

*RARA AVIS*  
*IN ULTIMA THULE*

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Front cover: “*Rara avis in Ultima Thule*” The owl, symbol of wisdom, here with feminine and masculine eyes. Paper cut by Synnøve des Bouvrie, originally printed on a poster with the gender equality policies of the UiT listed underneath (1991). Front cover design by Sigmund Nasset

Other illustrations in the book (except where captions are included):

p. [vi], ahead of the Pars Introductoria: *Synnøve des Bouvrie in her office* Originally a paper cut by Synnøve (c. 1974), the emblem of UiT’s Department of Language and Literature (now split into a Department of Culture and Literature and another of Language and Linguistics) is seen both on the wall and on the “official” T-shirt that she is wearing. Photograph by Lars Nordmo. Reproduced with permission

p. [2], ahead of the Pars Mythologica: “*Between Heaven and Earth*” Paper cut by Synnøve, made for the conference proceedings Marathon of Women’s Research (in Norwegian, special issues of *Ottar* No. 186 and 187, 1991)

p. [86], ahead of the Pars Philosophico-Litteraria: “*Gnōthi seautēn*” (Know Yourself, Woman) Paper cut by Synnøve, front cover illustration of her doctoral thesis on Women in Greek Tragedy (1990). The text is obviously an allusion to the famous dictum of the Oracle of Delphi, *Gnōthi seauton* (Know Yourself, in the masculine)

p. [190], ahead of the Pars Thulensis: “*Venturing into unknown waters*” Paper cut by Synnøve, made for the centenary of the Norwegian Association for Women’s Rights (1984)

p. [270], ahead of the Pars Latinitatis Vivae: “*Withering and vital*” Paper cut originally designed by Synnøve for a leaflet on distance education in German (c. 1990). Here we take the liberty of interpreting it as a symbol of the lasting vitality of the Latin language, long after its so-called death!

***RARA AVIS***  
***IN ULTIMA THULE***



***Libellus festivus Sunnivae des Bouvrie dedicatus***

***(Nordlit Tom. 33, 2014)***

a Petro Pippino Aspaas, Sigride Albert  
et Friderico Nilsen editus

***Festschrift for Synnøve des Bouvrie***

***(Nordlit Vol. 33, 2014)***

edited by Per Pippin Aspaas, Sigrid Albert  
and Fredrik Nilsen

# CONSPECTUS LIBELLI

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*PARS INTRODUCTORIA*

## RARA AVIS IN ULTIMA THULE: PRAEFATIO

**Petrus Pippinus Aspaas, Sigrides Albert & Fridericus Nilsen**

*Rara avis in Ultima Thule* est libellus festivus Sunnivae des Bouvrie dedicatus. Praeter introductionem, libellus est omnis divisus in partes quattuor, quarum unam incolunt rerum mythologicarum scrutatores, aliam philosophico-litterati, tertiam historici regionum quae ipsorum linguā Nordområdene, Pohjoiset alueet sive Davviguovllut, Latinā autem Thule appellantur, quartam denique Latinitatis vivae fautores. Hi omnes linguā, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Symbolae enim duodecim Anglice, Latine septem, Norvegice quattuor, singulae Francogallice, Boreosamice Sueticeque conscriptae sunt. Ex Gallia autem transalpina unus, ex Germania superiore una, ex sede domūs Habsburgensis antiquā unus, ex “fraterculo” Norvegis “dulci” (söta bror sive Suetia) alter, ex Danis paene iisdem quos timebat Laocoon “et dona ferentis” altera, ex illis qui teste Caesare “horum omnium fortissimi sunt” (Belgis nempe) unus, ex “cornutis” ut vocantur Finnis duo, ex studiorum universitatibus apud illos “novos orbes” quos detexit Tethys quattuor, ex variis denique almis matribus Norvegiae quattuordecim auctores libello aliquid contribuerunt.

Si quis, lectores, forte nunc adsit ignarus consuetudinis nostrae academicae, miretur profecto, quae sit tanta gravitas huiusce libelli, quod scriptores oneribus gravissimis obruti variisque in locis dispersi unum hoc negotium unā exercent, nec dubitet, quin de tanta personalitate – sive regina (id est rectrix universitaria) sive gubernatrice (id est decana) agatur, ut eā neglectā civitas universitaria stare non possit. Idem cum audiat esse profestricem ordinariam, quae procul a seditiosis consceleratisque senatibus academicis vitam pertulit omnem, negotium non improbet, sed sciat libellum hunc festivum esse rem vere honorificam, cui nemo contribuat nisi personae libellum recipienti amicissimae. Nunc autem ad libellum ipsum explicandum revertamur.

### **Pars introductoria**

Sunniva des Bouvrie, die 16 Novembris anni 1944 in vico Bussum prope Amstelodamum nata, examine doctorali suo de Plauto a. 1970 Lugduni Batavorum superato, in oppidum Tromsoeanum anno sequenti appulit. Studiorum universitas, quae eo tempore hic locorum borealissimus institueretur, magistro vel magistra studiorum classicorum indigebat. Cum ei persuaderetur, ut opem suam offerret, Sunniva in numerum lectorum Kalendis Septembris a. 1972 inscripta est, videlicet eodem die, quo portas suas studiosis aperuit Universitas Tromsoensis. Praeter praefationem ipsam Tabulamque Gratulatoriam, sectio huius libelli introductoria colloquium inter Petrum Pippinum ASPAAS et Sunnivam non ita pridem habitum continet. Quo in colloquio – Norvegico idiomate habito – disseritur de controversiis suis pro aequalitate feminarum atque virorum in Universitate Tromsoensi (quae nunc UiT Universitas Arctica Norvegiae nuncupata est) peractis, de tironibus viva Latinitate docendis, de scientiis humanioribus per mundum culturalem disseminandis, de aditu suo anthropologico ad studia mythorum, quibus ipsa se aliquid ad vitam antiquam melius intellegendam attribuisse aestimat. In calce colloquii bibliographia Sunnivae opera academica monstrans invenitur.

## RARA AVIS IN ULTIMA THULE: PREFACE

Per Pippin Aspaas, Sigrid Albert & Fredrik Nilsen

*Rara avis in Ultima Thule* (A rare bird in Ultima Thule) is a Festschrift dedicated to Synnøve des Bouvrie. Apart from the introduction, all the Festschrift is divided into four parts, one of which is occupied by researchers of myths, the other by philosophers and scholars of literature, the third by those who work on the history of what in their own language is called Nordområdene, Pohjoiset alueet or Davviguovllut, or Thule in Latin, while those who promote the study of living Latinity occupy the fourth.<sup>1</sup> All these differ from each other in language, customs and laws.<sup>2</sup> Thus, there are twelve articles in English, seven in Latin, four in Norwegian and a single article in each of the languages French, North Sami and Swedish. Furthermore, one author represents Transalpine Gaul; another, Upper Germany; a third, the ancient seat of the House of Habsburg; a fourth, the people that the Norwegians call “söta bror” (sweet brother), i.e., the Swedes; a fifth, the Danes that are (almost) identical to those whom Laocoon feared “even when bringing gifts”;<sup>3</sup> two further authors are from the so-called “horned Finns”;<sup>4</sup> yet another represents those who according to Caesar are “the bravest of all these”, namely, the Belgians;<sup>5</sup> then, there are four affiliated to universities in those “new worlds” that Tethys revealed;<sup>6</sup> and finally, from institutions of higher learning within Norway altogether fourteen authors have contributed to this book.

If, readers, there should happen to be present among you anyone who is unfamiliar with our academic way of doing things, we are sure that he would wonder what formidable authority is the cause of this book, since during a time when scholars in various quarters are buried under the weight of numerous burdens, they nonetheless undertake this particular activity together; and he would have no doubt that the person at the heart of it all – whether a queen (that is, a rector) or a governor (that is, a dean) – must be of such authority that, unless action were taken, the university could not possibly survive. If he were then to be informed that it is an ordinary professor having conducted her entire career far from the conspiracy-ridden politics of Academia, he would not object to the book, but would be confident that this Festschrift is a truly honorific one, to which nobody has contributed except those with truly warm feelings towards the recipient of the book.<sup>7</sup> But let us now return to the contents of the book as such.

### Pars introductoria

Born in Bussum just outside Amsterdam on 16 November 1944, Synnøve des Bouvrie passed her *doctoralexamen* with a thesis on Plautus at Leiden University in 1970. The year after, she arrived in the town of Tromsø, whose university, which during that time was just about to

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* I,1.1–3. Here adapted from *Caesar's Commentaries*, transl. by W. A. Macdevitt, with an introduction by Thomas de Quincey (Everyman's Library, No. 702), London: Dent, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* II, 49.

<sup>4</sup> See the contribution by Tuomo Pekkanen to this volume.

<sup>5</sup> Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* I,1.3 (footnote 1 above).

<sup>6</sup> Seneca, *Medea* 378.

<sup>7</sup> Compare Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 1, as translated by D. H. Berry in *Cicero: Defence Speeches: A New Translation* (Oxford World's Classics), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.



## I Pars mythologica

Libri primā parte, c.t. Mythologica, de mythis variis praesertim Graecis deliberant auctores sex. Claudius CALAME ampla prolegomena in studium anthropologicum mythorum Graecorum proponit. Aditūs philosophicos ad mythos, quales ex. gr. Ernestus Cassirer praebet, respuens Claudius Calame magis attrahitur analysibus, quae fundamentum habent in operibus Ferdinandi de Saussure, Claudii Lévi-Strauss aliorumque. Tamen etiam alii aditūs (post-)structuralistici putantur non esse apti. Cum magnum momentum dimensionis syntacticae semanticaeque animadverterit, Claudius Calame momentum condicionis pragmaticae comprobatur. Investigando fragmentum quoddam alicuius Melici poematis Sapphūs demonstrat, quomodo heroicae narrationes traditionales inclinent accomodari ad id, quod auctor condicionem poematis “hic et nunc” appellat, vel ad condicionem rituales, qua idem compositum est. Symbolā insequenti Bruce LINCOLN inquit in duas versiones mythis “Scythici”, qui dicitur et cuius origo ab Herodoto narratur. Cum priores investigatores potius putaverint mythos esse enuntiationem authenticam, ab nullo auctore certo factam imaginationis communis alicuius populi ut totius, Lincoln asseverat huiusmodi mythis de origine agentibus e contrario repraesentari prudentia strategemata ideologica duorum diversorum gregum electorum: unā ex parte electorum gregis regalis, qui privilegia sua servare desideravit, alterā ex parte colonorum Graecorum, qui Graecos Scythis superiores esse reclamaverunt. Stian Sundell TORJUSSEN Sunnivae des Bouvrie symbolam, c.t. *De definitione mythis: de phaenomenis symbolicis in culti civili antiquo*, initium sumit, unde proficiscens investigat aliud genus fontium, nempe aureas tabulas “Orphicas”, quibus agitur de intitiatorum vita post mortem in cultibus antiquis mysticis. Speciatim illa formula iterata, quae est “infans in lacte”, clarior redditur aditū anthropologico adhibito, quo monstratur scientia valida “vis attractivae”, quā sors animarum post hanc vitam verbis symbolice exprimitur. Aliam investigationem, quae pertinet ad thema mortis, praebet J. Erasmus BRANDT. Cum picturas in parietibus antiqui sepulcri Etrusci, q.e. Tomba dei Tori, inventas interpretetur, Erasmus Brandt asseverat illas scaenas, quibus secundum observatorem modernum partim est natura obscena, esse aptas, ut intellegantur secundum typum rituum transitoriorum, quem Arnoldus van Gennep exhibuerat. Itaque in picturis sepulcri “legendis” Brandt elementa accurate designare valet, quae spectant ad celebrationes liminares, ad iter liminare et ad conclusiones liminares cum ritibus funeralibus coniunctas. Symbolam quintam sectionis mythologicae scripsit Vilelmus HANSEN. Thema eius lucubrationis sunt “lacunae” mythicae sive omissiones in narratione quadam, quae causam habent in memoriā deficiente vel in defectibus logicis in narratione traditionali inveniendis, sicut narrator eandem recepit. Idem/eadem – sive conscientiā sive subconscientiā – saepe talibus omissionibus mederi conatur novis elementis narrativis inserendis, cum fabulam denuo narrat. Hansen sic nos ducit ad medullam processūs creativi mythorum, ut demonstratur plurimis exemplis exhibitis, quae non solum ex litteraturā Graeco-Romanā, sed etiam ex Sacrā Scripturā deprompta sunt. Denique Petrus JACKSON instigatur ab Rolandi Barthes Mythologiis classicis, cum inquirat in contemporaneas perceptiones antiquitatis Graeco-Romanae, vel distinctius dictum in quaestionem, quomodo haec periodus in pelliculis popularibus et in exhibitionibus museorum repraesentetur. Saepe voluntate optimā dispositores pellicularum atque curatores museorum invehi conantur in “mythos” longe lateque dissipatos, cum exhibitiones praebeant, quas historice magis correctas esse putant. Tales vero emendationes saepe possunt fieri “hypercorrectae”, mutando effectum mythicum in experientiam ineptam vel vanam atque nimis rationalem.

be inaugurated, lacked a teacher in classics. Persuaded into offering her services, Synnøve was included among the staff of this university on 1 September 1972, the very day when it opened its doors to its first students. Apart from the preface and a Tabula Gratulatoria, the introductory section of this Festschrift contains the transcript of an interview which Per Pippin ASPAAS recently made with Synnøve. In this interview she talks – in the Norwegian tongue – about her controversies over the equality of men and women at the University of Tromsø (now UiT The Arctic University of Norway), about the benefits of spoken Latin in the teaching at beginners' courses, about the dissemination of the humanistic disciplines throughout society, and about her anthropological approach to the study of myths, by means of which she thinks she has contributed to a better understanding of life in Antiquity. A bibliography documenting Synnøve's scholarly production rounds off the interview.

## I Pars mythologica

In the first, mythological part of the book Claude CALAME offers no less than a program for the anthropological study of Greek myths. Rejecting philosophical approaches to myth as represented by the likes of Ernst Cassirer, Calame is more sympathetic towards analyses building upon the works of Saussure, Lévi-Strauss and others. However, even such (post-) structuralistic approaches are found to be inadequate. While recognizing the importance of syntactic and semantic dimensions, Calame underscores the importance of pragmatics. In analyzing a fragmentary Melic poem of Sappho he illustrates how traditional heroic narratives were prone to be accommodated according to what he calls a poem's "here and now", or the ritual situation in which it was performed. In the next article, Bruce LINCOLN investigates two versions of the so-called "Scythian" myth of origins as recounted by Herodotus. Whereas former investigators tended to see myths as the authentic, authorless expression of the collective imagination of an entire people, Lincoln vigorously argues that these myths of origins represent instead the shrewd ideological strategems of two distinct elites: a Scythian royal elite wishing to legitimate its privileges on the one hand, and Greek colonists claiming Greek superiority over the Scythians on the other. Stian Sundell TORJUSSEN takes Synnøve des Bouvrie's programmatic article on *The definition of myth: Symbolic phenomena in ancient culture* as his point of departure for the investigation of another distinct set of sources, namely the "Orphic" gold tablets dealing with the afterlife of the initiated in ancient mystery cults. In particular the recurring formula "kid I fell into milk" is elucidated by means of an anthropological approach that shows keen awareness to the "magnetic potential" of symbolic expressions of the fate of the soul after this life. Further investigation of the subject of death is offered by J. Rasmus BRANDT. Interpreting images found on the walls of the ancient Etruscan *Tomba dei Tori*, Brandt argues that the scenes, while partly of an obscene nature to the modern viewer, lend themselves to be interpreted according to the rites-de-passage model as this was developed by A. van Gennep. Thus, when "reading" the iconography of the tomb, Brandt is able to pin-point elements referring to the *liminal celebrations*, the *liminal journey*, and the *liminal conclusion* associated with funerary rites. The fifth article in the mythological section is by William HANSEN. The subject of his contribution are mythic "gaps", or omissions in a narrative that are caused either by lapses of memory or by logical defects in a traditional story as a narrator received it. He/she will often, whether consciously or subconsciously, try to remedy such omissions by filling in new narrative elements when retelling the story. Hansen brings us here to the very heart of the creative processes of myths, as his wide range of examples – stemming from both Greco-Roman literature and Biblical sources – serves to document. Finally, Peter JACKSON draws inspiration from Roland Barthes' classic *Mythologies* when studying contemporary concepts about Greco-Roman Antiquity, or more precisely, how this epoch is represented in popular films and museum exhibitions. Often with the best of intentions, film directors and museum curators tend to attack widespread "myths"

## II Pars philosophico-litteraria

Libri alterā parte continentur septem symbolae, quibus agitur cum de variis aspectibus litteraturae atque philosophiae antiquae et earum effectuum modernorum, tum de investigationibus ad sexūs spectantibus sensū latiore perceptis. Minna SKAFTE JENSEN incumbit in mulieres veteres, quae in Homeri Odyssea apparent, in comparatione aliorum generum hominum. Auctrix animum imprimis intendit in mulieres veteres atque speciatim in veterem servam Eurycleiam. Invenit autem Erycleiae esse indolem ambiguum, quae unā ex parte est maximae curae atque affabilitatis, praesertim erga Ulysses eiusque filium Telemachum, et quae alterā ex parte est terribilis atque dura erga sectatores Penelopae. Etiam Fridericus NILSEN mentem attendit ad mulieres Graeciae antiquae, sed eius cogitatio praecipua ponitur in Platonis perceptione mulierum, quae in dialogis, qui sunt *De Re Publica* et *Timaeus*, invenitur. Etiam si Plato res omnino diversas de mulieribus his in dialogis proferre videtur, Nilsen demonstrare conatur Platonem in utroque dialogo idem somnium ac Apollodorus, Hesiodus Euripidesque participare, nempe “somnia de supervacuitate mulierum”. Symbolā, quae deinde sequitur, Roar ANFINSEN investigat in duas interpretationes diversas alicuius loci (30b) *Apologiae* Platonis, qui maxime disputatur. Secundum interpretationem generalem Socrates / Plato existimat esse conexum necessarium inter virtutem unā ex parte et felicitatem bonaque materialia alterā ex parte, ita ut homo, qui secundum virtutem agit, necessario felix atque divitior fit. Tamen Anfinen sub aspectū, quo John Burnet hunc locum tractat, argumentis adhibitis interpretationem praefert, quā nullus conexus huiusmodi exstat. Deinde Anfinen quasdam quaestiones hermeneuticas ponit, quae imprimis ad perceptionem intellectionis praesumptae pertinent. Espen Andreas LAURITZEN etiam incumbit in philosophiam antiquam. In symbolā suā idem praecipue spectat ad Aristotelem eiusque rationem motionum animi in opera, q.e. *Rhetorices*. Quaestio centralis, quae in litteraturā disputatur, est, utrum an non exstet discrepantia rationis Aristotelicae inter primam partem huius operis eiusque partes reliquas. Principale argumentum, quod Lauritzen profert, constat in eo, quod talis discrepantia non invenitur et quod Aristoteles in parte primā monet effectūs motionum animi esse cavendos, qui sunt alieni argumento ipsi, quod ad condicionem oratoriam pertinet, sed quod Aristoteles aliis in partibus monstrat modos, quibus motiones animi (*ethos* et *pathos*) in conexū cum argumento (*logos*) talibus condicionibus adhiberi possunt. Thea Selliaas THORSEN inquit in figuras femineas celeberrimae Porticūs Pompeianae. In initio symbolae Thorsen exhibet nomina omnium viginti quinque feminarum, quae in hoc grege sculpturarum repraesentantur, inter quas Sappho et Corinna, specialiter attendens ad poetrides, ad quas pertinent Musae, Glycera (*hetaera* quaedam) et Venus. Omnes hae figurae non solum statuae sunt in porticu Pompeiana, sed eadem etiam apparent in poesi Augusteo. Decursū symbolae suae Thorsen monstrat perceptiones litterarias in sculpturis et perceptiones figurativas in litteraturā inveniendas conexūs frugiferas inter artes praebere. Ericus EGEBERG attentionem vertit ad specialem aspectum interpretationis operum Theodori Dostoevsky. Instigati notissimo opere Friderici Nietzsche, quod est *De tragoedia ex spiritu musicae nata*, Russi homines scientifici in litteraturam incumbentes decursū saeculi undevicesimi in fabulis Dostoevskianis spiritum specialiter tragicum videre voluerunt. Praesertim operum Dostoevskianorum commentator Venceslaus Ivanov magnum effectum exseruit in traditionem huiusmodi interpretationis. Ultimam lucubrationem partis philosophico-litterariae scripsit Gerarda BJØRHØVDE, quae nobis praebet descriptionem unius ex Canadae maximis atque maxime singularibus artificibus femineis, nempe Aemiliae Carr. Secundum Gerardam Bjørhovde historia Aemiliae Carr specialiter scitū digna est, quia eadem per totam vitam fascinata erat populis indigenis atque cultū civili Canadae et eosdem admirata erat. Talis fascinatio atque admiratio partes magni momenti egerunt in Aemiliā Carr et artifice et Canadiā excolendā. Historia Aemiliae Carr etiam eā de causā scitū digna esse videtur, quia Aemilia Carr, cum esset mulier, generaliter durius spatium temporis habuit, quam vir quidam haberet, usque dum serio aestimatur artifex.



(in the sense of misconceptions) by producing representations that they see as more historically correct. However, such correctives can often end up being “hypercorrect”, reducing the mythic appeal of the past into a kitschy or flat, overly rational experience.

## II Pars philosophico-literaria

The second, philosophico-literary part of the book contains seven articles on various aspects of ancient literature and philosophy and its modern repercussions, as well as gender studies in a wider sense. Minna SKAFTE JENSEN is concerned with old women in Homer’s *Odyssey* portraits of other kinds of people. Skaft Jensen focuses on the portraits of old women and especially the old slave woman Eurycleia. She finds in Eurycleia an ambiguous character, who on the one hand is the quintessence of care and kindness, especially towards Odysseus and his son Telemachus, whereas she on the other hand is brutal and hard against the suitors of Penelope. Also Fredrik NILSEN focuses on women in ancient Greece, but his main focus lies on Plato’s view of women in the two dialogues *The Republic* and *Timaeus*. Although Plato seems to say completely different things about women in these dialogues, Nilsen tries to show that Plato in both dialogues share the same dream as Apollodorus, Hesiod and Euripides, namely “the dream of women’s superfluity”. In the next article Roar ANFINSEN discusses two different interpretations of a much disputed passage (30b) in Plato’s *Apology*. According to the standard interpretation Socrates / Plato is of the opinion that there is a necessary connection between virtue on the one side and happiness and material goods on the other side, so that the person that acts virtuously necessarily becomes happy and wealthier. Anfinen, on the other hand, argues, in the light of John Burnet’s treatment of the passage, for an interpretation where there is no such a necessary connection. Anfinen thereafter raises several hermeneutical questions, especially on the concept of “pre-understanding”. Espen André LAURITZEN is also concerned with ancient philosophy. The main focus in his article is on Aristotle and his account of emotions in the *Rhetoric*. A central question in the literature is whether or not there is a discrepancy in Aristotle’s account between the first part of the *Rhetoric* and the other parts. Lauritzen’s main argument is that there is no such discrepancy, and that Aristotle in the first part warns against utilizing emotional influences that are foreign to the argument in a rhetorical situation, but that he in the other parts shows ways of utilizing emotions (*ethos* and *pathos*) in connection with argument (*logos*) in such situations. Thea Selliaas THORSEN investigates the female figures in the famous Portico of Pompey. At the beginning of her article Thorsen lists the names of all the 25 females that are represented in this sculpture group, among them Sappho and Corinna, paying special attention to the women poets as a group, along with the Muses, Glycera (a *hetaera*) and Venus. All these figures are not only statues in the Pompeian portico, but they also appear in Augustan poetry. Throughout the article Thorsen shows that literary motives in sculptures and sculptural motives in literature provide fruitful interartistic connections. Erik EGEBERG draws attention to a particular strain of interpretation of the writings of Fyodor Dostoevsky. Inspired by Friedrich Nietzsche’s famous work *Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik*, Russian scholars of literature throughout the twentieth century have tended to see in Dostoevsky’s novels a particularly tragic spirit. Especially the Dostoevsky-commentator Vyacheslav Ivanov has exerted a strong influence on this tradition of interpretation. The last article in the philosophico-literary part is written by Gerd BJØRHØVDE, who provides us with a portrait of one of Canada’s greatest and most unique female artist, Emily Carr. According to Bjørhovde, the story of Carr is particularly interesting, because of Carr’s lifelong fascination with and admiration for the indigenous peoples and culture of Canada. This fascination and admiration played appears to have played an important role in Carr’s development both as an artist and as a Canadian. The story of Carr is also interesting since being a woman meant that Carr generally had a harder time than a man would, being taken seriously as an artist.

### III Pars Thulensis

Tertiā parte libri festivi agitur de populis septentrionalibus, vel de Thule. Per-Bjarne RAVNÅ inquirat in conexūs possibilis inter Imperium Romanum atque Norvegiā septentrionalem. Archaeologi Norvegi, ut asseverat, potius studium historiae Romanae sui generis neglegunt putantes idem esse nullius momenti vel omnino marginale, cum agatur de vitā illius temporis in extremo septentrione intellegendā. Tamen reliquiis vestimentorum Romanorum in sepulcro quodam tertiū saeculi p.Chr.n. iuxta locum Steigen inventis postulatur, ut scientia historiae Romanae et specialiter systematis militiae Romanae penitus exaretur. Ut Ravnå putat, vir defunctus iuxta locum Steigen inventus verisimiliter erat veteranus copiarum, quae *auxilia* vel *numeri* appellantur, qui vir scientiam profundam linguae Latinae cultūque civilis sibi acquisiverat. Petrus SANDIN partem septentrionalem continuat inquisitione omnium hominum Hyperboreorum, qui in litteraturā antiquā inde ab Herodoto atque Pindaro usque ad grammaticos historicosque Byzantinos commemorantur. Cum omnes fontes notos enumeret et in traditionem textualem uniuscuiusque exempli allati attendat, Sandin continuatum momentum latitudinis lexicalis atque criticae textualis in studiis litteraturae classicae demonstrat. Tuomo PEKKANEN deliberat de disputatione latā alicuius epitheti specialis, quod in *Historia Norvegiae* (circiter annum 1200 exaratā) invenitur, quo Finni appellantur *cornuti* sive “cornibus instructi”. Versio simplex, quae est “cum cornibus”, plura problemata evocat et aliis testimoniis historicis vel (palaeo-)anthropologicis vix coniungi potest. Solutio Tuomonis Pekkanen spectat ad alium et documentis bene probatum sensum verbi, quod est *cornutus*, nempe “cum unguibus”. Propter specialia genera calceamentorum ab indigenis gestorum, quae aspectum unguularum praebent, haec interpretatio fit verisimilis. Espen KARLSEN fontem textualem maxime neglectum exhibet, quo demonstrantur saepe perturbatae perceptiones Scandinaviae, quae in Europā in initio aetatis typographicae florebant. Notissimis incunabilis sic dictis, quibus exhibetur Hartmanni Schedel *Liber chronicarum*, continetur textus, quo agitur de geographia atque stemmate regali Daniae, Suetiae Norvegiaeque. Quem textum edidit atque primā vice in linguam Norvegicam vertit Espen Karlsen. Petrus Pippinus ASPAAS et Haraldus GASKI alium fontem ad Scandinaviam spectantem praebent, nempe textum Caspari Peucer professoris Vitembergensis de shamanismo Samico anno 1560 in lucem editum. Ille textus, qui in modernā litteraturā historiae religionis Samicae raro affertur, hic editur unā cum apparatus critico et ei praeterea adiunguntur commentationes historicae atque versiones et in sermonem Samicum septentrionalem et in linguam Norvegicam. Denique Reijo PITKÄRANTA alium atque omnino contemporaneum fontem introducit, nempe *Nuntios Latinos* septimanatim radiophoniā Finnicā exhibitos. Cum ipse sit unus ex “patribus fundatoribus” horum nuntiorum, Pitkäranta relationem praestantem historiae huius incepti inde ex eius initio anno 1989 facto praebet. Deinde pergit disputando, quomodo Norvegia decursū viginti quinque annorum praeteritorum in *Nuntiis* apparuerit. Pitkäranta statuit hanc civitatem Finniae vicinam revera satis saepe commemoratam esse conexibus et positivis et calamitosis, cuius aspectus ultimi exemplum eminentissimum est impetus violentus alicuius tromocratis die 22 m. Iul. a. 2011 factus.

### IV Pars Latinitatis vivae

Libri parte quartā, c.t. *Latinitas viva*, septem symbolae continentur, quibus varii aspectus tractantur illius disciplinae, quae “Latinitas recentior sive recens” appellatur, cum non solum agatur de ipso usū linguae Latinae, sed etiam de quibusdam quaestionibus litterariis. Sigrides ALBERT in initio huius partis explicare conatur linguam Latinam esse fundamentum cultus civilis Europaei maximi momenti, cum eiusdem usus practicus sive modo scripto litterarioque sive vivā voce prolatus traditionem paene trium milium annorum habeat et copia litteraturae Latinae, quae post antiquitatem usque in hodiernum diem exorta est, textus antiquos multimodis superet. Similiter Benedictini plurima ad commune fundamentum tum Europaeum

### III Pars Thulensis

The third part of the Festschrift is about the peoples of the North, or Thule. Per-Bjarne RAVNÅ discusses possible connections between the Roman Empire and Northern Norway. Norwegian archaeologists, he argues, tend to neglect the study of Roman history in its own right, regarding it as irrelevant or at best extremely peripheral to our understanding of life in the Far North in the period. However, the discovery of remains of Roman clothing in a third-century CE grave in Steigen, Nordland County, calls for in-depth knowledge of Roman history, and the Roman military system in particular. According to Ravnå, the deceased man from Steigen probably was a veteran of troops known as *auxilia* or *numeri*, and must have acquired intimate familiarity with Latin language and culture. Pär SANDIN continues the part on the North with a survey of all Hyperborean individuals mentioned in ancient literature from Herodotus and Pindar to Byzantine grammarians and historians. By enumerating all known sources and paying attention to the textual tradition in each quoted example, Sandin demonstrates the continuing relevance of lexical comprehensiveness and textual criticism to the study of classical literature. Tuomo PEKKANEN delivers a wide-ranging discussion on one particular epithet found in the *Historia Norwegiae* from about the year 1200, where the Finns are called *cornuti* or “horned”. The straightforward translation, “with horns” leads to numerous problems and can hardly be reconciled with other historical or (palaeo-) anthropological evidence. Pekkanen’s solution is to point to another and well-documented meaning of *cornutus*, namely, “with hoofs”. Certain types of indigenous footwear resemble hoofs, making this interpretation more reliable. Espen KARLSEN presents a largely neglected textual source that illustrates the often confused concepts of Scandinavia that flourished in Europe at the dawn of the age of printing. A famous incunable, Hartmann Schedel’s *Liber chronicarum* contains a text dealing with the geography and royal lineages of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. It is edited and translated for the first time into the Norwegian language by Karlsen. Per Pippin ASPAAS and Harald GASKI present another source on Scandinavia, namely, the Wittenberg professor Caspar Peucer’s text on Sami shamanism published in 1560. Rarely quoted in modern literature on the history of Sami religion, the original text is presented with a critical apparatus and accompanied by a historical contextualisation and translations into both North Sami and Norwegian. Finally, Reijo PITKÄRANTA introduces another and fully contemporary source, namely, the weekly *Nuntii Latini* of the Finnish Broadcasting Company. Himself a founding father of this news service, Pitkäranta provides an authoritative account of the history of this undertaking since its inception in 1989. He then proceeds to discuss how Norway has been covered in the *Nuntii* over the past 25 years. Pitkäranta finds that this neighbouring country of Finland has in fact figured fairly frequently, both in positive and disastrous contexts, the one-man terrorist assault of 22 July 2011 being the most prominent example of the latter category.

### IV Pars Latinitatis vivae

The fourth part of the book bears the title “Living Latinity”. It contains seven articles, all of which treat various aspects of the discipline known as Neo-Latin. Not only the use of the Latin language itself, but also certain literary subject matters are placed under scrutiny. Sigrid ALBERT attempts in the article opening this section to explain that the Latin language is an important fundament for European culture, since it active use – be it in written or in oral form – knows an unbroken tradition of nearly three millennia. The Latin literature stemming from postclassical times is so vast that it by far exceeds the extant corpus of texts from Antiquity. In a similar manner, the Benedictines have contributed greatly to the common fundaments of Europe, partly by making sure that Latin texts – including ancient ones – were preserved for posterity, partly by writing Latin works of their own. The Latin language has thus been used over the course of the centuries by many peoples and in numerous contexts, and still serves

praeter aliā curā suā intellectuali textūs Latinos (etiam antiquos) asservantes et tradentes atque ipsi quōque opera Latina conscribentes. Itaque apparet linguam Latinam decursū saeculorum ab multis populis in conexibus variis adhibitam adhuc esse linguam internationalem atque supranationalem. Petrus Pippinus ASPAAS conspectum potius generalem saeculorum septimi decimi et duodevicesimi nobis proponit demonstrans homines scientificos eruditosque illius temporis usū linguae Latinae coniunctos fuisse, cum omnibus terminis civilibus, ideologicis religiosisque superatis Latine inter se communicarent operibus suis inquisitionibusque Latine exaratis. Illo enim tempore linguae vernaculae – Francogallicā fortasse exceptā – nondum erant in eo, ut tamquam linguae internationales adhiberi possent. Usum practicum sermonis Latini etiam in scholari institutione Latinā esse utilissimum demonstrat Milena MINKOVA. Quae enim ex experiētiā propriā hauriens multa exempla proponit, quibus adhibitis in superioribus quōque classibus et grammatica Latina et lectio Caesaris modo activo, id est magistris discipulisque quadamtenus Latine loquentibus doceri possunt. Didascalicum aspectum etiam, sed alio modo tractans Terentius TUNBERG incumbit in Colloquia familiaria, quae dicuntur, et quae conscribere tempore renascentiae magni humanistae non dedignati sunt. Nam talibus textibus formā satis facilibus iidem discipulos linguam Latinam eiusque bonum usum cottidianum addiscere voluerunt, ita ut sine difficultate inter se et cum aliis Latine sermocinari valerent. In varios textūs huiusmodi auctor incumbit eorum scopos explicans atque hunc in modum demonstrans, quam utiles esse possint iidem in hodiernā quōque institutione Latinā. Alium aditum ad totum thema habet Vibeca ROGGEN. Nam eadem incumbit in quaestionem, quot et qualia verba Latina Graecaque in linguas modernas translata sint, quomodo hoc factum sit et quae verba adhuc adhibeantur. Linguas autem Anglicam, Hispanicam atque Norvegicam ut exempla adhibet sic maximam hereditatem Latinam in his linguis inveniendam exhibens. Hunc in modum etiam demonstrare valet, quale emolumentum in sermonibus vernaculis perspiciendis scientia linguae Latinae habeat. Aspectus magis litterarius symbolis reliquis praebetur. Duae autem lucubrationes ad auctores speciales spectant. Theodoricus SACRÉ in opus Latinum saeculi septimi decimi nondum editum incumbit idemque explicat etiam in conexum historicum biographicumque auctoris inquirens. Agitur autem de Sigismundo Chisio, qui erat nepos Alexandri VII papae et qui pepigerat magnum poema de familia Chisiana agens. Ipse autem papa nepotem suum in operibus carminibusque Latinis conscribendis promoverat et Sigismundum etiam momentum familiae Chisianae in historia Romana docuerat. Curtius SMOLAK denique auctorem saeculi duodevicesimi ex Germania exoriundum, qui ad Ordinem Sancti Benedicti pertinebat, thema sibi proposuit. Ille Coelestinus Leuthner, de quo agitur, multa carmina Latina varii generis composuerat, in quae hac symbolā sub aspectū speciali inquiritur. Nam Coelestinus Leuthner erat fervidissimus amator Beatae Mariae Virginis, quā de causā illā ipsius addictio in poesi eius bene inveniri potest. Hac vero in symbolā vestigia imprimis Sanctae Mariae in carminibus Leuthneri repperiri demonstrantur. Praeterea structurae compositionisque modus, cum comparentur cum epigrammatis antiquis explicantur, ita ut scopus Coelestini Leuthner perspicuus reddatur.

### **Gratiarum actio**

Primum omnium Sunnivae gratias agere volumus pro studiis laboribusque suis indesinentibus decursū annorum exhibitis, quibus docuit, investigationes fecit atque scientiam suam linguarum classicarum cultūsque civilis disseminavit propagavitque. Speciales autem gratiae debentur Instituto Cultūs Civilis Litteraturaeque in studiorum Universitate Tromsoeana unā cum gubernatore Ketil Zachariassen atque administrationis praeposita Beata Paulsen, quod inceptum nostrum sustentaverunt; idem debetur periodico, c.t. *Nordlit*, cum editore suo principali Michaele Schmidt; gratias etiam agimus Sigmundo Nettet, quod copias imaginum electronicas nec non frontispicium confecit. Denique omnibus auctoribus auctricibusque gratias agimus pro cooperatione efficaci fructuosaque. *Gaudeamus igitur!*



as an international, or supranational, language. Per Pippin ASPAAS provides a rather broad survey of how scholars within the natural sciences as well as the humanities were attached to the use of Latin during the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. All the terms relating to culture, ideology and religion aside, scholars used Latin to communicate with each other and wrote their books and articles in that language. For during this period the vernaculars – with the possible exception of French – had not yet reached a position in which they merited to be characterized as international languages. How convenient use of the Latin tongue can be even in teaching at school is demonstrated by Milena MINKOVA. Drawing upon her own experience as a teacher she gives numerous examples of how pupils of advanced classes can benefit from gaining familiarity with both Latin grammar and texts of Caesar on their curriculum through a certain degree of active Latin conversation between teacher and pupils in the classroom. Another pedagogical subject is treated – albeit somewhat differently – by Terence TUNBERG, who studies the so-called *colloquia familiaria* (intimate conversations) that were written by some of the greatest humanists of the European Renaissance. Such texts, composed as they were in a rather uncomplicated style, were intended by the humanists to aid students learn to master the nuances of the Latin language in everyday conversation, so that they should be able to use it fluently when talking to each other, or with others, in Latin. Tunberg presents various texts of this kind, and in explaining their aims and scope he also demonstrates how they can be used fruitfully even in present-day teaching of Latin. Vibeke ROGGEN is approaching the same subject from another angle, namely by discussing the question of Greek and Latin words that have found their way into modern languages. Not only how many and what kind of words that were adopted, but also in what manner this process has taken place and still takes place constitute the focus of Roggen's article. As examples she uses English, Spanish and Norwegian, all of which are found to have a massive Latin heritage in their vocabularies. In this way she is able to prove how vital intimate knowledge of Latin is to the linguistic investigation of the vernaculars in question. The remaining two articles are more literary oriented and deal with individual authors. Dirk SACRÉ provides a study of a hitherto unpublished Latin text by a seventeenth-century author, whose biography and broader historical context are placed under scrutiny. The author in question is Sigismondo Chigi, nephew of Pope Alexander VII and the man behind a grand poem on the Chigi family. Pope Alexander had promoted this nephew through the composition of poems and other works in Latin and even taught him the role of his family in Roman history. Finally, Kurt SMOLAK has chosen as his subject a German-born author from the eighteenth century who was a member of the Benedictine Order, Coelestinus Leuthner. This monk composed a variety of Latin poems in different genres. In Smolak's article these poems are analysed from a rather distinct angle. Leuthner was an ardent lover of the Blessed Virgin Mary, an addiction which has left a marked imprint on his poetry. The article places particular emphasis on tracing Saint Mary's footprints in Leuthner's oeuvre. Moreover, by studying their structure and the method in which they were composed in comparison with ancient epigrams, Coelestinus Leuthner's poetic aims are elucidated.

### **Acknowledgments**

Above all, we wish to thank Synnøve for her relentless efforts over the years, in which she has taught, researched and disseminated knowledge about classical languages and culture. The Department of Culture and Literature at the UiT with head of department Ketil Zachariassen and administrative leader Beathe Paulsen deserve special thanks for supporting the project; so does the journal *Nordlit* with Editor-in-Chief Michael Schmidt; and Sigmund Nettet for providing scannings of various images as well as designing the front cover. Last, but not least, we thank all authors for their rewarding collaboration. *Gaudeamus igitur!*



# SYNNØVE DES BOUVRIES KARRIERE VED UNIVERSITETET I TROMSØ, 1972–2014: INTERVJU OG BIBLIOGRAFI

Per Pippin Aspaas

## INTERVJU<sup>1</sup>

*Du har akkurat vært på Kreta for å delta i dåpen av ditt siste barnebarn, Artemis. Ble du konsultert angående dette navnevalget?*

Nei, jeg ble nok ikke det. Artemis er nemlig en tvetydig skikkelse, sett med moderne briller. Først og fremst er hun en makt som verner de unge i samfunnet, spesielt jenter og kvinner, på vei inn i voksenlivet. Også menn er blitt «vernet» av henne. I en artikkel jeg skrev til en bok utgitt i Danmark [B72] har jeg tatt for meg Artemis-kulten i Sparta. Gudinnen inngikk der i ritualer hvor unge gutter ble – bokstavelig talt – pisket gjennom diverse bestialske initierings-riter som skulle forberede dem til en karriere som uovervinnelige krigere. Pierre Bourdieu har skrevet en glimrende artikkel om nettopp initiering. Det går ut på en prøve, en anstrengelse, hvor formålet er at de som skal initieres må komme seg over en terskel. På andre siden av denne terskelen har man funnet sin plass i samfunnshierarkiet. Det man ikke snakker om, er at terskelen er «inn i et område», og utenfor dette området er det mange andre mennesker som er stengt ute. De har ikke rett til å initieres, kan aldri bli en del av eliten. For dem er det ikke relevant – de hører ikke til i den kategorien mennesker som kan initieres. Dette med spartanernes sagnomsuste tapperhet og uovervinnelighet har forresten relevans også i nåtiden, ut over hva det forteller om dannelsen av eliter. Jeg har snakket om dette på Senter for fredsstudier her ved universitetet. Antropologer har vært enige med meg i at krig ikke bare oppstår som følge av strid om landområder eller ressurser. Det er også en nødvendig forutsetning at unge (særlig menn) er blitt pisket gjennom ritualer som har herdet dem og brutt dem ned til å bli i stand til å utføre brutalitet og drap. I visse samfunn vektlegges slike ritualer sterkt, se bare på treningsprogrammene for US Marines. Amerikanske antropologer kaller dette for *battle proofing*. Det er kanskje trist å tenke på at en tilsynelatende naturvennlig og «økologisk» jaktgudinne som Artemis er blitt brukt i slike sammenhenger. Men det gode er at jeg har funnet ut at menn slettes ikke er født voldelige. Mennesker må hundses for å bli i stand til å hundse andre!

*Du er født og oppvokst i Nederland og fikk din utdanning ved Universitetet i Leiden. Hvordan gikk det til at akkurat du ble en av de første ansatte ved Universitetet i Tromsø i 1972?*

Min mann tok medisinerutdanning, vi møttes under studietiden i Leiden. Vi kom til Tromsø sommeren 1971, da han fikk jobb som lege i militæret, ved Grøtsund fort. Vår eldste sønn, Erlend, var født i Nederland i 1968, mens Kirsti ble født her i landet i 1971. Jeg så for meg et

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<sup>1</sup> Teksten er en sterkt redigert versjon av et mer enn tre timer langt intervju utført på Synnøves kontor ved Institutt for kultur og litteratur, 24. september 2014. Tallkoder innenfor klammeparentes refererer til bibliografien. Takk til Maja-Lisa Løchen og Titi des Bouvrie for private foto; til Hazel Armstrong for noen tilleggsopplysninger; og til Synnøve selv for å ha lest gjennom og komplettert både intervjuet og bibliografien.

liv som husmor. Jeg skulle male og tegne på hobbybasis som min mor, min utdannelse var ikke noe jeg skulle bruke til annet enn «dannede konversasjoner». Det var absolutt ikke et scenario at jeg skulle ha meg en jobb og tjene egne penger. Det kan være vanskelig å forestille seg i dag, hvor sterkt den kalvinistiske moralen preget alle oss som vokste opp i det nederlandske samfunnet. Men en meningsmåling utført i 1970 viste at godt over nitti prosent av befolkningen i Nederland var motstandere av at kvinner med skolegående barn skulle ut i arbeidslivet (førskolebarn var det ikke spørsmål om). Og andelen kvinner i vitenskapelige stillinger var på beskjedne to prosent! Men så var det en vennlig mann, en feltprest ved Troms sjøforsvarsdistrikt, som bodde i nabolaget på toppen av Tromsøya [Bent Reidar Eriksen]. Han kom en gang over med avisen og viste meg en annonse for en lektorstilling i klassiske studier ved det nyopprettede universitet. For meg var dette som sagt en fjern tanke, jeg skulle jo passe barn. Det var innprentet i meg gjennom hele oppveksten og voksenlivet så langt.

*Men så søkte du altså likevel?*

Ja, for denne presten ga seg ikke. Og jeg er ham stor takk skyldig. Jeg merket, da jeg kom ut i jobb, at jeg følte at jeg fikk «puste» igjen, på en måte jeg ikke hadde tillatt meg å kjenne at jeg savnet. Det var virkelig en interessant og givende jobb. Jeg gikk ned til 50 prosents stilling i en periode for å ta meg av barna mens de var små, men jobben var alltid der. Likevel fikk jeg meg mine kalddusjer. En gammel studiekamerat møtte jeg en gang på en konferanse ikke så lenge etter at jeg var begynt å jobbe. Han gikk til frontalangrep på meg under en pause. Hvordan kunne jeg, som hadde en legeutdannet mann som kunne forsørge meg, være så frekk at jeg tok jobben fra mine mannlige studiekamerater? Kvinner var uansett mindre begavete, så det var uhørt at en som meg skulle bane seg vei opp på podiet for å undervise, på bekostning av en mann. Og hadde jeg ikke barn? Hvordan våget jeg å sende dem i barnehagen, all den tid barnehagebarn hadde statistisk mye større sjanse for å bli kriminelle enn de som vokste opp med en trygg og varm husmor? Tøvete var det, alt sammen, objektivt sett var det for eksempel ingen arbeidsløshet i Nederland på den tiden. Men altså... dette med å være kvinne, mindre begavet og med plikter overfor barna... det ga meg mange våkenetter.

*Men slike holdninger preget vel ikke humanistene ved «det røde universitetet»?*

Nei, heldigvis var miljøet ved Institutt for språk og litteratur nytenkende og dynamisk. Den første tiden hadde vi kontor i provisoriske Moelven-brakker oppe ved Nordlysobservatoriet, hvor vi fikk låne undervisningslokaler. Ingenting var på plass, improviseringsånden drev verket. Senere flyttet vi til Berg-bygget og siden Brennbygget. Det var mange småbarnsforeldre blant de ansatte, og vi hadde et godt fellesskap, med blant annet fantastiske juletre-fester hvor jeg lagde dukketeaterforestillinger.

*«Nordområderelevans» og «arktisk strategi» er ord som går igjen i dette universitetets festtaler nå for tiden. Tidligere snakket man i humaniora- og samfunnsfagene om viktigheten av landsdelsrelevans. Universitetet skulle bidra til å bygge opp en nordnorsk identitet og støtte opp om distriktenes kamp mot sentrale strøk, det være seg Oslo eller Brussel. Du må ha vært litt av en «sjelden fugl» her oppe?*

Både ja og nei. Klassisk og nordisk og – litt tilfeldig – også russisk, var faktisk de første språkfagene ved Universitetet i Tromsø da undervisningen startet i september 1972. Det var obligatoriske forprøver i latin i Oslo, så man tenkte vel at det måtte man ha på plass også her i Tromsø. Dermed kom en lektorstilling i klassiske studier [gresk og latin] tidlig på blokka – det ble sett på som en forutsetning for å kunne bli et ordentlig universitet.

*Nå tenkte jeg mest på dette med de klassiske studienes tvilsomme «landdelsrelevans»...*



Det merket jeg lite til, det var uansett stor spredning i temaer og fagdisipliner ved det unge universitetet. Syttitallet var beinhardt på en helt annen måte. Det var ikke så mye det at jeg representerte den «klassiske dannelsen» og det «kontinentale». Problemet var at jeg ble klassifisert som en del av byborgerskapet. Husk at det ikke var mange nordlendinger blant universitetets ansatte til å begynne med, motsetningene sto mellom by og land. Jon Hellesnes, Atle Måseide, Ånund Haga og alle disse identifiserte seg med Bygdenorge, mens slike som Åse Hiorth Lervik og meg i deres øyne utgjorde *the establishment*, siden vi kom fra den urbane middelklassen. Det var harde slag, og alt var tillatt. Veggaviser med slagord som «forskning for folket» og «væpna revolusjon» var daglig å se. En som ikke akkurat var med på barrikadene i AKP-ml, men som likevel i høy grad representerte denne by mot land-tankegangen, var Narve Bjørge. Da jeg skulle forsvare kjønnskoteringsreglementet i Universitetstinget, såret han meg noe så enormt ved å hevde at min kamp for kvinners rettigheter i realiteten var et forsøk på å skyve guttene fra distriktet enda lengre ned på rangstigen. Nå skulle borgerskapets kvinner komme svinsende og presse bygdeguttene ut fra universitetene enda en gang, liksom. Jeg merker at jeg blir emosjonell av å snakke om dette, selv etter så mange år. Det disse guttene ikke anerkjente, ikke *ville* anerkjenne, var den massive undertrykkelsen av kvinner i utdanningssammenheng og i samfunnet generelt. Det slike som meg hadde å kjempe med av samvittighetskvaler og våkenetter for i det hele tatt å ha en jobb og sende barna fra oss i barnehagen til hverdags, var ukjent for dem. De så bare seg selv, sin egen marginaliserte status. For øvrig hadde jeg gjennom hele oppveksten tilbrakt sommerferiene «i regnskogen» i ytre Fana, hvor vi fremdeles har et sommerhus som jeg nå eier. Det ligger midt inne i et gårdbrukerområde utenfor Bergen. De ble sett ned på av bergenserne, men gårdbrukerne i Fana har jeg alltid følt et sterkt slektskap med. Min mor var riktignok kapteinsdatter fra Bergen, men byens fine sosietetsliv hadde hun aldri kjent seg hjemme i. Ute på bygda slappet hun av og var hjemme. Hun var forresten en nær venn av Nordahl Grieg, som hun en gang reiste til Moskva for å besøke. Det var urettferdig å karakterisere meg som en jente fra byborgerskapet!

*Det bringer oss over til ditt arbeid med likestilling. Du har sittet i Likestillingsutvalget siden det ble opprettet midt på syttitallet, var det ikke så?*

De store trekkene er beskrevet i det lille heftet som Aase Wynn redigerte i forbindelse med utvalgets 25-årsjubileum [D4]. Kort fortalt ble utvalget først opprettet i en tidsbegrenset periode på ett år, men takket være massiv mobilisering i universitetstinget klarte vi å få det videreført i både én og to perioder til, før det ble permanent. Jeg var leder for dette ganske lenge [1977–79 og 1982]. Det var mange harde tak, selv om vi i noen grad fikk drahjelp fra politisk hold. I 1980/81 kom en Stortingsproposisjon som påla universitetene å ta likestillingsperspektiver inn i undervisningen. Jeg hadde vært med, som pioner, da alle universitetets studieplaner og reglementer skulle utformes, blant annet deltok jeg på et møte i Universitetstinget som varte i to dager for å vedta målsettingen for examen philosophicum. Jeg tenkte som så, at det måtte være ex.phil. som var stedet hvor slike perspektiver naturlig kunne inngå. Det ble en heftig og sårende strid, hvor filosofene kjempet imot med nebb og klør. Jon Hellesnes lot seg verve inn i Likestillingsutvalget, som for øvrig gikk under navnet «Likestillingspolitiet». Han og andre filosofer trenerte Stortingets vedtak i hele fire år. Men så skrev til slutt Atle Måseide en uttalelse hvor han var så uforsiktig å liste opp de viktigste fundamentene for Tromsø-varianten av ex.phil., herunder diskusjoner omkring «sentrale filosofiske spørsmål». Dermed stilte han seg åpen for kritikk. Kvinnesak og likestilling måtte da nettopp være «sentrale filosofiske spørsmål» – filosofene syntes ikke å være seg bevisst sine egne verdivalg, argumenterte jeg i brev overfor universitetsstyret. Etter sigende tok daværende rektor Stalsberg en telefon til Jakob Meløe, som ikke hørte til i noen leir egentlig. På direkte spørsmål fra rektor skal han ha sagt seg enig i at jo, det stemte nok at likestilling var et aktuelt

samfunnsspørsmål som det absolutt burde være mulig å filosofere over. Dessuten var ex.phil. under press fra en del fag som ikke så relevansen av det, så kanskje var tiden moden for å inkludere et brennbart tema som dette. Og slik ble det. Vedtaket i universitetsstyret banet vei for slike som Elin Svenneby og Anniken Greve, pionerkvinner ved filosofi i Tromsø. Jeg synes det er enormt viktig å fortelle om dette. Ordninger som i dag tas for selvfølgeligheter, kom ikke på plass uten strid. At tilsynelatende oppgående filosofer krøp ned i skyttergravene på denne måten, er uhyre interessant, historisk sett.

*Du snakket for litt siden om de nederlandske dogmene du bar med deg. Men du må da ha hørt om sekstiåtter-opprøret, om Simone de Beauvoir, da du hadde dine «formative år» ved Universitetet i Leiden?*

Nei, overhodet ikke. Vi levde altfor beskyttet til å få det med oss, dessuten var alle døgnets våkne timer preget av knallhard studering og regelrett pugg. Det var først i møtet med miljøet ved Universitetet i Tromsø, og især Åse Hiorth Lervik, at jeg fikk min feministiske oppvåkning. Hun satte oss igang med foredragsserier, bokutgivelser og nasjonale seminarer – og tok også initiativ til den alternative Nordisk Råds litteraturpris til Märta Tikkanen, der jeg fikk i oppgave å sende ut giroblanketter til dem som ville støtte aksjonen. Vi ble i *Nordlys* omtalt som «kvinnemafiaen», og det var ikke helt uten grunn...

*Så Åse Hiorth Lervik var ledestjernen?*

Ja, i høy grad. Jeg ville neppe ha slått inn på den forskerkarrieren jeg gjorde uten henne. Kjønnsperspektivet i litteraturen grep meg først, senere kom de antropologiske perspektivene inn, også der med mann-kvinne-relasjoner som omdreiningspunkt. Åse satt sentralt i NAVF [Norges allmennvitenskapelige forskningsråd] og inspirerte mange av oss unge kvinner til å søke om stipender. Selv var jeg ikke så flytende i norsk den første tiden, så det bidro nok litt til å usynliggjøre meg. (Som en parentes kan jeg nevne at jeg en gang på Universitetsbiblioteket møtte en ex.phil.-student som spurte etter «artikkelen til Simone des Bouvrie»... men der stoppet altså likheten! Mitt slektsnavn skyldes at min far nedstammet fra hugenotter som innvandret til Nederland under religionsstridighetene på slutten av 1500-tallet.)

*Du har også en tvillingsøster, sågar en enegget tvillingsøster, Bjørghild. Hun er også utdannet klassisk filolog. Var det tilfeldig at det ble deg, og ikke henne, som slo inn på en akademisk løpebane?*

Mer enn tilfeldig, vil jeg si. Det var hun som førte an i dette. Selv hadde jeg et brennende ønske om å ta kunstutdanning i Sverige. Familien var ofte på ferie i Skandinavia, og jeg falt helt for den vidunderlige skandinaviske designen som vi blant annet så utstilt i København. Men min mor mente det var «for farlig» for en ung pike å dra så langt hjemmefra, til tross for at hun selv altså reiste fra Bergen til Paris som pur ung for å ta kunstutdanning der... Så etter klassisk gymnas fortsatte jeg bare med klassisk filologi og antikkens kultur ved Universitetet i Leiden som min søster. Det var en kolossal arbeidsinnsats som krevdes – på universitetet hadde jeg store mengder pensum på klassisk gresk og latin og sekundærlitteratur på fire fremmedspråk. Men karriereveiene var få eller ikke-eksisterende for oss jenter. Skulle du bli noe, måtte en professor plukke deg ut og allernådigst utpeke deg til assistent. Det var uten unntak menn som ble plukket ut. Min søster var faktisk så «heldig» å få et slikt tilbud, fra en professor i middelalderlatin. Ikke at hun ikke var begavet nok, men tilbudet var selvsagt for utrolig til å være basert på faglige vurderinger alene. Professoren reiste ofte til Paris for å lese kilder. Det ble ensomt og kjedelig der nede uten kona. Min søster hadde langt hår og var ugift... ja, du skjønner. Hun kunne ha brutt en barriere og blitt middelalderlatinist, men ikke på de premissene. En annen anekdote jeg kan fortelle er om en gang de mannlige studentene

hadde festet så sterkt i sin «klubb» at ingen andre enn den lille håndfullen kvinnelige studenter møtte opp til undervisning neste morgen. Foreleseren kom, skuet ut over lokalet og sa: «Siden ingen er til stede, avlyser jeg» – og så snudde han på hælen og gikk. Budskapet var tydelig nok, som kvinne i academia ble man ikke regnet for noe.

*Hva med din egen doctoraalexamen? Den var om Plautus etter det jeg forstår. Var det du selv som hadde valgt dette emnet, eller var det veilederen?*

Det var nok jeg selv. I den tiden hadde jeg slikt behov for å le, forstår du. Jeg fikk høyeste karakter, *cum laude*, svarende til *prae ceteris* her. Men det var ikke en doktorgrad i norsk betydning, snarere en hovedfagsoppgave: Ganske enkle tekstlesninger uten for mye teori eller akademisk tyngde. Min egentlige doktorgrad (dr.philos.) tok jeg i 1988, som du vet, og først etter dette ble jeg professor.

*Fra Plautus-oppgaven i 1970 til doktorgraden om kvinner i den greske tragedien som du forsvarte atten år senere [A1] gikk du utvilsomt en lang vei. I begynnelsen publiserte du jevnt og trutt i rene litteraturtidsskrift, som Edda og Vinduet. Men så merker man en gradvis bevegelse fra tradisjonell litteraturvitenskapelig filologi og over mot antropologiske perspektiver. Hvordan gikk dette til, hvem inspirerte deg i den retningen?*

Jeg hadde jo ikke samfunnsfag i fagkretsen. Men på Universitetsbiblioteket var det latterlig få bøker innen klassisk filologi til å begynne med. Så var det at min kollega på engelsk, Fredrik Brøgger, en vakker dag sa til meg: «Gå og kikk litt på antropologihyllene, der står det mye spennende». Og det gjorde det sannelig. Jeg hadde kanskje hatt dette samfunnsperspektivet latent hele tiden, kjønnsperspektiver i litteraturforskningen innebærer jo at man (også) studerer samfunnets strukturer. Men med disse teoretikerne fikk jeg et språk, et analytisk apparat som kunne gi så mye mer. Det brakte meg mange steg fremover, men var også et dristig grep som ikke bare vekket begeistring.

*Men du fikk da ting på trykk, som din artikkel om Augustus' morallovgivning i Symbolae Osloenses fra 1984 [B23]. Den er da ganske antropologisk?*

Synes du det? Tja, den har vel et samfunnsperspektiv, men er ikke preget av noe antropologisk begrepsapparat, så vidt jeg husker. Det har ikke vært mye anerkjennelse å få fra mine klassisk-filologiske kolleger, i hvert fall ikke her i Norge. Jeg har merket, når jeg har lagt frem mine teorier, at yngre generasjoner pleier å være langt mer lydhøre. Selv har jeg tatt et sprang vekk fra det man har empirisk belegg for i tekstene. Å være teoretisk, syntetisk-antropologisk orientert er ikke «god latin» for klassisk-filologer. Men jeg har syntes at spørsmålene var for viktige til å la være å stille dem. Så jeg har beveget meg inn i de store feiringene – lekene i Olympia, teaterfeiringene, Dionysoskulten, Artemiskulten. Her har man ganske visst et stort empirisk materiale. Men hva som faktisk drev menneskene til å delta i disse feiringene og hvordan en derfor må forstå diktningen som hørte til i dem, ligger ikke klart i dagen. For å ta rede på dette må man bevege seg over i antropologien.

*Én svale gjør ingen sommer, heter det. Men midt på nittitallet kom «Antikkprogrammet», Forskningsrådet storstilte satsing på klassiske studier. Og du fikk en kollega, Héléne Whittaker von Hofsten. På toppen av det hele fikk du penger til det internasjonale symposiet «Myth and Symbol I», som gikk av stabelen i Tromsø forsommeren 1998. Var det ikke mye som pekte i rett retning da?*

Det er nok riktig at Antikkprogrammet bidro en hel del til den nasjonale rekrutteringen og til den generelle respekten for antikk-kompetanse i academia i Norge. Men her i Tromsø hadde

jeg ingen kandidater å fremme, vi hadde verken hovedfag- eller doktorgradskandidater innen latin og gresk. Jeg vet at Roar Anfinson på filosofi fikk noe slags stipend, men ellers var det skralt. Når det gjelder min kollega, er jeg veldig glad for hennes del for at hun har fått en stilling innen sitt spesialfelt, gresk bronsealderarkeologi, i Göteborg. Det unner jeg henne virkelig. Men det er et problem for et utkantuniversitet som vårt at dyktige forskere søker seg vekk. Myth and Symbol var ellers trivelig nok, jeg spilte «det eksotiske arktis»-kortet, og det virket. Toppforskere strømmet til fra hele antikkforskningens verden. Bevilgningen til Myth and Symbol I var fabelaktig og symposiet var en begivenhet for både gjestene og meg, slik at jeg faktisk fikk bygget et internasjonalt nettverk. Men jeg har til gode å oppleve at folk tar seg bryet med å lese seg inn i den antropologiske litteraturen. Selv om det var gode diskusjoner under de tre seminarer Myth and Symbol I, II og III [hvorav de to siste foregikk i Athen], føler jeg at jeg ikke har fått gjennomslag for min antropologiske lese måte av selve tragediene.

*Kan du utdype det?*

Jo, altså, en kapasitet som Bruce Lincoln har hatt genuin forståelse og respekt for mine antropologiske perspektiver hele tiden, og det samme har Minna Skafte Jensen. Hun har reist til de albanske fjellene og studert de muntlige fortellertradisjonene for å forstå Homer! En annen er franskmannen John Scheid. Jeg møtte ham på en konferanse hvor jeg snakket om kjønnsdimensjonen ved lekene i Olympia, hvordan de virket konserverende på kjønnsforskjeller og bidro til å «lade opp» kulturelle nøkkelkoder som mannlighet og kvinnelighet. Så kom Scheid etter meg og snakket om akkurat det samme i *Forum boarium*-feiringene av Herkules i Roma, hvor det også var kvinnekulter side om side med de mannlige kulthandlingene. En annen opplevelse var da jeg hadde problemer med å få publisert en artikkel om Dionysos-kulten, som ifølge min teori ikke utgjorde noe radikalt opprør, men tvert imot var en *bekreftelse* av samfunnets «rette orden» gjennom inversjoner [bakvendtlandske opp-ned-snuinger]. Jeg sendte det da til den store giganten innen antikk religionsforskning, Walter Burkert. Han mente at mitt arbeid var *compelling*. Oppmuntret av dette utsagnet sendte jeg artikkelen videre til det tunge spesialtidsskriftet *Kernos* [B47]. Noe av det samme skjedde med min artikkel om Aristoteles' Poetik, også den i en antropologisk forståelse, som jeg fikk inn i det progressive *Arethusa* i New York [B29]. Og så må jeg nevne den praktfulle Pierre-Vidal Naquet. Jeg hadde et forskningsopphold i Paris i 1993, og fikk legge frem mine arbeidshypoteser på hans seminar en gang. Jeg husker hvordan han sto bak meg i forelesningssalen og sa med lav stemme straks foredraget var ferdig: *extrêmement bon*. Det varmet. For ikke lenge siden ble jeg invitert til Le Centre Louis Gernet i Paris. Det var Claude Calame som hentet meg dit, og i løpet av det besøket fikk jeg faktisk både ham og Suzanne Saïd med på å tenke over min tragedieteorier. For øvrig har jeg fått støtte også fra forskere som ikke nødvendigvis deler mine teoretiske perspektiver, men som likevel anerkjenner meg som antikkforsker. Som da jeg i knivskarp konkurranse søkte om stipendieopphold ved Harvards Center for Hellenic Studies. Jeg fikk støtteerklæringer fra Henk Versnel, Angelos Chaniotis og Tomas Hägg, og det betød nok en del at senterets leder, Gregory Nagy, syntes godt om mitt tragediearbeid. Jeg har stående tilbud om å utgi min kommende monografi om Euripides som e-bok hos Harvard, men jeg synes nå det gjør seg med en skikkelig bok på et akademisk forlag. Jeg har ikke lyst til at det bare skal bli en e-bok, men både-og, så det gjelder å finne et forlag som aksepterer at boka også skal utgis i elektronisk format ved Harvard, hvor jeg for øvrig er *fellow* livet ut. Manuset er nesten ferdig til utgivelse. Jeg er spent på hvordan det vil gå, sett i lys av at jeg har *the mainstream* imot meg.

*Mens vi snakker om det internasjonale akademiske feltet: Jeg har tatt vare på kompendiematerialet og pensumlistene som du utarbeidet for årsstudiet i Antikkens kultur på nittitallet. Det er slående hvordan du med din brede oversikt eksponerte oss studenter for ulike*

«nasjonale» tradisjoner innen for eksempel myteforskningen – franske, amerikanske, britiske, tyske, italienske «skoler». Hvor hører du selv hjemme?

Tja, det må andre vurdere, jeg kan ikke se meg selv bakfra. Selv om min doktoravhandling om *Women in Greek tragedy* [utgitt 1990, A2] fikk en blandet mottagelse av ulike anmeldere, har avhandlingens forskningshistoriske kapittel høstet unison anerkjennelse. Jeg påpeker der hvordan moderne samfunnsforhold preger de filologiske lesemåtene av de greske tragediene. Tyskerne ser individets storhet i møtet med skjebnen, *Schuld und Leiden*; franskmennene ser Guds (gudenes) nådeløse makt overfor menneskene, som bare må kaste seg ned på kne og be om *grace*; britene ser ikke annet enn en uendelig *empirical richness* av menneskeskjebner, «det finnes ikke to like»; amerikanerne ser de «eviggyldige» dikotomiene mellom *the public and the private sphere*, det maskuline og det feminine; italienerne ser *le passioni*, hat og kjærlighet og så videre (bortsett fra en liten gruppe marxister, som ser *la lotta di classe*); sovjettidens forskere finner at omsorgen for fattige og svake gjennomsyrrer disse dramaene (noe som ble tindrende klart da Erik Egeberg oversatte en lang russisk artikkel for meg). Kort sagt, jeg gjorde (også) en antropologisk studie av forskningslitteraturen. Disse tendensene er merkelig nok fremtredende også i dag, tjuefem år senere. Få evner å legge vekk sine nasjonale briller når de skal fortolke de greske tragediene. Man leser inn moderne oppfatninger av dikteren som en opprører, en som utfordrer samfunnsnormene, og klarer ikke å innse at i antikkens Hellas hadde dikterne en helt annen rolle. De stilte seg solidarisk på kollektivets side og bekreftet samfunnets orden gjennom blant annet inversjoner. Det gjelder forresten Pindars seiershymner like mye som Aiskhylos, Sofokles og Euripides. Jeg trøster meg med at jeg har selveste Aristoteles på min side her. Han sier rett ut at det ikke er volden i seg som er tragisk. Det er når nære slektninger går løs på hverandre at det tragiske trer frem. En meget fremmed tankegang gjennomsyrrer disse dramaene, de var skrevet for en annen tid og med andre siktemål enn de fleste moderne diktverk, og det må vi ta innover oss.

*Du var så vidt innom et par av dine forskningsopphold i utlandet. Noe som var spesielt vellykket – å være i det greske landskapet, for eksempel?*

Ja, absolutt det siste, det er en fantastisk fordel å ha Parthenon, Agora, Pnyx og så videre innen gangavstand når man sitter og forsker. På slike elitesteder som Paris, Oxford og Harvard er forskerne så opptatt, de har nok med sitt og sine «hoff». Christiane Sourvino-Inwood var for eksempel den eneste som virkelig brød seg om å prate med meg i Oxford, men hun gikk dessverre hen og døde. Mary Beard er en annen brite som jeg har hatt en del kontakt med, men for øvrig har jeg gitt dem opp... Jeg er nok litt en «fremmed fugl» der også, ute i den store akademiske verden. Men kan hende har det bare vært en fordel, min isolasjon som eneste klassiker her oppe har gjort det enklere for meg å gå egne veier og holde fast ved mine teoretiske perspektiver.

#### **Tabell: Synnøve des Bouvries forskningsterminer og utenlandsopphold**

1977H/1978V	Tromsø
1983V/H	Tromsø; foruten seks uker ved Columbia University i New York
1988V/H	Athen
1993V/H	Paris (vår) og Oxford (høst)
1999V–2002H	Leder for Det norske institutt i Athen
2011H/2012V	<i>fellow</i> ved Harvards Center for Hellenic Studies i Washington



*Vi får bevege oss tilbake til Tromsø. Du sitter nå som preses for Academia Borealis. Tidligere var du også leder for forløperen, Kometen. Hvorfor engasjerer du deg på slike tverrfaglige arenaer?*

Det korte svaret er at jeg synes slike allmenne diskusjonsfora er kolossalt viktige, ikke minst for å holde oppe viktigheten av grunnforskningen i en tid hvor næringslivsinteresser og «nytte»-tenkning styrer så mye av akademia. «Kometen» var forresten aldri helt rødglødende, den tiden jeg var aktiv der. Jeg husker at jeg bar en koffert til Statsarkivet med alle våre arkivalia. Kometen var sluknet. Men så blåste noen, jeg tror det var Erik Egeberg og Arnold Schytte-Blix, nytt liv i den rundt år 2000 en gang, da Academia Borealis oppsto som en fugl Føniks. Da Erik gikk av som preses, lot jeg meg overtale til å overta.

*Jeg har latt meg fortelle at du har lært deg samisk. Hva skyldes det?*

Jeg tror det kan ha å gjøre med at mine foreldre var på Sumatra som unge voksne. Far var landbruksutdannet. Han ble sendt alene ut «i bushen» for å etablere plantasjevirksomhet og levde der i 25 år. Min far lærte seg batak-språket og snakket alltid siden varmt om denne urfolkskulturen – i kontrast til koloniherrerne, «hollenderne» (som om han ikke var nederlander selv). Far skrev memoarer og mor malte en masse mens de var der, og de samlet en del artefakter. Disse kulturuttrykkene vokste jeg opp med. Jeg tror dette gjorde det naturlig for meg å orientere meg mot det samiske og etter hvert lære samisk godt nok til å lese det, i alle fall. En skjellsettende opplevelse var en studietur noen av oss ved instituttet gjorde til indre Finnmark for å se på skolesituasjonen, under ledelse av Nils Jernsletten. Harald Gaski, som studerte litteratur hos meg, er blitt en nær venn, og Ánde Somby, som opptrådte ved tiårsjubileet for Det norske institutt i Athen, har en spesiell plass i mitt hjerte.

*Hvor mange språk behersker du egentlig?*

Jeg vokste opp med nederlandsk, min mor talte aldri noe annet hjemme. Fra femte klasse lærte jeg fransk, så engelsk og latin fra syvende klasse, deretter tysk og klassisk gresk. På universitetet var det pensum og sekundærlitteratur på alle disse språkene i tillegg til italiensk, så det fikk jeg lære meg privat. Da jeg flyttet til Tromsø var det værsågod å lære seg norsk ordentlig. Så «forvillet» jeg meg til Hellas, hvor jeg lærte meg nygresk. Og til sist begynte jeg å lære samisk, som er mitt tiende språk.

*Hva med latinen, du er kjent for å ivre for talt latin i undervisningen og ellers?*

Min veileder i Leiden, Jan Hendrik Waszink, var faktisk grunnleggeren av *Academia Latinitati Fovendae* i Roma, hvor jeg for øvrig selv er blitt medlem, mange år senere. Men han eksponerte aldri oss studenter for talt latin. Det var ved en konferanse i Perugia i 1976 at jeg møtte en eminent latinfilolog og fortolker av romersk poesi, David West fra Newcastle. Jeg spurte for spøk om ikke han, som hadde en slik unik fornemmelse for latinens poetiske kvaliteter, også snakket språket. Svaret var nei, han måtte beskjemmet innrømme at det gjorde han ikke. Litt senere sendte han meg en melding om at nå måtte jeg komme til Leeds, hvor det skulle være et muntlig latin-seminar [våren 1978, jf. B7]. Slik møtte jeg Pater Caelestis [Eichenseer] fra Saarbrücken for første gang. Og vet du, på mandag sto vi alle der, West også, og kunne ikke få frem et ord. Men da fredagen kom, kunne vi alle snakke og tenke på latin. Det var en sterk opplevelse. Siden har det ballet på seg, jeg har fått et bredt nettverk av venner som jeg snakker latin med på ulike arrangementer rundt om i Europa og USA. Flere av dem bruker muntlig latin aktivt i undervisningen, som jeg selv. Noen av de fremste på området har jeg også invitert hit til å holde kollokvier med mine studenter – Tuomo Pekkanen, Pater Caelestis og Sigrides Albert [jf. B56 og B57].

*Du skriver også på latin i blant. Det er ikke så vanlig i dag, foruten i slike «reliktområder» som klassikerutgavene i Oxford Classical Texts og Bibliotheca Teubneriana. Hva oppnår du ved å skrive artikler på latin, fremfor å publisere på for eksempel fransk eller engelsk?*

Det er mest tale om artikler som jeg har skrevet til konferanserapporter etter møter i Academia Latinitati Fovendae og lignende arrangementer. Da består jo hele leserkretsen av latintalende uansett. Det er også slik at latinen på ingen måte er død, tenk bare på terminologien i naturvitenskapene og medisinen. Selv om man i dag skriver på andre språk enn latin, kunne det ikke falle noen inn å avskaffe det greske og latinske fagvokabularet. Men mest av alt er jeg opptatt av å bekjempe fordommene mot latinen. Det har jo vært brukt til «initieringsformål» der eliten skulle piskes gjennom et løp med pugg og «kadaverdisiplin» hvor selve disiplinen nærmest var viktigere enn innholdet. Fordommene denne makabre pedagogikken har skapt har ikke noe med latinen som språk å gjøre og bør bekjempes med humor og kreativitet.

*Å propos kreativitet: Du er kjent som en meget habil illustratør. Utallige trykksaker, plakater og logoer bærer dine kunstverk. I tillegg har du vært aktiv overfor teateret, kunstforeningen og kulturlivet i byen og landsdelen. Kommentar?*

Jeg ble spurt av Kunstforeningens leder om å være guide sammen med Marit Bockelie på en ekskursjon til Roma, husker jeg [høsten 1979]. I begynnelsen, da pengene satt mer løst her ved universitetet, reiste jeg mye rundt på seminarer og slikt. Blant annet avholdt vi seminar i kvinnelitteratur i Kabelvåg sommeren 1980. Jeg har mange gode minner fra denne utadrettede virksomheten. Og så har jeg gjort flere oppdrag for Hålogaland Teater, som da teateret satte opp Sofokles' *Antigone* og Ragnar Olsen – jeg smelter bare ved navnet! – gjendiktet det til nydelig nordnorsk basert på min tekstnære oversettelse [B53]. Også *Ifigeneia i Aulis* (oppsatt i Oslo [B62]) og *Lysistrata* (her i Tromsø) har jeg vært konsulent for. En forfatter som Herbjørg Wassmo har jeg undervist i antikkens litteratur mens hun satt og skrev den prisbelønte *Huset med den blinde glassveranda* [utgitt 1981]. Jeg liker å tenke at de sterke antikke mytene betyr noe, at de har en fascinasjonskraft som virker eggende på kreativiteten.

*Du ble altså i utgangspunktet ansatt som lektor med ansvar for klassisk gresk og latin. Men du er ikke akkurat kjent for å ha «blitt ved din lest»?*

Nei, det kan du si. Jeg var med og startet allmenn litteraturvitenskap sammen med Erik Egeberg og Fredrik Brøgger, og siden ble jeg «innrullert» i Hans Erik Aarsets studieprogram. Men interessen for antikken viste seg å være så stor at jeg begynte for meg selv og bygde opp grunnfag i Antikkens kultur i samarbeid med flere miljøer på det som da het Institutt for samfunnsvitenskap. Særlig den første halvdel av studiet ble veldig populær, og det hendte jeg hadde flere kandidater oppe til eksamen enn nordisk. Vi fikk ofte reise på ekskursjon til Athen den gang. Etter kvalitetsreformen har jeg bygget opp et nytt Antikkens kultur, igjen i et flott, tverrfaglig samarbeid. Dessverre har administrative vedtak begge gangene gjort slutt på disse studiene. Jeg var en periode prof. II i Bergen, der har jeg alltid hatt et yndig samarbeid med kollegene, og Tomas Hägg kom med stor entusiasme reisende ens ærend til Tromsø for den muntlige eksamineringen her. Helt utrolig å tenke på idag. I Athen har jeg også hatt veldig inspirerende undervisningsoppdrag. I disse eksterne virksomhetene har det vært flere veiledningsoppdrag på hovedfags- og doktorgradsnivå – i Tromsø var det som sagt mer begrenset. Men jeg er ikke så opptatt av hvilket formelt nivå eksamenene lå på. Faktum er at en rekke kulturpersonligheter har studert hos meg her i Tromsø. Hans Tore Bjerkaas var en av de aller første. Andre jeg kommer på i farten er Martha Otte, Håvard Stangnes og Gaute Barlindhaug. En meget dyktig latinstudent var forresten Solbjørg Ellingsen Fossheim, som

senere gikk hen og ble statsarkivar. Min faste overbevisning er at jeg har gitt dem både åndelig «næring» og håndfast kompetanse.

*Så det at Universitetet i Tromsø ansatte deg i 1972, det har hatt betydning for kulturlivet.*

Ja, det mener jeg. I en tid hvor humaniorafagene er under press og det er på tale å legge ned såkalte små språkfag og i det hele tatt strømlinjeforme alt etter profesjonsutdanningenes nesetellende logikk, er dette noe jeg ønsker å fremheve: Da jeg kom hit ble det aldri noe av obligatorisk forprøve i latin. Men jeg fikk beskjed om at klassisk var ment å være et «overrislende fag» som skulle gi noe til universitetet i stort. Det mandatet mener jeg at jeg har fulgt opp. Jeg har undervist i ulike emner på en rekke andre fag, fra medisin til kunsthistorie. Jeg har gitt forskerstøtte til utallige kolleger som har hatt behov for assistanse med eldre tekster eller til døpingen av nye arter innen biologien. Og i den utadrettede virksomheten har jeg som sagt også vært aktiv. Jeg har stor respekt for behovet for arbeidsplasser, folk må ha noe å leve av. Med fast stilling i staten skal man være seg bevisst sin privilegerte stilling. Likevel må det være lov å kjempe for at samfunnet skal draperes slik at mer enn de rent materielle verdier tillegges vekt. Jeg skrev for ikke så lenge siden i en kronikk [trykket i *Nordlys* 9. mai 2011]: «Staten spør oss hele tiden: ‘Hva skal vi leve av i fremtiden?’ Jeg vil svare: ‘Hva skal vi leve for i fremtiden?’» Som samfunn har vi simpelthen ikke råd til å la være å beskjefte oss med dette.

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## D. Annet

- D1. «Månedens intervju: Synnøve des Bouvrie Thorsen». Ved Randi Meyer. *Uniternt: Internt blad for Universitetet i Tromsø* Nr. 1/82 (Feb. 1982): 8.
- D2. «'De evige sannheter' holder ikke mål». Intervju ved Alf G. Andersen. *Forskerforum* 21,6 (1989): 4–6.
- D3. «Det tragiske maskineriet: Intervju med Synnøve des Bouvrie». Ved Trude Kleven. *Vagant* Nr. 4 (1996): 15–18.
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- D5. «Antikken». Intervju ved Maja Sojtarić. *Labyrint* 6,2 (2013): 42–43.

## Om intervjueren

Per Pippin Aspaas er klassisk filolog (hovedfag i latin, UiO, 2001) og vitenskapshistoriker (doktorgrad i historie, UiT, 2012). Siden 2009 har han arbeidet som universitetsbibliotekar (førstebibliotekar) ved Universitetsbiblioteket, UiT Norges arktiske universitet, med fagansvar for bl.a. klassiske studier. Aspaas tok et årsstudium i antikkens kultur med Synnøve des Bouvrie som underviser ved UiT i 1995/96. [per.pippin.aspaas@uit.no](mailto:per.pippin.aspaas@uit.no)

## Latinsk sammendrag

*Curriculum vitae Sunnivae des Bouvrie in studiorum universitate Tromsoensi, ab a. 1972 usque ad a. 2014: Colloquium atque bibliographia.* Sunniva des Bouvrie nata est in oppido Bussum prope Amstelodamum sito die 16 m. Nov. a. 1944 filia matris Norvegae atque patris Nederlandi. Studiis philologiae classicae Lugduni Batavorum transactis mense Septembri a. 1972 reddita est una ex primis docentibus in studiorum universitate Tromsoensi (UiT). Vera praedecestrix indesinenter pugnavit pro aequalitate sexuum et pro linguis «minoribus» sic dictis in studiorum universitate Tromsoensi servandis. Cum ipsa in summā decem linguas calleret, Sunnivae investigationes propriae semper conspectūs internationales respiciebant. Aspectum anthropologicum societatum antiquarum adhibens eadem incubuit quōque in studia hodierna tragoediae antiquae usa simili aspectu aequabili, quo apta reddita est explanationes nationales et contingentiam historicam in investigationibus innovationes praebentibus vitare.

Praeterea haec «rara avis in Ultima Thule» est fidelis advocata usūs linguae Latinae in docendo investigandoque atque sodalis eminens Academiae Latinitati Fovendae. Tromsoae quōque modo activo in aliā academiā cooperabatur, nempe in Academia Boreali interdisciplinari, cuius praesidens hōc tempore est. In interdisciplinaribus cursibus in universitate Tromsoensi adiuvandis condendisque docebat etiam Graeco-Romanas artes elegantiores, archaeologiam, litteraturam historiamque (*Antikkens kultur*), nec non litteraturam comparativam (*Allmenn litteratur*).

Colloquium autem interrogatorium est maxime privatum plenissimumque fabulis ex Sunnivae vitā privatā depromptis atque deliberationibus, quomodo educatio sua fortasse effectum exseruerit in studia sua eligenda. Bibliographiā indicantur Sunnivae investigationes in lucem editae inde ab anno 1972 usque in hodiernum diem. In colloquio interrogatorio ipsa patefecit monographiam de Euripide mox in domo editoriā internationali divulgandam expectari posse. In appendice nonnullae picturae Anglicis explicationibus instructae exhibentur.

### Engelsk sammendrag

*The career of Synnøve des Bouvrie at the University of Tromsø, 1972–2014: Interview and bibliography.* Synnøve des Bouvrie was born in Bussum near Amsterdam on 16 November 1944 as the child of a Norwegian mother and a Dutch father. After studies of classical philology at Leiden, she became one of the first lecturers at the University of Tromsø (UiT) in September 1972. A true pioneer, she has fought relentlessly for gender equality and the preservation of the so-called «small» languages at the UiT. Mastering ten languages altogether, Synnøve's own research has always been internationally oriented. Applying an anthropological perspective on the ancient societies, she has also studied the current study of ancient tragedies from a similar, detached perspective, by means of which she has been able to single out national trends and historical contingency in cutting-edge research. Moreover, this «rare bird in Ultima Thule» is a staunch advocate for the active use of Latin in teaching and research and a prominent member of the *Academia Latinitati Fovendae*. In Tromsø too, she has been active in another academy, the cross-disciplinary *Academia Borealis*, of which she is the serving president. Moreover, she has taught and helped establish courses in various subjects outside her field of specialty at the UiT, like a cross-disciplinary course on Graeco-Roman art, archaeology, literature and history (*Antikkens kultur*) and comparative literature (*Allmenn litteratur*).

The interview is highly personal, crammed with anecdotes from Synnøve's private life and deliberations on how her upbringing may have influenced her choices as an academic. The bibliography lists her publications from 1972 to the present. In the interview she reveals that a monograph on Euripides can be expected to be published soon with an international publisher. In the appendix several illustrations are included, with captions in English.

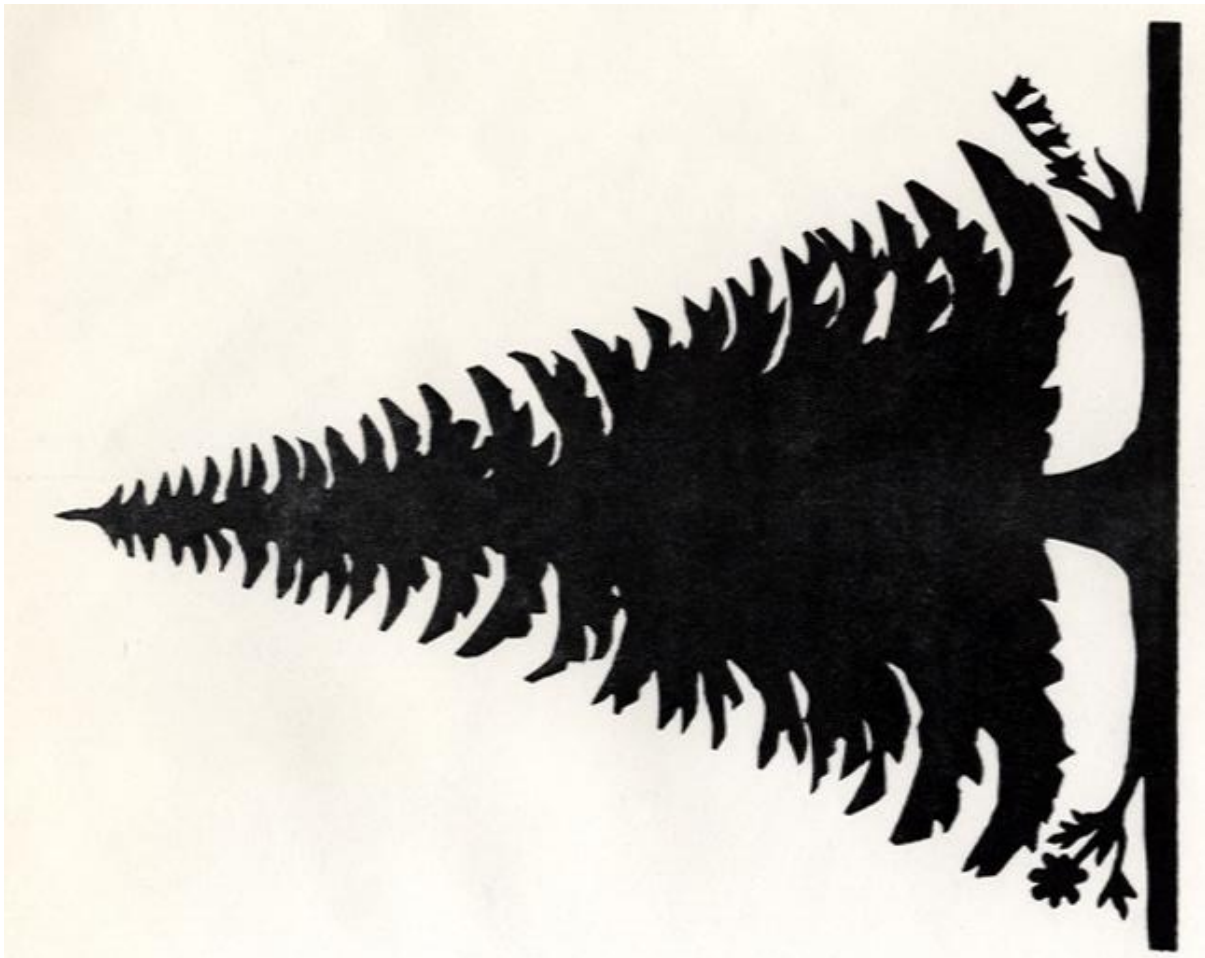
### Nøkkelord

Klassiske studier, feminisme, kvinnelitteratur, antropologisk metode, religionshistorie, klassisk filologi, kvinnelige professorer, universitetspionerer, Universitetet i Tromsø, UiT Norges arktiske universitet, universitetshistorie.

**APPENDIX: illustrations (copyright restrictions apply)**

**Behind the scenes** A recurring highlight in the social life at UiT's Department of Language and Literature, the annual post-Christmas parties or *juletefestene*, used to include a puppet show for the children composed, directed and staged by Synnøve. **Above:** the puppet stage that was used at every *juletefest* during the 1970s and early 80s. **Below:** four of Synnøve's handmade puppets in action. Photographer: Titi des Bouvrie. Reproduced with permission.









**The cutter** Synnøve des Bouvries's specialty as an artist are her paper cuts. **Left:** Cut made for art historian Kari Hoel on her seventieth anniversary (2013); cut for the combined first anniversary and baptism of granddaughter Artemis (2014); and "Ut av skyggen" (Out of the shadows) symbolizing the minority languages Sami and Kven, struggling to thrive underneath a looming majority language (1981). **Right:** "Go home to the cradle (colloquial Norwegian for: get lost!) / Publish or perish", showing the anguish of an academic torn between notions of intellectual inferiority and feminine ideals of absorbing child care on the one hand, and masculine ideals of an equally absorbing, competitive career on the other (poster for the panel discussion *Forskerrolle – Kjønnssrolle*, UiT 1978. Reproduced in various works, including the standard history of the UiT by Narve Fulsås, *Universitetet i Tromsø 25 år*, 1993.)



## Har du tenkt å bli adjunkt eller lektor?



Orientering om universitetenes lærerutdanning  
1982



### Arbeiderklassekvinner i litteraturen

- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 16.10. Synnøve des Bouvrie Thorsen: | <i>Lystens lenker</i> . De prostituerte i den greske komedie.                           |
| 23.10. Gerd Bjørhovde:              | <i>Den britiske industrialismen og kvinnene</i> . Om utviklingen av et litterært motiv. |
| 30.10. Åse Hiorth Lervik:           | Hushjelper i skandinavisk litteratur.   |
| 6.11. Anne-Cathrine Andersen:       | <i>"Misbrukte kvinnekrafter"</i> . Et tysk drama om kvinner i gruvene.                  |
| 13.11. Ingvild Broch:               | Arbeiderkvinner i sovjetlitteraturen.   |

Institutt for språk og litteraturs åpne foredrag høsten 1980  
i Brennbygget, Kaigt. 4, rom 4B/C, hver torsdag kl. 20.15

TROMSØ 1992



- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 27.09. Synnøve des Bouvrie Thorsen: | Hvor ble Persefone av? Om barn i den greske tragedie                            |
| 4.10. Liv Riiser:                   | Småjenteskildringer hos Sigrid Undset og Bjørg Vik                              |
| 11.10. Gerd Bjørhovde:              | To opprørske jenter: Jane Eyre og Maggie Tulliver                               |
| 18.10. Susanne Fabricius:           | Om barnlighedsens bevarelse i Karin Michaëlis forfatterskap                     |
| 25.10. Anna-Riitta Lindgren:        | «Guttaktige» jenter i verk av Teuvo Pakkala (1862-1925)                         |
| 1.11. Anne-Cathrine Andersen:       | Gabriele Reuter (1859-1941) -en «slem prinsesse»?                               |
| 8.11. Brian Morten:                 | Lewis Grassie Gibbon and the Heroine of <i>A Scots Quair</i> (Sunset Song etc.) |
| 15.11. Ingvild Broch:               | Oppdragelse til god sovjetborger. Zoja Voskresenskaja: Pike på stormfullt hav   |
| 22.11. Åse Hiorth Lervik            | Hvor ble søstrene av?   |

Institutt for språk og litteraturs åpne foredrag  
torsdager kl. 20.15 i Brennbygget, Kaigt. 4, rom 4 BC

TROMSØ 1992



**The illustrator** Synnøve has provided artwork for numerous posters, leaflets, books, etc. **Left:** “The work bears fruit” (brochure on teachers education, 1982); “The 8<sup>th</sup> Nordic Meeting of Women Lawyers” (conference poster, 1992); “Working class women in literature” (seminar poster, 1980); “From child to woman” (outreach seminar poster, 1979). **Right:** Detail from outreach seminar poster on *Kvinnebevegelsens historie* (History of the Women’s Rights Movement, c. 1990); front cover of “Nordlyd”, the sister journal of *Nordlit* (the title was suggested by Synnøve, who also designed the letters. The first issue of the journal came out in 1979); back cover of the anthology *Kvinner og medisin* (Women and medicine, 1982); and illustration for Synnøve’s early article on Sappho (in the journal *Edda*, 1976).





**With the inspirer** Synnøve with Åse Hiorth Lervik at a seminar on women's literature in Kabelvåg, Lofoten, 1980. Both women had sewn their dresses themselves! Photograph by Maja-Lisa Løchen. Reproduced with permission.



**With the pioneers** Press photo taken at the launch of the anthology *Nålevende kvinnelige forfattere fra mange land* (Contemporary women writers from numerous countries, 1979). Standing at the back, left to right: Ingvild Broch, Synnøve des Bouvrie, Anne-Cathrine Andersen, Wenche Åmold. Sitting in front: Gerd Bjørhovde (left) and Åse Hiorth Lervik. Photographer unknown. (Also published in the book *Universitetspionerene* by Eivind Bråstad Jensen and Sonni Olsen, UiT 2014.)

## TABULA GRATULATORIA

Academia Borealis, Nord-Norges vitenskapsakademi

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Accademia Vivarium Novum, Roma

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*I*

*PARS MYTHOLOGICA*



# POUR UNE ANTHROPOLOGIE HISTORIQUE DES RÉCITS HÉROÏQUES GRECS : COMPARAISON DIFFÉRENTIELLE ET PRAGMATIQUE POÉTIQUE <sup>1</sup>

Claude Calame

« On peut donc concevoir *une science qui étudie la vie des signes au sein de la vie sociale* ; elle formerait une partie de la psychologie sociale, et par conséquent de la psychologie générale ; nous la nommerons *sémiologie* (du grec *semeïon*, “signe” ) » <sup>2</sup>. Les réflexions de Ferdinand de Saussure sur la langue envisagée comme système de signes ont été déterminantes dans la rupture avec toutes les perspectives évolutionnistes sur les récits considérés comme constituant des « mythes ». En inscrivant ces récits dans la ligne orientée qui conduirait du primitif au civilisé, ces perspectives d’ordre philosophique en ont réduit la diversité à un universel et à une essence ; de Giambattista Vico à Ernst Cassirer, « le » mythe, ontologisé, est devenu l’emblème d’un premier développement de la pensée humaine. On a ainsi constamment confondu différentes formes narratives, dans différents usages de la langue pour différentes circonstances collectives, avec un mode primitif de rationalité <sup>3</sup>.

Mais avec les anthropologues que Saussure a inspirés, ce sont les sciences humaines en général qui font irruption dans la lecture, dans l’interprétation et par conséquent dans l’appropriation des cultures autres et singulièrement de leurs récits mémoriels, subsumés sous la catégorie du « mythe ». Et il faudra le long travail critique d’une anthropologie culturelle et sociale comparative pour finalement rompre avec l’ethnocentrisme occidental et l’évolutionnisme qui lui est attaché. Dans une perspective de relativisme réflexif, la lecture des manifestations narratives et culturelles que nous dénommons encore *mythes* s’est soumise à la dialectique de l’indigène et de l’érudit. Occasion donc de revenir, pour les mythes grecs, sur les lectures marquées par l’anthropologie et la linguistique structurales pour déboucher sur une perspective de pragmatique prenant en compte les formes de poésie ritualisée qui rend le récit « mythique » actif dans la conjoncture historique et culturelle dont par ailleurs il dépend, dans chacune de ses versions singulières. Pas de littérature donc, mais des formes poétiques qui, par la performance rituelle, inscrivent les récits du passé héroïque et fondateur de la communauté dans une mémoire culturelle partagée.

## 1. Mythes grecs et logiques narratives

Énoncés par Saussure, deux principes linguistiques sont apparus comme essentiels pour une analyse rigoureuse des récits que nous englobons dans la catégorie moderne et semi-figurée du « mythe » (une notion qui doit être distinguée du *mûthos* grec qui désigne toute forme de discours argumenté et pensé dans son efficacité.

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<sup>1</sup> Mis à jour pour l’occasion, ce texte a connu une première publication, en une version plus développée, dans la *Revue littéraire mensuelle* « Europe » 1005–1006, 2013 : 147–169, pour être repris à l’issue d’un colloque et sous forme abrégée dans U. Heidmann, M. Vamvouri-Ruffy, N. Coutaz (edd.), *Mythes (re)configurés. Création, Dialogues, Analyses*, Lausanne (Collection du CLE) 2013 : 201–221.

<sup>2</sup> Saussure 1972 : 33. Le soulignement indique que la voyelle concernée en grec est longue.

<sup>3</sup> Avec le soutien d’illustres prédécesseurs, j’ai retracé quelques étapes de ce parcours ontologisant dans l’essai introductif à l’ouvrage de 2011 : 19–89.

a. Dans un système de signes tel que la langue, toute unité se définit par la valeur qu'elle prend en relation avec les éléments voisins, ceci aussi bien du point de vue phonétique (« signifiant ») que du point de vue de la signification (« signifié »).

b. Toute langue, tout système linguistique n'existe qu'actualisé en « parole » dans des énoncés dont les unités sont à considérer aussi bien dans leur articulation syntaxique (dimension du syntagme) que dans l'axe des substitutions possibles (dimension du paradigme).

Reportés sur l'étude des mythes, ces deux principes ont fondé d'une part les différentes analyses narratologiques focalisées sur le déroulement de l'action narrative du mythe selon une logique propre, d'autre part les analyses structurales sensibles aux valeurs véhiculées par la logique narrative et à leur organisation en un certain nombre d'oppositions de contraires. C'est ainsi qu'est née la grande entreprise comparative de Claude Lévi-Strauss, intitulée, de manière significative, *Mythologiques*. Dans le système de la « mythologie », chaque « mythe » ne trouverait sa signification que dans la position qu'il occupe par rapport à d'autres versions et d'autres mythes (principe de la valeur), par le biais de permutations et de transformations logiques (principe de la dimension paradigmatique) ; ces procédures relèveraient en dernier ressort, selon Lévi-Strauss, des structures de l'esprit humain. Par ailleurs, dans un même mythe et par l'intermédiaire de l'enchaînement narratif, le récit s'organiserait en plusieurs niveaux (géographique, techno-économique, sociologique, cosmologique, alimentaire, etc.) considérés comme des « codes » ; la matière sémantique s'y articulerait elle-même, selon le modèle offert par la phonologie, en de grandes oppositions binaires, tels les contrastes célèbres « nature vs culture », « masculin/féminin » ou « cru/cuit »<sup>4</sup>. D'ordre invariant et fondant les structures élémentaires de la signification, ces oppositions binaires sont les opérateurs de ce qui est devenu l'analyse structurale des mythes.

### 1.1. Syntaxe : fonctions narratives et « motifèmes »

La mythologie gréco-romaine fut l'une des premières concernées. En reprenant au folkloriste et formaliste russe Vladimir Ja. Propp la notion de « fonction narrative » et en se faisant mythographe, Lévi-Strauss lui-même a tenté de réduire la légende de la famille d'Œdipe à une seule version pour la découper en une séquence de « mythèmes » qu'il réorganise ensuite selon l'axe paradigmatique en une série d'oppositions fondées sur la surestimation des rapports de parenté et sur la démarche boiteuse associée à l'autochtonie humaine : attachement de Cadmos à sa sœur, relation matrimoniale d'Œdipe avec sa propre mère, amour d'Antigone pour son frère Polynice ; boiterie inscrite dans les noms de Labdacos, de Laios et d'Œdipe lui-même, « Pied enflé », dans une logique des contradictions par laquelle on tenterait en définitive de résoudre la question de l'origine et de la naissance de l'homme : de l'un ou de deux !

Mais, dans une tentative de systématisation structurale, on a aussi repris à la morphologie du conte proposée par Propp aussi bien la séquence des fonctions narratives (parfois devenues « motifèmes ») avec toutes leurs variantes (tort commis, manque, réaction du héros, conquête du moyen magique, épreuve, etc.) que l'idée du personnage-type (le héros, le mandataire, l'antagoniste, l'adjuvant, etc.) pour en dégager le schéma canonique de la narration : avec sa séquence de logique narrative (manque – manipulation – compétence – performance – sanction) et ses protagonistes dénommés « actants » parce qu'ils correspondent à des positions fonctionnelles (destinateur – destinataire, sujet – anti-sujet, adjuvant – opposant). Fondée sur une transformation d'états, cette logique provoque un renversement des contenus pensés en

<sup>4</sup> Aux pages introduisant les *Mythologiques* (Lévi-Strauss 1964 : 17–22 ; cf. Saïd 1993 : 98–9), on ajoutera les remarques méthodologiques qui ponctuent l'ouvrage de 1973 : 82–4, 189–93, 244–5, 322–5, etc.

termes de contraires et de contradictoires : de la nature à la culture, par exemple. Ainsi, notamment avec l'aide d'Algirdas J. Greimas, était née la narratologie <sup>5</sup>.

Dans une perspective structurale qui clôt le texte sur lui-même, le mythe est dès lors réduit à un récit de mythographe et c'est le schéma de la narration qui devient l'opérateur de la lecture de son intrigue. De cette manière, des récits aussi divers que la folie qui saisit les filles de Proïtos le roi fondateur de Tirynthe, du suicide de deux des trois filles de Cécrops le premier roi autochtone d'Athènes, ou du transport bachique qui condamne à un acte cannibale les filles de Minyas, le fondateur de la ville d'Orchomène et l'ancêtre des Minyens, peuvent être non seulement réduits à la même intrigue, mais aussi être comparés entre eux. Dans chaque cas l'accès de folie est provoqué par un dieu offensé : Héra en raison de l'arrogance des trois Proïdides, Athéna puisque deux des Cécropides avaient rompu son interdit, les trois Minyades parce qu'elles refusèrent de se consacrer au culte orgiastique de Dionysos <sup>6</sup>.

C'est à cet exercice de narratologie mythographique que se livre par exemple Walter Burkert en réduisant à une même séquence de cinq actions narratives l'histoire de la naissance de plusieurs héros fondateurs par le biais de leur mère : Callistô, la mère d'Arcas, le fondateur de l'Arcadie ; Danaé, la mère de Persée, le fondateur de Mycènes ; Iô, la mère d'Épaphos, l'ancêtre des Danaens ; Tyrô, la mère de Pélias et de Néleus, les futurs rois de Iolcos et de Pylos respectivement, etc. Dans un premier temps (« leaving home », la jeune fille abandonne enfance et famille. Puis (« the idyl of seclusion ») l'adolescente connaît une période de marge : Callistô devient la compagne de chasse d'Artémis dans la forêt ; Danaé est emprisonnée dans une chambre souterraine en bronze ; Iô est condamnée à la virginité en devenant la prêtresse d'Héra ; Tyrô après avoir été élevée par son oncle paternel rejoint un dieu-fleuve dont elle s'éprend. La jeune fille est ensuite séduite, violée et rendue enceinte par un dieu (« rape ») : Callistô, Danaé et Iô sont séduites par Zeus dont le pouvoir générateur peut assumer la forme d'une pluie d'or ou correspondre à un simple toucher quand il ne prend pas les apparences d'un dieu adolescent tel Apollon ; Tyrô s'unit à Poséidon qui prend l'apparence du fleuve. La jeune fille est alors sévèrement punie (« tribulation »), qu'elle soit transformée en ourse comme Callistô ou en génisse comme Iô, qu'elle soit enfermée dans un coffre pour être jetée à la mer telle Danaé ou qu'elle soit persécutée et martyrisée par sa belle-mère comme ce fut le cas de Tyrô. Finalement la mère, ayant donné naissance à un futur héros fondateur, est réhabilitée (« rescue ») : poursuivie par son propre fils en tant qu'ourse Callistô est sauvée par Zeus lui-même qui la métamorphose en constellation ; en butte aux avances du roi de Sériphos qui l'a recueillie, Danaé est sauvée par son fils Persée qui pétrifie le prétendant en lui présentant la tête de la Méduse ; Tyrô est également délivrée par ses propres enfants qui tuent la cruelle belle-mère ; quant à Iô elle épouse Télégonos qui règne sur l'Égypte où elle introduit le culte d'une Déméter que les Égyptiens assimilent à Isis.

Comme le reconnaît Burkert lui-même dans une note, un tel exercice de narratologie structurale ne peut s'accomplir qu'au prix de simplifications extrêmes qui réduisent les récits, en leurs différentes versions et valeurs, à un compendium de mythographie érudite. À s'en tenir uniquement aux mises en scène tragiques, les variations frappent : selon l'Hélène mise en scène par Euripide, Zeus se serait uni à Callistô déjà métamorphosée en ourse ; à saisir non pas comme « seclusion » mais comme « tribulation », les errements d'Iô transformée en génisse vers les confins de la terre habitée prennent place, dans le *Prométhée* d'Eschyle, avant l'union de la jeune fille avec Zeus et par conséquent avant la naissance du héros fondateur ; dans les *Pêcheurs au filet*, un drame satyrique d'Eschyle, Danaé est sauvée sur l'île de Sériphos par un groupe de satyres ; et les mauvais traitements infligés à Tyrô par la marâtre Sidérô non seulement sont apparemment une invention de Sophocle qui consacra deux

<sup>5</sup> Le schéma canonique de la narration a assumé différentes formes, inventoriées et commentées par Adam 1991 : 65–95.

<sup>6</sup> Voir à ce propos l'analyse comparative nuancée offerte par Dowden 1989 : 71–95.



tragédies à ces deux figures féminines, mais ils débent avant la naissance des deux enfants nés de l'union avec Poséidon <sup>7</sup>.

Dans la perspective à la fois éthologique et évolutionniste qui est celle de Burkert, le schéma narratif adapté à partir des fonctions définies par Propp (dans une morphologie construite sur la base d'un large corpus de contes) est rapproché du schéma de l'action rituelle que constituent le rite de passage et plus précisément le rite d'initiation tribale avec ses trois phases canoniques : séparation (du monde de l'enfance) – période de marge (marquée par une mort symbolique) – agrégation à la communauté des adultes (avec un statut nouveau) ; et ce comportement culturel ritualisé est lui-même reconduit aux fonctions fondamentales de l'être humain dans son développement biologique: puberté, défloration, grossesse, accouchement.

## 1.2. Pratiques de narratologie comparative

Si le gain en intelligibilité d'un tel formalisme n'est pas garanti, en revanche le schéma narratif s'avère un utile instrument de comparaison par exemple quand il s'agit de comparer deux récits « mythiques » appartenant à des cultures différentes. Ainsi en va-t-il par exemple du mythe hittite de la lutte du dieu de l'orage contre le dragon Illuyankas et du combat de Zeus contre le monstre ophidien aux cent têtes Typhon. La version ancienne et la version plus récente du récit hittite se laissent réduire à une séquence de huit « motifèmes » (une notion qui entend tenir compte de la valeur sémantique de la fonction et de l'action concernées) qui caractérisent le « combat tale » : combat entre le héros (« champion » : le dieu Orage) et son adversaire (le dragon), défaite du héros (dont le dragon a arraché le cœur et les yeux), désarroi du champion, aide d'un adjuvant mortel (le fils du dieu né des amours d'Orage avec la fille du dragon), l'adjuvant trompe l'adversaire (l'épouse du dragon restitue les organes vitaux du dieu), l'adversaire perd son avantage (dans un nouveau combat contre le dieu de la tempête), le héros vainc son ennemi, l'adjuvant mortel périt (le dieu Orage tue le dragon et son propre fils) ; tout cela selon un scénario que l'on retrouverait dans films d'action et bandes dessinées, avant que l'on tente d'y voir la trace de l'un de ces programmes d'action inscrits dans la nature biologique de l'être humain <sup>8</sup>.

Mais ce scénario permet surtout de rapprocher de la double version hittite le récit grec et de rendre compte, du point de vue de la logique narrative, de la signification de deux actions constitutives de ce récit fondateurs : Typhon, dans sa victoire préalable contre Zeus, s'empare de la faucille avec laquelle le dieu tentait de couper les vipères attachées au corps du monstre tout en retirant les tendons des mains et des pieds du dieu ; Hermès et Aegipan volent les tendons à la dragonne Delphyné qui les cachait dans une grotte et permettent ainsi la victoire finale de Zeus sur le monstre Typhon, par la force du tonnerre. Mais la comparaison n'est productive que si elle est différentielle <sup>9</sup>. Burkert tente d'expliquer la disparition en Grèce du « motifème » de la mort de l'adjuvant par la généalogie du récit, au moment où, par le biais probable de la Cilicie, la version récente du récit hittite aurait été reprise et hellénisée ; il fait dès lors abstraction de la forme et de la fonction du texte par lequel les deux versions hittites nous sont connues tout en se fondant pour la version grecque sur le récit mythographique qui est consigné dans la *Bibliothèque* attribuée à Apollodore.

C'est dire d'une part que le caractère liturgique de l'inscription qui porte la version ancienne et la version nouvelle du récit hittite est mis entre parenthèses par l'analyse

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Burkert 1979 : 7 avec n. 20 ; cf. Euripide, *Hélène* 375-80 (Callistô) ; Eschyle, *Prométhée* 829-35 et 846-51 (sur la signification pratique des tribulations d'Iô, cf. Calame 2000 : 124-30 ; le mariage égyptien d'Iô n'est pas attesté avant Pseudo-Apollodore, *Bibliothèque* 2.1.3) ; Eschyle p. 161-2 Radt ; Sophocle p. 463-4 et fr. 648 Radt : cf. Gantz 2004 : 306-9.

<sup>8</sup> Inscription hittite en cunéiforme traduite dans *ANET* 125-6 et commentée, après bien d'autres, par Burkert 1979 : 7-10, puis 14-18.

<sup>9</sup> Au sujet de la nécessité d'une comparaison « différentielle », voir en particulier l'étude de Heidmann 2006.

narratologique. Or le texte épigraphique s'ouvre avec une invocation à la prospérité et à la fertilité du pays hittite. Cette attaque énonciative en insère la récitation dans le culte rendu au dieu de l'Orage notamment dans la ville de Nerik, l'un des grands centres religieux de l'empire hittite, par la célébration de la fête du *pouroulli*. Faisant partie intégrante du rituel également exécuté en d'autres lieux du pays, la récitation de la double version est accomplie par le prêtre du dieu ; elle déroule l'étiologie du culte rendu au « dieu de l'Orage du Ciel » vénéré à Nerik<sup>10</sup>. Pour nous, le texte se termine avec des indications sur une procession rituelle et sur les moyens prévus pour y accueillir les dieux qui y prennent part dans un ordre bien précis. Autant les aspects d'hymne assumés par ce double récit que son insertion rituelle en font un acte de culte ; ces différentes procédures pragmatiques assurent à l'intrigue narrative et aux figures primordiales qu'elle anime une efficacité d'ordre aussi bien politique que religieuse, dans une conjoncture institutionnelle et culturelle particulière. C'est dans ce cadre cultuel et culturel que le récit « mythique » prend sa signification tout en assumant une fonction sociale par le biais de son efficacité rituelle.

D'autre part, pour son entreprise de comparaison narratologique, Burkert choisit la version mythographique offerte par le manuel tardif attribué à Apollodore ; par la réduction du récit à une séquence de motifèmes, l'historien de la religion grecque renchérit sur l'aspect mythographique d'un récit qui reste, dans le cas particulier, exceptionnellement haut en couleurs cosmiques et riche en références de géographie montagnarde. Peut-être la version aédique intégrée dans la *Théogonie* d'Hésiode aurait-elle permis de restituer sa pragmatique à une narration focalisée sur le combat primordial déchaînant les forces du cosmos et bouleversant ses éléments constitutifs<sup>11</sup>. Mais la logique de la narration théogonique, toute tendue qu'elle est vers l'affirmation du règne de Zeus, excluait sans doute tant une défaite préalable du maître de l'Olympe que l'intervention d'un adjuvant divin ; maître des dieux et des hommes, Zeus ne peut être apparemment que le protagoniste unique et incontesté d'un duel cosmogonique complémentaire à la lutte contre les Titans. Par ailleurs, ce récit simplifié dans sa séquence narratologique assume la même valeur étiologique que le récit hittite ; en effet les vents imprévisibles et tempétueux qui, dans le présent, font chavirer les navires et détruisent les récoltes sont reconduits à l'action de Typhôeus, par le passé précipité par Zeus dans le Tartare.

### 1.3. Sémantique : codes et oppositions binaires

En passant de la logique syntagmatique du récit considéré comme mythique à son organisation sémantique dans l'ordre du paradigme, Marcel Detienne a repris à Lévi-Strauss, avec beaucoup d'à propos, la notion d'une matière sémantique organisée de manière feuilletée en un certain nombre de « codes ». Le maître-concept, le principe organisateur d'une analyse structurale qui passe de la logique narrative à l'architecture du sens est à nouveau l'opposition binaire. C'est elle qui pousse à expliciter dans récits et rituels les valeurs métaphoriques attribuées, dans la culture grecque, aux végétaux et aux animaux d'une écologie signifiante ; c'est elle qui va permettre d'organiser ces valeurs en traits contrastés : le monde du texte non plus dans son développement linéaire, mais dans ses structures profondes, en relation avec le monde environnant comme un vaste ensemble interactif de représentations, pour anticiper sur une notion que le relativisme culturel postmoderniste a fini par privilégier.

L'une des enquêtes structurales les plus connues est celle qui oppose, grâce au savoir-faire de Detienne, la culture des jardins d'Adonis, dans leur éphémère et vaine floraison, aux

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Labat 1970 : 526–29 ainsi que 513 et 519.

<sup>11</sup> Hésiode, *Théogonie* 820–60, avec le commentaire comparatif de West 1966 : 379–97 qui fait remarquer que la figure et l'action de Typhôeus doivent aussi être rapprochés de l'être monstrueux qu'est Ullikumi dans le récit de succession hourrite (21).

pratiques agricoles dans le long processus productif de la culture céréalière : Aphrodite d'un côté et les forces passagères de la séduction érotique, Déméter de l'autre favorisant, avec le mariage légitime et fécond, la production céréalière qui assure la survie des humains ; la menthe odorante et aphrodisiaque, mais aussi humide et abortive dont l'ambivalence est éclairée par le récit de Mintha, la concubine d'Hadès dans son monde souterrain, en contraste implicite avec la maturation complexe des fruits de Déméter, favorisée par le mariage légitime de Perséphone avec le même Hadès et par les retrouvailles de la mère et de la fille<sup>12</sup>. Ces premières oppositions, par le biais des valeurs attribuées aux dieux et aux végétaux, permettent par exemple de confronter de manière binaire le rituel des Adonies à la fête des Thesmophories : Adonis et sa maîtresse Aphrodite en contraste avec Déméter Thesmophore et sa fille Perséphone du point de vue des puissances divines ; courtisanes et concubines opposées aux épouses légitimes quant au code sociologique ; relations sexuelles vs continence du point de vue du comportement sexuel ; encens et myrrhe d'un côté, gattilier de l'autre quant aux plantes impliquées ; abus de parfums aux Adonies, haine des femmes-abeilles pour les odeurs envoûtantes aux Thesmophories, etc. Autant de « codes » articulant la matière sémantique de la mythologie grecque, par le biais de textes allant des *Hymnes homériques* aux *Halieutica* d'Oppien en passant par les *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide ou les *Problèmes* attribués à Aristote.

De telles organisations et manipulations de la matière sémantique des mythes grecs n'est possible qu'à condition de considérer l'ensemble de ces récits comme relevant d'une « mythologie-cadre de pensée », dans laquelle se déploie une « mythologie-savoir », à travers différentes formes de discours<sup>13</sup>.

Nombreuses ont été dès lors les tentatives de combiner, dans l'étude sémiotique des mythes grecs, dimension paradigmatique et dimension syntagmatique tout en réduisant souvent l'une à l'autre. Ainsi, du côté anglo-saxon et avec l'aide de Geoffrey S. Kirk, le récit homérique de la confrontation d'Ulysse avec Polyphème a pu être envisagé dans une perspective lévi-straussienne pour devenir le « mythe des Cyclopes ». Dans une réduction des fonctions narratives à des traits distinctifs permanents, le Polyphème odysseéen oscille entre les pôles du « *super-uncivilized* » (ou « *barbaric* ») et du « *relatively civilized* » : d'un côté, l'être monstrueux ignorant l'alimentation céréalière, mais se nourrissant de chair humaine crue, sans reconnaître ni les dieux ni les lois des hommes ; de l'autre, le berger qui aime ses moutons, se nourrit des produits de leur lait et reconnaît la puissance de Poséidon. Quant aux Cyclopes qui vivent dans les cavernes entourant celle de Polyphème, leur figure serait partagée entre le (super-) civilisé et le non-civilisé : proches des dieux, ils jouissent d'une sorte d'âge d'or qui ne requiert ni agriculture, ni viticulture, mais ils ne connaissent par ailleurs ni assemblées ni droit coutumier et ils n'ont aucun respect pour Zeus. Ainsi le récit combinerait « *contradictory elements into a fantastic amalgam* », dans une série d'ambiguïtés poétiques fondées sur l'opposition entre *nómos* et *phúsis*. Dans cette mesure la figure odysseenne des Cyclopes et de Polyphème peut être comparée soit avec Gilgamesh, le protagoniste du poème épique accadien, soit avec Chiron et ses confrères les Centaures qui diviserait leur être mi-animal et leurs actions parfois violentes entre nature et culture<sup>14</sup>.

Mais dans l'imbrication narrative des codes et dans l'articulation structurale de catégories culturelles souvent considérées comme universelles, il convient de prendre en compte le rôle joué par la logique qu'implique la grammaire du récit : moins une logique de la non-contradiction qu'une « logique de l'ambigu, de l'équivoque, de la polarité ». Dès lors, Jean-

<sup>12</sup> Detienne 1989 : 141–84.

<sup>13</sup> Detienne 1988 : 31–32.

<sup>14</sup> Selon la tentative comparative offerte par Kirk 1970 : 132–71 (p. 168 pour la citation). Voir aussi, par exemple, entre chasse et élevage, entre nature et culture, les paysages de Pan visités par Borgeaud 1979 : 73–114.

Pierre Vernant a proposé d'insérer les deux versions hésiodiques de la création de Pandôra, la première femme grecque, dans la logique qu'implique le récit de l'institution par Prométhée du partage sacrificiel. À travers les oppositions et les homologues articulant les contenus sémantiques en relation avec le contexte culturel, la logique de l'ambigu qui traverse le double récit d'Hésiode permet de tracer une série d'homologies par inversion entre la figure de Pandôra, incarnation de la nourriture céréalière que Zeus cache aux hommes pour les punir, et celle de Prométhée qui cache la nourriture carnée aux dieux pour la réserver aux hommes ; homologie inversée aussi entre le ventre féminin où l'homme dépose sa semence pour engendrer sa descendance, garantie de survivance, et l'estomac qui dérobe à la vue la viande sacrificielle propre à la consommation, consacrant ainsi la séparation des dieux et des mortels. Ambiguïtés et ambivalences caractérisent désormais les relations des hommes mortels avec les dieux dans la mesure où le don est aussi une manière de dérober ; la condition humaine est ainsi placée sous le signe du mélange ambigu des biens et des maux, de la vie et de la mort<sup>15</sup>.

Déployés par la logique narrative, homologues et renversements, dans une alternance catégorielle entre le même et l'autre, peuvent organiser des « mythes » aussi divers que celui de Narcisse ou celui d'Héraclès : d'une part, la figure d'un jeune homme qui refuse de céder aux avances érotiques qu'il suscite par sa tendre beauté et qui provoque le suicide de son amant avant d'être la victime en miroir de sa propre beauté dans l'illusion de la réduction de l'autre au même ; d'autre part, un héros civilisateur, médiateur entre les différentes classes sociologiques, dont la biographie (limitée aux travaux) s'inscrirait dans une logique d'inspiration aristocratique – une logique fondée sur des « motifs » et des « modes » contradictoires (gain et non-gain, nécessité et liberté) et intégrant les deux catégories du travail pour soi et du travail pour les autres dans le système des valeurs grecques, entre profit et gloire, salaire et gratitude, esclavage et liberté, etc.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. Pragmatique : récits en performance

Mais on l'a signalé : dans ses différentes modalités de narratologie ou de sémantique structurale, l'analyse d'inspiration sémiotique réduit constamment les narrations que nous jugeons appartenir à la mythologie d'une culture à de simples récits de mythographie ; elle les coupe régulièrement de leur cotexte et de leur contexte. Dans une étude exemplaire, Lévi-Strauss lui-même reconnaît que certains codes organisateurs du contenu sémantique s'appuient sur et renvoient à la réalité de la culture concernée. Ainsi en va-t-il des « niveaux » géographique, techno-économique et sociologique selon lesquels, en plus du code cosmologique, s'agentent (en comparaison) quatre versions différentes de la « geste d'Asdiwal » ; ce récit héroïque met en scène l'itinéraire nomade assurant le repérage tribal, économique et culturel du territoire tsimshian<sup>17</sup>. Dans une perspective essentiellement structurale, les séquences de surface constituant la longue action narrative du héros fondateur sont organisées moins en fonction de « codes » que selon des « schèmes » plus profonds ; ceux-ci s'entrelacent en un contrepoint mélodique d'oppositions binaires. Rappelant la composition musicale, ce contrepoint conduit à la transformation du féminin, s'articulant sur l'axe est-ouest et caractérisé par la famine et le mouvement, en masculin, ordonné sur l'axe haut-bas et marqué par la réplétion et l'immobilité.

<sup>15</sup> Selon l'étude du « mythe prométhéen chez Hésiode » proposée par Vernant 1974 : 177–94, avec les remarques méthodologiques formulées en 244–50 (p. 250 pour la citation) ; tentative de systématisation sur la base du « carré sémiotique » chez Csapo 247–61.

<sup>16</sup> Voir respectivement l'analyse narratologique de différentes versions du récit de Narcisse offerte par Pellizer 1991 : 46–58, et l'étude d'inspiration fortement structurale qui conclut schématiquement le parcours de méthodologie historique proposé par Csapo 2005 : 301–15.

<sup>17</sup> Lévi-Strauss 1973 : 175–233.

Or il s'avère que si la « structure du message » renvoie, selon Lévi-Strauss, au sens du mythe, celui-ci entretient avec la réalité (externe) une relation d'ordre dialectique : le récit mythique inverse par exemple les institutions dont par ailleurs il rend compte. Ainsi, dans la mise en perspective avec une version « affaiblie », la transformation narrative opérée à plusieurs niveaux par les schèmes est renvoyée à l'histoire connue par le récit et à son transfert culturel. En définitive, la question posée par l'analyse de Lévi-Strauss est en définitive celle de la référence externe du récit considéré comme mythique.

### 2.1. Mythe, fiction et référence

Or, d'un point de vue qui reste attaché à une analyse des discours fidèle aux principes saussuriens, la référence du « mythe » pose autant la question de l'ensemble signifiant externe dont est tiré son univers symbolique que celle de la pragmatique des formes narratives et discursives qui l'adressent à un environnement social et institutionnel précis : par une mise en discours souvent ritualisée, les productions langagières que sont les mythes renvoient autant à l'écologie de la culture concernée qu'à l'ensemble des représentations qui la constituent et aux institutions qui en valident la création. Le récit mythique – ne l'oublions pas – est objet de croyance ; dans cette mesure il est doué d'une référence et d'une certaine efficacité discursive. Dans la perspective d'anthropologie fonctionnaliste qui est la sienne, Bronislaw Malinowski avait déjà montré d'une part qu'au-delà de la phrase, « le fait linguistique véritable est l'énoncé complet en situation », d'autre part que les récits traditionnels, au-delà de leur fonction de divertissement, assument la fonction culturelle essentielle de « perpétuer l'ordre social »<sup>18</sup>. Par anticipation, Malinowski jetait ainsi, pour les récits que nous plaçons sous l'étiquette du « mythe », les bases de ce qui est devenu la pragmatique des discours. Bien avant l'intervention de John R. Searle, Malinowski est donc déjà sensible aux énoncés dont l'énonciation contribue à l'accomplissement d'une action quand ils ne correspondent pas entièrement à cet acte. L'anthropologue des Trobriandais note que, dans les énoncés sacrés en particulier, les mots prononcés fonctionnent comme des actes ; dans le cadre de la pragmatique, il invente en quelque sorte le « performatif ». Ainsi, souvent considérés comme des fictions narratives, les récits qui mettent en scène des figures de héros ou de dieux s'avèrent offrir une forte dimension pragmatique ; ceci autant en raison de leur référence externe que de leurs conditions de production et d'énonciation.

Mais, paradoxalement, en se substituant aux approches structurales, la sensibilité à la pragmatique des discours entretient sur le rôle de la fiction narrative dans la création du récit mythique bien des équivoques. C'est que, dans la perspective ouverte par la philosophie du langage, il appartiendrait aux seules conditions de production et de réception du récit de décider du caractère factuel ou fictionnel d'un récit comme le mythe ; tout dépendrait des intentions de l'auteur et des inférences provoquées par le récit au moment de sa réception. Ludique, la fiction narrative serait pure feintise<sup>19</sup>. À vrai dire, si les discours mythiques sont efficaces, c'est en raison de la relation forte que la fiction narrative et le monde du texte entretiennent avec un monde de représentations culturelles qui correspond à un univers de croyance marqué dans l'espace et dans le temps ; c'est en raison des formes poétiques et pratiques de communication en général ritualisées qui les insèrent dans cet univers, par le biais esthétique et par le biais émotionnel.

Avant qu'ils aient été transformés par une culture indigène lettrée en *mûthoi* écrits, avant qu'il ne deviennent au siècle des Lumières des récits « fabuleux », avant qu'ils aient été

<sup>18</sup> Malinowski 1974 : 245 et 285 pour les deux citations ; voir à ce propos les opportunes réflexions de linguiste des discours et de sémioticien proposées par Adam 1995 : 234–43.

<sup>19</sup> Selon la proposition célèbre formulée par Searle 1979 : 65–66 ; voir à ce propos l'utile commentaire de Genette 2004 : 143. Pour les mythes grecs, cf. Delattre 2005 : 34–43.



constitués par la tradition anthropologique en « mythes grecs » puis en « mythologie grecque », les récits héroïques hellènes, dans et par leurs réalisations poétiques, ont été actifs dans des circonstances rituelles et culturelles particulières ; ceci par l'intermédiaire des différents genres et formes poétiques par lesquels ils nous sont d'ailleurs parvenus : récits homériques, poèmes méliques, chants hymniques, mises en scène tragiques, etc. L'ignorer signifierait en éteindre la plupart des effets de sens ; cela reviendrait à effacer la pluralité des versions narratives exigées aussi bien par des règles de genre à forte composante pratique et institutionnelle que par les circonstances d'énonciation rituelles et les conjonctures historiques variées qui en ont provoqué la production ; cela voudrait dire en oublier la pragmatique et les fonctions signifiantes. Ce serait par exemple oublier que le récit du plongeon dans la mer Égée du jeune Thésée, le héros fondateur de l'Athènes moderne, et de sa visite auprès de la demeure de sa belle-mère divine Amphitrite est célébrée, dans le récit lui-même, par le péan des sept jeunes filles et des sept jeunes gens qu'il va sauver des crocs du Minotaure. Le récit poétique avec sa conclusion musicale et rituelle est lui-même l'objet d'une double manifestation pragmatique : iconique par son inscription sur l'une des parois du Théséion reconstruit à l'issue des guerres médiques auprès de l'Agora d'Athènes ; poétique par la performance chorale d'un dithyrambe composé par Bacchylide en l'honneur d'Apollon de Délos, La narration poétique est ainsi activée du grand festival qui réunissait sur l'île les représentants des cités appartenant à la ligue du même nom, sous le contrôle des Athéniens<sup>20</sup>.

Ce qui importe en effet, ce sont les relations complexes que le poème lui-même et, par son intermédiaire, le « mythe » (comme récit héroïque) établissent, par des moyens verbaux, avec leur monde de référence. Ces rapports sont d'ordre à la fois sémantique et figuré, syntaxique et logique, pragmatique et fonctionnel, rituel et institutionnel. Mais la cohésion sémantique et logique interne du monde verbal (ou iconique) créé, fabriqué, fictif (au sens étymologique du terme) dépend fortement, et paradoxalement, de la cohérence des rapports établis avec le monde naturel et social externe, au moment de la création poétique, puis de la performance musicale et ritualisée. Par les moyens de l'imagination créatrice et poétique, par le biais de l'expression verbale et rythmée, par l'intermédiaire des procédures de désignation énonciative et pragmatique offertes par toute langue, le mythe grec sans cesse reconfiguré se révèle être un puissant moyen d'action poétique, musicale et sociale. Par la création de « mondes possibles » dans des formes poétiques cadencées et des formes de performance ritualisées (à composante également « ludique »), le récit héroïque grec est un opérateur essentiel de construction symbolique, « anthropopoiétique », de l'être social dans son identité culturelle et religieuse<sup>21</sup> ; ceci dans des situations de réception institutionnelles qui varient suivant la conjoncture politique et la constellation culturelle qui en fournissent le contexte, qui en constituent le monde de référence.

Abandonnant tout principe structural du texte, l'approche narratologique et sémiotique des mythes (grecs) ne peut être que pragmatique, c'est-à-dire anthropologique au sens large du terme<sup>22</sup>. Telle est la première parmi les cinq conclusions auxquelles devrait parvenir la présente étude.

<sup>20</sup> Pausanias 1, 17, 3–6 et Bacchylide 17 ; cf. Calame 2006 : 143–94. Sur les différentes formes de performance (souvent musicale) des mythes grecs, voir par exemple Graf 1993 : 142–68 et Buxton 1994 : 18–52.

<sup>21</sup> Le concept d'« anthropopoiésis » est développée dans les différentes contributions réunies dans Affergan et al. 2003, notamment 17–74 (sur la notion de « fictif », cf. 75–98).

<sup>22</sup> Pour une bonne tentative de définition des mythes grecs comme « symbolic tales » envisagés dans leurs effets pratiques, voir l'étude de des Bouvrie, 2002 : 58–63.

## 2.2. Sappho : référence par le *hic et nunc* du rituel poétique

Ce premier propos peut être illustré de manière minimale par un poème mélique composé par Sappho, sur l'île de Lesbos au début du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. Pourtant très fragmentaires, ces quelques vers en rythme éolien peuvent illustrer la relation linguistique que pratiquement tout poème mélique tisse entre le passé héroïque de la communauté civique (c'est-à-dire le « mythe ») et le *hic et nunc* de sa performance (correspondant à un « rite »).

*Ici, près de moi, [apparaît...  
puissante Héra, ta [...] la fête [charmante  
que, par leurs prières, les Atrides célèbrèrent,  
les rois renommés.*

*Après avoir conduit de grands combats [...  
les premiers autour d'Ilion [...  
ils partirent pour se rendre ici même, car ils ne pouvaient  
trouver le chemin,*

*avant que tu ne viennes toi et Zeus le dieu des suppliants,  
ainsi que (le fils) charmant de Thyôné [...  
Mais maintenant [aussi...] célébrer [...  
comme autrefois.*

*D'une beauté inspirant le respect [...] la foule  
...] des jeunes filles [...] des femmes*

Dès le premier vers du poème, la particule *dé* focalise l'appel adressé à la déesse Héra sur le *hic et nunc* de l'exécution du poème : geste verbal de *demonstratio ad oculos*<sup>23</sup>. D'emblée, l'« instance d'énonciation » qu'implique, dans l'appel direct à Héra, l'expression verbale au vocatif est installée dans le temps et dans l'espace du chant en train de s'accomplir.

Dans l'état actuel du texte, ce temps ne reçoit pas de détermination plus précise, en revanche une autre composition mélique du poète contemporain de Sappho qu'est Alcée permet d'en définir l'espace. Le poème d'Alcée s'adresse de manière analogue aux trois divinités mentionnées dans les vers de Sappho, partageant le même lieu : Zeus en tant que protecteur des suppliants ; Héra d'Éolie, la mère de toute chose ; Dionysos Kémélios, le mangeur de viande crue<sup>24</sup>. Dans ce poème, également en rythme éolien, plusieurs indices d'ordre déictique montrent non seulement que le *je/nous*, la *persona loquens* qui assume ces vers chantés correspond à un groupe choral, mais aussi que ce chœur se trouve dans le sanctuaire panlesbien consacré aux trois divinités invoquées. Produit d'une conjoncture historique précise, le poème fait état de préparatifs pour la libération de Mytilène, la cité de Lesbos gouvernée par le tyran Pittacos. Un autre poème du même Alcée nous apprend par ailleurs que ce sanctuaire commun aux différentes petites *póleis* de l'île abritait les célèbres concours de beauté destinés aux femmes ; ce sont elles qu'en particulier Sappho préparait à

<sup>23</sup> Sappho fr. 17 Voigt, commenté en particulier par Aloni 1997 : 28–9, avec des références bibliographiques aux différents suppléments proposés pour compléter ce texte très fragmentaire. J'ai présenté de ce poème une analyse plus articulée dans l'étude de 2010a : 120–4 ; voir maintenant le texte nouveau édité et commenté par Burris, Fish, Obbink, 2014 : 10 et 19–22.

<sup>24</sup> Alcée fr. 129 Voigt ; pour le rôle politique de ce sanctuaire « panlesbien », voir en particulier Burnett 1983 : 157–63.

une féminité accomplie, par la grâce des attitudes esthétiques et par les charmes de la parole poétique<sup>25</sup>.

C'est donc en cet espace cultuel que le probable groupe choral chantant le poème de Sappho invite la déesse Héra. Pour renforcer l'efficacité cultuelle de son appel chanté, la voix chorale évoque un événement « mythique », situé dans le temps paradigmatique des héros : le séjour, en ce même lieu consacré à Héra, des Atrides à l'occasion de leur retour du champ de bataille de Troie. Mais, de manière significative, la version choisie par Sappho du retour des héros achéens est différente de celle racontée par le poème homérique des *Nostoi* ; elle diverge en particulier de la version épique évoquée par le poème de l'*Odyssée* qui mentionne le passage par Lesbos de Nestor, de Diomède et de Ménélas<sup>26</sup>. La brève mise en scène narrative reformulée par Sappho est donc focalisée sur Lesbos. Non seulement Agamemnon honore l'île de sa présence, mais Héra, la déesse de la triade locale (avec Zeus des suppliants et Dionysos fils de Thyôné), semble assurer la protection des héros grecs sur le chemin du retour. Le chemin semble difficile à trouver, contraignant les Atrides au séjour à Lesbos auprès du sanctuaire de Méson.

Tout se passe donc comme si l'argumentation poétique fondant l'appel à l'intervention d'Héra reposait sur un exercice de mythographie avant la lettre : le poème ne mentionne que quelques éléments d'intrigue et quelques noms propres empruntés à la grande geste héroïque. À cette nuance près, néanmoins, que dans le récit apparemment mythographique de Sappho, le temps et l'espace de l'action héroïque sont étroitement imbriqués dans le temps et l'espace de l'action chantée, du *song act* que représente l'exécution du poème : l'ordre du « mythe » pénètre en quelque sorte l'ordre du « rite » ! En effet non seulement le lieu de l'action passée est désigné par l'adverbe déictique *tuïde* qui signifie « ici, sous nos yeux » (vers 7), mais dans l'évocation narrative du *nostos* des Atrides, Héra est toujours présente en tant que *tu*. Ainsi, dans ce poème à forte dimension pragmatique, les deux niveaux énonciatifs soigneusement distingués par Émile Benveniste s'interpénètrent : l'ordre du « discours » caractérisé par les indices du *je/tu*, *ici* et *maintenant* constituant « l'appareil formel de l'énonciation » recouvre l'ordre de « l'histoire » ou du « récit » marqué par les formes de *il/elle*, *là* et *autrefois*<sup>27</sup>. De plus le nouveau texte du poème fragmentaire mentionne la fête que les Atrides célébrèrent dans le sanctuaire panlesbien<sup>28</sup>. Cette mention donne en quelque sorte une justification fondatrice et étiologique à la célébration présente, dans laquelle s'insère la performance du poème de Sappho.

À partir de cette identité spatiale, le retour temporel du passé héroïque vers le présent de l'exécution cultuelle du poème est assuré par l'expression *nûn dé* (« et maintenant ici », vers 11) ; ce geste de deixis verbale est courant dans les poèmes relevant du genre du *mélôs*. De plus, les lambeaux des deux papyrus transmettant le texte du poème laissent deviner que plusieurs jeunes filles et plusieurs femmes (vers 14) prenaient part à la cérémonie constituant le *hic et nunc* du poème. Cette mention est une invitation à imaginer que le récit mythique du retour des Atrides par Lesbos était chanté par un groupe choral de jeunes filles. Le récit mythique trouve probablement sa phase de sanction sémio-narrative dans la performance chorale du poème, *hic et nunc*.

Par ailleurs, ce n'est sans doute pas un hasard si, dans ce contexte de la coïncidence entre passé héroïque et présent de l'énonciation cultuelle du poème, le temps du retour des Atrides

<sup>25</sup> Alcée fr. 130 B, 17–40 Voigt. Pour plus de détails, voir les références données dans l'étude de 2010a: 122–3.

<sup>26</sup> Homère, *Odyssée* 3, 165–72 ; Page 1959 : 59–62, commente les variantes importantes offertes par la version lesbienne de ce « retour », notamment par la présence probable d'Agamemnon.

<sup>27</sup> On verra à ce propos les chapitres classiques de Benveniste 1966 : 237–50 et 258–66 ; pour les interférences entre « discours » et « histoire/récit » à partir des gestes de deixis verbale, voir les propositions que j'ai avancées dans l'article de 2005.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Burris, Fish, Obbink 2014 : 10 et 19–21.

semble être désigné en tant que *palaión* (vers 12). Ce terme renvoie à l'une des catégories indigènes qu'il convient de substituer, pour la Grèce classique, au concept moderne de « mythe » tel qu'il est entré dans notre savoir encyclopédique par l'intermédiaire de l'anthropologie culturelle comparée. Par respect anthropologique pour les catégories indigènes d'ordre « émique », il est préférable de suivre ici les premiers historiographes grecs. Pour éviter tout malentendu quant aux préjugés qu'entretiennent à propos du mythe le fabuleux et le fictif, il convient de n'utiliser le terme de *mythe* que par référence au *palaión*, à l'*arkhaïon*, sinon au *lógos*. Ce sont en effet ces termes qui désignent en Grèce classique une action narrative relevant de l'âge des héros ; mais elle est référée au présent par le biais de formes discursives qui en modèlent la plasticité<sup>29</sup>.

### 3. Le mythe entre fiction et performance

Ce que nous rappelle une approche à la fois énonciative et sémio-narrative des univers sémantiques créés par la poétique des mythes, c'est qu'en raison même de sa forme discursive le mythe grec est aussi rituel ; c'est un *legómenon* qui est simultanément un *drómenon*, sinon un *deiknúmenon* dans la mesure où l'action héroïque évoquée est, dans le poème mélique, portée par la voix de l'acte de chant, qui correspond lui-même à un acte de culte. Cette relation d'ordre pragmatique qui tend au performatif est souvent renforcée quand le récit poétique raconte l'événement qui se trouve précisément à l'origine du rituel dans lequel s'insère la performance poétique ; cette relation étiologique entre un récit fondateur et le rituel qui inclut sa narration est une constante de la mythologie grecque en acte<sup>30</sup>. On assiste par conséquent, par les moyens d'une poésie musicale et chorégraphique, à la mise en discours esthétique d'un récit mythique dramatisé que l'on placera dès lors sous l'étiquette du « fictionnel ». La pragmatique poétique met la cohérence narrative et sémantique interne de ce monde possible en relation active avec le monde du *hic et nunc*, dans sa conjoncture historique, culturelle et religieuse. Seconde conclusion.

Rien de plus erroné donc que la perspective évolutionniste qui marque encore la conception qu'un Ernst Cassirer nous offre sur le mythe ; rien de plus artificiel que la distinction entre les trois phases supposées de la *Sprache*, du *Mythos* et de la *Erkenntnis* : la langue comme expression concrète des sens ; le mythe comme forme de pensée, en tant qu'expression du moi et de l'âme ; la connaissance comme savoir scientifique, d'ordre conceptuel<sup>31</sup>. Le mythe est ainsi ontologisé au bénéfice d'un ultime avatar de l'idéalisme allemand ; le mythe est érigé par Cassirer en substance pour mieux défendre le progrès vers une raison dont la pensée européenne aurait l'apanage ; le mythe grec assurerait encore une fois l'illusoire passage du *muthos* au *logos*<sup>32</sup>.

Cela signifie aussi – et c'est une troisième observation conclusive – qu'à l'écart de toute fiction au sens commun du terme, le vaste domaine narratif désormais circonscrit en tant que « mythologie (grecque) » ne mérite donc aucun statut d'autonomie sémantique et de clôture structurale. S'il est vrai que l'une des premières opérations de l'anthropologie culturelle est le classement, s'il est vrai que la phénoménologie des religions se fonde sur l'établissement de typologies, on ne s'étonnera pas du succès rencontré par les analyses structurales des mythes. La réduction d'univers sémantiques plastiques et évolutifs à une série d'oppositions binaires, favorisée par les recherches sur l'intelligence artificielle, est sans doute intellectuellement

<sup>29</sup> Pour les deux notions de *palaión* et d'*arkhaïon*, voir Calame 2011 : 60–70.

<sup>30</sup> Les fonctions étiologiques des récits mythique à l'égard du rituel sont explicitées par Graf 1993 : 101–20, et par Delattre 2005 : 185–222.

<sup>31</sup> À part la grande entreprise de *La philosophie des formes symboliques*, voir par exemple Cassirer 1973 : 104–122.

<sup>32</sup> Critique de cette notion ontologisée du mythe chez Detienne 1981 : 87–123 et 225–42 ainsi que Calame 2011 : 19–41.

aussi satisfaisante que rassurante. Aussi bien d'un point de vue d'anthropologie pratique que dans la perspective d'un sémiotique pragmatique, de telles constructions ne sont plus défendables ; dans sa clôture structurale, l'analyse sémiotique des mythes nous a fait courir le risque d'un nouvel idéalisme européocentré. Doublée d'une perspective de relativisme anthropologique qui concerne également nos lectures des mythes, l'ouverture pragmatique vers des situations marquées dans l'espace et dans le temps restituent ces récits, dans leur polysémie poétique, à la créativité culturelle et esthétique.

Quatrième conclusion : création par les moyens de la cadence conférée à la matière phonique, de la syntaxe énonciative mêlant « récit » et « discours », de la sémantique poétique fondée sur la métaphore et de la pragmatique déictique d'une poésie d'action, le « mythe » se confond avec sa poétique, une poétique essentiellement référentielle et pratique en ce qui concerne la Grèce antique. Temporalité et spatialité de la légende héroïque sont donc référées au *hic et nunc* de la célébration rituelle par l'intermédiaire du chant poétique, dans des circonstances politiques et religieuses ritualisées et dans une conjoncture historique et culturelle où cette coïncidence avec le présent trouve sa pertinence et, par conséquent, sa vérité ! En tant que création poétique verbale, le récit héroïque fictionnel, dans son extraordinaire plasticité, représente donc une forme de connaissance, une forme de connaissance pratique, avec un effet d'ordre « anthropopoiétique » qui se réalise aussi bien dans une pratique collective et esthétique du corps que dans la spéculation symbolique d'une mémoire collective ; une mémoire collective soumise aux aléas de la création et de la recomposition des cultures.

Ainsi – et ce sera la cinquième groupe de remarques conclusives – dans sa version pragmatique l'anthropologie historique et culturelle des récits de fiction que nous considérons comme des « mythes » nous engage à relire les récits d'une autre culture dans la perspective de leur efficacité symbolique et esthétique indigène : Dans cette mesure, elle nous invite à être sensibles aussi bien à la dimension syntaxique du récit (selon les principes de la narratologie traditionnelle) qu'à ses potentialités sémantiques. Elle nous invite enfin à repérer les procédures énonciatives qui réfèrent à des circonstances d'énonciation et à un contexte pragmatique d'ordre institutionnel et culturel, par l'intermédiaire de formes discursives, souvent poétiques, qui renvoient aux régularités des genres.

Mais, en brève conclusion, rappelons que le regard porté sur une autre culture ne peut se justifier que s'il nous invite à jeter un regard décentré (et par conséquent critique) sur notre propre paradigme culturel et académique. En une période de postmodernisme finissant la relecture des mythes (grecs) dans une perspective anthropologique et pragmatique nous invite à abandonner le textualisme relativiste qui découle de l'idéologie économiste et concurrentielle du néo-libéralisme : racontés par des poètes dans des formes poétiques rythmées, les mythes (grecs) sont destinés à des performances ritualisées et collectives qui ont un impact décisif sur la vie culturelle et religieuse en société. Appliqué autant à la création poétique qu'au monde qui en est le résultat, le principe du développement individuel et autonome qui découle de l'idéologie néo-libérale réduit les manifestations poétiques que sont les mythes à de purs textes dont le sens dépendrait uniquement de l'interprétation que l'on en donne. L'effet esthétique, l'impact émotionnel et la pragmatique sociale du récit considéré non pas comme fictif mais comme fictionnel sont à chercher à la fois dans le monde que construit la fiction narrative et dans les moyens, discursifs et poétiques, qui façonnent ce monde et qui agissent sur la réalité culturelle et sociale dont il dépend.

