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LATIN

A dissertation on philosophising
women, edited with introduction,
translation and commentary

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Abstract

A dissertation on philosophising women, edited with introduction, translation and commentary.

En dissertation om filosoferande kvinnor, utgiven med introduktion, översättning och kommentar.

BA thesis (15 credits)

The objective of the present study is to produce a reader-friendly edition and translation of, and commentary and introduction to the dissertation *Exercitium Academicum Mulieres Philosophantes Leviter Adumbrans* (Uppsala University 1699). Any decisions in regard to translating and editing the text have been made with a view to rendering the text as accessible as possible for the wider public, and presenting a well thought-through and lucid edition of the original text.

While the commentary is intended to elucidate references, personal names, literary works, etc. that are found in the dissertation and thereby enhance the understanding of the text, the purpose of the introduction is to briefly orientate the reader in the context of dissertational writing in the 17th century, as well as in the context of this specific dissertation. In achieving these ends, the commentary also contributes on occasion.

Målet med föreliggande studie är att producera en textkritisk utgåva med introduktion, översättning och kommentar av den latinska dissertationen *Exercitium Academicum Mulieres Philosophantes Leviter Adumbrans* (Uppsala Universitet 1699). Grundtanken vid översättning och redigering av texten har varit att göra den ursprungliga latinska texten så lättillgänglig som möjligt, och producera en klar och genomtänkt översättning och utgåva. Kommentaren har som syfte att klargöra sakförhållanden, t.ex. personnamn, referenser och litterära verk, medan introduktionen syftar till att ge läsaren en översiktlig inblick i det allmänna dissertationsväsendet, liksom det sammanhang i vilket den för studien till grundliggande dissertationen kom till. Till att klarlägga sådana omständigheter har även kommentaren stundtals bidragit.

Key words: *Dissertations, critical edition, translation, learned women, commentary; dissertationer, textkritisk utgivning, lärda kvinnor, kommentar.*

1. Introduction

The end of the 17th century was a period much influenced by new ideas and external circumstances. The 1680s had found Uppsala the venue of the second Cartesian controversy which had brought about an extremely acrid intellectual climate, the intensity of whose frequent and ardent debates had almost seen the university on its knees. In 1689, however, an intervention by Charles XI restored the intellectual environment to order, but the new Cartesian values and ideas had irreversibly struck root.

At the same, ideas formerly quite unusual in Sweden had begun to gain currency in intellectual circles, *viz.* the intellectual emancipation of women; more specifically, the idea that in women was inherent an equal capacity or potential for literary achievements and independent thinking as in men (or if not strictly speaking equal, then at least perfectly able in its own right). The humanist climate in intellectual circles had raised the interest for learned women, the best international example thereof being Anna Maria van Schurman; still, however, learned women were regarded more as an exception to custom than anything else.¹ In Sweden, they were few but did exist, primarily in the higher classes of society.² The foremost woman to represent the propagation of female erudition and intellect was Sophia Elisabet Brenner³ (1659-1730), a German by birth, but raised and educated in Sweden. She was a lady of letters and a poet whose name enjoyed unprecedented international proliferation and success, with such languages represented in her repertoire of poems as Latin, Swedish, German and Italian. Brenner was a prolific writer not only of poems, but also of letters to various intellectuals in Sweden and abroad.⁴ The interest for learning among women was manifested in the production of more or less

¹ Sellberg 2011, p.79.

² E.g. the two sisters Anna and Vendela Skytte, of whom Brenner makes mention in her letter to Petrus Hedengrahn and who are also briefly discussed in the commentary.

³ For comprehensive accounts of Sophia Elisabet Brenner and her time, see e.g. Lindgärde 2009; Jönsson, Göransson & Lindgärde 2011; Göransson 2006.

⁴ See e.g. Göransson 2006.

comprehensive *gynaecea*,⁵ the greatest of which was the one initiated by the Danish professor and polymath Otto Sperling.⁶

In regard to these circumstances, the composition of the dissertation under scrutiny, a *gynaeceum* in its own right, was very presentative of, and in keeping with the spirit of the times; not only is it a work extolling the virtues of women, but in philosophical matters also quite influenced by Descartes. The strictly philosophical (in the modern sense of the word) novelties aside, the dissertation is particularly interesting for two reasons: firstly, it was a pioneering work in that it took the debate of learned women and the *res publica literaria* for women to the universities, which was ground formerly untrodden. Secondly, because of the fact that the author of the dissertation would later marry Sophia Elisabet Brenner's step-daughter, and so become part of the Brenner family himself. This however, as we shall see, had not happened by the time of his disputation in 1699.

The purpose of the present study is to make this very interesting dissertation accessible to a wider public by producing a critical edition, translation of and commentary to it. Any decisions pertaining to the edition, translation and commentary of the dissertation have been made with a view to facilitating the reading of it, and the primary purpose with the commentary is to elucidate any direct references such as personal names, literary works and the like. The reader will inevitably notice a striking absence of philological discourse and expositions in the commentary; such comprehensive treatment of the dissertation would warrant a more generous format (see more below). In the following, a cursory orientation of Swedish dissertational writing will be provided, as well as of things pertaining more directly to the present study.

1.1 About the respondent

Peter (lat. Petrus) Hedengrahn was born in Hedemora on August 26th 1677, the son of the district court judge (*rådman*) Johan Ambrosius och Anna Tibelia. Having been educated first privately, then in the local school in Hedemora, the trivial school in Västerås (1690–92), and gymnasia in Västerås and Strängnäs (1692–95) he

⁵ See under the heading "The author".

⁶ See *ibid.*

matriculated at Uppsala University in 1695, 18 years of age.⁷ In 1696, he made his first appearance as a priest, when he successfully preached to the congregation of Hedemora.

At Uppsala, he studied under e.g. professors Johan Salenius, Petrus Lagerlöf and Elias Obrecht, submitting his disputation *pro exercitio*, called *Exercitium Academicum Mulieres Philosophantes Leviter Adumbrans* to examination in 1699 under the presidency of the professor Johan Esberg. According to Rönbeck⁸ Hedengrahn had just finished his second disputation, this time *pro gradu*, i.e. the Master's Degree (*magisterexamen*) when he abruptly had to leave Uppsala University in order to serve as an army chaplain (*fältpredikant*) in Courland, Livonia in 1701 (under Swedish rule 1629–1721).

The years following his parting from Uppsala would prove arduous for Hedengrahn who, although maintaining relatively good health himself, would often be in sole charge of hundreds of wounded and sick soldiers. In 1707, however, his time abroad had reached its end, and having been accorded the office as dean (*pastor*) in Vellinge and Fuglie, he was sent home to Sweden. The same year he married Maria Christiana Brenner, whose father Mårten Brenner was the cousin of Elias Brenner, husband of Sophia Elisabet Brenner and the father of Regina Brenner who would come to be Hedengrahn's second wife. Thus Maria Christiana and Regina Brenner were second cousins. The marriage yielded two children – a son and a daughter – of whom only the daughter survived infancy.

With the family having settled and Hedengrahn taken office in Vellinge, Maria Christiana died, probably from typhus fever, in 1710. With the upbringing of his daughter and the management of the household in mind, Rönbeck tells us, Hedengrahn undertook a journey to Stockholm where he met Regina Brenner, the daughter of Elias Brenner and his first wife Ehrengert Stamm. The two married and moved back to Vellinge where Hedengrahn continued to work as a dean, and where he also lived his last days before passing away on May 11th 1727.

⁷ All biographical information, unless stated otherwise, has been retrieved from the funerary sermon *Twenne Christeliga Lijk-Predikningar* over Hedengrahn and his second wife Regina Brenner, printed in 1728, and *Lunds Stifts Herdaminne*, ed. by Gunnar Carlquist 1951.

⁸ Rönbeck 1728, p. 47.

It would seem that Hedengrahn and Regina Brenner found it difficult to come to terms with life in Vellinge,⁹ and Hedengrahn applied for various other spiritual and administrative offices in e.g. Hedemora and Mora, but was not successful.

It is sometime during the years at Uppsala that Hedengrahn must have established contact with Sophia Elisabet Brenner, who was Sweden's first *femina docta* and as such often had her reputation precede her. That he should know of her and her achievements, thus, is no wonder. She was a celebrity of her day, and so whoever had any affiliations in the world of letters would probably have known who she was. In addition, the matter of the *res publica literaria* for women was quite extensively debated at the time. In 1700, a professor of Eloquence in Kiel, Sebastian Kortholt, published a work called *Disquisitio de poetriis puellis*, which featured a dedication to Brenner,¹⁰ and the Danish professor Otto Sperling had notified S.E. Brenner of his intentions to collect a *gynaeceum*.¹¹ What is uncertain is the question whether or not she induced Hedengrahn to write his *gynaeceum*, which would be the most suitable denomination for the dissertation (as we have seen, Hedengrahn did not become part of the Brenner family until several years later), or if it was his idea to begin with, or if he was persuaded by someone else, e.g. one of the dedicatees of his dissertation.¹² The question lacks an unequivocal answer, and in the interest of brevity the matter must be post-poned to a later study.

For a somewhat detailed account of the praeses of the dissertation, see commentary on Esberg.

1.2 Versions and dissemination

The disputation was held on March 29th 1699, and as a basis of the oral delivery, the dissertation was printed in manifold copies for the occasion. This was the first print, and given the fact that dissertations were often printed in abundance and sent to

⁹ Carlquist 1951, p. 21.

¹⁰ Lindgärde 2011, p. 34.

¹¹ A *gynaeceum*, Greek for *women's chamber*, was a catalogue portraying the feats and persons of eminent women of letters. Otto Sperling's motive behind establishing contact with S.E. Brenner was to collect information on learned women from her, which he would use in the composition of his great *gynaeceum* (further see Göransson 2006; on *gynaecea* and Sperling's designs see Lindgärde 2011 p. 38, and Göransson 2006 p. 79.)

¹² Nils Gyldenstolpe was a family friend of the Brenner family, and they visited him at his mansion in Noor (Göransson 2006 p. 29); there could be a connection here.

universities in Sweden and abroad, there is no reason to believe that this was not the case on this occasion. This version, printed in octavo format, is found today at e.g. the University libraries of Lund, Gothenburg and Södertörn.¹³ Another version of the dissertation was printed the year after the disputation, in 1700, also in Uppsala. This time it was printed in quarto format. While the 1699 version has been the subject of scholarly attention among Swedish researchers, foreign scholars seem to employ the 1700 version more: it constitutes the basis for Gössmann's (1985) study, and is *Upsaliae recusum Anno 1700*, located at the City Library of Munich.¹⁴ This version has also been digitalised by Google Books,¹⁵ just as the 1699 version has been digitalised by the University Library of Södertörn.¹⁶ According to Gössmann, a third print was made in Wittenberg in 1701,¹⁷ but she does not use it and I have as yet been unable to locate it.

My own study is based on the 1699 version found at the *Humanistiska Biblioteket* of the Gothenburg University. At times, I have been occasioned to compare my text with another one; that text has invariably been the version digitalised by Södertörn University Library. The two texts are virtually identical, but sometimes a later hand has made corrections or other emendations in the prints. At such times, this is accounted for in the commentary.

The number of errors and differences of the 1700 version from the earlier edition is so great as to warrant a comprehensive critical apparatus if it should be covered, which the restrictions of time and space do not allow. That version, thus, however interesting, has not been taken into account in the present study.

1.3 The text

The disposition of the dissertation is as follows: the author first makes an exposition on the theme of reason, praising it as what defines being human. He then goes on to

¹³ There is no reason to believe that these are the only libraries to have the dissertation, however insufficient cataloguing makes a proper overview over the dissemination quite elusive.

¹⁴ Gössmann 1985 p. 267.

