

Latin Dissertations and Disputations in the Early Modern Swedish Gymnasium

A Study of a Latin School Tradition
c. 1620 – c. 1820

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UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

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Abstract

Title: Latin Dissertations and Disputations in the Early Modern Swedish Gymnasium. A Study of a Latin School Tradition
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This study is concerned with Latin dissertations and disputations in the early modern Swedish gymnasium in the period c. 1620 – c. 1820. Interest in early modern academic dissertations and disputations has increased during the last few decades and has generated a number of studies, while, on the other hand, gymnasial dissertations and disputations have not earned any scholarly attention at all, which makes this study the first of its kind. The aim is to give an overview of the practice of disputations in Swedish gymnasiums and also (to some extent) in primary schools. Characteristics and functions of printed gymnasial dissertations are analyzed and discussed, through consideration of typographic appearance, distribution in time, and choice of subject, as well as the role of the different participants (respondent, opponent, *praeses* and audience) and the question of authorship. Particular attention is paid to the social role of gymnasial dissertations by examination of paratexts (social peritexts), such as dedications, prefaces and congratulatory poetry. The primary material consists of almost 790 printed dissertations. The study contributes to our understanding of disputation culture and dissertations in general, by adding the gymnasial aspect of early modern Swedish dissertations and disputations, a previously overlooked text type. Numerous text samples of the Neo-Latin used in gymnasial dissertations are also given. It is concluded that the act of disputation was an important didactic element in early modern Swedish education from the early seventeenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Subjects of gymnasial dissertations corresponded to a high degree with the subjects of the gymnasial curriculum. The study covers a period of roughly two hundred years, meaning that it has been possible to notice diachronic changes in the material regarding choice of subjects as well as typographical features. Gymnasial dissertations in the seventeenth century were in general comprehensive, academic-like works which often included paratexts (dedications, congratulatory verses etc.). However, by the mid-eighteenth century almost all dissertations were short *theses* without paratexts. This study also provides a catalogue of printed gymnasial dissertations from the beginning of the 1620s to 1799.

Keywords: Neo-Latin, dissertation, disputation, early modern period, gymnasium, history of education, school regulations, paratexts

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Drive your cart and your plough over the bones of the dead.
William Blake, *Proverbs of Hell*

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Dear Sir or Madam will you read my book,
It took me years to write will you take a look
The Beatles, *Paperback Writer*

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This book is dedicated to Lisa, Erland and Ingeborg.

Accipite jam hanc rudem dissertatiunculam!

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1. Introduction

Dissertations and disputations were essential elements of early modern everyday academic life. However, disputations and dissertations also had a prominent position in lower forms of education, in trivial schools¹ as well as in the gymnasium. Without doubt, disputations and dissertations were an intrinsic part of the learned culture and of all levels of early modern Swedish education. However, disputations were certainly not an exclusively Swedish phenomenon. The tradition of disputations and dissertations was similar in other parts of Western Europe especially, with the universities in German- and Dutch-speaking regions as forerunners to the Swedish model.² The origins of disputing, i.e. to put forth arguments *pro et contra*, are to be sought in antiquity: the tradition was adopted by the Romans from the Greeks. A Latin example is Cicero's work *Tusculanae disputationes* in which there are dialectic question-and-answer-based sections of philosophical disputation influenced by Greek forerunners.³ The tradition of disputation developed throughout late antiquity and the Middle Ages to become an important ingredient in early modern academic life.⁴ Students and schoolboys were trained in the art of disputation at every stage of their education, both by having active roles in disputations and by being part of the audience. In secondary education, schoolboys undertook disputation exercises as preparation for the disputations that were conducted in higher studies, where this practice took a similar form, although on a higher level. This practice of attending and listening to disputations may seem alien to today's students and schoolchildren, but to early modern schoolboys and students, public disputations were part of everyday life. The dissertations, i.e. the written and often printed texts that formed the basis for disputations, had an important social aspect since they were distributed among students, friends and others.⁵ This study investigates the early modern Latin

¹ The term *schola trivialis* (Swedish *trivialskola*), denotes a lower level school, comparable to primary or elementary schools in the English-speaking world. The *schola trivialis* was focused on the subjects of the *trivium* (Latin grammar, logic and rhetoric), as well as writing and reading in general. Henceforth the term *trivial school* will be used to denote this school form in early modern Swedish education. In this context the adjective 'trivial' means 'belonging to the *trivium*' (OED s.v. trivial A *adj.* I.1), not 'trifling, poor or unimportant'.

² Gindhart, Marti and Seidel (2016), p. 7.

³ See Weijers (2013) on the history and development of disputations from antiquity to early modern times.

⁴ According to Lindberg (2017), p. 20, the early modern art of disputation developed from the syllogistic lecture.

⁵ Lindberg (2016), p. 20.

dissertations and disputations that were submitted to and held in the Swedish gymnasium.

1.1 Aim, Method and Theoretical Approach

The present study highlights a Swedish Neo-Latin text type that has never previously generated much attention: dissertations originating from early modern Swedish gymnasium between c. 1620 and c. 1820. The material that forms the basis for this study is nearly 790 printed dissertations from different gymnasia. Handwritten materials, as well as other sources, are also used to some extent. The study examines the material regarding content, typographical features and also puts the material in educational (gymnasial) as well as social context. It also relates the gymnasial dissertations to other contexts in which dissertations were also submitted and disputations held. Such other contexts are the academic environment, student nations⁶ and the *examen pastorale* to obtain a vicarage.

Why then study dissertations and disputations? Before answering the question, some words should be said about the place of this study in the field of Neo-Latin research (which will be treated in more detail in sections 1.2 and 1.5 below). In the last two decades international interest in early modern academic dissertations and disputations has been increasing. As far as Sweden is concerned, scholarly attention has previously been exclusively focused on early modern academic dissertations and disputations. Dissertations that were produced and submitted in the early modern Swedish gymnasium have been something of a blind spot in this field of research. This study explores and highlights this Neo-Latin text type from the Swedish gymnasium, and so must be considered to fill a gap in the knowledge – or at least complete the picture – of early modern dissertations and disputation culture. What is also apparent, and something that many scholars stress, is that the field of Neo-Latin research has a high degree of interdisciplinarity.⁷ The present study on gymnasial dissertations and disputations also takes this perspective and is to a great degree interdisciplinary. It therefore seems relevant to widen Neo-Latin studies to

⁶ Student nations were – and still are – fraternities in Uppsala and Lund made up of students originating from the same region. See Burman (2012b).

⁷ See the discussion of the nature of Neo-Latin studies in the responses to Helander (2001), especially contributions by Gaisser (pp. 44-46), Haskell (pp. 47-50), Ludwig (pp. 67-72), Moss (pp. 72-74) and Skovgard-Petersen (pp. 77-81). See also Leonhardt (1999), pp. 283-288. In addition, Toon Van Hal says in his article “Towards meta-Neo-Latin Studies?” (2007), that the Neo-Latin discipline, because of its youth, “could benefit from a more fundamental self-reflection” which implies deeper discussions on nature, prospects and aims. A “brush up” in modern direction in terms of methodology is needed, otherwise Neo-Latin studies will “grow into a giant with feet of clay”, as Van Hal puts it. Van Hal (2007), pp. 352 and 358.

encompass not only texts considered as important because they were written by important authors, but also to widen the field by thematic interdisciplinary studies of text types that do not belong to the main field of Neo-Latin.⁸ Now, we return to why we should study dissertations and disputations. The answer could be quite extensive, but will be briefly summarized here for the sake of space.⁹ First of all, early modern dissertations may provide us with information concerning ideas, teaching matter and discussions that may not be found in textbooks or in other sources. In early modern times dissertations largely served as the vehicle for communicating these ideas and discussions. Secondly, dissertations may serve as biographical as well as educational sources for particular schoolboys/students as well as for larger entities of schoolboys/students. The social interplay within and between different social groups, such as the relationship between clients and patrons and between equal friends, may be studied through paratexts, i.e. text elements surrounding the actual dissertation text, such as title pages, dedications and gratulatory verse. Thirdly – if I may turn to the present study – a hitherto almost unknown corpus of Latin texts is highlighted, which will undoubtedly increase the awareness of extant early modern Latin texts.

This study thus gives an overview of the practice of disputation in the early modern Swedish gymnasium and also to some extent in primary schools. It is also the aim to discuss and to analyze characteristics and functions of gymnasial dissertations. This will be accomplished by analysis of typographic appearance, the distribution of production throughout the period, and subjects that are treated in gymnasial dissertations, as well as the role of the different participants (respondent, opponent, *praeses* and

⁸ The first task for Neo-Latin studies seems to be to work on accessible and reliable editions of important texts. To this may be added trustworthy translations into modern languages and commentaries on content, so as to spread the texts to those who do not know Latin. See Thurn (2007), pp. 52-54. In 2000, Heinz Hofmann found it a *desideratum* in the Neo-Latin field of research to conduct language studies as well as literary studies and studies on history of ideas, and also thematic studies on textual production and textual reception, and how Neo-Latin functioned in a vernacular context. Hofmann (2000), pp. 83-88. See also Ludwig (1997), p. 332. Helander (2001), p. 9. For many modern scholars the great numbers of Latin texts concealed in libraries all over Europe (and elsewhere) are hidden treasures – both in the sense that they are physically hidden away, and psychologically hidden because of the language barrier. Researchers in other disciplines sometimes tend to neglect the information that could be drawn from Latin sources because of this fact, which may lead in some cases to inaccuracies in the interpretation of historical development and context. For the dangers of neglecting Latin sources in Swedish research, see Sjökvist (2009), pp. 104-106, where, among other things, he discusses the value of the historical information found in Swedish academic dissertations from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Cf. Van Hal (2007), pp. 355-356.

⁹ Extensive arguments as to why scholars should study early modern dissertations are given by Marti (2011), pp. 301-307, who lists eleven reasons to study dissertations as source material, and in Freedman (2005), pp. 36-39. The answer to the question that is provided here is partly based on these writers.

audience) and the question of authorship. Particular attention will also be paid to the social role of gymnasial dissertations by examination of social peritexts (or paratexts), such as dedications, prefaces and congratulatory poetry. Since the study covers a period of roughly two hundred years, it is fruitful to analyse diachronic changes in the material. The focus has been to a large extent on the materiality of the texts. Analysis of linguistic aspects is not the subject of this study; questions of language in early modern dissertations have been the objective of other studies.

Another aim of the study is to provide an updated catalogue of printed gymnasial dissertations from the beginning of the 1620s to 1799. Previous catalogues of dissertations go back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and it seems appropriate to revise them in order to increase awareness of gymnasial dissertations.¹⁰ The catalogue, which is placed in the appendices at the very end of this thesis, lists all gymnasial dissertations which have been examined in this study. The intention of the catalogue is both to declare and highlight the primary source material for the reader, and – I hope – to help librarians, archivists and others who may come in contact with gymnasial dissertations. Furthermore, the catalogue may also be of interest to those who engage in research on early modern education and instruction, and on dissertations and disputation culture.

Analysis of the source material is conducted in several ways: by description of the gymnasial dissertations themselves as well as by discussion of their didactical and historical contexts. To be able to describe and discuss the material, and to answer the questions that are put forth in the aims, it is necessary to interpret the material in its context. The basis of the study is found in the source material, namely the printed dissertations. An initial problem was locating these sources in library collections and archives, a somewhat time-consuming activity due to the fact that in many cases gymnasial dissertations do not seem to be properly catalogued in libraries and archives. In my search for the primary source material I have also found other kinds of material consisting of handwritten dissertations, letters, and information in biographies and memoirs that has been used to deepen and nuance the picture of printed dissertations and disputation culture as it is manifest in the early modern Swedish gymnasium. The examination of the primary material has been conducted in the light of school and didactic context. Where appropriate, the outcome of my examination of the primary material has included comparison with practices in the academic context.

When treating a body of material of such magnitude (more than 780 printed Latin texts) it has been necessary to find general tendencies as well as anomalies. An overall method has thus been to read, to categorize and to

¹⁰ For more on earlier catalogues, see section 1.3 below.

make convincing and substantial excerpts to substantiate in the conclusions of my examination.

When it comes to theoretical framework, I have employed Gérard Genette's theory of paratexts in chapter 3. Here, I have primarily used the terminology coined by Genette in his work *Seuils* (called *Paratexts. Thresholds of interpretation* in English translation) to facilitate the consideration of title pages, dedications, prefaces and gratulatory poetry. Paratexts and the terminology associated with paratexts will be presented further in the introduction to chapter 3. In the following section I will discuss previous research and its relationship to this study.

1.2 Previous Research and Field of Research

Two research fields are especially relevant to this study. The first is the research conducted on Swedish Latin education at the gymnasium in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The second is the research on early modern dissertations and disputations in general, and the research on dissertations and disputation culture in Sweden in particular.

Early modern Latin education at the Swedish gymnasium has been fairly thoroughly studied. This research has been conducted nearly entirely in Swedish. Although early modern Latin education has been extensively covered, this has generally been in the context of studies of early modern education in general; Latin education has rarely been the center of attention.¹¹ Some exceptions are to be found, of which Emin Tengström's *Latinet i Sverige* (1973) deserves especial mention. Tengström's work deals not only with Latin in a broader Swedish context (diplomacy, church and literature from the Middle Ages to the beginning of the twentieth century), but attends largely to the use of Latin in schools and curricula.¹² More recently, Stefan Rimm explored the relationship between education, rhetoric and virtues in Swedish schooling in the eighteenth century in his doctoral thesis *Vältalighet och mannafostran. Retorikutbildningen i svenska skolor och gymnasier 1724-1807* (2011). Rimm's study deals in part with the use of Latin

¹¹ See for instance the editions of school regulations by B. Rudolf Hall (1921 and 1922), and the general surveys of the history of Swedish education *Svenska undervisningsväsendets och uppfostrans historia* by Georg Brandell (1931) and *Pedagogikens historia* by Wilhelm Sjöstrand (1961-1965), both in several volumes. Education and the role of Latin have also been treated by the historian of ideas Sten Lindroth in his *Svensk lärdomshistoria* 1-4 (1975-1981). The subject of Latin and Latin authors in the Swedish curriculum between 1561 and 1878 has been examined by Stina Hansson in her article "Progymnasmata i de svenska skolordningarna 1561-1878" (2003).

¹² Discussions of Latin education from early modern times to the present day in an international perspective are found for instance in *Latin or the Empire of a Sign* by Françoise Waquet (2001).

in Swedish trivial schools, cathedral schools and at the gymnasium, and also touches briefly upon disputation exercises. In addition, there are a number of works on the history of single schools and gymnasia that describe the place of Latin in early modern education.¹³ However, these school histories seldom comment but briefly on the use of disputation exercises and dissertations. An exception is the work of G. E. Lundén, whose *Bidrag till Gävle skolors historia* 1 (1930) has more extensive descriptions of disputations at the gymnasium of Gävle in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To this may also be added the study *Johannes Rudbeckius (Ner.)* by B. Rudolf Hall (1911), in which a chapter is dedicated to the subjects taught in the gymnasium of Västerås in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹⁴ In this chapter, Hall also discusses a number of printed gymnasial dissertations that were submitted to the gymnasium of Västerås. These two are the most detailed contributions to the study of gymnasial dissertations prior to the present study. However, none of the aforementioned works has pursued the holistic approach to gymnasial dissertations and disputations taken by the present study.

In the last four decades disputations and dissertations – and scientific and scholarly Neo-Latin in general – have attracted greater scholarly attention than previously.¹⁵ A brief, yet comprehensive overview of the state of research on disputations and dissertations in an international perspective is found in the introduction to the volume *Frühneuzeitliche Disputationen. Polyvalente Produktionsapparate gelehrten Wissens* (eds. M. Gindhart, H. Marti and R. Seidel, 2016).¹⁶ According to this introduction, research on dissertations

¹³ For instance, Kallstenius (1923) and Bengtsson (1923) in *Camenae Arosiensis* (on the gymnasium in Västerås); *Västerås gymnasium. Från stiftsgymnasium till borgerligt läroverk* by Sandberg (1994); *Bidrag till Göteborgs latinläroverks historia* by Röding (1898) and *Hvitfeldtska läroverkets historia* by Fredén (1947), both on the gymnasium in Göteborg; *Serta Lincopensis* by Ekholm (1963); “Linköpings Gymnasiums Historia 1627-1869” by Beckman (1927) in *Linköpings gymnasiums historia 1627-1927*; “Strängnäs gymnasiums historia” by Falk (1926) in *Regium Gustavianum Gymnasium Strengnense MDCXXVI-MCMXXVI*; “Lärdomsstaden, gymnasium och djäkneliv: Tiden 1724 till våra dagar” by Anell (1959) in *Strängnäs stads historia* and *Katedralskolan i Åbo 1722-1806* by Hastig (1907), to mention a few.

¹⁴ Hall (1911), pp. 210-294.

¹⁵ The late 1970s marks the beginning of contemporary interest in and research on early modern dissertations. In 1977 Margareta Benner and Emin Tengström published their important study *On the Interpretation of Learned Neo-Latin. An Explorative Study Based on Some Texts from Sweden (1611-1716)*, the initial work in the field of Swedish Neo-Latin studies. Their study, which focuses on linguistic and textual features, draws almost entirely on academic dissertations. In 1979 the volume *Disputationen in Wissenschaft und Bibliotheken* (eds. R. Jung and P. Kaegbein) was issued, which focuses on bibliography related questions regarding early modern dissertations. “Einleitung”, p. 14, in *Frühneuzeitliche Disputationen* (2016).

¹⁶ Other noteworthy outlines are the articles on ‘dissertation’ and ‘disputation’ by Hanspeter Marti in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* (ed. G. Ueding, 1994) and his article “Dissertationen” in the volume *Quellen zur frühneuzeitlichen Universitätsgeschichte. Typen, Bestände, Forschungsperspektiven* (ed. U. Rasche, 2011), and “Einleitung” in the volume *Rhetorik, Poetik*

and disputations has shown a range of different aspects and interests, such as: the question of the authorship, the reproduction of established knowledge versus originality of thought, dissertations as a way to grasp the debates and ideas of the time, social interplay in dissertation paratexts (dedications, congratulatory poetry etc.), the act of disputation itself, and networks and career paths as manifest through dissertations.¹⁷ The present study largely takes this approach of analysing disputation culture and dissertations, as outlined in section 1.1 above.

Dissertation research conducted in Sweden during the past thirty years has focused entirely on early modern academic dissertations and disputation culture. The studies carried out by Latin philologists have mostly resulted in editions with commentary of dissertations on various topics, for instance: Krister Östlund's *Johan Ihre on the Origins and History of the Runes* (2000), Urban Örneholm's *Four Eighteenth-Century Medical Dissertations under the Presidency of Nils Rosén* (2003) and Peter Sjökvist's *The Music Theory of Harald Vallerius* (2012). All of these also discuss linguistic aspects of learned Neo-Latin in dissertations, such as vocabulary, style, syntax and orthography. Krister Östlund and Peter Sjökvist have continued to explore early modern Swedish academic dissertations in overview articles such as "Några nedslag i disputationsväsendet under 1700-talet – exemplet Johan Ihre" (Östlund, 2007) and "Att förvalta ett arv – Dissertationerna på Södertörn, nylatin och exemplet Harald Vallerius" (Sjökvist, 2009) respectively.¹⁸ Academic disputation culture and dissertations in early modern Sweden have also been the subject of works by historians of ideas. Bo Lindberg, professor of history of ideas, has published a number of works and articles on academic culture with special emphasis on debates in and social usage of disputations. Two works by Bo Lindberg especially deserve highlighting: firstly, the important *De lärdes modersmål* (1984) in which Latin dissertations form the main body of sources when analysing the use of and attitudes towards Latin in academic contexts in eighteenth-century Sweden. Secondly, Lindberg's recent overview article "Om dissertationer" (2016) in the volume *Bevara för*

und Ästhetik im Bildungssystem des Alten Reiches (eds. Marti, Szuj and Seidel, 2017). Also worth mentioning is the article "Disputations in Europe in the Early Modern Period" by Joseph S. Freedman, in *Hora est! On Dissertations* (eds. J. Damen and A. van der Lem, 2005), and the introductions and various articles in the volumes *Disputatio 1200-1800* (eds. M. Gindhart and U. Kundert, 2010), *Examen – Titel – Promotionen* (ed. R. C. Schwinges, 2007) and *Dichtung – Gelehrsamkeit – Disputationskultur* (eds. R. B. Szuj, R. Seidel and B. Zegowitz 2012).

¹⁷ "Einleitung", pp. 9-19, in *Frühneuzeitliche Disputationen* (2016).

¹⁸ Also worth mentioning is Anna Fredriksson Adman's article on ancient Latin poetry quotations in early modern Swedish dissertations "Antika poesicitat i tidigmoderna svenska dissertationer" (2015).

framtiden (ed. Sjökvist), which summarizes the character of (Swedish) academic dissertations and disputation culture.¹⁹ Earlier, Erland Sellberg analyzed the usage of early modern disputations during Sweden's era as a Great Power (*Stormaktstiden*) in his article "Disputationsväsendet under stormaktstiden" (1972) in the volume *Idé och lärdom*. Finally, disputation exercises conducted at the student nations in Uppsala are the subject of Sten Lindroth's article "Om de andliga övningarna på Göteborgs nation" (1967) and Lars Burman's book *Eloquent Students* (2012).

To conclude: despite the increasing interest in early modern academic disputation culture and Latin dissertations in Sweden, very little contemporary scholarly attention has yet been given to Latin dissertations originating in the Swedish gymnasium, although there was extensive activity in this particular context. This study will therefore examine a field that has so far remained more or less unploughed.

1.3 Material, Definitions, Limitations and Method of Reference

1.3.1 Material

As has already been pointed out, the main source material for this study consists of nearly 790 printed Latin dissertations submitted at Swedish gymnasia in the period c. 1620–1799. The dissertations examined appear in the catalogue in the appendices. I have also – although to a lesser degree – examined dissertations from after this period. The reasons why I have ended my catalogue of dissertations at 1799 are: firstly, because gymnasial dissertations were being printed to a lesser extent in the early decades of the nineteenth century; and secondly, by drawing the line at 1799 the catalogue covers the most important period of printed gymnasial dissertations.

The starting point of the study was two previous catalogues of early modern dissertations. The first of these is the catalogue by Johan Henrik Lidén, *Catalogus disputationum in academiis et gymnasiis Sveciae* 1-5 (Uppsala 1778-1780), of which part 4 covers dissertations submitted in Swedish gymnasia and schools. The second catalogue is that by Gabriel Marklin, *Catalogus disputationum in academiis Scandinaviae et Finlandiae Lidénianus continuatus* (Uppsala 1820), of which part 1 contains a supplement to Lidén's catalogue of gymnasial dissertations.

I have examined two main collections of gymnasial dissertations, namely the collection of gymnasial dissertations that is kept in the University Library of Uppsala (Carolina Rediviva) and the collection that is kept at the

¹⁹ Lindberg's other contributions to the study of disputation culture and dissertations in the Swedish context are "Henrik Hassel – humanist och utilist" in *Lychnos* (1990) and "Den lärda kulturen" in *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: Fribetstiden* (2006b).

Royal Library in Stockholm (Kungliga biblioteket). These are by far the most extensive collections of gymnasial dissertations from the period from the early seventeenth century to 1799 in Sweden. I have also examined the collections of gymnasial dissertations kept in the Diocesan and City Library in Västerås (Stifts- och stadsbiblioteket), the collection of gymnasial dissertations in the University Library in Göteborg (Humanistiska biblioteket, Göteborgs Universitetsbibliotek) and the collection of gymnasial dissertations kept in the Rogge Library in Strängnäs (Roggebiblioteket). In addition, I have visited the Diocesan and Gymnasial Library in Kalmar (Stifts- och gymnasiebiblioteket i Kalmar) and the City Library in Linköping (Stadsbiblioteket) where there are smaller collections of gymnasial dissertations. It should be said that other libraries and archives may too have collections of gymnasial dissertations (such as the University Library in Lund). However, by having studied the abovementioned collections it is my conviction that I have covered the most important collections and examined the majority of printed gymnasial dissertations.

As has already been stressed, this study is based on printed material. In addition to printed gymnasial dissertations this study also makes use of handwritten material (above all handwritten dissertations), protocols and letters, as well as printed (auto)biographies and memoirs (see Bibliography for further information on this material). Printed dissertations were – since they were printed in a number of copies – disseminated to a higher degree than handwritten dissertations. It is thus harder to get a proper overview of the distribution and occurrence of the handwritten material, since it is seldom found in organized collections.

Lidén's catalogue ends in 1779 and Marklin's catalogue – although it was printed in 1820 – does not have any entries for gymnasial dissertations after 1778.²⁰ My catalogue covers printed gymnasial dissertations through 1799, which means that I have included dissertations from the period 1780-1799 that have not previously been catalogued.

Since this is a study of printed gymnasial dissertations in Latin, I have not included the small number of dissertations (11 in total) in Swedish titled *Satser* from *Kongl. Hof-Predikanten Nath. Thenstedts nya Informationsinrättning uti Stockholm* from the 1770s. These are included in Lidén's and Marklin's catalogues. Printed dissertations from lower level schools from the eighteenth century are not included, such as the printed *theses*-dissertations from trivial schools in Visby (Gotland) and in Stockholm. However, I have included a few dissertations written in Greek, as will be seen in the catalogue and from the discussions in this study.

²⁰ Marklin's explanation as to why he decided to not catalogue gymnasial dissertations after 1778 is outlined in section 2.4.1 on gymnasial *theses*-dissertations in the late eighteenth century below.

1.3.2 Definitions, Limitations and Method of Reference

It is necessary to define some important and recurring terms, as well as the study's limitations in the introduction. First of all, I have chosen to differentiate between *dissertation* and *disputation*.²¹ Here, by *disputation* I mean the act of disputation, i.e. the oral defense. By *dissertation* on the other hand, I mean the printed or handwritten text that was used as the basis for the disputation. In early modern times, however, the distinction between disputation and dissertation was not clear, which means that a *disputatio* could refer to a printed text as well as to the act of oral defense. A *gymnasial dissertation* is defined here as a dissertation that was submitted at a gymnasium and that involved persons related to this school form (teachers and schoolboys), or was submitted to obtain a position at a trivial school or a gymnasium (*pro loco*-dissertation). This definition excludes dissertations submitted for the so-called *examen pastorale*, as well as dissertations that were submitted to synods held by the consistory (*disputationes/dissertationes synodales*).²² These latter dissertations constituted the basis for disputations that were usually held in the premises of the gymnasium. When encountering early modern dissertations – other than from the academy – it is sometimes hard to distinguish between what are defined in this study as *gymnasial dissertations* and what may in other contexts be called *consistory dissertations*. In archives, gymnasial dissertations are sometimes catalogued in volumes labeled *theses/dissertationes/disputationes consistoriales*. It is the information found on the title page that helps to distinguish one type of dissertation from another.

A dissertation differed from other scholarly works in that it was intended to be publicly defended by a respondent and criticized by opponents. Here, the information found on title pages is of great importance to determining whether or not the text/work should be labeled as a gymnasial dissertation. In terms of content, there may be differences in gymnasial dissertations depending on which period of time and to which gymnasium they were submitted. This means that the lowest common denominator amongst gymnasial dissertations is the conventionalized information on the title page and the act of oral defense. It is the arrangement of disputation – evidence of which is preserved by the features of the title page – rather than the content that defines a certain work as a dissertation.²³

²¹ Cf. definitions in the articles on *disputation* and *dissertation* by Marti (1994) in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* (ed. G. Ueding), Band 2, col. 866-880 and col. 880-884, and in Marti, Sdzuj and Seidel (2017), pp. 10-12.

²² For disputations and dissertations held in synods, see Lundström (1903, 1908 and 1909-1911).

²³ An example of a work that may only be defined as a gymnasial dissertation by its external features is *Analysis Latinae orationis periodica* (pr. A. N. Grönberger, Linköping 1746), which has the features of a handbook or schoolbook on how to analyze Latin sentences and phrases. Without the title page, which suggests that the text was used as basis for a

Early modern gymnasial dissertations are closely related to academic dissertations of the same period. I would argue that gymnasial dissertations in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries at least were produced according to the same pattern as the archetypal academic dissertation: typographically, linguistically and as regarding social interplay as manifest in dedications and congratulatory verse.²⁴ Gymnasial dissertations may therefore be said to constitute a sub-genre of academic dissertations. Early modern Latin dissertations, for their part, may be labeled as a sub-genre of scientific or scholarly (learned) prose.²⁵ In this study the term *genre* is, however, sparsely used in favor of the term *text type*.

This study covers a period of two hundred years, the early modern period. *Early modern* is defined here as the period that stretches from the end of the Middle Ages, which for Swedish education means roughly from 1500, to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The founding of the first Swedish gymnasia and the reorganization of the Swedish school system in the 1620s constitute the starting point of this study. At the other end, the beginning of the modern period of Swedish education may be said to begin with the school regulations of 1807 and especially with the school regulations of 1820, as a result of which notable transformation in education began to take place in accordance with the demands of the time and of science.²⁶ A novelty in the school regulations of 1820 was the introduction of a school form that was parallel with the early modern learned education of the gymnasium. This was called *apologist school* and was introduced to meet the requirements of the growing bourgeoisie class.²⁷ However, much of the traditional content and the traditional emphasis on classical languages remained in the curriculum of the trivial school and gymnasium, but was gradually reduced during the course of the nineteenth century.²⁸ This is also applied to the general use of Latin, which ceased to be a language of

disputation with *praeses*, respondents and opponents, it would not immediately be recognized as a dissertation.

²⁴ See for instance the discussion of dissertations as a genre based on stylistic and linguistic features in Östlund (2000), p. 61f.

²⁵ Cf. Östlund (2000), p. 61, and Benner and Tengström (1977).

²⁶ In the introduction to the school regulations of 1820 the new demands are expressed as follows: “[...] genom en säkrare och med Tidehvarfwets fordringar samt Wetenskapernas kraf mer öfwerensstämmande Läro-methode wid de Allmänna Skolorne och Gymnasierne i Riket [...]” (SO 1820, ÅSU 9, p. 4).

²⁷ Cf. Ludvigsson (2008), p. 178.

²⁸ In the school regulations of 1820 modern subjects, such as modern languages and natural sciences, were introduced, as well as the apologist class as a real alternative to the gymnasium proper. SO 1820, ÅSU 9. Cf. Wennäs (1966), p. 19ff. and *passim*; Tengström (1973), p. 98ff.; and Bernhardsson (2016), pp. 37-44.

practical usage by the beginning of the nineteenth century.²⁹ Disputation exercises nevertheless continued to be demanded by the school regulation of 1820, but these exercises were of lesser importance than during preceding years, and printed dissertations were not produced to the same extent as before. The exceptions were *pro loco*-dissertations, i.e. dissertations that were submitted to obtain a position at a school or a gymnasium, which were used throughout the nineteenth century. During the nineteenth century, these *pro loco*-dissertations were written in Latin, in Swedish or in other modern languages (preferably French or German), and show features that differ from early modern dissertations in terms of typography, content, length, and sometimes also regarding purpose.³⁰ For this study it is thus appropriate to draw the line at *c.* 1820.

To distinguish pupils at a gymnasium from university students I have chosen henceforth to refer to the former as *schoolboys*, while the latter are called *students*. The terms *schoolboys* and *students* only include boys in this period of time, since public education was only open to boys/young men.

In the following thesis certain words are consistently typed in italics, for instance titles that always occur in their Latin form such as *lector/lectores*, *rector* and *praeses*. There are two reasons to type them in italics: firstly, to highlight that these words are of Latin origin and were adopted in their Latin form by the Swedish educational system; secondly to distinguish the meaning they had in the early modern period from the meaning they have today, for instance today the title *lektor* denominates a (university) teacher with a PhD.

Lastly, references to single gymnasial dissertations consist of an indication of title and (in parenthesis) name of *praeses*, place and year. Other studies on academic dissertations often use a method that also indicates the respondent to each dissertation. Here it is more convenient to exclude names of respondents (if this information is not needed for clarity), partly to improve

²⁹ Tengström (1973), pp. 90ff. and 98ff. Cf. Gindhardt, Marti and Seidel (2016), p. 8: “Wissenschaftsgeschichtlich gesehen markiert die Zeit um 1800 einen Paradigmenwechsel, der von der bis weit ins 19., teilweise bis ins 20. Jahrhundert hinein reichenden Kontinuität des Lateingebrauchs im Rahmen der akademischen Textproduktion bisweilen verdeckt zu werden droht”.

³⁰ Disputations and dissertations *pro loco* were demanded from applicants for positions as *lector* at Swedish gymnasia as late as the 1890s, as attested in the school regulations of 1878. However, it was no longer demanded that the disputations were held in Latin or that the dissertations were written in Latin. Candidates could choose whether to hold the disputation in Latin or in Swedish, except for applicants for positions as *lector* in modern languages, who would hold the disputation in the particular language in question. For the position of *lector* of classical philology the disputations were held in Latin and the dissertations were written in Latin (SO 1878, ÅSU 22, pp. 23-26). Nineteenth-century *pro loco*-dissertations can be found in the collections of dissertations in the University Library in Göteborg and in the Rogge Library (Strängnäs). By the early 1900s disputations to test designate *lectores* were no longer a matter for the gymnasium, but were transferred to the university exam. See SO 1905, ÅSU 31, p. 52.

readability, and partly because all dissertations are listed in the catalogues in the appendices and can be easily looked up there for further information.

If a dissertation has a title in the accusative case, I refer to it in this form, although some may raise an eyebrow at this. This is because many eighteenth-century dissertations are similarly titled, and to distinguish one dissertation from another it is convenient to use the form of the title as it is found on the title page, a convention also followed in the catalogue entries in the appendices.

1.4 Swedish Education in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

For a better understanding of the examination of gymnasial dissertations in the following thesis, it is necessary to say a few words about Swedish education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³¹ From the beginning, Swedish education was strongly connected to the church and the consistory (*domkapitlet*), a connection which was to remain throughout the early modern period. Jan Thavenius, in his book *Modersmål och fadersarv* (1981), stresses – quite rightly – that the Swedish church had an educational monopoly which was to remain until the nineteenth century.³² One should add that there was also a Latin monopoly that existed until the middle of the nineteenth century. The strong position of the church in Swedish education is underlined by the fact that the first official school regulations that emerged in Sweden were part of the church regulations (*kyrkoordning*) of 1571.³³ The main purpose of education, according to these school regulations, was to gain written and oral proficiency in the Latin language by reading and imitating classical works of different genres by authors such as Cicero, Vergil, Terence and Plautus, and more recent authors such as Erasmus and Melanchton.³⁴ The course of study was divided into three or four classes and was handled by a schoolmaster (*skolmästare*) and a few assistant teachers, all teaching in the same room.³⁵ Besides Latin, knowledge

³¹ The history of Swedish education has previously been the subject of overviews such as Brandell (1931), Sjöstrand (1961 and 1965), and more recently the subject of several contributions in Larsson and Westberg (eds.) (2011).

³² Thavenius (1981), p. 77ff.

³³ These school regulations are the same as those that B. Rudolf Hall denotes as the school regulations of 1561 in his edition in ÅSU 4. This is because the regulations are preserved in a manuscript dated 1561. The school regulations were ratified by King Johan III in 1571. The earlier version of 1561 was distributed in manuscript and was unofficially in force. See Hall (1921), p. 2ff. and Sjöstrand (1965), p. 97ff. The school regulations of 1561 have been edited by B. Rudolf Hall in ÅSU 4 (1921).

³⁴ Sjöstrand (1965), p. 100, and Lindroth (1975a), p. 212f.

³⁵ Hall (1921), p. 14ff.

of the Christian faith through reading the Bible was of great importance, since Swedish education was primarily intended to provide personnel for church offices.³⁶

In 1611 a new school regulation was introduced, written in Latin.³⁷ At the beginning of the regulations it was stated that the education system would be divided into two types of schools, provincial schools and cathedral schools (*Scholae sunt provinciales vel Cathedrales*), the former with four grades and the latter, situated in cathedral towns, with six grades. The levels of class were, in order, *alphabetica, etymologica, syntactica*, and *classis rectoris* — which were the same for both school types — followed by two higher grades in cathedral schools, called *graeca, rhetorica et logica* and *theologica*.³⁸ The number of teachers was augmented, notably with a *lector* of theology and a *conrector*, and the education of church officials was firmly transferred to the cathedral school after having previously been the responsibility of cathedrals ('domkyrkor').³⁹ The content of each grade is signaled to a great extent by their names: the pupils started by learning to read and write Swedish and Latin by studying the Lutheran catechism and the Donat, advancing in higher grades to, for example, studies in music, fables by Aesopus, letters, speeches and philosophical works of Cicero, comedies of Terence, theology, Bible reading, Greek, Vergil, Ovid, Homer and Horace, and, if there was time left, some arithmetic, astronomy and even Hebrew.⁴⁰ Some of the authors, for instance Plautus and Ovid, were read in censored form, so that the (sometimes lewd) content would not be harmful to the schoolboys' moral education. To these readings were added exercises in oral and written Latin through style drills in verse and prose, translations from Swedish to Latin and from Greek to Latin, and the arranging of disputations (more on these in section 2.1.3 below). Education, in conclusion, had strong theological as well as humanistic (Latin) content, a feature that would last for almost the next two hundred years.

In the 1620s, the first Swedish gymnasia were founded, in Västerås (1623) followed by Strängnäs (1626) and Linköping (1627). The gymnasia were located in cathedral towns. At first, each *gymnasium regium* had separate

³⁶ Brandell (1931), p. 335.

³⁷ The regulations of 1611 has been edited with a Swedish translation by B. Rudolf Hall in ÅSU 4.

³⁸ SO 1611, ÅSU 4, pp. 28-33.

³⁹ Askmark (1943), p. 85f. The school regulations of 1611 stress that no one who had not been studying for two years either in the academy or in a cathedral school was allowed to hold church offices: *Nullus ad ministerium sacrum perveniet, quin prius biennium in Academia aut Schola ejus Diaecesios Cathedrali Studuerat* [...]. SO 1611, ÅSU 4, p. 39.

⁴⁰ SO 1611, ÅSU 4, pp. 28-33. Stina Hansson (2003) has investigated which Latin authors were mentioned in school regulations in Swedish education between 1649 and 1878. See also Tengström (2014), p. 62ff. Cf. Waquet (2001), pp. 7-40, who speaks of education as a "Latin country" in most of western Europe from the sixteenth to the twentieth century.

regulations, due to the fact that there was no overall statute with national coverage.⁴¹ There was also a lower school of some sort connected to the gymnasium. This meant that there were variations in the number of classes and teachers, depending on the preferences of the bishop and the consistory in each diocese.⁴² The consistory included the bishop as chairman; the teachers at the gymnasium automatically became members. In addition, there was not yet any conformity of labeling the new school types.⁴³ The teachers in the new gymnasia were *lectores* responsible for separate subjects. The number of teachers was increased further than set out in the regulations of 1611.

In towns where there was a university, the school was not transformed into a gymnasium.⁴⁴ This was the case for the cathedral school in Uppsala which remained a trivial school. The idea of the gymnasium was to extend and to improve education by bridging the gap between lower school types and the academy. In the early years the gymnasia had ambitions similar to those of the academy, giving them a position of diocesan university colleges, being almost equal to the academy in terms of curriculum content and teachers' ability, with the only exception being that the gymnasia had no right to award academic degrees.⁴⁵ The gymnasia became, to borrow an expression from Ragnar Askmark (1943), the melting pot of learning and education for the whole diocese, not only by fostering future church officials and schoolmen for the diocese, but also by being attractive to university students, vicars and other men of the church who wanted to deepen their learning.⁴⁶

In the comprehensive school regulations of 1649, commonly known as the school regulations of Queen Christina, the relationship between the different school types was clarified so that the intermediate position of the gymnasia was explicitly expressed:

Loca studijs tractandis destinata sunt in triplici differentia: summa,
Academias; proxima, Gymnasia; ima, Scholas triviales appellamus.

⁴¹ Examples of such regional regulations are *Leges et constitutiones illustris gymnasii scholaeque Arosiensis* from Västerås, *Constitutiones collegii Strengnensis* from Strängnäs and *Methodus didactica in Collegio Aboënsi* from Åbo. All of these come from the late 1620s and early 1630s. These local regulations are discussed further in section 2.1.3 below.

⁴² Sjöstrand (1965), p. 182f.

⁴³ The teachers in Västerås were, for instance, mentioned as *professores* as well as *lectores* and both gymnasium and trivial school were sometimes labelled as *gymnasium*, *collegium*, *schola* and *paedagogicum* to denote gymnasium and trivial school. Hall (1911), p. 175, and Kallstenius (1923), p. 17f.

⁴⁴ Sandberg (1994), p. 52.

⁴⁵ Askmark (1943), pp. 108-114, and Sandberg (1994), p. 53.

⁴⁶ Askmark (1943), p. 111f.

Trivialium scholarum in hoc regno gradus duo sunt: secundum quos aliae inferiores, aliae superiores vel plenae vocentur.⁴⁷

[There should be three different types of educational institutions: we call the highest Academies, those immediately preceding we call gymnasia and last trivial schools. In our kingdom there shall be two kinds of trivial school, according to which some are called lower, others are called higher or complete.]

Quum gymnasia inter scholas triviales et academias medio sint loco, ita lectiones et exercitia eorum adtemperare oportet, ut scholasticis paulo altiora, inferiora vero sint academicis. Neque enim prolixius suas publice lectiones persequantur, quam media illa ratio et conditio gymnasiolorum patiatur.⁴⁸

[Since the gymnasia have an interposition between trivial schools and academies, their lectures and exercises should be arranged in a way so that they are slightly higher than in schools, but lower than in academies. Indeed, the gymnasia should not publicly perform their lectures more amply than their interpositional plan and condition allow.]

The organization of schools is set out clearly in the school regulation of 1649.⁴⁹ Here, it is stated that a full-sized gymnasium should have seven *lectores* and two assistant lecturers (*adjuncti*); the position of headmaster circulated between the *lectores* on an annual basis. The distribution of *lectores* was as follows: (1) first *lector* of theology, (2) second *lector* of theology, (3) *lector* of physics and logic, (4) *lector* of rhetoric and eloquence, (5) *lector* of history and poetry, (6) *lector* of Greek and (7) *lector* of mathematics. There are striking similarities to the content of the academic faculty of philosophy in the seventeenth century; with the exception of theology, the division of subjects in the academic faculty of philosophy is almost identical to that of the gymnasium.⁵⁰ The school regulations prescribed that the gymnasium had four grades. Trivial schools, on the other hand, were of two kinds, lower and higher, and consisted of four two-year grades. The teaching in trivial school was handled by a *rector*, a *conrector* and four *collegae*, instead of by *lectores*. In terms of content, education in the gymnasium was focused on the study of Latin, Greek and Hebrew (in that order) and theology, although

⁴⁷ SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 46.

⁴⁸ SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 99.

⁴⁹ The school regulations of 1649, edited by B. Rudolf Hall in ÅSU 4, are the source of the following overview, unless otherwise indicated.

⁵⁰ Study in the faculty of philosophy was considered preparation for study in the higher faculties (theology, medicine and jurisprudence). To become church official it was enough to study at the faculty of philosophy and to pass a mandatory exam in theology. See Lindberg (2017), p. 30f.

other subjects were also represented. The schoolboys were instructed in Latin in all subjects and they were also obliged to talk Latin during breaks. As has already been stressed, the emphasis in Latin teaching was on grammar and on reading and imitating classical models orally, as well as in written assignments.⁵¹ The teaching methods appear to have been primarily the lecture (*lectio*), the oration (*oratio*), and the disputation (*disputatio*), and different kinds of written exercises.⁵²

The content of the Latin curriculum that was established as a result of the school regulation of 1649 was – with some adjustments in regulations in 1693 and 1724 – largely set for the next century to come.⁵³ In the school regulation of 1724, a rising interest in the natural sciences is noticeable; otherwise the gymnasium remained a preparatory institution for those who aimed to become church officials or those who aimed at further studies at the university. Latin and classical languages kept their grip until the beginning of the nineteenth century, although the usefulness of such languages was under debate.⁵⁴ Other novelties in the school regulations of 1724 included the stipulation that to obtain a position as *lector* the applicant had to hold a disputation before the bishop and the consistory on a subject that would show his suitability for the task of teaching. This was in contrast to the school regulations of 1693 which allowed the bishop and the consistory to appoint *lectores* without the use of a disputation to prove the suitability of candidates. It should be pointed out that whoever was qualified to teach at gymnasia was considered competent to teach every subject of the gymnasial curriculum by virtue of the fact that he would have a master's degree.⁵⁵ However, a common career path for a *lector* was to begin with one of the less esteemed – and lesser paid – positions as *lector* of mathematics or

⁵¹ The school regulations of 1649 are very detailed in describing how written assignments were to be conducted and corrected. Swedish Latin instruction is strikingly similar to Latin instruction found in European curricula of academic as well as lower school forms from this period, as expressed by Joseph Freedman (2010), p. 92: “Generally speaking, rhetorical and grammatical exercises – including style exercises (*exercitium styli*), grammar, reading, and writing exercises, letter writing and poem writing – appear to have been prominent (if not dominant) components of these academic exercises. Repetition, recitation, translation and pronunciation exercises as well as religious exercises (primarily involving the use of catechisms and biblical texts) and music are also often mentioned [in early modern curricula].” Cf. Burke (1993), p. 45ff., on oral exercises in Latin.

⁵² Cf. Rimm (2011), pp. 162-185, who discusses the various exercises in eighteenth-century education.

⁵³ It is commonly agreed that the short school regulations of 1693 to some extent removed the focus on classical Latin in favor of Neo-Latin authors. SO 1693, ÅSU 7, pp. 9-15. See also Sjöstrand (1965), p. 208 and Hansson (2003), p. 178.

⁵⁴ Tengström (1973), p. 80f. The Latin debate in the eighteenth century has been covered by Bo Lindberg in his *De lärdes modersmål* (1984).

⁵⁵ Sandberg (1988), p. 60.

philosophy, and to advance to the coveted lectorate of theology.⁵⁶ This career ladder is commonly known as the *lektorsväxling*.⁵⁷ From the lectorate of theology it was possible to be promoted to a money-making incumbency or other church offices in the diocese.⁵⁸ It is also noticeable that throughout the period under investigation it was customary to preferably employ persons who originated from the same diocese, the so-called *jus indigenatus*.⁵⁹

Often there is some confusion about when a certain town got its gymnasium, i.e. when the gymnasium was founded, or when an already established educational institution was transformed into a gymnasium. To help the reader of this study the table below shows when each educational institution or gymnasium was founded.⁶⁰

	Educational institution/Gymnasium	Founding year
1	Västerås	1623
2	Strängnäs	1626
3	Stockholm (<i>Collegium illustre</i>)	1626-1632(?)
4	Linköping	1627
5	Åbo (Finland)	1630-1640
6	Dorpat (Tartu, Estonia)	1630-1632
7	Reval (Tallinn, Estonia)	1631
8	Skara	1641
9	Viborg (Finland)	1641-1710
10	Stockholm (<i>Collegium regium</i>)	1643-1667
11	Växjö	1643
12	Göteborg	1648
13	Härnösand	1650
14	Gävle	1667
15	Karlstad	1675 (?)
16	Kalmar	1698

TABLE 1: Educational institutions and founding year

⁵⁶ Sandberg (1988), p. 60f., and (1994), p. 90.

⁵⁷ Askmark (1943), p. 103f.

⁵⁸ The school regulations of 1724 state that when a *lector* applied for an incumbency or similar, his years in office in a gymnasium would be counted as double, which undoubtedly improved his competitiveness. SO 1724, ÅSU 7, p. 13. Cf. Sandberg (1994), p. 85.

⁵⁹ This practice was further emphasised in the school regulations of 1820 (ÅSU 9, p. 48): “Ej må någons ansökning till Lärare-syssla på Stat upptagas, som icke [...] 3:o År född eller njutit upfostran uti det Stift, inom hwilket beförden sökes, eller ock af Konungen i Nåder erhållit Jus indigenatus.” Cf. Sandberg (1994), pp. 81-84. See also section 3.4.6 below.

⁶⁰ The information on the founding of the schools and the following comments are based on the following: [anonymous] “Bildningsanstalterne i Sverige” in *Skandia* (1835) 5:2, p. 226ff.; Arcadius (1889), p. 23ff.; Norberg (1896), p. 1f.; Röding (1898), p. 6ff.; Beckman (1927), p. 11ff.; Hall (1939), pp. 22f. and 35f.; Lundén (1930), pp. 23-29; Brandell (1931), p. 145; Cederbom and Vingqvist (1941), p. 17ff.; Runeby (1962), p. 182ff.; Sjöstrand (1965), pp. 182ff., 198 and 258f.; Ericson Wolke (2001), p. 250 and 255; Nyberg (2009), p. 45ff.; and Ingmarsdotter (2011), pp. 250-254.

It is necessary to comment upon a few things here. Firstly, there is obviously some confusion about what to call the different school types. Before the school regulation of 1649, there was no uniformity regarding educational content or even what to call a certain school type. It may also be tricky to establish when a gymnasium was actually founded, or if it is even proper to recognize a certain school as a full-sized gymnasium. For instance, the *Collegium illustre* in Stockholm was a gymnasium-like institution open only to sons of the nobility with teachers who were titled professors.⁶¹ When this educational institution ceased to exist is, however, somewhat unclear, although it appears to have ended its activities in the early 1630s. The *Collegium regium* in Stockholm appears to have had similar features to a gymnasium and dissertations were submitted to this school during the years in which it was in use. In 1667 the *Collegium regium* was transferred from Stockholm to the school in Gävle which was referred to as a gymnasium from that point onwards. In Åbo and Dorpat, the gymnasia founded in 1630 were transformed into academies in 1632 (Dorpat) and in 1640 (Åbo). Gymnasia were no longer required in these towns in accordance with the stipulation that there should not be a gymnasium in a town where there was a university.⁶² Secondly, the years given in the table indicate when a certain school earned the privilege of being called a gymnasium (except for the schools in Stockholm), not the year when a school was originally established. For instance, in Kalmar, as in many other towns, there was an educational institution (*collegium*) with features that strongly mirrored those of a gymnasium in use from the 1620s onwards, long before it finally earned its gymnasia privilege in 1698.⁶³ Although not all of the abovementioned educational institutions were gymnasia, some of them appear to have submitted printed dissertations, while others did not.

Socially, the gymnasium was the type of school primarily for sons of farmers, sons of vicars and sons of the bourgeoisie. Each of these groups represented one third of the entire body of schoolboys, according to the numbers given by Erik Sandberg (1994).⁶⁴ Sons of the nobility, on the other hand, rarely attended public schools, but were instead taught privately by preceptors and tutors.⁶⁵ A gymnasium attracted schoolboys from the whole diocese or even from nearby dioceses, which meant that the home towns and villages of schoolboys could be quite remotely located.⁶⁶ The age of the

⁶¹ See Preste (2014) on the purpose and content of the curriculum at the *Collegium illustre*.

⁶² Sjöstrand (1965), p. 182.

⁶³ Alving (1923), pp. 20-24.

⁶⁴ Sandberg (1994), p. 73.

⁶⁵ See Winberg (2011), pp. 75-80.

⁶⁶ Sandberg (1994), pp. 67-72, discusses the difficulties of establishing the domicile of schoolboys in the gymnasium of Västerås in the period 1620-1719. Sandberg concludes that

pupils could differ significantly, from the mid-teens to over twenty-five years old.⁶⁷ Generally, Swedish schools were fairly small entities with a few hundred pupils attending each gymnasium, although the numbers could vary significantly over time.⁶⁸ It was the duty of the bishop in his capacity of *ephorus* to oversee teachers, school accounts and scholarships, to attend certain school activities, such as the *examen anniversarium* and public exercises, and to make sure that a school library was set up.⁶⁹ Transfer between grades and classes, and from gymnasium to academy took place once a year at the *examen anniversarium* (or *soleenne*) on which occasion the schoolboys' knowledge was tested.⁷⁰ However, control of schoolboys' attainment was not consistently conducted in this period, which led to ill-prepared students and schoolboys leaving gymnasium for academic studies prematurely.⁷¹ This appears to have been a recurring headache both for universities and for the gymnasia. The so-called *delectus/selectus ingeniorum* ('snilleurvalet'), i.e. the selection of young boys who were considered intellectually suitable for studies, was especially important to allow boys from poor backgrounds to complete their studies.⁷² Lastly, it should be mentioned that it was not necessary for a young boy to attend a gymnasium in order to be able to study at university in early modern times. It was possible to jump to the academy straight from trivial school or private education.⁷³

1.5 Some Words on Neo-Latin and Neo-Latin Language

This is a short overview of Neo-Latin and Neo-Latin studies for the reader who may not be acquainted with the Latin that was used in the period under investigation. Thus, this section does not present new research, but gives a brief orientation to Neo-Latin.

the number of schoolboys from other parts of the diocese or from nearby dioceses differed quite a bit depending on the period, from one third of the total number up to approximately fifty percent. It is plausible that other gymnasia followed the same trends.

⁶⁷ Sjöstrand (1961), p. 155 and Sandberg (1994), p. 73.

⁶⁸ More accurate numbers of schoolboys for each gymnasium are provided by Edlund (1947), pp. 157-162.

⁶⁹ SO 1724, ÅSU 7, pp. 55-57.

⁷⁰ SO 1724, ÅSU 7, p. 54. Cf. Hastig (1907), pp. 145-148.

⁷¹ On the procedure of transition from gymnasium to academy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Edlund (1947), pp. 203-229. See also Hörstedt (forthcoming).

⁷² Edlund (1947).

⁷³ Sandberg (1994), pp. 111-117.

During the period that stretches from the Renaissance up until the beginning of the nineteenth century, Latin developed linguistically – contrary to what some scholars may think⁷⁴ – especially in the coining of new words, but also regarding syntax, grammar and style.⁷⁵ It is during this long and not very homogenous period from the fifteenth century and onwards that the Latin in use is now referred to Neo-Latin.⁷⁶ To give an

⁷⁴ Cf. the following passage from the very last page of *The Blackwell History of the Latin Language* by James Clackson and Geoffrey Horrocks (2011), p. 302, which expresses a view common among scholars of classical Latin of the fate of Latin in the aftermath of the Middle Ages: “Latin is now a cultural artefact, as it was to remain until the present day. Through its use in scholarship, medicine, science, law, and as the language of the Catholic Church it long retained a status as a world language unmatched by any other variety no longer spoken. [...] The story of Latin in the last thousand years is not therefore the story of a conventional language, but that of a cultural sign, symbolizing privilege, and granting access to knowledge and power [...]. This is an interesting story, but not one for linguistic historians to try and tell.” This quotation bears many similarities with what Dag Norberg wrote about the Latin that was produced after the Middle Ages in *Manuel pratique de latin médiéval* (1968), p. 91: “Mais pour le latin, le succès de la Renaissance fut désastreux. Les genres littéraires ont bientôt renoncé à s’exprimer en une langue où l’imitation était le suprême principe et où le normativisme rigoureux ne leur donnait pas assez de liberté d’expression. [...] Après la Renaissance, le latin a cessé de se développer et son histoire ne présente plus d’intérêt d’un point de vue linguistique. Il est devenu ce qu’on appelle souvent une langue morte.”

⁷⁵ The Latin language had already changed between 650 and 1350, to quote Heinz Hofmann: “In diesem Zeitraum [650-1350] hatte sich das Latein als lebendige Sprache natürlich verändert: Einerseits hat es, wie bereits das spätantike Latein, viele Regeln der Syntax und Formenlehre des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. abgestreift, andererseits viele neue Wörter zur Deckung gewandelter Ausdrucksbedürfnisse in Alltag und Politik, Theologie und Philosophie geprägt, aber auch grammatische Erscheinungen aus den Volkssprachen aufgenommen, so dass es sich mittlerweile erheblich vom ‘klassischen’ Latein eines Cicero und Caesar, Vergil und Ovid unterschied.” Hofmann (2000), p. 63. Cf. Helander (2001), pp. 27-39 and (2004), pp. 65-72, and Tengström (1983), pp. 62-66.

⁷⁶ One of the widest definitions is that Neo-Latin consists of all writings in Latin since the Renaissance, which is how Jozef IJsewijn defines it in the preface of his important *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* part 1 (1977). If in addition to this we specify, as Hans Helander suggests in his debate article “Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects” (2001), that Neo-Latin literature “encompasses all kinds of literature, ‘belletristic’, educational, philosophical, theological, historiographical, and scientific of all disciplines [...] written in Europe (and other continents) from the Renaissance” it is an understatement to say that this field is ocean wide, raising a number of questions concerning the aims of its study. To add yet another nuance to the definition, it is also appropriate to mention the use of Latin as a tool of “general communication” in the so-called “Republic of Letters” through letter writing, as Ingrid De Smet says in her review article “Not for classicists? The State of Neo-Latin Studies” (1999). Latin was often used as *lingua franca* for travellers, in diplomacy, and was also used in law, government and sometimes even in the world of business. In his response to Helander, Walther Ludwig uses a pregnant metaphor when he says that the field of Neo-Latin is a big “noch nicht durchforsteten Wald mit einigen Wegen und wenigen schon bepflanzten Lichtungen”. What Ludwig means is that there is much work to be done on the masses of texts that still linger in the dark. Immense volumes of texts in Latin were produced in a range of different genres throughout these centuries, in different ways in different parts of the Western world. Walther Ludwig’s response to Helander (2001), p. 71. On the other

example of the magnitude of the Neo-Latin corpus, Jürgen Leonhardt states in his work *Latin. Story of a World Language* (2013), that Latin texts from the ancient period only comprise 0.01 percent of the whole Latin text corpus that has come down to us through the centuries.⁷⁷ Although these calculations must be rough, it nevertheless gives a very small number of ancient “classical” Latin texts that form the core of the canon that is taught in schools and universities today. The point is that most of the extant Latin texts (printed or in manuscript) are from periods later than antiquity, i.e. from the Middle Ages and from the Renaissance and beyond, of which Neo-Latin writings must be considered to constitute a great part. Neo-Latin literature consists of a diversity of genres of *belle-lettres*, but also of a great amount of scientific literature.⁷⁸ Until recently, Latin writings from this post-medieval period were given little attention in classics departments of universities around Europe (and elsewhere). However, some forty years ago Neo-Latin studies began to gain ground as an academic discipline. Heinz Hofmann, for instance, was able to state in 2000 that Neo-Latin studies “bilden eine wissenschaftliche Disziplin, die sich erst seit gut drei Jahrzehnten einer grösseren Aufmerksamkeit auch bei den Latinisten erfreut.”⁷⁹ Although the study of Neo-Latin as an academic discipline began

hand, Ludwig compares the classical philology to a “kultivierten Garten mit wohlbebauten, wenn auch immer wieder veränderten Beeten”. For yet other more or less pregnant metaphors for Neo-Latin studies, see De Smet (1999), p. 205; IJsewijn (1977), preface v; Helander (2001), p. 6. Cf. similar definition by Ludwig (1997), pp. 324-325, and the shorter definition in Butterfield (2011), p. 303. De Smet (1999), p. 207 f. Cf. Butterfield (2011), p. 303. For a short overview of the importance of Neo-Latin literature and genres in different periods and parts of Europe, see Ludwig (1997), pp. 334-344.

⁷⁷ Leonhardt (2013), p. 2 and p. 87. Of this extremely small proportion, approximately 80 percent, consists of Christian texts from late antiquity according to Leonhardt.

⁷⁸ For different genres, see Ludwig (1997), pp. 344-353 and Bloemendal (2014), p. 303 *et passim*. Cf. IJsewijn (1977), Benner and Tengström (1977).

⁷⁹ Hofmann (2000), p. 57. Some facts that confirm this statement are that the first institute for Neo-Latin studies at a university, *Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae*, was founded in Leuven in 1966. Two years later, in 1968, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, the principal periodical for Neo-Latin studies, was first published at the same university. There are other series and periodicals devoted to Neo-Latin studies, a number of which are listed by Verbeke (2014), pp. 911-915. The first congress on Neo-Latin literature was held in 1971 in Leuven, and the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies (IANLS) came into being the same year, and has since then organized recurring conferences, the most recent in August 2015 in Vienna. In addition to the Leuven-based institution for Neo-Latin studies, many others have been established, i.e. in universities in Vienna, Heidelberg, Dublin, Paris and Cambridge. See Verbeke (2014), pp. 914-915, for a listing of these institutes. The first volume of Jozef IJsewijn’s important *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* was published in 1977. In the same year, 1977, Margareta Benner and Emin Tengström published their study *On the Interpretation of*

some forty years ago, it is only in the last fifteen years or so that the debate about the aims and content of Neo-Latin studies has reached any theoretical and methodological heights to speak of.⁸⁰

The fact that there is so much unexplored literature has, over the last twenty-five years, raised important questions and discussions about the aims and needs of Neo-Latin studies as discipline.⁸¹ It is necessary to point out that the language of Neo-Latin is not at all homogenous, neither in a synchronic nor in a diachronic perspective. It is tempting to state, in line with the ideas of the Renaissance, that Neo-Latin language is a restoration of the classical Latin used in the era of Cicero, Vergil and Ovid. This is of course easily rejected when one actually studies Neo-Latin texts.⁸² Orthography, morphology and syntax all show traces of earlier use of Latin, may it be pre-classical or medieval usage. I will quote a passage from Walther Ludwig's chapter on Neo-Latin literature since the Renaissance in *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie* (1997) to illustrate this:

Neulateinische Literatur beginnt mit der Orientierung der verwendeten lateinischen Sprache an der klassischen Antike und mit dem Bestreben, spezifisch mittelalterliche Orthographien, Worte und Konstruktionen ebenso wie mittelalterliche literarische Formen auszumerzen. [...] Auch wird die neulateinische Sprache mit der klassischen nie völlig identisch. Nach den antiken Mustern erfolgende Neubildungen von Worten sind in beschränktem Umfang ebenso erlaubt wie die modernen Sachen entsprechend gewandelte Bedeutungen antiker Worte. Einzelne mittelalterliche

Learned Neo-Latin, which may be considered the threshold of Neo-Latin studies on Swedish material. See Hofmann (2000), p. 67 and Ford (2000), p. 293 *et passim*.

⁸⁰ In fact, Neo-Latin as linguistic concept is only two hundred years old at most. In German the adjective appeared in 1795 in E. Klose's *Neulateinischen Chrestomathie*; the Latin adjective *neolatinus* was first used in two dissertations from German universities, chaired by Johannes Dominicus Fuss in 1822 and 1828. Ludwig (1997), p. 325, Hofmann (2000), p. 65 and Verbeke (2014), p. 909. For an overview of the pre-history and early life of Neo-Latin studies see Hofmann (2000).

⁸¹ The debate on the role and content of Neo-Latin studies has seen a number of important contributions during the last few decades in which the nature of the subject has been discussed. See Ludwig (1997), Hofmann (2000), Ford (2000), and the responses to Helander (2001) and Sidwell (2017), p. 396ff. See also the debate in *Rheinische Museum für Philologie*, 146 (2003) in which three interesting contributions are provided by Ludwig, pp. 395-407, Glei, pp. 407-415 and Leonhardt, pp. 415-424, and not least Van Hal (2007). The Oxford bibliographies of Neo-Latin literature by Victoria Moul (2014) and Sarah Knight (2016) list the most important contributions from recent years:

<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com.ezproxy.its.uu.se/view/document/obo-9780195389661/obo-9780195389661-0176.xml> (August 2017).

⁸² Cf. Helander (2014), p. 38.

Konstruktionen [...] halten sich relativ lange, und auch wenn der reimende leoninische Hexameter verschwindet, hält sich doch in sehr begrenztem Umfang für Geistliche Lieder (*sacra poemata*) die gereimte Strophe des jambischen Dimeter.⁸³

Ludwig argues that every earlier use of Latin made an impression on Neo-Latin language, even though, as a result of the linguistic ideals of the Renaissance, classical Latin language became the norm, to the disadvantage of other linguistic codes which were labelled incorrect or even barbaric. Debates occurred in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century on the purity and correct use of Latin with the Ciceronian purists on one side, and those with a more moderate and eclectic view on the other.⁸⁴ The ideal of *Ciceronianism* was a Latin moulded on the prose style of Cicero (both syntax and vocabulary) without any words or grammatical constructions that did not occur in the writings of Cicero (or at least later than the classical period). The problem that arose was – especially in the sciences – how to name new phenomena that were unknown to people in antiquity.⁸⁵ Hans Helander (2004) points to the diversity of Neo-Latin vocabulary depending on genre. Generally, scientific or learned works tend to be keener to use newly coined words and expressions “to meet the demands of rapidly growing knowledge,”⁸⁶ in contrast to belletristic literature that tends to be more puristic. It is also important to keep in mind that the term ‘classical Latin’ meant something different to Neo-Latin authors than it means to us. Words from pre-classical authors (for example Plautus and Terence) as well as from later periods (for example the church fathers) were used, if these words were found in the *auctores probati*, that is.⁸⁷ Medieval words and

⁸³ Ludwig (1997), p. 334.

⁸⁴ Fantazzi (2014), pp. 144-152, gives a good overview of the ideal of imitation and the Ciceronian debates in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and mentions the famous polemic between Poliziano and Cortesi. According to IJsewijn and Sacré (1998), pp. 412- 417, these Ciceronian discussions were sometimes rather fierce, with a good deal of invectives. One of the most famous contributions to the debate is no doubt *Dialogus Ciceronianus* by Erasmus, who belonged to the moderates. Cf. Helander (2001), p. 32 and Ramming (2014), pp. 24-25.

⁸⁵ Helander (2014), pp. 38-40. The importance of Ciceronian style is found in gymnasial dissertations, for instance in *Theses miscellaneas* (pr. Ar. Grimberg, Göteborg 1772): *Thesis V. Cum omnia in stilo Ciceroniano, quae vix singularis quisquam intentissima cura consequi potest, fluant illaborata; et illa, quae nihil pulchrius auditu est, oratio prae se tamen fert facilitate. Quare non immerito ab hominibus suae aetatis Regnare in iudicis [sic!] dictus est: apud posteros vero id consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis sed eloquentiae nomen habeatur. Hunc igitur spectemus: hoc propositum nobis sit exemplum. Ille se proficisse sciat, cui Cicero valde placebit. Quintil. l. 10. Institut. Orator. c. b.*

⁸⁶ Helander (2004), p. 66. Cf. Helander (2014), p. 39.

⁸⁷ Helander (2004), pp. 65-68. A word could be approved if it was found in an *auctor probatus* (an approved ancient author). To help writers with ambitions of correctness there were a range of dictionaries, called *antibarbari* or *thesauri*, for guidance as to the right words, the most famous of which are Joh. Friedr. Noltenius *Lexicon Latinae linguae antibarbarum quadripartitum*

ancient words with new senses were used without hesitation in certain fields. IJsewijn and Sacré (1998) give a list of different areas where these ‘barbarian words’ were allowed: political life, warfare, the ecclesiastical and academic world, trade, the botanical and zoological fields, and food and drink.⁸⁸ It must be stressed that in terms of stylistics the Neo-Latin period is characterized by a classicizing but not petrified *imitatio* ideal that used ancient authors as models. However, as Peter Sjökvist (2012) rightly points out, scientific Neo-Latin does not show the same purist tendencies as literary texts regarding language, but is rather characterized by an eclecticism and pragmatism in the choice of words, expressions and style.⁸⁹

In the following I will make some short remarks on typical linguistic and stylistic traits that characterize learned Neo-Latin as expressed in dissertations. Since gymnasial dissertations follow the language usage of the times this overview is in large part a summary of what scholars have previously stated regarding orthography, morphology, syntax, vocabulary and style. The following account is excerpted from studies conducted by scholars working mostly with academic dissertations, but it is undoubtedly valid for gymnasial dissertations.

In learned Neo-Latin, the coining of words is frequent. Formation of words is complex, because new words can be coined through derivation of existing forms, loan-words, compounds of Greek and Latin elements, or be neologisms in sense and in form.⁹⁰ A great number of the Latin words coined during the early modern period are now part of our modern scientific nomenclature. In studies of learned Neo-Latin texts from Sweden, one notices that there are words taken from the ancient poetic vocabulary, pre-classical words and words from late antiquity, words found in medieval texts, and words from after c. 1500.⁹¹ This pinpoints the eclectic nature of learned Neo-Latin language in terms of vocabulary.

1744 (followed by many editions) and J. Ph. Krebs and J. H. Schmalz’s *Antibarbarus der lateinischen Sprache* 1905-1907. Depending on dictionary the body of *auctores probati* could be more or less extensive. Benner and Tengström (1977), pp. 42-46. Well-known early modern Latin dictionaries are, for example, Jonas Petri Gothus *Dictionarium Latino-Sueco Germanicum* 1640, Basilius Faber Soranus [ed. Cellarius] *Thesaurus eruditionis scholasticae* 1686.

⁸⁸ IJsewijn and Sacré (1998), p. 386-387. Cf. Helander (2004), p. 67.

⁸⁹ Sjökvist (2012), p. 28f.

⁹⁰ A neologism in form is a word that is not attested in ancient Latin, while a neologism in sense is a word known from ancient Latin given a new and different meaning. Helander (2014), p. 37 *et passim*. Cf. Benner and Tengström (1977), pp. 51-58 and Helander (2004), pp. 68-72.

⁹¹ See the studies by Benner and Tengström (1977), p. 41, Östlund (2000), pp. 52-59, Örneholm (2003), pp. 24-77, Helander (2004) *passim*, Eskhult (2007), pp. 166-246 and Sjökvist (2012), pp. 36-58.

As Hans Helander (2001) has pointed out, there is no general Neo-Latin spelling.⁹² In fact, one may not speak of *one* kind of Neo-Latin orthography, but of several that differ depending on where and when the texts were produced. If we nevertheless consider some orthographical traits of the Neo-Latin that we meet when studying gymnasial dissertations, it should be stated that they differ in many ways from what we are used to in modern editions of ancient classical Latin.⁹³ It should be stressed that there are diachronic differences in the orthography of the texts studied here. One may find different spellings of a word in the same text, and no general standard was employed since spelling was learned primarily through imitation.⁹⁴ The impact of medieval spelling is noticed in words where *i* and *y* may be confused.⁹⁵ Other spellings that occur in learned Neo-Latin are *quum* for the conjunction *cum* and *heic* for the adverb *hic*.⁹⁶ Here it is appropriate to notes that in the late eighteenth century one may find forms such as *quum* in the present study. The double-signed *-ii* in plural forms in classical Latin is often seen as *-ij* in this period, such as *vitijis* (ablative plural of *vitium*). Furthermore, one should not be surprised by the use of *linea nasalis*, accents — e.g. over adverbs and ablative endings — and abbreviations, even in printed texts, although the use of this was discarded by the eighteenth century.⁹⁷ Due to pronunciation, e.g. of the diphthongs *ae* and *oe* as /e/, the spelling of words may differ from that normally found in editions of classical texts. For instance, the word *maecenas* may be found in four different spellings: *maecenas/mecaenas/moecenas/mecoenas*.⁹⁸ Orthographical standardization, it seems, was not an important issue for authors

⁹² Helander (2001), p. 27f: “Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as Neo-Latin orthography. In the early Renaissance texts we meet with medieval spelling, but this is, from the very beginning, in a state of transformation, since knowledge about ancient spelling is increasing all the time, gradually but steadily, along with the general growth of knowledge. [...] Thus, we should expect the spelling of words in books printed around 1500 to differ considerably from books printed around 1750. [...] It is important to realize, however, that the process of change was very slow. Authors apparently never cared much about the orthographical debates. Erroneous spellings linger on long after they have been condemned by grammarians.”

⁹³ An overview of typical features of Neo-Latin orthography is provided by Minkova (2014), pp. 1122-1124.

⁹⁴ Benner and Tengström (1977), p. 71.

⁹⁵ This is obvious in words such as *ymo* (classical *immo*) and *lachryma* (classical *lacrima*), which Helander (2001), pp. 27-29, shows by comparing three dictionaries from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

⁹⁶ Östlund (2000), pp. 31-32, covers the occurrence of *quum* and *heic* in eighteenth-century dissertations.

⁹⁷ Cf. Helander (2001), p. 28.

⁹⁸ Cf. the examples of inconsistencies and “abnormalities” in spelling in learned early modern Neo-Latin from Sweden observed by Östlund (2000), pp. 31-34, Eskhult (2007), pp. 142-148, and Sjökvist (2012), pp. 29-32.

or printers in the early modern period, but tends to be a bother to editors today.

Morphologically, the reader of learned Neo-Latin may encounter, for instance, different forms of the pronouns *hic*, *haec*, *hoc* with the suffix *-ce*, e.g. *hocce* for *hoc*, and Greek declension of Greek words adopted by Latin, such as the accusative *thesin* of *thesis*.

In the case of syntax, Neo-Latin texts do not depart to a great extent from classical Latin – or at least from what the authors then thought was classical Latin syntax.⁹⁹ It is important to underline that Neo-Latin writers learned syntax not only from grammar books but through reading texts and hearing spoken Latin.¹⁰⁰ The *imitatio* ideal and the aforementioned *auctores probati* are crucial in the understanding of Neo-Latin syntactical usage. Some oddities may however deserve mentioning. There is a noticeable occurrence of *quod*-clauses in which classical usage would have had *accusativus cum infinitivo*.¹⁰¹ *Quod*-clauses are often triggered by *hinc*, *inde*, *exinde* and *unde*.¹⁰² Learned Neo-Latin may also show divergence from the classical rules of syntax in the use of mood in subordinate clauses of different kinds.¹⁰³

Stylistically, one may talk of a learned Neo-Latin jargon that was conventionalized in terms of words, phrases, idiomatic expressions, syntactic constructions and use of meta-discursive constructions, but that nevertheless allowed some individuality in rhetorical ornamentation.¹⁰⁴ In the case of gymnasial dissertations, it is my opinion that the language cannot be distinguished only by the employment of classical usage modeled on the philosophical works of Cicero, but that it also reflects influences from scholastic Latin of the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁵ Lastly, interpunction is a stylistic matter in this kind of Neo-Latin text which was meant to follow the rhetorical delivery of the text (pauses and emphasis of certain words and phrases), rather than syntactic rules. This sometimes makes it hard for a reader with a modern view of punctuation to interpret how sentences are constructed.

⁹⁹ Learned Neo-Latin syntax has been investigated by Östlund (2000), pp. 38-52, Eskhult (2007), pp. 153-166 and Sjökvist (2012), p. 34f.

¹⁰⁰ Benner and Tengström (1977), pp. 76, 79-80.

¹⁰¹ Östlund (2000), p. 39f.

¹⁰² Östlund (2000), p. 40f.

¹⁰³ Östlund (2000), pp. 44-47.

¹⁰⁴ Style and jargon in learned Neo-Latin have been studied by Östlund (2000), pp. 59-77, Helander (2004) *passim* and Sjökvist (2012), pp. 59-76.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Sjökvist (2012), p. 59ff.

1.6 Principles for Reproducing Text Samples and Translations

When editing and reproducing early modern Neo-Latin texts, every scholar has to make a decision that both helps the readability of the Latin text, and reproduces the text in an adequate way. One has only to look at modern editions and studies of Neo-Latin from recent years in Sweden to find that every scholar has a section on editorial principles that differ to some extent from one another.¹⁰⁶ There exist no particular standards or norms for editors. Generally there are two roads to follow for the editor: either standardization is employed that reproduces Neo-Latin texts according to the modern norms of Latin,¹⁰⁷ or the text is largely kept in its historical form with or without moderate adaptations.¹⁰⁸

Concerning the reproduction of text samples of printed and handwritten Latin gymnasial dissertations in this study, it is important to bear in mind that the sources consist of a comprehensive body of material stretching over a period of approximately two hundred years involving several different printers and hands, each with their typical styles and preferences. Both typographically and orthographically, the dissertations may differ from each other in several aspects depending on factors such as time, place and purpose. In the following section the principles for reproducing text samples that are employed in this study regarding spelling, abbreviations, typography and Greek words will be given:

Spelling

When quoting passages from gymnasial dissertations (and other sources) the original spelling is kept, including inconsistencies. In this I follow the advice put forth by Hans Helander (2001) who says that “[t]o normalize the spelling in editions of Neo-Latin texts [...] must be a grave mistake” since the spelling reflects the characteristics of the historical context in which the text was produced.¹⁰⁹ This means that orthography was often constructed etymologically, which means that it changed over time with the increasing knowledge of ancient Latin.¹¹⁰ Obvious printing errors, however, are corrected without remark (e.g. *n* for *u* and *aque* for *atque*).

¹⁰⁶ See e.g. the various ways to edit Neo-Latin texts as expressed in Östlund (2000), Göransson (2006), Sjökvist (2007) and (2012b), Dahlberg (2014) and Svensson (2015).

¹⁰⁷ This method is employed by e.g. Knight and Tilg (2015), p. 7f.

¹⁰⁸ Rabbie (1996), p. 32.

¹⁰⁹ Helander (2001), p. 27f. Cf. Östlund (2000), p. 78. This goes against what IJsewijn and Sacré (1998), p. 472, say in their chapter on spelling and punctuation in editing Neo-Latin texts: “In a number of cases this [i.e. to standardize the spelling according to classical rules] is a wise procedure and, in fact, the only possible one.” When talking about reproducing text of printed (gymnasial) dissertations I do not agree with this, because by its spelling a text may mirror ideals and thoughts in a certain period and of a certain author.

¹¹⁰ Helander (2001), p. 27.

Abbreviations

Shortenings are normally expanded without remark, if there is no doubt about the meaning. This is the case for e.g. titles such as *Dn* for *Dominus* (and equivalent forms). The *linea nasalis* is always spelled out as *m* or *n* without remark. Digraphs such as *æ* and *œ* are written as *ae* and *oe*. The frequently used ampersand (&) is solved as *et*. The common abbreviation *atq;* is expanded as *atque*.

Typography: Capital Letters, Italics and Diacritic Signs

Capital letters and italics are kept since they reflect a desire to emphasize certain words and names, or are used out of respect to a person. Some poems that were originally printed in italics have been changed to plain typeface for the sake of readability. In such cases, words that were emphasized by being printed in plain typeface have been reproduced in italics.

Diacritic signs, i.e. grave and acute accents and the circumflex, that were used to distinguish vowel length and mark out grammatical forms, especially on adverbs, prepositions and the singular ablative ending (e.g. *optimè*, *à*, and *quâ*), are quite frequent in the dissertations studied and commonly used in Neo-Latin in general.¹¹¹ These signs are removed in this study, since they do not contribute particularly to the understanding of the text, and they are often employed inconsistently in the printed texts.¹¹² Modern readers may also find them disturbing to the readability of the text.

Greek Words

Words written in the Greek alphabet and Greek phrases are often lacking diacritic signs (accents and *spiritus*) that are otherwise expected. When needed I have inserted accents and *spiritus* according to common principles.

Translations

All translations of quotations and texts samples from Latin into English are my own, if not otherwise indicated. Most text samples in prose and verse are translated to facilitate comprehension for the reader. In cases where no translation is needed for the understanding of the discussion the Latin passage quoted is not translated.

¹¹¹ See Steenbakkers (1994) on accent-marks in Neo-Latin.

¹¹² Cf. IJsewijn and Sacré (1998), p. 473; Rabbie (1996), p. 34.

1.7 Outline of the Study

This study is divided into two main parts. The first of these is titled 'Disputations and dissertations in the early modern Swedish gymnasium'. This part begins with a section (2.1) which gives a general overview of the act of disputation in general and specifically of the act of disputation in Swedish education (trivial school and gymnasium). In the following section (2.2) the source material, i.e. the printed gymnasial dissertations, is initially described in terms of function, types, extent and distribution in time. The subjects of gymnasial dissertations are then treated in sections 2.3 and 2.4. The first of these sections deals with the subjects of dissertations by subject category; while the second section deals with the short *theses*-dissertations from the eighteenth century, giving a general overview of this type of dissertation and the subjects that are characteristic of the *theses*. In section 2.5, the participants in the disputation act are discussed, i.e. audience, respondents, opponents and *praeses*. This examination is based on the primary source material as well as on other sources. Last in the first part of this study are two sections on the question of authorship (2.6) and on questions regarding printing of gymnasial dissertations (2.7).

The second part of this study is titled 'Paratexts in the dissertations'. Here the concept and terminology of paratexts are presented (3.1) followed by the scope of the examination (3.2). The typographical layout of the title page of gymnasial dissertations is treated in section 3.3. Following the examination of the title page are three sections that consider the occurrence and function (stylistic as well as social) of three specific paratextual features, namely dedications (3.4), prefaces (3.5) and occasional literature (3.6). In the last two sections in this second part of the study, paratextual alterations, i.e. differences in paratexts between different copies of the same dissertation, are treated, followed by a case study of a specific schoolboy/student and what may be said of his educational journey using paratexts. After each main section follows a section of concluding remarks that summarizes the most important aspects discussed.

The study ends with a concluding discussion that highlights the outcome of the study and that relates to the questions raised in the introduction. The appendices containing the catalogue of all printed gymnasial dissertations that have been examined are placed after the bibliography, at the very end of the study.

The disposition of the present study may raise a few eyebrows: why treat the layout of the title page – the first page that meets the eye – after the examination of the rest of the dissertations? The answer is that I wanted to keep all paratextual features together, since these constitute – to my mind – a unit. Also, this disposition – I believe – will facilitate the use of this study as a handbook for those who come in contact with gymnasial dissertations in their profession or otherwise work with this kind of source material.

2. Disputations and Dissertations in the Early Modern Swedish Gymnasium

How and to what extent were disputations conducted at Swedish gymnasia? What was the content of gymnasial dissertations? What were the roles of the participants? Who wrote the dissertations? These are a few of the questions that will be dealt with in this part of the study. I will present, describe and discuss several aspects of disputations and dissertations in the early modern Swedish gymnasium. Firstly, I present a general survey of the act of disputation in the early modern academic world in general and a survey of the disputation culture as expressed in the Swedish gymnasium in particular (2.1). Secondly, gymnasial dissertations are examined in three sections: in section 2.2 general features are treated such as types, functions and where and when dissertations were printed; in section 2.3 I will examine the subjects of gymnasial dissertations; and in section 2.4 the short *theses*-dissertations of the eighteenth century are examined regarding their general features, how they are related to the *examen pastorale* and their content and subjects. Thirdly, section 2.5 is a survey of different aspects of the participants in the act of disputation. Fourthly, in section 2.6 the question of authorship of gymnasial dissertations is highlighted and related to the authorship of academic dissertations. Lastly, in section 2.7 I discuss some questions related to the printing of gymnasial dissertations.

2.1 Disputations in Early Modern Swedish Education

2.1.1 Introduction

In order to understand gymnasial disputations, it is useful to begin with the history and practice of the *ars disputandi*, the art of disputation. It is of interest to give a fuller picture of the disputation context in which dissertations were produced and used in early modern Swedish education, academic as well as gymnasial. As has been stated above in section 1, it is necessary to bear in mind that *disputation* in this study always refers to the act of oral defense. *Dissertation* on the other hand always refers to the printed item, the text itself.¹¹³

The tradition of disputation as manifest in the early modern period has its origin in the *disputatio* of the Middle Ages. There were several types of medieval disputation which existed side by side, and they were an important

¹¹³ Cf. Weijers (2013), pp. 216 and 218f.

part of university education at the time.¹¹⁴ Two main types of medieval disputation are to be distinguished before others in the world of education and universities, namely the dialectic and the scholastic disputation. The dialectic disputation involved two dueling opponents, one of whom was defending a thesis against the other by using strict dialectical rules.¹¹⁵ The purpose of the dialectic disputation was to find a winner, not to find the truth or the solution to the matter disputed. The scholastic disputation on the other hand was not arranged as a duel, but rather took the form of a discussion in search of the truth between at least three participants: a respondent, an opponent and a master who presided over the act.¹¹⁶ The scholastic disputation had a particular educational function, since it often dealt with questions taken from the curriculum reading, but it was also a way of examining students, and, together with the *lectio* disputation, formed an important part of the educational system in the early modern period.¹¹⁷ The *quaestiones* discussed in the medieval *disputatio* had either affirmative or negative answers, and the arrangement allowed both respondent and opponent to put forth supporting arguments until the presiding master presented his solution at the end of the exchange.¹¹⁸ It is this scholastic disputation practice that forms the basis of the type of disputation that is found in the early modern Swedish gymnasium. The oral act of the medieval *disputatio* could result in a written treatise, but in some cases the written product was only partially based on the oral disputation. In the fourteenth century treatises began to be written in the disputation form of *quaestiones* without an oral model.¹¹⁹ This development eventually led to the written dissertation of the early modern period.¹²⁰

2.1.2 The Act of *Disputatio* in the Early Modern Period

Disputations in the academic world were a way of training students to argue, to persuade and to convince others in the search for the truth, and disputations were considered a fairly solemn event in which the participants could demonstrate their skills.¹²¹ To be able to grasp the elusive social act of disputation one must consult different kinds of sources: handbooks, official

¹¹⁴ See Weijers (2005, 2010 and 2013) for discussions on the medieval origins of the *disputatio* and the different types of disputation.

¹¹⁵ Weijers (2010), p. 22, and (2005), p. 23.

¹¹⁶ Weijers (2010), p. 23.

¹¹⁷ Marti (2011), p. 293.

¹¹⁸ Weijers (2005), p. 24.

¹¹⁹ The latter is the case from the fourteenth century onwards. Weijers (2005), p. 25, and (2010), p. 26.

¹²⁰ Cf. discussion in Chang (2004).

¹²¹ Lindberg (2016), p. 15f.; cf. Marti (1994a).

regulations, memoirs or (auto)biographies, satires or parodies and even pictures.¹²² In the following, the focus will be on what handbooks and official regulations tell us about disputations in general and specifically about disputations in an academic/educational context. Official documents, such as university statutes and school regulations, regulated the content of curriculum. Along with handbooks on disputation, this material mirrors the early modern practice of disputation.

Because disputations were such an important part of early modern education, there exist a great number of early modern handbooks, manuals and dissertations treating the *ars disputandi*, the art of disputation.¹²³ This theoretical awareness of disputation is especially noticeable from the early seventeenth century onwards, although these matters were also discussed from the mid-sixteenth century.¹²⁴ Generally, manuals on the art of disputation discussed the modern (i.e. contemporary) syllogistic method of disputation versus the old, Socratic method practiced by the ancients. The modern method is characterized by having an opponent who questions the thesis of a respondent using syllogistic arguments.¹²⁵ A third person was also involved, the *praeses*, whose role it was both to moderate and lead the disputation, but also to especially assist the respondent with the argumentation, and to finally conclude the disputation.¹²⁶ In this context it is worth mentioning that in the constitutions of the University of Uppsala dating from 1626 and 1655, the syllogistic method of argumentation is emphasized: *Argumenta autem sua in forma syllogistica semper proponant* [sc. *opponentes*] (1626) and *In omnibus autem disputationibus argumenta semper in forma*

¹²² Cf. the way of approaching academic disputation praxis applied by Füssel (2016), who has studied material from German-speaking regions which appears to be richer in every aspect than the material found in Sweden.

¹²³ Cf. references given in Marti (1994a), and Felipe (1991), pp. 268-289, of whom the latter gives a list of more than 140 early modern works that focus entirely, or to some extent, on the art of disputation.

¹²⁴ Felipe (2010), p. 35 and (1991), p. 28ff. Freedman (2005), pp. 30 and 44 (footnote 5). Cf. discussions in Freedman (2010).

¹²⁵ Syllogistic argumentation is characterized by being a chain of logical assumptions – syllogisms – consisting of premises and conclusions. Different types of syllogistic chains are given different names according to their aim and usage. A textbook example of a syllogistic chain would be formulated: “If p, then q”. See the article “Syllogismus” by Kraus (2009), coll. 269-298, in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* (ed. G. Ueding). An early modern definition of syllogisms in Latin is found in Christian Weisius’s (Weise) *Doctrina logica* from 1704, p. 57: *I. Syllogismus est Oratio, ubi e duabus propositionibus s. praemissis, inter se connexis, per necessariam Consequentiam elicitur tertia Propositio s. Conclusio. II. Propositiones, ut dictum, sunt tres: duae Praemissiae, quarum prima vocatur Major, altera Minor, et tandem Conclusio. E.g. Major. O. animal sentit. Minor. O. equus est animal. E. Conclusio. O. equus sentit.* Cf. Rudbeckius’ intended schoolbook *Logica* (Arosia/Västerås 1625) and the gymnasial dissertation *De syllogismo* (pr. J. Holstenius, Västerås 1666), which both explain syllogisms.

¹²⁶ Felipe (1991), p. 185. Cf. Marti (1994a), col. 867.

sylogistica proponentur (1655).¹²⁷ Disputations at the Swedish universities were arranged in the same manner as described above (respondent, opponent(s) and *praeses*). Most often the professor of the faculty in which the disputation was submitted acted as *praeses* and opened the act with a short speech and closed it by thanking both respondent and opponents for their good work; the disputation then ended with a prayer.¹²⁸ During the disputation, the *praeses* was obliged to prevent the act from degenerating into a quarrel and was also obliged to prevent the students involved speaking all at once, but – on the other hand – the professor also had to see that none of the participants took up all the time in the *disputatio* to the detriment of the others.¹²⁹

Disputations were also the subject of writings originating from Sweden, of which should be mentioned Johannes Rudbeckius' *Logica ex optimis et praestantissimis autoribus collecta et conscripta* (Arosia [Västerås] 1625), a work intended for use in schools, and the academic dissertations *De processu disputandi* presided by Olavus Unonius Gavelius (Uppsala 1642) and *De disputationibus* presided by Petrus Lagerlöf (Uppsala 1685). These three works offer recommendations on how to formulate *theses*, and on how the participants in the disputation should act, particularly respondent and opponent. Rudbeckius' *Logica*, which is entirely dedicated to the art of logic and syllogisms, treats the opponent's and respondent's tasks and how they should perform their duties in section eight. Rudbeckius stresses that since it is the aim of the opponent to make the respondent state anything that is unbelievable, the respondent should anticipate this and ensure that he does not do so (*Ut Opponentis erat dare operam, ut Respondens aliquid maxime incredibile statuat, ex iis quae propter Thesin sunt necessaria: Sic Respondentis providere ne id sua culpa fiat*).¹³⁰ Turning to *De disputationibus* (Uppsala 1685), the main purpose of a disputation is said to be to distinguish the truth from falsehood: *Ut omnis disputationis finis et scopus est dividere verum a falso [...]*.¹³¹ The duties of the

¹²⁷ “Konstitutioner för Upsala Universitet på Gustaf Adolfs befallning underskrifna av Axel Oxenstjerna och Johan Skytte utan dato, men troligen från sommaren 1626”, in Annerstedt *Bihang I: Handlingar 1477-1654*, p. 274, and [Uppsala universitet] “1655 års konstitutioner” (transl. K. Östlund), p. 106.

¹²⁸ Östlund (2007), p. 154ff.

¹²⁹ See for instance [Uppsala universitet] “1655 års konstitutioner”, p. 106: *Placide disputationes fient, sine scommatibus, calumniis, injuriis, altercationibus, rixis et mutuis interpellationibus, vitata omni pertinacia praeconceptam opinionem defendendi; omnesque ad veritatis explicationem dirigentur, observabunturque vices opponendi et respondendi, ne tempus totum alteruter solus occupet.*

¹³⁰ Rudbeckius, *Logica*, p. 249.

¹³¹ *De disputationibus* (Uppsala 1685), p. 12. Practically every work on the nature of disputations contains a few words intended to define what a disputation is or should be. One such definition occurs in *De disputationibus*, but similar wording is also found in in other treatises: *Disputatio est colloquium mutuum, in quo de quaestione dubia erudite ac distincte disceptatur, ita ut unus thesin propositam infringere opponendo, alter eandem defendere respondendo allaboret opponentis et*

three participants are highlighted in *De processu disputandi* (Uppsala 1642) – which of the three texts is the one that is most focused on practical issues regarding disputations.¹³² *De processu disputandi* gives considerable attention to the conduct of the opponent and respondent during the disputation. Again, we find that syllogistic argumentation is emphasized, under the heading of the role of the opponent: *Haec argumenta distincta et clara voce Syllogistice sunt proponenda* [sc. *ab opponente*] [...]. *De processu disputandi* also offers advice on how and in what order arguments should be put forth and what to bear in mind when it comes to such things as good manners. The *praeses* for his part is said to have two main responsibilities: firstly to lead the disputation and to keep the participants from going beyond the limits of decency and of their task, and secondly to especially help the respondent with their argumentation:

Disputandi itaque actus inter has duas personas potissimum esse debet: persona enim Praesidis ad alterutram spectat, *cujus officium duplex esse communiter statuitur. I. Ut disputationem dirigat* [sc. *praeses*], *et disputantes intra cancellos contineat, proinde λογομαχίας, contentiones, calumnias, interlocutiones, digressiones et alia hujusmodi prohibeat.* [...] Alterum ejus officium est *ut personas disputantes, imprimis vero Respondentem juvet, titubantem informet, errantem revocet, ejusdem obscuriora et imperfectiora responsa illustret et compleat* [...].

[Therefore the act of disputation should be held above all between these two roles: because the role of the *praeses* considers both, whose twofold task has been commonly established. I. It is the duty of the *praeses* to lead the disputation, and keep the disputing parties in check, so that he prevents battles of words, controversies, quibbles, disputes, deviations from the subject, and other things of that kind. (...) The second of his duties is to help the disputants but especially the respondent, to instruct him when he is hesitant, to lead the errant back on track, to elucidate and to complete the more obscure and incomplete answers of the respondent.]

In mentioning that it was the duty of the *praeses* to keep the disputation from degenerating into all these kinds of arguments, the text of *De processu disputandi* suggests that it is highly likely that these problems were occurring in disputations. According to Sari Kivistö, *logomachia* and other sorts of quarrelsome behavior were often a part of disputations, which sometimes

respondentis (p. 12). Cf. *De processu disputandi* (Uppsala 1642), p. 4. Compare also quote in Freedman (2010), p. 99 (footnote 34).

¹³² This dissertation has previously been discussed by Sellberg (1972), pp. 68-73.

even led to downright fighting.¹³³ These tendencies that threatened the dignity of the disputation were among the reasons why disputation culture was criticized by its slanderers, and were often stressed as something to avoid in regulations and disputation manuals both in Sweden and elsewhere.¹³⁴ In this light, it appears that the author of the passage quoted above wanted to guarantee that he had covered all sorts of troublesome behavior that could appear during a disputation in order to prevent the act from degenerating. In many cases, continental handbooks on disputation also give advice on the duties of the participants, and, as will be seen in the following, Swedish school regulations and constitutions were also preoccupied with the topic of the tidiness of the disputation act as well.¹³⁵

Apart from the more theoretical aspects of disputation, descriptions of how the act of disputation was actually performed are unfortunately rarely found in official statutes, handbooks and other kinds of manuals. Other sources that do provide information on the disputation act are memoirs, parodies in prose and verse, and writings critical of disputations which often have an apparently satirical aim.¹³⁶ Two easily accessible examples which make fun of the academic disputation practice deserve to be mentioned, namely Carl Michael Bellman's song 'Movitz skulle bli Student' in *Fredmans Sångar* nr 28 (1792),¹³⁷ and the comedy *Erasmus Montanus* (1731) by the Danish writer Ludvig Holberg. An amusing example of mockery of empty academic learning in general and of the practice of disputation in particular is found in the latter (act 4, scene 2), in which the homecoming student Erasmus Montanus uses syllogistic argumentation (somewhat unorthodoxly) to prove that Per, his former neighbor and village clerk, is a cock:

MONTANUS: Then refute this syllogism, *quem tibi propono*. A cock has these characteristics that distinguish it from other animals: it warns people by crowing when they should get up; it tells time; it boasts about its own voice; and it has horns on its head. You have these same characteristics. *Ergo*, you are a cock. Refute that argument.

PER: [*Cries again*.]¹³⁸

¹³³ Kivistö (2014), pp. 147-153.

¹³⁴ Kivistö (2014), p. 148f.

¹³⁵ Cf. the examples given by Felipe (2010) from German disputation handbooks.

¹³⁶ Tengström (2014), pp. 109-113, covers attitudes towards oral Latin in the academic context — in lectures and disputations — in the period 1780-1850. According to Füssel (2016), p. 41, disputations were a rewarding theme for satire in German-speaking regions during the early modern period. See also Burman (2012b), pp. 38f. and 174 (footnote 71).

¹³⁷ Bellman's disputation parody has been reproduced and analyzed by Burman (2014).

¹³⁸ This and other plays are translated into English in Holberg (1990).

The villagers are not impressed by Erasmus' conceited attitude which he had embraced at the university. The cultural clash is inevitable and eventually it leads to Erasmus' fall in the latter scenes of the play.

2.1.3 Disputations in Early Modern Swedish Primary and Secondary Education

Disputations were used both in trivial school and in the gymnasium as a didactic method so that schoolboys would progress in their learning and deepen their rhetorical skills. This section presents in a chronological order what school regulations in particular – i.e. the documents that regulated the content of the curriculum – from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have to say on how, when and to what extent disputations were to be practiced in early modern Swedish education. Before turning to the regulations it should be said that the disputation exercises as they are manifested in the regulations are related to the practice of disputations in German speaking 'akademische Gymnasien'.¹³⁹

A schoolboy who had attended trivial school and/or gymnasium in early modern Sweden would have been frequently involved in disputation exercises, either as part of the audience or as active player in the act itself. The overall purpose of these exercises involving schoolboys was to give them adequate training in argumentation and to prepare them for the academic disputation if they planned to continue to university. The goal of the combatants was to win over the other by forcing him to accept the other's argument as more true or plausible than his own. The participants were judged either by how well they defended the *thesis*, or by how well they expressed arguments against the *thesis*. A telling example that emphasizes this is found in a letter written by Carl Jacob Lundström who attended the gymnasium of Västerås in the 1770s. In a letter to his father, Lundström writes of a disputation in which he himself was respondent. Lundström says that he succeeded in his role as respondent and that none of the opponents managed to make him deny anything that he claimed in the *theses*; instead, one of the opponents, who had nothing to set against Lundström's defence of the *thesis*, was forced to exclaim *concedo* ("I agree!").¹⁴⁰

Let us now turn to what is said of disputations in school regulations. The first mention of disputations in Swedish school regulations dates from 1611 – i.e. twelve years or so before the first *gymnasia* were founded in Sweden. As has been stated above, there were two types of school in this period, namely provincial and cathedral schools, and in both of these disputations were

¹³⁹ See the description in Horn (1893), pp. 73-82.

¹⁴⁰ Letter from Carl Jacob Lunström to his father Anders Lundström dated 14 November 1772. Lundströmska samlingen in Stora Enso AB's archive, Arkivcentrum Dalarna (Falun).

held on a regular basis. In provincial schools and cathedral schools disputations were introduced in the fourth grade.¹⁴¹ Every quarter two disputations were held: in provincial schools, one disputation in logic and the other in theology. However, in cathedral schools disputations were practiced in all grades from the fourth to the sixth. In the fourth grade, disputations in cathedral schools were in theology and rhetoric, in the fifth grade solely in logic, and in the sixth grade solely in theology. The school regulation of 1611 also gives information on disputations other than those already mentioned. Every Wednesday at one p.m. all classes would practice the art of disputation on questions drawn from Latin grammar. Each schoolboy would act as respondent in turn. The degree of difficulty was raised from one class to another so that the lowest classes disputed on vocabulary and proper grammar and the highest on rhetorical figures and tropes.¹⁴² Judging by the description in the school regulation of 1611, these disputations appear to be more like smaller tests albeit with similar settings to actual disputations. Saturdays were the days for proper disputations. Between eight and ten thirty a.m. these events were supervised on a rota: the first week by the *rector*, the second week by the *conrector* and then by the *lector* of theology. The arrangements that disputations were conducted on Saturday mornings were thus set for centuries to come.

Before the comprehensive school regulation of 1649 (Queen Christina's regulation), a number of local constitutions for the first Swedish gymnasia came into force in the 1620s and 1630s. Here I will discuss what three early local constitutions say about the act of disputation; these are the constitutions of the gymnasia in Västerås, Strängnäs and Åbo.

The regulation *Leges et constitutiones illustris gymnasii scholaeque Arosiensis*, the first local constitution for the gymnasium of Västerås (founded in 1623) by Johannes Rudbeckius, bishop of Västerås and founder of the gymnasium, dates from 1628.¹⁴³ This document contains a chapter on how disputations should be executed and some rules for the conduct of the parties involved (*Cap. III. De Disputationibus*). Saturday between 7 and 10 a.m. was the time for disputations and he who wanted to participate as respondent should hand over his short and clear *theses* to the dean of the gymnasium eight days before for the dean to approve them and then for the respondent to nail them to the door of the upper auditorium.¹⁴⁴ One supposes that it was the

¹⁴¹ In provincial schools the fourth grade was called *classis rectoris* and in cathedral schools it went under the name *classis Graeca*. SO 1611, ÅSU 4, pp. 30-31.

¹⁴² SO 1611, ÅSU 4, p. 35.

¹⁴³ The original Latin version of *Leges et constitutiones illustris gymnasii scholaeque Arosiensis* has been edited by Brolén (1895). In Hall (1911) there is a translation of the whole regulation text.

¹⁴⁴ *Leges et constitutiones*, Brolén (1895), p. 9: *Si quis disputare voluerit, octiduo ante theses easque breves et perspicuas Gymnasii Decano exhibebit eoque approbante januae superioris auditorii affiget.*

responding schoolboy – and not one of the *lectores* who was to preside over the disputation – who was to hand over his presumably handwritten *theses* to the dean. The purpose of the disputation exercises was not to find the truth of the matter, but rather to test the respondent’s knowledge of the subject through examples.¹⁴⁵ The constitution from Västerås continues by saying that opponents should be selected from the same class as the respondent. All of the participants should then talk and discuss the matter clearly, modestly and from memory (*atque tam hic [sc. respondens] quam illi [sc. oppositentes] distincte, modeste et memoriter loquantur et conferant*). The *praeses* should not rebuke or harass the opponent in hard words during the disputation, otherwise he would have to pay a fine of one mark; neither the *lectores* nor the schoolboys in the audience should intervene or try to act as opponents without approval of the *praeses* just because they wanted to show their smartness.¹⁴⁶ Nor should the opponent go beyond the boundaries of good manners by being sarcastic or by making mockery of the respondent. All such behavior would be punished, concludes the *Leges et constitutiones*.¹⁴⁷

From the same period, i.e. from the second half of the 1620s, comes the first constitution of the gymnasium in Strängnäs, the second to be founded in Sweden, *Constitutiones collegii Strengnensis*.¹⁴⁸ According to the *Constitutiones*, disputation exercises were to be held once every week; those in theology conducted by the *lectores theologiae*, in logic by the *lector* of logic and mathematics, and in physics by the *lector* of physics and astronomy.¹⁴⁹ For every disputation there should be selected three respondents, of whom two should always be from amongst the holders of royal scholarships (*stipendiarii regii*), or of whom one should be a holder of a royal scholarship and one should be an applicant for a royal scholarship. There should be ten or twelve opponents: one from each row of benches in the classroom. If anyone else wanted to act as an extra opponent he was free to do so. During the disputations all of the schoolboys (and all teachers too) were to be present, whether they participated in the act or not. Absence would be

¹⁴⁵ *Leges et constitutiones*, Brolén (1895), p. 9: [...] *disputationes in Schola in singulis classibus habebuntur, non tam de praeceptorum veritate per subtiles rationes quam per exempla de respondentium in arte peritia ejusque usu.*

¹⁴⁶ *Leges et constitutiones*, Brolén (1895), p. 9: *Inter disputandum Praeses opponentem non increpet aut durioribus verbis excipiat, secus marcam fisco dabit. [...] Nemo vel Lectorum vel scholarium ingenii ostendendi gratia non rogatus vel praesidem interpellat vel opponentis partes defendendas suscipiat, ne exinde aliqua aemulatio et contentio inter Lectores causetur.*

¹⁴⁷ *Leges et constitutiones*, Brolén (1895), p. 9: *Si opponens modestiae limites transgressus ad sarcasmos et convitia devenit, eidem poenae obnoxius esto.*

¹⁴⁸ These *Constitutiones collegii Strengnensis* are edited in Thyselius (1839), pp. 79-103, and translated into Swedish in Falk (1926), pp. 17-35. The date of this document is uncertain since the original manuscript is undated, but it is likely that it was published between 1626 and 1628. See Falk (1926), p. 35f. for the origins of the *Constitutiones collegii*.

¹⁴⁹ *Constitutiones collegii*, Thyselius (1839), p. 89f.

severely punished.¹⁵⁰ Penalties for absence from disputations, especially for students with royal scholarships, are also mentioned in the 1655 constitution of the University of Uppsala.¹⁵¹ The high number of participants in every disputation appears to be a means of rendering the disputation act more effective because more people got a chance to take part.

In the early 1630s, i.e. a few years later than the *Leges et constitutiones* from Västerås and the *Constitutiones collegii* from Strängnäs, a similar constitution, *Methodus didactica*, was set out for the gymnasium in Åbo (Finland) by the founder bishop Isaac Rothovius.¹⁵² In this document the disputation exercises are set to be conducted on Saturdays between 6 and 10 a.m., organised alternately by the *lectores* in theology and those in philosophy: *Die Saturni ante meridiem habentur Disputationes a 6 in 10, commutatis vicibus inter Theologos et Philosophos.*¹⁵³ There should be three, four, or five respondents chosen from the same class so that more schoolboys would have the opportunity to act as respondent: *adhibitis semper 3, 4 vel 5 Respondentibus ex Discipulorum suorum classe, ut hoc pacto ordo respondendi ad singulos citius et saepius devolvatur.*¹⁵⁴ If a *lector* did not hold the disputation that he was obliged to, he was to pay a fine of four silver talents for the first offence, then six the second time he omitted to fulfill his duties and ten talents the third time. If he should neglect to hold his disputation a fourth time he would lose his position: *Disputationem si quis non habuerit eo die, quo tangit ipsum ordo, solvet prima vice 4 thal. Monetae argenteae; secunda vice 6, tertia 10; at quarta ab officio removebitur.*¹⁵⁵

Judging by these early local constitutions from different parts of the Swedish realm, disputation exercises were given an important role in the curriculum of the first gymnasia. The duties connected to disputations were not to be neglected without remark, neither by the schoolboys, nor by the teachers.

If we turn to the next national school regulation, that of 1649, the information on disputations is more detailed. By this time there were three types of educational level in Sweden: trivial schools, gymnasia and the

¹⁵⁰ *Constitutiones collegii*, Thyselius (1839), p. 90: *In singulis disputationibus tres constituuntur Respondentes, quorum duo semper erunt ex Stipendiariis Regiis, vel uno Stipendiariorum et altero petente Stipendium. Opponentes 10 vel 12 erunt, ex singulis subsellis unus; alias vero extraordinarie omnibus liberum erit opponere. In disputationibus omnes in universum erunt praesentes, sive opponant, sive non. Absentes graviter mulctabuntur.*

¹⁵¹ Sahlin (1856), p. 50.

¹⁵² The complete title reads *Methodus didactica in Collegio Aboënsi, in quo tota Encyclopaedia Philosophicae, cum Linguis Latina, Graeca et Hebraica, ac Theologia, a Professoribus sex proponitur*. On the biography of Rothovius, see SBL, s.v. Isaac Rothovius <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=6962> (author Kari Tarkiainen).

¹⁵³ The *Methodus didactica* is quoted from the dissertation *Dissertationis Academicæ vitam et merita M. Isaaci B. Rothovii* part 3, presided by Jacobus Tengström (1799), p. 35.

¹⁵⁴ *Methodus didactica*, Tengström (1799), p. 39.

¹⁵⁵ *Methodus didactica*, Tengström (1799), p. 40.

academy. In trivial schools the young boys were to practice the art of disputation from an early age, disputations taking place on Wednesday afternoon from the third grade. According to the school regulation these small disputation exercises were a good method for learning about Latin authors as well for oral practice in the Latin language:

Concertatiunculae seu velitationes scholasticae, ad parandam tum artium et auctorum cognitionem, tum expeditius loquendi facultatem, non minimum adferunt momentum. Institutur autem illae, praesente et dirigente praeceptore, diebus Mercurij a meridie, ante dandam ludendi veniam.¹⁵⁶

[Small disputations or school skirmishes are very important for obtaining both knowledge of the subjects and the authors, and for more readily gaining skills in talking Latin. These disputations should be organized under the presence and direction of the teacher on Wednesday afternoon, before the schoolboys are to be given the permission to play.]

It is appropriate to comment on the choice of language to describe the kind of disputations that should be held in the passage above. The school regulation uses the term *velitationes* as a synonym for small disputations (*concertatiunculae*). The noun *velitatio* is very rarely found in ancient Latin texts, where it originally meant ‘skirmishing by light-armed infantry’, but it is found also in a transferred meaning of ‘a skirmishing with words’.¹⁵⁷ In contrast, in early modern Latin writings the word is frequently found and refers to academic debates in the sense of ‘quarrel’, with the corresponding verb *velitare* meaning ‘to discuss *theses* of a dissertation’.¹⁵⁸ The school regulations above show that these quarrels – supervised by the teacher one must presume – were an important introduction to the proper disputations that schoolboys would be part of later on if they continued to the gymnasium. With regard to the choice of subjects for these small disputation exercises, grammatical rules or the understanding of a passage from one of the Latin authors were suitable.

One purpose of these disputations was to invoke competition between the schoolboys in order to promote their studies. The role of the teacher was to choose two equally skilled and gifted boys – but they should not be very good friends so as to prevent them from acting in collusion.¹⁵⁹ The

¹⁵⁶ SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 83.

¹⁵⁷ L&S, s.v. *velitatio*. The noun is attested only twice in ancient Latin, both in comedies of Plautus.

¹⁵⁸ Helander (2004), p. 158f.

¹⁵⁹ SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 83f.: *Disputabunt autem discipuli eiusdem classis ad excitandam invicem aemulationem. Ex his enim praeceptor, suo iudicio, binos eliget, quos inter se committat, altero respondente,*

disputation was then arranged so that the schoolboy who had a lower position in the classroom started by asking questions to the boy who had a higher position and criticizing his answers. After four or five of these questions the boys changed places. It was the teacher's duty to decide whether the answers were properly corrected or not and to decide whether the critique was legitimate or not. It was also the teacher's responsibility to keep the event from degenerating into quarrel and rancor.¹⁶⁰

The school regulations' stipulation regarding lower and higher position seating may be explained by the way the schoolboys were placed in the classroom. The best were placed by the teacher in the row nearest to the lectern, while the second best were placed behind the first row, the third best behind the second row etc.¹⁶¹

So far we have covered the role of disputations in trivial school as described in the school regulations of 1649. In the gymnasium the disputation exercises took place more frequently. For this intermediate level,

altero interrogante constituto. Eliget [sc. praeceptor] autem ingenio et memoria non prorsus dispares, neque facile comparabit eos, qui familiares inter se admodum sint, ad evitandam collusionis fraudem.

¹⁶⁰ SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 84: *Initio inferior loco superiorem interrogat, et in respondendo errantem corrigere conetur: recte autem an perperam correxerit, decidet praeceptor. Postquam quater aut quinque hoc pacto superiorem interrogaverit, saepiusque impingentem correxerit, tum praeceptor eos mutare iubebit vices, ut superiori fas sit interrogare inferiorem. Providebit autem praeceptor, ne istae concertatiunculae in odia et rixas abeant, sed ut collationi serviant studiorum.*

¹⁶¹ In the school regulations of 1649 this placing of the schoolboys is stressed: *Diligentes et probi in omnibus classibus a praeceptoribus commendandi, ac negligentibus rudioribusque praeponendi sunt* ("Diligent and careful schoolboys should be set off with advantages by the teachers and be placed before the others in the classroom") (SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 88). This way of drawing attention to the level of diligence is also emphasized in the school regulations of 1724: "Hwar ock en Class hafwer sina bänkar, hwaruppå Scholae-piltarne sättilas i ordning effter sin qwickheet ock framsteg [...]" (SO 1724, ÅSU 7, p. 36). In schools and gymnasia there was also a single stool or a row of benches at the back of the classroom for the 'ass punishment' (*åsnestraff*), which means either that the boy was seated on the single 'ass stool', or that a mask resembling an ass was placed on the head of boys who had been neglectful in some way: *negligentes [sc. discentes] in scamno asinorum considerare iubeantur, vel asini picturam gestare, postponantur* (SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 89). This kind of punishment was a remnant from medieval education (see Falk, 1926, p. 20 footnote 1). Descriptions of later date, but still relevant for this context, that suggest that arranging seating according to the cleverness of the schoolboys was important even in the 1820s and 1840s are found in the autobiographical notes by Karl Edmund Wenström and in the memories of his school days by Sigge Ljunggren, both of whom attended the gymnasium in Västerås. Wenström says that every row had a name that alluded to the intellectual capacity of those placed there. Ljunggren says that one way of punishing schoolboys who were less diligent was to move them back a row. This clearly must have been important since Ljunggren also notes that the boys' placing in the classroom was carefully marked out in the school register every semester. Wenström (1874), p. 4f. and Hall (1933), p. 116.

the description in the school regulations of 1649 focus on the subject matter of disputations rather than the way they were to be conducted. One supposes that this is because disputations at the gymnasium were carried out in fairly much the same way as in trivial school, and that there was no need for further instruction in this matter. The school regulations of 1649 state that public disputation exercises were one way to exercise oral Latin for the schoolboys – apart from talking with their teachers and with each other, and staging Latin comedies.¹⁶² Disputations were mounted every Saturday between eight and ten a.m. The regulations stated that the choice of topics for these events should be undertaken prudently by the teacher, so that the subjects would not be beyond the schoolboys' comprehension. In addition to this, the teacher should also consider that the disputations should be for the benefit of both educational studies and life when choosing topics. The focus should be on specific questions rather than on general propositions.¹⁶³

In physics the topics should be the sky and the celestial bodies, on the elements, water, earth, atmospheric phenomena, species of plants and animals and how to keep oneself in good health. In theology on the other hand, the subjects should focus on contemporary controversies of faith. In every part of the disputation, piety, modesty, sincerity, and logic and legitimate procedure should be observed.¹⁶⁴ The school regulations of 1649 do not stipulate the order in which the different *lectores* should preside over disputations.

To conclude, instructions and rules on how the act of disputation was arranged occupy a fairly large part of the school regulations of 1649. The overall impression is that the instructions on the act of disputation in the gymnasium focus on the teacher's role and on the choice of subject, while the arrangement of the disputation act itself is center in the disputation instructions for trivial school.

In later regulations we find more specific information on how the *lectores* would each preside over disputations in turn. In the short regulations of 1693 it is said that the two *lectores* in theology and the *lector* in logic should each conduct disputation exercises on short and clear *theses* at least twice every year at the gymnasium ("skole åth minstone hålla hwar thera twånne *exercitia Disputatoria* uti *Gymnasio* om Åhret öfwer några korta och tydelige

¹⁶² SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 103f.

¹⁶³ SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 104: *Instituentur autem disputationes in Gymnasio singulis hebdomadibus semel, idque die sabbati per biborium, omissis omnibus praefationibus. In materia eligenda ea opus est prudentia, ut illa duntaxat assumantur themata, quae tum captum discipulorum non excedunt, tum magnum in artibus intelligendis, et regenda vita vsum habent. Vnde in artibus non de generalibus, sed specialibus et praxi ipsi propinquis erunt.*

¹⁶⁴ SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 104: *In Physicis de coelo et coelestibus, de elementis, aqua, terra etc. de meteoris, de speciebus plantarum et animalium, de conservanda valetudine bona. Theologicae de controversijs fidei modernis habebuntur pie et modeste. Summatim: In omnibus observetur, pietas, modestia, candor et processus logice et legitime disputandi.*

Theses?).¹⁶⁵ The other *lectores* on the other hand were obliged to conduct disputations once every year. It was also the duty of the *lector* of logic to instruct the schoolboys in how to argue in a syllogistic manner (“hålla Vngdomen till at *argumentera syllogisticè*”). This means that the act of disputation followed the ‘modern’ method of scholastic disputation discussed above. Since every complete gymnasium had seven *lectores* this means that every year there were at minimum ten disputation exercises over which the teachers presided. Nothing is unfortunately said in the school regulations of 1693 about the role schoolboys must have played in these disputations, whether as authors of dissertations or as participants in the act.