Autant pour être l'objet de communication que pour être efficace, la fiction (narrative) ne peut être que référentielle ! <sup>33</sup> Par la comparaison différentielle et contrastive avec d'autres

<sup>33</sup> À l'exemple des différents « mythes » grecs inscrits dans la mémoire civique et culturelle des différentes cités grecques par des formes poétiques ritualisées, j'ai développé l'oxymore de « fiction référentielle » dans l'étude de 2010a (citée à la note 22) ainsi que dans celle de 2010b.



cultures, il apparaît en définitive que seule la postmodernité du libéralisme économique peut se payer le luxe de fictions qui seraient purement ludiques et esthétiques, qui seraient donc coupées de toute référence et de toute pragmatique, c'est-à-dire de toute insertion dans le monde où elle sont actives. C'est en particulier la vitalité des récits héroïques grecs qui administre la preuve du contraire.

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### Résumé latin

*In favorem anthropologiae historicae ad Graecas narrationes heroicas spectantis: comparatio distinguens atque pragmatica poesis. Aliter ac in ulla fictione sensu usuali huius termini latissima regio narrativa, quae nunc “mythologia” (Graeca) appellatur, non indiget onere independentiae semanticae vel dissolutionis structuralis. Coniuncta cum aspectu anthropologiae socialis culturalisque, quae constructione mundorum possibilium ab repraesentatione culturali dependentium et formis poeticis, quas iidem in exhibitionibus communibus ritualibusque accipiunt, petitur, lectio nostra mythorum (Graecorum) postulat, ut eadem pragmatice aperiatur. Respiciuntur autem hunc in modum speciales condiciones rituales, ad quas iidem accommodatae sunt, unā cum eorum vi creandi atque eorum ambiguitate poeticā in ampliore conexū sociali, religioso culturalique. Hoc demonstrari potest exemplo alicuius poematis ad cultum spectantis, quod a Sapphu compositum atque solum ut fragmentum traditum est et quod ad Heram directum versionem specialem illius *nostos* Atreidorum exhibet.*

### Résumé anglais

In contrast to any fiction in the usual sense of the term, the huge narrative domain now marked off as (Greek) ‘mythology’ deserves no charter of semantic independence or of structural(ist) closure. Coupled with the perspective of social and cultural anthropology required by the construction of possible worlds depending on cultural representations and by the poetic forms they assume in collective and ritual performances, our reading of (Greek) myths requires a pragmatic opening-up: it takes into account the specific ritual situations they are accommodated to, with their aesthetic creativity and their poetic polysemy, in a broader social, religious, and cultural context. This can be demonstrated through the example of a fragmentary cultic poem by Sappho introduced by an address to Hera and staging a particular version of the *nostos* of the Atreidai.

### Mots-clés

Mythe, fiction, pragmatique, forme poétique, énonciation, rituel, performance, mémoire culturelle, anthropologie.

## ONCE AGAIN “THE SCYTHIAN” MYTH OF ORIGINS (HERODOTUS 4.5–10)

Bruce Lincoln

### I

In the Coen brothers’ 2013 film *Inside Llewyn Davis*, the title character offers a definition of the music he loves and plays: “If it never was new and it never gets old, then it’s folk.” One could make similar claims regarding myth, another genre that admits no originals, no singular masterworks produced by a solitary genius, no authentic or definitive versions, just recirculation through countless anonymous iterations. Like folk songs, myths represent themselves as eternal wisdom and the very voice of a people.

Such views, which derive from Herder’s theories of the *Volk* and German romanticism more broadly, remain as attractive as they are misleading. Most importantly, while mythic narrators may remain nameless, this does not make their products authorless, trans-temporal, or collective. Rather, it occludes the author’s identity, agency, position within the social whole, and situation of interest, as well as the ritual (or other) context in which a given variant was performed, all of which makes it easy to misperceive that variant as “the myth,” its narrator as “the people,” and the specific interests that narrator advanced through that performance on that occasion as “the people’s abiding values.”

Accordingly, critical scholarship on myth begins by declining the seductions of romanticism, insisting on the particularities of each variant, seeking to identify as best as possible the unnamed narrators, and attempting to understand the way the details of a given variant not only correlate with, but actively advance the interests of the narrator and that fraction of society s/he represents.

### II

Herodotus provides us with a convenient example of how such inquiry might proceed – and what it can offer – In his summary of the Scythian myth of creation, which he presents in two variants. One of these has received considerable scholarly attention over many decades,<sup>1</sup> while the other has more recently become an object of interest.<sup>2</sup> The important task, however, is to consider them in relation to each other, exploring their commonalities, differences, and the implications of the latter. The first text reads as follows.

The Scythians say they are the youngest of all peoples and this is how it came to be so. A first man was born in this country, which was (previously) uninhabited. His name was Targitaos. The parents of this Targitaos, they say – saying things that aren’t credible to me – were Zeus and the daughter of the river Borysthenes. This was the lineage from

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<sup>1</sup> Important discussions include Christensen 1918–34, vol. 1: 137–43; Benveniste 1938; Brandenstein 1953–55; Dumézil 1962 and 1978, 169–203; Cornillot 1981; Ivantchik 1999; Loma 2011; Barbara 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Ivantchik 2001; Visintin 1997 and 2000; Ustinova 2005. Other variants of the myth are found in Valerius Flaccus 6.48–59, Diodorus Siculus 2.43, and the Tabula Albana (*IG XIV 1293 A 93–96*).

which Targitaos was born and of him were born three sons: Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and Kolaxais, the youngest. In the time of their reign, golden products fell from the sky: a plow and also a yoke, a battle ax, and a *phialē* fell to Scythia. Seeing these first, the oldest went close, planning to take them, but as he approached, the gold burst into flame. When he had departed, the second son approached the gold, and it flared up again. And when the flaming gold had repelled them, the fire was extinguished at the approach of the third and youngest son, and he carried it off as his own. The older brothers then accepted that the whole kingship be handed over to the youngest. From Lipoxais was born the tribe of those Scythians who call themselves Auchatai, from Arpoxais, the middle brother, were born those who call themselves Katiaroi and Traspies, and from the youngest, who was king of them, those who call themselves Paralatai. The name of them all together is Skolotai, taken eponymously from the king. The Greeks call them Skythai.<sup>3</sup>

Although Herodotus recounts the story in Greek, most of its characters bear Scythian names with good Iranian etymologies. This includes the first man Targitaos (< Old Iranian *\*darga-tavah-*, “he whose strength is long-lasting”),<sup>4</sup> the river deity Borysthenes (< Old Iranian *\*uaru-stānā-*, “wide-standing”),<sup>5</sup> and the three brothers Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and Kolaxais, whose names all end in the element *-xais* (< Old Iranian *\*xšaja*, “ruling”).<sup>6</sup> Finally, there is

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus 4.5-6 (ed. Medaglia): Ὅς δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον πάντων ἐθνῶν εἶναι τὸ σφέτερον, τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ὄδε. ἄνδρα γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῆ ταύτῃ ἐούσῃ ἐρήμῳ τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Ταργιτάων· τοῦ δὲ Ταργιτάου τούτου τοὺς τοκέας λέγουσι εἶναι, ἔμοι μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ’ ὄν, Δία τε καὶ Βορυσθένης τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. γένεος μὲν τοιοῦτου δὴ τινος γενέσθαι τὸν Ταργιτάον, τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδας τρεῖς, Λιπόξαιν καὶ Ἀρπόξαιν καὶ νεώτατον Κολάξαιν. ἐπὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα χρύσεια ποιήματα, ἄροτρον τε καὶ ζυγὸν καὶ σάγαριν καὶ φιάλην, πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν, καὶ τὸν ἰδόντα πρῶτον τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἄσπον ἰέναι βουλόμενον αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπιόντος καίεσθαι. ἀπαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου, προσιέναι τὸν δεῦτερον, καὶ τὸν αὐτὶς ταῦτα ποιεῖν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ καιόμενον τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπόσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ ἐπελθόντι καταστῆναι, καὶ μιν ἐκεῖνον κομίσει ἐς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδελφεοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα συγγόντας τὴν βασιληίην πᾶσαν παραδοῦναι τῷ νεωτάτῳ. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὲ Λιποξάιος γεγενῆσθαι τοὺς τῶν Σκυθῶν, οἱ Αὐχάται γένος καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέσου Ἀρποξάιος οἱ Κατάρροι τε καὶ Τράσπιες καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτατος αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως, οἱ καλέονται Παραλάται· σύμψασι δὲ εἶναι οὐνομα Σκολότους, τευ βασιλέως ἑπωνυμίην, Σκύθας δὲ Ἑλληνας ὠνόμισαν. All translations in this article, unless otherwise stated, are by the author.

<sup>4</sup> Mayrhofer 2006, 17, following Schmitt 2003, 24 and n. 91. See also Humbach and Faiss 2012, 1–2.

<sup>5</sup> Mayrhofer 2006, 11, following Thordarsson 1986, 502. *Pace* their reconstruction, the original gender of the name would have been feminine, as recognized by Humbach and Faiss 2012, 2. Greek authors treated it as masculine, however, associating the second element of the compound with Greek *sthenos* “bodily strength,” as in familiar names like *Demo-sthenēs*.

<sup>6</sup> Mayrhofer 2006, 10-11; Schmitt 2003, 2; Humbach and Faiss 2012, 2. Cf. Old Persian *xšāyaθiya*, “king,” Avestan *xšayant-* “ruling” (singular nominative *xšayqs*). Numerous authors have attempted to establish etymologies for the names of the three brothers that would permit them to be understood as a coherent set, but there is little agreement on the details, as shown in the table below (continued on the next page).

	Lipo-xais	Arpo-xais	Kola-xais
<b>Christensen 1918</b>		King of the <i>Rpa</i>	“King of the <i>Skolotai</i> ”
<b>Brandenstein 1953</b>	“He who leads the <i>seniores</i> ”	“He who leads the middle age-class”	“He who leads the <i>juniores</i> ”
<b>Dumézil 1978</b>	“Chief of the young men belonging to a <i>Männerbund</i> ”	“Chief of (agricultural) work”	“Chief of the lineage”
<b>Cornillot 1981</b>	“He who bears the ax”	“He who bears the yoke”	“He who bears the crown ( <i>skuḍa</i> )”



the name of the royal line (or tribe) founded by Kolaxais: Paralatai (< Old Iranian \**para-dhāta*, “first-established” or “set in front”).<sup>7</sup>

The narrative itself unfolds in three episodes, each of which involves cosmological constructs well attested in Iranian cosmogonies. The first involves the sexual union of Zeus and a daughter of the Borysthene, elsewhere given the Scythian name Api (“the watery”).<sup>8</sup> Like the originary coupling of Ahura Mazda (= sky) and Armaiti (= earth) in Zoroastrian myth,<sup>9</sup> this is a conjunction of opposite principles – above and below, male and female, warm and moist – that produced the first human. In the second act of the drama, the unity embodied in Targitaos is subjected to fragmentation along multiple lines, including kinship (his three sons), class (the fiery golden objects, each associated with a different occupation and social stratum), ethnicity and territory (the four *genoi* that descend from his sons).<sup>10</sup> The story then reaches closure by establishing kingship as the solution to the problem of fragmentation, insofar as the king encompasses and reintegrates all elements of the primordial whole. Thus, Kolaxais gains possession of all four golden objects, which constitute “the whole kingship” (*tēn basilēiēn pasan*), his elder brothers having been proven less worthy by the ordeal of the fiery gold.<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, the *genoi* these brothers were established in subordinate positions, as servants (*douloi*) of the line of kings descended from Kolaxais.<sup>12</sup> For their part, subsequent kings maintained the gold objects as the sign – and legitimating source – of their power and status, which they ritually renewed each year.<sup>13</sup>

The fact that the story of creation culminates in the establishment of kingship reveals the identity of those who were the narrative’s prime beneficiaries and the likeliest agents responsible for its production, reproduction, and circulation, just as the cosmogonic account produced by the Achaemenian scribes climaxes in the Wise Lord’s elevation of Darius (or one of his successors) to the Persian imperial throne.<sup>14</sup> Given this, Herodotus is incorrect to describe this as the story “the Scythians tell regarding themselves.”<sup>15</sup> More precisely, it is the

<b>Ivantchik 1999</b>	“King of the (mythic mountain)”	“King of the (watery abyss)”	“Sun King” or “Heavenly King”
<b>Loma 2011</b>	“Ruler of the peninsula”	“Small king”	“Ruler over all, i.e. Great king”

<sup>7</sup> Mayrhofer 2006, 15; Humbach and Faiss 2012, 3. Cf. Younger Avestan *Para-dāta*, the standard epithet of the primordial king Haošyaŋha, also attested in the Elamite of the Persepolis Fortification Tablets as *Pa-ra-da-da* and *Par-da-ad-da*.

<sup>8</sup> Herodotus 4.59. On the name (cognate to Avestan *āp-* “water”), see Mayrhofer 2012, 9; Humbach and Faiss 2012, 9.

<sup>9</sup> Regarding the Zoroastrian comparandum, see Skjærvø 2002. Although Armaiti was identified with earth, this also included the terrestrial waters. Scythian Api seems to have the same associations, as evidenced by the fact that Herodotus identified her with *Gē* (4.59).

<sup>10</sup> See further Lincoln 2012*b*. Molé 1952 is also relevant.

<sup>11</sup> Ordeals by fire are attested in the earliest Avestan texts, as is the association of fire with the cardinal virtue of truth, as at *Yasna* 31.19, 32.7 and 51.9. The heavenly gold of the Scythian myth ought is also comparable to Avestan *x<sup>y</sup>arənah* (a term with Old Persian, Median, and Scythian cognates), the radiant nimbus that identifies and bestows good fortune on legitimate kings, on which see Gnoli 1983– vol. 9, 312–319 and the large literature cited therein.

<sup>12</sup> Regarding the relation of Scythian kings to their non-royal countrymen, Herodotus reports the following (4.20): “Across the Gerrhos are the ones called royal, the best and most numerous of the Scythians, who consider all other Scythians to be their slaves.” *πέρην δὲ τοῦ Γέρρου ταῦτα δὴ τὰ καλεῦμενα βασιλῆιά ἐστι καὶ Σκύθαι οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι.*

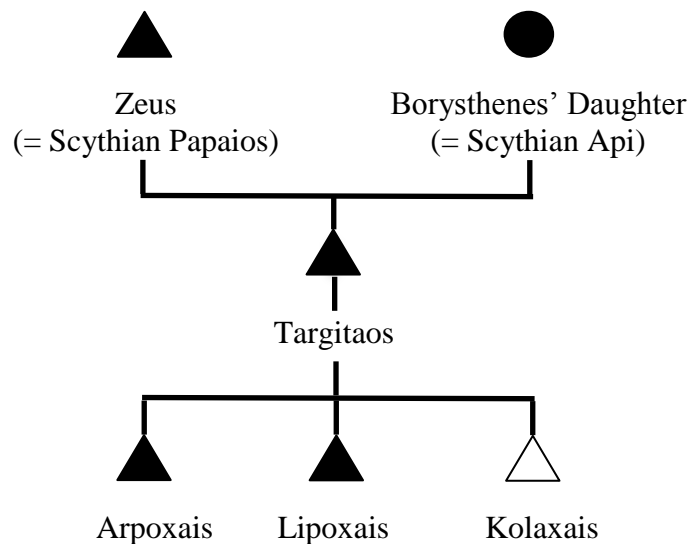
<sup>13</sup> Kolaxais’s possession of “the whole kingship” is specified at Herodotus 4.5, his founding of the royal lineage at 4.6, and the kings continued possession of the gold at 4.7: *τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν ἱρὸν φυλάσσουσι οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι ἰλασκόμενοι μετέρχονται ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.*

<sup>14</sup> Most extensively on the Achaemenian cosmogony, see Herrenschmidt 1977 and Lincoln 2012*a*.

<sup>15</sup> Herodotus 4.8: *Σκύθαι μὲν ὧδε ὑπὲρ σφῶν τε αὐτῶν ... λέγουσι.*

story Scythian kings and their apologists liked to tell to their countrymen, as it established the divine origins of kingship and the right of Kolaxais’s descendants to rule. Presumably, the story was attractive to non-royal Scythians for the way it legitimized and stabilized their central political institution and an intriguing detail also contributed to its appeal. Thus, in thematizing the superiority of the youngest (*neōtaton*) brother, the myth imputed similar preeminence to the Scythians, who regarded themselves as “youngest of all peoples” (*neōtaton pantōn ethneōn*) and thus, by implication, superior to Greeks and others.<sup>16</sup>

This claim of preeminence was countered by a minor revision to the story effected, in all probability, by Greek colonists on the Black Sea, who had close relations with Scythians and served as Herodotus’s informants.<sup>17</sup> This is the name given the god at the head of the mythic genealogy, whom the Scythians knew as *Papaios* (“Daddy”),<sup>18</sup> but who bears the name “Zeus” in the Herodotean text (Figure One). Although this might represent nothing more than the normal workings of *interpretatio Graeca*, the revision invited Herodotus’s readers to view the Scythians as patrilineal descendants of the Greek god and thus half-Greek in their origins.<sup>19</sup>



**Figure One:** Mythic genealogy presented in the first version of the Scythian origin myth (Herodotus 4.5–6). The white triangle indicates the son who won the four heavenly objects constitutive of kingship.

<sup>16</sup> Herodotus 4.5: Ὡς δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι νεώτατον πάντων ἐθνέων εἶναι τὸ σφέτερον.

<sup>17</sup> The sole informant Herodotus cites by name is Tymnes, the deputy, steward, or viceroy (*epitropos*) of the Scythian King Ariapeithes (4.76; further on Ariapeithes, 4.78). Debate continues about whether Herodotus visited the Black Sea, as he claims, but most who find this credible acknowledge it is unlikely he got far beyond Olbia, although a trip to Exampaios is mentioned at 4.52 and 81. The most skeptical view remains Armyayor 1978. More sympathetic and nuanced is the discussion of Stephanie West 2000; 2004; 2007. On Greek-Scythian relations in the region, see the essays brought together in Braund and Kryzhitskiy (eds.) 2007 and in Braund (ed.) 2005.

<sup>18</sup> Herodotus 4.59: Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλεόμενος Παπαῖος. For the etymology of this *Lallwort*, see Mayrhofer 2006, 15; Humbach and Faiss 2012, 6. Note that Ahura Mazda is also designated the divine father in Zoroastrian mythology, as at Yasna 31.8, 44.3, 45.4, and 47.2.

<sup>19</sup> The point is emphatically restated in a speech put in the mouth of the Scythian king. Responding proudly to Darius’s call that he submit, Idanthyrso is reported to have said “I acknowledge only Zeus, *my ancestor*, and Hestia, Queen of the Scythians, as my masters.” Herodotus 4.127 (emphasis added): δεσπότης δὲ ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ Δία τε νομίζω τὸν ἐμὸν πρόγονον καὶ Ἰστίην τὴν Σκυθέων βασιλείαν μούνοους εἶναι.

### III

The second version involves a much more thorough reworking of Scythian materials by the Olbian Greeks to better advance their interests.<sup>20</sup> Here, the union of heaven and earth disappears, as does the primordial unity represented by Targitaos. When the story begins, humanity has already come into existence, as have divisions of gender, geography, status and ethnicity.

Driving the cattle of Geryon, Herakles arrived at this land, which was desolate, but which the Scythians now inhabit... Having arrived there, he pulled the lion-skin over himself to fall fast asleep, for he was overtaken by winter and frost. At this time, his horses, which had been grazing under the chariot, disappeared by divine fortune. When Herakles awoke, he searched for the horses, roaming over all of the country. Finally, he arrived at the land called Hylaia and in a cave there, he found a certain half-maiden, a biform viper who was a woman above her buttocks and a serpent below. Seeing and marveling at her, he asked if she had seen his horses wandering about. She said that she had them herself and would not give them up to him until she had slept with him. Herakles slept with her for this reward. She delayed restitution of the horses, planning thus to be together with Herakles for a long time, since he would wish to depart once he obtained them.

At last, having given them back, she said: "These horses came here and I kept them for you, and you have furnished me with a reward, for I have three sons from you. Tell me what is right to do with them when they have grown big. Should I settle them here (for I myself hold power over this country) or should I send them to you?" They say he responded this: "When you see the boys grown to men, if you do these things, you will not err. Whichever one of them you see stringing this bow and girding himself in this way with this belt (*zōstrē*), make that one the inhabitant of this land. Whoever of them leaves these things that I command undone, send him away from this land. Having done these things, you will make yourself happy and you will accomplish the things I ordered." Then, having drawn one of his bows (for until then, Herakles carried two), he presented to her that bow and a belt that had a gold *phialē* at the top of its clasp, and having given them, he departed.

And when the sons born to her had grown to be men, she assigned names to them: Agathyrsos to the first of them, Gelonos to the next one, and Skythes to the youngest. And remembering Herakles's instructions, she did the things he had ordered. Two of her children, Agathyrsos and Gelonos, not having become capable of the task set before them, were cast out by their mother to dwell apart from their country. Having accomplished it, Skythes, the youngest of them, settled down in the country. This alone his mother contrived for Skythes. These things are told by the Greeks dwelling in Pontus.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Herodotus begins and ends his presentation of the second variant by attributing it to "the Greeks dwelling on the Black Sea" (4.10: ταῦτα δὲ Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες λέγουσι; cf. 4.8).

<sup>21</sup> Herodotus 4.8-10: Ἡρακλέα ἐλαύνοντα τὰς «Γηρυόναο βοάς» ἀπικέσθαι ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἐρήμην, ἦντινα νῦν Σκύθαι νέμονται ... ἐνθεῦτεν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ὡς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν νῦν Σκυθικὴν χώραν καλεομένην (καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν χειμῶνα τε καὶ κρυμόν), ἐπειρυσάμενον τὴν λεοντὴν κατυπνῶσαι, τὰς δὲ οἱ ἵππους τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος νεμομένας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀφανισθῆναι θεῖη τύχη. ὡς δὲ ἐγερθῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, διζῆσθαι, πάντα δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐπεξεληθόντα τέλος ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ὑλαίην καλεομένην γῆν· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν

Set in Hylaia (“Woodland”),<sup>22</sup> the story begins with two people who have markedly different relations to that territory: Herakles, a Greek who enters from outside, and a woman identified as an autochthon by the serpentine lower members that connect her to the soil and her dwelling inside the earth.<sup>23</sup> An ambiguous creature (*mixoparthenon... ekhidnan diphuea*), simultaneously human and bestial, high-ranking and base, monstrous and seductive, she is the model of the Scythian “native.” Initially, her situation is characterized by isolation, deprivation, and lack. Although she rules over the land, her realm is empty (*gēn... herēmēn*), wintry, without other inhabitants, assets, or marks of civilization. The arrival of Herakles changes things, however. As a “stranger-king” of the sort described by Marshall Sahlins, he embodies the power of alterity and the radical alterity of power.<sup>24</sup> Union with him provides the means to transform the pre-civilized status of Scythia into something more like the world of the Greeks to introduce the potent, but morally ambiguous institution of kingship. To accomplish that end, the serpent-woman makes use of her thievish and feminine wiles, stealing Herakles’s horses and refusing to return them until the hero shares her bed.

As a result, she bears three sons and before the hero departs, she seeks to define her children’s identity. “Tell me what is right to do with them when they have grown big?” she asks, “Should I settle them here or send them to you?”<sup>25</sup> Which is to say: Are they mine or yours? Scythian or Greek? By way of answer, Herakles gave her three novel instruments of culture – a bow, a belt, and a *phialē* – and told her to use them as a test. When the boys reached adulthood, he explained, the one able to string this bow and to gird himself with the

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εὐρεῖν ἐν ἄντρῳ μιξοπάρθενον τινὰ ἔχιδναν διφυέα, τῆς τὰ μὲν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν εἶναι γυναικός, τὰ δὲ ἔνερθε ὄφιός. ἰδόντα δὲ καὶ θουμάσαντα ἐπειρέσθαι μιν, εἴ κου ἴδοι ἵππους πλανωμένας· τὴν δὲ φάναι ἐωυτὴν ἔχειν καὶ οὐκ ἀποδώσειν ἐκείνῳ πρὶν οἱ μιχθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα μιχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τούτῳ. κείνην τε δὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἵππων, βουλομένην ὡς πλείστον χρόνον συνεῖναι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ τὸν κομισάμενον ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· τέλος δὲ ἀποδιδούσαν αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν· «ἵππους μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἀπικομένας ἐνθάδε ἔσωσά τοι ἐγὼ, σώστρα δὲ σὺ παρέσχε· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ σεῦ παῖδας τρεῖς ἔχω. τούτους, ἐπεὶ ἀνδρωθέντας τρόφιες, ὅ τι χρὴ ποιέειν, ἐξηγέο σύ, εἴτε αὐτοῦ κατοικίζω (χώρης γὰρ τῆσδε ἔχω τὸ κράτος αὐτῆ) εἴτε ἀποπέμψω παρά σε». τὴν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρωτᾶν, τὸν δὲ λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν· «ἐπεὶ ἀνδρωθέντας ἰδηαί τοὺς παῖδας, τάδε ποιέῃσα οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοις· τὸν μὲν ἂν ὄρας αὐτῶν τόδε τὸ τόξον ὧδε διατεινόμενον καὶ τῷ ζωστήρι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ζωννύμενον, τοῦτον μὲν τῆσδε τῆς χώρης οἰκήτορα ποιεῦ· ὅς δ’ ἂν τουτέων τῶν ἔργων, τῶν ἐντέλλομαι, λείπηται, ἔκπεμπε ἐκ τῆς χώρης. καὶ ταῦτα ποιέῃσα αὐτὴ τε εὐφρανεαί καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ποιήσεις». τὸν μὲν δὴ εἰρύσαντα τῶν τόξων τὸ ἕτερον (δύο γὰρ δὴ φορέειν τέως Ἡρακλέα) καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα προδείξαντα παραδοῦναι τὸ τόξον τε καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα ἔχοντα ἐπ’ ἄκρης τῆς συμβολῆς φιάλην χρυσέην, δόντα δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, τὴν δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ γενομένους τοὺς παῖδας ἀνδρωθῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν σφι οὐνόματα θέσθαι, τῷ μὲν Ἀγάθυρσον αὐτῶν, τῷ δὲ ἐπομένῳ Γελωνόν, Σκύθην δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μεμνημένην αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. καὶ δὴ δύο μὲν οἱ τῶν παίδων, τὸν τε Ἀγάθυρσον καὶ τὸν Γελωνόν, οὐκ οἴους τε γενομένους ἐξικέσθαι πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον οἴχεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς γειναμένης, τὸν δὲ νεώτατον αὐτῶν Σκύθην ἐπιτελέσαντα καταμείναι ἐν τῇ χωρῇ. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σκύθου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος γενέσθαι τοὺς αἰεὶ βασιλέας γινομένους Σκυθέων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φιάλης ἔτι καὶ ἐς τότε φιάλας ἐκ τῶν ζωστήρων φορέειν Σκύθας· τὸ δὴ μόνον μηχανήσασθαι τὴν μητέρα Σκύθη. ταῦτα δὲ Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες λέγουσι.

<sup>22</sup> While discussing Scythian resistance to foreign customs (4.76), Herodotus treats Hylaia as a territory geographically internal to Scythia, but exposed to the risk of Greek influence. Thus, when Anacharsis was making his way through the Hellespont, he stopped at the Greek city of Cyzicus, where he promised the Mother of the Gods that if she granted him a safe return to Scythia, he would establish her worship there. Upon entering Hylaia, he began performing her rites, hidden in the forest. There, however, he was observed by the native Scythian residents and subsequently slain by their king.

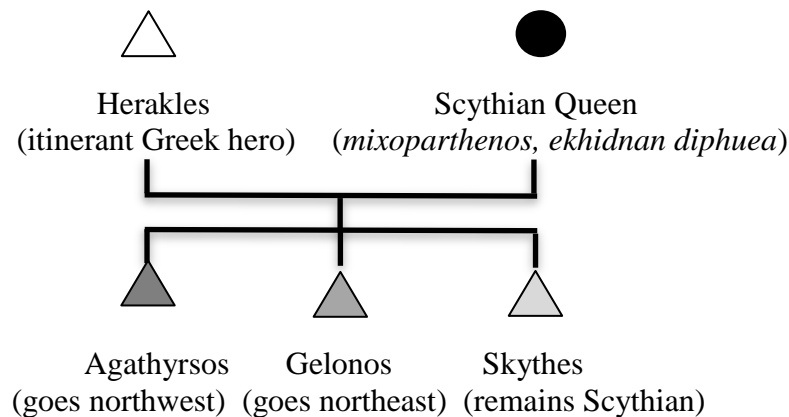
<sup>23</sup> As discussed by Visintin 1997 and 2000 and Ustinova 2005.

<sup>24</sup> Sahlins 1985, 73–103; 2008; 2011. Greek authors commonly cast Herakles in this role, thereby redefining other peoples as subordinate and somewhat lesser versions of themselves, a move first recognized by Elias J. Bickerman 1952.

<sup>25</sup> Herodotus 4.9: τούτους, ἐπεὶ ἀνδρωθέντας τρόφιες, ὅ τι χρὴ ποιέειν, ἐξηγέο σύ, εἴτε αὐτοῦ κατοικίζω (χώρης γὰρ τῆσδε ἔχω τὸ κράτος αὐτῆ) εἴτε ἀποπέμψω παρά σε.

belt should remain in place and assume royal power (4.9).<sup>26</sup> Note, however, that the Greek visitor claimed none of these youths as his own. The ablest – i.e. the one most Heraklean in his physical and cultural capacities – was to inherit Scythia. His less able brothers – i.e. those who received a lesser portion of their father’s gifts – were to be sent, not to their father, but in the opposite direction. Thus, the first-born son, Agathyrsos emigrated to the northwest and founded the people known as Agathyrsoi, whom Herodotus elsewhere describes as living a dissolute, unmanly existence.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, Gelonos moved to the northeast, where his people lead a sedentary, non-heroic and non-nomadic life, working the soil, tending gardens, eating bread, and speaking a language half Greek and half Scythian.<sup>28</sup>

Bringing Herakles into the story thus serves to construe the serpent-woman’s offspring as Greek in their descent, but only partially so. That Skythes was more Greek than his brothers is suggested in four different ways. First, it was the physical excellence he inherited from his father that let him win the kingship. Second, he obtained implements of Greek culture (bow, belt, *phialē*) that his brothers were denied. Third, as an adult he dwelt closer to the Greeks, while his brothers were exiled far to the north. Finally, he established a more virile cultural style for his people than did his brothers, whose mores would strike a Greek audience as deriving from their Asian mother (Figure Two).



**Figure Two:** Mythic genealogy presented in the second version of the Scythian origin myth (Herodotus 4.8–10). White indicates Greek identity; Scythian, black; and grays depict intermediate mixes of Greek and Scythian. The most Greek (= least gray) of the three sons wins the Scythian kingship.

<sup>26</sup> Herodotus never names Skythes as king, but at 4.6 he does state that the *Skythai* take their name from their first king, with implicit reference to Skythes (σύμψασι δὲ εἶναι οὖνομα Σκολότους, τευ βασιλέος ἐπωνυμίην, Σκύθας δὲ Ἑλληνας ὠνόμασαν). Diodorus Siculus 2.43.3 also makes Skythes the eponymous first king of the Scythian people, born of Zeus and an earth-born snake-woman. Hesiod also knew Skythes as primordial ancestor of the Scythians, although he makes no mention of kingship and identifies him as Zeus’s, rather than Herakles’s son. Fragment 150 (Merkelbach-West), lines 15-16: Σκύθας ἵππομολγούς. / Σκύθης μὲν γένεθ’ υἱὸς ὑπερμενέος Κρονίωνος.

<sup>27</sup> Herodotus 4.48-49 and 4.102 establish the locus of the Agathyrsoi. The first text places them second in the sequence of Scythia’s northern neighbors, who are listed from west to east; the second puts them at the headwaters of the Ister (Danube), westernmost of the rivers that flows into Scythian territory. At 4.104, he says of them: “The Agathyrsoi are the most luxurious of men, particularly given to wearing gold. They have promiscuous sexual relations with women... and in other customs, they resemble the Thracians.” Ἀγάθυρσοι δὲ ἀβρότατοι ἀνδρῶν εἰσι καὶ χρυσοφόροι τὰ μάλιστα, ἐπικοινωνοῦν δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν μίξιν ποιεῦνται... τὰ δὲ ἄλλα νόμοιαι Θρήϊξι προσεχρήκασι.

<sup>28</sup> Herodotus 4.102 places the Gelonoi sixth of eight in the list of the Scythians’ northern neighbors, just before the Boudinoi and Sauromatai. Their *nomoi* are described at 4.108-9: εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ Γελωνοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἑλληνας ... καὶ γλώσσῃ τὰ μὲν Σκυθικῇ, τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικῇ χρέωνται ... Γελωνοὶ δὲ γῆς τε ἐργάται καὶ σιτοφάγοι καὶ κήπους ἐκτιμένοι.



Understanding Skythes as largely, but not fully Greek helps one recognize the cultural goods he received as an incomplete set. Thus, the bow, belt, and horses Herakles introduced to Scythian terrain are construed as the Greek gifts that gave Scythian troops their powers of offense, defense, and mobility. Herakles's club, however, goes unmentioned, implicitly explaining why the Scythians, unlike the Greeks, preferred to avoid close combat. In contrast, the first version of the myth gave Scythians a battle ax (*sagaris*) as their distinctive offensive weapon, an object derived not from the Greeks, but from heaven itself.<sup>29</sup>

The Greek adaptation of the Scythian origin myth thus retains a plot in which the youngest of three brothers becomes first king of his people. At the same time, it drops the first version's cosmological concerns (divine origins, conjunction of opposites, fragmentation, reunification through kingship), erases most of the Iranian terminology,<sup>30</sup> and reworks the genealogy to introduce an ethnogonic, rather than sociogonic line of analysis. Toward that end, it construes the Scythians as largely, but not entirely Greek in their origins and ethnic identity, while characterizing certain traits as defects peculiar to non-Greeks (e.g. the luxury and promiscuity of the Agathyrsoi, the agrarian passivity of the Gelonoi, Scythian avoidance of close combat and their thefts of livestock), all of which the barbarians in question inherit from their primordial, autochthonous mother.

#### IV

To propagate this version, presumably in competition with the other, the craftsmen of Olbia and other Greek outposts on the Black Sea produced splendid artistic renditions of the story for distribution as trade goods to their Scythian neighbors. Surviving examples include representation of the serpent woman from Tsymbalova Moguila (Figure Three), the vase from Voronezh that seems to show Herakles bestowing his bow on Skythes (Figure Four), or the one from Kul Oba, which, as D.S. Raevskij first recognized, juxtaposes a scene of Skythes stringing that bow (Figure Five) with pictures of his two brothers receiving medical attention for the kind of wounds typically suffered from the recoil of an unsuccessful attempt (Figures Six and Seven).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Herodotus mentions a *sagaris* four times only, always as the weapon of Scythians (4.5, 4.70, 7.64) or Massagetes (1.215).

<sup>30</sup> The name *Skythēs* is the sole exception and that is revealing in its details. Ultimately, the name is derived from Iranian \**Skūda* or \**Skōda*. Given normal phonologic developments, this became \**Skolo* in Scythian (attested in the royal name *Skylēs* and the ethnonym *Skolo-tai*), but *Skythēs* in Greek renditions of the Scythian name. See further Cornillot 1981; Loma 2011, 84–85.

<sup>31</sup> Raevskij 1977, 30–36; 1982–83; 1993, 48–54. Raevskij's interpretation has been widely accepted. See, inter alia, Schiltz 1994, 170–178 and Ivantchik 2001, 208–209.



**Figure Three:** Scythian horse frontlet in gold from the Tsimbalka kurgan near the Dnepr (4th century BCE), depicting the serpent-woman. Greek manufacture for Scythian trade. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets. Image courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Collection #Dn 1868, 1/8).



**Figure Four:** Silver vessel from Tchastje Kurgan #3 (near Voronež, 4th century BCE) showing an older warrior bestowing a bow on an unbearded youth. The figures quite probably represent Herakles and Skythes. Greek manufacture for Scythian trade. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets. Image courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Collection #Do 1911).





**Figure Five:** Vase from the Kul-Oba kurgan in the Crimea (4th century BCE). Skythes stringing the bow. Greek manufacture in electrum for Scythian trade. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets. Image courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Collection #KO 11-3).



**Figure Six:** Agathyrsos (?) treated for a tooth broken by the bow's recoil. Greek manufacture in electrum for Scythian trade. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets. Image courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Collection #KO 11-2).





**Figure Seven:** Gelonos (?) treated for a leg wound inflicted by the bow's recoil. Greek manufacture in electrum for Scythian trade. Collection of the Hermitage (KO 11-1).

## V

What we have been able to establish is that neither of the two variants Herodotus preserved is rightly regarded as a “Scythian” myth, if that term designates a story of, by, and about the people as a whole. Rather, as we have seen, the first variant does not originate with “the Scythians,” but with Scythian kings and their apologists, who disseminated it to the Scythian population more broadly. At some point it came to the attention of Greek colonists at Olbia and elsewhere on the Black Sea, who retouched it lightly and transmitted it to Herodotus, who retold the story once more. Prior to revision, it asserted the superiority of the royal line to all other Scythians and the corresponding superiority of Scythians to all other peoples. Revision rendered the latter half of this argument slightly more problematic by raising the question of whether the Scythians really were Greeks.

The second variant represents a more thorough appropriation and transformation of the narrative, which was reworked by Greek colonists in ways that assert a) the superiority of Greeks to Scythians, b) the dependence of Scythia on Greece for whatever civilizing arts it has come to possess, and c) the superiority of the most hellenized Scythians to their more barbarous northern neighbors.

Beyond the intrinsic interest of these materials lies a broader point of theory and method. Here, as elsewhere, rescuing a variant from its posture of anonymity by identifying those who told the story *in precisely this way* and the audience they hoped to influence thereby, is the crucial step in discovering what it was all about. Doing this permits one to recognize that details distinctive to individual variants represent the instruments through which rival narrators jockeyed for position, as they attempted to turn the story into a brief for the superiority of the groups they represented.

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**Latin summary**

*Iterum mythus “Scythicus” de originibus gentis (Herodotus 4.5–10).* Etiam si mythenon sunt sine auctoribus, neque veritatem aeternam neque vocem propriam *populi* (ut in theoriis romanticis dicitur) exprimentes, iidem sunt narrationes, quae et auctores et naturam suam unilateralem occultant. Duae variationes “ipsius” originis Scythicae illius mytheni, qui apud Herodotum 4.5–6 et 4.8–20 asservatur, exemplum conveniens praebent illius modi, quo lectio exacta concedit, ut momenta unāquāque variatione promulgatā percipiantur illis modis, quibus res singulas structurae communis retractant.

**English summary**

Far from being authorless texts, eternal truths, and the authentic voice of the *Volk* (as Romantic theories have it), myths are narratives that disguise both their authorship and their tendentious nature. The two variants of “the” Scythian origin myth preserved in Herodotus 4.5–6 and 4.8–10 provide a convenient example of how close reading permits one to identify the interests advanced by each variant through the ways they rework details of the structure they have in common.

**Keywords**

Myth, Scythia, Scythian Origins, Scythian Kingship, Herodotus, Stranger-King.



# MILK AS A SYMBOL OF IMMORTALITY IN THE “ORPHIC” GOLD TABLETS FROM THURII AND PELINNA <sup>1</sup>

Stian Sundell Torjussen

## Introduction

The day I started as a PhD student at the University of Tromsø Synnøve des Bouvrie gave me a copy of a book she had edited called *Myth and Symbol I: Symbolic Phenomena in Ancient Greek culture*. This was on September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2004, but judging from the personal greeting inside the cover, “Velkommen i snøværet!” winter had already started. Browsing the contents I saw articles by some of the current giants within research on Greek culture. Then it struck me as a bit unlikely, but it soon became clear that here, in the far north where winter came early and where the sun disappears for two months during winter, a formidable researcher in her field was situated.

In the following years, I had the privilege to engage in discussions about myths and symbols in Greek culture with Professor des Bouvrie, discussions which greatly influenced and improved my own work. A recurring theme was the nature of the symbol, and how certain symbols could have a “magnetic” quality within a certain culture. These symbols could be myths, or symbolic tales, defined by des Bouvrie as “culture-creating tales.” The meaning is not inherent in these tales, but is rather “charged with value” by a certain culture and thereby become focal points which are able to “mobilise people into collective action” or mobilise them toward some “core values.”<sup>2</sup> The symbolic tale is therefore seen as a magnetic center where its meaning is equal to the effect it has on a given culture.<sup>3</sup> In the same volume, des Bouvrie examines the warrior in Greek tragedy as an example of such a symbol. Influenced by the theories of Sherry Ortner and Barbara Babcock, des Bouvrie explores the warrior as a key symbol in Greek culture, a symbol which had a specific meaning for the audience but whose meaning was inverted in the tragedies.<sup>4</sup> This inversion “sent electrical charges of shock and horror through the theatre, revitalizing the audience’s cultural reflexes towards the correct order of warrior existence.”<sup>5</sup>

Myths, symbolic tales and symbols help to define a society. But they may also work on different levels. Cities, smaller societies, clubs, families and even individuals use such symbolic tales, and they may serve as magnetic centers on different scales, from a nation’s celebration of the Constitution to family rituals around the dinner table. The following article will be an exploration of how a symbol may serve as a magnetic center, to use des Bouvrie’s terminology, both in a text and for the group who used this text and thereby charged it with meaning. The texts in question are four “Orphic” gold tablets from Thurii, Italy, and Pelinna, Greece. I will argue that the texts, although found in a burial context, most probably refer to

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Arve Omtvedt Berntzen for many fruitful discussions on these texts. Thanks also to Per Pippin Aspaas and the anonymous reviewer for suggestions on how to improve the text, including help to translate OF 488 below.

<sup>2</sup> des Bouvrie 2002a, quotations from pp. 28, 29, 36, 61.

<sup>3</sup> des Bouvrie 2002a, 61ff.

<sup>4</sup> des Bouvrie 2002b; cf. Ortner 1973 and Babcock 1978.

<sup>5</sup> des Bouvrie 2002b, 308.



an initiation ritual. The key message in these tablets is that the deceased owners have suffered in life, but that he or she has attained release and immortality through initiation. This immortalization was referred to and summed up in the texts in a very enigmatic formula often referred to as the “kid-in-milk” or “immersion-in-milk” formula, where “milk” was used as a direct reference to immortality. Through analyses of the texts, my main contribution to the study of these texts is that “milk” in this eschatological context was used as a symbol of immortality which served as a “magnetic center” or “point of focus” in both the text and the initiation ritual it refers to.

### The “Orphic” Gold Tablets

It is quite challenging to give a short summary of the study of the “Orphic” gold tablets. The first gold tablet was published in 1836.<sup>6</sup> The precise origin of the tablet is not certain, but according to the private collector who handed the tablet over to the British Museum it had been found in a grave in Petelia, southern Italy. The tablet measures only 4,5 x 2,7 cm, making the letters in the thirteen lines of text inscribed on it very small. The text is a *vademecum* for how the soul should behave in the underworld in order to secure a blissful afterlife; avoid the spring on the left side in Hades, approach the other spring, near Mnemosyne’s lake, identify yourself to the guardians of this spring and emphasize your thirst, then drink when permitted and then “you shall be lord amongst heroes.”

Since the publication of the Petelia tablet, several other tablets have been found and published. In Edmonds III’s collection of the tablets from 2011, a total of 41 tablets with text are included, and the number is still growing.<sup>7</sup> The tablets have been found in various places around the Mediterranean, ranging from sites in southern Italy, Sicily, Rome, Crete, Peloponnese, Macedonia and Thessaly, all found in graves accompanying the dead. While the oldest, from Hipponion, southern Italy, is dated to 400 BC, most of the tablets date from the middle of the fourth century to the third century BC, with one notable exception from Rome dated to the third century AD. Some of the texts are long, usually *vademecum* texts similar to the Petelia tablet mentioned above, while others are very short, containing only a short greeting and/or a name or title (*mystēs*). There are ongoing important discussions on how to categorize these tablets, whether geographically or thematically, but this is not particularly relevant to our discussion here.<sup>8</sup>

The religious background of the gold tablet texts have been discussed for more than a century.<sup>9</sup> Currently, the main discussion is whether one should see the tablets as Orphic or if they should be seen as the products of other cults which were not necessarily connected to each other. The first suggestion, which Prümm would have dubbed the maximalist approach, is advocated by several scholars, perhaps most notably Alberto Bernabé, while Radcliffe Edmonds III argues for the latter, minimalist approach.<sup>10</sup> My own approach to this question is far closer to the minimalist, or “Orpheoskeptic,” than the maximalist, “PanOrphist.”<sup>11</sup> I have argued for this elsewhere, but important here is that the minimalist approach allows for a greater emphasis on local contexts and the individual text, rather than seeing the text as part of a larger corpus of texts where one text is used to explain another.<sup>12</sup> In the following, the texts

<sup>6</sup> Franz 1836.

<sup>7</sup> Edmonds III 2011a.

<sup>8</sup> Two recent examples are Edmonds III 2011a (thematically) and Graf & Johnston 2007 (geographically).

<sup>9</sup> For surveys on the study of Orphism see Prümm 1953, Torjussen 2005, Edmonds III 2011b.

<sup>10</sup> These two great scholars have debated this since the late 1990s. For recent examples see Bernabé & Jiménez San Cristóbal 2011, 101: “[t]he evident conclusion which arises from all these considerations is that the gold leaves can only be Orphic.”, and Edmonds III 2004, 108: “the gold tablets provide evidence for the various *chemins de deviance* pursued by the different religious contexts that produced the tablets.”

<sup>11</sup> Both terms Edmonds III 2011b, 7.

<sup>12</sup> Torjussen 2008.

will be seen as products of religious specialist, itinerant *manteis*, who acted as *bricoleurs* by “drawing upon and adapting myths and rituals that already existed.”<sup>13</sup> This approach could help explain both the many similarities found in many of the tablets, since the *manteis* in many cases consulted the same texts, but also the differences, which may be explained as local preferences. The various gold tablets, then, are here seen as made up by many different texts, where several ritual texts, rather than one archetypal text, made up the backbone of the texts while local preferences provided unique details.<sup>14</sup> With that in mind, we turn now to the texts from Thurii and Pelinna.

### The texts

We turn first to Thurii, near modern-day Sibaris in Calabria, southern Italy. Here, five gold tablets were found in 1879 in two different burial mounds. The first to be considered here was found in the mound dubbed *Timpone grande*, folded and placed inside another gold tablet which functioned as an envelope. The tablet is dated to c. 350 BC.

OF 487<sup>15</sup>

Ἄλλ' ὁπότεν ψυχὴ προλίπη φάος ἀέλιοιο,  
δεξιὸν Ε.ΘΙΑΣ δ' ἐξι<έ>ναι πεφυλαγμένον εὐ μάλα πάντα·  
χαῖρε παθῶν τὸ πάθημα τὸ δ' οὐπω πρόσθ' {ε} ἐπεπόνθεις·  
θεὸς ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου· ἔριφος ἐς γάλα ἔπετες.  
χαῖρ<ε> χαῖρε· δεξιὰν ὁδοίπόρ<ει>  
λειμῶνάς θ' {ε} ἱεροῦς καὶ ἄλσεα Φερσεφονείας

*But when the soul leaves the light of the sun,  
To the right ... having kept watch on all things well.  
Hail you who have suffered the Suffering, but this you have never suffered  
before:  
You have become (a) god from human: A kid you fell into milk.  
Hail, hail: Travel to the right  
The holy meadow and sacred grove of Persephone.*

The other text was found in another mound, the *Timpone piccolo*.<sup>16</sup> The tablet is dated to 360 BC.

OF 488

Ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρώ<ν> καθαρά, χθονί<ων> βασιλεία,  
Εὐκλῆς Εὐβο<υ>λεύς τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι·  
καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμῶν γένος ὄλβιον εὐχομαι εἶμεν,

<sup>13</sup> Graf & Johnston 2007, 94. See also Edmonds III 2004, 4 for more on the *bricolage*-theory: “Each of these texts [about Underworld journeys] employs elements from a pool of traditional motifs, the limited ragbag of the *bricoleur*, in a narrative of the journey to the realm of the dead.”

<sup>14</sup> The search for the original text behind some (or even all) of the tablets also has a long history. Two examples will suffice: an attempt to reconstruct a hypothetical archetypal text, Riedweg 2002; and Herrero de Jáuregui 2010, 272: “I think it probable that the different leaves take their hexameters from one poem or from several poems similar to each other, which described the descent of the soul to the Underworld, and from which each leaf selects those verses which are considered essential to its function as guide in the Afterlife.”

<sup>15</sup> OF 487, and other numbers, refers to the collection of Orphic fragments, *Orphicorum et Orphicis similibus testimonia et fragmenta. Poetae Epici Graeci* edited by Alberto Bernabé and published in three volumes 2004–2007 on which my translations are based. Comparetti 1879, ed. princ.

<sup>16</sup> Comparetti 1880, ed. princ. Here I have written out line 8 because I believe this repetition of line 6 was intentionally made in order to highlight line 7.

ἀλ<λ>ά με Μο<ι>ρ{α} ἐδάμασ<σ>ε {καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι} καὶ  
 ἄσ{σ}τεροβλήτα κεραυνῶι.  
 κύκλο<υ> δ' ἐξέπταν βαρυπενθέος ἀργαλέοιο,  
 ἴμερτο<υ> δ' ἐπέβαν στεφάνου ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι,  
 δεσ{σ}ποίνας δ' {ε} ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονίας βασιλείας·  
 ἴμερτοῦ δ' ἀπέβαν στεμάνου ποσὶ καρπασίμοισι  
 ὄλβιε καὶ μακαριστέ, θεὸς δ' ἔση ἀντὶ βροτοῖο  
 ἔριφος ἐς γάλ' ἔπετον.

*Pure I come out of the pure, Queen of the Underworld,  
 Eukles and Eubouleus and all the other immortal Gods:  
 For I maintain that I too am of your blessed kind,  
 But Fate subdued me, and (all the other immortal gods) and by he with the  
 star-flung thunderbolt.  
 I flew out of the grievous, troublesome circle,  
 I passed with swift feet to the desired wreath,  
 I entered under the bosom of the lady of the house, the Queen of the  
 Underworld,  
 I passed with swift feet from the desired wreath  
 Happy and Blessed, you shall become god, the opposite of mortal.  
 A kid I have fallen into milk.*

The next two texts were excavated in 1985 within a single grave in Pelinna, Greece, and published two years later.<sup>17</sup> The grave belonged to a woman and contained grave goods suggesting that she was interred sometime in the late fourth /early third century B.C. The two texts are nearly identical.

OF 485

νῦν ἔθανες καὶ νῦν ἐγένου, τρισόλβιε, ἅματι τῶιδε  
 εἰπεῖν Φερσεφόναι σ' ὅτι Β<άκ>χιος αὐτὸς ἔλυσε  
 τα{ι}ῦρος εἰς γάλα ἔθορες.  
 αἶψα εἰς γ<ά>λα ἔθορες.  
 κριὸς εἰς γάλα ἔπεσ<ες>.  
 οἶνον ἔχεις εὐδ<α>ίμονα τιμῆ<ν>  
 καὶ σὺ μὲν εἰς ὑπὸ γῆν τελέσας ἄπερ ὄλβιοι ἄλλοι.

*Now you have died and now you have been reborn, thriceblessed, on this day  
 Say to Persephone that Bakkhios himself has released you  
 A bull you rushed into milk  
 Quickly, you rushed into milk  
 A ram you fell into milk  
 You have wine as your fortunate honor  
 And you will go beneath the earth, having performed the rites just as the  
 other blessed ones.*

<sup>17</sup> Tsantsanoglou & Parásoglou 1987.

## OF 486

νῦν ἔθανε<ς> καὶ νῦν ἐγένου, τρισόλβιε, ἄματι [τῶι]δε.  
 <ε>ἰπε[ε]ῖν Φερσεφό<ναί σ’> ὅτι Βά<κ>χιος αὐτὸς ἔλυσε.  
 ταῦρος ἐ<ς> γάλα ἔθορ<ε>ς.  
 κριὸς ἐς γάλα ἔπεσε<ς>.  
 οἶνον ἔχεις εὐδ<αί>μον<α> τιμήν.

*Now you have died and now you have been reborn, thriceblessed, on this day  
 Say to Persephone that Bakkhios himself has released you  
 A bull you rushed into milk  
 A ram you fell into milk  
 You have wine as your fortunate honor.*

**Interpretation**

In the corpus of gold tablets, these four are the only ones where milk is mentioned. The Pelinna tablets were probably produced at the same time based on the same text. The reason that the second tablet contains a shorter version is most probably due to its smaller size, measuring 35 x 30 mm, compared to the longer tablet, 40 x 31 mm.

The Thurii tablets were found in separate grave mounds and have different texts. However, if we examine the texts more closely, we see that the structure in the Thurii tablets is quite similar. We start with the sentence containing milk, from now on referred to as the “immersion-in-milk” formula. First, the phrase itself is quite similar in the two texts, the only difference being the subject in the sentence, “I” and “you” respectively (*epeton / epetes*). Second, the placement of the formula is interesting. In both tablets the formula follows a change in the status of the deceased from mortal to god. This structure was pointed out already by Jane Harrison in the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>18</sup> The phrase’s connection with status change was further emphasized with the publication of the Pelinna tablets, where we find the same thing: first the subject is dead, then reborn (*ethanes, egenou*) making her thriceblessed. Then her status as released is confirmed, followed by the “immersion-in-milk” formula. As others have argued, it seems probable that this part of the text, or rather the formula itself, refers to some kind of initiation ritual.<sup>19</sup> Initiations often use symbolic death and rebirth in order to emphasize the initiate’s new status, as is seen in the Pelinna tablets.<sup>20</sup>

If we look at the Thurii texts as a whole a certain structure seems to emerge. In the second tablet (OF 488) there is a reference to purity. The purity is connected to the deceased and to something that the deceased has come from. It is an affirmation of the subject’s favorable status. The text, then, seems to mean: “Hail Persephone and the other gods of the Underworld. I am initiated and have therefore escaped the sorrowful circle of life. Because of this I will become a god in the afterlife.” This is followed by the “immersion-in-milk” formula. The other Thurii tablet has the same meaning: “I have died and wander in the Underworld. I remember the life and suffering I have left. Now that is all behind me since I have become a god through initiation. Because of this I will find my way to the groves of Persephone.” The initiation is signaled by the “immersion-in-milk” formula. The repetition of “pure” in the first line, “Pure I come out of the pure,” also suggests an initiatory context; the proclaimed purity

<sup>18</sup> Harrison 1991 [1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1903], 594. See also Zuntz 1971, 326; Graf 1993, 246; Bernabé & San Cristóbal Jiménez 2008, 113ff.

<sup>19</sup> Comparetti 1879, 158 saw this as an opportunity. The possibility was further discussed by Harrison 1991, 588ff, who also tried to reconstruct the ritual based on the references to wheels and milk in the Thurii texts. “The formula triggered an immense scholarly literature that now seems quite obsolete” (Graf 1993, 245).

<sup>20</sup> Plutarch fragment 168 Sandbach: when dying “the soul suffers an experience similar to those who celebrate great initiations...” tr. Burkert 1987, 91. See also Turner 1979, 236.

of the deceased had most likely been obtained through initiation.<sup>21</sup> Persephone is thereby reminded of the deceased’s status as initiate.

The other tablets from Thurii, not included here, support this reading. Their contents are similar, but they do not include the “immersion-in-milk” formula. The structure of the texts, however, seems to be the same: the deceased has been initiated – and therefore attained immortality as a god – a status which will lead to a blissful afterlife.<sup>22</sup> There is a general emphasis on past suffering in all these texts, e.g. “The Suffering” (*to pathēma*), “Fate subdued me” (*Moirā edamass’*), which seems to be referring to an event like an initiation where the initiate left the old life behind in order to step into a new.<sup>23</sup> The vocabulary in initiation is similar to that used in a funeral since the initiate may experience a symbolic death and rebirth, as in the first line of both Pelinna tablets – *nyn ethanes kai nyn egenou*.<sup>24</sup> But the emphasis on purity in the Thurii tablets and the promise of a good afterlife together with the “other blessed ones” (*olbioi alloi*) suggest initiation.<sup>25</sup> This initiation is probably referred to and summed up in the “immersion-in-milk” formula, making the formula a *synthēma*, defined by Ralph Porta as “statements or catch-words which in some way attempt to sum up what an initiate into a mystery has undergone.”<sup>26</sup> It is especially the placement of this formula in the texts from Thurii and Pelinna, immediately after a change in status to initiate, from man to god and from bound to released, that makes it probable that it worked as a *synthēma* summarizing this transition.

### Milk as a symbol

Why was the transition, the initiation, summarized by the “immersion-in-milk” formula? Because of the small space available on the tablets, the text had to be very pointed and compressed. As Herrero de Jáuregui has pointed out, “[t]o evoke a whole myth as understood by the audience with just a meaningful allusion is a common technique in archaic poetry to expand or compress the myth-telling.”<sup>27</sup> In order to accomplish this, the formula used had to have a special meaning for the group, in this case the initiates. In des Bouvrie’s terms, it had to have a “magnetic quality” which mobilized the group toward certain core values.

The texts focus on suffering, but also on immortality. In the tablets from Thurii the deceased claims to be of the same race as the immortal gods, they have become gods. In the *synthēmata* that also express this milk seems to have a special function. The phrase varies somewhat, but milk is always present. The reason for this is probably that it symbolizes the immortalization, or the knowledge about his or her true identity, which the deceased attained through initiation.<sup>28</sup>

The study of the “immersion-in-milk” formula has a long history. Martin Nilsson saw the formula as based on proverbs from a secular tradition where the original meaning was something like “ultimate happiness.”<sup>29</sup> More recently, Fritz Graf and Sarah Iles Johnston have argued the same: “To ‘fall into milk,’ or ‘leap into milk’ means to be in the midst of abundance, or to make a new beginning.”<sup>30</sup> Since the formula is placed after the transition from man to god, Faraone argues that the initiates identified themselves with a god and expressed this

<sup>21</sup> Harrison 1991, 588; Graf 1993, 252; Graf & Johnston 2007, 105.

<sup>22</sup> The other tablets from Thurii: OF 489, 490; Edmonds III 2011a, 18–19. In this analysis I do not include the fifth tablet from Thurii, the notorious “C-tablet” (OF 492), which is very different and yet to be deciphered.

<sup>23</sup> Burkert 1985, 295. Riedweg 1998, 388 and Dickie 1998, 61 argue that the words refer to a burial rite.

<sup>24</sup> Johnston & McNiven 1996, 33.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Plato *The Republic* 364c ff. Graf 1991, 100; Calame 2006, 283.

<sup>26</sup> Porta 1999, 87.

<sup>27</sup> Herrero de Jáuregui 2010, 280.

<sup>28</sup> Calame 2006, 265.

<sup>29</sup> Nilsson 1955 II, 225. See also Zuntz 1971, 322 ff.; Burkert 1975, 99 n45; Faraone 2011, 311.

<sup>30</sup> Graf & Johnston 2007, 129.



identification with the formula.<sup>31</sup> Faraone also finds support for this through his analysis of the verbs used in the formula, "rushing" and "leaping:"

the boast, more likely refers to some kind of ritual action or dance in which the worshipper imitated or pantomimed the actions of the god, just as Cretan youths imitated the dance of the divine Kouretes or "rushing" Elean maenads imitated the arrival of their tauromorphic god.  
(Faraone 2011, 320)

I will not try to reconstruct the actual ritual, but it seems obvious that the formula refers to an initiation ritual where the initiate became aware of his or her immortal heritage, a heritage which will become fulfilled in death through a final apotheosis. This apotheosis is probably what is referred to with "milk." By "rushing" into milk, the initiate imitates the famed apotheosis of myth, such as that of Herakles' and others.<sup>32</sup> In order to conclude we need to look closer at the possible meanings of "milk" in the context of the gold tablets.

From the seventh century BC and onwards we see a connection between "milk" and "stars" in Greece. The obvious connection is the relationship between "milk" – *gala* – and "the Milky Way" variously described as *galaktos kyklos*, *galaxios* or simply *to gala*.<sup>33</sup> The stars, Milky Way, or the galaxy are also connected to the afterlife since this is often seen as the goal of the apotheosis. The idea that some special individuals could escape death or obtain a better afterlife than others is found already in Homer and Hesiod.<sup>34</sup> Both make it clear that members of the heroic race die, but that some special individuals, such as Menelaos, escape this fate. Later, the idea is further developed and a better afterlife is also made available to ordinary people, provided that they get access to the secret knowledge about this through various mysteries. Plato refers to this on several occasions, connecting the idea to the books of Musaios and Orpheus and to itinerant *manteis* (religious experts) who, for a fee, initiate people and even cities into their mysteries.<sup>35</sup> Alternatives to a dreary afterlife in Hades multiplied during the Classical period. This is reflected in many texts from the period. The souls of the privileged went along the road which Pindar referred to as "Zeus' way."<sup>36</sup> A few centuries later, Poseidippos of Pella talks about "the mystic road" leading to the Isle of the Blessed.<sup>37</sup> Eventually, some writers located the Isle of the Blessed in heaven and argued that the souls of righteous men would be reunited with their heavenly origin and eventually become stars. Examples of this are many in both literature and inscriptions.<sup>38</sup> The idea is present in texts by such diverse authors as Aristophanes and Euripides, but perhaps the most

<sup>31</sup> Faraone 2011, 314.

<sup>32</sup> Herrero de Jáuregui 2010, 285: "[a]fter all, the *katabasis* of the soul depicted in the poem(s) from which the leaves take their lines has its obvious model and precedent in the poems which told the trips to Hades of epic heroes, like for example Heracles."

<sup>33</sup> Aristotle *Meteorologica* 1.8 and a commentary on this passage, Alexander of Aphrodisias on *Meteorologica* 1.8.37, contain all versions.

<sup>34</sup> Homer *Odyssey* 4.561–564: Menelaos is destined to escape death and instead go to Elysion. Hesiod *Works and Days* 161–169: Most of the heroes of the heroic age died during the battles of Thebes and Troy, but all the others were transported to the Isle of the Blessed (i.e. they did not die). On the reading and discussions of these two passages see Torjussen 2008, 159.

<sup>35</sup> Plato *The Republic* 2.364b–365a; Plato *Timaeus* 41d ff.

<sup>36</sup> Pindar *Olympian Odes* 2.57.

<sup>37</sup> Poseidippos *SH* 705.22.

<sup>38</sup> Burkert 1972, 360: "[t]he notion of divine origin and of return to heaven was widespread, at least in germ, before the time of Pythagoras." The Milky Way as the origin of souls explains why newborn babies are dependent upon milk from their mother in order to survive, Burkert 1972, 367 n94. See also Burkert 1972, 358 ff. for discussion and relevant references.

striking example is found in Plato’s *Timaeus*.<sup>39</sup> Here Plato argues that there is one star for each soul and that the demiurge, the divine Craftsman, places each soul inside its designated star. After a while, each star/soul is forced to descend to earth in order to be incarnated there, but after a certain period the soul is allowed to return.<sup>40</sup>

Among the many grave inscriptions from the same period, we find the same connection between souls and stars, or at least heaven, such as the funerary epigram commemorating slain Athenians after the battle of Poteidaia in 432 BC: “Aether received their souls, earth their bodies”.<sup>41</sup> In his collection of Greek and Latin epitaphs Richmond Lattimore presents many examples of a belief in the dualism of body and soul, and that the soul is destined to return to their heavenly origin.<sup>42</sup> The examples are taken from various sites around the Mediterranean and from different periods, such as the third/fourth century AD inscription from Sakkara: “I, a godlike man, leaving my body to earth, my mother... He has gone to the circle of the sky, to the company of the blessed”<sup>43</sup>; Athens fourth century BC – “Earth keeps the body and bones of the sweet boy, but his soul has gone to the house of the blessed” (*Epigrammata Graeca* 90); Pergamum – “Your soul has flown away from the limbs to the other divine spirits, and you dwell in the plain of the blessed” (*Epigrammata Graeca* 243.5–6); Arcesine first century BC – “Mother, do not weep for me. What is the use? You ought rather to reverence me, for I have become an evening star, among the gods” (*Inscriptiones Graecae* 12.7.123.5–6).<sup>44</sup> The same dualism is present in the gold tablets; it is the soul of the deceased who becomes immortal and joins the other blessed ones in the afterlife.

If we consider the “immersion-in-milk” formula, and the change in status immediately in front of it, in light of the above-mentioned texts, it seems that the formula is expressing the moment of apotheosis for the initiate. Albrecht Dieterich suggested in 1893 that the kid in the Thuri tablets was the initiate and that the milk was the Milky Way to which the departed soul was headed.<sup>45</sup> But this interpretation becomes difficult when we turn to the Pelinna tablets. Here the deceased is said to join the other blessed ones “beneath the earth.”<sup>46</sup> It would seem, then, that milk, in the tablets, refers to a blissful afterlife regardless of where this was enjoyed. There are several texts from the fifth and fourth centuries BC which supports this reading. Many of the texts connect milk and paradise with Dionysos, the most striking of these being Euripides’ *Bacchae*. In the play, the maenads, female revelers and worshippers of the god, get so close to Dionysos during their rituals that his powers are made manifest through them. By striking the thyrsus, one of the ritual instruments, against a rock one of the maenads produces a fountain of milk.<sup>47</sup> The image of fountains or rivers of milk (or wine) is also connected to

<sup>39</sup> Aristophanes *Peace* 832–7: men are turned into stars after death; Euripides *Supplices* 531–534: when we die, our bodies return to the earth and the breath (πνεῦμα) to the aether; Euripides *Helena* 1014–1016: the mind of the dead falls into eternal aether.

<sup>40</sup> Plato *Timaeus* 41d ff. For other examples see Homer *Iliad* 6.128–130: the gods come from Heaven; Heraclides Ponticus *Empedotimos*: the Milky Way as a road for the souls leading from Earth to the stars; Cicero *Somnium Scipionis* 1.14: the souls of great leaders and generals were destined to be reunited with the stars after death; Macrobius *Commentarius ex Cicerone in Somnium Scipionis* 1.12.13; Philophon’s commentary on Aristotle’s *Meteorologica* 8.117; Stobaeus *Florilegium* 1.906; Proclus *In Platonis Rempublicam commentarii* 2.129.24: after death the soul travels along the Milky Way and after twelve days tries to enter through the Capricorn where immortality and happiness awaits.

<sup>41</sup> *Inscriptiones Graecae* 1.3.6, tr. Lattimore.

<sup>42</sup> Lattimore 1962, 31–35.

<sup>43</sup> Preisigke & Bilabel 1915, inscription 1.4229, 1, 4.

<sup>44</sup> All translations by Lattimore.

<sup>45</sup> Dieterich 1893, 96 f.

<sup>46</sup> Graf & Johnstone 2007, 129; Bernabé & Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 80 dismiss any connection between milk and a future paradise for the initiate. Jakob 2010, 71, 74 argues that the deceased is only temporarily underneath the earth before he was brought up to the stars and immortalized.

<sup>47</sup> Euripides *Bacchae* 142 f, 696–711; Plato *Ion* 534a.

Elysion, the Isle of the Blessed, and a general idea of paradise and abundance, often located in a past Golden age.<sup>48</sup>

We see a connection, then, between not only milk and the stars, but also to a general idea of paradise and to Dionysos and his worshippers. Seen in the eschatological context of the gold tablets “milk” seems to refer to paradise and immortality.<sup>49</sup>

### Conclusion

The “immersion-in-milk” formula refers to the initiation ritual the deceased owner had undertaken. The initiation led to a new life, expressed quite literally in the first line of the Pelinna tablets, which in turn led to a blissful afterlife among the other immortals. It is possibly this “new life” which is referred to in one of the Thuri tablets as well, with its emphasis on purity.<sup>50</sup> Milk is a potent image associated with death (through libations), new life (mother’s milk), and immortality (the Milky Way, abundance in Elysion, paradise) which is used in the gold tablets to signify the initiates’ attainment of his or her new status as an immortal.<sup>51</sup> This means that the self-identification found in the Thuri tablets is also present in the Pelinna tablets. The same self-identification is even found in the gold tablets from Petelia, Hipponion, Pharsalos, Thessaly and Crete.<sup>52</sup>

The “immersion-in-milk” formula will continue to draw the attention of scholars studying these texts. Apart from its enigmatic contents, in itself enough to interest us, the use of repetitions in the texts also works as a magnet for the reader. In the Pelinna tablets it is the formula itself which is repeated, with some variations. In the second Thuri tablet (OF 488) considered here the deceased’s claim to be an immortal is encased in repetition. Line 2 ends with the phrase *kai athanatoi theoi alloi* (and all the other immortal Gods), a phrase which is repeated in line 4. In the middle we find the phrase *kai gar egōn hymōn genos olbion euchomai eimen / alla me Moira edamasse* (For I maintain that I too am of your blessed kind, But Fate subdued me). Porta has shown how this technique is used in order to draw attention to the main message of a text.<sup>53</sup> The important message of the text is thereafter repeated in the “immersion-in-milk” formula, which itself is encased in another repetition, *chaire* in lines 3 and 5.

Immortality is attained through initiation and helps to ensure a happy afterlife for the deceased. This immortality is referred to explicitly in the Thuri tablets and in the “immersion-in-milk” formula. The formula worked as a magnet in the texts and possibly in the initiation ritual itself. Milk becomes a symbol of many things but most important in this context is its reference to immortality. Milk as a symbol of immortality probably functioned as magnet for the initiates and became a symbol which condensed the main meaning, or core value, of the ritual. Judging from the scholarly interest in the formula and the question of the meaning of milk in it, it seems evident that it has not lost its magnetic quality today.

<sup>48</sup> Theocritus *Idylls* 5.124; Horace *Epodes* 16; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.111 f. See Graf 1980, 214 for further references.

<sup>49</sup> Burkert 1975, 99 has also suggested this. Porta 1999, 342 has shown a striking parallel to this meaning of milk in the Greek Magical Papyri (*Papyri Graecae Magicae* 1.4–5) where we find instructions on how to drown a falcon in milk. The word used for “drowning” is ἀποθέωσον “deify,” suggesting a close link between milk and immortality.

<sup>50</sup> Also argued by Watkins 1995, 278.

<sup>51</sup> See also Edmonds III 2004, 90.

<sup>52</sup> See the texts in Edmonds III 2011a.

<sup>53</sup> Porta 1999, 334.

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**Latin summary**

*Lac ut symbola immortalitatis tabulis “Orphicis” Thurii et Pelinnae inventis inscriptae.* Haec symbola interpretationem praebet illius formulae aenigmatica, quae est “haedus in lacte” et quae apparet in quattuor ex tabulis aureis “Orphicis” Thurii et Pelinnae inventis. Illae tenues tabulae mortuos in sepulcra comitabantur eisdemque continebantur textūs variae longitudinis, qui putabantur auxilio esse mortuo vel mortuae in eius itinere ad inferos. Multi putant illis tabulis textūs Orphicos contineri, sed de hac quaestione saeculo praeterito plurimum disputabatur. Illae quattuor tabulae, de quibus hic agitur et de quibus duae in Italia meridionali atque in Graecia locum habent, narrant, quantopere mortuus/-a in ipsā vitā passus/-a sit, sed eum eamve immortalitatem adeptum/-am esse initiatione factā. Haec acquisitio statūs immortalis referebatur ad formulam, quae est “haedus in lacte,” et eādem comprehendebatur, cum – ut asseverabatur – *lac* esset relatio directa ad immortalitatem. Itaque *lac* hōc in conexū eschatologico est immortalitatis symbolum, quod est punctum centrale et textūs et hominum initiatorum.

**English summary**

This article offers an interpretation of the enigmatic “kid-in-milk” formula which appears in four of the “Orphic” gold tablets from Thurii and Pelinna. These tiny tablets accompanied the dead in their graves and contained texts of various lengths which were believed to help the deceased on his or her journey to the otherworld. Many see the tablets as Orphic texts, but this question has been highly debated during the last century. The four tablets in question, from two sites in southern Italy and Greece, tell how the deceased has suffered in life, but that he or she has attained immortality through initiation. The immortalization was referred to and summed up in the “kid-in-milk” formula, where, it is argued, *milk* was a direct reference to immortality. Thus *milk* in this eschatological context is a symbol of immortality which served as a focal point for both the text and the initiates.

**Keywords**

Orphism, Symbols, Gold tablets, Greek Religion, Thurii, Pelinna.

## **TOMBA DEI TORI AT TARQUINIA: A RITUAL READING**

**J. Rasmus Brandt**

### **Introduction: the *Tomba dei Tori***

One of the best known, but also among the most enigmatic tombs at Tarquinia, is the so-called *Tomba dei Tori* (Tomb of the Bulls), dated to about 540–530 BC.<sup>1</sup> It contains a series of paintings of different thematic content including two erotic scenes, which from a modern point of view have either been ignored or considered shameless and not congruent with death and funerary practices. In this article modern morale shall not be discussed, rather funerary rituals in an Etruscan setting.

The tomb was of the tumulus type with a long, stepped *dromos* descending into the calcareous bedrock, ending in a large rectangular funerary chamber (A) (4.31 x 4.52 m, H. 2.52 m) with a saddle roof. In the back wall two doors opened into two smaller, parallel chambers, also with saddle roofs: to the left (B) (3.47 x 2.52 m, H. 2.10 m), to the right (C) (3.26 x 2.52 m, H. 2.00 m). The back wall of chamber A was decorated with four zones of paintings, one above the other, two panels (1–2) between the doors to chambers B and C, a band above the doors across the whole width of the room (3), and on top the pediment/tympanon area created by the saddle roof (4) (Fig. 1):<sup>2</sup>

1. Bottom panel (dado) (Figs 1–2): Simply sketched trees with stem and branches with and without foliage; wreaths and ribbons hang from the branches.

2. Main panel (Figs 1–2): Achilles t.l., in warrior outfit, lies in ambush behind a fountain (in ashlar masonry with two waterspouts formed as reclining lions, and a basin) for the Trojan prince Troilos, who arrives nude on horseback. A large date palm separates Troilos from Achilles and the fountain. Under the belly of the horse can be seen an irregularly painted oval with radiating short beams or dry sticks.

3. Band above the doors (Fig. 1): Two erotic scenes combined with a bull each, one above each door. The left scene is composed of a reclining bull turned left with head en face; to its right a threesome group: a woman lying on the back of a kneeling man is penetrated by a man standing to her left (Fig. 3). – In the right scene, a bull with a human face charges towards a homoerotic couple hiding behind a slender tree, the one man penetrating the other from behind (Figs 1, 4). The bull is often referred to as “Acheloos,” a Greek river god, but this is a modern denomination and

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<sup>1</sup> Steingraber 1985, 120, 350–351 with older literature; Holloway 1986; Rizzo 1989, 124–126; Haynes 2000, 222–223.

<sup>2</sup> The description is made from the point of the viewer, if not otherwise signaled. – For references to other Etruscan tombs mentioned in the text, see the catalogue descriptions made by Steingraber 1985.

should not be used in this Etruscan context, where equipping a bull with a human face may have been the result of a funerary ideology not compatible with the life and functions of the Greek mythical figure. – Between the two groups an inscription (Fig. 2) – *Araz siqetenas spurianas* – gives the name of the owner of the tomb, Arath Spuriana,<sup>3</sup> possibly(?) an early member of the later well-known and powerful Spurinna family at Tarquinia.<sup>4</sup>

4. Pediment (Fig. 1): On either side of the painted ridge pole with rams' heads, in the middle Bellerophon on Pegasus (right side) (Fig. 4) attacks the Chimera (on the left side) (Fig. 3); behind the Chimera a reclining sphinx, behind Bellerophon a running bull.

None of the other walls in the tomb are painted, except for the pediments in all rooms.<sup>5</sup>

Chamber A, entrance wall: From left: Marine dog, flying duck, *hippocamp* with naked rider moving towards the centre filled with a rocky landscape with plants, on either side of the ridge beam, perhaps an island ("Island of the Blessed"); on the other side (badly preserved) two ducks near the corner; sea waves.

Chamber B, entrance wall: On either side of the ridge beam a running bull with frontal face.

Chamber B, back wall: To the left of the central ridge beam a heraldic panther with frontal head, and a duck; to the right of the beam, a lion.

Chamber C, entrance wall: On the left of the ridge beam an animal fight, lion vs. ibex; on the right a reclining ibex.

Chamber C, back wall: On either side of the ridge beam a heraldic *hippocamp*; a duck behind the left one.

<sup>3</sup> Pfiffig 1972; 28–29, no. 11.

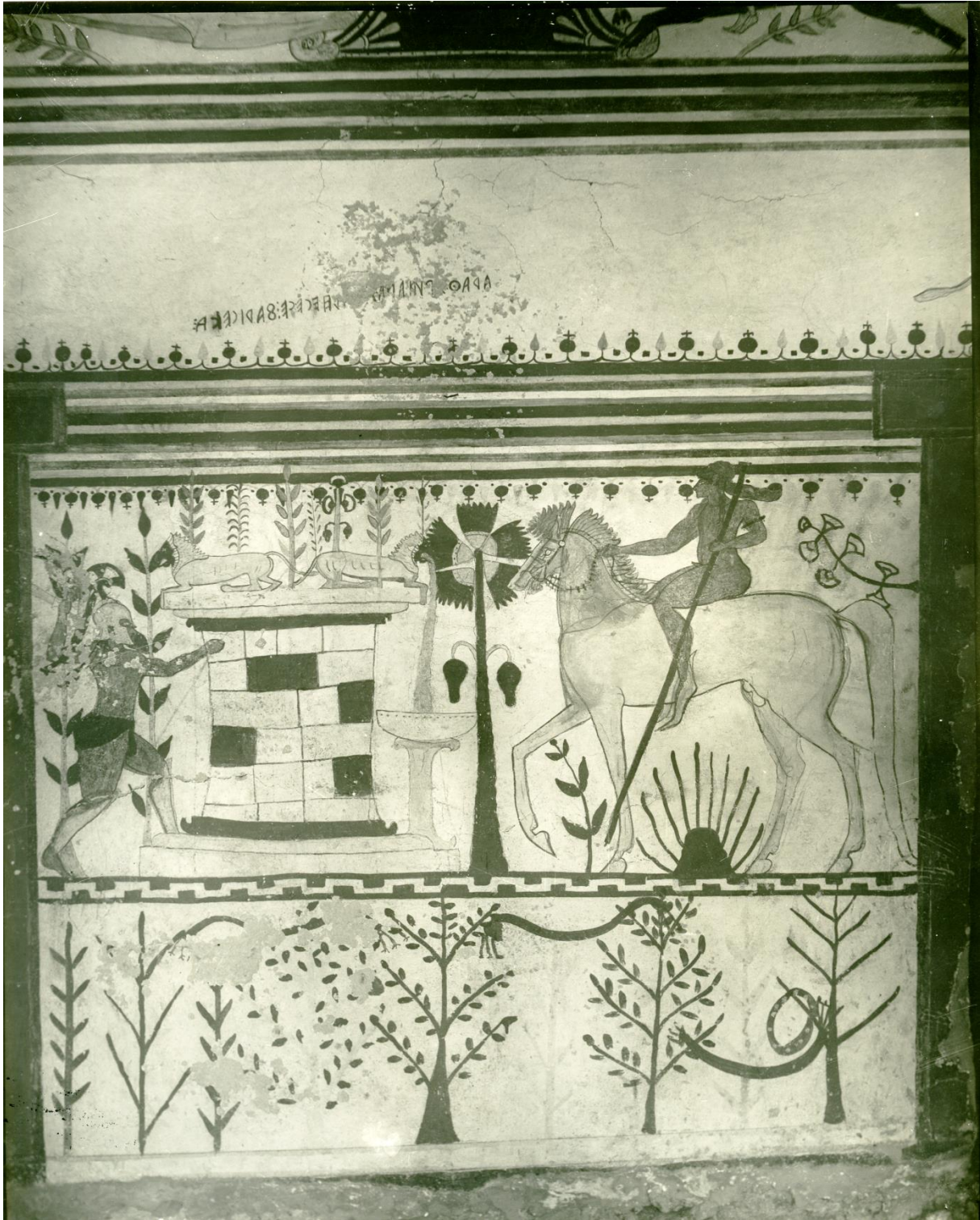
<sup>4</sup> Torelli 1975, 56–57.

<sup>5</sup> For sketch drawings of the following pediments, see Holloway 1986, ill. 2–6 (retrievable online to JSTOR subscribers at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/506031>).



**Figure One** *Tomba dei Tori*, Tarquinia; chamber A, rear wall with the doors into respectively the chambers B (to the left) and C (to the right). Reproduced with kind permission of American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive; photo Moscioni no. 7065.





**Figure Two** *Tomba dei Tori*, Tarquinia; chamber A, central part of the rear wall: dado below, Achilles and Troilos in the middle, the name inscription above. Reproduced with kind permission of American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive; photo Moscioni no. 24122.





**Figure Three** *Tomba dei Tori*, Tarquinia; chamber A, upper part of the left side of the rear wall: erotic threesome group below, reclining sphinx and Chimera in the pediment above. Reproduced with kind permission of American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive; photo Moscioni no. 24121.





**Figure Four** *Tomba dei Tori*, Tarquinia; chamber A, upper part of the right side of the rear wall: bull with a human face charging towards a homoerotic couple below, Bellerophon on Pegasus and a running bull in the pediment above. Reproduced with kind permission of American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive; photo Moscioni no. 24118.

### Previous research and a new approach

Many interpretations have been forwarded especially for the scenes in panels 2 and 3 in chamber A, some of them concerned with the paintings' decorative effects,<sup>6</sup> or with iconographical details and the relation between Greek texts and the mythical motif,<sup>7</sup> few moving from there to an iconological level of interpretation. In more recent years, attempts have been made to put Etruscan tomb paintings into a funerary context,<sup>8</sup> but with more concern put on the organization and position of certain pictorial themes on the walls of the tombs, than their relation to funerary rites proper. However, the concept passage rite has been forwarded in connection with some pictorial themes, and there is to-day a stronger awareness that the pictorial motifs in Etruscan tombs are related to funerary actions.<sup>9</sup> What makes an interpretation difficult is that no two Etruscan tombs are alike; they may contain similar thematic pictorial motifs, but always in new versions and often in new combinations and contexts within the tomb. In addition, the Etruscan pictorial world is characterized by a synoptic or acronymistic narrative style, which means that the number of iconographical elements is heavily reduced in order to impart a message to the viewer. Most often a motif carries a meaning, but not necessarily always so; a motif can at times have a mainly decorative function, the difficulty lies in deciding when.

In a recent article, I have tried to read Etruscan tomb paintings as part of a ritual procedure, seen both from the view of the living and from that of the deceased. My point of departure is the concept passage rite, or rather the model for such rites, as forwarded by Arnold van Gennep (1908 [1960]) as an interpretative tool in connection with religious celebrations. For the Archaic and Classical periods (6<sup>th</sup> – early/mid 4<sup>th</sup> century BC) 13 thematic motifs (called parameters) were singled out that could be found in the paintings in three or more tombs, and arranged more or less chronologically as they appeared in the tombs:<sup>10</sup>

A. Heraldic birds and animals; animal battle scenes in a heraldic setting; Gorgoneia.

B. Subjects alluding to sea/water: dolphins, hippocamps, Tritons, waves.

C. Closed doors.

D. Unconventional scenes: erotic scenes, scenes with reference to laughter, purification sacrifices.

E. Banquets, often accompanied by music.

F. Dances, most often accompanied by music.

G. Scenes with blood, visible and potentially visible: Phersu, flogging, boxers, wrestlers, warriors, fights, and killings.

H. Athletic games (excluding boxers and wrestlers: see parameter G), and chariot races.

I. Ritual objects: *thymiateria* and oversized kylikes.

<sup>6</sup> Banti 1955/56, 165.

<sup>7</sup> Simon 1973; Jannot 1974; Oleson 1975, who sums up the discussion; Holloway 1986; for oral story telling see, Spivey & Stoddart 1990, 92–106; Heedren 2001, 3–12; 2012.

<sup>8</sup> Torelli 1997a; 1997b; 1999, all of basically the same content; though see, also the interesting observations by Holloway 1986, an article often overlooked.

<sup>9</sup> Cristofani 1989, 27; Spivey & Stoddart 1990, 110–120; Prayon 2004; Leighton 2004, 113–121; Krauskopf 2006; Fiorini 2007; Weber-Lehmann 2012.

<sup>10</sup> Brandt 2014b, 113, 161. The description of the parameters is here presented in a slightly abbreviated version, concentrating on the elements valid for *Tomba dei Tori*.



*J.* Horsemen (excluding mythical contexts and hunting scenes).

*K.* Hunting scenes.

*L.* Prothesis and related scenes.

*M.* Weapon (or Pyrrhic) dances.

If we can presume, as already inferred, that the pictorial motifs in Etruscan funerary paintings refer to funerary rituals, these rituals may be those which were performed from the moment of death to after the interment of the deceased, whether the body was inhumed or cremated. This means during the period when, following Arnold van Gennep's model on passage rites, both the deceased and the participants in the funerary ceremony for a given time found themselves in the liminal phase of transition, between the phase of separation (the moment of death) and the phase of reintegration (after the interment of the deceased).<sup>11</sup> In funerary rites this transitional phase was the most critical, during which all participating members normally found themselves temporarily suspended from normal social life;<sup>12</sup> they were in a border land in which strong powers and dangers were released and in which abnormal activities connected to dirt, obscenities, and lawlessness symbolically were just as relevant for the performance of the rites as were more normal actions.<sup>13</sup>

According to van Gennep, "those funeral rites which incorporate the deceased into the world of the dead are most extensively elaborated and assigned the greatest importance."<sup>14</sup> Since the Etruscans appear to have been much concerned about the afterlife, it may not come as a surprise that most tomb paintings and sculpture refer to this critical transitional phase.

The moment of death triggered a set of social mechanisms and funerary actions in which the deceased should be honoured according to his/her social standing and merits. At the same time the corpse became a source of pollution, which had to be counteracted with rituals of purification,<sup>15</sup> and measures had to be taken in order to help the deceased, or rather the deceased's soul, on its journey to the other world. Accordingly, in this liminal phase the funerary actions were of a threefold nature: honouring of the dead, alleviation of the deceased's journey to the Underworld, and purification of the funerary celebrants.

The parameters listed above may thus be divided into three funerary physical and mental spheres:<sup>16</sup>

1. The liminal celebrations: death, honour, and afterlife (parameters B, C, H, J, K, L, M)
2. The liminal journey: actions and counteractions (parameters A, D, F, G)
3. The liminal conclusion: purification and reintegration (parameters E, I)

The division is artificial; it was not organized as such in the minds of the Etruscans. The parameters and their meaning are separated into modern, virtual compartments in an attempt to discover some sort of organizational pattern in the use of the pictorial motifs – and through this pattern discover the Etruscan view on death and the meaning of their funerary practices as conveyed through art expressions. – With this tool in hand we can now approach the

<sup>11</sup> Van Gennep 1908 [1960, 146]; Morris 1992, 8–10; Cristofani 1987, 192; 1989, 27; Spivey & Stoddart 1990, 116–117; Torelli 1999, 152, 156–157; Weber-Lehmann 2004a, 124; Krauskopf 2006, 74–75.

<sup>12</sup> Van Gennep 1908 [1960, 148].

<sup>13</sup> Douglas 1966 [2002, 119–121].

<sup>14</sup> Van Gennep 1908 [1960, 147].

<sup>15</sup> Douglas 1966 [2002]; Cole 2004, 30–37, 105–106; Brandt 2012; 2014a.

<sup>16</sup> Brandt 2014b, 114.

interpretation of the pictorial scenes in *Tomba dei Tori*. Only the first two liminal situations, celebrations and journey, will be of current interest.

### **A ritual reading, 1. The liminal celebrations: death, honour, and afterlife**

The pictorial themes in this first group of parameters refer to the deceased (parameters K and L), to the celebrations of the deceased (parameters H and M), to the tomb (parameter C), and the journey to the Underworld (parameters B and J).

Among these scenes only parameter B is represented in *Tomba dei Tori*, in the pediment above the entrance into chamber A, as described above: From left a marine dog, a flying duck,<sup>17</sup> a *hippocamp* with a nude rider move towards the centre, which is filled with a rocky landscape and plants, perhaps the “Island of the Blessed;” from right only two approaching ducks are preserved. The motif refers to the journey made by the deceased on his/her way to the Underworld.<sup>18</sup> The Greeks had to cross the river Styx to arrive at Hades; Acheron, giving name to the *Acherontic* Books (containing the *sacra Acheruntia* or the Etruscan “Rituals of the Underworld”),<sup>19</sup> was the name of one of the major rivers of the Etruscan Underworld. Apparently, in both cultures the crossing of water was considered as part of the approach to the world of the dead, but the way a Greek or an Etruscan crossed these waters may not have been the same. The journey is here shown in a rather explicit way, including also its goal, a rocky piece of land. Parameter B, which is the only parameter to be found in Etruscan tomb paintings all through the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods, is normally given a much more synoptic treatment, often only as a band of stylized waves.

### **A ritual reading, 2. The liminal journey: actions and counteractions**

In the first group of parameters we found a reference to the deceased’s journey to the Underworld. What happened in this journey of the dead the Archaic and Classical tomb paintings do not reveal – instead the paintings show some of the doings that the living funerary celebrants had established to help the deceased on his/her journey, counteracting dangers and fears, or actions they believed were set loose at the time of death. *Tomba dei Tori* contains perhaps as many as three of the four parameters connected to this part of the funerary rituals (parameters A, D, and G).

Let us start with parameter A referring to a first set of counteractions:<sup>20</sup> Heraldic birds and animals are found in all six pediment decorations of the tomb: a sphinx, a lion, a panther, bulls, and ibices. The resting bull in the band above the doors in the back wall of chamber A, may belong to the same sphere (Figs 1, 3–4). Animals are often used as metaphors for apotropaic powers;<sup>21</sup> they were in this function presumably considered both as guardians of the tomb and of the deceased, not only in a generic way, but perhaps in particular as protectors against the strong transcendental powers and dangers which were released at the moment of death. In this way they helped the deceased’s soul on its journey to the Underworld. The scene with Bellerophon on Pegasus fighting the Chimera in the pediment in the back wall of chamber A may be considered as an explicit reference to this protective role, where the Chimera is used as a metaphor for the transcendental powers.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> In Brandt 2014b, 113, I considered birds as part of parameter A, but the non-flying birds often present in the pediments may be intended as ducks or other types of water-birds, thus perhaps referring to parameter B.

<sup>18</sup> Boosen 1986, 58–63, 129–133, 177–182, 217–222, 232; Hostetter 1986, 22–23; Holloway 1986, 452; Krauskopf 1987, 14, notes 4–6; Jannot 1998, 76–78; Haynes 2000, 223.

<sup>19</sup> Jannot 1998, 71–88; de Grummond 2006, 209–233.

<sup>20</sup> Notice the adjusted definition of this parameter in relation to Brandt 2014b, 123.

<sup>21</sup> Cristofani 1978, 72–73; Roncalli 2000, 349, 351; Izzet 2007, 93, 98.

<sup>22</sup> We have no reference to such Etruscan forces, but forces dwelling in the liminal space, as described by Vergil, *Aenid* 6.273–294, include: War, Disease, Anxiety, Grief, Fear, Discord, Poverty, Hunger, and others (Krauskopf 2006, 75). Could they be a fossilized picture of an earlier Etruscan view of undesirable real and abstract forces?

Apotropaic animals were perhaps not considered enough to protect the deceased's soul from the actions of the transcendental powers; the powers also had to be counteracted by the funerary celebrants themselves. Here we may find an explanation for the presence of at least one unconventional scene (parameter D) in our tomb: the erotic groups in the band above the doors (3) in the back wall of chamber A (Figs 1, 3–4). Erotic scenes, which we find in more Etruscan tomb paintings,<sup>23</sup> may seem out of context in a funerary situation, but their meaning was not connected to the intercourse actions in themselves, rather to the effect they had on the performers' state of mind at the moment of orgasm. At that particular moment are released forces in the body, which bring the performers into a transcendental space outside him-/herself, where he/she may come in contact with transcendental forces with which the safe journey of the dead soul could be negotiated and defended. Ecstatic dancing (parameter F), a recurrent theme in Etruscan tomb paintings, and intense, hysterical laughter (parameter D) were other ways of getting into contact with the other world, and it should not be excluded that originally all three acts, laughter, dancing, and sexual play, spontaneously or ritually organized, made up part of the Etruscan funerary ritual.<sup>24</sup>

In *Tomba dei Tori*, the charging bull with a human face, in the pictorial band above the doors in the back wall of chamber A (Figs 1, 4), could well be a metaphor of the transcendental forces to be checked, in the same way as the Chimera in the pediment above. In the pediment the Chimera was fought by the hero Bellerophon, a god-favoured person who already operated in a world outside that of the living; in the pictorial band the charging transcendental force was checked by the erotic groups, but in the world of the living). The artist has given the scene above the right door a humorous touch by letting the homoerotic couple hide from the fury of the bull behind a slender tree, thus underlining the extreme power of the transcendental forces. In addition, in this couple may also be transferred a situation of pollution, a condition often created in the disorderly liminal space. According to later Roman views on pollution, if they can be applied here, anal penetration did not affect the penetrator, but may have put the penetrated into a polluted state.<sup>25</sup>

The bull and symplegma groups are placed right above the doors to chambers B and C. From a pictorial composition point of view this is a good solution, but their position may also have carried a deeper significance. Since both scenes regard the protection of the deceased's soul from transcendental forces on its way to the Underworld, they express at the same time, in a conveyed meaning, a protection of the rooms behind the doors.

The Acherontic Books, referred to above, promised, according to the late Roman author Arnobius (*Adversus Nationes* 2.62), "that by the blood of certain animals, divine souls (*animae*) become endowed with certain numinous spirits and they would be led away from the laws of mortality." In other words, a blood sacrifice was able to give immortality to dead souls (parameter G).<sup>26</sup>

No tomb paintings display an animal (nor a human) sacrifice, but in some tombs the presence of *thymiateria*, or incense burners (parameter I), used for purification, an important act in connection with sacrifices, implies that animal sacrifices constituted a practice in the

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On the Chimera, see, for example, Terrosi Zanco 1964. – Holloway 1986 refers to the "Evil Eye," which is not totally incongruent with my use of the term transcendental forces.

<sup>23</sup> See, in addition, Tomba delle Leonesse, Tomba dei Baccanti, Tomba dei Vasi Dipinti, Tomba della Fustigazione, Tomba delle Bighe, and Tomba 4260.

<sup>24</sup> Brandt 2014b, 123–125, 128–136.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Clarke 1998, 84–87, 2007, 102, 208, who, however, is less explicit on this point. Could the woman-like carnation of the penetrated man, making him different, be a signal of his abnormal social status with a possible reference to his polluted state?

<sup>26</sup> De Grummond 2006, 209–210.

funerary celebrations.<sup>27</sup> However, if no animal blood sacrifice has been recorded in the tomb paintings, scenes with the flowing of human blood are not infrequent, as in some scenes with boxers/wrestlers,<sup>28</sup> in an erotic flogging scene (*Tomba della Fustigazione*), and in ferocious games led by a masked person named Phersu;<sup>29</sup> and in a late decapitation and combat scene (*Tomba François*). The armed, blood-running combats, visible in tomb paintings from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (mainly) found in Lucania in S-Italy, most likely belong to the same cognitive world.<sup>30</sup> Could such blood thirsty scenes have served the same purpose as the animal sacrifices, to give immortality to the deceased's soul?<sup>31</sup> At death the blood stops running; flowing blood in a ritual context would thus be a symbol of life. Tertullian's observation that "... earlier, since it was believed that the spirits of the dead could be appeased with human blood, they used at funerals to sacrifice prisoners of war or slaves of poor quality..." (*De spectaculis* 12), may be a reflection of this kind of thinking. The use of the Troilos scene in *Tomba dei Tori* may be another reflection of the same or similar kind (Figs 1–2).<sup>32</sup>

The myth of Achilles, who in an ambush killed the Trojan prince Troilos, was a very popular motif in Etruscan art in the Archaic period,<sup>33</sup> and it is described in the *Kypria*.<sup>34</sup> It was said that the Greeks could not win at Troy if the younger brother of Hector and Paris should reach the age of 20 years. His elimination was therefore of utmost importance for the Greeks. Achilles took upon himself the deed, hid behind a fountain and killed the prince when he came to give water to his horses.<sup>35</sup> In a funerary context Troilos has been regarded as the embodiment of a dead child mourned by his parents,<sup>36</sup> alternatively as a reference to the cruelty of death,<sup>37</sup> or as an exaltation of the excellence of a warrior, his *areté* and his smartness, *metis*.<sup>38</sup> Were any of these explanations the reason for his portrayal here? I doubt so; the use of the myth in a funerary context had a different ideological meaning, which may be better understood through a new detailed reading of the painting seen in relation to the other pictures in the tomb. Troilos' death did not serve as an attribute or allegory of the fate of the deceased, rather as a metaphor of a funerary ritual.

From left Achilles in warrior outfit dashes forward from behind a fountain to kill the approaching nude prince on horseback. His death is imminent. The scene, different from other pictorial presentations, is divided in two halves by a large date palm. The palm, together with the frequent use of laurel trees(?) in the picture places the atrocious killing at the grove of Apollo Thymbraios by the Skamander river at Troy,<sup>39</sup> but at the same time it divides the painting into two spaces, that of the living to the left with Achilles and that of the soon dead-to-be with Troilos to the right. Could it be that the painter of the tomb, in a synoptic way,

<sup>27</sup> Ambrosini 2002, 59–96. See *Tomba dei Giocolieri*, *Tomba delle Bighe*, *Tomba del Biclinio*, all at Tarquinia, and *Tomba della Scimmia*, at Chiusi.

<sup>28</sup> Jannot 1998, 66.

<sup>29</sup> Bomati 1986; Jannot 1993; Emmanuel-Rebuffat 1997; Avramidou 2009. See Phersu's presence in *Tomba degli Auguri*, *Tomba delle Olimpiadi*, *Tomba della Pulcinella*, and perhaps in *Tomba 1999* at Tarquinia, and in *Tomba della Scimmia*, at Chiusi.

<sup>30</sup> Pontrandolfo & Rouveret 1992, 54–58, 68.

<sup>31</sup> Jannot 1998, 67.

<sup>32</sup> Brandt 2014b, 127.

<sup>33</sup> Schauenburg 1970, 59–81; Prayon 1977; Heedren 2012.

<sup>34</sup> Evelyn-White 1914, 495, frg. 1.

<sup>35</sup> Sketch lines in the tomb painting show that a second horse was considered as a part of the composition, but was in the end eliminated (De Wit 1929).

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, Rebuffat 1972, 517.

<sup>37</sup> Schauenburg 1970, 60.

<sup>38</sup> As, for example, Rizzo 1989, 126.

<sup>39</sup> Simon 1973, 28; see also Oleson 1975, 192–93. Steingraber 1985, 350–351, does not give a name to the trees with the exception of the palm. According to Jannot 2009, 82, laurel is very frequent in Etruscan paintings and sculpture, but may not be evidence of an Apollo cult as it "alludes clearly to ritual purification before death," more in line with its repeated use in a funerary context as in the present tomb.



tries to tell us two stories in one and the same painting, one related to the myth, the other related to its present funerary context? Under the belly of the horse is seen a slightly irregular shaped object with radiant “rays,” which is a unique element in a figural presentation of the myth. It has been suggested that it depicts the setting sun,<sup>40</sup> giving the time of the day when the ambush happened. A setting sun (not in the shape of Helios) would, as an iconographical element, be a unique presentation in both Etruscan and Greek art.<sup>41</sup> Should we rather read the irregular oval shape as a rock and the rays as barren, leafless trees? In that case it could be interpreted as a boundary marker, the marker between the world of the living and the liminal world beyond. Sisyphos, as punishment for his *hybris*, had to roll a rock up a mountain in the other world, a mountain which became regarded as the boundary between the worlds of life and of death. The rock reappears about 100 years later in the right side wall of *Tomba dei Demoni Azzurri* as a large extended bleak mountain on which many death demons are active,<sup>42</sup> and again in a Hellenistic sarcophagus as a small rock on the ground.<sup>43</sup> The barren trees on the rock in *Tomba dei Tori* should then be seen as a figurative sign of the barren liminal landscape that the deceased had to pass through on his way to the Underworld.

The painting in this way tries to tell the viewer both about the ambush myth in itself, but also its result, the journey of the dead hero to the Underworld. To this second story can be added another element, the horse, or rather Troilos as a horseman. Horsemen (parameter J) are claimed to be “the traditional Etruscan allegorical representation of the voyage to the Underworld,”<sup>44</sup> and their appearance in *Tomba del Barone* is a good example of their role as death journey escorts.<sup>45</sup> The riding Troilos follows the myth as it is told, but in the second funerary story he becomes the horseman who accompanies the dead, who here actually accompanies himself on the journey in the liminal world on the way to the Underworld. Or should we rather see him in that function as the escort of the deceased for whom the tomb was made?<sup>46</sup>

In this play of spaces and settings between life and death, myth and reality appear also as important elements. The killing of Troilos caused bloodshed, but the killing is not portrayed as a simple killing – rather as a human sacrifice.<sup>47</sup> Achilles is not armed with a normal sword used in battles, but with a *machaira*, a sacrificial knife,<sup>48</sup> and the fountain with its lion waterspouts on top is not shaped as a water post, rather as an altar. The central scene of the painting could thus refer to a funerary practice in which a human sacrifice was included as an ingredient. Tertullian’s words cited above may accordingly have referred, in a near or distant past, to a situation closer to reality than readily acceptable. Alternatively, the painted scene in *Tomba dei Tori* did not refer to a human sacrifice in itself, but in a transferred meaning to bloodshed in one way or the other (as already observed above), as an integrated part of Etruscan funerary practices.

### **A ritual reading, 3. Van Gennep and the Etruscan world beyond**

The choice of paintings in *Tomba dei Tori* can be associated with four out of the thirteen parameters referring to funerary ritual procedures listed in the introduction (parameters A, B, D, and G). In their presentation on the back wall of chamber A they are tied together in a

<sup>40</sup> Oleson 1975, 193–196; cf. also Prayon 1977, 182.

<sup>41</sup> See also the critical comments by Holloway 1986, 448.

<sup>42</sup> On the tomb, see, Cataldi Dini 1987; 1989; Adinolfi, Carmagnola & Cataldi 2005a; 2005b.

<sup>43</sup> Roncalli 1996; 1997; De Grummond 2006, 212–213, 218, fig. X.11.

<sup>44</sup> Torelli 1997a, 130; 1997b, 70; 1999, 150.

<sup>45</sup> Brandt 2014b, 118–19.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. note 35: Could it be that the artist in the second sketched horse had the accompanying horseman in mind, but in a second thought decided to eliminate it, since it in that way would have “disturbed” the Troilos story?

<sup>47</sup> Camporeale, G. 2009, 18 (with further refs); Hedreen 2012, 137 n. 14.

<sup>48</sup> Cerchiai 1980, 26.

uniform composition which starts from the bottom dado scene (1): the painting of simply sketched trees with stem and branches with and without leaves, decorated by wreaths and ribbons. The decoration of trees with ribbons and wreaths at funerals is part of a long tradition, surviving in some Mediterranean societies even to-day, as for example, in Turkey. The trees with and without leaves, perhaps referring respectively to this world and the liminal world beyond, intimate thus that the theme of the paintings in the panels above will play on the balance between these two worlds.

In fact, from the way the panels are built up emerges a clear picture of how the Etruscans by the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC visualized the transfer of the deceased's soul from the world of the living to that of the dead. It was a transition in three stages which happened in three distinct spaces, and as laid out the paintings could well serve as an illustration of van Genneep's passage rite model:<sup>49</sup>

1. The phase of separation – which happens in the space of this world (panel 2), here transferred to a historical past to give the funerary procedures a stronger legitimacy. The separation lies hidden in the imminent moment of Troilos' death, pictorially underlined by the central palm, which divides the pictorial space into two – one for the living assassin Achilles, another for Troilos literally on the threshold of death, the threshold marked by the boundary rock with barren trees under the horse's belly. By this transgression Troilos' soul, as a metaphor for the deceased's soul and as a horseman protector, passes into

2. The phase of transition – which happens in the liminal space of the death journey after the moment of death and before the deceased's soul has reached the Underworld (panel 3). In this space were set loose evil transcendental forces (represented by the "Acheloos" faced bull here and the Chimera in the pediment (panel 4)), making the journey of the soul difficult and dangerous. The funerary celebrants, participating in the transition phase, could ease the journey of the soul by performing blood sacrifices (an implicit part of the Troilos story), or by getting into a mental contact with these forces through ecstatic dancing, intense laughter, or (as here) orgasm in erotic plays. The protection of the soul was also achieved through the presence of heraldic animals spread out both in panel 3 (the resting bull) and in the pediment (panel 4), where also the hero Bellerophon gave a hand in fighting the evil forces. – The pomegranates hanging from the top border of panel 2 and rising from the bottom border of panel 3, are a rarity in Etruscan tomb paintings.<sup>50</sup> Since they here are only associated with the actions of the living, in them may be hidden another symbolic protection of the deceased's soul in its liminal journey.<sup>51</sup> – Having successfully arrived at the doorsteps of the Underworld, the soul, as well as the funerary celebrants could now move into

3. The phase of reintegration – which happens in the space of the Underworld where the soul is welcomed by his ancestors with a joyous meal. Likewise the funerary celebrants celebrate the event with a banquet (not represented in the present tomb), which marked the end of the

<sup>49</sup> Cf. also Brandt 2014b, 113–114, 149.

<sup>50</sup> Otherwise only present in the slightly earlier painted funerary Bocanera terracotta plates from Cerveteri (Haynes 2000, 217–219, fig. 178) and in the later Tomba Golini I at Orvieto.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Muthmann 1982, 77.

funerary procedures and followed after the moment when the deceased had been put to rest in her/his tomb and the celebrants had been purified of funerary pollution. The goal of the liminal journey is indicated in the other pediment of chamber A in the rocky landscape in the middle of the pediment, but not the arrival proper. In this space only the deceased's soul could enter, not the funerary celebrants. – The meal signaled the end of the funerary ceremony and the return of the celebrants back into society from their liminal situation, when they were temporarily suspended from normal social life. The importance of the meal is conveyed through the position of the pictorial motif in the tomb and in the number of its occurrences in Etruscan tomb paintings. It is always presented on the back wall of the tomb, the most important wall,<sup>52</sup> and it is second (present in 56 tombs) only to the heraldic animals (parameter A: present in 89 tombs), the most popular motif.<sup>53</sup> In *Tomba dei Tori* this conclusion of the funerary procedures was not considered.

There are reasons to believe that this Etruscan death model was not an import from Greece, but a model which had developed out of the Etruscans' own visions of life and life after death.<sup>54</sup> In *Tomba dei Tori* we find for the first and only time the use of a specific Greek myth in an Etruscan tomb painting, but slightly adjusted to harmonize better with the Etruscan funerary practices. In later tombs the pictorial motifs belong nearly without exception to the Etruscan funerary ritual world.

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<sup>52</sup> Torelli 1997a, 143; 1997b, 82; 1999, 155.

<sup>53</sup> Brandt 2014b, 144, table 5.1.

<sup>54</sup> Brandt 2014b, 148–53.

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### Latin summary

*De “Tomba dei Tori”, sepulcro Tarquiniae sito: lectio ritualis.* In libro quodam recentissimo (Brandt 2014b) conamen factum est recipere exempla imaginea iterata, quae in picturis sepulcrorum Etruscorum inveniuntur, atque eos ut elementa actionum ritualium funebrium interpretari hoc conamine respiciens ad Arnoldi van Gennep typum “rituum transitoriorum” (1908) et ad Mariae Douglas perceptiones puritatis periculique (1996). Talis typus hic adhibetur ad sepulcrum archaicum atque bene notum inspiciendum, quod “Tomba dei Tori” appellatur et Tarquiniae situm est, ut spectetur, num illae sepulcri scaenae imagineae aenigmaticae legi possunt tamquam elementa cohaerentia huiusmodi actionum.

### English summary

In a recent publication (Brandt 2014b) an attempt was made to single out recurring pictorial motifs in Etruscan tomb paintings and to interpret them as elements of funerary ritual procedures with reference to Arnold van Gennep’s rites-de-passage model (1908) and Mary Douglas’ views on purity and danger (1996). The model is here applied on the Archaic and well-known Tomba dei Tori at Tarquinia in order to see if the tomb’s many enigmatic pictorial scenes can be read as coherent elements of such procedures.

### Keywords

Blood, danger, Etruscan tomb painting, liminality, purity, rites-de-passage, Tarquinia, transcendental forces, Underworld.

## MYTHIC GAPS

William Hansen

Greek folklorist Demetres Loukatos reports a conversation he had with a fisherman, D. Kontares, on the island of Paxos in the 1950s.<sup>1</sup>

“Are we going fishing?”

“Hey, I’m not going anywhere. I’m going to do what St. Elias did. I’m going to put my oars on my shoulder. St. Elias was a seaman and got so tired of the seaman’s life – at that time they didn’t have engines and sails, only an oar – that he put his oars on his shoulder and said, ‘I’m not going back to the sea.’ And he went to the highest mountain. For this reason all the churches of the prophet Elias that exist, they are on mountains. I don’t remember the conversation with the villagers.” (Hansen 1990, 243)

Responding to the scholar’s friendly inquiry, Kontares says he is not going fishing but is going to follow the example of St. Elias (that is, the Old Testament prophet Elijah), and explains this statement by recounting a short legend about Elias. As he reaches the end of his narrative, however, Kontares realizes that he does not remember the details of the story’s last scene, and acknowledges this fact to his interlocutor. The defective scene in his narration illustrates what one may call a narrative gap. The narrator forgets part of his story, leaving an ellipsis or hole in his narration, which in the present case he is content simply to acknowledge.

In the usual telling of the legend the prophet Elias, weary of seafaring, determined to seek a community that knew nothing of the sea; he located them by walking inland with an oar on his shoulder until he found a community that did not recognize it as an oar. The following text is typical:

They say about St. Elias that he was a seaman and served all his life as a captain on ships. He experienced great storms, and in one frightful storm his ship sank, and all except for him were drowned. Getting hold then of the oar of a boat, St. Elias managed to reach the mainland. Disgusted, however, with his sufferings at sea, he withdrew far inland. With his oar on his shoulder he began going forth, and whomever he met on the road he asked, “What’s this?” And whenever they said, “An oar,” he understood that these people knew of the sea. And he kept moving on in order to go further inland. In this manner one day he reached a little village built on the top of a mountain. He gathered the villagers, showed them the oar, and asked them, “What’s this?” With one voice they all answered, “A stick” (*xylō*). These people had never seen the sea, ships, and boats. For this

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<sup>1</sup> Since the abbreviation, according to my friend Olga Kalentzidou, may stand for any one of several names – Demetrios, Demos, Demosthenes, etc. – I do not expand it.



reason he remained with them forever. And from that time the chapels of St. Elias have always been built on mountain tops.  
(Hansen 1990, 242–243; cf. Uther 2004, 2: 183)

Sometimes narrators or their audiences, confronting a text in which they feel that something is missing and ought to be supplied, or that something is inappropriate and ought to be changed, adopt a more active attitude than Kontares does. What if, instead of confessing that he did not recall the last part of his story, he had improvised? After all, the man did recall that the scene consisted of a conversation between Elias and the villagers, and presumably he understood that the point of the seaman's oar-test was to find persons who were so unacquainted with the sea that they did not know what an oar was. So, instead of simply failing to identify the object as being an oar, the villagers might have mistaken it for a terrestrial object such as a farmer's winnowing shovel or a baker's peel, each of which resembles an oar. As it happens, there are texts of this story in which the inlanders make precisely these errors; for example,

Mr. W.R. Paton has since been good enough to draw my attention to an indisputable instance of survival, the case of the sailor who is told to put his oar on his shoulder and march on until he comes to a land where they say that it is a baker's peel. This story Mr. Paton remembers hearing from an old woman in Calymnos some years ago: his notes of it have unfortunately been mislaid. (Hansen 1990, 253)

Since the precise way in which the inlanders fail to recognize the oar as an oar varies (they identify it as a stick, a winnowing shovel, a peel, etc.), some narrators, unlike fisherman Kontares, must have improvised when they forgot a feature, or must deliberately have altered a detail.

### Allomotifs

Variation of this sort is what Vladimir Propp has in mind when he lists a number of similar events taken from different Russian folktales:

1. A tsar gives an eagle to a hero. The eagle carries the hero away to another kingdom.
2. An old man gives Súčenko a horse. The horse carries Súčenko away to another kingdom.
3. A sorcerer gives Iván a little boat. The boat takes Iván to another kingdom.
4. A princess gives Iván a ring. Young men appearing from out of the ring carry Iván away into another kingdom, and so forth.

Propp observes that although the characters in these episodes vary, the narrative function of their actions in their respective tales is the same (1968, 19–20). Alan Dundes goes a step further when he suggests that functionally equivalent motifs, which he calls "allomotifs," are also symbolically equivalent. That is, motifs that fill the same "motifemic slot" in a tale not only perform the same narrative task but also bear the same meaning (Dundes 1980, 1984).

Although Propp attempts to distinguish historically earlier ("basic") from later ("derived") motifs, invoking grand social and historical changes such as religious shifts that have caused motif transformation in tales (1984, 82–99), he does not attempt to understand change on the level of individual narrators. Dundes does address this level, declaring that new allomotifs

are generated “from an unreflective, unselfconscious folk process” (1984, 176). Contrarily, Bengt Holbek insists that oral narrators frequently and quite consciously substitute one motif for another (Holbek 1993). All in all, it seems reasonable to suppose that some narrators, forgetting part of a story, simply acknowledge it in the manner of fisherman Kontares, whereas others wittingly or unwittingly supply a functional equivalent, and that still other narrators deliberately choose to modify a feature for some reason such as the nature of their audience (cf. Başgöz 2008, 201–213). Vance Randolph, for example, mentions a raconteur who had two different ways of telling a particular comic tale (Dundes 1984, 191). In “the ladies’ tale” the king threatens to cut off the protagonist’s head if he fails to perform a particular task (Randolf 1952, 17–19, 185–186), whereas in the more colorful version the king threatens to cut off the protagonist’s pecker (Randolf 1976, 93–96).<sup>2</sup>

### **Pandora and her Jar**

For other kinds of mythological gap let us consider a pair of folk narratives from ancient Greek tradition. I begin with the myth of the first human woman, Pandora, and move on to the legend of Pygmalion and his animated statue, another manufactured woman.

The classic source for the myth of Pandora and her vessel of evils is the early Greek poem entitled *Works and Days* (vv. 53–105), composed by Hesiod around 700 BC. Hesiod tells how the god Zeus ordered Hephaistos to mix earth and water, shape it into the image of a lovely maiden, and give her voice and strength (that is, animate her). He told Athena to teach her crafts, Aphrodite to pour charm over her, and Hermes to instruct her in deceit. Then Hermes took the maiden to the mortal man Epimetheus as a gift, and Epimetheus accepted her. Until then humans had lived free of toil and disease and death, but the woman lifted the lid of a great storage jar, and scattered its contents about, devising sad cares for mankind.<sup>3</sup> Only Hope remained in the jar. So now the earth and sea are full of evils, which visit men by day and by night.

The poet is silent or vague about two aspects of these events that, as it happens, modern readers have pondered much about. First, where did the mysterious jar of evils come from? In Hesiod’s narration it has no history; it is just there, a given. Second, what was Pandora’s motive for opening it? Hesiod says only that “she devised (or wrought) sad evils for men.” The usual sense of the verb he uses is “devised,” implying intent, but some Greek scholars take it here in the softer sense of “wrought.”

It is very unlikely that Hesiod himself saw the jar’s origin and Pandora’s motive as holes in his narrative. Oral narrators commonly recount their stories elliptically, economizing on details that are known to their audience or that are marginal to the point they trying to make (Edmunds 1997, 18–20). Hesiod’s immediate concern is the quality of human life, and his point here is that at a certain moment in cosmic history miseries in the form of toil, disease, and death entered the world and became irreversible facts of life for human beings. Hesiod can tell the Pandora myth differently when he has a different point to make, and does so (*Theogony* 570–593).

Nevertheless, the prehistory of the jar and the woman’s motive for opening it do amount to gaps for many readers, whose interests extend beyond the narrator’s immediate focus. One result is that modern retellers of the myth have come up with backstories of their own for the jar as well as motives for Pandora’s action in opening it. Thus the popular mythographer Thomas Bulfinch (1796–1867) writes that Pandora’s husband Epimetheus had the vessel in his house (Bulfinch n.d., 16–17). Another popular mythographer, Edith Hamilton (1867–1963), says that the gods gave the vessel to Pandora, instructing her never to open it

<sup>2</sup> “Pecker” signifies “penis” in comic slang.

<sup>3</sup> In Hesiod’s text Pandora’s vessel of evils is a large jar (Greek *pithos*). Only in versions from modern times is the vessel represented as a box.

(Hamilton n.d., 70–72). As for Pandora’s motive, modern interpreters of the myth are divided half and half, one group seeing the maiden acting from malice and another from curiosity. Bulfinch (n.d., 16–17), for example, informs his readers: “Pandora was seized with an eager curiosity to know what this jar contained.” The popular mythographer Robert Graves (1895–1985) has it both ways when he describes Pandora as “foolish, mischievous, and idle” (Graves 1955, 1: 144–145), implying, it seems, that she somehow acted from both curiosity (“foolish”) and malice (“mischievous”), on top of which she was lazy. What is relevant to the present investigation is to recognize that the origin of the jar and Pandora’s explicit motive are the result of attempts to supply details that modern readers perceive as missing in the ancient mythography. These additions appear in current retellings and discussions of ancient Greek myth, especially in popular handbooks of mythology, where they acquire an aura of ancient authority (Hansen 2013).

### **Pygmalion’s Animated Statue**

Our unique source for the well-known Greek legend of Pygmalion is the version that the Roman poet Ovid relates in his *Metamorphoses* (10.243–297). As the poet tells it, the sculptor Pygmalion developed an aversion to women and so lived a bachelor life. He carved an ivory statue of a lovely maiden and fell in love with it, dressing it, kissing it, and sharing his bed with it. When it was time for the festival of Venus, Pygmalion asked the gods to give to him as his wife a woman like the ivory maiden. Although he did not dare to ask for the ivory maiden herself, Venus knew what he meant, and when Pygmalion returned home and kissed and caressed his statue, its ivory softened into flesh, whereafter Pygmalion wed the maiden.

For many centuries Ovid’s readers did not sense that anything essential was missing from this story; in any case, the statue remained nameless in retellings and literary treatments of the story. But in eighteenth-century Europe the story of Pygmalion and his animated statue became popular among French and German artists, and the need for the maiden to have a name was felt. She was called “Agalméris” in a comedy by Jean-Antoine Romagnesi performed in 1741, and “Galatea” in a novel by Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe de Cordonnier published around the same time. The name “Galatea” reappeared in 1762 in Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s enormously popular *scène lyrique* (a spoken text with musical accompaniment) entitled *Pygmalion*, and around this time the name began appearing also in the titles of paintings on the Pygmalion theme. A century later, in 1871, W.S. Gilbert wrote a very popular comedy, *Pygmalion and Galatea*, which established the name in English-speaking lands.

Meanwhile, in eighteenth-century Germany a different name arose. The poem *Pygmalion und Elise* by the German-Swiss author Johan Jakob Bodmer created a vogue for the name “Elise” in Germany, which perhaps inspired the name “Eliza” in George Bernard Shaw’s play, *Pygmalion* (1912), whence the “Eliza Doolittle” of the musical *My Fair Lady* (1956). In short, in the course of reworking Ovid’s Pygmalion story in novels, stage-plays, and poems, eighteenth-century European authors desired the convenience of a name for the maiden, and devised several. Two families of names, Galatea and Elise/Eliza, established themselves in the literary tradition.

By the early twentieth century the history of these names was all but forgotten, prompting the classicist H.J. Rose to exclaim in exasperation: “Why some modern writers call the woman Galatea is one of the lesser mysteries of mythology; no ancient gives her any name” (Rose 1929, 340). Although scholarly sleuthing has unraveled the tangled mystery of the maiden’s name (Law 1932, Reinhold 1971), handbooks of classical mythology continue to declare that the name of Pygmalion’s animated statue is Galatea, lending authority to the name. “Pygmalion named the maiden Galatea,” says Edith Hamilton (n.d., 111); “Aphrodite brought it [the statue] to life as Galatea” writes Robert Graves (1955, 1: 211–212); and so on.

### Joseph and Asenath

I turn from Greek to biblical mythology.

The cycle of stories about the patriarch Joseph, one of the twelve sons of Jacob, is among the fullest and best-known narratives in the Old Testament. According to the biblical account, Joseph's brothers hated him because he was favored by their father Jacob, and also because Joseph told of having dreams that implied his superiority over the other members of his family. When the brothers had an opportunity to act, they threw Joseph into a pit, but he was rescued by merchants and sold eventually in Egypt to a certain Potiphar, captain of Pharaoh's guard. Joseph then became a slave in Potiphar's household, but after Potiphar's lustful wife falsely accused Joseph of making a sexual pass at her, Potiphar had Joseph imprisoned. Nevertheless, the youth managed to earn a reputation as a skillful interpreter of dreams, and eventually Pharaoh summoned him to explain puzzling dreams that he himself had had. Joseph explained that the king's dreams portended seven years of plenty and seven years of famine, and advised Pharaoh to appoint an overseer to store up grain during the years of plenty in preparation for the years of want. Pleased by the youth's skill, Pharaoh put him in charge of the entire land of Egypt, second only to himself, and arranged for him to marry a high priest's daughter, Asenath, who presently bore him two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. During the years of famine that soon followed, Joseph's brothers traveled from Canaan to Egypt to buy grain. Since food supplies were under the control of Joseph, Pharaoh's governor, the brothers were obliged to make their case to Joseph, whom they did not recognize, so that the prophecy of the brothers doing obeisance to Joseph was fulfilled. After Joseph and his brothers were reconciled, Pharaoh invited Jacob and his entire family to settle in Egypt. They did so, and in time Jacob and subsequently Joseph died there (*Genesis* 37-50).

Joseph's wife Asenath merits only two brief mentions in the narrative. In the first, after Pharaoh made Joseph governor of Egypt, "he gave him as wife Asenath, daughter of Potiphara, priest of On" (41:45); and in the second the text says, "Before the years of famine came, two sons were born to Joseph by Asenath, daughter of Potiphara, priest of On" (41:50).<sup>4</sup> Her function in the canonical story, then, is a modest one: she signals Joseph's social elevation, and she bears him children. The narrative focus is not upon her but upon Joseph and his astonishing success at the Egyptian court. One day he languishes in prison, and the next day Pharaoh makes him governor of Egypt and arranges a prestigious marriage for him.

The fact that Joseph wed into the family of an Egyptian high priest was all well and good for the authors of *Genesis* and their contemporaries, but for Jewish readers of a later age such a marriage outside the cultic community was viewed quite differently (von Rad 1973, 378; Charlesworth 1985, 2: 194). To them it raised the question: how could it happen that the Hebrew Joseph wed the non-Hebrew Asenath? Two different answers were given, each in the form of a backstory that filled in what now seemed to be a gap in the canonical account.

According to Jewish legend Asenath was the illegitimate daughter of Dinah and Shechem.<sup>5</sup> When Dinah's brothers wished to kill the babe because of the shame to the family, Jacob placed a tin amulet inscribed with the name of god around her neck and abandoned her under a bush. An angel conveyed the infant to Egypt, where Potiphara, whose own wife was barren, adopted her. Years later, as Joseph traveled throughout Egypt in his role as vizier and maidens threw gifts to him in the hope of attracting his attention, Asenath, having only her amulet,

<sup>4</sup> Despite their similarity of name, the eunuch Potiphar and the priest Potiphara are two different characters. "On" refers to the Egyptian city better known by its Greek name, Heliopolis, "City of the Sun."

<sup>5</sup> Dinah was the daughter of Jacob and his wife Leah, whereas Joseph was a son of Jacob and his wife Rachel. Shechem was son of Hamor, chieftain of the Hivites. In the canonical account Shechem raped Dinah but loved her and wished to marry her; Jacob's sons pretended to agree to his proposal but treacherously slaughtered Shechem and his fellow Hivites (*Genesis* 34). The Jewish legend summarized in the text represents Dinah as becoming pregnant from the rape and giving birth to a daughter, who is identified with the Asenath of *Genesis* 41.



gave it to Joseph. Learning that she was not actually an Egyptian, inasmuch as she was descended from his own father Jacob through her mother Dinah, Joseph married her (Ginzberg 1920, 2: 38; 1925, 5: 336–337). A different version recounts how Asenath's parents were Dinah and Shechem's father Hamor. Jacob exposed her after having placed around her neck a golden amulet upon which he had inscribed the story of her birth. Potiphra discovered the infant while he was out walking near the city wall, learned her story from the amulet, and raised the girl as his own daughter (Ginzberg 1920, 2: 76–77; 1925, 5: 345). According to the legend, then, the marriage of Joseph and Asenath is unobjectionable because the bride is really not an Egyptian at all but a Hebrew.

A different solution to the problem of Joseph's bride took the form, not of a legend, but of a short novel, *Joseph and Aseneth*, a work some thirty-five pages in length that was composed in Greek by an unknown Jewish author, perhaps sometime between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D.

When the narrative begins, Aseneth was a beautiful Egyptian maiden of eighteen years, the daughter of Pentephres, priest of Heliopolis and chief counselor of Pharaoh. Many princes, including Pharaoh's eldest son, sought her hand in marriage, but she rejected them all and preferred to live in her ornate residence on top of her father's palace, where she worshipped countless idols.

One day Joseph, touring Egypt to collect grain, announced to her father that he was coming to visit. Pentephres told his daughter that he was going to give her to Joseph in marriage. She flatly refused the marriage, but when she saw Joseph enter her father's house in royal attire, she fell in love with him. Now it was her turn to be repudiated. A Jew who worshipped God and lived on the bread of life would not kiss a heathen woman who ate food offered to idols. Still, Joseph was charitable enough to say a prayer for her conversion, after which he boarded his chariot to continue gathering grain, promising to return a week later.

Utterly shaken, Aseneth destroyed her idols, engaged in a week of fasting and crying, and repented of both her conceit and her idolatry. One morning, God's chief angel came to see her and declared her to be reborn; he fed her a piece of honeycomb, which he said was the bread of life, and promised her that Joseph would return to marry her. He did come back, and the wedding ensued, presided over by Pharaoh himself.

Eight years later, Pharaoh's eldest son happened to see Aseneth, and his old infatuation was revived. He persuaded Joseph's brothers, Dan and Gad, to help him kidnap Aseneth, kill Pharaoh and Joseph, and assume power in Egypt. The coup failed, and Pharaoh's son perished. He was followed in death by his grief-stricken father, after which Joseph reigned over Egypt (Charlesworth, 2: 177–247; Wills 2002, 121–162).<sup>6</sup> In this case, Joseph's wife remains an Egyptian but converts from Egyptian idolatry to the worship of the Hebrew deity.

The content of *Joseph and Aseneth* was inspired to a large extent by literary commonplaces of the day. From Greek romantic novels the novelist borrows the idea of love at first sight: when the haughty Aseneth meets Joseph for the first time, she falls instantly and passionately in love with him and can think of nothing else. From Jewish fiction he borrows the idea of the woman's prayer scene: when Aseneth understands that Joseph will not accept a worshipper of idols as his wife, she prays and humbles herself for days in an effort to make herself acceptable to him (Wills 2002, 17–18).

Ancient Jewish narrators saw in the minor character Asenath/Aseneth both an intriguing problem and also an imaginative opportunity. The expansion of the two sentences that the canonical text devotes to Joseph's wife is one instance out of many in which biblical stories were elaborated in ancient Jewish legend and literary fiction (Ginzberg 1910–1938; Yassif 1999, 46–52, 79–89).

<sup>6</sup> See further Ginzberg 1910, 2: 170–178; 1925, 5: 374–375; Aptowitz 1924; Burchard 1996; and Kraemer 1998. I thank Professors Elliott Oring and Dan Ben-Amos for calling my attention to several of these references.

### The Childhood of Jesus

The books of the New Testament have much to say about the adult life of Jesus but little about his childhood. Two of the four canonical gospels, *Mark* and *John*, say nothing at all about Jesus as a child, while *Matthew* and *Luke* give some information but not much. Each of the latter has a version of his birth (*Luke* 2:1–20; *Matthew* 1:18–25). In addition, *Luke* (2:21–38) gives an account of Jesus' circumcision and presentation in the Temple, and *Matthew* (2:13–23) tells of Herod's murder of all the infants in Bethlehem, the flight of Joseph and Mary into Egypt, and their return to Nazareth. Finally, *Luke* (2:41–52) describes the visit of the twelve-year-old Jesus to the Temple.

One reason why the gospel writers say little of Jesus' childhood years is that they are, understandably, interested primarily in Jesus' mature message and miracles along with his death and resurrection, which are all notable aspects of his adult life. Perhaps another reason is that the authors knew little of Jesus' childhood since, as a rule, not much attention is paid to the childhood of future celebrities because it is not known at the time that they will turn out to be celebrated persons (Hägg 2012, 6).

But in time early Christians must have sensed an ellipsis, as narratologists call it, in the biographies of Jesus, a period in which events must have occurred but are not narrated. What happened to Jesus between, say, his presentation as an infant in the Temple and his appearance as a twelve-year-old in the Temple? This biographical gap in Jesus' early life was presently filled by works known collectively as "infancy gospels." Many such apocryphal gospels were composed, beginning in the second century A.D., providing details of Jesus' early years and also of Mary's life and pregnancy. The so-called *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, written around 150 A.D. and about a dozen pages in length, was one of the earliest and most influential, treating Jesus between the ages of five and twelve. Its author identifies himself as Thomas the Israelite, who is otherwise unknown.

According to the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, the five-year-old Jesus was once playing by a brook that he had commanded by his word alone to be gathered into clear pools of water. Then he fashioned twelve sparrows out of clay. But the day happened to be the Sabbath, and when a certain Jew saw him, he told Jesus' father Joseph that in fashioning the birds Jesus had profaned the Sabbath. Joseph reprimanded Jesus, who said to the clay birds, "Away with you!", whereupon the sparrows flew away chirping. The Jews were amazed to see this.

Then the son of Annas the scribe took a stick and muddied the water that Jesus had miraculously gathered together. When Jesus saw that, he was angry, asking the boy what harm the water had done to him. "See," said Jesus, "now you also shall wither like a tree," and immediately the boy withered up. Wailing, the boy's parents carried him away and went to Joseph's house, reproaching Jesus' father and asking him what kind of child he had who did such things.

As Jesus walked through the village a child who was running bumped against him, whereupon Jesus caused him to die on the spot. The dead child's parents blamed Joseph, who spoke about the matter with Jesus. Jesus agreed to remain silent but caused his accusers to become blind.

Next Jesus made a fool of his teacher Zacchaeus, who commented to Joseph, "He is something great, a god or an angel – I don't know." As the Jews consoled Zacchaeus, Jesus healed all those whom he earlier had cursed. But after that everyone avoided provoking him.

One day Jesus was playing with a boy who fell from a roof and died. The boy's parents accused Jesus of throwing him down, whereupon Jesus leapt down from the roof and called the boy back to life, asking him, "Did I throw you down?" The boy said he had not.

And so the narrative continues, with Jesus sometimes as a sort of divine brat and sometimes as a miracle worker and sometimes as a pedant who displays his cleverness and knowledge to the adults around him. The narrative concludes with a scene borrowed from the canonical

gospel of *Luke*, in which Jesus's parents come upon the boy, now twelve years old, conversing in the Temple with teachers and elders, who are full of praise for his learning (Schneemelcher 1991, 1: 439–453; cf. Hägg 2012, 172–179).

Just as the Jewish author of *Joseph and Aseneth* fictionalizes the life of Aseneth before and during her marriage to Joseph, the Christian author of the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* fictionalizes the early life of Jesus. From where does the author of the gospel get his content? Wishing to portray his subject's childhood but possessing scanty information, Thomas, like many other ancient biographers, employs the device of proleptic scenes (Hägg 2012, 6), that is, he attributes to the child traits that are deemed characteristic of the later adult. Thus the young Jesus is made to possess two notable features of the mature Jesus. One is that he has supernatural powers, performing miracles for good or bad, such as to raise persons from the dead. Most of the infancy gospel consists of episodes in which the five-year-old Jesus harms and heals his playmates and their parents at whim. Another is that he is cleverer than anyone else around him, humiliating even his teachers by means of his mental superiority, just as later the adult Jesus will impress his followers with his knowledge and wisdom. Thomas thus constructs Jesus the child as a foreshadowing of Jesus the adult.

### Overview

Different kinds of gaps can be found in traditional narrative and tradition-inspired literature, and they elicit a variety of responses.<sup>7</sup> The omitted scene in the Greek fisherman's narration of the Elias legend is an objective gap, for the narrator himself acknowledges that he does not remember the conversation between the seaman and the villagers, and without this climactic scene the narrative does not make sense to a listener or reader who does not already know the story. The narrator might have chosen to improvise the climactic conversation on the basis of his understanding of the logic of the narrative, but he does not. Other texts of the Elias legend suggest that oral narrators have sometimes done so, since the final scene in different texts varies in its content but is stable in its narrative function.

In contrast, we have no reason to suppose that Hesiod thinks he is leaving out anything crucial when he recounts the myth of Pandora in his poem, *Works and Days*. If he relates his story somewhat elliptically, omitting details that he presumes his listeners already know and slanting his narration towards the moral he has in mind, he is only doing what many oral narrators do when they recount a story in order to make a particular point. Similarly, we have no reason to think that Ovid is conscious of neglecting the story of Pygmalion and his ivory statue when he focuses his attention on the protagonist rather than upon the bride, or that the narrators of the Joseph story think they are omitting anything pertinent when they provide little information about Asenath, or that the composers of the canonical gospels believe they are doing the story of Jesus a disservice by focusing upon their subject's adult life. So it would be inaccurate to describe these texts as having gaps in the way that the Elias text does. And yet for many readers these texts require, or at least invite, completion. Why is that?

In their individual literary and historical contexts, the narratives in question are reasonably adequate and complete; however, once they are removed from their original contexts of transmission and find themselves in different contexts, or are treated as stories without a specific context, stories that can be recounted for their own sake, then questions may arise that did not arise earlier. Thus if one takes the Pandora myth from its Hesiodic context and considers it by itself as an account of the origin of women and human miseries, questions about the source of the jar of miseries and the motive of the person who releases them may now seem pressing. If one plucks Ovid's story out of his *Metamorphoses* in order to rework it as a stage-play, it becomes artistically necessary for Pygmalion's bride to have a name. A Jew

<sup>7</sup> For kinds of gaps and responses not discussed here, such as those in early historians and mapmakers, see Artese 2003.

who reads, many centuries after it was composed, the biblical account of the Hebrew patriarch Joseph's marriage to the daughter of an Egyptian priest may think that such a marriage requires an explanation, just as a Christian well acquainted with the canonical gospels may come to wonder about the unmentioned years of Jesus' life. In sum, for all their diversity, all but one of the narrative gaps considered here are subjective and can be explained in the same way. They are byproducts of recontextualization.

The gaps, such as they are, are not the same in their importance. At the more urgent end of the spectrum is the Elias text with its omission that renders its text partly incoherent, as when in mid-joke a raconteur realizes that he or she cannot remember what happens next. Nearby stands the Pandora myth with its subjective gaps. For how can an interpreter of the story as a story evaluate the action without knowing the source of the jar and understanding why the woman removes and then replaces its lid? Next comes the Joseph legend, which poses an ethnico-religious problem but also offers a fine opportunity for an imaginative narrator, and then the Jesus legend, which invites expansion but does not require it. At the less pressing end of the spectrum stands the Pygmalion legend, in which the lack of a character's name is merely an artistic inconvenience.

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**Latin summary**

*De lacunis mythicis.* Varia genera omissionum interdum occurrunt vel occurri percipiuntur in narrationibus traditionalibus vel in litteraturā, quae traditione impulsae est: usitatum exemplum est aliquem narratorem animadvertere se non omnino recordari fabulae, quam narrare coepit, et se itaque partem quandam omittere. Qua condicione apud auditores fortasse narratio non intellegibilis efficitur. Sed multi casūs omissionis narrativae non sunt ita conspicui. Ab lacunis simplicibus obiectivisque distingui possunt lacunae subiectivae et minus perspicuae: in multis huiusmodi casibus narratores nihil maioris momenti vel revera necessarium in proposito suo omittunt, et lectores illas lacunas percipiunt atque easdem explere incipiunt. Hac symbolā delibero ex. gr. de lacunis, quae depromptae sunt ex antiquā litteraturā Graecā (ex mytho Pandoraae), ex antiquā litteraturā Romanā (ex fabulā Pygmalionis), ex antiquā litteraturā Hebraicā (ex narratione Iosephi) et ex primordiali litteraturā Christianā (ex narratione Iesu). Delibero de viis vere variis, quibus interpretes textūs hereditarios harum narrationum extendunt, cum verbi gratiā nomina excogitant, causas agendi inveniunt, fabulas in recessu actas conficiunt, et generaliter omissiones biographicas explent. Denique phaenomenon lacunarum subiectivarum explicare conor, cum suspicari, etiamsi eis sit varietas quaedam, eas habere unam eandemque causam.

**English summary**

Different kinds of omissions sometimes occur, or are perceived to occur, in traditional narratives and in tradition-inspired literature. A familiar instance is when a narrator realizes that he or she does not fully remember the story that he or she has begun to tell, and so leaves out part of it, which for listeners may possibly result in an unintelligible narrative. But many instances of narrative gap are not so obvious. From straightforward, objective gaps one can distinguish less-obvious subjective gaps: in many cases narrators do not leave out anything crucial or truly relevant from their exposition, and yet readers perceive gaps and take steps to fill them. The present paper considers four examples of subjective gaps drawn from ancient Greek literature (the Pandora myth), ancient Roman literature (the Pygmalion legend), ancient Hebrew literature (the Joseph legend), and early Christian literature (the Jesus legend). I consider the quite varied ways in which interpreters expand the inherited texts of these stories, such as by devising names, manufacturing motives, creating backstories, and in general filling in biographical ellipses. Finally, I suggest an explanation for the phenomenon of subjective gaps, arguing that, despite their variety, they have a single cause.

**Keywords**

classical mythology, myth, legend, folk narrative, Pandora, Pygmalion, Asenath, Infancy Gospels.



## DEN STULNA MYTEN: SAMTIDA SPEGLINGAR AV ANTIKEN

Peter Jackson

### Med Roland Barthes till Medelhavsmuséet

För några år sedan ombads jag hålla ett föredrag på Medelhavsmuséet i Stockholm om antikens populärkulturella kapital. Temat väckte genast mitt intresse eftersom jag kom att tänka på Roland Barthes briljanta analys av romare på film i boken *Mythologies* från 1957. Boken består av femtiotre korta texter – ursprungligen publicerade månadsvis under rubriken *Månadens lilla mytologi* i litteraturtidskriften *Les Lettres Nouvelles* – och en längre avslutande essä. I dessa mikromytologier dechiffrerar Barthes med stilsäkert egensinne sin samtids masskultur. Bilden av antikens romare ingick i det rika material av kulturyttringar – däribland Garbos ansikte, marsianer, Strip-tease och Einsteins hjärna – som genom veckopressens, filmens, konstens och den allmänna opinionens förmedling tycktes omvandlas från något fullständigt historiskt och samtidsbundet till något naturligt och universellt, till något självklart och självgående (*ce-qui-va-de-soi*).<sup>1</sup>

I Joseph Mankiewiczs Hollywoodadaptation av Shakespeares *Julius Caesar* från 1953, hade Barthes, i sin teckentydande iver, inte kunnat se något annat än feta luggar och svettiga ansikten. Varför har alla romare lugg? Varför är de aldrig skäggiga eller flintskalliga? Varför svettas alla i ansiktet utom Julius Caesar? Det kan ju varken anses givet att antikens romare alltid hade lugg eller en ren tillfällighet att de alltid *råkar* ha lugg på film. Utrymmet mellan det skenbart givna och godtyckliga möjliggör således, menar Barthes, en mytisk omprogrammering av verkligheten. I den mytiska verkligheten ser allting ut att ha en naturlig bestämmelse och en alltid redan given innebörd. Därför säger myten aldrig om sig själv: jag har en förlaga, jag är resultatet av en historisk konvention, jag är en myt. Den romerska luggen har plötsligt kommit att *beteckna* något (låt oss kalla det ”romerskhet”), eller snarare, luggen framstår som naturligt förbunden med romerskheten. För att ett sådant samband skall kunna framstå som naturligt krävs ett ingripande i en mera grundläggande verklighetsuppfattning, enligt vilken en lugg ibland endast är en lugg. Mytens språk är därför alltid ett ”stulet språk”.<sup>2</sup>

Många tvekar säkert att använda mytbegreppet på det här sättet. Om vi accepterar tanken på att våra liv, kanske i större utsträckning än någonsin tidigare, genomsyras av moderna myter, har vi då inte samtidigt accepterat att vi lever i en villfarelse? Det borde falla på sin egen orimlighet att leva så, eftersom villfarelsen upphör i samma stund som den genomskådas. Vi *faller offer för* myter och villfarelser, inte för Kameliadamen eller Citroën DS.

En sådan ensidigt psykologiserande syn på mytens förvrängning av verkligheten innebär emellertid en onödig devalvering av begreppets analytiska värde. Människor orienterar sig inte i världen som logiska positivisterna och kan utan vidare acceptera att vissa påståenden avser något annat än vad som uttryckligen påstås. Omständigheten att just myten hamnat i spänningsfältet mellan insikt och villfarelse, ofta med tonvikt på andras felaktiga uppfattning om ett sakförhållande, sammanhänger med begreppets antika förhistoria. Det är alltså det

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<sup>1</sup> Barthes 1957, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Barthes 1957, 204.



första vi bör beakta om vi bättre vill förstå samtidens speglingar av antiken, eftersom den antika förståelsen av myten också bidragit till hur vi förstår oss själva som historiska varelser i dag. Innan jag riktar sökarljuset mot samtiden, vill jag därför börja med en kort begrepps-historisk redogörelse.

### ***Mûthos och logos, historia och alêtheia***

En lämplig utgångspunkt är inledningen till Herodotos omfattande historieverk *Historiai*. Vid tiden för verkets tillkomst runt år 440 f.Kr., betecknade inte termen *historia* det vetenskapliga studiet av det förflutna, utan snarare en omdömesgill redogörelse. Till grund för det avledda substantivet ligger det tidigt belagda ordet *histôr* (som i sammansättningen *polyhistor*) vilket betecknar någon som vet, har ett gott omdöme, är ett tillförlitligt vittne, etc. Inte heller ordet *mûthos* hade vid denna tid förvärvat den inskränkta innebörden av nusvenskans *myt*. Med *mûthos* förstods helt enkelt en berättelse eller utsaga, ofta med stark lokal prägel, som kunde innehålla såväl sann som falsk information. Även om de två termerna *mûthos* och *historia* för Herodotos alltså hade olika innebörder, befann de sig inte, som i dag, i ett direkt motsatsförhållande till varandra. Det uttalade syftet med Herodotos verk var som bekant att reda ut orsakerna till de grekisk-persiska krigen. Han konstaterar inledningsvis att det finns motstridiga förklaringar till varför de två folken bekrigat varandra, men vill inte börja med att försöka fastslå vad som *faktiskt* hände (1.5.3). Herodotos antyder redan här sin ofta upprepade metodologiska grundprincip: ”jag är förpliktigad att säga vad som har sagts” (ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα [7.152.3]).<sup>3</sup> I sin egenskap av historiker tycks han alltså inte själv vilja uttala sig om sanningen, utan snarare ge en sanningsenlig redogörelse för andras påståenden. Det blotta uttalandet av en sådan princip gör förstås inte Herodotos till en opartisk moderator i debatten om vad som *egentligen hände*, men det avslöjar ändå ett nytt sätt att umgås med det förflutna i ett andrahandsperspektiv. Den aviserade ambitionen att betrakta olika versioner, olika *mûthoi*, i lika belysning läggs till grund för ett nytt slags intresselöst berättande, för en berättelse om berättelserna, vars sensmoral också rymmer tanken på alltings obeständighet. Det som en gång var stort har nu blivit litet och det som nu är stort var en gång litet.

Historien om mytens sjunkande sanningskapital börjar emellertid inte med den historiserande tendensen hos författare som Herodotos och Thukydides. Det finns flera andra skäl till varför myten kommit att beteckna motsatsen till den logiska eller historiskt korrekta utsagan om ett sakförhållandet. Den särskilda sanningsförståelse som åtföljer det talade ordet i den arkaiska periodens muntligt framförda diktning, och som därför kommer till uttryck redan i den homeriska epiken, är alltid nära förbunden med minnet, hågkomsten och det minnesvärda. Sanningen, *alêtheia* – ursprungligen en negation av roten *lêth-*, som i *lêthê* ’glömska’ – uppfattas i sin tur som själva inbegreppet av det minnesvärda, det oförglömliga. Ordet *mûthos* har i sådana sammanhang betecknat en talgenre, vars sanningsanspråk är av retorisk snarare än kunskapssteoretisk art. För att något skall kunna vinna giltighet och beständighet i nuet, måste det först återkallas ur minnet och framföras i enlighet med den stämning som stunden kräver. Genom att den sortens sanning (mytens sanning) har en tydlig intresseimpuls – en förankring hos en särskild grupp, på en särskild plats, vid en särskild tidpunkt – måste den också kunna se annorlunda ut i ett annat sammanhang. En sådan sanningsförståelse bör däremot inte förväxlas med vad som idag, ofta nedsättande, kallas för relativism enligt devisen *vad som är sant för dig är sant för dig*. Den relativistiska ståndpunkten är nämligen höjd över det sammanhang där den lokala sanningen blir operationell och kan uppfattas som absolut giltig.