¹⁵ <http://books.google.se/books?id=S-hFAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=sv#v=onepage&q&f=false>

¹⁶ <http://bibl.sh.se/digitaliserat/material/page.aspx?r=UUEsb1095d2&p=1>

¹⁷ Gössmann 1985, p. 142.

make a transition between the theme of reason and that of philosophy, around which a major part of the dissertation revolves. Philosophy, Hedengrahn remarks, is a necessity for an existence in order.¹⁸ The next passage treats the scourges of the female sex,¹⁹ misogynists who inveigh against women striving for philosophy. Having discussed the differences and similarities between men and women with what might be called a more concrete approach than that necessitated by the discourse on reason and its applications in philosophy,²⁰ and discussed the futility of virtue if it is not used to incite others to be virtuous and reasonable as well,²¹ Hedengrahn observes that the world is for the most part constituted by people of lesser intelligence, and so that philosophy should not only appeal to the most intellectual minds, but also to the somewhat dimmer ones.

With such themes elaborated on as the importance of wealth, the advantage of celibacy and disadvantage of marriage for anyone who wants to philosophise successfully, Hedengrahn moves on to the part of his dissertation by which it is defined: the enumeration of learned and skilled women, making it a *gynaecium*. Hedengrahn refers to various women from Antiquity, the Middle ages and the Renaissance in order to substantiate his claim that numerous women have excelled in letters just as much as – or more than – men,²² lauding S.E. Brenner the most.

The rest of the dissertation – apart from a brief discussion on the utility of knowing languages as well as the importance of having a clear method– is a catalogue of sorts in which the various scientific or non-scientific disciplines or arts (eloquence, poetry, logic/dialectics, jurisprudence, politics, metaphysics, medicine etc.) are enumerated and eminent female practitioners of the various arts accounted for. This part of the dissertation, of course, is also representative of the epithet *gynaecium*, adducing such names as Agnodice, Sappho, Corinna, Aganice (Antiquity) and Hildegard of Bingen (the Middle Ages), etc.

In essence, the dissertation is a catalogue of women who have excelled in various disciplines, introduced by a philosophical exposition treating different aspects and applications of philosophy and reason.

¹⁸ Hedengrahn & Esberg 1699, p. 4.

¹⁹ *ibid.* pp. 6–8.

²⁰ *ibid.* p. 9.

²¹ *ibid.* pp. 10–13.

²² *ibid.* pp. 16–20.

1.4 Who was the author?

A question central to research on academic disputations and dissertations is who actually wrote them. Although the circumstances of this study do not allow a comprehensive discussion on the question of authorship,²³ I will make some remarks in the following.

The fact that the important part of a disputation was the oral delivery and not the written product made the latter virtually insignificant. Who actually held the pencil was irrelevant, as long as the respondent managed to put his skill in Latin oratory on proper display. Thus it is generally not possible to know for sure who wrote the dissertations, as much previous research as suggested.²⁴

Usually, dissertations would reflect the teachings and thoughts of whoever was the presiding professor²⁵ and any general ideas that may have been prevalent at the time, but in the context of this dissertation there are some things that could be taken to suggest that this was not entirely the case: while some of the philosophical discussions are probably based on Esberg's lectures, the passages about and information on women have probably been derived from somewhere else, evidently in part from the letter from Brenner, printed with the dissertation; when discussing e.g. the utility of languages,²⁶ Hedengrahn quotes Anna Maria van Schurman, and in the context of what constitutes the difference between men and women, he quotes Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim.²⁷ There can be no question, thus, that S.E. Brenner was involved in the composition of the dissertation²⁸ (to what extent she was involved is not clear), and what is also very probable is that she provided Hedengrahn with literature for his work: we know that Aegidius Menagius' *Historia Mulierum Philosopharum* was part of the Brenner family library,²⁹ and it is of course a ready assumption that Brenner lent it to Hedengrahn.

²³ For a more detailed discussion on authorship and dissertational writing in Sweden, see e.g. Sjökvist 2012 pp. 22–25; Östlund 2000, pp. 14–18; Lindroth 1975, p. 32.

²⁴ Sjökvist 2012, p. 22.

²⁵ Lindroth 1975, p. 32.

²⁶ Hedengrahn & Esberg 1699, p. 20.

²⁷ *ibid.* p. 9.

²⁸ cf. Lindgärde 2011, p. 34.

²⁹ Lindgärde 2009, Introduction p. 35.

Moreover, judging by what sort of dissertations Esberg presided over,³⁰ he does not seem to have been involved in the debate about women to any great extent. While naturally not proving anything, this may suggest that Hedengrahn was indeed the one to hold the pen. For this reason, and for the sake of convenience, we shall henceforth refer to Hedengrahn as the author of the dissertation.

1.5 The system of references, quotations and allusions in the dissertation

Even if Hedengrahn was the one to hold the pen, it is difficult to determine how much of the dissertation was the product of his own ideas, and how much was the product of prevalent notions and opinions at the time. The fact that the written product was of minor importance in the context of disputations made for much larger-scale unreferenced borrowing: since no one was expected to pay any attention to the dissertation in the capacity of anything other than the basis for the oral disputation, authors were free to make references, allusions and quotations rather arbitrarily.³¹ In order to understand the dissertation in the context of contemporary usage of references and quotations, some general remarks are in order (this section will briefly cover the usage of references, allusions and quotations; often, however, allusions and references are closely intertwined and are thus treated together, with Benner & Tengström as model).³²

Benner & Tengström observe that there are two types of references, *viz.* explicit and implicit ones.³³ Where an explicit reference has been employed, the author of a dissertation will often source the name of the author referred to, the name of the work or the page number; sometimes all of them, sometimes one. Hedengrahn's usage with references concurs with this convention in that he will sometimes render just the name of a work and sometimes both the name of the author and the work. By ending a reference or allusion with a letter in brackets and duplicating it at the bottom of the page connected with the source cited, Hedengrahn makes frequent use of explicit references.

³⁰ A limited selection of dissertations over which he presided is found on Google Books: <https://www.google.se/search?hl=sv&tbo=p&tbm=bks&q=inauthor:%22Johan+Esberg%22>

³¹ Benner & Tengström 1977 p. 28.

³² *ibid.*, pp. 29–34.

³³ *ibid.* p. 29.

Implicit references are allusions, the source of which is not cited. Hedengrahn is highly illustrative of this convention as well, making implicit allusions to e.g. Descartes,³⁴ Agrippa von Nettesheim,³⁵ and Anna Maria van Schurman,³⁶ and Cicero.³⁷

In rendering the sources for quotations, Hedengrahn makes use of the bracketed letters as well. Sometimes he introduces the quotation by stating that what comes next are the words of another author,³⁸ and sometimes he does not indicate any source at all.³⁹ Any cited quotations of which he makes use are rendered in italics, but not all italicised quotations are cited,⁴⁰ and not all uncited quotations italicised.⁴¹

Furthermore, when using quotations, authors would often conform the structure of the quotation to the grammatical environment of the sentence in which it is used, i.e. change the syntactical structure to make for grammatical harmony. Thus it may be more justly termed a paraphrase than a quotation; for an exhaustive account of the differences between quotations and paraphrases in the context of dissertational and other forms of scholarly writing, see Benner & Tengström.⁴²

In essence, Hedengrahn is generally representative of the conventions outlined by Benner & Tengström, but lacks consistency in his use of references and quotations.

1.6 Some general remarks and concessions

In writing the commentary, it has been my intention only to cover and elucidate explicit references, e.g. personal names, literary works, italicised quotations/paraphrases, etc. Occasionally, however, I have managed to track an implicit reference, often an unsourced allusion to contemporary or earlier literature or authors; at such instances, these have also been accounted for in the commentary. A

³⁴ Hedengrahn & Esberg 1699, p. 3.

³⁵ *ibid.* p. 9.

³⁶ *ibid.* p. 20.

³⁷ *ibid.* p. 6.

³⁸ *ibid.* p. 5.

³⁹ *ibid.* p. 4.

⁴⁰ e.g. *ibid.* p. 12.

⁴¹ e.g. the discussion on languages on p. 20.

⁴² Benner & Tengström 1977, pp. 32–40.

philological commentary treating syntax, orthography etc., which is customary in the context of critical editions of dissertations, is not featured.

Although *philosophy* has a more limited semantic scope today than it did in the Renaissance, I have consistently translated *philosophia* with *philosophy*. Sometimes *philosophia* is used to denote an *aspiring for wisdom*, *wisdom*, and sometime it more closely corresponds with the modern meaning. All instances have been translated with *philosophy*. The same is true of other disciplines; *disciplina politica* may sometimes be understood more as political science than politics in the modern sense of the word, but is translated with *politics* all the same, just like *disciplina oeconomica*, although in many senses different from today in terms of meaning, is translated with *economics*.

The numbers found next to the entries in the commentary indicate on what page the entries occur according to Hedengrahn's original pagination, which has been rendered in brackets in the text.

Since the translation and commentary has grown more extensive than I might have first designed, the introduction has been kept purposely brief; where a more thorough discussion has been warranted, I have referred to other works dealing with matters at greater length.

Internet sourcing has been conducted almost exclusively either by reading old works that have been digitalised, and would otherwise have been difficult to obtain (this being the case, the reader will notice a rather frequent use of Google Books in the bibliography), or by accessing established original texts and translations (often from a Loeb edition) rendered in a context that I have deemed trustworthy.

I am greatly indebted to Prof. Gunhild Vidén for patient supervision and to Ph.D. Mikael Johansson for invaluable advice in managing the Greek passages in the dissertation.

1.7 Some editorial principles

- Discrepancies in spacing and punctuation found in the original text have been normalised, and conformed to modern spacing conventions. Any redundant double spaces have been changed to single spaces, any spaces between commas or periods and their preceding word have been eliminated. Recurrent double spacing after commas has been rectified throughout without remark.

- Unconventional or obsolete choices of punctuation mark, e.g. comma before a block quote, have been modified to conform with a more conventional alternative, e.g. colon.
- Ampersands have been changed into *et* throughout without remark, and the ligatures æ and œ have been changed into *ae* and *oe* respectively; the enclitic -q for *que* has been expanded, as has the *linea nasalis* denoting *m* or *n*. The contraction -b for -bus has been expanded etc.
- Instances of black letter print used in the original text have been rendered in italics in the present edition. If there should be found an instance of italics in the original text next to a name in black letter print, the former will be rendered in small capitals. Italicised quotations in the original text are also italicised in the edition.
- Capital letters where none are needed have been changed to lower case letters. However, capitalised pronouns such as *Tuae*, or names, remain intact. That is to say, capital letters after e.g. colon, (a typographical renaissance convention) have been normalised; in instances where the capital letters give emphasis, or denote an emphasised entity, e.g. *Mathematica*, the capital letter has been left untouched.
- Catchwords and signature marks have been deleted.
- Obvious orthographical mistakes or misprints, such as *fellicitate* for *felicitate* (letter from Brenner), *geuus* for *genus* (p. 11), *negotiornm* for *negotiorum* (p. 15) are corrected without remark; however, should a word differ in spelling between the two versions in Gothenburg and Södertörn, this has been accounted for in the commentary.
- Any diacritical marks in the original text have been kept intact.
- Abbreviations occurring in the original text have been generally expanded, except for personal names etc.

2. The Latin text

2.1 Title, dedications and dedicatory poems

Quod Felix Faustumque Sit

EXERCITIUM ACADEMICUM

MULIERES

PHILOSOPHANTES

Leviter adumbrans,

Indultu Amplissimae Facultatis Philosophicae

in Illustri Upsaliensi Academia

Sub PRAESIDIO

Viri Summè Reverendi Amplissimique

Domini JOHANNIS ESBERGII

Sacrosanctae Theologiae Doctoris et Graecarum Litterarum Professoris

Celeberrimi, Pastoris Primarii in *Almunge* meri-

tissimi, vigilantissimi,

In Auditorio Gustaviano Majori ad diem 29 Martii Anno 1699.