The school regulations of 1724, despite being more extensive than the previous regulations, do not mention any disputation exercises in trivial school. At the gymnasium, for the teachers’ part, the regulations of 1724 state that every applicant for a position as *lector* or *adjunctus* at a gymnasium (or as *rector* or *conrector* at a trivial school for that matter) must show his suitability for the post in a public disputation on *theses* that pertained to the position they had applied for.¹⁶⁶ However, the idea that a teacher designate had to hold a disputation to gain a position was not new in the Swedish school system. The *Leges et constitutiones* (mentioned above) for the gymnasium of Västerås stress this practice as early as 1628.¹⁶⁷ These disputations for a position were held at the gymnasium in the presence of the schoolboys, the bishop (*ephorus*) and the members of the consistory. The applicant would preside over theses suitable for the position, schoolboys would act as opponents, and the bishop and members of the consistory would act as extraordinary opponents to test the applicant.¹⁶⁸ Although not mentioned as such in the regulations of 1724, these are what are known as *pro loco*-disputations that could generate a printed *pro loco*-dissertation.

When it comes to the disputations for the benefit of schoolboys, the wording in the regulations of 1724 is similar to that of earlier regulations.¹⁶⁹ The first *lector* of theology should conduct disputation exercises (*exercitia disputatoria oratoria*) once a year, the second *lector* of theology and the *lector* in philosophy (*lector moralium et logicæ*) were obliged to hold disputations twice a year. The *lectores* of eloquence/rhetoric, mathematics and Greek for their part were, according to the regulation, exhorted to supervise the orations of two schoolboys each. It seems that Latin oratory combined with disputations formed an important part of training in oral Latin in early modern Swedish education, not only at the university but also in the

¹⁶⁵ SO 1693, ÅSU 7, p. 13f.

¹⁶⁶ SO 1724, ÅSU 7, p. 21. The applicant also needed to hold a *lectio cursoria* to show his erudition, pronunciation, natural talents and skills, and industry for the service of the youth.

¹⁶⁷ See Hall (1911), Bilagor p. 25.

¹⁶⁸ SO 1724, ÅSU 7, p. 21.

¹⁶⁹ SO 1724, ÅSU 7, p. 55.

gymnasium, and schoolboys were trained by the *lector* of eloquence and rhetoric to hold speeches on various subjects, in prose or in verse.¹⁷⁰ According to the timetable in the school regulations of 1724, exercises both in oratory and in disputation and preaching were held on Saturdays between nine and ten a.m. (*exercitia oratoria*) and between ten and eleven a.m. ([*exercitia*] *Disputatoria et Concionatoria*).¹⁷¹ Saturday morning was, as already mentioned above, established in earlier regulations as the day for public exercises in the act of disputation.

The importance of disputations was also emphasized in the arrangement of the classroom, as attested in the gymnasium of Linköping. The larger classroom had two lecterns (*catbedrae*), one larger than the other, intended for respondent and opponent respectively.¹⁷² Whether this arrangement was adopted in other gymnasia or not is unfortunately unknown.

However, gymnasia disputations were not exempt from criticism. In a protocol from Gävle dated 1760 the *collegium gymnasticum* comments on matters concerning the teaching and curriculum of the gymnasium.¹⁷³ One of the comments is on the oratory and disputation exercises that the *collegium* says are of little value for the progression of learning. Schoolboys in the gymnasium of Gävle tended to use the time allotted for preparation of the orations and disputations as a pretext for skipping other classes.¹⁷⁴ Instead, the *collegium* points out, the schoolboys should practice speaking Latin by constant *colloquia Disputatoria*, in order to be able to think clearly and talk readily (“att både täncka redigt och tala färdigt”).¹⁷⁵ Similar critique was expressed by the consistory of Lund in the 1720s, when the *rector* Olof

¹⁷⁰ Tengström (1983), pp. 12-22, has a survey of the history, tradition, topics, development and significance of Latin oratory in Sweden from the sixteenth century to the 1850s, with special emphasis on oratory at Swedish universities. For instance, for future civil servants, training in the art of rhetoric and oratory was of importance in the exercise of diplomacy and propaganda of Great Power Sweden. In the eighteenth century oratory lost much of its political importance, and was practiced ceremonially mostly at universities. Rimm (2011), p. 184, discusses the importance of oratory exercises held at gymnasia and trivial school in the eighteenth century. Some of the speeches were printed.

¹⁷¹ See in ÅSU 7, p. 52. It may be of interest to note that in his *Tusculanae disputationes* (2.9) Cicero makes this separation of rhetorical exercises and disputations, although he engages in rhetoric in the morning and disputations in the afternoon (perhaps separated by a refreshing lunch break): *Itaque cum ante meridiem dictioni operam dedissemus, sicut pridie feceramus, post meridiem in Academiam descendimus, in qua disputationem habitant non quasi narrantes exponimus, sed eisdem fere verbis, ut actum disputatumque est.* = “Accordingly, after spending the morning in rhetorical exercises, we went in the afternoon, as on the day before, down to the Academy, and there a discussion (*disputatio*) took place which I do not present in narrative form, but as nearly as I can in the exact words of our actual discussion.” (transl. by J. E. King, The Loeb Classical Library, 1927).

¹⁷² Ekholm (1963), p. 99; see also Rimm (2011), p. 183.

¹⁷³ ÅSU 68/69, p. 365.

¹⁷⁴ ÅSU 68/69, p. 365. See also comments on this in Ödman (2003), p. 210.

¹⁷⁵ ÅSU 68/69, p. 365. For the meaning of the Swedish word *färdigt*, see SAOB, s.v. *färdig* 2.

Wennerstedt tried to initiate disputation exercises in the trivial school of Malmö (in the region of Skåne in southern Sweden).¹⁷⁶ The consistory expressed its misgivings that disputations in trivial school would have a negative effect on schoolwork and suggested that Wennerstedt should leave such exercises to gymnasia and universities. Wennerstedt, for his part, stressed that he knew from personal experience that schoolboys who had not had proper training in disputations had difficulties when attending university, and that he would continue with the disputation exercises, but in his leisure time.

The criticism of Latin disputations in the school environment parallels the general criticism of the use of Latin that arose in Sweden in the utilitarian-focused eighteenth century, in which mercantilism was valued over knowledge of Latin.¹⁷⁷

By the end of the period under investigation the view of Latin and thus the view of exercises in Latin began to seriously change. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, education slightly turned towards utilitarian requirements other than those demanded by church and government.¹⁷⁸ In the school regulations of 1807 disputations are mentioned when discussing the duties of the *lector* of eloquence and the *lector* of practical and theoretical philosophy. Each was obliged to preside over disputation exercises in Latin on *theses* that had been explained in lectures, as often as time permitted.¹⁷⁹ Under the heading 'On examination and public exercises' the school regulations of 1807 state that the purpose of disputations was to exercise the knowledge that young people had obtained in language and sciences.¹⁸⁰ By this time, disputations – if covering natural sciences, economy or history – could be held in Swedish instead of in Latin. The regulation also emphasise – as previously – that these exercises should be supervised by a *lector* who should see that the young people used pure and suitable speech and that the act was conducted decently.¹⁸¹

In the school regulations of 1820, on the other hand, disputations are only mentioned as one alternative for extra training once a week, together with general repetition and reading aloud.¹⁸² However, disputations *pro loco* on printed *theses* are emphasized as mandatory for applicants to lectorships. In the same manner as that expressed in the school regulations of 1724, *pro loco*-disputations engaged two schoolboys as opponents, while the bishop or

¹⁷⁶ The episode is referred in Evers (1958), p. 67.

¹⁷⁷ The criticism of Latin and the rising utilitarian ideals of the eighteenth century have been thoroughly discussed by Lindberg (1984), pp. 30-39.

¹⁷⁸ Wennäs (1966), pp. 9-12.

¹⁷⁹ SO 1807, ÅSU 7, p. 103.

¹⁸⁰ SO 1807, ÅSU 7, p. 109.

¹⁸¹ SO 1807, ÅSU 7, p. 109.

¹⁸² SO 1820, ÅSU 9, p. 9.

a member of the consistory would act as an extra opponent to test the applicant's abilities.¹⁸³ Judging by the description of disputation exercises in the school regulations of 1820, there is no question that these were no longer considered as important elements in instruction as they had been before.

Another kind of disputation that almost outrivaled ordinary disputation exercises was also held at the gymnasia: from the late eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth century it was normal for vicars who aimed for promotion to publicly submit *theses*, in the so-called *examen pastorale*. These events, which were held before the consistory and delivered at the gymnasium, involved schoolboys from the gymnasium as opponents.¹⁸⁴ The relation between gymnasial disputations and the *theses*-dissertations of the late eighteenth century on the one hand, and the *examen pastorale* on the other, will be discussed further in section 2.4 below.

Even though this survey of the place of disputation exercises in Swedish education in the early modern period as seen through official school regulations ends at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the practice of disputation exercises lived on in the gymnasium. Disputations in which schoolboys either defended submitted *theses* or acted as opponents in the aforementioned *examen pastorale* were held fairly regularly until at least the mid-nineteenth century. The type of disputation that survived throughout the whole nineteenth century was the *pro loco*-disputation. The practice of holding disputations to assess candidates for a position is prescribed in the school regulations of 1878, and submitting *pro loco*-dissertations in Latin and modern languages is attested as late as the 1890s.¹⁸⁵

2.1.4 Attitudes Towards Gymnasial Disputations

To turn to autobiographical and other accounts that mirror attitudes towards disputations in an educational context, there are examples that talk positively of disputations and those that give negative reports. One early example of a positive viewpoint is found in the autobiography of Andreas Rhyzelius (1677-1761), who later became bishop of Linköping. He attended the gymnasium of Skara in the late seventeenth century, and says that he often took part in the disputations that were held there during the autumn of 1698. Finally, in December the same year he himself acted as respondent

¹⁸³ SO 1820, ÅSU 9, p. 50.

¹⁸⁴ Wikmark (1981), pp. 48-52 and 55. See also Pleijel (1971), p. 41.

¹⁸⁵ SO 1878, ÅSU 22, pp. 23-26. *Pro loco*-dissertations from the nineteenth century are found for instance in the collections of gymnasial dissertations in the University Library of Gothenburg. Cf. Bromander (1931), p. 390, who mentions that Sven Edvard Sjöblom disputed for the position of *lector* at the gymnasium of Karlstad in 1896.

in a disputation titled *De angelis in specie*.¹⁸⁶ Rhyzelius seems to consider that responding with the handwritten dissertation was part of the climax of his efforts at the gymnasium (early the next year he left the gymnasium). Rhyzelius claims that the bishop of Skara himself acted as opponent, together with two *lectores*, which should undoubtedly be seen as a sign of appreciation.¹⁸⁷ If one examines the manuscript of the dissertation, it appears that Rhyzelius was not the only respondent, but shared the task with another schoolboy. In my opinion, Rhyzelius mentions his participation in a disputation with pride. In this aspect the disputation should be seen as proof of maturity, educational as well as intellectual. Like Rhyzelius' autobiographical notes, the letters written by Carl Jacob Lundström, who attended the gymnasium of Västerås in the early 1770s, contain accounts of a positive attitude to disputations.¹⁸⁸ In the letters, addressed to his father, Carl Jacob Lundström describes how he has been chosen by the *lector* of eloquence to act as respondent on four *theses* that he has written himself. Lundström is keen to tell his father that the opponents had nothing to set against his *theses* and that the *praeses* thanked him afterwards (in Latin) for not yielding to the arguments of the opponents.

If we instead turn to later accounts of disputations there are three autobiographical writings that describe school life in Västerås in the early nineteenth century that all present a more negative view of disputation. Firstly, one may highlight the memoirs of Wilhelm Erik Svedelius (1816-1889), who was Professor Skytteanus in Uppsala and member of the Swedish Academy. Svedelius describes disputation exercises in Västerås' gymnasium in the late 1820s in quite unflattering words.¹⁸⁹ Disputations on *theses* submitted by a schoolboy at the gymnasium were held every week in poor Latin, Svedelius recalls. The punch drinking afterwards — paid for by the respondent to celebrate the occasion — went more smoothly.¹⁹⁰ An

¹⁸⁶ I have studied the manuscript of this handwritten dissertation in Linköping's City Library, where it is found in the Samuel Älf collection of manuscripts W:25, vol. 16. Rhyzelius' autobiographical notes are edited by Helander (1904).

¹⁸⁷ In Rhyzelius' autobiographical notes he mentions these disputations: "Samma år om hösteterminen [1698] höll åter th. lect. M. Bredberg ett collegium disputatorium theol., thet jag bewistade altigenom och thervti hade ofta partes, men til ett slut responderade publice pro articulo de Angelis d. 3 dec. 1698, tå biskopen sielf och 2 lectores extra ordinarie opponerade." Helander (1904), p. 17.

¹⁸⁸ The letters of Carl Jacob Lindström to his father Anders Lundström are kept in Stora Enso AB's archive, Arkivcentrum Dalarna, and are dated 27 October, 14 November, 1 December and 15 December 1772. The letters are written in Swedish, much to the discontent of his father. Sandberg (1994), p. 140f.

¹⁸⁹ Svedelius (1894), pp. 73-74.

¹⁹⁰ According to Bagge (1916), p. 181ff., the schoolboys who had acted as respondents in the weekly disputations were permitted by the headmaster in Västerås to invite friends to a disputation party (*disputationskalas*). However, these gatherings tended to degenerate into heavy drinking, and afterwards the company of boys often roamed the streets, made noise

even harsher reality is described by Carl Wilhelm Böttiger (1807-1878), later to become professor of aesthetics at Uppsala University and – like Svedelius – member of the Swedish Academy, who attended the gymnasium of Västerås a few years earlier than Svedelius, but still in the 1820s.¹⁹¹ Böttiger mentions with astonishment that in his first year there were older schoolboys who threw snowballs in the face of a *lector* who made errors when speaking Latin during a disputation.¹⁹² In later grades Böttiger recounts that he himself was to act as assistant respondent when a *collega* (teacher) was applying for a position as *rector* in a trivial school. Böttiger says, not without pride, that his name – for the first time in print – appeared on the title page of the dissertation, alongside the name of the applicant, who was acting as *praeses*. The difficult mathematical *theses* made the *praeses* tremble with fright during the disputation, says Böttiger, but thanks to his (Böttiger's) presence of mind, the *praeses* got away with it.¹⁹³

There were, however, apparently those schoolboys who also saw the value of disputation exercises. Of later date are Sigge Ljunggren's memoirs of his schooldays in the 1840s, also in the gymnasium of Västerås. Ljunggren writes about the disputations held every Friday in the higher classes.¹⁹⁴ *Theses* by the older schoolboys were submitted and defended in Latin, although Ljunggren writes that they were hardly Ciceronian in style and had rather unjustified academic pretensions, and continues by adding that the engagement by the teachers was not satisfying enough for this useful art.¹⁹⁵ It was a pity, Ljunggren concludes, that disputation exercises were not appreciated as much as they should have been, since the art of expressing oneself in an oral discourse and defending one's opinion logically was practically useful later in life.¹⁹⁶

These four autobiographical examples stress the fact that disputations were an issue with two faces: either they were seen as a remnant of old-fashioned teaching methods that had not kept up with the pace of change and were evidently hard for the schoolboys to take seriously, or disputations were valued as tokens of maturity and valued for training in logical analysis. It seems that participating in a disputation, and particularly having one's

and even started fighting with young men who did not attend the gymnasium. As a parallel, inviting friends to (unruly) disputation parties was customary at the University of Uppsala in the seventeenth century. Annerstedt 2:2, p. 128.

¹⁹¹ The autobiography of Böttiger is edited by Gamby (1961).

¹⁹² Böttiger (1961), p. 71

¹⁹³ Böttiger (1961), p. 71f.

¹⁹⁴ Hall (1933), p. 123 (ÅSU 37).

¹⁹⁵ Hall (1933), p. 123 (ÅSU 37).

¹⁹⁶ Hall (1933), p. 123 (ÅSU 37).

name on the title page of a dissertation, created a feeling of pride. In short, a disputation was either an opportunity to prove oneself competent, or seen as nothing but a meaningless act empty of content that one tried to bluff one's way through.

Disputation exercises at the Swedish gymnasium went through great changes from the beginning of the seventeenth to the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. In the early years of the gymnasium, disputations were seen as natural ingredients in the training in oral Latin and argumentation. By the beginning of the nineteenth century disputations, were considered to a large degree part of a stale and useless tradition.¹⁹⁷ This negative attitude towards disputations coincided with a critique of the Latin tradition as a whole.

2.1.5 Education, Aemulatio and Disputation

Apart from the pure mind-molding aim and the training they provided in oral fluency in Latin, disputations also had other didactic purposes, namely to stimulate *aemulatio* (competition) among schoolboys and to teach them how to behave within the boundaries of a debate. Thus there is a socialization aspect of disputation exercises: through disputation exercises the schoolboys would be encouraged to surpass each other. In fact, much of what was practiced in early modern Swedish education was done by way of competition, which means that the idea of *aemulatio* permeates several aspects of it. The idea of *aemulatio* is especially pronounced in written exercises, as expressed, for instance, in the school regulations of 1649. In the chapter on the correction of written exercises it is said that teachers should encourage schoolboys to learn *cum honesta aemulatione* (“in honest competition”) by way of imitating and trying to surpass the (classical) models.¹⁹⁸ However, the exercises not only aimed to foster competition with the models, but also competition amongst the schoolboys. By choosing competitors for the disputation exercises from the same class but from different rows in the classroom, and by the arrangement of the classroom itself, this *aemulatio* was stimulated. As in boxing, in which two competitors are set up against each other, disputations had at least two ‘fighters’ who had a certain set of rules to follow. The goal of the disputing parties was to win over the other by forcing him to accept the other’s argument as more true or plausible than his own. The participants seem to have been judged by how ably they either defended the *thesis* (respondent), or how competently

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Tengström (1973), p. 98ff.

¹⁹⁸ SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 80. See also Rimm (2011), p. 192f.

they expressed arguments against the *thesis* (opponent).¹⁹⁹ The importance of the competitive element is attested for instance in a *theses*-dissertation from Strängnäs 6 April 1782 (pr. P. Lagerlund), in which the seventh *thesis* points out *aemulatio* as the reason as to why public education (*scholae publicae*) is to be preferred over private tuition:

Scholae publicae ob aemulationem discentium, si modo aequalitas et vera libertas cum innocentia servatur, privatis sunt potiores.

[Public schools are better than private, because of the competition among the pupils, if only uniformity and true liberty are preserved with integrity.]

The advantage of public education was in the interaction with other schoolboys, something that was impossible to actualize in private education in which pupils received individual tuition.

2.1.6 Concluding Remarks

Disputation was, from the beginning, a pronounced didactic method in early modern Swedish education, providing both training in oral Latin and training in argumentation. There is a close resemblance between academic disputations and those that were conducted at the gymnasium. The importance of disputation exercises is highlighted by the fact that school regulations, both local and national, had sections containing – sometimes detailed – descriptions and instructions for the implementation of this kind of exercise. It is apparent from the school regulations that disputations were to be held on a regular basis (every Saturday) and that the *lectores* were obliged to act as chairman in turns. Positive accounts of gymnasial disputations are especially found in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the other hand, criticism – and even mockery – of disputation exercises is especially visible in autobiographies originating from the beginning of the nineteenth century. By then, it was no longer mandatory to hold disputation exercises in Latin in every subject. Reports from everyday school life suggest that disputations were seen as detached from practical usage, a view that also mirrors the decline of oral proficiency in Latin over the course of the nineteenth century.

The aim of Swedish early modern education was partly to foster pious and well-mannered young men, and disputation exercises were a part of the

¹⁹⁹ An example of this approach is found in a letter written by Carl Jacob Lundström (a pupil in the gymnasium of Västerås in the early 1770s). See section 2.1.3 above. Letter from Carl Jacob Lundström to his father Anders Lundström dated 14 November 1772. Lundströmska samlingen in Stora Enso AB's archive, Arkivcentrum Dalarna (Falun).

training to achieve this aim. By imitating, or let us say by adapting, university practice to a somewhat different context, disputations were one of many ways through which schoolboys fostered good conduct and manners. The role of the disputation in fostering good conduct is shown in the prescriptions that the *praeses* should admonish poor behavior. The lighter oral exercises that occurred in trivial school aimed at training the schoolboys so that they were prepared for the disputations that were held at the gymnasium, which in turn were intended to prepare them for the academic disputation. The oral exercises at trivial school were made up in the same manner as more advanced exercises, with the difference that the teacher's supervising and guiding role was more explicit.

2.2 The Dissertations: General Features

2.2.1. Introduction

In the following, I will cover some features of gymnasial dissertations that I have noted during my examination of the material. This means that general types and patterns will be highlighted. The aim of this section is to describe gymnasial dissertations on a general level.

In the early modern academic world there existed not only one type of disputation, and therefore not only one type of dissertation, but several types with different purposes. At the Swedish universities there were primarily the dissertations *pro exercitio* and *pro gradu*, which together constituted the core of the disputation praxis; these are the two types of dissertations that are by far the most common in the Swedish context.²⁰⁰ Other types of disputations and dissertations are more commonly found in academies and gymnasia in German-speaking regions, such as the *disputationes inaugurales* (equivalent to the *disputatio/dissertatio pro gradu* in Sweden), *disputationes privatae*, *disputationes circulares* and *disputationes valedictoriae*, some of which were held publicly, others privately.²⁰¹ As regards the early modern Swedish gymnasium I have divided dissertations into two main types according to their purpose. This will be highlighted in the following section.

²⁰⁰ Östlund (2000), p. 14f.

²⁰¹ For a review of dissertation types in German academies and gymnasia, see Horn (1893), pp. 6-46 and 74-82.

2.2.2 Functions: *pro loco*-dissertations and Dissertations *exercitii gratia*

Firstly, it is necessary to underline a difference between gymnasial and university dissertations, in that there are no dissertations submitted *pro gradu* at the gymnasium. Instead, we may primarily distinguish two types of dissertations: *pro loco*-dissertations and dissertations *exercitii gratia*. A *pro loco*-dissertation was submitted by an applicant for a teaching position, while a dissertation *exercitii gratia* was a form of exercise. However, there are a few dissertations, especially in the early material, that could be considered as not belonging to either of these two categories, but should instead be labeled as other types of dissertations.²⁰² A dissertation like *De Thule* (pr. E. Malmogius, Stockholm 1648) also had another function apart from the pure disputation exercise: its purpose was to present a hypothesis, and a dissertation was considered a suitable medium.

Pro loco-dissertations were often but not always marked as such on their title pages. These *pro loco*-dissertations were presided by applicants for teaching positions, either at the gymnasium where the disputation was held or at a school located in the same geographical region as the gymnasium. Dissertations *pro loco* were publicly submitted at the gymnasium with participants from the corps of gymnasial schoolboys, or returning university students acting as respondents. Judging by the material, it was the applicant who chose an appropriate subject for his disputation that was also relevant to the position they had applied for.²⁰³ On the whole, *pro loco*-dissertations

²⁰² It is possible to distinguish a few subgroups of the exercise type, based on information found inside the dissertations. One such subgroup is identified by the dissertation *De syllogismo* (pr. J. Holstenius, Västerås 1666), which will be dealt with further in the chapter on paratexts (section 3.8). Judging by the congratulatory poems and the social context of this particular dissertation it is tempting to label it not merely as an exercise dissertation but as a *dissertatio valedictoria*, a valedictory dissertation, written as a farewell to the status of schoolboy and presented as one of the last events that the responding schoolboy was involved in before leaving the gymnasium for university studies. Here, we could also highlight the disputations held by returning university students, which were submitted to show the students' abilities as well as providing an exercise for the schoolboys. Yet another type that occurs is the *dissertatio prooemialis* or introductory dissertation, and the aforementioned *dissertatio inauguralis*, however these subgroups are rarely found in the material. See for instance *De jejuniis ante paschali* (pr. P. Schenberg, Linköping 1737) which is labeled as *inaugralis*, probably due to the fact that *praeses* Petrus Schenberg is titled *lector gymnasii Lincopensis designatus* on the title page. In this case, however, we are seeing a kind of *pro loco*-dissertation that has been given another genre indicator. These types of dissertations must thus be seen as deviations in the material rather than commonly applied practice.

²⁰³ That the applicant himself chose the subject for the disputation is attested in the preface to *De eloquentia Latina in scholis Christianis comparanda* (pr. O. E. Törnsten, Göteborg 1731): *Eoque nomine materiam, in Titulo hujus scripti nominatam, elegi, vigore constitutionum Regiarum pro Loco disputaturus* ("and by that appellation [i.e. the usefulness of eloquence] I have chosen the matter found in the title of this work, that I am going to dispute *pro loco* by the vigor of the Royal constitutions").

were more common in the eighteenth century, due to the rules established in the school regulations of 1724 that every *lector* designate (or other) was obliged to hold a disputation and thus submit a dissertation before taking up his position.²⁰⁴ In the seventeenth century, lectorships were appointed by royal authority (*kunglig fullmakt*) on proposal from the consistory in the diocese in which the gymnasium was situated, but from 1724 onwards the right to appoint a *lector* was transferred so that the consistory could appoint the *lectores* without the involvement of the royal administration.²⁰⁵ If one looks at the subject choices of these dissertations *pro loco* they often correlate to the subject of the position applied for: a dissertation for a position as *theologiae lector* is likely to treat theological questions, while a dissertation for a position as *lector eloquentiae et poeseos* is likely to treat rhetorical questions, and so forth. An illuminating example of this correlation is *De scholis trivialibus* (Linköping 1748) presided by Daniel Z. Torpadius. The dissertation is indicated as *pro rectoratu scholae trivialis Sudercopensis*. Thus the subject of the dissertation (“on trivial schools”) would show that Torpadius was suitable for his future task of leading a trivial school.

The second main category of dissertations is the *exercitii gratia*, the dissertation as exercise. Since schoolboys did not obtain a degree at the gymnasium, many disputations, and thus many dissertations, should be seen as being the basis for training in the art of disputation. In the second half of the eighteenth century especially, many dissertations are also labeled as exercises on the title page. This apparent difference with earlier practice may be a factor of the convention of setting out the purpose of the dissertation on the title page in the second half of the eighteenth century, a convention not commonly employed earlier. However, one may argue that every dissertation submitted at a gymnasium that involved some participation by schoolboys should be considered a form of exercise, despite the fact that the element of exercise is not explicitly highlighted.

As has already been stated, different types of dissertations had different purposes. If we follow Marian Füssel (2016), dissertations as exercises are ceremonial by nature, and *pro loco*-dissertations are ritualistic.²⁰⁶ This means that the former represents a habit in which the dissertation had the purpose of repeating a pattern, while the purpose of the latter was to transform, in

²⁰⁴ The school regulations of 1724 prescribed that in order to obtain an office in the school or gymnasium the applicant had to submit a thesis on a subject related to the office: “[J]ngen af them, som komma i förslag til then ledige beställningen, antingen wid Lectorater ock Adjuncturer i Gymnasierne, eller Rectoraten ock Conrectoraten i Trivial-Scholarne, bör förr ärhålla fullmakt, än han gifwer Biskopen ock Consistorio prof af sin skickeligheet, först genom en Disputation uti Gymnasio öfwer sådane Theses som höra til samma Embete [...]” SO 1724, ÅSU 7, p. 21.

²⁰⁵ Lundén (1930), p. 283f. In Gävle, according to Lundén, the disputation *pro loco* could be held either at the gymnasium or at the University of Uppsala.

²⁰⁶ Füssel (2016), p. 47.

this case a candidate to a teacher. In this way, disputations *exercitii gratia* were – apparently – a form of exercise for the schoolboys which re-created well-known ceremonial patterns by its repetition of the disputation tradition. Exercises did not lead to a degree. A *pro loco*-disputation on the other hand, that was rendered in a *pro loco*-dissertation, was a serious business for the applicant, and executed in deadly earnest: a competent performance earned him the position he was applying for, while if he failed he was considered less suitable, the position was given to someone else, and he had to look for employment elsewhere.²⁰⁷ There is evidence in the body of *pro loco*-disputations studied that different disputations were held by the different applicants in the same month. In three different dates in April 1790 three disputations were held by three applicants *pro munere rectoratus Warbergensis*, i.e. for the position of *rector* at the trivial school in Varberg (in the region of Halland), at the gymnasium in Göteborg. These three are labeled as *philosophiae candidatus* (Elisier Saevrin, 8 April), *collega scholae Warbergensis* (Pehr Mjöberg, 20 April) and *verbi divini minister*, i.e. preacher (Nicolaus Lundstroem, 21 April). Only one of the applicants already had a position at the trivial school (Pehr Mjöberg). That three disputations were held for the same position suggests that *pro loco*-disputations were a way of distinguishing the best applicant.

2.2.3 Types: *theses vestitae* and *theses nudaе*

Just as academic dissertations could range in length from short *theses*-dissertations to longer treatises of over a hundred pages, gymnasial dissertations also show similar differences in length. Generally, it is possible to divide gymnasial dissertations into two main types, namely those commonly called *theses vestitae* and *theses nudaе*. The first type (*theses vestitae*) consists of comprehensive and (sometimes) investigative dissertations. In these the dissertation text is mostly continuous and elaborate, and not necessarily organized in *theses* but rather in chapters or paragraphs. The second type (*theses nudaе*) consists of those I have chosen to call *theses*-dissertations. Regarding extent, the short *theses*-dissertations are generally of four or eight pages and consist of a number of short, not necessarily thematically related statements, assumptions or hypotheses without further explanatory text connected to them.²⁰⁸ Yet variants of these two dissertation types occur; there are dissertations that are arranged in *theses* with

²⁰⁷ This was particularly the case for vicars who were obliged to submit disputations *pro examine pastorali* (see section 2.6.3 below). Cf. Böttiger (1961), p. 70ff. and Alving (1923), p. 71f.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Lindberg (2016), p. 16; Marti (1994a), col. 870; Freedman (2005), p. 32.

explanations immediately connected to each *thesis*.²⁰⁹ In my review of the material I have noticed that comprehensive dissertations are much more common in the seventeenth century, while the use of short *theses*-dissertations was fully implemented in almost all gymnasia by the mid-eighteenth century. The features of *theses*-dissertations are discussed in more detail in section 2.4 below.

As Bo Lindberg (2016) has noted, *theses nuda*-dissertations are closer to the act of disputation in form, as they constituted the raw material for the debate in a more natural way than longer *theses vestitae*-dissertations; it would have been quite hard to apply syllogistic argumentation techniques in a continuous text.²¹⁰ To be able to dispute over a longer *theses vestitae*-dissertation it was quite common in academic and in gymnasial dissertations to add *corollaria* (or more rarely *corollarium*) to the end pages of the printed item. These corollaries consist of short *theses* or *questiones* (not necessarily on the same topic as the main dissertation text), that were the basis for the (syllogistic) argumentation during or after the disputation act. For this same phenomenon, we also meet a variety of terms, such as *parergon/parerga* (or written with Greek letters *παροργα*), *addenda/addendum*, *additamenta promiscua*, *ἀντίθεσις*, *aphorismi*, *porismata*, *παράδοξον*, *consectaria*, *ἐπίμετρα σύμμικτα*, *ζητήματα* and *quaestiones/quaestio*, that appear to have been equivalent in meaning to *corollaria*.²¹¹ Also attested frequently in academic writings, although rarely in gymnasial dissertations, is the phrase *coronidis loco*, which means the end of a work.²¹² There are, nevertheless, gymnasial dissertations that have both *corollaria* and *parerga* on the end pages, which suggests that the two terms were not used synonymously, or at least had somewhat different purpose. In academic dissertations, the purpose of corollaries could be for the respondent to demonstrate his abilities in argumentation, sometimes in a facetious manner.²¹³ The same may be the case for gymnasial dissertations, although it is hard to tell without further research whether the humorous side of corollaries was also applied.

Differences regarding length, content and appearance were due to where and when dissertations were submitted, i.e. different gymnasia had different practices and preferences. As will be shown in the tables below, it is not unusual to find seventeenth-century dissertations from Swedish gymnasia

²⁰⁹ Such is the case in e.g. *De ministerio ecclesiastico* (pr. J. Florander, Göteborg 1678) which has a telling subtitle *quaestiones theologicae*.

²¹⁰ Lindberg (2016), p. 18.

²¹¹ According to L&S the term *corollarium* originally signified a gift or a present ('a small wreath'), but was adopted in later philosophy to mean 'deduction' or 'conclusion'. Sometimes the word is found as *corollaria* in the material.

²¹² For the phrase *coronidis loco*, see Östlund (2000), p. 62 and Helander (2004), p. 161f. In gymnasial dissertations this is attested in e.g. *De recta juventutis educatione* (pr. L. Vidichini, Västerås 1649), after which follows a single *thesis*.

²¹³ Sjökvist (2012), p. 238f.

that are over thirty pages, and the lengthiest are over fifty pages.²¹⁴ I have noticed that gymnasial dissertations became shorter and that their content was of less scholarly value in the eighteenth century, in contrast to the development of academic dissertations — Swedish as well as foreign — which saw a development towards a higher number of *theses vestitae* during the course of the century.²¹⁵ By the mid-eighteenth century almost the entire corpus of gymnasial dissertations show this change, and *theses nudae*-dissertations that are longer than four or eight pages (of which one page consists of the title page) are rarely found. In the seventeenth century, on the contrary, there are hardly any dissertations shorter than eight pages. The change from longer dissertations to four-page *theses*-dissertations appears at slightly different times in different gymnasia. For instance, this changeover is completely implemented (with but few exceptions) by 1740 in Skara, by 1745 in Göteborg, by 1753 in Strängnäs and by 1754 in Västerås. By the later part of the 1750s the shift to short *theses* was completed in every gymnasium in which a change may be traced (except for Linköping). This shift may be compared with the disputations held at student nations in Uppsala from the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. Sten Lindroth (1967) has stressed that disputations on *theses miscellaneae* submitted by the *praeses* of these events — most often one of the seniors at the student nation — became more common by the mid-eighteenth century.²¹⁶ This is at approximately the same time that I have noted that a change in gymnasial dissertations occurred. Prior to the shift to miscellaneous *theses* delivered at the student nations, *theses* appear to have been excerpted from textbooks used in university teaching.²¹⁷

The eighteenth-century dissertations from the gymnasium in Linköping stand out in comparison with dissertations from other gymnasia in that there are a large number of comprehensive dissertations of later date from Linköping. I have noted that Linköping consistently submitted longer dissertations throughout the whole eighteenth century. Few Linköping dissertations are short *theses nudae*-dissertations until the 1780s, and there are

²¹⁴ The lengthiest dissertation is *De vitio logico logomachia* (pr. M. B. Elgh, Linköping 1740), which is fifty-six pages. However, this dissertation is printed in the smaller octavo format. If we also take into consideration dissertations which are divided in separated parts with sequential pagination of a longer treatise, the most comprehensive dissertation is *In divinam concionem Christi, in monte habitam, et Matth. V, VI, et VII, Lucaeque VI descriptam* (pr. J. Thun, Strängnäs 1703, 1704, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708 and 1711). All eight parts taken together comprise 120 pages in octavo.

²¹⁵ For the development of the length of academic dissertations, see Lindberg (2016), p. 17f. and Freedman (2005), p. 34.

²¹⁶ Lindroth (1967), p. 14f.

²¹⁷ Like the content of some gymnasial dissertations, the early *theses* submitted at student nations in Uppsala were taken from textbooks in theology, such as the compendia of Hafnenreffer and, later, of Benzelius; in natural law the *theses* were picked from works of Pufendorff, Wolff and Baumeister. Lindroth (1967), p. 13f.

no less than forty eighteenth-century dissertations from this gymnasium that are longer than eight pages.

A notable difference between the seventeenth- and the eighteenth-century material is that titles undergo a simplification. While there are a great variety of titles in earlier dissertations, the eighteenth-century material shows a clear conventionalization: almost all dissertations are titled *Theses* or *Positiones* (these *theses*-dissertations will be discussed further below).²¹⁸

The choice of format of gymnasial dissertations depended on where and when they were printed. In Göteborg, Stockholm and Västerås, the quarto was by far the most common format in the seventeenth century, while in Strängnäs the octavo slightly outnumbered the quarto. The eighteenth-century dissertations from Linköping are evenly distributed over both formats, while other gymnasia seem to have preferred the quarto. There are only a few dissertations in folio, a format that signals high status.²¹⁹ The majority of foliodissertations that have been examined in this study originate from *Collegium illustre* in Stockholm, which together with their subjects (jurisprudence) suggests that folio format was an indicator of high status.²²⁰

2.2.4 Distribution of Gymnasial Dissertations

This section presents some statistics on the distribution of printed gymnasial dissertations in both time and place. First, an overall view of the entire body of material is given, then notes on the gymnasia in which the major part of the dissertations were submitted and printed.

Taken all together, the total number of gymnasial dissertations printed between the 1620s and 1799 studied is 789, distributed among the gymnasia according to the table below (starting with the gymnasium with the highest number):

²¹⁸ In section 3.3 the features of title pages are further analyzed.

²¹⁹ Jacobsson (2003), p. 54.

²²⁰ Dissertations in folio are extremely rare. In his catalogue Marklin (p. 89) mentions six 1644 dissertations in folio from the *Collegium illustre* in Stockholm. All of these are chaired by Christophorus Pretzbekius and treat law. I have only had the opportunity to examine two of these foliodissertations from Stockholm: *Dissertatio IV de jure connubiali Sueo-Gothorum vel Giffimälalabalker* and *De possessione hominum memoriam excedente Sveo-Gothis dicta Urminnes häffd*, both chaired by C. Pretzbekius, Stockholm 1644 and 1646 (according to Marklin the latter was also submitted in 1644, which is incorrect). A folio-dissertation from Linköping *Selecta decas prima* (pr. S. N. Enander, Linköping 1640) is kept at KB.

Place	17 th century	18 th century	Total
Strängnäs	82	282	364
Göteborg	13	96	109
Västerås	73	24	97
Linköping	6	72	78
Skara	1	62	63
Växjö	4	37	41
Stockholm	23	-	23
Kalmar	3	3	6
Karlstad	-	3	3
Gävle	-	2	2
Viborg	1	-	1
Jönköping*	1	-	1
Norrköping*	1	-	1
Σ	208	581	789

TABLE 2: Distribution of gymnasial dissertation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Places marked with an asterisk (*) did not have a gymnasium at the time the dissertations were submitted, but were trivial schools. These two dissertations are nevertheless included here since they are included in Lidén's catalogue. Also, there is no difference regarding form and function between these and gymnasial dissertations from the same period. In addition, during the early days of the gymnasium there was also uncertainty as to the boundaries between different forms of educational institution.

Dissertations are unevenly distributed in time: printed dissertations may be more extensively produced at a certain gymnasium during a certain time span, while dissertations are fewer at other times or there are no printed dissertations at all. A general explanation as to the uneven appearance of printed texts through time is that each separate diocese functioned as an independent decision-making authority regarding questions of education.²²¹ Given this, each gymnasium had a certain level of freedom in dealing with

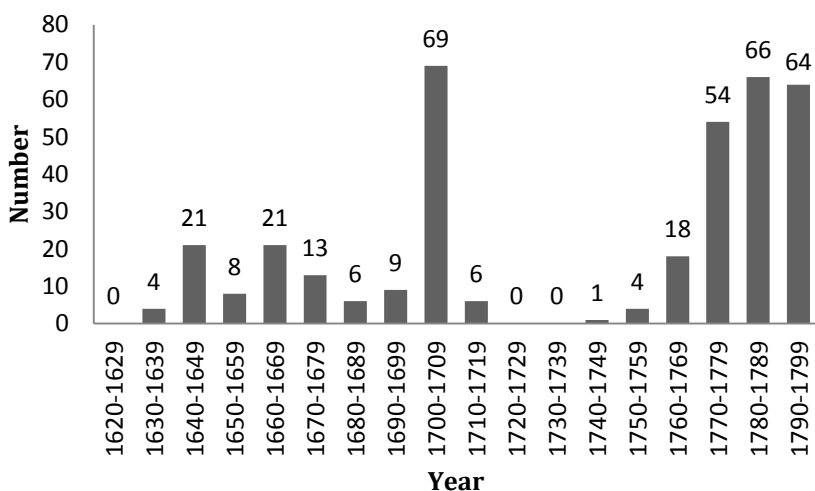
²²¹ Askmark (1943), p. 108ff.

the printing of dissertations. In the first half of the seventeenth century the gymnasia of the dioceses functioned as regional academies or as regional colleges, due to the fact that the University of Uppsala still had a weak position.²²² Uneven distribution of dissertations in time may also be explained by the fact that some schools had not yet received their gymnasial privilege or that they did not have access to a printing house.

As shown in the table above, four gymnasia stand out as having produced by far the highest number of dissertations in the seventeenth century: Strängnäs, Västerås, Stockholm and Göteborg. These four places account for a little over ninety percent of all seventeenth-century dissertations. The situation in the eighteenth century is different. Here we find a more even distribution of printed dissertations among several gymnasia. We may note that the number of dissertations originating from the gymnasium in Västerås decreased to one third of the number produced in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, the number of dissertations from Strängnäs, Linköping, Skara, Växjö and Göteborg increased considerably in the eighteenth century.

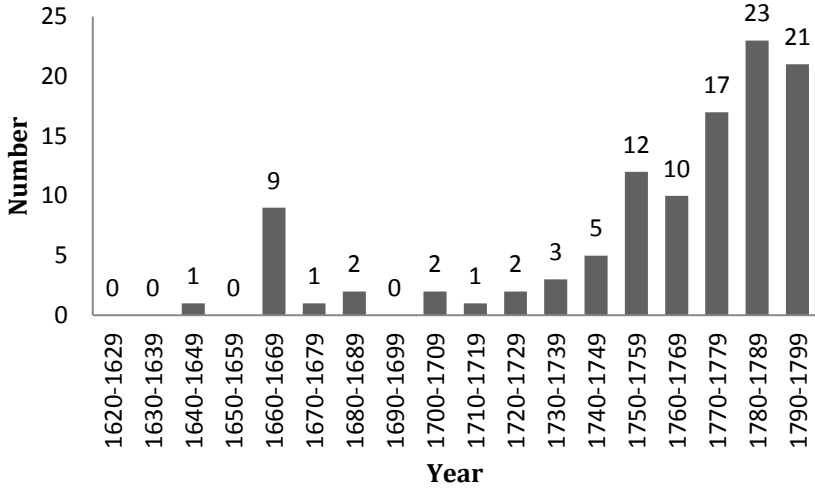
In the following charts we see the distribution per decade of printed dissertations from the five gymnasia where we find the highest number of dissertations, namely Strängnäs, Göteborg, Västerås, Linköping and Skara (in that order). In some cases there is an adequate explanation for the uneven distribution, in others it is hard to tell why sudden gaps appear.

Distribution of printed dissertations from Strängnäs

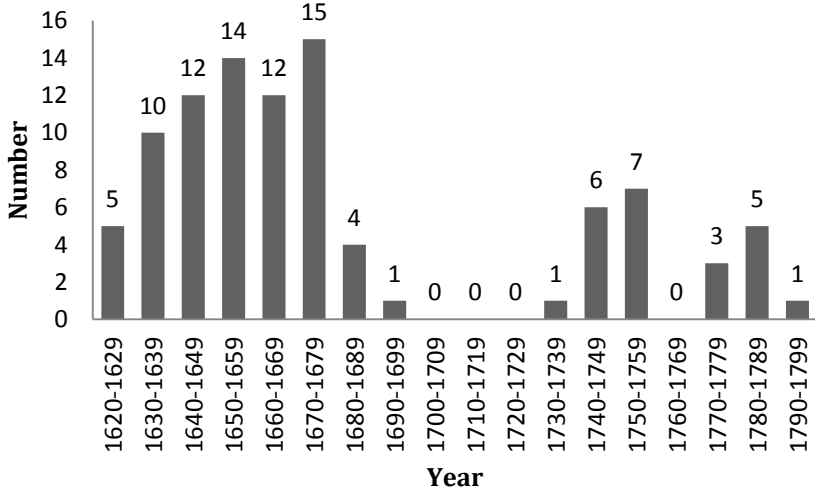


²²² Askmark (1942), p. 114. See also Sandberg (1994), pp. 51-57.

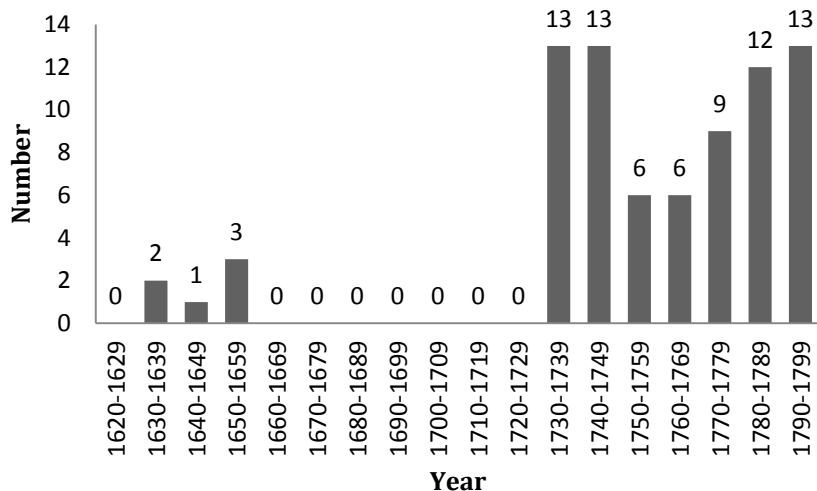
Distribution of printed dissertations from Göteborg



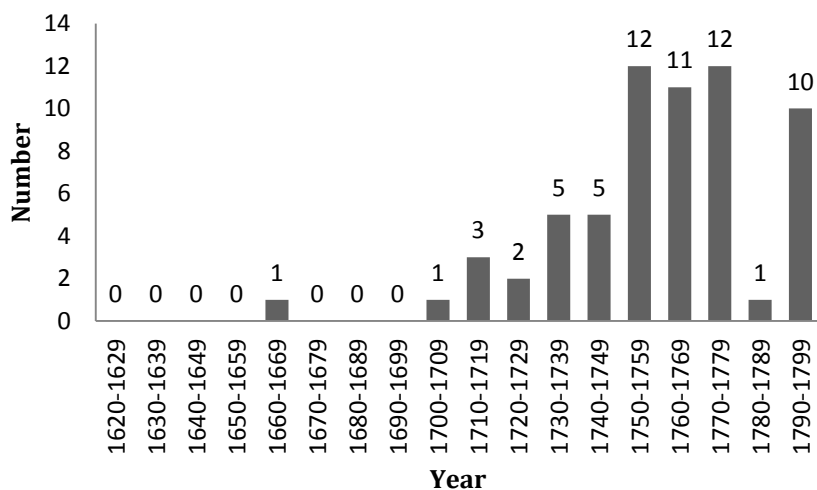
Distribution of printed dissertations from Västerås



Distribution of printed dissertations from Linköping



Distribution of printed dissertation from Skara



As has already been stated, the highest frequency of printed dissertations – without comparison – originated from the gymnasium in Strängnäs. There seems to have been an ambitious eagerness to print dissertations there

during most of the period under investigation. Approximately 46 percent of all printed dissertations that I have studied are from Strängnäs.

As is visible in the charts above, the printed dissertations from almost all the gymnasia included are unevenly distributed in time. The overall impression is that there is a gap in the first decennia of the eighteenth century. This considerable low in the number of printed dissertations between c. 1700 and c. 1730 may be explained by the fact that this was the period of the Great Northern War which may have affected the economic situation and thus activities at Swedish gymnasia. The printing of dissertations appears not to have been prioritized. Other external factors that prevented the production of dissertations such as fires and plague may also be part of the explanation. In the following, the situations in Västerås and Strängnäs are used as examples.

The number of schoolboys in Västerås decreased at the beginning of the eighteenth century. According to the figures put forth by Erik Sandberg, there was a decrease of thirty percent in the number of schoolboys registered at the gymnasium of Västerås in 1695 compared to 1685 (91 to 62 schoolboys); in 1719 the number of schoolboys was almost halved compared to the 1680s (from 91 to 50 schoolboys registered).²²³ Furthermore, the school buildings in Västerås were in great need of repair which had a negative effect on the economy of the consistory there from the mid-1680s onwards.²²⁴ In addition, towns such as Västerås, Skara and Linköping were ravaged by fire (Västerås in 1688 and 1714; Skara in 1719; Linköping in 1700); large parts of these towns were destroyed, including schoolhouses, which undoubtedly had a negative impact on the activities of the gymnasia there.²²⁵ If this was not bad enough, Västerås was tormented by the plague in 1710-1711 which killed a few schoolboys and in consequence the pupils were dismissed and classes cancelled.²²⁶

In Strängnäs, there is a notable decrease in printed dissertations between 1710 and 1760. Here, it seems that the variation in activity of printing dissertations may be linked to the impact of the bishop. In his contribution on education from 1724 onwards in the volume *Strängnäs historia* (1959), Gunnar Annell states that the bishop Jacob Serenius revitalized disputations in the 1760s after the practice of disputing had fallen out of use and had been considered an old-fashioned pedagogical method.²²⁷ This revitalization of disputation would explain why the number of printed dissertations from Strängnäs is not proportional to the number of schoolboys over the period

²²³ Sandberg (1994), p. 71.

²²⁴ Bengtsson (1923), pp. 102-104.

²²⁵ Kallstenius (1923), pp. 45 and 47, Beckman (1926), p. 101ff., and Beckman, Jacobsson and Söderqvist (1927), pp. 70 and 81f.

²²⁶ Kallstenius (1923), p. 45.

²²⁷ Annell (1959), p. 608. See also Hagberg (1952), p. 384.

in question: the number of schoolboys was high in the period 1720-1750, when the number of printed dissertations was low, and, conversely, the number of schoolboys dropped at the beginning of the 1760s, just when the number of printed dissertations rose again.²²⁸ However, in my view it can not be said with certainty that disputation activity had completely ceased in Strängnäs in the early eighteenth century just because there are no printed dissertations from this period. It may be that disputations were based on handwritten specimens. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that early modern school activities such as the arrangement of disputations and printing of dissertations could depend on the energy and willpower of a single bishop.

As for Linköping, the complete lack of printed dissertations from the 1660s to the 1730s is somewhat surprising, since there was an established book printing shop in town that appears to have run throughout the centuries, at least judging by the catalogue of various types of print from the gymnasium created by Allan Ranius.²²⁹ There is no obvious reason for the hiatus in Linköping.

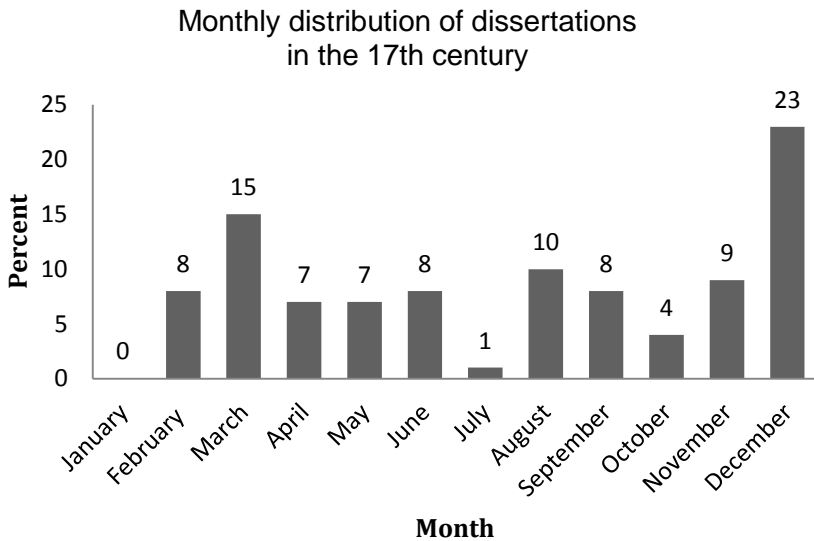
However, the lack of printed dissertations does not indicate that the habit of holding disputations ceased in places with low or non-existent numbers of printed dissertations. Instead, I believe that specimens in manuscript were used as the basis for disputation. The existence of handwritten dissertations confirms this hypothesis. I have found handwritten *theses*-dissertations from the mid and late eighteenth century in collections of dissertations, primarily in Västerås City Library and in the University Library of Uppsala, which indicates that handwritten dissertations were used as the basis for disputation in parallel with printed items.

²²⁸ See diagram of the number of schoolboys in the gymnasium of Strängnäs between 1653 and 1800 in Annell (1959), p. 606.

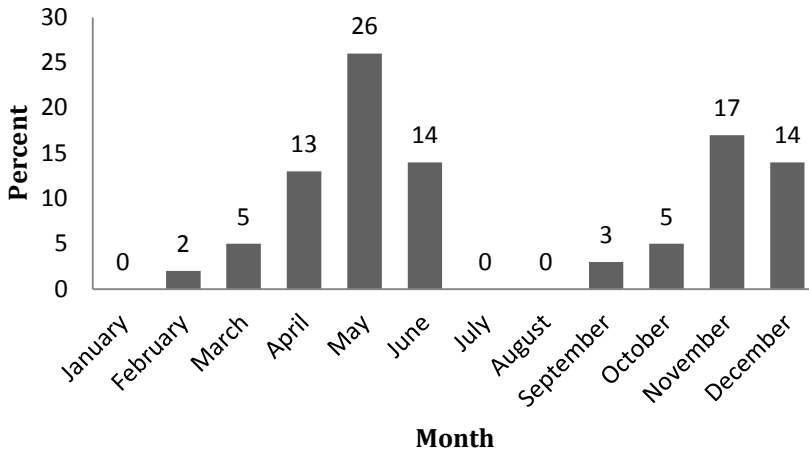
²²⁹ Ranius (1983) lists over 140 printed items from the gymnasium in the period 1631-1799. In his list Ranius has included dissertations, invitations, orations and programs. He has not, however, included schoolbooks, catalogues, schedules or annual reports. Although there was an established book printer in Linköping, the first dissertations from Linköping were printed in Uppsala in 1633, both having Daniel Jonae Kylander as respondent, who a year later, in 1634, became *lector* of Latin at the gymnasium. Of these two early dissertations, the first is written entirely in verse (see list in Bilaga 3 in *Linköpings gymnasiums historia 1627-1927*, p. 423). The first dissertation printed in Linköping is from 1640: a folio leaf entitled *Selecta decas prima*, presided by Samuel N. Enander, *lector philosophiae*. Enander appears to have been a man of talent, since he was appointed *lector* of philosophy at age 27 and was called upon to become superintendent in the Swedish army in 1648, highly esteemed by King Karl X Gustaf. In 1655 he became bishop of Linköping. Beckman, Jacobsson and Söderqvist (1927), p. 20.

2.2.5 Monthly Distribution of Printed Dissertations

When during the year did participants prefer to hold disputations at the gymnasium? In which months were dissertations more likely to be submitted? In the following I will present a short survey on the monthly distribution of printed dissertations, covering all gymnasia. In the two charts that follow I present the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century separately. The bars represent the percentage of total dissertations attributable to each month, rounded to the nearest percentage point.



Monthly distribution of dissertations
in the 18th century



Examining the charts above, one may notice that disputations were more evenly distributed throughout the year in the seventeenth century, while disputations appear to accumulate in April, May and June — during spring — and in November and December in the eighteenth century. This may indicate that the school year – and thus the submission of dissertations – was locally not yet as regulated during the seventeenth century as it was in the eighteenth century. The appearance of regulations in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would seem to suggest that some factor other than regulation about when disputations should take place is in play. The submitting of dissertations must clearly have been subject to certain external factors, such as the division of the school year into semesters and school holidays. Two longer holidays were prescribed during winter and summer, which means that no teaching was conducted during January and July.²³⁰ According to the school regulations of 1649 the solemn yearly examination was to be held eight days before the schoolboys were sent on summer leave, while the school regulations of 1724 suggest that every gymnasium had to decide a suitable day for the examination.²³¹ It

²³⁰ According to the school regulations of 1649 (ÅSU 4, p. 92) the winter holiday was set from 18 December to 18 January, and the summer holiday from 29 June to 29 July. According to the school regulations of 1724 (ÅSU 7, p. 64f.) schoolboys were vacant from studies in winter from 13 December to Candlemas, and in summer from 24 June to 24 August.

²³¹ SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 87f., and SO 1724, ÅSU 7, p. 54.

appears that during the eighteenth century the tendency was that disputations were arranged by the end of each semester.

2.2.6. Concluding Remarks

This survey of general features of gymnasial dissertations has shown that there were primarily two types of gymnasial dissertations, namely those submitted to earn a position, so-called *pro loco*-dissertations, and those submitted as exercises. Gymnasial dissertations in the seventeenth century were more similar to academic dissertations regarding content, typography and aim. These early dissertations are of a type that is commonly known as *theses vestitae*. During the course of the eighteenth century, however, gymnasial dissertations underwent considerable changes. Generally, the length decreased to four-page *theses*-dissertations. Content wise, the late eighteenth-century dissertations often contained multiple subjects in contrast to the more focused earlier dissertations.

In the eighteenth century disputations are clustered at the end of the semesters, while the disputations held in the preceding century are distributed more evenly over the scholastic year. By analyzing the distribution of dissertations of different gymnasia over time, one notes that there was no general decree that regulated the use of printed dissertations in all Swedish gymnasia. Gaps in the distribution of printed dissertations may have different explanations, depending on which gymnasium is investigated. It seems that the general decrease in printed items during the first decades of the eighteenth century was due to economic as well as pedagogical reasons. It seems to have been left to every school to decide how to handle dissertations: either printing them or using them in handwritten form as the basis for disputation.

2.3 Subject Categories and Content of the Dissertations

This survey of subjects and content of Swedish gymnasial dissertations – the first of its kind – aims at giving a general overview. There is little room for analysis of single dissertations. Instead, the focus is on themes and tendencies that I have noticed in my examination. Single dissertations are discussed to emphasize a typical topic or to point out anomalies. A deeper analysis of single dissertations or of dissertations on similar subjects would undoubtedly be a fruitful matter for further research.

The categorization of gymnasial dissertations in this section is primarily based on examination of content, with additional information drawn from titles and genre indicators. If the title was the only method of categorization, information would have escaped our attention; it is thus most necessary to

also take content into consideration. It is not unusual to find mixed-subject dissertations. For instance, a dissertation entitled *Theses philosophicae* may contain *theses* on natural sciences, philosophy, history and education, rather than purely philosophical issues. Boundaries between disciplines were not stable, and different subjects may overlap each other. Therefore clear lines may not always be drawn, leaving some dissertations to be categorized as philosophical as well as theological, or philosophical as well as physical, mathematical as well as astronomical, etc.

The choice of subject for a dissertation often corresponds with the position of the *lector* who presided over the dissertation. It is likely that a *lector* of theology submitted dissertations on theological topics, and that a *lector* of eloquence submitted dissertations on rhetoric and eloquence. It is plausible that the choice of subject also mirrors the interests of a particular person and the didactic/pedagogical purpose he had for the dissertation. Lastly, the choice of subject in *pro loco*-dissertations may depend on which kind of position a person was applying for. For instance, in trivial schools, in which the *rector* or the *conrector* were class teachers rather than teachers of particular subjects, the dissertations submitted may be on questions regarding education in general.

In the following section the subjects of gymnasial dissertations will be treated in this order: (1) theology; (2) philosophy, physics and mathematics; (3) education, rhetoric and poetics; (4) philology, exegetics and language-related questions; and finally (5) history and other kinds of subjects. The reader will find all dissertations that are mentioned in this survey in the catalogues of dissertations in the appendices.

2.3.1 Theology

Early modern Swedish education was imbued with theology. A complete gymnasium had two *lectores* of theology, which was the only subject that had this duplication of teachers – the first *lector* was responsible for the reading and explanation of the New Testament in Greek, the second was responsible for the teaching of so-called *loci theologici* and the reading of the Old Testament in Hebrew.²³² Thus, the curriculum contained thorough reading of Biblical and theological texts. In addition, one of the primary purposes of gymnasial education was to foster schoolboys to become pious community citizens and likewise pious church officials, since gymnasial education was sufficient to qualify for a position as a clergyman. Together with the study of classical languages – which also aided the reading of the Old and New Testaments – theology was perhaps the most pronounced feature of Swedish schooling. This is in line with the tendencies of the time:

²³² SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 94; SO 1724, ÅSU 7, pp. 45-47.

theological writings in Latin outnumber all other subjects from the Renaissance onwards, being the most significant subject engaging not only professional theologians but also humanist writers.²³³ Theological dissertations constitute a good portion of all gymnasial dissertations studied here. The largest proportion of theological dissertations date from the seventeenth century: approximately one third of all dissertations from this century treat theological matters.²³⁴ When it comes to the eighteenth century, the proportion of purely theological dissertations decreases in comparison with the preceding century: roughly one fifth of the dissertations are on theology.²³⁵ However, the figures regarding the eighteenth century should be considered with a pinch of salt, since a good proportion of the dissertations originating from this century are *theses*-dissertations which could contain a range of topics, often including some *theses* on theological matters. These mixed-subject dissertations are not included in this calculation. The abundance of theological dissertations at the gymnasium contrasts with the university practice at the preparatory faculty of philosophy, to which most of the submitted university dissertations belong: it was not permitted to submit theological dissertations if you did not study theology.²³⁶ The contrast with the strong emphasis on the subject at the gymnasium, reflected in the presence of a large number of theological dissertations is striking, a fact that highlights the character of the Swedish gymnasium as a training ground for church officials. In the following I will highlight typical traits and topics that I have observed in my examination of theological dissertations.

2.3.1.1 Topics and Themes in Theological Dissertations

The topics of theological dissertations appear to have been excerpted from four main sources: the *Formula concordiae* (Formula of Concord), the *Compendium doctrinae coelestis* by Matthias Hafenreffer (published in various editions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), the *Confessio*

²³³ IJsewijn and Sacré (1998), p. 288, and Balsarak (2014), p. 721ff. See also Lindroth (1975b), p. 77ff. on the importance of theology in Sweden in the seventeenth century.

²³⁴ In Västerås approximately 40 percent of the seventeenth-century dissertations treat theological issues; in Stockholm ten out of a total of twenty three dissertations (43%) are theological; in Göteborg the proportion covering theology is even larger: ten out of a total of thirteen dissertations (77%) are found in this category. In Strängnäs, however, the proportion covering theology is smaller: approximately twenty percent of the dissertations could be labeled as theological.

²³⁵ For instance, only seven of a total of ninety-six dissertations (~7%) from Göteborg, eleven of a total of seventy-two (15%) from Linköping, twenty-seven of a total of sixty-two (44%) from Skara, and five out of twenty-four dissertations (21%) from Västerås are entirely dedicated to theology. In Strängnäs seventeen percent are on theology.

²³⁶ Lindberg (2017), p. 36.

Augustana (the Augsburg Confession) and the Bible, which were all part of the gymnasial curriculum.²³⁷ The Hafenrefferian *Compendium* was substituted in 1734 by *Repetitio theologica* and *Epitome repetitionis theologicae* by Jacob Benzelius, both of which were also sources of theological dissertations.²³⁸ Below is a compilation of those topics that often recur or features that I have found in some way notable.

Firstly, theological dissertations show a great diversity in choice of subject, treating topics that are fundamental for Christian faith. Such topics are, for instance, the love of God,²³⁹ Lent,²⁴⁰ the nature of angels,²⁴¹ the nature of sin,²⁴² the Last Supper,²⁴³ free choice,²⁴⁴ questions regarding eternal life,²⁴⁵ the nature of the soul²⁴⁶ and baptism²⁴⁷. A dissertation that defines and explains the content of theology is *De SS theologiae natura et constitutione* (N. O. Walingius, Strängnäs 1641). Theological dissertations may also treat questions regarding the essence of God, with titles such as *De Deo uno et trino* (pr. C. Lithman, Stockholm 1644), *De Deo essentia uno et personis trino* (pr. P. Arenbeckius, Strängnäs 1647), and *De Deo trinuno ἰερογῶννασμα*

²³⁷ These starting points are sometimes explicitly mentioned in the title, as attested in *Specimen theologicum, Augustanae Confessionis salutis oeconomiam contra novaturientes vindicans* (pr. A. H. Forssenius, Skara 1755). The *Compendium doctrinae coelestis*, a shortened version of *Loci theologici* (first published in 1600) by Matthias Hafenreffer (1561-1619, professor in Tübingen), was introduced as early as the school regulations of 1611, and was maintained as a theological textbook in Swedish public education until the 1730s. SO 1611, ÅSU 4, pp. 30 and 32, and Hägglund and Sjöberg (2010), p. 8. Cf. Hall (1911), p. 210ff. and Lindroth (1975b), p. 97.

²³⁸ Pleijel (1935), p. 402.

²³⁹ *Specimen amoris Dei puri* (pr. C. Giöthe, Linköping 1741).

²⁴⁰ *De jejuniio antepaschali* (pr. P. Schenberg, Linköping 1737).

²⁴¹ *De intelligentiis seu angelis* (pr. N. Holgeri, Kalmar 1635), *Articulus de angelis* (pr. A. Thorinus, Strängnäs 1651) and *Angelologia sacra* (pr. D. Trautzel, Strängnäs 1703).

²⁴² *De peccato seu morbo spirituali, ejusque medicina* (pr. G. Wilskman, Skara 1737), *Theses, ad articulos de peccato, ac de Christo, spectantes* (pr. P. C. Wahlfelt, Skara 1775), *De peccato originali* (pr. N. J. Salanus, Stockholm 1663), *De peccato in genere et originali atque actuali in specie* (pr. N. O. Walingius, Strängnäs 1634) and *De peccato in spiritum sanctum* (pr. J. Netzelius, Strängnäs without year, probably late 1660s).

²⁴³ *De sacra domini nostri Iesu Christi coena* (pr. L. Vesthij, Västerås 1630), *De sacra Dn. N. Jesu Christi coena* (pr. A. Vincke Strängnäs 1677) and *De coena domini theses philologicae* (pr. A. Victorinus, Skara 1719).

²⁴⁴ *De imagine Dei et libero arbitrio* (pr. L. N. Blackstadius, Västerås 1623) and *De controversiis dictis scripturae ex loco de sermo hominis arbitrio sive peccato, quatenus de illis ex Hebraeo fonte disseri potest* (pr. S. Benedicti, Västerås 1630).

²⁴⁵ E.g. *De quatuor novissimis, morte, extremo judicio, vita aeterna et inferno* (pr. N. Ramzsius, Göteborg 1667) and *De praedestinatione ad vitam aeternam* (pr. M. Martinius, Viborg 1699)

²⁴⁶ *Theses de animae definitione in genere* (pr. J. Matthiae Ostrogotho, Norrköping 1618), *De nobiliore corporis animati-parte, Anima, ac in specie rationali* (pr. E. Holstenius, Västerås 1624), *De animae humanae propagatione* (pr. E. Andreae Salamontanus, Västerås 1648), *De immortalitate animae* (pr. D. Trautzel, Strängnäs 1705) and *De animae humanae propagatione* (pr. D. Trautzel, Strängnäs 1707)

²⁴⁷ *De baptismo* (pr. J. T. Zephyrinus, Växjö 1654) and *De baptismo* (pr. N. Ramzsius, Göteborg 1666).

(pr. D. Trautzel, Strängnäs 1705). Two related dissertations from the *Collegium regium* in Stockholm are *Methodo Hafenreff. adornata super quaestionem quod sit Deus* and *Methodo Hafenreff. adornata super quaestionem quid sit Deus* (both presided by S. Hagelsteen, 1655 and 1656), having their basis in the abovementioned *Compendium doctrinae coelestis*. A similar subject is treated in a dissertation titled *De persona Christi* (pr. J. Columbus, Västerås 1630). Other dissertations emanate explicitly from readings of the Bible: either they comment on biblical passages, treat general questions regarding the Bible, or use biblical references to highlight a question.²⁴⁸ However, gymnasial dissertations are by no means original in the choice of subject. In many cases the topics of theological dissertations are similar or identical to topics found in commonplace books, so-called *loci theologici*, of which the aforementioned *Compendium* by Hafenreffer is an example. Other commonplace books emphasizing almost exactly the same topics that one may find references to in gymnasial dissertations are *Loci communes theologici* by Leonhard Hutter (1563-1616) and *Loci theologici* by Martin Chemnitz (Chemnitius, 1522-1586).²⁴⁹ The use of *loci theologici* as a didactic method was popular in the early modern period.²⁵⁰

Secondly, how the church should be administered and the place of religion in society are two questions that are treated together in some dissertations. It appears that these subjects were favoured in Strängnäs and Göteborg, and we find them in dissertations such as *Positiones de ministerio ecclesiastico, ad communem vitae usum accommodatae* (pr. J. Matthiae Gothus, Stockholm 1629), *De statu ecclesiastico seu ministerio sacro theoremata* (pr. G. H. Wintrosius, Strängnäs 1630), *De regimine religionis in rebuspublicis seu statu ecclesiae in genere* (pr. J. Matthiae, Strängnäs 1646), *Artic. XIX, Repetit. Theologicae Benzel. de ministerio ecclesiastico* (pr. J. Graffman, Strängnäs 1798), *De fide salvifica* (pr. N. J. Ramzius, Göteborg 1667), *De ecclesia Dei* (pr. N. J.

²⁴⁸ E.g. *De scriptura sacra* (pr. S. Benedicti Arbogiensis, Västerås 1628), *De sacra scriptura, errorumque rejectio* (pr. P. Dieterici Arenbeckius, Strängnäs 1645), *De recto invocandi modo* (pr. S. Höyer, Västerås 1665), *De S. Scripturae τῷ ῥητῷ ad demonstrandam veram ac simplicem textus Biblii [...]* (pr. I. Baaz, Växjö 1615), *De jure regio quod I Samuel. VIII. v. 11-17 habetur* (pr. O. Vennerbom and M. A. Hagström, Skara 1738) and *Positiones hermeneuticae scripturae sacrae generales* (pr. A. Hellberg, Västerås 1758). Most of the dissertations that treat specific passages from the Bible I have labeled as philological dissertation and thus treated in section 2.5.5 below.

²⁴⁹ The complete titles are *Loci communes theologici ex sacris literis diligenter eruti* (Leonhard Hutter, Wittebergae 1619) and *Loci theologici reverendi et clarissimi viri Dn Martini Chemnitii, sacrae theologiae doctoris atque Ecclesiae Brunsvicensis quondam superintendentis fidelissimi, quibus et loci communes D. Phil. Melancthonis perspicue explicantur, et quasi integrum Christianae doctrinae corpus, Ecclesiae Dei sincere proponitur, editi opera et studio Polycarpi Leyserid* (Martin Chemnitz, Wittebergae 1610). A brief glance at the indices of these two works shows a striking similarity to the topics of gymnasial dissertations.

²⁵⁰ See Balsarak (2014), p. 725ff., on the method of *loci* in early modern theological discourse. Cf. Taylor (2015), p. 307.

Ramzius, Göteborg 1666) and *De ministerio ecclesiastico* (pr. J. Florander, Göteborg 1678). Questions regarding the church are found in the fifth, seventh and eighth articles of the *Confessio Augustana*.

Thirdly, especially in seventeenth-century dissertations on theology, we see a polemic tendency, not uncharacteristic of the Swedish Great Power period, during which the Lutheran orthodoxy was fiercely defended against heretical beliefs.²⁵¹ The targets for such theological outbursts in gymnasial dissertations appear primarily to have been Calvinists. An early dissertation which may serve as an example of this is *De persona Christi* (Västerås 1630), chaired by Jonas Columbus, *professor poeseos* in Uppsala. The author attacks followers of Calvin in rather harsh words, saying that they insult the word of communication, the communion and the Christian fellowship (*thesis* 15: *Calvinistae sugillant vocabulum communicationis, communionis, κοινωνίας*), and that they dispute with spectres and demons (*thesis* 16: *cum lemurius ergo pugnant calvinistae et propria larva*). This particular dissertation is based on the *Formula Concordiae*, but also refers extensively to the Bible, to Hafenreffer's *Compendium* and to authors of theology such as the aforementioned Martin Chemnitz and Leonhard Hutter.²⁵² By using Calvinist ideas and interpretations as contrast the author of *De persona Christi* emphasises the correct Lutheran ideas. Such polemic tendencies against Calvinists and Jesuits are significantly downplayed in eighteenth-century dissertations.

Fourthly, we see that the influence of theology on philosophy and vice versa is highlighted in some dissertations.²⁵³ In *De usu philosophiae in theologia* (pr. A. Brodinus, Västerås 1671) the author says that it is useful, if not necessary, to employ philosophy in the analysis and defence of *loci communes theologici*:

Ideoque tum ratione praeparationis, tum ratione perceptionis et defensionis locorum Theologicorum non utilis modo, sed et necessaria sit.²⁵⁴

[Therefore it is not only useful, but also necessary (to employ philosophy) for the sake of preparation, as well as for the sake of perception and defence of *loci theologici*.]

²⁵¹ Lindroth (1975b), p. 87. See also the many examples of religious propaganda and polemical attacks in Neo-Latin poetry and prose from seventeenth-century Sweden given by Helander (2004), pp. 319-340.

²⁵² References to Martin Chemnitz appear in several theological dissertations.

²⁵³ E. g. *Disputatio exhibens sanae philosophiae necessitatem, et usum eximium in S. theologia et caeteris facultatibus* (pr. L. Olai Widbyensis, Strängnäs 1648), *De usu philosophiae in theologia* (pr. A. Brodinus, Västerås 1671) and *Utrum conveniat philosophiam moralem doceri in scholis Christianorum?* (pr. D. Memsen, Göteborg 1727).

²⁵⁴ *De usu philosophia in theologia* (pr. A. Brodinus, Västerås 1671), *positio* III.

The reason for this is further explained by the author: when we consider explanations of Christian articles of faith we often use terms that occur in philosophy:

Si enim dogmaticam articulorum fidei, et doctrinae Christianae explicationem intueamur, deprehendimus saepe quosdam terminos occurrere in ipsa Theologia, qui ex philosophia tam Theoretica quam Practica petiti sunt.²⁵⁵

[For if we consider the dogmatic explanation of the articles of Faith itself and of Christian doctrine, we often note that some terms occur in theology, terms that are sought both in theoretical as well as in practical philosophy.]

The author argues that using philosophical methods and terms would be an advantage in the interpretation and analysis of theological questions.

Fifthly, gymnasial dissertations could be the medium of contemporary theological controversies and debates. The three theological dissertations chaired by Johannes Matthiae Gothus at the *Collegium illustre* in Stockholm in 1627-1629 were polemics against the dangerous ideas proposed by Joannes Baazius, vicar of Jönköping.²⁵⁶ Other examples of theological dissertations that represent contributions to an ongoing debate of later date are two dissertations from Skara chaired by Anders Knös in the early 1770s, namely *Schediasma theologicum de statu quaestionis in recentissima controversia synergistica rite observando* (1770) and *Decas thesium theologicarum de statu quaestionis, in recentissima controversia synergistica, nondum rite observato* (1771). Here, the author explicitly calls attention to two academic dissertations that were recently submitted in Lund (*duas dissertationes Londino Gothorum nuper huc allatas*) by Petrus Munck, theologian at the University of Lund.²⁵⁷ Knös and Munck were involved in theological controversies at the time, and the dissertations mentioned here form part of their debate, in which Knös, amongst others, was criticized by the orthodoxically oriented Munck regarding his opinions on the impact of synergism of man's free will and divine grace in

²⁵⁵ *De usu philosophia in theologia* (pr. A. Brodinus, Västerås 1671), *positio* V.

²⁵⁶ The theological dissertations submitted by Johannes Matthiae Gothus in the *Collegium illustre* and the theological debate between Baazius and Matthiae Gothus have been previously discussed by Runeby (1962), p. 186f., and particularly by Lundin (1944), p. 62ff. Baazius also chaired a gymnasial dissertation in 1615 titled *De S. Scripturae τὸ ὀρθὸν ad demonstrandam veram ac simplicem textus Biblici* in Växjö, and a gymnasial dissertation in 1641 titled *De utilitate historiae ecclesiasticae imprimis Sveo-Gothorum* at the trivial school in Jönköping, a town in which Baazius was vicar from 1624. On the biography of Baazius, see Lundin (1944), p. 1f.

²⁵⁷ The dissertations chaired by Munck are *Dissertatio de synergismo recentioribus animadversionibus opposita* (re. A. Wärenius, Lund 1769) and *Animadversiones in observationes apologeticas de synergismo recentiori* (two parts, re. N. Bruzelius respectively G. Thulin, Lund 1770). See Liden's *Catalogus disputationum* 2, p. 97.

salvation.²⁵⁸ Both the gymnasial dissertations chaired by Knös discuss questions that arose from his reading of the two academic dissertations.

These particular theological dissertations highlight that dissertations submitted at a gymnasium could play a role in contemporary debates. In the case of Matthiae Gothus, the medium through which he could publish ideas and contributions to the debate was the dissertations that he chaired. Here, dissertations may be equated with other types of writings. Knös' dissertations on the other hand explicitly and thoroughly discuss single academic dissertations. It is noteworthy that ideas and debates held in the academic environment were also discussed at gymnasia via dissertations.

2.3.2 Philosophy, Physics, Mathematics and Logic

Philosophy, physics, mathematics and logic had much more in common in the early modern period and particularly in the educational context than they may have today. For instance, in the early modern world, philosophy had broader definitions and classifications than in the contemporary discipline. In the seventeenth century, physics could be characterized as natural philosophy, while mathematics also treated subjects that today belong to physics.²⁵⁹ Sub-categories of philosophy were numerous and included metaphysics, physics, mathematics, politics, moral philosophy, ethics, logic, pneumatics and natural philosophy, although logic was not always considered a part of philosophy, but a philological subject grouped together with rhetoric and grammar.²⁶⁰ Of these, metaphysics, mathematics and logic were considered to belong to theoretical philosophy, and ethics, economy and politics belonged to practical philosophy.²⁶¹

Here, the subject specialisms of teachers at gymnasia may serve as an example. The school regulations of 1649 prescribed seven *lectores* for a complete gymnasium, of whom one had responsibility for instruction in logic and physics (*logicus et physicus*), while the *lector* of mathematics (*mathematicus*) was responsible for instruction in arithmetic, geometry, geography and “the teaching of the circles” (*doctrina circulorum*) as well as the “ecclesiastic calendar” (*computus ecclesiasticus*).²⁶² In the school regulations of 1724 instruction in theoretical philosophy (logic and physics), practical philosophy (morals and ethics) and mathematics was distributed between

²⁵⁸ On the biographies and controversies of Munck and Knös, see SBL, s.v. Anders Knös <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/11671> (author Olle Hellström), and SBL, s.v. Petrus Munck <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/9551> (author Ingmar Brohed).

²⁵⁹ Litzén (2015), p.13ff.

²⁶⁰ See Freedman (1994), p. 47f. and *passim*.

²⁶¹ See the definition in *De philosophia in genere* (pr. S. Benedicti, Västerås 1631) and *De philosophia in genere* (pr. G. P. Silnaeus, Strängnäs 1669). Cf. Friedenthal and Piirimäe (2015), p. 71ff.

²⁶² SO 1649, ÅSU 4, pp. 94-96.

three teachers: the *lector* of history and practical philosophy, the *lector* of logic and the *lector* of mathematics in that order. However, the *lector* of logic would also – in addition to logic – teach moral philosophy, metaphysics and some background to philosophical schools of thought (*sectae philosophorum*), but protect the schoolboys from scholastic philosophy.²⁶³ We see here a differentiation between physics and mathematics, divided between two different *lectores* of whom one was also responsible for instruction in philosophy. At the time, physics was more closely connected to logic and philosophy than to mathematics, at least until experimental sciences increased in importance later in the eighteenth century.²⁶⁴ Nevertheless, by analyzing the material for this study, we can see that physics and philosophy remained connected throughout the century in the gymnasial context. This philosophical understanding of physics is attested in *De coelo* (pr. B. M. Starinius, Göteborg 1665), a gymnasial dissertation that is described as a *disputatio physica* on the title page. When reading the text of the dissertation — on Heaven — it is obvious that the topic is of philosophical or theological rather than of natural scientific character. Heaven, the seventh *thesis* explains, is a product of the creation of God (created not on the first but on the second day) and the end of heaven is the glory of God (*Coelum per creationem a Deo productum est; Idque non die primo, sed secundo. Finis coeli summus est Gloria Dei*). This echoes Aristotelian physics and philosophy which prescribed investigations of the divine maker’s purposes through his work.²⁶⁵ Further on in the same dissertation we find speculations of the immobility of Heaven, which could be explained – the dissertation says – either by reason, revelation or by impression of the senses (*thesis 14: vel ex ratione, vel ex revelatione, vel ex sensuum iudicio probatur*). The overall impression on reading *De coelo* is of philosophical speculation that is not based on empirical experiment. The dissertation may serve as an example of a physics dissertation from before the scientific revolution. On the other hand, there are several examples of dissertations that this study categorizes as belonging to physics that do treat topics that would be understood as physics today.

In addition, the question of whether philosophy and logic should be treated under the same heading was a subject for debate in the material studied. In *De philosophia in genere* (pr. G. P. Silnaeus, Strängnäs 1669), the second of ten final questions (*quaestiones*) is as follows: *An Logica sit pars Philosophiae?* (“Should logic be considered a part of philosophy?”). The writer of the dissertation concludes that the answer to this proposition is negative. As seen above in section 2.1.2, the overall aim of logic was to establish facts through more or less intricate chains of syllogisms. The rediscovered Aristotelian logic outrivaled and replaced Ramist logic in

²⁶³ SO 1724, ÅSU 7, p. 48f.

²⁶⁴ IJsewijn and Sacré (1998), p. 340.

²⁶⁵ Lindroth (1975b), pp. 129-132 and 140f.

seventeenth-century education, a trend which is especially clear in the case of dissertations on logic from the gymnasium of Västerås. Aristotelian logic was also favored by the founder of the gymnasium Johannes Rudbeckius.²⁶⁶ This notion is attested in the first *thesis* of *De demonstratione* (pr. L. J. Folkernius, Västerås 1660), in which it is said that the end goal of logic is an inquiry into truth by way of philosophical principles and that truth is brought to light by logic syllogisms: *Finem Logices ultimum esse veritatis inquisitionem ex placitis Philosophorum constat: Veritas autem Syllogismi beneficio in lucem protractitur.*

2.3.2.1 Philosophy and Logic

Dissertations that solely treat philosophy and logic constitute a fairly small proportion of the body of dissertations. The largest portion of these originate in seventeenth-century Strängnäs (27), followed by Västerås (24), while elsewhere dissertations on philosophy and logic form a minority of the total number of dissertations.²⁶⁷ Considering the eighteenth century, the number of dissertations entirely dedicated to philosophy or logic is smaller by comparison. As for the preceding century, Strängnäs takes the lead with approximately sixty dissertations on philosophy, while there are only occasional specimens from other gymnasia.

Considering the topics of philosophical dissertations, I have identified a few reoccurring traits: there are dissertations, almost exclusively from the seventeenth century, that treat the nature and definition of philosophy, such as *De philosophia in genere* a title found both in Västerås (pr. S. Benedicti, 1631) and in Strängnäs (pr. G. P. Silnaeus, 1669).²⁶⁸ Such handbook-like dissertations aimed at defining philosophy in general or at defining a certain

²⁶⁶ Johannes Rudbeckius published a textbook on logic, titled *Logica ex optimis et praestantissimis autoribus collecta et conscripta* (Västerås 1625), to be used in schools. For the spread of Aristotelian logic in Swedish education and the seventeenth-century controversies between Aristotelians and Ramists regarding which kind of logic to use, see Lindroth (1975b), pp. 128-140.

²⁶⁷ Philosophical dissertations from Västerås constitute c. 34 percent in the seventeenth century; the proportion from seventeenth-century Strängnäs is approximately 33 percent. In the rest of the gymnasia we find occasional dissertations on philosophy or logic: one out of thirteen in seventeenth-century Göteborg, six out of twenty-three in Stockholm, three out of six in Linköping, three out of three in Kalmar (however, two of these touch on theology).

²⁶⁸ Other dissertations that treat different kinds of philosophy in general are *De philosophiae, seu artium liberalium generali constitutione* (pr. E. Unonius, Sockholm 1644), *De philosophiae practicae constitutione* (pr. E. Unonius, Stockholm 1646), *De natura philosophiae* (pr. A. Arvidi, Strängnäs 1649), *Discursus anthropologicus: In anthropologiam physicam, discursus primus de ejusdem natura et constitutione* (pr. O. Bergius, Strängnäs 1658), *Disputatio naturam philosophiae in genere succincte exponens* (pr. J. Fraxenius, Strängnäs 1667), *De virtute morali in genere* (pr. J. O. Luuth, Strängnäs without year, probably late 1660s) and *De affectionibus entis in genere* (pr. A. A. Gradinus, Västerås 1681).

kind of philosophy (for instance practical philosophy). If we compare statements in these dissertations with the results of the investigation of early modern definitions and division of philosophy conducted by Joseph Freedman (1994), we immediately notice that the content in gymnasial dissertations resembles the results of Freedman's study to a great extent which therefore shows that gymnasial dissertations were reflecting wider thought at the time.

There is a clear distinction between theoretical and practical philosophy in the material studied. In terms of theoretical philosophy in the seventeenth century we mainly find dissertations that treat different aspects of logic. Here we find dissertations such as *De syllogismo* (pr. J. Holstenius, Västerås 1666) treating the syllogistic method of logic, which was a component in the art of disputation as has been shown above.²⁶⁹ Other dissertations on theoretical philosophy may treat other parts of logic such as *De demonstratione* (pr. J. L. Folkernius, Västerås 1661) and *De categoriis* (pr. C. Saebenius, Västerås 1663). However, topics taken from theoretical philosophy appear to be in the minority if we consider all philosophical dissertations from the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century we see a more balanced distribution between dissertations on logic and on moral philosophy, especially in Strängnäs. Topics related to practical philosophy seem to have been popular throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These dissertations treat different aspects of morals, natural law, ethics and politics, such as virtue, the principles of human actions, affection and ignorance.²⁷⁰

Philosophical influences of the Enlightenment on short *theses*-dissertations of the eighteenth century are treated in section 2.6.4.5 below.

2.3.2.2 Physics and Mathematics

In physics, as has already been stated, we find dissertations both of philosophical character as well as of natural sciences. In the seventeenth century, dissertations on physics show features that are typical of the times, namely a desire to explain the Creation through physical phenomena. The gymnasia of Västerås and Strängnäs have by far the greatest number of

²⁶⁹ Other dissertations on logic are, for example, *De natura logicae* (pr. N. Holgeri, Kalmar 1632) and *De natura logicae* (pr. P. Christerin, Västerås 1681).

²⁷⁰ Titles originating from the seventeenth century are, for instance, *De causa interna formali* (pr. S. Folkenius, Strängnäs 1644), *De principiis actionum humanarum* (pr. O. E. Schult, Västerås 1651), *De fortitudine* (pr. G. G. Queckfeldt, Strängnäs 1654), *De actu humanorum principis* (pr. A. Wincke, Strängnäs 1669), *De affectibus* (pr. P. Gangius, Västerås 1669), *De libertate hominis in actionibus civilibus* (pr. E. A. Razelius, Strängnäs 1671), *De ignorantia* (pr. L. E. Rahm, Strängnäs 1673), *De virtute heroica nonnulla ejusdem brevitatis* (pr. J. Rudbeckius, Västerås 1673), and *De proportionibus in justitia distributiva et commutativa servandis* (pr. J. Ström, Strängnäs 1695).

physics dissertations from the seventeenth century.²⁷¹ In Västerås the majority of these dissertations took a philosophical approach to physical phenomena. In two early dissertations from Västerås, *De sole* and *De luna*, both presided by Matthias Alzbeckius in 1636, the Ptolemaic conception of the universe — in which we must learn about God’s creation to fully understand the world — is manifest.²⁷² Other early physics dissertations from Västerås mostly treat astronomical topics and have titles such as *De natura* (pr. S. Benedicti Arbogensis, 1633), *De primis rerum naturalium principiis in genere* (pr. E. Sala-Montanus, 1643), *De igne* (pr. O. I. Schultunensis, 1649), *De elementis in genere* (pr. O. J. Schult, 1651), *De coelo* (pr. O. J. Schultunensis, 1652) and *Disputatio selenographica* (pr. P. Schult, 1672). In Strängnäs there were a number of dissertations on astronomy chaired by the *lector* of mathematics Johannes Lindbergius 1667-1669.²⁷³ This ambiguity – or rather difficulty of categorizing – emphasizes the unstable character of early modern disciplinary boundaries.

During the eighteenth century many *theses*-dissertations included *theses* on physics. Not surprisingly, it was primarily the *lector* of physics and logic that presided over these. The content of eighteenth-century dissertations on natural sciences are treated in section 2.6.4.4 below.

If we now turn to the mathematical sciences, these saw a renaissance with utility focused Ramist ideas in the seventeenth century, and were of significant use for the expanding Great Power of Sweden.²⁷⁴ Traditionally mathematics comprised geometry, arithmetic and astronomy. In Swedish gymnasial instruction the *lector* of mathematics also conducted the teaching of geography and Biblical chronology.²⁷⁵ In my survey of mathematical dissertations I have noticed that in Strängnäs in the seventeenth century the *lector* of mathematics also chaired dissertations on astronomical topics (which has been touched upon above). In my examination of mathematical dissertations I have observed that Strängnäs stands out as having the highest number of dissertations treating solely mathematical topics. This is due to the series of twelve mathematical dissertations titled *Gymnasmata mathematica* by Nicolaus Buddaeus (1646) and to the series of astronomical/mathematical dissertations published by Johannes Lindbergius

²⁷¹ Other gymnasia have very small numbers of dissertations completely dedicated to physics, both in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Altogether there are no more than ten physics dissertations from Göteborg, Linköping, and Stockholm.

²⁷² Cf. Hall (1911), p. 261ff, who provides abstracts of these two dissertations.

²⁷³ The astronomical dissertations chaired by Johannes Lindbergius are *De astronomiae definitione, causis, ejusque divisione* (1667), *De sphaerae constitutione secundum ejus axes polos atque orbis* (1667), *De circulis sphaerae coelestis, tam in genere quam in specie* (1668), *De zonis caelestibus ac terrestribus earumque adjunctis, nec non circulis minus principalioribus* (1668) and *De planetis seu stellis erraticis in genere et fixis in specie* (1669).

²⁷⁴ Lindroth (1975b), p. 466ff. Cf. Ingemarsdotter (2011), p. 146ff.

²⁷⁵ SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 96, and SO 1724, ÅSU 7, p. 48f.

mentioned above. The *Gymnasmata* series by Buddaeus contains five dissertations on arithmetic, one on geometry, two on geography and three on astronomy.²⁷⁶ Taken together these dissertations cover approximately ninety pages in octavo. The sequence of these dissertations is intentional, since Buddaeus' idea was to compile all parts into a schoolbook.²⁷⁷ Otherwise, mathematics does not seem to have been favored as a sole subject for gymnasial dissertations. We do, however, find dissertations that aim to define the principles of mathematics in general, such as *De mathesi in genere* (pr. A. A. Malmenius, Strängnäs 1652) and the homonymous dissertation presided by J. Lindbergius (Strängnäs 1666). Dissertations on general definitions of a subject are also found in other subject categories.

Finally, a mathematical dissertation that deserves special mention here is *De usu matheseos in arte oratoria* (pr. J. Sparschuch, Linköping 1735), since it was referred to in a footnote in an academic dissertation from Uppsala titled *De Cicerone mathematico* (pr. P. Ekerman, 1759). The gymnasial dissertation was submitted *pro loco* for the lectorship of eloquence and poetics, and uses works of Cicero (*Brutus* and *Dialogus de oratore*) and Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria*) as its main sources.²⁷⁸ This emphasizes again that gymnasial dissertations were distributed, either by means of specimen copies sent to the university in Uppsala or by other means (student nations, private libraries etc.), and were indeed even read outside the gymnasial environment.

The physics and mathematical dissertations from Västerås and Strängnäs mentioned above may perhaps be of interest for scholars working on the history of physics, mathematics and astronomy.

2.3.4 Education, Rhetoric, Poetics and the Study of Latin and Greek

Questions of education and pedagogy gained much attention in the early modern period — from the Renaissance onwards — and there are a number of educational treatises in Latin from the period.²⁷⁹ Rhetoric and – to some

²⁷⁶ The complete titles of these twelve dissertations are: *Gymnasma arithmeticum de computatione numerorum integrorum*, *Gymnasma arithmeticum fractionum doctrinam*, *Gymnasma arithmeticum de computatione comparata*, *Gymnasma arithmeticum de extractione radicum*, *Gymnasma arithmeticum logisticæ epitome*, *Gymnasma geometricum de magnitudine ejusque speciebus*, *Gymnasma geometricum de triangulo ejusque planimetria*, *Gymnasma geographicum de globo terreno*, *Gymnasma geographicum distantias locorum indagandi modum tradens*, *Gymnasma astronomicum de globo coelesti ejusque circulis*, *Gymnasma astronomicum de stellis earumque asterismis* and *Gymnasma astronomicum exhibens solis et stellarum longitudinem* [...].

²⁷⁷ This is further stressed in section 2.8.3.4 below.

²⁷⁸ See Erik Bohlin's edition of the academic dissertation (2015).

²⁷⁹ See for instance IJsewijn and Sacré (1998), p. 301f. Cf. Kallendorf (2002).

extent – poetics were intimately connected with education in the early modern Swedish school system, and therefore they are treated as belonging to the same category of subjects.²⁸⁰ Education is a broad heading which includes dissertations that may treat related topics such as pedagogy, didactics and history of education.

Approximately seventy dissertations have been categorized under this heading. The distribution is as follows: approximately forty dissertations are labeled as belonging to education, while roughly thirty dissertations treat rhetoric and/or poetics. The majority of these originates in the eighteenth century, while less than ten dissertations are from the seventeenth century.

2.3.4.1 Education

Dissertations on issues related to education are of course of many different characters and treat different kinds of aspects of education. The most comprehensive dissertations in this category originate from the latter part of the eighteenth century from the gymnasium of Linköping, while from Strängnäs and Västerås there are a number of short *theses*-dissertations that treat educational questions of various kinds.²⁸¹ It should be mentioned that education *per se* was not a subject of the gymnasial curriculum, which makes it different from other subject categories. A large number of dissertations in this category were submitted by personel already at or applicants for positions at trivial schools, rather than by teachers or other persons at gymnasia. Roughly half of all dissertations on educational issues were submitted by someone working or applying for a position at a trivial school (*rector*, *conrector* or *collega*). Some of these educational dissertations are explicitly labeled as being *pro loco* on the title page, and were submitted by an applicant for a position as *rector* at a trivial school.²⁸² This may be explained

²⁸⁰ A dissertation on education may also contain chapters on rhetoric and poetics. This is the case in *De educatione ingenua* (pr. C. Lidell, Göteborg 1727), which devotes four out of twelve paragraphs to discussions of the utility of studies of (classical Latin) poetry, knowledge of rhetoric and oratory, and Latin and Greek for young boys.

²⁸¹ The comprehensive dissertations (eight to twenty-four pages) from Linköping are *De scholis trivialibus* (pr. D. Z. Torpadius, 1748), *Dissertatio exhibens periculum subsidii Graecae linguae studioso expectandi et notione ποδξεως* (pr. M. Fallerstedt, 1762), *Dissertatio operam praeceptoris et discipuli Graeci breviter delineatura* (pr. A. Askegren, 1763), *Dissertatio philosophica, sistens tentamina nonnulla quorum ratio habeatur in informanda pube literis dicata* (pr. C. Laurbeck, 1763), *Quaestionis solutio: utrum conducit, alumnos scholarum omnes Graecae linguae adhibere culturam* (pr. C. Boraen, 1773), *De libero civium ad scholas publicas accessu* (pr. N. Apelberg, 1774), and *De institutione publica meditationes* (pr. P. Westelius, 1795). The short *theses*-dissertations from Strängnäs are found in the catalogue in the appendices.

²⁸² Some examples of dissertations on education that are explicitly labeled as *pro loco*, and were submitted by an applicant for a position as *rector* at a trivial school, are *De educatione ingenua* (pr. C. Lidell, Göteborg 1727), *De scholis trivialibus* (pr. D. Z. Torpadius, Linköping 1748), *Theses miscellaneae* (pr. A. Tollbom, Linköping 1756), *Dissertatio philosophica, sistens tentamina*

by the character of the trivial school: trivial schools were a kind of primary school that cared for the moral as well as intellectual education (mostly focused on the study of the *trivium*, i.e. rhetoric, Latin grammar and dialectic) of the youngest schoolboys. In such circumstances questions of moral fostering and general questions regarding education were suitable themes for dissertations: they were an opportunity for the applicants to show that they were well prepared for the task of coworker or headmaster at this kind of educational institution.

As has already been stated, the dissertations in this category cover a miscellany of topics. One may nevertheless distinguish a number of recurring themes. Firstly, the necessity of moral education from an early age as crucial for young boys, since it was seen as important not only for the individuals but also for the well-being of the *res publica*. We find this view in early as well as in late dissertations.²⁸³ Here, the importance of guidance by parents and of good tutors and teachers is highlighted, with advice on how teaching and fostering good morals should best be conducted. A didactic or pedagogical approach is thus discernible.

Secondly, the idea that subjects taught should be appropriate to the maturity of the youth. In *Dissertatio philosophica sistens tentamina nonnulla, quorum ratio habetur...* (pr. C. Laurbeck, Linköping 1763) this is expressed in the suggestion that the youngest boys in their boyhood (*pueritia*) should be taught languages and history, since the ability to memorize is vigorous then, while logic, reflection and abstraction are more suitable for adolescent boys (*adolescencia*).²⁸⁴ Connected to this topic are discussions of the differences in the abilities of the mind (*ingenium*). Not all are apt to study every kind of subject. A metaphorical treatment of this view is found in *De educatione ingenua* (pr. C. Lidell, Göteborg 1727) in which the author states that to load weight onto someone who is not capable of the burden is like putting the shield of a giant onto a dwarf: *nam onus imponere alicui, quod non ferunt humeri, est gigantis clypeum aptare nano*.²⁸⁵ On the other hand, *De libero civium ad scholas publicas accessu* (pr. N. Apelberg, Linköping 1774) states that no boy who has the desire to learn should be inhibited from entering a public school; although parents and tutors must agree, if he is underaged: *Non igitur statim a*

nonnulla quorum ratio habeatur in informanda pube literis dicata (pr. C. Laurbeck, Linköping 1763), and *De justo litterarum humaniorum pretio* (pr. J. I. Köhler, Linköping 1774).

²⁸³ For instance in *De recta juventutis educatione* (pr. L. Vidichini, Västerås 1949), and *De requisitiis nonnullis praeceptoris et discipuli* (pr. B. Flosundius, Strängås 1692), as well as in *De institutione publica meditationes* (pr. P. Westelius, Linköping 1795).

²⁸⁴ *Dissertatio philosophica sistens tentamina nonnulla, quorum ratio habetur...* (pr. C. Laurbeck, Linköping 1763), pp. 11-13.

²⁸⁵ *De educatione ingenua* (pr. C. Lidell, Göteborg 1727), p. 5.

*limine Scholarum arcendus est puer, aut juvenis, qui desiderium discendi, ex consensu Parentum aut Tutorum, si minorennis fuerit, significat.*²⁸⁶ The same dissertation continues:

Nam non raro in melius mutatur per diligentiam, annis venientibus, ingenium: nec multi forte adeo hebetes sunt ac stupidi, ut nihil plane discere queant [...].²⁸⁷

[For often the ability of the mind (*ingenium*) changes to the better with time through diligence. And not many are by chance that blunt and stupid, that they are not able to learn anything at all.]

Similar thoughts are found, for example, in the previously cited *Dissertatio philosophica sistens tentamina nonnulla, quorum ratio habetur...* (pr. C. Laurbeck, Linköping 1763) which states that among youths there is diversity of character and great variety in the abilities of the mind: *In juventute diversam indolem ac maximam ingeniorum animadvertimus varietatem.*²⁸⁸

Thirdly, education/teaching of Latin and Latin literature is commonly emphasized as of high importance in many of the dissertations on educational questions. This is particularly clear in *theses*-dissertations from the second half of the eighteenth century, an issue that will be treated in section 2.6.4.1 on the particular subjects of the eighteenth century *theses*-dissertations below.²⁸⁹ The necessity of Latin education is however also a visible subject in other types of disserteration. We find it for instance in the aforementioned *De ingenua educatione* (pr. C. Lidell, Göteborg 1727), in which the study of Latin is justified by the fact that it is the common language of *literarum scientia* in the whole world. If it was not for Latin being a common language, one would have to learn all languages, opines the author of the dissertation.²⁹⁰ Finally, Latin and Latin literature should be taught according to the abilities of the schoolboys, from the elementary to the advanced, according to the author of *Thesium scholasticarum decas* (pr. J. Boëthius, Västerås 1751):

Ut enim in omni re, ita et hic maxime, a facilibus ad difficiliora est progrediendum. Mihi quidem tenellae aetati consultissimum videtur, si libellus in hunc praecipue usum adornaretur, quem in

²⁸⁶ *De libero civium ad scholas publicas accessu* (pr. N. Apelberg, Linköping 1774), p. 6.

²⁸⁷ *De libero civium ad scholas publicas accessu* (pr. N. Apelberg, Linköping 1774), p. 6.

²⁸⁸ *Dissertatio philosophica sistens tentamina nonnulla, quorum ratio habetur...* (pr. C. Laurbeck, Linköping 1763), p. 13.

²⁸⁹ See for instance *theses*-dissertations from Västerås: *Thesium scholasticarum decas* (pr. J. Boëthius, 1751), *Thesium scholasticarum dodecas* (pr. O. Grandell, 1779) and *Theses scholasticae* (pr. N. Lindius, 1779).

²⁹⁰ *De educatione ingenua* (pr. C. Lidell, Göteborg 1727), p. 13.

certas classes distributum vellem, quarum prima verbi gratia nil contineret, quod non simplicissimum et secundum regulas intellectu facillimas consignatum esset [...].²⁹¹

[Because just like in every matter, so also particularly in this, one should advance from the easier to the more difficult. It seems to me certainly most advisable for a tender age, if a small book should be prepared especially for this practice, which I would like to divide in certain classes, the first of which for instance should not contain anything that was not established as most simple and according to rules that were very easily comprehensible by the intellect.]

Without doubt there was an awareness of how teaching should be conducted for schoolboys of different ages to obtain good results.

Lastly, education in orthodox faith is most important. Swedish education was imbued with Christian ideals, and this is especially visible in dissertations on education. These thoughts are omnipresent, and I quote a passage from *Dissertatio philosophica sistens tentamina nonnulla, quorum ratio habetur...* (pr. C. Laurbeck, Linköping 1763) in which this is stressed:

At scientia omnium summe necessaria est, qua in Religionis et salutis negotio, vere maximo, sanctioris doctrinae ac sinceræ pietatis principiis, de DEO, Ejus essentia, attributis et voluntate, de mediis ac modo aeternam consequendi salutem et ceteris, imbuimur [...].²⁹²

[But most necessary of all is the science by which we are imbued in questions (indeed the highest) concerning religious and spiritual salvation, by principles of the holy doctrine and of sincere piety, about God, his essence, attributes and will, about the ways and method to achieve eternal salvation etc.]

It is my opinion that personal standpoints are more likely to be found in dissertations on educational questions than in other categories. This may be due to the character of the subject which encourages the author to express his own sentiment on education, and potentially also because they tend to be *pro loco*-dissertations and therefore produced by more mature people setting out their personal philosophy in order to get a job.

The dissertation *De scholis trivialibus* (pr. D. Z. Torpadius, Linköping 1748) is peculiar in this category for a couple of reasons. Firstly, it treats the history of trivial schools and also the utility, necessity and distinguishing

²⁹¹ *Thesium scholasticarum decas* (pr. J. Boëthius, Västerås 1751), p. 7

²⁹² *Dissertatio philosophica sistens tentamina nonnulla, quorum ratio habetur [...]* (pr. C. Laurbeck, Linköping 1763), p. 10.

features of this type of school. This makes it rare in the category of education. Secondly, *De scholis trivialibus* is referred to by others in two different contexts. A later dissertation, *Quaestionis solutio: utrum conducit, alumnos scholarum omnes Graecae linguae adhibere culturam* (pr. C. Boraen, Linköping 1773), also on education, refers to *De scholis trivialibus* in a footnote when treating different types of school.²⁹³ The second reference is perhaps more remarkable since the dissertation is found in Cederhamn's *Catalogus dissertationum* from 1768, listed as one of two dissertations treating schools.²⁹⁴ Cederhamn's catalogue is arranged according to subject and chiefly lists academic dissertations. To find references like this suggests again that gymnasial dissertations had an impact, outwith as well as within, the gymnasium.

2.3.4.2 Rhetoric and Poetics

Most dissertations in this category were presided by a *lector* of eloquence and poetics, or were submitted as *pro loco*-dissertations for either a position at a trivial school or as *lector* at a gymnasium, although there are also dissertations submitted by persons working in trivial schools. The topic is interesting since schoolboys were continuously exercised in Latin oratory and poetry from trivial school to gymnasium throughout the centuries in question. By reading speeches by Cicero and Livy, and by writing and performing their own speeches, schoolboys were trained in the art of rhetoric.²⁹⁵ Thus, one should not ignore the fact that rhetoric was an important component of the curriculum and was employed in disputation. Various sub-topics of rhetoric and poetics are treated in these dissertations: rhetorical phrase analysis,²⁹⁶ questions on purity or clearness of style,²⁹⁷ the aims and usefulness of Latin rhetorical knowledge,²⁹⁸ poetics,²⁹⁹ and general questions on eloquence (such as tropes, figures and the parts of a speech).³⁰⁰ Some of these

²⁹³ *Quaestionis solutio: utrum conducit, alumnos scholarum omnes Graecae linguae adhibere culturam* (pr. C. Boraen, Linköping 1773), p. 8.

²⁹⁴ Cederhamn *Catalogus dissertationum quae ad illustrandas res Svecicas faciunt, praesertim in argumentis historicis, ecclesiasticis, juridicis, literariis, oeconomicis, physicis, et historia naturali* (1768), p. 176.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Rimm (2011), pp. 162-193.

²⁹⁶ *Analysis Latinae orationis periodica* (pr. A. N. Grönberger, Linköping 1776).

²⁹⁷ *De perspicuitate styli* (pr. C. Enhörning, Strängnäs 1698), *De puritate Latini sermonis* (pr. A. Dahlbom, Strängnäs 1705, 1706, 1707).

²⁹⁸ *De spiritu poetico* (pr. D. Gadd, Strängnäs 1693), *De eloquentia Latina in scholis Christianis comparanda* (pr. O. E. Törnsten, Göteborg 1731) and *De robore orationis* (pr. A. Schiörling, Linköping 1732).

²⁹⁹ *De entusiasmo poetico* (pr. W. A. Wennerdahl, Linköping 1742.)

³⁰⁰ *Rhetorices naturam et constitutionem rudi penicillo adumbrans* (pr. J. A. Netzelius, Strängnäs 1665), *Σχόλια περί τῶν τρόπων ῥητορικῶν* (pr. E. Moraenius, Västerås 1739) and *Theses oratorio-poëticae* (pr. S. Älf, Linköping 1760).

dissertations show features that are characteristic of handbooks rather than of dissertations.

In dissertations on rhetoric we often see arguments and discussions that emphasize the importance of knowledge of Latin and rhetorical efficiency. Such attitudes are attested by the beginning of *De puritate Latini sermonis*, a series of three dissertations bearing this title (pr. A. Dahlbom, Strängnäs 1705, 1706, 1707): *Hinc nemo eum literatorum societati adsertum putat, aut hominis eruditi nomine dignatur, qui hac lingua pure et expedite loqui nescit* (“Hence, no one thinks him asserted to the society of learned men, or worthy the name of a learned man, who does not know how to talk purely and readily in this language [i.e. Latin]”).³⁰¹ Much effort is dedicated to defining and explaining what a good orator should be, which underlines the didactic element of these dissertations. A good orator should not only be well-versed in the art of oratory itself, but must have experience of other things, as defined in the seventh *thesis* of *Theses miscellaneae* (pr. by F. G. Gylich, Göteborg 1744):

Non tuetur nomen Rhetoris aut Oratoris, qui nudam phraseologiam ad unguem callet; sed qui rationem novit solide, prudenter, distincte, adcurate atque eleganter dicendi. Unde facili negotio colligitur, artem oratoriam requirere ingenium philosophia usuque rerum instructum, nec solam elocutionem efficere Oratorem.

[He does not uphold the name of rhetor or orator, who is precisely skillful in bare phraseology. But he is who knows the method of speaking substantially, prudently, distinctly, carefully and elegantly. Thereby it is easily understood, that the art of rhetoric requires an ability that is trained in philosophy and experience of things, because the oratorical delivery alone does not make an orator.]

In his *pro loco*-dissertation for the position as *lector* of eloquence and poetics, *De robore orationis* (Linköping 1732), Andreas Schiörling turns against the use of abundant ornamentation in orations. They are wrong, he says, who think that the force of an oration is obtained by the grace of the delivery and the enticement of the words; rather is it achieved by the weight of the subject:

Delirant ergo, qui orationis robur et genuinam persuadendi vim in dictionis venustate sola, verborumque lenociniis sitam esse putant. Quid enim aliud sunt verba, quam humano arbitrio reperta signa, quibus res, aut saltem mentis nostrae conceptus et cogitationes de rebus exprimuntur? Cum itaque verba significant res, manifestum est eadem eo majorem vim et efficaciam habere, quo magis res ipsae, quas conceperit dicens, docendis aut permovendis auditorum animis sint idoneae; utcumque vero comtam verbis et

³⁰¹ *De puritate Latini sermonis* (pr. A. Dahlbom, Strängnäs 1705), p. 5.

luminibus ornatam orationem vix unquam efficacem esse posse, rerum gravitate deficiente [...]. Rerum ergo ponderibus cum ipsa arte et exercitatione, nec non verborum apparatu, luminibus et actionis gratia amice conspirantibus, nascitur eximium illud quod in dicendo quaerimus et desideramus.³⁰²

[They are therefore silly, who think that the force of the speech and the genuine ability to persuade is situated in the charm of the delivery alone and in the enticement of the words. Because, what are words other than signs invented by human arbitration, by which the matter, or even our mind's conceptions and cognitions of the matter are expressed? Therefore, whereas words indicate things, it is obvious that the same have the greater force and efficiency, the more the things by themselves, which he has expressed through his speech, are suitable to teach or to move the auditorium. But no matter how decorated with words and how ornated with splendor the oration it is hardly never effective, if it lacks the gravity of the matter. Therefore, by the weight of the matter together with the art of oratory itself and exercise, likewise with the preparation of the words, when splendor and beauty of the performance work in friendly manner together, then is born that extraordinary that we require and desire in a speech.]

The models for rhetoric and poetry are of course the ancient classical Latin authors of the golden age. When studying dissertations on rhetoric and poetics one frequently finds references to Cicero and Quintilian, whose writings on rhetoric were considered the foremost guides in the matter.³⁰³ One may, however, also find references to early modern treatises on rhetoric, especially the ubiquitous *Elementa retorica* by Gerardus Johannis Vossius, which was printed in numerous editions in Sweden from the mid-seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century.³⁰⁴ When it comes to the poetic models, Vergil, Horace and Ovid are, not surprisingly, primarily emphasized. This is attested by *De entusiasmo poetico* (pr. W. A. Wennerdahl, Linköping 1742), which is also interesting because it has a list at the end containing short biographical and bibliographical notes on twenty-four Swedish poets who were considered most outstanding (*praestantissimi*) by the author.³⁰⁵

³⁰² *De robore orationis* (pr. A. Schiörling, Linköping 1732), pp. 9 and 23.

³⁰³ The impact of Cicero and Quintilian is noticeable by the references to their works in the school regulation of 1649.

³⁰⁴ Vossius' popular book was prescribed for the teaching of rhetoric in the school regulations of 1649 (SO 1649, ÅSU 4, pp. 64, 84, 110). See also Hansson (2006), p. 43f., on the various editions of the *Elementa rhetorica* printed in Sweden. Cf. Rimm (2011), p. 110ff.

³⁰⁵ These twenty-four poets comprise what must be considered the Swedish Parnass, namely Johannes Messenius, Jonas Columbus, Johannes Buracus, Laurentius (Lars) Wivallius, Georgius (Georg) Lilje Stiernhielm, Ericus Lindeman Lindschiöld, Urbanus Hierne (Urban Hjärne), Samuel Columbus, Laurentius Johannis (Lasse Lucidor), Haquinus Spegel, Jesperus (Jesper) Svedberg, Gunno Andr. Eurelius Dalstierna, Sophia Elisabeth Veber Brenner,

In *De eloquentia Latina in scholis Christianis comparanda* (pr. O. E. Törnsten, Göteborg 1731) we find a review of how the teaching of rhetoric and eloquence is to be conducted. In chapter two methodological remarks are put forth on the teaching of eloquence:³⁰⁶ schoolboys should thoroughly study the works of the ancient classical authors, then translate passages into the vernacular, then re-translate them into Latin again, imitating the style of the role model. The teacher's task should be to correct the elements in the text that deviate from the classical standard. Later on, the schoolboy should make use of suitable ornamentation in his exercises and also practice the performance of the oratory. The description of rhetorical training in *De eloquentia Latina* [...] is strikingly similar to the wording on the matter in the school regulation of 1724, which suggests that the regulation had come into effect.³⁰⁷ The utility of rhetoric is also argued for in this dissertation by highlighting its usefulness in theology, philosophy, politics and in military matters (*in rebus militaribus*).

The overall impression is that dissertations on educational and rhetorical topics emphasize didactic and pedagogical issues, practical rather than theoretical, where the personal positions of the authors sometimes shine through. In the case of dissertations on rhetoric, many appear to be elementary overviews intended to facilitate the rhetorical training of schoolboys.

2.3.5. Philology, Exegetics and Language-Related Questions

It is a well-known fact that the curriculum of the early modern Swedish gymnasium had its fundament in the study of ancient languages. From the beginning of the seventeenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth century, Latin (in particular), Greek and (to some extent) Hebrew occupied much of the curriculum. Much effort was focused on proficiency in these languages. Philology, on its part, was seen as one of the corner stones of Humanism and gained much attention in the early modern period.³⁰⁸

Torstanus (Torsten) Rudeen, Johannes Paulinus Liljenstedt (Lillienstedt), Petrus Lagerlöf, Israel Holmström, Petrus Hesselius, Johannes Runius, Jacobus (Jacob) Frese, Carolus (Carl) Eldh, Olaus (Olof) Kolmodin, Gustavus (Gustaf) Palmfelt and Olaus (Olof) Dahlin.

³⁰⁶ *De eloquentia Latina in scholis Christianis comparanda* (pr. O. E. Törnsten, Göteborg 1731), pp. 10-16.

³⁰⁷ SO 1724, ÅSU 7, p. 41.

³⁰⁸ See e.g. Bloemendal and Nellen (2014) and IJsewijn and Sacré (1998), p. 268ff. For the choice of section heading I draw on the explanation of philology expressed by Gunilla Gren-Eklund (2011), p. 43: "There are certain difficulties in choosing a word relevant to the activity of 'studies of language' at the academies in the centuries preceding the nineteenth, i.e. before

Therefore it is interesting to note that roughly eighty gymnasial dissertations treat philological and exegetical questions. Gymnasial dissertations that treat philological issues either cover classical texts or the Old and New Testaments (Hebrew and Greek, respectively). The majority of dissertations in this area discuss words, textual problems or certain paragraphs in the Holy Scriptures, although there are a small number of dissertations on classical texts as well. A quote from the introductory paragraph of *De adagiis Novi Testamenti* (pr. P. Schenberg, Linköping 1732) may serve as a definition of contemporary philology:

Occupata diu multumque fatigata est Eruditorum cura atque industria in explicandis iis, quae δυσόητα occurrunt in Sacris Scripturis, tam circa ipsam Textus integritatem adserendam et vindicandam, quae *Critica* dicitur; quam circa phraseologiam Biblicam, Sermonisque Sacri structuram explicandam atque enodandam, quae *Philologia* a Theologis vocari sivevit.