Avfärdandet av den lokala mytens sanningsanspråk till förmån för ett exklusivt och odifferentierat sanningsbegrepp (*alêtheia*) hade alltsedan arkaisk tid kommit att förknippas

<sup>3</sup> Min översättning. Jag följer här Haiim B. Roséns utgåva från 1997.

med en utvidgning av det politiska rummet. Under de panhelleniska spelen på orter som Delfi och Olympia framställdes, inte minst genom segerodets förmedling, en ny bild av den grekiska kulturen som en harmonisk summa av sina varianter. De lokala och motstridiga *mûthoi* som inte lät sig infogas i denna totalitet, kunde därför avfärdas som lögnaktiga. Körlyrikern och segerdiktaren Pindaros tycks ha haft just ett sådant revideringsprojekt för ögonen när han, i sitt *Första olympiska ode* (27–29), utbrister:

*Underverk finns många  
men ofta vandrar människors tal  
bortom det sanna  
och vi bedras av myter (mûthoi)  
utsirade med brokig lögn.<sup>4</sup>*

Det är först i ett senare skede, och i synnerhet hos Platon, som vi kan notera en glidning från poetens nedvärdering av mytens lokala sanningsanspråk i ljuset av den panhelleniska ideologin till filosofens nedvärdering av den retoriska sanningsförståelsen som sådan. Två ursprungliga beteckningar på 'ord', *logos* och *mûthos*, kommer i antikens filosofiska litteratur gradvis att ersättas av det talade ordet i sin egenskap logik, förnuft, o.dyl. samt det talade ordet i sin egenskap av verklighetsförvrängande myt.

Trots att termerna *historia*, *logos* och *mûthos* alltså en gång betecknade olika talgenrer utan avseende på deras sanningshalt, har de idag, när de fortlever som lånord i moderna språk, ofta hamnat på plus eller minuskontot för vad som kan anses tillförlitligt. En myt är visserligen en historia, men den är samtidigt allt annat än historia. I det ena fallet ("en god historia") syftar ordet på den subjektiva återgivningen av ett händelseförlopp, i det andra på det objektiva tidsflödet ("antikens historia"). Den delvis upplösta gränsen mellan en retorisk och kunskaps-teoretisk sanningsförståelse har gjort oss mindre benägna att uppfatta myten som ett värdigt alternativ till vad som, å ena sidan, kan bli föremål för historiskt berättande eftersom det har ägt rum och vad som, å andra sidan, bör berättas eftersom det har ägt rum. Den yttersta konsekvensen av en sådan historiesyn blir att den historiskt korrekta versionen får definiera det sanna och det angelägna i samma avseende som den reducerar allt annat slags berättande till skrönor och vidskepelse.

### Det hyperkorrekta mytkorrektivet

Frågan jag vill ställa mig nu är: finns det något att säga till mytens försvar? Om myten, enligt Roland Barthes synsätt, är ett stulet språk, hur skall vi då förstå den utbredda tendensen att förvandla den redan kringskurna myten till historia? Finns det även något sådant som en *stulen* myt? Jag skall strax konkretisera denna tendens i samtiden med ännu ett exempel från filmen. Filmexemplet är betecknande för ett visst slags förfelat tillrättavisande, som även kan urskiljas på andra håll i samhället. Jag har valt att kalla tendensen för historisk hyperkorrektion.

Termen hyperkorrektion har sin upprinnelse i lingvistikens och syftar på en förmodad men likväl felaktig korrigerings av en språknorm, ofta i syfte att förvärva en högre grad av prestige. I Sverige hör man t.ex. många uttala det franska ordet *entrecôte* utan hörbart t, d.v.s. som entrekå. Det sammanhänger förmodligen med att en rad franska ändelser med [t] (*ren-ault*, *peug-eot*, *plut-ôt*) uttalas just som [å] utan hörbart [t], vilket innebär att ordet *entrecôte* hyperkorrigeras enligt en felaktigt tillämpad uttalsregel. Det försvenskade uttalet *äntrekote* kan därför anses mera korrekt, trots att det i mångas öron klingar ofranskt och tölpaktigt. Hyperkorrektionen vilar ofta på ett slutledningsfel, på en s.k. falsk dikotomi, enligt vilket

<sup>4</sup> Pindaros enligt Björkeson 2008 (modifierad översättning).

falsifieringen av en teori anses kunna bekräfta en annan teori som sitt enda giltiga alternativ (jämför Markusevangeliets ”Ty den som icke är emot oss, han är för oss” [9:40]).

I samband med att Medelhavsmuséet, under hösten och vintern 2010/2011, visade utställningen *Vita lögner*, kunde jag vid flera tillfällen observera hyperkorrektionen satt i verket. Utställningen syftade till att förmedla en ny bild av antikens polykromi med hjälp av ett antal rekonstruktioner utförda av ett internationellt forskarteam. Det har länge varit känt inom forskarvärlden att antika statyer ofta var bemålade, men bilden av den vita antiken lever ändå kvar i den populära föreställningsvärlden genom inflytelserika musées och konstkritikers förmedling. Syftet med utställningen var berömvärt och nyanserades dessutom genom de många insiktsfulla bidragen till utställningskatalogen. Jag noterar särskilt arkeologen Vinzenz Brinkmanns dementi av alla försök till konstnärligt fullvärdiga rekonstruktioner.<sup>5</sup> Ändå hörde jag många besökare uttala sig, i ett nästan skadeglatt tonfall, om hur ful, karnevalesk, ja rentav kitschig antiken *egentligen* hade varit. Ordet kitsch framstod säkert som särskilt passande eftersom många av rekonstruktionerna påminde om massproducerade porslinsstatyetter, vilka kolorerats utan något aktgivande på färgskiftningar i t.ex. hud och hår. Genom den falska dikotomins förföriska logik förvandlas den gamla vita, 1700- och 1800-talsantikens mossigt upphöjda stilideal till en barnlig leksaksestetik, till en främmande men likväl historisk värld av kitsch där några av besökarna tycktes få sina egna stilideal bekräftade som alltigenom samtidsbundna. Det avlägset förflutna förfrämligas i samma avseende som det historiseras. Om vi istället försöker göra oss en bild av den polykroma antiken genom att studera freskerna från Pompeii och Herculaneum, blir förfrämligandets effekt mindre dramatisk, men i ett annat avseende kanske också en smula störande.

När jag nu övergår till mitt huvudexempel framstår den historiska hyperkorrektionens stötriktning som rakt motsatt den vi kunnat notera hos utställningsbesökarna. Nu är det i stället den antika människans barnsliga irrationalitet och övertro på sina gudar, eller snarare den samtida föreställningen om dessa ting, som görs till föremål för hyperkorrektion. Filmen *Troy* är en påkostad och visuellt storslagen krigsfilm från 2004 med Brad Pitt i rollen som Akilles. Den blev en stor kassaframgång och tycks ha ingått i en dubbelsatsning på spektakulära antikskildringar från Hollywoodjätten Warner Brothers. Oliver Stones *Alexander* skulle senare det året excellera i samma slags audiovisuell hyperrealism i skildringen av bl.a. slaget vid Gaugamela. Det råder förstås inget tvivel om att filmen *Troy* hämtat sitt viktigaste stoff från Iliaden. Däremot vet alla som någon gång befattat sig med den arkaiska epiken att många av Trojasagans huvudmotiv inte kommer från Iliaden, utan snarare ingår i ett narrativt ramverk som endast antydningvis låter sig rekonstrueras ur de två homeriska eposen. Filmen kan av pedagogiska skäl inte ta sin början *in medias res*, utan måste även skildra upptakten till kriget. Därtill måste den även tillåta sig stora berättarekonomiska friheter.

Den trojanska cykeln bildade för antikens diktare en sammansatt väv av berättelser, vars inneboende dynamik förutsatte en pågående konflikt mellan gudar och människor. Efter att *Gê* (”jorden”) har beklagat sig inför Zeus över att den växande mänskligheten blivit en alltför tung börda, sår Zeus fröet till ett stort och utdraget krig genom att avla Akilles och Helena. Redan i denna inledande episod, känd från bland annat det episka fragmentet *Kypria*, finner vi själva formeln för den episka diktningens tragiska människosyn. De många olyckor som drabbar människan beror inte främst på hennes fåfänga och dygdlöshet, utan är resultat av de ödesbestämda sammanhang hon alltsedan födseln tilldelats av gudarna. Dramatiken i den homeriska epiken tilldrar sig alltså lika mycket i gudarnas värld som i människornas, vilket gör det lättare för oss att sympatisera med de olycksdrabbade hjältarna och hjältinnorna. De är inga perfekta varelser, men de handlar ändå på ett synbart följdriktigt och i många fall även

<sup>5</sup> Brinkmann 2010, 16–17.

hedervärt sätt. Filmen *Troy* svär sig däremot fri från gudarna så till den grad att deras fullständiga frånvaro och impotens gång på gång måste påtalas. Låt mig ge några exempel:

1) I filmens inledande episod väcks Akilles av en ung gosse för att slåss mot den thessaliske krigaren Boagrios. Efter att Akilles beväpnat sig och bestigit sin häst, utbrister gossen – Det sägs att er mor är en odödlig gudinna. Att ni inte kan dö. Akilles svarar – Då skulle jag väl inte släpa på den här skölden. 2) Senare i filmen, efter att Akilles intagit stranden nedanför Troja med sina myrmidoner, ställer han sig intill en förgylld staty av Apollon vid ingången till gudens tempel. Då säger en av hans män – Apollon ser allting. Det är nog bäst att inte reta honom. I nästa stund hugger Akilles huvudet av statyn och tar sig senare in i templet för att döda prästerna som residerar där. 3) Även Hektor har svårt att förlika sig med vidskeplerna som omger Trojas skyddsgud. I ett samtal med sin far, Priamos, uttrycker han sin oro inför det annalkande kriget. Priamos försöker då att lugna honom med orden. – Apollon vakar över oss. Inte ens Agamemnon är någon match för gudarna. – Och hur många bataljoner befäller solguden?, genmäler Hektor. – Småda inte gudarna!, utbrister Priamos med myndig stämma. Därefter återger han hur han en gång bad guden om sin sons tillfriskande och efter att ha blivit bönhörd lovade att alltid tjäna Apollon. 4) Priamos naiva fromhet visar sig också i hans blinda tro på siarnas tolkningar av järtecken inför ett förestående slag. Hektor invänder mot den gamla vantron – Fågeltecken... skall vi planera vår strategi utifrån fågeltecken? Gudarna utkämpar inte kriget åt oss.

Den mytiska logik som genomsyrar den homeriska epiken har i filmberättelsens Trojasaga reducerats till en black om foten för de inblandade. Religionen framstår som hopplöst förfelad, eftersom gudarna har blivit till beläten, myterna till tomma rykten och gudarnas inblandning i intrigen till en vidskeplig föreställning om vad som egentligen står på spel i människornas värld. Religionen framstår som en obsolet artefakt utan någon egentlig betydelse för berättelsen, annat än som ett slags historiserande rekvisita. Även frågan om upphovet till myterna berörs i förbigående. När Paris skjuter sina dödande pilar mot Akilles råkar den första (men förstås inte dödande) pilen träffa hjälten i hälen. Där blir den också sittande efter att Akilles ryckt ut de övriga pilarna ur sitt bröst innan han faller död till marken. Som tittare tänks vi alltså lära oss något om upphovet till myten om hur Akilles mor, havsnympfen Thetis, skall ha gjort sin son odödlig genom att doppa honom i floden Styx, men lämnat hälen sårbar, eftersom hon måste hålla honom i någon kroppsdel. Myten om Akilles blir här framställd i ett andrahandsperspektiv som myten om myten, som mytens etiologi eller som en teori om mytens upprinnelse. De trojanska hjältarna är med andra ord i färd med att upphäva myten om sig själva, med att återuppfinna sig själva som historiska varelser och skaka av sig forntidens vidskepligheter. De framställs som ett slags ikonoklast, både med avseende på sin gudfruktiga omgivning och på det förljugna ryktet om sig själva. Historien som berättades om dem har gradvis kommit att fjärra dem från vilka de *egentligen* var, men nu får vi för första gången möta deras sanna historiska förebilder. De reser sig ur ruinerna av det arkeologiskt rekonstruerade Troja VIIa för ca 3200 år sedan. Ja, just så börjar filmen, med en exakt kronologisk tidsangivelse: *för 3200 år sedan*.

Men var det inte en saga som skulle berättas? För visst förstår väl alla som ser filmen att den här historien inte riktigt är på riktigt? Den är en välproducerad actionfilm från Hollywood, inte resultatet av en sanningskommission. Den är en produkt av underhållningsindustrin, kännetecknad av just det slags selektion, inramning, fokus och patos som kännetecknar en god berättelse. Att Trojasagan i den arkaiska diktningen från 700-, 600- och 500-talen förlades till ett vagt urskiljbart bronsålderssamhälle sammanhänger sannolikt med att denna period redan delvis hade förlorats ur sikte och därför lämpade sig väl som fond för en normerande berättelse i en tid av tilltagande panhellenism. Bronsålderskulturernas kungar, folk och städer – de en gång politiskt betydelsefulla orterna Pylos, Mykene och Troja – befann sig redan bortom det levande minnets horisont och kunde därför börja uppfattas som



skådeplatser för en ideal tid. Enligt liknande principer gjorde vikingatidens norska och isländska skalder bruk av personligheter och begivenheter ur de germanska folkens folkvandringstida förflutna (en Attila, en Ermanrik, en Teoderik) och även det tidiga 1800-talets folksagoinsemblare av en vagt urskiljbar medeltid, den så kallade riddartiden med sina slott, kungar och småriken. Framväxten av den moderna historievetenskapen under 1800-talet har emellertid gjort det svårare för oss att inbilla oss en sådan ideal tid, eftersom den alltid kan försees med ett historiskt korrektiv eller hyperkorrektiv.

### Slutsatser

Vad är det egentligen som motiverar oss att ge vissa berättelser en historisk inramning och andra inte? Om Barthes i sina analyser intresserade sig för masskulturens mindre harmlösa naturaliseringsprogram, måste väl den mest oskyldiga sortens ahistoriskt yttrande vara just barnsagens svävande *Det var en gång...*? När en berättelse inleds med de orden avslöjar den genast vad den inte vill vara, nämligen en *historisk* berättelse. Sagan fäster ingen vikt vid sin egen historicitet, men därmed föregriper den också särskilda förväntningar hos åhöraren i termer av sago-genrens olika ”regler” (en protagonist, en antagonist, en utmaning, ett lyckligt slut). Eftersom sagan aldrig insisterar på att vara *på riktigt*, behöver den heller aldrig beskyllas för att ha stulit ett språk. Sagan avsäger sig rätten till ett visst slags verklighetskapital, men den gör oss samtidigt delaktiga i ett annat slags föreställd verklighet och kan därmed göra anspråk på ett annat slags giltighet. Det betyder inte att sådana berättelser saknar en läsbar förankring i sin samtid, men genom att handlingen varken är förlagd till samtiden eller lokaliserad till en punkt i det förflutna, förstår vi att sagans (och mytens) angelägenhetsanspråk inte är av krasst empirisk karaktär. Även om någon kan hävda att vi har mycket att lära av historien, har historiska omständigheter endast en störande inverkan på sagans moraliska undertext. Moralen är dess drivande princip, inte godtyckliga omständigheter utan vare sig mening eller en inneboende följdriktighet. Skulle exempelvis historien om Hans och Greta vinna något på att förläggas till trakten kring Kassel hösten 1316 – ett av åren då den nordeuropeiska befolkningen drabbades som hårdast av den så kallade stora svälten – om sagans häxa i stället framställdes som en svältande och åt kannibalism hemfallen kvinna i skogen, om episoden med svanen ströks från sagan eftersom den måste anses alltför orealistisk? Knappast. Det är uppenbart att något annat står på spel här. Graden av historisk realism borde väl anses helt underordnad den inre följdriktigheten? Ändå ser vi många exempel i samtiden (kanske främst i filmen) på hur just den här sortens berättelser tänks vinna på en vagt historiserande inramning. Även om det finns goda skäl att hålla sagan skild från myten med hänvisning till den senare genrens giltighetsanspråk, är det fortfarande inte graden av historisk korrekthet som utmärker myten. Det är just detta andra slags giltighet och skönhet som Aristoteles tillskriver myten i sin poetik. Här framhåller han betydelsen av den goda efterbildningen och menar att myterna, oavsett om de framställs på vers eller prosa, måste sammanfogas på så sätt att de bildar en total, enhetlig och i sig innesluten handling (*prâxis*) med början, mitten och slut. Då kommer den väldisponerade myten att likna ett levande väsen, vilket skiljer den just från sammanställningen av s.k. *historiai* (23), eftersom karaktärerna och tilldragelserna där befinner sig i ett mera godtyckligt förhållande till varandra.

I vår tid, i en tid då all tid endast kan fattas som historisk tid, måste den historiska berättelsen förlora något av sin intresselöshet och myten något av sin allmängiltighet. En sådan utveckling kan i slutänden göra oss ännu mer avskurna från vårt förflutna, trots den enorma tillväxten av läsbara texter och tydbara tecken från det förflutna. En allt innefattande historisk blick kan aldrig vara helt historisk, eftersom den inte lämnar utrymme åt något annat.

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## Om författaren

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## Latinsk sammandrag

*De mytho furtim ablato: deliberationes contemporaneae de antiquitate*. Initium sumens ab Rolandi Barthes investigatione ”de Romanis in pelliculis cinematographicis”, quae in collectione interea classicā a. 1956 editā, c.t. *Mythologiae*, invenitur, hac symbolā perscrutari conor certas perceptiones longe divulgatas de antiquitate Graecā, quae sunt effectūs exaggeratae emendationis, quae dicitur, temporum praeteritorum. Recens exhibitio quaedam statuarum imaginumque ectyparum multicolori modo restructurarum antiquitatis classicae (*Mendacia alba*) et Hollywoodiana pellicula cinematographica frequentissime spectata, c.t. *Troia*, praebent indicia huius impulsūs exaggerate emendandi. Monstratur tales exhibendi modos laborare ex mancā existimatione categoriarum, quae sunt “mythos” et “historia”, atque earum ratione praemodernā supplementi dynamici.

## Engelsk sammandrag

*The Stolen Myth: Contemporary Reflections of Antiquity*. Proceeding from Roland Barthes’ debunking of ”Romans on film” in the now classical collection *Mythologies* from 1956, this paper attempts to scrutinize certain popular notions about Greek Antiquity as resulting from so-called hypercorrections of the past. A recent exhibition of reconstructed polychrome statues and reliefs from Classical Antiquity (*White Lies*), and the Hollywood blockbuster movie *Troy*, are seen as indicative of this hypercorrecting urge. The arguments goes that such versions of the past – while still being symptomatic of an emergent historical consciousness – suffer from a lacking appreciation of the categories ‘myth’ and ‘history’ in their pre-modern relationship of dynamic complementarity.

## Nyckelord

Roland Barthes, myt, historia, hyperkorrektion, *Troy*, *Vita lögner*.



*II*

*PARS PHILOSOPHICO-LITTERARIA*





## OLD WOMEN IN THE ODYSSEY

Minna Skafte Jensen

### Introduction

As an old woman celebrating a friend on her way to becoming an old woman, I should perhaps have chosen a text which describes old age in a positive light. Homer, I'm afraid, does not romanticise this stage of human life.<sup>1</sup> The normal prose word for old age, *geras*, occurs regularly in Homeric language,<sup>2</sup> and the epithets attached to it are 'baneful' (*lygron*), 'hated' (*stygeron*), 'destructive' (*oloon*), 'hard to bear' (*chalepon*), and 'even-handed' (*homoion*), this last probably in the sense that old age does not distinguish between high and low, male and female, but is an evil common to all. Old age is not a topic to be discussed; instead, as is typical for Homeric style, its nature is exemplified by means of characters in the poems. Among them appear some important old men and women. At one end of the spectrum is the happy and harmonious Nestor, who already in the *Iliad* is presented as respected for his wisdom and former courageous deeds, and in the *Odyssey* is depicted as enjoying a peaceful old age in Pylos together with his wife Eurydice and surrounded by a large number of flourishing adult sons. At the other end is the Trojan royal couple, Priam and Hecuba, who once ruled a rich and prosperous community, but in the *Iliad* gradually decline into the quintessence of a miserable old age, in which everything of importance has been lost – power, wealth, sons – and if you should be killed, your dead body will be a shameful sight (XXII. 74–6).<sup>3</sup>

There is one positive epithet attached to *geras*, *liparon*, meaning 'shiny' or 'glistening,' as when skin has been anointed with oil. Richmond Lattimore translates with 'sleek.' The adjective occurs in three connections, all in the *Odyssey*. Menelaus describes Nestor's *geras* as *liparon*, as befits the idealised king of Pylos (4.210). The seer Teiresias foresees that Odysseus may reach this kind of old age, and here the epithet is qualified by "around you your people will be blessed" (11.136, 23.283). Finally, Odysseus' old nurse Eurycleia laments her master's cruel fate even though he used to give rich offerings to Zeus, praying to be allowed to "reach sleek old age and rear his excellent son" (19.367–8). It seems that sleek old age manifests itself for a king when his subjects are prosperous, and for a father when his son thrives, but also that this kind of old age belongs to the realm of wishes rather than to reality. When Penelope famously laments that the gods grudged her and her husband spending their youth together until reaching the threshold of old age (23.211–12), it is implied that to her old age would have seemed bearable at the end of such a life.

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<sup>1</sup> I use the name 'Homer' for all Homeric poetry, preserved or lost, and speak of the 'poet/singer/rhapsode' of a given text. I consider all the preserved Homeric poems composed/dictated by one rhapsode each. Cf. Jensen 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Contrary to the idea of 'happiness,' as recently pointed out by Andersen 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Nicholson & Heintges 2010, 131, also underline Nestor and Priam as the examples of happy and tragic old age respectively.

### Ladies and nurses

Being heroic epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have men in their prime as their main protagonists. However, there is also room in the Homeric world for a broad range of other types, persons of both genders, belonging to different social strata, and of various ages. For decades now, scholars have been interested in the fact that women have a major role to play in the heroic world.<sup>4</sup> In what follows I shall let a small catalogue of old women populating the *Odyssey* enter the stage. The *Catalogue of Women* proper (11.225–327) is left out, since that catalogue is concerned with the origins of important families,<sup>5</sup> and only women of child-bearing age are listed.

The poem features three dignified old upper-class ladies, Nestor's wife, Odysseus' grandmother, and his mother.<sup>6</sup> Nestor's wife Eurydice occurs in one verse only (3.452). At the beginning of the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus' son Telemachus leaves Ithaca to go out in the world and seek information about his absent father, he first visits Nestor in Pylos in the company of the goddess Athena herself. On the morning after Athena's visit when the old hero gives a rich offering to the goddess, Eurydice is mentioned as one of the women who screamed when the sacrificial victim was slaughtered. Being present and named, she adds to the picture of Nestor's household as the ideal heroic family, but she is without identity in the poem. Similarly, Odysseus' grandmother Amphithea is briefly mentioned when we learn how as a young man he visited his grandfather Autolycus; she embraced him on his arrival, and that's that (19.416–17).

Odysseus' mother Anticleia is given more attention. The most sensational of the many fabulous events Odysseus experienced on his way back from Troy was his visit to the underworld. He came there because the goddess Circe had advised him to seek counsel from the dead seer Teiresias about his return journey, and she had given him detailed instructions about how to proceed. When Odysseus arrived there and had performed the proper sacrifices, a mass of dead souls approached. One belonged to a comrade who had recently died and not been buried, and Odysseus had first of all to promise him to perform the necessary rites in order for him to enter Hades. However, the first of those who emerged from the realm of the dead was his mother's shade, and Odysseus burst into tears, for she had been alive when he left for Troy (11.84–9). Immediately after the dialogue with Teiresias Odysseus gives his mother access to the blood of the sacrificial victims, the means by which the dead souls become able to communicate, and the two of them share the most detailed dialogue the hero has with any of the souls of the dead (11.152–224)<sup>7</sup>. The meeting between mother and son is affectionate and highly emotional. Odysseus learns that what had killed her was his absence. A very respectable cause of death for an elderly mother! and a touching expression of the warm feelings between the two. Another sign of their love is the detail of the embrace: Odysseus tries to put his arms around her, but finds no physical presence, and cries out in frustration (11.204–23).

The scene is emotional, but also informative: the dead mother offers her son his first briefing on the situation on Ithaca, though without mentioning the suitors. It may be read as another implicit description of Anticleia's virtues that she gives most attention to the state of her husband Laertes, dwelling upon the sad way of life he has chosen. Out of mourning for son and wife he has left the palace and is living a poor and rough life in the countryside;

<sup>4</sup> Cohen 1995 and Doherty 1995 were pioneers.

<sup>5</sup> Pade 1983.

<sup>6</sup> I include her because she represents the generation before Odysseus, even though she was perhaps not very old when she died; the swineherd Eumaeus says that she reached "immature old age" (*omon geras*), whatever that may mean (15.357).

<sup>7</sup> Doherty 1995, 110, emphasises the important place Odysseus gives his mother in his description of the visit to Hades.

especially, she describes how humbly he sleeps, lying on the floor covered with rags. It is noteworthy, also, that when Odysseus asks about his wife, the mother-in-law is absolutely loyal to Penelope. She states that she is patiently waiting for her husband, crying for him day and night. Furthermore, Anticleia exhorts her son to be attentive to the information she gives about the nature of the dead soul “in order that later you can tell your wife” (11.181–3 and 223–4, cf. 23.325).

Anticleia is mentioned in passing elsewhere, and small pieces of information are added to our picture of her. In a story of how young Laertes bought a beautiful slave girl the narrator states that Laertes actually wanted to make love to her, but did not, because he feared his wife’s anger (1.433). More information is contributed by the swineherd Eumaeus. When he tells the stranger (= Odysseus) his life-story, Anticleia has an important role in it. As a little boy Eumaeus was bought by Laertes and brought up in the royal household together with Ktimene, Anticleia’s own daughter. Only when the latter came of age and was married off to a husband on another island was Eumaeus sent out to look after the swine, but first Anticleia had carefully provided him with everything he needed for his new way of life. Afterwards the two of them, Anticleia and Eumaeus, used to meet and talk occasionally as long as she was still alive (15.361–70. How to handle the information about Odysseus having an otherwise unknown sister need not bother us here.) In the story of how Odysseus as a young man visited his grandfather and participated in a dramatic boar hunt, Anticleia was present with her husband when their son returned home and related what he had experienced (19.462–6).

With these small pieces of information the portrait of an old lady who died of grief for her son is given colour and individuality. They afford glimpses of a determined young woman whose anger had to be respected, and who cared for the children in her household, whether they were her own or not. Later in life she lived in harmony with her daughter-in-law, Penelope. Her worries about the state of her husband and her premature death reveal a loving wife and mother. Perhaps she would actually have been on her way towards sleek old age had it not been for the Trojan War.

Anticleia is the daughter of Autolycus, an ambiguous and disturbing figure, a master of lying and stealing and therefore the object of many people’s hatred (19.395–408). This is an aspect of her background the rhapsode leaves unused, having chosen instead to describe her as a model wife and mother.

Beside these two old ladies, the poem features a short list of old slave women. Especially Eurycleia, the slave girl Laertes dared not go to bed with, develops into an important figure in the course of the poem, and she is the main topic of the present study. Interestingly, among all the old women, high and low, she is the one described with most care. In her nature she exhibits a full range of feelings from love to hatred, and through her reactions to the events we are given insight into the conditions of a slave’s life. But first let us consider the minor characters.

They are not many, and they all belong to royal households, where they look after their masters, nurse them when they are small or grow old, and take care of their every wish. Old Laertes has such a helper, mentioned already when in the first book Athena relates how he moved into the countryside. She is not honoured with a name, but just called “an old woman from Sicily.” The impression given is that without her Laertes would not have been able to survive under the harsh circumstances he had chosen there (1.191–2, 24.211–12). It comes as a surprise when Odysseus finally visits his father, and it turns out that she has both husband and sons (24.388–90).

Young Nausicaa, the fairy princess in Phaeacia, has a nurse called Eurymedusa. She is from Apeira (a location in nowhereland) and seems to have entered the household as a captive of war; it is said that she had been brought by ship and been selected as an award to Alcinous because he was the lord of all Phaeacians (7.7–13).



In the palace on Ithaca old Eurynome is to be found. She suddenly makes her appearance in Book 17 speaking with Penelope and cursing the suitors. She is called *tamie*, housekeeper or treasurer, but she acts rather as if she had been Penelope's nurse. Penelope calls her 'mother' while she her mistress 'child,' and she is the closest the poem comes to giving Penelope a confidante (17.495–504). When Athena makes Penelope decide to descend into the hall where the suitors are feasting, Eurynome is the person to whom the heroine reveals this plan (18.163–86). Besides this Eurynome performs a few small duties, mentioned in passing (19.96–101, 20.4, 23.153–5, 289–95). She is a vague figure without any individual characteristics, and she has sometimes been considered a double of Eurycleia.

In short, female old age in the *Odyssey* is represented by three aristocrats and a small number of trusted servants. The Sicilian who looks after Laertes is given neither name nor title. Eurymedusa and Eurycleia are called *trophoi*, women who have cared for a master or mistress since they were babies; of Eurycleia it is stated that she began as Odysseus' wet nurse (19.482–3). She is also once called *tamie*, in a situation when she is actually handling provisions in the household's storeroom (2.345), and that is Eurynome's title. As a group these women convey the impression that society would break down without their unobtrusive presence. The same holds good, of course, of the host of maids who surround the protagonists, most of them anonymous and without any indication of their age, but compared to them the old *trophoi/tamiai* stand out as much more individualised.

Were they an indispensable part of the tradition, or could rhapsodes invent them as they pleased? It seems certain that the existence of such old, trusted women personally attached to a protagonist by having been his/her wet nurse or at least by having brought up their master/mistress from childhood was inherent in the tradition. When in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* the goddess disguises herself as a poor old woman, this is the role she chooses (*h.Cer.* 103–4). Also, the fact that the *trophos* is a well-known character in Attic tragedy, a genre closely related to epic, suggests that the tradition supplied the rhapsodes with them as a type with easily recognisable characteristics.<sup>8</sup> Some of them may also have had a role in myth as individuals, for instance Aithra, who occurs as Helen's maid in the *Iliad* (III.144). In any case, inside the framework given by tradition, the singer was free to form his characters as it suited his plans.

### **Eurycleia and the footwashing scene**

In the second half of the *Odyssey* the hero returns to Ithaca in disguise and only gradually reveals his identity to his family and household. Assuming the role of a beggar he enters the palace and moves among the suitors. At a certain point when he has made himself a familiar figure in the hall, Penelope arranges for him to meet her late in the evening after all guests have left the palace. She takes a liking to the stranger and offers to let him have his feet washed by Eurycleia. As soon as the old woman sees a remarkable scar on his leg deriving from when he participated in a boar hunt as a young man, she recognises her master (19.343–504).

The scene has now and then been represented in pictorial art. Christine Havelock, who subjects these images to a careful analysis, discusses them in relation to how the story is told in the *Odyssey*. The characteristic event leaves no doubt as to what is going on in the pictures, Odysseus having his feet washed and his identity revealed, but the representations are all in various ways different from the text we know. While in the poem the scene takes place between Odysseus and Eurycleia alone, other persons such as Eumaeus, Penelope, or Telemachus occur in the pictures. Besides, the representation of Eurycleia deviates from the text: she is not characterised by being old, and on an Attic red-figure *skyphos* from c. 440

<sup>8</sup> Karydas 1998 follows the *trophos* from epic into drama; however, her positive description of Eurycleia's social status seems to me romanticised.

B.C. she is even given the name of Antiphata. Havelock explains this as a result of the painter's limited literacy; she imagines that the artists were building on their memory of oral performance rather than on the reading of a written text.<sup>9</sup>

However, such a relationship between written text and images is not restricted to this scene. Rather it is the normal situation where events from the Trojan War are concerned. I have argued elsewhere that the written *Iliad* and *Odyssey* remained largely unread until well into the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., and that even after they gradually became better and better known, they belonged to the educated minority, while a living epic tradition continued with rhapsodes entertaining audiences wherever they were to be had, singing stories of the wars of ancient times as they had always done, unhampered by the fact that two special versions had been taken down from dictation. Illustrations on vases and other materials allow us a glimpse into the multiforms of Homeric performance.<sup>10</sup> To me, then, a *trophos* called Antiphata is a witness to a different realisation of this scene from the Trojan tradition than the one we have in the *Odyssey*, and the phenomenon reinforces the hypothesis that the *trophoi* were part of the Homeric tradition as a type rather than as individuals.

The passage has been much commented upon, most famously by Erich Auerbach, who used it to argue that Homeric narrative regularly moves in the foreground without any sense of a background<sup>11</sup>. His thesis was rejected by Adolf Köhnken, to my mind successfully<sup>12</sup>. Köhnken analysed the narrative and showed how the careful ring-composition facilitates the passage between digression and main plot for the audience. Also, he pointed out that the figure of Eurycleia is in itself a connecting link between main plot and digression. To this may be added, I think, that the audience of an oral epic would be well informed in advance of the story to be told. As John Miles Foley has argued,<sup>13</sup> singer and audience meet in a 'performance arena' to which both parties bring their knowledge and have their ideas of what is supposed to take place in the text that is to be performed. Contrary to Auerbach's thesis listeners provide the background themselves and have no difficulty in remembering the overall plot even if the narrative takes them into a longish digression.

Eurycleia's role is also central to another interesting discussion of the narrative style in this passage, the question of who focalises the story of the boar hunt. Irene de Jong, who introduced the term 'focalisation' into Homeric studies,<sup>14</sup> argues in her commentary on the passage that it can be analysed as embedded focalisation with the verb 'she recognised' (19.392) as the shifter, even though Eurycleia is referred to in the third person and was not present at the boar hunt. Actually, the hunting story ends stating that on his homecoming the young Odysseus told everything carefully to his father and mother. With the role the *trophos* is given in the poem she would naturally have been present.<sup>15</sup> The reading is attractive. Not only has Eurycleia with her tears and her speech moved dramatically into focus so as to steal the show from both Penelope and Odysseus, but the long story of how the hero received his scar features Eurycleia as a key figure in his life. It is difficult to imagine who else would assign the nurse such an important role as to be the person who brought the baby to his grandfather and asked him to decide on the child's name. As a matter of fact, an ancient or medieval reader felt provoked by this detail and added in the margin of the manuscript *Harleianus 5674* that Eurycleia's name ought to be replaced by Anticleia's. If we understand the story as Eurycleia's recollection of the crucial hunting event, the atmosphere in the room

<sup>9</sup> Havelock 1995; the *skyphos* shown as pl. 56.

<sup>10</sup> Jensen 2011, especially 237–47.

<sup>11</sup> Auerbach (1946) 1953.

<sup>12</sup> Köhnken (1976) 1995.

<sup>13</sup> Foley 1995, 47–9.

<sup>14</sup> de Jong 1987.

<sup>15</sup> de Jong 2001, 477.

becomes even more intense than what the recognition in itself causes: in the background are Penelope and her maids, in the foreground not only Odysseus and Eurycleia, but also her memories of Odysseus' grandfather, of her master's early childhood and youth, and of his close ties to herself.

### **Eurycleia's poem**

Eurycleia enters the poem already at the end of Book 1, when after an eventful evening Telemachus is led to his chamber by his old nurse. She is briefly presented to the audience as the daughter of Ops, the son of Peisenor. When she was very young, Laertes had bought her with his own means and paid twenty oxen for her.

That her father's and grandfather's names are mentioned indicates that she was not born a slave. Rather, like Eumaeus, she had been born free, but had by some misfortune been separated from her parents and put up for sale as a slave. At that time she had been young and beautiful. Now she is old, and as we are later told, she has been the nurse, first of Odysseus and then of his son. Among the slave women she was the one who loved Telemachus most dearly, it is stated.

This old woman leads the young man to his room, carrying torches for him. There he sits down, takes off his *chiton* and gives it to Eurycleia, who smooths it out, folds it, and hangs it on a peg next to the bed. Then she leaves the room and closes the door behind her. No words are said. The quiet little scene with its everyday tasks conveys an atmosphere of complete familiarity between the two, and of peace and tranquility before the important project the young man will launch next day when he is off to Pylos (1.428–42).

In that project Eurycleia is, again, an unassuming, but important participant. She goes with Telemachus to the storerooms, and the two select the provisions necessary for the young man's crew. She is the only person in the household to be informed about the plan, and Telemachus is very explicit when he forbids her to mention the journey to anybody, least of all his mother. When at a later point Penelope nevertheless learns about Telemachus having left the island and about the ambush her suitors have prepared for him, Eurycleia has to admit that she had been informed in advance. As a slave woman she has had no choice but to obey her young master, and unwillingly she has become a part in the ongoing conflict between mother and son about the leadership of the household (2.345–80, 4.742–57).

When the focus shifts from Telemachus to Odysseus, Eurycleia disappears from the poem, and many books pass before she reappears. However, the very moment Telemachus reaches his home she is there. He arrives, and the first person to see him is Eurycleia, who together with the other slave women runs to embrace him. Also later in the poem Eurycleia is in the hall, working, when Telemachus enters and immediately speaks to her. Evidently, he takes for granted that she is there. Nevertheless, the detail that on his homecoming he meets her before anybody else underlines the special function she has had in connection with Telemachus' journey and the affectionate relationship that ties the old woman and the young man together (17.31–3, cf. 19.15–30, 20.128–59).

So far Eurycleia has acted first and foremost as Telemachus' former nurse, but with the footwashing in Book 19 her relationship with Odysseus moves to the foreground. When the hero specifically asks Penelope to have his feet washed, not by one of the arrogant young maids, but by an old woman "who in her mind has suffered as much as I" (19.347), Penelope immediately selects Eurycleia, not because of her sufferings, but because she has been her husband's nurse and taken care of him right from his birth. The similarity in suffering between old slave woman and old-looking poor stranger is changed into the similarity in age between the stranger and the lost husband; even though Penelope considers her guest to be older than her husband she realises that "people age quickly in misfortune" (19.360), and that her husband may actually look as old now as does the stranger.

At the mention of Odysseus the old woman breaks into tears. When Eurycleia saw Telemachus at his return it was briefly mentioned that she embraced him, but here she is allowed to give full vent to her feelings. In a highly emotional speech she addresses her absent master, appealing to him by the word *teknon*, as if he were her own son (*teknon* is derived from *tiktein*, to give birth). Abruptly she turns to the stranger and underlines that she is not only ordered by her mistress to wash his feet, but also herself willing to do so. Again, as a slave she has no choice, but here she is herself eager to render this service to the stranger because he bears a close resemblance to Odysseus (19.361–81).

When she recognises him, Odysseus' reaction is brutal. He commands her to keep silent and assures her that however much she once breast-fed him, if he succeeds in killing the pretenders she will not be spared when he kills the slave-women of the household. She is not frightened, however, but describes her loyalty to him as being just as unbreakable as iron or stone. Apparently she accepts without further ado that her master may kill her if he feels that would be necessary. Lillian Doherty draws attention to the fact that it is more difficult for Eurycleia to be trusted by her master than for the male slave Eumaeus.<sup>16</sup> Not only does she not react against Odysseus' brutality; she eagerly promises to list the guilty maids for punishment (19.487–98).

This is our first glimpse of another side of Eurycleia, a scary, grim woman filled with hatred, and this is the side that is dominant during the further events. She acts as the steady helper of Odysseus and Telemachus in the revenge act. First, she ensures that the female slaves are locked up, and next she points out to her two masters the twelve maids who have not been loyal to Penelope and Telemachus. They are ordered to haul out the dead bodies into the courtyard and afterwards clean room and furniture of blood. Next, Telemachus takes them to the courtyard and hangs them. At no point is it suggested that she might feel pity for them, or for the suitors (21.380–87, 22.390–434, 480–501).

When she enters the hall where Odysseus and Telemachus, soiled with blood, are surrounded by the dead bodies of the suitors, Eurycleia's immediate reaction is to break into a triumphant howl, *ololyge*. Eurycleia exults at the victory over the suitors and the punishment of the disloyal maids in a far more blatant fashion than what any of her masters expresses. Odysseus actually seems shocked, and he reprimands her in her brief didactic speech about how this manslaughter is the work of the gods, a just punishment, and that it should be accepted in silence (22.407–16). When afterwards she is sent up to her mistress Penelope to reveal the news to her, she does so *canchaloosa*, laughing her head off. The verb is onomatopoeic, imitating the sound of loud laughter. She finds the slaughter of the suitors great fun! To Penelope she says: It would really have warmed your heart to see him standing there among the dead bodies, soiled with blood just like a lion (23.1–84). Eurycleia has been full to the brim of hatred. Where does this violent feeling come from?

The reasons for this have been discreetly built up during the preceding description of the situation in the palace. Eurycleia is the person who has been in charge of the daily routine, and what that meant is shown in a small vignette the morning after the footwashing. The maids first light the fire; next, the floor must be trampled, blankets put in the chairs, the tables must be washed, drinking vessels cleaned, and water fetched from the spring. The volume of the work is suggested by the fact that merely to fetch water twenty maids are sent off (20.122–3, 147–59). Eurycleia's job is important, and she fulfills it with great zeal. Like the head of any other big business, she is last to go to bed at night and first to get up in the morning.

However, there is little satisfaction to be found in hard work done for arrogant guests. The desperation of it all is not expressed by the competent old housekeeper, but by a little slave

<sup>16</sup> Doherty 1995, 153–5.



girl who as part of a team of twelve has been grinding wheat all night. In his bed in the hall Odysseus has just prayed to Zeus for an omen and his prayer is fulfilled, first by thunder and next by the following event (20.108–19):

*...The others,  
since they had finished grinding their wheat, by now were sleeping,  
but this one had not ended her work, and she was the weakest.  
She stopped the mill and spoke aloud, a sign for her master:  
'Father Zeus, you who are lord of the gods and people,  
now you have thundered loud from the starry sky, although  
there is no cloud. You show this forth, a portent for someone.  
Grant now also for wretched me this prayer that I make you.  
On this day let the suitors take, for the last and latest  
time, their desirable feasting in the halls of Odysseus.  
For it is they who have broken my knees with heart-sore labor  
as I grind the meal for them. Let this be their final feasting.'*<sup>17</sup>

Eurycleia could have said the same prayer, but only when at last the pretenders and their supporters have been killed, does she give vent to her unbridled exultation.

In one of the recently found fragments of Sappho's poetry<sup>18</sup> the poetess laments that old age has made her limbs stiff so that she is no longer able to dance as when she was young. For Eurycleia there has not been much dancing.

With the last glimpse we are given of the old woman the scary, vindictive side of her is hidden away. Together with Eurynome, she is ordered to make the bed for the reunited couple, and thus her story in the poem is arranged in an elegant circular composition, with the introductory scene in Telemachus' bedroom being balanced by the final preparing of Odysseus' and Penelope's marital bed (23.177–80, 289–92). The poem of Eurycleia works as a side action weaving its way along the epic proper, but retaining its own inner logic.

### **An underlying fairy tale pattern**

In his 'pool of tradition' the rhapsode also had a fairy tale pattern.<sup>19</sup> Many years ago I argued that the plot of the *Odyssey* follows the five moves of the fairy tale, as analysed by Bengt Holbek.<sup>20</sup> The poem is not, of course, a fairy tale; my contention is that the rhapsode is familiar with fairy tale patterns. The *Iliad* poet now and then reveals that fairy tale motifs occur in his tradition, too, as when in the Meleager story King Oeneus is bringing sacrifices to all the Olympian gods but forgets Artemis and thus enrages her (IX.533–40), while the *Odyssey* poet actually builds up his whole performance on a fairy tale pattern.

Holbek showed how fairy tales handle three oppositions, low-high, young-adult, and male-female, and do so by means of eight tale-roles: low young male, low young female, etc. The tale roles may be doubled, tripled, etc., and they may be split so that, for instance, a tale role is divided between a good and a bad character. Such a split may be activated all the way through the narrative or occur only in some passages.<sup>21</sup> In the epic with its numerous characters the roles are multiplied many times: the role of the low young male is filled in by Odysseus, but

<sup>17</sup> Lattimore 1965, 301.

<sup>18</sup> "The Tithonus Poem," fr. 58. Cf. Obbink 2009.

<sup>19</sup> For the term 'pool of tradition' see Honko 1998, 66–74.

<sup>20</sup> Jensen 1993, Holbek 1987. Holbek's model is "exclusively concerned with tales which end with a wedding or with the triumph of the couple who were cast out earlier in the tale," Holbek 1987, 404. It is the masculine version of this tale type I see activated in the *Odyssey*.

<sup>21</sup> Holbek 1987, 416–19.

also by Telemachus, that of the high young female by Penelope, as well as by Calypso, Circe, and Nausicaa.

What interests me here is that Eurycleia, too, may be seen as doubling Penelope's role, this time in the form of a split so that Eurycleia takes on the brutal sides of the tale role, while Penelope may stay pure and mild. The poet spares the heroine any connection with the manslaughter. She remains quietly asleep while the killing and cleaning take place, in fact on waking she declares that it is a long time since she has slept so well (23.15–19), and thus her hands are not polluted by blood. At the point when Odysseus has completed the slaughter of the suitors and Eurycleia enters, she suggests that she should go upstairs right away and tell Penelope, but Odysseus prevents her (22.428–32). Eurycleia the *trophos* not only takes on the duties otherwise belonging to mother and housewife, but also the negative potential in her mistress's character.

### Conclusion

A basic idea in the Homeric world is that you have to accept what the gods send. As Odysseus says to another slave, Eumaeus: Your life story has moved me, but after all, Zeus gave you both good and bad since you ended up in the house of a man who ensures that you have what you need and can lead a good life (15.486–91). In the *Iliad*, Achilles expresses the same opinion when he tells old Priam how Zeus has two great jars, one filled with good, one with bad, from which he distributes his gifts to humans as he pleases (XXIV.527–33).

However, the spectrum between happiness and tragedy is broader for high than for low. Without exactly achieving the standard of a Nestor, free old men may be respected for their wisdom, acquired during a long life, such as the two old men participating in the assembly in Ithaca, Aigyptios and Halitherses (2.15–257). In an interesting chapter on old age in Homer as compared to traditional societies Thomas M. Falkner discusses their position, showing how they conform to a general rule defining the roles of elderly men as advisers to chieftains, members of councils, authoritative dispensers of information, or mediators in cultural disputes.<sup>22</sup> Similar possibilities are not there for slaves. Eumaeus and Eurycleia, the two best known slaves in the *Odyssey*, may both achieve a certain degree of happiness, but there are no respected social positions waiting for them at the end of their lives, and should they be killed, their deaths would be no tragedy, as is clear from the threat with which Odysseus reacts to Eurycleia's recognition.

Despite the seemingly harmonious relationship between masters and slaves in the *Odyssey* the distance between high and low is not veiled. William Thalmann spoke of "the poem's self-conscious presentation of a justly hierarchical society,"<sup>23</sup> and Lillian Doherty underlined that being both female and slave made for the harshest conditions: "the conjunction of gender and class inferiority is insurmountable in the *Odyssey*."<sup>24</sup> More recently, Kelly L. Wrenhaven described Eurycleia as the prototype of the "good" slave, emphasising her slavish obedience, but disapproving of her cruel side.<sup>25</sup>

There is no rebellion in the *Odyssey*. At the same time, however, it is striking that the poet has a keen eye for humble domestic duties and those who perform them, even in the world of heroes. His insight goes as far as to know what submission may do to the character of a person. One of Eurycleia's many tasks is to instruct young maids, a job that consists in teaching them how to comb wool and tolerate slavery (22.422–3). A Greek woman who did not belong to the very highest social stratum, whether she was slave or free, spent most of her life producing textiles, combing wool, spinning, and weaving. In Eurycleia's words, the

<sup>22</sup> Falkner 1995, 5–14.

<sup>23</sup> Thalmann 1998, 20.

<sup>24</sup> Doherty 1995, 159.

<sup>25</sup> Wrenhaven 2012, 109–11.

combing of wool summarises female work, and beside that what a slave girl needs to learn is to accept suppression. It seems that she has herself learnt this to perfection. Not only has she accepted slavery, she supports her masters totally. When at a certain point she explodes in extreme cruelty, her opponents are not her masters, but their enemies. Not an attractive portrait, but a psychologically convincing one. As readers, we may again ask whether she has had a choice; perhaps her stand was necessary for her survival. To a slave woman, Zeus tended to give more bad than good.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> I am grateful to John D. Kendal for revising my English.

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### Latin summary

*De mulieribus veteribus in Odyssea.* Cum Odyssea sit epos heroicum, ibidem frequenter apparent actores mares optimā aetate vitae agentes. Nihilominus in poemate etiam attenditur ad personas humiliores, inter quas mulieres quoque veteres. Sunt quidem paucae, sed magni momenti. Nonnullae earum ad summum stratum sociale pertinent, reliquae sunt servae. Speciatim eadem sunt τροφοί, nutrices, et suggeritur tales nutrices esse partem necessariam uniuscuiusque magnae domūs familiaeque. Earum notatū dignissima est nutrix Ulyssis Eurycleia, cui partes agenda sunt toto in poemate. Cum eius historiam ab initio poematis usque ad eiusdem finem sequamur, animadvertimus hanc historiam esse poema in poemate, quod propriam cohaerentiam internam habet. Nutricis autem indoles est ambigua: nonnullis in scaenis eadem est summa curae atque affabilitatis, aliis in scaenis est ferox, tantopere ut reddatur persona maxime terribilis huius poematis. Quibus autem ex causis illa odii plena est? Propter duram vitam servae. Assuefacta est sorti suae et solidaritatem illaesam cum dominis suis demonstrat, cum tamen eo magis se offensam sentiat copiā laborum, qui effecti sunt ab cultoribus celebrantibus. Ceterum schema traditionale fabularum totum epos percurrit, cum Penelope et Eurycleia easdem partes fabulae explent bonum atque malum inter se distribuentes.

### English summary

Being a heroic epic, the *Odyssey* is peopled by male protagonists in their prime. Nevertheless, the poem gives attention also to humbler figures, among them old women. They are few, but important. A couple of them belong to the highest stratum of society, the rest are slaves. Especially, they are *trophoi*, nurses, and the impression given is that such nurses are an indispensable part of any big household. The most impressive of them is Odysseus' nurse Eurycleia, who has a role to play all the way through the poem. When her story is traced from beginning to end it unfolds as a poem inside the poem, with its own inner coherence. Her



character is ambiguous: in some scenes she is the quintessence of care and kindness, in others she is brutal, so much so as to make of her one of the scariest characters in the poem. What has made her so full of hatred? the hard life as a slave. She has accustomed herself to her fate and shows unbroken solidarity with her masters, only to feel all the more offended by the amount of work the feasting suitors have caused. Besides, a traditional fairy tale pattern runs as an undercurrent through the epic, with Penelope and Eurycleia filling in the same tale role so that good and bad is split between them.

**Keywords**

Old age, Women, Slaves, Eurycleia, Fairy tales, Homer, Odyssey.

## KVINNENS OVERFLØDIGHET HOS PLATON

Fredrik Nilsen

### Innledning

I sitt bidrag i antologien *Kjønnsperspektiver i filosofihistorien* argumenterer Kristin Sampson for at det finnes to motsatte syn på kvinner hos Platon i dialogene *Staten* og *Timaios*. I *Staten* finner man det velkjente likestillingsforslaget hvor kvinnen like gjerne som en mann hevdes å skulle kunne bekle statens høyere embeter, mens kvinnen i *Timaios* mytologisk framstilles som en del av en skapelsesberetning, hvor hun nærmest betraktes som en mislykket mann og som klart underordnet det maskuline kjønn. Sampson hevder derfor følgende:

Platon skriver [...] forskjellig om kvinner i ulike dialoger. Til dels har han skrevet så selvmotsigende om nettopp kvinner at det synes å ligge et paradoks her. [...] Det ene [kvinnesyntet] er hentet fra dialogen *Timaios*, som handler om hvordan verden har blitt til. Det andre [...] er fra dialogen *Staten*, boken hvor Platon forteller om hvordan den ideelle stat bør være ordnet. (Sampson 1999, 26)

Sampson peker her på en mulig kontrast mellom de to «tvillingdialoger», som er konstruert slik at samtalen i *Timaios* finner sted dagen etter samtalen i *Staten* (*Timaios*, 17a–c). Slik jeg ser det, er det imidlertid ingen grunn til å hevde at Platon har endret syn på kvinner «over natten». Tesen jeg vil argumentere for, er at de to tilsynelatende ulike kvinnesyn representerer to uttrykk for en og samme «antakelse» eller – for å benytte Vigdis Songe-Møllers begrep – en og samme «drøm», nemlig *drømmen om kvinnens overflødighet* (Songe-Møller 1999). Dette vil jeg argumentere for ved først å redegjøre for denne drømmen ved hjelp av de samme myter som Songe-Møller benytter, nemlig autokhthonimyten og myten om Pandora, slik vi har fått dem overlevert fra henholdsvis Apollodoros' *Bibliotek* og Hesiods diktverk *Theogonien* og *Verk og Dager*. Jeg vil også referere til noen sentrale tekstpassasjer fra Euripides' to drama *Medeia* og *Hippolytos*, for ytterligere å understreke denne drømmens tilstedeværelse i antikkens Hellas. Deretter drøfter jeg tesen min ved å diskutere noen sentrale Platon-passasjer, fortrinnsvis hentet fra *Staten* og *Timaios*. Jeg vil altså vise at drømmen om kvinnens overflødighet er tilstede både i *Staten* og i *Timaios*. Songe-Møller demonstrerer bare dens tilstedeværelse i førstnevnte dialog, ikke i sistnevnte, skjønt hun synes ikke å utelukke at en slik demonstrasjon er mulig (Songe-Møller 1999, 173).

### Drømmen om kvinnens overflødighet i gresk kultur

Songe-Møller benytter hovedsakelig to myter for å illustrere drømmen om kvinnens overflødighet, nemlig autokhthonimyten og myten om Pandora:

Det jeg her har kalt drømmen om kvinnens overflødighet finner vi både i autokhthonimyten og i Pandora-myten. Begge steder viser den seg som en drøm om en opprinnelig enhet, om en tid da det bare fantes ett kjønn og menneskene formerte seg uavhengig av seksuell reproduksjon. I Pandora-myten er denne enhetsdrømmen spesielt klar. Ikke bare var mennesket

opprinnelig ett med seg selv, men det levde også i opprinnelig enhet både med naturen og med gudene. Kvinnens inntreden fører [...] med seg at enheten på alle disse nivåene brytes. (Songe-Møller 1999, 34)

Autokhthonimyten tar sitt utgangspunkt i at atenerne mente å kunne føre sin stamtavle tilbake til Erikhthonios, som skal ha blitt født ut av selve den athenske jorden (*autokhthon*). Den konkrete myten, slik vi kjenner den fra Apollodoros' *Bibliotek*, sier at Athene hadde fått Hefaistos til å lage et våpen til henne. Hefaistos motsatte seg betaling for dette arbeidet, og sa at han gjorde det av kjærlighet. Men da Athene kom inn i smien til Hefaistos for å inspisere arbeidet med våpenet, kastet Hefaistos seg over henne og søkte seksuelt samkvem. Som uinntakelig jomfru klarte Athene imidlertid å komme seg unna, og Hefaistos' sæd falt på fanget hennes. Athene tørket dette av med en ulldott og kastet det fra seg på bakken, noe som førte til at jorden (*Gaia*) ble befruktet. Ut av jorden kom etterhvert Erikhthonios, den jordfødte, noe som gjorde ham – og med ham alle atenerne – «opprinnelige» (Roman & Roman 2010, 158).

Som Songe-Møller understreker, innebærer myten en utvisking av skillet mellom seksuell og vegetativ forplantning, da både kvinner og jorden kan befruktes av en mann og føde levende barn. *Gaia*, som sammen med *Kaos* og *Eros* utgjør Hesiods svar på spørsmålet om alle tings opprinnelse (*arkhe*) (*Theogonien*, 116–122), representerer helt klart en kvinnelig gudemakt. Dette manifesterer seg i ikonografien, hvor Erikhthonios-barnet løftes ut av jorden av den kvinnelige *Gaia* og overleveres til Athene. En utvisking av distinksjonen mellom de to typer forplantning underbygges også av den videre gangen i myten, ettersom det er Athene som tar imot barnet idet det fødes opp av jorden. Det er også Athene som tar seg av barnet etter fødselen, nærmest som om det faktisk var hun som hadde båret det fram. Hun overleverer riktignok til slutt barnet i en kurv til Kong Kekrops, som selv var jordfødt, og hans tre døtre for oppfostring. På grunn av den omsorgen Athene utviser, blir Erikhthonios, som senere skal ha grunnlagt Athen som politisk institusjon og derfor blir regnet som den første atener, anerkjent som Athenes ektefødte sønn. Men strengt tatt har ikke dette barnet noen mor, kun en far, Hefaistos. Atenerne kan slik forklare sin opprinnelse uavhengig av kvinnen, noe som gjør henne overflødig. For som Songe-Møller understreker, inneholder myten «en drøm om det énkjønnete mennesket, hvor alle barn er gutter og barnets opphav er faren alene» (Songe-Møller 1999, 27).

Det er bemerkelsesverdig at det i gresk mytologi ikke finnes noen myte om athenske kvinners autokhthone opprinnelse, all den tid Erikhthonios-myten forklarer en sådan opprinnelse for athenske menn. Hesiods myte om de fem slektene i *Verk og Dager* handler i beste fall om menneskeheten som helhet, men antakeligvis kun om menns opprinnelse. Ifølge Hesiod har menneskeheten gjennomgått en slags degenerering fra gull- via sølv- og bronseslekten, samt heroenes slekt, til jernslekten (*Verk og Dager*, 109–201). Jernslekten, som bestemmes som den femte og foreløpig siste generasjon mennesker, kan i det vesentlige se ut til å bestå av menn: «Var det blot ikke min [Hesiods] lod at leve blandt *mænd* av det femte slægtled» (*Verk og Dager*, 174f, min utheving). Også Nicole Louraux bemerker at slektsleddene kun består av menn, ettersom hun stiller spørsmål ved om ikke «kvinneslekten» må bestemmes som den sjette slekten (Louraux 1999, 72ff).

Selv om vi ikke finner noen myte om kvinners autokhthone opprinnelse, finner vi en myte om kvinnekjønnets tilblivelse som sådan, nemlig Pandora-myten. I denne myten framstilles første generasjon av menneskeheten som utelukkende bestående av menn. Disse mennene har et direkte og harmonisk forhold til både gudene og naturen. Som straff for at titanen Prometheus hadde satt menneskene opp mot gudene, sender gudene den vakre Pandora, den første kvinne, til menneskenes verden: «Thi fra hende [Pandora] nedstammer alt, som til kvindekøn regnes» (*Theogonien*, 590). Prometheus hadde nemlig stjålet gudenes ild fra Zeus

og gitt den til menneskene, slik at de både kunne smi sine egne redskaper, ofre dyr og tilberede sin egen mat (*Theogonien*, 561–569; jf. Andersen 1997, 91f). Dette medførte en uavhengighet og selvstendighet i forhold til gudene. Zeus straffet menneskeheten for dette ved å få Hefaistos til å lage Pandora og sende henne til mennene, hvilket innebar at de ikke lengre levde i fellesskap med gudene, samtidig som de fra nå av ikke var selvtilstrekkelige (*autarkheia*) med hensyn til formering; heretter krevdes det alltid to størrelser, en mann og en kvinne, for å kunne føre menneskeslekten videre. Beretningen om Pandoras tilblivelse finner vi både i *Theogonien* og i *Verk og Dager*:

*Derfor til modvægt for ilden han [Zeus] straks dem beredte en plage;  
altså danned af jord den berømte Hefaistos et væsen  
lig en blufærdig mø etter Zeus', Kronidens, beslutning.  
På hendes strålende dragt Athene med funklende øjne  
fæstede bælte og smykke; med hænderne satte hun kyndigt  
på hendes hoved det brogede slør, et under for øjet.  
(Theogonien, 570–575)*

*Argos' banemand, guders kurer, i jomfruens hjerte  
indgød løgne, forførende ord og tyvagtige vaner,  
alt som den tordnende Zevs havde budt, og herolden blant guder  
gav hende talens brug og benævned kvinden Pandora.  
(Verk og Dager, 77–80)*

Da Pandora åpnet den store krukken (*pithos*) som hun som gave fra alle gudene (*pan-dora*) hadde fått med seg inn i verden, strømmet seksualiteten sammen med alle andre onder, eksempelvis svik, sykdom, ødeleggelse, alderdom, død og løgn, ut i verden. Rent bortsett fra håpet, som sies å ha blitt værende igjen i krukken:

*Men da nu kvindens hånd havde borttaget låget af karret,  
spredtes de ud, så hun blev årsag til sørgelig jammer.  
Håbet alene forblev i sin faste og ubrudte bolig  
inden for lerkarrets rand, og det flygtede ikke af gårde  
thi i det siste sekund fik hun atter lagt låg over karret  
efter beslutning af Zeus, som samler skyerne om sig.  
(Verk og Dager, 94–99)*

Kvinnene blir slik betraktet som en stor plage og et onde for mennesker: «Thi hun [Pandora] blev ophav til kvindernes slægt, som undergang bringer» (*Theogonien*, 591; jf. 600–602). Også denne myten understreker derfor at det har eksistert en antakelse i gresk kultur at det hadde vært best å være kvinnen foruten. Samtidig viser den, sammen med autokhthonimyten, at kvinnen defineres som det annet og ikke-opprinnelige kjønn, forskjellig fra og fremmed for det opprinnelige kjønn, mannen. Det er slik kvinnen som bringer med seg forskjeller, mangfold, disharmoni og til sist tilintetgjørelse inn i verden, mens mannen snarere utgjør «normen» for hva det vil si å være menneske (Songe-Møller 1999, 35ff).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Myten om Erikhthonios-barnet, som altså forklarer athenernes opphav, kan også betraktes som en legitimering av det maskuline demokratiet. I Kong Kekrops' regjeringstid skulle man ved avstemning velge skyts gud for byen, og mens alle menn stemte på Poseidon, stemte alle kvinner på Athene. I og med at kvinnene ved denne anledningen var i flertall med én person, var det Athene som ble valgt. Men mennene hevnet seg på kvinnene og fratok dem stemmeretten. Fra da av hersket det en radikal asymmetri mellom «jordfødte» athenske borgere, menn, og de uten borgerrettigheter, kvinner (Songe-Møller 1999, 23ff). For å være borger i Athen, måtte man for det første være mann, og for det annet være født av to athenske foreldre. En mann ble myndig da han fylte 18 år,



Selv om byen Athen hadde en kvinnelig skytsgud, Athene, bør det understrekes at Athene var den mest maskuline av alle gudinner i gresk religion. Hun hadde bare ett opphav, nemlig sin far, Zeus, siden hun ble født ut av hans hode. Grunnen til dette, var at Zeus valgte å sluke sin første kone, Metis, etter å ha blitt gjort kjent med at hans første sønn, som skulle bli ham født etter datteren Athene, ville overgå ham og styre over både guder og mennesker:

*Men da hun [Metis] snart skulle føde gudinden med funklende øjne,  
Pallas Athene, forvirrede Zeus med bedragerisk tale  
hustruens sind, og dybt i sin bug han gemte gudinden  
etter formaning af Gaia og Uranos, stjernebestrøet;  
det var det råd de ham gav, for at ingen blandt evige guder  
anden i stedet for Zeus skulle herske med kongelig ære.  
(Theogonien, 888–893)*

På denne måten ble Athene, som foreløpig ikke var kommet til verden, født ut av hodeskallen til Zeus:

*Selv af sit hoved han fødte Athene med funklede øjne,  
mægtig og grum, en utrættelig gud til at opvække kampgny  
og føre hærene an, for hun frydes ved kamplarm og krige.  
(Theogonien, 924–926)*

Det ser dessuten ut til at Hefaistos ved fødselen kan ha fungert som en slags «jordmor» i den forstand at han med sin øks hugget hull i hodeskallen til Zeus slik at Athene kunne komme ut. Som vi kan se i ikonografien, kommer Athene til verden ut av Zeus' hode iført full krigsutrustning (hjelm, skjold, spyd). Da en slik utrustning ellers var forbeholdt menn i antikken, underbygger dette forhold at Athene er den mest maskuline av de greske gudinner. Det sentrale for vårt vedkommende er dog at kvinnen her blir overflødig, siden Zeus tydeligvis ikke trenger en kvinne, men selv evner å føde. Det er også bemerkelsesverdig at det er Hefaistos og Athene som spiller hovedroller både i myten knyttet til sistnevntes fødsel og i Pandora-myten, siden Athene altså kun har en far, Zeus, og ingen mor, mens Hefaistos kun har en mor, Hera, og ingen far. Drømmen om kvinnens overflødigheit med hensyn til å føde neste generasjon, reflekteres også i den andre fødselen til Dionysos; for mens hans første fødsel (etter seks måneder) var ordinær i den forstand at han ble født av en kvinne og hadde både en far, Zeus, og en mor, Semele, blir Dionysos i sin andre fødsel (etter ytterligere tre måneder) født ut av kneet til Zeus (Graves 1960, 56; jf. Leitao 2012, 58ff). Forøvrig kan Dionysos tjene som et slags motstykke til Athene, siden han nok må betegnes som den mest feminine av de greske guder.

Drømmen om kvinnens overflødigheit finner vi også hos de greske tragediedikterne, særlig hos Euripides (jf. f.eks. duBois 1994, 143).<sup>2</sup> I tragedien *Hippolytos* oppstår det en strid

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men fikk først delta i folkeforsamlingen (*ekklesia*) da han ble 20 år og hadde gjennomført militærtjeneste. Fulle borgerrettigheter fikk han imidlertid først ved fylte 30 år, da han fikk delta i loddtrekingene av lovgivere, dommere og embedsmenn (Hansen 2005, 10). Athenernes status som jordfødte førte også med seg at det kun var athenske borgere som kunne eie athensk jord (des Bouvrie 1990, 38).

<sup>2</sup> Nå er det selvsagt et spørsmål hvorvidt de uttalelser som fremkommer om kvinner i Euripides' drama, faktisk kan tilskrives Euripides, altså at de representerer Euripides' oppfatning av det feminine kjønn og dets forhold til det maskuline. Dette er et spørsmål som ikke lar seg besvare, men min hensikt med å ta med disse passasjene fra Euripides, er bare for å vise til at det i antikkens greske kultur eksisterte oppfatninger som gikk ut på at det hadde vært best for menneskeheten om den kun bestod av menn og således var kvinnen foruten. Det er påfallende i begge de to dramaer som jeg siterer nedenfor, at uttalelsene om kvinnens overflødigheit ikke blir motsagt, men at de kun framkommer i sammenhenger hvor hovedpoenget med uttalelsen er et annet. Om dette tilsier at de

mellom Afrodite, gudinnen for kjærlighet, og Artemis, gudinnen for blant annet jakt. Hovedpersonen i dramaet, Hippolytos, var en sønn som den athenske helten Theseus hadde fått med amasonen Antiope / Hippolyta under hans og Herakles' kamp mot disse kvinnelige krigerne. Striden mellom Artemis og Afrodite skyldtes at Hippolytos kun drev med jakt og følgelig dyrket Artemis, mens han ikke brydde seg om sin kjønnslige kjærlighet knyttet til Afrodite. Slik må han sies å bryte med normen om at menn skulle videreføre slekten. Afrodite straffer ham derfor ved å la hans stemor, Faidra, altså Theseus' nye kone, bli stormende forelsket i ham. Et slikt incestuøst begjær var skammelig for Faidra, da det brøt med den kvinnelige kyskhetsnorm, og etter at Hippolytos avviser henne, velger hun derfor å begå selvmord ved henging. Hun etterlater seg et selvmordsbrev hvor hun påstår at det tvert imot forholdt seg slik at det var Hippolytos som begjærte henne og hadde voldtatt henne, og at det var dette som var grunnen til hengingen. Når Theseus finner brevet, tror han på henne, og straffer Hippolytos ved å sende ham i landflyktighet med hestespannet sitt. Dessuten overtaler Theseus sin antatte far, Poseidon, til å straffe Hippolytos ytterligere. Dette gjør Poseidon ved å sende en voldsom okse opp av havet, som skremmer hestene til Hippolytos og trekker ham med seg i døden. Det sentrale for oss er imidlertid at Hippolytos, idet han avviser Faidra, kommer med en uttalelse som klart gir uttrykk for et ønske om å kunne være kvinnen foruten:

*Zevs, hvorfor lot du under solens rene lys  
de falske kvinner feste bo til mén for menn?  
Du burde ikke, hvis du ønsket nye skudd  
på slektens stamme, latt det skje ved kvinners hjelp.  
Til dine templer kunne jo vi menn ha bragt  
vår offergave, gull og vektig kobber eller jern  
og fått til gjengjeld barn som svarte til sin pris,  
og uten kvinner bodd i fritt og fredet hjem.  
(Hippolytos, 616–623, mine uthevninger)*

I tragedien *Medeia* kommer drømmen om kvinnens overflødighet – om mulig – enda klarere til uttrykk. Etter å ha utført sitt «umulige oppdrag» med å hente det gylne skinnet i Kaukasus, kommer den greske helten Jason, sammen med resten av argonautene, hjem til Hellas. Hans nye kone, Medeia, som med sine magiske evner hadde gitt ham avgjørende hjelp for å kunne utføre oppdraget, kom snart til å sette spor i sitt nye hjemland. Noe av det første hun gjør, er å sørge for at kong Pelias, Jasons onkel, av sine egne døtre blir tatt av dage, slik at Jason kan overta som konge i Iolkos. Jason og Medeia forlater imidlertid Iolkos etter en tid og drar til Korint. Vel fremme i Korint velger Jason å sette Medeia til side og heller gifte seg med datteren til Kreon, kongen av Korint. Dette misliker Medeia sterkt og lurar alle ved å sende Jasons nye utkårede, Glauke, en gave. Gaven er en vakker drakt, men det viser seg at den er forgiftet slik at den etser bort og dreper Glaukes hud og kropp i det hun tar den på seg. Kong Kreon forsøker å redde henne fra døden, men får således også på seg giften og lider samme skjebne. For å gjøre livet enda verre for Jason, dreper Medeia deres felles barn, før hun forlater Korint til fordel for Athen i en vogn trukket av flyvende slanger, som hun hadde fått tilsendt av sin far, solguden Helios.

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representerer Euripides' faktiske oppfatning og en oppfatning som det ikke synes nødvendig å diskutere, er et spørsmål det er umulig å avgjøre. Euripides' heltinner, som for eksempel Alkestis, skulle dog kanskje indikere at han stod for et annet syn, og at han innså kvinnens mangfoldige og verdifulle evner og ressurser. Uansett, min intensjon ved å gjengi disse passasjene er å vise til at det faktisk fantes en drøm om kvinnens overflødighet i gresk kultur. Men også dette kan kompliseres gjennom det forhold – som Synnøve des Bouvrie har påvist – at det er en fiktiv og ofte kontrafaktisk virkelighet (et «bakvendtland») vi presenteres for i de greske tragedier (des Bouvrie 1990, 32; jf. 1994, 88f).

Dette første ekteskapsdrama i vestlig litteraturhistorie tematiserer tydelig kjønnsrollefordelingen mellom kvinner og menn, hvilket kommer til uttrykk i Medeias klagesang, hvor «vi» refererer til kvinner generelt:

*Det sies saktens at vi lever farefritt  
i våre hjem mens mannen står i kampens gny.  
Men det er tåpers tro. Jeg ville heller gå  
tre ganger ut i slag enn én gang føde barn.  
(Medeia, 248–251)*

Det som er sentralt for vårt vedkommende, er igjen at den mannlige protagonisten, Jason, kommer med en krass uttalelse om at kvinner burde ha vært overflødige, en uttalelse som kan stå som en oppsummering av hva jeg i denne delen av artikkelen har funnet:

*Med kvinnen er det nå så vidt at bare hun  
bevarer mann og ekteskap, er all ting vel,  
men skulle ekteskapet komme ille ut,  
da går hun krigersk straks til felts mot alt som godt  
og vakkert er. Det burde jo være slik at barn  
ble født på annet vis, og ikke kvinnekjønn  
var til. For da var mennesket spart for allslags ondt.  
(Medeia, 569–575, mine uthevning)*

### Likestillingsforslaget i *Staten*

I det som regnes som hans hovedverk, nemlig dialogen *Staten*, fremsetter Platon en teori om hvordan staten ideelt sett bør være oppbygd.<sup>3</sup> Staten oppstår fordi menneskene, på grunn av sine mangfoldige behov, trenger hverandre (*Staten*, 369b–c). For å dekke de ulike behovene innenfor en gruppe av mennesker, lønner det seg med en arbeidsdeling og spesialisering innenfor fellesskapet, slik at noen tar seg av styringen av staten, andre står for forsvaret av den, mens atter andre sørger for produksjonen av for eksempel mat og klær. Den ideelle stat skal i tråd med dette bestå av tre klasser: *styrere (phylakes)*, *forsvarere (epikouroi)* og *produsenter (demos / polloi)*. Med indirekte referanse til Hesiod, hevder Platon derfor metaforisk at det henholdsvis finnes noen mennesker av gull, andre av sølv, og atter andre av jern og kobber:

[Sokrates:] Alle dere borgere i staten er brødre, sier vi historiefortellere, men guden blandet gull i da han skapte dem av dere som er egnet til å styre – derfor er de mest verd. Da han skapte hjelperne, blandet han i sølv; da han skapte jorddykere og andre arbeidere, jern og kobber.  
(*Staten*, 415a)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Jeg velger her å følge den utbredte oppfatningen om at Sokrates utgjør Platons talerør i *Staten*, og jeg vil i tråd med dette omtale det kvinnesynet i *Staten* som Sokrates målbærer, som «Platons kvinnesyn i *Staten*». Når jeg nedenfor omtaler kvinnesynet i *Timaios*, blir dette noe mer problematisk, da denne dialogen i det store og hele har preg av å være en monolog, bortsett fra den korte innledende samtalen. Og det problematiske er ikke minst at monologen legges i munnen på Timaios, og ikke Sokrates (som kun opptrer i den innledende samtalen). Det er likevel slik at det kvinnesynet som fremkommer i Timaios' monolog, normalt presenteres som Platons kvinnesyn (jf. f.eks. Annas 1976, 316; Sampson 1999, 26), og jeg vil i tråd med dette benevne det «Platons kvinnesyn i *Timaios*».

<sup>4</sup> Se også 546e–547a.

Det kan diskuteres i hvor stor grad Platon mener at de ulike posisjonene i staten går i arv, slik at for eksempel en mann og en kvinne som begge hører til sølvslekten, også vil få avkom som skal tilhøre denne slekten (*Staten*, 415a–c). Men uansett om Platon antakeligvis mener at posisjonene til en viss grad går i arv, ser han det som nødvendig å operere med et utdannelses-system for å sile ut personer til de ulike klassene.

Avgjørende i denne sammenheng er Platons syn på sjelen som tredelt, bestående av fornuft (*to logistikon / to philosophon*), temperament (*to thymoeides / to philonikon*) og begjær (*to epithymetikon*) (*Staten*, 436a–b, 439d, 441a, 580d). Siden Platon betrakter sjelen som et organisk hele, er det, til tross for at hver sjelsdel har sin bestemte oppgave, avgjørende at delene må være tilpasset hverandre slik at de virker sammen på en harmonisk måte. Når en del fungerer slik den skal, fungerer på sitt beste, har den dyd (*arete*). Av dydene knytter Platon visdom (*sophia*) til fornuften, mot (*andreia*) til temperamentet, og måtehold (*sophrosyne*) til begjæret (*Staten*, 427e). Selv om enhver menneskelig sjel er enhetlig og har alle de tre delene i seg, er det slik at hos noen mennesker er fornuften dominerende, hos andre temperamentet, og hos atter andre begjæret. Det er dette som ligger til grunn for en tredeling av staten i styrere, forsvarere og produsenter. De to første klassene skal særlig utvikle den dyden som hører til sin klasse, det vil si at styrerne skal utvikle *visdom* mens forsvarerne skal utvikle *mot*. Med *måtehold* menes en type selvbeherskelse, men i motsetning til visdommen og motet, synes ikke måteholdet å være knyttet til en spesiell klasse i staten. Den representerer derimot en form for samklang og harmoni mellom de tre klassene (*Staten*, 431e–432b). Måteholdet innebærer nemlig primært at man behersker seg og aksepterer at det er de med best innsikt som skal styre. Rettferdighet (*dikaioisyne*) sikter mot at enhver skal spesialisere seg og gjøre det som han eller hun best er egnet til (*Staten*, 433a).<sup>5</sup> Platons tanke på dette punktet synes å være at dersom enhver spesialiserer seg innenfor et bestemt yrke og kun utfører dette, vil resultatet bli rettferdighet og harmoni mellom de tre samfunnsklassene; urettferdighet og disharmoni oppstår ved at man i staten gjensidig bytter på å utføre forskjellige yrker, og slik bidrar til å viske ut skillene mellom de tre klassene. En rettferdig organisering av staten, som altså innebærer arbeidsdeling og spesialisering, vil medføre at staten som helhet oppnår lykke (*eudaimonia*) (*Staten*, 420b–c, 519e–520a).

Platon mener at utdanning er nøkkelen til å finne fram til hvilke mennesker som skal tilhøre de ulike klassene, og han skisserer derfor et omfattende utdannelsessystem hvor de ulike klassene siles ut etter hvert. Alle mennesker, både kvinner (jenter) og menn (gutter), skal ved fylte 10 år påbegynne utdanning. Fra de er 10 til de blir 20 år skal de studere fagene gymnastikk (*gymnastike*) og musikk (*mousike*) (*Staten*, 376e, 403c, 521e). Når de blir 20 år testes de, og de beste skal fortsette utdannelsesløpet sitt, mens de svakeste faller fra. De som faller fra ved denne første utsilingen blir produsenter, mens de som fortsetter utdanningen skal studere matematikk (aritmetikk, geometri og astronomi) fram til de blir 30 år (*Staten*, 522e, 526c, 527d). Når de blir 30 år testes studentene igjen, og de som faller fra ved denne utsilingen blir forsvarere. De beste skal også her fortsette utdannelsesløpet, og fram til de blir 35 år skal de studere filosofi (dialektikk) (*Staten*, 531e, 539e) og slik oppnå innsikt i det godes idé, for deretter å ha 15 år med praktisk erfaring i staten (*Staten*, 539e–540a). Det er således filosofene, de som er kommet ut av hulen, som ved fylte 50 år skal ned igjen i hulen og styre staten, for som Platon sier i følgende meget berømte passasje:

[Sokrates:] Hvis ikke filosofene blir konger i staten eller de som nå kalles konger og herrer blir virkelige filosofer, hvis ikke politisk makt og filosofi blir ett og det samme og alle de mange som forfølger det ene mål uten å tenke på det andre, blir strengt avvist, så er det ikke noen ende på elendig-

<sup>5</sup> Se også *Lovene*, 846e–847b.

heten, kjære Glaukon, hverken for staten eller, skulle jeg tro, for den menneskelige slekt. (*Staten*, 473d)<sup>6</sup>

Platon påstår altså at alle skal ha de samme sjansene i staten. Riktignok finnes det visse biologiske forskjeller mellom kvinner og menn, *par excellence* kvinners evne til å bære fram barn og menns evne til å unnfange dem (*Staten*, 454d–e), men slike biologiske forskjeller, som tilhører *legemet*, er irrelevante i forhold til hvilken funksjon kvinner og menn skal kunne inneha i staten (Nerheim 1991, 16). Det er derimot *sjelen* som teller, og Platon blir slik en forsvarer for *likestilling* mellom kjønnene:

[Sokrates:] [I]ngen offentlig virksomhet [tilkommer] kvinnen fordi hun er kvinne, eller mannen fordi han er mann. Anleggene fordeler seg på begge kjønn, og for kvinnen er etter hennes natur alle slags beskjeftigelser tilgjengelige, akkurat som for mannen. (*Staten*, 455d–e)<sup>7</sup>

Forskjellene i sjelen følger ikke kjønnsforskjellene, og en kvinne kan derfor like gjerne som en mann være dominert av en tenkende sjelsdel. Det eneste stedet hvor de biologiske forskjellene mellom kjønnene ser ut til å kunne spille en rolle, er i forsvarerklassen, hvor både menn og kvinner skal gå i krig sammen, men hvor menn, da de generelt er noe fysisk sterkere enn kvinner, ser ut til å skulle bære tyngre våpen (*Staten*, 457a–b; jf. Farrell Smith 1994, 28f). Samtidig er det slik at selv om menn generelt sett er sterkere enn kvinner, er det ikke slik at alle menn er sterkere enn alle kvinner. Av dette følger det antakeligvis at det ofte vil være noen flere menn enn kvinner i forsvarerklassen, men det følger ikke at det ikke vil befinne seg kvinner i denne klassen (Vlastos 1994, 20f). Ut over dette skal det være full likestilling mellom kjønnene, liksom det er mellom hannene og tispene blant vakthunder (*Staten*, 451d–e). Dette er også grunnen til at både gutter og jenter skal påbegynne utdanning: «[Sokrates:] Hvis vi altså vil anvende kvinnene til de samme oppgavene som mennene, må vi også lære dem de samme ting» (*Staten*, 451e).<sup>8</sup>

Nå skal det riktignok bemerkes at Platon nok først og fremst har ressursutnyttelse i tankene når han likestiller kvinner med menn, for dersom man ikke lar kvinnene få en funksjon i *polis* som svarer til deres natur, men derimot lar dem bli værende i *oikos*, forblir halvdelen av statens ressurser uutnyttet. Platon har altså ikke blick for individuelle rettigheter uavhengig av kjønn, og heller ikke for individuell lykke; det avgjørende er – nærmest i utilitaristisk forstand – ressursutnyttelse og en lykkelig stat, ikke lykkelige individer utstyrte med ukrenkelige rettigheter (Annas 1976, 315f og 1981, 176ff). Dessuten kan det bemerkes at Platon på sentrale felt bryter med sine tanker om likestilling i alderdomsverket *Lovene*. Riktignok gjentar «Atheneren» i denne dialogen at kvinner i «den nest beste stat» (*Lovene*, 739a–b),<sup>9</sup> på like fot med menn, skal få utdanning: «[I] utdanning og på mange andre områder må

<sup>6</sup> Se også 499b–c, 501e.

<sup>7</sup> Se også 460b, 466c–d, 540c.

<sup>8</sup> Platons syn bryter fundamentalt med den faktiske utdannelsen i antikkens Hellas, fortrinnsvis i Athen, siden opplæringen på *gymnasion* trolig var forbeholdt et fåtall gutter, nemlig de av athenske foreldre. Fra de var 7 til de ble 11 år fikk de opplæring i *idrett*, samt en elementær innføring i *musikk*, *lesing*, *skrivning* og *regning*, før de deretter (11–14 år) gjennomførte et *litteraturstudium*, særlig av Homer og andre lyrikere. Etter dette stod *militær trening* i fokus, samtidig som noen studenter fikk undervisning i *retorikk*, særlig av sofistene eller ved Sokrates' retorikkskole. Dessuten fikk noen studenter undervisning i *filosofi*, *aritmetikk*, *geometri*, *astronomi* og *musikk*, for eksempel ved Platons Akademi, Aristoteles' Lykeion eller (senere) av epikureerne og stoikerne. Jenter fikk derimot ikke – i det minste ikke før tidligst i hellenistisk tid – ta del i denne undervisningen, og fikk i beste fall en elementær opplæring i skrivning og regning i hjemmet i privat regi (jf. f.eks. Dewald 1987, 1081ff). I Sparta ser kvinner dog ut til å ha fått noe mer tilgang til utdanning, særlig innen idrett (f.eks. Fantham 1994, 59).

<sup>9</sup> Se for øvrig også *Statsmannen*, 297e.



kvinnene våre mest mulig få delta på like fot som menn» (*Lovene*, 805c–d).<sup>10</sup> Men grunnen til dette, særlig den militære treningen, ser fortrinnsvis ut til å være at de skal bli i stand til å kontrollere seg selv og til å beskytte seg og barna i *oikos*, ikke for å kunne innta en ledende stilling i *polis* sammen med menn. Kvinners natur kan nemlig – som Platon selv skriver – på ingen måte «måle seg med mennenes» (*Lovene*, 781b).<sup>11</sup> Det at kvinnene skal gjennomgå militær trening ser riktignok også ut til å kunne ha en betydning for forsvaret av *polis*, men da kun i perioder hvor det ordinære forsvaret, bestående av menn, er opptatt med krigføring på fremmed territorium (*Lovene*, 813e–814c).

### Platon og feminisme

Et sentralt aspekt ved Platons idealstat er at han, for å sikre stabilitet i staten og unngå egoisme og nepotisme, framsetter tesen om avskaffelse av privateiendom og familieliv for de to øverste klassene (*Staten*, 416d–417b, 457d, 464b–c, 543b). Det betyr ikke at kvinner i de øverste klassene ikke skal få barn, men det betyr at med en gang de føder barn, skal disse fratas moren og gis en oppdragelse i offentlig regi. Barna skal ikke vite hvem som er deres foreldre, men skal kalle alle menn i de to øverste klassene, som er i en passende alder, for «far» og tilsvarende kvinner for «mor» (*Staten*, 461d–e).<sup>12</sup> Denne avskaffelsen av familieliv kan betraktes som at den gir uttrykk for en radikal feminisme. For med denne avskaffelsen fratas kvinnen tradisjonelle kvinnelige oppgaver og kan fritt konsentrere seg om styret av *polis*, ikke bare om *oikos*.

Dette standpunktet har dog møtt en god del kritikk, hvorav den antakeligvis mest kjente stammer fra Julia Annas. Annas viser nemlig til at det ikke er tale om en likestilling for kvinnen *qua* kvinne, men at det heller er tale om at kvinner skal likestilles med menn i den grad at de blir mest mulig lik menn. Kvinner fratas sine tradisjonelle oppgaver når det gjelder ivaretagelsen av *oikos* og oppfostringen av barn, og som samtalepartner Glaukon bemerker, gjør Sokrates (Platon) det dermed «svært enkelt» for vokterkvinner å få barn (*Staten*, 460d). Kvinnen ser altså ut til å ha verdi for staten i kraft av sine likhetstrekk med menn, ikke i kraft av særegne erfaringer og verdifulle evner hun har som kvinne. Og, som allerede nevnt, er bedre ressursutnyttelse i staten, ikke individuelle, kjønnsuavhengige rettigheter, begrunnelsen for likestillingen:

Plato's interest is neither in women's rights nor in their preferences as they see them, but rather with production of the common good, and a state where all contribute the best they can according to their aptitude. This, he thinks, will best fulfill women's natures – but not their natures as *they* perceive them. (Annas 1981, 181)<sup>13</sup>

Det er med andre ord ikke tale om en frigjøring av kvinnen således at hun blir i stand til å leve et liv slik hun selv måtte ønske, men det er heller tale om at Platon søker å gjøre henne mest mulig lik en mann: «Plato's whole argument depends on the claim that the nature of women does not demand that women have different occupations from men» (Annas 1981, 182).

Som en kontrast til Annas, hevder Gregory Vlastos i artikkelen *Was Plato a Feminist?* at Platon må regnes som feminist. Vlastos framsetter nemlig en liste med en rekke «liberale» rettigheter som tilkommer både kvinner og menn, og som han mener Platon opererer med. Denne listen inkluderer rett til utdanning, lik mulighet for å oppnå de ulike yrkene, rett til sosial interaksjon, lik juridisk status, rett til valg av seksuell legning, rett til å eie og disponere

<sup>10</sup> Se også 794c–d, 829e, 835d.

<sup>11</sup> Se også *Menon*, 71e–73a, samt Annas 1976, 317.

<sup>12</sup> Se også 459e–460a, samt *Lovene*, 879c; jf. Canto 1994, 53f.

<sup>13</sup> Se videre Annas 1976, 311ff; Saxonhouse 1994, 72 og 75; Svenneby, 1999, 23.

eiendom (felleseiendom) og endelig rett til politisk deltakelse (Vlastos 1994, 12ff; Tuana 1994, 4). Alle disse rettighetene bryter ifølge Vlastos med den faktiske situasjonen for kvinner i Athen på Platons tid. Av denne grunn hevder han at Platon var feminist, i det minste hva angår de to øverste klassene, styrene og forsvarerne, i staten. På den annen side framstår likevel ikke Platon som feminist, siden han ikke tildeler produsentene, og dermed heller ikke produsentkvinnene, disse rettighetene, kanskje rent bortsett fra retten til utdanning, som jo også tilkommer kvinner, selv om disse etter «*paideia*-utdannelsen» (10–20 år) viser seg å skulle tilhøre produsentklassen:

[I]f we are looking for feminism in Plato there is only one place where we do not need to invent it: in the legislation for the guardians in the *Republic*. Among all of Plato's writings and among all the writings that have survived from the classical age of Greece, that work alone projects a vision of society in whose dominant segment the equal rights of human beings are not denied or abridged on account of sex. (Vlastos 1994, 22) <sup>14</sup>

Legg merke til at Vlastos her reserverer seg fra å kalle Platon feminist i generell forstand, også innenfor rammen av verket *Staten*. For de rettighetene som Vlastos lister opp i sin artikkel, er ikke universelle, og slik jeg leser Vlastos, konkluderer han altså med at Platon både var feminist hva angår styrerne og forsvarerne, og anti-feminist hva angår produsentklassen.

Jeg er ikke enig med Vlastos i at Platon var feminist, selv hva angår styrerne og forsvarerne. Dersom man med «feminist» mener en person som hevder at man må tildele alle mennesker, både kvinner og menn, de samme rettigheter uavhengig av deres ulike evner og ressurser, er Platon, etter min mening, ikke å forstå som feminist.<sup>15</sup> Jeg er riktignok enig med Vlastos i at Platon eksempelvis opererer med en lik tilgang til utdanning for kvinner og menn, men Vlastos overser imidlertid Annas' poeng med at den platoniske likestillingen i realiteten innebærer et forsøk på å viske ut forskjellene mellom kjønnene. I denne sammenheng opererer Elisabeth Spelman i sin artikkel *Hairy Cobblers and Philosopher-Queens* med en klargjørende rangering av fire kategorier av mennesker hos Platon, basert på skillet mellom sjel og legeme:

<sup>14</sup> Se også Vlastos 1994, 12; Annas 1981, 183; Nafstad 1996, 71f; Songe-Møller 1999, 171ff; Spelman 1994, 104f.

<sup>15</sup> Denne definisjonen av en «feminist» er den form for definisjon som Vlastos legger til grunn i sin artikkel (Vlastos 1994, 11f). Nå er det selvsagt mulig å differensiere mellom ulike former for «feminisme» i moderne forstand. For eksempel finner man et hovedskille mellom det som kalles «likhetsfeminister» og «forskjellsfeminister» (jf. Skirbekk 2007, 459ff). Likhetsfeministene mener at alle mennesker, kvinner så vel som menn, grunnleggende sett er født like. Derfor må de anerkjenne denne likhet og følgelig likestilles gjennom å bli tildelt de samme rettighetene. For eksempel vil Simone de Beauvoir være en talsperson for en slik feminisme, da hun gjennom sin kjente uttalelse fra *Det annet kjønn* om at «[m]an [...] ikke [fødes] som kvinne, man blir det» (de Beauvoir 2000, 329), gir uttrykk for at kjønnsroller er en sosial, ikke en biologisk, konstruksjon. Forskjellsfeministene, for eksempel Luce Irigaray, mener derimot at kvinner og menn er født grunnleggende ulike i biologisk forstand. De skal likevel likestilles gjennom en anerkjennelse av hverandres annerledeshet og følgelig gjennom rettigheter som ikke favoriserer noen av kjønnene med hensyn til deres medfødte ulikheter. Det er ikke en helt enkel oppgave å vurdere Platons status som «feminist» ut fra slike moderne kategorier. På det sjelelige plan synes jo menn og kvinner å være født like, i den forstand at for eksempel en sjel med fornuften som den dominerende delen, like gjerne kan ta sin bolig i et feminint som i et maskulint legeme. Dette er jo nettopp hovedargumentet til Platon for en likestilling mellom kvinner og menn. Men på det legemlige plan er kvinner og menn født ulike, noe også Platon prøver å kompensere for gjennom opphevelsen av privateiendom og særlig familieliv for de to øverste klassene, men ikke for den tredje klassen, i staten. Mitt hovedpoeng er uansett at Platon, ut fra en slik definisjon av en «feminist» som Vlastos legger til grunn, ikke kan betraktes som feminist, selv ikke hva angår styrerne og forsvarerne, da Vlastos overser at likestillingsforlaget i realiteten innebærer en utvisking av forskjellen mellom kjønnene.

- |                               |                                       |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. manly soul / male body     | brave soldier; male philosopher-ruler |
| 2. manly soul / female body   | female philosopher-ruler              |
| 3. womanly soul / male body   | cowardly male soldier                 |
| 4. womanly soul / female body | typical Athenian woman                |
- (Spelman 1994, 101)

Spelman demonstrerer her at kvinner som innehar de høyere embeter i staten, karakteriseres av å ha oppgitt sin femininitet – i den grad de faktisk noen gang har vært i besittelse av en slik – på det sjelelige plan (kategori 2). Hva disse kvinnene angår, må Platon dermed egentlig sies å ville oppheve deres kvinnelighet, heller enn at han søker en reell likestilling mellom kjønnene; kvinner likestilles med menn i den grad de oppgir sine spesifikke feminine kvaliteter og blir mest mulig lik menn. Nettopp dette er grunnen til at jeg mener at kvinnesynet i *Staten* kan leses som et uttrykk for drømmen om kvinnens overflødigheit.<sup>16</sup>

### **Kvinnesyntet i *Timaios***

Dialogen *Timaios* begynner med en kortfattet oppsummering av samtalen som ble ført dagen før, det vil si samtalen i *Staten* (*Timaios*, 17a–19b). I denne oppsummeringen refererer Platon til likestillingen av kvinner og menn: «[Sokrates:] [V]i tenkte [...] over det som har med kvinner å gjøre, hvordan de i sin natur skulle gjøres mest mulig lik menn, hvordan de alle skulle tildeles felles oppgaver, både i krig og i hverdagslivet for øvrig» (*Timaios*, 18c). Som vi ser, sier Platon seg her – pussig nok – eksplisitt enig med Annas i at han i *Staten* søker å gjøre kvinnen mest mulig lik en mann.

Hovedanliggende i *Timaios* er imidlertid å gi en forklaring på, «en sannsynlig beretning» om, hvordan den sanselige verden oppstod og utviklet seg fram mot menneskehetens tilblivelse (*Timaios*, 29d). Platon betrakter universet, naturen og menneskeheten som skapt rundt den verdenssjel som den såkalte «demiurgen» (*demiourgos*) opprinnelig skapte, og er tydelig inspirert av pytagoreerne i vektleggingen av matematisk orden og harmoni. Det som er sentralt for oss, er at Platon, som et ledd i denne tilblivelsesmyten, framstiller hvordan menneskeheten oppstod. I denne forbindelse framhever han et syn på kvinner som man – i det minste tilsynelatende – kan hevde at står i skarp kontrast til likestillingsforslaget i *Staten*:

[*Timaios*:] Den menneskelige natur er tofoldig, og den sterkeste klassen var den som etter dette ble kalt «mann». [...] Den som så har levd sin tilmålte tid vel, skal igjen reise tilbake til sitt hjem i sin opprinnelige stjerne – der får han et lykkelig og tilvart liv. *Lykkes han ikke i dette, forandres han i sin andre fødsel og får en kvinnes natur*. Og slutter han ikke under disse omstendigheter med sin ondskap, forandrer han seg i det uendelige til en dyrisk natur, gjennom en type gjenfødsel som er slik at den etterligner hans dårlige handlinger. (*Timaios*, 42a–c, min uthevning)

Ifølge denne tilblivelsesmyten bestod første generasjon av menneskeheten kun av menn. For å være i stand til å føre slekten videre, var disse mennene utstyrte med evnen til å formere seg i jorden. I andre generasjon oppstod kvinnen ved siden av mannen, og i sin framstilling av dette, trekker Platon inn sitt syn på mennesket som reinkarnert. For de som fødes som menn i andre generasjon, er gjenfødsler av menn i første generasjon som levde gode moralske liv.

<sup>16</sup> Nå innebærer riktignok Spelmans klassifisering også en hierarkisk forskjell mellom menn og kvinner i vokterklassen (kategori 1 og 2). Dette kan det, som vi allerede har sett, finnes tekstmessig grunnlag for både i *Lovene* (781b) og i *Staten* (455e–457b), i det minste hva angår forsvarerklassen. En inngående diskusjon av dette faller dog utenfor rammene av denne artikkelen (se isteden Annas 1976, 309).

Kvinner i andre generasjon er derimot gjenfødelser av menn som i første generasjon levde umoralske og utagerende liv. I tredje generasjon oppstod også dyr, som beskrives som gjenfødelser av kvinner som levde utsvevende liv i andre generasjon. Det ser dessuten ut til at andregenerasjonskvinner kan håpe på å bli belønnet med å bli gjenfødt som menn i tredje generasjon, dersom de lever et særs godt og dydig liv (*Timaios*, 42c–d).

Sampson peker i denne sammenheng på kvinnens mellomposisjon mellom menn og dyr i *Timaios* (Sampson 1999, 26).<sup>17</sup> Likheten til det som siden ble Aristoteles' syn på kvinner, er derfor slående. For i lys av sin definisjon av menneske som et *zoon logon ekhon*, det vil si et vesen utstyrt med språk og fornuft (*logos*), vurderer Aristoteles i *Politikken* spørsmålet om kvinnen har fornuft eller ikke. Han finner at kvinnen har fornuft, men denne fornuften er vesentlig begrenset i forhold til mannens fornuft, siden hun helt mangler autoritet (*akyros*) til å foreta vurderinger og fatte beslutninger. Kvinnen må derfor sies å innta en mellomposisjon mellom menn, med sin velutviklede fornuft, og dyr, som helt mangler fornuft. For som Aristoteles eksplisitt sier i *Politikken*: «Slaven mangler fullstendig evnen til rasjonelle overveielser, kvinnen har den, men har ikke autoritet» (Aristoteles, *Politikken* 1260a).<sup>18</sup> Anakronistisk kan man således hevde at Platon i *Timaios* framsetter et aristotelisk syn på kvinner, et syn som på overflaten står i sterk kontrast til kvinnesynet i *Staten*.

Kvinnesyntet i *Timaios* må, etter min mening, sies å ha en tydelig likhet med myten om Pandora, i og med at kvinnen både av Platon og Hesiod framstilles som en straff (duBois, 142f; jf. *Lovene*, 872e, 944d–e). Samtidig finnes det en avgjørende likhet til myten om Erikhthonios, ettersom menn (i første generasjon) ikke beskrives som gjenfødelser, men som opprinnelige og jordfødte.<sup>19</sup> Kvinner er derimot ikke opprinnelige, men beskrives tvert imot som bleke kopier av tidligere umoralske menn. I det hele tatt må derfor kvinnesynet i *Timaios* sies å være inspirert av Hesiod og hans forestilling om kvinnens overflødighet.

### **Kvinnens overflødighet**

Sampson forsøker å forene påstandene om kvinner i *Staten* og *Timaios* ved å ta opp den forplantningsteorien som Platon lanserer i sistnevnte dialog. Platon trekker nemlig inn idé-læren sin, altså læren om at det er et fundamentalt skille mellom to ontologiske nivåer; de foranderlige og ufullkomne *sansbare tingene* bestemmes som kopier av de evige og fullkomne *ideene*. I *Timaios* hevder Platon at dette forholdet mellom ideer og sansbare ting kan sammenliknes med et far-barn-forhold. Teorien går ut på at det er far som «føder» barn, og ideene sammenliknes med far som føder sansbare «ting», det vil si avkom, inn i den sansbare verden. Den tredje faktoren i bildet i tillegg til far og barn, nemlig mor, sammenliknes med det stedet hvor de sansbare ting fødes inn:

<sup>17</sup> Sampson drøfter også om det kan være mulig å tolke myten annerledes, slik at kvinnen kommer enda dårligere ut. På slutten av dialogen kan det nemlig se ut til at Platon kun taler om to generasjoner av menneskeheten (*Timaios*, 90e–92c). Den første generasjonen svarer til beskrivelsen ovenfor, altså en generasjon utelukkende bestående av menn. Men i andre generasjon taler Platon om at den, ved siden av mennene, består av fire ulike slekter, hvorav kvinnene utgjør én av disse. Kvinnene beskrives som gjenfødelser av menn som levde feige liv og utførte onde og dårlige handlinger: «[Timaios:] Visse menn gikk gjennom livet som feige og uten rettferdighet, og ble i sin annen fødsel gjenfødt som kvinner» (*Timaios*, 90e). Fugler, som utgjør en av de andre slektene, er gjenfødelser av harmløse, men lettsindige, menn fra første generasjon, kjennetegnet av å ha hatt tillitt til det som de lærte gjennom synssansen. Som Sampson påpeker, ser det dermed ut til at kvinnen sågar plasseres under fugler, siden kvinner «tydeligvis [er] gjenfødelser av mye slemmere og verre sjeler enn hva fuglene er» (Sampson 1999, 27). Også de andre slektene Platon taler om, nemlig dyrene på jorden, som er gjenfødelser av menn som lot seg styre av følelsene, og dyrene i havet, som er gjenfødelser av tankeløse og dumme menn, ser ut til å være gjenfødelser av bedre menn enn det kvinnene er. En inngående diskusjon av dette i og for seg interessante poenget faller dog utenfor mitt hovedanliggende i denne artikkelen.

<sup>18</sup> Se også 1259a–b.

<sup>19</sup> Se for øvrig også *Statsmannen*, 271a–274e.

[Timaios:] [V]i må [...] tenke igjennom tre klasser, nemlig det som blir til, det dette blir til i, og hvorfra det tilblivne vokser frem som avbilde. Det kunne være passende å sammenligne det mottagende med moren, hvorfra det kommer, med faren og den natur som er mellom dem, med avkommet.  
(*Timaios*, 50c–d)

Kvinnens livmor blir slik nærmest betraktet som en «blomsterpote», for å benytte Hjørdis Nerheims betegnelse, altså som et sted hvor fars avkom plantes og hvor de kan ta til seg næring og vokse (Nerheim 1991, 21). For å underbygge at dette var et utbredt syn på forplantning i antikken, refererer Sampson til Aiskylos' drama *Eumenidene*, hvor Apollon uttaler at en mor ikke er opphav og forelder til et barn, men at hun bare er amme for den nyplantede sæden som vokser: «[Apollon:] Til det som kalles hennes barn, er ei en mor det rette opphav, bare jordbunn for et frø. Nei, mannen avler. Kvinnen verner kun som venn det spedet liv, hvis en gud gir vekst» (*Eumenidene*, 658ff). Sampson konkluderer derfor med at grekerne betraktet moren «som en passiv, om enn nødvendig, forutsetning for farens barnefødsler» (Sampson 1999, 30).

Forklaringen på at de sansbare ting, avkommene, ikke er like fullkomne som ideene, fedrene, må for Platon ligge hos den mottagende parten, moren (*khora*). Moren er dermed både en nødvendig forutsetning for at ideene skal kopieres til sansbare ting, samtidig som det er hun som forklarer hvorfor de sansbare tingene ikke er like perfekte og fullkomne som originalene. Et problem med denne teorien er at moren ikke egentlig kan være noe, siden det kun kan eksistere ideer og deres ufullkomne kopier, de sansbare tingene. Samtidig er hun nødvendig for de sansbare tingenes eksistens, da det er hun som påfører dem deres fremste kjennetegn, ufullkommenheten. Dette gjør henne, slik Platon selv bemerker, «svært vanskelig å begripe» (*Timaios*, 51a–b).

I sin innsiktsrike diskusjon av dette, kommer Sampson et sted svært nær det som er min tese i denne artikkelen, nemlig at de to kvinnesynene representerer to uttrykk for den samme grunntanken om kvinnens overflødigheit. Sampson refererer nemlig til at det for Platon, i kraft av idélæren hans, egentlig bare kan finnes en type identitet og en type ekte og original væren og virkelighet, nemlig idéverden; i et slikt system blir derfor enhver forskjell og annerledeshet, som den mellom menn og kvinner i forhold til ideen «menneske», vanskelig å forklare. Ifølge Sampson benytter Platon seg i *Staten* og *Timaios* av to ulike strategier for å omgås dette problemet:

[E]n mulig løsning [er] å tenke kvinnen bort ved å gjøre henne tilnærmet lik en mann, slik Platon gjør i *Staten*. [...] En annen løsning er å skille kvinnene kraftigere fra mennene og nærmest la dem bli tenkt som en annen rase eller slekt enn mennene. Dette er det Platon gjør i *Timaios*. [...] De to ulike framstillingene av kvinner i *Staten* og *Timaios* kan altså betraktes som to ulike løsninger på ett og samme problem.  
(Sampson 1999, 32f.)

Alt dette er jeg helt enig i, men mitt poeng er at Platon, både i *Timaios* og i *Staten*, med dette gir uttrykk for sin støtte til drømmen om kvinnens overflødigheit, slik vi har sett denne uttalt hos både Apollodoros, Hesiod og Euripides. Sampson forsøker derimot å forene de to kvinnesynene ved hjelp av den nevnte forplantningsteorien hos Platon: Kvinnen er, tilsvarende som *khora*, på den ene side en nødvendig forutsetning for barnas (de sansbare tingenes) eksistens, og inkorporeres slik i staten på lik linje med menn. På den annen side kan hun ikke eksistere, da det kun kan eksistere ideer (far) og deres ufullkomne kopier (barn), noe som forklarer beskrivelsen av første generasjon av menneskeheten i *Timaios*. En slik



forklaring har etter mitt syn mye for seg, men jeg kan vanskelig se at ikke drømmen om kvinnens overflødighet ligger til grunn for den, da det antakeligvis for Platon må være å beklage at avkommene, de sansbare tingene, ikke er like perfekte som opphavet, faren eller ideen.

At det finnes refleksjoner hos Platon angående kvinnens overflødighet, kommer ikke minst til uttrykk i begynnelsen av Sokrates' gravtale til falne athenere i *Menexenos*, som han hevder skal ha vært komponert av en kvinne, Aspasia (*Menexenos*, 236a–c). Sokrates taler nemlig her om at ville dyr og andre skapninger fødes opp av jorden andre steder i Hellas, men at den athenske jorden er spesielt næringsrik og derfor også evner å føde opp mennesker:

[Sokrates:] Deres [Athenernes] edle herkomst beror for det første på at deres forfedre ikke hadde sitt opphav i fremmed land. Og fordi forfedrene ikke kom vandrende inn annetsteds fra, ga de ikke disse sine etterkommere status som innflyttere i landet. Nei, de tilhører jorden her, de bor og lever virkelig i et fedreland. *De oppfostres ikke, som andre, av en stemor, men av sin mor, landet de bebor.* Som falne skal de nå hvile i hjemlig jord hos henne som fødte og fostret og favnet om sine. Det er altså bare rett og riktig at vi begynner med å forherlige denne mor. For dermed forherliger vi samtidig disse menns edle herkomst.

(*Menexenos*, 237b–c, min utheving) <sup>20</sup>

Menneskers egentlige mor er jorden (*Gaia*), mens den biologiske moren reduseres til kun å være deres «stemor». Kvinnen framstår slik som et nødvendig onde for Platon, ettersom hun – i det minste på andre steder enn i Athen – utgjør en nødvendig forutsetning for at reproduksjon skal finne sted, samtidig som Platon tydeligvis gjerne skulle ha sett at vi kunne være henne foruten.<sup>21</sup> Platons generelle poeng synes å være at vårt begjær viser oss at vi ikke er selvtilstrekkelige, men at vi er avhengige av andre for å kunne produsere oss. Dette gjelder dog bare på det legemlige plan, ikke på det intellektuelle plan, siden vi i *Symposion* blir instruert i hvordan vi intellektuelt kan føde uavhengig av andre, selv om vi dog gjerne – som vi kjenner fra *Theaitetos* – trenger Sokrates som jordmor (*Theaitetos*, 149a–151d). Viktig for Platon synes å være at den intellektuelle fødsel vurderes klart høyere enn den legemlige. Filosofi er nemlig den høyeste form for forplantning og reproduksjon, og denne har en homofil, ikke en heterofil, relasjon som modell. Og som prestinnen Diotima faktisk sier i *Symposion*, går veien til sann visdom gjennom «den rette form for guttekjærlighet» (*Symposion*, 211b). Dessuten er det naturlig å legge til at de asymmetriske homoerotiske forhold som rent faktisk eksisterte mellom *erastes* (20–30 år) og *eromenos* (16–18 år), med sitt forbilde i forholdet mellom Zeus og Ganymedes, statusmessig ble rangert over de «symmetriske» ekteskapsforhold mellom menn og kvinner i antikkens Hellas (jf. f.eks. Dover 1978).

Platon drømmer om å gjøre kvinnen overflødig både i *Timaios* og i *Staten*; i *Timaios* fremmer han denne drømmen gjennom en mytologisk fortelling, mens han i *Staten* gir en fornuftsbasert forklaring med hensyn til ressursutnyttelse. Hans kvinnesyn befinner seg slik i et spenningsforhold mellom *mythos* og *logos*. Ifølge Wilhelm Nestles berømte tese innebar overgangen fra «mythos» til «logos» en overgang fra en tradisjon hvor «primitive» mytologiske og religiøse fortellinger gav menneskene svar på deres grunnleggende spørsmål om

<sup>20</sup> Jf. Ekenvall 1966, 36.

<sup>21</sup> Også i *Timaios* henviser Platon til den athenske jordens velegnethet for å produsere mennesker, det vil si menn, i forbindelse med en omtale av ulike former for lovverk: «[Kritias:] Hele denne orden, dette systemet, laget gudinnen [Athene] da hun for første gang bygget samfunnet for dere. Hun valgte det sted hvor dere skulle bli født – hun hadde lagt merke til det gode klimaet der og hvordan det skapte særlig fornuftige mennesker. Gudinnen var jo glad i krig og i filosofi, så hun valgte det sted som ville skape menn som var mest lik henne selv, og bygget et samfunn der» (*Timaios*, 24c–d).

tilværelsen og menneskeheten, til en tradisjon hvor det snarere ble stilt krav til «avanserte» vitenskapelige og fornuftsbaserte forklaringer (Nestle 1978, 1). Denne overgangen, som sies å ha funnet sted med Thales rundt år 600 f. Kr., beskriver, etter mitt syn, i beste fall en tendens, da det i tradisjonen fra og med Thales i stadig økende grad stilles krav om rasjonelle forklaringer på naturlige fenomener. Jeg er av den oppfatning at Platon ikke kan sies å ha brutt med mythos-tradisjonen. For, som jeg har forsøkt å vise ovenfor, står Platon med sin teori om kvinner i *Timaios* godt plantet i denne tradisjonen, og den må sies å representere en videreføring av tradisjonelle greske myter og oppfatninger knyttet til kvinnen. Platon er derfor en representant for kulturkontinuitet og ikke, slik det gjerne hevdes, for et brudd med kulturtradisjonen, når det er tale om kvinner. Kvinnesynet i *Staten* er dog fornuftsfundert, men det målbærer likevel den samme drømmen som er til stede i *Timaios*. For jeg kan ikke si meg annet enn enig med Annas i at Platon i *Staten* ikke må forstås som en feminist i betydningen likestillingsteoretiker:

Plato is not interested in the rights of women, nor in freeing women (and men) from the bonds of the family. What he [in the *Republic*] is passionately interested in is the prospect of a unified and stable state in which some at least of the citizens work solely for the state's good. The proposals about women and the family are means to that end, and as the vision of that end fades [in the *Laws*], so does Plato's interest in those means. Plato the feminist is a myth. (Annas 1976, 321f)<sup>22</sup>

Platon har slik ikke blick for universelle individuelle rettigheter uavhengig av kjønn, men han likestiller heller (noen av) kvinnene med menn for å få utnyttet statens ressurser til sitt fulle. Av denne grunn søker han å gjøre kvinner mest mulig lik de «ressursutnyttende» menn, og må dermed heller sies å ville oppheve forskjellene mellom de to kjønn enn å ville likestille dem (Songe-Møller 1999, 174). Den tilsynelatende likestillingen i *Staten* må derfor ikke forstås som noe annet enn en alternativ måte å gi uttrykk for den samme drømmen om kvinnens overflødigheit som er tilstede i *Timaios*.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Se dessuten Annas 1981, 181.

<sup>23</sup> Jeg vil takke Roar Anfinsen, Per Pippin Aspaas, Heine Alexander Holmen og Elin Svenneby for deres konstruktive innspill til tidligere versjoner av artikkelen. Også Synnøve des Bouvrie fortjener en stor takk for å ha kommet med innsiktsfulle kommentarer og innspill, dog uvitende om hvor artikkelen til sist skulle publiseres.

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### Om forfatteren

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### Latinsk sammendrag

*De supervacuanitate mulierum apud Platonem*. In lucubratione suā, cui titulus est «De Platonis mulieribus problematicis», Kristin Sampson putat Platonem habere duos diversos modos mulieres spectandi in operibus suis, quae sunt *Res publica* et *Timaeus*. In *Re publica* Plato quoddam genus aequabilitatis, quae inter duos sexūs valeat, exhibet, speciatim in socialibus stratis ducum atque militum; mythologiā *Timaei* mulieres describuntur tamquam viri reincarnati, qui priorem vitam non moralem atque malam degerant. Secundum interpretationem meam hae duae perceptiones debent sumi ut duo aspectūs unius eiusdemque communis cogitationis Graecae vel, ut Vigelis Songe-Møller existimat, communis somnii Graeci, «somnia de supervacuanitate mulierum». In *Re publica* Plato differentias inter sexūs amovere conatur, cum mulieres quam simillimas reddat viris, in *Timaeo* tamen eas describit esse ab normā (id est ab viris) omnino differentes et revera ut poenam viris imponendam, qui moraliter male se gerunt, aliquid ergo, sine quo res publica idealis sit oportet.

### Engelsk sammendrag

*The Superfluity of Women in Plato*. In her article «Plato's problematic women» Kristin Sampson argues that Plato has two different views on women in the *Republic* and the *Timaeus* respectively. In the *Republic* Plato operates with some sort of equality of status between the two genders, at least in the leaders' and the soldiers' classes, whereas in the mythology of the *Timaeus* women are depicted as reincarnations of men who earlier had lived an unmoral and bad life. According to my interpretation, these two views must be seen as two aspects of one common Greek thought or, as Vigdis Songe-Møller puts it, one common Greek dream, «the dream of the women's superfluity». In the *Republic* Plato tries to rule out differences between genders by making the women as similar to men as possible, while in the *Timaeus* he describes them as something completely different from the norm, the man, and actually as a punishment to men with bad moral behaviour, something that society ideally should do without.

### Nøkkelord

Platon, Apollodoros, Hesiod, Euripides, autokhthoni, Pandora, kvinnens overflødigheit, Platons kvinnesyn, likestillingsforslaget i Staten, tilblivelsesmyten i Timaios.





# SOKRATES OG OSS: ET ESSAY OM SOKRATES' FORSVARSTALE, TEKSTFORTOLKING OG FILOSOFIHISTORIE

Roar Anfinzen

*Socrates was put to death, but the Socratic philosophy rose like the sun in heaven, and spread its illumination over the whole intellectual firmament.*

– John Stuart Mill

*The Socratic ideal is under severe strain in a world bent on maximizing economic growth. The ability to think and argue for oneself looks to many people as something dispensable if what we want are marketable outputs of a quantifiable nature.*

– Martha Nussbaum

## Innledning

Da jeg i 1979 og 80 studerte klassisk gresk ved det som da het Institutt for språk og litteratur ved Universitetet i Tromsø, var *Forsvarstalen* en av tekstene på pensumlisten. Ord for ord, setning for setning, loset læreren, Synnøve des Bouvrie, oss gjennom originalen. Jeg lærte fort å verdsette hennes kyndige blikk for filologiske detaljer og verdien av filologisk nøyaktighet i arbeidet med å fortolke tekster. I mitt senere arbeid med gresk filosofi har hun vært en viktig medspiller, alltid rede til å diskutere og gi råd.

I undervisningen understreket Synnøve tidsavstanden mellom vår tid og den tiden tekstene ble skrevet i, en tidsavstand som har flere aspekter. Et av disse aspektene er tekstenes overleveringshistorie. Antikkens tekster har overlevet takket være et møysommelig avskriftsarbeid. De har gjennomgått avskrift på avskrift, og noen av de overleverte tekstene er rekonstruert fra flere kilder. De foreligger slik vi kjenner dem i moderne utgaver dels takket være fortidens kulturvoktere og skriftlærde, dels på grunn av det moderne tekstkritiske arbeidet, der man forsøker å bøte på alle «skadene» tekster er påført i overleveringsprosessen, det være seg hull som må fylles ut fordi manuset har fysiske skader, avskriftsfeil eller interpolasjoner. For å forstå verdien av dette overleveringsarbeidet må vite hvilken gjeld vi står i til gresk litteratur og vitenskap. Det gir oss en pekepinn at nesten alle de litterære genrene vi befatter oss med i dag stammer fra antikken: roman, novelle, tragedie, komedie, lyrikk og sakprosa (f.eks. naturvitenskapelige og medisinske traktater, historieskrivning, filosofi, retorikk og logikk).

Jeg skal her konsentrere meg om filosofiske tekster, mer spesifikt Platons dialoger med *Forsvarstalen* i sentrum. Det filosofiske arbeidet med klassiske tekster forutsetter en akademisk arbeidsdeling der det tekstkritiske og filologiske grunnarbeidet alt er gjort. I det filosofihistoriske arbeidet forsøker vi først og fremst å fortolke tekster, og tar utgangspunkt i oversettelser. Det betyr at vi baserer oss på en alt foreliggende fortolkning, som igjen inngår i en tradisjon. For at vi skal kunne forholde oss selvstendig til en tekst forutsettes det både

filologisk og historisk kompetanse, og av og til en filologisk spisskompetanse som de færreste filosofer har. Samtidig griper filologi og filosofi over i hverandre, et forhold som henger sammen med prinsipielle hermeneutiske spørsmål.

Først tar jeg for meg et filologisk problem, hvordan en omstridt passasje (30b) i *Forsvarstalen* skal oversettes. Dette problemet er igjen knyttet til et filosofisk spørsmål. Hva som er den rette grammatikalske forståelsen av 30b kan ikke ses uavhengig av hvilke oppfatninger det er rimelig å tillegge Sokrates. I forlengelsen av dette reises spørsmålet om hvilken rolle vår «forståelseshorisont» spiller i fortolkning. Er det mulig, og er det eventuelt ønskelig, å nøytralisere eller tilside sette våre fordommer slik at vi kan oppnå en «rent» historisk lesning av fortidens tekster? I drøftingen av de hermeneutiske spørsmålene brukes John Stuart Mills lesning av Platon som eksempel. Et særegent trekk ved litteraturen om Sokrates er at ikke bare filosofien hans, men også personen og karakteren er av betydning. Også her knytter jeg an til Mill. Jeg går så tilbake til *Forsvarstalen* og et avsnitt som er sentralt i Platons iscenesettelse av Sokrates som moralsk helt, et avsnitt som også viser oss sammenhengen 30b inngår i. Til slutt spør jeg hva Sokrates kan si oss i dag.

### **Forsvarstalen 30b 2–4**

*Forsvarstalen* gir seg ut for å være den talen Sokrates holdt under rettsaken mot han. Ifølge Platon gikk anklagen ut på at Sokrates hadde fordervet de unge og at han ikke anerkjente statens guder, men innførte nye guddommer. Etter at Sokrates var blitt henrettet ønsket Platon og andre å forsvare Sokrates mot anklagene. Platons forsvar er samtidig en rettferdiggjørelse av Sokrates' virksomhet og dydsforståelse, og et krast angrep på den demokratiske bystaten Athen og athenernes livsform. Platon gir dessuten et forsvar for filosofiens verdi.

Spørsmålet om hvordan 30b skal forstås angår, som vi skal se, et sentralt punkt i den sokratiske-platonske dydsforståelsen og den omvurderingen av verdier som finner sted gjennom Sokrates og Platon. Her er setningen:

[...] οὐκ ἐκ χρημάτων ἀρετὴ γίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρετῆς χρήματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἅπαντα καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ.

Passasjen kan oversettes til:

gods og gull skaper ikke sjelens godhet, men med sjelens rette kvalitet følger rikdom og alle andre goder for menneskene, både i privatlivet og i det offentlige.

I Loeb-utgaven finner vi denne oversettelsen (Shorey, red., 1994):

virtue does not come from money, but from virtue comes money and all other good things to man, both to the individual and to the state.

Til sist den reviderte oversettelsen til Schleiermacher (red., 1990):

nicht aus dem Reichtum die Tugend entsteht, sondern aus der Tugend der Reichtum und allen anderen menschlichen Güter insgesamt, eigentümliche und gemeinschaftliche.

Jeg har gitt tre eksempler på det vi kan kalle standard-oversettelsen, en oversettelse som filologisk sett er uproblematisk.<sup>1</sup> Oversettelsen er imidlertid kontroversiell fra et filosofisk

<sup>1</sup> Jf. Burnyeat 2003, 4 og Taylor 1973, 51.

perspektiv. Sokrates sier ifølge denne oversettelsen at penger oppstår fra dyd og at penger er et gode. I en kommentar til passasjen skriver John Burnet at vi ikke må oversette «from virtue comes money», men snarere «it is goodness that makes money [...] good for men».<sup>2</sup> Burnets forslag innebærer at det som har egenverdi er dyd. Om penger og rikdom skal kunne regnes som goder er betinget av om man har dyd, men det er ikke slik at dyd genererer rikdom.

### Det filosofiske spørsmålet

Dersom vi følger Burnets forslag til oversettelse er passasjen i tråd med det Sokrates sier ellers i *Forsvarstalen*. Like før 30b sier Sokrates følgende i en direkte henvendelse til juryen:

Min gode mann, du som er borger av Athen, den bystaten som er mest storslått og mest berømt for sin visdom og styrke, skammer du deg ikke for at du er opptatt av anskaffelse av rikdom, rykte og ære, mens du verken bryr deg om eller tenker på visdom og sannhet og på å gjøre sjelen din best mulig?<sup>3</sup>

Folk flest er ifølge Sokrates opptatt av rikdom og anseelse, og bryr seg ikke om visdom og dyd eller sjelens godhet. Sokrates sier videre at den som streber etter rikdom verdsetter høyest det som i realiteten er lavest, og lavest det som i realiteten er høyest (29e–30a). Det å karakterisere penger som et gode og som noe som følger av dyd rimer dårlig med denne verdiskalaen.

Standard-oversettelsen av 30b er uforenelig ikke bare med sentrale passasjer i *Forsvarstalen*, men også med verdier som forfektes i andre av Platons dialoger, særlig i *Euthydemos*, *Menon* og *Gorgias*. I *Gorgias* sies det at lykke (*eudaimonia*) utelukkende består av dyd (470e),<sup>4</sup> at det gode mennesket vil være lykkelig uansett hva han gjør, og at den gode ikke kan skades (427d). At den gode ikke kan skades betyr ikke at han ikke kan havne i fattigdom, utsettes for sykdom eller rammes på andre måter. Poenget er at fattigdom og sykdom ikke er onder i streng forstand. Slike ting angår ikke lykken, dette fordi dyd er tilstrekkelig for lykke.

I løpet av de siste tiårene har flere kommentatorer støttet Burnets lese måte av 30b, nettopp fordi de mener at standard-oversettelsen tillegger Sokrates en oppfatning som ikke stemmer med de verdiene som ellers forfektes av Sokrates og Platon.<sup>5</sup> De Strycker og Slings argumenterer imidlertid mot Burnet. De er enige i at passasjer i *Euthydemos* og *Menon* er i samsvar med Burnets tolking, altså at rikdom ikke oppfattes som et gode og at dyd ikke produserer rikdom. Men de hevder at Platon gir uttrykk for en annen oppfatning i *Staten*. Nå kan man avfeie argumentasjonen til De Strycker og Slings ved å si at *Staten* tilhører mellomperioden i Platons forfatterskap. En utbredt oppfatning går ut på at dialogfiguren Sokrates snakker for seg selv i *Forsvarstalen* og andre tidlige dialoger. Disse dialogene utgjør da en kilde til oppfatningene til den historiske Sokrates, mens Sokrates er Platons talerør i de skriftene som kommer etter dette.<sup>6</sup> Jeg skal imidlertid følge Burnyeat, som utfordrer tolkningen til De Strycker og Slings. Tekstgrunnlaget for tolkningen deres er noen passasjer fra *Statens* bok 10, og vi skal se på to av dem. Den første dreier seg om dydens belønning i det jordiske livet (613c4–d5):

<sup>2</sup> Burnet 1977, 204. Det dreier seg om en kommentar i en tekstutgave som ble utgitt første gang i 1924.

<sup>3</sup> *Forsvarstalen* 29 d–e. Oversettelsen er en modifisert versjon av den norske oversettelsen ved Leiv Amundsen (red., 1999). I det følgende er alle oversettelser til norsk mine, dersom ikke annet er oppgitt.

<sup>4</sup> Mer presist brukes ordet *dikaiosyne*, rettferdighet, i denne sammenhengen.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor (1973) inneholder referanser til eldre kommentarlitteratur. Det dreier seg imidlertid om kommentarer som ikke går inn på *Forsvarstalen* 30b. Nyere kommentarer som forholder seg eksplisitt til 30b og som støtter Burnets lesning er Taylor 1973, Reeve 1989, Stokes 1997 og Burnyeat 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Alternativt kan det skilles det mellom den tidlige Platon, som er inspirert av Sokrates, og den senere Platon som beveger seg bort fra den sokratiske filosofien.

«Is not this the usual outcome for the just [...], that towards the end of every action and association and of life as a whole they have honor and bear away the prizes from men?» «So it is indeed.» «Will you, then, bear with me if I say of them all that you said<sup>7</sup> of the unjust? For I am going to say that the just, when they become older, hold the offices in their own city if they choose, marry from what families they will, and give their children in marriage to what families they please, and everything that you said of the one I now repeat of the other [...].» (Shorey, red. 1987)

De Strycker og Slings kommenterer passasjen slik: Platon vet selvsagt at dyden ikke alltid belønnes med ære og velstand i løpet av det jordiske livet. Det han sier er at «dyd 'vanligvis' (τὸ πολὺ, 613c4) fører til et godt rykte, og som en konsekvens av dette, til de eksterne godene som er av mindre verdi enn ære i seg selv er».<sup>8</sup> Den andre passasjen det refereres til omhandler i tillegg til dydens jordiske belønning, også dens belønning i det hinsidige (613a4–b1):

This, then, must be our conviction about the just man, that whether he fall into poverty or disease or any other supposed evil, for him all these things will finally prove good, both in life and in death. For by the gods assuredly that man will never be neglected who is willing and eager to be righteous, and by the practice of virtue to be likened unto god so far as that is possible for man. (Shorey, red., 1987)

De Strycker og Slings mener at passasjen kaster lys over *Forsvarstalen* 30b, og skriver (1994, 235):

Providence [...] takes care of the lesser ἀγατά, here including bodily health as well as wealth (which is mentioned as such in the *Apology*), and it is stated confidently that poverty, illness and the like will be compensated, as it were, in the afterlife.

Før jeg går nærmere inn på tolkingen til De Strycker og Slings skal jeg kort skissere sammenhengen mellom de aktuelle passasjene i bok 10 og et spørsmål som drøftes tidligere i *Staten*.

I bok 2 utfordres Sokrates til å vise at rettferdighet er et gode for den som handler rettferdig og at et rettferdig liv er å foretrekke foran et urettferdig liv. Glaukon og Adeimantos, to av samtalepartnerne til Sokrates og for øvrig Platons brødre, formulerer utfordringen gjennom et tankeeksperiment. La oss forestille oss at den urettferdige lykkes sosialt og økonomisk, mens den rettferdige mislykkes, og fratas alt unntatt rettferdigheten. Den rettferdige mislykkes ikke bare, men utstøtes fra felleskapet og straffes for forbrytelser han ikke har gjort: Han «vil bli pisket og pint, lagt i lenker og få brent øynene ut. Og når han har lidt alt dette, vil han til slutt bli satt på stake [...]» (*Staten* 362a). Den urettferdige lykkes derimot i det ytre. Han er den verste forbryteren man kan forestille seg, men ugjerningene oppdages ikke. På grunn av sin urettferdighet oppnår han posisjon og velstand, og ved hjelp av sin kløkt regnes han likevel som rettferdig og oppnår ros og anseelse. Kan vi gitt disse ekstreme beskrivelsene si at den rettferdiges liv er å foretrekke foran den urettferdiges? Kan vi si at den rettferdige er lykkelig?

Platon bruker de første 9 bøkene av *Staten* til å argumentere for at den rettferdige er lykkelig, også om han skulle mislykkes i «det ytre». Sokrates mener å ha utført oppdraget uten å måtte referere til belønning og anseelse, og «vist at rettferdigheten i seg selv er det

<sup>7</sup> Det vises til 362 b–c.

<sup>8</sup> De Strycker og Slings 1994, 139–140.

beste for selve sjelen» (612b). De Strycker og Slings bestrider ikke at rettferdigheten ifølge Platon har sin belønning uavhengig av velstand og anseelse, men hevder at det i tillegg fins en «ytre» belønning: Velstand og anseelse kommer som regel i løpet av dette livet, og hvis ikke kommer belønningen i det hinsidige. Det fins imidlertid ikke belegg for at materiell velstand er inkludert i den belønningen som omtales i *Staten*.<sup>9</sup> *Statens* bok 10 bør dessuten ikke leses isolert. I bok 8 og 9 forholder Sokrates seg kritisk til penger og materiell rikdom.<sup>10</sup> Og i myten om Er, som avslutter *Staten*, kommer Sokrates med følgende advarsel: Når en avdød sjel står for tur til å velge sitt neste liv må den ikke la seg påvirke av tanken på «rikdom og slike onder» (619a). Platons posisjon i *Staten* kan ut fra dette ikke være at dyd gir belønning i form av materiell rikdom.

Den gjengse oppfatningen er at standardoversettelsen av 30b harmonerer dårlig med Sokrates og Platons syn på forholdet mellom dyd og rikdom. Etter hvert er det også kommet oversettelser som følger Burnet.<sup>11</sup> Og i en kommentar foreslår Taylor følgende oversettelse for å gjøre passasjen forenelig med det sokratiske verdisynet:

Virtue does not come from wealth, but it is by reason of virtue that wealth and the rest of the things become good for men, and this is true of everything in private and public life (Taylor 1973, 51).

Taylor viser til konteksten 30b inngår i, og at standardoversettelsen innebærer en merkverdig konklusjon fra Sokrates' side: «After all his criticism of his fellow citizens because of their passion for money, we must now conclude that this interest in money cannot be so bad after all since money comes from virtue». Taylor sier på den andre siden at hans eget forslag til oversettelse innebærer at «Platon ikke skrev en helt klar setning her», og at setningskonstruksjonen taler for standardoversettelsen:

it must be admitted that the word order and the natural flow of the sentence seem to indicate that *χρήματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ ἅπαντα* is the subject, thus leaving us no choice but to translate: «Wealth and every other good that comes to men in private life or in public proceed from virtue» (ibid.).

Taylor mener likevel at det fins filologiske argumenter som taler for Burnets konstruksjon, noe jeg kommer tilbake til.

Også Stokes velger å følge Burnet. Han går imidlertid i liten grad inn på de filologiske problemene, og gir det filosofiske innholdet avgjørende vekt i spørsmålet om hvilken oversettelse vi skal velge.<sup>12</sup> Det filosofiske trumfer så å si det filologiske, noe som reiser et prinsipielt spørsmål. Det ser ut til at vi «tvinges» til å veie opp mot hverandre størrelser som ikke kan sammenlignes direkte. Det dreier seg om argumenter av ulike slag. Kan vi tilside-sette en filologisk sett rimelig forståelse av en passasje, dersom den strider mot en rimelig filosofisk tolkning? Dette dreier seg imidlertid ikke om isolerte størrelser. Hva som er en

<sup>9</sup> De Strycker og Slings unnlater for øvrig å kommentere en kvalifikasjon som gjøres i 613a, hvor Sokrates omtaler fattigdom og sykdom som «*antatte* onder». Kvalifikasjonen gjør det nærliggende å hevde at rikdom og helse på tilsvarende måte er *antatte* goder. Unnlatsen kommenteres av Burnyeat 2003, s 5.

<sup>10</sup> Burnyeat, som har en detaljert gjennomgang av de relevante tekstpassasjene i *Statens* bok 8 og 9, konkluderer slik: «No one who reads Books 8–9 with care could come away believing that for Plato money in itself is any kind of good» (2003, 6). Burnyeat kommenterer også tekstpassasjer i andre dialoger av Platon, se særlig s. 3–8, hvor for øvrig også Aristoteles' holdning til materiell rikdom drøftes.

<sup>11</sup> Først og fremst Stokes' tospråklige utgave fra 1997.

<sup>12</sup> Stokes mener at det sokratiske verdisynet tilsier at standardoversettelsen ikke er riktig. Han foretrekker heller å tro at Platon skrev én vanskelig setning, «one would far rather believe that Plato wrote one difficult sentence» (Stokes 1997, 53).



rimelig grammatikalsk forståelse kan ikke vurderes uavhengig av setningens plass i en større helhet og den retoriske sammenhengen den inngår i.

I arbeidet med en filosofisk tekst må vi på et grunnleggende nivå forsøke å forstå hva som sies og påstås i teksten. Hva er den bokstavelige meningen til det som sies? Hva argumenteres det for? For å forstå tekstens mening må vi imidlertid også forholde oss til hva forfatteren mente med å si det og det. Vi må forsøke å finne ut hva forfatteren *gjør* i det han sier noe.<sup>13</sup> Påstår han noe, oppmuntrer han, formaner han eller forsøker han å provosere? Vi skal se at både Burnyeat og Taylor leser 30b også i lys av den *retoriske* sammenhengen setningen og *Forsvarstalen* inngår i. Den bestemte konteksten bidrar til å gjøre Burnets setningskonstruksjon rimelig. Men vi kan selvsagt ikke bare vise til det filosofiske innholdet og den retoriske konteksten for å avgjøre hvordan en bestemt passasje skal leses. Vi må i tillegg begrunne lesemåten filologisk.

### Det filologiske spørsmålet

Den omstridte setningen er altså slik: οὐκ ἐκ χρημάτων ἀρετὴ γίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρετῆς χρήματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἅπαντα καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ. Burnet oppfatter χρήματα τὰ ἄλλα ἅπαντα som setningens subjekt, og ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις som predikat, og sier i sin knappe kommentar: «This is a case where interlaced order may seriously mislead». Han går imidlertid ikke mer detaljert inn på problemene knyttet til oversettelsesforslaget. Den mest detaljerte kritikken mot Burnets forslag kommer fra Slings og De Strycker:

The parallelism of the two pointedly antithetical members requires (1) that the sentence could be ended with χρήματα, and that καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κτλ. should be considered an afterthought; (2) that γίγνεται should in both members mean «comes from». Besides, the collocation of ἅπαντα shows that ἀγαθὰ cannot be separated from τὰ ἄλλα and ἅπαντα. If Plato had wanted to say what Burnet makes him say, he would certainly not have said it in such an ambiguous and misleading way. (1994, 334)

a) Det første punktet er at setningen rommer to antitetiske parallelle ledd, som gjør at setningen kunne ha vært avsluttet med χρήματα. Det forutsettes da at essensen i leddene nøyaktig tilsvarende hverandre på denne måten: «Av penger oppstår ikke dyd (eller materiell rikdom), men av dyd (oppstår) penger». Resten av setningen oppfattes som en tilføyelse. Vi kan imidlertid ikke utelukke at Platon har et filosofisk poeng med å komplisere det andre leddet og altså at dette leddet ikke er et mer eller mindre overflødig tillegg til en symmetrisk antitese.

b) Også standardoversettelsen må forutsette en tilføyelse av verbet γίγνεσθαι i det andre leddet. Poenget til Slings og De Strycker er at γίγνεται må bety det samme i begge leddene, mens Burnets konstruksjon, der γίγνεται i det andre leddet opptrer med predikatet ἀγαθὰ, innebærer at verbet må ha to ulike meninger. I det første leddet betyr verbet «oppstår», i det andre leddet betyr det «blir [god]». <sup>14</sup> Med henvisning til andre tekstpassasjer hos Platon argumenterer Burnyeat for at verbets mening ikke nødvendigvis må oppfattes på to ulike måter i Burnets konstruksjon. Slik som verbet εἶναι kan også γίγνεσθαι brukes med og uten komplement, som i (a) «x γίγνεται» og (b) «x γίγνεται F». Den første betydningen oppfattes som eksistensiell, den andre som predikativ. Burnyeat hevder at vi kan gå fra (a) til (b) uten at

<sup>13</sup> Jeg viser til Skinner 2002a. Når vi forsøker å forstå et utsagn må vi ikke bare forstå utsagnets innhold, men også forfatterens eller talerens forhold til det som utsies, det vil si hva han gjør når han sier noe. Jeg kan påstå at x er en bedrager, jeg kan tvile på at x er en bedrager, jeg kan spørre om x er en bedrager. Innholdet i det som sies er det samme, men ikke meningen til utsagnet. Et spørsmål er ikke det samme som en påstand. Og en påstand kan være ment som en saksopplysning eller provokasjon, avhengig av konteksten og måten det sies på.

<sup>14</sup> Se Burnyeat 2003, 9.

betydningen til verbet endres. Når vi går fra (a) til (b) føyer vi et komplement til et verb som alt er fullstendig («x γίγνεται» er en fullstendig setning), men som i tillegg kan fullstendig-gjøres, dette uten at betydningen endres:

[...] the essential idea is that of a verb which is complete on its own, but which is further completable without change of meaning.

There are many such verbs. Suppose someone rings up and asks what you are doing. You reply, «I am teaching». That is a complete answer to the question. But a more complete answer would be «I am teaching French». That each of these is a complete statement is shown by the fact that, when you receive the call, the first might be true and the second false (really, you are teaching a subject of which the authorities do not approve). And the first could be known to be true by a person who has no idea what you are teaching. Only a complete statement can be evaluated as true or false. Thus the verb «to teach» is complete on its own, yet further completable by adding a complement. And no one would say that when a complement is added, it changes the meaning of the verb «to teach».

My suggestion is not, of course, that εἶναι or γίγνεσθαι should be construed on the model of «to teach» as verbs that can take an (accusative) object. I am simply giving a familiar example of a verb which is complete, but further completable, in order to help readers understand the less familiar idea that εἶναι and γίγνεσθαι show an analogous pattern. Without a complement they make a complete statement, but one that is further completable by adding a complement – without any change in the meaning of the verb. (Burnyeat 2003, 10)

Γίγνεσθαι kan sammenlignes med andre verb som har selvstendig mening, men som kan kompletteres uten at meningen til verbet endres.<sup>15</sup> Burnyeat hevder videre at vi innenfor moderne språk tenker ut fra kategorier som ikke alltid har gyldighet for gammelgresk (2003, 23). Viktig i denne sammenhengen er skillet mellom eksistensiell og predikativ mening. Dersom vi forstår bruken av γίγνεσθαι som eksistensiell i det første leddet og som predikativ i det andre, så vil vi også mene at verbet skifter mening, noe som altså taler mot Burnets oversettelse. Men kanskje Platon ikke tenker i lys av vår distinksjon mellom eksistensiell og predikativ mening? Kanskje er den greske «språkfølelsen» her forskjellig fra vår, slik at våre kategorier ikke uten videre er anvendbare på gresk. Taylor deler langt på veg Burnyeats oppfatning (1973, 51–52):

In the first half of the sentence the word means «comes into being» or «is brought about»; in the second half the implied γίγνεται means «becomes this or that» (followed by a predicate). The first meaning was well established in Greek and was used frequently by Plato. The second meaning, though perhaps less frequent, is found as early as Homer and in various authors such as Pindar and Thucydides as well as numerous places in Plato's dialogues. These two meanings of γίγνομαι are closely allied, and the change from one to the other in the same sentence is easy and natural.

<sup>15</sup> Burnyeat viser for øvrig til eksempler der Platon i en og samme passasje bruker γίγνεσθαι både selvstendig og kompletterer det gjennom et predikat.

Det å gi samme mening til de to ulike måtene å bruke γίγνεσθαι på ikke er problematisk, men snarere naturlig, ifølge Taylor.

c) Det siste punktet dreier seg om *hyperbaton*, at ordstillingen i en setning er unormal, noe vi har et eksempel på i det andre leddet i 30b gjennom plasseringen av ἅπαντα. Det er ikke uvanlig at kvantitative ord gis en plassering vi ikke forventer.<sup>16</sup> Det vi trenger er en forklaring på hvorfor hyperbaton er hensiktsmessig i dette tilfellet. Taylor har foreslått at vi må forstå setningen også i lys av den retoriske konteksten. Hvis vi tenker oss en pause etter τὰ ἄλλα vil setningen fremstå som utvetydig (1973, 51). Burnyeat har videreutviklet dette poenget:

I suggest it is the rhetorical emphasis gained by juxtaposing ἅπαντα καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ: «Virtue does not come from money, but from virtue money and other things come to be good for human beings – yes, all other things, both in private and in public life.»

On this construal, the emphatic ἅπαντα delivers its strongest punch in the final phrase, «and in public life». So far from being an afterthought, as De Strycker and Slings describe it, those words lead to a climax that will sound deeply offensive to the Athenian demos, whom Socrates will soon counter-charge with rampant injustice in their public life (31d–32c). To this charge he adds another: Athenian politics does not follow the Socratic order of priorities, which would mean putting the wisdom and moral character of the community ahead of its wealth and power (36cd). These later passages help to establish the tone of the disputed sentence. Imagine the sentence delivered aloud with a pause just before ἀγαθά to begin the final crescendo. The meaning would be clear, and clearly insulting, to all lovers of democracy. Very different from the bland and implausible message of the standard translation, that cultivating virtue will make you better off in worldly terms.

The diagnosis of hyperbaton leaves ἀγαθά free to serve as predicate to the subject τὰ ἄλλα ... ἅπαντα. The row of neuter plurals should not disturb.

Taylor og Burnyeat har vist at det ikke bare fins filosofiske, men også filologiske argumenter for Burnets konstruksjon, en konstruksjon som dessuten kan forsvares i lys av den retoriske konteksten. Riktignok kan vi ikke ta det for gitt at *Forsvarstalen* er en tale Sokrates holdt under rettsaken mot han, noe vi kommer tilbake til. Men *Forsvarstalen* inngår uansett i en retorisk kontekst. Talen gir seg ut for å være den talen Sokrates holdt, og Platon bruker de virkemidlene som passer til det formålet han selv har med teksten. Han lar Sokrates både kritisere og provosere juryen, som er et noenlunde representativt utvalg av Athens borgere. Kritikken er utvetydig og krass og et tilbakevendende motiv i talen. Burnets oversettelse av 30b er mer i samsvar med Sokrates' verdissyn enn standardoversettelsen, og tar også høyde for den retoriske sammenhengen passasjen inngår i.

### Hermeneutisk mellomspill

Kritikken mot standardoversettelsen er i utgangspunktet filosofisk motivert, ikke filologisk. Den alternative lesemåten er imidlertid filologisk mulig og den virker altså filosofisk sett mer rimelig. Bør vi ikke da foretrekke denne lesemåten? La oss si at de to lesemåtene noenlunde kan sidestilles filologisk. Hva med den filosofiske fortolkningen? Det meste av kommentarlitteraturen er på linje med Burnets forståelse av det sokratiske synet på forholdet mellom dyd og materiell rikdom, men bildet er ikke entydig. Som vi har sett mener De Strycker og Slings

<sup>16</sup> Burnyeat 2003, 24, n. 94 gir referanser.

at det i *Staten* kommer til uttrykk en oppfatning som passer til standardoversettelsen, nemlig at dyden har sin «ytre» belønning enten i dette eller i det neste livet, en belønning som inkluderer materiell velstand. De finner for øvrig en parallell mellom Sokrates og Jesus med utgangspunkt i *Matteus* 6.33: «Søk først Guds rike og hans rettferdighet, så skal dere få alt det andre i tillegg», det vil si mat, hus og klær. Både Jesus og Sokrates representerer en «omvurdering av alle verdier», og Sokrates' utsagn i 30b er «ikke mindre overveldende» enn *Matteus* 6.33 (140). Hvorfor sammenligne Sokrates og Jesus i forlengelsen av en drøfting av hvordan *Apologien* 30b skal tolkes? Det at Jesus har ment noe som ligner på standardoversettelsen er selvsagt ikke et argument for at den er riktig, men det gir standpunktet respektabilitet. Det er dessuten ikke utenkelig at De Stryckers kristne ståsted preger tolkingen.<sup>17</sup>

Burnyeats Sokrates mener at «dyd er tilstrekkelig for lykke». Spørsmålet om forholdet mellom dyd og lykke er et sentralt tema i antikkens etikk, og diskusjonen har sitt utspring i Platons dialoger, særlig *Euthydemos* (278e–282e) og *Menon* (87d–89a).<sup>18</sup> Den stoiske etikken baserer seg på det sokratiske-platonske standpunktet om at dyd er tilstrekkelig for lykke. Aristoteles' oppfatning om forholdet mellom dyd og lykke er mer omstridt, noe som henger sammen med hvilken funksjon eksterne goder har i forhold til lykke. Bidrar de i seg selv til lykke eller er de goder i den grad de er nødvendige for utøvelse av dyd? Burnyeat mener at det siste alternativet er en riktig tolking av Aristoteles, og skriver at «wealth has instrumental value, but only for the virtuous – much as Socrates (on Burnets construal) maintained!». Han påstår videre at Sokrates, Platon og Aristoteles «er enige om at penger ikke er et gode i seg selv, uavhengig av karakteren til den som besitter dem» (2003, 8). Det skapes med dette en kontinuitet fra Sokrates til Aristoteles, og Burnyeats tolking av det aristoteliske standpunktet fungerer som et argument som skal underbygge den alternative tolkingen av 30b.