Publicae censurae

modeste submittit

PETRUS *HEDENGRAHN*

Dahlekarlus.

Sacrae Regiae Majestatis

Summae Fidei Viro

Senatori et Consiliario Magno

Nec non

Academiae Carolinae Londensis

Cancellario

ILLUSTRISSIMO EXCELLENTISSIMOQUE

Domino NICOLAO

GYLDENSTOLPE/

Comiti de *Segersta* / Domino de

Noor / Lidingenäs / Säby et Kijfsta

Moecenati Maximo.

EXcellens Heliconis Apex, et nobile Lumen

Inter Hyperborei splendida sidera mundi,

GYLDENSTOLPE COMES Tornaevi gloria,

Pindi,

Carolidumque; Decus, Spes et Tutela Dearum,

Quod *statuae* Vestrae mea jam proserpat ad *aurum*

Cernua, quaerat ibi firmum et reverentia *fulcrum*,

Da veniam: Ter magne Heros, stirpisque Patrone

Hedengrahniacae, prima haec molimina nostri

Ingenii, nec adhuc maturo robore fulta

Suscipe ut ingenuum faetum partumque benignus!

Sic vestram facient gemmis radiare *Columnam*

Pierides, sexusque sui pensabit honores

Cantibus, et nunquam moriturâ laude Thalia.

P.H

Sacrae Regiae Majestatis

Magnae fidei Viro

PERILLUSTRI ET GENEROSISSIMO

DOMINO

GUSTAVO

HEIDENFELDT /

Tribuno militum, qui ad Crone-
borgiam sunt, maximè strenuo,

Patrono propensissimo

HEIDENFELDT fulmen belli, telumque minantis

Palladis, *Hedenae* Gloria Prima *Morae*:

Te tuus hoc vili compello munere alumnus,

Ipsam materies sed superabit opus,

Scilicet haec generi quae sit vis indita monstrat

Femineo, et quantum roboris illud habet,

Musarum in coetu, doctae castrisque Minervae

Atque ubi purgatis regnat Apollo locis.

Ergo formosae, vultu fulgente puellae

Armatis tantum si placuere viris,

Has ut consertis emerent per praelia dextris,

Formosae mentis gratia major erit.

P.H

ILLUSTRI AC NOBILISSIMAE
MATRONAE

Dn. SOPHIAE ELIS.
BRENNER

Virtutis, Pietatis ac Eruditionis Cinno
suique sexus ornamento in-
comparabili.

Sveciae nostrae speciosa Stella,
Cura cui quondam tenerae Deorum
Nomen imponit validum SOPHIAE,
Et simul omen.
Quâ cluet BRENNER similis Maritâ
Vel Jovi, multum cui cesseritque
Magna Gracchorum Genitrix, et ipsa
Lesbia Sappho.

Te Puellarum Decus et Minervae
Filiam recte vocat agmen omne
Eruditorum; Tibiserta nectit
Pulcer Apollo.

Ergo quas vestro generi Camoenae
Jure decernunt meliore laudes,
Hisce Te inprimis, reliquas et ante
Pindus Honorat.

2.2 The Letter

Eximio Juveni

P. HEDENGRAHN

S.P.D. SOPHIA ELIS. BRENNER.

Nimis raro, ut verum fatear, haec mihi contingit felicitas, quod pro arbitrio, aut ea qua optarem tranquillitate, ut non dicam studiis incumbere sed ad Amicorum literas responsa saltem dare, crebra sustineat occupatio; rebus enim oeconomicis implicita aliisque quamplurimis intenta, ea quae studiorum respectu pro nugis habeo ipsis antepondere cogor studiis. Cave igitur existimes, Humanissime Domine, oblivione vel quadam incuria factum esse, si tardius respondeo ad literas tuas tam insigniter urbanas, quam pro expectatione fortasse tua; nec credas velim has ulla ratione mihi oneri fuisse, quae non nisi studii in me tui, niveique candoris veniebant testes, tantum enim abest, ut temeritatis eas damnem, quin potius quam gratissimas illas mihi fuisse publice declarem. Institutum illud tuum, quod praecipua nostrae sexus literaria decora, in quadam quasi tabella depicta, orbi exponet literato, non mediocri sane voluptate, animum perfudit meum, nam ut verbis utar Flacci: [2]

Paulum sepultae distat inertiae celata virtus.

Tibi autem, Ornatissime Domine, non dissimulare velim culpam meae in rescribendo morae maxime in eo residisse, quod dubia haeserim, an hanc quam mihi imponis partem susciperem nec ne, tantum enim mihi non sumo, ut vel tuo vel aliorum acrioris iudicii virorum desiderio me satisfacturam confidam. Verum, dum animum meum subeant quaedam, meo quidem suffragio me ipsa longe praestantiores, cum Foeminae tum Virgines, quarum domi forisque vel inclaruit vel inclarescere desiit fama, illas mihi viderer afficere injuria si tam docta et venerabilia tibi significare nomina defugerem; Tuae itaque petitioni concedens, praetermissis Duabus Catharinis quarum

Celeberrimus Schefferus *in sua commemorat* Svecia Literata, *initium sumere constitui a doctissimis Virginibus* Vendela et Anna Skytte, Illustri et incomparabili Heroë, Regnique Senatore, Domine Joh. Skytte *quam dignissimis filiabus, et licet longo temporis intervallo, vel potius eorum negligentia, quorum interesset, omnia interciderint tam cultorum ingeniorum monumenta assertioni meae fidem factura, Testimonium tamen profectuum, quos illae in lingua praesertim Romana fecerint omni quidem ut arbitror exceptione majus suppeditant Tabellae Testamentariae excellentissimi Patris sui. Harum Tabellarum, quas ipsa servo Archetypas, ad te transmitto exemplar* [3], *ut tanquam doctrinae non vulgaris dudum comparatae praemium, uberiusque adhuc parandae instinctum Filiabus suis jam memoratis eandem cum Filiis bonorum mobilium partitionem à Patre legatam fuisse, inde perspicies. Quo illae tempore vixerint dicere supersedeo, cum nemini non constet quo tempore inclytus suus vixerit Pater, cujus in Regem omnium Maximum, Gustavum Adolphum, et Reginam omnis memoriae Eruditissimam Christinam Patriamque hanc nostram, et inprimis vestrum illud Upsaliense Athenaeum ingentia merita nulla unquam tacebit aetas.*

Ebba Maria de la Gardie, Illustris Herois Ponti Frid. de la Gardie *filia natu major, quotiescunque pangendis operam dabat carminibus Patrii, Gallici, Germanici aut Belgici idiomatis, tanta felicitate, ut inter Elegantissimas Poetrias non imum obtinuerit locum. Meditationes insuper quasdam composuit sacras sermone Germanico, opus prelo paratum, quod ante biennium, menses propemodum duos beatum ipsius obitum praecedentes, ipsa mihi monstravit. Maria Aurora Königsmark, nec generis splendore, nec linguarum peritia, nec carminum facilitate alteri cedit, et adhuc apud exteros vitali vescitur aura.*

Quanti Vir Excellentissimus Ottho Sperling Luitzoviam Danicam et Piscopiam Cornaram Italam [4], *foeminas ob editos in lucem doctissimos ingeniorum foetus, faciat, ex adjunctis illius quas ad me dedit literis, quarumque exemplar tibi non invidebo, facillime judicabis. Sic et Gallia suas habet Fabras Scüderias et nonnullas alias, quarum gloria jamdudum et tibi et universo orbi patuisse erudito non ignoro. Illustri huic ordini adnumerandas puto antiquissimas patriae poetrias vulgo Skaldmoer dictas, quarum apud vetustissimos septentrionis Historicos crebra occurrit mentio.*

Habes hic, Humanissime Domine, quantum de nominibus ac studiis Eruditarum hujus nostri aevi Foeminarum, mihi innotuit. Caeterum si laudatissimo hoc tuo

*proposito orbem illustrare pergeris literarium, non modo de primariis hujus sexus
ingeniis, sed de toto etiam Aonidum choro te optime meritum nemo non agnoscet.
Plura me scribere cum non sinat temporis angustia; valere te quam optime jubeo.*

Dabam Stockh. die 3 Martii

Anno 1699.

2.3 The dissertation

Beneficia, quae Deus immortalis largâ manu generi humano dedit clementissimeque concessit, tot et tanta sunt, ut ea paulò altius ac accuratius rimantem in admirationem sui rapiant. Tam illustria enim sunt, ampla ac conspicua beneficiorum divinorum documenta, ut ad perfectissimi auctoris notitiam et venerationem omnes mortales, imprimis adultos et rationis insitam lucem non supinâ negligentia ac socordia, aut propria malitia et caligine sponte inductâ, aut inveteratâ Deastrorum opinione suffocantes, sine ullo errore oppidò perducerent. Nam, ut omittam elegantem illam structuram, omnibusque numeris absolutam humani corporis machinam, subtilissimamque omnium membrorum et partium descriptionem, ad totius naturae [2] non modo incolumitatem, verum etiam dignitatem, decus ac ornamentum comparatam, de qua sibi prae reliquis animantibus etiam gratulari potest.

Ut silentio quoque involvam satis amplum illud hominis in animalia bruta, *Et quidquid natum tellus habet aër et unda,* dominium, quod concreatae imaginis divinae, eheu jam nostrâ culpâ amissae et deperditae, umbram et indicem appellant. Ut etiam sicco transeam pede alia vitae humanae compendia et emolumenta, quae tam longè lateque se porrigunt atque extendunt, ut ea non modo dicendo persequi, verum etiam cogitando complecti facultatem superet humanam. Ex innumeris unicum tantum, quod inter multa excellit et in natura humana principatum obtinet, attingam, rectam scilicet Rationem, quâ homines à reliquis omnibus non tantum animantibus et plantis, sed quâ benè usi etiam à rudi et imperito hominum vulgo ita discernuntur, ut tamquam Dii quidam in terris splendescere videantur. *Hac anteceditur animalia, Deos sequimur, cetera nobis cum animalibus,* (ut Senecae [a]¹ verba [3] nostra nunc faciamus) *satisque communia sunt.* Per hanc solam homines sumus; haec est cujus ope et praesidio verum à falso, dubium à certo, bonum à malò, honestum à turpi benè distingues, de rebus incorruptè judicabis, nec caeco, ut reliqua animalia, fereris instinctu.

¹ [a] *Ep.* 77.

Mirari tamen subit stolidum profectò hominum genus, quod, ratione licet praeditum, ductum tamen rationis sequi recuset, sensuum vero libidini prompta ministeria animae pariter ac corporis turpiter subiciat, praebet atque accommodet. Non sufficit itaque ratione pollere, verum et rectè uti palmarium est. Quippe datâ non uti atque ex naturae servitute denegatâ carere, meo quidem iudicio, pari [quod dicitur] passu ambulant. Norma autem et amussis, ad quam actiones humanae dirigendae et veluti ad trutinam examinandae veniunt, Ratio est; non indotata ac orba, non fluctuans et vaga, non agrestis ac horrida, non ignorantiae situ et squalore inquinata ac obruta, sed Philosophiae praeceptis imbuta et saluberrimis ejus institutis excolta, confirmata ac tersa, sine qua tota vita nostra haud secus ac navis sine gubernatore et [4] clavo, in alto vexata naufragio. Ita haec, remotâ Philosophiâ, appetendorum et fugiendorum indice, immo omnis fortunae nostrae moderatrice, reginâ et magistrâ dexterrimâ et augustissimâ, exitio proxima futura erit. *Sine hac neminem posse beatè, ne tolerabiliter quidem vivere, rectè docet Seneca.* [b]² Ut enim Dei munus est quod vivimus, quin Philosophiae, nobiscum etiam singulari Dei beneficio communicatae, quod benè vivimus, acceptum sit referendum, nemo dubitet. Sine hac nihil rectè atque ordine in hominum vita fiet, nulla monarchia aut respublica consistet. Hinc quoque vox illa Platonis dicentis *tum demum beatas fore respublicas, si aut reges philosopharentur, aut philosophi regnarent* nobis vehementer probatur. Haec ipsa dux vitae ad brevis hujus et calamitosi aevi curriculum minore cum molestiâ et sollicitudine atque etiam tutius et honestius conficiendum instructiores reddit.