[The concerns and industry of the learned have long been occupied and become greatly worn out by trying to explain those passages that are hard to interpret in the Holy Scriptures, both concerning the affirmation and protection of the integrity of the text, which is called *critica*, and concerning Biblical phraseology and explanation and elucidation of the structure of Holy diction, which is called *philologia* by the theologians.]

Most of these dissertations on philology and/or exegetics were presided by *lectores* of Hebrew, Greek, eloquence or theology, but there are also examples of dissertations presided by persons who have or are applying for a position at a trivial school. Furthermore, in terms of content, there is not always a clear line between dissertations categorized as belonging to philology/exegetics and those categorized as belonging to, for instance, theology (which is also indicated by the fact that different *lectores* could preside over dissertations in this category). These dissertations treat questions that may be categorized as theological as well as purely philological, or belonging to other subject categories. The boundaries between subjects appear not to have been distinct — at least not to a

such terms as ‘linguistics’ and ‘Sprachwissenschaft’ appeared and assumed their modern meaning. The word ‘philology’ might best suggest the main idea of language studies in earlier times. Philology, in the sense in which it is still used in German and Swedish, seems to be quite an apposite term to describe the undertakings of professors of languages at the universities for many centuries from the Middle Ages on, since the emphasis then was exclusively on the interpretation of texts, Biblical and classical”.

modern perspective — resulting in subject categories that often overlap each other.

2.3.5.1 Hebrew, Greek and Latin

The view that Hebrew was the noblest language is repeatedly found in gymnasial dissertations. We find it for instance in the short *theses*-dissertation *De lingua primaeva* (pr. E. J. Almqvist, Gävle 1769), which is explicitly dedicated to the question of the first language. One of the arguments posed is that since God talked to Adam immediately after he was created, this language – undoubtedly Hebrew – must be the first language (*thesis* 6): *Deus Adamum recens creatum alloquutus est. Gen. II:16. ergo linguam quendam statim calluit. Non itaque sine caussa Judaei primam linguam vocant creatam* (“God spoke to Adam when he was recently created. Genesis 2:16. Therefore he immediately understood a certain language. Not without reason the Jews call it the first language that was created”). Hebrew is also commonly presented as surpassing both Greek and Latin in nobility. In a dissertation on various topics, *Theses miscellaneae* (pr. Andreas G. Rhodin, Skara 1757), this opinion is expressed in the fifth *thesis*:

Linguae Hebraeae valor internus, dignitas, vis, constantia et periodorum concinnitas, animis assidue legentium admirationem et venerationem movent. Graeca et Latina, etc. maximis dignae laudibus, pari cum Hebraea passu non ambulant.

[The internal valor of the Hebrew language, its authority (*dignitas*), strength, consistency and periodical elegance constantly provoke admiration and veneration in the hearts of the readers. Greek and Latin and so on are worthy of the highest praise, but do not keep pace with Hebrew.]

The Hebrew language surpasses Greek and Latin and other languages – that nevertheless deserve praise – by its internal valor, dignity, power, immutability and elegance of its grammatical periods. The idea that Hebrew was the primeval language – thus the mother of all tongues – was widespread in early modern Europe.³⁰⁹ Therefore it is not peculiar to find this discussion of Hebrew in gymnasial dissertations. In fact, the language was found in the curriculum in the school regulation of 1649, and was especially favoured by Johannes Rudbeckius, the founder of the first

³⁰⁹ Gren-Eklund (2011), p. 50f. See also Eco (1993), pp. 84-101 and Eskhult (2014), p. 3.

gymnasium in Västerås.³¹⁰ The idea that Hebrew was the mother of all languages also shines through in the introductory paragraphs of dissertations on topics other than the purely philological. It was not uncommon to describe and analyze the etymological origin of the concepts under examination in a dissertation in the first section or paragraphs. In such etymologies the origin of terms and concepts were sometimes sought in Hebrew. An example of this is found in the first paragraph of *De scholis trivialibus* (pr. Daniel Z. Torpadius, Linköping 1748):³¹¹

Scholas, pulcherrima illa literarum et scientiarum domicilia, שׁוֹלָה
 S'col Hebraeorum fontem agnoscere posse vix negabit, quem
 γλωττοσυγχύσεως Babelicae attentior consideratio, ipsa ἀστοφία et
 optimorum Criticorum consensus docuit, ortas ex hac prima
 reliquarum Lingvarum vel matre vel avia, amplissimas vocum
 derivatarum familias in aliis deprehendi lingvis.

[He will hardly deny acknowledging the source of schools, the most beautiful dwellings of learning and sciences, in the Hebrew word *S'col*, which a more attentive examination of the Babelian confusion of tongues, the examination itself and the consent of the best critics teach that a great many families of derived words have their origin from this first of all languages – mother or grandmother of languages – to be recognized in other languages.]

In the pages that follow, the author of *De scholis trivialibus* gives more examples of etymology by comparing words from different languages: Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, Syrian, German, English, French and Swedish.

Printed dissertations that treat Hebrew philological/exegetical questions constitute a fairly small proportion, and are found in the gymnasia of Gävle, Göteborg, Linköping, Skara and Västerås, from the seventeenth as well as from the eighteenth century.³¹² Dissertations on Greek philology/exegetics are more numerous than those on Hebrew and are frequently found in

³¹⁰ Hall (1911), pp. 219-221. It was the duty of the second *lector* of theology to undertake the teaching of Hebrew for those schoolboys who were to become vicars. SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 94.

³¹¹ More on this dissertation in section 2.5.4.1 above.

³¹² Examples of dissertations treating Hebrew philology/exegetics are: *Specimen [...] verborum Jacobi patriarchae [...] analysis* (pr. A. E. Wallenius, Västerås 1649), *De germana prophetici sermonis et primigenii textus in Vetere Testamento antiquitate* (pr. M. Munchtelius, Västerås 1665), *De X tribubus Israelitarum, abductis per Salmanassarem* (pr. J. Silfverling, Linköping 1736), *Dissertatio theologica, qua illustre vaticinium prophetae Joelis Cap. II, 28. 29. vel Cap. III, 1. 2. aphorismis theologicis expositum* (pr. E. Poppelman, Göteborg 1745) and *Porismata theologica, tam theoretica, quam practica, e psalmo Davidis primo eruta* (pr. P. C. Wahlfelt, Skara 1780). Hall (1911), p. 220, mentions a – presumably – handwritten dissertation from Västerås presided by J. Guthraeus in 1635 called *De literarum inventione primaeva propositiones*, which I unfortunately have not had the opportunity to examine.

Strängnäs, for instance, from the eighteenth century. Roughly forty-five *theses*-dissertations on philological/exegetical issues related to the New Testament are found from Strängnäs, often entitled *Theses philologicae*, *Exercitationes philologicae*, *Theses philologico-theologicae* or *Theses critico-exegeticae*, and are presided either by the *lector* of theology or by the *lector* of Greek. Other gymnasia submitted dissertations in this category as well, either these dissertations are on general questions of the language of the New Testament, or they treat specific paragraphs, parts or words.³¹³

There are fewer dissertations treating classical philology, i.e. Greek or Latin texts by pagan authors.³¹⁴ If only one dissertation that treats classical texts could be presented as an example of this type of subject, it would be appropriate to mention *De gymnasiis veterum Graecorum* (pr. I. Bröms, Strängnäs 1697). The genre indicator comes after the actual title and states that it is a very short philological dissertation: *Philologica dissertatio brevissima*. If we turn to the content of the dissertation it treats the origin of the word, the concept and the historical development of the gymnasium as described mainly by classical Greek authors. The author reinforces his statements by extensive quotations in Greek, as well as with references to later authors. Latin philological matters on the other hand are not treated to the same extent; rather, it is dissertations that I have categorized under education and rhetoric that are more likely to treat Latin authors or Latin texts, albeit from an educational perspective. Again, it is sometimes tricky to distinguish between subject categories when dealing with gymnasial dissertations. However, one of the few dissertations entirely devoted to Latin philological questions is the *theses*-dissertation, *Theses philologicae de lingua Latina* (pr. S. Collin, Linköping 1740). Yet, it is – as often with this category – a study of

³¹³ Dissertations treating general questions of the language of the New Testament are, for instance: *De lingua Novi Testamenti originali* (pr. T. Fegraeus, Skara 1662), *De lingua authentica Novi Testamenti* (pr. L. Hesselius, Strängnäs 1675), and *De adagiis Novi Testamenti* (pr. P. Schenberg, Linköping 1732). Dissertations that treat specific parts, paragraphs or questions of the New Testament are, for instance: *Super divi Pauli epistolam ad Romanos* (three parts, pr. N. Rudbeckius, Västerås 1652, 1655, 1656), *In divinam concionem Christi, in monte habitam, et Matth. V, VI, et VII, Lucaeque VI descriptam* (eight parts, pr. J. Thun, Strängnäs 1703-1711), *Theses philologicas sub praelectionibus publicis ex Mar: Evang. et Act: Apost: antea propositas* (pr. A. Victorinus, Skara 1709) and *De coena Domini* (pr. A. Victorinus, Skara 1719).

³¹⁴ Examples of dissertations on classical Greek or Latin are: *Σχολή ἀσχολος seu de linguarum Graecae et Latinae utilitate* (pr. P. Dyring, Strängnäs 1679), *Dissertatio ex occasione praeceptorum quae in aureo Plutarchi περί πάιδων ἀγωγῆς, libello occurrunt* (pr. J. Broiling, Strängnäs 1703), *Sycphanta Atticus* (pr. J. Broiling, Strängnäs 1711), *Theses philologicae de lingua Latina* (pr. S. Collin, Linköping 1740), *Σπόδασμα, cognitionem Graecae linguae φιλομάθεσι necessariam breviter ostendens* (pr. J. Lithzenius, Linköping 1748), *De vi verborum apud Graecos mediorem reciproca* (pr. J. Hulthin, Linköping 1775), *Momenta quaedam, Graecae et Latinae linguae convenientiam exhibitura* (pr. N. M. Ekman, Linköping 1784) and *De Theocrito Virgilio in Bucolicis ἀρχετωπο dissertatio* (pr. J. Hesselgren, Linköping 1790).

general questions on the use of the Latin language, rather than of philological questions on specific texts.

2.3.5.2 Swedish and Swedish Translations of the Bible

Of interest to those who study the history of Swedish, Swedish grammatical treatises and Swedish translations of the Bible are the dissertations *Dissertationis de nonnullis ad cultum Suetici sermonis pertinentibus* (pr. J. Boëtius, Västerås 1684-85), *Specimen conciliationis linguarum, ex nativis earundem proprietatibus, in textus aliquot Sacros, ad veram et convenientem linguae Sueticae versionem diductum* (pr. P. Arenbechius, Strängnäs 1648) and *Υπομνήματα nonnulla circa μετάφρασιν actorum apostolorum Svecanam* (pr. C. Nyren, Linköping 1758).

The first of these three dissertations is divided into two parts and was presided by Jacobus Boëtius, *lector* of Greek at the gymnasium of Västerås, in November 1684 and in December 1685.³¹⁵ Boëtius' dissertations are in fact only fragments, it appears, of a more comprehensive work on the Swedish language which was never completed.³¹⁶ This dissertation is unique in that it is the only gymnasial dissertation that I am aware of that has been edited in modern times, presumably due to its subject.³¹⁷ The *Dissertationis de nonnullis* [...] (considered here as one unit) treats mainly questions of an orthographic nature, and ends with a wish for a stronger position for the vernacular in Swedish education. During the seventeenth century interest in Swedish grammar and questions of Swedish orthography were on the rise, of which discussions Boëtius' dissertation is a representation.³¹⁸

The second dissertation in this category is a draft of *praeses* Petrus Arenbechius' work on a new translation of the Bible into Swedish, of which his gymnasial dissertation constitutes the only extant fragments.³¹⁹ Arenbechius – *Graecae et linguarum orientalium lector* by the time – discusses forty-four verses in both the Old and the New Testaments and how these should best be translated into Swedish.

³¹⁵ Liden only mentions the second part of this dissertation in his catalogue of gymnasial dissertations. The title pages of both parts that I have examined in KB are handwritten.

³¹⁶ SBL, s. v. Jacob Boethius

<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=17849> (author B. Boethius).

³¹⁷ Boëtius' dissertations have been edited and published with a short preface by Gustaf Stjernström in 1881. However, Adolf Noreen dismisses Boëtius' dissertation as completely insignificant (“[f]ullkomligt obetydlig”) in his epocal work on modern Swedish. Noreen (1903), p. 193.

³¹⁸ For a review of the seventeenth century grammars and discussions, see Noreen (1903), p. 192ff.

³¹⁹ SBL, s. v. Petrus Dieterici Arenbechius

<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=18771> (authors J. Lindblom and B. Boethius). See also section 3.4.6.1 below.

The third and latest dissertation, *Υπομνηματα nonnulla circa μετάφρασιν actorum apostolorum Svecanam*, presided by C. Nyren, treats problems of interpretation in the Acts and how certain paragraphs and phrases should best be translated into Swedish and other languages.

2.3.6. History and Other Topics

In this category we find a small number of dissertations that just treat historical topics. This is a diverse group of dissertations that contain a variety of topics, such as Biblical history, chronology, geography and history of the nobility. It should be noted, however, that the historical content of the short eighteenth-century dissertations in *theses* form is treated not in this section, but instead in section 2.6.4.3 below. As in many other cases, the dissertations in this category are not easily categorized due to the aforementioned instability of subject boundaries. Lastly, I have found a small number of dissertations that fall outside the subject categories that are normally seen in gymnasial context. These dissertations are treated at the end of this section.

2.3.6.1 Different Kinds of History

Biblical and church history are the topics of a good proportion of all dissertations treating historical subjects, such as *De statu ecclesiae sub captivitate babilonica* (pr. M. A. Lidtgren, Skara 1731), a dissertation on the fate of the Jewish people during the Babylonian captivity largely based on Biblical sources. Other dissertations in this category treat, for instance, the legate governor of the province of Syria, Quirinus,³²⁰ the abduction of the ten tribes of Israel by King Shalmaneser V³²¹ and a historical account of Lent.³²² In the early modern period, from the Renaissance onwards, church history vividly engaged not only theologians but also humanist authors and thinkers interested in history, Catholic as well as Protestant, resulting in a vast literature on the topic.³²³

There are however dissertations that treat histories other than Biblical or church history. We may discern a tendency towards political histories of kingdoms in general and towards histories of particular regions. A seventeenth-century dissertation from Göteborg presents a historical

³²⁰ *De Quirino praefecto Syriae* (pr. M. Edstrand, Linköping 1735).

³²¹ *De X tribubus Israelitarum, abductis per Salmanassarem* (pr. J. Silfverling, Linköping 1736); the Biblical story of King Shalmaneser V is found in 2 Kings.

³²² *De jejuniis antepaschali* (pr. P. Schenberg, Linköping 1737); this dissertation is a historical review of a theological topic and in consequence has been already mentioned in the section on theological dissertations above.

³²³ See further Grafton (2012).

overview of the origin of nobility from ancient times to the kings and nobility of Sweden;³²⁴ another presents an exposition of kingdoms in general.³²⁵

On the other hand, Roman history, which could be obtained primarily by reading classical Latin authors, was the only kind of history mentioned in the school regulations of 1649, in the section of the regulations concerning the *lector* of history and poetics.³²⁶ We find Roman history treated almost exclusively in short *theses*-dissertations from the eighteenth century (more on this in section 2.6.4.3 below). One may come across occasional exceptions to this tendency, such as *Theses historicae ex monumentis Urbis Romae erutae* (pr. J. Sundelius, Strängnäs 1704), which is a historical dissertation treating primarily the topography of the city of Rome.

If we turn from Rome to our northern realms, we find two early dissertations attempting to place Thule — a term that in classical literature and mythology implied a far-northern location, in Scandinavia — namely *Dissertatio qua statuitur Thulen esse Scandiam* (Stockholm 1646) and *De Thule, ubi arctoi orbis vetus geographia, ex C. Tacito et C. Plinio S. ubertim declaratur* (Stockholm 1648). Both these dissertations were submitted by Ericus Malmogius Roslagius, *lector* of history and poetics in Stockholm.

Dissertations treating geography are rarely found in a gymnasial context, but there are nevertheless some that deserve mention here. Although geography was a matter for the *lector* of mathematics, it could also be closely related to history. In the opening lines of *Terram promissionis leviter adumbratam* (pr. M. Boraenius, Linköping 1732) the author states that history is the cohesive force linking related disciplines such as geography, chronology and genealogy: *Historiae lumen prorsus insigne conferunt Geographia, Chronologia et Genealogia* (“By all means, the light of history brings eminently together geography, chronology and genealogy”). The author continues that the noblest of all histories is Biblical history, and that this the subject that should first be instilled in young people (*juventuti primum instillanda est*). Then an exposition follows covering names, boundaries, neighbouring peoples and origin of the Promised Land. A purely geographical dissertation is *Discursus chorographicus de terris hyperboreis seu polo arctico vicinis* (pr. J. Grimsten, Strängnäs 1680), which contains a description of the geographical conditions of the Arctic with a printed map depicting the northern hemisphere on the last page.

Chronology of the four monarchies (Babylonian and Assyrian, Median and Persian, Greek, and lastly Roman) is the topic of a series of four dissertations titled *Supputatio chronologica* submitted in 1705 by Johannes

³²⁴ *De nobilitatis ortu ejusque insignibus* (pr. S. Hunoldus, Göteborg 1684).

³²⁵ *De regno antiquissima rerum publ. forma ex occasione verborum Justini lib. I Cap. I.v.I. 2* (pr. A. L. Sundius, Strängnäs 1665).

³²⁶ SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 95.

Sundelius, *lector* of history and ethics at the gymnasium of Strängnäs. The *Supputatio chronologia* is divided into four parts of which each part covers a monarchy; however, the last part consists only of a chronological table of the Roman Empire. The series is based on the work *Theatrum historicum theoretico-practicum* by the German theologian Christian Matthiae (1584-1655) which was first published in 1629.³²⁷

2.3.6.2 Other Kinds of Topic

In this final section on subjects found in gymnasial dissertations I will mention three dissertations on subjects that do not allow categorization in the aforementioned categories. For this reason they should be considered anomalies from the prevailing subjects of gymnasial dissertations. By coincidence or not, all cases derive from seventeenth-century Strängnäs.

The first case is a dissertation on scurvy submitted in Strängnäs by Johannes Olai Palmberg in 1671, *Exercitatio medica brevissimam scorbuti delineationem exhibens*. Medicine was not a common subject in gymnasial instruction or for gymnasial dissertations, and this is the only example that I have come across that is entirely concerned with a medical topic.³²⁸ The history of this dissertation is somewhat peculiar. Palmgren, a former pupil of the gymnasium in Strängnäs, had studied medicine at the academy in Åbo in the 1660s, and returned to his former gymnasium in 1669 to apply for the position of *lector* in logic and physics, a position he eventually got in 1674.³²⁹ However, the dissertation on scurvy was already submitted by 1671, when Palmberg was teaching botany and practical medicine to the gymnasial youth *privatim*; he also functioned as the only practicing doctor in Strängnäs at that time.³³⁰ After some years of contention between the consistory and Palmberg concerning his suitability to be *lector*, he was asked by the consistory to hold a disputation *De philosophia in genere* for the position he had applied for, but refused since he claimed that he had already held a

³²⁷ The comprehensive work of Christian Matthiae may be found on the web:

https://www2.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenahist/autoren/matthiae_hist.html.

³²⁸ However, I have examined a handwritten gymnasial *theses*-dissertation submitted in Härnösand in 1745, chaired by Nils Gissler and responded to by Roland Martin, in which diseases are treated in two out of fifteen *theses*. The *praeses* Nils Gissler was working both as a provincial doctor and *lector* at the gymnasium of Härnösand, while Roland Martin was a returning student who later became the first professor of surgery in Stockholm. Medical questions in gymnasial dissertations appear to be a matter for medical practitioners who were connected to a gymnasium, rather than for teachers in general. See Hörstedt (2000 [unpublished]).

³²⁹ An account of Palmberg's studies in Åbo and his difficulties in obtaining the position of *lector* in logic and physics at the gymnasium of Strängnäs is given by Djurberg (1900). See also Drysén (1871), p. 9.

³³⁰ Djurberg (1900), p. 374.

disputation on scurvy.³³¹ The dissertation on scurvy is thus not a proper *pro loco*-dissertation, but should be considered proof of learning by a practitioner who wanted his opinions on scurvy to be publicly known. The forum publishing this just happened to be a dissertation given at the gymnasium in Strängnäs. For centuries scurvy was considered a problem for sailors and explorer's expeditions, and was the subject of a great number of scholarly works.³³² Palmberg's dissertation has been thoroughly reviewed by Vilhelm Djurberg (1900), but has not been re-edited since the seventeenth century.³³³

Natural history is seldom the subject of entire gymnasial dissertations, although there are two exceptions to this rule that both treat particular topics in this area. The first is *Berniclas seu anseres Scoticos* submitted by Daniel Trautzel in 1694. The topic is the Scottish goose "Bernicla" (with different spellings) which was said to be bred not from eggs, but either from branches of trees standing close to the sea or from rotting pieces of wood floating in the sea in the northern parts of Scotland (the Orkney Islands and the Hebrides). When ripe, the birds would fall into the water. The origin of this myth may be explained by the fact that the goose nests in extremely remote places and that people never discovered its nests or eggs, but only fully grown specimens of the species.³³⁴ The author of the gymnasial dissertation gives a review of the many versions of the origin of the goose by referring extensively to earlier authors who had treated the topic. However, he joins those authors who reject the theory of bird-breeding trees and rotting wood in favor of a natural explanation. From the inscription on the title page *sub muneris ingressum docendi* ("before the entry of duty of teaching"), it is apparent that *Berniclas seu anseres Scoticos* was the *pro loco*-dissertation of Daniel Trautzel. Trautzel submitted the dissertation in May, and was appointed *lector* of logic and physics in July.³³⁵ A copy of the dissertation is also found in Bayrische Staatsbibliothek in München.³³⁶ How

³³¹ Djurberg (1900), p. 401.

³³² Carpenter (1986), pp. 1-42.

³³³ See bibliography for further information on Djurberg's article in Hygiea (1900).

³³⁴ Bondesson (1994), pp. 161-170, gives a review of the literature and the many versions of this legend. See also Zedler's *Grosses Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (1732-), s.v. Berniclae. The scientific name is *Branta bernicla bernicla*, also known as Brent goose (Eng.), Rotgans (Dutch) and Prutgås (Sw.).

³³⁵ On the short biography of Trautzel, see Drysen (1871), p. 12f., who unfortunately does not mention the dissertation.

³³⁶ The copy kept in Bayrische Staatsbibliothek appears to be a complete copy, since it has both the image of the bird and corollaria. Of the copies that I have studied in Strängnäs, Uppsala and Göteborg, only that in Strängnäs is complete. The copies in Uppsala and Göteborg either lack the image (Göteborg) or the corollaria (Uppsala). The web address for the exemplar in Bayrische Staatsbibliothek is:

https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/metaopac/singleHit.do?methodToCall=showHit&curPos=1&identifier=100_SOLR_SERVER_1266385797.

a Swedish gymnasial dissertation ended up in a German library is of course hard to tell. It is nevertheless tempting – yet only a fancy – to think that some gymnasial dissertations – presumably those on interesting topics – were also distributed to other parts of the scholarly community.

The second dissertation treating a topic related to natural history is *De draconibus*, chaired by Andreas Bolinus in 1695. This is also a *pro loco*-dissertation submitted for a position at the trivial school in Strängnäs (*pro obtinenda functione publica in schola triviali Strengnensi*). The dissertation concentrates on terrestrial dragons (although there are also those who live in the sea and those who fly, says the author). Two questions are primarily discussed: whether or not dragons have wings and feet, and how they breed. The notion of dragons as being a kind of large serpent-like creature appears to have been predominant before the eighteenth century.³³⁷ Dragons were the topic of an academic dissertation in Uppsala ten years before Bolinus submitted his dissertation in Strängnäs, namely *De draconibus*, chaired by Petrus Lagerlöf in 1685. Comparatively, the homonymous academic dissertation bases its presumptions on a vaster range of material than the Strängnäs dissertation.

2.3.7 Concluding Remarks

The subjects of gymnasial dissertations fall in the majority of cases within the context of school disciplines, following the content of the curriculum and the division of *lectores*. In comparison with academic dissertations, the choice of subjects for gymnasial dissertations appears to be narrower. The greatest number of dissertations treats theological topics, followed by dissertations on philosophy and physics. This mirrors the theological focus of gymnasial education. We also see that dissertations that take a general perspective on a curricula subject appear to have been intended for instructional use. Although the majority of gymnasial dissertations were primarily not used to mediate new knowledge, but to digest common knowledge, there are nevertheless examples of dissertations that actually submitted new ideas. There are also examples of more extensive and ambitious gymnasial dissertations that were apparently distributed to other parts of the scholarly community, suggesting that in some cases gymnasial dissertations were equal to the standard of academic dissertations.

³³⁷ Lippincott (1981), p. 3.

2.4 The *theses* in Gymnasial Dissertations

2.4.1 Introduction

When treating the subjects of gymnasial dissertations, it is also appropriate to discuss features and content of the short *theses*-dissertations that were predominant from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. There are several reasons to dedicate a section to the use of *theses* in a study of Swedish gymnasial dissertations. These *theses* have – in my opinion – not been carefully analyzed before; rather they seem to have been lumped together as being of little interest in terms of content and usage. Often commentators merely observe that these *theses* were produced at the gymnasia as the basis for disputations in the eighteenth century. Nothing is said of their content or of how they were used in the educational environment. For instance, Gabriel Marklin states in his preface to *Catalogus disputationum in academiis Scandinaviae et Finlandiae Lidenianus continuatus* (1820), that he does not include the *theses*-dissertations from gymnasia from 1778 onwards, because, Marklin says, these *theses* begin to resemble the so-called *theses pastorales* to such a degree that it is hard to distinguish them from each other, and that they are therefore not interesting as dissertations:

Quartam autem quintamque Sectionem non libuit continuare, cum jam Gymnasiorum, quae hujus generis est, Litteratura tota fere in Theses sic dictas Pastorales abierit [...].³³⁸

[But there was no use continuing the fourth and fifth section, because by now the gymnasial literature, which is the type here, has almost completely changed to *theses pastorales* as they are called.]

In contrast to Marklin's approach, I would like to stress that the *theses*-dissertations are a heterogeneous corpus which does deserve more thorough examination. In addition, a great part of the whole corpus of gymnasial material consists of dissertations that bear the title *Theses*, especially during the eighteenth century. In some gymnasia the proportion of *theses*-dissertations was as high as eighty percent of all printed dissertations submitted there, and even in Linköping, a gymnasium that stands out as having longer dissertations throughout the eighteenth century, almost fifty percent of all dissertations are in *theses* form. An investigation of gymnasial dissertations must thus also include a study of *theses*-dissertations. In the following sections, I will begin by saying a few words about the term *thesis*, and proceed to discuss general features of *theses*-dissertations and the relation between gymnasial *theses*-dissertations and the *theses* submitted *pro*

³³⁸ Marklin (1820), pp. i-ii.

examine pastorali. Finally, I will treat the subjects that are found in these short eighteenth-century dissertations.

The term *thesis* is of Greek origin, θέσις, and has its equivalent in the Latin word *propositum*. Etymologically, the Latin noun is a translation of the Greek term, which becomes clear if one looks at the underlying verbs: the Greek τίθημι (‘to put’) was transferred into Latin (*pro*)ponere meaning ‘to put (forth), to (pro)pose’.³³⁹ If we go back to antiquity, *thesis* was used to denote an indefinite question in rhetoric, such as “Should one marry?” (this, by the way, seems to be the standard example), and was one of the exercises in the *progymnasmata* series of rhetorical exercises.³⁴⁰ In his work *Topica* Cicero makes us aware of the definition of the indefinite question (or inquiry) as well as of *propositum* as the Latin equivalent to the Greek θέσις:

Quaestionum duo genera sunt: alterum infinitum, definitum alterum. Definitum est quod ὑπόθεσιν Graeci, nos causam; infinitum quod θέσιν illi appellant, nos propositum possumus nominare.³⁴¹

[There are two kinds of inquiry, one general and the other particular. The particular is what the Greeks call ὑπόθεσις (hypothesis), and we call cause or case; the general inquiry is what they call θέσις (thesis), and we can call proposition.³⁴²]

It should be said that a *quaestio infinita* was a general question that did not – in contrast to the definite question (*quaestio finita*) – consider a specific situation involving specific persons in specific moments.³⁴³ *Thesis* is therefore a term that was used in dialectics as well as in rhetoric. Although there is a Latin synonym – *propositum* or *positio* – the Greek word is preferred in the material under investigation for this study, almost completely outrivaling the Latin word.

2.4.2 Features of the *theses* and the *theses nuda*

In gymnasial dissertations the term *thesis* is to be defined as something like this: ‘a statement around which the debate in a disputation is to be arranged’. Although the original meaning of the term is that of an indefinite

³³⁹ OLD, s.v. *propositum*; Liddell & Scott, s.v. τίθημι.

³⁴⁰ See the article “These” by Veit (2009) in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* for a thorough review of the term and its meaning. See also “Prolog” in Hansson (2003), p. 14, Clarke (1971), p. 37 on *thesis* in the series of *progymnasmata*, and Clarke (1951) on the use of *thesis* in rhetoric during the Roman republic.

³⁴¹ Cicero, *Topica* 79.

³⁴² Transl. by H. M. Hubbell (The Loeb Classical Library, 1960).

³⁴³ Hansson (2003), pp. 12 and 14.

question, a *thesis* is often posed as a statement rather than a question. The word is more likely to be found in the later material studied here, but it also appears in seventeenth-century dissertations, although with slightly different meaning and usage: rather than only denoting a statement or a question to be answered or to dispute over, *thesis* seems to be used as a general divider of chapters or paragraphs. Thus, in seventeenth-century dissertations *thesis* is not as much a form of *theses nuda*, as it is a synonym for *paragraphus*. In addition, very few dissertations bear the title indicator *Theses* during the seventeenth century. As has already been stressed above, it is only by the mid-eighteenth century that the practice of using solely *theses nuda* instead of longer treatise-like dissertations catches on.

Theses-dissertations are always printed in the quarto format, which means that the smaller octavo format almost completely disappears in the course of the eighteenth century. The average number of *theses* per dissertation is somewhere between eleven and twelve, but differs a little depending on the gymnasium. At the same time as the dissertations become shorter (by the mid-eighteenth century), the total number of extant printed dissertations increases compared to earlier decades, as has been shown above in section 2.2.4. This may be partly due to the fact that more gymnasia produced printed dissertations than before (with newcomers such as Skara, Linköping, Växjö etc.), but the fact that there are a higher number of eighteenth-century dissertations than seventeenth-century dissertations must also be explained in terms of change of system. My impression is that the habit of using short specimens instead of longer dissertations must have been to do with an increasing view of gymnasial disputations as mere exercises. This means that producing comprehensive dissertations that treated one single topic was no longer desirable in the gymnasial context. It may be argued that the introduction of *theses*-dissertations is evidence of a clearer distinction between gymnasium and academy, in which the gymnasium had an inferior position. It is also more likely to find handwritten *theses*-dissertations from this period than before. In fact, the school regulations of 1724, which were in use throughout the eighteenth century, make no prescription regarding printing dissertations. The overall impression when studying the late-eighteenth-century *theses*-dissertations is that the gymnasia saw some kind of advantage to print some of the short pieces that were the basis for the disputation act, while other specimens for some reason did not make it to the printer.

Most *theses*-dissertations of the eighteenth century have the same features: a title page which is followed by three pages of *theses nuda*. The practice of having a *thesis* and then a longer explanation of it is quite rare. Some examples of such *theses vestitae* are however found. An illustrative and early example is *Heptas thesium miscellaneorum* (pr. P. Stockman, Göteborg 1744). In this dissertation, the seven short *theses* on various theological and

philosophical topics are followed by longer explanations divided into three to six paragraphs each. Nevertheless, *theses vestitae* must be considered as exceptions when examining the whole body of eighteenth-century *theses* dissertations. Regarding topics, generally the variety of topics covered in single *theses*-dissertations is greater than in earlier dissertations. Theology, philosophy, history, natural sciences and education may be treated in the same dissertation. The overall character of *theses*-dissertations as exercises in the later eighteenth century is emphasized by the fact that the exercise dimension is explicitly highlighted on the title pages, which was seldom the case in earlier dissertations.

2.4.3 The *examen pastorale*

In the quotation from Marklin's catalogue above he mentions *theses pastorales* as being confusingly similar to gymnasial dissertations. This type of dissertation was part of the *examen pastorale* that was first instituted in 1686 for vicars in the service of the royal pastorate, and was applied to all vicars in 1748 to control the appointment of vicars (*pastores*) by ensuring the quality of their learning and suitability to run a parish.³⁴⁴ In 1786 the *examen pastorale* was revised by a royal decree which stated that the position of vicar could be granted to men with proper education who were of the age of thirty years (twenty-eight years if they already had an academic degree in which they had defended a dissertation), if they passed the *examen pastorale*.³⁴⁵ The examination was arranged by the consistory of the diocese in which the parish was situated. This means that the same administrative authority was responsible for both the examination of vicars designate and the teaching in trivial schools and gymnasia. One of the significant elements in the *examen pastorale* was the public defense of Latin *theses* after which the applicant was questioned on theological matters by the bishop and other church authorities.³⁴⁶ The *theses* were to be submitted in handwriting if the applicant already had a degree, and should be printed if he was ungraduated. According to the royal decree of 1786 the subjects of the *theses* should be either philological or philosophical and be scrutinized by the consistory before being submitted.³⁴⁷ However, I have the impression, – after having examined a large number of these printed dissertations *pro examine pastorali* –

³⁴⁴ See further Plejfel (1977), p. 67ff., Lenhammar (2000), p. 104, and Brohed (1981), pp. 3-9. on *examen pastorale* and *theses pastorales*. See also Ranius (1981), who has listed all the *theses pastorales* that were printed in Linköping.

³⁴⁵ Wikmark (1981), p. 48.

³⁴⁶ The procedure of these examinations was somewhat adjusted if the parish was of less significance and the vicars who had to undergo the examination were older, i.e. had already served for quite some time. Wikmark (1981), p. 48f.

³⁴⁷ This royal decree is quoted in Wikmark (1981), pp. 48-49.

that the majority dealt with largely theological issues, rather than with philology or philosophy. A further difference with gymnasial dissertations is that the pastoral-theses could have a slightly different lay out of title page and of the actual text by comparison with gymnasial dissertations, and were much more likely to be printed in the smaller octavo format. The number of theses is also lower than in gymnasial dissertations. The topics of the theses were chosen by the vicars who had to take the *examen pastorale*.³⁴⁸ This procedure for the *examen pastorale* was reviewed in 1856 and abolished in 1884.³⁴⁹

For this study it is of interest that these disputations *pro examine pastorali* were held at the gymnasium and that schoolboys acted as opponents. In fact, by the end of the eighteenth century, a large proportion of all disputations held at gymnasia were for the *examen pastorale*. In Linköping, by the end of the eighteenth century these disputations seem to have completely outrivalled the ordinary disputations at the gymnasium.³⁵⁰ In addition, the number of extant printed pastoral theses is high. If one studies both collections of *examen pastorale*-dissertations and the handwritten lists of disputations that are kept in the collections in the old school building in Strängnäs, now known as the Rogge Library, the distribution between disputations arranged as exercises for schoolboys and the *examen pastorale*-disputations becomes clearer. These lists not only registered the disputations held at the gymnasium in Strängnäs, but also disputations arranged in other gymnasia. Thus, it seems that it was of interest to know of disputation activity in other places. If one examines the lists of disputations from the 1790s for Linköping's gymnasium, kept in Strängnäs, it is obvious that many of the disputations held there were *pro examine pastorali* rather than internal gymnasial disputations. To give an example: in 1794 the disputation catalogue for the gymnasium of Linköping has seven entries, distributed fairly unevenly over the year. Of these, only one single disputation would be called gymnasial, a *pro loco*-disputation held on 10 June 1794. The remaining six were arranged for the *examen pastorale*. To further complicate things, the collection of dissertations kept in the University Library in Uppsala includes nine *pro examine pastorali*-dissertations from the same year and place, i.e. three more than appear in the list of disputations for Linköping. The catalogue of pastoral dissertations in Linköping by Allan Ranius lists ten theses *pastorales* for the same year. Despite this uncertainty over the actual number of disputations that took place and dissertations that were submitted we can

³⁴⁸ Wikmark (1981), p. 50. See also Brohed (1981), pp. 6-9, on the subjects of the theses *pastorales*.

³⁴⁹ Pleijel (1977), p. 64, Lenhammar (2000), p. 104, and Brohed (1981), p. 5.

³⁵⁰ Beckman (1927), p. 127f. Judging by the extant printed dissertations from Kalmar found in KB, the dissertations *pro examine pastorali* (or *pro candidatura pastorali*) were the only dissertations that were printed there.

conclude that *examen pastorale*-disputations constituted a large proportion of the total number of disputations held at a gymnasium by the late eighteenth century and must be taken into consideration when treating disputations at the gymnasium. In the school regulations of 1807 the practice of using the *examen pastorale*-disputations as complementary opportunities for the mandatory disputation exercises is emphasized:

På det Gymnasisterne må wänjas, at närmare tillämpa och i utöfning sätta hwad de i Språk och Wetenskaper lärddt, må för dem Exercitia disputatoria och oratoria anställas; Men som oftast, till följe af Kongl. Förordningen den 21 Augusti 1786, Disputationsspecimina för Pastoral-examina inträffa, hwarwid Gymnasii-Ungdomen samma öfning erhåller; Altså och på det ej för mycken tid må från de wanliga Lectionerna uptagas, pröfwat Ephorus om och när de förstnämnde exercitia förrättas må, samt tilser at altid tjenliga ämnen dertil wäljas och på Latin uföras.³⁵¹

[Disputations exercises and oratory exercises should be arranged for the schoolboys of the gymnasium to habituate them to practice more thoroughly and to exercise what they have learned in languages and the sciences. Since then, as a result of the Royal decree of 21 August 1786, disputation specimens for the *examen pastorale* are frequently held, in which the schoolboys may have the same kind of exercise. Therefore, the *Ephorus* [i.e. the bishop] shall approve when and where these first-named exercises should be arranged, and ensure that proper subjects are chosen and that they are executed in Latin, lest too much time is taken from the ordinary classes.]

Since schoolboys took part in the *examen pastorale*-disputations these occasions were considered of importance as an opportunity to test their skills in the art of disputation, and were considered a good complement to the ordinary exercise disputations normally conducted by the *lectores* in the gymnasium. Normally, the act would have taken approximately two hours, and a schoolboy from the gymnasium together with one of the junior teachers would act as *opponentes ordinarii*, while the bishop himself and members of the consistory would act as extraordinary opponents.³⁵² Because the disputation *pro examine pastorali* was considered different from ordinary disputations – the applicant was applying for a parish posting, not for a position as a teacher – the act would be conducted calmly and decently; the disputation should be a dignified discourse.³⁵³ From the first half of the nineteenth century especially there are biographical accounts that stress how

³⁵¹ SO 1807, ÅSU 7, p. 109.

³⁵² Wallquist (1797), p. 267.

³⁵³ Wallquist (1797), p. 267f.

the *examen pastorale* was executed at the gymnasium.³⁵⁴ It appears that these disputations were sometimes rather clumsily conducted, either because the often much older vicars were untrained in talking Latin or had forgotten it almost completely, or because the schoolboy who acted as respondent hardly knew his Latin either. An illustrative example is found in the aforementioned memoirs of Carl Wilhelm Böttiger who describes how he one day was visited by a *comminister* who was to defend a dissertation *pro examine pastorali*.³⁵⁵ The church official explained that he had forgotten all his Latin and was distressed by the fact that if he failed the examination before the consistory, he would not be appointed to the sought after parish and as a consequence his family would starve to death. Böttiger agreed to help him by explaining in advance what he was going to criticize during the disputation and he also helped the poor man with how to answer to this criticism in Latin – in other words: the disputation was rigged. Eventually the *comminister* passed the examination and was appointed to the parish.

2.4.4 Subjects and Content of Eighteenth-century theses

Regarding the content of the *theses*-dissertations, the largest proportion was compiled from miscellaneous topics. The general titles of the *theses*-dissertations allowed a variety of topics to be treated in the same dissertation and accordingly to be discussed during the disputation act. One imagines that this was deliberately done so that the schoolboys could be trained in disputing on various topics on each occasion. In many cases the titles consisted of title indicator plus a modifier, such as *theses miscellaneae*, *theses philosophicae*, *theses nonnullae*, *theses philologicae*, *theses scholasticae*.³⁵⁶ There was, however, some kind of consistency in the appearance of content. It seems almost mandatory that *theses*-dissertations comprised some *theses* on theology and philosophy (moral philosophy and logic), which are the most frequent subjects. But in the same dissertation there may also be *theses* on the (correct) use of the Latin language, on rhetoric, history and physics. Having read a great number of *theses*-dissertations I have noticed that the most common pattern is to begin with some *theses* on theology, followed by a few *theses* on philosophy. After these two main topics there are usually (but not always) *theses* on history (Swedish or ancient) and rhetoric or education in Latin. This seems to be the *comme il faut* way of composing a *theses*-

³⁵⁴ For example the account of Carl Een from the gymnasium of Linköping in the 1840s (*Skolminnen från Linköpings stift* in ÅSU 59, p. 12), and Fr. R. Aulin's description from the gymnasium of Strängnäs in the 1850s (*Läroverksminnen från Strängnäs stift* in ÅSU 59, p. 45). Cf. Ekholm (1963), p. 99f.

³⁵⁵ Böttiger (1961), p. 71.

³⁵⁶ The titles of the *theses* are also treated below in the chapter on paratexts – see particularly the section on title pages.

dissertation in the eighteenth century. In *Theses miscellaneae* (pr. Nicolaus Swartz, Skara 1771) there are twenty-one *theses* all together. It is appropriate to analyze these here to give a picture of how *theses*-dissertations were often compiled. The first nine *theses* deal exclusively with theological matters. The tenth *thesis* treats an educational issue, namely *methodus scientias docendi historica*. *Theses* eleven to sixteen, then, cover the natural sciences: the calculation of the motions of the earth (physics), a formula for binomials (mathematics), the calculation of the orbit of the planets (astronomy/physics), electric phenomena according to William Watson (physics), the atmospheres of bodies show no limitations (physics), and finally, the states of water (chemistry). After these scientific *theses* comes one *thesis* on *stylus lapidaris* (lapidary style as it is manifest in inscriptions), then one on rhetoric and one on the relationship between the Swedish language and Hebrew. The penultimate *thesis* deals with politics in the relationship between Sweden and Poland. Lastly, the twenty-first *thesis* shows how the *pendula horologicorum astronomicorum* work. To summarize, half of the *theses*, i.e. ten out of twenty-one, are of a theological nature, seven deal with subjects related to the natural sciences (physics, astronomy, mathematics and chemistry), four discuss what we nowadays would label ‘humanities’ (languages, rhetoric, history, and, in some sense, politics).

However, there are also a fairly large number of *theses*-dissertations that deal with only one or two topics. Many of these single-topic dissertations are on theology, philosophy or Biblical philology, dealing with either Greek or Hebrew language.

In the following sections I will discuss a few topics and subjects that stand out as particular to the eighteenth-century *theses*: contemporary phenomena such as the achievements of the natural sciences, thought influenced by the Enlightenment, the importance of Latin teaching, and history other than that of ancient Greece or Rome. It should be said that these topics are not limited to certain gymnasia but are found to some extent in *theses*-dissertations from almost every school.

2.4.4.1 Latin Teaching and Questions Regarding Education in the *theses*

Latin, which was undoubtedly the most important language throughout the early modern Swedish school system, is the subject of a fairly large number of *theses*-dissertations.³⁵⁷ It should, however, be said that there are not many

³⁵⁷ For instance: *Theses scholasticarum decas* (pr. J. Boëthius, Västerås 1751), *Theses philologicae* (pr. C. G. Barkman, Strängnäs 1764), *Theses philologicae* (pr. J. J. Kempe, Strängnäs 1766), *Theses miscellaneae* (pr. N. Aurelius, Strängnäs 1769), *Theses philologicae* (pr. E. Lidius, Strängnäs 1772), *Theses nonnullae* (pr. P. Widell, Strängnäs 1775), *Theses nonnullae* (pr. G. R. Höijer, Strängnäs

theses-dissertations that are entirely dedicated to the importance of the Latin language or of Latin teaching. An example of a *theses*-dissertation that is exclusively dedicated to the teaching of the Latin language is *Theses philologicae de lingua Latina* (Linköping 1740). Oftener, we find *theses* on Latin teaching, Latin reading and the importance of knowledge of Latin in *pro loco*-dissertations, especially if these are submitted as part of the application process for a position at a trivial school. Thus, *theses* on Latin are often found in dissertations that treat education in general. Such dissertations are sometimes titled *Theses scholasticae*.

In the debates that flourished on the necessity and utility of Latin in the eighteenth century, we find a conservative viewpoint in gymnasial dissertations.³⁵⁸ We also often notice that these *theses* defend the teaching of Latin – one presumes against liberal opinions that wanted a utilitarian-focused education in which Latin did not have such a strong part. A few significant samples highlight this viewpoint. The first example is taken from *Theses scholasticae* chaired by Nicolaus Lindius in Västerås in 1779. Out of ten *theses*, six treat the teaching and importance of languages, preferably Latin. The third *thesis* is fairly extensive and reads:

Multi quidem, nostro hoc saeculo, nimium temporis in Scholis publicis Grammaticae Latinae impendi clamitant, illudque inutiliter perdi. Hi vero, vel innovandi studium produnt, vel insignem inscitiam. Praeterquam enim quod sola non tractetur Grammatica, certissima ponuntur, hac rite cognita, reliquarum lingvarum, ne dicam plurium scientiarum fundamenta. Immo Svecus Svetice vel pure loqui, vel emendate scribere non potest, nisi artis hujus bene sit peritus.

[Certainly, many – in our time – call out that too much time is devoted to Latin grammar in common schools, and that it (the time) is uselessly lost. But these people reveal either eagerness to innovation, or outstanding ignorance. For besides that grammar is not the only thing treated, the most firm foundation for other languages, not to say for most sciences, is laid if this is learnt

1775), *Theses scholasticarum dodecas* (pr. O. Grandell, Västerås 1779) and *Theses varii argumenti* (pr. C. D. Tribler, Göteborg 1780).

³⁵⁸ In Sweden the criticism of and debate on Latin coincided with the reduced practical use of the language that began during the reign of Gustav III (*gustavianske tid*) at the end of the eighteenth century and continued well into the nineteenth century. See Tengström (1973), p. 73ff., Lindberg (1984), pp. 30-45 and 120ff., Lindroth (1978), pp. 572-586, and Wennås (1966) on the Latin debate in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries respectively. The debates against Latin from international viewpoint are treated in Waquet (2001), p. 180.

properly. Indeed a Swede cannot talk purely in Swedish, nor write correctly, if he is not well skilled in this art.]

The author of the *thesis* states that without proper knowledge of Latin grammar, it is hard to speak pure Swedish, or to write correctly in Swedish, and he criticizes those who think that schools devoted too much time to the study of Latin grammar. Those who hold this opinion, says the author, are keen on altering things, or they express eminent ignorance. Grammar is the fundament not only of languages, but also of other sciences, continues the author.

Similar opinions are expressed in *theses* chaired by Petrus Widell in Strängnäs in 1775. The fifth and sixth *theses* read as follows:

Th. V.

Qvum solidae obtinendae eruditionis adminicula sint lingvae Latina, Graeca et Hebraea, nemo, qvi harum est imperitus, eruditi meretur titulum.

[Since the aids in obtaining solid erudition are Latin, Greek and Hebrew, no one who is ignorant of these languages should earn the title of a learned man.]

Th. VI.

Lingva Latina, qvia paucas habet flexionum anomalias, nec nimia redundat vocabulorum copia, facile qvidem discitur; labor tamen huic, ut omni disciplinae, est impendendus: et quo fuerit ille impensor, eo praestantiozem sollers ingenium adsequi poterit peritiam.

[The Latin language is easily learned, since it has few irregularities regarding inflections, nor has it a too large vocabulary. Nevertheless it is necessary to devote labor to the study of Latin, just like in other subjects. And the more eager he is, the more outstanding knowledge his ingenious mind will be able to obtain.]

Since Latin, Greek and Hebrew are the aid to earn learning, no one that is unskilled in them can earn the title ‘learned’, states the fifth *thesis*. The sixth continues the presiding *thesis* by saying that Latin, because it has few inflectional anomalies and its vocabulary is not too abundant, is easily learned, but that the work of learning – like in all disciplines – is great. It may be that not all schoolboys agreed with this. The more eagerly one strives, the more cleverness follows knowledge. The examples mentioned above are representative of the content of the *theses* on Latin and Latin teaching in the material from the eighteenth century.

Modern languages, such as English, German and French had no regular place in the school curriculum until the beginning of the nineteenth century.³⁵⁹ One can even see something of a distant and conservative attitude towards modern languages, since they were considered of no advantage for the Republic of Letters, in which Latin was the *lingua franca*. This opinion is stressed in a *thesis* in a dissertation *pro examine pastorali* from Göteborg (submitted by Sveno Leonh. Lignell, 1793): *Si lingvæ Gallica, Anglia et Teutonica in Scholis nostris publice tractarentur; id plus damni quam emolumenti reipublicæ litterariæ adferret* (“if French, English and German should be taught generally in our schools, it would cause more damage than advantage for the Republic of Letters”).

In connection to the teaching of the Latin language, it is also appropriate to mention the emphasis given to classical Latin authors and classical poetics. The impact of the authors – who are today considered the models of classical Latin – is visible in the canon set out by the school regulations, in which the study of classical Latin authors constituted the core of Latin teaching. This emphasis is also expressed in eighteenth-century *theses*-dissertations, as attested in *Theses varii argumenti* (pr. A. Wetterberg, Göteborg 1778), in which *thesis* 7 reads:

Fatemur equidem Graecos in eloquentiæ studio Magistros fuisse, Cicero tamen Demosthenem hac in re superavit. Ad renovandas et instaurandas bonas literas plurimum contulit Poëtica; Quæ cum coli coepit multam doctrinam depulit barbariem; Omnium Poëtarum maxime adamatum fuisse, Omniumque ingeniis alendis fingendisve ad humanitatem et elegantiae gustum accommodatissimum esse Ovidium remur.

[Indeed, we acknowledge that the Greeks were masters in the study of eloquence, nevertheless Cicero surpassed Demosthenes in this. Poetics contributed substantially when it comes to renewing and restoring literature. When this begins to be practiced it removed much barbaric learning. We regard Ovid to have been the most admired of all poets, and to be most suitable to develop and form the character of everyone to elegance of manners and to elegant taste.]

Questions regarding education in general are especially found in *pro loco*-dissertations. This may be because many of the *theses*-dissertations were submitted for a position at a trivial school, which was a school for younger boys in which the teachers were not specialist teachers but had to handle all

³⁵⁹ Modern languages (French and German, only seldom English) were introduced in the school regulation of 1807, but it appears that modern languages were already taught earlier in public schools on a private basis requiring payment. SO 1807, ÅSU 7, p. 104. Cf. Kallstenius (1923), p. 63, Wennäs (1966) and Bernhardsson (2016), p. 81ff.

subjects. It is therefore not surprising to find questions that concern general approaches to education in such dissertations. An illustrative example is the *theses* submitted in Linköping in 1780 by Olavus Zetterling, who was *collega scholae Norrcopensis* according to the title page. Every *thesis* in this dissertation treats educational questions. The first *thesis* states that education of young people is among the most worthy duties: *Inter sanctissima Imperantis officia, curam circa Educationem Juventutis merito numeramus*. The third *thesis* explains the two goals of erudition:

Finem Eruditionis duplicem in genere statuimus: (α ut excolantur ingenii facultates ad verum a falso discernendum, (β ut perficiantur Voluntatis Inclinationes ad observantiam Justi Bonique. Fines subordinati tot sunt, quot diversa vivendi genera.

[We think the goal of erudition in general is twofold: a) the abilities of the mind should develop to be able to distinguish the true from the false, b) the inclinations of the will should be accomplished to observe Right and Good. The subordinate goals of erudition are so many, as there are ways of living.]

The first goal of erudition is to develop the ability of the mind to be able to distinguish the truth from the false, and the second goal is that the tendencies of the will should be trained to be inclined to the observance of the good and just. The seventh *thesis* in the same dissertation begins by stating that the method of teaching may vary infinitely: *Docendi Methodus infinitis modis variat*. Judging by the content of this *theses*-dissertation and of other dissertations which also treat educational issues to some extent, one may conclude that general questions concerning education were frequently discussed in the educational environment.³⁶⁰ Teachers as well as schoolboys were partaking – although perhaps not on equal terms – in these discussions: teachers as well as schoolboys participated in disputations that highlighted educational topics. It is quite obvious that questions of education were of concern for all the persons involved in education and that these were questions of importance.

2.4.4.2 Theses on Disputations

Surprisingly, there are quite a large number of *theses* that treat the art of disputation, especially originating from Strängnäs. One wonders whether the practice of disputation was not already known to the participants before arranging a disputation, but the answer may lie in the moment itself: it may

³⁶⁰ Many *theses*-dissertations from the eighteenth century have at least one or two *theses* treating questions regarding education.

be that the presiding teacher took the opportunity to instruct the schoolboys on the art of disputation while disputing. Alternatively, the *theses* on the arrangement of disputations may give a glimpse of how these exercises were considered in the educational context during this period. The promotion of disputation in this way may indicate that the art of disputation was subject to criticism in the educational system for being a remnant of a tradition that had seen its glory days, suggesting that these disputations were used as a kind of meta-discussion to defend their existence. Perhaps this is to take it too far, but why otherwise treat questions on the arrangement of disputations that should be well known to all participants? An illustrative example of this usage of *theses* on disputation is found in *Theses philosophicas* chaired by Stephanus Insulin on 20 April 1771 in Strängnäs.³⁶¹ The final *theses* are dedicated to questions of disputations. Those quoted below underline what has been said above:

Th. VIII.

Theses propositas adgrediatur, necesse est, Opponens munere rite functurus; a Thesibus enim abludenti responsionis loco haec sufficiunt verba; Theses nostras tuum non afficit argumentum.

[It is necessary that the one, who is to fulfill the task of opponent in the right manner, should attack the submitted *theses*. As response to him who does not agree with the *theses*, the following words are sufficient: Your argument does not affect our *theses*.]

Th. IX.

In formam Syllogisticam, quoties opus fuerit, Opponens suum cogat argumentum; abstineat vero a Syllogismis universalibus, qui pueriles nimium sunt.

[As often as necessary the opponent should restrict his argument to the form of syllogism. But he should abstain from universal syllogisms, which are too childish.]

Th. XI.

Argumentum Opponentis repetat Respondens, ut status controversiae rite formetur, et rite formatum intelligent auditores. Quod si copiosius fuerit argumentum, cuius summa tantum capita repetere valet Respondens, opponens dispiciat ipse, utrum mentem ejus perceperit Respondens, nec ne.

[The respondent should repeat the argument of the opponent, so that the standpoint of the controversy is formed adequately, and so that the audience should understand the outset of it. If the

³⁶¹ There are also other dissertations submitted by Stephanus Insulin that contain *theses* on the art of disputation, such as *Theses philosophicas* (Strängnäs 19 Nov. 1774) in which the last two *theses* deal with the task of the respondent and choice of expression of the participants.

argument should be more abundant, it is appropriate that the respondent repeats only the most important part of it; the opponent himself should consider whether or not the respondent has understood what he meant.]

Th. XII.

Respondentis insuper est suam explicare et demonstrare Thesin; ita tamen, ut simul erroris convincat Opponentem, ostendendo argumentum ejus non demonstrare quod probatum voluerit.

[In addition, it is the task of the respondent to explain and demonstrate his *thesis*. This should be done so that the respondent at the same time convinces the opponent of his error, by showing that his argument does not demonstrate what he (the opponent) wanted it to demonstrate.]

Th. XIII.

Auctor suos quidem definire debet terminos; quando vero Theses, ut nostrae, exhibentur, definitiones aliunde cognitae supponere licet.

[The person who is performing in the disputation should define how he uses his terms. But when *theses*, like ours, are presented, it is allowed to adopt definitions from another source.]

Studying these *theses* one is struck by their elementary character, considering that disputations had taken place in Swedish gymnasia since the beginning of the seventeenth century. Thus, all schoolboys should have been aware of how disputations were arranged and what their purpose was. But the aim of such *theses* may be twofold. For instance, a disputation on the arrangement of disputations may have been seen as educational, perhaps addressing the younger schoolboys who had little experience of disputations, as well as examining the participants of the disputation in the proper art of disputing. The second purpose may have been to affirm the position of disputations, stressing the usefulness of holding disputations, at a period in which the necessity for and usefulness of Latin was debated. The passages quoted above may serve as an example of the general appearance of this kind of *theses* on disputations found in other *theses*-dissertations from the eighteenth century.

2.4.4.3 History

Many of the late-eighteenth-century dissertations have a few *theses* on historical matters. However, there is a noticeable divergence in terms of content. We see not only topics regarding Biblical, Roman or Greek history, but also topics on Swedish historical events, and topics on medieval history, European history and North America; there are even *theses* on Islamic

historical issues.³⁶² This kind of historical content is not found in dissertations from the seventeenth century.

Some historically orientated *theses* show anthropological traits. For instance the *theses* presided by Svenno Bruhn, *lector* of history and moral philosophy in Strängnäs in 1795, include *theses* on the division of peoples and on the customs and genealogy of American Indians. In the following sample, the custom of changing the form of the head among one of the Indian tribes is taken up:

Th. V.

Singulare illud Tschachtarum, Americae borealis populi, factum, quo recens natorum premendo capita, plana formata curant, ne ulla illis [...] desit pulchritudo, inter homines dari varietates, quae arti debentur, monstrat.

[By arranging so that their heads are formed flat by pressing the heads of the recently born children, so that none of them shall lack beauty, this singular act by the North American people of the Tschachtas shows that there are varieties due to arts among mankind.]

It is difficult to establish which North American Indian tribe is referred to in the *thesis*. The tradition of intentionally deforming or flattening the head by applying some kind of artificial pressure to the heads of infants is found for instance among Indian tribes along the northwest coast of North America.³⁶³

America is also the subject of eight *theses* in a dissertation from Strängnäs of 1782 (pr. L. Ekmark). Here, the interest is on the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, on the origin of the name of the continent, on the social division of the indigenous population, on the European and Spanish populating of the continent and on the religion of the indigenous population compared with the religion of the ancient Persians.

The new discoveries of land are commented upon in the eleventh *thesis* in the dissertation presided by Ekmarck: *America detecta omnis fere Historiae limites mirum in modum sunt aucti et dilatati* ("When America was discovered nearly all

³⁶² Telling examples are the dissertations chaired by the *lector* of history and morals in Strängnäs, Johannes Wallin: *Theses historiae* (Strängnäs 1771) on Byzantine and Mohammedan history, *Theses historicae* (Strängnäs 1772) on Roman history, *Theses historicae* (Strängnäs 1773) on the history of the Goths, the Lombards and the Franks, and *Theses nonnullae* (Strängnäs 1775) on the history of Portugal. This may be compared with the historical and geographical curriculum at the *gymnasium* of Kalmar in 1769/70, where the *lector* of history Nils Gustaf Sandberg seems to have lectured on the history of a range of European countries and lectured generally on Asian, African and American history. Alving (1923), p. 43.

³⁶³ Cybulski (1990), p. 52f. Curiously, the Indian tribe known as 'Flathead' living on the North American Plateau did not seem to practice head flattening. Malouf (1998), p. 312.

of the boundaries of history were augmented and dilated in a remarkable way”).³⁶⁴

Some *theses*-dissertations on history are thematic, meaning that they treat a certain historical field such as Spanish history, the Goths, history of Italy in the Dark Ages etc. These dissertations often bear the title *Theses historicae* (with variants). The novelty of the late-eighteenth-century *theses* is that there is a larger variety of possible topics than before.

2.4.4.4 The Natural Sciences

The natural sciences saw their breakthrough in Sweden by the mid-eighteenth century.³⁶⁵ As the century proceeded, gymnasial *theses* pick up more of their material from the natural sciences than before. Good examples of this are the *theses* produced in Skara and Strängnäs during the second half of the century. Here much of the newly gained knowledge in mathematics, physics and botany stands abreast with theological issues. Even though the shorter *theses*-dissertations were only composed of a few lines, it is possible to notice that the content changed to treat the natural sciences, e.g. physics, astronomy and mathematics, in a different way than before. Judging by gymnasial dissertations it appears that definitions of these subjects had changed during the eighteenth century to more closely resemble the definitions that we hold today. For instance, the *theses* under the presidency of Stephanus Insulin, *lector* in physics and logic in Strängnäs from the mid-eighteenth century onwards,³⁶⁶ show this change in the treatment of physics compared to seventeenth century dissertations on physics.³⁶⁷ Many *theses*-dissertations over which Insulin presided are thematic: the planetary system, the properties of water, the winds, and the

³⁶⁴ Ekmarck presided over the dissertation *Theses* (Strängnäs 1782), which also treats questions regarding the discoveries of America in eight out of seventeen *theses*. Cf. also *theses* 1 and 2 in *Theses* (pr. S. Schöldbberg, Strängnäs 1799).

³⁶⁵ Frängsmyr (2006), p. 104.

³⁶⁶ The career of Stefan (Stephanus) Insulin (1726-1803), although particular in one respect in that he crowned the high point of his career by becoming a bishop, is fairly representative of teachers at Swedish gymnasia in this period. He was registered at the gymnasium of Strängnäs in his mid-teens in 1740, acted as respondent there at least once (he is listed as one of three respondents on a printed theological dissertation in 1747, entitled *Regulas praecipuas hermeneuticas [...] De sapientia Dei hypostatica*) and was enrolled as a student at the University of Uppsala in 1750 where he became *docens* in mathematics in 1760. After his years in Uppsala he returned to Strängnäs where he was appointed *lector* in logic and physics in 1767. Two years later, in 1769, he was ordained *pastor* and was appointed second *lector* of theology in 1782. Insulin was appointed Doctor of Theology by the king in 1793 and in the same year he also became bishop of Strängnäs diocese. These biographical notes are taken from Drysen (1871), p. 27, with the exception of his participation in the gymnasial disputation which was found in the material examined for the present study.

³⁶⁷ Cf. section 2.5.2 above.

nature of dew.³⁶⁸ It should be mentioned that many of Insulin's dissertations are compounds treating physics as well as other subjects. To get a proper view of how natural sciences appear in *theses*-dissertations, most of the dissertations chaired by Stephanus Insulin during the ten-year period 1768-1778 are listed below, together with a brief explanation of some of the topics in the fields of physics and natural sciences that occur in them:³⁶⁹

1768: one dissertation on the perception of physical phenomena

1769: one dissertation on various physics and astronomical questions

1770: two dissertations on various physical questions, on motion (*motus*), and force (*vis*) and the extension of matter (*extensio*) respectively

1771: one dissertation on weight (*gravitas, onus*), one on the properties of fluids (*corpora fluida*)

1772: one dissertation on mathematical questions, and one on air (*aër*), atmosphere and the discoveries of Torricelli³⁷⁰

1773: two dissertations on winds (*ventus*), and the connection between God and physics respectively

1774: one dissertation on how we can understand Creation through experiment, one dissertation on the weight and qualities of bodies (*corpora*)

1775: two dissertations on meteorological phenomena (*meteora*) and vapor (*vapor*) respectively

1776: two dissertations on dew (*ros*) and the rainbow (*iris seu arcus coloribus tinctus* = the rainbow or the colored arc) respectively

1777: two dissertations on the movement of heavenly bodies (*motus corporum coelestium*) and on various physical questions respectively

1778: two dissertations on the use of instruments, e.g. the lever (*vectis*) and point of support for the lever (*fulcrum*), and on various physical questions respectively

It should be noted that the list above presents a cross section that does not show all the dissertations chaired by Insulin, who submitted a few dissertations after this ten-year period as well. It should also be mentioned that each of these *theses*-dissertations contain some *theses* on topics other than physics.

³⁶⁸ Unfortunately all of the *theses* that he presided bear the same title, namely *Theses philosophicae* which makes it hard to distinguish one from another.

³⁶⁹ All of these twenty dissertations are titled *Theses philosophicae/Theses philosophicas* and are only distinguished by their dating: 5 Nov. 1768, 22 April 1769, 12 May 1770, 10 Nov. 1770, 20 April 1771, 16 Nov. 1771, 2 May 1772, 21 Nov. 1772, 3 April 1773, 13 Nov. 1773, 28 May 1774, 19 Nov. 1774, 29 April 1775, 4 Nov. 1775, 13 April 1776, 23 Nov. 1776, 26 April 1777, 22 Nov. 1777, 16 May 1778, and 28 Nov. 1778.

³⁷⁰ Evangelista Torricelli (1608-1647), Italian physicist and mathematician, inventor of the barometer, experimented on vacuums, fluid motion and projectile motion. Torricelli's principle, the speed of liquid, was discovered in 1643. Britannica online, s.v. Toricelli [http://academic.eb.com.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/levels/collegiate/article/Evangelista-Torricelli/72977].

One of the dissertations listed above (*Theses philosophicas*, 13 April 1776) discusses dew (*ros*), in which the third *thesis* reads:

Quidam rorem descendendo, terram, plantas aliaque corpora tantum humectare contendunt, alii contra ex solis adscendentibus vaporibus hoc phaenomenon oriri. Nos, vi experimentorum et naturae rei, rorem et adscendendo et descendendo humectare contendimus.

[Some assert that dew moistens earth, plants and other bodies only by falling, others on the contrary assert that this phenomenon has its origin from vapor rising from the ground. From experiments and by observing nature I assert that the dew moisten both by rising and by falling.]

What is of interest here is that it seems that the author of the *thesis* has come to his conclusion by way of experiments, not just by observing nature. This mirrors the new approach to natural sciences and to experimental physics that, according to Sten Lindroth, was introduced into Swedish gymnasia in the mid-eighteenth century, as a result of pedagogical discussions of the time. The gymnasia in Skara, Göteborg, Västerås and Växjö, for instance, bought new equipment such as hydraulic pumps, quadrants, timepieces, tubes and electric machines for experimental physics to meet the new demands.³⁷¹

However, the strong bonds between education and the church are still noticeable in the desire to use the laws of physics and experimentation to explain the creation and the power of God. The following quotation from the ninth *thesis* in *Theses philosophicas* (Strängnäs, 13 Nov. 1773) presents an example of this attitude:

Usus et finis Physices est, nosse Creatorem ex operibus, et Ejus uti donis cum veneratione gratoque animo.

[The use and ends of physics is to know the Creator by his works, and to use His gifts with veneration and grateful mind.]

Although the dissertations presided by Stephanus Insulin demonstrate the rising interest in the natural sciences (in his case primarily physics) in education, the overshadowing faith that was the fundament of the Swedish school system cannot be ignored, not even when dealing with such nowadays secular subjects as physics or mathematics, nor even when knowledge was based on empirical experimentation. The idea that Nature was a manifestation of God's creation – the so-called physico-theology –

³⁷¹ Lindroth (1978), pp. 70-71, and Kallstenius (1923), p. 61. See also Sjöstrand (1961), p. 147.

was popular during the eighteenth century, with Carolus Linnaeus as one of its most prominent spokesmen.³⁷² The idea was that through the natural sciences mankind could get a glimpse of God's wondrous work. It is in the light of physico-theology that the above-quoted *thesis* must be interpreted.

2.4.4.5 The Enlightenment and Contemporary Phenomena in the theses

Related to *theses* that cover the natural sciences are *theses* that in some way reflect the ideas of the Enlightenment, such as the philosophy of Rousseau and Voltaire, or political events, such as the newly founded American republic or revolutions.

An example of this type of *thesis* is *thesis* number three in *Theses varii argumenti* (pr. Olaus Westman) from the gymnasium of Göteborg, 1784. After two initial *theses* on philosophy of more common type, the next *thesis* reads as follows:

Qvidquid, praeunte Voltario in notissima sua Satyra Candidi nomine insignita, cavillentur nonnulli, ut Leibnitii doctrinam de Mundo optimo, Bailio oppositam, ludibrio exponent, hanc tamen, modo rite intelligatur, firmo omnino niti fundamento, inveniet quisquis animo a praejudicatis opinionibus libero eandem examinaverit.

[In the wake of Voltaire's most famous satire called *Candide*, some persons mock whatsoever, for example when they mock Leibniz's doctrine (opposing Bayle) of the best of worlds. Nevertheless anyone who examines this with a mind free from prejudiced opinions may understand, that this doctrine of Leibniz, if it is understood correctly, rests on an altogether firm fundament.]

The topic of this *thesis* is the defence of Leibniz's doctrine of the best of worlds which was mocked in Voltaire's satirical novel *Candide, ou l'Optimisme* (first published in 1759). The man referred to as *Bailius* in the *thesis* appears to be the French philosopher Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) most famous for his *Dictionaire historique et critique* (1697). This work was very much admired in the eighteenth century for its skepticism, and was one of the forerunners of Enlightenment thought.³⁷³

A few years later, in the year of the French revolution, 1789, a *theses*-dissertation also from Göteborg, has a *thesis* on Rousseau's *Émile, ou de l'éducation*.³⁷⁴ As in the case of Voltaire's *Candide* this must be considered a

³⁷² Lindroth (1978), p. 219f.

³⁷³ Popkin (2003), p. 435ff., and Lindroth (1975b), p. 567f., and (1978), p. 499.

³⁷⁴ *Theses varii argumenti* (pr. O. A. Kamp, Göteborg 1789). *Émile* was first published in 1762.

rather modern theme for the otherwise traditional content of philosophical gymnasial *theses*. The ninth and last *thesis* reads as follows:

Varia varii dederunt educandi praecepta, omnium vero perniciosissima videntur *Emil, ou de l'education par J. J. Rousseau*. In iis autem, quae ad Religionem pertinent, impertiendis, non optima sunt, quae apud nos vigent.

[Different persons have given different precepts for education, but *Émile* by J. J. Rousseau seems to give the most pernicious of all. Moreover, concerning the precepts that belong to religion, those that we use are not the best.]

It is not very astonishing that the work of Rousseau is criticized for his views on education and religion. Rousseau's precepts are the most pernicious, the *thesis* states, but unfortunately does not elucidate. It is tempting to think that the ideas of Rousseau were provocative in the eyes of an author who was part of a Swedish conservative educational system in which orthodox faith and its pursuance was a major concern, because *Émile* was considered a dangerous work in Swedish debate in the eighteenth century, as its belief in the goodness in human nature went against the Christian idea of the Fall of Man.³⁷⁵ It may be of interest to note that Rousseau's dangerous ideas were the subject of a number of academic dissertations in the latter part of the eighteenth century that were primarily critical of his views on religion.³⁷⁶ The presence of the two French-speaking philosophers in these dissertations should perhaps be seen as an anomaly, since they are not treated in any other *theses*-dissertation that I have encountered. In fact, very few dissertations treat contemporary philosophy to any great extent. We may encounter *theses* on the philosophy of Christian Wolff, John Locke and other more or less contemporary philosophers, but these are very rarely found. Judging by the scanty appearance of thinkers of the Enlightenment in *theses*-dissertations, it seems that the view of philosophy in gymnasial instruction was traditional and conservative. Yet, the fact that one nevertheless occasionally finds *theses* on Voltaire and Rousseau arguably shows that the ideas of these authors were – if not studied explicitly – at least discussed at the Swedish gymnasium.

Two decades before these *theses* on the French and Swiss thinkers, in 1758, Herman Moeller chaired a dissertation in Skara.³⁷⁷ As *thesis* number

³⁷⁵ Lindroth (1978), p. 69. For the reception of Rousseau's ideas in Sweden, see Sandström (1989), p. 118f., and Lindroth (1978), p. 510ff., who says that the general Swedish reception of the ideas of Rousseau was ambivalent: he caused a stir and was rejected in some quarters, but was also greeted with enthusiasm in others.

³⁷⁶ Dahlberg (2017), p. 112ff.

³⁷⁷ *Positiones basee theologico-philosophicas* (pr. Herman Moeller, Skara 1758).

eleven, we find a *thesis* that recognizes Linnaeus' contribution to the systematization of nature. The whole thesis reads as follows:

Inter Physicam Historiamque Naturalem, maximam dari differentiam, optime perspexit Nobilis Archiater et Eques C. Linnaeus; cujus systema, praecipue botanicum sexuale, omnibus hucdum excogitatis Systematibus botanicis palmam facile praeripit.

[The noble chief physician and knight Carolus Linnaeus saw most clearly that there is a great difference between physics and natural history. Especially his sexual system prevails easily over all other conceived botanical systems.]

This is the only evidence found in the material of the reception of Linnaeus's botanical system.

The expansion of the world is noticeable not only in the historical *theses* mentioned above, but also in other kinds of *theses*. In the *pro examine pastorali*-dissertation *Theses historico-politicae* chaired by Ericus Pladecius (Strängnäs 1789) there are several *theses* on topics not normally seen in an *examen pastorale*-dissertation.³⁷⁸ For instance, the ninth *thesis* treats Chinese commerce and workmanship, arguing that they are superior to that of other Asian and African peoples:

Si Sinensium leges, mercaturam et singularem in quibuslibet artibus industriam spectamus, eos ceteros Asiae, Africaeque populos facile superare apparet.

[If we look at the Chinese laws, commerce and remarkable industry in every craft, it appears that they easily surpass the other peoples of Asia and Africa.]

Foreign as well as Swedish East India companies brought exotic goods (porcelain, tea, silk, spices, furniture etc.) from the Far East throughout the eighteenth century – the heyday of the Swedish East India company was the mid-eighteenth century. Chinese culture and Chinese exotic goods caused excitement and became *à la mode*, which may be the reason for the author's interest in this topic.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁸ It is not my intention to pick examples from dissertations other than gymnasial dissertations (and have no other examples of *pro examine pastorali*-dissertations than this), but in this case I have made an exception since the content is very much of interest when treating how contemporary phenomena are mirrored in dissertations defended at gymnasia.

³⁷⁹ Lindroth (1978), pp. 135-139; see also Metcalf (1988) on the impact of the East Indian trade on Sweden during the eighteenth century.

A dissertation that stands out in its treatment of contemporary thought is the *pro loco*-dissertation titled *Theses*, chaired by Samuel Harlingson (Linköping 1794) and submitted as part of the application for the position of *moralium et historiarum lector*. This is a twelve-page *theses*-dissertation, which comprises twenty-five *theses* that are longer than those in most other late *theses*-dissertations. The author covers topics such as luxury, civil law, the necessity of social classes and the danger of hatred between them, why revolutions should be avoided, and equality. The sixteenth *thesis* treats revolutions and is given here:

Rerum commutationes istae (Revoluciones dicunt) per Galliam et Poloniam jam increbrescentes, tantam arguunt in ingenio humano, dementia dicam, an ferinam rabiem? ut aequalem nulla sistant priorum temporum monumenta. Caveamus tamen, monente ROSENSTEINIO nostrate, gravissimo Auctore, ne quid temere vel probemus, vel condemnemus, aequi de hac re Judicii nondum compotes. Tantas componere lites, Posteritatis esto, quae, absque praedjudiciis, absque partium studio, commutationum harum observaverit originem, progressum, exitum [...] causasque examinaverit primas et sensim supervenientes, Personas item et intentiones harumque varias vicissitudines, actiones denique et quasi reactiones [...], et quae sunt reliqua. Pro certo interim habemus fore, ut hi veluti motus politicae terrae, novam gignendo experientiam, novum moribus habitum, novam Europae et forsitan universo Orbi faciem induant.

[Those upheavals of things (called revolutions) that now become strong through France and Poland show – I should say – so great madness or even beastly rage in the human mind, so that no records of earlier times shall stop the stationary state. Yet, we shall take precautions, reminded by our most important author Rosenstein, so that we do not blindly approve or condemn, when we not yet have a correct assessment of the matter. “To settle such great disputes” is the task for posterity, which – without prejudices and without party interests – shall consider the origin of these upheavals, their progress and end, and shall examine the first and gradually following causes, as well as examine the persons and intentions and their varying fates, finally their actions and so to speak their reactions and the rest. In the meantime we will be sure that these as it were political earthquakes, by creating a new experience, will adorn morals with a new dress, Europe and even the whole world with a new appearance.]

The author says that from revolutions (*rerum commutationes*), which are like political earthquakes (*hi veluti motus politicae terrae*), there will come new experiences, new moral conditions and a new shape to Europe and even to the whole world. The name *Rosensteinius* refers to Nils von Rosenstein (1752-1824), secretary of the Swedish Academy, member of the society *Pro sensu communi*, and political thinker, who embraced the empirical ideas of Locke

and of equality between people. Rosenstein was the author of *Försök til en afhandling om uplysningen* (published 1793) which contributed to the suspicion that he was a Jacobin put forth by Gustaf Adolf Reuterholm after the assassination of King Gustav III in 1792.³⁸⁰ Also notable is that the author of the *thesis* has made use of a quote from Vergil's *Eclogue* 3.108 when he says *Tantas componere lites* ("to settle such great disputes"). Revolutions do otherwise not appear to have been a common topic of dissertations during the eighteenth century, although in 1777 Bengt Lidner submitted a dissertation to the University of Greifswald titled *De iure revolutionis Americanorum*, without the consent of the faculty due to its controversial content.³⁸¹

2.4.5 Concluding Remarks

Gymnasial dissertations underwent an overall change in the eighteenth century. From being extensive dissertations similar to those found in an academic environment, the practice of using solely short *theses*-dissertations was implemented in almost all gymnasia by the mid-eighteenth century. This change in practice was connected to the increasing role of schoolboys in the *examen pastorale*, which resulted in a greater proportion of the curricula time allocated to disputation being taken up with 'job interviews' for vicars, rather than the development of long-form debate on one subject. By highlighting examples from short eighteenth-century *theses*-dissertations I have shown that even though the majority of gymnasial *theses* continued to treat traditional topics, some changes in the choice of subjects are visible and there is evidence of the influence of contemporary phenomena and thought. Natural sciences, pedagogical questions and the defense of the tradition of disputation seem to have been seen as appropriate matters to discuss and debate in the form of disputation. If the dissertations mirror everyday instruction in the gymnasium – which I believe – this means that awareness of and interest in other parts and epochs of the world increased in late-eighteenth-century Swedish education.

Later, *theses*-dissertations from the beginning of the nineteenth century appear to display a slightly more permissive attitude towards seemingly less serious subjects than is found in earlier dissertations. One such example is found in *Theses*, presided by C. F. af Wingård (Göteborg, 20 May 1816). The

³⁸⁰ The charges against von Rosenstein, however, appear to have been unfounded. See Segerstedt (1981), p. 266ff. Cf. Böttiger (1877), p. 108ff. On the biography of Nils von Rosenstein see SBL s.v. Nils von Rosenstein, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=6944> (author Torkel Stålmarck).

³⁸¹ See Cullhed and Östlund (2009). Lindberg (2011) discusses the term *revolutio* as used in a dissertation from the early eighteenth century, namely *Theoria academica de opinionum revolutionibus periodicis* presided by Anders Rydelius in Lund 1719.

eighth of nine *theses* treats the impact of Cicero in a rather amusing way: *Cicero Orator fuit magnus, Politicus tolerabilis, Philosophus nullus* (“Cicero was a great orator, a tolerable politician, nothing as philosopher”). May this be a sign of the declining importance of dissertations and disputations in Swedish education in the nineteenth century?

2.5 Audience, Respondents, Opponents and *Praeses*

2.5.1 Introduction

As has already been stated, disputations involved four parties: respondent, opponent, *praeses* and audience. In this section the roles of the participants in gymnasial disputations will be discussed. Disputations were a consistent part of every level of the early modern Swedish educational system, from the lowest level trivial school disputation exercises through gymnasial disputations and disputations at student nations, to proper university disputations *pro exercitio* and *pro gradu*. The list reproduced below shows the ideal disputation ladder comprising the whole educational system from low to high. In this ladder, which is an extended version of that produced by Lars Burman in his work *Eloquent students* (2012),³⁸² the disputation exercises at student nations and at the university constitute the upper rungs. It is, however, important to bear in mind that this ladder should not be limited to disputations held in the academy. The first four rungs are therefore my addition to this ladder. This addition comprises the disputations held in trivial school and at the gymnasium. One should thus be aware that many university students had already had thorough training in the art of disputation before being registered at a university and at a student nation if they had attended public schools (trivial schools and gymnasia). With my addition, the ideal disputation ladder thus consists of thirteen rungs, of which the pre-university rungs are the first four:

- practicing the art of disputation in small trivial school skirmishes (*velitationes*)
- acting as opponent at a gymnasial disputation
- acting as respondent at a gymnasial disputation
- acting as respondent at a gymnasial disputation as a returning student
- acting as extra opposition at a student nation convent
- a charge as opponent at a *landskap* disputation³⁸³
- opposing at a university exercise disputation led by adjuncts

³⁸² Burman (2012b), p. 46f.

³⁸³ A *landskap* was, and still is, an assembly held at the student nations in Uppsala twice every year on which occasion important decisions were taken. During the early modern era disputations were held at these events. Burman (2012b), p. 17.

- appointment as respondent at the student nation
- opposing at a public disputation
- acting as respondent at a university exercise disputation led by an adjunct
- defending a printed thesis in public *pro exercitio*
- acting as *praeses* at a nation disputation
- defending a printed thesis publicly *pro gradu*

It is clear from this list that all levels of the Swedish educational system in the early modern era were saturated with disputation exercises. If we concentrate on disputation exercises in trivial schools and gymnasia, the order of these rungs would have been as follows: early disputation training consisted of lighter exercises held at trivial school and of being part of the audience for gymnasial disputations. After that, schoolboys could take active roles, either as opponent or as respondent. This disputation progression is attested in several sources: as an illustration three different accounts are given here, from the autobiography of Anders Rhyzelius, from the letters of Carl Jacob Lundström and finally from a protocol of the gymnasium in Gävle.

During his years at the gymnasium of Skara, Rhyzelius began his disputational career progression in the lower classes of the gymnasium by listening to disputations; later he participated in the exercises himself – as he says – in every role.³⁸⁴ Lastly, he and another schoolboy acted as respondents, one supposes as a token of intellectual maturity. During his time as a schoolboy in Skara, Rhyzelius had the opportunity to climb the four gymnasial rungs of the disputation ladder in the order illustrated in the list above. It should, nevertheless, be said that the order in which schoolboys took different roles in disputations could differ from the ideal ladder.

In the case of Carl Jacob Lundström, who attended the gymnasium of Västerås in the early 1770s, he first acted as respondent at ordinary disputation exercises, and later he was chosen to act as second extraordinary opponent at *pro loco*-disputations.³⁸⁵

In a 1717 protocol from the gymnasium of Gävle it is stated that no schoolboys should be allowed to leave for university studies unless they had publicly held an oration, preached and had acted as the respondent in a disputation.³⁸⁶ Being in the audience and learning by observing older schoolboys and members of the teaching staff was a first step. Acting as the opponent was a second step. Acting as the respondent in a disputation was

³⁸⁴ See Helander (1904), p. 17.

³⁸⁵ Carl Jacob Lundström will be touched upon again in the sections on respondents and opponents below.

³⁸⁶ Protocol dated 8 October 1717, quoted in Lundén (1930), p. 315.

thus the cherry on the cake – even a mandatory part – of the gymnasial environment before students left for university studies.

In the following sections I will treat the composition of the audience and the roles of respondents, opponents and *praeses*, in that order.

2.5.2 Audience

To get a glimpse of the long-since scattered audience of gymnasial disputations one has to look not in the printed texts of dissertations, in which the audience is conspicuous by its absence, but in other sources, such as handwritten notes in dissertations, regulations, protocols and memoirs. The constitution of the audience at gymnasial disputations was dependent on the occasion and the purpose of the disputation. One may suppose that the audience at lighter disputation exercises in the lower classes comprised primarily classmates and schoolmates, since these occasions were primarily a form of training. For the disputations that engaged the higher classes, the whole body of schoolboys and teachers attended. As has been mentioned above, the early constitutions of the first gymnasia in the 1620s stressed that those who did not attend the disputations at the gymnasium should be punished, either by penalty payment or even by harsher means.³⁸⁷ A protocol from the gymnasium of Gävle (5 June 1740) suggests that skipping a disputation was also a serious offence in the eighteenth century: seven schoolboys at the gymnasium were questioned as to why they had been absent from a disputation.³⁸⁸ By being absent, according to the protocol, the schoolboys had gravely insulted the *lectores*. The schoolboys answered that they had skipped the disputation since boys from a lower class were taking part in the disputation – which was not customary – and that they had to study for an exam. The punishment was six to nine whippings with the *ferula* (rod) and suspension of their scholarships. This indicates that disputations were seen as important events, pedagogically as well as ceremonially. However, if we instead look to disputations held in Gävle in the 1680s, these seem to have been sparsely attended. According to protocols referred to by Gustaf Emanuel Lundén (1930) a disputation in 1683 had only four schoolboys in the audience, not including the respondent and opponents; later the same year only six schoolboys attended a disputation.³⁸⁹

Lists of those who were present at disputations are rarely found, but by chance one may happen to find handwritten notes within dissertations. This is the case for the *pro loco*-dissertation *De lectione poetarum Latinae linguae cultori*

³⁸⁷ Cf. *Constitutiones collegii*, Thyselius (1839), p. 90, and *Methodus didactica*, Tengström (1799), p. 40.

³⁸⁸ The protocol is edited in Hall (1944), p. 282.

³⁸⁹ Lundén (1930), p. 315.

pernecessaria (Linköping 1773), submitted by Petrus Hulthin, who was *rector* designate at the trivial school in Linköping. On the verso of the title page in the copy kept in Linköping City Library, there is a handwritten note that enumerates the members of the consistory who were present at the disputation. The archdean of Linköping was present, together with the *rector* of the gymnasium and the second *lector* of theology, the *lector* of eloquence and poetry and the *lector* of mathematics and astronomy. This shows that not all the teachers of the gymnasium were present at the occasion. Unfortunately, the note does not mention any of the schoolboys who we can assume were also present during the disputation.

The occasions of more solemn disputations appear to have had a more diverse audience, similar to that mentioned by Anders Rhyzelius (treated above in section 2.1.3). An illustrative example of the composition of the audience at a *pro loco*-disputation is found in a protocol from the gymnasium in Gävle.³⁹⁰ In 1752 the *lector* designate in Greek and Hebrew, Eric Hesselgren, acted as *praeses* for his own *pro loco*-disputation. The protocol mentions that the audience consisted of a number of prominent persons: the archbishop Henric Benzelius, the baron and governor Axel Joh. Gripenhielm, and other prominent members of civic society, as well as people from the gymnasium and trivial school.³⁹¹ A university student, Christian Arnold Cadovius, acted as respondent, and the opponents were the headmaster of the trivial school in Gävle and another university student, Laurentius Qvist. Extraordinary opponents were the headmaster of the gymnasium and the deputy *lector* of theology. Here it is of interest to note that both of the university students who acted as respondent and opponent had been pupils at the gymnasium some years earlier (registered at the gymnasium in 1747 and 1748 respectively).³⁹² It was, as shall be shown in the following section on respondents, quite common for university students to return to their former gymnasia to deepen their studies and to take part in disputations. This description appears to show that these were not only a matter for schoolboys and teachers at the gymnasium; rather these were sometimes occasions on which people from outside the educational environment were invited to sit in the audience of these public events. It seems that disputations arranged at a gymnasium offered a forum for representation in which prominent people from civic society could meet and

³⁹⁰ The protocol is edited in Hall (1944) (ÅSU 68-69), p. 307f. I have not seen this dissertation.

³⁹¹ Hall (1944) (ÅSU 68-69), p. 307. The passage reads in Swedish: "Uti Högwördigste Archi Biskopens och ProCancellariens Herr Doctor Henric Benzeliü, samt General Majorens, Landshöfd:s och Commendeurens af Kongli. Sw. Orden, Högwälb. H. Baron Axel Joh. Gripenhielms och andre, förutan härwarande Landt- Civil- Gymnasii och Schol Stater, främmande Ståndspersoners närwaro, praesiderade i Gymnasio designatus Graec. & Ebr. LL. Lector H. Mag:r Eric Hesselgren [...]" Cf. Lundén (1930), p. 284f.

³⁹² *Gävle gymnasiums matrikel 1669-1849* (1969), p. 64.

rub shoulders with each other and with school officials. However, one cannot help wondering whether all the civic members of the audience understood the Latin spoken during the disputation, or whether it was perceived as nothing but mere noise.³⁹³ Since Swedish education was based in Latin, one is tempted to assume that not all of the outsiders wholly understood what was being said. Prominent people, particularly from the nobility, must nevertheless be assumed to have had knowledge of Latin, since it was part of general education and the ideal of erudition at the time. Prominent people without sufficient knowledge of Latin were perhaps attracted to attend these solemn events at the gymnasium to forge closer bonds with other important people or to favor a friend, rather than being tempted by the content of the *theses* of the disputation. In the academic context – as in the gymnasial – Latin was the language *par excellence* of disputations throughout the eighteenth century, but if a disputation was visited by a member of the royalty who could not be expected to understand or have sufficient knowledge in Latin the disputation was held in Swedish so that the prominent guest would not be embarrassed by not understanding what was uttered during the disputation.³⁹⁴

2.5.3 Respondents

In contrast to the audience, respondents to gymnasial dissertations are visible in the dissertations: respondents are mentioned on title pages not only by name, but sometimes also with titles.³⁹⁵ We notice that a couple of words are frequently used to name and label respondents. First of all, the term *respondens* is used to indicate their function. In other contexts, the common terms to denote schoolboys or pupils at a gymnasium are *discentes*, *discipuli* or *scholares*.³⁹⁶ Under the respondent's name there may be a clarification of his status; three reoccurring terms that we will highlight in the next section are *alumnus*, *studiosus* and *stipendiarius*. Discussion of these terms will deepen our understanding of how dissertations and disputations were used in the gymnasial context. This is followed by an investigation of the extent to which named schoolboys reoccur in the printed material, either as respondents or as opponents.

³⁹³ This idea is supported by a comment found in the school regulations of 1649 (SO 1649, ÅSU 4 p. 87f): the mayor only had to attend the yearly exam at the gymnasium if he was *litteratus*, literate (i.e. had knowledge of Latin), which suggests that this was not always the case.

³⁹⁴ Lindberg (1984), p. 28.

³⁹⁵ The typographical layout of title pages is analyzed in section 3.3.

³⁹⁶ The term *scholares* is found, for instance, in the school regulations of 1649 and in the *Leges et constitutiones illustris gymnasii scholaeque Arosiensis* (1628, ed. by Brolén 1895), while the terms *discentes* and *discipuli* seem to have been preferred in gymnasial dissertations.

2.5.3.1 *Alumnus, studiosus and stipendiarius*

When studying gymnasial dissertations and particularly the respondents to them, the reader may encounter three terms that deserve deeper discussion to clarify their significance: *alumnus*, *studiosus* and *stipendiarius*. In the following discussion I will highlight these three terms to show how they were used and what they signified in the educational environment.

The first term to be discussed is *alumnus*, which was also used in academic dissertations of the period to denote a student. Etymologically, the noun is related to the verb *alo*, *alere* which means ‘to nurture’ and ‘to bring up (a child)’, and an *alumnus* is thus someone who has been reared and nurtured by someone, although the term could also mean ‘foster son’ or ‘protégé’.³⁹⁷ However, in antiquity there was already a transferred sense of the noun used to denote pupils and followers of certain philosophers.³⁹⁸ We may suppose that the intention of using the noun *alumnus* in early modern dissertations was to express the idea of a young man who was nurtured intellectually and morally or brought up by an *alma mater*. In my opinion, the use of *alumni* to denote schoolboys at a gymnasium must be understood by analogy with the usage of the term at universities, since it is not common for a gymnasium to be referred to as an *alma mater*. A person who is denoted as *alumnus* in a gymnasial dissertation may be a university student, a scholarship holder or simply a schoolboy at the gymnasium. To distinguish the pupils at the gymnasium from the university *alumni* one often sees a clarification such as *gymnasii alumnus*. But there may also be boys who are called for instance *Sacrae Regiae Majestatis alumnus*, ‘his/her sacred royal majesty’s *alumnus*’, shortened to *S R M alumnus*,³⁹⁹ which shows that these schoolboys were holders of royal scholarships. In the seventeenth-century material it is more common to find gymnasial pupils from Västerås denoted as *alumni*, and in eighteenth-century material the greatest frequency of *alumnus* by far is attested in dissertations from Strängnäs, Skara and Göteborg, almost always in the phrase *alumnus regius*. This phrase, *alumnus regius*, could be understood in two different ways when found in gymnasial dissertations: (1) the schoolboy was a pupil at a *gymnasium regium*, or (2) the schoolboy was subsidized by a royal scholarship. One is also likely to encounter phrases such as *gymnasii Scarensis alumnus* with variants (depending on the gymnasium), which emphasizes the meaning of the noun as ‘pupil of the gymnasium (of Skara)’.

³⁹⁷ OLD, s.v. *alo*, *alumnus*¹ and *alumnus*². Other derivatives of the verb *alo* are *adultus* (‘adult’), *alimentum* (‘food’) and *adulescentia* (‘youth’). De Vaan (2008), s.v. *alo*.

³⁹⁸ OLD, s.v. *alumnus*¹ 4.

³⁹⁹ This expression is also found in academic contexts. Cf. Vallinkoski (1966), p. 80.

The second noun to be discussed is *studiosus*. Treated as a noun and not as an adjective *studiosus* is the common term found in the academic context to denote a student, and has its roots in ancient Latin where it – among other things – denoted a devoted follower or a disciple of some sort.⁴⁰⁰ When found in gymnasial dissertations, *studiosus* is always used to indicate a student at a university, and never a pupil at a gymnasium. It is apparent in this context that the aforementioned *alumnus* and *studiosus* can function to some extent as both opposites and synonyms.⁴⁰¹ The combination of the two is found in *Super epistolam divi Pauli ad Romanos* (pr. N. J. Rudbeckius, Västerås 1656) in which the respondent Andreas Petri Arhusiander is referred to as *theologiae studiosus et S R M alumnus*, meaning that he was both a university student of theology and a university student with a royal scholarship.

So why are university students present in gymnasial dissertations? First of all, especially during the seventeenth century, the gymnasia were considered provincial colleges that attracted not only schoolboys, but also others, such as church officials who wanted to be promoted.⁴⁰² It was common for university students to return to their former gymnasium after a time to deepen their learning by attending classes there and to show their learning in a disputation or an oration.⁴⁰³ There may also be additional reasons as to why university students returned to their former gymnasium. Some returned to benefit from the institutionalized begging in the parishes of the diocese (‘sockengång’) that was organized twice every year, or to benefit from other financial aid.⁴⁰⁴ For example, Roland Martin (1726-1788), who later became professor of surgery in Stockholm, was forced to return to the gymnasium in Härnösand — which he had left in 1742 to become enrolled at the University of Uppsala — in 1744, due to financial reasons as well as being encouraged to improve his learning under the wing of one of the *lectores*.⁴⁰⁵ Back at his former school he responded to a handwritten *theses*-dissertation on various topics.⁴⁰⁶ Martin stayed in Härnösand for a year under the

⁴⁰⁰ OLD, s.v. *studiosus* 3. Cf. Hoven (1994), p. 343.

⁴⁰¹ In a dissertation from Västerås — *Super divi Pauli epistolam ad Romanos* (pr. N. Rudbeckius, 1652) — the respondent, Claudius Laurentii Saebenius, is labeled as *Academiae Ups. alumnus* indicating the synonymous function of *alumnus* and *studiosus* in the academic context.

⁴⁰² Askmark (1943), p. 111, and Sandberg (1994), p. 51ff.

⁴⁰³ Askmark (1943), p. 111f.

⁴⁰⁴ Utterström (1973), p. 30f., mentions that in 1709-1710 the gymnasium of Västerås forbid university students to return to the gymnasium in order to prevent them from benefitting from the begging (*sockengång*) since it diminished the share gained by schoolboys currently attending the gymnasium.

⁴⁰⁵ Hult (1928), p. 73, and SBL, s.v. Roland Martin, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=9137> (author Olle Franzén).

⁴⁰⁶ Murray (1790), p. 6. Martin’s handwritten *theses*-dissertation is found in a collection of manuscripts titled *Martiniana* (D 29) kept in UUB.

guidance of the *lector* and provincial physician Nils Gissler, after which he (Martin) headed off to Uppsala again to complete his studies.

The noun *studiosus* is not, however, as frequently attested as the previously discussed *alumnus*, and in the seventeenth-century dissertations the highest frequency of *studiosus* use is found in Västerås (used six times). The gymnasium of Göteborg stands out as having the highest number of *studiosi* in the eighteenth-century material (found approximately twenty times). The majority of attested *studiosi* are described as *theologiae studiosus*, but there are some *philosophiae studiosi* as well.⁴⁰⁷ The *studiosus* always functioned as respondent alone, including in the eighteenth-century dissertations in which it is not uncommon to see up to three respondents on the title page of one single dissertation. This suggests that the returning student had a somewhat different position than other schoolboys. In two cases a *theologiae studiosus* even acted as *praeses*, namely Petrus I. Hellenius who chaired *De causa formali* (Västerås 1646), and Laurentius Vidichini who chaired *De recta juventutis educatione* (Västerås 1649).

There could be a gap of quite a few years between registration at the university and the return to the former gymnasium. The four *studiosi* found in the seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century material from Västerås and Göteborg whom I have traced in the university registers appear to have acted as respondents in gymnasial disputations four to six years after their enrollment at the University of Uppsala.⁴⁰⁸

The last term to be examined is *stipendiarius*, whose original classical meaning is that of a person who performs military service for payment or that of a person who pays tribute in the form of cash.⁴⁰⁹ In the Middle Ages *stipendiarius* took on the meaning of an ecclesiastic paid for some kind of service or a receiver of alms.⁴¹⁰ In an educational context, however, the noun is used to describe a student/schoolboy who is receiving monetary aid

⁴⁰⁷ There is one example in which a respondent is titled *bonae artis studiosus* (Hans Jöran Gädda in *Theses varii argumenti*, Göteborg 1762), supposedly equivalent to *philosophiae studiosus*, and one other example in which the respondent is titled *philosophiae et juris studiosus* (Andreas Johannis Meleman on the title page of *De principis virtutum*, Stockholm 1647).

⁴⁰⁸ The schoolboys/students examined are: Andreas Hesselius (Västerås), who was registered at the University of Uppsala in 1666 and responded to a gymnasial dissertation in Västerås in 1672; Andreas Scheplerus (Västerås), who was registered at Uppsala in 1670 and acted as a respondent in Västerås in 1675; Laurentius/Lars Brotander (Göteborg), who was registered at Uppsala in 1745 and responded at the gymnasium of Göteborg in 1751; and finally, Carolus Lange (Göteborg), who became a student in Uppsala in 1747 and responded in Göteborg in 1752. Laurentius/Lars Brotander also acted as a respondent in his capacity as a schoolboy in 1744, a year before he was enrolled at Uppsala. Andreas Hesselius (Västerås), who also reoccurs in the material, is analyzed in more detail in section 3.8 below.

⁴⁰⁹ OLD s.v. *stipendiarius*.

⁴¹⁰ Latham, s.v. *stipendiarius*.

(scholarship, stipend) to help him complete his studies.⁴¹¹ It is also interesting to note that *stipendiarius* is one of many expressions and metaphors taken from classical military vocabulary used in the early modern academic-educational context.⁴¹² Receivers of gymnasial scholarships may be entitled simply *stipendiarius*, but there may also be other indicators such as *stipendiarius regius* ('royal scholarship holder'), or *S R M stipendiarius* (= *Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Stipendiarius* 'holder of the holy royal majesty's scholarship'). Aside from the royal stipends, there were numerous other scholarships. Each gymnasium had its own scholarship funds that were dispensed to gifted schoolboys in need of monetary aid. Some scholarships also placed certain obligations on the schoolboys, such as for the scholarship holder to hold a yearly oration to be tested, or had certain criteria, such as that the scholarship could only be granted to a relative of the donor or to a schoolboy of particular social background.⁴¹³ In Västerås we find *stipendiarius Frazelianus* and *stipendiarius Abloefvianus*; in Linköping there were *stipendiarius Schedingianus* and *stipendiarius Piperianus*.⁴¹⁴ Finally, in Strängnäs there were a large number of schoolboys referred to as *stipendiarii Soop*. in the eighteenth-century material.⁴¹⁵ The majority of gymnasial *stipendiarii* are to be found in the eighteenth-century dissertations, while there are very few *stipendiarii* found in the seventeenth-century material. This may be explained by the fact that most of the scholarship funds were established during the eighteenth century.⁴¹⁶ The similarities to the university practice of scholarship is striking: most of the scholarships that were dispensed by the University of Uppsala were royal scholarships, like those referred to in gymnasial dissertations, and by the mid-seventeenth century two thirds of

⁴¹¹ It is worth noticing, although perhaps not surprising, that the use of *stipendiarius* for a person (a student) who receives monetary aid is condemned in Krebs and Schmalz's *Antibarbarus* (1905-1907), s.v. *stipendium*. The dictionary considers that the word should instead be used in its original meaning.

⁴¹² See further discussion on military metaphor and imagery in section 3.4.5.2.

⁴¹³ See Gustafsson (1926), pp. 46-114, Kallstenius (1923), pp. 71-73, Röding (1918), pp. 146-153, Fredén (1947), p. 110f., Hildebrand (1886) and Holmquist (1901) on the founding, criteria and size of funds and scholarships in Strängnäs, Västerås and Göteborg. Cf. Hagberg (1952), pp. 351-355, on how scholarships were awarded to schoolboys in Strängnäs in the 1730s and 1750s.

⁴¹⁴ In Linköping there is a respondent referred to as *alumnus Schedingianus*, which in the light of the *stipendiarii Schedingiani* that are attested there is likely to have meant scholarship holder. In comparison, in Skara there are two respondents entitled *alumnus Abelinianus*, which one may presume means schoolboys who were financially sponsored by someone called Abelin (or similar), i.e. scholarship holders.

⁴¹⁵ The word *Soop*. is always found in abbreviated form (which explains the full stop), but may, by analogy with other scholarships, be interpreted as *Soopianus* or similar. This scholarship was established for the benefit of schoolboys in 1737, by the daughter of Countess Anna Maria Soop, in memory of her mother, who had died in 1735. Gustafsson (1926), p. 83ff.

⁴¹⁶ Kallstenius (1923), p. 71.

the university scholarships were granted to students of theology.⁴¹⁷ At the university there were also many separate scholarships endowed by rich individuals.⁴¹⁸ At the gymnasium it was the custom to dispense scholarships at the *examen anniversarium*, a solemn ceremony at the end of school year.⁴¹⁹ Regarding their status, it seems that scholarship holders at the gymnasium had a somewhat different position and obligations compared to other schoolboys. For instance, in the aforementioned early-seventeenth-century *Constitutiones collegii Strängnensis* from the gymnasium of Strängnäs it is stated that of the three respondents who were selected to take part in a disputation, at least two should always be royal scholarship holders, or – if that was not achievable – one of them should be a scholarship holder and the other should be leastways applying for a scholarship: *In singulis disputationibus tres constituuntur Respondentes, quorum duo semper erunt ex Stipendiariis Regiis, vel uno Stipendiariorum et altero petente Stipendium.*⁴²⁰ The opponents on the other hand were picked from the remaining body of the schoolboys. This supports a trend observed in the material studied here: most often one finds scholarship holders acting as respondents, and it is more rare for them to act as opponents. The same exclusiveness is found in the academic context, since university students who had scholarships were obliged to act in disputations to greater extent than students without stipends.⁴²¹

The three nouns discussed show that there was diversity among those who acted as respondents in gymnasial disputations. In the following section the reoccurrence of named schoolboys in dissertations will be examined.

2.5.3.2 Reoccurrence of Schoolboys

In this section the reoccurrence of individual schoolboys in gymnasial dissertations will be examined. By so doing, we may see how schoolboys progressed through different roles in disputations during their career at the gymnasium.

To begin, it is more common to find reoccurring schoolboys in the eighteenth century, than in the material from the preceding century, due to the composition of the material: the earlier seventeenth-century dissertations constitute a fairly small proportion of the total number of dissertations. This

⁴¹⁷ Annerstedt (1909) 2:2, p. 418. Academic scholarship practices in the seventeenth century have been thoroughly discussed by Edlund (1947), pp. 298-326.

⁴¹⁸ Annerstedt (1909) 2:2, p. 422.

⁴¹⁹ Rimm (2011), p. 275. See also Hastig (1907), pp. 145-148.

⁴²⁰ *Constitutiones collegii*, Thyselius (1839), p. 90. See also section 2.1.3 above.

⁴²¹ Sahlin (1856), p. 50. Private disputations that were prepared by professors especially for the training of scholarship holders were not (or at least seldom) printed. Annerstedt (1909), 2:2, p. 121.

means that the possibility of tracing respondents and of distinguishing patterns is smaller in the seventeenth century than in the later material. However, there are exceptions, especially if one studies dissertations from Strängnäs where it is more common to find schoolboys who acted as respondent more than once than in any other gymnasium in the seventeenth century. A few examples of reoccurring schoolboys from seventeenth-century Strängnäs are given here:

Name	Years acted as respondent	Commentary
Laurentius Betulander	1658, 1666	On the first occasion Betulander acted along with another schoolboy, the second time he is labeled as <i>theologiae studiosus</i> (=university student of theology)
Petrus Gustavi Öijensis	1667 (x2), 1668, 1669	Öijensis acted as respondent twice in 1667
Gustavus Elingnius	1672, 1673	On the second occasion Elingnius is labeled as <i>stipendiarius regius</i>
Olaus Moberg	1675, 1676, 1677	Moberg is labeled as <i>stipendiarius regius</i> in 1677

TABLE 3: Some reoccurring schoolboys from Strängnäs in the seventeenth century

This table stresses the fact that many schoolboys acted as respondents more than once during their time at the gymnasium, and that they ‘rose in the ranks’ so to speak since they often are *stipendiarii* by the last time. It must be repeated, however, that the seventeenth-century material is small compared to the eighteenth-century material and that conclusions based on the printed dissertations from Strängnäs may not apply for other gymnasia. Since many dissertations were submitted in manuscript there is also a possibility that other schoolboys may have acted as respondent several times, although this is not noticeable using only the printed dissertations. In Strängnäs it appears that some schoolboys acted as respondent more frequently than others. This uneven distribution of reoccurring schoolboys may be due to the fact that only the most prominent and able pupils were allowed to respond. This is

emphasized by the description of two respondents in Göteborg in 1763 and 1766 who are referred to as *primipili* meaning ‘the best of their class’.⁴²²

If we focus now on the reoccurrence of respondents (and opponents) in the later eighteenth-century material, we find a higher number of schoolboys who appear more than once. This is – as previously said – partly because the body of material is in general larger, and partly because in many cases dissertations in this period indicate more than one respondent and opponent on the title pages, which gives a higher number of schoolboys visible in the material. Interestingly, when studying the eighteenth-century dissertations the progression up the disputation ladder mentioned at the beginning of this section is noticeable. To give but one example of a particular schoolboy found in the printed material, Ionas Caroli Dryander (1748-1810) — who later became a well-known botanist — is listed as an opponent when he was thirteen years old, together with two other boys, in a printed *theses*-dissertation presented in Göteborg on October 31 1761. One and a half years later, on May 14 1763, Dryander reoccurs in a dissertation, but this time as the first of three respondents. Dryander is found yet a third time, but this time he acts as respondent by himself in October 1763, at the age of fifteen, and is mentioned as *primipilus alumnorum gymnasii Gotoburgensis*, i.e. ‘the best of the pupils of the gymnasium in Göteborg’. He became student in Uppsala in 1765 and responded to a dissertation *pro exercitio* there in 1768 under the presidency of Professor Johan Ihre – a disputation that caused some excitement since it was attended by the Swedish Crown Prince Gustaf.⁴²³

The letters of the aforementioned Carl Jacob Lundström, who was a pupil at the gymnasium of Västerås in the early 1770s, confirm that some schoolboys repeatedly acted in disputations.⁴²⁴ According to his letters, Lundström himself acted as respondent four times within a period of less than two month in the late autumn of 1772. At least one of these times he submitted his own handwritten *theses*.

⁴²² This word originally referred to the chief centurion of the *triarii*, a class in the Roman army. In extended use it refers to a leading figure in general. The word is still part of English vocabulary today, although its use is rare. L&S, s.v. *pilus* 2; OED, s.v. *primipilus*.

⁴²³ Dryander was a disciple of Carolus Linnaeus whose lectures he attended and with whom he later worked. Dryander moved to England in 1777, and was one of the founders of the Linnean Society in 1788. SBL, s.v. Jonas Carlsson Dryander, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=17665> (author Arvid Hj. Uggla).

⁴²⁴ Letters from Carl Jacob Lundström to his father Anders Lundström dated 27 October, 14 November, 1 December and 15 December 1772. Lundströmska samlingen in Stora Enso AB’s archive, Arkivcentrum Dalarna (Falun).

2.5.4 Opponents

In contrast to the respondent(s) and the *praeses* of a dissertation, the opponents – of which there are often more than one – are to greater extent anonymous. A reader of gymnasial dissertations will not immediately find the name of the opponent(s) by examining the title page on which the *praeses* and respondent(s) are named. This section will discuss what we can know about opponents. To be able to give a fuller picture of the number of opponents that could be engaged in a single disputation and how the role of opposition was carried out, I have also consulted additional material, such as handwritten commentaries written by opponents, letters and handwritten notes in single copies of printed dissertations.

In the seventeenth-century material there are hardly any ‘visible’ opponents, while on the title pages of the eighteenth-century dissertations there is a better chance of encountering names of opponents, depending on which gymnasium is under investigation.

On the title page of the eighteenth-century *theses*-dissertations several respondents and opponents are often mentioned (most frequently there are three of each). But even when there is no mention of an opponent in the dissertations, there seem to have been more than one schoolboy who acted as opponent. It is somewhat hard to grasp the opponent’s part since it was delivered orally, in Latin. Nevertheless, clues to the opponent’s task are to be found in handwritten notes. Such notes from opponents are however rarely found, and it is pure luck to come across commentaries or a dissertation that contains notes written by opponent, i.e. presumably the very copy used by the opponent for the actual disputation act. These handwritten commentaries – when found – may not be easily interpreted due to uninterpretable penmanship, or they may be indecipherable due to blurred ink.⁴²⁵ In addition, it is impossible to absolutely determine the authorship of the notes or the commentaries; the author may have been one of the opponents or some other reader of the dissertation. There is also a distinct difference in the occurrence of handwritten notes in the material from the seventeenth century and that from the eighteenth century. The overall impression is that handwritten notes and (marginal) commentaries are extremely rare in the seventeenth-century material, while for later dissertations one is more likely to come across copies that contain handwritten commentaries and notes. It is thus important to bear in mind that the following discussion of the role of opponents is based on a small selection of material.

⁴²⁵ A trite yet aggravating factor is that the margins of dissertations may have been cut and thus damaged by later bookbinders, a fact which in some cases has unfortunately made the handwritten notes unintelligible.

A late *theses*-dissertation from Skara dated 1791 (*Theses miscellaneae*, pr. A. Thunberg) shows evidence of how the *theses* were divided among the opponents. In the margin of one of the two copies in the UUB collection, we find four surnames: Soundberg, Juslén, Hasselroth and Salander. The names of these four are annotated in the margin by the *theses* for which they were presumably responsible for opposing, as set out in the table below (incidence of appearance of each name in parenthesis):

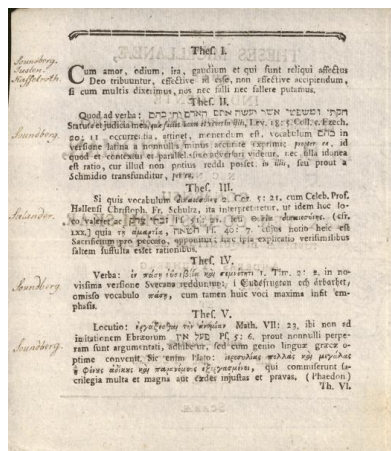
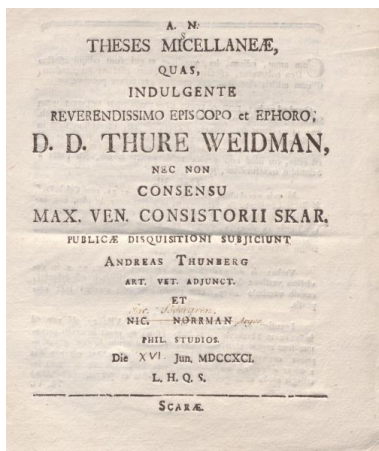
Thesis	Opponent(s)
1	Soundberg (1), Juslén (1), Hasselroth (1)
2	Soundberg (2)
3	Salander (1)
4	Soundberg (3)
5	Soundberg (4)
6	-
7	Hasselroth (2)
8	Hasselroth (3)
9	-
10	Juslén (2)
11	-
12	-
14	-
15	-
16	Soundberg (5)

TABLE 4: Theses and opponents in *Theses miscellaneae* (pr. A. Thunberg, Skara 1791).

The names Soundberg, Juslén and Hasselroth are written by the first *thesis*, the next four *theses* have Soundberg, Salander, Soundberg, and Soundberg, in that order. *Thesis* 6 has no name next to it in the margin, but the following two *theses* both have Hasselroth. Then again the margin of *thesis* 9 is blank, while *thesis* 10 has Juslén next to it. *Theses* 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 have no names by them, but Soundberg appears again next to the last *thesis* (16). From these marginal notes one may conclude that the task of opposition was divided between several people, to allow them each to concentrate on one or more *theses* during the disputation. If one examines the participants mentioned it seems that the respondent, Nicolaus Norrman – who was reported sick (*aeger*) and whose name has been cancelled by hand on the title

page – was a returning university student. Instead of Norrman, the name Jacobus Södergren has been added by hand on the title page. It is interesting to note that none of the presumed opponents were schoolboys, but teachers at the gymnasium (Juslén and Soundberg), a student in Lund (Hasselroth) and *philosophiae magister* (Salander) at the time of the disputation.⁴²⁶

At least four people, presumably with different tasks (first opponent, second opponent, first extraordinary opponent etc.) could it seems be engaged in the opposition, even when there was only one respondent defending the dissertation/*theses*. The division of opponents shows that Soundberg had prepared opposition to five *theses*, Hasselroth to three, Juslén to two and Salander to one. Perhaps there was no time to prepare opposition to the remaining *theses*.



Picture 1 and 2: Title page of *Theses miscellaneae*, (pr. A. Thunberg, Skara 1791, copy in UUB) (left), and opponents' names in the margin of the same dissertation (right).