Både Burnyeat og Slings & De Strycker refererer til tradisjonen for å sannsynliggjøre sine respektive tolkinger. Burnyeat kan selvsagt med større rett hevde det går en direkte linje fra Sokrates til Aristoteles, mens De Strycker viser til en religiøs autoritet som er mer eller mindre uavhengig av den filosofiske tradisjonen fra Sokrates. Begge har imidlertid som mål å levere *historiske* tolkinger.

Det fins en rekke filosofihistoriske kontroverser om hvordan sentrale påstander, passasjer eller verker skal tolkes, kontroverser som ikke ser ut til å kunne avgjøres ved hjelp av filologiske og historiske metoder. Noen slike passasjer rommer problemer à la det vi finner i *Forsvarstalen* 30b.

Én debatt dreier seg om oversettelsen av en passasje i Aristoteles' *Den nikomakiske etikk* (1142b27–33), der den filologiske striden gjelder hva et relativpronomen viser til. Den filosofiske striden dreier seg om hvilken plass «overveielse» og «klokskap» har i Aristoteles' etikk, altså sentrale filosofiske begreper. Gjelder overveielser kun midlene til målet, eller overveier vi også om målet selv? Er målet vi skal strebe etter noe som er gitt i kraft av vår natur, eller er det åpent for vår overveielse? Det siste alternativet er mer spiselig fra et moderne perspektiv, hvor idealet om autonomi er viktig. De som slutter seg til en slik lesning har imidlertid i liten grad tekstgrunnlaget med seg, og *NE* 1142b27–33 blir i kraft av sin tvetydighet til en nøkkelsetning. En tolkning som gir større rom for autonomi betraktes av mange som anakronistisk, og Ketil Bonaunet sier det slik: En slik lesning «importerer til klassisk gresk filosofi begreper om autonomi og fri beslutning som i realiteten ble utviklet under seinere stadier i etikkens historie» (2009, 88).

<sup>17</sup> Pater De Strycker er den opprinnelige forfatteren, men boken ble etter hans død supplert og redigert ferdig av Slings.

<sup>18</sup> Se Cooper 1999, 305 som drøfter den sokratiske-platonske oppfatningen i forhold til særlig Aristoteles, men også stoikerne.

For å nevne noen andre stridsspørsmål: Det fins kontroverser om Aristoteles har en generell teleologi og om hvordan funksjonsargumentet skal forstås i etikken. Det fins en elitistisk Platon, men også en relativt egalitær, og det fins en demokratisk Aristoteles, men også en aristokratisk. Sokrates var demokrat ifølge noen, antidemokrat ifølge andre. Rettssaken mot han oppfattes av enkelte som politisk motivert. Det reelle motivet for å stille han for retten var da at han ble oppfattet som en alliert med Kritias og de tretti tyrannene, som innførte et kortvarig terrorvelde bare noen år før Sokrates ble tiltalt. Andre igjen mener at han ble tiltalt for sine meninger, sin kritiske fremgangsmåte og altså sin filosofi. Denne siste tolkningen er igjen en forutsetning for bildet av Sokrates som en slags liberalistisk eller rasjonalistisk martyr. Ulike kommentatorer kommer frem til ulike konklusjoner, oppfatninger som er basert på samvittighetsfullt historisk og filologisk arbeid. I mange tilfeller oppnår vi ikke enighet selv om det faglige arbeidet er skikkelig, og det ser da ut til at vår «forståelseshorisont» preger lesingen på en avgjørende måte.

Er det mulig å tolke tekster uavhengig av vår egen virkelighetsforståelse, våre begreper og idealer? I filosofifaget skiller vi mellom to ulike måter å forholde seg til historiske tekster på. På den ene siden kan vi lese en tekst ut fra en aktuell interesse, på den andre ut fra en historisk interesse. Dersom vi leser en tekst ut fra en aktuell interesse forutsetter vi at teksten drøfter problemer som er mer eller mindre direkte relevant for oss. Vi kan f.eks. oppfatte enkelte passasjer i *Forsvarstalen* som relevant for en moderne filosofisk debatt om forholdet mellom borger og stat og grensene for borgerens lojalitet overfor staten. Dersom vi leser en tekst ut fra en historisk interesse er vi primært opptatt av å forstå teksten ut fra den konteksten den ble skrevet i, noe som igjen innebærer at vi må forholde oss inngående til filologiske og historiske spørsmål. En tolkning av *Apologien* må ta utgangspunkt i at teksten er en rettstale. Den kan plasseres innenfor en bestemt retorisk genre og dens innhold og struktur kan sammenlignes med andre samtidige rettstaler. Vi må også kjenne til de politiske og juridiske institusjonene som rettstalen har sin plass innenfor. For å forstå anklagepunktene som teksten er et forsvar mot, må vi ha kunnskap om Athens politiske historie på 400-tallet og religionens plass i de greske bystatene og i Athen spesielt. Og vi må fokusere på den historiske distansen mellom teksten og oss, f.eks. at religionens karakter og plass i datidens Athen var forskjellig fra religionens rolle i våre moderne samfunn. Dersom vi leser fortidige tekster i lys av moderne kategorier uten å reflektere over forskjeller og tidsavstand vil tolkingen kunne kalles anakronistisk.

Hans-Georg Gadamer har understreket at all forståelse forutsetter en for-forståelse eller «fordommer», et begrep som her ikke skal forstås negativt. En forutsetning for overhodet å forstå er at vi disponerer over begreper som vi ordner verden i lys av. Idealet for en historisk lesning er at vi frigjør oss fra fordommene våre i den grad dette er mulig. Quentin Skinner formulerer det hermeneutiske idealet for en historisk lesning på denne måten:

Doubtless they [our prejudices] cannot be avoided altogether. It is deservedly a commonplace of recent hermeneutic theories that, as Hans-Georg Gadamer in particular has emphasised, we are likely to be constrained in our imaginative grasp of historical texts in ways that we cannot even be confident of bringing to consciousness. All I am proposing is that, instead of bowing to this limitation and erecting it into a principle, we should fight against it with all the weapons that historians have already fashioned in their efforts to reconstruct without anachronism the alien *mentalités* of earlier periods. (Skinner 2002b, 195)

Skillet mellom på den ene siden en filosofisk eller aktuell lesing og en historisk lesing på den andre gir mening til en viss grad. Vi kan skille mellom to aspekter i arbeidet med å lese historiske tekster. En del av arbeidet involverer filologiske og historiske spørsmål og forut-



setter en refleksjon om hvordan vi skal forholde oss til den historiske og kulturelle distansen mellom oss og teksten. Dersom målet først og fremst er å forstå teksten slik den ble forstått av samtidspublikumet kan vi si at vi forsøker å foreta en «rent» historisk lesning. En «rent» historisk lesning er imidlertid ikke mulig fullt ut. Vi studerer aldri fortiden slik den «egentlig var». Vi tar med oss klassifikasjonsskjemaer og en akademisk arbeidsdeling mellom ulike disipliner. Vi studerer alltid utsnitt, og velger ut gjenstandsområde og problemstilling ut fra hva vi mener det er verdifullt å forske på. Et annet spørsmål er om en «rent» historisk lesning, så langt den rekker, er ønskelig.

MacIntyre skriver at dersom vi kun leser tekster som noe rent historisk vil ikke disse fremstå for oss som noe annet enn «museumsgjenstander» (1984, 31). De har ingen bruksverdi for oss. Det kan være riktig. Man kan samtidig hevde, slik Skinner gjør, at det ikke nødvendigvis er en motsetning mellom en historisk og en aktuell lesning. Det eksisterer en akademisk arbeidsdeling mellom filosofi som et historisk fag og som et normativt fag som er opptatt av aktuelle filosofiske spørsmål. Men det betyr ikke at det er vanntette skott mellom disse aktivitetene. Skinner hevder at vi kan lære noe av fortidens tekster nettopp gjennom å lese dem historisk. Vi skal ikke i utgangspunktet forsøke å aktualisere dem eller kun konsentrere oss om tekster som ser ut til å være opptatt av spørsmål som er relevante for våre egne problemer. Vi skal også lese tekster som ikke umiddelbart synes relevante, fordi vi da kan konfronteres med andre tenkemåter, noe som kan utfordre våre forestillinger og verdier. Dersom vi ikke leser tekstene historisk møter vi ikke det som er fremmed, annerledes, det som kan bidra til en konfrontasjon med våre tilvante tankemønster.

Arbeidsdelingen mellom en historisk lesing og en aktualiserende, men anakronistisk lesing henger sammen med en «fagliggjøring» av vår omgang med antikkens kultur generelt. I den nyhumanistiske perioden på 1700-tallet var arbeidet med antikkens kultur og historie preget av forestillinger om at vi i antikken kunne finne idealer som hadde gyldighet også for oss. I løpet av 1800-tallet blir arbeidet med antikkens kultur i økende grad preget av et detaljert og metodisk studium av tekster og gjenstander, og det oppstår en spenning mellom forestillingen om de humanistiske fagenes dannende og normative karakter og et nytt vitenskapsideal.<sup>19</sup> Humanvitenskapene og de nye sosialvitenskapene utviklet et vitenskapsideal som var inspirert av de nye naturvitenskapene som vokse frem i løpet av 1600-tallet. I henhold til dette idealet skal verden beskrives objektivt, det vil her si uavhengig av vår subjektive opplevelse av verden. Kulturvitenskapene og de historiske vitenskapene skal ut fra dette beskrive sine gjenstander på en objektiv måte, noe som betyr at vitenskapene ikke skal vurdere sin gjenstand. Vitenskapene skal være verdifrie. I den grad man *vurderer* gjenstanden bringer man inn en subjektiv innstilling som ikke har plass i en vitenskapelig beskrivelse eller forklaring. Vitenskapeliggjøringen av de historiske fagene henger også sammen med utviklingen av en historisk bevissthet, en historisering, som skaper en distanse mellom oss og fortiden. Fortidens kulturer er forskjellige fra vår moderne kultur, så forskjellige at det kreves en bestemt metodisk innstilling for å forstå fortiden, der vi også forsøker å tilsidesette vår egen virkelighetsforståelse så langt det er mulig.

### **Mills bruk av Sokrates og Platon**

Historiseringen av kulturvitenskapene slår ikke gjennom samtidig og i like stor grad i alle land. Så sent som i 1874 kunne J. P. Mahaffy, som hadde en lærestol i historie ved Trinity College i Dublin, skrive:

Every thinking man who becomes acquainted with the masterpieces of Greek writing, must see plainly that they stand to us in a far closer relation than the other remains of antiquity. They are not mere objects of curiosity

<sup>19</sup> Se Schnädelbach 1983, særlig s. 51–87.

to the archeologist, not mere treasurehouses of roots and forms to be sought out by comparative grammarians. They are the writings of men of like culture with ourselves, who argue with the same logic, who reflect with kindred feelings. They have worked out social and moral problems, like ourselves, they have expressed them in such language as we should desire to use. In a word, they are thoroughly modern — more modern even than the epochs quite proximate to our own.<sup>20</sup>

Mahaffy var ikke alene om forestillingen om antikkens aktualitet. Antikkens kultur, og ikke minst gresk filosofi, hadde stor innflytelse på britisk kultur og filosofi på 1800-tallet. Historikeren George Grote og filosofen John Stuart Mill, begge ruvende skikkelser i britisk kultur- og samfunnsdebatt og i perioder også parlamentsmedlemmer, var opptatt av å reformere det britiske samfunnet i henhold til utilitaristiske idealer. Og de fant begge en sterk filosofisk inspirasjonskilde i Platons dialoger. Grote skrev et omfattende verk om gresk historie og dessuten et stort verk om Platon. Han behersket til fulle det historiske og filologiske handverket og arbeidene hans er preget av inngående fortrolighet med originalverker fra antikken. Mill på sin side var særlig fortrolig med Platons skrifter, og han oversatte da også de tidligste dialogene.

Platons dialoger hadde mer eller mindre direkte innflytelse på Mills egen filosofi, og vi finner hos Mill et spenningsforhold mellom en historisk og en aktualiserende lesning. Mill var på den ene siden opptatt av å tolke Platons filosofi ut fra en faglig standard, men mente samtidig å finne en alliert i både Platon og Sokrates. Han fremhevet de tidlige dialogene, hvor vi møter en negativ Sokrates, en Sokrates som er kritisk til etablerte og overleverte verdier, og som snarere er opptatt av å kritisere enn å stille opp positive alternativer. Den kritiske metoden i Platons dialoger var en metode til etterfølgelse. Dette kommer til uttrykk på denne måten i Mills *Autobiography*:

The Socratic method, of which the Platonic dialogues are the chief example, is unsurpassed as a discipline for correcting the errors, and clearing up the confusions [...]. [...] all this, as an education for precise thinking, is inestimable, and all this, even at that age, took such hold of me that it became part of my own mind. (Mill 1981, 25)

Mill identifiserte seg i stor grad med Platons prosjekt. Platon oppfattes som en sosial og politisk reformator, som Mill selv, og fremstilles nærmest som en samtidig støttespiller.<sup>21</sup>

It is most certain that Plato, if he returned to life, would be to the full as contemptuous of our statesmen, lawyers, clergy, professors, authors, and all other among us who lay claim to mental superiority, as he ever was of the corresponding class at Athens; while they, on their part, would regard him very much as they regard other freethinkers, socialists, and visionary reformers of the world. (Mill 1978, 387)

At Mills lesning av Platons dialoger må ha hatt direkte innflytelse på Mills egne filosofiske arbeider, viser seg i tekstpassasjer som denne fra *On Liberty* (1977, 232):

The beliefs which we have most warrant for, have no safeguard to rest on, but a standing invitation to the whole world to prove them unfounded. If

<sup>20</sup> Sitert etter Frank M. Turner 1981, 11.

<sup>21</sup> Se Hamburger 1999, 36.

the challenge is not accepted, or is accepted and the attempt fails, we are far enough from certainty still: but we have done the best that the existing state of human reason admits of; we have neglected nothing that could give the truth a chance of reaching us: if the lists are kept open, we may hope that if there be a better truth, it will be found when the human mind is capable of receiving it: and in the meantime we may rely on having attained such approach to truth, as is possible in our own day. This is the amount of certainty attainable by a fallible being, and this is the sole way of attaining it.

Dette minner om den kritiske Sokrates, som i Mills versjon har skeptiske trekk.<sup>22</sup> I *On Liberty* er ideen om at enhver påstand skal kunne utprøves sentral. Mennesket er et feilbarlig vesen, og den eneste måten vi kan ha tillit til våre oppfatninger på er å utsette dem for kritikk. Om forsøkene på å gjendrive våre oppfatninger ikke lykkes, kan vi ikke påberope oss sikkerhet, men vi har gjort vårt beste for å undersøke holdbarheten av dem. Og det historiske forbildet for en slik kritisk aktivitet er Sokrates. I sin anmeldelse av Grotes bind 5 av *History of Greece* (1849) gir Mill følgende oppsummering av fremstillingen av Sokrates:

He [Socrates] exposed the loose, vague, confused, and misleading character of the common notions of mankind on the most familiar subjects. By apt interrogations, forcing the interlocutors to become conscious of want of precision in their own ideas, he showed that the words in popular use on all moral subjects [...] in reality answer to no distinct and well-defined ideas; and that the common notions, which those words serve to express, all require to be reconsidered. (Mill 1986, 1163)

Mill slutter seg til Grotes vurdering av «den sokratiske læren» og oppfatningen om at det er et konstant behov for en slik lærer («the urgent need, at the present and at all times, of such a teacher»). Sokrates inntar «en unik plass i historien» i kraft av sin kamp mot «ugranskede generelle forestillinger», og den sokratiske filosofien er uunnværlig i det fremtidige arbeidet for moralske og sosiale reformer: «the work which he did requires to be done again, as the indispensable condition of that intellectual renovation, without which the grand moral and social improvements, to which mankind are now beginning to aspire, will be for ever unattainable» (Mill 1986, 1163–1164).

Mill forutsetter at man kan diskutere mer eller mindre direkte med tekster som tilhører en annen kultur og et annet samfunn. Samtidig er han opptatt av det filologiske handverket og at det bildet de formidler av gresk filosofi skal være historisk korrekt.

Mill er ikke bare opptatt av filosofien til Sokrates og Platon, men også av Sokrates og Platon som historiske personer. Jeg skal her konsentrere meg om vurderingen av Sokrates, som inntar en verdenshistorisk plass ikke bare i kraft av sin filosofiske metode, men også på grunn av sin karakter. I Mills liberalistiske prosjekt, der takhøyden for ytringer og livsformer som skal tolereres er høy, er forestillingen om at de få viljesterke og originale karakterene skal kunne få utfolde seg sentral. Kulturutvikling og moralsk utvikling forutsetter nemlig slike individer:

The initiation of all wise or noble things comes and must come from individuals; generally at first from some one individual. The honour and glory of the average man is that he is capable of following that initiative; that he can respond internally to wise and noble things, and be led to them

<sup>22</sup> Se Glucker 1996, 404–405.

with his eyes open. I am not countenancing the sort of «hero-worship» which applauds the strong man of genius for forcibly seizing on the government of the world and making it do his bidding in spite of itself. All he can claim is freedom to point out the way. (Mill 1979, 269)

Kulturen skapes gjennom få individer som er i stand til å tilsidesette konvensjoner og utforske nye livsformer. «Kulturheltene» er ikke bare teoretikere, men har også en praktisk rolle. På den ene siden oppdager de nye sannheter og forkaster de gamle («discover new truths, and point out when what were once truths are true no longer»), og på den andre siden iverksetter de selv de nye innsiktene og fremstår på den måten som eksempler («commence new practices, and set the example of more enlightened conduct, and better taste and sense in human life») (Mill 1979, 267). Kulturheltene er idealer og forbilder, og for Mill er forbilder i en viss forstand viktigere enn teorier og meninger.<sup>23</sup> I en kommentar til Platons dialog *Gorgias* skriver Mill:

All valid arguments in favour of virtue, presuppose that we already desire virtue, or desire some of its ends and objects. You may prove to us that virtue tends to the happiness of mankind, or of our country; but that supposes that we already care for mankind or for our country. You may tell us that virtue will gain us the approbation of the wise and good; but this supposes that the wise and good are already more to us than other people are. Those only will go along with Socrates in the preceding dialogue, who already feel that the accordance of their lives and inclinations with some scheme of duty is necessary to their comfort; whose feelings of virtue are already so strong, that if they allow any other consideration to prevail over those feelings, they are really conscious that the health of their souls is gone, and that they are, as Plato affirms, in a state of disease. But no arguments which Plato urges have power to make those love or desire virtue, who do not already: nor is this ever to be effected through the intellect, but through the imagination and the affections.

The love of virtue, and every other noble feeling, is not communicated by reasoning, but caught by inspiration or sympathy from those who already have it; and its nurse and foster-mother is Admiration. We acquire it from those whom we love and reverence, especially from those whom we earliest love and reverence; from our ideal of those, whether in past or in present times, whose lives and characters have been the mirror of all noble qualities; and lastly, from those who, as poets or artists, can clothe those feelings in the most beautiful forms, and breathe them into us through our imagination and our sensations. It is thus that Plato has deserved the title of a great moral writer. (Mill 1978, 150)

Vi trenger forbilder fordi rasjonaliteten har sine begrensninger. Læring av dyd krever utvikling av moralske emosjoner, noe som igjen forutsetter at vi har forbilder å forholde oss til. Argumentasjon kan bidra til at vi korrigerer oss selv og andre, og stadig søker etter rettferdighet og moralsk godhet. Men på et mer grunnleggende plan må vi lære å beundre og respektere personer som representerer og inkarnerer dyd. Vi lærer på denne måten dyd både gjennom personer som står oss nær og historiske personer, og dessuten gjennom litteratur som appellerer til vår forestillingsevne og våre følelser. Og her har Platons dialoger en viktig plass.

<sup>23</sup> Joseph Hamburger har en klargjørende behandling av dette punktet (1999, 138).

Gjennom Platons dialoger får vi tilgang til et historisk forbilde, og Mill kommer stadig tilbake til Sokrates i sine skrifter. I *On Liberty* fremheves Sokrates både på grunn av sin karakter og som lærer, «the most virtuous man [in the age]» og «the head and prototype of all subsequent teachers of virtue». Sokrates er et forbilde også gjennom sine handlinger. Han er en frihetsmartyr, og det er kun én hendelse som tåler sammenligning med den uretten som ble gjort mot Sokrates, nemlig korsfestelsen av Kristus (Mill 1977, 235).

### Sokrates' mange roller

Mill er på den ene siden inspirert av Sokrates' kritiske filosofi, det vil si stemmen til Sokrates i Platons tidlige dialoger. På den andre siden er Sokrates en *historisk* figur som tiltenkes en pedagogisk rolle som moralsk og politisk forbilde.<sup>24</sup> Mill er selvsagt ikke den eneste som tildeler Sokrates' skjebne en historisk betydning. For Hegel representerer Sokrates et nytt prinsipp, den subjektive frihetens prinsipp, som kommer på kollisjonskurs med den tradisjonelle moralen i Athen. Konflikten mellom Athen og Sokrates er for Hegel en tragisk konflikt i den forstand at konflikten ikke har noen løsning. Begge partene kan påberope seg legitime prinsipper, henholdsvis sedvanemoral (*Sittlichkeit*) og en moral basert på refleksjon og fornuft (*Moralität*). Sokrates måtte henrettes, men han representerte det seirende prinsippet, «das allgemeine Prinzip der Philosophie für alle folgenden Zeiten» (Hegel 1971, 447). Men også for Hegel er Sokrates et mønsterbilde, og med følgende dyder: «Visdom, beskjedenhet, avholdenhet, måtehold, rettferdighet, ubøyelighet, sivilt mot til å trosse makthavere, enten det dreier seg om tyranner eller folket, og han var verken havesyk eller herskesyk». Han var dessuten likegyldig overfor penger (Hegel 1971, 453).

Hvorfor denne tilbøyeligheten til å stille opp moralske heltebilder? Det er kanskje lettest å forstå Platons anliggende, dette på bakgrunn av den bestemte konteksten han skrev i og gitt behovet for å forsvare Sokrates' gode navn og rykte mot anklagene. Sokrates var tross alt blitt dømt til døden som en fiende av staten. Og han ble dømt av en jury, altså et noenlunde representativt utvalg av medborgerne. Han ble ikke bare dømt, men hånet av sine medborgere, skal vi tro Platon, som i *Forsvarstalen* stadig omtaler forsamlingens buing og tilrop. Vi kan også forstå Mills behov for å stille opp helter gitt det reformatoriske prosjektet hans, og de moral-psykologiske forutsetningene det bygger på.

Karakteren Sokrates er imidlertid fortsatt med oss som forbilde, noe som viser at vi kanskje har et slags behov for å knytte etiske og politiske idealer til fortellinger, historier og til personer som inkarnerer idealene. Bildet av Sokrates som liberalistisk martyr er blitt videreført av sentrale moderne filosofer. Karl Popper skriver følgende i *The Open Society and Its Enemies* fra 1945 (s. 194):

Socrates' death is the ultimate proof of his sincerity. His fearlessness, his simplicity, his modesty, his sense of proportion, his humour never deserted him. [...] He showed that a man could die, not only for fate and fame and other grand things of this kind, but also for the freedom of critical thought, and for self-respect, which has nothing to do with self-importance or sentimentality.

Nussbaum gir oss en mindre heroisk Sokrates, en Sokrates tilpasset rollen som den ideelle lærer i kritisk tenking. I denne sammenhengen vektlegges den sokratiske metoden som

<sup>24</sup> En forståelse av Mills ideer om «kulturheltens» pedagogiske rolle, der Sokrates altså inntar en sentral plass, vil for øvrig kunne korrigere den moderne lesningen av Mill, der Mills liberalisme oppfattes som moralsk nøytral og i så måte på linje med moderne liberalistiske idealer. Dette ligger utenfor denne artikkelens tematikk, men det er verdt å nevne fordi det viser hvordan et studium av antikke forfatters innflytelse på moderne filosofer kan bidra til en bedre forståelse av prosjektene deres og noen ganger også til å korrigere en anakronistisk lesning.



nødvendig både for vår dannelse som mennesker og som demokratiske borgere. Nussbaum finner dessuten karakteren til Sokrates forbilledlig. Han er et eksempel på «sann demokratisk [...] ydmykhet» og representerer en kritisk tenking som er «ikke-autoritær» (2010, 50–51). Den kritiske metoden er derved også for Nussbaum knyttet til visse ideelle holdninger.

Jeg har her bare kunnet gi noen glimt av de rollene Sokrates har spilt i ulike perioder og hos ulike forfattere. Bildet er sammensatt, men et nokså gjennomgående trekk er fokuseringen på Sokrates' skjebne og Sokrates som inkarnasjonen av dyd, noe som gjør Sokrates anvendelig for både moralske og politiske formål. I den grad vi har et behov for å knytte etiske og politiske idealer ikke bare til meninger, men også til fortellinger om personer som inkarnerer idealene, vil karakteren Sokrates engasjere oss, og da først og fremst Platons Sokrates.

Platon skriver ikke traktater, men dialoger der vi introduseres for et persongalleri som består av fremstående historiske personer fra 400-tallets Athen, retorikere, sofister, politikere, hærførere og filosofer. Platon bruker dialogformen til å granske ulike oppfatninger. Samtidig karakteriseres personene som fremfører de ulike argumentene. Karakterene er bærere av ulike oppfatninger, og de inngår samtidig i en historisk sammenheng. Det som granskes er ikke bare ideer, men også deltakerne i dialogene, dels i kraft av den karakteren de har, dels på bakgrunn av deres plass i en bestemt historisk kontekst, som er kjent for den samtidige leseren.

Det mest inngående av Platons portretter er selvsagt det som tegnes av Sokrates, gjennomgangsfiguren i dialogene. Og det mest detaljerte portrettet av Sokrates finner vi i *Forsvarstalen*. Her tegnes bildet av den heroiske Sokrates, reformatoren, samfunnsrefseren, den modige soldaten, den modige borgeren, og filosofen med et guddommelig kall, et kall han setter over sin lojalitet til staten.

### Sokrates' guddommelig kall

Har vi grunnlag for å si at Platon gir oss et historisk portrett av Sokrates i *Forsvarstalen*? Det fins mange ulike argumenter mot at Platons *Forsvarstalen* gjengir den talen Sokrates faktisk holdt. Det eksisterte en omfattende Sokrates-litteratur forfattet av elever av Sokrates, og det er nærliggende å tro at disse skriftene hadde andre formål enn å gi et historisk portrett. Den talen som Platon har gitt oss har en oppbygning og argumentasjon som gjør det lite sannsynlig at den kunne fremføres muntlig uten at den først forelå skriftlig. Det er altså vanskelig å tro at den er en senere nedtegnelse på bakgrunn av en opprinnelig muntlig fremførelse. Det mest radikale standpunktet går ut på at Sokrates var taus under rettssaken fordi han var satt ut av juryens fiendtlighet, dens hånlige latter og tilrop. Hvem kan holde en komplisert og velartikulert tale under slike omstendigheter?<sup>25</sup> Jeg skal imidlertid ikke drøfte de argumentene som er satt fram for at Sokrates ikke holdt noen tale i det hele tatt og heller ikke gå inn på den omfattende diskusjonen om *Forsvarstalens* status.

Jeg skal i det følgende ta for meg noe av konteksten som 30b inngår i, en passasje der Sokrates gir en positiv redegjørelse for sin filosofiske aktivitet. Og jeg tar utgangspunkt i en setning som er et tenkt spørsmål fra «en eller annen», dvs. en eller annen representant for juryen: «εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ, ὃ Σώκράτης, τοιοῦτον ἐπιτήδευμα ἐπιτηδεύσας ἐξ οὗ κινδυνεύεις νυνὶ ἀποθανεῖν;» (28b) Shorey oversetter setningen slik i Loeb-utgaven: «Are you then not ashamed, Socrates, of having followed such a pursuit, that you are now in danger of being put to death as a result?» Stokes oversetter: «Are you really not ashamed, Socrates, of having practiced the kind of activity that puts your life now in danger?» På den ene siden er Stokes' oversettelse av ἀποθανεῖν å foretrekke fordi den er mer generell, og den generelle betydningen forutsettes i argumentet som følger. Men på den andre siden gir det fiktive spørsmålet kun mening dersom vi forstår ἀποθανεῖν i betydningen å bli henrettet («put to death»). Det er i denne betydningen det å bli drept kan innebære noe skammelig. Verbformen som brukes

<sup>25</sup> Se Gomperz 1936 og Oldfather 1938.

her, ἀποθανεῖν, er aorist av verbet ἀποθνήσκειν, og brukes gjerne som passiv av ἀποκτείνεῖν, å drepe. Det brukes ofte i juridiske sammenhenger, og kan da oversettes med «bli henrettet», som selvsagt kan være skammelig. Denne formen brukes imidlertid også om det å bli drept i krig, og da er det å bli drept snarere heltmodig og ærefullt enn skammelig. Det er åpenbart at Sokrates utnytter flertydigheten til verbet ἀποθανεῖν, noe vi ser av den retoriske argumentasjonen som følger. Sokrates besvarer det fiktive spørsmålet slik (28c–d):

You do not speak well, Sir, if you think a man in whom there is even a little merit ought to consider danger of life or death, and not rather regard this only, when he does things, whether the things he does are right or wrong and the acts of a good or a bad man. For according to your argument all the demigods would be bad who died at Troy, including the son of Thetis, who so despised danger, in comparison with enduring any disgrace, that when his mother (and she was a goddess) said to him, as he was eager to slay Hector, something like this, I believe, «My son, if you avenge the death of your friend Patroclus and kill Hector, you yourself shall die; for straightway, after Hector, is death appointed unto you;» he, when he heard this, made light of death and danger, and feared much more to live as a coward and not to avenge his friends, and said, «Straightway may I die, after doing vengeance upon the wrongdoer, that I may not stay here, jeered at beside the curved ships, a burden of the earth». Do you think he considered death and danger? (Shorey, red., 1994)

Det tenkte spørsmålet fra juryen innebærer ifølge Sokrates at heltene fra Troja må betegnes som slette mennesker, og ikke minst Akillevs, som hadde valget mellom et liv i vanære eller å ta en rettfærdig hevn som med visshet ville medføre døden. På tross av at athenske borgere flest ikke kan ha ment at det ukvalifisert er skammelig å risikere døden, velger altså Sokrates å konstruere et argument der en slik oppfatning forutsettes. Det er selvsagt en viktig forskjell om man risikerer livet i kamp mot en fiende, eller bedriver en aktivitet som betraktes som kriminell, og stilles for retten med henrettelse som mulig utfall.

Platon bruker det fiktive spørsmålet videre til å konstruere et analogiargument der Sokrates' filosofiske virksomhet sidestilles med Akillevs' heltmodige handlinger. Gjennom å gripe fatt i en allmenn forestilling om å risikere livet kan Sokrates vise til fellestrekk mellom Akillevs' heroiske handling og sin egen aktivitet, og subsumere begge handlingsmåtene under samme kategori. Sokrates fremhever sine militære fortjenester, og trekker en parallell mellom soldatplikten og plikten til å leve et filosofisk liv. Han forsøker på denne måten å vise at selv om han nå er stilt for retten, så er den aktiviteten som har brakt hans liv i fare like fortjenstfull som å risikere livet i kamp for hjembyen eller «fedrelandet» (28d10–29a1):

Therefore I should have done a terrible thing, if when posted by the commanders you chose to command me at Potidaea and Amphipolis and on the field of Delium I then stood my ground where they posted me as firmly as anyone and risked being killed, but when posted by the god (as I imagined and supposed) with the obligation to live as a philosopher examining myself and others I then in fear of death or anything else deserted my post. (Shorey, red., 1994)

Sokrates har et guddommelig kall, et kall han ikke kan gi opp. Men Sokrates' oppgave gir kun mening i den grad borgerne er i en slik tilstand at de trenger en som formaner og refser dem. Sokrates har på denne måten snudd om på rollene. Det er ikke Sokrates, men snarere borgerne som har grunn til å skamme seg (29d2–e2).

Sokrates tildeles en mytisk status både gjennom sammenligningen med helten Akillevs og gjennom påberopelsen av et guddommeligg kall, som er å forbedre den moralske tilstanden til en befolkning som sårt trenger Sokrates som lærer og reformator.

### Sokrates og oss

Hver tid har sine konstruksjoner av fortiden, noe som kan høres trivielt ut. I påstanden ligger det en erkjennelse av at vi alltid forstår verden i lys av bestemte perspektiv, og dessuten at det er et relativistisk problem knyttet til kunnskap om fortiden. Som filosofihistorikere er vi forpliktet til å forsøke å tolke historiske tekster slik vi mener de ble forstått i samtiden. Vi må lese tekster i den sosiale og politiske sammenhengen de inngår i og i forhold til andre samtidige tekster. Dette må vi gjøre samtidig som vi vet at vårt perspektiv er begrenset. Disse faglige idealene utelukker ikke at vi eksplisitt kan vurdere historiske tekster, estetisk, etisk og vitenskapelig. Det gjør vi i en viss forstand alt i utgangspunktet, gjennom vårt utvalg av tekster som vi mener det er verdt å lese og formidle. Vi må imidlertid også forsøke å rette oppmerksomheten mot ubevisste vurderinger og idealiseringer som ikke holder historisk, både våre egne og andres, f.eks. Mills eller Poppers bilde av Sokrates som en liberalistisk martyr.

På grunnlag av Platons fremstilling av Sokrates er det gjennom filosofihistorien konstruert stadig nye heltebilder av Sokrates. En nærlesning av enkelte passasjer i *Forsvarstalen*, som den vi når har analysert (28b–29e), bidrar imidlertid snarere til å undergrave enn å styrke forestillingen om at målet til Platon var å portrettere den historiske Sokrates. Passasjen er en iscenesettelse av Sokrates som en helteskikkelse av overmenneskelig karakter. Jeg sier ikke med det at vi ikke kan bruke deler av Platons *Forsvarstalen* som kilde til den historiske Sokrates. Men vi har ikke et klart bilde av hva slags motiv som lå til grunn for tiltalen av Sokrates og vi vet heller ikke hvordan Sokrates forholdt seg til tiltalen. Vi kan derfor ikke opprettholde bildet av Sokrates som en slags liberalistisk helt.

Hva slags bilde kan da regnes som holdbart, og hva kan Sokrates brukes til? Det synes i hvert fall rimelig å hevde at den såkalte sokratiske metoden går tilbake til den historiske Sokrates. I *Forsvarstalen* sies det at Sokrates bedrev en kritiske utspørring av sine medborgere, og det er også slik Platon fremstiller han i mange av dialogene. Vi kan anta at Sokrates' metode er bakgrunnen for at Platon og andre skrev nettopp dialoger og ikke traktater.

Den sokratiske metoden er ikke en etisk nøytral metode, men forutsetter visse dyder, som vi kanskje også kan tilskrive den historiske Sokrates. Hvilke dyder er det snakk om? I *Gorgias* 458a lar Platon Sokrates karakterisere metoden på denne måten: «Of what sort am I? One of those who would be glad to be refuted if I say anything untrue, and glad to refute anyone else who might speak untruly» (Lamb, red., 1975). Vi legger merke til at det ideelt sett dreier seg om en gjensidig utprøving og at idealet for utspørring også inngår i karakteristikken av Sokrates som menneske. Den som er engasjert i en sokratiske dialog anerkjenner samtalepartneren som en likeverdig deltaker, og erkjenner at han selv kan ta feil og at den andre kan ha rett. Dette forutsetter en form for ydmykhet og at vi ikke lar det gå prestisje i forsvaret av eget standpunkt, som kjent en vanskelig øvelse. For at den sokratiske dialogen skal lykkes, forutsettes det både oppriktighet og selvoppriktighet. Det forutsettes en holdning som er slik at vi gjerne vil korrigeres fordi vi vil tenke og leve i henhold til det som er riktig og sant. Vi bør derfor erkjenne både overfor oss selv og andre at vi tar feil, en erkjennelse som er et gode for oss.

Evnen til kritikk og selvkritikk, refleksjon og selvrefleksjon regnes av mange som en forutsetning for utvikling av oss som mennesker, men også som borgere og yrkesutøvere. På den måten kan vi si at den sokratiske metoden fortsatt står høyt i kurs. Man bør imidlertid ikke ha for idealistiske forhåpninger om de sokratiske verdienes fremtid, heller ikke innenfor våre høyere utdanningsinstitusjoner.

Den sokratiske metoden er, som sagt, ikke en etisk nøytral metode som kan brukes til innlæring av hva som helst. Og i den grad vi tar på alvor den sokratiske metoden og de etiske idealene som diskuteres i Platons dialoger, må vi ta stilling til verdier som dels er oss fremmed. I en tid hvor penger synes å være alle tings målestokk, finner vi i tradisjonen fra Sokrates oppfatninger som innebærer en krass kritikk av våre verdier og institusjoner, inkludert våre utdanningsinstitusjoner. Det kan vi velge å ta som en utfordring. Hva skal vi mene om det sokratiske synet på forholdet mellom dyd, lykke og materielle verdier? Hva skal vi mene om den sokratiske tesen om at materielle verdier ikke kan regnes som goder i streng forstand? Jeg har argumentert for at tesen er sentral i *Forsvarstalen*, og at også 30b er et uttrykk for denne oppfatningen. En filosofisk drøfting av den sokratiske-platonske tesen må jeg komme tilbake til ved en annen anledning.<sup>26</sup>

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### Om forfatteren

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### Latinsk sammendrag

*De Socrate deque nobis: Scriptiuncula de Socratis Apologia, de interpretationibus philologicis historiāque philosophiae.* Incohabo problemate philologico, nempe quaestione, quomodo pars quaedam disputata Platonis *Apologiae* (30b 2–4) verti possit. Hōc problema coniunctum est cum quaestione philosophicā, id est opinione Socraticā Platonicāque de relatione inter virtutem, bona materialia et felicitatem. Deinde tracto partes, quas agit intellectio nostra praevia in textibus historicis interpretandis. Potestne «mera» interpretatio historica fieri? Estne «mera» lectio historica textuum philosophicorum operae pretium, cum eadem ad philosophica problemata hodierna non spectet? In his quaestionibus hermeneuticis disputandis utor exemplo, quomodo Iohannes Stuart Mill Platonem legerit.

Problema speciale, quod in historia philosophiae invenitur est quaestio, quā agitur de Socrate historico et de partibus differentibus, quas egit. Speciatim incumbo in modum, quo Iohannes Stuart Mill indole Socratis usus sit, sed etiam exempla saeculi vicesimi adhibeo. Praeterea quaestionem examinabo, quomodo Plato in *Apologia* Socratem ut heroem moralem exhibeat, atque inquiri in statum mythologicum, qui ei attributus est.

Denique agitur de quaestione, num philosophia Socratica hodiernis temporibus sit alicuius momenti. Assevero methodum Socraticam locum gravem in educatione morali politicāque tenere debere et hanc methodum, quod attinet ad virtutes, non esse neutralem. Eādem enim praesumuntur virtutes certae, id est virtutes ab Socrate historico doctae atque incarnatae.



**Engelsk sammendrag**

*Socrates and Us: An Essay on the Apology of Socrates, Philological Interpretations and History of Philosophy.* I start out with a philological problem, the question of how to translate a disputed passage (30b 2–4) in Plato's *Apology*. This problem is connected to a philosophical question, the Socratic and Platonic opinion on the relation between virtue, material goods and happiness. I then discuss the role of our «pre-understanding» in the interpretation of historical texts. Is a «purely» historical interpretation possible? Is a «purely» historical reading of philosophical texts worthwhile, if it does not concern our modern philosophical problems? In discussing these hermeneutical questions I use John Stuart Mill's reading of Plato as an example.

A peculiar problem in the history of philosophy is the question of the historical Socrates and the different roles he has played. I investigate especially Mill's use of the character of Socrates, but I also include examples from the twentieth century. Furthermore, I analyze Plato's staging of Socrates in the *Apology* as a moral hero and the mythological status he is given.

Finally, I discuss whether the Socratic philosophy is of any value today. I argue that the Socratic method ought to have an important place in moral and political education, and that this method is not value-neutral. It presupposes certain virtues, virtues taught and incarnated by the historical Socrates.

**Nøkkelord**

Sokrates, Platon, John Stuart Mill, hermeneutikk, historisk fortolking, filosofisk fortolking.



# PERSUADING THROUGH PITY AND FEAR: ARISTOTLE'S ACCOUNT OF THE EMOTIONS IN THE *RHETORIC*

Espen Andrè Lauritzen

*Come, poor little beasties, yap, up on your haunches, beg and whine!*

– Aristophanes<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

In this paper I want to look closer at what has commonly been perceived as a discrepancy between the general pragmatic or amoral tone of the *Rhetoric* and Aristotle's preoccupation with ethics and politics in general. I will also discuss the same apparent discrepancy within the *Rhetoric* itself, i.e. between the moralizing attack on the wrong use of rhetoric in the beginning of Book 1 and the seemingly more amoral, pragmatic tone that permeates the rest of the work, especially Book 2. The paradox at the heart of this investigation is this: how can Aristotle attack the use of emotions in the opening chapter of the *Rhetoric*, while delivering a detailed account on how to wield influence by means of emotions in Book 2?<sup>2</sup> This has been viewed as a real discrepancy by many commentators, and there are various explanations as to why this discrepancy occurs.<sup>3</sup> I will return to this apparent contradiction in more detail and attempt to demonstrate that there is no real contradiction after all.

By focusing on the place Aristotle gives emotions in rhetorical persuasion I will try to show that the warning against the use of emotions for purposes of rhetorical persuasion in Book 1 is not a warning against all kinds of emotional influence. What Aristotle in my view warns against is emotional influence that we might call foreign to the subject, or, in Aristotle's own words, *exo tou pragmatos*, "matters outside the subject".

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<sup>1</sup> This quote is taken from Aristophanes' comedy *The Wasps*, v. 975. The play is about a father eager to participate in law courts as a judge, his son trying to prevent him from it. Eventually the father gets his need to pass judgement in court gratified at home by the son staging a mock case, prosecuting one of the dogs. To try to get the dog acquitted, the son parades the dog's puppies to stir pity, and of course, the father is not unaffected. The parading of the puppies is obviously a simile to the parading of the defendant's children in a real court. This comedy by Aristophanes thus indicates that this sort of practice, i.e. trying to stir the mercy of the judges by having children or others plead, was not only common, but also perhaps thought not quite right or proper, and therefore here ridiculed by Aristophanes.

<sup>2</sup> Compare what Aristotle says in 1.1.3–5, which on the face of it seems to criticize the use of emotions, with 2.2.27, 2.3.17, 2.4.32, 2.5.15, 2.7.5, 2.9.5, which seem to give advice on how to use emotional influence quite pragmatically. See further Kennedy, who points out that the first chapter of Book 1 "is generally recognized as creating problems for the unity of the treatise. Aristotle here seems firmly to reject using emotional appeals, identifies rhetoric entirely with logical argument, and gives no hint that style and arrangement may be important in rhetoric" (Kennedy 2007, 29).

<sup>3</sup> Common for most of these commentators seem to be that they take for granted that there is a fundamental division between emotion (connected to *ethos* and *pathos* in *Rhet.*) and reason (*logos*), given that most people take this division for granted in every day life. "Along with offering a definition, most modern dictionaries remark that emotion is often contrasted with logic, or with rationality, or with cognition. Such remarks derive from folk theory. In Western cultures, we tend to believe that intelligence and emotions are at odds" (Oatley 2004, 135).

Aristotle's warning against emotional influence must be seen in context with his critique of previous writers of rhetorical handbooks. These handbooks gave recommendations on how to influence in court in particular, and by any emotional means possible. Most importantly, these ways of influencing the jury emotionally were, in Aristotle's view, presented independently of any argument, any *logos*, and as such the emotional influences were not connected with the argument. This leaves open the possibility that there might still be ways of exerting emotional influences that are *not* foreign to the argument, and therefore have their legitimate place in rhetorical persuasion. If we understand the description of ways to persuade by influencing emotionally in Book 2 as ways that are, or at least could be, connected with argument, the discrepancy between Book 1 and 2 disappears. What Aristotle is then doing is first warning against utilizing emotional influences that are foreign to the case or argument, but then later showing ways of utilizing emotions in connection with the argument.

As an illustration of the difference between emotional influence foreign to the argument, and emotional influence belonging to the argument, I will use a familiar case, namely Socrates' defense in Plato's *Apology*. The *Apology* is fiction in that the trial against Socrates was probably not conducted exactly as Plato portrays it. As is well known, many preserved judicial speeches from antiquity are no real speeches, or at least they were never actually held in a court of law. It is reasonable, however, to assume that Plato's account is not too far from the way a speech could be held. Interestingly, Aristotle refers to one of Socrates' arguments as an example of a mode of persuasion in the *Rhetoric*. This indicates that Aristotle himself saw the speech as relevant to actual practice.

In the *Apology* we see Socrates using certain strong emotional means of persuasion, but at the same time refusing to utilize others. I will argue that this corresponds to Aristotle's differentiation between emotional influences belonging to the argument (or subject) on the one hand and influences foreign to the argument on the other. I will also try to show that Aristotle's analysis of modes of persuasion fits very well with what Socrates is doing in the *Apology*.

As a second example of judicial speech shedding light on Aristotle's critique in Book 1 I will use Lycurgos' *Against Leocrates* to further investigate the division between means of persuasion belonging to the subject and means of persuasion foreign to the subject.

In my view, the reason that what Aristotle says about emotional influence cannot be understood as purely pragmatic or amoral is that there is an indispensable connection between emotional parts of the persuasion and its more argumentative parts. This connection exists in such a way that the argument, and so also the conclusion from that argument, is not fully understood and reached without its emotional element. In Aristotelian terms, this amounts to the same as saying that there is a strong connection between *logos* on one hand and *pathos* and *ethos* on the other. So strong is this connection, that the conclusion or understanding reached through *logos* alone is not only in practice, but also in principle inferior to what is possible with the addition of *pathos* and *ethos*.

### **The problem: the apparent conflict between idealism and pragmatism**

It is perhaps no surprise that Aristotle when discussing rhetoric devotes some space to the analysis of how the rhetorician might influence through emotions.<sup>4</sup> The concept of being

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<sup>4</sup> Especially the political situation in Athens with its democratic period between 508 and 322 (with a few short interruptions) had paved the ground for rhetoric as a profession. This need was filled by various teachers of rhetoric, amongst those many of the chief opponents of Socrates in numerous dialogues by Plato. Plato's negative view of the rhetoricians and rhetoric is expressed strongly in various dialogues, perhaps strongest in the *Gorgias*. One of Plato's chief complaints is that rhetoricians do not have real knowledge, but try to persuade people by influencing them emotionally. Plato's Socrates defines rhetoric as a certain habitude of producing a kind of gratification and pleasure (*Gorgias* 462c), adding that rhetoric is nothing more than a form of flattery (*kolakeia*) on the level with pastry baking, working on the passions of the soul in the same way as pastry baking

swayed in one direction or the other by emotional influence is, I take it, familiar. What does come as a surprise to many readers of Aristotle is, however, the fact that the *Rhetoric* contains by far the most thorough treatment of the emotions in the entire Aristotelian corpus. Given Aristotle's emphasis on the importance of being properly affected if one is to be really virtuous one would expect a more thorough treatment of the emotions in connection with his ethics, the *Nicomachean* or *Eudemean*, or given that the investigation of emotions are understood as belonging to psychology we would expect to find such a treatment in *De Anima*, Aristotle's main work on psychology. The ethical and psychological works of Aristotle do contain some discussions of the emotions, but, as we said, the *Rhetoric* contains the most thorough treatment.<sup>5</sup> The emotions are also treated elsewhere, e.g. in the *Poetics*, famously so in connection with the discussion of *catharsis*. In her treatment of the *Poetics*, Synnøve des Bouvrie has convincingly shown the emphasis Aristotle puts on emotional influence in tragedies.<sup>6</sup> All in all the emotions play a predominant role in virtually all practical areas in Aristotle.

With this, we move on to the apparent paradox. The central passage creating the difficulty in the opening chapter of the *Rhetoric* is this:

Now, previous compilers of "Arts" of Rhetoric have provided us with only a small portion of this art, for proofs are the only things in it that come within the province of art; everything else is merely an accessory. And yet they say nothing about enthymemes which are the body of proof, but chiefly devote their attention to matters outside the subject; for the arousing of prejudice, compassion, anger, and similar emotions has no connection with the matter in hand, but is directed only to the dicast. The result would be that, if all trials were now carried on as they are in some States, especially those that are well administered, there would be nothing left for the rhetorician to say. (1.1.3–4)<sup>7</sup>

This then, on the face of it, seems to warn sternly against utilizing emotional influence in rhetorical practice and to say that these types of influences have nothing to do with rhetoric as an art. It has by many commentators been seen as standing in stark contrast to the advice on how to influence emotionally that Aristotle gives in Book 2. The contradiction appears already in chapter 2 of Book 1 when Aristotle lists *pathos* and *ethos*, as well as *logos*, as modes of persuasion belonging to rhetoric as an art, but the contrast is perhaps strongest against Book 2 and the treatment of emotions there. In the opening chapter of Book 2 Aristotle has the following to say:

it is not only necessary to consider how to make the speech itself demonstrative and convincing, but also that the speaker should show himself to be of a certain character and should know how to put the judge into a certain frame of mind. For it makes a great difference with regard to producing conviction – especially in demonstrative, and, next to this, in

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does on the body. We can safely assume that there was a general hostility and skepticism towards rhetoric in the academy and also a general hostility towards trying to influence through emotions. When Aristotle presented his *Rhetoric* (which most agree to be an early work) it was against this backdrop, with rhetoric playing an immensely important role in society while at the same time being strongly criticized by the ones closest to Aristotle.

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle, however, never explicitly presents a comprehensive theory of what emotions are in the *Rhetoric*. He does say that emotions are connected with pleasure and pain and that it influences judgment (1378a19–22), but he says very little about what the connection to pleasure and pain is, how this alters judgment, and how the emotional element of judgment stands in relation to other elements of judgment. A full theory of the emotions in the *Rhetoric* is something that needs to be reconstructed.

<sup>6</sup> des Bouvrie 1990, 60–79.

<sup>7</sup> See also 1.1.9.



forensic oratory – that the speaker should show himself to be possessed of certain qualities and that his hearers should think that he is disposed in a certain way towards them; and further, that they themselves should be disposed in a certain way towards him. ... for opinions vary, according as men love or hate, are wrathful or mild, and things appear either altogether different, or different in degree ... (2.1.2–4)

After this he goes straight on to examining how different emotions arise and thus how they can be awoken.

It is particularly the way Aristotle explains how the speaker must know how to influence the listeners emotionally that seems to collide with Aristotle's ethical and political ideals in that precisely these rhetorical tools that Aristotle present could be used for unjust or malicious purposes. The presentation of rhetorical tools is void of any advice regarding what purpose these tools should be used for. It seems clear that they could be used for immoral purposes, for example to convince an assembly to implement changes in society that would lead to constitutional change, the way Aristotle describes in Book 5 of *Politics*.

It is widely held that at least parts of the *Rhetoric* were written quite early, probably while Aristotle was still at the academy under Plato. This then should make us even more perplexed at the amoral tone of the *Rhetoric*, given Plato's view of rhetorical practice.<sup>8</sup> The warning against emotional influence in the beginning of Book 1 certainly has a Platonic tone to it, but if we for example ascribe to Aristotle a view of the emotions like the one we find in Plato's *Phaedo*, where emotions at best disturb an understanding of the situation, at worst make any real understanding impossible,<sup>9</sup> it seems very strange that Aristotle would recommend the use of emotions for rhetorical purposes. Aristotle would then be recommending for practical use something which he thought was inherently bad, which is unreasonable to expect from someone so preoccupied with ethics and politics as Aristotle, even given a purely scientific interest in the subject.<sup>10</sup> I therefore find it unreasonable to interpret Aristotle's theory of how the emotions can alter the appearance of things in such a way that it is understood as some sort of distorting or hindering that person's good sense. At least it seems to leave us with a blatant inconsistency between the introductory 1.1 and the rest of the work.

### Attempts at explaining the contradiction

But for now it must be admitted that there appears to be an inconsistency between 1.1 and the rest of the *Rhetoric*. Barnes concludes that what Aristotle says in 1.1 amounts to a notion of rhetoric void of emotional influence, only based on logical argument:

the study of the emotions is no part of Aristotle's rhetoric – it is not, strictly speaking, a mode of persuasion. ... Hence, rhetoric, insofar as it is technical or an art, studies deduction, it studies logic. (Barnes 1995, 261)

<sup>8</sup> At least if we suppose that Aristotle had a more Platonic, negative view of rhetoric in early years, which seems reasonable, both given the simple fact of him being a student at the academy, not yet having developed his own philosophical stance, but more so if we accept the testimonies of ancient sources on the *Gryllus*, a lost exoteric work by Aristotle in which he is supposed to have given a strong argument against understanding rhetoric as an art. "Aristotle, it is true, in his *Gryllus* produces some tentative arguments to the contrary, which are marked by characteristic ingenuity. On the other hand he also wrote three books on the art of rhetoric, in the first of which he not merely admits that rhetoric is an art, but treats it as a department of politics and also of logic." (Quintilian *Instituto Oratoria* II.XVII.14 tr. H. E. Butler)

<sup>9</sup> See *Phaedo* 67e–69e, 82d–84c. See also *the Republic* Book 10, 603c–607a.

<sup>10</sup> Aristotle's purely intellectual interest, which is admittedly strong, is often cited as an explanation to the exceptionally pragmatic tone of the *Rhetoric*. I would allege though that Aristotle's interest in right and wrong, good or bad is even stronger, and that any reading of the *Rhetoric* should try to at least establish an understanding which renders the recommendations to the rhetorician ethically neutral.

If this is true, then of course Aristotle's treatment of the emotions in Book 2 comes as quite a surprise, and there seems to be an impassable contradiction. Barnes draws the consequences of attributing a view of Rhetoric 1.1 as understanding rhetoric as an art consisting only of logical arguments – enthymemes, and enthymemes having nothing to do with emotional influence, when he says:

The contention seems clear enough in itself – but it would surely have surprised Aristotle's contemporaries. This surprise would quickly have turned to perplexity; for the contention of chapter I seems to be rejected in chapter 2. (Barnes 1995, 261)

The question then is if we should attribute to Aristotle a view that would bewilder his contemporaries as well as us, or if there is some way to understand what Aristotle says in 1.1 that would both make Aristotle's position familiar to his contemporaries and remove the apparent inconsistency from his work.

Even though I will argue that the contradiction between 1.1 and the rest of the Rhetoric is apparent only and can be solved, it must be admitted that on the face of it there is good reason to see this as a real contradiction. There have been many different attempts at explaining it. These attempts may tentatively be classified into 5 main strategies. (i) The simplest explanation would of course be that Aristotle is contradicting himself.<sup>11</sup> If so it would not be the first time in the Aristotelian corpus. (ii) Another alternative could be that Aristotle here is not directly contradicting himself in the same piece of writing, but that the contradiction has arisen as a result of editing, perhaps by Andronicus. It is widely accepted that the Rhetoric was not originally written as one treatise, but is the result of texts written in different contexts and at different times being edited together either by Aristotle himself or by someone else after his death, or both. Often this explanation is connected to a view of Aristotle changing his mind over time, and that this is reflected in the text.<sup>12</sup> This of course does not remove the inconsistency, and one must then also try to reconstruct how his view changed from a negative view on emotional influence to a more positive or at least neutral later on. (iii) A third alternative is a reading which entails that when Aristotle is speaking of emotions here this is not a unified concept, meaning that there are more than one type of emotions, some of which Aristotle thinks are problematic, others that are not.<sup>13</sup> (iv) A fourth solution argues that

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<sup>11</sup> J. Barnes maintains this first explanation (1995, 261). He seems to mean that when Aristotle is arguing that his predecessors' misconceptions of rhetoric are due to their one-sided emphasis on emotional influence he is saying that rhetoric is really about persuasion by rational arguments, so that it is limited to an exposition of how enthymemes work and how they are used to persuade. In other words that rhetoric is a logical subject. As Barnes points out this then seems to stand in stark contrast to the space Aristotle leaves for emotional influence in Book 2. This conclusion presupposes that emotions have nothing to do with rational argument, which again means that there is no room for emotions in the enthymeme. I wish to challenge this. Rhetorical persuasion is about practical matters and has the good as its goal. (More precisely it is about what is advantageous or harmful, just or unjust, or honorable or shameful depending on whether it is deliberative, judicial or epideictic (demonstrative) oratory – all clearly about judgments of value, cf. Rhetoric 1.3.5, 1358b.) To the degree that emotions play a role in the cognition of value, cognition of the good for man, i.e. cognition of virtue, reasoning aiming at the good will incorporate an emotional element. In other words, the supposition of an absolute division between the rational and the emotional is one that Aristotle does not share, and so the conclusion of Barnes does not follow. In other words, Aristotle's preoccupation with the enthymeme and the later emphasis on emotional influence is compatible.

<sup>12</sup> A classic view along these lines is presented by Solmsen. The most convincing in my view is D. Frede's attempt in her contribution to Rorty's *Essays on Aristotle's Rhetoric* (ed., 2006). Although Frede's explanation is more an explanation of how *Plato* changed his mind or developed his view from early to late dialogues, it can also be reflected in Aristotle, given the notion of parts of the Rhetoric being written at different times.

<sup>13</sup> This is what I think corresponds to Plato's view in his later dialogues, chiefly the *Philebos*.

Aristotle is talking about two distinct forms of rhetoric, one ideal and one pragmatic.<sup>14</sup> All these four interpretations hold that there is then at least some sort of discrepancy between 1.1 and the rest of the *Rhetoric*, be it intentional or unintentional. Most of these views also understand the practical advice given on how to influence emotionally as pragmatic in some sense, either (a) saying that Aristotle realized that real life politics is dirty and that rhetoric, although inherently bad in itself is necessary in an imperfect world,<sup>15</sup> or (b) that rhetoric as understood by Aristotle is ethically neutral and can be used for both good or bad purposes, or (c) the pragmatism is connected to Aristotle having a purely scientific interest in the study of rhetoric, discarding its moral or political implications. Finally then (v) a fifth solution is that it is the *manner* in which the emotional influence is made that is here essential – more concrete that what Aristotle is warning against in chapter 1 of Book 1 is emotional influence that is *foreign* to the matter – or, to use Aristotelian terms, that one is influencing through establishing *ethos* or producing *pathos* without this having any connection to *logos*.<sup>16</sup> It is this fifth solution I am opting for.

If we look a bit closer at some of these commentators we will better see what the argument is about. The tone of *Rhetoric* 1.1 is admittedly very Platonic, at least on the face of it, in that it gives an impression of general hostility to rhetoric in saying that all, at least all who theorize about rhetoric (i.e. the writers of rhetorical handbooks) have gotten it wrong and teach something that is not proper and not conducive to understanding and judgment. This because they have put emphasis on emotional influence and so one could also interpret this as a general hostility towards emotions like we find in at least some of Plato's dialogues (most notably *Phaedo* and *Gorgias*). Here then Aristotle seems to leave little or no room for the role he later gives to emotions in rhetoric, and so there is an apparent contradiction between this chapter and the rest of the *Rhetoric*. Kennedy refers to the attempts to solving these problems as involving

... claiming, for example, that *pisteis*, “proof”, in section 3 already includes the use of character and emotion as means of persuasion; that ethical and emotional proofs are “enthymematic”; and that verbal attack, pity, and anger in section 4 refers to expression of emotion rather than to reasoned use of an understanding of psychology and motivation. None of this is entirely satisfactory. A better approach is that of Sprute (1994), who regards chapter 1 as describing an ideal rhetoric in an ideal state where the laws prohibit speaking outside the subject, whereas Aristotle provides in chapter 2 a second introduction for a more realistic account of rhetoric in contemporary society. (Kennedy 2007, 29)

I disagree with Kennedy and Sprute here and will try to argue a position where it is not necessary to operate with such a division and dual purpose of the text. It is possible to

<sup>14</sup> Engberg-Pedersen holds this view (1996, 122–123). Admittedly, he does not treat the contradiction between 1.1 and the rest of the *Rhetoric* in particular, but the tension between amoralism and moralism throughout the *Rhetoric*. He represents a view where Aristotle by “being outside the subject” means all emotional influence.

<sup>15</sup> One particularly interesting strand of this interpretation, which could be called “the conspiracy-thesis” because of its view on the connection between the *Rhetoric* and its supposedly intended audience, argues precisely that it is understanding the intended audience for the *Rhetoric* that is key to a correct interpretation. Poster (1997) argues this view in claiming that the *Rhetoric* was indeed understood as dangerous by Aristotle, but that this text was intended only for the closed circle of the academy/lyceum, where rhetoric was taught so that the pupils could defend themselves and philosophy as such against the evils of the world.

<sup>16</sup> Aristotle's famous division of persuasion in 3 modes, *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* is found in 1.2.3. Although Aristotle here, in his typical systematic manner, makes this distinction, I do not think he should be understood as saying that these modes are totally independent of each other.

reconcile what is said in the beginning of Book 1 and what is said in Book 2 as being about the same thing.

When trying to explain the apparent contradiction between the pragmatic or amoral tone of this work and Aristotle's general preoccupation and strong views on right and wrong, it is common to point to the practical goal of the *Rhetoric* as a handbook in rhetoric to be used by actual rhetoricians in his time, as opposed to the philosophical works meant for philosophical investigations. Some commentators think that Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* displays a pragmatic attitude towards rhetoric, either thinking that Aristotle realized that politics is dirty, and even if rhetoric is inherently bad, it is necessary in an imperfect world. Alternatively that Aristotle maintained the view that rhetoric is neither good nor bad, but ethically neutral, but can be utilized for good or bad purposes.<sup>17</sup> While I think there is some truth at least in the view that Aristotle thought that rhetoric could be used for both good and bad intentions I still think it is necessary to explain Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in a way that as much as possible conforms with his ethical views. One of the main tools belonging to the orator when trying to persuade is to try to affect the listener's emotions and as we have seen Aristotle devotes substantial parts of the *Rhetoric* to this question. There is good reason to think Aristotle does not view this as perfectly neutral, and so we have to try to explain his treatment of the emotions here in a way that corresponds with his general ethical views.<sup>18</sup> For even ascribing a totally neutral understanding of the emotions to Aristotle, meaning that they neither distort nor contribute to real understanding is in my view problematic, for what the rhetorician would then be doing when affecting the emotions of the audience would be "wasting their time", at least supposing that real understanding could be reached.<sup>19</sup> So even this neutral understanding of the emotions

<sup>17</sup> This view comes close to Gorgias' view in Plato's *Gorgias*.

<sup>18</sup> It seems fairly clear that the description of emotions and how people are emotionally affected is meant to be used by the rhetorician in practice when trying to persuade his listeners. Aristotle is trying to survey in which situation certain emotions can be expected and why, so that the rhetorician can try to create or avoid these responses in his audience. In this respect one could say that the treatment of emotions in the *Rhetoric* does not demand a theory of what emotions are, and again one could then say that this means that Aristotle in no way is committed to this description of emotions, but might simply be referring to how they are ordinarily understood by most and how most people normally react, i.e. that they are *endoxa*. It is common for Aristotle to start his investigation with the *endoxa*. But in my view there is still a reason to ascribe an explicit understanding of the emotions to the *Rhetoric*, and more precise a theory of what the emotions are that fits well with Aristotle's writings in other areas. For even if the *rhetorician* does not have to have an explicit theory of what the emotions are and why they can be influenced, *the one advising the rhetorician*, that is Aristotle, should have such an understanding. It is of course possible to imagine that Aristotle has only observed how emotions are influenced and then only refers to this empirical data in his *Rhetoric*, but given that Aristotle, as a pupil of Plato, had a profound interest in moral psychology, it seems to me unlikely that he never during the writing of the *Rhetoric* should have asked himself *why* this emotional influence works as it does. And in addition, since Aristotle is attempting to establish rhetoric as a *techne*, it would be strange if Aristotle should not be interested in *how* the emotional influence works, which naturally leads to the question what emotions are or what it is to be emotionally affected. Someone understanding this, I suppose, would be better equipped to give advice to the rhetorician as to how to influence his listeners through use of emotions. In other words; even if the *Rhetoric* does not explicitly present a theory of what the emotions are and how they work it is reasonable to suppose that such a theory is underlying the practical advice being given and that those practical advises are in accordance to this theory. This gives the opportunity to try to reconstruct such a theory from the *Rhetoric*. A. O. Rorty is expressing much the same when arguing that "the *Rhetoric* presupposes and is implicitly informed by Aristotle's logical works, by his philosophy of mind and his theory of action; it is also strongly conjoined with his political and ethical theory. But while the rhetorician relies on these theories, he is not himself a philosopher, logician, statesman or moralist" (1996, 1–2) and that "[t]o sustain his reputation as a trustworthy guide in political matters, the exemplary rhetorician need not be a philosopher or a *phronimos*. He needs rather to be able to take advice from a philosophically oriented *phronimos*, who counsels him on standard issue fears and desires, on conditions for responsibility, on how to construct sound argument. Call that person 'Aristotle.' And call his advice, '*The Rhetoric*'" (1996, 7).

<sup>19</sup> Of course a rhetorician who does *not* want to transmit any true understanding to the audience might be able to convince the audience through emotional appeal or influence and so avoiding wasting *his* time. This however

would mean that extended use of emotional influence would in practice hinder a real understanding. In other words a reading which thinks the emotions in principle entirely separate from the real understanding of the situation is not in my view something we should ascribe to Aristotle. It is more reasonable to suppose an understanding of the emotions which of course admits that the emotions can be played on and that they might make us see the situation wrongly, but still does not entail that the emotions in themselves are deceptive, or have nothing to do with the real understanding of the situation.<sup>20</sup> We must therefore seek a reading where the emotions can be understood as saying something genuine about the situation, something that without the emotions could not be understood.

Two commentators who also try to reconcile the apparent contradiction between 1.1 and its warning against emotional influence and the focus on emotions throughout the rest of the work are Jacques Brunschwig and Robert Wardy. Brunschwig also notes (Brunschwig 1996, 45) the wordings of Aristotle when warning against emotions as linked to the expression “matters outside the subject” – *exo tou pragmatos*. Brunschwig takes the position that what is said in 1.1 and later reflects an intellectual development in Aristotle that Aristotle wants his reader to notice. Although Brunschwig tries to justify this developmentalist view there is still, in my view, little support for it. For one, if this is Aristotle’s point with the apparent contradiction, why does he not say so? After all if this was the point, Aristotle has been misunderstood by nearly all his commentators/readers. I find it more likely that the apparent contradiction stands because Aristotle himself does not see it as a contradiction at all.

### **What is Aristotle warning against in *Rhetoric* 1.1? The critique of his predecessors**

Aristotle indeed warns against trying to influence through emotions in chapter 1. We have already seen that Aristotle claims that “verbal attack and pity and anger and such emotions of the mind [*psyche*] do not relate to fact but are appeals to the juryman” (*Rhetoric* 1.1.4). First of all note that this is specifically said about trying to influence the juryman. This is part of Aristotle’s complaint about his predecessors and their “guidebooks” in oratory.

The handbooks in question had predominantly been directed towards judicial rhetoric, discarding deliberative rhetoric. I think Aristotle would maintain that it is possible to influence emotionally in an improper manner in all types of oratory. But the emphasis on these handbooks seems to indicate that Aristotle thought things were particularly bad when it came to influencing improperly in law courts. If we then have a closer look at how emotional appeal was used in practice at this time, we might better understand what he is attacking. Aristotle continues:

some even adopt the practice and forbid speaking outside the subject [...] for it is wrong to warp the jury by leading them into anger or envy or pity:

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would mean that emotional influence in itself could never lead or contribute to any real understanding and as such only be useful for one who tries to either divert from any true understanding or does not think there is any such thing to be found. Any real understanding would then depend solely on rational argument, *logos*. Of course you might stumble on a correct understanding through emotional influence, for example reaching the right verdict in a court of law, but this would not be real understanding since it is an opinion without correct reasons. Given that real understanding can be reached through rational argument alone, and that emotions contribute nothing to it, it would be strange that Aristotle devotes so much time and effort to investigating and describing ways of influencing emotionally, even given his strong intellectual curiosity.

<sup>20</sup> The view that the emotions in themselves are deceptive, or have nothing to do with real understanding permeates all the dialogues of Plato that deal extensively with rhetoric (*Gorgias*, *Protagoras* and the *Sophist*) with the possible, but only *possible*, exception of *Phaidros*. This view some wish to attribute to Aristotle as well, at least the young Aristotle, on account on the testimonies of the *Gryllus*, which they think is expressed in *Rhet.* 1.1 as well.



that is the same as if someone made a straight-edge ruler crooked before using it. (Rhetoric 1.1.5, 1154a)

Leading the jury by anger, envy or pity is something good laws in well governed states forbid, says Aristotle, for this is speaking outside the subject. Now the question is of course how we are to understand Aristotle here. Is he saying that emotions are outside the subject and should therefore not be allowed – in this case he is contradicting his recommendations on using emotions in Book 2 – or is he saying that emotional influence (or anything else) *outside the subject* should not be allowed.

If we return now to the quote from 1.1.3–4 we should notice the context of this whole passage. It is directed towards “previous compilers of Arts of Rhetoric”. What Aristotle is referring to here are the earlier writers of handbooks in Rhetoric, primarily designed to aid in defending or accusing in the court of law (“directed only to the dicast”). These handbooks did not pay attention to *pisteis* (proof), focusing instead only on “the arousing of prejudice, compassion, anger, and similar emotion [that] has *no connection with the matter in hand*”. It is not necessary to suppose here that Aristotle is criticizing all previous writers on rhetoric (for example Isocrates) or that this is a general statement about the use of emotions in rhetoric. It is a statement only about (the predominant) use of emotional influences that are outside of the subject by previous writers of handbooks in judicial rhetoric.

Another passage that seems to warn against the use of emotional influence and as such presents the same view as in 1.1 is in Book 3 where Aristotle says the following:

for, as a matter of right, one should aim at nothing more in a speech than how to avoid exciting pain or pleasure. For justice should consist in fighting the case with the facts alone, so that everything else that is beside demonstration is superfluous; nevertheless, as we have just said, it is of great importance owing to the corruption of the hearer. (3.1.5)

Now on the face of it this seems to warn against emotional influence, which is also how most commentators read it. But what Aristotle is saying is that we should not try to please or scare our audience, but only stick to the facts of the case. Scaring or arousing pity might be through parading your children, begging for mercy, or hinting to powerful friends who will revenge you if you do not get it your way. Exciting anger by showing somebody to have acted unjustly, or pity by showing them to have been treated unfairly on the other hand is not foreign to the case, and, I contend, belong to the argument. More importantly, it is reasonable to suppose that this is also how Aristotle himself understands it.

Many commentators, for example Rorty (1996, 2) interprets Aristotle’s metaphor about warping the ruler as influencing emotionally. Why must all emotional influence warp the ruler, or is it reasonable to ascribe such a view to Aristotle? It is instructive that Rorty links this to making “the worse appear to be the better course”. Making the worse appear the better, or the weaker argument appear the stronger is what Socrates says is the standard complaint against philosophers and it is what is proposed to be taught in Socrates’s school in Aristophanes’ comedy *The clouds*. But none of the examples of making the worse argument the better here, or what Socrates is presumably referring to can be understood as predominantly emotional influence. On the contrary, it is subtle (albeit false) logic that brings this about, and the correcting reaction (here representing sound reason) is very often emotional.

### Is Aristotle alone in his complaints against certain types of emotional influence?

Now we have seen that one of the main questions when it comes to explaining the relation of 1.1 with the rest of the rhetoric is to understand just exactly what Aristotle is criticizing in the earlier quote from 1.1.3–4. Is it any kind of emotional influence, or is it only emotional influence that is foreign to the subject, and if the latter what does this mean? One way we might get a clue to an answer is if we can find somebody else, contemporary with Aristotle and with experience from the same field, expressing something similar. There are no other surviving books on rhetoric from the period except the *Rhetoric to Alexander*, also belonging to the Aristotelian corpus, but generally agreed to be spurious, perhaps written by Anaximenes of Lampsacus. This treatise does not shed much light on our present topic. There are however a number of preserved speeches written by different orators, some written for real events, some not.

One particularly interesting judicial speech is that of Lycurgus against Leocrates. Not only is it an interesting insight into judicial oratory of Aristotle's time,<sup>21</sup> but like Aristotle Lycurgus also has something to say about what is proper in a judicial speech – what means of persuasion are proper and should be allowed and which not. Consider this quote:

In my speech also justice shall come first; on no occasion will I have recourse to falsehoods or irrelevance. Most of the speakers who come before you behave in the strangest possible manner, either giving you advice from the platform on public affairs or wasting their charges and calumnies on any subject except the one on which you are going to vote. (Lycurgus 1.11)<sup>22</sup>

Here Lycurgus, like Aristotle, criticizes what he thinks is the practise of most judicial orators of speaking outside the subject. He also (1.12), like Aristotle (1.1.5) presents the Areopagus as exemplary in prohibiting this talk outside the subject. Further on in his speech we see that much of what Lycurgus means by talking outside the subject is precisely trying to influence the judges emotionally by arguments which have nothing to do with the question of guilt:

But before the witnesses come up I want to say a few words to you. You are well acquainted, gentlemen, with the tricks of defendants and with the requests made by others asking pardon for them. You know too well that desire for bribes and favours induces many witnesses to forget what they know, to fail to appear, or to contrive some other excuse. (Lycurgus 1.20)

And later:

On the other hand which people could he probably impose upon by arguments, appealing to their softer side by his tears and so winning their sympathy? The jury. [...] What was the use of pretexts, pleas, excuses? Justice is plain, the truth easy and the proof brief. (Lycurgus 1.33)<sup>23</sup>

What is outside the subject is “appealing to their (the jury's) softer side”, winning their sympathy by tears, i.e. at least partly *emotional* influence that has nothing to do with the case

<sup>21</sup> Lycurgus lived from 390 to 324, meaning that he was a contemporary of Aristotle; furthermore, he had attended the schools of both Plato and Isocrates.

<sup>22</sup> See also 1.13 where Lucurgus complains that many orators speak outside the subject.

<sup>23</sup> Lycurgus also echoes Aristotle in pointing out that rhetoric can be used in a right and a wrong way, either defending truth, or opposing it; compare Rhet.1.1.12–13 with Lyc. 1.138.

but is designed purely to sway the judges' feelings.<sup>24</sup> Evidently, Lycurgus has some of the same complaints as Aristotle. At the same time, it is clear that Lycurgus has no qualms about utilizing emotional influences. Making no secret that this is what he is trying, by implication he clearly sees these emotional influences as *not* foreign to the subject. On the contrary, they are necessary for the judges to understand the case and to reach a just verdict. He says for example:

And so he disappeared, a deserter, untouched by pity for the city's harbors from which he was putting out to sea, and unashamed in face of the walls which, for his own part, he left undefended. Looking back at the Acropolis and the temple of Zeus the Savior and Athena the Protectress, which he had betrayed, he had no fear, though he will presently call upon these gods to save him from danger. (Lycurgus 1.17)

And:

You have heard the witnesses, gentlemen. What I am now going to say will give you good reason for indignation and hatred of this man Leocrates. (Lycurgus 1.25)<sup>25</sup>

Much of the speech, as exemplified by the above quote from 1.17, is also dedicated to establishing the character (ethos) of Leocrates. He is cowardly, impious, lacking in respect etc. All these characteristics, which are connected with the argument through examples, is of course meant to influence the judges emotionally. And the point is that all these characteristics are seen as relevant to the question of guilt. They are meant to explain why Leocrates acted as he did.<sup>26</sup>

The whole speech is full of examples and statements designed to produce an emotional response in the audience/judges, particularly in connection with descriptions of courage and sacrifice in a military context, appeal to nationalism or national pride, and at the same time constantly pointing out that the defendant is lacking all the moral feelings that the audience/judges, and all decent Athenians as Lycurgus sees it, are having. Lycurgus rounds off his speech by again pointing out the appropriateness of not diverging outside the case, as he could have done by "slandering the private life of the defendant". Such slander would presumably be used to evoke negative feelings in the judges, and from Lycurgus pointing out that *he* has not done this, we can assume that this was done by others.

My task has been to assist my country, its temples and its laws. I have conducted the trial rightly and justly without slandering the private life of the defendant or digressing from the subject of my indictment. It is now for each of you to reflect that the absolver of Leocrates condemns his country to death and slavery, that of the two caskets before you one stands for treason and the other for deliverance, that the votes cast into one are

<sup>24</sup> Lycurgus also attacks the practise of others, asking a favour for the defendant, trying to sway the judges by appealing to previous services to the state. These are seen as irrelevant for the case, meaning that even if the judges feel gratitude for these deeds they have nothing to do with the question of guilt in this case, and so it is wrong to try to take advantage of the judges' feeling of gratitude in this way; see 1.139 and 1.140.

<sup>25</sup> Further evident examples of emotional appeal or influence are 1.15, 1.27, 1.36, 1.58, 1.126, 1.141, 1.148.

<sup>26</sup> It is an established fact that Leocrates has left the city, but the important question is if he left because he wanted to do trade elsewhere (as Leocrates claims) or if he was afraid to defend the city when it was threatened (as Lycurgus claims). Establishing Leocrates' character is crucial in establishing motif.

given for the destruction of your country and the rest for safety and prosperity in Athens. (Lycurgus 1.149)

So Lycurgus is an orator who can be seen to echo Aristotle's arguing against certain foreign influences in the court,<sup>27</sup> identifying them as emotional influences, while he himself uses strong emotional influence in his speech, though all the while restricting himself, at least according to his own mind, to what is relevant and connected to the case. Of course Lycurgus' position cannot just be assumed to be identical to Aristotle's. After all, if we accept the view of those commentators ascribing to Aristotle a more Platonic view of rhetoric, then Lycurgus is one of the rhetoricians Aristotle is attacking. But the example of Lycurgus shows us that the complaint Aristotle is making about speaking outside the subject he is not alone in expressing, and this can help us understand what exactly he means by "outside the subject".

### **Emotional persuasion exemplified by Socrates' defense speech**

Another familiar source that that I have already mentioned and which can help shed light on what Aristotle might be attacking in 1.1 is Plato's *Apology of Socrates*. Here we can trace the same division between what is considered appropriate and inappropriate emotional influence on the ground that some belong and some do not belong to the subject.

In the *Apology* Socrates, famously argues his innocence against the charges of impiety (*asebeia*) and of corrupting the youth. Despite the fact that the dialogue is written by Plato, Socrates utilizes a lot of rhetorical means, also emotional ones. Consider this passage:

Men of Athens, I respect and love you, but I shall obey the god rather than you, and while I live and am able to continue, I shall never give up philosophy or stop exhorting you and pointing out the truth to any one of you whom I may meet, saying in my accustomed way: "Most excellent man, are you who are a citizen of Athens, the greatest of cities and the most famous for wisdom and power, not ashamed to care for the acquisition of wealth and for reputation and honor, when you neither care nor take thought for wisdom and truth and the perfection of your soul?" (29d–e)

This passage is saturated with emotional appeal. It contains expressions of shared national pride, expresses Socrates' respect and devotion for his citizens, Socrates' persistence in his activity and rebuke for spending time and effort on the wrong sort of activities. In fact the whole dialogue is saturated with Socrates' attempts to emotionally sway the audience/judges. It is perhaps easiest to see the abundant use of emotional influence utilized by Socrates when we look at how he tries to establish his own character (*ethos*) for the listeners. He describes his own character as: trustworthy (in that he is always doing the same thing for the same reason, never hiding his intentions),<sup>28</sup> benevolent (his entire activity is for the sake of the

<sup>27</sup> For further parallels between Aristotle and Lycurgus consider the two following statements from each: "For if they admit that he deserted his country, once they have granted this, let them leave it to you [the judges] to determine the seriousness of the offence" (Lyc. 1.63) and "Further, it is evident that the only business of the litigant is to prove that the fact in question is or is not so, that it has happened or not; whether it is important or unimportant, just or unjust, in all cases in which the legislator has not laid down a ruling, is a matter for the dicast himself to decide; it is not the business of the litigants to instruct him" (Rhet. 1.1.6). This last statement from Aristotle is often quoted as indication that Aristotle thinks no emotional influence should be allowed, but that the litigants should be limited to stating the "facts". It is interesting then that Lycurgus has a similar formulation about what should be left for the judges to decide, but then goes right on to utilizing strong emotional language. It indicates that this emotional appeal is not thought of as overstepping what should be left for the judges to decide in Lycurgus, and indicates that this might also be the case for Aristotle.

<sup>28</sup> See 29d, 33a.

Athenians),<sup>29</sup> unwavering<sup>30</sup> and courageous (in war,<sup>31</sup> against the tyrants<sup>32</sup>). In other words, he is trying to evoke trust, gratitude, admiration etc. His accuser is portrayed as something entirely different: untrustworthy, irresponsible, etc. evoking the feelings of distrust, anger, indignation. At the tail of his examination of the character of Meletus Socrates sums up:

For this man appears to me, men of Athens, to be very violent and unrestrained, and actually to have brought this indictment in a spirit of violence and unrestraint and rashness. For he seems, as it were, by composing a puzzle to be making a test [...]. And yet this is the conduct of a jester. (26e–27a)<sup>33</sup>

Now if the judges accept Socrates' characterization, the result is a feeling of mistrust and perhaps contempt for Meletus.

It might be less evident that Socrates is also trying to evoke a certain feeling in the audience/judges (*pathos*). But first of all one should consider the connection between establishing his own character – his *ethos* – and the emotional reaction of the listeners – their *pathos*. If you believe in the portrayal of somebody as trustworthy and brave, you will have a feeling of trust and admiration. There is no direct description of the *pathos* of the jury in the Apology, as is perhaps natural, but there are quite a few passages that let us understand how the audience is reacting, also emotionally, to what Socrates is saying. The passages seem to portray Socrates as evoking anger in the audience, and as such harming himself, and this could then be seen as Socrates not caring about trying to evoke the appropriate positive emotions in the audience. But this is not so I think. After all, Socrates has to try to evoke the right emotions that are *connected to the case*, and so cannot avoid explaining what he thinks is the truth.<sup>34</sup>

Another possible objection here is that we cannot suppose that Socrates is trying to be acquitted at all, and that he might actually intentionally be provoking the jury in order to be convicted and sentenced to death since death is nothing to fear. Such an interpretation is especially likely if we read the Apology in the light of the *Phaedo*. But any self-interest aside, I believe that Socrates has a strong interest in conveying the truth. This is what he has been seeking all his life, and tried to make others seek. So in his trial he has to try to convince the audience/judges of the facts. And the fact is that he is innocent.<sup>35</sup>

We have seen how Socrates utilizes a wide range of emotional persuasion when defending himself, all of which are relevant to the subject matter. But Socrates at one point specifically addresses what kind of means of influence he is not prepared to use. He says:

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<sup>29</sup> See 23c.

<sup>30</sup> See 28d, 32a.

<sup>31</sup> See 28e.

<sup>32</sup> See 32c–e.

<sup>33</sup> See also 24c, 25c, 26d for attempts to establish Meletus' character designed to evoke hostility or mistrust towards him.

<sup>34</sup> “And, men of Athens, do not interrupt me with noise, even if I seem to you to be boasting; for the word which I speak is not mine, but the speaker to whom I shall refer it is a person of weight. For of my wisdom – if it is wisdom at all – and of its nature, I will offer you the god of Delphi as a witness” (20e). Here Socrates seems to have evoked hostile emotions in his audience. But notice that he right away tries to explain that there is no reason for these hostile reactions. In other words, he is also trying to quench them, but never in a way that will be in breach with, or avoid revealing, the truth. See also 30b–d.

<sup>35</sup> Socrates also states quite clearly that he wants to convince the jury of his innocence: “Now I wish that this might turn out so, if it is better for you and for me, and that I might succeed with my defence” (19a). He also at 37a–b says that he thinks he would have been able to convince the jury had he had more time. Socrates' intention then is clearly to convince the jury of his innocence.



Perhaps one of you might be angry as he recalls that when he himself stood trial on a less dangerous charge, he begged and implored the juryman with tears, that he brought his children and many of his friends and family into court to arouse as much pity as he could, but that I do none of these things, even though I may seem to be running the ultimate risk. [...] I do not think it right to supplicate the jury and to be acquitted because of this, but to teach and persuade them. It is not the purpose of a juryman's office to give justice as a favor to whoever seems good to him, but to judge according to law. (34c–35c)

It is clearly an example of trying to emotionally influence the jury Socrates is attacking here, but it is not the emotional influence per se that is the problem. The problem is that it is foreign to the subject. The question whether Socrates is guilty of impiety (*asebeia*) or not has nothing to do with whether he pleads or not, or whether friends and family plead, or whether they would be sad to see him convicted.<sup>36</sup>

Let me finish this enquiry of the Apology with a quote from the last part when Socrates addresses the judges after having received his death sentence. Here he distinguishes between those who voted for conviction and those who voted for acquittal. The latter he calls friends:

I feel that you are my friends, and I wish to show you the meaning of this which has now happened to me. For, judges – and in calling you judges I give you your right name [...] (40a)

Why is he reserving the name of real judges only for those who acquitted him? Clearly these are the “real judges” because they have seen what is just and judged correctly. Socrates says about these that he feels that they are his friends. There were people in court, and perhaps among the judges that voted for his acquittal, who were actual friends of Socrates. But hardly every person in this group was his friend. I think this characterization of those who voted for acquittal as friends is telling, for it reveals some quality in them that is connected with their judgement. They have a sympathetic or friendly feeling towards Socrates. In other words those with a friendly feeling towards Socrates are the real judges in that they have understood and judged correctly, *not* because they were already friends of Socrates. On the contrary, if we trust Socrates' assessment, most citizens had a hostile attitude towards him, so at least some of these, and a surprisingly large number according to Socrates himself, have changed their mind. Socrates has thus influenced them, both through *logos* and *ethos*, possibly also working directly at their *pathos*, so that in the end they have a correct understanding of the situation, which is both an intellectual understanding, but also an emotional understanding, and thus they feel friendly towards Socrates.

If we return to Aristotle's complaint in 1.1 then, the same type of emotional influence that we have seen Socrates criticizing as foreign to the subject matter is precisely what the previous writers of rhetorical handbooks were emphasizing. It was a common practice in trials for the defendant to parade his children as part of a pledge for pity.<sup>37</sup> When Aristotle argues against the use of these specific emotional influences, this is what one would expect, even if he held that emotional influence in general was not bad in itself. It is these types of emotional pleads, I suggest, that he argues against in 1.1. It is these types of emotional influence that the laws ought to forbid for they have nothing to do with the matter in question. If Socrates has

<sup>36</sup> It is quite clear that Socrates distinguishes between a type of rhetoric, or at least way of speaking that utilizes illegitimate means, and one that uses legitimate means. At 38d–e he states that he *could* have spoken in a manner utilizing illegitimate modes of persuasion, like the ones the court is used to hear, but that he has refused to do so.

<sup>37</sup> As we saw ridiculed by Aristophanes in the opening quote from *the Wasps*, 975.

committed impiety as the law describes it, he is guilty. If not, not. This is all that the judges have to decide. But for a judge to decide this, he has to know something about the character of Socrates, and of his accuser, and the way the judge feels towards the accused is surely influential on his judgment, and should be.

### **The rule of law and how the judges judge**

There is however a further difficulty which we have not yet looked at, and which is often referred to as showing that Aristotle had an austere concept of rhetoric, void of all emotional influence in mind in Rhetoric 1.1, namely that Aristotle says that we ought to have as much as possible decided by law instead of leaving it to the jury's judgment. He says about the jurymen:

For them, friendliness and hostility and individual self-interest are often involved, with the result that they are no longer able to see the truth adequately, but their private pleasure or grief casts a shadow on their judgment. (Rhetoric 1.1.7, 1354b)

What Aristotle attacks here are *personal* feelings, not feelings or emotions in general.<sup>38</sup> That you pity this man because his many children plead so movingly, or that you dislike his brother, or that you dislike people with snub noses must not be allowed to influence your judgment as juror. This is the strength of the law, as Aristotle points out. Laws are about generals (Impiety is ...), not about particulars (Socrates is guilty of impiety). However, in order to reach a conclusion on Socrates's guilt, an impression of whether he is generally trustworthy, just, honest etc., all of which will create an emotional attitude towards him, is relevant for deciding whether it is likely that Socrates has now acted impiously, or has intentionally corrupted the youth.

In my opinion many commentators of the apparent discrepancy between chapter 1 of Book 1 and the discussion of emotions in Book 2 presuppose that there is a conflict between reason (which they then believe the law to express) on the one hand, and (irrational or a-rational) emotions on the other. This of course will create the conflict (in addition to the puzzle why a person like Aristotle, so preoccupied with what is good and virtuous, should devote so much time to giving advice on how to utilize emotional influence in oratory). But if we instead understand the emotions as part of any understanding in the practical sphere, i.e. questions about value, the conflict (and puzzle) is at least weakened.

Kennedy comments on Aristotle's insistence on leaving as little as possible to the juror's judgment and deciding as much as possible by law by saying:

Aristotle probably had little personal experience with cases at law and thus did not quite appreciate the impossibility of providing by law for every conceivable future circumstance. (Kennedy 2007, 32)

I would say that on the contrary Aristotle was keenly aware of this, which I think is pretty clear from his discussion of equity or reasonableness in Book 5, chapter 10 of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Here Aristotle points to the apparent problem of the reasonable sometimes being contrary to what is just; the just being understood as what is according to law:

What creates the problem is that while the reasonable is just, it is not the just according to law, but rather a rectification of the legally just. The

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<sup>38</sup> Personal in the sense that they are feelings you have towards somebody for other reasons than what the case is about.

cause of this is that all law is universal, and yet there are some things which it is not possible to make correct universal pronouncements. So in the sorts of cases in which it is necessarily pronounced universally, but cannot do so and achieve correctness, law chooses what holds for the most part, in full knowledge of the error it is making. Nor is it for that reason any less correct; for the error is not in the law, or in the lawgiver, but in the nature of the case; for the sphere of action consists of this sort of material from the start. [...] And this is the nature of the reasonable: a rectification of law, in so far as law is deficient because of its universal aspect. (NE 1137b11–1137b28)

The rule of law is very important for Aristotle in general. One could say that it is the rule of law on which Aristotle bases his political thinking. But laws are not ideal. Laws are only valid for the most part and in general, so something has to be left for the judges and for individual judgment. In my opinion Aristotle states this as an indispensable part of what laws are and what we can expect of them. Even the best laws in the best state would still demand equity (*epieikeia*) from the judges administering the law. In connection with rhetoric the point is that there will always be the need for judgment in individual cases, and in these individual cases rhetoric has its function. If the laws could be expressed perfectly, covering all possible instances once and for all, the task of the judge would simply be to decide “the facts”, i.e. establishing what has happened and then judge whether this is in accordance with law or not. There would be no room for equity. If however even the best of laws are too general to incorporate all possible instances, there will always be room for equity.

Another aspect is the transition from written law to real circumstances. Here also equity is indispensable. Take a law against stealing for example. Let us say that a very crude law says that stealing is taking something that does not belong to you and that this should be punished by you having to compensate the value of the stolen item, plus an additional punishment in proportion with the value of what was stolen.<sup>39</sup> Say I took a horse from Thrasymachus. Now according to the law I am guilty and should be punished. But I could try to convince you that I did not steal the horse, I thought it belonged to Glaucon and had promised to bring his horse back with me from Piraeus. I might try to portray myself as an honest character, not much fond of horses etc. The way you would feel towards me would then depend on whether you trusted my portrayal of my own character or not. This in turn would certainly influence your verdict on whether I am really guilty of theft or not, although according to the word of the law I am, since I have indeed taken a horse. These ways of trying to influence the jury emotionally are therefore perfectly acceptable, because they shed light on the case in a way the simple description of me taking a horse does not. If I on the other hand should point out that you all really dislike Thrasymachus, and that he deserves some bad fortune, and I pull out my lyre and give you a splendid performance containing the best of Attic power ballads, this is not a proper way to sway your judgment, simply because it has nothing to do with the question whether I stole or not.

In summary, what I take Aristotle to be saying in Rhetoric 1.1 is that the laws should forbid the rhetorician from trying to influence the jury with things that are foreign to the case. Again,

<sup>39</sup> Now this as I said is a very crude law which could easily be approved upon by specifying more precisely what counts as stealing. The point is however that no matter how well you formulate the law or how precisely you specify it, there will always be cases where the law does not fit, and where the judge must use equity to reach a correct judgment, the judgment being based on the fullest possible understanding of the situation. (This is not to say that Aristotle doesn't think one should attempt to make the laws as good as possible by trying to specify as precisely as possible what is understood as right or wrong, just or unjust. The point is that no matter how well formulated the law is, it is never perfect. The subject matter, which is the practical sphere, does not allow for perfect laws.)

Socrates' example of putting his children's grief and pleas on display would be foreign to the question of his guilt. This type of emotionally swaying the jury should therefore be disallowed. On the other hand, emotional influences that are relevant to the case are not only acceptable, but necessary means in order to reach a full understanding. No matter if the conclusion is that "Socrates is impious!" or that "Socrates is innocent!", the jury's verdict will – at least in part – be based on an emotional judgment.

### **Bridging the gap between Book 1, chapters 1–3 and Book 2 of the Rhetoric**

I have said earlier that it is particularly the way emotional influence is used in judicial oratory Aristotle criticises and which he describes as speaking outside the subject. Here is the important passage in this respect:

Hence, although the method of deliberative and forensic Rhetoric is the same, and although the pursuit of the former is nobler and more worthy of a statesman than that of the latter, which is limited to transactions between private citizens, they say nothing about the former, but without exception endeavor to bring forensic speaking under the rules of art. The reason of this is that in public speaking it is less worth while to talk of what is outside the subject, and that deliberative oratory lends itself to trickery less than forensic, because it is of more general interest. For in the assembly the judges decide upon their own affairs, so that the only thing necessary is to prove the truth of the statement of one who recommends a measure, but in the law courts this is not sufficient; there it is useful to win over the hearers, for the decision concerns other interests than those of the judges, who, having only themselves to consider and listening merely for their own pleasure, surrender to the pleaders but do not give a real decision. That is why, as I have said before, in many places the law prohibits speaking outside the subject in the law courts, whereas in the assembly the judges themselves take adequate precautions against this. (1.1.10)

This division between judicial and deliberative oratory is telling; so is the observation that what is outside the subject is more common in judicial than deliberative oratory. For why, if Aristotle was attacking emotional influence in general, would there be such a division? Surely, in deliberative oratory, the use of emotional influence is quite common and effective. Again the crucial passage is "to talk of what is outside the subject". It is not emotional influence or appeal in itself that is the problem, but that it does not belong to the subject. Then this division between judicial and deliberative oratory makes perfect sense. For it is fully understandable that somebody might be swayed to acquit somebody, or give them a milder sentence, by having weeping and begging children paraded before them. It is less likely that someone will be persuaded to go to war against the Spartans, or build a new temple by the same means. The reason is that in the judicial case there is no (or at least less) self-interest involved, whereas in the deliberative case there is more self-interest involved. So these ways of utilizing emotional influence that is *outside the subject* is more common in judicial oratory, but the use of emotional influence as such is equally common, and from this we can conclude that it is not the emotional aspect Aristotle is criticizing in 1.1, but what is foreign to the subject. This also means that there can be equally appropriate means both in judicial and deliberative oratory to persuade emotionally.

Brunschwig draws the attention to an important passage where we can see a division between emotions belonging to the art (entechnical) and those not belonging to the art

(atechnical) by the phrase “roused to emotion by his speech (*hupo tou logou*)” (1.2.5).<sup>40</sup> This important division is precisely what explains what Aristotle is warning against in 1.1. It is the atechanical emotions that are the problem, not emotions themselves. This is also Brunschwig’s position. But it must be admitted that, as the text of Aristotle stands, there is certainly room for interpreting it otherwise, and that, if we incorporate our own “modern” understanding of emotions when trying to interpret Aristotle, it is perhaps more natural to interpret what is atechanical or foreign to the subject as precisely the emotions. This is the relevant passage:

The orator persuades by means of his hearers, when they are roused to emotion by his speech; for the judgments we deliver are not the same when we are influenced by joy or sorrow, love or hate; and it is to this alone that, as we have said, the present-day writers of treatises endeavor to devote their attention. (We will discuss these matters in detail when we come to speak of the emotions.) Lastly, persuasion is produced by the speech itself, when we establish the true or apparently true from the means of persuasion applicable to each individual subject. (1.2.5–6)

Given the previous critique of other writers of handbooks in rhetoric, on the face of it Aristotle seems to say that what these writers have been preoccupied with is emotional influence, and that emotions as such alter our judgment (presumably by obscuring the truth, or at least not in any way contributing to it). I do not contend that this is a reasonable interpretation of the above text. But this interpretation leaves us with the puzzle as to why Aristotle, when he returns to the treatment of emotions in Book 2 (as he says he will) no longer seems to censor the use of emotional influence. On the contrary, he gives detailed advice as to how to use it.

But we do not have to read the above paragraph this way. If we instead, for the sake of the argument, suppose that Aristotle thinks there is no absolute distinction between reason and emotion, but that they, in the practical sphere, intermingle, what Aristotle is saying can be paraphrased like this:

*The orator, in order to make his argument clear and fully understandable for the listener, must, through his speech and its arguments, be able to arouse the appropriate feelings in the listener, feelings that will make them see the situation and argument clearly. It is however important that this evoking of the emotions is done in connection with the argument, and that he does not try to evoke feelings by appealing to things that has nothing to do with the case. This will only obscure the argument. The other writers of handbooks in rhetoric have however focused solely on the arousal of emotions, without showing how they are connected to the argument or indeed bothering about whether they are connected to the argument or belonging to the case. I will in more detail (in Book 2) show how emotions can arise in connection with particular cases and thus contribute to a true understanding of the situation.*

And so, when he gets to Book 2, this is what Aristotle does.

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<sup>40</sup> Brunschwig 1996, 45.



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### Latin summary

*Misericordiā atque timore persuadere: quomodo Aristoteles motiones animi in Rhetoricis exhibuerit.* Scopus huius symbolae est in eo, ut id examinetur, quod communiter percipitur discrepantia inter sonum generaliter pragmaticum sive non moralem operis, q.e. *Rhetorices*, et modum, quo Aristoteles aliis in operibus suis quaestiones normativas tractat, capitulo introductorio *Rhetorices* incluso. Interpretationem autem propono, qua hanc discrepantiam vitare licet.

Cum Aristoteles in Rhet. 1,1 moneat effectum motionum animi esse cavendum, haec sententia percipienda est in conexu adnotationum criticarum, quae spectant ad priores auctores oratoriorum librorum manualium. Cum alios fontes historicos ad praxim rhetoricam pertinentes spectemus, melius intellegere valemus, de quanam re illis adnotationibus criticis agatur. Ipse censeo ex conexu historico apparere criticam Aristotelis directam esse contra quandam contemporaneam praxim iuridicam, nempe tali, qua conamina fiebant motiones animi flectere modis, qui ipsi argumento erant alieni. Primarii fontes mei in hoc conexu historico instituendo sunt Platonis *Apologia* et Lycurgi oratio *In Leocratem*.

Cum Aristotelis textum sub aspectu contemporanei iuridici modi practici legamus, praebetur intellectio diversa, quae nos ab illa contradictione, quae videtur, liberat. Puto enim modum, quo effectus motionum animi exseritur, esse magni momenti. Id quod Aristoteles monet cavendum, est modus, quo animi commoventur et qui tamen ipsi argumento est alienus. Adnotationes criticae sunt directae contra talem commotionem, qua *ethos* instituitur vel *pathos* efficitur neque *logos* omnino respicitur. Quaerendo modum legendi, quo motiones animi intellegi possunt proferentes aliquid genuinum de condicione, id est aliquid, quod sine motionibus animi non revera intellegitur, discrepantia haec apud Aristotelem invenienda solvi potest.

### English summary

The aim of this paper is to examine what has commonly been perceived as a discrepancy between the generally pragmatic or amoral tone of the *Rhetoric* and Aristotle's preoccupation with normative questions elsewhere in his works, including in the opening chapter of the *Rhetoric* itself. I suggest an interpretation that allows for this discrepancy to be avoided.

When Aristotle warns against emotional influence in *Rhetoric* 1.1, this statement must be seen in context with his critique of previous writers of rhetorical handbooks. By looking at other historical sources to the rhetorical practice that Aristotle appears to criticize, we can better understand what the critique is really about. I argue that this historical context makes plausible an understanding of Aristotle's critique as being directed towards a specific practice in the contemporary judicial practice, namely, that of trying to influence emotionally by means that are foreign to the argument. My main sources in establishing this historical context are Plato's *Apology* and Lycurgus' *Against Leocrates*.

Reading Aristotle's text in light of the judicial practice of the time offers an alternative understanding ridding us of the apparent contradiction. I suggest that it is the manner in which the emotional influence is made that is essential. What Aristotle is warning against is emotional influence that is foreign to the subject matter; the critique is directed against influencing through establishing *ethos* or producing *pathos* without this having any connection to *logos*. By seeking a reading where the emotions can be understood as saying something genuine about the situation, something that without the emotions could not be properly understood, the apparent discrepancy in Aristotle can be resolved.

### Keywords

Aristotle, Plato, Lycurgus, *Rhetoric*, *Apology*, Emotions, Emotional Persuasion.

# PLASTIC ACCOMMODATIONS OF FEMALE AGENCY: VERGIL, HORACE AND ANTIPATER OF THESSALONICA

Thea S. Thorsen

## Introduction

Female figures abound in various art forms in the ancient tradition. Such figures are often cast in the role of objects. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Pygmalion's female ivory-statue, which subsequently even becomes alive through his workings, paradigmatically epitomises the female figure as an object. While the intersection between statuary portraits and poetry will remain central, as it is in the tale of Pygmalion, this paper strikes out a different approach and focuses on examples of female agency in plastic as well as literary art forms in Augustan Rome. By taking statues of female figures in the Portico of Pompey as a point of departure, the subsequent analysis scrutinises poems by less known as well as very famous Augustan poets that are rarely, if ever explored in relationship with each other in Classical scholarship.

## Female figures in the Portico of Pompey

One of the most arresting testimonies to representations of female figures in plastic art in ancient Rome is found in the Portico of Pompey.<sup>1</sup> The Portico of Pompey was a part of the great Pompeian Complex, which was built during the sixties and fifties BC<sup>2</sup> in commemoration of the three triumphs of Pompey the Great.<sup>3</sup> The gigantic complex included a lavish theatre with the first permanent stage in Rome,<sup>4</sup> a temple for Pompey the Great's patron deity Venus Victrix ('Venus the victorious / giver of victory'), and an adjacent garden grove.<sup>5</sup> The garden grove was framed by the aforementioned portico, at whose far end there was an *exedra*, an open recess for sitting in, where Julius Caesar was famously stabbed to death during a senatorial meeting on the Ides of March 44 BC.<sup>6</sup>

The portico was the first public park in Rome and richly decorated with various forms of art.<sup>7</sup> Among the artistic decorations was a number of female figures, of which the following are of particular relevance to this investigation: the Cnidian Aphrodite (= Venus), made by the sculptor Praxiteles,<sup>8</sup> a group of colossal marble statues, each about four meters tall, of which

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<sup>1</sup> Almeida 1981, table 32.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Steinby 1999, 148. The temple of Venus Victrix was inaugurated in 52 B.C. (cf. Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 10.1.7).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Beard 2007: 7–41 and Östenberg 2009 *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny the elder reports that the theatre could host 40 000 spectators (*Historia Naturalis* 36.115) against 25 000 by modern, more modest estimates, cf. Beacham and Denard 2003: 129.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Martial 2.14.19 *nemus*, Propertius 2.32.11–16.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *Vitae Parallelae: Caesar*, 66.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gleason 1994; Plutarch, *Vitae Parallelae: Caesar*, 66; and Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 7.34, 35.41, 59, 114, 126, 132.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Tatian, *Ad Graecos* 34.20; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 13.591a; cf. also Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 34.79 and Dillon 2010, 48. For Tatian's *Ad Graecos* as testimony to the statues in question, see below, esp. n. 20.

the extant five, four have been identified as Muses,<sup>9</sup> as well as an extraordinary assembly of statues that certainly included some<sup>10</sup> and probably all<sup>11</sup> of the following women:

1. Praxilla, poet,<sup>12</sup> sculpted by Lysippus<sup>13</sup>
2. Learchis, sculpted by Menestratus
3. Sappho, poet,<sup>14</sup> sculpted by Silanion
4. Corinna, poet, sculpted by Silanion
5. Erinna, poet, sculpted by Naucydes
6. Myrtis, poet, sculpted by Boiscus
7. Myro, poet, sculpted by Cephistodotus
8. Anyte, poet, sculpted by Cephistodotus and Euthykrates
9. Pantheuchis, made pregnant by rape, sculpted by Euthykrates
10. Taliarchis, sculpted by Euthykrates
11. Mnesarchis, sculpted by Euthykrates
12. Praxagoris, sculpted by Gomphus
13. Clito, sculpted by Amphistratus
14. Telesilla, poet, sculpted by Niceratus
15. Glaucippe / Alcippe,<sup>15</sup> mother of an elephant, sculpted by Niceratus
16. Mystis,<sup>16</sup> sculpted by Aristodotus<sup>17</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Fuchs 1982.

<sup>10</sup> The localization in the portico of the female figures in question is certain where Tatian and Pliny concur (see note 9 and item 15 and 22 in the statuary list) and where the archaeological evidence and Tatian concur (see note 11 and item 16 in the list).

<sup>11</sup> Because both Pliny's testimony and the archaeological evidence overlap with Tatian's statuary catalogue on individual points (see note 9 and 10), it is generally assumed that all of the figures included in the catalogue were on display in the Portico of Pompey, cf. Coarelli 1971–1972 = 1996; Fuchs 1982, 77; Sauron 1987; Stewart 1998; Steinby 1999, 148–149; Kuttner 1999, 123–145; Dillon 2006: 40–41, 184, n. 28, and 2010, 48; Rosenmeyer 2007, 279; Bowditch 2009, 425; and Evans 2009, 123–145. For a sceptical view, see Beard 2007, 342, n. 50–51.

<sup>12</sup> Tatian does not call Praxilla a poet, but refers to her poetry (*Ad Graecos* 33.9).

<sup>13</sup> For references outside of Tatian to the sculptors and their motifs, see the apparatus of Marcovich 1995, 61–65.

<sup>14</sup> Tatian clearly knows Sappho too as a poet, but he, as the first extant author, also calls her a 'miserable little whore' (*Ad Graecos*, 33.20). Before Tatian, a certain Didymus is supposed to have speculated along the same lines according to Seneca (*Epistulae*, 88.37), see also Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 12.19.

<sup>15</sup> It is generally assumed that Pliny's Alcippe (see note 9) and Tatian's Glaucippe refer to the same statue, since there were hardly many statues in Rome of women who had given birth to elephants and the difference in spelling may be due to textual corruption, cf. Brunn 1857, 272, with bibliographical references.

<sup>16</sup> Mystis is attested in titles of comedies of Antiphanes (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 10.44c 9, 494c) and Philemon (Stobaeus 100.5).

<sup>17</sup> The sculptor Aristodotus, like Gomphus (cf. item 12), is not known from other sources, cf. Brunn 1857, 525. The discovery of a base inscription, which was retrieved near the *Area sacra di Largo Argentina* in Rome – which once was covered by the far end of the Pompeian Portico and which displays the mutilated names of Mystis and Aristodotus, uniquely attested in Tatian and on this base inscription – therefore sensationally vouched for the accuracy of Tatian's account, see Coarelli 1996 and Stewart 1998. The inscription is of Augustan date and could have been a part of Augustus's restoration of the Pompeian Complex (*Res Gestae* 20). See also Thorsen 2012.

17. Phryne, hetaera, sculpted by Praxiteles and Herodotus
18. Glycera, hetaera, sculpted by Herodotus
19. Argaea, lyre player, sculpted by Herodotus
20. Besantis, mother of a black child, sculpted by Dinomedes
21. Melanippe, a wise woman, sculpted by Lysistratus
22. Eutyichis,<sup>18</sup> mother who bore thirty children, sculpted by Periclymenus
23. Euanthe, a mother, sculpted by Calliastratus
24. Neaera, hetaera, sculpted by Calliades
25. Lais, hetaera, sculpted by an unnamed artist<sup>19</sup>

This remarkable catalogue, which is mainly based on the second-century AD *Oratio ad Graecos* ('Speech to the Greeks') 33–34 by the somewhat aberrant Christian apologetic Tatian,<sup>20</sup> includes the statues of eight poets (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 14), five mothers (9, 15, 20, 23, and 22), four hetaerae (17, 18, 24, and 25), and six named but otherwise unidentified women (2, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 16); in addition, there are the statues of Argaea (19), who may have been another hetaera or even an otherwise unattested poet (inasmuch as she is described as a lyre player), and Melanippe (21), who may have been a philosopher and thus a writer or poet.<sup>21</sup>

As far as we can tell, this gallery does not represent divine or mythical characters, but historical persons.<sup>22</sup> Though the mothers in this gallery seem to belong to a rather fantastic category defined by miraculous and monstrous births, which as such might align them to legend rather than history, the poets and hetaerae whose names are attested in other ancient sources were famously real persons.

As historical persons, Sappho and Corinna most conspicuously stand out among the female figures in the Portico of Pompey, simply because they are the two most famous women poets of Antiquity. Furthermore, these women poets represent as such striking examples of female agency, in as much as they are composers of poetry. At the same time Sappho and Corinna, at least her name, figure in Augustan poetry, where they appear as objects of the attention of male poets. Sappho and Corinna are therefore cast both in subject and object positions in the ancient tradition. The two women poets are thus highly relevant to the present investigation into the question of female agency in interartistic representations in ancient Rome. However, as I have already treated such aspects in the case of Sappho and Corinna in other works, I wish in the following to focus on the women poets as a group, the Muses, Glycera, one of the

<sup>18</sup> Both Tatian and Pliny mention this mother by drawing attention to the overwhelming number of births she gave; Pliny alone gives her name (*Historia Naturalis* 7.34).

<sup>19</sup> Tatian merely refers to the artist as a 'male whore' (per Wilamowitz's conjecture), for example in the critical apparatus of Marcovich 1995, 65.

<sup>20</sup> Tatian, a Greek speaking Assyrian, was a follower of the apologetic Justin Martyr, who, after his teacher's death, turned to asceticism and became an apostate, see e.g. *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 2012: 1433. Prompted by the singular attestation of the sculptors Aristodotus and Gomphus, as pointed out by Brunn (see note 17), Kalkmann 1887 dismissed the accuracy of Tatian's entire account of the statues in question. The reliability of Tatian's account was, however, vindicated by the discovery of the base inscription mentioned above (see note 17), which displays the name of Mystis and Aristodotus, thus uniquely matching Tatian's text. Unfortunately, the evidence in stone has not been taken into account in the latest editions of Tatian, cf. Whittaker 1982, 60; Marcovich 1995, 62; and Trelenberg 2012, 172. See also Thorsen 2012.

<sup>21</sup> *Melanippe the Wise* is also the title of a fragmentary tragedy by Euripides, cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, 248–252.

<sup>22</sup> For an analysis of the portrait-gallery from an overall archaeological point of view, see Sande 2014.



hetaerae, and Venus, all figures that appear both in the Portico of Pompey and in Augustan poetry.<sup>23</sup> The main focus will be on the plastic appearances of these figures in poetry.

### **Antipater of Thessalonica: A group of female poets**

The largest group that is distinct as such among the female portraits in the Portico of Pompey is the collegium of poets. The intellectual faculties of the female figures in this portrait gallery are therefore just as, if not more conspicuous than the erotic and procreative qualities. Furthermore, the intellectual faculties render the group of poets particularly relevant to the present investigation into female agency.

Strikingly, a Greek text of Augustan date includes all the names of the eight woman poets that are identified as such in the Pompeian Portico, as well as a ninth. In his epigram 19 Antipater of Thessalonica, who enjoyed the patronage of the Scipio family, describes the poets thus:

τάσδε θεογλώσσους Ἑλικῶν ἔθρεψε γυναῖκας  
 ὕμνοις καὶ Μακεδῶν Πιερίας σκόπελος,  
 Πρήξιλλαν, Μοιρώ, Ἀνύτης στόμα, θῆλυν Ὅμηρον,  
 Λεσβιάδων Σαπφῶ κόσμον ἐυπλοκάμων,  
 Ἑρινναν, Τελέσιλλαν ἀγακλέα, καὶ σέ, Κόριννα,  
 θοῦριν Ἀθηναίης ἀσπίδα μελψαμέναν,  
 Νοσσίδα θηλύγλωσσον, ἰδὲ γλυκυαχέα Μύρτιν  
 πάσας ἀενάων ἐργατίδας σελίδων.  
 ἐννέα μὲν Μούσας μέγας Οὐρανὸς ἐννέα δ' αὐτά  
 Γαῖα τέκεν, θνατοῖς ἄφθιτον εὐφροσύναν.

These are the women of heavenly voice whom Helicon and Pieria's Macedonian rock nourished on songs, – Praxilla; Moero; the lips of Anytê; the female Homer, Sappho, the glory of the fair-tressed ladies of Lesbos; Erinna, illustrious Telesilla; and you, Corinna, who sang of Athena's warlike shield; Nossis, the tender-voiced; and sweet-singing Myrtis; all craftswomen of immortal pages. The great heavens created nine Muses, and Earth herself nine others for mortals' undying delight.<sup>24</sup>

Here Antipater mentions all the eight women poets that Tatian names in his *Speech to the Greeks*, plus Nossis.<sup>25</sup> The match between the individual women poets among the effigies in question and the women poets included in the epigram of Antipater is remarkable. The striking correspondence, along with the deictic qualities of the poem (τάσδε 1, 'these'; ἰδὲ 7, 'look') has prompted the suggestion that the epigram represents the poet's stroll in the Portico of Pompey, where he addresses the individual portraits of the women poets, finally comparing them with the group of Muses that was also present in the Portico.<sup>26</sup>

Within the framework of the epigram, it is the number of nine that allows Antipater to claim that the women poets represent a parallel to the celestial Muses, whose number

<sup>23</sup> See Thorsen 2012 and 2014, 84.

<sup>24</sup> Translation by Gow and Page 1968.

<sup>25</sup> Before the discovery of the Mystis and Aristodotus inscription mentioned above (see note 17), the name 'Mystis,' universally transmitted in the manuscripts of Tatian, was replaced with 'Nossis' from Kalkmann 1887 onwards, including the latest editions of Tatian by Whittaker 1982 and Marcovich 1995), which thus incorrectly recorded the same number of poets in Tatian as in Antipater's epigram 19 (GP). Although not exact, the match between Tatian and Antipater is nevertheless remarkable. Gow and Page (1968 I, 36): '[W]e know of no other lists of poetesses.' See also Thorsen 2012.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Kuttner 1999, 361–362 and Fuchs 1982, n. 9.

famously also is nine. The epigram might thus be regarded as an elaboration on the notion most prominently promoted in Hellenistic poetry of Sappho as the tenth Muse.<sup>27</sup> In Roman poetry, especially in the genre of Latin love elegy, which flourished at the time of Antipater, the idea of the human Muse is common. Notably, in this poetry, this idea serves first and foremost to confirm the agency of the male poet-lover,<sup>28</sup> since the task of the human Muse is to inspire him so that he acts and creates, that is: produces poetry. Thus, in the context of Augustan poetry the alignment of a female figure with the Muses, even in the few cases where that figure is known as a woman poet, tends to diminish her agency in favor of that of the male poet who writes about her in his verse.

A closer look at how Antipater distributes thematic as well as linguistic gender markers in his poem suggests, however, that he not so much reduces these women poets to Muses, as he leaves room for authorial agency on their part. While certain ring-compositional elements strike a balance between thematic and linguistic gender markers in the *femininum* and the *masculinum* (male: Helicon, 1, Uranus, 9; female: Pieria 2, Gaia 10), the beginning as well as the end of the poem is framed by verbs, which evoke experiences that are exclusive to women (τρέφω 1, ‘to nurse’; τίκτω 10, ‘to give birth’), employed figuratively. Similarly, while there is a sophisticated distribution not only of male and female gender markers, but also of the neuter in the descriptions of Anyte, Sappho, and Corinna,<sup>29</sup> the overall emphasis is on their authorial agency. Indeed, Antipater compares these women to human Muses, which is an apt comparison of the women poets inasmuch as the Muses are female figures associated with literature. There is, however, a major difference between the two kinds of female figures in Antipater’s poem: unlike the divine Muses, the human women do not *inspire* poetry; they are instead ἐργατίδας (8, ‘craftswomen’) who *compose* – in the post-archaic culture of letters – pages that will never perish.

By thus assigning authorial agency to the nine women poets in his epigram, Antipater offers a strikingly close parallel to the honorific portraits of the women poets in the Pompeian Portico. Far from being a simple list, Antipater’s unique poem enhances the relationship between Muses and poets, which is complex whether the poet is male or female, by stressing these women’s authorial agency.

### Horace: Gleaming Glycera

Hetaerae are not as clearly associated with intellectual qualities as women poets. Yet, they might nevertheless be associated with agency. In his poetry, Horace includes the names of three hetaerae whose statues appear in the portrait gallery of the Portico of Pompey: Phryne (*Epodes*, 14.16), Neaera (*Odes*, 3.14.21 and *Epodes* 15.11), and Glycera (*Odes* 1.19.5, 1.30.3, 1.33.2, and 3.19.28). Glycera is by far the least famous of the three hetaerae. Tellingly, Horace is the only Augustan poet who mentions her name, while the names of Phryne and Neaera appear in other poets of the time. Though largely neglected as such, Glycera thus stands out as markedly Horatian. The importance of Glycera in the Horatian *Odes* is furthermore confirmed by the frequency with which Glycera is mentioned: the occurrences of Glycera’s name can only be matched by the case of Chloe among all of Horace’s girls, a fact which adds to her conspicuous presence in the Horatian corpus.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Anthologia Palatina* 7.14, 407; 9.66, 506, 571 and Gosetti-Murrayjohn 2006.

<sup>28</sup> E.g., Propertius 2.1.4 and Ovid *Amores* 1.3.19–20, 2.17.34.

<sup>29</sup> Anyte’s poetic talent is represented *pars pro toto* by her eloquent στόμα (3, mouth), a word in the neuter; Sappho is the female Homer, θῆλυν Ὅμηρον ... Σαπφῶ (3–4), a phrase that proves that, linguistically, the male Homer can be female; and finally, Corinna is said to have sung of the mighty goddess Athena (5–6).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Odes* 1.23.1, 3.7.10, 3.9.6, 9, 19, and 3.26.12.

This is how Glycera is described as she appears for the first time, in a poem that has the form of the poet's excuse (*recusatio*) for the not being able to write of important issues (i.e. war), now that Venus assails him – again:

*urit me Glycerae nitor,  
splendentis Pario marmore purius;  
urit grata protervitas  
et vultus nimium lubricus aspici.*

The splendour of Glycera, shining more purely than Parian marble, burns me; the pleasing forwardness burns [me] as does the face, too slippery to be looked upon. (*Odes*, 1.19.4–8; my translation)

The goddess of love attacks the *ego* of the poem (*in me tota ruens Venus*, *Odes*, 1.19.9, 'all of Venus assails me') and his attention is directed towards Glycera. Furthermore, the description of this erotic object of desire explicitly evokes statuary imagery. The hyperbolic comparison of her splendour (*nitor*) to Parian marble<sup>31</sup> particularly underscores Glycera's resemblance to a plastic portrait. As such, Horace's Glycera appears as an erotic object, compared to a piece of art.

At the same time, Horace's Glycera hardly appears passive. The agency with which Horace's Glycera is endowed in this passage is apparent even on a lexical level. Glycera and qualities belonging to her are grammatically rendered as active in comparison with the poem's *ego*, who remains passive: her 'splendour' burns him, as does her 'welcome forwardness' and her 'face'. Important is also the choice of the word *protervitas* 'forwardness', even 'lustfulness'.<sup>32</sup> Firstly, this quality, which belongs to Glycera, is associated with sexual lasciviousness, which is readily connected with hetaerae. Next, the very term *protervitas* remains hard to reconcile with an idea of passivity, since forwardness necessarily implies a certain engagement of will and action. Finally, the way in which Glycera's face is 'too slippery to be looked upon' seems brilliantly to capture an act of defiance on her part against being objectified. It is as if the agency of Glycera intervenes with the viewer; she is indeed an object of the viewer's passion, but at the same time she actively attempts resisting her on-looker's objectification.<sup>33</sup>

This resistance towards objectification is significant and holds potential insights not only into this, but also into another poem in the Horatian corpus. Notably, the *nitor* ('splendour'), which is so crucial to Glycera's resistance against being objectified, and hence to her agency, is reflected in the *nitor* of the young man Hebrus in Horace's *Odes* 3.12. *Odes* 1.19 and 3.12 are the only instances in the Horatian corpus where this specific word occurs. Consequently, this common lexical feature – which is glaringly conspicuous, as it were – invites the reader to look for further connections between *Odes* 1.19 and 3.12.

Activity versus passivity and masculinity versus femininity are crucial elements in both poems. In *Odes* 1.19 the poem's *ego* is easily confounded with that of the poet, inasmuch as he excuses his inability to produce martial poetry because he has fallen in love again. The assumed male poet-lover thus embodies the subject position of poem 1.19, while the object of his desire remains the female Glycera, who, as we have seen, nevertheless retains agency on her part.

The contrast between active masculinity and passive femininity is at the heart of *Odes* 3.12 as well, where the girl Neobule is not only confined to the household occupation of weaving,

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Pindar *Nemean Odes*, 4.81.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. e.g. *protervo ... marito*, *Odes*. 3.11.11–12, 'lustful husband'.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Sutherland 2003, 70.

she is frequently even unable to work her wool, as she is immobilized by love.<sup>34</sup> In contrast, it may safely be assumed that Hebrus, the poem's male figure, has access to the game of love (*Odes*, 3.12.1, *amori ... ludum*) and sweet wine (*Odes*, 3.12.1–2, *dulci /...vino*) in addition to his reported swimming in the Tiber, riding, sporting and hunting (*Odes*, 3.12.7–12), pleasures that are all denied a girl from a good family such as Neobule (cf. *Odes*, 3.12.3).

Nevertheless, despite the fact that Hebrus seems to be as active as Neobule is passive, she assumes the subject position of the poem,<sup>35</sup> by loving and lusting for Hebrus, while he remains the object of her desire:

*tibi qualum Cythereae puer ales, tibi telas  
operosaeque Minervae studium aufert, Neobule,  
Liparaei nitor Hebri  
simul unctos Tiberinis umeros lavit in undis*

From thee, O Neobule, Cytherea's winged child snatches away thy wool-basket, thy web, and thy devotion to busy Minerva, so soon as radiant Liparean Hebrus has bathed his well-anointed shoulders in Tiber's flood. (*Odes*, 3.12.4–7)<sup>36</sup>

The choice of the word *nitor* not only underscores the naked attractiveness of Hebrus, juxtaposed with *Liparaei*, which recalls the Greek λιπαρός ('oily, shiny with oil')<sup>37</sup> on whom Neobule feasts her eyes, but also reflects, as already touched upon, the gleam of Glycera in *Odes* 1.19.

This gleam arguably infuses Hebrus with Glycera's statuary qualities and renders him too, by association, similar to an object of art. The objectification of Hebrus and Glycera is emphasized by the fact that their names are given in the genitive while their *nitor* functions grammatically as the agent of their erotic power.<sup>38</sup> Thus the gleam of Glycera shines within the Horatian corpus, intertextually reflecting the objectification of Hebrus through Neobule's focus on his *nitor*, and in turn contributing to the confounding of subject/object, male/female, and active/passive that is so essential to the fundamental plot of the two Horatian poems.

### Horace and Vergil: Reflecting female agency in Homer

Aphrodite is a powerful agent in both Horace's *Odes* 1.19 and 3.12 (cf. *Cythereae*, line 4). As a female figure she represents a category endowed with special power, since she is one of the Olympic gods. Fittingly, she appears as one of the most important female figures in the Portico of Pompey: not only is the entire complex dedicated to Venus Victrix as the patron deity of Pompey, she is also represented in the portico by Praxiteles' statue known as the Cnidian Aphrodite.

<sup>34</sup> The name Neobule also occurs in Archilochus (fr. 171 West). Furthermore, Horace's poem has been seen as evoking Alcaeus (fr. 10 L-P) and Sappho (fr. 102 L-P), cf. Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 164–165. Thus Horace *Odes*, 3.12 most notably may evoke all of the Greek poets with whom he associates himself (more or less closely) at *Epist.* 1.19.23–31.

<sup>35</sup> The agency of Horace's Neobule is disputed, cf. Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 165. Recently, Davis 2010, 122, observes that 'Horace is not beyond appropriating the name Neobule, which Archilochus had notoriously conferred upon a female victim of his defamatory verse. He does so, however, in order to further his lyric subtext by transforming the figure of Neobule from an object of verbal abuse to a speaking subject who delivers a brief monologue.'

<sup>36</sup> Translation by Bennett 1995.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. West 2002, 114–15. Horace's Neobule delights in the oily nakedness of Hebrus, like Theocritus's Simaetha delights in that of Delphis (*Idylls* 2.79–82) and Ovid's Hero delights in that of Leander (*Heroides* 19.43–4).

<sup>38</sup> Parallel, of course, to the real agent of *Odes* 3.12, *Cythereae puer ales*.

Aphrodite's image occurs too in a web of literary-sculptural allusions where Horace and Vergil reflect female agency of divine dimensions that arguably goes back to Homer. In fact, with his *nitor* ('splendour'), *unctos umeros* ('anointed shoulders') and *lavit* ('he washes'), Horace's Hebrus arguably recalls Odysseus, as he is about to impress first Nausica in Book 6 (lines 224–31) and then Penelope in Book 23 (lines 153–58) of the *Odyssey*. At these instances in the *Odyssey*, which are so striking because they are so identical,<sup>39</sup> Odysseus is about to become an object of female desire, by means of washing and anointing his body, similar to how Hebrus distracts Neobule from her chores, by doing the same.

In both of the Homeric passages the goddess Athena actively uses her divine power and renders Odysseus's hair and shoulders particularly attractive, in an act of divine beautification, which is described thus:

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύφ' ἀνήρ  
ἴδρις, ὃν Ἥφαιστος δέδαεν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη  
τέχνην παντοίην, χαρίεντα δὲ ἔργα τελείει·  
ὥς ἄρα / μὲν τῷ περίχευε χάριν κεφαλῆ τε καὶ ὤμοις

As when a man overlays silver with gold, a cunning workman whom Hephaestus and Pallas Athena have taught all sorts of craft, and full of grace is the work he produces, just so the goddess shed grace on his head and shoulders.

(*Odyssey* 6.232–5, with Nausicaa = *Odyssey* 23.159–162, with Penelope)<sup>40</sup>

Strikingly, the goddess Athena is here compared to a craftsman in the process of moulding an extremely precious object. In the Homeric passages the nature of the object remains uncertain, but associations towards sculpturing is close at hand, as suggested by a passage in the Vergilian corpus.

Even more conspicuously, Vergil too alludes to these Homeric verses in the crucial passage where his hero Aeneas is about to dazzle Dido in the *Aeneid*:

*restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit,  
os umeroque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram  
caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventae  
purpureum et laetos oculis adflaret honores:  
quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo  
argentum Pariusve lapis circumdatur auro*

Aeneas stood forth, gleaming in the clear light, godlike in face and shoulders; for his mother herself had shed upon her son the beauty of flowing locks, with youth's ruddy bloom, and on his eyes a joyous lustre; even as the beauty which the hand gives to the ivory, or when silver or Parian marble is set in yellow gold. (*Aen.* 1.589–93)<sup>41</sup>

The Greek and Latin passages resemble each other to the degree that the latter version has been deemed 'almost a translation'.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, in both passages the goddess contributes to the beauty of the hero's hair and his attractive lustre, as well as grace (χάριν / *decus*). These

<sup>39</sup> Only the small words ἄρα / μὲν in the last line of the passage differ, see below.

<sup>40</sup> Translation by Murray 2002.

<sup>41</sup> Translation by Fairclough 2006.

<sup>42</sup> Austin 1971, 185.



details underscore the main point in both Homer and Vergil, which is that the heroes in question are endowed with supernatural beauty in order to stir female desire. This is a striking feature shared by the Homeric and the Vergilian passage.

There are however also certain variations worthy of note between the two. The most obvious difference between the Homeric and the Vergilian passage is that Vergil's Venus replaces Homer's Athena. Moreover, Venus has a closer relationship with the hero in question in the Latin passage compared to Athena in the Greek, as Venus is also the mother (cf. *genetrix*) of Aeneas.

An even more significant difference in the context of the present discussion is that the non-specified character of the works (*ἔργα*) in the Homeric passages, are rendered by mentioning material that evoke the precise imagery of statues, such as marble and ivory, in the Vergilian verses. Notably, marble is the material Horace's *Glycera* is compared with, while ivory is the material from which Pygmalion famously sculpts his *eburna*, ivory-doll. Furthermore, the 'skilled man' (*ἀνὴρ / ἴδιος*) of Homer disappears in Vergil's plural of the impersonal 'hands' (*manus*), which thus contribute to reducing the distance between the goddess and the simile used to convey her action. By means of these variations Venus arguably emerges as 'sculpting' Aeneas much more 'hands on', as it were, than Homer's Athena, in her process of beautifying Odysseus.

In Vergil's Rome, Venus was famously represented by Praxiteles' statue known as the Cnidian Aphrodite in the Portico of Pompey. Against this backdrop, the Vergilian passage acquires a delicate irony in as much as the sculpture appears a sculptor in these verses. Significantly, this confounding of artist and model, object and subject all happens in a passage where Vergil conspicuously re-sculpts Homer.

### Concluding remarks

By looking beyond the portrait of Pygmalion, other representations of the relationship between creator, portrait and viewer than those that confirm conventional patterns of male and female gender expectations emerge in Augustan poetry.<sup>43</sup> From our point of view, the portrait of Pygmalion in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* seems paradigmatic, not only of ancient culture, but even of the later tradition.<sup>44</sup> Yet, as seen from the examples assembled here, literary motives in sculptures and sculptural motives in literature, less known as well as very prominent, provide fruitful interartistic connections, which allow Augustan culture to accommodate striking representations of female agency.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> For further, different examples, though from a later period than that of Augustan Rome, see Rosenmeyer 2001.

<sup>44</sup> Bömer 1980; Sharrock 1991; Elsner 1991 and 2007, 113-131; Hardie 2002, 186-193; Salzmänn-Mitchell 2008.

<sup>45</sup> I would like to thank Rasmus Brandt, Stephen Harrison, Marina Prusac and Greg Wolf for their helpful commentaries on this topic.

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### Latin summary (slightly enhanced)

*De adaptationibus plasticis actuum femineorum: de Vergilio, Horatio, Antipatreque Thessalicensi.* Figurae femineae in traditione antiquā variis in formis artis abundant. Tales figurae saepe exhibentur ut obiecta. In Ovidii opere, q.e. *Metamorphoses*, feminea statua eburnea a Pygmalione facta, quae deinde eius operibus fit viva, modo paradigmatico figuram femineam ut obiectum repraesentat. Cum decussatio inter statuas anthropographicas atque poesim remaneat quaestio centralis, ut est in fabula Pygmalionis, haec symbola alium aditum ad thema praebet et investigationem dirigit ad exempla feminea et in arte figurativā et in arte litterariā Augustianā inveniendā. Initium sumens ab statutis Porticūs Pompeianae investigatio sequens imprimis spectat ad Antipatrum Thessalonicensem poetam minus notum, qui epigrammata Graeca Romae tempore Augustiano composuit, et ad Horatium Vergiliūque poetas clarissimos illius temporis. Perceptiones figurarum marium, quae iam apud Homerum inveniuntur, sunt alicuius momenti, ut diversitas figurarum feminearum exhibeatur. Ut demonstratur, Antipater, Horatius Vergiliusque clare exponunt figuras femineas et ut subiecta et ut obiecta, quae cum nonnullis figuris femineis Porticūs Pompeianae coniunguntur, hunc in modum aliquid attribuentes ad quaestionem, quomodo mulieres in antiquā arte figurativā atque in arte litterariā repraesentatae sint.

**English summary**

By taking statues in the Portico of Pompey as a point of departure, the present investigation centres on the less known poet Antipater of Thessalonica, who composed epigrams in Greek in Augustan Rome, as well as the famous Augustan poets Horace and Vergil. Representations of male figures in the object position that go back to Homer will be important as a contrast to representations of female agency in Augustan Rome. As will be shown, Antipater, Horace and Vergil highlight female agency in subject as well as object positions that resonate with a number of the female figures in the Pompeian Portico, thus contributing to a richer understanding of how women may be represented in ancient art forms.

**Keywords**

Female agency, Portico of Pompey, Homer, Vergil, Horace, Antipater of Thessalonica.

# EMILY CARR: BORDER-CROSSING CANADIAN ARTIST AND WRITER

Gerd Bjørhovde

## Introduction: from marginal artist to Canadian icon

Emily Carr (1871–1945) is today generally considered one of Canada’s greatest and most unique artists. The term “Canadian icon” is frequently used about her, and according to the *Cambridge Companion to Canadian Literature* “no Canadian has received more attention than Emily Carr” (Egan and Helms 2004, 234). However, recognition did not come easily, and it was only towards the end of her life that fame began to come her way. And despite Emily Carr’s iconic status in Canada by now, she is still surprisingly little known outside her own country – which maybe says something about Canada’s relative lack of international visibility as compared with her far bigger neighbour to the South?<sup>1</sup>

The story of Emily Carr’s life and career may be told as a classic success story of how a keen and strongly individual artistic vision combined with dedication and hard work over a long period of time may lead to success and recognition. It can also be used to illustrate changes in artistic taste from the late Victorian age to the age of Modernism, as well as changing public opinion and focus over more than a century. However, and thirdly: the Emily Carr story can also be seen as an interesting example of a post- or anti-colonial struggle for cultural independence, a search for Canadian-ness. What in my opinion makes this story particularly interesting, is Emily Carr’s own lifelong fascination with and admiration for the indigenous peoples and culture of her homeland, and the important role played by this culture in her own development both as an artist and as a Canadian. In fact Carr found herself in a doubly ambiguous position, for while on the one hand she could be classified both as a Canadian colonial or creole<sup>2</sup> and as a representative of the British colonisers/member of the ruling class, she could of course never classify as a member of the indigenous population.<sup>3</sup> From very early in her career, when she ventured out on her sketching excursions to remote native villages on Vancouver Island, she set herself the task of recording the remains of their culture. Struggling with this material, Emily Carr had to do an intricate balancing-act, trying to find a way to be a recorder and mediator as well as an independent artist. Her balancing-act took time and was worked out through several decades and different phases of her career, from the end of the nineteenth century to the end of her life.

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<sup>1</sup> However, the fact that dOCUMENTA 13 (2012) in Kassel, Germany included a special exhibit of Carr’s work may surely be said to be an indication that worldwide interest is finally on its way: “This is remarkable recognition for Emily Carr. It is wonderful to see Carr receive the international attention she has long deserved. The Gallery is deeply honoured to have been asked to provide these superb paintings from our permanent collection to dOCUMENTA and to have the opportunity to showcase these works to hundreds of thousands of visitors to this world renowned exhibition”. (Vancouver Art Gallery director Kathleen Bartels in an interview, <http://www.digitaljournal.com/article/327864> [last accessed 13 September 2014])

<sup>2</sup> See Benedict Anderson 1991, Chapter 4, “Creole Pioneers”, for a more extensive discussion of the use of this term.

<sup>3</sup> Homi Bhabha points out that nationalism “is by nature ambivalent”, calling this “a structural fact to which there are no exceptions”. (Bhabha 1991, 2)



### Becoming an artist – the search for Canadian-ness

A community of interest is assuredly a powerful bond between men. Do interests, however, suffice to make a nation? I do not think so. Community of interest brings about trade agreements, but nationality has a sentimental side to it; it is both soul and body at once; a *Zollverein* is not a *patrie*.

(Renan 1990, 18)

This paper attempts to trace some of the changes in taste and opinion that took place in Canada at the time of Emily Carr's formative years. It argues that Carr herself played an important role in formulating a Canadian alternative to the dominant, "colonial-English" culture, using her own art to explore the potential for a "true" Canadian art. In taking on this task, she had to grapple with big questions such as "what is art?", "what is culture?", and "what is a nation?"

In addition, being a woman meant that she generally had a harder time than a man would, being taken seriously as an artist. According to Victorian middle-class standards girls were not supposed to have serious ambitions about a career, artistic or otherwise. Women were supposed to dabble in art, as amateurs, while waiting for a husband to come along. Instead of a husband and children, however, Emily chose to settle for animals as her companions in life: her pets – dogs, cats, birds, even a monkey – were to make up her family throughout her life. That she managed by and by to convince not only her sisters, but community and critics as well, that she was serious about her goal and her vision, speaks volumes about her as an individual and her personal strength.

Furthermore, Emily Carr was located in British Columbia, the western-most province of Canada. This represented a challenge both culturally and practically. Canada was a colony, ruled from Britain, even though its dominion status from 1867 meant independence in most internal affairs.<sup>4</sup> And inside Canada it was the central area, particularly the province of Ontario, and cities like Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal, that were seen to dominate in both political and cultural matters. So British Columbia was a province (or colony) within a colony, handicapped in terms of distance as well as cultural status.

Emily however was in opposition to what she considered the self-effacing or provincial attitudes of her fellow British Columbians. From an early age she found herself critical of her British-oriented compatriots who talked and behaved as if Britain was the centre of the universe and their "real" homeland, with England and English or British culture used as their measuring-stick and quality indicator in all matters. She felt that this made them blind to the beauty and grandness of their own Canadian surroundings. And when she came to England the first time, she was made to feel her difference as a Canadian even more keenly:

He reached for his enrolment book, wrote, "Emily Carr, Victoria, B.C. ... English?"

"No, Canadian."

"Ah! Canadian, eh?"

His smile enveloped Canada from East to West, warming me. So few over here accepted Canada. These people called us Colonials, forgot we were British. English colonists had gone out to America with a certain amount of flourish, years and years ago. They had faded into the New World.

<sup>4</sup> However, to be precise: in 1867 only Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia made up the new Dominion of Canada. The other provinces joined the confederation by and by; British Columbia in 1871; Newfoundland as late as 1949.

Later, undesirable not-wanted had been shipped out to Canada. It was hoped that America would fade them out too – all the west side of the earth was vaguely “America” to England. This courteous old gentleman recognized Canada as herself – as a real, separate place.

(Carr, in her autobiography *Growing Pains* 2005, 129)

Emily hated being called a colonial and complained about feeling isolated and alone in her disgust with the colonial mentality. “The six PGs [PG=paying guest] without one direct look amongst them disdainfully ‘took me in’ at lunch. ‘Colonial!’ I felt was their chilly, sniffy verdict. I hated them right away” (*Growing Pains* 2005, 119).<sup>5</sup>

Emily grew up in a home that was definitely English- or British-oriented. Her parents were recent immigrants from England and had kept up close links with the mother country and its culture. Richard Carr first met Emily Saunders in California, where he had settled and made a small fortune. But they went to England for their wedding in 1854, and from 1861–63 they left California for England, aiming to resettle there. But the pull of the New World proved too strong – the “Old” one somehow having proved to be a disappointment – and they arrived in Canada in 1864, bringing their two daughters born in California with them. Emily was born in Victoria on Vancouver Island in British Columbia on December 13, 1871, the youngest of five girls. The only boy to grow up, her brother Richard (Dick), was born in 1875.<sup>6</sup>

From early childhood Emily demonstrated artistic talent and was encouraged to develop it, perhaps partly since she seemed to lack the skills and talents for both schoolwork and for housekeeping and caring that her siblings demonstrated.<sup>7</sup> After the death of her parents — her mother died in 1886, her father in 1888 — her guardian provided the financial support as well as psychological encouragement that made it possible for her to leave home to get proper professional training. At the age of 19 Emily headed for San Francisco, where she attended the California Art Institute for two and a half years (1891–1893). Her period of study in San Francisco was very important to her, giving her “a niche and the promise of a profession” (Tippett 2006, 22). She had gained a sense of self-confidence which was never completely to leave her, despite many setbacks and disappointments in the years to come.

Upon returning to Victoria, Emily started giving art-classes for children. She enjoyed teaching children, and besides it brought in money! The classes first took place in the family dining-room, but she soon decided to turn the barn’s hayloft into a classroom-studio. This studio turned out to be perfect for her: “No studio has ever been so dear to me as that old loft, smelling of hay and apples, new sawed wood, Monday washings, earthy garden tools. – The cow’s great sighs! Such delicious content!” (*Growing Pains* 2005, 105).

Having saved up enough money for a period of study in Europe, Emily set off in 1899 for England. She studied at the Westminster School of Art in London, but during school holidays she also went for instruction and inspiration to other places, such as Cornwall/St Ives, Berkshire and Hertfordshire. Although she made several good friends while in England, many of them with Canadian connections, her time in England turned out to be neither successful nor happy. Emily found herself irritated by British class consciousness and snobbery, and she was dispirited by poverty and city slums. “Oh London! Oh, all you great English cities! *Why*

<sup>5</sup> It is worth noticing that when another famous Canadian, Northrop Frye, some decades after Carr’s death commented on what he called “this creative schizophrenia” which was so “common in Canada”, he too used the “Colonial” label to explain it: “the most obvious reason for it is the fact that Canada is not only a nation but a colony in an empire”. (*The Bush Garden* 1971, 133)

<sup>6</sup> There were nine children altogether born to the family, but three sons died in infancy, two of them during their years in England; this may have been a contributing factor in the family’s decision to return to North America. Edith: born 1856; Clara: born 1857; Elizabeth: born 1867; Alice: born 1869; Emily: born 1871; Richard: born 1875.

<sup>7</sup> See for instance the chapter “Drawing and insubordination” in *Growing Pains* 2005, 29–33.

did you do this to England? Why did you spoil this sublime song-filled land with money-grabbing and grime?” (*Growing Pains* 2005, 172). Above all, she found herself missing Canada and west-coast nature more or more. The sea, the clean air, the mountains and the forests kept coming into her mind. From 1902 her mental and physical condition deteriorated (Tippett 2006, 55–59), finally with a depression and breakdown which caused her to be sent to spend fifteen months at a sanatorium in East Anglia. Her diagnosis was “hysteria”, and the rest cure<sup>8</sup> which was prescribed for her implied “‘complete rest, freedom from worry and exertion for at least one year’, without her sister<sup>9</sup> and without any activity such as painting” (Tippet 2006, 57, including quote from *Growing Pains* 2005, 227).

Before setting off for England in 1899, Emily had visited the village of Ucluelet on the west coast of Vancouver Island, staying with a lady missionary and being very happy sketching “boats and houses, things made out of tangible stuff” (*Growing Pains* 2005, 110). During this time she was given the Native name Klee Wyck, or “Laughing One” in Chinook (“Ucluelet”, *Klee Wyck* 1986, 7–8). Getting back to Canada late in 1904, it took Emily some time to recover fully, but in the coming years she went on several sketching trips to indigenous villages on Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlotte Islands, as well as a cruise to Alaska with her sister Alice in 2007. “She went back to Ucluelet, to the Indians. Klee Wyck among the Notka would be free of the humiliations of Emily Carr among the Victorians” (Tippett 2006, 64). At this stage she was devoted to being a faithful recorder of remains of indigenous culture. In retrospect, however, she realised how she had been avoiding the bigger challenges such as the mystery of the Western forest, and instead “nibbled at silhouetted edges” (*Growing Pains* 2005, 109–110).

But it took Emily Carr another European period of study to really find her artistic bearings. Having once more saved up money for it, she finally headed for France, the country which was considered to be *the* place to catch up with the newest and most exciting developments in art. She registered for study at the reputable Académie Colarossi in Paris in the autumn of 1910, but felt uncomfortable there and switched to a private studio after only a few weeks, then went on to do work in Bretagne with individual supervisors through 1911 (Tippett 2006, 87–88). Being a unilingual English-speaking person in France was not easy, but she felt inspired by the new post-impressionist schools of painting: “She had taken the final step from the conservative camp to the modern by expressing, through colour and form, how she saw the land and sea around Concarneau” (Tippett 2006, 96). And two of her paintings were selected for exhibition in the Salon d’Automne at the Grand Palace. Success (or at least personal triumph) at last!

After her return from France late in 1911, Carr stayed on home, North American, ground for the rest of her life. The choice had partly to do with economic necessity; from having been fairly well-off middle-class women of (some) independent means, the Carr sisters at this time found themselves in increasingly straitened circumstances. However, it was also a natural development following upon Emily’s growing awareness of finally knowing what kind of work she wanted to do.

