literarum nativitas et ordo

Source and contents: Miscellanea etymologica, F.d. 7:1, fol. 7r, numbered as p. 7 in the ms. Size: 210 x 325 mm. Dating: 1650–1652. For a photograph of the original, see Fig. 8. Stiernhielm explores the origin of vowels and consonants in comparison with Scandinavian runes (the Younger Futhark) and Greek and Hebrew letters.

(7r) Literarum nativitas et ordo naturae et rationi consentaneus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| P | est ex duplicibus.[481]

Literae cardinales non sunt plures quam novem:

A. V H S T L R N M. Addi potest decima *Iod* Hebr[aetorum].

Multiplicatio talis est:

A. ä. e. i. ö. y. ä. o. u.

α. η. ε. τ. ο. υ. ω.

etc.

---

[478] reperiuntur ] Stiernhielm first wrote *inveniuntur*, then changed *inven-* to *reper-*.

[479] י stetit. *staff*] This example has been added in the margin.

[480] י vestee. fast. … ς in st] These observations have been added in the margin.

[481] P est ex duplicibus] In the first line, Stiernhielm first gave P as the counterpart of both D and T, then crossed it out, replacing it above the line by the short-twig rune for T, ¹ (the voiced variant of which in the medieval Futhark was dotted as 1). He thus crossed out ¹ before *supervacua* and added that P is a double consonant.
Vocalium mutatio facit ad flexionem significationis in casibus et modis etc., item ad emphasin significationis, qua clarum, subtile, obscurum etc. intendo significare.\footnote{Vocalium ... significare} A. complectitur omnes vocales.

I. quia ex vocali declinat in consonantem, secundum locum ab A meretur.

U. similiter, tertium.

F. sono et vi literae praecedenti proxima est, unde a Scaligero et alis habetur quasi media inter vocalem et consonantem, vide Martin.\footnote{Martin} F literam Quinctilianus l. 1, c. 7 Claudiano imperatori acceptam refert.\footnote{F literam ... refert}

B. ipso F est durior, et hac ipsa durior P est. Reliquae ortae aut ab aspiratione H aut a sibilo S. Intenduntur et roborantur ea, quam vides, serie:

| H. | ch. | g. | k. | seu | c. | G primitus non fuit. Pro ea C omnia munia obibat. Auson. Praevaluit postquam Gammae vice functa prius C.\footnote{G primitus ... prius C} |
| S. | [st.] | z. | d. | t. | \footnote{S. [st.] z. d. t.} | Z compositum suum habet a ds vel ts. Ablato sibilo manet d et t. |

Restant liquidae, quae nullam habent inter se cognitionem, licet saepe inter se commutantur. Haec sunt L. R. N. M.

Primum locum tribuo L. propter lucis indolem.


M. omnium erit ultima. Illa enim et os et sonum et significationem claudit, ligat et cohibet obscura, mugiens et bombylans.

Q. duplex est cu, kv. W. duplex est Vu proprium habens sonum Anglis hodie familiarem in Wh. Nos fere eundem exprimus in
hw, hue, monosyllabis hwem, hwar, Itali per Gu, alii per Qu eundem efferre nituntur. 

Erit ergo alphabetum plenum:

A.  J.     V F B P W.     H CH G K Q.     S T Z D Þ.     L R N M. 

Constat ergo alphabetum praeter liquidas quinque literis principibus, quae diversarum naturarum singulae suam producunt subolem praeter J, quod prolem non habet. J utrique classi V et H se associat. 

A. vocalis omnis sui generis sonos recipiens et complectens, ut ñ omnia praevenit. 

J. consonans orba et sterilis. Associat autem se plerumque ad H, interdum etiam ad V., et in G. mutatur nobis saepissime, ut plöja, plögia; säija etc. 

V. consonans foecunda. 

H. aspiratio, in prole asperata, h.e. asperatur in ch. g. k. 

S. sibilus in prole cessans. 

T. consonans solida et firma. 

Hinc patet quam maxime inter se sunt commutabiles, singulae scilicet in singulis classibus, praeterquam in liquidis, ubi L et R, M et N solum inter se transeunt. Transeunt etiam de classe in classe. G et V valde sibi sunt familiares. N ante G nunquam est radicale, siunga a säija, sägia, ut quäda etc. 

V. consonans foecunda. 

H. aspiratio, in prole asperata, h.e. asperatur in ch. g. k. 

S. sibilus in prole cessans. 

T. consonans solida et firma. 

Hinc patet quam maxime inter se sunt commutabiles, singulae scilicet in singulis classibus, praeterquam in liquidis, ubi L et R, M et N solum inter se transeunt. Transeunt etiam de classe in classe. G et V valde sibi sunt familiares. N ante G nunquam est radicale, siunga a säija, sägia, ut quäda etc. 

Sic erunt hae totius alphabeti constitutivae: A. J V H S T L R N M. 


Musas poetae finxere novem pro numero literarum nominis μημοσύνης, i.e. memoriae, quae fuit Musarum mater, quacum Iupiter 9 iuges noctes concubuit, ut ex ea 9 Musas suscepit, ut docet Hesiodus in Theogonia. 

---

489 S T Z D Þ] The order was originally S Z D T Þ. The present order has been indicated by numbers above the line (1–5).

490 In the left-hand margin, Stiernhielm argues that the letters A. J. V. H. S. T. correspond with the ones that are found in his own name: Sunt autem: STIÄRNHULM, STIURNHÄLM, STIORNAULM, STIORNHEAULM, though the first three variants have been crossed out. He compared the first element of this compound with the old Germanic forms of the verb ‘stear’, viz. storna, stiura and styra.

491 N ante G … qväda] This explanation has been added in the margin.

492 10] novem has been written on the line, but has been crossed out in a pencil. The number 10 has been added in a pencil above the line.

493 T] The letter T has afterwards been inserted between S and L.

494 […] There is probably a lacuna here, because the right-hand corner is damaged.

495 Musas … Theogonia] This passage has been added in the left-hand margin, but it is unclear where it should be inserted in the main text.
7.3.3 Literae diversae et paucae quaedam universales

7.3.3.1 Preliminaries and Latin text

Source and dating: Collectanea ad Runam Suethicam, F.d. 6, fol. 7r–8r. Size: 210 x 322 mm. This text dates from between 1648 and 1651, since Stiernhielm refers to himself as “antiquarian of the realm” and as the successor of Bureus on this position. He held this office until early 1652. For a photograph of F.d. 6, fol. 7r, see Figure 9.

Contents: Stiernhielm’s phonetic and phonological theory was embedded in the contexts of etymological lexicography and language philosophy, which aimed at demonstrating the agreement of words with the nature of things, that is the ontological correspondence between words and the nature of reality. *Harmonia vocum cum natura rerum* is the heading of the text in the manuscript. The topic of the extant text however is the historical phonology of Swedish, Greek and Latin. For this reason, I have renamed it *Literae diversae et paucae quaedam universales*, which I consider a more apt title taken from phrases in the text itself.

The text is divided into six paragraphs. Stiernhielm begins with a theoretical discussion of the production of speech sounds by the different organs of speech (§ 2), in an attempt at developing an articulatory phonetics. He proceeds to the invention of characters for writing, that is, letters (§ 3). He discusses the diversity of letters in relation to ethno-linguistic variation in general (§ 3) and in regard to the different sets of letters in Greek and Latin (§ 4). He does not agree to the ancient mytho-history that the Phoenician prince Cadmus introduced the alphabet in Greece through adoption of the Phoenician letters, because the Greek letters in his opinion differ too much from them. He then establishes a definite set of letters in Runic Swedish (§ 5) in comparison with the original set of Greek letters. Finally, he identifies a stock of letters and phonemes that are common to Greek, Latin, and Runic Swedish (§ 6). He argues that this stock of speech sounds is not only primordial, but also universal to all languages. He thereupon identifies groups of consonants, the members of which are argued to be mutually exchangeable (i.e. substitutable).

Stiernhielm relates his observations to the theory and practice of etymology. He exemplifies his theory with alleged old Swedish stems or words and with Swedish and German words (see §§ 5–6).

---

*Harmonia vocum cum natura rerum*
*Literae variarum nationum pro varietate assuetorum sonorum variae sunt et multiplices. Hinc quo gens quaeque a literarum cultu*

---

496 Runic Swedish is a period in the history of the Swedish language, from 800 AD until 1200 AD.
alienior,\textsuperscript{497} eo pluribus ad brutales suos et fere inarticulatos sonos exprimendos opus habuerunt literis. Quod contingere videmus Moschowitis, Armenis, Aethiopibus et similibus.\textsuperscript{498}

I. Ut universo mortalium generi sapientissimus rerum conditor unam mentem impertivit, ita quoque una organa ad unum effectum, mentis scilicet \textsuperscript{499} explicationem et mutuam communicacionem, fauces, linguam, labia, dentes omnibus et singulis communicavit. Quibus potestatem indidit formandi distinctos aliquot et articulatos sonos, quorum varia permutacione, alternatione et commixtione ad nutum rationis et voluntatis voces et hinc sermo ad intelligentiam mutuam\textsuperscript{500} conformarentur.

II. Ut omnia prima, ita hi soni distincti simplicissimi fuerunt et numero pauci, paucis dictorum organorum motibus et configurationibus exprimibiles. Quos inter primos sapiens aliquis (quisque ille fuit) paribus notis\textsuperscript{501} visibiles, cognoscibiles et legibiles facere feliciter aggressus est.

III. Notae istae, quas et signa, symbola,\textsuperscript{502} characteres, literas et elementa vocum appellamus,\textsuperscript{503} hodie quidem pro diversitate linguarum diversae sunt et multiplices. Nec omnibus idem numerus. Si quae sunt prima, eadem sunt simplicissima. Certe Graecae et Runae priores sunt Hebreis, quia pauciores et simpliciores.\textsuperscript{504} Quo enim quaeque lingua a puritate et simplicitate primigenia longius recessit, eo plures et vitiosiores pronunciationis depravatae modos\textsuperscript{505} sibi acquisivit et appropriavit. Quos ut exprimeret aut novos characteres effingere (quod in Moschovitica factum videmus) aut veteres additis aliquibus punctis et lineolis pro sonorum varietate distinguere et multiplicare, quod in Polonica experimur, necessum habuit.

Quin et cultus ipse linguarum ornatus aut compendii (ut visum est) causa nonnullas, licet minus necessarias, adinvenit, id quod in Graeca patet et aliis, praeertim in iis literis, quas duplexes vocant, quales

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{cultu alienior}{The original word order \textit{alienior cultu} has been changed by numbers above the line.}
\footnote{Literae \ldots similibus}{This paragraph has been crossed out in the manuscript.}
\footnote{Explicationem}{The word \textit{mutuam} iahs been crossed out before \textit{explicationem}.}
\footnote{mutuam}{The words \textit{suam et alienam} have been crossed out on the line and replaced by \textit{mutuam} above the line.}
\footnote{The words visibilibus et legibilibus feliciter}{have been crossed out on the line.}
\footnote{symbola}{This word has been added above the line.}
\footnote{Stiernhielm crossed out \textit{videntur omnes hisce paucis posse comprehendi: a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p r s t u} as the continuation of the sentence introduced by \textit{Notae}.}
\footnote{Si quae sunt prima \ldots et simpliciores}{This has been written in the margin.}
\footnote{pronunciationis depravatae modos}{Stiernhielm first wrote \textit{pronunciationis depravationes} and then changed \textit{depravationes} to \textit{depravatae} and added \textit{modos}.}
\end{footnotes}
sunt X. Ζ. Φ. Ψ. Ω. et apud Hebraeos ρ ϱ ϱ; u. Θ. th. Anglicum. 506
Pro H, η, Graeci veteres ε usurparunt, et Ζ in nullo fere usu. Plutarch. 507

Cadmus si literas dedisset Graecis, Phoenicias dedisset. Falsum itaque videtur commentum. Verisimilius est Graecos unde rudimenta linguae, inde esse literas nactos a Barbaris, scilicet qui prius quam illi incoluerunt Graeciam, Pelasgis scilicet origine Thracibus seu Scythis. Certum est nos ab Graecis aut hos a nostris conditoribus Scythis literas accepsisse. Hoc evincit numerus idem, idemque, si accurate inspiciamus, character. 508

IV. Lingua Graeca primis temporibus 15 tantum literis efferri notarique contenta erat. Eae fuerunt Α β Γ Δ Ε Κ Λ Μ Ν Ο Π Ρ Σ τ Υ. Has Cadmus Graeciae intulisse fertur. Sed cur non Hebraicas ו ש כ י ל; Υ Latinae priscae <17 literae> 509 sufficiebant. Eae fuerunt: α. ε. i. o. u. b c d f h l m n p r s t. G non habuerunt. Pro eo C usurpaverunt, deinceptis et G et C promiscue habuerunt, ut cervus, gervus; ceres, geres; acere, agere. Q nesciverunt.

V. Europaeorum septentrionalium 510 priscarum et praesentium mater Suethica, quam et Gothicam et generalior nomine Scandicam appellamus, ut origini suae omnium proxima, ita et simplicissima, adhuc paucioribus contenta fuit characteribus. Quos ego ut maxime rudes et priscam imperiti redolentes, ita fere primos aut a primis proximos seu secundos non temere existimaverim. Sunt autem hi:

| Α | Β | Γ | Δ | Ε | Κ | Λ | Μ | Ν | Ο | Π | Ρ | Σ | Τ | Υ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | b | k | d | f | h | i | l | m | n | o | r | s | t | u |
| ä | p | g | th | ch | y | å | v |
| e | q | dh | ö |
| ts |
| ¤ digamma Aeolicum. ¤ est X. | [i.e. ℮] v inversum. Ψ, µ. |
| Λ similem non habet. Alias est R. |
| Ν Σ, Ζ inversum. ↑ T. Ν U. ¶ [K]. 512 |

Numero quindecim: quorum nonnulli posterioribus seculis aliam atque aliam picturam adepti sunt, ut videre licet ex tabula omnes differentias et species literarum Runarum consumatissimi et

---

506 ornatus … Anglice] This has been written in the margin.
507 Pro … Plutarch] This passage has been added in the margin.
508 Cadmus … inspiciamus character] This paragraph has been written in the margin.
509 17 literae] This ought to be supplemented. The manuscript only has three dots.
510 septentrionalium] This word has been added above the line.
511 [k] After Κ, the following clause has been crossed out: Sunt autem numero 15.
512 K] Stiernhielm here omits the Greek letter kappa (K).
venerandi viri Johannis Burei antiquarii Regni Sueciae,\textsuperscript{513} praedecessoris mei optime meriti, anno 1599, (7v) cui tabulae certe omnem suam eruditionem Runicam debet, si fateri non nolit\textsuperscript{514} vir alias doctus et\textsuperscript{515} industrius Dominus Olaus Worm. Verum hoc quod Virgilio olim, id nostro aevo candidissimo illi Bureo contigit, ut non immerto sibi applicare decantatum illud:

Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores.

Ne vero huius rei mundus amplius sit ignorans, hic saltem memoratae tabulae titulum dabo: <Runakenslones lerespan, unde runar seu verae veterum Gothorum literae sciri et apte scribi queant, Ubsalaiæ Sueonum 1599.>\textsuperscript{516} Nota: Aliud est farraginem vocum in diversis linguis consonantium dare, aliud est causas et rationes vocum dare. Et hoc nostrum est institutum.

Vulgus etymologistarum genealogiam vocum quaerunt non ex stirpe, sed ex collateralibus, ut wind derivant a ventus, quae sunt voces sorores, utraque ex stirpe seu motu wehen, radix affecta, a pura āω, āεv. Vulgus derivat voces non ex fontibus, sed ex lacunis. Non educunt ex radicibus vocum puris et informibus, sed ex vocibus derivatis et iam formatis.\textsuperscript{517}

Regula: Omnes radices affectae diriguntur ad modum radicum purarum et ducuntur per omnes radices puras, ut ga, gav, gab, gah, gach, gal, gam, gan, gar, gas, gat. An vero commodius ut unicuique radici purae subiungantur suae affectiones seu affectae, ut sub av gav, ag gag; al gal; am gam; an gam; ar gar; as gas. Et hoc commodius, ita tamen ut mater communis a pura ducatur cum suis affectis per omnes flexiones, quae etiam incidunt in multas consonantes, ut a in āga, häga; tego, στέγω; es, ius; er, iuris; ar, war.

Error etymologistarum communis est consonantem primam praesertim mutare in aliam, ut Bis in Dis, H in S etc., quasi una ex altera necessario facta sit, cum saepe utraque sit ex una radice et pro ratione dialecti et idiotismi gentis, haec vel illa consonans in initio sit assumpta, ut liquet in caput, hovud; canis, hund.\textsuperscript{518}

VI. Sunt vero quot et quantumvis diversae diversarum linguarum notae, cunctas tamen ad hasce paucas primas et universales reduci posse et debere censeo: a e i o u. b c d f g h l m n p r s t.

\textsuperscript{513} Regni Sueciae] In the ms., these words have been abbreviated as R. S.

\textsuperscript{514} non nolit] non piget on the line has been replaced by non nolit above the line.

\textsuperscript{515} alias doctus et] This has been added above the line.

\textsuperscript{516} Runa-kenslones lerespon ... queant] In the ms. (F.d. 6, fol. 7v), the title, place and date of publication have been omitted, but space has been left for the title.

\textsuperscript{517} Vulgus ... formatis] This paragraph has been added in the margin.

\textsuperscript{518} Error ... hund] This paragraph has been added in the margin.
Imo, si quis altius literarum scrutinium instituere velit, comperiet omnes vocales comprehendi in una a, reliquas vero nihil aliud esse quam modos sive deflexiones seu tonos ab a descendentes. Nota bene pronunciationem vocalium et diphthongorum Anglorum: *nothing. people. pipl.*

Latini prisci 16 tantum habuerunt: a e i o u b c d h l m n p r s t.

F seu Ꞵ digamma Aeolicum a Varrone inventum aiunt. Digamma Aeolicum est Ꞵ [seu] Ꞵ, nostrum Ꞵ [seu] I=.

η non est vetus litera apud Graecos, sed ε. Plato in Cratylo.


Graeci: A B Γ Δ Η Ε Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ

Latini: A B G D Η Ε Ι F C L Μ Ν Ο Ρ S T V

Gothi: a a b k ß h i f k l m | O p r z t u n ö

H literam non agnoscunt Graeci.


 thở punctatum Gothis fuit P.

W, ut hodie nobis et Germanis pronunciatur, nihil aliud est quam V simplex, quod Germani perperam pronunciant ut F. Ut vero olim pronunciatum fuit, est V ante U, consonans ante vocalem: *Vuat*, et efferebatur (8r) ut apud nos hodie *Hwat*. Anglis genuina eius literae adhuc manet pronunciatio, cui etiam in plurimis dictionibus addunt H ut fiat *Wh*. Latini conantur eundem sonum exprimere per Qu. Galli et Itali per Gu. Sunt itaque affines soni et literae inter se alternantes iodeque pro unis censendae Vat:


519 Nota bene … people. pipl] This remark has been added in the margin.
520 aiunt] est has been crossed out on the line and replaced by aiunt on the line.
521 Digamma … Cratylo] These loose remarks have been added in the margin.
522 G ignorarunt … subiit G] This has been added in the margin to replace the sentence *G. C. Latinis et Gothis una erat pro G. K. sive C* in the main text column.
523 Arabice … Bochart., p. 839] This has also been added in the margin.
524 quod Germani perperam pronunciavit ut F] This has been added in the margin.
525 cui etiam … ut fiat Wh] This observation has been added in the margin.
C. G. ante consonam in initio, item F. B. P., nascuntur ex aspiratione, quae olim praeponebatur literis L. R. N.

*hlad* inde *glad*.
*hlyta* inde *flyta*.
*hring* inde *kring et wringa*.
*hräcka, bräckia*, frago, frango.
*hnaga, knaga* etc.
*hnysa, fnysa*.\(^{526}\)

Aspiratio H est mater

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ch} & \varphi \\
\text{c} & \text{f} \\
\text{g} & \text{v} \\
\text{b} & \\
\text{p} & \\
\end{array}
\]

J fit ex I et E ante A et reliquas vocales, ut ab *ea, ja; sneo, sniö*. J generat G.


Litra Runica Ϝ. Eam obtinuit vim et pronunciationem, quam apud Hebraeos ϋ (secundum Ravium),\(^{527}\) Graecos θ et Hodie apud Anglos *th*, ut simul exprimet fere *dsh vel ths*. Est itaque fere eadem cum *ZH, t, x*. Quorum ultimum *zade* a quibusdam etiam *stade* legitur. Unde in derivationibus cognotissimae sunt et ubique invicem commutabiles reperiuntur D. T. S. Z. ST. SH. TH. Quae omnes uni insunt Ϝ, cuius genuina pronuciatio apud nos desitiit, utcumque per D. T. et TH. tam scriptione quam voce exprimi consueta.\(^{528}\) In literatura hodierna scribitur per D. T. et TH., quod apud nos sono nihil differt ab ipso T.

S aspiratum SH (*ʃ*) apud nos non est in usu scriptionis. Auditur tamen in vocibus *siäl, sief* etc. Quas quidam ex vulgo efferunt propemodum ut *Schä�, Schielf*. Germani superiores nostrum S ante

\(^{526}\) C. G. ante consonam … fnysa] This paragraph has been written in the margin.
\(^{527}\) Ravium] Ravius, *Orthographiae et analogiae Ebraicae delineatio*, 1646, p. 3.
\(^{528}\) apud nos ... consueta] This remark has been written in the margin. The first part, *apud nos desiiit*, replaces *hodie vulgo ignoratur* in the main text.
W. L. M. N. semper fere aspiratum exprimunt, ut pro Svede Schwede, skrijn Schrein, slå schlagen, snjda schmeiden, snjda schneiden etc.

Antecessores nostri hanc asperationem SCH nimis crasse per SK scripserunt, quod adhuc fere obtinet. In originationibus itaque multis pro unis tenendae sunt S. SH. SCH. SK. Eadem est radix sea et skea. S ante consonantem non est radicalis. Premit autem omnes fere, non aliter atque H vocales, et quidem utraque ad eundem effectum, scil. ad fortius urgendum, h.e. ad intendendum sonum et significationem.

T, Tau, vinculi naturam in vocibus habet. Plato in Cratylo.

Omnes vero literae omnium linguarum tandem reducuntur ad paucas hasce vetustis Graecis, Latinis et Sueonibus communes. Has vero ipsas in certas cognationes et stirpes dispescere ad maiorem in originationum scientia lucem perquam erit utile. Et primo quidem, quod ad vocales attinet, eae in universum novem sunt (nec plures nec pauciores puto dari per naturam, licet paucis nationibus aut notae aut usitatae sint). Nobis vero omnes quotidiana sunt. Sunt autem hae: a, ä, e, i, ö, y, å, o, u.

Literae indifferentes facientes omnes unam eandemque radicalem. אֶהֶוִי Hebraeis notum. Mihi vero hac voce comprehenduntur Ahevioz, id est: a. e. i. o. u., et intermediae: h. v. j. z.

h. ch. g. k | ex hisce | hv. vh.
v. f. b. p. | compositae et | gv. qv.
j. | mixtae | w.
z. d. t. s. st. | sunt. | th. dh. sh. sch. sk. sq. sv. sp.

7.3.3.2 English translation

The agreement between words and the nature of things

I. Precisely as the Creator in his wisdom endowed one and the same mind to all mankind, he gave to everyone the same organs of speech – the throat, tongue, lips, teeth – for one aim, namely for the explanation of the mind and for mutual communication. To these organs he imparted the power of forming some distinct and articulate sounds. Through their differing exchange, modification and mixing, words are formed according at the command of reason and will. And in this way language is formed for mutual understanding.

II. Like every primordial matter, these sounds were distinct and very simple, and numbered only a few, able to be expressed by the movement and conformation of the aforementioned organs of speech. In primordial times, a wise man, whoever he may have been, successfully managed to make these sounds visible, recognizable and readable by means of corresponding marks.

III. These marks, which we also call signs, symbols, characters, letters and elements of words, are nowadays different and manifold
according to the diversity of languages. Languages do not all have the same number of such signs. If some signs are primordial, they are very simple. To be sure, the Greek letters and the runes are older than the Hebrew letters, because they are fewer and simpler. The more each single language has departed from the primeval purity and simplicity, the more speech sounds it has acquired and appropriated, and the more it has, in faulty ways, distorted pronunciation. To express them (the new speech sounds), it either was necessary to invent new characters – something that we see happened to the Moscovite, that is, Russian language – or to distinguish the old letters by adding some points and strokes according to the diversity of speech sounds – something that we experience in Polish.

Furthermore, for the sake of ornamentation or brevity, as it seems, the cultivated use of languages also invented some characters, though they are not necessary. This is obvious in Greek and other languages, in particular in those letters that are called double, such as Χ Ζ Φ Ψ Ω in Greek and ו צ ש ת in Hebrew and w, þ, th in English. Instead of H or η, the ancient Greeks used ε, and the letter ζ was to used at all according to Plutarch.

If Cadmus gave the Greeks their letters, he would have given them the Phoenician ones. This opinion consequently appears to be wrong. It is more likely that the Greeks came across the letters from where they drew the principles of their language, i.e. from the barbarians, that is, those who inhabited Greece before them, namely those who by their origin were Pelasgians, Thracians and Scythians. To be sure, it is either we who have got the letters from the Greeks or they who have got them from our ancestors, the Scythians. This is proven by our having the same number of letters and, if you look closely, the same letter-forms.

IV. In ancient times, the Greek language was satisfied with being spoken and written with only 15 letters. These were Α Β Γ Δ Ε Κ Λ Μ Ν Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ. Cadmus is said to have brought these to Greece. But why not ו נ פ ז י as well? For archaic Latin 17 letters were sufficient. These were: a e i o u b c d f h l m n p r s t. They did not have the letter G, for which they used C. Afterwards they used G and C without distinction, e.g. cervus, gervus; ceres, geres; acere, agere. They did not know about Q.

V. Because Swedish – which we also call Gothic, and using a more general term Scandic, the mother of northern European ancient and modern languages – is the closest of all to its origin, in the same way it is the most simple, since it is content with comparatively

529 The word simplicity is used here in the sense of the quality of being free from artificiality and complexity in word formations.
few letters. I do not without reason think that they are the first ones or very close or secondary to the first ones, since they are so rough or remind one of the unpolishedness of antiquity. They are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & \quad \text{b} & \quad \text{p} & \quad \psi & \quad \pi & \quad \text{l} & \quad \gamma & \quad \theta & \quad \lambda & \quad \upsilon & \quad \zeta & \quad \beta & \quad \kappa & \quad \eta & \quad \theta & \quad \iota
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{å} & \quad 	ext{e} & \quad 	ext{p} & \quad 	ext{g} & \quad 	ext{th} & \quad \tilde{\text{a}} & \quad \nu
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dh} & \quad \ddot{o}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\nu & \quad \text{ts}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\psi\] is the Eolic digamma. \[\pi\] is X.
\[\nu\] [that is, \([\pi]\) is \(\nu\) turned upside-down. \[\gamma\] is \(\mu\).
\[\theta\] does not have any similar. \(R\) [and Greek \(\rho\)] is something else.
\[\lambda\] is \(\Sigma\) and \(Z\) inverted.
\[\upsilon\] is \(T\). \[\zeta\] is \(U\). \[\beta\] is \(K\).

In later times, some of these runes got different forms, as we can see in the diagram by Johannes Bureus, our precursor as antiquarian of the Swedish realm, a diagram that shows all differences and kinds of runes and rests on all his learning about the runes, although Ole Worm, otherwise a diligent scholar, does not want to acknowledge this fact. However, what once happened to Virgil, has in our time befallen the most excellent Bureus, so that he rightly may apply the famous verse to himself:

I wrote these lines; another received the reward.\(^{530}\)

In order that people shall not be uninformed about this fact, I here supply the title of this diagram: Runakenslones lerespan, unde runar seu verae veterum Gothorum literae sciri et apte scribi queant, Ubsaliae Sueonum / Uppsala 1599.\(^{531}\)

Please observe that it is one thing to give a miscellany of words that happen to agree in diverse languages and it is another thing to give the (etymological) causes and reasons for words. Our purpose is this latter. The majority of etymologists seek the genealogy of words not from the root (i.e. the etymon), but from the cognates, as they for instance derive \textit{wind} from \textit{ventus}, which are sister lexemes both derived from the stem or movement of \textit{wehen}, a secondary root from the pure primary root \(\ddot{\alpha} \omega, \ddot{\alpha} \varepsilon \iota \nu\).

\(^{530}\) According to the story, Virgil wrote this line to reclaim his authorship of an epigrammatic distich in honour of the Emperor Augustus, which a contemporary poet by name Bathyllus had claimed as his own. See Charles Anton, \textit{The Aeneid of Virgil with English notes, critical and explanatory}, London 1847, preface, p. ix.

\(^{531}\) This publication consists of only one single folio, which in diagrams exhibits the different sets of runic letter forms. It was republished in the 19th century (1881). Parts of the diagrams are found in Hjalmar Lindroth’s \textit{J. Th. Bureus, den svenska grammatikens fader}, volume 1, Stockholm 1911, pp. 80–81.
All secondary roots are guided after the fashion of pure roots and are derived through the series of all pure roots, such as ga, gav, gab, gah, gaeh, gal, gam, gan, gar, gas, gat. It is perhaps more suitable to subordinate accidental or affected forms to the root to which they belong, such as to av gav, to ag gag, to al gal, to am gam, to an gam, to ar gar, to as gas. This is more appropriate, but in such a manner that the pure letter A, as the common origin, is led across all derivations with its accidental vowels. The derivations comprise a number of consonants, such as A in äga, häga; tego, στέγω; es: ius, er: iuris, ar: war.

The etymologists are mistaken in their common rule that the first consonant of a word usually changes into another, as Bis into Dis, H into S etc., just as the former necessarily has emerged from the latter, though both often are from one root. According to the nature of the dialect or idiom of any nation, one or another consonant is rather adopted in the beginning, as it is clear from caput, huvud; canis, hund.

6. How large and how great the diversity of the letters of different languages ever may be, I still think that all can, and ought to be, reduced to these first and universal ones: a e i o u. b c d f g h l m n p r s t.

Moreover, if anyone wants to undertake a more thorough inquiry into the letters, he will find that all vowels are comprised in one single A, and that the others are nothing but modes or derivations or tones descending from A. Note well the pronunciation of English vowels and diphthongs, nothing as nathing, and people as pipl.

The ancient Latins only had 16 letters: a e i o u b c d h l m n p r s t. It is said that the Aeolic digamma, F or ꞏ, was brought in by Varro. The Aeolic digamma is written ꞏ or Ꞓ and corresponds to our (runic) ψ or I-.

To sum up, the Occidental peoples – the Greeks, the inhabitants of Hesperia (i.e. Italic peoples), the Celts, or whatever the primordial names (of ancient nations) are, such as Cecropian Dalmatians, Etruscans and Hyperboreans. All of them are Japhethites and possessed almost the same letter-forms:

The Greeks: A B Γ Δ Η Ε Ι Π Π Σ Τ Υ
The Latins: A B G D H E I F C L M N O P R S T V
The Goths: ꞏ Ꞓ ꞛ Ꞝ ꞝ Ꞟ ꞟ Ꞡ ꞡ Ꞣ ꞣ Ꞥ ꞥ Ꞧ ꞧ Ꞩ ꞩ Ɦ Ɜ Ɡ

The letter H was unknown to the Greeks.
The letter F was unknown to the old Latins and Greeks, but it was common among the Goths.
The letter G was ignored by the Latins. It sounded like C. Q was unknown to the old Swedes as well as to the Etruscans and the Latin tribes. Neither K nor C were known to the old inhabitants of Latium. The letter G served the function of both. Arabic G is pronounced as J, see Bochart 839.

The Goths used Ḍ with dots for the letter P.532

W, as nowadays pronounced by ourselves and by the Germans, is nothing else than a simple V, which the Germans wrongly pronounce as F. However, formerly it was pronounced as V before U, consonant before vowel: Vuat, and it was pronounced (8r) as hwat is pronounced by ourselves nowadays. The genuine pronunciation of this letter still remains among the Englishmen, who in most words add an H to it, so that it becomes Wh. The Latins try to express the same sound by the combination Qu. The French and Italians by Gu. Accordingly, the speech sounds are related and the letters vary, and therefore they are to be considered as one and the same.

German. W. Wat. *Uu. Uuu. triplicated by Otfrid as uuuarto.
Latin. Qu. Quat.
English Wh. What.

The letters C and G before vowel at the beginning, similarly F, B, and P arise from aspiration, which formerly was put before the letters L. R. N, as in

\[\text{hlad, whence glad.}\\
\text{hlyta, whence flyta.}\\
\text{hring, whence kring et wringa.}\\
\text{hräcka, bräckia, frago, frango.}\\
\text{hnaga, knaga.}\\
\text{hnysa, fnysa.}\]

532 In the Middle Ages, dots was introduced in Swedish runes to distinguish the voiced stop from the voiceless one (as Ḍ, G, from Ṛ, K, and Ḍ, from Ṛ, T, which in the Younger Futhark was a graphemic variant of Ṛ, T) or vice versa (as Ḏ, P, from Ḍ, B) and the voiced fricative from the voiceless one (as ψ, V, from ψ, F) or vice versa (as Ṛ with a dot, TH, from from Ṛ, δ).
The aspiration H is the mother of

\[ \text{ch} \phi \]
\[ c \ f. \]
\[ g \ v. \]
\[ b. \]
\[ p. \]

J arises from I, and from E before the speech sound A and the other vowels, as from \( ea \) we have \( ja \), from \( sneo \) we have \( sniö \). J gives rise to G.

On the general nature of letters, see Goropius Becanus’ *Hermathena*, book 3, p. 47,\textsuperscript{533} and my commentary on Plato’s *Cratylus*. (See Vol. 1, Section 9.3.1).

The Runic letter \( \text{Þ} \). It has obtained the same sound value and pronunciation as the letter \( \text{ט} \) (tet) among the Hebrews, according to the grammar of Christian Ravius,\textsuperscript{534} and as \( \theta \) (theta) among the Greeks and nowadays as \( th \) among the Englishmen, so that \( dsh \) or \( ths \) (that is \( ð \)) is expressed at the same time. It is almost the same as \( z \), \( t \) and \( s \) (ts), the last of which, namely \( ts \)ade, is read by some people as \( stade \). Therefore, in derivations the letters D, T, S, Z, ST, SH and TH are cognate and are everywhere exchangeable with one another. All these occur in the speech sound \( \text{Þ} \), the genuine pronunciation of which has ceased among us, however much it is wont to be expressed by D, T and TH in written and spoken form. In modern script, it is written as D, T and TH, the last of which in no ways differs from T.

The aspiration of S as SH is not in use in writing among us (i.e. Swedes), but is heard in the words \( själ \) and \( själv \) (that is soul and self). Some of the common people pronounce these words as \( schäl \) and \( schälv \). The High Germans always pronounce our S as aspirated before W, L, M. and N, for instance *Swede* as *Schwede*, *skrijn* as *Schrein*, *slå* (that is ‘to beat’) as *schlagen*, *smijda* (that is ‘to forge’) as *schmeiden*, *snijda* as *schneiden*, etc.

Our ancestors wrote the aspiration SCH too roughly as SK, which still is the common spelling. In many etymologies, S, SH, SCH, SK ought to be considered one and the same speech sound. *sea* and *skea* are one and the same root. S before a consonant is not a radical letter.

\textsuperscript{533} Goropius’ *Hermathena*] Opera hactenus in lucem non edita, nempe Hermathena, Hieroglyphica, Vertumnus, Gallica, Francica, Hispanica, Antwerp 1580.

\textsuperscript{534} grammar of … Ravius] Ravius, Orthographiae et analogiae, vulgo etymologiae, Ebraicae delineatio, (1646), p. 19, § 37, claims that the Hebrew letter \( \text{ט} \) corresponds to Greek \( \theta \) and is to be expressed as \( th \) with Latin letters.
It only has the function to push on almost all other consonants, in the same way as the aspiration H serves the purpose of pushing on the vowel, and in both cases to the same effect, namely to urge something more forcefully, that is to intensify the sound and the meaning.

T has the nature of a fetter (or obstacle) in the words. See Plato in *Cratylus*.

All letters of all languages are finally reduced to these few letters that were common to the old Greeks, Latins, and Swedes. It will be useful to distinguish them in certain kinships and descents for a greater light in the science of derivations of words. Firstly, as far as the vowels are concerned, they are in general nine in number – I think that there are neither more nor fewer according to the nature of the matter, though they are known and used by only a few nations. To us (Swedes), all of them are ordinary. They are the following ones: ä e i ö y å o u.

Letters that may be used indiscriminately to make up the same root are. The mnemonic word *'æhævi* is known to the Hebraists. In my opinion, in the mnemonic word *aheviov*, the vowels a. e. i. o. u. and the half-vowels h. v. j. z. are included.

h. ch. g. k /from these sounds/ hv. vh.

v. f. b. p. /are composed/ gv. qv.

j. /and mixed/ w.

z. d. t. s. st th. dh. sh. sch. sk. sq. sv. sp.

7.3.4 Linguae et pronunciationis vitia

7.3.4.1 Preliminaries and Latin text

Sources and dating: Stiernhielm’s autograph, *Collectanea ad Runam Suethicam*, F.d. 6, fol. 19r (with the measurements 205 x 325 mm) in comparison with his additions to Örnhjälm’s copy, F.d. 7:3, fol. 2v. The text dates from 1651–1652. For a photographic reproduction of the original (F.d. 6, fol. 19r), see Figure 10.

Contents: Stiernhielm here describes typical phonological features of European and Semitic languages. He conceives these features as examples of deterioration from the pristine phonological and morphological constitution of the primeval language of mankind. Characterizations of this kind are common in early modern Europe. An early instance is found in the Table Talk of the Reformer Martin Luther, who describes the distinguishing characteristics of the Germans, French, Spaniards, and Italians in terms of language, voice, gestures, customs, song, speaking, food, relationship to foreigners, conversations, love, hate, work and trade, and military service.⁵³⁵

---

⁵³⁵ *Martin Luther’s Werke*. Tischreden. 4. Band, pp. 547–548. Luther states that the Germans have a voice like beef (*vocem bubulam*), while the French have a sweet-
However, in his description Stiernhielm does not rely on any literary source or model, but speaks from his own experience.

Stiernhielm reviews some phonological features. In Hebrew, he observes the frequency of sibilants and gutturals. In Greek, he is attentive to the diphthongs and the distinctive use of affricates. He sums up the phonological nature of Armenian, Ethiopic and Slavic as “an absorption of vowels and an absurd joining of consonants.” In German, he perceives the frequency of the s-sound and sh-sound as a characteristic feature. In Dutch, he remarks on the shortenings and contractions “with so to speak a dull and floating tongue”. In English, he observes that the speech sounds “are lengthened by a perverse distortion of vowels and diphthongs.” In Finnish and Estonian, he notes the difficulty that their speakers have in pronouncing the speech sounds b, d, and f. Concerning Danish, he says: “the Danes breathe their words and grunt in pronouncing them, just as if they were engaged in a struggle.” He finishes by highlighting some regional phonetic varieties of Swedish, either in the pronunciation or confusion of particular speech sounds or in terms of prosody.

Dialectus revera nihil aliud est quam sermonis primitivi in usum recepta depravatio. Quae scilicet deprehenditur in literis, syllabis, flexionibus, dictionibus.


Singulae gentes singularia et quasi nativa habent linguae et pronunciationis vitia, quae tamen contrahuntur maximam partem ex consuetudine.

Litera apposita, item praeposita, naturâ suâ afficit radicem puram. Et hinc existunt dictiones natura genitae. Praeter haec apponuntur et praeponuntur literae temere et ex prava consuetudine vulgi dialectum introductentis. Et hinc confusio et temeraria vocis effictio. Exempla dabunt dialecti linguae Graecae.536

Hebraei omnia deturparunt turpissimis sibilis et aspirationibus gutturalibus.

Graeci dipht[h]ongis et literis duplicibus a puritate desciverunt.

---

sounding voice and an easy language (*vocem dulcisonam, sermonem facilem*). The Spaniards have a weeping voice and an elegant language (*vocem flebilem, sermonem elegantem*), while the Italians have a captivating language (*captiosum sermonem*). In their conversations, the Germans are commanding and intolerant (*imperiosi, intolerabilesque*), while the French are mild (*mansueti*), the Spaniards cautious (*cauti*) and the Italians prudent (*prudentes*).

536 Litera apposita … dialecti linguae Graecae] In F.d. 6, this paragraph has been added in the right-hand margin.
Armeni, Aethiopes, etc. , absorbitione vocalium et absurdissimo consonantium coniugio longissime a fontibus abeunt. Eos proxime sequuntur Poloni et aliae quaedam gentes Scavoniae.

Germani superiores nimis sissant et schizant.

Inferiores Batavi etc. lingua quasi natante et languida voces curtatas et contractas evolvunt.

Angli et Scoti perversissima vocalium et diphthongorum distorsione mecissant; extra quod linguam habent ex multis male coailtam.

Galli omnium miserrime et scribunt et legunt.

Italorum et Hispanicorum enunciatio satis pura, sed lingua, ut et Gallorum, non una, non genuina.


Dani voces trahunt et enunciando gemunt, quasi in agone iacentes.


7.3.4.2 English translation

Actually, a dialect is nothing but an established distortion in (living) usage in relation to the primordial language. This is found in letters, syllables, inflections and single words.

But which is the primordial one among the dialects of Greek? None. All (of them) are dialects. None (of them) is pure and correct except in theory, and not at all in reality.

537 et] In F.d. 6, et has been added above the line.
538 Batavi etc.] After Batavi etc., vocabula contrahunt et have been crossed out.
539 evolvunt] Stiernhielm first wrote efferunt between voces and curtatas.
540 b <et> d] Stiernhielm supplied these speech sounds only in F.d. 7:3.
541 S ante consonantem efferre nequeunt] This sentence is only found in F.d. 7:3.
542 lambdacizant] In F.d. 6, the word reads lambanizant. In F.d. 7:3, Stiernhielm changed it to lambdacizant by crossing out -n- and adding c above the line.
543 ineptiunt] In F.d. 6, this word has been added by Stiernhielm in dark ink.
544 Stokholmenses et Ostrogothi] In F.d. 6, Stiernhielm first wrote Uplandi et Stokholmenses, then crossed out Uplandi et and added et Ostrogothi after Stokholmenses.
545 ut et Neritii, etiam Sudermanni. GS.] In F.d. 7:3, this has been added in dark ink on the line by Stiernhielm.
546 pure and correct] Stiernhielm here considers the quality of linguistic purity and correctness as a distinctive mark of linguistic primordiality.
Each people has particular and, so to speak, native faults of pronunciation, faults that for the most part are caused by habit.

Any speech sound that is added after and before (a word) naturally affects the purity of the root. Hence words arise that are born from nature. Besides, speech sounds have been added after and before either indiscriminately or through the preposterous habit of common people who (thus) introduce a dialect. From this habit, there arises confusion and haphazard creation of words. The dialects of Greek supply examples.

The Hebrews have distorted everything with unpleasant sibilants and aspirated gutturals.

The Greeks have diverged from (the original) purity by their use of diphthongs and mixed double consonants [that is, affricates].

The Armenians and the Ethiopians are far from their origins with their absorption of vowels and their absurd joining of consonants. The Poles and some other Slavic peoples follow them closely.

The Germans use the s-sound and the sh-sound too excessively.

The Dutch roll out shortened and contracted words with so to speak a dull and floating tongue.

The Englishmen and (English) Scots lengthen their vowels and diphthongs by a perverse distortion, except that they have a language that is badly mixed together from many.

The Frenchmen write and read the most miserably of all.

The Italians and the Spaniards have a pronunciation that is pure enough, but their language, just like that of the Frenchmen, is not of one and the same stock and is not genuine.548

The Finns cannot pronounce certain speech sounds unless they have had a long time to become accustomed to them. These are b and d. They do not have f. They cannot pronounce s before a consonant. The Estonians suffer from the same fault, but are much better.

The Danes breathe their words and grunt in pronouncing them, just as if they were situated in an agony.549

548 Stiernhielm held the view that Italian and Spanish were formed as mixed languages through a process of barbarization, where Latin was mixed with the languages of Germanic tribes. See further my article “Vulgar Latin as an emergent concept in the Italian Renaissance”, *Journal of Latin linguistics* 17:2, p. 214.

549 agony] In ancient Latin the Greek loanword *agon* refers to “a contest or combat in public games” (Lewis and Short, *A Latin dictionary*, s.v. *agon*). In Greek, *agon* originally meant gathering, then an assembly of the Greeks at the national games. After that it acquired the meanings of struggle in general, battle (in military sense), trial (in legal sense), a speech (in the court or before an assembly or ruler) and mental struggle or anxiety. See Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English dictionary*, s.v. ἄγων I–III. Stiernhielm probably intends both physical and mental struggle, likely aiming at the phrase *in agone mortis*, “in death struggle”.

176
The Swedes have varying pronunciation according to the nature of each county. The Smalandians are inclined to the l-sound. The Nericians have a thick and aspirated l-sound. The Dalecarlians have a hissing accent at the end (of words). The Norlandians talk ineptly [?]. The Stockholmians and the Ostrogoths pronounce the words in the best manner, as do the Nericians and the Sudermannians as well.

7.3.5 Swedish hw and Latin qu
Source: F.d. 10, Lexicon Gothicum philologicum, the numbered fol. 63v (in the Swedish dictionary). Size (height and width): 308 x 88 mm. Dating: 1630s.

Contents: Stiernhielm argues that the groups of consonants hw in Old Swedish and qu in Latin were originally pronounced with an aspirated w. In English this original sound of a w is still retained, for instance in the pronoun which. He goes on to demonstrate the similarity of this sound combination in Swedish and Latin pronouns and adverbs.

Notatu dignum est, quod litera Qu videatur nata esse ex pronunciatione Gothici W, cuius genuina prolatio olim erat, quae hodie nobis est HW, quam audimus in vocibus hwadh, huiiken, hwem? etc. Et Angli etiamnum retainent in ipsorum lingua, ut in vocibus wich.

Hinc liquet omnes hasce particulas ex vetustissima Thuscorum Celtica in Latinam adscitas, quales sunt:

- **Hwadh.** Quid, quod.
- **Hwem, Dan[ice] Huis.** Quis, quem.
- **Hwart.** Quo.
- **Hwadan.** Qua-nam.
- **Hwarest.** Quo-loco.
- **Huadh-måtto.** Quo-modo.
- **Huar-före.** Qua-propter.
- **Ger[manice] war-umb.** Quo-circa.
- **Cur est huru.** H in C.
- **Hue vet[eribus] ho.**
8. Lexical and inflectional morphology

8.1 Historical formation of lexical morphemes
8.1.1 De genesi vocum

Source and dating: Collectanea philosophica, F.d. 4:4:1, fols. 27r, 27v, 48v, 49r with the measurements 208 x 319 mm. For a photostat of F.d 4:4:1, fol. 27r, see Figure 11. The volume contains different datings from 1651 and 1652. This text conforms to Stiernhielm’s principles of natural philosophy. It is likely that it was written at the same time as the majority of his philosophical writings (1652–1655).

(27r) De genesi vocum


Sequentes pro exemplo praeterea erunt vocum derivatarum ex una radice, de quibus pag. seq. Sic enim pullullant multa germina ex una radice. 552 De vigore quod dixi eiusdemque intensione et remissione,

550 Stiernlund 8 September 1651 (F.d. 4:4, fol. 50r) and some dates from the next year: Stiernlund 17 April 1652 (F.d. 4:4, fol. 52r), Stiernlund 4 April 1652 (F.d. 4:4, fol. 52v), Nyhusen (Neuhausen, Vastseliina) 17 Oct. 1652 (F.d. 4:4, fol. 41v).
551 mastruca] This is an alternative spelling of mastruca in Medieval Latin. It means “a garment made of sheepskin”.
552 Sequentes … ex una radice] This has been added in the margin.
consistit ille non solum in sensu interiore vocis, sed etiam literarum seu elementorum compagine defertur ad audientis aut legentis sensum exteriorem. Exempla huius rei bene multa suggerit Plato in Cratylo. Qui aliquid hac in scientia subolefecit et vidit, sed penetrare non valuit. Eius generis sunt:

Suethica aga, molestum esse; agga, pungere; hacka, icere; tacka, figere; stacka, truncare; änga, angere; hängia, strangulare, suspendere; hangla aegre adhaerere; tagga, vellere; tocka, urgere; tugga, mandare; tängia (a quo tång, forceps) premere, vellere; stängia, claudere; stanga, cornu petere; wängia, cingere, twängia, cogere, trängia, premere, strängia, stringere etc.

Item ex eadem radice ag, ak coniugata radici ra: raka, elongere; wraka, fugare, expellere; räcka, extendere; neutrum ryka, extenuari, rarescere, evanesceere, expirare, fugere, item ruere et ferri in aerem; fyka, idem fugere, stracka, sträcka, vehementer tendere; truga, cogere; trycka, premere; stryka, stringere; strunka, truncare; item ex radice ag. ah. draga, trahere, drangla, aegre sequi; drassla, morari, trahere tempus; drögia idem, dricka, trahere humorem, i.e. bibere; dräncka, dare bibere; et dränckia, suffocare humore.

Ex paucis hisce manifestum est, quomodo sensus vocis intendatur et remittatur, amplietur et restringatur pro lubitu et intentione mentis utentis et quam in his sint obtemperantes literae ad quidvis significandum habiles et aptae natae. Vides quam asperum sit g et k in radice ag et derivatis, quam auget nante g, k, quam feriat h, quam premat d, t, quam tendat et trahat r, quam comprimat dr, tr, quam stringat et plane strangulet str. Vides quae sit emphasis in radice ag et quam nulla litera ociosa in ultimae intensionis vocula strang.556

(27r, col. 2) Ecce indolem nostrae linguae:
ang significat 1. angustum,
rang, 2. tortum,
wrang, 3. circumlum, idem scilicet quam ring,
trang, 4. arctum,
strang, 5. ancterem, qui stringit et strangulat, coeundo in circumlum,
rang, rank, 6. exilis et in longum porrectus.

(27r, col. 3) Concurrunt hic radices ta, tangere, capere, tenere – quae etiam formatur in taga et tenere et tendere – et ra, quae fluxum insinuat et extensionem in longum, unde rada, raka et draa, draga.

553 hacka, icere; tacka, figere; stacka, truncare] This has been added in the margin.
554 hängia, strangulare … aegre adhaerere] This has been written in the margin.
555 truga, cogere …. strunka, truncare] This has been added in the margin.
556 strand] In the margin, other derivatives of the root ag with the infixed n have been given: Adde krängia, a kring; ränckia; rynckia; skrickia.
(27r, col. 1) Quae tria habent significata ex una notione tactus molesti seu asperi, quod est puncti.
1. vinculum seu laqueus, eadem radice et emphasi Germanicum * strick et Latinum * ancter.
2. fit vox adiectiva et dicitur de homine: en strâng man, vir acer et asper. Inde Latini fecerunt strenuus.

(27r, col. 2) In eo plane divina cernitur lingua Suethica et ei affines quod in nulla vocula litera aliqua sit ociosa. Unde reperiuntur plura etyma constituentia indolem et formam etiam minimae cuisque vocis, in cuiusque vocis, in cuius signato plura concurrunt.

(27r, col. 3) E.g. strå, i.e. culmus, a nostro halm. In ea vocula 3 sunt: 1. st firmitudinis et roboris, quo erectus stat ex radice sta; 2. extensionis et longitudinis ex radice ra; 3. straminis, a ströa, sternere.

Sic halm, culmus, 1. ab halla, sustinere, 2. häla, celare, tegere, höllia, unde etiam hielm, galea. 3. a huulva, convolvere, cumulare.

In culmus sunt eadem, unde column, columna, celo, et culmo. Suet. scull, fastigium, summum, caput.

(27r, col. 2) Sten, lapis: 1. a stâ, 2. a stinna, extendere 3. a stinna, gravitare, unde stinn luft, stinna på, pondere premere.

Hinc στενός angustus, id est in se compressus, quod est 4. etymon vocis sten, id est densus.

(27r, col. 1) Ex his obiter saltem intuenda maiestas et indoles linguæ Scythicarum præ omnibus aliis. Quid enim simile in aliis? Latina etc. Vide Runam Suethicam in principio de propriitate linguæ Suethicae.


---

557 Stinna på] This dialectal phrase means “press on, push on”, see SAOB, stinna 3.
558 dura est] After dura est, the synonym et saxea has been crossed out.
559 L diaphana ... plurimum] Stierhelm first wrote the sentence: L motum dans terrae, aquae et aeri vibrat and then crossed it out to replace it with the present.
N angit et coarctat. M limus est ipsaque pigra, caligans et murmurans materia. 2 carcer mortis.

(27v) Hisce iam constitutis videndum erit, qua ratione radix prima, quae unilitera et nuda similis est puncto et semini, fluat in lineam et pullulat in germen, ut induat formam et varias figurae et habitus assumat pro ratione aliarum atque aliarum significacionum, in quas transit, ad modum oris et labii cuiusque nationis in quibus, in quibus voculae ortae sunt, receptae et usurpatae. Ex puncto fluit linea. Ea non nisi duos modos primos habet. Est enim recta et curva. Recta manet immota nec datur nisi unimoda. Curva multiplex est: datur enim circularis, hyperbole, parabole, helice et variorum generum mixtae. Ex lineis componitur figuras innumerae etc.\(^560\)

Etiam pu eris notum est singulas voces in varios casus declinari et verba manente significate generali ad varios modos et tempora indicanda flecti, quod inepte dicunt coniugari. Hoc ipsum in prima vocula, ut fiat, vel maxime necessarium est. Ea enim nuda et simplicissima inanis et sterilis et sine mente sonus manebit, nisi ad distinctionem sensorum distinctas modos et formas induat et sic in diversos voculas digrediatur. Quae voculae deinceps in ulteriori progressu pro ratione multiplicitatis rerum multiplicentur in magnum auctum. Duabus igitur modis radix seu vocula prima digreditur in radices seu voculas secundas. Primo per flexionem, quando ad designationem generis aut casus aut numeri aut modi aut temporis aut actionis, passionis, status assumit literam aut syllabam characteristicae pro diversitate idiomatum talia insinuantem (deinceps ex usu ortorum) manente una eademque notione.\(^561\)

Secundo, cum radix pura afficitur aut obscuratur:

1. aut mutatione vocalis purae et lucidae \(a\) in aliam vocalem seu sonum obscuriorem, qualis est \(e\). \(o\). \(u\). aut intensiorem, qualis est \(i\),
   aut 2. adiectione alius vocalis, ut fiat bisona, quam vocant diphtongon,
   aut 3. praefigendo literam consonantem, inter quas primae et maxime obviae seu promptae sunt æææ ævæ æ. \(v\). \(s\). cum suis familiiis, tardiores et graviore, eoque obscuriores sunt materiales, \(l\). \(r\). \(n\). \(m\). Mediae sunt \(d\). \(t\).

Nunc veniamus ad praxin. In qua omnium primo de mente, id est notione voculae primae uniliterae \(a\) dispiciendum. Ea notio omnium rerum prima est, qua ens designatur et unum quid. Quod deinceps primi distinctione fluit in verum et bonum. Quarum notiones

\(^{560}\) Ex puncto … innumerae etc.] This has been added in the left-hand margin.

\(^{561}\) Primo per … eademque notionele] This has been added in the left-hand margin. It replaces the following expression: assumendo, scilicet literam materialem, hoc est consonantem, vel ante vel post se.
subdistinctae multiplicantur in significatus in diagrammate rerum suis ordinibus et classibus comprehensos et distinctos. Quales sunt sub essentia: natura, genus, indoles, duratio, tempus, aetas; sub uno, sub bono, sub vero etc., quae inveniuntur notatu. Proxime ad fluxum et flexum descendendum. Qui fit, ut dictum est, per ductum ad omnes aut pro ratione certi idiomaticis ad varias literas. Res ipsa se declarabit. Vocula a significat primo ens, quid, aliquid, aliquis, quidam; item unus, una, unum – a man, a konu, unus vir et vir quidam, una foemina et foemina aliqua – flectitur in ä seu æ, e, i, ja, je et ad designationem generum masculini an, en, am, ein, foeminini een, ena, ene, aine, neutri at, et, ed, id, it, idt, iht, icht, ichts, id est aliquid. Et afficitur seu obscurat inomina vocabla a praefixis consonantibus, ut evadat in ha, va, sa, da, ta, na, ma, la, cha, ca, ga, hva, qua, tha, za, sta. Quae omnia iterum flectuntur ad designandum genera numeros, casus, personas. Sed infinitum hoc erit per omnes linguas producere. Videbo num possim referre quasdam saltem in tabulas aut cubum.

(48v, col. 1)\textsuperscript{563} Vox rationalis et significativa\textsuperscript{564} non secus ac res ipsa tria habet: materiam, lucem et mentem. Primum sunt elementa seu literae. Quarum scriptura in oculos incurrens pictura est et imago vocis alias invisibilis. Et haec imago vocis refert et formam exteriorem. Secundum est sonus seu enunciatio, in voce ore elata, auribus perceptibilis, in picta vero seu scripta oculis se ingerens. Tam varius et multicolor est sonus, quam varia sunt elementa et eorundem mixtura. Quod in rebus visibilibus colores, hoc in voce soni sunt. Tertium mens est, forma scilicet interna, intellectus sive ratio, qua significat hoc vel illud, qua distinguish sensus et notiones, quae in rebus fundantur, ab invicem. Haec igitur tria, ut omnes res constituent, ita voces symbola rerum constitute. Omnia invicem sunt analoga. Nihil resonat Echo quod non prius audivit et didicit ex Pane. Fistula Panos nihil concordius, nihil suavius et ex omni parte perfectius.

(48v, col. 2) Distinctius: materiam et lucem referunt elementa seu literae. Lucem praestant vocales, puram et sinceram ipsa a, fons et sol reliquarum. Quae lucem affectam praestat et varie coloratam, ut videere est ex subiecto diagrammate. Materiam vero praebant eae literae, quae per se nullum habent sonum, quas consonantes aut sine

\textsuperscript{562} quasdam] The ms. has qdam with a stroke above the letter q. I assume that the thought correlate is either radices or voculae.

\textsuperscript{563} This paragraph is quoted by Nordström, \textit{Stiernhielm. Filosofiska fragment}, vol. 1, CCXXXI, footnote 3.

\textsuperscript{564} Vox rationalis et significativa] Stiernhielm first wrote the clause \textit{Vox humana aliquid significans}. 

182
discrimine\textsuperscript{565} mutas voco. Hae vocalibus colligatae et\textsuperscript{566} animatae corpus vocis constituunt analogice vivum et organicum. Cuius forma interna est mens ipsa seu significatio in essentia rei significatae radicata. Externa vero sonus articulatus, et, quae visibilis est, pictura literalis.\textsuperscript{567}


\textit{(49r, col. 1)} A radix radicum: \textit{a} sine sono, nullo puncto affectum, est nomen DEI, entis, entium, ineffabile, omnia continens.

\textit{(49r, col. 2)} Lingua in qua haec radix significativa viget et semper viguit procul dubio omnium est antiquissima et ex ea orta omnia, quae in aliis linguis usurpantur vocabula. Nulla enim vox aliquid significans auditur uspiam, quae non ex hac orta sit et significatus sui originem trahat.


\textit{(49r, col. 1)} \textit{Ens}, \textit{unum}: \textit{A} in lingua Suethica antiqua et omnibus cum illa cognatis, Germanica, Theutonica, Saxonica, Anglica etc. significat ens, unum, hoc, aliiquid: \textit{a man}, \textit{a konu}, Angl. \textit{a man}, \textit{a woman}, id est, unus vir, una femina, vel vir quidam, aliquis; foemina

\textsuperscript{565} sine discrimine] The expression \textit{in genere} ihas been crossed out on the line.
\textsuperscript{566} colligatae et] The words \textit{colligatae et} have been added above the line.
\textsuperscript{567} Externa … literalis] These clauses have been added in the margin.
quaedam vel aliqua. etc. Qua ratione ex hac radice huius notionis voces diversae in diversas lingus deriventur, videre est pag.

*Quid, aliquid, hoc, illud.* Ex hac vocula a porro nata sunt omnia omnium linguarum pronomina, adverbia loci. Terminus a quo, ad quem, etc. vide pag.

Esse. *A ESSE ET HABERE.* Est, habet, debet, oportet, decet, convenit etc. Huius notionis voces formatas vide pag. [...] 568


8.1.2 *Vocum constitutio*

Sources: *Collectanea ad Runam Sueticam*, F.d. 6, fols. 19r–19v (the autograph having the dimensions 205 x 325 mm on fol. 19r and 205 x 280 mm on fol. 19v), and *Observationes de permutatione literarum* F.d. 7:3, fol. 3r, in which there is a longer addition by Stiernhielm as an explanation of the first paragraph.

Dating: the original text is from 1651–1655. The addition is most likely from the 1660s.

Contents: the ontological, phonetic, and phonosemantic principles in the formation of words.

(F.d. 6, 19r) Tria concurrunt in vocum constitutione: essentia, principia physica et literarum natura. 569 Ex his coniunctis mens vocabuli vera et genuina elicitur. Essentiam abstracte et metaphysice considero. Materiam in concreto, physice.

(F.d. 7:3, the explanatory addition) 1. sonus, 2. vox, 3. notio. Sonus elementis articulatus fit vox. Elementorum usus est distinguere sonos et formare voces. Elementa formantur ore, labiis, dentibus, lingua, palato, gutture, faucibus mediante sono aëris ictu excitato. Elementorum seu differentiarum sonorificarum signacula visibilia sunt literae. Iis scribitur, notatur et exprimitur elementum vocis

568 Stiernhielm continues with the semantic derivatives from the root morpheme *a*/ in its sense of being (*ens*): e.g. *posse, movere, agere, fieri, lux, spiritus, calor, aqua, terra, limus, materia, accidere, accedere, tangere, capere, and induere*, and in its sense of non-being (*non-ens*): *carere, egere, vacuum, mors, and malum*. 569 *essentia, principia physica et literarum natura* Stiernhielm first wrote: *essentia, id est forma interna, materia et literarum natura*, then crossed out *forma interna* and *materia*, and replaced *materia* by *principia physica*. In F.d. 7:3 *essentia, principia physica et literarum natura* are crossed out in a pencil.
articulatae.\textsuperscript{570} Vox nihil significans mortua est et bruta. Vox viva mente, hoc est notione et significatu rationali, animata est.

(F.d. 6, 19r, col. 1) Literarum natura ex soni harmonia cum re significata examinatur. E.g. \textit{agga} in essentia sua descendit ab unitate, cuius radix reperitur in Hebr\[aea\] \(\pi\nu\), in Ung[arica] \textit{egy}, in Fin[nonica] \(\gamma\nu\). Consistit autem unitas materialis et concreta in puncto, cuspidie, acie aut angulo rei corporeae, durae, asperae. Hinc morsus et puncturae significatio. In principiis patet vocem derivatam esse ex radice lucis \(\acute{\alpha}\omega\), sed terrae commixtae, igneae scilicet, a quo durities et asperitas et in quo dolor et acerrimus sensus.

(F.d. 6, 19r, col. 2) Literae K. G. X. CH. natura est aspera, pungens, etc. Iam si intrudas literam \(\xi\), ut fiat \textit{ango}, intelliges praeter significacionem iam dictam etiam angustiam et anxietatem\textsuperscript{571} etc. Ad animum si referas, motum et vehementiam insinuat tibi natura ignis, fons motus et violentiae etc. Hinc iam exacte cognoscere licet naturam intimam cuius vocis, et per vocem, rei. Sic patebit acorem esse ab igne, sed amaritiam ex limo a radice \(\textit{Ma, Moor, limus}\). Nulla igitur vox temere facta in nostris linguis.

(F.d. 6, 19v) Literae nihil sunt quam variii sonorum modi vario oris et reliquorum organorum motu positive efformati et enunciati. Vocales sunt solius literae \(\alpha\) variii modi, dum iam obscurius, iam exilii, iam rotundius, etc., effertur. Diphthongi eodem modo. Quae tamen nihil fere sunt nisi vitia inolita pronunciationis certarum gentium.

8.1.3 Multiplicatio variarum vocum
Sources: F.d. 5, fol. 38r (Stiernhielm’s autograph with the size 210 x 324 mm) and F.d. 3, 9r\textsuperscript{col. 1} – 9v (a fair copy, 205 x 322 mm). For a reproduction of the original (F.d. 5, fol. 38v), see Figure 12.

(F.d. 5, 38r; F.d. 3, 9r, col. 1)
Ex matre A natae sunt filiae septem: ancillae \textit{av. ach. az.}, filiae \textit{al. ar. an. am.},\textsuperscript{572} hoc est ipsum \(\alpha\) purum assumit et copulat sibi omnes consonantes ad multiplicationem et diversimodam propagationem variarum vocum, quae ad denominationem et distinctionem omnium rerum requiruntur. Habent autem singulae hae filiae naturam et indolem suae matris. Easdem enim obtinent notiones universales,

\textsuperscript{570} elementum vocis articulatae] Stiernhielm first wrote \textit{vox articulata} and then changed this phrase to \textit{elementum vocis articulatae}.

\textsuperscript{571} anxietatem] In F.d. 7:3 Stiernhielm in a pencil replaced \textit{stricturam} on the line with \textit{anxietatem} above the line.

\textsuperscript{572} In the right-hand margin (F.d. 5. 38v) Stiernhielm adds the sentence: “Quomodo hae resolvantur in plures quasi cognatas, quae tamen caedem sunt, vide infra.”

Iam ipsa mater \(a\), ut et 7 illae filiae purae et candidae, afficiuntur et quodammodo colorantur seu diversorum colorum habitibus vestiuntur ab iisque consonantibus quasi ancillantibus, dum antepositae faciunt ab \(a\): \(va\), \(cha\), \(za\), \(la\), \(ra\), \(na\), \(ma\); et ex filiabus: \(vav\) seu \(bab\), \(chab\), \(zab\),\(^574\) item \(vach\), \(chach\) etc. Ex \(az\): \(baz\), \(chaz\) etc.

Unde evadunt radices affectae ex \(a\) septem. Ex ex filiabus singulis tres, hoc est 21. Quibus additae 7 ex \(a\) fiunt universae 35 exempta matre pura \(a\).

Porro notandum: ut multiplicantur hoc modo radices, ita etiam significaciones, atque quo longius recedunt voces formatae a radicibus primis, eo plures et obscuriores eas nancisci notiones, quippe quae ultimo ipsis speciebus rerum et actionibus (ut ita dicam) modificatis applicantur.

**ARBOR GENEALOGICA VOCULARUM PRIMARUM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radices purae:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>av.</td>
<td>ac.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vav)</td>
<td>(cav)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tres.</td>
<td>totidem.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Affectae sive ancillae.

\(^573\) perpetuo coluerunt et] This has been added above the margin.

\(^574\) zab] After zab the morphemes \(lab\), \(rab\), \(nab\), \(mab\) have been crossed out.
Deinde fiunt ex ipso \( a \)

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
va & ca & za & la & ra & na & ma \\
\end{array}
\]

Idem notant quod ipsum \( a \), hoc est omnes generales rerum significationes in se continent, scilicet in diversis linguis, olim in lingua Una et Prima. Quod etiam de superioribus \( av \), \( ah \), \( az \), \( al \), \( ar \), \( an \), \( am \) intelligendum. Quae in primis notionibus nihil aliud sunt quam terminations diversae ipsius radicis et voculae \( a \). Quod manifestum est in coniugatione ipsius \( a \) in notione esse: \( a \), \( es \), \( est \), \( er \), \( am \), \( an \) etc. Ubi notandum quod id quod in una lingua est tertiae personae in alia potest esse primae et sic de numero, tempore, modo, casu, genere et reliquis.

NB. Vocabula peregrina et ex aliis linguis adscita aliquid habent ex antiqua forma, licet ea ad idioma, in quo est peregrina depravata sit et deformata.

Ancillae radices

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{a} & \text{la} & \text{ra} & \text{na} & \text{ma} \\
\text{va} & \text{ca} & \text{za} & \text{al} & \text{ar} & \text{an} & \text{am} \\
\end{array}
\]

In quibus consonans sola est radicalis, et vocalis iam ante, iam post sonum editum.

8.2 Universal classification of lexical morphemes

8.2.1 Mater A divina – ‘A’ as the divine mother of phonemes

Source and dating: Miscellanea etymologica, F.d. 9:5, fol. 1r–1v with the measurements 212 x 335 mm. The manuscript is dated at the top of the page: 11 June 1649 (Anno 1649 scriptum 11 Junii).

(1r) Mater A divina

Filiae, vocales: \( aj \), \( av \), \( ah \), \( as \), \( at \), \( al \), \( ar \), \( an \), \( am \).
Musae, consonantes: \( ja \), \( ha \), \( va \), \( sa \), \( ta \), \( la \), \( ra \), \( na \), \( ma \).
Plene, vocales: \( aj \), \( av \), \( af \), \( ab \), \( ap \), \( ah \), \( ach \), \( ag \), \( ak \), \( aq \), \( as \), \( ad \), \( at \).
Plene, consonantes: \( ja \), \( va \), \( fa \), \( ba \), \( pa \), \( ha \), \( cha \), \( ga \), \( ka \), \( qua \), \( sa \), \( da \), \( ta \).
Et hae omnibus linguis et dialectis sufficiunt.

1. Radices vocales admittunt a fronte in derivatis varias et interdum omnes literas consonantes, quae generali radicis notione salva varie modificant et specificant significationem vocis. Imo pro varietate
linguarum et dialectorum ipsae radices radices in se admittunt. E.g. Ana, id est amare, bene cupere. Haec ipsa radix apud Hebraeos est יָּנָּן, apud Belgos jonnen et gonnen. Apud nos hodie est unna. In derivatis occurrunt jöna, Latine *geno, genero; Suethice kyn, köna; Anglice kind, genus; Germanice Kind, puer; Suethice gynnare, fautor, jöön, coniux, ven, amicus, Venus. fijn. Juno. sven, son, filius, svena, pacare, skona, parcere. Germanice chuoa, quiare, kona; hunn, canis, κύνος575 etc. Admittunt etiam duplicatas et triplicatas consonantes.

2. Radices consonae post vocalem, aut si verbum est, mere vocalem radicalem et characteristicam assumunt varias literas consononas et terminationes, quae interdum nihil variant, interdum modificant significationem radicis generalem. E.g. Ba, bet et bass est idem, scilicet melius. Ban, bata, Suethice båta, båtna, scilicet utilem esse. Verba baa, boa, bona, parare, bota, meliorare; Germanice bussen (beo, bonus); Sclavonice Boh, Bog, id est beatus, dives, et Deus. Bacil, bygning, buur, belosum (?) ex eadem radice Ba vel Va.


Nota bene hic obiter quomodo significationes vocum magis magisque abeunt a prima ut nihil videantur retinere ex indole radicis. Sed in similibus observanda est gradatio et quomodo proximum a proximo sibi discrepat. Ecce radix rea est loqui; roa (Danice raabe), clamare, kua, vociferari, skrija, lamentari, skrākia, instar vulpeculae gannire, skrāckia, clamore terrere, skrāma, pavefacere, skrymsl, terriculamentum, spectrum, skrymslas, abdere, abscondere se prae metu, skrymslor, latibucula. Ecce! Quid hic vel literarum vel significationis commune cum radice raa! Vera tamen est originatio. Laa, ala, id est clarum esse, communis radix iis quae auditum et visui obiecta sunt. Lya, lyda, lysa, *liust, lux, liud, sonus. Hinc gāll, häll, gala, glama et clamo. llamo, κλάζω, κλύω. […]

575 κύνος] The genitive of κύων, “dog”.

188
8.2.2 Cubus radicum

Source and dating: Miscellanea etymologica, F.d. 9:6, fol. 2r, in three columns. Size: 212 x 325 mm. The text is dated 28 September 1651. For a photographic image of the entire text, see Figure 13.

In the manuscript the text is arranged in one center column (col. 2) with supplementary columns in the margins of the right hand (col. 3) and left hand (col. 1). It is unclear how the text in the margins should be connected to the central main text. The edition follows the logical structure of the text. Stiernhielm provides a cube of root morphemes on the basis of his universal historical phonology.

(col. 2)

CUBUS RADICUM omnium positivarum filiarum unius matris.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mater</th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>5.</th>
<th>6.</th>
<th>7.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ach</td>
<td>av</td>
<td>az</td>
<td>al</td>
<td>ar</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ancillae ministrantes matri et filiabus.

In the manuscript, Stiernhielm first outlined a larger cube that had 10 x 10 squares. In this cube, the horizontal line comprised the vowel /a/ with nine syllables: ah, av, aj, as, at, al, ar, an, am, while the vertical line comprised nine speech sounds: h, v, j, s, t, l, r, n, m. In this diagram he accordingly posited 100 positive derivates of the mother phoneme /a/ in its positive sense. He writes: “Mater una est A. Filiae sunt 100.” From the same phoneme in its privative sense there arise just as many derived roots: “Totidem sunt radices privativae ex matre A privativa” (see fol. 2r, the right-hand top of the page).

The Latin text continues as follows:

(col. 3) Alphabetum etymologicum GS.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{a} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

ä. e. ö. i. y. å. o. u.

ch. v. z. l. r. n. m.
Explicatum:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{ch} & \text{v} & \text{z} \\
\text{h. c. g.} & \text{f. b. p.} & \text{d. t. s. st. ſ.}
\end{array}
\]

(col. 1) Radix ach eadem est quae radices ac. ag. ah.
Radix av eadem est quae af. ab. ap.
Radix az eadem est quae ad. at. as. ast. ath.
Sic radix cha: ha. hua. qua. qua. ca. gua. ja.
Radix va: ba. fa. va. φa. [hva. qua.]

Lingua Suethica non agnoscit Z, sed resolvitur ex aliis
plerumque in S. aut T. aut SK. et ST. et quae supra.
Aspiratio H post A facile principem obtinet locum. Illa enim
reliquas omnes afficit:
bh. genuit v.
vh. <genuit> f.
ph. <genuit> p.
ch. th. sh.
hl. hr. hn. hv. faciunt gl. cl. gr. gn. cn. qu.
H mutatur in v. f. c. s. th. z.
Summa: H est spiritus et anima omnium elementorum.

M terrae character solus vacat.

(col. 2) Contingunt 7 ministeria matri et totidem singulis septem
filiabus. Erunt in universum 56. Cum matri ministrant sunt in maior
dignitate, quam cum filiabus inserviunt. Septem itaque sunt
ministeria digniora. Reliqua minoris dignationis sunt 49.

(col. 3) Matris ministrae sunt: cha. va. za. la. ra. na. ma.
Filiae primae ministrae: chach. vach. zach. lach. rach. nach. mach.
Filiae secundae ministrae: chav. vav. zav. lav. rav. nav. mav.
Filiae tertiae ministrae: chaz. vaz. zaz. laz. raz. naz. maz.
Filiae quartae ministrae:chal. val. zal. lal. ral. nal. mal.
Filiae 5ae ministrae: char. var. zar. lar. rar. nar. mar.
Filiae 6. ministrae: chan. van. zan. lan. ran. nan. man.
Filiae 7. ministrae: cham. vam. zam. lam. ram. nam. mam.

Aliae radices non dantur, quae ad has reduci non possint.
Hebraicae radices bisyllabae non sunt simplices radices aut enim
habent literam otiosam aut praeter radicales formativam aut sunt
ex duabus radicibus compositae. Quod accuratius intuenti facile
patebit et a me suo loco fuse demonstrabitur.

---

576 ministeria dignioria] After digniora the explanation i.e. radicis primae has been
crossed out.
Hoc est: radix una omnium mater est A. Ex illa nascuntur ut filiae ach, av, az etc., radices quippe ortae et secundariae omnes purae et clarae, simplices et nullius ministerio nixae, hoc est a vocali incipientes, nulla consonantium nube obumbratae. Mater vero ipsa a, cum obscuratur a praefixa sibi consonante, voco consonantem illam seu potius totam radicem, e.g. cha, va, za, la, ma, ancillam et ministram matris a, hoc est radicem primam latentem post consonantem, quae eam occultat et quasi invisibilem reddit. Alias libeat vocare hanc “matrem aut radicem primam affectam”. Filiae vero, hoc est radices secundariae, cum a praefixis consonantibus absconduntur, eas ipsas consonantes seu potius totas voces, quales sunt chach, chav, chat, vach, vav etc., ministras voco filiarum primae, secundae et sic deinceps. Quas etiam radices affectas nominare placuit.

Ut tres priores filiae ach, av, az, ita etiam tres priores ancillae ch, v, z sunt diiiores reliquis quatuor l. n. r. m. Plures enim habent vestes seu habitus. Habet enim ch praeter se ipsam simpliciores h. c. g. Habet v f. b. p. Habet z d. t. s. st. Quae omnes censentur et rediguntur ad tres illas, ut reliquas in se aut sub se continentes, scilicet ch, v, z.

Hic vero acri cautione opus est, ne radices affectae confundantur cum flexionibus sive formativis ministrarum matris seu radicis primae affectae, e.g. mala, molere, non est a filiae 4tae ministra al, sed est saltem flectio seu formativa matris affectae, ma. Quae flectitur in formativas mach, mac, mag; mab, maf, map; maz mad, mat, mas; mal, mar, man, mam. Quae diversas recipiunt et exhibent significatus, ut videre est in radicis huius diagrammate.

Hoc tamen verum est ad ultimum omnes ministras sublatis consonantibus reduci posse as puras seu filias et inde ad ipsam matrem, (col. 3) ut hic mala reducit ad radicem al, unde ἁλῶ, alam, confringere, et Gr. ἀλέω, molo.577 (col. 2) Neque enim aliud sunt filiae seu secundariae respectu matris quam flexiones seu voces formativae radicis primae. Formativas voco, quia ex iis formantur primae derivatae ad exhibendum alias atque alias notiones.


---

577 הָלַם ... ἀλέω] The Hebrew verb הָלַם, hālam, means “hammer, strike; beat” rather than “to break in pieces, destroy”. Greek ἀλέω means “grind, pound, bruise”.

191
8.3 Universal semanticization of lexical morphemes

8.3.1 De usu et applicatione radicum ad notiones rerum

Source and dating: *Runa Suethica*, F.d. 5, fol. 39v. Some passages are quoted by Swartling. The text most likely dates from 1655. For a photographic picture, see Figure 14.

Contents: This text proposes a theory of semantic diversity of primary stems, or roots, and presents an ontological categorization in a number of classes, from which every primary stem draws its diverse meanings. Stiernhielm argues that word meanings originally were general and mutually different, because they derive from the diversity of metaphysical categories: (1) essence, (2) power, force and might, (3) action, activity, use, (4) matter, (5) internal form, (6) external form, (7) the active principles of nature, namely (8) light, (9), mind, (10) the act of generating, (11) love, (12a) rightness, and (12b) goodness. The last part of the text consists of an etymological exemplification of stem-words that are argued to draw their different meaning from two or more ontological categories.

Regula generalis de usu et applicatione radicum ad notiones rerum

Omnes et singulae radices tot habent notiones generales, quot habet ipsum ens in suas affectiones et primas substantias divisum. Omnis notio capitur aut γενικῶς aut εἰδικῶς, generaliter aut specialiter, item proprie aut translate.

Quae et quot sint subdivisiones entium in res et qualitates singulares, eae et totidem sunt notionum generalium subdivisiones in voces et vocum differentias seu vocabula formata. Genera rerum earundemque notiones primas at duodecim classes totidem vocibus monosyllabis (praeter unam dissyllabam) comprehensas reduxi. Eae sunt:


His omnia quae dici et cogitari possunt includuntur. Inter quae multa sunt, quae non capiuntur praedicamentis Aristotelis. Quorum primus author fuit Archytas Tarentinus Pythagoraeus, Platonis praecessor.

Et hoc ordine omnibus radicibus assignanda sunt diversae illarum significationes. Quae ad generales hasce reduci possunt et debent.

---

578 Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm*, p. 78 (the categories, from *Fluent etyma vocum* until *bonitate*), p. 81 (the preceding paragraph, from *In omnibus conveniunt* until *ita et in rebus*, and the first sentence, from *Omnes et singulae* until *divisum*).
579 Omnis notio … translate] This has been added in the left-hand margin.
580 Fors] *Nunc* has been crossed out on the line. *Fors* has been added above the line.
581 Spes] *Hic* has been crossed out on the line. *Spes* has been added above the line.
582 Archythas] Archytas of Tarentum was a Pythagorean mathematician in the first half of the 4th century BC and a teacher of mathematics to Plato.
Corrigenda igitur erit methodus, et quae sub radicibus sunt in hoc libro consignata, ad hunc modum erunt digerenda et ordinanda.


Notabile est, quam quod maxime: *plura dari unius vocis vera etyma et ex diversis rerum ordinibus diversa.* In omnibus enim conveniunt verba rebus. Ut res constant materia et forma, ita et verba. Ut in rebus est forma interna et externa, ita et in verbis. Obiectio: Veritas non consistit nisi in uno. Responsio: Omnia conveniunt in unum. Ex multis conficitur unum: 1. notione unitatis, dualitatis, i.e. distinctionis, pluralitatis, multiplicationis, 2. veritatis, 3. bonitatis.\(^{584}\)


**Summa:** Hoc ordine veniunt notiones generales et primae:

| \(\text{unum.}\) | \(\text{bonum.}\) |
| \(\text{esse.}\) | \(\text{verum.}\) |
| \(\text{scire.}\) | \(\text{sentire.}\) |

Posse.
Movere.
Agere.
Habere.
Servare.
Dare.
Cupere.
Accipere.
Quiescere.\(^{586}\)

Hic dici oportuit de notionibus privationis, quae proficiscuntur ex 
\(\pi\) tenebrocoso seu A privativo, sed vide supra.

---

\(^{583}\) *et generalitate*] This has been added in the right-hand margin.

\(^{584}\) *Obiectio … bonitatis*] This has been added in the right-hand margin.

\(^{585}\) *8 Luce … 12b bonitate*] In his first numbering Stiernhielm omitted *Luce.* After adding a number to *Luce,* he renumbered the rest except the last one (*12. bonitate*).

\(^{586}\) *Summa … Quiescere*] This has been added in the left-hand margin.
NB. Res naturales mixtae et ortae ex generatione etc. ut non uno principio constant, ita nec voces, quibus significantur, unius notionis etymo constant. Sed ex variis componitur una rei proprie competens definitio. Id etiam in arte factis accidere docet experientia. Nec vetat quod voculae ipsae sint plerque monosyllabae. E.g. *lus, pediculus, duas habet notiones: 1. a parvitate *lutz, luzz, lißel, lisl, est parvus; 2. a materia, unde generatur, lue scilicet vel eluvie corporis, quod Suethice loa, *lauga, löga, eluere, unde Lat. luo, lavo; luut, lixivium, Germanice Lauge et Löör; lord, lort, loder, ludder, sordes, spuma et eluvium, et laus, lus, pediculus.

Sed et ipsum loa seu lögä, *lauga, ex duabus notionibus compositum est: 1. ex radice la privativa laa, delinquere, dissolvi, unde lösa, solvere, et Lat. lassus, luxus, luxare etc. Ex eadem radice est Gr. λύω, solvo, cognatum Latinum luo, et lavo. 2. Ex notione substantiali aquae seu liquoris, quae nostra lingua dicitur la et lagh, AS. gelaeccan, rigare, Isl. la, i.e. aqua. Ex qua radice Latinum liqueo et liquor a lag, läcka, stillare, fluere, et log, et quod idem est Latinum lacus (Suet. watu-loka), Isl. laec, rivus. Hinc lauga, liquore dissolvere et expurgare sordes, et Latinum lavare, id est, aquare, aqua excutere et expurgare.

Sic bok, liber, dicitur 1. a materia, fago, e qua communiter fiebat, et 2. a bögia, flectere, unde Lat. pago, Gr. πήγνυμι et compingere, quod proprie de librorum factura dicitur.

Sic leef, leev, Leib-brot, leefva, leepa, limpa, klaif, leaf, laef, leipa, chleba, panis, 1. a *laa, levare, elevare; unde Cambricum lefain, Gallicicum modum levain, fermentum. 2. leva, libba, löpa; hlava, klaabba, klubba etc. condensare, conglutinari, conglobare. Inde enim lijf, Germanicum Leib, corpus et globus, Suethicum klubb, massa farinarea. 3. a leva, vivere, victus. 4. Leef, liuf, charus, iucundus.

Sic Phrygium βέκ, panis, a baka, quod significat: 1. pinsere, batuere (baka); 2. assare in furno, igni coquere; 3. φάγω, edo, nobis obsoleto. Est etiam βέκ Hebraice בָג, cibus, esca. Vide Schindlerum in בָג 592 ex hac voce arguentem linguam Hebraeam antiquissimam.

---

587 lavo] In the margin, Stiernhielm here adds: “λύω, solvo, lösa (et verliesen, verlieren, perdere); λούω lavo, lögä. Vide Voss. in luo, lues.”
588 substantiali aquae seu] This has been added in the margin.
589 AS. gelaeccan, rigare, Isl. la, i.e. aqua] This has been supplied in the margin.
590 et Latinum lavare … expurgare] This has been added in the margin.
591 *laa] In the margin, Stiernhielm explains this non-attested word as follows: “a la, altus, lava inuisitatum, tollere; Latine latus, elatus. Luft, sublime et aër. Lyfta, extollere. Lava, structura in altum.”
8.3.2 Principium literarum
Source: Runa Suethica, F.d. 5, fol. 37v, at the right-hand bottom of the page (Stiernhielm’s original), and F.d. 3, fol. 8r–8v (the fair copy). Most of the text of F.d. 3, 8r, is quoted by Swartling (Georg Stiernhielm, p. 79, footnote 3).\[593\

Contents: Stiernhielm here develops his theory of a dichotomous phonosemantic nature of the phoneme $a$.

(F.d. 3, 8r) A. Principium literarum. Sonus 1. simplex, 2. significativus duas primas notiones generales habent duo principia insinuantes, entia scilicet et non entis. (F.d. 3, 8r) Est enim A positivum unum et ens. Est et A privativum vanum et non ens: $a, an, vaan, vacuum$. Hinc occurrunt iisdem literis constantes radices oppositarum notionum.\[594\

Ut ab A esse, notiones lucis spiritus, caloris, motus, vitae, vigoris, virtutis, copiae et omnis boni, item amoris et generationis et ea quae mentis sunt: veritatis, aeternitatis, constantiae, sapientiae, pulchritudinis, gaudii, splendoris, gloriae, sufficienciae, voluptatis etc. superorum, coeli;\[595\

ita ab A privativo notiones his et similibus omnes contrariae. Primae vero quasi generalissimae non entis, inanitatis, vacuitatis, vanitatis, falsitatis, fugacitatis, inconstantiae, evanescentiae, deinde et omni quae materiae adiacent privationum, scilicet tenebrarum, caliginis, vaporum, frigoris, torporis, stuporis, rigoris, defectus, viti, inopiae, odii, corruptionis, mortis, orci, inferni, item amentiae, confusionis, stultitiae, turpitudinis, abominationis et omnis mali.

8.3.3 Radicum notiones secundariae
Source: Miscellanea etymologica, F.d. 9:5, fol. 7v, col. 2. Dating: the middle of the 1660s.

Radicum notiones secundariae sunt quae qualitatem ex relationem aliquam inferant, e.g. patere, apparere, clarere, lucere; longum, latum, brevem, angustum esse sive extendere, pandere, secare, findere, angere, acuere, tundere, comminuere, frangere, componere et omnia.

Hinc Herodoti narratio dest de duobus pueris. […] Inde vero, si quid uni voculæ tribuendum linguam Hebraeam omnium fuisse primam, cur non probaretur?\[593\
Swartling omits $a, an, vaan, vacuum$ in the first paragraph, $superiorum, coeli$ at the end of the second paragraph, and $et omnis mali$ at the end of the third paragraph. Swartling misreads the last word of his quotation, viz. $abomisationis$, instead of $abominationis$.\[594\
Hinc … oppositarum notionum] This is an addition beside the main text.\[595\
et eae quae mentis sunt … coeli] This is also an addition beside the main text.
Iam proximum est ut eruantur, assignentur et demonstrentur notiones variae singularum radicum:

I. Generales sive substantiales et secundo speciales sive accidentales et relativae, ubi cautio adhibenda ne confundantur radices cum derivatis e.g. radix *sava* cum derivata *sava*. 

II. Ut omnino primae notiones a secundariis distinguantur, ut in radice *aga* ‘habere, moveri, fluere’ a ‘pungere, angere’.

8.3.4 *Hae sunt radices cardinales*

Source: *Miscellanea etymologica*, F.d. 7:1, according to the pagination of the manuscript p. 51, but according to the number of leaves fol. 40r.

Hae sunt radices cardinales:
a. entis, unitatis et substantiae. Nominis Dei Creatoris et Universi. Ex qua oriuntur et emanant et ad quam reducuntur omnes reliquae. 
ag. actionis, curae. 
al. perfectionis, integritatis, potentiae. 
am. conservationis. ideae. 
an. generationis. an ante, na post. an-na. 
ar. factionis, conservationis, ordinis. 
ab. unionis, firmitatis. 
av. amoris. 
as. 
a. ajo. veritatis. 

His accedunt firmae. Hae enim sunt immutabiles. 
ma. qualitatis et materiae. 
la. lucis, vitae et soni, item loci, modi. 
ra. distinctionis et motus, creationis, ordinis, spiritus informantis. 


8.3.5 *Ut in omni etymologia observandum*

Source: *Runa Suethica*, F.d. 5, 118v.

Dating: It is likely that this text was written about the same time as Stiernhielm developed his natural philosophy. One of the drafts in the same volume is dated “in the wilderness of Ingria” (i.e. Stiernlund)
"18 February 1652": “Catena rerum ex originibus verborum conflata et fabricata in eremo Ingriae die 18 Feb. 1652” (see F.d. 5, 43r).

Contents: In this text, Stiernhielm argues that all morphemes that are directly derived from the mother speech sound and root /a/ have either a positive or negative meaning, but that the phoneme /a/ with the meaning of light and movement itself lies in between these categories. He relies on Aristotle’s categorization of essential motion, more precisely the philosopher’s dichotomy between two kinds of substantial change in the nature, namely birth (γένεσις, generatio) and decay (φθορά, corruptio).596 He partly depends on Aristotle’s categorization of accidental change into qualitative, quantitative and spatial change,597 where quantitative change importantly is identified with increase or growth and decrease or decline (αὔξησις καὶ φθίσις). Stiernhielm argues that every movement is directed toward either generation or corruption, and either increase or decrease. He applies all these categories to his etymological semantic categorization.

Radix a materialis cum ancillis ab. ac. az. Radix a materialis cum cum filiabus al. ar. an. am. In genere notandum omnem motum proficisci ex principio lucis ideoque omnem notionem lucis, motus et caloris derivari ex a radice, qua lux, non secus ac reliqua principia, implicite continetur. Explicat autem se illa notio primitus in verbo (seu actionis significatu) aa. aha. ἀω, αὔω, lucere, calere, spirare. Iam tota natura consistit in motu generationis et corruptionis. Motus enim ad profectum, est motus ad defectum. Motus enim ad profectum, est motus ad defectum. Lux, calor, motus vita est. Accedentibus accedit vita, recedentibus propinquat mors. Movere igitur et spirare generale est et utrique, scilicet profectui et defectui, commune. Differentia consistit in terminis in, ad, sub, ab vel ex. Adspirare lucis afficit materiam ad participationem vitae, inspirare

596 In his treatises on natural philosophy, both Physics (Greek Φυσική ἀκρόασις, ‘Lectures on the nature’, Latin Physica) book 5, 1–2, 224a 21 – 226b 17, and On generation and corruption, Περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς, book 1, 3–5, 317b 1 – 322b 33, Aristotle proposes a theory of a tripartite change of the essential movement:
1. from non-being (ἐκ μὴ ὄντος) to being (εἰς ὄν), see Physics 224b 8–10 and De generatione et corruptione 319a 26–29; from non-subject to subject (οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς ὑποκείμενον), see Physics 225 a 1–12. This change is called γένεσις, coming-to-be, generation.
2. from being (ἐξ ὄντος) to non-being (εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν); from subject to non-subject (ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς μὴ ὑποκείμενον). This change is designated as φθορά, passing-away, perishing, corruption.
3. from one form to another form (ἐξ ἄλλου εἴδους εἰς ἄλλο), see Physics 225b 24; from subject to subject (ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς ὑποκείμενον). This change is described as ἄλλοιωσις, alteration, and is conceived as accidental change.

597 Physics 225b 7–9; 226a 23–36, De generatione et corruptione 319b 30–32.
<lucis> vivificat, suspirare <lucis> aegrotat, expirare <lucis> reliquit materiam morti. Hinc est, quod notio lucis seu motus, caloris, luminis et spiritus semper concurrunt in designatione corruptionis et interitus cum notionibus materiae: frigoris, quietis, tenebrarum. Hinc in via et progressu seu declaratione ad corruptionem inter utrumque media et mixta illa verba: halare, vaporare, tepere, torpere, languere, segnescere, tristari, dolere, moereri, horrere, tremere, stupere, hebescere, fathisci, fatigare, fatuari, soporari, aegrescere, tabescere, marcescere, liquescere, liquari, destillari, fluere, diffluere, solvi, dissolvi, putere, foedere, fugere, vanescere, evolare, expirare, mori. Item pallere, fuscari, nigrescere, obtenebrescere, etc.

Quae omnia in se continet implicite ipsum principium A, sed explicite in genere tamen dictae filiae ancillaeque. Ancillae sunt matronam hanc saltem vestientes ha, va. za, sed filias censeo la, ra, na, ma. Omnibus A matri sc. ancillis et filiabus subjiciuntur literae omnes, prout exigunt notionum varietates et natura, consuetudo atque usus cuiusque linguae et vocum declinationes ipsae ferunt et ultro se offerunt, ut a dā: dāf, dam, dagg, daw, dake, dwaal, daar, dars, daad, daan, daap, daab.


Rite igitur distinguendum inter notiones triplices, ex trilici fonte scatentes in una litera A ceu radice prima concurrentes atque in unam coalescentes. Seu, si mavis, ex uno fonte literali A in tria ternarum primarum seu generalium atque ex istis derivatarum in multifidos amnes specialium notionum flumina principalia. Quorum divergia oculis subjicere operaet erit pretium.

| A |<mentis>| lucis |<materiae>|
8.3.6 The meaning of original morphemes

Text 1

Source: F.d. 13:2:2 fol. 30r, written in a pencil.