Cum ergo diu vivere nobis sit denegatum, ne otio, *quod sine literis mors est et hominis vivi sepultura*, [c]³ nec vano ac inutili labore et negotio vitam moremur [5] sollicitè providebimus. Multos autem corporis exercitiis nimium vacare, potiosem autem sui partem ejusque exercitium negligere dolendum est. Praeter eos, qui hoc utpote nullius usus planè aspernantur, sunt etiam alii qui naturam tamquam illiberalem, parcam, duram et iniquam novercam, sibi eum perfectionis gradum, ad quem definitâ animi moderatione adspirare ac contendere debent, invidentem accusant. Cum tamen *naturae*, qualis in hac misera statione haberi potest, salvae et integrae *nihil difficile* Seneca, [d]⁴ et *nihil tam difficile esse, quin quaerendo*

² [b] *Ep. 16.*

³ [c] *Sen. Ep. 83*

⁴ [d] *Nat. Qu. l. 3. ç. 27.*

investigari possit Terentius [e]⁵ assertum iverint. Non equidem nescii sumus studium Philosophiae, quàm jucundum et utile, tam etiam saepiuscule arduum, molestum et difficile occurrere etiam praeclarissimis et summis ingeniis; et ut rosa non absque punctionis vindicta decerpitur, ita nec veritatem perplexis ac spinosis quaestionum integumentis aculeisque inclusam circumseptamque investigari, investigatam explicari ac erui, erutamque ad usum in vita civili commodè, aptè ac tempestivè referri et [6] adhiberi sine multis exantlatis laboribus ac aerumnis. Tamen multos ad veritatem et sapientiam pervenire posse certum est, nisi vel falsâ opinione delusi eò se pervenisse existimassent, vel laborum fugâ, socordiâ ac ignaviâ turpi aditum accessumque sibi ipsis praeclusissent. Certum et hoc à multis non posse falsò praetendi; non velle verè in causa esse.

Insipienter hos non tantum, quod hanc animi culturam ejusque medicinam, virtutis indagatricem vitiorumque expultricem turpiter aspernentur ac repudient, sed etiam malitiosè fecisse quod quo ipsi ire nolint nec alios homines patiantur venire, ei, cui rem penitus examinare volupe fuerit, in propatulo erit. Ipsi philosophari non placet, feminas philosophandi desiderio flagrantes à sacrario Minervae iniquè arcent, et fustibus quasi ac telis repellendas censent; etiam [quod miraberis] nonnulli eorum, qui haud postremum in eruditorum subsellis locum occupant atque tuentur. Nec hoc solum, verum etiam honestissimum sexum contumeliis ac convitiis, criminibus ac injuriis detestandis onerant atque proscindunt, et hoc suo improbo [7] sugillandi studio Dei hujus universi conditoris sapientissimi majestatem laedunt, violant atque offendunt. Horum numero accensendus est Simonides, qui Deum ex hispidis suis setis et exuviis sordidam et squalidam, è callida et versuta vulpe fallacem et infidam, è cane cunctis oblatrantem, è terra inutile marito onus, καὶ ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης, è mari huc illucque fluctuantem, è cinere et asina noctem diemque se cibis ingurgitantem, et cuicumque promiscuè advenienti ad libidinem et incestum paratam ac promptam, è mustela infelicem et formâ miseram, ex aqua labores fugitantem, pulchrum ceteris, marito miserum spectaculum, è simia monstrum deforme, quo pestilentius malum nullum, produxisse mulierem impiè et furiosè vociferatur. Cujus carmina Graeca, si minus essent prolixa, hic adponerem.

Eodem loco habendi sunt, qui opprobriorum in imbelles et innoxias damas conjectorum auctores dicaces ac criminosos elogiis ornant, et tamquam veridicos

⁵ [e] *Heaut. Act. IV. Sc. 1*

vates probant, laudant atque commendant; cujus rei exemplum apud Aristoph. [f]⁶ occurrit, ubi Eurpides ita laudatur: [8]

οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνὴρ Εὐριπίδου σοφώτερος ποιητής:
οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω θρέμμ' ἀναιδές ἐστίν ὡς γυναῖκες
Jam nullus est Euripide praestantior poëta,
Qui feminis nil censet impudentius per orbem.

Hunc autem a Clem. Alexandrino [g]⁷ propterea malè, uti meruit exceptum et mulctatum videre licet. His adjungendi sunt et illi, qui cum sibi utpote sublestae auctoritatis scurris parum inesse putarent praesidii, ad fidem maledictis faciendam amentatas aliorum hastas suae oratoriae facultatis lacertis vibrant ac torquent; inter quos facilè principem locum obtinet Caspar Ens, [h]⁸ qui in sua Morosophia secutus vestigia Antonii Mariae Itali, communi Italis furore in sexum feminineum invehi ac debacchari didicit, in malè dicendi et convitiandi societatem ac suspicionem etiam vocans eos, qui de verbis malevolo convitiatori commodandis ne per febrim quidem potuerant suspicari, quod Eusebii locum dicis causa allegatum requirenti πρὸς ὄμμα apparebit. Hos tamen omnes calumniandi assiduitate si non vincat, certe exaequat auctor impii illius scripti, quo mulieres homines non esse frustra tamen [9] contendit. Cujus sententia quàm labili caduco et ficulneo fulciatur tibicine cum ab aliis jam dudum monstratum sit, ne actum [quod dicunt] agamus, refellendi labore supersedemus.

Est enim mulier omnium saniorum hominum consensu Homo aequae ac vir. Quorum sexuum discretio non nisi situ partium corporis, in quibus usus generandi diversitatem requirebat, differente constat. Eadem est ipsis animae forma, eadem rerum percipiendarum adminicula et instrumenta, iidem ministri, satellites ac scientiarum parandarum nuntii, quinque scilicet sensus, eadem phantasiae, memoriae sensusque communis ratio; idem ad disciplinas aditus, idem boni appetitus et veri indagandi desiderium, idem sermo, idem denique ad quem tendunt beatitudinis finis. Nisi itaque tot naturae eximia dona, quae cum viris communia habent, frustra mulieribus concessa esse dixeris, fateberis necesse est non minus eas ad veri

⁶ [f] in *Lysistr*

⁷ [g] *Strom. lib. IV.*

⁸ [h] *lib. I. c. 9*

inquirendi et boni indispicendi studium invitari atque impelli, et adhibitâ industriâ non magis eas quam viros cupitâ fraudari sapientiâ. Ut nunc taceam primae omnium viventium [10] matris, Reginae mundi, materiam et locum creationis itemque nomen et plurima alia, quibus mulieres virorum excellentiam assequi, si non vincere posse videntur. Non igitur liquet qua ratione et quo jure quidam colum et acum tractare satis amplum esse feminis Lycaeam atque theatrum arbitrentur, hosque limites ultra quos non progrediantur, οὐρανόθεν quasi praescriptos esse asserant. Plerasque enim feminas ab artibus seriis abhorrere non ingenii aut judicii fieri defectu, sed quod animum ad eas adplicare nolint, vel non liceat per humiliores occupationes, documento nobis sunt multae, quae in literis tantos fecere progressus, ut ab illis viri non pauci – tales praesertim, qui studia potius profitentur quàm seriò colunt ac sectantur – inertiae argui inque ruborem dari possint.

Quod gravissimus Thucydides primam ei tribuat laudem feminae ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ψόγου πέρι ἢ ἐπαίνου λόγος, ἀρίστην ἀποφαίνεται, καθάπερ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τοῦνομα τῆς ἀγαθῆς γυναικὸς οἰόμενος δεῖν κατάκλειστον εἶναι καὶ ἀνέξοδον, *de quâ minimus est vel in bonam vel in malam partem sermo; censens nimirum ut corpus ita famam quoque bonae mulieris [11] domi inclusam esse, neque in publicum exire debere*, auctor est Plutarchus. [i]⁹ Ipsi autem prudentissimo philosopho, κομψότερος μὲν ὁ Γοργίας φαίνεται, κελεύων μὴ τὸ εἶδος ἀλλὰ τὴν δόξαν εἶναι πολλοῖς γνώριμον τῆς γυναικὸς *Elegantior videtur Gorgias, qui mulieris non formam sed famam vult multis esse notam*, quaequidem sententia etiam nobis potior videtur.

Vetus est inter eruditos controversia, utrum latenter et occultè vivendo obscuritatem, an benè agendo aeternitatem nominis praestet quaerere ac sectari. Plutarchus etiam priori sententiae adstipulantes – hortando ad obscuritatem nominis iniquâ ratione gloriam captare – nec latere velle censet. Quippe jactantiae genus est juxta Senecam [k]¹⁰ *nimis latere et à conspectu hominum discedere*. Ipsa quoque vita, et quod homines simus nati, ad innotescendum divinitus nobis obtigisse videtur; quique se ipsum in obscuritatem conjicit ac tenebris involvit, ipsum ortum suum fastidire, et quod extiterit iniquè ferre, non malè suspicatur Philosophus. Neminem enim tam abjectum esse, qui dulcedine gloriae non tangatur [12], non falsò mihi persuaserim. Haec enim ad laborem intrepidè, studiaque indefessà curâ capessenda homines allicit et impellit. Et quò quis generosioris et majoris animi est, eo

⁹ [i] *De virt. Mul.*

¹⁰ [k] *Ep. 69.*

flagrantiori laudis ac gloriae desiderio teneri certum est. *Sectantur hanc aequè ignavus ac bonus; hic verâ viâ, ille, quoniam bonae artes desunt, dolis et fallaciis.* Tantum ergo esse levitatis justam gloriam fructum videlicet virtutis honestissimum repudiare, quantum inanem aucupari rumorem et omnes umbras etiam falsae gloriae consecrari, crediderim. Cui adest virtus, cur vult inutilis esse? Et exemplo ad honestam aemulationem, cui artes pleraeque incrementa magna debent, alios non incitare et incendere?

Eadem est haec ratio mulieris ac viri, hic cum latere non debeat, nec illi gloriam virtute et labore parandam quaerere quis invidet. A majoribus accepta fama frustra jactatur, siquidem eam ignava mox involvit obscuritas, adeò ut ejus monumenta non magis quam navis per undas maris transeuntis vestigia comparent. Immortalitatem autem veramque gloriam ipsi pariet [13] otium scientiarum et Philosophiae lumine illustratum, ad quam pervenire haud minimi erit laboris. Hanc Philosophiam tamquam proprium et universale hominis bonum seu ornamentum, [scripturam sacram semper excipimus, utpote quam omnibus utilissimam et maximè necessariam convenire extra controversiam sit] mulieri quoque convenire, et ab ea addisci posse credimus. Ratione tamen optimè habitâ dignitatis cujusque scientiae et artis; habitâ etiam ratione captus inclinationis et fortis muliebris. Non aequè enim una ac altera Philosophiae pars ipsi usui et decori est. Palmarias itaque et maximè ei convenientes illas censemus, quae Theologiae et virtutum moralium ambitu continentur. Nec sunt mulieres, ut nec viri, ejusdem ingenii et capacitatis; aliae enim sunt stupidae magis, aliae magis ingeniosae, aliae etiam vel naturae vitio vel propriâ culpâ prorsus ineptae. Has omninò improbamus, illas etiam mediocriter tantum ingenii [orbem quippe literatum maximam partem mediocriter doctis constitui videmus] et ad discendum paulò aptiores Philosophiae admotas volumus, eaque [14] fortunae adminiculis sublevatas ac instructas, ut inoffenso pede ad scientiarum fastigium ac apicem contendere valeant. Quibus enim obstat res angusta domi feliciter philosophari nequeunt. Quid enim generosi poterit sapere, quae cottidiani victus penuriâ premitur? Literarum itaque et eruditionis viaticum sunt divitiae. Hanc quoque ob causam Aegyptios eruditionem suâ linguâ SBO, i.e. sufficiens alimentum quod scilicet soli divites artibus vacare debeant liberalibus, vocâsse suspicari licebit. [1]¹¹ Si enim pauperes illae ad Philosophiam

¹¹ [1] Maussac. in jud. de Plut.

mediis, quibus ad eam feliciter tenderent, destitutae adspirarent, bonum finem malis mediis, virtutem vitio, Philosophiam scilicet turpi quaestu saepius captarent, cujus rei nec desunt exempla.