Unfortunately, neither the Victoria nor the Vancouver public or art circles were very enthusiastic about her work, even though her February 1912 solo exhibition in her new Vancouver studio was initially reported to be a success: she sold several paintings and had a good group of students signing up for classes. However, in an anonymous letter in the *Province* (3 April 1912) with the heading “Against French Art”, Emily Carr was accused of thinking she could “‘eclipse the Almighty’ by producing ‘bizarre work’ that was thought to be

<sup>8</sup> The rest cure was a term used about the kind of treatment of neurasthenia or hysteria developed by the American psychiatrist Weir Mitchell in the late 1800s; his most famous patient being Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

<sup>9</sup> Her sister Lizzie had been called in haste from Canada to try and assist her when her illness was at its most serious, but their relationship was never an easy one and did not help at this stage.

‘more satisfactory than nature itself’” (Tippett 2006, 101). Here was the voice of provincial scepticism speaking out against “Moderns” such as Carr, and perhaps fairly representative of the attitude of the general public? This must have been disappointing to Emily, who was herself often frustrated and disappointed with her own work, despairing about the different demands of what she wanted to record exactly and truthfully, and her own artistic ideas and visions. But Emily Carr was not to be beaten; in fact she answered the critical anonymous letter only five days after it had appeared, using the same column in the *Province*:

Art is art, nature is nature, you cannot improve on it. [...] Pictures should be inspired by nature, but made in the soul of the artist, no two individualities could behold the same thing and express it alike, either in words or in painting; it is the soul of the individual that counts. Extract the essence of your subject and paint yourself into it; forget the little petty things that don't count; try for the bigger side.

The poor mere copyist has no chance, he is too busy worrying over the number of leaves on his tree, he forgets the big grand character of the whole, and the something that speaks, [...] he has tried for the ‘look’ but forgotten the ‘feel’.

Contrary to my having ‘given up my inspirations’, I have only just found them, and I have tasted the joys of the new. I am a Westerner and I am going to extract all that I can to the best of my small ability out of the big glorious west. The new ideas are big and they fit this big land. [...] I do not say mine is the only way to paint. I only say it's the way that appeals to me; to people lacking imagination it could not appeal. With the warm kindly criticism of some of the best men in Paris still ringing in my ears, why should I bother over criticisms from those whose ideals and views have been stationary for the past twenty years?

(*Province* [Vancouver], 8 April 1912, as quoted in Tippett 2006, 101)

### **Emily Carr as a recorder and interpreter of indigenous culture**

From early childhood Emily Carr had been used to seeing and befriending Canadian natives. She was intrigued and attracted by their “difference”, in terms of way of life and priorities, above all their closeness to nature, on water as well as in the forest landscape. As already mentioned, Emily's first serious work on indigenous art was done on her sketching trips to remote and partly deserted villages on Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlotte Islands after her years of training in San Francisco. Her early meticulous sketches (in charcoal and water-colours) of First Nations dwellings and art may well be – and have been – described as anthropological work, a kind of mapping project. And she continued going on these excursions after returning from her studies in Europe, too. Her years of training abroad had provided her with better and more varied skills and techniques, and she was now trying to put them to use on her chosen material, the Canadian west with its mixture of luxurious forests and remains of First Nations settlements and other marks or interventions on the landscape.

However, finding that unique way of seeing and recording her world took its time: after she had returned from France, there followed a long period of about 15 years (1912–1927) when Carr more or less gave up – *seemed* to have given up would be a more correct way of putting it – her artistic ambitions, or so she claims in her autobiographical writing. Instead she devoted herself to building and running a boarding-house in Victoria, intending in this way to secure a steady income, but also hoping at the same time to attract practising or would-be artists as lodgers. Describing the house, she claims that “[t]he purpose of its building had been

to provide a place in which I could paint and an income for me to live on. Neither objective was ever fully realized in the House of All Sorts” (*The House of All Sorts* 1967, 87).

The pictures on my walls reproached me. All the twenty-two years I lived in that house the Art part of me ached. It was not a bit the sort of studio I had intended to build. My architect had been as far from understanding the needs of an artist as it would be possible to believe. The people of Victoria strongly disapproved of my painting because I had gone from the old conventional way. I had experimented. Now I paused. I wished my pictures did not have to face the insulting eyes of my tenants. It made me squirm. The pictures themselves squirmed me in their own right too.

(*The House of All Sorts* 1967, 89)

Then from around 1927, following contacts with other artists, particularly members of the then famous Canadian Group of Seven, she took up painting again, and now throwing herself whole-heartedly into developing her own vision into a unique version of the Canadian landscape. It was a landscape which consisted to a very large extent of trees – the deep-green Canadian forest, or individual trees; cedars, fir-trees, in various kinds of seasons and light. But this forest landscape also often included the marks of the indigenous culture, and so at this stage of her life Emily Carr’s diligent practice of visiting and sketching native settlements over many years turned out to be extremely useful and important for the full flowering of her art. Many of her paintings from this period are in fact based upon her earlier sketches/drawings or water-colours, but now she was able to develop them further into a more personal expression, into expressionist art.

Even though she was never a proper member of the Group of Seven, Emily Carr shared several interests and ideas with them. Believing that a distinct Canadian art could be developed through direct contact with nature, the Group of Seven is most famous for its paintings inspired by the Canadian landscape, and for having initiated the first major Canadian national art movement. They consisted of seven mostly Ontario-based landscape painters in the 1920s: Franklin Carmichael, Lawren Harris, A. Y. Jackson, Frank Johnston, Arthur Lismer, J. E. H. MacDonald, and Frederick Varley. And Lawren Harris became a particularly close friend of and important influence on Carr at this stage in her career.

### **Painting in prose: Emily Carr the writer**

Towards the end of her life Emily Carr turned increasingly to writing, partly due to economic worries and partly because of health problems which made it difficult for her to continue going on her painting excursions. However, her love of language and of expressing herself in words was strong from an early age, and many of her books in fact build on earlier notes, notebooks and sketches. Her first book *Klee Wyck* (1941), which won her the Governor General’s award for non-fiction that year, is a collection of short texts, anecdotal in form and largely autobiographical, and focusing on her meetings with the First Nations culture and British Columbia nature. The book was an immediate hit and made Emily Carr a household name in a way which her painting had never done, and it was followed up in the coming years with two further short text collections before her death in 1945: *The Book of Small* (1942), and *The House of All Sorts* (1944).

In her stories Carr presents herself, or rather her first-person narrator – who is sometimes referred to as Klee Wyck, sometimes Small – as a border-crosser and mediator between worlds. When she crossed the border from visual and into verbal art, she may be said to have chosen to side more openly with the doubly colonised, the First Nations. In the words of Doris Shadbolt, “[Carr’s] irritation with the false claim to so much Britishness helped her to a



realization of Canadian-ness. Assuming an ardently Canadian rather than an old-world outlook became important morally and artistically for Carr” (Shadbolt 1990, 14). And included in that Canadian stance was Carr’s strong sympathy for, and at times downright identification with, the indigenous population: “The natives’ plight as outcasts from conventional society only made them potentially more appealing to Carr since she felt herself to be something of a social misfit” (Shadbolt 1990, 15).

In *Survival* Margaret Atwood also discusses how Carr and other Canadian writers use “the Indian – as a mediator between the whites and a nature which is life-giving rather than death-dealing” (Atwood 1972, 103).<sup>10</sup> With this in mind, it is interesting to register that Emily Carr sees herself too as a go-between, the mediator who is committed to recording vital parts of the west-coast native culture that was disappearing quickly with the advent of western/European culture and the ways of “modern civilization”: industrialism, capitalism and consumerism. And it is perhaps in this context worth noticing that even Emily’s/Klee Wyck’s dog Ginger is described as a go-between? In the story “Kitwancool” he “bridged the gap between their language and mine with laughter” (*Klee Wyck* 1986, 105). Read in postcolonial terms: women, dogs and other unprivileged groups are sometimes better at bridging gaps.

### **The artist’s borderscape – a close reading**

Several times in *Klee Wyck* Carr dwells on the border between land and sea, for instance in the second paragraph of the first story in the collection: “It was low tide, so there was a long, sickening ladder with slimy rungs to climb down to get to the canoe” (“Ucluelet”, *Klee Wyck* 1986, 3). The transitional step between the two elements seems somehow to be both frightening and fundamental. The sea – an altogether different element from land – must be respected: this is a warning message that may be said to run through several of the *Klee Wyck* stories.

A little further on in the same story the narrating ‘I’ is struck by what she describes as a kind of no-man’s land(scape):

One day I walked upon *a strip of land that belonged to nothing*.

The sea soaked it often enough to make it unpalatable to the forest. Roots of trees refused to thrive in its saltiness.

*In this place belonging neither to sea nor to land* I came upon an old man dressed in nothing but a brief shirt. He was sawing the limbs from a fallen tree. The swish of the sea tried to drown the purr of his saw. The purr of the saw tried to sneak back into the forest, but the forest threw it out again into the sea. Sea and forest were always at this game of toss with noises.

The fallen tree lay crosswise in this “*nothing’s place*”; it blocked my way. (“Ucluelet”, *Klee Wyck* 1986, 10. My italics)

It is impossible not to notice the many significant clues thrown out here; for instance the negation of the word “belong”: “a strip of land that belonged to nothing”. By using a word denoting property or ownership, the text turns the discourse towards economics and politics. And not only that, the use of repetition, and together with the negation, the “nothing” even being repeated three times, the passage forces the reading to a halt, with the fallen tree blocking her way serving as a concrete reminder of the need to stop.

<sup>10</sup> Margaret Atwood offers some interesting comments on Carr and *Klee Wyck* in her *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (1991, 96–97), too.

So what is it that blocks the speaker's way here — apart from the fallen tree? This is a landscape with elements that “refuse” to strike root, that “block” the way, a landscape that represents opposition. And when the forest throws the purr of the saw out again into the sea, this may be read as forces of nature rejecting the inroads of human beings — even indigenous human beings. The Indians too move on, leave their villages behind, with their totem poles looking sadly after them when they leave. They are and were always destined to rot and fall apart — *and* return to Nature. The narrator is not a romantic in the sense of othering or orientalising the indigenous people here; on the contrary she respects them for their practical sense of survival, settling where they can survive, which means being constantly on the move in these coastlands. (But the romanticising tendency inherent in a view of nature as an independent force or agent is obviously more difficult to overlook.)

As we have already seen, Carr takes great care to emphasize the separation between sea and land in her stories. This makes it worth noticing when the border between them is seen to disappear, for instance when the vegetation is too forceful, or because of fog or mist:

There was lots of work for me to do in Yan. I went down the beach far away from the Indians. At first it was hot, but by and by haze came creeping over the farther points, blotting them out one after the other as if it were suddenly aware that you had been allowed to see too much. The mist came nearer and nearer till it caught Yan too in its woolly whiteness. It stole my totem poles; only the closest ones were left and they were just grey streaks in the mist. (“Sailing to Yan”, *Klee Wyck* 1986, 61)

The mist “stole” her totem poles, she says: Here is a reminder by the very landscape that the totem poles are *not* hers. These repeated references to ownership, or rather non-ownership, in her stories may be said to add up to a sort of low-key discourse on economics which shows Emily Carr to be quite aware of the hard facts of Canadian colonial and settler society. The First Nations people, with their different ideas of ownership and culture are doomed to lose when confronted by such a culture, even when termed Civilization, the narrator suggests.

I had once before visited these three villages, Skedans, Tanoo and Cumshewa. The bitter-sweet of their over-whelming loneliness created a longing to return to them. The Indian had never thwarted the growth-force springing up so terrifically in them. He had but homed himself there awhile, making use of what he needed, leaving the rest as it always was. Civilization crept nearer and the Indian went to meet it, abandoning his old haunts. Then the rush of wild growth swooped and gobbled up all that was foreign to it. Rapidly it was obliterating every trace of man. (“Salt Water”, *Klee Wyck* 1986, 78–79)

This is a different way of responding to the “belonging” or ownership question from that associated with western/European values. And it seems somehow very fitting that the narrator should find deep satisfaction, even some kind of mystical pleasure, in losing her own physical sense of borders:

At five o'clock that July morning the sea, sky, and beach of Skidegate were wholly smoothed into one. There was neither horizon, cloud, nor sound, of that pink, spread silence even I had become part, belonging as much to sky as to earth, as much to sleeping as waking as I went stumbling over the Skidegate sands. (“Salt Water”, *Klee Wyck* 1986, 78)

It is a beautiful story, written in what could certainly qualify as prose poetry, or perhaps painterly poetry? Passages such as the above for one thing demonstrate that *Klee Wyck* is much more than entertaining stories of a rebellious late Victorian childhood. But equally important; they could also be said demonstrate the link between the verbal and the visual artistic expressions. So whereas some critics<sup>11</sup> warn Carr scholars to stop looking for connections between her two forms of artistic expression, I would argue that such attempts may give new insights into her work.

### **Summing up: From outsider to mediator to problematic icon and ideal?**

A hundred years on, and almost seventy years after Emily Carr's death, several questions which continue to engage art critics as well as postcolonial and cultural theorists in general, are clearly relevant to an appreciation of Carr's artistic value: to what extent has the indigenous heritage or influence been respected, or perverted, in the process of merging aboriginal material with an individualistic western vision? Who "owns" such visions anyway? Is the artist justified in crossing the border between the indigenous original work, the expression of communal spirit and tribal existence – and that of the westerner, who is in this case the outsider looking in and giving her individual, personal version of these works? And looked at from the other perspective – to what extent can her "anthropological commitment/interest/drive" be said to have weakened Emily Carr's artistic talent and vision? Northrop Frye offers a comment which stresses her border-crossing achievement in a refreshing, albeit somewhat equivocal, way:

In Canada, the Romantic nineteenth-century traditions are reflective and representational: "modern" poets have unconsciously bridged the cultural gap with the Indians, just as the painting of Emily Carr bridges the gap in British Columbia between a culture of totem poles and a culture of power plants. (Frye 1971, 45)

In recent years, not surprisingly, criticism has increasingly been voiced against Emily Carr's iconic status within Canada. Some of it is concerned with the ways in which iconic status in itself may overshadow important alternative voices or visions, or lead to neglect of weaknesses in the icon. Not surprisingly, some of the strongest such criticism has come from First Nations artists and critics, who have argued that Carr, despite her sympathy and expressed admiration for indigenous culture, tended to portray the Indians as nostalgic figures, and that such portrayals "devalued present-day native cultures in the guise of celebrating their past" (Crosby 1991, as quoted in Braun, 2002, 212).

This brings up that old (by now) discussion of authenticity and voice: Who can speak, or paint, as other? It is certainly not a question which concerns Emily Carr or Canadian art only; it is a general and urgent question which is relevant in many countries and cultures around the world even today. And since the 1990s there has been a lively debate about such issues as they concern Emily Carr's art. And so, considering Emily Carr's tentative and precarious position in the artistic establishment throughout her life, such debates could be seen as a lesson in changing artistic taste as well as in changing cultural politics. One such lesson is for instance provided by Bruce Braun, a geographer, who in "Colonialism's Afterlife: Vision and Visuality on the Northwest Coast", a long and well-argued article, tends to see Carr's present iconic status as expressing a new form of colonialism:

Carr's central place in Canadian culture is arguably as much a historical accident as a product of artistic excellence, due in part to her work fitting

<sup>11</sup> See for instance Braun 2002, 215.

well into an ideological slot available within an anxious Canadian nationalism in the years immediately preceding the Second World War. (Braun 2002, 208)

Braun certainly has some interesting points; obviously there is an element of chance (“historical accident” he calls it) in much of what goes into artistic recognition and fame. And any icon surely needs to be submitted to serious reassessment at regular intervals. However, to me Braun seems to spend too much energy on playing down Carr’s achievement: he sounds unwilling to see the obstacles in her way, the many handicaps linked to gender, as well as financial, provincial or colonial pressures. He seems to me to try too hard to downplay both her personal challenges and her artistic achievement.

However, with the emergence of more and more sophisticated and nuanced discussions of colonialism, postcolonial and colonialist discourse in recent years, it is perhaps becoming possible now to not only see, but appreciate Emily Carr as *both* the insider and outsider that she felt herself to be. Rather than denouncing her attempts to create art which uses or “fuses” or mixes the indigenous art/cultural expressions with her own sense of artistic vision, branding it contamination, we should perhaps see Carr’s artistic achievement in terms of hybridity, as the cultural mixture that could be said to be the inevitable product of what Bhabha calls “the ambivalent margin of the nation-space”? (*Nation and Narration* 1991, 4). Or as he puts it in *The Location of Culture*: “It is in the emergence of the interstices – the overlap and displacement of domains of difference – that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated” (Bhabha 1994, 2). It is also interesting to view Carr’s art, written as well as visual, as expressing an awareness of a Third Space, a liminal space somehow outside or apart from the binary spaces of colonial or other forms of oppression, on several occasions. Several of the passages already quoted from *Klee Wyck* under the heading “The artist’s borderscape” above make that point, but let me repeat one passage here to emphasize it further:

At five o’clock that July morning the sea, sky, and beach of Skidegate were wholly smoothed into one. There was neither horizon, cloud, nor sound, of that pink, spread silence even I had become part, belonging as much to sky as to earth, as much to sleeping as waking as I went stumbling over the Skidegate sands. (“Salt Water”, *Klee Wyck* 1986, 78)

In other words, Carr is to be credited, if not congratulated, with her efforts to create what could be called truly hybrid works of art, art that crosses as well as collapses borders.

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### Latin Summary

*De Aemilia Carr: artifice auctriceque Canadiā, quae limites transgreditur.* Aemilia (Emily) Carr (1871–1945) hodiernis temporibus generaliter percipitur ut Canadae artifex maxima atque maxime singularis. Quidquid id est, diu durabat, usque dum eadem bene cognoscebatur, et denique in fine vitae suae paulatim facta est nota claraque. Hac symbolā tractatur receptio critica operum Aemiliae Carr et ut pictrix et ut auctrix. Specialiter autem attenditur ad eius strategemata limites transeuntia, cum arte cultuque civili indigeno in operibus suis utatur. Praeterea inquiritur in progressum artis Aemiliae Carr et in coniunctionem modi, quo in initio saeculi vicesimi identitas nationalis Canadiana construebatur.



**English Summary**

Emily Carr (1871–1945) is today generally considered one of Canada's greatest and most unique artists. However, her recognition was a long time coming, and it was only towards the end of her life that fame came her way. The article discusses the critical reception of Carr's work both as a painter and writer, paying particular attention to her border-crossing strategies in her use of indigenous/First Nations art and culture in her own work. Furthermore, it looks at the development of Carr's art and its connection to the construction of a Canadian national identity, or Canadian-ness, in the early twentieth century.

**Keywords**

Emily Carr, Canadian art and literature, Canadian-ness and nationality, Colonialism and postcolonialism, Border-crossing art, Indigenous perspectives.

## DOSTOEVSKY'S NOVELS AS CLASSIC TRAGEDIES

Erik Egeberg

### I

More than two thousand years separate the types of literature indicated in the heading, but nevertheless a connection between them cannot be excluded – at least not because of all these years. It is well known that literature of the same age as that of ancient Greece – or even older – has had a strong influence on European writing till this day: most obvious the epic and poetry of the Bible.

But Greek tragedies – and Russian novels? The fact is that Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–1881) as distinct from the two other famous Russian romancers of his time – Ivan Turgenev and Lev Tolstoy – never wrote a single play. Yet Dostoevsky's novels and short stories have often been adapted for the stage, for the plots of these works are full of dramatic elements. That is the first precondition for seeking a connection between his works and the first tragedies of European civilization. But also some more specific factors have to be taken into account when we are going to explain why this idea became so popular some 20–30 years after Dostoevsky's death in 1881. Firstly, in this period the Greek tragedies attracted new attention thanks to the publication of Friedrich Nietzsche's famous book *Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* in 1872. Dostoevsky did not know Nietzsche, but Nietzsche later discovered Dostoevsky and found a thinker in whose works he recognized several of his own ideas, although Dostoevsky himself (though not all of his characters) was very different from him. And secondly, in 1905 Vyacheslav Ivanov (1866–1943) returned to Russia after almost twenty years abroad, mainly in Germany, where he had studied classical philology and history under Theodor Mommsen and other leading scholars of that time. In Germany he had also had the opportunity to become familiar with the works of Nietzsche, who made a strong impact upon him, however without making Ivanov a true disciple, for Nietzsche's markedly anti-Christian attitude was unacceptable for this Russian religious thinker. In the words of James West,

Ivanov was more than well equipped with knowledge of the sources to make his own interpretation of Greek religion, which by no means entirely accorded with that of Nietzsche. (West 1972, 81)

On the other hand, Dionysos and Dionysian culture intrigued Ivanov for the rest of his life.

### II

When Ivanov resettled in Russia, symbolism, the Russian brand of European neo-romanticism, was in full bloom. In the beginning of the eighties the great realists, who had dominated the stage for over twenty years, left literature – Dostoevsky and Turgenev died (the latter in 1883), and Tolstoy declared that he would no longer engage himself with such useless trifles. He was not able to keep this promise, but his writings changed their character as the teacher and prophet got the better of the belletrist. Materialism and positivism, the

philosophical systems which had held sway of Russian intellectual life – though not so much affecting the great writers – quite suddenly lost their grip on the “creative intelligentsia.” Writers, poets, composers, painters – all were looking for new foundations for their thoughts and lives. And in Friedrich Nietzsche they found very much of what they sought; he became the master-philosopher of the time, i. a. preparing the ground for Knut Hamsun’s extraordinary popularity in Russia – till his power was violently overthrown by the followers of another German philosopher, Karl Marx, in 1917.

This does not mean that Nietzsche’s philosophy was accepted without any reservation, for his pointed antichristian position was offensive not only to Vyacheslav Ivanov, but to the Russian audience in general. However, many of his ideas became popular and were combined with thoughts of very different origin. Especially seductive was Nietzsche’s notion of an Apollonian-Dionysian opposition in ancient Greek culture, the Dionysian element associated with orgiastic practices, a notion which by analogy could be applied to other cultures as well. For Russians it offered a complement to the stern asceticism of the Orthodox Church. In these years Russia experienced a new interest in religious problems which brought together representatives of the official church and of the secular intelligentsia – two segments of the nation which had been in very little contact during the preceding period. However, not only official Orthodoxy attracted the attention of the new intelligentsia. Even more they seem to be interested in the Old Believers and the variegated multitude of Russian sects, where both asceticism and orgiastic elements were to be found. Moreover, a hundred years ago Europe and America saw a veritable boom of “New Age” phenomena – spiritualism, theosophy (a doctrine established by the Russian Elena Blavatskaia), its offspring anthroposophy etc. No matter how these phenomena should be evaluated, they undoubtedly offered a plethora of new approaches to literature (and other works of art).

During his stay abroad Ivanov had been more or less in touch with the leading intellectual circles at home, and after his return to Russia he became one of the central figures of Russian symbolism, giving new momentum to the movement’s more religious-minded wing. His flat on the top floor of a luxurious apartment house overlooking the Tauride Palace and Gardens in St. Petersburg became one of the favourite meeting places for the intellectual elite of the northern capital. This position Vyacheslav Ivanov – supported by his second wife Lidiya Zinovyeva-Annibal – could maintain due to his brilliant education, his familiarity with most aspects of ancient and modern European culture, and his remarkable talent as a poet and writer.

It was quite natural that the Russian symbolists were attracted by the two great masters of the word who in the recent past had investigated the problem of life’s meaning with the utmost penetrating skill and energy – Fyodor Dostoevsky and Lev Tolstoy (who, by the way, was then still alive). In the years 1900–1902 Dmitry Merezhkovsky, one of the instigators of the whole symbolist movement in Russia, published his voluminous treatise “L. Tolstoy and Dostoevsky,” with which he inaugurated a long series of works, both Russian and Western, dedicated to the juxtaposition of these two giants of literature – with so many points of contact, but also with profound differences. However, it turned out, especially after the dominating figure of Tolstoy had passed away in 1910, that Dostoevsky exerted a stronger attraction on the Russian intellectuals at the beginning of the twentieth century, first and foremost because the treatment of the great questions of human existence in his works offered a broader field for further speculation than Tolstoy’s writings with their constant stress on simplification.

Vyacheslav Ivanov was infatuated with Dostoevsky already as a schoolboy, and occupation with the writer’s works – or, more specifically, with their underlying philosophy – accompanied Ivanov for the rest of his life. His acquaintance with Dionysian culture was of a later date, but it, too, became a prominent trait of his intellectual profile. Together these two

“infatuations” prompted him to coin the term “novel-tragedy” (roman-tragediya), a term which was to be used by so many later Dostoevsky scholars.

However, it is not quite right to say that Ivanov “coined” the term, for it had already been employed by other critics, i. a. Merezhkovsky. But it was Ivanov who gave the concept a consistent basis so that today it is associated primarily with his name. He wrote many articles on Dostoevsky, the first important being “Dostoevsky and the novel-tragedy” from 1916, based on a lecture given in 1911. But his definitive work on Dostoevsky appeared years later, in 1932, when Ivanov had already emigrated to the West: *Dostojewsky: Tragödie – Mythos – Mystik*.<sup>1</sup> Here the author assembled, augmented and revised his earlier writings on the topic, the result being an extraordinary influential book, praised by both Western and Eastern scholars.

Perhaps the finest example of the ontological and metaphysical school of Dostoevsky criticism that flourished in Russian writing at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. [...] At the same time, Ivanov’s study stands on the threshold of modern Dostoevsky criticism,

says Robert Louis Jackson of Yale University (1993, 251), and Georgy Fridlender of the Russian Academy of Sciences joins in:

In a certain sense one may with perfect justice maintain that in V. I. Ivanov’s writings on Dostoevsky is contained nearly all that has been articulated in Dostoevsky criticism of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by scholars from all over the world. (Fridlender 1995, 396)

However, the book had to wait another twenty years for the real fame to come with the English translation (from the German) in 1952: *Freedom and the Tragic Life: A Study in Dostoevsky*. This title was set by the translator, Norman Cameron (or by the editor, S. Kononov), and it apparently had a stronger appeal to the literary audience than the old German one. Moreover, publication in the cheap series Noonday paperbacks also contributed to the wide distribution of Ivanov’s study in America and Europe. The Russians, however, got the opportunity to read the book in their own language only in 1985 – in a Belgian edition which reached very few Russian readers (Fridlender 1995, 396).

When studying Ivanov’s book the reader is immediately struck by the author’s solid erudition which allows him to move easily from period to period, from language to language, from one national culture to another. The text abounds with quotations in various languages – classic and modern, references to a wide range of literary works – and reminiscences of Nietzsche. The reader likewise soon realizes that this is not only a book about tragedy, not even only what the German title announces: tragedy, myth and religion. Ivanov’s familiarity with Greek culture enables him to elucidate many phenomena relevant not only to tragedy in a strict sense. In fact, the book is no less than an interpretation of Dostoevsky’s worldview as it presents itself in the five great novels written over the last fifteen years of his life.

### III

The chapter on “the novel-tragedy” covers only sixteen pages in Ivanov’s book, and no detailed analysis of this or that novel compared to any of the ancient Greek tragedies is presented, as his main interest concerns “the tragic principle in Dostoevsky’s philosophy of

<sup>1</sup> The book was published in Tübingen in a German translation, supervised by the author himself. But the Russian original has disappeared and then been restored or remade. See Jackson 1993, 330.

life,” the title of the ensuing chapter covering twenty-three pages. However, more detailed investigations of connections between novels by Dostoevsky and Greek tragedies have since been undertaken by several scholars, among whom Konstantin Mochulsky deserves special mention. His influential book *Dostoevsky: His Life and Work* from 1967<sup>2</sup> contains, quite naturally, also a chapter on “Crime and Punishment,” the central part of which has been reissued under the title “A novel tragedy in five acts” (1986). Of all Dostoevsky’s novels this is the one that offers the most convenient material for such an investigation.

Here a comparison with another novel written approximately at the same time – Émile Zola’s “Thérèse Raquin” (1867) – demonstrates Dostoevsky’s special affinity to the classic Greek tragedy. These two novels present similar stories: a murder that is successful in so far as the culprits are not detected by the police, but disastrous because the murderers are not able to live with the memory of the misdeed so that they either confess to the police (Dostoevsky’s Raskolnikov) or commit suicide (Zola’s Thérèse and Laurent). At first sight Zola’s novel may seem the most “tragic” of the two, for only there the awful death (by Prussic acid) is shown; Raskolnikov is sent to jail, but not executed. However, the crux of the matter is not the course of actions, but the minds of the acting persons. Like Dostoevsky’s other heroes Raskolnikov possesses a level of consciousness that allows him to calculate – and therefore also to miscalculate – the objective circumstances (including the structure of his own mind), while Thérèse and Laurent are simply urged to commit the murder by irresistible carnal lust, and their ensuing torments are rather of a pathologic than a moral kind. Thus they lack the dignity which makes the fate of the philosophical murderer Raskolnikov tragic.

Mochulsky carries out his analysis brilliantly, but when he arrives at the end of Dostoevsky’s novel he parts with its author:

The novel ends with a vague anticipation of the hero’s ‘renewal.’ It is promised, but it is not shown. We know Raskolnikov too well to believe this ‘pious lie.’ (Mochulsky 1967, 312 = 1986, 100)

But how does Mochulsky explain that he and the readers know Raskolnikov better than the man who created him? Here the critic is resorting to biographic material in his interpretation, a procedure which is often observed but also requires documentation. Mochulsky, however, maintains that Dostoevsky added the concluding paragraphs to please the “readers of Katkov’s well-meaning journal in the 1860’s” (Mochulsky 1967, 312 = 1986, 100), but gives no proof. True, the epilogue is written in a mood different from the one prevailing in the rest of the novel, but that fact can well be explained in purely literary terms without taking into account biographic material. On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility of Dostoevsky taking his publisher and readers into consideration, but that is not the point, for nobody writes in a vacuum. People write what they write (just as Pontius Pilate did), and the critic is obliged to take the presented work as a matter of fact – if not, he is only criticising an “as if” or a product of his own imagination. Small wonder that Mochulsky’s practice here has been criticised by other scholars, i. a. Jostein Børtnes (1993, 182–183).

Erik Krag points out that “the learned Hellenist and poet Vyacheslav Ivanov has shown that the entire drama of Raskolnikov is related to ancient mythic ideas and to Greek tragedy” (1976, 128). This correct assertion, however, needs a supplement lest the novel is misinterpreted. For the end of a drama is not its least important part. In fact, it has the power to give an unexpected meaning to all that has occurred earlier in the work. “All is well that ends well,” as the saying goes.<sup>3</sup> And how can there be any real tragedy when the ending is a happy one?

<sup>2</sup> The Russian original was published in Paris, 1947.

<sup>3</sup> The Russian equivalent is “the end is the crown of an affair” (konets delu venets).



Roger L. Cox solves the problem by defining a new type of tragedy, the Christian one, which combines a tragic development ending in catastrophe and the “renewal” of the hero thereafter (Cox 1969). The point, however, is not the label, but the content of this Christian pattern which is elucidating the entire novel “Crime and Punishment” without cutting off any part of it and which also can combine Biblical material (in this case primarily from John 11) with so many traits, associated with the classic tragedy.

#### IV

Vyacheslav Ivanov's works on Dostoevsky stirred the interest in the writer's ideology and inspired innumerable later critics to elaborate upon this theme. The title of a book of another philosophizing critic of the same period and, like Ivanov, an emigrant from Soviet Russia, Nikolay Berdyaev (1874–1948), is especially eloquent in this respect: “Dostoevsky's world-view” (*Mirosozertsanie Dostoevskogo*, 1923). Both Ivanov and Berdyaev present such a fascinating explanation of Dostoevsky's system of ideas that the reader can be misled and forget that Dostoevsky was first and foremost a belletrist whose material was the Russian language. But a few years before the publication of Ivanov's German book there appeared a penetrating study of the writer's language, Mikhail Bakhtin's *Problems of Dostoevsky's Art* (1929), which also seeks the roots of his novels in the antiquity and contains several points of contact with Ivanov's treatise (especially in the revised and expanded version *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* from 1960, which gained its author world fame). But when studying Dostoevsky's texts Bakhtin had to treat them as novels, not dramas, and understood that the multitude of voices in an epic work of art is systematically different from that of a play. According to him, real polyphony can only be realized in the novel, not in the drama, be it a tragedy or a comedy (Bakhtin 1973, 28). Still, along different lines these two scholars, Vyacheslav Ivanov and Mikhail Bakhtin, trace elements of Dostoevsky's novels back to ancient Greece and at the same time lay a solid foundation for further investigation of his art and ideas. But the relevance of their achievement is not restricted to one single writer. In fact, it demonstrates the importance of classical studies for the understanding of modern phenomena.

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### Latin summary

*De Theodori Dostoevsky fabulis ut tragoediis classicis*. Friderici Nietzsche tractatus “De tragoedia ex spiritu musicae nata” (1872) – secundum symbolistam poetamque Venceslaum Ivanov mediatorem magni momenti – validum effectum exseruit in doctrinam Theodori Dostoevsky, quem usque in hodiernum diem sequi valemus. Hac brevi symbolā quidam aspectūs disputantur, qui spectant ad hanc traditionem interpretationis.

### English summary

Friedrich Nietzsche’s treatise “Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik” (1872) has, with the symbolist poet and critic Vyacheslav Ivanov as an important intermediary, exerted a strong influence on Dostoevsky scholarship which can be traced up to this day. The present short paper discusses some aspects of this tradition of interpretation.

### Keywords

Fyodor Dostoevsky, Vyacheslav Ivanov, Friedrich Nietzsche, Russian literature, Tragedy.

*III*

*PARS THULENSIS*



# «HVA HAR ROMERNE NOEN GANG GJORT FOR OSS I NORD-NORGE?» OM MULIGE FORBINDELSER MELLOM ROMERRIKET OG DET NORDLIGSTE NORGE

**Per-Bjarne Ravnå**

Som antikkhistoriker i Nord-Norge støter man av og til på oppfatninger om at antikkens historie er mer underholdende og eksotisk enn relevant og nødvendig. Det er for så vidt forståelig. Det er langt fra Nord-Norge til Middelhavet, og det er ikke lett å forestille seg at kunnskaper om gresk og romersk historie skal være nødvendige for å forstå nordnorsk historie. Til tross for den store avstanden er det likevel gjort flere funn som viser at gjenstander med opprinnelse i Romerriket fant veien helt opp til de nordnorske kystene. De mest spektakulære funnene er et drikkebeleg i glass fra en grav i Bø i Vesterålen, en gedigen bronsekjele funnet i en myr ved Bjarkøy og rester av klær, som høyst sannsynlig var produsert i de nordvestlige provinsene i Romerriket, funnet i en våpengrav i Steigen. I tillegg kommer glassperler og spillebrikker av glass fra forskjellige gravfunn langs hele den nordnorske kysten.<sup>1</sup> I denne artikkelen vil jeg undersøke om kunnskaper om romersk historie er relevant for å forstå hva slike funn kan si oss om nordnorsk fortid. Jeg vil gjøre det ved å ta tak i våpengraven fra Steigen, og se om det å plassere dette funnet i forhold til romersk historie kan gi oss bedre forståelse av nordnorsk historie.

## **Romerriket i norsk og skandinavisk arkeologi**

Norske arkeologer har lenge vært oppmerksomme på mulige forbindelser til Romerriket, og funn av romerske gjenstander får oppmerksomhet i mange sammenhenger. En mye brukt innføringsbok om Jernalderen i Norge åpner kapitlet om romertid med en rekonstruksjon av Romas sentrum fra keisertiden, og en fin oversikt over Romerrikets historie.<sup>2</sup> Omtaler av våpengraver trekker gjerne fram at de gravlagte kan ha gjort tjeneste i den romerske hæren, studier av stornaust leker med tanken om at inspirasjonen til naust kan ha kommet fra grekernes vedlikehold av sine krigsskip, og det har vært foreslått at de norske ringtunene kan være inspirert av romernes amfiteatre.<sup>3</sup> Slike forslag er interessante og inspirerende, men de blir sjeldent fulgt opp med nærmere undersøkelser av hvordan kontakter mellom Norge og Romerriket kan ha artet seg i praksis. Dermed er situasjonen den at det blir både for mye Romerriket og for lite Romerriket i norsk arkeologi. Romernes imperium blir et diffust mulighetenes land bortenfor horisonten – en større sammenheng som man gjerne trekker inn, men som man aldri bruker til noe. Kanskje har eventyrlystne menn fra våre forblåste og frostherjede fjorder opplevd selve Roma! Mer nøyaktig hva det kan innebære, er det få som har prøvd å finne ut av.

I dansk og svensk arkeologi befinner spørsmålet om kontakt med Romerriket seg i en annen dimensjon. Her er mengden funn med tilknytning til Romerriket rett og slett

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<sup>1</sup> Opprinnelsen til slike småting er vanskelig å plassere, men det er gode sjanser for at de stammer fra Romerriket, se Storli 2000, 86.

<sup>2</sup> Solberg 2000, 66 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Solberg 2000, 116; Storli 2000, 89, 91; Storli 2006, 86; Grimm 2001, 63–64; Armstrong 2000, 116.



overveldende. De mest imponerende samlingene av romerske våpen på verdensbasis stammer fra danske myrfunn, og skattefunn fra Gotland står for en betydelig del av de kjente romerske myntene i verden i dag. Danske og svenske arkeologer har naturlig nok utgitt mye litteratur om forholdet mellom Sør-Skandinavia og Romerriket.<sup>4</sup> Deres forestillinger om forholdet til romerne er både dristigere og mer presise enn norske arkeologers omtale av forbindelsene nordover til Norge. Himlingøje på Sjælland har blitt framstilt som sentrum for et lite imperium støttet og vedlikeholdt av romerne som et bevisst grep i en romersk politikk for å skape en lynavleder for nordgermanske angrep.<sup>5</sup> Fyn blir lansert som et sentrum for romersk handel, frekventert av romerske skip, mens en svensk arkeolog hevder at skandinaviske krigere har oppnådd romersk statsborgerskap etter tjeneste som soldater.<sup>6</sup>

Til tross for overbevisningen om tette bånd til romerne, ser det dessverre ut til at interessen for Romerriket stort sett stopper på grensen også for danske og svenske arkeologer. De praktiske vilkårene for germanske krigeres tjeneste i Romerriket blir sjeldent undersøkt, og muligheter og begrensninger i romersk handel blir lite berørt.<sup>7</sup> Resultatet er et påfallende skille i litteraturen om kontakten mellom Romerriket og «de nordlige barbarene», som folk fra våre skandinaviske områder gjerne blir betegnet som. Nordiske arkeologer er ofte entusiastiske, og ser for seg strie strømmer av unge, staute germanere som flokket til den romerske hæren, mens spesialister på romersk historie enten er totalt uinteresserte eller rett og slett skeptiske.<sup>8</sup> Denne situasjonen er i seg selv et argument for at større interesse for romersk historie i skandinaviske forskningsmiljøer vil være en fordel. I alle fall for de sydlige delene av Skandinavia – men hva med Nord-Norge? Kan kunnskaper om Romerriket gi oss bedre forståelse av Nord-Norge? Vi skal ta utgangspunkt i våpengraven fra Steigen, og se om det å plassere krigeren som er gravlagt her i forhold til romersk historie, vil kunne bidra til å kaste nytt lys over utviklingen på våre kanter.

### **En staut steigenværing fra Europa**

I løpet av 1950-tallet grov konservator Harald Egenæs Lund ut tre gravhauger på Bø i Steigen. I en av haugene befant det seg en manns- og en kvinnegrav. Mannsgraven inneholdt et rikholdig og godt bevart våpenutstyr med et langsverd, to spydodder – en fra et kastespyd med mothaker og en fra en lanse – ett skjold og to pilspisser. I tillegg fantes det en gullring, og rester etter klær pluss et enkelt leirkar. Kvinnegraven var mindre utstyrt, men inneholdt en spenne i sølv. Både våpnene fra mannsgraven og spennen fra kvinnegraven tyder på en datering til midten av 200-tallet.<sup>9</sup> Våpnene har paralleller over hele Skandinavia, og sammensetningen – med sverd, skjold og to forskjellige spyd – er typisk for en måte å krige på som ser ut til å ha vært utbredt over hele Europa mens kontinentet var dominert av romerne.<sup>10</sup> For å være mer nøyaktig, så er dette utstyret egnet til kamp i organiserte formasjoner.

Soldatene stilte opp skjoldkant i skjoldkant, og taktikken var innrettet mot å bryte opp veggen av beskyttende skjold. Først har man brukt langdistansevåpen, som pil og bue og steinkasting. Deretter har man brukt kastespyd som festet seg i skjoldene og gjorde dem vanskeligere å manøvrere, så har man stukket med lanser mellom skjoldene og til slutt har man gått i nærkamp med sverd for å hugge og stikke der man kunne komme til. Dette var en form for kamp som ser ut til å ha vært i bruk over hele Europa mens Romerriket bestod, men

<sup>4</sup> Se for eksempel Bjørklund og Hejll 1996; Storgaard 2001b; Jørgensen, Storgaard et al. 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Storgaard 2001a, 104.

<sup>6</sup> Rausing 1987, 131.

<sup>7</sup> For et hederlig unntak, se Grane 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Lee 2007, 84–85; James 2005, 273–279.

<sup>9</sup> Slomann 1959, 8–16; Storli 2000, 96.

<sup>10</sup> Ystgaard 2014, 140.

som forsvant og ble erstattet med geriljatakikk og smågruppe-sammenstøt etter at det vestlige Romerriket gikk i oppløsning.<sup>11</sup> Germanere og romere hentet inspirasjon til våpen og kampteknikker fra hverandre, og mange av våpnene som er funnet i germanske graver har vært produsert ved romerske verksteder. Ingen av våpnene fra graven i Steigen kan spores sikkert tilbake til selve Romerriket, men tilknytningen til den generelle germanske krigerkulturen ble understreket allerede da funnet ble publisert.<sup>12</sup>

Hvis vi ser på våpnene isolert, er den sterkeste tilknytningen til Romerriket indirekte gjennom de nære forbindelsene mellom den germanske krigerkulturen og Romerriket. Dette blir spesielt tydelig illustrert av skjoldbullen. Den er av en form som har vært brukt vidt og bredt i Norden og på kontinentet i denne perioden. I denne sammenhengen er det mest interessante med den at den er av bronse. På bakgrunn av forholdet mellom skjoldbuler av sølv, bronse og jern i våpenfunnene i Illerup mose, ser det ut til at de germanske hærene har vært organisert i øverste ledere, mellomledere og vanlige krigere – og at tallforholdet mellom de forskjellige gruppene har vært det samme som i den romerske hæren.<sup>13</sup> Det ser med andre ord ut som om krigeren i Steigen hadde militær rang som offiser i mellomsjiktet, og at han hadde det fra en germansk hær organisert etter romerske prinsipper.<sup>14</sup>

Våpnene, og den rangen som skjoldbullen representerer, kan vår mann ha fått i en hær rekruttert fra Norge.<sup>15</sup> I vår sammenheng er de mest interessante gjenstandene i dette funnet stoffrestene fra mannsgreven. De er av en type stoff som ble produsert i de nordvestlige delene av Gallia, og som har vært brukt i militære drakter over hele Romerriket.<sup>16</sup> Etter min mening er dette en sterk indikasjon på at mannen fra Steigen selv har hatt nærkontakt med den romerske hæren – på den ene eller andre måten. Så vidt jeg vet finnes det ingen sikre spor etter handel med klær fra Romerriket til Norge. Man kan selvsagt tenke seg at flotte plagg kan flyte nordover som gaver gjennom nettverk av stormenn, men vil det ha skjedd med et plagg som alle mulige soldater over hele Romerriket marsjerte rundt i? Ville ikke klær gitt som gave til en personlig forbindelse ha hatt et mer eksklusivt preg? Siden mannen ble begravd i klærne, sammen med våpnene som illustrerte statusen som respektert kriger, er det sannsynlig at de hadde symbolsk verdi som et minne om en ærerik fortid som kriger i fjerne strøk. Jeg tror han selv har hatt klærne med fra de nordvestlige provinsene av Romerriket, enten som krigsbytte fra en fallen fiende eller som et av plaggene han fikk utdelt som soldat i den romerske hæren. Uansett må han på et tidspunkt ha vært virksom som kriger eller soldat i Romerriket eller tett opp til den romerske grensen.

Alt i alt identifiserer gjenstandene i graven mannen fra Steigen som en germaner sterkt preget av Europa. Våpnene er typiske for en germansk krigerkultur som vokste fram i møtet med Romerriket, og strakte seg over hele Nord-Europa. Klærne han ble begravd med var produsert i de nordvestlige provinsene av Romerriket, og forbindes vanligvis med den romerske hæren. På den bakgrunnen er det vanlig å gå ut fra at den gravlagte har gjort tjeneste i den romerske hæren. Spørsmålet blir om det er mulig å gå lenger enn denne generelle antakelsen? Vil nærmere kjennskap til romersk historie gjøre det mulig å si noe mer nøyaktig om hva slags erfaringer mannen kan ha gjort i Romerriket, hva slags kulturelle impulser han

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<sup>11</sup> Ystgaard 2014, 142.

<sup>12</sup> Slomann 1959.

<sup>13</sup> Jensen, Jørgensen et al. 2003, 314.

<sup>14</sup> Vi kan selvsagt ikke vite sikkert om forholdet mellom gravgodset og den gravlagtes praktiske livserfaringer var én til én i dette samfunnet. Begravelser sier vanligvis mer om de etterlatte enn om den døde. I vår sammenheng har det imidlertid liten betydning om det var den gravlagte selv, eller andre i slekten eller de nære omgivelsene, som hadde ervervet klærne og gjenstandene. Resonnementene om hvordan klær og gjenstander kan ha vært ervervet, og hva det kan si om mulige forbindelser mellom Steigen og Romerriket, blir uansett de samme.

<sup>15</sup> Carnap-Bornheim og Ilkjær 1999, 137.

<sup>16</sup> Storli 2006, 86, Bender Jørgensen 1997, 5, 8.

kan ha hatt med seg hjem og hva disse impulsene eventuelt kan ha å si for vår oppfatning av nordnorsk historie? For å finne ut av dette, må vi prøve å plassere mannen innenfor sannsynlige rammer ut fra det vi vet om germansk og romersk historie. Første etappe blir reisen fra Steigen og ned til grenseområdene langs Rhinen. En ting er at den gravlagte krigeren ser ut til å ha vært i Romerriket, men for å komme seg dit har han høyst sannsynlig beveget seg via kontakter blant germanerne som bodde nærmere grensen.

### **Fra Steigen til Romerriket**

Forholdene langs Romerrikets nordgrenser varierte. Fred og fordragelighet var like vanlig som ran og røverier. Grensefortene, med forlegninger på opptil tusen mann, skapte befolkningssentre med store behov for varer av alle slag. Soldatene etablerte familier, og rundt fortene vokste det fram egne bosettinger med håndverkere og handelsmenn. På den måten vil en forlegning med noen hundre mann ha gitt grunnlag for et helt lite bysamfunn. På steder hvor romerne etablerte administrative sentre, kunne det også vokse fram byer av betydelig størrelse. Dagens Trier og Köln har sitt opphav i romersk grensepolitikk. Både små og store bosettinger rundt fortene var deler av et økonomisk system som var til fordel for grenseområdene. Soldatene fikk betalt av keiseren, som hentet ressursene sine i form av skatter fra hele imperiet. På den måten fungerte den romerske hæren som en omfordelingsmekanisme som trakk inn overskudd fra de sentrale delene av Romerriket, og pøste det ut som forbruk langs grensene. I første omgang var det den romerske befolkningen i provinsene som nøt godt av omfordelingen, men de germanske områdene langs grensene hadde også nytte av økonomiske ringvirkninger. Jordbruket ble tilpasset markedene knyttet til de romerske forlegningene, og funn av mynter og bruksgjenstander tyder på at de germanske samfunnene i stor grad ble integrert i den romerske økonomien. Uten sentral styring, og med sterk fokus på stormenn og krigerfølgene deres, var det imidlertid ikke nok med gjennomgående vekst og velstand for å holde de germanske samfunnene på fredens smale sti.

Når sjansene bød seg, hvis romernes grenseforsvar ble svekket på grunn av indre strid eller nødvendige omdisponeringer av troppene, var krigerske germanske grupper raskt på farten med røvertokter i større og mindre skala innover i imperiet. Midten av 200-tallet var nettopp en slik urolig tid. Fra keiser Severus Alexander ble myrdet og erstattet av Maximilian i 234 e.Kr., til Diokletian startet en storstilt reorganisering av den romerske staten rundt 284 e.Kr., var Romerriket i en nesten permanent tilstand av borgerkrig. Store hærstyrker ble gjentatte ganger trukket tilbake fra grensene for å brukes mot konkurrerende keiserpretendenter. I 260 e.Kr. etablerte Postumus et uavhengig gallisk keiserdømme. Noe av bakgrunnen var problemene den sentrale keisermakten hadde med å beskytte de nordvestlige provinsene mot germanske røvertokter. I perioden 258–260 e.Kr. brøt frankiske og alamanniske grupper gjennom grensene og herjet så langt sørover som til Spania og Milano. Man kan lett forestille seg at vår mann fra Steigen kan ha deltatt i disse begivenhetene.

Før han kom så langt, må han imidlertid ha reist langt og forholdt seg til mange forskjellige germanske grupper. Det er lite sannsynlig at en ung mann fra Steigen reiste alene ut i den store verden på måfå. En erfaren kriger med kontakter blant germanske stormenn, kan ha organisert en gruppe eventyrlystne unge menn og fungert som leder for følget. Krigergraver med spor av lignende utstyr som graven i Steigen, tyder på at slike reiser ikke var uvanlige – verken i Nord-Norge eller i andre deler av landet.<sup>17</sup> Hvis vår mann startet fra Steigen, er det rimelig å tro at han reiste med et følge rekruttert fra Steigen, Vesterålen og Lofoten – og de kan ha plukket opp flere reisefeller på turen sørover. Hvis vi tenker oss et følge på ti til tjue unge menn, i en robåt av omtrent samme type som Nydamskipet, så bør det være et rimelig realistisk scenario.

<sup>17</sup> Holberg og Hutchinson 2009, 116.

En slik gruppe kan ha fulgt mange forskjellige ruter ned til grenseområdene. Hva slags rute vi bør forestille oss, er avhengig av hva slags nettverker vi velger å tro de var knyttet til. Både romere og germanere var vant til å manøvrere i forhold til nettverker av stormenn som kontrollerte hver sine følger av tilhengere og avhengige. Tilreisende krigere fra nord vil sannsynligvis ha orientert seg via forbindelser med germanske stormenn med kontakter langs grensen. Her må de ha hatt mye å velge mellom. En opplagt mulighet er maktsenteret ved Himlingøje på Sjælland. Her tyder uvanlig rikt utstyrte graver på at en fyrstefamilie med nære bånd til Romerriket kontrollerte noe som har blitt betegnet som et «imperium», med støtte fra avhengige stormenn rundt om i Danmark og de sydlige områdene av Norge og Sverige.<sup>18</sup> Makthaverne i Himlingøje vil ha vært i stand til å formidle kontakter til både germanske ledere og framstående romerske embetsmenn.

En reise via Sjælland vil ha gjort det mulig for følget å fortsette over land fra dagens Schleswig eller ro østover og følge Oder ned mot grensen. Siden det ikke finnes spor etter kontakter til det danske senteret i materialet fra Steigen, velger jeg imidlertid å ikke forfølge denne muligheten – men heller gå ut fra at gruppen har hatt kontakter direkte ved grensen. I så fall vil den mest sannsynlige ruten være ned langs vestkysten av Jylland og inn langs Elben. Hvis de fulgte Elben, vil de ha kommet inn i områdene som på 200-tallet ble dominert av Alemannerne.<sup>19</sup> Hvis de i stedet fulgte kysten sørover og rodde opp Rhinen, vil de ha kommet i kontakt med medlemmer av det frankiske forbundet. Begge deler er mulig. I perioden fra 165 til 260 e.Kr. var skipstrafikken langs kysten mellom Rhinen og de skandinaviske områdene økende.<sup>20</sup> Mye tyder på at sjøreiser langs Europas vestkyst var enklere i romersk tid enn i dag, på grunn av roligere værforhold.<sup>21</sup> Hvis de reiste innover Rhinen, kan de også ha tatt direkte kontakt med romerske militærleirer for å verve seg, men det er mindre sannsynlig enn at de slo seg sammen med lokale germanere. Romerske embetsmenn var hierarkisk innstilt og foretrakk å forholde seg til lokale ledere, heller enn å ha med den vanlige befolkningen å gjøre.

Jeg velger å tro at vår mann fra Steigen og reisefølget hans rodde oppover Elben heller enn Rhinen, rett og slett fordi det vil ha vært den korteste veien. Lederen deres var sannsynligvis en erfaren mann, med kontakter blant alemanniske stormenn. Kanskje har de hatt med gaver fra framstående kontakter nordpå, kanskje har lederen deres hatt forbindelser med ham fra tidligere ekspedisjoner. Hva som så skjedde, vil ha vært avhengig av hvordan forholdene langs grensene var akkurat da.

### **En nordlending i keiserens klær**

Det må være rimelig å tro at en gruppe krigere nordfra har vært ivrige etter å komme i aksjon så raskt som mulig. Uansett hvordan vi plasserer dem i tid, vil de ha hatt to muligheter – enten å gå i tjeneste hos romerne eller å slutte seg til alemanniske ledere som herjet romersk territorium. En periode som alemannisk røver er en realistisk mulighet, men det er ingen ting i selve gravfunnet som peker på dette som det mest sannsynlige scenarioet. Utstyret i graven har et nesten spartansk preg. Bortsett fra en gullring og våpnene, er det ingen eksotiske kostbarheter. Hvis den gravlagte hadde brukt ungdomstiden til å herje vidt og bredt ned gjennom Europa, hvor sannsynlig er det da at den eneste suveniren han satt igjen med var alminnelige romerske soldatklær? Stoffrestene peker mot en periode som soldat i den romerske hæren. Han kan ha gjort begge deler, men vi skal konsentrere oss om hva slags opplevelser han kan ha hatt som romersk soldat.

<sup>18</sup> Storgaard 2001, 98, 104.

<sup>19</sup> For spørsmålet om når en sammenslutning kjent som Alemannerne vokste fram som en faktor i dette området, se Drinkwater 2007, kap. 2.

<sup>20</sup> Morris 2010, 117.

<sup>21</sup> Carreras og Morais 2012, 421–422.

Det er lett å forestille seg at den romerske hæren var gjennomført enhetlig og systematisk organisert, men slik var det ikke. Romerne var dyktige og systematiske administratorer, men nøkkelen til suksessen var en pragmatisk evne til å tilpasse systemene etter forholdene. Organiseringen av hæren var ikke noe unntak, og romernes militære system var overraskende fleksibelt. Den tradisjonelle ryggraden i hæren var legionene. På 200-tallet kan en legion ha omfattet mellom tre og fire tusen mann. Legionene var forbeholdt romerske borgere. I tillegg besto hæren av et stort antall mindre avdelinger kalt *auxilia* – et uttrykk som opprinnelig betydde «hjelpetropper». *Auxilia* var organisert som kohorter, med mellom fire og åtte hundre mann i hver – avhengig av hva slags type kohort det var. *Auxilia* var åpne både for borgere og ikke-borgere. Ut over legioner og *auxilia*, benyttet romerne også avdelinger kalt *numeri*. *Numeri* ble brukt om flere forskjellige mindre enheter – gjerne med bare et par hundre mann.<sup>22</sup> *Numeri* fylte forskjellige funksjoner, fra å bemanne mindre grenseposter til å utføre rekognosering og etterretning. Både legioner, *auxilia*, og *numeri* var en del av hæren og ble kommandert av romerske offiserer med provinsforvaltere og i siste instans keiseren som øverstkommanderende. Det hendte også at større og mindre grupper utenfor imperiet kunne bli trukket inn som allierte tropper for spesielle militære kampanjer. Slike grupper ble vanligvis kommandert av sine egne ledere, og avtalene ble inngått mellom disse lederne og den romerske keiseren eller hans representanter. En ung kriger fra Steigen kunne teoretisk sett ha blitt innrullert både i *auxilia* og en *numerus* – og han kunne selvfølgelig ha vært del av en gruppe germanske allierte som kjempet for romerne under sine egne ledere.

*Auxilia* var mer standardiserte avdelinger enn *numeri*. Blant de trekkene som fulgte en fastsatt standard, var tjenestetiden som var på tjuefem år. I et samfunn hvor gjennomsnittlig levealder var mellom førti og femti år, må tjuefem års tjeneste ha fortonet seg som «for resten av livet». Militærleirene var egne samfunn. Soldatene hadde gjerne familie i bosetningene som vokste fram rundt leirene, og menn kunne bli født, leve hele sitt liv og dø i hæren. Alle som ble vervet inn i *auxilia* vil ha blitt sosialisert inn i dette samfunnet. Blant ferdighetene alle soldater måtte lære seg, er latinsk språk og visse grunnleggende ferdigheter i lesing og kanskje også skriving.<sup>23</sup> All kommando foregikk på latin, og en soldat vil neppe ha fungert uten en rimelig god forståelse av dette språket. I tillegg var den romerske hæren i stor grad et skriftbasert system. Ordre ble oversendt som skriftlige beskjeder, og rapporter ble avgitt skriftlig. Lister over hvem som hadde utført vakter og andre plikter, ble ført dag for dag og oversikter over hver enkelt soldats lønn og gjeld for utlevert utstyr, ble skrevet ned og arkivert.<sup>24</sup> Kunngjøringer ble slått opp skriftlig, og inskripsjoner og grafitti florerte i og rundt leirene. En menig soldat kan ha fungert uten å lese og skrive, men for å stige i gradene – og for å ha en følelse av å følge med – vil det ha vært nødvendig.

*Numeri* var ikke en egen type avdeling, men en løselig betegnelse på avdelinger som ikke passet inn i noen annen kategori.<sup>25</sup> Mange av dem hadde navn etter stammer eller folkeslag utenfor Romerriket, og ser ut til å ha blitt opprettet med rekrutter fra gruppene de hadde navn etter.<sup>26</sup> Etter hvert ble de fleste av dem vedlikeholdt med rekrutter fra andre stammer også, slik at de fleste vil ha bestått av en blanding av soldater fra forskjellige folkegrupper med nære kontakter til Romerriket. Det er kjent to *numeri* med *germanicianorum* – i navnet, og flere andre med navn fra stammer kjent fra områdene nord og øst for Rhinen. En avdeling i

<sup>22</sup> En eldre oppfatning bygger på at *numeri* var grupper av ikke-romerske krigere vervet til innsats i krig gjennom avtaler med lederne og under kommando av de samme lederne, Rausing 1987, 129. Uttrykket *numeri* kunne brukes om slike styrker, men det omfattet vanligvis tropper etablert og rekruttert av romerne selv og ledet av romerske offiserer, jf. Southern 1989, 89.

<sup>23</sup> Haynes 1999, 169, 171.

<sup>24</sup> Vegetius, 2.19.

<sup>25</sup> Southern 1989, 81–82.

<sup>26</sup> Southern 1989, 86–89.



Britannia ser også ut til å ha hatt navnet fra det germanske mannsnavnet Notfrid.<sup>27</sup> Mange *numeri* var knyttet til små grensefort, og har sannsynligvis gjort samme type vaktjeneste som legionene og *auxilia* i de store fortene. Andre har hatt mer spesialiserte oppgaver, som for eksempel etterretning innover i de frie germanske områdene.<sup>28</sup> Hvor lang tjenestetiden var, ser ut til å ha variert.<sup>29</sup> Det var mulig å verve seg i en *numerus* for adskillig kortere tid enn de tjuefem årene som var standard for *auxilia*. Hvor sterkt romaniserte soldatene i en slik avdeling vil ha blitt, må også ha variert. Det ser ut til at *numeri* vanligvis ble kommandert av romerske offiserer, så soldatene må ha lært seg grunnleggende latin. Skrift var også sentralt i administrasjonen av avdelingene, så en viss motivasjon for å lære lesing og skriving vil ha vært til stede her også. Hvis mannskapene hovedsakelig bestod av en bestemt folkegruppe, vil det likevel ha vært begrenset hvor sterke innslag av den mer standardiserte romerske militære kulturen de har blitt utsatt for.

For å plassere en eventyrlysten kar fra Steigen i dette systemet, er vi avhengige av mye gjetting – men noen muligheter er mer sannsynlige enn andre, og igjen vil nærmere plassering i tid ha en viss betydning. Hvis vi plasserer ham før 250 f.Kr., vil jeg si at det er mest sannsynlig at han tjenestegjorde i en *numerus*. Årsaken til at jeg velger bort *auxilia* er den lange tjenestetiden. Hvis en tjue år gammel mann binder seg til å tilbringe tjuefem år som grensevakt i områdene sørvest for Rhinen, hvor store er da sjansene for at han noen sinne velger å reise hjem igjen?<sup>30</sup> Vi kjenner skjebnen til flere dimitterte romerske soldater gjennom innskrifter på gravsteiner, og det ser ut til at de fleste slo seg ned der de hadde tjenestegjort.<sup>31</sup> Jeg mener dette gir grunn til å gjette vekk tjeneste i *auxilia*, og heller se nærmere på mulighetene for kortere tjeneste i en *numerus*. Jeg mener også det er grunn til å gjette vekk tjeneste i en rent germansk gruppe ledet av germanske offiserer. Årsaken til det er igjen restene etter romerske militære klær. En rent germansk gruppe vil ha brukt sitt eget utstyr. Siden vår mann fra Steigen ikke var spesielt lokalkjent, er det videre rimelig å gå ut fra at han tjenestegjorde i en avdeling som gjorde alminnelig grensetjeneste heller enn etterretning eller andre spesialtjenester. Det vil bety at han kontrollerte handelsmenn og andre som passerte over grensen, at han var med på utrykninger når andre germanere tok seg over grensen for å røve – og at han bidro til å opprettholde ro og orden i området på generell basis. Hvor stor avdelingen har vært er umulig å si, men den har neppe vært mindre enn to hundre mann.

Hvis vi plasserer oppholdet langs Rhinen i tiden etter 250 e.Kr. endrer bildet seg en del. Indre strid og økt press mot grensene gjorde at Romerriket nærmet seg full oppløsning. I 260 e.Kr. gjorde øverstkommanderende ved Rhinen, Postumus, opprør og etablerte seg som keiser over et eget gallisk keiserrike. Han vervet store mengder germanske soldater, både for å forsvare grensene mot andre germanere – og for å kunne møte angrep fra den sentrale keiseren. I en slik periode med endringer og uro, er det grunn til å tro at man har lempet på systemene. Tjeneste i *auxilia* behøver ikke ha betydd tjuefem år, og grensene mellom *auxilia* og *numeri* kan ha vært flytende. Sannsynligvis har de fleste avdelingene tatt til seg alle rekruttene de kunne komme over, og en germaner fra Steigen kunne like gjerne ha havnet i en *auxilia* som en *numerus*. Dermed øker mulighetene for at han ble utsatt for sterkere romanisering.

De urolige forholdene vil også ha hatt betydning for hvordan livet i militærleirene artet seg. Mens tiden før 250 f.Kr. vil ha vært preget av rutiner – vil tiden fra 260 e.Kr. helt fram til 284 e.Kr. ha vært mer preget av militære operasjoner i fullt alvor. Vår mann kan ha vært med på å

<sup>27</sup> Southern 1989, App. 1, 132–138.

<sup>28</sup> Southern 1989, 135.

<sup>29</sup> Southern 1989, 105.

<sup>30</sup> Tjueårsalderen ser ut til å ha vært en vanlig alder for å verve seg, men det finnes også eksempler på at rekruttene var yngre, jf. Campell 1994, 13, 34–38.

<sup>31</sup> James 2005, 275.

slå ned germanske angripere i 260 e.Kr., han kan ha vært med på sammenstøtene mellom Postumus hær og den sentrale keiserens styrker i 264 e.Kr., og han kan ha vært med på å slå ned et opprør av keiserkandidaten Laelius og legionen han kommanderte i 268 e.Kr. Alle disse sammenstøtene omfattet konfrontasjoner med tusenvis av mann på hver side. Legioner, *auxilia* og *numeri* vil ha vært samlet under samme kommando, og deltakerne vil ha fått et inntrykk av hvordan delene i det militære maskineriet kunne fungere sammen.

I tillegg til de rent militære opplevelsene, vil han også ha hatt muligheten til å oppleve forholdsvis store byer. For alt vi vet, kan han ha besøkt selve Roma, men de usikre forholdene og motsetningene mellom det galliske og det sentrale keiserdømmet gjør ikke dette spesielt sannsynlig. Det er imidlertid godt mulig at han besøkte Trier, som var romernes administrative hovedby nord for Alpene – og som keiser Postumus sannsynligvis gjorde til hovedstad i det galliske imperiet. På 300-tallet var Trier verdens femte største by, med opp mot hundre tusen innbyggere, en hippodrom som rommet tjue tusen og et teater som rommet atten tusen tilskuere.<sup>32</sup> Rester etter enorme offentlige badeanlegg er fremdeles synlige. Byen var ikke fullt så stor rundt midten av 200-tallet, men den var likevel Nord-Europas viktigste sentrum og et godt eksempel på den romerske verdenens høyt utviklede bykultur.

### **Inntrykk fra den store verden**

Hva kan vi så gå ut fra at en mann fra Steigen satt igjen med av inntrykk? Først og fremst må livet i leiren i seg selv ha gjort inntrykk. For en mann fra Nord-Norge må et gjennomorganisert samfunn med hundrevis av mann boende tett sammen ha vært nytt og fremmed. Romerne hadde utviklet kunsten å bygge effektive militærleirer gjennom mange hundre år. Oppbyggingen fulgte et grunnleggende mønster med et administrativt hovedkvarter i sentrum – og innkvartering for soldatene på rekke og rad utover i leiren. Rundt var det bygget palisader eller murer, vanligvis med en port midt på hver av de fire sidene. Disse mønstrene gjaldt for både *auxilia* og *numeri*, og det vil ha gjort liten forskjell hvor vår mann havnet. Det samme gjelder kommandostruktur og språk. Begge typer avdelinger var ledet av romerske offiserer, så det er sannsynlig at vår mann har vært nødt til å lære seg en del latin. I og med at han ble begravd med et skjold med skjoldbule av bronse, er det også fristende å gjette at han hadde lært seg litt lesing og skriving. Bronsen tyder på at han hadde rang som mellom-offiser i germanske militære sammenhenger, og det er mulig å tenke seg at han oppnådde en slik plassering senere fordi han hadde erfaring som leder fra den romerske hæren. Det vil han neppe ha fått uten å kunne forholde seg til skriftlige beskjeder og ordrer.

Et sentralt trekk ved livet i romerske militærleirer var hard fysisk trening. Romersk krigskunst var basert på at soldatene kunne utføre bevegelser og manøvrer automatisk. Det krevde jevnlige og rutinepregede øvelser. En militær håndbok oppgir også at soldater måtte trenes i å svømme, å hoppe høyt og langt og å bære tungt.<sup>33</sup> Slike treningsidealer forutsetter en stående hær av yrkessoldater, og det var det bare Romerriket som hadde på denne tiden. Dermed må opplevelsen av å bli formet som en del av et militært maskineri ha vært nytt og annerledes for en nordnorsk rekrutt. I tillegg ble romerske soldater også brukt som arbeidskraft på forskjellige byggeprosjekter som var i myndighetenes interesse. Veier, akvedukter, broer og tunneller er blant prosjektene soldater kunne brukes til. Dermed kan det tenkes at vår mann også fikk med seg en del erfaringer med romerske byggeteknikker.

Bortsett fra praktiske sider ved livet i leiren, er det også enkelte kulturelle trekk det kan være verdt å merke seg. Romerske soldater har høyst sannsynlig vært politisk opplyste og orienterte. Båndene mellom soldater og keiser var tette. En keiser kunne overleve konflikter med senatet, men ingen keiser overlevde alvorlige konflikter med soldatene. I løpet av 200-

<sup>32</sup> Fischer 2010, 287.

<sup>33</sup> Vegetius 1.1,9,10,19; 2.23.

tallet var det stort sett soldatene som hadde kontroll over utnevnelsen av keisere, og de sivile myndighetene spilte en marginal rolle. Forskjellige hæravdelinger utnevnte sine egne kommandanter til keisere, med konkurrerende keisere og borgerkrig som resultat. Disse tilstandene var farlige for både keiserne og soldatene. På den positive siden, sett fra soldatenes synspunkt, tvang usikkerheten keiserne til å være ekstra rundhåndet med soldatene – og rause pengeutbetalinger var et vanlig fenomen. Rent bortsett fra at utbetalingene hjalp på soldatenes økonomi, må disse forholdene ha gjort soldatene levende interesserte i keiserens maktspill. Flere konfrontasjoner mellom keiserkandidater endte med at soldatene til den ene myrdet sin egen keiser og gikk over til motstanderens side. Det må bety at soldatene fulgte nøye med og vurderte styrkeforhold, lederegenskaper og andre fordeler mellom de forskjellige keiserkandidatene. Bak slike vurderinger må det ha ligget intense diskusjoner rundt om i militæroleirene. Det er vanskelig å forestille seg at man kunne være del av et slikt miljø gjennom lengre tid, uten å utvikle en viss forståelse for mekanismene bak militær og politisk makt i Romerriket.

I tillegg til erfaringene som fulgte av å være en del av det militære maskineriet, kommer selvfølgelig også inntrykkene fra det sivile samfunnet. Godt utbygde bysamfunn, akvedukter, vannrør og vannreservoarer, bruer, drenerte veier, havneanlegg med store lagerstasjoner, avansert og forretningsmessig jordbruk, pengeøkonomi, bruk av skrift i bøker, dokumenter og nær sagt på alle mulige vegger og tak, bygging med murstein og takstein av tegl – kort sagt en avansert urban kultur. En velorganisert produksjon av klær og bruksgjenstander og godt utbygde handelsnettverker i og utenfor Romerriket sørget for vareflyt av dimensjoner som ikke ble nådd igjen før langt opp i middelalderen. Romersk produksjon av metaller var på et nivå som Europa ikke så igjen før i løpet av 1600-tallet.<sup>34</sup> Som rikets største organiserte forbruker var hæren en viktig drivkraft for både produksjon og handel, og som en del av hæren kan vår mann fra Steigen ha hatt en god posisjon for å iaktta hvordan romernes handel artet seg.

### **Hjem til Steigen igjen – og hva så?**

Gjør de sammenhengene jeg nå har prøvd å tenke mannen fra Steigen inn i noen forskjell for forståelsen av utviklingen i Nord-Norge? Er øvelser som dette nyttige for nordnorsk historie? En slik vurdering vil alltid komme an på øyet som ser. Det er ingen epokegjørende oppdagelser å peke på her, men etter min mening gjør en slik tankelek det mulig å foreta en del avgrensninger. På den ene siden er det klart at den romerske forbindelsen ikke kan ignoreres. Gitt at stoffrestene i graven stammer fra romerske soldatklær, så er det meget mulig at en sentral mann i Steigen rundt midten av 200-tallet har hatt førstehånds kjennskap til den romerske hæren. På den andre siden, så betyr ikke dette nødvendigvis at han levde tjuefem år i Romerriket og kom hjem som naturalisert romer med romersk statsborgerskap.

En ting vi ikke kommer utenom, er imidlertid at han har hatt militære erfaringer fra en profesjonell hær der soldatene har vært små brikker i et større system. Han må ha skjønnet verdien av rutinemessig militær trening og systematisk organisering, og han har vært vant til å forholde seg til klare hierarkier både i militære og sivile sammenhenger. Ut over dette er det ikke sikkert at de politiske diskusjonene han har vært med på i hæren, har gjort så stor forskjell for måten han har tenkt rundt politikk og makt. I bunn og grunn kan keiserne på 200-tallet e.Kr. ha fortonet seg som forvokste germanske stormenn, av samme type som krigslederne som vokste fram i frankiske og alemanniske områder på den tiden. Keiseren sørget for soldatenes ve og vel, mot at soldatene støttet ham – og for en germaner kan dette forholdet ha vært ganske likt forholdet mellom germanske ledere og krigerfølget deres. Forskjellen ligger i dimensjonene, og politiske diskusjoner blant romerske soldater kan ha

<sup>34</sup> Ward-Perkins 2005, 94–95.

gjort vår mann oppmerksom på de nivåene av makt som en hierarkisk organisasjon kan gi lederen så lenge han har soldatenes lojalitet. Det er rimelig å tro at erfaringene har gjort ham til en kunnskapsrik pådriver i de prosessene mot klarere hierarki og større grad av militarisering som vises i det skandinaviske arkeologiske materialet fra perioden.

I og med at våpengraven i Steigen er nært knyttet til et ringtun fra samme periode, er det interessant å vurdere om erfaringer fra Romerriket kan ha betydning for tolkningen av disse anleggene. Det har for eksempel vært foreslått at ringtunene er resultatet av germanske oppfatninger av romerske amfiteatre.<sup>35</sup> Dette er et tilfelle der kjennskap til romersk historie bør mane til forsiktighet. Amfiteateret var en sentral institusjon i det romerske samfunnet. Kort fortalt var det en oval arena med tribuner rundt, og det ble brukt til flere forskjellige former for voldsunderholdning. Gladiatorkamper er den mest kjente varianten. Romere flest var intenst opptatt av gladiatorkamper, og soldater har sannsynligvis vært ekstra interesserte. Det kan se ut som om det fantes amfiteatre ved mange militærleirer.<sup>36</sup> De fleste var bygget i treverk, og var av beskjedne dimensjoner – men noen av dem var også imponerende anlegg i stein. Koblingen mellom soldater og gladiatører er imidlertid ikke så opplagt som man skulle tro.

Gladiatører var slaver, og statusen deres var dobbel. På den ene siden var de elsket og beundret, men på den andre siden ble de sett ned på som ufrie uten krav på respekt. Soldater og gladiatører ble aldri blandet sammen, og det er ingen forbindelser mellom soldatenes våpentrening og gladiatorenes forestillinger.<sup>37</sup> Sammensetningen av gladiatorenes våpen var gjort for å øke underholdningsverdien og tvinge gladiatorene til å gjøre risikable og elegante manøvrer i arenaen – de var ikke egnet til praktisk kamp. Da Spartacus-opprøret startet med at en gruppe gladiatører flyktet fra fangenskapet, skaffet de seg skikkelige våpen i stedet for gladiatorvåpnene de hadde trent på å bruke.<sup>38</sup> Dette er forhold ved amfiteatrene som en germaner i romersk krigstjeneste vil ha kjent og forstått. Man kan kanskje forestille seg at en tilfeldig germansk turist i Roma ville bli så imponert over Colosseum at han ville bygge noe som lignet hjemme, men det er vanskelig å se for seg at en mann som hadde tjenestegjort i den romerske hæren i årevis ville ønske å bli assosiert med gladiatører. I og med at vår mann var yrkesmilitær med erfaring fra et svært og godt organisert militærvesen, er det imidlertid ikke umulig at han kunne ta initiativ til å bygge et militært anlegg. Kanskje kan det tenkes at ringtunene var samlings- og treningssteder for lokale soldater, men man må være forsiktig med å etablere en slik tolkning på likheter med romerske amfiteatre.

Av erfaringene med det sivile samfunnet, er forholdet til handel mest interessant. Mannen fra Steigen har blitt satt i forbindelse med handel, ut fra spekulasjoner om at oppholdet i Romerriket vil ha gjort ham kjent med hvilke varer som var etterspurt og hvor de kunne omsettes.<sup>39</sup> Den romerske hæren var avtaker av mange slags varer, og man kan tenke seg at soldater kunne opparbeide kunnskaper om hvordan dette markedet kunne utnyttes. Man kan også se for seg at personlige nettverker blant veteraner fra forskjellige deler av Romerriket kunne gi grunnlag til å drive handel. Problemet oppstår når man skal prøve å finne ut hva slags varer en mann fra Nord-Norge kan ha forsynt det romerske markedet med. Romerriket var i stor grad et østvendt rike, både kulturelt og økonomisk. Mange forskjellige kostbare varer ble importert fra Østen, mens varer fra nordvest er dårlig belagt i kildene.

Germanske låneord i latin begrenser seg til fire mulige varer – såpe, skinn, rav og «gås» – som muligens kan knyttes til dun.<sup>40</sup> Av disse fire varene er det kun rav som nevnes som

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<sup>35</sup> Armstrong 2000.

<sup>36</sup> Wilmott 2008, 28.

<sup>37</sup> Wilmott 2008, 58.

<sup>38</sup> Plutarch, *Crassus* 9.1.

<sup>39</sup> Solberg 2000, 116.

<sup>40</sup> Wild 1976, 61.

verdifull handelsvare i skriftlige kilder. Skinn ble i en viss grad importert fra de nærliggende germanske områdene, men dette er varer som veier mye og tar stor plass, så det er vanskelig å se for seg frakt med robåt helt fra Nord-Norge. Det er ellers verdt å merke seg at hæren foretrakk å bruke geiteskinn til telt og annet utstyr, og de kan ha dekket behovet fra romersk produksjon i de østlige delene av riket.<sup>41</sup> I senere perioder var pelsverk en viktig eksportvare fra Nord-Norge, men det ser ikke ut til at romerne har brukt pelsverk i noen særlig grad.<sup>42</sup> Hvis mannen fra Steigen handlet med pelsverk, må det ha vært med germanske stormenn og ikke med romerne.

Dun og ull kan ha vært en mulighet. Edderdun kan komprimeres for frakt, og vil ha vært en eksotisk vare fra nord. Så vidt jeg vet er det imidlertid ingen kilder som tyder på at romerne importerte dun, bortsett fra låneordet for «gås». Ull stiller det seg litt annerledes med. Vi vet at hæren hadde stort behov for ull til soldatenes klær. Det ser for eksempel ut til at egne kapper av ull har vært helt sentrale for soldatenes drakt både rent praktisk og som en del av stilen.<sup>43</sup> Fra andre sammenhenger vet vi at romerne kunne frakte ull lange veier, hvis det ga dem den kvaliteten de var ute etter.<sup>44</sup> Hovedproblemet ved å se for seg handel med ull fra Nord-Norge til Romerriket er spørsmålet om frakt. Ull tar forholdsvis stor plass, og det er et spørsmål om det var lønnsomt å frakte en slik vare så langt med den tids nordnorske skipsteknologi.

### **Kan romerne noen gang gjøre noe for nordnorsk historie?**

Hva kan vi så si etter disse spekulasjonene? Til tross for at mannen fra Steigen kan tenkes inn i dramatiske og spennende begivenheter i romersk historie, så endrer han ikke karakter. Han er og blir en nordnorsk germaner, selv om han kan ha hatt erfaringer fra den romerske hæren. Kunnskap om romersk historie revolusjonerer ikke forståelsen av nordnorsk historie, men på de relevante feltene kan den gjøre den mer konkret og nøktern. Tjeneste som romersk soldat betyr ikke nødvendigvis tjuefem år i Roma og romersk borgerskap, men sannsynligvis betyr det visse kunnskaper i latin og kjennskap til skrift. Noen år i den romerske hæren betyr ikke nødvendigvis et romersk verdenssyn, men det betyr ganske sikkert kontakter blant germanerne langs Rhinen og enda tettere koblinger til den kontinentale germanske kulturen. Mulighetene for handel mellom Nord-Norge og Romerriket, var ikke svært gode – men det kan ha vært noen få varer som var av interesse.

Informasjon om romersk historie leder ikke til oppsiktsvekkende oppdagelser om Nord-Norge, men vi får stødigere rammer å utvikle forståelsen av visse nordnorske funn innenfor. Innbyggerne i Nord-Norge i såkalt romertid hadde forbindelser til en kontinental germansk kultur med sterk tilknytning til Romerriket, og vi må kjenne til romerne for å forstå denne delen av vår historie. Hvis vi overser romersk historie i denne sammenhengen, risikerer vi å ende opp med enten å overse koblingene eller å drive ren ønsketenkning med hensyn til hva koblingene har betydd. Alt i alt understreker denne gjennomgangen av funnet i Steigen at Nord-Norge er en del av Europa. Slik var det på midten av 200-tallet e.Kr., og slik er det i dag. Slik bør det vel også fortsette å være, og nordnorske arkeologer og historikere kan bidra til det ved å gi nordnorsk historie realistiske og velbegrunnede koblinger til europeisk historie.

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<sup>41</sup> Groenman-van Waateringe 2009, 211.

<sup>42</sup> Kolendo 1999.

<sup>43</sup> Elliot 2014, 60–61.

<sup>44</sup> Loane 1938, 34.



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### Om forfatteren

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### Latinsk sammendrag

“*Quid boni nobis Boreo-Norvegis Romani fecerint?*” *De conexibus, qui inter Imperium Romanum et Norvegiam maxime Borealem fortasse exstiterint*. Hac symbolā postulatur, ut historici et archaeologi, qui in primam historiam Norvegiae septentrionalis incumbunt, historiam Romanam attentius respiciant. Etiamsi distantia geographica est satis longa, exstant signa manifesta, quibus conexūs inter incolas Norvegiae septentrionalis atque mundum Romanum tempore Romano apparent. Hāc symbolā incumbitur in possibles conexūs Romanos, qui spectant ad sepulcrum quoddam militis notissimi in loco Steigen (in Regione Nordlandicā Norvegiae septentrionalis) situm, quod medio saeculo tertio p.Chr.n. positum esse dicitur. Investigatione non praebentur res repertae extraordinarie novae, sed intellectio amplior et magis fundata illius viri sepulti atque eorum eventuum, quos fortasse expertus est, et insuper conspectus cautus doctusque conexuum possibilium inter mundum septentrionalem atque Romanum.

**Engelsk sammendrag**

*“What Have the Romans Ever Done for Us Here in North Norway?”: On Possible Connections Between the Roman Empire and Northernmost Norway.* This article argues that scholars studying the early history of northern Norway should pay more attention to Roman history. Even if the geographical distances were long, there are clear signs of connections between inhabitants of northern Norway and the Roman world during the Roman era. In order to understand these connections scholars also need to study Roman history in its own right. To make this point the article investigates the possible Roman connections of a well-known warrior grave from Steigen (Nordland County, North Norway), dated to the middle of the third century CE. The investigation yields no stunning new discoveries, but aims to contribute to a broader and more well-founded understanding of the buried man and the experiences he might have had, as well as a cautious and informed view of broader connections between the North and the Roman world.

**Nøkkelord**

Nordlige barbarer, germanske leiesoldater, Nord-Norge og Romerriket, Den romerske hæren, romersk påvirkning, krigsgrav i Steigen, gallisk imperium, Nordnorsk romertid.

# FAMOUS HYPERBOREANS

Pär Sandin

## Introduction

I share with the northernmost Classics Professor in the world an affiliation with and sentimental attachment to the regions of the utmost North, real and imaginary. Synnøve has explored this theme in her research (e.g., des Bouvrie 1996), and I would like to honour her with a technical contribution in this same area. My article takes the form of a catalogue enumerating the individual Hyperboreans mentioned in the literature of Greco-Roman Antiquity. The Hyperboreans were a people of Greek myth imagined to reside in the northernmost part of the world (“beyond the North Wind”, as the name was understood to mean), nevertheless having had important dealings with the Greeks until historical times. This paper reviews the sources that mention Hyperborean *individuals*, commenting on noteworthy features of and some more or less bone-dry philological problems in the texts. On particular points that invite novel observation or treatment or are simply deemed to be especially worthy of interest, the text goes into larger detail than ordinary, while usually keeping to the level of synthesis and epitome of the source material. I shall not discuss the myth or indeed the reality of the Hyperboreans in general,<sup>1</sup> but touch upon some of its various aspects while treating individual sources. The famous Hyperboreans will be presented according to the chronological order of the sources that mention them first, that is approximately in the order of fame.<sup>2</sup>

## 1. Abaris

I. Pi. fr. 270 Maehler (ap. XVI). II. Hdt. 4.36. III. Pl. *Chrm.* 158b. IV. Lycurg. 14.5 (fr. 85) Conomis (ap. XVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX, XLIV, XLV). V. Heraclid.Pont. (1) fr. 51c Wehrli (ap. VIII), (2) fr. 73 Wehrli (ap. XV), (3) fr. 74 Wehrli (ap. XLI 2), (4) fr. 75 Wehrli (ap. XLI 1), (5) fr. \*90 Wehrli (ap. XX). VI. Arist. fr. \*191 Rose (ap. XXIV 2). VII. Hecat.Abd. *FGrH* 264 fr. 7 (ap. XIII). VIII. Eratosth. \**Cat.* 29. IX. Hippostrat. *FGrH* 568 fr. 4 (ap. XVI). X. Bolus ap. Apollon. *Mir.* 4.1–2. XI. Phld. *Piet.* 4699–703 Obbink (= [Abaris] *FGrH* 34 fr. 1<sup>add.</sup>)? XII. Str. 7.3.8. XIII. D.S. 2.47. XIV. Anon. *POxy.* 13.1611 fr. 11 (= [Abaris] *FGrH* 34 fr. 2<sup>add.</sup>)? XV. Plut. *Quomodo adul.* 14e. XVI. Harp. s.v. Ἀβαρις. XVII. Paus. 3.13.2. XVIII. Cels. 3.31 Bader (ap. XXII). XIX. [Phalar.] *Ep.* 56–57. XX. Clem.Al. *Strom.* 1.21.133.2. XXI. Philostr. *VA* 7.10. XXII. Or. *Cels.* 3.31. XXIII. (Nicom. ap.?) Porph. *VP* 28–29. XXIV. (Nicom. ap.?) Iambl. *VP* (1) 19.90–93, (2) 28.135, 138, 140–41, 147, (3) 32.215–17, 221, (4) 36.267. XXV. Euseb. *Chron.* Ol. 53.1, 82.4 (= 568, 449 B.C.). XXVI. Firm.Mat. *Err.prof.rel.* 16. XXVII. Jul. *ad Ath.* 1. XXVIII. Gr.Naz. (1) *Ep.* 2.1, (2) *Or.* 43.21.4, (3) *Carm.* 1.2.10.50–51, 37.684 M. XXIX. Him. *Or.* 23. XXX. Lib. *Ep.* 143.3. XXXI. Nonn. *D.* 11.132–33. XXXII. Procl. *in Ti.* II 8

<sup>1</sup> See especially the articles in the major German encyclopedias of Antiquity for introductions and bibliography: Daebritz in *RE* IX 1 258–79, Werhahn in *RAC* XVI 967–86, Ambühl in *NP* v 802–3. A series of articles with Swedish translations of all ancient Greek and Latin sources for the myth of the Hyperboreans is currently in progress (Sandin 2011, Sandin forthcoming).

<sup>2</sup> The source collections include complete references up to and including the seventh century AD and a selection of later instances. To each source is attached a Roman numeral, with Arabic numerals indicating multiple quotations from the same author or work. These numerals index the source in question in the discussions. An asterisk by the abbreviated title of an author, work or number of fragment indicates that the attribution is uncertain; a question mark after a source indicates that the mention of the Hyperborean(s) in question is in some way conjectural, for instance restored in the text by emendation. Abbreviations not explained in the list of references at the end of the article follow the standard of LSJ, Lampe, or *OCD* (for works of Plutarch, Eusebius and Latin authors).

Diehl. XXXIII. Procop.Gaz. Ep. 58. XXXIV. Σ Ar. Eq. 729. XXXV. Σ Arat. 311. XXXVI. Σ Pl. R. 600b. XXXVII. Σ Gr.Naz. Carm. 2.2.7.274 (37.1572.10 M.), pp. 50–51 Gaisford. XXXVIII. [Nonn.Abb.] Hist.Bas. 7. XXXIX. Cosm.Mel. schol. Gr.Naz.Carm. 2.2.7.274, 38.509 M. XL. Phot. (1) s.v. Ἄβαρις (α 29 = XVI), (2) Bibl. 374a (= XXIX). XLI. Lexica Segueriana, περί συντάξεως, (1) p. 145 Bekker (AB I 145), (2) p. 178 Bekker (AB I 178). XLII. Suda (1) s.v. Ἄβαρις (α 18), (2) s.v. Πυθαγόρας (π 3120). XLIII. Eust. (1) in D.P. 31, (2) Oratio 12 pp. 198–99 Wirth. XLIV. Nicetas Heracleensis in Gr.Naz. fr. 36 Constantinescu. XLV. [Eudocia Macrembolitissa] *Violarium* 19, p. 34 Flach.

To the ancient Greeks, Abaris was the most famous Hyperborean. He visited Greece carrying (in later versions riding on) a mystical arrow, associated with Apollo. His legend developed throughout the centuries, but he seems always to have been regarded as a spiritual or magical authority (III, V) and an ascetic (II); soon we hear of him as a seer and prophet (e.g., IV, V 5, X, XXIV 2–3).

Pindar (I) said, according to Harpocration (XVI), that Abaris was a contemporary of king Croesus of Lydia. If the lexicographer cites accurately, Abaris is then the Hyperborean individual mentioned first in known Greek sources, while at the same time being one of the youngest of the known Hyperboreans, belonging in the historical rather than mythical age.<sup>3</sup> Herodotus (II) is the first to reveal concrete details of the legend, dismissing it as unworthy of his attention:

Thus much then, and no more, concerning the Hyperboreans. As for the tale of Abaris, who is said to have been a Hyperborean, and to have gone with his arrow all round the world without once eating, I shall pass it by in silence.<sup>4</sup> (Rawlinson 1910)

Heraclides of Pontus (V 1) enhanced the narrative and let Abaris fly upon the arrow, which incidentally turned aerobatics and the magical arrow into his defining attributes in late antiquity.<sup>5</sup> Abaris is mentioned offhandedly in a slightly ironical tone as a Hyperborean with magical or pharmaceutical competence by Socrates in Plato's *Charmides* (III), but the earliest source that *prima facie* has more than a few lines of substance to offer is the speech *Against Menesaechmus* of Lycurgus (IV), preserved in fragments. Abaris is here said to have come to Greece in order to seek help, as the Hyperboreans and the rest of the world were subject to plague or famine, and Apollo ordained that Athens must pray for all nations in order to abjure the disaster. As for this fragment, it is uncertain how much of the information attributed to Lycurgus really derives from the orator, though. For reasons which the allotted space will not allow me to develop here, I find it unlikely that the versions given by the scholiast tradition to Gregory of Nazianzus (XXXVIII, etc.), which have Abaris entering the service of Apollo and uttering divinations, really originate in the speech of Lycurgus.<sup>6</sup> I think they belong rather to

<sup>3</sup> Firmicus Maternus (XXVI) uniquely dates Abaris to before the fall of Troy (see n. 7). Almost all who supply a chronological context agree with Pindar (I), but Hippostratus (IX) allegedly dated him to the third Olympiad (768–764 f.Kr.), although this according to Jacoby *ad loc.* is due to a misunderstanding or error in the text tradition. Harpocration (XVI) says that “others” place him in the twenty-first Olympiad (696–693 f.Kr.).

<sup>4</sup> καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ὑπερβορέων περί εἰρήσθω. τὸν γὰρ περί Ἀβάριος λόγον τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι Ὑπερβορέου οὐ λέγω, λέγοντα ὡς τὸν ὀϊστὸν περιέφερε κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτεόμενος.

<sup>5</sup> XVIII, XXII, XXIII, XXIV 2, XXVIII, XXX 1–3, XXXI, XXXIII, XLII 1, XLIII 2; cf. no. 11 below. Iamblichus (XXIV 2, 28.140–42) and perhaps Procopius of Gaza (XXXIII) also preserve morsels of what may have been a realistic version of the myth, taking the arrow as an instrument of navigation, like a compass.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Conomis 1961, 146, hinting at a similar assessment. The fragment is inadequately presented in the editions of Conomis 1970 and Blass 1899, partly due to their lack of (good) editions of the sources. We still lack a comprehensive critical edition of the anonymous scholia to the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus, which might well reveal another, perhaps even archetypal version of this particular scholium. The editors should have referred to Cosmas of Maiuma (XXXIX), though, who may be the source (Moroni 1995) of the anonymous “scholium Clarkianum” (XXXVII) that they choose to print. Cosmas himself here cites pseudo-Nonnus (XXXVIII) verbatim, who is taken to be of only secondary interest by Blass and Conomis. The editors will be



theological and Pythagorean traditions concerning Abaris, deriving perhaps on the one hand from Heraclides of Pontus (see below), on the other from Bolus of Mendes and his contemporaries and/or Pythagorean predecessors (see n. 8).

Several of the sources for the life of Abaris are preserved only in fragments. He was generally represented as a paragon of virtue, to judge from Strabon (XII), who reflects on the superior virtue of ancient barbarians, seeing (in the manner of Tacitus *Germania*) Abaris and other illustrious foreigners of old as in possession of high moral integrity by virtue of not having been corrupted by modern ways of life introduced by trade and innovation (cf. below, no. 9). Of the earlier sources, Heraclides of Pontus (V) in particular may have portrayed Abaris as a saintly figure, as suggested by Plutarch's disparaging remarks (XV = V 2) and by the titles of works of Heraclides that are said to have featured him: *On righteousness* (V 1), *On the Soul* (V 5). The preserved fragments yield little of interest, apart from an assertion of the existence and benign disposition of the gods, given by someone who may be Abaris, having been revealed to him by a spirit (V 4). A few examples of a moral stand or ethical characterization are found in later sources (cf. XIX, XXIX, XXIV 1–3). The Christians, mentioning Abaris briefly in various contexts (XX, XXII, XXV, XXVIII, XXXIII, XLII, XLIII), are generally neutral and do not condemn him as a pagan sorcerer, except for Firmicus Maternus (XXVI), who asserts that he is a despicable Scythian savage and hints that he is a con artist and/or necromancer.<sup>7</sup>

The most comprehensive extant accounts of Abaris are found in Iamblichus' *Life of Pythagoras* (XXIV). The legend has here been incorporated into that of Pythagoras in the latter's cultic identity as "the Hyperborean Apollo" (cf. no. 3). The neopythagoreans invoke the testimony of the Hyperborean Abaris as a verification of this pretension (XXIV 1, 2; a brief account also in Porphyry, XXIII),<sup>8</sup> Abaris in effect playing the part of *prodromos* (as John the Baptist to Christ) to the divine protagonist. The central narrative is found in chapter 19 (XXIV 1). Abaris meets Pythagoras in Italy on his way home to Hyperborea,<sup>9</sup> having collected gold for the Hyperborean temple. He recognizes the philosopher as Apollo and gives him his arrow. He is persuaded to remain and share his gold with the Pythagorean community, and receives instruction by Pythagoras. Much of this is repeated in chapter 28 (XXIV 2). Iamblichus later (XXIV 3) describes a philosophical conversation taking place between Abaris, Pythagoras, and the evil tyrant Phalaris, who is said to have imprisoned the divine philosopher (the details are garbled and apparently abbreviated from the source). Most of the content of the conversation is attributed to Pythagoras, but a theological tenet concerning divine providence (possibly drawing on Heraclides; see on V 4 above) is put in the mouth of Abaris:

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excused for not taking Nicetas of Heraclea (XLIV) into account, fragments of whose commentary on Gregory of Nazianzus were first edited in 1977 (Constantinescu) from manuscripts in Bucharest and Moscow.

<sup>7</sup> Maternus cites an eccentric legend, perhaps of Euhemerist origin (cf. no. 3), according to which the famous Palladium, the Trojan idol of Athena brought by Aeneas to Rome, was originally created by Abaris out of the bones of Pelops (cf. Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.47.6) and sold to the Trojans.

<sup>8</sup> It must be regarded as uncertain whether this fusion of the two legends appeared in the Aristotelian *De Pythagoreis* (VI). In contrast to Rose (1886), Gigon (1987) does not include the neopythagorean material about Abaris in his edition of the fragments of Aristotle (Iambl. *VP* 28.142–43 constitutes Gigon's Arist. fr. 172). A likelier original source for the information that Abaris and Pythagoras met may have been Bolus of Mendes (X), a third-century B.C. Pythagorean mysticist from Egypt. The first six chapters of Apollonius' *Mirabilia*, describing the quasi-Pythagorean holy men Epimenides, Aristetas, Hermetimus, Abaris, Pherecydes, and finally Pythagoras himself, are likely to have been adapted from Bolus (the probably lacunose ms. has Βόλου at the beginning: see Giannini 1964, 123–24 for discussion with further references). Another lost source that perhaps dealt with Abaris is Nicomachus, a Neopythagorean mathematician born around 60 AD, possibly one of the main sources for Porphyry's and Iamblichus' *Lives of Pythagoras* (cf. Porph. *VP* 20, 59; Iambl. *VP* 35.251).

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps then located in or beyond the Alps; cf. below text for n. 37.

Abaris turned the conversation away from those things, towards those that appeared manifest to all; and arguing from spiritual entities and divine benefaction being present in helpless circumstances, that is insufferable wars, incurable disease, the destruction of crops, the ravage of plague, and other such entirely griveous and desperate things, he tried to persuade of the existence of a divine providence, exceeding every human expectancy and strength.<sup>10</sup>

Pythagoras gets the last word, humiliating the tyrant, and the prophet and the divine philosopher are both condemned to death, but Phalaris is assassinated before the sentence is carried out. The narrative appears to be related to a fictive *Letter to Phalaris* in which Abaris declines an invitation from the tyrant (XIX); cf. also [Phalar.] *Ep.* 23 and 74.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. The maidens and young men visiting Delos

The Hyperboreans were famous for sending offerings to the Delian temple of Apollo.<sup>12</sup> This was done via intermediates, but the practice was said to have been instigated by Hyperborean young women and men coming to Delos in person. Long before that, other Hyperborean maidens are said to have been the nurses of the gods, Apollo and Artemis, who were born on Delos.<sup>13</sup>

The oldest and most comprehensive source mentioning these ancient visitors is Herodotus:

Two damsels, they say, named Hyperoche and Laodice, were first sent by the Hyperboreans bringing offerings; and with them the Hyperboreans sent five men to keep them from all harm by the way; these are the persons whom the Delians call “Perpherees,” and to whom great honours are paid at Delos. [...] The damsels sent by the Hyperboreans died in Delos; and in their honour all the Delian girls and youths are wont to cut off their hair. [...] They add that, once before, there came to Delos by the same road as Hyperoche and Laodice, two other virgins from the Hyperboreans, whose names were Arge and Opis. Hyperoche and Laodice came to bring to Eileithyia the offering which they had laid upon themselves, in acknowledgment of their quick labours; but Arge and Opis came at the same time as the gods themselves, and are honoured by the Delians in a different way. For the Delian women make collections in these maidens’ names, and invoke them in the hymn which Olen, a Lycian, composed for them; and the rest of the islanders, and even the Ionians, have been taught by the Delians to do the like. (Rawlinson 1910, slightly revised.)<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> ὁ δ’ Ἀβαρις μετῆγε τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπὶ τὰ πᾶσι φαινόμενα ἐναργῶς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀμηχάνοις, ἤτοι πολέμοις ἀτλήτοις ἢ νόσοις ἀνιάτοις ἢ καρπῶν φθοραῖς ἢ λοιμῶν φοραῖς ἢ ἄλλοις τισὶ τοιοῦτοις παγγαλέποις καὶ ἀνηκέστοις παραγινομένων δαιμονίων τινῶν καὶ θεῶν εὐεργετημάτων ἐπειρᾶτο συμπεῖθειν, ὡς ἔστι θεῖα πρόνοια, πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ δύναμιν ὑπεραίρουσα.

<sup>11</sup> See also Thesleff 1968, 169, with further references.

<sup>12</sup> The process cannot have been an entirely legendary one, since later inscriptions preserve official records from the temple administration which show that they indeed kept what they called “the sacred offerings from the Hyperboreans” in the precinct ([τὰ ἐξ] Ὑπερβορέων ἱερά, *Inscr.Delos* 100.49, 104-3A.8), whoever these Hyperboreans may have been. This problem is not addressed in this article. See especially Tréheux 1953 for a discussion and review of the sources.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of the Hyperborean maidens and their role in Delian and Greek cult, see Sale 1961.

<sup>14</sup> πρῶτον δὲ [sc. Δήλιοι λέγουσι] τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους πέμψαι φερούσας τὰ ἱερά δύο κόρας, τὰς ὀνομάζουσι Δήλιοι εἶναι Ὑπερόχην τε καὶ Λαοδίκην· ἅμα δὲ αὐτῆσι ἀσφαλείης εἵνεκεν πέμψαι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους τῶν

## 2.1. Hyperoche and Laodice

I. Hdt. 4.33–35. II. Clem.Al. *Protr.* 3.45.2. III. Eus. *PE* 2.6.4. (= II).

These two are forgotten in later elaborations of the embassies of the Hyperborean maidens, or merged with Arge and Opis (see 2.3). They are, however, mentioned briefly by Clement of Alexandria (II, cited by III). Mss. of Herodotus give a variant reading Λαοδόκη: cf. no. 10 Laodocus.

## 2.2 The Perpherees

I. Hdt. 4.33–34. II. Call. *Del.* 293–99. III. Hsch. s.v. Πέρφερεις (π 2010)?

The five men who accompanied Hyperoche and Laodice are rarely mentioned after Herodotus. Possibly some of the Hyperboreans named by Pausanias and others, Laodocus and Hyperochus in particular (no. 10), are meant to be individual Perpherees, drawing on some Hellenistic expansion of the myth, for instance “Boeo” (no. 8). Hesychius (III) glosses Πέρφερεις (sic) with θεωροί, i.e., properly pagan pilgrim-ambassadors who were sent out by the Greek states to the sacred festivals, but used also in an extended sense, for instance of Abaris (1 XXXIV). The only one who unmistakably refers to the myth of the Perpherees after Herodotus is Callimachus (II). He speaks of them as:

*The men who at that time were best  
Of the young. Nor did these men come back returning to their home;  
But well-endowed by fate and never without repute were they.*<sup>15</sup>

The passage deserves comment since Callimachus with his talk of “best” is clearly suggesting an etymology for Περφερείες, relating the word to ὑπερφέρω, “excel”, and perhaps to the adjective ὑπερφερέης.<sup>16</sup>

## 2.3 Arge/Hecaërgē, Opis/Upis, and Loxo

I. Hdt. 4.35. II. Call. (1) *Del.* 291–98, (2) *Dian.* 204–5?, (3) *Aet.* fr. 186.26–30 Pfeiffer (*POxy.* 19.2214)? III. Euph. fr. 103 Powell (ap. XVI). IV. Phanodic. *FGrH* 397 fr. 5 (ap. XV; cf. VIII, XII 1–2, XVII, XIX). V. Verg. *Aen.* 11.532–37, 587–96, 836–67. VI. [Pl.] *Ax.* 371a. VII. [Apollod.] 1.27. VIII. Heraclit. *All.* 7.8. IX. Paus. (1) 1.43.4, (2) 5.7.8. X. Solin. 17. XI. Porph. *Abst.* 2.19. XII. *Serv.Dan. Aen.* (1) 11.532, (2) 11.858.

ἀστῶν ἄνδρας πέντε πομπούς, τούτους οἱ νῦν Περφερείες καλέονται, τιμὰς μεγάλας ἐν Δήλῳ ἔχοντες. [...] τῆσι δὲ παρθένοισι ταύτησι τῆσι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τελευτησάσῃσι ἐν Δήλῳ κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλίων. [...] Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ τὴν Ἄργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπιν, ἐούσας παρθένους ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους πορευομένας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Δήλον ἐπιπρότερον Ὑπερόχης τε καὶ Λαοδίκης· ταύτας μὲν νῦν τῇ Εἰλειθυίῃ ἀποφερούσας ἀντι τοῦ ὀκυτόκου τὸν ἐτάξαντο φόρον ἀπικέσθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἄργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπιν ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἀπικέσθαι. Λέγουσι καὶ σφι τιμὰς ἄλλας δεδόσθαι πρὸς σφέων· καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐπονομαζούσας τὰ οὐνόματα ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ τὸν σφι Ὠλὴν ἀνὴρ Λύκιος ἐποίησε, παρὰ δὲ σφέων μαθόντας νησιώτας τε καὶ Ἴωνας ὑμένειν Ὠπὶν τε καὶ Ἄργην ὀνομάζοντάς τε καὶ ἀγείροντας. (Hdt. 4.32–35)

<sup>15</sup> ἄρσενες οἱ τότε ἄριστοι | ἠιθέων. οὐδ’ οἶγε παλιμπετὲς οἴκαδ’ ἴκοντο· | εὖμοιροι δ’ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἀκλεῆς οὔποτ’ ἐκεῖνοι. ἐκεῖνοι has been condemned on stylistic grounds: “utterly flat, not to say completely otiose” (Mineur 1984 *ad loc.*). But it may be an unproblematic epic expansion. Editors should not put a comma before καὶ, which indeed makes the expression awkward (“they were well-endowed by fate, and never without repute were these”). Instead ἐκεῖνοι is the subject of ἐγένοντο, καὶ coordinating the two predicative adjectives, whereas οὔποτ’ negates ἀκλεῆς only. The postplaced negative is often combined with a particle (Schwyzer–Debrunner 1950, 596), and ἀκλεῆς serves as an approximate antonym to εὖμοιροι, providing the expression with several parallels in poetry (Cooper–Krüger 2002, 2713, §2.66.1.3B). For the quasi-formulaic use of the subject ἐκεῖνοι at the end of clause and verse, cf. Il. 18.188, Od. 24.437.

<sup>16</sup> He thus anticipates the influential etymology, if not the semantic interpretation, of Ahrens 1862, 340–42.

XIII. Claud. *Cons.Stil.* 3.24.253–56, 277, 292, 308. XIV. Nonn. *D.* (1) 5.489–91, (2) 48.331–34. XV. Σ II. 21.472. XVI. Σ Od. 5.121. XVII (= XIX). Σ Call. *Dian.* 204. XVIII. Σ Call. *Del.* 292a. XIX (= XVII). *EM* s.v. Οὔπις (641–42). XX. Eust. *Il.* I 213 van der Valk.

It is uncertain what Herodotus (I, cited above) means exactly by Arge and Opis coming “at the same time as the gods themselves”. Legrand (1938, 231) ingeniously emended to αὐτῆσι τῆσι θεοῖσι, “the goddesses themselves”, i.e., Leto, who came to Delos to give birth to Apollo and Artemis, and Eileithyia, who came to assist.<sup>17</sup> Both goddesses are said to have come from the Hyperboreans. Approximately the same sense may perhaps be intended by the reading of the mss., if sound. The masculine gender then implies that Herodotus includes Apollo (and Artemis) in the number of gods who “came” to Delos, in this case brought *in utero*, in order to be born. This is in accordance with a version of the myth preserved in a few sources, which has the elder Hyperborean maidens nursing the infants Apollo and Artemis, hence giving their own names as epithets to the gods.<sup>18</sup> This may have been the version offered by Phanodicus (IV), an author of uncertain date who wrote a *Δηλιακά*, “Delian matters”. A comprehensive account is given in Servius Danielis (XII):

(1) Some say that Opis and Hecaërge were the first who came from the Hyperboreans to the island Delos, bringing sacred offerings hidden in bundles of sheaf. Others believe that Opis and Hecaërge [corrected from Hecaërgos<sup>19</sup>] were the nurses of Apollo and Diana: Diana herself is accordingly called Opis, as stated above, and Apollo Hecaërgos.<sup>20</sup>

(2) And Virgil did not make her [the character Opis: see below no. 2.3.1] up like Tarpeia and others, but seems to have invested her with her own proper name: for the Greeks tell that ἀμαλλοφόροι [“sheaf-bringers”] came to Latona from the Hyperboreans, who are themselves also Thracians [cf. below, text for nn. 29–30]: and this woman [i.e., Opis] and Hecaërge [corrected from Hecaërgos] nursed Apollo and Diana, as may also be seen from the epithets of the gods, she being called Opis and he Hecaërgos, of which more has been said above.<sup>21</sup>

Callimachus (II 1) is the oldest extant source for the former version, letting these maidens take over the role that Herodotus assigned to Laodice and Hyperoche, that is of bringing the first Hyperborean offerings to Delos. As we saw, he or a source he has used other than Herodotus alters the name Arge to Hecaerëge, thenceforth canonical (“Arge” never appears

<sup>17</sup> Arist. *HA* 580a, Ael. *NA* 4.4.3, Paus. 1.18.5.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Sale 1961, 82–83 for a discussion, albeit I think too rigid in its interpretation of the turn of phrase in question. ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι is surely a valid expression to use even if the maidens and both goddesses did not arrive together and deliver the twins on the very same day, but only in the same general timeframe (as opposed to the much later Hyperoche and Laodice). Herodotus may have been intentionally vague: if he knew of a legend depicting the physical delivery of gods in the presence of mortals, he may have considered explicit mention of it as improper, just as he consistently avoids mentioning the death of gods when treating foreign myths and ritual (Sandin 2008).

<sup>19</sup> In both cases we read *Hecaergen* where we would have expected *Hecaergen*, which may be a misunderstanding due to limited erudition, either of Servius himself or a later scribe.

<sup>20</sup> *Quidam dicunt Opim et Hecaergen primas ex Hyperboreis sacra in insulam Delum occultata in fascibus mergitum pertulisse. alii putant Opim et Hecaergen [Hecaergen mss.] nutritores Apollinis et Dianae fuisse: hinc itaque Opim ipsam Dianam cognominatam, quod supra dictum est, Apollinem vero Hecaergen.*

<sup>21</sup> *Et hanc Vergilius non ita finxit, ut Tarpeiam et ceteras, sed proprio nomine videtur induxisse: Graeci enim tradunt ἀμαλλοφόρους ex Hyperboreis, qui et ipsi sunt Thracēs, ad Latonam venisse: hanc et Hecaergen [Hecaergen mss.] Apollinem et Dianam educasse, ut etiam ex cognominibus deorum, cum illa Opis et hic Hecaergos appellatur, agnoscitur: quod supra plenius dictum est.*

again). He uses the form Οὔπις (Upis) for Herodotus' Ὠπις, and makes two further changes to the narrative; claiming that the maidens are the daughters of Boreas (see below, no. 5), and adding a third companion, Λοξώ. Just as Hecaërge, Loxo is connected with Apollo by the latter's epithet Loxias (cf. XIX), but most later sources ignore her. In the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* (VI, perhaps first century B.C. or AD), Opis and Hecaërge are said to have brought sacred bronze tablets from the Hyperboreans to Delos, containing elaborate descriptions of the underworld (similar to the so-called Orphic gold tablets, but on a larger scale). Compare the role of Abaris (no. 1) in Pythagorean sacred legends.

In Latin sources and Nonnus (V, XIII, XIV), the Hyperborean maidens feature as semi-divine servants of Artemis, but we have no information as to how this change from their status as Hyperborean mortals occurred. Claudian (XIII) touches upon the matter, though, mentioning Opis and Hecaërge as two of the seven chiefs of Diana's virgin band:

*There join them the twin sisters Hecaërge, terror of beasts, and Opis, deity beloved of hunters, Scythian maids; their preference for Delos over the Hyperborean frosts made them goddesses and queens of the woods.*<sup>22</sup>

(Platnauer 1922, slightly revised.)

### 2.3.1 Opis/Upis

Later in the same poem of Claudian (277, 292), Opis accompanies Diana as charioteer on a particular mission. She is in fact singled out for individual treatment in several sources dealing with the myth of Artemis as the mistress of formidable virgins, functioning as a hypostasis of the epithet Οὔπις of the goddess. We will take a closer look at the passages in question here, the interrelations of which may have been neglected to a degree.

In the *Hymn to Artemis*, Callimachus addresses the goddess as Οὔπι ἄνασσα on two occasions (204, 240), both occurring in the context of her associating with virgin females. The first address (II 2), which I believe should be seen as a proper allusion to the Hyperborean Opis, occurs in a catalogue of maidens who have been befriended by the goddess (Britomartis/Dictynna, Cyrene, Proclis and Anticleia). The epithet is used in a verse where Callimachus describes how the goddess is named after Dictynna, hence serving as an implied justification for the case of a goddess being named after a lesser being.

If the maidens first came to Delos bringing offerings to the temple, as suggested elsewhere by Callimachus (II 1), they cannot have nursed the gods there, who were obviously born before their cult was instigated. Callimachus may have preferred a different *aition* for the epithet Οὔπις of Artemis, equivalent to her adoption of the name Dictynna, which occurred after the latter nymph escaped ravishing by Minos (II 2). Callimachus seems to have treated an extension of the narrative of Opis in his *Aetia*, in a passage preserved in fragments of a papyrus (II 3). The narrative concerns the offerings of the Hyperboreans and their itinerary to Delos (vv. 1–14), after which appears a fragmented passage featuring “beetling Ilion”, “drinking of water”, “Antiope” (usually an Amazon), and a little later:

*favour/pleasure/grace they could not  
... most lewd ... sheaf  
... about ...  
defence against a shameless eye  
the goddess put an end [to the outrage, Hybris?]*

<sup>22</sup> *Iungunt se geminae metuenda feris Hecaërge | et soror, optatum numen venantibus, Opis | progenitae Scythia: divas nemorumque potentes | fecit Hyperboreis Delos praelata pruinis* (3.253–56).



... you deer-hunting daughter of Zeus  
 ... race.<sup>23</sup>

As Pfeiffer *ad loc.* notes, the word “sheaf” (ἀμάλλης) in combination with sexual innuendo and intervention of Artemis suggests that Callimachus has narrated a special version of the myth of the death of Orion, described in a Homeric scholium (XVI), citing Euphorion (III) as its authority:

*As when Orion*] [...] The meaning is, “as when Day took Orion”. For the Day fell in love with him and took him away from Tanagra to Delos, where he saw the sheaf-bearing Opis and wanted to force himself upon her. For this, the goddess [i.e., Artemis] was wroth and killed him, as Euphorion shows.<sup>24</sup>

In the passage of Homer to which the scholium refers (Od. 5.121), Orion is slain by Artemis for having an amorous liaison with the goddess Eos, Dawn, even (according to the nymph Calypso, who is the narrator) with the full consent of the latter. But the version involving Opis is found also in the *Library* of pseudo-Apollodorus (VII).

I believe that the myth in the version of Euphorion may shed light on a verse of Virgil, the meaning of which has been debated.<sup>25</sup> Opis features in the *Aeneid* (V) as a servant of Diana. Neither Macrobius, nor any of the modern commentaries on Virgil that I have seen,<sup>26</sup> except perhaps Williams 1973, who is unclear on the subject, takes this Opis to be the Hyperborean maiden, although the identical names are duly noted. Servius, however (XII 2, contradicting XII 1), and Ambühl in *NP* VIII 1256, correctly identify them.<sup>27</sup> In the *Aeneid*, Diana assigns to Opis the mission of avenging Camilla, another favourite of the goddess, slain in battle by the Etruscan Arruns. Right before killing Arruns, Opis utters (11.857):

*Shall even you die by the shafts of Diana?*<sup>28</sup>

The arrows of Artemis have slain many a proud male, and Arruns is not one of the more illustrious or honourable victims. But I believe that this in the mouth of Opis should be an allusion to Orion in particular, in her experience the first and most glorious target, and intimately connected with her own fate. As the age of Heroes is coming to an end, Opis reflects on the distance in time and stature between Orion, the Great Hunter, and Arruns, the Etruscan; just conceivably with a nuance of regret. If Artemis had not slain Orion, but he had had his way, as Heracles had with Palantho (see no. 7), the destiny of Opis must have been another than the eternal maidenhood that Artemis seems to have conferred on her (cf. Claudian, XIII, cited above). We may ask ourselves if the advances of Orion were entirely unwelcome in all versions of the myth. Servius identifies a note of “immense bitterness” in the utterance of Opis, claiming that she grudges (*invidet*) Arruns the honourable manner of death. But perhaps she is jealous of his very mortality.

<sup>23</sup> Ἰν χάριν οὐκ ἐδύναν[τ]ο | ]ατι λιχνο[τά]τω· | ] παραπλω[.]σ[.] ἀμάλλης | ]μα πέρι | ] ἀναιδέος ὄθμ[α]τος ἄλκα[ρ] | ὕβρι]ν ἔπαυσε θεή | ]σα Διὸς κεμαδοσσόε [κο]ύρη | ] [ ]εμ[.] | ] γενέθλη.

<sup>24</sup> ὡς μὲν ὄτ' Ὀρίωνα] [...] ὁ δὲ νοῦς, ὥσπερ δὴ ὅτε Ὀρίωνα ἔλαβεν ἡ Ἡμέρα. τοῦτου γὰρ ἐρασθεῖσα ἡ Ἡμέρα ἤρπασεν ἀπὸ Τανάγρας εἰς Δῆλον, ἔνθα τὴν ἀμαλλοφόρον Οὐπιν ἰδὼν ἠθέλησε βιάσασθαι. ἐφ' ᾧ ὀργισθεῖσα ἡ θεὸς ἀναρεῖ αὐτὸν, ὡς Εὐφορίων δηλοῖ.

<sup>25</sup> On Virgil's use of Euphorion, detectable in at least *Ecl.* 6.72 and 10.50, see Barigazzi in *Enc. Virg.* II 421–22, Ross in *Virg. Enc.* I 459. As the fragment of Callimachus shows, Euphorion is not the only source for this version of the myth.

<sup>26</sup> Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.22; most recently Horsfall 2003, 532n.

<sup>27</sup> As opposed to Radke in *RE* IX<sup>2</sup> 2 927–28.

<sup>28</sup> *tune etiam telis moriere Dianae?*

Virgil calls his Opis a Thracian (11.858), which may be a poetical epithet meaning little more than “somewhere north of Greece and Anatolia”,<sup>29</sup> but it may also imply that he follows Callimachus, making Opis a Thracian by birth as a daughter of Boreas. The latter is Thracian by authoritative poetic tradition;<sup>30</sup> and his sons Zetes and Calaïs were born in Thracia according to Apollonius Rhodius (1.213; cf. no. 5.1); cf. also *Aen.* 10.350 *tris quoque Threicios Boreae de gente suprema*, “and three Thracians, of the most noble [or ‘furthest away’?] family of Boreas”.

## 2.4 Achaeïa

I. Paus. 5.7.8

According to Pausanias, the mythological epic poet Olen (cf. no. 8) composed a poem in honour of Ἀχαιΐα, who came from the Hyperboreans to Delos. Pausanias says nothing about her except that she came later than Opis and Hecaërgē, whose praises the equally mythological Melanopus in turn sang (see above no. 2.3). It is unclear whether Pausanias means that Melanopus mentioned Achaeïa as well. In Herodotus (I), Olen’s hymn is devoted to Opis and Arge.

## 3. Pythagoras and the mortal Apollo (son of Zeus and Leto)

I. Arist. fr. 173 Gigon (ap. IV; cf. fr. \*191 Rose, ap. IV–VI). II. Cic. *Nat.D.* 3.57. III. D.S. 3.59.6–7? IV. Ael. *VH* 2.26. V. Porph. *VP* 28. VI. Iambl. *VP* (1) 6.30, (2) 19.91, (3) 28.140. VII. D.L. 8.11.

As a rule, only mortals are included in this collection, but several sources, for instance Aristotle (I) as cited by Aelian (IV), claim that the followers of Pythagoras considered their master to be “the Hyperborean Apollo” (see above, no. 1). This has been deemed mortal enough to meet our criteria for inclusion. To this post is added two instances of the Hyperborean Apollo featuring in Euhemeristic sources (II–III), that is portrayed as a mortal man, although there are no implications of this Euhemeristic Apollo being identical to Pythagoras. Cicero (II), who relates the opinions of the Euhemerists, says that the Apollo that came from the Hyperboreans was the “third Apollo”, i.e., the third mortal man contributing to the myth of the god, and that he was the son of the “third Zeus” and of Latona, i.e., Leto. Perhaps the Apollo who is said by Diodorus Siculus (III) to have fallen in love with Cybele and walked with her to the Hyperboreans is then only the “second” Apollo according to the Euhemeristic system (and not, strictly, himself a Hyperborean).

## 4. Hyperboreos

I. Phanod. *FGrH* 325 fr. 29 (ap. III). II. Philosteph.Hist. fr. 33 *FHG* (III 33) (ap. III). III. Σ Pi. *O.* 3.28a Drachmann.

Phanodemus (I) is said to have claimed that the Hyperboreans took their name after Ὑπερβόρεος (or Ὑπερβοραῖος), an Athenian. Philostephanus of Cyrene (II) on the other hand said that this Hyperboreos was from Thessaly. Whether they imagined that the Hyperboreans originated as a Greek colony or were at a crucial period in their history led by a Greek in exile is not known.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Serv.Dan.* (XII 2), cited above. Thracian = “northern” is attested in (late) Greek, apparently interpolated from a gloss in a ms. to Zos.Alch., Περὶ τοῦ θείου ὕδατος (p. 31.18 Mertens).

<sup>30</sup> Hes. *Op.* 553, Tyrt. fr. 12.4 West, Ibyc. fr. 5.9 Page, Simonid. fr. 6.2 West; cf. II. 9.5.

## 5. The Boread family

Some of the individual Hyperboreans mentioned in literature are said to have been sons and daughters, or descendants, of Boreas, the North Wind (himself a Thracian: see n. 30). Neither of the explicitly named mothers, Oreithyia and Chione (also found as a daughter of Boreas; see 5.1), is ever said to be a Hyperborean. The sources are also in conflict as to whether the sons and daughters resided in Hyperborea or somewhere else. Here are gathered those sources that explicitly state that the offspring or descendants of Boreas at some time resided in the land of the Hyperboreans.

### 5.1. Zetes and Calais (sons of Oreithyia)

I. Duris *FGrH* 76 fr. 86 (ap. III). II. Phanodic. *FGrH* 397 fr. 1 (ap. III). III. Σ A.R. 1.211.

The brothers Zetes and Calais were two of the Argonauts, mortal and eventually slain by Heracles on the island of Tenos. Two sources, cited in a scholium to Apollonius Rhodius (III), claim that they came to the expedition from the Hyperboreans. Their sisters, Cleopatra and Chione (cf. 5.2), are never said to be Hyperborean.<sup>31</sup>

### 5.2. Hyperborean priests and rulers (sons and descendants of Chione)

I. Hecat.Abd. *FGrH* 264 (1) fr. 7 (ap. II), (2) fr. 12 (ap. III). II. D.S. 2.47. III. Ael. *NA* 11.1.

Hecataeus of Abdera, whose lost work on the Hyperboreans is cited by later authors (*FGrH* 264 frs. 7–14), mention high priests and/or theocratic rulers. The two sources, Diodorus Siculus (II) and Aelian (III), which preserve these fragments, are in disagreement as to the exact pedigree of the priests, if indeed the same Boreads are intended in both cases. In one case (I 2), the three *sons* of Boreas and Chione (who is elsewhere said to be the daughter rather than consort of Boreas; see 5.1) are high priests, six cubits tall, in the Hyperborean temple of Apollo. In the other case (I 1), the priesthood and theocratic leadership of the city of the Hyperboreans are inherited among the *descendants* of Boreas, the leaders being called the Boreads. Either of the secondary sources may have misunderstood Hecataeus; or possibly he referred to different time frames, a golden age in the past when the sons of Boreas ruled, and the present state under their descendants. Hecataeus elsewhere (fr. 10 ap. Σ A.R. 2.675) explicitly claimed that the Hyperboreans still existed in his own time.

### 5.3. Opis, Loxo and Hecaërge (mother unknown)

See 2.3. Only Callimachus (*Del.* 293) explicitly claims these to be the daughters of Boreas.

## 6. Arimaspus

I. Pherenic. *Suppl.Hell.* 671 (ap. II). II. Σ Pi. *O.* 3.28c Drachmann.

A fragment by Pherenicus, an obscure Hellenistic poet from Heraclea Pontica, states that the Hyperboreans “grew from the blood of the Titans” (from the earth fertilized by their spilled blood?), and that they were led into the north by their leader Ἀριμασπός.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> [Apollod.] 3.199, A.R. 2.234, Paus. 3.15.2.

<sup>32</sup> Herodotus (4.13) mentions the Arimaspi as a separate people, neighbours of the Hyperboreans (cf. no. 9), but Antimachus (fr. 141 Matthews ap. St.Byz. s.v. Ὑπερβόρειοι) and perhaps Callimachus (*Del.* 291; cf. fr. 186.12 Pfeiffer) consider the Hyperboreans and the Arimaspi to be identical. Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. also claims that the latter are an ἔθνος Ὑπερβορέων, “people among the Hyperboreans”.

## 7. Palantho and her father

I. Silen.Chius *FGrH* 27 fr. \*3 = Silen.Caleactensis *FGrH* 175 fr. \*8 (ap. III, IV). II. D.H. 1.43.1–2. III. Festus s.v. *Palatium*. IV. Solin. 1.14–15.

According to Dionysius from Halicarnassus (II), Latinus, the eponymous king of the Italic tribe of the Latins, was not the biological son of Faunus, king of the Aborigines, but of Heracles and “some Hyperborean woman that Heracles brought with him after her father had submitted her as a hostage”.<sup>33</sup> King Faunus took this woman, pregnant by Heracles, as his wife. Latin sources, allegedly deriving from a Greek author Silenus (uncertain which<sup>34</sup>), give her name as Palantho (IV) or Palanto (III), claiming this to be the eponym of the Palatine hill in Rome, where she was observed having sexual intercourse with Heracles.<sup>35</sup>

The context in which Heracles receives as hostage the daughter of a Hyperborean is not explained by Dionysius, but Pindar mentions that he visited the Hyperboreans, introducing the olive plant from there to Greece.<sup>36</sup> The narrative of Dionysius should perhaps be seen in light of the learned tradition that locates the Hyperboreans in or beyond the Alps,<sup>37</sup> which may fall back on the Olympian Ode in question, in which they reside by the source of the Istros (Danube). Dionysius claims that Heracles sailed to Italy with the girl, though.

## 8. Pagasus, Agyieus, and Olen

I. Boeo fr. 1–2 Powell (ap. II). II. Paus. 10.5.7–8. III. (\*Agath.) Σ Paus. 10.5.8. IV. *Suda* s.v. Ὠλήν (ω 71).

Pausanias (II) cites a female poet Boeo (I)<sup>38</sup> for the information that the Delphic oracle was instituted by Hyperboreans. In the quotations offered by Pausanias, Boeo mentions the Hyperboreans Παγασός, Ἀγυιεύς and Ὠλήν, claiming that the last-named, in all other sources (including Pausanias elsewhere) a Lycian,<sup>39</sup> was the very first epic poet. Pausanias reports that Boeo lists yet more names of Hyperboreans in a catalogue section of her poem (cf. no. 10).

## 9. A Hyperborean native in the *Arimaspea*

I. [Aristeas Epic.] fr. 11 Bernabé (ap. II). II. [Longin.] 10.4.

The epic *Arimaspea* of Aristeas is said to have depicted a journey of the author to various peoples of the North, including the Arimaspi and Hyperboreans. Possibly Aristeas, allegedly a very ancient poet, is a construct of the imagination of Herodotus (4.13, 4.16). The epic poem circulating in the Roman period was at any rate pseudepigraphic, as suspected already by its contemporaries (D.H. *Th.* 2). One of the fragments is found in pseudo-Longinus (II):

*Here is another thing also that fills us with feelings of wonder,  
Men that dwell on the water, away from the earth, on the ocean.  
Sorrowful wretches they are, and theirs is a grievous employment:  
Fixing their eyes on the stars, their lives they entrust to the waters.*

<sup>33</sup> ἐκ τινος Ὑπερβορίδος κόρης, ἣν πατὴρ εἰς ὀμηρείαν δόντος ἐπήγετο. The female ethnonym appears only here.

<sup>34</sup> A Silenus from Chius and one from Caleacte are known, but see Tell 2014 on the possibility of the former being an entirely spurious entity.

<sup>35</sup> The word used by Solinus, *compressisse*, does not necessarily suggest rape, as many translators seem to think (see OLD, L&S s.vv. *compressio*, *compressus*, *comprimo*).

<sup>36</sup> Pi. *O.* 3.10–35, cf. Paus. 5.7.7.

<sup>37</sup> Protarch. fr. 1 *FHG* (IV 485) ap. St.Byz. s.v. Ὑπερβόρειοι, Posidon. *FGrH* 87 fr. 103 ap. Σ A.R. 2.675.

<sup>38</sup> On whom see Jacoby on Philoch. *FGrH* 328 fr. 214.

<sup>39</sup> Hdt. 4.35, Call. *Del.* 305, Paus. 5.7.8.

*Often, I think, to the gods they lift up their hands and they pray;  
Ever their innermost parts are terribly tossed to and fro.*<sup>40</sup> (Fyfe 1995)

The speaker marvels over foreigners who willingly traverse the waves, obviously representing a people (“us”) unfamiliar with seafaring and boats.<sup>41</sup> He is likely to be a Hyperborean native, as it is probable that the topic originates in an interpretation of the name Abaris (see no. 1). As Hesychius records, this may be understood as “without boat”.<sup>42</sup>

## 10. Hyperochus and Amadocus/Laodocus

I. Paus. (1) 1.4.4, (2) 10.23.2.

Pausanias relates a supernatural event taking place during the invasion of Gauls into Greece in 279 B.C. At Delphi, warriors are said to have materialised out of thin air to the aid of the Hellenes (I 1):

...of these two are said to have come from the Hyperboreans, Hyperochus and Amadocus, and the third was Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles.<sup>43</sup>

The story is repeated later (I 2), but the mss. then offer the name Λαόδοκος. The warriors have been conjectured to originate in the poem of Boeo (no. 8), but the names may also connect them with the maidens Hyperoche and Laodice/Laodoce mentioned by Herodotus (no. 2.1).

## 11. A Hyperborean sorcerer

I. Luc. *Philops.* 13–15.

One of the tall tales in Lucian’s *Philopseudes* concerns a nameless Hyperborean sorcerer who is able to fly (cf. no. 1, text for n. 5), walk on water, and cast spells of different kinds.

## 12. Zabijs, Themisto, and Galeotes/Galeos

I. Clem.Al. *Strom.* 1.21.134.4. II. (\*Hdn.Gr. III 1 74 *GrGr* ap.) St.Byz. s.v. Γαλεῶται (γ 23).

The main source for these very obscure Hyperboreans, king Zabijs, princess Themisto, and Galeotes, the son of the latter by Apollo, is the geographical dictionary by Stephanus of Byzantium (II):

*Galeots*: a people in Sicily or in Attica, from Galeotes, the son of Apollo and Themisto, daughter of Zabijs, king of the Hyperboreans, as will be told in the article on Telmissus. Some say that the Galeots are a kind of Sicilian seers. [...] They say that Galeotes (came) from the Hyperboreans,

<sup>40</sup> θαῦμ’ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτο μέγα φρεσὶν ἡμετέρησιν. | ἄνδρες ὕδωρ ναίουσιν ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι | δύστηνοὶ τινές εἰσιν, ἔχουσι γὰρ ἔργα πονηρά· | ὄμματ’ ἐν ἄστροισι, ψυχὴν δ’ ἐνὶ πόντῳ ἔχουσιν. | ἧ̄ που πολλὰ θεοῖσι φίλας ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντες | εὐχονται σπλάγχθοισι κακῶς ἀναβαλλομένοισι.

<sup>41</sup> “Longinus” cites disingenuously, infavourably comparing this to a storm in Homer. The purpose of “Aristeas” is not the depiction of the awe-inspiring (δεινά) and sublime forces of nature applied on man, but of the good-natured naivité of an inexperienced barbarian (cf. Strabon on Abaris, no. 1 above).

<sup>42</sup> ὁ ἡπειρώτης καὶ μὴ ἔχων βάρην, “one who dwells on the mainland and does not have a boat” (Hsch. α 74). The word βάρης was used in particular of foreign ships, properly of a kind of Egyptian flat-bottomed vessel (being an Egyptian loan-word).

<sup>43</sup> τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων λέγουσιν ἐλθεῖν, Ὑπέροχον καὶ Ἀμάδοκον, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Πύρρον εἶναι τὸν Ἀχιλλέως.



Telmissus <from ...>, and that Apollo told them in an oracle in Dodona that the one should sail east, the other west, and that they should set up an altar at the place where an eagle would snatch the meat away as they were sacrificing. Galeotes accordingly came to Sicily and Telmissus to Caria, where there is a sanctuary of the Telmissian Apollo.<sup>44</sup>

“Galeos”<sup>45</sup> is a variant reading in the first instance of the name, also found in Clement of Alexandria (I), who mentions “Telmessus in Caria and Galeos in Sicily” in a catalogue of ancient seers. The lacuna after Τελμισσὸν is necessary: Telmissus (or Telmessus) was not a Hyperborean,<sup>46</sup> but identical with the son of Apollo by “one of the daughters of Antenor”, mentioned by Dionysius of Chalcis.<sup>47</sup> The further narrative promised “in the article on Telmissus” is not extant in the abbreviated version of Stephanus that has survived.

Observe that the notion of a Hyperborean king contradicts the theocratic polity described by Hecataeus (no. 5.2).

### 13. Passerus

I. (\*Hdn.Gr. III 2 564 *GrGr* ap.) Hsch. s.v. Πάσσηρος (π 1074).

The Lexicon of Hesychius states that Πάσσηρος<sup>48</sup> the Hyperborean founded Ειρήνη (“Peace”), adding that “it was called Eirene and Pelagussa”. While “Pelagussa” is unattested elsewhere, the island Kalaureia is said to have been once called Eirene.<sup>49</sup> It is also said to have been originally sacred to Apollo,<sup>50</sup> which would be in accordance with a Hyperborean foundation myth (cf. above, no. 8).

### 14. Seuthes

I. *Suda* s.v. Ἄβαρις (α 18). II. [Zonar.] s.v. Ἄβαρις.

*Suda* (I) claims that Abaris was Σεύθου υἱός, the son of Seuthes, which is repeated by pseudo-Zonaras (II). This Seuthes is not mentioned elsewhere, but the name belongs to several famous Thracian kings (illustrating the blurred distinctions in literature between “Thracian”, “Scythian”, and “Hyperborean”; cf. text for n. 7; no. 2.3; no. 2.3.1 *fin.*).

### Coda

Apart from the utility of source collections as tools for future study, in this case of the myth of the Hyperboreans, and the small advances that have been claimed here on certain individual passages, one might ask if any immediate general conclusions may be drawn from the

<sup>44</sup> Γαλεῶται· ἔθνος ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἢ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ἀπὸ Γαλεώτου υἱοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Θεμιστοῦς, τῆς θυγατρὸς Ζαβίου, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ὑπερβορέων, ὡς εἰρήσεται ἐν τῷ περὶ Τελμισσοῦ. τινὲς δὲ ὅτι Γαλεῶται μάντεων εἶδος Σικελῶν. [...] φασὶ δὲ τὸν Γαλεώτην ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων, Τελμισσὸν <δὲ ἐκ \*\*\* ἐλθεῖν>, οἷς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν Δωδώνῃ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς τὸν δ' ἐπὶ δυσμὰς πλεῖν, ὅπου τε ἂν αὐτῶν θυομένων ἀετὸς ἀρπάσῃ τὰ μηρία βωμὸν ἐνταῦθα ἰδρῦσαι. Γαλεώτης οὖν ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ Τελμισσοῦ ἐν Καρίᾳ ἦλθεν, ἔνθα Ἀπόλλωνος Τελμισσοῦ ἱερόν.

<sup>45</sup> γαλεοῦ N, γαλ\*\* QP.

<sup>46</sup> Pace A. Lesky in *RE* v<sup>2</sup> 2 1683 (s.v. Themisto 4).

<sup>47</sup> Fr. 4 *FHG* (IV 394) ap. Phot. s.v. Τελμισσοῖς.

<sup>48</sup> Musurus emends to Πάσσηρος.

<sup>49</sup> Anticl. *FGrH* 140 fr. 9 ap. Harp. s.v. Καλαύρεια, Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 295e.

<sup>50</sup> Strab. 8.6.14 cum Ephor. *FGrH* 70 fr. 150; Philosteph. Hist. fr. 18 *FHG* (III 31) ap. Σ A.R. 3.1243; Paus. 2.33.2; *App. Anth.* 6.58; Call. fr. 593 Pfeiffer ap. Σ A. *Eu.* 27, Σ Lyc. 617, etc.

material collected. For instance, one might pose the question whether any traces of a hypothetical lost, comprehensive narrative may be discernible; that is if any of these individuals may be connected in any way to others, indicating a shared origin in some lost epic or pseudo-historical treatment of the myth. While it cannot be ruled out that some of the more obscure names (cf. nos. 2.4, 8, 10, 12–13) were originally to be found in Hecataeus from Abdera (cf. no. 5.2) or a seminal epic poem now lost, for instance the *Arimaspea* (cf. no. 9) or Boeo (cf. no. 8), the material offers no evidence that either affirms or refutes this. We may also be fairly sure that most of the individual names can have no earlier origin than Hecataeus. Apart from Abaris (no. 1) and the visitors to Delos (no. 2), who, occurring in Herodotus and Pindar, probably emerge from oral narrative traditions, all other Hyperborean individuals listed here bear the mark of literary innovation and mythic embellishment in the Hellenistic fashion, and/or invention for the purpose of religious and political propaganda. Indeed most individuals seem to have been invented for purposes that are, to a degree, story-external, not fictional: foundation myths (8, 12, 13), eponymy (4, 6, 7), improved royal lineage (7). Taken together, then, the various obscure characters and narratives may also serve as a concise illustration of the manner in which ancient Greek mythological themes developed in Hellenistic literature.

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**Latin summary**

*De Hyperboreis illustribus.* Singuli Hyperborei, qui in litteraturā antiquā apparent, exhibentur in respectū fontium Latinorum Graecorumque atque collectionum locorum allatorum. Pleraque indoles mythologicae breviter disputantur, sed traditio litteraria, quae spectat ad fabulam Abaridis atque “puellarum Hyperborearum” speciatim tractantur. Quidam fontes litterariae in symbolā tractantur analysi inclusis adnotationibus philologicis locorum, qui sunt [Aristeas Epic.] fr. 11 Bernabé (hic locus interpretatione nominis Abaridis instigatur); Call. *Dian.* 204–5 (includitur allusio ad puellam Hyperboream, quae est Upis/Opis); Call. *Del.* 293–95 (hoc loco deliberatur de etymologia verbi Περφερέες; et ἐκεῖνοι in 295 bene se habet); Call. *Aet.* fr. 186.26–30 Pfeiffer (disputatio mythi Orionis atque Opidis); D.H. 1.43.1–2 (disputatio mythi ad Palanthonem et Heraclem spectantis); Hecat.Abd. *FGrH* 264 fr. 7, 12 (disputatur differens nuntius de gubernatione Hyperboreica, qui in his duobus fragmentis praebetur); Hdt. 4.35 (interpretatio locutionis, quae est ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι); Iambl. *VH* 32.217 (opiniones exhibitae ab Abaride videntur similes esse eis prolatis in Heraclid. Pont. fr. 75 Wehrli); Verg. *Aen.* 11.857–58 (sententia, quam Opis profert, alludit ad mortem Orionis, quemadmodum invenitur apud Euphorionem, Callimachum atque pseudo-Apollodorum).

**English summary**

The individual Hyperboreans appearing in ancient literature are presented with a review of the Greek and Latin sources and collections of references. Most of the mythological characters are briefly discussed, but the literary evolution of the legends of Abaris and of the “Hyperborean maidens” are treated in some detail. Some of the literary sources receive scholarly treatment, the paper including philological notes on [Aristeas Epic.] fr. 11 Bernabé (the passage is inspired by an interpretation of the name Abaris); Call. *Dian.* 204–5 (includes an allusion to the Hyperborean maiden Upis/Opis); Call. *Del.* 293–95 (the passage hints at an etymology of the word Περφερέες; and ἐκεῖνοι in 295 is sound); Call. *Aet.* fr. 186.26–30 Pfeiffer (discussion of the myth of Orion and Opis); D.H. 1.43.1–2 (discussion of the myth of Palantho and Heracles); Hecat.Abd. *FGrH* 264 fr. 7, 12 (discussion of the different information about the Hyperborean leadership that is given in the two fragments); Hdt. 4.35 (interpretation of the phrase ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι); Iambl. *VH* 32.217 (the stated opinions of Abaris seem similar to those professed in Heraclid.Pont. fr. 75 Wehrli); Verg. *Aen.* 11.857–58 (the utterance of Opis alludes to the death of Orion as presented in Euphorion, Callimachus and pseudo-Apollodorus).

**Keywords**

Abaris, Apollo, pseudo-Aristeas, Artemis, Callimachus, Herodotus, Hyperboreans, Iamblichus, Pythagoras, Virgil.





## DE FINNIS CORNUTIS

Tuomo Pekkanen

### I

*Historia Norwegiae* ab auctore ignoto c. 1170–1220 composita inter primos fontes litterarios numeratur, in quibus gentes Scandinaviae septentrionalis describuntur. Ex occasu et aquilone auctor ille anonymus dicit Norwegiam circumsaepam esse oceano, a meridie habere Daniam (Daciam) et Balticum mare, ab oriente sole Swethiam (Svealand), Gautoniam (Götaland), Angariam (Ångermanland), Iamtoniam (Jämtland); in his partibus gentes esse Christianas, trans Norwegiam autem ab oriente gentes paganismo inservientes extendi:

Versus vero septemtrionem gentes perplures paganismo (proh dolor!) inservientes trans Norwegiam ab oriente extenduntur, scilicet Kiriali et Kwaeni, cornuti Finni ac utrique Biarmones. Sed quae gentes post istos habitent, nihil certum habemus. (*HN* 7–8)

Kiriali (plerumque Careli), Kwaeni, Biarmones in litteris Latinis anterioribus non nominantur sed Finni (Fenni), iam in Germania Taciti (98 p.Ch.n.) descripti, apud auctores antiquos et mediaevales admodum saepe occurrunt (Pekkanen 1989; 1999, 94–95). Kwaeni et terra eorum (*Cwenas*, *Cwena* land) primum describuntur in relatione itineris, quod Ottar Norwegus in Biarmiam circiter a. 875 fecit quamque Rex Alfred ad versionem Anglo-Saxicam historiae Orosii adiunxit.<sup>1</sup> Ex relatione Ottaris et testimoniis posterioribus patet Biarmones apud Lacum Album et fauces fluminis Dvinae habitasse.<sup>2</sup> Itaque Finni, inter Kwaenos et Biarmones iacentes, haud procul ab illo lacu esse poterant. Novum est, quod *cornuti* appellantur. Viri docti iterum iterumque rem insolitam explicare conati sunt sed hucusque nihil nisi coniecturas plus minusve incredibiles proferre potuerunt. In commentario textus, quem Ekrem et Mortensen ediderunt (ad locum), summarium harum opinionum habemus:

In earlier research on *HN* [i.e. *Historia Norwegiae*] they have been taken to be inhabitants of Finland. But according to *HN* some of them crossed over into Norway. Whether the nickname *Cornuti* is used traditionally, or whether it derives from their special caps, from their having used tools made of horn, their having been adorned with figures or jewellery, or their having been drawn by reindeer with horns when they were hunting, remains a matter of coniecture. (Ekrem et Mortensen in *HN*, ad loc.)

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<sup>1</sup> Posteriora de Kwaenis testimonia sedulo collegit et edidit Kyösti Julku in opere *Kvenland – Kainuunmaa*. *Studia historica septentrionalia* 11, Oulu 1986.

<sup>2</sup> Relationem Ottari una cum versione Suetica edidit H.G. Porthan, *Opera selecta*. Pars quinta 1873, 45–99, cum versione Finnica Julku, op.cit. 52–54.

Karl Milan, qui dissertationem laude dignam de Finnis Taciti anno 2001 divulgavit, in alio libro varias explicationes et interpretationes tractavit, quas appellatio *cornuti Finni* evocavit (Milan 2005, 9–17). Propositum ipsius, quod Finni ex moribus *cornuti* appellati essent, scilicet ab uxorum communione, quas hospitibus permittebant, prioribus coniecturis supra citatis vix probabilius est.

## II

Commune omnium fere adiectivi *cornuti* interpretum est, quod censent *cornu* ad capitis cornua aut formam eorum spectare et Finnos *cornutos* cornibus capitis ornatos fuisse aut aliquid capitis cornibus simile habuisse. Res facile est intellectu, nam vocabula neutra quartae declinationis sunt in lingua Latina pauca (praeter *cornu*, exstant *gelu*, *genu*, *pecu*, *veru*), et in omnibus fere grammaticis pro exemplo declinationis positum est *cornu*, cui sensus datur ‘cornu sc. capitis’ (Germ. ‘Horn’). Itaque mirum non est, quod orta est opinio cornutos Finnos fuisse Satyros aut homines, qui in capite cornua haberent. Sed vocabulum *cornu* alios quoque sensus habet, qui auspiciorem originem appellationis *cornuti Finni* praebent. Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (sub voce *cornu*) praebet testimonia, in quibus vocabulum *cornu* de rebus adhibetur, quae e cornea natura constant, ut de avium rostris et de ungulis equorum, boum, Panis:

\* *rostrum avis*: Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* 14, 502 oraque *cornu* / indurata rigent finemque in acumine ponunt.

\* *cornu pedis animalium quadrupedum*: Cato, *De agricultura* 72 boves ne pedes subterant, pice liquida *cornua* infima unguito; Vergilius, *Georgica* 3, 88 (equus) solido graviter sonat ungula *cornu*; Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* 2, 671 perpetuo *cornu* levis ungula crescit; Calpurnius, *Ecloga* 6, 54 et tornata brevi substringitur ungula *cornu*, ibidem 7, 58 non sine *cornibus* apros; Valerius Flaccus 5, 153 litora, quae *cornu* pepulit Saturnus equino; Silius Italicus 3,550 dumque premit sonipes duro vestigia *cornu*, / ungula perfossis haesit compressa pruinis; ibidem 4, 95 sonoro / quadrupedum *cornu* tellus gemit. – De pedibus caprinis Panis: Silius Italicus 13, 327 Pan semper et imo / vix ulla inscribens terrae vestigia *cornu*.