(6r, col. 1) Literarum nomina.

Da ) ( Dö. Deus ) ( Mors.
E. nexus. Ef. amor.
Ha. idem. Hio. Hiatus. est chaos, ubi nulla rerum unio nisi
confusionis. Inde ἡσκή, vastitas. Hysua, etc.
Hoc.
Obstaculum.
Propensio, gratia.
Firmitas.
STA. Firmitas. Robur: est vigor materiae consolidatus.
8.4 Inflectional morphemes: interlingual observations

8.4.1 Flexio comparationis

Source: This text is found in F.d. 6, 86r, but is crossed over by an oblique stroke with the remark: “Excellently, but this does not pertain here being too far from the subject matter.”598 Dating: 1651–1652.

Contents: The text discusses the inflection of the numeral “one” and inflectional patterns in the comparative and superlative degrees in different languages. Stiernhielm argues that the Greeks came very close to the Scythians in their inflectional endings of adjectives in the comparative and the superlative.

Hisce ita constitutis fiat initium a notione unitatis. Dico monosyllabum a significare unus. a. -um. Hanc generum distinctionem habent pleraeque gentes. Scandicae et Saxonicae *a, an; ain, aine; hodie en, een; AngloSaxonicae a, an, one, unus, unum, una. ena, AS. ana, i.e. solus. Unde medicorum ana, id est ex singulis. Suethis peculiaris est terminatio neutrius in T et et, it, quod etiam in aliqua dialecto per D effertur ed, id. Roslagii praeponunt j: jen, jet, unus, [un]a, [unu]m. Scythis in Taurica Chersoneso adhuc in usu est (teste Busbequio in Epist. Turcica).599 Ita pro unum. Scythis antiquissimis ar, ari unum denotabat, a quo superlativus arima pro unicus, arima-spu, id est unicus-ocularis. Sic explicat hanc vocem

---

598 In Latin: “Pulchre, sed quae hue non pertinent, ut nimirum longiqua a re.”
599 The word list of Crimean Gothic compiled by the Austrian ambassador in Istanbul Ogier (or Augier) Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522–1592) was published in Legationis Turcicae epistolae quatuor, Hanoviae/ Hanau 1595, pp. 144–145 (as part of the fourth letter). Two years later it was republished by Bonaventura Vulcianius, De literis et lingua Getarum sive Gothorum (Lugduni Batavorum/ Leiden 1597), pp. 51–53. In the list, the numeral words 1–13 are said to be ita, tua, tria, fyder, fynf, seis, sevene, athe, nyne, tiine, thiiniga, thuneta, thunetria etc. These letters have been translated into English: The Turkish letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, imperial ambassador at Constantinople, Oxford 1927.
Herodotus in *Melpom.*

Utraque vox in nostris adhuc emicat. *A enim, ubi ad tempus aut ordinem applicatur, fit ex uno, punctum aut principium. Et erit in grammatica comparatione *a* positivus, quem alio vocabulo explicare nequeas. Comparativus vero erit *ar, aar*, id est prius. Superlativus *arst, arist et ast*, i.e. primum, aliter etiam *adr, adst et arim, arima, arm*. Saxonibus *eer, erst*, Germ. *eh, ehe, eher, ehst, ehist, erst*, id est prius, primum. Ex *arist* Graeci suum ἄριστος fecerunt; *ast* hoc etiam in usu est Roslagii et Alanis nostris pro valde, apprime. Ubi frequens est *ast-myckit*, id est apprime multum, hoc est plurimum; *ast-vacker*, i.e. apprime pulcher etc. Nos alii dicimus *myckast et vackrast*, ubi obiter notandum hanc flexionem comparationis vocis primae et uniliterae *a* retineri in omnibus quotcunque syllabarum dictionum comparatione. Sic ab insitato positivo *ma* fiunt *meer, mäst*, id est plus, plurimum. *Na, när, näst, prope, propius, proxime. Quick, quickare, quickast, agilis, agilior, agillimus*. Quam eandem Scythicam comparationis flexionem, si oculos aperias, etiam in lingua Latina reperies in terminationibus -or et -issimus et -imus: verus, verior, verissimus, prior, primus. Graeci Scythis proximi <fuerunt>.

*Spu*, i.e. oculus. Eius verbum est *spea, speja*, videre, visitare, hodie explorare. A Gothis nostris acceperunt Itali *spiare, spione*.


8.4.2 Similitudo flexionum

Source: *Glossarium Ulphila–Gothicum*, Stockholm 1670, p. 78 s.v. *Haban*. For a photograph including this text, see Vol. 2, Fig. 21b.

p. 78: […] Caeterum notatu digna est similitudo flexionum verborum Gothicorum et Latinorum, quae manifesto arguit linguam utramque primis temporibus fuisse unam, quae postea in diversas abierit dialectos. Similitudo haec patet in sequentibus:

---

600 See Herodotus, *Histories*, book 4, titled *Melpomene* (i.e. the Muse of Tragedy) chapter 27 (at the end): “we give the one-eyed race the Scythian name of Arimaspi, *arima* being the Scythic word for one, and *spu* for the eye.”

601 Roslagiis Stiernhielm first intended to write the equivalent *Rospigii* (that is, inhabitants of Roslagen in Uplandia), but stopped after having written *Rospig*.

602 Nos alii … Scythis proximi] This passage has been written in the margin.

603 ἕχις] In the manuscript, Stiernhielm uses grave accent: ἕις.

604 ἕν] Stiernhielm similarly accentuates with grave accent: ἕν.

605 ἴος] The manuscript has ἴος.
8.4.3 Conjugation of the verb “to be” in English and Dutch
Source: F.d. 7:1, fol. 1r. The English and Dutch verbs “to be” and “zijn” are conjugated in the present and past indicative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anglica</th>
<th>Belgica</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am</td>
<td>Ick ben.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou art</td>
<td>Ghy zijt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He is</td>
<td>Hij is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We are</td>
<td>Wij zijn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglica. to be</td>
<td>Belgica. wesen. zijn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.5 Gradation of phono-morphological terms
8.5.1 Text 1
Source: Collectanea philosophica, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 8r.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apex.</th>
<th>Radix.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Litera.</td>
<td>Flexio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syllaba.</td>
<td>Voca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vox.</td>
<td>Derivat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbum.</td>
<td>Compositum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sermo.</td>
<td>Notio.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.5.2 Text 2
Source: Collectanea philosophica, F.d. 4:4:1, 48v.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apex.</th>
<th>Punctum.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementum</td>
<td>Lux.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonorum.</td>
<td>Materia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutum.</td>
<td>Linea recta, curva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litera.</td>
<td>Corpus mixtum, vivum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syllaba.</td>
<td>Corpus vivum. Sensile animal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vox.</td>
<td>Animal rationale.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART 3. LANGUAGE PHILOSOPHY
9. Reality, the linguistic sign, and mind: the relationship

9.1 Object and word: the relationship

9.1.1 De origine linguarum

Sources: Runa Suethica, F.d. 5, fol. 35r (with the measurements 210 x 324 mm), which is Stiernhielm’s autograph, and F.d. 3, fols. 3v–4r (a fair copy measuring 205 x 322 mm). For a photographic image of the original (F.d. 5, fol. 35r), see Figure 15.

Dating: The text is dated Wasula, 2 December 1655 (F.d. 5, 35r, col. 1 at the bottom).

Contents: Stiernhielm explores the ontological and phonosemantic principles of the origin of language. Ståhle (1951: 9–12) has analysed Stiernhielm’s argument as follows (in my summary):

The ontological principles of mind (mens), light (lux) and matter (materia) correspond on the level of language to the principles of reason (ratio), speech sound (sonus) and the unactualized linguistic material (elementa). The vowels are free from matter. The vowel /a/ is the purest, and from it all other vowels are derived. The consonants are linked to the principle of matter in language and each of them has a particular semantic function. The morphemes are derived from a certain system of combinations of vowels and consonants. The morphemes represent the basic conceptual fields of reality, while the secondary lexical derivations are supposed to represent the variety of reality.

(35r, col. 1)

DE ORIGINE LINGUARUM


Mens ipsa sibi ratio est, sed in brutis rationem non exerit, nisi particulatim, quantum unicuique speciei competit. In homine totam, quantum materia capere potest, effudit. Ideoque solus homo capax est sermonis. Vide Bibliander, p. 108 etc.606

606 See Theodore Bibliander, De ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius, Tiguri/ Zürich 1548, p. 108, where the author discusses the concept of language or speech (oratio) mainly on the basis of Augustine and Aristotle. On the next page, 109, he continues with the definitions given by Quintilian, Diomedes and Priscian. He quotes from Augustine’s De dialectica, chapter 5: “To speak is to
Lucis opus esse sonum clarum est ex attributis. Lumen seu claritas non semper est visibilis nec calor et motus sensibilis nec eo minus sunt et existunt. Lux enim semper sibi lux est, licet ab inferioribus non comprehensibilis. Comprehenditur tamen, quantum materiae admittit, duobus sensibus visu et auditu. Sono enim eaedem, quae lumini accidunt, differentiae. Proprium est claritas, quae fuscatur gradibus obscuri, unde fit ut sonus proprie sit clarus, sed nec minus sonus sit, qui est obscurus et vix audiri possit. Claritati nihil officit nisi materia, cuius proprietas est tenebrae. Ut lucis, ita soni.


Articulatio est consonantium diversorum beneficio organorum oris humani ad id a Deo factorum naturalis conformatio, vel sic: est soni in diversas et inter se differentes voces conformatio.

Vox est sonus articulatus proprie. Voces primae et generales, nihil in specie significantes sunt eae, quae exprimuntur signis, quae vocamus literas. Vox specialis est verbum mente praeditum. Voces literales primae et radicales seu matres sunt. Radix et mater omnium est A. Eius filiae omnes sunt vocales omnesque give a sign by means of an articulate utterance. A sign is something which is itself sensed and which indicates to the mind something beyond itself. By an articulate utterance I mean one which can be expressed in letters.” He quotes Aristotle’s definition of λόγος “speech, sentence” in The Art of Poetry 20 (1457a) as φωνὴ συνθετὴ σημαντικὴ ἥς ἐνια μέρη καθ᾽ αὐτὰ σημαίνει τι, ‘a composite meaningful sound, some parts of which mean something by themselves’ (such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs, as opposed to connective words such as prepositions and conjunctions). He also refers to Aristotle’s definition in De interpretatione 1, 4. He quotes the Stoic definition of λόγος as φωνὴ σημαντικὴ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐξημερωμένη, ‘a meaningful sound emitted from the mind’, and mentions Democritus’ definition of λόγος, ‘speech’, as ῥήσις τοῦ νοῦ, which Bibliander renders as defluxus et quasi derivatio mentis, ‘a flowing or like some derivation of the mind’.

607 obscuri] In F.d. 5 tenebrarum has been crossed out and replaced by obscuri.
608 In laetitia … silentium] In F.d. 5, this has been written in col. 2.
609 Elementum est materia …. (ω) u] In F.d. 5 this passage has been crossed out.
610 literales] After literales the word sunt has been crossed out.
diphthongi ac praeterea omnes consonantes eatenus, quatenus sono vocali illustrantur, animantur\(^{611}\) et auditu fiunt perceptibiles. Revera etenim consonantium per se mutorum principium est materia tenebrosa, cuius proprie est quiescere et silere. Consonantium igitur duo emergunt principio: prima lux et materia; secundaria sonus et materialis seu tenebrosa obsistentia. Ea ne uniformem et unicum tantum efficiat vocem, intercedit principium tertium: (35r, col. 2) mens omnia ad sufficientiam apte et numerose concinnans ac discriminans. Ipsi mens opus est \(b\) differre a \(c\) et utrumque a \(d\) etc. Supremae praeterea mentis creatricis magisterium sunt lingua et cetera oris humani ad vocis ex arbitrio efformationem necessaria organa. Haec organa materiam, hoc est aerem obiectum, ea ratione verberant, premunt, collidunt, attenuant, liquidant, ingrossant, madidant, ut sonus in eo conceptus et elatus omnes illas qualitates et differentias efferat ac repraesentet. Hinc illa omnibus perceptibilis serenitas literae \(L\), obscuritas literae \(M\), duritas literae \(T\), tenuitas \(H\), mobilitas literae \(S\).

(35r, col. 3) NB. omnia sunt analoga. Lux non splendet nec est visibilis nisi in tenebrosa materia. Ita nec sonus audibilis, nisi ex repercussione obsistentis tenebrosae et per se silentis mutaeque materiae.

(35r, col. 3) Instrumenta, os hominis et oris partes: fauces, palatum, dentes, labia, lingua. In sermone sunt: spiritus, sonus, vox, articulatio, ratio, dictio (verbum), sermo.

Sermo Democrito est \(ῥεῦσις\) τοῦ νόου, \textit{effluvium, derivatio mentis}.

Sonus in genere unus est indifferens et indistinctus, repraesentatus aliquo modo per \(\aleph\) non punctatum, quod proinde sonat, ac substratum est punctum, per se nihil. Hic notabile est mysterium in analogia omnium rerum. Quorum principia sunt puncta, in se proxima nihil, simplicissima et ab omni affectione pura, ita ut non possint dici hoc vel illud. Id etiam fieri in sono manifestum est: \(\aleph\) principium est sonorum et omnis vocalitatis sensui auditus obiectae, sed per se silens et ante emanationem quiescens. Emanans autem auditur, directe et simplicissime in ipsa vocali \(A\) (\(\aleph\)), sed flexim et oblique in reliquis sonis \(ä\). \(e\). \(i\). \(o\). etc. Sic Rabbinis (metaphora ex hac doctrina sumpta) unum aiunt esse principium mundi: \(\aleph\), aleph obscurum, quod idem in actu creationis transiit in \(\aleph\) lucidum et sonorum etc.\(^{612}\)

---

\(^{611}\) illustrantur, animantur\] In F.d. 5 these words occur in reverse order, which has been changed by numbers (1–2) above the line.

\(^{612}\) aleph obscurum ... lucidum et sonorum\] Stiernhielm refers to the Kabbalistic ideas about the creation of the world as emanations of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. God is conceived as the dark aleph, who at the Creation is manifested as the bright aleph. In \textit{De arte Cabbalistica} (1517), book 3, p. 523, Johannes Reuchlin
Est igitur κ obscurum ac silens atque inde A lucidum et sonorum, fons et principium omnis vocis et vocalitatis. Inde per flexum vocalium omnis differentia indeque per articulationem consonantium cunctarum effigiatio et disliminatio.

9.1.2 Mysterium et fundamentum huius artis
Source and dating: Runa Suethica, F.d. 5, fol. 38r (autograph original) and F.d. 3, 8v, col. 2 (fair copy). In both sources, the text has been written on the same page as Multiplicatio variarum vocum (Section 8.2.3). The text was probably composed around 1655.

Contents: Stiernhielm comments on the Kabbalistic concepts of the dark aleph and the lucid aleph and uses them as a basis for his phonosemantic theory of different meanings of the speech sound /a/. From different dichotomies within the two Kabbalistic principles he elicits the notion of mind and distinction, the notion of light, and the notion of negation and loss, alpha privativum.

NOTA. Mysterium et fundamentum huius artis seu scientiae.


accounts for these speculations. As soon as God as the endless and unknowable one (en Soph) by the act of creation shows that he exists, the dark aleph is transformed into the bright aleph. Reuchlin quotes from the Kabbalistic work Sefer ha-Bahir, when stating: “At cum se ita ostenderit, ut sit aliquid et revera subsistat, tum aleph tenebrosum in aleph lucidum convertitur.” Robert Fludd, Philosophia Moysaica, 1638, fol. 69v, quotes the same passage in full. In De praeternaturali utiusque mundi historia, 1621, vol. 2, pp. 1 and 76, Fludd gives the same ideas a trinitarian Christian interpretation: the dark aleph is a symbol of the Father and the bright aleph can be compared to the Son or the Word. Cf. Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, Geschichte der Christlichen Kabbala 1600–1660, vol. 2, Stuttgart 2013, p. 100.

613 Robert Fludd, Philosophia Moysaica, Gouda 1638, see fol. 69r–69v.
9.1.3 Eadem verborum quae rerum genesis
Source and dating: Collectanea philosophica, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 38v.
Size: 208 x 319 mm. The text should be dated to about 1652.

Contents: Stiernhielm proposes the theory of a direct relationship
between reality and language. He argues that meaning depends on the
things words represent and that the order of things determines the
meaning of words. This theory can be termed referential semantics or
linguistic representationalism. It implies that meaning is equated
with its referent and determined by reference (whether it is a concrete
object or a mental concept). I have included the latter part of the text,
which consists of an account of the order of things, in Appendix 4.

Ad conformitatem igitur huius axiomatici: eandem, qua ordinem, esse
verborum, quam rerum genesin, necesse erit, ut principio omnium
rerum uno, primo, simplicissimo respondeat principium omnium
vocum et verborum rationalium, hoc est secundum naturam ortorum;
umum, primum, simplicissimum, ex quo omnium rerum conceptus et
notiones ordine partim cognitionis (ea scilicet quae non nisi
intellectu percipiuntur), partim ortus et generationis fluunt et se
diffundunt. Iam in rebus summum conceptu et intellectu est ens et
causa entis: ens entium. Ens est primum principium essendi internum,
operandi et cognosciendi. (Quod desinit ab operatione, desinit ab
esse.)

Eidem respondet in vocibus vox simplicissima et unilitera A.
Haec radix et principium est omnium vocum in universum omnium
linguarum, quae mente et ratione praeditae ortae sunt a prima, primo
hominem simul cum anima a Deo infusa, ut mox patebit. Huius A
voculae ignoratio peperit caliginem et ignorantiam, quam experimur,
omnium linguarum, quia singularum vocum ignoratio et error in
principio generat ignorantiam et errorem in omnibus ortis. Sed ut
patescat analogia rerum et verborum in instituto praesenti sequens
diagramma subjiciam. […] Et hoc est ordo rerum et notionum.

9.1.4 Eadem ratio verborum quae rerum
Source and dating: F.d. 9**, fols. 78v–79r (pp. 116–117 according to
the pagination). This draft was probably written in November 1656,
because the next leaf (80r/ p. 119) is dated Stockholm 2 Dec. 1656.

Stiernhielm discusses his semantic and phonological principles. By
relating them to his principles of mind, light and matter, he contends
that there is a direct correspondence between reality and language.

---

614 This principle differs from the theory of relational semantics, according to which
meaning is defined as the function of the relations of words with other words. See
615 Ens est primum … ab esse] This has been loosely added in the left-hand margin.

Vocis humanae articulatio certis comprehenditur articulis ceu primis omnis variationis elementis, etiam in hoc rerum analogiam sequens. Haec auditui propria, visui etiam percipienda per literas exhibuit ars daedala et divinus homini insertus intellectus. Elementa prima vocum literae oculis repraesentant contemplanda simul et linguae pronuncianda auditui. – Res mira. Sonum explicat res muta, apex, linea, figura. Sonum (res invisibilis) visio exponit. Inter has primatum obtinet A vocalium omnium mater indifferens et consonantium per se mutarum vita et anima. Qua ratione, id quod inter principia naturae praestet lux, hoc inter intelligibiles hasce et iam auditui et visui sensibiles vocis notas praestat Alpha. Mutae, silentes, tenebrosae, indifferentes, mortuae sunt reliquae. Alpha consonanties facit loquentes, lucidas, distinctas, vivas et anima pollentes. Materia vocis sunt consonae, per se immobiles et nihil efficientes. Alpha dat motum vitamque confert et actum easque, ut legibiles fiant et audibiles, efficit. Ut beneficio lucis materia prima in distincta coivit elementa, ita vivificatione ipsius A literae distinctae sunt in elementa sono (fol. 79r/ p. 117) et enunciatione differentia. Qualia sunt b, c, d, etc. Eaurm autem coniugia cum A et filiabur vocalibus variaeque inter se commixtiones syllabas easdemque ipsas primas et simplicissimas voces generant. Sed nihil praeter voces et articulationem antequam mens accedat. Vox sono articulata et virtute ipsius Alpha animata animalis est, etiam bruti, ut ovis bee, bovis bu, canis vau-vau, anguis ess, canis iterum err, cuculi cu-cu, alaudae tireli, ut picas taceam, corvos, psittacos et id genus aves plures, quarum natura, industria humana excitata, cunctas potis est literas articulate proferre, sed mente carent voces istae.

Mente vox hominis a voce bruti distinguitur. Et hinc est, ut ipsum A – ut sonus, vox, nota, litera, elementum et principium omnis

616 contemplanda simul] In the ms., the word order is indicated by numbers (1–2).
617 Res mira … visio exponit] In the manuscript, this is a marginal addition.
618 lucidas, distinctas] In the ms., the order is marked by numbers above the line.
619 alaudae tireli] This has been added in the margin.

Porro, ut in genesi rerum omnia ex puncto et hinc ex minimis oriuntur et augescunt, ita primo ex vocula et litera A ac deinceps minimis ortis, quales sunt ab, ac, al, ba, ca, la etc., omnes voces reliquae oriuntur et fere infinita multiplicantur. Illas igitur simplices ac nudas convenit radices seu radicales nuncupare. Quas observandum est singulas obtinere tres notiones generales ex ipsa natura materiae, lucis et mentis emanantes. Ex quibus porro in dictiones ortas derivantur notiones ortae et, ex suo quaeque genere, speciales, quales ex materia fluxus, eliquationis, vaporationis, tenebrarum, stuporis, corruptionis, languoris, mortis etc. notiones, ex luce claritatis, splendoris, caloris, fervoris, rapidi motus, actus, virtutis, vitae, vigoris etc. notiones, ex mente numerationis, dimensionis, figurationis, formationis, potentiae, intellectus, electionis etc. notiones. Quarum singularum ex primo quoque ortu progressionem, divisionem et multiplicationes mundo hactenus in hac scientia coeco exhibere constitui postquam literarum nativitatem, numerum, cognationes et potestates atque inde resultantium radicum chorum in scenam produxero.

9.1.5 Coniugium Cadmi et Harmoniae
Source and contents: Collectanea ad Runam Sueticam, F.d. 6, fol. 6v. Stiernhielm argues that the order of objective reality and the order of morphemes, words and meanings are structurally similar and joined together by a relationship of representation like an image, a mirror or an echo. Nordström (1924, vol. 1, p. ccxxxii) quoted most of the text.

Cadmum ex Phoenicia litteras et sapientiam Graeciae intulisse omnibus notum et decantatum est. Eundem uxorem aint duxisse

620 Stuporis ... mortis] These words have been added in the margin. The order of the words languoris and mortis have been indicated by numbers above the line.
621 actus ... vigoris] This is a marginal addition.
622 potentiae ... electionis] This is similarly a marginal addition.
Harmoniam. In quo allegoriam insignem latere subodorantur sagaces. Eius sensum esse Cadmum logodaedalum Graecis multas voces et locutiones subministrasse, factas et fictas ad harmoniam rerum, sine qua futiles essent et inanis sonus sive anima et sensu. Ut enim res a rebus suis sibi peculiaribus, proprietatibus et terminis distinguuntur, ita rerum vocabula suis significatis ad rerum naturam conformatis, inter se distinguui par est.

Generationem et seriem rerum imitatur generatio et series vocum. Quae cognatio, propinquitas et assimilatio inter se rerum, eadem omnino cognatio, propinquitas et assimilatio inter se vocum et significatorum. Ut cuncta radicantur et comprehenduntur in unitate entis, ita omnes in universum voces radicantur et comprehenduntur in unitate primae et simplicissimae vocis aut literae vocalis. Ex qua, ut ab ente substantiae et elementa indeque composita, ita literarum elementa, sonorum differentiae, voces simplices et compositae naturali ordine et progressu exoriuntur.

Et hoc ipsum est quod olim sub involuco mythico innuere voluere sapientes, cum ECHO, hoc est sonum et vocem, PANI, hoc est universitati rerum, indissolubili connubio nuptam et copulatum canerent. Eae enim rectae et ex natura ipsa natae voces redduntur, quae mundi ipsius indolem et intimas rerum fidelissime reddunt et veluti dictante ipso mundo concipiuntur et informantur. Vox etenim ratione animata nihil aliud est quam Echo Pani nupta, hoc est mundi ipsius simulachrum et reflexio. Quod nihil addit de proprio, sed tantum iterat et resonat.623

Tales nimirum sunt voces, quas edam, omnibus linguis communes et primigeniae etc. Vestigia rationis verba sunt. Praeter uxorem legitimam Echo, Pan etiam adamasse proditur Nympham Syringam. Qua nihil aliud innuitur, quam vox sive iam sermo cultior schematibus rhetoricis floridus.624

Syrinx est vox seu sermo potius accuratior et cultu expolita, quae numeris et phaleris sive poeticis sive oratorii et tanquam modulamine reguntur. Cogitationum tesserae verba; verborum literae artes. Ne vero nos diutius moremur, progrediamur proprius ad inspiciendum hasce nuptias.

9.1.6 Vocum etymon
Source: F.d. 9:11, fol. 4r. This text forms part of a discussion of etymological principles, of which the majority is edited in Vol. 2, Section 7.6. Nordström (1924, vol. 1, p. ccxxi) quoted the text.

623 Et hoc ipsum … iterat et resonat] This paragraph has been added in the margin.
624 Tales nimirum … floridus] This paragraph has been added in the margin. It replaces a deleted passage on the nymph Syrinx in the main column.
Contents: It is contended that words represent things in a natural
and motivated way in contrast to conventional representation.

1. Vocum etymon seu mentem veram elici aut dari haudquaquam
possibile esse sine plena et exacta cognitione rerum. Principia enim et
catena rerum insinuant principia et catenam notionum et intellectus
verborum, quae nihil aliud sunt quam rerum veri et perceptibles
imagines et characteres\textsuperscript{625} et per sonum in aures, per scripturam in
oculos incurrentes.\textsuperscript{626} 2. Principia et catenam rerum vice versa
emicare ex genuine etymo verborum.

9.1.7 \textit{Veritas vocum}
Source: \textit{Collectanea philosophica}, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 53r, cols. 3–5. This
text is an excerpt from a manuscript draft of the relationship between
unity, truth and goodness (\textit{unitas, veritas} and \textit{bonitas}). The draft has
the heading “Everyday notes for the memory” and the dating 1 April
1652: “Notae pro memoriae, coeptae 1 April. 1652 in Stiernlund.”

\begin{itemize}
\item (col. 2) Veritas et conformitas rei cum intellectu, scilicet Creatoris.
Verum est, quod est, uti esse debet, vel uti se habere debet. Quod non
saltem appareat ita esse, sed secundum se omnino ita est, ut esse debet.
\item (col. 3) Veritas infert conformitatem cum sua idea iuxta quam esse
suum habet. Sic omnis creatura verum esse habet, prout congruit et
conformatur cum idea mentis divinae. (col. 4) Ergo veritas est imago
mentis creatricis in rebus creatis. GS.
\item (col. 2) Veritas ethica, veracitas dicitur. Est virtus consistens in
sermone, prout his consentit cum mente eloquentis et cum ipso facto.
\item (col. 3) Veritas vocum et literarum consistit in significacione
illarum rerum, quas significare debent, ut est verus rerum sensus.
\end{itemize}

9.2 Word and meaning: the relationship
9.2.1 \textit{Voces sunt signa conceptuum}
Source: In F.d. 7:4, there are two very similar versions of the text in
question: one on fols. 1r–1v (version A) and another on fol. 2r
(version B). Version A is obviously a fair copy of version B. These
versions are copies in another hand than Stiernhielm’s.

The edited text is in all probability Stiernhielm’s commentary on a
semiotic treatise in the tradition of the scholastic philosopher Duns
Scotus.\textsuperscript{627} See further Section 4.3.3 above.

\textsuperscript{625} imagines et characteres] The word order has been inverted by numbers (1–2).
\textsuperscript{626} et per sonum … incurrentes] This has been added in the margin.
\textsuperscript{627} For a survey of Duns Scotus’ semantic and semiotic theory, see Dominik Perler,
Contents: The first part of the text deals with the relation of words to thought and object. The latter part deals with the question of Adam’s bestowing of names on the creatures.

(Version A, fol. 1r) V. Quaestio.628
(Version B, fol. 1r) Voces sunt signa conceptuum, ut conceptus rerum, et utrumque coniunctim repraesentant, quamvis unum immediate et primo, alterum secundo et remote. Quod probat Scotus, quaest. 1, huius capitis. Item Thomas, lib. prim. quaest. 13, artic. 1, Dominicus de Flandria, 4 Metaph. quest. 7, art. 4.629

Cum ergo hoc loco quaeritur de significatione vocum, non attenditur materiale illarum, prout literis et syllabis earundemque articulata pronunciacione constant, citra respectum signandi conceptus, sed formale quatenus rebus ex illarum natura declarandis et conceptui nostro sistendis, quo respectu etiam imagines et symbola rerum indigentur. Posteriori modo Aristoteles voces intelligit, non priori. Vide Connimb. cap. 1 de signis quest. 4, art. 2.630

Deinde natura significare notat vel fundamentum agnoscre in natura, a quo conceptus occasionem impositionis desumit vel ex se et sua natura absque respectu alterius cuiusdam facultatis hoc et non aliud denotare. Illo, non hoc respectu, Plato in Cratyro631 voces

628 V. quaestio] This heading is only found in the version B (F.d. 7:4, 2r).

In the passage referred to (IV, VII, 4, third observation), Dominicus of Flanders says: “Unde notandum est in terto illud quod dicit Doctor Sanctus in de potentia, quest. prima, articulo primo, ad decimum quod in intellectu correspondet aliquid in re dupliciter. Uno modo immediate, quando scilicet intellectus concipit formam rei allicuius extra animam existens, ut hominis vel lapidis. Alio modo mediate, quando videlicet aliquid sequitur actum intelligendi et intellectus reflexus supra seipsum considerat illud. unde res respondent illi considerationi intellectus mediate, scil. mediante intelligentia rei.” In the final conclusion, he says: “Unde considerandum est, quod duplex est significatum nominis, etiam principale. Nam quoddam est primarium et est conceptio. Aliud est secondaryum et est res ad extra. Unde nomina primo significat conceptus animae, mediantibus quibus repraesentat res ad extra.”

630 Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu are commentaries by Jesuit professors at the Coimbra College and the University of Évora on the main works of Aristotle, published in eight volumes 1591–1606 in Coimbra and after that reprinted in other European countries. Stiernhielm intends the commentary on Aristotle’s De interpretatione (Περὶ ἑρμηνείας): Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis e Societatis Jesu. In universam dialecticam Aristotelis Stagiritae, Conimbrica/ Coimbra: Loureyro 1606, see ch. 1 “on signs” (de signis), question 4, article 2, p. 52.
631 Plato in Cratyro] This is a correction (in version A) to replace the misreading of the copyist, namely Cato in Cantipo, which has been crossed out.
significare autumat, quo pacto sane Aristotelis nullatenus, imo vero nec vero quiquam dissentaneum dicit. Quando enim Aristoteles lib. de interpretatione, cap. 2, de hoc materia disputat, ita orationem inflectit, ut non tam fundamentum omnis naturae, a qua significationis ratio depromitur, quam naturae brutae intelligere videatur. Quorum spectat similitudo a beluis desumpta in loco citato. Quis enim vocum usus esset, nisi significarent illud, quod esset naturae rei significatae conveniens? Unde illa convenientia cum re significata, nisi penetrando ad rerum intimam naturam eademque speciem quandam in animo formando, quae a rebus abstracta atque animo obiecta facultati intelligibili repraesentatur, postea per vocem naturae illius rei homogeneam effertur.

Patet hoc imprimis ex Adami exemplo, qui adductis ad se animantibus non fortuita et ratione carentia nomina imposuit, sed inspecta uniuscuiusque animalis natura secundum hanc eius denominationes concinnavit utpote longe sapientissimus naturarum cuivisvis horum arbiter.

Nec secus omnis sapientiae author ipsi Adamo, Evae aliisque nomina indidit ad ipsam naturam prope accommodata, ut sacrae literae affatim evincunt. Denique per institutum vel impositionem intelligi potest vel impositio divina vel humana. Enimvero, cum Deum omnis boni adeoque et loquela de recta nominum ratione inspirationi divinae quaedam nomina accepta refert, imo divinam quandam virtutem ab initio hominem instruxisse refert rerumque nomina docuisse. Ut ergo veritas transcendentaliiter nihil aliud infert quam congruentiam rei cum intellectu divino, ita et vocum significationes primario sunt ex instituto divino, secundario autem ex impositione hominum, instinctu hoc vere divino praeditorum, ut ea forma voces conflare possint, quae ad rerum proprietates explicandas quam proxime accedant.

9.2.2 Voces sunt symbola rerum
Source: Miscellanea etymologica, F.d. 7:1, fol. 41v, that is p. 54 according to the pagination of the manuscript.

632 loco citato] Version A adds this in the margin to replace l. c. in version B.
633 vocum] In version A, this word was repeated twice, but its second occurrence has been crossed out.
634 Adamo, Evae] In margin of version B, Stiernhielm adds a brief etymological explanation of these proper names. Concerning the name Adam, he says: “a dam et adem, pulvis et spiritus.” About the name Eve, he says: “חוה viva que, quick, kho.”
635 Dialogo] In version B, Dialogue has been added above the line, while Libr. Has been crossed out on the line.
Contents: As stated above (Section 9.1.3), Stiernhielm argues that the order of objects (res, “things”) corresponds to the semantic order of words. In this text he also defends a logical approach to semantics: specific meanings are to be derived from general meanings.\textsuperscript{636}

Voces sunt symbola rerum, mente conceptae, literis signatae, lingua enunciatae. Quae igitur est ratio rerum, eadem est vocum.

Sed res omnes distinctae cernuntur in suis speciebus, quae referuntur ad sua genera, ut et haec ad sua usque ad genus generalissimum, quod omnia in se comprehendit et ex quo vicissim omnia in suos quasi rivos emanant et diffunduntur.

Ergo et voces eodem modo distinctae sunt et eandem inter se habent relationem. Multae ex uno genere in diversas species producuntur et eodem iterum reducuntur usque ad summum.

Ut igitur rerum, ita et vocum certa et distincta sunt genera eaque numero finita. Hinc sequitur, ut voces speciales ad generales atque hae ad unam solam, quae omnes in se contineat, rite reduci queant. Quod ut fieri possit, scala rerum erigenda erit, ad cuius exemplar scala vocum iuxta statui possit.

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
Ens. & Unum, bonum, conservatio sui speciei, perfectum, absolutum, pulcrum, decens. Perfectum est, dicit Aristoteles, quod sui simile generare potest. & Potentia. \\
\hline
Motus. & (Appetitus. Amor.) est transitus de potentia in actum mediante appetitu ad formam et perfectionem. & Actio. \\
\hline
Generatio. & Factio. & \\
\hline
Genitum. & Factum. & \\
\hline
Res, cui insunt & & \\
\hline
Quantitas. & Qualitas. & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{636} Stiernhielm clearly states his logical semantic method in \textit{Anti-Bochartus}, p. 460: “Notiones rerum singularium semper oriuntur ex notionibus generalioribus, haud aliter quam res ipsae, et rerum species definitionem trahunt ex suis generibus.”
9.2.3 “Målet och bokstafwen äre ädle bodh-bärare”
Source: Gambla Swea- och Gòthamâles fatebur, Stockholm 1643. In the preface, Stiernhielm reflects on the greatness, wonderfulness and incomprehensibility of language. He considers it a gift by which God has elevated man above all other creatures. In the excerpt below, Stiernhielm describes written communication as a great invention, in fact a miracle, which he exemplifies with the reaction of the American Indians to Western colonizers’ written communication. Stiernhielm similarly argues that speech is a movement of the voice to produce meaningful sound to signify one’s thought. He emphasizes the communicative function of speech and writing. The passage below is excerpted from the preface (pp. 3r–v).

9.2.3.1 The Swedish original text
(3r) At wij kunnom skrifwa och läsa, thet är, sättia thet oss sväfwar i Hugh och hufwud, våre osynlige, otastelige förebildningar och tanckar til papers eller annat sådant ämne, at en annan kan them medh sijne ögon görliga skoda och see, thet undrom wij intet. Hwilket doch ett såådant underwerck är at ingen til fyllest kan uthgrunda then stora hemligheet, som ther under ligger förborgat. Men Indianerne, thet elände usle fä, som aldrigh hade hört eller seet slijkt; them kom thet sältsynt före, när the aff them, som först intogo landet, blefwo sände til hwar andre öfwer tiugu oc flere mijl, med en pappers-lapp och the märckte at then ene kunde see i pappers-lappen hwad then andre, som så långt borta war, wille och mente. Ach Herre! hwad the sigh grufwade! the tänckte intet mänskeligt om them, som sålunda kunde sijn-emellan betyda och förstå hwars annars tanckar.

Altså hafwer thet sigh och om målet. Hwilket icke är annat än at man medh rösten och röstens margfaldige börjande, lämpande och länckiande beteknar och et mål gifwer åt sina tanckars obegripeligheit. Målet och bokstafwen betiäne både ett ämbete: thet ena bär ärende till örona, thet andre til ögonen: äre ädle bodh-bärare och därföre wäl wärde at man något upå them wänder, at man (3v) lärer rätt känna them, torffteliga nyttia them och at man them medh behörlige anfödd-bequämlige färgor och yrcke kläder och pryder, så frampt någor aff them önskar hafwa gagn tillijka och ähra.

9.2.3.2 English translation
That we are able to write and read, that is, to put what appears in our mind and head, our invisible and uintangible ideas and thoughts, on paper or other similar material, and that another is able to behold and see them with his eyes, is not anything we wonder at. This is, however, such a miracle that no one can sufficiently make out how
great a secret that is concealed beneath it. But to the Indians, those poor and abominable creatures, who had never heard or seen such a thing, it was uncommon and strange, when those who first took the country sent them (as messengers) between themselves, at a distance of twenty miles and more, and they noticed that the one could see on the piece of paper what the other, who was so far away, wished and meant. O Lord! What dread they felt! And they did not think of them as merely human beings, those ones who were able to mutually signify and understand each other’s thoughts in this manner.

The same is also the case of speech, which amounts to nothing other than to signify and give expression to incomprehensible thoughts with the voice and by the bending, adapting and linking of the voice. The speech and the letter serve one and the same function, the former going its errand to the ears and the latter to the eyes. They are noble messengers and therefore well deserve that we expend some effort upon them in order to learn them correctly, to use them sufficiently and to dress and embellish them with due native colours and clothing, if anyone wishes to draw gain and glory from them.

9.2.4 An lingua aliqua homini sit naturalis?
Source: F.d. 7:1, p. 146 according to the pagination of the manuscript, but according to the number of leaves fol. 93r.

Contents: Stiernhielm argues that language is motivated by nature, in opposition to the assumption of its semiotic arbitrariness, which was taken for granted by Johann Heinrich Alsted.

(Account of Alsted’s argument, col. 1) Alstedius, Physics parte 6, cap. 7, regula 8, p. 765, quaeerit an in hoc peccati statu lingua aliqua...
homini sit naturalis? Sic respondet: “Adamo naturalis fuit lingua Hebraea, quae omnium est perfectissima\textsuperscript{640}. Sed iam alia est ratio. Quia enim ex humano arbitrio voces dependunt, dici non potest quod aliqua lingua homini nunc sit naturalis.”

\textbf{(Stiernhielm’s remarks, col. 2)} Sed falsum est linguas dependere ex humano arbitrio. Rothwelsk et similes excipio. Quarum tamen voces omnes ex singulari naturae indole ortum habent.

\textbf{(col. 1)} Concedit ergo Hebraeam naturalem fuisse Adamo. Si Adamo, an etiam posteris Adami? Non, quia, natura ipsa in posteris Adami est corrupta. Sed lingua est incorrupta. \textbf{(col. 2)} Aiunt enim eam manere eandem. Ergo manet linguam naturalem esse, etsi nobis sit obscura etc.

\textbf{(Account of Alsted’s reasoning, col. 1)} Eadem est ratio intellectus et loquaelae. Sermo enim est index animi, character mentis, interpres et vector rationis. Materiale sermonis est vox articulata, formale est vis notificandi seu significandi rerum imagines intellectu conceptas atque adeo affectum et voluntatem.\textsuperscript{641} \textbf{(Stiernhielm’s conclusions)} Ergo qualis est intellectus homini, talis est sermo. Sed intellectus est homini naturalis. Ergo et sermo seu lingua. Si lingua, tum singula vocabula, quibus lingua componitur, etiam singulae literae, quibus vocabula constant. Si lingua homini non est naturalis, neque vocabula erunt nec literae. Quod est absurdum. Vocabula sunt arbitraria. Ergo non naturalia. Ergo nullum arbitrarium est naturale. Et hoc absurdum.

\textbf{(Stiernhielm’s further remarks, col. 1)} Exempli gratia vox bombus\textsuperscript{642} est facta per onomatopoeian ex arbitrio fingentis. Ergo non est naturalis. Sic pipio, sic crocito, sic strideo etc. non erunt vocabula naturalia, sed fita, arbitaria, artificialia, quasi hoc quod artificialia est, non etiam possit esse naturale, cum ars non solum imitetur naturam, sed etiam adiuvet, perficiat et manifestet naturam.\textsuperscript{643} Ars enim et arbitrium non opponuntur naturae ut contraria, sed ut diversa et potius subalterna. Si lingua est naturalis, etiam dialecti.\textsuperscript{644}

\textsuperscript{640} perfectissima\textsuperscript{640} Alsted (in the 1630 edition) reads antiquissima.
\textsuperscript{641} Sermo enim est index animi… affectum et voluntatem\textsuperscript{641} These sentences are in reverse order found in Alsted, \textit{Encyclopaedia}, p. 765 (in the 1630 edition): “Sermo consideratur quantum ad materiale et formale suum. Materiale sermonis est vox articulata. Formale est vis notificandi seu significandi rerum imagines intellectu conceptas atque adeo affectum et voluntatem. Unde sermo dicitur index animi, character mentis, interpres et vector rationis.”
\textsuperscript{642} bombus\textsuperscript{642} Bombus is a Greek loanword in Latin and means “a booming, hollow or deep sound” (in Greek βόμβος).\textsuperscript{643} natura\textsuperscript{643} After this word, the unfinished clause \textit{Quod patet in aquae ductibus, in Alchymia, in} has been crossed out.
\textsuperscript{644} Si lingua … etiam dialectus\textsuperscript{644} This conclusion has been written in the right-hand corner at the bottom of the page, but belongs to this paragraph.
Lingua omnium prima est quae simplicissima et quae in se ipsa mentem habet et intelligentiam, ita ut omnium vocum causa et ratio in ipsa rerum natura fundata aperi et reddi possit ex radicibus propriis. Talis Scythica, quae hodie in Suethica praesertim superstes vivit et viget.

(col. 2) Linguae mutantur non arbitrio hominum, sed communi omnium rerum cursu nullo hominum sentiente, nisi post elapsa secula. Violentam abolitionem excipio. Mutat autem natura sensim non substantiam, sed formam rei. Mutat per numeros et gradus rem eandem, ut extrema videantur longissime dissita; cohaereant tamen, si media recenseas. Non vero facit saltum ex uno genere in aliud, nisi post totalem abolitionem.

9.2.5 Semiotic maxims
Text 1
Source: Runa Suethica, F.d. 5, fol. 33r.

Dating and contents: c. 1650–1651. Stiernhielm proposes semiotic and epistemological maxims. The statement “to pursue philosophy without the concept of mind” is a criticism of Aristotelism as well as Cartesianism. 645

Nemo intelligit signum, nisi significatum intelligat.  
Nemo verba intelligit sine pleno intellectu rerum.  
Nemo res intelligit sine pleno intellectu verborum.  
Qui lucem non videt, in tenebris vivit.  
Intellectus lux est mentis.  
Sine mente philosophari summa est stultitia.

In English translation:
No one understands the sign, unless he understands the meaning.  
No one understands the words without full comprehension of the subject matter.  
No one comprehends the subject matter without a full understanding of the words.  
The one who does not see the light lives in darkness.  
The faculty of understanding is the light of the mind.  
To pursue philosophy without the concept of mind is the highest point of stupidity.

645 Hammarsköld, “Anteckningar till Georg Stjernhielms lefvernes beskrivning”, p. 46, argues that the Platonic semiotic assumption of an identity between the sign and the signified made Stiernhielm accuse Descartes of philosophari sine mente.
Veritati rerum nititur veritas conceptuum et verborum
Augustinus: Qui verba non intelligit, res minus intelliget.
Et ego assero: Qui res non intelligit, verba nunquam intelliget.

The truth of concepts and words rests on the truth of things.
Augustine: He who does not understand the words, will not comprehend the subject matter.
And I assert: He who does not comprehend the subject matter, will not understand the words.

9.3 Phonemes, meanings and colours: the relationship
9.3.1 Notae ad Platonis Cratylum
Source: Adversaria Georgii Stiernhielm, ms. XXXII. 1715, fols. 30r–31r, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, Hannover. For a reproduction of fol. 30r, see Figure 16. In editing the text, I have used the photostat extant at the Royal Library, Stockholm, ms. N. 24.

Dating: This text was at the earliest written in 1640. On the inside of the front page Stiernhielm dated the volume: inchoata anno 1640 in Wasula. It was finished before 13 July 1641, because it is written in his handwriting before he suffered an injury to his right hand.

Contents: This text can be divided into three parts. Stiernhielm first comments on Plato’s Cratylus 425d–427c, from its Latin translation in Johannes Goropius Becanus, Hermathena (1580), book 3, pp. 46–47. Plato, Cratylus 426c–427d, attributes a meaning to fourteen phonetic elements (στοιχεῖα) in Greek, viz. rho, iota, phi, psi, sigma, zeta, delta, tau, lambda, gamma, ny, alpha, eta and omikron, and exemplifies with Greek words. Stiernhielm sets out from Swedish cognates of the Greek words that are referred to by Plato in the first ten Greek phonemes and claims a sound symbolism that is based on corresponding Swedish phonemes. In the second part (from fol. 30v, col. 3), he goes on to describe the sound value of Swedish vowels and consonants that are not treated in Plato’s Cratylus. He certainly received this idea from Goropius Becanus, but in describing the pronunciation of the letters of the Swedish alphabet, he is much more comprehensive than his Flemish model of inspiration (who confines himself to Greek and Latin) and applies a distinct perspective on

646 Joh. Goropius Becanus, Opera hactenus in lucem non edita, nempe Hermathena, Hieroglyphica, Vertumnus, Gallica, Francica, Hispanica, Antwerp 1580.
647 For a diagrammatic survey, see Luca Nobile and Edoardo Lombardi Vallauri, Onomatopea et fonosimbolismo, Rome 2016, p. 31.
sound symbolism mainly independent of Becanus. In the third part (from fol. 31v, col. 2), Stiernhielm also comments on some clusters of letters in Swedish, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew words.

In his study of linguistic theory and word choice in Stiernhielm’s authorship, Ståhle (1951: 55–56) comments on the present text. He underlines the fact that Stiernhielm adopts Plato’s theory of sound symbolism and that he tries to confirm it with phonematic material from Swedish. Ståhle exemplifies this with a selection of words drawn from Stiernhielm’s extensive lists. He argues that Stiernhielm is independent in relation to Goropius Becanus.

(fol. 30r, col. 1) Notae ad Platonis Cratylum


στάσις quies, stat, stånd, stille (quod itidem a stå).

Deinde quod dicit RHO elementum pulchrum motionis instrumentum sibi videri. Cuius rei adfert documentum in vocibus quibusdam. Id et nos manifesto deprehendimus in nostra. In cuius

Goropius supplemented Plato’s Cratylus 425d–427c with a phonosemantic account of the remaining letters of the Greek alphabet. In doing so, he mainly relied on Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Goropius also explained the sound values of the letters of the Latin alphabet on the basis of Martianus Capella.

In the second column of the page, there is a remark on Hebrew etymology that belongs to the latter part of this text. It reads: “NB. fundamentum affinitatis radicum apud Hebraeos constantium iisdem vel commutabilibus literis aliter atque aliter transpositis.” That is: “Duly observe the basis of the kinship between Hebrew roots that consist of the same or interchangeable radicals that are transposed in different ways.” This remark continues: “Item. Si quae voces ab hac naturali literarum indole abeunt, eae aut non sunt primitiae aut sunt ex alia significacione translata ortae, quales sunt fōdha, foetus, a fā, accipere; afla ab afl, robur; kyna a ky, kue, kuad, uterus; κατα, acquire.” The ms. actually reads κατα, but this form should be emended.

Cratylum] Stiernhielm first wrote Hermogenem on the line, then added Cratylum citant alii above the line, and finally crossed out Hermogenem and alii citant.

στάσις Plato, Cratylus 426 D, briefly comments on the word στάσις as follows: “Stasis refers to the negation of motion and is named stasis for euphony.”

Plato, Cratylus 426 D, refers to speech sound (in Greek στοιχεῖον, stoicheion) rho as καλὸν ὅργανον τῆς κινήσεως, ‘a fine instrument of motion’. Goropius, Hermathena, p. 47, translates: “Rho elementum pulchrum motionis instrumentum.”
argumenti demonstrationem vocabulis Platonicis paria afferre non dubitabimus:

ῥεῖν, fluere, rinna, renna, rasa (et hoc delabentis aquae est), rija ha etc. rundown, röra, rör, rusa; brinna, brasa, brusa, frusa, frasa.

Eodem exprimi tremorem in τρόμο. Et nobis fortius in darra, dalra, morra, röra, rulla, narra.

Asperitatem in τραχεῖ. Et nobis in sträng, strax, starck, stursk, strupa, aspera arteria, hård, draga, driva, tråda, trängia, tryckia, truga, wrängia, wrjda, wräng, wreed. Haec non possunt exprimere Graeci.


ἐρύκειν, trahere, vel ryckia, raka, rata, räffsa, rita, braka, krika, straffia, rappia, rifia. Quae omnia fortiora fiunt in wräka, strafsa, write, krita, gräfua, skrifua.

θρύπτειν, terere. Nobis in tryckia, dryffta, drypa, be-dröfua, trampa.

κερματίζειν, trucidare, dräpa, mörda.

ῥέμβειν, vertere, torna (desistere et vertere), ryggia.

Item per φ, ψ, σ et ζ ea quae flatuosa sunt exprimi. Qualia sunt ψυχρόν, frigidum. ψ litera nos caremus nec ulla apud nos vox vel syllaba a ψ incipit. Nihilo minus non dubito, quin aequo efficaciter sit flatus ille pressus in nostro frysa, fräsa, bläsa, fnysa, pysa, pusta, fysa, brusa, frusa, susa, rusa, sväsa, svissa, svissla,untas, flåsa, fösa, fissla.

ζέον, fervens, siudhande. σείεσθαι, concuti, rista.


---

653 renna] Ståhle (1951: 55) reads, or rather modernizes, ränna.
654 brinna ... frasa] This has been added in the margin.
655 τρόμο] The dative of τρόμος, which means “a trembling, fear”.
656 dalra] Ståhle (1951: 55) reads, or rather modernizes, dallra.
657 τραχεῖ] The dative neuter of τραχύς (-εῖα, -ύ), “rough, rugged, harsh”.
658 driva ... wreed] This has been added in the margin.
659 ρέμβειν] Plato has ρύμβειν.
660 Plato, Cratylus 427A refers to the phonemes phi, psi, sigma, and zeta as “letters of the breath”, πνευματώδη τά γράμματα. Goropius translates this expression as “flatuosae litterae.”
661 sväsa ... fissla] This has been added in the margin.
662 fervens] After the Latin counterpart of ζέον “seething, boiling, simmering (of water)”, the otherwise non-attested spelling of the Swedish counterpart siuande has been crossed out, while the spelling siudhante has been retained.
T dicit utilem esse ad vinculi et stationis imitatioinem.\textsuperscript{665} Quod certe manifestum est in innumeris pene vocibus. T enim in fine videtur vocem et significatum quodammodo figere et vinctum concludere: rätt, mätt, sitt, sätt, stat, det, mitt, ditt, sitt, fritt, giort, fast, hast et omnia perfecta praeterita. Quod certe valde est emphaticum et admirabile: åtit, druckit, sagt, giort, svorit, tall. Quae omnia finitum quiddam et peractum inducunt. Huc refer totam congeriæ eorum, quae derivantur a stå.

(fol. 30v, col. 3) Lambda ait laevem esse et pinguem et labilem.\textsuperscript{666} Vere. (30v, col. 2) Pro exemplo affert ἔλεοι, laeves; ὀλισθάνειν, labascere; ἀπαρόν, pingue; κολλῶδες, glutinosum. (30v, col. 3) Talia enim etiam in nostra sunt: slät, lætt, lee, leeka, lijm, leer, slem, slicka, sluka, söla, sudla, ledd, ledhska, fahlina, falsk, fuhl, fuhlina, löpa (labi), falla, haal, leen, ludda, lijm, kleema,\textsuperscript{667} lijsa, lind, lindra, lijfn, liuf, lust, list, lurbica fraus, lijf, lefua, lyte, feel, flå, flinga, fläsk, öhl, såhl, åhl, läpia, lijpa, flipa; flyy, flyga, flägel, fladra, flärd, klattra, klatte, klija, klå, laka, slaak, sleek, sleekia, flaat, laat. NB. L finale in syl, pryl, styl (holl, säll), pijl. (30v, col. 1) lieb, laaf, lope, libber, slibber, slippa, släpa, slijpa, slapna. levis, laevis, lubricus, slipprig, labi, lingua, lux, lamina, flamma, lac, lacio, albus, lambo, labium, lana.

(30v, col. 2) L lucem et splendorem habet in glija et derivatis blija, blijdd. (30v, col. 1) NB. de L Suethico crasso aspirato, hla, haal, lijda, labi, lij, collis, lius, lux, lioma, lijf, lee, lit, liof, lijk, lugen, leeta (lesen).

(30v, col. 2) λίβιον, albadit, Ar(abice) λίβιον, lac, λίβιον ignitus. λίβιον leden, id est unguentum, gummi. λόγχα, flamma; λάμα, flammativ λάμα, flamma et lamina splendens (bladd, gladd), gladius, lacio. Ar(abice) λίβιον lein, mollis, tener, leen. λίβιον lambit. λίβιον, risit; ψάλα Ar(abice) lahas, linxit, G[ermanice] leysse.\textsuperscript{668}

\textsuperscript{663} Plato, Cratylus 427A–B, refers to τοῦ δέλτα συμπίεσεως … τὴν δύμαμιν, ‘the sound value of the delta of compression’.
\textsuperscript{664} Eadem … trängia] This has been added in the margin.\textsuperscript{665} utilem ad … imitationem] Plato, Cratylus 427 B (referring to the name-giver) says (referring to the primordial namegiver): ‘He appears to have thought the sound value (dynamis) of delta in its compression and tau in its fixedness of the tongue as useful for the imitation of binding and rest.’ Goropius translates the last clause: ‘utilem … ad vinculi et stationis imitationem.’
\textsuperscript{666} labilem] Plato, Cratylus 427B, says: ὅτι δὲ ὀλισθάνει μάλιστα ἐν τῷ λάβδω ἢ γλῶττα κατιδών, ‘Perceiving that the tongue glides above all in the pronunciation of lambda’. Goropius, Hermathena, p. 47: ‘Quoniam porro maxime labat lingua in Lambda proferendo, id animadvertens’ […].
\textsuperscript{667} ludda, lim, kleema] These words have been added above the line.\textsuperscript{668} leysse] One would rather expect the German word ‘lecken’.
Lethe, submissa susurravit (lasen, lysna, ‘auscultare’)

(letter, leta; litura, litera, Belg[ice] letter, letten, lyta, lius.)

(30v, col. 2) Labanti, inquit, linguæ γ succurrunt: ζυκοῦ, dulce; ζλοιόδεξες, lubricum: glatt, gladd, glij, glijsa, glittra, gläntsa, glijna; flijna, flijsa, fleep, fleepa, flem, flem, flem; glijda, glans.

Quin et nos Smolandis vitio vertimus mollitiem illam linguæ, cum pro bord, smord, giord efferunt bool, smool, giool etc. fård, fåål; gård, gåål.


Å. vero nostram obscurius quam A, minus tamen obscure quam O efferimus in strāla, quod luporum est prâla etc.

E. sonum habet tenuem: teen, leen, steen, reen.

I. subtilius adhuc et acute sonat: pijpa, sticka, rijfua. (30v, col. 2) I penetrat: pijl, pinna, pijna, pigg, pijk, pijt, bill, bijla, drijl, kijl.

(30v, col. 3) O. rotundum est.

669 Plato, Cratylus 427 B ή δὲ ὄλοθρανούσης τῆς γλώττης ἀντιλαμβάνεται ἡ τοῦ γάμμα δύναμις, ‘the sound value of gamma helps (or assists/ takes part with) the gliding of the tongue’. Goropius translates: “Quatenus vero labanti linguæ litterae γ facultas succurrīt” […].


671 Apa veteres … weep] In the ms., this has been written in the next paragraph.

672 ut oves balant] Goropius, ibidem, writes: “ἡ vero, quod nostrum E longum est, sic sonandum, ut oves balant; efferi vult ut sonus ad linguæ basim firmetur et os minus quam in A longo recludatur.”

673 I penetrat] This idea is taken from Plato’s Cratylus 426 E. Referring to the phonosemantic practice of the primordial namegiver, Plato says: “τῶ δὲ ἀὐτῷ ἱστα πρὸς τὰ λεπτὰ πάντα, ἀ δὴ μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἵνα ὅν; ‘He employs Iota again for everything subtle, which can most readily pass through all things’. Goropius, Hermathena, p. 47, translates this passage: “Rursus litera Iota ad omnia tenuia, quae maxime per omnia penetrare quant.”

674 O. rotundum est] Similarly, this idea occurs in Plato’s Cratylus 427 C: εἰς δὲ τὸ γογγύλον τοῦ ὅ σμειον οὕτω πλείον αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ἐνεκέρασεν, ‘He needed the sign O for expressing γογγύλον (round) and made it the chief element of the word’. Goropius renders this: “Cum vero ad στρογγύλον, id est rotundum, opus haberet, O plurimum eius admiscuit, ut exprimeret rotunditatem.”
U. obscurum *skugga, skur*,⁶⁷⁵ *skiul, murra.*

Ö. dulce: *sööt, ut eu* Gallicum. Pro eo usi sunt olim nostri *saut, saur, daud.*

Y. atrox quiddam sonat: *grymm, ryta, skryta, tryta.* (30v, col. 2) *stygg, skrymsl a skräma, spectrum; skryp, skrymta, sky;* verbale nomen *skyggia* cum derivatis obscurum quid infert, ubi contra *skijna* lucem videtur innuere pura vocali *i.*


C. K. sonum fortem infert, unde apud nos in frequentativis frequens est, ut in *skaka a skydda,* Ger. *Schutten, Schocken; sticka a stinga; skrijka a skrija, skräckia a skräma; bräckia, läckia. bark, cortex, torcka a torr,* Ger. *treugen.* metathesis.

D. de D. iam supra ex Platone dictum est. (30v, col. 2) Hoc de D notandum quod in multis finalis non sit radicalis, ut in *fredh, wredh.* Quod et de G dicendum est, ut in *ta-ga S[uethicum] etc., dra-ga.* Radices enim sunt *ta, dra, la (la-ga), ha (högh), A.S. heu, Goth. haus, G[ermanicum] hos.*

(30v, col. 3) F. P. B. W. affines sunt et in plerisque apud nostrates indifferentes, praesertim apud priscos. Ii usi sunt singulari nota ≠ pro eo quod nos exprimimus per *Fu.*

G. et K. saepe commutantur. Quod enim in G lenius sonat, hoc in K redditur stabilius. G premit. (fol. 30r, col. 2) [G premit], pungit, mordet, angit, ut in *aga, ängia, taga, tång, tango, tagg, tugga, naga, nagga, figo, sticka, pigg, pijk, picka, pricka, pungo, (örkia, urgeo), sugo, sacka.*

(30v, col. 1) Labiales sunt W. B. M. P. V. et saepen numero inter se commutantur. (31r, col. 2) B et M: *glomus, globus.*

(30v, col. 1) C. K. G. H. Q. X. cognatae sunt et facile inter se commutabiles. Et hae: D. *Þ. T. S. Z.*

Hae quoque L. R. et rarius N.: *lyckel, nyckel.* Non quadrat. Sunt enim diversa: unum a *luka,* alterum a *nykia,* unde *lyckia et nyckia.*

(30v, col. 1) Vocales, alia in aliam perpetuo transit. De litera *ham,* aliis *Am,* dicit Postellus *ע, ham,* adeo gutture profertur, ut transeat pluribus in G. Exempla allegat pag. scilicet 102.

(30v, col. 3) G. D. et F. in multis sunt commutabiles, praesertim in fine, etiam interdum in medio, ut in *stufu, stugu, stagh, stadh, kraga, krafua, stigt, stifft,* quod et *sticht* scribitur.

In his account of the opinion held by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Goropius writes: “O magnum, rotundum sonum habere dicit.”

⁶⁷⁵ skur] here: “a simple building, shelter against rain”. See SAOB, s.v. skur 4.

Veteres etiam usi sunt hac asperatione ante N. et R. in principio vocum, ut in hneggia, nobis gnägga, hinnire; hråsnarr, nobis skrymtare; hring, ring, annulus; hrosa, rosa, laudare.

J. Jod crassum est. Veteres multis praeposuere, ut jär pro är; jäta pro äta; jeld pro eld; jos pro öste; jok (Syr. 48, 26) pro ökte; jörtna–hus (49, 1) pro örtahus, id est aposthek.

V. W. Id quod etiam fecerunt in V, vau, vel W in dialecto, praeertim Anglica, ubi weep pro apa, id est gråta, writ pro rita, id est skrifua; Germ. woll pro ull, vellus. Nos quoque moderni pro veteribus raka dicimus wräka, pro reid, wredh etc.

De L. dictum est supra. Hoc insuper notandum quod monosyllaba in L finientia post i, y vel e tenue, penetrans quoddam acumen inferat. Talia sunt bijl, bill, ijsbill, pijl, pilum, sijl, drijl, wel (telum), del, veteribus dolabra, unde dela et deel, id est bräda, et tällia, kijl, stijl, syl, stylius, smijla, id est sticka sigh inn; pryl. Item: määl, (holl, såll), sijl, 77, tenuis.


N. spiritum, qui naribus exprimitur, efformat, ut in näsa, πνέω, spiro, πνεύμα, fnysa, fnaas, fnatt, snyte, snyta, snufua, snyfsel, snarra, snart, snorra. Alías N inter vocales, praeertim geminata, tinnit: siunga, tunga, klinga, tinnio, clango.

P. patulum quiddam insinuat: pateo, uppe, yppen, gapa, aperio, opp, oppa, yppa, yppna, pando.

bära, frö, frya, frodha, fru, fruges, fructus, frumen. יָרָה (pir–pire) pricka, s-pricka, sprucken. (per praepositionum). vireo, unde vires et vis. πρήσσω, πρίω, πρίζω, vide יָרָה.

(31r, col. 1) S. Praeterquam quod ante vocales leni sibilo effertur, Italis peculiari in vocibus si, cosi etc., ante consonantes mascule exprimitur, praesertim ante K. KR. P. PR. Quas S in principio vocum etiam saepe praeter substantiam et radicem vocis assumit ad fortius exprimendam et augendam significationem, ut in skrifua pro rifua vel rita; skrådhá pro redha, stoffi pro doff et damb. Sic etiam spara pro parceræ; smola pro mola etc. Spijk pro pijk. Smert a meor, már, vet. smal. Quid de hoc elemento dicat Goropius, vide locum citatum, p. 47.678 Alemannorum tumor, et sigma, notatur etiam, p. 58.679 T. durius est quam D, ut supra.

Þ. litera est vetus, media inter TH, T, et D, quam exprimebant propemodum ut THZ sono Anglis hodie peculiari in that etc. Hodie mutata est partim in D, partim in T et TH.680 X. vet. six pro sägs.

Z. ut ts vel ds.

677 יָרָה (pir–pire) The word יָרָה, p'ri, means “fruit”. In his Hebrew-Aramaic dictionary, Wilhelm Gesenius relates the Hebrew verbal root יָרָה, parah in the sense “to bear” to Indo-european roots such as Sanscrit bhri, ‘to bear’, Greek φέρω, Latin fero, Gothic bairan, English to bear, and German bären. In the sense of “to produce, to give birth”, he compares it to Latin pario, fruor, fruges and fructus. See Gesenius, Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti libros, Lipsiae/Leipzig 1833, p. 767, s.v. יָרָה.

678 locum citatum, p. 47] Goropius Becanus, Opera hactenus in lucem non edita: nempe Hermathena [...], in the treatise Hermathena, p. 47, he comments as follows on the speech sound sigma: “Sigma vero ingratum et insuave esse et odiosum valde et molestum, si frequentetur. Sibilum enim ferinam et brutalem potius vocem, quam ad humanam pertinere, et veteres idcirco rarius eo usos fuisse. Fuisse item qui carmina fecerint asigma, in quibus totis nullum sigma reperiretur. Haec Dionysiaca Allemannos et Sueuos male habebunt, qui non alia magis de causa Saxones et reliquos Germanos derident, quam quod studiose sigma vitent, quod ipsi contra tamquam generosissimum elementum magnò spiritu efflant pro dat das, pro wat was et similis pro similibus dicentes.”

679 Alemannorum tumor ... notatur etiam] See Goropius Becanus, Opera hactenus in lucem non edita, p. 58: “Alemannis tumida omnia placent. [...] Apud eosdem tanto in honore sigma habetur, ut optime sibi lociti videantur, cum plurimum sibilant. [...] Permittamus itaque Alemannis, quantum velint in loquendo spiritum tundis bucis efflare et totum sermonem sibilis exasperare.”

Quae de literis veterum tradat Arngrim Jonas, vide in initio ipsius Crymogaeae vel Islandiae.  
Notandum est ultimo Gothis et Celtis pro varietate dialectorum tam consonantes, quam vocales in plerisque fuisset promiscue et propemodum indifferentes, ut duig pro dagh, mott pro matt, topt pro tomt, dupt, dofft, duft pro damb. Pro å, amnis a, ö, o etc.

(31r, col. 2) F B P M in fine ligant, occludunt, suffocant, perimunt.
Item däf, damp, damb, dam.

(31v, col. 1) BL. FL. WL. ML. PL. fugacitatem et caducitatem inferunt, item inflationem, fluxum, et vanitatem: blaa, Ger. blehen, A.S. be-blavan, afflare, blasa, flåsa, flema, flämta. (31r, col. 2) blähen, unde blama, postula, Germani pro blåsa.

(31v, col. 1) ball, boll, follis, balus.

L splendet: la, lee, gla, luo, luceo, lumen, luna. gla, glija, glad, σέλας, γελᾶν, glina, glâna, splendeo, ἔλη, ἣλιος, häll (radix), ell, eld, glâna, ridere; glans, irrisio, *gluna, inspicere, contemplari.

Balat B.
Lucet L.
Mugit M.
Tinnit N.
Hirrit R. canina.
Sibilat S. serpentina.
Premit T.

(31v, col. 2)
Standi consonantes significationes.

_statit. _staf_ (Chal. Syr. Arab. став, statuit. decrevit.)

_statuit. _staf_ in Hiphil, statuit.

_fudit. _säckia_.

_posuit. _fundavit. ordinavit. statuit. _sättia_.

_stabilivit. _fulcivit. _stöda_.

_statua_. Chal. Syr. Arab. _säbas_, statuit.

_sedit. _habitativit_.

_cessavit. quievit. _sofua. _saft. _sauft. _Angl. _soft. _sachta, _säfueligh._

* _sif. _sibbe_._ AS. _Syb_._ Pax. _Quies._

---


682 סב, _statuat_ Stiernhielm vocalizes this word as the verb _nashab_, ‘to put, to stand’, but the sense of ‘pillar, statue’ requires the vocalization _n’sib_.

229
Rotunditatem notant. 683 motum habet.

curvavit. tortuosum fuit.

vices. vice. vägnar. (Germ. wegen. halben).

A kipp. capio. accipio.

(32r, col. 1) \( r \) fluit, surgit, tendit in rectum:

ra, rää, rada, root, radix, radius.

ra, rää, rasa, reesa, rijs.

Or, öra, oriri, ordiri, ordo.


TR. penetrat. drijla, terere, τρυπάω, cogn. τρύω, tero, τιτράειν, τράειν, τεπέω (Gall. trou) Germ. drehen, dreyhen, Goth. drifua, drijla, dörr, dures, thourug.

RT. KR. TR. scindit, fodit. wroten, pilos, plumas, uth-rotha, scalpsit.

\( r \) fluit, carnem incidit, laceravit; såra, sarga, skära, scharten.

\( drijla \) fodit; dijkia.

\( rusa \) fodit, perfodit.

\( rusa \) effodit.

\( rusa \) fodit (proprie venam aquae).

NB. 684 caupo. kaupata] The Latin noun caupo means a tradesman. The Finnish verb kaupata, a Germanic loanword in Finnish, means “to sell, to try to sell”.

685 Lavit) Stiernhielm mistakenly wrote lavavit.

(32v, col. 1) מ, ס finale, claudit, ligat, tämma, dämma. חבל Chal. wyłącznie בלם claudit, ligavit, strinxit. בלוס, abscondit. בלוס Chal. claudit, ligavit. fascinavit. בלוס murmurat, tumultuat urintus; turbat, mugit, muginatur. בלוס est litera propria mutorum et balborum: mum-mum, mumla, sumla, turbare. slim, sliö, hebes, stump, obtusus, stympa, mutilare, Lat. stilembus, tardus, piger, eadem notione, stum mutus, lämm, fönster-lämm. […]


686 Stiernhielm vocalizes this root as ḥæræb, but aims at the sense of ‘dry’ or ‘dryness’, both of which requires other vowel points, so that the root is vocalized חהריב (‘dry’) or חהריב (‘dryness’). […]

687 Below the Arabic verb כרב (karaba) Stiernhielm adds Latin curvare, “to crook, bend, curve”, as a phonetic counterpart.

688 […] A group of phonetically similar Hebrew words has been quoted from Forster (misspelt Forstnerus). The first of them is בצר “close, shut up, restrain, hold back”.

231
(32v, col. 1)

Phys. cavatatem et vacuitatem fere semper infert.

Ut a corrosione et a levitate, ita a cavitate seu evacuatione, scilicet honoris et benedictionis, dicitur male precari, maledicere etc. Forst[erus].

Notandum est solam metathesin literarum non efficere identitatem aut affinitatem vocum, sed diversas radices ex quibus oritur illa transpositio, ut hic et bac. Quarum Bac oritur a bögia ex radice ba, bua. Cab a häva, χῶδω, cavo.

---

689 skyma] In F.d. 7:1, fol. 37r (p. 47), the Swedish verb skyma (i.e. skymma, “to dim, obscure”) is translated officere luci, “to obstruct the light”

690 skem] In F.d. 7:1, fol. 37r, the Old Swedish noun skem is explained as splendor obscurior, umbra, lux obscurior.

691 skum, skumt] In F.d. 7:1, fol. 37r, the adjective skumt, “dark, darkisk, obscure”, is rendered obscurum, lux obscurior.

692 skymning] In F.d. 7:1, fol. 37r, this noun is translated crepusculum vespertinum.

693 Forsterus] Stiernhielm here used Johann Forster’s Hebrew dictionary, which is titled Dictionarium Hebraicum novum, non ex rabinorum commentis nec nostrantium doctorum stulta imitatione descriptum, sed ex ipsis thesauris sacrorum Bibliorum et eorumdem accurata locorum collatione depromptum, ‘A new Hebrew dictionary not relying on Rabbinical commentators neither imitating contemporary scholars, but drawing on the store of the Holy Bible and on accurate comparison between similar passages’, Basel 1557. In this passage (Ut a corrosione until maledicere), he quotes from Forster (1557:714), though omitting male imprecari before maledicere.

694 ... בּקַב] To explore the basic meanings, Forster posited different groups of phonetically and morphologically related words, in this case: בּקַב, בּקַבּ, בּקַבּ, בּקַבּ, בּקַבּ.
9.3.2 Vowels related to degrees of daylight and to colours
Texts 1a and 1b
Source: Collectanea philosophica, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 2r.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First version (text 1a)</th>
<th>Second version (text 1b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. lux.</td>
<td>a. lux.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. lumen.</td>
<td>ä. lumen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. crepusculum.</td>
<td>e. lumen devergens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o. umbra.</td>
<td>ö. lumen umbrosum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u. tenebrae.</td>
<td>i. crepusculum lucidius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ä. lumen.</td>
<td>å. umbra lucidior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. lumen devergens.</td>
<td>o. umbra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ö. (oe) umbra rario.</td>
<td>y. crepusculum tenebrosum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y. (ui) crepusculum obscurum.</td>
<td>u. nox, tenebrae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ä. (ao) lux umbrosa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text 2
Source: Collectanea philosophica, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 2r.

| a. albus.              | lucis. |
| ä. flavus.             | aurorae. |
| e. viridis.            | aquae. |
| i. futilis.            | [radius.] ignis. |
| ö. ruber.              |         |
| y. purpur[ereus]       | crepusculum. |
| ä. coeruleus.          |         |
| o. fuscus.             | [noctis] umbra. |
| u. niger.              | tenebrae. |

Texts 3 (the left-hand column) and 4 (the right-hand column)
Source: Collectanea philosophica, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 2r. The progress of colours and vowels are shown in two triangle diagrams: its beginning as a white a, its culmination either as a reddish-yellow (fulvus, text 3) or a reddish (rutilus, text 4) i, its vigour as a purple ä and its fullness as a black u. In text 4, luteus “orange” is replaced by flavus “yellow”.

Coloris vis inchoata, procedens, vegeta, perfecta, satura.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fulvus i rutilus i rutilus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y. ö ruber [flavus] e y ruber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viridis e . . . à purpureus [viridis] ö . . . à purpureus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flavus ä . . . o coeruleus [luteus] ä flavus o coeruleus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>albus a . . . . u niger albus a . . . . u niger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

233
Text 5
Source: Collectanea philosophica, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 2r.

a albus. terrae. Albus omnes recipit colores. Videtur esse privatio. Potitus est omnes colores. Χ.

e viridis. aquae.
i flavus. ignis.
o coeruleus. aeris.
u niger. chaos. Nullum recipit colorem, imo omnes continet.
ä medius inter album et viridem.
ö inter viridem et flavum. ruber. purpureus ex coeruleo.

Text 6

Egregie conveniunt vocalium toni vel soni cum colorum differentia.
Lux incolorata. Χ sine puncto.
Albedo. est lux opaca. a.
Flavedo. ä. e.
Vioro. i.
Rubedo. ö. y. Rö.
Caeruleitas. o. å. Blå.

Text 7
Source: Autografsamlingen, i.e. “Collection of autograph drafts”, the first envelope, 1r, Royal Library, Stockholm. Stiernhielm derives the Swedish names for colours from verbal stems. Some etymologies are probable: grå, “grey” from gryna, “to dawn”, grön, “green” from gro, “to germinate, sprout”, röd, “red” from rodna, “to grow red, redden”. The word brun, “brown”, may be remotely related to brinna, “to burn”, the causative of which is bränna, “to burn”.

Nota de coloribus.
Suart a sorna, putrescere, acescere. Sort-grå a grijs, gryna, gruwa, creper. Mörck a morckna, putrescere; mörna, mollescere, item mitescere, dulcescere, maturescere.
Rödh a rotna, putrescere, rodna, rubescere, rubiginem contrahere.
Grön a groo, germinare, virescere, pullulare
Gohl, G[erm.] gähl, gelbus, a gällna, acescere. gällia miölck; galla. Gäll. G. Häll, sonorus, it. clarus, hinc gähl, rutilus, splendidus.
(Gull a gälla, valere et solvere, et ab hoc söl.) Brun a bränna, urere (certum). Blå proprie album, biala. Huit: wett, viss, vita (aliquid ?).
Texts 8, 9, and 10
Sources: *Collectanea philosophica et etymologica*, F.d. 4:4:2, fols. 6v as no. 8, 8r as no. 9, and F.d. 6b:2, second wrapper, fol. 3r as no. 10.

Text 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>albus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ä.</td>
<td>flavus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>rutilus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>ruber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ö.</td>
<td>viridis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.</td>
<td>purpureus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å.</td>
<td>griseus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o.</td>
<td>coeruleus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u.</td>
<td>ater</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>albus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>flavus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>ruber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ö.</td>
<td>viridis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.</td>
<td>purpureus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å.</td>
<td>griseus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o.</td>
<td>coeruleus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u.</td>
<td>ater</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>albus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ä.</td>
<td>flavus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>fulvus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>ruber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ö.</td>
<td>viridis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.</td>
<td>purpureus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å.</td>
<td>subflavus, aquileus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o.</td>
<td>coeruleus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u.</td>
<td>ater</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.3.3 Vowels and diphthongs in relation to colours
Source: *Collectanea philosophica*, F.d. 4:4:1, 19r (303 x 285 mm).

Contents: Stiernhielm proposes a colour-vowel diphthong diagram. In the manuscript, the connections between different colours are shown by arches. In the outermost arch, white (a) is joined with white and black (u) through grey (au). On the next highest level, one arch connects white (a) and sky-blue (o) through ash-grey (ä, au) and green (ö, oe), while another links yellow (e) and black through yellow-black (eu) and reddish yellow (subflavus, aquileus). On the third level, white is arched with red (ruber, i) or reddish (ruffus) through yellow-beige (incarnatus, ai) and golden (ei), while red (i) and black (u) are tied through purple (oi) and brown (ui, y). On the lowest level, white and yellow are united in yellowish or pale yellow (ä, ae), while sky-blue (cerulean blue) and black are connected through dark blue (ou). For an image of this diagram, see Figure 17.

```
Griseus.
   au.
   å (au) ö (oe) eu. Aquileus.
   Lethfarb. ei. oi. ui. (y)
   ai.
Subalbus. Pallidus.
   ä (ae)
Albus. Flavus. Ruber. Ruffus
   a e i
Subceruleus.
   ou.
   o u
```
In F.d. 4:4:2, fol. 7v, Stiernhielm accounts for his views on the mutual connection between different colours, among which light red (rutilus) and red (ruber) are not, however, explained. In F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 18v, he comments on the disconnectedness between the colours and the order of things. These notes are transcribed as a clue to the above diagram.


9.3.4 Vowels and diphthongs in relation to elements and colours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Element</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>lux</td>
<td>&lt;albus&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai, ae</td>
<td>å</td>
<td>aether</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>aer, aurora</td>
<td>flavus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ignis</td>
<td>ruber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oe, eu</td>
<td>ö</td>
<td>vapor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>aer vespertinus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au, ao</td>
<td>å</td>
<td>nebula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ōō)</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>terra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>aqua</td>
<td>coeruleus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.3.5 Separate gradations of the compared entities
Text 1: Gradation of daylight (from sunrise to sunset)
Source: Runa Suethica, F.d. 5, fol. 48r.

Meridies.
Dies provecta. Dies vergens.
Aurora. Crepusculum.
Nox.

236
Below the category of night (*nox*), Stiernhielm added the words for ‘evening’ in Old Swedish and ‘rest’ in German, Icelandic and Swedish: “*Quild. Vespera. a quiyla, huiyla, quiescere. G[erm.] Weil, Isl. *bili. S[ueth.] *hwila. mora, tempus, quies*.”

Text 2: Gradation of the life-age cycle  
Source: *Runa Suethica*, etc. F.d. 5, fol. 48r. This text has been edited by Nordström (1924, II: 231). Without being crossed out in the ms., the inner series of the second column is replaced by an outer one.

Meridies.  
Status. ἀκμή.  
Florere. [Nutare.] Deflorescere.  
Crescere. [Cadere.] Marescere.  
Ortus. Occasus.  
Media nox.

Text 3: Gradation of the vegetation cycle  
Source: *Runa Suethica*, F.d. 5, fol. 48r.

Vegetationis motus gradus:  

Status.  
Vigor. Declinatio.  
Auctus. Decrementum.  
Progressus. [Solutio.] Lapsus.  
Ortus. Occasus.

Text 4: Gradation of generation and corruption  

In generatione hi sunt gradus, hebdomas geneseos:  
5. Augmentatio. Accretio. [Solis viventibus competit eaque ab anima active proficiscitur.]  
7. Vigor. Summus status, ἀκμή, ac in ea seminis seu speciei suae nova generatio.
In corruptione hi sunt gradus oppositi ab ultimo ad primum gradibus generationis, ut naturalis vicissitudinis rerum manifestus appareat circulus:

7.º Defectio. Declinatio.
5.º Diminutio. Tabes. Decrementum.

NB. generationis gradus et progressionem in his verbis apud Lipsium, Phys[iologia] St[oicorum], p. 171: ignis “quia omnia conservat, alit, auget, sustinet sensuque afficit.”

Sed ut unum supremum constituatur ut apex, ἀκημή, cuspis, vigor, erunt utrinque pares gradus ascensus et descensus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generatio</th>
<th>Corruptio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actio formae</td>
<td>Passio formae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ope lucis</td>
<td>materia prae-dominante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Terminus ad quem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Terminus a quo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vita</td>
<td>Marcor. Deficit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succus</td>
<td>Confusio. Desistit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus</td>
<td>Quies. Privatio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conglutinatio. Procedit.</td>
<td>Terminus ad quem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coagulum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coagulatio. Inchoat.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaos.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminus a quo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In maturatione seu perfectione est dulcedo, pulcritudo, harmonia, gratus odor. Sed alteratio quo loco? Per totum est. [Hi sunt proprius gradus alterationis. Generatio enim et corruptio non sunt motus. Fiant enim in instanti, qua existit aut desistit nova forma. Ergo generatio non fit, nisi in eo puncto, quo animatur semen.] 695 Falsum est axioma materiam appetere formam [...].

---

695 Hi sunt … semen] This remark, which has been crossed out in the manuscript, is a criticism against Aristotle’s categorization of essential motion, “that which moves by itself” (Section 8.3.5, note 598). The categories of generation and perishing are here redefined and included in the category of alteration (ἀλλοίωσις). In his other writings, Stiernhielm however retained Aristotle’s three kinds of change as separate entities. Nordström (1924, II, p. 290), in a comment on Stiernhielm’s deletion of this passage, connects this critical remark to new anti-Aristotelian perspectives on the relationship between matter and form in early modern natural philosophy.
PART 4. TRANSFORMATIONAL GRAMMAR AND SEMANTICS
10. **Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum**

10.1 **The first circle: grammatical variability**

10.1.1 **Preliminaries**

In *Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum* Stiernhielm demonstrates the different kinds of variability in different systems, which he designated as circles (*rotae*):

- **System 1**: morphosyntactic alterations (Section 10.1.2),
- **System 2**: the use of synonymy, equipollency and periphrasis (Section 10.2),
- **System 3**: the use of tropes, that is, methods of semantic change, specifically metaphor, metonymy or synecdoche (Section 10.3),
- **Systems 4 and 5**: the use of rhetorical devices in figures of speech and figures of thought (Section 10.4),
- **System 5**: the use of specific figures of thought: the beginning of another set of examples (Section 10.5).

In each of these systems, he exemplifies the variability by the set phrase *Probitas probatur et alget*, “Honesty is approved and yet freezes” (i.e. is left to shiver / is neglected), a passage taken from Juvenal’s *Satires*, 1, 74. As mnemonic aids, the systems are dedicated to some Olympian deities that in Greco-Roman mythology are known to be able to easily transform themselves, viz. Autolycus, Vertumnus and Morpheus, and to the deity known as Mercury by the Romans and as Hermes by the Greeks, who probably was chosen because he was the god of translators and the swift-footed messenger of gods. Besides, in *Discursus Astropoeticus* (lines 251 and 267), Stiernhielm used Vertumnus and Proteus as coded designations for Brandenburg, symbolizing its neutrality and political changeability.

In the first system, the original passage from Juvenal and the first example (Section 10.1.2, A) are divided into three structural segments or units. In other examples within the first system, he has explained the theory behind the variability of several examples in the margin, and sometimes directly following the examples. In the edited text, I have integrated these explanations as headings to the examples. The manuscript is damaged by moisture and stains of ink in some places (G. 3 and G. 4 in Section 10.1, G in Section 10.2). Stiernhielm used Johann Heinrich Alsted’s categorization of the variability of special
syntax “Syntaxis varians” as his pattern. This imitation mainly applies for the variations from “F. Q.1” to “K” in the first system.

10.1.2 Morphosyntactic variability

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, eighth quire, fol. 4r. Size 210 x 340 mm. For a photographic picture of this faded folio, see Figure 18. The set phase is borrowed from Juvenal, Saturae 1, 74: *Probitas laudatur et alget.*

Dating: according to the date in the manuscript, 16 April 1635.

(4r) Vis videre PROTEUM?

G. Stiernhielm. Specimen Dorpati 16 Aprilis Anno 1635 editum.

En thema! PROBITAS(1) PROBATUR(2) ET ALGET(3). Juvenalis. *Satura prima.* Per primam rotam decurrens varios miscibit et assumet colores manente figura.

Rota prima Autolyci est.

A. Bene facere(1) laus est,(2) praemium vero nullum.(3)

A. N.T. Bene facere laus est, praemium vero leve vel exiguum. — Epitheton.

B. H.O.X. Probitatem laudamus et spernimus. — Ubi nota numerum pluralem et personam primam. Quod attinet ad heterosin numeri, <vide> L, et heterosin personae, <vide> M.

C. I.P.W. Probitatem etiamsi multi laudati fuerint, pauci tamen imitantur.

D. K.Q.X. Probitatem laudare mos est, at vulgo698 vilior alga est.

E. L.R.Y. Hominis probi laudes omnis aetas decantabit, imitari pauci dignabuntur.

Add. Q. Probos quamplurimos aetas nostra depraedicabit, paucissimos vero invenies qui imitari dignabuntur.

F. Q.1. Homo insignis probitatis vel homo insigni probitate ubivis laudatur vel bene audit, nullo tamen habetur in precio vel nullo tamen

---

697 In his Book of Commonplaces (ms. F.d. 4:1, pp. 292–293) Stiernhielm copied Alsted’s *Encyclopaedia* from the first edition. For a transcription, see Appendix 1.
698 at vulgo This is a marginal addition; *reipsa* has been crossed out on the line.
est precio vel nullius tamen est precii. – Nomina, quae communia vel quidem propria alicui sunt, regunt genitivum et ablativum. 699

Q.2. Comparativus variatur 5 modis. 700
1. Probitas est preciosior auro.
2. Probitas est preciosior, quam aurum.
3. Probitas est magis preciosiosa, quam aurum.
4. Non tam preciosum est aurum, quam probitas.
   Non perinde preciosum est aurum, quam probitas.
5. Probitas praestat auro.
   Probitas praestantia sua superat aurum.
Q.S. Probitas antecellit auro. — Dativus.
Probitas anteponenda, antehabenda est auro. Spernitur tamen etc.

Q.3. Superlativus variatur 9 modis. 701
Hisce et similibus modis infinitis colores potest Proteus et miscere et assumere. Experire succedet. 702
1. Probitas est rerum omnium dignissima
2. <Probitas est> ex rebus omnibus <vel> inter res omnes laude dignissima.
5. Probitas vincit res omnes dignitate. Nulli rei dignitate cedit. etc. Contemnitur tamen. etc.
7. Probitas res est tam laudabilis, quam quae maxime. Negligitur. etc.
9. Probitas ipse Deus est. Contemnitur. etc.

4. Variatio <dictionum> dignus et indignus 704

699 Nomina … ablativum] This explanation has been written in the margin.
700 Comparativus variatur 5 modis] This clarification is also found in the margin.
701 Suerlativus … 9 modis] This clarification occurs in the margin.
702 Hisce … succedet] These clauses have been written in the margin.
703 dignior] After dignior, Stiernhielm crossed out inusitatam as a remark that the ablative of comparison is unusual.
Probitas 1. digna est laude omnium
   2. digna est, quam omnes colant.
   3. digna est, quae ab omnibus colatur
       item: ut ab omnibus colatur.
   4. digna est ab omnibus coli.
Spernitur tamen.

5. Variatio verbi fio. 705
Probitas laudatur, qui fit ut ex aequo non colatur.
Probitas laudatur, utinam fieret, ut et colaretur.
Probitatem laudas; fac ut et colas.
Probitas laudatur. Rectius agendum, si fieri posset, ut etiam,coleretur. etc.

6. Variatio <verbi> sum, ubi qualitas vel forma describenda sit. 706
Probitas est ea dignitate, eius dignitatis, in ea dignitate, ut ab omnibus laudem mereatur. Nemo tamen eam vult sectari.

G. Variatio coniunctionis discretivae. 707
   1. Etsi probitas laudatur, tamen alget.
      Laudatur quidem probitas, verum parum colatur. etc.
   2. Probitas ut in laude est unquam, ita in nullo est cultu.
   3. Probitas laudatur, probitas alget.
   5. Probitas laudatur, coeterum alget.
   6. Probitas laudatur, contra eadem alget.

Variatio coniunctionis copulativae affirmativae. 708
   1. Probitas et laudatur et alget.
   2. Probitas laudatur et eadem alget.
   3. Probitas simul laudatur et alget,
      aeque < perinde>, iuxta,
      ex aequo, haud secus
      laudatur ac <alget> etc.
   4. Probitas <quemadmodum> 709 laudatur, ita alget.
      Non minus laudatur, quam alget.

704 Variatio … indignus] This has been written in the margin
705 Variatio … fio] This has been written in the margin.
706 Variatio … describenda sit] This has been written in the margin.
707 Variatio … discretivae] This has been written in the margin.
708 Variatio … affirmativae] This has been written in the margin.
709 In examples 3 and 4 the text is partly damaged, either by a stain of spilled ink or by moisture of water. The words in pointed brackets are my conjectures.
Tam laudatur, quam alget.

5. Modus hic locum non habet, neque variatio coniunctionis copulatvarum negantium. NB.

K. Supinum et gerundium.\textsuperscript{710}

Prompti sumus omnes laudare probitatem, colere nemo.
Laudatum veniunt omnes etc.
Probitas laudatu facilis est, non aeque cultu.
Laudatur probitas, sed non colendi causa.
Laudando probitatem, eandem spernimus.
Proni sumus ad laudandum, non vero colendum.

10.2 The second circle: variability through synonymy, equivalence, and periphrasis

10.2.1 Latin text of the main composition

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, eighth quire, fol. 4v and 1r. Size 210 x 340 mm.
Dating: 1635.

Per rotam secundam, quae \textit{Vertumnii} est, Proteus alia qua alia indumenta assumet adiutus synonymia, aequipollentia et periphrasi.

A. Quod si non esset mens mortalium, ut aeque probitatem coherent atque laudant, longe aequalius atque constantius se habeant. Imitatio [Salustii] et phrasis Salustii: Si ita comparatum esset, ut etc.


C. Omnes bonitatem admirantur eamque laudandam existimant. Quotus vero quisque sibi amplitudinem putat?

Atque hoc quidem omnes mortales sic habent probitatem dignissimam esse, quae laudetur et extollatur. Quotum vero quemque inventurum te censes, qui ex animo eandem sectetur et amplectatur.\textsuperscript{711}

Expende, quaeo, an omnes virtutem extollunt, at spernunt?

D. Dictis magnificis probitatem depraehendimus. Fas. Verum in rem si mentem defixeris, intelliges spretum omnibus. – Vel deprehendes, comperies, percipies, persentisces etc., quae etiam sub classe B usurpare poteris.\textsuperscript{712}

\textsuperscript{710} Supinum et gerundium] This has been written in the margin.

\textsuperscript{711} Atque hoc … amplectatur] This paragraph has been added in the margin.

\textsuperscript{712} poteris] After \textit{poteris} Stiernhielm first wrote \textit{apertissime}, but then crossed it out.
E. Candoris et integritatis laudes utique vehementer comperisti.\footnote{comperisti} Quam frigide vero virtutes istae coluntur aeque te fugere (latere, clam esse) non potest.

F. Et boni et mali virtutem magnificiendam asserunt (aiunt, fatentur, prae se ferunt), in vitiis nihilominus maximam partem consenescunt.

G. Virtuti herbam dant (manum porrigunt), subscribunt\footnote{subscribunt} omnes. Sequitur nemo. Omne vel unum sentiunt honestatem laude dignissimam. Pauci tamen eam colunt. Conspirant in hoc cuncti.

H. Nullus inquam repertus est tam perfrictae frontis, ut dubitaret de laude et dignitate\footnote{dignitate} probitatis (ut in dubium \textit{<veniret etc.>>}). Perpauci tamen eam sibi \textit{<comparare>>} satagunt.\footnote{satagunt}

Nemo in incerto habet virtutem omnium rerum esse pulcerrimam. Qui fit ergo, ut eam pene omnes maleferiati oderint?

I. Ipsa nobis veritas dictat et comprobat nihil luculentius synceritate animi, sed nescio quo fato eadem nullum ferme apud mortales locum inveniat.

K. Animum excolere virtutibus, quanti referat, notum est omnibus, et negligentur ab omnibus.

L. Probitatis gloria palam est. Nemo tamen eandem persequenda studet.

Conspicuum est ac inter omnes constat, quanti sit facienda perfectio mentis. Quam pauci vero sunt, qui ei operam navare non gravantur.

Manifestum et in medio positum et apertum est nihil sub luna virtute esse splendidius. Sed ubi sunt cultores? Vide pos. Y.

M. Necessario omnes in bonitatis laudes rapimur. Qui fit, ut non etiam ad imitationem?

\footnote{comperisti} Stiernhielm adds the synonyms \textit{didicisti, nosti, cognovisti} in the margin.

\footnote{subscribunt} This word has been added in the margin. After \textit{manum porrigunt} several unreadable words have been added above the line.

\footnote{dignitate} The text is here damaged. Only the first letters \textit{dig-} are visible.

\footnote{satagunt} The text of the manuscript is damaged either by moisture or a stain of ink. The words supplied in brackets are my own conjectures.
N. Nemo, puto, unquam extitit etc. Nemo unquam vixit, in vivis fuit, natus est. Nemo tam extremae unquam fuit malitiae, qui fortitudinem temperantiamque non putaverit laudandam. Sed, bone Deus, quam rari sunt, qui semper bonos esse student?

O. Per rationem, per naturam fieri nequit, quin virtus propter summam suam excellentiam cunctos in sui admirationem rapiat, sed, o Iupiter, quam difficile, quam arduum est eandem consequi.

P. Vide C, quo pertinet: Imaginare, sibi persuadere, persuasum esse. etc. Persuadet sibi velim virtutem nihil esse admirabilius etc., licet ab omnibus fere despiciatur.

Q. Virtutem verbis in coelum ferre (sustollere) cuivis facile (pronum, promptum) est. Eandem factis repraesentare (exhibere, demonstare) nemini est difficile etc., non arduum etc..