Optimè ergo cum iis agi credam, quibus de parentibus sibi gratulari datur, qui eas et velint et possint erudire sive ipsi, sive per alios virtute et sapientiâ inclitos. Nec idem ad studia omnibus concessum est otium, nec paucas cura domestica et rei familiaris procuratio moratur; oportet itaque virgines in [15] puerili aetate ab hac curâ paulò liberiores esse – ita tamen, ut nec exercitia reliqua, manuum puta operationes, quas quoque suam laudem et dignitatem manere cupimus, prorsus negligant atque deponant. Adultis autem et provectoribus caelibem vitam, vel quibus familia contigit ancillarum ministerium non parum conducere existimamus; quomodo enim, quae rebus domesticis animum semper habent intentum, literis dignè invigilabunt?

Caelibum quasi caelitum vitam rectè nesciò quis dixit. Hanc optimam esse, nihilque libero lectulo beatius, si modo continentiae dona adsint, non malè dicitur. Collationem inter caelibem instituas et conjugatam vitam et ultra alteri sit praeferenda, et quâ ad Philosophiam melius tendas, protinus videbis. Menti itaque Taciti, [m]¹² quem alioqui, uti par est, magnificimus et veneramus, *matrimonium ad majora nitenti decus et robur fuisse*, asserentis, si minus faciles accesserimus, nemo mirabitur. De magnitudine familiae, ad negotiorum expediendorum commoditatem paratae, si ea intellexerit, facilè inter nos conveniet; sin [16] minus, aegrius accedimus. Sententiam nostram comprobant veteres philosophi, quos vincula nuptiarum ut verè compedes quasdam liberae et sese efferentis mentis abhoruisse accepimus. Non tamen hic damnamus [quod absit] aut improbamus, quod divinâ, naturali et civili lege probatum mandatumque novimus conjugium puto, sine quo humanum genus consistere et ab interitu vindicari non posse omnes scimus; nec universè omnibus, sed strictius sapienti ac ad Philosophiam tendenti caelibatum, modo ei honestè imperare possit, commendare nitimur.

Exempla autem earum, quae literis et Philosophiae tempus feliciter impenderunt tot sunt, ut copia ab iis recensendis me absterreat. Pauca tamen adduxisse operae pretium fuerit, ut ex iis adpareat sexus muliebris ad quascunque disciplinas rectè percipiendas prona facultas, et quam se cunq̄ue in partem dederant omnia consecutas fuisse simul ac studium industriamque adhibere voluerint. Theano Brontini

¹² [m] Lips. Cent. IV.misc.Ep. 23

Crotiniatae uxor, quam primam ex muliebris philosophatam poëmata [17] scripsisse volunt, [n]¹³ egregios satis in literis, praecipuè in Philosophiâ Pythagoricâ fecit progressus. Fuit et alia Theano uxor Pythagorae, quam commentarios quosdam philosophicos, Apophtegmata item et poëmata heroico carmine scripsisse legimus. Aspasiâ Milesiam ob sapientiam civilemque disciplinam summo studio à Pericle, (quem ad Rhetoricam eâ usum fuisse vult Cl.Alex [o]¹⁴) observatam fuisse, et quod etiam Socrates eam in Philosophiâ magistrâ habuerit, relatum legimus [p]¹⁵; necessitudinem autem hanc Periclis cum Aspasiâ, amatoriam magis censet Plutarchus. Lascheniam Mantineam, sive ut Athenaeus [q]¹⁶, Lastheneiam Arcadicam, et Axiotheam Phlasiâ, quam et virilem habitum induisse ferunt, philosophiae Platonicae vacasse, nec vigilias frustra locasse legimus. Aretam illam Aristippi filiam in literis nec operam perdidisse satis testatur Aristippus ille μητροδίδακτος. Eumetidem, de patris Cleobuli unius septem Graeciae sapientum [18] nomine Cleobulinam vulgò dictam, praeter aenigmata, quae hexametro versu conscripsit, etiam altitudine prorsus mirabili, ingenioque civili et humano fuisse, atque ut humanius civibus imperaret pater eam suâ institutione effecisse testis est Thales. [r]¹⁷

Gilbertam tantum literis valuisse, ut sexum mentita ad summi pontificatus apicem conscendere ausa fuerit, res est notior quam ut me interprete egeat. Mariae Gornacensium illius decoris nobilissimi lectiones, ingenium, prudentiam et iudicium ita miratus est Lipsius [s]¹⁸, ut ad suam sui que sexus doctrinam eam accessisse et supra eos ascendisse quasi aegrè tulerit. Reginae quondam Suecorum Serenissimae Christinae summam et in omni parte propè absolutam doctrinam et eruditionem, in religionis tamen negotio claudicantem, quippe seculo nostro notissimam tacitâ admiratione meritò veneramur. Elisabethae Angliae Reginae incomparabilis eruditionem linguis multis ornatam non sola jactat Anglia, latius enim ejus fama vagata [19] toti dudum innotuit orbi. Quantum quoque literis valuerint Perillustris Dn. Johannis Skytte maximi parentis filiae minimè degeneres Vendela et Anna, ipse probatissimus est testis, quod parem, praeter morem, illis cum filiis assignaverit bonorum mobilium partem. Anna Maria à Schurman eò demum processit doctrinae, ut

¹³ [n] *Cl. Alex. lib. I. Strom*

¹⁴ [o] *Lib. IV. Strom.*

¹⁵ [p] *Plut. in Pericl.*

¹⁶ [q] *lib. 12. Deipn.*

¹⁷ [r] *Plut. Conviv. 7. Sap.*

¹⁸ [s] *Cent. Misc. 2. Ep. 56.*

seculi sui miraculum habeatur, et plus laudis, quàm fors humana mereri et ferre unquam possit, ei tribuatur. Summam doctrinam, rerum linguarumque perplurium cognitionem miram, inter mulieres quas tenet Svecia in Nobilissimâ ac integerrimâ Dominâ Sophiâ Elisabeth Brenner veneramus, cujus laudes, utpote in quibus dignè pandendis Gallus cum Italo, Danus cum reliquis sibi nativo quisque idiomate aemulant, [cujus rei exempla dignissima sunt quae heic inferantur, ut virtutis incitamenta pluribus contingant; verum id temporis vetant iniqua spatia] nunc quidem attingere nos haud conabimur; ne palpum ipsi obtrudere et castas aures ac oculos, si fortè eos subire contigerit, offendere videamur, tacito pectore venerabundi recondimus [20] et sequenti aetati post funera, quae tamen sera ipsi optamus, decantandas relinquimus. Testamentariae quoque Tabellae Skyttianae copiam nuper nobis fecit liberalis ipsius manus.

Iter ad Philosophiam tendentium non parum moratur linguarum imperitia, quarum tamen usus tantus est, ut sine ipsis ad Philosophiam procedere neququam detur. Jure itaque hanc linguarum eruditarum quas vocant, Hebraicae scilicet, Graecae et Latinae notitiam à mulieribus poscimus. Sunt enim linguae fidae custodes, internuntiae et interpretes eorum, quae ubi suo idiomate nobis loquitur, genuinam animo exhibet sui imaginem, et mirâ quadam gratiâ ac lepore sensum nostrum afficit, quae omnia in versionibus quamvis optimis non reperies ita ad vivum refecta et expressa, quin alicubi aliqua desideres. Ut nihil nunc dicam de usu, quem in scripturâ sacra habet linguarum notitia, quamque frugiferum et jucundum sit ex ipsis fontibus doctrinam caelestem haurire, explicare, probare. Et quis nescit vim illam, quae in unâ latet, in alterâ minimè, [21] vel non sine multis verborum ambagibus exprimi posse linguâ?

Lingarum ita gnaras in Eloquentiae palatium introducimus, ubi animi sui sensa exprimere, et cum aliis quid velint eleganti et facundo ore communicare discent. Eloquentes satis esse omnes in eo quod sciunt, sunt qui putant; nec diffitemur non paucos homines singulari naturae dono et ingenii bonitate, linguae volubilitate maximâ pollere satisque esse disertos. Sed haec ex solâ naturâ profecta dicendi facultas et verbis ex trivio commodatis constans oratio non est Eloquentia, utpote quae ex multiplici rerum cognitione efflorescere et ex diuturnâ virium periclitatione et dicendi exercitio ac consuetudine comparari debet, unde cum Cicerone existimamus *sapientiam sine Eloquentiâ parum prodesse civitatibus, Eloquentiam vero sine sapientiâ nimium obesse plerumque, prodesse nunquam*. Hanc autem, Eloquentiam

scilicet, non modo naturâ et exercitatione, sed et artificio quodam parari certum est; *est enim majus hoc quiddam, quàm opinantur homines, et pluribus ex artibus studiisque collectam. Rerum quippe cognitionem [22] poscit, quae nisi adfuerit, inanis et pene puerilis erit elocutio.* Quanta autem sit verae Eloquentiae et oratoria illa vis, non obscure inter alios innuit celebratissimus ille Epirotharum Rex Pyrrhus, [t]¹⁹ dum ingenuè profitebatur: *πλείονας πόλεις ὑπὸ Κινέου τοῖς λόγοις ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσῆχθαι Plures urbes per Cineam oratione, quàm armis à se subactas esse.*

Hac etiam mulieres haud parum valuisse et valere testantur superiorum pariter ac nostri seculorum monumenta. Corneliae mentionem facere tantò minus è re esse puto, quod Eloquentiam ejus arguant celebratissimi Gracchi μητροδίδακτοι, qui, cum magnitudine indolis ceteros Romanos anteirent, doctrinâ tamen quàm naturâ praevaluisse videntur. Aretaphila Cyrenaea tantum vi et suavitate dicendi valuit, ut Nicocratis crudelissimi tyranni iram prudentiâ et sermone facundo leniisse eam celebret Plutarchus [u]²⁰. Bonifacium VIII Romanum Pontificem irâ et odio accensum facundiâ oris mitigavit Agapiti de Columna conjux [v]²¹. Isabella Ferdinandi Catholici regis [23] uxor, ad omnia excelsa nata et verè virilium curarum mulier, doctrinam unicè amavit, et oratoriae praesertim arti felix indulgit, ut lapsantes vel in sillabâ peccantes adverteret et saepe admoneret [x]²².

Poëticam utpote non in aliud inventam nisi ut lascivientibus rythmis, sillabarum numeris ac ponderibus nominumque inani strepitu stultorum hominum animos demulceat et fabularum oblectamentis mendaciorumque centonibus decipiat, ad orcum damnant iniqui ejus flagellatores, eamque honestis auribus neutiquam obtrudendam censent. At majori apud nos sunt in pretio deliciae illae humanorum ingeniorum et condimenta. Nec fugienda poëmata Philosophaturis, sed adhibendam poëmatibus Philosophicam considerationem probamus, ut in eo quo delectant utilitatem quoque captemus, nec palato plus quàm corde sapiamus. Non igitur immeritò, qui delectationis tantum causâ evolvendos suspicantur poëtas puerulis, qui libellorum exteriori formâ coloribus et auro tinctâ oculos [24] potius quàm iis, quae intus latent, animum pascunt, haud absimiles dixerim.