\* Apud poetas *cornipes* de equis et de Fauno dicitur: Vergilius, *Aeneis* 7, 779 *cornipedes* arcentur equi; Ovidius, *Ars amandi* 1, 280 femina *cornipedi* semper adhinnit equo; Ovidius, *Fasti* 2, 361 *cornipedi* Fauno; Seneca, *Phaedra* 809 si dorso libeat *cornipedis* vehi; Lucanus 8, 3 *cornipedem* exhaustum cursu; Statius, *Thebais* 7, 137 aliena ... cogunt ad iuga *cornipedes*.

Quae cum ita sint, *cornuti* / -a dici possunt non solum animalia cornua capitis gestantia sed etiam quadrupedes pedis cornu sive ungula ornatos, ut equi, apri aliique, quin etiam Pan et Faunus, qui caprinos pedes habere dicebantur. Itaque non est necesse, sicut adhuc factum est, Finnis capitis cornua imponere, quod ridiculum sonat, sed potius quaerere, an propter pedum cornua *cornuti* appellari potuerint. Pro hac interpretatione testimonia tam antiquissima quam recentiora inveniuntur.

Aulis J. Joki (1913–1989), professor linguarum Finno-ugricarum in Universitate Helsinkiensi annis 1965–1977, scribit calceamenta, quibus Tavgi-Samoiedi utuntur, esse cylindrica, ex pelle tarandri facta, parte anteriore tam brevi, ut ungulata videantur (*EF* 7, 1024). Tavgi, maxime septentrionales ex populis Russiae, apud litora Maris Glacialis in paeninsula Taimyr habitantes in Avamos occidentales et Vadievehos orientales dividuntur (Ib. 1022). Kai Donner, philologus et explorator linguarum Samoiedicarum peritus, qui annis 1911–13 et 1914 itinera ad Samoiedos Sibiriae fecit, in vico Dudinka apud fauces fluminis Ienisei mense Decembri 1913 Avam-Samoiedos convenit, quos his verbis describit:

Sitten (Dudinkaan) tuli komeihin, naalinnahalla koristettuihin säkkiturkkeihin puettuja Avam-samojedeja. Päähineessä heillä oli ketunhätä ja jaloissa aivan

pyöreät poronahkasaappaat. Jalkineittensa takia heitä sanotaan kaviollisiksi miehiksi. He ovat järjestänsä pakanoita sekä asuvat kaukana Jäämeren rannoilla edustaen Aasian pohjoisinta kansaa. (Donner 1922, 177)

Quod Latine verti:

Deinde in Dudinkam Avam-Samoiedi venerunt, induti pulchris sacciformibus vestibus pelliceis, quae ornatae erant pelle vulpis arcticae. In tegimine capitis caudam vulpis habebant et in pedibus calceamenta prorsus rotunda (cylindrica) ex pelle tarandri facta. Propter calceamenta viri ungulati / cornipedes appellantur.<sup>3</sup> Omnes sunt pagani et procul in litoribus Maris Glacialis habitant maxime septentrionalem populum Asiae repraesentantes.

Descriptio Donneri ostendit Avamos ipsos se viros ungulatos non nominavisse sed ita ex calceamentis appellari. Ex verbis eius “heitä sanotaan kaviollisiksi miehiksi” (cornipedes / ungulati appellantur), concludi potest appellationem cornipedis non fuisse opprobrium temporarium sed appellationem usitatam hominum, qui calceamenta eius generis, in frigore necessaria, in regionibus orbis frigidissimis habebant. Ideo non est mirum, quod testimonia de hominibus ungulatis in extremo orbe septentrionali habitantibus iam in litteris antiquis invenimus.



Nganasani, antea Tavgi appellati, in photographemate a. 1927 facto. Multimedia Art Museum Moscoviae

<http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nganasanit><sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Annotatio de calceamentis Avamorum deest in editionibus Suetica et Germanica operis Donneri. Descriptio calceamentorum apparet auctori tanti momenti fuisse, ut eam ad textum operis Finnicum adderet, quem ipse edidit. Nescimus, qua lingua (Russice aut Samojedice?) Donner Avamos cornipedes appellari audiverit.

<sup>4</sup>Recentius de his calceamentis photographema praebet [www.arcticphoto.co.uk](http://www.arcticphoto.co.uk) /Arctic Peoples / ngasan / KTY. 0042-02: “A Ngasan woman wearing traditional cylindrical shaped skin boots.”

### III

Primus auctor, qui aliquid de regionibus arcticis novit, est Aristeas Proconnesius, qui c. 630 a.Chr.n. in Mediam Asiam iter fecit et de eo narrationem poeticam *Arimaspeia* (de Arimaspiis / de itinere in terram Arimasporum) intitulatam scripsit. Opus nobis non remansit, sed Herodotus et alii quidam auctores fragmenta eius in operibus suis incluserunt (Bolton 1962, 206–214). Gentes ab Aristeas descriptae in ordinem approximativum inter se poni possunt (Pekkanen 1986, 181–183). In extrema parte itineris novit Argippaeos, a quibus audiverat in septentrione esse montes altissimos, in quibus *Aigipodes*, homines caprinis pedibus, habitarent; trans illos alios vivere homines, qui sex menses dormirent (Herodotus 4, 23–25). Herodotus id pro vero non habebat, sed veri similiter narrationes de longa nocte hiemali regionum arcticarum tali opinioni causam dederant. Eodem modo de Aigipodibus, caprinis pedes habentibus, iudicandum est. In litteris posterioribus *Hippopodes*, homines equinis pedibus, saepius occurrunt (Aalto et Pekkanen 1975, 253). Pomponius Mela (I p.Chr.n. saeculo), eos in ora septentrionali Sarmatiae locavit, Plinius maior (nat. 4, 95) in litore Oceani septentrionalis.<sup>5</sup> Nomen et Aigipodum et Hippopodum originem naturalem in eo invenit, quod calceamenta pellicea habebant, quorum prima pars ungulae pedis caprini aut equini similis erat. Tam Aigipodes quam Hippopodes Samoiedi haberi possunt (Pekkanen 1986, 183).<sup>6</sup> Sedes Samoiedorum, qui vitam nomadicam ut pastores tarandrorum, piscatores venatoresque agebant, in ora Maris Glacialis a Lacu Albo et flumine Dvina ad flumen Jenisei extendebant (Donner 1922, 9). Aliquot familiae Samoiedorum, qui Nenets appellantur, adhuc vicesimo saeculo in paeninsula Kola (Russice *Kolski poluostrov*) vivebant (*EF* 7, 1022). Calceamenta hiemalia eorum similiter unguolata videntur atque Tavgorum, etsi eodem modo cylindrica non apparent.<sup>7</sup>

In litteris mediaevalibus, quin etiam in investigationibus hodiernis, relationes antiquissimae de terris hominibusque remotioribus pro mendaciis aut fabulis saepe habentur. Regiones mundi longinquaе a hominibus monstruosis habitari olim credebantur, ut ostendunt e.g. imagines, quibus textus de eis narrantes decorabantur.<sup>8</sup>

Pytheas Massiliensis (c. 330 a.Chr.n.), qui primus ex auctoribus antiquis in Oceano Germanico et in Mari Baltico navigavit et multa de Europa septentrionali narravit, fabulator habebatur, quia quae de terris populisque in septentrione visis rettulerat, mirabiliora erant quam quae crederentur. E.g. Strabo (c. 63 a.Chr.n. – 19 p.Chr.n.) eum virum mendacissimum (1, 63) appellavit. Hodie autem constat Pythean fuisse exploratorem haudquaquam despiciendum, qui multa et pretiosa de Europa septentrionali cognovisset. Opus eius *de Oceano* tantum in fragmentis (Mette 1952) nobis mansit neque facile est dictu, quae de regionibus septentrionalibus apud historicos posteriores narrata re vera originem in opere Pythae habuerint. Antea ostendi ea, quae Tacitus de Hellusiis et Oxionibus in fine Germaniae narrat et fabulosa habet,<sup>9</sup> a Pythea derivata esse; in nomine Oxionum latere vocabulum

<sup>5</sup> Iuxta Hippopodas Mela et Plinius posuerunt homines, quibus magnae aures pro veste essent. Nominis forma est apud utrumque corrupta, salva apud Isidorum, *Origines* 11, 3, 19: *Panotios apud Scythiam esse ferunt, tam diffusa magnitudine aurium, ut omne corpus eis contegant*. Lennart Meri (praesidens Estoniae 1992–2001), qui multa itinera ad populos Finno-ugricos in Russia fecerat, mihi a. 1983 coram narravit apud Syriaenos (hodie Komi) in usu adhuc esse tegimina capitis, ex quibus usque ad medium corpus penderent tegimina aurium tam longa, ut corpus ambirent (Pekkanen 1996–1997, 4).

<sup>6</sup> Tomaschek II p. 66 censet Aigipodas fuisse aborigines Ugricos, Samoiedicos apud flumen Ienisei habitantes et Mongolicos: “Die Leute mit Ziegenfüßen ... waren ugrische, samojedische und mongolische Aboriginer.”

<sup>7</sup> Vide: [www.arcticphoto.co.uk](http://www.arcticphoto.co.uk) / Arctic Peoples / forest Nenets / RY.090-15: “A forest Nenets man wearing traditional reindeer winter boots.” De calceamentis Ngasanorum recentiora photographemata praebet etiam Björklund 1995, 75, 79.

<sup>8</sup> Vide e.g. [www.theoi.com/Phylos/Hippopodes.html](http://www.theoi.com/Phylos/Hippopodes.html), ubi imago Hippopodis ex Chronica Nurenburgensi (a. 1493) expressum est.

<sup>9</sup> Tacitus, Germania 46 *Cetera iam fabulosa: Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum vultusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere: quod ego ut incompertum in medium relinquam.*



Finnicum *oksi* ‘ursus’ et Hellusiorum nomen a viris doctis iam olim cum radice Indogermanica, quae *alcem* significat (Graecum *ellós*, Lituani *ėlnis*) coniunctum esse (Pekkanen 1983). Ursus et alces apud Finnos animalia sacra habebantur, de quibus veterrima testimonia habemus in sculpturis palaeolithicis et in poesi populari aliisque Finno-Scandinavica traditionibus (Ib. 59–60). Hellusii et Oxiones nomina originis indigenae habebant, Finno-Scandinavica autem inter Kwaenos et Biarmos habitantium cognomen Cornutorum, quo a ceteris Finnis separabantur, oportet sit versio Latina vocabuli indigenae, quo vicini eos nominabant. De origine eius aliquid coniectare ausim.

#### IV

Fenni et Finni antiquorum Sami (Lappones) sunt habendi, sicut Karl Milan singillatim ostendit (Milan 2001) et viri docti hodie unanimiter censent, sed duodecimo saeculo nomen Finno-Scandinavica novam adsciscit vim, cum etiam de Suomalaeniis (*suomalaiset*) incipit usurpari. Hi enim medio saeculo duodecimo ad fidem Christianam verti coeperunt (Pekkanen 2006) et scriptores Latini de neophytis narrantes nomen vetus Lapponum ad eorum vicinos adaptaverunt. Ex litteris adhuc exstantibus primum documentum, ubi nova nominis significatio clarissime apparet, est epistula Papae Alexandri II archiepiscopo Upsaliensi die nono mensis Septembris anni 1171 aut 1172 data: “Gravis admodum et difficilis est ad apostolicam sedem querela perlata, quod Phinni semper, imminente sibi exercitu inimicorum, fidem servare christianam promittunt”, etc. (*Finlands Medeltidsurkunder* I 12). Cum Finno-Scandinavica nomen ita duplicem usum et significationem invenisset, necesse fuit ad novam Samorum recurrere appellationem, ut populi septentrionales inter se distinguerentur. Hoc est nomen eorum *Lappo*, *-onis*, plur. *Lappones*, *-um* aut *Lappi*, *-orum*, regionis vero *Lappia* aut *Lapponia*, *-ae*, quorum nominum prima testimonia eiusdem fere aetatis sunt, qua Finno-Scandinavica nominis initium cepit ambiguitas. In fabula Islandica *Fundinn Noregr* (Latine ‘Inventa Norvegia’), quae duodecimo saeculo exeunte exstitisse creditur, Sami vocantur *Lappir*, et Saxo Grammaticus, rerum scriptor eiusdem fere temporis, terram eorum appellat *Lappiam*: 1,4,15 *Helsingiam ei cum utraque Lappia ... contribuit*. In documento Suetico anni 1328 habemus nomen populi *lappa*: *Diplomatarium Suecanum* IV 73: *homines silvestres et vagos, vulgarter dictos ‘lappa’, in suis venacionibus nullus debet impedire*. Nomen *Lappi*, *Lappones* (Suetice *Lappar*, Finnice *lappalaiset*) apud Samos ipsos contumeliosum habetur. Ideo collega nostra Sunniva des Bouvrie, quae prope Samos habitans huius rei peritissima est, me saepe monuit, ut etiam in Latinis litteris hodiernis potius *Sami* quam *Lappones*, *Lappi* scriberetur.

Cum vocabulum *cornuti* ut ‘pedis cornibus praediti, ungulati, cornipedes’ intellegatur, quaestio oritur, an qua connectio semantica inter illud et nomen *Lappi*, *Lappones* inveniri possit. Origo huius veri similiter in linguis Scandinavicis est quaerenda, sed quid significet, qualem etymologiam habeat, vexatissima est quaestio, de qua nulla apud doctos concordia est. Karl Milan censebat consideratione dignum esse, an vocabulum *lapp* / *lab(b)*,<sup>10</sup> homonymum Lapponum appellationis, aliquo modo ad Lappones etiam semanticè adiungi posset (2005, 53–55). Postquam complura testimonia de scridatione (Suetice ‘skidåkning’) apud Lappones citavit (Ib. 56–65), arbitratur fieri potuisse, ut hi ex scridis suis (Suetice ‘skida’, Finnice ‘suksi’) apud vicinos *Lapp(i)* appellati essent. Pro argumento habebat, quod Verelius (vide n. 9) vocabulum *lapp* ‘Solea pedis’ interpretatur, et quod Lappones, qui Scridifinni nominantur, apud quosdam auctores neolatinos *soleis ligneis* currere narrantur. Sicut quidam Finni iam antiquitus a scridis suis *Scridifinni* appellabantur, ita Milan censebat (Ib. 62), Samos novo nomine *Lapp(i)* vocari coepisse, cum appellatio *Finni* ambigua facta esset. Homines igitur eodem nomine appellatos esse, quod habebant instrumenta, quibus prolabebantur.

<sup>10</sup> Verelius, 1691: LAPP “Solea pedis Ursi, Lupi, Canis / Biorn, Warg och Hundklor”; Torp, 1919: LABB “stor fot (paa dyr), grov haand”; Hellquist, 1948 : LABB: “grov hand, fot på djur ...Jfr. fhty *lappo* m., flat hand, årblad. *Labb* förhåller sig till germ. *Lap* som *flabb*- till germ *flap*-”.

Equidem in testimoniis, quae Milan praebet, multa inuenio notatu digna, etsi conclusiones eius claudicant. Verum est, quod nomen *lapp* a lexicographo Verelio recte vertitur ‘solea (pedis)’, itemque quod *scrida* (Germ. ‘Ski’, Suet. ‘skida’, Finn. ‘suksi’) apud complures auctores Latine redditur ‘solea (ligna)’.<sup>11</sup> Ex his facillime se praebet aequatio *lapp* = *scrida*, *skida*. Sed talis nominis *Lapp*, *Lappi*, *Lappones* significatio non est peiorativa neque ullam offensionem praefert. Neque testimonia indigena, quae probent *lapp* scridas (Germ. ‘Ski’, Suet. ‘skida’, Finn. ‘suksi’) significare, habemus. Aequatio *lapp* = *scrida* tantum ita valet, ut utrumque vocabulum Latine *solea* reddi potest. Ideo credibile non est, ut Milan cogitat, Scridifinnos nomen *Lappi* e scridis suis, quibus movebantur, accepisse.

Aptior mihi videtur eiusdem vocabuli (*lapp* / *labb*) sensus ‘pes unguatus / ungifer animalium quadrupedum’.<sup>12</sup> Pehr Högstöm in descriptione terrarum Lapponum (*Beskrifning öfver de til Sweriges Krona lydande Lappmarker* 1747, 55) de origine nominis eorum sententiam dicere non vult et scribit sua nihil interesse sitne origo vocabuli *Lapp* in Finno-*loppu* ‘finis’ an in Suecorum *lapp* ‘pannus’, quo vestes reficiuntur, an in *Getklöf* ‘ungula caprae’, quam veteres Gothi *lapp* appellavisse dicuntur, an *läppa*, ut terris septentrionalibus vespertilio appellatur, an *löpa* ‘currere’.<sup>13</sup> Ex his etymologiis duae primae (< Finn. *loppu* ‘finis’ vel Suet. *lapp* ‘pannus’) suos adhuc habent fautores, ceterae (< Suet. *Getklöf*, *läppa*, *löpa*) nullos. Coniecturae *Lapp* < *läppa* vel *löpa*, quae in similitudine phonetica consistunt, nullis argumentis realibus sustentur. Sed significatio ‘ungula caprae’ (*Getklöf*), quae nullos postea invenit defensores, temere reiicienda non est, praesertim cum gentes arcticas ex calceamentis unguatis iam olim appellatas esse constat. Infans non est una cum aqua sordida deicienda, vel ut in Italia dicitur “*non buttar via il bambino insieme con l’acqua sporca.*”

Auctorum antiquorum *Aigipodes* et *Hippopodes* atque *Viri cornipedes* / *ungulati* (“kaviolliset miehet”) a Kai Donner anno 1913 coram visi nec non *cornuti Finni* indicant gentes Eurasiae maxime septentrionales a calceamentis tam olim quam adhuc saeculo undevicesimo cognomen invenisse. Genus calceorum per saecula idem mansit, nam nulla materia aptior ad frigus arcticum expellendum esse potest quam pellis animalium hirsutorum. Quae cum ita sint, inter varias coniecturas de etymologia nominis Lapponum, admodum probabilis mihi videtur ‘ungula caprae’, ea tamen modificatione, ut in locum pedis caprini ponamus cervinum vel tarandrinum pedem (hjortklöv, renklöv). Intelligendum censeo Finnos illos inter Kwaenos et Biarmos habitantes, sicut Samoiedos, calceamenta habuisse, quae effecerunt, ut pedes animalis quadrupedis habere viderentur et cognomine contumelioso *Lapp* (Suetice ‘klöv’, Germanice ‘Klaue’, Finnice ‘sorkka’) a vicinis vocarentur. Cum nomine *Lapp*, quod primitus pedem cornu vel ungula praeditum significat, homo appellatur, agitur de figura synecdoche, ubi pars pro toto ponitur. *Lapp* dici potest de homine Samico sicut e.g. Latine ungula non tantum de ungula equi sed etiam de ipso equo.<sup>14</sup> Origo vocabuli est Indogermanica, ut censet Joki (1973, 277), qui cum eo iungit, praeter Sueticum *labb* et

<sup>11</sup> Deficiente proprio vocabulo ad scridas Latine appellandas auctores mediaevales et posteriores varias circumlocutiones invenerunt, quas deinde alter ab altero mutuabatur: *soleae lignae*, *lignei calcei aut soleae*, *asseres pedibus suffixi*, *lignum incurvum ad arcus similitudinem*, *pandae trabes*, *lubrici stipites*, *lignae plantae*, *plana ligna instar arcuum in anteriori parte curvata*, *ligna repanda* (Milan 2005, 54–65). Vocabula *scrida*, *scridare*, *scridatio*, *scridator*, *-trix* (Suetice ‘skida’, ‘åka skidor’, ‘skidåkning’, ‘skidåkare’) sunt neolatina et recentissima, quae ex prima parte (*Scridi-*, *Scrithi-*) nominis Scridifinnorum derivata in Nuntiis Latinis Radiophoniae Finnicae Generalis adhibentur. *Narta*, *nartare*, *nartatio*, *nartator*, *-trix*, quibus in Lexico auxiliari Christiani Helfer (ed. 1991) ‘Ski’, ‘skilaufen’, ‘Skilaufer’, ‘Skiläufer’ vertuntur, sunt neologismi et pertinent imprimis ad sclodationem, ‘Schlittenfahrt’, nam *narta* est sclochia Samoiedorum, quae adhuc est communis in regionibus arcticis.

<sup>12</sup> Knudsen et Sommerfelt, 1937: LABB ‘stor fot på klodyr’. Item Hellquist 1948, vide n. 9.

<sup>13</sup> “Men om ordet *Lapp* kommer af Finnarnas *Läppu* eller Swenskarnas *Lapp*, sådan som man lappar kläder med, eller *Getklöf*, som de gamla Göthar skola kallat *lapp*, eller *läppa*, som man i Nordlanden kallar flädermössen, eller ock af *löpa* etc. gör mig lika mycket...”

<sup>14</sup> Georges, s.v. *ungula*: 1. ‘die Klaue’, ‘der Huf’, 2. ‘das behufte Pferd’.

palaeotheodiscum *lappo* (v. Hellquist, supra n. 9), etiam Lettonicum *lāpa*, Lituanicum *lópa*, Russicum *lápa*, quae pedem quadrupedis ('Pfote') significant.

Cum agitur de regionibus longinquis, ubi gentes et populi nomades vel inculti habitant, nomina gentium vel populorum sunt plerumque anteriora quam appellationes terrarum et regionum, quae pro certo nota non sunt. E. g. *Suiones*, *Fenni* / *Gotones* iam primo p.Chr.n. saeculo apud Tacitum occurrunt, sed *Suonia* / *Sueonia*, *Fennia* / *Phinnia*, *Gothia* non ante quam post mille fere annos in litteris inveniuntur.<sup>15</sup> Ita etiam ex nomine Lapporum vel Laponum regio, ubi habitabant, *Lappia*, *Laponia* appellata est.

Antea in variis studiis ostendi haudquaquam rarum esse, ut nomina gentium vel populorum ex una lingua in alteram vertantur. Nomen *Germani*, quod in Bello Gallico Iulii Caesaris primum occurrit, versio Latina haberi potest Germanicae appellationis *Sciri*, quam in inscriptione inter 290–200 a.Chr.n. datatam primum habemus (Pekkanen IF 1971 et 1972). Quaedam nomina *Slavorum*, quae non ante quam sexto saeculo in litteris occurrunt, ex testimoniis Graecis, Latinis et Sarmaticis inde a Herodoto reconstrui possunt (Pekkanen, 1968 et 1971). Similiter probabile est nomen, quo *Hungari* a vicinis vocantur, originem habere in appellationibus Sarmatarum regionum, qui in planitie Hungariae sedes habebant (Pekkanen 1973 et 1996–1997, 7–8). Itaque etiam nomen *Lapp* 'pes unguatus' et Latinum *cornutus* 'unguatus' alter alterius versiones haberi possint, sed potius dixerim utrumque primam originem ex forma calceamentorum duxisse.

Operae pretium est temptare, an ex significatione, quam nomini Lapporum supra dedimus, etiam ad nomen *Finnorum* / *Fennorum* aliquid novi percipi possit. Taciti de moribus Fennorum narratio est tam accurata, ut originem habere debet in relatione auctoris, qui ipse apud Samos fuit. Mea de hac re sententia est, quod auctor ille nemo nisi Pytheas esse potuit (Pekkanen 1983, 52–53). Antequam Sami nomine *Lappi(r)*, *Lappones* vocari incipiunt, historia nominis *Finnorum* / *Fennorum* est mille ducentorum annorum, si eam a Tacito ducimus, mille quadringentorum annorum, si inde a Pythea. Quia agitur de nomine, quo nec Sami nec Finni ipsi de se ipsis umquam usi sunt, oportet sit a vicinis Germanis datum, ut hodie communis est opinio. Etymologia est incerta, sed sunt, qui censeant id cum Germanico *finden* ('gehen, gehend auf etwas treffen') coniungendum esse et venatores vel piscatores vagantes significare (Much 1967, 527). Haec est coniectura vix credibilis, quae tamen a philologis et historicis saepe citatur, quia nihil probabilius repertum est. Novam viam etymologiae reperiendae aperire possit significatio (Suetice) 'klöv', (Germanice) 'Klaue', (Finnice) 'sorkka', nominis *Lapp*, ad quam ex cornutis Finnis incipientes pervenimus. Inter versiones vocabuli Finnici 'sorkka' Germanicas habemus inopinanter substantivum *Finne* ('caput bifurcum mallei', Germ. 'gespaltene Finne', Finnice 'vasaran sorkka'), quod – forsitan casu? – homonymum est nominis *Fennorum* / *Finnorum*. Origo eius est, ut videtur, in Indogermanica radice *pin-* / *pen-*, cf. Latinum *penna*, *pinna*, Sueticum *pen*, Anglicum *peen*, Germanicum *Pinne*. Profundiores investigationes semanticae huius radicis sunt sine dubio necessariae, quas ego in hac opella in medio relinquo.

Quae cum ita sint, nomina supra tractata, *cornuti*, *Lapp*, *Fenni* / *Finni*, ad eundem campum semanticum pertinere videntur et explicationem habere in calceamentis hominum arcticorum, sicut testantur Aigipodes, Hippopodes et praesertim Samoiedi, quos Kai Donner anno 1913 vidit et viros cornipedes propter calceos appellari audivit.

<sup>15</sup> Apud Adamum Bremensem (c. 1075) sunt *Sueonia* (4,15), *Westragothia*, *Ostrogothia* (4,23); apud Saxonem Grammaticum (c. 1200) *Finnia* (5,10,2) et *Phinnia* (1,4,15).

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### De auctore

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### Summarium Latinum

Cornuti Finni, in *Historia Norwegiae* inter gentes nominati, quae trans Norwegiam ab oriente extendebantur, explicationem probabilem non invenerunt, quia *cornu*, unde adiectivum *cornutus* derivatum est, in sensu ‘cornu capitis’ intellectum est, etsi etiam ungulam equi aut bifidam ungulam bovis, apri, cervi, etiam Fauni et Panis significat. Mense Decembri 1913 Kai Donner in Dudinka Avam-Samoiedos convenit, qui propter calceamenta ex pelle tarandri facta, parte anteriore unglulae similia, ‘viri unglulati’ appellabantur. In excerptis ex opere Aristeae Proconnesii, qui c. 625 a.Chr.n. in Asiam septentrionalem-orientalem iter fecit, incolae Sibiriae septentrionalis appellantur *Aigipodes*, homines caprinis pedibus. Primo p.Chr.n. saeculo Pomponius Mela in Sarmatia septentrionali novit *Hippopodes*, homines equinis pedibus. Tria nomina, *cornuti Finni*, *Aigipodes*, *Hippopodes*, originem ex calceamentis trahunt, in frigore arctico necessariis. Photographemata recentia ostendunt huius generis calceamenta adhuc apud Samoiedos Ngasanos et Nenets in usu esse.



Quia gentes quaedam arcticae inde a temporibus antiquissimis cognomen ex calceamentis habebant, quibus factum est, ut animalium unguulorum similes viderentur, necesse est originem nominum *Lappi* et *Finni* considerare, quorum etymologia non constat. Cum Sueticum *labb* < *lapp* originem habeat indogermanicam et in multis linguis pedem animalis quadrupedis significet, nomen *Lapp*, quod Sami peiorativum habent, ad nomina illorum populorum veri similiter pertinet, qui propter calceamenta pedes caprinos aut equinos habere videbantur et, sicut Donner audivit, adhuc anno 1913 ‘viri unguulati’ appellabantur. An *Fenni* / *Finni* ad eundem campum semanticum cum illis coniungi possit, in medio relinquo.

### Summarium Anglicum

*Horned Finns*. The ‘cornuti Finni’ mentioned in the *Historia Norwegiae* have not found their explanation, because the Latin word *cornu*, from which the adjective is derived, has been understood in the strict sense of ‘horn on the head’. The Latin word, however, also means ‘hoof’ of horses or ‘cloven hoof’ of cows and goats, even of the mythologic Faunus and Pan. In December 1913 Kai Donner saw in Dudinka Avam-Samojeds, who because of their cylindrically shaped reindeer winter boots, the front of which was hoof-shaped, were called ‘hoofed men’ (in Finnish ‘kaviolliset miehet’). In the extracts of Aristeeus of Proconnesus, who as early as about 625 B.C travelled in North-Eastern Asia, the *Aigipodes*, men with goats feet, are mentioned as inhabitants of Northern Siberia. In the first century A.D., Pomponius Mela knows *Hippopodes*, men with horse’s feet, in the Northmost Sarmatia. The three names, *cornuti Finni*, *Aigipodes* and *Hippopodes* find their explanation in the reindeer boots, necessary in the arctic climate. Recent photographs of the Ngasani and Nenets Samojed show that this kind of boots are still used.

The fact that some arctic peoples have since ancient times got their nickname from their boots, which made them look like hoofed animals, makes it necessary to reconsider the origin of the names Lapp and Finn, the etymology of which is unclear. As the Swedish *lapp*, earlier form of modern *labb*, is of Indogermanic origin and has in several languages the meaning of the foot of a quadruped animal, it seems that the name Lapp, considered as abusive by the Sami, belongs to the arctic names given to people who because of their boots looked like men with goat’s or horse’s feet and were called, as Donner heard it, ‘hoofed men’. It remains an open question whether the ethnonym *Fenni* / *Finni* may be of similar origin.

### Verba clauicularia

Cornua pedum, calceamenta Samoiedorum, Aigipodes, Hippopodes, etymologia nominis Lappi.

**SKANDINAVIA SETT FRA NÜRNBERG 1493:  
SKILDRINGEN AV DANMARK, SVERIGE OG NORGE  
I HARTMANN SCHEDELS *LIBER CHRONICARUM***

**Espen Karlsen**

**Boken**

I Hartmann Schedels (1440–1514) *Liber chronicarum*, som ble utgitt i Nürnberg i 1493, inngår en kuriøs skildring av Skandinavia. Den utgjør en liten og upåaktet del av en berømt bok i folioformat, en verdenskrønike som mest av alt er kjent som et av den tidlige trykke-kunsts mest ambisiøse prosjekter. Boken inneholder hele 1809 tresnitt som i en del av de bevarte eksemplarene er håndkolorert i trykkerens verksted. Selve boken er mer berømt enn Schedels tekst, og utgjør trykkeren Anton Kobergers (ca. 1440–1513) hovedverk. Den inneholder to kart hvor Skandinavia er med (se illustrasjonene på de neste sidene).<sup>1</sup>

Schedels beskrivelse av Norden inngår altså i en omfattende verdenskrønike fra kristen synsvinkel, en kompilasjon som begynner med skapelsen og slutter med dommedag. Slike kompilasjoner var ikke uvanlige. Grunnleggende for genren i det latinske Europa ble Hieronymus' oversettelse av Eusebios' greskspråklige verdenskrønike (Guenée 1980, 148–154), et mønster Schedel følger (Zahn 1976, 19–20). Fremstillingen ordnes i seks tidsaldre. Den første utgjøres av tiden fra skapelsen til Noah, den annen fra Noah til Abraham, den tredje fra Abraham til David, den fjerde fra David til jødernes babylonske fangenskap og den femte fra den tid til Jesu fødsel. Skildringen av Norden finnes hos Schedel i den sjette tidsalder etter skapelsen, en tidsalder som varer fra Kristi fødsel til dommedag (fol. 282v–283r).

I skildringen av de tre nordiske kongeriker legger Schedel vekten på fremveksten av den nordiske unionen med utgangspunkt i ekteskapet mellom Håkon VI Magnusson av Norge († 1380) og dronning Margrethe, som ble enke, og deres sønn Olav IV Håkonsson († 1387). Ved hans død gikk makten over til Margrethe, og en nordisk union vokste frem. Schedel forteller om hennes adopsjon av Henrik (Heinricus) av Pommern, d.v.s. Erik av Pommern (1382–1459), som han forestiller seg fortsatt kan være i live i 1493: «Henrik sies å leve enda i dag i Pommern (hvor han kom fra), fornøyd med lite. Fordi menneskers skjebne er uviss og fordi menneskene viser seg misunnelige overfor ham som er blitt berøvet tre svært mektige kongeriker, fikk han ikke en gang beholde en liten øy hvor han skjulte seg i ti år, til sin død i høy alder.»<sup>2</sup> De tre kongerikenes historie føres frem til 1465, da Karl Knutsson Bonde måtte fratse den svenske tronen. Her, som i andre deler av verket, fører han ikke historien frem til 1493, da boken kom ut (se Zahn 1976, 28).

Forholdene i Skandinavia er uklare for Schedel. Han skriver blant annet at Sverige er omgitt av hav på alle kanter og består av øyer. Dette gjenspeiles på et kart fra den annen tidsalder i Schedels bok (fol. 12v–13r), hvor Sverige er avbildet som et øyrike. På kartet på fol. 299v–300r er Sverige fremstilt som om det var den vestlige delen av Finland, kun atskilt fra resten av Finland gjennom en fjellkjede.

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<sup>1</sup> Reproduksjonene fra boken er fra et håndkolorert eksemplar Nasjonalbiblioteket erhvervet i desember 2006 (signatur: NB Pal 411). Jeg har lagt til grunn den latinske førsteutgaven fra juli 1493. Koberger trykte også en tysk oversettelse av Georg Alt (c. 1450–1510), med de samme illustrasjoner som i den latinske, i desember 1493. Den er lett tilgjengelig i faksimileutgave av et kolorert eksemplar fra Kobergers verksted (Füssel 2001).

<sup>2</sup> *Heinricus* kan være en paleografisk forvanskning av *Ericus* via *Henricus* (hans slaviske navn var Bogislav).



Illustrasjon 1

Verdenskart fra Schedels bok, førsteutgaven 1493, fol. 12v–13r (se fotnote 1 for detaljer).





### Illustrasjon 2

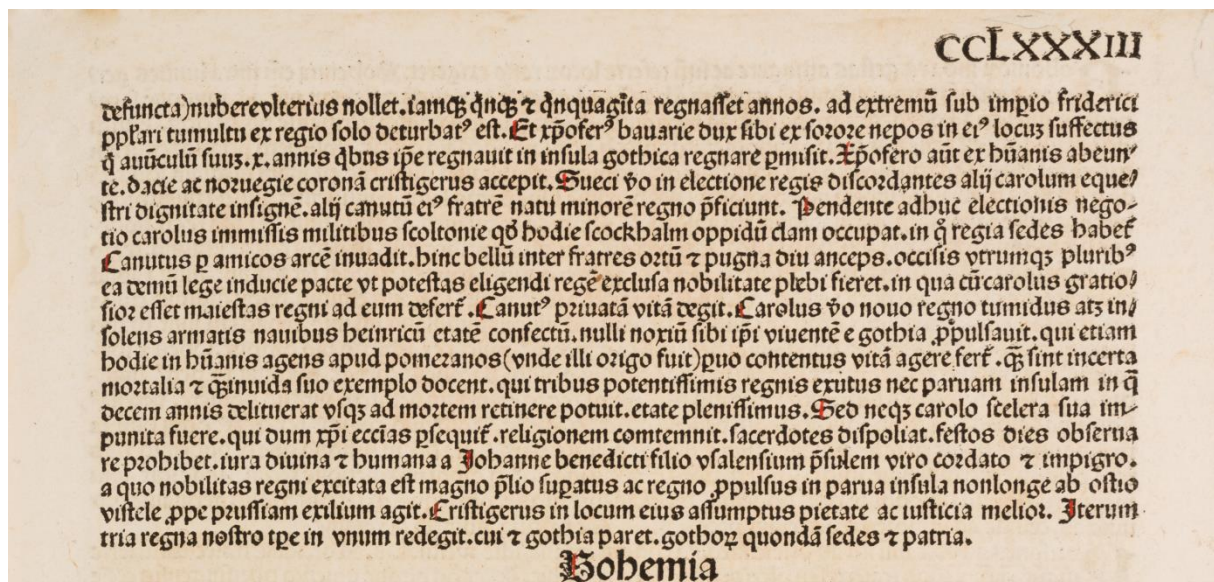
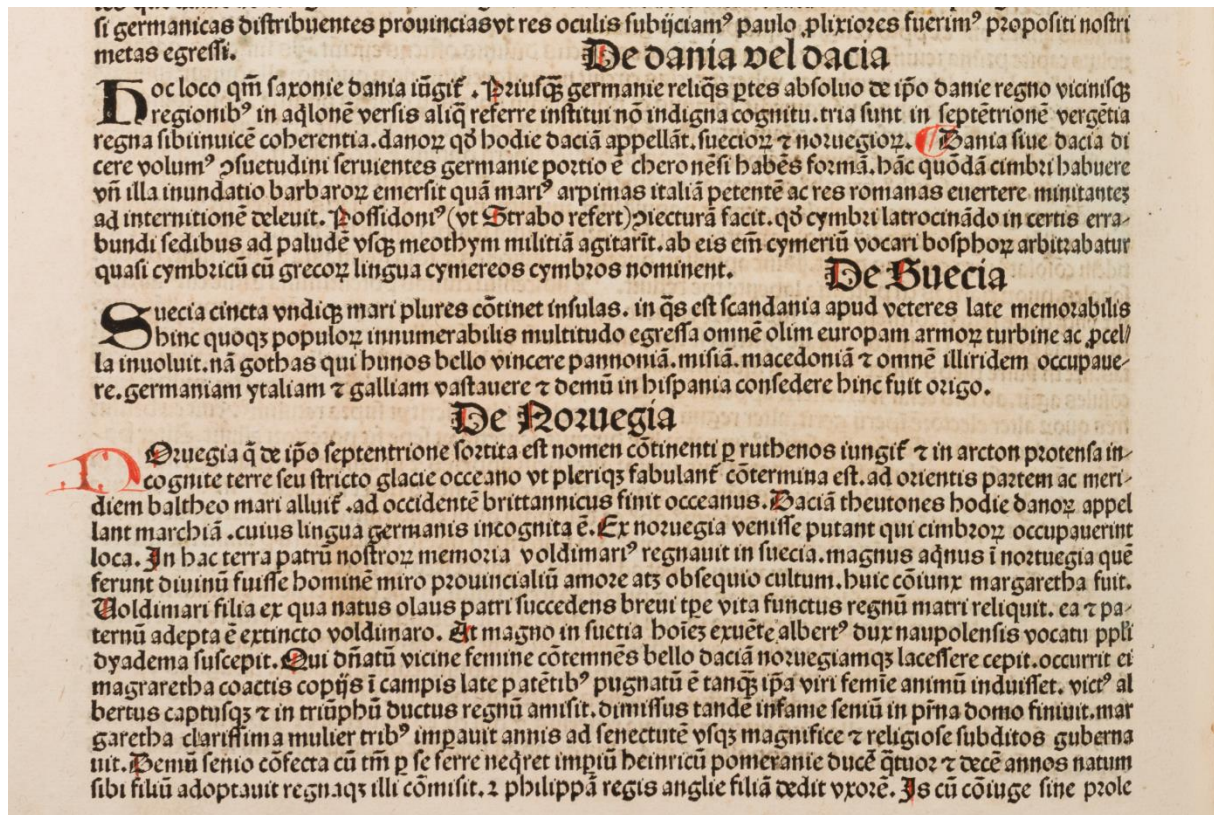
Europakart fra Schedels bok, førsteutgaven 1493, fol. 299v–300r (se fotnote 1 for detaljer).





## Illustrasjon 3

Schedels tekst om Skandinavia. Fra førsteutgaven 1493, fol. 282v–283r (se fotnote 1 for detaljer).





### Teksten

Schedels tekst om Skandinavia er her utgitt på latin og for første gang i norsk oversettelse. Både tekstutgaven og oversettelsen er ved artikkelforfatteren. Verket ble skrevet for å trykkes, og det er muligens første gang Norge er blitt nevnt i en trykt bok. (Jeg ser her bort fra tekster som ble tradert i manuskripter lenge før de ble trykt, stundom i århundrer.) Schedels manuskript som lå til grunn for trykkingen, finnes ennå (Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Cent. II, 98), men jeg har ikke hatt mulighet til å konsultere det. Jeg har beholdt trykkets senmiddelalderlige ortografi. Inkonsistente navneformer har jeg standardisert (avvik fra trykket er registrert i notene til tekstutgaven). Transkripsjonen gjengir ikke originalens tegnsetting og bruk av store bokstaver, som her er modernisert. Ellers benyttes følgende konvensjoner:

< > omslutter tekst som ved feil er utelatt.

{ } omslutter tekst som ved feil er kommet med.

Det er en inkonsistent bruk av navneformer; enkelte bærer preg av å være slurvfeil (som *Magrareth*). Noen få feil har jeg rettet av åpenbare årsaker.

#### *De Dania vel Dacia*

Hoc loco quondam Saxonie Dania iungitur. Priusquam Germanie reliquas partes absoluto de ipso Danie regno vicinisque regionibus in aquilonem uersis, aliqua referre institui non indigna cognitu. Tria sunt in septentrionem vergentia regna sibi inuicem coherentia, Danorum, quod hodie Daciam appellant, Sueciorum et Noruegiorum. Dania, siue «Dacia» dicere volumus consuetudini seruiens, Germanie portio est cheronensi habens formam. Hanc quondam Cimbri habuere, vnde illa inundatio barbarorum emersit, quam Marius Arpimas Italiam petentem ac res Romanas euertere minitantes, ad internitionem deleuit. Posidonius (vt Strabo refert) coniecturam facit, quod Cymbri latrocinando incertis errabundi sedibus ad paludem vsque Meotim militiam agitarint. Ab eis enim Cymerium vocari Bosphorum arbitrabatur quasi Cymbricum, cum Grecorum lingua Cymereos Cymbros nominent.

#### *De Suecia*

Suecia cincta vndique mari plures continet insulas, in quas est Scandania apud veteres late memorabilis. Hinc quoque populorum innumerabilis multitudo omnem olim Europam armorum turbine ac procella inuoluit. Nam Gothas<sup>3</sup>, qui Hunos bello vi{n}cere, Pannoniam, Misiā et omnem Illiridem occupauere, Germaniam, Ytaliā et Galliam vastauere, et demum in Hispania consedere, hinc fuit origo.

#### *De Noruegia*

Noruegia, que de ipso septentrione sortita est nomen, continenti per Ruthenos iungitur et in arcton protensa incognite terre seu stricto gladio oceano, vt plerique fabulantur, contermina est. Ad orientis partem ac meridiem Baltheo mari alluitur; ad occidentem Britannicus finit oceanus. Daciam Theutones hodie Danorum appellant marchiam, cuius lingua Germanis incognita est. Ex Noruegia venisse putant, qui Cimbrorum occupauerint loca.

<sup>3</sup> Man ville forvente dativ, *Gothis*. Formen *gothas* finnes både i den latinske og den tyske versjonen.

In hac terra patrum nostrorum memoria Voldemarius regnavit in Suecia, Magnus Aquinus in Noruegia, quem ferunt diuinum fuisse hominem, miro provincialium amore atque obsequio cultum. Huic coniunx Margaretha fuit, Voldimari filia, ex qua natus Olauus patri succedens breui tempore vita functus regnum matri reliquit. Ea et paternum adeptata est extincto Voldimaro. At Magno in Suetia hominem exuente Albertus dux Naupolensis vocatu populi dyadema suscepit. Qui dominatum vicine femine contemnens bello Daciam Noruegiamque lacessere cepit. Occurrit ei Margaretha<sup>4</sup> coactis copijs. In campis late patentibus pugnatum est, tamquam ipsa viri femine animum induisset. Victus Albertus captusque et in triumphum ductus regnum amisit. Dimissus tandem infame senium in paterna domo finiuit.

Margaretha clarissima mulier tribus imperauit annis, ad senectutem vsque magnifice et religiose subditos gubernauit. Demum senio confecta est. Cum tamen per se ferre nequiret, impium Heinricum, Pomeranie ducem, quattuor et decem annos natum sibi filium adoptauit regnaque illi commisit, et Philippam regis Anglie filiam dedit vxorem. Is, cum coniuge sine prole defuncta nubere vlterius nollet iamque quinque et quinquaginta regnasset annos, ad extremum sub imperio Friderici populari tumultu ex regio solo deturbatus est. Et Christopherus Bauarie dux sibi ex sorore nepos in eius locum suffectus, qui auunculum suum .x. annis, quibus ipse regnavit, in insula Gothica regnare permisit. Christofero autem e humanis abeunte Dacie et Norvegie coronam Cristigerus accepit. Sueci vero in electione regis discordantes alij Carolum equestri dignitate insignem, alij Canutum, eius fratrem natu minorem, regno preficiunt. Pendente adhuc electionis negotio Carolus immisis militibus Scoltonie, quod hodie Scockhalm <vocatur>, oppidum clam occupant, in quo regia sedes habetur. Canutus per amicos arcem inuadit. Hinc bellum inter fratres ortum et pugna diu anceps. Occisis vtrumque pluribus ea demum lege inducie pacte, vt potestas eligendi regem exclusa nobilitate plebi fieret, in qua, cum Carolus gratior esset, maiestas regni ad eum defertur. Canutus privatam vitam degit.

Carolus vero nouo regno tumidus atque insolens armatis nauibus Heinricum etate{m} confectum, nulli noxium sibi ipsi viuentem, e Gothia propulsauit. Qui etiam hodie in humanis agens apud Pomeranos (vnde illi origo fuit) paruo contentus vitam agere fertur. Quia sint incerta mortalia et quia inuida suo exemplo docent, qui tribus potentissimis regnis exutus nec paruam insulam, in qua decem annis delituerat, vsque ad mortem retinere potuit, etate plenissimus. Sed neque Carolo scelera sua impunita fuere. Qui, dum Christi ecclesias persequitur, religionem contemnit, sacerdotes dispoliat, festos dies obseruare prohibet. Iure diuino et humano<sup>5</sup> a Johanne Benedicti filio V<p>salensium presule{m} viro cordato et impigro, a quo nobilitas regni excitata est, magno prelio superatus ac regno propulsus. In parua insula non longe ab ostio Vistele prope Prussiam exilium agit.

Cristigerus in locum eius assumptus, pietate ac iusticia melior. Iterum tria regna nostro tempore in vnum redegit, cui et Gothia paret, Gothorum quondam sedes et patria.

<sup>4</sup> Margaretha e Magraretha correxi.

<sup>5</sup> Iure diuino et humano e Iura diuina et humana correxi.

**Om Danmark**

På dette sted<sup>6</sup> var Danmark<sup>7</sup> en gang forbundet med Sachsen. Før jeg fullfører om de øvrige deler av Germania, vil jeg gjengi noen ting som det er verdt å vite om selve kongedømmet Danmark og de nærliggende områder som vender mot nord. Det finnes tre kongedømmer som vender mot nord og som hører sammen: danenes, som man i dag kaller Dacia,<sup>8</sup> svenskenes og nordmennenes. Dania, eller om vi vil si Dacia i samsvar med det som er vanlig,<sup>9</sup> er en del av Germania og er formet som en halvøy. Denne delen<sup>10</sup> ble en gang behersket av kimbrenne, og herfra hadde den flom av barbarer sitt utspring som Marius<sup>11</sup> fra Arpinum tilintetgjorde fullstendig, mens de var underveis mot Italia og truet med å omstyrte den romerske stat. Poseidonius formoder, slik Strabon<sup>12</sup> forteller, at kimbrenne flakket omkring og plyndret uten faste bopæler og førte sin hær helt til den maeotiske sump.<sup>13</sup> Poseidonios og Strabon mener at Bosphorus kalles kimerisk i betydningen kimbrisk, ettersom man kaller kimbrenne for kymereér på grekernes språk.<sup>14</sup>

**Om Sverige**

Sverige, som på alle kanter er omgitt av hav,<sup>15</sup> omfatter mange øyer, blant dem Scandania, som er viden kjent hos gamle forfattere. Herfra utvandret en utallig mengde av folkeslag og viklet en gang hele Europa inn i en virvelvind og en storm av våpen. For herfra var opprinnelsen for goterne som overvant hunnerne i krig, erobret Pannonia, Misia,<sup>16</sup> Makedonia og Illyria, og som herjet Germania, Italia og Gallia og omsider bosatte seg i Hispania.

**Om Norge**

Norge, som har fått navn fra nord, henger sammen med fastlandet gjennom Russland.<sup>17</sup> Det strekker seg mot nord og grenser mot ukjent land eller isbelagt hav, slik enkelte forteller eventyrlige beretninger om. Mot den østlige del og mot syd skyller det baltiske hav; mot vest grenser det britiske hav. Teutonerne<sup>18</sup> kaller i dag Dacia for danenes mark.<sup>19</sup> Språket

<sup>6</sup> Welsnach.

<sup>7</sup> På latin *Dania*, som Schedel benytter i tillegg til Dacia, som han mener er det vanlige navnet på landet.

<sup>8</sup> Opprinnelig navnet på en romersk provins som omfattet omtrent det nåværende Romania. I middelalderen ble Dacia særlig benyttet om Danmark.

<sup>9</sup> Dacia var romernes navn på det området som er det nåværende Romania. I middelalderen ble det ofte benyttet om Dania (Danmark).

<sup>10</sup> Danmark.

<sup>11</sup> Romersk statsmann (ca. 157–86 f. Kr.) som beseiret teutonerne i Aix-en-Provence i 102 og kimbrenne ved Vercellae (nær det nåværende Rovigo i Nord-Italia i 101 f. Kr.).

<sup>12</sup> Gresk geograf (født ca. 64 f. Kr., død etter 21. e. Kr.). Hans hovedverk *Geographia* i sytten bøker er en hovedkilde til antikk geografi. Han kjente filosofen og vitenskapsmannen Poseidonius (ca. 135–51 f. Kr.) personlig og benyttet hans skrifter.

<sup>13</sup> I antikken en betegnelse på Det asovske hav, en del av Svartehavet. Senere betegner det ofte hele Svartehavet.

<sup>14</sup> Schedel refererer til en passasje hos Strabon (*Geographia* 7, 2, 2).

<sup>15</sup> På et kart i Schedels bok er Sverige avbildet som en øy (se fol. 12v–13r; reproduisert på s. 234).

<sup>16</sup> D.v.s. Moesia, i romersk tid betegnelsen på et landområde syd for Donau (i Bulgaria og Serbia).

<sup>17</sup> Se kartet bakerst i Schedels bok, fol. 299v–300r (gjengitt på s. 235).

<sup>18</sup> I antikken en germansk stamme.

<sup>19</sup> *Marchia*, egentlig markgrevskap.

der er ukjent for germanerne.<sup>20</sup> Man tror at de som besatte kimbrernes områder, kom fra Norge.

I dette landområde<sup>21</sup> regjerte ifølge våre fedres erindring Valdemar i Sverige<sup>22</sup> og Magnus Håkonsson<sup>23</sup> i Norge, som man forteller var en hellig mann som var dyrket med forunderlig hengivenhet og lydighet av provinsbeboerne. Margrethe, Valdemars datter, var Magnus' ektefelle. Av henne ble Olav født, som etterfulgte faren og etter kort tid forlot livet og etterlot kongedømmet til moren.<sup>24</sup> Hun fikk også farens kongedømme etter Valdemars død. Men i det Magnus i Sverige avla den menneskelige skikkelse,<sup>25</sup> tok Albert, hertug av Naupolis,<sup>26</sup> opp diademmet på folkets oppfordring. Han foraktet nabokvinnens herredømme og angrep Norge og Sverige med krig. Margrethe samlet tropper og gikk i mot ham. Det ble kjempet på vidt åpne sletter, som om hun selv hadde ikledd en kvinne en manns mot. Albert, som ble beseiret, fanget og ført i triumf, mistet kongedømmet. Han ble omsider satt fri og endte sin vanærede alderdom i sitt fedrene hjem.

Den berømte Margrethe hersket i tre år og styrte undersåttene storartet og fromt frem til hun nådde høy alder. Omsider ble hun meget gammel. Ettersom hun ikke klarte å styre alene, adopterte hun som sønn den ugudelige Henrik, hertug av Pommern, som var fjorten år gammel. Hun betrodde kongedømmet til ham og gav ham Philippa, kongen av Englands datter, til hustru. Da Henrik ikke ville gifte seg igjen etter at ektefellen døde uten avkom og han hadde styrt i 55 år, ble han til sist i Fredriks regjeringstid<sup>27</sup> fordrevet fra kongedømmet ved en folkereisning. Og Christoffer, hertug av Bayern,<sup>28</sup> som var hans nevø gjennom søsteren og som ble valgt i hans sted, tillot onkelen å regjere på den gotiske øy<sup>29</sup> i de ti årene han selv regjerte. Men da Christoffer forlot menneskelivet, mottok Christian<sup>30</sup> Danmarks og Norges trone. Svenskene på sin side var uenige i valget av konge. Noen satte Karl,<sup>31</sup> en utmerket mann av ridderstand, i spissen for kongedømmet; andre Knut, hans yngre bror. Mens valgforhandlingene fortsatt pågikk, sendte Karl inn soldater og okkuperte i hemmelighet byen Scoltonia, i dag Stockholm, hvor det kongelige sete befinner seg. Knut erobret festningen ved hjelp av venner. Av dette fulgte

<sup>20</sup> Det er uklart for meg om betegnelsene germanere og teutoner er synonyme hos Schedel.

<sup>21</sup> Her menes samtlige tre skandinaviske kongedømmer.

<sup>22</sup> *Suecia* er her en lapsus for *Dacia* eller *Dania*, d.v.s. Danmark. Valdemar Atterdag var konge av Danmark 1340–1375 og var Margrethes far.

<sup>23</sup> Latin: *Magnus Haquinus*.

<sup>24</sup> Olav IV, konge av Norge 1380–1387 og av Danmark 1376–1387.

<sup>25</sup> Det vil si at han døde.

<sup>26</sup> *Albertus dux Naupolensis* er ellers kjent som *Albertus dux Magnopolensis*, d.v.s. Albrecht, hertug av Mecklenburg. Jeg har ikke funnet andre belegg på stedsnavnadjektivet *Naupolensis*, som kanskje kan skyldes en skrivefeil i Schedels forelegg. Han var konge av Sverige 1363–1389 (Albrekt III).

<sup>27</sup> Schedel mener kanskje den tysk-romerske keiser Fredrik III, som regjerte i tiden 1452–1493 (som konge fra 1440). Han døde den 19. august 1493, en drøy måned etter at trykningen av Schedels latinske krønike var fullført (12. juli ifølge kolofonen).

<sup>28</sup> Christoffer av Bayern, dansk konge 1440–1448; svensk konge 1441–1448; norsk konge 1442–1448.

<sup>29</sup> D.v.s. Gotland.

<sup>30</sup> Christian I (1426–1481; konge av Danmark og Norge fra 1448; konge av Sverige 1457–1464). Hos Schedel heter han *Christigerus*, som kanskje er en latinisering av *Christiern*, som han ofte ble kalt.

<sup>31</sup> Karl Knutsson Bonde, konge av Sverige 1448–1457, 1464–1465 og 1467–1470.

*krig mellom brødrene og en kamp som lenge var uavgjort. Etter at mange var drept på begge sider, ble det omsider oppnådd våpenstillstand med en lov om at retten til å velge konge skulle tilfalle folket, mens adelstanden var utelukket. Ved denne retten ble kongerikets myndighet overført til Karl, ettersom han var mer avholdt. Knut tilbragte livet som privatmann.*

*Men Karl, som var innbilsk og overmodig på grunn av sitt nye kongedømme, fordrev Henrik, som var svekket av alderen og ufarlig for Karl, fra Gotland. Henrik sies å leve enda i dag i Pommern (hvor han kom fra), fornøyd med lite. Fordi menneskers skjebne er uviss og fordi menneskene viser seg misunnelige overfor ham som er blitt berøvet tre svært mektige kongeriker, fikk han ikke en gang beholde liten øy hvor han skjulte seg i ti år, til sin død i høy alder. Men Karls forbrytelser forble ikke ustraffede. Mens han forfulgte kirkene, foraktet han gudsdyrkelsen, utplyndret prestene og forbød å overholde de kirkelige høytidsdagene. Ved guddommelig og menneskelig rett ble Karl beseiret i et stort slag av den kloke og energiske erkebiskop Johannes Benedicti<sup>32</sup> av Uppsala og fordrevet fra kongedømmet. På en liten øy ikke langt fra Vistelas<sup>33</sup> munning nær Preussen lever han i eksil.*

*Christian, som var frommere og mer rettferdig, ble opphøyet i hans sted. Han forente igjen i vår tid de tre kongedømmer til ett. Til dette kongedømmet hører også Gotland, som en gang var goternes hjemsted og fedreland.<sup>34</sup>*

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<sup>32</sup> D.v.s. Jöns Bengtsson Oxenstierna, erkebiskop 1448–1467. Karl Knutsson Bonde måtte fratruke tronen i januar 1465 i Stockholm.

<sup>33</sup> Dagens Vistula.

<sup>34</sup> Schedel beskriver her Kalmarunionen (1389–1523) som en positiv tilstand av enhet og fred.



**Om forfatteren**

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**Latinsk sammendrag**

*De Scandinavia ex Norimberga anno 1493 conspecta: De descriptione Daniae, Suetiae et Norvegiae in Hartmanni Schedel Libro chronicarum.* Hac symbolā editio praebetur, quā includitur versio Norvegica illius partis ex Hartmanni Schedel *Libro chronicarum* (anno 1493 Norimbergae ab Antonio Koberger impresso) depromptae, quā agitur de Scandinavia. Textui atque versionī adiunctae sunt duae tabulae geographicae reproductae, quae in *Libro chronicarum* inveniuntur, et isographia illius partis de Scandinavia. Versioni autem subiunctae sunt adnotationes explicatoriae.

**Engelsk sammendrag**

*Scandinavia seen from Nürnberg 1493: The depiction of Denmark, Sweden and Norway in the Liber chronicarum by Hartmann Schedel.* The present paper provides an edition with facing translation into Norwegian of the passage on Scandinavia in Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum*, printed by Anton Koberger at Nuremberg in 1493. The text and translation is accompanied by reproductions of two maps included in the *Liber chronicarum* and a facsimile of the passage on Scandinavia. To the translation are added elucidating notes.

**Nøkkelord**

Senmiddelalder, renessanse, inkunabel, tekstutgave, latin, krøniker, Nürnberg, Skandinavia, Norge, Kalmarunionen, kart, bokhistorie.

**OASSI SÁMI NOAIDEVUODA BIRRA KASPAR PEUCERA ČÁLLOSIS  
COMMENTARIUS DE PRAECIPIIS DIVINATIONUM GENERIBUS  
(WITTENBERG 1560): TEAKSTAKRITIKKALAŠ HÁMIS  
JORGALUSAIN JA KOMMENTÁRAIGUIN <sup>1</sup>**

**Per Pippin Aspaas ja Harald Gaski**

**Kaspar Peucer ja su teomanti-doaba**

Jagis 1550 almmuhuvvui Wittenbergas girji man namma lei *Commentarius de praecipuis divinationum generibus*, dahje «Čilgehus deháleamus einnostangoansttain». Ii lean mihkkege sahtedohko čálliid ge. Casparus Peucerus (Kaspar Peucer) náitalii seammá jagi Philipp Melanchthona nieiddain, Melanchthon lei njunuš láidesteadji reformašuvnnas. Go vuosttašalmmuhus bodii, lei Peucer 25-jahkásaš ja lei jo Wittenbergga universitehtas álggahan iežas bargguid. Eai dáidán deaddilan nu ollu girjjiid vuosttas geardde; dál ii vissa leat oktage gáhppálat almmolaš oamastusas. *Commentarius* dattege deaivvai áiggi vuoiŋŋa. Guhttalogi jagis bohte velá logi veršuvnna, gávccii latiinnagillii ja guokte fránskkagillii (vrd. tabealla).<sup>2</sup> Mánŋga suorggis allaoahppan Kaspar Peucer čálii mánŋga girjji, ee. medisiinna, astrologiija, geografiija ja teologiija birra, ja son lei dehálaš girkoodasteaddji ja diplomáhta. Go son jámii 1602:s, de lei maŋŋidis renessansahumanisemma beakkáneamus olbmuid gaskkas. Dan maid olusat eai dieđe, lea ahte Peucera luonddufilosofalaš váldobarggus *Commentarius de praecipuis divinationum generibus* lea viehka vuđolaš sámi noaidevuoda čilgehus. Dát oassi lea kapihttalis man váldosisdoallu lea teomantiija, dahje «innostangoansttat maid ipmilat leat addán». *Commentarius* boarráseamus veršuvnnas mii munnos leamaš, almmuhuvvon 1553:s, eai leat sápmelaččat namuhuvvon ovttain ge sániin. Muhto buot almmuhemiin 1560 rájes ovddosguvlui leat sápmelaččaid einnostangoansttat mielde. Munno ulbmil dáinna artihkkaliin lea ovdanbuktit originála teakstakritikkalaš hámis, jorgalemiiguin ja kommentáraiguin mat belohakkii čujuhit olu guhkkeliidda go dat áigodat goas Peucera *Commentarius* čállojuvvui.

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<sup>1</sup> Dát artihkal bodii áigái dainna lágiin ahte go Ivar Bjørklund ja Harald Gaski leigga ođđasit almmuheamen Anders Larsena girjji *Mearrasámiid birra ja eará čállosat*, de fuomašeidde ahte mearkkašupmi maid J. K. Qvigstad lei dahkan Larsena noaidi muitalusa hárrái čujuhusain Peucer čállosii, lei gávdnamis dušše latiinnagillii. Soai oaččuiga Synnøve des Bouvrie jorgalit dan dárogillii, nu ahte Larsena dárogiel veršuvnnas *Om sjøsamene*-čállosis lea olles nohta lohkan láhkai earáide ge go dušše sidjiide geat máhttet latiinnagiela. Synnøve lei gis bealistis bivdán Piera (Per Pippin Aspaas), gii lea ođđalatinista, gávdnat dieđuid Peucera birra. Dat dieđut maid gávnnai movttáskuhtte Piera bargat viidásebbo áššiin ja loahpalaččat Piera ja Harald mearrideigga ahte dás lea vuogas vuoddu čálistit artihkkala Synnøve riepmočállosii. Ja nu dat geavai; Piera oassi lea Peucer ja su áiggi birra ja Harald gis čállá moadde sámi gáldu birra mat giehtadallet sullasaš áššiid go maid Peucer namaha. Čálliguovttes leaba jorgalan olles Peucera sitáhta ođđasit sámegeillii juste dán artihkkala várás.

<sup>2</sup> Tuisikka našunalbibliografijas 1501–1600 áigodagas namahuvvojit guhtta latiinna almmuhusa, mas 1553-deattus lea boarráseamos (*Verzeichniss der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* online, suoidnemánu 5.b. 2014). Martin Roebel oaivvilda almmá ahte sáhtá duodaštit dan, ahte lea ilbman vuosttas deattus mottiin girjjiin jo 1550:s, ja ahte dan maŋŋil lea almmuhuvvon oktiibuot gávccii geardde latiinnagillii (2012, 17–18, 260–266). Dehálepmosat orrot leamen dat mat ilbme 1553, 1560, 1591 ja 1593, lassii fránskka veršuvdna 1584 rájes. Munnos leamaš sadjosis buot dát girjjit, ja dasa lassii vel latiinna gillii ilbman girjjit jagiid 1572 ja 1580.

Peucera mielas lea olles čállois dehálaš earuhit Ipmila daguid Beargalaga daguin. Teomantijakapihtal čuovvu kapihtala orakeliid birra. Lea nu ahte gávdnojit duohta, «lunddolaš» profetastallamat mat bohtet Ipmilis, muhto maŋŋil sudduijorralemi lea Beargalat seaguhan dasa iežas behtolaš profetastallamiid. Teomantija lea ollásit Beargalaga dahku, čilge Peucer. Mat de leat dát «einnostangoansttat maid ipmilat leat addán» (Θεομαντεία, *theomanteia*)? Peucera áddejumis leat golbma šlája. Vuosttaš, ja man lea álkimus čilget, lea go olbmot leat bosttahuvvan, *obsessi*. Demona dahje bahás vuoigŋa manná sin sisa, ja sii seahkanit ja hállet ilmiiid almmiid. Nuppi šlája teomantija leat máŋga kulturálbmoga, nugo dološ greikkalaččat ja romalaččat, atnán alla árvvus. Peucer jurddaša dás daid einnostemiid maid earret eará Delfi orakel ja Roma sibyllat dahke. Ledje erenoamážit nissonat geat ovdanbukte dáid einnostemiid. Peucer čállá ollu daid birra, navdimis danin go renessansaáiggi olbmot lohke klassihkalaš girjjid odđa berostumiin, ja sii atne greikka-romalaš antihka kultuvrra alla árvvus. Danin lei Peucerii dehálaš iežas lohkkiiide čájehit ahte buot lei duođaid Beargalaga dahku. Dát olbmot ledje namalassii *afflati*, «ožžon vuoigŋa(nasa)», Beargalagas ja su Demonain. Goalmmát šládja teomantija dahke olbmot geaid son gohčodii namahusain *ekstatikoi*, «iežaset bálddas, lihkahusain» (ἐκστατικοί):

*Ekstatikoi*–namahusain gohčoduvvojit sii geat leat dego alddiset eret dolvojuvvon ja veallájit das dego jábmit, geat eai dovdda maidige dahje sáhte hállat. Máŋgga beaivvi geažes sii boktojuvvojit dego čiekŋalis nahkáriin, dahje vižžojuvvojit ruovttoluotta eallimii jápmimis, ja go váhkkasit, de mitalit máidnasiid ja imašlaš dáhpáhusaid. (Peucer 1560, 136recto)<sup>3</sup>

Sápmelaččaid noaidevuoda biddjojuvvo dán goalmmát teomantija-šládji. 1553-girjjis, mas ii leat mihkkige sápmelaččaid birra, viežžá Peucer ovdamearkkaid aivve Biibbalis ja greikka-romalaš antihkaáiggi girječállin go galgá čilget teomantija «lihkahus»-šlája. 1560-girjjis lea miellagiddevaš oaidnit mo Peucer buktá odđa ovdamearkkaid dalá áiggi Eurohpas. Son álggaha gal dán viiddideami antihkaáiggiin, namalassii Herodota čilgehusain neurinalaš «olmmošgumppiin». Neurelaččat, *Neuroi*, lei álbmot mat orro davábealde skythalaččaid. Herodot illá jáhkestuvai olmmošgumpemuitalusaid maid lei gullan, muhto geardduha daid dattege. Peucer orru eambo jáhkkimin daidda go Herodot; son oainnat gávdná doarjaga dieđuin mat bohtet Livonias (Baltikumas, nappo Skythia davábealde), gos Beargalaga olmmošgumpedoibma vissa lei ain eallimin. Dát olmmošgumppet ge lea muhtin lágán *ekstatikoi*, árvvoštallá Peucer: olmmošgumppiid gorodat báhcet dego jábmit dan botta go Beargalat bágge johtui sin geat leat «lihkahusain». Go de fas váhkkasit, de mitalit hirpmus mitalusaid dan birra masa leat bággehalla mielde.

Maŋŋil Livonia olmmošgumppiid čuovvu oassi sápmelaččaid birra. Sii nappo maiddái lávejit šaddat «ekstasii», lihkahusaide. Peucer dahká čielggasin ahte ovdamearkkat livonalaččain (*Neuroi*) ja sápmelaččain (*Pilappi*) leat áibbas buhtalasat. Mii guođdit dás eret su teologalaš-medišinnalaš čilgehusa das mii gorudis dáhpáhuvá lihkahusain.<sup>4</sup> Antropologalaš dieđuide gal sáhtta bisánastit. Dás vuollelis čuovvu olles oassi sápmelaččaid birra latiinna- ja sámegillii, ja dasto muhtin gáldokritihkalaš gažaldagat main árvvoštalle das ahte orrot go Peucera sápmelaččat «lihkahusain» leamen seammálágánat go maŋŋelis árbevirolaš mitalusat sámi noaidevuoda birra.

<sup>3</sup> Originálas: «Ἐκστατικοί (1591-deattus; 1560-almuhusas lea boasttu aksenta) uocantur, qui uelut rapti extra sese sensuque omni & motu priuati, iacent exanimis similes, exactisque aliquot diebus ceu ex profundissimo expergefati somno, aut à morte reuocati in uitam, redeunt ad sese, & miras fabulas, mira commenta recitant.»

1593-almuhusas lea sátničilgehus greikka doahpagii, *mente alienati*, «amasmuvvan mielas». Visot jorgalemiid letne ieža dahkan.

<sup>4</sup> Geahča baicce Freyburger 1988, II girji, 251–278.

**TABEALLA Kaspar Peucera *Commentatio*-girjjit maid letne atnán, oktan siidočujuhusaiguin**

<i>Jahki</i>	<i>Teomanti-kap.</i>	<i>Sáme-oassi (prent.)</i>	<i>Sáme-oassi (e-girjji PDF)</i>
1553	104r – 116v	---	---
1560	122v – 146r	142r – 144v	288 – 292
1572	112r – 135r	131v – 133r	301 – 304
1580	112r – 135r	131r – 144v	339 – 341
1584	172 – 205	200 – 202	215 – 217
1591	155v – 174v	171v – 172v	376 – 378
1593	254 – 286	281 – 283	320 – 322

**Gáldogirji**

Moai ean leat rievddan sátnortnega/ sániid sisdoalu dain girjjiin mat leat dán bargui adnon (A=Wittenberg 1560, B=Wittenberg 1572, C=Wittenberg 1580, D=Zerbst 1591, E=Frankfurt 1593). Muhto leat ollu erohusat mearkabidjamis, oanádusain, *v* ja *u*, *i* ja *j* ja velá stuorra ja smávva bustávain. Doaimmaheami dáfus letne ferten mearridit dáid erohusaid dáfus ja ráhkadit logahahtti teavstta. Ean leat fillehallan heivehit teakstagova ollásit dan vuohkái mii lea odđaaigásaš oahppogirjeteavsttain. Letne jávkadan sierra hámiid nugo *seq*; *seque* sajis, *utātur utantur* sajis ja *defoβis defoβis* sajis. Muhto letne doalahan & *et* sajis, *quæ quæ* sajis ja *ijs iis* sajis. Sierra girjjit atnet aksenttaid mángga láhkái merket advearbbaid, ja earuhit konjunkšuvnnaid ja eará sátneluohkáid. Munno čállois leat dat dál ovttalágánat. Dan dihtii gávdnojit čállinhámit *cūm* (konjunkšuvdna) ja *cum* (preposišuvdna), *quòd* (konjunkšuvdna) ja *quod* (relatiivapronomen) jna. Doaivumis dát lea dahkan teavstta ollásit logahahttin eanaš filologaide geat máhttet latiinnagiela, muhto dattege eai leat buot barohkka iešvuodát jávkaduvvon. Mearkabidjama dáfus lea eanaš háviid čuvvojuvvon 1560-girji. Dušše soames sajjiin leat erohusat čielggaduvvon sierra girjjiid mearkabidjamis.

Nec miremur has Diaboli<sup>5</sup> præstigiās & machinationes, cūm tetriora multò & quæ minus uero consona uidentur, exercent & perficiat in extremo Septentrione, ubi homines hactenus cultui Dæmonum<sup>6</sup> dediti fuerunt. Inter reliquas enim illius ultimæ oræ gentes, Pilappij extremam Scandinaviæ peninsulæ partem ad<sup>7</sup> mare glaciale inhabitant. Hi nec agros colunt, nec ullum animal alunt præter Tarandum, quo utuntur pro iumento tempore hyemis,<sup>8</sup> quando congelatæ aquæ constiterunt & omnia obriguerunt frigoribus. Viuunt ex uenatione & piscatione, & coluerunt hactenus pro Dijs<sup>9</sup> ligna & lapides. Ituri uenatum aut piscatum, aut aliud aliquid incepturi,<sup>10</sup> præmissis quibusdam adiurationibus suos Deos,<sup>11</sup> quos consulunt, tentant loco mouere. Hi si facilè sequantur, annuunt<sup>12</sup> instituto & successum promittunt: si renitantur, successus negant: si omnino moueri se loco non patiantur, offensos sese ostendunt. Tales ergo sacrificio placandos existimant, quod in hunc modum instituunt. Tympanum habent æneum, in quo depicta sunt ea quadrupedum, auium, & piscium genera, quæ ipsis non est difficile consequi. Habent & ranam æneam, ferreæ

<sup>5</sup> Diaboli **BCDE** diaboli **A**

<sup>6</sup> Dæmonum **BCDE** dæmonum **A**

<sup>7</sup> partem ad **AB** partem, ad **CDE**

<sup>8</sup> hyemis **ABC** hiemis **DE**

<sup>9</sup> Dijs **BC** dijs *vel* diis **ADE**

<sup>10</sup> incepturi **ABC** incepturi **DE**

<sup>11</sup> Deos **BC** deos **ADE**

<sup>12</sup> annuunt **ABDE** annunt **C**

perticæ annexam, quam in medium Tympani<sup>13</sup> ad perpendiculum defigunt. Postea, adiurationibus editis, pulsant Tympanum,<sup>14</sup> ad cuius sonitum desilit rana in depictorum animalium aliquod. Illud animal, cuius effigiem petijt rana, mactant Dijs.<sup>15</sup> Caput suspendunt ab arbore, quam sacram habent: Reliqua coquunt &, amicis adhibitis, consumunt, seque illo omnes perfundunt iure, cum quo hostia decocta est. Talibus peractis sacris, succedere quæ moliantur & parant, experimento sese<sup>16</sup> didicisse aiunt.

Si quis peregrinus cupiat de suorum conditione certi quid cognoscere, præstant ut intra uiginti quatuor horarum spacium resciscat, quid cum illis agatur, uel si trecentis miliaribus absint, hoc modo. Incantator, postquam usitatis ceremonijs euocatos Deos<sup>17</sup> suos compellauit, subito collabatur & exanimatur, quasi extincto illo reuera abscedat à corpore anima. Neque enim aut spiritus in eo reliquus esse, aut restare cum uita sensus aliquis & motus uidetur. Sed ut adsint semper aliqui oportet, qui proiectum & exanime corpus custodiant, quod cum non fit, Dæmones<sup>18</sup> id abripiunt. Horis uiginti quatuor elapsis, reuertente spiritu ceu è profundo somno, cum gemitu expurgiscitur exanime corpus, quasi reuocetur in uitam ex morte qui conciderat. Postea, sic restitutus, ad interrogata respondet, & ut fidem faciat percontatori, recenset aliquid, quod agnoscat ille & certò sciat in ædibus suis aut cognatorum fuisse.

Ingens apud eosdem est numerus & ingens potentia spectrorum, quæ uersantur, conuiuantur, & colloquuntur cum ipsis, neque arceri aut abigi ulla ratione queunt. Cumque præcipuè terreantur & exagitentur à Manibus<sup>19</sup> cognatorum post mortem, ne id fiat prohibent cadaueribus defossis & sepultis sub foco. Hac medicina sola contra Dæmonum sese uexationes & terriculamenta muniunt ac tutos præstant. Id enim si faciant, nullæ in posterum illorum umbræ comparent amplius: si negligant, obuersantium perpetuò cognatorum umbris turbantur & infestantur. Hoc tempore minus est ibi incantationum quàm fuit antea, quòd Sueciæ Rex ne ijs amplius utantur seuerissimè prohibuit, & quantum potest curat eos de religione nostra rectè erudiri, quamuis hoc sit difficile, cum certas non habeant sedes, sed uagentur in syluis. Regiones quas incolunt palustres sunt, nec nisi hyberno tempore peruiæ, quando omnia congelantur. Pastores ex<sup>20</sup> Finlandia, Nortbotnia, Angermania, Midelpadia, Helsingia, & uicinis regionibus hyeme ad eos accedunt, & quos adipiscuntur docent orare ac mediocriter institutos baptisant.<sup>21</sup> Dicunt quòd si prouectiores<sup>22</sup> ætate Baptismum<sup>23</sup> suscipiant, ij communiter intra septimum aut octauum diem à Baptismo moriantur, idque præcipuè admirabile est. Hæc ex narrationibus hominum dignissimorum fide recitauit, ut cum hæc consideramus, exsuscitemus<sup>24</sup> nos ad ardentius & uigilantius studium cauendi insidias Diaboli,<sup>25</sup> & ad precandum ardentius, ut Filius Dei, qui missus est ut destruat opera Diaboli, regat & seruet nos, nec sinat ab ipso auulsos in Diaboli potestatem redigi.

<sup>13</sup> Tympani **ABC** tympani **DE**

<sup>14</sup> Tympanum **ABC** tympanum **DE**

<sup>15</sup> Dijs **BC** dijs *vel* diis **ADE**

<sup>16</sup> sese **ABC** se **DE**

<sup>17</sup> Deos **ABCD** deos **E**

<sup>18</sup> Dæmones **BCDE** dæmones **A**

<sup>19</sup> Manibus **BCD** manibus **AE**

<sup>20</sup> Pastores ex **AB** Pastores, ex **CDE**

<sup>21</sup> baptisant **ACD** baptissant **BE**

<sup>22</sup> prouectiores **AB** profectiores **CD**

<sup>23</sup> Baptismum **BCDE** baptismum **A**

<sup>24</sup> exsuscitemus **B** exuscitemus **ACDE**

<sup>25</sup> Diaboli **BCDE** diaboli **A**



*Mii eat berre imaštit dáid Beargalaga fillehusaid ja bahádaguid, go son hutká ja dahká daguid mat orrot ollu gábboseabbu ja vel guhkkelis duohtavuodas doppe gáidoseamus Davvin, gos olbmot dássázii leat bálvalan bahás vuoiñjaid, demonaid. Daid álbmogiid gaskkas dán guovllus ásset pilappat buot gáidoseamus oasis skandinavialaš njárggas, gitta badjin Jieknjamearragáttis. Sii eai gilvve eatnamiid eai ge ane omiid earret bohccuid, maid sii atnet heargin dálvit, go jikñon čázadagat leat jaskadat ja buot lea galmihuvvon buollašis. Sii ellet fuođđo- ja guollebivddus, ja leat dássázii bálvalan muorrabihtáid ja geđggiid ipmilin. Go vulget bivdui dahje man ge eará doibmii, sii celket muhtin mánemiid ja de geahččalit sirdit daid ipmiliid main jerret ráđi. Jos dát čuovvulit váttisvuodaid haga, de leat doarjumin daguid ja lohpidit ahte manná bures; jos illá lihkkasit, de dadjet ahte dát ii mana bures; jos eai dáhto álgage sirdásit sajistaset, de dovddahit ahte leat eddon. Sii navdet ahte dákkár eddon ipmila berre movttedahttit oaffariin, ja dan dahket dán láhkái. Sis lea veaikerumbu masa leat sárgojuvvon dakkár eallit, lottit ja guollešlájat maid lea álki fidnet. Dasto lea veaiekuoppu mii lea giddejuvvon ruovdestággui. Dán ceggejit gaskku rumbbu. De, go leat cealkán mánemiid, derpet rumbbu. Rumbbu jienas cuoppu njuike muhtin govviduvvon ealiba ala. Dan ealiba man cuoppu ohcá govvádusain, sii oaffaruššet ipmiliidda. Oaivvi heanngastit murrii man navdet bassin, goruda vuššet ja borret bovdejuvvon ustibiid searvvis, seammás go buohkat leikot iežaset ala dan liema mas ealit lea vuššojuvvon. Sii čuoččuhit ahte sii leat geahččalemiiguin oahppan ahte sii lihkestuvvet daguineaset maid leat áigon, go leat dákkár meanuid čađahan.*

*Jos muhtin mátkálaš hálida vissásit diehtit iežas fulkkiid dili hárrái, de sii veahkehit su njealljegoalmmátlot diimmu siste oazžut dieđu ruovttu dáhpáhusain, vaikko ležžet ge golbma čuođi miilla duohken. Dat dáhpáhuvvá ná: Noaidi rávká vuos ipmiliiddis árbevirolaš meanuid bokte, go de fáhkka gahččá ja jámálga, dego livččii jápmán ja siellu duodaid lea guođđán su rupmaša. Ii oainnat oro dego sus livččii álggage heagga šat, dego dovddut ja lihkadusat eai šat livčče sus oktan heakkain. Álo ferte goittot muhtin leat das čalmmis atnimin heakkahis goruda mii das lea orrumin. Jos ii, de bohtet demonat ja dolvot dan. Go njealljegoalmmátlot diimmu leat vássán, olbmovuoigña máhccá fas dego lossa nahkáriin. Heakkahis gorut ealáska fas cáhkkamiin, dego olmmoš gii lea soađis gahččan fas rávkojuvvošii jápmimis heggi. Dasto dat gii lea máhccan vástida gažaldagaid. Ja vai jearaheaddji galgá jáhkkit sutnje, de muitala juoidá maid jearaheaddji dovdá, ja maid vissásit diehtá leat dáhpáhuvván jearaheaddji bearrašis dahje sogas.*

*Sin luhtte leat ollu gopmit main lea stuorra fápmu. Dát ovtastallet, ávvudallet ja háleštit singuin, ja sii eai veaje beassat dain dahje ádjit daid eret man ge láhkái. Go sii sakka ballájit ja jieráskit jápmán fulkkiid sieluin, de bissehit dán go rogget rupmašiid eatnamii ja ráhkadit hávdebáikkiid árrana vuollái. Dát lea áidna vuohki mo sáhttet iežaset gáhttet ja doalahit demonaid givssiid ja baldosiid eret. Dasgo jos sii ná dahket, de eai oidno duot gopmit šat. Jos eai daga ná, de sin vašánis fuolkkit ráfehuhttet ja muosehuhttet sin agálašvuhit. Dán áigái lea noaidevuohka jávkamin dán guovlluin, danin go Ruota gonagas lea garrasit gielán sin atnimis dan. Ja son fuolaha sidjiide rivttes bagadusa min oskui nu bures go vejolaš, vaikko dát lea váttis dahkat, dasgo sis eai leat bistevas ássanbáikkít, muhto johtalit mehciin. Sii orrot jeaggás guovlluin, ja doppe ii sáhte johtit eará go dálvit, go buot jieknju. Báhpát bohtet Suomas, Norrbottenis, Ångermanlandas, Medelpadas, Helsinglandas ja biras guovlluin sin lusa dálvit, oahpahit rohkadallat daid geaid fáhtejit ja gásttašit sin manñil soames oahpahusa. Mitaluvvo ahte jos sii gásttašit alla-ahkásaš olbmuid, de dát dábaláččat jápmet čihččet ja gávccát beaivvi gaskkas manñil go leat*

*gásttašuvvon, mii sin mielas lea erenoamáš imašlaš. Dán lean gullan hui jáhkehahti olbmuid muitaleamen. Mun lean váldán dan mielde dása vai mii dán jurddašettiin movttiidahttojuvvot ain ángireabbu ja gohcevaččat geahččalit hehttet beargalaga fillehusaid, ja rohkadallat ain ángireabbu ahte Ipmila Bárdni, guhte vuolggahuvvui billistit Beargalaga daguid, galgá láidet ja bálvalit min ii ge suovvat min earuhuvvot Sus ja šaddat Beargalaga fámu vuollái.*

### Gáldogažaldagat

Dábalaš hástalus girjjálašvuodahistorjjáin lea ahte ovdalaš áiggiid ii lean nu dábalaš sihteret ovddasmanniidis go dán áigái. Ii dárbbášan leat geardduheamen dahje suoládeamen nuppi olbmo barggu. Lei baicce nu ahte sihterendáhpí ii lean vel ásahuvvon, ja guhkin eret vuoignaduodjeoamasteami jurddašeapmi, mii livččii dálá aiggi vuohki mo dieid dahkat. Pierre Freyburger čájeha doavttergrádačálloisistis Peucera *Commentarius* birra ahte stuorra oasis dán girjjis leat váldojuvvon njuolgga Phillip Melanchthona *Initia doctrinae physicae*, mii almmuhuvvui 1549:s (Freyburger 1988, I. girji). Vaikko dát lei su iežas vuohppa, de Peucer ii heahpanaddan viežžamis girjeosiid dán láhkái almmá namatkeahttá gáldu. Sápmelaččat gal eai namahuvvo Melanchthona girjjis *Initia* (Melanthon 1549).

Just Qvigstad oavvildii ahte Peucera oassi sápmelaččaid birra «veadjá [leat] boarráseamus» gáldu mas namahuvvo «sápmelaš ‘trance’s dahje lihkahusain gii lea viežžan dieđuid eará báikkis» (Qvigstad Larsen 2014-girjjis, 133). Dát ii doala deavása. Olaus Magnus namaha dán 1555:s, nugo dás vuollelis čájehuvvo. Olaus Magnus čállá dán birra ollu oaneheabbut ii ge nu girjjáit go Peucer. Peucera teaksta goittot lea, ollu detaljjaidisguin, miellagiddevaš gáldu sápmelaš noaideárbevieruide ovdal go Sápmaí boahhtigođii kristtalašvuolta olles deattu. Qvigstad čállá maiddái, ii ge dasa leat gáldočujuhus, ahte «Peucer oaččui iežas dieđuid sápmelaččaid birra ruottelaš studenttain Wittenbergas» (Qvigstad Larsen 2014-girjjis, 133). Dát diehtu lea seammá hástaleaddji go frustrerejeaddji. Mo Qvigstad didii dán? Peucer čállá dušše ahte su gáldut leat «hui jáhkehahti olbmuid muitalusat» (*Hæc ex narrationibus hominum dignissimorum fide recitavi*). Lea gal duohta ahte reformašuvnnajahkečuodis ledje eatnat studeanttat Davviriikkain Wittenbergas. Christian Callmer (1976) ja Simo Heininen (1980) addiba buori gova studeantarávnnjis ruota riikkas ja duođašteaba dasa lassin ahte olusat dainna ožžo lagas oktavuoda sin oahpaheaddjiiguin, ee. mañit áiggi Uppsala erkebismmain Petri Gothus, gii lei Wittenbergas 1550-logu loahpageahčen (Callmer 1976, 29). Maiddá Davvi-Norggas ledje doppe studeanttat. Sophus Thormodsæter namaha čielggadusastis dáža studeanttaid birra Wittenbergas ahte Olavus Andreae Stegenis (Olav, dahje Oluf, Andersen Steaiggus eret) lei immatrikulerejuvvon ođđajagimánus 1560 (Thormodsæter 1912, 178–179). Soaitá Peucer leat ožžon dieđudis sámi noaidevuodaoskku birra njuolgga dakkár njálmálaš gálduin.

Fránskka girjjis man almmuhii hugenohtta Simon Goulard Antwerpenis 1584:s, čuožžu siidoravddas dakko gokko sámeoassi álgá: «Voyez Olaus Magnus en son hist. des peuples Septentrionaux, & les Cosmographes de nostre temps» (Geahča Olaus Magnusa *Davviálbmogiid historjá*, ja min áiggi geografiijačálliid) (Goulard Peucera girjjis 1584, 200). Olaus Magnusa *Historia de gentibus Septentrionalibus* goalmmát girjji 17. kapihttala namma lea «De magicis instrumentis Bothniæ» (Bothnia magihkalaš readdut) (Olaus Magnus 1555, 121–122). Dás lea muitalus sámi ja suoma noaidevuoda birra mii muituha Peucera:

Lea muđui dovddus ahte sin mánemiin lei dakkár fápmu ahte sii sáhtte dahkat oainnusin ja buktit čalmmiid ovdii áššiid vaikko vel makkár ge čuolmmaiguin dat livčče čadnon. Sii duođaštit dáid daguid čuovvovaččat: Jus muhtun hálida dieđuid jogo ustibiid dahje vasálaččaid birra, vaikko vel dat livčče ge vihttačuote dahje duhát miilla duohken de son dorvvasta muhtun sápmelažžii dahje suopmelažžii ja

addá sutnje heivvolaš skeaŋka, mii lea jogo liidni dahje juoksa, ja bivdá dieđuid mo dan olbmo dilli lea. Noaidi dasto manná latnjasis, ja su mieđuštit dušše eamit ja eará oskkilduvvon olmmoš, ja son dearpagoahdá veahčiriinnis rumbbu mas cuoppu dahje veaikegearpmaš lihkada ja jorrá deike-duohku, seammás go son šaddá lihkahussii [manná ekstasii]. ja veallá oanehis áiggi dego jábmi. Olles dan áiggi son gáhtejuvvo olbmáinis nu ahte ii čuoika dahje čuru dahje makkárge eará ealli su beasa guoskkahit. Dán áiggi su siellu, nannejuvvon bahá vuoigŋa bokte, viežžá suorbmasa dahje niibbi duodaštussan dasa ahte su doaimma lea lihkostuvvan. Fahkkestaga son fas čuožžila ja čilge sutnje gii su lea bálkáhan dáid áššiid mearkkašumi ja mo dat gullet oktii.<sup>26</sup>

Lea mearkkašanveara ahte Olaus Magnus ii gohčot dan sierra sámi vierrun. Lea Lappo dahje Finno, sápmelaš dahje suomelaš, gii noaiddástallá. Okta vejolašvuohta sáhtá leat ahte Olaus Magnus ii earuhan nu dárkilit etnonymaid gaskkas, muhto anii daid baicce synonyman. Čálloša oktavuodas orru juste dat unnán jáhkehahti. Ovddit kapihtal giehtadallá erenoamážit Suoma ja suomelaččaid. Visot oddaset jorgalemiin lea maiddá geavahuvvon «sápmelaš dahje suomelaš» juste dán čálabáikki hárrái (vrd. Olaus Magnus 1976, I. girji, 161 & 366; 1996, I. girji, 175 & 189; 2004, 129; 2006, 174). Soaitá juste dien lágan eahpesihkarvuohta speadjalastojuvvot Peucera Pilappij etnonyma duohken (sámeláddi?).

Dán govvti gáldus (Olaus Magnus ja Peucer) leat ollu seammá áššit. Lea sáhka das mo muhtin ferte čohkkát olbmo luhte dan botta go su siellu lea mátkkis, mo son oaidná mii dáhpáhuvvá olbmuide geat leat mánggaid miillaid duohken, mo lávlot ja derpet rumbbu, mo cuoppu (dahje gearpmaš) lea erenoamáš, ja loahpalaččat mo noaidi báhcá jábmin dan botta go lea ekstasas dahje lihkahusain. Olaus Magnusa dulkojupmi ahte lea bahás vuoigŋa (*malo daemone*) mii váldá dan olbmo sielu mátkái, muittuha dan mo Peucer čállá pilappaid ipmiliid birra (*suos Deos*). Seammás leat maiddá erohusat. Peucer dadjá ahte lihkahusaid *Pilappij* ášset guhkimusas davvin, gitta Jiekŋamearragáttis, muhto Olaus Magnusa muitalusas dat leat Lullemearrabađas, Bottenvikenis. Peucer čállá ahte dáid meanuid ulbmil lea gávnnahit mo johtti olbmo fulkkiiguin manná, muhto Olaus Magnus namaha «ustibiid dahje vašálaččaid». Peucera muitalusas ferte várjalit dan olbmo gii lea lihkahusain demonaid – bahás vuoigŋaid – vuostá; Olaus Magnusa olmmoš lihkahusain ferte várjaluvvot «čuoikka, čurroha dahje eará ealli» vuostá.

Earret dán oasi eai leat eará báikkit Olaus Magnusa girjjis mas sámi (dahje suomelaš) noaidevuodta giehtadallojuvvo. Siterejuvvon oassi lea mii dagaha sullasašvuođa. Maid Goulard oaivvilda dajaldagain «les Cosmographes de nostre temps» ii leat álki árvidit. John Granlund guoskkaha kommentáristis Olaus Magnusii muhtun sullasašvuođaid Albert Krantz (almuhuvvon 1546) ja Clemens Adamus (1553–1556) (Olaus Magnus 1976, I. girji, 366–367) čállošiin. 1500-logu geografijačállošiid vejolaš čielggadeamit sámi ja suoma oskku hárrái eai čaga dán artihkkalii, de daid ferte guođdit joatka-dutkamuššan.

<sup>26</sup> Originálas (Olaus Magnus 1555, 121): «Tantumque vim carminibus eorum affuisse constat, vt rem remotissimè positam, & quantalibet nodorum consertione perplexam, conspicuam & præsentissimam efficerent. Talibusque præstigijs idipsum hoc modo demonstrant. Scire cupientes statum amicorum, aut inimicorum, longinquo terrarum spatio quingentorum, vel mille milliarum inde distantium, Lapponem seu Finnonem huius rei peritum dato munere, lineę scilicet vestis aut arcus, rogant experientiam fieri, vbinam fuerint, & quid agant amici, vel inimici. Quocirca conclauē ingreditur vno comite, vxoreque contentus, ranam æneam, aut serpentem malleo super incudem præscriptis ictibus concutit, carminumque murmure hinc inde reuoluit, continuoque cadens in extasim rapitur: iacetque breui spatio velut mortuus. Interea diligentissimè à prædicto comite, ne quoduis viuens, culex, aut musca, vel aliud animal eum contingat, custoditur. Carminum nanque potentia spiritus eius malo daemone ductore à longinquis signa (annulum, vel cultellum) in testimonium expeditæ legationis, seu commissionis reportat. Illicoque resurgens, eadem signa cum cæteris circumstantijs conductori suo declarat.»

### Mañit noaidevuodavierut

Eai gávdno nu mánga boares sámi gáldu mat muitalit noiddiid mátkkiid birra, ii ge gullan sámi virrui hállat almmolaččat noiddiid fitnuid birra – erenoamážit ii mañnil go girku, báhpát ja miššunearat viggagohte jorgalahttit sápmelaččaid eret noaideoskkus kristtalašvuhtii. Dalle dieđus sápmelaččat balle dubmehallamis noaidevuoda geažil, muhto nuppe dáfus orru gullan sámi oskui ja máilbmeoidnui jo don doložis dakkár jáhkku ahte jus oskui-gulli áššis hállojuvvui almmolaččat, ja ášši suollemasvuolta dan dihtii šattai dovddusin buohkaide, de dat massii iežas fámu ja šattai vuoimmeheapmin. Dan dihtii noaidi vuoibmi lei čiegusvuoda duohken, de vaikko noaidi ieš lei guhká leamaš oahpus boarráset noaidi luhtte, de dat maid son oahpai galggai dattege bissut suollemas diehtun.

Go sápmelaččat ieža eai leat čilgen dološ oskkuset, de mis váilot measta oppalohkái primáragáldut dan hárrái. Dađe dehálut leat ge dat moadde gáldu mat dássáži leat uhcán geavahuvvon sámi-guoski dutkamis, main sámi jietna ilbmá válde-muitaleaddjin. Dát guoská ee. Jacob Fellman čállin dološ sámi luđiid, maid gávdná ee. su girjjiis *Anteckningar under min vistelse i Lappmarken*, nubbi girji. Dan oasis man namma lea «Lappska Sanger och sagor» leat dat dološ juigosat. Oassi dain lea muhtunráje maiddá deaddiluvvon Otto Donner girjjiis *Lappalaisia lauluja*, 1876. Fellman lei logemat jagi báhppan Ohcejogas 1820-jagiin, ja loahpageahčen su doaimanáiiggi davvin son oahpásmuvai sápmelaččaiguin geat máhtte dološ muitaleaddji juigosiid, ja geat ledje mielas sutnje daid juoigat vai Fellman beasai daid čállit amaset jávkát ja vajálduvvat. Fellman lea daid čállán sápmelaččaid iežaset muitaleami mielde, ii ge dulkon dahje lasihan, de dan dihtii dat teavsttat leat oalle luohtehatti gáldut. Fellman čilge noiddiid gullat iešguđet ge luohkáide:

Noaidit gulle iešguđet ge dássái noiddošanmáhtu hárrái. [...] Alimus luohká gulle nugohčoduvvon Girdi-noaidit. Sii eai dušše máhttán girdit loddehámis muhto sáhtte ihtit juohkelágan ealliid-hámis dahje garra bieggan. [...] Nuppi luohká noiddiid gaskii gulle sii guđet máhtte jámálgit; dat mearkkaša ahte sáhtte diktit sielu guođit rupmaša, mii bázi dasa veallát, ja jogo ilbmat man nu ealli-hámis, dego gumpe, guovža, boazu dahje guolli, ja dan hámis vuolgit máilbmái dahje jo dušše lihkadit das vuoignan. (Fellman 1906, II. girji, 28)

Dakkár muitalusa gávdná Fellmannas erenoamážit «Gargias rávkki juoigan»-teavsttas, mas muitaluvvo mo Gargias noaidevuoda vehkiin dáhtui buktit goddečorra ruovttoluotta iežas eatnamii. Dan lei oainnat nubbi stuorra noaidi, Doragas, doalvvuhan Gihttil-guvlui. Juoiggus lea hui dramáhtalaš muitalus dán guovtti noaidi vuimmiid iskama birra, mas lea čielggas ahte das lea sáhka alimus dási noiddiin – daid gievrasesmosiin – nammalassii girdi-noiddiin. Doragas moddii navdá leat veadján sorbmet Gargiasa, muhto son dattege fas ealáska. Loahpas bohtá Gargiasa bárdni girddi čuvčča hámis, muhto dan sadjái go áhčis veahkehit, son beanta gártá su njeaidit, ja juoiggus nohká dasa ahte muitaleaddji duodašta ahte «neavrres almmái [nubbi noaidi] sáhtii valjiid dohko buot / eatge mii oáččo guoli čáziin eatge gottiid vumiin / eatge mange vallji.»

Almmá Fellmanna ájgiruššama haga, sámi girjjálašvuolta ja kulturhistorjá livččii lean olu geafit go maid lea, go Fellman oáččui sápmelaččaid juoigat sutnje dakkáriid maid lea beanta imaš ahte duste almmuhit báhppii, go olu daid juigosiin maid Fellman fidnii čálihuvvot eahpitkeahhtá sihke guoskkahit ja muhtun muddui vel dáidet gullat ge dološ sámi oskui, mii han lei garrasit gildojuvvon ja man doaimma ovddas sáhtii rájggáštuvvot (Fellman 1906, 196–197). Go sápmelaččat dattege arve Fellmannii daid juigosiid ja muitalusaid almmuhit, ferte mearkkašit ahte sis lei hui nana luohttámuš sutnje. Daid teavsttaid gaskkas leat maiddá guhkes muitaleaddji juigosat – beanta myhtalaš teavsttat – dan birra mo sápmelaččat ieža juoigama bokte čilgejedje sámi historjá. Fellman maiddá fidnii báhpárii dievva ealliid-luđiid



ja vel moadde ráhkesvuoda-luodi ge, muhto dat eai gula dán artihkkalii guorahallat. Earret Fellman de lea dušše máttasámi báhppa Anders Fjellner gii erenoamážit berostii árra sámi njálmálaš diktemušas. Fjellner adno ge sápmelaččaid Homeran dan dihtii go su nammii lea agibeivái čadnon myhtalaš epos-muitalus Beavvi bártne ja su soaknomátkki birra Jiehtanasaid eatnamii – muitalus mii dahká ahte sápmelaččat sáhttet gohčodit iežas Beavvi mánnán. Dattege ii leat Fjellnera teavsttain nu njuolgga sáhka noaidevuodas, de dán artihkkala fáttá dáfus, báhcet Fjellnera teavsttat veahás doaresbeallái.

Mii guoská Lars Levi Læstadius girjái *Fragmenter i Lappska Mythologien*, de lea dat hui guovddáš dutkkus sámi oskku birra olbmoss gii dovddai sámegeala ja kultuvrra bures sihke bajásšaddama ja gullevašvuoda bokte. Čállostitis son geavaha ge iežas giella- ja kulturmáhttu árvoštallat eará čáliid dieđuid maidda čujuha. *Fragmenter*-čállostitis gullet oktiibuot njeallje oasi, mat leat ipmiliid birra, oaffaroahppu, noaidi máhtuid ja doaimmaid birra, ja dasa lassin sámi muitalanárbevieru ja máinnasteami birra. Roald Kristiansen muitala ahte Læstadiusa čáluš gárvánii skábmamánu 1844, muhto ahte son dagai moadde lasáhusa dasa miessemánu 1845 maŋŋil go lei lohkan Jacob Fellman giehtačálloša (Kristiansen 2003, 175), de dat ge duodašta man guovddáš gáldu Fellman lea leamaš. Goalmmát oasis čielggadusastis čállá Læstadius ee. daid noiddiid birra geat máhtte jámálgit dahje su sániiguin daddjon: «gahččat magnehtalaš nahkáriidda» (Læstadius 1997, 146). Læstadius maiddá kommentere Olaus Magnusa sitáhta (geahča ovdelis dán teavsttas) ja dadjá ee. ahte Olaus Magnus ferte leat boastut ádden *árppa* doaimma; veaikeriekkis man noaidi bidjá rumbbu ala ovdal go dan dearpagoahtá. Dat ii leat mihkkige cubbuid dahje veaikegearbmašiid, muhto veaikeriekkis mii johtala rumbbu alde dearpastagaid mielde (ibid. 100). Ii Læstadius jáhke ge dasa ahte noaidi buvttasii maidige duodaštusaid iežas mátkkis, muhto čállá muđui hui miedálaččat ja čilgejeaddji vuogi mielde mo vuoiŋŋa vádjoleamit leat olbmojierbmái váddásat áddet (ibid. 148–149). Læstadius ii oro diehtimin Peucera čálloša birra, ii goittot ge čujut dasa.

Earret Fellman, Fjellner ja Læstadius ferte dán oktavuodas maiddá namahit dehálaš sámi oddaset áiggi gáldun sihke Johan Turi girji *Muitalus sámiid birra* (1910) ja Juhani Nuorgam girji *Dološ dábit ja vierut Idjajávrru guovlluin, Anáris*, (almmustuvai girjin sámegeallii 1982:s. Suoma dutki Paavo Ravila lei dan almmuhan 1934). Nuorgam čállá iešguđet ge dábiid birra oaffaruššama ja seiddiid oktavuodas, ja son namahaddá ja čilge háldejaččaid doaimmaid. Noiddiid hárrái son muitala erenoamážit Stuorr-Ántte Ánná birra, ja su sođiin buollaša, borgga, beanajámu ja suollagiid vuostá. Su muitalusat eai njulgestaga sulastahte dan maid Peucer čállá, muhto Nuorgam girjii lea goit dehálaš máinnašit sámi dološ osku gáldun. Anders Larsen girji *Mearrasámiid birra* (1950 dárogillii ja 2014 sámegeallii Larsena iežas giehtačálloša mielde) ii giehtadala sámi oskku nu olu, baicce sámi árbevieruid, muhto das lea hui miellagiddevaš muitalus Niillas Piera birra, gii lei riegeadan 1796, ja gii lei noaidi.

### Johan Turi ja Anders Larsen muitalusat

Moai letne geahččalan doalahit iežame čállima nu neutrálan go vejolaš, muhto lea miellagiddevaš oaidnit ahte Johan Turi čállá noiddiid birra measta seamma dubmejeaddji stiillain go Peucer, go gis Anders Larsen dušše muitala maid lea gullan almmá válddekeahhtá beali goappá ge guvlui. Jacob Fellman čállostitis vuhtto ahte kristtalašvuoda oaidnu lea báidnigoahtán vel sámi juigosiid čilgema noiddiid doaimmain, dego omd. «Suola ja Noaidi»-teavsttas mas daddjo «Noaidit givssideaddjit leat / Gásttahis riikkaid gáhtaštallet / Fastes meanuiguin váibbadallet.» (Fellman 1906, 254)

Johan Turis lea *Muitalus sámiid birra*-girjii dadjat olles kapihtal noiddiid birra. Moai válde dás mielde moadde oasáza čájehan dihtii mo noaidástallanvierut maid Peucer čilge ain ledje oahppásat ja navdimis doaimmas Johan Turi áiggi. Turi ja Peucera čilgehusat goavdása (meavrrégári) birra sulastahttet guđet guimmiideaset. Johan Turi čállá ná:



Dat leai okta noaidebierrgas – dat meavrresgárru – ja dat dahkkui ná: dan sisa bidje rikkiid ja áhčeseani lávžegihpuid – ovcci binná, ja de álge cábmit veaike- dahje čoarveveahčiriin, ja njurgo, ja muhtumin bániid gáske. Ja dainna lágiin sii daid noaidegoansttaid dahket. (Turi 2010, 139)

Kaspar Peucer gis čilgii meavrresgári birra dán láhkái:

Sis lea veaikerumbu masa leat sárgojuvvon dakkár eallit, lottit ja guollešlájat maid lea álki fidnet. Dasto lea veaikecuoppu mii lea giddejuvvon ruovdestággui. Dán cegejit gaskku rumbbu. De, go leat cealkán mánemiid, derpet rumbbu. Rumbbu jienas cuoppu njuike muhtin govviduvvon ealiba ala. Dan ealiba man cuoppu ohcá govvádusain, sii oaffaruššet ipmiliidda.

Johan Turi čállá noiddiid noaidástallama birra ná:

Go noaidit leat noaidástallame, de sii boldet rikkiid jur ruokadin, ja de sii spiddot birra iežaset nu olu go nagadit, ja bániid gásket maid nu olu go nagadit. Muhto eai garrudan eai ge suoládan dat noaidit. Dakkár noaidi, mii lea oahppan noaidi ja [mas] leat ain bániid, de das lea ain dievas vuobmi. Ja dološ noaidit leat leamaš dakkárat, ahte dat leat girdán, ja muhtumat vuodján návddiin girkoreaissus. Ja go lea ollen girkobáikái, de lea luoitán ja dat lea láhpon. Ja go lea fas vuolgán ruoktot, de lea fas bohtán seammá návdi, ja son lea vuodján meaddel visot iežá vuddjiid. (Turi 2010, 140)

Ja son lasiha čilget dakkár noiddiid gávdnot geat máhttet guođdit iežaset rupmaša noaidástaladettiin:

Ja dakkár noaidit leat leamaš dakkárat, go sii leat noaidástallame, de sii leat guođdán rupmaša jábmin, ja heagga lea mannan biro engeliiguin bargui, dahkat bahás soames olbmui. Ja jos dalle lihkahttet su rupmaša, de dat vuolga, ja de eaba šat boađe goasge. Ja dakkárat gohčoduvvojit muorramieskadeaddji noaidin. (Turi 2010, 140)

Buohtastahttin dihtii válde mielde oasáža Anders Larsen girjjis, man lea gohčodan «Noiddiid birra». Das mitala son Niillas Piera birra ná:

Ovddit čuođijagis orui muhtun sápmelaš Sturradievás Sørvigmarkkus. Olbmot gádde ahte son lavií jámežiiguin ráđđadallat. Su namma lea Niillas Piera, ja son lea riegeadan 1796. In mon gal daja ahte son lea noaidi, muhto son lea «diehti». Ii son gal láven noaidástallat nuvt go noaidit. Son lea guvhlár. Dađe mielde go mitaluvvo su birra, de ledje sus oaidninnávccat, dakkár ahte dan ii sáhte olmmoš čilget. Okta boares olmmái, gii jámii 20 jagi dás ovdal, mitalii: «Dalle go mon ledjen uhca bártnehus, ledje mus muhtumin čalmmit nu seavdnjadat ahte mon in baljo oaidnán maidege. Muhtun beavvi bođii Niillas Piera min siidii. Eat mii lean cealkán sutnje sáni. Son válldii mu askásis ja dadjá: «Vuoi, duotna, čalmmiin go don anát?» Ja dakkaviđe oidnen mon dego ovdal. Mon rat gievvugohnten. Mon ledjen dalle 5-6 jagi boaris. (Larsen 2014, 193)

Larsen joatká mitalit Niillas Piera birra:

Muhtun dálvvi lei Niillas Piera earáid mielde Vågáid-bivddus. Neavrres dálki lei bistán guhká. Eai sii beassan fávlli suhkat. Sii láittastuvve sakka, ja eai ge sii ožžon gullat movt siidaolbmot bohte áigái. Muhtun eahket dadjá heavsmánni Mikal Urisin Niillas Pierai: «Don guhte leat diehtti, ja diedát ja sáhtát eambo go mii, gal hal don sáhtát mitalit movt siidaolbmot ellet. De oaččut don mus ovttá pealla viinni.» (Piera liikui jugástaga oažžut.) «Gal mon soaittán ihttín sáhttit juodá mitalit didjiide,» dadjá Piera. De bidje sii nohkkat. Piera lei mohki oadđinsajis, ja de manai son olggos. Go son lei nu guhká olgun, lihkke earrásat ja manne olggos oheat su; muhto Piera sii eai gávdnan. Sii oidne su luottaidd olggobealde uvssa, muhto Niillas Piera lei jávkan. Sii fertejedje heaitit su ohcamis. Go sii iddedis morránedje, veallái Piera roavvgu vuolde oadđinsajistis. «Na, gal don dál sáhtát midjiide ságaid mitalit,» dadje sii Pierai. Ja de álggii Niillas Piera mitalit. Son mitalii maiddái dan ahte lei muohttán hirmadit Sørvigmarkkus. Muhtun boares áhku Kláhttariin lei jápmán, ja go galge liikagisttu vuodjit vuolás, darvánedje sii muohtaskálvái, ja de eai beassan heasttain ovdan. Fertejedje molsut heastta, oažžut Nils Johanis heastta. Dat heasta lei gievra ja guhkesjuolggat, ja de besse ovdan. Manjil ožžo diehtit ahte dat lei aitto nuvt go Niillas Piera lei mitalan. Muhto son ii liikon go sii ledje leamaš olgun ja ohcan su. «Stoalljut gosii mu heakka ala gevve», dajai son. Eai sii livčče galgan oheat su dalle. (Larsen 2014, 193)

Moai válde dan mađe olu Larsena mitalus mielde vai šaddá dievaslaš konteaksta dasa. Lea dehálaš mearkkašit ahte Larsen ii gohčot Niillas Piera noaidin, muhto diehttin – «son lei guvhlár» (dakkár gii dálkkoda olbmuid, gii buori dahká). Larsen mitala dan maid earáin lea gullan, muhto vuos álggus máinnaša maid muhtun «boares olmmái» lea mitalan Niillas Piera birra. Ii leat čielggas ahte lea go dat seammá «boares olmmái» geas lea gullan mitalusa mo Niillas Piera oačču dieđuidd siidaolbmuid ja Sørvigmarkka ássiid birra. Larsen lea čeahppi dahkat mitalusa almmolaš oktasaš opmodahkan almmá almmutkeahttá gálduidis čielgasit. Niillas Piera ferte muhtunmuddui leat láhtten seammá vuogi mielde go mo Peucer čilge noaidi dagu; ahte Niillas Piera friijasiellu lea mátkkoštan dan botta go su rumaš leamaš vatnasis (vaikko vel lei ge čiehkádan nu ahte dat earát eai gávdnan su, eai ge dárbbasan gohcit su rupmaša badjel). Niillas Piera dahku lei buorredáhtolaš, muhto su diehtochohkkenvuohki goit muittuha noiddiid máhtu mo mátkkoštit dadjat ilmmiid gaska. Dan dihtii sáhtta čuočuhit ahte diehtu ja mitalusat noiddiid fihhtolašvuoda birra lea eallán sápmelaččaid gaskkas gitta otnázii, ja go boares gáldomateriála oppa áigge odđasis almmuhuvvo, de dáidet mitalusat ain eallit ja juogaduvvot nugo álo lea dahkkon kultuvrrain main njálmmálaš árbevierru adno árvvus.

### Loahpaheapmi

Lars Ivar Hansen ja Bjørnar Olsen čálliba *Samenes historie, bind I: fram til 1750* -girjii ahte «Deháleamus čállošat mat mis dál leat go galgat geahčadit ovddeš áiggiid sámi oskkoldatoainnuid, leat dat mitalusat maid báhpát ja miššuvdnaolbmot čálle su. 1670 ja su. 1750, ja mat nappo ledje sin čállošat geat vigge jávkadit dološ oskku.» (Hansen & Olsen 2004, 318). Gávdnojit eatnat miššunearaid čilgehusat dološ sámi oskku birra, muhto dán artihkkala fáddán ii leamaš sin čállošiid ja dokumeanttaid dutkat, baicce mitalit dan ovttá olggobeale čielggadeami birra maid Peucer lea addán iežas gálduid vuodul. Lea muđui deattuhanveara ahte miššunearaid čilgehusaid sápmelaš noaideoskku hárrái ferte atnit nuppigiedagáldun, go sin váldoberoštupmi ii lean čilget oskku, muhto duodaštit dan eahpeoskun kristtalašvuoda ektui. Dat eaktu dieđusge lei mielde báidnimin sin čilgenvuogi, nugo Hansen & Olsen ge čálliba. Dat gáldu man birra moai letne čállán, Peucera *Commentarius* 1560, lea badjel čuođi jagi boarráset. Ean moai čuoččut ahte Peuceris lea ollu

ođđa dieđut. Ii leat nu ge ahte Peucer anii dološ oskku seailuhanveara. Muhto buot smávva didožiiguin lea dát čáluš goittot árra gáldu áiggi dáfus. Olaus Magnus lea moadde jagi árat, muhto sus eai leat nu ollu dieđut sámi noaidevuoda birra. Sámi muitalanárbevierut čájehit gova sámi noaidevuodas mii buorre muddui čuovvu dan maid allaoahppan teologat dahke gaskkamutto 1500-logu. Kaspar Peucera muitalus «pilappaid» noaidevuoda birra anno 1560 ánsásá čállojuvot dan gáldočkakkáldahkii maid oskkoldathistorihkkárat ja earát geat berostit ovdalkristtalaš sámi árbevieruin atnet.

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### **Appendix: Avsnittet om samisk sjamanisme i Kaspar Peucers *Commentarius de praecipuis divinationum generibus* (Wittenberg 1560), oversatt til norsk<sup>27</sup>**

*Vi bør ikke la oss forundre over disse Djevelens blendverk og illgjerninger, når han utpønser og utfører verk som synes langt dystre og mindre i overensstemmelse med sannheten oppe i det fjerneste Nord, hvor menneskene hittil har hengitt seg til dyrkning av demoner. Blant folkeslagene i denne fjerneste egn bebod pilappene den aller fjerneste delen av den skandinaviske halvøy, helt oppe ved Ishavet. De hverken dyrker jorden eller holder noe husdyr utenom reinen, som de bruker som trekkdyr vinterstid, når de isdekkede vannene ligger stille og alt er frosset til av kulden. De lever av jakt og fiske, og har inntil nå dyrket trestykker og steiner som guder. Når de skal ut for å jakte eller fiske eller har noe annet fore, utsier de noen besvergelses og forsøker så å flytte på de gudene som de rådspør. Hvis disse følger med uten problemer, bifaller de forehavendet og lover et lykkelig utfall; hvis de stritter imot, sier de at det ikke vil gå bra; hvis de fullstendig nekter å la seg rikke fra sin plass, uttrykker de at de er fornærmet. De anser at slike fornærmede guder bør blidgjøres gjennom et offer, noe de iverksetter på følgende måte. De har en tromme av bronse med tegninger av slike dyr, fugler og fiskeslag som det er lett for dem å få tak i. Videre har de en frosk av bronse, festet til en jernstav. Denne setter de loddrett ned i midten av trommen. Deretter, etter å ha fremsagt besvergelses, slår de på trommen. Med trommens lyder spretter frosken til et av de avbildede dyrene.<sup>28</sup> Det dyret som frosken har oppsøkt på avbildningen, ofrer de til gudene. Hodet henger de fra et tre som de regner for å være hellig, resten koker de og fortærer sammen med inviterte venner, mens de alle heller over seg den samme sausen som offerdyret ble kokt i. At de får hellet med seg i det de har planlagt å gjøre når slike ritualer er utført, hevder de å ha lært gjennom egen erfaring.*

*Hvis en som er på reise ønsker å få vite noe sikkert om sine slektningers ve og vel, sørger de for at han innen tjuefire timer får vite hva som foregår hjemme hos dem, om de så er tre hundre mil unna. Det foregår slik: En trollmann påkaller først sine guder gjennom tradisjonelle seremonier, før han plutselig segner om og besvimer, som om han er død og sjelen rent faktisk forlater legemet. Det virker nemlig ikke som det er noe liv igjen i ham, som om ingen sanser eller bevegelsesevne er i behold sammen med livet. Men det må alltid være noen til stede for å passe på det henslengte og livløse legemet. Hvis ikke, kommer demoner til å røve det. Etter at tjuefire timer er passert, kommer bevisstheten tilbake som fra en dyp søvn. Med stønning livner den livløse kroppen til, som om en som var falt i kamp ble kalt tilbake til livet fra døden. Etterpå svarer den tilbakekomne på spørsmålene. Og for å inngi tillit hos utspøreren, forteller han noe som denne skal kjenne igjen og som han vet med sikkerhet må ha funnet sted hos utspøreren familie eller slektninger.*

*Det er hos dem spøkelser i stort antall og med stor makt. Disse omgås, fester og snakker med dem, og de makter ikke å slippe unna dem eller drive dem vekk på noe vis. Når de blir særlig skremt og oppskjørtet av sjelene til slektninger etter døden, avverger de dette ved å*

<sup>27</sup> Denne norske oversettelsen er ved Per Pippin Aspaas og ligger til grunn for den samiske oversettelsen ovenfor.

<sup>28</sup> *Animal* på latin = dyr, fugl, fisk.



*grave ned likene og anlegge gravsteder under ildstedet. Dette er det eneste virkemiddel de har til å beskytte seg og holde demonenes plager og skremser på avstand. For hvis de gjør dette, vil deres gjenferd ikke lenger vise seg. Hvis de unnlater å gjøre det, vil de forstyrres og hjemsesøkes av sine fiendlige slektingers gjenferd for alltid. Nå for tiden er trolldommen mindre utbredt her enn det den var tidligere, for Kongen av Sverige har på det strengeste forbudt dem å benytte seg av den. Og så langt det lar seg gjøre, sørger han for at de blir oppdratt på rette måte i vår religion, skjønt dette er en krevende oppgave, da de ikke har faste boplasser, men vandrer rundt i skogene. De områdene hvor de bor er myrlandte, og man kan ikke reise der annet enn om vinteren, når alt fryser til. Prester fra Finland, Norrbotten, Angermanland, Medelpad, Helsingland og omkringliggende regioner oppsøker dem om vinteren, lærer dem de får tak i å be og døver dem etter å ha gitt dem en viss undervisning. Det fortelles at hvis de forsøker å døpe noen i høy alder, vil disse vanligvis dø mellom den syvende og den åttende dagen etter at de er blitt døpt, et forhold som vekker særlig forundring. Dette har jeg fra meget troverdige menns beretninger. Jeg har tatt det med her for at vi i overveielser av dette skal inspireres til å bestrebe oss enda inderligere og mer årvåkent på å avverge djevelens renkespill, og til å be enda inderligere om at Guds Sønn, som ble sendt for å ødelegge Djevelens verk, skal lede og tjene oss og ikke la oss bli atskilt fra Ham og havne under Djevelens makt.*

### **Čálliid birra**

*Per Pippin Aspaas*, PhD, bargá vuosttasbibliotekáran Universitehtagirjerádjosis UiT Norgga arktálaš universitehtas. Sus lea latiinnagielas váldofága (Oslo 2001) ja PhD historjjás (Romssas 2012). Su váldo dutkanberoštumit leat diedahistorjá guđanuppelotčuohtejagiin gitta guovtteduhátjahkečuohtái, maŋŋe-klassihkalaš latiinna sosiolingvistihkka, ja historjágrafii ja fuolkešajnerat greikka-romalaš dološáiggis. Varrasemos almmuhemiid gaskii gullet *Meeting Venus: A Collection of Papers Presented at the Venus Transit Conference, Tromsø 2012* (doaimmahan ovttas Christiaan Sterkeniin, Brussel/Romsa 2013) ja *Travels in the North: A Multidisciplinary Approach to the Long History of Northern Travel Writing* (doaimmahan ovttas Silje Gaupseth guoktáin Marie-Theres Federhoferiin, Hannover 2013). [per.pippin.aspaas@uit.no](mailto:per.pippin.aspaas@uit.no)

*Harald Gaski*, lea girjjálašvuodadutki, girječállu, girje- ja áigečáladoaimmaheadji ja áŋgiris servodatberosteaddji. Gaski leamaš guovddázis ásaheamen sámi girjjálašvuodadutkama akademalaš fágan ja leamaš guossedutkin moanat olgoriikka universitehtain. Son lea almmuhan dievva girjjiid sáme-, dáro- ja eanjalasgillii sámi ja álgoálbmotfáttáin. Su barggut leat bálkkašuvvan sihke Davviriikkalaš *Gollegiella*-bálkkašumiin 2006 ja son oáččui ovttas Lars Nordströmain Sámiráđi girjjálašvuoda bálkkašumi 2002 *Čiežain čáziin*-nuoraidgirji ovdas. Gaski váldodutkanfáttát leat sámi multidáiddár Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, sámi juoigan ja muitaleapmi, gulahallanvuogit ja álgoálbmotdutkan. Gaski doaimmahusbargguid gaskii gullet ee. *Sámis-áigečála*, *AlterNative* dutkan-áigečála ja *Sámi academica*-ráidu. [harald.gaski@uit.no](mailto:harald.gaski@uit.no)

### **Latiinnagillii čeahkkáigeassu**

*Textus de shamanismo Samico in libro Caspari Peuceri, c.t. Commentarius de praecipuis divinationum generibus (Vitembergae 1560): Editio critica, cum versione et lucubrationibus.* Inter fontes, quibus artes shamanicae gentis Samicae (olim Lapponicae) illuminentur, textus quidam a Casparo Peucero conscriptus adhuc non nimis cognitus est. Namque hic vir eruditissimus, gener Philippi Melanchthon, professor Universitatis Vitembergensis, polyhistor i.a. medicinā, geographiā, astrologiā, theologiā versatissimus, in suo de divinatione opere

magno relationem satis elaboratam de shamanismo Pilappiorum, qui dicuntur, inseruit. Symbolā hac editionem criticam eiusdem textūs praebemus, cum editiones Vitembergae a. 1560 (A), a. 1572 (B), a. 1580 (C), etiam Servestae a. 1591 (D) et Francofurti a. 1593 (E) collatae sint. Praeter versiones Boreosamicam et Norvegicam (in appendice) lucubrationes aliquot offerimus, quarum summa haec.

Testimonium simile, sed non ita elaboratum, ut Casparus Peucerus rem omnem illinc mutuavisse posset, in Olai Magni *Historiā de gentibus Septentrionalibus* (Romae a. 1555) legitur. Veri similis est studiosum quendam e numero illo Sueticorum, Finnicorum, Norvegicorumque, qui Almae Matri Vitembergensi annis reformationem religiosam subsequenter immatriculati erant, hanc relationem Peucero obtulisse. Mirifice autem elementa pleraque relationis eius cum gentis Samicae populari traditione aliquot saeculis postea descriptā conveniunt. Exempli gratiā Andreae Larsen (1870–1949) commentarii de Samis maritimis, Johannis Turi libellus a. 1910 Samice editus, cantūs Samici (*joik*) a Jacobo Fellman circa a. 1820 collecti, cum narratione Peuceri comparari possunt. Peucerus ipse autem shamanismum Samicum inter artes theomanticas definiit, quas non ex Deo vero, sed ex Diabolo originem habere existimabat.

### **Eangalasgillii čeahkkáigeassu**

*The text on Sami shamanism in Caspar Peucer's Commentarius de praecipuis divinationum generibus (Wittenberg 1560): Critical edition, with translation and commentary.* Among the sources dealing with the shamanistic skills of the Sami (formerly Lapponian) population, a certain text by Kaspar Peucer has so far been little known. This man of extreme learning was the son-in-law of Philip Melanchthon and a Professor at the University of Wittenberg. A true polyhistor, well versed in Medicine, Geography, Astrology, Theology, etc., Peucer included in his chef-d'oeuvre on divination an elaborate description of the shamanism of the so-called *Pilappii*. The present article offers a critical edition of this text, based on the editions of Wittenberg 1560 (A), 1572 (B), 1580 (C), as well as Zerbst 1591 (D) and Frankfurt 1593 (E). In addition to translations into North Sami and Norwegian (see Appendix), some contextualisation is offered, which can be summarised as follows:

A similar testimony on shamanism is found in the *Historia de gentibus Septentrionalibus* by Olaus Magnus (Rome 1555). However, that text is not elaborate enough to prove that Kaspar Peucer has copied his description from him. It is more likely that some student among the considerable number of Swedes, Finns and Norwegians that were immatriculated at Wittenberg University in the years following the Reformation, presented this account to Peucer. Many details in the account make it strikingly similar to Sami folk narratives that have been assembled several centuries later. For example, the description of maritime Sami by Anders Larsen (1870–1949), the Sami book by Johan Turi (published 1910) and Sami songs (*joik*) that were collected by Jacob Fellman in the 1820's can be compared with Peucer's account. Peucer himself, however, categorised the shamanism of the Sami as a form of *theomanteia*, i.e. a form of magic which he considered to originate not from the true God, but from the Devil.

### **Čoavddasánit**

Sámi osku, noaidevuhta, teomantija, girdi-noaidit, noaidástallan, Kaspar Peucer, Olaus Magnus, Johan Turi, Anders Larsen, Jacob Fellman.

# QUID DE RERUM NORVEGIAE IN NUNTIIS FINNORUM LATINIS (1989–2014) RELATUM SIT

Reijo Pitkäranta

## Historia Nuntiorum Latinorum

Consilium de Nuntiis Latinis singulis septimanis edendis in colloquio captum est, quod a. 1988 cum Hannu Taanila, praefecto rerum in Radiophonia Finnica Generali scientificarum et culturalium, de historia et vicissitudinibus linguae Latinae egi. Inter hanc sermocinationem alter alterum interrogabamus, quid obstaret, quominus sermo Latinus nostris quoque temporibus publice usurparetur ac quidem in nuntiis hodiernis radiophonice divulgandis? Tantum aberat, ut tale coeptum novum et inauditum repudiaremus, ut id, quantum fieri posset, provehere decerneremus. Cum autem vires meas solas ad tam magnum opus sustinendum sufficere diffiderem, ad professorem Tuomo Pekkanen conversus sum rogans, ut se socium huius incepti polliceretur. Venia ab eo data feliciter fieri potuit, ut primi Nuntii Latini die 1.9.1989 e Finnia emitterentur. Inde mos initium cepit, qui deinceps iam viginti quinque annos continuatur.<sup>1</sup>

Agitur de conspectu hebdomadali quinarum minutarum, quem uterque redactor (Pekkanen et Pitkäranta) unaquaque septimana alternis vicibus colligit et Latine redigit. Textus Nuntiorum Latinorum, qui primis decem annis (1.9.1989–31.8.1999) recitati sunt, in serie quinque librorum publici iuris sunt facti, quorum quisque conspectus septimanales biennales continet: [vol I:] 1.9.1989–31.8.1991; vol. II: 1.9.1991–31.8.1993; vol. III: 1.9.1993–31.8.1995; vol. IV: 1.9.1995–31.8.1997; vol. V: 1.9.1997–31.8.1999.<sup>2</sup> Annis autem insequentibus, cum omnis nuntiorum materia in Interreti (<http://yle.fi/nuntii>) praesto esse coepisset, libri divulgari desiti sunt.

Quod ad vocabularium attinet, ad res hodiernas Latine convenienter exponendas tam verba antiqua quam recentiorum aetatum propria adhibemus et optimis dictionariis, in quibus aut voces vetustiores (e. gr. *Der neue Georges*) aut neolatinae (e. gr. *Perugini*, *Helfer*, *Lexicon recentis Latinitatis*, alia) insunt, inde ab initio auxilio utimur, ut varias difficultates lexicographicas modo idoneo solvamus. Longum est titulos omnium horum lexicorum enumerare.<sup>3</sup> Ipsi quoque huic rei aliquid contulimus, cum ad finem uniuscuiusque voluminis Nuntiorum Latinorum I–V glossarium adiunximus, ubi verba Latina inusitata et recentiora Finnice et Anglice redduntur. Praeterea in praefatione tomi III magnum numerum novarum locutionum et iuncturarum Latinarum cum interpretamentis Finnicis et Anglicis lectoribus praebemus. Adde, quod a. 2006 ‘*Lexicon hodiernae Latinitatis*’ edendum curavimus, quod potissimis neologismis ex Nuntiis Latinis excerptis constat.

In praefatione voluminis IV ea, quae aliquot collegae peregrini de lingua Latina optime meriti de nuntiis Finnorum Latinis senserunt, in publico proponere constituimus. In his aestimatoribus est profestrix *Sunniva des Bouvrie*, quae opinionem suam his verbis protulit: “Hi nuntii peritiles sunt ad Latinitatem vivam accipiendam, sed – proh dolor – ego eos

<sup>1</sup> Fusius de initiis Nuntiorum Latinorum agunt Pekkanen et Pitkäranta 1992, 7–14.

<sup>2</sup> V. Opera memorata.

<sup>3</sup> Aliquot lexica huius generis in Bibliographia operum memoratorum invenies.

accipere non possum in regione mea Tromsoeana. Sed libros perlegi et scio, quid contineant. Maximi momenti sunt, valde mihi placet hoc propositum”.<sup>4</sup>

### **Florilegium rerum in Norvegia gestarum**

Usu et rationibus Nuntiorum Latinorum iam satis cognitis nunc, ut institutum est, oportet demonstretur, quas partes Norvegi in argumentis nostris egerint et qualis sit materia, quam illi ad usum nostrum his viginti quinque annis subministraverunt.

Norvegi, qui diem festum nationalem mense Maio (17.5.) agunt, duplicem libertatis celebrandae causam habent. Quarum unam eamque vetustiore hoc ipso vere respicere eo pluris nostra intererat, quod memoria eius solito sollemnior in annum praesentem incidit. Quid enim abhinc ducentos annos in Norvegia evenerit, ex hoc nuntio nuperrime divulgato apparet:

Die Saturni (17.5.) populus Norvegicus una cum familia regia iubilaeum independ-entiae suae bisaeculare celebrabat. Causa sollemnitatis erat, quod die septimo decimo mensis Maii anno millesimo octingentesimo quarto decimo (17.5.1814) in Eidsvoll paroechia prope Osloam sita, legi fundamentali Norvegiae subscriptum erat. Eodem tempore Norvegi a dominatione Danorum liberati sunt. (23.5.2014)

Alteram causam, cur illi quotannis libertate sua gauderent, a. 2005 indicavimus, cum de die festo Norvegiae centum annos explentis egimus. Quae autem fuerit origo huius sollemnitatis, ex his verbis a redactione nostra tunc temporis adhibitis videre licet: “Norvegi sui iuris facti sunt, cum unio, quam cum Suetis habebant, post suffragium populi anno millesimo nongentesimo quinto (1905) dissolveretur” (20.5.2005).

Cum civitas Norvegia ita constituta sit, ut regnum parlamentare vocaretur, bene intellegitur alios nuntios res familiae regiae proprias attigisse, alios autem exposuisse, quid populus comitiis factis iussisset et quibusnam decretis moderatores a civibus electi bono publico consulissent.

Anno 1991 ineunte de caerimonia sollemni in Norvegia celebrata narravimus, inter quam rex novus Haraldus V, patre Olao V paulo ante mortuo, ius iurandum regium publice dedit regina Sonja veste lugubri induta iuxta stante. Is brevi contione habita ait “se sententiam patris ‘Omnia pro Norvegia’ in munere suo secuturum esse” (25.1.1991). Biennio fere post sive mense Martio a. 1993 regem et reginam Norvegiae visitationem statalem in Finnciam fecisse docuimus: “Helsingii hospitibus inter alia novum theatrum melodramaticum et collectiones artis Musei Athenaei monstrabantur” (26.3.1993). Par erat etiam, ut sollemnia nuptiarum, quae Osloae a. 2001 agebantur, descriptione admodum copiosa complecteremur, quae his verbis initium cepit: “Haakon, heres regni Norvegiae, et Mette-Marit Tjessem Høiby matrimonium inierunt. Nuptiae regiae in ecclesia cathedrali Osloensi celebratae sunt praesentibus circiter octingentis hospitibus” (31.8.2001). Placuit nobis etiam eius itineris mentionem facere, quod monarchae una cum aliis primoribus civitatum a. 2006 in Suetiam fecerunt regem Carolum XVI Gustavum sexagenarium gratulaturi (5.5.2006).

Mos est in Norvegia quarto quoque anno comitia habere, quibus legati in magnum concilium (Norvegice ‘storting’) sive in parlamentum creantur. Quae suffragia suo quoque tempore magna cum cura atque diligentia observavimus, ut cognosceremus, quae factiones et qui ministri civitatem administraturi essent. Neque alienum a re esse videtur hic aliquot eventus illorum comitorum breviter recensere: a. 1993 victoriam reportavit factio centralis, cum “unam et viginti novas sedes parlamentares occupavit” (17.9.1993). Quattuor annis post accidit, ut partes operariorum e suffragiis triginta quinque fere centesimas (35%) acciperent. Quae quamvis ita essent, princeps minister Thorbjørn Jagland sibi munus deponendum esse

<sup>4</sup> Pekkanen et Pitkäranta 1998, 8.

arbitrabatur, cum ante comitia pollicitus esset “factionem suam administratricem, nisi totidem vota quot ante consecuta esset, loco cessuram” (19.9.1997). Post comitia autem a. 2005 instituta, quibus coalitio partium mediarum et sinistrarum inter omnes eminuisset, novus princeps minister factus est Jens Stoltenberg, praeses factionis operariorum, qui inter ambitum maxime id egerat, ut de redivitibus petrolei uberioribus potius ministeria publica meliora redderentur quam tributa minuerentur (16.9.2005). Is, quam caducae essent res humanae, post administrationem octo annorum<sup>5</sup> expertus est, cum suffragiis mense Septembri a. 2013 habitis cladem accepit. Inde secutum est, ut regimen Ernae Solberg, praesidi factionis conservativae, tradere cogeretur (13.9.2013).

Primis annis nonagesimis Norvegis – sicut Finnis et multis aliis Europaeis – decernendum erat, utrum ad Communitatem Europaeam adiungerentur necne. Mense Novembri a. 1994, postquam Finni et Sueti populo iubente ad illam societatem accedere constituerunt, Norvegi argumentis in utramque partem ponderatis de ea re dubitare et disceptare perrexerunt (18.11.1994), donec suffragio populi eodem mense exeunte facto recusaverunt, quominus Unionem Europaeam approbarent. Eventum plebis sciti in Nuntiis Latinis his verbis palam fecimus: “Nationalistae maiorem partem sive quinquaginta duas centesimas (52%) votorum sibi conciliaverunt, cum unionistae tantum duodequingenta centesimas partes (48%) occuparent” (2.12.1994).

Cum civitatibus finitimis Norvegi his viginti quinque annis concordia et pace coniuncti fere commodis communibus provehendis operam navantes vixerunt. Unum testimonium eius rei sunt consultationes de foedere defensionis inter Finniam, Suetiam Norvegiamque pangendo, quae mense Martio a. 1992 initium ceperunt (20.3.1992) et postea effecerunt, ut exercitus harum civitatum ad sumptus armorum emendorum deminuendos cooperationem militarem augerent (15.7.1994). Cum Russi quoque in vicinis Norvegorum numerentur, manifestum est inter utrumque populum facile tales quaestiones oriri, quas communi consilio solvi oportet.<sup>6</sup> Certamina et contentiones saepe ad opes naturae septentrionalis usurpandas et ad confinia utriusque nationis definienda pertinent. Norvegi igitur in iis terris erant, quae de regione arctica possidenda certare coeperunt, cum nuntiatum esset “Russos navigio submarino invectos aquam poli arctici subisse et in glaciario eius vexillum suae civitatis possuisse.” (31.8.2007). Controversia autem inter Norvegiam et Russiam iam quadraginta fere annis ante orta, ubinam fines maritimi in Mari Barentsico constituerentur, tandem a. 2010 composita est, cum “decretum est illam regionem submarinam in duas partes ita dividendam esse, ut una natio tantundem fundi quaestuosi maris acciperet quantum altera” (30.4.2010).

Neque necessitudines inter singulas terras septentrionales intercedentes his decenniis semper in pace et amicitia permanserunt, ut vel inde apparet, quod non ita pridem Norvegia et Islandia in tantam discordiam adductae sunt, ut non iam multum abesse videretur, quin una alteri bellum inferret. Causa huius conflictus erat gravissima rixa, quae aestate a. 1994 de iuribus piscandi in aquis apud Insulas Montium Acutorum patentibus nata erat. Crederes bellum quoddam piscatorium septentrionale iam exarsurum esse, postquam “res tormentaria custodum litoralium Norvegiae proiectile monitorium ante tres naves piscatorias Islandicas coniecit” (17.6.1994).

Collegium Nobelianum Norvegicum est institutum maximae auctoritatis et omnibus fere gentibus notum, quod singulis annis constituere solet, cui praemium Nobelianum pacis

<sup>5</sup> Anno 2012 Stoltenberg, cum etiam tum princeps minister esset, “a Iudaeis petivit, ut populo Norvegico ignoscerent, quod magnus numerus Iudaeorum permissu eius in campos carcerales transportatus esset” (3.2.2012).

<sup>6</sup> Inseratur huc nuntius quidam relationes Norvegiae et Unionis Sovieticae illustrans, quem a Radiophonia Norvegica Generali profectum esse constabat: post alterum bellum mundanum factum esse, ut magna armorum copia a Norvegis in Lapponia, in regione Finniae septentrionalis, clam absconderetur; illos ita impedire voluisse, ne, si Russi in Finniam penetravissent, Norvegia quoque in periculum vocaretur (17.5.1991).



tribuatur. Quae cum ita essent, mirum non est de decretis eius etiam in emissionibus Latinis paene quotannis relatum esse. Anno 2001 hoc honore affectus est Kofi Annan, quem aiebant “pro iuribus humanis contra terrorismum vehementer pugnasse et coetui Nationum Unitarum maiorem auctoritatem paravisse” (19.10.2001). Anno insequenti idem praemium accepit Jimmy Carter, praesidens olim Americanorum, qui “longinquo tempore conflictionibus populorum dirimendis et iuribus humanis defendendis operam navavisse” existimabatur (18.10.2002). Anno post victrix huius certaminis evasit Shirin Ebadi, iudex Iraniana de iuribus feminarum et parvulorum defendendis optime merita (17.10.2003), cum eadem gratia autumnus 2004 feminae Africanae Wangari Muta Maathai referretur, “quod pro evolutione continua, democratia, pace laboravisset” (15.10.2004). Etiam aliquot communitates illo nomismate ornatae sunt, nam a. 2005 factum est, ut Ordo internationalis ab energia atomica (IAEA) cum praeside Mohamed ElBaradei ea laude dignus haberetur (14.10.2005). Mense autem Octobri a. 2008 Finnis causa erat, cur peculiari gaudio triumpharent: tum enim certiores facti sunt civem suum Martti Ahtisaari novum Nobelistam creatum esse. Iuvat hic eum textum, quo de victoria eius narravimus, ad verbum referre:

Praemio Nobeliano pacis afficitur hoc anno Martti Ahtisaari, pristinus praesidens Finniae unum et septuaginta annos natus. Collegium Nobelianum Norvegicum, dum rationes eligendi explicat, ait eum illo honore dignissimum esse, quoniam munere pacis et concordiae inter civitates conciliandae per triginta annos in compluribus continentibus functus esset. Unam e rebus ab Ahtisaari bene gestis esse, quod principes Indonesiae cum rebellibus provinciae Aceh anno bis millesimo quinto (2005) foedus pacis icissent. (17.10.2008)

Neque nomina et merita eorum hominum et ordinum silentio praeterimus, qui recentissimis quoque annis pacem apud omnes gentes tantopere promoverunt, ut praemio Nobeliano digni esse existimarentur: inter eos sunt Barack Obama, praesidens Civitatum Americae Unitarum, qui “effecisse” dicebatur, “ut spes in orbem terrarum rediret” (16.10.2009); Liu Xiaobo, vir Sinensis, qui diu postulaverat, “ut civibus patriae suae maior libertas concederetur” (22.10.2010); tres feminae Africanae nomine Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee, Tawakkul Karman, quippe quae “securitatem et iura feminarum promovissent” (14.10.2011); Unio Europaea, cui laudi ducebatur “his decenniis ad concordiam, democratiam, iura humana provehenda multum contulisse” (19.10.2012).

Constat prosperitatem oeconomicam, qua Norvegi gaudere videntur, maximam partem ad piscaturam (ut patet ex conflictu maritimo, quem supra commemoravimus) et ad industriam petroleariam referri posse. Illi etiam ex captatione ballaenarum sibi lucrum facere conantur vix curantes, licitum sit an legi contrarium tale negotium exercere. Conventu in Kioto a. 1993 de ea re instituto “Norvegia et Iaponia flagitaverunt, ut ballaenarum captura, iam decem annos interdicta, rursus permitteretur” (14.5.1993). Commissio tamen internationalis illa animalia commercii causa peti vetuit, ut impediretur, ne eorum genus omnino emoreretur, sed “Iaponia et Norvegia interdictum nihili fecerunt” (9.5.1997). Reditus autem ex petroleo obtenti, qui ad fructum civium necessarie redundant, a. 2012 usque aucti sunt, cum maximum fontem petrolearium in Mari Germanico prope urbem Stavangeriam repertum esse innotuisset: “Novus campus tantae magnitudinis est, ut pretium eius etiam in viginti quinque miliarda euronum ascendere videatur” (31.12.2012).

Quanta prosperitate Norvegi utantur et quam bene res apud eos se habeant, ex variis comparationibus et investigationibus internationalibus praeclare cognoscitur. Si relationi a Nationibus Unitis a. 1995 divulgatae fidem tribuimus, aequalitas feminarum et virorum optime apud populos septentrionales observatur: “primum locum inter centum triginta nationes tenet Suecia, secundum Finnia, tertium Norvegia, quartum Dania” (31.8.1995). Triennio post, cum Argentaria Mundana responsum ad quaestionem quaereret, ubinam

gentium homines ditissimi habitarent, Norvegi pari successu certaverunt: etiam in hac comparatione tertii inventi sunt, cum Helvetii et Iaponienses iis opulentiores esse iudicarentur (9.10.1998). Idem ad sanitatem publicam valet: “Inter omnes Europaeos optima valetudine gaudent Sueti, Finni et Norvegi, ut quaedam novae observationes demoscopicae monstrant” (11.12.1998).<sup>7</sup> Anno 2005 Norvegia secundum locum (Finnis inferiorem sed Uruguaiis superiorem) consecuta est in comparatione, quam Institutum internationale nomine Forum oeconomicum mundi (WEF) de condicione rei circumiectalis in singulis civitatibus faciendam curavit. “Percontatores praesertim id cognoscere volebant, quemadmodum tam qualitas aquae et aeris quam biodiversitas naturae ubique servatae et meliores redditae essent” (28.1.2005). Sed quattuor annis post, cum UNDP, i. e. programma progressionis humanae Nationum Unitarum, investigavisset, in quo ordine civitates mundi secundum gradum humanae progressionis ponerentur, Norvegia primum locum obtinuit (9.10.2009).

In Nuntiis Latinis etiam ea, quae Norvegi cum ad cultum civilem generatim provehendam tum ad linguam Latinam excolendam singulis annis fecerant, libenter enarravimus. Quae cum ita essent, nihil dubitavimus, quin aestate 1994 rem a praeceptore philosophiae Jostein Gaarder eximia cum laude gestam accurate exponeremus. Is enim opere philosophico nomine ‘Sofies verden’ (Mundus Sophiae) ad usum puerorum et puellarum conscripto non solum sibi magnam famam internationalem conciliavit sed etiam nomen Norvegicum magnopere nobilitavit. In illo libro puellam quattuordecim annos natam nomine Sofie Athenas profectam cum Socrate colloquentem et “theoriam Democriti atomicam auxilio surculorum structilium ‘Lego’ dictorum” discentem inducit (15.7.1994). Iucundum erat auditu latinistas Norvegiae a. 1995 Osloam congregatos esse, ut moderatoribus Vibeke Roggen et Hugone Montgomery disputarent, qualis esset sors latinitatis vivae in Norvegia. “Convenerant ex tota Norvegia plus sexaginta praeceptores et fautores Latinitatis, qui de institutione linguae Latinae theoretica et practica colloquerentur” (30.3.1995). Quantum Norvegi in musica populari profecerint, inde conicitur, quod Osloae mense Maio a. 1996 certamen cantandi Eurovisivum institutum est, ubi “secundum locum occupavit Norvegia” (23.5.1996). Cum quaereretur, quis esset optimus liber umquam conscriptus, percontatione a. 2002 apud centum scriptores in Norvegia facta “victoriam suffragii facilem reportavit Don Quijote, opus saeculo septimo decimo a Miguel de Cervantes confectum, in quo de equite contra molendina alata desperanter pugnante narratur” (17.5.2002). Anno autem 2013 in nuntios nostros notitiam inventi cuiusdam historici inseruimus: archaeologos Norvegos prope urbem Nidrosiam (vulgo Trondheim) nummum inscriptione CARLVS praeditum repperisse; eum esse amplius mille ducentorum annorum, cum ex aetate originem duceret, qua Carolus Magnus nondum imperator coronatus esset (17.6.2013).

Liceat rem quandam ad artem technicam spectantem adiungere. In ea enim Norvegi miro modo excellere videntur, si respicis, quod artificium quidam incolae regionis Telemark ad tenebras depellendas excogitaverint:

Rjukan, vicus provinciae Norvegiae Telemark, hieme sex menses culmine montis obumbratus in tenebris iacebat. Nuper autem in monte tria specula ingentia sive heliostata ita posita sunt, ut radii solis in plateam vici hieme lucerent. Superficies totalis speculorum est unius et quinquaginta metrorum quadrorum. Et horizontaliter et verticaliter specula ita vertuntur, ut cursum solis usque sequantur. Area, quam radii solis speculis reflecti in ima valle illuminant, est circiter quingentorum metrorum quadrorum. Ita tenebrae, quibus incolae hieme laborabant, ad finem venerunt. (15.11.2013)

<sup>7</sup> Ad salutem publicam provehendam id quoque nonnihil conferre videtur, quod Kalendis Iuniis a. 2004 in Norvegia lex antitabacaria valere coepit, qua cives in cauponis fumificare vetiti sunt. “Nova lex eo spectat, ut homines in cauponis laborantes a fumificatione passiva protegantur.” (11.6.2004).