R. Vide E.

S. Nemo sanae mentis, nemo, nisi qui cum ratione insanire volet, pernegabit, inficias ibit eum qui virtutem possidet, omnia possidere. Cur ergo tam pauci hasce sibi diuitius comparare videntur.

(1r)

T. Virtuti verbis\(^\text{717}\) refragatur nemo, opere vero omnes.

V. Certum et solidum id est probitate nihil pulcrius, nihil amabilius, sed unde accedit, ut amasium non inveniat. Virtute nihil stabilius, nihil firmius, at in leviculorum hominum pectore nullam habet anchoram.

\(^{718}\) W. Nugas dixerit, qui animi integritatem non esse supra omnia amabilem dixerit. Infra veritatis terminos stetisse reputabo, si qui auguste addunt\(^\text{719}\) virtutem supra omnia, quae inter mortales bona habentur,eminere, ac primum locum habere negare audent. Nec mirum,\(^\text{720}\) si tales eam spernunt et despiciunt.

\(^{717}\) verbis\] Stiernhielm first wrote *aperte* on the line, but crossed out it and replaced it by *aperte verbis* above the line, but then croppsed out *aperte* before *verbis*.

\(^{718}\) In the margin Stiernhielm has written: *Vanus est vesanus, sub scientia. stultitiae*.

\(^{719}\) auguste addunt\] This expression has been crossed out in the manuscript, but has not been replaced by another verbal expression. For this reason, I retain it.

\(^{720}\) mirum\] After *mirum*, the word *est* has been crossed out in the manuscript.
X. Absurdum et incongruum etc. est dicere virtutem rationi non esset consentaneum etc.

Y. Nemini occultum esse potest virtutem. Virtutis praestantia et splendor nemini potest esse obscurus. Virtus in occulto neminem latere potest etc. Taceat, qui virtutem neget rerum omnium preciosissimam. Silere praestat, quam dicere. etc. Fama virtutis neminem ignorare patitur, summa eius dignitate etc.

   Loco tam excelso, tam conspicuo positum est virtutis solium, ut a nemine non suspiciatur; nemo non adorat; nemo thura succendit, vel quem ullum granum thuris sacrificaverit, neminem reperies. Plautus.

Z. Mirum et res prodigio simillima virtus simul suspiciatur et despiciatur. Res est somnio similis virtutem aeque admirari et despicatui habere. Quod quum verbis virtutem evehimus, eandem opere conculcamus etc.

   Si ultra haecce, amice tyro, indumentum indumento superinducere placet, et id levi negotio facere promptum erit. Experire saltem, e.g.

   B. H. Nunquam auditum est excellentiam virtutis a quoquam in dubium revocari etc.

   B. C. H. Non reor unquam auditum esse, ut quisquam probitatis dignitatem dubitaverit etc.; dubitare praesumpserit etc.

   Plura, si animum attendereris, invenies in exemplis supra adductis.

10.2.2 An additional piece of variation
In F.d. 4:1, first quire, 2v, there is a variation of probitas probatur et alget, which obviously belongs to the second circle.


   Usquequaque celebatur virtus nec minus inops iacet.

   Omnium ore predicatur virtus, simul inopsque macet.

   Verbis virtutem extollimus, re ipsa iacere patimur.

   Cunctorum ore simul virtus laudatur, inopsque marcit.

   Probitatem adoramus, non erigimus. Ore ornamus virtutem, nemo re iacentem tollit, nemo erigit, manum iacenti nemo porrigit.

10.2.3 A draft on synonymous, equivalent and antonymic variability
Source: F.d. 6b: 1, tenth quire, fol. 1v–2r. Size: 164 x 210 mm. For a photograph of the entire text, see Figure 19.

   Contents: Stiernhielm left a draft on the variability of the sentence Probitas probatur et alget through the devices of synonyms, related words and equivalents with their opposites (that is, antonyms).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abstracta synonyma</th>
<th>Adiuncta diversa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probitas.</td>
<td>Integritas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synceritas.</td>
<td>Candor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honestas.</td>
<td>Honestum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtus.</td>
<td>Pias.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietas.</td>
<td>Innocentia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanitas.</td>
<td>Decus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Splendor.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulchritudo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amabilitas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amplitudo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dignitas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maiestas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellentia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eminentia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concreta synonyma</th>
<th>Epitheta diversa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probus vir.</td>
<td>Amabilis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honestus.</td>
<td>Pulcher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtute praeditus.</td>
<td>Dignus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtute praeditus animus.</td>
<td>Eminens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtute praeditum cor.</td>
<td>Vivida virtus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtute praeditum pectus.</td>
<td>Ardua virtus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innocens.</td>
<td>Egregia virtus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pius.</td>
<td>Inclыта virtus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vir insigni probitate.</td>
<td>Fervida virtus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vir vitae probatissimae.</td>
<td>Candida virtus. etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contraria

| Improbitas. | Turpitudo. |
| Nequitia. | Dedecus. |
| Vitiurn. | Infâmia. |
| Turpitudo. | Probrum. |
| Labes. | |
| Macula. | |
| Scelus. | |
| Facinus. | |

---

721 Synonyma … periphrasis] The wording was originally: “Synonyma. Adfinia. Aequipollentia. Periphrasis. Contraria. Dubia, Translata seu Similia.” The present word order was then indicated by numbers. *Dubia, Translata seu* were crossed out.
Flagitium

<Concreta synonyma.>

vir, pectus, cor, animus improbus.
inverecundus. inhonestus.
pudoris expers. nequam.
onmi vitiorum genere
inquinatus. flagitiis vita comperta.
coenum. lutum.
carcinoma.\footnote{722 scabies mundi.}

<Epitheta diversa.>

Detestabilis.
Abominanda.
Odiosum.
Execrabilis.

Verbum.

Probum esse. Honeste vivere.
Virtute eminere.
Recte agere.
Sedule virtutem operari,
vivere, vitam agere.
Operam dare virtuti.
In virtute collocare aetatem, vitam etc.
operam, studium, actiones suas.

Adverbium

Integre, probe, recte, honeste vivere.
Pie, innoxie, innocuenter, integre,
syncere cum hominibus conversari,
vitam instituere.

<Contraria.>

Improbe, nequiter, turpiter, indecenter, indigne, flagitiose, impie.


laudatur. laudant. laus. laudabiliter. amatur.
celebratur. celebrant. gloria. gloriose.
in coelum fertur. adorare. depraedicatio. alacriter.
extollitur etc. venerari. splendor. magnifice.
decantatur. exosculatur. honorare. suspicere.


Contraria: vituperatur. exprobrant. Dedecus

vitio vertit. probro ducunt. V[ide] s[upra].
vitio vertunt.

et. Vide formulas copulandi, tribuendi, removendi.

Res pro persona. Nominatio rei pro persona.

\footnote{722 carcinoma] This is a Greek loanword from καρκίνομα (tό), which means “crab, tumour or tumescence”.

250

alget. contemnitur. ab
friget. spernitur.
tepet inhonora. parvi-pendit.
iacet inhonorata. despicitur.
vilet despecta. ostentui est.
foedet.
marcet. macet. 723
sordet.
riget. languet.
flocci-fit.
auci-<fit>.
abhorrent.
abominantur.

10.3 The third circle: semantic variability through tropes
Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, eighth quire, fols. 1v, 2r and 2v. Size 210 x 340 mm. The expected variations K, L, M, and N are lost. Dating: 1635.

(1v) Rotae tertiae MORPHEUS praesidet. Per eam in tropis ludit PROTEUS et varia ornamenta adsumit.

A. Animi cultus et exercitatio omnibus quidem admirationi est; imitatio perdifficilis et ardua. Deum in homine benefico agnoscimus et suspicimus. Eius vero vestigia sequi aspernamur.

Palladis vultum reverentur cuncti mortales, numen vero negligunt et spernunt.

Naturae nobilior indoles, qua ad perfectionem deducunt honesta educatio et multiugis crebra ad id, quod decorum est, tendens actio: Omnium mentes sui admiratione implet, paucos vero ad sui imitationem invitare valet. 724

C. Metonymia et allegoria.
Virtus beata, illustris, clara, nobilis, spectabilis, ab omnibus adoratur.

Beatitatem et vitam beatam anhelamus omnes, viae vero quae ad eam ducit insistere dignantur pauci. Hic ad arcem, ad thronum felicitatis aspiramus, 725 pervenire cupimus, sudamus, suspiramus, avemus, gestimus etc. omnes. Viam vero quam Dii dederunt ad eam

723 marcet. macet] These words have been written in the left-hand margin.
724 Naturae ... valet] This part of the variation A has been written in the margin.
725 aspiramus] This word has been added in the right-hand margin.
perveniendi, quia salebrosa est et sentibus obsepta, ingredi abhorremus etc. metuimus.

B. Permutata obiecta.
Cupiditatibus froena ponere, iram in potestate habere, dolori non succumbere divinum quoddam est, divinas apud omnes meretur laudes, verum qui faciunt non reperiuntur, nisi pauci admodum.

D. Nihil animo probitate praedito amabilius.
   Nihil mente, virtute perfecta ornatius.
   Nihil recta voluntate admirabilius.
   Nihil recta ratione sublimius. etc.

D.E. Pectore honestatis pleno nihil iucundius etc.

E. Cui candidum est pectus, ei facile rubor vultum colorat. Pectora amamus candida et vultus rubori assuetos et genas ad verecundiae colorem faciles et vultus rubore tingi (sive suffundi) faciles; vel: genas pudoris (pudentiae) penicillo pingi faciles, genas virtutis coloribus aptas.726

F. Homine virtuoso nihil excellentius, nihil perfectius, illustrius homine virtute praedito, ornato.

G. Nihil aeque ad generandum in animis mortalium amorem vehemens et efficax, atque honestas morum. Quam tamen pauci valde assequi nituntur.

H. In adolescente voluntatem727, in viro candorem, in omnibus modestiam amamus, in nomine aemulamur.

Item: Praetextam rubor, togam candor ornat. Nec eo minus praetextatos experirur homines impudentes, togatos virtutis omnis expertes etc.
   Item: et togam et sagum probitatis corona decet. Vel: Et togae et sagae belle convenit, sed quia multo sudore paratur, pauci eam adipisci contendunt.

726 et genas ad verecundiae colores faciles ... genas virtutis coloribus aptas] These clauses have been written in the margin,
727 voluntatem] This is a conjecture. The text is here damaged by moisture or spilled ink.
I. Probitas laudatur, sed o tempora! laudatur et alget. Haec tempora, hoc seculum virtutem aspernatur et odit.

(2r) O. Quae bona virtus possessoribus suis conferat, nemo videre non valet. O ineptas, coecas hominum mentes! Quis ea sibi comparare laborat?
   Euge virtus! quam utilis et quam perspicua tua est possessio? Heu quam coeca econtra et stupida corda mortalium, qui tales sibi opes parare rebus omnibus posthabititis non satagunt?
   Epiphonema. Virtutem homines laudant et oderunt. Adeo perversa sunt ingenia mortalium!
   Virtutis splendorem fugimus, vitiorum nebulas amplectimur. Tanta nos obsedit dementia! Tanta animos nostros circumvallavit socordia!
   Parrhesia. Stulti sumus, coeci et amentes, ne quid dicam asperius, qui cum infinita quotidie experiamur emolumenta virtutis, nunquam expurgiscimur, quin voluptatis potius noxiis sordibus indormire perpetuo malimus.

P. Virtutem qui voluptati posthabent, omnia huius vitae – quid huius? etiam futurae vitae – commoda vanitati et tandem extremis mseriis postponunt. Qui virtuti infensus est, is felicitati, imo Deo ipsi, infensus est.


R. Exemplum proxime superius. Vos, o hypocrita, etc. qui etc. Vos aliquando Deus vel Dei vindicta inveniet.
   Item: Virtuti blanditias dicunt et odio prosequuntur, sed ne nimium vobis placetote miseri. Erit enim tempus, quo vos ipsa, quam nunc tantopere amatis, voluptas perditum ibit.
   Item: Virtutis commercia venditant et vitia improbi. Tu vero voluptas digno aliquando eos excipias contubernio.

728 O ineptas] This is a conjecture. The text is here hard to identify, because it has been exposed to moisture and consequently faded.
729 nunquam expurgiscimur, quin] This has been added in the margin.
730 ne nimium vobis] The manuscript originally had the wording nimium vobis ne. The present order has been indicated with numbers 1–3 above the line.
731 ne placetote nimium vobis] Stiernhielm first wrote nimium vobis ne placetote, but changed the word order by indicating the present order with numbers.
S. Virtus tacito modo videtur conqueri de ingratitudine hominum, qui
iactantiam [?] suam non ignorant multari [?]; malunt vero [?] in
inquinamentis [?] vitiorum omnem aetatem volutari, quam [...?] in
castris suis ad supremam gloriam contendere.733

Item: Iure optimo de se virtus, imo veritas ipsa, praedicare potest:

Ego sum praeciosa, et nemo mihi cupit;
venusta, et nemo deperit;
gratiosa, et nemo admiratur;
benefica, et nemo laudat;
modesta, et nemo observat;
fortis, et nemo veretur;
 iusta, et nemo renovatur [?];
prudens, et nemo honorat;
sobria, et nemo colit;
dives, et nemo me acquirit;
fidelis, et nemo mihi fidit;
vita, et nemo me desiderat;
via, et nemo me quaeerit [?].
lux, et nemo me sequitur [?].734

salus, et nemo me suspirat [?].735

(2v) T. Saepe et multis vicibus mecum cogitavi pronioresne sint
hominem ad virtutem laudandam an ad nequitiam exercendam.

Quid dicam aut quemadmodum dicam? Aut quid omnino non
dicam? Certe ea est temporum horum perversitas, ut omnes
propemodum audias virtutem verbis ornare, vitium econtra execrari.
Si vero rem propius inspexerimus, eosdem comperies hoc consectare,
illam praeterire. etc.

V. Vos ipsos appello, o improbi! Quae vestra mens
est? Sentiatisne vos fallere posse mundum? Putatisne laterem Deum?
Dum probitatem, pudorem et integritatem verbis usquipendatis, peni
et ventri dediti luxuria et omni nequitiae genere diffuitis.

W. Quamquam probitatem laudare nemini denegamus, laudatione id
tantum necesse tractari, hoc dicimus hominis esse nequam et improbi.

732 contendere] The synonym anhelare has been crossed out before contendere.
733 Virtus… contendere] Many words of this unit are unreadable.
734 sequitur] This is a conjecture. The last word of the clause is hardly visible.
735 suspitis] This is a conjecture. The first letters of the word are hardly visible.
736 vicibus … cogitavi] This is a conjecture. The words between multis and
pronioresne are hardly readable. Stiernhielm may have used Cicero, De inventione
1,1, as his model: Saepe et multum hoc mecum cogitavi, “I have often and much
deliberated with myself”.


Z. Virtutem laudare res est laudanda. Etiam imitaris? Te laudo. Virtus, inquis, rerum est praestantissima. Ais: Ergo laudibus illustranda. Non ego. Sed hocine satis est? Haud. Quid ergo? Imitanda.\footnote{In the margin, Stiernhielm has written what rhetorical figure this variation (Z) belongs to, namely the dialogue: Refer sub dialogismum [… …]. The words after seu are hardly readable.}

10.4 The fourth and fifth circles: variability through figures of speech and figures of thought
Source: F.d. 13, wrapper Polygraphia, fol. 35r–36v. Size: 208 x 325 mm.

(35r)
Quarta et quinta rota MERCURIO consecrata PROTEO pompam concilian.

   2. O probitas, probitas, cuncti inclamant. Possidere vult nemo.
   3. Probitas, inquis, probitas, rerum omnium prima est. Cur ergo tu ipse improbus es?


C. Ea est virtutis maiestas, ut omnes omnino mortales cogat se admirari nec solum admirari, sed amare, nec amare modo, sed etiam honorare, nec hoc tantum, sed ut Deum adorare. Sed quid?

\footnote{Ornandam … in coelum evehendam] This has been written in the margin.}
Admirantur, amant, honorant, adorant virtutem. Vitio se dedunt et mancipant.

D. Cum exemplis asyndeton et polysyndeton.\textsuperscript{739}
Ea virtutis est dignitas, ea auctoritas, ea maiestas etc. ut invitet, ut coget, ut compellat et abripiat omnium vultus, oculos, mentes in sui admirationem et amorem et reverentiam et cultum. Tantum tamen sibi mortales eius assequendae imaginantur laborem et difficultatem, ut paucissimos videre liceat, qui ad eius culmen ascendere nitatur.

Item: Probitas amaturn. Probitas laudatur. Probitas celebratur etc.

E. Hic fere omnes modi sunt epistrophes.\textsuperscript{740}
Omnium ore depraedicatur probitas, cunctorum laudibus decantatur probitas, communi omnium voce et clamore in coelum fertur probitas. Ast mentes omnium obsidet voluptas, sensus possidet voluptas, oculos occoecat voluptas, actiones\textsuperscript{741} temerat voluptas.

Antitheta et tricola.

Item: Virtutem laudamus, nequitiam amamus.
Candorem admiramur, fraudes consectamur.
Modestiam dictis extollimus, impudentiam factis colimus.
Et cum paronomasia:
Non factis, sed dictis; non opere, sed ore. Probitatem colimus, non re, sed ore.

(35v)


Virtus rerum est suavissima. Nemo eam expetit. Virtus rerum est pulcherrima.\textsuperscript{742}

G. Probitas collaudatur, celebratur, ad Deos evehitur, et nihil minus vobis cordi est quam probitas.

\textsuperscript{739} Cum exemplis … polysyndeton] This explanation is found in the margin.
\textsuperscript{740} Hic … epistrophos] This explanation has been written in the margin.
\textsuperscript{741} actiones] After actiones Stiernhielm first wrote et facta and then crossed this synonym out.
\textsuperscript{742} Virtus … pulcherrima] These clauses have been crossed out in the manuscript, but I think they should be retained.


Paroemion. et K. Non nisi probis probatur probitas. Non nisi probis probari potest probitas.

K. Quantumvis ore probitatem probare videantur omnes, nemini tamen nisi probo corde probatur. Satius est virtutem colere et non laudare, quam si laudas et non colas.743

L. M. et N. Exempla habes sub E.

(36r)
K. Egregie officio nostro satisfecisse videmur, si probitatem ore feramus, animo fastidiamus. Satis est, si ore probi simus. Factis nil necesse est, modo dictis non simus improbi.

743 non colas] Stiernhielm first wrote nullum colas cultum, then replaced colas by exhibeas, after that crossed this phrase out and chose to write non tamen cola, but finally deleted tamen.
Nequitiam laudibus ornemus, probitatem execramus. Sic felices erimus. Sic, sic aeterna manebit gloria. Virtutem laudate, vitia colite! et praemium condignum vos manebit.\textsuperscript{744}

L. Huc pertinet adagia et paroemiae, qualia esse possunt.\textsuperscript{745}
Virtus divina quaedam res est et divinis laudibus tollenda.

Item: Dii mihi videntur homines, qui virtutem possident et divinis laudum encomiis digni.

Quiddam divinum et homine maius videtur iis inesse, qui secundum virtutem vitam et actiones suas instituunt. Nescio tamen, quo malae sortis genio accidat, ut tales nemo aemulari animum inducat.

M. Virtus coelo est sublimior, ast fulgentior, aethere purior etc. Virtutis fulgor, fulmen,\textsuperscript{746} sublimitas, synceritas etc. Virtus splendet, rutilat, scintillat etc.

Virtus firmior est stabilior est fundamento terrae, universalior aere, aqua purior, igne magis perennans. Virtutem fundamentum, firmamentum, centrum, firmitas, constantia, flumen, fons, scaturigio, torrens, pelagus, lux, lumen, perspicuitas, claritudo, ardor, ignis, fomentum, flammae, incidium etc. Huc fluere, obruere etc.

Ex virtutis fonte manat (fluit, scatet, oritur, derivatur) omnis felicitas. Nobis animos clausos (obstrusos) tenet nequitia.\textsuperscript{747}

M. O. Virtutis sublimitas coelos contingit.\textsuperscript{748}

M. P. Virtutis fulgor omnium perstringit oculorum aciem, verum mentis abdita (adyta) impenetrabilis tenet vitiorum caligo. Virtutis fulgor omnium in se convertit oculos, etc.\textsuperscript{749}

N. Virtus unica animi nostri tempestates serenat; ei itaque unice studendum. Huc pertinet: Virtus alget, virtus friget. Virtus omnium mortalium pectora sui amore incendit, verum spem potiundi difficutas plerisque extinguit.\textsuperscript{750}

\textsuperscript{744} Nequitiam ... manebit] This passage of variation K occurs in the margin.
\textsuperscript{745} Huc ... possunt] This sentence has been written in the margin.
\textsuperscript{746} fulgor, fulmen] splendor, fulgor have been crossed out on the line; fulmen, fulgor added in the margin and the present word order has been marked by numbers (1–2).
\textsuperscript{747} Ex virtutis fonte ... tenet nequitia] This passage follows in the margin under the letter designation M. Stiernhielm first wrote: Animos nostros clausos tenemus.
\textsuperscript{748} M.O. Virtutis ... coelos contingit] This sentence has been written in the margin.
\textsuperscript{749} M.P. Virtutis ... oculus] The variation M.P. has been written in the margin.
\textsuperscript{750} M. Virtus unica ... extinguit] This passage has been written in the margin.
Virtus supra aethera volat. Virtutis laus vastum transjicit, transnatat oceanum, transfretat maria, peragrat universum orbem terrarum.

Virtus caput supra aethera effert, exserit.751

N. P. Oculos omnium suo percellit lumine virtus, verum mentes occoecatas tenet (perstringit) vitium.752

O. Virtutis suavitas, sapor, sapientia, gustor, odor, dulcedo, asperitas, acredo, lenitas, acumen etc.

Virtutem delibare (primordiis labiis degustare) non sufficit, nisi ad intima mentis penetralia demittas.753

O.P.M. Virtutem primis digitis non satis est attingere; animo totam complectare necessum est, si velis ut vitia obruantur.754

P. Virtutem laudant etiam ii, qui eam nec de facie norunt. Haec est animi nostri labes, ut virtutem dum maxime praedicamus, vitia tamen sectamur.

P. Virtus oculis quidem omnium probata est et iucunda, verum animum titillat voluptas, verum mens voluptate prurit.755

Q. Allegoria. Virtus non solum in oculis gestanda, sed in animum demittenda est. Sic enim non solum ramos vitiorum ambutabit, surculos quotidie germinantes (gemmas trudentes) retundet et extirpabit, sed et radices funditus eruet et evellet.756

R. Honestatis studium varie ornamus, variis verborum coloribus depingimus, sed ut eodem mentes nostras expoliamus, tardi sumus et ignavi et inertes.

Virtutis imaginem decore nobis (adumbramus) formamus, venuste fingimus, terse limamus, nitide polimus, floride pingimus. Mentem

751 N. Virtus caput … exserit] This first paragraph of the variation N has been written in the margin.
752 N.P. Oculos omnium … vitium (perstringit)] The variation N.P. has been written in the margin.
753 Virtutem delibare … penetralia demittas] This latter part of the variation O has been written in the margin.
754 O.P.M. Virtutem primis digitis … vitia obruantur] The variation O.P.M. has been written in the margin.
755 P. Virtus oculis … voluptate prurit] The continuation of the variation P has been written in the margin.
756 Q. Allegoria. Virtus … evellet] The variation Q has been written in the margin.
vero ad eandem effigiare (effingere, exprimere) et conformare nemini in mentem venit.

(36v)
S. Exempla habes per totum, in voce animus, mens, etc., pro toto homine. Item in digitus, labium, os, cor, pectus, viscera, praecordia, oculus, manus.\textsuperscript{757} Synecdochen habes. Membrum metaphoricum in exemplis sub metaphora.


Si vis vivere beatus, non lingua, sed manibus pedibusque virtutem ut consequare enitere.

T. Universus terrarum orbis, universus mundus etc. virtutem admiratur etc.

V. Habitus ille mentis, quem prudentia disponit et gubernat, omnium animos quidem afficit. Quotus vero quisque operam dat, ut habitum sibi talem longo usu et multa exercitatione conciliet?\textsuperscript{758}

V. S. Humanae mentis perfectis omnium oculis admirabilis est, verum paucis contingit.

W. Humanitatem quis non amat? Beneficentiam quis non colit? Comitatem quis non extollit? Sed in alio, etc.

Item: Mille sunt, qui virtutem ore profitentur, qui re vero, vix in mille reperies unum.\textsuperscript{759}

W. N. Iustitia, prudentia, fortitudo, temperantia etc. omnium mentes ad se alliciunt, omnium oculos ad se raptant, nec eo plures, proh! habent cultores.

X. Numeri.
Virtutes eo sunt splendore, ut etc.

Habes exempla per totum in omnis, omnes, homo, homines etc. Item in persona secunda singulari pro prima plurali, ut passim et supra in S.

\textsuperscript{757} cor, pectus … oculus, manus] These examples have been added in the margin.
\textsuperscript{758} V. Habitus ille … conciliet] The variation V has been written in the margin.
\textsuperscript{759} W. Humanitatem quis … reperies unum] The variation W has been written in the margin.
Y. Nominis proprii pro communi.
Liberalitatem laudat Euclio, modestiam Thraso, prudentiam Coroebus, frugalitatem Apicius, castitatem Thais, candorem Gnatho etc. Nullus vero, quod laudat, probat, vel laudant, inquam, omnes et damnant.

Z. Haec aetas valde foecunda est eorum, magnus hodie est proventus horum, qui etc., qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt.
  Vocem Jacobi et manum Esau ubique deprehendes.

10.5 Fifth circle: variability through figures of thought
Source: F.d. 6b, 3b, tenth quire, fols. 1r–2r. Size: 208 x 325 mm.
This is a non-autograph fair copy, which is supplemeted by some autograph additions in the handwriting of Stiernhielm after his hand injury in July 1641.
  Stiernhielm here continued giving examples of variability through figures of thought, but did apparently not fulfil the present series of variations, which are numbered with Roman numerals (I–VI). In the first two variations he crossed out the letter designations (A and B) and replaced them by Roman numerals.

(1r) Quinti circuli schemata.
  Thema: Probitas laudatur et alget.

Aetiologia
I. Virtutem verbis evehimus, opere ipso ignavi; nec mirum, cum ingens sit inter dictum et factum intervallum. Item: Pronius enim est laudare, quam facere quae pulcra sunt. Item: Difficilia enim quae pulcra, et quae admirari et laudare facilius sit, quam in opus deducere.
  Item: Ardua enim virtutis via, econtra facilis discimus Averni. Item: Ad virtutis culmen per aspera sursum niti oportet; in vitiorum praecipitia facilis lapsus deorsum.  

Diatyposis.
Vide virtutis et voluptatis descript[ionem] apud Silium.

\[760 \text{ Item ardua … deorsum} \] This example of aetiology has been added in the margin.
\[761 \text{ Vide … apud Silium} \] This reference is found in the margin, probably pointing to Punica XV: 33–120, where Silius Italicus lets Desire (Voluptas) and Virtue (Virtus) speak before the Roman commander Scipio Africanus. Silius modelled this on Xenophon’s narrative of the topic of Hercules at the crossroad in Memorabilia II, 1, 21–34. Both these texts were a source of inspiration for Stiernhielm’s Hercules.
II. Probitatem ut numen aliquod super pulvinaribus sedentem (vel in excelso throno considentem) corona, sceptro et syrmate conspicuam oculis venerabundis suspicimus omnes, manibus tensis adoramus, colimus, veneramur. Qui vero fit, ut sacerdos eius despiciamus, nuditati et inopiae derelinquamus, stantes dejiciamus, deiectos conculcemus?

Item: Ad virtutis nomen videas omnes ceu venerabundos exilire, caput aperire, manus osculari, genibus flexis adorare ac bona dicere verba. Verum si quem virtutis cultorem, hominem probum ac sapientem, conspexerint fame confectum, macie tenuem, obsoleta tunica lacerum, coma et barba squalidum, rerum omnium egenum, eiusvis ope et auxilio indigum, oculos protinus avertent, labiis vulgiter distortis ora torquebunt praeteribunt iacentem ac manus tendentem – taciti, qui minus mali haberī cupiunt; reliqui etiam maledictis et sannis insectabuntur.

Cum paronomasia.
Item: Virtutis nomen ceu numen adoramus humiles, devoti, oculis in coelum sublatis, poplitibus inclinatis, manibus protenis, toto corpore ad reverentiam compositi, ex imo praecordiorum suspitia trahentes. At si forte ad viam iactentem aliquem virtutis alumnun offendimus fame et siti mactum, frigore horridum, sordibus paeditum, nuditate miserum, oculos limis despicimus inopem, miseratione et auxilio destitutum praeterimus.

(Iv) Antithesis

III. Virtutem verbis magnificamus, facto contemnimus; voce in coelos attolimus, opere ad inferos detrudimus; encomiis celebramus, moribus contaminamus (dehonestamus, collutulamus).

Aliud: Virtutem suspiramus, voluptatem quaerimus; probitatem laudamus, nequitiam amplectimur; honestatem praefirimus, turpia exercemus.

Aliud: Virtutem optantes odimus, improbitatem aversantes (execrantes, detestantes, abominantes) amplectimur. Honestati students tupitudinem sectamur. Virtutem amantes fugimus, voluptatem fugientes colimus.

Item: Virtutem voluptatemque pariter sectamur et fugimus; verbo hanc, illam reipsa fugimus; illam verbo, hanc reipsa sectamur

---

762 oculis venerabundis] This is an autograph marginal addition by Stiernhielm.
763 labiis vulgiter distortis] This is also an autograph marginal addition.
764 limis] The words denique traversis have been crossed out before limis.
765 exercemus] Stiernhielm has written eligimus, above the line without crossing out exercemus.

Oxymoron. Virtutis ignavus laudator, vitiorum amicus insectator.\(^\text{766}\)

Oxymoron. Item: Virtutem laudas, vitia insectaris, his amicus, infestus illi.

Item: Virtutem te colere ais. Quomodo autem congruit virtus ignaviae, labor desidiae, modestia superbiae, innocentia avaritiae, sanctimonia voluptati?

Item: Virtuti te studere credamus? Superbum modestiae, avarum iustitiae, petulantem castimoniae, dissolutum continentiae, gulae denique et ventri deditum vitae sanctitati?

Item: Divinis laudum excomiis concelebramus aequitatem, prudentiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam, virtutes omnes, re vera autem operam damus iniquitati, ignaviae, temeritati, luxuriae et vitii omnibus.\(^\text{767}\)

Item: Virtus non laudibus, sed operibus, non verbis, sed veritate, non dictis, sed factis rite colitur.

(2r) Alloeosis. Eodem fere modo statuitur.

IV. Quidam cum virtutem verbis extollunt, satis se fecisse arbitrantur, verum longe alia res est laudare et facere.

Virtutem verbis praetendere non sufficit, re ut demonstres opus est.

Oxymoron.

V. Virtus dulcis-amara\(^\text{768}\) est; coque quam laudas, eandem fugis. Vel: ideoque eandem laudando fugis, fugiendo laudas. Plura vide supra sub antithesi, numero III.

VI. Antisagoge.\(^\text{769}\)

---

\(^\text{766}\) insectator] persecutor has been crossed out on the line, insectator added above the line.

\(^\text{767}\) This paragraph is an imitation of the second speech against Catiline (\textit{In Catilina II, 25}), where Cicero describes the fight between the Roman Republic and Catiline as a fight between virtues and vices. All virtues, \textit{virtutes omnes} – specifically \textit{aequitas}, \textit{temperantia}, \textit{fortitudo} and \textit{prudentia} – fight against all vices, \textit{vitia omnia} – specifically \textit{iniquitas}, \textit{luxuria}, \textit{ignavia} and \textit{temeritas}.

\(^\text{768}\) dulce-amara\] In the margin, alternative expressions have been written in Latin, viz. \textit{dulc-acida vel amara-dulcis}, and in Greek, viz. \textit{Γλυκιπικρὰ}.

\(^\text{769}\) Antisagoge\] No example follows in the manuscript. Stiernhielm equated this rhetorical device with that of \textit{compensatio}, a well-balanced argument. In Lidell-Scott, \textit{A Greek Lexicon}, s.v. \textit{ἀντεισαγωγή}, it is defined as a compensatory antithesis.
10.6 Variability of classical maxims

10.6.1 Pythagoras’ aphorism: “Everything is changing”

Source: F.d. 6b: 1, second quire, fols. 1r–3r (3v and 4r are blank).

Size: 164 x 210 mm. For a photograph of the first folio, see Figure 20.

At the end of the text, Stiernhielm refers to the next quire in his manuscript volume, writing: “Sequitur variatio tropi”, that is, ‘There follows variation through tropes’. In the manuscript (F.d. 6b: 1) the following pages contain excerpts on the topic of tropes from the English rhetorician Thomas Farnaby’s *Index rhetoricus*, third edition (p. 38 ff.), published in October 1633. Consequently, Stiernhielm copied it after this date, which gives a clue to the dating of the text under consideration (*Omnia mutantur*).

Moreover, Stiernhielm calls himself Georg Lilia in the heading of *Omnia mutantur*. As he ceased to call himself by this surname in May 1634, the present text predates the summer of 1634. This text and the ensuing extract from Farnaby’s *Index rhetoricus* (F.d. 6b: 1 third and fourth quires) in clearly written in Stiernhielm’s handwriting from before the injury to his right hand in July 1641.

Stiernhielm proposes variations of the sentence *Omnia mutantur*, that is, ‘Everything is changing’, which according to Ovid, *Met.* 15, 165 ff., is the doctrine of Pythagoras about the changeability of the world.\(^{770}\) He generates variations of this maxim by means of rhetorical syntax and argumentative strategies for the amplification of commonplaces. In the margin, he explains what rhetorical devices he means and divides them into figures of speech (*figurae dictionis*, which he abbreviates as *fig. d.* or *f. d.*) and figures of thought (*figurae sententiae*, abbreviated as *fig. sn.*). In the edited text, the marginal explanations are used as sub-headings of the variations. Stiernhielm also added a few words in the margin in dark ink to correct words and phrases in the main text. These additions are accounted for in the critical apparatus.

In some variations (5–14) Stiernhielm uses symbols for the planets Mercury (☿), Mars (♀) and Jupiter (♃) and the star Pallas, but he does not yet use them systematically, as he later was to do in his drafts of *Proteus rhetoricus* (see Sections 11.1.1 and 11.1.2 below).

---

Lewis and Short, in *A Latin Dictionary*, give the sense “a figure of speech by which one thing adduced is opposed to another; a counter-assertion.”

\(^{770}\) In *Met.* 15, 177–182, Ovid makes Pythagoras say: “Nihil est toto, quod perstet, in orbe / cuncta fluunt” (there is nothing that endures in the entire world; everything flows), where the phrase *cuncta fluunt* renders the well-known aphorism πάντα ῥεῖ, of the Greek philosopher Heraclitus. The constant process of change in the cosmos was a common topic in hermetic and neo-Pythagorean philosophy.
(2r) Thema a Georg. Lilia per utrunque alphabetum perductum.

Omnia mutantur.

A. A. A. Omnium rerum vicissitudo est.
A. A. B. Cunctatum, quae in mundo sunt, vivunt, vigent, sentiunt, perpetua mutatio est.
C. Γ. B. Nihil quicquam sol aspicit, quod vicissitudini non sit obnoxium.
D. Δ. C. Si quis contemplationem iniecerit super initia rerum
E. omnium: annon ea primum esse optima, deinde paulatim declinare comperiet?

Communicatio. figura s[e]n[tentiae].
E. E. D. ♂ A te si quaeram, quisquis es, o amice, qui ingenium in promptu habes, numquam quicquam tota tua vita stabile et firmum in hoc mundo deprehenderis? Certo scio hoc mihi responsi a te redditum iri: Nihil usquam nec in coelo nec in sole nec in sale reperiri, quod continuis mutationis vicibus non subiectum sit.

Paronomasia. fig. d[ictionis].
E. Γ. D. ♂ Anxie scrutanti mihi nunquid sub coelo quietum comperiri possit, occurrit rerum omnium mater ipsa natura negans quicquam in universa hacce mundi fabrica perpetuo fixum consistere posse.

Metaphora
F. ♂. E. ♂. Opinione mea rotat omnia fatum.
F.♂. F. ♂. Credo plane, nec fides cassa est, omnia sublunaria fatali quadam generationis et corruptionis necessitate perpetuo versari.

F. X. ♂. Si quicquam rerum humanarum aeternum duxeris, nae valde te tua fallit opinio.

(1v)

771 declinare] Stiernhielm adds alternative phrases in the margin: deteriora evadere and in deterior evadere.
772 vicinus non subjunctumsit] Stiernhielm adds obnoxium sit undis, fluctibus, Euripis as alternative phrases in the margin.
773 varsari] Stiernhielm writes raptari as an alternative word in the margin. After the main text he indicates an alternative construction and phrase: vel: quod omnia versentur. The entire sentence would read: ‘quod omnia sublunaria fatali quadam generationis et corruptionis necessitate perpetuo versentur’.
G. H. Δ. Stupidum blennonem eum esse oportet, qui res hasche mundanas e corruptili materia productas ignoraret aeternum durare nullo pacto posse.

G. H. Ἐ. Stipes, caudex, asinus essem, si quae sciam ortum habere, ea ignorarem et occasum aliquando sortitura.

G. I. P. Ἐ. Non me fugit cuncta insito quodam migrandi amore nunquam in eodem statu permansura.

Oxymoron fig. s[e]n[tentiae]

H. K. Ἐ. Sub luna cunta immutabili quadam mutabilitate iactari ambiguum non est: num et supra? Sententiae incertus haereo.

H. K. Ἐ. Terra profecto, num et coelum corruptioni obnoxium sit, non immerito dubitari potest.

I. L. O. Eorum sententiae, qui nusquam quicquam stabile esse asserunt libens manum porrigo.

Metaphora. Asyndeton fig. d[ictionis]. Similiter desinentia. fig. d.

L.H.I.L.P. Pedibus ire non dubitabo in sententiam eorum, qui aiunt mundana cuncta perpetuo quodam vicissitudinis Euripo incessanter raptari, agitari, volutari.

Oxymoron fig.

I. O. Constanti mundi inconstantiae ipsa quotidiana experientia herbam dat.

K. L. N. Quis certabit unquam eorum sententiae, qui adstruunt humana cuncta incertis casibus ferri.

K. N. Sanae mentis nemo unquam adversatus est experientiae775 communi nihil usquam in orbe terrarum eodem loco semper perdurare.

Polyptoton. fig. d[ictionis]

L. O. V. Valde fallit et fallitur, qui autumat aliquam praeter inconstantiae constantiam in versatili hocce mundo templo reperiri.

(2r) Metaphora

M. F. P. Neminem unum spero inficias iturum mundana omnia fluxa esse et caduca.

774 Ἐ] This is the astronomical symbol of the star Pallas. It is also the chemical symbol of sulphur.

775 experientiae] opinioni has been crossed out on the line and replaced by experientiae above the line.
Sed haec descriptio scilicet ad figuram amplificationis pertinet. 

N. Q. Y Infinitis rerum documentis comprobatum habemus nihil in universo hoc et pulcherrimo summi istius sapientissimique architecti Dei opificio usquam cogitari nedum nominari posse, quod non aeterna vicissitudinis lege usquam mutetur, alteretur et veluti in circulum continua migratione gyretur. 

NB. Si vis, possunt haec binae connecti et fieri una descriptio hisce signis ¥. 

μερισμός. Distributio. fig. amplificationis. 

O. Q. Infra veri terminos me stetisse fatebor, si quicquam in L. mundo perpetuo stabile fore adstruxero. ¥. Superna D. coelo concamerata templar irretorto oculo aspice! Metaphora. inerrantium choreas contemplare! Ducem earum et praesultorem777 Apollinem, id est solem, mundi oculum, cum sorore luna, maris domina, magna universi luminaria exacto examine perpende! 


Oxymoron. Inferna iam si pensius tecum aestimare velis, magnam matrem tellurem mentis oculus ciruncirca lustra, animantia, plantas, metalla cogita, mare marisque profunda accurato scrutinio excute! 

Epizeuxis f. d. Nihil, nihil omnino usquam locorum oculos mentemve subbit, quod non aeternae mutationis atque adeo generationis, provectio780 nis, declinationis,781 deminutionis et tandem corruptionis, interitionis782 ac denuo vicissim generationis circulo783 comprehendatur. 


---

776 NB. … hisce signis ¥.] This is an autograph marginal addition. 
777 praesultorem] solem has been crossed out on the line after praesultorem. 
778 singulis] After singulis the words stabile, nihil have been crossed out. 
779 praeter instabilitatem stabile] The word order is changed by numbers (1–3). 
780 provectio] This word has been written in dark ink above the line. 
781 declinationis] This word has been added in dark ink above the line. 
782 interitionis] This word has been added in dark ink above the line. 
783 ac denuo vicissim generationis circulo] This replaces tum denuo generationis vicissitudini on the line: ac denuo vicissim was added in the margin, while circulo was added after vicissitudini, which was crossed out. 
784 Hora … tradit] This has been added at the bottom of the page and in the margin.
(3r)
Climax fig. d. Ver aestati, aestas autumno, autumnus hiemi, hiems veri cessim lampada tradent. Et omnia orta occidunt.

P. Quam potes fida disquisitione inquire, et humana cuncta perpetuo gyro rotari comperies.
P. Rerum naturam exploranti nihil immobilitatis expers obveniet.
Q. A me si quaeris numnam in mundo quidquam sit aeternum? Aliud respondere nequeo, nisi quod quotidianus rerum usus dictat nihil esse durabile.
R. Cuncta mutari sole adulto clarius est.

Metaph. in adag[iis].
R. Liqueat omnibus omnia terrena incerto et obliquo stare talo.
S. Sanis sat patet, insanis ingerere supercedes, sortis arbitrio humana omnia gubernari.
T. Extra omnem dubitationis aleam est, quod in humanis sors omnia versat.
V. In perplexo est an coeco fortunae arbitrio humanae res omnes dispensentur.
V. Certe controversum est apud Ethnicos, apud veteres philosophos, utrum providentia divina an vero coeca sortis dispensatione res mortalium administretur.
X. Nihil in contrarium adduci potest, quin omnia mundana fragilia sint et caduca.
Y. Nemo mirabitur, si dicam omnia mundana in motu esse.
Y. Mirandum certe est nihil in mundo immutabile manere.
Z. Non incongruens, imo rationi consentaneum est, mundum universum vicissitudinis rota volvi.

(4v)
Aa. Necessum est, ut fateantur omnes mundum nil nisi rotam esse.

Bb. Fieri potest, ut quis adeo stupidus sit, qui non cernat ea, quae oriuntur, etiam aliquando occidere. Verum is egregie et bona fide hallucinatur.

Γ. Non disconvenit dicere mundum perpetuam Syrtim esse, quae huc illuc varia ventorum flamina iugiter versetur et circumagatur.

785 Ver ... tradent] Stiernhielm crossed out: Hiemem aestas, aestatem hiems excipit.
786 ut] ut has been crossed out after sit and replaced by qui.
Δ. In universa mundi machina quidquam perpetuo durabile putare absurdum est.

Inconcinnum fuerit, quod coepit, id et aliquando non desitum arbitrari.

Sequitur variatio tropi.\textsuperscript{787}

10.6.2 Quintilian’s maxim about the variability of translation
Source: F.d. 2:7:1:5, fol. 7r (a loose small-sized leaf).
In an undated draft, Stiernhielm selected an aphorism from \textit{Institutio oratoria} 10, 5, 5, in which Quintilian, in his discussion of translation as a rhetorical exercise, claims that eloquence will make translatorial variability possible. It reads: “Non adeo ieinam et pauperem natura eloquentiam facit, ut una de re bene dici nisi semel non possit.” Stiernhielm chose the statement in question as point of departure for exemplifying linguistic variability.

Variatio

\textit{Non tam sterilem atque miseram natura oratoriam fecit, ut de una materia copiose loqui nisi una vice non queat.}

\textit{Haud unquam aequo cassam, nudam ac parvis opibus praeditam natura vim dicendi nasci voluit, quin materiam aliquam oblatam cum copia eleganter proferre multis sufficiens sit.}

\textit{Tam pinguis et dives est ars bene dicendi, ut multoties de aliqua materia varie per eam dici possit.}

\textit{Eloquentia non adeo infoecunda ac exhausta a natura facta est, quin de variis rebus bene et copiose dici queat.}

* Vix tam nuda ac misera eloquentia per naturam facta, ut una res non possit \textit{[pro]ferri}\textsuperscript{788} variis modis.

10.6.3 A maxim about the connection between poetry and erudition
Source: F.d. 6, fol. 20r. Dating: around 1650. Size: 210 x 325 mm.
Stiernhielm proposes the maxim “Poesis ornat hominem doctum”, i.e. “Poetry adorns a scholar”, as a topic of amplification. He draws this

\textsuperscript{787} Sequitur variatio tropi] This sentence refers to Stiernhielm’s copying of Thomas Farnaby’s \textit{Index Rhetoricus}, third edition 1633, more exactly his theory of semantic change in the doctrine of the tropes, such as metaphor, metonymy, etc. and their sub-categories. For a textual edition of these excerpts, see Appendix 3 below.

\textsuperscript{788} proferri] The text is damaged, since the piece of paper is torn apart here.
phrase from a rhetorical handbook, which I have not identified, but himself composed both examples, one in prose and the other in verse.

Sit specimen inventionis ad hoc theme: Poesis ornat hominum doctum.
Sit locus inventionis, p. 35: Bos, cor, dens.
  Si quis est, qui in poesi non reponat ingens hominis doctrina pollentis ornamentum, is certe naturae bovinae, quam humanae proprior est, nec est, ut putem eundem cor habere ratione praeditum. Tantum enim distat vir, cuius pectus acrimonia poetica imbutum est, ab eo, qui ea caret; quantum leo vel ursus dentibus armatus ab edentulo et inermi.

Fac versus:
  Bos est, non homo, qui Clarias contemnere Musas audet inexpertus. Pro corde habet ille peponem.
  Nec sal pectori inest nec acetum. Dentibus orba belua, morsibus atque irae patet illa minorum.789

789 These verses are published in the collection of Stiernhielm’s Latin poems, see his *Samlade skrifter* 1:1 (ed. by J. Nordström and B. Olsson) p. 198, and translated into Swedish (by Birger Bergh), ibidem 1:2, p. 616.
11. Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus

11.1 The engraved circle diagram
11.1.1 The engraving and a transcription of the text
Stiernhielm summarized his theory of linguistic variability in a diagram with six circles. If we move straight outwards from each module in the first circle, the diagram can be transcribed as follows:

Circle 1: ∆ Persona
Circle 2: 1* Mutatio partium orationis.
Circle 3: ∨ ESSENTIA.
Circle 4: ⊙ Metaphora.
Circle 6: I. Causatio. II. Descriptio.

Circle 3: �� SENSUS.
Circle 4: b Metonymia causae.
Circle 5: N. Similibus casibus finientia. O. Exclamatio.
Circle 6: III. Distributio.

Circle 1: ♀ Numerus
Circle 2: 3* Epitheti.
Circle 3: II ADMIRATIO.
Circle 4: ♀ <Metonymia> effecti. Q. Dubitatio.
Circle 5: P. Interrogatio. V. Dubitatatio.
Circle 6: VI. Congeries.

Circle 2: 4* <Mutatio> Adverbii. Circle 3: ☼ DUBITATIO.
Circle 6: VII. Contraposition. VIII. Disiunctio

Circle 1: ♂ Genus
Circle 2: 5* <Mutatio> Comparationis.
Circle 3: ♀ OPINIO.
Circle 4: ♀ <Metonymia> adiuncti. V. Prosopopoeia.

Circle 2: 6* <Mutatio> Speciei. Circle 3: ♀ POSSIBILE.
Circle 6: XI. Expolitio. XII. Circumstantia.
Figure 3a. Engraving of *Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetorius*, F.d. 5, 25r. Reproduction: Anna Guldager, Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm. The outermost circle of the major diagram has a diameter of 122 mm. The larger diagram is transcribed in Section 11.1.1 and interpreted and analysed in Section 11.1.2. The hexagonal star in the middle of the diagram may have been inspired by the six-sided star polygon in Stiernhielm’s coat of arms.

The minor diagram shows different methods of lexical variation: synonymy, equipollence and periphrasis (which are the second circle or system of variation in the first draft of *Proteus rhetorius*, Section 10.2) and their symbols: a light flower, a dark flower and a stylized ampersand. Stiernhielm used these marks to refer to such devices as translational procedures in the Latin translations of Polybius’ preface to *Histories* by Niccolò Perotti and Isaac Casaubon (Section 11.3.5).
11.1.2 Interpretation and explanation

In the engraving Stiernhielm argues that language starts from a single point in the middle, which is surrounded by six circles, each with categories that are provided with distinctive symbols. The innermost circle has six categories. The three next have twelve categories, the fifth has twenty-four and the last has twelve.

In the first stage, language adopts grammatical categories: person (persona), number (numerus), gender (genus), case (casus), tense (tempus), and mood (modus). This is the circle of morphological variability. Each category is supplied with a graphic symbol: the triangle (△) for person, the symbol of opposition (☑) for numbers, the sign of conjunction (●) for gender, the asterisk (*) for case, the star (★) for tense, and the square (□) for mood.

Stiernhielm proceeds to the circle of syntactic variability, which he divided into twelve categories, each with a number (1–12) followed by an asterisk as its distinctive mark: (1*) change of parts of speech, (2*) change of substantive into adjective or vice versa, (3*) use or addition of epithet, (4*) addition of an adverb, (5*) use of the
comparison, that is, particularly the changing of an adjective in the positive into a comparative or superlative, (6*) use of a derivative noun or verb for a primitive word or vice versa, (7*) use of a compound noun or compound verb for a simple one, (8*) variation of the coordinative conjunction “and”, (9*) change of case syntax, for instance the replacement of *ablativus qualitatis* by *genetivus qualitatis* or application of different case government of verbs, (10*) change of the metre, (11*) change of the diction by use of synonyms, related or equivalent words, and (12*) change of word order. Stiernhielm has borrowed most of these categories from a chapter on the variability of syntax in the encyclopaedia of Johann Heinrich Alsted.790

Language can also be divided into semantic fields in accordance with the epistemological stages in the creation of certain knowledge. The variability of lexis and phraseology in each semantic field and stage makes up the third circle of variability. Stiernhielm enumerates twelve epistemic categories, for which he employed the symbols for the zodiac signs as mnemonic designations as follows:791

1. Reality (*essentia*); sign of the ram (*Aries*) ♈
2. Sense-perception (*sensus*); sign of the bull (*Taurus*) ♉
3. Admiration (*admiratio*); sign of the twins (*Gemini*) ★
4. Doubt (*dubitatio*); sign of the crab (*Cancer*) ☼
5. Opinion (*opinio*); sign of the lion (*Leo*) ♉
6. Possibility (*possibile*); sign of the virgin (*Virgo*) ♉
7. Agreement (*convenientia*); sign of the scale (*Libra*) ★
8. Consent (*consensus*); sign of the scorpion (*Scorpius*) ♉
9. Truth (*veritas*); sign of the archer (*Sagittarius*) ♉
10. Evidence (*evidentia*); sign of the sea-goat (*Capricornus*) ♉
11. Knowledge (*scientia*); sign of the water-bearer (*Aquarius*) ♉
12. Scientific assertion (*assertio*); sign of the fishes (*Pisces*) ♉

Language moves forward to the circle of change of word meaning, by which the proper and natural meaning is changed into a transferred one by means of four principal tropes, viz. metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony, and by means of three accidental procedures, allegory, hyperbole and catachresis. This categorization makes up the

---

790 See Alsted, *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta*, vol. 2, book 6 on grammar, chapter 19 on syntax, under the heading varying syntax (*syntaxis varians*), p. 368. This categorization was copied by Stiernhielm from the first edition of the encyclopaedia into his Book of Commonplaces (F.d. 4:1, at the end of the volume).

791 Stiernhielm also used some of these zodiac symbols to refer to different kinds of syntactic variation (see Section 11.3.3).
fourth circle. The limitation of the number of tropes to four goes back to Pierre de la Ramée’s redefinition of the concept of trope and his criticism of Quintilian’s broad definition of this concept, which had entailed the acceptance of fourteen tropes. However, the Dutch classical scholar Gerard Vossius, in his rhetorical handbooks, primarily *Institutiones oratoriae* (1606), allowed the three above-mentioned accidental sub-categories of the four main tropes. Stiernhielm evidently followed the Vossian classification, which was widespread in the 17th century.

In the fourth system, Stiernhielm used the symbols for the planets (which also are chemical symbols for elements) as designations of the four tropes with their different kinds of relationships:792

☉ Sun (gold) for metaphor
♀ Saturn (lead) for metonymy, cause-effect relationship
锿 Jupiter (tin) for metonymy, effect-cause relationship
♂ Mars (iron) for metonymy, person-object relationship
♀ Venus (copper) for metonymy, object-person relationship
♂ Mercury (mercury) for synecdoche, whole-part relationship
☽ increscent moon for synecdoche, part-whole relationship
☽ decrescent moon (silver) for synecdoche, genus-species relationship
‡ for synecdoche, species-genus relationship

[...] a globe with a cross pierced by an arrow to designate irony.793

Stiernhielm did not, however, develop a theory of the nature of the four proper tropes and the three auxiliary tropes, but only excerpted the definitions and examples in *Index rhetoricus*, in its third edition of 1633, by the English humanist Thomas Farnaby (1575–1647).794

---

792 In his treatises *Archimedes reformatus* (Stockholm 1644) and *Baculus Carolinus* (1663. published in 1989 by Rolf Ohlon, *Från Stiernhielm’s Carl-stav till metern*, Borås, pp. 41–76) Stiernhielm used the astronomical symbols as chemical symbols.
793 This was a variant symbol for Mars and possibly for cast iron.
794 Stiernhielm, ms. F.d. 6b: 1, third quire, fol. 1r–2r (Royal Library, Stockholm).

The complete main title is *Index rhetoricus scholis et institutioni tenioris aetatis accommodatus*, Londini/ London: Felix Kingston, 1633, which in practice was the 3rd ed., though formally it is the edition of 1640 that is called the 3th ed. on the title page. The 1st ed. was published in London 1625, 2nd ed. in London 1629. From the difference between the texts of the excerpt from the first and second editions it is clear that Stiernhielm used the third edition of 1633. Farnaby aptly and succinctly defines and exemplifies the four proper tropes: metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony. He divides metonymy into metonymy of causes (efficient, instrumental, and material), effect, subject, and attribute. He then deals with cataphresis, metalepsis, hyperbole and allegory as accidental tropes, and finally discusses nine false tropes. For Stiernhielm’s copy of Farnaby’s *Index rhetoricus*, see Appendix 3.
The next circle deals with linguistic variability by means of rhetorical syntax, which is classified into figures of speech (figurae dictionis) and figures of thought (figurae sententiae). Stiernhielm selects twenty-three categories. Nine of them consist of the repetition of identical words in different positions in the sentence, either at the beginning, middle or end (categories A–H and K). Three categories are the repetition of words with relaxed word-equivalence (I, L and M). The next category (N) is a figure of word order, viz. homoeoptoton. The rest (O–Z) are a collection of different figures of thought, such as rhetorical questions or appeals (P, Q and T), emotional figures (O, V and Y), a dialectic figure (S), a figure of omission (X) and a semantic figure (Z). The selected set of figures of speech is catalogued and briefly explained below.

A. **Epizeuxis** (in Latin *geminatio*), repetition of a single word.

B. **Anaphora**, repetition of a word or words at the beginning of successive clauses.

C. **Epistrophe**, or *epiphora*, repetition of a word or words at the end of successive clauses.

D. **Symplece**, the combined use of anaphora and epiphora.

E. **Epanalepsis**, repetition of a single word or words for dramatic or emotional effects, sometimes by combining anaphora and asyndeton.

F. **Anadiplosis** (*reduplicatio* in Latin), repetition of a word at the end of a clause and directly at the beginning of the next clause.

G. **Mediana**, repetition of a word or words in the middle of two successive clauses.

H. **Epanodos**, chiastic repetition of a word or words.

I. **Polyptoton**, repetition of the same stem or root in different grammatical cases.

K. **Climax** (in Latin *gradatio*), a successive repetition of a consecutive words.

L. **Paronomasia**, alliteration.

M. **Synonymia**, the use of synonyms.

N. **Similibus casibus desinentia**, “that which ends with the same cases”, in Greek a device called homoeoptoton, which is defined by Lausberg as “the conclusion of successive cola by the same case form”.

O. **Exclamatio**, the expression of distress or indignation in certain key words, such as “O tempora, o mores” in Cicero’s first speech against Catiline.

---

P. *Interrogatio*, a rhetorical question, “the expression of an intended statement in the form of a question to which no answer is expected” (Lausberg).

Q. *Dubitatio*, feigned hesitation towards the audience concerning the development of the speech.

R. *Occupatio*, the pretension of leaving out or not wishing to state that which is actually stated – either a subtle variation of *praeteritio* or the same as it.

S. *Concessio*, the concession to the opponent, “a concession of one or other of the opponent’s arguments” (Lausberg).

T. *Communicatio*, the deliberative request for advice from the audience (viz. the judges and opponents) concerning the most proper conduct in the past, present or future.

V. *Prosopopoeia*, personification, “the introduction of non-personal things as persons capable of speech or other personified behaviour” (Lausberg)

X. *Praeteritio*, “the announcement of the intention to leave certain things out” (Lausberg) but, in doing so, drawing attention to them.

Y. *Aversio*, turning the audience away from a question being proposed and discussed.

Z. *Correctio*, the speaker’s correction of his own expression into a stronger and more appropriate one.

In choosing the first ten categories (A–K) Stiernhielm clearly followed *Index rhetoricus*. In the expanded (third) edition of 1633, Farnaby discusses the same figures of speech (*schemata rhetoricae dictionis*), except for mediana, in the same order as in Stiernhielm’s account of this system of variability. In a separate copy Stiernhielm also excerpted Farnaby’s definitions and examples of these figures of speech. Moreover, he almost certainly drew some of the figures of thought (*schemata sententiae*) from Farnaby’s catalogue (viz. O, P, R, S, V and Z), since he has similarly copied it. He probably made these excerpts in 1634–1635, in the early stage of his theorizing on rhetorical variability. Stiernhielm has not left behind any other text on the fifth system of variation than the excerpts from Farnaby. In developing his theory he evidently also relied on Nicolas Caussin’s *De eloquentia sacra et humana*, book seven of which, on style (*elocutio*), lists in alphabetical order about 220 rhetorical devices – figures of speech and thought alike (see fifth edition, Paris 1637, pp. 357–458), a treatise to which he often refers.

---

796 Stiernhielm, ms. F.d. 6b: 1, third quire, fols. 2r–5r. 1r–4v.

797 Stiernhielm, ibidem, third quire, fols. 5v–10v and fourth quire, fols. 1r–1v.
In the outmost circle, Stiernhielm shows how a commonplace can be varied by means of argumentative and narrative strategies in the doctrine of the invention of arguments (*inventio*) and by means of linguistic devices in the doctrine of style (*elocutio*) in Classical rhetoric. Three categories (I, II and XII) are drawn from the theory of commonplaces (*loci*). Four categories are derived from the four kinds of amplification (IV, V, VI and X). The other categories are either figures of speech (III, VIII, IX) or figures of thought (VII and XI).

I. *Causatio*, accounting for the underlying causes of a case.
II. *Descriptio*, the description of thing(s), place(s), time(s), and persons.
III. *Distributio*, the distributive accumulation of words by means of co-ordinating addition of semantically supplementary words at a distance.
IV. *Incrementum*, augmentation or intensification in the linguistic description of an object.
V. *Congeries*, the accumulation or heaping of synonymous words or expressions.
VI. *Comparatio*, comparison from the lesser to the greater.
VII. *Contrapositio*, the opposition of two contrasting words or ideas, in Greek called antithesis.
VIII. *Disiunctio*, the disjunctive parallel clause structure of synonymous predicates or other clause elements (subjects, objects or adverbs).
IX. *Inversio*, a reversal from the natural or logical order of a narrative, in Greek designated as *hysteron proteron*, ‘the latter put as the former’.
X. *Ratiocinatio*, ‘(conclusive) reasoning’ when the public speaker asks himself a question to feign doubt and uncertainty.
XI. *Expolitio*, the embellishment or refinement of a subject matter through the variation of the linguistic expression.
XII. *Circumstantia*, the treatment of specific circumstances of a legal case or a subject matter.

11.1.3 The engraver
The diagram of *Proteus rhetoricus* was, according to its signature, engraved by the Dutch copper engraver Jan van de Velde IV (1610–1686), who had been invited to Stockholm by Queen Christina in 1649 and stayed there until 1655.798 This engraving is attributed to

798 Johnny Roosval and Gösta Lilja, *Svenskt konstnärslexikon: tio tusen svenska konstnärers liv och verk*, vol. 5, Malmö 1967, pp. 609–610. Jan van de Velde IV was first engaged as a copper engraver by King Christian IV at the Danish court in 1637. He worked for some years as a goldsmith in Haarlem in the Netherlands,
Georg Otto Stiernhielm (1638–1673) and dated to 1654 by Johannes Schefferus in *Svecia literata*. This mistake is widespread. Still, G. O. Stiernhielm did make copper engravings for other scientific and scholarly works by his father.

### 11.2 Theory and classification of linguistic variability

#### 11.2.1 Dedicatory letter: language as a building

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, eleventh quire (a loose leaf), fols. 1r–1v. Size: 165 x 210 mm. In a dedicatory letter of *Proteus rhetorius* to Queen Christina, Stiernhielm compares the stepwise process of language learning in different stages to the construction of a building with different materials. In this metaphor, the acquisition of grammatical ability is compared to laying the foundation, while the acquisition of rhetorical ability is likened to architectonic embellishments. At the end, he praises Queen Christina for the new Swedish school decree (*Skolordningen*) of 1649, in which the classicist educational ideals of the Renaissance received a strengthened position. The reference to this decree as recent gives a clue to a dating of the dedication.

(1r)

CHRISTINAE, Serenissimae Suecorum Reginae.

802 Ut aedes hominum, ita homines sapientiae sunt domicilia. Utraque suas commoditates suumque ornatum requirunt. Qui in structura before being engaged by Queen Christina. According to Nordström (*Filosofiska fragment*, vol. 1: CCXXII, n. 2) Jan van de Velde had come to Sweden in 1647.

799 Johannes Schefferus, *Svecia literata seu de scriptis et scriptoribus gentis Sveciae*, Holmia/ Stockholm 1680, p. 179, where *Proteus rhetorius* is listed as no. 17 among Stiernhielm’s writings: “Proteus rhetorius seu schema, cuius beneficio licet intelligere innumeris orationis variationes. Editus anno 1654 incisus aeri per ipsius filium, natu secundum.”


801 See Georg Brandell, *Svenska undervisningsväsendets och uppfostrans historia*, part 2 (the era of the orthodoxy), Lund 1931, pp. 297–301 (the courses in the trivial school and the high school), p. 301 (the duties of lecturers), pp. 304–306 (the schedules). Brandell, ibidem, pp. 267–279, maintains that the pansophical educator Jan Amos Comenius had no impact on the new educational system in Sweden. According to Nordström, *Filosofiska fragment*, pp. CCIX f., Comenius had been invited to Sweden by Louis de Geer in 1642 and had received the commission to reform the education of the realm, but the Lord High Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, entertaining misgivings to pansophism, limited it to pedagogical formalities.

802 Stiernhielm crossed out his first wording: “Ut in augusti templi alicuius exaedificatione multa et varia requiruntur, quaedam rudia ad fundamentorum …
aedium, idem in eruditione hominis ad eloquentiam est processus. Saxa rudia et informia iaciuntur pro fundamentis ruderibus, interiora parietum inferciuntur, extima marmora eademque laevigata et splendide polita occupant; potissima et intima flosculis aureis et opere musaico tesselata refulgent.

Haud alia ratione homini literis exaedificando, inprimis vocabularum rudis moles pro fundamento subjicitur, cui ex rudimentis grammaticalibus parietes superstruuntur, qui nitore stili et sermonis superinducti tabulas rhetoricis flosculis picturatas, aptis locis dispositas, decenter exhibent et repraesentant.

(1v) Hoc opus ut recte instituatur, cum maxime intersit Reipublicae, reges hanc sibi curam esse voluerunt inter potissimas propriam. Quod nuper tuo exemplo, Augustissima, Sueciae comprobavisti, cum inter summa belli et pacis negotia scholarum reformationem ad hoc conscriptis undequaque viris doctissimis suscipere non dedignata fueris.

11.2.2 Preface: language as a well-ordered universe

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, first quire, fols. 2r–3v (written between fol. 1 and fol. 4 on a separate sheet of paper of a size that measures 165 x 214 mm). In the preface Stiernhielm represents the human mind and language as a well-ordered universe, a cosmos. This comparison justifies the use of zodiac signs.

(2r) Ratio nominis Coeli Musarum

(2v) Mens humana chaos est, eadem coelum. Chaos confusum, tenebrosum et informe, priusquam eruditionis luce irradiatur et dirigatur; coelum vero luce iam accepta pulcherrimum variis orbium et cyclorum ordinibus, planetarum facibus et sidorum et signorum regionibus et conformationibus distinctum et ordinatum. Et hoc coelum, hoc est mens. Talis, inquam, mens est sapientiae lumine illustrata, variis scilicet et diversis artium orbibus, disciplinarum astris et scientiarum schematismis decore conformata, in cuius sublimiori solio resedatur regina ratio. Phantasiae et opinionum
circulationibus modum et leges perscribitur; contra in numerum et
ordinem digeritur harmonia, filia omnium custode et thesauraria
memoria. Et hoc mentis coelum verum et proprium est Musarum
domicilium. Hic Parnassus est, hic Cyrrha Castaliique fontes. Ubi
Phoebus, sol rationis, summa tenens moderatur cuncta pulcherrima
concinnitate invicem sibi respondentia coordinata.

Iam cur hoc nostrum instrumentum oratorium a nobis coeli
nomine insignitum fuerit rationem dabo. Tria sunt omnino, quae
mente comprehenduntur: res, nomina, notae. Res explicat rerum
nomina, hoc est sermo. Sermonem conservant notae seu characteres
visus sensui expositi. Quorum beneficio sermo et nomina fiunt
visibilia et res absentes intellectui insinuantur per sensum visus.
Rerum character est sermo. Sermonis character est scriptura. Hinc
sequitur, ut quidquid in mente est abstrusum et invisibile, idipsam
beneficio linguae communicari possit auribus audibile et oculo
subjici possit visibile. Ita enim a summa mente mentis opifice
comparatum est, ut per quae menti intelligibilia suppeditantur
per eadem mens vicissim intellecta aliis regerat et communicet. Aliter
enim nulla hominis cum homine fieri possit communicatio.

Hisce ita consideratis paulo propius ad sermonis contemplationem
accedamus. Qui tanto intervallum distat a brutorum mutis vocibus,
quanto ipsa ratio a non-ratione, quam brutalitatem vocant. Nec enim
sufficit vocem edidisse, nisi per eandem etiam res et actio, persona,
numerus, tempus, modus, causa etc. rite exprimuntur. Et haec
requirit sermo simplex et communis, quam cuilibet dictat simplex
natura et oggerit consuetudo. Sed a quo iterum differt sermo dictus
et eruditus, quantum ipsa doctrina ab imperitia, cuculus a luscinia et
monochordium ab Apolliniae testudine. Namque non parvo inter se
discrimine distant ars et natura, destinatio et temeraria
consuetudo.

----

810 filia omnium … thesauraria memoria] This has been written in the margin.
811 sol rationis] This has been added in the margin.
812 invicem] This has been added above the line.
813 cur] qua ratione has been written on the line.
814 sermo] This has been added above the line.
815 Rerum character … scriptura] This explanation is found in the margin.
816 At the bottom of the page there is a reference to Cicero: Sermonibus Ciceronis
pro Deiotarum.
817 res et actio, persona, numerus] This has been added above the line. The words
quis, cuius, cui, quem, quot have been crossed out on the line.
818 quam cuilibet … consuetudo] This has been added in the margin.
819 cuculus a luscinia] This has been added above the line.
820 testudine] After this word and before Namque a sentence Ille enim naturae, hic
artis has been crossed out on the line.
Hanc autem ipsam sermonis pro lubitu formandi, mutandi, variandi, temperandi, ornandi, locupletandi artem in mente certis terminis, ordine et numero comprehensam\textsuperscript{821} visum est id ipsum mentis archetypum certis cyclis aut rotis inclusum exprimere et quod supradictum est visibilem et quasi palpabilem reddere. Qui cycli seu orbes invicem ses ambientes, cum certis terminis scientiﬁciis iisdem memoriae causa diversis Zodiaci signis, literis, numeris, asteriscis plantarum et aspectuum characteribus pulchre et varie sint inter se iuncti eoque ipso utrumque coelum, mundi scilicet vastissimam et pulcherrimam fabricam et sapientiae, quod mentis et Musarum domicilium esse supra diximus, repraesentant. Nihil absurd i comissurum me ratus (3v) sum, si ad illam similitudinem instrumentum hoc cyclicum Coeli Musici nomine insignirem. Protei nominis quod afficiunt nota est fabula, ad cuius (ne longior sum) fabricam et usum nunc festino\textsuperscript{822} Coeli Musici fabrica.

Potei denominationem addere placuit, ut vicissitudinem et variationem multiplicem formae manente uno eodemque subjecto seu supposito. Ut enim ille assumere dicitur specimen modo ignis, modo fluentis aquae, modo mitis agni, trucissimi leonis, ita unus idemque sensus seu animi sententia variis iisdemque diversissimis verborum et locutionum ambitus et formis, infinitis modis, hoc artificio mutari et variari potest, id quod res ipsa et experientia docebit.\textsuperscript{823}

11.2.3 Introduction: classes of linguistic variability
Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, first quire, 4r–4v. Size: 212 x 329 mm.
In the introduction to Coelum Musarum Stiernhielm explains his rhetorical theory of linguistic variability. After some remarks on his purposes, he describes the human mind as the domicile of the Muses (fol. 4r, left-hand column). After that, he gives the reasons for using the term Coelum Musarum (right-hand column of fol. 4r.). He then arrives at his general classiﬁcation of linguistic variability and transformability. He distinguishes the following six classes under the heading Fabrica Coeli Musici, ‘the workshop of the sky of the Muses’: twogrammatical classes – one morphological (circle 1) and the other syntactic (circle 2) – one class of twelve epistemological stages (circle 3.), one semantic class (circle 4) and two classes of rhetorical syntactic variation (circles 5–6). Stiernhielm accordingly

\textsuperscript{821} comprehensam] ratam est has been crossed out on the line. After ratam est a clause has been crossed out: “ut aliis ad faciliorem apprehensionem visibilis et quasi palpabilis faceremus fieret.”
\textsuperscript{822} festino] Festinamus has been changed to festino.
\textsuperscript{823} Protei denominationem … experientia docebit] This paragraph has been added in the left-hand margin in the manuscript.
classifies linguistic variability into the following “circles” (*orbes* or *rotae*, fol. 4v):

1. simple grammatical changes (*mutationes grammaticae*) in a set of six different morphological groups,
2. simple syntactic transformations (*enallages grammaticae*),
3. epistemic categories (*notiones seu animi affectiones*, i.e. “notions or mental qualities”) in twelve classes, each with its opposites (*contraria*) and contradictions (*contradictoria*),
4. semantic change through tropes (*troporum lumina*),
5. figures of word arrangement (*figurae dictionis*) and figures of thought (*figurae sententiae*),
6. narrative and argumentative rhetorical strategies (*schemata et asterismi*).

(4r) Instrumentum hoc rhetoricum, quod orbibus quibusdam invicem se ambientibus comprehensum est, apprime utile est ad copiam verborum, immutationem vocum, varietatem dictionis et ornatum orationis comparandum. Viam aperit et lucem praefert praecipuo styli exercitio, imitationi.


---

824 ambientibus] *completentibus* has been crossed out on the line: *ambientibus* has been written on the line.
825 Nec alibi… hae Divae] This has been added in the margin. *Haec Aonia* has been crossed out in the margin and replaced by *hae Divae*.
826 Pindus et Pierius] This has been added in the margin.
827 Hic Aoniae … Thespia] This has been added in the margin.
dividere, dinumerare, diffinire et in certas classes et regiones dispescere, lumen et ordinem reducere, lumen rebus afferre et in ordinem reducere. 828 Infinitas, 829 quae ignorantiae mater est, et confusio, eiusdem nutrix et alumna, fugentur, 830 eliminentur, tenebrarum nubes, quae intellectum involvebant, evolutae dispareant, 831 omnia niteant et ordina t 832 patefiant. Atque in hunc modum praeparata mens CAELUM et indubitatum est Musarum PALATIUM et officina, ex qua tam et tot divina et mirifica in mundum profecta miramur opera.

Porro, ut alia ratio est, cur orbes hosce rhetoricos CAELUM Musarum cognominandos duxerim. Oratio variis modis mutatur, vertitur, versatur, 833 volvitur, variatur. Hi modi, ut certi sint et definiti, reduci sunt in certas et ordine dispositas classes, quae porro suis sibi competentibus circulis seu rotis attribuetae pulchre ordinatum quo quoddam systema conficiunt et caeli instar repraesentant. Sic enim caelum pluribus orbibus et cyclis 834 et zonis et circulis et regionibus 835 distinguitur, ut stellae exercitus et numerus alias visus 836 innumerous certis cellis et 837 cancellis inclusus et paucis quibusdam imaginibus seu asterismis dispunctus 838 evadat numerabilis et captu humano comprehensibilis.

Caeterum ut imagines illae caelestes diversissimae inter se comparent, 839 ut ipsa sidera alia regione rariora intermicant, alia refertissima refulgent, ut alia minora conspectum fere fugiunt, 840 alia

828 lumen … reducere] This has been written in the margin. In the main text, several clauses have been crossed out: “ut confusio vitetur, tenebrarum volumina, quae menti officiunt, dispellantur, <et> quae intellectum involunt, evolvantur et dispellentur.” In the below lines, Stiernhielm rewored this passage
829 infinitas] After infinitas, et confusio has been crossed out, but has been added on the next line below.
830 confusio … fugentur] This has been added in the margin. In the main text, the word nutrix has been crossed out.
831 tenebrarum nubes, quae intellectum involvebant, evolutae dispareant] In the margin, this passage has been written in brackets in another wording: “tenebrarum volumina, quae intellectum evolvunt et obumbrant, evoluta disjicere et dissipare.”
832 ordinata] This word has been added in the margin.
833 versatur] This word has been added in the margin.
834 cyclis] This word has been added in the margin and replaces orbitis on the line.
835 et regionibus] These words have been added in the margin.
836 alias visus] This phrase has been added in the margin.
837 cellis et] These words have been added in the margin.
838 dispunctus] Stiernhielm first wrote comprehensus et dispunctus, then crossed out comprehensus et.
839 comparent] After comparent, the phrase et longe invicem discrepant has been crossed out.
840 fugiunt] After fugiunt Stiernhielm crossed out et octo quaedem etiam oculorum aciem prorsus eludunt.
maiora maiorem lucem fundunt, aliae primae et secundae magnitudinis ingentia circum se spatia ingenti lumine compleunt et immensum suo caelo splendorem et venustatem concilian, haud aliter parvum hoc Caelum nostrum Rhetoricum suis circulis et regionibus distinctum diversissimos praeferunt titulos et classes, e quibus infinitae, sed non aequalis dignationis et pretii; voces et dictiones, modi, tropi, schemata et figure ad orationis varietatem, ornatum, lumen et venustatem copiosissime, pro lubitu et exigentia depromuntur. Quae tamen omnia, inquam, non sunt unius valoris et splendoris. Ea enim quae humilis suppeditat grammatica, magis ad varietatem, quam ad ornatum conferunt.

(4v, col. 1) FABRICA COELI MUSICI
Primus orbis sex radiis sive cuspidibus in stellam efformatus totidem simplicissimorum mutationum grammaticarum classibus subiunctis pro memoria aspectuum astronomorum sigillis insignis est.

Secundus itidem numeris et astericis notabilis. Enallages grammaticas maioris operae continens numeris et astericis appositis distinctus est.

Tertius ex notionibus seu animi quibusdam affectionibus nomina et classes sibi desumptis, ubi intelligendum sub singulis nominibus etiam contraria contineri aut contradictoria, e.g. sub DUBITO Non dubito aut Certus sum. Sub VERITAS Falsitas aut Non verum est, etc. Nec aliud hic quae quisque, quam varietas phrasium hase notiones exprimentium. Possunt autem phrases istae applicari omni sententiae seu enunciationi, quod admirandam orationis conciliat varietatem. Unde merito indumenta nuncupari possunt. Quorum alia et alia, iam in hunc, iam in alium modum efformata uni eidemque subiecto iniecta efficiunt, ut sententia, quam versas, in tot tamque multiformes figuras abeat, ut vix eandem esse agnoscatur. Non itaque abs re fuerit hanc rotam Musarum VESTIARIUM appellare. Cuius quo promptior sit usus, sedulus huius artis tyro sub quolibet rotae titulo sive classe pulcherrimarum, quas ex bonis authoribus

---

841 sed non aequalis dignationis et pretii] This expression is found in the margin.
842 modi] The word modi has been added in the margin.
843 ornatum] This word has been added in the margin.
844 Quae tamen ... conferunt] This sentence has been written in the margin.
845 Coeli] The spelling has apparently been changed from Caeli to Coeli.
846 aspectuum astronomorum] This marginal addition replaces Planetarum in the main text.
847 Enallages ... distinctus est] This marginal addition replaces “quae zodiacum repraesentat, grammaticos habet asterismos” in the main text.
848 multiformes] diversas has been crossed out on the line; multiformes has been added above the line.
habere possunt, phrasium mundum, divitem et luculentum sibi instruat\textsuperscript{849} apparatum\textsuperscript{850} et ad usum reponat.

Viam praeibo. Nonnullas ad exemplum supppeditabo. Quas suo loco invenies. Orbis huius usus et dignitas tanta est, ut Musarum propriae merito censeri possit, licet nihil debeat grammaticae, nihil cum rhetorica habeat commune. Ex universitate rerum et mentis operationibus, quae sapientiam gignunt, conflata est. Primae domus praesae est ESSENTIA sive ENS, quod universam rerum cognoscibilium complexionem tanquam sapientiae objectum insidunt, et supponit.\textsuperscript{851}

Secundae, SENSUS, primam rerum apprehensionem ad intellectum reft. Inde (4v, col. 2) suboritur (3.) ADMIRATIO, cum scilicet primo intuitu quid et qualis res sit nondum licuit plane percipere, et hinc (4.) DUBITATIO, quae cogere porro\textsuperscript{852} in unum incipit rationem, ut re hinc inde meditata et perpensa in (5.) OPINIONEM\textsuperscript{853} tandem aliquam condescendiat. Hac leviter mota ultra disquirere pergit ratio num res aut concepta de re opinio sit (6.) POSSIBILIS, et an (7.) CONVENIENS rationi et naturae, tum (8.) CONSENSUS cum alis, et harmonia plurium examinatur et diiudicatur. De quibus cum constat, emergit quaesita (9.) VERITAS. Quam illustrat infallibilibus demonstrationibus excitata et accensa (10.) EVIDENTIA. Et haec (11.) SCIENTIAM parit, quae ipsa genitrix est sapientiae. Cuius constans (12.) ASSERTIO nihil aliud est, quam ipsa doctrina, quam hoc ordine et processu menti humanae ingenerant MUSAE. Ecce pulchritudinem orbis nostri! Quem hoc respectu iure optimo seu OFFICINAM MENTIS seu MUSARUM MUSAEM nuncupaveris.

Quartus orbis TROPORUM luminibus dicatus atque ditatus est. Quintus FIGURARUM DICTIONIS ET SENTENTiae facibus et stellis\textsuperscript{854} varie resplendet.

Sextus SCHEMA et asterismos integros ad declarationem\textsuperscript{855}, probationem et amplificationem rerum ostendat. Quin et diversos

\textsuperscript{849} mundum \ldots sibi instruant] This has been written in the margin to replace the phrase copiam sibi colligat on the line.

\textsuperscript{850} instrumentum] Instrumentum has been added above the line and copiam has been crossed out on the line, as noted above.

\textsuperscript{851} insidunt, et supponit] This probable reading is grammatically incongruous. The Muses (Musae) are perhaps thought to be the subject of insidunt, while existence (essentia sive ens) is the grammatical subject of supponit.

\textsuperscript{852} porro] porro has been added above the line; tandem has been crossed out on the line.

\textsuperscript{853} SENSUS \ldots OPINIO] In the margin, Stiernhielm noted the verbal qualifications of sensation, admiration, doubt and opinion: sensus videt; admiratio haeret, stupet; dubitatio vacillat; opinio librat.

\textsuperscript{854} stellis] Deleting asterismis on the line, Stiernhielm added stellis above the line.

\textsuperscript{855} declarationem] This word has been added in the margin, where explicationem, has been crossed out.

Hos omnes regit et connectit Phoebus in medio locum sibi vendicans, cuius radio circumlata sententia omnium singulorumque sinus lustrat et pererrat.

NB. ad copulam pertinet asyndeton et polysyndeton.
Ad synonyma pertinet affinia, adiacentia, adiuncta, paria, consentanea.
Ad aequipollentia pertinent opposita et relata, ut
Tu es meus pater, idem est quod Ego sum tuus filius.
Illa non est mea uxor. Ego non sum illius maritus.
Virtus est colenda. Vitium est fugiendum.
Virtus non est negligenda. Virtus est sequenda.
Virtus alget. Vitiæ fervent.
Ad periphrases pertinet primo brevis rei vel actionis cuiusque descriptio.

11.2.4 Circle 1: morphological variability
Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, first quire, fols. 5r, col. 1, and 5v col. 1. Size: 212 x 329 mm.
Contents: Stiernhielm explains and exemplifies the first and second circles of variation under the heading Declaratio et usus, “Declaration and use (of the Heaven of Muses)”.

(5r) Declaratio et usus
In prima rota vox seu dictio variatur grammatice sex modis:

1. Per ☹ casus, cum vox quae e.g. in nominativo reperitur, transponitur in accusativum vel alium quemvis, ut:
   Eius rei mihi venit in mentem. Ea res <mihi venit in mentem >
   Non sum id nescius.
   Non sum eius rei nescius.
   Egeo tui. Egeo te.
   Dives pecore – <Dives> pecoris.
   Dono te libro – <Dono> tibi librum.
   Impertiar te hac re. <Impertiar> tibi hanc rem.
Haec etiam referri possunt ad varietatem syntaxis.

2. Per ♂ numeros, cum singularis vertitur in pluralem et contra:
   Romanus miles. Romani milites.
   Omnen pecuniam abssumit. Omnes pecunias <absumsit.>
in pluralia:
   ora, pro vultus <vel> os.
   animi, <pro> animus.
   Spiritus magnos sumere, pro Spiritum magnum sumere.
   Nos quoque floruius. Ego quoque florui.
   Visi sumus oratores. Visus sum orator.
   Haec etiam pertinere videtur ad synecdochen numeri.

3. Per ♀ genus, cum (1) genus nominis, e.g. neutrum in
   masculinum aut hoc in foemininum mutatur, ut:
   Hic dies. Haec dies.
   Pileus. Pileum.
   Fac prout tibo commodum est. Fac pro commoditate tua.
   (2) cum genus verbi, ut activum in passivum et contra,
   commutatur, ut:
   Dicunt te doctum. Diceris doctus.
   Bibitur gnawiter. Bibunt gnawiter.
   Amo te. Amaris a me.
   Item: Lachrymat. Lachrymatur.
   Luxurio. Luxurior.
   Fluctuo. Fluctuor.
   Praeverture pro praeverti.
   Praecipitat pro praecipitatatur.
   Avertit. Avertitur.
   Revertto. Reverttior.
   Impertio. Impertior.
   Assentio. Assentior.
   Solet fieri. Solitum est.
   Non quievit compesci. Non quieta est <compesci>
   Desiiit haber in precio. Desita est <haberi in precio.>
   Causa coepit agi. <Causa> coepta est.
   Conspicor. Conspicio.

4. Per ♂ personas, cum invicem permutantur:
   Hoc nemo dicat. Ego non dicam. Te cave dicas.
   Videmus, quam vanum sit. Vides quam <vanum sit.> Quis non
   videt, quam <vanum sit.>
5. Per ♄ tempora:
   Audio te studere. Audivi te studere.
   Te depraedicant omnes. Te depraedicabit omnis aetas.

6. Per ☉ modos verborum:
   Non dicam.
   Non dixerim.
   Non dixero.
   Non sum dicturus.
   Non volo dicere.
Variatio infinitivi, gerundiorum et supinorum:
   Venit eripere.
   Venit ereptum.
   Venit erepturus.
   Venit ad eripiendum.
   Venit causa eripiendi.
   Venit, ut eripiat.
   Venit ad rem eripiendam.

In the next page (F.d. 6 b, 3b, first quire, 5v), Stiernhielm further exemplifies the three last categories of variation, classes 4, 5 and 6:

Exempla at varietatem personarum
Personarum variatio
   Quid facias? Ut homo est, ita morem geras.
   Aliter: Quid faciendum? Quid faciam?
   Ait Clodius, negat Cicero, pro Tu ais, ego nego.
   Et tandem Turnum experiatur in armis, id est me.
Huc pertinet etiam apostrophe, aversio figura rhetorica. Item cum verbum personale et impersonale commutanur:
   Nemo facile dixerit.

Temporum variatio:
   Memini legere. Memini legisse.
   Vicimus, pro vincemus.
   Salve. Salveto.
   Nec te poeniteat calamo trivisse labellum, pro terere.
   Animus meminisse horret.

857 b] In the manuscript, space has been left blank for writing this zodiac sign.
Modorum variatio:
Salutabis. Salutato.
Si voles. Si volueris.
Cum vacabit. Cum vacaverit.
Huc pertinet infinitivum pro praeterito imperfecto in narratione
frequens. Ille vero repugnare, pro repugnabat.

11.2.5 Circle 2: syntactic variability
Stiernhielm explains his system of syntactic variability in two texts.
As stated above, he relied on Alsted’s encyclopaedia (the heading
Syntaxis varians) for his basic categorization of syntactic variability.

11.2.5.1 Syntactic variability: text 1
Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, first quire, fols. 5r (col. 1, from line 38, and col.
2, and 5v, col. 1–2. Size: 212 x 329 mm. The text has the general title
Declaratio et usus.

(5r, col. 1) Secundae rotae hae classes sunt:
\(\gamma\) 1. Mutatio partium orationis, scilicet cum nomen in verbum,
participium, adverbium aut pronomen aut contra mutantur, verbi
gratia:
Ego te amo. Sum amans tui. Amore tui teneor. Amanter tecum
vivo.
Aurora amica Musis. Musae amant Auroram. Amice convenit
cum aurora Musis.
Prece numen amicat. Stat <pro>: numen sibi reddit amicum.
Non confido. Non est fiducia.
Non dubito. Non est mihi dubium.
Quid huc redisti? Quid huc reditio est?
Desine nugari! Desine nugas!
Huc pertinet infinitivus pro nomine:
Vivere mihi dulce. Vita mihi dulcis est.
Virtus est vitium fugere. Virtus fuga vitiorum.

\(\zeta\) 2. Mutatio substantivi in adiectivum et contra:
Tantus amor laudis. Aliter: Tam laudabilis laus est.
Lucida stella micat. Aliter: Lux stellae <micat>. Stella sua luce
<micat>.
Iustus. Iustitia clarus.
Formosus. Insigni forma.
Versus Virgilii. <Versus> Virgilianus.

858 Lucida stella ... sua luce] In the manuscript, this example has been crossed out.
3. Phrasis et periphrasis.  

(5r, col. 2) 3. Epitheton additur aut mutatur:

Bellator acer. Aliter: <Bellator> ferox, audax etc.
Sic et: Te sine vita mihi amara est.
Aliter: <Te sine vita mihi> acerba est.

4. Adverbium additur aut mutatur.

Flevit. Additur: amare.
Aliter: misere.
Aliter: acriter, vehementer.
Pulcher. Aliter: Valde pulcher
Doctus. Aliter: Mire dictus.

Horum sylvam in promptu habeat studiosus tyro.

5. Comparatio cum vox aut dictio in positivo enunciata mutatur et contra per comparativum aut superlativum et contra.

Verbi gratia:

Virgo pulchra.
Aliter: pulcherrima.
Aliter: aliis pulcherior.

Variatur autem comparativus 5 modis et superlativus 9 modis. Quorum exempla videbis infra in praxi synthetica.


1 Nomina invicem commutantur, ut:
Parvus. Parvulus.
Atrides. Filius Atrei.
Herilis filius. Filius heri.

---

859 Stiernhielm here crossed out the category of periphrasis as a mode of syntactic variation, to which he attributed the zodiac of the twins: “Phrasis et periphrasis: cum duabus vocibus aut phrasibus exprimitur una et vice versa. Amo, aliter: amore persequor; iustus, aliter: iustitia clarus, dives, aliter: divitiis praeditus.”

860 officina Textoris Ravisii, et Flavissae poeticae] Jean Tixier de Ravisi (in Latin Johannes Textor Ravisius, 1470–1542), Synonyma poetica, attached to Epithetorum epitome. This treatise was published many times in the 16th and 17th centuries. Stiernhielm may have used the 1634 edition in London. Jean de Backer, Flores flavissae et elegantiae poeticae, sive electorum poeticae, thesaurus, first published in Cologne (Köln) around 1620 and republished at least fifteen times between 1635 and 1672 in Cologne, Antwerp and Dortrecht. In all probability, Stiernhielm possessed the 1635 or 1639 edition.
Mos servilis, pro mos servorum.
Opera rustica, ruralia, pro opera ruris.

(2.) Verba, ut:
agito, fugito, pro ago, fugio.
palleo, pallesco;
lateo, latito.

Plures species vide apud grammaticos.

In the next page (F.d. 6 b, 3b, first quire, fol. 5v), Stiermhielm exemplifies the interchange between primitive words and derivatives:

(5v, col. 1) Exempla ad variationem speciei:
Ea sit cum deductitiis utimur pro primogeniis:
1. Derivativis pro primitivis, cum substantivo pro adiectivo, ubi quis pro pestilente pestem, pro scellesto scelus appellat. Italae artes, aures Batavae, pro Italicae <artes>, Batavicae <aures>. Ut: magnitudine negotiorum prohibitus, pro magnis negotiis.
2. Cum diminutivis loco simplicium utimur: loquaculus, pro loquax; nasutulus, pro nasutus; paucula, pro pauca, paixillum, pro paulum.
3. Cum frequentativis verbis <utimur> pro primitivis: dicito, pro dico; volito, pro volo; iactito, pro iacto; factito, pro facio.
4. Cum comparativus et superlativus positivi loco ponitur: tristitior, pro tristis, facundissimus, pro facundus.

The categorization of syntactic variability continues as follows:

(5r, col. 2) 7. Figura variatur tam in verbis, quam in nominibus, cum composita usurpamus pro simplicibus et contra.
Ineptus, pro non est aptus.
Sal non habet, pro insulsus.
Aeternus; sempiternus.
Ambulo; deambulo.
Rego; dirigo.
Animadverte; adverte animum.
Vir magnanimitis; vir magnus animo.
Magnopere; magno te opere.
Exprobare; opprobare.
Persolvere; resolvere, exolvere et aliarum.
Adi grammaticos.
8. = Copula variatur diversimode:
   vir probus et doctus
   Aliter: iuxta ac
       non minus, quam
tam, quam etc.
Sylva habes infra.

8 [b]. ♉ Particula, in qua scilicet aliqua elegantia videtur eluercere, aut additur aut mutatur. Harum elegantiarum pleni sunt libri Buchleri,\(^{861}\) Vogelmanni\(^{862}\) et aliorum. Exempla habes infra in praxi synthetica.

9. ♃ Syntaxis variatio conspicitur in talibus:
   Vir antiquae fidei; <vir> antiqua fide.
   Similis maioribus; similis maiorum.
Huc pertinet etiam syntaxis figurata. Mille exempla offeret grammatica. Variatio syntaxis:
   Non te haec pudent.\(^{863}\) Terentius. Non te horum pudet.
   Pudet dicere hac praesente verbum turpe.\(^{864}\) Terentius. Aliter:
       Pudet me. Puditum est.\(^{865}\) Cicero.
Ex copia verborum Erasmi.\(^{866}\)

11. Phrasis consistit in mutatione synonymorum et affinium.\(^{(1)}\) Hic non coacervantur ut in Rhetorica, sed tantum mutantur, ut:
   Virgo, pro puella.
   Bonus, pro probus.
   Pro virtus, probitas,
   Pro occidere, interficere, perimere, e medio tollere;
   Ensis; gladius.
   Domus; aedes.

\(^{861}\) Johann Buchler (1570–1640), *Elegantiarum centum et undesexaginta regulae, lectissimis scriptorum, maxime Ciceronis exemplis, illustratae omnibus eloquentiae candidatis apprime observatu necessariae*, Coloniae Agrippinae/ Köln 1608.

\(^{862}\) Georg Vogelmann, *Elegantiarum latini sermonis praeceptiones aliquot*, Tremoniae/ Dortmund, republished 24 times until 1663 (Henricopoly/ Wolfenbüttel 1588), moreover seven times with the title *Elegantiae Latini sermonis* (1671–1694) and twice with the title *Encheridion Ciceronianum* (Magdeburg 1604 and 1619).

\(^{863}\) non te haec pudent[ ] Terence, *Adelphoe* 754.


\(^{865}\) puditum est] For instance, Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 52: Nonne esset puditum […].

\(^{866}\) Erasmi] See Erasmus, *De duplci copia rerum ac verborum*, the book on words, chapter 13 on the change of persons, here from a personal verb to a impersonal one.
Addidi affinia. Vix enim duo vocabula inveniuntur significationis adeo adaequatae, ut nullo discrimine distinct. Homines et mortales synonyma habentur. Ridiculum tamen fuerit passim et ubique hoc vel illud sine discrimine velle usurpare.\textsuperscript{867} Cura itaque in his et delectus habendus, quid quoque et quo loco sit decentius. Alia enim aliis sunt honestiora, sublimiora, nitidiora, iucundiora, vehementiora, vocaliora et ad compositionem concinniora. (Erasmus.)\textsuperscript{868}

(5v) 11. PHRASIS mutatio in omnibus classibus occurrit. Consistit autem potissimum in synonymis et affinibus, aequipollentibus et periphrasi seu circumlocutione tam unius saepe verbi, quam sententiae.