¹⁹ [t] *Plut. Pyrrh.*

²⁰ [u] *De virt. Mul.*

²¹ [v] *Fr. Petrarch. lib.2.V.III.*

²² [x] *Lips. mon. pol. l. 1. c. 7*

Quippe, *cum prodesse velint, et delectare poëtae*, praeter dulcedinem et delectationem, quae illis propria est, nec usum apud eos frustra quaesiveris. Sub verborum namque involucris atque integumentis, omnium artium, si non satis perspicua descriptio, saltem vestigia latitant. Magnam inter disciplinas reliquas et hanc intercedere affinitatem et commercium, et quod haec ab illis saepè sumat, quod in suos convertat usus, nemo facilè negabit. Per singulas autem disciplinas eundo assertionem probare labor foret nimis prolixus. Et hoc verum, poëtam munere suo rite defuncturum Philosophiae praeceptis instructum accedere debere, sine quibus genius alioquin optimus idem est ac sine semine et culturâ vel optimus ager.

Naturam incipere, artem dirigere, usumque perficere, ut alibi ita etiam hic, mihi non difficile persuaserim. Operam itaque perdunt, qui naturae nimium largiuntur ac tribuunt, posteriora illa quasi nihil ad rem facientia adspernantes; [25] quamvis nec diffiteamur naturam maximam partem sibi vindicare. Documento sunt homines, qui licet arte nihil valeant, rythmos tamen et carmina ita componunt, ut vix sillaba deficiat aut otiosè redundet. Interim tamen ingenium arte destitutum solum non sufficit, nec, ars si desit, ingenium satis est ad conficiendum poëma locuples comtum et cincinnis ornatum ac luculentum. Amicè conspirantibus, exercitium perfectionem addit. Usum autem hujus artis tantum credam esse, ut paucis verbis laudem ipsius expedire, dignè persequi atque complecti nemo valeat. Novit hoc antiqua Graecia, quae ab ipsâ prope infantiâ liberos in poëtica institui curavit, *non nudae voluptatis*, (ut Strabonis [y]²³ potius quam meis verbis utar) *sed castae moderationis gratiâ*.

Hanc artem eò magis mulieribus vindicamus, quod ei aliquantò plus quàm aliis adhaerere, ad eamque plurimas singulari instinctu et afflatu ferri videamus. Accedit, quod et hoc studium mirâ suavitate omnes sui amantes demulcens atque oblectans, in muliere [26] plus decoris habeat quàm in viro, delicatoque sexui multam conferat voluptatem. Quid valuerit heic natura, in innumeris non obscurum voluit mulieribus, quae calamo tam felices adplicuere manus, ut viris palmam tantum non praeripere videantur. Ex omnibus, quas rudis vetustas divino afflatu et fatidico spiritu instinctas ac excitatas carmina cecinisse arbitratur, Sibillae Delphicae primum mentionem faciam, quae in Apollinis fano consulentibus responsa dedit; ex hac Homerum, qui universos priores ac posteriores virtute poeticâ superavit, non paucos versus mutuatum operi suo perpoliendo interseruisse, sunt qui existimant. Meminit hujus

²³ [y] Lib. 1. Georg.

etiam Diodorus Siculus [z]²⁴ sub nomine Daphnis Tiresiae vatis filiae, ejusque miram indolem, inque variis oraculis conscribendis artificium singulare atque operam celebrat. *A qua, [verba ejus sunt] non pauca mutuatus carmina Homerus poëta, ad suae poësius ornatum transtulit.* Phemonoë prima Apollinis Delphici vates, carmen heroicum invenisse scribitur, cui sententiae album quoque Eusebius [a]²⁵ [27] addit calculum, ubi illam primam vatem Pythiam hexametris versibus futura cecinisse refert. Telesillam illustri domo natam, carmina non minus quàm arma nobilem reddidisse memoriae prodit Plutarchus. [b]²⁶ Sappho Lesbia Eresia, (Dahlekampio [c]²⁷ Eressia) sive Scamandronimi, ut vult Herodotus, [d]²⁸ sive Simonis, sive cujuscunque alius filia, carminis Sapphici inventrix, scripsit carminum Lyricorum libros IX. Scripsit et Epigrammata, [unde à nonnullis Epigrammatista nuncupatur] et elegias et jambos et monodias teste Suida. [e]²⁹ Altera illa Mitylenaea etiam Lesbia, priori tempore, non arte multum posterior, quae Phaonem arsit, (at ab alterâ illâ Eressiâ sc. Phaonem adamatum, est apud Athenaeum [f]³⁰) cujus crebra est apud Ovidium mentio. Hanc tam praeclara et multa apud Graecos scripsisse poëmata, ut decima dicta fuerit musa, auctor est Guido Morillus. [g]³¹ Damophilam Lesbiam Sapphus poëtriae [28] coetaneam et sociam, multa quoque scripsisse poëmata – partim amatoria, partim in honores Dianae – legimus. Corinna Thebana Lyrica, Myrthidis discipula, cujus meminit Propertius [h]³² quantum carmine potuerit testes sunt ejus Epigrammatum libri V. Aliam autem hanc fuisse et à Thesbiâ illa veterum monumentis celebratâ, et ab eâ quam Ovidius deperiit, dignum est quod notetur. Erinnae Tejae, Telae seu Teniae, quae Dionis Syracusani temporibus floruit, elegans poëma, quod trecentis versibus Doricâ linguâ compegit, aliaque Epigrammata tanti habita sunt, ut ad Homericam majestatem accessisse ferantur. [i]³³ Infinita superaddi possent exempla earum, quae hoc et superioribus seculis carmine inclaruerant et etiam nunc inclarescunt, si res esset obscura, et non consideremus Benivolum Lectorem

²⁴ [z] *Hist. Lib. IV. c. 68.*

²⁵ [a] *Chron. Tom. 2*

²⁶ [b] *De virt. Mul.*

²⁷ [c] *in not. marg. ad Ath. Deipn. lib. XIII.*

²⁸ [d] *lib. 2. seu Euterp.*

²⁹ [e] *In Histor.*

³⁰ [f] *Lib. XIII. Deipn*

³¹ [g] *in arg. ad. Ep. Sapphūs.*

³² [h] *Lib. 2. Eleg. 3.*

³³ [i] *Gezn. bibl.*

adductis exemplis posse ad assensum nobis praebendum allici, commoveri atque impelli.

Omnibus in rebus methodum esse optimam omnes fatentur, in disciplinis verò maximè necessariam. Hanc si [29] neglexeris, omnia praeposterè ages. A naturâ eam suppeditari lubentes largimur, omnemque ordinem disciplinarum esse naturalem; at à solâ naturâ, qualis in Philosophiâ desideratur, proficisci nequit. Integra quippe descriptio disciplinarum atque intelligentia, praeter popularem, magis exquisitum ordinem requirit. Et quoniam errori humana mens quâm maximè est obnoxia, praestò erit regula et amussis, quae mentem in veritatis inquisitione ne aberret dirigat, ducat atque gubernat. Hanc mulieri feliciter Philosophanti tantò magis necessariam ac utilem putamus, quantò minori polleat iudicii acumine, et quae caveri debeant obtusius provideat atque perpendat.

Est haec Logica sive Dialectica, quae in omnibus disciplinis pariter ac sine discrimine principatum obtinet, regnat ac dominatur, ne ipsa quidem exceptâ Eloquentiâ, quae dialecticis nervis pugnat, ac pertinacem adversarium conclusionibus legitimè eductis prosternit, et resurgentem iteratis ictibus confodit ac resupinat, donec victas dare manus fascesque victori submittere cogatur. Neque [30] enim intra disputantium greges, et qui contentionis funes ducere solent conclusa est, sed ad eruendam in quocunque scientiarum genere veritatem, et ad refellenda contraria plurimum conducit. Et in hac, quemadmodum in aliis, mulieres non frustra sudâsse documento sunt inter plures illae, quarum apud Cl. Alex [k]³⁴ sit mentio, quae ad eum demum pervenerunt apicem, ut Dialecticae fuerint adpellatae.

Divinam legem novisse omnes debere extra controversiam ponimus. Hanc enim sine salutis jacturâ ignorare non poteris. Humanam verò non cognoscere turpe erit. Sic enim quid tui sit officii, quid fas ac nefas, quid justum quidve injustum non cognosces, et propriâ culpâ in errores inextricabiles ac peccata gravissima incidēs. Haec juris praesertim naturalis ignorantia in mulieribus eruditae ac sobriè Philosophaturae est culpabilis [quomodo enim separatâ nobilissimâ parte nomen sustinebunt], maximè verò in principum filiabus, quibus deficiente masculâ progenie sanctiones civiles alicubi imperium decernunt et [31] destinant, quod rectè gerere et justè administrare nequeunt nisi forte piis, religiosis, fidis ac eruditae viris regiminis curam permittant. Quod verò ad praxin jurisprudentiae forensis attinet, eam utpote

³⁴ [k] *Lib. Strom. IV.*

minus propriam et necessariam, obstante verecundiâ sexus, apud mulieres non urgemus, quamvis exempla earum non pauca suppeditent historiae, quas naturae conditio et verecundiae stola, quò minus in foro et iudiciis disceptarent, non potuit cohibere. Partes defensionis diligenter exsecuta et primâ actione liberata ἀνδρογύνης, uti meruit, obtinuit nomen fortis Amaesia. Afraniam, Hortensiam et alias plures nunc taceo. Verum cum in publicis non tantùm summisque muneribus excellat, sed etiam moribus hominum ad communem justitiae normam dirigendis formandisque inseruiat haec Legum doctrina, eatenus quoque reliquis, quae infra thronum sunt mulieribus, non sine usu eam vindicaverimus.

De corpore quod valetudini et mutationi non sit obnoxium neminem unquam sibi gratulari posse credimus, quae felicitas si generi humano contigisset, [32] Medicina nullum planè usum haberet. Verum cum mutemur continenter, patiamur et ad interitum tendamus, in modos quibus incolume conservemus, aegrum saluti restituamus corpus, atque justè recreemus necesse est inquiramus. Pretium hujus artis exinde metiaris, quod eâ nemo non indigeat. Quàm cito corpus nostrum morborum excipit lues? Quàm fragile est, ut vel levissimo vento corrumpatur? De malignitate plurimi conqueruntur naturae, quod in exiguum aevi gignantur, quodque hic concessi temporis curriculum tam velociter transeat. At prorsus ab hac eorum est, quos mala premit valetudo, aliena querela. Hi enim licet angusto satis spatio vitam trahant, secula tamen quasi vixisse sibi videntur. Nihil tam carum benignior nobis indulisit fortuna, quod pro salute recuperanda non lubentes erogaremus. Felix ergo cui praestò fuerit auxilium et medicina; felicior qui ipse sibi opem ferre poterit. Ita minus ex morâ erit periculum, nam

serò medicina paratur,

Quum mala per longas invaluerit moras.

Artem hanc ediscere et posse et debere [33] viros concedunt omnes; mulieres hinc remonent arcentque plerique. Ne servus neve mulier medicinam disceret aut faceret, legibus Atheniensium olim erat cautum. At postquam Agnodice, cum sexum detegens sedulò et multum studiis profecisset, medicam manum feliciter, licet clam aegris admovisset mulieribus, coram Areopagitis causam strenuè agens, ut in posterum ingenuae mulieres aliis impunè medicarentur, impetravit ac obtinuit. Nec iniquè latam eorum crediderim sententiam. Nonne enim mulieres, quas verecundia maximè decet ac ornat, ipsae si possent opem sibi potius ferrent quàm medicorum inquisitioni et manibus se committerent? Hinc quod tantus multas tenuerit pudor, ut

morbo afflictæ omnia inexperta relinquentes, quàm corpus medico concredere, mortalitatis maluerint satisfacere legi, memoriæ proditum habemus. Apud Matronas, et quibus conjugii sunt pignora, nec minimum Medicina habet usum. Quid, quod infantulis, quos frequentes affligunt ac corripunt morbi, quibusque celeri opus est auxilio, protinus auxiliari possent ipsæ. Quas aliquando [34] majori cum successu quàm viros ægris, etiam quos hi tamquam incurabiles deseruerant, medicam manum adhibere, ipsi fatentur, docetque experientia.