Quanto successu iuvenes Norvegi variis certaminibus athleticis interfuerint, nemo est, qui nesciat. Hoc praesertim ad id athleticae genus valet, quam scridationem<sup>8</sup> hodie Latine appellamus. Anno 1993, cum de ludis scridandi mundialibus in urbe Falun habitis narrarem, nobis concedendum erat Norvegos maximum victoriarum numerum adeptos esse (5.3.1993). Anno post fortasse id quoque illis optimum successum petentibus emolumento fuit, quod “Olympia hiemalia, ordine septima decima, Lillehammeri, in oppido Norvegiae meridionalis” (18.2.1994) celebrabantur. Praecipua autem laude scridandi in Norvegia floruit Bjørn Dæhlie, qui ludis a. 1998 Nagani factis “athletam in historia Olympiorum hibernorum omnium optimum se praestitit, cum septem nomismata aurea et quattuor argentea paravisset” (20.2.1998).

Iuventus Norvegica, quamquam praecipue in re athletica hiemali omnibus praestare solet, sine dubio etiam in iis certandi generibus, quae aestate exercentur, bonum successum habuit. In lusu pedifollis sphaeristae Norvegi tantopere eminuerunt, ut certaminibus mundanis a. 1998 in Francogallia positis “contra omnium opinionem Brasiliam punctis duobus ad unum” superarent “et inter sedecim nationes ad ludos pergendos” admitterentur (26.6.1998). Quod ad athleticam campestram pertinet, quis est, qui Andream Thorkildsen, acontistam egregium eumque Olympionicen, ignoret? Sed quo quis est ceteris praestantior, eo acerbiorum cladem aliquando patitur. Hanc sortem Thorkildsen ludis Osakensibus a. 2007 expertus est, quippe cum tunc palma iaculationis adversario Finno Tero Pitkämäki traderetur. Constat igitur illum diem Finnis ingens gaudium, Norvegis magnam tristitiam paravisse. Eventum huius contentionis in Nuntiis Latinis his verbis declaravimus: “Tero Pitkämäki victor evasit, cum iaculum in longitudinem plus nonaginta metrorum (90,33) vibravit. Acerrimos autem habebat aemulos, nam Andreas Thorkildsen Norvegius plus duodenonaginta metra (88,61) iecit et Breaux Greer Americanus septentrionalis plus octoginta sex (86,21).” (7.9.2007)

Iam ad alios certandi et comparandi modos transeamus, qui Norvegis bonam famam et aestimationem internationalem attulerunt. Anno 1993 ineunte Lugduni, in urbe Francogalliae, certamen artis coquinariae Bocuse d’Or appellatum editum est, in quo “nationes septentrionales triumphaverunt, cum coquus Norvegicus Eyvind Hellstrøm palmam ferret et Arne Fusager ex Dania oriundus secundum locum obtineret” (29.1.1993). Victoria autem huius generis, quamquam plurimi aestimatur, tamen nec magnitudine nec nobilitate ullo modo comparari potest cum ea gloria, qua is afficitur, qui principatum mundanum in lusu scacorum obtinet. Talem rem gessit Magnus Carlsen, adulescens Norvegius, qui iam a. 2010, cum undeviginti annorum esset, lusor scacorum omnium optimus habebatur (8.1.2010). Tribus annis post ei contigit, ut ad summum honoris culmen perveniret, cum “principatum ludi regii mundanum consecutus est; is enim, postquam in certamen de gloria huius artis cum adversario Viswanathan Anand venit, victoriam ab eo cum discrimine trium punctorum reportavit (6.12.2013).

Media aestate a. 2011 Osloae et in insula Utøya prope urbem sita scelus tam atrox et crudele perpetratum est, ut vix credibile esset.<sup>9</sup> Quid ibidem mense Iulio exeunte factum esset et quo modo res tristissimae singillatim processissent, in Nuntiis Latinis his verbis usi descripsimus:

<sup>8</sup> Primum quidem nobis moris erat soleam ligneam, qua quis per nives prolabitur, voce *nartae* (cf. *nartare*, *nartator*, *nartatio*, etc.) designare, quam aliquot lexicographi e quibusdam fontibus Latinis posterioribus hauserant (cf. Helfer, s.v. Ski, skiläufen, Skiläufer; PONS, s.v. Ski; Lexicon recentis Latinitatis s.v. sci, sciare, sciatore), sed postea, cum nobis persuasum esset *nartam* potius ad traham quam spectare, illud vocabulum reiecimus et loco eius vocem *scridae* (cf. *scridare*, *scridator*, *scridatio*, etc) usu recepimus (cf. Lexicon hodiernae Latinitatis, 333), quae a nomine gentis *Scridifinnorum* originem trahit. Pluribus haec disserit Tuomo Pekkanen in scripto suo “De Finnis cornutis”, quod in libro festivo praesenti divulgatur (Pekkanen 2014).

<sup>9</sup> Eo ipso tempore redactores Nuntiorum Latinorum ferias aestivas agebant, quo factum est, ut de his homicidiis duabus demum septimanis post narrarem.

Animi Norvegorum et aliorum quoque hominum valde concussi sunt duabus stragibus Osloae die vicesimo secundo mensis Iulii (22.7.) factis. Primum quidem media urbe bomba autocineto imposita tanta vi displosa est, ut octo homines vitam amitterent et aedificia publica circumiacentia pessime delerentur. Duabus horis post in insula Utøya prope Osloam sita, ubi conventus iuvenum factionis operariorum celebrabatur, strages ingens effici coepta est, quae amplius unam horam fiebat. Perpetrator caedium erat vir quidam veste custodis publici personatus, qui sclopeto usus insulam circumibat et omnes homines sibi occurrentes consilio occidebat. Neque antea interficiendi finem fecit, quam a biocolytis in locum tandem pervenientibus captus est. Ad id tempus iam undeseptuaginta homines immisericorditer interfecerat, quorum maior pars ex adulescentulis constabat. Nomen terroristae, ut postea nuntiatum, erat Anders Behring Breivik, extremista partium dextrarum triginta duos annos natus (5.8.2011).

Postea ea, quae ex stragibus Osloensibus sequebantur, quattuor emissionibus Latinis tractavimus. Primum quidem de sollemnitate memoriali Osloae celebrata dictum est, inter quam rex Haraldus oratione habita propinquos iuvenum aliquot septimanis ante interfectorum consolatus: “Equidem”, inquit, “ipse pater, avus, coniux, intellegere possum, quanto luctu et dolore affecti sitis. Teneor tamen fide libertatem metu fortiolem esse et mihi persuasum est Norvegos potentes esse in sua patria libere et tute vivendi” (26.8.2011). Deinde discordiam inter psychiatros et alios medicos ortam, utrum Breivik, cum homicidia committeret, mente sanus fuisset necne, breviter attigimus (13.4.2012). Tum relationem investigatoriam, in qua aestimabatur, quam apte et efficaciter magistratus Norvegi in illis stragibus cohibendis egissent, nobis explicandam suscepimus. Summa illius cognitionis erat haec: “In inquisitione custodes publici reprehenduntur, quod multa omiserint, complures errores fecerint, cunctando effecerint, ut numerus iuvenum in insula Utøya occisorum in tantum cresceret” (17.8.2012). Postremo sententiam iudicum nuntiavimus, ex qua Breivik, caedis septuaginta septem hominum convictus, “vinculis unius et viginti annorum condemnatus est. Consensu enim omnium iudicum ille vir eo tempore, cum stragem edidit, compos mentis fuisse iudicabatur”. (31.8.2012)

Ut de minoribus facinoribus in Norvegia admissis loquar, fortasse scitu dignum est, quid de maleficio mense Augusto a. 2004 in museo Osloensi commisso rettulerimus: duas picturas celeberrimas ab artifice Edvard Munch factas, quarum una Clamor, altera Madonna appellaretur, in maxima luce furto surreptas esse; fures ita egisse, ut duo viri personati arma vibrantes in museum penetrarent et custodibus mortem minitati illa opera artis secum abducerent tertio latrone in autocineto expectante, dum sociis fugam praeberet (27.8.2004).

Horridae tempestates, aestus solito fervidiores, imbres et frigora modum excedentia, aliae res ad asperitatem caeli spectantes, quippe quae ad vitam cotidianam uniuscuiusque hominis multum afficere solent, in argumentis Nuntiorum Latinorum semper fuerunt. Neque fieri potuit, quin diversae regiones Norvegiae quoque calamitatibus huius modi saepius vexarentur. Anno 1992 ineunte ora occidentalis Norvegiae tanta tempestate afflicta est, ut “commeatus aërius, navalis et ferriviarius omnino” resisteret “et magna pars viarum Norvegiae meridionalis propter tempestatem clauderetur” (3.1.1992). Paucis annis post eadem terra magnis inundationibus laborabat, propter quas “circiter quattuor milia hominum domos relinquere” coacta sunt et “ferrivia Osloa Trondheimum ducens fluctibus dirupta est, item duae magnae viae stratae” (8.6.1995). Ut ad annum 1997 ventum est, natura coeli Norvegiae non solum hieme, sed etiam aestate valde inusitatam se praebuit: mense Februario in regionibus septentrionalibus tempestates nivosae tam diutinae et vehementes saeviebant, ut domus privatae acervis nivium obruerentur et aeroportus saepe clauderentur. “In regione

Tromsøana<sup>10</sup> uno mense nives ducenta septuaginta centimetra altae ceciderunt” (14.2.1997). Etiam aestas in Norvegia eodem anno peculiaris erat, quod “temperatura caeli terra marique pristinos primatus calor die ac nocte superavit” (29.8.1997).

Ad incommoda naturae quaedam aliae res adversae accesserunt, quas redactores Nuntiorum Latinorum dignas memoratu habuerunt. Mense Aprili a. 1990 “in Norvegia calamitas ingens accidit, cum navis epibatica nomine Scandinavian Star in sinu Osloensi incendio correpta est et plus centum quinquaginta vectores, inter quos complures infantes, horribiliter interierunt” (13.4.1990). Duobus mensibus post eam calamitatem navalem, quam Norvegi in Sinu Mexicano pertulerant, in conspectu nostro cum iis, qui Latine sciunt, radiophonice et per Interrete communicavimus. Tum enim in navi nomine Mega Borg, quae ingenti olei copia onerata erat, magnum incendium ardere coepit, unde secutum est, ut saltem duo homines vitam amitterent “et magna parte olei in mare effusa” iam periculum esset, ne totus Sinus Mexicanus inquinaretur (15.6.1990). Neque incendia tantum in mari orta, sed etiam in terra conflata Norvegis gravissima damna attulerunt, ut ex nuntio hoc anno ineunte divulgato apparet:

Norvegia intra breve tempus compluribus incendiis terrestribus exitiosis afflicta est. Duo vici litorales in parte septentrionali urbis Trondheim siti omnino deleti sunt incendio, quod in illa regione die Lunae (27.1.) vesperi saevire coepit. Nonaginta fere domus combustae sunt, sed nemo incolarum interfectus est. Area igne absumpta circuitu ad quindecim chiliometra quadrata patet. (29.1.2014)

Ad illa mala addendae sunt duae calamitates cirumiectales, quarum prior anno 1990 ineunte Norvegis obtigit his ipsis culpa carentibus. Tum enim cognitum est “ab Unione Sovietica, praesertim a paeninsula Cola, atmosphaeram multos per annos tantam sordium funestarum copiam in plagam Arctoam detulisse, ut natura eius iam non resisteret” (26.1.1990). Cum partes Norvegiae septentrionales illis inquinamentis naturae vexatae essent, septem fere annis post regio Osloensis sua calamitate oecologica afflicta est: cuniculus ferriviarius nomine Romeriksporten, postquam aquis sordidis e lacubus et puteis exoneratis repletus est, ab aedificatoribus materia quadam carcinogenica et mutationes genorum efficiente condensabatur, quo factum est, ut aquae subterraneae illo veneno inficerentur (24.10.1997).

## Conclusio

Ex locis supra propositis conspici potest res Norvegicas in Nuntiis Latinis paene 70ies in promptu fuisse spatio temporis inde a die 26.1.1990 usque ad diem 23.5.2014 patente. Inde apparet argumenta huius generis singulis annis a nobis bis vel ter tractata esse. Si quis id parum esse dixerit, meminerit nos illas emissiones redigentes inopia temporis et spatii laboravisse, quam ob rem fieri non potuit, quin ex materie abundantis, quam habuimus, nonnisi exiguam partem edendam susciperemus. Huc accedit, quod in textibus eligendis Norvegiam ceteris civitatibus nullo modo praeferre voluimus, sed animum ad totum orbem terrarum attendere conati sumus. Speramus tamen nobis contigisse, ut ex illis fragmentis selectis aliquam imaginem, quamvis incompletam et dispersam, rerum in Norvegia hoc quarto saeculo gestarum adumbraremus atque amicis linguae Latinae occasionem in historiam eius recentissimam tam magnis gaudiis quam ingentibus doloribus repletam quasi per transennam prospiciendi praeberemus.

<sup>10</sup> Tromsøa est urbs Norvegiae septentrionalis, ubi Sunniva habitat.



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**De auctore**

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**Summarium Anglicum**

*News pertaining to Norway reported in the Finnish Nuntii Latini, 1989–2014*. The Nuntii Latini is a five-minute long, weekly news bulletin which the Finnish Broadcasting Company (Yle) has been broadcasting under the editorship of Tuomo Pekkanen and Reijo Pitkäranta for the last 25 years, ever since 1989 (<http://yle.fi/nuntii>). The texts covering the first ten-year period (1989–1999) were published in a book series of five volumes. In the preface to vol. IV one finds the opinions of various foreign colleagues concerning these news bulletins. One of these is Synnøve des Bouvrie, who praises them as “highly useful for learning living Latin”.

Norwegian subject matters have been treated almost 70 times in these emissions, that is two or three times per year. National celebrations commemorating Norway’s independence, such as the hundredth anniversary of the dissolution of the union with Sweden (2005) and the two

hundredth anniversary of the Constitution (2014), have been reported. Various news about the royal family has figured as well; so have parliamentary decisions and strains in the relations between Norway and other far-northern territories. Much space has been allotted to the Norwegian Nobel Committee and its laureates, not least in the year 2008, when Martti Ahtisaari of Finland received the Nobel Peace Prize. We have also reported how the Norwegians have succeeded in various international surveys, such as how the countries of the world fared in terms of the equality of men and women, economic prosperity, public health, and general welfare. Nor have we avoided to give publicity to the many glorious victories that Norwegian athletes (such as Dæhli and Thorkildsen) have made in various competitions. Likewise, Magnus Carlsen's great achievement when becoming the world's Number 1 in chess has been praised.

It would have been impossible if sad disasters that have befallen Norway were not carefully treated as well. More than anything the hideous crime that Anders Behring Breivik committed in the summer of 2011 belong in this category. However, even devastating storms, natural disasters, and conflagrations which took their toll on the population and nature, have figured in our Nuntii Latini.

### **Summarium Latinum**

Nuntii Latini est conspectus hebdomadalis quinarum minutarum, quem Radiophonia Finnica Generalis, redactoribus Tuomo Pekkanen et Reijo Pitkäranta, iam per viginti quinque annos (1989–2014) emittit et emittere pergit (<http://yle.fi/nuntii>). Textus ad primos decem annos (1989–1999) pertinentes in serie quinque librorum divulgati sunt. In praefatione voluminis IV opiniones proponuntur, quas aliquot collegae peregrini de his nuntiis protulerunt. In his est Sunniva des Bouvrie, quae eos “perutiles ... ad Latinitatem vivam accipiendam” laudat.

Res Norvegiae in his emissionibus paene 70ies tractatae sunt, i.e. bis vel ter in anno. Observati sunt dies festi nationales, quibus memoria Norvegiae sui iuris factae celebrata est, ut sollemnitas civitatis centum annos explentis (a. 2005) et iubilaeum bisaeculare legis fundamentalis acceptae (a. 2014). In argumentis fuerunt etiam variae res ad familiam regiam pertinentes, eventus comitorum parlamentarium, necessitudines inter Norvegiam et ceteras terras septentrionales intercedentes. Multum spatii datum est Collegio Nobiliano Norvegico et decretis eius, imprimis a. 2008, cum Martti Ahtisaari Finnis praemium Nobelianum pacis accepit. Id quoque commemoravimus, quam bene Norvegi in comparationibus internationalibus a diversis institutis factis successissent, cum investigaretur, qualis in quaque civitate esset aequalitas feminarum et virorum, quanta prosperitate oeconomica et sanitate publica quaeque natio uteretur, quid de gradu progressionis humanae in quaque terra dicendum esset. Neque silentio praeterimus, quot et quantas victorias athletae Norvegi (Dæhlie, Thorkildsen) in variis certaminibus reportavissent et quantam rem Magnus Carlsen gessisset, cum primatum mundi in lusu scacorum consecutus est.

Fieri non potuit, quin etiam res tristissimae, quae Norvegiae obtigerunt, in Nuntiis Latinis accurate tractarentur. Huc pertinet ante omnia istud scelus atrocissimum, quod Anders Behring Breivik aestate 2011 commisit, sed in iis sunt etiam tempestates saevissimae et variae calamitates naturae nec non incendia funesta, quae multis hominibus pernicii fuerunt et naturae damna gravissima attulerunt.

### **Verba clavaria**

Nuntii Latini, Norvegia, rex Haraldus, Dæhlie, Thorkildsen, Carlsen, Breivik.

*IV*

*PARS LATINITATIS VIVAE*



# DE LINGVA LATINA DEQVE SPIRITVALITATE BENEDICTINA FVNDAMENTIS EVROPAE

Sigrides C. Albert

## I. Quomodo lingua Latina cum rebus Benedictinis coniungatur

Lectoribus letricibusque doctis aliquid referre velle de linguā Latinā Europae fundamento potest esse simile ac ululas Athenas transportare vel libros Latinos in graphea Latinistarum. Tamen conabor unum alterumve aspectum exhibere, qui non semper statim ante oculos versatur, cum “lingua Latina” commemoratur. Insuper meā interest illas tres res coniungere, quae praeter alia mihi cordi sunt, nempe Europam, Latinitatem atque res Benedictinas.

Quid ergo multis hominibus (sed Deo gratias non omnibus) in mentem venire solet, cum de linguā Latinā interrogentur? Scilicet: vetus (hōc quidem verum est); deinde etiam: difficilis, pulverulenta, inutilis, mortua (sed haec omnia non sunt vera). Talis vero opinio saepe ex experiētiis scholaribus non ita bonis provenit vel ex praeiudiciis traditis, de quibus non deliberatur et quae nullum fundamentum in propriā scientiā habent (vel utrumque).

Sed ad rem ipsam perveniamus. Linguam Latinam decursū temporis, quo potestas auctoritasque Romana extendebantur et Imperium Romanum paulatim instituebatur atque amplificabatur, satis celeriter linguam ubique in illā regione adhibitam factam esse ex ipsā naturā rei intellegitur, cum omnino necessarium fuerit, ut sermo rei publicae praeponderantis, id est Romanae, sciretur. Hoc spectat non solum ad res politicas, iuridicas atque oeconomicas, sed etiam ad contactum cottidianum. Sed in hanc condicionem non magis incumbam, cum sit notissima. Latinitatem tamen etiam post “interitum Imperii Romani”, qui dicitur, statum suum ut medium communicationis “internationale” et ut linguam variarum regionum vitae retinuisse atque servavisse non per se intellegitur. Causa quaedam huius condicionis fortasse iam invenitur tempore antiquitatis serae, quo in Imperio Romano saeculo tertio p.Chr.n. plura centra institui coepta sunt atque diversis in partibus Imperii centra culturalia maioris momenti exorta sunt, ubi lingua Latina gradū excelsissimo adhibebatur. Illo tempore Latinitas fit lingua normativa Imperii partis occidentalis, quae institutione grammaticali omnibus in regionibus fulcitur. Bonum exemplum praeter alia mihi videtur esse Augustinus, qui medio saeculo quarto p.Chr.n. Carthagine magister rhetorices eruditus est atque cui paulo post in ipsā urbe Romā locus docendi traditus est. Quae condicio unā ex parte est testis eruditionem Carthaginensem satis magnam qualitatem habuisse, alterā ex parte Romae non iam timores exstitisse, quibus aliquis “ex provinciā exoriundus” excellentem scientiam linguae Latinae habere agnoscebatur.

Sed exemplo Augustini etiam alia res bene demonstratur. Nam idem est unus ex excellentissimis auctoribus Christianae litteraturae antiquitatis serae et inter patres ecclesiasticos, qui dicuntur, numeratur. Significans idem hōc in conexū est eā quōque de causā, quia patres ecclesiastici non solum philosophiā paganā elementa veritatis divinae contineri agnoverunt, sed etiam eruditionem loquelarem aliquā ex parte pro litteraturā Christianā atque pro usū praedicandi susceperunt. Itaque Latina litteratura Christiana, quae paulatim magis magisque copiosa facta est et longe lateque pervulgata est, reddita est aliud fundamentum Latinitatis sermonis culturalis et hunc in modum unum ex fundamentis cultūs



civilis Europaei.<sup>1</sup> Nihilominus Latinitas Christiana ne percipiatur tamquam specialis forma linguae Latinae antiquae sive Latinitas depravata vel omnino alius sermo. Generaliter tantummodo agitur de argumentis et de novis terminis, qui necessarii sunt, ut argumenta exacte tradantur. Elegantiā loquelari textūs Augustini, Tertulliani, Hieronymi aliorumque cum textibus antiquitatis classicae sic dictae omni ex parte comparari possunt.

## II. De spiritualitate Benedictina

In conexū patrum ecclesiasticorum atque sub aspectū, quo de fundamentis culturalibus Europae agitur, nunc etiam Sanctus Benedictus eiusque Regula afferantur oportet, quae decursū temporis fundamentum Benedictinitatis, quae dicitur, reddebatur. Coniunctio autem conspicua thematum hic tractatarum, id est Latinitatis et spiritualitatis Benedictinae, non solum sita est in eo, quod utraque res est universalis, sed etiam in eo, quod Regula Sancti Benedicti scilicet originaliter Latine erat conscripta. Tamen videlicet aliae quōque coniunctiones exstant.

Num quis Benedictum antiquitati serae vel initio temporis mediaevalis adiungere velit, dependet de quaestione, quando fines periodorum ponantur. Benedictus autem circiter annum 480<sup>um</sup> Nursiae natus est et verisimiliter anno 547<sup>o</sup> vitā functus est.<sup>2</sup> De anno, quo mortuus est, tamen scientifici inter se adhuc disputant. Sed haec in conexū nostro nunc non sunt praecipua. Multo maioris momenti est eius fundamentalis “constitutio” monachismi, ut ita dicam, nempe Regula Sancti Benedicti atque effectus, quem eadem decursū saeculorum exseruit.

Dicendum autem est Benedictum neque monachismum Christianum invenisse, sed aliquo modo repperisse, neque Regulam suam quadamtenus “ex nihilo” composuisse, sed eum scilicet fontes adhibuisse, nempe imprimis Sacram Scripturam et “Regulam Magistri”, quae dicitur. Praeterea esset sententia non historica, qua idem “fundator Ordinis regligiosi” appellaretur, cum talia facere non fuerit eius impulsus praedeliberatus, sed talis “Ordo religiosus” denique decursū temporum exortus est. Scopus Benedicti potius in eo erat, ut consociationi suae, quam erigere voluit, opus normativum solidumque conscribere vellet. Alicuius momenti hac in re certe etiam est eidem non theoriam solam fuisse auctoritatem, sed multo maioris ponderis fuisse eum omnes formas existentiae monachalis ipsum expertum esse et itaque eum scivisse, quid efficaciter adhiberi posset et quid non. Eā de causā etiam perspectum habuit consociationem humanam (et itaque consociationem quōque monachorum) sine regulis non revera supervivere valere. Talem vero cognoscentiam etiam sociologia hodierna iterum iterumque asseverat. Vim quandam ad illam cogitationem, quā anomiam vitare desideravit, certe condiciones quōque politicae temporibus perturbatis atque discordiarum plenis, quorum contemporaneus erat, exseruerunt. Itaque Benedictus quiete atque tranquille in consociatione suā exstruendā laboravit eandemque aedificavit et in ipsā “paci Christi” locum praebere conatus est. Benedictus in monasterio suo opus formandi atque “aedificandi” – sensū latiore – exanclavit, quod decursū temporis factum est ectypus innumerorum monasteriorum. Tamen denuo iterandum est: id, quod hodiernis temporibus intellegimus esse “Ordinem religiosum sive monasticum”, originalis non erat cogitatio neque scopus agendi. Nihilominus hac scientiā effectus definitivus non mutatur.<sup>3</sup>

Benedictus non solum erat vir precandi orandique, sed etiam vir operandi laborandique. Itaque monachi consociationis non solum ad opus Dei, quod supra omnia ponendum est, impelluntur, sed etiam ad labores obligantur. Hic aspectus Benedicto non solum eā de causā

<sup>1</sup> Cfr ex. gr. Frank 1978, 109 sqq.; Andresen 1978, 51 sqq.; Paulsen 1997, 365 sqq.; Stroh 2007, 126 sqq.; Leonhardt 2009, 115 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Fontes autem contemporanei, quibus de vitā Sancti Benedicti agitur, desunt. “Biographus” eius primus erat quinquaginta annis post mortem Benedicti papa Gregorius Magnus, qui in dialogis suis de eo scripsit.

<sup>3</sup> Cfr ex.gr. Tschudy & Renner 1979, 227 sqq.; Matt & Hilpisch 1960, 166 sqq.; Decarreux 1980, 145 sqq.; Senger 1998, 26 sqq.; Puzicha 2004, 163 sqq.

est magni momenti, quia monasterium laboribus manualibus oeconomice sustentandum est, sed etiam quia “*otiositas inimica est animae*”.<sup>4</sup> Locutio illa ubique notissima, quae ut dictum Benedictinum est clara et quā uterque aspectus exhibetur, nempe “*ora et labora*”, sic in ipsā Regulā scilicet non legitur. Illa locutio videtur denique saeculo undevicesimo exorta esse et ab Mauro Wolter, Beuronensi abbate fundatore, pro Benedictinis assumpta est, cum esset quadamtenus apta. Plerumque autem hōc in conexū in oblivionem venire solet ad “laborandum” etiam “legere” pertinere. Quod Benedictus “lectionem” appellat, etiam congruit cum eo, quod perceptione nostrā est “studium” atque labor scientificus. Itaque labor manualis atque labor scientificus sunt “duo lateres eiusdem nomismatis”, ut ita dicam.

Benedictus Regulā suā librum legum conscripsit, qui insignis est aspectibus pertinentibus ad res fundamentales et ad res, quae ab hominibus perfici possunt. Cum Benedicti Regula ex ipsā vitā creverit et in ipsā vitā probata sit, eius sensus realitatis et veritas interna ex spiritū vitāque viri exoriuntur, qui vero aequilibrio clementiam atque vim, humilitatem atque dignitatem, amorem laboris atque amorem precum coniungit. Solum tali condicione revera explicari et intellegi potest, cur Regula Benedicti decursū historiae mutatis temporibus atque mutatis condicionibus adaptata sit et hunc in modum iterum iterumque comprobata sit. Significans autem est Benedictum non id intendisse, ut magnam copiam singulorum mandatorum componeret, sed ut perpēnsam legem communi vitae convenientem exararet. Quod vero attinet ad magnam copiam singulorum mandatorum vel potius ad quaestionem, quomodo éadem vitari possint, grapheocratis Europaeis suadendum esset, ut Regulam Benedicti legerent.

Quod Regula Benedicti tam ampla et realitatem respiciens erat, causa quōque erat, cur ipsa non solum omnibus aliis normis monasterialibus praelata esset, sed etiam eadem itaque vere apta redderetur, ut aliis temporibus, rebus condicionibusque excoli et bene procedere posset. Cum Benedicto hi aspectūs fuissent magni momenti, bonum effectum Regulae suae facilitavit. Nam hunc in modum valere potuit neque obsoleta facta est. Est éadem ergo quadamtenus aperta, cum ex reali processū historico percipiatur, quales possibilitates Regulā praebitae sint. Itaque omnibus temporibus atque omnibus in regionibus spiritualitas Sancti Benedicti conexūs atque relationes tempestivas servavit.

Totam historiam Ordinis Benedictini nunc explicare nolo (id quod hōc in conexū etiam facere non valeo). Solum nonnulla puncta breviter commemorare volo. Nam cum monasteria Benedictina extenderentur, monachi munera quōque ad cultum civilem spectantia susceperunt. Sic auxilium tulerunt, quo non solum Christianitatem propagaverunt, sed etiam quo incrementum cultūs civilis instigaverunt atque opera culturalia exhibuerunt. Quod attinet ad opera culturalia imprimis nominanda sunt scholae monasteriales atque bibliothecae, quas instituerunt et quibus praeter alia impeditum est, quominus saeculis insequentibus litteratura antiqua prorsus amitteretur. Magnā ex parte monachis debemus hereditatem culturalem antiquitatis saeculis mediaevalibus in Europa occidentali asservatam esse. Tali in laude praeterea respiciendum est magnā ex parte actum esse de litteraturā non Christianā.

Imprimis inter saecula decimum et duodecimum monasteria in ecclesiā et in ipso mundo magnum effectum publice quōque exseruerunt. Momentum eorum religiosum spatio temporis congruens potestate satis magnā significabatur. Tamen interrogari potest, quid validius fuerit: utrum momentum, quod in dissensionibus spiritalibus atque politicis illius temporis habuissent, an officium, quod illa monasteria populo praebuissent, id est eius eruditioni, pietati, spiritualitati et denique eius indigentis scientificis, socialibus munificisque.

Tamen monachalis constitutio Benedictina in se neque rigida neque inflexibilis est. Possibilitates adaptandi atque renovandi, quae fundamentum in ipsā Regulā habent, monstrantur quōque a variis coetibus reformatoriis, qui deinde propriae congregationes factae

<sup>4</sup> Regula Benedicti (RB) 48,1.

sunt (velut Cistercienses). Sed etiam posterioribus temporibus difficilibus discriminum (velut post eversionem Francogallicam saecularizationemque, quibus quidem temporibus neque erga ecclesiam neque erga monasteria sensūs benevoli exstiterunt) permanentes vires efficaces Regulae denuo demonstrabantur. Nam inde ex decenniis tertio atque quarto saeculi undevicesimi monasteria Benedictina et Congregationes, quae ex eis exortae sunt, non solum in Europa (velut in Francogalliā Congregatio Solesmensis et in Germaniā Congregatio Bavarica et Congregatio Beuronensis), sed toto in orbe terrarum cum officiis suis specialibus effloruerunt.<sup>5</sup> Munera atque officia, quae Benedictini exanclare solent, hodiernis temporibus – mutatis mutandis – adhuc sunt éadem ac illa, quae iam in Regulā instituebantur, nempe imprimis respectus spiritulitatis atque operis divini, sed – cum his rebus artē cohaerentes – cura pauperum, cura aegrotorum, docentia, inquisitiones scientificae, opificia practica, agricultura sub variis aspectibus.

In ecclesiā festum, quod est “Sanctus Benedictus – pater monachorum occidentalium atque patronus Europae”, die 11 m. Iul. celebrari solet. Papa Paulus VI Benedictum die 24 m. Oct. a. 1964 unum ex patronis Europae reddidit, cum ídem Regulā suā non solum ad ecclesiam excolendam, sed etiam ad Europam culturaliter formandam multum attribuisset, quā de causā etiam “Architectus Occidentis Christianae” et “Pacis Nuntius” appellatur.

Sed nonnullas cogitationes mandataque Regulae Sancti Benedicti, quae generaliter quōque (non solum pro monachis) valere possunt, breviter aspiciamus.<sup>6</sup>

Imprimis – et hac re omnia incohantur – fundamentum vitae et hunc in modum etiam spiritualitatis Benedictinae est tenor auscultandi.<sup>7</sup> Ille tenor auscultandi, quo tota perceptio physica, psychica spiritualisque continetur, ad responsalitem singuli hominis atque consociationis erga Deum, erga semet ipsum et erga homines quōque, quibuscum directe vel indirecte convivit, perducit. Tali gravi tenore auscultandi et vere attendendi consociatio formata fundari potest.

Alius autem terminus principalis, qui ad spirtualitatem Benedicti aestimandam multum attirubuit est *discretio*, id est virtus mensurandi atque facultatis discernendi.<sup>8</sup> Tali *discretione* aptum aequilibrium invenitur inter postulata perfectionis quaerendae et debilitatem naturae humanae. Éadem distinguere docet, quid sit maioris momenti et quid non; éadem servat ab unilateralitate, ne fiat sive nimium sive parum. Eādem abbas – vel generaliter dux alicuius consociationis – aptus redditur, ut omnia ita ordinet, ut inveniunt “*et fortes quod cupiant et infirmi non refugiant*”,<sup>9</sup> et praeterea ut ea appetantur, quae condicionibus datis vigentibusque sunt optima, et denique ut singuli monachi secundum indolem suam, facultates suas suasque vires ducantur. *Discretionis* causā non agitur formaliter, sine cogitatione et sine mensura. Itaque saepius legitur ex. gr. “*omnia tamen mensurate fiant propter pusillanimes*”<sup>10</sup> et “*sed et hoc cum omni mensura et ratione*”.<sup>11</sup>

Itaque Regula Benedicti etiam exempla responsalitem socialis politicaeque praebet. Éadem consultationes totius coetūs fovit et iura minoritatum fulcit.<sup>12</sup> Tamen ipse abbas semper ultimam responsalitem habet. Specialis diligentia imponitur in respectum, qui habeatur ad

<sup>5</sup> Anno 1893 pleraque monasteria Congregationesque Benedictinae – papa Leo XIII rogante et instigante – in Confoederationem Benedictinam coniungebantur.

<sup>6</sup> Cfr ex.gr. Sartory & Sartory 1981, 103 sqq.; Tschudy & Renner 1979, 80 sqq.; Herwegen 1980, 84 sqq.; Nigg 1980, 53 sqq.; Matt & Hilpisch 1960, 93 sqq.; Standaert 1980, 28 sqq.; Senger 1998, 10 sqq.; Puzicha 2004, 86 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> RB Prol. 1: *Ausculata, mi fili.*

<sup>8</sup> RB 64,19: *testimonia discretionis, matris virtutum.*

<sup>9</sup> RB 64,19.

<sup>10</sup> RB 48,9.

<sup>11</sup> RB 70,5.

<sup>12</sup> Cfr ex. gr. RB 3,3, ubi agitur de consultationibus, ad quas etiam iuniores aciendi sunt; RB 64,1, ubi agitur de abbate instituendo.

homines veteres, infantes, aegrotos, peregrinos,<sup>13</sup> ergo coetūs hominum, qui imprimis tutelā indigent. Etiam quaestio, quā agitur de ordine honoris et dignitatis et quae non spectat ad possessionem atque originem, sed ad modum digne vivendi sive ad temporis momentum, quo quis monasterium ingressus est, et quaestio, qua unusquisque iuste tractatur, sunt alicuius momenti.<sup>14</sup>

Sic pergere possimus, sed haec nunc sufficiant. Tamen scire debemus haec omnia esse postulata Regulae et ea, quae revera fiunt (cum interdum variis condicionibus successus parum bonus fieri possit), dependere – sicut semper – ab singulis hominibus, qui agunt.

Sicut vix ullus alius Ordo monasticus itaque Benedictini quōque inde ex “origine” suo progressum Europae sustentabant atque formabant. Cum unā ex parte eorum existentia esset practica, alterā ex parte eadem fundamentum in communi vitā spirituali haberet, omnibus temporibus diversos impulsūs dare valuerunt. Cum Benedictus monachis suis *certum* mandatum operandi non dedisset, Benedictini ad condiciones et necessitates, quae instabant, se convertere potuerunt. Cum necessarium erat terram colere, monachi paludes siccaverunt, silvas exstirpaverunt et domos aedificaverunt. Cum necessarium erat indolem mentalem, traditionem atque cultum civilem occidentalem servare, monachi libros descripserunt, scholas instituerunt atque in studiorum universitatibus docuerunt. Etiam practicam curam animarum atque officia culturalia suscipere semper parati erant. Eorum vita saepe erat responsum ad necessitatem temporis. Traditione atque historiā, sed imprimis spiritualitate atque translatione huius spiritualitatis in vitam veram, Benedictinis responsalitas data est, quā ipsi quōque spiritalem spiritualemque aedificationem Europae sustentaverunt (et adhuc sustentant).

Sed revertamur ad Latinitatem sensū magis generali.

### III. De condicionibus Latinitatis postclassicae

Lingua Latina ergo, cum antiquitas finiretur – ut dicitur –, fundamentum loquelare regionis Europaeae esse non desiit. E contrario. Nam reformatione eruditionis, quam Carolus Magnus in fine saeculi octavi instigaverat, id est renascentiā Carolingicā, quae dicitur, Latinitas denuo facta est Europae occidentalis lingua maximi momenti.<sup>15</sup> Sic lingua Latina ex. gr. Scandinaviam atque Europam orientalem sibi “acquisivit”, id est regiones, quae numquam ad Imperium Romanum pertinebant et in quibus antea vix quisquam Latine locutus est. Cum Carolus Magnus ad Latinitatem antiquam recurreret, non solum traditionem politicam culturalemque Imperii Romani denuo suscepit, sed necessitatibus fundamentalibus communicationis in Imperio suo satis fecit, in quo non omnes concives per se eodem sermone utebantur. Tota res tamen est historicus processus multiplex, in quem fusius incumbere nunc non possumus.

Nihilominus praeiudicium relinquendum est, quo putatur Latinitatem mediaevalem semper esse malam et esse eandem ac “Latinitatem culinariam”, quae dicitur. Certe etiam plures textūs ex illo spatio temporis exoriundi exstant, quibus homines “classice” eruditi assuefieri debent. Tamen plurimi textūs bonae qualitatis loquelaris exstant. Exemplum tantummodo Bedam Venerabilem commemorare volo, qui monachus Anglus saeculo septimo octavoque vixit scripsitque (672/673–735).<sup>16</sup> Numerosis operibus suis, quae ad diversa themata spectant, idem Latino sermone vere bono atque intellegibili utebatur. In opere suo, cui titulus *De orthographia*, praeterea multis exemplis adhibitis explicuit, qualis deberet esse Latinitas recta politaque. Hōc exemplo solum monstrare volui qualitatem sermonis adhibiti dependere de

<sup>13</sup> Cfr RB 36,1–10; 37,1–3; 53.

<sup>14</sup> Cfr RB 63,1–3.

<sup>15</sup> Cfr ex.gr. Vossen 1978, 19 sqq.; Brunhölzl 1975, 243 sqq.; Janson 2002, 93 sq.; Langosch 1967, 83 sqq.; Bullough 1991, 1 sqq.; Fuhrmann 2001, 11 sqq.; Stroh 2007, 143 sqq.; Leonhardt 2009, 125 sqq.

<sup>16</sup> De Beda Venerabili multae investigationes scitū dignissimae exstant. Conspectus quidam de eius vita operibusque praebetur in symbolā, quae est: Albert 2010.

singulis auctoribus sive locutoribus. Itaque talis quaestio qualitatis poni potest, quod attinet ad unumquodque spatium temporis et quod attinet ad unamquamque linguam.

Humanismo et renascentiā Latinitatem iterum magnum impetum efflorescentiae accepisse satis notum est. Homines doctos se ad Latinitatem convertisse, quā normae antiquae respiciebantur, signum constitutum illius temporis est. Studia autem ad litteraturam antiquam spectantia erant *studia humanitatis*, id est percipiebantur ut studia, quibus sensū lato humanitas ipsa excolebatur. Cum homo ipse facultate suā loquelari definiebatur atque definitur, lingua Latina reddita est quadamtenus nucleus recentioris theoriae eruditionis, quā denique “humanismus” aequiperabatur studio linguarum antiquarum et quae aliquatenus effectum usque in tempora hodierna exserit. Tamen his in conaminibus, quibus homines docti imprimis antiquitatem respiciebant, horizon suum ipsi angustaverunt, cum antiquitas sera non iam esset magni momenti atque ex conspectū excideret. Immo condiciones interdum tales erant, qualibus nonnulli humanistae tantummodo Ciceronem ut normam agnoscere voluerunt. Sed alii – velut Erasmus Roterodamus – periculum nimii Ciceronianismi iam monuerunt (et interdum eum etiam irriserunt).<sup>17</sup> Sed quomodocumque illae dissensiones se habuerint, humanismo impulsūs excellentes exserebantur, qui magni momenti erant ad linguam Latinam denuo efflorescendam et ad genus Latinitatis instituendum, quod imitatione dignum erat. Tamen etiam tunc Latinitas mansit lingua communicationis inter humanistas, et nihil refert, cuius nationis vel cuius confessionis fuerint. Nam humanismus erat phaenomenon per totam Europam divulgatum.<sup>18</sup>

Lingua Latina extra philologiam classicam imprimis cum ecclesiā catholicā coniungitur, cum eiusdem linguam peculiarem esse putetur. Hoc quidem eatenus rectum est, ut unā ex parte lingua Latina diutissime unicus sermo liturgiae fuerit, alterā ex parte, cum ecclesia catholica semper fuisset universalis et in toto orbe terrarum dispersa, non solum documenta, decreta, constitutiones ecclesiae Latine exarata sint, sed etiam eius sermo communicationis diutissime ubique terrarum Latinus fuerit. Sed hoc non significat Protestantes – propter resistantiam, ut ita dicam – linguā Latinā non iam esse usos. E contrario. Ut omnes sciunt Martini Luther opera maioris momenti Latine sunt conscripta. Et imprimis hic in initiis reformationis Philippus Melancthon commemorandus est, qui etiam ut Praeceptor Germaniae notus excellens Graecista atque Latinista erat et de rebus scholaribus optime meritus erat. Tamen usus linguae Latinae in ecclesiā protestanticā deinde scilicet non erat finitus.

Sed etiam ultra tempus ipsius humanismi Latinitas variis in condicionibus, disciplinis regionibusque perduravit esse lingua communicationis. Scitū dignum hōc in conexū est hanc linguam usque ad medium saeculum undevicesimum in parlamento Hungarico adhibitam esse.

<sup>17</sup> Sed illud periculum Ciceronianismi iam Hieronymus (347–420) animadvertit. Notum certe est somnium Hieronymi, de quo *Epist.* 22 rettulit: Cum in ieiundando Ciceronem et Plautum legeret, pulchritudine sermonis ita correptus erat, ut lingua textuum Christianorum ipsi non iam placeret. Deinde aegrotare coepit et in somnio febriculoso vidit se ad tribunal Dei tractum esse. Deus autem eum interrogavit, quis esset, cui Hieronymus respondit *Christianus sum*. Sed vox Dei audiebatur dicens: *Ciceronianus es, non Christianus*. Et deinde Hieronymus satis vehementer verberabatur. Cum expergefactus esset, animadvertit somnium fuisse – tamen vestigia verberum in eius corpore inveniebantur.

Erasmus Roterodamus, de quo certe non dicere possumus eum non optime Latine loqui et scribere valuisse, Ciceronianismum exaggeratum irrisit. In epistolā quādam ad Andream Alciatum directā scripsit haec: “*Exorta est nova secta Ciceronianorum, quae mihi videtur non minus fervere istic quam apud nos Lutherianorum. Posthac non licebit episcopos appellare patres reverendos, nec in calce litterarum scribere annum a Christo nato, quod id nusquam faciat Cicero. Quid autem ineptius quam toto saeculo novato, religione, imperiis, magistratibus, locorum vocabulis, aedificiis, cultu, moribus, non aliter audere loqui quam locutus est Cicero? Si revivisceret ipse Cicero, rideret hoc Ciceronianorum genus.*”

<sup>18</sup> Cfr ex.gr. Szemerény 1978, 38 sqq.; Büchner 1978, 140 sqq.; Vossen 1978, 22 sqq.; Fuhrmann 2001, 29 sqq.; Stroh 2007, 152 sqq.; Leonhardt 2009, 221 sqq.



Mutatio quaedam decursū temporis quidem exorta est, cum linguae nationales earumque litteraturae magis invalescerent. Tamen lingua Latina tamquam sermo eruditionis atque scientiarum omni tempore mansit in usū. Haec sententia non solum spectat ad disciplinas spirituales, quae dicuntur, sed diu etiam ad scientias naturales. Ut exempla tantummodo in memoriam revoco Isaac Newton, Godefredum Vilelmum Leibniz, mathematicum Helvetium Leonardum Euler, Carolum Fridericum Gauß, qui omnes (et plurimi alii) investigationes suas Latine divulgaverunt. Vel etiam nominandus est Georgius Christophorus Lichtenberg, qui plerisque verisimiliter ex aliis conexibus notus est, sed qui physicus quōque erat et investigationes scitū dignas de electricitate Latine proposuit (*De nova methodo naturam ac motum fluidi electrici investigandi*).<sup>19</sup>

Non autem dicere licet has investigationes priores esse omnes obsoletas. Nam unā ex parte nos omnes stare solemus “*in umeris gigantum*”,<sup>20</sup> id est cognitiones nostrae hodiernae demum ex investigationibus atque deliberationibus priorum magnorum virorum mulierumque exortae sunt. Hōc in conexū tamen considerandum est neminem nos in umeros horum “gigantum” imposuisse, sed nos proprio studio et propriis laboribus illuc pervenisse sive nobis illuc perveniendum esse. Alterā ex parte generaliter ne veniant in oblivionem historicae dimensiones vitae humanae atque societatis humanae. Nam, sicuti iam Cicero dixerat, “*nescire autem, quid ante quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum*”.<sup>21</sup>

Lingua Latina ergo est sermo, qui traditionem plus quam duorum milium annorum habet, cum non fuerit ullus dies, quo communicatio Latina non est facta, sive modo scripto sive oraliter. Et hōc in conexū necessarium est, ut saltem breviter tangamus multitudinem et ubertatem, quas tractandas habemus, cum de longā traditione Latinitatis loquamur. Etiam si plurimi homines solum antiquitatem Romanam ante oculos habent, cum de linguā Latinā cogitent, tamen ex hōc brevissimo conspectū exhibito, quo de historiā usūs Latini agitur, iam animadvertitur talem cogitationem nimis angustam esse. Insuper est perceptio nimis angusta, quod attinet ad volumen copiamque textuum.<sup>22</sup> Nam putandum est copiam omnium textuum Latinorum, qui temporibus postantiquis exorti sunt, decem milibus tantis maiorem esse summā omnium textuum Latinorum, qui ex antiquitate traditi sunt.<sup>23</sup> Itaque minima pars omnium textuum Latinorum, qui exstant, ex antiquitate provēnit.

Maxima pars illius copiae textuum, qui post antiquitatem scripti sunt, sine dubio pertinet ad archivalia atque documenta, id est acta omnium oppidorum, sedium regiminum, sedium principum atque archiva privata in Europā usque ad tempus mediaevale serum sunt Latine exarata. Multis condicionibus casibusque lingua Latina diutius in usū officiali mansit (sicuti de Hungaria iam commemoratum est). Ad haec accedunt praeterea acta Latina Vaticana, acta omnium dioecesium atque archidioecesium toto in orbe terrarum usque ad tempus hodiernum, deinde internationale commercium epistulare politicum usque in historicum tempus recentius Latine scriptum erat (sic ex. gr. acta Pacis Vestfaliae anni 1648 adhuc sunt Latina), insuper magna pars protocollorum administrationum universitariarum usque ad saeculum sextum decimum et septimum decimum est Latina, et etiam ingens numerus inscriptionum Latinarum, quae post antiquitatem exaratae sunt, hoc in conexū afferendus est.

Sequitur copia textuum usualium, qui dicuntur, et textuum, qui sunt litteratura scientifica variarum disciplinarum. Tempore mediaevali paene tota litteratura docta Latine scripta est, usque ad saeculum septimum decimum eius maior pars et usque in saeculum duodevicesimum

<sup>19</sup> De hōc viro multipliciter erudito exhibetur conspectus quidam in lucubratione, quae est: Albert 2006.

<sup>20</sup> De origine, de conexu deque explicationibus huius locutionis *cfr* Merton 2004.

<sup>21</sup> Cic. *Orat.* 120.

<sup>22</sup> Sequentes numeri atque existimationes imprimis deprompta sunt ex opere, q.e. Leonhardt 2009, 3 sqq.

<sup>23</sup> Haec existimatio facta est secundum projectionem non omnino exactam, quae fundamentum in textibus iam notis tractatisque habet.

adhuc satis magna pars operum scientificorum linguā Latinā exarata est.<sup>24</sup> Sed talibus inquisitionibus scientificis non solum agitur de theologiā, de philosophiā, de philologiā atque de historiā (quibus in disciplinis hōc fortasse exspectatur), sed etiam – ut dixi – agitur de lucubrationibus iuristarum, medicorum, physicorum, mathematicorum et sic porro. Si quis proprias inquisitiones atque cognitiones in angustā regione nationali manere noluit, sed easdem internationaliter innotescere voluit, Latine scribere debuit.

“Minimā” parte textuum, qui post antiquitatem exoriundi sunt, denique litterae elegantiores (sensū latiore perceptae) continentur. Tamen etiam ibidem multo maior copia in comparatione textuum huius generis antiquorum conspicua est. Sic ex. gr. ex antiquitate circiter quadraginta spectacula tradita sunt, sed spatio temporis a saeculo quinto decimo usque ad saeculum duodevicesimum inter quinque milia et decem milia dramatum conscripta sunt. Similis condicio valet, cum agatur de carminibus praeceptoriiis, quae – quod attinet ad ea, quae usque nunc nota sunt – numero circiter quadringenta sunt. Éadem condicio invenitur in genere, quod epos appellatur, et in dialogis. De innumeris carminibus minoribus, quae usque in saecula vicesimum et vicesimum primum panguntur, nunc loqui nolo. Scilicet etiam exstant fabulae romanciae, saturae, narrationes, relationes itinerariae etc.

Nonnullis autem in generibus copiam textuum in praesenti adhuc tantummodo divinare valemus. Hōc cohaeret cum condicione, quā unā ex parte nobis nondum omnes textūs exstantes sunt noti, alterā ex parte inquisitiones in disciplinā litteraturae neo-Latinae variis ex causis nondum modo tam amplo atque profundo quam in litteraturā antiquā peragi potuerunt.

Tamen omnes hi textūs, quos nunc obiter commemoravi, effectum ad culturam creandam et ad traditionem cultūs civilis exseruerunt, et hōc quidem intra Europam et extra eandem – et nihil refert, ad quale genus illi textūs pertinent.

Omnibus autem temporibus fundamentum usūs loquelaris atque scripti linguae Latinae erat et est grammatica antiqua (sive classica), quae immutata mansit (etiamsi nonnulli auctores non ita boni hac in re interdum peccaverunt). Progressus atque mutatio quaedam tamen semper in terminologia fiebat. Sed iam Cicero aiebat hōc necessarium esse, cum scriberet haec: “*Rebus novis nova imponenda sunt nomina.*”<sup>25</sup> Itaque si quis Latine scit, directam communicationem instituere valet cum auctoribus investigatoribusque, quae per plus quam duo milia annorum extenditur. Et multi illorum hominum operibus laboribusque suis progressum culturalem in regione Europaeā et ultra eandem instituerunt. Praeterea talis directa communicatio hunc in modum vix fieri potest ex. gr. cum auctoribus, qui prioribus formis propriae linguae vernaculae scripserunt (verbi gratiā linguā Theodiscā vetere, linguā Anglicā vetere etc.), id quod solum pauci specialistae facere possunt. Nunc vero quidam dicere possunt fieri etiam posse, ut versiones adhibeantur. Tale argumentum sub quibusdam aspectibus quidem est verum, sed unā ex parte non ex omnibus textibus Latinis versiones exstant (imprimis cum agatur de textibus posterioribus), alterā ex parte unusquisque, qui iam saltem paululum in quaestiones vertendi incubuit, scit, qualia hac in re sint problemata. Sed iterandum est: semper erat maximi momenti (et hodiernis temporibus adhuc est maximi momenti) linguam Latinam ut possessionem communem et sensū latissimo medium communicationis, quo limites transcenduntur, perceptam esse atque adhibitam esse.

#### IV. De usu linguae Latinae aetate nostra

Fieri potest, ut lingua Latina hodiernis quōque temporibus lingua communicationis adhibeatur. Hoc ex multis annis iam demonstratur et mirum in modum ultimis annis magni impulsūs ponuntur (imprimis cum agatur de communicatione internationali). Lingua Latina non solum est sermo internationalis, sed etiam supranationalis, ut ita dicam. Cum enim sensū

<sup>24</sup> Ad hunc conexum etiam pertinent textūs usuales, qui sensū stricto non erant scientifici, velut homiliae, orationes, epistulae etc.

<sup>25</sup> Cic. *nat. deor.* 1,7.

strictō non iam exstent homines, qui usū huius sermonis nati sunt, unusquisque easdem condiciones principales habet et nemini est emolumentum loquelare linguae maternae. Lingua Latina itaque non iam est lingua alicuius populi certi et hunc in modum lingua uniuscuiusque populi atque uniuscuiusque hominis fieri potest.<sup>26</sup> Praeterea lingua Latina sub variis aspectibus lingua emancipatoria appellari potest.

Omnia, quae nunc dicta sunt, scilicet tantummodo adumbrationes erant atque multi aspectūs maioris momenti solum tangi potuerunt. Tamen necessarium est, ut in unumquemque aspectum diligentissime multipliciterque inquiratur (id quod ab hominibus scientificis partim iam factum est et fit).<sup>27</sup>

Sed ut summam dicere volo haec:

Sub aspectū cogitationis ideaeque Europaeae radices nostras Europaeas magis et amplius respiciamus oportet, ad quas sine dubio praeter alias etiam Latinitas et spiritualitas Benedictina pertinent (neque sunt minimi momenti). Quaestio oeconomica, quae in conamine Europae cōniendae iam pridem praedominantiam exserere solet, non sufficit. Scilicet oeconomicum fundamentum stabile est magni momenti et – aliis rebus non neglectis – cooperatione quōque oeconomicā communis vita pacifica confirmatur. Tamen commune fundamentum spiritale ne in oblivionem veniat, sed omnino necessarium est, ut idem iterum magis valeat atque effectum exserat. Itaque hac in re multa adhuc sunt facienda.

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<sup>26</sup> Tamen his verbis nullo modo dicere volo alias linguas pulchras abolendas esse.

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### De auctrice

D.rix *Sigrides Albert* linguae Latinae et historiae studuit, in studiorum universitate Saravica sociologiam et scientias cultuum civilium docet. Eadem est sodalis "Societatis Latinae" et "Academiae Latinitati Fovendae". Est editrix atque moderatrix periodici Latini, c.t. "Vox Latina", cuius in fasciculis ipsa multas symbolas de variis thematis divulgare solet. Incumbit praeter alia in textus Latinos temporis humanistici atque temporis recentioris, in lexicographiam Latinam, in neologismos scientificos condendos atque in textus litterarios in linguam Latinam vertendos. Quotannis bina seminaria Latinitatis vivae exhibit, quibus usus Latine loquendi discitur atque exercetur. [s.albert@mx.uni-saarland.de](mailto:s.albert@mx.uni-saarland.de)

### Summarium Latinum

Europae multa fundamenta communia sunt, inter quae magni momenti sunt et lingua Latina et spiritualitas Benedictina. Hac symbolā conspectus brevis praebet, cur res ita se habeant atque quomodo decursū temporis hoc factum sit atque qualem effectum in cultum civilem et lingua Latina et spiritualitas Benedictina exseruerint. Quibus in condicionibus tractandis conexūs historici, qui quadamtenus sunt significantes, adumbrantur. Quaestio quōque breviter tangitur, quales conclusiones inde trahendae sint et quales impulsūs nos hodierni inde accipere possimus.

### Summarium Anglicum

*Latin and Benedictine spirituality: Foundations of Europe*. Europe has many shared roots. Among these roots both the Latin language and the spirituality of Saint Benedict are of importance. This article discusses how this came to pass and illustrates the kind of impact the Latin language and the spirituality of Saint Benedict has had on our culture. In dealing with these subject matters the author outlines several significant historical circumstances. Finally, there is a brief discussion regarding what conclusions that should be drawn and how these might serve as inspiration for us today.

### Verba clavicularia

Cultus civilis Europaeus, usus Latinitatis, Regula Sancti Benedicti, Ordo Benedictinus, communicatio, litteratura Latina.

# THE USE OF LATIN AND THE EUROPEAN REPUBLIC OF LETTERS: CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Per Pippin Aspaas

## Praefatio

When I was to give my trial lecture for the degree of *Philosophiae Doctor* before a surprisingly crowded auditorium at the University of Tromsø on 31 May 2012, I decided to open my speech on the above topic in a somewhat jokative tone. “Considering the international composition of the committee”, I began –

I think there was no one in the audience that raised an eyebrow when it was announced that this trial lecture was to be presented in English. After all, since World War II the English language has established itself as the one and only vehicle for international communication in academia, at least here in Norway. Но если бы коммунисты выиграли холодную войну, я бы, наверное, стоял здесь и говорил по-русски. Wenn ich aber vor dem letzten Weltkrieg diesen Vortrag gehalten hätte, hätte ich, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach, Deutsch gesprochen. Par contre, au dix-neuvième siècle la langue française m’aurait servi sans doute comme une alternative similaire, surtout quant à un sujet si continental que l’histoire de l’usage du latin. At, mutatis mutandis, ante quam annum millesimum octingentesimum in caerimonia academica huiusmodi sine dubio Latinitate utendum esset.

The joke worked, in the sense that it evoked some laughter from the audience. However, as is often the case, with this joke I also had a serious statement to make. Over the following pages, the lecture will be reprinted nearly exactly as it was presented on that day, the only substantial changes being the addition of references to sources and literature as well as the omission of a few asides occasioned by the powerpoint screen.<sup>1</sup>

## Exordium

What language scholars find natural and convenient for conveying their message across linguistic boundaries, varies over time. Tradition plays a great role, and so does politics. But not only tradition and politics are relevant factors. The practical need of taking the language skills of one’s peers into account is of course crucial as well. If English had not been my first foreign language, but I was fluent in German or French – or Latin or Russian, for that matter – that would not have helped me much today. I would have been forced to stand here and speak

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the committee, namely Prof. of History Richard Holt, University of Tromsø; Prof. of History, Rector universitatis László Kontler, Central European University, Budapest; and Associate Prof. of Latin Vibeke Roggen, University of Oslo, for presenting me with this intriguing topic, to which I had merely made fleeting references in my thesis (Aspaas 2012, 34–37, 153–155, 180–181). Special thanks are due to Erlend Hagan, Magnhild Svenheim, Helene Nordgård Andreassen, Marie-Theres Federhofer, Nils Helge Brobakk, and Kari Aga Myklebost. Last, but not least, I acknowledge the subsequent encouragement from several professors – Synnøve des Bouvrie among them – to “get this paper published somewhere”. Thanks also to Sigrid Albert and Dirk van Miert for useful comments on this manuscript.



English in any case. Because it is the only feasible solution for a trial lecture before an international audience in Norway in the year 2012.

The history of the use of Latin for purposes like the present one invites reflection on all the three elements mentioned – on tradition, or what French historians would perhaps prefer to call *la longue durée*; on politics in its widest sense, including both “soft power” and “hard power”; and on the active and passive language skills among the members of the scientific community. The committee has asked me to analyse “The use of Latin and the European Republic of Letters: change and continuity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries”. I shall do so presently. First I will provide a brief sketch of what the European Republic of Letters was about. Latin’s role as a language for scientific communication in the period will then be discussed by way of comparison with other languages. Although it was used quite extensively, Latin was not the *only* language that was used by men of learning during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We therefore need to reflect on its status in relation to other languages such as Italian, French, English, and German. The already mentioned keywords – tradition, politics, and language skills – will be employed in various ways during the course of my lecture. I should stress at the outset, however, that when searching for change and continuity between the year 1600 and the year 1800, I could not bring myself to produce a singular narrative that would render justice to the historical situation in entire Europe. The story looks different depending on what part of Europe we analyse. I have therefore taken the liberty of looking not for “change” and “continuity” in the singular, but rather changes and continuities in the plural. Apart from that, I shall try to respond as best as I can to the challenge from the committee. I begin by describing the European Republic of Letters.

### **Narratio**

The concept of a *Respublica litteraria* (or Republic of Letters, République des Lettres, Gelehrtenrepublik) was born during the Renaissance.<sup>2</sup> “Letters” (*litterae*) here had to do with learning and humanities; with the cultivation of classical authors, both their literary style and their outlook on life. A sense of solidarity developed among proponents of the Renaissance. For instance in the works of the sixteenth-century scholar Erasmus of Rotterdam, one finds vocal expressions of how he feels to be the bearer of a sort of pan-European identity as a “man of letters”.<sup>3</sup> Ideally, all men of letters belonged to this Republic of Letters. They worked for the common good; they stepped aside from wars and religious schisms and collaborated on a huge project devoted to the expansion and cultivation of “universal knowledge”. Members of the Republic of Letters wrote letters to each other and exchanged their books – in Latin.

Around the year 1600, the so-called Scientific Revolution began. Ancient ideas were questioned and new, empirically based theories put forward. Whereas the humanities were the most important fields of learning during the Renaissance, the natural sciences came to the forefront during the Scientific Revolution. The early seventeenth century was the age of Johannes Kepler, Galileo Galilei, René Descartes, and several others. Later in the same century came the *floruit* of Isaac Newton; at the turn of the century that of the universal genius Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. All were cosmopolitan, steeped in Latin as well as other languages, and they all felt that they belonged to a Republic of Letters. The meaning of “letters” had by then shifted towards comprising the natural sciences as much as the humanities, or *belles lettres*. The eighteenth century saw the advent of the Enlightenment (or

<sup>2</sup> For an excellent introduction to this concept and its implications, see Bots and Waquet 1997.

<sup>3</sup> Bots and Waquet 1997, 31–34.

Lumières, Aufklärung, Iluminismo)<sup>4</sup> – with spearheads such as Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Diderot. The number of “members” of the Republic of Letters had by then grown so large that it was impossible to get an overview of all those who belonged to it. Almost like a nation state in the modern sense, the Republic of Letters was an “imagined community” of men – usually men, at least<sup>5</sup> – who had a strong sense of solidarity because they shared certain common values. They believed in empirical science, meaning that it should be possible to study “the book of nature” without taking recourse to transcendental forces or biblical allegories. Furthermore, they believed in the universality of knowledge, in the sense that discussion of scientific results and theories should take place across religious, political, cultural, and disciplinary boundaries. They also believed, at least in principle, in some fundamental codes of civility. As a member of the Republic of Letters, you could expect to be received with respect by other men of learning where ever you went in Europe. To put it in perspective: a French soldier that paid a visit to England during the Seven Years War was not necessarily embraced by his fellow British soldiers. By contrast, we know of at least one representative of the *Académie des Sciences* of Paris, who paid a visit to the Royal Society of London during the same war. This academic was received quite cordially and even made friends for life.<sup>6</sup> “The Sciences Were Never at War”, as a famous book title claims.<sup>7</sup> In the European Republic of Letters, this was very nearly true.

The nineteenth century witnessed the advent of nationalism; the sciences were increasingly split into disciplines with little or no communication between them. Even the scientific data themselves were often kept secret and put to national service, instead of being shared and discussed with cosmopolitan peers in other countries.<sup>8</sup>

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, taken as a whole, are often called the Early Modern Period. “Early Modern” suggests that in this period, several developments took place that hint at what came later. And this brings me finally to the point – the use of Latin. As mentioned, Latin was not the only language of the sciences during this period, but it was used quite extensively and helped binding the members of the Republic of Letters together. With the fragmentation of the Republic of Letters into disciplinary and national communities with scarce solidarity between each other, the days of the Republic of Letters was over. On Table 1, you see some of the clichés which the various centuries of European intellectual history are associated with.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> As Bo Lindberg has pointed out, however, the Latin equivalent, *Illuminismus* is a late coinage. He interprets this as arising from the circumstance that the Enlightenment was predominantly associated with franco- and anglophone philosophers, with Latin playing only a minor role in the discourse (Lindberg 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Latin, the language of learning *par excellence*, is often depicted as “masculine territory”, e.g. Farrell 2000, 52–83; Waquet 2001, 223–226, 250–251; Stroh 2007, 192–194. But see Alenius 1991a and 1991b; Stevenson 2005, Part IV; des Bouvrie 2006; Göransson 2006 for examples of women that actually managed to acquire a firm command of Latin during the early modern period. See also <http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/start6.html> for a useful (albeit modest) selection of digitised Latin texts by early-modern women.

<sup>6</sup> I am thinking of Jérôme de Lalande, a prominent French astronomer who visited England in March–June 1763 (see Fauque 2010).

<sup>7</sup> De Beer 1960.

<sup>8</sup> For discussions of how the breakdown of the Republic of Letters came to pass, see Eskildsen 2005 (on Germany); Lipkowitz 2009 (on France and Britain); Widmalm 2010 (on Sweden).

<sup>9</sup> I describe them as clichés in full awareness that the very notion of a “scientific revolution” has been seriously contested in recent decades. For example, Steven Shapin opens one of his widely read monographs by stating that “There was no such thing as the Scientific Revolution, and this is a book about it” (1996, 1).

**TABLE 1 Epochs of the European Republic of Letters**

1400–1600	1600–1700	1700–1800	1800–1900
Renaissance	Scientific Revolution	Enlightenment	Nationalism
Humanities	Sciences	Sciences	disciplinary split
pan-European <i>Latin</i>	pan-European <i>Latin (Italian, French)</i>	pan-European <i>French, Latin</i>	rivalry, secrecy <i>German, French, English</i>

### Argumentatio

In Table 1 I argue that the age of scientific Latin was not over and done with until after the year 1800. In order to explain why and how the use of Latin persisted for so long while society and intellectual life in particular saw such fundamental changes, we need to employ a sociolinguistic perspective.

Sociolinguistics is a research field which highlights the relationship between language and society. In this particular case, it is not the Latin language as such that will be described. You will not hear much today about Latin's grammatical or syntactic properties, its lexicon and so forth – instead, I will focus on the *use* of Latin. My first keyword will be *tradition*.

It is often believed that Latin was a specialty of the Catholic Church. While it is true that Protestants argued that the vernacular should be used during masses and that they began translating the Bible in order to help the common people understand the word of God, it is *not* true that there was anything particularly Catholic about the use of Latin within the Republic of Letters. This can be illustrated by the arguably most important Latin text ever written, the “The Ninety-Five Theses on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgencies” that Martin Luther hung on the wall of the Castle Church in Wittenberg in the year 1517.<sup>10</sup> Martinus Lutherus, Johannes Calvinus, and other reformists of the sixteenth century were all bilingual and wrote Latin with ease – Calvin even wrote more works in Latin than in French. The Latin language as such was not under attack. Quite the contrary, the reformists argued that the Latin tradition was important. Accordingly, the status of Latin in Protestant schools of Germany was strengthened, not weakened, in the decades following the Reformation.<sup>11</sup> Although more recent generations have come to associate Latin with the pope and his priests, it was not like that during the early modern period. Latin represented the tradition of universal learning and international communication, regardless of confessional creeds.

But Latin was not only a specialty of the church. It was also a primary language of the University. The curriculum consisted in Latin books everywhere in Europe throughout the early modern period, the oral lectures were predominantly or exclusively in Latin, and university dissertations were a kind of tests of the candidate's fluency in Latin as much as his actual skills in the subject matter that his thesis was about. Considering that most members of the Republic of Letters had attended some institution of higher education, it is not surprising that Latin retained a position as an important language for scientific communication across linguistic boundaries throughout the period covered by my lecture. However, the ancient language also came under increasing attack in the same period. This development can conveniently be analysed according to what sociolinguists call “linguistic domains”.

Those who had attended university were not the only ones who were able to read. The tendency was that those with a practical profession, such as merchants, artisans, architects – and women, I should say – related to a literature that was available nearly exclusively in the vernacular. Thus, the astronomer Kepler produced his groundbreaking works in theoretical

<sup>10</sup> Less known today in its Latin original: *Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum*.

<sup>11</sup> Waquet 2001, 20–21.

astronomy in Latin. Newton did the same with his *Principia*. In contrast, the navigators and captains of ships read their manuals in practical astronomy in the vernacular, without bothering about, or at least not having access to, theoretical discussions concerning the forces of the universe.

It is telling Newton wrote another of his greatest works, his *Opticks*, in English – aimed as it was on a more diverse readership, including instrument makers and amateurs. The tendency was that *scientia* (or theoretical, profound thinking) was in the domain of Latin, whereas the *artes* (practical skills) belonged to the vernaculars. However, already at the outset of the scientific revolution, the boundaries between the two linguistic domains were starting to get blurred.

Following the cultural historian Peter Burke, it should be admitted that “the use of Latin made the gap between elite culture and popular culture wider than it might otherwise have been”.<sup>12</sup> Latin was considered high-status and “learned”, whereas the vernaculars were low-status and “practical”. Representatives of the scientific revolution were well aware of this gap between elite culture and popular culture. We know that Galileo and Descartes self-consciously composed only part of their works in Latin, while writing several of their most important works in Italian or French in order to reach readers who had not attended university. They both perceived that there were mechanics, merchants, leisured dilettants, and others that were likely to profit from learning about the recent discoveries of empirically based, theoretical science. But there was a problem with the vernaculars: in the age of Galileo and Descartes, books in Italian or French would primarily reach local or national audiences; only Latin was truly cosmopolitan and universal. While trying to remedy the gap between elite culture and popular culture, the likes of Galileo and Descartes created a new gap – between natural philosophers in various countries.

Johannes Kepler, who was unable to read Italian, reacted to Galileo’s switch from Latin to Italian by arguing that Galileo had committed “a crime against humanity” (*crimen laesae humanitatis*).<sup>13</sup> Humanity here kept a double sense, both the benefits of universal human knowledge and the humanistic code of civility within the Republic of Letters. Kepler was not unique in his fervour against the use of other languages than Latin for scientific texts. But other voices are not hard to find, either. Kepler’s contemporary Francis Bacon argued strongly against the exclusive domain of Latin for theoretical works, and he also put this principle into practice by writing primarily in English. One should not forget, however, that the ideas of Galileo, Descartes, and Bacon soon spread throughout Europe all the same – aided by Latin translations.<sup>14</sup>

In the second half of the seventeenth century the first scientific societies and academies were established, as a supplement to the universities. And here the vernaculars were in many cases preferred. You see this principle followed by the *Accademia del Cimento* in Florence, the *Académie des Sciences* in Paris, and the *Royal Society* in London. The idealistic aim of disseminating knowledge to the popular reading public was thus put into practice by the most important scientific societies, whereas the universities continued as before, by lecturing and publishing in Latin.

There is a paradox here. As any specialist on early modern science knows, international recognition and co-operation were vital throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and precisely the scientific societies mentioned were highly expedient in this respect. How come they were able to communicate, when the proceedings of the various learned bodies were in different vernaculars? There are various ways in which to answer this question. One trivial point, that all the same should not be forgotten, is that the language that appears on

<sup>12</sup> Burke 1993, 64.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted after Stroh 2007, 244.

<sup>14</sup> On this little-researched subject, see Waquet 2001, 85–87; Burke 2007 (with references).

print does not always correspond to the language used during the research process. In the early modern period, the international correspondence of academics was to a large extent kept in Latin, despite their use of vernaculars for printed publications. When academics decided to publish in a modern language instead of the ancient tongue, it was not because they found it difficult to read or write Latin. In fact, many men of letters complained that they struggled describing scientific subject matters in anything but Latin. When they nonetheless ended up doing so, it was the result of a deliberate choice. In order to shed light on these choices, we need to employ the next keyword of my lecture, *politics*.

I am anything but a political scientist, nor a historian of politics. So when I use the word *politics*, it is only in a loose sense where I think primarily of “soft power”. If I may use an anachronistic example: the rise of the English language and American popular culture since World War II cannot be explained merely by the Western Powers winning the war, nor by global capitalism or technological supremacy. What is “cool” or attractive has changed, from Paris and Berlin to London and New York. Since both the latter cities are Anglophone and not French- or German-speaking, we have at least part of the explanation why English has gained such a prominent position in science. We do know that Mandarin and Spanish are bigger languages in terms of the number of native speakers, but still we all go with the flow. Such “flows” are detectable in the early modern period as well. A first flow went in favour of Italy.

Sociolinguists have pointed out that both Galilei himself and those of his pupils that founded the *Accademia del Cimento*, had patriotic concerns over and beyond an idealistic wish to disseminate knowledge to their compatriots. They also wished to contribute to the spread of Italian – or rather Florentine – culture beyond the Alps. Thus, when Galilei received a letter – in Italian – from one of his readers in Germany, he answered with joy that the time had come when the use of Latin within the Republic of Letters was to decline and be replaced by the clearer and more apt language of Tuscany.<sup>15</sup> He could only say that thanks to the “soft power” possessed by Italian culture. Italy lay at the heart of the Roman Empire, of course, and everyone could immediately see the similarities between the old and the new language of the Italian soil. However, although Italian gradually became one of the languages that members of the Republic of Letters were supposed to know, it never rose to become *the* all-important language of diplomacy and high culture in general. There were never many books of science that were published in Italian outside Italy. Italian patriots had to cede that position to another inheritor of the Ancient Roman Empire, the French.

France was centralised and turned into an efficient “hard power” far earlier than Italy, of course. But the same could be said about England or Russia in the early modern period. And as to the number of native speakers, Germany had no lesser advantages and even produced vast numbers of excellent scientists throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nonetheless, it was French that eventually gained the upper hand in one linguistic domain after the other. German was an important *regional* language, mastered by a considerable elite in for example the Scandinavian countries and around the Baltic. But widespread competence in German hardly sifted through to Italy, France, and Britain until after the early modern period. Conversely, competence in English remained a passive affair to most persons of learning overseas. Throughout the century of Enlightenment, the only language that was considered *universal* alongside Latin, was French.

I will illustrate the linguistic situation of the Republic of Letters during the Enlightenment by pointing to two scientific societies that gained world-wide recognition during the eighteenth century. I am thinking of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin, established in the year 1700, and the Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg, established 25 years later. In

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<sup>15</sup> Redondi 1996, 66–67.



terms of influence within the Republic of Letters, they managed to rise to the scale of Paris and London.

The founding father of the Academy of Berlin, the above-mentioned Leibniz, was a main contributor to the first issues of the academy's periodical. They appeared in Latin until the year 1745, when the language switched to French. German was not introduced as a language until the year 1793, and then only alongside the periodical with French proceedings. In a brief preface to the German-language periodical the editors explained that the number of articles that were submitted to the Academy in German had grown to such a high level that the task of translating them proved too laborious. That was why they had decided to allow them to be printed in the original. However, when consulting the publication one immediately notices that this was no ordinary German. It was printed in Latin letters, not the Gothic typeface that was used for most works of popular science.<sup>16</sup> It's as if the academics were embarrassed of their own language, and tried as best as they could to mask it behind a veil of Latinity or Frenchness. French was high-class and courtly, German popular and low-class.<sup>17</sup> Only in the nineteenth century did the German language become associated with enough "soft power" to be used extensively by the best scientists on German soil.

The Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg was established in keeping with Peter the Great's scheme for a large-scale modernisation and westernisation of the Russian Empire. Western scientists, predominantly from German-speaking regions, were imported as its professors. In the Russian Academy of Sciences, only a tiny minority spoke Russian – whereas all, including the pioneering patriot Lomonosov, were able to understand German. The working language of the academics was predominantly German. The official proceedings of the Russian Academy of Sciences were in Latin, however. This changed in 1778, when it was announced that contributions would henceforth be printed in either Latin or French, according to the preferences of the contributors.<sup>18</sup>

I should stress that the academies of both Berlin and Saint Petersburg also issued various other works, primarily popularisations aimed at a local or national readership. Such popularisations were predominately in German or Russian, while the official proceedings, where the original, cutting-edge contributions were presented, appeared in Latin or French.

The reluctance to use German and Russian for the official proceedings in both Berlin and Saint Petersburg can perhaps partly be explained by concerns for the language skills within the international research community. However, the issue of national sentiments also stood in the way. Latin was, after all, a neutral language. As already pointed out, it was neither a specialty of the Roman Catholic Church nor of the various branches of Protestants – or of the Orthodox Church, of course – Latin was universal. Both the German- and the Russian-

<sup>16</sup> See the *Sammlung der deutschen Abhandlungen, welche in der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin vorgelesen worden in den Jahren 1788 und 1789* (published 1793), <http://bibliothek.bbaw.de/bibliothek-digital/digitalequellen/schriften/> (e-book available from the webpages of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften). On the obverso of the title page it is stated that, "Es sind die Abhandlungen und Vorlesungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, seit der Wiederherstellung derselben im Jahr 1744. alle in der französischen Sprache gedruckt worden. Da aber die Anzahl der Vorlesungen in deutscher Sprache sich anjetzo häuft, und es schwer fällt, alles in die französische Sprache zu übersetzen; so hat man gut gefunden, nunmehr die Aenderung zu treffen, dass zwey Bände gedruckt werden, einer in der französischen, und der andere in der deutschen Sprache [...]."

<sup>17</sup> See further Norbert Elias' opening chapter of *The Civilizing Process*, "On the Sociogenesis of the Concepts of 'Civilization' and 'Culture'" (2000, 3–43 [1<sup>st</sup> German edn. 1939]).

<sup>18</sup> *Acta Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae Anni 1777*, Tomus Prior (published 1778), iv–v: "Ces mémoires seront écrits aussi bien en françois qu'en latin, selon que les Auteurs les jugeront plus ou moins appropriés aux personnes qui n'entendent pas la langue savante. Enfin on fera précéder chaque volume d'une partie historique, qui sera écrite en langue françoise; cette langue étant aujourd'hui la plus généralement connue." The predecessors were known as the *Commentarii* (since 1750 the *Novi Commentarii*) *Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae*.

speaking parts of Europe were ethnically diverse with several co-existing vernaculars. Official use of German might hurt national sentiments. With Latin – and eventually French – no ethnic group was particularly favoured.

To sum up, by the middle of the eighteenth century, French was about to gain the upper hand in almost any kind of cosmopolitan communication. In certain parts of Europe, it was considered as high-class and neutral as Latin. But it also met with resistance.

The English Royal Society, which had done the patriotic choice of issuing its *Philosophical Transactions* in English from its very start in the 1660s, received contributions from all parts of the world. Like any other scientific society, its correspondence with foreign men of learning was at least partly kept in French. In order to follow the latest developments in continental science, its members must have been able to read French. However, whenever an article was submitted in French, it would appear in the *Philosophical Transactions* in English translation. Latin articles were, by contrast, as a rule printed in the original, only with an English title added.<sup>19</sup>

The same “language policy” was followed, by the way, by the *Académie des Sciences* in Paris. Its proceedings recorded the scientific activities of its full members and presented their lectures in print. A supplementary journal, devoted to contributions from its corresponding members, was also issued with a French title. No contributions in English were included, but you do find a considerable percentage of Latin articles in this journal throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>20</sup> The examples of London and Paris illustrate that Latin came with a neutral flavour, it had no strings of confessional creeds or political power attached to it. As all these changes in the use of languages for international, scientific publications took place – Latin remained a language that most high-ranking scientists knew, thanks to the continuing use of Latin in schools and universities.

Recent research has put into question the predominant view that the strong tradition of Latin in elite schools and universities stood against scientific progress. Even the supposed gap between “Latin culture” and “popular culture” has been questioned.

The Swedish historian of ideas Bo Lindberg has discussed this in his book *Europa och latinet*. He argues that

Through Latin instruction, gifted schoolboys from poor homes received the possibility to display their talents. [...] Thanks to its “logical character”, that is, because the Latin language mustered certain purely intellectual qualities, it rendered pupils more or less equal. To pupils that were bright, but lacked a rich cultural capital in their homes in the form of homework assistance, cultivated dinner conversations, pianos, books on the shelves, etc., Latin offered a sort of racetrack in which they could more easily excel than in other subject areas where one’s background was more likely to be of impact. In this sense, Latin can be considered *democratic*. (Lindberg 1993, 116 [my emphasis])<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* (issued from 1665 onwards).

<sup>20</sup> See the *Mémoires de mathématique et de physique, présentés à l’Académie royale des sciences, par divers sçavans, & lus dans ses assemblées* (issued 1750–1786).

<sup>21</sup> My translation from the Swedish: “Begåvade skolpojkar från fattiga hem fick genom latinundervisningen tillfälle att visa sin förmåga. [...] Genom sin ‘logiska karaktär’, alltså att det engagerar renodlat intellektuella kvaliteter, gör det utgångsförutsättningarna för eleverna ganska lika. För elever med goda förståndsgåvor men med ringa kulturellt kapital i sin hemmiljö i form av läxhjälp, kultiverad middagskonversation, piano, böcker i hyllorna m.m. har latinet erbjudit en vädjobana, där de kunnat göra sig bättre gällande än i andra ämnen där bakgrundsmiljön lättare ger utslag. Så till vida kan latinet vara demokratiskt [...]”

According to Lindberg, Latin should not be seen as a means for the elite to exclude the common people, quite the contrary in fact. If you were good at Latin *and* some other subject such as mathematics, you could be allowed to climb the social ladder and become integrated in the European Republic of Letters. A late example of this could be Carl Friedrich Gauss, one of the most influential and innovative mathematicians of the early nineteenth century. Born in 1777 as the son of very poor parents, Gauss was discovered and promoted by his teachers to rise to the rank of professor. Thanks to his proficiency in Latin, his works were read all over Europe. Further examples like that are not hard to find. Any botanist is made immediately aware of the heritage of Carl von Linné, or Carolus Linnaeus. The continuing use of Latin in the nomenclature for plants and other wildlife takes its rise from the fact that Linnaeus published all his major works in Latin. His main rival, the French natural historian Comte de Buffon, disagreed with Linné's *Systema Naturae*. But the francophone Buffon lost, whereas the Latin-speaking Swede won. The naming of plants are nowadays regulated by an "International Code for the Naming of Algae, Fungi and Plants". Whereas nearly all features of this Code have been disputed and many revisions been made since it was established in 1905, to my knowledge no-one has ever suggested to replace the Latin nomenclature with a French or English one.<sup>22</sup> While scientific theories and methods change, in the symbolically important baptising of species that are new to science, the tradition of Latin persists, thanks to the neutral and perhaps even slightly exalted flavour of the old language of the European Republic of Letters.

Historians tend to read history backwards. The very tag "early modern" has more than a hint of teleology in it. It is all too easy to forget what we should forget when reading the sources of the past. Only now is it obvious that the rhetoric against Latin as a supposedly old and anti-progressive language would win in the end. That English would one day come out victorious, was something no one had the faintest idea about. I should like to illustrate this situation by briefly sketching the history of an essay competition that was announced by the Academy of Berlin in the year 1782.<sup>23</sup> The Academy asked – in French – "What is it that has turned the French language into the universal language of Europe? Where does French merit this privilege, and may one assume that it will retain it?"<sup>24</sup> The essay that won the price argued that the French had gained their cultural supremacy thanks to "le goût" (or "good taste") instead of military force, and that the French language was likely to retain and even strengthen its position in the future. For "he who reigns by opinion, is hardly in need of another sort of empire", the winner of the competition argued (in French, of course).<sup>25</sup> Little did the essayist know about how the French Revolution and the ensuing Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars would cause a backlash in the common opinion of French as a "tasty" or neutral language.

Finally, I return to the issue of language skills. During the renaissance, Latin was the only language every person of learning across Europe could be expected to know. The use of vernaculars for scientific texts was only in its infancy when Scientific Revolution broke loose. During the Eighteenth Century, French and Latin were used widely for international communication in science. However, for all the supremacy of French culture, it was hardly

<sup>22</sup> The magisterial introduction to this technical form of Latin is still Stearn 1992 (1<sup>st</sup> edn. 1966); see also the brief summary of Stearn's argument by Jonsell 2000. It should be noted, however, that the long tradition of requiring all publications of new botanical taxa to be accompanied by a Latin description or *diagnosis* in order to be considered valid, was broken with the latest amendment of the Code in 2011 (see <http://www.iapt-taxon.org/nomen/main.php> ["Melbourne Code"], article 39.2).

<sup>23</sup> In describing the history of this essay competition, I rely entirely upon the study of Jochen Schlobach (1989).

<sup>24</sup> Translated from Schlobach 1989, 341: "Qu'est-ce qui a fait de la Langue française la langue universelle de l'Europe? Par où mérite-t-elle cette prérogative? Peut-on présumer qu'elle le conserve?"

<sup>25</sup> Antoine Rivarol's price essay *De l'universalité de la langue française*, as quoted by Schlobach 1989, 349–350: "Quand on règne par l'opinion, a-t-on besoin d'un autre empire?"

the case that all the results of cutting-edge research were published in that language during the Enlightenment. A passive knowledge – that is, a reading capability – in other languages was necessary as well.

An unexpected expression of this realisation is found in the introduction to the epoch-making *Encyclopédie* edited by Diderot and d’Alembert. In collaboration with the best experts of their generation they produced a multi-volume work that assembled articles on the latest advances in any branch of the sciences and the arts. Needless to say, all the articles were in French. But in the preface to the first volume of the *Encyclopédie* (published in 1751), d’Alembert admits that the current linguistic situation in the Republic of Letters had gone completely out of hand:

When our language [viz. French] spread throughout Europe, we believed the time had come for it to occupy the place of Latin, which had been the language for scholars since the rebirth of the sciences. [...] I must confess that a certain problem arose out of this which could have been foreseen. The scholars of other nations followed our example, for they rightly thought that they would be better able to write in their own language than in ours. The English imitated us and the German empire also began to use its mother tongue; they were soon followed by the Swedes, the Danes and the Russians. In this manner, a *philosophe* who wishes to improve his mind as his predecessors did must learn seven or eight languages; and having devoted the best part of his life to doing this, he dies without having had the chance to set about the real business of self-improvement. The use of Latin that we so derided is highly expedient in the works of *philosophes*; its clarity and precision are of great benefit to those who stand in need of a universal language. (Quoted after Balázs 1997, 210)<sup>26</sup>

Without a common language in which to communicate the latest developments of scientific knowledge production, the decline and fall of the Republic of Letters seemed imminent. But perhaps there existed some sort of “middle road” between a complete fragmentation and a complete restoration of the Republic of Letters? One of those who responded to the essay competition of the Berlin Academy actually argued that monoglottism in science was about to cause stagnation. Germans were likely to be more innovative, he argued, whereas the French would be left in a backwater since they were so rarely forced to speak or read any other language but their own. Their laziness would make them introspective and less capable of viewing scientific problems from different angles. The monoglott French would lose, the polyglott Germans would benefit from this situation, he predicted.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> The French original (d’Alembert 1751, xxx) reads: “Notre Langue étant répandue par toute l’Europe, nous avons crû qu’il étoit tems de la substituer à la Langue latine, qui depuis la renaissance des Lettres étoit celle de nos Savans. [...] il résulte de-là un inconvénient que nous aurions bien dû prévoir. Les Savans des autres nations à qui nous avons donné l’exemple, ont crû avec raison qu’ils écriraient encore mieux dans leur Langue que dans la nôtre. L’Angleterre nous a donc imité; l’Allemagne, où le Latin sembloit s’être réfugié, commence insensiblement à en perdre l’usage: je ne doute pas qu’elle ne soit bien-tôt suivie par les Suédois, les Danois, & les Russiens. Ainsi, avant la fin du dix-huitième siècle, un Philosophe qui voudra s’instruire à fond des découvertes de ses prédécesseurs, sera contraint de charger sa mémoire de sept à huit Langues différentes; & après avoir consumé à les apprendre le tems le plus précieux de sa vie, il mourra avant de commencer à s’instruire. L’usage de la Langue Latine, dont nous avons fait voir le ridicule dans les matières de goût, ne pourroit être que très-utile dans les Ouvrages de Philosophie, dont la clarté & la précision doivent faire tout le mérite, & qui n’ont besoin que d’une Langue universelle & de convention.” The translation found in Balázs’ book is obviously not entirely accurate. Moreover, it refers to page xi, instead of the correct xxx.

<sup>27</sup> Johann Georg Büsch, *Über die Frage: Gewinnt ein Volk in Absicht auf seine Aufklärung dabei, wenn seine Sprache zur Universal-Sprache wird?* (Berlin, 1787) as summarised by Schlobach 1989, 353–354.



### Peroratio

The use of Latin within the European Republic of Letters saw some fundamental changes during the early modern period. In the field of science, Latin came under pressure by the rise of an increasing number of vernaculars in the two hundred years that are commonly known as the early modern period. Use of vernaculars was often expressly patriotic and utilitarian. But despite the apparent decline, there are also some important continuities. The persisting use of Latin at universities all over Europe represents one such continuity. The neutral and non-confessional “image” of the Latin language also persisted throughout the early modern period. If I may make an allusion to Edward Gibbon’s classic work on *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, those who have described “The History of the Decline and Fall of the Latin Language” tend to disagree, depending on their geographical point of view, their selection of sources, and disciplinary affiliation. Scholars who approach the history from a predominantly French, Italian, or British point of view, will tend to pin-point the “Fall of Latin” to an earlier date than those who write from a German, Nordic, or Central-European perspective.<sup>28</sup> Their national histories are so fundamentally different. Classical scholars that have made it their specialty to study Latin texts from this period will also disagree to such historiography.<sup>29</sup>

I have taken the liberty of looking for changes and continuities, instead of trying to conjure up a uniform history of the use of Latin within the European Republic of Letters. After all, Europe was never one thing, but split into various political and cultural entities where the forces of history have unfolded themselves in different ways.

The patriotic use of Italian in the seventeenth century led to a certain spread of passive knowledge in that language, although it never rose to become a universal language of the sciences. Still in the latter half of the eighteenth century, scholars based in Italy, such as Roger Joseph Boscovich or Luigi Galvani, used Latin in order to reach international audiences.

The patriotic use of French was more successful, aided by the rise of French hard power as well as soft power. By the middle of the eighteenth century, world-famous intellectuals such as Voltaire, Diderot, and others were never forced to use any other language than French except for solemn occasions such as doctoral dissertations. All the same, the spearheads of the French Enlightenment read Latin with ease and found it easier to accept on print than for example English.

The rise of French as an international language never obliterated the use of Latin. Famous cosmopolitan societies of science, such as the Academies of Berlin and Saint Petersburg, still used Latin and started issuing French proceedings rather late in the eighteenth century. Even more conspicuous than their embracement of French, however, is the reluctance of both Saint Petersburg and Berlin to use German. The rise of German as an international language of science had to await the nineteenth century.

<sup>28</sup> Well-informed but strikingly dissimilar narratives can be found in for example Lindberg 1993, 102–113; Blair 1996; Waquet 2001, esp. 121–123; Ostler 2007, 292–301; Stroh 2007, 228–248.

<sup>29</sup> One prominent Neo-Latinist, Hans Helander has described the era of chief interest to his discipline as stretching from c. 1400–c. 1800 (Helander 2001; 2004). See, however, IJsewijn 1990 and Eichenseer 1999 for examples of Latinists that would like to stretch the Neo-Latin period right up to the present day. There are indeed several enterprises that seem to disprove the death of Latin in the contemporary world. One might point to the existence of a Finland-based broadcast service known as the *Nuntii Latini* with its web forum for discussion of contemporary issues in Latin (see the article by Reijo Pitkäranta elsewhere in this volume); to Latin periodicals such as the *Vox Latina* (as of 2014 running in its fiftieth year); or to the *Academia Latinitati Fovendae*, which organises scholarly conferences and produces publications in nothing but Latin. Latin may no longer be mastered by the majority of scientists and scholars, but still it is thriving as a means of communication in certain circles. How should this contemporary usage be characterised, if not as Neo-Latin, then perhaps *Post-Latin*?



It has been said that “a language is a dialect with an army and navy”.<sup>30</sup> But despite its lack of support from any kind of hard power, Latin was slow to die. In the words of the Latinist Hans Helander of Uppsala University, Latin texts

were produced by the same forces that created Early Modern Europe: the rise of the nation state, the geographical discoveries, the Protestant movement, the Counter-Reformation, the scientific revolution. Latin was the vehicle of all the new ideas, beliefs and insights generated by these processes [...]. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that many learned scholars today are not aware of the existence of this huge treasury. (Helander 2001, 8–9, repeated in Helander 2004, 14–15)

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, French seemed poised to take over the entire World of Learning and become the “new Latin”. English has by and large accomplished that feat today. However, if we learn only this one language, we might run the risk of intellectual stagnation. I should like to dedicate this trial lecture to those academic role models that, over the years, have convinced me that in our studies of early modern science monoglottism is a dangerous and undesirable thing. A polyglott history requires polyglott perspectives. I end my lecture in the way I started it, by saying, спасибо большой, vielen Dank, merci beaucoup, et gratias plurimas pro patientia vestra.

### Opera memorata

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### De auctore

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### Summarium Latinum

*De usu linguae Latinae deque Re publica litteraria Europaea: De permutatione et constantiā saeculis 17<sup>o</sup> et 18<sup>o</sup>*. Symbola haec, praelectio auctoris ad gradum doctoralem obtinendum, brevem historiam usūs linguae Latinae inter homines doctos praebet. Saecula 17<sup>um</sup> et 18<sup>um</sup> aetates eversionis scientificae et illuminismi fuisse constat. Res publica litteraria tum floruit. Subauditur autem 'communitas' quaedam 'imaginativa' (ut verbo Benedicti Anderson utar), qua novae scientiae asseclae coniungerentur. In limitibus confessionalibus, civilibus, politicis transgrediendis lingua Latina modo peculiari homines doctos adiuwabatur. Textus enim Latinus non solum eruditionem, sed etiam neutralitatem quampiam significabat. Ut usus, ut comprehensio internationalis diversarum vernacularum linguarum crevit, ita sine invidia exterorum nec lingua Italica nec Francogallica nec Anglica nec Theodisca accipiebantur. Definitionem illam saepe laudatam 'linguam dialectum cum classe armisque comitatam esse' transgrediens Latinitas solā 'vi' ut ita dicam 'molli' comitata persistere potuit. Processus, quo finis huius status factus est, non unus et idem erat.

Italica lingua, qua Galilei et academici Florentini usi sunt, successum nationalem sive regionalem magis quam internationalem obtinuit. Anglica lingua, a Societate Regia Londiniensi culta, licet pluribus doctis comprehensibilis, tamen raro apud exteros adhibebatur. Francogallica lingua, cui inter alios Academia Regia Scientiarum Parisina et encyclopaedistae favebant, praesertim sub fine saeculi duodevicesimi integram rem publicam litterariam mox superatura esse videbatur. Theodisca lingua, quam intellegendam multi docti regionum Septentrionalium et Orientalium Europae capaces erant, vulgaritatem sive barbariem redolebat. Latinam linguam, victimam nationalismi, democratisationis, saecularisationis, breviter modernitatis Europaeae, vehiculum et obstetricem etiam fuisse eiusdem modernitatis in mente tenere oportet.

### Summarium Anglicum

This article, which is the author's trial lecture for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor, offers a brief history of the use of Latin among men of learning. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are known as the periods of Scientific Revolution and Enlightenment, respectively.

In the same timespan the Republic of Letters flourished, a word which connoted a kind of 'imagined community' (in Benedict Anderson's words) which bound together the supporters of the new science. In transgressing confessional, civil, and ideological boundaries Latin offered a peculiar kind of assistance. A text in Latin would signify not merely erudition, but also some sort of neutrality. However much the active use and the passive ability to understand various vernacular languages rose internationally, neither Italian, French, English, or German was received without mixed feelings. Escaping the famous definition of a language as 'a dialect with an army and a navy', Latinity proved capable of persisting by means of 'soft power' alone. The processes which led to the end of this state of affairs were not one and the same.

Italian, which Galilei and the academicians of Florence used, achieved national or regional, rather than international, success. English, cultivated by the Royal Society of London, was undoubtedly comprehensible to many learned, but it was used rarely abroad nevertheless. French, having the Académie Royale des Sciences and the encyclopédistes among its supporters, especially towards the end of the eighteenth century seemed poised to take over the Republic of Letters. German, read by many men of learning in Nordic and Eastern parts of Europe, reeked of vulgarity or even barbarism. That Latin, the victim of nationalism, democratisation, and secularisation, in brief, of European modernity, also served as a vehicle and a midwife for that very same modernity is a lesson well worth bearing in mind.

### **Verba clavicularia**

Early Modern Period, Europe, Neo-Latin, Sociolinguistics, Scientific Latin, History of Science, International Communication.





## DE CAESARE IN SCHOLIS LATINIS PROVECTORIBUS DESTINATIS MODO ACTIVO PROPONENDO

Milena Minkova

Recentissimis praesertim temporibus saepius saepiusque rationes activae linguae Latinae docendae proponuntur necnon Latinitatis vivae fautorum atque propugnatorum numerus crescere videtur. Nec iam tam saepe fit ut Latinitatem vivam colentes vituperationibus aliorum sint obnoxii: Latinitatis vivae utilitas atque momentum latius necnon a pluribus agnoscitur.<sup>1</sup> Procul omni dubio rationes Latinae activae a multis variisque hominibus variisque modis iam usurpantur.<sup>2</sup> Cum alii aliis rationibus institutionem Latinam vividiorum efficere velint, hoc frequentatissimum videtur quod lingua Latina modo vivo potissimum apud tirones adhibenda censeatur vel adhibetur. Inde a tempore quo Latinitas viva in scholis reviviscere coeperat, hoc praecipue in primo institutionis Latinae gradu fiebat et quaedam dubitatio semper exstare videbatur num Latinitas viva seu activa condicionibus discipulorum provectorum esset apta.<sup>3</sup> In Civitatibus Foederatis Americae Septentrionalis rationes activae cottidie apud provectiores maximeque provectos adhibentur in Instituto studiis Latinis provehendis quod curriculum diploma graduatis destinatum praebet et exstat tamquam pars programmatis magistralis in Universitate studiorum Kentukiana.<sup>4</sup> Rationes tamen activae quam aptissime atque efficacissime adhiberi possunt etiam apud provectiores qui in scholis superioribus sive lyciis versantur necnon in ipso curriculo quod in scholis Civitatum Foederatarum Americae Septentrionalis exstat cui nomen AP (Advanced Placement). Agitur de curriculo discipulis in scholis superioribus versantibus destinato in quo credita academica accipi possint quae postea in collegiis vel in universitatibus studiorum valeant. Curriculum ad multas disciplinas pertinet, sed curriculum Latinum in scriptis Caesaris et Vergilii est constitutum.<sup>5</sup> Harum scholarum

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<sup>1</sup> Institutionis activae ratio iam habetur in obrussis linguis antiquis docendis anno 1997o in Civitatibus Foederatis Americae Septentrionalis divulgatis [http://www.acclassics.org/uploads/assets/files/Standards\\_Classical\\_Learning.pdf](http://www.acclassics.org/uploads/assets/files/Standards_Classical_Learning.pdf) (quae pagina die 26o mensis Mai anno 2014o est adita) ubi communicatio inter quattuor vocabula littera “C” incipientia tamquam primus institutionis finis memoratur (“Communication”, “Culture”, “Connections”, “Comparisons”, “Communities”); necnon in obrussis magistris Latinis instituendis anno 2010o eadem in patria publici iuris factis [http://www.acclassics.org/uploads/assets/files/Standards\\_for\\_Latin\\_Teacher\\_Preparation.pdf](http://www.acclassics.org/uploads/assets/files/Standards_for_Latin_Teacher_Preparation.pdf) (quae pagina die 26o mensis Mai anno 2014o est adita), secundum quas magister tres rationes docendi principales intellegere debeat (“grammar-translation”, “reading in context”, “oral-aural”).

<sup>2</sup> Adumbratio condicionum recentissimarum ad Latinitatem vivam pertinentium invenitur apud Coffee 2012, 256–265, et apud Minkova et Tunberg 2012, 117–125. Inspiciatur quoque fasciculus vicesimus secundus periodici c.t. *The Journal of Classics Teaching* 2011, modis activis linguas classicas tradendi omnino dicatus (cuius fasciculi, a variis auctoribus conscripti, subtitulus est “Communicative approaches to teaching the classical languages”).

<sup>3</sup> In commentatione antesignana qua Latinitatem vivam promovet vir doctus Wills utcumque asseverat Latinitatem vivam procul dubio evanescere nec adhiberi posse si in schola de textibus vel notionibus magis provectis agatur (Wills 1998, 34).

<sup>4</sup> Minkova et Tunberg 2012, 121; Minkova et Tunberg 2006, 283–289.

<sup>5</sup> Ecce pagina quae pertinet ad scholas Latinas curriculi cui lingua vernacula nomen AP: [http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/apc/public/courses/teachers\\_corner/2260.html](http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/apc/public/courses/teachers_corner/2260.html) (quae pagina die 26o mensis Mai anno 2014o est adita).

finis est ut discipuli textus ex lingua Latina in linguam Anglicam vertant, de constructionibus grammaticis necnon de figuris rhetoricis diiudicent, rerum gestarum cultusque civilis atque humani ad textus pertinentis rationem habeant. Ipsa in probatione ad hoc curriculum spectanti a discipulis non poscitur ut Latine scribant vel modo activo scriptum tractent. Maximi enim momenti in probatione ipsa textus Latini versio Anglica exstat. At si effici potest ut rationibus activis freti discipuli penitus scripta intellegant atque in familiaritatem auctoris deveniant, eo facilius eiusdem auctoris excerpta in sermonem vernaculum convertant. Huc accedit quod talis usus activus rationes activas et rationes magis translaticias inter se interdum discrepantes componere poterit. Rationes enim translaticiae ipsius linguae proprietates primarias firmiter graviterque tradunt, quae sunt necessario exortae, tamquam viae breviores, illis saeculis, quibus temporis spatium linguae Latinae tradendae destinatum pedetemptim minuebatur.<sup>6</sup> Obicitur tamen discipulos tali modo institutos de ipsa lingua discere, non ipsam linguam nec ad medullam rerum eadem lingua conscriptarum vel dictarum mente animoque penetrare posse. Discipulis autem maximam partem vivis verbis Latinis imbutis ipsius linguae indolem sentire licet necnon intellegere Latinitatem esse revera linguam qua cogitata animique motus exprimantur. At saepe qui ita sunt instructi non satis compagem ipsius linguae suam reddiderunt ideoque nec semper auctorum Latinorum scripta – quam tandem inter omnes constat esse institutionis Latinae metam – legere atque intellegere possunt. Si autem rationes activae ad scripta Latina melius intellegenda adhibentur necnon ut mens ad compagem sermonis Latini arte grammatica descriptam et patefactam conformetur, gravior institutio Latina cum vi communicandi utiliter atque efficaciter coniungatur.

Hic certas quasdam rationes proponere velimus quibus Latinitas viva apud provectiores in textibus tractandis necnon notionibus grammaticis percipiendis adhiberi possit.

### **De scriptis Latine enucleandis**

Ab ipso textu intellegendo incipiamus. Quamquam, ut supra est dictum, probatio curriculum AP exigit ut scripta Latina in linguam Anglicam convertantur, maximopere prodest in scholis textum Latine explanare. Quae explanatio sane non est res nova, sed usitatissima ratio per saecula adhibita cuius usurpatio maxime est frugifera. Tantum Latine nec ullis vocabulis vernaculis adhibitis textus tribus saltem modis enucleari potest: interrogatis Latinis quorum responsa in textu inveniantur; paraphrasibus Latinis simplicioribus et synonymis; summario Latino exarando et titulo Latino textui imponendo. Excerptamus exempla ex Caesaris Commentariis de bello Gallico conscriptis qui textus est principalis in curriculo AP, quod ad prosam orationem pertinet.

*De bello Gallico* IV, 24: At barbari consilio Romanorum cognito, praemisso equitatu et essedariis, quo plerumque genere in proeliis uti consuerunt, reliquis copiis subsecuti nostros navibus egredi prohibebant. erat ob has causas summa difficultas, quod naves propter magnitudinem nisi in alto constitui non poterant, militibus autem ignotis locis, impeditis manibus, magno et gravi onere armorum pressis simul et de navibus desiliendum et in fluctibus consistendum et cum hostibus erat pugnandum, cum illi aut ex arido aut paulum in aquam progressi omnibus membris expeditis, notissimis locis audacter tela conicerent et equos insuefactos incitarent. quibus rebus nostri perterriti atque huius omnino generis pugnae imperiti non eadem alacritate ac studio, quo in pedestribus uti proeliis consuerant, utebantur. (Seel, ed. 1977)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Minkova et Tunberg 2012, 115–117.

<sup>7</sup> Omnia excerpta pertinent ad textum curriculo AP necessarios.

Etiam magister cui consuetudo loquendi non est textum tantum interrogatis enodare potest ita ut nulla notio praetermittatur.

Quid Romani facere conabantur? – Romani navibus egredi conabantur.

Licebatne Romanis navibus egredi? – Non licebat Romanis navibus egredi.

Quis prohibebat Romanos navibus egredi? – Barbari Romanos navibus egredi prohibebant.

Cur hoc faciebant barbari? Quid cognoverant? – Barbari consilium Romanorum cognoverant.

Cum consilium Romanorum cognovissent, quid primum fecerunt barbari? – Cum consilium Romanorum cognovissent, barbari primum equitatum et essedarios praemiserunt.

Ubi barbari plerumque essedariis utuntur? – Barbari essedariis plerumque in proeliis utuntur.

Postquam equitatum et essedarios praemiserunt, quid fecerunt barbari? – Postquam equitatum et essedarios praemiserunt, barbari sunt subsecuti.

Qua ratione sunt barbari subsecuti? – Barbari reliquis copiis sunt subsecuti.

Erantne Romani in difficultate? – Ita, Romani erant in difficultate.

Quae erat prima causa cur Romani essent in difficultate? – Naves Romanorum in alto constitui debebant.

Cur naves Romanorum in alto constitui debebant? – Propter magnitudinem naves in alto constitui debebant.

Quae erat secunda causa cur Romani essent in difficultate? – Milites erant locis ignotis, eorum manus erant impeditae, onere armorum premebantur.

Quale erat onus armorum? – Onus armorum erat magnum atque grave.

Quas tres res milites simul facere debebant? – Milites de navibus desilire, in fluctibus consistere, cum hostibus pugnare debebant.

Ubi erant hostes? – Hostes erant in arido vel paulum in aquam progressi.

Qualia erant membra hostium? – Membra hostium erant expedita.

Qualia hostibus videntur esse loca? – Loca hostibus erant notissima.

Quid faciebant hostes? – Hostes tela coniciebant et equos insuefactos incitabant.

Quomodo hostes tela coniciebant? – Hostes tela audacter coniciebant. [...]

Hoc in exercitio magister interrogat et responsum discipuli exspectat. Interrogata autem talia sunt ut responsum sine negotio in textu inveniatur. Cavendum est ne magister de rebus valde abstrusis nec facile in textu reperiendis interroget. Nam finis est in ipsius textum penetrare et de eo loqui.

In secundo vero exercitio ipse magister textum paraphrasi enucleat. Hoc fit constructi-  
onibus simplicioribus paratactis et multis synonymis adhibendis. Tali modo discipuli  
audientes compagem grammaticam intellegunt necnon eorum copia verborum crescit.

Sed barbari/indigenae/Britanni consilium/propositum Romanorum  
intellexerant/didicerant. Equites tum et essedarios, i.e. milites essedis  
vectos (nam hos soliti/assuefacti erant in pugnis/dimicationibus  
adhibere/usurpare) miserunt in antecessum. Deinde ipsi cum reliquo  
exercitu / cum copiis quae manebant secuti sunt / postea venerunt.  
Impediebant/obstabant quominus/ne Romani ex navibus suis  
exirent/descenderent. Romani maximis in angustiis versabantur. Nam  
eorum navigia non poterant in vado consistere, quia erant magna/ampla.  
Milites/armati autem versabantur locis sibi non notis, eorum manus  
occupabantur, arma erant nimis gravia/onerosa, pondus armorum erant  
magnum. Milites tres res eodem tempore facere debebant: de navigiis suis  
salire, in aqua fluenti/in undis stare, cum inimicis proelium facere/  
proeliari. Inimici autem erant in terra vel in vado / non multum in mare  
processerant. Eorum corpora non impediebantur; loca quoque erant eis  
bene nota. Ergo inimici iacula iaciebant cum audacia/fortiter. Equos  
quoque aquae non assuefactos compellebant/adhortabantur.

Tandem huic excerpto titulus poni potest qui est “De difficultatibus Caesaris in Britanniam  
appulsi”, necnon summarium tale exarari: “Caesar naves in Britanniam appellere conatur, sed  
de eius adventu certiores facti Britanni impediunt quominus hoc faciat. Naves non possunt  
pervenire ad litus et milites onerati in aqua ambulant. Propter condiciones difficiles Romani  
non possunt tam bene contra Britannos pugnare ut solent.” Quae sane tantum sunt exempla  
cuiusdam tituli et cuiusdam summarii.

Ceterum exstat liber vetustior in quo partes operis c.t. De bello Gallico multis variisque  
interrogatis tractantur.<sup>8</sup>

### **De dictatione eiusque explicatione Latina**

Porro explanationem textuum Latinam cum dictatione coniungere licet. Dictatio  
haudquaquam debet esse ars institutioni Gallicae servata. In schola Latina provectoribus  
destinata proponi potest dictatio accurata, secundum quam prima vice unaquaeque sententia  
voce solita, paulo lentiore legitur, deinde singula sententiarum membra lente, tandem tertia  
vice totus textus velocitate solita. At haud minoris momenti videtur id quod sequitur. Textu  
dictato de unaquaque sententia magister sescenta interrogata proponere potest ut discat num  
discipuli textum bene exscripserint. Praestat igitur in promptu (fortasse in pariete) habere  
nonnulla verba interrogativa quibus fretus interroget: *quis, qui, uter, quantus, qualis, cuius,*  
*quot, quoteni, ubi, quo, unde, quando, quoties, quomodo, cur, quare, quam ob rem, qua de*  
*causa, quam, -ne, num, nonne* etc. Imaginemur esse dictandam sequelam loci in quo de  
difficultatibus appellendi agitur.

*De bello Gallico IV, 25: Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, naves longas,*  
*quarum et species erat barbaris inusitator et motus ad usum expeditior,*  
*paulum removeri ab onerariis navibus et remis incitari et ad latus apertum*  
*hostium constitui atque inde fundis, sagittis, tormentis hostes propelli ac*  
*submoveri iussit...* (Seel, ed. 1977)

<sup>8</sup> Sauveur 1878, 1–131.

Ceterum licet exigere a discipulis sive ut sententiis plenis respondeant sive locutionibus brevioribus. Aliis in condicionibus aliter est agendum et de via maxime idonea diiudicandum. In interrogationibus de dictatione proponendis propositum est scire num textus dictatus bene sit chartae traditus, cui rei responsa in locutionibus tantum consistentia saepe sufficiant.

Postquam Caesar difficultates animadvertit, quid removeri iussit? – Caesar naves longas removeri iussit.

Unde Caesar naves longas removeri iussit? – A navibus onerariis.

Quantum naves longas a navibus onerariis removeri iussit? – Paulum.

Qualis est navium longarum species? – Inusitator.

Cui est inusitator? – Barbaris.

Qualis est motus navium longarum? – Expeditior.

Ad quam rem expeditior? – Ad usum.

Quid Caesar incitari iussit? – Naves longas incitari.

Quo instrumento naves longas incitari iussit? – Remis.

Quid aliud de navibus longis Caesar iussit? – Ad latus apertum hostium constitui.

*vel* Ubi Caesar naves longas constitui iussit? – Ad latus apertum hostium.

Ad quorum latus naves longas constitui iussit? – Hostium.

Quid de hostibus Caesar iussit? – Propelli et submoveri.

Quibus instrumentis Caesar hostes propelli ac submoveri iussit? – Fundis, sagittis et tormentis.

A magistro tali modo roganti nulla notio scripto dictato expressa praetermittetur. Nam in scholis discipulis provectoribus destinatis, quale est curriculum AP nominatum, non tantum de sensu generatim et universe percipiendo agitur sed de minutis penitus intellegendis. Porro quattuor actiones necessariae ipso in exercitio conectentur: actio audiendi, actio scribendi, actio legendi, actio loquendi. Discipuli textum audient, chartis tradent, legent, interrogatis de textu prolatis voce viva respondebunt. Nam nemo ad medullam ullius linguae pervenire valet nisi audiendo, loquendo, legendo, scribendo.

### **De constructionibus grammaticis exercendis**

Transeundum nunc est ad constructiones grammaticas modo activo tractandas. Ecce aliquot notiones grammaticae maioris momenti in curriculo AP tractandae: ablativus absolutus, coniugatio periphrastica passiva, verba deponentia, accusativus cum infinitivo, interrogatum obliquum, ut obiectivum, verba timendi, enuntiata finalia, sententiae condicionales. Quae omnia tractari possunt per varia excerpta operis c.t. De bello Gallico a discipulis iam lecta. Nam notiones grammaticae a notionibus in textu traditis disiungi non debent. Sane notionibus grammaticis tradendis magister ante omnia de ipsa lingua, non ipsam linguam docet. Agitur tamen de viis expeditioribus quibus ipsius linguae compagem discipuli suam reddunt, praesertim si modo activo hoc faciunt. Hae viae breviores non sunt spernendae. Nam vix hodie nobis exstat condicio quam Erasmus in colloquio *Ars notoria* intitulo labores in studiis Latinis vitare cupientibus praecepta dans describit, secundum quam per lecturam perpetuam necnon per colloquia cum magistris doctis habenda scientia Latine discentium



augetur: “Nam praeter sermones conviviorum, praeter quotidiana colloquia, statim a prandio audis octo lepidissima dicta, ex probatissimis auctoribus selecta; totidem a coena.”<sup>9</sup> Institutionis enim Latinae horae valde sunt deminutae—qui tamen de re grammatica discunt, discunt melius si non tantum oculis, sed aliis etiam sensibus utuntur. Omnia quae sequuntur exercitia possunt sive scribendo, sive voce perfici.

### **De constructionibus grammaticis: de ablativo absoluto**

Magister rogat ut ablativus absolutus, ubi licet, in locum locutionum exstantium substituatur. Ratio est habenda quando actio subordinata sit facta necnon verbi temporalis vocis.

Cum naves paravisset, Caesar solvit. → Navibus paratis Caesar solvit.

Postquam consilia Caesaris cognita sunt, Britanni equitatum et essedarios ad litus miserunt. → Consiliis Caesaris cognitis Britanni equitatum et essedarios ad litus miserunt.

Equites et essedarii praemissi sunt, dum reliquus exercitus Britannorum sequebatur. → Reliquo exercitu Britannorum sequente equites et essedarii sunt praemissi.

Dum Romani fundas, sagittas, tormenta iaciebant, Britanni constiterunt et pedem rettulerunt. → Romanis fundas, sagittas, tormenta iacentibus Britanni constiterunt et pedem rettulerunt.

### **De constructionibus grammaticis: de coniugatione periphrastica passiva**

In locum verborum et locutionum, in quibus subauditur vis necessitatis, coniugatio periphrastica passiva est substituenda. Tota igitur sententia penitus est rescribenda et dativus auctoris, si indicatur cui res sit patranda, inserendus. Vigilandum est ut constructio impersonalis sit neutri generis.

“Hanc Galliam subigere debeo,” dixit Caesar. → “Haec Gallia mihi est subigenda,” dixit Caesar.

Oportebat frumentum ad milites alendos invenire. → Frumentum ad milites alendos erat inveniendum.

“Debemus Romanos impedire ne in terram nostram veniant,” exclamaverunt Britanni. → “Romani sunt impediendi ne in terram nostram veniant,” exclamaverunt Britanni.

Caesar dixit necesse esse contra hostes fundis, sagittis, tormentis pugnare. → Caesar dixit contra hostes fundis, sagittis, tormentis esse pugnandum.

### **De constructionibus grammaticis: de verbis deponentibus**

Pro solitis verbis verba deponentia aequipollentia sunt exscribenda vel enuntianda.

His rebus paratis Caesar cum exercitu ad litus ivit. → His rebus paratis Caesar cum exercitu ad litus est profectus/progressus.

Cum Caesar coram militibus diceret, omnes animis intentis audiebant. → Cum Caesar coram militibus loqueretur, omnes animis intentis audiebant.

Romani ex navibus Britannos appropinquantes aspiciebant et

<sup>9</sup> Le Clerc, ed. 1703, 850.

perterrebantur. → Romani ex navibus Britannos appropinquantes intuebantur/conspicabantur et perterrebantur.

### **De constructionibus grammaticis: de accusativo cum infinitivo**

Optimum exercitium est orationem rectam in orationem obliquam convertere ita ut a verbo dicendi pendeat. Tali in exercitio opera danda est ut omnia tempora exercentur ne peculiaritates infinitivi futuri et passivi omittantur.

“Pugna instat.” Haec sunt Caesaris verba. Quid dixit Caesar? → Caesar dixit pugnam instare.

Britanni Romanos premebant. Haec sunt Caesaris verba. Quid dixit Caesar? → Caesar dixit Britannos Romanos pressisse.

Romani a Britannis premebantur. Haec sunt Caesaris verba. Quid dixit Caesar? → Caesar dixit Romanos a Britannis esse pressos.

Naves longae a navibus onerariis removendae erant. Haec sunt Caesaris verba. Quid dixit Caesar? → Caesar dixit naves longas a navibus onerariis fuisse removendas.

Species navium longarum Britannis est inusitator. Haec sunt Caesaris verba. Quid dixit Caesar? → Caesar dixit speciem navium longarum Britannis esse inusitatiorem.

Procul dubio hostes propellemus et submovebimus. Haec sunt Caesaris verba. Quid dixit Caesar? → Caesar dixit Romanos procul dubio hostes esse propulsuros et submoturos.

Procul dubio hostes propellentur et submovebuntur. Haec sunt Caesaris verba. Quid dixit Caesar? → Caesar dixit hostes procul dubio propulsum et submotum iri / fore ut hostes procul dubio propellerentur et submoverentur.

### **De constructionibus grammaticis: de interrogato obliquo**

In interrogatis obliquis exercendis omnes temporum consecutiones adhiberi possunt. Quod exercitium cum pluribus discipulis quoque ordinare licet, si magister plura interrogata addiderit, quibus discipuli respondere debeant accusativum et infinitivum usurpantes.

Estne Caesar magnus imperator? Quid te, Petre, rogo? → Rogas, magister, num Caesar magnus imperator fuerit.

Responde, Petre! → Caesar fuit magnus imperator.

Quid, Paule, dixit Petrus? → Petrus dixit Caesarem fuisse magnum imperatorem.

Potuitne Caesar ad Britanniam pervenire? Quid modo te, Petre, rogavi? → Rogavisti, magister, num Caesar ad Britanniam pervenisset.

Responde, Petre! → Caesar potuit ad Britanniam pervenire.

Quid, Paule, dixit Petrus? → Petrus dixit Caesarem potuisse ad Britanniam pervenire.

Manebuntne Romani semper in Britannia? Quid te, Petre, rogo?  
 → Rogas, magister, num Romani semper in Britannia mansuri sint.

Responde, Petre! → Romani haud semper in Britannia manebunt.

Quid, Paule, dixit Petrus? → Petrus dixit Romanos haud semper in Britannia esse mansuros.

### **De constructionibus grammaticis: de ut obiectivo**

Enuntiata obiectiva quoque sunt exercenda quo maiore facilitate a discipulis adhibeantur. Plerumque iussus rectus in iussum obliquum converti potest. Curandum est ut coniunctio q.e. *ne* in iussu negativo usurpetur.

Caesar militibus imperat: “Conscendite in naves.” Quid Caesar militibus imperat? → Caesar militibus imperat ut in naves conscendant.

Litore conspecto Caesar a militibus petivit: “Navigate!” Quid Caesar a militibus petivit? → Caesar a militibus petivit ut navigarent.

Litore conspecto Caesar militibus imperat: “Consistite!” Quid Caesar militibus imperat? → Caesar militibus imperat ut consistent.

Milites timentes Caesar monet: “Nolite timere!” Quid Caesar milites timentes monet? → Caesar milites timentes monet ne timeant.

Milites Caesar hortabatur: “Capite arma!” Quid Caesar milites hortabatur? → Caesar milites hortabatur ut arma caperent.

### **De constructionibus grammaticis: de verbis timendi**

Construiones cum verbis timendi quoque tractari possunt ut discipuli in eorum familiaritatem descendant. Accurate est distinguendum inter rem malam de qua timetur ne fiat et rem bonam de qua timetur ne non fiat necnon inter timorem ad futurum et timorem ad praeteritum directum. Animus quoque est advertendus ad subiectum timoris pronomine reflexivo indicandum.

Milites exclamant: “Timemus. Hostes in nos impetum fortasse facient.” Quid milites timent? → Milites timent ne hostes in se impetum faciant.

Caesar exclamavit: “Timeo. Fortasse non vincam.” Quid Caesar timebat? → Caesar timebat ne non / ut vinceret.

Britanni exclamabant: “Metuimus. Fortasse Romani terram nostram capient.” Quid Britanni metuebant? → Britanni metuebant ne Romani terram suam caperent.

Britanni exclamant: “Metuimus. Fortasse Romanos repellere non poterimus.” Quid Britanni metuunt? → Britanni metuunt ne non/ ut Romanos repellant.

Caesar cogitat: “Timeo. Fortasse in Britanniam perperam veni.” Quid timet Caesar? → Caesar timet ne perperam in Britanniam venerit.

Caesar cum animo suo reputabat. “Timeo. Fortasse in erratum sum inductus.” Quid timebat Caesar? → Caesar timebat ne in erratum esset inductus.

**De constructionibus grammaticis: de enuntiatis finalibus**

Etiam enuntiata finalia, quamquam frequentatissima, melius intellegentur, si voce viva erunt prolata. Magister per ambages propositum actionis describet, discipuli autem eandem rem enuntiato finali sive explicito sive implicito dicere debebunt.

Caesar dixit: “Profectus sum in Galliam. Propositum mihi erat illam terram subigere.” Cur/quo proposito Caesar in Galliam erat profectus?  
 → Caesar in Galliam erat profectus ut illam terram subigeret / qui illam terram subigeret / ad illam terram subigendam / illius terrae subigendae causā (gratiā) / illam terram subactum / illam terram subactus (si locutionem post-Ciceronianam sinere volumus).

Caesar dixit: “Propositum mihi est in Britanniam proficisci. Nam haec terra quoque Romana fieri debet.” Cur / quo proposito Caesar in Britanniam proficiscetur? → Caesar in Britanniam proficiscetur ut illa terra Romana fiat / ad illam terram Romanam faciendam / illius terrae Romanae faciendae causā (gratiā) / illam terram Romanam factum / illam terram Romanam facturus.

**De constructionibus grammaticis: de sententiis conditionalibus**

Tandem expedit compositionem liberam discipulis interdum proponere. Condicio quaedam est excogitanda, quam discipuli secundum sensum qui accipi possit expleant.

Si omnes discipuli Caesarem diligenter legerint, ... → Si omnes discipuli Caesarem diligenter legerint, Latine optime scient.

Si Caesar Galliam non subegisset, ... → Si Caesar Galliam non subegisset, imperium Romanum numquam tantopere crevisset, ut postea crevit.

Si nemo in scholis linguam Latinam disceret, ... → Si nemo in scholis linguam Latinam disceret, omnes patrimonii Latini ignari essent.

**De figuris grammaticis et rhetoricis Latine exercendis**

In curriculo cui nomen AP figurae grammaticae et rhetoricae quoque tractantur. Quae figurae nihil impedit quin ratione magis activa exerceantur. Textum viva voce legere et deinde verbis suis secundum magistri praecepta repetere iam multum confert ad familiaritatem sermonis Latini fovendam.

**De figuris grammaticis: de asyndeto**

Licet magistro interrogare quae figura grammatica in sententiis praebitis exstet necnon poscere ut discipuli textum retractent ita ut figura non adhibeatur.

*De bello Gallico* VI, 13: <Druides> rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. (Seel, ed. 1977)  
 → Druides rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant necnon religiones interpretantur.

*De bello Gallico* VI, 22: <Germani> Agri culturae non student, maiorque pars eorum victus in lacte, caseo, carne consistit. (Seel, ed. 1977)  
 → Germani agriculturae non student, maiorque pars eorum victus in lacte et caseo carneque consistit.

Eodem modo rogandum est ut figurae rhetoricae inveniatur et textus mutetur ita ut sine figuris sonet.

### **De figuris rhetoricis: de anaphora**

*De bello Gallico* VI, 17 Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. huius sunt plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. (Seel, ed. 1977) → Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. cuius sunt plurima simulacra, eum omnium inventorem artium ferunt et viarum atque itinerum ducem necnon ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur.

### **De figuris rhetoricis: de chiasmo**

*De bello Gallico* VII, 77 (Critognatus inter obsidionem Alesiae loquitur) Romani vero quid petunt aliud aut quid volunt nisi invidia adducti quos fama nobiles potentesque bello cognoverunt, horum in agris civitatibusque considerare atque his aeternam iniungere servitatem? (Seel, ed. 1977) → Romani vero quid petunt aliud aut quid volunt nisi invidia adducti quos fama nobiles et bello potentes cognoverunt, horum in agris civitatibusque considerare atque his aeternam iniungere servitatem?

### **De figuris rhetoricis: de hyperbato**

*De bello Gallico* VI, 13 ad hos (Druides) magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinae causa concurrat magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore. (Seel, ed. 1977) → ad hos (Druides) magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinae causa concurrat et hi sunt apud eos magno honore.

### **De figuris rhetoricis: de litote**

*De bello Gallico* I, 42 Caesar, quod neque conloquium interposita causa tolli volebat neque salutem suam Gallorum equitatu committere audebat, commodissimum esse statuit omnibus equis Gallis equitibus detractis eo legionarios milites legionis decimae, cui quam maxime confidebat, imponere, ut praesidium quam amicissimum, si quid opus facto esset, haberet. quod cum fieret, non inridicule quidam ex militibus decimae legionis dixit plus quam pollicitus esset Caesarem ei facere: pollicitum se in cohortis praetoriae loco decimam legionem habiturum ad equum rescribere. (Seel, ed. 1977)

→ Caesar, quod neque conloquium interposita causa tolli volebat neque salutem suam Gallorum equitatu committere audebat, commodissimum esse statuit omnibus equis Gallis equitibus detractis eo legionarios milites legionis decimae, cui quam maxime confidebat, imponere, ut praesidium quam amicissimum, si quid opus facto esset, haberet. quod cum fieret, valde ridicule quidam ex militibus decimae legionis dixit plus quam pollicitus esset Caesarem ei facere: pollicitum se in cohortis praetoriae loco decimam legionem habiturum ad equum rescribere.



### **De dialogis vel fabellis conscribendis atque edendis**

Maximi momenti exercitium et quodammodo omnium exercitiorum corona est textu perlecto de eiusdem materia dialogos componere vel etiam plenam fabellam scaenicam quae postea edatur. Hoc summopere discipulis prodest; nam non tantum scriptum omni ex parte necnon in eius contextu tum intellegunt, sed animos mentesque in componendo collocant fiuntque ipsius textus veri participes. Discipuli enim sentiunt se aliquid Latine creare posse atque Latinitatem esse linguam qua cogitata animique motus exprimantur.

Consideremus capita primum, secundum et tertium primi libri operis c.t. *De Bello Gallico* in quibus Orgetorix seditionem inter Helvetios moliens describitur ut totius Galliae imperio potiatur, cum Helvetiis, cum Sequanis, cum Haeduis agens, dein a Helvetiis deprehensus et in iudicium vocatus, tandem postquam efficit ut magna copia clientium ad iudicium veniat condicionibus minus certis vita functus. Licet aliquot dialogos separatos componere: inter Orgetorigem et Helvetios initio habitum, inter Orgetorigem et Casticum Sequanum, inter Orgetorigem et Dumnorigem Haeduum, coram iudicibus. Vel tota series rerum tamquam fabella edi potest. Si aliquot greges idem argumentum tractaverint et postea coram ceteris fabellam suam ediderint, comparatio fiet rationum secundum quas argumentum sit tractatum, quae res studium excitat, praesertim si agitur de coniectura rerum gestarum, ut in narratione de Orgetorige. Nam gregales textum una legunt, de minutiis disceptant, una dialogos et ipsam fabellam conscribunt, partes inter se distribuunt, memoriae tradunt, praemeditantur. Quas inter res scientia Latina mirabiliter crescit.

### **De imaginibus Latine describendis**

Tandem pervenimus ad exercitium in quo imagines cum verbis coniunguntur. Imaginem verbis Latinis describere semper optima est exercitatio Latina inter quam non tantum copia verborum ex ima mente eruitur et compages grammatica exercetur, sed quoque discipuli nexum sentiunt qui inter verba et rerum veritatem exstat. In scholis Caesari dicatis licet adhibere imaginem in qua Caesar est delineatus. Eligamus, exempli gratia, picturam illius Lionel-Noël Royer anno 1899 creatam cui nomen "*Vercingétorix jette ses armes aux pieds de César*" (quae invenitur in Musée Crozatier in oppido Francogallico cui nomen Le Puy-en-Velay) in qua Vercingetorix Alesia capta Caesari deditur. Titulus Latinus est excogitandus, deinde res in pictura delineatae describendae: qui homines in pictura conspiciantur, quid faciant, quibus animi motibus sint obnoxii, quomodo sint vestiti, qui sint vestimentorum colores, quae sint eorum arma, quae sint ornamenta equorum, quid in parte longinqua cernatur, quale sit caelum etc. Tandem dialogus imaginarius inter Caesarem et Vercingetoricem exarari potest. Quamvis haec recta via ad textum lectum non pertineant, tamen efficere possunt ut textus modo vividior a discipulis accipiatur viteturque condicio secundum quam discipuli textu perlecto et in linguam vernaculam converso nesciant qua de re inibi agatur. Nam omni modo est nitendum totum animum, totam mentem discipulorum scripta Latina legentium capere ut sentiant scriptorem secum communicare et se posse huius dialogi esse partem.

Supra sunt descriptae aliquot rationes activae secundum quas scholae Caesarianae discipulis provectoribus destinatae agi possint. Exstant sane et exstare possunt multae aliae viae in quibus ipsa Caesaris verba una cum condicionibus in quibus sunt exorta modo vivo sonent vel retractentur.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Multa subsidia utilia ad Caesaris de bello Gallico commentarios pertinentia hac in pagina interretiali inveniri possunt: <http://dcc.dickinson.edu/caesar/caesar-introduction> (adita die 4o mensis Iunii anno 2014o).

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### De auctrice

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### Summarium Latinum

Quam saepissime rationes activae linguae Latinae docendae aptiores censentur quae in curriculo tironibus destinato locum habeant. At tales rationes efficacissime etiam apud provectiores sive in lyciis sive in curriculis universitariis usurpari possunt. Nec necesse esse videtur Latinitatem activam colloquiis simplicibus habendis circumscribere et ab ipsis scriptis auctorum Latinorum in quos discipuli provectiores incumbere solent abesse. Nam nihil impedit quominus exercitiis activis discipuli in compagis grammaticae familiaritatem deveniant, cuius quidem notitia vias breviores ipsius linguae intellegendae praebeat ideoque ad facilitatem textus legendi qui est tandem institutionis Latinae scopus principalis ducere possit. Tractatur hac in commentatione quomodo rationes activae in curriculo AP (Advanced Placement) quod in Civitatibus Foederatis Americae Septentrionalis credita academica universitaria discipulis in lyciis versantibus praebeat adhibeantur. Exempla depromuntur ex Caesaris Commentariis de bello Gallico qui textus est principalis in curriculo AP quod ad prosam orationem pertinet. Primum agitur de textu variis rationibus Latine sine ullius linguae vernaculae adiumentis explanando quod fit sive per interrogata sive paraphrasibus sive titulo textui imponendo vel summario exarando. Dein sermo fit de dictatione eiusque explicatione Latina. Postea tractantur variae constructiones grammaticae Latine modo activo explanandae. Sequitur tractatio activa figurarum grammaticarum atque rhetoricarum. Tandem de dialogis

componendis necnon de fabellis scaenicis conscribendis atque Latine edendis agitur. In calce ipsius textus tractatio cum imaginibus Latine describendis coniungitur.

### **Summarium Anglicum**

*On the Active Use of Caesar in Latin Classes for Advanced Students.* Methods for active teaching of the Latin language are usually considered to be best suited for the curriculum of beginners' classes. Such methods can, however, be used quite efficiently even when teaching advanced students either at High School or University level. Nor does it seem to be necessary to restrict the active use of Latinity to simple conversations only or to avoid using the texts of the classic Roman authors, which students of Latin need to understand well. In short, there is nothing preventing students from becoming familiar with the rules of grammar by means of active exercises. Such familiarity furnishes the student with shortcuts to a better understanding of the language itself. This may in turn lead to that very ability to read ancient texts which is, after all, the main object of Latin teaching. The present contribution deals with the use of active methods in the curriculum for Advanced Placement (AP) High School pupils who are taking courses that provide them with academic credits for university qualification in the USA. Examples are taken from Caesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, a fundamental text in the AP curriculum as far as prose is concerned. The article deals first with how to explain a text in various ways by means of the Latin language alone, without having recourse to the vernacular. Asking questions, making paraphrases, adding titles, or providing a summary are all alternatives here. Furthermore, dictation is elucidated, and how it can offer a bridge to explaining the text in Latin; so is an active method to explain various grammatical constructions. There then follows the active treatment of grammatical as well as rhetorical figures. Finally, questions of how to compose dialogues, and even how to edit plays for the stage, are addressed. At the end of the essay, the author discusses how to combine textual work with exercises involving describing images in Latin.

### **Verba clauicularia**

Caesar, methodi activae, AP (Advanced Placement), dictatio, constructiones grammaticae, figurae rhetoricae, scripta Latine enucleanda, imagines Latine describendae, fabellae scaenicae.



## COLLOQUIA FAMILIARIA AETATE LITTERARUM RENATARUM SCRIPTA NE SPERNAMUS!

Terentius Tunberg

### I

Romano imperio in regionibus ad occidentem spectantibus iam extincto, usus tamen linguae Latinae diu manebat (et adhuc, etsi satis deminutus, manet). Suo quaeque gens sermone vernaculo utebatur. Linguā autem Latinā artes scientiaeque tradebantur: lingua ecclesiae occidentalis erat Latina: ministri publici vel magistratus civiles in regnis versantes ad linguam Latinam confugere debebant, quia homines stirpe Germanica oriundi, qui regiones occupaverant, quae ad dicionem Romanorum quondam pertinuerant, usu litterarum diu carebant. Iuvenes ecclesiae destinati linguam Latinam discebant, non solum ut artes atque theologiam e libris Latine scriptis discerent, sed etiam ut ipsi eadem lingua ad cogitata sua cum aliis communicanda et ad posteros tradenda uterentur. Nec solum Latine scribebant, usum etiam Latine loquendi et sermocinandi necessario conservabant. Talis enim linguae Latinae usus in monasteriis et ludis litterariis diu exstiterat, et mos inde a saeculo duodecimo post Christum natum in academiis maioribus vel in studiorum universitatibus (quae vocantur) exstabat, ut praelectiones atque disputationes scholasticae lingua Latina coram artium liberalium studiosis haberentur.

Homines docti haud pauci, velut Erasmus ille Roterodamus – ut unum e multis memorare liceat – seorsum ab academiis et a coetibus scholasticis in congressu familiari cum sociis Latine sermocinari solebant. Erasmus autem ille exeunte saec. XV natus ineunte saec. XVI floruit – aetate illa, qua homines docti credebant litteras Latinas refluuisse. Apud scriptores, qui ea praesertim aetate vigeabant, nec solum apud Erasmum et Erasmi aequales, sed etiam apud eos, qui aut paulo ante aut paulo post Erasmum vixerunt, consuetudo Latine colloquendi crebro memoratur. Cur cuiusdam consuetudinis, quae sine dubio inde a tempore veterum Romanorum exstiterat, subito et post saec. XV plura indicia litteris tradita sunt?

Ratio autem huius rei non magno negotio, nisi fallimur, quaedam reddi potest. Homines docti aetate litterarum renatarum cum omnes artes, tum praecipue linguam ipsam Latinam ad formas et normas a Romanis antiquis traditas reducere conati sunt. Praeceptores et professores qui studia humanitatis bonasque litteras colebant, sermonem Latinum aetate priore – h.e., medio illo aevo, quod dicitur – corruptum (ut illi putabant) emendare et ad nitorem pristinum omnibus modis revocare volebant. Magnam igitur operam non tantum arti Latine scribendi, sed etiam sermoni cottidiano colloquiisque Latinis dederunt.

Tot indicia sermonis Latini et extemporalis et fortuiti in operibus Latinis aetate litterarum renascentium exstare animadverteramus, ut librum scribere non ita pridem decreverimus *De rationibus quibus homines docti artem Latine colloquendi saec. XVI et XVII coluerunt*.<sup>1</sup> Quo in libro, quamvis codex ipse aspectu primo satis exilis esse videatur, satis multa (nisi spe quadam decepti fallimur) traduntur de linguae Latinae usu scholastico, de Ciceronianis (qui vocantur), de pronuntiatu, de Latine colloquendi usu et utilitate, de aliis rebus quae ad argumentum nostrum spectant.

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<sup>1</sup> Tunberg 2012.



## II

Nunc autem in unam partem huius argumenti inquirere volumus, atque campum quendam haud exiguum quasi digito monstrare, quem utinam alii litterarum Latinarum studiosi latius explorare cupiant. Opuscula enim ad usum Latine sermocinandi fovendum illa aetate scripta lectoribus commendare volumus, quae adhuc Latine loquendi studiosis utilia esse possint.

Sicut iam diximus, grammatici, qui bonas litteras propagare nitebantur, sermonem Latinum medio illo aevo aliquatenus inquinatum (ut illi putabant) purgare et in nitorem antiquum restituere volebant. Iidem eloquentiam iam diu spretam atque paene, ut ita dicamus, mortuam quodammodo ad vitam excitare conabantur. Nullum linguae Latinae usum a studio eloquentiae seiungendum esse credebant, omnibusque modis efficere conabantur ut pueri in scholis versantes non lingua vix Latina – tali enim sermone non tantum discipuli, sed ipsi etiam magistri videntur saeculis prioribus nonnumquam collocuti esse<sup>2</sup> – sed pure et emendate loquerentur. Audiatur testimonium Nicolai Beraldi, qui fuit Erasmi aequalis, nec minus litteris quam legibus eruditus.

Falluntur enim multi, qui scriptis tantum curam adhibent ac diligentiam, securi quo quid modo vel in amicorum convivio, vel in quotidianis colloquiis ac congressibus loquantur [...] (Beraldi 1534, f. A7<sup>v</sup>).

Multi igitur litterarum praeceptores, velut Erasmus, Vives, Corderius, Sturmus, Pontanus, alii permulti dialogos breves vel “colloquia,” quod nomen nonnumquam usurpatur ad huiusmodi dialogos indicandos, composuerunt, ut iuvenes sermonis cottidiani sed integri et puri specimina in promptu haberent, quibus perlectis (memoriaeque fortasse mandatis) emendatius ipsi loquerentur.<sup>3</sup> Quod propositum satis perspicue declarat Desiderius ille Erasmus Roterodamus, hisce verbis.

Praecepta volo esse pauca sed optima: quod reliquum est arbitrari petendum ex optimis quibusque scriptoribus, aut ex eorum colloquio, qui sic loquuntur ut illi scripserunt. (Erasmi 1906-1965, ep. 1115, tom. 4, 290, vv. 28-34)

Oportuit iuvenes non solum sermonem bonum e colloquiis discere, sed etiam mores bonos.<sup>4</sup> Plerique autem colloquiorum auctores id in primis egisse videntur ut eiusmodi opuscula auxilio essent iuvenibus, qui bene loqui cuperent: id quod aperte testatur Erasmus de suis colloquiis disserens.

[...] in eo libello non trado dogmata fidei, sed formulas loquendi Latine: tametsi quaedam admixta sunt obiter quae faciunt ad bonos mores. (Erasmi 1906-1965, ep. 11301, tom. 5, 91, vv. 10-12)

Opuscula huiusmodi ante litterarum renatarum aetatem videntur esse scripta pauca – immo perpauca: sola enim colloquia Aelfrici Saxonis atque unum et alterum opusculum medio illo

<sup>2</sup> Quantopere discipulorum sermo nonnumquam sit corruptus discere possumus e Mathurini Corderii opusculo, cui index *De corrupti sermonis emendatione libellus* (Corderii 1535).

<sup>3</sup> De huiusmodi dialogis generatim et universe scripserunt aliquot homines eruditi, velut A. Bömer 1897–1899; L. Massebieau 1878; M. Derwa 1969; F. Bierlaire 1998.

<sup>4</sup> Colloquia Maturini Corderii Galli, ut unicum exemplum afferamus, in Britannia saeculo septimo decimo sunt in publicum e prelo typographico sub hoc titulo data: *Maturini Corderii colloquiorum scholasticorum libri IV diligenter recogniti. Protrepicon, Ad bene vivendi recteque loquendi studiosos*. Londinii: Typis M. F. et I. G. pro Societate Stationariorum, 1679.

aevo scriptum ad hoc genus pertinere videntur.<sup>5</sup> Tot autem dialogi, quibus sermo familiaris et cottidianus aleretur, saeculis XVI et XVII editi sunt, quot vix possunt enumerari: et multo plures eiusmodi opsucula ineunte saec. XVI videntur esse composita, quam in toto temporis spatio, quod e Romano imperio occidentali deleta ad aetatem Erasmi intercesserat.

Quod tot dialogi familiares tam cito sunt scripti et editi, id nobis indicio est maximo quantopere litteratores et praeceptores, qui studia humanitatis illis saeculis colebant, efficere contenderint, ut iuvenes pure et emendate in congressu familiari colloquerentur. Auctores igitur colloquiorum pro viribus conabantur dialogos componere, qui veterum Romanorum latinitatem resiperent.<sup>6</sup> Minime mirum si tales dialogi locutionibus scatent, quae sunt ex Terentii fabulis et ex epistulis Ciceronis – hoc est e fontibus purissimis – haustae. Argumenta autem colloquiorum fere semper ad res hominibus antiquis et Romanis ignotas, sed pueris vitam saec. XVI agentibus pernotas spectant. Nam pueros, adulescentes, iuvenes, homines etiam aetate provectiores non tam saepe de vita Romanorum antiquorum, quam de sua vita communi deque rebus ad se ipsos pertinentibus Latine atque emendate loqui oportebat. Asseverat quoque Iacobus Pontanus, homo doctissimus et colloquiorum auctor praeclarus, cuius *Progymnasmata latinitatis* exeunte saec. XVI in publicum data iterum iterumque a typographis edita sunt, pueros argumenta colloquiorum multo facilius multoque citius quam res a Cicerone in epistulis tractatas intellegere posse.

Fatendum est res *iis epistulis* inclusas laboriosius et imperfectius a pueritia tenerisque ingeniiis comprehendi, quam quae cadunt in *Dialogos*, quorum argumentis atque rebus nihil est usitatius, nihil notius, nihil magis obvium atque domesticum [...] (Pontani 1599, f. B2)<sup>7</sup>

### III

Plurima igitur ex huiusmodi colloquiis, quorum multa sunt vitae scholasticae in primis destinata, de vita puerorum in ludis litterariis versantium deque necessitate Latine semper loquendi discimus. Ecce hic dialogus brevis inter colloquia, quae saec. XVI composuit Antonius Silvius Belga, invenitur.

*Formulae quibus venia a didasculo exeundi e ludo literario petitur*

MICHAEL GUILIELMUS

M: Quid sibi vult frons haec caperata et contracta, Guilielme?

G: Nunquam fuit mihi tanta alvi exonerandi necessitas atque nunc est!

Parum abest quin mihi femoralia ventris proluvie conspurcem.

M: Quin petis a didasculo dimissionem?

G: Non permittitur mihi Teutonice loqui; et quâ Latine et emendate efferam ignarus prorsus sum.

M: Vis te hoc doceam?

G: Volo equidem!

M: Duobus atque etiam tribus modis efferre poteris:

‘Praeceptor, placet tibi ut exonerem alvum, ut purgem ventrem?’

<sup>5</sup> De colloquiis antiquissimis scripsit Villelmus Henricus Stevenson 1929.

<sup>6</sup> Voces aliquot et locutiones, quae in colloquiis reperiuntur ineunte saec. XVI compositis (velut in colloquiis quae scripsit Ioannes Ludovicus Vives), minus Latinae atque emendandae forsitan nonnullis lectoribus videantur, qui philologorum scientiam tamquam obrussam adhibendam esse putaverint. Sermo autem Erasmi, atque praesertim eorum, qui eodem saeculo sed paulo postea dialogos ad sermonem familiarem ditandum scripserunt, satis integer videtur esse, quamquam etiam apud hos auctores voces peregrinae vel inusitatae interdum leguntur.

<sup>7</sup> Locus invenitur in praefatione operis, c.t. *Jacobi Pontani de societate Iesu Progymnasmatum Latinitatis [...] volumen primum*.

G: Quid si micturirem? Quo dicendi modo uterer?

M. Hoc modo:

‘Praeceptor, placet tibi ut levem vesicam, ut reddam lotium?’

G: Habetur tibi a me gratia, Michael! Scio te nunquam antehac usum amicitia mea. Memorem me dices et gratum [...] (Silvii 1580, 176)

Pueri igitur in ludis et lyceis commorantes legibus durissimis constringebantur – qualem condicionem, quamvis ipsam Latine loquendi consuetudinem probemus, pessimam fuisse nec ullo modo nobis imitandam esse facile videmus. Cuius vitae condicionis testis est Ioannes Posselius Germanus, professor Rostochiensis, rei scholasticae peritus.