11.2.5.2 Syntactic variability: text 2
Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, fourth quire, fol. 1r–1v. Size: 208 x 319 mm. The first part (1:1–9) is autograph, the rest (2:1–12) non-autographic.

Secundae rotae modi sunt:
1. Mutatio partium orationis, ut:
   1. Nominis et verbi:
      Aurora amica Musis. Auroram amant Musae.
      Prece numen amicat. Stat pro: numen sibi reddit amicum.
      Non confido. Non est fiducia.
      Spero. Špes est. Spem habeo.
      Quid huc redisti? Quid huc reditio est?
   2. Nominis et infinitivi:
      Vivere mihi dulce. Vita mihi dulcis est.
      Tuum scire. Tua scientia.
   3. Nominis et participii:
      \textsuperscript{869} Desiderio tui teneor. Tui desiderantissimus sum.
   4. Verbi et participii:
      Te amat. Est amans tui.
      Amantem redama. Redama eum, qui te amat.
      Nemo tui videndi cupientior. Nemo qui te magis videre cupiat.

\textsuperscript{867} Addidi affinia … usurpare] This marginal addition replaces the deleted sentence Huc pertinent etiam in speciem aequipollentia.
\textsuperscript{868} Erasmus, De duplici copia rerum ac verborum, the book on words, chapter 11 (on variation through synonymy), where Erasmus in this passage (“alia aliis … concinniora”) follows Quintilian’s argument and wording in Inst. orat. VIII, 3, 16.
\textsuperscript{869} Before this example, Stiernhielm crossed out his first example: Est amans tui. Tenetur amore tui.
Hoc dictum oportuit; hoc dicere oportuit. 
Si quid recte curatum vis; si quid recte vis curari. 
Cupit factum; cupit te conventum.

5. Verbi et supini:
   Libitum est. Libuit.
   Pertaesum est. Taeduit.
   Misertum est. Misertus sum.
   Puduit. Puditum est.
   Placuit. Placitum est. \(^{870}\)

6. Verbi infinitivi, participii, gerundii et supinorum:
   Venit eripere.
   Venit erectum.
   Venit, ut eriperet.
   Venit erecturus.
   Venit ad eripiendum.
   Venit eripiendi causa. \(^{871}\)

7. Nominis et gerundii:
   Sthenelus sciens pugnae. <Sthenelus sciens> pugnandi.
   Cupidus litium. <Cupidus> litigandi.
   Magnum dat ferre talentum; magnum dat ferendum talentum.

8. Nominis et adverbii:
   Meliuscula est (valetudo). Meliuscule est.
   Plurimum est in foro. Plurimus est in foro.
   Rarus est conviva. Raro <est conviva>
   Multus est apud <aulam>. Multum est <apud aulam.> Frequens
   est in aula.
   Assiduus est in literis. Frequenter, assidue <est in literis.>

9. Nominis, verbi, participii et adverbii:
   Libens facio; libenter <facere>.
   Cupio, cupidus, cupiens, cupide, cupienter facere.

2. Substantivi <et> adiectivi, cum substantivum mutatur in adjectivum
   et contra, ut:
   Divitiis cedunt omnia, pro: Divitibus cedunt omnia.
   Nummis cedunt omnia. Nummosis cedunt omnia.

\(^{870}\) 5. Verbi et … placitum est] This paragraph has been written in the margin,
\(^{871}\) 6. Verbi … eripiendi causa] This paragraph has been written in the margin.
3. Epitheti, cum substantivo apposite iungitur adiectivum et contra ut:
   divitiis improbis, mollibus, operosis, grandibus, potentibus cedunt omnia.

4. Adverbii, cum nomen substantivum mutatur in adiectivum cum
   adverbio, e.g.
   Divitiis cedunt omnia. Permut[atur]: opulenter viventibus cedunt omnia.

5. Comparativi, mutato nomine in adiectivum comparativum:
   Ditioribus cedunt omnia.
   Divitiores expugnant omnia.
   Locupletiores vincunt omnia.

6. Speciei, cum dictio, quae aliunde originem trahit pro nomine
   substantivo ponitur, ut:
   Pecuniosis cedunt omnia.
   Numosis cedunt omnia.
   Numatis cedunt omnia.
   Numationi cedunt omnia.

7. Figurae, ubi dictio duabus vel pluribus partibus composita est:
   Pecuniam viventibus cedunt omnia.
   Auri-studiosiores superant omnia.
   Thesauri-petae vincunt omnia.

8. Copulae, quando verba idem fere significantia vel diversa varie
   nectuntur, e.g.
   Divitiae et thesauri vincunt omnia.
   Cum, ac, et, nae, tam, sic, tam, quam, aeque, ex aequo, non minus
   perinde, quemadmodum, ut, simul, similiter, haud dissimiliter,
   haud secus, itidem et, non tantum, non modo, ita et, simul, sicut,
   sicuti, velut, veluti, pariter, pariterque, perinde etc.

9. Syntaxis, cum pars aliqua dictionis varie construitur:
   Divites nummorum vincunt omnia.
   Pecunia divitiores vincunt omnia.

10. Metri, cum simplex dictio et soluta vocatur ad numerum, e.g.
   haec soluta “divitiis cedunt omnia” ita ligantur:

872 vincunt] Crossing out superant on the line, Stiernhielm added vincunt above it.
Omnia divitiis cedunt.
Omnia perrumpens Regina pecunia vincit.

<11.> Phrasis, cum dictio multis et ornatis verbis exprimitur, e.g.
Auri sacra fames873 omnia sibi subjicit.
Quae esurire cogunt divitiae874 expugnunt omnia.
Incubantes repertis divitiis875 omnia vincunt.

<12.> Ordinis, cum illa, quae in dictione fuere ultima, fiunt prima, et contra:
Divitiis cedunt omnia. Omnia cedunt divitiis.

11.2.6 Circle 3: lexical variability in epistemic stages
Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, fourth quire, fols. 1v and 2r. Size: 208 x 319 mm. This variation sets out from Horace, Epistulae I, 1, 53–54: […]
“Quaerenda pecuna primum est. Virtus post nummos.” That is: “You must first seek money. Virtue after coins”. This is the same topic as in Idyllion Anacreonticum (1657).876 The text is non-autographic.

3. Rota
(Iv) Variatio 1. per Essentiam
Cum dicimus omnes res, quaecunque sunt, vivunt, vigent, existunt,
moventur, tale quid non esse vel tale quid praestare non posse. E.g.
Nulli rei in mundo viventi tam bene cedunt omnia, quam divitiis.
Nulla res existit, quae non cedat divitiis.
Nihil movetur in orbe, quod non cedat divitiis.

Sensus
Cum per 5 communes sensus rem describimus:

873 auri sacra fames] “Accursed hunger for gold”. This is a literary commonplace, see Virgil, Aeneis 3:56–57: Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames!
874 Quae esurire cogunt divitiae] “riches that compel to hunger”. Curtius Rufus, Historiae Alexandri Magni 7,8: Quid tibi divitiis opus est, quae esurire te cogunt?
875 Incubantes repertis divitiis] “Those who (in their seclusion) are inclined to the wealth they have won”. Virgil, Aeneis 6, 610: et qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis.
876 For the Latin text of Idyllion Anacreonticum, see Nordström and Olsson (eds.), Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm 1:1, pp. 181–188. For a Swedish translation by Birger Bergh; see iidem, ibidem 1:2, pp. 603–605. In one passage, Stiernhielm makes one of the two interlocutors state (lines 123–125, 130–136 and 142–144):
Moneta vera virtus, / vis, robur et potestas; / est portus, ara, turris. […]
Hic gaudium, voluptas / et pulchritudo, forma / et gloria inclytumque
nomen decusque, splendor / et claritas genusque / sapientiaeque fama
et eruditionis. […] / Est una, cuncta cunctis/ Moneta sola, summum, /
regina, numen orbis.
Nemo non videt pecuniam vincere omnia.
Nemo non audit, quod pecunia vincat omnia.
Quis hoc non capiit? Pecunia vincit omnia.
Dudum hoc omnes subolefaciunt, quod pecuniae cedant omnia.
Nullius sensus adeo est obtusus, ut hoc non percipiat, quod pecuniae cedant omnia.

Admiratio
Hic per verba admirationis res exprimitur, de re qua agimus:
Mirabile dictu est, quomodo pecuniae cedant omnia.
Non satis mirari possum potentiam pecuniae, cui etiam omnia summa cedunt.

Dubitatio
Hic non dubitando vel dubitationem prorsus omnem removendo rem dicimus:
Ego sane nullus dubito, quin toto in mundo pecuniae cedant omnia.
Quis, quaeso, iam in dubium vocabit quod pecunia superet omnia.

(2r) Opinio
Hic contrarium sentientes rejicimus et contrarium opinantes inserimus, e.g.
Sentiant, qui volent, virtuti nihil esse invium. Ego vero hoc constanter dicam, quod pecuniae nulla sit invia via, cui omnia semper cedant.
Verissima semper haec vetus opinio: pecuniae cedunt omnia.

Possible
Cum rem a possibilitate veram dicimus:
Quid possibiliius est, quam ut pecunia res omnes cedant, cum totus orbis pecuniae serviat.
Nulli magis possibile est superare omnia, quam pecuniae.

Conveniens
Cum ex facto rei aequitatem probamus et probantes rogimus:
Quid magis convenire nervo rerum gerendae pecuniae, quam ut ipsi cedant omnia?

Consensus
Hic rem per omnium assensionem veram dicimus:
Omnium certe una haec res est unusque consensus omnium: pecuniae cedunt omnia.
Veritas
Cum ipsam experientiam pro veritate rei adducimus:
Quid multis est opus, ipsa experientiae veritas nos docet pecuniae cedere omnia.

Evidentia
Cum certitudinem rei evidentem et infallibilem esse dicimus:
Clarum et perspectum hoc est omnibus, quod pecuniae cedant omnia.

Scientia
Cum ad omnium notitiam provocamus:
Quis ignorat, quis nescit, omnes hoc sciant, singulis hoc notum est: pecunia vincit superat omnia.

Assertio
Hic per varios modos asserendi rem dicimus:
Affirmare hoc, asserere, pro certo dicere possum, quod pecuniae omnia semper cedant.

11.2.7 Circles 4–5: explanation of some tropes and figures
Source: F.d 9:8, fol. 4r. Size: 215 x 330 mm.
As stated above, Stiernhielm has not left behind any other systematic text on the fourth and fifth system of variation than his excerpts from Farnaby’s Index rhetoricus (ms. F.d. 6b: 1, third quire, fols. 1r–10v and fourth quire, fols. 1r–1v, Royal Library, Stockholm). However, he recorded, defined and exemplified some tropes and figures of speech. I have not been able to determine whether Stiernhielm copied the text below from a specific source. In any case, in his definition of the trope and the figure, he agrees with Conrad Dietrich, Institutiones rhetoricae (1616), p. 6. In defining and exemplifying the figure of a rhetorical question he relies on Alsted’s Encyclopaedia (book 7 on rhetoric, chap. 13, rule 3: “Interrogatio rhetorica differt a vulgari”, p. 388). Stiernhielm here follows the categorizations of the Ramist rhetorical tradition.

Tropus vocis significationem nativam mutat in aliam.
Figura orationis habitum immutat. 878

877 vincit] superat has been crossed out on the line; vincit has been added above the line.
878 Tropus … immutat] Conrad Dietrich, Institutiones rhetoricae, Giessen 1616 (1st ed. 1613), p. 6, where a Ramist definition of the trope is proposed, according to which the trope is restricted to change of isolated single words.

Hic pietatis honos? Sic nos in sceptra reponis?

Inderdum cum dehortatione, querela, deprecatione etc. Epitrochasmus est cum multa terribiliter interrogantur, ut apud Virgillum:

State viri, quae causa viae? Quive estis in armis? Quodve tenetis iter?

11.2.8 Circle 6: topical variability by means of amplification and other argumentative and descriptive devices

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, seventh quire. Size: 208 x 319 mm.

Stiernhielm excerpted Erasmus, *De copia rerum ac verborum* (1512) and Caussin, *De eloquentia sacra et humana* (2nd ed. 1626). Erasmus classified the methods of amplifying a commonplace.883

(2r) Erasmus de copia rerum. Est liber 2 copia verborum.884 Hi modi sunt amplificandi:
1. Totum distribuere in partes.
3. Rem proponere non nudam, sed cum enumeratione antecedentium (interdum), concomitantium et consequentium negotium. p. 253
4. Descriptio.
6. Circumstantiae, quae partim sunt rerum, ut causa, locus, occasio, instrumentum, tempus, modus; partim personarum: patria, sexus, aetas, educatio, disciplina, habitus corporis, forma, fortuna, condicio, animi natura, studium, anteacta, commotio, consilium, nomen.


Comparatio. Homoeon. Icon.

884 Est lib. 2. de copia verborum] This has been added above the line.
11.3 Morphological and syntactic variability

11.3.1 Honos alit artes

Source: F.d. 6b: 3b, first quire, 1r. Size: 212 x 329 mm. For a photographic image of this text, see Figure 21. Dating: most likely c. 1649–1650.

Contents: Stiernhielm demonstrates the variability of the Latin phrase Honos alit artes, that is, “Honour nourishes the arts”, which occurs in Cicero, Tusc. disp. 1, 2, 4. In the first circle of variation, the nominativ honos is varied by the different cases: the genitive, the dative, the accusative and the ablative in one set of examples, while artes is altered by the genitive and the dative in another set of examples. The morphological transformability is further exemplified in terms of number, person, gender, mood and tense. The singular honos is put in the plural (honores), while the plural artes is expressed by the singular (ars). By addressing honour and arts, the third person singular of the verb (alit) is changed to the second person plural (convenitis). The gender of the feminine plural artes is varied by the neuter plural artificia, while the active voice alit is transformed to the passive aluntur and the neuter verb gaudent. The finite form of the verb alit is varied by constructions with the infinitive. The present tense of alit is replaced by the past (aluit), the future (alet) and the passive periphrastic form (alendae sunt). In the second circle, the morphosyntactic variability is shown according to the specific categories enumerated in Section 11.1.2 above, here 1*–7* and 11*. In the first category, the parts of speech are varied. The noun honos is changed to a verb (honorari), and the verb alit is altered with a noun (alimenta). In the other categories, the abstract noun artes is changed to the noun of an agent artium cultores, epithets such as bonae and liberales are added to artes, and meritus...
and debitus to honos, moreover adverbs such as suaviter and mirifice are supplied and comparison is introduced, etc.

Usus et praxis Coelī Musarum exemplis demonstrata
Sit thema: Honos alit artes.

Per primae rotae
   Honoris fructu aluntur885 artes. Honori serviunt artes.
   Honorem amant artes. Honore aluntur etc.

♀. Item:
   Artium alimentum886 honos. Artium culturam alit honos.
   Artibus gratissimum praemium honos est.
   Per singularem pro plurali: Ars alitur honoribus.

   O artes, o honores, quam pulchre convenitis!
   O honos, o ars, quam decorum est vestrum coniugium!

   Neutrum: Artes gaudent honoribus.

□. Modum 5. Modus verbi. 887 Finitum in infinitum:
   Ars gaudet honorari.888 Artis honoribus ali certum est.
   Honores alere artes clarum est.

   Semper honos aluit artes semperque alet.
   Artes honore sunt alendae. Artibus honos merito habendus est.

Per secundae rotae
1*. Mod[um]: mutationem partium orationis. Nota. Hic synonymia, aequipollentia et periphrases simul adhibebuntur.
   1. Nomen in verbum: Artes volunt honorari.
   2. Verbum in nomen: Artium alimenta honos.
2*. <Modum: mutationem> substantivi in adiectivum etc.
   Artifices aluntur honoribus.
Nomen rei <in> nomen personae:
   Artium cultores honoribus aluntur.
3*. <Modum: mutationem> epitheti.
   Bonae artes, liberales, pulchrae, ingeniosae etc.

---

885 aluntur] In the ms, this addition replaces sustentantur on the line.
886 alimentum] This marginal addition replaces pabulum on the line.
887 Finitum] The preposition per has been crossed out before finitum.
888 Ars … honorari] In the manuscript, this sentence has been crossed out.
Honos meritus, debitus, congruus etc.
Honos iucundissimum, suavissimum artium alimentum.

4*. <Modum: mutationem> adverbii.
Honos suaviter alit artes, mirifice, etc.

5*. <Modum: mutationem> comparationis
Nihil aequus alit artes atque honos.
Nullum efficacius artium alimentum ipso honore.
Optatissimum artium alimentum. Suavissimum etc.

6*. <Modum: mutationem> speciei nom[inis].
7*. <Modum: mutationem> figurae. Compositum pro simplici.
Inertia alitur contemptu artium.

Artium cohonestamentum honor.

11.3.2 Ars longa, vita brevis est
Source: F.d. 6b, 3b, ninth quire, fols. 1r–3r, 4v. Size: 240 x 355 mm.
For a reproduction of the first folio of this text, see Figure 22.

Dating: uncertain, presumably from 1649.

Contents: Stiernhielm demonstrates the variability of the statement
Ars longa, vita brevis, ‘Science is long, but life is short’, which is
attributed to Hippocrates. After introductory remarks he shows
variability through synonymy, equipollence and periphrasis (fol. 1r).
He continues with grammatical variability through the change of
case, number, person, gender, mood and tense (fols. 1v and 2r) and
proceeds to syntactic transformability through the change of parts of
speech (fols. 2v and 3r) and concludes with variability through the
use of epitheton (fol. 4v), where he focuses on the accumulation of
opposites of synonyms (that is antonyms) and on accumulation of
closely related words (adiuncta).

(1r) Ut sol zodiacum atque adeo totum coelum suo lumine perfundit
atque illustrat, ita rotula omnium intima sextuplici radio illustris,\textsuperscript{889}
scilicet synonymiae, aequipollentiae, periphrasis, epithetorum,
contrariorum et adiunctorum,\textsuperscript{890} universum orationis variandae
coelum et artificium non solum percurrit, sed praes reliquis una
possidet, animat et mirifice promovet.

Omnium itaque primum huius artis specimen edituro opus est, ut
THEMA propositum in subiectum et praedicatum dispescat, tum ut
cuiusque primo synonyma, deinceps aequipollentia (quae negationis
additione, detractione, geminatione et verbis contrariis constat) et

\textsuperscript{889} omnium … illustris] Stiernhielm first wrote triplex radio. After that he added
\textit{sextuplici} below the line and omnium intima […] illustris above the line.
\textsuperscript{890} epithetorum … adiunctorum] These terms have been added in the margin.
periphrases sive circum-locutiones ac demum epitheta etc. diligenti indagine inquirat ac ob oculos sibi praeponat, postmodum suis circulis et classibus disponendae. Exempli gratia sit tema ARS LONGA, VITA BREVIS. Ergo PROPERANDUM, ubi subaudienda copula sive verbum substantivum, EST. Quod similiter, ubi et quot modis apte fieri potest, mutandum et variandum est.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subiectum</th>
<th>Praedicatum</th>
<th>Subiectum</th>
<th>Praedicatum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARS.</td>
<td>LONGA.</td>
<td>VITA.</td>
<td>BREVIS.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Synonyma.**

| Artificium. | magna. | lux. | momentanea. |
| Scientia.   | tanta, quanta. | [spiritus.] | caduca. |
| Studium.    | plurima. | [tempus.] | mortalis. |
| Disciplina. | varia. | aetas. | fragilis. |
| Doctrina.   | uberrima. | dies. | fluxa. etc. |
| Facultas.   | infinita. | soles. | angusta. |
| Vis.        | innumera. | hora. | arcta. |
| Ratio.      | ampla. ardua. | [spacium.] | fugiens. |
| Philosophia.| difficilis. | [curriculum.] | fugax. |
| Sapientia.  | prolixa. perplexa multiplex. | [cursus.] | instabilis. |
|             | multiformis. etc. | | festina. |
|             | perennis. | | inconstans. |
|             | aeterna. | | levis. |
|             | dives. copiosa. | | praeceps. |
|             | facunda. uber. | | praepropera. |

**Particula**

**Absolutum**

ERGO PROPERANDUM est, sc. ad studium

Itaque. festinandum.
Ideo. accelerandum.
Idcirco. maturandum. etc.
Idque. Item: diligenter studendum.
Ea propter. incumbendum [...] est omni
Propterea. opera, studio etc. etc. etc.
Quamobrem. laborandum.
Ea de re. desudandum.
Eam ob rem. etc.
Aequipoll[entia]

<Subiectum Praedicatum
Ars non est brevis.
  non est facilis.
Tempore non brevi addiscitur.
Non brevi circumscripta gyro.
etc.

Subiectum Praedicatum>
Vita non est durabilis.
<Vita> non est diu permanens.
Hic aeternum non vivitur.
Cito morimur. Hominis numquam non labitur aetas.
Mortalibus mors omni hora praesto est, omni momento imminet.

<Absolutum>
Non cunctandum est.
non cessandum.
non nectendum moras.
non standum.
non dormiendum.
non oscitandum. etc.

Periphr[ases]

<Subiectum Praedicatum
Artis opus
Philosophiae exercitatio, cultus,
Sapientiae cultura, studia,
Animi exercitia tanta sunt,
Musarum tam prolixa, tanti
Literarum moliminis etc. ut
Studiorum
Bonarum artium

Subiectum Praedicatum>
Nullius hominis vitae spacium
iisdem omnibus capiendis,
sufficere queat, etc.
Bonae artes tot sunt ac tam
multiplices, ut nemo etiam
longissimae vitae mortalis
omnes et singulas recte
ediscere queat.

<Particula Absolutum>
Itaque omni studio elaborandum, ut plurimas et optimas, quam fieri potest, maturrime acquiramus.

Atque hisce solis nostri rhetorici usum, qua scilicet ratione simpliciter indaganda sint synonyma, aequipollentia et periphrases, monstrasse sufficiat. Plura dabunt classes notionum⁸⁹¹ et figurarum.

Nunc ad planetarum grammaticorum choream nos convertamus, ut recte sciat PROTEUS in thematio nostro ad eorundem modulos alternae pedes.⁸⁹²

⁸⁹¹ Plura … notionum] Stiernhielm first wrote: Plura dabit praxis troporum.
⁸⁹² ut … pedes] Stiernhielm first wrote: simplicibus passibus themation nostrum ad culiusque legem saltus alternare docturi, and then crossed it out. In the next clause, mutationem has been replaced by modulos.
(1v) ROTA planetarum grammaticorum
1. Variatio orationis per * casus
   Casuum variationi praest luna, ipsa variis casibus obnoxia:
   N. Ars longa; vita brevis est.
   G. Artis opus longum; vitae breve spaciun est
   D. Arti multa inest varietas; vitae mors usque imminet.
   A. Ars artem subinde [excipit]; vitam mors\(^\text{893}\) vero excipit.
   V. O ars, [quam] o inexhausta gaza; o vita, o mors!
   Abl. Ars arte gignitur; vita morte clauditur.\(^\text{894}\)
   Omnis itaque animi et corporis contentione annitendum erit, ne
   mortis hora praeventi rudes et indocti bestiarum vitam vixisse
   comperiamur.\(^\text{895}\)

2. Variatio per ♂, scilicet numerum.
   Pluraliter:
   Vox VITA, quia hoc sensu plurali caret, substituenda erit aliqua ex
   synonymis.
   N. Artes, Deus bone! quot sunt? Dies vero nostri, quam non multi.
   G. Artium numerus innumerus est; dierum vero nostrorum brevis
   calculus.
   D. Artes artibus catenantur, mortibus mortes. \(^\text{Antithesis}\)
   A. Artes nova quaeque lux novas praefert; luces vero antegressas\(^\text{896}\)
   lux quaeque posterior devorat.
   V. O artes, quam longa vestra series! O dies, quam breve vestrum est
   compendium.
   Ab. Infinitis artibus vita humana condecorata\(^\text{897}\) est. Ipsa paucorum
   dierum constans momentis. Temporis itaque rei preciosissimae ratio
   habenda etc. Est properandum et studendum.
   Atque hac ratione licet omnia sigillatim declinare, synonyma,
   aequipollentia, periphrases, antitheses cum suis epithetis et adiunctis.
   [Et hic in limine vide ne te obruat copia.] Vel si singulas periodes
   supra casibus applicatas exornare velis, aliis atque aliis synonymis,
   epithetis etc. Deus bone, quanta orationis proveniet messis.

\(^{893}\) vitam mors] The order of these words have been indicated by numbers (1–2).
\(^{894}\) vita morte clauditur] Stiernhielm first wrote this, crossed it out and replaced it
with morte accersitur above the line, and finally resumed vita morte clauditur by
adding this phrase below the line.
\(^{895}\) Omni … comperiamur] This variation of the final part of the present set phrase
has been written in the margin.
\(^{896}\) antegressas] This word has been added above the line to replace anteriores on
the line.
\(^{897}\) condecorata] This word has been added above the line to replace oppleta on the
line.
3. Variatio per ♀, id est personam, et in praemissis conspicua est et passim occurrat in proxime sequentibus.


In themate praesenti ARS LONGA, VITA BREVIS. ERGO PROPERANDUM, verbum PROPERANDUM est neutrius generis nec in activum nec in passivum converti potest, nisi per synonyma <idem> significantia sive aequipollentia sive circuiiones, etc. Exempla sunt: (2r) Vetus et verum est verbum: ARS LONGA, VITA BREVIS. Nihil itaque cessandum duco; nihil intermittendum, quin studia bonae mentis gnaviter aggrediamus, alacriter capessamus ac strenue percolamus.

5. Variatio per ♂, hoc est modos, et 6ta per ♄ sive tempora verborum. Coniunctim absolvitur hoc modo: Indicativo modo, tempore praesentii.

Quandoquidem ars longa, vita brevis est, recte factum puto quod studis dies noctesque invigilo. Per omnes numeros et personas.

In passivum: Si palestre Musicae pulvere nunc conspergeris, si iugi labore defatigaris, proderit hoc olim, si cogites scitum illud: Artem longam, vitam brevem esse.

Tempore praeterito: Siquidem A[r]s l[onga], v[ita] b[revis] nemo inficias ibit, si quid in iuventuti didicisti, id tibi in senecta magno fore emolumento. etc.

<Tempore> futuro: Mature ad studia animum applicabis, nisi indocili senecta praeventus miseram et egenam agere vitam malis. Ars enim longa, vita brevis est. NB. Enunciationes de futuro non apte variantur per praeterita et vice versa.


Optativo et subiunctivo <modo>: O, si Dii illam nobis dedissent mentem, ut quae nobis noxae, quae saluti futura essent prospicere possemus. Haudquaquam temporis immemores literarum culturam

---

898 senecta] After senecta the clause vel inopina morte poeniri has been crossed out.
899 praeventus miseram et egenam] This has been added above the line.
900 NB … vice versa] This is a marginal addition.

In genere depon., subjunctivo modo, tempore futuro person. 3. plur. num.: Parum senectae nostrae prosperimus, si nunc otiati fuerimus, cum nihil sit vita humana fugacius, nihil arte prolixius.

Infinitivo praesenti: Literarum studia, dum floret aetas, insuper habere, mi Deus! quae dementia! etc.

<Infinitivo> praeterito: Artes in iuventute fideliter didicisse neminem unquam poenituit, cum vita brevis est, ars vero longa.

<Infinitivo> futuro: Literis et bonis artibus operam suam collocaturus cogit et quod dicitur Artem esse longam, vitam brevem. Gnaviter901 itaque id, quod facturus est, faciat.

Haec reservantur ad variationem syntaxis. Exemplum saltem hic unius et alterius unicum ponatur, supinum scilicet et gerundium.

Supinum: Si sapere nobis cordi est, sapientiam quaesitum eamus, dum patitur aetas. Ars enim longa, V[ITA] B[REVIS].

Infinitivus pro supino: Eamus studere, eamus quaerere Musas, dum vacat etc. Adeamus visere Musas (pro: ad visendum). Parati simus cognoscere (pro ad cognoscendum). Ferant, in sinu gerant etc. Festinemos colligere divitiias, quibus animum nostrum locupletemus etc.902


Gerundivum pro gerundio: Properemus ad amplexandas Musas, ad colendas literas (pro: ad colendum) etc. Scientiarum excolendarum causa (pro: excolendi scientias) vigilemus. etc.

Gerundium pro gerundivo.903

(2v) Sequitur zodiacus continens heteroses partium orationis904 et alias quasdam affectiones905 grammaticas.

Per ♈ mutamus nomen substantivum in adjectivum et adjectivum in substantivum. ARS, VITA sunt immutabilia, nisi in alia substantiva

901 gnaviter] assidue has been crossed out, gnaviter has been written above the line.
902 Adeamus … locupletemus] These examples have been written in the margin.
903 No example follows, but there are examples under the zodiac ♉ below.
904 Sequitur … partium orationis] In the ms., this sentence replaces Zodiacus grammaticus heteroses continet partium orationis, which has been crossed out.
905 alias quasdam affectiones] Stiernhielm first wrote alia quaedam accidentia.
synonyma. Adiectiva vero, LONGA, BREVIS, cum synonymis et oppositis facili negotio mutantur in substantiva, LONGITUDO, BREVITAS, prolixitas, fugacitas, fuga etc. hoc modo:

Hac tanta aetatis fuga nemo non facile tam immensam bonarum artium amplitudinem superarit. Maturandum itaque. etc. Item opes, pelagus, etc.
Item: Tantas tamque inexhaustas sapientiae divitias tanta dierum nostrorum paucitas aegre assequetur, nisi mature evigilemus et serio in id incumbamus, ne fugientem horulum vacuam abire sinamus. Eiusmodi plura videre est in variatione tropica et passim.

♀ Nomen in verbum. ARS. VITA. scire, sapere, vivere, aetatem agere. artes discere, etc. Sapere prolixum est, aetas fugax.
Sophiae studium est infinitum, vivere vero nostrum perquam angustum.
Studere longum est, vivere arctum.
Item LONGA. BREVIS. durat, fugit. praecipitat, properat, exuberat.
Ars exuberat, praecipitant anni. Ars perennat, vita fugit.

♂ Circumlocutio verbi. Fieri non potest, quin artis opus sit infinitum et vita vice versa exigui momenti, quin itaque studeamus diligenter, sic fiet, ut vitae brevitas studiorum assiduitate compensetur. Utinam, optandum esset. Sic futurum est. Sic fore spero. Fac, ut etc.


♀ Verbum in participium. PROPERANDUM, properans, properatus, properaturus. Item FUGIT, fugiens, perennans, exuberans etc.
Perennantem artis prolixitatem, nisi indefessa studiorum assiduitate vicerimus, frustra fuerimus, vita nos destituente, vel vita destituti.
Properato opus est, o iuvenes. Maturato opus est, si sapientes futuri simus. Scitis enim quam sit ars longa et vita quam parum durans.

906 manet] perpetua est has been deleted on the line; manet added above the line.
907 sapientes futuri simus] sapere delectat has been crossed out on the line and has been replaced by this wording.
   Properemus ergo } quaerere sapientiam. ad capessendum sapientiam.
   } quaesitum sapientiam, ad capessendam sapientiam.
   – Parati simus } capessere, arripere sapientiam, ad capessendam etc.
   – Sit amor } capessendi sapientiam.
   nec taediosus sit labor } capessendae sapientiae.
   – Simus seduli\[908\] } in quaerendo sapientiam.
                 in quaerenda sapientia.\[909\]
   Gerundium pro gerundivo. Mutatur: ad capessendum
   sapientiam.\[910\] Cupidi simus capessendae sapientiae.

(3r) ▲ Impersonale. Siquidem A[r]s [longa], v[ita] b[revis]. Oportet,
   convenit mature quaerere sapientiam. Non pigeat, non taedeat etc.

ملاب Comparatio.
Positivus augetur. Ars adprime longa est, vita vero perquam brevis.
Deum immortalem! immane dictu, dici non potest, incredibile, quam
longa sit ars, vita vero brevis. etc. Erasmus 41.\[911\] Et quibus verbis
positivus minuatur. cap. 42.
   Comparativus: Vita ars est longior. Longe, nimio, multo, multis
partibus, in infinitum.
   Vita fugit ocyor Euro,\[912\] vitro fragilior, vento instabilior.
   Vita fugit fulminis ocyor alis.
   Quanto vita est brevior, tanto ars est longior. Formulas plures vide
apud Erasmum, c. 43. Minitur capite eodem. Eiusdem
periphrases vide cap. 45.

Superlativus:
   Ars longe est uberrima, vita res omnium brevissima. Multo, nimio.
   Vita ipsa fuga, fugacitate fugacior est.
   Vita non fugacissima, sed ipsa fugacitas. Vide Erasm. c. 44 et 46.

\[908\] simus seduli] This has been added in the margin.
\[909\] in quaerendo … in quaerenda sapientia) This has been written in the margin.
\[910\] sapientiam sapientiam replaces virtutem, which has been crossed out.
\[911\] Erasmus 41] Desiderius Erasmus, De duplici copia rerum et verborum, book 1,
chapter 41, where different methods for varying the positive are demonstrated.
Erasmus proposes five methods for increasing it under the heading Formulae
augendi positivum. In the next chapter (no. 42), he deals with methods for
decreasing the positive. In F.d. 13, fol. 38v, Stiernhielm copied chapter 41 (under
the heading “Formula augendi positivum”) and other chapters (34, 36, 38, 39, 42,
43, 44, 46, 48, 49, and 50). See F.d. 13, fols. 37r–41v.
\[912\] ocyor Euro] The phrase ocyor Euro is found in Horace, Carmina, II, xvi, 24.
The similar phrase ocyor aura is encountered in Horace, Carmina I, ii, 48.

 Поэтому Stiernhielm intends what he calls formulae copulandi, tribuendi, removendi in another passage (Vol. 1, Section 10.2.3 at the end).

914 quam] The manuscript has tam, but quam is required. In De duplici copia rerum et verborum, book 1, 34, Erasmus proposes the coordination of tam with quam.
| Difficultas. | Imbecillitas. |
| Prolixitas. | Infirmitas. |
| Profunditas. Foecunditas. | Fuga. |

**VITA**

| fugit. aufugit. diffugit. effugit. | vehementer. adeo. |
| labitur. | magno cum nisu. |
| currit. | magnopere. valde. |
| volat. | festinanter. praepropere. |
| avolat. praetervolat. | cito. celeri gradu. |
| migrat. | propere penna. ocyor Euro. |
| properat. | |
| festinat. | |


| ARS docetur. | difficulter, magna cum difficultate, |
| addiscitur. | taedio, molestia, labore, |
| apprehenditur. | aegre, laboriose, longo tempore, |
| capitur. | haud levi momento, |
| traditur. | non levi brachio, negotio etc. |
| hauritur. | |
| percipitur. | |

*Adiuncta cum synonymis.*

**STUDERE**

| diligenter, studiose, gnaviter, |
| operam dare | fideliter, summa cum contentione animi |
| bonis artibus, | sedulo, assidue. |
| literis, bonae menti, etc. |

**LABORARE. PATI.**

**ARTIUM copia. opes. divitiae. thesauri. gazae. montes. pelagus. oceanus.**

**PROPERARE, etc. Synonyma cum adiunctis. Contraria cum adiunctis.**

*FESTINATIO cum epithetis. MORA cum epithetis.**

11.3.3 Regina nostra forma et virtute laudabilis est

Source: F.d. 4:1, first quire, fol. 1r–2r. Size: 165 x 210 mm. These leaves are added in an octavo-sized file between the front cover and this textbook *Loci communes*, which comprises the bulk of F.d. 4:1. Stiernhielm evinces the grammatical and syntactic variability of the complimentary statement *Regina nostra forma et virtute laudabilis est*, that is “Our Queen is praiseworthy for her beautiful shape and virtue.” It was directed towards Queen Christina of Sweden. Since she reigned between 1644 and 1654, this gives a clue to the dating of this work. It was designed as a specimen of *Proteus rhetoricus*. Stiernhielm uses certain planetary symbols for the different kinds of grammatical variability (which is the first circle, *prima rota*):

- ☽ the decrescent moon (silver) stands for the inflectional variability in the declension of nouns in the singular.
- ☉ Mercury (mercury) stands for the variability of the declension of nouns in the plural.
- ☉ Venus (copper) stands for the variability of the grammatical person.
- ♀ Mars (iron) stands for the variability of the gender of nouns.
- ☉ Jupiter (tin) and ☽ Saturn (lead) stand for the variability of moods and tenses.

He uses zodiac signs for designating different kinds of syntactic variability (which make up the second circle, *secunda rota*):

- ☊ Change of a noun into an adjective or an adjective into a noun,
- ☊ Change of a noun into a verb,
- ☪ Use of periphrasis (circumlocution),
- ☪ Change of a noun into an adverb or an adverb into a noun,
- ☪ Change of a verb into a participle,
- ☪ Use of supine, gerund or gerundive,
- ☪ Use of an impersonal construction,
- ☪ Use of a degree of comparison, not only the use of comparative or superlative, but also the use of a verb implying any kind of comparison.

(1r) **PROTEI STERNHIELMIANI SPECIMEN.**

Sit thema: Regina nostra forma et virtute laudabilis est.

PRIMA ROTA. Variatio puerilis, Donatistica. ⁹¹⁵

∍ Reginae nostrae forma et virtus [audabilis] e[st].
Reginae nostrae formae et virtuti summa laus debetur. ⁹¹⁶

---

⁹¹⁵ Variatio puerilis. Donatistica.] This has been added in dark ink.
⁹¹⁶ summa laus debetur] Stiernhielm first wrote *summae laudes debentur.*
Reginam nostram forma et virtus cohonestant.
Regina nostra nihil formosius, nihil honestius.

♀ Omnes mundi Reginae, nostrae cedunt formae et virtutis gloriam.
Reginarum cunctarum nostra est formosissima et virtute praestantissima.

 Reggie cunctis nostra forma et virtutum laudibus antecellit, excellit, anteit.

♀ Reginas omnes nostra forma et virtute superat, exuperat.
<Reginas> omnes post se multis relinquit parasangis.

♀ Reginis omnibus nostra forma et virtute est excelsior, exsuperantior,
<Reginis omnibus nostra> forma et virtutis laude longe antecellit.

♀ O Regina, quae forma et virtute decora es!
♂ O Regum decus! Forma et virtute celsissima,
Formae et virtutis merito a cunctis laudaris,
Forma et virtutis gloria cluis, fulges, enites etc.!

♀ Regina nostra nulla alia comperta (visa) est formosior virtuteque eminentior.
Regina nostra nunquam reperietur alia formosior,
<Regina nostra> non poterit inveniri ulla formosior. etc.
Reginae nostrae forma et virtute parem non facile inveneris;
<Reginae nostrae forma et virtute> par non facilis est inventu;
<Reginae nostrae forma et virtute> parem nemo facile inventurus est.

Reginae nostrae formam et virtutem omnes pariter laudatum ibunt;
<Reginae nostrae formam et virtutem omnes> laudando celebrabunt;
<Reginae nostrae formam et virtutem> laudandi studio cuncti rapimur;
<Reginae nostrae formam et virtutem omnes> laudandam censebunt.

(2r) SECUNDA ROTA.
♀ Regina nostrae formosa et virtutis decora laudatur ab omnibus.
♂ Forma et bene-agere Reginae
♀ nostrae mirum quantos sui excitant amores!

---

917 virtute praestantissima[ ] virtuosissima has been crossed out on the line, virtute praestantissima added above the line.
918 excellit, anteit[ ] This has been added in dark ink in the continuation of the line.
919 exuperat[ ] This has been added in dark ink in the continuation of the line.
920 omnes post se multis relinquit parasangis[ ] This has been added in the margin.
921 forma et virtutis laude longe antecellit[ ] This has been added in the margin.
922 enites[ ] This has been added after etc. in the manuscript.
923 virtute eminentior[ ] The words magis virtuosa have been crossed out on the line.
924 virtutis decora[ ] virtuosa has been crossed out on the line.
Hinc, quod tam decore ac virtuose se gerit Regina Nostra ab omnibus laudem meretur.

Laudanda forma est et virtus Reginae Nostrae omnibus laudata … .

Vide supra in b.

Omnes convenit (decret, oportet, necesse est) laudare formam et virtutem Regiae Nostrae.

Regina nostra virtute et forma nemo mortalium est praestantior (excellentior, sublimior).

Omnes homines antecellit, vincit, superat, superfulget forma et virtute.

Regina nostra forma et virtute omnes laudem supergreditur. Comparationem non admittunt forma et virtus Regiae nostrae. Omnen comparationem excedunt virtus et forma Regiae nostrae.

11.3.4 Vir sapiens aeque fert utramque fortunam

Source: F.d. 4:1, second quire, fols. 1r–2v. This is a continuation of Protei Stiernhielmian specimen. This sample of Proteus rhetoricus first (fol. 1r, upper half) shows the declensional variability in Latin of the Stoizicing statement “the wise man endures with equanimity both fortunes” (i.e. both good luck/ good fortune and ill luck/ misfortune) and then (fol. 1r lower half, and fol. 2v) demonstrates the variability of fortuna by means of the devices of related words, equivalents and periphrasis (affinia, aequipollentia, and periphrasis). After that (fols. 1v–2r), there are rhetorical variations of the same statement according to the devices of the sixth system (or circle) of variability. Stiernhielm here chooses the categories causatio, descriptio, and distributio. Though he did not call the first variation by a specific designation, it can be referred to as ratiocinatio. This is the tenth category in the sixth system, or circle, of linguistic variability. See the circle diagram.

(1r, upper half)

Thema variationis rhetoricae per stellam seu rota primam:

1. * Casus.

N. Vir sapiens aeque fert utramque fortunam.

G. Viri sapientis est aeque ferre utramque fortunam.


A. Virum sapientem oportet, decet, convenit aeque ferre utramque fortunam.

V. O vir sapiens, tuum est aeque ferre utramque fortunam. Vel: Tu debes ferre utramque fortunam.

Ab. A viro sapiente aeque fertur utramque fortunam.
Sic etiam variari potest vox fortuna.
N. Aeque ferenda est viro sapienti utraque fortuna.
G. Aeque ferendus est cursus, status, casus utriusque fortunae.
G. <Aeque> ferenda mutatio, vicissitudo, alea, sors, rota, rotatio,
conditio, ictus, discrimin, iniquiores vices.
   <Aeque> ferrendus lusus, ludibrium, gyrus, orbis volubilitas,
lubricitas.
D. Aequm se praebet vir sapiens utrique fortunae. In plur[ali]:
A. Tempestates, procellae, fluctus, flumina fortunae, ancipitis
   eventus casibus, stimuli doloris.

(1r, lower half)
Virtutem qui ducem habet, is fortunam habet comitem. GS.925
Quem penes est virtus, eum nulla laedere potest fortunae iniquitas.
Periphrasis et aequipollentia:
   Qui virtute fertur, is inequitat fortunae etiam recalcitranti.
Virtute fraenare fortunam.
   Livius: Is demum vir erit, cuius animum nec prospera fortuna
statu suo effret nec adversa infringet.926
   Is mihi demum vir erit, non qui magnitudine et robore
corporis stolide ferox est, sed qui invicta animi moderatione
fortunae vel blandientis delicias vel saevientis minas superare
et perferre valet. GS.

Vir sapiens.
Affiniae: prudens, felix, beatus )( abiectus, angusti animi, dubia,
excitata, inclinata, iacens, vitrea.
Synonyma. Vir homo fortis, magnanimus, aequanimitatis; vir fortis,
stabili, firme, celso animo, viribus exsuperantissimis.
   Cave vertenti te praebeas fortunae.
   Omnia, quae cadere in hominem possunt,
   <omnia, quae> accidere homini <possunt>
   Humana omnia, res humana
Fortuna: mala et bona,
   malae secundaeque res. Salust[ius].
   secundarum ambiguarum rerum sciens. Tac[itus].
   tempora tristia, secunda
   nubila, serena

925 GS] The acronym of Georgius Stiernhielmius.
926 Livius ... infringet] Livy, Ab urbe condita 45, 8: “Is demum uir erit, cuius
animum neque prosperae <res> flatu suo efferent nec aduersae infringent.”
fors, quam obtulerit, quemcunque tulerit casum
res prospera )( ambigua
In rebus scaevis adfulsit fortunae nutus hilarior.
In rebus prosperis et ad volutationem fluentibus

<Fortuna> prospera et adversa.
  bland aea va
  blandiens scaeva
  ridens minax
  laeta trux
  ludens, truculenta
  ludiblanda furens
  arridens irata
  nitens duriori conflictari
  renitens
  splendens
  secunda, propitia
  florentissima
  valida improspera

(1r) <Ratiocinatio>
Fortuna orbis terrarum Regina celso supra omnia residens solio
circumiacentibus et prono vultu adorantibus mortalibus varia
dispescat munera, opes, honores, sceptra, coronas, ex humili miserorum
extollens in altum. Eadem fortuna Regina, quos modo extulit
superbos celeri rotatu throno deturbat, opes etc., quas dedit,
reposcens nudosque ultimo nec raro ipsa vita expoliati
idque nullo saepe merito, nulla culpa. Quod cum quotidie fieri et
omni aevo retro factum esse comperiamus, quam favori et munere
 eius fidem esse habendam censeamus? Annon stolidum et vecordem
 atque ipso Coraebo stultiorem927 putamus eum, qui eam perpetuo filo
 fidam et faventem fore promittit?

(2r)
Causatio.
Vir, cui sapientia subactum est pectus, spes suas non collocat in
blandientis aura fortunae. Fallax enim est et levi momento dispellitur
et in nihilum evanescit, dispalescit, disparet.

927 Coraebo stultiorem] The phrase “more stupid than Coroebus” was a proverbial
saying, see Erasmus, Adagia 1864: “stultior Coroebus”. Cf. Virgil, Aen. 2, 341–343:
[…] “iuvenisque Coroebus / Mygdonides – illis ad Troiam forte diebus / venerat
insano Cassandrae incensus amore.”
Stolidus est et stultior Coraebo, qui splendenti nimium fortunae rerum suarum columnet arcem inaedificat. Vitrea enim est et oculi nictu citius frangitur.

Descriprio.

Distributio.
Fortunae bona sunt, quae in ipsius manu est largiri; opes, honores, amicos, dignitatis, potentiam, imperium et plurima similia, verum enimvero omnia haec invalida sunt et caduca. Nec perpetua manent possessores suos infidae et fallacis fortunae munera lubrica. Debilitantur opes, obscurantur honores, dilabuntur amici, exolescunt dignitates, potentia labescit, imperia vanescunt et omnia quae beata habentur atque magnifica fortuna repetit clientibusque suis adimit.

(2v) Fortuna nolito tolli; tonante nolito mergi.
Rebus adversis animosus atque fortis appare.
Nimium secundis contrahes sapienter idem turgida vela.
Velificandum est fortunae.
Nec enim semper vento licet navigare secundo.
Vir sapiens aeque fert utramque fortunam.

(2v, col. 1) Sententia seu thema ipsum variandum constans subiecto et praedicato.

---

928 meritis pariter ac immeritis[ Stiernhielm first wrote meritis et immeritis, then added pariter above the line and finally corrected the construction to the present wording meritis pariter ac immeritis by a marginal addition.
929 perpetuo] This has been added in the margin.
930 possessores suos possessingibis suis has been corrected into possessores suos.
931 Rebus adversis … turgida vela] This passage is found in Horace, Carmina II, x, 21–24: Rebus angustis animosus atque/ fortis appare; sapienter idem/ contrahes vento nimium secundo/ turgida vela.
Sub hac continetur eiusdem enunciatio. Quae quintuplex: Copulativa, suppositiva seu conditionis (si), disiunctiva (aut), adversativa (quamvis, tamen, non, sed, at), relativa (tali, qualis).

Est autem enunciatio affirmativa, negativa, dubitativa, interrogativa, conditionalis. Sunt autem modi 4: possibile, impossibile, necessum, contingens.

Subiectum sua habet adiuncta, vel nomina substantiva habent sua adiectiva. Coniugata usum habent in pluribus partibus orationis.

Nomen substantivum: sapientia
Adjectivum: sapiens, idemque substantive usurpatur.
Verbum: sapere
Adverbum: sapienter

Vir, homo (non vir;
virilis animus, pectus (vilis;

Contraria: stultus, stolidus, enervatus, abiectus, desipere.

(2v, col. 2) Sub synonymia etiam comprehenduntur etiam paria et affinia, ut sub sapiens: fortis, prudens, modestus. Sub aequipollentia, contraria, contradictoria, repugnantia, relata. Periphrasis etiam diversa admittit.

Hominis partes et membra sunt: mens, animus, anima, corpus, cor, pectus, caput etc.
Adiuncta sunt: virtus, sapientia. etc.

Synonyma et affinia:
Prudentia, prudens, adorea
Moderatio, moderatus
Fortitudo, fortis
Magnanimitas, magnanimus, cordatus, animosus
Verbo: moderari


aequo animo patitur (iniquo <animo patitur>
fert ) (cedit, labat, vacillet, superatur, vincit.

11.3.5 Variatio duarum interpretationum
(1) Preliminaries
Source: F.d. 6b: 3a, third quire, fol. 1r. Size: 214 x 330 mm. For a photograph of this text, see Figure 23.

Contents: Below, Stiernhielm exemplifies the semantic and syntactic variability of language in two different Renaissance Latin translations of Polybius’ Histories, 1.1 (the introduction). Polybius’ Histories was rediscovered in the Renaissance and translated into Latin by Niccolò Perotti (1429–1480) during 1451–1453. Perotti’s
translation was printed for the first time as *Historiae* in 1472.\textsuperscript{932} Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) provided a new translation for his edition in 1609.\textsuperscript{933} The Latin version was republished in 1610 in a slightly revised version without the Greek source text.\textsuperscript{934} A Greek-Latin parallel text in 1619, retaining the Latin revision of 1610 is retained. Stiernhielm used the revised translation in the 1610 or 1619 edition. The Dutch Classical philologist Jacob Gronovius republished Polybius with his review of the Greek text in Amsterdam in 1670. He, too, seems to have retained Casaubon’s revised translation from 1610.

Stiernhielm chose two Latin translations of Polybius’ introduction and provided the selected passage with his imitation-translation. He divided the texts into lexical and syntactic units that he supplied with a numbering system (which is based on the sequence of numbering in Perotti’s translation) to facilitate mutual comparison. By indicating distinctive symbols in his first and second circles (11* for change of diction, 12* for change of word order, a square for change of mood, a simple asterisk * for change of case, a light flower for synonymy, and a stylized ampersand for periphrasis), Stiernhielm relates the divergences of translation to his theory of linguistic variability.

Polybius began his *Histories* (1.1) with a reflection on the value of historiography. The passage reads as follows in English translation:

\begin{quote}
If the praise of history had been passed over by former chroniclers, it would perhaps have been incumbent upon me to urge the choice and special study of records of this sort, as the readiest means men can have of correcting their knowledge of the past. But my predecessors have not been sparing in this respect. They have all begun and ended, so to speak, by enlarging on this theme: asserting again and again that the study of history is in the truest sense an education and a training for political life; and that the most instructive, or rather the only, method of learning to bear the vicissitudes of fortune with dignity is to recall the catastrophes of others.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{932} The title of most editions is: *Polybii Megalopolitani Historiarum libri quinque in Latinam conversi linguam Nicolao Perotto interprete.* It was republished several times (1521, 1522, 1530, 1542, 1548, 1549, 1554, 1557, 1597, 1608).

\textsuperscript{933} *Polybii Megalopolitani Lycortae f(ilio) Historiarum quae supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit. Latine vertit et commentariis illustravit*, Parisis/ Paris (H. Drouart) 1609. It was published in Frankfurt a. M. the same year.

\textsuperscript{934} *Polybii Megalopolitani Lycortae f. Historiarum quae supersunt ex interpretatione Isaaci Casauboni*, [Frankfurt am Main and Hanau] 1610.
(2) Perotti’s and Casaubon’s translations of Polybius’ preface

Exemplum variationis duarum interpretationum Latinarum ex Graeco Polybii.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Si ab iis qui res gestas ante nos</td>
<td>12*</td>
<td>1. 2. 6. Si esset ab iis qui ante nos res gestas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ante nos</td>
<td></td>
<td>3. memoriae mandarunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. scripserrunt</td>
<td>11*</td>
<td>4. Historiae ipsius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. laudem Historiae praetermissa</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>5. praetermissa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. esse contigisset,</td>
<td>@</td>
<td>4. laudatio,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. fortasse necessarium</td>
<td>12*</td>
<td>7. necessarium iam fortasse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. videretur,</td>
<td>≠</td>
<td>8. foret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. ut universos</td>
<td>≠</td>
<td>9. omnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. ad suscipliendam</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>13. hortari, ut hoc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. capessendamque</td>
<td></td>
<td>12. commentariorum genus @</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. historiam</td>
<td>@</td>
<td>11. potissimum eligant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. hortaremur;</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>10. suscipiantque;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. cum nulla</td>
<td></td>
<td>14. cum nulla sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. hominibus</td>
<td>≠</td>
<td>15. mortalibus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. facilior</td>
<td></td>
<td>17. ad proficiendum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. ad vitae institutionem</td>
<td></td>
<td>18. via</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. via sit,</td>
<td></td>
<td>16. expeditior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. quam rerum ante nos gestarum</td>
<td></td>
<td>19. rerum ante actarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. cognitio.</td>
<td></td>
<td>20. scientia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Verum</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Verum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. cum</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. quoniam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. non aliqui</td>
<td></td>
<td>3. non alioqui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. neque aliquatenus</td>
<td></td>
<td>4. neque aliquatenus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. sed omnes,</td>
<td></td>
<td>6. sed, prope dixerim,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ut ita dicam,</td>
<td></td>
<td>5. omnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. hoc principio</td>
<td></td>
<td>7. hoc principio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. hocque fine</td>
<td></td>
<td>8. et fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. utantur,</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>9. usi sunt,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. ut veram disciplinam</td>
<td>@</td>
<td>15. quum dicerent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. exercitationemque</td>
<td></td>
<td>10. verissimam quidem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. ad res civiles</td>
<td></td>
<td>institutionem esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. historiae</td>
<td></td>
<td>11. ad praeparationem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12. ad capessendam Rempublicam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

322

[Perotti.] 14. doctrinam illam, @ 13. quae ex historia paratur; 16. 20. magistram vero unicam 19. eamque praesentissimam, 21. ut possit aliquis 22. fortunae 23. mutationes 24. sufferre @ 18. aliorum casuum @ 17. commemoratone.

(3) Stiernhielm’s translation

Variatio seu imitatio authoris.

11.3.6 Intralingual paraphrases of Livy and Sallust: samples
Stiernhielm also demonstrated syntactic variability by intralingual paraphrases of Classical Latin texts. He chose orations in Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 1, 16, 6–7 (Proculus Julius’ speech to the Roman senate), 1, 41, 3 ff. (Queen Tanaquil’s speech to her son-in-law), 4, 28, 4–5 (the Volscian soldier Vettius Messius’ speech to his troops), 1, 12, 4–7 (Romulus’ speech as commander-in-chief before the army between the Palatine hill and the Capitoline), 1, 24, 10–12 (Publius Horatius’ speech before the people’s assembly for his son accused of high treason), 5, 27, 12–14 (the speech of the Faliscan legates in the Roman senate), and 7, 24, 4–7 (the consul Popilius’ speech before the Roman army in the defeat of the Gauls) and Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, § 85, 1–50 (Marius’ speech before the people’s assembly). These texts are found in F.d. 6b, 3a, quire 7 (8 leaves with the size 205 x 325 mm). In the left-hand column, Stiernhielm quotes the Latin text, which he divides in numbered syntactic units. In the right-hand column, he provides his Latin paraphrase.

To give a sample, Stiernhielm divides the opening of Proculus Iulius’ speech into three units and varies it in the right-hand column:

1. Romulus, Quirites, Inclytae urbis nostrae fundator/ genitor/ conditor
2. parens huius urbis
3. prima hodierna luce

The first clause of Popilius’ speech (“Why are you standing there, my men?” *Ab urbe condita* 7, 24, 4) is divided into two units (the left-hand column) and varied as follows in the right-hand column:

1. Quid stas, Hem socii,
2. miles? quid cunctamini?
11.4 Lexical variability of epistemological stages

11.4.1 General inventory of linguistic expressions

Source: F.d. 6b: 1, first quire (fol. 1r–2v). Size 164 x 210 mm. Stiernhielm demonstrates how his epistemological categories with their dichotomous concepts can be varied lexically. The dichotomous concepts are marked by the symbol ). In the heading he refers to Apparatus eloquentiae (1630) by the German Jesuit Wolfgang Schönsleder (1570–1651), whose work is a comprehensive alphabetic dictionary of ancient Latin phrases (with an extent of more than 1300 pages). As Bernt Olsson observed, Stiernhielm does not rely much on Schönsleder, but makes an original contribution with his inventory of synonymous lexical expressions of his epistemic categories.

In rota indumentorum 12 classium phrases in Apparatu eloquentiae Schonsleder sub titulis sequentibus inveniuntur:

♈ ESSENTIA: sub esse, dici, exercere, oriri, fieri, prodire, vita, vigere, homo, humana, omnium, omnes, mundus, vulgus, aliquando, semper, saepe, plerumque, ubique, nunquam, multiplex, communiter, quidam, pauci, multa, copia, multum, multo, omnino. ) ( NIHIL: nemo, nullus, non.

♉ SENSUS: sensus, sententia, sentire animo, cognoscere, intelligere, sapere, sapiens, sentire corpore, audire, videre, olfacere, gustare, tangere, praevideire, animus, animadvertere.

♊ ADMIRATIO: mira, mirari, stupexactus.

♊ STUPOR: eodem coecus, stultitia, stultus, amens, insanus, simplex, non sapere.

♋ DUBITATIO: dubitare, dubium, ambages, ambiguum, perplexus.

♌ OPINIO: opinio, putare, cogitare; studio temere, improvisum; decernere, constituere animo; velle nolle; persuadere sibi.

♍ POSSIBILE: possibile, potest, fieri, FACILIS difficilis; necesse evenire, superfluum, forte, casu.

♍ IMPOSSIBLE: eodem incredible, infinitus, innumerabilis.

♎ CONVENIENS: eodem convenire, decet, honor, honestas, honestus, pulcher, rationi conveniens, naturalis, secundum naturam, aequum, ius, recte, rectum, bene, dignum indignum; simul particeps.

---

936 eodem] This means eodem modo, that is “in the same way” and has here and below been used to introduce a set of synonyms.
11.4.2 Synonymics and phraseology of ancient Latin
Source: F.d. 6b: 3a, first quire, fols. 1r–6v, and second quire, 1r. Size: 214 x 330 mm. As indicated, Stiernhielm contrary to his own statement did not use Schönsleder’s *Apparatus eloquentiae* (1630) as a source for his collection of Latin phrases. Schönsleder’s anthology certainly has the sub-title: “in which the riches of the Latin language are gathered from ancient and approved writers, arranged into commonplaces and put forward to embellish, vary and amplify the speech.” At least, I have not discovered any obvious dependence on it. Rather, Stiernhielm used other synonymous and phraseological dictionaries, such as the German philologist and laywer Hermann Ulner’s *Copiosa suppellex elegantissimarum Germanicae et Latinae linguae phrasium*, first published posthumously in 1567 (with a
Stiernhielm’s examples to a great extent coincide with those being found in Ulner’s dictionary. As a Renaissance philologist, Ulner used Plautus, Terence, Cicero and Symmachus as his primary frame of reference and as sources for Latin colloquialisms. As a lawyer, he also quoted phrases in Roman jurists, such as Ulpian and Modestinus. The agreement between Ulner’s and Stiernhielm’s collections in the selection of preclassical, classical and late Latin authors can only be explained by the latter’s use of *Copiosa suppellex*.

As far as Cicero’s words and phrases are concerned, dictionaries of this kind depended on Mario Nizoli’s *Lexicon Ciceronianum* in the first edition entitled *Observationes in M. T. Ciceronem* (1535). I have not explored whether Stiernhielm relied on Johann Philipp Pareus’ (1576–1648) massive phraseological dictionary *Calligraphia Romana*. However, he apparently consulted Erasmus of Rotterdam’s collection of Latin and Greek proverbial statements *Adagia* (first published in 1500). He possessed an early edition from Basel 1513. In all probability, he also used Erasmus’ summary of his Adages (*Epitome Adagiorum*).

By his thematic systematization and synthesis of examples from earlier handbooks, Stiernhielm nonetheless in some regard turns out to be innovative. It is uncertain to what extent he relied on his own reading of Ancient Latin literature. The genre of synonymous and phraseological dictionaries of Latin was however a plagiaristic one, like all lexicography else. The French classical scholar Jean-Baptiste Gardin-Dumesnil is a famous later writer in this genre.

In editing Stiernhielm’s collection of Latin synonyms and phrases, I have identified specific textual passages in ancient Latin authors, thus leaving common phrases aside.

(1r, col. 1) ESSENTIA. Coepit esse. Est. Existit. Extat.

---


943 Jean-Baptiste Gardin-Dumesnil (1720–1802), *Synonymes latins et leurs différentes significations avec des exemples tirés des meilleurs auteurs* (Paris 1777). It was translated into German as *Versuch einer allgemeinen lateinischen Synonymik* (three vols., Leipzig 1799) by Johann Ernesti.
Existere, exurgere, erumpere, fluere, effluere ex aliqua re. Defluere: hoc totum e sophistarum fontibus defluit in forum.\(^{944}\) Cicero.

Emanare, oriri, exoriri, e, ex, a. Idem.

Originem accipere, trahere. Paulus <Diaconus>\(^{945}\).


Hinc, ab isto initio, tractus, ductus est sermo. Cicero.

Sensim pernicies illapsa in civium animos. Idem.

Ex quo haec omnia nata et profecta sunt, Idem.

Coepit esse. Ulpianus.

Iuri operam daturum prius noscere oportet unde nomen iuris descendat.\(^{946}\) Ulpianus.

Iure gentium servitus invasit. Idem.

Cum utilitas pignorum irrepserit. Idem

Ex hoc iure gentium introducta bella.\(^{947}\) Herm[ogenianus].\(^{948}\)

Multa Ciceronis scripta non extant.

Discordiae gliscunt.

Comparatum esse: natura, more maiorum.

**Comparatum est.**

Huc pertinet vivere cum synonymis et vigere, florere, crescere, moveri, vigere, vegere.

Item circumlocutiones, ut:

- Quicquid sol aspicit, oceanus habet,
  et totus complectitur mundus, orbis.\(^{949}\) etc.

  Quicquid mali per hos annos Cluentius vidit, id omne ex matre est conflatum.\(^{950}\) Cicero.

---


\(^{945}\) Paulus Diaconus] The author referred to is the Langobardian historian Paulus Diaconus in the 8\(^{\text{th}}\)-century. He adriged the dictionary on specific Latin phrases that Marcus Verrius Flaccus had compiled, *De significatu verborum*. In so doing, he used the epitome edited and commented by Sextus Pompeius Festus. His work is therefore titled *Epitome Festi de Verborum Significatu*.

\(^{946}\) Iuri operam daturum … descendat] Ulpian, *Digestae* 1, 1, 1 preface.

\(^{947}\) Hoc totum e sophistarum fontibus … Ex hoc iure gentium introducta bella] All these examples are found in Ulner’s *Copiosa suppellex* in approximatorily the same order of sequence (see the 1571 edition, s.v. Anfang gewinnen, pp. 21–23.

\(^{948}\) Hermogenianus] The author referred to is Aurelius Hermogenianus, a Roman lawyer in the late 3\(^{\text{rd}}\)-century and early 4\(^{\text{th}}\) century AD. He made a summary of classical legal writings in his *Iuris epitomae*.

\(^{949}\) Mundus, orbis] *Mundus* has been written on the line and has not been crossed out; *orbis* has been added above the line.

\(^{950}\) Quicquid … conflatum] Cicero, *Pro Aulo Cluentio* 61, 169: “quicquid mali per hosce annos A. Cluentius viderit, quicquid hoc tempore habeat sollicitudinis ac negotii, id omne a matre esse conflatum.”
Horum contraria sunt
Avolare, cadere, corruere, decidere, disperire, Defervescere, deflorescere, extingui, evanescere, exarescere, extabescere. Cicero.
Ad irritum recidere. Papinianus.
Perire. [Paul.] Interire. [Ulp.] Intercidere. etc.
Adjectiva: Fragilis, caducus, infirmus, mortalis, fugax, fluxus, mobilis etc.

(1r, col. 2)
In ESE tempora considerantur praeteritum, praezens, futurum. Omnes qui sunt, fuerunt et futuri sunt. Nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis. (olim).
Cicero: Quod persaepe et nostra et patrum memoria usu venit.
Idem: Nihil post hominum memoria gloriosius accidere vidi. 
Idem: Ex omni memoria aetatum. (umquam).
Idem: Omnium gentium, seculorum omnium, omnis memoriae facile princeps
Idem: Cratippus huius memoriae philosophorum facile princeps.
Idem: Multi etiam superiore memoria. 
Livius: Usque ad hanc memoriam.

951 Horum contraria sunt] All the words and phrases under this heading are found in Ulner’s Copiosa suppellex, as regards those from Defervescere to intercidere, see s.v. Vergehen, pp. 402–403 in the 1571 edition. All the adjectives (from fragilis to mobilis) occur in Copiosa suppellex, s.v. Vergenglich, pp. 4–3 in the 1571 edition.
952 Quod … usu venit] Cicero, Pro M. Fonteio 23: “An vero vos id in testimoniiis hominum barbarorum dubitatit quod persaepe et nostra et patrum memoria sapientissimi iudices de clarissimis nostrae civitatis viris dubitandum non putaverunt?”
954 ex … aetatum] Cicero, De oratore 1, 4, 16: “Quibus de causis quis non iure miretur ex omni memoria aetatum, temporum, civitatum tam exiguum oratorium numerum inveniri?”
955 in omni memoria] Cicero, De legibus 3, 10, 24: “At duo Gracchi fuerunt.’ Et praeter eos quamvis enumeres multos licet, cum deni creantur, nullus in omni memoria reperies pernicos tribunos.”
956 Multi … memoria] Cicero, Pro Balbo 28: “Multi etiam superiore memoria eives Romani sua voluntate, indemnati et incolumes, his rebus relictis alias se in civitates contulerunt.”
Cicero: Ut mea memoria est. Så långt iag kan tänckia tilbaka.
Hac aetate, tempestate, hoc tempore, seculo, aevo.

(1v, col. 1) SENSUS
Cognoscere, colligere, intelligere, percipere, comprehenderere,
comperire, deprehendere, animadvertere, notare. Cicero.

Videre
Cernere, oculis aspicerique aliquem, conspicere, inspicere, introsopicere,
perspicere, circumspicere, oculis tueri, contueri caelum et ad caelum,
intueri aliquem, obtueri, spectare, aspectare, inspectare, contemplari,
oculos alicui rei et ad aliquam rem adjicere, conjicere in aliquem,
dejicere.959
Ante oculos mihi versatur, vel obversatur; ante oculos esse; in
oculos ferri, id est amari.
Ante oculos statuere, ponere, proponere; in oculis constituere,
subjicere sub aspectum.
Aspectu sentire, percipere, reflectere.
Aspectum aliquo referre.
Obtutum aliquo figere,961 vel in aliqua re.
Sensum videndi et oculorum habere.
Oculis venaturam facere.962 Plautus. oculis uti.963 Idem.
Oculos pascere. Symmachus.

(1v, col. 2)
oculatior. Lyneis oculis contemplari.964 Horatius.
Haurire oculis.965 Virgilius. Sic et auribus.

957 usque ad hanc memoriam] Livy, Ab urbe condita 2, 41, 3: “tum primum lex
agaria promulgata est, numquam deinde usque ad hanc memoriam sine maximis
motibus rerum agitata.”
959 Cernere … ] Most of these examples of variety except for the two last ones are
found in Ulner, Copiosa suppellex, 1571, s.v. Sehen, p. 373.
960 Oculos inferre in curiam] Cicero, Pro M. Fonteio, 43: “Age vero, nunc inferte
oculos in curiam, intropsicite penitus in omnis rei publicae partis.”
961 Cicero, De natura deorum 2, 42, 107: “obtutum in cauda maioris figere dicas.”
962 Oculis venaturam facere] Plautus, Miles gloriosus 990: “viden tu illam oculis
venaturam facere atque aucupium auribus?”
963 oculis uti] Plautus, Miles gloriosus 336: “Neque te quicquam sapere corde
neque oculis uti?”
964 Lynceis oculis contemplari] Horace, Sermones 1, 2, 90–91: “ne corporis
optima Lyncei contemplere oculis.”

**Non videre**


**Audire**


---

\(^{965}\) Haurire oculis\] Virgil, *Aeneis* 4, 661: “haurit hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto / Dardanus.”

\(^{966}\) convisere … oculis\] Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 2, 357: “omnia convisens oculis loca.”

\(^{967}\) Oculis contrectare\] Tacitus, *Annales* 3, 12: “Nam quo pertinuit nudare corpus et contrectandum vulgi oculis permittere.”

\(^{968}\) Deponere oculos in aliquam\] Horace, *Carm.* 1, 36, 17–18: “Omnes in Damalin putres / deponent oculo [...]”

\(^{969}\) Ferre oculos passim per cuncta\] Virgil, *Aeneis* 2, 569–570: […] dant claram incendia lucem / erranti passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti.

\(^{970}\) In oculis habere aliquid\] that is: “to keep something in sight, to watch, observe something”; Plautus, *Pseudolus* 855–857 […] iam edico tibi, / ut nostra properes amoliri omnia / tum ut huius oculos in oculis habeas tuis.

\(^{971}\) Quorum … oculi mei\] Cicero, *Orationes Philippicae* 12, 2: Hic etiam fautores Antoni, quorum in vultu habitant oculi mei, tristiores videbam.

\(^{972}\) Cicero, *De finibus* 19, 54: “Equidem e Cn. Aufidio, praetorio, erudito homine, oculis capto, saepe audiebam” […].

\(^{973}\) Glaucoumam … objicere\] Plautus, *Miles gloriuosus* 146–148: “ei nos facetis fabricis et doctis dolis / glaucumam ob oculos obiciemus eumque ita / faciemus ut quod viderit ne viderit.”

(2r) \textit{Tangere}

Rem acu teto tigitisti.\textsuperscript{977} Terentius. Manibus palpare. Qui, quae complecti tota nequeunt, haec facilius divulsa contractant.\textsuperscript{978} Cicero. Hoc me vix tangit. Idem. Filo Arachneo subtilius.\textsuperscript{979}

\textit{Gustare}

Gustare ego eius volo sermonem.\textsuperscript{980} Plautus. Gustatu percipere, de gustu cognoscere. Cicero. Labris primoribus gustare.\textsuperscript{981} Cicero. Habere pictatis gustum. Rei publicae partem gustare.\textsuperscript{982} Cui cor sapit, ei non sapit palatus. Sapore percipere. Sed ipsi hoc neque attingere nec sensu nostro gustare possemus.\textsuperscript{983} Cicero. Stipes Aethiops, sine sensu, sine sapore, elinguis, tardus.\textsuperscript{984} \textit{<Cicero>}

\textsuperscript{974} Sonitum usurpant] Plautus, \textit{Casina} 631: “Perii: unde meae usurpant aures sonitum.”
\textsuperscript{975} Verbum … accedit] Cicero, \textit{Oratio in Vatinium} 2, 3
\textsuperscript{976} Aurium … commodabo] Symmachus, \textit{Epistulae} 1, 64 “ego tibi ut linguae obsequia nego, ita aurium commodabo.”
\textsuperscript{977} Rem acu teto tigitisti] Plautus, \textit{Rudens} 1305–1306: GRIPUS PISCATOR: “Tum tu / mendicus es? LABRAX LENO: Tetigisti acu. “Are you then a beggar? You have touched the matter with a needle (i.e. you have hit the nail on the head).
\textsuperscript{978} Qui … contractant] Cicero, \textit{De oratore} 3, 6, 24: “Sed quoniam oppressi iam sumus opinionibus non modo vulgi, verum etiam hominum leviter eruditorum, qui, quae complecti tota nequeunt, haec facilius divulsa et quasi discerpta contractant.”
\textsuperscript{979} Filo … subtilius] This phrase has been added in the margin
\textsuperscript{980} Gustare … sermonem] Plautus, \textit{Mostellaria} 1063: Erus meus hic quidem est. Gustare ego eius sermonem volo.
\textsuperscript{981} Labris primoribus gustare] Cicero, \textit{De natura deorum} 20: “Hunc censes primis, ut dicitur, labris gustasse physiologiam, id est naturae rationem, qui quicquam, quod ortum sit, putet aeternum esse posse?” Idem, \textit{De oratore} 1, 19, 88: “haec autem esse penitus in media philosophia retrusa atque abdita, quae isti rhetores ne primoribus quidem labris attigissent.”
\textsuperscript{982} Rei publicae partem gustare] Cicero, \textit{Ad familiares} 12, 23, 3: “Habes formam rei publicae, si in castris potest esse res publica; in quo tuam vicem saepe doleo, quod nullam partem per aetatem sanae et salvae rei publicae gustare potuisti.”
\textsuperscript{983} Cicero, \textit{Pro Archia} 17: “Quod si ipsi haec neque attingere neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari debelemus, etiam cum in aliis videremus. Quis nostrum tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut Rosci morte nuper non commoveretur?”
\textsuperscript{984} stipes … tardus] Cicero, \textit{Post reditum in senatu} 14: Cum hoc homine an cum stipite Aethiope constisses, nihil crederes interesse; sine sensu, sine sapore, elinguem, tardum […] diceres.
Odorari
Ut subolet mihi.\textsuperscript{985} Plautus.
Odoror, quam sagacissime possum, quid sentiant iudices.\textsuperscript{986} Cicero.
Annon sex totis mensibus prius olfecissem, quam ille quicquam coeperit.\textsuperscript{987} Terentius.
Qui non odore ullo, non tactu, non sapore capiatur.\textsuperscript{988} Cicero.
Nunquid aliquo sensu perceptum sit, aspectu, auditu, tactu, odore, gustatu. Idem.\textsuperscript{989}

Huc pertinet: indagare, investigare et similia.

\textbf{(2v, col. 1) ADMIRATIO}

Mirum, portentum, miraculum, prodigii simile, re et dictu inopinatum et mirabile. Admirabile ac singulari. Cicero. Incredule\textsuperscript{990} Terentius.


Mirari, vehementer admirari, demirari, stupecere, obtupescere, admiratione obstupefieri, Cicero.

Satis non posse decernere.\textsuperscript{991} Terentius.

Hoc mirandum illi accidit. Fit admiratio populi. Admirationis quid afferre, habere. Maximis admirationibus aliquid agere.\textsuperscript{992} <Cicero>


Ad, vel in, admirationem alicuem traducere. Admirans est ille te.

De hoc non admiror. In hoc te admiror. In hoc nihil miror.

\textsuperscript{985} Ut subolet mihi] Plautus, \textit{Trinummus} 615: “Propemodum quid illic festinet sentio et subolet mihi.”
\textsuperscript{986} Odoror … iudices] Cicero, \textit{De oratore} 2, 44, 185: “omni mente in ea cogitatione curaque versor, ut odorer, quam sagacissime possim, quid sentiant, quid existiment, quid exspectent, quid velint, quo deduci oratione facillime posse videantur.”
\textsuperscript{987} Annon … coeperit] Terence, \textit{Adelphoe}, act 3, scene 4: Sinerem illum? an non sex totis mensibus prius olfecissem, quam ille quicquam coeperit?
\textsuperscript{988} Qui non odore ullo … capiatur] Cicero, \textit{Pro Caelio} 42: “Quam ob rem si quem forte inveneritis, qui aspernetur oculis pulchritudinem rerum, non odore ullo, non tactu, non sapore capiatur, excludat auribus omnem suavitatem, huic homini ego fortasse et pauci deos propitios, plerique autem iratos putabant.”
\textsuperscript{989} Nunquid … gustatu. Idem] \textit{Rhetorica ad Herennium} (II, 5, 59), a work that previously was attributed to Cicero.
\textsuperscript{990} Hoccine credibile] Terence, \textit{Andria} 625: “Hoccinest credibile aut memorabile?”
\textsuperscript{991} Satis … decernere] Terence, \textit{Adelphoe}, act 4, scene 2, lines 5–6 Quid hoc malum infelicitatis! Nequeo satis me decernere, nisi me credo huic esse naturum rei ferundis miseriis.
\textsuperscript{992} Maximis … agere] Cicero, \textit{De finibus omnium bonorum et malorum} 5, 22, 63: “quotiens hoc agitur, equandone nisi admirationibus maximis?”
De hoc, hoc miror quid sit; in hoc admirandum est. Mirum vel mirandum in modum. adv.

Contemptus
Ostentum hoc mirabile nil habet.993 Cicero. Assis ne facere.
Rumores senum severiorum omnes unius aestimemus assis.994 Catullus.
Gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit.995 Livius.
Salutis causa rei familiaris commoda negligenda.
Omnes despicere homines; prae se neminem putare. Despicatui ducere. Pro nihilo putare, ducere, habere; flocci, nauci habere.996
Parvi ducere. Ducere infra se; minimi facere, putare; ponere in minimis. Cicero.
Nihili, nauci facere; nihili, non magni pendere; pro stercore, despicatum, despicatui habere. Plaut.
Parvi pendere, facere. Sallustius. Non flocci pendere.
(2v, col. 2) Inane et leve aestimare. Huc pertinent: supersedere, sicco pede praeterire. etc.

(3r, col. 1) Dubitatio997
Dubitatum, incertum, obscurum, suspensum, ambiguum, ambigue positum esse. Cicero. (3r, col. 2) Tropice: vacillare, fluctuare.
(3r, col. 1) Adeo varia belli fortuna ancepsque Mars fuit.998 Livius. (3r, col. 2) pendere.
(3r, col. 1) Dubitationem adducere, afferre, habere. (3r, col. 2) in suspenso. (3r, col. 1) Scrupulum et dubitationem alicui injicere. (3r, col. 2) haerere. Animum alicuius dubium facere. Animos suspensos tenere. Cicero.
(3r, col. 1) Tenere aliquem suspensum. Symmachus. (3r, col. 2) haesitare.
(3r, col. 1) Dubitanter dicere, facere. (3r, col. 2) alea.

993 Ostentum … habet] Cicero, De divinatione II, 31 Atque haec ostentorum genera mirabile nihil habent.
995 Gloriam … habebit] Livy, Ab urbe condita 22, 39, 19.
996 Omnes despicere … nauci habere] These phrases are catalogued with examples in Ulner, Copiosa suppellex, s.v. Verachten (395–396 in the 1571 edition).
997 Dubitatio] Several words and phrases are found in Ulner’s Copiosa suppellex s.v. Zweiffeln and Zweiffelhaftig, pp. 259–261 in the 1571 edition.
998 Adeo … fuit] Livy, Ab urbe condita 21, 1, 2 on the Second Punic War: “et adeo varia fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit ut propius periculum fuerint qui vicerunt.”

Subsistere: Quantum ad filium familias, utrum est, in servo subsistimus.\textsuperscript{999} Ulpianus.


cincertis futurorum casibus obligari.

discruciari\textsuperscript{1001} incerto. multum anxius.


Habere quaestionem, in quaeistione versari, in contentione, in casu positum esse. Cicero. in discrimine esse. Livius.


certo certius est. Ulpianus.


\textbf{(3v) OPINIO. cogitare. credere, sperare, expectare.}


Reor: Rentur eos esse, quales se ipsi velint.\textsuperscript{1003}

\textsuperscript{999} Quantum ... subsistimus\] Ulpian, \textit{Digestae} 3.3.33, but the interrogative pronoun utrum is a mistake for verum, so that the sense is: “As far as the son of the family is concerned, this is true, but in the case of a slave we are in doubt (or we hesitate).”

\textsuperscript{1000} varius incertusque agitari\] The manuscript has agitari, but the active voice agitare would be expected. Sallustius, \textit{Jugurtha} 74: varius incertusque agitabat.

\textsuperscript{1001} discruciari\] In the manuscript the spelling has been changed from discrutiari.

\textsuperscript{1002} in ambiguo collocare\] Symmachus, \textit{Epistulae} book 1, letter 86.

\textsuperscript{1003} rentur quales ... ipsi velint\] Cicero, \textit{Topica} 78. This phrase occurs in Ulner, \textit{Copiosa suppellex}, s.v. Meinen, p. 310 (in the 1571 edition).
Habere: Atque hoc quidem omnes mortales sic habent prosperitatem vitae a Diis se habere.

Animum inducas, si sit aliqua Respublica, in ea te esse oportere iudicio omnium.


Ego amplius deliberandum censeo.\footnote{Ego amplius deliberandum censeo] Terence, \textit{Phormio} 457. This phrase is also found in Ulner, \textit{Copiosa suppellex}, s.v. Meinen, p. 310.} Si mei arbitrii res fuat. Terentius.


Tropice

Trutina, statera examinare. Non artificis statera, sed quadam populari trutina examinantur.\footnote{Non artificis statera, sed … examinatur] Cicero, \textit{De oratore} II, 38, 159, where Cicero defends his popular oratorical style in contrast to logical discourse: “haec enim nostra oratio multitudinis est auribus accommodanda, ad oblectandos animos, ad impellendos, ad ea probanda, quae non aurificis statera, sed populari quadam trutina examinantur.”} Cic.

Non, si quid turbida Roma elevat, accedas: examenve improbum in illa castigas trutina: nec te quaesiveris extra.\footnote{Non si … extra] Persius, \textit{Satira} 1, 5–7.} Persius.

Pensari eadem trutina.\footnote{eadem pensari trutina] “to be weighed on the same scale”. This is listed as a proverb in Erasmus’ \textit{Adagia} no. 415 (I.V.15). The phrase occurs in Horace, \textit{Epist.} 2, 1, 29–30: “Si, quia Graiorum sunt antiquissima quaeque/ scripta uel optimae, Romani pensantur eadem/ scriptores trutina, non est quod multa loquamur”, that is: “If, because each of the oldest works of the Greek is still the best, we weigh our Roman writers on the same scale, there is no reason to speak much.”} Horatius.

Suspendere in trutina. Juvenalis.


Idem Persius:

\begin{quote}
Scis etenim iustum gemina suspendere lance ancipitis librae, rectum discernis, ubi inter
\end{quote}
curva subit, vel cum fallit pede regula varo,
et potis es nigrum vitio praefigere theta.\textsuperscript{1010}

Non opinari
Cum hoc illi improvisum inopinatumque accidisset. Ex vel de
improviso. Praeter opinionem, optatum, spem, cogitationem Cic.
Contra spem, contra ac ratus quis est. Salust. Repente, subito, nec
opinanti accidit. Cic. Improviso; contra opinionem. Caesar. Ex nec
Hanc excutere opinionem mihi radicitus volui.\textsuperscript{1011} Cic.

\textit{(4r, col. 1) POSSIBLE}

Facile esse
Facultas, potestas, optio datur. Facultas est, optio et potestas mea est,
mihi liberum est, in potestate mea situm est, integra liberaque sunt
omnia, soluta.
Nulla est recusatio; facultas fert. Ipsa negotii natura nobis dabat
facultatem.\textsuperscript{1012} Integra est nobis iudicandi potestas.\textsuperscript{1013} Cicero.
Res est in manu, potestas evenit. Plautus.

Difficile
Pro virili parte, pro tenui parte, pro facultate, quoad possum, quantum
possum, quantum in me erit. Cicero.\textsuperscript{1014} Quod ad me attinet.\textsuperscript{1015}
Livy. Quoad possibile est. Modestinus.\textsuperscript{1016} Quoad eius fieri

\textsuperscript{1010} Scis ... theta] Persius, \textit{Satira} 4, 10–13.
\textsuperscript{1011} Hanc ... volui] Cicero, \textit{Tusculanae disputationes} 1, 46: “Hanc excutere
opinionem mihi met volui radicitus eoque fui fortasse longior.”
\textsuperscript{1012} Ipsa negotii natura nobis dabat facultatem] \textit{Rhetorica ad Herennium} 4, 41, 1 on
the use of conjectural reasoning in lawsuits which cannot be used freely “unless the
nature of the matter gives us the means”: “Sed non erit, tamquam in plerisque, ut,
cum velimus, ea possimus uti: nam fere non poterimus, nisi nobis ipsa negotii
natura dabat facultatem.”
\textsuperscript{1013} Integra est nobis iudicandi potestas] “We have the full power to form our own
opinion.” Cicero, \textit{Lucullus} 8: “hoc autem liberiore et solutiores sumus, quod
integra nobis est iudicandi potestas nec ut omnia quae praescripta et quibus et quasi
imperata sint defendamus necessitate ulla cogimur.” This statement conforms to
Ramist didactics (on which, see Vol. 2, Section 12.3, viz. the explanatory notes on
Stiernhielm’s introductory declaration of scientific independence).
\textsuperscript{1014} Pro virili parte ...quantum in me erit] All these phrases are listed by Ulner with
further more exact quotations from Cicero in his collection of ancient Latin phrases
\textsuperscript{1015} Quod ad me attinet] Livy, \textit{Ab urbe condita} 2, 31, 10: “Quod ad me attinet,
neque frustrabor ultra cives meos neque ipse frustra dictator ero.”
\textsuperscript{1016} Quoad possibile ... Modestinus] The expression is from the Roman 3rd-century
lawyer Herennius Modestinus, who is quoted an an authoritative jurist (300 times)
in Justinian’s \textit{Pandectae}, where the phrase in question is found in book 27, 1:

Impossibile

*(4r, col. 2)* Haec pertinet ad inconveniens et haec ad dissensum.

*(4r, col. 1)* Est hoc auribus animisque hominum absurdum.\(^{1017}\) Cicero.

Istud ne Pitho quidem ipsa persuaserit. Adagium.\(^{1018}\) Non persuadebis, ne si persuaseris quidem. Adagium.\(^{1019}\) Catilina, si iudicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor.\(^{1020}\) Cicero.

Tu aquam in pumice nunc postulas.\(^{1021}\) Plautus.

Simul flare sorbereque haud facile factu est.\(^{1022}\) Idem.

Garriet, cui neque pes unquam neque caput comparet.\(^{1023}\) Idem.

Nudo vestimenta detrahere.\(^{1024}\) In aëre piscari, in mari venari.\(^{1025}\) Idem.

---

“Asciam autem, quoad possible erit, de his doctrinam manifestam.” This is quoted by Ulner in his *Copiosa suppellex* (the 1571 edition), pp. 320.

\(^{1017}\) Cicero, *Pro Quinto Roscio* 1: “Fraudavit Roscius! Est hoc quidem auribus animisque omnium absurdum.”

\(^{1018}\) Erasmus, *Adagia* 1, 5, 74, no. 474, under the heading *Momo satisfacere et similia*, “to satisfy the critic and similar expressions”: *de re nequiquam probabile: Istud ne Pitho quidem ipsa persuaserit*, “about that which is not at all probable: ‘not even the goddess of Persuasion will persuade this’”. Momus is blame and slander personified (Hesiod, *Theogonia* 214). Pitho is persuasion personified (in Latin Suada). On Momus as typus, see Helander, *Neo-Latin literature in Sweden*, p. 310 f.

\(^{1019}\) Erasmus, *Adagia*, 2, 7, 56, no. 1656 Non persuadebis, ne si persuaseris quidem.

\(^{1020}\) Catilina … competitor] Cicero, *Epistulae ad Brutum* 1, 1, 1,

\(^{1021}\) Tu aquam … postulas] Plautus, *Persa* 40 f. “quod tu me rogas; nam tu aquam a pumice nunc postulas,/ qui ipsus sitiat.” This phrase is explained by Erasmus in his *Adagia* no. 375 (I, IV.75). The pumice-stone was proverbially dry. Hence, the meaning is “you demand a thing that is impossible”.

\(^{1022}\) Simul . factu est] Plautus, *Mostellaria* 791: “simul flare sorbereque haud factu facilest” that is: “to blow and to swallow at the same time is not an easy thing.”

\(^{1023}\) Garriet … comparet] Plautus, *Captivi* 614: “garriet quoi neque pes unquam neque caput compareat.” He will be chatting stuff to you, of which neither the feet nor the head is ever visible.”

\(^{1024}\) Nudo vestimenta detrahere] Plautus, *Asinaria* 92: “nudo detrahere vestimenta me iubes.” That is: “You ask me to strip the garment off a naked man.”

\(^{1025}\) In aëre piscari, in mari venari] Plautus, *Asinaria* 99–100: “Iubeas una opera me piscari in aere,/ venari autem rete iaculo in medio mari.” “In the same manner, you may command me to fish in the air and to hunt with a javelin as a net in the midst of the sea.” Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* 374 (I,IV.74).
Furari litoris arenas.\footnote{1026} Ovid. Sidera coelo addere.\footnote{1027} Idem. Virgultea scaphula Aegaeum transmittere. Lucianus.\footnote{1028} Solem adiuquare facibus. Gratianus.\footnote{1029}

\textbf{(4v) CONVENIENS}


\textit{Inconveniens, absurdum}

Nihil ad rem est.\footnote{1034} Terentius. Herculis cothurnos aptare infantii.\footnote{1035} Quintilianus.

\footnotetext[1026]{1026 Furari litoris arenas] Ovid, \textit{Amores} 2, 19, 49: “ille potest vacuo furari litore harenas.” “He can only steal sand from the empty beach.”

\footnotetext[1027]{1027 Sidera coelo addere} Ovid, \textit{Amores} 2, 10, 13–14: “Quid folia arboribus, quid pleno sidera caelo, in freta collectas alta quid addis aquas?” “Why do you add leaves to the trees, why do you add stars to the full sky, why do you add collected water to the sea?” Erasmus, \textit{Adagia} 3144 (IV.2.44): Sidera addere coelo.

\footnotetext[1028]{1028 virgultea … transmittere. Lucianus} This phrase, which derives from Lucian, \textit{Hermotimus or concerning the sects}, occurs in Erasmus’ \textit{Adagia}, no. 1056 (II.1,56).

\footnotetext[1029]{1029 Solem adiuquare facibus. Gratianus} Erasmus, \textit{Adagia} 3725 (IV.8.25).

\footnotetext[1030]{1030 Mei officii … meminisse} Cicero, \textit{Ad familiares} 8, 10 (at the end).

\footnotetext[1031]{1031 Putavi … officio meo} Cicero, \textit{Ad familiares} 15, 2: “maxime convenire officio meo reique publicae conducere putavi parere ea, quae ad exercitum quaeque ad rem militarem pertinent.” “I have thought that it best agrees with my duty and that it is useful to the Republic to arrange those matters that pertain to the army and the military power.”

\footnotetext[1032]{1032 Adolescens … vereri} Cicero, \textit{De officiis} 1, 120: “Est igitur adulescentis maiores natu vereri exque iis diligere optimos et probatissimos, quorum consilio atque auctoritate nitatur.” “It is thus the duty of a young man to revere his elders and to choose the best and most approved of them, on whose counsel and authority he relies.”

\footnotetext[1033]{1033 All the phrases of this paragraph occur in Ulner’s \textit{Copiosa suppellex}, s.v. Gebüren in the 1598 edition, pp. 213–214.}

\footnotetext[1034]{1034 Nihil ad rem est} The phrase means “Nothing is to the matter; it has nothing to do with the point; it is irrelevant.” It is recorded in Cicero, \textit{Orator} 218 “Nihil ad rem est, protema quam longa sit.” In Ulner’s \textit{Copiosa suppellex}, s.v. belangen, this passage is wrongly attributed to Terence (see the 1589 edition, p. 87).
Sus Minervam.\textsuperscript{1036} Cicero.
In toga saltantis personam inducere.\textsuperscript{1037} Martialis.
Iungere vulpes.\textsuperscript{1038} Vergilius.
Currus bovem trahit.\textsuperscript{1039} Lucianus.
Lucernam adhibes in meridie. Lucianus.\textsuperscript{1040}

Huc: importune insistere, indecenter, inconcinne, impolite, invita
Minerva, praepostere aliquid dicere vel perficere.
Etiam: impudens, morosus, sordidus, et similia.

(5r, left-hand col.) CONSENSUS
Uno ore, una mente et voce consentire. Idem sentire, una sentire.
Omnes ad unum idem sentire. Sentire cum aliquo. Assentire et
assentiri alicui. Inter sese, et de aliqua re congruere. Conspirare cum
aliquo. Mihi cum illo convenit.\textsuperscript{1041} Ire in alicuis sententiam. Ad
conditionem alicuius accedere, descendere, conditionem accipere,
suffragari alicui. Cicero.
Discedere in alicius sententiam. Sallustius.
Decurrere in sententiam. Iulianus.
Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent. Livius.
Et ideo itum est in hoc. Ulpianus.
Et ego Celso acquiesco. Idem.
Pro sententia Iuliani facit. Idem.

\textsuperscript{1035} Herculis … infati] Quintilian, \textit{Institutio oratoria}, VI, 36: “Nam in parvis
quidem litibus has tragoedias movere tale est quasi si personam Herculis et
coturnos aptare infantibus velis.” Erasmus has the phrase in question in his
collection of proverbs (Adagium 2567 / III, VI, 67).
\textsuperscript{1036} sus Minervam] This is a common phrase with the verb \textit{docet} implied, so that it
means “(Will) the swine/ the pig (teach) Minerva?” Cicero, \textit{Academica posteriora}
1.5,18 “Nam etsi sus Minervam, ut aiunt, tamen inepe, quisquis Minervam docet.”
For more references, see Otto, \textit{Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten
\textsuperscript{1037} In toga … inducere] Martial, \textit{Epigrammata}, book 2, preface (§ 3): “Noli ergo,
si tibi uidetur, rem facere ridiculam et in toga saltantis inducere personam.”
\textsuperscript{1038} iungere vulpes] See Virgil, \textit{Eclogae} 3,91: “atque idem iungat vulpes et mulgeat
hircos.” This is listed as a proverb in Erasmus’ \textit{Adagia}. The phrase \textit{iungere vulpes}
means to yoke foxes for agricultural labour, i.e. to do something absurd.
\textsuperscript{1039} Currus bovem trahit] “The cart draws the ox.” In \textit{Dialogues of the Dead},
Lucian says η ἀμαξα τὸν βοῦν ἐλαύνει. Erasmus quotes this in his \textit{Adagias}
(\textit{Adagium} 628).
\textsuperscript{1040} Lucernam adhibes in meridie] This phrase is included by Erasmus in his
Adages (\textit{Adagium} 1407). In the summary (\textit{Epitome Adagiorum}) it occurs under the
heading of absurd matters (\textit{absurda}), just as some of the above phrases, e.g. \textit{Sus
Minervam}. Erasmus attributes the phrase to Diogenes Laertius.
\textsuperscript{1041} mihi cum illo convenit] The manuscript has \textit{convenit mihi cum illo}, but a new
order of these words have been indicated by numbers above the line (1–4).
Cum Caesare Lentulus consul facit. Cicero. \(^{1042}\)

Stare a mendacio contra veritatem. \(^{1043}\) Idem.