As has already been stressed, opponents' names were seldom printed on the title page of dissertations until the latter half of the eighteenth century. Yet, in *Regulas praecipuas hermenutices [...] De sapientia Dei hypostatica* (pr. E. Humbla, Strängnäs 1747) the schoolboys who were selected to act as

⁴²⁶ On the titles and biographies of the presumed opponents, see Cederbom and Vingqvist (1941), pp. 48 and 51f., *Skara stifts herdaminne* 1, pp. 94f., 107, 241 and 509f., and *Skara stifts herdaminne* 2, p. 747. See also the gymnasial dissertation *Theses* (pr. N. Salander, Skara 7 Dec. 1790) in which Salander is referred to as *philosophiae magister*.

opponents are listed on the verso of the title page.⁴²⁷ The opponents were picked from the three highest classes in the gymnasium:

Opponentium partibus sunt perfuncturi.
Ex Classe Quarta,
PETRUS TÖRNBLOM, Sud.
LAURENTIUS OSTRING, Sud.
Ex Classe Tertia,
PETRUS WIDSTRÖM, Ner. stip. Reg.
PETRUS HOFGREN, Ner.
Ex Classe Secunda,
IMMANUEL NORMAN, Sud.
ERICUS SUNDIN, Sud.

Since the title page enumerates three respondents (although it is not certain from which class they were drawn), and since the number of opponents was six, one may guess that two opponents were picked to oppose each one of the respondents. If this is the case, this shows that the division between respondents and opponents was uneven: two against one. How the division of labor between these six opponent schoolboys was arranged does not appear in the dissertation, but one suspects that the schoolboys from the higher class had a more substantial task ahead of them than the boys from the lower classes. How the selection of schoolboys was carried out and by whom is not clear. In some eighteenth-century dissertations from Linköping, especially from the 1740s, one notices an inequality in the distribution of respondent and opponents. One such example is found in *Specimen amoris Dei puri* (Linköping 1741) in which the verso of the title page contains similar information to the example from Strängnäs mentioned above, but the distribution of respondent and opponents is different:

Respondens,
SAMUEL TRIWALLIUS.
Ex ordine Sup. Maj. Gymnasii.

Opponentes,
MARTINUS TINGSTEDT,
JACOBUS ULLIN et
CLAUDIUS ARFVEDSON;
Ex ordine inf. Maj. Gymnasii.

⁴²⁷ The three respondents to the dissertation were Carolus Gust. Barckman (*stipendiarius regius*), Daniel Kiempe and Stephanus Insulin (*stipendiarius regius*). Insulin has already been mentioned in section 2.4.4.4.

This example stresses again the aforementioned inequality between respondent and opponents, this time three against one. The respondent has been picked from the higher class, as indicated by the addendum to the name: *ex ordine supremo/superiore majoris gymnasii*, while the opponents all come from a lower class (*ex ordine infimo/infirmitate majoris gymnasii*). This also emphasizes the progression of pupils through the different roles in disputations: schoolboys in lower classes primarily act as opponents, while schoolboys from higher classes act as respondents.

According to Carl Jacob Lundström (schoolboy in Västerås in the early 1770s) the tasks of the different opponents were distributed rather unevenly between them. In a letter dated 15 December 1772, Lundström tells his father that he has been appointed by the bishop to act as second ordinary opponent at *pro loco*-disputations of two teachers.⁴²⁸ This task gives him more work than if he were first ordinary opponent, Lundström says, because he must prepare arguments against all the *theses*, since he, as *secundus ordinarius opponens*, will step forward after the first ordinary opponent and the extraordinary opponents (how many these are is not clear). By implication this means that Lundström did not know which arguments and which *theses* the other opponents would criticize and therefore which *theses* it would be left to him to criticize. Fortunately Lundström's arguments against the *theses* are preserved and will be treated in the next section.

As has already been stressed, it was not only schoolboys who acted as opponents in gymnasial disputations. The handwritten *theses*-dissertation of Roland Martin from the gymnasium of Härnösand (mentioned above in section 2.5.3.1) gives another picture of the role of opponents. Under the heading *Orationes ad opponentes* Martin praises a total of seven (!) opponents.⁴²⁹ These seven consisted of two ordinary opponents and five extraordinary. The first ordinary opponent is only mentioned as *dominus Hagström* which does not reveal whether he was a schoolboy of the gymnasium or had another position.⁴³⁰ The second ordinary opponent is labeled as *studiosus medicinae*, which suggests that he was a university student of medicine. The extraordinary opponents were, in order from *extra ordinarius primarius* to *extra ordinarius quintus*, distributed as follows: the *lector* of theology, the *lector* of philosophy, two masters of philosophy and finally a

⁴²⁸ Letter from Carl Jacob Lundström to his father Anders Lundström, dated 15 December 1772, Stora Enso AB's archive, Arkivcentrum Dalarna (Falun).

⁴²⁹ With the exception of Roland Martin's handwritten *theses*-dissertation I have never encountered similar orations to the opponents in any other gymnasial dissertation.

⁴³⁰ This *dominus Hagström* is unfortunately not found in the school register of the gymnasium of Härnösand. In the *Orationes ad opponentes* Martin talks of Hagström as a good friend (*amicus singularis*) in whose company he had spent some time: *Documenta quidem benignitatis animique Tui in me sinceri per momentum istud temporis, quo mihi Tecum conversari licuit expertus sum innumera [...]* ("I have experienced innumerable proofs of your goodwill and of your sincere kindness towards me during the short time which it was granted for me to keep company with you").

student of philosophy. Since Roland Martin, himself a returning student, was the sole respondent, he alone had to defend the *theses*-dissertation against seven opponents, of whom two were teachers at the gymnasium, two were masters of philosophy and two were university students. If we presume that the first opponent, *dominus Hagström*, was also not a schoolboy at the gymnasium, none of the opponents were picked from the body of pupils.

Another example of gymnasial disputations in which people other than schoolboys acted as opponents has been mentioned above in the section on audience (section 2.5.2), but here could also be added the aforementioned autobiographies by Rhyzelius and by Böttiger both of which talk about disputations in which teachers and other people who were not pupils at the school were engaged as opponents. Rhyzelius says that when he acted as respondent the bishop himself was one of the opponents.⁴³¹

To conclude: there were disputations that had solely schoolboys as opponents, and there were also disputations that engaged other people from the teaching staff as well as returning university students and in some cases also the bishop and other holders of prominent positions. The distribution of respondents and opponents was evidently uneven, and it is not unusual to find that one single respondent (aided by the *praeeses*) had to defend the dissertation against two, three or even more opponents who had different responsibilities for criticizing the *theses* depending on the order in which they were to act during the disputation.

2.5.4.1 Notes and Commentaries by Opponents

Notes that presumably originate from the opponent's own hand may give us a picture of how objections and counterarguments were delivered, and what sorts of questions were asked and what was discussed at the disputation. Although there is a fair amount of uncertainty regarding these notes, it is nevertheless clear that they have been produced to criticize the content of the dissertations. It is plausible that these notes and commentaries were delivered orally by one of the opponents during the disputation, followed by the response of the respondent, and perhaps a discussion between respondent and opponent. On a general level it appears that most of the notes that are presumed to have been written by an opponent take the form of longer commentaries that were intended to give such strong counterarguments to the respondent's *thesis* that he (the respondent) would be forced to agree with the opponent's objections. The notes could refer to the respondent's interpretation, statement or opinion in a *thesis*. In some of the notes/commentaries the writer addresses the respondent in person. To

⁴³¹ Rhyzelius in Helander (1904), p. 17.

highlight how these commentaries are manifest, three examples will be discussed. The first is from a *theses*-dissertation in manuscript originating from the gymnasium of Härnösand in 1778, now kept in the Nordin collection in Uppsala University Library;⁴³² the second example is from a printed *theses*-dissertation from Göteborg in 1798, kept in KB;⁴³³ the third example is without doubt an authentic sample of an opposition argument, namely the *Argumenta contra theses* written by Carl Jacob Lundström and delivered at a *pro loco*-disputation in Västerås on 17 December 1772.⁴³⁴

The first example, from a handwritten *theses*-dissertation from Härnösand (February 1778), is a commentary which is attached to the dissertation and was, according to the catalogue entry by Carl Gustaf Nordin in whose collection the manuscript is found, written for the opposition.⁴³⁵ The whole commentary is approximately one page when transcribed and begins with a salutation to the *praeses* Ericus Wagenius who was – according to the opening lines of the commentary – *rector* at the trivial school of Frösö. The first twelve of the twenty-two *theses* deal with matters of Latin education, while the remaining ten *theses* treat theology. The handwritten commentary dwells exclusively upon the first *thesis* which reads: *Praestantiam et utilitatem Scholarum publicarum prae privatis commendare non dubitamus* (“we do not hesitate to point out the superiority and advantage of public schools over private education”). The discussion of private versus public education was thriving by the mid-eighteenth century in Sweden, according to Wilhelm Sjöstrand (1961), a debate caused by social and ideological upheaval.⁴³⁶ The fact is that private education was on the increase during the Age of Freedom (c. 1718-1772), and public education was both criticized and challenged, in some cases leading to a decrease in the number of schoolboys enrolled in gymnasia and trivial schools.⁴³⁷ The *thesis* also echoes the discussion on the benefits and disadvantages of public schooling and private education

⁴³² Nordin 67:13y, 417-418. In addition there is another handwritten *theses*-dissertation with commentaries in the same collection from the same year and gymnasium. Writings that seem likely to be extensive commentaries on *theses* are found in the Nordin collection 1042:a, although in this case the *theses*-dissertation is not extant and it is not clear from which gymnasium the commentaries originate.

⁴³³ *Theses varii argumenti* (pr. Joh. Hellberg) submitted to the gymnasium of Göteborg in 1798; the copy is kept in KB.

⁴³⁴ *Argumenta contra theses* (18 December 1772) in Lundströmska samlingen, Stora Enso AB's archive, Arkivcentrum Dalarna (Falun). The authenticity is confirmed by a letter from Carl Jacob Lundström to his father dated 15 December 1772 in which he mentions as opponent he is obliged to prepare arguments on the *theses* for the disputation (also in Lundströmska samlingen).

⁴³⁵ Carl Gustaf Nordin (1749-1812) was *lector* of eloquence and poetry in the gymnasium of Härnösand at the time of the disputation. SBL, s.v. Carl Gustaf Nordin, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=8291> (author Carl-Fredrik Corin).

⁴³⁶ Sjöstrand (1961), p. 86f.

⁴³⁷ Sanberg (1994), p. 102, Hernlund (1882), Bilaga X p.14, and Sjöstrand (1961), p. 86f.

respectively put forth by the Roman writer Quintilian in his *Institutio oratoria* 1.2. The *thesis* presented should thus be considered to cover what was a burning issue by the time it was presented in the dissertation. Turning to the handwritten commentary to this *thesis*, it begins with a polite introduction which stresses the friendship of the opponent and the respondent, after which the main content begins as follows:

Tum ratione officii, tum benevolentiae Tuae in me collatae apud me constitui argumento uno alterove utique leviori tentare si quid contra has theses jure meritoque dici possit; quare neglecto ampliori praefamine rem ipsam agredior; ita tamen ut Te, amice et consanguineae multis nominibus carissime, rogatum habeam, velis breviter excipere ea quae sim allaturus.

Conjecissem vix oculos in hanc chartam, cum animadverterem quanta vis sit consuetudinis quantumque imperium, quod in nos exercent praecoccupatae opiniones. Scilicet prout ab infantia ipse privata institutione usus sum, ita hanc prae illa, quae in scholis obtinet publicis, magnopere laudandam esse putavi: Fateor tamen Thesin Tuam primam dubitationem aliqualem excitasse; quae licet susceptam opinionem non immutaret, animum tamen suspensum tenebat.

[By the reason of this duty as well as by your kindness that is bestowed upon me, I have set up in one argument or another – rather trivial by all means – to test if anything could justly and deservedly be said against these *theses*. Therefore I approach the subject without any extensive preface, so yet that I will ask you, friend and brother dearest for many important persons, that you want to receive briefly what I am about to bring fourth.

I had barely looked into these writings, when I realized how strong the force of habit is and what power that preconceived notions exercise on us. Of course, just as I myself enjoyed private education from my infancy, so I hold this kind of education very much praiseworthy before the education which is obtained in public schools. Nevertheless I confess that your first *thesis* aroused some questions. Although this *thesis* did not change my opinion, it made my mind uncertain.]

From these opening lines of the opposition we find out that the opponent, Nordin, questions the statement in the first *thesis* since he himself (the opponent) enjoyed private tuition as a little boy. The force of habit that is mentioned must in this context mean that what one is used to is also what one is prone to point out as the best. Henceforth the opponent criticizes public education for its rules and for not being adapted to the individual boy's age and maturity, and he stresses the fact that every age of man has its

particular features: boyhood is playful, manhood is for serious business and senescence is querulous and troublesome.

If we are to believe the information from the catalogue entry, the opponent in this case is not a schoolboy but a teacher at the gymnasium. It is plausible that the excerpt above could have been delivered orally at the disputation in the form that it is extant. Since the commentaries focus exclusively on the first *thesis* out of twenty-two it may be that this part of the opposition was delivered by Nordin functioning as an extraordinary opponent, with the implication that the other *theses* would have been opposed by other opponents which is why we have only the record of the opposition to the first *thesis*.

The second example of commentary is taken from the copy of *Theses varii argumenti* (pr. J. Hellberg) submitted in Göteborg in 1798 kept in the Royal Library in Stockholm (KB). In this case the anonymous handwritten commentaries are found on a separate sheet bound together with the printed dissertation. Here, the commentaries highlight the second and the seventh of ten *theses*. The second *thesis* is of philological character treating an uncertain line from the New Testament. The seventh *thesis* treats the aesthetic question that compares the epics of Homer and Vergil:

In Homero majores pulchritudines et minora menda, in Virgilio minores pulchritudines et majora menda reperiet, qui secundum principia Aestheticae amborum horum celebrium Poëtarum opera Epica examinaverit atque inter se contulerit.

[He who examines and compares the epic works of both these famous poets according to the aesthetic principles, will find in Homer greater beauty and less errors, in Vergil less beauty and greater errors.]

The presumed opponent's comments on this *thesis* fill approximately one page when transcribed, but unfortunately they are not extant in their entirety; how much is lacking is of course impossible to tell. The comments begin by pointing out the difficulty of the chosen topic, addressing the respondent of the dissertation:

Difficillima sane est quam elegisti, disputandi materies de gradu pulchritudinis tribuendo primipilis Romanorum et Graecorum Poëtarum, Homero et Virgilio.

[You have really chosen a very difficult matter to dispute on about how much beauty to ascribe to the foremost of the Roman and Greek poets, Homer and Vergil.]

After these introductory lines the opponent gives examples of how beauty had been defined by other authors and he mentions that other prominent writers, ancient as well as of more recent date (among others Plato, Augustine and Wolff), have treated the concept of beauty and that many have put Homer before Vergil. But the opponent also refers to examples that stress the shortcomings of Homer, for instance the famous line from Horace: *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus* (“sometimes good Homer is drowsy”).⁴³⁸ The opponent also gives another example that favors Vergil by quoting the famous lines from Propertius on the greatness of the work of Vergil: *Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graei | nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade* (“Make way ye Roman writers, make way ye Greeks! Something greater than the Iliad is coming to birth”).⁴³⁹ The first part of the commentaries on the seventh *thesis* ends with the opponent quoting a few lines exhorting the reading of Homer from *Til Bacchus och Kärleken* by the Swedish poet Johan Henrik Kellgren (1751-1795).⁴⁴⁰

While the first part is general, the second part of the commentary objects to the *thesis*. To begin with, the opponent sets out what he stresses as the first rule of aesthetics, namely that the writer should select a worthy subject (*materies*), i.e. subject matter that is matched to the abilities of the writer: *Prima Regula Aesteticæ sine dubio hæc est: Sumite materiem vestram, qui scribitis, dignam viribus*. Then the opponent criticizes Homer for using the fury (*ira*) of Achilles as the subject matter of the twenty-four books of the Iliad. Fury, the opponent explains, is unworthy of the hero since it endangered the fatherland and had a most trifling cause – the kidnapping of a girl: *Ira Heroï veri nominis prorsus indigna, quam Patriæ perniciosissimam fuisse ipse fatetur Homerus, et tamen ob levissimam causam, ob puellam sibi ereptam*. Vergil, for his part, chooses more worthy subject matter for his epic poetry when he writes about Aeneas, who shows piety towards his parents and his Gods and keeps his calmness of mind. This is truly worth admiring and imitating: *At quanto digniorem materiem elegit Virgilius? Aeneam, Virum pietate in parentes et Deos insignem; virum, cujus constantia in adversis et in secundis æquanimitas admiratione omnium dignæ sunt et imitatione*. Unfortunately, the commentary ends in the middle of a sentence, indicating that there was originally more to it than is preserved.

The third example of oppositional notes is the *Argumenta contra theses* written by Carl Jacob Lundström in Västerås in 1772. These arguments cover thirteen spacious pages in quarto, including title page, and consist of

⁴³⁸ Horace *Ars poetica* 359.

⁴³⁹ Prop. 2.34.65-66. Transl. by G. P. Goold, The Loeb Classical Library.

⁴⁴⁰ The lines in Swedish are: “Homerus! Seklers röst kan ej dit lof fullkomna. | Hvem bringar ej din sång at undra – och at somna? | Med skäl du läsas bör – i rara gyllne skrin.” Kellgren (1811), p. 46.

commentary on a *pro loco*-dissertation submitted by Thomas Jedeur.⁴⁴¹ The *Argumenta contra theses* were delivered by Lundström at the disputation in his capacity as second ordinary opponent.⁴⁴² Arguments are prepared for five of nine *theses* (numbers 1, 3, 7, 8 and 9). Before the arguments begin there are three introductory greetings: to the bishop, the *praeses* (Thomas Jedeur) and the anonymous respondent. Since we know from one of Lundström's letters (15 December 1772) that he was appointed second ordinary opponent by the bishop, it is somewhat odd to read the following in his greeting to *praeses* Jedeur: *Plurimum Reverende Domine Magister et Praeses! Vix quidem ego in illustri hac concione prodirem, nisi ipse me in scenam provocaveris* ("Very reverend Sire Master and Chairman! Indeed I would hardly have stepped forward in this illustrious assembly, if you yourself had not called me up on stage"). The introductory greetings express humbleness: Lundström asks the three people he addresses to regard his arguments against the *theses* as nothing but small remarks. The last line of the greeting to the respondent bridges between the introductory section and the arguments, emphasizing the fact that the *Argumenta* were indeed used by Lundström at the disputation: *Sine ambagibus ideo me mox ad Thesin Primam confero* ("Without digression I now turn to the first thesis"). Every argument is introduced by a repetition of the *thesis* that is going to be criticized. The argumentation begins in every case with Lundström expressing his doubts as to the truth-value of the *thesis*:

Haec vero Thesis rationi sanae repugnare videtur. Exemplo certae cujusdam scientiae meam demonstrare conabor sententiam. [...]

[This thesis seems to be incompatible with common sense. I will attempt to demonstrate my opinion by an example of a certain science.]

(from the arguments against *Thesis prima*)

Veritati vero obsistere videtur haec Thesis [...].

[This thesis seems to oppose truth.]

(from the arguments against *Thesis tertia*)

Scrupulum vero quondam mihi injicit haec Thesis. Primo intuitu videtur, sicut rectam si omnino haberet, quando vero arte eandem meditamur, invenimus [...]

[This thesis instills scruples in me. At a first look it seems as if it was completely right, but when we reflect briefly on the same thesis, we will find...]

⁴⁴¹ *Argumenta contra theses* by Carl Jacob Lundström (Västerås 18 December 1772). Cf. letter from Carl Jacob Lundström to his father Anders Lundström dated 15 December 1772. Lundströmska samlingen, Stora Enso AB's archive, Arkivcentrum Dalarna (Falun).

⁴⁴² Cf. letter from Carl Jacob Lundström to his father Anders Lundström dated 15 December 1772. Lundströmska samlingen, Stora Enso AB's archive, Arkivcentrum Dalarna (Falun).

(from the arguments against *Thesis septima*)

*Videtur vero mihi haec Thesis obscura maxime: concedo quidem [...],
sed alterum etiam existere posse vitium, non possum non negare.*

[This thesis seems to me to be most unclear: I agree indeed..., but I have to admit that another kind of vice may also exist.]

(from the arguments against *Thesis octava*)

*Ob minorem hujus Theseos perspicuitatem non possum non eandem in
medium afferre.*

[By reason of the minor perspicuity of this thesis, I cannot help but raise it for discussion.]

(from the arguments against *Thesis nona*)

Each argument then has two or three points against the *thesis*. Through rather fierce debate Lundström tries to convince the respondent that his (Lundström's) standpoint is superior. The polite tone of the introduction appears however to be retained with Lundström addressing the respondent twice as *honoratissime domine respondens*. The *Argumenta* end without a closing statement from Lundström.

To sum up: if we assume that the commentaries, notes and arguments that have been treated above actually originate from opponents, it appears that the opposition to gymnasial dissertations consisted of fairly extensive comment, including common phrases of civility, general comments on the subject, and lastly objections to specific points in the *theses*. The respondent is addressed with respect by the opponent to maintain the polite tone of the disputation. The opposition seems to have been an opportunity for the opponent to show his erudition, which is especially visible in the second example mentioned above, in which the opponent refers to quite a few authors who had in some way touched upon the issue in question. The commentaries were delivered orally, followed by the answers of the respondent and a debate between them. The aim of the opponent was to argue in such a way that the respondent would discard his former viewpoint to the benefit of that of the opponent. All three examples of commentaries discussed above do not comment on an entire dissertation, but are limited to treating parts of the *theses*. Thus, it appears that the people who are visible through these commentaries were each only one of several opponents acting in the same disputation.

Only in one of the cases presented can the debate be said to have had some syllogistic traits, namely the *Argumenta contra theses*, but even here the syllogistic/logical method of argumentation was not employed to any great extent. To judge by the examples given, the syllogistic method that was emphasized as important in early school regulations (see section 2.1 above),

was completely abandoned in the eighteenth century in favor of a rhetorically oriented way of pronouncing arguments against *theses*.

2.5.5 *Praeses*

The *praeses*, the chairman of a disputation act, was most often one of the *lectores* at the gymnasium. *Lectores* were obliged by school regulations to hold disputations on a regular basis, according to a set order.⁴⁴³ When studying gymnasial dissertations such a pattern of chairing is indeed visible, especially in the eighteenth century in those gymnasia for which we have a high number of dissertations. As an example, we may take a closer look at Strängnäs in the years 1701-1705. Here we observe that during this period nine *lectores* presided at disputations, of whom six acted as *praeses* six to eight times on a largely rotational basis. The total number of disputations that generated printed dissertations held in Strängnäs during the period 1701-1705 is forty-nine, distributed by year as follows:

Year	Number of printed dissertations
1701	7
1702	12
1703	11
1704	11
1705	8
Σ	49

TABLE 5: Number of printed dissertations submitted in Strängnäs 1701-1705

Looking at the table above it appears that the average number of disputations in Strängnäs per year is almost ten. The distribution of the duty

⁴⁴³ Cf. *Leges et constitutiones*, Brolén (1895), p. 9, at the gymnasium in Västerås: *Diebus Sabbathi a 7 in 10 disputationes in Gymnasio habebuntur a Lectoribus per vices, initio facto a Philosophis, primo primum, succedentibus Linguistis et denique subsequente Theologo* (“Disputations are to be held in turn by the *lectores* in the gymnasium on Saturdays from 7 to 10, beginning with the *lectores* of philosophy, the first one of these first, succeeded by the *lectores* of languages and finally followed by the *lector* of theology”). See also SO 1724, ÅSU 7, p. 55.

of *praeses* between the *lectores* for disputations in the same period (1701-1705) is as follows:

Name of presiding <i>lector</i>	Dissertations per <i>lector</i>	<i>Lector's</i> subject area
Johannes Törneros	8	Logic and physics
Josephus Thun	8	Theology (first lector)
Johannes Ström	7	Mathematics
Ingemund Bröms	3	Greek language
Johannes Sundelius	7	History and morals
Carolus Enhörning	6	Eloquence and rhetoric
Daniel Trautzel	7	Theology (second lector)
Johannes Broling	2	Greek language
Andreas Dahlbom	1	Eloquence and rhetoric
Σ	49	

TABLE 6: Distribution of dissertations per *lector* in Strängnäs 1701-1705

The table above contains two *lectores* of Greek and two of eloquence, which is explained by the fact that Ingemund Bröms left the position of *Graecae linguae lector* in 1703, and was succeeded by Johannes Broling, and that Andreas Dahlbom succeeded Carolus Enhörning as *eloquentiae et poeseos lector* in 1705.⁴⁴⁴ If we sum up, a *lector* in each subject area presided between five and eight times during the period 1701-1705, except for the *lectores* of theology who, taken together, presided fifteen times. The presiding *lectores* in this period in Strängnäs chaired disputations according to the following repeating pattern: theology, theology, mathematics, Greek, history, eloquence, logic/physics, theology, theology, mathematics, Greek, history, eloquence, logic/physics, and so on.

During the preceding century, the total number of dissertations was lower than in the eighteenth century, and as a result it is harder to distinguish a pattern in the reoccurrence of *praesides*. Nevertheless, there are some *lectores* who are found more frequently than others in the seventeenth-

⁴⁴⁴ Biographical information on the *lectores* of Strängnäs is found in Drysén (1871).

century material. One such reoccurring *lector* is Nicolaus Ramzius, second *lector* of theology in Göteborg, who was described in his own time as *laboriosissimus* (“very industrious”).⁴⁴⁵ This statement is confirmed by the fact that he is found as *praeses* seven times in dissertations printed between 1665 and 1668, during which he acted as *praeses* twice in 1666 and thrice in 1667.⁴⁴⁶

The career path of teachers at early modern Swedish gymnasia was rather peculiar, a subject that has already been dealt with in section 1.4 above. After graduating, a person with an MA (‘magistergraden’) was considered competent to teach almost all subjects of the gymnasial curriculum.⁴⁴⁷ An ideal career ladder for a teacher at a gymnasium was to begin as *lector* either of mathematics or of philosophy, then to climb his way through the other subjects to (possibly) end as *lector* of theology, which was considered the finest and best-paid of the positions; a similar path was taken by professors at the university.⁴⁴⁸ Such progression through the subjects is noticeable in the dissertations presided by Simon Benedicti Arbogensis, who worked at the gymnasium of Västerås in the 1630s.⁴⁴⁹ In the first two dissertations chaired by Simon Benedicti Arbogensis in 1630 and 1631 he was listed as *lector* of Hebrew. Two years later (in 1633) he chaired a third disputation as *lector* of physics. Simon Benedicti Arbogensis reoccurs a fourth time in 1638, when he chaired a disputation as *lector* of theology. This means that he taught (at least) three disparate subjects during his years as *lector*, climbing from less esteemed positions to the position with the highest standing.

However, it was not just gymnasial *lectores* who could preside at disputations. Except for a few returning students, the majority of other *praesides* were people who were working in or applying for positions at trivial schools located in the same diocese as the gymnasium. Most often we see dissertations chaired by *rectores* designate, *conrectores*, or *collegae* of the lower school type, the so-called *pro loco*-dissertations. One such case is *De draconibus* (Strängnäs 1695) which was submitted *pro obtinenda functione in schola triviali Strengnensi* (“[submitted] to obtain a position at the trivial school in

⁴⁴⁵ Nicolaus Ramzius was born in Ramsjögård (from which he took the name Ramzius). He became *magister* in Dorpat in 1642 and was appointed *logices et physices lector* in Göteborg the same year or the year after. In 1665 he was appointed second theology *lector*. Ramzius died in 1671. Röding (1921), p. 3f.

⁴⁴⁶ The dissertations which Ramzius submitted and chaired are *De salvifica cognitione veri Dei juxta tenorem dicti auri ipsius Christi Joh. 17. v. 3* (1665), *De baptismo* (1666), *De ecclesia Dei* (1666), *De justificatione hominis coram Deo* (1667), *De fide salvifica* (1667), *De quatuor novissimis, morte, extremo judicio, vita aeterna et inferno* (1667) and *De magistratu politico* (1668).

⁴⁴⁷ Sandberg (1994), p. 90.

⁴⁴⁸ Lindroth (1975b), p. 67, and Sandberg (1994), p. 90.

⁴⁴⁹ Notes on the biography of Simon Benedicti Arbogensis (Simon Bengtsson) are found in *Västerås stifts herdaminne* II:1 (ed. Ekström), p. 853f, and in *Westerås stifts herdaminne* 2 (ed. Muncktell), pp. 393-395.

Strängnäs”), presided by Andreas Bolinus. In the eighteenth-century material the number of such *pro loco*-dissertations submitted and presided by a person who was applying for a position at a trivial school in the diocese is very high. In Göteborg in the 1740s we find for instance dissertations that are submitted *pro munere conrectoratus scholae cathedralis* (*Theses miscellaneae* 1740, pr. J. Gustavi Bennich), *pro munere rectoratus scholae Warbergensis* (*Heptas thesium miscellanearum* 1744, pr. P. Stockman) and *pro rectoratu Labolmensi* (*Theses miscellaneae* 1744, pr. F. G. Gylich), to give a few examples.

2.5.6 Concluding Remarks

It seems that to participate in a disputation was not commonplace for schoolboys at the gymnasium. To be chosen to be involved to play a role in such an event appears to have been something of a big issue. There appear to have been certain rules by which respondents and opponents were chosen according to their intellectual maturity. The source material suggests that the foremost schoolboys and returning university students were preferably chosen to take part in disputations, either as respondents or as opponents. Gymnasial disputations were important preparation for those schoolboys who were to complete their studies at a university. Gymnasial disputations should therefore be added to the ideal disputation ladder which is outlined by Lars Burman (2012).⁴⁵⁰ The audience at disputations could consist of schoolboys from the gymnasium, but other people could also be invited to the event, which emphasizes the representative function of gymnasial disputations. Opponents were mostly either schoolboys or *lectores* who prepared arguments against different parts of the submitted *theses*.

2.6 The Question of Authorship

2.6.1 Introduction

When working with early modern dissertations the question of authorship is likely to come up sooner or later. It is not always clear who the author of a dissertation really was, since the title page of an early modern dissertation may give the modern reader a false picture of the authorship of the dissertation text.⁴⁵¹ Whom of the *praeses* and the respondent should we consider as the author of the dissertation? Bo Lindberg has described this problem as “mostly non-essential, sometimes important and always

⁴⁵⁰ Burman (2012b), p. 46f.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. Horn (1893), p. 82.

irritating”.⁴⁵² It has to be said that the authorship question with regard to dissertations was first highlighted by German librarians in the nineteenth century, who ran into the problem of defining whom to enter as author in catalogues.⁴⁵³ The question has worried scholars ever since and it is interesting to discuss it in the context of gymnasial dissertations for various reasons: first of all it is a component of the description of the characteristics of gymnasial dissertations; secondly the question of authorship may nuance the picture of how gymnasial dissertations were used.

At the end of the 1960s two influential essays on the question of authors and authorship in belles-lettres saw the light of day, namely Roland Barthes’ “The Death of the Author” (1967) and Michel Foucault’s “Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur” (“What is an Author?”) (1969). In short, both scholars argued that the author should in one way or other be disconnected from the text in favor of a reader-oriented standpoint. Since Barthes and Foucault claimed the death – or at least asked for a reappraisal – of the role of the author, research on the nature and theory of authorship and the authority connected to it has thrived in literary studies.⁴⁵⁴ Not only applicable to modern or contemporary literature, but also to the medieval and early modern periods, the question of authorship has been of interest to scholars ever since.⁴⁵⁵

What many today recognize as an author is an individual who is solely responsible and deserving of credit for the production of an original and unique work – be it written or another kind of art. This is a fairly new definition of the concept of authorship, which derives from the late eighteenth century and was especially emphasized at the beginning of the nineteenth century as a result of the ideas of the Romantic Movement.⁴⁵⁶ It is also a matter of ownership of a particular text, which was obviously not that of the author in early modern times, and in the long run it is also a question of copyright of a text.⁴⁵⁷ Thus the name on the title page of a novel, a collection of poetry or even an academic dissertation should be considered as belonging to the person who actually wrote the text between the covers. However, the reality is somewhat different and needs to be nuanced. To begin, collaborative writing is – and was – far more common

⁴⁵² Lindberg (1990), p. 212, n. 16, my translation. Cf. Freedman (2005), p. 32: “The question of determining authorship of these disputations has eluded – and continues to elude – a clear and universally accepted answer”, and Marti (2007), p. 258: “Der weiterführende, zur Quellenlektüre anregende Befund änderte aber nichts daran, dass die Dissertationsforschung immer wieder bei der Autorschaftsfrage hängen blieb.”

⁴⁵³ Marti (2007), p. 254ff. and Freedman (2005), p. 32ff. Cf. Horn (1893), p. 61.

⁴⁵⁴ Bennett (2005), pp. 9-28. As Donovan, Fjellestad and Lundén (2008), p.14, note, the question of the moral responsibility of a work becomes tricky if there is no author.

⁴⁵⁵ See e.g. Hirschfeld (2001), Wall (2008) and Enenkel (2015), pp. 18-22, for overviews of the recent developments in medieval and early modern authorship research.

⁴⁵⁶ Woodmansee (1984), p. 426, and (1994), pp. 15-16; Bennett (2005), pp. 55-71.

⁴⁵⁷ See discussion in Woodmansee (1984). Cf. Foucault (1998), pp. 211-212.

and widespread in all sorts of writing than one may think.⁴⁵⁸ A modern dissertation for instance, whether on biology, medicine, physics, economics or sociology, often consists of papers and articles with not one but several authors placed typographically in a certain order that reveals the different contributions and function of the persons involved. In such cases the authorship of the work is not solely to be attributed to the single author mentioned on the title page of the dissertation, although that person of course is the only one taking credit for that particular dissertation.⁴⁵⁹ In addition, due to the rise of information technology it may be hard to identify an individual author of, for example, digital fiction, fan fiction or web-based course material, as Donovan, Fjellestad and Lundén point out in their introduction to *Authority Matters: Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Authorship* (2008).⁴⁶⁰ To add yet another dimension, Harold Love (2002) – among others – stresses that collaborative authorship may be defined in many ways, and he lists a number of different types such as executive authorship, declarative authorship and revisionary authorship, depending on how the process of writing took place.⁴⁶¹ It is also important to stress the difference between manuscript culture and print culture regarding the view of authorship. It was not until printing was established and had outrivalled manuscripts that one can talk about property rights, copyright and authorship, concepts that were unknown to manuscript culture.⁴⁶² Here it is necessary to note that in the early modern context the process of producing a printed text involved more than one person. Censors, compositors, descriptors, correctors, printers and – in some cases – publishers were all to some extent responsible for the creation of a finished printed textual product, together with the person – whom we today would call ‘the author’ – holding the pen.⁴⁶³

To conclude: in the following discussion it is necessary to bear in mind that a text in the early modern period is almost certainly never the product of one person/author alone. Instead it is the result of different degrees of collaboration between several people, among which ‘the author’ is counted as only one.

⁴⁵⁸ Wray (2006), p. 507; Woodmansee (1994), p. 24; Donovan, Fjellestad and Lundén (2008), p. 13.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. discussions on credit, recognition and responsibility in Wray (2006), pp. 510-511 and in Zamora Bonilla (2014).

⁴⁶⁰ Donovan, Fjellestad and Lundén (2008), p. 13.

⁴⁶¹ Love (2002), pp. 34-47. It has also been suggested that all persons listed in the acknowledgements of an article or of a book should be considered as collaborators in the finished text. See Wray (2006), p. 506, for further references.

⁴⁶² Bennett (2005), pp. 44-45.

⁴⁶³ Cf. Benner and Tengström (1977), pp. 17-20, Hunter (2009), p. 29ff., and Dobranski (2008), p. 28.

2.6.2 The Question of Authorship of Early Modern Swedish Academic Dissertations

In the academic context the question of authorship in early modern dissertations has been debated and discussed several times by a number of scholars.⁴⁶⁴ A short overview will be given as background to the discussion of authorship of gymnasial dissertations that follows.

Dissertations at Swedish universities were written and publicly submitted either *pro exercitio* or *pro gradu* depending on the purpose. There were normally two degrees: the Bachelor of Arts (*kandidatexamen* in Swedish) and the Master of Arts (*magisterexamen* in Swedish). For the first of these degrees the student had to pass an *examen rigorosum* i.e. an examination in all subjects at the faculty, and he had to defend a dissertation *pro exercitio*. For the MA, which was the highest degree in the Faculty of Arts, the student had to defend a dissertation *pro gradu* and give two public lectures.⁴⁶⁵ In the preface to his late eighteenth-century catalogue of dissertations Johan Henrik Lidén claims that it was the respondent to a dissertation who also wrote it, a fact, Lidén continues, that is almost unheard of in other countries; whether this is due to old educational habits or other causes is uncertain, he explains.⁴⁶⁶ Sten Lindroth also suggests in *Svensk lärdomshistoria, Stormaktstiden* that most dissertations from the seventeenth century – both those written and presented as exercises and those submitted for the degree of *magister* – were written by the responding student.⁴⁶⁷ The choice of subject of the dissertation did not always correspond to the main subject of the professor who acted as *praeses*. Instead, the student could turn to whichever professor was most appropriate to submit his dissertation.⁴⁶⁸ However, the question of authorship in the eighteenth century is in need of a more nuanced description. For instance, Claes Annerstedt, in his history of Uppsala University, says that most of the dissertations submitted for a degree appear to be written by the student/respondent in the eighteenth century, but he also stresses that the possibility of collaboration between student/respondent and professor should not be overlooked.⁴⁶⁹ The question of authorship has earned even more interest and detailed consideration in more recent works on early modern academic dissertations. An example of the opposite situation to the eighteenth century norm

⁴⁶⁴ See Sjökvist (2012b), pp. 22-25, for further references. To his list may be added Schubart-Fikentscher (1970), and Chang (2004) and (2010).

⁴⁶⁵ See Östlund (2000), pp. 14-15, on the degrees and the requirements connected to them.

⁴⁶⁶ Lidén (1778), preface: *Neque silentio mihi praeterendum heic fuit, quod observavi, apud Nostrates plerumque Respondentes ipsos auctores Disputationum suarum esse, quod omnino infrequens est forsitan in aliis extra Sveciam palaestris litterariis, usu ne antiquo priscæ institutionis, an alia quacunq; causa, incertum.*

⁴⁶⁷ Lindroth (1975b), p. 32.

⁴⁶⁸ Lindroth (1975b), p. 32.

⁴⁶⁹ Annerstedt (1877-1914), 3:2 p. 169ff. Cf. Chang (2010).

outlined by Annerstedt, i.e. in which the presiding professor was author of the dissertation, is presented by three dissertations on music theory from late-seventeenth-century Uppsala. These are three dissertations on the same topic linked together in the seventeenth century by Harald Vallerius.⁴⁷⁰ Peter Sjökvist (2012b) who has edited and commented on these three dissertations suggests, judging by style and content, that it is most plausible that Vallerius wrote the first two himself, the first as respondent and the second as professor. The third, however, seems not to have been written by Vallerius.

Thus there appears to have been a change in practice regarding the authorship of dissertations at universities during the eighteenth century. The content of dissertations became scientifically more original (in contrast to seventeenth-century dissertations), perhaps due to the fact that professors were more likely to write the dissertations themselves.⁴⁷¹ However, it is too much to say that all eighteenth-century dissertations were written by professors. Nevertheless, the presiding professors were surely involved in the writing process to a greater degree than before. A few eighteenth-century examples from the universities in Uppsala, Lund and Åbo (Finland) deserve to be mentioned to underline this: according to Sten Lindroth (1978), Carolus Linnaeus (1707-1778) is said to have, if not written the dissertations, at least vouched for every line in all dissertations over which he presided.⁴⁷² The eighteenth-century professor of eloquence in Uppsala, Petrus Ekerman (1697-1783), is famous for becoming wealthy by having written a great number of dissertations for payment.⁴⁷³ The *professor Skeytteanus* in Uppsala, Johan Ihre (1707-1780), also wrote many of the dissertations submitted under his presidency himself.⁴⁷⁴ In the case of the professor of eloquence in Åbo, Henrik Hassel (1700-1776), although he did not write the more than one hundred dissertations over which he presided, he seems to have been an active supervisor of his students both during the writing process and in the choice of subject.⁴⁷⁵ In the case of the dissertations presided by Hassel, one may consider the process of their production a type of collaborative authorship. Lastly, the professor of logic and physics in Lund, Andreas Rydelius (1671-1738) – later to become archbishop – used to correct and emend his students' dissertations.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁰ The three dissertations on music theory have been edited and commented on by Sjökvist (2012b), where the question of authorship has also been elucidated (pp. 22-25).

⁴⁷¹ Lindroth (1978), p. 32.

⁴⁷² Lindroth (1978), p. 32.

⁴⁷³ Lindberg (1984), p. 46 f.

⁴⁷⁴ Östlund (2007), p. 159 and (2000), p. 16.

⁴⁷⁵ Lindberg (1990), p. 168 f.

⁴⁷⁶ This has been discussed by Ekman (1925).

Dedications from respondents to benefactors are often attached to academic dissertations, and gratulatory poetry from friends in praise of the respondent is also likely to be found. Dedications in academic dissertations are often signed *author* by the sender. This, however, should not be considered as evidence that the sender/dedicator had also written the text. Likewise the respondent is often praised in verse for 'his' dissertation, but nor should this be seen as proof of the authorship of the text of the dissertation. In addition, the word 'author' was seldom used in academic dissertations as a description on title pages, instead this word may be found in the signatures of dedications (cf. section 3 below). The occurrence of dedications and gratulatory poetry is evidence that the act of submitting a dissertation was not only an academic scholarly act, but should also be considered as a ritual in which the student made social investments in his future career.⁴⁷⁷ This means that the composition of the dissertation text was not as important as the ceremony itself, including the act of disputation (the public defense). One must thus be aware that there is a difference between who wrote the text of a dissertation and 'who enjoyed the credit of its publication', as Kevin Chang expresses it in his article "From Oral Disputation to Written Text" (2004) on the transformation of dissertations in early modern Europe.⁴⁷⁸ According to Chang, in German universities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries both *praeses*/professor and student/*respondens* could record the publicly submitted dissertation on their list of publications and therefore both could enjoy credit for the published text.⁴⁷⁹ However, there was a distinct differentiation of the two participants' roles, since by defending a dissertation the student/*respondens* showed that he had understood the professor's teaching.⁴⁸⁰

To conclude: an all-embracing answer cannot be given in the authorship question when it comes to academic dissertations, and one often has to look for clues in the dissertation itself (style, topic), in other dissertations submitted under the same professor or defended by the same respondent, and in surrounding texts such as letters, orations and academic programs in search of the answer to the question of authorship.⁴⁸¹ Whenever a new dissertation is under discussion the question of authorship should to be examined again in the light of each dissertation's individual contexts.

⁴⁷⁷ The ritualistic and social aspects of dissertations have been stressed by e.g. Bo Lindberg (1990), p. 172 f.

⁴⁷⁸ Chang (2004), p. 150.

⁴⁷⁹ Chang (2004), pp. 151-152.

⁴⁸⁰ Chang (2004), pp. 151-152.

⁴⁸¹ This is the case, for instance, for the dissertations presided by Henrik Hassel discussed by Lindberg (1990).

2.6.3 The Question of Authorship of Gymnasial Dissertations

To my knowledge, no one has discussed the question of authorship of Swedish gymnasial dissertations to any great extent before. When it comes to dissertations produced at and submitted to a gymnasium the context was quite different from that of the universities. For instance, no defense of a dissertation was needed in order to achieve any kind of degree or grade for the schoolboys in the gymnasium to be able to continue their studies elsewhere.

As we have already noted, every *lector* was obliged to arrange and preside over exercises in the art of disputing according to a specific pre-arranged order (beginning with the *lectores* of philosophy, then the *lectores* of languages and lastly the *lector* of theology). Furthermore, teachers designate who sought a position were also obliged to submit a dissertation on a matter related to their subject; this was explicitly expressed from the school regulations of 1724 onwards.

The word ‘author’ is rarely used to describe one of the participants on title pages of gymnasial dissertations. Instead, the term *author* (sometimes spelled *autor*) is found in the signatures of dedications or in the context of gratulatory verses. Regarding dedications, the dedicator often signed them using the phrase *author et respondens* (‘author and respondent’). In this context the word *author* requires a more thorough explanation. The nouns *auctor* (‘ancestor, doer, adviser, writer’) and *auctoritas* (‘authority’) are originally derived from the verb *augere*, meaning ‘to increase, augment, strengthen’.⁴⁸² In the Middle Ages an *auctor* could be defined as one of several people involved in the production of manuscripts — along with the *scriptor* and *compilator* — the term having the meaning of one who writes the words of others as well as his own, i.e. more of a craftsman than what we today would call an original writer.⁴⁸³ The noun *auctor* in the Middle Ages also meant the authoritative writers whose words one had to respect, interpret, explain and follow.⁴⁸⁴ In the transition between the Middle Ages and the early modern period the word *auctor* changed in meaning: a writer no longer had to look to the divine for authority, but instead to himself.⁴⁸⁵ This change is seen, for example, in the use of Neo-Latin and in the *antibarbari*

⁴⁸² L&S s.v. *auctor* and *auctoritas*; TLL s.v. *auctor* V col. 1206-1207.

⁴⁸³ Bennett (2005), pp. 38-39.

⁴⁸⁴ Pease (1995), pp. 264-265. The *auctores* in the medieval sense were e.g. the Bible, the church fathers and the interpretations of the Lord’s word by popes and church councils. Cf. Piltz (1984), p. 68 *et passim*, and Minnis (1988), pp. 1-8. This medieval notion of the abstract noun *auctoritas* is one of those concepts that is hard to translate into another language.

⁴⁸⁵ Pease (1995), pp. 265-266.

dictionaries in which an *auctor probatus* was an approved classical author who was seen as a model for writing good (not barbarian) Latin.⁴⁸⁶

The spelling of *author* as it most often appears in the gymnasial dissertations also deserves an explanation. In classical Latin the noun was ‘correctly’ spelt *auctor* with the transferred meaning of ‘performer’, ‘executor’ and ‘doer’ and eventually also that of ‘author of a literary work of some kind’.⁴⁸⁷ However, the spelling *author* (or *autor*) in this sense is – not surprisingly – noted as incorrect by L&S (and is not found in TLL or OLD).⁴⁸⁸ In the seventeenth-century dictionary JPG on the other hand, the two different spellings, i.e. *auctor* and *author*, are given different meanings. An *auctor* is defined in JPG as a ‘proliferator or a person that augments’,⁴⁸⁹ while an *author* is defined as ‘someone who begins or is the reason for something to start, or a person who has done or made something, a creator’.⁴⁹⁰ In gymnasial dissertations the noun *author* has the latter of these meanings. Regarding meaning, the two variant spellings have evolved in different directions over the course of the centuries from antiquity onwards. Judging by JPG, the two spellings were established in Swedish Neo-Latin by the seventeenth century.

It is not possible to determine the authorship of every single dissertation in a study that covers a body of material as comprehensive and diverse as gymnasial dissertations. Neither is it possible to state how great a contribution every person mentioned on the title page made to the writing process without further source material. If we consider the authorship question as regards printed dissertations, paratexts such as dedications, prefaces and gratulatory poetry (see section 3 below), may be of help.

In the following section, the authorship question regarding gymnasial dissertations will be discussed by taking as a starting point four types of dissertation that I have distinguished: dissertations *pro loco*, dissertations by returning students, dissertations as exercises and dissertations used in teaching and in series of dissertations. Authorship differs between these

⁴⁸⁶ Helander (2004), pp. 65-68. In these dictionaries a word could be approved if it was found in an *auctor probatus* (an approved ancient author). To help writers achieve their ambition for correctness there were a range of dictionaries, called *antibarbari* or *thesauri*, to provide guidance to the right words (for example Jonas Petri Gothus *Dictionarium Latino-Sueco Germanicum* 1640, Basilius Faber Soranus [ed. Cellarius] *Thesaurus eruditionis scholasticae* 1686 and Joh. Friedr. Noltenius *Lexicon Latinae linguae antibarbarum quadripartium* 1744). Depending on the dictionary the body of *auctores probati* could be more or less extensive. Benner & Tengström (1977), pp. 42-46.

⁴⁸⁷ L&S, s.v. *auctor* II A-B.

⁴⁸⁸ The spelling *author* is not surprisingly rejected by e.g. Noltenius in his *antibarbarus* dictionary (1743).

⁴⁸⁹ JPG, s.v. *auctor*. ‘En förökare/förmehrare’.

⁴⁹⁰ JPG, s.v. *author*. ‘En begynnare och orsak til något/ Eller: Then som något giordt haffuer’.

four groups due to factors that will be explained below. In my opinion these differences underline the diversity of gymnasial dissertations.

There are of course dissertations that fall outside this categorization and there may also be departures from the set rules. In addition, for many dissertations in the material studied one cannot with absolute certainty determine the author.

2.6.3.1 Dissertations pro loco or pro munere

As has already been mentioned, the school regulations of 1724 explicitly stated that to gain a position as *lector*, *conrector* or *rector* etc. at a gymnasium or at a trivial school the applicant was obliged to submit a dissertation to the gymnasium as proof of their suitability for the task of teaching. Although not publicly manifest, this practice was also in use during the seventeenth century. In these cases the function of the dissertation is indicated by the designation *pro loco*, *pro munere*, *pro conrectoratu*, *pro munere conrectoratus* etc. on the title page. The applicant may be described by use of the adjective *designatus* on the title page, to indicate that he was an applicant for the position in question. I would argue that the *pro loco*-dissertations were written by the applicant based on the evidence highlighted in the following examples.

An illustrative example is *De perspicuitate styli* (Strängnäs 1698) submitted by Carolus Enhörning *pro munere docendi*. In the catalogue of *lectores* in Strängnäs, Enhörning was said to have been appointed *eloquentiae et poeseos lector* in the same year in which he submitted the dissertation. Enhörning's dissertation treats a topic that is strongly connected to the position he had applied for, namely perspicuity of style. In the case of *De perspicuitate styli*, Enhörning states in the first paragraph that the subject of the treatise is a suitable matter for his discussion since it is one of the most important things for young boys to know when writing:

Inter omnes illas virtutes, quibus stylus commendari solet, non minima est illa quae dicitur Perspicuitas, tum quod intime conveniat cum ipsa naturalis sermonis indole; tum etiam quod reliquas auctoritate sua regat ac moderetur. Quum igitur speciminis loco mihi seligendum esset argumentum, quod et functioni, cui utinam felici omine admovear! conveniret, et juventuti, si non conducere, saltem occasionem daret perpendendi quod e re sua futurum comperiet; perspicuitatem hanc praecipue tangendam putavi; tum quod pueri et cum prima limina salutamus omnes fere in illam impingere soleamus, ac adolescentes et juvenes obscuritatem difficulter deponere.

[Among all those virtues by which style is usually commended, the one that is called perspicuity is not the smallest, since it goes

intimately together with both the innate character of natural speech, as well as it rules and controls the other virtues with its authority. Therefore, when it was time for me to choose for the place of the specimen the argument, that should both fit the applied office (oh, that I will be conducted by a favorable omen to this!), as well as – if not serve the youth, at least give it the opportunity to weight carefully what future the youth will find out of the thing itself. I believed that perspicuity was especially suitable to touch upon, when we are boys and try for the first time, we all use to strive for it (i.e. perspicuity), and as adolescents and young men we put obscurity aside with difficulty.]

These initial lines from *De perspicuitate styli* show clearly that Carolus Enhörning made a conscious choice of subject when submitting the dissertation – and that he undoubtedly wrote it himself.

Since *pro loco*-dissertations were submitted to obtain a position as teacher or other there should be little doubt about the authorship of this kind of dissertation.

2.6.3.2 Dissertations by Returning Students

As has already been stressed above in section 2.5.3, it appears to have been quite common for a former schoolboy to return to his old gymnasium after a few years of study at the university. Once back at the gymnasium these students sometimes acted as respondents to (or even *praeses* of) dissertations. This is the case of, for instance, Andreas Hesselius from Västerås (see section 3.8 below). In 1672 he acted as respondent to a dissertation at the gymnasium of Västerås after having responded to a dissertation *pro exercitio* in Uppsala the year before. Returning students are likely to have had a different status than the other schoolboys at the gymnasium. Andreas Hesselius is not alone in returning to his former gymnasium: there are other examples from almost every gymnasium studied, and they are sometimes easily detected since they are usually indicated as *studiosus* or *universitatis alumnus* on the title page of the dissertations. Sometimes there are also paratextual features that confirm the authorship of these dissertations, but even without paratextual evidence it is highly likely that returning students were the authors of their own dissertations.

2.6.3.3 Dissertations as Exercises

During the second half of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century especially, dissertations appear with a much more formulaic structure than previously. As has already been stressed (sections 2.2.3 and 2.4) these dissertations were almost exclusively named *Theses* and

were short – three to four pages – consisting solely of a number of *theses nudaë*. In this discussion I will also take account of the handwritten *theses* that are interleaved in the collections of gymnasial dissertations in Uppsala University Library.⁴⁹¹ These manuscripts date both from the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries and resemble printed dissertations as regards the lapidary typography of the title page as well as regards the disposition of the *theses*. Some of the handwritten texts also have dedications and congratulations. By examining specimens that are chaired by the same *lector* one easily sees that the manuscripts are not written by the same hand. This means that at least one of the hands was not that of the *lector* but someone else's, perhaps a schoolboy's. Whether these texts were destined to be submitted in the handwritten form I which they are kept in the UUB collection, or whether they were but drafts, sketches or blueprints that were to be sent to the printing press, is of course impossible to tell.

If one looks at what has been said about disputations in, for example, Johannes Rudbeckius' 1610 *acta* of the *collegium privatum* in Uppsala, a forerunner of the first gymnasium in Västerås, it is said that those students who wanted to defend their name and their position would themselves write and arrange disputations.⁴⁹² This means that the student himself must be considered the author of the text which was submitted to the oral defense. In the regulations *Leges et constitutiones*, approved by King Gustavus Adolphus for the first gymnasium in Västerås in 1628, it is stated that he who wanted to defend a thesis should submit to the dean short and clear *theses* eight days in advance.⁴⁹³ Since the *Leges et constitutiones* mentions the order in which the *lectores* were to preside at disputations in the preceding paragraph of the regulations one may interpret this statement as indicating that those schoolboys who were tempted to test their skills in a disputation also had to write the *theses* that they were to defend. The authorship of dissertations/*theses* was clearly attributed to the schoolboys.

A handwritten commentary later added to the title page of one of these manuscripts may also shed light on the question of authorship of the short *theses*-dissertations. The commentary is not written by the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. The dissertation is from vol. 188 (UUB), is entitled *De temperantia* (pr. E. Christophori Myricius *hist. et poes. lector/resp. J. Andreae*), and is dated Göteborg 7 September 1667. On the title page of this manuscript the following commentary has been added at the bottom of the page:

⁴⁹¹ E.g. vol. 188 containing dissertations from Kalmar, Gävle and Göteborg, and vol. 190 containing dissertations from Strängnäs.

⁴⁹² Sandberg (1994), p. 32. Rudbeckius' *acta* of the *collegium privatum* has been edited and translated by Hall (1924), p. 50.

⁴⁹³ *Leges et constitutiones*, Brolén (1895), p. 9. The regulations of the first gymnasium in Västerås have been edited and translated by Hall (1911).

In exemplo, quod equidem servo, alius quidam introducitur Respondens, videl[icet] Benedictus Joh. Gundhemius. Infra dies et annus indicantur videl[icet] VII Septemb[ris]. A[nn]i 1667.

Solebant olim Lectores Nostri dissertatiunculas in eventum conscriptas in promptum habere in eorum gratiam, qui publicum e Cathedra eruditionis specimen edere vellent. Talium nonnullae typis mandatae sunt, reliquae manibus Gymnasistarum descriptae, quorum plerique erant minus curiosi Librarii.

[In the copy which I keep for my part, another man is mentioned as respondent, namely Benedictus Johannes Gundhemius.⁴⁹⁴ Further along day and year are indicated, namely 7 September 1667.

Formerly our *lectores* used to have short dissertations written down to have ready in aid of those who would like to produce a public specimen of learning from the *cathedra*. Some of these short dissertations were sent to print, others were written by hand by the schoolboys, of whom many were less than diligent transcribers.⁴⁹⁵

The quoted passage is somewhat hard to interpret. First of all, we do not know who the person behind this commentary was. According to the commentator there is – or was – another copy of the same text, although whether this was a printed text or a manuscript is not known.⁴⁹⁶ The last four lines of the commentary are relevant to the question of authorship. If the teachers at a gymnasium had prefabricated dissertations at hand for those schoolboys who wanted to make “a public specimen of learning” does that mean that the teachers themselves also wrote the texts? Does it mean that the teacher had completely finished dissertations lying around, or that he had drafts that were to be finished by the person wanting to defend a dissertation? These questions cannot – unfortunately – be adequately answered. As will be shown in section 2.7 concerning the printing and distribution of gymnasial dissertations, it seems that schoolboys were given the task of producing a number of handwritten copies of the dissertation that was going to be submitted. Judging by the other handwritten dissertations that are extant in these collections it appears to me that schoolboys should be considered to have been involved in the writing process to some extent, whether their contribution was substantial or not. The case of the short printed eighteenth-century *theses*-dissertations with

⁴⁹⁴ The manuscript mentions Johannes Andreae Ygelius as the original respondent to the dissertation.

⁴⁹⁵ The word *librarii* that is used to describe the less diligent schoolboys has, in this context, the meaning of transcribers or copyist of handwritten *theses*-dissertations. Cf. section 2.4.5 above on the printing and production of handwritten dissertations. OLD, s.v. *librarius*³.

⁴⁹⁶ The dissertation *De temperantia* is found neither in Lidén's nor in Marklin's catalogues, which indicates that it may never have been printed.

more than one respondent brings matters to a head. Which of the three respondents could have written the dissertation if schoolboys were involved in the production of the *theses*? Did the respondents share authorship by each contributing a part? To this may be added that there is evidence of alterations to the names of the responding schoolboys on the title pages (see section 3.7 below). Since the names of respondents were exchangeable this indicates that respondents were not the authors of the *theses*. It is plausible that the presiding teacher wrote the *theses*-dissertations used as exercises.

Conclusions that one may draw from analyzing the handwritten documents and the abovementioned commentaries are that the writing of dissertations, especially of the shorter *theses*-dissertations, appears to have been to some extent a collaboration involving both teachers and schoolboys. Quite a few of the later *theses*-dissertations contain questions and topics directly drawn from the everyday curriculum. On the one hand, the teacher may have written or compiled *theses* for the schoolboys to arrange and duplicate. On the other hand, it may be that schoolboys each contributed a number of *theses* drawn from the curriculum that were compiled into one dissertation by the teacher. I would therefore like to argue that there may be more than one possible answer to the question of authorship of the short *theses*-dissertations.

2.6.3.4 Dissertations used in Teaching and Series of Dissertations

This category consists of series of dissertations on particular subjects and dissertations produced to be used in teaching. As a telling example, in Strängnäs there are thirteen dissertations produced under the presidency of Nicolaus Buddaeus, *lector* of mathematics, each and every one of them with different respondents. All of these dissertations were published in 1645 (unfortunately they have no further dating) under the heading *Gymnasma mathematica, Studiosae juventuti* (“mathematical exercises for the studious youth”). On every title page Nicolaus Buddaeus’ name is printed in the genitive at the top of the page, which stresses the fact that he is the author of the whole series of dissertations and therefore bears the responsibility for the dissertations. If one examines the content of all of these dissertations bearing Buddaeus’ name they mostly consist of computations, formulas and tables that give the impression of being practically useable in everyday education. Buddaeus was, according to SBL, also the author of other short works to be used in instruction, such as a work on biblical history in Swedish (1644), a textbook on Greek accent (*Tonologia* 1650) and a mathematical treatise titled *Logisticae epitome* (year unknown).⁴⁹⁷ Dividing a

⁴⁹⁷ SBL, s.v. Nicolaus Buddaeus <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=17134> (author Harald J. Heyman). Cf. Drysen (1871), p. 4f.

longer work into shorter pieces as separate dissertations – with separate title pages, dedications and gratulatory poems etc. – was not an unfamiliar way of getting academic writings published.⁴⁹⁸ In this way, the university students who acted as respondents bore the cost of printing and the *praeses* could publish his work by letting the separate dissertations be bound together in one volume.⁴⁹⁹

In other dissertations written by the teacher/*praeses* for use in teaching one has to look at the paratexts for clues as to the authorship. This is the case for both *De natura logices* (Kalmar 1632) and *Diatribes scholastica* (Kalmar 1647), in which the signed prefaces indicate that Nicolaus Holgeri, *praeses* of both dissertations, wrote the text of the dissertations, despite the fact that there is a dedication from the respondent in *De natura logices*. This is proof that a dedication does not *per se* reveal the authorship of a dissertation.

Two decades after the abovementioned dissertations of Nicolaus Buddaeus there is a series of five mathematical dissertations, also from Strängnäs, under the presidency of Johannes Lindbergius printed between 1667 and 1669. In this case there are two or three respondents per dissertation. These five mathematical studies contain shorter *theses* which differ in length in the different dissertations. In the first dissertation there is a dedication from one of the respondents. One must bear in mind that in cases in which there is more than one respondent, a dedication in one copy may be replaced with a different dedication from one of the other respondents in another copy.⁵⁰⁰ Even though there are no paratextual features that confirm the authorship, in my opinion, based on the fact that the dissertations constitute a series on the same topic, they are written either by the *lector* alone or by the *lector* in collaboration with the schoolboys. There are no stylistic differences between them that could separate one from the other.

The evidence discussed here suggests that dissertations in series and dissertations that were used in teaching are likely to have been written by the presiding *praeses/lector*.

2.6.4 Determining Authorship with the Aid of Paratexts

The question of the role of paratexts in determining authorship has already been touched upon, but here the issue is intended for a wider discussion.

⁴⁹⁸ Lindberg (2016), p. 24. An example of this phenomenon of publishing a longer work cut up into shorter dissertations mentioned by Lindberg is *Politica praecepta ad statum imperii Gothico Suetici accommodata* by Michael Wexonius Gyldenstolpe (Åbo 1647).

⁴⁹⁹ Lindberg (2016), p. 24.

⁵⁰⁰ This is the case for example in the dissertation *Disputatio prooemialis in disciplinas mathematicas de utilitate ac praestantia earundem* (pr. G. O. Bilberg, Strängnäs 1706) in which I have found two different dedications in two different copies.

The crucial questions in the discussion of authorship that we might answer by looking at paratexts are: which of the participants was active in producing any dedication and which is congratulated in any congratulatory poems. The term paratexts will be discussed further in section 3.1.

I would like to suggest that dissertations with a dedication by the *praeses/lector* or with congratulatory poetry in his honor are most likely to have been written by the *praeses/lector*. This is a category of dissertation for which the authorship is easily established. These dissertations are often rather extensive and show some learning, sometimes with detailed references to authors who had previously treated the subject. Such dissertations are especially found among the seventeenth-century material, when gymnasial dissertations were more similar to academic dissertations regarding content and form. It is probable that the *lectores* wrote and submitted dissertations of this kind in a serious attempt to distinguish themselves as scholars.

On the other hand, if a dissertation contains paratexts such as dedications from the respondent or gratulatory poetry addressed to him, one has to reckon with other possibilities. Most often when a respondent acts as dedicator he signs the dedication as *author et respondens* which might appear to indicate that he was the person who had written the dissertation. However, the word *author* could in this context merely mean a person who takes part in a disputation. The cases of signed prefaces are, however, limited. What can be supposed is that the focus of a dissertation with a respondent-signed dedication or gratulatory poetry addressing the respondent has shifted from the *praeses* to the respondent. We are left somewhat in the dark regarding the question of authorship in these cases. It was not the primary purpose of paratexts to show who was the author of the text.

2.6.5 Concluding Remarks

As the discussions above have shown, the question of authorship of gymnasial dissertations is not easily answered, nor is there any all-embracing conclusion to the matter. I have discussed the question from various viewpoints to show its complexity and difficulty. There appear to have been a range of degrees of collaboration in the writing process, from complete exclusion of the schoolboys on the one hand, to independent writing by schoolboys on the other. The idea of authorship of early modern dissertation writers should not be confused with the concept of authorship as we recognize it today. In consequence, it is perhaps more fruitful to look at the function of having one's name on the title page of a gymnasial dissertation than to look for the answer to the question of the authorship. The persons involved gained acknowledgement and enjoyed credit by

having their names on the title page, and the question of who wrote the dissertation text was therefore not as important as we might imagine today. Judging from the arguments put forth above the notion of authorship meant something different to the *lectores* and *discipuli* then than it does to us today. Rather than being a concept of writing an original text it was a question of participating in the defense of the text. In my opinion the use of the noun *author* means both ‘writer of a text’ and ‘participant in the defense act’ in this context.

2.7 Questions Regarding the Printing, Production and Distribution of Gymnasial Dissertations

Who paid for the printing of gymnasial dissertations and how many copies were distributed? Why did some gymnasia print heaps of dissertations, while others seem to have submitted handwritten dissertations? Who would pay for the printing cost? These are questions that I will discuss in this section. However, the source material is skewed to such an extent as regards this matter that a resolute answer is sometimes impossible to provide. What is said in the following must be seen in this light.

Since this study focuses on printed gymnasial dissertations it is appropriate to say a few words on the printing and production of these texts. In the same way that academic dissertations were approved by faculties and consistory, gymnasial dissertations were reviewed and approved by the consistory and/or by the bishop before printed or submitted.⁵⁰¹ That a dissertation had been subjected to censorship would appear on the title page (for the typography of title pages, see section 3.3 below).⁵⁰² Printing houses were established in many towns where there was a gymnasium in the course of the seventeenth century.⁵⁰³ These printers – who were under the surveillance of the bishop and the consistory – were often closely connected to the gymnasium and provided the school with printed items such as books, invitations, orations and dissertations.⁵⁰⁴ However, some towns in which there was a gymnasium did not have a printing house or got a printer only later. In the town of Kalmar, for example, the first printing house was only in use for a decade between 1626 and 1635, which meant that the gymnasium there did not – could not –

⁵⁰¹ For the approbation of academic dissertations, see Lindroth (1975b), p. 32f.

⁵⁰² How the actual printing of dissertations was conducted in the seventeenth century is described by Benner and Tengström (1977), pp. 17-20.

⁵⁰³ Information on the establishment and activities of printers in towns where there was a gymnasium in the seventeenth century is found in Hansson (1982), pp. 193f. and 306-310, and Klemming and Nordin (1883 [1983]), pp. 195-222. See also Collijn (1906), p. 38f.

⁵⁰⁴ See for instance Fredén (1947), p. 54ff.

submit printed dissertations after that period; a printer was only established again in Kalmar in the 1750s.⁵⁰⁵ In Gävle, where there was no printing house until the 1760s, the Archbishop of Uppsala, Olaus Svebilius, had informed the *rector* of the gymnasium in Gävle in 1696 that it was not necessary to print the *theses*-dissertations in another town at the schoolboys' expense, but rather to submit handwritten dissertations.⁵⁰⁶

So, who paid for the printing? If we – for comparison – start by looking at the circumstances regarding the printing of academic dissertations, it was customary for students to pay for the printing costs of the dissertations to which they responded.⁵⁰⁷ These expenses seem to have been rather burdensome, which would explain the great number of dedications to patrons and benefactors in academic dissertations.⁵⁰⁸ Since we unfortunately – in my opinion – do not have sufficient information concerning gymnasial dissertations it is hard to come up with satisfying conclusions on the printing, printing costs and distribution of dissertations. According to Gustaf Fredén's description of the printing office established in Göteborg in the mid-seventeenth century, the printer would produce the *quaestiones nudas* of the *lectores* for free – Fredén proposes that *quaestiones* in this case meant *theses* for disputations.⁵⁰⁹ In the discussions of the new school regulations of 1719 and 1720 it was suggested that the cost of printing *theses*-dissertations should be paid by the gymnasium.⁵¹⁰ This information would indicate that the school was billed for the cost of printing. If we – by analogy with academic practice – take into consideration dedications to benefactors and patrons found especially in the seventeenth century material (more on this in section 3.4 below), it is plausible that printing costs were paid at least in some cases by schoolboys. That being said, it seems that there was no overall consistency of practice concerning payment of the printing costs of gymnasial dissertations. It is tempting to think that payment of printing costs was to some extent connected to the authorship question discussed in section 2.5 above.

Regarding the number of copies of gymnasial dissertations produced, one is inclined to believe that the distribution of copies was not as wide as for academic dissertations, at least not for *theses*-dissertations of the eighteenth century. Academic dissertations from Uppsala had a distribution of between 600 and 700 copies, while the number in Lund seems to have

⁵⁰⁵ There was also no print shop in Skara until the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the town of Växjö was without a printer until the 1740s. Klemming and Nordin (1883 [1983]), pp. 198-201, 260f., 265ff., 271f.

⁵⁰⁶ Lundén (1930), p. 285f.

⁵⁰⁷ Annerstedt (1914) 3:2, p. 183.

⁵⁰⁸ Östlund (2000), p. 17.

⁵⁰⁹ Fredén (1947), p. 54ff.

⁵¹⁰ Hernlund (1892), p. 9ff.

been between 300 and 350 copies in the eighteenth century.⁵¹¹ Even though the information about printing volumes is insufficient to draw firm conclusions, I nevertheless doubt that gymnasial dissertations were in general printed in such large numbers. Stina Hansson (1982) discusses the average number of copies of editions of books printed by consistories, and concludes that there appear to have been editions of five hundred copies of each work printed in Västerås in the seventeenth century.⁵¹² However, it is risky to draw parallels with the printing of gymnasial dissertations without further information. As far as short handwritten *theses*-dissertations are concerned, we note that the aforementioned Västerås schoolboy Carl Jacob Lundström writes in a letter to his father in 1772 that it was his task, in his capacity as second ordinary opponent, to work together with another schoolboy to produce forty to sixty handwritten copies of a *pro loco*-dissertation, one supposes for distribution to the audience, respondent, opponents and *praeses* prior to the disputation.⁵¹³ Whether the numbers provided by Lundström also apply to printed *theses*-dissertations is of course impossible to tell without further information. Lundström's account of handwritten copies nonetheless suggests that the number of copies of each gymnasial dissertation produced was barely one tenth of the number of copies of each eighteenth-century academic dissertation from Uppsala produced, and at most twenty percent of the number of copies of each dissertation produced in Lund. The number of schoolboys registered at the gymnasium of Västerås at any one time in the 1770s was approximately fifty, which suggests that copies of the handwritten *theses* produced by Lundström and his schoolmate could be distributed to each and every one of those who were registered at the gymnasium.⁵¹⁴

The fact that the collections in school libraries such as Rogge (Strängnäs) and Västerås contain dissertations from a number of gymnasia, suggests that there was an exchange of dissertations among the different schools, or even with universities and student nations. How such distribution would have occurred is unknown and would require further extensive research. There

⁵¹¹ Östlund (2000), p. 17, and Hamberg (1985), p. 111.

⁵¹² Hansson (1982), p. 220ff.

⁵¹³ The letter reads as follows: "Vallvik och Jedeur skola i denna vecka praesidera för sina lectorat. Jag har af Biskopen blifvit förordnad at dervid svara Secundus Ord: Opponens. Härvid får jag så mycket mer at göra, som jag måste bereda mig på alla Theses, i anseende till Primus Opponens Ord: och Extra Ord: Opponenterna som alltid skola fram straxt efter Pr. Ord: Nu måste jag tillika med en annan sitta och skrifva emellan 40. 50 a 60 Exemplar af Theses". Letter from Carl Jacob Lundström to his father Anders Lundström dated 15 December 1772. Lundströmska samlingen in Stora Enso AB's archive, Arkivcentrum Dalarna (Falun).

⁵¹⁴ For the number of schoolboys in Västerås in the eighteenth century, see Sandberg (1994), pp. 101-110. See also Hernlund (1882), Bilaga X, p. 4, on the number of schoolboys registered at every gymnasium in Sweden during the 1740s.

was a widespread culture of collecting dissertations in the eighteenth century,⁵¹⁵ and it is plausible that it was not only academic dissertations that were the subject of collectors' desires, but also dissertations originating from gymnasia. If this was indeed the case, gymnasial dissertations would have been distributed in various ways: between gymnasia, between gymnasia and the university environment, and between private collectors.

⁵¹⁵ See Hamberg (1985), pp. 110-115 and *passim*.

3. Paratexts in the Dissertations

3.1. Introduction: Terminological Remarks

This section is devoted to surrounding texts, i.e. the parts of the dissertations that are not part of the main dissertation text. In the following I will treat the layout of the title page, dedications, prefaces and occasional literature (mainly poetry). These surrounding texts are also called *paratexts*, a term coined and used by Gérard Genette in his influential work *Seuils* (1987),⁵¹⁶ to describe all devices that are not the actual text of a literary work.⁵¹⁷ The paratext is, to quote Genette, “what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public.”⁵¹⁸ One may say that paratextual devices help to define the genre of a work. Paratexts were an intrinsic part of early modern works, as is demonstrated by the high frequency of dedications, gratulatory poetry, epigraphs, etc. Gymnasial dissertations are no exception to this, why it is fruitful to study paratexts in this context. In some cases paratextual features even overshadow the main dissertation text.⁵¹⁹

Genette divides paratexts into two groups, namely *peritexts* and *epitexts*. Both are liminal devices that in some way surround and contextualize the actual text. Peritexts, according to Genette’s definition, are devices that can be found printed inside the book/work itself, e.g. titles, subtitles, dedications, forewords, epigraphs, notes, afterwords, pseudonyms etc. Epitexts, on the other hand, are devices that are found outside the text, such as bindings, interviews with the author, letters, diaries, and so on; even the context of the work (e.g. authorial comments, interviews with the author, and colloquia involving the author talking about the work) constitutes an epitext according to Genette.⁵²⁰ Together, the peritext and the epitext form

⁵¹⁶ I have used the English translation of this work, entitled *Paratexts. Thresholds of interpretation* (1997)

⁵¹⁷ Paratextuality is one of five elements that Genette coined and used in his discussions of narrative theory and poetics. These are, in order: intertextuality, paratextuality, metatextuality, hypertextuality and architextuality. For this terminology, see Genette’s *Palimpsests* (1997a) p. 1-7, where he gives detailed definitions of these five elements. See also Onega’s chapter “Structuralism and narrative poetics” (2006) for a concise overview of Genette’s writings and theoretical approaches.

⁵¹⁸ Genette (1997b), p. 1.

⁵¹⁹ This is the case, for instance, in *Theorematum miscellaneorum* (pr. O. E. Rosendalius, Strängnäs 1679) in which paratexts such as dedications, dedicatory epistles and end praises in prose are twice as long as the *theoremata* which one may think should constitute the main part of the dissertation.

⁵²⁰ See Genette (1997b) chapters 13 and 14 on epitexts.

the paratext.⁵²¹ Within the paratexts Genette distinguishes between authorial and publisher's paratexts depending on whether the sender of the message is the author or the publisher, and who the addressee is.

According to Genette, the following need to be considered in order to analyse the paratextual message:⁵²² (1) the location of the paratextual element, (2) the date of the paratextual element (which in the case of the dissertations is limited to when they appeared, thrived and when they vanish as type), (3) how paratexts appear, i.e. their "mode of existence,"⁵²³ (4) their characteristics of communication, i.e. the identification of senders and addressees, and finally (5) their function as message. For Genette, the main point of the analysis of paratexts is the last of these statements, their functional aspect, because "the paratext in all its forms is a discourse that is fundamentally heteronomous, auxiliary, and dedicated to the service of something other than itself that constitutes its *raison d'être*."⁵²⁴ A paratext is thus – in formal meaning, not socially – subordinate by nature and, in other words, works in symbiosis with the actual text. Its function is therefore to be analysed in relation to the text. Paratexts do have different purposes depending on situation and genre.

Since Genette, the terminology and the study of paratexts has expanded to comprise fields other than that he originally intended. Genette's theoretical focus was on modern fictional literature in vernacular languages (mostly in French and English). Since then his terminology and analytic tools have been adopted and expanded in the study of older texts in other languages, even though the literary situation and the prerequisites for literature were different in the early modern period than for the literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which Genette primarily studied.⁵²⁵ Nevertheless, in the field of early modern literature and of Neo-Latin, paratextual studies have proven to be useful analytic tools.⁵²⁶ Here, in the

⁵²¹ Genette (1997b), p. 5.

⁵²² Genette (1997b), p. 4.

⁵²³ Genette (1997b), p. 4.

⁵²⁴ Genette (1997b), p. 12.

⁵²⁵ See for example Enenkel (2015), p. 7: "Die Rolle und Funktion der Paratexte gestaltete sich für diese Periode [i.e. the period studied by Genette] jedoch wesentlich anders als für die Vormoderne. Das fängt schon mit der Tatsache an, dass in dieser Periode ein ganz anderer Literaturbegriff als im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit gültig war. [...] Hinzu kommt, dass die Gebrauchsweise der Texte von anderen Praktiken bestimmt, ja das gesamte literarische Feld anders organisiert war. Schon daraus wird ersichtlich, dass Widmungen vom 14. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert eine andere Rolle als im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert gespielt haben müssen."

⁵²⁶ Paratexts in early modern literature and in Neo-Latin writings have been studied, for example, by Enenkel (2015) and in the contributions to the volume *Renaissance Paratexts* edited by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (2011). New terminology has been coined in the field of paratexts e.g. by Armstrong (2007). The studies of Harm-Jan Van Dam on paratextual features of Neo-Latin poetry (2009 and 2015) may be added, as well as the

context of gymnasial dissertations it is, for instance, appropriate to use the term *social peritexts* when discussing the social role of dedications and congratulatory poetry.

As a background to what will be discussed below a short history of the development of paratextual elements is given here. Many paratextual devices found in early modern works had their forerunners in ancient Greek and Latin literature. Although the books then, i.e. the book roll and later the codex, did not have the same appearance as in later periods in terms of formal features as typography, chapter division and general layout, certain features existed that continued to be used through history and in many ways influenced and shaped the paratexts of early modern works. Dedications and prefaces are two such features.⁵²⁷ As a result of the invention of the printing press, books began to resemble one another in a way that they had not before, and this familiarity enabled readers to easily jump from one item to another.⁵²⁸ Due to the invention of printing, paratexts increased and developed, because the authors and publishers could now communicate with a much larger group of (unknown) readers.⁵²⁹ Analysing paratexts is also fruitful in the present study of Latin gymnasial dissertations.

3.2 Scope of the Present Study of the Paratexts of the Latin Dissertations from Swedish Gymnasia

Dissertations show features that are typical of their text type. Their format, context, appearance and aim differ in many ways from those of other (scholarly) works of the time. In the present analysis of the paratexts of gymnasial dissertations I will focus on four major devices that I would argue are typical, and that define the dissertations as a text type. These four will be discussed in detail and are, in order: (1) title pages, (2) dedications, (3)

contributions to the volume *'Cui dono lepidum novum libellum'? Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by I. Bossuyt, N. Gabriëls, D. Sacré and D. Verbeke (2008). Studies that discuss paratexts in Swedish Neo-Latin material to some extent are Lindberg (1990), p. 171ff., Sjökvist (2012b) and Jacobsson (2008).

⁵²⁷ See Janson (1964) on the use of prefaces in ancient Latin prose writings, and Van Dam (2008) on paratexts in ancient Latin writing (both prose and poetry) in general and on dedications in particular.

⁵²⁸ On the consequences that the invention of printing had for readers, see Rhodes and Sawday (2000), pp. 7-8.

⁵²⁹ Binns (1996), p. 5. Enenkel (2015), pp. 3-18, discusses the transformation and development of early modern paratexts. See also Van Dam (2009) and (2015).

prefaces, and (4) occasional literature (i.e. gratulatory poetry, *epistola gratulatoria* and dedicatory poetry).⁵³⁰ The four paratextual devices not only surround the actual text of the dissertations, but they are also textual devices that the reader of the dissertations will encounter, whether they are conscious of it or not, when approaching this kind of writing. They constitute – to refer to Genette – the thresholds of the dissertations. By analyzing dedications, poetry, prefaces and typography of title pages we can also see how the social connection between, for instance, addressees and senders manifests itself, and what the paratexts of the dissertations can tell us about this social web. In the discussion and analysis of the four paratextual devices I will investigate frequency, distribution in time, and, for each gymnasium, location inside the dissertations. I will analyze how these paratexts – together with the actual dissertation text – define gymnasial dissertations.

After the discussion of these four features follow two sections, namely one on paratextual alterations that occur in gymnasial dissertations, and one case study in which the information about the educational journey of a schoolboy/student through the early modern Swedish educational system that can be gained from paratexts will be examined.

Lastly, it should be added that in this section many prose excerpts and complete poems from gymnasial dissertations are reproduced for the first time in modern scholarship. These texts broaden our knowledge of Swedish early modern Neo-Latin.

3.3 Title Pages

3.3.1 Introduction

The title page of a work is generally the first thing that meets the eye of the reader and is therefore an important paratextual device for giving the reader information. Historically, the title page is a rather new phenomenon a result of the invention of book printing. The early modern title page as we know it first appeared between 1475 and 1480 and was generally adopted by 1500.⁵³¹ Earlier, in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, there was no proper place to exhibit either title or author of a written text, except in the *incipit* (initial lines) or *explicit* (closing lines) of the work, since in manuscripts the name of a work had the function of showing the reader where a new text began or ended.⁵³² When title pages were developing, the textual layout and the

⁵³⁰ Gratulatory and dedicatory poetry are not included in Genette's study, which I think – unlike Van Dam (2015) – is not surprising since these kinds of paratexts did not have great significance in the material that forms the basis for either *Paratexts* or *Palimpsests*.

⁵³¹ Febvre and Martin (1984), p. 84, Gaskell (1974), p. 52, and especially Smith (2000) *passim*.

⁵³² Binns (1996), p. 6; Genette (1997b), p. 64.

information found on them varied quite a lot in the earliest years.⁵³³ The typographic influence of lapidary inscriptions on the textual style of the title page has been stressed by Ridderstad (1975).⁵³⁴

Every literary genre and every text type has its own conventions of using the title page to provide certain selected information to the reader (addressee) about aspects such as subject matter, content, author(s), indication of genre, place of printing etc. According to Genette, the title of a work – and by analogy also the title page as a whole – has four main functions, namely designating (or identifying), description, connotation and finally temptation.⁵³⁵ Titles may be divided into categories: thematic titles (that indicate the subject matter of the work) and rhematic titles (formally generic titles), to use the terms employed by Genette.⁵³⁶ Titles may also have subtitles or genre indications that help to specify the type of work the reader has before them.

In the case of gymnasial dissertations they too follow a certain pattern according to conventions and traditions. In the following I will analyze the information found in the different levels of text on title pages so as to be able to describe gymnasial dissertations as a text type. Here, it is profitable to compare the habits of the gymnasium with the practice of academic dissertations.

3.3.2 Layout of the Title Page

Title pages of dissertations, as has been pointed out by Hanspeter Marti (2011), define dissertations as a text type.⁵³⁷ Having examined a number of title pages of printed gymnasial dissertations, one can easily see that they resemble each other in many aspects, that their typical arrangement is to some degree conventionalized. In conformity with academic dissertations, the layout of the title pages of gymnasial dissertations is formalized to comprise a range of more or less mandatory items, or levels.⁵³⁸ These levels are subject to different sizes of fonts to distinguish their importance as bearers of information. The title page of a dissertation was originally meant

⁵³³ Smith (2000), pp. 91-108.

⁵³⁴ Ridderstad (1975), pp. 227 and 368-385.

⁵³⁵ Genette (1997b), pp. 76-94.

⁵³⁶ To give a few examples from Genette's study, a thematic title is *War and Peace* by L. Tolstoy, while a work with a rhematic title may be named simply *Odes* or *Satires* and so on.

⁵³⁷ Marti (2011), pp. 293-301.

⁵³⁸ Krister Östlund (2007) and Peter Sjökvist (2009) have discussed these mandatory items in articles on the practice of disputations at the University of Uppsala in the eighteenth century (Östlund), on the collections of dissertations at Södertörns Högskola (in Stockholm), and on the nature of academic dissertations in general (Sjökvist). See also Östlund (2000), pp. 17-19, and Marti (2011), p. 294ff., in which features of the title pages are discussed as well; the latter discusses title pages of dissertations from German-speaking regions.

to publicly announce the oral act of disputation (the *disputatio*) of the text, which to some extent explains their layout.⁵³⁹ Even though there is a standard form into which nearly all title pages of dissertations are molded – and by which dissertations as a genre are recognized by the reader – there is a great variety of expression, phrasing and use of synonyms. This is a manifestation of the *variatio sermonis* (variety of speech, style and wordings), which has been a stylistic feature of great importance in every period in which Latin has been used.⁵⁴⁰ In comparison to academic dissertations, the gymnasial dissertation shows many similarities, but also differences. In his article “Några nedslag i disputationsväsendet under 1700-talet – exemplet Johan Ihre” (2007) on early modern Swedish Latin dissertations Krister Östlund gives a list of thirteen mandatory information items found on every title page of early modern academic dissertations, while Peter Sjökvist in his article “Att förvalta ett arv – Dissertationerna på Södertörn, nylatin och exemplet Harald Vallerius” (2009) gives six mandatory information items and adds two features that are likely to be found.⁵⁴¹ In the following I will discuss nine reoccurring paratextual features of gymnasial dissertations that I have distinguished. These are discussed in the order in which they (usually) appear on the title page: epigraphs, genre indicators and title, mention of the *ephorus* and the consistory, public presentation, function, names and titles of *praeses* and respondent(s), location of the disputation, time and date, and printer and place of printing.

3.3.2.1 Epigraph: Invocation of God, Jesus, or a Prayer of Hope etc.

At the top of almost every title page, often printed in smaller characters than the title, there is a invocation of God, Jesus, or a prayer of hope. These epigraphs are either written out in their entirety or are found in abbreviated form.⁵⁴² When examining dissertations from the gymnasium, we can see that this practice continued until the beginning of the nineteenth century, even though there seems to be some simplification at the end of the period. University dissertations show the same practice of putting epigraphs at the head of title pages, but by the end of the eighteenth century, epigraphs

⁵³⁹ Horn (1893), p. 51 and Sjökvist (2009), p. 96.

⁵⁴⁰ See for instance Erasmus' *De duplici copia verborum et rerum* (first published in 1512) as an early modern example of the importance of *varietas sermonis*. Cf. Östlund (2007), p. 160 and Sowards (1958), p. 128f.

⁵⁴¹ Östlund (2007), p. 159 f.; Sjökvist (2009), p. 96. See also Marti (2011), pp. 294-301, in which he discusses the title pages of early modern dissertations from German-speaking areas.

⁵⁴² Epigraph is a term used by Genette (1997b), p. 144 ff., for a motto or quotation that is usually placed at the head or at the top edge of the title page. It also seems appropriate to use Genette's term for the often abbreviated invocation of higher powers that appears at the top of dissertation title pages.

invoking higher powers were becoming less frequent.⁵⁴³ In gymnasial dissertations, in contrast to university dissertations, epigraphs were employed throughout the eighteenth century. Epigraphs are attested among the earliest dissertations, but with slight differences between schools as to when they first appear.⁵⁴⁴ In the seventeenth century, epigraphs are used more randomly than during the following centuries, when the tendency seems to have been to standardize the layout. The epigraphs are usually in Latin, but may also be in Greek or Hebrew. Abbreviations are sometimes rather long and cryptic, while others are easier to decipher.

There is no reason to list every single epigraph here, abbreviated or not. Instead I have selected a cross section of dissertations by examining three of the volumes from the collection of gymnasial dissertations at the University Library of Uppsala, a total of 117 texts. These volumes are numbers 184 (Linköping, eighteenth century, octavo format), 189 (Strängnäs, seventeenth century, quarto format) and 199 (Göteborg, late eighteenth century, quarto format) in the collection of the University Library of Uppsala. This selection of dissertations of different periods and formats can be seen as a cross section of the corpus of dissertations.

The first volume (number 184 in the collection), contains 32 copies of eighteenth-century dissertations (1732-1776) from Linköping in octavo format. There are 12 different epigraphs *in toto*. The most frequently used epigraphs are, in order of frequency Q F F Q S = *Quod Felix Faustum Que Sit* (9 including variants⁵⁴⁵), D D = *Deo Duce* (6) and Q B V = *Quod Bene Vertat* (4). Only one dissertation lacked an epigraph, and four had the whole epigraph in unabbreviated form. There were three types of Greek epigraph, all written out in entirety, of which Α καί Ω (“alpha and omega”) was used twice, and Σὺν τῷ θεῷ (“with God”) and Βοηθοῦντος Ὑψίστου (“with help from the highest”) once each.

The second volume investigated is number 189 in the collection. Here, the epigraphs of 51 seventeenth-century (1630-1704) dissertations in quarto format from Strängnäs have been examined. Variation is high amongst these dissertations: no less than 20 different epigraphs (abbreviated or not) are found. Two types are in Greek, Σὺν θεῷ and Α καί Ω, otherwise they are all in Latin. Most common of the epigraphs is I N J = *In Nomine Jesu* (8) followed by D D = *Deo Duce* (6, either in abbreviated form or written out). 15 dissertations do not have any epigraph at all.

The last volume is number 199, containing late-eighteenth century *theses*-dissertations in quarto from Göteborg. Here I have investigated 34 texts,

⁵⁴³ Lindberg (2016), p. 31. For a list of common abbreviations of invocations in academic dissertations from the period investigated, see Vallinkoski (1967-1969), pp. 90-92.

⁵⁴⁴ Epigraphs are attested for the first time in Västerås in 1647, in Strängnäs in 1634, in Stockholm 1629 and in Göteborg in 1647, to mention just a few.

⁵⁴⁵ This includes abbreviations that closely resemble this, such as Q F F S and Q F S F Q.

amongst which the most common epigraph is I N D = *In Nomine Dei* (12), followed by the similar I N J = *In Nomine Jesu* (6). 6 dissertations did not have any epigraph at all, and taken all together there are 9 different types of epigraphs. Except for one example of Α καὶ Ω every epigraph was in Latin.

To conclude: gymnasial dissertations as a text type reveal a variety of epigraphs that are similar to those found in academic dissertations. Although the sample of dissertations investigated for this survey was small compared to the total number of dissertations, they nevertheless give a cross-section of the uses of epigraphs. Out of a total of 117 dissertations, there are 29 different epigraphs, both abbreviated and written out. The most frequently epigraphs across all three volumes investigated were D D (14), I N D (14), I N J (14) and Q B V (6). Gymnasial dissertations do not seem to deviate from the epigraph practice found in academic dissertations.

3.3.2.2 Genre Indication and Title

A genre indication and the title of the dissertation usually follow after the epigraph.⁵⁴⁶ The genre indication is an attribute of, or determinant of the actual title of the work, and its function, according to Genette, is “to announce the genre status decided on for the work that follows the title.”⁵⁴⁷ In most gymnasial dissertations genre indications are found one level above the title. This is important, because the reader, by seeing the genre indication, will immediately realize what kind of text he or she holds before him or her. The terms used to indicate genre in gymnasial dissertations are many and they show many similarities with academic convention.⁵⁴⁸ Here is a list of genre indications that occur in the material studied (in alphabetic order, not according to frequency of appearance):

Affectiones	Gymnasma/Gymnasmata
Analecta	Hypomnemata
Annotationes	Meditatio/Meditationes
Aphorismi	Meletema/Meletemata
Argumenta	Porismata
Articulus	Positiones/Positionum
Axiomata	Praenotationes
Commentatio	Quaestio/Quaestiones
Diatribē	Schediasma

⁵⁴⁶ In some cases the genre indications are located after the title.

⁵⁴⁷ Genette (1997b), p. 94.

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. Östlund (2007), p. 160, where he discusses terms for academic dissertations. Many of the terms used for gymnasial dissertations are also used for academic dissertations, but Östlund also mentions others, such as *animadversiones*, *rudimentum* and *tentamen*, that I have not encountered in my material.

Discursus	Scholia
Disputatio	Specimen
Disquisitio	Supputatio
Dissertatio/Dissertatiuncula	Theoremata
Exercitatio/Exercitium	Theses
Fasciculus	Tirocinium/Tirocinia

As seen above, some of the terms are Greek words written in their Latin form (*Diatribē, Gymnasma, Hypomnemata, Schediasma, Theses* etc.). The fashion for using Greek titles on works written in Latin dates from the twelfth century and became popular during the Renaissance.⁵⁴⁹ Many of the terms also emphasize a – perhaps rhetorical – unpretentiousness, such as *annotationes* (‘remarks’), *schediasma* (‘a whim’) and *tirocinium* (‘a first trial’).⁵⁵⁰ A common feature of the terms in the list above is that they to some extent express the meaning of ‘dissertation’, i.e. a written specimen. Some of them are not exclusive to the genre of disputations, but may be found in titles of other types of scholarly works at the time, for example, *specimen, scholia, diatribe* and *discursus*. Other genre indicators emphasize the character of dissertations as exercises: *gymnasma, exercitatio* and *meletema*. Greek words written in the Greek alphabet are also used in gymnasial dissertations:

Ἀξιώματα (‘axioms’)
Ἐξέρευμα (‘inquiry’)
Ἱερογύμνασμα (‘holy exercise’)
Σπούδασμα (‘work’)
Σύμμικτα (‘miscellaneous’)
Σχόλια (‘short notes’)
Ὑπομνήματα (‘notes’)

In the seventeenth century, and up until the middle of the following century, there was great variation in the usage of genre indicators. Of all these title indications, *dissertatio* (the diminutive *dissertatiuncula* occurs as well) and *disputatio* are used most frequently. However, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, *theses* is by far the most common genre indicator. A modifier is sometimes added to the genre indication, which emphasizes the rhematic nature of this paratextual device, such as: *Disputatio theologica, Disputatio extraordinaria, Dissertatio problematica, Dissertatio brevissima, Positiones hermeneuticae, Annotationes philologico-theologicae, Theses*

⁵⁴⁹ Binns (1996), p. 7

⁵⁵⁰ Helander (2004), p. 170f., discusses the term *schediasma* which frequently occurs in the seventeenth century meaning “dissertation”.

varii argumenti etc. We may also find mixed-language indicators, for example *Υπομνήματα brevissima* and *Ἐξέγρημα critico-historicum*.

In connection with the genre indication we find the actual title, normally beginning with the preposition *De...* to indicate what the text is about. Titles beginning with *de* are, as Genette points out, a mix of thematic and rhematic.⁵⁵¹ To underline the title's importance it is often printed in larger characters on the upper part of the title page.

As already mentioned, by the middle of the eighteenth century (depending on which school we investigate) the tendency is to use *theses* plus a modifier as both title and genre indication. The previous genre indication *theses* thus becomes a rhematic title. The variations in using *theses* plus modifier are quite remarkable. To give an example from the dissertations from Göteborg, between 1745 and 1799 we find short four-page dissertations called *Theses*, *Theses miscellaneas* (in the accusative), *Theses miscellaneae* (in the nominative), *Theses varii argumenti*, *Theses mixtae*, *Theses variae*, *Theses varii generis*, and some that have an indication of the number of *theses*: *Heptas thesium miscellanearum* and *Dodecas thesium*.

3.3.2.3 Mention of the ephorus of the Gymnasium – the Bishop – and the Consistory

A practice that does not occur in academic dissertations, but is frequent in those from gymnasia is the use of expressions that emphasize that the dissertation has been authorized by the bishop. From the seventeenth century onwards the consistory (*domkapitlet* in Swedish) was the authority ultimately responsible for the school system.⁵⁵² In every diocese the bishop was president of the consistory, and he also acted as inspector of the gymnasium. As such he was called *ephorus*,⁵⁵³ functioning as supervisor of the gymnasium. Other members of the consistory consisted of the *lectores* of the gymnasium and local church officials. On the title pages of the dissertations the name of the bishop, along with his titles, is often printed in larger characters than the name of the *praeeses* and respondent(s) (see below). In connection with the name of the bishop/*ephorus* it is stated that the dissertation is submitted with the authority of the consistory and the bishop himself. This means that a dissertation had to have been subject to the

⁵⁵¹ Genette (1997b), p. 89.

⁵⁵² This authority (*Domkapitlet*) had been responsible for both church and school system in Sweden since 1686. The bishop had, in his capacity as president of the consistory, various duties in supervising the operation of the gymnasium. Wennäs (1966), pp. 261-262, and *NFB* s.v. eforus [http://runeberg.org/nfbf/0753.html].

⁵⁵³ This term is borrowed from the Greek ἑφορος, originally a title used for Spartan magistrates; L&S s.v. *ephorus*. The word in its new context could be translated as 'curator', 'inspector' or 'supervisor'.

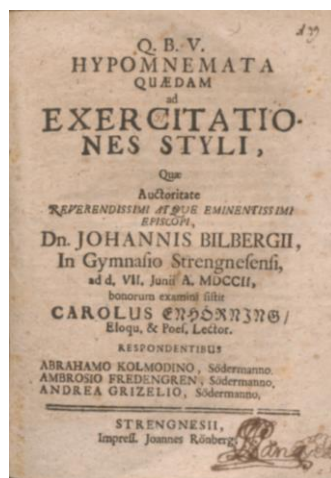
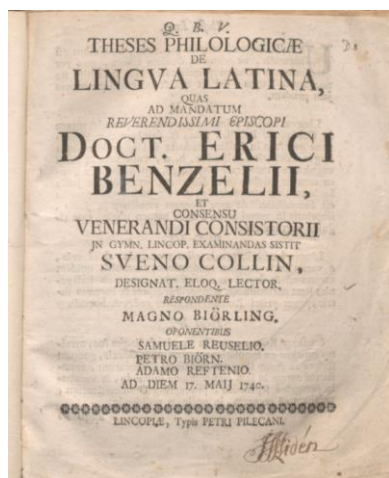
censorship of the consistory and/or the bishop before it could have been publicly submitted. These procedures are confirmed by the similar wording on the title pages of almost every dissertation where this paratextual device is present. Dissertations are submitted *auctoritate, suffragio* or *ad mandatum reverendissimi episcopi* (with the authority/judgement/on behalf of the most reverend bishop), and *ex consensu venerandi consistorii* (by agreement of the venerated consistory). But to mention that a dissertation was submitted by permission of the bishop and/or the consistory was not completely mandatory. Some title pages lack this kind of information. The practice of mentioning the censorship on the title page is comparable with the practice of the university, where no dissertations were to be submitted without the permission of the faculty, and this verification was an important piece of information to mention on the title page.⁵⁵⁴ What it means when the permission/censorship of the bishop or the consistory is not included on the title pages of gymnasial dissertations is hard to tell in every single case. One plausible explanation is that a dissertation that did not mention the permission/censorship had – for some reason or another – not passed through the authority control. In the case of a few dissertations submitted in Strängnäs in 1769, the omission of the bishop's name on the title page was a way of openly showing distance. Stephanus Insulin, *lector* in physics in Strängnäs, was said to have been criticized by Bishop Jacob Serenius for not putting his (the bishop's) name on the title pages of the dissertations Insulin presided in 1769. This criticism had its origins in a conflict between Insulin and two other *lectores* on the one hand, and the rest of the consistory and the bishop on the other that was partly played out in the omission of the bishop.⁵⁵⁵ Interestingly, only one of the two printed dissertations submitted by Insulin in 1769 lacks the name of Bishop Serenius (*Theses philosophicas*, 18 Nov. 1769), while both dissertations presided by Johannes Wallin, *lector* of moral philosophy and history, omitted the name of Serenius (both titled *Theses historico-morales*, 6 May and 2 Dec. 1769). Wallin was one of the other *lectores* involved in the conflict with the bishop and consistory. The year after, 1770, the bishop is mentioned in the dissertations presided by Insulin and Wallin. In these particular cases, the omission of the name of the bishop/*ephorus* was evidently a means of criticism and protest.

If the bishop is described further on the title pages of dissertations, he is done so in the superlative, according to convention: it seems natural to use the superlative when addressing the bishop, the highest official in the diocese. An illustrative example of an elaborate description of the bishop is found in *Heptas thesium miscellanearum* from Göteborg, 1744, which reads: *Jussu et auspiciis Reuerendissimi in Christo Patris ac Domini Jacobi Benzeli, S.S.*

⁵⁵⁴ Östlund (2007), p. 159. Cf. Cullhed and Östlund (2009), p. 344.

⁵⁵⁵ Hagberg (1952), pp. 241ff. and 384.

Theol. Doct. Consummatissimi, Dioecesis Gothoburg. EPISCOPI Grauiissimi, Designati Regni Sueciae ARCHIEPISCOPI et Academiae Vpsaliensis PRO-CANCELLARII Eminentissimi, i.e. “By decree and auspices of the most reverend father in Christ, Sire Jacob Benzelius, most perfected doctor of the most holy theology, most eminent bishop of the diocese of Göteborg, designate Archbishop of the realm of Sweden and most prominent pro-chancellor of the academy of Uppsala”.⁵⁵⁶



Picture 3 and 4: Examples of the layout of the title page, from Linköping 1740 (left), and from Strängnäs 1702 (right), both in UUB.

3.3.2.4 Expressions of Public Presentation

Showing that the gymnasial dissertation was submitted for public presentation and examination was mandatory information for the title page. There were many different verbs used to express this action, such as:

submitto (‘submit’, ‘put forth’)

subjicio (‘submit’)

exhibeo (‘present’, ‘hold forth’)

propono (‘put forth’, ‘expose’)

sisto (‘lead’, ‘conduct’ or ‘place’)

offero (‘offer’, ‘exhibit’ or ‘present’)

defero (‘offer’)

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. the almost identical wording on the title page of *Theses miscellaneae* from Göteborg dated the same year. The only difference is in the opening words: *ex decreto atque auctoritate* (“by decree and judgement”) instead of *jussu et auspiciis*.

The object of the verb is often in a relative clause with the dissertation as object, which explains the occurrence of titles in the accusative case. It was important to emphasize that the dissertation was submitted to public examination (*publico examine/publice/ad publicum*) and that this was done modestly (*modeste*). Examples of conventional phrases repeatedly used are:

publico bonorum/eruditorum examini modeste submittit
(he [the *praeses*] submits [the dissertation] humbly to the public examination of good/learned men)

publicae disquisitioni subjicit
(he [the *praeses*] submits [the dissertation] to public inquiry)

publice ventilandam modeste exhibit
(he [the *praeses*] presents [the dissertation] humbly for public discussion)

publice examinandum sistit
(he [the *praeses*] places [the dissertation] for public examination)

ad publicum examen defert
(he [the *praeses*] offers [the dissertation] for public examination)

This list could easily be augmented with almost endless variations of phrases used to express the same message. This is comparable with the practice at the university, where the public submission was also important information to highlight on the title page of a dissertation, although in the forms of language used on the title pages of academic dissertations the *praeses* did not function as the subject, grammatically speaking.⁵⁵⁷

3.3.2.5 Indication of the Function of the Dissertation

Sometimes, but not always, the title pages of gymnasial dissertations have an indication of function. This is usually found underneath the name of the bishop/*ephorus* and before the name of the *praeses*. There are two main types of indication of function. Either the dissertation is submitted as a matter of exercise, or the dissertation is produced *pro loco*, i.e. to gain a position at a gymnasium or at a trivial school (see section 2.2.2 above).

⁵⁵⁷ Östlund (2007), p. 160.

The first type, the exercise, is usually expressed with phrases such as *exercitii gratia/exercitationis gratia* or more elaborately *in exercitium/exercitationem juventutis/pubis gymnasticae*. This is more common in dissertations from the eighteenth century than in the earlier examples.

The second type, produced during the application for a teaching position, may have expressions such as *pro loco*, *pro munere*, *pro rectoratu/lectoratu*, *pro munere con-rectoratus*, *pro munere docendi*, *pro officio* etc. All of these phrases mark a precise function. There is a great variety of expressions to indicate this kind of function, and the function is not always expressed in *pro*-phrases. For example in *De dubitatione* (pr. J. Lechander, Strängnäs 1689) one can read on the title page that the dissertation was submitted *sub ingressum ad lectionem physices et logices*, i.e. “before entrance to the lectureship of physics and logic”, meaning that this was Lechander’s *pro loco*-dissertation.⁵⁵⁸ To give yet another example of the diversity of expression, on the title page of *Theses theologicae* (pr. J. D. Rogberg, Växjö 1793) we find the phrase *vacuum theologiae lectoris munus ambire cupiens* (“desiring to embrace the vacant employment as *lector* of theology”). The expression *dissertatio inauguralis*, attested for instance in *De jejunio antipascalii* (pr. P. Schenberg, Linköping 1737), is another example of the indication of the function of the dissertation.⁵⁵⁹ These indications definitely help when discussing the authorship of the dissertation and the general function of the gymnasial dissertations.

The habit of indicating function on the title page of gymnasial dissertations is comparable with that employed at the university, where dissertations title pages contained similar expressions. As has been said before (see section 2.2.1 above), academic dissertations were either *pro gradu* (*magistri*) or *pro exercitio*, and very rarely *pro doctoratu*. The disputation *pro gradu* applied to the highest degree at the Faculty of Arts at the university of Uppsala until 1870, the MA. To earn the BA (‘filosofie kandidatexamen’), the students had to submit a dissertation *pro exercitio*.⁵⁶⁰ The difference between academy and gymnasium is striking, since the dissertations at the gymnasium did not have an examination function. Instead their main functions were to train schoolboys in the art of disputation or as tests of teachers designate.

⁵⁵⁸ Joannes Lechander was appointed *lector* in physics and logic at the gymnasium in Strängnäs in the same year as that in which he submitted the dissertation *De dubitatione*. Drysén (1871), p. 11. The word *lectio*, whose classical meaning is that of a gathering or a reading (L&S s.v. *lectio*), took on the meaning of academic lectureship in the Middle Ages (DMLBS, s.v. *lectio*).

⁵⁵⁹ It is worth noting that a *disputatio inauguralis* was the final examination of a student in German university practice in the early modern period. It was called *inauguralis* since it was meant to indicate that the dissertation marked the student’s new career as an academic citizen, rather than his last performance as a student. Chang (2004), p. 140.

⁵⁶⁰ Östlund (2000), p. 14 f.

3.3.2.6 Name and Title of *praeses* and Respondent(s)

Usually, the *praeses* was one of the teachers at the gymnasium, or a person who had applied for a position at the trivial school or gymnasium. By comparing the size of the printed letters of the *praeses* and respondent(s) names, it is obvious that the former was more important than the latter. Grammatically, the *praeses* is usually the only person that appears as acting subject in the nominative case on the title page, performing the action of the sentence. The respondent's name, on the other hand, is often in the ablative case, functioning as an absolute ablative together with the present participle *respondens/respondentes*. Later, in the eighteenth century, the names of the respondents are usually found in the nominative and function as a complete sentence in a verb phrase on their own. Not until the second half of the eighteenth century were the names of the opponents printed along with the names of the respondent(s) on the title page (in earlier dissertations the opponents were never mentioned).

The Latinization of first names and surnames, as well as of geographical epithets is executed according to the standard pattern of the period.⁵⁶¹ The first names of the participants are normally Latinized forms of the Swedish equivalents, for example Johannes for Johan/Hans,⁵⁶² Carolus for Karl, Petrus for Per, Laurentius for Lars, Ericus for Erik, Axelius for Axel etc. If Biblical names occur, they may be written with Latin endings to facilitate inflection or be kept in their original undeclinable form: Abrahamus/Abraham, Adamus/Adam, Sethus/Seth, Isaacus/Isaac. Surnames too may be kept in their original Swedish form (and may be printed in gothic type) or be Latinized; Swedish surnames are notdeclined. However, if there are patronymics, they too are Latinized. Sometimes the name of the participant is followed by a Latinized adjectival indication of geographical origin.⁵⁶³ This is particularly common in cases where the second name of the respondent(s) is a patronymic. In such cases the indication of geographical origin was useful to distinguish one person from another.⁵⁶⁴ To a non-Swedish speaker, or even for those from outside the

⁵⁶¹ Sikeborg (2014), pp. 10-19. Cf. Nicolson (1974). The habit of Latinization of first names is also attested in for instance English Renaissance Latin works. Binns (1996), p. 6.

⁵⁶² The Latinized name *Jo(h)annes* could indicate a range of Swedish Christian names: Jan, Jon, Joen, Johan, Jöns and Jösse. Sikeborg (2014), p. 13.

⁵⁶³ By geographical origin I mean adjectival derivations of names of regions, towns, smaller communities, parishes and villages. Cf. Sikeborg (2014), pp. 16-18, for a discussion of the derivative practice of Latinized indications of geographical origin.

⁵⁶⁴ This habit is also employed e.g. in the seventeenth-century register of the gymnasium in Västerås in which the boys were inscribed with their first name, surname and Latinized form of the place of geographical origin (this last part at least until the 1650s). Sandberg (1994), pp.

region in question, these indications must sometimes have seemed incomprehensible, especially if they were abbreviated. Examples of this are *Olavus Iohannis Schult.* and *Olavus Iohannis Coping.*, as *praeses* and respondent are called on the title page of the dissertation *De intellectu humano* (Västerås 1648). Here, *Schult.* is to be interpreted as *Schultunensis*, an adjectival derivative indicating today's Skultuna, a community outside Västerås. *Coping.* on the other hand stands for *Copingensis*, "from the town of Köping", a town found in the region of Västmanland, west of Västerås. Since both *praeses* and respondent had identical, quite common names (Olof Johansson in Swedish), these indications of geographical origin were necessary to distinguish the two persons from each other. Another (extreme) example of this habit is found in *De fide salvifica* (pr. N. J. Ramzius, Göteborg 1667), where the respondent's name is *Paulus Laurentii Annimontano-Hallandus*, which translated into Swedish (and then English) would be "Paul (or Pål) Larsson from a place called Åberg (or similar) in the region of Halland".⁵⁶⁵

When studying gymnasial dissertations one may notice changes in the names (indications) of individual people. The habit of changing name forms may cause difficulties in tracking an individual person through registers, diocesan annals, etc. For instance, one of the aforementioned *lectores* in Västerås in the seventeenth century is indicated in four different ways on title pages: *Olavus Iohannis* (1651, 1652), *Olavus Iohannis Schultunensis* (1649), *Olavus Iohannis Schult* (1651, 1652), and *Olavus Iohannis Schultz* (1651). People could also change surnames, which may obstruct tracking them.

Usually the chairmen are assigned descriptive titles, often in abbreviated form, that indicate their position. This habit of titling the *praeses* is visible throughout the period. Although these titles are often easily deciphered when abbreviated, knowledge of the context is sometimes needed to fully understand them. In the dissertation *De usu philosophiae in theologia* (Västerås 1671), *praeses* Andreas Brodinus, who appears with the geographical origin indicator *Dalekarlus* ("from the region of Dalarna"), is entitled *in R. G. Ar. El. L.* This must be interpreted as *in Regio Gymnasio Arosiensi Eloquentiae Lector* ("lector of eloquence at the royal gymnasium of Västerås"), an interpretation that may not be entirely obvious to someone without

70-71, who also discusses the use of place of origin as it is manifested in the gymnasium of Västerås.

⁵⁶⁵ As a matter of interest, the Swedish children's book character Alfons Åberg is surnamed *Annimontanus* in the Latin translation of the book *God natt, Alfons Åberg* (1972) written by Gunilla Bergström, which in Latin translation is entitled *Quiesce placide, Alphonse Annimontane* (trans. R. Toremalin and V. Raguž 2012).

knowledge of the educational context. If the dissertation was *pro loco*, the *praeses* may be indicated as *designatus* ('designate' or 'appointed').

Similarly, the respondent may be entitled *stip. reg.* for *stipendiarius regius*, or *S R M Stip.* for *Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Stipendiarius*, meaning 'holder of royal scholarship' and 'holder of the holy royal majesty's scholarship' respectively; other words employed to title respondents are *alumnus* and *studiosus*.⁵⁶⁶ As in continental academic dissertations we do not find the names of the opponent(s) on the title page until the eighteenth century.⁵⁶⁷

3.3.2.7. Location of the disputatio

Information on where the act of the disputation was to be held may come before, after or in between the names of the participants. Sometimes the location of the act is omitted, but this is rarely the case. If omitted, the place is implied by additional information on the title page, such as the place of production of the imprint. The most common phrase for expressing the location of the defense act is *In regio gymnasio* followed by an adjectival Latinized derivation of the town's name: *Arosiensis*, *Lincopensis*, *Scarensis*, *Gothoburgensis*, *Strengnensis* etc. There are, however, variations in the modes of expression here too that are often used to underline the importance of the gymnasium: *In inclyto gymnasio/in illustri gymnasio/in celebri gymnasio*. The adjectives *inclytus*, *illustrius* and *celeber* all have the meaning of 'illustrious' or 'famous'.⁵⁶⁸ Phrases like these may seem rather empty to a modern reader, but were completely normal and followed the convention of the time. An example of this is found in the dissertation *De persona Christi* (pr. J. Columbus, Västerås 1630) which on the title page has the phrase *Discursui disputatorio subjectus in celebri Gymnasio Arosiensi*. This seems a hollow boast if one knows that the gymnasium was founded only seven years earlier in 1623. Mostly, the school entity is indicated by the word *gymnasium*, but the nouns *athenaeum* and *lyceum* are also used, although rarely.⁵⁶⁹ These two words are both of ancient origin. The *athenaeum* was the name of the temple of Minerva in Athens, where poets and students used to read their works.⁵⁷⁰ The *lyceum* was the school of Aristotele near Athens.⁵⁷¹ Describing the

⁵⁶⁶ See the discussion of these words in section 2.5.3.1 above.

⁵⁶⁷ Freedman (2005), p. 34.

⁵⁶⁸ The spelling *inclytus* for classical *inclitus* is common in medieval Latin as well as in Neo Latin. Cf. Helander (2001), pp. 27-29.

⁵⁶⁹ All of the words that are used to indicate this school form — *gymnasium*, *athenaeum* and *lyceum* — were also used in German-speaking regions. Weijers (2013), p. 241.

⁵⁷⁰ L&S, s.v. *Athenaeum* II. Cf. the explanation given by JPG, s.v. *Athenaeum*. *Locus erat Minervae dicatus, ubi professores sua studia profitebantur* ("The place was dedicated to Minerva, where teachers used to display their studies").

⁵⁷¹ L&S, s.v. *Lycium*. Cf. JPG, s.v. *Lycium*. *Schola celeberrima Aristotelis juxta Athenas, ubi professus est, in qua etiam inambulantes Peripatetici disputabant* ("The most famous school of Aristoteles

gymnasium as an *athenaeum* or *lyceum* is evidence of the aforementioned *variatio sermonis*, but also evidence of the desire to connect contemporary teaching and learning with a (glorious) ancient past. It is interesting to note here that the University of Uppsala was also sometimes referred to as *athenaeum* or *lyceum* at this time.⁵⁷²

More precise indication of the location of the disputation act is also not uncommon: *in auditorio majori* or *in auditorio superiori* (or shortened to *in aud. maj./super.*), i.e. “in the larger/higher lecture room”, which could indicate a location situated upstairs in the school building or a larger auditorium are both found in the material.

3.3.2.8. Indication of the Date and Time of the disputatio

There is usually an indication of the date and time of the disputation act underneath the name of the respondent(s). The placement of this information may differ, and it may also be found higher up on the title page, but normally still placed lower than the reference to the bishop and the consistory. Days are often indicated with Arabic numerals, not infrequently inserted by hand, while years are indicated with Roman numerals. Months and days are normally indicated according to the Julian or Gregorian calendar, but there are also dissertations where date indications are influenced by the Roman calendar system. One example of this is *De statu ecclesiae sub captivitate Babylonica* (pr. M. A. Lidtgren, Skara 1731). Below the name of the respondent it says: *In Gymn. Scarens. VI. Id. Junii, Anni MDCCXXXI* which should be interpreted as “in the gymnasium of Skara, 6th day of Ides of June, year 1731”. This gives the date of the *disputatio* as 19 June 1731, which was a Saturday, the common day for gymnasial disputations.

Standard formulae are often used to declare the hour (and place) of the disputation. There are a number of equivalent expressions for this, although the most common seems to be:

Horis ante meridiem solitis (abbreviated to *H A M S*)
 (“During the usual hours before noon”)

Loco horisque solitis
 (“During the usual hours and in the usual place”)

nearby Athens, where he taught, in which also the *Peripathetici* disputed while walking up and down”).