Tutò autem ægris non medicabuntur, nec voti compotes reddentur nisi corporis constitutionem, morbi naturam causamque penitus cognoverint prius. Nec cuiquam latet Medicinam, cujus unicus est scopus, sanitatem tueri, labefactatam instaurare, non aliâ basi quàm physicâ inniti, *quæ tradit rationes et causas omnium effectuum, qui è naturæ sinu prodeunt. Tanta ergo est hujus disciplinae dignitas, tanta utilitas, ut ab omnibus expeti, imò, si fieri posset, manibus gestari debuisset.* In utroque et physico et medico studio, quid velint, quid valeant etiam mulieres satis docuerunt inter alias S. Hildegardis de Pinguia, quæ libris quatuor naturalem Philosophiam explicuit, et Hildegardis Abbatissa, quæ de simplici unum, unumque de compositâ Medicinâ posteris reliquit libros.

Nobilissimam illam omnium, puta quæ ex principiis naturâ notis dependent, scientiarum, Metaphysicam eò [35] magis mulieribus ad Philosophiam adspirantibus assignamus, quod illa, utpote prima et universalissima considerans cognitionis principia, in reliquis facultatibus et scientiis locum et usum quàm maximè habeat.

Inter ceteras artes et disciplinas, non infimam obtinere laudem Mathematicas, apud scriptores invenimus. Regibus, et Principibus in deliciis fuit Mathesis. Haec necessitati humanæ succurrit, et facultatem naturalem juvat ac gubernat. Haec discentium ingenia mirificè excitat ac recreat, ad disciplinas alias feliciter percipiendas præparat, inque bello et pace usus hujus splendide elucet atque coruscat. Non Callicratem, non Myrmecidem aut ipsum Lynceum tam acutè videre potuisse sumus persuasi, quàm Arithmeticae et Geometriae luminibus cerni queat. Praeter usum quem in Philosophiâ præstant, etiam matribus familias, et quibus cura est domus, multum expediunt. Geographicum, si quid aliud, ita jucundum mulieribus est studium, eoque ita saepius tenentur, ut viris hic ambiguam faciant palmam. Musicam [singulas partes persequi brevitatis studium [36] vetat, quæ tamen nec usu carebunt] inclinatio illa naturalis, vocisque suavitas mira, quibus viros plerumque vincunt, propriam faciunt mulieribus. Aglaonice Hagemonis, sive ut alii, Aganice Hegetoris

filia, Astrologiae ita fuit perita, ut mulieribus de caelo lunam se devocaturam sive seriò simulatè, nihil nunc laboro, gloriaretur. Extant quoque Elisabethae Hispaniarum Reginae Tabulae Astronomicae.

Ethicen verò quibus encomiis extollemus, quae naturam in actionibus aberraturam corrigit, et quâ eundum sit viâ exactè docet atque informat. Quae tantò minus feminis est negligenda, quantò ceteros omnes habitus animi ἀρετολογία dignitate vincit ac superat, sexumque muliebrem pulcherrimè ornat atque commendat. Concede mulieri omnem artium et scientiarum apparatus locupletissimum, et tolle virtutem, cujus imago Ethicis exprimitur ac continetur praeceptis, et nullum tetrius prodigium, nullum foedius monstrum, aut magis abominabile prodigium oculis tuis obversabitur, nulla ferocior belua Philosophiae glandibus pasta animo concipi et cogitando formari [37] poterit. At ex adverso, quid praeclarius quàm posse feminam de singulis suis officiis disertè et sapienter disquirere, eaque pari dexteritate obire, implere ac exsequi. Hanc meritò praedicaveris felicem ac beatam, beatum denique maritum, cui talis obtigerit conjux, quae non minus virtute, quàm aurum, margaritae ac gemmae pretiosissimae colore lucent, splendent atque coruscant.

Studium Politicum, nemini, nisi qui rempublicam administraret, et ad imperii gubernacula sederet [quo nomine mulieribus id non injustè assignaverimus], utile et necessarium esse, falsò sibi persuaserunt non pauci. Et sic omnibus, viris pariter ac mulieribus, quae reipublicae non praeesent, illud quasi interdicare laborârunt. Sed quamvis ad praxin quidem usumque reipublicae Politicam directè conferre, sexumque muliebrem ad munia politica obeunda non aequè ac virilem idoneum esse concesserimus, interim tamen propter theoriam, et peculiare qui inde in omnes redundant manantque fructus, eam negligendam nemini, colendam putamus singulis.

Sed administratione reipublicae continetur [38] etiam OEconomia, quae est domestica quaedam respublica. Hanc qui negligit, rem negligit publicam, quod boni non erit civis. Cum enim civitas corpus sit ex variis familiis conflatum, nisi hae privatim benè habuerint, nec illa valida fuerit. Si ergo rectè constitutam hanc velimus domesticam societatem, in hac ut in civili, sint qui regant quique regantur, quod suum est quisque faciat necesse est. Quàm itaque utilis et necessaria haec domestica disciplina sit mulieribus, tum extra tum intra thorum nemo non experitur. Ita ut haec, quomodo maritum amore, honore et obsequio prosequatur; fidem, castimoniam et modestiam servet muliebrem; ingenium mariti moribus, etiam morosos quandoque patienter tolerando, prudenter accomodare sciat. Quomodo liberos, si qui modo

fuerint procreati, benè et castè educet, quomodo servos ac ancillas dignè regat optimè discat. Illa, quomodo parentes amet et revereatur; virtutes eorum pressè imitando; vitia, si quae fuerint, vitando; infirmitates ac naevos piè et patienter ferendo ac dissimulando et, ut verbo dicam, quomodo cum parentibus, quomodo [39] cum totâ familia decenter vivat, probè noverit.

Facem utrique praeferrent exempla veterum et recentiorum, quorum maximam copiam suppeditat Historia; quam cum Cicero appellet magistram vitae, non videmus cur ab illâ removeantur mulieres, praesertim cum sciamus habere eam cum insigni utilitate conjunctam maximam voluptatem, decus ac oblectationem. Huic studio cum ita indulgeat muliebris sexus, ut in gynaeceis semper et prae omnibus reliquis obtineat, fructum quem fert captabit uberrimum. Cum enim historia perpetua stigmata inurat improbis, sempiternâ vero bonos afficiat gloriâ, omnes improbas, nisi inveterata vitia nimis latas ac profundas egerint radices, à vitiis metu dedecoris et infamiae perpetuae absterret; probas verò, ut in virtutis coepto studio gnaviter ac sedulò pergant, spe laudis et aeternae gloriae erigit, allicit atque hortatur. Haec nobis in medio ea ponit, in quae omnis posteritas tamquam in exemplar inspiciat, unde etiam capiat documenta, per quae publico et privato consulatur. Haec plus peritiae, quàm vel longissima hominis aetas sustinere aut afferre poterit, affatim suppeditat. [40] Non latuit hoc Zenobiam Palmirenorum Reginam celebratissimam, quae principibus diu insultavit Romanis. Haec linguarum peritissima, praeterquam quod Graecorum et Latinorum historiam optimè perdiderat, orientalis ita fuit gnara, ut eam suo stilo usui posteriorum in compendium redegerit ipsa. Argineten hoc studio quoque arsisse, non temerè hariolamur, cum rebus à Dionysio gestis in literas referendis admoverit manum. Perillustris ac Generosissima Catharina *Bâth*/, Baronessa Suecana, Commentarios Genealogicos adpictis propriâ manu insignibus familiarum, tesserisque gentilitiis conscripsit, in quibus multas Messenii hallucinationes detectas ferunt. Opus luci adhuc non datum, sed apud ipsam custoditum fuit.

Haec pauca sunt, quibus argumentum praesens persequi conati sumus; quoniam autem sub manibus versatum, in majorem quàm primò destinavimus modum excreverat, nunc multis licet omissis manum de tabula tollimus, enixè rogantes ut, quisque sis, Benevole Lector, haec nostra benignè accipere et candidè interpretari digneris.

3. Translation

3.1 Title, dedications and dedicatory poems

May it be happy and prosperous

AN ACADEMIC EXERCISE

fleetingly outlining

PHILOSOPHISING

WOMEN

with the consent of the most renowned philosophical

faculty

of the illustrious academy of Uppsala

Under the PRESIDENCY

of the most venerable and distinguished

patron JOHAN ESBERG,

Doctor of sacrosanct theology and celebrated professor of Greek

Literature,

most creditable and vigilant Pastor Primarius in *Almunge*,

In the Auditorium Gustavianum Majus on March 29 1699

is submitted to

Public assessment

by

PETRUS HEDENGRAHN

from Dalarna

To the faithful man,
councillor and counsellor

of his Holy Royal Majesty

and moreover

THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND EXCELLENT
Chancellor of the Caroline Academy of Lund

Lord NILS

GYLDENSTOLPE/

Count of *Segerstad*, Lord of
Nor / Lidingenäs / Säby and Knivsta
the most munificent Maecenas

EXcellent summit of Helicon, and noble Light

among the shining stars of the Northern sphere

COUNT *GYLDENSTOLPE*, the glory of the Pindus of Torneå,

and the Carolines; agree to let my divine honour,

hope and protection crawl to Your golden image

and there in reverence seek your firm support.

Lend your grace: Thrice Lord and Patron of the Hedengrahn family,

Receive with benevolence these first fruits of

our intellect, as yet unsupported by the firmness of age,

as a free-born foetus and birth.

In this way, the Muses will make your pillar sparkle

with shining jewels and Thalia requite the honours

of her sex with songs and never-ending eulogy.

P.H

To the exceedingly faithful man

of his Holy Royal Majesty,

THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND EMINENT

LORD

GUSTAV

HEIDENFELDT

Military commander in *Kronoberg*,

the greatly zealous and favourable

Patron

HEIDENFELDT, the thunderbolt of war, the

spear of the threatening Pallas, the foremost
glory of *Hedemora*.

As your protégé, I accost you with this mean tribute,

yet, the subject will far excel the yield,

in that it manifests what force is native to the

female sex, and how much power it possesses

in the congress of the Muses, the camp of learned Minerva,

and in the pure locations where Apollo wields the reign.

Thus, if beautiful maidens have pleased

armed men with their radiating faces,

so that they deserved them, having engaged

in combat, the grace of a beautiful mind will be bigger.

P.H

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND NOBLE
MATRON
the lady SOPHIA ELISABET
BRENNER

a blend of virtue, piety and learning
and the ornament of her sex.

The brilliant Star of our Sweden,
to whom the Gods gave the strong
name of Sophia in her tender years,
it was a sign.

Called Brenner when she married, she
resembled Juppiter himself, and to her
the Great Mother of the Gracchi
has had to yield, and so has Sappho
of Lesbos herself.

The multitude of learned men
calls you the Glory of Maidens,
the Daughter of Minerva, and rightly;
the fair Apollo binds you wreaths
of flowers.

Thus, with the praise that Muses have
determined for your family with better right,
Pindus honours you the most, above all
other women.