Cum illo haud stares, Phaedria. \(^{1044}\) Terentius.

Voluntati eius subscribendum erit. Marc. \(^{1045}\)

Communi animo consilioque administrant rempublicam. Livius.

Communi sententia aliiquid statuere. Cicero.

Approbat sententiam Cottaec. Idem.

Probare, et dare consensum. Modest[inus]. \(^{1046}\)


Ratum habere. Paulus. \(^{1047}\)

Concedo in leges tuas; \(^{1048}\)

quotiens sententia nostra concordat. \(^{1049}\)


---

\(^{1042}\) Cum Caesare Lentulus consul facit] Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 6, 8 (where Cicero reports news about Caesar to whom the pronoun *ille* implicitly refers): “cum illo praetores designatos, Cassium tribunum, Lentulum consulem facere”, that is, “the elected praetors Cassius the tribune and Lentulus the consul side with him.” This passage was quoted as *Cum Caesare Lentulus consul facit* by Marius Nizolius in his phraseological alphabetical index on Cicero’s authorship: *Observationes in M. T. Ciceronem* (Venetiis, Venice 1538), fol. 223v, s.v. facio. It was repeated by the subsequent compilers of phraseological Latin dictionaries, such as Antonius Schorus (van Schore) and Hermann Ulner, *Copiosa suppellex*, 1571, p. 78. The phrases on the concept of consensus quoted above (from *Uno ore* until *Iuliani facit*) are also found in Ulner’s *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), pp. 76–78, s.v. Beifallen, though not in the same order of sequence.

\(^{1043}\) Stare a mendacio contra veritatem] Cicero, *De inventione* 1, 4 “Quibus in controversiis cum saepe a mendacio contra verum stare homines consuescerent.”

\(^{1044}\) Cum illo … Phaedria] Terence, *Phormio* 269 “Nam ni haec ita essent, cum illo haud stares, Phaedria.”

\(^{1045}\) Voluntati eius subscribendum erit. Mart.] This phrase occurs in *Digesta* 26 of the Roman mid-second-century lawyer Ulpius Marcellus. It is quoted in Justinian’s *Digesta* 1.7.18 “Non aliter enim voluntati eius […] subscribendum erit.” Ulner has this phrase in his *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), p. 78, with the author attribution as Marcel. In subsequent editions it was only abbreviated Mar.


\(^{1047}\) Comprobare. … Ratum habere] Ulner’s *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), p. 103, s.v. Bewilligen. The phrases occur in the same order of sequence.

\(^{1048}\) Symmachus, *Epistolae* 3, 44.

\(^{1049}\) Symmachus, *Epistolae* 5, 42.

\(^{1050}\) herbam dare alicuius voluntati] “to comply with someone’s wishes”. The phrase *herbam dare* means “to acknowledge one’s defeat”. It refers to the practice in rural competitions to give the adversary a herb from the field as a sign of one’s defeat. See Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 161 s.v. herba.
(5r, right-hand col.) Dissensus
Altercatio, certamen, certatio, concertatio, diminatio, controversia, disspectatio, luctatio, lis, iurgium, rixa, bellum, pugna. Cicero. Litigium. Ulpianus.1056

Dispectare, digladiari, certare, concertare, decertare, conflictari, configere, ligare, contendere, rixari, luctari, pugnare. 1057 Cicero.


(5r, col. 1) VERITAS
Rem loquitur meram.1060 Ne dicam dolo.1061 Terentius.
Non Apollinis magis verum, quam hoc responsum est.1062 Idem.
Animum referre ad veritatem.1063 Cicero.


1052 Cui proverbio ne videar esse confinis] Symmachus, Epistulae 10,1. This phrase also occurs in Erasmus’ Adages (Adagium 696).
1053 Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci] “The one who joins the useful with the agreeable, carries off every vote (i.e. approval).” Horace, Ars poetica, 343.
1055 Pollicem premere] “To press the thumb against the palm of one’s hand” as a sign of approval or praise. See Pliny the Elder, Nat. hist. 28, 25.
1056 Calculum addere album] “to give a white voting stone”, i.e. to pass the verdict of not guilty, to acquit. The phrase originates from the Attic judicial practice to give a white stone for acquittal and a black stone for guilty verdict. Otto, Sprichwörter, p. 65.
1057 Altercatio … Ulpianus] These periphrases of the notion of dissension are listed with quotations from Cicero and Ulpian by Ulner, Copiosa suppellex (1571), s.v. Hader, pp. 235–237.
1058 Dispectare … pugnare] These synonyms are found in Ulner, Copiosa suppellex (1571), s.v. Haddern, pp. 237–239.
1061 Ne dicam dolo] Terence, Adelphoe act 3, scene 3 “Est hercle inepta, ne dicam dolo, absurda.”
1062 Non Apollinis … responsum est] Terence, Andria 698 “non Apollinis mage verum atque hoc responsumst.”
1063 Animum referre ad veritatem] Cicero, Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino 48 : “Age nunc, refer animum, sis, ad veritatem et considera” […].


Quae proxime ad verum accedunt. Cicero. Ipsa veritas dictat et comprobat.

**Mendacium, falsitas, error**


---

1068 Ferre alicui fraudem] *Fallere, decipere* has been crossed out on the line.
1070 Hic nos in fraudem homines impulit, hic eos quibus erat ignotus decept, fefellit, induxit.
1072 Deludere dolis] Terence, *Andria* 582–583: “ego dudum non nil veritu’ sum, Dave, ab te ne faceres idem quod volgu' servorum solet, dolis ut me deluderes.”
1073 Frustrari] For instance, Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 2, 15, 5 “nec Tarquinios spe auxilii, quod nullum in me est, frustrabo.”
1074 Ferre alicui Livius] Most of the words and phrases in this paragraph are found in Hermann Ulner’s *Copiosa suppellex* (1571), s.v. betriegen, pp. 95–96.

(5v, col. 2) EVIDENTIA

Evidentes et perspicuae res. Cicero.

Quod omnibus patet et aeque promptum est mihi atque aliis. Idem.

Cum illa pateant, in promptu sint omnibus. Idem.


Omnia sunt ante oculos posita. Idem.

Quod conspicuum est et inter omnes constat.


Apparet, id quidem, inquit Philippus, etiam caeco. Livius.

Illustrer, in oculis situm esse, in aperto esse. Sallustius.

In confessus esse. Ulpianus. elucet, palam est, in aprico, in propatulo est.

In lucem emergere. Arc. enitescere. Sallustius.

Eminere, ex latebris erumpere. Cicero.

Palam permanere. Plautus.

---

1075 oblinire os] Plautus, Captivi 781–783: Quanto in pectore hanc rem meo magis voluto,/ tanto mi aegritudo auctior est in animo./ ad illum modum sublitum os esse mi hodie!
1076 Hunc … dolis] Plautus, Persa IV, 3, 11, where the entire line reads: “Hunc ego hominem hodie in transennam doctis ducam dolis.”
1077 Eludere, oblinire … Ulpianus] Most of the examples in this paragraph are found in Ulner’s Copiosa suppellex, 1571, s.v. betriegen, pp. 96–97.
1078 Evidentia] Many phrases under this epistemic category are drawn from Ulner’s Copiosa suppellex, Frankfurt (am Main) 1571, s.v. Offenbar and Offenbar werden, see pp. 328–333.
1079 Cicero, Pro Lucio Murena 28: Quod enim omnibus patet et aeque promptum est mihi et adversario meo, id esse gratum nullo pacto potest. This sentence is found in Robert Estienne’s Thesaurus linguae Latinae, s.v. promtus. -a, -um.
1080 Cicero, De oratore 1, 6, 23: sed cum illa pateant in promptuque sint omnibus, neque ea interpretatione mea aut ornatus explicari aut planius exprimi possint.
1081 Cicero, De oratore 1, 20, 89 (referring to an Attic orator called Menedemus): Artem vero negabat esse ullam, nisi quae cognitis penitusque perspectis et in unum exitum spectantibus et numquam fallentibus rebus contineretur.
1082 Cicero, De oratore 1, 43, 192: Omnia sunt enim posita ante oculos, conlocata in usu cotidiano, in congressione hominum atque in foro.
1083 Livy, Ab urbe condita XXXII, 34, 3.
Huc <pertinet> declarare, aperire, patefacere, dilucidare, illustrare, exponere, explanare, enucleare, enodare, explicare, interpretari, discutere ea quae obscurant.

Huc <pertinet> translationes a sole, die, luce, facibus, ut: luce meridiana, solo adulto clarius etc.\footnote{Huc translationes … clarius etc] In the manuscript these lines have been added below the heading of Obscuritas, but they belong to the category of Evidentia.}

\paragraph{Obscuritas\footnote{obscuritas] All phrases and quotations under this category are encountered in Ulner, \textit{Copiosa suppellex} (1571), s.v. Tunckel machen, pp. 391–392.\footnote{Latent ista omnia … tenebris. Sal.] This phrase occurs in Cicero’s philosophical treatise \textit{Lucullus}, § 122: “Latent ista omnia Luculle crassis occultata et circumfusa tenebris, ut nulla acies humani ingenii tanta sit, quae penetrare in caelum, terram intrare possit.” The attribution to Sallustius is accordingly a mistake.\footnote{offundere tenebras] This phrase occurs in a work wrongly attributed to Cicero \textit{In Crispium Sallustium oratio ir Invectiva in Sallustium, see § 2, 3.}}\footnote{Lumen recludere. This is a phrase deduced from Ulpius Marcellus, \textit{Digesta} as quoted in Justinian’s \textit{Digesta} 8.2.1: “sed ita officere luminibus et obscurare legatas aedes conceditur, ut non penitus lumen recludatur, sed tantum relinquatur, quantum sufficit habitantibus in usus diurni moderatione.” The final clause in extra bold typeface is quoted by Ulner, \textit{Copiosa suppellex}, s.v. Tunckel machen, p. 392 but attributed to Martial (i.e. the Latin poet Marcus Valerius Martialis). The phrase luminibus officere in the main clause is also quoted by Ulner, \textit{Copiosa suppellex}, s.v. Tunckel machen, p. 392 but attributed to Ulpian.\footnote{prudentia … ingenium acre] These synonyms of the concept of knowledge occur in Ulner’s \textit{Copiosa suppellex} (1571), s.v. Verstandt, pp. 414–415.}}}

Latent ista omnia crassis occultata et circumfusa tenebris. Sal.\footnote{Latent ista omnia … tenebris. Sal.] Th is phrase occurs in Cicero’s philosophical treatise \textit{Lucullus}, § 122: “Latent ista omnia Luculle crassis occultata et circumfusa tenebris, ut nulla acies humani ingenii tanta sit, quae penetrare in caelum, terram intrare possit.” The attribution to Sallustius is accordingly a mistake.}


Luminibus officere, offendere prospectum. Nocere lumini. Lumen impedire. Ulpianus. Lumen recludere. Mart.\footnote{Lumen recludere. This is a phrase deduced from Ulpius Marcellus, \textit{Digesta} as quoted in Justinian’s \textit{Digesta} 8.2.1: “sed ita officere luminibus et obscurare legatas aedes conceditur, ut non penitus lumen recludatur, sed tantum relinquatur, quantum sufficit habitantibus in usus diurni moderatione.” The final clause in extra bold typeface is quoted by Ulner, \textit{Copiosa suppellex}, s.v. Tunckel machen, p. 392 but attributed to Martial (i.e. the Latin poet Marcus Valerius Martialis). The phrase luminibus officere in the main clause is also quoted by Ulner, \textit{Copiosa suppellex}, s.v. Tunckel machen, p. 392 but attributed to Ulpian.}

\paragraph{(6r) SCIENTIA: scire, cognoscere, experire}

Prudentia, industria, solertia, ratio, intelligentia, sagacitas, acies mentis, acies, acumen ingeni, ingenium acre, acerrimum. Cicero.\footnote{prudentia … ingenium acre] These synonyms of the concept of knowledge occur in Ulner’s \textit{Copiosa suppellex} (1571), s.v. Verstandt, pp. 414–415.}

Prudens, summa prudentia, summo ingenio, magna exercitacione, alta mente, studiis et optimis artibus praeditus. Sapientissimus.
Acerrimus in rebus inveniendis et iudicandis.\textsuperscript{1090} Vir catus et providus. Consideratus, consultus.\textsuperscript{1091}

Doctrina ornatissimus. Vir praeclara eruditione atque doctrina. Eruditus et doctrina excul tus. Homo multa doctrina et artibus politus, politissimus. Callidus, peritus. Vir summi consilii et magni animi.\textsuperscript{1092}


\textit{Inscientiae, ignorantiae}

Rabula indoctus, inurbanus, rusticus. Cicero.\textsuperscript{1096} Genus hominum rude, hebes\textsuperscript{1097} et impolitum. Idem.\textsuperscript{1098}

Servi agrestes et barbari. Homo asper. Oratione durus, incultus, horridus. Idem.\textsuperscript{1099}

\textsuperscript{1090} Acerrimus in rebus inveniendi et iudicandis\textsuperscript{]} Cicero, \textit{Orator} 172: “Sed quis omnium doctior, quis acutior, quis in rebus vel inveniendis vel iudicandis acrior Aristotele fuit?” This passage is by Ulner or some of his precursors paraphrased as \textit{Aristoteles acerrimus in rebus inveniendis et iudicandis} (\textit{Copiosa suppellex}, p. 416 in the 1571 edition).

\textsuperscript{1091} Prudens … consultus\textsuperscript{]} Ulner includes these synonymous words and phrases of the concept of sensible in \textit{Copiosa suppellex} (1571), s.v. Verständig, pp. 415–418.

\textsuperscript{1092} Doctrina ornatissimus. … Vir summi consilii et magni animi\textsuperscript{]} These examples are with some change also found in Ulner’s \textit{Copiosa suppellex}, pp. 417–418.

\textsuperscript{1093} Artium studiis eruditus. … Literarum non expers\textsuperscript{]} These phrases are listed in the same order of sequence by Ulner in \textit{Copiosa suppellex}, s.v. Verständig, p. 418.

\textsuperscript{1094} In veteribus scriptis … doctrinaeque dediti\textsuperscript{]} These passages are quotations from Cicero, all of which are found in Ulner’s \textit{Copiosa suppellex} (1571), pp. 418 f.

\textsuperscript{1095} Quo quisque … Sallustius\textsuperscript{]} These examples except for \textit{ingenio validus} instead of \textit{ingenio praeditus} are found in Ulner’s \textit{Copiosa suppellex}, s.v. Verständig, pp. 415–417. Under the heading \textit{sciens}, the quotation with the superlative \textit{scientissimus} is attributed to Cicero instead of Sallustius.

\textsuperscript{1096} Rabula indoctus … Cicero\textsuperscript{]} Ulner, \textit{Copiosa suppellex} (1571), s.v. Grob, p. 234

\textsuperscript{1097} rude, hebes\textsuperscript{]} In the manuscript, the order of these words have been changed to the present one by numbers (1–2) above the line.

\textsuperscript{1098} Genus … impolitum\textsuperscript{]} Ulner, \textit{Copiosa suppellex} (1571), s.v. Grob, p. 234.

Quae sunt dicta in stultum: caudax, stipes, asinus. Terentius. Quid stas lapis? Idem.\footnote{1101}

Huc: imprudens, amens, demens, stolidus, delirus etc.

\textbf{(6v, col. 1) ASSERTIO}
Affirmare. Omni asservatione affirmare.
Aliquid asservare firmissime. Adiurare.
Pro certo polliceor hoc vobis atque confirmo.
Affirmate promittere.
Aio: Quid ille aiat aut neget
Annuere: Quaesivi agnosceretne signum? Annuit.\footnote{1102} Cicero.
Comprobare, approbare et plura huc referenda invenies supra et sub titulo Consensus.

\textbf{(6v, col. 2) Huc pertinet: polliceri, promittere, praedicere, praesagire.}

\textbf{Negatio}
Negare, denegare, inficiari, recusare. Cicero.
Abnegare, pernegare. Ulpianus.
Abnuere, ire inficias. Terentius.
Detractare, tergiversari, nolle etc.
Vide Dissensus.

\textbf{(7r) Calumnia. Mendacium}
Vide emblemata Saavedrae XII, p. 77: \textit{EXCOECAT CANDOR}.\footnote{1103} Quod proprie pertinet ad principem. Ego tale lemma effingo: ORIENS

\footnote{1102} quaesivi … Annuit] Cicero, \textit{In Catilinam} 3, 10: “tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo et quaesivi cognosceretne signum. Adnuit” […].
\footnote{1103} emblemata … Excoecat candor] Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1584–1648), \textit{Idea de un príncipe político cristianö: representada en cien empresas}, Munich 1640, reprinted many times (1642, 1650, 1669, 1675 and so on). Emblem XII means: “the radiance of truth – that is, candour, sincerity, veracity – blinds – that is, dispels, clears up, and convicts – falsehood, deceit, fraud, and wickedness”. Saavedra argues that sincerity ought to be a virtue of princes: “Dignissima principe victoria fraudes et technas ingenuitate, veritate mendacium triumphare.” Stiernhielm likely used the first edition of the Latin translation titled \textit{Ideae principis Christiano-politici centum symbolis expressa}, Brussels 1649, since the page reference agrees with it.
FUGABIT EAS. Aut: LATIBULA QUÆRÆNT. Aut: NON SUSTINEBUNT. vel: QUO SOLFUGA CEDIS?

Quaedam ad meum ingenium pro memoria excerta vel aliter applicata. Quanto ingenia sunt grandiora, tanto mendaciis magis sunt exposita. Sic et Taciti illud: Cuncta magnis imperiis (ego dico ingenii) obiectari solita.

Eruditionis sublimioris radii obtractationum nebulas facile ad se attrahunt. Item: In magnis ingeniis omnia in sinistram trahuntur partem et calumniis sunt obnoxia. Quod res aperta nequit officere, saepe calunia molitur aut cuniculis occultis ad, ad sapientiae fastigium (fertur, graditur) grassatur via, ne cursum suum immutet aut importunis calumniantium vocibus ab eodem retardari se sinat.

Mendacia, ut calore solis nebulae, veritatis vi et fulgore dissipantur.

Emblema XXXV. Tuba. Lemma: INTERCLUSA RESPIRAT, virtus scilicet, ex Cic[erone]: Multorum improbitate depressa virtus emergit et innocentiae defensio interclusa respirat.

Aliud memini emblema: Ranarum in palude nocturnarum coaxantium ordinarie, sed face aut lucerna accensa conticentium. Cum lemmate meo: CONTICESCUNT.

Aliud: Stella nocte micans. NOX NON OFFICIET vel ADVERSIS ILLUSTRIOR vel: NOCTE CORUSCAT, vel: CORUSCAT IN ATRIS vel: CALIGINE FULGET.

1104 eas] The pronoun implicitly refers to tenebrae or nebulae.
1105 Latibula quaerent … non sustinebunt] In these clauses, tenebrae or nebulae is implicitly the subject.
1106 Quanto … exposita] Saavedra’s maxim “the greater the kingdoms, the more vanity and lies they are exposed to” is here applied to the field of learning. In Idea principis (1649, p. 79), Saavedra states: “Quanto Monarchiae sunt grandiores, tanto vanitati et mendacii magis exposita sunt.”
1107 Eruditionis sublimioris radii … attrahunt] Saavedra, ibidem, p. 79, states: “Fortunae benignioris radii obtractationum contra se nebulas facile attrahunt.”
1108 In magnis ingeniis … sunt obnoxia] Saavedra, ibidem, p. 79, states: “In magnis imperiis omnia in sinistram trahuntur partem et calumniis sunt obnoxia.”
1109 Quod res aperta … retardari se sinat] With the exception of the clause – “qui se cupid emergere, regia ad celebratatem … grassatur via” – this passage is quoted from Saavedra, ibidem, pp. 79 f.
1110 See Saavedra, Idea principis (1649), emblem XXXV, p. 231. Saavedra quotes the below passage from Cicero, in which he replaces veritas with virtus. He explains the quotation as follows, ibidem, p. 231: “Flamma generosae mentis facile extinguuitur, nisi fortunæ adversæ ventus eam exsuscitet.”
1111 Cicero, Pro Cluentio LXV, 182: “Hoc uno modo, iudices, saepe multorum improbitate depressa veritas emergit et innocentiae defensio interclusa respirat.”
Cantat in aerumnis iustus, et plorat impius in sceleribus suis.

Draco ad fontem a Cadmo sagitta traiectus. Lemma: CLAUSA PATEBIT, scilicet sapientia, e medio sublata ignorantia, quae ad eam aditum obsidebat et arcebat.

Ovidius, Met. 3, fol. 4: furit ille et inania duro vulnera, dato ferro figitque in acumine dentem.\textsuperscript{1112}

Post[ea]: Sed leve vulner erat, quia se retrahebat ab ictu laesaque colla dabat retro plagamque sedere cedendo arcebat nec longius ire sinebat.\textsuperscript{1113}

Aliud lemma: PALLADE FRETUS ignorantiam conficiam.

Aliud: PALLADIS ARMIS, scilicet novus Cadmus linguarum fontem ab ignorantiam hactenus obsessum aperiet, literarum adita faciet, undas veritatis haurire volentibus, etc.

\textbf{11.4.3 Lexical and phraseological categorization}

Source: F.d. 6: 3a, fourth quire, fols. 1r–2r with the size 208 x 319 mm. The text comprises nine epistemic categories (those from \textit{essentia}, essence, to \textit{veritas}, truth). This edited manuscript is not in Stiernhielm’s handwriting. There is a complete autograph draft in F.d. 6b: 1, eleventh quire, but it is not arranged into the set of letters from a to z. There is a non-autograph copy, which is divided into the letters of the alphabet, see F.d. 6b: 3b, but it is incomplete, since it only comprises four categories (\textdegree{Essentia}, \textdegree{Sensus}, \textPi Adimiratio and \textvar{Dubitatio}). I have chosen the non-autograph fair copy (F.d. 6: 3a, fourth quire, fols. 1r–2r) as basis for the textual edition, because several passages are more extensive than in Stiernhielm’s autograph. The copyist may have had another original at his disposal, but it is more likely that Stiernhielm dictated to the copyist what is lacking in his original autograph. I have thus used the drafts to correct the fair copy where it is faulty.

\textbf{(1r)}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textdegree{Essentia}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item a. Esse. fieri. exstare. existere. inveniri.
    \item b. Reperiri. repertum esse. natum esse. vivere.
    \item c. Spiritum ducere, originem sumere, accipere, trahere.
    \item d. Sub sole, sub coelo, in terris, inter mortales.
    \item e. inter homines bonos, doctos, sapientes, prudentes barbaros, stultos, stupidos, indoctos.
    \item f. Inter probos, pios malos, scelestos, dissolutos, turpes, improbos, impios.
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{1112} Ovid, \textit{Metamorphoses} III, 83–84.

\textsuperscript{1113} Ovid, \textit{Metamorphoses} III, 87–89.
g. Inter viros et foeminas, iuvenes et senes.
h. Inter pauperes et divites.
i. Inter nobiles et ignobiles.
l. Inter religiosos et prophanos.
m. Inter cives et milites.
n. Inter summos et imos.
o. Inter illustrissimos, spectatissimos, honoratissimos.
p. In infima plebe, in sorde plebeia.
q. Nemo hominum viget, apparer, reperitur, ortus est, coepit esse, positus est in hoc mundo.
r. Nemo hominum, qui initium accepit.
s. Nemo hominum natus est unquam, qui non consentiat. Pacem esse etc.
t. Inter omnes qui vitam traducunt, perducere
u. Vitam conterere, degere aetatem.
v.
x.
y. Homo audax, imprudens, effrons\textsuperscript{1114} perfrictae frontis.
z. Nemo coelesti vescitur aura, illo homine impurior.

\textit{Sentire}

a. Quis omnium hominum unquam vidit.
b. Quis omnium hominum unquam audivit.
c. Quis omnium hominum unquam accepit.
d. Quis omnium hominum unquam relatione accepit, sermone etc.
e. Ne fando quidem auditum est.
f. Sol nunquam vidit, orbis terrarum nunquam habuit.
g. Nunquam, nullo unquam tempore visum est.
h. Quis tam caecus, surdus est, ut qui non.
i. Oculis, auribus captum esse oportet, qui non.
j. Omni sensu orbatum puto, qui.
k. Omnis sensus expers est, insensatus.
l. Stupidus, stipes, bardus, blenus, caudex, asinus, belua,\textsuperscript{1115} bestia quavis stupidior.
m. Hebes, vecors et amens. Vide Stupor, item Stultus.

p. Ratione caret, qui.

q. Omnes qui rationis munere fruuntur. Vide Ratio.
r. Rationis usu destitutos esse necesse est, qui etc.
s. Mentis suae non est, qui etc.
t.

\textsuperscript{1114} effrons] This is the reading of the drafts as well as the fair copy. The word forms \textit{effrenus} or \textit{effrenatus} would have been expected.

\textsuperscript{1115} caudex, asinus, belua] These words have been written above the line.
Neminem spero inficias iturum.
Non suspicor repertum iri aliquem tam hebetem.
V[ide] Certus et incertus.

II Admirationio
a. Miror.
b. Mirabundus requiro, numquis …
c. Quis non miretur, si quispiam hominum tam omnis sensus et rationis expers reperiatur etc. Hic esse copulata \( \gamma, \) \( \chi, \) \( \pi, \) et sic semper plura loca possunt cumulari.
d. e. Summa admiratione dignum iudico, si quis.
f. Non mirandum est homines ratione carentes et stultos sentire, quod
g. Stupeo, cum audio.
h. Obstupesco.
i. Attonito similis sum.
j. Superat admirationem.
k. Obrigesco quasi Gorgone conspecta, cum audio
l. aliquem tam effrictae frontis invenire.
m. Moveor admiratione cum ordior etc.

Difficile dictu est.

Dubitatio
b. Utrum impudentior ille qui negat.
c. An cordatior ille qui asserit. etc.

\[1116\] rationis expers … copulata \( \gamma \) \] This text has been added above the line.
e. Parum exploratum est. Parum comperimus.
g. Quis est, qui dubitare debet dicere.
h. Noli dubitare, asserere. Dubium cautior\footnote{1117} an audentior
doctor\footnote{1118} an stultior.
i. Sine dubitatione. Non est dubium, quin.
m. Suspicor fore, ut aliquis. Coniectura ducor ad suspicandum. Coniectura prospicio fore ut, futurum <ut>.
n. Non dubitant quidam affirmare, negare, quod supra.
o. Non facile est scribere, assere\footnote{1119}.
p. Vide quid dicant insolentes quidam.
q. Magnum quid aggrediuntur qui audent asserere, defendere illam opinionem.
r. Item hoc dicere sustinent? Non metuunt dicere; non trepidant.
s. Quo evadat res haec, sum in metu.
t. Non vereor, verebor, metuo, timeo, formido affirmare.
u. Non vereor quam in partem iurisconsulti; quod sim\footnote{1120} dicturus; accipiant (improbi, pigri, qui otia amant, somni olientes, indocti)
w. Non pudet eos haec negare. Non cepit\footnote{1121} eos pudor.
x. Non erubescunt, et pudet impudica loqui.
y. Si in ipsis pudor esset, non negarent.\footnote{1122} Non titubant dicere.
z. Expecto, expectat animus,\footnote{1123} quid dicturi sint, sitis.
Vos quorum animi vestri sententiam flectatis (flecturi sitis)
In exspectando sum. Gellius\footnote{1124}. Opperior, quid dicturus sit. Suspenso animo exspecto. Magna me tenet exspectatio. Illi, quid dicturi sint, vehementer exspecto. Non suspicor reperturum iri aliquem tam hebetem. etc.\footnote{1125}

\footnotetext{1117}{cautior} The autograph draft and the incomplete copy have the enclitic particle ne (viz. cautione)
\footnotetext{1118}{doctor} The fair copy (F.d. 6: 3a, fourth quire, fol. 1r) mistakenly has doctitor. In the draft Stiernhielm writes dictione, thus with an enclitic interrogative particle.
\footnotetext{1119}{Asserere} The fair copy has assere. In the draft Stiernhielm wrote asserere, which has been retained in the first copy.
\footnotetext{1120}{sum} The fair copy (F.d. 6: 3a, fourth quire, fols. 1r) has sim. Stiernhielm wrote sum in his draft.
\footnotetext{1121}{cepit} The fair copy has the spelling coepit instead of cepit, which Stiernhielm has in his draft.
\footnotetext{1122}{negarent} The fair copy mistakenly has negent. Stiernhielm has negarent in his draft.
\footnotetext{1123}{animus} Stiernhielm has a common abbreviation of this word in his draft. The copyist did apparently not understand it.
\footnotetext{1124}{In exspectando sum} Gellius, Noctes Atticae 3,7, 11: “in exspectando sunt.”
Vide Certus et Incertus.\textsuperscript{1126}

(1v)

\begin{description}
\item[G] Opinio.
\item[a] Opinor, puto, credo.
\item[b] Existimo, arbitror, reor.
\item[c] Automo, censeo.
\item[d] Iudico.
\item[e] Cogito.
\item[f] Sentio, aio.
\item[g] Suspicor, praesagio.
\item[h] Auguror, ariolor.
\item[i] Divino, conjicio.
\item[l] NOMINA. opinio. sensus.
\item[m] Sententia.
\item[n] Iudicium.
\item[o] Arbitrium.
\item[p] Censura, cogitatio.
\item[qu] Fides.
\item[r] Ratio, augurium.
\item[s] Coniectura.
\item[t] Suspicio. Mens. Animus.
\item[u] Qui conjectit bene hunc vatem perhibeto optumum.
\item[w] Quantum auguror coniectura.
\item[x] Coniectura capere ex; auguratur animus meus.
\item[y] Multum eum illa fefellit opinio.
\item[z] Falluntur omnes, qui eam fovent sententiam.
\item[Qui qui conjecit bene hunc vatem perhibeto optumum.
\item[Inveteravit istius rei opinio.\textsuperscript{1127}}
\end{description}

\textbf{Possibile}

\begin{description}
\item[a] Possibile est.
\item[b] Potest fieri, ut.
\item[c] Qui potest? Id est: Quomodo <potest>.
\item[d] Potest, ut alii ita arbitrentur.
\item[e] Potest, ut neget quisquam.
\end{description}

\textsuperscript{1125} Non suspicor … tam hebetem] This phrase is only found in Stiernhielm’s draft.
\textsuperscript{1126} Vide certus et Incertus] This reference only occurs in Stiernhielm’s draft.
\textsuperscript{1127} opiononem … istius rei opinio] These variations have been written separately in the continuation of the lines m, n, o, p and q in the column titled Opinio.
f. Sed potestne, ut fiat? factum sit? futurum sit aliquid?\textsuperscript{1128}
g. Facile est.
h. Proclive, in proclivi est. In eo quid est negotii?
i. Ludus est homini non hebeti, gnavo.
l. Perfacile, perexpeditum est. Vide Facile.
m. IMPOSSIBLE. Facile dictu, impossibile factu.
n. DIFFICILE. arduum.
o. Mirifica difficultas rei.
p. Arduum dictu, factu.
q. Asperum factu. etc.
r. In arduo est.
s. Inexplicabile, impeditum, inenodabile.
t. Haud promptum fuerit numerum inire.
u.
w.
x.
y.
z.

\textit{Convenientia}
a. Conveniens, consentaneum est naturae, rationi.
b. Absurdum, alienum a ratione.
c. Res abhorrens a fide.
e. Non cohaerent ista.
g. Conspirant omnes mecum de illa re.
h. Unum atque idem sentiunt omnes.
i. In unum conspirant.
j. Concordare cum aliquo.
k. Inter se congruere concorditer.
l.
m.
op.
q.
r.
s.
t.
u.
w.

\textsuperscript{1128} futurum sit aliquid] In his draft Stiernhielm wrote \textit{futurus sit aliquid}. In the fair copy, the copyist changed this phrase to \textit{futurum sit aliquid} by changing -\textit{s} in \textit{futurus} into \textit{m} and -\textit{s} in \textit{aliquis} into \textit{d}. 

354
Consensus
a. Consentiant in eo omnes boni.
b. Probant, approbant, assentientur.
c. Mecum faciunt, a me stant.
d. A meis partibus sunt.
e. Assistunt mihi.
f. Auctores, approbatis, subscriptores habeo.
g. Subscribunt, subsignant, suffragantur meae sententiae, meis dictis, meae opinioni.\[1129\]
h. Suum addunt calculum, album calculum.
i. Confirmant, huic sententiae adhaerent.
j. Dissentit nemo.
k. In confesso est rem sic et sic esse.
l. Ratum omnes habent.
m. Omnes in hanc eunt sententiam.
n. Illud certum, comprehensum, perceptum, ratum, firmum, fixum scisse vis.
o. Dissesionem faciunt in meam sententiam.
q. Damnant hanc opinionem. Adversantur mihi multi.
r. Num verus?
s. Contra verum nituntur, qui audent\[1132\] dicere.

Veritas
a. Vere ut dicam.
b. Ut vere loquar.\[1130\]
c. Id mihi, ne mentiar, gratum est.
d. Sum\[1131\] verus?
e. Non Appollinis magis verum atque hoc responsum est.
f. Non Appollinis magis verum atque hoc responsum est.

---

\[1129\] meis dictis, meae opinioni] This has been written above the line.
\[1130\] Ut vere loquar] In his draft Stiernhielm wrote *Ut verum loquamur*.
\[1131\] Sum verus?] This is Stiernhielm’s wording. The copyist has *Num verus*?
\[1132\] audent] Thus reads Stiernhielm’s draft, but the copyist distorted it into *audiunt*.
g. Vident hoc omnes, quibus ad dispiciendam veritatem non est offusa caligo.\textsuperscript{1133} Seneca.
h. Satis liquido, compertum est.
i. Persuasum est nobis de re ista.
l. Id nobis pro percepto liquet.
m. Quam nihil invenio unquam hoc certo certius.
n. Exquisitum est nobis.\textsuperscript{1134}
o. Indubitabile est.
p.
q.
r.
s.
t. VERITAS. Verum, certum est, nemini clam est.\textsuperscript{1135}
u.
w.
x.
y.
z.

\textsuperscript{1133} Vident … caligo] Lucius Annaeus Seneca the Younger, \textit{De beneficiis} 5, 4: “nae ille tunc merito et sibi et ceteris, quibus ad dispiciendam veritatem non erat offusa caligo, supra eum eminere visus est infra quem omnia iacebant.”

\textsuperscript{1134} Satis liquido … Exquisitum est nobis] The copyist first mistakenly copied these phrases (letters h–n) under the category of consent (\textit{consensus}) for letters t, u, w, x, y and z, but crossed out them and wrote them under the category of truth (\textit{veritas}). There are some differences between the wordings. Under the letter designation of l, \textit{mihi} and \textit{nobis} differ, and under the letter designation of m, \textit{invenies} and \textit{invenio} are found to vary. The probable reference to René Descartes as “Cart.” only occurs in the text crossed out here: “Id mihi pro percepto liquet. Cart.” (see letter x, under the category of consent). In his \textit{Meditationes de prima philosophia}, book 2 (on the nature of the human mind), § 1, Descartes writes for instance: “pergamque porro donec aliquid certi, vel, si nihil aliud, saltem hoc ipsum pro certo, nihil esse certi, cognoscam.” That is: “I will continue further until I learn something certain, or, if there is nothing else, at least just hold this as certain that there is nothing certain.”

\textsuperscript{1135} Verum. … clam est] I have supplemented this line from the previous page.
12. Polygraphia intelligibilis: comprehensible polygraphy

12.1 A standard letter of best wishes in 1625

12.1.1 Date and sources of inspiration

Source and date: F.d. 13, the wrapper entitled Polygraphia, fols. 18v–21v, and 24r–27r. Size: 160 x 203 mm. For a photograph of fol. 26v, see Figure 24. This composition was drawn up in 1625, which can be deduced from units 58–61, viz. descriptum Holmiae A. C. 1625. This early date is also corroborated by the fact that Stiernhielm partly relies on Duke August’s work on cryptography (for the impact of which, see Section 12.1.3). The author calls himself Georg Lilia (unit 65), a name that Stiernhielm only used until 1634.

Stiernhielm’s source of inspiration was a contemporary handbook on cryptography, Cryptomenytices et cryptographiae libri IX, published in 1624 by Duke August II of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1579–1666) though writing under the pseudonym Gustav Selenus. August devotes one chapter (book 4, ch. 8, pp. 144–160) to polygraphy, that is, encoded ‘many-writing’, and argues that the polymath Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) invented this genre in the treatise De polygraphia libri VI, 1518. Stiernhielm was of course acquainted with Selenus’ and Trithemius’ works. In his notebook for the year 1624 (F.d. 20, 139v) he quoted a passage from Trithemius.

Stiernhielm shows the semantic and stenographic variability of the epistolary style in the 17th century. Stenographic abbreviations are evinced in certain set phrases, such as the acronym S. P. D (salutem plurimam dicit), in forms of address, such as Your Eminence (Tua Amplitudo), Your Excellency (Tua Excellentia) or Your Honour (Tua Honestas) and in abbreviations of common words or place names.

12.1.2 General wording of the letter

According to the choice of the first variation (a), the letter reads in its Latin original as follows:

(1) S[alutem] (2) amico. (3) Magnopere (4) delectarunt (5) me (6) tuae (7) literae (8) mellitae. Quas (9) nuper (10) attulit (11) N. (12) tabellarius (13) tuus. (14) Ex quibus (15) cum gaudio (16) intellexi (17) te (18) vir (19) care (20) et (21) amplissime (22) cum tuis (23) valere. (24) Laudatus sit (25) Deus. Qui (26) suos

In English translation the letter reads:

(1) Greetings (2) my friend. (6) Your (8) mellifluous (7) letters (4) pleased (5) me (3) exceedingly much. (13) Your (12) courier (11) N. (9) recently (10) brought them. (15) With enjoyment (16) I have understood from them that (17) you, (19) dear (20) and (21) respected (18) gentleman, (23) are well (22) with yours. (25) God (24) be praised. He (27) always (29) kindly (28) protects (26) his own. (30) Similarly, (31) it shall be known (32) to your honesty that (33) I (37) am well (34) here (36) thanks to the mercy (35) of God. (38) I cannot (39) say (40) how much (41) I wish (43) to see (42) you. (44) Consequently, (46) I insist (45) eagerly (49) that you make your way (48) here (47) as soon as possible. (50) In doing so, (51) I conclude (52) wishing that (53) God (54) wants to give (55) you (56) a long life. (57) Farewell! (58) Written (59) in Stockholm (61) 1 (62) January (63) 1625. (64) Your (65) Georgius Lilia (66), a student (67), by my own hand.

12.1.3 Impact of Duke August’s exercise of polygraphy

In general, Stiernhielm is independent of Duke August’s example of polygraphy, but shows a direct dependence in fifteen units, which as compared between Duke August and Stiernhielm are: 1–1, 2–2, 4–7, 5–19, 6–20, 7–21, 13–12, 15–16, 22–44, 46–57, 49–60, 50–61, 52–64 and 57–67.1136 These units make up 22%. Stiernhielm may also have looked up Trithemius’ books on polygraphy, but there is no conclusive proof of his dependence. He may have used Trithemius for the phrase “as soon as possible” (unit 47), which occurs in the latter’s Polygraphia (p. 135, the edition of 1600), but he perhaps used Duke August’s unit 14 as model.

Duke August supplies an example of an encoded message in his exercise on polygraphy (1624: 161). Stiernhielm does not, however, examplify the function of cipher-writing in this composition.

1136 Duke August’s variation refers to the former numbers, see Gustavus Selenus, Cryptomenices et cryptographiae libri IX, 1624, pp. 149–160 (book 4, chapter 9).
12.1.4 S. amico. Magnopere delectarunt me Tuae literae
12.1.4.1 Latin text

(18v) 1. 2.  (19r) 3.
a. S. a. amico a. magnopere
b. S.D. b. patrono b. valde
c. P.S.D. c. fratri c. supra modum
d. D.S d. domino d. immodice
e. p. s. d. e. agnato e. vehementer
f. D.S.P. f. affini f. mirum in modum
g. D.P.S. g. doctori g. miris modis
h. P.D.S. h. praeceptor h. maiorem in modum
i. S.P.D. i. socio i. mirandum in modum
k. s.d. k. compatri k. plurimum
l. S.P.D. l. commensali l. non mediocriter
m. s.d.p. m. contubernali m. summopere
n. p.d.s n. sodali n. maxime opere
o. d.s. o. collegae o. summe
p. Salve p. magistro p. maxime
q. Ave q. tutori q. mire
r. Salutem r. curatori r. [admirabiler] non parum
s. Salutem d. s. cognato s. extreme
t. Salutem p. t. promotori t. [ita ut nihil supra] Deus
u. S. dicit u. hospiti u. o quam
w. S. dicit P. w. iuveni w. mirifice
x. Salut. x. rectori x. multum
y. Sal. pl. d. y. commilitoni y. non modice
z. Salutem plurimam z. moecenati z. non leviter
dicit

t. meum

4.
a. delectarunt a. me
b. delectaverunt b. nos
c. affecerunt c. cor meum
d. recrearunt d. meum cor
e. recreaverunt e. pectus meum
f. exhilarerunt f. meum pectus
g. exhilaraverunt g. animam meam
h. erexerunt h. meam animam
i. confirmaverunt i. animum meum
k. confirmarunt k. meum animum
l. firmaverunt
m. firmarunt
n. refrigeraverunt
o. refrigerarunt
p. refecerunt
q. oblectaverunt
r. permulserunt
s. extulerunt
t. refocillaverunt
u. refollicarunt
w. gaudio perfunderunt
x. laetitia affecerunt
y. voluptate imbuerunt
z. solatio erexerunt

6.
a. Tuae
b. Vestrae
c. T[uae] H[onestatis]
d. H[onestatis] T[uae]
e. V[estrae] H[onestatis]
f. H[onestatis] V[estrae]
g. V[estrae] P[raestantiae]
h. P[raestantiae] V[estrae]
i. T[uae] P[raestantiae]
j. T[uae] Exc[ellentiae]
k. P[raestantiae] T[uae]
l. T[uae] Exc[ellentiae]
m. Exc[ellentiae] T[uae]
n. V[estrae] Exc[ellentiae]
o. Exc[ellentiae] V[estrae].
p. Cl[aritatis] V[estrae].
q. V[estrae] Cl[aritatis].
r. Cl[aritatis] T[uae]
s. T[uae] Cl[aritatis]
t. Amp[litudinis] V[estrae]
u. V[estrae] Amp[litudinis]
w. Amp[litudinis] T[uae]
x. T[uae] Amp[litudinis]
y. Candoris T[uae]
z. Synceritatis [Tuae]

7.
a. literae
b. epistolae
c. paginae
d. schedae
e. literulae
f. schedulae
g. epistolia
h. scripta
i. tabellae
j. [syngrapha] scripturae
k. cerae
l. chirographa
m. chartae
n. chartulae
o. pugillares
p. fasciculi
q. gratulatoria
r. nuncia
t. responsoria
u. responsa
w. rescripta
x. pagellae
y. nunciatoria
z. relationes
8.
   a. mellitae.
   b. mellitissimae.
   c. dulces.
   d. dulciculae
   e. suaves.
   f. suavissimae.
   g. dulcissimae.
   h. iucundae.
   i. iucundissimae.
   k. excultae.
   l. doctae.
   m. eruditae.
   n. officiosae.
   o. gratiosae.
   p. lepidae.
   q. ornatae.
   r. ingeniosae.
   s. falsae.
   t. facetae.
   u. melleae.
   w. limatae.
   x. politae.
   y. tersae.
   z. acutae.

9. Quas, Quae
   a. nuper
   b. pridem
   c. non ita pridem
   d. novissime
   e. nuperrimae
   f. non diu est quod
   g. pridie
   h. pridie huius diei
   i. heri
   k. hodie
   l. iam
   m. modo
   n. iammodo
   o. iam nunc
   p. in tempore
   q. opportune
   r. commodum
   s. commodo tempore
   t. opportuno tempore
   u. loco
   w. iusto tempore
   x. debito loco
   y. debito tempore
   z. hora commoda

10.
   a. attulit
   b. tulit
   c. dedit
   d. retulit
   e. tradidit
   f. reddidit
   g. apportavit
   h. reportavit
   i. obtulit
   k. portavit
   l. detulit
   m. porrxit
   n. mihi attulit
   o. mihi dedit
   p. mihi tradidit
   q. mihi obtulit
   r. mihi reddidit
   s. ad me tulit
   t. ad me retulit
   u. ad me reportavit
   w. ad me detulit
   x. secum habuit
   y. a te transtulit
   z. mihi porrexit

11.
   a. N.
   b. N. N.
   c. N. N. N.
   d. Petrus
   e. Jobus
   f. Georg[ius]
   g. Nicolaus
   h. P. N.
   i. R. N.
   k. N. Ran.
   l. Pet[rus] L.
   m. Laur[entius]
   n. Olaus
   o. Rosaeus
   p. Huld[ricus]

12.
   a. tabellarius
   b. tabellio
   c. libertinus
   d. servus
   e. sponses
   f. cliens
   g. amicus
   h. verna
   i. contubernalis
   k. [delator] puer
   l. nuncius
   m. [fidelis] agaso
   n. domesticus
   o. scriba
   p. intimus

(20r) 13.
   a. Tuus.
   b. T[uae] H[onesta]tis
   c. Pastoris.
   d. Consulis.
   e. Vester.
   g. Sacellani.
   h. M. P.
   i. Noster.
   k. Libeonis.
   l. Capitonis.
   m. Eliae.
   n. Pauli.
   o. Meus.
   p. Hortulani.
q. And[reas] q. [consiliarius], cursor q. Aeditui.

r. Sveno r. amanuensis r. Ragivaldi.

s. Ludov[icus] s. librarius s. Stentoris.

t. Reimerus t. libertus t. Nasuti.

u. Marcus u. filius u. Trauli.

w. Claudius w. nepos w. Thrasonis.

x. Strabo x. consanguineus x. Militis.


z. Luscus z. frater z. Centurionis.

14.
a. ex quibus

b. quib.
c. quibus.
d. quibus.
e. ex qbus

f. ex qbus
g. ex quib.
h. ex quibus

i. ex quibus

k. de quibus

l. Per quas

m. Unde

n. qb.
o. qbus

p. qbus.
q. e quib.
r. per quas

s. ex his
t. ex illis
u. quarum tenore

w. Harum sensu

x. Illarum medio

y. Ex quarum tenore

z. Ex quarum sensu

15.
a. cum gaudio

b. cum laetitia

c. cum exultatione
d. cupide
e. libenter

f. optato
g. libentissime

h. cum desiderio

i. non sine desiderio

k. non sine gaudio

l. non sine laetitia

m. non sine exultatione

n. non illibenter

16.
a. intellexi

b. cognovi

c. sensi

d. hausi

e. percepni

f. cepi

g. accepi

h. agnovi

i. animadverti

k. perpendi

l. conspexi

m. perspexi

n. ut volui

o. ut optavi

p. cupidissime

q. cum voluptate

r. cum voluptate

s. suaviter

t. affectuose

u. cum suavitate

w. iucunde

x. cum iucunditate

y. ad votum

z. pro voto, ex

sententia

laetanter, laetus,

laudate, laudatur, laudat,

gaudenter, gaudens,

laudet, laudatur, laudat.

laetans, liber, libenter,
17.
a. te,
b. T. H[onentatem],
c. H. T.
d. vos,
e. V. H.
f. H. V.
g. V. Praest[antiam],
h. Praest. V.
i. T. Praest.
j. Praest. T.
k. Praest. T.
l. T. Excel[entiam],
m. Excel. T.
n. V. Eccl.
o. Excel. V.
p. Cl[aratatem]. V.
q. V. Cl.
r. Cl. T.
s. T. Cl.
t. Amp[itudinem]. V.
u. V. Amp.
w. T. Amp.
x. Amp. T.
y. Prud[entiam] T.
z. Nobil[itatem] T.

(20v) 18.
a. vir
b. patrone
c. Moecenas
d. fautor
e. hospes
f. affinis
g. amice
h. sodalis
i. frater
k. magister
l. doctor
m. praecceptor
n. contubernalis
o. commensalis
p. commilito
q. homo
r. studiose
s. promotor
t. tutor
u. consanguine
w. iuvenis
x. adolescens
y. senex
z. rector

19.
a. care
b. dulcis
c. iucunde
d. amate
e. honorate
f. suavis
g. lepide
h. humane
i. probe
k. mansuete
l. spectate
m. magnanime
n. magnifice
o. ornate
p. honeste
q. prudens
r. provide
s. optime

20.
a. et
b. ac
c. atq[ue]
d. atq[ue] etiam
e. &
f. et
g. idemque
h. ac etiam
i. aceae ac
k. atque
l. iuxta ac
m. et simul
n. simul ac
o. ut et
p. ac simul

(20v) 21.
a. amplissime
b. celeberrime
c. clarissime
d. excellentissime
e. munificentissime
f. gravissime
g. splendissime
h. acutissime
i. integererrime
k. benignissime
l. modestissime
m. eruditissime
n. doctissime
o. solertissime
p. praestantissime

22.
a. cum tuis
b. et tuos
c. tuosq[ue]
d. ac tuos
e. atque tuos
f. tuosque
g. cum v[est]ris
h. et v[est]ros
i. v[est]rosque
k. ac v[est]ros
l. atque v[est]ros
m. vestrosque
n. cum amicis
o. amicosque
p. et amicos

363
20. q. et simul  
   r. simul et  
   s. iuxta et  
   t. simulque  
   u. iuxtaque  
   w. ut etiam  
   x. aequae atque  
   y. iuxta atque  
   z. simuliterque  
   pariter ac, pariter  
   atque, iuxta quam

21. q. gratissime  
   r. amicissime  
   s. felicissime  
   t. charissime  
   u. familialissime  
   w.  
   x. optatissime  
   y. clementissime  
   z. laudatissime

(21r) 23.  
   a. valere.  
   b. bene valere.  
   c. recte valere.  
   d. recte habere.  
   e. feliciter vivere.  
   f. incolumnes esse.  
   g. sospites esse.  
   h. valentes esse.  
   i. vigere.  
   k. multum valere.  
   l. sospiter florere.  
   m. felices vigere.  
   n. bona valetudine esse.  
   o. bona val[etudine] fruere.  
   p. frui valetudine.  
   q. pancretica valere.  
   r. heroice degere.  
   s. athletice vivere.  
   t. pugillice agere.  
   u. pulcre florere.  
   w. probe aetatem transigere.  
   x. belle aetatem portare.  
   y. ex sententia valere.  
   z. ex voto vivere.

24. a. Laudatus sit  
   b. Benedictus sit  
   c. Glorificatus sit  
   d. Celebratus sit  
   e. Laudetur  
   f. Celebretur  
   g. Magnificetur  
   h. Glorificetur  
   i. Extollatur  
   k. Evehatur  
   l. Laude concelebretur  
   m. Laudibusc evethatur

22. q. ac amicos  
   r. atque amicos  
   s. cum familia  
   t. familiaque  
   u. et familam  
   w. ac familam  
   x. atque familiam  
   y. familiamque  
   z. domumque

25. a. Deus.  
   d. Deus ter. O. M.  
   g. Domin. N[oster]  
   h. Salvator N.  
   i. Redemptor N.  
   k. Creator Mundi.  
   l. Sustentator Universi  
   m. Gubernator Mundi.

   n. Jesus Christus.
26. Qui
a. suos
b. fideles suos
c. servos suos
d. cultores suos
e. Christianos
f. gregem suum
g. paucos suos
h. invocantes numen
i. servientes numen
k. laudantes numen
l. oves suas
m. oviculas suas
n. pusillos suos
o. pupillos suos
p. orphans suos
q. clientes suos
r. obsequentes ei
s. oboedientes ei
t. tribulatos
u. abiectos
w. contemptos
x. celebrantes numen
y. adorantes
z. confidentes ei

27. (21v) 28.
a. semper
b. nunquam non
c. continuo
d. assidue
e. subinde
f. aevum
g. aeternum
h. in aeternum
i. in secula
k. aeviternum
l. diutissime
m. longissime
n. omni t[em]p[o]re
o. [in oi tpre], perenniter
p. in o[m]ne tempus
q. omni momento
r. o[m]ne aetatem
s. per omnem aetatem
u. in o[mn]e seculum
w. in t[em]pus aeternum
x. in diem extremum
y. in secula seculorum
z. in secula seculorum

29.
a. benigne.
b. clementer.
c. misericorditer.
d. paterne.
e. liberaliter.
f. munifice.
g. egregie.
h. eximie.
i. fortiter.
j. coelitus.
k. largiter.
l. magnifice.
m. benefice.

30.
a. Proinde
b. Deinde
c. Dein
d. Proin
e. Demum
f. Postea
g. Denique
h. Porro
i. Verum
k. Tum
l. Enimvero
m. Tum etiam
n. Ulterius

31.
a. scito
b. sciat
c. notum [tibi] sit
d. certum sit
e. certiorem [te] facio
f. certum [te] facio
g. innotescat
h. sciat volo
i. sciat velim
k. animadvertat
l. certor sit
m. certifico
n. resciscat
29.
o. bene.
p. optime.
q. prudenter.
r. sapienter.
s. abunde.
t. oppido.
u. potenter.
w. mirabiliter.
x. mire.
y. mirifice.
z. manifesto.

30.
o. [Huc accedit quod]
   Rursum
p. Quin et
q. Quinetiam
r. Quinimo
s. Coeterum
t. Tandem
u. Ultimo
w. Sic etiam
x. Ad ultimum
y. Postremo
z. Quod reliquum est

31.
o. cognoscat
p. notum facio
q. non ignoret
r. non sit ignara
s. sis gnara
t. respondeo
u. responsum volo
w. refero
x. rescribo
y. manifestum facio
z. certam volo

Non fugiat, non lateat, non celetur.

32.
a. T. H.
b. H. T.
c. V. H.
d. H. V.
e. Praest. T.
f. T. Praest.
g. P. V.
h. V. P.
i. Ex. T.
j. T. Ex.
k. T. Ex.
l. Ex. V.
m. V. Ex.
n. T. Amp.
o. Amp. T.
p. V. Amp.
q. Amp. V.
r. Prud. T.
s. T. Prud.
t. T. Dig.
u. Dig. T
w. V. Dig.
x. Dig. V.
y. Prud. V.
z. V. Prud.
T. Candor.
V. Integr.

33.
(a24r) 33.
a. me
b. me quoque
c. me etiam
d. me similiter
e. me et meos
f. tuos [hic]
g. nos tuos [hic]
h. Georgium tuum
i. Liliam tuum
k. me, tuum
l. nos
m. nos [hic]
n. nostros [hic]
o. meos [hic]
p. nos quoque
q. meos quoque
r. amicos [hic]
s. familiares [hic]
t. familiam meam
u. me cum meis
w. me tuosque [hic]
x. parentes
y. affines
z. cognatos

34.
a. hic
b. hoc loci
c. hoc loco
d. hoc locorum
e. ruri
f. in urbe
g. in hac urbe
h. in hac civitate
i. in villa nostra
k. in suburbio
l. in oppido
m. in arce
n. in tuguriolo
o. domi
p. in aedibus nostris
q. extra urbem
r. in hac terra
s. in hoc populo
t. in hoc Republica
u. in hoc regno
w. in academia
x. in hac regione
y. hic terrarum
z. sub hoc coelo
35.

a. Dei
b. Numinis divini
c. Omnipotentis
d. Cunctipotentis
e. Cuncta-videntis
f. Omniscientis
g. Regis regum
h. Domine
dominantium
i. Divini Numinis
k. Summi Entis
l. Numinis
m. Maiestatis Divinae
n. Rectoris superni
o. D[eus] O. M.
p. Numinis sancti
q. Dei Opt[imi]
r. N[ostr] Domini
s. Domini Dei
t. Verbi incarnati
u. filii Dei
w. D. N. Jesu
x. Jesu, filii Mariae
y. Aeterni Dei
z. Supremi Numinis, Coeli, Superum

36.

a. clementia
b. potentia
c. benefici
d. beneficentia
e. liberalitate
f. munificentia
g. benignitate
h. bonitate

37.

a. virtute
b. facilitate
c. largitate
m. largitate
n. benevolentia
o. gratia
p. miserierungne
q. misione
r. probitate
s. caritate
t. ope
u. auxilio
w. comitate
x. opera
y. adiumento
z. intercessione

38.

a. Non possum
b. Non queo
c. Nequeo
d. Non libet
e. Non licet
f. Non vacat
g. Non possible est
h. Non facile est
i. Difficile est
k. [Arduum] Onus est
l. Non proclive est
m. Impossibile est
n. Moles est
o. [Onus] Arduum est

39.

a. dicere
b. scribere
c. referre
d. effari
e. fare
f. eloqui
g. enunciare
h. docere
i. monstrare
k. indigitar
l. demonstrare
m. declarare
n. exhibere
o. edocere

40.

a. quantopere
b. quanto opere
c. quam vehementer
d. quam valde
e. quam intense
f. quam efflictim
g. quam misere
h. quam oppido
i. quam unice
k. quam plurimum
l. quam multum
m. quanto studio
n. quanto desiderio
o. quam enixe
(24v) 38.
p. Molestum est
q. Molestia est
r. Non est in proclivi
s. Labor est
t. Prolixum est
u. Nimis longum esset
w. Non commodum est
x. Intempestivum est
y. Nolo
z. Non volo

39.
p. fidem facere
q. fidem firmare
r. confirmare
s. exprimere
t. notum facere
u. ostendere
w. notificare
x. persuadere
y. suadere
z. clarificare

40.
p. quam ardenter
q. quanto ardore
r. quam cupide
s. quam sitienter
t. quam amanter
u. quanta cum
contentione
w. quam corditus
x. quam animitus
y. quam medullitus
z. quam ex animo
quam appetenter, quam
affectuose, quanto
affectu, quam studiose

41. a. velim
b. velimus
c. cupiam
d. cupiamus
e. desiderem
f. desideremus
g. ardeam
h. ardeamus
i. aveam
j. aestuem
k. aseostuem
l. aveamus
m. gestiam
n. gestiamus
o. sitiam
p. sitiaus
q. aestuemus
r. appetam
s. appetamus
t. affectem
u. affectemus
w. studeam
x. studeamus
y. enitar
z. enitamur
nitamur, laborem
percupio, discupio, opto

42. a. te
b. vos
c. T. H[onestatem]
d. H. T.
e. V. H.
f. H. V.
g. Exc. V.
h. V. Exc.
i. Exc. T.
j. Amp. T.
k. T. Exc.
l. T. Exc.
m. T. Dig[nitatem]
n. Dig. T.
o. Dig. V.
p. V. Dig.
q. T. Ampl.
r. T. Praest[antiam]
s. Praest. T.
t. Praest. V.
u. V. Praest.
w. V. Probit[atem]
x. V. Integ[ritatem]
y. V. Syncerit[atem]
z. V. Prudent[iam]
V. Claritatem,
V. Splendorem

(25r) 43. a. videre.
b. visere.
c. visitare.
d. cernere.
e. convenire.
f. alloqui.
g. spectare.
h. ampecti.
i. complecti.
j. ulnis cingere.
k. l. sermocinari.
m. serones serere.
n. sermonem habere.
o. verba facere.
p. conversari.
q. conversationem habere.
r. coram colloqui.
s. habere colloquia.
t. colloqui.
u. discernere.
w. disputare.
x. dissertationem habere.
y. verba serere.
z. ultimo citroque verba facere.
colludere, ludere, iocari, iocos
habere, hilares esse, genio
indulgere
44. 
a. Quare
b. Qua-re
c. Quamobrem
d. Quam ob rem
e. Quapropter
f. Proptererea
g. Proinde
h. Idcirco
i. Iccirco
k. Proin
l. Igitur
m. Ergo
n. Itaque
o. Hoc propter
p. Unde
q. Haec causa est
r. Propter hoc
s. Propter hac re
t. Propter-ea
u. Proin itaque
w. Propter hoc
x. Hoc est, cur
y. Hinc est, cur
z. Unde est, cur

45. 
a. enixe
b. diligenter
c. etiam atque etiam
d. officiose
e. amice
f. amanter
g. studiose
h. omni studio
i. omni nisu
k. assidue
l. ardenter
m. maximo opere
n. quantum possum
o. omni contentione
p. cupide
q. affectuose
r. ex corde
s. ex animo
t. omni affectu
u. ex imis visceribus
w. appetenter
x. humiliter
y. humillime
z. reverenter

46. ut
a. contendo
b. contendimus
c. peto
d. petimus
e. rogo
f. flagito
g. rogamus
h. flagitamus
i. oro
k. desidero
l. oramus
m. posco
n. poscimus
o. expeto
p. expetimus
q. appeto
r. volo
s. volumus
t. cupio
u. cupimus
w. percupio
x. postulo
y. postulamus
z. suppliquer

(25v) 47.
a. quam ocyssime
b. ocyter
c. ocyus
d. cito
e. quam citissime
f. citissime
g. mature
h. maturrime
i. quamprimum
k. subito
l. quantocyus
m. celeriter
n. celerrime
o. quam celerrime

48. 
a. hoc
b. domum
c. in urbem
d. rus
e. ad nos
f. ad me
g. ad tuos
h. ad amicos
i. ad expectantes
k. ad optantes
l. in civitatem
m. in oppidum
n. in suburbium
o. in villam

49. 
a. te conferas.
b. eas.
c. pergas.
d. contendas.
e. venias.
f. advenias.
g. devenias.
h. appropinques.
i. properes.
j. curras.
k. festinas.
l. avole.
m. proficiscaris.
o. iter suscipientes.
p. confestim
q. extemplo
r. illico
s. velociter
t. festine
u. e vestigio
w. raptim
x. repente
y. propere
z. statim
praesto, mox

p. in hanc gentem
q. in patriam
r. in arcem
s. in hoc regnum
losum
 t. in hanc Republicam
u. in academiam
w. Witebergam
x. in hanc provinciam
y. ad locum solitum
z. in nidos usitatos

iter facias.
decurras.
iter diriges.
gradum moveas.
adproperes.
te praecipites.
accurras.
gressum dirigas.
iter capias.
visas.
reftaras te, excurras.

50.
a. His
b. Hisce
c. Hiis
d. His paucis
e. Hisce paucis
f. Paucis his
g. Paucis hisce
h. Breviter
i. Compendio
k. Plura vellem, sed
l. Compendiose
m. Brevibus hisce
n. Summatim
o. In summa
p. Ne multa
q. Ne pluribus
r. Ne diutius te morer
s. Ne pluribus te morer
t. Ne te detineam
u. Ne te morer
w. Raptim
x. Plura alias, nunc
y. Ne fastidio sim
z. Ut verborum compendium faciam.
Sat prata biberunt

51.
a. concludo
b. claudo
c. abrumpo
d. filum rumpo
e. abscedo
f. finem facio
g. finio
h. desisto
i. manum de tabula
k. colophonem addo
l. nihil addo
m. stylum condoo
n. calamum inhibeo
o. pennam refreno
p. calamum sisto
q. obicem objicio
r. pessulum obdo
s. pueri claudite rivos
t. sileo
u. taceo

(26r) 52.
a. optans
b. cum voto
c. cum votis
d. cum precibus
e. optando
f. vota faciens

(26r) 52.
g. votum faciens
h. pie supplicans
i. cum piis precibus
k. rogans
l. ex animo optans
m. ex animo cupiens
n. cordialiter optans
o. voevens
p. pie voevens
q. animitus cupiens
r. desiderans
s. cum pio voto
t. cum piis votis
u. voevens ex animo
w. ominans
x. cum omine
y. pie ominando
z. bono omine
53. ut
a. Deus
b. Divina clementia
c. Divina maiestas
d. Numen divinum
e. Sospitator aeternus
f. felicitatis fons et origo
g. Salvator N[oster]
h. Salutis fons et origo
i. Deus. Opt. M.
j. Ens entium
k. D. O. M.
l. Triunus Deus
m. Triuna potestas
n. S[acra] Trinitas
o. Jesus, Dei filius
p. Deus salus nostra
q. Fabricator mundi
r. Redemptor generis
u. Rector cordium
w. Creator mundi
x. Dator salutis
y. Summum bonum
z. finis finium in-

54. 

55. 
a. velit dare
b. velit tribuere
c. velit largiri
d. velit concedere
e. velit donare
f. velit servare
g. velit conservare
h. velit custodire
i. velit impertiri
k. velit communicare
l. velit addere
m. velit elargire
n. velit tribuere
o. dignetur dare
p. dignetur largiri
q. dignetur tribuere
r. dignetur concedere
s. dignetur conservare
t. dignetur impertiri
u. dignetur donare
w. non dedignetur addere
x. non dedignetur servare
y. non dedignetur dare
z. non dedignetur

d. omnia fausta.
e. longam aetatem.
f. prosperitatem.
g. felicitatem.
h. omnia fausta.
i. Nestoris aetatem.
j. Dii te sospitent
k. Perennem vitam.

56. 
57. 

(26v)

58. 
a. vale.
b. Vive felix.
c. Valeas.
d. Bene valeas.
e. Diu vale.
f. Sis sospes
g. Bene vale.
h. Valeo.
i. Bene valeo.
j. Dii te sospitent
k. Perscriptae
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>l. sanitatem perpetuam.</th>
<th>m. florentem aetatem.</th>
<th>n. seros annos.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o. prosperam vitam.</td>
<td>p. incolumitatem.</td>
<td>q. cuncta felicia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. cuncta quae optas.</td>
<td>s. omnia quae cupis</td>
<td>t. optata animi tui.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. multos annos.</td>
<td>w. florem et vigorem.</td>
<td>x. viridem senectam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y. hilarem aetatem.</td>
<td>z. cuncta felici tenore fluentia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>l. Multum valeas.</th>
<th>m. Cura valetudinem</th>
<th>n. Cura, ut valeas.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r. Diu valeto.</td>
<td>s. Vive, vire, vale.</td>
<td>t. Vive et vige.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. Valetudinem cura</td>
<td>w. Incolumnis sis.</td>
<td>x. Inservi valetudini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y. Vive et vale.</td>
<td>z. Vale aeternum.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

59. |
| g. Stockh. | h. Stock. | i. Stocolm. |
| k. Stockol. | l. Stockholm. | m. Stokh. |
| n. Stokhol. | o. Stokholm. | p. Stokholmii |
| q. Stokholmi. | r. Holmiae Sueonum | s. Hol. Sueonum |

60. |
| a. 1. | b. 2. | c. 3 |
| d. 4. | e. 5. | f. 6. |
| g. 7. | h. 8. | i. 9. |
| k. 10. | l. 11. | m. 12. |
| q. 16. | r. 17. | s. 18. |
| t. 19. | v. 20. | w. 21. |
| x. 22. | y. 23. | z. 24. |

61. |
| a. Januarii | b. Martii | c. Aprilis |
| d. Maii | e. Junii | f. Julii |
| g. Augusti | h. Septembris | i. Octobris |
| k. Novembris | l. Decembris | m. Februarii |

63. a. 1625  b. 625  c. 1625  d. 625  e. MDCXXV  f. MIICXXV  g. cIcCXXV  h. CIICICXXV  i. æCXXV  k. Mil. sesc. v. q.  l. MIICXXV  m. æICXXV  n. lDCXXV  o. IXI Ic CXXV  p. 8IICXXV  q. 1625  r. 625  s. IXIDCXXV  t. 8DCXXV  u. æDCXXV  w. Mil. q. dq.  x. 1DCXXV  y. Mil. sup. q.  z. Sup. M. sesc. dq.


67. a. manu mea.  b. manu sua.  c. m. m.  d. m. s.  e. m. p.  f. mpp.  g. mppria.  h. Mppria  i. Mppria  k. m´p.  l. MPp.  m. o o o  n. Mp.  o. M. pp.  p. Manup.
12.1.4.2 Critical remarks

In one of the variations of unit 13 (z), Stiernhielm uses the Greek loanword *navarchus* (ναυάρχος or more frequently ναυάρχης), which is a common designation for admiral in Neo-Latin texts.

In unit 23, variation t, Stiernhielm uses the expression *pugillice agere*, which means “to live as a boxer, a pugilist”. In the variation of unit 32, Stiernhielm uses abbreviations of various expressions of courtesy, viz. *Tua Honestas, Tua Praestantia, Tua Excellentia, Tua Amplitudo, Tua Prudentia, Tua Dignitas, Tuus Candor* and *Tua Integritas*, which depending on what phrase they are governed by (in unit 31) occur in the nominative or are construed with the dative (e.g. *Tuae honestati*). In unit 43, Stiernhielm adds a number of synonyms below the letter z: *ea causa, eam ob rem, sic, ideo, ea ratione, ea propter, ea de causa, eam ob causam, quocirca, hanc ob rem, inde*.

Unit 63 deals with different manners of writing the year 1625 with Roman numerals. There are some logograms that require explanation. CΠΙ, cΙ, IXI, ∞, and 8 signify he cardinal thousand, *mille*, or the ordinal thousandth, *millesimus*. In all probability, the Roman numeral system originated from Etruscan tally-mark reckoning, though this was unknown to Roman grammarians like Priscianus (who mainly proposed acrophonic principles from the names of Greek letters), and only began to be recognized by Renaissance scholars, such as the Italian jurist Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), the Italian mathematician Nicolo Fontana Tartaglia (1499/1500-1557) and the French humanist Pierre de la Ramée (1515–1572). In Roman antiquity, the original Etruscan symbol for thousand – crossed strokes in a circle like – developed into the forms (X) or (x) – which were known to Priscian – and moreover into a circle with a vertical stroke or (I). The form (x) soon developed into the horizontal 8, viz. ∞, and

---

1138 For an account of the tally-mark theories in the Renaissance and modern times, see Keyser, “The origin of the Latin numerals”, pp. 530–534.
into the compressed form of a circle with a vertical stroke.\textsuperscript{1139} It is uncertain what source Stiernhielm relied on, but the horizontal 8 was known in handbooks on Roman numerals, for instance by Matthew Hostus (1582) and Gerard Vossius (1650).\textsuperscript{1140} The symbol \( \overline{I} \) (the tally mark I with a macron) is a mark of thousand. In using this sign, Stiernhielm was undoubtedly inspired by Trithemius, \textit{Polygraphia}, end of book 6.

Moreover, some abbreviations needs to be clarified. In unit 63, variation k, the abbreviations \textit{Mil. sesc. v. q.} mean \[anno\] \textit{millesimo sescentesimo vicesimo quinto}. In the variation z the abbreviations \textit{Sup. M. sesc.} stand for \[anno\] \textit{supra millesimum sescentesimum}; the short form \( dq \) is unclear to me, though \( q \) still must stand for \textit{quintus}.

In unit 66, the abbreviation \textit{Pol.} signifies \textit{Politices} ("of politics"), \textit{Lingg.} stands for \textit{Linguarum} ("of languages"), \textit{Math.} for \textit{Matheseos} ("of mathematics"), \textit{Hist.} for \textit{Historiarum} ("of histories", namely the sacred and the profane history and the history of specific nations), while the contraction \textit{LL.} either refers to \textit{Legum} ("of the laws") or \textit{Linguarum} ("of languages") and the short form \textit{Prud. Civil.} implies \textit{Prudentiae Civilis} ("of civil prudence").

\textbf{12.2 A standard letter about familiar matters}

\textit{12.2.1 The general wording of the text with translation}

Source: F.d. 13, Polygraphia, 11r–13v. Size: 210 x 328 mm. The text has 80 units, each with 22 variations. Units 1–20 and 33–37 more or less coincide with the first polygraphic composition.

In the Latin original, the text reads as below according to the first set of variations, at which Stiernhielm’s own transcription in F.d. 13, fol. 32r, aimed, but some unvaried words have been inserted here and there. I have retained the inserted words in the transcription below:

\begin{itemize}
  \item (1) S. (2) P. (3) D. (4) Valde (5) laetificaverunt (6) me (7) mellitae (8) tuae litterae, quas (9) nuper (10) tulit (11) mihi (12) scriba (13) tuus. (14) E quibus (15) gaudenti animo (16) sensi, (17) te (18) vir optime, (19) bene valere. (20) Ego et mei (21) Dei (22) clementia (23) valemus.\textsuperscript{1141} (24) Coeterum (25) Andreas (26) A. (27) A. (28) A. (29) amicus (30) meus (31) nuper (32) mortuus est (33) a nefando quodam (34) nebulone (35) misere (36) occisus. (37) Hodie (38) captus est (39) sanguinarius ille, (40) brevi (41) acerba
\end{itemize}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1139] Keyser, ibidem, p. 543.
\item[1141] valemus] The first set of variations would require \text{vigemus}, but Stiernhielm here chose the variation \textit{valemus}.
\end{footnotes}
morte vicissim (42) puniendus. (43) Nam (44) Deus (45) non (46) sinit (47) grave aliquod (48) peccatum inultum. (49) Sed transeant haec, (50) ad alia: (51) Virum doctum (52) et (53) probum, (54) filium nobilis (55) A. (56) A. (57) A. (58) nosti. (59) Is fertur (60) amare (61) Annam (62) consanguineam tuam, (63) virginem (64) pulchram et dotatam, (65) consilio (66) illam sibi despondendi, (67) idque adeo (68) suasu (69) optimi senis, parentis sui. (70) Deus faxit, ut Deus faxit ut\textsuperscript{1142} (71) quod actum est, dix propitii approbent. (72) Si quid apud vos (73) novi auditur, (74) id quaeso, (75) nobis perscribe. Vale. (76) At (77) pene oblitus eram: (79) ridiculum quiddam (80) praebebo.

In English translation: “(3) I send (2) my cordial (3) greetings. Your (7) mellifluous (8) letters, which (13) your (12) scribe (9) recently (10) brought (11) me, (4) greatly (5) pleased (6) me. From them (16) I understood (15) in a cheerful mind that (17) you (18) are well, (19) best gentleman. (20) I and my people (23) are well (22) thanks to the mildness (21) of God. (24) But (25) Andrew (26) A. (27) A. (28) A. (29) my (30) friend (31) recently (32) died, as he was (35) miserably (36) killed (33) by a nefarious (34) villain. (37) Today (39) the murderer (38) was caught and (40) in short time (41) he is to be punished (42) by a bitter death, (43) as (44) God (46) by no means (47) allows (48) any serious crime to be unpunished. (49) But let us leave this topic (50) and move to another one. (58) You know (51) the learned (52) and (53) capable gentleman (54) who is son of the noble (55) A. (56) A. (57) A. (59) It is told that (60) he loves (61) your relative (62) Anna, (64) a beautiful and talented (63) maid, (65) in order (66) to become engaged with her. (67) This is thus (68) with the advice (69) of his father, an eminent elderly gentleman. (70) May God bring about that (71) the gods favourably approve of what has happened. (72) If you hear (73) any news, (74) I request you (75) to write it to us. Farewell!

(76) But I have (77) almost (78) forgotten: (80) I will present (79) a ridiculous thing.”

For the unit 64 “beautiful and talented” there are two sets of variants in the text, one in the main text (64a and another in the margin 64b). It cannot be determined which of them Stiernhielm intended to be the final one. Consequently, I include both the variants in the edition of this text.

\textsuperscript{1142} Deus faxit ut] This clause has not been included in Stiernhielm’s own transcription.
12.2.2 S. P. D. Valde laetificaverunt me mellitae literae tuae

1. a S.
   e Sal.
   i Salut.
   o Salute
   u Salutem
   b Slt
   c.k.q Slt
   d Felicitatem
   f Beatitatem
   g Prosperit.
   h Prospt.
   l Prosptat.
   m Prosptatem
   n Sanit.
   p Sanitat.
   r Sanitatem
   s Laetitiam
   t Valetudinem
   v.w Incoluitatem
   y Valentiam

2. a P.
   e Pl.
   i Plur.
   o Plur.
   u Plurimam
   b Plm
   c.k.q Plr
   d Summam
   f Perennem
   g Solidam
   h Perennantem
   l Iugem
   m Florentem
   n Virentem
   p Viridantem
   r Optabilem
   s Exoptandam
   t Illibatam
   v.w Perpetuam
   y 

3. a D.
   e Dic.
   i Dt.
   o Dico.
   u Dicit.
   b Pr.
   c.k.q Precor.
   d Precatur.
   f Opt.
   g Opto.
   h Optat.
   l Exopt.
   m Exopto.
   n Exoptat.
   p Vov.
   r Voveo.
   s Vovet.
   t Adprecor.

4. a Valde
   e Vehementer
   i Magnopere
   o Sumnopere
   u Mire
   b Miris modis
   c.k.q Mirandum in modum
   d Mirum in modum
   f Supra modum
   g Immodice
   h Plurimum
   l Non mediocriter
   m Maximopere
   n Summe
   p Maxime
   r Extreme
   s Mirifice
   t Haud leviter
   v.w Impense
   x Apprime
   y Oppido
   z Incredbiliter

5. a delectarunt
   e delectaverunt
   i affecerunt
   o [recrearunt]
   u recreaverunt
   b [oblengkaparunt]
   c.k.q oblectaverunt
   d. refecerunt
   f sublevarunt
   g erexerunt
   h allevaverunt
   l sublevaverunt
   m [excitarunt]
   n excitaverunt
   p refocillarunt
   r [exhilerarunt]
   s exhilaraverunt
   t permulserunt
   v.w levaverunt, sustulerunt
   x relevaverunt, confirmaverunt
   y arrexerunt, extulerunt
   z foverunt, relaxarunt

6. a Me
   e Nos
   i cor meum
   o pectus meum
   u pectus meum
   b animu meum
   c.k.q animum meum
   d me
   f nos
   g cor nostrum
   h pectus nostrum
   l pectus nostrum
   m animu nostrum
   n animum nostrum
   p sensus nostros
   r oculos nostros
   s ocellos nostros
   t spiritus nostros

377
7. a mellitae 
e mellitissimae 
i [mellitiss[im]ae] 
o [suaviss[im]ae], uberrimae 
u suavissimae 
b dulciculae 
c.k.q [dulciss[im]ae, lepidissimae] 
d dulcissimae 
f [iucundiss[im]ae] 
g iucundissimae 
h cultissimae 
l excultissimae 
m gratissimae 
n ornatissimae 
p lepidissimae 
r eruditissimae 
s optatissimae 
t acceptissimae 
v.w politissimae, 
x perpolitae, compositiss[im]ae 
y literatissimae, expectatissimae 
z exoptatiss[im]ae, tersissimae, elegantissimae

8. a literae tuae. Quas 
e litterae tuae. Quas 
i schedae tuae. Quas 
o schedulae tuae. Quas 
u paginae tuae. Quas 
b lt[ae] tuae. Quas 
c.k.q lt[ae] tuae. Quas 
d lit[ae] tuae. Quas 
f lit[ae] vestrae. Quas 
g lt[ae] vestrae. Quas 
h l[ae] vestrae. Quas 
l literae vestrae. Quas 
m litterae vestrae. Quas 
n paginae vestrae. Quas 
p pagellae vestrae. Quas 
r responsoriae vestrae. Quas 
s responsoriae nunciatoriae. Quas 
t responsoriales internunciae. Quas 
v.w [literulae] consolatoriae. Quas 
x solatoriae. Quas 
y z

9. a nuper 
e nuperrime 
i novissime 
o proxime 
u modo 
b iam 
k.c pridem 
d iam pridem 
f non ita pridem 
g non diu est 
h hodie 
l heri 
m pridie 
n nudiustertius 
p opportune 
r commodo 
s tempestive 
t tempore 
v.w mature 
x peroppertune 
y percommode

10. a tulit 
e attulit 
i dedit 
o tradidit 
u reddidit 
b obtulit 
k.c portavit 
d detulit 
f apportavit 
g reportavit 
h retulit 
l transtulit 
m regessit 
n pertulit 
p ptulit 
r porrexit 
s praerexit 
t exhibuit 
v.w reliquit 
v.w mature 
x supplavit 
y advexit, adtulit 
z adportavit, repraesentavit

11. a mihi 
e ad me 
i nobis 
o ad nos 
u a te 
b abs te 
k.c a vobis 
d inde ad nos 
f inde a vobis 
g huc ad nos 
h hospes 
l cliens 
m Amicus 
n amicus 
p Puer 
r puer 
s Cursor 
t Domesticus 
v.w Contubernalis 
x agaso 
y affinis 
z cognatus,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th>Tuus.</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>E quibus</th>
<th>15. a</th>
<th>gaudenti animo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>tuus</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Quibus</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>cum voluptate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>Meus</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>quibus</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>desiderato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>meus</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>gbus</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>suaviter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>tuus quidam</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>gbusus</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ex sententia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>meus quidam</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>gbs</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ex animi sententia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k.c</td>
<td>Noster</td>
<td>k.c</td>
<td>gibus</td>
<td>k.c</td>
<td>cupide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>Vester</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>gb</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>liberter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>noster</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>Ex Quibus</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>libentissime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>vester</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>Ex gibus</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>optato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>quidam n[oste]r.</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>Ex Quibus</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>ad votum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>gdam v[este]r.</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>ex quibus</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>pro voto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>Quem nosti</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>Ex gbus</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>lubenti animo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>quem nosti</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>gbusus</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>lubens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>Tibi notus</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>Quarum lectione</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>laetus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>tibi notus</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>Quarum tenore</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>gaudens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>quem scis</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Quarum sensu</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>libens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>non ignotus</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>Quarum contentis</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>exultans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.w</td>
<td>bene notus</td>
<td>v.w</td>
<td>Per quas</td>
<td>v.w</td>
<td>hilaris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>bene cognitus</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Quibus visis</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>hilari animo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>quidam notus</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>Quibus lectis, perlectis</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>alacri animo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>cognitis, relectis, revisis</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>13. a</th>
<th>14. a</th>
<th>15. a</th>
<th>16. a</th>
<th>17. a</th>
<th>18. a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuus.</td>
<td>E quibus</td>
<td>gaudenti animo</td>
<td>sensi</td>
<td>Te</td>
<td>Vir optime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e tuus</td>
<td>e Quibus</td>
<td>cum voluptate</td>
<td>persensi</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>qu. Vir honorate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i Meus</td>
<td>i quibus</td>
<td>desiderato</td>
<td>i intellexi</td>
<td>Vos</td>
<td>i Amice honorande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o meus</td>
<td>o gbus</td>
<td>suaviter</td>
<td>o cognovi</td>
<td>vos</td>
<td>o Amice dilecte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u tuus quidam</td>
<td>u gbusus</td>
<td>ex sententia</td>
<td>u percepi</td>
<td>te tuosque</td>
<td>u Amice dilectissime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b meus quidam</td>
<td>b gbs</td>
<td>ex animi sententia</td>
<td>b sentio</td>
<td>te et tuos</td>
<td>b Dˇne amice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k.c Noster</td>
<td>k.c gibus</td>
<td>cupide</td>
<td>k.c persentio</td>
<td>te ac tuos</td>
<td>c Vir amicissime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d Vester</td>
<td>d gb</td>
<td>liberter</td>
<td>d intelligo</td>
<td>d Te cum tuis</td>
<td>d Vir amantissime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f noster</td>
<td>f Ex Quibus</td>
<td>libentissime</td>
<td>f cognisco</td>
<td>f Te tuosque</td>
<td>f Vir amande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g vester</td>
<td>g Ex gibus</td>
<td>optato</td>
<td>g percipio</td>
<td>g Te et tuos</td>
<td>g Dˇne colende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h quidam n[oste]r.</td>
<td>h Ex Quibus</td>
<td>ad votum</td>
<td>h animadverto</td>
<td>h Te ac tuos</td>
<td>h Dˇne observande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l gdam v[este]r.</td>
<td>l ex quibus</td>
<td>pro voto</td>
<td>l comperio</td>
<td>l Te cum tuis</td>
<td>l Dˇne reverende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m Quem nosti</td>
<td>m Ex gbus</td>
<td>lubenti animo</td>
<td>m accipio</td>
<td>m Te cum familia</td>
<td>m Dˇne venderande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n quem nosti</td>
<td>n gbusus</td>
<td>lubens</td>
<td>n hauorio</td>
<td>n Te cum tota domo</td>
<td>n Vir clarissime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p Tibi notus</td>
<td>p Quarum lectione</td>
<td>laetus</td>
<td>p comperio</td>
<td>p te cum charitatibus tuis</td>
<td>p Vir laudatissime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r tibi notus</td>
<td>r Quarum tenore</td>
<td>gaudens</td>
<td>r accepi</td>
<td>r Te atque tuos</td>
<td>r Vir praestantissime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s quem scis</td>
<td>s Quarum sensu</td>
<td>libens</td>
<td>s perspexi</td>
<td>s Te cum fratribus</td>
<td>s Vir candidissime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t non ignotus</td>
<td>t Quarum contentis</td>
<td>exultans</td>
<td>t didici</td>
<td>t Te cum amicis</td>
<td>t Vir spectatissime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.w bene notus</td>
<td>v.w Per quas</td>
<td>hilaris</td>
<td>v.w colligo, notavi</td>
<td>v.w Te cum necessariis</td>
<td>v. w Vir splendidissime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x bene cognitus</td>
<td>x Quibus visis</td>
<td>hilari animo</td>
<td>x compertum habeo</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>e. Vir excellentissime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y quidam notus</td>
<td>y Quibus lectis, perlectis</td>
<td>alacri animo</td>
<td>y deprehendi, accepinus,</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>x. Vir splendidissime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z cognitis, relectis, revisis</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td>z cognovimus etc. perspectum habeo</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

379
19. a [plane] bene valere. 20. a Ego et Mei
   e. recte valere.   e. Ego ac Mei
   i [bene] plane valere.   i Ego atque Mei
   o belle valere.   o Ego cum Meis
   u melius valere.   u Ego Meique
   b meliuscule valere.   b Ego quoque et M.
   c recte habere.   c Ego quoq. atq. M.
   d bene habere.   d Et Ego Meique
   f belle habere.   f Et Ego atque Mei
   g melius habere.   g Et Ego cum meis
   h meliuscule habere.   h Et Nos
   l optime valere.   l Nos quoque
   m optime habere.   m Nos quoq.
   n incolumes habere.   n Nos similiter
   p sospites habere.   p Nos etiam
   r valentes habere.   r Et Nos hic
   s felices vigere.   s Nos quoque hic
   t felices florere.   t Nos etiam hic
   v.w athletice valere.   v.w Etiam hic
   e pancratice vivere.   e Et Tui hic
   x basilice agere.   x Etiam nos
   y salvos et incolumes esse.   y
   z sanos, salvos et sospites esse; pulchre esse.

21. a Dei
   e. Divina
   i Numinis
   o Coelesti
   u Superum
   b Supremi
   c D. O. M
   d D. T[er]. O.
   f D. T. O. M.
   g Dei T. O.
   h Dei T. O. M.

22. a clementia
   e. bonitate
   i benignitate
   o beneficentia
   u gratia
   b largitate
   c liberalitate
   d facilitate
   f lenitate
   g munificentia
   h benevolentia
   l potentia
   m miseratione
   n misericordia
   p opera
   r virtute
   s opera
   t gra~a
   v.w indulgentia

23. a vigemus;
   e. valemus;
   i bene valemus, perbene;
   o recte valemus, perbene;
   u belle valemus, perbelle;
   b optime, perbelle valemus;
   c pulere, bellissime valemus;
   d probe valemus;
   f ex voto valemus;
   g ad voto valuemus
   h ex sententia valemus;
   l egregie valemus;
   m vivimus, valuemus;
   n vivimus, vigemus;
   p vivimus, viremus;
   r valemus, vigemus;
   s salvi degimus;
   t incolumes sumus;
   v.w sani agimus;
   e belle habemus;
   x Musice aetatem agere;
   y

24. a Coeterum
   e. Coetero
   i Ceterum
   o Cetero
   u De coetero
   b De cetero
   c nisi quod
   d solum quod
   f at / quamvis
   g sed / quamquam
   h excepto
   l excepto quod
   m verum
   n porro
   p attamen
   q sed tamen
   s at sane
   t veruntamen
   v.w atqui
   e etsi, tantum quantum
   x tametsi
   y licet
25. a Andreas qu. Ericus i Ioannes o Olaus u Ulricus b Bernhardus c Conradus d Dithmarus f Franciscus g Georgius h Henricus l Laurentius m Marcus n Nicolaus p Paulus r Rudolphus s Sigwardus t Thomas v.w x y z
26. a A e E i I o O u U b B c C d D f F g G h H l L m M n N p P r R s S t T w W x X y Y z Z
27. a A e E i I o O u U b B c C d D f F g G h H l L m M n N p P r R s S t T w W x X y Y z Z
28. a A. e E. i I. o O. u U. b B. c C. d D. f F. g G. h H. l L. m M. n N. p P. r R. s S. t T. w W. x X. y Y. z Z.
29. a amicus e cognatus i agnatus o consanguineus u necessarius b famulus c servus d servitor f scriba g amanuensis h auriga l coquus m sartor n pictor p secretarius r contubernalis s alumnus t collega w sodalis x hospes y commensalis z procurator
30. a Meus e Tuus i meus o tuus u meus b tuus c Noster d Vester f noster g vester h noster l voster m olim meus n olim tuus p olim noster r olim vester s quondam meus t quondam tuus w quondam noster x quondam vester y z
31. a nuper e nupi i nuprime o nuperrime u non ita pridem b pridie c nudiustertius d nudiusquartus f dudum g pridem h heri l heri mane m ante biduum n ante triduum p hac septimana r hac hebdomade s hoc mense t biduo w triduo x hoc triduo y nunc quatriduum z non interest triduum
32. a mortuus est, e excessit, i e vita excessit, o vita excessit, u emigravit, b vita migravit, c e vita emigravit, d ex vita emigravit, f a vita recessit, g e vita discessit, h decessit, l fatis concessit, m diem functus est, n e vivis excessit, p fato functus est, r esse desiit, s diem obiit, t mortem obiit, w vita functus est, x periit, y animam edidit, z expiravit, cecidit, spiritum edidit, spiritum posuit, interiit,
33. a a nefando
e a nefario
i a scelerato
o a scelerato
u a scelerato
b a furioso
c a furioso
d a saevo
f a sceleroso
g a sanguinolento
h a cruento
l a crudeli
m a funesto
n a truci
p a truculento
r a scelentissimo
s a scelentissimo
t a truculentissimo
w a impiissimo
x a profligentissimo
y a deseratissimo
z ab impurissimo,
atrocissimo

34. a nebulone
e latrone
i milite
o praedone
u sicario
b homine
c Busiride
d Phalaride
f nequam
g homicida
h insidiatore
l helluone
m scortatore
n ganeone
p lurcone
r gulone
s carnifice
t mastigia
w lenone
x caupone
y
z

35. a misere
e crudeliter
i lamentabiliter
o flebiliter
u nefarie
b nefandum in modum
c nefarium in modum
d flebilem in modum
f miserum in modum
g miserandum in modum
h inhumaniter
l insiduose
m perfide
n ex insidiis
p immaniter
r scelerate
s scelerose
t impie
w saeviter
x truculenter
y
z

36. a occisus.
ed interemptus.
i caesus.
o interfectus.
u peremptus.
b obtruncatus.
c confossus.
d necatus.
f concisus.
g gulam praecisus.
h confectus.
l deletus.
m extinctus.
n confixus.
p transfixus.
r transfossus.
s iugulatus.
t trucidatus.
w maactatus.
x exanimatus.
y e medio sublatus.
z oppressus.

37. a Hodie
e Heri
i Heri vesperi
o Hac vespera
u Hodie mane
b Protinus
c Actutum
d Paulo post
f Post paulo
g In praesenti
h In instanti
l Modo
m Illico
n Confestim
p Continuo
r Mox
s Statim
t In continent
w In momento
x Iam
y
z

38. a captus est
e prehensus est
i comprehensus
o in vincula missus
u in vincula coniectus est
b in vincula abreptus est
c in vincula raptus est
d in vincula ductus est
f in vincula compactus est
g in vincula conclusus est
h in vincula datus est
l in carcerem datus
m in carcerem compactus
n in carcerem conditus
p in carcerem contrusus est
r in custodiam datus
s in custodiam inclusus
t in custodiam traditus est
w in custodiam receptus est
x in catenis constrictus
y
z
39. a sanguinarius
e mali-feriatus
i infelix
o infaustus
u infortunatus
b aerumnosus
c male-sanus
d insanus
f rabiosus
g scelerosus
h scelestus
l sceleratus
m inauspicatus
n infrunitus
p furibundus
r furibundus
s sanguinolentus
t cruenterus
w impiatus
x atrox, truculentus
y male-conciliatus
z male-natus

40. a brevi
e propediem
i cras
o die crastino
u cras mane
b perendie
c postridie
d post paucos dies
f ad biduum
g ad triduum
h ad quadradium
l ad novendum
m octiduum
n hisce diebus
p hoc mense
q Die Martis
r Die Saturni
t Die Veneris
w Die Mercurii
x Die Iovis
y quamprimum
z

41. a acerba morte
e atroci morte
i digna morte
o condigna morte
u merita morte
b commerita morte
c crudeli morte
d ultrici morte
f dira morte
g ultore gladio
h ultore ene
l ferali securi
m ferali ferro
n ferali poena
p lictoris manu
r carnificis manu
s ultoris manu
t ultrici manu
w ultrici bipenni
x truci fato

42. vicissim
a puniendus.
e mactandus.
i feriendus.
o periturus.
u interiturus.
b tollendus.
c interimendus.
d perimendus.
f trucandus.
g obtrucandus.
h conficiendus.
l caedendus.
m interficiendus.
n occidendus.
p casurus.
r examinandus.
s sternendus.
t necandus.
w trucidandus.
x ulciscendus.
y
z

43.
a Nam
e Namque
i Etenim
o Quippe
u Quia
b Quoniam
c Quando
d Quandquidem
f Quod
g Siquidem
h En!
l Ecce!
m Ecquid?
n Adeo
p Sic
q Equidem
s Sane
t Certe
w Profecto
x Pol
y
z

44.
a Deus
e Deus ultor
i Deus vindex
o Deus iustus
u Deus sanctus
b Deus severus
c Iustitia
d Sancta Iustitia
f Ultrix Iustitia
g Inviolata Iustitia
h Iustitia Divina
l Iustitia Coelestis
m Astraea
n Adrastea
p Oculus Dei
r Oculus vindex
s Oculus iustus
t Manus Dei
w Manus ultrix
x Manus gravis
y Nemesis
z
45. a non
   e nunquam
   i nūñquam
   o nun qua
   u nunqua
   b non unq.
   c non unquam
   d o unquam
   f o u quam
   g o unqua
   h vix
   l vix unqua
   m haud
   n haud unq.
   p nullo modo
   r neutiqua
   s nequaqua
   t haudquaquam
   w raro
   x rarissime
   y
   z

46. a sinit
   e [sivit], praetermittit
   i dimittit
   o dimisit
   u transmittit
   b [transmit] patitur
   c transit
   d [transvit] remittit
   f [transit] permittit
   g [transilit] fert
   h [transillvit] perfert
   l [relinquit] praetermittit
   m reliquit
   n [insuper habet] tolerat
   p [insuper habuit] remittit
   r praeterit
   s praetergreditur
   t solet sinere
   w solet relinquere
   x sinet praetergredi
   y solet remittere
   z solet pati, praetermittere,
   solet ferre, solet permettere,
   solet concedere

47. a grave
   e atrox
   i enorme
   o infestum
   u immane
   b voluntarium
   c magnum
   d detestabile
   f insoles
   g improbum
   h cruentum
   l horrendum
   m inexpiabile
   n foedum
   p tetrum
   r pudendum
   s infandum
   t dirum
   w abominandum
   x impium

48. aliquod
   a peccatum inultum.
   e delictum inultum.
   i facinus inultum.
   o scelus inultum.
   u flagitium inultum.
   b maleficium inultum.
   c malefactum inultum.
   d peccatum impunitum.
   f commissum impunitum.
   g admissum impunitum.
   h factum impunitum.
   l malefactum impunitum.
   m delictum impunitum.
   n facinus impunitum.
   p scelus impunitum.
   r flagitium impunitum.
   s crimen impunitum.
   t facinus incastigatum.
   w scelus incastigatum.
   x flagitium incastigatum.
   y inceptum incastigatum.
   z ausum, coeptum incastigatum.