⁵⁷² Östlund (2007), p. 160.

These expressions are also found on title pages of academic dissertations of the time.⁵⁷³ It was not necessary to indicate the exact time of disputations, since it was dictated by school regulations and considered common knowledge. There are nevertheless some examples where the exact time is specified: in *De virtute morali in genere* (unknown year, but most likely seventeenth century) from Strängnäs (pr. J. O. Luuth) the title page gives the time of the disputation as *horis a 7. matutinis*, i.e. seven in the morning.

3.3.2.9. Indication of Printer and Place of Printing

Lastly, almost always at the bottom of the title page, we find the printer and place of printing. This is by no means typical only of dissertations, but for printed items in general in this period. There are a few verbs used in the dissertations to express the action of printing: *excudo* ('to imprint', originally meaning 'hammer' or 'strike') and *imprimo* ('to imprint'), either in the imperfect or in the perfect tense. This new meaning of the verb *imprimere* follows the invention of the printing press – originally it meant just to press something into or onto something else.⁵⁷⁴ The name of the printer and, sometimes, the year of printing follow the verb. If not using a verbal phrase, the ablatives *typis* ('with types') and *litteris* ('with letters'), or prepositional phrases such as *ex typographeio* plus an adjectival derivation of name of the printer and *ex officina* could be used. The preferences of the printer himself seem to determine which variant to use. An illustrative example is to compare three printers from different towns: Eucharius Lauringerus working in Västerås during the seventeenth century, Johannes Rönberg working in Strängnäs at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, and Petrus Pilecanus working in Linköping during the first half of the eighteenth century. Eucharius Lauringerus always used the verb *excudebat*, Johannes Rönberg seems to have preferred *imprimebat* (although he does also use a few variants), while Petrus Pilecanus mostly used the phrase *typis Petri Pilecani*. Lastly, the town in which the printing took place is indicated by its Latinized form in the locative.

3.3.2.10 Concluding Remarks

By studying eight typographical features and levels of the title page of gymnasial dissertations it is possible to determine typical information that is found when encountering a gymnasial dissertation, and to determine how gymnasial dissertations relate to academic dissertations in terms of title page

⁵⁷³ Östlund (2007), p. 160.

⁵⁷⁴ See IJsewijn and Sacré (1998), p. 264; L&S, s.v. *imprimo*.

information. There is vast variation of expression at every typographical level, but especially when it comes to epigraphs, genre indications and expressions of public presentation. A noticeable diachronic change is that gymnasial dissertations originating from the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century show great variety in genre indications, while the genre indications of later eighteenth-century dissertations were largely formalized. It appears important to accurately denote names and titles of the *praeses* throughout the period under investigation. For the respondents' and opponents' parts it is possible to notice changes: in the latter half of the eighteenth century we begin to find the names of several respondents, and at the same time the names of opponents began to be printed on title pages.

3.4 Dedications

3.4.1 Introduction

In this section I will highlight a socially important paratext, namely the dedication. To dedicate a literary work to one or more people was very common in the early modern period; in fact, it was almost a necessity for an author (or translator, publisher or other) to include a dedication to a benefactor or a patron, or else the work would not have been publicly accepted as authorized.⁵⁷⁵ In gymnasial dissertations, as will be shown in the following, dedications are much more frequent in the seventeenth-century material than in dissertations from the eighteenth century. When a dedication occurs in a gymnasial dissertation it is located on the pages following the title page. The historical roots of the habit of dedicating works of literature are to be traced back to antiquity in a tradition that appears almost unbroken through the ages: medieval writers, and later the Humanists of the early modern era especially modeled their dedications on ancient Latin authors.⁵⁷⁶ The occurrence of dedications increased massively both in number and in variety in the light of the invention of book printing – as other paratextual features also did – and they often show formulaic features.⁵⁷⁷

Genette distinguishes between two kinds of French verb when discussing dedications. On one hand he uses *dédier*, meaning *to dedicate a work* to someone, and on the other hand, *dédicaver*, which means *to dedicate a single*

⁵⁷⁵ For the general importance of dedications in this period see Enenkel (2008), p. 40 and Verbeke (2011), p. 271. For dedications in Swedish material, see Hansson (1982), pp. 115-118.

⁵⁷⁶ Verbeke (2011), p. 271. On dedications in antiquity, see Janson (1964), pp. 116-124 and Van Dam (2008).

⁵⁷⁷ Enenkel (2015), p. 25f.; Verbeke (2011), p. 270. Cf. Glomski (2002).

particular inscribed copy of a work to someone.⁵⁷⁸ In the following I will treat only the first of these types, i.e. the printed dedications in dissertations. Apart from this, Genette distinguishes between the *dedication* as such and the occasionally accompanying *dedicatory epistle*. The former is the autonomous dedication address “To so-and-so from so-and-so”, while the latter consists of a longer letter-like text in which the dedicator addresses the receiver(s) of the dedication, the dedicatee(s).⁵⁷⁹ The same division will be used in this study. According to Genette, there are two kinds of receivers of dedications: private dedicatees and public dedicatees, depending on the formality of the relationship between dedicator and dedicatee.⁵⁸⁰ The dedicatee is not necessarily an individual person, but may also be a collective entity without specification of the exact number of dedicatees, as expressed in the rather laconic words on the verso of the enfolding title page of the *Gymnasma mathematica* presided by Nicolaus Buddaeus in Strängnäs in 1646: *Deo, fautoribus et amicis* (“to God, promoters and friends”).

To dedicate a work is always a social act and involves at least three persons: the dedicatee, the dedicator and the reader or public.⁵⁸¹ This means that the dedicator not only addresses the dedicatee, but also – consciously or not – the intended reader. One of the purposes of dedications is to publicly legitimize the work, and to give it authorization by demonstrating the relationship between dedicator and dedicatee. Mentioning the name of a person in a dedication favors that person and earns his or her goodwill as benefactor. However, it is not only the receiver of the dedication who benefits from it, but also the dedicator him/herself, because he or she receives the attention of the dedicatee, which may be of value for the relationship between dedicator and dedicatee and lead to future promotion. One may speak of a function of reciprocal benefit.⁵⁸² This is why dedications in gymnasial dissertations are mostly directed hierarchically upwards.

⁵⁷⁸ Genette (1997b), p. 117.

⁵⁷⁹ See Verbeke (2011) and Verbeke and De Landtsheer (2014), pp. 1034-1036, for overviews of dedicatory epistles/letters in the early modern Neo-Latin era. The dedicatory epistle may also be called ‘dedicatory letter’ (for instance by Enenkel 2008 and Glomski 2002). I have chosen to use ‘dedicatory epistle’, partly to distinguish them from real letters, and partly in order to follow scholars such as Genette (1997b), pp. 118-119, and Hansson (1982). It is also worth noting that the Latin term is *epistola dedicatoria*.

⁵⁸⁰ Genette defines a private dedicatee as “a person, known to the public or not, to whom a work is dedicated in the name of a personal relationship: friendship, kinship, or other”, while a public dedicatee is “a person who is more or less well known but with whom the author, by his dedication, indicates a relationship that is public in nature – intellectual, artistic, political, or other”. Genette (1997b), p. 131.

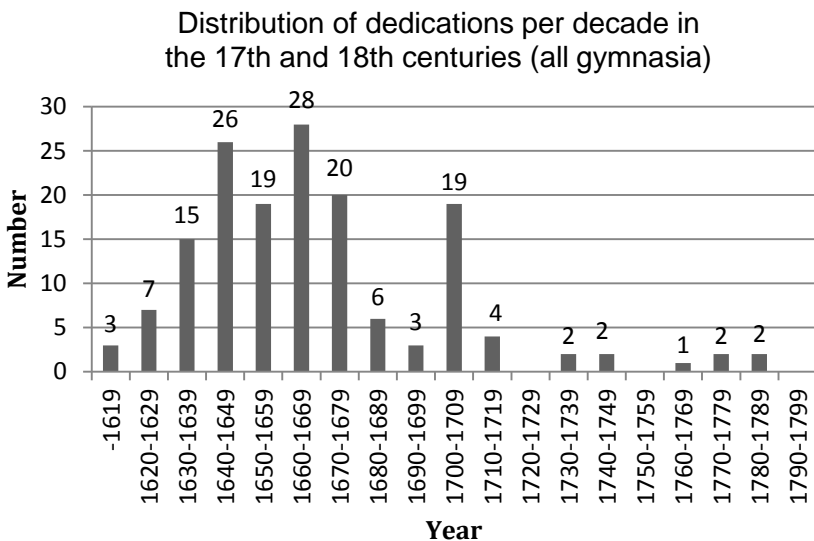
⁵⁸¹ This has been stressed by many scholars before, for example by Hansson (1982), Genette (1997b), Glomski (2002), Gabriëls (2008), and Enenkel (2008) and (2015).

⁵⁸² Enenkel (2008) speaks of “reciprocal authorization”. Cf. Hansson (1988), p. 17.

As has been stated above, the dedication may consist of two parts, the actual dedication address and (sometimes) the dedicatory epistle. Both of these paratextual devices assume formulaic phrasings and forms, according to the accepted conventions of the time. This will be further stressed in the following sections in which I will treat both dedications and dedicatory epistles.

3.4.2 Character of the Dedications

In this section we will more closely examine the occurrence of dedications, generally as well as in the bodies of dissertations produced in single gymnasia. To begin with, it should be stressed that dedications are much more often found in seventeenth-century dissertations than in dissertations from the eighteenth century, although dedications are by no means ever a mandatory paratextual feature. Out of a total of 208 dissertations from the seventeenth century, 127 of them have some kind of dedication, approximately 60%. In the following century the occurrence of dedications is comparatively much lower: 32 dedications are found in a total of more than 580 dissertations, which means that only approximately 5% of all dissertations from the eighteenth century have a dedication. The chart below shows the distribution of dedications over time:



The chart clearly shows that the practice of dedicating gymnasial

dissertations flourishes between 1630 and 1679. With the exception of a high number of dedications in the first decade of the eighteenth century, the habit of including dedications almost completely ceased by the first decades of the eighteenth century. The three dedications that were inscribed in the period before 1620 are found in dissertations submitted before the first gymnasia were founded, namely: *De libero et servo hominis arbitrio* (pr. N. Bothniensis, Stockholm 1588), *De S. Scripturae τῶ 'ρητῶ ad demonstrandam veram ac simplicem textus Biblici [...]* (pr. J. Baaz Smolando-Svecus, Växjö 1615) and *Theses de animae definitione in genere* (J. Matthiae Otrogothus, Norrköping 1618).⁵⁸³ Despite the fact that these three dissertations were not submitted to a gymnasium – since the first gymnasia had not yet been founded – they are nevertheless included here because they were submitted to schools that had similar features to the later Swedish gymnasium, and because these three dissertations show similar features to gymnasial dissertations. It is also worth mentioning them as proof that the submitting of dissertations was a tradition that existed outwith the academic environment even before the first gymnasia were founded.

The distribution of dedications per gymnasium is shown by the table below (ordered by number):

Gymnasium	Dedications 17 th c.	Dedications 18 th c.	Σ
Strängnäs	33	21	54
Västerås	52	0	52
Göteborg	13	4	17
Stockholm	16	-	16
Linköping	5	5	10
Växjö	4	1	5
Skara	0	1	1
Kalmar	1	0	1
Jönköping	1	-	1
Norrköping	1	-	1
Gävle	0	0	0
Viborg	0	0	0
Karlstad	0	0	0
Σ	126	32	158

TABLE 7: Distribution of dedications per gymnasium

⁵⁸³ For further information on these three dissertations, see the catalogue in appendices 5 and 8-14

Regarding the seventeenth century, most dedications are found in dissertations from Strängnäs and Västerås, followed by Stockholm and Göteborg. It is also worth noting that all seventeenth-century dissertations from Göteborg have dedications. In approximately 35% of the cases, dedications are accompanied by a dedicatory epistle, i.e. a letter-like text that addresses the receiver/dedicatee (approximately 44% of the dedications from the eighteenth century have a dedicatory epistle).

In the eighteenth century the occurrence of dedications is much lower, thirty two dedications *in toto*, even though the total number of dissertations is higher than in the preceding century. It is apparent that the practice of dedicating gymnasial dissertations was most vigorous during the seventeenth century and decreased dramatically during the eighteenth century. The flourishing of dedications thus coincides with the period during which gymnasial dissertations show ambitions similar to those of academic dissertations regarding content, appearance and length. The practice of including dedications in gymnasial dissertations seems to disappear in conjunction with the change from longer texts to shorter *theses*-dissertations during the eighteenth century. Socially, as far as dedications are concerned, the representative functions of gymnasial dissertations diminished drastically in the eighteenth century compared to the previous century. In the following two sections the roles of dedicators and dedicatees will be discussed.

3.4.3 The Dedicator

Who then dedicated dissertations? The dedicator, i.e. the person who issued the dedication, was either the *praeses* or one of the respondents (if there was more than one). I have noticed that it was more often respondent(s) than *praesides* who issued dedications. In the following table the distribution of dedications issued by *praeses* and respondent(s) is shown:

Gymnasium	17 th century		18 th century		
	Praeses	Resp.	Praeses	Resp.	
Strängnäs	15	17	0	21	2 uncertain, 1 double
Västerås	17	33	-	-	2 uncertain
Göteborg	0	13	4	0	
Stockholm	3	13	-	-	
Linköping	2	2	4	0	2 uncertain
Växjö	3	1	1	0	
Skara	-	-	1	0	
Kalmar	0	1	-	-	
Jönköping	1	0	-	-	
Norrköping	1	0	-	-	
Σ	42	80	10	21	

TABLE 8: Distribution of dedications issued between *praeses* and respondent

Ostensibly, respondents were most often responsible for dedications in the seventeenth century. There are 80 dedications issued by respondents, while 42 dedications are issued by a *praeses*. The distribution is somewhat irregular depending on which gymnasium is examined. For instance, the distribution of dedications between *praeses* and respondent is equal or almost equal in Linköping and Strängnäs, while the majority of the dedications from Västerås, Stockholm and Göteborg were issued by respondents. It is impossible to determine who the dedicator really was for 6 of the dedications, due to the fact that these dedications were not signed. Taken all together, 80 out of a total of 126 dedications (63%) were issued by the respondent in the seventeenth century, while the chairman (*praeses*) dedicated 42 (33%).

If we now examine the dedicators in the eighteenth-century dissertations we see that in Strängnäs all dedications were issued by a respondent, while in Göteborg, Linköping, Skara and Växjö all dedications were issued by the *praeses*. The figures regarding the eighteenth century may be in need of a commentary, since there are rather high discrepancies regarding when the dedications appear. Looking at the dedications issued by respondents from Strängnäs, all twenty-one come from the beginning of the eighteenth century, more precisely from between 1702 and 1713, while (with the exception of one) the *praeses* written dedications from Linköping for instance are from the later part of the century (1768-1780). This may be explained to some degree by the fact that the practice of respondent produced dedications still seems to have flourished at the beginning of the eighteenth century. During the course of the century it seems that the

practice shifted to *praeses* produced dedications, possibly due to the fact that many dissertations with dedications were submitted *pro loco*.

The dedications produced by respondents are often signed *author et respondens*. When there are concerns about who the dedicator of the dedication is – in cases where there is no signature after the dedication – clarifying information may be found in the dedication address. Such is the case in *De natura* (Västerås 1633), chaired by Simon Benedicti Arbogensis (*physices lector*) and defended by Petrus Olai Dalecarlus. One of the five dedicatees is Johannes Olai Dalecarlus. In addition to the use of the patronymic *Olai* (Olofsson) that links him with the dedicator, the dedicatee is referred to as *frater suus* (“his brother”). There is no doubt in this case that the dedicator is the respondent. In general, however, the noun *author/autor* in the signature is not to be accepted as evidence that the respondent inscribed the dedication without further discussion on authorship.

In cases of *pro loco*-dissertations, in which one expects the *praeses* to be the author of the dissertation text, I have found examples of dedications issued by the respondent, not by the *praeses*. This is somewhat surprising, because the function of a *pro loco*-dissertation was to gain the *praeses* a position at the gymnasium. In *De nobilitatis ortu ejusque insignibus* (pr. S. Hunoldus, Göteborg 1684) respondent Claudius Törmsohnius Ancherström inscribes a dedication to the bishop Daniel Wallerius, even though one would expect *praeses* Samuel Hunoldus (*logices et physices lector ordinarius*) to do the dedicating given his role as author of the text. It should be noted that it is quite obviously *praeses* Samuel Hunoldus – who was of German origin and is said to have traveled in the Netherlands and France – who wrote the dissertation text.⁵⁸⁴ This is suggested by a phrase in the dissertation (my emphasis): *Ex adverso in Regis Galliae triremibus omnes nautae vestimenta rubra gestant, sicuti quam saepissime meis vidi oculis* (“On the contrary, all sea men in the war ships (trirems) of the King of France wear red clothes, **as I have very often seen with my own eyes**”).⁵⁸⁵ It should, however, be said that the example given above is somewhat unusual, and most dedications in *pro loco*-dissertations were issued by the *praeses*. What the example above does show is that dedications in gymnasial dissertations did not always have to mirror the authorship of the dissertation: single dissertations could serve a range of social purposes for the different actors involved, with *pro loco*-dissertations fulfilling functions for its participants additional to the *pro loco*-function they fulfilled for the job applicant.

⁵⁸⁴ Although not much is known of his biography, Hunoldus held the position of *logices et physices lector* at the gymnasium of Göteborg between 1681 and 1684, when he died. See Skarstedt (1878), pp. 206-207, and Rödning (1921), pp. 15-16, for further information on the biography of Hunoldus.

⁵⁸⁵ *De nobilitatis ortu ejusque insignibus* (pr. S. Hunoldus, Göteborg 1684), p. 20 [Caput tertium, thesis 4].

3.4.4 The Dedictees

In the following I will discuss and analyze dedications to the different groups of dedicateses listed below. The focus will be on characteristic features, but also on features found in singular dedications and dedicatory epistles that stress the range of the dedications and therefore say something about the character of the dedications to a particular group of people. I will also indicate choices of words and expressions typical of the dedications to each group.

The receivers of dedications – the dedicateses – are a motley collection of people with different social positions. To establish a pattern I have divided the dedicateses into seven groups based on their social position:⁵⁸⁶

- (1) Royalty
- (2) Noblemen
- (3) Bishops and professors
- (4) Church officials (vicars, rural deans, clergymen etc.)
- (5) Teachers and others with positions at the gymnasium
- (6) Citizens and persons with civilian or political positions
- (7) Relatives, fellow students and friends

Some of the dedicateses are referred to by more than one title and thus may be included in more than one of these groups. A *pastor*, for example, may also be *lector* or *parens*, and a *liber baro* may also be *legifer* or *senator*. Of these, the most frequently found dedicateses are the various church officials and bishops. Roughly, bishops and church officials (*pastores*, *praepositi*, *comministri* etc.) are mentioned as dedicateses in almost half of the dedications. Dedications are frequently directed to more than one person, and there can be as many as thirty-two dedicateses in one dedication (*Quaestiones philosophicae*, pr. D. Jonae Kylander Linköping 1633). However, normally there seem to be one to three dedicateses per dedication in the seventeenth century: approximately fifty dedications are directed to one to three dedicateses, while around fifteen are addressed to ten or more dedicateses. In the eighteenth century, dedications are directed to fewer persons: almost every dedication is to one or two people.

⁵⁸⁶ In my opinion bishops are hierarchically separated from other church officials because of differences in the appearance of dedications. Here it is obvious that bishops earned a higher degree of reverence than other church officials. It may be that within the group of church officials some positions were considered of higher rank than others, but to my mind – after examining the material – they may be brought together in one group. This division is similar to that found in Hansson (1982), p. 121 ff.

In dedications with several dedicatees, the order in which they appear on the page depends on their social rank. A *liber baro* or a bishop is likely to be found at the top of the page in large type, followed by church officials and teachers. If there is more than one dedicatee, the writer usually addresses all of them in the dedicatory epistle, but there are exceptions to this rule.

Occasionally we find dedications to collective entities, in which the individual dedicatees are not mentioned by name. With the exception of one case, these groups are found in dedications that also mention a named person, most often a bishop. The collective entity may consist of vicars, members of the consistory or the *lectores* of the gymnasium. To give one example of this from Strängnäs (*De dubitatione* [...] 1689, pr. J. Lechander), the dedication is to the named bishop, and is then followed by a collective dedication “to the gentlemen masters of the consistory” (*Dominis magistris consistorialibus*), after that follows yet one more dedication to *Juventuti Lectissimae Studiorum gratia Stregnesii commoranti magnae Parentum Patriaeque spei*, i.e. “to the most selected part of young men of the students who dwell in Strängnäs to study on the great hope of parents and fatherland (*patria*)”.

3.4.5 Characteristics of Dedications and Dedicatory Epistles: Vocabulary, Phrases and Topoi

In this section I will treat the characteristics of dedications and dedicatory epistles. Even though all individual dedications and particularly all individual dedicatory epistles must be seen as unique texts, since they belong to specific contexts (time, place and persons), they show many similarities. There are certain features – structure, topoi, phrases and vocabulary (nouns, verbs and adjectives) – that reoccur in dedications and dedicatory epistles. This is evidence of the codification of dedications. The fact that there are so many similarities in the dedicatory epistles analyzed also shows that certain features were more or less mandatory when writing them.

3.4.5.1 Vocabulary

Regarding the vocabulary of dedications and dedicatory epistles, I will focus on words used to describe the dedicatees, the work that is subject of the dedication, and phrases that are used in dedications.

Nouns

For each of the seven categories of dedicatee that was mentioned in the introduction to this section I have listed the titles that are found in dedications. Some of these occur often, while others are *hapax legomena*. When necessary, translations are provided in parenthesis with references to dictionaries and studies where these words are further discussed.

Social group	Titles
Royalty	<i>rex</i> <i>regina</i>
Noblemen	<i>comes</i> (count) ⁵⁸⁷ <i>liber baro</i> (baron; abbreviated as <i>L.B.</i>) ⁵⁸⁸
Bishops and professors	<i>archiepiscopus</i> (archbishop) <i>episcopus</i> <i>professor</i> <i>praesul</i> (bishop) ⁵⁸⁹
Church officials	<i>superintendens</i> (superintendent) <i>praepositus</i> (dean, rural dean) ⁵⁹⁰ <i>pastor</i> (vicar) ⁵⁹¹ <i>comminister</i> (fellow-minister) ⁵⁹² <i>sacellanus</i> (chaplain) ⁵⁹³ <i>concionator</i> (preacher) ⁵⁹⁴ <i>mysta</i> (clergyman) ⁵⁹⁵ <i>protomysta</i> (clergyman) ⁵⁹⁶ <i>verbi divini minister</i> (clergyman) ⁵⁹⁷ <i>praeco</i> (clergyman, preacher) ⁵⁹⁸
Teachers and others with positions at or connected with the	<i>lector</i> <i>praeceptor</i> <i>apologista</i> (teacher of the apologist class) ⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁸⁷ *Blaise Medieval*, s.v. *comes*.

⁵⁸⁸ Hoven (1994), s.v. *baro*, Sikeborg (2014), p. 36.

⁵⁸⁹ *Praesul* is originally a term derived from classical Latin indicating the leader of the *Salii*, a college of priests in the service of Mars, but often appears in the meaning of and as a synonym to ‘bishop’ in Neo-Latin literature. Helander (2004), p. 79, and Östlund (2000), p. 163f.

⁵⁹⁰ Svensson (2015), p. 416.

⁵⁹¹ Svensson (2015), p. 416.

⁵⁹² A *minister*, as explained also by Souter, is “[minister] of any church official below the rank of presbyter, especially *deacon*”. Souter (1949), s.v. *comminister*. Cf. JPG, s.v. *comminister*, who gives the Swedish translation “En Medtjänare”, and the German “Ein Mitdiener”. A *comminister* acted as assistant to the vicar.

⁵⁹³ *Blaise Medieval*, s.v. *sacellanus*.

⁵⁹⁴ *Eccles. Latin* (Stelten), s.v. *concionator*.

⁵⁹⁵ Helander (2004), p. 78.

⁵⁹⁶ Cf. Helander (2004), p. 78.

⁵⁹⁷ Sikeborg (2014), p. 77.

⁵⁹⁸ Sikeborg (2014), p. 88, DMLBS, s.v. *praeco* 3. Cf. DuCange, s.v. *praeco* = *concionator*.

⁵⁹⁹ The word *apologista* has a somewhat particular meaning in the educational context since it denotes a teacher of the apologist class, which was a class focused not on classical languages but on practical knowledge such as basic arithmetic and bookkeeping. This class was promoted in the school regulations of 1649 as part of trivial school for those who first and foremost wished to learn writing and basic arithmetic for use in commerce and who did not wish to continue their studies in other subjects. The apologist class was firmly rooted in Swedish education in the school regulations of 1724, as an embryo form of *reallinjen* focused

gymnasium	<i>rector</i> <i>assessor</i> <i>domini consistoriales</i> (consistory members) <i>paedotriba</i> (school master) ⁶⁰⁰
Citizens and persons with civilian or political positions	<i>civis</i> (citizen) <i>oeconomus</i> (housekeeper, administrator) ⁶⁰¹ <i>consul</i> <i>judex</i> (judge) <i>gubernator</i> (governor) <i>assessor</i> <i>praetor</i> (bailiff) ⁶⁰² <i>mercator</i> (merchant) <i>secretarius civitatis</i> <i>legifer</i> (chief judge in a district of jurisdiction) ⁶⁰³ <i>inspector</i> <i>aurifaber</i> (goldsmith) ⁶⁰⁴ <i>scriba et logista militaris</i> <i>negotiator</i> (a wholesale dealer, tradesman) ⁶⁰⁵ <i>camerae rationum praeses</i> (chairman of the chamber of accounts) ⁶⁰⁶ <i>camerae rationum consiliarius</i> (counselor of the chamber of accounts) <i>telonarius regius</i> (custom-house or excise officer) ⁶⁰⁷
Relatives, fellow students and friends	<i>frater</i> <i>parens</i> <i>patruus</i> (uncle) <i>consanguineus</i> (related by blood, brother) ⁶⁰⁸ <i>avus</i> (grandfather)

on natural sciences and mathematics. SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 52, Sikeborg (2014), p. 34, Sjöstrand (1965), p. 282ff, Larsson and Prytz (2011), p. 122, and Sandström (1989), pp. 121 and 157. Cf. LSV, s.v. ἀπολογιστής.

⁶⁰⁰ Hoven (1994), s.v. *paedotriba*; the original meaning was that of a teacher of physical education. DMLBS, s.v. *paedotribes*, cf. LSV s.v. παιδοτριβής.

⁶⁰¹ L&S, s.v. *oeconomus*; Souter (1949), s.v. *oeconomus*.

⁶⁰² The word *praetor* is equivalent to the Swedish word *fogde*, i.e. bailiff in English. JPG, s.v. *praetor*, and Sikeborg (2014), p. 89.

⁶⁰³ Equivalent to the Swedish *lagman*. Helander (2004), p. 208.

⁶⁰⁴ *Blaise Medieval*, s.v. *aurifaber*.

⁶⁰⁵ L&S, s.v. *negotiator*.

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. Helander (2004), p. 205.

⁶⁰⁷ Souter (1949), s.v. *telonarius*.

⁶⁰⁸ L&S, s.v. *consanguineus*.

<i>germanus</i> (brother, kin) ⁶⁰⁹ <i>sororius</i> (nephew, French “beau-frère”) ⁶¹⁰ <i>studiosus</i> (student) <i>candidatus</i>

TABLE 9: Vocabulary of dedications and dedicatory epistles

Many of the dedicatees are called upon as benefactors of some sort. The nouns that the dedicator applies to the dedicatee in these cases are listed below. All the words mean benefactor or patron:

*maecenas/mecaenas/moecenas/mecoenas*⁶¹¹
dominus suus
benefactor
fautor
promotor
patronus

In relation to the nouns used for patrons it is germane to point out that the dedicator often calls himself *cliens* (client) to underline the relationship between him and the dedicatee. This early modern practice of patronage directly connects the dedications to the classical Roman practice of patron/client relationships that were common between, for instance, poets and patrons.⁶¹² Kurt Johannesson (1988) has claimed that these kinds of personal relationships were immensely important during the seventeenth century, not so much for monetary aid, as for the services and recommendations that the patron/dedicatee could offer the client/dedicator.⁶¹³ In exchange, the patron/dedicatee could expect support from the client both verbally and in deeds, whenever it was needed. Men of the nobility had an important role in promoting future church officials, and the interaction between vicars and the nobility seems in many cases to have been positive.⁶¹⁴ In Sweden, the nobility had *ius patronatus* (‘right of patronage’), which meant that many families of the nobility had economic

⁶⁰⁹ L&S, s.v. 1 *germanus* B; Souter (1949), s.v. *germanus*; *Blaise Medieval*, s.v. 1 *germanus*.

⁶¹⁰ *Blaise Medieval*, s.v. *sororius*.

⁶¹¹ The name of the Roman knight and benefactor of literature, C. Cilnius Maecenas, known for his friendship with Augustus and with Roman poets such as Horace and Vergil, had already been appropriated to signify ‘patron of literature’ in antiquity (cf. the Swedish word for patron of arts *mecenat*). L&S, s.v. *Maecenas* B. Note the inconsistent spellings of the word *maecenas* typical of the time, inconsistent spellings were due to the rules of pronunciation of *e*, *ae* and *oe* as /e/.

⁶¹² Cf. Nauta (2002), pp. 11-34, where Roman patronage is discussed.

⁶¹³ Johannesson (1988), pp. 23 and 25.

⁶¹⁴ Inger (1988), p. 103ff.

commitments to maintain the parishes in which they lived.⁶¹⁵ This right also included the authority to designate church officials and to promote to the position of vicar those who were tutors in the families of the nobility, which may explain why gymnasial dissertations were often dedicated to men of the nobility.⁶¹⁶ A position as tutor for a son of the nobility was much sought after by young men.⁶¹⁷ A parallel to the Swedish situation is described in Anthony La Vopa's study on the clerical careers of poor students in eighteenth-century Germany, *Grace, Talent, and Merit* (1988). La Vopa stresses that noblemen constituted the pinnacle of patronage chains, which also involved clergymen and teachers. Since noblemen often were remote figures not directly involved in the student's education, the responsibility for the student/client was entrusted to local clergymen, teachers or other persons with lower societal standing than the nobleman.⁶¹⁸ Although not attested in the material for this study, it is tempting to apply the same vertical system of patronage divided on more persons also on the Swedish educational patronage as noticed in gymnasial dissertations.

The dedicator is often titled *cultor* in the sense of 'worshipper of the dedicatee'.⁶¹⁹ The use of the word in this sense goes back to antiquity where it is found in laudatory addresses.⁶²⁰ Sometimes this noun is followed by adjectival epithets such as *devotissimus*, *humillimus*, *observantissimus* or *officiosissimus*, to stress the submissiveness and the readiness to serve the promoter(s). This way off signing a dedication or a poem was typical of the time, and aimed at publicly expressing the loyalty and willingness to serve of the client/dedicator.⁶²¹

The noun *dominus* (shortened to *Dn*) is used as a title for almost every person who is invoked by name in dedications and elsewhere (e.g. in the gratulatory poetry, see section 3.6.2 below). The original meaning of the word was that of 'proprietor' or 'possessor', but from antiquity, by the first century AD and especially from the second century onwards, the noun appears as a general title even though at that time the word also had other

⁶¹⁵ Inger (1988), p. 96ff. The *ius patronatus* was opened to others beyond the families of the nobility in 1810.

⁶¹⁶ Inger (1988), p. 102ff.

⁶¹⁷ Inger (1988), p. 103.

⁶¹⁸ La Vopa (1988), p. 85f.: "But this kind of direct intervention from on high [i.e. from noblemen] was rare, and even when it occurred the noble patron was likely to become a distant figure who entrusted responsibility for his client to others. Whether as intermediaries or, more often, as benefactors in their own right, clergymen – local teachers and pastors, superintendents, and other higher church officials – and local bourgeois notables formed the lower links of the patronage chains that led into and through the schools."

⁶¹⁹ The word has another meaning of 'cultivator of land', and is appropriated from 'worshipper of God'. L&S, s.v. *cultor*; *Blaise Medieval*, s.v. *cultor*.

⁶²⁰ Dickey (2002), p. 318.

⁶²¹ Johannesson (1988), p. 27.

connotations.⁶²² By the Middle Ages, *dominus* seems to have been completely established as a general title of courtesy equivalent to the English sire/mister and Swedish ‘Herr’, which is how it is used in gymnasial dissertations.⁶²³

Verbs

Dedicators of gymnasial dissertations use a range of verbs when offering a work to a dedicatee. The most common is *dedicare*, ‘to dedicate’. However, in classical Latin this verb was not the obvious choice of word in dedications, because of its connotations of religious context. According to TLL, *dedicare* was normally used when consecrating religious buildings or when offering an object to a God.⁶²⁴ Later in antiquity it gained the meaning we are familiar with, namely ‘to inscribe a work to someone’. Other verbs found in gymnasial dedications to describe the action of offering the work to a dedicatee are:

consecrare
dare
dicere
donare
inscribere
offerre (obferre)

Note that these verbs, most ostentatiously *consecrare*, are also drawn from the world of religion and that they have similar original meanings as *dedicare*, namely ‘to dedicate something as sacred to a deity’.⁶²⁵ Like many other words, the meaning of these verbs has undergone a weakening over the course of the centuries. Moreover, it is not unusual to see two or more verbs used together, like the hendiadys *offert et dedicat*, or in abbreviated form as *D D* (= *donum/dono dedit/dat*) or even *D D D* (= *dono dedit dedicavit*), both abbreviations with origin in ancient Latin *tituli sacri*, i.e. inscriptions to deities.⁶²⁶

It is common for the dedicator to ask the dedicatee to accept the work using verbs such as *rogare* (in transferred meaning ‘to ask or beg one for a thing’),⁶²⁷ and *accipere* (‘to accept’), the latter most often in an *ut*-clause, of course in the subjunctive. When the dedicator hopes that the dedicatee will pick up his work and read it, we find the formulaic expression *legite et relegite*

⁶²² Dickey (2002), pp. 77-94 (esp. p. 88-94) and 321-322.

⁶²³ Cf. *Latham*, s.v. *dominus*.

⁶²⁴ TLL, s.v. *dedico* II. This has also been discussed by Van Dam (2008), pp. 16-17.

⁶²⁵ TLL, s.v. *consecro*. Cf. the noun *cultor* attributed to the dedicator above.

⁶²⁶ Schmidt (2004), pp. 44 and 124.

⁶²⁷ L&S, s.v. *rogo* II. It is worth noting that *rogo* is used by Cicero more frequently when asking for pressing requests or favors in his letters to friends, than verbs like *velim* and *quaeso*. Dickey (2012) *passim*.

(“read it and reread it”). This is seen in e.g. *Heptas gemina morborum* [...] (pr. J. Colliander, Växjö 1676): *Legite haec, et si placet relegite* [...]. In addition to these verbs there are also a number of adverbs by which the dedicator shows submissiveness and humbleness in the dedication address: *submisse*, *humillime/humilime*, *gratiose*, *reverenter* and *officiose*. An example of the use of adverbs is found in the dedicatory epistle in *Disputatio selenographica* (pr. S. Schult, Västerås 1672) directed to the bishop Nicoalus Rudbeckius (my emphasis): *Interea TE **obnix** **officiose**que rogo, ut pagellas has quantulascunque in animi obstricti argumentum **gratiose** suscipere, meque sicut consuevisti ita etiam in posterum favore TVO beare digneris* (“Meanwhile I ask you strenuously and courteously, to receive these small and ever so trifling pages in a pleasing way as a proof of an obliged soul, and that you shall dignify me with your favors also in the future, just like you had the habit of doing before”).

3.4.5.2 Typical Topoi, Phrases and Imagery

Having examined the vocabulary of gymnasial dedications, we now turn to two topoi that deserve a more thorough discussion. The first of these is the frequently occurring notion of humbleness, an ideal originating in antiquity that was thriving in the early modern period. Phrases and words that are often used in connection with this topos will be discussed. The second topos is monetary aid, a theme not, however, always explicitly covered in dedications.

Expressions of submissiveness and humbleness, and the use of military imagery

A typical, almost omnipresent stylistic feature in dedications and especially in dedicatory epistles is for the dedicator to present themselves and the present work as humble and submissive before the good qualities of the dedicatee. This *recusatio*-ideal, i.e. the ideal of stressing one’s own submissiveness and modesty, was a common topos in literature at the time, and was a tradition adopted from ancient Latin authors.⁶²⁸ For that matter, humility and modesty, contrasted with pride and self-love, were virtues central to Christian morals in the early modern period, a fact that makes their expression even more understandable in the context of these dedications.⁶²⁹ Some expressions of submissiveness and humbleness that are used in dedications and dedicatory epistles will be treated here.

⁶²⁸ This ideal has been discussed by, for instance, Curtius (1953), pp. 83-85, and Helander (2004), pp. 533-537.

⁶²⁹ On humility and modesty in the early modern academic context, see Kivistö (2014), p. 69ff.

Reference to the current work is often made in the diminutive to accentuate humbleness.⁶³⁰ Just to give a few rather imaginative and inventive examples of this from the gymnasial dissertations (my emphasis):

Minutulum *hocce munus*

[This very small work]

(*De igni*, pr. O. E. Rosendalius Strängnäs 1673)

Suscipe itaque [...] hoc quicquid est chartacej munusculi

[Receive therefore whatever there is of this very small work of paper]

(*De principiis virtutum*, pr. E. Malmogius Roslagius Stockholm 1647)

devote supplicans [sc. *dedicator*], *ut nuncupatiunculam hanc [...] accipias*

[the dedicator begs you devotedly to receive this very small public presentation]

(*Super divi apostoli Pauli epistola ad Romanos...*, pr. N. J. Rudbeckius Västerås 1655)

Levicula est equidem haec opella mea

[indeed, this little work of mine is very trivial]

(*De magistratu politico*, pr. N. Ramzius Göteborg 1668)

munusculum hocce literarium, quamvis leve

[this very small literary work, however trivial]

(*Specimen philologicum...*, pr. P. Lamberg Göteborg 1712)

prodeunt tamen nunc lucubratiunculae hae in lucem

[nevertheless, these small night-works now advance into light]

(*De collegio pacato*, pr. E. Humbla Strängnäs 1688)

Phrases similar to many of the expressions mentioned above, such as *munusculum hoc chartaceum*, , are found in the collections of *formulae* for dedicatory epistles included in handbooks on letter writing in the early modern period.⁶³¹ The diminutive *pagellae* (“small pages”) to refer to the

⁶³⁰ The practice of using diminutives when mentioning the work was also common in dedications and prefaces in ancient Latin literature. Janson (1964), pp. 145-146. The use of diminutives in early modern works has previously been stressed by scholars such as Glomski (2002), p. 174, De Landsheer (2008), p. 258, and Kiss (2008), p. 148.

⁶³¹ See e.g. Johann Buchler's *Thesaurus conscribendarum epistolarum...* (1622), p. 255, and Andreas Jonae Gothus' *Thesaurus epistolicus* (1631), part 1, p. 71. The phrase is also attested elsewhere.

present work is also a reoccurring term in the dedications of gymnasial (for an example, see section 3.4.5.1 above).

Other ways to describe the submitted work stressed its simplicity or the modesty or haste in which it was produced, as attested in the following examples:

Subitarias hasce lineas, plenas festinationis
[these hastily written lines, full of hurry]
(*Berniclas seu anseres Scotticos*,
pr. D. Trautzel Strängnäs 1694)

hanc rudem Disputatiunculam
[this very small coarse dissertation]
(*De illuminatione lunae*, pr. V. Granagrius
Västerås 1677)

Perexiguum est, scio, quod offero
[what I offer is very small, I know]
(*De supremo iudice controversiarum* [...],
pr. N. Rudbeckius Västerås 1651)

In *Heptas gemina morborum remediumque familia* (pr. J. Colliander, Växjö 1676) the respondent/dedicator Erlandus Alsonius excuses his possible mistakes by referring to his young age, but anticipates that these faults will be excused by the *humanitas* (kindness) of the dedicatees: *Si quid in hoc themate elaborando peccavi (homo enim sum et juvenis) Vestra id teget humanitas* (“If I have made any mistake when I worked out the theme, since I am human and young, your kindness shall cover it”). Related to this topos is the characterization of the work presented as *primitiae*, a classical word that indicates ‘first-fruits’ or ‘first produce of something’.⁶³² Close in meaning to this is the noun *tirocinium* originally meaning ‘the first military service’, and in transferred sense ‘first attempt or trial’ in classical Latin, which is the sense of the word in the present context.⁶³³ Both *primitiae* and *tirocinium* are commonly found in formulaic phrases in dedicatory epistles, as attested in the following:

Has qualescunque studiorum meorum primitias
[these whatever sort of firstfruits of my studies]
(*Positiones*, pr. C. Enhörning Strängnäs 1704)

hasce ingenii primitias
[these firstfruits of my capacity]
(*De Deo trinuno*, pr. D. Trautzel Strängnäs 1705)

⁶³² I&S, s.v. *primitiae*.

⁶³³ I&S, s.v. *tirocinium*. The spelling in the gymnasial dissertations is sometimes *tyrocinium*.

Hoc studiorum meorum Tyrocinium
[this first attempt at my studies]
(*Pentis quarta quaestionum selectionum philosophicarum*,
pr. P. Torpens Västerås 1660)

Military imagery and metaphors of this kind were very common in the early modern academic context. Students were imagined as, for instance, doing military service as soldiers *in castris musarum* as a metaphor for educational institutions. When referring to schoolboys or students we may meet the phrase *qui in castris Musarum militant* (“those who perform military service in the encampment of the Muses”). Other adaptations of military vocabulary and metaphors to the academic educational context are, for example, *palaestra* (“drill ground”) to denote the university/academy and *commilitium Musarum* (“companionship of the Muses”) to denote the companionship of the students and professors at a university.⁶³⁴

The writers of dedications may also mention the goddess Minerva, protector of arts and skills, as *rudis* (coarse), which is also in line with the ideal of humbleness.⁶³⁵ In line with this the dedicator underlines the good qualities and virtues of the dedicatee, using words and phrases such as *benevolentia erga me, tua virtus, favor, gratia* and *beneficia*. Often the dedicator asks the dedicatee(s) to accept or receive his work *serena fronte* or *sereno vultu*, i.e. “with serene/cheerful/tranquil face (=mind)”.

Monetary aid

Although it must have been one of the main reasons for many of the dedications to be written in the first place, monetary aid is almost never mentioned explicitly in dedications.⁶³⁶ There are however two cases of dedicatory epistles in which pecuniary support is mentioned. In *De ecclesia Dei* (pr. N. J. Ramzius, Göteborg 1666) the dedicator, who is also the respondent, Gabriel L. Stockman writes about the kinds of support he has received from different benefactors (the words on monetary support appear in bold – my emphasis):

Qvippe *Reverendissimus Dominus Praesul* suo favore et alij vestrum
sua benevolentia, alij etiam singulari familiaritate me qvovis modo

⁶³⁴ Some of these examples are taken from letters of recommendation (*testimonia academica*) for schoolboys from the Nordin collection of manuscripts 67:13a-v (UUB). See also the Sapphic stanza reproduced below in section 3.6.2.1. On *castra Musarum*, see also Sjökvist (2007), p. 187. Military metaphors have also been touched upon in the discussion of the word *stipendiarius* in section 2.5.3 above. Metaphors taken from the field of military vocabulary were also common in medical language of the time. Cf. Örneholm (2003), p. 79f.

⁶³⁵ Otto (1962), p. 224f.

⁶³⁶ Cf. Hansson (1988), pp. 66-69.

amplexi sunt: Alij in me erudiendo labores sustinuerunt maximos:
Alij denique ad studia continuanda sumptus suppeditarunt largos: Quorum certe memoriam nulla unquam apud me delebit oblivio.

[Of course you, most revered Sire Bishop, by your favor and others of you by benevolence, others even by singular friendship in any way have cherished me; others have bestowed the greatest efforts by educating me; **and then others supplied plentiful costs for me to be able to continue my studies:** No oblivion shall certainly ever erase the memory of these in me.]

To some extent, this summarizes the whole reason why dedications exist, namely for the dedicator to express his gratitude for the benefactors' different forms of support. The dedication in question is addressed to thirteen people: the bishop, eight vicars (one of whom is mentioned as *olim praeceptor*, "once his teacher"), two *comministri* and one student of theology. From some of the dedicatees Gabriel L. Stockman received friendship, from others he received encouragement in his studies, from yet others he received money to be able to complete his studies. Unfortunately, Stockman does not specify which kind of support he got from each of the dedicatees; he only specifies that he enjoyed the favor of the bishop.

The other dedication that mentions money is found in *De natura* (pr. S. Benedicti Arbogensis, Västerås 1633). In this case, the dedication questions the practice of using dedications to solicit monetary aid. Respondent Petrus Olai Dalecarlus addresses five of "his benefactors and kinsmen" (*fautoribus et cognatis suis*) in the dedicatory epistle. Here he mentions the habit some schoolboys seem to have of selling dedications for money:

Quamvis nullus ignorem venditari hodie dedicationes complurium scriptorium ad eliciendam pecuniam, quam novimus quidem esse necessariam studiorum suppellectilem, vix tamen facit introducta haec consuetudo ut evitando suspicionem petacitatis theses hae nullis inscribantur. Cogitanti itaque quo potissimum hoc exercitio eam ne communis hujus vitij suspectus esse debeam, vos occurritis, qui exercitia mea unice amatis et vobis grata esse significatis, ut enim sanguine mihi estis propiores ita vestra sponte in sublevanda rerum mearum difficultate semper adfuistis, nec dubito in posterum facturos si facto opus erit. Accipite itaque eo quo offero animo.

[Although I am not ignorant that dedications of many writers are offered today for sale to elicit money, which we certainly know is a necessary aid for students; nevertheless, this habit almost has the effect that these *theses* are dedicated to no one, to avoid suspicion of greed. You, who cherish my studies in a special way and who

show that these are appreciated by you, you encounter me therefore in the process of considering how I am going to behave in the best way in this exercise, so that I will not be held in suspicion of this common vice. Because you are related to me, you have always aided me voluntarily to lighten difficulties that have arisen in my affairs. I do not doubt that you are going to do it also in the future if it is necessary. Therefore, accept this in the same state of mind that I bestow it to you.]

As seen in the quotation, Petrus Olai Dalecarlus realizes the necessity of dedications for the sake of the schoolboys'/students' possibility to complete their studies, but he criticizes the abuse of dedications to elicit money. However, monetary aid is undoubtedly an important issue for Petrus Olai Dalecarlus, since he notes that without it he would not be able to complete his studies. What is interesting is that in the same year, 1633, the vice-chancellor of Uppsala University, Laurentius Olai Wallius, sent out a decree to the consistories in Kalmar, Strängnäs, Stockholm and Västerås in which he sharply criticized the habit of selling dedications for money.⁶³⁷

Testatum hoc relinquunt studiosorum, falso ita dictorum, quorundam turpes mendicandi technae, cum illorum alii oratiunculas, alii disputationes, alii carmina, Rythmos et cantilenas alii, alii aliud et nescimus quid utcunque scribentes praelo committant, viris bonis inscribant, omnem fere chartam nominibus referant, imo ter vel quater, ne dicamus octies aut fere saepius, ejusdem materiae furtim et insciis officinarum Typographicarum inspectoribus quandoque varient dedicationem, ut numerosa sit eorum copia, ex quibus non tantum pecuniam exagitant, sed insuper omni sine fronte extorqueant. Unde multis non solum oneri et molestiae, verum etiam taedio et maximo impedimento esse hactenus consueverunt.

[The shameful begging crafts of some students, who are called so falsely, testify to this, as some of them decide to print speeches, others dissertations, others poems, others music and songs, others other things, and I do not know whatever they write, they dedicate them to honorable men, and fill almost the entire document with names, yes three or four, not to say eight or almost even more than that, they sometimes alter the dedication of the same material secretly without the knowledge of the inspectors of the printing houses, so that their number is numerous, from whom they not only rouse money, but in addition they wrench it out heedlessly. Therefore they have until now usually been not only a burden and annoying for many people, but also disgusting and of great hindrance.]

⁶³⁷ I am most thankful to my assistant supervisor Assoc. Prof. Peter Sjökvist who drew my attention to this document, and who also translated it.

What the vice-chancellor so vehemently criticizes is the unauthorized dedications that seem to have been getting out of hand. A student who includes the names of many dedicatees or even alters the dedication in copies of the dissertation that he distributes to suitable benefactors tries to get the receivers of the dedications – his benefactors – to give him money. This habit is shameful and must come to an end, the vice-chancellor points out. One may only speculate whether the dedicator of the gymnasial dissertation discussed above, Petrus Olai Dalecarlus, was affected by this edict – unfortunately the dissertation that he dedicates does not have a precise date.

However, the habit of dedicating dissertations to benefactors did not cease following this edict; on the contrary it increased. What is unknown to us is the extent to which dedications continued to be used in the unauthorized manner described by vice-chancellor Laurentius Olai Wallius. The problem of begging for money must have been substantial, otherwise the edict would not have been written. Despite the questionable efficacy of the edict, Laurentius Olai Wallius' text serves to pinpoint one of the main functions of the dedications: the request for support. It is hard, or even impossible to extract the precise meanings of words such as *benevolentia*, *promotor*, *maecenas*, *fautor* etc., but in my opinion they may have had more than one meaning to those persons involved in the dedications, i.e. it may have been that favors other than monetary support were also sought.

3.4.6 Dedications to Different Groups of Dedicatees

In this section I will examine more closely the dedications to some of the different groups of dedicatees that are listed in 3.4.4 above, namely dedications to royalty, noblemen, bishops, church officials and civilians. I have chosen to omit other groups such as professors, teachers and relatives. This because dedications to the groups that are treated appear to be more pronounced in the material. The dedications to these particular groups are therefore more important than others. Typical features as well as anomalies will be discussed to create an overall picture of the character of these dedications found in gymnasial dissertations.

3.4.6.1 Dedications to Royalty

There are few dedications to royalty in the corpus of gymnasial dissertations. In the seventeenth-century material there are a total of five dedications to royalty (there are no dedications to royalty from the eighteenth century). The earliest sample is found in a dissertation written in Greek containing a dedication and a dedicatory poem written in Latin to King Gustavus

Adolphus (Η περί τῆς ἀνδρίας διάλεξις κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη, pr. G. Holstenius Västerås 1627), which also contains a fourteen-line Latin gratulatory poem (elegiac distich) written by the *praeses*/dedicator. The remaining four dedications to royalty are to Queen Christina, spanning 1641 to 1650: *De utilitate historiae ecclesiasticae imprimis Sveo-Gothorum* (pr. J. Baazius, Jönköping 1641), *De Thule* (pr. E. Malmogius Roslagius, Stockholm 1648), *Specimen conciliationis linguarum, ex nativis earundem proprietatibus* (pr. P. Arenbechius, Strängnäs 1648), and Περὶ τοῦ ἀθροῦστος ἀδιαφθόρου (“On the uncorrupted man”) (pr. J. Georgii Gezelius, Stockholm 1650). Of these dedications to Queen Christina, only the dissertation in Greek from Stockholm lacks a dedicatory epistle. The two dissertations from Stockholm are dedicated by respondents (Andreas Johannes Meleman and Ericus Emporagrius junior), while the other two have *praeses* as dedicator (Petrus Arenbechius in Strängnäs and Johannes Baazius senior in Jönköping).

As stressed by Stina Hansson (1982), it was important to dedicate the right kind of work to the right kind of person, part of the concept of *decorum*. In her study on Swedish translations in the seventeenth century, Hansson distinguishes a certain correspondence between the content of the works and the dedicatee: there is adjustment according to social rank and according to sex.⁶³⁸ These conclusions are also valid for the gymnasial dissertations dedicated to King Gustavus Adolphus and Queen Christina.

The Greek dissertation dedicated to Gustavus Adolphus is particular since it is one of few dissertations written in Greek. An oddity is that the dissertation was submitted in 1627, but not printed until 1643. In the dedication the king is called *longe exoptatissimus* (“greatly longed for”). The following dedicatory poem connects the name of the Swedish king with the Roman emperor Augustus by the anagram that may be formed of their names GVSTAVVS – AVGVSTVS. This anagram, which is often seen in propagandistic literature of the times, and the poem itself, equate the deeds and character of the Swedish king with the Roman emperor in an elegiac distich:⁶³⁹

AVGVSTVS Caesar, quo non Augustior alter,
 CAESAR erat Romae, nunc redivivus adest.
 AVGVSTVS nulli cessit nec marte, nec arte:
 AVGVSTVS nulli cedit et HICCE duci.
 5 AVGVSTVS diva micuit virtute, fideque,
 Et cunctos hostes vicit in orbe suos:

⁶³⁸ Hansson (1982), pp. 127-141.

⁶³⁹ On the use of the anagram GVSTAVVS – AVGVSTVS in early modern Neo-Latin literature, see Helander (2004), p. 455f. Helander (2004), pp. 378-387, also highlights other aspects that aimed to emphasize the character and deeds of Gustavus Adolphus as the Great King of the North found in panegyric Neo-Latin literature of the seventeenth century.

10
 AVGVSTVS noster nulli virtute secundus,
 Ac hostes PATRIAE vicit ubique suae,
 AVGVSTVM PATRIAE PATREM pia ROMA vocavit
 TE PATRIAE PATREM Svecia nostra vocat.
 Sic redivivus adest AVGVSTVS, CAESAR et alter,
 AVGVSTVM, nostrum quem metagramma vocat.
 Hunc tamen AVGVSTVM superas, AVGVSTE secunde,
 Summe PATER PATRIAE, RELIGIONE, FIDE

[Caesar Augustus, no one was more majestic than he,
 was Caesar in Rome, now he is here, reborn.
 Augustus did not dodge anyone, neither in warfare, nor in arts.
 This Augustus does not dodge any general.
 Augustus glistened with divine virtue and of faith,
 and he defeated all his enemies in the world:
 our Augustus is second to none in virtue,
 and everywhere he has defeated the enemies of his Fatherland.
 Pious Rome named Augustus ‘Father of the Fatherland’,
 our Sweden names you ‘Father of the Fatherland’.
 Thus the reborn Augustus, even a new Caesar, has arrived,
 whom this word play⁶⁴⁰ names our Augustus.
 Still, you surpass this first Augustus, you second Augustus,
 greatest Father of the Fatherland, in religion and in faith.]

Gustavus Adolphus is portrayed as the reborn Augustus and Father of the Nation, even surpassing the Roman emperor in power and (religious) virtue.

Regarding the dissertations with dedications to Queen Christina all of them are in some way particular, dealing with subjects worthy of a queen. *De utilitate historiae ecc[lesiasticae] imprimis Sveo-Gothorum* (pr. J. Baazius, Jönköping 1641) was dedicated to Christina before she was crowned queen,⁶⁴¹ and deals with Sweden’s glorious past; *De Thule* (pr. E. Malmogius Roslagius, Stockholm 1648) is an early dissertation describing Sweden as Thule; *Specimen conciliationis linguarum, ex nativis earundem proprietatibus* (Strängnäs 1648) is the only remains of the unfinished translation of the Bible into Swedish by *praeses* Petrus Arenbechius;⁶⁴² finally, Περί τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

⁶⁴⁰ The word *metagramma* in the poem means a ‘word puzzle’ or ‘word game’ in which letters are substituted with others to form new words. A metagram is thus comparable to an anagram. OED, s.v. metagram.

⁶⁴¹ This is mentioned in the dedication, as Christina is described as *regina electa* (‘chosen to become queen’).

⁶⁴² *SBL* s.v. Petrus Dieterici Arenbechius, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=18771> (authors J. Lindblom and B. Boethius). Arenbechius also appears in other dissertations amongst the material studied,

ἀδιαφθόρου (pr. J. Georgii Gezelius, Stockholm 1650), is particular because it is one of the few dissertations entirely in Greek. Queen Christina, herself very interested in the liberal arts, is known to have supported scholarly activity, and was thereby honored with a great number of panegyrics.⁶⁴³ It is likely that the dedicators of the gymnasial dissertations felt that their subjects were fit for dedicating to the queen. But why dedicate a gymnasial dissertation to royalty? It is most unlikely that the dedicators were personally acquainted with King Gustavus Adolphus or Queen Christina. Rather, as Hansson has suggested, it is a question of paying tribute, of showing servanthood, of demonstrating loyalty and perhaps to augment the value of the work in the eyes of the readers.⁶⁴⁴

When addressing Queen Christina, the dedicators make use of formulaic and accepted expressions for the purpose. Her majesty is invoked in similar ways in all four dedications, as hereditary queen of the Swedes, the Goths, the Vandals, and ruler of the territory belonging to Sweden in the seventeenth century: Finland, Estonia, the Karelen (in today's West Russia) and Ingria (Ingermanland in Swedish, south of the Gulf of Finland). To exemplify, the earliest of the dedications, that from Jönköping 1641, is given here:

SERENISSIMAE ET POTENTISSIMAE
Principi ac Dominae,
DOMINAE CHRISTINAE
AUGUSTAE,
Regnorum Sveciae, Gothiae, Vandaliaeque Reginae
Electae ac Principi Haereditariae; Nec non Magnae
Principi Finlandiae, Duci Esthoniae et
Careliae Ingriaeque Dominae et c.

Salutem et felix Regimen submitte precatur

In addition to enumerating all Swedish territories, the dedication names Christina as *serenissima ac potentissima* ('most bright and powerful') and *angusta*

namely as respondent of *Disputatio theologica quosdam articulos fidei [...]* (Stockholm 1644), and as *praeses* of both *De sacra scriptura, errorumque rejectione* (Strängnäs 1645) and *De Deo essentia uno et personis trino* (Strängnäs 1647). See also Edquist (1943), p. 15f.

⁶⁴³ Kajanto (1993), p. 7. Kajanto lists more than a hundred Latin panegyrics to Queen Christina, both Swedish and foreign.

⁶⁴⁴ Hansson (1982), p. 132.

(‘worthy of honor’), according to convention.⁶⁴⁵ The dedicatory epistle follows the dedication. When addressing royalty, it seems that writers often deemed it necessary to point out Sweden’s glorious past, as appears in the dedicatory epistles of *De utilitate historiae ecclesiasticae imprimis Sveo-Gothorum* (pr. J. Baazius, Jönköping 1641) and *De Thule* (pr. E. Malmogius Roslagius, Stockholm 1648), where the subject matter and situation demand it. In the former of these, the dedicator, *praeses* Johannes Baazius, explains why he has written a work on the history of the Swedish church: he argues that while the political history of Sweden has been described by Swedish scholars, the history of the Swedish church has been primarily covered by foreign writers, who were not entirely correct in their descriptions (*nostraque Ecclesiastica etiam desumantur ab exteris scriptoribus [...] qui non sunt hic veritatem plene assecuti*). The dedicator then briefly tells of the ancient authors (Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny the elder, Tacitus, Ptolmey) who had written about the different peoples descended from the offspring and family of Magog — Scythae, Getae, Sviones etc, — who had spread to the North after the deluge (*sobolem et familiam Magogi mox a diluvio mundi propagatam esse in terram Aquilonarem*). But, the dedicator says, these writers had not done this accurately (*Nec illi descripsere hos populos integrè*), for three reasons:

1. Omnes Antiqui putabant Scandiam esse Insulam Germaniae annumerandam, ideo Tacitus sub Titul. Germ. hos populos commemorat. 2. Populus Scandianus habuit peculiarem lingvam ac scripturam Runicam, quam neque Graeci neque Latini intellexerunt. 3. Sveo-Gothi antiquissimi exercebant propter usum lingvae et cognationem commercia cum Scythis Thracensibus; ideoque exteri Historici illorum Scandianorum Acta publica (quid dicam secreta et rationem cultus) ignorarunt.

[1. All the ancients believed that Scandia was an island that was to be included with Germania, therefore Tacitus mentions these peoples under the heading *Germania*. 2. The people of Scandia had a special language and runic scripture, which neither the Greeks, nor the Latins understood. 3. The most ancient Sveo-Goths practiced commerce with the Thracian Scythi, because of the language they used and affinity to them; and therefore the foreign historians were ignorant of the public affairs of the Scandinavians (let alone their secret affairs and their way of living).]

This glorifying of Sweden’s past is in line with the Gothicism that flourished in historiography in this period.⁶⁴⁶ It was considered a proper way of linking the past to the present Great Power period in Sweden when writing to the

⁶⁴⁵ Cf. some of the titles of the panegyrics listed by Kajanto (1993), pp. 12-35.

⁶⁴⁶ See Helander (2004), p. 401 ff. with further references. See also “Introduction” by Bernd Roling and the various contributions in Roling, Schirg and Bauhaus (2017).

designate queen in a dedication. In this way, the dedicator picks up on and justifies the choice of subject matter of his work in the dedicatory epistle.⁶⁴⁷ In the dedicatory epistle of *De Thule* (pr. E. Malmogius Roslagius, Stockholm 1648), there is a similar tendency to point to the history of the Swedish people to justify the present work.

The dedicator and *praeses* of *Specimen conciliationis linguarum* [...] (Strängnäs 1648) (Arenbechius) on the other hand does not write in this manner. Instead Arenbechius writes of his own educational journey and he thanks his lucky stars for the opportunities he has had, both regarding education and in writing the present dissertation, one supposes: *omnium Maximas ago gratias, qua felicius sydus nullum exoriri poterit*. In the case of Arenbechius, in the year before the dissertation was submitted, he had been granted a sum of three hundred *daler* by Christina for further studies abroad, money that was transferred to pay his salary as *lector* at the gymnasium of Strängnäs.⁶⁴⁸ By dedicating the dissertation *Specimen conciliationis linguarum* [...] to Christina he thanks her for her monetary aid that helped to boost his career.

At the beginning and at the end of dedicatory epistles to Christina, the dedicators address the queen, in a humble and discreet way. In the previously quoted dedicatory epistle of *De utilitate historiae eccl[esiasticae] imprimis Sveo-Gothorum* (Jönköping 1641) Johannes Baazius humbly asks that Her Royal Highness receive the preface of his work mercifully: *Rogo submisce, ut S.R.M.V. hoc praeludium laboris mei Clementer accipiat*. Note that the author does not ask the queen to receive the whole dissertation, but only the preface. Another elaborate and submissive example is the end of the dedicatory epistle of *Specimen conciliationis linguarum* [...] (pr. Petrus Arenbechius, Strängnäs 1648):

Ideoque merito ne magnis hisce beneficiis ingratus sim, exiguum hunc laborem, in Nominis Divini gloriam inprimis, et publicam gratitudinis Aram pijs mentibus statuo, eumque tanquam praenuntium mei ministerij, humilimo animo, et Regiae Majestati devotissimo offero, quo Majestati suae humilime addictus, in servitutum et fidem Majoris esse constitui, Accipiat quaeso Tyrocinium hoc placido vultu Serenissima ac semper Augustissima Regia sua Majestas Valeat, in Domino foelix, atque in Regno triumphali aeternum Vivat.

[And therefore deservedly, that I should not be ungrateful for these great favors, I set up this petty work, especially in honor of the divine name, and this public altar of gratitude to a loyal mind,

⁶⁴⁷ Glomski (2002), p. 176, has underlined how rhetorically effective this was “by connecting it [the dedicated work] to classical literature or history, which not only displayed the erudition of the writer, but provided a point of departure for the discussion of the subject matter of the book.”

⁶⁴⁸ Edquist (1943), p. 16.

and this as a token of my service, with very humble and most devoted soul, I offer to Her Majesty the Queen; in this I am humbly bound to her Majesty, and I have erected this to be in servitude and in loyalty of the higher; I beg that she will accept this little attempt with mild expression; may her most serene and always most majestic royal majesty be strong, blessed in the Lord, and may live forever in the triumphal Reign.]

These phrases show what Jacqueline Glomski (2002), in her article on dedicatory epistles from sixteenth-century Krakow, has called a literary pattern that is conditioned by the situation of offering a literary work to a person.⁶⁴⁹ Although the submissiveness found in these dedicatory epistles may seem strange to a modern reader, it was part of a performance in which these expressions were completely accepted – even expected – by both dedicator and dedicatee. It is also interesting to note that the dedicator of the example above does not address the queen directly, so as to yet again underline his humbleness and devotion to the royal person. Wordings such as *exiguum hunc laborem, humilimo animo, Regiae Majestati devotissimo, quaeso* and *Tyrocinium* all clarify the seriousness of the humble approach of the dedicator. These closing lines to Queen Christina show the proper way to end a dedicatory epistle, and correspond to the conclusions drawn by Jacqueline Glomski in her study on dedicatory epistles (in her case called ‘letters’), namely that the purpose of the dedicatory epistle was to stress how generous the dedicatee had been, to ask the dedicatee to receive the work, and to wish the dedicatee well.⁶⁵⁰

3.4.6.2 Dedications to Noblemen

Compared to dedications to royalty, dedications to noblemen are far more common in gymnasial dissertations. The support and benevolence of noblemen, for instance through the so-called *ius patronatus* stressed above in section 3.4.5.1, were important in the gymnasial context, and were consequently mirrored in dedications. Altogether, there are a little over twenty-five dedications directed to noblemen in the material studied. All but two of these are from the seventeenth century. Particularly high numbers of dedications to noblemen are found in the dissertations from Strängnäs (9), Västerås (8) and Stockholm (5). The majority of dedications to noblemen were produced by respondents.⁶⁵¹ Typical adjectives used to describe the nobleman in dedicatory addresses are:

⁶⁴⁹ Glomski (2002), p. 169.

⁶⁵⁰ Glomski (2002), p. 177.

⁶⁵¹ For the three gymnasia mentioned as having the highest number of dedications to noblemen, the distribution of *prae ses*- and respondent-produced dedications is as follows:

(per)illustris/illustrissimus
generosus/generosissimus
nobilissimus
magnificus
praeclarissimus
excellentissimus

These adjectives aim to emphasize the nobleman's high standing at the top end of society and to highlight his generous character. Generally, titles of honor and epithets of this kind have their origin in classical antiquity. In his investigation of 'die Rangtitel' used in Imperial Rome, Otto Hirschfeld (1913) mentions many of the titles that we find surviving and being reused in gymnasial dissertations: *eminentissimus*, *illustris*, *spectabilis*, *clarissimus* and so on.⁶⁵²

It is also quite common to point to the fidelity of the nobleman to the king/queen and to the Kingdom of Sweden as in *De lumine naturae* (pr. J. G. Riveliu, Strängnäs 1672), in which the heading of the dedicatory address reads: *Regiae Majestati Regnoque Sveciae fidelissimo Viro [...] Naturalium et virtutum splendore illustrissimo Domino Domino Gustavo Gyldenstierna [...]*, i.e. "to Sire Gustavus Gyldenstierna, most faithful to the royal majesty and the Kingdom of Sweden, most illustrious by natural and virtuous splendor".⁶⁵³ It is also suitable to list the territories of which the baron or count were head in a dedication, as in the example of the dedication address from *De usu philosophiae in theologia* (pr. A. Brodinus, Västerås 1671):⁶⁵⁴

PERillustribus ac Generosissimis
Domini,
DOMINO AXELIO

Västerås: Praeses 2, Respondent 6
Strängnäs: Praeses 3, Respondent 6
Stockholm: Praeses 1, Respondent 4

⁶⁵² See Hirschfeld (1913), p. 646-681. Quite a few of these titles were initially titles of officers and other military titles, others could be also applied to women and children.

⁶⁵³ The noun *dominus* occurs twice, the second time it is abbreviated in the original to *Dn.* Cf. the doubling of the nouns *dominus* in the *Habemus papam*-formula: *Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum: Habemus papam! Eminentissimum ac reverendissimum dominum, dominum [first name] Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalem [last name] [...]*.

⁶⁵⁴ The dedication address is truncated here, but in its original form the dedicator also addresses Carolus Gustavus Oxenstierna in similar wording as the address to Axel Oxenstierna. Cf. the dedications to Queen Christina above.

OXENSTIERNA,
Comiti de Morea Australi, L.B.
de Kimitho et Nynääs/Domino in
Fiholm/Tijdöö/Juhlsta/Ericksund
Nec non hoc tempore Academiae
Patriae, quae Vpsaliae est, Rectori
Magnificentissimo.
[...]

As seen above, the dedicatee is head of seven areas or territories: Morea Australis (in Sw. Södra Möre), Kimitho (in today's Finland), Nynääs, Fiholm, Tijdöö, Juhlsta and Ericksund.

The number of dedicatory epistles following the dedications to noblemen is low: only eight of these dedications have a longer text to the dedicatee. Of these, one is written in French (*De principiis politices et majestate in genere*, pr. W. Simonius, Stockholm 1629), and directed to the father of the dedicator. This case is particular because it appears in a dissertation from the *Collegium illustre* in Stockholm which was a gymnasium-like educational institution particularly for sons of the nobility. In this case it was not a matter of expressing gratitude to a patron, but of saluting one's father. However, it is unusual to find the sons of the nobility acting as respondents to dissertations. In this particular case, the social position of the respondent/dedicator is already highlighted on the title page. The name of the respondent Johannes (Johan) Skytte junior is found before the name of the *praeses*, and mentioned as *Generosus et Nobilissimus Dominus* and titled as *Liber Baro in Duderof*. I have noted that in this case the name of the chairman of the disputation, whose name normally comes before the respondent's, is found further down the page, even though *praeses* Wilhelmus Simonius was *politices et juris professor*. This use of typography to emphasize the importance of the respondent instead of the *praeses* must be due to the noble descent of the respondent. This dedication is a peculiar, but interesting, example of how important it was to follow the rules of social rank and position properly. In the dedication, the respondent addresses his father, Jean (Johan) Skytte in French, calling him *Mon Tres-bonnoré Pere*, and concludes the dedicatory epistle with the words *Vostre treshumble et obeissant fils*. The choice of language (French) is in line with the educational ideals of the Swedish nobility of the time.⁶⁵⁵ In this particular case the choice of French instead of Latin was perhaps a way to distinguish the nobleman from the others, for whom Latin was the predominant language.

⁶⁵⁵ Modern languages were considered a natural part of the curriculum of the nobility in seventeenth-century Sweden. This distinguished the ideal education of noblemen from the education provided in public gymnasia. Sjöstrand (1965), pp. 252-262

A general theme in the Latin dedicatory epistles to noblemen is to allude to the nobleman's interest in and sponsorship of liberal arts and studies. This practice is attested in e.g. *De principiis virtutum* (pr. E. Malmogius Roslagius, Stockholm 1647), in which respondent Andreas Johannis Meleman (*philosophiae et juris studiosus*) dedicates the dissertation to baron Magnus De la Gardie. In the dedicatory epistle, Meleman mentions De la Gardie's love of and kindness (*humanitas*) towards students of liberal arts (my emphasis):

Quo ausu vanitatis argui possem, nisi in memoriam subiret vestrae excellentiae pietas, et gratia cum erga omnes in vniuersum bonos, **tum praesertim amor et humanitas in bonarum litterarum studiosos**, quod me non solum erexit sed commovit et impulit, ut hanc disquisitionem philosophicam dedicarem.

[I could have been blamed for vanity for this venture, if your excellence's piety had not stepped forth in my memory, and grace not only towards all good men in the world, **but also especially your love and kindness towards students of liberal arts**, that not only encouraged, but also excited and stimulated me, so that I would dedicate this philosophical investigation.]

One possible explanation as to how De la Gardie had shown his love and kindness to students is that he supported them financially.

Dedicators also demonstrate their thankfulness for being among the clientele of the nobleman. This is evident in the dedicatory epistle of *De illuminatione lunae* (pr. V. Granagrius, Västerås 1677), dedicated to Baron Claudius Rålamb by respondent Laurentius Hoffstedt. As a sample of a complete dedicatory epistle to a nobleman I give the whole text here:⁶⁵⁶

PerIllustris et Generosissime Baro,
Domine gratiosissime,

Vereor ne vulgare illud proverbium, *Magnos magna decet*, mihi vitio vertatur, quod hanc rudem Disputatiunculam Tuo PerIllustri Nomini inscribendam mihi sumpserim, oporteret merito progredientem in conspectum Tuum, magnum codicem, magifico stilo ornatum, Tuae Excellentiae dedicare, quod a me utpote Tirone, tam propter imbecillitatem ingenij, quam conditionem meam nemo exigere potest; Ea tamen spe fretus ut qua benevolentia me antea exceperisti, atque Praeclarissimo Professori

⁶⁵⁶ The printed original of this dedicatory epistle contains quite a few misprints, which are corrected by hand in the copy in UUB: *hec quoque primum...* (=huc); *qualemcunque guatum* (=gratum)...; *potui patgellis* (=pagellis)...; *ab multa Tua* (=ob)...; *ut has leves hagellas* (=pagellas). Misprints of this kind – due to poor proofreading one may guess – must hardly have seemed flattering in the eyes of the dedicatee.

cuidam Upsaliensi commendatum voluisti (a quo etiam benigne sum expertus) huc quoque primum ingenij mei foetum de Illuminatione Lunae sub PerIllustris Nominis Tui tutela habitum esse patiaris; non alio enim id me fecisse consilio fateor, quam ut animum meum qualemcunque gratum hisce quibus potui pagellis quam humilime demonstrarem, pari subjectione animi rogans ut me in numerum Clientum Tuorum uti caepisti, receptum habere digneris: Operam dabo ut hisce studiorum meorum primitiis, majora cum tempore (Deo volente) addere et consignare possim. Scio quidem PerIllustrem Tuam Excellentiam Tantum temporis ob multa Tua, Regnoque summe necessaria negotia non habere, ut has leves pagellas inspicere, multo minus relegere possis; oro tamen ne, quod PerIllustri Tuo Nomini inscripsi irritum abire facias. Conservet insuper Deus omnipotens PerIllustrem Tuam Excellentiam ab omni periculo et malo, vitamque Tibi longam, quam benignissime Largiatur!

Sic vovet

PerIllustris Excellentiae Tuae

Humilimus Clientus

LAUR. Hoffstedt.

[Most distinguished and generous Baron, most kind Sire, I fear that the common proverb "Important things are suitable for important persons" will change into an error for me, now that I have set forth to ascribe this coarse little dissertation to your very notable name. It should rightly be becoming – when advancing in your sight – to dedicate a large book ornamented with exquisite style, which no one can demand of me, a beginner, as because of my intellectual feebleness, as well because of my circumstances. Yet, relying on that hope, as you received me with such kindness before, and with which you wanted to recommend me to a certain distinguished professor in Uppsala (by whom I was also kindly tested), thus you may also abide with my ability's first produce on the illumination of the moon which will be held under protection of your name. For I acknowledge that I have done it with no other intention, than that I could demonstrate ever so humbly my thankful mind with these small pages, asking with equal subjection of my mind that you will consider me worthy to accept me among your clients as you have begun to do: I will make efforts that I can consign and add greater works with time (God willing) to these first-fruits of my studies. I know certainly that your most distinguished Excellency does not have much time because of your many most necessary state affairs, to look at these small trifling pages, still less to reread them. Yet I pray that you would not let it pass in vain what I have ascribed to your very notable name. In addition, may All-powerful God preserve your most notable excellence from all dangers and evils, and may he benevolently grant you a long life. So wishes your most notable excellence's most humble client, Laurentius Hoffstedt.]

Not only does Laurentius Hoffstedt wish the dedicatee to take him under his wing (*sub PerIllustris Nominis Tui tutela*), but he also asks the benefactor to

accept him among his clients (*ut me in numerum Clientum Tuorum uti caepisti*).⁶⁵⁷ Furthermore, the dedicator hopes that better work will be added to this early work in the future (*Operam dabo ut hisce studiorum meorum primitiis, majora cum tempore [...] addere et consignare possim*), with, of course, the help of the dedicatee. Laurentius Hoffstedt was registered at the University of Uppsala in 1676 and is thus one of the students who returned to his former gymnasium to deepen his studies.⁶⁵⁸

3.4.6.3 Dedications to Bishops

As stated above a great proportion of all dedications are directed to the bishop of the diocese. The presence of dedications to bishops may be explained by the role they had as *ephorus* of the gymnasium and as chairman of the consistory. As a result of his position as the highest official of the diocese in which the gymnasium was located, it was important to express gratitude towards the bishop. From the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there are roughly fifty dedications which are directed to bishops in the material studied. From the seventeenth century it is more common to find dedications in which the bishop is one of many dedicatees. However, even when the bishop is not the only dedicatee, his name most often stands at the top of the roll of names. In this context, it is interesting to note that there are few dedications that are directed both to a bishop and noblemen; examples are *De mathesi in genere* (pr. A.A. Malmenius, Strängnäs 1652) and *Υπομνήματα nonnulla [...]* (pr. C. Nyren, Linköping 1768). In terms of the typographic reflection of social rank under discussion, the bishop in the first of these dissertations is outrivaled by three young noblemen — Johannes, Gustavus and Nicolaus Olieqvist — whose names stand at the top of the page, while the bishop of Strängnäs — Johannes Matthiae — must be content with a secondary role, his name printed in smaller characters. In the latter dissertation, however, the nobleman Baron Gustavus Adolphus Lagerfeldt and bishop Petrus Filenius are represented typographically as equals.

⁶⁵⁷ Cf. the wordings in the dedicatory epistle to bishop Olavus Laurentius written by respondent Andreas Johannis Betulius in *Super divi apostoli Pauli epistola ad Romanos [...]* (Västerås 1655): *...me etiam clientum Tuorum minimis adnumerare digneris.*

⁶⁵⁸ Laurentius Hoffstedt is also known as Hofstadius. The fact that Hoffstedt was a returning student is stressed in the congratulatory prose passage on the last page of the dissertation where the good character of the university Head Master is mentioned: *Ita tibi amice a primus [sic] annis aetatis Clementissima summi hujus Universitatis Rectoris Bonitas, bonestissimam cupiditatem Matheseos ingeneravit [...]*. Hoffstedt became a surveyor in Öland and Uppsala (1687). Later, in 1716, he became mayor of Enköping in the region of Uppland. In 1723, the same year in which he passed away, he became a Member of Parliament. *Västmanlands-Dala nations album* I:1639-1700, p. 171; *Uppsala Universitets matrikel* 4:1665-1680, p. 243.

Two late but typical examples of dedications addressed to Petrus Filenius, the bishop of Linköping, are found in *Tirocinia mathematica* (pr. C. I. Melander) and in *Dissertatio historico moralis usum historiarum morale leviter adumbrans* (pr. J. B. Busser) both from Linköping 1773. In these six characteristic functions of the bishop are mentioned by the dedicators. The wording of the latter dedicatory address is reproduced here:

SACRAE REGIAE MAJESTATIS
 Magnae Fidei Viro,
 Reverendissimo in Christo Patri,
 DOMINO PETRO FILENIO,
 S.S. Theologiae Doctori Consumatissimo,
 EPISCOPO
 Per inclutam Dioecesem Lincopensem longe Eminentissimo,
 PRAESIDI
 Maximi Venerandi Consistorii, qvod ibidem est, Gravissimo,
 EPHORO
 Regii Gymnasii Scholarumqve adcuratissimo,
 MEMBRO
 Regiae et Antiquitatis Societatis Angliae dignissimo,
 MAECENATI
 Litterarum litteratorumqve Summo,
 PROMOTORI SUO
 [...]

The *praeses* of the dissertation, Johannes B. Busser (*historiarum et philosophiae moralis lector*), titles the dedicatee, the reverend Petrus Filenius, as, in the following order, Doctor of Theology, Bishop, Chairman of the consistory, Curator of the gymnasium, Fellow of the Royal Society in England,⁶⁵⁹ patron of literature and of writers, and finally as the dedicator's own promoter. The bishop is addressed in the superlative in line with the practice of the time: *reverendissimus, consumatissimus, eminentissimus, gravissimus, adcuratissimus, dignissimus, summus* ("most reverend, most accomplished, most eminent, most important, most diligent, most worthy, and highest").

When one reads the dedicatory epistles directed to bishops, it is noticeable that the dedicators are often on friendly terms with the dedicatees to a much higher degree than is noted in the dedications to royalty and noblemen. Since the bishop functioned as *ephorus* of the gymnasium, he

⁶⁵⁹ Accordingly, Filenius appears to have been a fellow of the Royal Society in London founded in the 1660s. Filenius was registered as student at the University of Oxford in 1736, and later he also became student in London and Durham. Filenius remained in England until 1739. This explains the wording *membro regiae et Antiquitatis Societatis Angliae dignissimo* in his title in the dedicatory address. SBL, s.v. Petrus N Filenius <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/14122> (author Bengt Hildebrand).

must have been in close contact with the microcosm of the school environment, consisting of headmasters, teachers – who were also members of the consistory – and schoolboys. He may even have counted some of the staff of the school as friends. The tone of the dedicatory epistles suggests this familiarity, as in the following example from *De falsa Bezae verborum Petri interpretatione* (Västerås 1645), dedicated to bishop Johannes Rudbeckius by *praeses* Iohannes Petri Arbogensis:

Mirabitur quis fortasse, quod eandem [sc. dissertationem] Venerabili Reverendissimae Dignitati, *Amplissime Praesul*, gravissimo ac diutino morbo, pene confectae, inscribere audeam, quippe quam morbus interdum aegre spiritum ducere sinit, nedum disputationem aliquam legere.

[Someone shall perhaps be astonished that I dare assign this dissertation to your venerable most reverend dignity, most distinguished bishop, who is affected by a very burdensome and long sickness, you who a sickness sometimes hardly allows to catch your breath, not to mention to read a dissertation.]

There is no mistaking the concern for the old and sick bishop here.⁶⁶⁰ The same familiarity shines through in *De usu philosophiae in theologia* (Västerås 1678) which *praeses* Petrus Christiernin dedicates to bishop Johannes Brodinus. The dedicator mentions the paternal benevolence and justice of the bishop (emphasis added): *Quapropter Paternae Tuae Benevolentiae me libenter submitto, cuius amplitudinem hic tantam apud nos accepimus, ut etiam de paterna Tua aequitate jamdudum nobis maxime gratulati simus* (“Therefore I willingly submit your paternal support towards me, the amplitude of which we receive, so that also we shall be most glad of your paternal justice immediately”). One suspects that the paternal qualities of the bishop should be seen not only as fatherly in general, but also specifically in the light of his office as father figure for his diocese.

3.4.6.4 Dedications to Church Officials and People with Civic Positions

Very often we find vicars, deans, preachers etc. as the subject of dedications. Usually these people are part of larger groups of dedicatees in a dedication that contains, for instance, a bishop, a few *pastores*, and *praepositi*. Unlike

⁶⁶⁰ Johannes Rudbeckius died on 8 August 1646, after having been bedbound for several years. SBL, s.v. Johannes Rudbeckius <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=6999> (author Erland Sellberg), and NFB, s.v. Rudbeckius, Johannes d.ä. (col. 1103).

bishops, church officials rarely play the main part, so to speak. Although church officials are frequent dedicatees, there are very few dedicatory epistles directed to a *pastor* as the main dedicatee. There are only two seventeenth-century cases of dedicatory epistles addressed to church officials – excluding bishops – alone (*De natura*, pr. S. Benedicti Arbogensis Västerås 1633, and *De magistratu politico*, pr. N. Ramzius Göteborg 1668, both dedicated to a *pastor*). However, we find a higher number of dedicatory epistles to *pastores* from Strängnäs at the beginning of the eighteenth century: of a total of eleven dedications, there are seven dedicatory epistles addressed exclusively to church officials, mainly *pastores*. From Strängnäs we find a typical example of the formulaic features so frequently found in dedicatory epistles; in *Positiones* (pr. C. Enhörning, Strängnäs 1704) one of the three respondents, Olaus Hyemander, acts as dedicator, addressing Johannes Colling (*praepositus et pastor in Fougöö ac Hällgaröö*) and Andreas Ulfström (*praetor districtus Gripsbolmensium*). The short text is given here:

Has qualescunque studiorum meorum primitias, tanquam devotae venerationis, piaie mentis ac debitae observantiae tesseram submisae obfero, spe connixus certissima, vultu benigno acceptas fore. Deum Optimum Maximum iuxta calidis efflagito suspiriis, dignetur vos, quibus me in posterum venerabundus commendo, diu incolumes servare, atque aetatem vestram in seram posteritatem paterne extendere.

Praeclarissimi Domini Praepositi,

ac

Maxime spectabilis Domini Praetoris

Humillimus cultor

Olaus Hyemander

[I humbly offer these whatever kind of first-fruits of my studies, a token so to speak of devote veneration, of a pious mind and of indebted respect, endeavored by a very firm hope that they my first-fruits shall be accepted with a favorable mind. With eager sighs I ask the Highest and Mightiest God, that he shall dignify to preserve you for a long time, you to whom I humbly entrust myself for the future, and to extend fatherly your lifetime for a long future.

Olaus Hyemander, most humble worshipper of the most distinct Sires Deans and of the most honorable Sire bailiff]

The dedicatory epistle gives the impression of consisting of dutiful phrases that one expects to find included in a dedication. In the dedicatory epistle the dedicator shows humbleness, and he also wishes that the dedicatees shall live a long life: the longer the benefactors live, the more opportunities the dedicator will have to take advantage of their benevolence.

In the group of dedicatees who were church officials we find the highest number of people labeled as relatives of the dedicator. This stresses the

social structure of the gymnasium, where a large proportion of the schoolboys were sons of vicars.⁶⁶¹ The dedications are often to church officials working in the diocese in which the gymnasium was situated. This is explained by the fact that church authorities were prone to assign vicarages or incumbencies to those who either originated from the diocese and/or who had attended school there.⁶⁶² One can undoubtedly – with an expression borrowed from Erik Sandberg – speak of ‘closed dioceses’, i.e. dioceses that did not give, or at least did not want to give, employment to non-indigenous people.⁶⁶³ This practice was even emphasized in the school regulations of 1724, where it says that positions as *pastores* and as *lectores* should not be granted to people other than ‘the sons of the diocese’, because in this way bishops, superintendents and consistories would know which people were suitable to employ.⁶⁶⁴ Inevitably, the high number of dedications to church officials working in the same diocese as the dedicator was a result of the practice of (solely) granting positions to indigenous people. In this light, dedications to church officials should be understood as a way of affirming a bond between dedicator and people who held church positions in that particular diocese. Seen from this viewpoint, dedications functioned as a form of written application, by which the dedicator established a social network of anticipated future employers.

The desire to distinguish between different social ranks that we saw in the previous discussions of dedications to other groups is again visible when one examines dedications to church officials and to people with civic positions. This is particularly evident in the dedication of *De peccato in genere et originali* [...] (pr. N. O. Walingius, Strängnäs 1634). At the top of the page the reader finds the main dedicatee, namely Baron Gustavus Leijonhufvudh. Below his name there are two columns: the left lists eight *pastores*, and the right enumerates five people who held civic positions. The distinction so drawn between these two groups is also seen in the use of the adjectives used to describe individuals. The *pastores* are referred to as *reverendi, clarissimi, humanissimi et doctissimi domini* (referring to their education), while the people

⁶⁶¹ In the gymnasium of Västerås between 17 and 42 percent of the schoolboys were the sons of vicars in the period 1650-1720. During the eighteenth century, one third of the schoolboys in Swedish gymnasia were the sons of vicars, one third were the sons of farmers and one third were the sons of burghers and civil servants. Sandberg (1994), p. 73.

⁶⁶² Sandberg (1994), p. 81.

⁶⁶³ Sandberg (1994), p. 80ff. The dioceses were, at least in the seventeenth century, strikingly independent institutions. Askmark (1943), p. 108f.

⁶⁶⁴ SO 1724, ÅSU 7, p. 20: ”Så som Wij om Biskoparne, Superintendenterne ock wåre Consistoriis hafwa den nådige tankan, at the bäst kända the Personer i sine anförtrodde Stifften, som til Informationswäcket uti Gymnasier ock Scholar tienligast äro; alt så tiltro Wij them ock i nåder, [...] att inga andre än Stifftens barn ock sådane ämnen til the ledige Lectoraten ock Rectoraten förordnas, som äro the tienligaste Subjecta [...].” This practice of giving employment only to indigenous people was in use until the mid-nineteenth century. Sandberg (1994), p. 82ff.

with civic positions are referred to as *spectabiles, prudentissimi et integerrimi viri*. Also worth noting is the difference in titling: the noun *dominus* is used for church officials, but the noun *vir* for non-clerical people.⁶⁶⁵ The same kind of division between church officials and the laity is found for example in *De SS. Theologiae natura et constitutione* (pr. N. O. Walingius, Strängnäs 1641), *De regimine religionis [...]* (pr. J. Matthiae, Strängnäs 1646) and in *De demonstratione* (pr. L. Joannis Folerius, Västerås 1660).

3.4.7 Why Dedicate a Gymnasial Dissertation?

There are several reasons for the people involved in a dissertation to include a dedication, such as showing gratitude towards a friend or a benefactor for a favor, emphasizing one's loyalty to a specific person, or prospecting for future employment. Generally, to dedicate a dissertation was a way of establishing social networks and relationships.

A network is characterized as a mutual, horizontal and voluntary non-hierarchical relationship between more or less equals and is not governed by formal rules.⁶⁶⁶ This means that the individuals involved in this kind of loosely tied relationship have equal opportunities to gain from the relationship. In the case of gymnasial dedications there are but a few dedications between equals, namely those directed to fellow students, colleagues and friends. Unfortunately, the source material examined here only offers limited information on what the networks of the dedicators would have looked like. One would need further sources that deal with each and every one of the dedicators to be able to draw adequate conclusions as to how these networks were realized.

A higher number of the dedications show evidence of patron-client relationships. Unlike networks, patron-client relationships are characterized as being unequal, hierarchical and vertical.⁶⁶⁷ This means that in a patron-client relationship there are always differences in power between the patron and the client, but that there are also obligations – whether instrumental or economic – for both parties to fulfil. Even though the patron-client relationship is unequal it is also characterized by a certain reciprocity, loyalty and solidarity that both parties can gain from. So it is regarding dedications: both dedicator and dedicatee enjoy the credit gained by their names appearing in a printed item such as a dissertation. For the dedicator, it is rewarding to be associated with the individual(s) to whom he dedicates the

⁶⁶⁵ The noun *vir* ('man') – without a modifier – was used as a title already in classical Latin as a standard positive or neutral address. Dickey (2002), p. 364.

⁶⁶⁶ I follow the definition of networks as expressed by Hasselberg, Müller and Stenlås (2002), pp. 14-18.

⁶⁶⁷ The definition of the patron-client relationships follows that of Eisenstadt and Roniger (1984), pp. 48-49.

dissertation, and for the dedicatee it is rewarding to be able to show that a printed text has been dedicated to him. In this way the text becomes legitimized and authorized in the eyes of a third party, the reader, by means of the dedication.⁶⁶⁸

What does the choice of dedicatee tell us about the dedicator's intention in making the dedication? Sometimes it cannot have been a question of choice, since many of the dedications are made by schoolboys who did not have particular strong power to choose their dedicatees. It was simply a matter of thanking the self-evident benefactors: parents, vicars from whom the schoolboys earned recognition or monetary aid, or others who supported them. In the case of dedications to noblemen, there is a possibility that the schoolboys wished to become tutors for the noblemen's sons in order to be able to benefit from the *ius patronatus*. In the cases of dedications to bishops, many of these appear to be made by convention: the bishop was to be thanked in his position as the leader of the consistory and of the gymnasium.

Another question we might ask is why only a minority of dissertations had dedications. The practice of dedicating a work must have been seen as somewhat unusual and reserved for specific cases, since such a small percentage of gymnasial dissertations show this paratextual feature. I presume that one such type of case was that in which the costs of printing the dissertation had been borne by the dedicatee, or perhaps of the dedicatee had simply promised monetary aid. It appears likely that not all schoolboys – if we only consider the dedications by respondents – had the privilege of access to a wealthy patron. In many cases – if not even in most cases – the dedications were intended for people who were undoubtedly not present at the actual disputation. This emphasizes that the printed item, the dissertation itself, was an instrument of displaying gratitude to absent benefactors.⁶⁶⁹

As has been said earlier in this section, we find quite a few dedications to several dedicatees in the material studied. If several vicars are the subject of the dedication, they are most likely from the same region or diocese, and may sometimes even be related to the dedicator. The most likely reason for dedicating a dissertation to a larger group of people, whether church officials, civic officials, civilians, or noblemen, is that the dedication could be seen as a form of application for future positions. Dedications were not only a way of to thank dedicatees for previous aid and support, but a way for the dedicator to demonstrate his aspirations.

⁶⁶⁸ Cf. Enenkel (2008).

⁶⁶⁹ Cf. Lindberg (2016), p. 20, on dedications in academic dissertations.

3.4.8 Concluding Remarks

Dedications in gymnasial dissertations are more common from the seventeenth century than from the following century. The gymnasia that submitted most printed dissertations in the seventeenth century are also those gymnasia where the highest numbers of dedications are found (Strängnäs, Västerås, Göteborg and Stockholm). Characteristically, dedications are issued by respondents, although there is a tendency towards more *praeses* produced dedications in the eighteenth century. This suggests that dissertations were important vehicles by which respondents built their networks and established social contacts in the seventeenth century, while dedications were more important for the *praeses* in the eighteenth century. The examination of topoi and stylistic features in dedications reveals that humbleness is ubiquitous and that it is almost mandatory to emphasize the insignificance of the dissertation by using a variety of diminutives.

Among the dedicatees, the receivers of dedications, we may notice that few dissertations were dedicated to royalty, of which the majority were directed to Queen Christina. Noblemen were an important group of dedicatees, due to the fact that they could support the studies of schoolboys and designate church officials. The largest proportion of dedications are directed to bishops and church officials, which reflects their role in the educational system and the importance of the gymnasium as the training ground of church officials. Dedications had an important position in the social interplay between dedicators and dedicatees.

3.5 The Preface

In gymnasial dissertations the next paratext that the reader encounters, after the dedication, is usually the preface. In the following I will first give a short introduction to the history of the preface and how it was used in antiquity. I will then turn to the characteristics of prefaces as expressed in gymnasial dissertations.

3.5.1 Introduction

As with so many other features of Neo-Latin writings, the roots of the preface as they are manifested in gymnasial dissertations are to be found in classical antiquity.⁶⁷⁰ According to Genette, the preface was fully developed by the mid-sixteenth century in terms of themes and techniques, following a period of what he likes to call prefatory ‘prehistory’ from ancient Greece to

⁶⁷⁰ On the history of the preface, see Genette (1997b), pp. 163-170. On prefaces in antiquity and their topics in the Middle Ages, see Janson (1964), and Curtius (1953), pp. 85-89.

the writings of Rabelais.⁶⁷¹ By examining Genette's study in *Paratexts*, in which four chapters are devoted to the analysis of prefaces, one draws the conclusion that this is one of the most significant paratextual devices, and that there are a number of different types of preface.

According to Quintilian, in his *Institutio oratoria*, the preface had one specific purpose in classical rhetoric, namely to prepare the audience for the coming speech in three ways: by making the audience benevolent, attentive and docile.⁶⁷² Although speeches and dissertations are different text types, they are nevertheless related. Traces of Quintilian's dictum are visible in the prefaces of gymnasial dissertations, but in addition to attracting the interest of the reader, prefaces also discuss the subject of the main text of the work in some way. While in the case of dedications the receiver of the dedication was the focus, now the subject of the actual work is instead the center of attention. The preface in gymnasial dissertations is always placed at the beginning of the work, after any dedication, but before the actual text; thus there are no 'postfaces'. As will be shown later on, the question of authorship of prefaces is rather tricky, but it seems clear there are no prefaces that were not produced by someone who already had a role in the disputation or dissertation, i.e. there are no signs that prefaces were produced by editors, printers, or any other third party.

3.5.2 Character of the Prefaces

Although important as paratextual devices when they do appear, there are rather few freestanding prefaces in the material studied. A preface is defined as being freestanding when it is visibly detached from the following dissertation text, either by the layout or by distinctive initial and/or concluding phrases, such as headings or valedictory phrases. As the table below shows, there are not more than fifty freestanding prefaces out of a total of approximately 780 dissertations. However, in reality the situation as regards prefaces is more complicated, since introductory texts or paragraphs in dissertations may have similar functions to prefaces, but are not

⁶⁷¹ "Prehistory" is to be understood as "a period when for obvious material reasons the prefatorial function is taken on by the opening lines or pages of the text. What holds true for all the other paratextual elements holds true for the preface as well: its separation from the text by the presentational means familiar to us today [...] is tied to the existence of the book, that is, the printed text." Genette (1997b), p. 163.

⁶⁷² Quintilian *Institutio oratoria* 4.1.5: *Causa principia nulla alia est, quam ut auditorem, quo sit nobis in ceteris partibus accomodator, praeparemus. Id fieri tribus maxime rebus inter auctores plurimos constat, si benevolum, attentum, docilem fecerimus [...]* ("The sole purpose of the *exordium* is to prepare our audience in such a way that they will be disposed to lend a ready ear to the rest of our speech. The majority of authors agree that this is best effected in three ways, by making the audience well-disposed [*benevolum*], attentive [*attentus*] and ready to receive instruction [*docilis*]" [...], transl. H. E. Butler, The Loeb Classical Library).

freestanding in appearance. For example, a *thesis prima* may contain introductory features that resemble those of a preface. I have only included freestanding prefaces in my counting of prefaces, but other types of introductory text are taken into account in the following discussion of different types of prefaces found in gymnasial dissertations.

Most of the freestanding prefaces are from the seventeenth century, and, as with dedications and poetry in dissertations, the tendency is for these paratextual devices to become less and less common as time goes by. Strängnäs has by far the highest number of prefaces in dissertations originating from the seventeenth century, while most freestanding prefaces from the eighteenth century are found in dissertations from Linköping:

Gymnasium	17 th century	18 th century
Göteborg	5	3
Kalmar	2	-
Linköping	2	9
Norrköping	1	-
Skara	1	0
Stockholm	1	-
Strängnäs	16	1
Västerås	8	0
Växjö	1	0
Σ	37	13

TABLE 10: Occurrence of freestanding prefaces

The seventeenth-century prefaces from Strängnäs are from the period 1652-1689, while the eighteenth-century prefaces from Linköping are clustered in the period 1732-1752. In the following discussion most examples will be extracted from the prefaces to dissertations from Strängnäs.

If a preface is distinguished by a heading, it is most often called *praefatio*, *proloquium* or *prooemium*/*proemium* (more rarely *prologium*), or introduced with the adjectival derivation *proemialis*. The latter noun *prooemium* is most frequently used. *Prooemium* is derived from the Greek *προοίμιον* which has the same meaning as *praefatio* and *proloquium*, i.e. introduction, beginning.⁶⁷³

⁶⁷³ The difference in meaning of the Latin term *exordium* (preface) and the Greek term *prooemium* in ancient rhetoric has been commented upon in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* 4.1.1: *Quod principium Latine vel exordium dicitur, maiore quadam ratione Graeci videntur προοίμιον nominasse, quia a nostris initium modo significatur, illi satis clare partem hanc esse ante ingressum rei de qua dicendum sit, ostendunt* ("The commencement or *exordium* as we call it in Latin is styled a *proem* by the Greeks. This seems to me a more appropriate name, because whereas we merely indicate that

The heading may also consist of an invocation of the “kind reader”, either in the vocative *Benevole Lector/Lector Benevole* (abbreviated as B.L./L.B) or in the dative *Lectori Benevole*. Some examples of the heading *Ad (benevolum) lectorem* are attested too. A similar phrase, *Candide Lector*, is also common, especially in the eighteenth-century prefaces.

A common way to end a preface is by an invocation of God, as is the case in *De libertate hominis in actionibus civilibus* (pr. E. Andreae Razelius, Strängnäs 1671): *Adsis nobis o Clementissime Pater auxilio tuo divino!* (“Aid us, O most merciful Father, with your divine assistance!”). The Christian God is also in other ways a reoccurring topos in prefaces, which may partly be due to the subject of the dissertations, which are often of theological nature, and partly be due to the strong grip the church had on Swedish education in the early modern period. In this way the reader was reminded of one of the foremost reasons for educating young men. The invocation of God was also normally the way of ending prefaces in academic dissertations from German-speaking regions.⁶⁷⁴ The salutation *vale!* is also frequently used when ending a preface, emphasizing the impression that the preface was a letter to the reader.

3.5.3 Addressees and Senders

In contrast to dedications, there are hardly any signed prefaces in the material studied. It is thus impossible for the reader to know who the sender of the prefaces was: was it the *praeses* or the respondent? This brings up the question of authorship yet again. I would argue that it was the author of the dissertation text – whoever that may have been – who also produced the preface. One of the explanations as to why there are so few signed prefaces is that the question of authorship was not important, or, alternatively, it was obvious who the author of the dissertation was to those who attended the disputation. The aim of most prefaces is to present the subject or the purpose of the dissertation, not the person behind it. This is not to say that no writer shines through. On the contrary, we meet rhetorical humbleness towards the reader of the preface, similar to that found in dedicatory epistles, a feature that will be treated further in the following sections.

we are beginning our task, they clearly show that this portion is designed as an introduction to the subject on which the orator has to speak”, transl. H. E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library). The noun *praeloquium* is somewhat later, and not attested in classical texts. Souter (1949), s.v. *praeloquium*.

⁶⁷⁴ Horn (1893), p. 86.

3.5.4 Characteristic Themes in the Prefaces

In this section I will examine conventions and *topoi* that I have detected in the freestanding prefaces and introductory paragraphs/*thesis* of gymnasial dissertations. In the introduction to his work *Latin Prose Prefaces*, Tore Janson (1964) says that prefaces of classical Latin authors conform to certain conventions and a number of *loci communes* that were repeated in prefaces from antiquity to the Middle Ages.⁶⁷⁵ As will be shown, there are conventions also to be found in the prefaces of gymnasial dissertations. Firstly, I will treat the convention of highlighting the high value and importance of the subject. Secondly, assertions of the usefulness of the subject of the dissertation will be examined. Thirdly, I will examine how the preface may be used as a platform for moral appeal. Fourthly, prefaces often contain expressions of humbleness, a convention that will also be treated. Lastly, the meta-textual function of explaining the content of the work will be studied.

3.5.4.1 Importance of the Subject

One of the most noticeable functions of the preface is to emphasize the importance of the subject of the present dissertation, either for the benefit of humanity, or as a gift from God. Since the preface was one of few places in a dissertation in which the writer addressed the reader directly, it is the place for arguments in favor of the subject covered. Often we find the technique of setting two views against each other in the opening lines. This is demonstrated in the preface of *De lumine naturae* (pr. J. G. Rivelius, Strängnäs 1672):

Etiamsi multi Philosophorum adfirmant, mentem hominis simile esse tabulae, in qua nihil sit scriptum, posse autem inscribi omnia: Contra tamen non pauci fuere ex antiquis et recentioribus, extra et intra Ecclesiam viventibus, qui, cum orthodoxa doctrina Ecclesiae consentientes, documenta illustria literis consignata reliquerunt: Superesse nimirum, aliquas in mentibus humanis notitias, hoc est internum naturae dictamen seu lumen naturae, quod homini, post lapsum, licet valde obscurum et in multis depravatum et corruptum, attamen non penitus extinctum, relictum est.

[Although many philosophers affirm that the mind of man is similar to a tablet, in which nothing is inscribed, anything can however be inscribed in it. Still, against this there were not few men, both ancients and contemporary men, living both outside

⁶⁷⁵ Janson (1964), p. 7.

and within the Church, who, in accordance with the orthodox teaching of the Church, have left more famous documents recorded in writings. Without doubt there remains some knowledge in the human mind, that is an internal precept of nature or a natural light, which is left – after the fall – in man, although much obscured and in many persons distorted and corrupted.]

Here, the pre-Christian idea of the soul as a blank slate, as for instance treated by Aristotle is contrasted to the idea that forms the subject of the dissertation, i.e. the idea of *lumen naturae*, that reason is derived from nature.⁶⁷⁶ After the above-quoted passage, the writer of the preface turns to the subject of the dissertation, which is thoroughly presented to the reader. By referring to earlier works the writer of the preface gives impetus to his own choice of subject.

3.5.4.2 The Usefulness of the Dissertation and of the Subject

The usefulness of the dissertation is quite often accentuated in prefaces. This practice is related to the previously discussed convention of stressing the high value of the subject in the preface. In the case of *Super divi Pauli epistolam ad Romanos* (pr. Nicolaus Rudbeckius, Västerås 1652) the writer – whether the *praeses* or the respondent (both are in my opinion equally likely to have been producers of the preface) – explains the ways in which he has adapted the subject and style of his dissertation to be useful to schoolboys at the gymnasium:

Cum Sacrae Regiae Majestatis imperio, mihi incumbat studium enarrandi Epistolas Paulinas, dexteritate et fidelitate ea, quanta maxime possum; quod post lectionem et iteratam repetitionem animis discipulorum forte excideret, disputando inculcare et quodammodo imprimere, mearum esse partium putaveram. Quam enim verum illud! Institutionem et meditationem, perficit disputatio. Non itaque alio ego animi instituto, Summorum Theologorum lucubrationes, in Principem hanc ad Romanos Epistolam, aliquibus disputationibus comprehendere sum conatus, quam juvandi eos, quorum cura mihi est commissa. Hinc omnia ad captum discipulorum accommodata vides: Stylum simplicissimum: Analysin non rigidam nimis aut involutam: quaestiones tritas: caetera omissa, quae vel altius iudicium requirunt, vel ingenia

⁶⁷⁶ Zedler (1732-), s.v. Natur-Licht, writes of the *lumen naturae*: “Man versteht dadurch den Grund in der Natur, woraus die Vernunft etwas erkennt, dass, gleichwie sonst das Licht in der Welt pflüget genennet zu werden, was die umstehende Körper sichtbar machete, dass wir sie sehen können; Also verhält sich die Natur gegen den Verstand wie ein Licht, dass er dadurch die Wahrheit erkennen kan, so fern sich demselbigen die natürlichen Dinge in ihrer Beschaffenheit, Ordnung und Endzweck präsentiren.”

discentium in tenera hac flexique aetate interturbant: Imo nihil hic ad eruditionis aut ambitionis nomen compositum vides. Honestius latuissent? fateor: sed nescio an consultius. [...]

[With the holy royal majesty's authority, the pursuit presses on me of explaining the Pauline Letters, with as much skill and fidelity as I possibly can. I saw it as my task by disputation to force upon and so to speak pack the schoolboys with what had fallen from their memories after the lesson and the frequent repetition. For how rightly that is! The disputation completes instruction and exercise. Therefore, not by other intention I have undertaken to apprehend Great Theologians' night-works, this foremost letter to the Romans in some disputations, than to help those, whose care has been entrusted to me. Henceforth you see everything adjusted to the capacity of the pupils: a very easy style, an analysis not too stern or intricate, familiar questions, some removed that either require a higher kind of judgment, or confuse the minds of the pupils in this tender and soft age. On the contrary you see here nothing organized in the name of erudition and ambition. Is it more honest if they lay hidden? I believe so, but I do not know if it is more advisable]

The adaptation of the subject to the capacity of the schoolboys at the gymnasium is crucial for the writer of the preface, and corresponds well with the interposition that the gymnasium was said to have. This interposition is stressed in the school regulations of 1649, in which the gymnasium was placed between trivial school and academy, and in which it was prescribed that teaching at the gymnasium was to be adapted to the schoolboys' level of knowledge.⁶⁷⁷ The focus of this preface on the usefulness of the subject is a consequence of this dictum.

The use of dissertations in the instruction of schoolboys is also attested, for instance, in *De sacra scriptura* (pr. J. P. Torinius, Göteborg 1647) in which the first *thesis* functions as a preface to the dissertation. Here, the author explicitly says that his dissertation on the holy scripture is for the use of schoolboys: *ut commodius juventuti, cui operam nostrum litamus, innotescat* ("so that it [i.e. the Bible] more comfortably becomes known to the youth, for whom we offer our work").

My analysis of prefaces of this type shows that dissertations were clearly used for educational purposes. Not only were dissertations used in oral training though disputations, they appear also to have been useful in the moral as well as the subject-oriented education of schoolboys.

⁶⁷⁷ SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 99. *Observationes (In classe quarta discent)*. For this passage, see section 1.4 above.

3.5.4.3 The Preface as Platform for Moral Appeal

To the list of themes and conventions may be added the function of the preface as a platform for moral appeal addressed to the younger schoolboys at the gymnasium, as is the case for the preface to *Diatriba scholastica* [...] (pr. N. Holgeri, Kalmar 1647). This is one of very few signed prefaces: in this particular case the *praeses* Nicolaus Holgeri is explicitly mentioned as the author.⁶⁷⁸ Holgeri takes the opportunity to urge the schoolboys not to depart for the academy before they have had the proper training necessary to succeed in their studies at the gymnasium. In his preface Nicolaus Holgeri calls attention to the good example set by the respondent Georgius Brunnerus, who is about to leave the gymnasium after having defended the dissertation:

Parum igitur recte sibi suisque rebus consulunt, qui ex Scholis in Academiis prius avolant, quam alas suas Scholasticis Progymnasmatis probe firmaverant, aedificium sine fundamento molientes, cuius durabilitatem quivis facile ominari potest. Quod cum secum animo volveret eruditus et modestus juvenis *Georgius Johannis Brunnerus* noluit Scholae nostrae prius valedicere, quam ijs artibus sufficienter se imbutum putaret, sine quibus ad majora frustra contenditur. Jam vero ad majora se satis praeparatum, praesenti Disputatione Valedictoria fidem facere decrevit, atque ita superioribus se ante abitum probare, inferioribus vero exemplum relinquere ut nec illi prius ad majora subsiliant, quam necessarijs subsidijs fuerint instructi.

[Thus not at all rightly, do they (sc. schoolboys) look after themselves and their doings sufficiently, who fly off from schools to academies before they have strengthened their wings properly in school exercises (*scholastica progymnasmata*); they are constructing a building without foundation, whose durability anyone can easily forebode. When he turned this over in his mind, the learned and modest young man Georgius Johannis Brunnerus did not want to say good bye to our school, before he thought that he was sufficiently saturated in the skills, without which you strive in vain for higher purposes. Instead he decided to prove himself well enough prepared for higher skills, he has decided to stress this with the present valedictory disputation, and in that way prove to those in higher position before his departure, and leave a good example to those in lower position, that nor they shall jump to higher skills before they have been prepared with necessary reinforcements.]

⁶⁷⁸ Nicolaus Holgeri also signed his preface in the dissertation he submitted to the school in Kalmar, *De natura logicae* (Kalmar 1632), which is a dissertation that is also intended for use in teaching, according to its *prooemium*.

Schoolboys who left for the university prematurely, i.e. not sufficiently prepared or even with insufficient knowledge, seem to have been something of a problem that lasted well into the eighteenth century.⁶⁷⁹ The professors of the universities of Lund and Uppsala complained to the gymnasia that they should not let any young boy advance to academic studies if he had not obtained the proper training and skills.⁶⁸⁰ The school regulations of 1693 and 1724 stress that schoolboys would not be allowed to prematurely progress from the gymnasium to further studies at the university.⁶⁸¹ The gymnasia were apparently aware of the problem since there are protocols in which the issue of transition from gymnasium to academy is discussed.⁶⁸² The preface to *Diatribē scholastica* (pr. N. Holgeri, Kalmar 1647) must thus be interpreted in the light of the reoccurring problem of insufficiently trained schoolboys departing from the gymnasium. Rhetorically, the author, Nicolaus Holgeri, uses two metaphors to describe those schoolboys who he thinks leave the gymnasium prematurely. The first is the image of the weak wings of immature birds who attempt to fly from the nest/gymnasium before they are ready. In the second metaphor Nicolaus Holgeri compares those schoolboys who leave school prematurely with a building without firm foundation. At least the latter of these images is attested elsewhere in an early modern educational context to describe the learning considered a necessary intellectual fundament for further studies.⁶⁸³

⁶⁷⁹ Brandell (1931) 2, p. 408, and Falk (1926), p. 126f.

⁶⁸⁰ Such a letter of complaint from the University of Uppsala to the consistory in Strängnäs is found in the collections of Landsarkivet in Uppsala (Strängnäs gymnasium FI:4). The letter is dated 24 October 1732, and is signed by seventeen professors of the academy.

⁶⁸¹ This is emphasized thus in the school regulations of 1693: "Ingen må flyttias uhr *Trivial* Scholan och antagas i *Gymnasio*, ey heller släppas uhr *Gymnasio* och sändas till *Academien*, med mindre han är worden noga *examinerad*, både på den Orten, tädan han sig förfoga will, och jämwäl på den andra, dijt han ankommer, och bäggestädes befunnen tienlig till at sålunda flyttias; Förbiudandes Wij här med, at de, som i otijd gifwa sig ifrån *Gymnasterne*, hwarest de icke lagt de *Fundamenta*, som the borde behöfwä, resandes bort antingen utan *Testimonio* eller med ett ringa, skola icke wid *Academierne* blifwa antagne och ibland *Studenterne* räknade, utan tillbaka wiste [...]"(SO 1693, ÅSU 7, p. 4). The school regulations of 1724 also highlight the problem: "Gymnasiorum Ephori ock Docentes anmanas härigenom alfwarligen, at med all flijt, ock under försäkran af samma förmåner, som the förmena sig winna, hwilka alt för bittijda resa til *Academien*, tilhålla *Gymnasisterne*, att ej förr öfvergifwa *Gymnasium*, än the thet helt ock hållit egenomgått, Samt så mogne blifwit i sine studier ock stadige i lefwerne, att the kunna anföra sig sielfwa ock wäl betiena sig af exercitiis *Academicis*, hwarom *Consistorium* skall giöra sig försäkrat, ock ej afskieda någon til *Academien*, innan han utom det åhrlige förhöret, blifwit särskilt af *Lectoribus* examinerat ock för duchtig ärkiändt." (SO 1724, ÅSU 7, p. 26).

⁶⁸² See for instance protocol of a teachers meeting at the gymnasium of Västerås dated 1 March 1718 in which the transition of three brothers Therullius were discussed in the light of their intellectual maturity. Acta gymnasii A1:2, Västerås City Archive.

⁶⁸³ See the handwritten letter of recommendation (*testimonium*) in Nordin 67:13h (UUB): *Doctrina vero, nisi eam dux et imperatrix vitae mortalium, bona mens, fulciat, est tanquam aedificium stabili*

3.5.4.4 Rhetorical Humility

As in dedications, rhetorical humility is a reoccurring element in prefaces. To stress the insignificance of the work is quite commonly found in the prefaces. It seems, however, that the author of the preface needed to be not too modest in order to capture the interest of the reader.⁶⁸⁴ In the last part of the preface from *De lumine naturae* (pr. J. G. Rivelius, Strängnäs 1672) already quoted, the writer addresses the “kind reader” and asks them not to expect too much of the present dissertation:

Nihil hic novi, nihil ingenui, nihil politi expectabis, Lector Benevole! quid enim dici jam possit, quod non dictum sit prius? Animadvertant probi, rodant improbi! excusabunt quidem illi, pro more suo, naevos, imo etiam errores! hi, licet summis precibus rogati; ingenium tamen suum sequentur! satis est, in magnis aliquid voluisse et bonis placuisse. Dirigat nos Pater Luminum, in cuius Lumine videbimus Lumen! Psalm. 36.v. 10.

[Kind reader, you shall expect nothing new here, nothing noble, nothing refined! For what can be said, that has not been said before? Honest men may remark, shameless men shall slander! The former will certainly excuse the blemishes, or more correctly even the errors, according to their custom! The latter, although asked in the greatest prayers, will nevertheless follow their character! It is enough to have wanted something in great matters and to have pleased the good. May the Father of all Lights guide us, in whose Light shall we see Light! Psalm. 36.v.10.⁶⁸⁵]

The author of the preface not only excuses his small contribution to the matter in question, but he also rebukes those who criticize for the pleasure of criticism.

Another example of the humble approach is found in the *proemialis* of *De adagiis Novi Testamenti* (pr. P. Schenberg, Linköping 1732). The writer excuses his work and ends the preface with these words:

carens fundamento [...] (“Truly, learning is like a building without a stable fundament, unless it is supported by good reason, which is like the guiding star and queen of human life”).