Ut autem haec scribendi exercitia diligenter et fideliter colenda sunt, sic et Latine loquendi exercitatio [...] nequaquam negligi debet. Quod quo rectius fieri possit, custodes seu ‘coricaei’ constituendi sunt, qui et iuniores Teutonice loquentes et grandiores vel Germanismis vel soloecismis vel denique barbarismis utentes annotent et ad magistrum defera<n>t, a quo iusta poena afficiantur. Utrumque enim exercitium Latine scribendi et loquendi in Latinis scholis vigere debet, nec alterum ab altero separari potest. (Posselii 1589, 145)

In colloquiis quoque, h.e. in ipsis dialogis scholasticis, saepe fit mentio ‘Corycaeorum’, vel puerorum, qui praemia accipiebant ut essent speculatores, quorum erat munus ut nomina discipulorum sermone vernaculo loquentium magistro indicarent. Huiusmodi speculatores atque delatores nomen traxerunt e Graecis, qui in Coryco promunturio antiquitus habitaverant piratasque de navium commeatu certiores facere soliti erant.<sup>8</sup> Leguntur quidem in dialogis scholasticis, quae saec. XVI scripsit Martinus Duncanus Batavus (qui curare voluisse videtur ut copia dicendi etiam delatoribus suppeditaretur), voces nonnullae, quibus homo possit alios, qui lingua vernacula loquantur, reprehendere et accusare!

Quasi nesciam quid inter vos egeritis! Exaudivi omnia. Fabulati estis Germanice! Nostrati lingua, non Rhomana usi estis. Nostratia funditastis verba, non Latina, quod est alienum a professione vestra. Ego vos noto Germanicae locutionis praehensos et multandos curabo vel flagris vel poena pecuniaria. Ego vos agam reos nostratis loquelae. Ego vos arcessam et postulabo Teutonicae loquacitatis, Germanici sermonis, nostratis colloqui, et puniendos curabo legitima multa [...] (Duncani 1562, f. 13<sup>v</sup>)

Etsi lyceorum et academiarum rectores tristissima quaedam et dira discipulis leges scholasticas violantibus minabantur, vix dubitare possumus quin tales leges aliquando neglectae sint. Immo de legibus ad usum linguae Latinae pertinentibus flagitiose neglectis non unus scriptor queritur. Discipuli sane haud omnes in ludis et academiis ob amorem et studium ipsius linguae Latinae versabantur. At leges quibus linguae Latinae usus ab omnibus exigebatur non ex nihilo ortae sunt – ortae sunt e vera vitae scholasticae condicione atque ex necessitate quadam communi non solum discentibus, sed etiam praeceptoribus imposita.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Erasmi *Adagium* 144 “Corycaeus auscultavit” (I,ii, 44), quod invenitur in p. 207 editionis *Adagiorum*, quae sunt auspiciis Academiae Lugdunensis in Rete Universali collocata sub titulo, qui est: *Les Adages d’Erasmus, creuset de l’humanisme européen*. <http://sites.univ-lyon2.fr/lesmondeshumanistes/category/adages-erasme/> De ‘Corycaeis’ nonnulla ex annotationibus discimus, quibus editionem *Confabulationum* Hermanni Schottenii suam instruxit Petrus Macardle (2007, 488–489).

## IV

Huiusmodi autem dialogi non tantum ad vitam scholasticam destinati sunt, sed etiam ad consuetudinem Latine colloquendi extra lycea et academias fovendam. Fere omnes vitae communis partes in colloquiis memorantur: tractantur enim ludi, dies festi, mores mercatorum et oppidanorum, res rusticae, res domesticae, tot res, quot vix enumerare valeamus. Auctores enim colloquiorum id agebant ut iuvenes in omni fere hominum doctorum coetu et de qualibet re Latine, emendate, diligenter loqui possent. Id quod apertissime profitetur Antonius van Torre, Belga, Societatis Iesu sodalis, colloquiorum auctor, qui saec. XVII floruit. Nam in praefatione praemissa dialogis, quos composuit, discipulos alloquitur his verbis.

<magistri > velut nutricii os vobis fingunt, et praeunt vobis, ut cum *olim in templis, in curiis, in exedris, et consessibus loquendum erit*, insignis Latinae linguae facilitas et copia subsidium et laudem non vulgarem vobis al<l>atura sit [...] (Van Torre 169?, vi)<sup>9</sup>

Hoc loco diligenter indicantur ab Antonio hominum coetus et concilia, ubi oratores, quibus parata esset Latine et ex tempore loquendi facultas, magni aestimabantur.

Utilem quoque esse facultatem Latine sermocinandi asseverant nonnulli scriptores ad commercia inter gentes habenda, h.e. ut homo doctus sermocinari possit cum alienigena cuius patrium sermonem nequaquam intellegat. Talia enim in quadam praefatione scripsit Caelius Secundus Curio, philologus Italus, qui anno 1569 in Helvetia vita defunctus est.

Apud [...] gentes <externas> si quis domestici et vernaculi ipsorum sermonis ignarus versatur, nisi Latino sermone interprete utatur, nihil possit agere, nihil cum illis contrahere, sed mutus et elinguis prorsus esse cogatur. (Nizoli 1576, f. A 4<sup>t</sup>)

Sententiae similes apud nonnullos scriptores inveniuntur.<sup>10</sup> Etsi legatos publicos peregrinantes negotia linguis vernaculis linguaque praesertim Gallica cum alienigenis saepe transegerit suspicamur, estis modos verba Latina enuntiandi satis dissimiles nonnumquam impedimento fuisse quominus alii alios Latine loquentes statim intellegerent bene scimus, exploratum tamen est linguam Latinam ad commercia inter gentes habenda persaepe esse adhibitam.<sup>11</sup>

Et aliud emolumentum e facultate ex tempore et expedite colloquendi provenire asseverat Iacobus ille Pontanus Iesuita, quem iam antea laudavimus colloquiorum auctorem doctissimum.

Quemadmodum enim ad prelium capessendum paratiores sumus et arma tractamus longe scientius, si in umbratilibus pugnis nos prius exercuerimus; sic prorsus a consuetudine et exercitatione praeclarae locutionis ad scripturae concinnitatem et lautitiam instructiores accedimus. Fuerunt item et sunt etiamnum, qui cum in utroque excellant possintque cum optime loqui, tum bellissime scribere, ex illo ad hoc, et vicissim ex hoc ad illud se profecisse testificantur. (Pontani 1599, 352)

Opinatur igitur Pontanus hominem, qui facultatem sibi expedite et pro re nata Latine colloquendi paraverit, dummodo satis emendate sermocinetur, ob hanc ipsam sermocinandi

<sup>9</sup> Locus transcriptus e pagina sexta praefationis, quae inscribitur *Praef. ad illustres, nobiles, ingenuos adolescentes [...]*.

<sup>10</sup> Testimonia afferuntur in opere, quod inscribitur *De rationibus quibus homines docti artem Latine colloquendi [...]* coluerunt (Tunberg 2012, 79–81).

<sup>11</sup> *Loc. cit.*

peritiam facilius et expeditius Latine scribere posse: exercitationem quoque Latine scribendi hominibus emendate sermocinari cupientibus prodesse. Idem suasisse videntur multi litterarum praeceptores, qui illa aetate iuvenibus instituendis praeerant,<sup>12</sup> quorum velut vicarius audiatur Antonius Van Torre, qui etiam, sicut Pontanus, a nobis est antea memoratus.

Nunc, quaeso, mecum hunc quem dico educationis vestrae fructum plenus recognoscite, Convictores. [...] In eruditorum virorum congressu Latine disserendum est: quam aequabili et nusquam haerente opus est oratione ut placeas? Adeundus prensandusve vir gravis; postulandum, deprecandum est aliquid; referendae sunt gratiae: quanti id refert ne quis loquendo titubet et verbis nisi idoneis et sponte sua provenientibus utatur? *Epistula – ut etiam non multorum versuum schedula – festinanter de publicis privatisque negotiis scribenda est: potest<ne> hoc fieri, nisi ab eo qui culto facillique sermone assueverit?* (Van Torre 169?, vii-viii)<sup>13</sup>

Colloquia vel dialogi ad collocutiones familiares et cottidianas ditandas destinati, qui sunt aetate litterarum renascentium compositi, discipulis et magistris etiam aetate nostra in litteras Latinas incumbentibus non solum saepe lectu iucundi, sed etiam ad facultatem loquendi et ad copiam verborum augendam utiles esse possunt.

Ut exemplum ante oculos habeamus, ad dialogos Pontani revertamur, unde hunc locum excerptimus vocibus atque locutionibus refertum, quae sunt idoneae ad res tractandas, quibus (ut dicta ipsius Pontani iterare liceat) “nihil est usitatus, nihil notius, nihil magis obvium atque domesticum.”<sup>14</sup>

*Nox transacta*

GABRIEL LAURENTIUS NAZARIUS

G: Salvere iubeo sodales meos, te, Laurenti, et te, Nazari.

L: Nos te vicissim. Ut vales? Valuistin’? Nam te quatuor ipsos dies nunquam oculis usurpavimus.

G: Paulo deterius quam heri, et nudius tertius, quartus, quintus.

N: Quamobrem?

G: Propterea quod ista nocte, quae praecessit proxima, haud placate dormivi.

L: Male narras – aliquo fragore nimirum iterum iterumque expergefactus.

G: Fragor quidem nullus me perturbavit, sed...

N: Sed quid?

G: ‘Mirum atque inscitum somniavi somnium’ (Plaut. *Rud.* 597).

N: Quod somnium?

G: Terriculamentorum plenissimum.

L: ‘Somnia fallaci ludunt temeraria nocte

et pauidas mentes falsa timere iubent’ (Tibull. III, 4.7–8).

(Pontani 1599, 89-90)<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Testimonia plura legi possunt in opere, quod inscribitur *De rationibus quibus homines docti artem Latine colloquendi [...] coluerunt* (Tunberg 2012, 82–85).

<sup>13</sup> Locus in praefatione invenitur, quae inscribitur *Praef. ad illustres, nobiles, ingenuos adolescentes [...]*.

<sup>14</sup> Cfr. ann 7.

<sup>15</sup> In Pontani *Progymnasmatum* editione Ingolstadii anno 1599 parata uni cuique dialogo adiunctae sunt annotationes satis utiles, unde lectores certiores fiunt e quibus auctoribus voces locutionesve exquisitiores sumptae sint et ad quae cogitata et sensa mentis exprimenda aptae esse videantur.



Mirabilis synonymorum copia ex huiusmodi dialogis nonnumquam suppeditatur. Exemplo sit nobis hic locus, quem e Martini Duncani colloquiis sumpsimus.

*De studio et de ludo*

LEONARDUS CLEMENTINUS EGMONDANUS, & NICOLAUS  
FRANCISCI FIL. GUORMARIANUS

L: Scin Nicolae? Hodie nobis fiet ludendi copia: dabitur nobis ludendi potestas: hodie feriabimur: a prandio studiorum remissione gaudebimus, et nos lusibus recreabimus. Tempore pomeridiano ociabimur, et studiis soluemur, animosque nostros studio fessos ludendo refocillabimus.

N: Quî nam istud scis? Quo argumento colligis istud? Quibusnam ex rationibus istud tibi conficitur? Unde istam opinionem duxisti? Unde in istam spem venisti? Unde quaeso tibi ventum est in istam spem? Qua ductus coniectura scis istud? Unde nam istud coniectas?

(Duncani 1562, f. 27<sup>v</sup>)

## V

Colloquia igitur vel dialogos scholasticos, quamvis sint abhinc annos quingentos vel quadringentos in lucem editi, et magistris linguae Latinae et discipulis, qui quidem Latine sermocinandi sint studiosi, etiam aetate nostra prodesse posse pro certo habemus.<sup>16</sup> Nonnulla colloquia (Erasmi praesertim) ita concinnata videmus, ut hominum mores, virtutes, vitia in iis velut in scaena ante oculos ponantur. Huiusmodi dialogis fruuntur omnes, qui salibus delectentur. Colloquia quoque, quippe in quibus permulta tradantur de vita cottidiana hominum, qui saec. XVI et saec. XVII vixerunt, studiosis rerum gestarum admodum placebunt. Utinam magistri, discipuli, quilibet linguae Latinae et litterarum latinarum fautores his opusculis iucundis paulo saepius fruantur!

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<sup>16</sup> Duce Alano Scaife collega nostro, qui anno 2008 diem supremum obiit, iuvantibusque nonnullis litterarum Latinarum studiosis gradumque magistralem apud nos petentibus, archivum, quod vocatur, in Rete Universali est positum, quo iam servantur circiter sescenta et quinquaginta colloquia aetate litterarum renatarum composita, quae omnia hac inscriptione adiri possunt: <http://www.stoa.org/colloquia/>. Etsi copia colloquiorum hoc loco iam invenitur amplissima, alii tamen eiusdem generis dialogi supersunt permulti, qui nondum archivo nostro sunt additi. Est igitur nobis in votis ut archivum nostrum aliquando amplificetur.

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### De auctore

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### Summarium Latinum

Tractantur in hac symbola opuscula quaedam aetate litterarum renatarum ad consuetudinem Latine colloquendi alendam editis, quae nobis videntur esse linguae Latinae studiosis adhuc utilia. Multi litterarum praeceptores, velut Erasmus, Vives, Corderius, Sturmus, Pontanus, alii permulti, dialogos breves vel “colloquia,” quod nomen nonnumquam usurpatur ad huiusmodi dialogos indicandos, saeculis XVI et XVII composuerunt, ut iuvenes sermonis cottidiani sed integri et puri specimina in promptu haberent. Ostendere volumus qualia sint haec opuscula, cur tot eiusmodi dialogi saeculis XVI et XVII in publicum dati sint, qualia emolumenta ex his ‘colloquiis’ percipi possint ab iis, qui in litteras Latinas nostro saeculo incumbunt.

**Summarium Anglicum**

We hope to bring to the attention of modern readers a genre of works composed in great numbers during the Renaissance, which were designed to complement the practice of conversational Latin. We single out these particular texts, because, in our opinion, teachers of Latin in our own time can still find them useful. They take the form of simple dialogues which are usually brief. They are typically called colloquia, and are filled with pure and idiomatic Latin phrases pertaining to daily life. The most famous humanists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including Erasmus, Vives, Corderius, Sturmius, Pontanus among others, are numbered among the authors of *colloquia*. We hope to outline the main features of these texts, to explain why they were published in such large numbers in the humanistic age, and what benefits students and teachers of Latin today can gain from such *colloquia*.

**Verba clauicularia**

Bonae litterae, Colloquium, Dialogus, Eloquentia, Familiaris (sermo), Sermo cottidianus, Sermocinari, Studia humanitatis.



## EXPANDING THE FIELD OF CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY: INTERNATIONAL WORDS

Vibeke Roggen

Specialities may differ, but the core of classical philology is, and has been, the study of Greek and Latin texts from classical antiquity. The roots of these languages are studied through comparative linguistics and other methods, and the development of Greek and Latin is studied through the Middle Ages, the early modern and the modern periods: Byzantine Greek and different types of modern Greek on the one hand, Medieval Latin and Neo-Latin on the other.

Thus, the study of the development of the two classical languages, Greek and Latin, covers 2–3 millennia. However, these languages also have a special kind of afterlife, namely through their explosive expansion into *other* languages, from antiquity until today. The aim of the present paper is to give a broad introduction to this field of study – enough to show that there is a lot to find. As examples are chosen the three Indo-European languages English, Spanish and Norwegian, all of which provide rich material for our purpose. In the national philological disciplines, the treatment of Greek and Latin elements are often not given special attention, but are studied alongside other aspects of the language in question. Cooperation with classical philology would be an advantage. Moreover, only classical philology can give the full picture, seen from the point of view of Greek and Latin, and explain *why* and *how* these languages have lended so many words and word elements to so many vernacular languages. Another aspect of our field, which I call ‘international words’, is the enormous potential that these words have, if disseminated properly to the general population. If the subject of international words is taught systematically, the learner will be able to see the connections between words, learn new words faster, and develop a deeper understanding of the vocabularies in – for example – English, Spanish and Norwegian.

### A description of the field

With the exception of languages with a specific policy against loan words – Icelandic, for example – the vocabularies of modern languages contain a substantial amount of words and word elements borrowed from the classical languages. These words may have been borrowed either individually or in thematic groups, either directly or through another language. One can go abroad and pick up words, or they can be brought home by strangers; they can be acquired orally or from a text – you can read them and repeat them, letter by letter (Skautrup 1944, vol. 1, 147).

Among the borrowings there will often be compound words, and in the case of Latin, these are mostly compound with prefixes. In the process of transformation, words or word elements may undergo certain changes, changes that may be specific for each language. Potentially, the treatment of loan words and their characteristics may also be specific for each receiving country and language. Such specific treatment may be occasioned by foreign letters, spellings, sounds, or the necessity to adjust the inflection to the national standard. For example, Crystal has a useful survey of plural declension of loan words in English (Crystal 2003, 201).

In other words, the process of borrowing and the treatment of loans are specific for each language, each country. However, there are also international processes, for example the



formation and development of vocabularies for scholarly fields and professions. Such professional vocabularies can be international and common for many languages, possibly with some adjustments. An example is the medical vocabulary with its roots from antiquity. The tendency is that parts of the body are described in Latin, whereas illnesses have Greek names.

### Loan words

Languages borrow words from each other. This process is connected with other factors; among them are trade and new products and inventions. In antiquity the cultural influence, language included, went from Greece to Rome. Many of the Greek loan words in modern languages were borrowed into Latin in antiquity. A brief examination of this category of words gives as result more than thirty words beginning with an *a-*: *absinthium*, *academia*, *acanthus*, *aenigma*, *aer* ('air'), *aether*, *alabaster*, *allegoria*, *ambrosia*, *amphitheatrum*, *amphora*, *analogus*, *anapaestum*, *ancora* (anchor), *androgynes*, *anomalía*, *antipathia*, *apathia*, *archetypus*, *architectura*, *arithmetica*, *aroma*, *asparagus*, *astrologia*, *astronomia*, *asylum*, *athleta*, *atomus*, *aula*, *aura*, *authenticus*, *autographus*, *automatum*, in addition to the prefixes *arche-* and *anti-*. Moreover, there are specialized words, for example in the above-mentioned field of medicine: *arthritis*, *asthma*, and later loans: *anatomia*, *anaesthesia*, *amnesia*. All these Greek loan words in Latin are used in modern languages today. And we could add the name of the constellation *Arctus* (bear), which originated the words 'Arctic' and 'Antarctic' (with the prefix *anti-*).

It is not coincidental that so many words were borrowed from Greek into Latin. The Greek culture was highly developed in a period when Latin was a dialect used by a local tribe of farmers, and the most ancient texts we have in Latin were written some 500 years after *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*. With the expression 'highly developed' I mean that the language was used both orally and in writing in various ways and to describe various areas of human life and relations in a variety of genres: epic poetry, lyric, forensic and deliberative speeches, comedy, tragedy, philosophy, rhetoric. It is understandable that the Latin language needed to borrow words from this neighbour, for example to cover the field of philosophy; both Lucretius and Cicero complain about the 'poverty' of their mother tongue.

Likewise, it is not coincidental that the words borrowed from Greek into Latin are mostly nouns. According to Björck, the borrowings were mostly based on reading, not listening, and they had an intellectual character as names of concepts and concrete things (Björck 1971, 48).

### Words for 'car' in different languages

One might think that a modern invention like the car would have a modern name. However, many modern languages have developed their names for this means of transportation from ancient roots. An early name was 'automobile', a hybrid, developed from Greek *αὐτός* ([*autós*], self) and Latin *mobilis* (moveable) – a name that expresses the miracle of a vehicle that could move without horses. It is interesting to see that some languages have kept the whole word (Russian: 'avtomobil'), some use the first part of the word only (German 'Auto', Finnish 'auto'), whereas the Scandinavian languages use instead the last part: Danish, Swedish and Norwegian: 'bil'. The French 'voiture' derives from Latin *vectura*, which means 'transportation' and later got the meaning 'wagon'. Italian 'macchina' and Azerbaijani 'maşın' take their origin from Attic Greek 'mechané' via Latin *machina*, or perhaps from the Doric dialect, which used the form 'machaná'. The English 'car' and the Spanish American and Portuguese 'carro' originate from a Gallic word via Latin *carrus*. And even though the most frequent Spanish word for car, 'coche', has Hungarian origin, we may sum up that the words for car in many European languages take their origin from the classical languages. We may also sum up that these words are quite different, and it could be interesting to find out why.

### The field seen from the individual languages, Part 1: *English*

Some languages avoid as far as possible the use of alien terms [...], but England has always welcomed the alien [...]. The language has been particularly open to foreign influence, partly through the succession of invaders who came into contact with English speakers during the Middle Ages: partly through the enterprise of the English themselves, who have carried their language into the far corners of the world, where it has gathered, like a snowball, new matter as it passed on its way.

(Serjeantson 1961, 1)

The languages that have been most interesting as lenders, for English, as for a number of other languages, are Greek and Latin. Numbers like 70–80% of the vocabulary have been put forward. For sure, very many words in daily use take their origin from Latin and Greek. In Sheard's opinion, readers will be surprised to discover how many words that have found their way from natural science, theology and philosophy into the daily language of people with an average education. Most of these words were well established in English by the year 1500. Examples are elephant, hippopotamus, panther, rhinoceros, logic, conviction, legal, allegory, library, admit, conclude, depression, discuss, interest, interrupt (Sheard 1954, 241–244).

The amount of loan words can be explained partly by history. First of all, *Britannia* was a Roman province from the reign of Claudius for nearly 400 years, to 410 AD, when Emperor Honorius withdrew the Roman troops from the island. But the Latin influence did not stop; Latin was the language of a highly esteemed civilization, from which the Anglo-Saxons were eager to learn. Their contact with this civilization lasted for centuries, first through commerce and the military forces, and later through religion and scholarly contact (Serjeantson 1961, 77). From the time of William the Conqueror English received more Latin words indirectly, through French. In the early modern period, the development of the sciences went faster, and new results were in most cases presented in Latin. Latin was also not only the language of the Christian church, but also of the universities. Latin was the *lingua franca* – spoken as well as written – and it was easy to borrow words from such a well-known language.

The *terminus ante quem* for a loan is, of course, the first occurrence of the word in text. Also the character of the loans can give clues (learned words, words related to the church, etc.), and some words were introduced to several Germanic languages at the same time, e.g. 'copper' (Serjeantson 1961, 78). But the phonetic form of the word is the most secure factor: sound changes took place systematically and can be dated quite precisely (Serjeantson 1961, 78).

Today, English has the role as the leading *lingua franca*. English is a language that you are lucky to have as your mother tongue, and if not you should learn to master it. Arguably, much can be gained in this learning process through the study of, for example, Latin and Greek prefixes. Let us look at some examples from Latin, with the verb *ferre* (to carry) as an example. Note that the prefixes change form through assimilation etc.

Latin prefix	Meaning of prefix	Latin verb	English examples
<i>con-</i>	together with, completely	<i>conferre</i>	confer, cf.
<i>dis-</i>	apart, un-, between	<i>differre</i>	differ, different, difference
<i>ob-</i>	towards	<i>offerre</i>	offer (verb, noun)
<i>prae-</i>	at the peak of, too early, in front of	<i>praeferre</i>	prefer, preference

<i>re-</i>	back, against, again, away	<i>referre</i>	refer, referendum, reference
<i>sub-</i>	underneath, at the bottom of, upwards, a little bit, instead of	<i>sufferre</i>	suffer
<i>trans-</i>	to the other side, on the other side, completely, change into something else	<i>transferre</i>	transfer

It is illustrative to study the concrete meaning of these verbs: carry together, apart, in front of, etc. Moreover, our knowledge of the meaning or meanings of these and other prefixes will help us acquire a deeper understanding of other composed words, too. For example, *ex-* (*e-*, *ef-*) is found in a considerable number of English words, and it is useful to remember that this prefix has the basic meaning ‘out of’, ‘out from’. The verbs exact, expand, expose, express, extend and extract are only a few among many.

An interesting aspect of the English verbs from Latin is the fact that in quite a few cases it is the perfect participle stem that has been borrowed and not the Latin infinitive. This is the case with ‘exact’ – with Latin infinitive *exigere*, perfect participle *exactus*, and ‘extract’, with infinitive *extrahere* and perfect participle *extractus*. This practice can be a clue to the understanding of the journey of particular verbs. For example, ‘confiscate’ is borrowed from the Latin perfect participle stem and not from French ‘confisquer’, which is developed from the Latin infinitive. Likewise, ‘instruct’ does not come from French ‘instruire’ (Sheard 1954, 245). However, ‘expose’, and probably also ‘express’ have been borrowed through French or Old French (Harper s.v.).

If a word is registered for the first time after ca. 1500 and does not have a particularly French form, it is most likely that the word was borrowed from Latin directly, because after this time scholars usually went to Latin for their learned loans (Sheard 1954, 246). Probably many new words were introduced into English through translations.

## Part 2: Spanish

The Romans conquered Spain and – unlike the province *Britannia* – their language (Latin) won hegemony in most of the Iberian peninsula. The Romance languages started as dialects and developed into national languages, and it can be very useful to study the specific changes in each of these. Spanish had a long period of Arab presence and this set its mark on the language. A number of words were borrowed, many of which begin with ‘al-’: ‘almohada’ (pillow), ‘almacen’ (warehouse) – but also other words, like ‘azucar’ (sugar).

The first grammar over the Spanish (Castilian) language, written by Antonio de Nebrija and published in 1492, marked a new era of the language. Among phonetic changes in the following epoch is the disappearance of the distinction between ‘b’ and ‘v’.

A special trait of today’s Spanish is the change of ‘f-’ in the beginning of (some) words followed by a vowel into an ‘h-’ – and an ‘h’ in this position is not pronounced in modern Spanish. Examples: Latin *farina* (flour) > Spanish ‘harina’; Latin *facere* (to do) > Spanish ‘hacer’; *fabulari* (talk) > ‘hablar’; *folia* (leaves, pl.) > ‘hoja’. The latter example also shows the development from neutrum plural to femininum singular when neutrum disappeared in Spanish. A characteristic trait in Spanish is the double l, pronounced as ‘y’ in English ‘you’. This sound was developed from consonant followed by an ‘l’ in the beginning of a word (‘cl-’ or ‘pl-’), as for example Latin *plorare* (cry) > Spanish ‘llorar’, and *clamare* (call) > ‘llamar’ (Lloyd 1987, 224–225).

Another trait that is characteristic for Spanish, in contrast to other Romance languages, is the stronger tendency to diphthongization.

Latin	Spanish	French	Italian
<i>caelum</i>	cielo	ciel	cielo
<i>mortem</i>	muerte	mort	morte
<i>petra</i>	piedra	pierre	pietra
<i>porta</i>	puerta	port	porta
<i>septem</i>	siete	sept	sette
<i>tempus</i>	tiempo	temps	tempo
<i>terra</i>	tierra	terre	terra

Usually, only vowels in stressed syllables are diphthongized; this goes for all three languages. However, whereas only vowels in open syllables are diphthongized in Italian and French, Spanish diphthongizes vowels in both open and closed syllables (Lloyd 1987, 122).

### Part 3: Norwegian

Obviously, in each country and for each language, philologists and linguists will write the history of their own language. Thus, the specialists on Norwegian language have responsibility for the study and description of Greek and Latin loan words and word elements in Norwegian – to take my own language as an example. In such books one may find lists of early loan words from Latin – which is explained mostly by commerce. Examples are ‘katt’ from Latin *cattus*, ‘vin’ (wine) from *vinum* and ‘kjeller’ (cellar) from *cellarium* (Indrebø 1951, 54). A new wave of loan words arrived around the year 1000 when Christian faith made its arrival, and with it, Christian institutions and words. Examples are ‘engel’ from Greek ἄγγελος ([ángelos], angel) via Latin *angelus*, ‘kloster’ (monastery) from Latin *claustrum*, and ‘erkebiskop’ from Greek ἀρχιεπίσκοπος [arkhiépískopos] (Skautrup 1944, vol. 1, 169, 170, 299; Indrebø 1951, 64). The prefix ἀρχι- [arkhi-] is represented in Norwegian in a form more like the original, too, in the word ‘arkitekt’ (architect), from Greek ἀρχιτέκτων ([arkhitékton], master builder). The prefix is productive in Norwegian in the form ‘erke-’, in the meaning ‘very’, ‘extremely’.

Such differences as ‘erke-’ versus ‘arki-’ in Norwegian can be explained in various ways. Firstly, the words may have been borrowed in different epochs, and linguistic changes in Norwegian may have affected the one and not the other. Secondly, some loan words may be protected because of their ‘technical’ character – and perhaps ‘arkitekt’ is one of those? Also, it seems likely that only few words have been borrowed directly from the classical languages into Norwegian; the words have traveled through other languages, and in some cases this is visible. For example, ‘møbel’ from Latin *mobilis* means ‘furniture’, and the ‘ø’ reveals that the word has been borrowed through French ‘meuble’. On the other hand, the adjective ‘mobil’ (moveable) has apparently not made the same journey on its way into Norwegian. The suffix *-arius* was borrowed early, in the form ‘-are’ or ‘-ari’, and is first found in a text from the Viking era. This suffix forms *nomina agentis*, and the first example we have in Norwegian is ‘leikarar’ (fiddlers) (Skard 1972, vol. 1, 45).

In my work in the field I have found that studies of the Danish language are a good supplement, particularly Peter Skautrup’s *History of the Danish Language*. The reason for this is of course historical: During the more than 400 years when Norway was ruled by Danish kings (1380–1814), there was a massive linguistic influence from Danish to Norwegian, and words borrowed into Danish often found their way into Norwegian, too. The same is the case with translation loans, as for example the weekdays, from Middle Danish ‘Othæns dagh’ (Wednesday, modern Norwegian ‘onsdag’) (Skautrup 1944, vol. 1, 172).

Among loan words in Norwegian language from Greek and Latin are words for scholarly subjects: *biologi*, *geologi*, *geografi*, *musikk*, *matematikk*, etc. – from Greek, and words related to these subjects from both languages, for example *addére*, *subtrahére*, *multiplisére*, *dividére*,

aritmetikk, geometri, kvadrat, radius, pi. Some of these words are spelled the same way as the original; others have been changed. For example, in 'kvadrat' the initial 'qu' in Latin has been changed into 'kv' in Norwegian, and the stress has been moved in the verbs, as marked. It is a task for Norwegian philology to study and describe the treatment of loan words from the classical languages: spelling, pronunciation and declension.

### **The field seen from classical philology**

As said above, it is the task of the national philologies to study and describe their own language(s), included the loans from the classical languages. But arguably, the national philology cannot give the full picture of Greek and Latin as lenders from antiquity until today. The responsibility of studying how and why Greek and Latin respectively were such preferred lenders into so many languages, and through such a long period of time, should fall on classical philology. The national and classical studies will enrich each other. Observations made on the basis of one specific language can be compared with the situation elsewhere.

It is my opinion that our profession could do more in this field of study. This said, the bibliography below contains some studies – among them my own *Indeed you know Greek and Latin*, written in Norwegian (Roggen 2010; 2012). A colleague from Finland wrote to me about the scarcity of such studies:

Even though I have been collecting and looking for books like yours in Germany, England and Sweden on the background of Graeco-Latin, I confess that I have so far seen nothing like your book. [...] The combination of both of the classical languages is a welcome novelty.  
(Sironen 2014)

Also the combination of historical and cultural aspects with linguistic ones are emphasized.

Another aspect that should not be forgotten is the value of such studies for language learning and understanding. The prefixes alone speak for themselves in that respect: how many words that begin with 'com-' (or the adjusted variants 'con-', 'col-', etc.) can we find in English? How many on 'ex-'? Moreover, I think it would be interesting for young people to learn that the meaning of the word 'corruption' is 'complete destruction'. The word itself reveals corrupt leaders who claim to defend their nation and country. And they could proceed to study '-rupt-' in other connections: interrupt: to break in-between; eruption: outbreak; disrupt: to break in parts. Another part of such a basic course could explain that 'epidemy' means something that comes 'on people', from ἐπί [epí, on] and δῆμος [démós, people]. 'Pandemy' has ancient origin, too; πᾶν [pan] means 'all', so a pandemy affects the whole people. 'Metropolitan' is an adjective to 'mother city' – a term that leads us back to the Greek colonization of the coastal areas of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. On the more basic level we could mention that the meaning of 'station' is 'something related to standing'. One could go on indefinitely, but the main point is that there is a lot to gain in this area. Who said that our beloved classical languages are not useful?

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### Latin summary

*Campum philologiae classicae extendere: De verbis internationalibus.* Linguis classicis, id est Graecae atque Latinae, est speciale genus effectūs posterioris, nempe modo earum vehementissimā extentione in *alias* linguas, inde ex antiquitate usque in hodiernum diem. Scopus huius symbolae est in eo, ut conspectus latus huius campi studiorum praebeatur, ita ut monstretur hac in re multa invenienda esse. Exempla selecta sunt linguae Anglica, Hispanica, Norvegica – tres linguae Indo-Europaeae, quibus omnibus est materia ampla ad finem nostrum explicandum. In philologiis nationalibus tractatio elementorum Graecorum Latinorumque non saepe specialiter attenditur, sed eadem iuxta alios aspectūs singularum linguarum investigantur. Cooperatio cum philologiā classicā esset progressus quidam. Insuper tantummodo philologiā classicā tota imago exhiberi potest percepta ex ratione ipsorum sermonum Graeci et Latini, et explicari potest, *cur* et *quomodo* illae linguae tot verba atque elementa verborum assumpserint in tam multos sermones vernaculos. Alius aspectus huius thematis, quod “verba internationalia” nuncupo, est vis maxima, quam illa verba exserunt, si modo bono in populum ipsum disseminantur. Cum ille, qui discit, systematice doceatur, conexūs inter verba videre valebit, nova verba celerius discet et intellectum profundiorum vocabulariorum accipiet – exempli gratiā – in linguis Anglicā, Hispanicā atque Norvegicā.

### English summary

The classical languages, Greek and Latin, have a special kind of afterlife, namely through their explosive expansion into *other* languages, from antiquity until today. The aim of the present paper is to give a broad survey of this field of study – enough to show that there is a lot to find. As examples are chosen English, Spanish and Norwegian – three Indo-European languages, all of them with rich material for our purpose. In the national philologies, the treatment of the Greek and Latin elements are often not given special attention, but are studied alongside other aspects of the language in question. A cooperation with classical philology would be an advantage. Moreover, only classical philology can give the full picture, seen from the point of view of Greek and Latin, and explain *why* and *how* these languages have lended so many words and word elements to so many vernacular languages. Another aspect of the field, which I call ‘international words’, is the enormous potential that these words have, if disseminated in a good way to the general population. If taught systematically, the learner will be able to see the connections between words, learn new words faster, and develop a deeper understanding of the vocabularies in – for example – English, Spanish and Norwegian.

### Keywords

Loan words, prefixes, suffixes, Greek in modern languages, Latin in modern languages.

## DE INEDITO ATQUE IGNOTO CARMINE SIGISMUNDI CHISII (1649–1678)

### Theodericus Sacré

#### I

Quis nescit quantopere saeculo XVII Romae florere perrexerit Camena? Nam versus lingua Latina expoliti agminatim, ut ita dicam, vel typis excusi in publicum fere cottidie ex ea urbe prodibant vel litteris dilucidis exscripti ductuque et manu elegantiore exarati ad pontifices maximos, sacri collegii Patres, praesules, Maecenates, primores varios atque diversos, quibus tum superbiebat Urbs, mittebantur. Libellorum auctores erant versificatores nunc mediocres, nunc melioris notae poetae e toto fere orbe catholico oriundi. Immo duo moderatores catholicae rei publicae summi, qui illo saeculo fuerunt, Musas Latinas ipsi coluisse feruntur: alter erat Urbanus eius nominis octavus, qui ab anno 1623 ad annum 1644 principatum eum gessit;<sup>1</sup> alter, Alexander eius nominis septimus, anno 1655 Petrianae navis gubernaculis est admotus eaque per annos circiter duodecim rexit. Constat priorem, cum pontificem ageret maximum, Latine poetari minime desiisse; posterior vero, etsi rei poeticae et Latinae erat studiosissimus, tamen, ubi primum nomen Fabii Chisii gentile posuit et Alexandri sumpsit pontificium, Musarum cultui consulto renuntiavit atque a scribendis versibus Latinis destitit eo videlicet consilio ne, quod Urbano VIII vitio nonnumquam esset versum, idem sibi quoque ipsi obiectaretur, quod cum negotiis fidei gravissimis operam impendere deberet, Musis litaret ac rebus indulgeret levioribus atque oppido futilibus.<sup>2</sup> Itaque Chisius in ipso coetu Patrum purpuratorum summi Pontificis eligendi causa congregatorum Latine atque facete lusit carmen omnium ultimum, mense, nisi fallor, Martio anni 1655; egressus conclave atque summi pontificatus diademate tum redimitus, ne unum quidem versiculum aut scripsit aut divulgavit ipse.<sup>3</sup>

Esto, senserit ita Alexander, postquam summum ei sacerdotium est concreditum, deerratum se ab officio fuisse, si animo suo obsecutus versiculos ipse texere perrexisset Latinos eosque publici facere iuris; at artem poeticam litterasve elegantiores, quarum amore inde a teneris unguiculis tenebatur, magni aestimare haudquaquam vetabatur neque, si bonus princeps audire cupiebat, obidipsum neotericorum poetarum Latinorum consuetudine omnino erat privandus.<sup>4</sup> Ergo, quantum id fieri potuit, eos sibi in Urbe atque in aedibus Quirinalibus conscivit socios, ministros, famulos, qui Latinis a litteris nequaquam essent alieni. Hinc Natalem Rondinium (1627–1657), iuvenem Latine doctissimum eundemque poetam haud ignobilem, munere ab epistulis ad Principes donavit canonicatuque Vaticanae basilicae auxit

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<sup>1</sup> De Urbano pontifice eodemque poeta egerunt inter alios Springhetti 1968 et Wiendlocha 2005.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. epistula Iusti Rycquii Belgae ad Iohannem Baptistam Laurum Italum data a.d. IX Kal. Febr. Anni 1627: “Audiavi enim postremo hoc itinere Bononiensi, et ante apud Transalpinos nostros persaepe, qui Pontifici [Urbano VIII] hoc studiorum genus maligne exprobrarent, meliusque cum re christiana actum iri arbitrabantur si, manum ab his abstinens, quae suae essent functionis (ita calumniabantur illi) serio magis exequeretur. Quibus ego auditis, apud me cogitabam tacitus vel omnino consultum esse ab editione nova huiusmodi carminum temperare in posterum (...)”. Cfr. Van den Berghe 1881, 467–468.

<sup>3</sup> Sacré 2003–2004.

<sup>4</sup> De Chisio consulas ea quae, ut alios mittamus, scripsere Springhetti 1963; Galen 1997; Chigi 1999; Angelini, Butzek et Sani 2000; Barthold 2006.

(qui vir proh dolor immatura est praereptus morte anno 1657 mense Septembri),<sup>5</sup> hinc Ferdinandum Furstenbergium (1626–1683), Musarum Latinarum cultorem egregium natione Germanum, inter intimos cubicularios adlectum, apud se Romae retinuit quamdiu id fieri potuit, hinc et Stephanum Gradium Dalmatam (1616–1683), virum cum Musis se delectantem, bibliothecae Vaticanae praefecit.<sup>6</sup> Huc accedit quod iuvit antistitem maximum gravissimas de re publica catholica gerenda curas sermocinationibus doctis atque poeticis fallere; ideo privato consilio viros ad se litteratissimos in Curiam vocabat fere cottidie, quibuscum de re litteraria, de poetis veteribus, de recentioribus carminibus Latinis, novis de libris Latinis colloquia animi causa institueret.<sup>7</sup> Inde est orta societas quaedam doctorum atque litteratorum pontificia, quam *Academiolam* haud iniuria appellaveris, etiamsi eo nomine publicitus non fuerit indita; nam mea quidem sententia, cum aliquot ille viros litterarum amantissimos in eundem semper locum convenire ac de litteris inter se disputare iussit, quasi *academiam* quandam condidit fovitque. Constat illa *Academia* sex e poetis Latinis, *Furstembergio*, quem dixi quemque *Academiae* principem egisse sentio et *Rutgero Torckio*, natione Germanis, *Alexandro Pollinio Florentino*, poeta minore, *Augustino Favorito Sarzanensi* (1624–1682),<sup>8</sup> *Natale Rondinino Romano* (1627–1657) et *Stephano Gradio Ragusino*, quos dixi; his autem *academiolae* sodalibus pontifex (id quod mirari potes) poetam vita diu functum addi voluit nomine *Virginium Caesarinum*, qui mense Aprili anni 1624 extremum vitae ediderat spiritum;<sup>9</sup> quem eo fine ceteris subiungi cupiit, ut et se plurimi pendere ostenderet eos poetas qui sub *Urbano VIII* floruisent (in eis enim fuerat *Caesarinus*) eiusque pontificis exemplum quodammodo sequi se declararet, et, septenario completo numero, quasi *Pleiadas* quasdam litterarias conderet vel *Graecis* illis antiquis vel *Gallicis* recentioribus conferendas (nam *Alexandri Magni* temporibus septem florere tragoediographi eo nomine appellati, et saeculo XVI apud *Francogallos* grex exstiterat *Musarum* praestantissimus eadem appellatione celebratus). Hi autem septem poetae Latini sub novo *Alexandro*, non *Magno* illo, verum maximo hoc pontifice fulgentes *Pleiados Alexandrinae* cognomento vulgo appellabantur. Sex igitur illi, quos dixi, poetae (nam excipiendus est *Caesarinus*) carmina excogitare solebant coram *Alexandro VII* recitanda ac typis deinde evulganda. Quo loco accidebat ut pontifex, quae canerent argumenta, ea suis ipse daret poetis. Nam cum *Sidronium Hosschium* (1596–1653) e *Societate Iesu*, poetam eximium natione *Belgam*, cuius elegos unice adamavisset dum munere nuntii apud *Germanos* fungitur,<sup>10</sup> e vita demigravisse comperisset, id gregi suo onus iniunxit gratum, uti in memoriam tanti poetae elegos ipsi funderent; quos postea collectis carminibus *Hosschianis* praemisit *Iacobus Wallius* (1599–1690), ex eadem *Societate* poeta Latinus non spernendus.<sup>11</sup> Itaque conicere nobis licet eam *Academiolam* in *Urbe* iam eis esse temporibus constitutam cum *Chisius* esset *Pater Cardinalis* a publicis *Ecclesiae* negotiis, ad summi pontificatus fastigium nondum provectus.

## II

Ceterum qualis vena vatibus istis pontificiis fuerit qualesve ex ea vena fere fluxerint versus facile est colligere. Aetati enim illi consentaneum erat ut poetae, ad pontificem certo famulatio astricti, necessitati adulandi sponte sua indulgerent aulamque pontificiam frequentantes de

<sup>5</sup> IJsewijn 1999.

<sup>6</sup> De *Furstembergio* scripserunt, ut alios mittam, *Lahrkamp* 1953 et 2002, atque *Ernesti* 2004; de *Torckio* *Tibus* 1894; de *Gradio* *Krasic* 1987.

<sup>7</sup> *Lahrkamp* 2002; *Laureys* 2000.

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. *Contarino* et *Busolini* 1995.

<sup>9</sup> De *Caesarino* vide praepremis quae scripsit *Bellini* 1997, 1–84 et 245–309.

<sup>10</sup> Cfr., inter alia, epistula quam *Chisius* ad *Franciscum Vander Veken* e S.J. dedit a.d. IV Id. Feb. anno 1651, quae asservatur in *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana* (=BAV), cod. Chig. A.I.35, ff. 94r–95r: “*Gratissima sunt mihi Sidronii carmina, quae statim ac vidi primum praetuli aliis huius saeculi*”.

<sup>11</sup> *Laureys* 2000, 219.

pontifice suo eodemque Maecenate versiculos assentatorie conderent, immo ipsius pontificis versus (nam de poesi Latina bene erat ille olim meritus) non semel collaudarent. Vix enim dubitari potest quin poemata a Chisio olim lusa in consessibus suis legerint academici, illustraverint, enarraverint, dilaudaverint aliisque metris alligaverint; hinc sibi pontificem quasi Apollinem quendam Musagetem esse blande indicabant. Haec a veritate non abhorre ut intellegas, aperi poetarum illorum opuscula, quae Furstembergii curante<sup>12</sup> et Wallio iuvante anno 1660 primum prodierunt Antverpia ex Officina Plantiniana, ex ordine deinceps annis 1662 Antverpia ex eadem Officina et 1672 Amstelodami e Typographeo Danielis Elsevirii. Quae dum vel perfunctorie evolvis, venient tibi statim obviam exempla eiusmodi imitationis. Vin exemplum? Accipe. Nam epigramma de Iulii Caesaris commentariis historicis derosis a bestiolis luserat Chisius; hinc Alexander Pollinius, Pleiados Alexandrinae socius, idem argumentum suscepit canendum et carmen emisit, c.t. *Caesaris commentaria corrosa a muribus*.<sup>13</sup> Quid multa? Illa *Septem illustrium virorum poemata* (haec enim libri collectanei typis editi erat inscriptio), etsi ne unum quidem versiculum continebant ab ipso pontifice maximo exaratum, tamen Chisium, catholicae reipublicae Principem, Musas Chisianas Alexandrique pontificatum palam spirabant fere singula. Ea igitur ratione Alexander ille VII, dum se a nugis poeticis, pontifice fortean indignis, procul distare simulat, quanti Musarum cultum (suos ipse versus ut non dicam) reapse faceret, aperte satis declaravit. Simulatio atque ambiguitas huic adsimilis in eodem viro, intus Musarum amore vehementer correpto, in fronte easdem parvi pendente, iam antea fuerat conspicua. Quid enim? Nonne idem vir, cum annum ageret quadragesimum sextum, *Musas Iuveniles* suas in lucem emiserat publicam, tamquam si aetatae veniam posceret atque adulescentiam excusaret?<sup>14</sup> Nonne cum nomen suum suppresserat, ‘Philomathum’ auctorem in libri frontispicio posuerat, modestiam quandam ac pudorem prae se tulerat? Quam sincere id fecerit, iam videamus. Iuveniles appellavit Musas, quarum pars longe maior conscripta erat cum vir esset ille inter viros cumque nuntium apud Germanos ageret! Anne nomen celavit praesul ne inanem gloriam poeticam venari argueretur? At ficticium illum hercle Philomathum nemo mediocriter doctus non statim agnovit: erat id enim Academiae cuiusdam Senensis, cuius erat ille sodalis, nomen; ceterum libelli praefatio satis longa tam erat perspicua ut de vero versus auctore dubitare posset nemo. Iam vero vide quali ille quantave cura libellum sit amplexus prelo subiciendum. Nam cum ipse apud Germanos degeret, tamen quos ea natio habebat chalcographos, eos pro neglegentioribus vilioribusque habuit; et quia versus suos nitidam indutos vestem typographicam circumambulare cupiebat, effecit ut eos per amicum curatorem Iohannes ille Blavius (sive Blaeu), impressor Amstelodamensis fama clarissimus, typis committeret suis; accedit huc quod voluit celari verum typographum, quippe qui catholicorum castra non sequeretur, et frontispicio simulavit librum a typographo quodam Coloniensi eoque probe catholico esse procuratum. Nec denique passus est carminum libellum sine elogiis divulgari, sed per amicum poetas quosdam spectatos sollicitavit qui, licet sibi essent ignoti, praeconia sibi tribuerent poetica, libello ipsi subicienda; in his erat Gasparus ille Barlaeus (1584–1648) bucinator egregius;<sup>15</sup> nec multum afuit quin ipse Vondelius (Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) vocant

<sup>12</sup> Furstembergii iam anno 1657 in animo erat selecta carmina Pollinii, Favoriti, Rondinini et Gradii una cum suis ipsius divulgare, ut patet ex epistula quam ad Franciscum Vander Veken dedit Non. Iul. Anno 1657 (BAV, cod. Chig. A.I.34, f. 337).

<sup>13</sup> *Septem* 1662, 27–28.

<sup>14</sup> Chigi 1645.

<sup>15</sup> Cfr. epistula Bartoldi Nihusii ad Leonem Allatium data a.d. XV Kal. Feb. anno 1648 (quae servatur Romae in Bibliotheca Vallicelliana, cod. Allacci CXLIX, f. 239v): “Quum ederentur Philomathi Musae Iuveniles, curavi ut eas carmine quodam laudaret Barlaeus (...)”; cfr. etiam BAV, cod. Chig. I.V.170, ff. 214 et 216r, necnon Sacré 2004b. Nihusius ille, anno 1590, uti videtur, in Germania natus, multos per annos (ca. 1633–1653) Amstelodami vixit ibique anno circiter 1640 per commercium epistulare Fabium Chisium cognovit, quem cum aliis in rebus, tum in libris typis edendis saepe adiuvit. Mortem obiit anno 1657.



eum Belgae) illi praeconum choro adiceretur. Cave vero credas, cum editio princeps anno 1645 prodiisset in publicum, tum tandem animi curas remisisse poetam, Musas suas Latinas valere iussisse, una negotia ecclesiastica capessisse. Etenim Chisius, praeterquam quod nova aliquamdiu condidit poemata, alteram carminum editionem eamque auctiorem mox est meditatus;<sup>16</sup> quae quo gratior commendatioque esset legentibus, Furstembergium et Holstenium, viros sibi amicissimos litterisque instructissimos, cum prece adiit ut versus ipsius, antea quam foras ederentur denuo, diligenter emendarent, sedulo limarent, curatissime polirent. Eam igitur provinciam sibi delatam uterque tanta sustinuit industria, ut si carminibus primigeniis retractata (quae anno 1654 publici sunt facta iuris) comparaveris, posteriora affirmes Chisiana esse inventionem ac dispositionem tenuis, elocutione paene neques, virumque ipsum alienis pennis inniti voluisse prope asseveres.<sup>17</sup> Quod cum ita esset, Chisius, simulata modestia, lusus eos crassiore Minerva horis subsicivis natos esse dicitabat parumque dignos quos quis sedulo lectitaret. Nihilominus, cum sacra purpura iam esset decoratus, facile sivit ipsam Christinam (1626–1689), Suetorum reginam, in catholicorum communionem venturam, *Musas iuveniles* evolvere. Patet hoc e binis litteris adhuc ineditis quae Romae in Bibliotheca Vaticana asservantur quasque Chisius ad Franciscum Vander Veken (1596–1659) e Societate Iesu sacerdotem dederat. Haec enim a.d. XV Kal. Nov. Anno 1654:

Quod Philomathum petat et legere optet [Christina], equidem gaudeo et gratias ago. Sed nolim ad illa juvenilia se demittat, quae Auctor non nisi fallendi aut recreandi temporis causa per jocum et ocium ex tempore descendere consuevit. Peregrinatio in Sichen [carmen 92um editionis anni 1656],<sup>18</sup> Anniversaria dies curationis a morbo periculoso [carmen 93um editionis anni 1656] et Natale Philomathi [carmen 63um editionis anni 1656] forsitan ex argumento ipso minus displicebunt, matutinae meditationis in modum conformata carmina. Haec praenotent et praeponant amici prae aliis adnexis, quae de Westphaliae moribus ac tractatibus in pugillaribus fusa fuerunt. Quicquid de magnae ac sapientissimae heroinae studiis consiliisque resciat Pat(erni)tas Vestra, gratissimam rem faciet si suis ad me literis non gravabitur significare.<sup>19</sup>

Item Nonis Dec. eiusdem anni idem ad eundem haec:

Scripsi ante mensem binas, si recte memini, Pat(erni)tas V(est)rae et de Philomatho respondens innuebam praenotandum Reginae Suetiae quicquid pium ibi esset, ut brevi praelegeret cum ad manus afferretur codex.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Cfr. Chigi 1999, quae editio, cum sit minime palmaris, habet tamen aliquam utilitatem. Philomathi *Musae Iuveniles* post editionem principem in lucem publicam saeculo XVII prodierunt ter: Antverpia, Ex Officina Plantiniana, anno 1654; Parisiis, E Typographia regia, anno 1656; Amstelodamo, Apud Joannem Blaeu, anno 1660.

<sup>17</sup> De Furstembergio Chisiana Musae expolitore egit i.a. Barthold 2003, 38–44 et 319–362. At vix dubium esse nobis potest quin etiam Lucas ille Holstenius (1596–1661), Chisii socius atque administer (custos erat Vaticanae Bibliothecae), Philomathi carmina hic illic emendanda suscepit; exstat enim atque adservatur Romae in Bibliotheca Angelica exemplum editionis 1645 ex bibliotheca Holsteniana, quod scatet correctionibus et variantibus lectionibus quas ille marginibus appinxerat. Idem Holstenius Chisium iuvare solebat in excogitandis titulis Latinis in Urbe apponendis, quod patet e BAV, cod. Chig. R.VIII.c. Ceterum carmina ipsa, quae prima *Musarum Iuvenilium* editione continentur, antequam prelo sunt commissa, a compluribus Societatis Jesu sodalibus Chisii rogatu diligenter recognita sunt.

<sup>18</sup> Cfr. Delbeke 2001.

<sup>19</sup> BAV, cod. Chig. A.I.35, f. 170r–v.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., f. 171r.

Nullum ergo est dubium quin Christina *Musas* eas *Iuveniles*, cum secundis curis essent editae, dono mox acceperit; quod luce clarius demonstratur epistula quadam ad Iulium Rospigliosium, novi pontificis Cardinalem publicis Ecclesiae negotiis praepositum, data postr. Non. Mai. anno 1655.<sup>21</sup>

### III

Quantopere Chisio in amore et in deliciis, dum liceret, fuerint litterae Latinae elegantiores quive ei fuerint de suis ipsius carminibus intimi animi sensus, hinc satis liquere puto; atque indidem, ni fallor, patet eum, tum quoque, cum minus id liceret, tamen cum Musis commercium habuisse aliquod neque fetus ipsum suos poeticos plane repudiasset. Nihil ergo mirum si pontifex maximus consanguineis quibusdam, quos in Urbem arcessiverat, vehementer suadebat ut Camenam assidue atque studiosissime excolerent; mansuetiores enim Musas viros ingenuos atque honestos apprime decere sentiebat; atque idem eisdem cognatis, ut haberent exempla quae imitarentur, *Musas Iuveniles* aliaque quaedam tradebat quae ipse scripserat. Consimili ratione iam anno 1645, cum apud Germanos viveret nuntiumque ageret pontificium, nepoti nomine Flavio, puerum annorum quattuordecim, cuius institutio liberalis ipsi erat curae, auctor fuerat ut et Latine atque expedite Latine loqui addiceret, et Philomathi versiculos diligentissima versaret manu:

Decent illa [Philomathi carmina] praecipuè aetatem tuam ac studia. Lege, utere, imitare (...). (...) Horum [carminum quae ad optima veterum exempla sunt conformata] profectò aspectus, ut & ipse meliorem quamdam Poëseos effigiem in animo tuo effingas, mirificè adiuvabit: in quâ facultate quantum insit momenti, ut hominum mentes, carminis suavitate delinitas, ad virtutis & gravioris Sapientiae amorem consecrationemque inducat, supersedeo dicere (...).<sup>22</sup>

Quinquennio autem post ad eundem nepotem iter in Germaniam institutum Chisius haec:

*Si comes esse meus lubeat, fac longa viarum  
Taedia Musarum dulci modulamine fallas.  
Pauca notare iuvet faciliq̄ue expromere versu  
Inque pugillares memori describere plumbo:  
Illa senex repetes et amoena fronte revolves.*<sup>23</sup>

A se ergo non descivit postea Fabius, cum esset pontifex creatus. Nam Sigismundus quoque Chisius, qui puer in Urbem advenerat, patris scriptis quodammodo imbutus est atque innutritus.

Quis ille Sigismundus fuerit quave de causa Romam venerit paucis exponam. Alexander igitur VII pontifex maximus, cum catholicam rem publicam aliquamdiu moderatus esset, studio quodam cognatos fovendi, quod illis temporibus tralaticium sive inveteratum erat, et ipse flagrare coepit. Accersivit igitur Senis ex urbe patria nepotes aliosque cognatos in Urbem, qui ipsum in negotiis tractandis iuvarent vel gentem Chisiam in nobilitatem insinuarent Romanam. Horum pars maior anno 1656 mense Maio venit in Urbem sedem ibi

<sup>21</sup> Vos 1993, 297–298.

<sup>22</sup> Chigi 1999, 8 et 12; cfr etiam Barthold 2006, 82–84. Hanc epistolam dedicatorem Flavio Chisio dedisse dicitur Guilielmus Furstembergicus, Ferdinandi frater; re vera conscripsit ipse Fabius Chisius sive Philomathus, ut patet ex epistula Chisii ad Franciscum Vander Veken data prid. Kal. April. anno 1645, quae asservatur in BAV, cod. Barb. Lat. 1947, f. 52; item ex epistula servata in BAV, cod. Chig. A.II.32, f. 100r (quam ad Chisium dederat Franciscus Vander Veken prid. Non. April. anno 1645). De Flavio Chisio videsis Stumpo 1980.

<sup>23</sup> Barthold 2006, 48; Sacré et Monga 2004, 328.

collocatura. Eo enim tempore una fere eo confluerunt Marius frater (1594–1669), Flavius (1631–1693)<sup>24</sup> et Augustinus (1634–1705) Chisii, e fratribus nepotes, et Iohannes Bichius (1613–1676), e sorore nepos.<sup>25</sup> Fieri potest ut in eo advenarum grege fuerit etiam Sigismundus Chisius, Augusti (1605–1651) Chisii (qui pontificis erat frater) et Franciscæ Piccolomineae filius, Augustini principis frater, e pueritia haud egredus: natus enim erat Senis mediante mense Sextili anni 1649.<sup>26</sup> Nullum autem de migratione Romana testimonium certum exstare videtur. Ego vero puerum non una cum reliquis cognatis sedem mutasse opinor, non quo ea tempestate fuerit tenerrimus (agebat enim annum aetatis octavum), sed quia virium imbecillitate laboravisse videtur; ceterum exstat carmen poetae cuiusdam Batavi, quo cum pontificis cognati enumerentur qui Romam eo anno venerint, de Sigismundo mentio facta est nulla.<sup>27</sup> Hinc coniectura equidem adducor ut credam puerum apud matrem Senis aliquamdiu remansisse donec valetudine usus paulo meliore suos in Urbem consequi posset; quod anno 1657 vel 1658 factum esse credo, cum esset paene decennis.<sup>28</sup> Plane autem constat eum inde ab anno 1660 Romae vixisse; nam exinde famulos ibi alebat aliquot; ac compertum habemus eum habitasse cum Augustino fratre in aedibus quae sunt in Area Columnaria (vulgo “Piazza Colonna” dicta) quaeque etiam nunc Chisiae (Tusce “Palazzo Chigi”) appellantur.

Fuerint Sigismundo corporis vires parum firmae, at ingenio certe valebat. Esse “institutus (...) optimarum artium studiis sub lectissimis praeceptoribus ac prope in sinu patrum, qui adolescentis indolem ingeniumque haud indignum putavit quod inter pontificatus maximi curas diligenter excoleret”<sup>29</sup> atque ingenii specimina mox dedisse dicitur. Iussu patrum beneficia ei aliquot sunt tradita apud Bergomates et Neritonenses; praeterea inter equites S. Iohannis Ierosolymitani atque inter equites Melitenses est promotus. Exeunte anno 1667, cum Alexander VII pontifex maximus mortem iam obisset, Sigismundus nepos duodeviginti annos natus a Pontifice maximo qui in illius locum successerat (erat is Clemens eius nominis nonus) inter Patres Cardinales est adlectus; qua ut dignitate augeri posset, legibus quibusdam fuerat solvendus; etenim quo tempore sacro illi collegio est adscriptus, nec iustae legitimaevae erat aetatis nec sacerdotio auctus. Postea ad triennium legati Ferrariensis munere est functus,<sup>30</sup> dignus gravioribus fortasse negotiis, nisi eum mors abstulisset: quae virum ante annum aetatis tricesimum praeripuit anno 1678 ultimo die mensis Aprilis.<sup>31</sup> Sepultus est in celeberrima aede Chisiana, quae est in S. Virginis de Populo.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Qui mense Aprili anni 1657 purpura cardinalicia est honestatus.

<sup>25</sup> De Caro 1968.

<sup>26</sup> De Sigismundo Chisio scripserunt Völkel 1993, passim; Cardella 1794, 189–190; Eggs 1714, 497–498; Pallavicini 1839–1840, I, 285; II, 227–228 et passim; Sacré et Monga 2004; Teodori 2001.

<sup>27</sup> BAV, cod. Chig. D.III.39, ff. 26–28r: Reynerus Anso, *Oratio Romae ad Alexandrum VII. Pont. Max. pro consanguineis Suae Sanctis*. Quo carmine poeta ille Amstelodamensis anno, uti videtur, 1656, pontifici suasit ut cognatos suos Urbi largiretur; ac memoravit Flavium, Marium, Augustinum Chisios et Bichium, Sigismundum vero Chisium omisit. De Anso poeta nonnulla narrantur a Sacré 2005b.

<sup>28</sup> Puto eum anno 1659 exeunte iam aliquantisper Romae vixisse; eo enim tempore prioratu urbis Romae iam erat auctus. Ceterum anno 1659 a.d. XV Kal. Ian. ad eum dedit litteras ex urbe Senis Paulus Marianus, quibus doluit quod Sigismundum tenerat (in Urbe, uti videtur) morbus, rursus laetatus est quod ex eodem mox erat recreatus adulescens. (Mariani 1659, 1–8) An in Urbem Sigismundus migravit una cum Berenice della Ciaja amita, quae ineunte mense Maio anno 1657 patriam Senensem reliquit ut cum Mario Chisio marito Romae viveret? (Angelini, Butzek et Sani 2000, 520)

<sup>29</sup> Ciaconius 1677.

<sup>30</sup> Qua tempestate de subventionem pauperum constitutiones ordinationesque in ea urbe mutandas atque ampliandas curavit. (Chigi 1675) In Bibliotheca Vaticana complura servantur documenta quae ad Sigismundum Ferrariensis legati referuntur, in quibus carmina Italica et rationes nummariae reperiuntur (utputa in BAV, cod. Chig. E. II. 59).

<sup>31</sup> Testamentum eius servatur manu ipsius (at quo anno, nescio) scriptum in BAV, cod. Chig. E.V.147, ff. 346r–348r. Patet eum tum quoque “corpore infirmum” (f. 346r) fuisse; bibliothecam laute instructam possedissee necnon maioris pretii tabulas ab artificibus haud ignobilibus pictas; heredem autem universalem instituisse matrem (“Ill. mam D. Franciscam Piccolomineam de Chisiis suam dilectissimam matrem”); at neque Augustinum

Nostrum vero non est de Sigismundo praesule agere;<sup>33</sup> Musarum hic quaerimus cultorem. Constat enim Sigismundum, cum esset adulescens, monitis patruī ita paruisse ut versibus scribendis operam diligentem atque assiduam impenderit. Inde aliquam sibi ascivit existimationem, qua factum est ut, superstite patruo, poeta acclamaretur ab Augustino Favorito, uno ex septem illis poetis pontificiis;<sup>34</sup> et ut Erycii Puteani, professoris Lovaniensis, epistulas quasdam cum gener anno 1662 publici faceret iuris, centuriam quandam Sigismundo dicaret “maximae expectationis adolescenti, Musis elegantisque serio incumbenti”.<sup>35</sup>

#### IV

At pauca admodum supersunt Sigismundi Chisii carmina. Mihi quidem duo innotuerunt; quorum alterum est poema satis longum (amplius trecentos habet versus heroicos) quod anno circiter 1664 lusit Sigismundus, cum, annum aetatis agens decimum quintum, una cum Flavio Cardinale Chisio patriuele iter in Francogalliam instituisset, Parisios, Lugdunum, Massiliam, Avenionem, alias visurus urbes; vel in itinere (ita enim suadere solebat Fabius patruus idemque pontifex maximus) vel inde statim redux hodoeporico rem commemoravit adulescens; quod cum conscriberet, patruī est exemplis innixus, ut alias ostendere sum conatus; etenim Fabius Chisius plura eius generis specimina ipse ediderat. Carmen, c.t. *Iter Roma in Galliam ac reditus*, tamquam ignoti poetae fetum anno 2003 Aloisius Monga et Daniel Solomon foras primum dederunt; id ego in Sigismundum Chisium certis fretus indiciis primum contuli.<sup>36</sup>

Alterum vero carmen ineditum adhuc latebat in codice quodam Vaticano; quo sit anno lusum nescio; ab ipso Sigismundo conscriptum esse fere constat, quia in margine verba haec adiecit manus nescio qua coaeva: “Sig. Chigi”. Proinde in lucem id poematī primum protrahamus;<sup>37</sup> deinde quibus virtutibus veneribusque insigniatur dispiciamus; denique carminis fontes, si quos reppererimus, aperiamus.

*Thamisius scurra inclytus Romae fuit,  
solitus frequenter vivere aliena quadra,<sup>38</sup>  
quam condiebat salibus ipse pro sale.  
Auidit is Triumviris Capitolii  
dono datum ingens piscis aequorei caput* 5

fratrem eiusdemve uxorem, neque Flavium patriuelem neque Augustum (1662–1744), fratris filium, ab eo esse neglectos. Ex eodem documento discimus ei, cum anno 1664 in Francogalliam iter faceret, datam fuisse a rege Galliarum gemmam quandam adamantinam; quam Mariae Virginiae Burghesiae (Borghese), glori suae, hereditate reliquit.

<sup>32</sup> De aede illa videsis quae scripsit Shearman 1961.

<sup>33</sup> Quem anno 1676 carmine Latino dilaudavit Flaminius quidam Piccionus (°1658), poeta Romanus. (Piccionus 1676) Ceterum alii poetae haud pauci versus Tuscos in Sigismundi honorem evulgarunt, velut Franciscus Comes Bernius. (Berni 1673)

<sup>34</sup> Exstat Favoriti carmen in BAV, cod. Chig. D. III.39, ff. 42r–44v, quod inscribitur *Ad Sigismundum Chisium Alexandri VII P.M. ex fratre nepotem*, et his incipit versibus: “Iampridem, Gismunde, tibi bene nostra precari / et dare Musa cupit carminis obsequium”; quod carmen etiam reperitur inter *Septem illustrium virorum poemata* editionis alterius (1672), pp. 131–134. Favoritus ad eundem Sigismundum dedit carmen, c.t. *Ophigenia*, quod manu scriptum custoditur in eodem codice Vaticano, ff. 96r–100v, ac typis expressum legitur in libro quem modo diximus, pp. 113–121; Sigismundus ibi non solum “doctarum, Gismunde, decus columenque sororum, / flos iuvenum, patruī curarum dulce levamen” (p. 114) appellatur, verum etiam (pp. 114–115) vatis nomine honestatur (“Huc age laetus ades et vati tu quoque vates / (hanc titulis patiare tuis accedere laudem) / affer opem (...)”).

<sup>35</sup> Erycius Puteanus 1662, s.p. (in dedicatione centuriae quartae). Ceterum Ascanius quidam de Silvestris anno circiter 1665 carmen ineditum, c.t. *Romuleus sol sive de Alexandro VII Pont. Max.* quodque asservatur in BAV, cod. Chig. D.III.34, Sigismundo dicavit, ad quem poeta inter alia haec: “ob solis viciniam tantam ab eo lucem in te derivas, ut solem te dicerem, si maior non affulgeret sol Alexander patruus tuus”. (p. 2)

<sup>36</sup> Monga et Solomon 2003; Sacré et Monga 2004.

<sup>37</sup> Cfr. Sacré et Monga 2004, 329, ubi argumentum carminis adumbratur.

<sup>38</sup> Cfr. Iuven. 5,2 (aliena vivere quadra).

*(umbram Latini, Graecia schienam vocat).*  
*Accurrit huc iussu gulae Thamisius*  
*negotiumque fingit usque ad prandium.*  
*At purpurato miserant Riario*  
*id muneris Triumviri; hoc ut comperit,* 10  
*ad eum repente convolat Thami<si>us,*  
*mensae illius qui assueverat lautissimae.*  
*Riarius deberi ait vastum caput*  
*misitque Cardinalium vastissimo,*  
*qui Fredericus Sanseverinas erat.* 15  
*Et hunc adire non timet Thamisius.*  
*At Fridericus Chisio opulentissimo*  
*tunc Italorum munus offerri iubet,*  
*perspecta cuius largitas ipsi haud semel.*  
*Nec piguit illum commeare ad Chisium* 20  
*Transtyberim in hortos, quos alebat regio*  
*hodieque villam Chisiam epigraphe<sup>39</sup> notat.*  
*Aestus diei et anni et abdomen grave*  
*et gravior aetas non retardarunt iter.<sup>40</sup>*  
*Sudore madidus et fatigatus viis* 25  
*longisque diversisque, ubi mensae frui*  
*quiete sperat, iussu inaudit Chisii*  
*piscem adnatasse feminae Imperiae domum.*  
*Quis non abisse vellet in malam crucem?<sup>41</sup>*  
*Thamisius nolebat! Imperiae domum* 30  
*adit; invocatus<sup>42</sup> feminae ad mensam sedet*  
*mirantis ignoti hominis infamem famem.*  
*Si corpus umbra sequitur,<sup>43</sup> urbe maxima*  
*umbram secutum corpus est Thamisi.*  
*Umbras vocare Roma consuevit vetus* 35  
*qui non vocati accumberent conviviis.*  
*Umbra fuit, umbram devorans, Thamisius,*  
*hanc cepit umbram ad solis aestivi facem.<sup>44</sup>*

Quos versiculos dum evolvis, venit tibi, candide lector, fortasse in mentem satirae quartae Iuvenalianae. Ibi enim (inde a versu 37<sup>o</sup>) mentio fit rhombi ingentis, quem captum piscator Domitiano principi dono offert; hic viros quosdam in consilium advocat, quid de pisce sit faciendum, quod et patina desit quae piscem illum capere possit, et tantus sit rhombus, ut capto omen inesse nescio quod credatur. Inter consiliarios autem describitur “Montani quoque venter (...) abdomine tardus” (v. 107). Simili fere modo apud Chisium Thamisius “abdomine gravi” (v. 23) premitur, et enormis piscis Urbis gubernatoribus dono datur; et tam apud Iuvenalem quam apud Chisium anni memoratur tempus. At, licet poematum hoc Chisianum et satira illa Iuvenaliana similitudinem aliquam inter se gerant, dubitare poterit nemo quin

<sup>39</sup> Penes veteres haec vox Latine non offenditur, at penes neotericos est satis usitata.

<sup>40</sup> Cfr. fortasse CIC. Phil. 9,2 (Itaque non illum vis hiemis, non nives, non longitudo itineris, non asperitas viarum, non morbus ingravescens retardavit).

<sup>41</sup> Cfr. e.g. PLAUT. Poen. 511 (aut ite hinc in malam crucem).

<sup>42</sup> Cfr. de umbra simili apud PLAUT. Capt. 70 (eo quia soleo invocatus esse in convivio).

<sup>43</sup> Cfr. QUINT. Inst. 8 prooem. 29 (atque eos, ut umbra corpus, sequi).

<sup>44</sup> Cfr. BAV, cod. Chig. D.III.40, ff. 132r–133r.



alios fontes eosque multo maiores adierit Sigismundus. Namque abundat carmen verissimis nominibus atque omnia, quae exposita ibi sunt, in tempus certissimum ita conveniunt, ut erret si quis historiolum eam merum adolescentis figmentum esse contenderit. Quae autem narrantur, non in Sigismundi ipsius tempora (quem anno circiter 1664 hocce elaboravisse poematum opinor), verum in sesquisaeculum superius idque cum gente Chisiana coniunctum cadere videntur. Nam Chisius ille opulentissimus (v.17) dubio procul erat Augustinus Chisius (1466–1520) cognomine Magnus, qui floruit saeculo decimo sexto ineunte, argentariam faciebat, metalla exercebat, classem aedificarat, pontificibus maximis utebatur familiariter, artifices alebat, villam illam Farnesinam, cuius fit mentio in vv. 20–22, aedificandam atque ornandam curaverat. Eisdem temporibus vixit Imperia (vv. 30–32) quae appellabatur, scortum nobile a Chisio adamatum;<sup>45</sup> et floruerunt Fridericus Cardinalis Sanseverinus vel Sanseverinas (1450–1516; vv. 14–16) necnon Raphael Cardinalis Riarius (1460–1521; vv. 9–13), qui magnificas aedes Curiae Riariae aedificandas curaverat.<sup>46</sup> Immo coniecturam fecerim, pisces eum medio anno 1511 ac tempore aestivo captum, circumlatum, denique inter epulas comesum esse: nam Augustinus Chisius mense Sextili ipsius illius anni in villa Farnesina trans Tiberim primum consedit; et vixit ad id tempus Imperia (quae mortem obiit anno 1512); eademque tempestate in Cardinale Sanseverino magna supererat auctoritas (qui paucis post mensibus in invidiam Iulii II pontificis maximi incidit). Veri hinc est simillimum omnia haec non esse ipsum poetam commentum, quae ad patrum memoriam referebantur, sed e litterarum monumentis esse mutuatum. Atqui Fabius Chisius, Sigismundi patruus, in adolescentia (1618–1630) *Chigiae familiae commentaria* litteris mandare Latinis coeperat, quae statis deinde intervallis pergere atque absolvere conabatur. Haecce lectitata esse a Sigismundo opinor; nam habent eandem de pisce historiam, quamvis paucis adumbratam:

De Imperia certe testatur Paulus Jovius in libro de Piscibus Romanorum, cum Tamisij patritij elluonis describens voracitatem, unius Umbrae caput, quod emere non poterat, ad Capitolij Conservatores, ad Cardinalem Riarium, ad Cardinalem Sanseverinum, ad Augustinum Chisium ac demum ad Imperiam esse prosequutum scribit, ut eo demum vesceretur ubi consisteret; nec eum movit longa itineris fatigatio, aut dignitas, quominus cum meretrice non sibi antea nota epularetur, ad quam ter ab aliis subinde donatum tandem ab Augustino munus illud pervenerat: magnum Romanae gulae ac voracitatis argumentum. Fuit haec Imperia nobilissimum Romae scortum, et a pulchritudinis prestantia superbum huiusmodi cognomen suscepisse dicta est. (Cugnoni 1879, 78)

Non est mirandum quod Sigismundus adolescens id opus historicum studiose evolvit; inde enim et duce patruo Latine discebat et, eodem auctore, cognovit se ex ea ortum familia, quae cum urbe Roma diu coniuncta Augustinum illum Chisium, cognomento Magnificum, ditissimum patricium, artium in Urbe fautorem atque complurium pontificum necessarium olim tulerat. Talia gentis suae praeconia despiciere minime solebat Alexander VII cum pontificatum esset auspiciatus cognatosque Romam accersivisset; nam eiusmodi laudes et generis ostentationes aliquid ei conferre videbantur sive ad patricium Chisii nomen in Urbe stabiliendum sive ad Chisios pristino splendori Romano consociandos. Eadem ipsum de causa puto *Chigiae familiae commentaria* sociis pontificiae illius academiolae tradidisse legenda atque illustranda. Hinc fieri potuit ut Furstembergius cenam illam versibus describeret, qua lautissima

<sup>45</sup> De qua egere, ut alios mittam Gnoli 1938, 185–216 et Moncallero 1962. Gnoli, dum Imperiam tractat, Tamisium etiam attingit Iovianum.

<sup>46</sup> Consulat de eo inter alios Schiavo 1960. De Sanseverino (Italice “di Sanseverino”) egit i.a. Cardella 1793, 243–244.

Augustinus Chisius Leonem, pontificem maximum eius nominis decimum, primores urbis, Patres purpuratos, viros nobilissimos acceperat anno 1518.<sup>47</sup>

Sigismundus vero, ut ad carmen heic primum editum revertamur, cum sibi lepidam hanc historiolum piscariam versibus reddendam proposuisset, non uno fonte contentus, adiit etiam Paulum Iovium (1486–1552), scriptorem praestantissimum, cuius erat a Fabio Chisio iniecta mentio, ut opus *De romanis piscibus* inscriptum (Romaeque divulgatum anno 1524) aperiret ibique caput *De umbrina* (sive umbra vel sciaena), quod est quintum, requireret evolveretque. Scripta inibi legit haec:

Secundum siluros sciaena e grandibus primam saporis obtinet claritatem. Eam M. Varro et Columella umbram appellant, quam et Ennius quoque celebravit (...). (...) Ipsa quoque canicularibus diebus pinguescit (...). Eam hodie Romani umbrinam vocant. Capita umbrarum, sicuti et silurorum Triumviris rei Romanae Conservatoribus dono dantur,<sup>48</sup> quia piscatores inveterata quadam consuetudine eorum capitum tributi nomine vectigales fecerunt. (...) gulosi ea capita quam avidissime consecretantur. Extat adhuc in ore quorundam facetorum ridenda fabula de T. Tamisio, qui Romanis aulicisque salibus erat insignis, sed gulae adeo prostituta, ut infamis haberetur. Is quum per servum, qui in foro piscario in eam curam intentus excubare solebat, ingentis umbrinae caput Triumviris delatum esse cognovisset, in Capitolium protinus ascendit, ut simulato apud magistratum negotio, sermoneque de industria protracto, prandium captaret. Verum illud Triumviri iam Riario Cardinali donandum decreverant. (...) subsequutus est (...). Erat enim in primis mensae Riarianae, quae longe omnium semper lautissima fuit, familiaris. Riarius, ut erat natura munificus: “Maximum”, inquit, “hoc triumvirale caput maximo debetur Cardinali”, statimque Federico Sanseverino, proceritatis admirandae Cardinali, transmittitur. (...) et munus ad Sanseverianam domum consequitur. Idem pari liberalitate facit Federicus, caputque ipsum splendidis exornatum verbis aurataque illatum patina Chisio Publicano ditissimo deferri iubet, quod ei multo aere alieno gravibusque usuris obstrictus erat. Volitat tertia iam spe avidam frustratus gulam aestuans Tamisius festinabundusque incalescente iam die in transtiberinos hortos, quos ipse Chisius magnificentissimos extruebat, contendit. Ibi fessus admodum et multo sudore madidus, quod gravis erat abdominis, quarto a fortuna decipitur, quippe qui Chisium caput illud (...) adamato Scorto, cui ab forma eruditique illecebris Imperiae cognomen fuit, ut extemplo deferretur curantem reperit. (...) et ad Imperiam, iam multo sole Sistini Pontis semitam exurente adequat. Ad extremum, anhelantis gulae ea vis atque libido fuit, ut qui per totam urbem fuerat raptatus, idem et togatus et senex cum scorto admirante novi hominis adventum null<o> pudore discubuerit (...). (Iovius 1984, 26–27)

Paginam hanc animo attentissimo semel atque iterum legisse videtur Sigismundus; etenim ut universa historiola Chisiana respondet Iovianae, ita singula etiam, quae versiculis inclusit poeta, e Iovianiana narratiuncula desumpta esse videntur. Haec statim animadvertet si quis singula persequens alteriusutrius voces ac sententias cum altero comparaverit.

<sup>47</sup> *Septem* 1662, 136–137 (“Epulum Augustini Chisii, in porticu supra Tiberim pensili, Leoni X. Pont. Max. & compluribus Cardinalibus datum”); cfr. Cugnoni 1879, 66–68.

<sup>48</sup> Quae res lege sanciebatur, ut patet ex inscriptione quadam Romana adhuc quae exstat: cfr. Lansford 2009, 454–455.

Ego vero tenerae adhuc aetatis fuisse suspicor Sigismundum cum conderet hoc carmen, non quo paraphrasim luserit poeticam materiamve fere totam aliunde sumpserit (id enim maturae aetatis et artis poetae saepe admittebant, cum argumenta sive ex astricta, sive e soluta oratione mutuati versibus redderent, idem, ut alios praetermittam, Furstembergii Walliusque, quos dixi, admiserunt), sed quia huic mihi conamini subesse videtur adolescentuli pudor nescio quis, quo impeditus, etsi nihil in ea re refugerat Fabius Chisius patruus, ipsam scorti meretricisve vocem pingere est subveritus et, quamquam id Iovius palam erat professus, Augustino illi Chisio rem fuisse cum Imperia, scorto nobili, dicere ipse metuit.<sup>49</sup> Esto, pudore aliquo fuerit hic impeditus; ast illic se suamque ipse gentem non sine magnificentia circumspexisse videtur: etenim, dum, Iovium secutus, villam laudat olim Chisianam,<sup>50</sup> tum Farnesinam, facere non potuit quin adscriberet, sua adhuc aetate, id est parte saeculi decimi septimi posteriore, titulum ibi ostendi e quo dilucide pateret Farnesinam villam olim fuisse Chisianam. O dignum patruo discipulum! Nam ob id ipsum quoque *Chigiae Familiae Commentaria* adolescenti data erant quae lectitaret:

Etenim prima hominum aetas ut ad virtutem instituatur, amore quodam et gloriae studio duci necesse est, quod facilius exemplis conficitur iis, quae uti sua plane et domestica, ita fortius irritant animos efficiuntque ut nepotes avorum laudes aequare, nisi plane antecellere se debere autument.  
(BAV, cod. Chig. a.I.1, f. 1r–v; cfr. Sacré 2005a, 379)

## V

Ceterum suas veneres habent versiculi. Eleganter mihi quidem Sigismundus usus esse videtur metris iambicis, quae ideo ceperat, ut ad fabulae genus (nam Iovius ipse narratiunculam “fabulam” iam nuncupaverat) descenderet et in eo genere Phaedri pedes imitaretur; quoque melius fabularum leges observare videretur, subiecit etiam epimythium quoddam (vv. 33–38). Errores prosodiacos admisit, quantum ipse animadverti, nullos; Phaedri normas in senariis componendis probe servasse videtur, quippe qui, ut alia mittam, maluerit quintos pedes spondeis contineri, non commiserit umquam ut quinti pedis mora longa in breves duas resolveretur, et in anapaestis interserendis ultra sedem primam quintamve non sit progressus; unarum caesurarum paulo forsitan fuerit neglegentior. At his artis metricae minutiis diutius immorari hoc loco noluerim. Rhythmis autem suavitas, nisi fallor, inest quaedam, quae tam ex probabili dispositione sententiarum et versuum oritur (nam nunc intra versuum fines se continent propositiones, nunc ultra versiculorum limites progrediuntur enuntiata), quam ex propositionibus tum subordinatis, tum coordinatis, quas scite alternavit auctor carminis. In verborum autem thesauro nihil est quod vituperemus; non enim, cum, pisce illo huc illuc circumgestato, eadem saepe essent enuntianda, ad eadem semper vocabula confugit poeta (ut exemplum ponam, videas quanta verborum copia eundi motum expresserit, quae sunt *accurrere, convolare, adire, afferri, commeare, adnatate, abire, sequi*); quin immo dicta quaedam exquisitoria interserere valuit (ut v. 2 “vivere aliena quadra”; v. 28 “adnatasse”; v. 29 “abisse in malam crucem”), insuper verborum lusus quantum potuit accumulavit cum ut hominum, qui ea tempestate erant, palato faceret satis, tum ut Fabium patruum imitatione exprimeret, poetam eiusmodi facetiarum amantissimum. Hinc illa verba “quam condiebat salibus ipse pro sale” (v. 3), licet ansam ad iocum dederit Iovius (“Tamisio, qui Romanis aulicisque salibus erat insignis, sed gulae adeo prostitutae”), “vastum caput Cardinalium vastissimo” (vv. 13–14), etiamsi haec respondeant Iovianis verbis “Maximum caput maximo

<sup>49</sup> Simili ratione ita Iovii verba commutavit Sigismundus, ut Augustinum Chisium non publicanum vocarit qui homines quosdam aere alieno sibi obstrictos haberet, verum, quo magis virum nobilitaret (vv. 17–19), Itolorum opulentissimum nuncupavit cuius largitas ac liberalitas multis esset perspecta.

<sup>50</sup> De suburbano illo Chisiano consulas i.a. quae scripsit Rowland 2005.

debetur Cardinali”, vel “infamem famem” (v. 32), etsi Iovius occasionem ludendi dederat usus eodem nomine adiectivo (“sed gulae adeo prostituta, ut infamis haberetur”), vel “Umbras vocare Roma consuevit vetus / qui non vocati accumberent conviviiis” (vv. 35–36); hinc et lusus ille finalis in nomine umbrae (vv. 33–38), quem eruditum potius quam salsum forsitan appelles.

Chisiorum gens Fabium (1599–1667) tulit poetam qui “Philomathi” nomine notus atque, cum dignitate Petriana esset auctus, super astra fuit clarus. Iam vero est Sigismundus (1649–1678), fratris filius, quem ab oblivione volui vindicare, albo eius familiae poetico adiciendus. Nec his duobus Musarum cultoribus contenta fuit Chisiana domus, utpote quae duodevicesimo etiam saeculo laudes sibi paraverit poeticas. In Urbe enim florebat eis temporibus Arcadum Academia, litterarum et Tuscarum et Latinarum faultrix atque propagatrix, anno 1690 condita; in qua novo micabat lumine Latino Sigismundus iunior Chisius (1736–1793),<sup>51</sup> pronepos Augustini illius Chisii (1634–1705), qui Sigismundi senioris fuerat frater.<sup>52</sup> Huius Sigismundi iunioris legitur “Elegia” non invenusta inter *Arcadum carmina* anno 1756 edita.<sup>53</sup>

## Conspectus codicum, librorum, commentationum quae adferuntur

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<sup>51</sup> Multa huius viri carmina adhuc inedita asservantur in BAV, cod. Chig. M. VIII.LVIII, ins. 8. Quo codice etiam continentur aliorum poetarum carmina ad Sigismundum data. De Sigismundo consulas quae scripsit Fiori 1980.

<sup>52</sup> A more illo Latine poetandi non descivere Chisii nonnulli qui saeculo XIX vixerunt. Nam BAV, cod. Chig. M. VIII.LVIII, ins. 1 servat carmina nonnulla quae scripserunt Augustinus Chisius princeps (+ 1855) eiusdemque filius nomine Iohannes.

<sup>53</sup> *Arcadum carmina* 1756, 49–51. Ceterum pars tertia *Arcadum carminum*, quae Romae anno 1768 in lucem publicam exiit, dicata est Flavio Cardinali Chisio iuniori (1711–1771).

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### Summarium Anglicum

This article presents an unpublished Neo-Latin poem written by Sigismondo Chigi (1649–1678), a nephew of Fabio Chigi or Pope Alexander VII (1655–1667). It was written in Rome in the early 1660s and deals with the times of Agostino Chigi il Magnifico, one of the richest persons in the Roman world of the early sixteenth century. Sigismondo's humorous poem is considered against the background of the Latin poetry of his uncle, the later Pope, who tutored Sigismondo's Latin studies, handed over his own poetry and other Latin writings to his nephew, and tried to make him aware of the importance of the Chigi family in a Roman context. The poem is preserved in a Vatican manuscript.

### Summarium Latinum

Sigismundus Chisius (1649–1678), cum adulescens sermonem in Urbe perdisceret Latinum, iussu patris, qui erat Fabius Chisius sive Alexander pontifex maximus eius nominis septimus, poemata condebat Latina. In quis reperitur fabula quaedam iambis expolita satis facetis atque ad aevum illud relata, quo vixit Augustinus ille Chisius Magnifici cognomine honestatus. Hoc ergo carmen luce publica dignum nos e codice quodam manu scripto, qui in Bibliotheca Vaticana asservatur, primum edidimus, praemissa de Camenae apud aulam pontificiam cultu deque ipso pontifice Musarum cultore quaestiuncula, brevique de carminis huius Chisiani fontibus et veneribus commentatione subiecta.

### Verba clavicularia

Sigismundus Chisius (Sigismondo Chigi); Poesis Latina recentior (Neo-Latin poetry); Alexander VII P.M. (Pope Alexander VII) sive Fabius Chisius (Fabio Chigi); Augustinus Chisius Magnificus (Agostino Chigi il Magnifico); Aetas renatarum apud Italos litterarum (Italian renaissance); Paulus Iovius (Paolo Giovio).



**“ARDEBO IGNEO AMORE TUI”:  
DE COELESTINO LEUTHNERO O.S.B., MATRIS DEI AMATORE**

**Curtius Smolak**

Inter poetas rerumque scriptores, qui in gymnasiis catholicis tempore post Concilium Tridentinum magistrorum munere fungentes multi fuerunt atque egregii, quorum poemata, quod attinet ad pulchras quae vocantur litteras, magis carminula saeculorum post Alexandrum mortuum sapiebant quam aetatis classicae, Coelestinus Leuthner, ordinis Sancti Benedicti monachus et rhetorices professor haud parvam obtinet partem. Tamen non abs re videtur esse, de eius vita operibusque potissima praemittere. Leuthner igitur in oppido, cui nomen est Traunstein, in Bavaria Superiore anno 1695 natus anno 1717 sacram professionem in monasterio Wessofontano absolvit, cuius coenobii Chronica diligentissime postea conscripsit.<sup>1</sup> Professoris autem munere in gymnasiis Frisingensi et, quod maioris dignitatis erat, Salisburgensi functus plurima opera absolvit nec non in componenda Concordia Sacrarum Scripturarum una cum aliis monachis ordinis Sancti Benedicti operam navavit. Ex eius operibus enumerentur *Mysteria vitae Christi considerationibus, symbolis et epigrammatibus illustrata*, *Dramata Parthenia*, quibus de Beata Virgine Maria agitur, *Beneficia seu Miracula B. V. Mariae Thaumaturgae in Vilgershofen*, *Rhythmici libelli pro cultu viae crucis*, *Caelum Christianum, in quo vita et passio Iesu Christi, nonnulla Deiparae festa, SS. Apostolorum et evangelistarum gesta proponuntur*, *Epigrammatum libri IV*. Ex hac serie elucet Leuthnerum Mariae devotissimum fuisse eiusque cultum strenue promovere conatum esse, sive propria tantum devotione incensum, sive catholica contra Lutheranos ostentatione impulsus, sicut virum sub Sacri Romani Imperii Principe atque Archiepiscopo Salisburgensi et Primate Germaniae stipendia merentem decebat. Obiit anno 1759.<sup>2</sup>

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Ea quae sequetur disquisitione de iis carminibus acturus sum, quibus Leuthner in libello *Epigrammatum librorum IV*, in quo etiam *Liber lyricorum*, scilicet *Odarum XXIV*, *Liber elegiarum (VII)*, *Mantissa* continentur,<sup>3</sup> Mariam celebravit. Ratione philologica in ea inquirere ideo nostra non nihil interesse existimo, quod inter tot tamque varia poematum argumenta<sup>4</sup> ii qui legunt laudibus Deiparae velut filo illo rubro Ariadnae per thematum labyrinthum ducuntur. Nec mirum: in illa enim muliere ea, quae iudicio Leuthneri sexus feminei pro diversitate sive aetatis sive status, propria esse debeant, scilicet immaculata virginitas sive mentis sive etiam corporis, et materna dignitas, singulari modo ita conveniunt, ut – miraculum inexplicabile! – et matrona filiorum filiarumque protectrix et virgo delicata variis carminum

<sup>1</sup> Leuthner 1753. Eadem Chronica nuper lingua Germanica iterum edita sunt ab Adalberto Mayer (2011).

<sup>2</sup> Brevem synopsis biographicam cum adnotationibus bibliographicis Andreas Kraus conscripsit (1985).

<sup>3</sup> Libellus editus est Salisburgi (sine anno).

<sup>4</sup> Sufficiat pauca exempli loco afferre: epigr. 1,28: *Crates philosophus aurum suum in mare dejecit*, epigr. 1,32: *Diogenes in dolio umbram Alexandri M. detestatur*, epigr. 1,49: *De amico Phlebotumeno*, epigr. 1,105: *In Fabullum Tabaco abutentem*, dist. 3,9: *Simplex Germanus contra ruinam coeli impavidus*, ode XVII: *In M. T. Ciceronem*, C. *Julij Caesaris, oppressâ Republica, Adulatorem*, eleg. VII: *Amicus, chiragrâ podagrâque afflictus, calamitatem suam Amico queritur*, mant., Disticha Militaria, & Politica I, *Austria*, mant., Disticha Sacra, & Moralia III: *De asino in Palmis*.

generibus celebrari possit. Eiusmodi ergo naturae muliebris complexionis nec in physiologia nec in theologia alterum exemplar ullum nec fuisse nec esse nec fore catholici persuasum habebant habentque. Inde consequens erat, ut praeter Mariam Deiparam in tanta carminum multitudine duae tantum feminae in libello illo praesto essent, quae tamen cum matre Christi vinculo quodam coniunguntur – sed de ea re infra!<sup>5</sup>

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Hoc autem loco agatur primum de carminulis Deiparam Virginem celebrantibus, quae in quattuor libris epigrammatum continentur.<sup>6</sup> Certe eorum qui legunt animos movet, quod singuli libri ab epigrammate Mariae dicato incipiunt. Eius rei rationem Leuthner ipso carmine initiali libri primi oblique illustrat. Illam enim, ut genetricem novissimi illius Adae ideoque etiam originem novae creationis mundi,<sup>7</sup> *in principio* – ea verba prima sunt libri Genesis in Sacris Scripturis – carminum ponit. Mariae, matri Iesu, itaque eadem pars in hoc mundo novo assignatur, quam Deus, pater Christi, videlicet verbi Dei, *in principio* veteris creationis obtinet. Ex utraque enim persona Christus, mundi utriusque creator, prodisse ceditur, scilicet ex ore patris voluntatem creandi verbo eloquentis et simili modo, cum verbum et creaturae redemptor caro factum esset,<sup>8</sup> ex utero Mariae. Sagaciter ergo Leuthner agit, cum a verbo, quod est *fiat*, carmen initiale Deiparae dedicatum incohat. Eo enim verbo et Deus mundi creationem molitus est et Maria voluntati Dei oboedivit.<sup>9</sup>

Poeta autem, cum in altero huius epigrammatis disticho de devotione sua et erga Deum et erga Mariam loquitur, lectores certiores facit sese ut fidem catholicam confessum Mariam aequae ac Deum ipsum colere atque venerari. Ea in re Martialem, artis epigrammata scribendi sine dubio principem, videtur imitari, quippe qui et ipse epigrammatis a primo ad quartum libri sui primi de se suaque cum imperatore necessitudine agat. Itidem Leuthner quoque quattuor epigrammatis primis libri sui primi de se suisque dominis agit, qui sunt Deus cum Maria, Petrus, princeps apostolorum et primus pontifex maximus Christianus, Benedictus, ordinis ipsius conditor, archiepiscopus Salisburgensis, cui tum stipendia merebatur. In primo porro epigrammatum libro, quo 105 carmina continentur, praeter carmen initiale duodecim poemata Mariae dedicata sunt.<sup>10</sup> His accedunt epigrammata 70 et 104, quibus thema quoddam Marianum oblique tractatur. Priore enim de Luca evangelista pictoris ingenio praedito agitur, qui secundum traditionem Christianorum veram Mariae imaginem primus pinxit,<sup>11</sup> posteriore autem epigrammate sodales Parthenii, quo ipsi se vocabant nomine, laudantur, quorum sodalitas catholica cultui Virginis propagando prae ceteris dabat operam.

Eodem modo atque primus liber epigrammatum secundus quoque a carmine Mariano incipit. In eo poeta peccatorum suorum memor imaginem Matris Dolorosae atque Thaumaturgae, quae imago in vico Adlwang in Austria Superiore sito venerationi publicae patebat, corde contrito alloquitur. Huius etiam carminis positione initiali Leuthner ad Martialem spectat. Ille enim et ipse primo carmine libri secundi affectum quendam exprimit, cum librum suum velut filium alloquitur. Praeter carmen initiale in hoc libro epigrammatum duo carmina Mariae dedicata sunt, scilicet 9 et 18.

Leuthner, licet in secundo libro, qui centum epigrammatum est, duo tantum altera carmina Mariae dicaverit, quae sunt 2,9 et 2,18, in ipso initio tertii quoque libri epigramma Marianum

<sup>5</sup> Epigrammatis 2,17 ratio habenda non est. Nam in eo iocose de feminis Germanis adulteris generaliter agitur.

<sup>6</sup> Carmina, de quibus in hac symbola agetur, in appendice afferuntur excepta elegia tertia nimis ampla. Si quis tamen legere voluerit, textum ab ipso auctore requirat.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Cor. 15,45.

<sup>8</sup> Io. 1,14.

<sup>9</sup> Gen 1,3: *fiat lux*; Luc. 1,38.

<sup>10</sup> Ea epigrammata sunt 15; 19; 21; 25; 33; 38; 46; 53; 66; 69; 77; 91.

<sup>11</sup> Haec traditio inde videtur originem traxisse, quod in evangelio secundum Lucam plura de Maria traduntur quam in ceteris excepto Protevangelio apocrypho Iacobi quod dicitur.



posuit, quo laudem statuae Virginis Thaumaturgae, quam toto animo eum colere manifestum est, coenobii Benedictinorum, quod erat in Ettal, in oppidulo Bavariae Superioris, situm praedicabat. Poeta se rerum glypticarum peritis inter se discordantibus quaestionem solvendam relinquere autumat, quo lapidis genere effigies illa exsculpta sit. Sibi enim Virginem tam mollem erga hominum preces atque curas videri, ut nihil duri aut saxei in se habeat. In eo carmine sal ille epigrammaticus in transitu inopinato a significato proprio vocis lapidis ad usum tralaticium ponitur. Hoc quoque poematio Leuthner Martialem sequi videtur. Nam is etiam carmine initiali libri tertii de se loquitur.<sup>12</sup> Nec satis: uterque poeta eo etiam, quod sequitur, carmine argumentum sui ipsius excipit continuatque: Martialis quidem, sicut in libris, qui praecedunt, ratione apostrophes, Leuthner vero, magis oblique, cum conversionem Sancti Ignatii, Societatis Iesu conditoris, in conspectu Beatae Virginis in Monte Serrato celebrat. In libro epigrammatum tertio praeter carmen initiale tria poematia Mariae dedicata sunt (41; 45; 52).

Primum denique epigramma libri quarti, etsi Virgini Dolorosae Vilgertshovii in Bavaria Superiore propitiae, "poenitentium Patronae", dicatum est, tamen nihil plane in se habet, quo affectus poetae, ut in ceteris carminibus initialibus, indicetur; magis ad fabulas gentilium antiquas animi legentium advertuntur: nomina enim Terei, Thyestis, Minervae Leuthner affert. Quae nomina virorum crudelissimorum et deae sapientiae virginis de carmine initiali libri quarti Martialis deprompsit, qui eos loco exemplorum poseos fabulosae nominat. At maioris momenti videtur esse, quod Leuthner hoc epigrammate initiali ad carmen primum libri tertii alludit: ibi quidem Virginis quamvis lapideae naturam mollem praedicaverat, hic vero corda peccatorum paenitentiam agentium, quamvis saxea sint, a Maria mollia velut aquam reddi affirmavit.<sup>13</sup> Praeterea neminem fallat carmen primum libri quarti etiam ad epigramma initiale libri secundi itidem Matri Dolorosae dicatum referri, idque e contrario. Ibi enim poeta ipse se paenitentem haud mediocri affectu demonstravit. Hoc qui intellexerit, facile cognoscat carmen initiale libri quarti, cum fabulas paganorum attingat neque quicquam Christianorum proprium afferat excepto titulo, totum opponi carmini initiali libri primi, in quo non nisi Christiana tractantur, idque aperte atque directe. Huc accedit, quod Leuthner, cum, ut supra explicatum est, poematio initiali libri quarti ad carmen primum libri quarti Martialis alludat, ei quodam modo etiam obloquitur. Nam cum epigrammaticus ille Romanus, ut facere solet, carmine illo ipse de se vel de libris suis locutus esset, poeta Bavarus nihil de se prodidit. Attamen summam rationem carminis antiqui recepit eamque transformavit, mentis habitum sui alicui rei opponendi dico. Cum enim ille poetas fabularum ipse se opposuisset, is Mariam Virginem Minervae virgini opposuit. Eam saxifico scuto homines in saxa vertere posse scribit – nempe de Gorgonis capite in aegide neque in scuto fixo videtur cogitare – cum Maria homines saxeo corde duros remedio paenitentiae in molles vertere noverit. In maxima varietate argumentorum poematum libri quarti, quae septuaginta sunt numero praetermissis duobus longissimis carminibus hexametricis in laudem Sancti Iohannis Nepomucensis, martyris Pragensis, in fine libri loco additamentorum positus, altera carmina Mariae dedicata non sunt. Quantum tamen poeta Virgini tribuat, inde etiam colligere licet, quod unum modo thema praeter Deiparam et ipsum Christum saepius, id est quinquies, in libris epigrammatum tractat, scilicet irrisionem vel vituperationem Martini Lutheri.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Hic notandum est Leuthnerum versu octavo huius carminis verba Martialis (1,32,2) ad litteram laudare quae sunt: *hoc tantum possum dicere*.

<sup>13</sup> Metaphora cordis saxei vel lapidei e Vetere Testamento sumpta est, sc. Ez. 11,19; comparatione cordis hominis paenitentiam agentis cum natura aquae fortasse animi legentium ad lacrimas peccatorum, quos factorum priorum paenitet, advertantur.

<sup>14</sup> Ea carmina sunt 2,6: *Lutheri encomium* (ironice ita inscribitur), 2,64: *Stercora mea adorabunt; Lutheri vaticinium*, 3,81: *Lutherus vitrum decem circulis distinctum catechismi, & decem praeceptorum titulo insignit*, 3,82: *In immunda Lutheri scripta*, 3,88: *Pallas casta, & adultera*. In hoc epigrammate Lutherus suo detrimento

Ex his omnibus satis declaratur Mariam, cuius veneratio in pietate populari Austriacorum et Bavarorum alte et haerebat et adhuc aliquantum haeret, velut Minervam Christianam et propugnatricem fidei catholicae contra religionis reformatores in quolibet rerum discrimine nec non in vita cottidiana, id quod argumentorum varietate adumbatur, arma capere. Hoc ut commodius elegantiusque iis qui legunt insinuaret, Leuthner genus epigrammatum Maria duce in suum usum convertit.

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His consideratis melius intellegitur, qua de causa Leuthner in ceteris quoque poetandi generibus, quas in libello epigrammatum comprehendit, Mariae praecipuam partem tribuerit. De odis enim libri lyricorum, quae viginti quattuor sunt numero, quattuor Virgini dicatae sunt, de ceteris autem argumentis sine ulla repetitione agitur. Carminibus igitur Marianis strophis sapphicis et Asclepiadeis conscriptis series odarum et aperitur et finitur, id est anuli modo includitur. Virgo igitur, ut ita dixerim, quodammodo genus etiam lyricum sibi vindicavit. His duabus accedunt odae quarta et decima quinta. Eo efficitur, ut Maria ex animis librum perlegendium numquam excidat. Eadem ratione subtilissima ac sagacissima, qua in libris epigrammatum carmina Mariana initialia inter se sunt conexa, ut modo demonstratum est, etiam in libro lyricorum carmina initiale et finale inter se cohaerent. Nam utraque ode de ascensu quodam agitur: in prima poeta ipse se monticulum in vicinitate oppidi Salisburgensis situm, quod antiquo nomine versu octavo Iuvavum vocat, peregrinatorumque catervis propter imaginem Virginis thaumaturgae frequentissimum ascendisse narrat,<sup>15</sup> qui nomen Mariae prae se fert; locus enim Maria Plainensis vocatur, idiomate autem regionis usque ad hunc diem Maria Plain.<sup>16</sup> Porro dignum videtur quod animadvertas poetam ad illustranda exempla miraculorum Maria intercedente effectorum ad fabulas resque antiquas se referre, scilicet ad Thersitem claudicantem (9,2), ad maenadas furentes (10,2), ad Erebi sorores truces, id est ad Parcas cum Furiis mixtas (11,1), ad Lethaeos amnes (12,3–4), ad Aeolum, dominum ventorum (13,2), ad Laii natum, id est ad Oedipum caecum (14,2), ad Atrea, Thyestis fratris filiorum interfectorem (18,1), ad Phoebum, id est Solem (18,2), ad Thyesten, Atrai fratris uxoris adulterum (18,3), fortasse etiam ad Tereum, regem Thracum uxoris sororis stupratorem (19,1), ad Cypridem, id est ad Venerem, amoris corporeae deam (20,3), praeterea ad Aeschylum calvum testudine desuper lapsa occisum (15,1–2), ad Apellem pictorem mutum (16,4), ad virgines Vestales (20,2), fortasse ad Rheam quoque Silviam, matrem Romuli Remique geminorum (stropho 20). Hoc artificio Leuthnerum carmen initiale libri lyricorum cum carmine primo ultimi libri epigrammatum ex industria coniungere studuisse apparet, in quo pro scelestorum exemplis Atrea et Thyestem affert. Accedit, quod in utroque carmine Mariae potestas praedicatur, qua ex hominibus corde duris, dummodo eos peccatorum paeniteat, molles facere sciat.

Ut autem iis qui legunt nomen Mariae usque ad finem libri lyricorum praesto esset, Leuthner alteras duas odas in laudem Virginis inseruit, scilicet quartam et decimam quintam.

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cum Iove comparatur: ex eius quidem capite Sapientiam, scilicet Minervam, natam esse, Lutherum vero e cerebro haeresin tantum profudisse.

<sup>15</sup> Argumentum locum quendam altiorem ascendendi e psalmis videtur sumptum esse, in quibus interdum ad ascensionem peregrinorum templum Hierosolymitanum e valle Iordanis cum canticis religiosi petentium sive proprio sensu sive tralaticio alluditur; eius rei notissimum exemplum praebet ps. 129,1 (canticum graduum): *de profundis clamavi ad te, Domine*. Haec qui consideraverit, facile inducetur, ut flumen Salza, scilicet Salzach, quod in valle per Salisburgum sub pedibus monticuli Plainensis labitur, versu 87 non sine respectu Iordanis nominari existimet.

<sup>16</sup> Poeta versibus 5 et 6 prima persona de se loquitur: *Nempe te cerno, veneranda magnae / Virginis sedes*; versu 9 culmine collis, ubi templum aedificatum est, iam ascenso Virginem ita salutatur: *O mihi salve Dea (!)*; versibus denique 89 et 90 unum se e peregrinis esse personae primae numero plurali ostendit: *Tu, precor, nostris animata votis / Patrios semper tueare montes*.

In priore eam obsecrat, ut Rudolphum quendam, nobilissimum adolescentem ipsiusque discipulum, cura materna foveat, in posteriore ei gratias agit pro incendio advolantibus ab eius sacello prope Yffeldorf columbis mirum in modum extincto.

His igitur carminibus argumentum Marianum velut pilis pontis cuiusdam sustentatur, quo ab initio ad finem perveniat. Prima enim ode et ultima artius quam illae inter se coniunguntur, ut supra adumbratum est. In ea enim stilo et ratione epinicii<sup>17</sup> victoria Deiparae de diabolo reportata secundum imaginem libri Revelationis<sup>18</sup> celebratur: Depingitur enim signum illud magnum, id est Virgo eademque Mater e terris elevata et in caelo supra lunam posita soleque amicta et caput serpentis pede calcans,<sup>19</sup> ut nova Eva novum genus humanum cum Christo filio procreet. Maria igitur in caelo posita, id est altius quam in sanctuario montis Plainensis, mediatrix caeli et terrae, Dei et hominum aequae atque ipse Christus secundum verba Pauli apostoli,<sup>20</sup> praedicatur, quae etiam forma et pulchritudine mentes venerantium delectet. Poeta quidem elementa quaedam e traditione litterarum amatoriarum Mariae dedicatarum posterioris aevi, quae Germanice Marienminne, id est amor discretus et spiritalis Mariae, dicuntur, in posteriore parte carminis finalis libri lyricorum adhibet,<sup>21</sup> ea vero elementa e statu delicato virginali ad affectum et amorem maternum consulto transfert. Ideo pueri et puerae – ita more Latinorum priscorum scribit – partem venerantium agunt, haud scio an non respectu carminis saecularis Horatii, in quo chori puerorum puellarumque Apollinem Dianamque<sup>22</sup> et ipsam virginem cantu colentes inducuntur. Quod Leuthner ultimo carminis versu pueros puellasque ad unguenti speciem Mariae currere dicit, ad tertiam antiphonam festivitatis Assumptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis secundum ritum Tridentinum alludit; namque antiphonae initium hoc est: *In odorem unguentorum tuorum currimus* (hic allegorice laudatur Canticum canticorum 1,2), *adulescentulae dilexerunt te nimis*. Recte igitur putaveris poetam oden ultimam ad celebrandam festivitatem Assumptionis Mariae composuisse et cum discipulis in gymnasio recitasse similiter atque Horatius carmen saeculare non tam artis causa quam in usum cultus publici composuit. Quae cum ita sint, conicere licet poetam in ultimo carmine lyricorum Horatium lyricum ut auctorem epiniciorum, hymnorum, carminis saecularis nec non odarum amatoriarum sub specie Mariae aemulatum esse.

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Si praesumas Leuthnerum etiam eum qui sequitur librum elegiarum cum eo qui praecedit, qui est lyricorum, subtiliter coniungere studuisse, quemquodmodum eum cum libris epigrammatum conexuit, altius intelleges, quare in parte posteriore odes ultimae tot momenta litterarum amatoriarum propria, ut modo demonstratum est, posuerit. In prima igitur elegia, quam – quis miretur? – Mariae Virgini dedicavit, illa elementa excepit amplificavitque, oblique quidem, eo vero sagacius. Nam carmen ita inscribitur: *Eucharistica pro recuperata sanitate, cum Author Anno M.CCC.XII. repente lethali suffocatione periclitatus fuisset*. Hoc argumentum poeta ea

<sup>17</sup> Titulus carminis est: *Triumphus Deiparae Sine labe originali conceptae*. – Praeterea notetur Horatium quoque, lyricorum Romanorum principem, in fine operis sui lyrici, id est in quarto libro carminum, epinicia carminibus alterius argumenti inseruisse. Eiusne exemplo etiam Leuthner opusculum lyricum epinicio finivit?

<sup>18</sup> Apoc. 12,1. Ad eum locum Leuthner iam ode 4,1–5 elegantissimis versibus se refert.

<sup>19</sup> Multis in oppidis vicisque Austriae et Bavariae, quin etiam in ipsa urbe Vindobona columnae altissimae in mediis plateis aetate post concilium Tridentinum erectae sunt fidei catholicae ostendendae causa, in quarum culmine statua Mariae ut in libro Revelationis describitur, posita est. His monumentis, quae columnae Immaculatae vocantur, triumphus Virginis serpentem haereseos Lutheranae calcantis et in altitudinem caeli receptae exprimitur eadem ratione atque Romani columnis gloriam imperatorum divinarum posteritati nuntiare et tradere solebant. Ad eiusmodi columnarum Immaculatae exemplar Leuthner carmen videtur finxisse.

<sup>20</sup> 1 Tim. 2,5.

<sup>21</sup> Ecce verba amatoria: *Caesaries ... stellis clarior aureis* (6,3–4), *ignibus* (7,1), *collaque candida* (7,3), *tuis ardet amoribus* (8,1), *amat* (9,1), *calet ... accensus* (9,1–2), *aestuatur ignibus* (9,2), *flamma* (9,3), *sinu ... fervido* (9,3), *pulchrior omnibus* (10,1), *unguenti speciem* (10,4).

<sup>22</sup> Notandum est in stropha 5, versibus 1 et 4, Letoides, scilicet Cynthiam et Cynthium, nominatim afferri.

ratione generi elegiaco applicat, ut gratitudinem suam non carmine lyrico, ut fortasse qui titulum legerunt suspicantur, sed affectu et amoris Mariae ardentissimi et tristitiae illa adiuvante superatae exprimat, id est elementis quamvis inter se contrariis, tamen maxime elegiacis. Praeterea notetur utrumque argumentum, amoris scilicet et tristitiae, in elegiis Ovidii, cuius vestigia Leuthner aperte pressit, praesto esse.

In elegia initiali interpretanda primum est, quod animadvertatur argumentum aegritudinis eo facilius in locum amoris succedere potuisse, quo affectus amoris interdum pro specie morbi mortiferi, nisi puella concessa venere poetam iuvisset, Propertio teste habebatur.<sup>23</sup> Leuthner autem hanc metaphoram ita usui suo applicavit, ut pro morbo illo ex affectu animi nato morbum corporis poneret, a quo et ipse mulieris ope, Mariam dico, liberatus esset neque in periculum mortis adductus; pro qua gratia se basia figere versu quarto refert, sed casta, neque ori, sed virgineo pedi, scilicet statuae cuiusdam. Quod autem vitam se dominae debere versu quinto affirmat, id quoque ex elegiis videtur sumpsisse: voce enim dominae elegiaci frequentissime utuntur, cum de amoribus suis scribunt. Huc accedit, quod Propertius Cynthiam suam patheticè vitam, id est fundamentum vitae suae, appellat.<sup>24</sup> Praeterea etiam Ovidii elegiae decimae libri quarti Tristium, qua de vita sua agit, ratio habenda est: ibi versibus 115–118 se Musae, id est mulieri cuidam allegoricae, debere fatetur, quod vivat, quamquam relegatus. Leuthnerum verborum iuncturam, quae est "quod vivo", versu septimo ex illo loco deprompsisse veri simillimum est. Denique, quod poeta Mariae versibus 12 et 13 dona promittit, cui non in mentem venerit poetas elegiacos puellis vel dominabus dona vel munera pro pretio amoris venerei se vel dedisse vel daturos promisisse persaepe referre?<sup>25</sup> Quin etiam Propertius se ipsam deam Venerem donis honoraturum pollicetur, quia tota nocte a Cynthia amans sit receptus.<sup>26</sup> Preces, quibus elegiaci puellas amoris concedendi gratia adire solent,<sup>27</sup> Leuthner, temporis aegritudinis nondum transactae memor, versu 22 in preces Christianas, id est in preces salutis recuperandae causa vertit, quibus, antequam enuntiasset, exauditis novus amor Mariae natus esset, ut e versu 28 apparet.<sup>28</sup> In hoc versu, qui est: *et novus exsuperat tela pudoris amor*, poeta se acri iunctura callidum ostendit, cum Pudorem ipsum personificatum neque Amorem tela mittentem fingit, quibus se restitisse autumat, ut amor sine telis, ut videtur, novus, id est et tempore recens et forma insolitus, exstiterit. Novatus enim est amor Mariae, postquam poeta naufragium<sup>29</sup> periculi mortis evasit. Haec naufragii metaphora et tota quae sequitur imago navigationis periculosae, quae a versu 25 usque in versum 44 extenditur, versibus exprimuntur ex Ovidii elegia Tristium 1,3,1–3 sumptis, qua poeta Romanus infelix de discessu suo ex urbe in civitatem Tomitanam narrat, nec non ex elegia Tristium 1,4, qua tempestatem in mari ortam, dum in relegationem nave vehitur, describit – animi sui potius quam caeli statum legentibus innuens. Ecce versus 23–26 elegiae Leuthneri, quibus Mariam alloquitur: *Cum subit illius tristissima noctis imago, / Quae non summa mihi, te prohibente, fuit, / Cùm repeto noctem, qua jam propè naufraga vita / Portentum coepit Numinis esse tui.*<sup>30</sup> Leuthner contra leges imitandi totum quidem de fonte suo recepit versum sine ulla mutatione, in sequenti vero, quo apertius demonstraret casum suum adiuvante Maria multo felicioris fuisse quam Ovidii, in locum vocum maximi

<sup>23</sup> Prop. 2,1,47–78; idem Propertius 2,16,13 libidinem amorosam cum dolore comparat.

<sup>24</sup> Prop. 1,2,1: poeta allocutione, quae est vita, et amorem curamque exprimit et puellam propter nimium capillorum ornatum reprehendit; cf. etiam 1,8,22.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. Prop. 2,8,11; idem tota paene elegia 2,16 de puellarum cupiditate donorum queritur; cf. etiam 3,12,19; Ov., am. 1,10,11; 2,3,17–18: munera opponuntur precibus amantis; 2,15,8.

<sup>26</sup> Prop. 2,14,25–28.

<sup>27</sup> Prop. 1,1,16; 1,8,28.

<sup>28</sup> De verborum iunctura cf. Prop. 3,20,22: *in amore novo*; Ov., rem. 733: *renovabit amorem*.

<sup>29</sup> Versu 25 metaphoricè de *naufraga vita* sua loquitur, versu 44 de *naufragiis* suis.

<sup>30</sup> Hi sunt versus Ovidii, tr. 1,3,1–4: *Cum subit illius tristissima noctis imago / quae mihi supremum tempus in urbe fuit, / cum repeto noctem, qua tot mihi cara reliqui, / labitur ex oculis nunc quoque gutta meis.*

momenti, quae sunt *supremum tempus*, verba sensu illis opposita substituit, scilicet *non summa*. Pro salute igitur recepta poeta versibus 100 et 101, more elegiacorum se amore commotum laudes Mariae semper cantaturum promittit,<sup>31</sup> etsi animo a Musa suggerantur argumenta epica velut magnanimi reges (103) vel pugnae (105),<sup>32</sup> non quidem e fabulis antiquis vel e temporibus diu peractis sumpta. Nam cum de Christiadam pugnis loquatur, se de bellis contra Otomannos ab imperatoribus Christianis Vindobonae residentibus recentiore aetate feliciter gestis cogitare declarat.<sup>33</sup> In tot tantaque argumentorum epicorum copia se iis semper abstinere affirmat neque umquam alio metro atque distichis elegiacis usurum; se velle atque cupere,<sup>34</sup> ut quaecumque Camoenae suae in Mariae iura properent. His versibus, scilicet 109 et 110, ad elegiam initialem Ovidii Amorum videtur se referre, in qua ille primo disticho recusat, ne carmina epica componat, quamquam voluerit, quoniam Amor unum pedem versus inferioris surripuisset.<sup>35</sup> Leuthner, cum versu 110 versum pentametrum ita circumscibit: (*Camoenae*) *undenno properent in tua*, id est Mariae, *jura pede*, versum ultimum, id est tricesimum, elegiae Ovidii laudat, quo ille de *Musa sua per undenos emodulanda pedes* loquitur. Praeterea uterque de iure numinis in carmina exercendo agit: Leuthner ea Mariae tribuit, Ovidius Amori.<sup>36</sup> Itaque Maria, quam Leuthner ultimo, id est centesimo duodevicesimo, versu voce blanda et tenera "coelicam nympham" invocat, amore venereo in spiritalem converso etiam generis elegiaci domina facta est.

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Elegia amatoria Mariae dicata secundum morem Leuthneri excipitur carmine primo ultimae partis Mantissae, id est ultimae unitatis totius libelli. Titulus eius partis est *Disticha sacra, & moralia*.<sup>37</sup> In illo disticho poeta Deiparae Virgini, salutis aurorae, igneum amorem numquam deficientem promittit. Ea promissione affectum in elegia prima expressum ad extremum perducit gradum quasi scalis amoris ac devotionis a primo carmine primi libri epigrammatum per singula carmina initialia vel, in libro lyricorum, etiam per finale ascendens. Hi ergo sunt textus et titulus distichi quod tractatur: *Ad DEIparam, Salutis Auroram. – Te unam amo in omne aevum, alma Aurora: haud desinam amare. / Fato et in ipso ardebo igneo amore tui*.<sup>38</sup> Haec plane sunt verba amantis.

Non ex hac tantum amoris confessione iterum patet, quod iam dictum est, Mariam ducem esse totius libelli minorum quae vocantur poeseos generum illiusque cultum ac devotionem, immo amoris affectum maxime non solum studio ecclesiae catholicae deberi, verum etiam nisibus eorum, penes quos in Austria et in Bavaria tum potestas erat quorumque magni intererat fidem suam catholicam summopere propagare atque corroborare.

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Huic totius libelli tenori intellegendo non nihil suffragari videtur, quod in libris elegiarum unum carmen sub numero tertio inest, quo praeter Matrem Dei femina quaedam catholica eiusdem nominis celebratur. Poema quidem illud non est elegia proprio significato, sed

<sup>31</sup> Hi sunt versus Leuthneri: (non *absistat ... tibi stringere pennam*,) *Inque tuas laudes currere, noster amor. Carminibus, virgo, semper celebrabere nostris*; cf. Prop. 3,24,3: *noster amor talis tribuet tibi, Cynthia, laudes*; cf. etiam 3,2,17–18; Ov., am. 1,10,59.

<sup>32</sup> Reges et pugnas memorando poeta versus 73 artis poeticae Horatii memor videtur fuisse, qui argumenta epica ita comprehendit: *Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella*.

<sup>33</sup> Id ex eius Distichis militaribus, & politicis I–III colligitur, in quibus Austriacos hortatur, ut Caseare duce Turcas profligent.

<sup>34</sup> Versu 109, qui ita incipit: *Sic volo, sic cupio* ad Iuvenalem, 6,223 alludit, ubi legitur: *hoc volo, sic iubeo*.

<sup>35</sup> Ov., am. 1,1,1–4.

<sup>36</sup> Ov., am. 1,1,5: *Quis tibi, saeve puer, dedit hoc in carmina iuris?*

<sup>37</sup> Omnia Mantissae disticha elegiaca artificio quodam maximo composita sunt; nam omnia fere verba elisionibus vel synaloephis inter se coniunguntur.

<sup>38</sup> Leuthner legem metricam neglexisse videtur, cum in pentametro caesuram mediam omisit.



epistula heroidis – Leuthner enim in librum elegiarum aliud etiam genus elegiacum Ovidianum inseruit, videlicet tres epistulas, e quibus unius tantum femina vera auctor est, ceterarum autem allegoriae, ut semper feminae, scilicet urbs Colonia et terra Gallia.

Leuthner ea de qua hic agetur epistula Mariam, Scotiae reginam catholicam, ad Elisabetham, Angliae reginam confessionis Anglicanae reformatae, ante ipsum supplicium capitale e carcere scribentem fingit. Ratio argumenti tractandi non multum distat ab Ovidii epistula Didonis reginae ad Aeneam data, priusquam illa mortem sibi conscivit; quae epistula in libro Heroidum septimum occupat locum. Utraque enim femina rem suam optima sui conscientia contra nefarium vel nefariam, ut ei videtur, agit. Quo melius qui legunt argumentorum similitudinem cognoscant, regina Angliae semper Elisa vocatur, id est cognomine Didonis, quod est Elissa, quoque ipsa in primo versu epistulae Ovidii utitur. At cum regina Karthaginiensis in eo esse scribat, ut cum lacrimis manu sua cadat, regina Scotiae catholica speciem quandam amphitheatri Romani – lethiferum (sic!) theatrum ipsa linea 11 paginae 194 commemorat – animo sibi depingit, in quo eodem animo atque martyres antiqui ad moriendum pro fide paratissimi martyrium expectet lictorem cunctantem, ut munere suo fungatur, verbis asperis exhortata: *Mitte moras, avidamque vibra, truculente, machaeram* scribit linea tertia paginae 195.<sup>39</sup> Quod vero Leuthner Mariam Stuartam passionem pro fide catholica desiderantem fecit neque e ratione regni Britannici de ea supplicium contendit sumptum esse, convenit intentioni catholicorum aetatis post reformationem Lutheri repulsam, cum tota Austria totaque Bavaria cultus martyrum mirum quantum promovebatur, quin etiam martyrum antiquorum reliquiae quae existimabantur tamquam virtutis mirificae pignora e catacumbis Romanis erutae in regiones, in quibus Lutherani olim floruerant, venerationis sanctorum renovandae causa mittebantur. Nam sanctorum aequae ac Mariae Virginis cultu catholici, quod attinet ad devotionem popularem, a Lutheranis maxime differebant. Inde patet Leuthnero, cum duas feminas praeclaras eiusdemque nominis, Deiparam scilicet et reginam Scotiae, in libro elegiarum celebraret, in animo fuisse non modo Ovidium, tenerorum lusorem amorum et epistolarum heroidum inventorem, castum reddere, sed etiam famam Mariae Stuartae augere. Nam femina martyr et regina catholica, quae insuper nomine summae feminae gloriaretur, dubium non est, quin iis, qui religione catholica firmata reformatos cohibere studebant, magno commodo fuerit et principi atque archiepiscopo Salisburgensi nec non ipsi domui imperatoriae Habsburgensi maximo usui in imperio stabiliendo.

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Quantum vero Leuthner virtuti ipsius nominis Mariae tribuerit, inde denique suspicari licet, quod tertiam quoque feminam eius nominis in carminibus suis, id est carmine sexagesimo libri tertii epigrammatum, praedicavit, illam scilicet Mariam, sororem Lazari, quae quia verbis Iesu aurem praebuisset neque more Marthae sororis rebus domesticis providisset, iudice Iesu ipso optimam partem sibi elegisse in evangelio secundum Lucam<sup>40</sup> narratur.

Rationem vero excellentiae nominis Mariae Leuthner epigrammate undeseptuagesimo libri primi epigrammatum explicite exponit, cum veterrima appellatione Virginis, quae est stella maris, innixus significationem vocum stellae et maris explicando in utraque sive opem sive gaudia sibi et, ut suspicari licet, toti generi humano parata esse demonstrat.

Tres ergo Marias neque aliam mulierem ullam Leuthner, monachus ordinis Sancti Benedicti Wessofontanus et professor rhetorices Frisingensis et Salisburgensis, mutata nempe Sancti Benedicti sententia maxima<sup>41</sup> in libellum carminum minorum recipere dignatus est, ut in omnibus glorificetur Maria.

<sup>39</sup> Similiter in Passione Perpetuae et Felicitatis 21,4 Vibia Perpetua tirunculum gladiatorem in munere eius peragendo iuvat, cum ipsa gladium collo suo applicat.

<sup>40</sup> Luc. 10,42.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Bened. reg. 59,9: *ut in omnibus glorificetur Deus* (cf. 1 Petr. 4,11: *ut in omnibus honorificetur Deus*).

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**Appendix: Carmina Leuthneri, de quibus in hac symbola agitur** <sup>42</sup>**I. Epigrammatum liber 1,1**

*Ad Divam Virginem Deiparam.*

Fiat, ait DEUS, & coelum terrámque creavit:

Fiat, ait Virgo, & traxit ab axe DEUM.

Ille creat mundum, recreas tu, Virgo. Creanti

Debeo te, Virgo ; sed tibi, Virgo, DEUM.

**II. Epigr. 2,1**

*Ad Virginem Dolorosam, Thaumaturgam in Adlsvang Superioris Austriae.*

IN solio resides, sed flens, moestissima Virgo :

Filius has lachrymas exprimit ipse tibi.

Te quando aspicio, méque ad mea facta reflecto,

Me miserum ! lachrymas exprimis ipsa mihi.

Desine flere, parens tristissima, desine flere :

Flebo ego, tam dirae causa scelesta necis.

Hae lachrymae lachrymis tua, Virgo , lumina purgent :

Tu ride ex lachrymis Iri serena meis.

**III. Epigr. 3,1**

*Ad Divam Virginem , Thaumaturgam Ettalensem.*

CERTent artifices, lapidúmque ex arte periti,

Quis tua sit, Virgo dulcis, imago lapis.

Dicat Porphyrius niveo de marmore sculptam,

Credare Hippomacho candidus esse silex.

<sup>42</sup> Epistola Mariae Stuartae propter nimiam longitudinem omittenda erat. – In textibus reddendis servatur poetae ratio scribendi et interpungendi.

Juret Aristomenes, alabastri ferre colorem :  
 Alter te Pariis ducat ab usque plagis.  
 Nil ego decidam. Cùm sis tam cerea votis,  
 Hoc tantùm possum dicere : non lapis es.

#### IV. Epigr. 4,1

*Ad Virginem Dolorosam , Vilgertshovii in Bavaria superiore propitiam ,  
 poenitentium Patronam.*

ATreus , aut pejor scelerato fratre Thyestes,  
 Te simul ùt, Virgo, viderit, agnus erit.  
 Tam tua sola potest inflectere pectus imago :  
 Quid rear adjecto pondere posse preces ?  
 Saxificum cesset clypeum jactare Minerva :  
 E saxis homines tu , pia Virgo , facis.

#### V. Lyricorum liber 1

AD DIVAM VIRGINEM

*In Monte Plainensi prope Salisburgum Thaumaturgam.*

1. ILle quis laetâ subit astra fronte  
 Clivus , & campis medius sacratas  
 Erigit turres , famulas superbus  
 Spernere valles?
2. Nempe te cerno , veneranda magnae  
 Virginis sedes ; tua me tuúmque  
 Semper ô fidis tueantur aris  
 Tempa Juvavum !
3. O mihi salve Dea , cui coruscum  
 Cingit augustam diadema frontem,  
 Atque bis seno redimitus ardet  
 Castore vertex.
4. Est DEUS tecum : DEUS ille rerum  
 Praepotens author gremio renidet,  
 Qui tribus quassans digitis utrumque  
 Ventilat orbem.
5. In sinu matris puer ille ludit,  
 Qui sinu claudit DEUS ipse mundum,  
 Et tibi blandè niveâ reclinis  
 Sindone ridet.
6. Quis tuas dignis , ô amicta sole,  
 Ire per laudes valeat Camaenis ?  
 Ipse cum toto sileat sororum  
 Agmine Paeon.
7. Effluis , nec te capis ipsa : tantis  
 In tuos donis famulos abundas,  
 Quos juvat gressu reverente sacrum  
 Scandere montem.
8. Utque vicinos tuus ille vertex  
 Hinc & hinc latè speculetur agros,

- Latiùs largae cumulata spargis  
Munera dextrae.
9. Qui trahit claudos vitiatus artus,  
Umbra Thersitae, redit eleganti  
Rectior cedro , validus remissâ  
Currere grillâ.
10. Quos ferox raptat stygis inquilinus  
Maenadum ritu propriâsque dentem  
Armat in caedes , redeunt quieto  
Mitiùs agno.
11. Sunt, quibus tristes Erebi sorores  
Jam minabantur tenuare fila :  
At tuo jussu propè rupta demum  
Pensa resumunt.
12. Pristinum laeti capiunt vigorem,  
Mors quibus toto natitabat ore,  
Jámque Lethaei strepuisse visi  
Cominus amnes.
13. Queis stupor surdas malè sepsit aures  
Aeoli claustris graviore saxo,  
Audiunt longè tremebunda morae  
Sibila frondis.
14. Si meri – quisquam radios – diei  
Rariùs Laii bibit antè nato  
Ad tuas aras properans aperta  
Lumina sperat.
15. Aeschylum quemdam date , cui ab axe  
Lapsa testudo minuit cerebrum ,  
Isse nil laesum referent dicatae  
Fragmina testae.
16. En ! quot aspectum veniunt sub unum  
Cerei , pendens anathema , testes,  
Et locuturus memoranda muti  
Clamor Apellis.
17. Nec tamen murus capit unus omnem  
Virginis laudem : graviora pectus  
Conscium abstrusis animi latebris  
Condita servat.
18. Barbarus natos jugulârit Atreus,  
Quas procul Phoebi fugerent quadrigae,  
Aut Thyestaeo reus impiârit  
Crimine taedas ;
19. Thracii rupem ferat intus Haemi ;  
Tu trucem mollis animum , piósque  
Solvis in fletus rude pectus , & prae-  
cordia rumpis.
20. Quae suo labem metuit pudori,  
Cauta Vestali vigilâsse flammae ,  
Fortis adversum Cypridis sagittas  
Lilia servat.

21. Tu dabas robur. Tua naufraganti  
Cura submittit tabulam scelesto,  
Jámque mersuris miserum , beatus  
Enatat undis.
22. Tota te latè veneratur ora,  
Salza quam crebris lavat icta remis :  
Arduae, Virgo , tibi prona curvant  
Culmina rupes.
23. Tu, precor, nostris animata votis  
Patrios semper tueare montes.  
In tuas laudes properantis auge  
PRINCIPIS aevum.

### VI. Lyric. 24

#### TRIUMPHUS DEIPARAE

*Sine labe originali conceptae.*

1. Vicit : perpetuas nectite laureas,  
Nymphae , de viridi littore Peneos.  
Vicit : tartareis Virgo draconibus  
Elisit tumidum caput.
2. Qui tot vipereis saecula dentibus  
Infelix hominum glutiit heluo ;  
Succumbit dominae , quae propriis jubet  
Hydrum morsibus emori.
3. Imprudens epulo vendidit arboris  
Haeredum solidas divitias parens,  
Deploranda reis damna nepotibus :  
At non dilapidat tuas,
4. Virgo fortis , opes , quae domino pede  
Victrix Taenariae turgida belluae  
Calcas colla , tuis una sororibus  
Tanto nomine grandior.
5. Sub plantis niveae cornua Cynthiae  
Non jam, Diva , tuis invida laudibus  
Pallent : ipse cupit repere florida  
Ad vestigia Cynthius.
6. Bissenis rutilam sideribus comam  
Ambis , & et famulos splendida Castores  
Tota fronte rotas : Caesaries tremit  
Stellis clarior aureis,
7. Et castis humeros verberat ignibus.  
Crinis virginei verticis unicus  
Dilecto placuit , colláque candida  
Primi nescia criminis.
8. Qui non , Virgo , tuis ardet amoribus,  
Illi Sarmatici frigora Caucasi  
Durum pectus habent , brumáque , perpete  
Quae vestit Sipylum nive.



9. Qui te, Mater, amat, sidereis calet  
 Accensus radiis , aestuat ignibus :  
 Gliscit flamma sinu emergere fervido,  
 Et praecordia rumpere.
10. Nam cui displiceas , pulchrior omnibus?  
 Te, Virgo, pueri, te puerae colunt,  
 Instantes properis cursibus assequi  
 Unguenti speciem tui.

## VII. Elegiarum liber 1

### AD DIVAM VIRGINEM

*Eucharistica pro recuperata sanitate , cùm Author Anno M.DCC.XXII. repente lethali suffocatione periclitatus fuisset.*

- 1 TU nisi servâsses, tristes abiturus ad umbras,  
 Ante tuum sternor, sospita Diva, thronum.  
 Oréque vicino quod adhuc à funere pallet,  
 Virgineo timidus basia figo pedi.
- 5 Ad Dominam vitae redivivos erigo vultus,  
 Extremo nuper praeda parata rogo.  
 Quòd vivo , saníque fruor jam munere coeli,  
 Quòd redeunt vires in mea membra, tuum est.  
 Me tibi restituo, quae me mihi, Virgo, dedisti,
- 10 Jam desperato certa medela malo.  
 Quas tibi nunc grates , aut quae soteria dicam,  
 Aut quibus à donis splendeat ara memor?  
 Plurima cùm dederò, dederò vix muneris umbram,  
 Donáque erunt meritis inferiora tuis.
- 15 Me tua, dum rapidae properabant stamina vitae,  
 Depositum non est passa perire manus.  
 Spiritus angusta praeclusus fauce redivit,  
 Coepit & auxilio promptior esse tuo.  
 Obstipui, fateor, nimiúmque exterritus haesi,
- 20 Spésque fuit, quàm tunc debuit esse, minor.  
 Virgineas votis properavi serus ad aras,  
 Dum tu, Diva, preces supplicis ante venis.  
 Cùm subit illius tristissima noctis imago,  
 Quae non summa mihi, te prohibente, fuit,
- 25 Cùm repeto noctem, qua jam propè naufraga vita  
 Portentum coepit Numinis esse tui,  
 Et pudor hanc faciem tam serò vocantis oberrat,  
 Et novus exsuperat tela pudoris amor.  
 Nónne ego Lethaeos audivi cominus amnes,
- 30 Vicinus ripis, mors inopina, tuis?  
 Nónne ego, quae reditum nulli post fata dedêre,  
 Audivi aeternas jam strepuisse fores?  
 Quid facerem? fomenta daret qui commoda, nemo ;  
 Qui misero adgemerent, unus, & alter erant.
- 35 Sic ubi Carpathio cymba est deprênsa profundo,  
 Et jam fatales naufraga sorbet aquas,

- Frustra hanc aspiciens longinqua in rupe viator,  
 Cum gemitu clamat : trabs miseranda perit.  
 Ipsa, Euro dextram feriente , Notóque sinistram,  
 40 Mergitur aequoreo, littoris orba, sinu.  
 Et mea lassato sidebat remige puppis :  
 Jam prope lethiferas prora bibisset aquas.  
 Unde mihi tabulam peterem , fragménve carinae ?  
 Aut ubi naufragiis terra benigna meis ?  
 45 Nulla Machaoniis spes affulgebat ab herbis :  
 Horam carpturis invida Parca negat.  
 Imploro superos ( atque ô pius audiat aether  
 Non serus seras antevolare preces ! )  
 Et : moriar, dixi, mutas abiturus ad umbras,  
 50 Quin celebrem laudes antè, Maria, tuas?  
 Addidimus quinto nondum trieterida lustro :  
 Non sinar Elysios major ardire (*sic!*) lares?  
 O ades , & , quam terra negat , mihi porrige dextram,  
 Spes desperatis unica , Virgo , malis.  
 55 Aspice supremis gelidos sudoribus artus,  
 Lumináque, obscuros, jam moritura , sinus.  
 Aspice : non ultrà quidquam medicaminis optem ;  
 Aspectu incipiet vita redire tuo.  
 Non tibi, non citharâ, traheret quae robora cantu,  
 60 Non opus est geticas voce movente feras.  
 Restituent dubiam tua lumina sola salutem,  
 Lumina, virginei sidera fida poli.  
 Síque movet superos saepè ipsa modestia voti,  
 Quo medeare, oculus vel satis unus erit.  
 65 Quis labor, aspectu miserum dignarier uno?  
 Non dabis ingrato, quam petit aeger, opem.  
 Nam tibi quàm facile est vinclis me solvere lethi,  
 Tam tuus ex tanto munere crescet honos.  
 Fulbertum, memini, defixum corpora lecto  
 70 Nutritum lactis rore, Maria, tui.  
 Ille etiam spreto fugitivus Sarmata regnô  
 ( Ignoto hospitium magna Vienna dabat )  
 Aeger virgineae potuit cum prole Parentis  
 Suaviter in proprio ludere Koska sinu.  
 75 Non ego tam grandes ausim sperare favores :  
 Majores cupiant ambitiosa proci.  
 Aspice ! votorum tota haec est summa meorum :  
 Profluat ex oculo tota medela tuo.  
 Obticui : angustas potui neque plura per auras ;  
 80 Plurima dicturus, si licuisset, eram.  
 Suffecêre preces : rediît mihi spiritus, & jam  
 Libera, laxato pectore, vita meat ;  
 Vita tuis posthac, virgo, sacranda trophaeis,  
 Inter quae pars non ultima ponar ego.  
 85 Vivo? tuum donum est. Spiro? spirare dedisti.  
 Scribo ? loquor ? tua sunt munera lingua, manus.

- Intereat, repetátque suas, quas viderat, umbras,  
 Obsequiis nisi sit vita dicanda tuis.  
 Et verba huic linguae desint, huic pagina dextrae,  
 90 Haec nisi te, virgo, scibat, & et illa canat.  
 Si potuit Stygiis reducem Tirynthius oris  
 Thesea in obsequiis semper habere suis ;  
 Ille tuae taceat laudi praeconia vates,  
 Debitor est vitae qui tibi, Diva, suae?  
 95 Antè racemiferos tenerum ver vestiet hortos :  
 Autumnus Cyprias proferet ante rosas :  
 Sirius albertem nivibus teget igneus orbem,  
 Hyberno surget frigore flava Ceres :  
 Quàm piger absistat memorem tibi stringere pennam,  
 100 Inque tuas laudes currere, noster amor.  
 Carminibus, virgo, semper celebrabere nostris :  
 Haec tua, si taceant nomina, facta canent.  
 Si mea magnanimos referet Polyhymnia reges,  
 Reginam Regum te mea Musa colet.  
 105 Christiadûm pandam fortes pro Numine pugnas ?  
 Virtutis cupient ectypon esse tuae.  
 Crimina plorantûm lacrymas, gemitûsque ciebo?  
 Nemo reus causâ, te redimente, cadet.  
 Sic volo, sic cupio : nostrae quaecunque Camoenae  
 110 Undeno properent in tua jura pede.  
 Sint aquilae, quarum te nobilis extulit ala,  
 Altera Musa tuum cantet alauda decus.  
 Proferat inde tuos Pandione nata triumphos,  
 Infimus has inter sim tibi passer aves.  
 115 Hoc tamen extremum, citiùs ne desinat hujus  
 Officium linguae, quàm mea vita, precor.  
 Síque mori dederis, cygnorum more, canenti,  
 Laudibus immoriar, coelica Nympha, tuis.

### VIII. Epigr. 3,60

*Maria optimam partem elegit.*

Magdalis elegit meliorem provida partem,  
 Ante pedes Domini dum sedet illa sui.  
 Instrue, Martha, focum : praebe nova pabula flammis.  
 Quod serò efficies, hoc citò coxit amor.

### IX Epigr. 1,69

*Nomen MARIAE*

O nomen dignum gemmis, auróque, cedróque,  
 Quo non Paestanae suavior aura rosae ;  
 Cui violae cedant, cui lilia ; nomen amoenum,  
 Dulcis Hyblaeis nomen in ore favis.  
 Utcunque accipiam, mihi spem, mihi gaudia gignis.

Si *Stella* es, duces per vada tuta ratem.  
*Exaltata* sonas ? summo me cernis ab axe,  
 Nec, siqua indigeo, fida negabis opem.  
 Si *Mare*, dulce mihi, nunquam credêris amarum :  
 Hoc Charis , hoc omnis gratia fonte fluit.  
 Enatet , interitûs si cui malesana cupido est :  
 Me totum innocui sorbeat unda maris !

### De auctore

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### Summarium Latinum

Hac symbola in poemata Latina epigrammatica, lyrica, elegiaca Coelestini Leuthneri O.S.B. (1695–1759) inquiritur, qui rhetoricen in gymnasiis Frisingensi et Salisburgensi professus est. Animi eorum qui haec poemata legunt inter plurima diversissimaque argumenta velut filo rubro Ariadnae ad Mariam, matrem Iesu, advertuntur. Nam carmina in eius honorem composita in initiis singularum partium libelli illius sine anno Salisburgi in lucem editi ponuntur, ita nempe, ut inter se videantur cohaerere. Poeta id eo efficit, quod ad culmen proprii erga Mariam affectus gradatim ascendit, erga dolorosam scilicet, thaumaturgam, paenitentium tutricem, in caelum assumptam. Secundum variorum genera litterarum Leuthner ad varios poetas Romanos, eorum generum principes, se directe vel oblique atque subtiliter refert. Itaque in epigrammatis ad Martialem alludit, in odis libri lyrici ad Horatium, in elegiis ad Propertium et Ovidium. Huc accedit, quod Leuthnero iudice nomen Mariae ipsum aliquid magnifici et gratiosi in se habet. Id poeta non solum poemate quodam demonstrat, quo de tribus veriloquiis nominis illius agit, sed etiam exemplis ex historia sumptis, videlicet Mariae, sororis Lazari, et Mariae Stuartae, reginae catholicae Scotiae et martyris pro fide, ut ei videatur, praecipue passae. His consideratis manifestum est Leuthnerum amore Mariae Deiparae, quam divam et deam appellare non dubitat, tam aperte exhibito contra Lutheranos suo modo arma sumere. Ii enim a cultu Virginis Immaculatae martyrumque omnino sese abstinere solebant. Denique in carminibus Leuthneri aestimandis haud parvi pendendum est cum Principem et Archiepiscopum Salisburgensem, utpote cui Leuthner tum stipendia mereretur, tum vel maxime ipsam domum imperatoriam Habsburgicam Christianos reformatos a finibus suis procul habere studuisse.

### Summarium Anglicum

"*In my fiery love for you I will burn*": *Coelestinus Leuthner OSB, the lover of the Mother of God*. This article examines the Latin poems of the Benedictine monk Coelestinus (Cölestin) Leuthner (1695–1759), who taught Rhetoric at the gymnasiums of Freising and Salzburg. Those who read Leuthner will find that his poetry, for all its variety with regard to both genres (epigrams, odes and elegies) and subject matters (which are indeed many and diverse), creates a kind of red string leading – like an Ariadne's thread – to Mary, the mother of Jesus. Poems

in her honour are placed at the beginning of every single part of his collection of poems (Salzburg, no year), seemingly in order to render the various parts of the work coherent with each other. Through these opening poems the poet gradually ascends to the summit of his own affections for Mary. He starts by addressing Mary as the Lady of Sorrows, then turns to the Lady of Miracles and after that to the Refuge of Sinners, until he finally praises Mary Assumed into Heaven. According to the different literary genres Leuthner refers either directly or subtly and covertly to various Roman poets who are considered the foremost in their genres. Thus, in his epigrams, Leuthner alludes to Martial, in his odes, to Horace, in his elegies, to Propertius and Ovid. Furthermore, Leuthner considers the very name of Mary to contain something magnificent and gracious. This is something which the poet illustrates not only through one particular poem, in which he deals with three etymologies of her name, but also through examples taken from history, namely, Mary the sister of Lazarus and Mary Stuart, the catholic Queen of Scotland who suffered what Leuthner reckons to be a particularly memorable martyr's death for her faith. When all these circumstances are taken into consideration, it becomes evident that this manifest love for Mary the Mother of God, whom the poet does not refrain from characterizing as "divine" and a "goddess", actually constitutes Leuthner's special way of taking up arms against the Lutherans, who used to abstain from the cult of the Immaculate Virgin and martyrs in general. Finally, in the examination of Leuthner's poetry considerable importance should be ascribed to the Prince and Archbishop of Salzburg, who after all kept Leuthner on his payroll, and even more to the Royal House of Habsburg itself, with its efforts to keep reformed Christians away from its territories.

### **Verba clauicularia**

Maria, mater Iesu, religio catholica, Lutherani, Salisburgum, Austria, Bavaria, Epigrammata, Odae, Elegiae, Martialis, Horatius, Propertius, Ovidius, Maria Stuarta.