49.
   a Sed transeant haec;
   e De his satis;
   i Mitto tristia;
   o Mitto moesta;
   u Mitto moerors;
   b Mitto mortes;
   c Mitto aerumnas;
   d Mitto mortalia;
   f Mitto lugubria:
   g Mitto funesta;
   h Mitto feralia;
   l Sat de his;
   m Sed
   n At
   p Atque
   r Transeant ista;
   s Transeant tristia;
   t Transeant feralia;
   w Transeant feralia;
   x Transeant mortes;
   y
   z

50.
   a ad alia:
   e ad laetia:
   i nunc ad alia:
   o nunc ad laeta:
   u nunc ad laetiora:
   b nunc ad amoena:
   c nunc ad amoeniora:
   d iam gratiora:
   f iucundiora dicam:
   g iucundiora nunciabo:
   h iucundiora commemorabo:
   l iucundiora scribam:
   m iucundiora audies:
   n iucundiora memorabo:
   p iucundiora narrabo:
   r iucundiora referam:
   s redeo ad gratiora:
   t redeo ad suaviora:
   w redeo ad suavia:
a  virum doctum
b  virum prudentem
c  adolescentem pium
d  ... mansuetum
f  ... elegantem
g  ... splendidum
h  ... honestum
i  virum nobilem
i  virum eruditum
l  iuvenem acrem
m  ... florentem
n  ... divitem
p  ... lepidum
r  ... cordatum
s  ... opulentum
t  ... facundum
u  virum honoratum
b  iuuxta ac
u  iuxta atque
x  y
y
z
52.  a et
b  virum prudentem
c  adolescentem pium
d  ... mansuetum
f  ... elegantem
g  ... splendidum
h  ... honestum
i  virum nobilem
l  iuvenem acrem
m  ... florentem
n  ... divitem
p  ... lepidum
r  ... cordatum
s  ... opulentum
t  ... facundum
u  virum honoratum
b  iuuxta ac
u  iuxta atque
x  y
y
53.  a  et
b  virum prudentem
c  adolescentem pium
d  ... mansuetum
f  ... elegantem
g  ... splendidum
h  ... honestum
l  iuvenem acrem
m  ... florentem
n  ... divitem
p  ... lepidum
r  ... cordatum
s  ... opulentum
t  ... facundum
u  virum honoratum
b  iuuxta ac
u  iuxta atque
x  y
y
54.  a  filium Nobilis
e  filium Generosi
i  filium Domini
o  filium Magistri
u  filium D[omi]ni
b  filium Consulis
c  filium Praetoris
d  filium Praesulis
f  filium Mercatoris
g  filium Antistitis
h  filium Episcopi
l  filium Rectoris
m  filium Magnifici
n  filium Senatoris
p  filium Consiliarii
r  filium Tribuni
s  filium Capitanei
t  filium Praesidis
v  w
x  y
z
55.  a  et
b  virum prudentem
c  adolescentem pium
d  ... mansuetum
f  ... elegantem
g  ... splendidum
h  ... honestum
l  iuvenem acrem
m  ... florentem
n  ... divitem
p  ... lepidum
r  ... cordatum
s  ... opulentum
t  ... facundum
u  virum honoratum
b  iuuxta ac
u  iuxta atque
x  y
y
56.  a  filium Nobilis
e  filium Generosi
i  filium Domini
o  filium Magistri
u  filium D[omi]ni
b  filium Consulis
c  filium Praetoris
d  filium Praesulis
f  filium Mercatoris
g  filium Antistitis
h  filium Episcopi
l  filium Rectoris
m  filium Magnifici
n  filium Senatoris
p  filium Consiliarii
r  filium Tribuni
s  filium Capitanei
t  filium Praesidis
v  w
x  y
z
57.  a  et
b  virum prudentem
c  adolescentem pium
d  ... mansuetum
f  ... elegantem
g  ... splendidum
h  ... honestum
i  virum nobilem
l  iuvenem acrem
m  ... florentem
n  ... divitem
p  ... lepidum
r  ... cordatum
s  ... opulentum
t  ... facundum
u  virum honoratum
b  iuuxta ac
u  iuxta atque
x  y
y
385
58. a nosti. 59. a Is fertur, asseveratur 60. a amare
e novisti. e Is, [ut ferunt], memoratur e adamare
i nostis. i Is, [ut aiunt]/, proditur i deamare
o novistis. o Is dicitur o deperire
u noscis. u Is asseritur u ardere
b noscitis. b Is, [ut fama est], nunciatur b diligere
c novimus. c Is, [ut rumor est], narratur c charam habere
d noscimus. d Eum rumor est d animum adiequesse ad
f noras. f Eum rumor fert f amorem habere erga
g noveras. g Eum percrebuit g amore amplecti
h tenes. h Eum permanet h amore compelti
l habes. l Eum palam est l amore prosequi
m tenuisti. m Eum ferunt, asserunt m amore inflammatum
n cognoscest. n Eum constat n esse erga
p cognosti. p Eum patet p amore teneri erga
r cognovsti. r Eum liquet r amore illigatum erga
s notum habes. s Eum certum est s amore corruptum erga
t cognitum habes. t Eum manifestum est t amore flagrare erga
v v Eum aiunt, asseverant

61. 62. 63.
a Annam a consanguineam 64. a virginem
e Emerentiam e cognatam tuam e virginei
i Iulianam i agnatam tuam i puellam
o Oliveriam o consobrinam o puella
u Ursulam u neptem u puellula
b Barbaram b propinquam b puellulam
c Catharinam c gentilem c foemina
f Dorotheam d ex fratre neptem d foeminar
f Fabiam f patruelam f mulierem
g Gertrudem g amitinam g mulierem
h Helenam h sobrinam h nympham
l Luciam l ex sorore neptem l nympha
m Mariam m fratis tui filiam m Nympham
n Nisam n fratis mei filiam n adolesc-"tula"
p Petronillam p sororis tuae filiam p adolesc-"tulam"
r Rachelem r sororis meae filiam r adolescetula
s Saram s uxor tuae sororem s adolescetulam
t Thrudam t uxoris tuae amitinam t Virginem
w w affinem w
64 [a]
a pulchram et dotatam
e animi et corporis dotibus ornatam
i pulchritudine eximia
o excellentis formae
u quae genus exuperat nobilitate morum
b non exuperabilis formae
c inexuperabili forma
d exuperantis formae
f facie et moribus concinnam
g vinnulam, venustam
h mollem, dulciculum, tenellam
l eximia specie
m moribus et forma fulgidam
n genere et forma nobilem
p tam virtute, quam stemmate claram
r forma, divitis, virtute beatam
s ut prosapia, ita forma et moribus splendidam
t generis et formae nobilitate conspicuam
w
x
y
z

64 [b]
a eximia forma praeditam
e eximia specie donatam
i eximia pulcritudine dotatam
o eximia facie ornatam
u exuperanti forma decoratam
b exuperanti specie relucentem
c exuperanti pulcritudine consipicuam
d exuperanti facie illustrem
f forma egregia fulgidam
g forma summa fulgentem
h forma insigni coruscantem
l forma excellenti nitentem
m forma liberali celebrem
n facie honesta celebratam
p facie praeclera decantatam
r facie decora splendidam
s facie luculenta nitidam
t facie concinna commendabilem
w specie non vulgari praeclaram
x vultu venusto commendatam
y eminenti specie eminentem
z eminenti forma eminentem

65.
a consilio
e proposito
i voluntate
o intentione
u animo
b lubentia
c mente
d cupidine
f spe
g ardore
h aestu
l cupiditate
m studio
n aviditate
p destinatione
r instituto
s fine
t fine scilicet
v.w
x

66.
a illam sibi despondendi
e illam sibi desponsandi
i illam sibi nuptiis iungendi
o illam sibi nuptiis copulandi
u illam sibi coniugio devinciendi
b illam sibi coniungendi
c illam sibi in coniugem iungendi
d illam sibi coniugio iungendi
f illam sibi coniugio adiungendi
g illam sibi connubio coniungendi
l illam sibi uxorem ducendi
m illam sibi in uxorem accipiendi
n illam sibi matrimonio iungendi
p illam sibi matrimonio adiungendi
r illam sibi matrimonio coniungendi
s illam sibi in matrimonium ducendi
v.w illam sibi in matrimonium habendi
t illam sibi in connubium sociandi
x illam sibi in connubium petendi

67.
a idque adeo
e idque sane
i idque maxime
o idque praecipe
u idque praesertim
b idque seorsim
c idque potissimum
d idque separatim
f idque aperte
g idque manifesto
h idque palam
l idque sigillatim
m idque prorsus
n idque prorsum
p idque porro
r idque plane
s idque omnino
t idque penitus
v. w idque non absque
x idque non nisi
68. a suasu e consilio i suggestu o suffragio u voluntate b favore c assensus d consensu f calculo g concordia h prudencia l providentia m sapientia n ex sententia p ex animo r nutu, voto s ad praescriptum t ex praescripto v.w ad nutum x ad votum, ex voto x

69. a optimi viri e sapientissimi senis, patris, i prudentissimi, vel o cordatissimi parentis sui, u probatissimi genitoris. b experientissimi c consideratissimi d cautissimi f integerrimi g consultissimi h perspicacissimi l instructissimi m amplissimi n clarissimi p spectatissimi r nobilissimi s lectissimi t gravissimi v.w eminentissimi

70. a Deux faxit, ut e Dii dent, ut i Deum precor, ut o Deum precamur, ut u Deum imploro, ut b Caelites invoco, ut c Caelites obtestor, ut d Deum veneror, ut f Numen veneror, ut g Numen adoro, ut h Voveo numen, ut l Ex animo voveo, ut m Ex animo opto, ut n Opto, ut p In optatis mihi est, ut r In votis mihi est, ut s Vota facio, ut t Velim, ut v.w Cupio, ut x In optatis habeo, ut

71. propitii a quod actum est, dii propitius approbent. e quae optant, assequantur. i ipsis, quod agunt, ex sententia procedat. o ipsis haec res pulchre ex animi sententia eveniat u ipsis facile exoptata contingat. b quod agunt, ipsis nobisque bene vertat. c quod optant, ex sententia conficiant. d coepta ex sententia succedant. f quae agunt, bene et feliciter eveniant. g cogitata quam felicissime conficiantur. h res haec ipsius eveniat prospera et secunda. l semper omnia optata ferant. m omnia feliciter <optata ferant>. n feliciter, prospere, fauste <optata ferant>. p quae cupiunt, patiuntur. r haec ipsorum consilia Dii propitii fortunare velint s omnia prospere cedant. t optatis fortuna respondeat. v.w quae agunt, bene et prospere cadant. x quae agant, bene et commode cadant. y Deus, Dii, Numen coepta prosperent et secundent. z Propitius iidem coepta prosperent et secundent.
73.
a novi auditur  
e novi fertur  
i novi circumfertur  
o novi emergit  
u novi habetur  
b novi oritur  
c novi exoritur  
d novi exurgit  
f novi surgit  
g novi emanat  
h novi vulgatur  
l novi percrebuit  
m novi percrebescit  
p novi pullulat  
r novi existit  
s novi erumpit  
t novi effluet  
x novi enascitur  
y novi crebescit  
z novi increbescit

74.
a id quaesist  
e id amabo  
i id sodes  
o id obsecro  
u id rogo  
b id oro  
c precor  
d contendo  
f te flagito  
g abs te flagito  
h quaesumus  
l rogamus  
m precamur  
p obsecramus  
r amabo te  
s ama me  
t obtestamur  
x age  
y  
z

75.
a nobis perscribem  
e nobis communica  
i nobis annuncia  
o nos fac certiores  
u nos fac participes  
b nos enuncias  
c nobis significa  
d nobis exprimas  
f nobis indica  
g nobis patefacias, aperias  
h nobis renunciation  
l nos reddas certiores  
m nos facias certiores  
n nobis indica  
p nobis communices  
r nos ne celes  
s ad nos perscribem  
t ad nos perscribem  
v.w nobis significe  
x nos ne clam sit  
y <nos> transmitem  
z

<76.>
a At!  
e At at!  
i At enim!  
o At vero!  
u At ecce!  
b At nunc!  
c At iam!  
d At Hercule!  
f At quid?  
g En vero!  
h Ecce vero!  
l En autem!  
m Ecce autem!  
n Ohe!  
p Eia!  
r  
s  
t  
v.w  
x  

<77.>
a pene  
e fere  
i ferme  
o prope  
u propemodum  
b omnino  
c penitus  
d modo  
f penitus fere  
g penitus ferme  
h penitus prope  
l omnino prope  
m prorsus ferre  
n prorsus ferme  
p prorsus pene  
r parum abfuit  
s non multum abfuit  
t nihil pene abfuit  
v.w omnino ferre  
x omnino ferme  

<78.>
a oblitus eram:  
e oblitus sum:  
i oblitus fui:  
o excidit mihi:  
u exciderat mihi:  
b memoria excidit:  
c oblivioni dederam:  
d oblivious tradiheram:  
f oblivious tradi:  
g animo excidit:  
h animo exciderat:  
l e memoria elapsum erat:  
m effluxerat:  
n effluxerat mihi:  
p me memoria effugerat:  
r ex animo eieceram:  
s ex animo perdideram:  
t memoria me destituit:  
v.w effluxit:  
x animo excessit:
12.2.3 Critical and explanatory remarks

In units 31 (y) and 40 (h), *quatriduum* is an alternative spelling for *quadriduum*, a space of four days. In unit 32, the phrase *diem fungi* means “to experience one’s last day”. In unit 34, Busiris and Phalaris are the names of tyrants in Egypt and on Sicily, well-known for their cruelty in ancient Greco-Roman literature.

Section 12.1.4, unit 11, and Section 12.2.2, units 25 and 61, contain lists of Latinized personal names of West-Germanic, Greco-Roman and Scandinavian origins. Names of West-Germanic origins are Bernhardus, Conradus, Dithmarus, Gertrud (Gertraud), Henricus (Heinrich), Huldrichus (Huldrich), Ludovicus (Ludwig), Rudolphus, Sigwardus, Thruda and Ulricus. In the early 17th century, these names were popular in northern Germany, where Stiernhielm had studied. Reimerus and Rosaeus are attested as German surnames; the former also as a given name. Their distribution between High and Low German remains to be explored. Andreas, Georgius and Nicolaus are names of Greek origin, while Claudius, Franciscus, Laurentius, Marcus and Paulus are Latin first names. Strabo is a Greek surname and Luscus a Latin nickname. First names of Old Norse origin are

---

The universities of Greifswald and Helmstedt were then located in the Low German speaking area and the University of Wittenberg on the dialect border. A study of the names of the German students in the university matricles would reveal their relative distribution in High and Low German. The standard work is W. Seibicke’s *Historisches deutsches Vornamenbuch*, 5 vols., Berlin 1996–2007.
Olaus (Olaf), Ericus (Erik) and Sveno (Sven/ Svein). Some names are of Semitic origin: Jobus, Johannes and Thomas. As biblical names, the former was common in Germany and the Netherlands, while the latter two belong to the universal European heritage. One surname, Gibby (Latinized Gibbus), is of Scottish origin. The female names mainly derive from the Greco-Roman tradition: Dorothea, Emerentia, Fabia, Iuliana, Oliveria, Petronilla, and Ursula. Anna (a variant of Hanna) and Maria are however of biblical Hebrew origin.

12.2.4 Cipher writing: Stiernhielm’s example
Source: F.d. 13, the wrapper Polygraphia, fol. 32r. Stiernhielm joins the units 1–75 into a text with an encoded message in German.


Stiernhielm decodes the cipher as follows:

_Wer Lust hat zu Kunst,
dem gibt Got sein Gunst._

---

1144 It derives from Mariam, the Greek form in the Septuagint of the pre-Masoretic Hebrew name Maryam (later Miryam), interpreted as mar-yam, “drop of the sea” by Eusebius. Stella maris was reinterpreted as stella maris “star of the sea”.
1145 Wieselgren (Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm, vol. 3:1, p. 115, letter no. 72b) published this example of polygraphy with Swedish translation, idem, ibidem, vol. 3:2, p. 107, but did not publish the ensuing decoded message in German.
1146 a manu noster] This expression means “our secretary”.
1147 fine] This word corresponds to the letter /s/, but the intended cipher requires the letter /r/, which has been encoded as the word instituto.
1148 illam sibi coniugio devinciendi] This phrase, which encodes the letter /u/, does not answer to the intended cipher, which requires the letter /a/ (in the word Traw).
12.3 A letter on European political news in 1646
12.3.1 Historical contexts and wording of the letter
Source: F.d. 13, the wrapper Polygraphia fol. 9r–10v. Size: 210 x 328 mm. For photographs, see Figures 25a–25b. Stiernhielm shows the variability of diction in the treatment of a political theme, where the situation is the peace negotiations at the end of the Thirty Years’ War. By the rhetorical figure of vivid description (evidentia, hypotyposis) he depicts the still imminent threat to peace posed by the Catholic League under the Pope, and contrasts it with the unexpected rescue brought by the fifth war of the Ottoman Turks with the Republic of Venice, which broke out in 1646. He mentions this war elsewhere in the manuscript (F.d. 13, envelope Polygraphia, fol. 22v). Moreover, Stiernhielm points to a cryptographic function of his polygraphia by showing how the letter designations can be joined into a hidden message (F.d. 13, 31r–32r). One of these formulations is dated 9 May 1646 at his estate Wasula. See Vol. 1, Section 12.3.3.

The Latin text reads as follows:

In English translation: (1) Be greeted! (3) You asked (2) recently, (4) whether any news from Germany (5) has been heard (6) in order that I would write it to you. (7) Get this: (8) From Germany (9) it is written (told) that (10) the matter of peace (11) with the Emperor (16) proceeds very well, (12) though in vain (15) the Pope (14) with his companions (13) struggles against it. Let (18) the wild (19) sons of Bellona (17) rave! (20) Let them disturb, (21) let them sweat, let them try everything! (22) The gods will find a way of escape. (23) And thus (24) the Turks, (26) otherwise the hereditary enemy (25) of the Christians, (27) who are said (29) to be attacking Venice (27) on land and sea (28) with large armed forces, will (30) even against their own wishes (31) promote the matter in our favour.
12.3.2 Ave. Novissimis rogas, si quid e Germania
12.3.2.1 Latin text

(9r) 1. a. Ave.  
   b. Salutem.  
   c.k. S.P.  
   d. S. P. D.  
   e. Bene agere.  
   f. Salvus sies.  
   g. Bonam vitam.  
   h. Bene vivere.  
   i. Salve.  
   l. Felicitatem pr.  
   m. Valetudinem et et laetitiam  
   n. Salutem pl.  
   o. Sanitatem et et laetitiam.  
   p. Sis prosper.  
   qu. Sis sospes.  
   r. Incolumitatem pr[ecor].  
   s. Perenne gaudium p[ecor].  
   t. prosperitatem perennantem.  
   u. Salutem et annos.  
   v.w. Salut. et gaudium.  
   x. Te valere iubeo.  
   y. Gaudium perenne.  
   z. Opto quae optas.  

   2. a. Novissimis  
      b. Denuo-datis  
      c. Post-scriptis  
      d. Nuperrimis  
      e. Novissime datis  
      f. Denuo-scriptis  
      g. Recentibus  
      h. Recenter missis  
      i. Proximinis  
      l. Posterioribus  
      m. Antemeridianis  
      n. Prioribus  
      o. Postremo datis  
      p. Superioribus  
      qu. Antelucanis  
      r. Postremis  
      s. Matutinis  
      t. Recentioribus  
      u. Recentissimis  
      v.w. Pomeridianis  
      x. Vespertinis  
      y. Annexis  
      z. Ultimis  

   3. a. rogas  
      b. exigis  
      c. obsecras  
      d. precaris  
      e. poscis  
      f. exposcis  
      g. cupis  
      h. mones  
      i. flagitas  
      l. efflagitas  
      m. obtestar is  
      n. hortar is  
      o. postulas  
      p. expostulas  
      qu. urges  
      r. petis  
      s. contendis  
      t. expetis  
      u. oras  
      v.w. exquiris  
      x. instas  
      y. sciscitaris  
      z. exhortar is
4. a. si quid e Germania
b. si quid apud nos
c. si quid hic
d. si quid hic loci
e. si quid alicunde
f. si quid hoc loco
g. si quid his oris
h. si quid his locis
i. si quid hic vel aliunde
l. si quid hic locorum
m. si quid his regionibus
n. si quid usquequaque
o. si quid usquam
p. si quid in hac terra
qu. si quid usquequaque
r. si quid in nostra provincia
s. si quid in hac provincia
t. si quid ab exteris
u. si quid uspiam
v.w. si quid aliunde
x. si quid hic terrarum
y. si quid usquam terrarum
z. si quid aliqua

5. a. audiretur novi,
b. ferretur rerum novarum,
c. circumferretur novi,
d. exoriretur rerum novarum,
e. emergeret novi,
f. evulgaretur rerum novarum,
g. existeret novi,
h. erumperet rerum novarum,
i. manaret novi,
l. haberetur rerum novarum,
m. pullularet novi,
n. oriretur rerum novarum,
o. nuncieret novi,
p. effluere rerum novarum,
qu. exaudiretur novi,
r. percrebseret rerum novarum,
s. vulgaretur novi,
t. gliseret rerum novarum,
u. afferret novi,
v.w. enascere rerum novarum,
x. prorumperet novi,
y. promulgaretur rerum novarum,
z. scriberetur novi,

6. a. id ut ad vos perscriberem.
b. id ut ad vos scriberem.
c. id ut ad vos referrem.
d. id ut ad vos nuntiarem.
e. id ut ad vos renuntiarem.
f. id ut vobis annunciarem.
g. id ut vobis indicarem.
h. id ut vobis expromerem.
i. id ut vobis significarem.
l. id ut vobis perscriberem.
m. id ut vobis transmitterem.
n. id ut vobis aperirem.
o. id ut vobis ne celarem.
p. id vos ne clam haberem.
qu. id ut vobis notum facerem.
r. id vos ut facerem certiores.
s. id ut vobis communicarem.
t. id ut vobis notificarem.
u. id ut vos redderem certiores.
v.w. id ut vos facerem participes.
x. id ut vobiscum participarem.
y. id ut vobiscum communicarem.
z. id ut vos redderem participes.

(9v) 7. a. Haec habe:
b. En, habe:
c. Scias igitur:
d. Scias itaque:
e. Age ergo:
f. Cognoscas itaque:
g. Ecce igitur:
h. Audi itaque:
i. Cape igitur:
l. Adverte animum:
m. [Nunc] ausculta igitur:
n. Da igitur aures:
o. Accipe itaque:
p. Aures praebes:
qu. Aures adhibes:
r. Lege ergo:
s. Attende:
t. Fac ergo audientiam:
u. Iam da silentium:
v.w. Adverte igitur:
x. Arrige aures:
8. a. E Germania
b. Ex Germania
c. Ab exercitu
d. Ex castris
e. Hamburgo
f. Haga
g. Amsterodamo
h. Ex Holsatia
i. Minda
l. Lipsia
m. Brema
n. [Praga] E Westphalia
o. Osnabrugo
p. Ab exteris
qu. Ab exoticis
r. Hinc inde
s. Hic
t. Wismaria
u. Stetino
v. w. Lubeca
x. Rostochio

9. a. scribitur, refertur
b. fertur
c. circumfertur
d. adfertur
e. fama est
f. novellae sunt
g. novellae ferunt
h. auditur
i. nunciatur
l. certum est
m. erumpit
n. habetur
o. rumor est
p. emanat
qu. celebratur
r. percrebuit
s. crebrum est
t. frequens est
u. vulgatur
v. w. crebrescit
x. notum est
<y.> certiores sumus

10. a. negotium pacis
b. tractatum pacis
c. initia pacis
d. principia pacis
e. tractatus
f. fundamenta pacis
g. factionem pacis
h. concordationem pacis
i. tractatus pacis
l. conciliacionem
m. exordia transactionis
n. primordia transactionis
o. pacificationis negotium
p. compositionem pacis
qu. conventionem pacis
r. opus pacificationis
s. tractationem concordiae
t. sanctionem concordiae
u. pacis negotium
v. w. transactionem
x. pacificationem
<y.> agitationem pacis

11. a. cum Caesare,
b. cum hoste,
c. cum hostibus,
d. cum inimicis,
e. cum adversariis,
f. cum Papistis,
g. cum Austriacis,
h. cum Aquila,
i. cum Imperatore,
l. cum legatis Caesaris,
m. cum legatis Caesarianis,
n. cum legatis Imperatoris,
o. cum domo Austriaca,
p. cum commissariis Imperatoris,
qu. cum deputatis Imperatoris,
r. cum Caesarianis,
s. cum partibus Caesarianis,
t. cum parte adversa,
u. cum partibus adversis,
v. w. malevolis nostris,
x. cum Imperatoris,
<y.> cum Aquilio,
12. a. licet frustra
b. etsi frustra
c. etiamsi frustra
d. admodum
e. quamvis
f. etiam atque etiam
g. omnino
h. omnibus viribus
i. quantumvis
l. sedulo
m. gnawiter
n. acriter
o. nequaquam
p. strenue
qu. incessanter
r. quantumlibet
s. incassum
t. invanum
u. frustra
v.w. aegre
x. constanter
y. multum
z impigre

13. a. reluctante
b. abnuente
c. vetante
d. pro viribus impediente
e. detrectante
f. denegante
g. recusante
h. aspernante
i. renuente
l. [turbante] contra-veniente, reclamante
m. [invito] ringente
n. dissuadente
o. refragante
p. dehortante
qu. [adverso], obvertente cornua
r. adversante
s. resistente
t. recalcitrante
u. oppontente se, repugnante
v.w. dissentiente
x. desciscente
y. absterrente
z. contra-nitente, obsistente

14. a. cum consortibus
b. cum complicibus
c. cum sui similibus
d. cum participibus
e. cum aliis nonnullis
f. cum rasis sui
s. cum turba rasa
h. cum adharentibus
i. cum asseclis
l. cum coniuratis sui
m. cum parasitis sui
n. cum paribus
o. cum gregalibus
p. cum sociis, porcis
qu. cum auxiliatoribus
r. cum tribulibus
s. cum confoderatis
t. cum curtutoribus
u. cum amatoribus
v.w. cum amasiis
x. cum peditis sequitis
y. cum mancipiis
z. cum Gnathonibus

15. a. Papa,
b. Pamphilo,
c. Pamphilo Romano,
d. Ganymede Romano,
e. Pontifice,
f. 
g. 
h. Propudio Capitolino,
i. Papa Romano,
l. Episcopo Romano,
m. Sathana Romano,
n. Beliale Romano,
o. Pontifice Romano,
p. Scorto Babylonico,
qu. Prostibulo Babylonico,
r. Iove Capitolino,
s. Cerbero Capitolino,
t. Tricipiti Capitolino,
u. Tyranno Capitolino,
u.w. Geryone Capitolino,
x. Gephyrio Capitolino,
y. Plutone Capitolino,
z. Lenone,
16. a. op[pi]do fervere,
b. prorsus fervere,
c. impense fervere,
d. impendio fervere,
e. procedere,
f. probe procedere,
g. prospere procedere,
h. pulchre procedere,
i. recte succedere,
l. sub manus succedere
m. feliciter succedere,
.o. ad votum succedere,
p. optato cadere,
q. ex voto cadere,
r. ex sententia cadere,
s. ex animi sententia cadere,
t. pulcherrime cadere,
u. feliciter cadere,
w. commode cadere,
x. ad lubitum cadere,
<y.> optime cadere,

17. a. Furant
b. Insaniant
c. Rumpantur
d. Disrumpantur
e. Valeant
f. Pergant, angant sese
g. Dissiliant
h. Succenseant
i. Excrucent se, quantum volunt,
l. Crucient se, quantum volunt,
m. Stringant se, quantum volunt,
n. Torqueant se, quantum volunt,
o. Suspendant se
p. Cruci se figant
q. In malam rem
r. In crucem
s. In crucem, apage
t. Latrent
u. Fremant, frendeant
v.w. Ebulliant
x. Diris agantur
y. Bacchentur
z. Delirent

18. a. effraenati
b. amentes
c. insani
d. delirantes
e. [nebulones], sacerrimi
f. furibundi
g. dementes
h. atroces
i. rabiosi illi, isti
l. cerebrosi
m. elleborosi
n. temulent
o. effraenes
p. ebriosi
qu. indomiti
r. ferox
s. profligati
t. conscelerati
u. phrenetici
v.w. exulcerati
x. oestro perciti
y. vecordes
z. truces

19. a. Bellonae filii:
b. satyri:
c. Thyrsigeri:
d. Centauri:
e. Cyclopes:
f. Barbari Potitii:
g. proci Penelopes:
h. Cynoedi:
i. sartores satoresque scelerum:
l. fraudum sartores:
m. Stygis satellites:
n. noctis propago:
o. Acherontis pabulum:
p. Tartari fulcimina:
q. Acherontis pulli:
r. Phlegetontis filii:
s. Orci candidati:
t. Theomachi:
u. Gigantes:
w. Mithragyrtae:
x. y.
z. Abderitae:
(10r) 20. a. turbent, b. murmurent, c. conturbent, d. disturbent, e. perturbent, f. interturbent, g. obturbent, h. tumultuentur, i. turbas cieant, l. turbas concieant, m. turbas concitent, n. turbas moveant, o. turbas faciant, p. turbas commoveant, qu. turbas dent, r. turbas excitent, s. ruant, misceant omnia, t. strepant, u. obstrepant, v.w. trepident, x. clament, mussitent, y. constrepant, z. crepent.

21. a. sudent, conentur omnia; b. desudent, elaborent; c. defatigent se; d. r[h]onchos cieant; e. cursent rursum prorsum; f. satagant rerum suarum; g. enitantur et contendant; h. agant, moveant omnia; i. cursitent sursum deorsum; l. omnes intendant nervos; m. omnes nervos contendant; n. suas partes agant; o. et Superos et Acheronta movento; p. summa contentione certent; qu. omnes vias persequantur; r. omnem lapidem moveant; s. omne saxum volvant; t. coelo tartara misceant; u. in pericem nostram toto pectore incumbant; v.w. sacris misceant prophana; x. sursum deorsum [vertant] ferant omnia; y. omnem capiant laborem; z. nulli parcant labori;


24. Ipse
a. Turca
b. Turcus
c. Caesar Turcicus
d. Rex Turcarum
e. Imperator Turcicus
f. Princeps Turcicus
g. Princeps Othomanicus
h. Princeps Musulmanicus
i. Turcarum Imperator
j. Magnus Turcarum princeps
k. Magnus Turcarum princeps
l. Magnus Turcarum princeps
m. Imp[erator] Mahumetanus
n. Turcarum Monarcha
o. Magnus Turca
p. Monarcha Turcicus
q. T. Ottomannus
r. Sultanus Turcarum
s. Sultanus Turcarum
T. Ottomannus
u. Sultanus Othomannicus
v. w. Sultanus Constantinopolitanus
x. Sultanus Musulmanus
y. Sultanus Mahometicus
z.

25. a. Christianorum
b. Christianorum regnorum
c. Christianorum populorum
d. Christianorum hominum
e. Christiani nominis
f. Christiani coetus
g. Christiani populi
h. Christiani popelli
i. Christicolarum
j. fidelium
k. Christia
l. Christiadum
m. Christiadum
n. Baptizatorum
o. Ecclesiae Christianae
p. Sectae Christianae
q. Christo adhaerentium
r. Christianitatis
s.

26. alias
a. haereditarius
b. iuratus
c. iuratissimus
d. irreconciliabilis
e. infensissimus
f. infestissimus
g. acerbissimus
h. perfidissimus
i. truculentissimus
j. immanissimus
k. insolentissimus
l. acerrimus
m. perniciosissimus
n. capitalis
o. pertinacissimus
p. pervicacissimus
q. atrocissimus
r. internecinus
s. u. importunissimus
v. w. feroxissimus
x. importunissimus
y. terribilissimus

(10v) 27.
a. qui fertur
b. quem ferunt
Vide alteram
Vide alteram
Vide alteram
formulam, n° 59.
28. a. magnis copiis  
  b. ingentibus copiis  
  c. insanis copiis  
  d. immensis copiis  
  e. immanibus copiis  
  f. immani manu  
  g. valida manu  
  h. ingenti manu  
  i. incredibili manu  
  l. incredibili exercitu  
  m. ingenti exercitu  
  n. insano exercitu  
  o. immenso exercitu  
  p. innumerabili exercitu  
  qu. infesta manu  
  r. incredibili apparatu  
  s. amplissimo apparatu  
  t. instructissimis copiis  
  u. instructa manu  
  v. w. robustissimo exercitu  
  x. firmissimo exercitu  
  y. metuenda manu  
  z. insano apparatu

29. a. aggredi Venetos.  
  b. ingredi fines Imperii.  
  c. adoriri Ungaros.  
  d. impetere, impetum facere in finitimos.  
  e. bellum movere Venetis.  
  f. bellum facere Venetis.  
  g. bellum inferre Venetis.  
  h. bellum sumere contra Venetos.  
  i. bellum suscipere contra Venetos.  
  l. bellum capere contra Imperium.  
  m. bellum instruere contra Imperium.  
  n. bellare cum Venetis.  
  o. bellum gerere cum Venetis.  
  p. belligerare cum Venetis.  
  qu. bellum agere cum Venetis.  
  r. ad arma ire contra Venetias.  
  s. bellum ducere contra Rempublicam Venetam  
  t. in armis esse contra Rempublicam Venetam.  
  u. arma sumere contra Imperatorem.  
  v. w. arma capere contra Imperatorem.  
  x. arma ferre contra Imperatorem.  
  y. contendere contra Imperatorem.  
  z. bellum parare contra Imperatorem.

(10r) 30. a. etiam invitus  
  b. hoc non agens  
  c. invitis et aliud agens  
  d. ingratis nec cogitantibus  
  e. illorum ingratiis  
  f. nolentibus volentibus  
  g. insciens licet  
  h. inscius licet  
  i. ex-insperato  
  l. inopinantibus, sub manu  
  m. nec-opinantibus  
  n. inopinanter  
  o. ex-inopinato  
  p. forte fortuna  
  qu. improviso, contra ac rati sunt  
  r. ex improviso  
  s. praeter spem  
  t. praeter intentionem  
  u. insperata occasione  
  v. w. peropportune  
  x. commodum  
  y. contra opinionem  
  z. praeter opinionem

(10v) 31. a. negotium nobis promovebit.  
  b. rem expediet.  
  c. causam component.  
  d. pacificationem prosperabit.  
  e. tractatus maturabit.  
  f. pacem faciet, / rem expeditam dabat.  
  g. pacem conficiet, / rem confectam dabat.  
  h. pacem componet, / opus expeditum reddet  
  i. pacem conciliabit, / negotium confectum reddet.  
  l. pacem firmabit, / adferet.  
  m. omnem controversiam dirimet.  
  n. omnem controversiam distrahet.  
  o. omnem controversiam tollet.  
  p. omnem controversiam sopiet.  
  qu. omnem controversiam finiet.  
  r. omnem controversiam componet.  
  s. omnem controversiam decidet.  
  t. omnem controversiam sedabit.  
  u. litem expediet.  
  v. w. litem discutiet.  
  x. litem dirimet.  
  y. concordiam constituet.  
  z. in gratiam nos rediget.
12.3.2.2 Critical and explanatory remarks

In many units, Stiernhielm adds more options below the last variation (the letter z) or in the margin. These additions are accounted for.

**Below no. 5 z**

emanaret \(\rightarrow\) irruere in
dimanaret \(\rightarrow\) erumpere in
permanaret \(\rightarrow\) involare
promanaret \(\rightarrow\) invehi in
(remanaret) \(\rightarrow\) imminere Ungaris
referretur \(\rightarrow\) incurrere in
spargeretur \(\rightarrow\) impetum ad Venetos convertere
dispargeretur \(\rightarrow\) ire in ...
crebresceret \(\rightarrow\) crebrescere in ...
icrebesceret \(\rightarrow\) tendere in ...

**Below no. 6 z:**

<id ut> vobis impertirem

**Below no. 30 z:**

præter suam voluntatem
præter cogitationem

**Below no. 28 z:**

ingenti apparatu

**Below 31 z:**

nos reconciliabit
opus conficiet

**In the margin of no. 29:**

invadere

In unit 11, letter y, the name *Aquilius* “the eagle-like” is used as a nickname of the Holy Roman Emperor, because the eagle was the heraldic symbol of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. In John Barclay’s (1582–1621) best-selling novel *Ephormio’s satyricon* the character Aquilius is identified with Emperor Rudolph II.

Unit 14 offers a list of variations for the phrase “together with his companions”. The expressions *cum rasis suis* “with their tonsured people” and *cum turba rasa* “with their tonsured crowd” (letters f and g) refer to the monks with their tonsured heads.\(^{1149}\) In Unit 14, letter z, the name Gnatho refers to a parasite, since the character Gnatho plays this role in Terence’s play Eunuchus. As suggested by Terence in the person of Gnatho (Eunuchus 264 parasiti ita ut Gnathonicici vocentur) the word soon began to denote a parasite in general (Cicero, Amicitia 94).\(^{1150}\)

\(^{1149}\) For *rasi* and similar phrases (*cohors calva, cohors rasa*) as instances of anti-Catholic propaganda, see Helander, *Neo-Latin literature in Sweden in the period 1620–1720*, pp. 327–329.

\(^{1150}\) See Helander, ibidem, pp. 308 f.
Unit 15 contains various derogatory names of the Pope that are typical of Lutheran polemics against the Roman Catholic Church in the 16th and 17th centuries. 1151

In unit 15, letter x, Gephyrius refers to the Pope. It alludes to one of his titles, viz. pontifex, which etymologically means “bridge-builder”. The Greek word γέφυρα means “bridge”.

The phrase used in unit 16, letter l, sub manus succedere “to succeed according to one’s wish”, occurs in Plautus’ comedy plays. In Persa, lines 449–450 he writes: “si quam rem accures sobrie aut frugaliter, / solet illa recte sub manus succedere.” In Miles Gloriosus, line 873, he makes the character Palaestri say: “lepide hoc succedit sub manus negotium.”

Unit 19 contains polemic designations of the Catholic League. The designation Barbari Potitii (under letter f) is drawn from Plautus, Bacchides 123 (act 1, scene 2, verse 15): stultior es barbaro Potitio, “you are more foolish than the barbarous Potitius”. Early modern editions generally read Potitio, but also Poticio. 1152 The Roman grammarian Festus (De verborum significatione, book 13) 1153 connects this passage with the patrician clan of the Potitii (gens Potitiae) and the event that made them notorious for foolishness. In the early Roman Republic, the cult of Hercules at Ara maxima in Rome was led by the Potitii and Pinarii. Appius Claudius, in the year of his censorship in 312 BC, persuaded the Potitii to teach this ritual to public slaves and delegate the worship to them. As a punishment for their disloyalty, the twelve families of the Potitii later perished in a plague and the family line became extinct. This story is told by Livy (9, 29, 9), Festus and other ancient authors. 1154 In his remark on Bacchides 123, Taubmann explains the expression barbarus Potitius as typically referring to any unskilful and rustic Roman priest of past

1151 For an analysis of some of the designations (the Latin Baal, the Roman Belial, the Babylonian Harlot, the Capitoline monster, the Capitoline or Roman Cerberus and Pluto), see Helander, Neo-Latin literature, pp. 324–335.
1152 In his edition of Plautus’ comedies in Wittenberg in 1605, Friedrich Taubmann (1565–1613) has Poticio, but in his explanatory note he has Potitio. Later printings have Potitio. According to the reading of the manuscripts, modern editions of the comedy (Ritschel 1886, Lindsay 1903, Ernout 1957, Barsby, Bacchides 1986) have poticio uncapsitalized, a word attested nowhere else.
1154 Festus, ibidem, p. 237 (Müller), p. 300 (de Ponor), p. 270 (Lindsay); Valerius Maximus Memorabilia 1, 1, 17, Macrobius, Saturnalia 3,6, and Servius, In Vergili Aeneidem 8, 260.
times, and associates the name with the patrician clan of Potitii. In *Bacchides* 122–123, Poticius is contrasted with the proverbially wise Thales, the famous philosopher of Miletus to whom Plautus also refers in *Captivi* 274. In the context, a Lydian slave is reproached for not knowing the personified gods: “Oh Lydus, you are barbaric. A man whom I considered far wiser than Thales is more stupid than Poticius, the barbarian, since you at such a great age do not know the names of the gods.” In the Greek setting of the drama, *barbarus* must refer to a person who is not a Greek, in this case a Roman. In Stiernhielm’s use of the expression, *barbari* implies uneducated and uncivilized persons.

In unit 19, letter *v.w.* the word *Mithragyrtae* probably refers to begging monks. In ancient Latin, *Mitragyrtae* refers to the begging priests of Cybele, a Phrygian goddess.

In unit 22, letters *h* and *n*, Stiernhielm employs phrases that are proverbial sayings about vain exercises. The phrase *Hylam inclamare* “to call upon Hylas” refers to the vain seeking after Hylas, one of Hercules’ companions in the Argonautic expedition, who was carried off by the nymphs (Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. Hylas; see Virgil, *Eclogae* 6, 44).

The phrase *delphinum cauda ligare* “to tie the dolphin by the tail” (unit 22, letter *n*) refers to the difficulty of holding the dolphin by its slippery tail.

In unit 22, letter *s*, Stiernhielm quotes a line from Horace, *Ars poetica* 139 “The mountains will be pregnant and will give birth to a ridiculous mouse”, which refers to overly and unrealistic goals.

---

1155 Fr. Taubermann (ed.), *M. Accii Plauti Lat. Comediae*, Wittenberg 1605, p. 467 Festus’ explanation is dismissed as improbable by John Barsby, *Plautus. Bacchides edited with translation and commentary*, Warminster 1986, p. 107, but is accepted by Grace L. Beede, “Proverbial expressions in Plautus”, *The Classical Journal* 44: 6 (1949), p. 360. Commenting on *Bacchides* 122–123, she writes: “The Poticicii, thus contrasted with the proverbially wise Thales, must be equally proverbial for their folly. This family, as a matter of fact, became extinct for its short-sightedness in handing over to public slaves, in the time of Appius Claudius, their duty of administering the worship of Hercules.” She argues that the proverbial expression *stultior barbaro Poticio* grew obscure since it alludes to a historical circumstance. Barsby (ibidem, p. 107) writes: “If Festus is right, Plautus is indulging in an incongruous Roman yoke by calling a Lydian slave ‘a foreign Potitian.’” However, Plautus, writing from a Greek perspective, instead compared the Lydian slave to “Potitius, the foreigner/ the barbarian.”

1156 Plautus, *Bacchides* 121–124: “o Lyde, es barbarus. / Quem ego sapere nimio censui plus quam Thalem, / is stultior es barbaro Poticio, / qui tantus natu deorum nescis nomina.” On line 123, Taubermann has *idem* instead of *is*.

In unit 22, letter t, Stiernhielm alludes to the proverb *aquilam volare doces*, i.e. “you teach the eagle to fly”. See Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 372 (I.4.72), no. 393 (I.4.93) and 398 (I.4.98).

12.3.3 Cipher writing: Stiernhielm’s examples
Source: F.d. 13, the wrapper Polygraphia, fol. 22r, fols. 31r–31v and fol. 33r, Stiernhielm shows how the encoded units can be varied to express different hidden messages in different languages. The letter designations (a–z) of the variations make the cipher possible. The combinations of different variations across the thirty-one units enable the sending of different messages. Stiernhielm provides six examples. In examples 1, 4 and 6, the secret message is encoded in Latin, and in examples 2, 3 and 4 the hidden message is encoded in Swedish. In all these examples, Stiernhielm decodes the message. In the first example the encoded and decoded units are *Vesperi hora nona sis ad portam posti* [cam], that is, ‘At nine in the evening you shall be at the back gate’. In the second example the hidden message is *Kom hit. Mor är inte hema. Jag har got ööl*, that is, ‘Come here. Mother is not at home. I have good beer’.\(^{1158}\) The third example contains the cipher *Jag kan inte komma. Sänd mig en häst hit*, that is ‘I cannot come. Send me a horse here’. The fourth example has the concealed sense: *Kom til mig. Gezelius är här. Kom snart*, that is, “Come to me! Gezelius is here. Come soon!” Stiernhielm was a friend of Bishop Johannes Gezelius the Elder, who dedicated his Hebrew grammar – *Grammaticae Trostianae epitome* (1647) to Georg Stiernhielm.\(^{1159}\) The fifth example has the hidden meaning *Regina Suecie desponsata est Carolo*, that is, ‘The Queen of Sweden is engaged to Carolus’, which refers to the rumour of an engagement between Queen Christina of Sweden and Charles (the future Charles X Gustav). In the last example Stiernhielm claims originality in developing the art of cipher writing. The message is *Georgius Stiernhielm invenit artem*, ‘Georg Stiernhielm has invented the art’ (of polygraphy).

Example 1

(22r)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
V & e & s & p & e & r & i & h & o & r & a \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 \\
& 12 & 13 & 14 & 15 & 16 & 17 & 18 & 19 & 20 \\
p & o & r & t & a & m & p & o & s & t & i & c & a & m \\
\end{array}
\]

---

\(^{1158}\) The decoded units should actually be: *Kom hit. Mor er inte hema. Jag har got ööl*, but Stiernhielm used some Latin letters to indicate Swedish speech sounds, the letter /e/ for Swedish /ä/, the letter a for Swedish /å/ and the letter o for Swedish /ö/.

\(^{1159}\) For a translation of Gezelius’ dedication, see Vol. 2, Section 19.1.1, p. 359.

404

Example 2

(31r)


Example 3

(31r)
Bene vivere etc.

Sensus: Jag kan inte komma. Sänd mig en häst hit!

---

1160 immenso exercitu] Stiernhielm has missed to spell out this unit, which however must be supplemented from the letter designation in question (viz. o).
1161 This example has been published by Per Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, vol. 3:1 (brev och inlagor), Stockholm 1937–1948, p. 114 (letter no. 72a). It has been translated to Swedish by Per Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, vol. 3:2, Stockholm 1957, p. 107.

**Christina regina Suecie desponsata est Carolo.**

---

1162 hijt] In Swedish orthography of the 16th, 17th and 18th century the long vowel /i/ was spelled /ij/, but in his cryptography Stiernhielm here only used one letter (/i/).

1163 <25 … m>] The letters of the units 25-31 have not been decoded by Stiernhielm in the manuscript, but are supplied by myself as editor.
Bonam vitam etc.
Novissime datis postulas, si quid in nostra provincia existeret novi, id ut vobis significarem. Iam da silentium: Hic frequens est sanctionem concordiae cum Imperatore, quamvis adversante cum paribus suis propudio Capitolino, succedere. Valeant cerebrosi illi Stygis satellites: turbas cient, suas partes agant; effluet quicquid ingerunt. Nam quod magis est ipse Turcarum Monarcha Christicolarum alias atrocissimus persecutor, qui fertur incredibili apparatu terra marique in armis esse contra Rempublicam Venetam, ipsorum ingraliis omnem controversiam dirimet.
12.4 A birthday panegyric to the Queen in 1650

12.4.1 Date, historical context, structure, and original draft

Source: F.d. 13, the wrapper Polygraphia, fols. 1r–5v. Size: 205 x 320 mm. Photographic images of fols. 1r–2r and 4v are presented in Figures 26a–26d. The text edited is Stiernhielm’s autograph fair copy. There are also incomplete drafts in Stiernhielm’s handwriting in ms. F.d.6b, 3b. These drafts are only used as reference material.

Bernt Olsson argues that Stiernhielm wrote this piece at the same time as Heroisch Fägne-Sång on the occasion of the 17th birthday of Queen Christina in 1643. However, this dating does not agree with the historical situation of this birthday panegyric, which includes the Peace of Westphalia. In his Swedish text of Parnassus triumphans, which he wrote in the autumn of 1650, Stiernhielm made use of the same motifs and similar phrases as in the birthday panegyric Salve dies, where he celebrates the Queen for the Peace of Westphalia and for her virtues as a ruler in promoting letters and learning, religion, justice, trade and workmanship. On the basis of common motifs and phraseology I argue that Stiernhielm composed this panegyric for the Queen’s 24th birthday on 8 December 1650. At that time the Queen had gathered the elite of European scholars to form her court academy, for which René Descartes wrote the guidelines.

Stiernhielm demonstrates the semantic and syntactic variability of language in a set of 70 numbered units, each of which has twenty-one variations. Stiernhielm developed this as an example of Polygraphia. The units of the first variation (a) in the entire piece turn out as given below. I have marked every encoded unit by a number and in italics. Units that are not encoded, but varied, are marked in extra bold type. Units supplied with two or three numbers should be repeated two or three times (by different variations) in the decoding of the cipher.

The numbering has been changed in the manuscript from number 38 onwards. One of the examples of cipher writing (Section 12.4.3) were done before the new numbering was introduced. In the textual edition I have kept the former numbering within square brackets.

Salve dies, (1) sol nitidissime, (2) lux alma, (3) diu (4) desiderata, salve! Quae nobis (5) tot bona (6) referis. Tu enim nobis Reginam (7) peperisti formae (8) dotibus (9) illustrem (10) et mentis (11) opibus (12) admirandum, (13) doctam, (14) sapientem, (15–17) piam, (18) sexus sui ornamentum (19) celsissimum (20–21) et seculi sui delicium. Cuius (22) auspiciis (23) cordatis pax (24)

Queen Christina represented, and perceived, herself as the peacemaker of the world. She thought that she had achieved the Peace of Westphalia; see Sven Stolpe, Drottning Kristina, 2nd ed, Stockholm 1966, pp. 135–140.

In English translation: “Be greeted, O day, (1) O most shining sun, (2) benign daylight, (3) long (4) desired, be greeted! (6) You bring us (5) so many good things. For (7) you brought us the Queen, (9) illustrious (8) in terms of her gifts of beauty and (12) admirable (11) in terms of the riches of her mind, (13) learned, (14) wise, (15–17) pious, (19) the highest (18) ornament of her gender (20–21) and the delight of her age. Through her (23) sensible (22) command (25) the war has been terminated and peace, (24) the best of things, (27) is restored (26) to the world and (28) begins to be revived. Germany, (31) which was stricken (30) by the violence of (29) unrestrained Mars (33) rejoices (32) after having been set at liberty, (34) when seeing how (36) the long missed quiet (35) is restored to herself, (36–37) religion to the church buildings, how (39–40) justice is returned to the courts of law and (42) security (41) to everyone. Sweden does not rejoice to any less degree. (43) What shall Sweden say? As she follows (44) in her ancestral tracks (48) she has increased her fatherland (46) with many and great (47) charitable deeds. (52) She preserves religion – the common (50) bond (49) of kingdoms – (51) in unity. (54) She has reformed justice, which had almost (53) collapsed. (55–56) She has taught trade and craftsmanship, (57) and what was most difficult, (63) she has defeated barbarity

1165 she] That is Queen Christina.
(62) after having transferred all (58) Parnassus (59) with Apollo
(60) and the Muses (61) into Sweden. **Therefore, why say any
more?** (64) Because of these and other (65) excellent deeds (66)
we crown her with worthy **praises** and (68) we repeat, as I began,
solemn words (67) with happy applauses: Be greeted, (69)
Cynthian Diana! Be greeted, (70) festive day!

Stiernhielm claims that his polygraphy is “endlessly variable in
words and forms, but immobile in its arrangement and meaning”.
With the exception of some units (e.g. 1, 53, 69, 70) he supplies the
text according to the options of the first variation, but he has varied
the non-encoded units, which are put in extra bold types above, and
he made use of some alternative options within the first variation.

(fol. 6r)

IN NATALEM
CHRISTINAE
SERENISSIMAE SUEONUM
REGINAE
ACCLAMATIO GRATULATORIA
verbis et forma infinities variabilis,
dispositione et sensu una et immobilis.

Salve Aurora gratissima, lux alma, diu desiderata, salve! Quae nobis
tot gaudia refers. Tu enim Augustam nobis peperisti corporis dotibus
illustrem et mentis opibus admirandam, doctam, sapientem,
magnanimam, iustam, amabilem, sexus sui ornamentum celsissimum
et seculi delicium. Cuius auspiciis et cordato consilio, pax optima
rerum bello composito mundo reducta vigescit. Germania effreni
Martis vi perculsa in libertatem vindicata gaudet videns civibus
redditam tranquillitatem, templis religionem, foro iustitiam,
securitatem omnibus. Suecia non minus sibi gratulatur. Quam illa
patriam patriis insistens vestigiis multis et magnis beneficiis auxit.
Religionem avitam (fol. 6v) regnorum commune vinculum unam
conservat. Iustitiam quodammodo nutantem restituit. Mercaturam et
opificia docuit, et quod maxime fuit arduum, toto Parnasso cum
Apolline et Musis in Sueciam traducto barbariem profligavit. Quid
multa? Haec propter et alia praecclare facta eam meritis coronamus
laudibus, laetis plausibus ingeminantes, ut coepi, festas voces: Salve
Aurora, lux aurea salve!1166

1166 There are a few misreadings in Olsson’s transcription of this text (Olsson 1974:
195), e.g. *composita* instead of *composito* (unit 25), *preculsa* instead of *perculsa*
(unit 35), *gratidatur* instead of *gratulatur* (between units 42 and 43), *ardurem
12.4.2 Original wording of the panegyric

An incomplete autograph draft is extant in F.d. 6b: 3b in the second, third, fifth and seventh quires. This draft reflects the earliest stage of composition that differs from the fair copy. The text of the original draft (F.d. 6b: 3b, second quire, fol. 1r, with the measurements 208 x 319 mm) is mainly written in pencil, but two passages have been supplemented with a pen. The wording is as follows:

Salve dies festa,
quae nobis ades
cum copia omnium bonorum.
Tu Reginam nobis peperisti
non corpore solum pulcrum,
sed animi dotibus incomparabiliem,
literis et sapientia instructam,
clementem, iustam, beneficam,
delicium hominum,
sexus sui cimelium,1167
Mundi miraculum.1168
Tu PACEM diu desideratam
Dei beneficio
et Reginae prudentia partam
post tot victorias
Marte debellato reportas
gaudentibus omnibus,
praecipue Germanis et omnibus misere oppressis,
qui apud se restituta libertate et pace,

instead of *arduum* (unit 57), *inducto* instead of *traducto* (unit 62), *Naec propteret* instead of *Haec propter et* (unit 64), and *praeclara* instead of *praecclare* (unit 65).

1167 *sexus sui cimelium*] “The treasure of her gender”. *Cimelium* is a Greek loan-word (*κειμήλιον*) in Latin, attested for the first time in late ancient Latin (Gregory the Great). In Neo-Latin literature it often refers to remarkable learned collections or precious books of a library; see further Helander, *Neo-Latin literature in Sweden in the period 1620–1720*, pp. 92–93, and myself, *Andreas Norrelius’ Latin translation of Johan Kemper’s Hebrew commentary on Matthew*, pp. 214–215.

1168 In the margin Stiernhielm has with a pen written a quotation from Virgil, fourth eclogue, verses 6–7 and verse 17, on the return of the Golden Age. The virgin that Virgil referred to is the virgin of justice (in Greek *Astraea*), but Stiernhielm applied this image to Queen Christina.

*Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna
Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto
pacatunque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.*

“Now even the Virgin returns and Saturn’s kingdom.
Now a new generation descends from the high heaven.
She will rule a pacified world by her father’s virtues.”
vigere postliminio vident
religionem etc.\textsuperscript{1169}
Hinc ubique vigere videmus
iustitiam,
literas,
mercaturam terra marique,
agriculturam,
artes et opificia.
Unde merito gaudemus Sueci
et tanti beneficii memores
gratias agimus tibi, o Diva, sempiternas\textsuperscript{1170}
faustaque acclamatione repetimus:
Salve festa dies etc.

In English translation:
Be greeted festive day!
You approach us
with a wealth of everything good.
You begot us a Queen,
who is not only beautiful with regard to her body,
but also incomparable in terms of the gifts of her mind.
She is equipped with learning and wisdom.
She is mild, righteous, and munificent.
She is the delight of people,
the treasure of her gender,
the miracle of the world.
You bring back a long-desired peace
by God’s favour and the Queen’s prudence,
(a peace) won after so many victories
and after the war has been finished.
Meanwhile, everyone rejoices,
in particular the Germans and all who are unfortunately oppressed,
who perceive that freedom and peace are restored to them,
and that through the right of postliminy\textsuperscript{1171}
religion, etc., is flourishing (again).
Therefore, we see everywhere that
justice,
learning,
trade on land and on sea,

\textsuperscript{1169} praecipue Germanis … religionem] This is found in the margin with a pen.
\textsuperscript{1170} et tanti beneficii … sempiternas] This has been added in the margin with a pen.
\textsuperscript{1171} Postliminy, postliminium in Latin, is the right of return and recovery of former ranks, privileges and estates.
agriculture,
arts and craftsmanship
are vigorous.
Thence, we Swedes are rightly joyful,
and mindful of such a great kindness
we offer you everlasting thanks, O goddess,
and with a favourable shout of approbation we repeat:
Be greeted festive day!
12.4.3 Acclamatio gratulatoria. Salve dies: the Latin text
(1r)

Polygraphiae intelligibilis a G. Stiernhielm excogitatae
exemplum et clavis.

Salve dies
1.
  a  Sol nitidissime, candide, splendide, fulgide, rutilie, clare, serene.
  e  Phoebe auree, auricome, pulcricome, Clarie.
  i  Cynthie rosee, fervide.
  o  Titan alme, radiante, radiante coma, rutilante coma, radiante, Clarie.
  u  Phosphore rosee, purpuree, rosicide.
  b  Eoe pulchre.
  c  Lucifer aurorae praevie; faustae nuncie diei, lucis; optatae <nuncie
     lucis>.
  d  Hyperion.
  f  Mundi ocule fulgide.
  g  Aurora Croceis capillis, crocea, Punicea, purpurea, gratissima,
     iucundissima, suavissima.
  h  Matuta purpureo (conchiliato) Syrmate venerabilis, spectabilis.
  l  Leucothoe.\textsuperscript{1172}
  m  Pallantis.\textsuperscript{1173}
  n  Fax.
  p  Lux immensi <mundi>\textsuperscript{1174}, <lux> publica aurea, fulgida mundi.
  r  Tithonia coniux.\textsuperscript{1175}
  s  Fulgor splendentis Olympi, Mundi.
  t  Decus Mundi unicum, aureum.
  v  Dies alma.
  x

\textsuperscript{1172} Leucothoe] This name (daughter of Or chamus, king of Babylon and Eurymone) is here a mistake for Leucothee, which in turn is a variant of Leucothea, which is a nickname of Ino, daughter of Cadmus. The Romans confounded Leucothea with Matuta, the Italic goddess of the morning or dawn (Ovid, \textit{Fasti} 6, 545 Leucothea Grais, Matuta vocabere nostris); Cicero, \textit{Tusc. disp.} 1, 12, 28 Ino Cadmi filia nonne Λευκοθέα nominata a Graecis, Matuta habetur a nostris). Stiernhielm thus employs the name Leucothee as a synonym of Aurora.

\textsuperscript{1173} Pallantis] This is another name of Aurora (Lewis and Short, \textit{A Latin dictionary}, s.v. Pallas II C. Pallantis (-idos, idis) is a derivative of the giant Pallas, from whose uncle Hyperion (father of the god of light and sun Apollo) she descended (Lewis and Short, ibidem, s.v. Pallas II B).

\textsuperscript{1174} mundi] In the manuscript there are three dots between \textit{immensi} and \textit{publica}.

\textsuperscript{1175} Tithonia coniux] This is still another periphrasis of Aurora; cf. Ovid, \textit{Heroides} 18, 111.
2. a dies alma        a dies alma
   e lux augusta      e lux augusta
   i fax festa       i fax festa
   o lampas candida  o lampas candida
   u dies augusta    u dies augusta
   ae lux alma        ae lux alma
   b fax aurea        b fax aurea
   c lampas splendidia c lampas splendidia
   d dies festa festiva d dies festa festiva
   f lux fausta       f lux fausta
   g fax augusta      g fax augusta
   h lampas lucida    h lampas lucida
   l dies pulera      l dies pulera
   m lux formosa      m lux formosa
   n fax laeta, benigna n fax laeta, benigna
   p lampas fulgida  p lampas fulgida
   qu dies auspicata  qu dies auspicata
   r lux auspicatissima r lux auspicatissima
   s fax auspicatissima s fax auspicatissima
   t lampas auspicatissima t lampas auspicatissima
   v dies laetifica   v dies laetifica
   x lux laetifica    x lux laetifica

3. a diu        a diu
   e multum      e multum
   i diu multumque i diu multumque
   o multum diuque o multum diuque
   u valde       u valde
   ae lux alma    ae lux alma
   b vehementer  b vehementer
   c ardenter    c ardenter
   d serio diuque d serio diuque
   f flagranter  f flagranter
   g animitus    g animitus
   h corditus    h corditus
   l ex animo    l ex animo
   m ex corde    m ex corde
   n plurimum    n plurimum
   p lange multumque p lange multumque
   qu lange plurimum qu lange plurimum
   r lange langeque r lange langeque
   s ingenti desiderio s ingenti desiderio
   t ardenti desiderio t ardenti desiderio
   v flagranti desiderio v flagranti desiderio
   x ardentibus votis x ardentibus votis

4. salve! a desiderata,
   e expectata,
   i cupita,
   o sperata,
   u optata,

5. Quae nobis 6. refers.
   a tot        a tot
   e tanta      e tanta
   i tanta et tot i tanta et tot
   o tot tantaque o tot tantaque
   u tam ampla  u tam ampla
   b tam larga  b tam larga
   c tam multa  c tam multa
   d tam immensa d tam immensa
   f tam ingentia f tam ingentia
   g tam insignia g tam insignia
   h tam eximia  h tam eximia
   l tam egregia l tam egregia
   m tam divina  m tam divina
   n tam luculent a n tam luculent a
   p tam illustria p tam illustria
   qu tam splendida qu tam splendida
   r tam opima   r tam opima
   s tam opulenta s tam opulenta
   t tam pretiosa t tam pretiosa
   v tam solida  v tam solida
   x tam excellentia x tam excellentia

(1v) 5. Quae nobis 6. a referes.
   e affers.
   i largiris.
   o vehis.
   u advehis.
   b adducis.
   c reducis.
   d exhibes.
   f fers.
   g impertis.
   h impertiris.
   l confers.
   m praestas.
   n reportas.
   p portas.
   qu apportas.
   r elargiris.
   s offers.
   t subvehis.
   v revehis.
   x repraesentas.
Tu enim nobis Reginam
Tu enim nobis Dominam
Tu enim nobis Rectricem
Tu enim nobis Principem
Tu enim nobis Augustam
Tu enim nobis Dianam

Enim
Etenim
Quoniam

formae
corporis
faciei
vultus
oris
pulchritudinis
speciei

8.

9.

1. Tu enim nobis Reginam
2. Tu enim nobis Dominam
3. Tu enim nobis Rectricem
4. Tu enim nobis Principem
5. Tu enim nobis Augustam
6. Tu enim nobis Dianam

Enim
Etenim
Quoniam

formae
corporis
faciei
vultus
oris
pulchritudinis
speciei

8.

9.

1. Tu enim nobis Reginam
2. Tu enim nobis Dominam
3. Tu enim nobis Rectricem
4. Tu enim nobis Principem
5. Tu enim nobis Augustam
6. Tu enim nobis Dianam

Enim
Etenim
Quoniam

formae
corporis
faciei
vultus
oris
pulchritudinis
speciei

8.

9.
10. a et, nec non mentis a opibus
e ac e dotibus
i atque animi i divitiis
o eandemque, o bonis
    haud secus quam spiritus u virtute
u iuxta et b virtutibus
b iuxta ac c vi, viribus
c aeque ac ingenii d vigore
d simul ac f pollentia
e simul atque g bonitate
h non minus quam indolis h excellentialia
i non minus atque l politie
m non secus quam morum m dexteritate
n non secus atque pectoris p industria
p pariter ac qu acrimento
qu pariter atque r divinitate
r perinde et cordis s ingenuitate
s perinde atque t candore
t atque eandem v synceritate
v non solum, sed x pulcritudine
x non solum, verum etiam

(2r) 12. a admirandam,
e admirabilem
i mirandum,
o mirabilem
u incomparabilem,
b insignem,
c conspiciendam,
d spectabilem,
f suspiendoam,
g honorandam,
h venerandum
l reverendam,
m venerabilem,
n adorandum,
p inclytam,
qu pollentissimam,
r illustrem,
s augustam,
t florentissimam,
v adorabilem,
x extollendam,

13. a doctam, Musarum nutricem,
e Aonii gloriam chori,
i Pieriis studiis pollentem,
o artibus Aoniis delibutam, fideliter,
u aquis Castaliis bene delibutam, probe,
b quam Musae studiis excoluere suis,
c literatam, egregie, syncere,
d eruditam, pulcre, liberaliter,
f undis Clariis imbutam, penitus,
g studiis politam, Musarum alumnam,
h literarum studiis excultam, elegantimer,
l Clario nectare potam, largiter,
m studiis inclytam, claram,
n literis politam, eximie, op[p]ido,
p bonis literis deditam,
qu bonis literis excultam, exercitatum,
r artibus liberalibus eminenter,
s multa scientia pollentem,
t omnigena scientia claram
v omnigena doctrina conspicuam,
x Musarum ambrosia enutritam,
14.
a sapientem,
e prudentem,
i cordatam,
o sapientiae consultam,
u sapientiae plenam,
b providam, Minervae filiam,
c Palladis alumnam,
d cor Minervae, ocellum,
f corculum Minervae, pupillum,
g sapientiae Palladium,
h Coeli Palladium,
l artibus Palladiis instructam,
m artibus Palladiis armatam,
n Aegide Palladia armatam,
p Aegide Palladia munitam,
qu quam et Pallas amat; patrio quae vertice nata est,
r Palladi dilectam,
s Minervae amatam, sobolem
t Cecropiae madidam Latiaeque Minervae artibus,
v sapientiae lumine claram,
x Quam non Quiris venustas, non Pelasga latet elegantia,

15. 16. 17.
a piam,
e magnanimam,
i clementem,
o benignam,
u munificam,
b comem,
c iustam,
d amabilem,
f beneficam,
g facilem,
h affabilem,
l probam,
m liberalem,
n bonam,
p pectore candido,
qu serenam,
r candidam,
s placidam,
t omnibus aequam,
v exsortem fraudis,
x servantissimam aequi

18.
a sexus sui ornamentum, gemmam
e sexus sui ocellum, Dianam,
i sexus sui sidus, Venerem,
o sexus sui lumen,
u sexus sui decus, Cynthiam,
b sexus sui honorem,
c sexus sui gloriam,
d sexus sui florem,
f sexus sui flosculum,
g sexus sui coronam,
h sexus sui fastigium,
l sexus sui culmen,
m sexus sui apicem, margaritam,
n sexus sui astrum, column,
p sexus sui stellam,
qu sexus sui luciferum,
r sexus sui Phosphorum,
s sexus sui auroram,
t sexus sui facem honestam,
v sexus sui lucem,
x … [Cynthiam],

19.
a celsissimum
e fulgentissimum
i fulgidum
o lucidum, candidum
u rutilum
b aureum, serenissimum
c illibatum, unicum
d eximium, gratissimum
f celsum, purissimum
g excelsum, pretiosum
h sublime, superbum
l conspicuum
m limpidum, inaestimabile
n aureolum
p regium, nitidum
q regale, pulcherrimum
r rarum, coruscum
s augustum
t inclytum, [nitidum]
v insuperabilem
x [indelebile],
exuperantissimum
20. 21.
a et seculi sui delicium.
e et humani generis delicium.
i et hominum delicium.
o et Deum hominumque delicium.
u et populi sui gaudium.
b et gentis suae, civilium praesidium.
c et Mundi (Charitum) delicias.
d et temporum nostrorum miraculum, column.
f et hominum Deumque voluptatem.
g et portum periclitantium, solem principum.
h et exemplum principum.
l et normam et exemplar principum.
m et regum Helicen.
n et Cynosuram principum.
p et bonorum auxilium.
q et innocentium clypeum, asylum.
r et virtutis refugium.
s et afflictorum solatium.
t et Charitum merum mel.
v et Gratiarum complementum.
x et omnium desiderium.

22. 23.
a x Cuius auspiciis
e v Cuius auspicio
i t Cuius consiliis
o s Cuius consilio
u r Cuius ope, felicitate
b q Cuius opera
c p Cuius auxiliis
d n Cuius auxilio, praesidio
f m Cuius bonitate
g l Cuius beneficio
h h Cuius benignitate
l g Cuius prudentia
m f Cuius providentia
n d Cuius beneficentia
p c Cuius cura
q b Cuius industria
r u Cuius sollicitudine
s o Cuius sapientia
t i Cuius sedulitate
v e Cuius virtute Herculea
x a Cuius Herculeis laboribus

22.
a et cordato, -a, -is
e et maturo <-a, -is>
i et maturato
o et regio, divino
u et constanti
b et insomni, provido
c et pervigili, providenti
d et incredibili
f et inexhausto
g et indefesso
h et perenni, -ibus
l et perennanti, -ibus
m et indefatigabili
n et desinanti
p et laborioso, impigro
q et iugi, arduo
r et assiduo, felici
s et prudenti, fortunato
t et sapienti
v et auspicato, -issim-
x et sedulo

24. pax
a optima rerum, aurea
e praestantissima rerum, alma
i multis trophaes potior, candida
o mille trophaeis aucta, incluta
u multis aucta, incluta
b olea redimita comas
c innumeris circumdata laureis
d mille incluta laureis
f victoriarum comitatu stipata, frequenti
g crebris victoriarum successibus laeta
h multis laeta triumphis
l aeterno complectens omnia nexu
m alas plaudentibus victoriis
n laureola placidas pax redimita comas
p multis et variis redimita coronis
q gramineis, querceis pinnatisque rostrata corollis
r Dea sospita rerum
s Dea sospita generis humani
t pulchris ditata trophaes
v ab astrifero tandem optatissima coelo
x Numen tutelare seculi
25.
a  bello composito
e  bello debellato, sedato
i  Marte debellato, expiato, sedato
o  Marte pacato, fugato
u  Marte superato, deiecto, delinito
b  Marte strato, pulso, mitigato
c  Bellona invita, Alecto, flagellifera
d  Bellona frustra renitente
f  Bellona frustra reluctante, Erinny
g  nequicquam fremente Marte
h  nequicquam frendente Marte
l  fremente frendenteque Marte
m  ingratissi Orci, Tisiphones
n  ringente Cerbero, hirriente
p  tricipiti frustra frendente
q  torve tuente livore, crepante
r  immane latrante Cerbero
s  stomachante Megaera, refragante
t  miserum quiritate Charonte
v  rumpantur ut ilia Cerbero
x  Eumenidum mala gratia,
    Cerbero trifauci, triformi <multum
    latrante>

26.
a  mondo
e  terrarum orbi
i  terrae
o  gentibus
u  mortalibus
b  hominibus
c  generi humano
d  generi mortali
f  generi mortalium
g  terrigenis, populis
h  terricolis nationibus
l  rerum universitati
m  universo pene terrarum orbi
n  cunctis propemodum nationibus
p  potiori mundi hemisphaerio
q  Europae
r  Europae maximis Imperiis
s  Europae florentissimis Regnis
t  Europae cultissimis gentibus
v  Europae partibus potentissimis
x  Europae potentissimis
    Rebuspublicis et Statibus

(3r) 28.
a  vigescit, affulget.
e  florescit.
i  virescit.
o  revirescit.
u  reflorescit, [reflor]-uit.
b  viret.
c  regerminat.
d  reviret.
f  undique ridet.
g  ubique ridet.
h  ubique nitescit.
l  renitet.
m  renidescit.
n  renidet.
p  refulget, [reful]-sit.
q  revalescit.
r  convalescit.
s  iterum affulget.
t  reviviscit, [revi]-xit.
v  pullulescit.
x  repullulescit.
29. Germania

a effreni, irati
b foedi, horrendi
c torvi, improbi
d tetrici, immitis
f tetri, iniqui
g luctiferi
h luctuosi
l infesti, vesani
m truculenti
n infausti
p rabidi, inhumani
q indomiti
r furabundi, effraeni
s fulminei, insani
t superbi, immanis
v sanguinolenti
x ferventis

30.

a Martis vi
b Martis tyrannide
c Martis vehementia
d Martis atrociitate
f Martis feroce
g Martis furore
h Martis insolentia
l Martis insania
m Martis rabie
n Martis immanitate
p Martis crudelitate
q Martis saevitia
r Martis vesania
s Martis fulmine

31.

a Martis violentia
b Martis tyrannide
c Martis vehementia
d Martis atrociitate
f Martis feritate
g Martis furore
h Martis insolentia
l Martis insania
m Martis rabie
n Martis immanitate
p Martis crudelitate
q Martis saevitia
r Martis vesania
s Martis fulmine

32. [liberata, denuo]

a in libertatem vindicata [est]
b libertatem denuo adepta
c libertate denuo potita
d libertate denuo recepta
f libertate denuo recuperata
g libertate denuo restituta
h libertate denuo stabilita
l libertate denuo restabilita
m libertate postliminio adepta
n libertate postliminio instaurata
p libertate postliminio restaurata
q libertate postliminio reposita
r libertate postliminio vindicata
s libertate postliminio reparata
t libertate postliminio reperta
v libertate postliminio reddit
x libertate postliminio resumpta

33.

a gaudet, vultus detersis lacrymis serenat
b felicem se praedicat
c beatam se reputat
d fortunatam se existimat
f coelum digito contingit
g in coelo sibi agere videtur
h coelem possidet, coelo potitur
l in omnem laetitiam effusa est
m in omnem gaudium effusa est
n in publicum gaudium profusa est
p ingenti laetitia perfusa est
q incredibili gaudio perfusa est
r incredibili gaudio fruitur
s incredibi laetitia triumphat
t tota in coelo est
v a nulla sibi temperat laetitia
x nullius gaudio exprs est
34. a videns
e cernens
i conspiciens
o sentiens
u perspiciens, spectans
b intelligens, conscipiant
k cognoscens
d comperiens, re ipsa <comperiens>
f experiens
g animadvertens
h persentiens, sibi plaudens
l gavisa
m serio triumphans
n sibi gratulans
p sibi gratulata
q tripudians, syncero affectu
r gaudens, intime <gaudens>
s laetata, ex pectore laeta
t exultans, serio <exultans>
v cum videt
x cum cernit
(3v) 35. redditam
a sibi, populis suis
e civibus
i civitatibus
o urbis
u universitatibus
b territorius
c finibus
d limitibus
f statibus
g indigenis
h incolis
l terris
m nationibus
n gentibus
p filii, ditionibus
q proli sua
r municipibus
s municipiis
t orbi suo
v portis
x pullis, soboli

36. tranquillitatem
a [tranquillitatem]
e diu amissam
i diu ademptam
o diu deploratam
u diu conclamatam
b diu sepopultam
c diu extinctam
d diu publicam
f diu communem, collapsam
g diu universalem
h [securitatem] diu exulantem
l diu tantopere cupitam
m diu desideratam
n diu optatam
p diu expetitam
q diu petatam
r diu heu! nimium diu
s diu suspiratam
t diu tot suspirii desideratam
v diu tot suspirii expetitam
x diu tot suspirii efflagitatam
37. 38.
a templis religionem
e templis Deos
i templis numina
o templis sacra
u templis Pietatem
b templis cultum
c templis cultum Dei
d templis cultum divinium
f templis religioni
g templis Diis
h templum Numinibus
l templam sacris
m templam Pietati
n templam cultui divino
p templam devotioni
q templam exercitii sacris
r aras sacrificii
s aras victimis
t aras flaminibus
v flamines aras
x thuribus aras
[38.] 39. 40.
a foro iustitiam  
e tribu iura  
i tribu leges  
o tribu iudicia  
u tribu exercitia legum  
b egentibus exercitia legum  
c egenis exercitia legum  
d indigentibus exercitia legum  
f requirentibus exercitia legum  
g implorantibus exercitia legum  
h oppressis exercitia legum  
l afflictis exercitia legum  
m afflictis auxilia legum  
n subseelliis suffragia  
p iura com[m]unitatibus  
q magistratui honorem  
r authoritatem curiae  
s maiestatem imperio  
t legibus vigorem, vim  
v tribunalibus iura  
x tribunalia iustitiae

a omnibus  
e cunctis  
i universis  
o singulis  
u omnibus et singulis  
b et nemini non  
c et nulli non  
d singulis et omnibus  
f singulis et universis  
g omnibus ordinibus  
h omni hominum generi  
l omni mortalium generi  
m omnium ordinum hominibus  
n omnium ordinum mortalibus  
p uniciique  
q unicuivis  
r uniciulibet  
s domi forisque  
t publice privatimque  
v in communi  
x [&] in publicum cuique

[40] 42.
a securitatem  
e liberum rerum suarum usum  
i liberum rerum suarum arbitrium  
o liberum rerum suarum dominium  
u liberam rerum suarum dispositionem  
b liberam rerum suarum dispensationem  
c liberam rerum suarum possessionem  
d liberum rerum suarum fructum, fruitionem  
f sua iura, laetum et honestum otium  
g sua privilegia  
h suas immunitates  
l sua commercia  
m suum quaestum  
n suas artes vivendi, victum quaerendi  
p suum opificium  
q suum victum  
r sui quaestus exercitium  
s sui quaestus sua negotia  
t liberam victus et amictus quaerendi rationem  
v commerciorum usum  
x negotiorum commeatum

Insistens vestigiis insistens virtuebus inhaerens exemplis infixa gressibus firmata passibus suffulta coeptis innixa factis incedens documentis ingressa se inferens illata incumbens excitata excitata animata erecta roborata ducta illuminata viam monstrantibus

Multis et magnis divinis ingentibus vere regiis heroicis summis plusquam humanis eximiis ineffabilibus innumeris incredibilibus immensis mirandis inauditis immane quantis inaudibile dictu quantis nemo facile enarrabit quantis tantis, quantis maiora cogitari nequeunt quot vix potest capere animus quis dicet quantis inaestimabilibus
[45] 47. a beneficiis a auxit a [fidem unam Christianam] Regnorum
e dotibus e exauxit e [Religionem Christianam] Imperiorum
i auctibus i adauxit i [Religionem avitam] Rerumpublicarum
o incrementis o ornavit o [Religionem maiorum] Statuum
u muneribus u decoravit u [Religionem in unitate] societatum
b thesauris b mactavit b [Religionem patriam] universitatum
c divitiis c ditavit c [Religionem popularem] communitatum
doibus d honoravit d [Religionem receptam] com[m]unionum
f opulentiiis f honestavit f humanarum societatum
g favoribus g exaltavit g humanarum mentium
h gratiiis h evexit h humanorum animorum
l progressibus l extulit l humanorum pectorum
m donis m venustavit m humanorum cordium
n commodis n exornavit n humanorum consortiorum
p decoribus p affectit p humanae concordiae
q officiis q sibi devinxit q humanae unionis
r honoribus r condecoravit r humanae vitae
s honestamentis s amplificavit s humanae amicitiae
t ornamentis t cumulavit t humanae conversationis
v augmentis v sibi obstrinxit v pacis publicae
x emolumentis, x aeternum sibi x pacis coetu
eminentiis, conciliavit

a [Religionem]

a unam a conservat.
e in unitate e servat.
i in unione i protegit.
o integram o tuetur.
u illibatam u defendit.
b venerandam b continet.
c puram c continet et conservat.
d immaculatam d continet et tuetur.
f indivisam f custodit.
g indivisibilem g custodit et protegit.
h indissolubilem h custodit et conservat.
l synceram l custodit et tuetur.
m incorruptam m conservat et tuetur.
n inconcussam n conservat et tutatur.
p intactam p conservat et protegit.
q immotam q conservat et custodit.
r sanctam r tutatur.
s tectam s tutatur et defendit.
t sacrosanctam t fovet.
v salvam v fovet et tuetur.
x x fovet et complectitur.
54v) [51] 53. Fere, quodammodo, propemodum Iustitiam, Astraeam a [fere] collapsam e vacillantem i nutantem, tantumnon o cadentem u animam agentem b iam terga vertentem c iam fugam meditantem d iam ad fugam alas pandentem f ruentem g ruinas trahentem h ruinas minantem l non satis validam m titubantem n labantem p labentem q lapsantem r invalidam s languentem t aegram v insfirmam x laceram [resarcit.]

[52] 54.
a reformavit. e restituit. i evexit. o reposuit, in solidum <reposuit>.
u resanavit, sublevavit. b reduxit. c roboravit. d corrorboravit. f confirmavit. g suffulcit. h consolidavit. l firmavit. m sustinuit. n stabilivit. p restabilivit. q iuvit.

[53] 55. 56.
a Mercaturam et opificia docuit; Mercaturam docuit, opificia docuit e Mercaturam et artes manuarias induxit, invexit. i Mercaturam et artes manuarias introduxit, mercaturae. industrias; opificiis solertia conciliavit. o Mercaturam ingentiis privilegiis dotavit et auxit. u Mercaturam ingentiis privilegiis ad nos traduxit. b Mercaturam in [suam] patriam invitavit et promovit. c Mercaturam miris, multis modis auctiorem fecit, uberiorem. d Mercaturam variis mediis ditiorem fecit, lucrosiorem. f Mercaturam multis viis opimiorem reddidit, solertiorem. g Commercia incredibilis auctibus cumulavit. h Navigationes in remotissimas terras et loca insolita suscepit. l Navigationes ad dissitissimas orbis plagas lucrosissimas instituit. m Navigationes etiam in ipsas Indias novis ductis colonis instituit. n Navigationibus Septentrioni hactenus ignotis nova Helice viam praemonstravit. p Maria et littora nostris velis hactenus invisa aperuit. q Artibus mechanicis et manualibus nobis ante incogniti pretium addidit. r Artibus incognitiis aut infrequentibus patriam ditavit. s Artifices magnis praemiiis in patriam invitavit. t Multarum artium magistros honorabilibus privilegiis et immunitatibus in v Artificia in immensum excoluit. || patriam allexit. x Commercia in immensum excoluit.
[54] 57.

a Et, quod maxime fuit arduum,  
e Et, quod ingentis fuit opera, operis,  
i Et, quod ingentis erat molis,  
o Et, quod tanta fuit molis,  
u Et, quod inter maxima ferendum est,  
b Et, quod inter prima censendum est,  
c Et, quod ego pulcherrimum arbitror,  
d Et, quod inter praeclara reputandum est,  
f Et, quod maximi fuit negotii,  
g Et, in quo palmarium situm arbitror,  
h Et, quod Herculei fuit laboris,  
l <Et, quod Herculei fuit laboris,>  
m Et, quod Herculei fuit operis,  
n Et, quod Herculei fuit animi,  
p Et, quod Herculei fuit nisus,  
q Et, quod Herculei fuit conatus,  
r Et, quod Herculei fuit incœpti,  
s Et, in quo Cadmeae olim gloriae nihil cedit,  
t Et Cadmum aemulata  
v Et, quod Cecropiis olim Phoenix  
x Et, quod olim Carmenta Latinis  
</praestitit>,

[55] 58.

a toto Parnasso  
e toto monte Parnassio  
i toto Helicone  
o toto Helicone monte  
u toto Cyrrha, Pindo  
b toto vertice Cyrrhaeo  
c toto Pimpla  
d toto monte Pimplaeo  
f toto monte Aonio  
g totis montibus Aoniis  
h toto Pierio monte  
l tosis collibus Pieris  
m tota Hyantia, Libethra  
n totis montibus Hyantii  
p toto Parnasso biverti  
q toto Parnasso bicorni, bicipiti  
r arce Parnassia  
s arce Heliconia  
t ipso fonte Castalio  
v ipso fonte Pegaseo, Clario  
x ipso Permessio fonte

[56] 59.

a cum Apolline  
e cum Phoebio  
i cum Cynthio  
o cum Delio  
u cum Patareo  
b cum Lycio  
c cum Thymbraeo  
d cum Latonio  
f cum Latoo vatum patre  
g cum deo Delphico  
h <cum deo Delphico>  
l cum Pythio  
m cum praeside Pythio  
n cum duce Delio  
p cum rege Delio  
q cum vate Cyrrhaeo  
r <cum vate Cyrrhaeo>  
s cum ipso Paeane  
t cum laurigero  
v cum intonso  
x cum crinito

[57] 60.

a et Musis  
e et sororibus Aoniiis  
i et sororibus Castaliis  
o et sororibus Heliconiis  
u et sororibus Camoenis  
b et sororibus Helicona colentibus  
c  
d et sororibus Hyantii  
f et divis Pimplaeis  
g et divis Thesbiadibus  
h et choro Thesbiadum  
l  
m et choro Hyantidum  
n et choro Castalidum  
p et choro Pimpleidum  
q et choro Aganippidum  
r et choro Libethridum  
s et choro Pieridum  
t et choro Pegasidum  
v et choro Heliconiadum  
x et choro Aonidum

427
[58] 61.

a in Sueciam  
e in Suediam  
i in Suethiam  
o in Sueoniam, aquilonaria regna  
u in Suioniam  
b in Suionas  
c <in Suedos, Suecos, Suethos>  
d in Sueonas  
f sub Arcton  
g sub Arctum  
h sub Parrhasiae virginis axem  
l <in Sithonias ursas>  
m sub Maenalias ursas  
n sub gelidos Triones  
p sub inocciduos Triones  
q sub axem Boream  
r in Borealia regna  
s sub axem Boreum  
t sub aquilonem  
v sub aquilonis orbes  
x sub axem Maenalium, sub Bootem, sub Lycaonium Bootem

[59] 62.

a traducto  
e translato  
i transposito  
o transvecto, illato  
u accito,  
b invento  
c contracto  
d accersito  
f adscito, promotio  
g attracto,  
h transposito, conscripto,  
l collocato  
m invitato, translocato  
n evocato  
p excito  
q congregato  
r aggregato  
s transportato  
t transfretato  
v excitato, pellecto,  
x transscripto, traiecto, reposito

(5r) [60] 63.

a Barbariem profligavit, regno suo eiecit.  
e Barbariem abegit.  
i Barbariem fugavit.  
o Barbariem disiecit, debellavit.  
u coecam ignorantiae noctem <disiecit>.  
b altam ignorantiae caliginem dispulit.  
c mentibus incubantem barbariem depulit.  
d terrae incubantem barbariem depulit.  
f ingeniis insidentem caliginem <depulit>.  
g ingeniis insitam ignaviam <depulit>.  
h ignorantiam populi mentes obsidentem <depulit>.  
l <inertiam> populorum animos soporantem <depulit>.  
m inertiam populi diutino sopore suprimentem <depulit>.  
n inertiam populi diutino sopore oppressos detinentem <depulit>.  
p profundas ignorantiae tenebras, inertes <depulit>.  
q Orcinas, Stygias, labyrinthes, furvas tenebras <depulit>.  
r somnolentam ingeniorum nocem dispulit.  
s ignorantiam fumosam ingeniorum labem sustulit, nubem.  
t diutinis ignorantiae tenebris obductas suorum mentes religavit.  
v Cimmerias animorum tenebras ad Riphaeos relegavit.  
x ignorantiam animorum pestem (mortem) eiecit regno.
Quamobrem, quid multa?
Quapropter, quid multis?
Proptererea,
Proinde,
Qua de causa,
Quare,
Ea propter,
Ergo,
Igitur,
Hinc, Inde, Unde,
Haec propter,
Quae cum ita sint,
Quae cum ita se habeant,
Ob quod, ob quae,
Quae quando ita se habeant,
Quae quandoquidem ita se habeant,
Quae siquidem ita se habeant,
Quae posteaquam ita se habeant,
Hanc ob rem,
Hinc ergo merito, iure
Non igitur immerito,

[61] 64.
a Haec propter et alia
e Propter quae et alia
i Propter iam dicta et alia
o Propter commemorata et alia
u Propter memorata et alia
b Propter quae modo dicta et alia
c Ob quae dicta
d Ob quae et multa alia
f Ob quae et innumera alia
g Ob quae et nemini non nota alia
h Ob quae et nemini non decantata alia
l Ob quae et non celebrata alia
m Ob quae et utrique Polo concelebrata alia
n Ob quae et utrique Polo cognita alia
p Ob quae et utrique Polo notissima alia
q Ob quae et omnibus terris notissima alia
r Ob quae et cunctis nationibus notissima alia
s Ob quae et toto coelo notissima alia
t Ob quae et terrarum orbi notissima alia
v Ob quae et omnibus mundi plagis notissima alia
x Ob quae et etiam syderibus nota alia

a praecclare facta, magnifice
e praecclare gesta, heroice
i praecclare instituta
o praecclare constituta
u praecclare ordinata
b praecclare comparata, statuta
c praecclare inventa, introducta
d praecclara facinora
f divina facinora
g vere regia facinora
h inclyta facinora
l magnifica facinora
m heroica facinora
n heroica facta
p heroica gesta
q heroica statuta
r heroica instituta

[63] 66.
a eam meritis coronamus laudibus
e eam meritis celebramus praeconiis
i eam meritis cantamus encomiis
o eam meritis decantamus
u eam meritis concelebramus
b eam meritis vehimus
c eam meritis evehimus
d eam meritis tollimus
f eam meritis extollimus
g eam meritis sustollimus
h eam meritis ferimus
l eam meritis efferimus
m eam meritis prosequimur
n eam meritis ornamus
p eam meritis afficimus
q eam meritis mactamus
r eam meritis dicimus
s eam meritis praedicamus
t eam meritis decoramus
v eam meritis canimus
x eam meritis coelo aequamus
(5v) [64] 67.
   a laetis plausibns
   e laetis vocibus
   i laetis clamoribus
   o laetis acclamationibus
   u laetis applausibus
   b laetis acclamatisus
   c laetis cantibus
   d faustis cantibus
   f resonis cantibus
   g concinnis cantibus
   h argutis cantibus
   l tinnulis cantibus
   m clarisonis cantibus, iubilatibus
   n vocalibus cantibus, hymnis
   p canoris cantibus
   q melicis cantibus
   r dulcisonis cantibus
   s festis cantibus
   t festivis cantibus
   v multisonis cantibus
   x sonoris cantibus

[65] 68. , ut coepi,
   a ingeminantes festas voces
   e tergeminantes faustas voces
   i resonantes
   o iterantes Paean, io Paean
   u repetentes
   b exclamantes festivum iubilum
   c concinences
   d personantes
   f cientes, tergeminantes
   g extollentes
   h effrentes, inlamantes
   l sustollentes
   m tollentes
   n tollentes in coelos
   p tollentes in aethera
   qu tollentes in sydera
   r tollentes in astra
   s tollentes in sylum
   t aethera ferientes
   v sidera ferientes
   x coelos ferientes

[66] 69.
   a Salve rosee Cynthie!

[67] 70.
   a Salve festa dies!
12.4.4 Critical and explanatory remarks
Unit 1
At the outset of the panegyric, Stiernhielm heaps up various poetical appellations of the day or the dawn by using epithets of the sun-god Apollo and Aurora, goddess of the morning. As epithets of Apollo we encounter the descriptive names *Phoebus* “the radiant”, *Cynthius* “the Cynthian” as being born at mount Cynthus on Delos, Titan “the grandson of Titan”, *Clarius* “the Clarian” as worshipped at a temple and oracle-place in the town Claros in Ionia, and at last *Hyperion* “the sun”. *Phosphorus* and *Lucifer* are “the light-bringer, morning star”, *Eous* “the morning star”. Other names of Aurora are *Matuta*, *Leucothea*, *Pallantis* and *Tithonia coniux* (see unit 1, the footnotes).

Stiernhielm uses some poetical synonyms of the day or day-light, namely *fax*, *lux*, *lampas* and *fulgor*. Similarly, he employs a couple of periphrases of the day-light, namely *mundi oculum fulgide* “shining eye of the day” and *Decus mundi unicum, aureum* “the only or golden ornament of the world”.

Unit 13, letters *e* and *i*
The phrases *Aonii gloria chori* and *Pieriis pollens studiis* are in all probability drawn from Jean de Backer’s phraseological dictionary of Classical Latin poetry, *Flores flavissae et elegantiae poeticae*, s.v. *doctus*, i.e. learned, p. 245 in the 1647 edition.

Unit 14, letters *qu, t* and *x*
In the phrases *qu* and *t*, Stiernhielm imitates Classical Latin poetry. At the variation *qu* he makes use of a phrase encountered in Lucanus’ epic poem on the civil war, *Pharsalia* 9, 350, where the author states that Pallas, who was born from her father’s head, loves Tritonis (the nymph of a salt lake in Libya): “Hanc et Pallas amat, patrio quae vertice nata.” At the letter *t* Stiernhielm employs a phrase that derives from Martial’s *Epigrammata* 1, 39, 3: “si quis Cecropiae madidus Latiaeque Minervae / artibus”, that is “if anyone is filled with the arts of the Cecropian (that is, Athenian) and Latin Minerva”.

At the letter *x* Stiernhielm draws his phrase from Jean de Backer’s synonymous poetical dictionary, where language learning in Greek and Latin is described as *Quiris venustas* “Quiritian, that is Roman, beauty” and *Pelasga elegantia*, “Pelasgian, that is Greek, elegance”.