⁶⁸⁴ This kind of *captatio benevolentiae* has been stressed by Genette (1997b), p. 198, as one of the main functions of the preface.

⁶⁸⁵ This is verse 9 in Psalm 36 in the King James Bible.

Scis enim, quam paucae admodum sunt illae horulae, quas publicis privatisque curis suffurari possunt illi, qui quovis die in pulvere Scholastico sudant.

[For you know, how very few those short hours are, that they, who any day sweat in the scholarly sand, can steal away from public and private duties.]

When the writer uses an expression such as *in pulvere... sudant*, it is not a large leap for the reader to think of the battles of gladiators or of the athletes of classical antiquity who used to perform their exercises in the sand of the arena or of the *gymnasion*. Earlier in the preface the writer uses the phrase *in hac arena desudarunt viri immortales*, i.e. “in this arena/sand immortal men have been sweating”, when referring to the authors who had treated the subject before him (such as Fabricius, Wolff, Calovius, Glassius and Carpzovius). The humility of the author in this case almost takes the form of prevarication: how can an educator find time to write a dissertation when all their energy is absorbed by teaching and lecturing?

3.5.4.5 Outlining Content and Structure of the Dissertation

The final function of the preface that I will examine is that of outlining content and structure of the dissertation.⁶⁸⁶ This kind of pedagogical meta-text, that is so frequently seen in present day academic works, appears to be more common in the eighteenth-century prefaces (or introductory paragraphs) than in prefaces from the seventeenth century. In some cases the clarifying of the content is rather detailed. For example, in *De Christo Θεανθρώπῳ* (pr. Georgius P. Silnaeus, Strängnäs 1676) the writer devotes almost one page of the only two page preface to explain in detail the order of the content of the ten *theses*. The explanation begins with the following lines: *Jam ad Ipsam Dissertationis materiam, cui fortassis juvabit praemisisse sequentes Canones scitu dignissimos* (“Now to the matter of this dissertation, to which it perhaps will help to have dispatched in advance the following rules which are very worthy by decree”). Another dissertation in which an explanation of the structure of the dissertation is attested is *De magistratu politico* (pr. Gabriel Holstenius, Västerås 1643):

Tractationem Disputationis de Magistratu Politico suscepturi, haut incommode eam dispesci posse arbitramur in tres sectiones: Quarum Prima continebitur in hac quaestione. Num videlicet Regimen Politicum primum authorem, institutoremque Deum agnoscat? Secunda Sectio erit de Definitione Magistratus Politici, quae per suas causas stabilietur, ubi etiam attendenda erunt varia

⁶⁸⁶ Cf. Genette (1997b), p. 218.

Magistratus Politici officia, videlicet circa se, circa religionem, leges et praecipue iustitiae administratorem, et bellum. Tertia Sectio aget de officijs subditorum erga Magistratum.

[We think that the discussion of the disputation on political magistracy, which we are going to undertake, can be divided comfortably in three sections: Of these the first shall be concentrated on the following question: namely, whether the political direction should acknowledge God as the first authority and creator? The second section will be on the definition of political magistrate, which will be established by its own cause, where also the various duties of a political magistrate shall be considered, namely concerning itself, concerning religion, laws and especially the juridical administration, and concerning war. The third section will be about the duties of the subjects towards the magistrate.]

As the passage quoted says, the dissertation *De magistratu politico* really is divided into three sections, of which the lengthiest is the second section on the definition of political magistracy. The whole dissertation comprises (only) twenty pages (including title page, dedication and congratulatory poetry), which means that the first section is approximately three pages, the second section is about twelve pages, and the third and final section covers one page. The purpose of the introductory meta-text is to help the reader to approach the content of the dissertation. However, using an introductory meta-text may seem somewhat superfluous for a dissertation of such small proportions. This superfluosity is emphasized by the fact that there are explanatory headings for each section. Given this, the reason for inserting an introductory meta-text may be conventional, or it may reflect a desire to mimic longer treatises where such meta-texts help the reader to navigate the text.

3.5.5 Concluding Remarks

A preface in gymnasial dissertations was a place to turn directly to the reader. Few prefaces are signed by the person writing them, which makes it hard to establish who of the *praeses* and the respondent was the author. As I have shown in the foregoing discussions there are reoccurring conventions and *topoi* that the reader of gymnasial dissertations may find. Prefaces may highlight the value of the dissertation and the usefulness of the subject and of the dissertation itself. To these are added the function of the preface as a platform for moral appeal to the young people, as well as the metalinguistic function of explaining the content and structure of the dissertation. Finally, humility is a recurring *topos* in prefaces. Based on this examination of prefaces I would like to argue that the content of prefaces show that the

purpose of gymnasial dissertations was not only to be the basis for a disputation, but to be a text that was actively used in teaching.

3.6 Occasional Literature in the Dissertations

In the following section the occasional literature that is found in gymnasial dissertations will be discussed. The term ‘Occasional literature’ signifies pieces of poetry and prose that were composed for a certain occasion: weddings, funerals, royal visits, jubilees, condolences and congratulations, of which the latter is that used in the case of the dissertations discussed here. I will discuss the content and style of this occasional literature as it appears in gymnasial dissertations, which has never before been the subject of a thorough study. The occasional verses and pieces of prose written to congratulate the participants in a disputation may be important as sources of information on the social context and environment in which gymnasial dissertations were produced. Their existence alone shows that poems of this sort were appreciated and had an evident social function.⁶⁸⁷ In the sections below follows first an introduction that puts occasional literature written in Latin into context. Then, I will turn to the occasional literature in gymnasial dissertations and examine, firstly, the congratulatory poetry, secondly, the so-called *epistola gratulatoria* in prose, and lastly, the dedicatory poetry that may be found in some gymnasial dissertations. These text types will be analysed in terms of style, content and social purpose.

3.6.1 Introduction and Definitions

In general, occasional literature and especially occasional poetry was very common in early modern works, and had a variety of different functions.⁶⁸⁸ This poetry was an important part of the social web of the academy, as several studies have made clear.⁶⁸⁹ Various names to denote this type of literature according to its function, agent (sender), aim or location in the

⁶⁸⁷ Cf. Van Dam (2015), p. 69.

⁶⁸⁸ Neo-Latin occasional poetry in general is the topic of short but informative overviews by De Beer (2014) and De Smet (2014). IJsewijn and Sacré (1998), pp. 100-101, and De Smet (2014) list genres, occasions and events that urged poets and others to the “pouring out Latin verses” (IJsewijn and Sacré, p. 100): weddings, departures, funerals, victories in battle, coronations of kings etc. For early modern occasional literature from Sweden, see Ridderstad (1980) and (2005).

⁶⁸⁹ Money (2015), p. 83. Occasional poetry in the academic context, which bears similarities to that of gymnasial dissertations, has been studied for instance by Lill (2003), Sjökvist (2012a), Burman (2012a) and Van Dam (2015).

printed work, are found: occasional poetry, liminary (or liminal) poetry, threshold poetry, laudatory poetry, commendatory poetry, dedicatory poetry and so on.⁶⁹⁰ In the following I will use the term *dedicatory poetry* for poetry that is written and dedicated to one or several people by one of the individuals named in the dissertation. I will use the term *congratulatory poetry* for verses that are written in praise of one of the participants in the disputation.

In his discussion of occasional poetry, Harm-Jan Van Dam (2009) states that all such poetry is social and belongs to the *genus demonstrativum*, and that it always constitutes a relationship between the poet and another person.⁶⁹¹ When it comes to occasional literature in gymnasial dissertations, dedicatory poetry is usually found at the beginning, on the threshold of the work, while congratulatory poetry is located at the end, symbolising the exit from the work, and closing it. A dedicatory poem is written by one of the persons named in a gymnasial dissertation, i.e. either by the *praeses* or (one of) the respondent(s); a piece of text that praises the effort or deeds of either *praeses* or respondent(s) is written by someone else, a friend or other person.⁶⁹²

A category of text that is related to the congratulatory poetry is closing words in prose, sometimes called *epistola gratulatoria* in the material, in praise of one (or more) of the participants. These congratulations are not in metric form, but have similar function to the poetry (namely to congratulate), albeit in a somewhat more informal tone.

3.6.2 Congratulatory Poetry

When poems occur in gymnasial dissertations, they are often congratulatory poems directed to either *praeses* or respondent(s). I term them *congratulatory poetry* as defined above.

Far from all gymnasial dissertations have congratulatory poetry, and generally congratulatory poems are found to a much greater extent in the seventeenth-century dissertations than in those from later periods. By the first half of the eighteenth-century, congratulatory poetry – as other paratextual features – is already becoming less common. However, in

⁶⁹⁰ For a review of the terminology used for the kind of occasional poetry located at the beginning of a work, see Van Dam (2015), p. 51, where he discusses the various terms used for paratextual poetry. The greatest formal difference between the poetry discussed by Van Dam and that found in the dissertations studied here is its the location. According to Van Dam, a threshold implies an entrance of some sort, so does the term liminary poetry, while in the dissertations congratulatory poetry is most often placed at the end.

⁶⁹¹ Van Dam (2009), p. 97.

⁶⁹² Van Dam (2015), p. 51, points out that in works other than dissertations it is usually the author of a text that dedicates it, while praising is done by someone else other than the author. As has been shown in section 2.6 above, the authorship of dissertations is often hard to establish.

Linköping congratulatory poetry reappears again between 1733 and 1768 in twelve dissertations. By the 1770s congratulatory poetry was no longer included (with very few exceptions) in gymnasial dissertations. The total corpus of congratulatory poetry from both centuries comprises a total of 1042 lines. The major part, 834 lines, derives from the seventeenth century, while 208 lines are from the eighteenth century. These figures include eight poems (six from the seventeenth century and two from the eighteenth century) written in Greek. The following study of congratulatory poetry in gymnasial dissertations is divided into a study of the poetry as it appears in seventeenth-century dissertations, and a study of poetry found in eighteenth-century dissertations.

3.6.2.1 Congratulatory Poetry in Seventeenth-Century Dissertations

Out of a total of 208 dissertations from the seventeenth century examined, congratulatory poetry is found in 47, which constitutes c. 22 percent of all dissertations from that period. However, it should be said that there may be more than one poem in a single dissertation. At most a dissertation may have up to four congratulatory poems, two is also common, although one poem per dissertation seems to be the normal case. The total of 834 lines of poetry from the seventeenth century is divided between 69 poems.⁶⁹³ By far the most common meter is the elegiac distich – used in 46 poems, which means approximately 65% – followed by the hexameter – 12 poems, approximately 18% – and the Sapphic stanza – 2 poems. These figures are comparable with those reported by Van Dam (2015) in his study of ‘threshold poetry’, where he also lists the elegiac distich as the most common meter (65% of the poems investigated), followed by the hexameter (10%).⁶⁹⁴

The congratulatory poems are mostly short, 4-14 lines, but some stand out in length. The longest is an elegiac distich of 52 lines from the gymnasium of Göteborg, in the dissertation *De libro vitae* (pr. J. Florander, 1686). Second to that is the poem, also an elegiac distich, from the dissertation *De syllogismo* (pr. J. Holstenius, 1666) from the gymnasium of Västerås, which has 34 lines. Latin is the main language of congratulatory poetry, but there are also six poems in Greek from the seventeenth century,

⁶⁹³ This number is not absolute since the last page of the copy of the dissertation *Heptas gemina morborum* [...] (1676, pr. J. Colliander) from Växjö that I have examined is damaged, but it is possible to glimpse two poems there. Obviously, the length of these poems cannot be certainly ascertained, and so they are not part of my calculations.

⁶⁹⁴ Van Dam (2015), p. 61. Cf. Money (2015), p. 74 ff. who states that the elegiac couplet is by far the most popular meter in Neo-Latin occasional poetry. The remaining poems in my material are written in other meters, such as the hexameter and other elegiac meters.

three from the gymnasium of Västerås, two from Strängnäs and one from Stockholm (in a dissertation written entirely in Greek).⁶⁹⁵ In *De usu philosophiae in theologia* (pr. P. Christiernin, 1678) from Västerås, there is a poem of 20 lines in German, and in *Specimen [...] verborum Jacobi patriarchae [...] analysin* (pr. E. Erici Wallenius, 1649), also from Västerås, there is a congratulatory poem of sixteen lines in Hebrew (both of which are not included in the calculation of the total number of verse lines given above). Apart from these, there are no other languages represented in the congratulatory poetry.

As mentioned earlier, the congratulatory poetry in the seventeenth-century dissertations is placed after the actual text, on the last page. This applies to all poems found in the dissertations, except for one case, *Methodo hafenreff. adornata super quaestionem quid sit Deus* (pr. S. Hagelsteen, 1655) from Stockholm, where a congratulatory hexameter poem of ten lines is placed at the beginning of the dissertation, before the actual text.

In the poems investigated there are many recurring features typical of this paratextual device, and of the genre of congratulatory poetry as a whole. It should be said that in the following discussion it is not just the congratulatory poems themselves that have been examined, but also the surrounding texts such as headings and signatures, which may carry alternative information about relationships. When quoting a poem, these surrounding texts will also be included to some extent to give the full picture of the poem's context. I will take into consideration to whom the poems are addressed and how this person is addressed. This question also relates to the question of who sent the poems, i.e. who authored them. Then I will consider some topoi, characteristics and imagery found in the poems.

To begin, it should be pointed out again that the poems are written in praise of someone. It is common that the subject of the praise is mentioned by name in the heading of the poem, where the whole name of the person is written out, and in the verses of the poems, where either the forename or the surname, and sometimes both, are used to emphasize the addressee. Here, metrical considerations of course govern how the names are incorporated in verse.

Most often the addressee is the respondent who is congratulated for completing the dissertation and/or the defense of it during the disputation. Out of 69 poems examined, 45 are addressed to the respondent, 65 percent. In other poems the *praeses* is the subject of the praise, or the poems are

⁶⁹⁵ The dissertations that contain occasional poetry in Greek are *De natura* (pr. S. Benedicti Arbogensis, Västerås 1633), *De primis rerum naturalium principiis in genere* (pr. E. Salamontanus, Västerås 1643), *De mundo* (pr. O. Johannis, Västerås 1652), *De deo essentia uno et personis trino* (pr. P. Arenbeckius, Strängnäs 1647), *Disputatio exhibens sanae philopphiae necessitatem [...]* (pr. L. Olai Widbyensis, Strängnäs 1648) and *Περὶ τοῦ ἀποθρόνου ἁδιαφθόρου* (pr. J. G. Gezelius, Stockholm 1650). There are also a small number of end praises in prose written in Greek.

addressed not a particular person, but to unspecified entities.⁶⁹⁶ The addressee may be mentioned by name (often in the vocative case) or apostrophized as *tu* (you). According to the convention observed in the studied material, the respondents may be described with epithets such as *eximius* (excellent) and *doctissimus* (thoroughly learned).

Senders of congratulatory poems are, it seems, most often friends of the respondent. Unfortunately it is generally uncommon for the senders to be mentioned with any attribute from which one can be sure of their relationship to the respondent/addressee. However, it seems plausible to believe that the senders, when not mentioned as anything in particular, are fellow schoolboys at the gymnasium or other friends. This hypothesis becomes even more plausible when examining the wording of the headings and the signature, which may state that the poem was written for the sake of friendship. This is attested in *De germana prophetici sermonis* (pr. M. Munchtelius, Västerås 1665) in which the two congratulatory poems addressed to respondent Andreas Hesselius are signed *sincerus amicus* (“sincere friend”) and *in sincerae amicitiae indicium subnectebat* (“he [the author of the poem] sealed evidence of sincere friendship”).

However, there may also be more prominent senders of congratulatory poetry. One such case from Göteborg may be mentioned, in which the sender of the poem is the bishop of Göteborg, Zacharias Klingenstierna. The dissertation in which the congratulatory poem is found is titled *De magistratu politico* (pr. N. Ramzius, 1668). The whole poem from *De magistratu politico* (1668), with introductory heading and final signature, reads as follows (the first three lines constitute the heading):

Ad EXIMIUM disertationis hujus Theolo-
gicae AUTOREM, Amicum meum singulariter dile-
ctum, *honoris et felicitis ominis causa!*

GRatulor ex animo Tibi Praestantissime *Landtman!*

Gratulor Ingenium non latuisse Tuum!

Qvo regnare *Duces, Sceptrorum Munia* quae sint,

Flamine *Divino*, suaviter IPSE *doces!*

5 Pergito ceu pergis, plures superaddere *testes*

Ingenij rari, qva potes arte, *Tu!*

Sic PATRIAE simul et PATRUI *decus*, auguror, *olim,*

Te fore pro certo! Vive, valeque diu!

⁶⁹⁶ This is the case of the Sapphic stanza in one of the earliest dissertations from Västerås, *Themata miscellanea* (pr. J. Svenonis Columbus, 1623) which is addressed *pro magistratu proque caetu doctentium et discitentium*.

ZACHARIAS Klingenstierna
S.S. Theol. Doctor, et Dioeceseos
Gothoburg. Episcopus.

[To the excellent author of this theological dissertation, my exceptionally dear friend, for the sake of honor and favorable omen.

I sincerely congratulate you, outstanding Landtman.

I congratulate you for not having concealed your abilities, through which you yourself teach pleasantly with divine inspiration leaders to govern and what the duties of the scepters are.

Keep on as you have started, and you may add more evidence of your special abilities, with all the skill you are able to.

Thus I predict that you certainly are going to be an honor in the future for your fatherland as well as for your uncle. Live and be strong for a long time!

Zacharias Klingenstierna,
doctor of theology and
bishop of the diocese of
Göteborg]

The poem shows features that are often found in congratulatory poetry in gymnasial dissertations. There are themes that are common for many of the congratulatory poems. In the heading, the addressee, i.e. the respondent, is called *eximius dissertationis hujus theologicae autor* (“the excellent author of this theological dissertation”) which indicates that the respondent, Ericus Landtman, not only defended the dissertation, but that he may also have written it. The adjective *eximius*, along with *doctissimus* and *praestantissimus*, is frequently used in the headings of the poems to describe the addressees. That the respondent is also mentioned as *amicus meus* (my friend) by the sender of the poem, the bishop Zacharias Klingenstierna, implies that he, the respondent, was not an ordinary schoolboy at the gymnasium, but had a different relationship to the sender. Few poems show similar admiration downwards in the hierarchy. The eight-line poem starts with congratulation (l. 1-2) and continues by referring to the deeds of the respondent (l. 3-4). After that, the addressee is exhorted to proceed in the same manner again (l. 5: *Pergito cen pergis*) and to continue and continue again to add more proofs of his exceptional talent (l. 6: *Ingenij rari ... Tui*) to the honor of the fatherland and his uncle Jonas Bergeri Kilander, who is also the dedicatee of the dedication and dedicatory epistle at the beginning of the dissertation (l. 5-

7).⁶⁹⁷ Finally, the sender congratulates the respondent again and wishes that he live and prosper for a long time (l. 7-8).

Generally, when looking at all the poems from the seventeenth century examined, a typical characteristic is to allude to the theme of the dissertation in the congratulatory poetry, either in the introductory heading or in the poem itself. This, it seems, is a general practice in liminary poetry.⁶⁹⁸ The first poem of two from *De ecclesia Dei* (pr. N. J. Ramzius, Göteborg 1666) also shows these typical features. Here is the whole poem – which is labelled *encomiasticon*, i.e. praise or eulogy⁶⁹⁹ – together with its introductory heading and signature:

ENCOMIASTICON

Hoc

In Juvenem Spei ac eruditionis bonae

Dominum GABRIELEM L. STOCKMAN
Theses a se conscriptas de Articulo Fidei Christianae, qvi est de Ecclesia scite propugnantem.

Ingenij specimen docti *Stockmanne* dedisti
Articulum ἔκκλησιονque fidei lima expoliendo.
Perpendens animo, tibi gratificarier adsim
Testatam reddens in te mentemqve benignam,
5 In studijs multam ingenij laudem modulando
Carmine, qvale mea valui nunc condere vena
Vili. Musarum chordas jo tendite dulces
Vosque coloni, miqve canenti encomia digna
Carmina *Stockmanno* jam applaudite juba vestra:
10 Prospera fausta Tui conatus reddat JOVA
Caepa precor [...].

*Non ut voluit, sed potuit
amice ac fraterne scribebat*

Gudmundus Jacobi
Lyselius

⁶⁹⁷ According to the dedicatory epistle, this uncle Jonas Bergeri Kilander took care of Ericus Landtman when the latter was in an early age (*Jam enim inde a teneris, ea me cura amplexus es ijs ornasti beneficijs*) and was like a father to the boy since both his parents had died (*paterna Tua benignitate meruisti, ut ille ipse sis, in quo colendo, defunctis jam piaae memoriae parentibus, patriam mihi constituerim sanctitatem*).

⁶⁹⁸ Van Dam (2015), p. 70 f.

⁶⁹⁹ For the word *encomiasticon*, cf. Hoven (1994), p. 123.

[Praise of the young man of good hope and erudition Sire Gabriel L. Stockman, who skillfully defends the theses which he wrote himself on the article of Christian Faith about the church. Stockman, you have given a proof of learned ability by refining the article of faith and the church with a file.

I carefully examine in my mind and I shall be here to congratulate you, bestowing in you a well-known and favorable mind, by measuring the great glory in the studies of your abilities in a poem, which I now have been able to put together by means of my poor talent.

And you people tune the pleasant strings of the Muses, hurrah! and applaud also me who sings a praise in verse worthy of Stockman.

I ask that God shall make your commenced attempts prosperous (...).

Not how he wanted it but
how he was able, he wrote
this friendly and brotherly]

Here, the addressee, Gabriel Stockman, is mentioned in the heading as author of the dissertation (*theses a se conscriptas*), as was the case for the respondent of *De magistratu politico* (1668) above. In the poem, the respondent and the subject of the dissertation are mentioned. The author of the poem, Gudmundus Jacobi Lyselius, begins by highlighting the subject by saying that Stockman has given proof of his learned talent when he refined the article of faith and the church with a file (l. 1-2: *Ingenij specimen docti Stockmanne dedisti | Articulum ἔκκλησιονque fidei lima expoliendo*). The sender continues by urging the public to partake in the praise of both the respondent and the sender himself (l.7-9): *Musarum chordas jo tendite dulces | Vosque coloni, miqve canenti encomia digna | Carmina Stockmanno jam applaudite jubila vestra* (“And you people tune the pleasant strings of the Muses, hurrah! and applaud also me who sings a praise in verse worthy of Stockman”). The humility of the sender is expressed not only in the poem but also in the salutation: *Non ut voluit, sed potuit amice ac fraterne scribebat* (“not how he wanted it but how he was able, he wrote this friendly and brotherly”).

Since the gymnasium was subordinate to the church and was thus obliged to maintain the morals and faith of its pupils,⁷⁰⁰ it is no surprise that

⁷⁰⁰ This is emphasized in the school regulations of 1649 under the heading *De studio Pietatis et Morum. Agnitio cultusque Dei praecipue scholaribus curae erit.[...] Crebro, praesertim ubi auctor explicandus occasionem suggeret, inculcabitur pueris esse Deum omnipotentem, sanctum, iustum, omniscium, qui odio habeat peccatum, et peccatoribus irascatur, eosque horrendis in hac et futura vita poenis afficiat: e contra vero pios et probos diligit, promoveat ac custodiat, eorumque fidem et bona opera proemijs amplissimis*

invocations and references to the Christian God are so often found in congratulatory poems. References to belief and faith are an important element of almost every poem.⁷⁰¹ We also find numerous references to classical mythology in the poetry in gymnasial dissertations. The practice of evoking both Christian and ancient deities was common in baroque poetry of the seventeenth century, and was an expression of the aesthetics of the time.⁷⁰² The mention of the *Musarum chordas* (l. 7) in a dissertation on the Christian church is proof of this practice. Along with Apollo, the nine Muses (also referred to as *Camenae*, with different spelling, and *Thespias*) are those of the ancient deities that are mentioned most often. Together they form one of the most common topoi of congratulatory poetry in gymnasial dissertations. The Muses symbolize all forms of intellectual life in general, in addition to their poetic domain.⁷⁰³ As Hans Helander (2004) has pointed out, the literary use of the Muses as symbols for academic learning and Apollo as the patron of arts and sciences was so common during the seventeenth century that it almost became automatic.⁷⁰⁴ But these are not the only ancient gods that appear in the congratulatory poetry, others are also likely to be found, such as Minerva, Bacchus, Jupiter, Erynnis (one of the Furies), Momus,⁷⁰⁵ Dione⁷⁰⁶ and Mars. This literary and rhetorical repertoire of ornamentation, figures, imagery and appropriated cultural material (particularly from classical mythology) was part of the early modern

hic et aeternum ex gratia compenset et remuneretur. a passage which continues in the same manner on the importance of piety and good faith (SO 1649, ÅSU 4, p. 57).

⁷⁰¹ Cf. Lill (2003), p. 173 ff.

⁷⁰² To quote Kajanto (1989), p. 37: "It goes without saying that the pagan gods had no religious significance. Probably only a bigot could be shocked at hearing Apollo, Bacchus, the Muses, even Venus mentioned. They had become staple ingredients in the rhetorical and poetic style", and further on (p. 40): "In occasional no less than in more serious poetry, the classical gods would have shocked more by their absence than they did by their ubiquity". Cf. Lill (2003), p. 179 f., and Sjökvist (2007), p. 90 ff.

⁷⁰³ Curtius (1952), p. 228 f. For the fate and rejection of the Muses in literature from antiquity through the Middle Ages, see Curtius's chapter 13 "The Muses". Cf. Jan Söffner's article on the Muses in *Brill's New Pauly. The Reception of Myth and mythology* (2010), pp. 403-419.

⁷⁰⁴ Helander (2004), p. 553 ff. Cf. Gejrot (1999), in which a series of ten occasional poems in praise of the Swedish king Charles XI from 1673 are discussed, which all have Apollo and the Muses as their theme.

⁷⁰⁵ 'Blame' or 'Slander'; this mythological figure was popular in Neo-Latin literature; Helander (2004), p. 310 f., and Sjökvist (2007), p. 349. Cf. March (1998), s.v. Momos, where the deity's appearances in ancient literature are listed.

⁷⁰⁶ Dione is a goddess with various origins. She is said to be the daughter of a titan, of Uranus and Gaia, or that she is a Nereid, a sea nymph. In Homer she is the mother of Aphrodite (*Iliad* 5.370-417). In Roman love elegies she is used as a metonym for Venus or love, see for instance Ovid *Am.* 1.14.33. L&S, s.v. *Dione* II; March (1998), s.v. Dione.

education system and was learned from an early age.⁷⁰⁷ But even though it seems that there were certain rules or molds to follow in the writing of occasional poetry (topoi and repertoire), there are strikingly few resemblances between the poems.⁷⁰⁸ In his short poem in praise of the respondent Nicolaus Rudbeckius found in *De primis rerum naturalium principiis in genere* (pr. E. Salamontanus, Västerås 1643), the author of the poem, Andreas Eri Wallenius,⁷⁰⁹ manages to incorporate classical mythological features with features from the Christian faith, and at the same time refer to the topic of the dissertation:

Artis non Martis, sic decernente SENATU,
 Deponis doctum, *Vir Juvenis* specimen:
 Eruis en Physeōs penitusque latentia rerum
 Semina, quae primum sparsit in orbe DEUS.
 5 Hinc tuus ipse PARENS, Musarum Phoebus, Apollo,
 HOLSTENIUS Pastor, Gymnasiarcha⁷¹⁰ Scholae,
 Theiologique⁷¹¹ Sophique viri, totusque Senatus,
 Applaudunt manibus: Carmine grator ego.

Φιλοφιλίας χάριν
 apposuit
 Andreas Eri Wallenius

[You, young man, lay down a learned proof of science, not of fighting, as the consistory⁷¹² has declared. Behold, you root up the hidden seeds of physics and deep within things, that God first strew in the world.

⁷⁰⁷ Hansson (2011), p. 15. Cf. Engdahl (1986), p. 37 f.

⁷⁰⁸ This is in line with what Van Dam (2015), p. 70, concludes in his study. See also Ström (2002), who discusses compositional techniques in Neo-Latin occasional funerary verse from seventeenth-century Sweden.

⁷⁰⁹ This is the last of four congratulatory poems by different authors in the dissertation.

⁷¹⁰ This word *gymnasiarcha* is attested in ancient Latin as a master of a school of athletic exercises (L&S, s.v. *gymnasiarchus* and *gymnasium*). In JPG the meaning has changed to comprise the theoretical school as we recognize as a gymnasium or similar, and is given the meaning *Schole mästarte* and *Schole herre* ('School master'). Here, the word may have a meaning equivalent of *rector* ('headmaster'). JPG, s.v. *gymnasiarchus*.

⁷¹¹ To lengthen a syllable of a word, in this case *theologi* into *theiologi*, to make it fit in the Latin metre was common in Neo-Latin poetry. IJsewijn and Sacré (1998), p. 424.

⁷¹² The poem's word *senatus* refers to the consistory and should be interpreted as such. Cf. Sjökvist (2007), p. 78 and 121. See also Helander (2004), p. 210, who discusses the word *senatus*, which can mean not only government, but also a town council. Thus I would argue that the term could also be transferred to mean the consistory, as the context here indicates. See also line 7 of the poem.

Because of this your father himself, Phoebus
Apollo of the Muses, Shepard Holstenius,
master of the gymnasium, and men of the
divine and learned men, and the whole
consistory, applaud with their hands: with a
poem I congratulate you.

Andreas Eriici Wallenius
assigned kindness of friendly love]

The mix of Christian faith and classical symbols in the poem is thus testimony to the aesthetics of the time, and a place in which the schooling of the author in classical literature shines through. The antithesis *ars – Mars* in the first line, is a widespread image, as Anne Lill (2003) has investigated in her study on *carmina gratulatoria* at the academy of Dorpat.⁷¹³ By referring to the gymnasium and to the learned men there, and at the same time using elements from the classical repertoire, the desired effect appears to be to draw parallels between the gymnasium and the glory of the ancient world.

Yet another function of the congratulatory poetry is educational or to provide advice. This is seen in the congratulatory poem in *De principijs actionum humanarum* (pr. O. E. Schult, Västerås 1651), where the addressee is the respondent Laurentius Iohannis Rytterensis. The sender of the poem is Samuel Thomae Barchius, *lector* at the gymnasium:

Humanissimo et Literatissimo
Domino Respondenti

Saepius incautos juvenes et tessera fallit,
Decipit et segnes chartula picta viros,
Seducit quoque luxus iners et blanda Dione,
Bacchus, et illecebrae praecipites rapiunt.
5 Ut mentes juvenum hac vitiorum a labe trahantur,
Assvescantque, bonis sponte studere sua.
Mentibus instillant morum praecepta iuventae,
Intus ut eradant huic alimenta mali.
His quod tu gnavus studijs incumbere anhelas,
10 Cognoscet, chartas, qui legit, hasce tuas.
Quas, quia scripsisti nervose, docte et acute,
Sic quoque defensor dexter et acer eris.
Sic tuus hinc celebretur honos, sint praemia tandem,
Sic poteris patriae commodus esse focus.

⁷¹³ Lill (2003), p. 184. Cf. the third line in the dedicatory poem to Gustavus Adolphus: *AVGVSTVS nulli cessit nec marte, nec arte* given in section 3.4.6.1 above. Cf. also the motto *Arte et Marte* of the Swedish House of Nobility in Stockholm, *NFB* s.v. Riddarhus.

Animo benevolo gratulabundus
apponebat
SAMUEL THOMAE
Barchius.

[To the most educated and learned Sire
respondent
Dice games frequently deceive incautious
young men and card playing ensnares lazy
men, weakening luxury too, as well as alluring
love seduces, wine drinking and precipitous
allurements ravish. The minds of young men
shall be accustomed to strive of free will after
learning, so that they shall be pulled away from
this detrimental ruin. Learning instils moral
precepts in the mind of the youth,
so that it removes the fuel of evil from within.
That you are hungry to devote yourself
diligently to these studies, he notices, who
reads your work. You will also be dexterous
and eager when you are defending this work,
since you have written it energetically, skillfully
and sharply. Hence, your honor will be
celebrated in this manner, finally there shall be
rewards, in this manner you will be able to be
favorable for the altars of the Fatherland.

Samuel Thomae Barchius
assigned these congratulations
with well-wishing mind]

In the initial lines (1-4) the sender warns against dice games (*tessera*), card playing (*chartula picta*), weakening luxury (*luxus iners*), alluring love (*blanda Dione*), wine drinking (*Bacchus*) and other “precipitous allurements” (*illecebrae praecipites*), that deceive (a man, one must presume). The things that lead young men away from these vices and stem the fuel of evil are education and moral precepts (5-8). The respondent will defend the writings he now submits skillfully and accurately, and thus he shall be rewarded.

The importance of a supervisor is found in the congratulatory poem addressed to respondent Andreas Johannis Meleman (*philosophiae et juris studiosus*), and written by his friend Iohannes H. Florander, in *De principis virtutum* (pr. E. Malmogius Roslagius, Stockholm 1647). The poem, a Sapphic stanza, shows the addressee the necessity of having a coach in order to succeed:

Castra qui martis sine Chiliarcho,
Miles armatus sequitur cruenta,
Is potest hostes animi feroces
Vincere nunquam:

5 Quisque musarum sequitur palaestras,
Tiro vexatur, nisi praeses adsit,
Antagonistas superans potentes
Flumine lingvae.

10 Illud Andreas Meleman revolvit,
Thespijs semper vigilans in arvis,
Castra virtutum quod amaena lustrat,
Praeside claro.

15 Gratulor caeptis, animo benigno,
Et precor quondam meritos honores
Quos solet semper, referat, Camenis
Florida virtus.

[The armed soldier who serves under
bloodthirsty standards of war without a
colonel, he can never defeat ferocious enemies.

Whoever serves under the standards of the
Muses, he has trouble as a beginner to
overcome strong antagonists with volubility, if
the chairman is not present.

Andreas Meleman has reflected upon this,
always careful in the land of the Muses, since
he reviews the pleasant military camp of virtue
with an illustrious chairman.

I congratulate the commenced work with a
kind mind, and I pray that hereafter florid
virtue shall return the deserved honors, which
it always is accustomed to do, to the Muses.]

In the first paragraph of the poem the sender compares someone who is to serve as a soldier without a colonel⁷¹⁴ (who would never be successful in overcoming their ferocious enemies without one) with someone (second

⁷¹⁴ The usage of the word *chiliarchus* to mean colonel has been discussed by Helander (2004), p. 179. Cf. Sikeborg (2014), p. 41 on *chiliarcha*, and Hoven (1994), p. 58 on the word *chilias*.

paragraph) who is about to act in a disputation – or who is merely completing his studies. Like the former, the latter would not be able to overcome strong antagonists without the help of a leader, a *praeses*. However, Andreas Meleman, the respondent, has succeeded because he has had the help of a good chairman.

Now, let us leave the congratulatory poetry of the seventeenth century to move quickly on to the congratulatory poetry found in eighteenth-century dissertations.

3.6.2.2 Congratulatory Poetry in Eighteenth Century-Dissertations

The occurrence of congratulatory poetry in the eighteenth century is lower in terms of both the total number of poems and the number of dissertations that feature congratulatory poetry. This decreasing incidence of occasional verse in gymnasial dissertations is contrary to the general appearance of printed Swedish occasional literature, which increased in number and reached its peak by the mid-eighteenth century.⁷¹⁵ As will be shown in the following, there are only a very small number of pieces of congratulatory poetry in gymnasial dissertations from the eighteenth century: there is a total of 208 lines distributed over 19 poems. With the exception of some of the congratulatory poems from Linköping, all other poems are found in dissertations from the first half of the eighteenth century. The distribution by gymnasium is as follows: 11 poems (136 lines) from Linköping, 4 poems (44 lines) from Göteborg, 3 poems (24 lines) from Strängnäs and 1 poem (4 lines) from Västerås. Two of these poems are written in Greek, the rest are in Latin.⁷¹⁶ Despite this comparatively small body of eighteenth-century material I have found it possible to draw out two characteristics. Firstly, with the exception of three cases, the poems are exclusively directed to the *praeses*, in contrast to the previous century in which the poetry was primarily directed to respondents.⁷¹⁷ This difference in addressee is explained by the fact that most eighteenth-century dissertations in which poetry is found were *pro loco*-dissertations. The chairman, *praeses*, is often mentioned as the

⁷¹⁵ Ridderstad (1980), p. 32f. After the 1770s the production of printed occasional literature decreased, partly because it was increasingly printed in provincial newspapers instead of being printed separately. Lindqvist (2002), p. 169. Cf. figures given by Hansson (2011), pp. 42-55.

⁷¹⁶ The poems written in Greek are found in *Σύμμικτα φιλοσοφικά physicae de elementis et logicae de syllogismo* (pr. S. Normannus, Strängnäs 1713) and in *De ritibus orandi ecclesiae Sviogothicae* (pr. M. Lidén, Linköping 1733).

⁷¹⁷ The exceptions are a Sapphic stanza from the *gymnasium* of Strängnäs in the dissertation *Angelologia sacra* (pr. D. Trautzel 1703), where the poem is in praise of God and is not a regular congratulatory poem, and the poems found in *Σύμμικτα φιλοσοφικά physicae de elementis et logicae de syllogismo* (pr. S. Normannus, Strängnäs 1713) which are directed to the three respondents.

author of the text of the *thesis*/dissertation in the congratulatory poems and is praised for their successful part in disputation in the same manner as the respondents were in the seventeenth-century poems. That a congratulatory poem is directed to the *praeses* of these dissertations is thus naturally explained: the sender wants to congratulate the applicant for a successfully accomplished disputation. Secondly, the poetry is often placed at the beginning of the dissertation.⁷¹⁸ This is the case for the dissertations from the gymnasium with the most congratulatory poetry of this century, Linköping. Out of a total of eleven poems from Linköping, all are placed at the beginning, before the body text. Continuing the discussion of poems from Linköping, I have noticed that seven of the eleven poems in dissertations are written between 1733 and 1760 by the bishop (and protector, *ephorus*, of the *gymnasium*) Andreas Olofsson Rhyzelius who was considered a prominent Latin poet in his time; Rhyzelius lived until 1761.⁷¹⁹ The last congratulatory poem that he wrote is found in the dissertation *Theses oratorio-poetico* (1760), printed the year before he passed away, to congratulate the *praeses* Samuel Älf. In the signature of the poem the old bishop describes himself as *lippus, mancus trimusque supra octogenarium* (“having watery eyes, being crippled and eighty-three years old”).

The themes of the congratulatory poetry in the eighteenth-century dissertations are otherwise very similar to those of the seventeenth century. What differs is the appearance of praise of the addressee’s qualities or deed as an educator, presumably because most of the dissertations are written by teachers and have an educational purpose. In the dissertation *Theses miscellaneae* (pr. J. G. Bennich, Göteborg 1740) written to apply for the position of *conrectoratus*, the poem (written by Samuel Hedström) to *praeses* Johannes Gustavus Bennich shows this characteristic theme:

Clarissimo CON-RECTORI
 DISSERTATIONIS *hujus eruditae* AUCTORI,
 Honoratissimoque Fautori,
 JOH. GUST. BENNICH,
 Pro Loco,
Publice Disputanti.
 Accipe jam Spartam, Tibi quae concredita, BENNICH,
 Aggrediaris opus fortiter atque tuum.
 Ingressus felix, prosper progressus in arte,

⁷¹⁸ By beginning I mean before the actual text of the dissertation, but not necessarily on the first two pages.

⁷¹⁹ Rhyzelius left a large body of poetry in Latin, Swedish and Greek, but he was also a writer of history and topography. For details on Rhyzelius’ biography and his writings, see SBL, s.v. Andreas O. Rhyzelius, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=6655> (author Oloph Bexell).

5 Ingenii Tibi sit Sparta beata Tui.
Fac resonent svavi Musarum examina cantu,
Tu studiis dulcem affer et ipse Lyram,
Ut pueri fiant homines, cum tempore, docti;
Sic fiet parvus, magnus et arte, puer.
*Animo, quam calamo,
promtiore gratulatur*
SAM. HEDSTRÖM

[To the most illustrious *conrector*, author of this learned dissertation, the most honorable patron Johannes Gustavus Bennich, who is disputing publicly *pro loco*.

Now receive your task, which is entrusted to you, Bennich, and you will boldly undertake your work. A fortunate entrance, a prosperous progress in knowledge, may the task of your innate quality be happy for you.

Make the crowds of the Muses resound in pleasant singing, and yourself bring forth the delightful Lyre for your studies, that boys will become learned men, with time; in that way a small boy will be big also through knowledge.

With his heart as well as with his pen Samuel Hedström congratulates readily]

Again, as in the congratulatory poetry discussed in the previous section, the Muses are used as a symbol of learning, and the addressee Johannes Bennich is urged – as Apollo – to bring the lyre (l. 6). The name of the *praeses* is printed in capital letters in the first line to emphasize that he is receiving the praise. In the last three lines the sender says that by picking up the ancient instrument and by making the Muses sing, the schoolboys whom he, Bennich, will now supervise as vice headmaster (*conrector*) will grow to become learned men. Here it is also appropriate to comment on a choice of words, namely *Sparta* which is found in the first line of the poem. In its transferred meaning, the famous Greek city of *Sparta* was a common word for ‘task’ or ‘duty’ in Neo-Latin texts (with or without capital S).⁷²⁰

Another theme attested in two poems in dissertations from Göteborg, is to mention classical authors who were studied at the gymnasium. The person who in a way concatenates these poems is Elieser Poppelman,

⁷²⁰ Helander (2004), p. 148 f. See also JPG s.v. *Sparta*.

teacher of eloquence and rhetoric at the gymnasium of Göteborg.⁷²¹ The earlier of these two poems is from the *pro loco*-dissertation *De eloquentia Latina in scholis Christianis comparanda* (pr. O. E. Törnsten, 1731). Here, on the third page, the chairman and *conrector* Olaus Törnsten is congratulated in a twelve line poem (*dodecastichon*) by Elieser Poppelman:

AUrea facundi sunt quondam verba locuti
Tullius et Caesar, Livius atque Nepos,
 Et plures alii, celebrat quos fama per orbem,
 Heroës, Latii lumina magna chori.
 5 Musarum moneo, simul et saepe hortor alumnos,
 Ut student, studiis dent operamque bonis,
 Utque legant, relegant, quos aurea protulit aetas,
 Auctores, sibi sic Eloquiumque parent.
 Est foecundus ager, qui fructum fert copiosum,
 10 Sic facundus homo est aurea verba loquens.
 Talia cum scribas docto, doctissime *Törnsten,*
 Nunc calamo, merito gratulor ergo Tibi.

[Once, Cicero, Caesar, Livius, Cornelius Nepos and many others eloquently spoke golden words. Throughout the world fame celebrates these heroes, the great lights of the Latin choir. I advise and I also often encourage the protégées of the Muses, that they shall study, and that they shall give attention to good studies, and that they shall read and reread those authors whom the golden age brought forth, in such a way shall they provide eloquence for themselves. That field is fertile that produces an abundance of fruits, in the same way is a man eloquent who speaks golden words. Now, I therefore deservedly congratulate you, most learned Törnsten, when you write such fine things with your learned pen.]

⁷²¹ Poppelman was born in Lund in 1693 and was *eloquentiae et poëseos lector* in Göteborg from 1719. In 1745 he became second *lector* of theology (*secundus theologiae lector*). The same year he was appointed vicar, and two years later, in 1747, he was appointed clerk in Lundby. In 1752 he became first *lector* of theology (*primus theologiae lector*). He died in 1768. Poppelman was also the author of the dedicatory poem in *Decas positionum miscellanearum* (1737) from Göteborg. *Göteborgs stifts beredning* (1872), p. 95.

The sender of the poem mentions the ancient authors Cicero, Caesar, Livius, Cornelius Nepos and *plures alii* as heroes of the golden age (l. 1-4). He continues (l. 5-8) by saying that he often encourages the pupils to study and read the *auctores* so that they may bring forth eloquence. Here, the play on the adjectives *foecundus* (“fertile”) and *facundus* (“eloquent”) in lines 9 and 10 fits with the poem’s argument. Referring to classical Roman authors in a poem like this connects the poem both to the subject of the dissertation, which is Latin eloquence in school, and to the sender’s own position as *eloquentiae et poëseos lector*. It was the *lector* of eloquence and poetry who was responsible for proper Latin training at the gymnasium, by, among other things, studies of the classical authors mentioned in the poem.

The next poem to pick up on this theme is found in the *Dissertatio theologica, qua illustre vaticinium prophetæ Joëlis [...] aphorismis theologicis expositum* (Göteborg 1745), chaired as a means to obtain the coveted position as *lector* of theology at the gymnasium by the aforementioned Elieser Poppelman. Here he, as *praeses*, is the subject of the congratulatory verse on the last page of the dissertation. Poppelman is praised by the *rector*, Andreas Boström for his twenty-five years of service at the gymnasium:

DODECASTICHON
GRATULATORIUM

Quo

Praeclarissimo Viro atque Magistro,
DOMINO ELIESER POPPELMANNO,
Eloqu. et Poës. LECTORI
per annos XXV.
fidelissimo et dexterrimo,
jam vero pro Lectione Theologica Disputanti,
honoris ergo applaudere et gratulari voluit
ac debuit
ANDREAS BOSTRÖM
Sch. Goth. Cath. Rector.

Carmina constitui nonnullis condere verbis,
Carmina, quibus volui nunc celebrare virum;
Explicuit sollers magnos qui rite Poëtas,
Publica dum fieret Lectio Gymnasii;
5 Virgilius sonuit nostris heic, Nasoque Rostris,
Magnus et auditis Tullius, atque alii.
Gratulator ex animo varios multosque labores
Heic exantlatos, quos meminisse juvat.
Nunc aliam vero ornabis, dexterrime Lector;
10 Spartam, sis felix, prosperet ipse DEUS!

Discipulisque tuis propones Thejologiam,
Atque ovium CHRISTI Pastor eris meritus.

[A twelve-line congratulation in which Andreas Boström, rector of the cathedral school in Göteborg, wanted and ought to applaud and congratulate the most illustrious man and Master Sire Elisier Poppelman, most loyal and skillful lector of eloquence and poetry for twenty-five years who now disputes for the lectorship of theology.

I have determined to compose verses in a few words, verses, with which I now wanted to celebrate a dexterous man, who duly displayed the great poets while public lessons took place at the gymnasium. Here, Vergil sounded from our stages, and the great Ovid, and Cicero and others. I sincerely congratulate the various and many exhausting toils that he helps to recall. But now you will honor another task, dexterous *lector*, God himself shall make you successful! You set forth theology for your students, and you shall be a deserved Shepard of Christ's sheep.]

This time, as already mentioned, Elisier Poppelman is the center of attention as the addressee of the poem. He is to proceed to a different position now, to the lectorship of theology. As in the previous poem, the sender refers to classical authors, in this case Vergil, Ovid, Cicero and others (*atque alii*), which here hints at the teaching career of Poppelman who for many years was *lector* of eloquence at the gymnasium. Now, Poppelman will have another role, the poem says, namely that of *lector* of theology. Deliberately or not, the two poems are also connected by Andreas Boström when he makes use of the same theme as Poppelman himself some fourteen years earlier. It is worth noting that the author of the poem employs lengthening of syllables for metric reasons in the (archaic) word forms *queis* (l. 3) and *heic* (l. 5 and 8), as well as *thejologiam* (l. 11).

By the mid-eighteenth century poetry of any sort is no longer found in gymnasial dissertations. As has been shown above, the general trend was towards short *theses*-dissertations by the mid-eighteenth century. The social role of gymnasial dissertations had apparently diminished. From this perspective, it is likely that social peritexts, such as congratulatory poetry and dedications, were no longer considered important elements to include in the short *theses*-dissertations.

3.6.3 Epistola gratulatoria – The Congratulatory Epistles in Prose

A paratextual feature that is similar in function to the congratulatory poetry is the *epistola gratulatoria*, which is defined here as congratulations addressed to one of the participants in the disputation act written in prose and placed at the end of the dissertation, sometimes together with congratulatory poetry.⁷²² This kind of occasional literature is not as frequent in the material studied as the occasional poetry but nevertheless it deserves to be treated because of its particularities and its functional connection with the congratulatory poetry. There are only fourteen dissertations that have this kind of concluding praise, drawn mostly from the seventeenth century, as the table below shows.

Gymnasium	17 th century	18 th century
Göteborg	1	1
Linköping		1
Stockholm	1	
Strängnäs	4	1
Västerås	5	
Σ	11	3

TABLE 11: Occurrence of *epistolae gratulatoriae* (concluding praise in prose)

In these fourteen dissertations there are a total of eighteen congratulatory texts in prose: some dissertations have more than one. What is interesting to note is that in four cases the congratulations in prose are written in a language other than Latin: two in Greek, one in French, and one in Italian.⁷²³ Most of the congratulations in prose are half a page each, but in a few cases they cover up to three pages. The respondent is the person being congratulated in the majority of the cases. It is notable that the dissertations

⁷²² Letters of congratulation were a genre of their own in the early modern period. For example, in his handbook on letter writing, Andreas Jonae Gothus dedicates a chapter to how to formulate an *epistola gratulatoria* and also how to answer such a letter. See Andreas Jonae Gothus *Thesaurus epistolicus*, pp. 52-55.

⁷²³ The congratulations in Greek are found in *Theorematum miscellaneorum decas* (pr. O. E. Rosendalius, Strängnäs 1679) and *De spiritu corporis humani* (pr. J. Juhlbeck, Strängnäs 1685); the congratulations in French and Italian are found in *Theses miscellaneae* (pr. J. Gustavi Bennich, Göteborg 1740)

with congratulations in prose are also more likely to have other paratexts such as dedications, prefaces and congratulatory poetry.

The function of the congratulation in prose is the same as that of the congratulatory poetry, i.e. to praise the efforts of the addressee. A certain directness of address and an intimate and familiar tone are characteristic of some of these congratulations, especially when they are written by relatives or by what seem to be close friends. The free prose form may explain this relaxed tone, in contrast to the bound form of the congratulatory poetry that as a genre demanded other themes and expressions. In addition to allowing more freedom of expression, two other possible reasons as to why these *epistolae gratulatoriae* are written in prose are either that the writers were not – or did not think themselves — skilled enough to compose an adequate poem in a rule bound form, or that there was little time before the writers had to send their contribution to the printer and therefore they had to go with the more quickly composed prose form. When dealing with the congratulatory prose written with a familiar tone two examples are illustrative. The first is found on the closing pages of *De libro vitae* (pr. J. Florander, Göteborg 1686) in which the old, and indeed very proud, father, the vicar Jonas L. Forsselius, congratulates his son Joannes on the completion of the dissertation: *Non possum dicere, mi Fili, quantum laetitiae, quantumque in hac decrepita senectute solatij ex pijs tuis conatibus nactus sim [...]* (“I cannot say, my Son, how much happiness, and how much comfort I have received in this feeble old age from your pious efforts”). He then compares his feelings with those of the patriarch Jacob who was so relieved when he heard of his son Joseph’s safety that he no longer wished to live.⁷²⁴ The congratulating father Jonas Forsselius then says he is now so glad to have two sons who are dressed in the robes of Aaron (*Aaronis stola indutos*), i.e. that they have become priests, that he feels his life is complete: *quid ulterius vivere optabo? mors mihi nunc lucrum* (“why would I wish to live longer? Death is now for me to gain”).

The second example of intimate tone is found in *Ideam formae regiminis monarchiae divinae generalem* (pr. P. Wimmermark, Linköping 1751), in which a close friend congratulates the *praeses* on his *pro loco*-dissertation for the

⁷²⁴ The allusion is to *Genesis* 46:30: *Dixitque pater ad Ioseph: Iam laetus moriar, quia vidi faciem tuam, et superstitem te relinquo* (“And Israel [Jacob] said unto Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, because thou art yet alive” King James Bible). The congratulatory epistle in the dissertation has the following wording: *Patriarcha Jacobus multa aetate jam provectus, multaue adversa perpassus, audita Filij sui Iosephi incolumitate, tanta Laetitia perfusus est, ut ulterius vivere non optaret: Sic ego, si in alijs minus Felix, hoc saltem nomine felicissimus, quod binos, Aronis stola indutos, coelesti numini sacraverim Filios [...]* (“The patriarch Jacob, advanced in old age and having endured many misfortunes, was imbued with such joy, when hearing of his son Joseph’s safety, that he no longer wished to live. I feel like that, although less fortunate in other things, in all events very fortunate in name, that I would have consecrated two sons dressed in the robes of Aron to the heavenly divinity”).

position of *rector* of the trivial school in Söderköping. Johannes Kumblaeus writes that he is so glad to hear of Wimmermark's erudite dissertation, even though he has not seen it himself:

Amice et Frater integerrime.

Quando Holmiae eramus, arctiori amoris fraterni vinculo constricti saepius colloquebamur; anno autem superiori, intervallo locorum disjuncti non nisi per litteras colloqui possumus, quibus familiaritatem olim contractam conservamus et renovamus, ut et nos mutuo reficimus et aedificamus. Litterae tuae, nuperrime ad me datae, quibus certiore me fecisti munus Rectoris in Schola Söderköpensi tibi esse demandatum, et dissertationem, quam de forma regiminis Monarchiae Divinae pro loco conscripsisti, propediem prelo committendam, publicoque examini subjiciendam, ita animum oblectarunt meum, ut non potuerim me tenere, quin paucissimis ad Te scriberem, laetitiamque meam declararem. Dissertationem quidem tuam non vidi [...].

[My friend and most honest brother! When we were in Stockholm, we often used to talk together tied by the bond of close fraternal love; however, because we were separated during the past year we could not talk, not except through letters, by which we keep up and renovate our once close friendship, as we also mutually restore us and build us up. I received your letter most recently by which you informed me that the position as *rector* in the trivial school of Söderköping has been entrusted to you. And you have informed me that the dissertation, which you have written on the form of the direction of the divine monarchy for this position, is shortly to be brought to the press, and which will be submitted to public examination; so much has your letter delighted my heart that I could not hold myself from writing very shortly to you and show my happiness. Your dissertation, however, I have not seen.]

The congratulation resembles to a certain extent a private letter. The function is not only to congratulate but also to publicly manifest the close friendship between the sender and the addressee. Worth noting is that the congratulation is signed four months before the disputation was held, according to the information on the dissertation title page. This shows that the procedure of writing and submitting a dissertation when applying for a position was planned well in advance. The sender stresses that he has not seen the dissertation himself, even though he knows of the title. The *epistola gratulatoria* suggests that the *pro loco*-dissertation was to be submitted *after* the position of *rector* had already been given to Wimmermark. This means that in this case the dissertation *pro loco* was a matter of *pro forma* rather than of a test or examination of the applicant in which he either could pass or fail. The procedure of granting a position to someone seems to have been conducted differently depending on where the position was located.

The dissertation with the lengthiest *epistolae gratulatoriae* is *Theorematum miscellaneorum decas* (pr. O. E. Rosendalius Strängnäs 1679). Here, the respondent, Andreas Bergius junior son of a homonymous city councilor in Nyköping, is congratulated in prose (of which one passage is in Greek) by three teachers of the gymnasium. Before discussing these further, it should firstly be said that in this case the paratextual elements taken all together by far exceed the actual dissertation text – in addition to the congratulatory prose there is also an extensive dedicatory epistle by the respondent. This has some importance in the following discussion. Returning to the congratulatory prose, starting with the first congratulatory passage written by the *praeses* Olaus Rosendalius, it is possible to list a number of themes:

- (1) Comparison between physical sports and the activities of the learned and their respective signs of honor
- (2) God shall help you, and the importance of religious devotion
- (3) The respondent's future studies at the University of Uppsala shall be successful
- (4) You have made your parents proud
- (5) Your dissertation is good work and the defense of it was executed in the same manner
- (6) I congratulate you

In the last congratulatory text, written by the *lector* Johannes Vingius, the outstanding talent of the respondent, which was clearly manifested by the fact that he (the respondent) had such success during the disputation, is covered. To quote a short passage:

[...] tamen hoc, quod nunc edidisti Virtutis Experimentum, clarissime tuam industriam comprobat. Argumentum quippe, in quo animum occupasti, et amplum, et arduum, et fructuosum est. [...] Rarum sane et insolens solet esse, admodum Adolescentes audere periculum sui facere in cathedra, sed tu non tantum aequales, sed et temetipsum superas, ac quasi supra aetatem sapis.

[Nevertheless this proof of virtue that you now have brought forth, confirms very clearly your industry. For the subject in which you have occupied your mind is rich, arduous, and fruitful. [...] It is usually really rare and unusual that quite young men dare to run a risk of their own in the *cathedra*, but you not only surpass your fellows of your same age, but you surpass yourself, and you are wise so to speak above your age.]

Both writers of congratulations Olaus Rosendalius and Johannes Vingius mention the defense act as well as the dissertation itself. It is quite hard to believe that these congratulations are not exaggerated having read the short and fairly plain *theses* of the *theoremata* that constitute the dissertation. What is

the reason for the teachers producing such eulogies for a schoolboy? One plausible reason is that he was son of a high-ranking civic official from the nearby town of Nyköping. It may be that the teachers wished to make a good impression on the boy's influential parent. Since we cannot know this, it may as well be that the respondent Andreas Bergius was a good schoolboy, mature for his age and loved by his teachers for his eagerness and talent.⁷²⁵

There are certain reoccurring phrases found in congratulations in prose. Exclamatory words and phrases are particularly found. An example is *macte!* ('bravo!' or 'good luck!'). The word is derived from the adjective *mactus, a, um* which was originally used in religious contexts in classical Latin, but has this transferred meaning when used in congratulations.⁷²⁶ The phrase *Macte virtute esto!* (with variations) is commonly found. Other frequently used words and phrases are *perge!* ('continue!') and *perge ut coepisti!* ('continue as you have started!'), found, for instance, in *De illuminatione lunae* (pr. V. Granagrius, Västerås 1677) in an *epistola gratulatoria* to respondent Laurentius Hofstedt: *perge ut caepisti*. The phrase is common in classical Latin texts, which indicates that it was an accepted expression when encouraging someone.⁷²⁷

3.6.4 Dedicatory Poetry

Poetry connected with dedications is much more rarely found than congratulatory poetry. Undoubtedly this poetry was used to express gratitude to the dedicatees in a different way than in a dedication in prose. Dedicatory poetry was also a means of showing the poetic ability of the dedicator. In this section I will examine the very small number of pieces of dedicatory poetry regarding number, characteristics and style in a similar manner to the examination of congratulatory poetry in previous sections. I have already reproduced one of the dedicatory poems, namely that found in the dedication to King Gustavus Adolphus in section 3.4.6.1 above.

Taken all together, the total number of pieces of poetry in dedications is fourteen, four from the seventeenth century and seven from the eighteenth century. Only three gymnasia appear to have this kind of paratext in their dissertations: Strängnäs (10 poems), Västerås (2 poems), Stockholm (1 poem) and Linköping (1 poem). Due to their function as part of the dedication every poem is located at the beginning of the dissertation, before

⁷²⁵ Andreas Bergius was registered at the University of Uppsala one and a half months later, 14 May 1679, together with four other students from Strängnäs. The information on his father's title is taken from the university entry register. *Uppsala Universitets matrikel* vol. 4.

⁷²⁶ L&S, s.v. 1 *mactus*.

⁷²⁷ For instance in Plautus *Rudens* 1089, Cicero *Ep. ad fam.* 7.18.1, and Pliny the younger *Ep.* 7.8.2.

the actual text, always in connection with a dedication to one or more persons to whom the poem is addressed. The elegiac distich is used in all cases, except in the longest and earliest dedicatory poem, that found in *Methodo Hafsenreff. adornata super quaestionem quid sit Deus* (pr. S. Hagelsteen, Stockholm 1655), which is written in hexameter. Apart for this extensive poem of 40 lines, the dedicatory poems are short, between 6 and 16 lines each. In the dissertation *Meletemation exhibens ἱστορικῶμενα quaedam de Hellenistis* (pr. J. Thun, Strängnäs 1690) there are two dedicatory poems, one in Greek addressed to Bishop Ericus Benzelius, and one in Latin directed to the youth of the gymnasium.

If we turn to characteristics and style, I will begin by discussing the dedicatory poem in *Positiones aliquot evangelicae* [...] (pr. J. Thun, 1702), a dissertation from Strängnäs. The elegiac distich consists of eight lines dedicated to the vicar Ericus Humbla, who is referred to as *Patronus ac Maecenas optime*, and to Andreas Ulfström, the *praetor*⁷²⁸ at the castle of Gripsholm, who is invoked as *Reginae Viduae vir fidelissimus* (“a man most loyal to the widow queen”).⁷²⁹ The sender of the poem is one of the three respondents who took part in the disputation. The poem makes use of mythology in similar manner to that already attested in congratulatory poetry above:

Quae sterilis latuit per tempus, cudere fetum
 Ingenii voluit Musa tenella sui.
 Vestros ante pedes hunc ponit, talia dicens:
 Hoc specimen parvum suscipitote meum.
 5 Jungit et his votum, faciat dominator in orbe,
 Longum per tempus vos cumulare dies.
 Post nivei blandum lustretis limen Olympi,
 Vestrae dum vitae, stamina Parca metat.
 Tuae Rev. Dignit. et Clarit.
 Observantissimus cultor,
 Ambrosius Fredengren

Although the dissertation is dedicated to two people, the sender of the poem still chooses to use the second person singular by ending the poem with *tuae* (line 9). This is even more striking because it seems that both people are addressed in the poem: *Vestros...pedes* (line 3), *vos* (line 6), *Vestrae...vitae* (line 8). The sender puts himself in the place of the Muse, who in line four offers her *specimen parvum*, which is the present dissertation.

⁷²⁸ This word should be interpreted as ‘bailiff’. See section 3.4.5.1 above.

⁷²⁹ The widow queen is believed to be Hedvig Eleonora.

An example of dedicatory poetry that refers to the subject of the dissertation is the poem dedicated and composed by the respondent Carolus Malmenius in *Cogitationes de fulmine breves* (pr.J. Törneros, Strängnäs 1710). The poem is addressed to his grandfather (*avus maternus*), Elias Jacobsson, who is called “a most considered man equally of piety and of dignity due to old age” (*pietate pariter ac senectae gravitate spectatissimo viro*). In the poem the author praises the addressee, whilst picking up the theme from the dissertation *De fulmine* (On lightning):

In summo Titan radiat clarissimus axe,
 Et media rutili regnat in arce Poli;
 Quoque modo piceae glomerantur in aethere nubes,
 Et fragor aethereo trusus ab axe tonat;
 5 Fert sine jam Phaebo tibi mente manuque Thalia;
 Sunt mentis tantum cruda pericla meae.
 Tu pueri curam moesto sub corde paternam,
 Egesti, faber es sortis et usque meae
 Tu modo jam nostram ne dedignare Camoenam;
 10 Non alia addictae pignora mentis habet,
 Quin quaeso inveniatis mites facilesque penates
 Offero quod munus quam levidense, tuos;
 Sic cana faciemque coma jam tempora sparsus,
 Ut vigeas valeas usque adeo usque precor!
 Quo ad vixero mansurus
 Venerabilis Avi sui
 Nepos obsequentissimus
 CAROL: MALMENTIUS

[The most illustrious Titan shines high up in the sky, and he rules in the midst of the heights of the golden glowing heaven. And just as the pitch black clouds assemble in the sky, and the forced crash of sound thunders from the heavenly pole, Thalia now brings to you, without Phoebus, by mind and hand. They are only cruel perils of my mind. You brought fatherly care of the destitute boy under the unhappy heart, you are always even the workman of my fate. Even now, do not scornfully refuse this my Muse! It has no other pledges of a devoted mind, well, I beg that he shall find gentle and courteous Penates I bestow yours, how poor a gift it is. In that way strewn now with white hair your face and temples, I pray that you may

thrive and be strong always, truly always!
As long as I shall live I will remain the
most obedient grandson to my
venerable grandfather]

The poem ends with a salute from the *nepos obsequentissimus* (“most obedient grandson”), Carolus Malmenius. Instead of providing monetary assistance, the grandfather is praised for the caring of the grandson in the poem. As in this case, there are two more dedicatory poems from Strängnäs that show that one of the respondents was the author of the poem. It is clear that classical mythology exercised an important role also in dedicatory poetry.

3.6.5 Concluding Remarks

This study of occasional literature has shown that the occurrence of congratulatory and dedicatory poetry as well as *epistolae gratulatoriae* is low in terms of the size of the whole corpus of dissertations. Nevertheless these types of paratextual devices were of importance for the social interplay between sender, receiver and reader. The heyday of occasional literature in gymnasial dissertations was the seventeenth century, which mirrors the occurrence of this literature in other works at the same time. However, occasional verse and prose, like all paratextual features in gymnasial dissertations, decreased and eventually ceased during the course of the eighteenth century, which goes against the general flourishing of occasional verse throughout the eighteenth century. It is obvious that gymnasial dissertations did not fulfil the same social function in the eighteenth century as they had in the previous century.

In the seventeenth century congratulatory poems were often directed to the respondent, usually a schoolboy or a returning student, and he was praised for his achievements in defending the dissertation, whether he had written it or not. Senders of congratulatory poetry were fellow schoolmates, friends (renowned or not), teachers and occasionally the bishop. In the following century, the congratulatory poetry is even more infrequent, and differs in some aspects from the poetry of the preceding century: during the eighteenth century poems are, in almost every case, directed to the *praeses*, because of the altered use of dissertations in the school system. The shift in focus from respondent to *praeses* is probably mostly due to the fact that the rules for applying for a position at a gymnasium or a trivial school were reviewed, as seen in the school regulations of 1724. The *praeses* rather than the respondent(s) became the center of attention of the social interplay represented by dissertations, and so the *praeses* became the subject of praise.

Congratulatory poems directed to respondent and *praeses* nevertheless show many similarities due to the fact that they have a common purpose: to

praise the addressee for his achievements in classical verse. Four practices are reoccurring (but not necessarily part of every poem) features of the poetry: (1) to mention the addressee by name in the poem, (2) to refer or to some extent allude to the subject of the dissertation, (3) to use symbols from classical mythology and from the Christian faith as part of the genre repertoire and (4) finally, of course, to praise the addressee. The Muses and Apollo as symbols of learning and scientific achievement are consistently used.

Dedicatory poetry shows similar characteristics to congratulatory poetry, although the purpose was somewhat different, since it was always placed in connection with dedications, and placed at the beginning of the dissertation. The dedicator – i.e. one of the participants in the disputation – would emphasize the benevolence of the dedicatee. However, dedicatory poetry is only rarely found in gymnasial dissertations.

3.7 Paratextual Alteration: Differences between Copies of the Same Dissertation

If one has the opportunity to examine more than one copy of a gymnasial dissertation, one sometimes encounters paratextual differences between the copies. In my examination of the material I have come across several such alterations. These alterations are the subject of the following section. It is fruitful to examine alterations because these highlight the fact that the purpose of a gymnasial dissertation could shift, or be changed or altered. Altering some features of a dissertation must have served a social purpose. By highlighting the habit of changing paratextual features from one copy to another it will be shown how gymnasial dissertations were used in the social interplay between senders and receivers. Dedications are one of the features that are likely to be altered or even removed from one copy to another. In addition to evidence of changes regarding dedications, there may also be variations in the use of *corollaria*, printed images and the names mentioned on the title page.⁷³⁰

As has already been stressed, dedications are more likely to be altered or left out in different copies than other paratextual features. In *Disputatio proemialis in disciplinas mathematicas de utilitate ac praestantia earundem* (pr. G. O. Bilberg, Strängnäs 1706) three respondents are listed on the title page. In the copy in Uppsala there is a dedication from the second of these respondents, while there is a dedication from the third respondent in the copy in Göteborg. If one had the opportunity to study even more copies of this

⁷³⁰ Alterations of dedications, of *corollaria* and of other features such as prefaces, pictures etc. are noted under each entry in the catalogue found in the appendices.

particular dissertation, one may find one with a dedication from the first of the respondents as well. Nevertheless, there is a difference between the two respondents who are known to have produced dedications and the respondent who has not: the two dedicators are titled *alumni regii* which I interpret as meaning that they were holders of royal scholarships. Since scholarship holders had a somewhat different status than other schoolboys, this may explain why they produced their dedications.⁷³¹ The two dedications that are discussed here are directed to different people and show individual features. The copy in Uppsala is dedicated to the vicars Magnus Gustavus Hallman and Laurentius Marelius, and has a dedicatory epistle written in prose, while the copy in Göteborg is dedicated to the vicar Johannes Wallman and is followed by a dedicatory poem. The two dedications are reproduced below:

Dedication from copy in UUB:

Plurimum Reverendo atque Clarissimo
 DOMINO Magnus GUSTAVO
 HALLMAN

Ecclesiae Dei quae Skyllinge audit Pastori meritissimo dignissimoque Maecenati magno, Promotori omni officiorum genere et humillima mentis veneratione aeternum suscipiendo colendi,
 Nec non

Plurimum Reverendo et Clarissimo
 DOMINO LAURENTIO
 MARELIO,

In Halla et Wrena Pastori egregie merito et laudatissimo, promotori ac Benefactori benignissimo omni officiorum et obsequiorum genere perpetim colendo

Ne ingratitude labe, qua nihil deterius, a vobis, Promotores magni, afficiar, de gratitudinis quopiam argumento mecum volutans hoc leve quoad me spectatum vobis, Promotores Magni, eo consecratum, vestro candore quin et favore fretus, ut hoc in praesens pro virili oblatum gratiarum actionis et animi obsequii et venerationis pleni signum in dextram accipiatis partem, meque meliori de nota commendatum habeatis. Vos

⁷³¹ The status of *stipendiarii* has been discussed in section 2.5.3.1 above.

vicissim, Promotores Magni, divinae Tutelae cum
integra familia in plurimos eosque felicissimos
annos commendo

Plur. Rev. Nom. Vest.

humillimus cliens

Carl. Axel. Wijdbbergh.

Dedication from copy in GUB:

VIRO

Reverendo atque Doctissimo

DOMINO JOHANNI

WALLMAN,

Ecclesiae Sjaelvicensis Pastori meritis-
simo, Benefactori suo, multis
nominibus honorando, pro-
sequendoque,

Suscipe parva precor pro magnis munera factis,

Munera quae tenuis fert mea musa tibi,

Et quamvis majora neget se posse referre,

Attamen hae gratae pignora mentis erunt.

Nam si quae valeam doctis jam dicere digna,

His sua coepta dedit tum tuus ille nitor.

Vota tibi venient solemnia dona camoenis;

E calido fundam pectore vota tibi:

Jn terris Pyleos ducas feliciter annos

Coelica post lustres angelicosque Choros!

D. D. D.

Reverendi nomenis tui

Addictus cultor

Pet. P. Ekner.

The two respondents decided to produce their dedications in completely different ways. All three dedicatees are vicars, whom the dedicators were obliged to thank for favors and benefits. The dedication in the copy in UUB is written in a manner typical of dedicatory epistles, using phrases such as *promotores magni* (thrice) and by mentioning the *candor* ('kindness') and *favor* ('goodwill, favor') that the dedicatees have bestowed on the dedicator, Carl Axel Wijdbbergh. The dedication in the copy from GUB is also written in a suitable fashion, making use of typical phrases and mythological topoi. The dedicator/sender, Petrus Ekner, emphasizes the meanness of his tribute in comparison to the dedicatee's distinguished deeds towards him (*Suscipe parva precor pro magnis munera factis*). The choice of style (prose and verse), layout and wording must reflect the respondent's desire to approach and address

the dedicatees in the most opportune way. In the end, dedications are there to influence a person of higher social standing and to gain access to that person's goodwill and favor. The schoolboys in these cases surely had an idea of the best way to address their particular (future) benefactors.

There are also other dissertations that in one copy lack a dedication, while there is one in another. In the cases of *De planetis seu stellis erraticis...* (pr. J. Lindbergius, Strängnäs 1669), *Supputatio chronologica in secundam Monarchiam* (pr. J. Sundelius, Strängnäs 1707) and of *Hypomnemata quaedam ad exercitationes styli* (pr. C. Enhörning, Strängnäs 1702) there are differences similar to those found between the two dedications examined in detail above. In the copies of these three dissertations examined in VS and GUB there are dedications on the verso of the title pages, from the second and third of the respondents mentioned on the title pages respectively, but in the copies in UUB these pages are blank. Lastly, in the case of *De lumine naturae* (pr. J. G. Rivelius, Strängnäs 1672) I have had the opportunity to examine four different copies (in UUB, GUB, VS and KB). The copies found in VS and KB have no dedications at all. The copies in UUB and GUB, however, both have dedications but by different people: the copy in UUB was dedicated by the respondent, Johannes Lucae Gadd, while the copy in GUB was dedicated by the *praeses*, Jonas Georgij Rivelius. The respondent dedicates 'his' copy of the dissertation to four people: one prominent person with a high social civic position (a baron), and three vicars of whom two were relatives (father and uncle). The *praeses*, on his part, dedicates 'his' copy to two *promotores* (Johannes Gabriel and Ericus Gustafson whom the dedicator calls 'brothers'). These changes in dedications between copies of the same dissertation reinforce the conclusion that dedications have nothing to do with the authorship of the dissertation. Instead, dedications provided other benefits to respondent and/or *praeses* independent of whoever was the author of the dissertation.

Regarding alterations on title pages, I have found a small number of changes, especially concerning the names of respondents. In *Theses theologicas* (pr. D. Stenius, Strängnäs 1752) the names of the three respondents are different in the two copies found in Västerås City Library. The change has been made by attaching a slip of paper to the title page over the original names using glue or a pin. It is possible that the names of the respondents have been altered because the rota of respondents changed between the dissertation being sent to print and the disputation taking place. Someone, the printer or someone else, has endeavored to cut and attach the slips with the new names on after printing was completed. One may also wonder whether dissertations were used on different occasions, but with different respondents. Another particular paratextual change regarding the names of the respondents is found in *De lingua novi testamenti originali* (pr. T. Fegraeus, Skara 1663), in which the names of two respondents, Asmundus Alg.

Scarinus and Ericus And. Omoenius, are found in the copy examined in VS. However, in the copy in UUB the space where the names of the respondents should have been is blank. Is this a misprint? The question that arises – if it is a case of misprinting – is why this particular copy without the names of the respondents was distributed. Is it the only copy with this error, or were there others of the same dissertation? Was it discovered early in the printing process and then fixed in other copies? Or was it not an error at all, but a conscious decision for some reason, perhaps to stress the importance of the *praeses*'s, or vice versa the respondents' contribution to the text? It is of course impossible to answer these questions, but it is still tempting to speculate about what caused this anomaly.

To conclude: the above examples are evidence that gymnasial dissertations were printed in different versions in order to be used for different purposes. When it comes to dedications the dedicators could distribute the copies particularly designed for a certain person or a group of people who had supported them or who they thought might support them in the future. A dissertation with a dedication would – along these lines – perhaps be given or sent to more important people to whom the dedication was personally addressed, while the copies without dedications were distributed to a more general audience. There is also the possibility that the dedicator(s) had to pay for the printing of the copies that contained dedications, but not for those without them, although this is only speculation. Dissertations must have been used for different purposes depending on what kinds of paratext were included.

3.8 A Case Study: Andreas Hesselius (Västerås) in Paratexts

By the examination of paratexts, it is sometimes possible to trace the careers of participants in the dissertations. In this section I will look more closely at one particular schoolboy/student, namely Andreas Hesselius, and discuss his educational journey as evidenced through the paratexts of the dissertations in which he appears.⁷³² He is chosen because he is easily traced in the dissertation material from the gymnasium of Västerås and the University of Uppsala, appearing a total of six times between 1665 and 1676. In the first five cases he acts as respondent, and in the last he is *praeses*:

⁷³² Andreas Olai Hesselius was born in the village of Hesse in Stora Tuna in 1644, and died in 1700 in Folkärna where he had been vicar since 1687. *Västerås stifts beredning* II:2, p. 475.

Year	Place	Dissertation title	Hesselius' role	Function of dissertation	
1	1665	Västerås	<i>De germana prophetici sermonis [...]</i>	respondent	Exercise, gymnasial
2	1666	Västerås	<i>De syllogismo</i>	respondent	Exercise, gymnasial
3	1671	Uppsala	<i>Summi magistratus indolem</i>	respondent	Exercise, academic
4	1672	Västerås	<i>Philanthropia divina</i>	respondent	Exercise, gymnasial
5	1674	Uppsala	<i>De discrimine honestorum et turpium</i>	respondent	<i>Pro gradu</i> , academic
6	1676	Västerås	<i>De jure naturae</i>	praeses	Exercise, gymnasial

TABLE 12: Appearances of Andreas Hesselius in dissertations

In the dissertations in which Hesselius was a participant there are variously dedications, dedicatory epistles, dedicatory poetry, congratulatory poetry, and end praises in prose, i.e. all the types of paratext that have been analyzed in previous sections. There is thus a large body of paratextual material to examine regarding this particular person. The purpose of this analysis is to show what kind of information can be found in dissertational paratexts, and what this information might say about a particular person's education and prospects.

I have found two versions (both in KB) of the first dissertation in which Hesselius acted as respondent, *De germana prophetici sermonis* (Västerås 1665). These copies differ in that they have completely different dedications. The first copy has a dedication by Hesselius to ten people who were either clergymen or who had positions in the educational system, especially in the vicinity of Leksand and of a place called Tuna, presumably Stora Tuna in the region of Dalarna where Hesselius was born. The other copy of the dissertation, however, has a dedication and a dedicatory epistle by Hesselius to nobleman Petrus Sparre, Baron of Cronberg, and to Martinus Brenner, secretary of the royal *collegium revisionis* (commission of revision). In this second extensive dedicatory epistle, Hesselius emphasizes the piety, care and generosity of the two dedicatees. Apart from the dedications, the two versions of the dissertation are completely the same. Why then produce two versions of the same dissertation? Hesselius must have had an explicit aim when he had the two different versions made addressing two different groups of people. The answer may be sought in the general function of dedications, which was to create relationships and networks of useful

contacts for future employment or aid. The two different approaches to two different groups in the social hierarchy may then reflect a desire to expand his network in two different directions. In the closing pages of *De germana prophetici sermonis* there are two congratulatory verses addressed to Hesselius by his friends Ericus L. Norenius and Petrus O. Ambigenius. The former of these two reoccurs as author of a congratulatory poem in the paratexts of the next dissertation.

The second dissertation, *De syllogismo* (pr. J. Holstenius, Västerås 1666), Hesselius dedicates to eleven people. First and foremost in this dedication is the bishop of Västerås, Olavus Laurelius who is referred to as *summus patronus*. Second in importance of the dedicatees is Petrus Dalekarlus, the *praepositus Arosiensium* (dean of Västerås), whom Hesselius calls *patronus magnus*. After these two cardinal dedicatees there is a dedication to nine teachers at the gymnasium, whom Hesselius mentions as *promotores*. Worth noting is that all of the dedicatees have one thing in common, namely that they were all part of the educational system as members of the consistory (the bishop, *praepositus Arosiensium*, and the *lectores*) and as teachers at the gymnasium.

The congratulatory poem at the end of the dissertation happens to be one of the most comprehensive congratulatory poems in the entire corpus of dissertations, no less than 34 lines long. The addressee is Andreas Hesselius, and the sender/author is the aforementioned Ericus L. Norenius. The whole poem is reproduced below:

O comes, o veri non dissimilator amoris,
 HESSELI, toto corde recepte mihi!
 Alluit *Arbusios* gelidus qua *Meler* ad agros,
 Nos pietasque diu junxit et alma fides.
 5 Quo nunc ire paras? Quo nunc ita pergis abire?
 Te, satis apparet, dicere velle: Vale.
 Edis amice Tui specimen doctissime pulchrum,
 Quomodo discursus constituendus erit.
 Quomodo quis verum possit discernere falso,
 10 Quod nunc pro recto ponitur omne nefas,
Omne nefas (dolor heu!) fallax irrupit in orbem,
Non superest veri, non pietatis honos.
 Jura, fides ubi nunc, rectae rationis et usus?
 Nunc qua terra patet regnat Erynnis atrox,
 15 Gymnasiis cupit illa bonas depellere leges,
 Et mores juvenum tollere fraude probos.
 Non homines tamen has revocant ad pectora curas,
 In tenebris ratio mersa quod atra jacet.
Ecce recens Mercator opum studiosus et auri,

20 *Praefertur Charitum Pieridumque Choris.*
 Spernis opes tamen, HESSELI, caelestia curas,
 Quanquam natus humo repere gaudet humi.
 Tendere jam satagis celebres *Ubbonis* ad aulas,
 Plus ibi Pierijs invigilare Choris.

25 Faustus abi, sospesque redi, Deus ipse secundet!
 Hoc duce, doctus abi, doctior inde redi.
Dum licuit pariter juncti convivimus ambo,
 Una mihi tecum villa domusque fuit.
 Et si quando fui fato concussus iniquo,

30 Auxiliumque dabas, consiliumque mihi.
 Quam vellem tecum ulterius producere vitam,
 Impedit (heu!) votum sors inimica meum.
 Nos quo fata trahunt, nos quo DEUS axe locabit,
 Corpore semotus mente propinquus ero.

The poem tells of the educational journey of the respondent Andreas Hesselius, to whom the sender/author addresses himself throughout, and who is invoked twice in the vocative case, in capital letters. The opening line starts with an invocation of the friend: *O comes, o veri non dissimulator amoris* (“Oh companion, oh you who are no concealer of true love”). Hesselius is said to have been raised on the Arhusian fields⁷³³ by the lake Mälaren (l.3: *Alluit Arbusios gelidus qua Meler*⁷³⁴ *ad agros*) and now he is about to complete his studies at the gymnasium in Västerås to go to the academy (l. 5: *Quo nunc ire paras?*, “Where to are you preparing to go?”). Uppsala and the university there are referred to in line 23 (*Tendere jam satagis celebres Ubbonis ad aulas* = “now you are busy attending the famous court of king Ubbo”⁷³⁵). Hesselius is going away as a learned man, and will return even more learned (l. 26: *doctus abi, doctior inde redi*). Somehow the author of the poem anticipates Hesselius’ return to the gymnasium (more on this below). The sender, Ericus Norenus, writes that he was helped and advised by his friend when he was in trouble (l. 29-30: *Et si quando fui fato concussus iniquo, | Auxiliumque dabas, consiliumque mihi*), and now, although the two friends are physically apart, he (Norenus) will nevertheless be near Hesselius in mind (*Corpore*

⁷³³ The adjective *Arbusius, a, um* is used here to describe the town of Västerås whose old name was Aros (*Arosia* in Latin). This particular spelling of the adjective is also found in a congratulatory poem in *De temperantia* (pr. C. L. Saebenius, Västerås 1668): *Solvat pro meritis tibi proemia Arhusia Musa* (l. 3, emphasis added). This seemingly archaic spelling indicates that this was an accepted variant of the name, perhaps to emphasize that the town was of great age.

⁷³⁴ For this name for the lake Mälaren and its variants, see Helander (2004), p. 263 f.

⁷³⁵ In historiography, in accordance with the Gothic ideas of the time, Ubbo was the name of the mythical king who founded Uppsala. He is said to have been the son of Magog, and was the fourth king of Sweden, before the birth of Abraham. Helander (2004), pp. 285f. and 299.

semotus mente propinquus ero). Interpolated with this educational biography the reader finds the aforementioned use of classical mythology, for example, the sender alludes to the Muses in line 19-20 and then again in line 24. The author of the poem had Hesselius to thank for his support and for sharing accommodation with him (l. 28 and 30), and he expresses his wish to continue to be a part of his life (l. 31). After the last line of the poem, there is mention of the respondent's imminent departure: *In Academiam discendenti* ("to him who will march off to the academy").

By looking at both the dedication and the congratulatory poem it is easily seen that Hesselius' disputation and immediate departure to Uppsala was an event worth celebrating, especially it seems for long-term friend and poem author Ericus L. Norenus. The dissertation must certainly be seen as a valedictory dissertation. Since defending *De syllogismo* was the last thing that Hesselius did as a schoolboy at the gymnasium of Västerås, it is easy to draw the conclusion that the dedication to the bishop and to the *lectores* was an act of gratitude and a way of thanking them for the time they stood by him.

As the congratulatory poem predicts, just a few months after Hesselius defended the dissertation he was enrolled at the University of Uppsala and Västmanlands-Dala student nation in November 1666.⁷³⁶ If we trace Hesselius in Lidén's catalogue of academic dissertations, he is found as respondent to two dissertations at the University of Uppsala, one in 1671 (*pro exercitio*) and again in 1674 (*pro gradu magistri*). The first of these is *Summi magistratus indolem* (pr. Claudius Arrhenius), which Hesselius defended in December 1671 and dedicated to Nicolaus Rudbeckius, Bishop of Västerås, and to Ericus Benzelius, professor of theology in Uppsala. Both are called *patronus* by the dedicator. In the dedicatory epistle, the dedicator mentions that his studies before he came under the protection of the dedicatees were oppressed by the cruelty and sad misfortune of earlier times (*atque mea studia, quae superiorum temporum saevitia tristitque infortunio pressa*), but that they (i.e. the studies) will now be secure. We do not know of Hesselius' circumstances during the period 1666-1671 in which he studied in Uppsala. If he had had a rough time financially, his words in the dedicatory epistle would not have been mere rhetorical ornamentation, but an expression of sincere thankfulness towards the dedicatees. This dissertation also has a *prooemium*, apparently written by Hesselius himself, that introduces the subject with adequate modesty. At the end of this academic exercise dissertation there are three congratulatory poems in his honor. The first of these is by *poëseos professor* Johannes Columbus, who calls Hesselius *popularis et amicus egregius* ("compatriot and excellent friend").⁷³⁷ The conclusion of this study of the

⁷³⁶ *Västmanlands-Dala nations album* I:1639-1700, p. 115; *Uppsala Universitets matrikel* 4:1665-1680, p. 193.

⁷³⁷ This congratulatory poem by Johannes Columbus is not included in the collection of Columbus' Latin *carmina gratulatoria* in *Samlade ritterhetsarbeten af svenska författare* I (ed. P.

paratextual features of the *pro exercitio*-dissertation Hesselius produced in Uppsala is that Hesselius had a network of friends and benefactors in the academic environment during his stay in Uppsala.

Interestingly, Andreas Hesselius returns to his former gymnasium in Västerås and defends another dissertation in 1672, *Philantropia divina* (pr. Samuel Höjer). On the title page of this dissertation he is mentioned as *theologiae studiosus*. As has already been discussed above in section 2.5.3, it was not uncommon for university students to return to their former gymnasium to follow the curriculum there and to partake in disputations and to hold orations. Hesselius dedicates *Philantropia divina* to seven people: bishop Nicolaus Rudbeckius, the professors Petrus Rudbeckius and Ericus Benzelius, the vicars Petrus Dalekarlus, Petrus Gangius and Laurentius Fernboensis, and *theologiae adjunctus* in Uppsala Andreas Grubb. It is worth noting that both Nicolaus Rudbeckius and Ericus Benzelius reoccur in this dedication — having both been dedicatees of the previous dissertation — and are again referred to as patrons. A short dedicatory poem to the dedicatees follows the dedication address:

Fautoribus, et Benefactoribus suis plur. Honorandis
Hoc Venerande PATER, Doctores semper amandi,
Et Vos, Pastores Praepositique simul,
Ingenij specimen Vobis submissius offert
Qui semper cupide Nomina Vestra colit.
5 *Et vovet assiduo, quod Vestrum Quilibet optat*
Ut Sibi contingat, Numine dante Bonum!
Reverendissimis et Amplissimis,
Plur. Reverendis et Praeclarissimis Vestris Nominibus
Omni cultus officiique genere addictissimus
ANDREAS HESSELIUS
Auctor et Respondens

The hierarchy of the dedication address is maintained in the poem's first two lines, beginning with the bishop (*venerandus pater*), continuing with the two professors (*doctores semper amandi*) and ending with the vicars and the *adjunctus* (*pastores praepositique*). In the remaining lines Hesselius underlines his subservience to the *fautores*.

Hansell 1871), nor found in the collection of Columbus' poems in *Prodromus deliciarum Svecorum poetarum* (ed. P. Schyllberg, 1722).

To this dissertation are also added no less than four shorter congratulatory poems (6-8 lines long) addressed to Hesselius. What is remarkable is that the poems are not written by fellow students or schoolboys, but by three teachers at the gymnasium and one vicar (*pastor*). They all congratulate Hesselius his disputation and call him *amicus*. Here I transcribe only the last poem, by the *eloquentiae et poëseos lector* Johannes N. Rudbeckius. This poem follows the familiar pattern of congratulatory poetry quite closely, both in form and themes:

Eximio et Praestantissimo Viro-juveni Domino ANDREAE
 HESSELIO, Sympatriotae et Amico suavissimo de *Philan-*
thropia Divina egregie disputanti.

Qui Paradisiacis fieri vult hospes in hortis,
 Aeternisque bonis, deliciisque frui:
 Tempore florifero quaerenda est Gratia Christi.
 Tunc manet haud dubia sorte perennis honos.
 5 Grator, et ex animo successus adprecor omnes,
 Quos labor et studium, quos Tua musa tenet.
 Sis Patriae decus his, et publica commoda mille
 Numine, ter felix, omnipotente paras.
 Animitus Gratulatur

JOHANNES N. RUDBECKIUS
 Eloq. Lector.

The word *sympatriota* in the address should be understood as fellow-countryman, which in this case means that Hesselius and Rudbeckius were from the same region or diocese.⁷³⁸ That Hesselius is congratulated not by fellow students or schoolboys, but by the teachers of the gymnasium may imply that Hesselius' status has changed and that he was now considered on an equal level with the teachers or at least as standing above the other schoolboys. It is also possible to assume that a returning former student caused somewhat of a stir at the school both among teachers as well as among the schoolboys.

In March 1674 Hesselius responded to a dissertation *pro gradu magistri* in Uppsala, *De discrimine honestorum et turpium*, under the presidency of Andreas Norcopensis. Apart from a *prooemium* there are no paratexts of the kind found in the other dissertations associated with Hesselius. This is somewhat

⁷³⁸ Souter (1949), s.v. *sympatriota*. The meaning and development of the Latin word *patriota* from 'fellow-countryman' to 'patriot' in the Swedish context has been discussed by Lindberg (2006a), pp. 116-121.

surprising since it was the custom that the student paid for the printing costs of academic dissertations, and for this reason it is usual to find dedications to benefactors in academic dissertations.⁷³⁹ Perhaps a clue as to why there is no dedication is that the dissertation was printed not in Uppsala but in Västerås. Maybe the cost was paid for by the consistory there? Perhaps Hesselius' dissertation *pro gradu* was not in any need of paratexts since he had already shown his benefactors that he was a person who could be counted on in dedications in earlier dissertations, and had proven himself capable; this hypothesis will be discussed in the following.

According to the information in *Västerås stifts herdaminne*, in 1675 Hesselius was assigned a position as tutor to the children of bishop Nicolaus Rudbeckius, to whom he dedicated both his *pro exercitio*-dissertation in 1671 in Uppsala and the gymnasial dissertation *Philantropia divina* in 1672.⁷⁴⁰ It seems that the social bonding evidenced by the dedications to the bishop paid off. Judging by the biographical notes in *Västerås stifts herdaminne*, bishop Rudbeckius appointed Hesselius *extraordinarius lector* at the gymnasium in April 1676, and later that year (in May or in June) he took the position of *conrector* of the trivial school of Falun, a community in the region of Dalarna.⁷⁴¹

Andreas Hesselius reappears again, for the last time in the material studied, in a gymnasial dissertation from Västerås in 1676, this time as *praeses* for the philosophical dissertation *De jure naturae*. Here he is not given any descriptive title on the title page, but in the concluding congratulatory epistle to the respondent Olaus Calzenius by Vidichinnus Granagrius (*matheseos lector*), Hesselius is entitled *M.*, meaning *magister* ('Master of Arts'). The passage in the concluding epistle reads: *Laudandum est propositum tuum, Juvenis egregie, qui eleganti doctaque Consanguinei mei Clarissimi M. HESSELII de nobilissimo argumento dissertatione industriam tuam publicare voluisti* ("Your intention is praiseworthy, distinguished young man, who wanted to publicly show your activity through an elegant and learned dissertation on a most noble subject by my most illustrious compatriot Master Hesselius"). Given the wording of the quotation it is tempting to believe that Hesselius was the author of the dissertation in his capacity as *praeses*. The function of this dissertation cannot be determined with certainty. Why Hesselius submitted this dissertation at the gymnasium in Västerås when he had already been appointed *conrector* of the trivial school in Falun earlier the same year is not clear. My suggestion is that despite the disparity in dates *De jure naturae* nevertheless functioned as Hesselius' *pro loco*-dissertation.

By following Andreas Hesselius through paratexts in both gymnasial and academic dissertations, we see how he seems to have profited from the

⁷³⁹ Östlund (2000), p. 17.

⁷⁴⁰ *Västerås stifts herdaminne* II:2, p. 475.

⁷⁴¹ *Västerås stifts herdaminne* II:2, p. 475, and *Westerås stifts herdaminne* 3, p. 58f.

contacts and the network of friends and patrons so important during the seventeenth century that he established through dedications.⁷⁴² Through the paratexts to the dissertations in which Hesselius was involved we also get a glimpse of the educational career that took him from the gymnasium in Västerås to the academy in Uppsala and back.

⁷⁴² Cf. Johannesson (1988).

4. Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been to examine disputations and dissertations at the Swedish gymnasium in the period c. 1620 – c. 1820. This examination has been carried out from a number of different perspectives. Until this study, gymnasial dissertations have generated less scholarly attention than their academic equivalents. The current findings contribute to our understanding of disputation culture and dissertations in general, by adding the gymnasial aspect of Swedish early modern dissertations and disputations to the field. This study has thus unearthed a previously overlooked text type and has also given numerous text samples – in prose as well as in verse – of the Neo-Latin used in gymnasial dissertations. The act of disputation was already an important didactic element in early modern Swedish education at the outset of the first gymnasia in the early 1620s. It should be repeated that in this context, *disputation* always refers to the oral defense act, while *dissertation* refers to the printed text. A striking concern in investigating gymnasial dissertations that deserves to be mentioned is the difficulty of tracking them down in archives and libraries. This applies especially to handwritten dissertations which are seldom found catalogued in their own right, but are more often part of other collections.

4.1 Disputations

The importance of disputations in gymnasial as well as elementary education is visible in school regulations as discussed in section 2.1. Here, the act of disputation was treated as it was employed according to school regulations. I have shown that there is close resemblance in terms of arrangement and performance between academic disputations and those that were conducted in secondary education institutions. However, the prescriptions found in school regulations suggest that gymnasial disputations had rules and arrangements that were adapted to the school context. Disputations were held on a regular basis, preferably on Saturday mornings. The regulations stated that teachers at the gymnasium were obliged to arrange and chair disputations in turns, which is also attested by an examination of dissertations submitted to the gymnasium of Strängnäs in the early eighteenth century (section 2.5.5).

It is important to notice that disputations were firmly implemented as a form of Latin and moral training in the gymnasial curriculum until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Disputations should no doubt be regarded as an intrinsic part of early modern Swedish education until the 1820s, when they began to lose meaning as a didactic method. This study has shown that there were essentially two types of disputations in the early

modern gymnasium: on the one hand, there were disputations held solely for practice (*exercitii gratia*), which are especially visible from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. On the other hand, there were disputations held *pro loco*, i.e. as a way to apply for employment. As a didactic method, disputations would spur competition (*aemulatio*) between schoolboys so that they would aim to surpass each other in order to make progress in their proficiency in oral Latin and in the art of argumentation.

When it comes to attitudes towards disputations (section 2.1.4), positive reports are especially visible in accounts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (e.g. Rhyzelius and Lundström). By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century I have noticed a change in attitudes: gymnasial disputations were subject to criticism and mockery that developed in parallel with the decreasing practical usage of disputations as a means to practice oral Latin (e.g. Svedelius and Böttiger). The core of this criticism of disputations was that the exercises were remnants of old-fashioned methods of debate that had not kept up with the utilitarianism of the time, and also that disputation exercises took valuable time from the study of other subjects.

By the early 1800s, it was no longer mandatory to hold disputation exercises in Latin in every subject. Instead, there was the possibility of holding disputations in Swedish when treating subjects such as natural sciences, economics and history. It is clear that the longest-living type of disputation was the *pro loco*-disputation which is attested as late as the 1890s.

By discussing the audience, respondents, opponents and *praesides* of gymnasial disputations (section 2.5) the different roles of participants have been highlighted. The audience primarily included schoolboys and teachers in the case of disputation exercises, while returning university students, the bishop and other prominent persons were part of the audience in, for instance, *pro loco*-disputations. It was often seen as mandatory to attend disputations, and absence without leave would sometimes be severely punished. This underscores the importance of disputations in the early modern Swedish education system. Opponents were mostly schoolboys or *lectores* but could also be returning students or even the bishop himself. Regarding the distribution of opponents and respondents, there was certain unevenness: a respondent could stand as sole defender of a dissertation against three, four or even more opponents. The source material suggests that the foremost schoolboys from the highest school class as well as returning university students were preferably chosen to act as respondents in disputation exercises, while opponents seem to have been chosen from lower classes. To participate in a disputation on a printed dissertation – especially as respondent – was thus not granted to all schoolboys at the gymnasium, and it was considered a great honor. The conclusion of this is that the task of the respondent was considered more important and carried

more weight in comparison to the task of the opponents. Chairmen of gymnasial disputation exercises were preferably the *lectores* of the gymnasium. In *pro loco*-disputation the *praeses* was the applicant, i.e. a *lector* designate or a teacher at a trivial school.

It is possible to follow the progress of schoolboys up the disputation ladder from opponent to respondent. Similarly, the career path of teachers is also highlighted by examining how they are designated in the dissertations of the disputations they chaired; we can see teachers progressing from lesser esteemed positions to the coveted position of *lector* of theology, the so-called *lektorsväxling*. An important contribution of the present study is the addition of gymnasial disputations to the ideal disputation ladder described by Lars Burman (2012).⁷⁴³

4.2 Dissertations: Characteristics, Subjects, Authorship

In the same way that there were essentially two types of disputation, this study has shown that dissertations also had two functions: they were either submitted as exercises (*exercitii gratia*) or submitted as an application for a position, i.e. *pro loco*. However, there are dissertations that may not be labeled as either of these functions. These deviant dissertations belong to categories such as the *dissertatio valedictoria* (valedictory dissertation) in which a schoolboy said farewell to the gymnasium by acting as respondent in a disputation. There are also examples of dissertations that were used as a medium through which to spread ideas.

Gymnasial dissertations may also be divided into two main forms, *theses vestitae* and *theses nudaе*, which indicates that comprehensive dissertations as well as short *theses*-dissertations were submitted to Swedish early modern gymnasium. The longest dissertations studied are more than fifty pages, while *theses nudaе*-dissertations are usually four or eight pages.

An observation that emerges from this study is that there was no general decree that regulated the use of printed dissertations as basis for disputations. Instead, each gymnasium had the authority to decide whether printed or handwritten specimens should be submitted, since each diocese was autonomous to a great degree. The investigation has also shown that the difference in the submitting of printed and handwritten dissertations was due to the fact that not all gymnasia had access to a printer. This also explains the uneven distribution of printed dissertations: some gymnasia appear to have almost exclusively submitted handwritten dissertations (Gävle), others submitted printed dissertations only during periods of access to printers (such as Kalmar), and yet other gymnasia submitted a majority of

⁷⁴³ Burman (2012b), p. 46f.

printed dissertations (such as Strängnäs, Göteborg and Västerås). As has been shown (section 2.2.4), the highest number of printed dissertations throughout the whole period originate from Strängnäs, followed by Göteborg, Västerås and Linköping in this order. The study covers a total of 789 printed texts, of which 208 derive from the seventeenth century and 581 from the eighteenth century. The submitting of printed dissertations was not evenly distributed over the years. For Strängnäs's part, the production of printed dissertations remained high in both the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. In Västerås, on the other hand, the occurrence of printed dissertations decreased sharply in the eighteenth century from a high level in the preceding century. The opposite trend is noticeable for instance in Linköping and Skara, where printed dissertations increased from an almost non-existent number of texts in the seventeenth century to higher numbers in the eighteenth century.

When it comes to the subjects of gymnasial dissertations, the study has shown that in the majority of cases, the subjects fall within the context of gymnasial disciplines, meaning that gymnasial dissertations to a large extent mirror the curriculum and the division of the *lectores*. The most common subject of gymnasial dissertations is theology, followed by philosophy (moral philosophy as well as logic) and physics (on the other hand, mathematics is seldom found as the sole subject of dissertations). To these should be added a smaller number of dissertations on education, rhetoric, philology (including exegetics) and history. The fact that theology appears as the most prominent subject emphasizes the strong bond between education and the church in Sweden which lasted until the mid-nineteenth century. We notice that general overviews of a subject are popular, in titles such as *De mathesi in genere*, *De peccato in genere et originali atque actuali in specie*, *De philosophia in genere*.

In theology, fundamental questions of faith, how the church should be administered, polemic questions and the place of philosophy within theology constitute reoccurring topics. The sources of theological dissertations are the Bible, commonplace books and the Formula of Concord. Theological dissertations could also be a medium of contemporary theological controversies and debates. In philosophy we generally find dissertations that aim at defining philosophy as subject, and in logic there are dissertations that treat different aspects of syllogisms. In physics the emphasis is on astronomical questions in the seventeenth-century material, while an increasing interest in experimental physics is visible in the eighteenth century. Dissertations that treat education and rhetoric (and poetics) are often submitted *pro loco* to obtain a position as *rector*, *corrector* or *collega* at a trivial school. Such subjects were undoubtedly suitable for that kind of employment. In this category there are also dissertations on the value of Latin education and on education of the

orthodox faith. Philological dissertations often deal with questions of Hebrew, Latin and Greek, and to some extent also with Swedish translations of the Bible. In history, biblical and church history are central subjects, but there are also dissertations treating Roman history and Swedish history as well as geography and chronology. It has also been noted in this study that there are dissertations, mainly from Strängnäs, that stand out amongst the common categories, either because they treat other kinds of subjects (such as mythological topics or medicine), or they have been noted in other scholarly contexts. The study suggests that by examining the subject content of gymnasial dissertations we get a cross section of the content of the curriculum of Swedish gymnasia. In comparison with academic dissertations, the choice of subjects of the gymnasium appears to be narrower, since the subjects of gymnasial dissertations follow to a great degree the subject division of the *lectores*, with very few deviations.

When it comes to the question of authorship of dissertations (section 2.6) there is no clear answer concerning either academic or gymnasial dissertations. The question of authorship has been discussed from various viewpoints in this study to show the complexity and difficulty of the question. The discussion of authorship also emphasizes that it is important to bear in mind that the notion of authorship had other connotations in the early modern period than it has today, since the term 'author' did not necessarily mean the person holding the pen. One has thus to differentiate our concept of authorship that originated in the Romantic Movement (a singular author of an original text), from the early modern concept of authorship which involved more individuals in the production of a text. It appears that there were various degrees of collaboration in the writing process, from cases in which there was no involvement of the schoolboys at all, to cases in which it is possible to conclude that school boys independently wrote dissertations. However, the authors of *pro loco*-dissertations were the presiding applicants, a fact that was also emphasized in the school regulations of 1724. Returning students are also likely to have written the dissertations for which they acted as respondents (or *praeses* in rare cases). Dissertations in series and dissertations that were intended to be used in teaching were most probably written by the presiding *lector*. However, it is perhaps more fruitful to look at the representative function of having one's name on the title page of a gymnasial dissertation than to look for the answer to the question of authorship. All the people involved gained acknowledgement and enjoyed credit by having their names on the title page of a dissertation, and who actually wrote the dissertation text was not therefore as important. In the case of gymnasial dissertations, rather than being a question of writing an original text it was participating in the defense of the text that was considered important. In this context, the Latin

noun *author* could mean ‘writer of a text’ but equally ‘participant in the defense act’.

The question of how many copies of gymnasial dissertations were printed does not have a clear answer (section 2.7). We have seen that in Västerås in the 1770s between forty and sixty handwritten copies of *theses*-dissertations were produced by schoolboys. These numbers are not comparable with the number of printed copies of dissertations produced for the universities of Uppsala (600-700 copies) and Lund (300-350 copies). The source material is unfortunately too limited to allow adequate overall conclusions about the number of copies of gymnasial dissertations printed. Regarding distribution, the fact that the collections of gymnasial dissertations in different libraries include copies of dissertations from different gymnasia suggests that there was a mutual exchange of dissertations between gymnasia. It is also likely that gymnasial dissertations were to some extent distributed in the academic environment.

4.3 Diachronic Changes in Gymnasial Dissertations and Disputation Culture

This study has covered gymnasial dissertations during a period of approximately two hundred years. Some of the most important results have been the diachronic changes that this text type underwent over the passage of time. In general, dissertations of the seventeenth century and early decades of the eighteenth century are comprehensive texts which included paratextual features such as dedications, prefaces and congratulatory poetry. These texts could be considered self-reliant vis-à-vis the act of disputation, meaning that they could not only function as texts in the context of disputations, but had a value *per se*. Such dissertations are exemplified by *Dissertatio qua statuitur Thulen esse Scandiam* and *De Thule, ubi arctoi orbis vetus geographia, ex C. Tacito et C. Plinio S. ubertim declaratur* (pr. E. Malmogius Roslagius, Stockholm 1646 and 1648). Here, the dissertation is used as a medium to publicly express the author’s ideas. The seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century dissertations must be seen in the light of the early gymnasium’s strong standing as educational melting pot for the whole diocese, with ambitions of being a regional college. The submitting of dissertations must thus be considered an important vehicle for scholarly activity at the different gymnasia, promoting the high level of education. To some extent the comprehensive gymnasial dissertations are comparable to academic dissertations regarding content and comprehensiveness.

However, during the course of the eighteenth century dissertations changed from longer scholarly works to become texts the sole purpose of which was to function as material for a disputation. Gymnasial dissertations

decreased in length to become what are called here *theses*-dissertations, consisting of short *theses nuda*e of four to eight pages. These short dissertations were produced only to form the basis of disputations. Longer dissertations often included *parerga*, i.e. short *theses* on various topics, at the end of the dissertations, which formed the starting point for the disputation, rather than the dissertation text in itself. The change from longer text to short *theses*-dissertations occurred gradually and was fully implemented in all gymnasia (except Linköping) by the mid-1750s. This also led to typographical formalization of title pages: from displaying a variety of title indicators and titles, dissertations gradually came to be given the title *Theses* (or *Positiones*) with various modifiers.

In connection to the change to *theses*-dissertations the habit of including paratextual features (dedications, prefaces or congratulatory poetry, which will be discussed further below) in gymnasial dissertations ceased almost completely. This suggests that the representative function of gymnasial dissertations was not considered as important in the eighteenth century as it had been in the preceding century.

As the outcome of this study has shown, not only the typography, but also the content of the short *theses*-dissertations underwent changes by the mid-1750s. While the more comprehensive early gymnasial dissertations treated one single subject (sometimes with the addition of *theses* in concluding *parerga*), the short *theses*-dissertations covered a miscellany of subjects. Often, a *theses*-dissertation included not only *theses* on theology and philosophy, but also some *theses* on history, natural sciences and education. The findings of this study have shown that dissertations began to include contemporary subjects to a higher degree than before. Most notably, the natural and experimental sciences were given greater expression, in accordance with the needs and development of the period. The *theses* on historical matters show a tendency to embrace the history of the New World and other regions that were not represented in earlier dissertations. Contemporary thoughts and ideas of the Enlightenment were also included as the basis for disputations in dissertations to a higher degree than before. Somewhat surprisingly, there are *theses* that treat the exclusion of disputations, suggesting that disputations were no longer a natural part of the schoolboys' everyday education. *Theses* that highlight and defend Latin education and the study of classical languages in general are also a new feature of eighteenth-century dissertations, which mirrors the debates of the period on the usefulness of Latin and Latin education.

A plausible explanation of the changes mentioned above is that the exercise aspect of gymnasial dissertations became more important than the representative aspect over time. In support of this hypothesis, we have seen in accounts of the early decades of the nineteenth century that gymnasial disputations were not always considered a meaningful instruction method.

The disputation gradually lost its importance as a platform for social training and education. These changes also coincide with the increasing incidence of the *examen pastorale*, the examination of vicars, from 1786 onwards. The pastoral disputations involved schoolboys as opponents, which eventually meant that disputation exercises at the gymnasium were to a large extent subjected to the disputations *pro examine pastorali* rather than being arranged in their own right.

4.4 Paratexts and Social Interplay

An important outcome of this study has been the examination of paratexts, i.e. title pages, dedications, prefaces and congratulatory poetry. Paratexts, a term coined by Gérard Genette, were important components of early modern literature, and also of dissertations. In the following, the results of the examination of paratexts in gymnasial dissertations will be analyzed, beginning with the title pages.

The information found on title pages emphasizes that gymnasial dissertations were related to academic dissertations in terms of typography, suggesting that the title pages of gymnasial dissertation have similar traits (levels of information) as academic dissertations. As was pointed out in the introduction to this study, dissertations submitted at the gymnasium may be seen as a sub-genre of academic dissertations, which becomes obvious when examining and comparing the title pages of these two types of texts. Epigraphs, genre indications, expressions of public presentation and the general variety of expression are features that are similar in gymnasial and academic dissertations. However, there are features that are specific to the title pages of gymnasial dissertations. Such features are the mention of the bishop and the consistory, and the names and titles of the participants (above all *praeses* and respondent) in the disputation. The changes that occurred by the mid-eighteenth century (observed above) also affected the title pages. While the earlier dissertations show a great variety of genre indications, title pages of dissertations from the latter part of the eighteenth century reveal a striking formalization in terms of typography and genre indications and titles, a fact that applies to all gymnasia (except Linköping). In titles such as the ubiquitous *Theses* the genre indication and the title became one and same. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards we also notice, from the information found on title pages, that the pattern of respondents and opponents changes: names of opponents begin to be mentioned, a practice that is not seen in seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century dissertations. This change suggests that the standing and function of opponents in the act of disputation may have been enhanced. At the same time, several respondents may be mentioned on the title page, which

suggests that the arrangement of disputations was rationalized so that the skills of more than a single schoolboy could be tested on each occasion.

As in academic dissertations, dedications were an important ingredient in gymnasial dissertations, especially during the seventeenth century. Dedications are foremost found in seventeenth-century dissertations from Strängnäs and Västerås. Most often respondents were responsible for dedicating dissertations. In the material studied we have seen that dedications could be addressed to royalty, noblemen, bishops, other church officials (vicars and clergymen), friends, family members and individuals with civic positions. The most prominent reason to include a dedication in a gymnasial dissertation is undoubtedly social networking. The manifestation of the client-patron relationship is the focus of the dissertation rather than its content. By including a dedication the dissertation becomes a medium of maintaining or creating important relationships. There are several plausible reasons for the people involved to include a dedication in a dissertation. First of all a dedication is a way of showing homage or loyalty to a person that you are already indebted to. A dedication to benefactors may also be included as a token of gratitude for monetary aid or other benefits. A third reason to dedicate a gymnasial dissertation is to establish a social network or client-patron relationship in the anticipation of future benevolence. The source material only offers limited information of what the network patterns could have looked like for the dedicators. Here, a network is characterized as a mutual, horizontal and voluntary non-hierarchical relationship between more or less equals not governed by formal rules. Not very many dedications are directed to equals, such as friends, fellow schoolboys or colleagues. On the other hand, a number of dedications show evidence of patron-client relationships, characterized as being unequal, hierarchical and vertical, showing differences in power between the patron and the client. In this kind of relationship both parties had obligations to fulfil, which means that there is certain reciprocity between client and patron. So it is regarding dedications: both dedicator and dedicatee benefit from having their names in a printed item such as a dissertation. For the dedicator it is favourable to be associated with the person(s) to whom he dedicates the dissertation, and for the dedicatee it is favourable to be able to show publicly that a printed text is dedicated to him. In this way the text becomes legitimized and authorized in the eyes of a third party, the reader, by means of the dedication.

Concerning the monetary aspect of dedications, which undoubtedly must have been of importance, dedications were an accepted, yet veiled form of begging. How could a benefactor best show his love and kindness for students of liberal arts if not through monetary aid?

What does the choice of dedicatee tell us about the dedicator's intention in making the dedication? Sometimes it was a matter of thanking the self-

evident benefactors: parents, vicars from whom the schoolboys had gained recognition or monetary aid, or others who had supported them. The occurrence of dedications to noblemen suggests that the dedicators were interested in benefitting from their influence and power, such as the *ius patronatus*. Dedications to bishops and church officials are explained by the fact that the purpose of gymnasial education was to produce church officials: to be able to make a career within the church good contacts were needed.

Since only a fairly small percentage of all dissertations have dedications, the practice of dedicating a work to someone must have been somewhat particular and reserved for specific cases, for instance where financial aid was needed for payment of the printing costs of the dissertation. Regarding dedications issued by respondents, not all schoolboys had the privilege of access to a wealthy patron, or the chance to get one. In many cases dedications were intended for people who were undoubtedly not present at the actual disputation. The printed item, the dissertation itself, was thus an instrument to display gratitude to absent benefactors.⁷⁴⁴

We see quite a few dedications to more than one dedicatee in the material studied. If several vicars and clergymen are the subject of one dedication, they are most likely from the same region or diocese, sometimes even related to the dedicator. The reason why a dissertation is dedicated to a larger group of people, whether church officials, civic officials, civilians, or noblemen, is that the dedication could probably be seen as an unofficial application for future positions. Dedications were not only a way of thanking benefactors for previous aid and support, but a way for the dedicator to demonstrate his aspirations: look, here I am! I am able and willing to serve!

If we turn now to the next paratext after the dedication, the preface of a gymnasial dissertation was the place to directly address the reader. Just like dedications, prefaces demonstrate reoccurring conventions and topoi, notably the expression of humility, and also commented on the subject matter of the dissertation. Prefaces are often found in seventeenth-century dissertations, but rarely in dissertations from the eighteenth century. The prefaces show that gymnasial dissertations were not only written and printed as basis for disputations, but they were also consciously produced to be used in the curriculum.

Occasional literature, which in this case consists of congratulatory texts in verse and prose as well as dedicatory poetry, flourished in gymnasial dissertations in the seventeenth century, only to decrease in importance in the eighteenth century. The congratulatory poetry of the seventeenth century was often directed to the respondent, usually a schoolboy at the

⁷⁴⁴ Cf. Lindberg (2016), p. 20.

gymnasium or a returning student, and he was praised for his achievements in defending the dissertation, whether he had written it or not. Senders of congratulatory poetry were fellow schoolmates, friends (renowned or not), teachers and occasionally the bishop. In the following century, congratulatory poetry is more infrequent, and differs in some aspects from the poetry of the preceding century. There was a shift in focus from respondent in the seventeenth century to *praeses* in the eighteenth century. This change appears to coincide with the fact that rules for applying for a position at a gymnasium or a trivial school were reviewed, as seen in the school regulations of 1724. The *praeses* became the center of attention in the social interplay of dissertations rather than the respondent(s), and so the *praeses* became the subject of the praise in the congratulatory poetry. From these observations it is clear that gymnasial dissertations were not used socially in the same way in the eighteenth century as in the previous century. In terms of style, the congratulatory poetry made use of a classical repertoire of mythology and *topoi*, in which Apollo and the Muses are the most prominent elements, together with images drawn from the Christian faith.

Dedications, prefaces and congratulations (in verse and prose) all saw their heyday in the seventeenth century. As this study has shown, these types of paratextual features were of importance for the social interplay between sender, receiver and reader. The habit of including dedications, prefaces and congratulations (in verse or prose) vanished almost completely by the beginning of the eighteenth century, with only a few examples in later dissertations. This change coincides with the general changes that gymnasial dissertations underwent in the eighteenth century. The conclusion of these observations regarding paratexts is that gymnasial dissertations lost their representational purpose as a medium for social interplay in the eighteenth century.