---

1176 de Backer, *Flores flavissae et elegantiae poeticae* (Cologne/ Köln 1647), s.v. *doctus Graece et Latine*, p. 346.
Unit 24, letter a
The reference to peace as the best of things alludes to Silius Italicus, 
Punica 11, 592 f. pax optima rerum / quas homini novisse datum est.

Unit 25, letter v
The clause rumpantur ut ilia Cerbero, “so that Cerberus’ belly is torn apart”, is a humorous imitation of the famous expression in Virgil’s 
Eclogae 7, 26: invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro, “so that Codrus’ belly bursts with envy”. Codrus was the name of a wretched poet. The sense is: “so that the Pope’s belly bursts with envy”. In the draft (F.d. 6b,3b, fifth quire, 2v), Stiernhielm used Virgil’s expression.

Unit 25, letter x
The last phrase is Cerbero trifaci, triformi, that is “with the three-faced or threefold Cerberus” with ellipsis of a verbal complement. I have supplemented “multum latrante”, that is “much barking”, from the draft in F.d. 6b, 3b (fifth quire, fol. 2v).

Unit 33, letters i, o and u
In unit 33, letters i and u, Stiernhielm uses phrases from Statius’ poetry. At the letter i, the phrase ora serenat occurs in the epic poem on Thebes, Thebais 2, 57: (infernaque nubila vultu/) discutit et vivis adflatibus ora serenat. The sentence of the variation u is encountered in the fifth book of Statius’ miscellanies, Silvae 5, 5, 43–44 f: […] “nunc tempus, amici, / quorum ego manantes oculos et saucia tersi/ pectora.”
In unit 33, letter o, Stiernhielm adopts the phrase lacrymantia lumina tergere, “to dry crying eyes”, which is attested in the poem Moretum previously attributed to Virgil; line 108 reads: “Saepe manu summa lacrymantia lumina tergit.”

Units 39 and 40, letters e, i, o and u
Stiernhielm here inflects the noun tribus in the dative singular only with the alternative ending -u instead of –ui. He uses the word in the sense of “the common people, commonalty”.

Units 55 and 56, letters n and t
The meaning of the variation under letter n is as follows: “As a new constellation the Great Bear (= Charles’s Wain) she showed the way for navigations into the North that so far had been unknown.”
For reasons of space, the last words of this variation, patriam allexit, are written on the next line (letter v), where I have added two vertical strokes to separate patriam allexit from the next variation (v).
Unit 61, letters c, l and h
For the expected variations c and l there is no text in the fair copy. I have supplied variations from the synonyms in Stiernhielm’s draft of this panegyric in F.d. 6b, 3b. The circumlocution of the constellation the Great Bear, Ursa Maior, as “the sky of the Parrhasian virgin” is found in Classical Latin poetry: Ovid, Tristia 2, 190 “Parrhasiae gelido virginis axe premor.”

Unit 63, letter l
The manuscript has the adjective iners (that is “inactive, idle”) in the accusative, inertem, but the syntax requires a noun, such as inertiam, (that is “inactivity, idleness, laziness”).

12.4.5 Cipher writing: Stiernhielm’s examples
12.4.5.1 Preliminaries
Source: F.d. 13, wrapper Polygraphia, fols. 6v, 7r and 7v.
Stiernhielm designated his exercise of polygraphy as comprehensible in the sense that the cipher writing, though encoded, is not hidden as in cryptography. He gives two examples. In the first example he joins the units of the former numbering (nos. 1–67) into a variation with the hidden message “May God preserve Christina of Sweden safe and sound. So pray all good people.” In the second example he joins the units of the latter numbering (nos. 1–68) into a composition with a hidden message, which is a statement by Seneca the Younger.

12.4.5.2 The first example
Variatio prima ex clavi extemporanea, cui subest sensus occultus: Deus servet Christinam Sueciae diu sospitem et incoluem, sic precamur omnes boni.

(fol. 6v) Salve Hyperion, lux augusta, valde et multorum votis solicitata, salve! Quae nobis tam opulenta affers munera. Tu enim Principem nobis alto submittis Olympo, oris blanda gravitate decoram eandemque1178 animi viribus illustrem, Pieriis studiis pollentem, sobolem Minervae omnibus aequam, clementem, bonam, sexus sui gemmam, inaestimabilem afflictorum solatium, populi sui gaudium. Cuius virtute Herculea et maturis consiliis candida Pax bello debellato generi mortali restituta reflorescit. Germania fulminei Martis truculentia deflorata libertate postliminio restaurata ora serenat, exultans serio civibus suis redditam iam diu desideratam tranquillitatem, templis deos, flaminibus aras, leges foro, subsellis

---

1178 eandemque] According to the given message this unit should be atque eandem.

(fol. 7r)

Deus servet Christianam Sueciae

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25.

diuiospitem met incolumem, sic

26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47.

precamur omnes boni, etc.

51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67.

12.4.5.3 Explanatory remarks

Unit 22 occurs twice, but Stiernhielm disregards this fact. Originally the double unit 22. 23 was numbered 21. 23, but after having added one number (17) to the units 15–16, he changed the numbering of the five units (17 was corrected into 18 and 18 into 19 and the double unit 19. 20 into 20. 21). In unit 23 Stiernhielm’s choice (consiliis) corresponds to the letter t rather than c, though, in the above key to the cryptography he retained the most common orthographic form of the Latin designation of Sweden, viz. Suecia. However, Suetia is an alternative spelling of Suethia.

12.4.5.4 The second example

Stiernhielm provides a second example of cipher writing, in which the hidden message is a quotation from Seneca the Younger. It is: “A good mind is not bought and is not borrowed. And I think that if it was for sale, it would not have any buyer” (Epist. morales III, 27, 8).

(7r) Variatio secunda ex clavi extemporanea (ut omnes), cuius sensus occultus est dictum Senecae: Bona mens nec emitur nec commodatur. Et puto, si venalis esset, non haberet emptorem.

---

1179 sub Boream] This variation (unit 59 in the former system of numbering) is required to correspond to the letter designation r in Stiernhielm’s clarification of the hidden message. In the edited text above, it corresponds to the letter designation q. In the ms., it is unclear whether sub Boream belongs to the designation q or r.

12.4.5.5 Decoding of the cipher
Except for the units 1 and 55–56, where Stiernhielm has confused the letter designations of $e$ and $b$, the above text corresponds well to the decoded message. Below follows a clarification of the cipher, unit for unit. This is not written out in the manuscript.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B o n a m e n s n o n e m i t u r n e c c o m m o d a t u r.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E t p u t o, s i v e n a l i s e s s e t, n o n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h a b e r e t e m p t o r e m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1180 Phoebe auree] The decoded message would require unit 1 b, Eoe pulchre.
1181 Mercaturam … invexit] This variation (unit 55 e), does not agree with the intended cipher. Instead, the unit 55 a, Mercaturam et opificia docuit, is required.
1182 <mercaturam in patriam invitavit et promovit>] This clause has to be added according to the letter designation intended in the cipher, viz. unit 56, variation b.
1183 toti orbi] According to the decoded message, this unit (64t) should be Ob quae et terrarum orbi concelebrata for the letter designation /t/. Stiernhielm partly confused it with the preceding variation (Ob quae et toti coelo concelebrata).
12.4.6 Thematic comparison with Parnassus triumphans

The birthday panegyric from 1650 shares a set of common topics and similar phrases with *Parnassus triumphans*, for instance lines 242–247, the seven ancient wise men of Greece sing about the Queen as patroness of culture:

Men nu: nu syns oss åter lysa
   En sool med wijsdoms ljus beprydd
I thess beskärm wij hoppas finna
   en stadig ewig-blifuand roo;
then store Swea Konunginna
   will att wij jämt hos henne boo.

But at present, a sun now appears to shine for us again,
a sun adorned with the light of wisdom.
In its protection with hope to find
   steady, everlasting rest.
The great Queen of Swea realm
   wishes that we always will live together with her.

In lines 254–262, the Muses, who now have settled in Sweden, sing:

1. Wårt rikes fromma
   står nu i blomma,
      bracht i högste flor.
Parnassi högder
   i lust och frögder
      fijres av vår chor.

2. Aganippes källa
   begynner hålla
      Cristalline flod.

1. The fortune of our realm
   is now flourishing
      and is brought to the highest flowering.
The height of Parnassus,
   with happiness and joy,
      is celebrated by our choir.

1184 For the topic “the migration of the Muses” in Neo-Latin poetry, see Helander, *Neo-Latin literature in Sweden 1620–1720*, pp. 411–416.
2. Aganippe’s source
begin to flow forth
with water clear as crystal.

In lines 286–287, Homer, Pindar, Virgil and Horace, as restorers of poetry, underline the migration of learning and sing:

I Grek-land numeer en förgäfs Parnassum leeter
som finns i Swea-land med alt sit folk försätt.

In Greece, one seeks nowadays in vain for Parnassus,
which with all its people is transposed to the Swea-country.

In the the last entrance of final great ballet, Aurora and the Muses sing (lines 311–350). In the first stanza, we find the metaphor of a beautiful dawn arising over Sweden. In the second, there is a hope for the return of the Saturnian golden age, for which the draft in Latin contains a reference to the fourth eclogue of Virgil. In the third, Queen Christina is represented as the prolonged arm of her father, King Gustavus Adolphus. God has made the hand of Christina strong and victorious, so that the war on sea and land has ceased. In the fourth stanza, Stiernhielm describes how knowledge and learning (“mans-wet) with virtues and good customs have flourished as a result of the peace. In the following stanzas, the blessings of peace are enumerated with their consequences for various fundamental areas. In the fifth, piety thrives. In the sixth, justice prospers. In the seventh, trade and handicrafts are promoted. In the eighth, agriculture is furthered; the swords are forged into coulters and ploughshares with a clear allusion to Isaiah 2:4.\textsuperscript{1185} In the final stanzas the poet prays that need will be turned into abundance by the blessing of God.

Een purpur-lijflig fijn Aurora
tig stiger up, o Swea kär.
Lycksaligheetens horn hon bär
i föllie med then blomstran’ Flora.

Then länge önskad, ofta spådde,
then första werldens gyllen tijd,
tig yppas, Swea liuf och blid:
CHRISTINAÆ hand tig thet förmådde,

\textsuperscript{1185} The Biblical passage reads: “They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither they shall learn war any more.”
Gustavi arm, Christinae hand är,
then Gud igenom himmelsk kraft
har gjort så stark och segerhaft
att stilt är örlig, krig och klander.

I landet blomstras prijs och heder,
af alt huad som en lära må
af alt hvad mans-wet kan förstå
af alsköns dygd och gode seder.

Thens högste tempel och hans stifter
och alt huad Guds och heligt är
af allman wyrdas när och fiär
Förökt med offr och milde gifter.

Rättfärdighet föruthan räncker,
och drögsmål, skipias huario man
all fund och list här intet kan
stort straf han får som rätten kränker.

I fred förutan wåld och wåda
med köpenskap och handwerks ijd
hwar gör sig om sin bärning flijt
och gå med gagn varann’ til handa.

På landet Gud ock alt så fogar
att åkerman af ingo weet
som annat är än rolighet.
Af swärd är smidde rist och plogar.

Huard brist här är, och än kan feela
af ymnoghet och ährings frögd,
will Gud af rijke himmels högd
wårt hopp och bön ännu meddela.

Then regn och solskijn har i händer
och råder öfuer Jupiter
then Phoebi klarhets mästar är
wår brist i ymnighet han wänder.
Appendices

Appendix 1: Alsted on morphosyntactic variability

Preliminaries

Source: F.d. 4 (Loci communes), pp. 292–293. Size: 193 x 317 mm. The excerpts are from the first edition of Johann Heinrich Alsted’s encyclopaedia. Cursus philosophici encyclopaedia (1620), book 2 on grammar (de grammatica, chapter 19 on syntax (de syntaxi)). In the second edition, Encyclopaedia septom tomis distincta, 1630, the excerpted passages occur in the second volume (tomus secundus), book 6 on grammar, chapter 19 on syntax, pp. 368–370. For a photographic reproduction of Stiernhielm’s copy, see Figure 27.

Contents: Alsted divides his account in general syntax and special syntax. General syntax is further divided in accidental changes of the same parts of speech (heterosis), the exchange of different parts of speech (antimeria) and the use of another word (metallage). Special syntax is classified in alterations of the noun, the verb and the conjunction.

Stiernhielm relied on Alsted’s account of special syntax in the first system of variation in Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum (1635). He used selected parts of Alsted’s syntaxis varians as a foundation for his system of syntactic variability in Proteus rhetoricus, where some devices (number 2: mutatio substantivi et adjectivi, and number 3: mutatio epitheti) correspond to Alsted’s categorization of accidental changes, while others answer to Alsted’s observations about the variability of special syntax.

Dating: The excerpt can be dated from a complimentary poem to the superintendent of Gothenburg and Latin poet Johannes Sylvester

1186 Alsted, in turn, apparently used the Latin grammar by Caspar Finck and Christopher Helwig as his source of inspiration. It was published as Grammatica Latina in Giessen (Giessae Hessorum) in 1615, five years before the first edition of Alsted’s encyclopaedia. In book 1, chapter 28, Finck and Helwig deal with syntactic exchange (enallage) in a threefold fashion, namely by the exchange of different parts of speech (antimeria), by alteration of accidents within the same part of speech (heterosis) and by the use of another word (metallage), see pp. 268–274. Alsted borrowed his tripartite model, but reversed the order of the first two elements; the alteration of accidents comes before the change of word classes. The examples are largely the same as those adduced by Flinck and Helwig.
Phrygius (1572–1628) on the occasion of his planned publication of a collection of Latin poems (*opus poeticum*). The poem is found at the bottom of the page in which the excerpts from Alsted’s *Syntaxis varians* ends. The poem is dated 25 December 1625, when it was sent to Gothenburg.  

It has been published in the collection of Stiernhielm’s poetic writings. In excerpting his source text, Stiernhielm selected and adapted it. Sometimes he omitted entire sentences. In other passages he removed one or more words and replaced them by connective words. In other passages again he paraphrased the omitted words. He also modified the numbering of the categories.

In the below transcription, Stiernhielm’s omissions are written out or marked within square brackets in extra bold types. His additions and new numberings are given within angle brackets. His adaptations and paraphrases are explained in footnotes. Deviations can on the other hand depend on the fact that Stiernhielm followed Alsted’s *Encyclopaedia* in its first edition (1620) and not in its second one (1630), which is the only one to which I have had access.

**Stiernhielm’s excerpted text**

(F.d. 4:1, p. 392, col. 1; cf. Alsted 1630, p. 368, col. 1)

Syntaxis varians

[Syntaxis varians est] quae unam eandemque sententiam aliis vocibus effert. [Estque generalis vel specialis. Generalis cernitur in enallage, quae est heterosis, antimeria et mettallage.]

Heterosis est enallage accidentis cum eadem parte orationis 1189 manente, accidens tantum mutatur, hoc modo:


---

1188 Johan Nordström and Bernt Olsson (eds.), *Samlade skrifter av Stiernhielm*, vol. 1:1. See Latin poems, no. IV, pp. 159–160.
1189 [parte orationis] This is a transposition of the word order in relation to Alsted 1630, who has *orationis parte*.
1190 *et* Alsted has vel in the second edition, 1630. Whether the first edition had *et* or *vel* is unknown to me.
profeci: Tua doctrina profeci. Patrem consulem non desinit iactare: Patris consulatum non desinit iactare.

3. Proprium ponitur pro appellativo: [ut,] Verres pro fure. Sardanapolis [pro] molli. [Croesus pro divite.]


6. Nomina possessiva, gentilia aut patria [sunt] loco propriorum: [ut,] Cous senex pro Hippocrate. [Stagirita pro Aristotele.]

7. Epitheta [sunt] loco propriorum: [ut,] Pius pro Aenea. Casta pro Penelope.


11. Casus pro casu [ponitur]: [ut,] Deus meus adiuva me, pro Deus mi. [In oppido Antiochiae, pro Antiochia.] Vos o Patricius sanguis, pro Patricie. Macte [esto virtute], et Mactus virtute esto. Est mihi nomen Petrus, Petri, Petro. It clamor coelo, et it ad coelum. [Haeret pede pes: haeret pedi pes.]

Huc pertinet variatio [nominis in una eademque sententia] per omnes casus in utroque numero [utriusque numeri, e.g. Aristoteles est omnium philosophorum sapientissimus]:

[Singularis]
N. Aristoteles a nullo [philosopho] superatur sapientia.
G. Summa est Aristotelis prae aliis philosophis sapientia.
D. Haud scio an quisquam Aristoteli sit aequandus.
A. Putasne Aristotelem ulli philosopho cedere sapientia?
V. Quam singulari, o Aristoteles, ornatus es a Deo sapientia!
Ab. Nemo philosophorum sapientior fuit Aristotele.

Plural[is].
N. Sint alii philosophi sapientes; at qui cum Aristotele comparari possit, nullus est.
G. Aristoteles facile est princeps omnium philosophorum.
D. Aristoteles palmam sapientiae praeripit aliis philosophis.
A. Aristoteles superat omnes philosophos sapientia.

(Alsted 1630, p. 368, col. 2)

---

1191 Alsted here makes a brief digression on the nature of the relationship between grammar and rhetoric.

1192 In Alsted 1630, the clauses in this paragraph have a different order.


15. *In pronomine ponitur nonnumquam possessivum pro primitivo:* [ut.] Odio id fecit tuo, pro tui. Reciprocum pro primitivo: Respice Laërtem, ut iam sua lumina condat.\(^{1193}\) pro ipsius.

16. *In verbo multiplex est heterosis* [hoc modo]:


2. *Personae commutantur:* [ut.] Oratores visi sumus, pro Visus sum [orator]. Si quis me quaerat, praesto est, desine, pro praesto sum.


4.\(^{1195}\) *Modi et tempora permutantur:* [ut.] Praedicabat hoc nobis, vel praedixit. Ille stomachabatur, vel ille stomachari. Dixerit hic aliquis, vel Dicet hic aliquis. Equidem istud non affirmaverim, vel [affirmave]ro, [vel affirmabo]. […]\(^{1196}\) Ne crede, [et Ne cred]as. […]\(^{1197}\) Memini videre, vel vidisse. […]\(^{1198}\) Si tales amicos in praelio habebitis, quales hic ostendimus, vicimus, pro vincemus. Te ad me fore venturum, pro esse. Cicero.

---

\(^{1193}\) Respice Laërtem … condat] Ovid, *Epistulae Heroidum* 1, 113: “respice Laerten; ut tu sua lumina condas” that is: “Consider Laertes, that you might close his eyes.” Alsted and Stierhielm have *iam* instead of *tu* and *condat* instead of *condas*, so that the meaning is changed to “Consider Laertes, that he now closes his eyes.”


\(^{1195}\) This should be 5, but here Stierhielm did not correct the faulty numbering of the original.

\(^{1196}\) In comparison to Alsted 1630 Stierhielm here omits five examples.

\(^{1197}\) In comparison to Alsted 1630 Stierhielm here omits several examples.

\(^{1198}\) In comparison to Alsted 1630, Stierhielm here omits two examples.
Antimeria est unit partis orationis cum alia permutatio [quia fit hoc modo]:

1. **Nomen permutatur cum nomine:** [ut.] Omnia Ciceronis tibi patent, pro [omnia] mea; *cum verbo:* [ut.] Velle suum cuique est, pro voluntas. Judicent alii, et aliorum esto iudicium; *cum adverbio:* [ut.] Quid tibi aegre est, pro molestas; *cum coniunctione:* [ut.] Illius ergo [venimus], pro causa; *cum interiectione:* [ut.] Quid tu, malum, curas, utrum crudum an coctum edam.1199

2. **Pronomen commutatur nomine:** [ut.] Id negat Cicero, pro Ego [id nego]; *adverbio:* [ut.] Quid maiora sequar, pro cur.

3. **Participium commutatur nomine:** [ut.] Lumen coruscum, pro coruscans. Ora sibila, pro sibilantia; *verbo:* [ut.] Amantem redama, pro Eum qui te amat [redama].

4. **Verbum commutatur nomine:** [ut.] Quae tua sententia est? pro Quid sentis? Non est mihi dubium, pro Non dubito; *participio:* [ut.] Non opus est dicto, pro fere; *coniunctione:* [ut.] Adde, accedit, pro praeterea. Huc pertinet mutatio gerundii. (F.d. 4:1, p. 292, col. 2)


6. **Coniunctio commutatur adverbio:** [ut.] Quando hoc tibi (Alsted 1630, p. 369, col. 1) molestum est, pro quia; *prepositione:* [ut.] Romulus cum Remo iura dabant, et [Remus].

Metallage est cum dictio aliqua materialiter sive technice ponitur: [ut.] Amicus est alter ego. Vetus illud Have. [Triste vale. Per miserere mei tollitur ira Dei.] Ecce suum tirillitirelitiretirile tractim Candida per vernum ludit Alauda solum.1201

**Syntaxis varians specialis** [est, quae certis continetur regulis et praecipue cernitur in nomine, verbo, et coniunctione.]

**Variatio nominis fit 4 [potissimum] modis:**


---

1200 *Vivunt Bacchanalia* Juvenalis, *Saturae* 2, 3.
1201 *Ecce … solum* “Behold! Only in the spring-time the white lark slowly sings her tirillitirelitiretirile.” This is an instance of metallage,

II. *Syntaxis comparativorum 5 modis variatur:*

2. *[Loco ablativi ponitur] nominativus cum particula quam vel atque:* Virtus est preciosior quam aurum. [Amicior mihi nullus vivit,] atque [is est]
3. *Mutatur comparativus in positivum addito magis [et ablativus in nominativum adiecta particula quam]:* Magis preciosa est virtus quam etc. [aurum.]
4. *Positivo adduntur particulae non tam, non perinde; [ablativo quam vel atque]:* [ut,] Non tam preciosum est aurum, quam virtus. [Non] perinde [preciosum est aurum] atque [viritus].

III. *Superlativus variatur 9 modis:* [ut,]

1. *Per genitivum pluralem:* [ut,] Mediocritas est rerum omnium utilissima.
5. *Variantur superlativi per verba aequipollentia:* [ut,] Mediocritas utilitate superat res omnes.] Mediocritas vincit res omnes utilitate. [Mediocritas utilitate nulli cedit rei.]
6. *Efferuntur per positivos cum particula tam et ut:* v.g. Mediocritas tam est res utilis, ut ei nulla res sit aequanda.
7. *Per formulas tam, quam qui; tam quam qui maxime:* [ut,] Mediocritas est res utilis, quam quae utilissima. [Mediocritas est res utilis, quam quae maxime.]

---

1202 addito Alsted 1630 has: adiecta particula.
1203 Adhibentur Alsted 1630 has adducuntur.
1204 habent Alsted 1630 has obitent.
1205 antehabenda Alsted 1630 does not give this word as an example here.
1206 ac Alsted 12630 has atque.
1207 Meciocritas … utilitate Alsted 1630 has: Mediocritas utilitate vincit res omnes.
1208 cum particula Alsted 1630 has adiecta particula.
8. *Adhibentur formulae* si quisquam; ut si quis alius; quantum alius nemo: [ut, Mediocritas est res utilis, si quae alia res est utilis.] Mediocritas utilis, ut si quae res alia. [Mediocritas est utilis, quantum alia res nulla.]


IV. *Dignus et indignus tribus modis variantur:*

1. *Recipiunt ablativos:* [ut,] Dignus [est longissima] vita. [Indignus est tanto honore.]


3. *Ablativus vertitur in verbum passivum:* [ut,] Dignus est, qui (ut) a te ametur.¹²⁰⁹

<V.>¹²¹⁰ *Variatio verbis fit 6 potissimum modis:*

I. *Omnia tempora omnium modorum per verbum fio vel similia possimus circumloqui,* [ut haec sententia: Ita charus eris omnibus, sic variatur]

   Ita fiet, ut charus sis omnibus, pro Sic charus eris [omnibus]
   Ita fit, ut devincias homines [Alsted 1630: hominum animas], pro Sic devincis [tibi hominum animas].
   Sic fiebat, ut maiores etc. – pro Sic subinde maiores progressus in studiis faciebat.
   Hoc modo factum est, ut effugeret invidiam, pro Hoc modo effugit [invidiam].

   His verbis fuerat factum, ut renuntiare studiis, pro His verbis adductus renunciaverat studiis.

   Item, pro Vale: Fac ut valeas vel Fac valeas.
   Utinam ex aequo me amares. Utinam fieret, ut ex aequo [me amares].
   Si morem nobis gereret, [rectius omnino rebus suis consuleret] Si fieret, ut [morem] nobis gereret, [rectius omnino etc.]

   (Alsted 1630, p. 369, col. 2)

   Si persuasissemus ipsi haec, non fuisset coniectus in tantum periculum. Si factum fuisset, ut haec ipsi persuaderemus [etc.]
   Si probaverit mihi suam diligentiam, magna me laetitia affecerit. Si factum fuisset, ut [suam mihi] probet [diligentiam, magna me laetitia etc.]
   Ego iudicavi posse ipsum tibi satisfacere. [Iudicavi] fieri posse, ut is tibi satisfaciat.

   [Item:] Audivit ipsum tandem hisce rationibus permotum consensisse. Audivit factum fuisset, ut is tandem rationibus permutos consentiret.

   [Item:] Spero ipsum e periculo liberatum iri. Spero fore, ut is e periculo liberatur.

¹²⁰⁹ Dignus… ametur Alsted 1630 has: *Dignus est, qui a te ametur. Dignus est, ut a te ametur.*
¹²¹⁰ V] Alsted 1630 does not number this new superordinate category.
VI. *Activa et passiva permutantur:* [ut, Deus praemiis ornare solet hominum probitatem; et: Hominum probitas a Deo ornatur praemiis. Iracundiam qui vincit, hostem superat maximum; et: Ab quo iracundia vincitur, ab eo hostis superatur maximus. Non imagines, sed virtus clarum facit hominem. Non imagine, sed virtute homo fit clarus.]


VIII. *Verbum infinitivum mutatur in finitivum:* [ut,] Aiunt probos adolescentes depravari malorum consuetudine; et: Aiunt quod probi adolescentes depraventur etc.] Optavit parare divitias; et: Optavit ut pararet divitias.

IX. *Primum supinum quatuor modis variatur:*

X. *Duo ablativi consequentiae* ita mutantur, ut alter in nomen, alter in verbum abeat: [ut,] Oppressa libertate patriae nihil est quod amplius speremus; et: Cum oppressa sit libertas patriae, nihil est quod amplius speremus; vel Postquam oppressa est libertas patriae, nihil est etc.

Variatio coniunctionis maxime est illustris in discretivis et copulativis. (F.d. 4:1, p. 292, col. 1) Discretivae variantur 3 modis:
1. *Ipsae coniunctiones permutantur:* ut, Etsi est doctus, tamen non est probus. Vir eruditione quidem egregia, verum moribus illaudatis. Est ille quidem eruditus, verum parum probus.

Variatio copulativarum cernitur partim in affirmatis, partim in negatis axiomaticis. In affirmatis adhibentur 5 modis:

---

1211 VI] Alsted 1630 has II.
1212 VII] Alsted 1630 has III.
1213 VIII] Alsted 1630 has IV.
1214 IX] Alsted 1630 has V.
1215 X] Alsted 1630 has VI.
1216 Consequentiae] Alsted 1630 has: consequentiam notantes.
2. *Posteriori voce adde idem, omissa priore coniunctione:*\(^{1217}\) [ut,]
Vir est doctus et idem probus. [Vir est doctus] idemque probus.


4. *Prior coniunctio mutatur in voculas:* Non tantum, Non modo, Ut, Quemadmodum, Non minus, Tam etc. *posterior in particulas:* sed etiam, verum etiam, ita etiam, quam etc., ut: Vir est non tantum eruditus, sed etiam probus. Quemadmodum doctus, ita etiam probus. Tam doctus, quam probus.

5. *Varie mutantur subiectum et praedicatum his ferme modis:* Vir est, praetem magnam eruditionem, etiam probus.
Vir, praeterquam est doctus, etiam probus.
Vir est, de quo dubites doctiorne sit an melior.
Vir est, in quo cum litteris probitas morum ex aequo certat.
Vir est qui litteras aequavit cum vitae probitate.
Vir est cuuis eruditio respondet probitas morum.
Vir est qui parem morum probitate cum eruditione copulavit.
Vir magna quidem eruditione, verum probitate morum neutiquam inferior.
Vir est pari eruditione et probitate.
Vir est in litteris egregius neque sui dissimilis in moribus.
Vir est clarus eruditione neque non illustris insigni probitate.

*(Alsted 1630, p. 370, col. 1)*

Eruditionem morum probitate aequiparat.
In hoc viro probitas aequat eruditionem.
In hoc viro eruditio cum probitate facit paria.
Eruditione probitateque iuxta clarus.
Vir est qua eruditionis, qua probitatis laude insignis.

Variatio in axiomatis copulatis negatis fit ferme eodem modo: e.g.
Vir est neque doctus neque probus.
Vir est indoctus et improbus.
Vir est cum indoctus, tum improbus.
Vir est indoctus idemque improbus.
Vir est indoctus simul ac improbus.
[Vir est indoctus] pariter ac [improbus].
[Vir est] aequo indoctus, atque improbus.
Vir est perinde indoctus, ac improbus.
[Vir est] similiter [indoctus], ac [improbus].
[Vir est] haud dissimiliter [indoctus] ac [improbus].
[Vir est] ex aequo indoctus ac improbus.

---

\(^{1217}\) *Posteriori … coniunctione*) In Alsted 1630 the clauses have the reverse order: *Omissa priori coniunctione, posteriori additur vox idem.*
Vir est non modo indoctus, verum etiam improbus.
Vir est non minus indoctus, quam improbus.
[Vir est] tam indoctus, quam improbus.
[Vir est] quemadmodum indoctus, ita et improbus.
Vir est praeter insignem inscientiam, etiam improbus.
Vir praeterquam quod est indoctus, est etiam improbus.
Vir est, de quo dubites rudiorne sit an improbior. etc. ut in affirmatis.\textsuperscript{1218}
Vir pessimus est et nihilo doctior.
Vir cui nihil omnino est bonarum literarum, bonorum quoque morum tantundem.

FINIS.

Appendix 2: Alsted on the art of invention, circle 1

In his Encyclopaedia (first edition 1620, second edition 1630) Alsted provides a theory of oratorical invention, which he designates as Cyclognonomonica oratoria, “Epistemological circles on oratory”. The inventory of topics is represented in seven “circles” as follows:

First circle: language and its relationship to certain linguistic (that is, grammatical, rhetorical and logical) and universal categories,
Second circle: reality, its nine accidents and some moral qualities,
Third circle: nine absolute qualities,
Fourth circle: nine relative qualities,
Fifth circle: scientific methods,
Sixth circle: theology,
Seventh circle: scientific and scholarly evaluation and criticism.

Each “circle”, that is, system, is followed by instructions for its use.

In drawing up this inventory of oratorical topics, Alsted states that he is making a synthesis of certain treatises of the Lullian art, primarily the Catalan mathematician, philosopher, encyclopaedist and mystic Raymund Lull’s (1232–1316) Ars magna (1273–1274) and Ars brevis (1308),\textsuperscript{1219} but also the French philosopher Pierre Grégoire of Toulouse’s (c. 1540–1597) Syntaxes artis mirabilis in libros sejtem digestae (Paris 1578), an unspecified treatise on circles of oratory (rotae)\textsuperscript{1220} by the Italian philologist and philosopher Giasone de Nores (c. 1530–1590), the Dutch Frisian physician, mathematician and astronomer Cornelius Gemma’s (1535–1578) De arte cyclognomica (Antwerp 1569) and some unspecified treatises by the Italian humanist Jordano Bruno (1548–1600).

\textsuperscript{1218} etc. ut in affirmatis] Stiernhielm omits eight examples that consist of a negation of approximately those quoted in the above affirmative statements.
\textsuperscript{1219} In the fifth diagram, Alsted refers to the method of Raymon Lull.
\textsuperscript{1220} In the seventh diagram, Alsted refers to Jason de Nores’ classification of three types of oratory, viz. demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial.
In the first circle Alsted suggests a method for linguistic variation called *Circulus primus pro copia verborum*, ‘First circle for the rich supply of words’. In his notebook on commonplaces, Stiernhielm copied this system and the other six systems (see ms. F.d. 4:1 *Loci communes G. Stiernhielmii in adolescentia collecti*, Royal Library, Stockholm, pp. 252–254). Bernt Olsson supposed this text to be an original work of Stiernhielm, but it is not. The text corresponds to Alsted’s *Encyclopaedia*, 2nd ed., book 9 on oratory, sect. 1, ch. 7, pp. 476–479. Stiernhielm ought to have used the first edition of Alsted’s *encyclopaedia Cursus philosophici encyclopaedia* (Herborn 1620), because Stiernhielm’s notebook in question dates from the mid 1620s. In the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia*, the book on oratory is found in the second volume as book 25.

Stiernhielm supplies these excerpts from Alsted with the heading “Insigne artificium inventionis rerum et verborum”, that is. ‘A conspicuous artifice for the invention of topics and words’. He adds: “septem circulis, quae totidem planetis gubernantur, comprehensum”, that is, ‘comprised in seven circles, governed by as many planet’ (*Loci communes*, F.d. 4:1, pp. 251–254). This imagery was borrowed from Alsted’s reference to the seven planets (“Hi sunt septem illi planetae, qui discurrunt in sphaera oratoria”).

The first “circle” classifies language into the fields of grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, lexicon, poetry, and metaphysics, in relation to the development of each field from simple to more complex entities. The former categorization is represented vertically (letters B–K) and the latter development horizontally (numbers 1–3).

*Stiernhielm’s excerpt of Alsted’s diagram on linguistic variation*

The first “circle” classifies language into the fields of grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, lexicon, poetry, and metaphysics, in relation to the development of each field from simple to more complex entities. The former categorization is represented vertically (letters B–K) and the latter development horizontally (numbers 1–3).

---

1221 Bernt Olsson, *Den svenska skaldekonstens fader och andra Stiernhielmstudier*, Lund 1974, pp. 205–206. The references to Raymond Lull and Giasone de Nores allowed Olsson to trace the contents to the Lullian art.
(p. 252) CIRCULUS PRIMUS pro copia verborum

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. Grammatica</td>
<td>Declinatio</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Rhetorica</td>
<td>Tropus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Logica</td>
<td>Loca inventionis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Lexica</td>
<td>Synonyma eiusmodem linguae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Poetica</td>
<td>Rhythmus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Metaphysica</td>
<td>Vocabula generalissima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Circuli generales</td>
<td>Subiectorum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Tres termini generales</td>
<td>Essentia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. Disciplina propria</td>
<td>Vox</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

USUS HUIUS CIRCULI

Si phrasis aut sententia offeratur, quam aliis verbis efferre placet, ingredere hunc circulum et ex grammatica pete artificium variationis. Ex rhetorica similiter Adhibe artificium variationis ibi explicatum.

1222 Ex logica pete notas locorum inventionis, axiomatis et syllogismi. Huiusmodi termini sunt verbi gratia notae causae finalis; ut, propter, gratia; axiomatis universalis; omnis, nullus non, non nemo, quilibet etc. Ex lexica deprome voces phrasesqueaequipollentes et commoda epitheta et antitheta. Porro adhibe poeticam et prosam commuta in rhythmum, versum vel integrum poema. Metaphysica suppeditat notiones primas generalissimas, ut sunt unitas, veritas, bonitas, actus etc., quae sententiis elegantur inferuntur. Idem de 3 circulis generalibus est iudicium. Tres termini generales κατ’ ἐξοχήν sic dicti sub essentia continentur ista vocabula; esse, non esse, possibile, non possibile, facile, difficile et similia; sub sententia et opinione ista; sentire, non-sentire, intelligere, non-intelligere, affirmare, negare, conveniens, absurum, consentire, dissentire, quaerere et similia. Huiusmodo vocabula plerisque sententiis inseri possunt. 1223 Denique sententia oblata variari potest adhibita voce, phrasi aut amplificatione istius disciplinae, ad quam pertinet. Ita si sententia sit ethica, adhibentur termini ethici, si politica, politici.

1222 adhibe … explicatum] This words have probably been omitted by Stiernhielm. At least, they are found in the second edition of Encyclopaedia (1630), p. 477.

1223 As compared with the 1630 edition of Encyclopaedia, Stiernhielm here omits the examples of clauses with verba sentiendi.
Appendix 3: Farnaby’s categorization of semantic changes
Source: In his notebook on *Proteus rhetoricus* (F.d. 6b: 1, third quire, 1r–2r,) Stiernhielm copied the definitions and examples of different types of semantic change in the English classical philologist and rhetorician Thomas Farnaby’s *Index rhetoricus* (1625), using the third edition of 1633. Stiernhielm’s copy is transcribed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definitions and examples</th>
<th>Explanations in the margin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1r) Tropi 4:</td>
<td>#  Non est alius tropus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat propriae similem</td>
<td>frequentior quam metaphora,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>translata</td>
<td>non florentior, quippe quae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metaphora vocem:</td>
<td>lumen et stella sit orationis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coeptis adspirant;</td>
<td>brevis et contracta in unam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irarum fluctuat aesto;</td>
<td>vocem similitudo faciatque ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laeta seges; gemmant</td>
<td>copia, maiestatem, evidentiam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vites; duo fulmina belli; ingenii flumen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>et festivitatem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atque metonymia</td>
<td>a. subiectum pro accidente.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imponit nova nomina</td>
<td>b. continens pro contento.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rebus:</td>
<td>c. locus pro incolis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Efficientis, ut:</td>
<td>d. locus pro gestis in locis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inventoris: Marte,</td>
<td>e. possessor pro re possessa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyaeo;</td>
<td>f. sedes pro qualitate inhaerente.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>autoris: legitur</td>
<td>g. patronus assumit personam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenalis, Livius ingens;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>materiae: pinus, ferrum,</td>
<td>h. tempus pro re in illo gesta vel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aeris acervus, arundo;</td>
<td>i. signatum pro signo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aut instrumenti: gladius,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingua, arma manusue.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Effecti:</td>
<td>k. signum pro signato.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clades Libyae; mors</td>
<td>l. qualitas pro persona subiecta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frigida pallet.</td>
<td>m. tempus pro subjectis illius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Curii,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. paterae,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Germania,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. rostra,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Ucalegon,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. cor, os,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. patronus,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. nox,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Amryllis,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Adiuncti:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. fasces,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. scelus,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. aetas nulla,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. libelli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Iv) Confundit totum cum parte
synecdoche:
1. partis
   o. Myrioum, Auster
   p. hyems, tectum, mucro
   q. Annibal
   r. Anglus

2. totius
   s. orator, color
   t. annus
   u. vixit
   x. Atrides

Contra quam sentit, solet ironia iocari,
scilicet egregiam laudem; pulchre;
bone custos.

4. troporum affectiones:
Durior est impropriae catachresis
abusio vocis:
   vir gregis; ultorem promissi;
pulchra minatus.
Transcendit mediis gradibus
metalepsis ad altum:
   Hinc movet Euphrates bellum.
   Mirabar aristas.
   y Extenuans x augensve excedit
   hyperbole verum:
   Astra ferit. Pluma levior volat
   ocyor Euro.
Continuare tropos allegoria adsolet:
   Absque et Cerere et Baccho venus
   alget. Claudite rivos.

o. species aut individuum pro
   genere
p. pars pro toto
q. dux pro exercito velut pars
   primaria
r. numerus pro numero,
singularis pro plurali et contra,
finitus pro infinito et contra
s. genus pro specie aut
   individuo
t. totum pro parte
u. antecedens pro consequente.
Hoc autem alii metonymiae, alii
metalepsi adiudicant.
x. patronymicum commune pro
certo et determinato.

y Quae dicitur meiosis,
diminutio.
x Quae dicitur annessis, sublatio,
amplificatio.
Tropi falso habiti:
a Antonomasia imponit cognomen, ut
   Irus, impius, Aeacides; Poenus; Cytherea; poeta.
   “Non equidem laudo” est \(^b\) litotes, “nec munera sperno”.

\(2r\)
A sonitu voces \(^c\) onomatopoeia fingit:
   babalio, clangor, stridor,
   tarantara, murmur.
\(^d\) Antiphrasis voces tibi per contraria signat:
   lucus, sacra fames, Euxinus,
   symphorae, Parcae.

Dat \(^d\) charientismus pro duris mollia verba:
   at bona verba precor; ne saevi magna sacerdos.
\(^d\) Astismus iocus urbanus seu scomma facetum est:
   Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Maevi.
   Atqui idem iungat vulpes et mulgeat hircos.
Insultans hosti illudit \(^d\) sarcasmus amare:
   In agros metire iacens. Hinc nuncius ibis.
   Solidae referens. Satia te sanguine, Cyre.
Aethiopem lateremve lavare: \(~e\) paroemia dicta est.
\(^e\) Aenigma obscuris tecta est sententia verbis:
   Filiolus Cadmi profert Nilotis arundo, quas serit e Cnidio destillans sepia nodo.

\(^a\) Species synecdoches et metonymiae.
\(^b\) Species synecdoches.
\(^c\) Metonymiae species.

Verum quam futile sit hoc grammaticorum scitum, quam intutum etymologistarum asylum,

\(^d\) Ironiae species.

\(^e\) Allegoriae species.
Appendix 4: Stiernhielm on the order of things and notions
Source: F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 38v. Dating: c. 1652. Stiernhielm proposes his views on the order of things, *ordo rerum*, and the order of notions and meanings, *ordo notionum*. He sets out from the Neoplatonic triad of unity (*unitas, unum*), goodness (*bonitas, bonum*) and truth (*veritas, verum*). The text is the continuation of Section 9.1.3. In other texts, such as F.d. 5, 45r, the order of notions is shown in tree diagrams on the characteristic qualities of the principles of light and matter.

Sed ut patescat analogia rerum et verborum in instituto praesenti sequens diagramma subjiciam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Esse</th>
<th>Ens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unum</td>
<td>bonum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unit.</td>
<td>emanat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>addit.</td>
<td>fluit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>congregat.</td>
<td>abundat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habet.</td>
<td>fundit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possidet.</td>
<td>largitur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continet.</td>
<td>dat. ditat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conservat.</td>
<td>ornat. beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firmat.</td>
<td>agit. facit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stat.</td>
<td>creat. generat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roborat.</td>
<td>honestum. iucundum. utile.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>signat.</td>
<td>rectum. firmum. statum. debitum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iudicat.</td>
<td>conveniens. aequum. simile.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Esse in se habet:
- Posse: agere. fluere.
- Habere: dare. fundere.
- Fieri: in se habet actionem et respectu materiae passionem.

Essendi modi sunt:
- Semper esse.
- Rectum esse.
- Conveniens esse.
- Perfectum esse.
- Frequens esse.

Ens consideratur in sua essentia aut potentia aut substantia, cuius est ens reale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Essentia. Dicitur</th>
<th>Potentia. Est vis</th>
<th>Substantia. Sunt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>habitus.</td>
<td>seu facultas agendi</td>
<td>principia naturae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natura.</td>
<td>agendi in aliud vel</td>
<td>pura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potestas.</td>
<td>patiendi ab alio. Est</td>
<td>chaos. mens. lux.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>facultas.</td>
<td>principio agendi et</td>
<td>affecta a se invicem:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vis. virtus.</td>
<td>patiendi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 5. Stiernhielm on the interlinking of the universe


Contents: the rise and mutual connection of the universe from the qualities of the supreme being (oneness, goodness and truth).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Homo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliography

Manuscript sources

Royal Library (Kungliga Biblioteket, KB) – National Library of Sweden, Stockholm

Stiernhielm’s archive

F.d. 3 Mysterium etymologicum.

F.d. 4:1 Protei Sternhielmiani specimen: the two quires added before the beginning of Loci communes.

F.d. 4:1 Loci communes G. Stiernhielmii in adolescentia collecti, viz. Stiernhielm’s notebook from the 1620s.

F.d. 4:4:1 Collectanea philosophica.

F.d. 4:4:2 Collectanea philosophica et etymologica

F.d. 5 Runa Suethica et alia miscellanea ad lexicon etymologicum.

F.d. 6 Collectanea ad Runam Suethicam.

F.d. 6b Drafts and notes on linguistic, philological, philosophical and geometrical topics. I have mainly used F.d. 6b: 1 and F.d. 6b: 3b.

F.d. 7 Miscellanea etymologica.

F.d. 9 Miscellanea etymologica, the wrappers 9:5 and 9:6.

F.d.9** Adversaria quotidinana. Monile Minervae.

F.d. 10 Lexicon Gothicum philologicum.

F.d. 13, wrapper 1: Polygraphta.

F.d. 14a Discursus philologicus de omnibus linguis in genere et in specie de Suethica et affinibus.

Other collections

N. 24 (photostatic copy) Adversaria Georgii Stiernhielm facientia ad illustrationem nationis et linguae Gotho-Suedicae

Rålamb’s collections: Rålamb Fol. N:o 142: Joh. Terserus, Ortus et vitae cursus Johannis Elai Terseri Dalekarli ab ipso conscriptus

Autograf-samlingen (Collection of autograph letters and notes)

Stiernhielm, Georg

The Archives of the Swedish Academy (Svenska Akademiens arkiv), Stockholm

Collections of private archives

Svenska Akademiens samlingar, volumes 289 and 291 (which are parts, vols. 1 and 3, of the Vasula Archive of the Stiernhielm family):
vol. 289, envelope 3 “Manuskript och teckningar av Stiernhielm” (i.e. Manuscripts and drawings by Stiernhielm),
vol. 291, the second envelope consisting of Georg Stiernhielm’s personalia, titled “Lebensbeschreibung über G. Stiernhielm”
vol. 291, the booklet Åreminne över Georg Stiernhielm by Carl August Hagberg, 1839 (unpublished manuscript)

Military Archives of Sweden (Krigsarkivet), Stockholm
Utländska stads- och fästningsplaner, Östersjöprovinserna, Dorpat, no. 2.

National Archives of Sweden (Riksarkivet, RA), Stockholm
Kammarkollegiet
Kammarkollegiet, Generalstatskontoret, Personalstater 1649–1650 and 1651–1652, the ms. volumes F 1 A:12 and F 1 A:13
Kammarkollegiet Generalbokhålleri: Rikshuvudböcker och förarbeten därtill 1573–1725, volumes 26, 30, 119 (National Estimates for the years 1628, 1629 and 1668) and vol. 102 (the draft of a national budget in 1650).
Riksarkivets ämnessamlingar, personhistoria; Biographica-samlingen (“the Collection of biographica”) vol. 79, see Stiernhielm.

The private archive of the Skytte family
Esplunda Archive, shelfmark E, number 4: B. Skytte’s correspondence

Latvian Academy Library, University of Latvia, Riga

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek – Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hannover
IV 574: G. Stiernhielmii specimen linguae et philologiae Finnonicae.
XXXII. 1715 Adversaria Georgii Stiernhielm facientia ad illustrationem nationis et linguæ Gothiscu-Suedicae (Remarks by Georg Stiernhielm aiming at the illustration of the Gothic Swedish nation and language).

City Library of Norrköping (Norrköping stadsbibliotek), Norrköping

The Royal Library (Det Kongelige Bibliotek) – The National Library of Denmark, Copenhagen
Ny Kongl. Saml. 150: kvars (abbreviated NKS 150: 4°), De linguis in genere obiter et ad diligentiorum inquisitionem annotata.
University Library of Lund (Universitetsbiblioteket i Lund)

The Archive of De la Gardie (De la Gardieska arkivet)

Uppsala University Library (Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, UUB)
X 201 *Lärde och berömmelige svenske män*, by Olof Celsius the Younger.
X 211 (in the collections of S.L. Gahm-Persson), *Georg Stiernhielms lefwernes beskrivning*, by Magnus von Celse, fols. 361r–381r
X 296 *Collectanea til Stjernhjelms biografi* by Nils Hufwedsson Dal.

The first page is titled *Collectanea til den genomlärde Praesidis Collegii Antiquitatum etc. Georg Stiernhielms lefvernes beskrifning*. The finished essay, fols. 1r–6v, is titled *Lucta Arachnes cum Minerva seu tela vitae generosi viri Georgii Stiernhielmii, sacrae regiae maiestatis consiliarii militaris et Collegii antiquitatum praesidis.*

Biblia thet är all then helga skrifft på svenska, Stockholm 1618, shelfmark Sv. Rar. st. fol. 10:98. (The Stiernhielm family Bible.)

Particular archives
– Den Ihreska handskriftsamlingen (the Collection of the Ihre family)
  ms. Ihre 47: *Sol praeципuærum linguarum subsolarium*, i.e. “Sun of the principal subsolary languages” (B. Skytte’s comparative dictionary).
– Palmköldskasamlingen (the Collection of Palmköld),

Printed sources
August II, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, under the pseudonym Gustavus Selenus. 1624. *Cryptomenytices et cryptographiae libri IX*, in
quibus et planissimae stenographiae a Johanne Trithemio [...] olim conscriptae enodatio traditur inspersis ubique authoris et aliorum non contemnendis inventis: Lunaeburgi/ Lüneburg: Stern.

Augustine, Aurelius (original author)/ B. Darrell Jackson (translator and commentator). De dialectica translated with introduction and notes by B. Darrell Jackson from the text newly edited by Jan Pinborg, Dortrecht 1975.


Berch, C. R. Förteckning öfwer Antiquitets Archivi handskrifter, shelfmark U 93, Royal Library (Kungliga biblioteket), Stockholm.

Bibliander, Theodor(us). 1548. De ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius, Tiguri/ Zürich: Christoph Frosch.

Bochart, Samuel 1646. Geographiae sacrae pars altera Chanaan seu de coloniis et sermone Phoenicum, Cadomi/ Caen: Cardonelle.

Bochart, Samuel 1651. Geographiae sacrae pars prior Phaleg seu de dispersione gentium et terrarum divisione facta in aedificatione turris Babel, Cadomi/ Caen: Cardonelle.

Buchler, Johann 1608. Elegantiarum centum et undesexaginta regulae, lectissimis scriptorum, maxime Ciceronis exemplis, illustratae omnibus eloquentiae candidatis apprime observatu necessariae, Coloniae Agrippinae/ Cologne: Bernard Gualtherus.


de Busbecq, Ogier Ghiselin (original author)/ Edw. Seymour Forster (translator). 1927. The Turkish letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, imperial ambassador at Constantinople, 1554–1562, translated from the

1224 Stiernhielm’s private copy is extant at UUB, inventory number 58.VII.1. At the inside of the back cover, Stiernhielm dates his perusal of this book: “Perlustratus a G. Stiernhielm biduo ab 10 ad 12 Martii Anno 1652 in Stiernlund in Ingria.”

1225 This is diary of Johannes Bureus, for the period 1568–1617, see vol. 4, pp. 12–43, for the period 1618–1648, see pp. 71–126, and for 1651, see vol. 5, pp. 5–8, which is followed by an account of his unprinted and printed writings, pp. 8–25.


*Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis e Societatis Jesu. In universam dialecticam Aristotelis Stagiritae*, Conimbrica/ Coimbra: Loureyro 1606

Columbus, Samuel. c. 1678./ 1935. *Mål-roo eller roo-mål utgiven på grundval av de bevarade manuskripten med inledning och ordförklaringar av Bengt Hesselman* (Nordiska texter och undersökningar 6), Stockholm: Geber.

Columbus, Samuel. 1679./ 1963. *En svensk ordeskötsel, utgiven med inledning och kommentar av Sylvia Boström* (Nordiska texter och undersökningar 20), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.


Forster, Johannes. 1557. *Dictionarium Hebraicum novum, non ex rabinorum commentis nec nostratium doctorum stulta imitatione*
descriptum, sed ex ipsis thesauris sacrorum Bibliorum et eorum accurata locorum collatione depromptum, Basileae/ Basel: Froben.


Kimchi, David (original author)/ William Chomsky (translator and commentator), *David Kimchi’s Hebrew grammar (Mikhlol), systematically presented and annotated*, New York: Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning.


Lidén, Johan Henric. 1764. *Historiola litteraria poëtarum Suecanorum*, part 1, submitted under the chairmanship of Carl Aurivillius, Upsaliae.


Martini, Matthias. 1623. *Lexicon philologicum, praecipue eymologicum, in quo Latinae et a Latinis auctoribus usurpatae tum purae tum barbarae voces ex originibus declarantur, comparatione linguarum (quarum et
inter ipsas consonantia apieruntur) subinde illustrantur, Bremae/ Bremen: Villerianus.
Martini, Matthias. 1625. Cadmus Graecophoenix, id est Etymologicum, Bremae/ Bremen: Villerianus.
Nizoli (Nizolius), Mario. 1535. Observationes in M. T. Ciceronem quibus omnis vere latine loquendi ratio […] per exempla Ciceronis plane demonstratur, Venetiis/ Venice.
Saavedra Fajardo, Diego de. 1649. Idea principis Christiano-politici centum symbolis expressa, Bruxellae/ Brussels: Johannes Mommartius (printer) et Franciscus Vivienus (publisher).


Selenus, Gustavus, see Duke August II of Braunschweig-Lüneburg.


Stiernhielm, Georg. 1664. *Mensurae regni Svehiae authoritate regia, ordinatae per Georg Stiernhielm s(ac)rae m(aiesta)tis consil(iario) mil(itari)*, Stockholm, engraving by Georg Otto Stiernhielm.


eiusdem *De Hyperboreis dissertatio brevis*, Holmiae/ Stockholm: Henric Keyser.


**Secondary literature**


Blok, Frans Felix 2000. *Isaac Vossius and his circle: his life until his farewell to the queen of Sweden 1618–1655*, Groningen (Forsten).


Göransson, Sven. 1951. De svenska studieresorna och den religiösa kontrollen från reformationstiden till frihetstiden (Uppsala universitets årsskrift 1951:8), Uppsala.


1226 The dialogue forms part of chapter 5 “Universitetsfilosofin”, the section “Den hermetiska filosofin – kritiker och anhängare.”


Norris, Matthew. 2016. A pilgrimage to the past: Johannes Bureus and the rise of Swedish antiquarian scholarship 1600-1650 (Lund Studies in the history of ideas and sciences, Minerva series), Lund.


Svärdström, Elisabeth 1936. Johannes Bureus’ arbeten om svenska runinskrifter (with a summary in German), Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand.


Wrangel, Ewert. 1897. Sveriges litterära förbindelser med Holland särdeles under 1600-talet, Lund: Gleerup.


Zimmermann, Paul. (ed.). 1926. Die Matrikel der Universität Helmstedt/Album Academiae Helmstadiensis, Band 1, Abteilung 1, Hildesheim: Lax.
Indices

Index I: Names

Agrippa, Heinrich Cornelius (1486–1535), German polymath, physician and theologian, Neoplatonist 40
Alciato, Andrea (1492–1550), Italian jurist 374
ab Aquino (Aquinas), Thomas (1225–1374), Italian scholastic theologian and philosopher 121
Åkerman, Susanna (1959–), Swedish intellectual historian 6, 63, 65–67, 69, 464, 465
Althusius, Johannes (1563–1638), German political theorist 40
Annerstedt, Claes (1858–1927), Swedish historian and librarian 33, 465
Appelboom, Harald (1612–1674), Swedish diplomat in the Netherlands, stationed in Amsterdam (1642–49) and the Hague (1650–) 56, 57, 59
Arnisaeus, henning (1570–1636), German physician, political theorist and philosopher 40
Archythas of Tarentum (435–360 BC), Greek philosopher and mathematician 192
Aristotle of Stagira (384–322 BC), Greek philosopher 29, 40, 41, 78, 117, 121, 197, 205, 206, 214–216, 238, 346, 441, 442
Arrhenius, ennobled Örnhjälm, Claudius (Claes), (1627–1695), 84; see under Örnhjälm
Aschaneus, Martinus Laurentii (1575–1641), Swedish antiquarian 84
Aschatii, Johannes Salemontanus (born 1600, fluit 1618–24), Swedish student, son of Aschatius Olai Gestricius 39
Ask, Göte (1927–), art historian and art pedagogue 29, 465
Asker, Björn (1956–), Swedish historian 43, 465
Atterbom, Per Daniel Amadeus (1790–1855), Swedish literary critic, professor of aesthetics and modern literature (Uppsala) 25, 26, 79, 81, 458
August II of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1579–1666), Duke and writer on cryptography 115, 125, 128, 357, 358, 458, 462
Augustine (354–430), Bishop of Hippo, theologian and philosopher 82, 121, 205, 221, 459
Bäärnhielm, Göran (1941–), Swedish Latinist, librarian, historian of cartography 6, 83, 85, 465
von Baden-Hochberg (1623–1661), Johanna Margareta, wife of Johan Banér 55

de Backer, Jean (17th century), Augustinian monk in Leuven, teacher of Latin poetry 125, 127, 291, 431, 459

Baillet, Adrien (1649–1706), French scholar and critic 60, 62, 459

Becanus, Johannes Goropius (1519–1573), Dutch physician, humanist and philologist 166, 172, 221–226, 228, 459

Behmer, Daniel (1611–1669), Swedish state official, prof. of eloquence in Uppsal (1640–45), royal secretary, lawyer (member of Svea Court of Appeal) 74, 112

Below, Johan (1601–1668), German physician, professor at the University of Dorpat 23

Berch, Carl Reinhold (1706–1777), Swedish official, antiquarian, numismatist 83, 84, 92, 94, 95, 459

Berckringer, Daniel (1598–1667), German philosopher and rhetorician, professor in Utrecht 59

Berggren, Maria (1967–), Swedish Latinist, librarian 69, 112, 466


Bergius, Olaus Andreae (1627–1692), Swedish clergyman, chaplain of Claes Rålamb (1657) and of Gustaf Bonde (1665), vicar of Klara Church (1672) 21, 26, 27, 77–79, the Personalia 21, 26, 27, 30–36, 49, 51, 56, 67, 77, 79, 457

Beurrheus, Dionysius (1510–1567), Swedish court physician, diplomat 98

Bibliander, Theodore (1504–1564), Swiss Reformed theologian, Hebraist and classical philologist 155, 205, 206, 459

Biondo, Flavio (1392–1463), Italian historian and humanist of the Latin Renaissance 114

Biörnklou, Mattias (1607–1671), Swedish official, diplomat and Royal councillor 103 f.

Blixencron Mårten (born Persson Blix), (1596–1667), Swedish official, head clerk of the Treasury of the central government 22


Blondel, David (1590–1655), French Protestant theologian, vicar of Houdan and Roucy, church historian, professor of history in Amsterdam (1650–1655) 23, 59, 71, 86

Blume, Herbert (1938–2021), German linguist, Germanist, 16, 17, 19, 20, 29, 116, 465

Bochart, Samuel (1599–21667), French Orientalist, Protestant biblical scholar, vicar in Caen 13, 63, 66–68, 107, 165, 171, 222, 459, 464

Bodin, Jean (1530–1596), French political theorist, historian 40

Boecler, Johann Heinrich (1611–1672), German polymath, historian, for some years professor of eloquence in Uppsala 63, 64, 68

Boström, Sylvia (1931–), Swedish literary historian 46, 102, 460
Bourdelot, Pierre (1610–1685), French physician, free-thinker 64, 66–69, 81
Boxhorn(ius), Marcus Zuérus (1612–1653), Dutch historian, poet, professor of eloquence and history (Leiden) 23, 56–59, 95
Brahe, Per, the Younger (1602–1680), Swedish Count, soldier, and High official (seneschal) 55
Broberg, Gunnar (1942–2022), Swedish historian of ideas and science 82, 94, 95, 110, 466, 468
Bröms, ennobled Rosenhielm, Erik (1603–1688), Swedish jurist, assessor of Svea court of appeals 54
Bröms(enius), Sven (1612–1693), Swedish theologian, physician in ordinary to Queen Christina 63
Brouncker, William (1620–1684), English mathematician, the first President of the Royal Society in London 76
Buchler, Johann (1570–1640), 128, 293, 459
Burea, Cecilia (1603–1663), daughter of Lars Engelbrekts son Bureus and Märta Eriksdotter, wife of Georg Stiernhielm 31, 47, 55, 75
Bureus, ennobled Bure, Andreas (Anders), (1671–1646), Swedish cartographer 47
Bureus, Johannes (1568–1652), Swedish antiquarian, linguist, mystic and scientist 4, 16, 30, 37, 43–47, 52, 54, 56, 72, 83, 114, 117, 149, 161, 164, 169, 459, 468–470, 472
Bureus, Jonas (1575–1655), Swedish antiquarian and diplomat 93
Bureus, Lars Engelbrekts son (1573–1612), Swedish clergyman 47
Burke, Peter (1938–), British historian 114, 466
de Busbecq, Ogier Ghiselin, or Augier Ghislain (1522–1592), Flemish writer, diplomat in the employ of Austrian Emperors 200, 459
Caesar, Gaius Iulius (100–44 BC), Roman statesman, writer, orator 33, 95, 127, 335–337, 341
Casaubon, Isaac (1559–1614), French classical scholar and theologian 272, 321–324, 462
Casaubon, Meric (1599–1671), Dutch classical and Germanic philologist, active in England 74, 227, 460, 547
Castelvetro, Lodovico (c. 1505–1571), Italian humanist and literary critic 114
Catullus (97–18 BC), Roman poet 334
Caussin, Nicolas (1583–1651), French Jesuit and rhetorician 17, 48, 115, 125, 128, 277, 301, 460
von Celse, Magnus (1709–1784), Swedish historian and librarian 24, 103, 458
Celsius the Younger, Olof (1716–1794), Swedish historian, clergyman and politician 23, 24, 38, 79, 81, 99, 111, 458
Charles IX (1550–1611), King of Sweden 42, 83, 94
Charles X (1622–1660), King of Sweden 73–75, 105, 109, 129, 404
Charles XI (1655–1667), King of Sweden 42, 83, 94
Chomsky, Noam (1928–), American linguist,
philosopher, scholar of cognitive theory 17, 18
Chomsky, William (1896–1977), American scholar of the Hebrew language 156, 461
Christiani, Alexander (1587–1637), German mathematician and theologian 35
Christopher of Bavaria (1416–1448), King of Denmark, Sweden and Norway 53
Chrochius, Georgius Olai, a Swedish student, vicar in Mo, son of the vicar in Norrala Olaus Jonae Chrochius (1560–1641) 36
Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106–43 BC), Roman philosopher, rhetorician and statesman 33, 41, 94, 95, 127, 253, 262, 276, 281, 289, 293, 302, 317, 327–348, 401, 414, 442, 443, 461
Cittadini, Celso (1553–1627), Italian grammarian and philologist 114
Clason, Samuel (1867–1925), Swedish historian and politician 57, 465
Clüver (Cluverius), Philipp (1580–1622), German geographer, historian, pioneer of historical geography 13, 95, 101, 108, 140, 460
Columbus, Jonas (1583–1663). Swedish musician, poet and clergyman (vicar and finally dean of Dala-Husby) 36
Columbus, Samuel (1640–1679), Swedish grammarian, poet and linguistic theorist 21–25, 28, 30, 36, 38, 45, 46, 56, 77–82, 84, 99, 102, 112, 459, 460, 466
Comenius (Komensky), Johann (Jan) Amos (1572–1670), Czech educator, linguist, theologian, philosopher, advocate of pansophism 26, 30, 80, 104, 115, 279
Curtius Rufus, Quintus (1st cent. AD), Roman historian and rhetorician 297
Dahlberg, Gunilla (1941–). Swedish historian of dramas 29
Dal, Nils Hufwedsson (1690–1740), antiquarian, publisher, historiographer 21–23, 458
Danielsson, Sylvia (1931–), Swedish literary historian 466, alias Boström, Sylvia
De la Gardie, Magnus Gabriel (1622–1682), Count, state official, Chancellor of the Realm 22, 41, 43, 76, 77, 84, 104, 108–110
Descartes, René (1596–1650), French philosopher, mathematician and scientist 29, 60, 62, 63, 67, 68, 220, 356, 408, 460, 466, 471, 525 f.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus (60–after 7 BC), Greek historian and teacher of rhetoric 222, 225, 226
Dominicus de Flandria (1425–1479), French-Flemish scholastic philosopher of the Dominican order 121, 214
Dumesnil, Louis-Michel (1663–1739), French painter 68, 523, 525
Edenius, Jordan (1624–1666), Swedish theologian 73
Ehrenstrahl, David Klöcker (1628–1698), German-Swedish painter (born in
Hamburg) 4, 12, 29, 465, 523, 525
Ekedahl, Nils (1967–), Swedish historian of rhetoric and literature 15, 465
Ekholm, Erik (1716–1774), Swedish publisher, notary at the book auctioneer’s office of Stockholm 22, 460
Elgenstierna, Gustaf (1871–1948), Swedish post-office clerk and genealogist 31, 466
Ens, Caspar (1570–1650), German mathematician and theologian 92
Erasmus, Desiderius (1466–1536), Dutch humanist, classical, biblical and patristic scholar 19, 60, 115, 125, 126, 128, 293, 294, 301, 311, 312, 318, 327, 336, 338–340, 342, 404, *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum* 19, 125, 126, 128, 293, 294, 311, 312, 460
Eriksson, Gunnar (1931–), Swedish historian of science and ideas 64, 466
d'Espagnet; Jean (1564–1637), French polymath and hermetic natural philosopher 104
Farnaby, Thomas (1575–1647), English classical scholar, schoolmaster in London 8, 88, 115, 123, 125, 128, 264, 29, 275, 277, 299, 451, 460
Festus, Sextus Pompeius (2nd century), Roman grammarian 127, 328, 402, 403
Ficino, Marsilio (1433–1499), Italian philosopher 104
Fludd, Robert (1574–1637), English physician of the Paracelsian school, Kabbalist 104, 208, 460
Forster, Johann (1496–1558), German Hebraist, Lutheran theologian, lexicographer of Hebrew 98, 231, 232, 460
Friberg, Axel (1905–1947), Swedish historian of ideas and literature 15
Freinshemius, Johannes (1608–1660), German classical scholar in Swedish state service as *Professor Skytteanus*, royal librarian (*bibliothecarius regni*) and historian (*historiographus regni*) 63, 64, 68
Frigelius, ennobled Lejonstierna, Daniel (c. 1605–1664), Swedish jurist, lord mayor of Norrköping 54
Gagnerus, Samuel (1731–1791), Swedish archivist, linguist and literary critic 24, 99
Gardin-Dumesnil, Jean-Baptiste (1720–1802), French Latinist, professor of rhetoric 327, 461
de Geer, Louis (1587–1652), Walloon-Swedish merchant and foundry owner 54, 80, 279
Geijer, Eric Gustaf (1783–1847), Swedish historian, political philosopher, poet, composer 25, 26, 99
Gesenius, Wilhelm (1786–1842), German Semitist and Biblical scholar, lexicographer of Hebrew 228, 461
Gezelius, Johannes (1615–1690), professor of Greek and Oriental languages in Tartu, then vicar in Dalecarlia (Stora Skedvi), subsequently vicar in Riga, finally Bishop of Åbo 52, 53, 80, 404, 461
Glidden, Hope H. (1945–2017), American scholar and historian of French literature, especially of the Renaissance 128, 466
Godenius, Jacob Erik (1781–1842), Swedish student in Greifswald, owner of a wholesale trade firm 24
Golius, Jacob (1596–1667), Dutch Arabist 59, 517
Göransson, Sven (1910–1989), Swedish theologian and church historian 38, 466
Grape, Anders (1880–1959), Swedish librarian, historian of Swedish language 35, 49, 58, 466, 468, 471
Gustavus II Adolphus (1594–1632), King of Sweden 31, 42, 43, 49, 51, 64, 437, 466
Gyllenanckar, Gabriel (1611–1657), Swedish official, sub-governor of Stockholm 55
Gyllenhielm, Karl (1574–1650), Baron, marshal, admiral 23, 55
Haapamäki, Saara (1968–), Finnish linguist, professor of Swedish at Åbo Academy 46, 120, 466
Hadorph, Johan (1630–1693), Swedish antiquarian 13, 92, 101
Hagberg, Carl August (1810–1864), Swedish linguist and translator, especially of Shakespeare's dramas 25, 457
Hammarsköld, Lorenz (1785–1827), Swedish author, literary critic, and scholar 24, 25, 84, 92, 99, 111, 220, 461
Hanselli, Per (1815–1879), Swedish publisher, printer 84, 111, 460, 466
Harsdörffer, Georg (1607–1658), German poet, jurist and translator 16
Heinsius, Daniel (1580–1955), Dutch classical scholar, professor of political science
and author of Latin and Dutch poetry 23, 36, 56–58, 66
Heinsius, Nicolas (1620–1681), Duthv classical scholar 58, 63
Helder, Hans (1942–), Swedish latinist, professor (Uppsala) 6, 42, 82, 104, 137, 338, 401–403, 411, 436, 467
Hermogenian(us), Aurelius (late 4th century), Roman jurist 328
Herodotus of Halicarnassius (fifth century BC), Greek historian, geographer and traveller 40, 195, 201
Hertel, Lorenz (1659–1737), German librarian, head of Duke August Library in Wolfenbüttel 96
Hesiod (floruit c. 700 BC), Greek poet 137, 160, 338
Hjärne, Urban (1641–1727), Swedish physician, scientist and author 25
Holm, Johan. See Leijoncrona.
Homer (8th century BC), Greek epic poet 40, 437, 440
Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus), (65–8 BC), Roman lyric poet 97, 138, 297, 311, 319, 324, 330, 331, 336, 342, 403, 437
Hornbeeck, Johannes (1617–1666), Dutch Reformed theologian (Voetian) 59
Hotson, Howard (1959–), British intellectual historian 40, 467
Huet, Pierre Daniel (1630–1721), French classical scholar, antiquarian, philosopher, Bishop 63, 67, 68, 526
Hultman, Frans Vilhelm (1829–1879), Swedish physicist and mathematician 100, 101, 467
Iamblichus (245–325), Neoplatonist philosopher in Syria of Arab origin 63, 104
Ihre, Johan (1707–1780),
Swedish etymologist,
professor Skytteanus 5
Ingemarsdotter, Jenny (1975–)
Swedish intellecual historian 43, 467
Italicus, Silius (c. 26–c. 101),
Roman epic poet, senator and
orator 40, 261, 432
Iulianus, Salvius (AD c. 110–
170), Roman jurist, official
and politician 340
Johannesson, Kurt (1935–2020),
Swedish literary historian,
professor of rhetoric 29, 47,
48, 75, 81, 82, 95, 467
Juncker, Christian (1668–1714),
German historian, librarian,
pedagogue and numismatist
62–64, 67, 68, 461
Junius Franciscus the Younger,
(1591–1677), Dutch Protestant
clergyman, Germanic
philologist and classical
scholar 65, 76
Junius (de Jonghe), Hadrianus,
(1511–1575), Dutch polymath,
physician, classical scholar,
antiquarian, Latin poet 150
Juvenal (Decimus Junius
Juvenalis), (AD 60–130),
Roman critic and satirist 241,
242, 336, 443, 451
Karlfeldt, Erik Axel (1894–1931),
Swedish poet and author 90,
466
Kimchi, David (1160–1235),
Jewish commentator of the
bible and grammarian of
Hebrew’156, 461
Klingius, Zacharias (1610–1671),
Swedish theologian, Bishop of
Gothenburg 63
Klöcker, David. See Ehrenstrahl.
Lagerlöf, Petrus (1648–1699),
Swedish classical scholar and
historian, professor of logic,
poetry and eloquence 45, 461
German classical philologist,
rhetorician and historical
linguistic of Romance
languages 276, 277, 468
Lawrence, Thomas (1950–2007),
British intellectual historian
29
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm
(1646–1716), German
polymath, philosopher,
mathematician, diplomat and
etymologist 96, 120, 461
Leijoncrona, born Holm, Johan
(1620–1687), Swedish court
tailor 68, 69, 471
Lénström, Julius (1811–1893),
Swedish clergyman and
literary historian 25, 26, 461
Lidén, Johan Hinric (1741–1793),
Swedish scholar, polyhistor,
collector 79, 111, 112, 459,
461
Lilia, Daniel, brother of Georg
Stiernhielm, profession and
life dates unknown 31
Lilia (later Stiernhielm), Georg
30, 35, 38, 39, 41, 44, 49, 50,
87, 91, 92, 125, 263, 264, 357,
358, 366, 373, 374
Lilia, Johannes Olai (born 1606),
brother of Georg Stiernhielm,
lieutenant 31
Lilia, Lorentz (–1658), a brother
of Georg Stiernhielm,
lieutenant-commander in the
Swedish navy 31
Liljedahl, Ragnar (1901–1987),
Swedish historian 50, 468
Lillie of Ökna, Knut Andersson
(1480–1546), law-man
(lagman) and governor 35
Lindberg, Bo (1946–), Swedish
intellectual historian 110, 468
Lindroth, Hjalmar (1878–1947), Swedish linguist, professor of Swedish (Gothenburg) 15, 44, 46, 169, 468
Lindroth, Sten (1914–1980), Swedish professor (Uppsala), intellectual historian 27, 32, 33, 80–82, 468
Lipsius, Justus (1547–1606), Flemish philologist and Stoic philosopher 36, 40, 95, 104, 237
Livy (Titus Livius) (c. 59 BC–AD 17), Roman historian 127, 317, 324, 329, 334, 335, 337, 340, 341, 343, 344, 402, 451
Loccenius, Johannes (1598–1677), German jurist and historian active in Sweden as professor Skytteanus and historiographus regni 68, 101
Lubin, Eilhard (1565–1621), German Lutheran theologian, mathematician and geographer 92
Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus (AD 39–65), Roman poet 431
Lucian of Samosata (AD c. 120–180), Greek satirist of Arminian origin 339, 340
Ludolf, Georg Heinrich (1619–1669), Swedish delegate at the Peace of Westphalia, lord mayor of Erfurt 62, 64, 68
Ludolf, Hiob (1624–1704), German Orientalist, expert on Ethiopic 62, 63, 67, 68, 461, 468
Lull(us) (Llull), Raymond(us) (Ramon), (1235–1316), Catalan philosopher, theologian, logician and poet 19, 48, 448, 449
Luther, Martin (1483–1546), the German Reformer, professor of Biblical interpretation in Wittenberg 173, 461
Machiavelli, Niccolò (1469–1527), Italian diplomat, philosopher and historian 40
Maestertius, Jacob (1610–1658), Belgian lawyer 23, 56, 59
Marcellus, Ulpius (floruit in the middle-to-late 2nd century), Roman jurist 127, 341, 345
Markvardsson, Olof (1591–1646), copper-mining farmer, bailiff, father of Georg Stiernhielm 30–32
Martial, Marcus Valerius (AD c. 38–104), Roman poet, epigrammist 340, 345, 431
Martini, Cornelius (1568–1621), Flemish-born Lutheran metaphysician 39
Martini, Jacob (1570–1649), German Lutheran theologian and philosopher 39
Martini, Matthias (1572–1630), Reformed theologian, philosopher, classical scholar (Bremen) 139, 157, 159, 461, 462
Matsdotter, Karin, the mother of Georg Stiernhielm 30
Matthiae, Johannes, Bishop of Strängnäs 71, 80
Meibom, Marcus (1630–1711), German classical scholar 63
Meier-Oeser, Stephan (1957–), German historian of philosophy, especially medieval 121, 468
Melkas, Eeva (fl. 1971), Finnish linguist, student of Old Swedish 15, 468
Messenius, Johannes (1579–1636), Swedish historian and dramatist 33
Meurling (born Ulfsparr af Broxvik), Anna Christina (1933–2010), Swedish historian and archivist 50, 468, 556

Modéer, Kjell A. (1939–), Swedish jurist, professor emeritus of the history of law at the University of Lund 29

Modestinus, Herennius (floruit AD 250), Roman jurist 327, 337, 341

Molhuysen, Philipp Christiaan (1870–1944), Dutch librarian 57, 469

Momma, ennobled Reenstierna, Jacob (1625–1678), German-Swedish merchant 22

Näf (Neaf), Maria (c. 1580–1649), Baroness, daughter of Jacob Neaf and wife of Johan Skytte 48, 74

Naudé, Gabriel (1600–1653), French librarian and scholar 63, 81

Nepos, Cornelius (110–25 BC), Roman historian, biographer 27, 331

Niurenius, Eric (1592–1671), Swedish clergyman (vtcar tn Lulea, Järvsö and finally Umeå) 38

Nizolius, Marius (1498–1576), Italian humanist 127, 341, 344, 462

Nobile, Luca (1970–), Italian linguist 221, 469

Nordin, Carl Gustaf (1749–1812), Swedish historian, linguist, politician and bishop 24


Norstedt, Jakob (1961–), Swedish genealogist 32, 469

Ohlon, Rolf (1929–2018), Swedish scientist, metrologist 15, 100, 106, 275, 279, 469

Ohlsson, Stig Örjan (1939–2012), Swedish linguist, professor of Swedish in Tartu 28, 29, 465, 467, 469

Olai, Ericus (fl. 1640s), assessor of Svea court of appeals 54

Olai, Georgius, see Stiernhielm, Georg 30, 33–35, 37, 41, 87

Olai, Georgius Helsingius, Swedish student 35

Olai, Israel Helsingius, Swedish student 35

Olai, Georgius, see Chrochius, Georg Olai 35

Olai, Georgius Dalecarlus (1597–), Swedish student from Näs in Dalecarlia and in 1625 ordained a minister in the diocese of Västerås 37

Olai, Georgius Moraeus, Swedish student 38

Oldenburg, Henry (1618–1677), German theologian, diplomat and natural philosopher, the first secretary of the Royal Society in London 76

Olofsson, Rune Pär (1926–2018), Swedish author, clergyman and journalist 27, 28, 30–32, 53, 79, 94, 104, 469

Opitz, Martin (1597–1639),
German poet, theorist of a new art of German poetry, where classical Greco-Roman forms were introduced 16, 54
Örnhjälm, Claudius (1627–1695),
Swedish historian (historiographus regni), professor of history in Uppsala 84, 85, 89, 92, 106, 108, 141, 143, 173
Otto, August (floruit 1890),
German classical philologist 340–342, 469
Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso), 43 BC–AD 18, Roman poet 264, 300, 338, 339, 349, 414, 433, 442
Oxenstierna, Axel (1583–1654),
Count, Chancellor of Sweden 42, 51, 55, 62, 68, 72, 101, 102, 124, 129
Oxenstierna, Erik (1624–1656),
Count, governor of Estonia, state councillor, Cancellor of Sweden (1654–1656) 56, 60
Oxenstierna, Gabriel (1619–1673), Count, state councillor, Lord High Chamberlain 77
Pareus, Johann Philipp (1576–1648), German Latinist and Reformed pedagogue 327
Patritius, Franciscus (1529–1597), Croatian-Italian anti-aristotelian philosopher 104
Perotti, Niccolò (1429–1480),
Italian Renaissance humanist, Latin grammarian, commentator of Martial 272, 321–324, 461, 547
Persius, Aulus Persius Flaccus (AD 34–62), Roman poet and satirist 336
Piirimäe, Helmut (1930–2017),
Estonia historian, professor of general history (Tartu) 51
Pindar (born c. 518 BC), Greek lyric poet 40, 437
Pipping, Gunnar (1927–),
historian of sciences, head of the Technical Museum (Stockholm), curator of the Sciences Collections of the Royal Academy of Sciences (Stockholm) 29, 106
Plato (429–348 BC), Greek philosopher 16, 40, 78, 104, 120, 121, 152, 165, 167, 172, 173, 179, 192, 214, 221–226, 228
Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus), (AD 23–79), Roman soldier, official, encyclopaedist, naturalist and natural philosopher 98, 127, 330, 342
Pliny the Younger, (Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus), (AD 61–120), Roman high official, orator, writer of letters and panegyrics 127
Plotinus (c. 204–270), Hellenistic philosopher, follower of Plato, founder of Neoplatonism 82, 104
Plutarch (AD 45–120), Greek historian, biographer 23, 150, 163, 168
Poggio Bracciolini, Gian Francesco (1380–1559), Italian historian, poet, Latin Renaissance humanist 114
Polybius (200–118 BC), Greek historian, active in Rome 320–322, 461, 462
Postel, Guillaume, (1510–1581), French polymath, Semitic and classical philologist, diplomat,
cartographer, Kabbalist 98, 226, 462
Proclus (AD 410–485), Neo-Platonic philosopher 63
Pythagoras (middle to late sixth cent. BC), Greek philosopher in *Magna Graecia* 104, 264
Ramus (de la Ramée), Petrus (Pierre), (1615–1572), French philosopher, logician and rhetorician 47, 275, 374
Raue, Johann (1610–1680), philosopher, librarian of the Elector Frederick the great of Brandenburg-Prussia 80
Ravensperger, Jacobus (1615–1650), Dutch mathematician and scientist 59
de Ravisi (Ravisius), Jean Tixier (Johannes Textor), (1470–1542), French Renaissance humanist, professor of rhetoric 291, 462
Ravius, Christian (1613–1677), German Orientalist, active in the Netherlands, England, Sweden and Germany 58, 63, 65, 67, 73, 80, 166, 172, 462
Reuchlin, Johannes (1455–1522), German humanist, Kabbalist, lexicographer of Hebrew 207, 208, 462
Revius, Jacob (1586–1658), Dutch Reformed theologian, church historian and poet 59
Rhezelius, Johannes Haquini (c. 1604–1666), Swedish official, archaeologist, antiquarian 84
Ribbing, Christina (1608–1677), daughter of the Swedish official Erik Ribbing 55
Ried, Andreas (*floruit* 1616) German classical scholar 92
Rosenbröijer, Anthonius (1593–1578), Finnish merchant, lord mayor of Viborg 71, 560
Rosenhane, Schering (1609–1663), Swedish Baron, diplomat and official 62
Rudbeckius, Jacob Boose (1583–1636), Swedish scholar and teacher 33
Rudbeckius, Johannes (1581–1646), Swedish theologian, churchman and educator, professor of mathematics, theology and Hebrew at Uppsala University (1609–13), court-preacher, Bishop of Västerås (1619–46) 27, 32, 33, 36–38, 103, 114, 462, 466
Runeby, Nils (1931–2009), Swedish intellectual historian, professor of intellectual history (Stockholm) 41, 94, 95
de Saavedra, Diego Fajardo (1584–1648), Spanish diplomat and scholar 347, 348, 462
Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus, 86–35 BC), Roman historian and politician 127, 245, 317, 324, 329, 334, 335, 337, 340, 343–345
Salmasius, (Saumaise), Claudius (Claude), (1588–1653), French classical philologist, from 1631 employed at the University of Leiden 23, 56–58, 63, 65–67, 98, 462
Scaliger, Joseph Justus (1540–1609), French classical scholar and chronologer, from 1593 active in Leiden 57, 159, 302
Scaliger, Julius Caesar (1484–1558) French classical scholar of Italian descent 453
Schefferus, Johannes (1621–1679), Swedish classical scholar, a pioneer of classical philology in Sweden, *Professor Skytteanus* 27, 44, 63, 68, 73, 279, 462, 463
Schindler, Valentin (1543–1604), German Orientalist, active in Wittenberg and Helmstedt, lexicographer 142, 194, 463, 516–522
Schmidt-Biggemann, Wilhelm (1646– ), German historian of philosophy 208, 470
Schomerus, Petrus Andreae (1607–1669), Swedish theologian, professor of theology (Tartu and Uppsala), superintendent in Kalmar 52
Schönslede, Wolfgang (1570–1651), German Jesuit, teacher of Latin rhetoric in Augsburg, Munich and Regensburg 17, 125, 127, 325, 326, 463
Schor(us)/ van Schore, Antonius (1525–1552), Dutch classical philologist 127, 341
Schultens, Albert (1685–1750), Dutch Orientalist 5, 156
Schück, Henrik (1855–1947), Swedish literary historian, professor of literature (Uppsala) 25, 44, 45, 56, 83, 95, 109, 470
Scotus, Duns (1265–1308), Scottish philosopher and theologian 121, 213, 214, 470
van Schurman, Anna Maria (1607–1678), Dutch polymath, polyglot and poet 56, 59
Sellberg, Erland (1946– ), Swedish intellectual historian 29, 33, 80, 82, 99
von Selow (also spelled Selaw), Peter (1582–1650), German type founder and printer, from 1618 in Stockholm 102, 463
Seneca the Younger (AD c. 4 BC–65), Roman statesman, philosopher, poet and orator 127, 356, 433, 434
Skytte, Bengt (1614–1683), Swedish Baron, state councillor and linguist 48, 56, 57, 59, 73–75, 457, 458, 466
Skytte, Jacob (1616–1654), Swedish official and jurist 48, 59, 112, 125
Skytte, Johan (1577–1645), Swedish high official, state councillor and Ramist educator 30, 41–44, 47–51, 60, 74, 125, 467, 468
Skytte, Johan the Younger (d. 1636), colonel 59
Skytte, Vendela (1608–1629), Swedish poet 48
Skyttehielm (born Skytte), Joakim (1617–1687), Swedish official 74
Sophocles (5th century BC), Greek playwright 40
Sörlin, Sverker (1956– ), Swedish intellectual historian 34, 38, 470
Spanheim, Friedrich (1600–1649), German Reformed theologian, active in Geneva and Leiden 56, 57, 59
Sparwenfeldt, Johan Gabriel (1655–1727), Swedish diplomat, official, polyglot, Slavist and collector of books and manuscripts 96
Stähl, Carl Ivar (1913–1980), Swedish linguist, professor of Scandinavian languages (Stockholm) 14–16, 18, 44, 45, 54, 103, 106, 116, 205, 222, 223, 470
Stiernhielm, Christina (1644–1728), daughter of Georg Stiernhielm, married to the district judge J. Sylvius 21, 55, 79
Stiernhielm, Georg (1598–1672), Swedish official, polyhistor, mathematician, linguist, poet, philosopher passim mainly on the following topics
– life and career 21–82
– archive 83–95
– planned publications 99–110
– linguistic theory 113–121
– transformational grammar 122–130,
– texts of phonology and morphology 137–202,
– texts of language philosophy 205–232
– texts of sound aesthetics 233–236
– texts of transformational grammar and semantics 240–436:
  Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum 240–269
  Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus 272–355
  Polygraphia intelligibilis 357–436
– copying of Alsted’s texts on morphosyntactic variability 439–448, and his art of invention 448–450
– copying of the chapter on semantics in Farnaby’s Index rhetoricus 451–553

Stiernhielm, Georg Otto (1638–1673), graphic designer, assessor of Bergskollegium 55, 279
Stiernhielm, Johan Markvard (1630–1685/1696), captain and landowner in Livonia 21, 55, 59, 73
Stiernhöök, Johan (1596–1675), Swedish jurist, father of Swedish jurisprudence 41, 54
Stolpe, Sven (1901–1996), Swedish author, journalist and literary critic 81, 408, 470
Suárez, Francisco (1548–1617), Spanish Jesuit, neo-Aristotelian philosopher and theologian 33
Svenbro, Jesper (1944–), Swedish classical philologist and poet 29
Swahn, Sigbrit (1933–), Swedish literary historian and professor of French 22, 111, 471
Sylvius, Johan (c. 1620–1690), Swedish law-man, district judge 79
Symmachus, Quintus Aurelius (AD 345–402), Roman statesman, orator and writer 127, 327, 330–332, 334–336, 341–343
Tacitus, Cornelius (AD 56–120), Roman historian and politician 98, 127, 329, 331
Tartaglia, Nicolo Fontana (1499/1500–1557), Italian mathematician 374
Terence (Publius Terentius Afer), (c. 195–160 BC), Roman playwright 127, 293, 327, 330–333, 336, 339, 341, 342, 344, 346, 347, 401
Terserus, Johannes Elai (1605–1678), Swedish theologian, Bishop of Åbo and Linköping 26, 73, 77, 80, 456, 463
Thucydides (c. 460–c.400 BC), Greek historian and soldier 40
Tolomei, Claudio (1492–1556), Italian grammarian and philologist 114
Tornaeus, Abraham (1644–c.1672), Swedish student, amanuensis of Stiernhielm at College of Antiquities 84, 464
Tornaeus, Johannes Jonae (1600–1681), Swedish clergyman 84
Trithemius (Tritheim), Johannes (1462–1516), German polymath, chronicler and cryptographer 37, 115, 125, 128, 357, 358, 375, 458, 464, 466
Ulpian(us), Domitius (c. 170–228), Roman jurist 127, 327, 328, 335, 339, 340, 342, 344, 345, 347
Ulrich, Wilhelm (1604–1661), Baltic German official in Swedish Livonia, assessor of the High Court of Tartu 50, 53
Varro, Marcus Terentius (116–27 BC); Roman polymath 127, 165, 170
van de Velde IV, Jan (1610–1686), Dutch goldsmith, copperplate engraver and draughtsman 278 f.
Voetius, Gisbert (1589–1676), Dutch theologian 59
Voetius, Paul (1619–1667), Dutch philosopher, jurist 59
Vogelmann, Georg (fl. 1566), German classical scholar 293, 464
Vossius (Voss), Gerard Joannis (1577–1649), Dutch classical scholar, historian, theologian, 34, 56, 59, 60, 115, 275, 375, 464, 471
Vossius, Isaac (1618–1689), Dutch philologist and historian 60, 63–68, 465
Vulcanius, Bonaventura (1538–1614), Flemish humanist 64, 200, 464, 465
Walde, Otto (1879–1963), Swedish librarian and book historian 35, 48, 58, 64, 101, 125, 327, 471
von Waldeck-Wildungen, Maria Magdalena (1606–1671), German Countess 55
Wallenius, Jacob (1761–1819), Swedish scholar, linguist, poet, biographer, theologian 24
von Weidenhajn, Johan (1604–1666), court adviser 63
Wieselgren, Harald (1835–1906), Swedish librarian, biographer and publisher 26, 64–66
Winberg, Ola (1971–), Swedish historian 34, 38, 472
Worm, Olaus (Ole), (1588–1654), Danish physician and antiquarian 164, 169
Wrangel, Ewert (1863–1940), Swedish literary and art historian 60, 68, 472
Wrangel, Fabian (1642), German Balt, governor of Tartu 53
Wulfila (AD 311–383), Bishop of the Goths 64, 65, 108, 109
Zabarella, Jacopo (1533–1589), Italian neo-Aristotelian philosopher, re-introduced Aristotelian metaphysics 33
von Zesen, Philipp (1616–1689), German humanist, Baroque poet and author 16, 17
Index II: Subject matters and linguistic terms
Entries on Latin words usually contain occurrences of inflected forms.