4.5 Final Conclusions

In the period under investigation disputation culture saw its heyday in Swedish education. Disputations and printed dissertations were already significant ingredients in secondary education by the time of the formal establishment of the Swedish education system and the emergence of Swedish gymnasia in the early seventeenth century. It is striking how vital disputations were as a method of training in oral Latin, for the progression of learning in general, and as preparation for further studies. Knowledge of how to act in a disputation and in debate was considered as the most important ability for a young man who had ambitions of becoming a church official or making a career in early modern Sweden.

Like academic dissertations, the gymnasial dissertations from the seventeenth century played a social role. The use of dedications to patrons

and benefactors and the inclusion of congratulatory verses clearly mirror representational ideas. These social peritexts decreased in frequency in the early eighteenth century, only to cease definitively by the mid-eighteenth century, suggesting that the social function of gymnasial dissertations drastically changed. Nevertheless, disputation exercises remained an important ingredient in gymnasial instruction until the early nineteenth century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century disputations were not seen so much as useful training for proficiency in oral Latin, as they were considered a means of formal training of the mind, ideas that coincide with the general demise of Latin in schools.

Although academic and gymnasial disputations show similarities, there are also differences. For instance, the gymnasial disputation dealt in the majority of cases with theological issues, which suggests that these disputations were primarily a means of preparing future clergymen. This corresponds to the overall aim of Swedish secondary education which was the responsibility of the church. The content as well as the aims of gymnasial instruction is thus mirrored in the dissertations. Despite the conservative character of Swedish early modern education, it is nonetheless possible to notice through dissertations that new ideas and interests entered the curriculum, especially regarding the natural sciences, history and education. In all of these fields we observe a broadening of subjects and issues treated in the second half of the eighteenth century. It is also possible to follow the debate in favor of Latin as the most important language for education and learning through the late-eighteenth-century *theses*. It was not until the first decades of the nineteenth century that Latin seriously began to lose its dominant position in Swedish education, a development that is also visible when examining the evolution of attitudes to and use of gymnasial disputations.

This study has contributed to a nuanced picture of early modern disputation culture by having highlighted the content of gymnasial dissertations, their social function, their appearance, how they changed over time and how disputations were used in the curriculum. Furthermore, this study has added the gymnasial aspect of disputations and dissertations to those of the more well-studied academic context.

TANTUM

Bibliography

Abbreviations

DMLBS	<i>Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources</i>
GUB	<i>Göteborgs Universitetsbibliotek</i> (Göteborg University Library)
JPG	Jonas Petri Gothus, <i>Dictionarium Latino-Sveco-Germanicum</i>
KB	<i>Kungliga Biblioteket</i> (Royal Library in Stockholm)
L&S	Lewis and Short, <i>A Latin Dictionary</i>
LSV	Liddell and Scott, <i>A Greek Lexicon</i>
NFB	<i>Nordisk Familjebok</i>
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OLD	<i>The Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
SAOB	<i>Svenska Akademiens Ordbok</i>
SBL	<i>Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon</i>
SO	<i>Skolordning</i> (School Regulations)
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
UUB	<i>Uppsala universitetsbibliotek</i> (Uppsala University Library)
VS	<i>Västerås Stifts- och Stadsbibliotek</i> (Västerås Diocesan and City Library)
ÅSU	<i>Årsböcker i Svensk Undervisningshistoria</i> , ed. B. R. Hall

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APPENDICES 1-20

Explanation of the Tables in Appendices

The tables consist of a catalogue listing every dissertation that I have examined for this study from the beginning of the seventeenth century to 1799, and are arranged according to gymnasium and century. The purpose of the catalogues is to provide more detailed and additional information about the dissertations than is found in previous catalogues. The catalogue information on each dissertation is presented in the following order:

- (1) year and date
- (2) title of the dissertation
- (3) name and titles of *praeses*
- (4) name and titles of respondent(s) (and opponent(s) if available)
- (5) number of pages
- (6) subject category
- (7) paratextual features such as dedications, and poetry
- (8) other features that may be of interest
- (9) formats and where the dissertation is to be found

(1) Year and date are indicated according to the information found on the title page of the dissertation. If the dating uses the Roman calendar system, this is kept. If some information regarding dates does not appear in the catalogue, this means that the information given on the title page is not complete.

(2) When it comes to titles I have given the title, but have omitted genre indicators (see section 3.3.2.2 above) where these do not serve a grammatical purpose in the title.

(3) and **(4)** Names of the participants are given in the nominative (or genitive, if patronymics) of their Latinized form as found on the title page. Abbreviated names have normally been expanded in cases when there is no doubt as to what form was intended. The titles of the participants are given (in parenthesis) as indicated on the title page. Abbreviated titles have been solved if there is no uncertainty as to their meaning; otherwise titles are left in their abbreviated form.

(5) When counting the number of pages, the title page has also been included. In contrast to older catalogues I have counted pages, not sheets.

(6) The subject categorization uses the categories that have been treated in section 2.3 of this study.

(7) The paratextual features that have been indicated are dedications, dedicatory epistles, the occurrence of prefaces, congratulatory and dedicatory poetry (including indication of meter), congratulatory texts in prose and similar (called ‘end praise’ in the catalogue).

(8) This column is used for information such as whether the dissertation was printed in a town other than that in which it was defended, whether there are differences between copies regarding dating, respondents/opponents, the function of the dissertation (if indicated), the number of *theses* of short *theses*-dissertations, whether pages are missing in the copy studied, and the occurrence of *corollaria* or similar.

(9) The format of the dissertation is indicated by 4o (quarto), 8o (octavo), Fo (folio). If the dissertation is found in Lidén’s or Marklin’s catalogues this has been indicated by L and M respectively. Finally, the collection in which the dissertation has been studied is indicated, according to the list of abbreviations below.

Abbreviations indicating catalogues and collections of dissertations

L	Lidén’s <i>Catalogus disputationum</i>
M	Marklin’s <i>Catalogus disputationum</i>
G	Göteborgs universitetsbibliotek (University Library in Gothenburg)
Ka	Stifts- och gymnasiebiblioteket i Kalmar (Diocesan and Gymnasial Library in Kalmar)
KB	Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm (The Royal Library in Stockholm)
Li	Linköpings stadsbibliotek (City Library in Linköping)
St	Roggebiblioteket i Strängnäs (The Rogge Library in Strängnäs)
U	Uppsala universitetsbibliotek (University Library in Uppsala)
V	Västerås stifts- och stadsbibliotek (Diocesan and City Library in Västerås)

Order and content of tables in the appendices (in alphabetic order)

Appendix 1: 17th century dissertations from Göteborg

Appendix 2: 18th century dissertations from Göteborg

Appendix 3: 18th century dissertations from Linköping

Appendix 4: 18th century dissertations from Skara

Appendix 5: 17th century dissertations from Stockholm

Appendix 6: 17th century dissertations from Strängnäs

Appendix 7: 18th century dissertations from Strängnäs

Appendix 8-14: 17th century dissertations from various gymnasia:

Skara, Kalmar, Växjö, Viborg, Linköping, Jönköping and Norrköping

Appendix 15-17: 18th century dissertations from various gymnasia:
 Karlstad, Kalmar and Gävle
Appendix 18: 17th century dissertations from Västerås
Appendix 19: 18th century dissertations from Västerås
Appendix 20: 18th century dissertations from Växjö

APPENDIX 1: 17th century dissertations from Göteborg

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1647 11 Dec.	De sacra scriptura	Jona Petri Torinius (theologiae lector)	Petrus Prytz Andraeae f.	8	theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by resp.; congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to resp. by Magnus Magni Montilius	Printed in Linköping 40 L U
2 1665 12 Dec.	De salvifica cognitione veri Dei juxta tenorem dicti aurei ipsius Christi Joh. 17. v. 3	Nicolaus Ramzius (theologiae lector)	Andreas N. Gadelius	12	theology	Dedication by resp.; prooemium; congratulatory epistle to resp. by Johannes Florander (Graecae lector)	40 M KB
3 1665 20 Dec.	De coelo	Benedictus Magni Starinius (logices et physices lector, rector)	Casparus Heilius	8	physics	Dedication by resp.; congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to resp. by Benedictus Starinius	40 L U
4 1666 22 Aug.	De baptismo	Nicolaus Ramzius (theologiae lector)	Benedictus P. Torinius	?	theology	Dedication by resp.; congratulatory poem (hexameter) by Matthias Balthazaris Textorius	Date corr. to 25 Aug. pages missing in copy in U 40 L U
5 1666 13 Dec.	De ecclesia Dei	Nicolaus J. Ramzius (theologiae lector)	Gabriel Laurentij Stockman	11	theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by resp.; 2 congratulatory poems (hexameter) to resp. by Gudmundus Jacobi and Andreas L. Aulinus	40 L U G
6 1667 16 March	De justificatione hominis coram Deo	Nicolaus Ramzius (theologiae lector)	Joachimus Fridericus Barfodius	6	theology	Dedication by autor/resp.	prologium 40 L U

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
7	1667 30 March	De fide salvifica	Nicolaus J. Ramzius (theologiae lector)	Paulus Laurentii Ammi- montano Hallandus	8	theology	Dedication by autor/resp.; prooemi- um; congratulatory poem (hexame- ter) to resp. by Matthias Balthazaris Textorius	40 L U
8	1667 25 May	De quatuor no- vissimis, morte, extremo iudicio, vita aeterna et inferno	Nicolaus Ramzius (theologiae lector)	Arnoldus Johannis Venusinus (author et respondens)	8	theology	Dedication by resp.; preface; con- sectaria; 3 congratulatory poems (2 elegiac distich, 1 uncertain) by Zacharias Klingensterma (bishop), Johannes Warberg & Matthias Baltharis Textorius	40 M KB
9	1668 18 Dec.	Theoremata miscellanea philo- sophica	Andreas Austrelus (concionator)	Johannes Fabelius	8	philosophy	Dedication by autor/resp.	40 L U
10	1668 17 Dec.	De magistratu politico	Nicolaus Ramzius (theologiae lector)	Ericus Landtman	22	theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by autor/resp.; preface; congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to resp. by Zacharias Klingensterma (bishop)	40 L U
11	1678 17 Aug.	De ministerio ecclesiastico	Johannes Florander (theologiae lector)	Petrus Laurentij Cer- vinus	24	theology	Dedication by resp.	80 L U V
12	1684 20 March	De nobilitatis ortu ejusque insignibus	Samuel Humoldus (physices et logices lector)	Claudius Törmsohnius Ancherström	27	History, politics	Dedication by resp. to bishop Daniel Wallterus	40 L U

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
13	De libro vitae	Johannes Florander (theologiae lector)	Joannes Forsselius (in ecclesia paterma Rommeled verbi divini symmysta=fellow- preacher)	20	theology	Dedication and preface by resp.; end praise by Jonas L. Forsselius (fa- ther); congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) by Laurentius Forsselius (brother)	40 L U

APPENDIX 2: 18th century dissertations from Göteborg

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1706 Septima ante Calendas June	Theses philosophicae de fortitudine coordinatae	Jacobus von Akern (magister, moralium et historiarium lector)		8	philosophy		12 theses 80 L U
2 1708 Sexta nonarum May	Positiones philosophicae	Jacobus von Akern (magister, moralium et historiarium lector)		8	philosophy		32 theses 80 L U
3 1712 5 April	Specimen philologicum in quatuor priora capita evangelistae Lucae	Petrus Lamberg (Graecae literae lector)	Christianus Kock, David Memsen & Johannes Commenius	8	Philology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by praes. to Gustavus Cronhielm (<i>patronus magnus</i>)	40 M U G
4 1727 29 May	Utrum conveniat philosophiam moralem doceri in scholis Christianorum?	David Memsen (lector moralium et historiarium)	Andreas Boström & Gabriel Falchensten	16	philosophy, theology	<i>Argumentum dissertationis</i> in the beginning	40 L U G V Pro loco; second respondent's name added by hand in U
5 1727 19 June	De educatione ingenua	Christophorus Lidell (conrector scholae)	Petrus Söderström	22	education	Prooemium	80 L U V St Pro loco

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUB- JECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
6 1731 13 April	De eloquentia Latina in scholis christianis com- paranda et sedulo colenda	Olaus E. Törnsten (corrector scholae trivialis)	Nicolaus Nabelius	32	rhetoric	Congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) in the beginning to praes. by Elieser Poppelman (eloquentiae et poeseos lector); preface	Pro loco 80 L U
7 1737 26 Feb	Decas positionum miscellanearum	Andreas E. Boström (philosophiae ma- gister)	Jacobus Arvidson	24	various	Congratulatory poem to praes. (<i>adjunctus lector dexterrimus</i>) by Elieser Poppelman (eloqu. et poes. lector)	Pro officio ad- juncturae gym- nasii 40 L U U G
8 1737 Feb	Pentas thesium miscellanearum	Matthias Jacobi Ekström (designatus rector scholae cathe- dralis)	Johannes Benzelius (Jaco- bi filius)	44	various	Dedication to Jacobus Benzelius (bishop) by praes.	40 L L U G U V
9 1740 14 June	Theses miscella- neae	Johannes Gustavi Bennich	Abrahamus Pettersson	20	various	Dedication by praes. to Jacobus Benzelius (bishop); 2 congrat- ulations in French and Italian to praes. by Laurent Moberg and Abrahamus Pettersson (resp.); congratulatory poem to praes. by Samuel Hedström	Pro munere correctoratus scholae cathedra- lis; 5 theses 40 L U
10 1744 5 Sept.	Heptas thesium miscellanearum	Petrus Stockman	Laurentius Brotander	24	various		Pro munere rec- toratus scholae Warbergensis 40 L L U G U Sf

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
11 1744 15 Sept.	Theses miscellaneae	Frans Georg Gyllich	Gabriel Falchensten	4	various		40 L U G Sf
12 1745 23 March	Dissertatio theologica, qua illustre vaticinium prophetae Joëlis Cap. II, 28. 29. Vel Cap. III, 1. 2. aphorismis theologicis expositum	Eliæser Poppelman (eloquentiae et poeseos lector)	Olavus Torén (theologiae studiosus)	32	Theology, philology	Dedication by praes. to the bishop; preface (4 pages); congratulatory poem to praes. by Andreas Boström (scholae Gothenburgensis cathedralis rector)	40 L U G V
13 1745 18 Oct.	Theses miscellaneae	Jacob Arfwidson	Gustavus Schenström	4	various		40 L U G Sf
14 1750 14 April	Theses miscellaneae ex praescriptione ad constitutionum regiarum	Magnus Roempke (designatus regii gymnasii adjunctus)	Carolus Joh. Stierngranat (alumnus gymnasii et regius stipendiarius)	4	various		40 M KB Sf
15 1751 6 April	Theses theologicae	Jacob Arfwidson (historiarum et moralium lector designatus et consistorii ads.)	Lars Brotander (theologiae studiosus)	4	theology		40 L U G V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
16	1752 10 Oct.	Positiones theologicae	Magnus Roempke (logices, physices nec non historiae naturalium lector, rector)	Andreas Borelius (sacri ministerii candidatus)	4	theology	Pro specimine sacris ordinibus praemittendo; 8 theses	40 L U V
17	1752 17 Oct.	Theses miscellaneas	Andreas Montell (designatus adiunctus)	Birger Andreas Berger (theologiae studiosus)	4	various	8 theses	40 L U
18	1752 14 Nov.	Theses miscellaneas	Gabriel Andersson Beyer (designatus Graecae linguae lector)	Carolus Gustavus Lange (theologiae studiosus)	4	various	10 theses	40 M U
19	1752 18 Nov.	Theses philologicae in usum studiosae juventutis	Andreas Montell (adiunctus ordinarius)	Respondentes: Abraham Anander, Martinus Simson & Benedictus Lindström; Opponentes: Nicolaus Munch, Svener Wennergren & Weddich Borg	4	theology	6 theses; not in L or M	40 U KB
20	1754 29 May	Theses ex metaphysica, logica, physica et historia naturali desumptae [...] in usum juventutis gymnasticae	Magnus Roempke (logices et physices lector)	Defendent: Martinus Simson, Svener A. Wennergren & Carolus J. Brag; Impugnabunt: Petrus Lindstroem, Johannes G. Gaedda & Marcus Brodd (regii gymnasii alumni)	4	various	8 theses; not in L or M	40 U KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
21 1756 29 May	Argumenta historicomoralia in usum alumnorum regii gymnasii Gothoburgensium	Jacob Arfwidson (historiarum et moralium lector)	Respondentes: Petrus Hoffman, Nicolaus Saeverin & Benjamin Lachonius; Opponentes: Adrich Memsen, Matthias Schröder & Jacob Ellgren	4	various		9 theses 40 L U
22 1757 13 June	Theses physicae et logicae	Magnus Roempke (logices et physices lector)	Defendant: Sveno Bonge, Engelbrekt Jörlin & Johan Kierrulf; Impugnabunt: Otto Lindberg, Conrad Walcke & Benedictus Erlandi (regii gymnasii alumni)	4	physics, philosophy		6 theses; exercitii gratia 40 M U
23 1758 25 Feb	Theses varii argumenti	Johannes Gothenius (magister, rector scholae Marstrandensis designatus, auctor)	Elias Åkerman (ministerii sacri candidatus)	4	various		8 theses 40 L U U G V
24 1758 21 March	Theses miscellaneae	Sigvardus Borg	Olavus Bruhn (regii gymnasii alumnus)	4	various		8 theses; pro munere rectoratus scholae Kungshellensis 40 L U
25 1759 26 May	Theses ex theologia exegetica et dogmatica desumptae	Andreas Montell (philosophiae magister gymnasii adjunctus ordinarius)	Defendant: Laurentius Nordtman, Andreas Forsell & Chr. Torell; Impugnabunt: Olaus Torell, Johannes Alsing & Olaus Andström	4	theology, philology		7 theses; in usum juvenutis gymnasticae 40 M KB

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
26	1760 20 May Theses varii argu- menti	Martinus Georg. Wallenstråle	Respondentes: Hans Hummel, Immanuel Ek- man & Claudius Bäcké; Opponentes: Carolus Christ. Hummel, Carolus M. Ekman & Andreas Osbeck	4	various		6 theses 4o M U
27	1761 31 Oct Theses miscel- laneas	Johannes Gothenius (scholae Mar- strandensis rector ordinarius et in hoc athenaeo lector vicarius)	Respondentes: Arvidus Andreas Brag, Samuel Brag & Johannes Jac. Hammarberg; Opponen- tes: Christianus Almroth, Iacobus Conr. Wärenius & Jonas C. Dryander	4	various		12 theses; exer- citationis gratia disputabunt 4o L U KB G V
28	1762 Theses varii argu- menti	Paul Ol. Törnebohm (philosophiae ma- gister et designatus rector scholae)	Hans Jöran Gädda (bonae artis studiosus)	4	various		9 theses; pro titulo rectoris 4o M U
29	1763 14 May Theses miscel- laneas	Johannes Gothenius (vicarius lector)	Respondentes: Jonas C. Dryander; Johannes H. Scharp & Carolus Revi- gin; Opponentes: Lauren- tius Rhodin, Iacobus Falk & Andreas Ievrling	4	various		6 theses; in usum alumnorum 4o L U
30	1763 Calend Oct Theses varii ge- neris	Henricus Harekens (designatus rector scholae Marstran- densis)	Jonas Carolus Dryander (primipilus alumnorum gymnasii Gothoburgensis)	4	various		7 theses 4o L U KB G

APPENDIX 2: 18th century dissertations from Göteborg

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUB- JECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
31 1764 14 April	Theses varii argu- menti	Arendt Grimberg (magister lector, designatus adjunctus hujus lycei)	Olof Rodehm (theologiae studiosus)	4	various		10 theses 40 M U V
32 1765 2 Nov.	Theses varii argu- menti	Andreas Tranchell (philosophiae ma- gister et designatus rector scholae Kong- hellensis)	Petrus Alim (theologiae studiosus)	4	various		9 theses; pro mu- nere rectoratus 40 M KB
33 1766 29 Nov	Meditationes for- tuitae et subitae de subditis philoso- phiae moralis ex historia petitis	Martinus G. Wal- lenstråle (sacr. Reg. maj. A sacris, syne- dria, quod Gothob. est, addeessor, lector historiarum et mora- lium designatus, r. societ. Antiquit. Londinensis ad epis- tulis, literariaeque Witteberg. socius)	Olavus Westman (alum- norum hujus gymnasii primipilus)	16	philosophy		40 L U G V
34 1768 6 June	Theses	Bengt Öhrwall	Defendent: C. Mannerantz, B. Des Reaux & Hans King; Im- pugnabunt: Carl Jörling, And. B. Ekebom & Jo- hannes Forsselius	4	various		8 theses; in usum alumnorum 40 L U

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
35 1769 27 May	Theses miscellaneas	Carolus Henricus Bundy (docens extraordinarius)	Defendent: Olaus Bruhn, Hans H. Ström & Hans Lindhult; Impugnabunt: Samuel Gråberg, Jacob Liedbom & Laurentius Kindberg	4	various		8 theses 40 M U
36 1771 27 May	Theses miscellaneae	Sven Comenius	Carolus Mannercrantz (gymnasii amanuensis et nobilis)	4	various		5 theses; pro munere conrectoris scholae cathedralis Gothoburgensis 40 M U
37 1771 8 June	Theses	Arendt Grimberg (vicarius lector et philosophiae magister, ordinarius adjunctus gymnasii)	Respondentes: Ol. Magn. Felman, Joh. Fridr. Roempke & Eric. Wilh. Weste; Opponentibus: Laurentius Thuring, Sveno Tranchell & Abrah. Wetterberg	4	various		6 theses; exercitii gratia; last opponent changed by hand from Abrah. Wetterberg to A. Liungvall in U 40 L U
38 1771 27 April	Theses varii argumenti	Carolus Revigin	Carolus Mannercrantz (gymnasii bibliothecae amanuensis et nobilis)	4	various		6 theses; pro munere rectoris scholae Laholmensis 40 L U
39 1772 22 May	Theses miscellaneas	Arendt Grimberg (vicarius lector, ordinarius adjunctus gymnasii)	Respondentes: Nicolaus Hedelius, Laurentius Bergendahl & Carolus Molin; Opponentibus: Joh. Sam. Heinrici, Carl H Tranchell & Hans Tranchell	4	various		7 theses; exercitationis gratia 40 L U

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUB- JECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
40 1772 5 Dec	Theses varii argu- menti	Iohannes Gothenius (theologiae doctor et philosophiae lector)	Respondentes: Andreas Liungvall, Georgius Liedberg & Iohannes Lundblad; Opponentes: Zacharias Kollinius, Adol- phus Wilh. Ekehom & Andreas M. Pettersson	4	various		40 L U KB G V
41 1773 20 Feb	Theses miscella- neae	Matthias Schröder (designatus rector scholae Udderväl- liensis)	Carolus G. Rhodin (theo- logiae studiosus)	4	various		40 L U
42 1774 13 June	Theses	Arndius Grimberg (designatus elo- quentiae et poeseos lector)	Respondentes: Magnus Roempke, Nicolaus Grotte & Ericus Kullman; Opponentes: Andreas Beyer, Andreas Hilleström & Petrus Thal. Block	4	various		40 M U V
43 1775 4 March	Theses miscella- neae	Carolus Gust. (rector scholae trivialis Gothoburgensis)	Alexander Malm (philoso- phiae studiosus)	4	various		40 M U
44 1775 19 June	Theses miscella- neae	Simon H. Klever- ström	Respondentes: Benedic- tus Hallonquist, Thomas Thorén & Iohannes In- gman; Opponentes: An- dreas Bronander, Andreas Waldstedt & Andreas Lindström	4	various		40 M U

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUB- JECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
45 1776 1 June	Theses miscellaneae	Arndius Grimberg (lector, gymnasii rector)	Respondentes: Andreas Hilleström, J. H. Engel- hart & Johannes Ekman; Opponentes: J. F. Scherb- ing, Abraham Kullin & J. Z. Hempe	4	various		6 theses; exerci- tationis gratia L U
46 1777 13 June	Theses varii argu- menti	Simon Hmr. Klew- erstöm (lector vicarius)	Defensores: Chriophorus Hellberg, Benedictus Hmr. Stenbeck & Olaus Boman; Reprehensores: Hans Christianus Hum- mel, Reinholdus Hochell & Abraham Terning	4	various		8 theses; exercitii ergo ventilandas M U V
47 1777 4 Nov	Theses miscella- neae	Simon Kleverström (conrector scholae trivialis Gothobur- gensis designatus)	Andreas Hilleström (stu- diosus philosophiae)	4	various		40 L U
48 1778 17 March	Theses miscella- neae	Olaus Bruhm (desig- natus scholae Uddele- liensis rector)	Andreas Hilleström (philosophiae studiosus)	4	various		40 M U
49 1778 31 March	Theses varii argu- menti	Abraham Wetterberg (philosophiae ma- gister et poeseos ad academiam Caroli- nam docens)	Olavus Kamp (gymnasii alumnus Bahusanus)	4	various		40 L U G

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
50 1778 11 April	Theses varii argumenti	Alexander Malm (consistorii Gothoburgensis notarius)	Quistorius Möllerström (theologiae studiosus)	4	various		11 theses; pro adjunctura gymnasii Gothoburgensis 40 M U KB G
51 1778 14 April	Theses miscellaneae	Magnus Lönnberg (philosophiae magister verbi divini minister)	Andreas Hilleström (philosophiae studiosus)	4	various		9 theses; pro munere gymnasii adjuncti 40 KB G
52 1778 2 June	Theses	Abraham Wetterberg (philosophiae magister et poeseos ad academiam Carolinam docens)	Respondentes: Laurentius Linderöth, Chri. L. Ström & Andreas Borg; Opponentes: Andreas Ekegren, Andreas Contz & Johannes Lithén	4	various		8 theses 40 M U G
53 1780 8 May	Theses varii argumenti	Carl Davidsson Tribler (philosophiae magister et collega scholae trivialis Gothoburgensis)	Abraham Toerning (verbi divini minister)	4	various		6 theses; pro munere correctoris 40 U
54 1780 26 May	Theses miscellaneae	Johannes Georgius Gädda (apologista ad scholam trivialem Gothoburgensem)	Andreas Freding (verbi divini minister et extrordinarius legio Elfsburgae sacris)	4	various		7 theses; vacans in eadem schola correctoris munus ambiens 40 V
55 1780 27 May	Theses miscellaneae	Otto Lindberg (philosophiae magister v. pastor et collega scholae trivialis Gothoburgensis)	Fried. Wilhelmus Netsch (verbi divini minister)	4	various		8 theses; munus correctoris ambiens 40 U

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUB- JECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
56 1781 22 June	Theses varii argu- menti	Olaus Westman (philosophiae lector)	Respondentes: Joh. Jac. Schulzen, Johannes Rosengren & Joh. U. Blomdahl; Opponentes: Nicolaus Bergström, Jo- hannes Hellberg & Olaus Lundberg	4	various		8 theses; exercit- ii gratia 40 U KB
57 1782 13 June	Theses mixtae	Abraham Wetter- berg (philosophiae magister et lector ordinarius)	Respondentes: Joh. Ulr. Blomdahl, Nic. Adler & Carol Henr. Dahlin; Op- ponentes: Ol. Lundberg, Thom. Claeson & Andr. Oedman	4	various		8 theses 40 U KB G
58 1783 19 June	Theses varii argu- menti	Magnus Lönberg (lector ordinarius)	Respondentes: Benedictus Bergström, Petrus Åker- blom & Janus Melander; Opponentes: Andreas Vinc. Drieden, Svenco Leonh. Lignell & Jo- hannes Petr. Boström	4	various		8 theses 40 U KB
59 1783 14 Oct	Theses miscella- neae	Michael Lidbeck (philosophiae ma- gister et verbi divini minister)	Nicolaus Adler (theologi- ae studiosus)	4	various		8 theses; pro rectoratu scholae Halmstadensis 40 U KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUB- JECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
60 1784 4 June	Theses varii argu- menti	Olaus Westman (logices et physices lector)	Respondentes: David Röing, Martinus Hylthen & Jacobus Sandegren; Opponentes: Johannes Wikbom, Petrus Wallen- blad & Reim. Matthias Gylich	4	various		7 theses; exercit- ii gratia 40 U KB G
61 1784 19 Oct	Dodecas thesium	Petrus O. Bruhn (philosophiae ma- gister; verbi divini minister et collega scholae Uddeval- liensis)	Hermanus Pagander (theologiae studiosus)	4	various		12 theses 40 U KB V
62 1784 7 Dec	Theses theolog- icae	Alexander Malm (Graecae linguae lector et societatis Gothoburgensis sci- entiarum artiumque membrum)	Nicolaus Adler (theologi- ae studiosus)	4	theology		9 theses; pro lec- tione theologica obtinenda 40 U KB G
63 1785 19 April	Theses varii argu- menti	Petrus Dahlberg (atrium liberalium magister et verbi divini minister, munus rectoris scho- lae Kongelfviensis ambiens)	Jacobus Sandegren	4	various		8 theses; [pro loco] 40 KB

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
64	1786 14 Feb	Theses	Adolphus Wilhelmus Ekeborn (historiarum et moralium lector)	Andreas Hilleström (ad scholam Sätill. informator)	4	various	9 theses 40 U KB G V
65	1786 18 Feb	Theses varii argumenti	Sven Wetterberg (ordinarius philosophiae lector)	Sven Leonh. Lignell (theologiae studiosus)	4	various	11 theses 40 U KB
66	1786 21 Feb	Theses miscellaneae	Benedictus Kallerin (rector scholae Warbergensis vicarius)	Johannes Söderström (gymnasii alumnus)	4	various	10 theses; pro munere rectoratus in schola Warbergensi 40 U KB
67	1786 6 June	Theses variae	Abraham Wetterberg (Graecae linguae lector)	Respondentes: Elavus Singöhl, Andreas Hedelin & Birgerus Lundberg; Opponentes: Fredricus Schulzen, Johannes Åborg & Nicolaus Öberg	4	various	7 theses; exercitui gratia publice regii gymnasii alumni 40 U KB G V
68	1787 26 May	Theses varii argumenti	Joh. Henr. Engelhart (philosophiae magister et medicinae doctor, professor regius, ad regium gymnasium Gothob. matheseos et medicinae lector, reg. soc. med. Edinb. membr. et olim praeses)	Petrus Wallenblad (theologiae studiosus)	4	various	10 theses 40 U KB G V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUB- JECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
69 1787 2 June	Theses varii argu- menti	Magnus Lönberg (eloquentiae et poeseos lector)	Respondentes: Johannes Söderström, Michael Petr. Knape & Andreas Lind- ström; Opponentes: Sveno Kjerner, Theodor. Schale & Elleser Saevrin	4	various		40 U KB G V 8 theses; exercit- ii gratia
70 1787 14 June	Theses	Andreas Gabriel Beyer (theologiae candidatus ad le- gionem Nericiae et Wermelandiae a sac- ris extraordinarius)	Johannes Söderström (gymnasii alumnus)	4	various		40 U KB G 7 theses
71 1788 24 May	Theses	Otto Lindberg (philosophiae magis- ter, vicarius pastor et corrector scholae Gothoburgensis)	Vincent Eman. Ritterberg (gymnasii alumnus)	4	various		40 U KB G 8 theses
72 1788 5 June	Theses varii argu- menti	Adolphus Wilhelmus Ekeboom (histori- arum et moralium lector)	Respondentes: Fredericus Schulzen, Carolus Brag & Ericus Myrberg; Oppo- nentes: Olaus Fagerberg, Magnus Torén & Andreas Gabriel Sundberg	4	various		40 U KB G 9 theses; exercit- ii gratia
73 1789 21 Feb	Theses varii argu- menti	Olavus Adolphus Kamp (philosophiae magister, verbi divi- ni minister et collega scholae Uddeval- liensis)	Jacobus Sandegren (theo- logiae studiosus)	4	various		40 U KB V 9 theses; munus rectoratus Ud- devalliensis ambians

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
74	1789 4 June Theses varii generis	Sven Wetterberg (philosophiae lector ordinarius)	Respondentes: Andreas Björner, Carolus Wetterberg & Petrus A. Ålbottn; Opponentes: Gustavus Rosén, Johannes Wallin & Petrus Borritz	4	various		8 theses 40 U KB G
75	1789 7 Sept Theses varii argumenti	Carolus Henr. Linde (philosophiae magister)	Petrus Andreas Åhlbottn (gymnasii alumnus)	4	various		10 theses; pro munere rectoratus Kongel-fvensis 40 U KB G V
76	1790 8 April Theses varii generis	Elisier Saevrin (philosophiae candidatus)		4	various		9 theses; pro munere rectoratus Warbergensis 40 U KB G V
77	1790 20 April Theses varii argumenti	Pehr Mjöberg (collega scholae Warbergensis)		4	various		10 theses; pro munere rectoratus Warbergensis 40 U KB V
78	1790 21 April Theses varii argumenti	Nicolaus Lundstroem (verbi divini minister)		4	various		8 theses; rectoratum Warbergensem ambiens defert 40 U KB V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
79 1790 18 May	Theses varii argumenti	Olaus Westman (logices et physices lector)	Respondentes: Ericus Lamberg, Joh. Fred. Chronander & Olaus Nordman; Opponentes: Olaus Hedenros, Joh. A. Lundberg & Laurentius Lachonius	4	various		40 U KB G V
80 1790 27 Sept.	Theses varii argumenti	Hans M. Liedberg (collega scholae trivialis)	Johannes Gillbom (theologiae studiosus)	4	various		40 KB V
81 1790 28 Sept.	Theses varii argumenti	Andreas Collander (apologista scholae trivialis)	Johannes Hultman (gymnasii alumnus)	4	various		40 KB G
82 1791 30 May	Theses	Alexander Malm (theologiae lector et pastor ecclesiae Lundby et Tufve)	Respondentes: Andreas Sethelius, Gustavus Bask & Gustavus Svahn; Opponentes: Andreas Brag, Petrus S. Christman & Elias Björk	4	various		40 KB G V
83 1791 20 Sept.	Theses varii argumenti	Johan Ekman (verbi divini mimister)		4	various		40 KB G V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
84 1791 21 Sept.	Theses varii argu- menti	Fredericus Peterson (philosophiae magister et collega scholae Marstrandensis)	Elias Dan. Björck (gym- nasii alumnus)	4	various		4o theses; munus rectoris scholae Marstrandensis ambiens KB G V
85 1792 4 June	Theses varii argu- menti	Magnus Lönnberg (eloquentiae et poeseos lector)	Respondentes: Cas- par Johnson, Petrus Malmgren & Johannes Hammarberg; Opponen- tes: Olaus Enggren, Petrus Andreas Wärenius, Daniel Kullberg	4	various		4o theses KB G
86 1792 12 Sept.	Theses varii argu- menti	Jacobus Wetterberg (philosophiae ma- gister)	Johannes Torell (gymnasii alumnus)	4	various		4o theses; pro mu- nere rectoratus Laholmensis KB
87 1793 25 May	Theses	Adolphus Wilh. Eke- bom (philosophiae magister et histori- arum et moralium lector)	Respondentibus: Johannes Casparsson, Gustavus Fred. Stockman & Anun- dus N. Apelberg; Oppo- nentibus: Andreas Sund- berg, C. M. Holmström & Andreas Öhrwall	4	various		4o theses; exer- citi gratia KB
88 1794 21 May	Theses varii argu- menti	Abraham Wetterberg (Graecae linguae lector)	Respondentes: Johannes Torell, Andreas Weström & Jonas Warmark; Oppo- nentes: Carolus M. Holm- ström, Andreas Hylander & Carolus Kjellin	4	various		4o theses; exerci- tationis publicae gratia U KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRÆSES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUB- JECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
89 1795 16 May	Theses varii argu- menti	Sven Wetterberg (philosophiae lector ordinarius)	Respondentes: Johannes B. Apelberg, Jonas Bro- man & Hugo H. Böcker; Opponentes: Sven Lin- delund, Immanuel Andrén & Carolus O. Torrell	4	various		10 theses <i>U</i> <i>KB</i> <i>G</i>
90 1795 7 Dec.	Theses theolog- icae	Abraham Wetterberg (Graecae linguae lector)	Carolus Fr. Wingård (gymnasii alumnus)	4	various		12 theses; vac- uam theologiae lectoris provinci- am petturus <i>G</i>
91 1796 7 May	Theses	Olaus Westman (theologiae lector et pastor ecclesiae Starrkärr, Kilandå et Nödunge)	Respondentes: Johannes Thorsander, Carolus Fred. Wingård & Petrus Ström; Opponentes: Joh. Jac. Jacobsson, Ericus Arvid. Lidell & Wilhelm Ge- intschein	4	various		8 theses; exercit- ii gratia <i>U</i> <i>KB</i> <i>G</i>
92 1797 31 May	Theses varii argu- menti	Johannes Hellberg (adjunctus extraordi- narius et designatus apologista scholae trivialis)	Respondentes: Jonas Brag, Andreas Bruhn & Joh. Petersson; Opponen- tes: Anton. Börjesson, Joh. Rudberg & Joseph. Brag	4	various		9 theses; exercit- ii gratia <i>U</i> <i>KB</i> <i>G</i>
93 1798 8 March	Theses varii argu- menti	Johannes Hellberg (adjunctus extraordi- narius et designatus apologista scholae trivialis)	Petrus Grundell (gymnasii alumnus)	4	various		10 theses; pro adjunctura gym- nasii <i>U</i> <i>KB</i> <i>G</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUB- JECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
94 1798 24 May	Theses miscellaneae	Abraham Wetterberg (Graecae linguae lector et pastor in Lundby et Tufve)	Respondentes: Car. G. Santesson, Elias Rhodin & Petrus Grundell; Op- ponentes: Joh. Dahlgren, Laur. J. Agrell & Eric Dan. Kidron	4	various		8 theses 40 U KB G
95 1799 20 May	Theses varii argu- menti	Nicolaus Adler (gymnasii biblio- thecarius et rector scholae Teut. Gothoburgensis)	Fredericus Augustus Bissmarck (gymnasii alumnus)	4	various		10 theses; ad- juncturam gym- nasii petiturus 40 U KB G
96 1799 30 May	Theses varii argu- menti	P.A. Åhlbotn (philosophiae ma- gister, ad scholam trivialeam collega et gymnasii adjunctus extraordinarius, ver- bi divini minister)	Sam. Kamp (gymnasii alumnus Bahusanus)	4	various		12 theses; munus gymnasii adjunc- ti ambiens 40 KB

APPENDIX 3: 18th century dissertations from Linköping

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1732 26 Feb	De robore orationis	Andreas Schiörling (eloquentiae et poseos lector)	Daniel Enelius	24	rhetoric		pro loco 80 L U V
2 1732 13 May	Terram promissionis leviter adumbratam	Magnus Boraenius (rector scholae Linköpingensis designatus)	Ericus Duraeus	16	history, geography, theology		80 L U V
3 1732 20 May	De adagis novi testamenti	Petrus Schenberg (conrector scholae trivialis Linköpingensis designatus)	Johannes Rosling	28	philology	Proemialis	80 L U V
4 1733 28 April	De ritibus orandi ecclesiae Sviogothicae	Martinus Lidén (designatus rector scholae Norcöpingensis)	Petrus Stillberg	32	rhetoric, theology	Handwritten dedication by <i>actor</i> on verso of title page in copy in <i>KB</i> ; congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) in Greek by "AminthOR." = A. O. Rhyzelius to praeses; proemium and 8 theses miscellaneae at the end in copies in <i>L</i> , <i>St</i> and <i>KB</i> .	80 L <i>KB</i> G V <i>St</i> <i>Li</i>
5 1735 10 May	De Quirino praefecto Syriae	Magnus Edstrand (designatus rector scholae Sudermanensis)	Christianus Houg	20	philology, history, theology		80 L U V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEAT- TURES
6 1735 12 May	Theses philologicae	Magnus Bornaenius	Carolus Kindberg & Samuel Duraeus	4	philology		12 theses; Pro lectione Graecarum literarum capes- senda
7 1735 May	De usu matheseos in arte oratoria	Johannes Sparschuch (designatus elo- quentiae et poeseos lector)	Jacobus Kindberg	24	mathematics, rhetoric	Quotations from Aris- toteles (Analyt. Post.) and Cicero (Orat. Pro Archia) as motto on 2nd page; congratulatory poem by Adolphus Benzelius (bishop, 16 April) in the beginning	80 L U V
8 1736 5 June	De X tribus Israel- itarum, abductis per Salmanassarem	Johannes Silfverling (scholae Ekesjöensis rector)	Daniel Houg	42	history, phi- lology	Proemialis	80 L U V
9 1737 2 April	An philosophia vera in philosopho vitosos	Martinus Lidén (des- ignatus moralium et historiarum lector)	Andreas Moselius	20	philosophy	Dedication and dedicatory epistle to Christ. Henr. von d' Albedijll (baron) by praes.	80 L U V
10 1737 6 April	De jejunio antepas- chali	Petrus Schenberg (lector designatus)	Samuel Palmaerus (gym- nasii notarius)	16	history, the- ology		Dissertatio inau- guralis

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
11 1737 23 April	De evidentia demonstrationum in philosophia morali	Sveno Collin (designatus rector scholae Lincopensis)	Axelius Engholm	20	philosophy		80 L U V Sf
12 1739 27 Oct	De moderamine theologo conventiente circa coercendos haereticos	Johannes Sparschuch (theologiae lector et pastor in Landerö)	Magnus Nordström	24	theology	Quotations from I. Cor. and Chrysostomos' περί Ἱεροσύνης in Greek on 2nd page	80 L U V
13 1739 10 Nov	Specimen usus pneumaticae in studio theologico	Petrus Lagerman (rector scholae trivialis Lincopensis)	Olaus Ekeröth	24	theology	proemium	80 L U V
14 1740 3 May	Theses philosophicae	Wilhelm Julius Wetterling (corrector scholae trivialis)	<i>Respondens</i> : Abraham Rotstein; <i>Opponentes</i> : Samuel Triwallius, Petrus Hasselberg & Gustavus Landberg	4	various		40 L U
15 1740 16 May	De vitio logico logomachia	Magnus Benedicti Elgh (lector philosophiae theoreticae et rector)	<i>Respondens</i> : Magnus Ekström (ex ordine supremo maj. gymn.); <i>Opponentes</i> : Claudius Livin, Andreas Gab. Roswall & Laurentius Pettersson (ex ordine infimo gymn. maj.)	56	philology, philosophy	preface by praes.(?)	80 L U V Pro munere docendi; <i>Respondentes</i> and <i>opponentes</i> mentioned on 2nd page; <i>emendata</i> on last page

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
16	1740 17 May	Theses philologicae de lingua Latina	Sveno Collin (designatus eloquentiae lector)	<i>Respondens:</i> Magnus Brörling; <i>Opponentes:</i> Samuel Reuselius, Petrus Biörn & Adamus Reftenius	4	philology	12 theses	40 L U
17	1740 4 June	De observationibus meteorologicis earumque usu	Claudius Wimmermarck (matheseos lector)	Andreas Gabr. Roswall	40	physics, natural science	Pro munere demandato	80 L U V Sf
18	1741 27 May	Specimen amoris Dei puri	Claudius Göthe (rector scholae Westervicensis)	<i>Respondens:</i> Samuel Triwallius (ex ordine supremo maj. gymnasii); <i>Opponentes:</i> Martinus Tingstedt, Jacobus Ullin & Claudius Arfvedson (ex ordine infimo maj. gymnasii)	16	theology	<i>Respondens</i> and <i>opponentes</i> mentioned on 2nd page; praefatio	80 L U V
19	1742 May	De enthusiasmo poetico	Wilhelmus Andreas Wännerdahl (designatus lector eloquentiae et poeseos)	Petrus Knöppel	28	rhetoric, vernacular poetry	Congratulatory poem (<i>elegiac distich</i>) on 2nd page to praes. by Andreas Nicander (Westervic 22 Jan)	40 L G
20	1743 4 June	Theses philosophicae	Petrus Lagerman (designatus lector philosophicae moralis)	<i>Respondens:</i> Nicolaus Lindblom; <i>Opponentes:</i> Fridericus Falck, Johannes Micrander & Petrus Zetzell	4	philosophy	11 theses	40 L U V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
21 1743 7 Dec	Theses theologicae	Petrus Lagerman (lector gymnasii)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Georgius Zachrisson & Johannes Zegollström; <i>Opponentes:</i> Johannes Löngren, Carolus Lehnberg & Constanus Pontin	4	theology		40 L U 8 theses; Pro aedeundis ordimibus sacris
22 1743 9 Dec	Theses theologicae	Wilhelmus Andreas Wennerdahl (lector gymnasii)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Haquinus Linde & Johannes Mirander; <i>Opponentes:</i> Johannes ekner, Ericus Kiellberg & Simon Kiellberg	4	theology		40 L U 8 theses; Pro sacris ordimibus aedeundis
23 1744 26 May	De Atheniensium ara deo ignoto sacra, Act. XVII. V. 23	Wilhelm Jul. Wetterling (rector scholae trivialis Lincopensis)	<i>Respondens:</i> Petrus Danielsson (ex ordine supremo maj. gymnasii); <i>Opponentes:</i> Sveno Sahlin, Johannes Enholm & Magnus Fröling (ex ordine infimo maj. gymnasii)	40	philology, history, theology	<i>Respondens</i> and <i>opponentes</i> mentioned on 2nd page in <i>U</i> ; in copy in <i>KB</i> a quotation from from Act. XVII.v.23 on 2nd page	80 L U KB
24 1744 9 June	Theses miscellaneae	Petrus Westelius (scholae trivialis conrector)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Jona Wetterholm & Petrus Romelius; <i>Opponentes:</i> Nicolaus Bergdahl, Magnus Sparf & Benedictus Roswall	4	various		40 L U 12 theses

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
25	1748 30 April	De scholis trivialibus	Daniel Z. Torpadius	<i>Respondentes:</i> Zacharias Boman & Petrus Lomerinus; <i>Opponentes:</i> Claudius Brunckman, Daniel Wigius & Johannes Nordwall	16	history, education	Approval from the bishop (14 April) on 2nd page; 5 <i>theses miscellaneae</i> on last page	80 L U V
26	1748 7 May	Σπλούδασιμα, cognitionem Graecae linguae φιλομάθεσι necessariam breviter ostendens	Johannes Lithzenius (Graecae linguae lector)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Carolus Nyren & Olaus Söderberg	20	philology	Congratulatory poem (<i>elegiac distich</i>) to praes. by And. Ol. Rhyzelius (bishop) on 2 nd page; dedication to Gustavus Adolphus Lagerfeldt and preface by praes.; end poem (<i>elegiac distich</i>) by praes.?	80 L U V
27	1751 May	Ideam formae regiminis monarchiae divinae generalem	Petrus Wimmermark Andrae filius (designatus rector scholae Södercopianae trivialis)	Andreas Wisell	22	theology	Congratulatory poem (<i>Sapphic stanza</i>) to praes. by And. Ol. Rhyzelius (bishop) from Dec. 1750 on 2 nd page; congratulatory epistle to praes. by Johannes Kumblaeum (pastor Thorshellensis) on 16 Jan.	40 L G V
28	1751 23 Nov	Theses metallurgicae	Johannes J. Törner (eloquentiae, poesios et historiarum naturalium lector designatus)	Jahannes B. Buss (stipendiarius Schedingianus)	16	natural history		80 L U V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
29	Cogitationes de mathematica in scholis publicis institutione	Ericus M. Walbom (designatus lector matheseos)	<i>Respondens:</i> Andreas Melleen (alumnus Sche- dingianus); <i>Opponentis:</i> Nicolaus Dahlberg, Petrus Mauritius & Jona Brolin	20	mathematics	Congratulatory poem (<i>elegiac distich</i>) on 2nd page to praes. by And. Ol. Rhyzelius (bishop); pref- ace addressing the bishop (by praes?); 10 <i>theses</i> <i>theologicae loco examines</i> <i>ventilandae</i> at the end of the dissertation	Pro loco 80 L U V
30	Theses miscellaneae	Andreas Askegren (adjunctus Gym- nasii)	<i>Respondens:</i> Johannes Arelius; <i>Opponentis:</i> Nicolaus Forling, Andreas Zetterholm & Johannes Appelberg	8	various	Congratulatory poem (Sapphic stanza) to praes. by "AminthOR" =A.O.Rhyzelius (signed 29 May)	12 theses: <i>Pro</i> <i>injuncto Docentis</i> <i>munere</i> 80 L U
31	Theses theologicae	Johannes J. Törner (matheseos et his- toriarum naturalium lector)	Jona Brolin	4	theology		10 theses; examinis theologici loco 40 L U
32	Theses miscellaneae	Andreas Tollbom (designatus rector scholae trivialis Vad- stenensis et pastor Orlundensis)	<i>Respondens:</i> Petrus Ekerwall; <i>Opponentis:</i> Magnus Ringdal, Andreas Yhman & Johannes Yhman	4	education, rhetoric	Congratulatory poem (<i>sapphic stanza</i>) on 2nd page to praes. by And. Ol. Rhyzelius (bishop) 22 April	20 theses; handwrit- ing in margin on every page 40 L G V
33	Theses oratoriopo- etico	Samuel Älf (ad gym- nasii Lincopensis designatus eloquenti- ae et poeseos lector)	<i>Respondens:</i> Andreas Törnström; <i>Opponentis:</i> Jonas Dubb, Samuel Har- ling & Marcus Wallberg	8	rhetoric	Congratulatory poem (<i>elegiac distich</i>) to praes. by And. Ol. Rhyzelius (bishop, <i>lippus, mancus</i> <i>trimusque supra octoge- narium</i>) 31 May	30 theses 40 L U V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
34	1761 28 May	Theses miscellaneae	Petrus Georgius Aschanius Johannis filius (designatus vicarius rector scholae trivialis Ekas.)	4	various	Approval by Andr. Ol. Rhyzelius (bishop) on 2nd page	12 theses 40 L G V
35	1762 18 June	Dissertatio exhibens periculum subsidii Graecae linguae studioso exspectandi et notione παράξιος	Magnus Fallerstedt (Graecae linguae lector)	16	education		80 L U V
36	1763 23 April	Dissertatio operam praeceptoris et discipuli Graeci breviter delineatura	Andreas Askegren (designatus Graecae linguae lector et prorector)	16	education		80 L U V
37	1763 18 June	Dissertatio philosophica, sistens tentamina nonnulla quorum ratio habebatur in informanda pube literis dicata	Carolus Laurbeck (designatus rector scholae trivialis Lincopensis)	16	education		80 L U
38	1768 14 June	Ἔπιτομή περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων τῆς Σουηδικῆς	Carolus Nyren	28	philology, translation	Dedication, dedicatory epistle to Gustavus Adolphus Lagerfeldt (baron) and Petrus Filenius (bishop) by auctor (praes.); congratulatory poem (<i>elegiac distich</i>) on 4th page to praes. by Samuel Ålf	80 L U V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
39	1773 22 May	Tirocinia mathematica, in gymnasiis ponenda	Claudius Isr. Melander (matheseos et astronomiae lector)	<i>Respondens</i> : Svено Björling (ex ordine supremo gymnasiis); <i>Opponent</i> : Adolphus Nordvall, Carolus Giöthe & Svено Lidman (ex ordine infimo gymnasiis)	16	mathematics	Dedication to Petrus Filenius (bishop) by praes.	80 L U V
40	1773 17 June	Quaestionis solutio: utrum conducti, alumnos scholarum omnes Graecae linguae adhibere culturam	Carolus Boraen (Graecae linguae lector)	<i>Respondens</i> : Johannes Älf; <i>Opponentes</i> : Claudius Zander, Laurentius Lidman & Petrus Nygren	24	education	Poem by Alexander He-gius on the necessity of Greek as motto on 2nd page	80 L U V
41	1773 18 June	Dissertatio historico moralis usum historiarum moralem leviter adumbrans	Johannes B. Busser (historiarum et philosophiae moralium lector)	<i>Respondens</i> : Samuel Strömberg (stipendiarius Piperianus, ex ordine supremo maj. auditorii); <i>Opponentes</i> : Daniel Calén, Carolus Adolphus Zerf. & Carolus Södergren (ex ordine infimo maj. auditorii)	16	philosophy, history	Dedication to Petrus Filenius (bishop) by praes.	80 L U V
42	1773 4 Dec	De lectione poetarum Latinae linguae cultori pernecessaria	Petrus Hulthin (designatus rector scholae trivialis Lincopensis)	<i>Respondens</i> : Ragvaldus Nicolai; <i>Opponentes</i> : Olavus D. Een, Israelei Nerman & Ericus Erici Duræus	12	poetics, education, rhetoric	Pro loco	80 L U V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
43	1774 4 June	De libero civium ad scholas publicas accessu	Nicolaus Apellberg (rector scholae trivialis Norrcopensis)	<i>Respondens:</i> Carolus Gjöthe (ex ordine supremo maj. auditorii); <i>Opponentes:</i> Johannes Moberg, Petrus Pihl & Johannes Loenbom (ex ordine infimo maj. auditorii)	8	education	80 L U G V
44	1774 15 June	De justo litterarum humantium pretio	Jacobus Israel Köhler (designatus conrector scholae trivialis Lincopensis)	<i>Respondens:</i> Samuel Strömberg (stipendiarius Piperianus, ex ordine supremo maj. auditorii); <i>Opponentes:</i> Johannes Pet. Lund, Gustavus Ekvall et Olavus D. Een (ex ordine infimo maj. auditorii)	16	education, liberal arts	80 L U
45	1775 18 Nov	De vi verborum apud Graecos mediorum reciproca	Jacobus Hultthin (Graecae linguae lector)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Carolus Ad. Björling & Andreas Rydelius; <i>Opponentes:</i> Abraham Rosvall, Johannes Könsberg & Carolus Scherstrand	36	philology, Greek grammar	80 L U V Quotation from Hieronymus Wolfius as motto on 2nd page
46	1775 25 Nov	Theses	Sven Meurander (designatus rector scholae trivialis Wadstenensis)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Petrus Westelius & Adolphus Fredholm; <i>Opponentes:</i> Andreas Wadsberg, Johannes Blom & Carolus Nyren	8	various	80 L U V 21 theses

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
47	1776 28 Sept	Analysis Latinae orationis periodica	Andreas N. Grönberger (connector scholae trivialis Lincopensis)	Respondentes: Claudius Cnattingius & Magnus Hagelin; <i>Opponentes</i> : Frid. Malmgren, Henricus Löngren & Claudius Callén	16	rhetoric	80 L U V
48	1780 29 April	De fine poenarum	Laurentius Planander (philosophiae magister et apologista scholae trivialis Lincopensis)	Respondentes: Daniel P. Kjernell & Ericus A. Enholm; <i>Opponentes</i> : Carolus Haegström, Petrus Arenander & Ulr. P. Kjernell	14	civil law	40 U KB G V
49	1780 6 May	Theses	Olavus Zetterling (collega scholae Norrcopensis)	Respondentes: Petrus Kjernell & Daniel Viström; <i>Opponentes</i> : Matthias Sundvall, Samuel Murschvig & Andreas Ljungstedt	4	various	40 U KB V
50	1782 20 April	Commentatio de sensu communi, solo verae philosophiae fonte et arbitrio	Marcus Wallenberg (maxime venerandi consistorii Lincopensis notarius)	Respondens: Ericus Petrus Alf; <i>Opponentes</i> : Samuel Liljeblad, Samuel Theod. Schenberg & Sveno Wenström	16	philosophy	40 U KB G V
51	1783 6 Dec	Theses	Andreas Nordvall (apologista scholae Lincopensis)	Respondens: Petrus Lindblad; <i>Opponentes</i> : Jona Hultgren, Magnus Samuel Munk & Johannes Abraham Hornstedt	4	various	40 U KB V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
52 1784 22 May	Theses	Carolus J. Ollenberg (collega scholae Sudercopensis)	<i>Respondens</i> : Magnus Samuel Munk; <i>Opponen- tes</i> : Johannes Kinberg, Jona Envall & Johannes Fr. Schierman	4	education		11 theses; handwrit- ten correction of date from 21 April to 22 May in one copy in <i>U</i> and in copy in <i>L</i>
53 1784 12 June	Theses	Petrus Holmberger (collega supr. scho- lae Norcopensis)	<i>Respondens</i> : Petrus Lind- blad; <i>Opponentes</i> : Petrus Hyllin, Andreas Gabriel Schelin & Carolus Mellén	4	various		14 theses
54 1784 4 Dec	Momenta quaedam, Graecae et Latinae linguae convenien- tiam exhibitura	Nicolaus Magnus Ekman (conrector scholae trivialis Lincopensis)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Ericus Gustavus Lönnberg & Petrus Hertzman; <i>Oppo- nentes</i> . Samuel Mörk, Magnus Ahman & An- dreas Kylander	12	philology	Quotation from Ovid's <i>Fastorum libri</i> (4,5.63-64) as motto on 2nd page	80 <i>U</i> <i>KB</i> <i>V</i>
55 1785 8 June	Theses	Sveno Björling (magister venerandi consistorii amanu- ensis)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Petrus Jon. Hertzman & Jonas Ekelöf; <i>Opponentes</i> : Joh. Fr. Schierman, Jona Thill- ander & J. A. Hvitfeldt	4	education (Latin lan- guage)		16 theses
56 1785 3 Dec	Theses	Johannes Dan. Wall- man (collega scholae Sudercopensis)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Petrus Hertzman & Johannes Thilander; <i>Opponentes</i> : Carolus Jac. Drangel, Johannes Vil. Carlström & Gustavus Hin. Ahlstedt	4	education		20 theses; the last thesis has a mis- print: LX for XX <i>KB</i> <i>G</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
57 1786 10 June	Theses miscellaneae	Jonas Bodin (vicarius scholae Westervicensis rector)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Joh. Thilander & Jonas Adolphus Hvitfeldt; <i>Opponentēs:</i> Nath. Kinmansson, Ericus Isberg & Sv. Fr. Enelius	4	various		12 theses; pro ordine rectoratu Westervicensis obtinendo 40 U KB
58 1787 14 April	De lectione poetarum Latinorum juvenituti perutili schediasma	Johannes Hesselgren (philosophiae magister et vicarius adjunctus gymnasii)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Petrus Westerantz & Gustavus Henricus Ahlstedt; <i>Opponentēs:</i> Jonas Lunderberg, Johannes Henricus de Rogier & Andreas Wångenberg	8	education (Latin language)		80 U KB V
59 1788 15 Oct	Theses philosophicae	Jonas Linnerquist (philosophiae magister et vicarius rectoris Wadstenensis)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Andreas Ekenberg & Laurentius Sollvenius; <i>Opponentēs:</i> Magnus Ingesson & Petrus Sundberg	4	education		6 theses 80 U KB
60 1790 31 March	De Theocrito Virgili in Bucolicis ἀρχαῖον dissertationio	Joannes Hesselgren (adjunctus gymnasii)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Marcus Wallenberg & Magnus Linde; <i>Opponentēs:</i> Laurentius Jaenson & Nic. Fr. Dusén	20	philology		40 U KB
61 1793 25 May	Theses	Olavus Moberger (designatus rector scholae trivialis Westervicensis)		4	various		17 theses; pro loco 40 KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
62 1793 23 Oct	Theses	Matthias Sundevall (gymnasii designatus eloquentiae et po- eseos lector)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Oth. Ringman & Ójar. Nyland- er; <i>Opponentes:</i> A. Segersten, C. Tollengren & C. Linnerquist	8	eloquence, Latin literature		12 theses; Pro loco 40 U KB
63 1794 10 June	Theses	Samuel Gustavus Harlingson (mora- lium et historiarum designatus lector)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Andreas Norling & Otto Ringman; <i>Opponentes:</i> Er. Ad. Ste- berg & N. P. Elgerus	12	various		25 theses; Pro loco 40 U KB G V
64 1795 14 Oct.	Theses	Johan Gnattingius (designatus su- premus collega scho- lae Lincopensis)	<i>Respondens:</i> Ericus Rydbeck; <i>Opponentes:</i> Andreas Törnquist & Zacharias Juringius	6	various		15 theses; pro loco; first name of resp. corrected to Petrus in V 40 KB V
65 1795 24 Oct.	Theses	Nicolaus Lor. Nor- beck (philosophiae magister)	<i>Respondens:</i> Andreas Risberger; <i>Opponentes:</i> Andreas Just. Palm & Sten Isr. Sjösten	4	various		9 theses; [pro loco?] 40 KB V
66 1795 3 Oct.	De institutione publi- ca meditationes	Petrus Westelius (sup. collega scholae Sudercopingensis)	<i>Respondens:</i> Andreas- Risberger; <i>Opponentes:</i> Leonh. Cassel & Johan Jansson	8	education, politics		40 KB V
67 1795 31 Oct.	Theses	Petrus Lindahl (philosophiae magis- ter et collega scholae Wim.)	<i>Respondens:</i> Petrus Ryd- beck; <i>Opponentes:</i> Johan Jac. Berzelius & Carolus Gust. Falk	4	various		7 theses; [pro loco?] 40 KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
68 1798 9 May	Theses	Johannes Dan. Wallman (rector scholae trivialis Lincopensis)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Johannes Pihlström & Nicolaus Haeger; <i>Opponentes</i> : Gustavus Wetterström & Petrus Hörberg	8	Philology, various	preface	19 theses 40 KB
69 1798 12 May	Theses	Petrus Arenander (adjunctus regii gymnasii Lincopensis)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Carolus Ad. Blidenberg & Gustavus Berggren; <i>Opponentes</i> : Johan O. Sundevall & Samuel Marcellus	8	eloquence, literature (Greek)	Quotation from Longinus Περὶ ὑποφῶν in Greek on 2nd page	12 theses 40 KB G
70 1798 6 Oct.	De experientia medietamentum philosophica	Petrus Arenander (regii gymnasii Lincopensis adjunctus)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Carolus Ad. Blidenberg & Petrus Em. Hörberg; <i>Opponentes</i> : Carolus Abr. Grevillius & Henricus Helsing	10	philosophy	Quotation from Kiese wetter in German on 2nd page	40 KB
71 1798 12 Oct.	Aphorismi philosophici	Petrus Kernell (magister, M.V. consistorii notarius)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Carolus Adamus Blidenberg & Benedictus Ekerman; <i>Opponentes</i> : Petrus Isacson & Jonas Dahlstedt	10	philosophy		22 aphorismi 40 KB
72 1799 16 March	Theses	Samuel Ant. Mörtling (collega scholae Lincopensis)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Petrus Hörberg & Benedictus Ekerman; <i>Opponentes</i> : Andreas Wolters & Johannes Novander	6	education		13 theses 40 KB

APPENDIX 4: 18th century dissertations from Skara

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1709 7 April	Theses philologicas sub praelexionibus publicis ex Mar: Evang. Et Act: Apost: antea propositas	Andreas Victorinus (Graecarum litterarum lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Jonas Petri & Sven Johannis; <i>Opponentes</i> : Ericus Victorin & Haquinus Haquini	4	philology, Biblical		6 theses; in ubertorem studiosae juventutis usum
2 1710 18 June	De miraculis hodiernis	Petrus Hesselius (pastor in Fogelåhs et Hio)	Jacobus Schierping	16	theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle to Jesper Swedberg (bishop) by praes.	80 L U V
3 1712 3 Dec.	Sequentes theses theologicas	Petrus Gudhemius	Nicolaus Mitander (verbi divini minister in Fahleköping)	4	theology		40 M KB
4 1719 23(?) May	De coena domini theses philologicae	Andreas Victorinus (Graecarum litterarum lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Magnus Laurentii & Olavus Henrici; <i>Opponentes</i> : Laurentius Laurentii & Ericus Atzelius	4	theology, philology		40 L KB
5 1725 8 May	Mysterium S.S. trinitatis ex V. et N. Test. in genere comprobatum	Andreas Rudberg	Andreas Lauren (pastor castrensis)	16	theology		80 L U
6 1726 10 June	De unione mystica fidelium cum Deo	Jonas Sidrenius	Abrahamus Hagebeck (concionator castrensis)	16	theology		80 L U

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P. SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
7 1731 6 Idus June	De statu ecclesiae sub captivitate babilonica	Martinus A. Lidtgren	Petrus Abraham Brinck	32 theology, history		80 L U <i>Pro rectoratu</i> according to handwritten note on title page in copy in <i>U</i>
8 1737 19 Nov	De peccato ceu morbo spirituali, ejusque medicina	Gabriel Wilskman	Johannes Timberg (designatus V. D. comminister in Tådene)	16 theology		80 L U On title page: <i>pro obtinendo munere lectionis theologicae</i> ; handwritten correction of date and month from Oct. to Nov. in copies in <i>U</i> and <i>KB</i>
9 1738 4 March	De jure regio quod I Samuel. VIII. v. 1117 habetur	Olavus Vennerboom & Magnus A. Hagström		20 theology		80 L U The dissertation seems to be a collaboration between both persons mentioned on title page, which is suggested by the verb <i>subjiciunt</i> ; 6 <i>theses miscellaneae</i> on last page
10 1738 6 May	Dei in homine imaginem, praecipue contra fanaticos	Petrus Brodd	Torbermus Bredberg (vicarius pastor in Odensaker)	16 theology		80 L U On title page: <i>pro rectoratu theologico</i>
11 1738 25 Nov	Praecipuo societatis humanae vinculo	Petrus P. Darelus	Jonas A. Landahl (ornatissimus juvenis)	24 theology		80 L U First three pages damaged in <i>U</i> ; on title page: <i>pro obtinendo munere rectoratus</i> , in <i>schola cathedrali Scarensi</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
12	1740 pridie kal Nov	Sequentes ex philosophia naturali et rationali posi- tiones	Paulus L. Themptander (log- ices et physices lector)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Carolus Ant. Hernström & Jonas And. Hallen; <i>Opponentes:</i> Ben- edictus Ant. Hernström & Jonas Pet. Tegnaeus	4	philosophy	14 theses 80 L U
13	sine anno [1740?] 4 Kal. Dec.	Logicarum, mete- orologicarum posi- tionumque mine- ralogicarum, nec non physicometaphysi- carum decas	Paulus L. Themptander (log- ices et physices lector)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Esaias P. Kihl- borg & Jonas J. Sidrenius; <i>Opponentes:</i> Jonas A. Sae- gerblad & Georgius P. Oden	4	various	10 theses 80 L U
14	1745 10 Kal. April	Physicas thesesque quas praesens exhi- bet chartula, meta- physicas [...]	Paulus L. Themptander	<i>Respondentes:</i> Johannes Theod. Theoren & Johannes Laur. Kempe; <i>Opponentes:</i> Jonas Car. Sundler & Sveno Petr. Sachrnsten	4	various	10 theses 80 KB
15	1746 3 May	Theses theologi- cophilosophicae, religionis, in specie revelatae, neces- sitate; christianae autem veritatem, cum suis fundamen- tis proponentes	Wilhelmus Carol. Victorin	Nicolaus Agrell	4	theology	14 theses 40 KB
16	1746 Cal. Maji	Decas thesium	Sveno Wilskman (philosophiae ma- gister et gymnasii adjunctus)	Johannes Bilmark (filius)	4	theology, philosophy	10 theses 40 L KB V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P. SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES		
17	1750 17 Sept	Theses miscellaneae ex theologia ac philologia Graeca de promptae	Laurentius Grandel	Andreas Wedberg	4	theology, philology	14 theses	40 L U
18	1750 8 Dec	Thesium miscellaneum ex theologia, philologia S. et philosophia de promptarum	Andreas Ol. Knös	Gustavus P. Elfsten	4	various	20 theses	40 L U
19	1751 15 April	Theses mathematicae	Wilhelmus Carolus Victorin	Immanuel Giellman	4	mathematics	14 theses; after last thesis: <i>imprimatur And. H. Forssentius consistorii hoc tempore decanus</i>	40 L U
20	1755 1 May	Sequentes positiones miscellaneas	Sveno Wilskman	Lautrentius Hwahlström	4	various	17 theses;	40 L U
21	1755 19 Sept	Specimen theologicum, Augustanae confessionis salutis oeconomiam contra novaturlentes vindicans	Andreas H. Forssentius (philosophiae in gymnasio lector)		14	theology		40 L U
22	1757 7 May	Aphorismi logici, metaphysici ac physici	Andreas Ol. Knös (theologiae lic. philosophiae lector designatus et consistorii assessor)	Nicolaus Agrell (verbi divini comminister in Haertlunda)	6	various		40 L U

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
23	1757 5 Oct	Theses	Laurentius L. Svenonius (designatus eloquentiae et poeseos lector)	Johannes Svenander	4	rhetoric	19 theses 40 L U V
24	1757 8 Oct	Theses	Andreas Boström (designatus matheos lector)	Laurentius Frigell	4	mathematics, physics	17 theses 40 L U V
25	1757 Oct	Theses miscellaneae	Andreas G. Rhodin (conrector scholae Skarensis)	Andreas Söderblom (theologiae studiosus)	4	various	15 theses 40 L U V
26	1757 12 Dec	Theses miscellaneae	Petrus Fogelberg (designatus conrector scholae cathedra- lis Scarensis)	Andreas Söderblom (verbi divini minister)	4	various	15 theses 40 L U
27	1758 17 June	Positiones hasce theologophilosophicas	Herman Moeller (gymnasii Scarensis adjunctus)	Isaac Hassellund (theologiae studiosus)	4	various	16 theses 40 L U
28	1758 9 Dec	Theses miscellaneae	Jonas Tegnaeus (designatus conrector scholae cathedra- lis Scarensis)	Andreas Tengblad (theologiae studiosus)	4	various	17 theses 40 L U
29	1760 29 April	Theses miscellaneae	Johannes Gilberg (designatus rector scholae trivialis)	Magnus Ek (collega scholae trivialis)	4	various	16 theses; slightly different typography regarding title page in the two copies in KB 40 L U

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P. SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
30 1764 31 March	Decas observationum ad principia quarundam disciplinarum spectans	Paulus Conradus Wahlfelt	Sveno M. Rydbom	4	various	10 theses 40 L U
31 1766 10 Dec	Theses miscellaneae	Josephus Billgren	Benedictus Dahlenius	4	various	13 theses 40 L U V
32 1767 21 May	Theses nonnullae ad praenotiones theologicas spectantes	Andreas Knös (theologiae lic. et lector philosophiae et praepositus Wink.)	<i>Respondens:</i> Carolus Norell; <i>Opponentes:</i> Carolus Hvarfner & Petrus Tolander (gymnasii Scarensis alumni)	4	theology	13 theses 40 L U
33 1767 23 May	Theses theologicae ad articulum de Christo pertinentes	Andreas Knös (theologiae lic. et lector philosophiae et praepositus Wink.)	<i>Respondens:</i> Daniel Backman; <i>Opponentes:</i> Ericus Norberg & Nicolaus Apellgren (gymnasii Scarensis alumni)	4	theology	13 theses 40 L U
34 1768 23 March	Theses miscellaneae	Laurentius Frigell (philosophiae magister et gymnasii adjunctus)	Laurentius Alenius	4	various	13 theses 40 L U V
35 1768 11 June	Sequentes theses	Sveno Brodd (medicinae et philosophiae doctor, logices et physices lector)	Johannes Winbom	4	various	14 theses; date corrected from 4 to 11 in copies in U and KB 40 L U U KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P. SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
36 1768 June	Theses theologicae de malosynergismi in conversione et regeneratione	Andreas Knös (primus theologiae lector, p. in Goth. et praepositus contr. Kinn)	<i>Respondens:</i> Thur. L. Ljunggren; <i>Opponentes:</i> Petrus J. Falck & Petrus G. Dubb (gymnasii Scarensis alumni)	10 theology		11 theses 40 L U
37 1768 21 June	Maxima vis et emphasi minimarum praepositionum <i>en</i> et <i>ek</i> , nec non positionis abstractorum pro concretis, in rebus summi momenti in lingua N.T. Graeca obviis	Paulus Conradus Wahlfelt (Graecae linguae lector)	Jonas Odner	10 Greek philology		40 L U V
38 1769 8 April	Theses theologicae	Andreas Boström	Ericus Afzelius (philosophiae magister)	22 theology, philology		40 L U U KB
39 1769 12 June	Schediasma theologicum articulorum de Christo pro nobis et de Christo in nobis necessariam conjunctionem in ordine salutis adstruens	Andreas Knös (theologiae doctor, primarius lector philosophiae et p. Göth.)	<i>Respondens:</i> Petrus Joh. Falck; <i>Opponentes:</i> Laurentius C. Brandelius & Joh. A. Afzelius (gymnasii Scarensis alumni)	6 theology		40 L U U V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
40 1770 5 May	Schediasma theologicum de statu quaestionis in recentissima controversia synergistica rite observando	Andreas Knös (theologiae doctor et primarius lector, P. et P. Göth.)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Petrus Löfvander et Andreas Hylander (gymnasii Scarensis alumni)	8	theology		40 L U V In exercitium juvenit- tis gymnasticae
41 1771 27 April	Theses theologicae, quietismo oppositae	Laurentius Frigell		4	theology		40 L U U
42 1771 11 May	Theses miscellaneae	Theophilus Themptander (con- rector scholae trivia- lis Scarensis)	Christianus Jac. Scherping (gymnasii Scarensis alumnus)	4	various		40 L U U V 12 theses
43 1771 8 June	Decas thesium theologicarum de statu quaestionis, in recentissima controversia synergistica, nondum rite observato	Andreas Knös (theologiae doctor et primarius lector, P. et P. Göth.)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Laurentius Stenberg & Olaus Rödhalm (stipendiarii Abeliani); <i>Oppo- nentes</i> : Carolus Dan. Zachau & Carolus Fr. Kjellerstedt (stipendiarii) (gymnasii Scarensis alumni)	4	theology		40 L U U V
44 1771 4 Dec	Theses philosophicae	Sveno Brodd (M. D., logices et physices lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : A. Levren, J. Lokrantz & C. Stenholm; <i>Opponentes</i> : L. Lundahl, Joh. Ebbers & C. Sahlmarck (gymnasii Scarensis optimae spei alumni)	4	theology, philosophy		40 L U U V 7 theses; On title page: in exercitium juvenutis gymnas- ticae

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEAT- TURES
45 1771 9 Dec	Theses miscellaneae	Nicolaus Svartz (philosophiae magister et gymnasii adjunctus)	Carl Fr. Kjellerstedt (alumnus Abelianus)	4	various		21 theses 40 L U V
46 1773 8 May	Theses philosophicae	Sveno Brodd (M.D., logices et physices lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : S. Beckmark, Joh. Kiellborg & A. Breding; <i>Opponentes</i> : Jon. Tidzelius, Sv. Flodin & Joh. Jahnson (gymnasii Scarenensis optimae spei alumni)	4	various		8 theses; On title page: <i>in juvenutis gymnasticae exercitium</i> 40 L U V
47 1773 10 Nov	Experientia spiritalis interpreti sacro perquam necessaria	Nicolaus Svartz (eloquentiae et poeseos lector)		8	theology		8 theses; On title page: <i>pro sacris ordinibus</i> ; copies in <i>V</i> and <i>KB</i> has 11 Nov. 40 L U <i>KB</i> <i>V</i>
48 1774 30 April	Theses miscellaneae	Ericus Er. Afzelius (gymnasii adjunctus)	Samuel Beckmark (alumnus Abelianus)	4	various		16 theses 40 L U <i>V</i>
49 1775 13 June	Theses, ad articulos de peccato, ac de Christo, spectantes	Paulus Conradus Wahlfelt (theologiae doctor et lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Andreas Winbom, Olaus Dahllöf & Christ Dahl; <i>Opponentes</i> : Olavus P. Knös, Andreas Tengrot & Gabriel Lokrantz (gymnasii alumni)	4	theology		8 theses 40 M U <i>V</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
50 1778 30 May	Theses miscellaneae	Petrus Luth (gymnasii adjunctus et bibliothecarius)	Gabriel Joh. Lokrantz (philosophiae studiosus)	6	various		14 theses 40 L U V
51 1778 26 Sept	Theses miscellaneae	Laurentius Brisman (conrector scholae trivialis)	Nicolaus Salander (gymnasii alumnus)	4	various		23 theses 40 L U V
52 1780 27 May	Porismata theologica, tam theoretica, quam practica, e psalmo Davidis primo eruta	Paulus Conradus Wahlfelt (theologiae doctor et lector primarius)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Christophorus Hasselgren, Petrus Ufveren & Josephus Linnarsson; <i>Opponentes</i> : Ericus Gust. Landahl, Johannes Laur. Otter & Andreas Mellrot	8	theology, philology		40 U KB V
53 1790 7 Dec	Theses	Nicolaus Salander (philosophiae magister)	Nicolaus Normman (philosophiae studiosus)	4	various		40 U KB
54 1791 16 June	Theses miscellaneae	Andreas Thumberg (art. vet. adjunctus)	Jacobus Södergren	4	various		16 theses; 2 copies kept in UUB; the ordinary respondent, Nic. Normman, whose name is printed on title page, is annotated as <i>aeger</i> (sick) by hand, instead the name Jac. Södergren is added; 4 surnames in the margin of the theses 40 U

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
55	1792 11 Feb	Theses	Petrus Roth (philosophiae candidatus, collega scholae Alingsås)	4	theology		8 theses; a theses <i>pro examine pastorali</i> ? 40 U
56	1792 27 March	Theses miscellaneae	Carolus Wahlberg (coadminister in Wåering et Läckertorp)	4	various		11 theses; [pro examine pastorali?] 40 U KB
57	1792 16 June	Theses miscellaneae	Johannes Landahl (vicarius pastor in Blidsberg)	4	various		5 theses; specific time for the disputation mentioned on title page: H. A. M. IX; [pro examine pastorali?] 40 U
58	1792	Theses	Petrus Gerh. Stenberg (collega scholae Mariaestad)	4	various		10 theses 40 U KB
59	1794 15 Sept	Positiones miscellaneae	Petrus Tegnaeus (collega scholae trivialis Scarensis)	4	various		9 positiones 40 U KB
60	1795 14 Nov	Theses	Petrus Er. Lindskog (theologiae candidatus et vicarius consistorii amanuensis)	4	various		14 theses; <i>Pro adjunctura gymnasii</i> 40 U KB V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
61 1795 25 Nov	Theses	Carolus Johannes Knös (historiarum docens ad regiam academiam Upsaliensem)	Carolus Magnus Wendt	4	various, philology		16 theses; <i>Pro adjunctura gymnasii</i> 40 U KB V
62 1795 5 Dec	Theses	Laurentius Kjermer (philosophiae magister)	Isac Kullberg	4	various		12 theses; <i>Pro adjunctura gymnasii</i> 40 U KB V

APPENDIX 5: 17th century dissertations from Stockholm

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
1588 12 March	De libero et servo hominis arbitrio	Nicolaus Bothmien- sis (Hebraicarum literarum professor)	Henricus Iohannis Stockholmensis	24	philosophy, theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle to archbishop in Uppsala Andreas Lau- rentii	On title page: <i>Theses in regia schola quae Stockholmiae est, ad dis- putandum propositae</i>	80 KB
1	Positiones ad com- muniem vitae usum accommodatae	Johannes Matthiae Gothus (rector et professor)	Henricus Magni Ausius Smalandus	10	education	Dedication by resp.	Original in KB; kept as copy in U; Έπισημοϋ and corollaria on last pages	40 M KB
1b	Positiones ad com- muniem vitae usum accommodatae	Johannes Matthiae Gothus (rector et professor)	Johannes Sigfridi Os- trogothus	16	philosophy	Dedication by resp. in copy in <i>St</i>	Copy in <i>St</i> has p. 922, starting with <i>sectio II;</i> <i>porismata, corollaria</i> and <i>quaestiones</i> on last pages	40 <i>St</i>
3	De principiiis politices et majes- tate in genere	Wilhelmus Si- monius (J.U.C. politices et juris professor)	Johannes Skytte junior (L.B. in Duderof.)	24	politics	Dedication, dedicatory epistle in French by resp. to his father; preface	2 corollaria	80 M U KB
4	Positiones de min- isterio ecclesiastico, ad communem vitae usum accommo- datae	Johannes Matthiae Gothus (rector et professor)	Nicolaus Andrae Bostorpius Smolandus	10	theology	Dedication to 15 persons by resp. in <i>V</i>	3 quaestiones at the end	40 M <i>V</i> <i>St</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
5 1644 16 March	Disputatio theologica quosdam articulos fidei ut et genuinam significationem verborum quorundam, juxta textum originalem exhibens	Carolus Lithman (theologus ordinarius)	Petrus Dietrici Nericius (S. R.M. stipendiarius)	12	Theology, philology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by resp. to bishop Johannes Matthiae; 3 congratulatory poems to resp. by L. Stigzelius (professor in Uppsala), Ericus P. Noraeus (<i>notarius</i> in Uppsala) and Nicolaus Almentus	4o L U KB V
6 1644 9 Nov.	De Deo uno et trino	Carolus Lithman (theologus p.= professor ordinarius)	Petrus Andreae Frolander	8	theology		<i>Antithesis</i> at the end
7 1644 4 Idus Febr.	De philosophiae, seu artium liberalium generali constitutione	Elias Unonius Gew[aliensis] (logicus ordinarius)	Andreas Andreae Poomer	8	Philosophy		Marked as <i>discursus I</i> on title page
8 1644 29 Oct.	De disciplinarum instrumentalium et speculativarum constitutione in specie	Elias Unonius Gew[aliensis] (logicus ordinarius)	Laurentius Olavi Torpensis Westgothus	8	philosophy		Marked as <i>discursus II</i> on title page
9 1644 20 Dec.	Dissertatio IV de jure connubiali SueoGothorum vel Griffmålalalker	Christophorus Pretzbekius (regii collegii Holmenensis juris et politices professor)	Christophorus Jesche	2	law		corollaria

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
10 1646 24 March	Dissertatio qua statuitur Thulen esse Scandiam	Ericus M. Roslagius (historiarum et poëseos professor)	Laurentius Burgerus	15	history	Dedication to Ericus Oxenstierna by resp.; congratulatory poem (hexameter) by Petrus J. Belingius to resp.	Kept as copy in <i>U</i> ; corollaria 8o L KB
11 1646 5 Cal. Junij	De philosophiae practicae constitutione	Elias Unonius (logicus ordinarius)	Jacobus Georgii Planta Enecopensis	8	philosophy		Marked as <i>discursus III</i> on title page 4o L U KB
12 1646 13 June	De possessione hominum memoriam excedente SveoGothis dicta <i>Urmimes häffd</i>	Christophorus Pretzbeckius	Andreas Lindebladth	22	law	Dedication by praeses	In Marklin indicated as 1644 Fo M KB
13 1647 June	De principitiis virtutum	Ericus Malmogius Roslagius (historiarum et poëseos professor)	Andreas Johannis Meleman (philosophiae et juris studiosus)	18	philosophy	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by resp. (<i>cliens</i>) to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie; congratulatory poem (Sapphic stanza) to resp. by Johannes H. Florander	corollaria 4o M U KB
14 1647 15 Dec.	De qualitate	Andreas Tolstadius (physices et mathematicos)	Petrus Anundi Noringius WestroGothus	16	physics		According to title page <i>Disputatio VI</i> ; quaesitiones; corollaria 8o KB
15 1648 11 March	De Thule, ubi arctoi orbis vetus geographia, ex C. Tacito et C. Plinio S. ubertim declaratur	Ericus Malmogius Roslagius (historiarum et poëseos professor)	Andreas Johannis Meleman (Norcopinga Gothus J.U.S.)	22	history	Dedication, dedicatory epistle to Queen Christina by resp.	Date changed to 15 by hand; kept as copy in <i>U</i> ; corollaria 8o L KB

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
16	Περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀδιαφοροῦ	Johannes Georgii Gezellius	Ericus Emporagrius junior (ἑσώτερος)	7	theology	Dedication to Queen Christina by respondent; congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to resp. by Ericus Ausius (Greek teacher in Uppsala?)	40 L U KB Completely in Greek; printed in Uppsala
17	In prioris ad Corinthios epistulae Pauli cap. primum disputatio prima, epistolae exordium exponens	Andreas Tolstadius (theologiae lector publicus et ecclesiae Riddarholmianae pastor)	Nicolaus Martini Lan- gus	16	Theology, philology		Erroneously marked as 1659 in Marklin's catalogue
18	Methodo Hafnensium eff. adornata super quaestionem quod sit Deus	Sven Hagelsteen (theologiae lector et in Solna pastor)	Andreas N. Strebelius Stockholmensis	12	theology	Dedication, dedicatory poem (hexameter) by resp. to <i>dominus suis me-caenatibus</i> Hermannus and Georgius Fleming; congratulatory poem (hexameter) in the beginning to resp. by Ericus M. Naesinius	40 L U KB corollaria at the end
19	Methodo Hafnensium eff. adornata super quaestionem quid sit Deus	Sveno Hagelsteen (theologiae lector et in Solna pastor)	Johannes J. Roches Stockholmensis	12	theology	Dedication by resp. to <i>consulibus atque senatoribus [...] eorumque secretario</i>	40 L U U KB V corollaria
20	De justitia civili	Petrus Bång Hels. (philosophiae candidatus)	Johannes Ol. Skoug	8	law	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by pr. To Ericus Emporagrius and Ola Skoug	80 M KB corollaria

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
21	1661 30 March	Themata miscellanea VIII	Ericus Hammarinus (lector mathematicus)	Magnus Johannis Melander	8	various	Dedication by resp.	8o M KB
22	1661 15 June	Disputatio physica quaestionibus nonnullis comprehensa	Jacobus Grubb (physices et logices lector)	Johannes Oestani Malmimus	16	Physics, theology		8o KB
23	1663 12 April	De peccato originali	Nicolaus Jonae Salamus (theologiae lector et pastor Solnae, rector)	Abrahamus J. Lamnerus Wex. a Smol.(theologiae studiosus)	20	theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by resp. to 19 <i>mecenates et fautores</i> ; congratulatory poems and end praise to resp. by Johannes Kielman (poem, hexameter), Petrus Palmbergh (prose) and Elias Er. Tillander (poem, elegiac distich)	4o L U KB Ka

APPENDIX 6: The 17th century dissertations from Strängnäs

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1630 3 and 4 Dec.	De statu ecclesiastico seu ministerio sacro theorematum	Georgius H. Wintro- sius (Strengnensis collegii astronomiae et geographicae pro- fessor)	Andreas Torstani Wermil- landus	16	theology	Dedication by respondent	4o L U KB V
2 1632 6 Oct.	De astronomiae subjecto	Georgius H. Wintro- sius (superiorum mathematicum profes- sor et rector)	Carolus Petri Taxingius (stipendiarius regius)	16	physics, astron- omy	Dedication by resp.; con- gratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to resp. by Jo- hannes SvenoWivallius; Quaestiones	4o M KB
3 1634	Theorematum ex variis philosophiae partibus de prompta	Georgius H. Win- trosius (matheseos professor)	Petrus Olaj Wibyensis (S. R. Mts Stipen.)	12	philosophy, various topics	corollaria	4o L U V
4 1634	De peccato in genere et originali atque actuali in specie	Nicolaus O. Walingius (mathematicum profes- sor ordinarius)	Johannes Israelis Westhi- us (in schola inferiore collega supremo)	24	theology	Dedication by resp.; 2 congratulatory poems (elegiac distich) to resp. by Johannes M. Westhius (uncle) and Andreas Joan- nis Enhornaeus	4o L U U KB G V
5 1641 4 Dec.	De S.S. theologiae natura et consti- tutione	Nicolaus O. Walingius (theologiae lector)	Andreas Helgonis Was- bogi (S. regiae majest. stipendiarius)	20	theology	Dedication in U by resp.; no dedication in copies in V and KB	4o L U U KB KB V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
6	1644 De causa interna formali	Sveno L. Folkenius	Nicolaus Ravaldi Gravius (scholae collega)	12	philosophy	Dedication by resp.; 2 congratulatory poems (hexameter and elegiac distich) by Olaus Israelis Dalekarlus and Johannes Florander	Printed in Stockholm; corollaria 40 M KB
7	1644 Nov. Disputatio constitutionem politicae generatim exhibens	Petrus P. Grubb (designatus eloquentiae lector)	Olaus Achatii Walinius (S. R. Majest. stipendiarius)	24	politics	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by praeses in <i>U</i> , by resp. in <i>KB</i>	On title page: <i>sub muneris ingressum</i> ; corollaria/ παράρρημα 40 L U KB
8	1645 7 Dec. De sacra scriptura, errorumque re- jectio	Petrus Dieterici (Arenbeckius) (linguarum orientalium lector extraordinarius)		16	Theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by praeses	The surname <i>Arenbeckius</i> not on title page, but on page 2. Pages 19 damaged in <i>U</i> . 40 L U KB V
9	1646 25 Feb. De regimine religionis in rebus publicis seu statu ecclesiae in genere	Johannes Matthiae (diaecesos Strengnensis episcopus et collegij ephorus)	Andreas Laurentii	8	Theology	Dedication by resp.	40 L U KB St
10	1646 Gymnasma arithmeticum de computatione numerorum integrorum	Nicolaus Buddaeus	Johannes Carstenii Otter	8	Arithmetics, mathematics		80 L U Part 1 of 13
11	1646 Gymnasma arithmeticum fractionum doctrinam	Nicolaus Buddaeus	Martinus Erici & Petrus Laurentii Eek	8	Arithmetics, mathematics		80 L U St Part 2 of 13

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
12 1646	Gymnasma arithmeticum de computatione comparata	Nicolaus Buddaeus	Folcherus Gregorii & Ericus Andrae	8	Arithmetics, mathematics		Part 3 of 13 8o L U St
13 1646	Gymnasma arithmeticum de extractione radicum	Nicolaus Buddaeus	Johannes Olai & Johannes Johannis	8	Arithmetics, mathematics		Part 4 of 13 8o L U St
14 1646	Gymnasma arithmeticum logisticae epitome	Nicolaus Buddaeus	Johannes Magni & Ericus Erici	8	Arithmetics, mathematics		Part 5 of 13 8o L U St
15 1646	Gymnasma geometricum de magnitudine ejusque speciebus	Nicolaus Buddaeus	Nicolaus Olai & Jonas Brynolphi	8	Geometry, mathematics		Part 6 of 13 8o L U St
16 1646	Gymnasma geometricum de triangulo ejusque planimetria	Nicolaus Buddaeus	Olaus Andrae & Johannes Petri	8	Geometry, mathematics		Part 7 of 13 8o L U St
17 1646	Gymnasma geographicum de globo terreno	Nicolaus Buddaeus	Arvidus Andrae & Stephanus Jonae	8	Geography, mathematics		Part 8 of 13 8o L U St
18 1646	Gymnasma geographicum distantias locorum indagandi modum tradens	Nicolaus Buddaeus	Simon Magni & Olaus Andrae Palm	8	Geography, mathematics		Part 9 of 13 8o L U St

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
19	1646	Gymnasma astronomicalium de globo coelesti ejusque circulis	Nicolaus Buddaeus	Gustavus Esberni & Andreas Johannis	8	Astronomy, mathematics	Part 10 of 13 8o L U St
20	1646	Gymnasma astronomicalium de stellis, earumque asterismis	Nicolaus Buddaeus	Petrus Nicolai & Laurentius Benedicti	8	Astronomy, mathematics	Part 11 of 13 8o L U St
21	1646	Gymnasma astronomicalium exhibens solis et stellarum longitudinem [...]	Nicolaus Buddaeus	Andreas Erici & Jonas Petri	8	Astronomy, mathematics	Part 12 of 13 8o L U St
22	1647 30 Oct.	De Deo essentia uno et personis trino	Petrus Arenbeckius (Graecae et linguarum orientalium constitutus lector)	Jonas Erici Billovius	20	Theology	Handwritten dedication on title page to Abraham Erici Sudermannus by resp. in U 4o L U U V
23	1648 6 May	Specimen conciliationis linguarum, ex nativis eardem proprietatibus, in textus aliquot Sacros, ad veram et convenientem linguae Svecicae versionem diducendum	Petrus Arenbeckius (Graecae et linguarum orientalium lector)	Nicolaus Beronius, Magnus Jonae & Olaus Andrae Palm (S. R. M. stipendiarii)	24	Philology, theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by praes. to Queen Christina; preface ἐπιμύθημα σὸμμύθημα (= corollaria) 4o L U KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
24 1648 13 Dec.	Disputatio exhibens sanae philosophiae necessitatem, et usum eximium in S. theologia et caeteris facultatibus	Laurentius Olai Widbyensis (illustrissimi Domini Gustavi Horn antehac ecclesiastice aulicus)	Andreas Svenonis Orebroensis (Ser. Reg. Maj. stipendiarius)	12	Theology, philosophy	Congratulatory poem in Greek by Nicolaus Budaeus (matheseos lector) to resp.	4o L U V
25 1649 26 Sept.	De natura philosophiae	Andreas Arvidi	Johannes Olai Vegrelius	16	philosophy		4o L U KB
26 1651 29 Nov.	Articulum de angelis	Andreas Thorinus (mathematicus ordinarius)	Andreas Petri Billingius (S. regiae majest. stipendiarius)	24	Theology	Congratulatory poem to praeses by Andreas Arvidi (physices et logices lector); congratulatory poem to resp. by Carolus Esberini Kielman;	4o L U KB St
27 1652 3 April	De mathesi in genere	Andreas A. Malmenius	Olaus Andreae Bergius	8	mathematics	Dedication by resp.; prooemium	4o L U KB V
28 1654 10 May	De fortitudine	Gustavus G. Queckfeldt	Olaus O. Vegrelius	16	philosophy	Dedication and dedicatory epistle by praeses; proloquium; congratulatory poem (Sapphic stanza) to praes. by his brother Benedictus Queckfeldt	4o M KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
29	1657 14 Feb.	Decas theorematum philosophicorum	Johannes A. Netzelius	Olaus Laurentij Marelius	14	Philosophy	40 L U
30	[1658]	De philosophiae moralis constitutione ac natura		Olaus Magni Fougdomius	4	philosophy	Without year, but in M catalogued as 1658; title on first page
31	1658 Feb.	Discursus anthropologicus: In anthropologiam physicam, discursus primus de ejusdem natura et constitutione	Olaus Bergius	Petrus Magni Lemnaeus	4	philosophy	80 M KB Bound together with the next two entries; first part of three
32	1658 Feb.	Discursus anthropologicus: In anthropologiam physicam, discursus secundus de anima humana ejusque facultatibus in genere	Olaus Bergius	Isaacus I. Glanzius	4	philosophy	80 M KB Bound together with the entries above and below; second part of three
33	1658 Feb.	Discursus anthropologicus: In anthropologiam physicam, discursus tertius: De facultatibus animae rationalis in specie	Olaus Bergius	Laurentius N. Betulander & Jonas Olai Bröms	8	philosophy	80 M KB Third part of <i>Discursus anthropologicus</i> , see above

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
34 1660	Positiones de nobilitate ex libris politicorum et juris consultorum deductae	[sine praeside]	[sine respondente]	8	politics	Introductory poem entitled <i>vera nobilitas</i> (elegiac distich)	4o KB
35 1660 12 Dec.	Disputatio philosophica utrum materiales rerum naturalium formae orientes educantur	Isacus J. Watrangius (physices et logices lector ordinarius)	Andreas Petri Telg	10	Physics, philosophy		4o M KB V
36 1662 Feb.	Titus Pomponius Atticus seu de bono viro civili atque paterfamilias positiones ex occasione verborum Cornelii Nepotis in vita Attici C. 13 v. 1	Paulus Grooman	Johannes Olai Palmbergius	22	History, politics	Dedication by praeses	4o M KB
37 1664 14 May	Disputatio philosophica an et quatenus creaturae quicquam efficere valeant	Isacus J. Watrangius (physices et logices ordinarius)	Jonas Laurentij Rundelius	10	philosophy		4o M U V
38 1665 10 (?) May	Rhetorices naturam et constitutionem rudi penicillo adumbrans	Johannes A. Netzelsius (matheseos lector ordinarius)	Jonas Laurentij Rundelius	8	rhetoric		4o L U KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
39 1665	De regno antiquissima rerum publi- forma ex occa- sione verborum Justini lib. I Cap. I.v.I. 2	Abraham L. Sundius	Olavus Helsingus	20	history, politics	Dedication by author; prooemium	40 L U
40 1665	De philosophia et ejus utilitate	Benedictus Ekaeus		12	philosophy	Preface	40 L U KB V
41 1666 May	De natura oecono- miae et societate nuptiali	Johannes A. Netzelius (eloquentiae lector ordinarius)	Laurentius N. Betulander (theologiae studiosus)	16	economy	Dedication by resp. in KB	80 M KB St
42 1666 11 Cal. Dec.	De mathesi in genere	Johannes Lindbergi- us (ante hac scholae Strängnensis rector)	Evardus Andreae Razelius	12	mathematics	Proemium corollaria	40 L U

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
43 1667 June	Disputatio naturam philosophiae in genere succincte exponens	Johannes Fraxenius	Johannes P. Nordenius	12	philosophy	Prooemium	On title page: <i>In regio Srengnensi Gymnasio sub muneris ingressum ad Graecae Lig: Lectionem, candidae Philosophantium censurae exhibere voluit, quaestiones at the end</i>	40 L U KB
44 1667 6 Idus June	De astronomiae definitione, causis, ejusque divisione	Johannes Lindbergius (mathematum lector)	Matthias Erici Lidenius & Petrus Gustavi Öjensius	7	Astronomy, mathematics	Dedication from second resp. Petrus Gustavi Öjensius in <i>U</i> , not in <i>St</i> .	<i>Disputatio mathematica prima</i>	80 L U <i>St</i>
45 1667 9 Cal. Dec.	De sphaerae constitutione secundum ejus axes polos atque orbes	Johannes Lindbergius (mathematum lector ordinarius)	Petrus Gustavus Öjensius, Zacharias Z. Brockenius & Daniel Linderoth	14	Astronomy, mathematics		<i>Disputatio mathematica secunda; corollaria</i>	80 L U KB
46 1668 14 Mars	De circulis sphaerae caelestis, tam in genere quam in specie	Johannes Lindbergius (mathematum lector ordinarius)	Jonas Simonis Grimstenius, Olaus Laurentij Gothelius & Nicolaus Canuti Eek	24	Astronomy, mathematics		<i>Disputatio mathematica tertia; corollaria</i>	80 L U KB <i>V</i>
47 1668 6 Cal. Oct.	De zonis caelestibus ac terrestribus earumque adjunctis, nec non circulis minus principalioribus	Johannes Lindbergius (mathematum lector ordinarius)	Petrus Gustavi Öjensius, Andreas Lundelius & Zacharias Brochenius	24	Astronomy, mathematics		<i>Disputatio mathematica quarta; corollaria miscellanea</i>	80 L U KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
48 1669 20 Feb.	De philosophia in genere	Georgius P. Silinaeus (designatus Graecae linguae lector)	Bergerus Eek	11	philosophy	Dedication by praeses in KB; Prooemium	On title page: <i>sub muneris ingressum plac- ido Disputatum examine subicit;</i> year month and date corrected by hand in <i>U</i> and <i>V</i> ; quaestiones and <i>πρόεργα</i> at the end	4o L U KB <i>V</i> <i>St</i>
49 1669 May	De actuum hu- manorum prin- cipiis	Arvidus Wincke	Petrus Gustavi Ojensis	18	Politics, philosophy	Prooemium		4o M U KB
50 1669 May	Veritas, quatenus virtutibus ethicis adnumeratur, ea qua par est ratione delineate, et pro viribus defendenda	Johannes A. Julinus	Petrus Z. Stuthaeus	10	philosophy		corollaria	4o L U KB
51 1669 12 Cal. June	De planetis seu stellis erraticis in genere et fixis in specie	Johannes Lindbergius (mathematicum lector ordinarius)	Laurentius N. Mitander, Israel Jonae Melander & Abraham Johannis Lind- bergius	32	Astronomy, mathematics	Dedication by second resp in <i>V</i> First copy in <i>V</i> has ded., second copy has no dedication	<i>Disputatio math- ematica quinta;</i> month corrected from March to June, second copy in <i>V</i> with- out corollaria	8o L U <i>V</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
52	1669 Sept. De prosopolepsia positiones philosophicae	Johannes O. Lundius	Petrus G. Öjensis	18	philosophy	Dedication by resp. in <i>St</i> ; preface	80 L U <i>St</i>
53	[sine anno] De peccato in spiritum sanctum	Johannes Netzelius	Bergerus Jonae Eek	12	Theology		No year or date are mentioned on title page; L has placed it between 1669 and 1672
54	[sine anno] 5 Sept. De virtute morali in genere	Johannes O. Luuth	Isac Laurentii Dilnaeus	44	philosophy	Preface	40 L U KB
55	1671 20 May De libertate hominis in actionibus civilibus	Edvardus Andreae Razelius	Nicolaus Theodori Wahlberg	16	philosophy	Preface	80 L U V
56	1671 10 Aug. Exercitatio medica brevissimam scorbuti delineaionem exhibens	Johannes O. Palmberg	Nicolaus Theorori Wahlberg	20	Medicin	Dedication by praeses in <i>U</i>	40 M U KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
57 1672 15 June	De lumine naturae; quatenus notitiam Dei insitam vel connatam spectat	Jonas Georgij Rivelius	Johannes Lucae Gadd	12	philosophy, theology	Dedication by resp. in <i>U</i> ; dedication by praes. in <i>G</i> ; prooemium	No dedication in <i>V</i> and <i>KB</i> ; par- erga on end page <i>KB</i> <i>G</i> <i>V</i>
58 1672 22 June	De motu locali	Petrus L. Nycander	Gustavus A. Elingius	16	Physics		πάρεργα
59 1673 Aug.	De ignorantia	Laurentius E. Rahm	Gustavus A. Elingius (S. R. M. stipendiarius)	20	philosophy		πάρεργα
60 1673 Sept.	De igni	Olaus E. Rosendalius	Johannes P. Strengnelius	14	Physics	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by praeses	On title page: <i>sub muneris</i> <i>ingressum</i> ; questiones <i>KB</i>
61 1675 3 Idus Sept	De lingua authenti- ca Nov. Testamenti	Laurentius Hesselius (designatus Graecae linguae lector)	Olaus Moberg	24	Philology, the- ology	Dedication by praes. in <i>U</i> ; handwritten dedication in <i>St</i> by praes.; no dedication in <i>V</i> and <i>KB</i>	80 <i>L</i> <i>U</i> <i>KB</i> <i>V</i> <i>St</i>
62 1675 18 Sept.	Disputatio geo- daetica de dimen- sione longitudinum	Jonas P. Ljung (des- ignatus mathematicum lector)	Nicolaus R. Cruceilius	8	mathematics	Dedication by auctor	40 <i>L</i> <i>KB</i> <i>V</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
63 1676 16 Sept.	De usu philosophiae in theologia	Laurentius Bågman (philosophiae candidatus)	Olaus Moberg	8	Philosophy, theology	Dedication and dedicatory epistle by praeses	corollaria 8o M KB
64 1676 16 Dec.	De Christo θεανθρώπῳ	Georgius P. Silnaeus (theologiae lector)	Nicolaus Wahlbergh	24	theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by praeses; preface	No dedication in KB 8o L U KB
65 1677 Jan.	De sacra Dn. N. Jesu Christi coena	Arvidus Vincke (theologiae lector)	Olaus Moberg (S. Reg. Maj. stipendiarius)	22	theology	Proemium	4o L U KB Ka
66 1679 15 Feb.	Σχολή ἄσχρολος seu de linguarum Graecae et Latinae utilitate	Petrus Dyring	Johannes O. Wingius	20	philology	Handwritten dedication by praeses (autor) on 2nd page in St; no dedication in KB	On last page: <i>Quaestionum aliquot miscellarum, in gratiam ulterioris exercitationis appendix</i> 8o L U KB St
67 1679 29 Mars	Theorematum miscellaneorum decas	Olaus E. Rosendalius (eloquentiae lector ordinarius)	Andreas Bergius Nyco-pensis	24	Various	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by resp.; end praeses 1) by praes. to resp.; 2) by L. Hesselius to resp. in Greek; 3) by J. Vingius to resp.	8o L U KB V St

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES		
68	1680 26 May	Discursus choro- graphicus de terris hyperboreis seu polo arctico vicinis	Jonas Grimsteen	Andreas Bolinus	18	Geography, history	Prooemium	A map of the Northern hemi- sphere on p. 15 in <i>G</i> and <i>V</i> (not in <i>KB</i>); corol- laria	40 <i>L</i> <i>KB</i> <i>G</i> <i>V</i>
69	1685 31 Jan.	De spiritu corporis humani	Johan Juhlbeck	Nicolaus Linder	43	philosophy	Preface; congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to praes. by L. Hesselius; end praise in Greek by J.Grimsteen		80 <i>L</i> <i>U</i> <i>KB</i> <i>V</i>
70	1688 30 May	De temperantia	Nicolaus Aalgreen (historiarum et po- eseos lector)	Andreas Razelius (stipen- diarius regius)	26	philosophy	End praise in prose by Johan Juhlbeck (eloqu. lector et rector) to praes.		80 <i>L</i> <i>U</i> <i>KB</i> <i>St</i>
71	1688 24 Sept.	De collegio pacato et conclusionibus quibusdam poeticis	Ericus Humbla	Ericus Altinus	30	Politics, poetics	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by praes.		80 <i>L</i> <i>U</i> <i>KB</i> <i>V</i>
72	1689 15 May	De dubitatione studii physici a quibusdam praemitti solita et positiones aliquot de principis rerum naturalium	Johannes Lechander	Elias Lindelius	30	Philosophy, physics	Dedication by <i>autor et respondens</i> ; preface	On title page: <i>Sub ingressum ad lectionem physices et log- ices</i> ; at the end: <i>Observatio ad dubitationem</i>	80 <i>L</i> <i>U</i> <i>KB</i> <i>G</i> <i>V</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
73 1689 Sept.	Theoremata nonnulla, ex amplissimo agro philosophico tenui pollice deprompta	Christophorus Mo- raeus	Benedictus Lund	14	philosophy	Dedication and <i>praeoqui- um</i> by praes.	8o L U <i>Ante introduc- tionem ad rec- toratum scholae Nycopensis</i>
74 1690 24 May	Meletemation exhibens ἱστοροῦμενα quaedam de Hel- lenistis	Josephus Thun	Olaus O. Broems	24	History, philol- ogy	Dedicatory poems (ele- giac distich) in Greek to the bishop by praes. (Θουவிᾶδος); <i>protrepticon ad juventutem gymnas- ticam</i> (elegiac distich); congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to praes. by E. Humbla (poes. et philos. pract. lector)	8o L U KB V St <i>Positiones mis- cellanearum ὀρθῶς at the end</i>
75 1690 31 Oct.	Ἐπιναδακαετηρίς seu cycclus lunae cum aphorismis quibusdam miscel- laneis	Daniel Lidius	Olaus Nyblaeus	16	Physics		8o L U KB V St On title page: <i>sub muneris ingressum ad lectionem mathe- sios; Aphorismi miscellanei at the end</i> Printed in Stockholm; <i>aph- orismi miscella- nei at the end</i>

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES		
76	1692 15 June	De requisitis non-nullis praeceptoris et discipuli	Bergerus Flosundius	Jonas Broems	14	education	On title page: <i>cum publicum docendi munus auspiciaretur</i> ; printed in Stockholm	80 L U KB V St	
77	1693 Sept.	De spiritu poetico	Daniel Gadd	Johannes Trosing	32	rhetoric, poetics	Praise in prose on second page of praes. by Olaus Erici Benzelius	80 L U KB V St	
78	1694 May	Berniclas seu anseres Scotticos	Daniel Trautzel	Petrus Raam	14	Natural history	Dedication to Ernestus Johannes Creutz (baron) by praeses	On title page: <i>sub muneris ingressum publice docendi</i> ; image of the bird on end page in <i>G, U</i> and <i>St</i> ; corollaria in <i>G</i> and <i>St</i>	40 L U G St
79	1695 14 Sept.	De proportionibus in justitia distributiva et commutativa servandis	Johannes Ström	Lucas L. Gadd	16	philosophy		On title page: <i>circa ingressum ad munus publice docendi</i> ; corollaria	80 L U KB V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
80 1695 27 Sept.	De draconibus	Andreas Bolinus	Samuel L. Fabricius	22	Natural history		On title page: <i>speciminis loco pro obtinenda functione in schola triviali Strengnensi; addenda at the end</i>	8o L U KB V
81 1697 18 Sept.	De gymnasii veterum Graeco- rum	Ingemund Bröms	Johannes Drosander	18	philology		On title page: <i>pro publico docendi munere</i>	8o L U KB St
82 1698 18 June	De perspicuitate styli	Carolus Enhörning	Abraham Lithovius	8	rhetoric		On title page: <i>pro munere docendi</i>	8o L U St

APPENDIX 7: 18th century dissertations from Strängnäs

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1701 14 Sept.	De usu et praestantia contemplationis naturae	Johannes Törneröos	Johannes Grizelius	18	philosophy		80 L U KB V St On title page: <i>pro publico munere docendi</i>
2 1701 19 Oct.	Positionum evangelicarum decas ex lectionibus publicis eruta et in exercitationem juvenutis	Josephus Thun (theologiae lector)	Petrus Grizelius, Laurentius Ramelius & Abrahamus Kolmodinus	8	theology		40 L U U KB V V St
3 1701 IV Non. Nov.	Positiones nonnullae publicis lectionibus erutae	Johannes Ström (matheseos lector)	Laurentius E. Betulander (alumnus regius), Andreas And. Grizelius & Laurentius Laur. Söderling	4	Mathematics, physics		40 L U U KB
4 1701 9 Nov.	Positionum miscellanearum sylloge	Ingemund Bröms (Graecae linguae lector, rector)	Ericus Liung, Johannes Kumblaeus & Petrus Ekeblad (alumni regii)	8	various		40 L U U KB V
5 1701 16 Nov.	Exercitium historicum	Johannes Sundelius (historiarum et ethices lector)	Johannes Griselius, Andreas Eksundius & Simon Grimsteen (alumni regii)	4	history		40 M KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
6	1701 23 Nov.	Positiones	Carolus Enhörming (eloquentiae et poeseos lector)	Andreas Eldberg (alumnus regius), Ericus Tuvelius (alumnus regius) & Ambrosius Fredergren	4	Rhetoric, education	40 L U KB
7	1701 7 Dec.	Fasciculus positionum philosophicarum	Johannes Törneros (logices et physices lector)	Ericus Joh. Ljung (stipendiarius regius), Nicolaus Nico. Eek & Johannes Mich. Kook	4	philosophy	40 L U KB
8	1702 29 March	Positionum evangelicarum ὀρθόδοξοις e lectionibus publicis erutae	Josphus Thun (theologiae lector et pastor Sällöensis)	Jonas Leonhardi A. Gadd, Jonas Ol. Elg (alumnus regius) & Nicolaus Nicol. Marchellus	8	theology	40 L U KB G V
9	1702 3 May	Τριῶς positionum theologiarum quas ex locis theologicis b. Hafnerfferi in ordine 2 & 3 lib. 1 de creatione & providentiale divina succincte petitas	Daniel Trautzel (theologiae lector)	Olaus Hyemander, Petrus Gadd & Petrus Wijkman (alumni)	10	theology	80 L U KB V St
10	1702 10 May	Positiones philosophicae	Johannes Ström (matheseos lector)	Andreas Eldberg, Ericus Tuvelius & Daniel Sundinus (alumni regii)	4	Mathematics, physics	40 L U KB St

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
11	1702 21 May	Positionum philologiarum sylloge	Ingemund Bröms (Graecae lector et rector)	Nicolaus Eek, Andreas Grizelius & Jonas Leonh. A. Gadd	14	Philology, theology		40 L U KB G V St
12	1702 24 May	Aphorismi philosophici ex Aristotele passim collecti	Johannes Sundelius (historiarum et ethices lector)	Jonas Eld, Olaus Lindquist & Laurentius Hagberg	12	philosophy	Dedicatory poem (elegiac distich) by first resp. in V	40 L U KB V
13	1702 7 June	Hypomnemata quaedam ad exercitationes styli	Carolus Enhörning (eloquentiae et poeseos lector)	Abrahamus Kolmodinus, Ambrosius Fredengren & Andreas Grizelius	14	rhetoric	Dedication, dedicatory epistle in G from third respondent, from first respondent in KB; no dedication in U and V	40 L U KB G V St
14	1702 18 Oct.	Theses philosophicae nonnullae	Johannes Törenros (logices et physices lector)	Andreas A. Grizelius, Olaus Ringzelius (alumnus regius) & Laurentius Hagberg	6	Philosophy, physics		40 L U KB V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
15	1702 8 Nov.	Positiones aliquot evangelicae ex lectionibus publicis erutae	Josephus Thun (theologiae lector et pastor Sälloensis)	Ericus Tuvelius (alumnus regius), Ambrosius Fredengren & Gustavus Klingius	6	theology	Dedication and dedicatory poem (elegiac distich) to Ericus Humbla (priest) and Andreas Ulfström (<i>praetor Gripsholmensis</i>) by second respondent Ambrosius Fredengren	40 L U KB G V St
16	1702 29 Nov.	Axiomata theologica eorumque antithesin de scriptura sacra	Daniel Trautzel (theologiae lector et pastor in Aspöb)	Ericus Gellius (S R M alumnus), Olaus Örnberg & Carolus Ahlquist	16	theology		80 L U KB V St
17	1702 6 Dec	Positiones nonnullae ex publicis lectionibus collectae	Johannes Ström (matheseos lector)	Petrus Ol. Wikman, Nicolaus Marchelius & Olaus Erici Stake	8	Geography, mathematics, music	Dedication, dedicatory epistle to Gothskalk Tranaeus by resp. Olaus Stake	80 L U KB St
18	1702 17 Dec.	Positionum philologicarum sylloge	Ingemund Bröms (Graecae linguae lector)	Ambrosius Fredengren, Simon Grimsten (alumnus regius) & Jonas Leonh. Ad. Gadd	14	philology		40 L L U KB G V St

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
19	1702 18 Dec.	Exercitium historicum, lucubratione praeliminari ad IV Monarchias adumbratum	Johannes Sundelius (historiarum et ethices lector)	16	history	References in marg. throughout the whole dissertation	40 L U G St
20	1703 7 March	Positiones	Carolus Enhörning (eloquentiae et poeseos lector)	6	various		40 L U V St
21	1703 20 March	Positiones aliquot philosophicae	Johannes Törneröos (logices et physices lector)	6	Physics, philosophy		40 L U
22	1703 25 April	Analecta quaedam evangelica ex publicis lectionibus repetita	Josephus Thun (theologiae lector et pastor Saeloensis)	10	theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle to Olaus Huss and Johannes Gravelius (vicars) in U by second respondent Olavus Ringzelius	40 L U KB G V St
23	1703 30 May	Positiones philosophicae	Johannes Ström (matheseos lector)	6	Astronomy, physics		40 L U KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
24	1703 13 June	Scholia philosophica ex Platone succincte excerpta	Johannes Sundelius (historiarum et ethices lector)	Petrus Wikman (alum- nus regius), Olaus Nico- lai Örnberg & Jonas Nicolai Broquist	20	philosophy	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by second resp. in <i>V</i> and <i>St</i> , by first resp. with dedicatory poem in <i>KB</i>	40 M <i>KB</i> <i>V</i> <i>St</i>
25	1703 31 Oct.	Dissertatio ex oc- castione praecepto- rum quae in aureo Plutarchi περί πιάδιον ἀγγυήης libello oc- curunt	Johannes Broling	Laurentius Hagberg	14	Philology (Greek)	Preface	80 L <i>U</i> <i>KB</i>
26	1703 7 Nov.	Angelologia sacra	Daniel Trautzel (theologiae lector et pastor in As- pöö)	Nicolaus Nic. Eek, Petrus Blomberg & Andreas Sam. Pii	18	theology	Dedication on 2nd page by second resp. in <i>V</i> ; poem (Sapphic stanza) in praise of God on last page	80 L <i>U</i> <i>V</i>
27	1703 21 Nov.	De qualitatibus theses brevissimae	Johannes Törner- os	Ambrosius Freden- green, Petrus Gadd & Carolus Wiberg	8	philosophy		80 L <i>U</i>
28	1703 28 Nov.	Theses brevissimae	Carolus Enhörn- ing (eloquentiae lector et rector)	Olaus Hyemander, Olaus Rosander & Laurentius Jerner	8	Variou (Ro- man history)	Dedication to Jonas Hjordzberg and Petrus Froman (vicars) by first resp. Olaus Hyemander	80 L <i>U</i>
29	1703 12 Dec.	In divinam concionem Christi, in monte habitam, et Matth. V, VI, et VII, Lucaeque VI descriptam	Josephus Thun (theologiae lector et pastor Sällo- ensis)	Andreas A. Grizelius (alumnus regius), Zach- arias Hen. Stuuth & Nicolaus N. Marchelius (alumnus regius)	18	Theology, philology	First part of eight with the same title (pages 1-16)	80 L <i>U</i>

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
30	1703 16 Dec.	Angelogiam sacram	Daniel Trautzel (theologiae lector)	Abrahamus Lundinus, Jonas L. Glantzberg & Laurentius O. Lindblom	18	theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by second resp. in <i>KB</i>	This dissertation has the exact same text as <i>An- gelologia sacra</i> (7 Nov. 1703), only different title page
31	1704 2 April	Positiones philosophi- caae	Johannes Ström (matheseos lector)	Andreas Eidbergh (alumnus regius), Johannes Jerlingh & Andreas Eksundius (alumnus regius)	8	Natural science		80 L U KB
32	1704 13 April	Theses historicae ex monumentis urbis Romae erutae	Johannes Sunde- lius (historiarum et ethices lector)	Sven Templinus, Gus- tavus Örnberg & Olaus Rosander	8	history		40 L U U KB
33	1704 pridie Calen- darum May	Positiones	Carolus Enhörn- ing (eloquentiae et poeseos lector et rector)	Olaus Hyemander (alumnus regius), An- dreas Carelius & Bene- dictus Geting	8	various	Dedication, dedicatory epistle to Johannes Colling and Andreas Vifström by first resp. Olaus Hyemander	80 L U
34	1704 7 May	Theses philosophicae	Johannes Törnereos (log- ices et physices lector)	Olaus Lindqvist, Jo- hannes Bodinus & Elias Grizelius	8	Natural science		80 L U U V
35	1704 22 Oct.	In divinam concionem Christi, in monte habitam, et Matth. V, VI, et VII, Lucaeque VI descriptam	Josephus Thun (theologiae lector et pastor Sällo- ensis)	Petrus Joh. Giadd, Car- olus Wiberg & Andreas Sam. Pihl (alumni regii)	10	Theology, philology		Second part of eight with the same title (pages 17-24)

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
36	1704 4 Nov.	In divinam concionem Christi, in monte habitam, et Matth. V, VI, et VII, Lucaeque VI descriptam	Josephus Thun (theologiae lector et pastor Sälloensis)	Johannes G. Klingius, Carolus G. Ekeberg (alumnus regius) & Gudmundus Dav. Krok (alumnus regius)	18	Theology, philology	Fourth part of eight with the same title (pages 41-56)	80 L U
37	1704 5 Nov.	Positiones philosophicae	Johannes Ström (matheseos lector)	Olaus Hyemander, Abrahamus Lundinus & Jonas Broqwist (alumnus regius)	8	various	Dedication, dedicatory epistle to Leonhardus Adolphus Gadd (<i>pastor</i>) and Ericus Thunius (<i>oeconomus templi Cathedralis</i>) by first resp. Olaus Hyemander in <i>U</i> , <i>KB</i> and <i>V</i>	80 L U <i>KB</i> <i>V</i>
38	1704 19 Nov.	Positiones	Carolus Enhörning (eloquentiae et poeseos lector)	Petrus Joh. Gadd, Olaus And. Lindqwist & Andreas Sam. Pihl (alumni regii)	8	History (Roman)		80 L U <i>KB</i>
39	1704 3 Dec.	Positiones physicae	Johannes Törneros (logices et physices lector)	Carolus Axel. Wiberg (alumnus regius), Jonas L. Glantzberg & Ericus J. Burman (alumnus regius)	8	physics		80 L U <i>KB</i> <i>V</i>
40	1704 10 Dec.	Positiones	Johannes Broling (Graecae linguae lector)	Laurentius Jerner, Ericus Burman & Jacobus Palmring	8	Various (Greek philosophy)		80 L U <i>KB</i>

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
41	1704 14 Dec.	De natura et constitutione theologiae reuelatae ἱερογύμνασια	Daniel Trautzel (theologiae lector et pastor in Aspö)	Laurentius Tavennius, Olaus Lindqvist (alumnus regius) & Johannes Bodinus (alumnus regius)	12	Philology, theology	Dedication, dedicatory poem (elegiac distich) by first resp. in <i>KB</i>	80 L U <i>KB</i> V
42	1705 15 April	Theses philosophicae ex lectionibus publicis erutae	Johannes Ström (matheseos lector)	Johannes Axing (alumnus regius), Elias Grizelius & Johannes Hedinus	8	Natural science		80 L U <i>KB</i>
43	1705 3 May	De Deo trimino ἱερογύμνασια	Daniel Trautzel (theologiae lector et pastor in Aspö)	Olaus Ringzelius (alumnus regius), Elias Grizelius & David Ulfström (alumnus regius)	18	theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle in <i>U</i> and <i>KB</i> to Johannes Stiereroos and Olaus Thorelius by third resp. David Ulfström; no ded. in <i>V</i>	80 L U <i>KB</i> V
44	1705 13 May	Theses historicae hinc inde passim collectae	Johannes Sundelius (historiarum et ethices lector)	Olaus Almberg, Carolus Wiberg (alumnus regius) & Olaus Stake (alumnus regius)	8	history		80 <i>KB</i>
45	1705 3 June	Theses philosophicae nonnullas	Johannes Törnerooos (logices et physices lector)	Olaus Grimsteen, Jonas Broqvist (alumnus regius) & Laurentius Mörling	8	astronomy		80 L U <i>KB</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
46 1705 7 Sept.	De puritate Latini sermonis	Andreas Dahlbom	Olaus Hyemander	16	rhetoric		80 L U KB V St First part of three with the same title (p. 1-16); <i>docendi munus in gymnasio auspicaturus</i> ; Date corrected by hand from 23 Sept. in both <i>U</i> and <i>V</i> while <i>St</i> and <i>KB</i> have 23
47 1705 4 Nov.	In divinam concionem Christi, in monte habitam, et Matth. V, VI, et VII, Lucaeque VI descriptam annotationes	Josephus Thun (theologiae lector et pastor Sälloensis)	Johannes G. Klingius, Carolus G. Ekeberg & Gudmundus Dav. Krok	18	theology	Dedication, dedicatory poem (elegiac distich) by third respondent to Johannes Hoffman and Nicolaus Broström	80 L U St
48 1705 2 Dec.	De immortalitate animae	Daniel Trautzel (theologiae lector, hoc tempore rector et pastor in Aspöb)	Carolus Widberg, Ericus Froman & Petrus Ekner (stipendiarii regii)	20	theology		80 L U KB V
49 1705 13 Dec.	Supputatio chronologica in primam monarchiam, cum adjuncta collatione calculationeque historiae ecclesiasticae, ad ductum theatri historici Christiani Matthiae	Johannes Sundelius (historiarum et ethices lector)	Jonas L. Glantzberg, Olaus Wahlgreen & Laurentius Sandelius	24	history		40 L U KB V St First part of four on the same topic

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
50	1706 14 April	Ἐπιτομή τετραβρεvis- sima ad locum Act. VI de Diaconis seu men- sarium ministris	Johannes Broling (Graecae linguae lector)	Johannes L. Hedin, Ericus Gab. Örling & Ericus Froman (alum- nus regius)	8	philology		8o L U KB
51	1706 28 April	De puritate Latini sermonis	Andreas Dahl- bohm (eloquen- tiae et poeseos lector)	Johannes Axing, Olaus Westerbohm & Gabriel Wollrath (alumni regii)	10	rhetoric		Second part of three with the same title (p. 17-24); <i>Exercitium gymnasticum</i>
52	1706 3 Nov.	Theses historicochro- nologicae	Johannes Sun- delius	Olaus Stake (alumnus regius), Olaus Wester- bohm (alumnus regius) & Olaus Strandh	8	history		8o L U KB V
53	1706 17 Nov.	Aphorismi aliquot philosophici	Johannes Törneroos (log- ices et physices lector, rector)	Johannes Hedinus, An- dreas G. Falk (alumnus regius) & Jonas Lenaeus (alumnus regius)	8	philosophy		8o L U KB
54	1706 9 Kal. Dec.	Disputatio prooemialis in disciplinas mathe- maticas de utilitate ac praestantia earundem	Gustavus Otto Bilberg	Olaus L. Almberg, Carolus Ax. P. Widberg (alumnus regius) & Petrus P. Ekner (alum- nus regius)	16	mathematics	Dedication, dedicatory epistle to Gustavus Hallman and Laurentius Marelius (<i>pastores</i>) by second resp. in <i>U</i> ; dedi- cation and dedic. poem to Johannes Wallman by third resp. in <i>G</i> and <i>KB</i> ; <i>Paradoxa</i> on last page <i>U</i> ; preface by praes. in <i>V</i> ; paradoxa on last page in <i>V</i>	8o L U KB G V

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
55	1706 1 Dec.	In divinam concionem Christi, in monte habitam, et Matth. V, VI, et VII, Lucaeque VI descriptam	Josephus Thun (theologiae lector et pastor Sälloensis)	Jonas N Broström, Johannes J. Glnaeus & Petrus P. Ekner (alumni regii)	18	Theology, philology		Fifth part of seven with the same title (pages 57-72)
56	1706 8 Dec.	Disputatio politica ex lectionibus publicis eruta	Johannes Broling (Graecae linguae lector)	Carolus Ax. Wiberg, Olaus E. Stake & Camutus Lenander	8	politics		80 L U
57	1707 30 March	De puritate constructionum	Andreas Dahlbohm (eloquentiae et poeseos lector)	Johannes Hedinus, Johannes Palundius & Johannes Ekner	10	rhetoric		Third part of the above mentioned <i>De puritate Latini sermonis</i> (p. 25-32)
58	1707 6 April	In divinam concionem Christi, in monte habitam, et Matth. V, VI, et VII, Lucaeque VI descriptam	Josephus Thun (theologiae lector et pastor Sälloensis)	Olaus Westerbohm, Sueno Wickman & Olaus Nordelius (alumni regii)	18	Theology, philology		80 L U V Sixth part of eight with the same title (pages 73-88)
59	1707 15 Kal. June	De mathematicum loco et abstractione	Gustavus Otto Bilberg	Jonas Glantzberg, Johannes Hedin & Laurentius Sandelius	16	mathematics		80 L U KB V <i>Corollaria</i> on last page

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
60	1707 23 Nov.	De animae humanae propagatione	Daniel Trautzel (theologiae lector et pastor in Aspsö)	Olaus Göthling, Gustavus Mellring & Olaus Nordelius (stipendiarii regii)	26	theology	<i>V</i> has 26 pages, <i>U</i> and <i>KB</i> only 14
61	1707 7 Dec.	Supputatio chronologica in secundam monarchiam, cum adjuncta collatione calculationeque historiae miscellaneae, ad ductum theatri historici doct. Christiani Matthiae	Johannes Sundelius (historiarum et ethices lector)	Olaus Westerbohm (alumnus regius), Olaus Strand & Abrahamus Ahlbeck	20	history	Second part of four on the same topic
62	1708 25 April	Theses physicae nonnullae	Johannes Törneros (logices et physices lector)	Jonas Lenaeus, Jonas Lindelius & Ericus Lundlöf (alumni regii)	8	Physics (sound)	<i>Exercitii causa</i>
63	1708 16 Kal. June	De objecto matheseos sive quantitate	Gustavus Otto Bilberg (matheseos lector)	Johannes Roth, Jonas Harmolinus & Ericus Plough	16	mathematics	
64	1708 7 Nov.	Dissertationis publicae specimen	Johannes Broling (Graecae linguae lector)	Jonas Lenaeus, Ericus Lundlöf & Petrus Björkerman	8	theology	<i>In act. 17: 18</i> added to the title by hand in <i>U</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
65 1708 28 Nov.	In divinam concionem Christi, in monte habitam, et Matth. V, VI, et VII, Lucaeque VI descriptam	Josephus Thun (theologiae lector et pastor Sälloensis)	Jonas Lenaeus, Gustavus Ekeroth, Aaron Clarberg (stipendiarii)	18	Theology, philology		80 L U Seventh part of eight with the same title (pages 89-104)
66 1708 14 Dec.	Supputatio chronologica in tertiam monarchiam, cum adjuncta collatione calculationeque historiae miscellaneae, ad ductum theatri historici doct. Christiani Matthiae	Johannes Sundelius (historiarum et ethices lector, rector)	Olaus Löfman, Andreas G. Falck (stipendiarius regius) & Johannes Palundius	38	history	Dedication, dedicatory poem (elegic distich) to Ericus Dahlman (priest), Johannes Espling (priest) and Jonas Mellin (<i>praece</i>) by first resp. Olaus Löfman; References in marg. throughout the whole dissertation	40 L U St Third part of four on the same topic
67 1709 4 April	De mathematicum natura et divisione	Gustavus Otto Bilberg (metheos lector)	Johannes Haerenius, Petrus Björkman & Johannes Starck	16	mathematics		80 L U KB Fourth part of four on the same topic; the whole dissertation is a list of dynasties
68 1709 4 June	Supputatio chronologica in quartam monarchiam, cum adjunct collation calculationeque aerae christianae, ad ductum theatric historici doct. Christiani Matthiae	Johannes Sundelius (historiarum et ethices lector, rector)	Petrus Lundh, Johannes Halmenius & Johannes Haerenius (stipendiarius regius)	10	history		40 L U KB Fourth part of four on the same topic; the whole dissertation is a list of dynasties

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
69 1709 11 Dec.	De homine in imagine Dei secundum similitudinem eius factio ex Gen. 1.26.27 pars prior	Daniel Trautzel	Jonas Lenaeus, Olaus Nordelius & Petrus Gaddelius (stipendiarii regii)	24	theology		8o L U KB
70 1710 25 May	Cogitationes de fulmine breves	Johannes Törneros (logices et physices lector)	Ericus Lundlöf, Carolus Malmenius & Petrus Björkman (stipendiarii)	14	physics	Dedication, dedicatory poem (elegiac distich) to Elias Jacobsson (<i>avus maternus</i>) by second resp. Carolus Malmenius (<i>nepos obesequentis- tissimus</i>)	8o M U KB G V
71 1711 21 June	Sycophanta Atticus	Johannes Broling (Graecae linguae lector)	Andreas Montinus, Olaus Wasberg & Ericus Lidius (stipendiarius)	12	philology		8o L U KB
72 1711 9 Dec.	In divinum concionem Christi, in monte habitam, et Matth. V, VI, et VII, Lucaeque VI descriptam	Josephus Thun (theologiae lector et pastor Sällo- ensis)	Johannes Kumblinus, Johannes Wallinus & Jonas Bodinus (alumni regii)	18	Theology, philology		8o L U U V
73 1712 29 Mars	De religione naturali	Samuel Fabricius	Benedictus Hedelinus (regius alumnus)	22	theology		8o M U KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
74 1712 6 Dec.	Theses miscellaneae ex logica et physica erutae ac deductae	Sveno Norman- nus (lic. theologi- ae C.)	Johannes Omberg, Johannes Froman & Nicolaus Hellberg	8	philosophy		8o M KB
75 1713 May	Σύμμεκτα φιλοσοφικά physicæ de elementis et logicæ de sylo- gismo	Sveno Norman- nus (licentiatus theologicæ candidatus et lector)	Jonas Bodinus, Ambro- sius (alumnus regius) Westring & Reinholdus Höyer (stipendiarius)	8	physics	Dedication and dedica- tory epistle by second resp.; congratulatory poems (hexameter in Greek; elegiac distich in Latin) and end praise to all respondents	4o M KB
76 1747 4 Cal. Dec.	Regulas præcipuas hermeneutices sacrae, quibus versus spiritus sancti sensus sedis classicae Prov. VIII De sapientia Dei hypostatata	Ericus Humbla (theologiae lector et pastor Sällöhen- sis)	Carolus Gust. Barek- man (stipendiarius regius), Daniel Kiempe & Stephanus Insulin (stipendiarius regius)	8	theology	On second p. six oppo- nents are mentioned: <i>Ex classe quarta</i> Petrus Törnblom, Laurentius Ostring, <i>Ex classe tertia</i> Petrus Widström (stipendiarius regius), Petrus Hofgren, <i>Ex classe secunda</i> Imman- uel Norman, Ericus Sundin	4o L U KB G V
77 1752 9 Dec.	Theses theologicas	Daniel Stenius (theologiae lector)	Rhamundus Wahlström, Olaus Rothovius & Johannes Daniel Schult	8	theology	12 theses; two copies have a note attached on title page with other re- spondents and other date (XIV Calend. Junii 1753) in <i>V</i> and <i>KB</i> : Johannes Daniel Schult, Carolus Fridricus Ljungberg & Jacobus Jonas Björnståhl	4o L U KB V

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
78	1753 7 April	Theses nonnullae philosophicae	Daniel Lundmark	Olaus Westman, Jo- annes Adelius & Marti- nus Wahlberg	4	philosophy		9 theses 40 L U KB V
79	1755 29 May	Quasdam juris natu- ralis affectiones	Johannes Melander (philosophiae moralium et his- toriarum lector)	Laurentius Ekselius, Ericus Malm & Andreas Dahlin (stipendiarii regii)	4	philosophy		8 theses 40 L U KB G V
80	1759 27 Oct.	Theses mathematicae	Ericus Mose	Andreas Ericus Bar- vander, Petrus Melander & Daniel Jonas Nording	4	Mathematics, astronomy		8 theses 40 L U KB
81	1760 10 May	Theses philosophicae	Gustavus Adol- phus Bröms	Laurentius Ekmark, Axelius Joh. Akrelius & Laurentius Frid. Humbla	4	rhetoric		10 theses 40 L U U KB
82	1762 17 April	Theses logicophysicae	Ericus Eklund	Johannes Ericus Pilgren, Johannes Carolus Ekner & Johannes Thunman	4	Philosophy, physics		16 theses 40 L U U KB V
83	1763 29 Oct.	Theses philologicae	Carolus Gust. Barkman	Olavus Westerberg, Er- icus Ökner & Johannes Thunman	4	philology		11 theses 40 M KB V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
84 1764 21 Nov.	Theses philologicae	Carolus Gust. Barkman (eloquentiae et poeteseos lector)	Jahannes Graffman (stipendiarius regius), Ericus Göthlin (stipendiarius regius) & Jonas Ehrling	4	Philology, education		10 theses 40 L U KB
85 1765 2 Nov.	Theses nomulliae	Ericus Schöidberg (rector scholae trivialis Nycopensis)	Jahannes Graffman, Ericus Göthlin & Nicolaus Lithander (stipendiarii regii)	4	education		13 theses 40 L U U KB G V
86 1766 25 March	Theses mathematicas	Fridericus Åhrberg	Jacobus Granberg (stipendiarius Soop.), Jonas Ehrling Olofsson (stipendiarius Soop.) & Ericus Bergsten (stipendiarius regius)	4	mathematics		10 theses 40 L U U KB G V
87 1766 10 May	Theses	Andreas Lundmark (rector scholae trivialis Örebroensis)	Gustavus Edman, Andreas Landelius & Petrus Hammarlund (stipendiarii regii)	4	education		11 theses 40 L U U KB KB V
88 1766 26 May	Theses morales	Johannes J. Wallin	Johannes Dan. Forsberg, Jacobus Fernström (stipendiarius Soop.) & Gustavus Ericus Österberg	4	philosophy		10 theses 40 L U U KB V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
89	1766 31 Oct.	Theses philologicae	Johannes J. Kempe	Ericus Göölin, Ericus Bergsten (stipendiarii regii) & Petrus Sundstrand	4	Philology, education	10 theses 40 L U KB V
90	1767 5 Dec.	Theses theologicoegeticae	Gustavus Adolphus Liljestråle (theologiae lector et pastor in Aspö)	Jacobus Nyselius, Andreas Landelius & Gustavus Ericus Sundstrand (stipendiarii regii)	4	theology	14 theses 40 L U KB G V St
91	1768 30 May	Theses	Andreas Ullenius (rector scholae Strengnesis)	Ericus Bergsten, Matthias Falk (stipendiarii regii) & Johannes Frd. Brunstedt	4	education	14 theses 40 L U U KB G V
92	1768 5 Nov.	Theses philosophicae	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices lector)	Jacobus Fernström (stipendiarius Soop.), Andreas Lundahl (stipendiarius regius) & Johannes Pet. Morenius (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	Philosophy, physics	13 theses; On title page: <i>in exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i> 40 L U U KB G V
93	1768 19 Nov.	Theses historico-morales e lectionibus publicis excerptas	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Jonas Ehrhling Olofsson, Jsrael Geringius Carlsson (stipendiarius Soop.) & Laurentius Christoph. Haggren (stipendiarius regius)	4	history	12 theses 40 L U U KB V

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
94	1769 22 March	Theses miscellaneae	Nicolaus Aurelius (conrector scholae cathedrae Strensensis)	Carolus Thavström, Ericus Ryding (stipendiarius Soop.) & Johannes Lybeck (stipendiarius regius)	4	Philology, education		13 theses 40 L U KB G V
95	1769 22 April	Theses philosophicae	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices lector)	Benedictus Lundahl (stipendiarius Soop.), Laurentius Christoph. Haggren (stipendiarius regius) & Gustavus Ericus Sundstrand (stipendiarius regius)	4	physics		10 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i> 40 L U KB V
96	1769 6 May	Theses historicomomiales e lectionibus publicis excerptas	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Johannes Petrus Morenius, Johannes Wallstedt (stipendiarius regius) & Matthias Falk (stipendiarius regius)	4	History, philosophy		12 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i> 40 L U KB G V
97	1769 18 Nov.	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices lector)	Carolus Joh. Lanelius, Ericus Rolenius & Andreas Fahlbom (stipendiarii regii)	4	philosophy		10 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i> 40 L U KB V
98	1769 2 Dec.	Theses historicomomiales e lectionibus publicis excerptas	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector et rector)	Petrus Floren (stipendiarius regius), Johannes Petrus Upman & Andreas Lundahl (stipendiarius regius)	4	History, philosophy		12 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i> 40 L U KB V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
99 1770 12 May	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices lector)	Nicolaus Razelius, Ericus Dufva & Sven Bruhn (stipendiarii regii)	4	physics		40 L U KB G V 11 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium, juventutis gymnasticae</i>
100 1770 19 May	Theses historicomorales e lectionibus publicis excerptas	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector et rector)	Ericus Rolenius, Laurentius Lagergren & Jonas Thumelius (stipendiarii regii)	4	History, philosophy		40 L U KB V 13 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium, juventutis gymnasticae</i>
101 1770 26 May	Exercitationes philologicae	Gustavus Adolphus Liljestråle (theologiae lector et pastor in Aspö)	Ericus Ryding, Matthias Falk (stipendiarius regius), Johannes Åblad (stipendiarius Soop)	4	philology	Preface with psalm in Swedish (Ps. 36)	40 L U KB V 6 theses
102 1770 10 Nov.	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices lector)	Ericus Ryding, Henricus Nylen (stipendiarius regius) & Johannes Johansson (stipendiarius regius)	4	physics		40 L U KB V 14 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium, juventutis gymnasticae</i>
103 1770 24 Nov.	Theses historicae, e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Johannes Åblad, Ericus Löfgren & Nicolaus Razelius (stipendiarii regii)	4	history		40 L U KB V 10 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium, juventutis gymnasticae</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
104 1771 20 April	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices lector)	Ericus Löfgren, Andreas Ufferström & Carolus Molin (stipendiarii regii)	4	Physics, education		40 L U KB G V 13 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>
105 1771 4 May	Theses morales e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Jacobus Fallen, Henricus Nylen (stipendiarius regius) & Johannes Ericus Hallberg (stipendiarius regius)	4	Philosophy, theology		40 L U KB V 13 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>
106 1771 3 June	Exercitationes philologicae	Gustavus Adolphus Liljestråle (theologiae lector et pastor in Aspö)	Nicolaus Lundberg, Joannes Florell & Johannes Axelius Een (stipendiarii regii)	4	philology	On second and third page, a translation (<i>proföversättning</i>) of Job 3 into Swedish	40 L U KB G V 5 theses
107 1771 16 Nov.	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices lector)	Nicolaus Lundberg, Johannes Ericus Hallberg & Ruigerus Olivier Rehström (stipendiarii regii)	4	physics		40 L U KB G V 11 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>
108 1771 23 Nov.	Theses historicae e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Joannes Florell (stipendiarius regius), Isaac Wallgren (stipendiarius regius) & Petrus Nisser (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	history		40 L U KB V 14 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
109	1772 2 May	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices lector)	Carolus Christernson (stipendiarius Soop.), Johannes Axelius Een, Laurentius Broman (stipendiarii regii)	4	Philosophy, mathematics		40 L U KB G V 12 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>
110	1772 9 May	Theses morales, e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Laurentius Thavenius, Johannes Car. Morell (stipendiarius regius) & Ericus Söderbom (stipendiarius regius)	4	philosophy		40 L U KB G V 13 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>
111	1772 16 May	Exercitationes philologicae	Gustavus Adolphus Liljestråle (theologiae lector et pastor in Aspö)	Johannes Ericus Hallberg, Petrus Olavus Åberg & Petrus Hedenius (stipendiarii regii)	4	philology	On second and third page Psalm 65 translated in Swedish, the theses comment on the psalm	40 L U KB G V 7 theses
112	1772 14 Nov.	Theses philologicae	Ericus Lidius	Johannes Ericus Hallberg, Laurentius Broman (stipendiarii regii) & Johannes Dan. Lundmark	4	Rhetoric, education		40 L U KB V 10 theses
113	1772 21 Nov.	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices lector)	Olaus Espling, Isaac Wallgren & Andreas Mellander (stipendiarii regii)	4	Physics, philosophy		40 L U KB G V 12 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
114	1772 28 Nov.	Theses historicae, e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historicarum lector)	4	history		40 L U KB V
115	1773 3 April	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insu- lin (physices et logices)	4	Physics, philos- ophy		40 L U KB G V
116	1773 1 May	Theses morales, e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historicarum lector)	4	philosophy		40 L U KB G V
117	1773 8 May	Theses philologicoex- egeticae	Carolus G. Bark- man (Graecae linguae lector)	4	philology		40 M U KB V
118	1773 13 Nov.	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insu- lin (physices et logices)	4	Philosophy, physics		40 M U KB G V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
119 1773 20 Nov.	Theses nonnullae	Laurentius Hed- mark	Carolus Petrus Ljunglöf (stipendiarius Seren.), Johannes Dan. Lund- mark (stipendiarius Soop.) & Gerhardus Fr. Enhörning	4	education		40 L U KB V
120 1773 27 Nov.	Theses historicae, e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Christophorus Seger- berg, Petrus Olavus Åberg & Laurentius Broman (stipendiarii regii)	4	history		40 L U U KB G V
121 1774 26 March	Theses philologicae	Daniel M. Algren	Ericus Söderbom, Carolus Lindgren & Laurentius Broman (stipendiarii regii)	4	Philology (Greek lan- guage)		40 L U U KB G
122 1774 14 May	Theses philologi- cotheologicae	Carolus G. Bark- man (Graecae linguae lector)	Isaac Wallgren (stipen- diarius regius), Gerhar- dus Fr. Enhörning (stipendiarius Soop.) & Laurentius Ekenquist (stipendiarius regius)	4	Philology (Biblical)		40 L U U KB G V
123 1774 28 May	Theses philosophicae	Stephanus Insu- lin (physices et logices)	Petrus Aspling (sti- pendiarius regius), Gustavus Söderlund & Herman Pet. Damberg (stipendiarii regii)	4	various		40 L U U KB G V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
124	1774 19 Nov.	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices)	Petrus Engelholm, Johannes Frid. Julin & Laurentius Ekenquist (stipendiarii regii)	4	Physics, education	12 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>	40 M U KB G V
125	1774 26 Nov.	Theses morales, e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Ericus Bonniwier, Carolus Lindgren (stipendiarii regii) & Petrus Aspling (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	philosophy	13 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>	40 L U KB G V
126	1775 8 April	Theses nonnullae	Petrus Widel	Johannes Daniel Pihlblad, Andreas Söderqvist (stipendiarii regii) & Ericus Segelberg (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	education	11 theses	40 L U KB G V
127	1775 29 April	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices)	Johannes Pet. Annell, Carolus Adam Ljung (stipendiarii regii) & Carolus Frid. Grizell (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	physics	11 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>	40 L U KB G V
128	1775 6 May	Theses historicae, e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Adolphus Christ. Bergstedt, Ericus Johannes Ljung (stipendiarius Soop.) & Hermann Pet. Damberg (stipendiarius regius)	4	history	14 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>	40 L U KB V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
129	1775 20 May	Theses criticoexegeticae	Carolus G. Barkman (designatus theologiae lector)	Johannes Adr. Bergstedt, Carolus Malmberg (stipendiarii Soop.) & Ericus Georg. Wallerius	4	Philology (Biblical)	13 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i> 40 L U KB G V
130	1775 4 Nov.	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices)	Johannes Jon. Aulin, Adolphus Christ. Bergstedt (stipendiarius Soop.) & Johan Dan. Pihlblad (stipendiarius regius)	4	Physics, philosophy	13 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i> 40 L U KB G V
131	1775 11 Nov.	Theses nonnullae	Gerh. Reinh. Höjjer	Laurentius Ekenquist, Andreas Söderquist & Andreas Fris (stipendiarii regii)	4	education	10 theses 40 L U KB G V
132	1775 18 Nov.	Theses morales, e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Johannes Pet. Annell, Carolus Adam Ljung (stipendiarii regii) & Ericus Segelberg (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	philosophy	12 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i> 40 L U KB G V
133	1776 13 April	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices)	Johannes Adr. Bergstedt, Ericus Joh. Ljung (stipendiarii Soop.) & Andreas Boström (stipendiarius regius)	4	Physics, natural science	15 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i> 40 L U KB G V

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
134	1776 27 April	Theses historicae, e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Laurentius Ekenquist (stipendiarius regius), Andreas Silander & Eri- cus Gerogius Wallerius	4	History (His- pania)		12 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>
135	1776 18 May	Theses criticoexe- geticae	Carolus G. Bark- man (theologiae lector)	Johannes Petr. Annell, Andreas Fris (stipen- diarii regii) & Ericus Segelberg (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	Theology, philology		17 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i>
136	1776 23 Nov.	Theses philosophicae	Stephanus Insu- lin (physices et logices)	Ericus Georg. Wallerius, Andreas Fris (stipendi- arius regius) & Ericus Segelberg (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	physics		15 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>
137	1776 30 Nov.	Theses morales, e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Andreas Boström, Andreas Söderquist & Johannes Tybeck (sti- pendiarii regii)	4	philosophy		15 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>
138	1777 26 April	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insu- lin (physices et logices lector)	Jonas Lundén, Olavus Hedberg & Salomo Lungdellius (stipendiarii regii)	4	physics		14 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
139	1777 14 May	Theses historicae, e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Sueno Almroth, Car- olus Benjamin Lundal (stipendiarii regii) & Andreas Westerberg (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	History		40 L U KB V 14 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>
140	1777 7 June	Theses philologi- cotheologicae	Carolus G. Bark- man (theologiae lector)	Carolus Adamus Ljung, Abrahamus Thornberg (stipendiarii regii) & Carolus Trolle (stipendi- arius Soop.)	4	Philology (Biblical)		40 L U KB G V 13 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i>
141	1777 22 Nov.	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insu- lin (physices et logices lector)	Carolus Benjamin Lun- dal (stipendiarius regi- us), Ericus Segerberg & Laurentius Kumlander (stipendiarius regius)	4	Physics, rhet- oric		40 L U KB G V 14 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>
142	1777 29 Nov.	Theses morales, e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Olavus Hedberg, Sa- lomo Lungdellius & Abrahamus Thorberg (stipendiarii regii)	4	Philosophy		40 L U KB V 16 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>
143	1778 16 May	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insu- lin (physices et logices lector)	Laurentius Nordström (stipendiarius regius), Sethus Wallquist & Ericus Kihlstadius (sti- pendiarius Herdm.)	4	physics		40 L U KB G V 12 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juvenutis gymnasticae</i>

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
144	1778 23 May	Theses philologi- cotheologicæ	Carolus G. Bark- man (theologicæ lector)	Sveno Almroth, Jo- hannes Frid. Gleisman & Adamus Wallquist (stipendiarii regii)	4	Philology, theology		40 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticæ</i> L U KB G V
145	1778 30 May	Theses historicae, e lectionibus publicis excerptæ	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Olavus Thavenius, Adolphus Zetterberg (stipendiarii Soop.) & Laurentius Insulin (stipendiarius regius)	4	history		40 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juventutis gymnasticæ</i> L U U KB V
146	1778 28 Nov.	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insu- lin (physices et logices lector)	Adamus Wallquist (stipendiarius regius), Andreas Hultén (stipen- diarius Soop.) & Ericus Broman (stipendiarius regius)	4	Philosophy, physics		40 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juventutis gymnasticæ</i> L U U KB G V
147	1778 5 Dec.	Theses historicae, e lectionibus publicis excerptæ	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Jonas Frider. Hallström (stipendiarius Soop.), Johannes Pet. Almgren (stipendiarius regius) & Albertus Jul. Segerstedt (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	History (Great Britain)		40 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juventutis gymnasticæ</i> L U U KB V
148	1779 8 May	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insu- lin (physices et logices lector)	Isaacus Thorberg, Sve- no Dan Lundmark & Olavus Haggren (stipen- diarius Soop.)	4	Philosophy, physics		40 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juventutis gymnasticæ</i> L U U KB G V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
149	1779 15 May	Theses morales, e lectionibus publicis excerptae	Johannes J. Wallin (moralium et historiarum lector)	Adamus Wallquist, Er- icus Broman & Ericus Rosander (stipendiarii regii)	4	Philosophy	18 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juventutis gymnasticae</i>	40 L U KB V
150	1779 29 May	Theses philologi- cotheologicae	Carolus G. Bark- man (theologicae lector)	Laurentius Insulin (stipendiarius regius), Sveno Dan. Lundmark & Andreas Mellström (stipendiarius regius)	4	Philology (Biblical)	15 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i>	40 L U KB V
151	1779 20 Nov.	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insu- lin (physices et logices lector)	Andreas Mellström, Jacobus Christiernsson & Ericus Rosander (stipendiarii regii)	4	Physics, philos- ophy	13 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juventutis gymnasticae</i>	40 L U U KB G V
152	1779 27 Nov.	Praenotationes geo- metricae nonnullae	Sveno Gabr. He- din (metheseos lector)	Sveno Dan. Lundmark (stipendiarius regius), Olavus Haggren & Jacobus Henr. Ekström (stipendiarii Soop.)	4	Geometry, mathematics	12 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juven- tutis gymnasticae</i>	40 L U U KB G V
153	1780 29 April	Theses philosophicas	Stephanus Insu- lin (physices et logices lector)	Ericus Magn. Hjortz- berg, Nicolaus Ljusberg (stipendiarii regii) & Isaacus Reinh. Blom (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	Physics	13 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitium juventutis gymnasticae</i>	40 U KB G V

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
154	1780 27 May	Theses philologi- cotheologicæ	Carolus G. Bark- man (theologicæ doctor et lector)	Jacobus Henr. Ekström (stipendiarius Soop.), Ericus Magn. Hjortz- berg & Isacus Gust. Wetter (stipendiarii regii)	4	Philology (Biblical)		40 U KB G V 12 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticæ</i>
155	1780 4 Nov.	Theses philosophicæ	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (academi- ae adjunctus extraordinarius et lector vicarius)	Jonas Wetter, Nicolaus Ljusberg (stipendiarii regii) & Isaacus Reinh. Blom (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	Philosophy		40 U KB G V 16 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juven- tutis gymnasticæ</i>
156	1780 25 Nov.	Theses philologicæ	Daniel Jonas Nording (elo- quentiæ et po- eseos lector)	Georg. Gust. Netzelius, Ericus Setterlund (sti- pendiarii regii) & An- dreas Hammarlund (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	Rhetoric		40 U KB G V 15 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juven- tutis gymnasticæ</i>
157	1780 11 Dec.	Theses theologicæ	Stephanus Insu- lin (physices et logices lector)	Andreas Mellström, Petrus Rundberg (sti- pendiarii regii) & Petrus Törner (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	Theology,		40 U KB G V 13 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juven- tutis gymnasticæ</i>
158	1781 28 April	Theses philosophicæ	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (academi- ae adjunctus extraordinarius et lector vicarius)	Jacobus Henr. Ekström (stipendiarius Soop.), Andreas Ehrling & Isaacus Gust. Wetter (stipendiarii regii)	4	Physics, philos- ophy		40 U KB G V 16 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juven- tutis gymnasticæ</i>

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
159	1781 5 May	Theses	Laurentius Ekmarck (moralium et historiarum lector)	Jonas Wetter (stipendiarius regius), Isaacus Reinh. Blom (stipendiarius Soop) & Ericus Setterlund (stipendiarius regius)	4	History		40 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juventutis gymnasticae</i>
160	1781 12 May	Theses theologicae	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices lector)	Georgius Gust. Netzeltus, Govertus Gabr. Marelius & Laurentius Lindien (stipendiarii regii)	4	theology		40 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juventutis gymnasticae</i>
161	1781 19 May	Theses philologicotheologicae	Carolus G. Barkman (theologicae doctor et lector)	Petrus Rundberg (stipendiarius regius), Andreas Hammarlund (stipendiarius Soop) & Olavus Hultin (stipendiarius regius)	4	Philology (Biblical)		13 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juventutis gymnasticae</i>
162	1781 10 Nov.	Theses philosophicae	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (academiae adjunctus extraordinarius et lector vicarius)	Georgius Gust. Netzeltus, Petrus Rundberg & Johannes Ålund (stipendiarii regii)	4	Physics, mathematics		16 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juventutis gymnasticae</i>
163	1781 1 Dec.	Theses theologicae	Stephanus Insulin (physices et logices lector)	Jacob. Henr. Ekström (stipendiarius Soop.), Olavus Hultin (stipendiarius regius) & Carolus Wallqvist (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	Theology		14 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juventutis gymnasticae</i>

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
164	1782 16 March	Theses	Petrus Almstedt (philosophiae magister et colle- ga scholae trivia- lis Oerebroensis)	Laurentius Lindien, Laurentius Gust. Dal- berg (stipendiarii regii) & Fab. Joh. Lundmark (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	Rhetoric		14 theses 40 U KB V
165	1782 4 April	Theses	Laurentius Ek- mark (moralium et historiarum lector)	Carolus Wallquist (stipendiarius Soop.), Johannes Lundmark (stipendiarius regius) & Sv. Adolph. Lundmark (stipendiarius Herdm.)	4	Various		16 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juven- tutis gymnasticae</i> 40 U KB G V
166	1782 6 April	Theses	Petrus Lagerlund (collega III clas- sis scholae trivia- lis Nykopensis)	Petrus Lundmark (stipendiarius Soop.), Johannes Annell & Gustavus Broling (sti- pendiarii regii)	4	Education		9 theses 40 U KB G V
167	1782 20 April	Theses theologicas	Stephanus Insu- lin (physices et logices lector)	Johannes Ålund, Lau- rentius Gust. Dalberg (stipendiarii regii) & Fa- bianus Joh. Lundmark (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	Theology		13 theses 40 U KB G V
168	1782 4 May	Theses philosophicae	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (academi- ae adjunctus extraordinarius et lector vicarius)	Laurentius Lindien, Olavus Hultin (stipen- diarii regii) & Carolus Wallquist (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	Physics, rhet- oric		16 theses 40 U KB V

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
169	1782 11 May	Theses philologi- cotheologicae	Carolus G. Bark- man (theologicae doctor et lector)	Johannes Lundmark, Jo- hannes Annell & Petrus Simon Öfverström (stipendiarii regii)	4	Philology (Biblical)		40 U KB G V 12 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i>
170	1782 2 Nov.	Theses	Laurentius Ek- marck (moralium et historiarum lector)	Olavus Hultin (stipendi- arius regius), Fabianus Joh. Lundmark (stipen- diarius Soop.) & Petrus Lundmark	4	Various		40 U KB G V 17 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juven- tutis gymnasticae</i>
171	1782 16 Nov.	Theses philosophicae	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (logices et physices lector designatus)	Johannes Lundmark, Johannes Annell & Gustavus Broling (sti- pendiarii regii)	4	various		40 U KB V 16 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juven- tutis gymnasticae</i>
172	1782 7 Dec.	Theses theologicas	Stephanus Insu- lin (physices et logices lector)	Ericus Bergfalk, Carolus Pet. Åhrman (stipendiarii regii) & Carolus Ulr. Netzélius (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	theology		40 U KB G V 14 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juven- tutis gymnasticae</i>
173	1783 3 May	Theses	Laurentius Ek- marck (moralium et historiarum lector)	Johannes Annell, Lau- rentius Henr. Torsk & Ericus Bergfalk (stipen- diarii regii)	4	Various		40 U KB G 15 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juven- tutis gymnasticae</i>
174	1783 24 May	Theses philologi- cotheologicae	Carolus G. Bark- man (theologicae doctor ac lector)	Carolus Petr. Årman, Andreas Dalström (stipendiarii regii) & Carolus Ulr. Netzélius (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	Philology (Biblical)		40 U KB G V 12 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem juven- tutis gymnasticae</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
175	Theses philosophicae	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (physices et logices lector)	Johannes Molstadius (stipendiarius Soop.), Jonas Ekendal & Olavus Åkerlund (stipendiarii regii)	4	various		15 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i>
176	Theses philosophicae	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (physices et logices lector)	Andreas Dalström, Gust. Er. Walander & Petrus Englund (stipen- diarii regii)	4	Various		16 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i>
177	Theses	Laurentius Ek- marck (moralium et historiarum lector)	Johannes Molstadius, Olavus Åkerlund (sti- pendiarius regius) & Johannes Lithell (sti- pendiarius regius)	4	Philosophy, history		16 theses; On title page: <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i>
178	Disputando exam- inabitur veritas Ov. I, II et III Art. II; di, Repet. Theologicae	Stephanus Insu- lin (theologiae lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Lauren- tius Kumlin, Magnus Boman & Jacobus Engelb. Föllén (stipen- diarii regii); <i>Opponen- tes</i> : Andreas Ehnborg (stipendiarius regius), Ericus Sköllmark (sti- pendiarius Soop.) & Andreas Grandin		(theology)		Only title page extant
179	Theses philosophicae	Sveno Bruhn	Carolus Petr. Årman, Johannes Lithell & Andreas Ehnborg (stipendiarii regii)	4	various		16 theses

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
180	1784 7 May	Disputando examinabitur veritas Artic. V'ti, Repet. Theologicæ	Stephanus Insulin (theologiae lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Johannes Molistadius, Olavus Åkerlund (stipendiarius regius) & Ericus Adolph. Enhörning (stipendiarius Soop.); <i>Opponentes</i> : Carolus Petr. Årman (stipendiarius regius), Johannes Fred. Dahlström & Petrus Ol. Åkerblom	4	(theology)	Only title page extant 40 U
181	1784 22 May	Theses philologicotheologicæ	Carolus G. Barkman (theologiae doctor et lector)	Ericus Bergfalk, Laurentius Kumlin & Andreas Ehrenborg (stipendiarii regii)	4	Philology (Biblical)	12 theses; <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticæ</i> 40 U KB G V
182	1784 12 June	Theses philosophicæ	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (physices et logicæ lector)	Laurentius Petr. Tydin, Daniel Segerberg (stipendiarii regii) & Ericus Adolph. Enhörning (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	various	14 theses; <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticæ</i> 40 U KB G V
183	1784 13 Nov.	Theses historicae	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lector)	Olavus Åkerlund, Laurentius Kumlin & Janas Fröberg (stipendiarii regii)	4	history	12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB G V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
184	1784 26 Nov.	Disputando examinabuntur veritas <i>Quaestiones</i> XXX. XXXI & XXXII Artic. VIII. i. Repet. Theologicae	Stephanus Insulin (theologiae lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Andreas Helgstrand, Johannes Wasell & Samuel Sahlstedt (stipendiarii regii); <i>Opponentes</i> : Carolus Bened. Berger; Nicolaus Renvall (stipendiarii regii) & Petrus Sundell	4	(theology)	Only title page extant; <i>In exercitium iuventutis gymnasticae</i>	40 St
185	1784 4 Dec.	Theses philosophicae	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (physices et logicæ lector)	Ericus Sundell, Andreas Neander & Israël Manelius (stipendiarii regii)	4	various	14 theses; <i>In exercitium nem pubis gymnasticae</i>	40 U KB G V
186	1785 30 April	Theses philosophicae	Sveno Bruhn (philosophicae magister et lector)	Andreas Neander, Johannes Wasell & Carolus Stenander (stipendiarii regii)	4	philosophy	12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i>	40 U KB G V
187	1785 4 June	Theses philologicotheologicae	Carolus G. Barkman (theologiae doctor et lector)	Johan. Gust. Lundström, Nicol. Frider. Morenius & Carol. Bened. Berger (stipendiarii regii)	4	philology (Biblical)	13 theses; <i>in exercitium nem pubis gymnasticae</i>	40 U KB G V
188	1785 11 June	Theses	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (professor regius et philosophiae lector)	Andreas Petr. Helgstrand (stipendiarius regius), Johan. Frider. Dalström & Carolus Stenander (stipendiarius regius)	4	various	14 theses; <i>in exercitium nem pubis gymnasticae</i>	40 U KB V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
189	1785 19 Nov.	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Olaus Löfberg, Joh. Gust. Mellring (stipendiarii regii) & Johannes Hellberg; <i>Opponentes</i> : Jonas Melin, Olaus Brogren & Johannes Ekström (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	philosophy	12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB G V
190	1785 3 Dec.	Theses	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (professor regius et philosophiae lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Nicolaus Renvall, Petrus Westerlund (stipendiarii regii) & Jonas Melin; <i>Opponentes</i> : Carolus Fr. Aurelius (stipendiarius Soop.), Ericus Annell & Laurentius Wikmark	4	various	13 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> ; copy in KB has different date, 10 Dec. 40 U KB
	1785 10 Dec.	Theses	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (professor regius et philosophiae lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Nicolaus Renvall, Petrus Westerlund (stipendiarii regii) & Jonas Melin; <i>Opponentes</i> : Carolus Fr. Aurelius (stipendiarius Soop.), Ericus Annell & Laurentius Wikmark	4	various	13 theses 40 V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
191 1786 13 May	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lec- tor)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Johan. Petr. Bergquist, Joh. Laur. Fries (stipendiarii regii) & Carolus Frid. Aurelius (stipendiarius Soop.); <i>Opponentes</i> : Johan. Gust. Mellring (stipendiarius regius), Carolus Gust. Stenius & Olavus Söderman	4	various		12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB V
192 1786 10 June	Theses	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (professor regius et philoso- phiae lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Nico- laus Frid. Morenius, Joh. Gust. Mellring & Johannes Hellberg (stipendiarii regii); <i>Op- ponentes</i> : Ericus Lund- gren, Carolus Thyseus (stipendiarii Soop.) & Carolus Eric. Hultin	4	history		12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB V
193 1786 18 Nov.	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lec- tor)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Petrus Thyseus (stipendiarius regius), Andreas Dan. Zander & Laur. Gust. Moberg (stipendiarii Soop.); <i>Opponentes</i> : Laur. Frid. Hjortzberg (stipendiarius regius), Car. Alex. Lindblad & Jonas Georg. Nording (stipendiarii Soop.)	4	various		12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
194	Theses	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (professor regius et philosophiae lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Petrus Olav. Åkerblom (stipendiarius regius), Johannes Er. Jäderholm (stipendiarius Soop.) & Ericus Annell (stipendiarius regius); <i>Opponentes</i> : Carol. Ax. Barkman, Laurentius Flodmark & Mauritius Joh. Trostadius (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	history		14 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB V
195	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Carolus Ax. Barkman, Adolphus Lundgren (stipendiarius regius) & Jacobus Lundmark (stipendiarius regius); <i>Opponentes</i> : Andreas Flodman (stipendiarius Soop.), Sveno Schöldberg (stipendiarius regius) & Petrus Jac. Södertqvist	4	physics		12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
196	1787 12 May	Theses	Matthias Falk	<i>Respondentes</i> : Ericus Annell (stipendiarius regius), Andreas Dan. Zander (stipendiarius Soop.) & Petrus Stark; <i>Opponentes</i> : Petrus Edlund (stipendiarius regius), Petrus Ern. Forssman (stipendiarius Leufst.) & Joh. Fredr. Hackzell	4	rhetoric	16 theses	40 U KB G V
197	1787 19 May	Theses philologico- cotheologicæ	Carolus G. Barkman (theologiae doctor et lector)	Edlund & Jacobus Lundmark (stipendiarii regii)	4	Philology (Biblical)	12 theses; <i>in exercitationem pubis gymnasticæ</i>	40 U KB V
198	1787 9 June	Theses	Carolus Ulr. Gröthe (professor regius et philosophiae lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Andreas Dan. Zander (stipendiarius Soop.), Jacobus Lundmark (stipendiarius regius) & Petrus Stark; <i>Opponentes</i> : Petrus Edselius, Gustavus Runström (stipendiarius regius) & Petrus Frid. Thunman (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	various	12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i>	40 U KB V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
199	1787 10 Nov.	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lector)	Respondentes: Laurentius Frid. Hjortzberg (stipendiarius regius), Benedictus Lenmaeus & Petrus Ol. Åkerblom (stipendiarius regius); Opponentes: Jacobus Lundmark (stipendiarius regius), Laurentius Dan. Gjölander (stipendiarius Soop.) & Olavus Sjöberg (stipendiarius Lemn.)	4	philosophy	12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB V
	1787 16 Nov.	Disputando examinabitur veritas quaestionis XXXVI, XXXVII, XXVIII et XXXIX Artic. VIII:vi, Repet. Theologicae, De officiis Christi	Stephanus Insulin (theologiae lector)	Respondentes: Laurentius Frid. Holmberg (stipendiarius regius), Car. Adam Söderström & Andreas Stolpe (stipendiarius regius); Opponentes: Peter Zetterlund (stipendiarius regius), Johan. Fr. Wikström (stipendiarius Soop.) & Olav. Jac. Elfving		(theology)	Only title page extant 40 V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
200	1787 24 Nov.	Theses Carolus Ulr. Göthe (professor regius et philoso- phiae lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Carolus Ax. Barkman, Jacobus Lundmark (stipendiari- us regius) & Andreas Stolpe (stipendiarius regius); <i>Opponentes</i> : Andreas Flodman (stipendiarius Soop.), Georg. Jac. Londicer & Carolus Dav. Trostadius	4	various		12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB V
201	1787 24 Nov.	Theses Laurentius Bro- man	Ericus Annell, Jacobus Lundmark (stipendiarii regii) & Petrus Ern. Forssman (stipendiarius Leufst.)	4	Philology (Biblical)		10 theses 40 U KB V
202	1787 1 Dec.	Theses Jahannes Lund- berg		4	various		10 theses 40 U KB G V
203	1788 5 April	Theses Johannes Ablad (philosophiae candidatus, collega scholae Orebroensis)		4	Language teaching		14 theses 40 U KB V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
204	1788 3 May	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lector)	4	Physics		12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB G V
205	1788 24 May	Theses	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (professor regius et philosophiae lector)	4	various		12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB V
206	1788 31 May	Theses philologicotheologicae	Carolus G. Barkman (theologiae doctor et lector)	4	Philology (Biblical)		12 theses; <i>in exercitio-nem pubis gymnasticae</i> 40 U KB V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
207 1788 15 Nov.	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lec- tor)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Ericus Annel, Andreas Stolpe & Ericus Nylund (sti- pendiarii regii); <i>Oppo- nentes</i> : Nicolaus Lund- qvist, Petrus Magn. Enhörning (stipendiarii regii) & Ericus Tunelius (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	philosophy		40 U KB G V 12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i>
208 1788 22 Nov.	Theses	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (professor regius et philoso- phiae lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Petrus Stenmark, Joh. Frider. Widmark (stipendiarius Soop.) & Ericus Wirén (stipendiarius regius); <i>Opponentes</i> : Andreas Stolpe, Olavus Gust. Westman (stipendiarii regii) & Joh. Adolph. Bonnivier	4	various		40 U KB V 10 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i>
209 1788 6 Dec.	Theses	Carolus Petr. Ljunglöf		4	philosophy		40 U KB V 10 theses
210 1789 21 March	Theses	Jonas Nicander (collega scholae trivialis Strengn- ensis)	Christophorus Berg, An- dreas Lindblad (stipen- diarii regii) & Andreas Bergstedt	4	education		40 U KB V 16 theses

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
211	1789 25 April Theses	Magnus Boman (sacri ministerii adjunctus)	4	Language teaching	12 theses	40 U KB G V	
212	1789 16 May Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lec- tor)	4	various	12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i>	40 U KB V	
213	1789 13 June Theses	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (professor regius et philoso- phiae lector)	4	history	10 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i>	40 U KB V	
214	1789 31 Oct. Theses	Johannes Laur. Hacksell (sacri ministerii adjunc- tus)	4	theology	9 theses	40 U KB V	

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
215 1789 28 Nov.	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lec- tor)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Gus- tavus Adolph. Winge, Andreas Lindblad (stipendiarii regii) & Petrus Frid. Thunman (stipendiarius Soop.); <i>Opponentes</i> : Petrus Ern. Löfstedt (stipendiarius regius), Johannes Lön- nmark & Joh. Georg. Londicer (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	physics		12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB V
216 1789 5 Dec.	Theses	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (professor regius et philoso- phiae lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Andreas Lindblad (stipendiari- us regius), Carolus Kindblad (stipendiarius Soop.) & Andreas Frid. Palm (stipendiarius Herdm.); <i>Opponentes</i> : Christophorus Berg (stipendiarius regius), Petrus Kindblad & Olavus Hackzell	4	various		12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB G V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
217	Theses 1790 15 May	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lector)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Petrus Ern. Lofstedt, Jonas Georg. Nording (stipendiarii regii) & Carolus Jac. Westman (stipendiarius Soop.); <i>Opponentēs:</i> Andreas Bergstedt, Jacobus Brantenberg & Carolus Henr. Tåström (stipendiarii Soop.)	4	philosophy		12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB V
218	Theses 1790 5 June	Carolus G. Barkman (theologiae doctor et lector)	Petrus Ernest. Lofstedt, Laurentius Dan. Gjölander (stipendiarii regii) & Andreas Frid. Palm (stipendiarius Herdm.)	4	Philology (Biblical)		12 theses; <i>in exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i> 40 U KB G V
219	Theses 1790 12 June	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (professor regius et philosophiae lector)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Petrus Ernst. Lofstedt (stipendiarius regius), Johannes Ekström (stipendiarius Soop.) & Andreas Duchaeus (stipendiarius regius); <i>Opponentēs:</i> Laurentius Wikmark (stipendiarius regius), Gustavus Henn. Wélin & Fridericus Akerblom (stipendiarii Soop.)	4	history		12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
220	1790 20 Nov.	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lec- tor)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Jonas Stavelius (stipendiarius regius), Jacobus Bran- tenberg (stipendiarius Soop.) & Samuel Wal- lin; <i>Opponentes</i> : Olavus Fred. Wulf, Laurentius Gust. Ulfberg & Petrus Setterström	4	Philosophy	12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i>	4o U KB
221	1790 4 Dec.	Theses	Jahannes Fredr. Wulf (director musicæ)	4	Languages	13 theses;	4o U KB V	
222	1790 11 Dec.	Theses	Carolus Ulr. Gröthe (professor regius et philoso- phiae lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Jonas Georg. Nording (stipen- diarius regius), Carolus Gust. Lindberg (stipen- diarius Soop.), Johannes Pettersson; <i>Opponentes</i> : Olavus Sjöberg, An- dreas Settergren (stipen- diarii regii) & Ericus Wretlind	4	various	12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i>	4o U KB V
223	1791 16 April	Theses philosophicae	Petrus Hedenius	<i>Respondentes</i> : Jonas Stavelius, Car- olus Gust. Lindberg & Johannes Pettersson (stipendiarii regii)	4	Physics	12 theses	4o U KB V

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
224	1791 30 April	Theses philosophicae	Laurentius Christ. Haggren (historiarum naturalium lector)	Gustavus Festing, Samuel Wallin & Olavus Frid. Wulf (stipendiarii regii)	4	Physics, philosophy		17 theses 40 U KB G V
225	1791 7 May	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Gabriel Adr. Sundstrand, Joh. Petrus Löfving (stipendiarii regii) & Joh. Petrus Sjöberg; <i>Opponentes</i> : Ericus Hedström, Carolus Ad. Schalén (stipendiarii regii) & Joh. Frider. Schultze	4	philosophy		12 theses 40 U KB V
226	1791 28 May	Theses philologico-theologicae	Carolus G. Barkman (theologiae doctor et lector)	Jonas Stavelius, Samuel Wallin & Olavus Frid. Wulf (stipendiarii regii)	4	Philology (Biblical)		12 theses; <i>in exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i> 40 U KB V
227	1791 4 June	Theses theologicae	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (professor regius et philosophiae lector et pastor designatus)	Carolus Gust. Lindberg, Gustavus Festing (stipendiarii regii) & Jacobus Brantenberg	4	theology		14 theses 40 U KB G V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
228	1791 26 Nov.	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lec- tor)	4	various	12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i>	40 U KB V
229	1791 3 Dec.	Theses	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (professor regius et philoso- phiae lector et pastor designa- tus)	4	philosophy	12 theses	40 U KB V
230	1792 24 March	Theses philosophicae	Andreas Wang- stelius (philoso- phiae magister et collega scholae trivialis Ore- broensis)	4	various	12 theses	40 U KB V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
231	1792 21 April	Theses	Carolus Ulr. Göthe (professor regius philosophiae lector et pastor designatus)	4	various		12 theses; <i>exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB V
232	1792 9 June	Theses philologicae	Carolus G. Barkman (theologiae doctor ac lector)	4	Philology (Biblical)		12 theses; <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i> 40 U KB G V
233	1792 3 Nov.	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lector)	4	various		12 theses; <i>Exercitii gratia</i> 40 U KB V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
234	1792 8 Dec.	Theses	Petrus Hedenius (philosophiae magister et lec- tor)	4	philosophy		12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i>	40 U KB V
235	1793 11 May	Theses	Petrus Hedenius (philosophiae magister et lec- tor)	4	philosophy		12 theses; <i>In exercitatio- nem pubis gymnasticae</i>	40 U KB V
236	1793 25 May	Theses	Ericus Setterlund (philosophiae magister et colle- ga scholae trivia- lis Orebroensis)	4	rhetoric		11 theses	40 U KB V

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
237	1793 15 June	Theses philologi- cotheologicæ	Carolus G. Bark- man (theologiae doctor ac lector)	Olavus Blander, Carolus Petr. Råstrand & Petrus Setterström (stipendiarii regii)	4	Philology (Biblical)		40 U KB V 12 theses; <i>In exercitatio- nem pubis gymnasticæ</i>
238	1793 9 Nov.	Theses	Laurentius Joh. Hallman (philosophiae magister et com- minister in Sven- nevad)	Gustavus Barkman, Ericus Wretling & Jo- hannes Frid. Schultze	4	various		40 U KB V 10 theses
239	1793 16 Nov.	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et lec- tor)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Carolus Ljungqvist, Petrus Setterström & Petrus Died. Losch (stipendi- arii regii); <i>Opponen- tes</i> : Ericus Wretling, Carolus Ulr. Hagström & Laurentius Wilh. Zethelius		history		40 U KB V 12 theses; <i>Exercitii gratia</i>
240	1793 23 Nov.	Theses	Petrus Hedenius (philosophiae magister et lec- tor)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Johannes Gust. Bjurling (stipen- diarius Soop.), Lauren- tius Dan. Enhörning (stipendiarius regius) & Johannes Petr. Ekman; <i>Opponentes</i> : Petrus Died. Losch (stipendi- arius regius), Fridericus Aug. Hagström & Eri- cus Bergström	4	various		40 U KB V 12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
241 1794 12 April	Theses philologicotheologicæ	Carolus G. Barkman (theologiae doctor ac lector)	Carolus Joh. Lundvall (stipendiarius regius), Jacob Josua Betulin (stipendiarius Soop.) & Johannes Ol. Hjelrn (stipendiarius regius)	4	Philology (Biblical)		12 theses; <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i> 40 U KB V
242 1794 24 April	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (historiarum et moralium lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Petrus Isr. Gredin (stipendiarius regius), Petrus Nordin & Joh. Nicol. Knidstedt (stipendiarii Soop.); <i>Opponentes</i> : Petrus Died. Losch (stipendiarius regius), Jacobus Jos. Betulin (stipendiarius Soop.) & Magnus Wahlberg	4	Philosophy, history		12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i> 40 U KB V
243 1794 17 May	Theses	Petrus Hedenius (philosophiae magister et lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Ericus Wretlind, Andreas Gellerstedt (stipendiarius regius) & Axelius And. Halling (stipendiarius regius); <i>Opponentes</i> : Carolus Joh. Lundvall, Johannes Ol. Hjelrn (stipendiarii regii) & Andreas Lenmanalm	4	Physics, various		12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i> 40 U KB V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
244	1794 31 May	Theses theologicae	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et le- ctor)	Carolus Joh. Lundvall (stipendiarius regius), Jacobus Jos. Betulin (stipendiarius Soop.) & Andreas Gellerstedt (stipendiarius regius)	4	theology	12 theses 40 U KB
245	1794 22 Nov.	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (philosophiae magister et le- ctor)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Carolus Joh. Almqvist, Nicoalus Akerman & Josua Defl. Wulf (stipendiarii regii); <i>Opponentes</i> : Andreas Gellerstedt (stipendiari- us regius), Joh. Frid. Sahlstedt & Claudius Er. Mellerborg (stipen- diarius Soop.)	4		12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i> 40 U KB V
246	1794 6 Dec.	Theses	Petrus Hedenius (philosophiae magister et le- ctor)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Jacobus Josua Betulin, Jo- hannes Olavus Hjelm (stipendiarius regius) & Johannes Stenmark (stipendiarius regius); <i>Opponentes</i> : Axelius Andreas Halling (sti- pendiarius regius), Gustavus Ericus Kihlb- lom & Johannes Wllh. Gredin	4	theology	11 theses 40 U KB V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
247	1795 2 May	Theses philologi- cotheologicae	Carolus G. Bark- man (theologiae doctor ac lector)	4	theology		12 theses; <i>In exercitatio- nem pubis gymnasticae</i>	40 U KB
248	1795 16 May	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (historiarum et moralium lector)	4	various		12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i>	40 U KB
249	1795 30 May	Theses	Petrus Hedenius (philosophiae magister et lec- tor)	4	Philosophy, physics		12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i>	40 U KB V
250	1795 6 June	Theses theologiae	Jahannes Graf- man (theologiae doctor et lector, praepositus et pastor in Aspö)	4	theology		10 theses; <i>In exercitium juventutis gymnasticae</i>	40 U KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
251 1795 31 Oct.	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (historiarum et moralium lector)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Gustavus Ad. Hallman, Laurentius Gust. Ekstrand & Petrus Olavus Gravander (stipendiarii regii); <i>Opponentes:</i> Frid. Aug. Hagström (stipendiarius regius), Laurentius Sahlstedt & Laurentius Axel. Lindgren (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	various		12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i>
252 1795 5 Dec.	Theses	Petrus Hedenius (physices et logices lector)	<i>Respondentes:</i> Petrus Gust. Castorin, Nicoalus Åkerman & Caludius Ulr. Mosberg (stipendiarii regii); <i>Opponentes:</i> Laurentius Wallström, Laurentius Mozelius (stipendiarius regius) & Carolus Petr. Lennqvist	4	various		12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i>
253 1796 13 Feb.	Theses philosophicae	Laurentius Lindien (philosophiae magister docens et collega scholae designatus)	Josua Detl. Wulff (stipendiarius regius), Gustavus Almqvist & Jonas Setterstrand (stipendiarius regius)	4	Philosophy, physics		13 theses

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
254 1796 12 March	Theses theologicae	Jahannes Graffman (theologiae doctor et lector, praepositus et pastor in Aspö)	Johannes Ol. Hjelm, Petrus Olavus Gra-vander & Ericus Bergström (stipendiarii regii)	4	theology		10 theses; <i>In exercitationem juvenutis gymnasticae</i>
255 1796 2 April	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (historiarum et moralium lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Fridericus Haeksell (stipendiarius Soop.), Laurentius Wallström (stipendiarius regius) & Gustavus Ad. Hagman (stipendiarius Soop); <i>Opponentes</i> : Johannes Petr. Hallgren (stipendiarius regius), Jonas Er. Öman & Andreas Hilleb. Enbom (stipendiarius Soop.)	4	various		12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i>
256 1796 9 April	Theses philologi-cotheologicae	Carolus G. Barkman (theologiae doctor ac lector)	Josua Detl. Wulf, Johannes Stenmark & Laurentius Gust. Ekstrand (stipendiarii regii)	4	Philology (Biblical)		12 theses; <i>In exercitationem pubis gymnasticae</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
257 1796 28 May	Theses	Petrus Hedenius (physices et logices lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Petrus Agerholtz, Elias Kjer- seen (stipendiarius regius) & Johannes Petr. Hallgren (stipendiarius regius); <i>Opponentes</i> : Petrus Olavus Gra- vander (stipendiarius regius), Jonas Henr. Ekstrand & Jonas Gust. Rundgren	4	various		12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i>
258 1796 12 Nov.	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (historiarum et moralium lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Johannes Ol. Hjeltn, Jonas Set- terstrand (stipendiarii regii) & Laurentius Wilh. Zethelius; <i>Oppo- nentes</i> : Ericus Wallén (stipendiarius regius), Carolus Er. Hallgren & Johannes Dan. Aigren (stipendiarii Soop.)	4	various		12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i>
259 1796 26 Nov.	Theses theologicae	Jahannes Graffi- man (theologiae doctor et lector, praepositus et pastor in Aspö)	Laurentius Wallström, Jonas Setterstrand & Olavus Ekström (stipen- diarii regii)	4	theology		10 theses; <i>In exercita- tionem juventutis gym- nasiticae</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
260 1796 3 Dec.	Theses	Petrus Hedenius (physices et logices lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Petrus Olavus Gravander, Ericus Bergström (sti- pendiarii regii) & Car- olus Gust. Bährholtz, <i>Opponentes</i> : Olavus Ekström (stipendiarius regius), Johannes Fred. Fernström (stipendiari- us Soop.) & Johannes Gust. Ekenborg (stipen- diarius Leufst.)	4	various		12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i>	40 U KB
261 1797 22 April	Theses philologi- cotheologicæ	Carolus G. Bark- man (theologicæ doctor ac lector)	Carolus Nic. Brunberg, Ericus W allen & Ola- vus Ekström (stipendiari- rii regii)	4	Philology (Biblical)		12 theses; <i>In exercitatio- nem pubis gymnasticæ</i>	40 U KB V
1797 20 May	Theses theologicæ	Jahannes Graff- man (theologicæ doctor et lector, praepositus et pastor in Aspö)	Carolus Nic. Brunberg, Andreas Lennmalm & Carolus Dan. Ekstrand (stipendiarii regii)	4	theology		10 theses; <i>In exercitatio- nem juvenutis gym- nasticæ</i>	40 V
1797 27 May	Theses philosophicæ	Olavus Espling (physices et logices lector)	Fridericus Hacksell, Gustavus Ern. Sprin- chorn & Johan. Gust. Ullström (stipendiarii regii)	4	philosophy		10 theses; <i>In exercitatio- nem pubis gymnasticæ</i>	40 V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
262 1797 2 Dec.	Theses philosophicae	Olavus Espling (physices et logices lector)	Magnus Strömberg (stipendiarius Soop.), Jonas Hend. Ekstrand & Nicolaus Kellsström (stipendiarius regius)	4	various		12 theses; <i>In exercitatio- nem pubis gymnasticae</i>
263 1798 14 April	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (historiarum et moralium lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Johannes Bodin, Gustavus Em. Sprinchorn & Johannes Gust. Ullström (sti- pendiarii regii); <i>Op- ponentes</i> : Carolus Er. Hallgren (stipendiarius Soop.), Andreas Hill. Enbom (stipendiarius regius) & Johannes Er. Bergstedt	4	various		12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i>
264 1798 28 April	Theses theologicae	Jahannes Graf- man (theologiae doctor et lector, praepositus et pastor in Aspö)	Andreas Broberg, Gus- tavus Em. Sprinchorn (stipendiarii regii) & Johannes Flodén (sti- pendiarius Soop.)	4	theology		12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i>
265 1798 4 May	Theses theologicoex- egeticae	Daniel Magnus Algren (Graecae linguae lector)	Olavus Ekström, Gus- tavus Em. Sprinchorn & Johannes Gust. Ullström (stipendiarii regii)	4	theology		13 theses
266 1798 19 May	Theses philosophicae	Olavus Espling (physices et logices lector)	Olavus Ekström, Clau- dius Er. Mellerborg (stipendiarii regii) & Gustavus Adolph. Wulf (stipendiarius Levin.)	4	physics		8 theses; <i>In exercitatio- nem pubis gymnasticae</i>

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
267	1798 2 June	Theses philologicotheologicae	Carolus G. Barkman (theologiae doctor ac lector)	Laurentius Ulr. Stenberg, Johannes Bodin & Johannes Gust. Ullström (stipendiarii regii)	4	Philology (Biblical)	13 theses; <i>In exercitatio-nem pubis gymnasticae</i>	40 U KB
268	1798 3 Nov.	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (historiarum et moralium lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Olavus Ekström, Laurentius Ulr. Stenberg (stipendiarii regii) & Laurentius Ax. Lindgren; <i>Opponentes</i> : Carolus Er. Hallgren (stipendiarius Soop.), Carolus Hammarlund & Andreas Englund (stipendiarii regii)	4	history	12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i>	40 U KB
269	1798 1 Dec.	Artic. XIX, <i>Repetit. Theologicae</i> Benzel. de ministerio ecclesiastico	Jahannes Grafiman (theologiae doctor et lector)	Johannes Bodin, Johannes Gust. Ullström (stipendiarii regii) & Gustavus Adolph. Wulf (stipendiarius Levin.)		(theology)	Only title page extant	40 U
270	1798 8 Dec.	Theses philosophicae	Olavus Espling (physices et logices lector)	Carolus Er. Hallgren (stipendiarius Soop.), Johannes Frid. Hagberg & Jahannes Kjelmark	4	Philosophy, physics	9 theses; <i>In exercitatio-nem juvenutis gymnasticae</i>	40 U KB

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
271	1799 9 March	Theses	Ericus Nylund (vicarius collega scholae trivialis Nycopensis)	Claudius Ericus Mell- erborg (stipendiarius regius), Carolus Ericus Hallgren (stipendiarius Soo.) & Gustavus Adolph. Wulff (stipendi- arius Levin.)	4	education	10 theses 40 U KB
272	1799 27 April	Theses philosophicae	Olavus Espling (physices et logices lector)	Laurentius Axelius Lindgren, Andreas Hillebr. Enbom (stipen- diarii regii) & Ericus Magn. Almstedt (stipen- diarius Soop.)	4	Philosophy, physics	8 theses; <i>In exercitatio- nem juventutis gymnas- ticae</i> 40 U KB
273	1799 18 May	Theses	Nicolaus Frid. Morenius (philosophiae magister et colle- ga scholae trivia- lis Nycopensis)	Johannes Frider. Hag- berg (stipendiarius regius), Ericus Magn. Almstedt (stipendiarius Soo.) & Gustavus Theod. Hallenborg (stipendiarius regius)	4	education	10 theses 40 U KB
274	1799 1 June	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (historiarum et moralium lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Gustavus Ad. Wulff (stipendiarius Lev.), Carolus Er. Wulff & Casparus Wijkman (stipendiarii regii); <i>Opponentes</i> : Ericus Magn. Almstedt, Joh. Gust. Ekenborg & Car- olus Ulr. Wulff (stipen- diarii Soop.)	4	history	12 theses; <i>Exercitationis gratia</i> 40 U KB G

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
275 1799 12 Oct.	Theses	Carolus Gust. Stenius (philosophiae magister et collega scholae trivialis Nyco-pensis)	Carolus Ericus Hallgren (stipendiarius Soop.), Gustavus Adolphus Wulf & Johannes Frider. Hagberg (stipendiarius regius)	4	various		9 theses U KB
276 1799 16 Nov.	Theses	Sveno Bruhn (historiarum et moralium lector)	<i>Respondentes</i> : Carolus Ericus Hallgren, Johannes Kjellmark (stipendiarius regius) & Andreas Hillebr. Enbom (stipendiarius regius); <i>Opponentes</i> : Petrus Gustafsson (stipendiarius Soop.), Petrus Gust. Thunberg & Petrus Svanström (stipendiarius Levin.)	4	various		40 theses; <i>Exercitationem gratia</i> U KB G
277 1799 30 Nov.	Theses philosophicae	Olavus Espling (physices et logices lector)	Andreas Ericsson, Gustavus Th. Hallenborg (stipendiarius regius) & Carolus Eric. Wulf (stipendiarius regius)	4	Philosophy, physics		40 theses; <i>In exercitationem juventutis gymnasticae</i> U KB G
278 1799 7 Dec.	Theses theologicae	Jahannes Grafman (theologiae doctor ejusdemque lector)	Joh. Fredr. Hagberg, Andreas Hillebr. Enbom (stipendiarii regi) & Ericus Magn. Almstedt	4	theology		40 theses; <i>In exercitationem juventutis gymnasticae</i> U KB

APPENDIX 8: 17th century dissertations from Skara

YEAR/ DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESPONDENS	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1663 7 Idus Sept	De lingua Novi Testamenti originali	Torbermus Fegraeus (Graecarum litera- rum lector)	Asmundus Alg. Scarinus & Ericus And. Omoenius	32	philology	Prooemium	Title on third page reads: <i>De stylo graeco</i> <i>N. Testamenti</i> ; printed in Uppsala; respon- dents mentioned in copies in <i>V</i> and <i>KB</i> ; no resp. on title page in <i>U</i>

APPENDIX 9: 17th century dissertations from Kalmar

YEAR/ DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1632 24 Nov.	De natura logices	Nicolaus Holgeri (scholae Calmariensis rector)	Andreas Oestani	20	Philosophy, logic	Dedication by resp.; <i>prooemium ad lectorem</i> by praeses; corollaria on last page	40 L U
2 1635 May	De intelligentiis seu angelis	Nicolaus Holgeri (scholae rector)	Hemmingius Hem- mingii	28	Theology, phi- losophy	corollaria	40 KB
3 1647 19 Aug.	Diatribe scholas- tica pro philoso- phiae cum digni- tate, tum utilitate ac necessitate in studio praesertim theologico	Nicolaus Holgeri (scholae Calmariensis rector)	Georgius Johannis Brunnerus (scholae notarius)	24	Philosophy, theology	Preface to reader by prae- ses in praise of resp.	40 L U Printed in Linköping; date and place (<i>schola la Calmariensis</i>) written by hand on the title page

APPENDIX 10: 17th century dissertations from Växjö

YEAR/ DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1615 3 Sept.	De S. Scripturae τῷ πρωτῷ ad demonst- randam veram ac simpli- cem textus Biblici [...]	Ioannes Baaz SmolandoSve- cus	Petrus Pauli Sunner- boensis	28	theology	Dedication and dedi- catory epistle to Axel Oxenstierna by praes.; Corollaria (6 pages)	Printed in Rostock; On title page: <i>In celebri Gymnasio Wexionensi</i>
2 1654 21 Sept.	De baptismo	Jonas Theodori Zephyrinus (Wexionensi- um pastor)	Petrus Esberni Ulm- stadius (scholae Juncopensis supremus collega)	14	theology	Dedication and dedica- tory epistle to Zacharias Lundebergus by praes.	Printed in Uppsala
3 1672 Feb.	Dissertatio ex occasione verborum quae leguntur apud Tacitum Annal. XV.44. de calumniis gentium adversus chris- tianos, earumque occa- sionibus, et ex iis hor- rendis persecutionibus	Gabriel Lun- debergus	P. M. Movallius	26	History, the- ology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by praes.; prae- fatio; corollaria; two con- gratulatory poems (ele- giac distich) to praes. by J. Baggerus and Nicolaus Lundebergus (brother)	Printed in Lund (<i>Lon- dini Scanorum</i>)
4 1676 5 Feb.	Heptas gemina morbo- rum remediumque familiae	Johannes Collander	Erlandus P. Alsonius (theologiae studiosus)	24 ?	theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by resp.?; con- gratulatory poems (elegi- ac distich) to praes.?	Last page (?) dam- aged; printed in Abo (<i>Aboae</i>)

APPENDIX 11: 17th century dissertations from Viborg

YEAR/ DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
1 1699 29 April	De praedestinatione ad vitam aeternam	Matthias Martinius	Gustavus Nehrman (studiosus Aboënsis)	42	Theology	<i>Quaestiones</i> on end page.	On title page: <i>Disputatio introductionaria ad professionem theologicam</i> ; Month corrected from Jan. to April by hand	8o L U

APPENDIX 12: 17th century dissertations from Linköping

YEAR/ DATE	TITLE	PRAESES RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEAT- TURES	OTHER FEATURES	
1 1633 8 Aug.	Dissertatio prima proponens philosophiae praeceptum generale	Daniel Daalhemius (logicae lector)	8	philosophy	Dedication, dedicatory poem by resp.; corollaria; congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to resp. by Petrus Jonae Biugg (lector physices)	The entire dissertation is written in verse; printed in Uppsala	4o L U
2 1633 28 Aug.	Quaestiones philosophicae	Daniel Jonae Kylander	12	philosophy	Dedication by resp.; parerga; 4 congratulatory poems (elegiac distich and hexameter) to resp. by Jonas Petri Gothus (theologiae lector), Magnus Nicolai Wrethensis, Martinus Erici Ge-strimius (matheseos inf. professor) and Laurentius Formelius Ostrogothus	Printed in Uppsala; copy in U has only 2 congratulatory poems	4o L U
3 1640 5 Dec.	Selecta decas prima	Samuel N. Enander (civ. philosophiae lector ordinarius)	1	various	corollaria	Folio leaf printed on one side	Fo KB
4 1653 10 Dec.	De generatione aequivoca et noctambulombus	Petrus Magni Pelicanus	14	physics	Dedication by praeses; preface	Exercitii gratia	4o M KB
5 1656 9 Aug.	De temperantia	Magnus J. Liviin	20	philosophy	Dedication by praes.; proemium; corollaria	Liberalis exercitij gratia	4o M KB

YEAR/ DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEAT- TURES	OTHER FEATURES
1658 3 Idus Dec	Momenta haec politica ex his- toria L. Annaei Flori	Christiernus Christophori (historiarum lector ordi- narius)	Nicolaus Enander	1	politics	Dedication to Gustavus Kurek (baron)	One page in folio
6							Fo L U

APPENDIX 13: 17th century dissertations from Jönköping (Schola Junecopensis)

YEAR/ DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1641 8 May	De utilitate historiae ecclesiasticae in primis Sveo-Gothorum	Joannes Baazius senior	Robertus Paschasii (primus scholae Junecopensis collega)	18	History, theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle to Queen Christina by praes.	Printed in Linköping 4o L U KB G St

APPENDIX 14: 17th century dissertations from Norrköping (Schola Norcopensis)

YEAR/ DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
1 1618 5 Sept	Theses de animae defini- tione in genere	Johannes Matthi- ae Ostrogotus		20	theology	Dedication and dedicatory epistle by praes.; proloqui- um; 2 congratulatory poems (elegiac distich) to praes. by Benedictus And. B. West. and Nicolaus Petri Ostrogotus Norcopensis	Printed in Stockholm; according to title page <i>Consensu venerandi Consistorii Lincopensis exercitii loco in schola Norcopensi placide examinandas offert</i> ; no congratula- tory poems in <i>U</i>	4o L U

APPENDIX 15: 18th century dissertations from Karlstad

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1780 8 Dec.	Theses miscel- laneae	Olavus Bjurbäck (philoso- phiae candidatus et verbi divini minister)	Laurentius En- bom	4	various		12 theses 40 KB
2 1796 23 March	Theses	Emanuel Ullgren (magister)	Jonas Bergendahl	4	various		10 theses 40 KB
3 1797 6 Dec.	Theses	Laurentius Enbohm (colle- ga scholae)		4	various		7 theses 40 KB

APPENDIX 16: 18th century dissertations from Kalmar

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1790 3 June	Theses philosophicae	Carolus Adolfus Wahlbom (philosophiae magister)	Olavus Ringberg	4	various		9 theses; pro adjunctura gymnasii 4o KB
2 1794 11 June	De subsidiis oratoris cogitationes	Carolus Adolfus Wahlbom (ad regium gymnasium Calmariense adjunctus ordinarius)	Carolus Bäckstadius (alumnus gymnasii)	8	Rhetoric, natural history		10 + 6 theses; <i>pro munere eloquentiae et poëseos lectoris</i> ; six theses <i>ex historia naturali</i> on the end page 4o KB
3 1794 26 March	Theses theologicas	Petrus Wijkström (eloquentiae et poëseos lector ordinarius theologiae lector pro tempore vicarius)	Andreas Forlander (alumnus hujus Lycei primipilus)	4	theology		16 theses; <i>pro munere theologiae lectoris</i> 4o KB

APPENDIX 17: 18th century dissertations from Gävle

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1769 3 June	De lingua primaeva	Ericus J. Almqvist (theologiae candidatus, linguae Graecae et Ebraeae lector)	Andreas Tegman (Uplandus)	4	philology		4o L U KB V
2 1771 29 May	Tirocinium thesium logi- carum	Gabriel Tybelius (matheseos et logices lector)	Nicolaus Nybellin Helsingus	4	philosophy		4o M U KB

APPENDIX 18 17th century dissertations from Västerås

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1623 29 March	De imagine Dei et libero arbitrio	Laurentius Nicolaus Blackstadius (theologiae lector)	Franciscus Erici Lismannus	8	theology	Dedication by resp.	40 L U corollaria
2 1623 5 April	Themata miscellanea	Jonas Svenonis Columbus (Graecae linguae et musices lector)	Ericus Andreae	12	various	Poem (sapphic stanza) <i>pro magistratu proque caetu docentium et discentium [...] per occasionem</i>	40 L U corollaria
3 1624 20 Feb	De nobiliore corporis animatiparte, Anima, ac in specie rationali	Ericus Holstenius (physices lector)	Simon Benedicti (scholae collega)	24	physics, theology	Dedication and preface by praes.	40 L U V St According to the title page first defended in Hedemora 2 <i>Cal. Decembris</i> ; corollaria
4 1626	De mixtorum ortu et interitu	Johannes Rudbeckius (in illustri academia Upsaliensis professor)	Johannes Laurenjii Bothnien-sis	40	Physics		40 L KB V According to title page held <i>ad 15. Calend. Ianuarij Anno 1605</i>
5 1627	Ἡ περὶ τῆς ἀνδρίας διτάξις κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη	Gabriel Holstenius (lector of Greek)	Matthias Erik Arosiander	8	philosophy	Dedication and dedicatory poem (elegiac distich) in Latin to King Gustavus Adolphus by praes.	40 M U V Entirely written in Greek; printed in 1643; the copy in U is found in Palmsköldiska samlingen vol. 338; in M incorrectly dated as 1625 and praes. registered as Ericus Holstenius

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
6 1630 3 Feb.	De mundo in genere	Johannes Thomaе Barchius (scholae Arosiensis rector)	Matthias Erici Tunensis	8	Physics, the-ology	Dedication by resp.; prooemium	40 M KB
7 1630 18 Feb	De dono matutinali et dote regia	Iohannes Olai (politices et juris lector)	Daniel Petri Tunensis	8	Politics	Dedication to Petrus Andrae Bothniensis	40 M M V
8 1630 3 March	De controversis dictis scripturae ex loco de servo hominis arbitrio sive peccato, quatenus de illis ex Hebraeo fonte disseri potest.	Simon Benedicti (linguae Hebraeae lector)	Josephus Svenonis (scholae collega)	8	theology		40 M V St
9 1630 13 March	De persona Christi	Jonas Columbus (prof. poeseos, Uppsala)	Vidichimus Johannis	24	theology	Dedication by praes.; congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to praes. by Sven Jonae (linguae sanctae professor ordinarius)	40 LU V
10 1630 28 April	De sacra domini nostri Iesu Christi coena	Laurentius Vesthij (physices lector, gymn. rector)	Iohannes Andrae Hedemorensis	26	theology	Dedication by praes.	40 M U St
11 1631 26 March	De philosophia in genere	Simon Benedicti (hebraeae linguae lector)	Matthias Andrae Alsbechius (conrector, cantor)	12	philosophy	Dedication by author/ resp.	40 L U

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
12 1633	De natura	Simon Benedicti Arbogensis (physices lector)	Petrus Olai Dalcarius	10	physics	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by resp.; 2 congratulatory poems (1 in Latin, 1 in Greek) to resp. by Petrus Schottenius	Printed in Uppsala; quaestiones 40 L U
13 1636 30 March	De sole	Matthias Andrae Alzbeckius (matheseos lector)	Jacobus Magni Montanus	12	physics	Dedication by resp.; congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to resp. by Petrus Schottenius (scholae Arostiensis conrector)	corollaria 40 L UG
14 1636 3 Dec	De luna	Matthias Andrae Alzbeckius (matheseos lector)	Ericus Martini Irestadiensis	11	physics	Dedication by resp.	corollaria 40 L UG
15 1638 14 Nov	De scriptura sacra	Simon Benedicti Arbogensis (theologiae lector)	Olaus Johannis Schultunensis (scholae notatio.)	36	theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by praes.	40 L U V St
16 1643 Nov	De primis rerum naturalium principis in genere	Ericus Salamontanus (physices lector)	Nicolaus Rudbeckius	16	physics	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by resp.; 4 congratulatory poems (3 in Latin, 1 in Greek) to resp. by Nicolaus Prytz (philosophiae practicae lector), Johannes P. Arbogensis (Graecae linguae lector, 2 poems) and Andreas Erici Wallenius	40 L U

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
17	1643 2 Dec De magistratu politico	Gabriel Holstenius (gymnasii senior, cathedralis pastor)	Johannes Rudbeckius junior (author)	20	Theology, politics	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by resp.; congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to resp. by Ericus Andrae Salamontanus (physices lector)	40 L U V
18	1645 13 Dec De falsa Bezae verborum Petri interpretatione Actor. 3 v. 21 ὅν δὲ οἰπρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι	Iohannes Petri Arbo- gensis (Graecae linguae lector)	Olavus Christophori	14	Theology, philology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle (2 pages) by praes.	40 L U KB G V St
19	1646 De causa formali	Petrus I. Hellenius (theologiae studiosus)	Hermannus Benedicti Malmenius	18	philosophy	Dedication by praeses	40 M KB
20	1647 19 June De providentia divina	Gabriel Holstenius (gymnasii senior, cathedralis pastor)	Petrus Rudbeckius	16	theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by resp.	40 L U G V
21	1648 25 Nov De intellectu humano	Olavus Iohannis Schultunensis	Olavus Iohannis Copingensis	8	Physics, philosophy	Dedication by praes.	40 L U V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
22	1648 4 Dec	De animae humanae propagatione	Ericus Andraeae Salamontanus (theologiae lector)	Jonas Andrae Holstenius	12	Physics, theology	Dedication by resp. Copy in <i>V</i> has date changed to 5 Dec.; corollaria
23	1649 March	Specimen [...] exhibens orthodoxam et originali textui conformem verborum Jacobi patriarchae [...] analysisin	Andreas Erici Wallenius (hebraeae linguae lector, author)	Olavus Michae- lis Salamontanus	28	Theology, philology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle in Hebrew by praes.; congratulatory poem in Hebrew at the end
24	1649 9 June	De sensu communi	Samuel Thomae Barchius	Samuel Bendicti Salamontanus	8	physics	Dedication by praeses in <i>KB</i> corollaria
25	1649 12 June	De recta juventutis educatione	Laurentius Vidichini (theologiae studiosus)	Laurentius Erici Tosaraeus	8	Education, politics	Dedication by resp. <i>coronidis loco quaeritur</i> on last page
26	1649 2 Sept	De causa formali	Samuel Thomae Barchius	Gustavus Gustavi Barchius	20	physics	Dedication by resp. Some pages missing in <i>U</i>
27	1649 10 Dec.	De igne	Olavus Iohannis Schultunensis (physices lector ordinarius)	Daniel Danielis Lindbergius	12	physics	Dedication by resp.; congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to resp. by Laurentius Petri (studiosus Ubsaltensis)

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
28 1651 22 March	De principijs actio- num humanarum	Olavus Erici Schult (thetor, rector)	Laurentius Iohannis Rytte- rensis	12	philosophy	Dedication to Axel Oxen- stierna by author/ resp.; congratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to resp. by Samuel Barckius	porismata 40 L U
29 1651 22 March	De elementis in genere	Olavus Iohannis Schult (lector philoso- phiae naturalis et logices)	Andreas Petri Hedemorensis	12	physics	Dedication by author/ resp.; 2 congratulatory poems (elegiac distichs) by Andreas Bergius and Erricus Matthiae Hede- morensis	40 M KB
30 1651 30 Aug	De substantia	Olavus Iohannis Schultz (physics et logices lector, rector)	Claudius Lauren- tii Saebenius	12	philosophy		<i>quaestio</i> on last page 40 L U
31 1651 Sept	De scientiae naturalis constitutione	Olavus Iohannis (physics et logices lector, rector)	Andreas Petri Arhusiander	20	physics	Dedication from author/ resp.; 2 congratulatory poems to resp. by An- dreas Bergius (elegiac distich) and Olavus Mi- chaelis Wålåmantanus (hexameter)	40 L U
32 1651 Oct	De supremo iudice controversiarum in causa religionis	Nicolaus Rudbeckius (theologiae professor)	Andreas Jonae Cuprimumanus	16	theology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by praes.; con- gratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to praes (?) by Samuel Barckius (lector extraordinarius)	40 L U G V St

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
33	1651 29 Nov	De civili foeminarum imperto	Petrus Iohannis Rudbeckius	Laurentius Canuti Fernboensis	8	politics	Preface by praes. (?)	40 L U
34	1652 7 April	De mundo	Olavus Iohannis (physices lector, rector)	Iohannes Olai Kumblaeus	12	Theology, philosophy	2 congratulatory poems (1 in Greek, hexameter, 1 in Latin, elegiac distich) to resp. by J. Terserus, (Graecae linguae lector), and S. Thomae Barckius (lector extraordinarius)	40 L U
35	1652 Sept	Super divi Pauli epistolam ad Romanos, analysisin cap. I. 2. et 3. usque ad v. 21.	Nicolaus Rudbeckius (theologiae lector)	Claudius Laurentii Saebenius (Academiae Ups. alumnus)	29	Theology, philology	Preface	Part 2 40 L U G V St
36	1652 18 Dec.	De coelo	Olavus Iohannis Schult (lector physices et logices ordinarius)	Andreas Jonae Byensis	8	physics	Dedication by resp.	40 M KB St corollaria
37	1653 10 Sept	De demonstratione	Laurentius Joannis Folkermius	Daniel Danielis Lindbergius	12	Philosophy, logic	Dedication by praes.	40 M V <i>quaestiones miscellaneae</i> at the end
38	1655 July	Super divi apostoli Pauli epistola ad Romanos, analysisin cap. III a v. 20 et cap. IV	Nicolaus J. Rudbeckius (theologiae lector)	Andreas Johannis Betulius	52	Theology, philology	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by resp.	Part 3 40 L U G V St

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
39	1656 30 Aug	Super epistolam divi Pauli ad Romanos, tradit Cap. V analysin	Nicolaus J. Rudbeckius (theologiae lector)	Andreas Petri Arhusiander (theologiae studiosus et S R M alumnus)	36	Theology, philology	Dedication by resp. Part 4	40 L U V S
40	1659 29 Oct.	Pentast prima quaestionum selectiorum philosophicarum	Petrus Petri Torpensis (poeseos et historiarum lector)	Johannes Erici Granagrius (gymnasii alumnus)	16	Philosophy, theology		40 M KB
41	1659 14 Dec	Pentast secunda quaestionum selectiorum philosophicarum	Petrus Petri Torpensis (poeseos et historiarum lector)	Ericus Olai Hesselius	12	Philosophy, theology	Handwritten correction of date to 1660 Feb. 11 in copy in U	40 L U V
42	1660 11 April	Pentast tertia quaestionum selectiorum philosophicarum	Petrus Petri Torpensis (poeseos et historiarum lector)	Johannes Olai Grythyttensis Westmannus	14	Philosophy, theology	Dedication by resp.	40 M KB
43	1660 19 May	Pentast quarta quaestionum selectiorum philosophicarum	Petrus Petri Torpensis (poeseos et historiarum lector)	Olaus Matthiae Lundius (praedictus gymnasij alumnus)	16	philosophy	Dedication by resp.	40 L U V
44	1660 8 Dec	De demonstratione Folkermius (matheseos lector)	Laurentius Joannis Folkermius (matheseos lector)	Andreas Erici Gangius	12	Philosophy, logic	Dedication by resp.	40 L U
45	1663 18 Aug	Themata miscellanea philosophica	Tobias Andreae Björck	Johannes Sevalius (S R M tuis alumnus)	8	philosophy	Printed in 1664	40 M V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
46 1663 17 Dec.	De categoriis	Claudius Saebenius (historiarum et poe- eseos lector)	Andreas Erici Gangius	12	Philosophy, logic	Dedication by resp.; con- gratulatory poems (elegiac distich) to resp. by Claudius Saebenius and Samuel G. Himmenius	40 L St
47 1664 24 March	De ortu et interitu imperiorum ac dom- inorum	Henricus J. Järnstedt	Isaacus J. Fet- mandrus	20	Politics, law	Dedication by praes.	No dedication in copy in U and in second copy in KB
48 1665 15 June	De recto invocandi modo	Samuel Hoyer (theolo- giae lector)	Ericus N. Girin- gius	8	theology	Dedication by resp.	40 L U
49 1665 16 Dec.	De germana pro- phetici sermonis et primigenii textus in Vetere Testamento antiquitate	Martinus Munchthe- lius (scholae Arosien- sis corrector)	Andreas O. Hessellius	16/18	Philology, theology	Dedication and dedi- catory epistle by resp.; Προεβόλις; 2 congratula- tory poems to resp. (elegiac distichs) by Ericus Norennius and Petrus Ambigenius	40 L KB G St
50 1666 20 Sept	De syllogismo	Johannes Holstenius (physices et logicae lector, rector)	Andreas O. Hessellius	12	Logic, philo- sophy	Dedication by resp.; con- gratulatory poem (elegiac distich) to resp. by Ericus L. Norennius	40 L U

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
51 1668 1 Feb.	De temperantia	Claudius L. Saebenius (historiarum et poe- sesos lector)	Ericus L. Nore- nius	12	Philosophy (moral)	Dedication by resp.; prooemium; congratula- tory poem (hexameter) to resp. by Jacobus Boëtius; congratulatory epistle to resp. by Georgius Tron- inus	questiones 40 M KB
52 1668	Ἐν Ὁνόματι πανουργίας Τριῶδος θήματα ἀνύμκτα	Andreas Thermanius	Johannes Skult	8	philosophy		Written in Greek with Latin translation 40 M KB
53 1669 6 Cal. June	De affectibus	Petrus Gangius (elo- quentiae lector)	Jacobus D. Boetius	20	Philosophy, ethics	Dedication by author/ resp., prooemium	Printed in Stockholm 40 L U V
54 1670 3 Dec.	Positiones miscel- laneae	Laurentius Arose- lius (historiarum et poësesos lector)	Olaus Lixelius	4	theology		40 M KB
55 1671 8 Feb	De usu philosophiae in theologia	Andreas Brodinus (eloquentiae lector)	Johannes Rabi- nius (Oxenstiern- iorum de Morea australi alumnus)	16	Philosophy, theology	Dedication to Axel Oxen- stierna, dedicatory epistle by resp.; end praise by Ericus Andstedt and con- gratulatory poem (hexam- eter) by Johannes Betu- lius (<i>scholae Arosiensis apologistae</i>) to resp.	Handwritten corr. of <i>febr.</i> to <i>aprilis</i> ; printed in 1670 in copy from V; printed in 1670 80 M U V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
56 1671 April	Quaestiones ex astronomica et computo Ecclesiastico sicut et aliis autoribus excerptae et in Gymnasio Arosiensi ad ventilandum propositae	Vidichindus P. Granagrius (matheseos lector)	Gabriel A. Wallenius	13	Astronomy, history of education	Dedication by resp.; congratulatory poem in Hebrew by Johannes Sevallius; congratulatory epistles to resp. by Johannes Bernetz	80 L KB
57 1672 9 March	Super divi Pauli epistolam ad Romanos	Samuel Højjer (lector theologiae)	Magnus H Tudenius (gymnasii alumnus)	4	theology		40 M V
58 1672 15 May	Disputatio selenographica	Samuel Schult (S. R. M. Al. = holder of royal scholarship, A. L. M. = Arosiensis lector matheseos?)	Gabriel Vallenius	8	Physics	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by resp.	40 L U Ka

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
59 1672 19 Aug	Philanthropia divina	Samuel Højjer (theologiae lector, pastor in Badelunda)	Andreas Hesselius (theologiae studiosus)	34	theology	Dedication and dedicatory poem by resp.; prooemium; 4 congratulatory poems to resp. by Wicikinnus Granagrius (matheseos lector, rector), Andreas Brodinus (<i>ecclesiae Ihrestad pastor</i>), Laurentius Aroselius (<i>poeseos et historiarum lector</i>) and Johannes N. Rudbeckius (<i>eloquentiae lector</i>)	40 L U V St Copy in V has 29 Aug.
60 1673 16 May	De animi potentia et impotentia	Laurentius Barchius	Andreas Helgolinus	24	Ethics, philosophy	Dedication to Nicolaus Rudbeckius <i>et al.</i> , dedicatory epistle by resp.; congratulatory poem to resp. by Petrus Dijkman	80 L U V
61 1673 27 Nov.	De virtute heroica nonnulla ejusdem brevitatis	Johannes Rudbeckius (eloquentiae lector)	Andreas Gilbergh	7	Rhetoric, philosophy		80 KB V Kept as copy from V in KB; I have not seen this in V
62 1674 Dec	De motu fixarum nec non quinque planetarum Saturni Jovis Martis Veneris et Mercurij	Samuel Schult (S R M Alummus)	Jacobus D. Westhins	11	physics	Dedication and dedicatory epistle to Petrus and Olaus Rudbeckius by praes.	40 L U Ka
63 1675 5 May	In epistolam divi Pauli ad Romanos	Samuel Højjer (theologiae lector primarius et pastor jn Badhelunda)	Andreas Schemperus (theologiae studiosus)	4	theology		40 M V St Disputatio II

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
64	1675 Sceletron macrocosmi astronomicum	Samuel Schult Vestmannus (S.R.M. alumnus)		4	(Astronomy)	Dedication and dedicatory epistle to Magnus De la Gardie by author	Only title page and dedication extant in both <i>KB</i> and <i>Ka</i>
65	1676 29 May De iure naturae	Andreas Hesselius	Olaus Calzenius	16	philosophy	Preface; 2 congratulatory end praises by Vidichinus Granagrius (matheseos lector) and Jacobus Sam. Troilius to resp.	corollaria
66	1677 10 Nov De illuminatione lunae	Vidichinus Granagrius (matheseos lector)	Laurentius Hoffstedt (proposuit)	16	Astronomy, physics	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by resp. to Claes Rålamb; congratulatory end praise to resp. by Joh. Warg.	Date corr. to 17; illustration before corollaria; 2 copies in <i>U</i>
67	1678 22 March De usu philosphiae in theologia	Petrus Christierin (Hebraeae linguae lector)	Magnus Månsson	56	Theology, philosophy	Dedication, dedicatory epistle by praeses; congratulatory poem in German by And. Schulze	No dedication and only 28 p. in second copy in <i>KB</i> ; no dedication in copy in <i>G</i>
68	1679 22 Nov. In epistolam divi Pauli ad Romanos	Samuel Højjer (theologiae lector primarius et pastor in Badhelunda)	Samuel P. Mariin (theologiae studiosus)	4	theology		Disputatio III
69	1681 Oct. De affectionibus entis in genere	Arvidus Andrae Gradinus (Wessm. Scholae Copingensis hoc tempore rector)	Leonhardus Petri Kijhlberg	8	philosophy	Dedication by author; prooemium	40 M KB

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
70	1681 17 Dec	De natura logicae	Petrus Christiernin (physices et logices lector)	Laurentius G. Wulff	8	philosophy		40 L U V
71	1684 22 Nov.	Dissertationis de nonnullis ad cultum Suetici sermonis pertinentibus, paragr. XIII priores	Jacobus Boëthius (Graecae lector ordi- narius)	Olaus Tolthomius	10	philology		80 KB
72	1685 prid. idus Dec.	Dissertationis de nonnullis ad cultum Suetici sermonis pertinentibus, paragr. XIV posteriores	Jacobus Boëthius (Graecae lector ordi- narius)	Johannes E. Holstenius	18	philology		80 L KB
73	1690 9 April	De haereditate mundi Abrahamo data	Jacobus Boetius (theo- logiae lector)	Johannes Kum- blin	40	theology	Dedication by praeses	80 L U G V

APPENDIX 19: 18th century dissertations from Västerås

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1739 8 Dec	Σχόλια περί τῶν τρόπων ῥητορικῶν	Ericus Moraenius	Ericus Langberg	16	rhetoric	Congratulatory poem (4 v. <i>elegiac distich</i>) in praise of praes. by Laurentius Kraft (communi nomine civis (?) gymnasii Arosiensis)	Written in Latin 40 L U V
1740 14 June	De natura principiorum geometricorum	Andreas Wahlström	Andreas Molin	24	mathematics	Two printed geometrical figures in the margin on p. 15 and 23; handwritten figure in marg. on p. 12	40 L U V Sf
1745 14 Dec	Thesibus nonnullis elementa ratiocinandi	Olavus Kumbulaeus	Samuel Pomp (stipendiarius Franzelianus)	8	philosophy	A quotation by <i>Auct. Art. Cogit.</i> on second page as motto	40 L U G V
1746 21 March	De discrimine scientiae et fidei	Johannes Plenning	Christ. Magn. Hanck	4	Philosophy, theology		40 L U V
1746 13 Dec	Theses nonnullae miscellaneae	Axelius Hellberg	Laurentius Baeckström	4	various	In copy in V handwritten signature and date on title page: <i>And. Brundelius A[nn]o 1746 7 Decembr</i>	40 L U V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
6 1748 6 Feb	Meditatio sistens ideam inscriptionis legis naturalis secund. Rom. II.15	Gabriel Pihl	Christianus Frunck	8	theology		40 L U V
7 1748 5 Feb	De fundamento aequalitatis naturalis Hobbiano	Petrus Harkman	Laurentius Carlsten	8	philosophy	Handwritten commentary on page before title page in copy in <i>KB</i>	40 L U V
8 1750 13 June	De commercio inter animam et corpus particula prima	Olavus Kumbulaeus	Abrahamus Johansson (stipendiarius Ahlloefvianus)	8	philosophy		40 L U G V
9 1750 17 Nov	Dissertatio sistens ideam generalem historiae naturalis	Andreas Caribaum	Samuel Gode-mius	8	natural history		40 L U V
10 1751 20 Nov	Thesium scholasticarum decas	Jacobus Boëthius (supr. collega scholae trivialis Arosiensis)	Johannes Rhannelius (stipendiarius Ahlloefvianus)	8	Education, philology (Latin language)		40 L U V 10 theses

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
11 1752 March	Dissertationem publicam justitiae divinae <i>ēvōēļiv</i> in remissione peccatorum sistentem	Olavus Kumblaues	Hermannus Nordling	16	theology	2 quotations, from Daniel 9.7 and 1 Joh. 1.9 as motto on 2 nd page	40 L U G V St On title page: <i>pro loco, dum a logica et metaphysica ad lectionem theologiam secundam, eamque ordinariam tractatum faciebat, defendet Olavus Kumblaues</i> ; in both copies in V correction of date to 25 Nov; signature on title page in V
12 1754 7 Dec	Theses	Ericus Erici Hartzell	Fridericus Anagnrius (stipendiarius Franzelianus)	4	rhetoric		40 L U G V 16 theses
13 1758 8 Dec	Positiones hermeneuticae scripturae sacrae generales	Axelius Helberg	Johannes Erici Brandberg	4	theology		40 M U On title page: <i>pro munere lect. theol. prim. ad reg. gymm. Aros. cappessendo</i> [sic]; 14 theses

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES	
14	1758 9 Dec	Theses theologicae de conversione hominis	Andreas Carl- baum	Matthias Forsström	4	theology	On title page: <i>Pro Sparta docendi theologica, publico examine subicit Andreas Caribaum;</i> 12 theses	40 M U G V
15	1779 21 April	Thesium scholasticarum dodecas	Olavus Granel- dell (magister, theologicus candidatus supr. collega scholae trivi- alis)	Laurentius Hedendal	4	education	12 theses	40 L U V
16	1779 4 Dec	Theses scholas- ticae	Nicolaus Lin- dius	Christianus Gottfridus Hanck	4	education	10 theses	40 M U G V
17	1779 8 Dec	Theses philologi- cophilosophicae	Nicolaus Jacobus Funck (philosophiae magister et scholae trivialis Arosiensis collega)	Olavus Arlberg (stipendiarius Franzelianus)	4	various	9 theses	40 M U G V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
18	1783 22 Sept	Theses philologico-philosophicae	Ericus Löfvenius (philosophiae magister et supr. collegae scholae trivialis Arosiensis)	Laurentius Fred. Kihlman (stipendiarius Ahllöfvianus)	4	various	8 theses; copy from V is dated 22 Oct 40 U KB G V
19	1783 22 Nov	Theses philosophicae	Petrus Kraft (magister, venerandi consistorii Arosiensis notarius)	Johannes Hallander	4	philosophy	6 theses 40 U KB G V
20	1785 9 May	Theses	Widich Baggestedt (Conc. Aul. Duc. OstroGoth. Sereniss. et supr. collega Schol. Triv. Fahlun)		4	various	6 theses 40 U KB G V

YEAR	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
21	1785 11 May Theses	Andreas Mile- nius (apolo- gista scholae trivialis Fah- lunensis)		4	various		8 theses 40 U KB G V
22	1785 21 May Theses	Olavus Chri- stiani Leffler (philosophiae magister, venerandi consistorii amanuenss et gymnasii col- legii notarius)	Carolus Johan- nis Lindegren	4	various		9 theses 40 U KB G V
23	1791 4 June Theses	Gustavus Ad. Tajjarden (magister, ser. ducis Suderm. concion. e. o. et reg. gymn. Aros. v. adj.)	Petrus Abr. Eckman	4	various		7 theses 40 U KB G V

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1798 30 May	Theses	Daniel Arosenius (philosophiae magister et supremus collega scholae trivialis Arostensis)	Ericus Magnus Juhlin (stipendiarius Ahlöfvensis)	4	education		10 theses 40 U G

APPENDIX 20: 18th century dissertations from Växjö

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
1 1768 16 April	Theses theologicas	Johannes Almqvist (conrector scholae et pastor ecclesiae Cas- tell. Junecopensis)	Samuel Ödman	8	theology		20 theses 4o L U
2 1775 18 March	Theses miscellaneae	Daniel Stocke (philosophiae magister et V D M)	Adamus Laurentius Stålhammar (nobilis)	4	various		14 theses 4o L U KB
3 1775 8 April	Theses miscellaneae	Petrus Tiliander (philosophiae magister et V D M)	Nicolaus Cavilius	4	various		12 theses 4o M KB
4 1775 29 April	Theses miscellaneae	Jonas Liliander (philosophiae magister et V pastor)	Sveno In- gemarus Liungh	4	Theology, philosophy		14 theses 4o L U KB
5 1775 6 May	Theses miscellaneae	Christmannus Dahlst- edt (V pastor)	Johannes Engstrand	4	Theology, philosophy		14 theses 4o L U KB
6 1775 9 Dec.	Theses miscellaneae	Magnus Bolmeer (col- lega scholae Juneco- pensis inferioris)	Petrus Lund	4	Theology, philosophy		15 theses 4o L U KB

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
7	1776 12 April	Theses miscellaneae	Johannes David Rogberg (philosophiae magister et verbi divini minister)	Samuel Hjelmerus	4	various		15 theses 4o L U KB St
8	1776 28 Sept.	Theses miscellaneae	Samuel Heurlin (in regia academia Gothorum Carolina facultate philosophiae adjunctus ordinararius)	Carolus Gabriel Svahn	4	various		15 theses 4o L U St
9	1777 11 April	Theses miscellaneae	Johan Koræen (doctor et notarius in facultate juridica ad academiam Gothoburgensem Carolinam)	Georgius Wilhelmus Ahlander	4	various		11 theses 4o L U KB
10	1780 5 Sept	Positiones varis ex disciplinis excerptae	Petrus Nordstedt (philosophiae et L.L.A.A. Mag.)	Carolus Gustavus Ruckman	4	various		4o V'
11	1781 8 Oct.	Theses theologicae	Haquinus Sjögren (loquentiae et poeseos lector ordinararius)	Theodorus Sjöstrand	6	theology		4o KB 20 theses; pro munere docendi theologico
12	1781 12 Oct.	Decas thesiorum theologiarum	Petrus Tiliander (vicarius logices lector et adjunctus gymnasii superioris)	Conradus Eckerbom	4	theology		4o KB St 10 theses

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	P.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
13	1781 ? Fasciculus positionum	Petrus Tiliander (praepositus et pastor Wirestadiensis)		18	various	Dedication to <i>juventuti, quae Musas colit Smolandicae</i>	73 positiones; printed in Lund 40 KB
14	1782 21 Sept. Theses miscellaneae	Enevald Is. Widebeck (philosophiae magister et ad academiam Gothoburgensem Carolinam physices docens)	Santhe Daniel Ringensson	4	various		13 theses 40 KB St
15	1784 8 May Positiones vari argumenti	Salomon Eklin (philosophiae magister et cant. figur.)	Petrus Ullmgren	4	various		14 positiones 40 U KB V
16	1787 1 Dec. Theses miscellaneae	Johannes Heurlin (V P et collega scholae Wexionensis)	Samuel Åstrand (civis gymnasi Wexionensis)	4	various		10 theses 40 U KB St
17	1788 8 March Theses miscellaneae	Bengt Norlin (V D M et vicarius scholae Wexionensis)	Samuel Colliander (civis gymnasi Wexionensis)	4	various		13 theses 40 KB St

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
18	Theses miscellaneae	Carolus Petrin (philosophiae candidatus et vicarius conrector scholae Junecopensis)		4	various		11 theses 4o KB
19	Theses varii argumenti	Georgius Wilh. Ahlander (philosophiae magister a scaris ad legionem Cronobergensem extra ordinarius et vicarius rector scholae Wisingensis)	Johannes Henricus Olin (civis gymnasii Wexionensis)	4	various		12 theses 4o KB St
20	Positiones varii argumenti	Jacobus Nordgren (Graecae linguae doctor ad academiam Lundensem)	Jonas Humble (civis gymnasii Wexionensis)	4	various		10 theses 4o KB St
21	Theses varii argumenti	Samuel Adelin (a sacris ad legionem Junecopensem pastor ordinarius et vicarius ad scholam Grennensem)	Jonas Lundelius (civis gymnasii Wexionensis)	4	various		11 theses 4o KB

	YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
22	1789 5 Sept.	Theses miscellaneae	Elias Heurlin (philosophiae magister et ad academiam Carolinam physices doc.)	Johannes Wallin (civis gymnasii Wexionensis)	4	various		10 theses 4o KB St
23	1789 26 Sept.	Theses variis ex disciplinis collectae	Petrus Abr. Bursie (philosophiae magister et ad templum cathedrale Wexionense V D M)	Laurentius Olavus Bor- ingh (civis gymnasii Wexionensis)	4	Theology, philosophy		11 theses 4o KB
24	1789 31 Oct.	Positiones varii argumenti	Andreas S. Wiesel (philosophiae magister V D M et vicarius conrector scholae Wexionensis)	Sveno All- gureen (civis gymnasii Wexionensis)	4	various		12 positiones 4o KB St
25	1790 26 May	Positiones varii argumenti	David Nyander (philosophiae magister)	Johan. Petr. Lengquist (civis gymnasii Wexionensis)	4	various		13 positiones 4o KB

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
26 1790 9 June	Theses	Petrus Is. Lijjenroth (ad gymnasium Wisbyense designatus philosophiae lector)	Andreas Haraldus Collin (civis gymnasii Wexionensis)	4	various		16 theses 4o KB St
27 1790 12 June	Theses varii argumenti	Carolus Lindeström (vicarius conrector et comminister in Visingia)	Daniel Bergdal (civis gymnasii Wexionensis)	4	various		13 theses 4o KB St
28 1793 V'ta Calend Maji	Theses theologicae	Johannes David Rogberg (Graecae linguae lector ordinarius)	Johannes Laurentius Wickelgren	4	various		15 theses; vacuum theologiae lectoris munus ambire cupiens 4o KB V St
29 1793 15 June	Theses miscellaneae	Carolus Magnus Agrell (ad Regiam akademiam Upsaliensem LL. Hebr. et Aram. docens)	Gudmundus Nyström (civis gymnasii Wexionensis)	4	various		12 theses 4o KB V St

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30	1796 10 Sept.	Positiones varii argu- menti	Petrus Tellander (philosophiae magister et apologista scholae Junecopensis)	Carolus An- dreas Til- lander (civis gymnasii Wexionensis)	4	various		9 theses 4o KB St
31	1797 24 March	Decas thesi- um theologi- carum	Petrus Nordstedt (el- oquentiae et poeseos lector)	David Ola- vus Stocke (civis gym- nasii Wex- ionensis)	4	theology		10 theses 4o KB St
32	1797 9 Sept.	Positiones varii argu- menti	Elias Heurlin (ad gymnasium Wexion- ense adjunctus ex- traordinarius)	Petrus Lundén (civis gym- nasii Wex- ionensis)	4	various		10 theses 4o KB St
33	1797 23 Sept.	Positiones oratorii ar- gumenti	Jacobus Nordgren (ad gymnasium Wexion- ense adjunctus ordi- narius)	Samuel Fogelklou (civis gym- nasii Wex- ionensis)	4	rhetoric		15 theses 4o KB St
34	1797 28 Oct.	Theses	Samuel Åstrand (S M adjunctus Juneco- pensis)		4	theology		10 theses 4o KB St

YEAR DATE	TITLE	PRAESES	RESP.	p.	SUBJECT	PARATEXTUAL FEATURES	OTHER FEATURES
35 1797 11 Dec.	Positiones varii argu- menti	Samuel Colliander (ad bibliothecam gymnasii et diocesis Wexionen- sis amanuensis)	Andreas Rogberg (civis gym- nasii Wex- ionensis)	4	various		10 theses 4o KB St
36 1799 19 Oct.	Theses historiam et philoso- phiam practicam spectantes	Samuel Colliander (ad gymnasium Wexion- ense adjunctus ordi- narius)	Johannes Conradus Hellin (civis gymnasii Wexionen- sis)	4	History, philosophy		4o KB St
37 1799 30 Nov.	Theses di- versi argu- menti	Sveno Allgureen (theologiae candida- tus et ad gymnasium Wexionense adjunctus extraordinarius)	Sveno Ga- briel Fovelin (civis gym- nasii Wex- ionensis)	4	various		13 theses 4o KB St