accidents, grammatical
(accidentia) 138, 309, 439, 440
active voice 302, 335
adverb 86, 177, 184
– transformational change of a
noun into an adverb, or vice
versa 273, 290, 295, 310,
314, 443, or of an adverb
into another adverb 250,
291, 296, 303, 304
Adamicism, concept of 119, 120
Adversaria Georgii Stiernhielm
(ms. XXXII. 1715, Hannover)
96–98, 132, 221, 456, 457
alpha privatium 208; ex matre A
privativa 189
alphabet, passim, mainly:
– encrypted script 37, 125, 128
– etymological alphabet
(alphabetum etymologicum,
radicale or naturale) 118–
119, 144–145, 151–152,
155, 160, 167, 189
– Greek alphabet 165, sound-
meanings 222 ff.
– Hebrew alphabet 159
– Latin alphabet 165
– Runic: the Younger Futhark
150, 158 ff., 164, 165, 169
– Swedish alphabet 146 ff.,
158, sound values of vowels
and consonants 225–228
– a synopsis of Semitic and
Germanic alphabets 97
– a universal alphabet 117
alphabetical order, used in
polygraphy, with or without
cipher-writing, employed in
Sections 10.6.1, 11.4.3, 12.1.4,
12.2.2, 12.2.3 and 12.4.3
American Indian languages 105,
110, 111, 113
American Indian people 217, 218
analogy (analogia), of all things
207, of words and things 209
Anti-Bochartus 13, 24, 67, 107,
216, 464
Anti-Cluverius 23, 84, 86, 92, 101,
103, 104, 108
antiquities, Swedish 46, 72, 76
Apollo, sun-god in Greco-Roman
mythology 414
– the variability of epithets of
414 unit 1 (a, e, i and o),
427 unit 59, explanation of
the different epithets of 431
– Stiernhielm as a Swedish
poet compared to Apollo 78
– compared to the speech
sound A (A Phoebus est)
arcaism, Gothic, a stylistic device
of Stiernhielm’s poetry 17, 51
Archimedes reformatus 23, 29, 54,
101, 107, 275, 463
argumentative strategies (asterismi
et schemata scientiarum), the
sixth circle of variability 47,
123 264, 280, 283, 286, 287
– through commonplaces 127,
264, 278, 326
circumstantia 271, 278,
301, 302
causatio 271, 278, 300, 301,
316, 318
descriptio 271, 278, 287,
301, 316, 319
– through amplifications:
incrementum 271, 278, 301
congeries 271, 278, 287,
301
comparatio 271, 278, 291,
301
ratiocinatio 271, 278, 301,
302, 316, 318
– through figures of speech:
disjunctio 271, 278, 300,
302
distribution 267, 271, 278, 301, 302, 316, 319
inversio 271, 278, 300, 302, in Greek designated as hysteron proteron 178
– through figures of thought expolitio 271, 278, 301, 302
contrapositio 271, 278, 300, 302
Armenian language 174–176
aurora, red light of dawn 233, 236, 414 (aurorae praevie)
Aurora, Roman goddess of the morning 290, 294, 410, 414, 418, variability of epithets 414, unit 1 u, b, c, g, h, l, m, r, epithets of 414, 431
Babel, Tower of 66
Barbari Potitii 397, 402 f.
Bible, the Stiernhielm family Bible 31, 47, 55, 75
building blocks of language 4, 13, 17, 113, 117, 122
Cadmus, the mytho-historical Phoenician prince 150, 161, 163, 168, 211, 212, 414, 427
case (casus), grammatical 119, 142, 181, 182, a category of linguistic variation 122, 273, 274, 276, 287, 302–304, 307, 316, 321, 441
catena rerum 87, 197, 213
Celtic languages 67, 107, 177, 222
circumlocution or periphrasis, see under “word”, the variability of Classical rhetoric 278
clause, a syntactic unit below the level of the sentence, theory and practice of its variability 122, 123, 130, 276, 278
Codex Argenteus 13, 30, 64, 65, 76, 84, 102, 108, 109, 114
Collectanea ad Runam Suethicam 88, 132, 154, 155, 161, 456
conjunction, linguistic variability of 273, 274, 439
– groups of in Hebrew according to their places of articulation 156
– related groups of in Swedish (1.) f, b, p, φ, (2.) ch, g, c/ k, and (3.) ð, z, d, t, st, sh 118–119, 158, 167, 190, in each group has interchangeable consonants 151
– interchange of groups of cognate consonants in related languages 142, 151
– the fricative ð 139, 149, 151, 157, 160, 168, 183, 190, 226, 228, the runic letter ð 150, 154, 158, 163, 165, 166, 169–172
– guided by natural principles: that of light, in so far as pronounced by means of accompanying vowels 207, and that of matter, silence and darkness 207, 210
derived word form (derivationes) 138, 143, 173, 193
deprecated, i.e. inflected, word forms (declinationes) 138, 140, 142, 198
dialect (dialectus), regional variety or mother-language 65, 66, 138, 139, 142–144, 164, 170, 174–176, 187, 188, 200, 201, 219, 220, 227, 229
– the concept of 57, 58, 65
– Swedish regional dialects: Dalecarlian 175, 177
Nerician 175, 177
Northlandian 175, 177
Ostrogothic 175, 177
Roslagian 201
Smalandian 175, 177
Sudermanian 175, 177
dialectal splitting 218
dialectal diversification 115,
dialectal varieties 45
in relation to colours and elements 87, 235, 236
Discursus philologicus de omnibus linguis in genere et in specie (ms. F.d. 14a) 92, 132, 456
Dutch language (Belgica, Belgice apud Belgos) 86, 139, 174, 176, 188, 202, 225, 228
educational journey, Stiernhielm’s 33–38
elegance 37, 43, 47, 48, 68, 103, 104, 269
empiricism 115
Encyclopaedia, Johann Heinrich Alsted’s 40, 41, 124, 126, 127, 218, 219, 242, 274, 299, 300, 439, 440, 448–450, 458
English language and people (Anglica, Anglice, Angli) 91, 107, 139, 140, 146, 158, 163, 165, 168, 170–172, 174–177, 183, 188, 202, 227
ending of words: terminatio 154, 187, 188, 200, 201
epistemic categories and/ or epistemological stages 127, 274, 283, 297, 325, 344, 349
equivalence, a category of
linguistic variability, see sub-entry below the entry “word”
Estonian language and people (Esthones) 91, 107, 174–176
Etruscan people (Hetrusci) 91, 165, 170, 171
Etruscan system of reckoning (by means of tally-marks) 374
etymon 169, 180, 212, 213
euphony 222
figures of speech (schemata dictionis, figuraae dictionis) 8, 122, 123, 128, 241, 255, 261, 264, 273, 276–278, 283, 285, 286, 299
– specific devices:
anadiplosis 273, 276
anaphora 267, 273, 276
climax 268, 273, 300, 301
diisunctio 271, 278, 300, 302
distributio 267, 271, 278, 301, 316, 319
inversio 271, 278, 300, 302, epanalepsis 273, 276,
epistrophe 256, 273, 276, 300
epizeuxis 267, 273, 276
homoepopton 276,
similibus casibus desinentia 273
mediana 273, 276, 277
paronomasia 256, 262, 265, 271, 276
polyptoton 266, 273, 276
symplece 267, 273, 276
synonymia 245, 271, 276, 303, 304, 320
figures of thought (schemata sententiae, figuraae sententiae) 8, 122, 123, 128, 241, 255, 261, 264, 276–278, 283
– exemplified in the sentence Probitas probatur et alget, see Sections 10.4 and 10.5
– specific devices of:
aversio 271, 277, 289
communicatio 265, 271, 277, 300
concessio 271, 277
contrapositio 271, 278, 302, in Greek antithesis 262, 302, 307
correctio 273, 277, 301

dubitatio 271, 277
exclamatio 271, 276
expolitio 271, 278, 301, 302
interrogatio 271, 277, 299, 300
occupatio 271, 277
praeteritio 271, 277
prosopopoeia 271, 277
figures of speech and of thought (schemata unspecified) 100, 129, 212, 285
Finnish language (Finnonica) 91, 107, 174, 230
Finnish people (Finnones) 175, 178
Finnish-Ugric linguistic kinship 29
Finno-Ugric philology 115
French language (Gallica) and people (Galli) 91, 107, 138, 147, 148, 165, 173–176, 178, 188, 194, 226
Gambla Swea- och Götha-måles fatebur 54, 88, 100–102, 107, 108, 217, 463
gender (genus), grammatical, as a category of variation 271, 273, 275, 288, 301, 308, 442
German language (Germanica) 97, 107, 125, 171, 178, 180, 183, 188, 194, 194, 326,
German people (Germani) 91, 138, 147, 151, 152, 165, 171, 173–174, 176, 178, 183, 222, 228, 229, 411, 412; High Germans 166, 171, 175, 176
Gothic alphabet 97
Gothic language (Gothica), the east-Germanic language of the Goths: 64, 109, 227; old Swedish: 88, 89, 91, 100, 110 (Gothica Scythica), 116, 137, 157, 163, 226, 227, 230
Gothic people, east-Germanic people 64, 200, 464, the Swedes 91, 101, 103, 138, 139, 154, 165, 183, 201, 222, 227, 229, 463
Gothicism, Swedish, and Gothic Swedish national identity 17, 29, 45, 80, 114
grammar, transformational and generative 13, 14, 17–20, 29, 47, 48, 113, 115, 124, 131, 132, 299, 276, 278, 301, 302, 239–356, general grammar 19, 65, grammar (i.e. conformity to morpho-syntactic rules) as a distinctive feature of “main languages” 46, grammar of specific languages: Classical Latin 21, 126, 439, Swedish 44, 84, Ramist pedagogic of 47
Greek dialects (dialecti linguae Graecae) 65, 174, 175, 176
Greek language (Graeca) and people (Graeci) 57, 58, 66, 107, 109, 114, 147, 148, 153, 162, 163, 165, 163, 168, 170, 173, 174, 176, 183, 200, 212, 222, 223, 225
Greek letters and speech sounds 152, 153, 161, 163, 165, 167, 168, 169, 172, 174, 221–224
Greek vowels 118, 143, 148, 158
Greek words 89–91, 97, 98, 123, 128, 139, 176, 219, 222–224, 228, 250, 263, 373, 401, 414
Hebrew language (Hebraea, Hebraica) and people (Hebraei) 65, 66, 86, 107, 138–140, 172, 174, 176, 194 f. 219, inferior to Swedish 74, many roots in common with Swedish 110

490
Hebrew root 188, is bisyllabic and accordingly not primordial 190
inflection, grammatical (flexio) 142, 181, 200–202
inflectional letters or morphemes (literae formativae) 191, 200
invention, theory of in Alsted’s Cyclognomonica oratoria 150–152
Italic peoples 91, 170
Italian language (Italica, Italice) and people (Itali) 91, 97, 107, 115, 138, 140, 147, 159, 165, 171, 173–176, 178, 201, 228
Japheth, Japhethites 66, 97, 170
Japhetic languages 58
jurisprudence, Stiernhielm’s study of 23, 39–40, 33, 47, 59
language (lingua, sermo), passim:
– as a building 279–280
– as a well-ordered universe 280–282
– communicative function of 162 (ad ... mutuam communicationem, ad intelligentiam mutuam), 216–218 (Section 9.1.3)
– messenger (nuncius et legatus) of the mind 148, an indicator of the mind 219
– mirror, echo or character of the order of things 104, 109, 183, 210–212, 281 (rerum character est sermo)
– philosophy of 119, 205–221
– principles of: ratio, sonus, elementum 205, 206
languages, passim, for instance:
– European vernaculars, study of including Swedish 46
– the concept of the primeval language 120
– not depending on human will 219
Latin language, early modern phraseological anthologies of 326–327; Stiernhielm’s collection of phrases 327–239
letter (litera/ litterae) as a written sign or mark of a speech sound, passim, for instance: 162, 182, 184, 210, the number of letters vary according to the phonetic diversity of languages 168
literae as a written message 130, 357, 359, 360, 375, 377, 378
light (lux):
– a transcendental category:
  a constituent principle in the cosmogony 87, 113, 198, 205, with power to lighten, move and warm 115, 197 f.
  a constituent principle in the formation of language 144, active in the formation of vowels 180, its functions to lighten, move, warm and vivify operating in semantics 184, 195, 197, 198, 211, corresponding to the principle of sound waves or vibrations through the air 205
in its purest form expressed in the vocalic sound of A 180, from which the other vowels are derived 143
only visible, when it shines in darkness (in tenebrosa materia) 207
– an ontological category from which meanings are derived 193
linguistic change, Renaissance discovery of 114, Stiernhielm’s
study of 72, 113, independent of human will and occurring imperceptibly 220


*Magog Gothus* or *Aramaeo-Gothus* or *Aramaeo-Gothicus*, an early title of Stiernhielm’s etymological dictionary 54, 84, 93, 97, 98, 101, 109, 110, 463, 519, 521, 522

matter (*materia*):
– a transcendental category:
  a constituent principle in the cosmogony 87, 113, 198, 205
  a constituent principle in the formation of language 144, 205, 206, passive in the formation of consonants 180, gives rise to articulate sounds, that is consonants, in a spectrum from bright to dark 180 f.
– matter as an ontological category from which meanings are derived 193

meaning (*notio*, *significatio*, *significatus*), passim, mainly: Stiernhielm’s discussion of the order of notions and meanings 181–199, 213, 454, 455, his discussion of general meanings 117, 181, 184, 192, 193, 195, 196, 211, semiotic approach to semantics 120–121, 211–215, logical approach to semantics 216, universal semantic fields 274
– trope (*tropus*), the change of meaning 299, semantic change through the principal tropes: metaphor (*metaphora*) 65, 123, 126, 241, 265, 266, 267, 269, 271, 274, 275, 451
  metonymy (*metonymia*) 65, 123, 126, 241, 251, 269, 271, 274, 275, 451
  synecdoche (*synecdoche*) 123, 126, 271, 273, 274, 275, 453

mind (*mens*), seat of memory, thought and will, the sum of memorative, cognitive and volitional faculties in man 119, 123, 167, 206, in relation to language and reality 121, 210
– mind as a transcendental category 87, 104, 110, 113, 205, 208, principle of action (*principium agendi*) 217, 218, 220, 280, 282, 356, 376, 409, 412, 434, a constituent principle in the cosmogony 87, 113, 198, 205, a principle in the formation of language 211, producing measuring and numeration 211, producing distinction or diversification of articulate sound through accentuation, modulation and formation of specific phonemes 207
– an ontological category from which meanings are derived 192, 193

*Monile Minervae* (F.d. 6b:2 and F.d. 9**), Stiernhielm’s treatise on cosmogony 91, 106, 109, 279, 456

monogeneticism of all languages 115, and the possibility of their restoration 107

monosyllable (*monosyllaba* and *monosyllabum*) 142, 157, 159, 192, 194, 200, 227
– monosyllabicity, a criterion of primordiality and simplicity 116
– primordial, monosyllabic words (primitiva) are frequent in Swedish 91,
– monosyllabic roots 153
mood (modus, modus verbi), a grammatical category 119, 122, 281, the variability of (e.g. by indicative, subjunctive and imperative) 250, 273, 289, 290, 301–304, 314, 321
morphemes, lexical 7, 8, 16, 17, 105, 119, 178, 192, 197, universal and original 90, 113, 119, 149, 187–191, 192, 199, related to objective reality 205, 211
– the vowel A as the origin of primordial morphemes by postposition of original consonants: “daughter morphemes” 185, 189, and by anteposition of original consonants: “servant morphemes” 186, 189
– primordial morphemes can be combined with every phoneme to form a new root 198
– genealogical tree of the primordial or original morphemes 186–187
– historical formation of:
  De genesi vocum, i.e. “On the origin of words” 178–184 (Section 8.1.1)
  Vocum constitutio, “The formation of words” 184–185 (Section 8.1.2)
  Multiplicatio variarum vocum, “The increase of different words” 185–187 (Section 8.1.3)
– classification of:
  Mater A divina […], “The vowel A as the divine mother of phonemes” 187–188 (Section 8.2.1)
  Cubus radicum, “the cube of word roots”, 90, 189–191 (Section 8.2.2)
– historical semanticization of:
  De usu et applicatione radicis ad notiones rerum “On the use and application of lexical roots to the meanings of reality” 117, 192–194 (Section 8.3.1)
  Principium literarum, “The double principle of speech sounds” 195 (Section 8.3.2)
  Radicis notiones secundariae, “The secondary meanings of the roots” 195–196 (Section 8.3.3)
  Hae sunt radices cardinales, “These are the cardinal roots”, 196 (Section 8.3.4)
  Ut in omni etymologia observandum, “As is to be observed in all etymology” 197–199 (Section 8.3.5)
  Meaning of original morphemes 199–200 (Section 8.3.6)
– historical lexical 119, a text partly dealing with 152–153 (Section 7.2.3), main texts on, see the texts specified in the entry lexical morphemes
– inflectional, a text partly dealing with 142 (Section 7.2.1), the main texts of: Flexio comparationis, “the inflection of the comparative” 200–201 (Section 8.4.2) Similitudo flexionum, “The similarity of inflections” 201–202 (Section 8.4.2) Conjugation of “to be” in English and Dutch 202 morphosyntactic variability 8, 241, 242, 302, 439; varietas syntaxis 288, variatio syntaxis 309 – exemplified in the clause Probitas probatur et alget 242–245 (Section 10.1.2) – presentation of the first circle (prima rota) in six classes: person (persona), number (numerus), gender (genus), case (casus), tense (tempus), and mood (modus) 273 – examples of in this first circle of variation 287–290 – examples of the first circle in different set phrases: Honos alit artes 302–304 (Section 11.3.1) Ars longa, vita brevis est 304–313 (Section 11.3.2) Regina nostra forma et virtute laudabilis est 314–316 (Section 11.3.3) Vir sapiens aequa fert utramque fortunam 316–320 (Section 11.3.4) Musae, goddesses of literary ability and creativity, located on Olympus with the spring Pimpla and the valley Tempe, on Helicon with the spring Aganippe, the Aonian valley, the Thespian groves and the river Permessus, on Parnassus with the spring Castalia and the port city Cyrrha, on Pindus, and in the province Pieria. – sites of worship interpreted as metaphors for the human mind 181, 183 – dispose the human mind in certain epistemic stages 286 – the above sites as bases for the variability of diction of Parnassus 427, unit 58, and Musae 427, unit 60 – their number corresponding to nine original consonants 160 and to the original lexical morphemes, the “mother morphemes” ja. ha. va. sa. ta. la. ra. na. ma 187 – are nine according to the number of letters in μημοσύνη “memory”, the mother of the Muses 160 Musae Suethizantes (“the Muses speaking Swedish”), the title of Stiernhielm’s collection of Swedish poetry 23, 61, 80, 101, 102, 107, 111, 463 Mysterium etymologicum (ms. F.d. 3 and the treatise with this title) 86, 96, 98, 105, 116, 120, 132, 456 natural language (a language known by nature) 119 f. Neoplatonism 26, 80–82, 110, 115 Noah, language of 58, 110, 183 Notae ad Platonis Cratylum Stiernhielm’s notes on sound (comedy), Polyhymnia (hymns and pantomine) and Urania (astronomy).

1227 The names and functions of the Muses are: Calliope (epic poetry), Clio (history), Euterpe (flute-playing), Terpsichore (lyric poetry and dancing), Erato (lyric poetry), Melpomene (tragedy), Thalia
symbolism in Swedish 222–232, see Section 9.3.1
noun (nomen substantivum), the grammatical category 250, change of to another noun 265, change of to another part of speech (such as adjective and verb) 290, 296, 303, 309, 310, 314, 320, 439, 440
number (numerus), a category of inflectional grammar 119, 122, 142, 281, a category of variation (of the singular to the plural, or vice versa) 242, 250, 260, 271, 273, 288, 303, 307, 308, 441, synecdoche of the singular and the plural 252
numerals, Roman 374, logograms for the numeral thousand 374
omnia mutantur, “Everything is changing”, an aphorism of Pythagoras 264, resembling that of Heraclitus 264; a topic of linguistic variability 265–267 (Section 10.6.1)
onomatopoeia, the formation of a word from a sound associated with the thing or action being name 219, 453, defined as the intersection where sound and meaning meet and agree in the formation of words 120
Parnassus, Mount, in Phocis 79
– the domicile of the Muses as a metaphor for the human mind and for well-ordered learning 281, 283, 437
– variability of diction of Parnassus and other sites sacred to the Muses 427, unit 58
Parnassus triumphans, Swedish text of this ballet written by Stiernhielm 60, its final stanzas conforming with themes in the birthday panegyric to Queen Christina 61, 437–438; another passage likely containing veiled criticism of the court tailor Johan Holm 69–71
parts of speech (partes orationis), transformational change of 122, 249, 290, 294, 302, 303, 309, 439
Pelagian people: the Pelasgians inhabited Greece before the ancient Greeks 163, 168
peoples and nations:
– characterization of distinctive phonological features of Angli, Armeni, Aethiopes, Batavi, Dani, Finones, Hebraei, Galli, Germani, Graeci, Hispani, Itali, Poloni, Scoti, Sueci 174–175,
– enumeration of Getae, Gothi, Sagae, Saxae, Dani, Dani, Thraces, Garpi, Carpathii, Germani, Teuti, Parthi, Persae, Tartari, Turcae, Ugr and Ungri 183
Peplum Minervae, Stiernhielm’s treatise on natural philosophy 87, 104, also called Templum Naturae 27
permutatio literarum (substitution of speech sounds) 89, 162, 184
– interchange of cognate consonants in related languages 142, 151
person (persona), grammatical 142, 182, 281, a category of variation 242, 250, 260, 271, 273, 288, 289, 293, 301–304, 308, 309, 314, 440, 442
phonology (including phonetics), 14, 86, 116–119, 149, 161, 189
– texts on comparative phonology: Hebraearum inter se literarum cognatio “The kinship between speech sounds in the Hebrew
Outlines of a vowel sequence 142, see Section 7.1.2
phonosemantics 9, 14–17, 29, 89, 102, 113, 116, 119–121, 131, 146, 195, 205, 208, 222, 225, 500, Plato’s observations 221–225, the theory of the Stoics 121, for Stiernhielm’s theory, see the sub-entry “sound-meanings” under the main entry speech sounds

poetry, characteristic of a “main language” 46
– Stiernhielm’s Swedish poetry: Ståhle’s studies of 14–16 as a means of Swedish language renewal 17 an artistic form of poetry 28, 54, 61 abounding in archaic and archaizing words 51 his planned publication of 101, 103, 107 editions and collections of 111 f.
– Stiernhielm’s Latin poetry, Planned publication of 107, modern editions of 112
– ancient Latin poetry, used by Stiernhielm in his examples of semantic fields 123; in a phrase from Statius 432 and in a phrase from Ovid 433 synonymous dictionaries of 127, 431
– ancient Greek poetry 40
– Homer, Pindar, Virgil and Horace praising Sweden as the new abode of poetry 437
– poetry and learning claimed to be interrelated 269

Polish language 168, Polonica 107, 162, 178, Polonicum 227

Polish people: Poloni 175, 178
polygraphy, art of comprehensible writing with encoded message
37, 39, 47, 48, 124, 125, 128, 357, 404, 410, 433
– Trithemius’ handbook of 37, 125, 128, 375
– Duke August’s examples of 125, 358, his impact on Stiernhielm 359
– Stiernhielm’s *polygraphia* or *polygraphia intelligibilis* 6, 8, 14, 48, 88, 92, 128–130, also called *polygraphia ingeniosa* 106, manuscript sources of 130, 132, textual edition of 357–436, extant in four main compositions:
  letter of best wishes
  359–374
  letter concerning familiar matters 377–390
  letter of political news 393–400
  a birthday panegyric to Queen Christina 414–430, comparison with themes of *Parnassus triumphans* 436–438
– lexical, orthographic, and stenographic variability of single words and phrases, see Index III

Port Royal, the school of grammar and logic 18–20

pre-Hellenic, Pelasgian, language, designated as barbaric by the ancient Greeks 222

primeval language 65, 115, 119

proper and natural word meaning (*significatio propria*) 122, 274

propietas, linguistic 86, 137, 215

*Proteus seu instrumentum rhetoricum* (1635) 5, 8, 14, 47, 48, 100, 101, 103, 122, 124, 129, 131, textual edition of 242–270


– the contents of 122–123, analytical tools of 124, the main sources of inspiration 126–127, different drafts of 129, 131, the manuscripts of used for the reconstruction 132, textual edition of 271–356, engraved diagram 272 with transcription 271, 273 and interpretation 273–279

*Protei Stiernhielmiani specimen* 314, 316, 456

Ramism 40, 43, 47, 48, 80, 467

educational programme of 43, 124, post-Ramism, Alsted’s 40, 44, 47, 48, in general 80

rationalism 115

reality and word, the relationship between discussed in the following texts:

*De origine linguarum* 205–208

*Mysterium et fundamentum huius artis* 208

*Eadem verborum quam rerum genesis* 209

*Eadem ratio verborum quae rerum* 209–211

*Coniugium Cadmi et Harmoniae* 211–212

*Vocum etymon* 212–213

*Veritas vocum* 213

representationalism, linguistic 121, 209

rhetorical handbooks 17, 19, 115, 124–126, 275

root, the smallest building block of language: *radix primitiva* and *vocula* 117; divided into two groups: one is monophonemic
(unilitera 181), of which the phoneme a is the original one (see further the entry vowels), and the other monosyllabic, as demonstrated in Stiernhielm’s cube of roots 189–190

– the first monophonemic root (vocula unilittera), that is the phoneme a, had certain set of meanings 182; every root has various general meanings related to various categories of being 192

– primitive roots, only a few ones preserved in Hebrew 116, but many more in Swedish 116

– universal lexical roots, common to all languages 104, 152, 212

Roskilde, peace treaty of 29, 75

Runa Suethica, a planned work in two parts: a historical-linguistic treatise and an etymological dictionary 14, 102, 106, 131,

– drafts of extant in several manuscripts (F.d. 4:4:1, F.d. 5, F.d. 6, F.d. 7:1 and F.d. 9) surveyed 87–90, cf. 132

– the conspectus of 13, 59, 98, 101

– the historical-linguistic treatise 16, 58, 72, 93, 108, 110, 114, 141, 218

– the etymological dictionary 14, 101, 108, 208

– texts collected and edited from the drafts in mss. F.d. 4:4:1, F.d. 5, F.d. 6, F.d. 7:1 and F.d. 9 of the planned phono-morphological and phonosemantic introduction to the etymological dictionary: the origin of phonemes 141–154 (Section 7.2.1–7.2.3), comparison between Swedish, Hebrew, Greek and Latin phonemes 156–177 (Section 7.3.1–7.3.4), the correspondence between speech sounds and objective referents 205–213 (Sections 9.1.1–9.1.7), the correspondence between speech sounds and meaning 213–216 (Sections 9.2.1–9.2.2), the meanings the speech sounds and their relation to colours 221–236 (Sections 9.3.1–9.3.4), the historical formation of lexical morphemes 178–187 (Sections 8.1.1–8.1.3), classification of root morphemes 187–191 (Sections 8.2.1–8.2.2), the semanticization of root morphemes 192–199 (Sections 8.3.1–8.3.5)

runes, Swedish 44, 45, 114, 158, 169–172

Scythian language, common ancestor of European languages and Persian 58, is divided into many dialects 142, has a majesty above all others 180, is the most ancient language 183, chiefly survives in Swedish 220

Scythian people 168, 200

semantic fields in twelve epistemic categories 274, 286

– Latin synonyms and antonyms of in the following categories:

  reality (essentia) 328–330
  sensation (sensus) 330–333
  admiration (admiratio) 333–335
  doubt (dubitatio) 334–335.
  opinion (opinio) 335–337
  possibility (possibile) 337–339
  agreement (convenientia)
consent (consensus) 340–342
truth (veritas) 342–344,
evidence (evidentia) 344–345
knowledge (scientia) 345–346
scientific assertion (assertio) 347–349

semiotics, texts dealing with
– Voces sunt signa
  conceptuum, “Words are the
  signs of thoughts” 214–215, see Section 9.2.1
– Voces sunt symbola rerum,
  “Words are the symbols of
  things” 216, see Section 9.2.2
– “Målet och bokstafwen äre
  ädle bodh-bärare”, that is,
  “The speech and the letter
  are noble messengers” 217 see Section 9.2.3
– An lingua aliqua homini sit
  naturalis, “Whether any
  language is natural to man” 218–220, see Section 9.2.4
– Maxims, see Section 9.2.5

sentence (sententia), grammatical,
defined as a series of words
containing a subject and
predicate 319, expressing a
complete thought (unus
idemque sensus seu animi
sententia) 282, equated with a
statement (enunciatio) 285,
320; theory of its variability
100, 122, 129, 282, 285, 287,
294, 300, 302 (sententiarum
structura), 319 f., 450 (phrasis
aut sententia), practice of the
variability of certain sentences
242–270, 303–320, collection
of Ancient Latin phrases and
sentences 327–349

sign, the linguistic 17, 20, 72, 105,
120, arbitrariness of as opposed
to conventionality 120, claim
on its non-arbitrariness 218–
220

signs, zodiac 274, 280, 314

speech sound/s (litera, literae,
sonus, soni, elementa, the last
of which corresponds to Greek
στοιχεία) 116, 119, 146, 149,
172, 176, 184, 197, 205, 208,
– the function of to distinguish
sounds and to form words” 184, are formed by the
mouth, the lips, the teeth,
the tongue, the palate, the
velum and the throat 184
– monogenesis of all speech
sounds (that is, phonemes)
except for L, R, N and M
from the vowel A 143–151,
210
– specific groups of speech
sounds are interchangeable
(literae commutabiles) 139,
142, 148, 151, 156, 160,
166, 222, 226
– universal speech sounds,
common to all languages
117, 150, 161, 165, 167,
170
– a universal set of phonemes
for all languages
– sound as matter articulated by
phonemes is a word (sonus
elementis articulatus sit
vox) 184; literarum
elementa juxtaposed with
sonorum differentiae, voces
simplices 212, 222, 228
– sound-meanings (sound
symbolism) and/ or
pronunciation of vocalic
sounds, consonants and
groups of consonants:
– a, the letter of light
(lucis est character)
143, the most simple and pure sound, which expresses the clarity of light itself (*ipsius lucis claritatem referens*). 148, the mark of the clearest light (*lucis clarissimae nota*) 150, is the speech-sound of light (*litera est lucis*) 152, is the life and soul (*vita et anima*) of consonants 210, the principle of life and movement (*principium vitae et motus*) 211, the long *a* pronounced by a wide opening of the mouth 225, the meaning of divided into a positive and a negative *a* 195, 197

– å, a place of articulation in between *a* and *o*: 138, 148, 225, not a separate speech sound, but a modification of the vocalic sound *a* 154

– ä, is the Greek sound of *eta*, η, 148, 225, in between *a* and *e* 148, pronounced as the sheep bleat 225, not a separate sound, but a modification of the vowel *a* 154

– e, an obscure modulation of the phoneme *a*, has a thin sound (*sonum habet tenuem*) 225

– f, is shadowlike (*umbrosa*) 183

– g, a hardening or strengthening of the breathing 151, 159

– h, is a breath sound (*est spiritus*), which only exists where there is life and light (*ubi vita et lux est*) 144, breathes (*spirat*) 149, is the offspring of a pure non-material breathing: 151, is the mother-sound of ch, c and g 145, 160, 165

– hl, implies inconstancy and emptiness 227

– hl, hn and hr aspirate the sounds *l, n and r*; before *l* and *n* the aspiration has been strengthened into *cl/ k* (to form *cl/ kl*) and *g* (to form *gn*) 139, 153, 227, 229, in the beginning of words the sounds *l, r and n* were in Old Swedish pronounced and written with an aspiration 153, 166, 171

– i, is intense and a modulation of the phoneme *a* 180, is

– ch, is a hardening or strengthening of the breathing 151, 159

– d, a place of articulation where the sibilant stops 151, is hard (*dura est*) 180, a sound of compression 223

– b, shadowlike (*umbrosa*) 183

– c (k), is a hardening or strengthening of the breathing 151, 159, expresses a strong sound and is therefore used in frequentative verbs 226

– d, a place of articulation where the sibilant stops 151, is hard (*dura est*) 180, a sound of compression 223

– hl, implies inconstancy and emptiness 227

– hl, hn and hr aspirate the sounds *l, n and r*; before *l* and *n* the aspiration has been strengthened into *cl/ k* (to form *cl/ kl*) and *g* (to form *gn*) 139, 153, 227, 229, in the beginning of words the sounds *l, r and n* were in Old Swedish pronounced and written with an aspiration 153, 166, 171

– i, is intense and a modulation of the phoneme *a* 180, is
thinner than e and sounds sharply 225
– j, is fire-like (ignea) 144,
– l, expresses clarity and sharpness (claritatis et acuminis) 148, heard in the blare of trumpets, the clashing of cymbals and the breaking of glass 148, is clear and light (perspicua et facilis) 151, transparent (diaphana est) and has much light (lucis habet plurimum) 180, is as transparent as the ether (aetherea et diaphana) 183, is like a sound of gliding 225, has the nature of light and clarity 159, shines (lucet) 229
– m, is dumb and earthly 148, mu moo the cows, mu murmur the wind, the water, the earth and the bowels of the earth 148, both tightens and closes the corners of the mouth 148, is mud (limus est), consisting of earth and water 151, obscure, deaf and mute (obscura, surda, muta) 151, closes, binds and holds back (claudit, ligat et cohibet) the mouth, sound and meaning 159, is muddy and a slow, dark and mumbling matter (limus est ipsaque pigra, caligans et murmurans materia) 181, mumbles like earth and water (terrea et aqua) 183, is dark,
shaking (tremit) 180, the sound of movement according to Plato 222, implies movement in Swedish 223, snarls like a little dog 229, signifies the action of breaking (fracturam, rupturam innuit) 231

– s, is a spirant (sibilus), a stronger aspiration that draws much from matter 144, hisses or whistles (sibilat) 149, is the origin of d, t, th, and z 149, defined as a non-material breathing sound of the third degree (next in order to G, C, Q, which in turn are preceded by H) 151, whistles like the wind (ventosa sibilat) 180, a sound used excessively by the Germans 175, 176, is windy (ventosa est) 183, hisses like a little snake (sibilat) 229

– sch (that is, sh), an aspirated sibilant, often used before W, L, M and N by the Germans 167, 172, in general used too excessively by the Germans 175, 176, a strong sibilation 180

– st, represents the place of articulation where the sibilant sound stops and becomes firm 180

– str, a sound of binding 179, 180

– t, a place of articulation where the sibilant becomes rigid 151, is a solid and firm consonant 160, very hard and like a rock 180, the sound of binding and fixedness 224

– th, a voiced fricative (ð), in the writing of Old Swedish represented as þ, a survival of the rune P 139, 166, 229, in early modern Swedish written d, t or th 139, 166, 229 (cf. 163), the genuine pronunciation has been lost among the Swedes 139, 166, but is retained by the Englishmen 139, 147, 151, 228, cf. 166, 172

– tr, implies shaking and vibration 222, presses (premit) 229

– u, an obscuration of the vowel a 149, the sound of darkness, opposed to the clarity of a 152, as an non-material vowel it represents dark air 152, a sound of darkness and mist 180, an obscure modulation of the phoneme a 181, “the misty letter of night” (caliginosa litera noctis) 183

– v, is thicker and denser than the vowel u 152, is the mother-sound of b, p, f, φ and ψ

– w, is a double vu 159, pronounced correctly by the Englishmen 159, 165, 177, represented by the sound and the spelling hw in old (i.e. medieval) Swedish 160, 177, pronounced
as v in 17th-century Swedish 147 (cf. 138), the Romans expressed it in the combination *qu*, in the reconstructed form *quat* 165 and in the pronoun *quid* 177

– *x*, originating from the aspiration *h* 145, not further commented, but would be defined as a double sound (*ks*) like Greek χ, cf. 163

– *y*, sounds frightfully (*atrox quiddam sonat*) 226

– *z*, a mode of articulation by which the sibilant is mixed (*miscetur in Z*) 151, a compound arising from *ds* or *ts* 158, the mother-sound of *d, dh, t, th, s, sh* and *st* 145, pronounced as *ts* or *ds* 229, a forceful sound of the sibilant *s* 180, 183 the Greek counterpart *ζ* expresses (together with *φ, ψ* and *σ*) that which is windy (*flatuosa*) 223

sound aesthetics 13, 87, 233–235

sound symbolism 13, 16, 116, 120, 132, 121, 221

Stolbova, peace of 49

Stiernlund, Stiernhielm’s estate in Ingria 71, 72, 155, 178, 191, 196, 213, 459, 560

Sultan, title of the ruler of the Ottoman Empire, variability of diction of 399, example 406

Swedish language (*Suethica*), the mother of Northern languages, 163, equated with Gothic and Scandinavian 163, sound-meanings (sound symbolism) of 222–225, pronunciation of Swedish phonemes 225–229

syntactic variability 74, 126, 273, 290, 292, 294, 302, 314, 320, 324, 408, 439

– by change of parts of speech 273

– by change of word class 273, between noun, pronoun, adjective and participle 290, between noun and adjective 290

– by the addition of an adverb 291

– by change of the positive into comparative or superlative 274, 291

– by change of case syntax 274

– by change of coordinative conjunctions 274

– by change of word order 274

syntax (*syntaxis*) and morpho-syntax 44, 47, 124, change of morpho-syntax 273, 274, 293, 296, 309, 311, rhetorical syntax through figures of speech and figures of thought 123, 264, 276

*syntaxis varians*, the heading of Alsted’s chapter on syntactic variability in his *Encyclopaedia* 274, Stiernhielm’s reliance on 40, 126, 242, 290, his copying of 440–449

tense (*tempus*), a grammatical category 119, 122, 281, the variability of by past, present and future tenses 250, 273, 289, 301–304, 308, 445

translation, variability of

– interlingual 321–323

– intralingual 324

Thracian language (*Thracica*) 222

Thracian people (*Thrae*) 163, 168, 183

transformational grammar, Johann Heinrich Alsted’s theory of

_Umbra sapientiae_, a variant title of _Monile Minervae_ 106, 109, 459

_Virgula divina_ (ms. F.d. 6c) 14, 89, 90, 101, 131, 137, 138, 156

vowels (vocales), passim, mainly:

– the vowel A as the mother of all other vowels 143, 150, 207, and their beginning and source 143, 148

– the vowel A has given rise to all words 149

– all vowels are nothing else than variations of the phoneme _a_ 146, 148, 165, 170, and are linked with the principle of light 205

– the vowels of Latin 143, of Greek 143, 144, 158, of Hebrew 158, of Swedish 138, 143, 144, 148, 150, 225–226

– universal vowels 117–119, 152, 155, 158, 189

– vowel diagrams 141, 233–235

– vowels have the active nature of light (natura activa lucis) in contrast to the consonants which have the passive nature of matter 180

– vowels in relation to degrees of daylight, the colour spectrum and the elements 233–236 (Sections 9.3.2, 9.3.3, and 9.3.4)

Wasula, and Vasula, Stiernhielm’s estate north of Dorpat, Swedish Livonia (Tartu, Estonia) 21, 26, 27, 52, 55, 73, 93, 96, 101, 110, 205, 206, 221, 392, 405, 459

Westphalia, peace of 60–62, 104, 130, 395, 405, 408

word (vox, vocabulum, verbum), variability or substitution of:


– by semantically related words (affinia, adfinia) 249, 250, 287, 294, 316, 317, 320

– by equivalence (aequipollentia) 122, 245, 249, 287, 294, 300, 303, 304, 306–308, 316, 317, 320, 450

– by circumlocution (periphrasis, circumlocutio) 122, 245, 249, 272, 287, 291, 294, 300, 302–307, 310, 311, 314, 316, 317, 320, 328

– synonymy, equivalence and periphrasis exemplified in the phrase _Probitas probatur et alget_, see Sections 10.2.1, 10.2.2 and 10.2.3

– by derivatives for primitive words, or vice versa 274, 291

– by compounds for simple words or vice versa 274, 292, 304, 442


– by word order, change of as a means for linguistic variability 321

writing, invention of 161, 162, 168, mirror of spoken language 281 (_sermonis character est scriptura_).
Index III: Polygraphy: units of variation

Lexical and orthographic variability of single words and phrases:
– acerba morte, “by a bitter death” 383, unit 41
– ad alia, (let us move) “to another topic” 384, unit 50
– admirandus
  “wonderful”, 417, unit 12
– attullit “I have brought” 361, unit 10, cf. tulit
– aggredere Venetiis, “to attack Venice” 400, unit 29
– alias hereditarius hostis,
  “otherwise the hereditary enemy” 399, unit 26
– amare (the verb), “to love” 386, unit 61
– amicus, “friend” 358, unit 2; 381, unit 29
– amplissime (in the vocative case) “very respected” 363 f., unit 21, cf. vir optime
– Apollo 427, unit 59
– armis copis, “with large armed forces” 400, unit 28
– at, “however” 398, unit 76
– atque adeo, “and thus” 398, unit 23
– audiretur novi “news would be heard” 389, unit 73, 394, unit 5
– auxit, “she has increased” 425, unit 48
– ave, “be greeted” 393, unit 1
– barbariem profligavit, “she has defeated barbarity” 428, unit 63
– bello composito, “after the war has been terminated” 420, unit 25
– Bellonae filii, “sons of Bellona” 397, unit 19 – bene
  valere, “to be well” 380, unit 19
– beneficiaria, “charitable, kind, gracious deeds” 425, unit 47
– benigne, “kindly” 365 f., unit 29
– brevi, “in a short time” 383, unit 40
– captus est, “he was caught” 382, unit 38
– care, (in the vocative case) “o dear” 363, unit 19
– coeterum, “however” 380, unit 24
– celsissimum, “the highest” 418, unit 19
– clementia, “mercy, mildness” 367, unit 36; 380, unit 22
– collapsa, “collapsed” 426, unit 53
– conclude, “I finish”, 370, unit 51
– consilio, “with the purpose” 387, unit 65
– contendere, “I insist” 369, unit 46
– consanginea, “relative” 386, unit 62
– conservat, “she preserves” 425, unit 52
– cordatus, “sensible”, 419, unit 22
– coronamus, “we crown” 430, unit 66
– cuius auspicium, “her command” 419, units 22–23
– cum Caesar, “with the Emperor” 395, unit 11
– cum consortibus, “with his companions” 396, unit 14
– cum gaudio, “with joy” 362, unit 15; gaudenti animo,
  “with a joyful mind” 379, unit 15
– cum tuis, “with yours/ with your family” 363 f., unit 22,
te tuosque, “you and yours” 379, unit 17
– delectarunt, “have pleased” 359 f., unit 4; cf. laetificarunt
– descriptum, “written” 371 f., unit 58
– desiderata, “desired” 401, unit 4
– Deus, “God” 364, unit 25; 367, unit 35; 367, unit 35, 371, unit 53; 380, unit 21,
– Deus faxit, “May God bring about” 388, unit 70
– Deus ultor, “God is the avenger” 383, unit 44
– Dii viam invenient, “The gods will find a way of escape” 398, unit 22
– dicere, “to say” 367 f., unit 39
– diu, “long”, 401, unit 3
– diu amissa, “long lost and missed” 422, unit 36
– docta, “learned” 416, unit 13, cf. vir doctus
– dotibus, “in terms of gifts” 416, unit 8
– e Germania, “from Germany” 395, unit 8
– enixe, “eagerly” 369, unit 45
– et, “and” 363 f., unit 20– ego in the accusative me, “me” 359 f., unit 5; 366, unit 33, 377, unit 6; ego et mei, “I and my people” 380, unit 20; meus and tuus, “my” and “your” 381, unit 30, 385, unit 52, 417, unit 10
– effrenati, “wild” 397, unit 18
– effrenus, “unrestrained” 421, unit 29
– etiam invitus, “even against their own wishes” 400, unit 30
– eximia forma praedita, “equipped with an excellent beauty” 387, unit 64b
– filium Nobilis, “the son of the Noble” 385, unit 54
– foro iustitiam, “justice (is returned) to the courts” 423, units 39–40
– furant, “let (them) rave” 397, unit 17
– gaudenti animo, “with a cheerful mind” 378, unit 15
– gaudet, “rejoices” 421, 33
– Georgius Lilia 373 f., unit 65
– grave, “serious” 384, unit 47
– haec habe, “get this!” 394, unit 7
– haec propter et alia, “because of these and other” (deeds) 429, unit 64
– hic, “here” 366, unit 34
– hodie, “today” 382, unit 37
– huc, “here, to this place” 369 f., unit 48
– His, “by this” 370, unit 50
– Holmiae, “in Stockholm” 372, unit 59
– idque adeo, “this is thus” 387, unit 67
– id quaeo, “I ask, or request it” 389, unit 74
– illam sibi despondendi, “to be engaged with her” 387, unit 66
– illustris, “illustrious, famous”, 416, unit 9
– in libertatem vindicata, “after having been set at liberty” 421, unit 32
– in unitate, “in unity” 425, unit 51
– ingeminantes, “we are repeating” 430, unit 68
– insistens, “treading, entering (upon)” 424, unit 45
– intellexi, “I have understood” 362, unit 16; cf. sensi
is fertur, “it is told that he” 3856, unit 60
laeti plausus, “happy applause” 430, unit 67
laetificarunt, “have given pleasure, have pleased” 377, unit 5
laudatus sit, “may he (i.e. God) be praised” 364, unit 24
licet frustra, “though in vain” 396, unit 12
literae, “letters” (in the sense of written message) 360, unit 7; 363, unit 18, 378, unit 8
longa vita, “a long life” 371 f., unit 56
lux alma, “benign daylight” 415, unit 2
magnopere, “very much” 359, unit 3; 377, unit 4
manu mea, “by my own hand” 373 f., unit 67
mellitae, “mellifluous” 361, unit 8; 378, unit 7
mercatura et opificia docuit, “she has taught trade and craftsmanship” 426, units 55–56
meus and tuus, “my” and “your” 381, unit 30
misere, “miserably” 382, unit 35
mortuus est, “he has died” 381, unit 32
multis et magnis, “many and great” 424, unit 46
mundus, “the world” 420, unit 26
Musae 427, unit 60
nam, “for” 383, unit 43
nebulo, “villain, wrong-doer, criminal” 382, unit 34
nefandus, “nefarious, wicked” 382, unit 33
negotium pacis, “the matter of peace” 395, unit 10
negotium nobis promovebit, “will promote the matter in our favour” 400, unit 31
nobis perscribe, “write it to us!” 389, unit 75, id ut ad vos perscriberem, “that I would write it to you” 394, unit 6
non, “not” 384, unit 45
non possum, “I cannot” 367 f., unit 38
nosco, “to know” 386, unit 58
novissimis, “recently” 393, unit 2
nuper, “recently” 361, unit 9; 378, unit 9; 381, unit 31
oblitus eram, “I had forgotten” 389, unit 78
occisus est, “was killed” 382, unit 36
omnibus, “to everyone” 423, unit 41
opibus, “in terms of riches” 417, unit 11
(pax) optima rerum, (peace), “the best of things” 419, unit 24
opido fervere, “to proceed very well” 397, unit 16
optans, “wishing” 370, unit 52
optimus vir, “an eminent gentleman” 388, unit 69
Papa, “the Pope” 396, unit 15
patriis vestigiis, “in the tracks of her father” 424, unit 44
peccatum, “sin, crime, transgression” 384, unit 48
pene, “almost”, 389, unit 77
peperisti, “you have given birth” 416, unit 7
perculsa, “stricken” 421, unit 31
- pia, “pious” 418, units 15, 16 and 17
- praebemo, “I will offer” 390, unit 80
- praecclare facta, “excellent deeds” 429, unit 65
- probus, “capable” 385, unit 53
- proinde, “similarly” 365 f., unit 30
- pulchra et dotata, “beautiful and talented” 386, unit 64a
- puniendus, “to be punished” 383, unit 42
- quam ocyssime, “as soon as possible” 369 f., unit 47
- quantopere, “how much” 367 f., unit 40
- quare, “therefore” 369, unit 44
- quod actum est, dii propitii approbent, “the gods favourably approve of what has happened” 388, unit 71
- quod maxime fuit arduum, “what was most difficult” 427, unit 57
- qui fertur terra marique, “who is said on land and sea” 400, unit 27
- (pax) reducta, (peace) “is restored” 420, unit 27
- refers, “you bring” 415, unit 6
- reformavit, “she has reformed” 426, unit 54
- regna, “kingdoms” 425, unit 49
- religio, “religion”, 422, unit 38
- reluctante, “struggles against” 396, unit 13
- ridiculum quiddam, “something ridiculous” 390, unit 79
- rogas, “you ask” 393, unit 3
- sanguinarius, “murderer” 383, unit 39
- sapientis, “wise” 417, unit 14
- scito, “you shall know” 365 f., unit 31
- scribitur, “it is written” 395, unit 9
- seculi sui delicium, “the delight of her age” 419, unit 20–21
- securitatem, “security” 423, unit 42
- sed transaeant haec, “But let us leave this topic” 384, unit 49
- semper, “always” 365, unit 27
- sensi, “I have understood” 379, unit 16
- sexus sui ornamentum, “the ornament of her gender” 418, unit 18
- si quid apud vos, “if anything in the midst of yourselves” 388, unit 72
- si quid e Germania, “whether any news from Germany” 394, unit 4
- sibi, populis suis “to herself, to her peoples” 422, unit 35
- sinit, “he (i.e. God) allows” 384, unit 46
- sol nitidissime, “Most shining sun” 414, unit 1
- studiosus, “a student” 373 f., unit 66
- suasus, “advice” v388, unit 68
- sudent, contentur omnia, “let them sweat, let them try everything!” 398, unit 21
- Suecia, “Sweden” 428, unit 61
- Suecia, quid dicat? “What shall Sweden say?” 424, unit 43
- suos, “his own” 365, unit 26
– tabellarius, “courier” 361, unit 11; scriba, “scribe” 378, unit 12
– te, “you” 368, unit 42
– te conferas, “that you make your way” 369 f., unit 49
– tegit, “protects” 365, unit 28
– templis religionem, “religion (is restored) to the church buildings” 422, unit 37–38
– tot, “so many” 515, unit 5
– totus Parnassus 427, unit 58
– traductus, “transferred” 428, unit 62
– tuit, “he brought” 378, unit 10
– turbent, “Let them disturb” 398, unit 20
– Turca, “the Turks” 399, unit 24
– tuus, “your” 361, unit 12; 373, unit 64; 379, unit 13
– valde, “much” 377, unit 4
– vale, (the imperative) “be well” 371 f., unit 57
– valere, “to be well” 364, unit 23; 367, unit 37; 380, unit 23, cf. bene valere
– velim, “I wish” 368, unit 41
– velit dare, “he wishes to give” 371, unit 54
– videre, “to see” 368, unit 43
– videns, “seeing” 422, unit 34
– vigemus, “we are well” 380, unit 23
– vigescit, “(peace) begins to be revived” 420, unit 28
– vinculum, “bond”, 425, unit 50
– vir, “gentleman” 363, unit 18
– vir doctus, “the learned gentleman” 385, unit 51
– vir optime, “best gentleman” 379, unit 18
– virgo, “maid” 386, unit 63
– vis, “violence” 421, 30 variability of stenographic abbreviations:
  – the acronym S. P. D (i.e. salutem plurimam dicit) 359, unit 1; 377, units 1–3
  – different forms of address Tua Amplitudo, “Your Eminence” 360, unit 6; 363, unit 17; 366, unit 32
Tua Claritas, “Your Celebrity” 360, unit 6; 363, unit 17; 371, unit 55
Tua Dignitas, ”Your Dignity” 366, unit 32; 371, unit 55
Tua Excellentia, ”Your Excellency” 360, unit 6; 363, unit 17; 366, unit 32; 371, unit 55
Tua Honestas, “Your Honour” 360, unit 6; 363, unit 17; 366, unit 32; 371, unit 55
Tua Praestantia, “Your Preference” 360, unit 6; 363, unit 17; 366, unit 32; 371, unit 55
Tua Prudentia, ”Your Prudence” 366, unit 32
  – the phrase ex quibus, ”from which” 362, unit 14, 379, unit 14
  – the month 372, unit 61 variability of dating after the birth of Christ (A.D./ Common Era/Christian Era) 373, unit 62 variability of personal names in Northern Europe of the 17th century 361 f., unit 11; 381, unit 25, 386, unit 61, remarks on the origin of names 390–391 variability of the year 1625 in Roman and Arabic numerals 373, unit 63

509
Index IV: Swedish words occurring in the texts edited

IVa: Common words together with archaizing or apparently invented forms

aga, “to have, hold” 140, 154, 179, 196, 226
agga 179
ala, i.e. föda, “to feed” 188
anda 140
ang 179
apa 225
arf 138
baa 188
ban 188
baka 194
bark 226
bata (= bäta, böta) 188
be-dröfua 223
bedia 140
bijl, “a moment, a while” 227
bijla 225
bill 225, 227
binda 138
biähla 225
blaa 229
blia 224
blijd 224
blasa, i.e. bläsas, “to blow” 229
blå 234
blåsa 229
bläckia 225
boa 188
bohra 227
bok 194
bona 188
bora 231
bord 225
bota 188
braka 223
brasa 223
brea 188
brinna 223
bruka 227
brusa 223
bruten 223, 227
bryta 223, 227
bräckia 166, 171, 223, 226, 227
bränna 227, 234
byggia 140
bygd 140
bäla 225
bära 228
bögia 194, 232
bówd 140
böön 140
daad, “deed” 198
daan 198
daap 198
daar 198
dag 138
dagg, “dew” 198
dake 198
dalra 223
dam 198, 229
damb 229
damp 229
darra 223
daud 226
daw 198
deel 227
del 227
dela 227
det 224
dijkstra 230
ditt 224
doff 228
don 140
drijl 225, 227
drijla 230
dra 226
draga 179, 223
dragla 179

\[ \text{drossla} 179 \]
\[ \text{dricka} 140, 179, 223 \]
\[ \text{drifua} 223, 230 \]
\[ \text{driva} 223 \]
\[ \text{druckit} 224 \]
\[ \text{dryffa} 223 \]
\[ \text{drypa} 223 \]
\[ \text{dräncka} 179 \]
\[ \text{dränckia} 179 \]
\[ \text{drögia} 179 \]
\[ \text{dusa} 140 \]
\[ \text{dwaal} 198 \]
\[ \text{däf} 198 \]
\[ \text{dämma} 231 \]
\[ \text{dörr} 230 \]
\[ \text{eld} 227 \]
\[ \text{ell} 229 \]
\[ \text{faat} 225 \]
\[ \text{fager} 140 \]
\[ \text{fahlna} 224 \]
\[ \text{falla} 224 \]
\[ \text{falsk} 224 \]
\[ \text{feel} 224 \]
\[ \text{fily} 227 \]
\[ \text{fissla} 223 \]
\[ \text{flaat} 224, 225 \]
\[ \text{fladra} 224 \]
\[ \text{flee} 225 \]
\[ \text{fleeca} 225 \]
\[ \text{flem} 225 \]
\[ \text{flema} 225 \]
\[ \text{flijna} 225 \]
\[ \text{flijsa} 225 \]
\[ \text{flijsa} 225 \]
\[ \text{flinga, i.e. flyga, “to fly” 224-225} \]
\[ \text{flipa} 224 \]
\[ \text{flägel, “wing”} 224 \]
\[ \text{flärd} 224 \]
\[ \text{fläsk} 224 \]
\[ \text{fnya} 166, 171, 223, 227 \]
\[ \text{frasa} 223 \]
\[ \text{fredh} 226 \]
\[ \text{fritt} 224 \]
\[ \text{frodha} 228 \]
\[ \text{fru} 228 \]
\[ \text{frusa} 223 \]
\[ \text{fru} 228 \]
\[ \text{fuhl} 224 \]
\[ \text{fühlna} 224 \]
\[ \text{fyka} 179 \]
\[ \text{fär} 225 \]
\[ \text{föster-lämm} 231 \]
\[ \text{fösa} 223 \]
\[ \text{gala} 188 \]
\[ \text{gapa} 225 \]
\[ \text{gifua} 157 \]
\[ \text{gifua acht på} 331 \]
\[ \text{giord} 225 \]
\[ \text{giort} 224 \]
\[ \text{gla} 188, 229 \]
\[ \text{glad} 166, 171, 229 \]
\[ \text{gladd} 225 \]
\[ \text{glama} 188 \]
\[ \text{glipa} 224 \]
\[ \text{glatt} 225 \]
\[ \text{glijda} 226 \]
\[ \text{glijna} 225 \]
\[ \text{glijsa} 225 \]
glittra 225
gläna 229
gläntsas 225
glöa 188
gnaga 139
gnägga 227
grava 227
grea 188
gro 227
grymm 226
gråta 225
gräs 227
gön 234
gär 225
gäll 188, 234
haal 224, 227
hafua 140
hafua en altid för ögonen 331
hacka 179
halla 180
halms 180
hamn 139
hangla 179
hava 140
hielm 180
hla 224
h lava 194
hliom 139
hlioma 227
holl 227
huadhmåtto 177
huarrjöre 177
huit, “white” 234
huuva 180
hum 226
huma 226
huru 177
hwadan 177
hwadh 177
hwarest 177
hwart 177
hwem 177
hwila 237
hårdr 223
håda 140
håla 180
häll 188
hängia 179
härja 230
höllia 180
hönsk 140
ijbsbill 227
jos 227
jok 227
jäm 139
keck 157
kij 225, 227
klabba 194
klatte 224
klattra 224
klinga 227
klå 224
klubb 194
klubba 194
klättia 224
kleema 224
klinga 227
klå 224
klubb 194
klija 224
klinga 227
klå 224
klubb 194
kloaga 166, 171
krafua 226
krage 226
kroma 223
kring 139, 166, 171
kroking 231
krossa 223
kry 228
krysta 223
kräka 228
kua 188
kuick 227
kuäda 227
kyn 188
könia 188
la 226
laa 188
laaf 224
laat 224
laef 194
la-ga 226
lagger 140
lakra 224
lauga 194
laus 194
ledd 224
ledhka 224
lee 224
leef 194
leeka 224
leen 224, 225
leepa 194
leer 224
leeta 224
leev 194
leefva 194
lefua 224
leva I 194
leva II 194
leva III 194
libba 194
lieb 224
lij 224
lijda 224
lijf 194, 224
lijk 224
lijm 224
lijn 224
lijpa 224
lijsa 224
lind 224
lindra 224
lioma 224, 227
liof 224
list 224
lit 224
liud 188
lufa 194, 224
lius 224
loa 194
loder 194
logha 224
lope 224
lord 194
lort 194
ludda 224
ludder 194
lugen 224
lurst 224
luus 194
luut 194
lya 188
lyckel 226
lyckia 226
lyda 188
lys 188
lyte 224
läcka 194
läckia 226
lämm 231
låp 224
läpia 224
lått 224
löga 192, 194
löhga 140
löpa 194, 224
lösa 194
ma as an adj. 201
ma as a noun
mid 185, 199
meer 201
mitt 224
mo 199
moor 185
mola 228
morra 223, 226
murra 226
mu 226
mum-mum 231
mumla 226
munn 226
mäst 201
mätt 224
måål 227
na, “near” 201
naga 226
nagga 226
narra 223
nyckel 226
nyckia 226
när 210
näs 227
näst 201
oker, i.e. ocker, “usury” 140
opp 227
oppa 227
or 230
orm 228

511
picka 226
pigg 225, 226
pijk 225, 226, 228
pijl 224, 225, 227
pijna 225
piipa 225
pijra 231
pijt 225
pinna 225
pirla 179
pirra 231
plögia 160
plöja 160
pricka 226, 228
pryl 224
pråla 225
pärla 231
quick 201
quickare 201
quickast 201
quickheit 157
quäda 227
quild 237
ra 230
raa 153
raak 225
rada 199
raka 153, 179, 223
rang 179
ramla 226
rank 179
rapp 225
rappa 223
rasa 230
rata 223
rea 188
reckia 153
redha 228
reen 225
reesa 230
remna 139
renna (rännan) 223
rifua 223, 228
rijda 223
rijfua 227, 228
rijva 231
rijs 230
ring 179
rinna 140, 223
rista 223
rita 114, 223, 227
or 188
root 225, 230
rosa 227
rulla 223
rund 223
rusa 230
rycka 179
ryta 226
råna 140
räa 188
rekar 179
sacka 226
saft 229
sag 224
sarga 230
sauf 229
saur 226
sauft 226
sacka 226
ser kring sig 331
sibbe 229
sijl 227
sitt 224
siudhande 223
siunga 160, 227
siusa 140
siutio 138
siäl 138
siö 138
slim 231
slö 231
skafa 140
skaka 226
skarpt 231
skem 232
skifta 140
skiul 226
skona 188
skrabba 231
skrea 188
skref 231
skrifua 223, 227, 228, 231
skrijda 188
skrijka 226
skrofla 231
skrom-puka 188
skrymsl, “ghost, spectre” 188, 226
skrymslas 188
skrymslor 188
skrynta 226
skrymtare 227
skryp 226
skryta 226
skräckia 188, 226
skräda 228
skräkia 188, 226
skräka 188, 226
staf 229
stat 224
stigta 140
stigta 226
stigta 140
stigta 226
sticka 225, 226
sticka sigh inn 227
stifft 226
sten 180, spelled steen 225
sticca 225
stinga 226
stinga på 180
IVb: Medieval words and dialectal and reconstructed forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Swedish</th>
<th>Dialectal forms</th>
<th>Reconstructed forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a man 182, 183</td>
<td>hring 166, 227</td>
<td>*auksa 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a konu 182, 183</td>
<td>hrosa 227</td>
<td>huat 165, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apa 225</td>
<td>hräsnarr 227</td>
<td>*gluna 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hafn 139</td>
<td>hräcka 166</td>
<td>*laa 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlad 166, 171</td>
<td>hslida 154</td>
<td>*lauga 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hludug 139</td>
<td>raka 227</td>
<td>*liust 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlyta 166, 171</td>
<td>reid 140, 227</td>
<td>*lutz, luzz, lisl, lisses 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hhab 153</td>
<td>saur 226</td>
<td>*reide 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hhaga 139, 166, 171</td>
<td>saut 226</td>
<td>*rita 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hhneggia 227</td>
<td>six 229</td>
<td>*sif 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hhnya 166, 171</td>
<td>slädha 154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stoffi 228</td>
<td>smal 228</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stracka 179</td>
<td>teen 225</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>straffa 223</td>
<td>tocka 179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strang 179</td>
<td>torcka 226</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strax 223</td>
<td>torr 226</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>streckia 153</td>
<td>trampa 139, 223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stricka 153</td>
<td>trappa 139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strunka 179</td>
<td>trang 179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strupa 223</td>
<td>truga 179, 223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stryka 179</td>
<td>trycka 179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strå 180</td>
<td>tryckia 223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stråla 225</td>
<td>tryta 226</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträck 179</td>
<td>tråda 223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180, 223</td>
<td>trängia 179, 223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>tugga 179, 226, 230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180, 223</td>
<td>tunga 227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>tvängia 179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>tång 179, 226</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>tällia 227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>tämia 231</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>tänckia tilbaka 330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>tängia 179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>ull 227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>ung 140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>uppe 227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>uth-rotha 230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>watu-loka 194</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>wel 227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>wraka 179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>wranka 179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sträng 180</td>
<td>wrang 179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Index V: Words in Indo-European languages occurring in the texts edited

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Danish</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Gothic</th>
<th>Greek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>huis 177</td>
<td>Aust 139</td>
<td>haus 226</td>
<td>γελάν, “to laugh” 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raabe 188</td>
<td>bauwen 140</td>
<td>Hlotarius 227</td>
<td>γενικός, “generally” 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>blehen 229</td>
<td>Hludowich 227</td>
<td>γλοιώδες, nom. neut. sing. of γλοιώδης, “resinous” 225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aughst 139</td>
<td>blähen 229</td>
<td>dures 230</td>
<td>εἰδικός, “specifically” 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gonnen 188</td>
<td>bussen 188</td>
<td>thourug 230</td>
<td>εἷς, ἑνός, “one, of one” 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jonnen 188</td>
<td>chuo 188</td>
<td>stlembus 231</td>
<td>ἕν, “one” 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kriitan 188</td>
<td>drehen 230</td>
<td></td>
<td>ἔλη, the nom. plur. of ἐλος, “marsh, meadow” 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>letter 225</td>
<td>dreighen 230</td>
<td></td>
<td>ἔρρικειν, “to keep in, hold back, restrain, hinder” 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dijkia 230</td>
<td>finden 140</td>
<td></td>
<td>ἔρως, ”love” 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>glind 225</td>
<td></td>
<td>ἐω, a verb reconstructed, meaning the same as ἐω, (thus not the present subj. of εἰμί) 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day 140</td>
<td>Hos 226</td>
<td></td>
<td>ἥλιος, “sun, sunlight” 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faire 140</td>
<td>Jahr 140</td>
<td></td>
<td>ζέον, participle neuter sing. of ζέω, “to boil, seethe” 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kind 188</td>
<td>jung 140</td>
<td></td>
<td>θραύσειν, “to break in pieces, shiver, crush” 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law 140</td>
<td>Kind 188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a man 183</td>
<td>Kracht 140</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saw 140</td>
<td>lasen 225</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soft 229</td>
<td>Lague 194</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weep 225</td>
<td>Leib 194</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what 166, 171</td>
<td>Leib-brot 194</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wich 177</td>
<td>Leysse 224</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a woman 183</td>
<td>Löör 194</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old English</td>
<td>reden 188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-blavan 229</td>
<td>Schaf 140</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chleba 194</td>
<td>scharfen 230</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heu 226</td>
<td>Schiffen 140</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlaif 194</td>
<td>Schimpelen 232</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaf 194</td>
<td>Schimpel 232</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laef 194</td>
<td>Schlangen 167</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syb 229</td>
<td>Schmeißen 167</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>Schneiden 167</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaupata 230</td>
<td>Schlicken 226</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leipa (= leipä, ‘bread’) 194</td>
<td>Schwinden 167</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γἀνη, the infinitive of ἀο 164, 170</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀκμή, “highest point” 237</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἄλεο, “to grind, pound” 191</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀριστός, the superlative of ἀγαθός, “good” 201</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἄχα, here “water”, otherwise Doric for ἥχη, “sound, the roar of the sea” 199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἄω, a root with the alleged meanings “to be; to shine; blow, breathe; germinate” 154, 164, 170, 185, 198, 199, 202, 209</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>βέκ, short form of Phrygian βεκός 194</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
θρύπτειν, “to grind, crush” 223
ιέναι, infinitive of εἶμι, “to go” 222
ία, in the Epic, the feminine variant of μία 201
ίος, in Ionic and Epic. masc. of εἷς, “one” 201
κατ’ ἔξοχήν, “by virtue of special excellence, especially, above all” 452
κέω (= κείω), “to split, cleave” 199
κερατίζειν, “to mince up, to cut up” 223
κίειν, infinitive of κίω, “to go” 222
κίνησις, “motion” 222
κλάζω, “to sound, clash, clang” 188
κλύω, “to heart, listen to” 188
κολλῶδες, nom. neuter sing. of κολλῶδης, “glutinous” 224
κρέας, “flesh” 153
κρούειν, “to knock, strike, beat” 223
λεῖος, nom. masc. plur. of λεῖος, smooth, level, flat” 224
λιπαρόν, nom. neuter sing. of λιπαρός, “oily, fat” 224
λύω, “to loosen, untie” 194
λεῖοι, nom. masc. plur. of λεῖος, smooth, level, flat” 224
λιπαρόν, nom. neuter sing. of λιπαρός, “oily, fat” 224
μερισμός, “dividing into parts, partition” 267
μετάστασις, “a change of place”, here a rhetorical device “the transition to a pretext or an excuse” 300
μνημοσύνης, the genitive of μνημοσύνη, “memory” 160
μόμος, “blame, censure”, personified as Momus 226
μεληθάνειν, “to slip, slide” 224
πείρω, “to pierce through” 231
πέντε, “five” 147
πήγνυ, “stick, make firm”; “to fasten together, put together” 194
πνεῦ, “to blow, beat” 227
πρήσσω, Ionic for πράσσω, “to pass through” 228
πρέπω, “to saw, cut with a saw” 228
ρέιν, “to flow, stream, run” 223
ρέμβειν (= ρέμβομαι), “to roam, roll about” 223
ρέός, “a flowing of the mind” 207
ρόω (= ρύομαι), “to draw” 231
σέλας, “light, brightness” 229
στάσις, a standing still” 222
στέγω, “to cover closely, keep off, shelter, protect” 164, 170
στέμμα, “anything to crown with, a wreath, garland” 139
στενός, “narrow, strait” 180
στέφω, “to surround, encompass, encircle, crown” 139
terēo, “to bore, pierce, perforate” 230
τραχεῖ, the dative of τραχύς, “rough, rugged; harsh” 223
τρόμω, the dative of τρόμος, “a trembling, fear” 223
τρυπάω, “to bore, pierce through, perforate” 230
titrása (= τετράυνο), “to bore through, perforate” 230
τράειν, a not reduplicated form of ττράω 230
τρύω, “to wear out” 230
φάγω, a root reconstructed from the second aorist of ἔσθιο, “to eat” 194
Index VI: Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic words occurring in the texts edited

Stiernhielm refers to words in Hebrew and other Semitic languages in Hebrew square script, even the Arabic, Aramaic and Syriac ones. As regards the record and Latin rendering of Arabic, Aramaic and Syriac words, he relied on Valentin Schindler’s a comparative and parallel-contrastive Semitic dictionary, *Lexicon pentaglotton Hebraicum, Chsaldaicum, Syriacum, Talmudico-Rabbinbicum et Arabicum* (1612), in which the practice of transliterating words into Hebrew script is applied (because of the lack of types in Arabic and Syriac). In cases where he transcribed Arabic words he followed Schindler. As far as Hebrew words are concerned, Stiernhielm depended on the attestation and Latin translation by Schindler or Johann Habermann (Avenarius), *Liber radicum seu lexicon Ebraicum*, Wittenberg 1569.

Below, I have divided the Semitic words cited by Stiernhielm in three classes: (1) Arabic words, (2) Aramaic words, and (3) Hebrew words. I have first given the Semitic word with the Latin translation provided by Stiernhielm or, if a Latin translation is not found, I have supplied it from Schindler’s pentaglot dictionary and marked it with italics, which serves the purpose to distinguish Stiernhielm’s Latin translations from those of Schindler or other lexicographers.

To verify the occurrence and meanings of Semitic words I have consulted the following dictionaries: for Hebrew, *the Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English lexicon* (BDB, the 1996 revision of the...

**Arabic words**

Arabic words, transcribed as daschasch (i.e. *dašaš*), this verb is given the meaning of “to beat, bruise, grind, crush” (Schindler 1612: 414 cum *דוש* *contudit, comminuit, fregit fabas aut hordeum*) 230

*םל* (hamala), *спревит, aspernatus fuit*, “to spurn, repudiate” (see Schindler 1612: 444), in the fourth stem form “to neglect, omit, disregard, overlook”, in the sixth stem form “to be careless, negligent” 232

*דר* (harasa) diruit, destruxit, “to tear asunder, destroy, crush, bruise” (Schindler 1612: 451: *diruit, destruxit, fregit, effregit, confregit, trivit, contrivit*) 230

*ש* (hašša) fregit, “to break, break in pieces” (Schindler 1612: 452) 230

*מש* (tamasa) obturavit, “to stop up” (Schindler 1612: 706) 231

*יתמ* (tamth), menstruum, “menstruation” and “a monthly term of office,” monthly service” (Schindler 1612: 707 where Avicenna is cited as a source) 231

*(CL) (karaba) anxit, compressit (Schindler 1612: 894: *pressit, compressit, anxit, afflixit, solicitavit, aggravavit, etc.*) 231

*לת* (ladan), a Greek loanword: unguentum, gummi, *storax, ladanum*, “ointment, gum, resinous gum, resinous juice” (Schindler 1612: 925a) 224

*לב* (laban) lac, “milk” denoted from its white colour (Schindler 1612: 921) 224

*לה* (lahasa) linxit, “to lick” (Schindler 1612: 944) 224

*לח* (latraka) linivit, “to daub, besmear, anoint” (Schindler 1612: 945: Arab. *לחת.cum punctato, linivit, illinivit*) 225

*לי* (layyin), mollis, tener, “soft, tender”, an adjective derived from the Arabic verb *לנה*” (Schindler 1612: 937, s.v. *לי*) 224

*לז* (nasaba) statuit, “to set up, place” (Schindler 1612: 1148: *statuit, consituit, posuit, imposuit. fixit, infixit, inseruit, plantavit*) 229

**Aramaic words**

*יתא* (’ithay) est, “there is” 158

---

1228 This verb is not recorded by Jacob Golius (1653) nor in modern Arabic dictionaries, but a nominal derivative, *dašiš*, i.e. “a kind of porridge made of crushed wheat and butter” is recorded in Wehr’s *Arabic-English dictionary* (p. 281). In Hebrew, *דועס* (*duš*) means ‘to thread on, trample on, tresh”.

---
טם (‘-t-m) clausit, “to shut, close” (Schindler 1612: 63)
בלמ (b’l-am) clausit, ligavit, strinxit, “to close, bind, draw tight, tie tight (Schindler 1612: 206) 231
אמ (h’mâ) tumultuatus est, sonuit, strepuit, obstrepuit, murmuravit, fremuit, garrivit, i.e. “to raise a tumult, make a noise, make a roar, make a murmur, to roar, to chatter” (Schindler 1612: 443) 232
מל (h-m-l), a root which in Aramaic has the nominal derivative המול (hamulâ) sermo, loquela, sonitus, tumultus (Schindler 1612: 444), “speech, sound” 232
חד (ḥ) unus, a, um, “one, anyone, someone”, aliquis, aliquid “one, anyone” 201
חסם (hesam) clausit, ligavit, fascinavit, (1) in Aramaic with the sense “to close, bind; (2) in Syriac “to emulate, follow eagerly, fascinate (Schindler 1612: 621–622) 231
טום (ṭūm) clausit, occlusit, praecclusit, obturavit, obstruxit, “to shut, close, close off, stop up, block” (Schindler 1612: 694) 1229 232
טשל (h’sal) debilitavit, “to debilitate, weaken (in Latin infirmavit)”; cf. Schindler (1612: 670: debilitavit, domuit, quassavít, contudít, compressit, contrítiv) 1230 257
טמש (ṭemaš) abscondit “to conceal” (Schindler 1612: 706) 231
טמר (ṭemar) mersus, occultatus fuit, “to be immersed, concealed” (Schindler 1612: 706: mersus, immerus, demersus, occultatus est) 231
חתם (ḥatam) (1) signavit, obsignavit, consignavit, sigillavit, “to seal, sign, subscribe” (2) obtruxit, clausit, conclusit, abscondit, occultavit, finivit, “to block, hinder, enclose, close, conseal, hide, limit (Schindler 1612: 675)
טרס (ṭ’ras) mersus, occultatus fuit, “to be immersed, concealed” (Schindler 1612: 706: mersus, immerus, demersus, occultatus est) 231
יהב (y’tab) sedit, “to sit” during a shorter or a longer time, “to remain, stay, inhabit” (Schindler 1612: 813: sedit, assedit, consedit, desedit, mansit, permansit, perseveravit, moratus, commoratus fuit, habitavit) 158
נצב (neṣab) statuit, “to set up, place, fix” (Schindler 1612: 1148, in the stem aph’el: statuit, constituit, posuit, imposuit, fixit, infixit, inseruit, planavit) 229
סרף (seraf) ussit, “to burn up”. Schindler (1612: 1948, s.v. שרף (saraf): incendit, accendit, succendit, ussit, adussit, combussit, cremavit igni. 1231 231

1229 Aramaic dictionaries of modern times do not record this verb; only tamam, “to be finished”, is attested.
1230 Johannes Buxtorf the Elder also gives the meaning debilitavit in his Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum (1639).
1231 Buxtorf (ibidem, 1639: p. 2531) similarly gives urere and combuere.
**519**

אסמ (šma') caecuitivit, excoecavit, “to be blind; to make blind” (Schindler 1612: 1225) 232

חָם (š'am), “to stop up (about water), to seal up, conceal (about manuscript scrolls)” clausit, obturavit, obstrinxit; signavit, obsignavit (Schindler 1612: 1250)

שִכְשַך (šikšak) lavit, in aqua agitavit, “to wash, bathe, move in water” (Schindler 1612: 1849 s.v. שかけて, “to decrease, abate” (in Gen. 8:1 about water)1232 230

תּוֹר (tōr) taurus, bos “ox” (Schindler 1612: 1831) 158

**Hebrew words**

אָבָה (’ābā) voluit, cupiit, affectum et propensionem habuit erga aliquem (Avenarius), “to will, be willing, wish, have fondness and predilection for someone” 97

אָבָל (’ābal) luxit, tristis fuit, doluit, “to mourn, grieve, be sad, sorrowful, mournful, feel pain” 157

אָגָל (’agāl) gutta, stilla, “a drop” (a dew-drop in Job 38:28)1233

אָהָד (’ahad) unus, a, um, “one (whole), single, anyone 201

אָרַר (’arar), maledixit, exsecratus est “to speak ill of, curse, execrate”1234 232.

**bag** cibus, esca “food” (Dan. 1:5, 1:16, 11:26, Ezek. 25:7; cf. Schindler 1612: 151) 194

בג (bāzāq) fulgur, coruscatio “lightning” (Ezech. 1:14)

בָרַק (bārāq) fulgur, splendor, coruscatio “lightning, brightness, glittering, flash” (Ex. 19:16, Ps. 77:19)

גָזַל (gāzal) rapuit, diripuit, “to seize or carry off by force, rob, ravage, snatch away” 157

גָל (gāl) volvit, devolvit. “roll, roll away” 231

גָלֶש (giššēs) palpavit, “to grope for” (wall)1235 230

דָמַה (dāmā) siluit, tacuit, quievit, tranquillus fuit, “to be silent, still, quite, tranquil” (Schindler 1612: 374)1236

דום (dōm) siluit, tacuit, quievit, tranquillus fuit, “to be silent, still, quite, tranquil” (Schindler 1612: 395)

s.v. קבב proposes corrodere, i.e. to gnaw as the original meaning.


Stiernhielm, ibidem, renders it: “domitus est ut consilescat; siluit, conticuit”, that is, “he was subdued to become stil and keep silent”.

1232 Schindler regards it as a Talmudic Armaic (Rabb.) word. Buxtorf (1639: 2389) similarly renders it lavare, abluere, ehuere.

1233 Schindler (1612: 20) connects it with the notion of roundness, so that it agrees with the Hebrew verb gālāl, “to roll, roll away”.

1234 Forster, *Dictionarium Hebraicum novum* (1557: 56 s.v. אָרַר, and 714
דמם (dāmam) siluit, tacuit, conticuit, “to be silent”, etc.  
(Schindler 1612: 394)

דָרְבָּן (dārbān) stimulus, “goad” 231

דָקַר (dāqr) fodit, “to dig”;
transfixit, confodit “to pierce, thrust through” 1237 230

דָהַם (dāhām) turbavit, i.e. “to disturb, turmoil” (Schindler 1612: 432) 232

דָּיָּה (dāyā) fuit, “to be, exist, become” 157

דָלָם (dālam) tudit, contudit, feriit, percussit, “to beat, bruise, strike, strike through, hammer” 1238 191

דְּמָל (dāmāl) tumultum fecit, turbavit, conturbavit, concurrit, debacchatus est, i.e. “to raise a tumult, disturb, confuse, run together, to rave like the Bacchantes” (Schindler 1612: 442) 232

דַּמְם (damām) clausus, absconditus fuit, “to be closed, hidden” 231

דָמַן (damān) abscondit, “to conceal, hide” 231

דָמַל (damāl) clausit, obstruxit, “to close, block up” 231

דָּמָל (dāmal) according to Schindler (1612: 513–516) a polysemous root with three main meanings: (1) ligavit, colligavit, alligavit; constrictix, pignaverit, to tie (a rope), bind; to oblige, pledge; (2) peperit, parturivit, concepit, impregnatus fuit, “to give birth to, conceive, be pregnant; (3) solutus, dissolutus, disperditus corruptus fuit, “to be loosened, dissolved, corrupted” 157, 230

דָּהַה (dāyah) vixit, “to live, remain alive” 157

דָּאָל (dāsal) absumpsit vel vastavit “to consume (of locust) 157

דָּהָר (dāhar) siccatus fuit, “to be dry, dried up” 231

דָּהָב (dāheb) gladius, “sword” 231

דָּשָׁק (dāšāq) vastitas, as “a vast void, dark place”. It means darkness, obscurity” 199

דָּהַת (dāhat) fodit, effodit, perfodit, transfodit, i.e. “to dig, dig up, dig out, dig through”; 230

דָּמָה (damāh) clausus, absconditus fuit, “to be closed, hidden” 231

דָּמָן (damān) abscondit, “to conceal, hide” 231

דָּמַל (damāl) fluxit, “to flow”, in the hiph’il stem duxit, “to conduct, bring, carry (away)” 157

דָּמַל (damāl) tremo, “to shake, quiver, tremble” 230

1237 Stiernhielm, ibidem: “transfixit atrociter, confodit, trucidavit.”
1238 Stiernhielm, ibidem, translates: confringere, i.e. “to break asunder”.

520
(yahab), dedit, “to give” 157
(y-s-d) posuit, fundavit, ordinavit, statuit “to put, place, lay, found, set, set up, set in order, arrange” 229
(y-s-b) stetit, “to stand” 158, 229
(yāṣag) in the stem hiph ‘il: statuit, “to cause to stand, place” 229
(yāṣab) sedit; habitavit “to sit, sit down; remain, stay, settle” 229
(yāṣar) “to be right, straight”, in the stem piel “to make straight” 158
(karā), fodit, perfodit, “to dig, dig through” with the alleged, non-attested variants (karā), (karā) 230
(kāḥ) vis, virtus, “strength, ability, power” 157
(kāṣal) lapsus est, “to stumble, stagger” 157
(lāban), in the hiphil stem: albavit, “to make white, whiten” 224
(lahab) flamma, “flame, blazing fire” 224
(lāḥat) flammavit, “to flame, blaze, burn” (Schindler 1612: 926) 224
(lahat) flamma et lamina splendens, “fire, and a shining piece of wood or metal (Schindler 1612: 926) 224
(lū’a) lambit, “to lick, lap” (Schindler 1612: 937, who also gives sorbuit, absorbuit, deglutivit, “to swallow, swallow down, devour”) 224
pu ‘al: tortuosum fuit, “to bent, crooked,” 230
frutus (pāras) rupit, disrupt, perrupit, “to break, break to pieces/ asunder, break through” 228
fructus (peri) fructus “fruit” 228
rupit, disrupit, perrupit, “to break, break to pieces/ asunder, break through” 228
fructus (pāraṣ) rupit, disrupt, perrupit, “to break, break to pieces/ asunder, break through” 228
fructus (pāraṣ) rupit, disrupt, perrupit, “to break, break to pieces/ asunder, break through” 228

gibbosum fecit, cavavit; maledixit “to make crooked, hollow; to curse” 232
qābab gibbosum fecit, cavavit; maledixit “to make crooked, hollow; to curse” 232
qābab gibbosum fecit, cavavit; maledixit “to make crooked, hollow; to curse” 232
qālam according to Schindler (1612: 1614–16) in proper sense: levis, parvi aut nullius ponderis fuit, “to be light, be of small or no weight”; in transferred sense: levis, vilis, spretus, contentus, ignobilis, nullo honore dignus, “to be unimportant, despised, contemned, scorned, ignoble, dishonoured” 232
qāl, qālab according to Schindler (1612: 1614–16) in proper sense: levis, parvi aut nullius ponderis fuit, “to be light, be of small or no weight”; in transferred sense: levis, vilis, spretus, contentus, ignobilis, nullo honore dignus, “to be unimportant, despised, contemned, scorned, ignoble, dishonoured” 232
qār (qār) fodit (proprie venam aquae), “to dig”, in proper sense with a watercourse or a well as object (Schindler 1612: 1606) 230
qāl (qālas) subsannavit, “to deride, scorn, spurn” (Schindler 1612: 1619) 157
qānā (qānā) acquirere, possidere “to buy, acquire; to possess”1240 222
qāqa (qa“qa”) fodit, pulsavit; according to Schindler (1612:

1240 Schindler (1612: 1627) gives the following meanings in Latin: paravit, comparavit, acquisivit, adeptus fuit, nactus fuit, possedit. Stiernhielm, Magog Gothus, defines it as follows: “acquisivit generando, emendo, educando vel quacunque alia ratione fieri potest. Quoad significationem igitur examussem respondet nostro afla atque huic uno verbo ‘parere sibi’. igitur est kōna, kyna, gigno, vet. geno [...].

522
Illustrations

List of illustrations

Paintings and engravings
Figure 1. Portrait of Georg Stiernhielm by David Klöcker, p. 12.
Figure 2. Queen Christian of Sweden and her court. Oil painting by Louis-Michel Dumesnil.
Figures 3a–3c. Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus: engravings of Stiernhielm’s system of linguistic variability. See p. 272 for Fig. 3a.

Samples of manuscripts, I: phonology, morphology, sound symbolism and sound aesthetics
Figure 4. “Vocales, diphthongi et consonants” (F.d. 6c, 1r)
Figure 5. “Genesis et cognatio literarum” (F.d. 6: 85v)
Figure 6. “Scrutinium literarum” (F.d. 5, 35v)
Figure 7. “Literae simplicissimae et radices universals” (F.d. 5, 38v)
Figure 8. “Literarum nativitas et ordo” (F.d. 7:1, 7r)
Figure 9. “Literae diversae et paucae quaedam universals” (F.d. 6, 7r)
Figure 10. “Linguae et pronunciations vitia” (F.d. 6, fol. 19r)
Figure 11. “De genesi vocum” (F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 27r)
Figure 12. “Multiplicatio variarum vocum” (F.d. 5, 38r)
Figure 13. “Cubus radicum” (F.d. 9:6, fol. 2r)
Figure 14. “De usu et applicatione radicum” (F.d. 5, 39v)
Figure 15. “De origine linguarum” (F.d. 5, 35r)
Figure 16. “Notae ad Platonis Cratum” (N 24, fol. 30r)
Figures 17. Scale of colours, vowels and diphthongs (F.d. 4:4:1, 19r)

Samples of manuscripts, II: transformational grammar
Figure 18. “Probitas laudatur et alget”: grammatical variation (F.d. 6b:3b, eighth quire, 4r)
Figure 19. “Probitas laudatur et alget”: synonymous, equivalent and antonymic variation (F.d. 6b:1, tenth quire, 1v–2r)
Figure 20. “Honos alit artes”: grammatical variation (F.d. 6b:3b, quire 1, 1r)
Figure 21. “Ars longa, vita brevis”: grammatical variation (F.d. 6b:3b, ninth quire, 1r)
Figure 22. “Omnia mutantur”: grammatical and rhetorical variation (F.d. 6b:1, second quire, 1r)
Figure 23. Variability of Latin translation (F.d. 6b: 3a, third quire, 1r)
Figure 24. Polygraphic letter of best wishes, F.d. 13, 26v.
Figures 25a–25b. Polygraphic letter on European political news (F.d. 13, 9v–10r)
Figures 26a–26c. Polygraphic birthday panegyric to Queen Christina (F.d. 13, 1r, 1v, and 4v)
Figure 27. Stiernhielm’s copying of Alsted’s theory of the variability of Latin syntax in *Encyclopaedia* (F.d. 4:1, p. 292)

*Historical maps*

Figure 28. Topography of the parish of Vika (Dalecarlia), c. 1550
Figure 29. Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea region in the 17th century.
Figure 30. Judicial districts of Swedish Livonia.
Figure 31. Panorama of the city of Dorpat, 1553.
Figure 32. Administrative subdivisions of Ingria.
Figure 33. Stiernhielm’s estates in Livonia.
Figure 34. Stiernhielm’s estates in Ingria.
Figure 35. Map of the city of Dorpat, 1636.
Painting and engravings


The painting is unhistorical in the sense that historical persons in the painting were not all present at the court at one and the same time. Queen Christina is realistically depicted in a dark dress sitting at a table in
discussion with Descartes, who apparently is demonstrating geometrical figures. It is also possible to recognize other historical persons from their facial features and postures, e.g. the French polymath Marin Mersenne who is standing beside Descartes to the right. The person at the back in a dark blue outfit with a square clerical collar may depict Pierre Daniel Huet. The man who is sitting diagonally in front of him in a brown garment and holding a book may be Hiob Ludolf, a portrait of whom is extant in Ad suam historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam commentarius, Frankfurt am Main 1691. On the court academy in Stockholm, see pp. 63-68 above.

Figure 3b. Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus, Stiernhielm’s system of linguistic variability in six circles (see Section 11.1.2), produced by the Dutch copperplate engraver Jan van de Velde IV (1610–1686) probably in Stockholm in 1654. It is identical with Fig. 3a. The outermost circle has a diameter of 122 mm. Location: Archives of the Swedish Academy, Svenska Akademiens samlingar, vol. 291. Photographer: Samuel Unéus.
Figure 3c. *Coelum Musarum seu Proteus rhetoricus*: a variant engraving different to Figures 3a and 3b, which it most likely preceded. The outermost circle has a diameter of 124 mm. However, the categories in which Stiernhielm presents his systems of linguistic variability are the same as in the other figures (Section 11.1.1). Location: the Archives of the Swedish Academy, *Svenska Akademiens samlingar*, vol. 291. Photographer: Samuel Unéus.
Samples of manuscripts, I: phonology, morphology and sound symbolism

Figure 4. “Vocales, diphthongi et consonantes”, F.d. 6c, 1r (Section 7.1.1). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 5. “Genesis et cognatio literarum”, F.d. 6, 85v (Section 7.2.1). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 6. “Scrutinium literarum”, F.d. 5, 35v (Section 7.2.2). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 7. “Literae simplicissimae et radices universales” (original heading: “Primarum radicum significationes generalissimae”), F.d. 5, 38v (Section 7.2.3). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 8. "Literarum nativitas et ordo", F.d. 7:1, 7r (Section 7.3.2). Reproduction: Jens Östman, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 9. “Literae diversae et paucae quaedam universales” (original heading: “Harmonia vocum cum natura rerum”), F.d. 6, 7r (Section 7.3.3). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 10. “Linguae et pronunciacionis vitia” (title of the editor), F.d. 6, fol. 19r (Section 7.3.4). Great parts of the texts Literarum transitus (Section 7.2.4.3) and Vocum constitutio (8.1.2) also occur on this leaf. Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 11. “De genesi vocum”, F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 27r (Section 8.1.1). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 12. “Multiplicatio variarum vocum” (title of the editor) with a heading “Arbor genealogica vocum primarum”, F.d. 5, 38r (Section 8.1.3). Reproduction: Jens Östman, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 13. “Cubus radicum”, F.d. 9:6, fol. 2r (Section 8.2.2). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 14. “De usu et applicatione radicum ad notiones rerum”, F.d. 5, 39v (Section 8.3.1). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 15. “De origine linguarum”, F.d. 5, 35r (Section 9.1.1). Reproduction: Jens Östman, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 16. “Notae ad Platonis Cratulum”, in Adversaria Georgii Stiernhielm, fol. 30r (Section 9.3.3). Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek – Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hannover.
Figure 17. Scales of colours, vowels and diphthongs: a diagram in F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 19r (Section 9.3.3). Reproduction: Anna Guldager, Kungliga Biblioteket. There is a fair copy diagram of the colour scale (without the vowels and diphthongs) in F.d. 4:4:1, fol. 44v.
Figure 18. “Probitas laudatur et alget”: grammatical variation, F.d. 6b, 3b, eighth quire, 4r (Section 10.1.2). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.

542
Figure 19. Continuation of “Probitas laudatur et alget”: synonymous, equivalent and antonymic variation, F.d. 6b:1, tenth quire, 1v–2r (Section 10.2.3). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 20. “Honos alit artes”: grammatical variation, F.d. 6b, 3b, first quire, 1r (Section 11.3.1). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 21. “Ars longa, vita brevis”: grammatical and semantic variation, F.d. 6b, 3b, ninth quire, 1r (Section 11.3.2). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 22. “Omnia mutantur”: grammatical and rhetorical variation, F.d. 6b, 1, second quire, 1r (Section 10.6.1). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 23. “Variatio duarum interpretationum”. Analysis of variation in the Latin translations of Polybius’ preface to Histories by Niccolò Perotti and Isaac Causabon. Stiernhielm attaches his own translation in the third column. F.d. 6b: 3a, third quire, fol. 1r (Section 10.3.5). Reproduction: Jens Östman, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 24. Polygraphic letter of best wishes, units 57–67, F.d. 13, 26v (Section 12.1.4). Reproduction: David Frederiksen, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 25a. Polygraphic letter on European political news in 1646, units 7–19, F.d. 13, 9v (Section 12.3.2). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 25b. Polygraphic letter on European political news in 1646, units 20–26 and unit 30, F.d. 13, 9v (Section 12.3.2). Reproduction: Anna Guldager, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 26a. Polygraphic birthday panegyric to Queen Christina, units 1–4, headed *Polygraphiae intelligibilis a G.Stiernhielm excogitatae exemplum et clavis*, that is, “Understandable polygraphy developed by G. Stiernhielm: an example and a key, F.d. 13, 1r (Section 12.4.3). Reproduction: Lina Löfström Baker, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 26b. Polygraphic birthday panegyric to Queen Christina, units 5–11, F.d. 13, 1v (Section 12.4.3). Reproduction: Anna Guldager, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 26c. A polygraphic birthday panegyric to Queen Christina, units 53–62, F.d. 13, 4v (Section 12.4.3). Reproduction: Anna Guldager, Kungliga Biblioteket.
Figure 28. Topography of the parish of Vika, c. 1550. Source: Bertil Boëthius, *Kopparbergsalen fram till 1570-talets genombrott: uppkomst, medeltid, tidig vasatid*, Stockholm 1965, attachment. This map is an extract from the author’s map on the Copper Mountain districts in the mid-16th century: “Karta över Kopparbergslagen vid 1500-talets mitt”. Reproduction: Uppsala University Library. Stiernhielm was born at Gamlegården in Kniva district, which is situated in the northern part of Vika parish.

Figure 31. Panorama of Dorpat in 1553: the Bishop’s Castle is to the left, the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul is on the hill in the middle, and before it the Church of St. Mary is visible in the town with Jaani Church to its right. The Cathedral was destroyed during the Swedish-Polish war of 1624. See Karl Inno, *Tartu University in Estonia during the Swedish rule* (1632–1710), Stockholm 1972, p. 17.
Figure 32. Administrative subdivisions of Swedish Ingria with the focus on parishes and royal court estates of Koporje county. Source: Kasper Kepsu, *Den besvärliga provinsen* [...], Helsinki 2014, p. 169. Reproduction: By the courtesy of the author, Uppsala University Library.
Stiernhielm’s manor in Livonia was the medieval estate Wasula, which he first bought in 1636 and confirmed as an enfeoffment from the Swedish Crown in 1639. He lived there in 1640–1642, 1645–1648 and 1655–1656. It is situated ten kilometres north of Dorpat at the Amme river (Amme jõgi river), which empties into the Emajõgi river (in German, Embach, in Latin, Embacca). From 1636 he possessed Jama Manor, near Dorpat to the east, which was bestowed as a fief, as was also the neighbouring estate St. Jürgenhof. In 1639, the Swedish Regency also granted to him the village of Loffkatten as a fief. It is marked as “Gros Lofkatten” (Great Lohvka), some kilometres east of Dorpat. In 1648 he was by a royal letter of donation promised the estates Little Loffkatten (“Klein Lofkatten”) and Remusmõis.

1 The royal letter of donation is dated 28 January 1639; see Per Wieselgren, Brev till Georg Stiernhielm, Lund 1968, p. 87.
3 See Wieselgren, ibidem, p. 152. The royal letter is dated 31 October 1648.
Figure 34. Stiernhielm’s estates in Ingria. Source: *Ingermanlandiae seu Ingriae tabula novissima*, a copper engraved map (470 x 550 mm) from 1734 in the map collection of De La Gardie, A 92, the Archive of De la Gardie, Lund University Library. The map was first published by the Homann heirs in Johann Baptist Homann, *Grosser Atlas über die ganze Welt*, Nuremberg 1737. The present variant was likely published in *Atlas geographicus maior*, vol. 1:3 (1759). The extract shows the area around the fortress Koporje, fifteen km south of which we find Mysa Poroschka, “the manor of Poroschok”, along the upper course of the Sista river, which was Stiernhielm’s manor (Stiernlund), situated in the vicinity of the unmarked Sista Wodskoj (modern Sista). His other estates in Ingria were the villages Lomocha, here located further south of Koporje than modern Lomokha, Arbala (Arbolovo), which is situated south-southeast of Koporje fortress, and Palkina Sista (Sisto-Palkino), which is located at the mouth of the river Sista at Koporje Bay. In 1651–1655, Stiernhielm also possessed the village Anania (Ananino), which the Governor-General Erik Stenbock granted him from the neighbouring estates of the landlord Anthony Rosenbröijer.

---

4 The Homann heirs modelled their topographical map of Ingria on a map by the Russian cartographer Aleksej Ivanovic Rostowčev in 1727.

5 On the map, manors are designated as Mysa (abbreviated M.), which was a Russian loanword (мыза, myza) from Finnish *moisio* or Estonian *mõis*.

6 See Wieselgren, ibidem, p. 140. The royal letter of donation is dated 3 May 1645.
Figure 35. City of Dorpat, 1636: a westward-oriented map of fortification by Georgius Schwengel. Reproduction and source: the Military Archives of Sweden (Krigsarkivet), shelfmark: Foreign maps of cities and fortresses 1550–1989 (Utländska stads- och fästningsplaner), the Baltic Provinces, Dorpat, nr. 2. In 1635, Stiernhielm led the fortifications at the moat along the eastern and northern walls, and later developed scales for plan maps of fortifications (on the quadratic measuring rod Baculus Carolinus, 1663).

The entrenchments of the south-western side are shown. The gates and towers are displayed. A few public buildings are marked. In the middle of the city lay the Church of St. Mary, here designated as the Swedish Church (die schwedische Kirche). Opposite it the first university building of Academia Gustaviana (die königliche Academia) was situated between 1632 and 1639, housed in the former Jesuit College. In 1640, the university moved to a building opposite Jaani Church, called the German Church (die deutsche Kirche). Stiernhielm’s office, the palatial building of the Court of Appeals, which he refers to as Palatium Judicii Ale[ulae] Regii, was situated in the midway between the Swedish Church and Kuter Pfört (presently the site of Hotel Soho). Though not located on this map, this building is marked as Hofgerichtes Haus on another map in the same series (Dorpat, nr. 18).