3.2 The letter

SOPHIA ELISABET BRENNER

Sends her regard

To the distinguished young man

Petrus Hedengrahn

It is too seldom, to be honest, that I am touched by the great happiness of being able to if not devote myself to literary studies, then at least respond to letters from friends on my own accord, and with the peace of mind I would desire. Being engaged in managing the household and other numerous matters, I am compelled to give priority not to my literary studies but to such trifling matters instead. So be careful, my Humble Lord, not to impute it to oblivion or negligence on my part if I should respond to your singularly refined letters more slowly than you, perhaps, would have expected; and do not think that these letters have been in any way burdensome to me, coming only as a testimony of your interest in my person and of your snow-white sincerity. Indeed, I could not be further from dismissing them as indiscrete: the more likely, then, would I be to declare publicly just how gladly I received them. Your work, which will expose the excellent literary achievements of our sex to the erudite world as portrayed on a writing tablet indeed imbues my soul with no little delight, leading me to employ the words of Flaccus: *little separates hidden virtue from buried idleness.*

But I would not want to dissimulate, my Adorned Lord, that the fault of my delay in returning your letter very much depended on the fact that I was in doubt as to whether or not I should take on this function which you have imposed on me. For I do not claim to be so competent as to believe that I could satisfy your demands, nor those of other men with sharper judgement. However, since I can think of both older and younger women who in my opinion are far superior to myself and whose reputation home and abroad has either already grown bright or only just ceased to do so, it would appear that I should inflict injustice upon them if I fled the opportunity of pointing out

to you their erudite and venerable names. Thus, assenting to your request (I omit two women by the name of Catharina, whom the famous Schefferus commemorates in his *Svecia Literata*), I have chosen to start with the exceedingly learned young women *Vendela* and *Anna Skytte*, most dignified daughters of the illustrious and incomparable hero and councillor of the kingdom, the patron *Johan Skytte*. Although all the monuments of so erudite minds that would give credibility to my assertion have been lost because of a long interval of time, or rather negligence on the part of those whom it concerned, the will of their excellent father provides evidence greater than every limitation of what these women have accomplished in Latin particularly. I am sending you a copy of the will, which I have preserved in its original form, for you to see that the father of these ladies bequeathed an equal share of property and goods to them as to his sons as a reward of sorts for the extraordinary learning they had acquired already, and an incentive to acquire even more. I omit to mention during what time these women lived, since it is clear to everyone when their renowned father lived; no generation will ever be silent about his services *to the greatest king of all, Gustavus Adolphus, and the most erudite queen since time immemorial, Christina*, as well as to our fatherland and especially your Athenaeum of Uppsala. Whenever *Ebba Maria de la Gardie*, the elder daughter of the illustrious hero *Pontus Fredrik de la Gardie* set her mind to the composition of poems – whether in her native tongue, French, German or Dutch – she did it so successfully, that she was held in high regard among the most exquisite poets. Above all that, she composed a number of spiritual meditations in German – a work produced in print –, which she showed me herself two years ago, two months before she passed away. *Maria Aurora Königsmarck* yielded to no one in matters of birth-rank, skill in languages and the composition of poems, and still feeds on vital air among foreigners. From the enclosed letters which he has sent me, and of which I will not grudge you a copy, you will easily judge how much the excellent *Otto Sperling* raises the esteem of the Danish *Qvitzow* and the Italian *Piscopia Cornaro* for giving to the world such erudite products of their intellects. France, likewise, has got its own skillful *Scuderys*, and some other ones as well whose glory, I realise, has been evident to you and the world of erudition for long. In this eminent order, I think, should also be included those ancient poetesses of our fatherland called *Skaldmöer* in our native language, who were frequently on the lips of the ancient historians from the North. Here, my most Humble Lord, you have all that I can think of in the way of names and literary studies of the erudite women of

our time. Now, if you proceed to enlighten the entire literary world with your most laudable publication, everyone will know that you are highly esteemed not only by the finest intellects of our sex, but also by the whole Aonian choir. Since my time restraints do not allow me to write more, I now bid you the most heartfelt farewell.

Written in Stockholm on March 3rd

1699

3.3 The dissertation

The blessings, which the Immortal God has given mankind with a generous hand and most clemently granted are so numerous and so great, that they hold anyone who examines them slightly more thoroughly enthralled in admiration. Indeed, the representations of these divine blessings are so illustrious, so great and so remarkable, that they without exception won their perfect originator the renown and veneration of all mortals, especially adults; even that of those who actively smother their innate light of reason with negligence and sloth that they themselves have brought about either by inherent spite and dullness of mind, or by the dated belief in idols. Now, I will leave out this elegant order and the machine that is the human body, free from all indications of rank, and the very neat classification of all parts and limbs of the body [2] designed not only for the soundness, but for the grace, glory and adornment of our entire nature. Among all other animate beings, our nature is the only one to have these qualities. I will keep silent about the vast authority of man over the irrational animals,

And whatever earth, air, and water have of life,

which they call the shadow and the proof of the divine image which, alas, has been lost and ruined by our own fault. Indeed, I will pass over all gains and benefits of human life, which are spreading and extending so greatly, that it is beyond the capability of humans not only to describe them with words, but also to grasp them in their thoughts. Out of countless others, I will touch upon one thing so great, that it excells most things and is preeminent in our human nature, namely the right sense of reason. This is what distinguishes humans not only from all other animate things and plants, but also – if they use it well – from crude and ignorant people, so that they seem to shine like gods on earth. This, to make the words of Seneca our own, is where we precede animals, [3] and are in turn preceded by the Gods; all else we have quite in common with animals. This alone is what makes us human. It is with the aid and power of reason that we can distinguish between true and false, doubt and certainty, good and bad, honest and depraved and judge things with a clear and unspoilt mind instead of being driven by blind instinct like other animals.

It strikes one to wonder at the tendency among stupid people to reject the precepts of reason although they have been granted as a gift, and to adjust, offer and

shamefully submit their mental just as well as bodily agency to the pleasure of their senses. Thus, to be rich in reason is not enough; true perfection comes from using it well. Not to use what sense of reason we have been given, in my opinion, is on equal footing – as it has been put – with lacking one, having been denied it by the power of nature. Reason is the set of norms and rules by which human actions should be governed, and balanced as though on a pair of scales: it is not destitute and poor, nor capricious and rambling, nor wild and rugged, nor stained and burdened by the dullness and roughness of ignorance, but tinged with the precepts of philosophy and refined, strengthened and cleansed by its healthy principles. Without philosophy, our entire life would be just like a vessel without steersman and [4] rudder, damaged by shipwreck on deep waters. That way we will soon face ruin if it is stripped away, the indicator of what to desire and what to avoid and even the governess, mistress and most favourable and elevated queen of our entire fate.

Without it, no one can live happily, not even tolerably, we rightly learn from Seneca. Although our actual life is a gift from God, no one can doubt that it is because of philosophy, which has come to us by divine benefaction, that we can live well. Without it, nothing in our human life will be in order, no monarchy or republic exist. Hence we strongly approve the voice of Plato, saying *”only then can republics grow prosperous, if either the kings should philosophise, or the philosophers rule.”*

This very governess of life prepares us to make the short and ruinous course of this lifetime more honest and safe, and less troublesome and vexing.

Since it has been denied us to live long, we shall be very careful not to waste what little life we have in inactivity, *which without literature is like death and the grave of a living human being*, or some vain [5] and senseless enterprise. It is a pity that many people devote too much of their time to bodily exercise, and neglect the other, more supreme element of themselves and its exercise. Apart from those who plainly reject this as pointless, there are others who reproach nature as if a mean, thrifty, uncultivated and adverse step-mother who grudges them the level of perfection they should strive for with temperate minds. Yet Seneca has asserted that for nature, as it can be in this miserable position, *nothing is difficult if it is sound and unharmed*, and Terence that *nothing is so difficult, that it cannot be investigated through searching*. In truth, while the study of philosophy is pleasant and useful, we also know that it often appears laborious, troublesome and difficult even for the most distinguished and refined intellects; and just as you cannot pluck a rose without being pricked by its

thorns, so truth, enclosed and folded in the intricate, complex and thorny covers of questions cannot be examined, and when examined explained, and when explained extracted, and when extracted suitably and appropriately employed and introduced in private life without [6] much labour and distress. It is certain that many people could reach truth and wisdom, unless they had thought they had done so already, tricked by some false belief, or barred themselves from progress and admittance by escaping their toils with shameful inactivity and sloth. It is also certain that many people falsely pretend not to be able to do this, when in reality they simply do not want to.

It will be in the open air that they have acted not only foolishly in spurning and rejecting this cultivation of the mind and its healer – the explorer of virtue and expunger of vice – but also spitefully in preventing whoever would have been glad to investigate the matter deeper from doing so, just because they themselves did not want to. It is beneath them to philosophise themselves, and women burning with desire to do so they wrongfully exclude from the Shrine of Minerva, thinking that they should be repelled, as it were, with cudgels and spears. Some of them – which will astound you – people whose position among the erudite is far from low. As if that were not enough, they also abuse the honest sex with insults and censure, and burden them with harm and despicable slander. By this monstrous urge [7] to taunt, they harm, violate and offend the dignity of God the most discerning creator of this universe. To this lot should be counted Simonides, who furiously roars that God made women sordid and filthy after his hairy pigs and dirty refuse, two-faced and deceitful after the sly and cunning fox; that he made her bark at everyone like the dog, and that from the soil he made her a useless burden to her husband.¹ After the sea he made her fickle in temper, and after the grey ass he made her glut herself with food both day and night, and ready for sinful lewdness with whoever came her way. From the weasel he gave her sorrow and a miserable appearance, and from the water he made her avoid labour, beautiful to others but a grim sight to her husband; and from the ape he made her a misshapen monster, an unrivalled abomination. If they were shorter, I would enclose the Greek poems of this author.

Those people are just as bad who praise the slanderous and satirical founders of such disgraceful opinions about the unwarlike and harmless ladies, lauding, commending and approving of them as if they were truth-telling prophets. We meet

¹ In the original text, Hedengrahn renders this passage both in Latin and in Greek.

an example of this in Aristophanes, where he praises Euripides as follows: [8] *no poet is more distinguished than Euripides, who thinks that nothing in the whole world is more impudent than women.*²

As we can see, he was abused and excluded by Clement of Alexandria for this reason, which he deserved. To these people should also be counted those who among themselves, like jesters of trifling judgement, did not think much of protection and who hurled and flung the thonged javelins of others with the power of oratorical skill to validate the slander. Undoubtedly foremost among these is Caspar Ens, who in his work *Morosophia* followed the path of the Italian Antonio Maria and learned to rage against and attack the female sex in common madness with the Italian. Indeed, he even throws suspicion on, and invites to this slanderous and abusive group people whom no one, not even in some delirious fever, would suspect of giving their words to such a spiteful assailant. This will appear right before the eyes of anyone who searches out the place in Eusebius that is related for good measure. Even if the author of the publication which falsely claims women to be sub-human does not surpass these persons in eagerness to misinform, [9] he certainly levels with them. Since others have shown long ago just how feebly and insignificantly this opinion is supported, we shall pass on the trouble of refuting it in order not to – as they say – do what has already been done.

For all sensible human beings agree that women are no less human than men. The distinction between the sexes lies only in the different location of the sexual attributes, which demanded a difference in the practise of reproduction. Our minds are of the same nature, just like our instruments of perception; we have the same assistance, aid and support for learning the sciences, *viz.* our five senses. We have the same mutual means of phantasy, memory and feeling and the same access to the arts, the same desire for what is good and eagerness for exploring the truth. We have the same speech, and lastly we share the same peak of happiness for which we strive. So unless you say that the many extraordinary and natural abilities which women have in common with men have been granted them in vain, you must confess that women are equally worthy as men to be invited to, and stimulated by the zeal to inquire into what is true, and to attain what is good. Moreover, that they should not be tricked out of the wisdom they desire any more than men. I shall pass over in silence the natural

² In the original text, Hedengrahn gives both the Latin and the Greek version of the passage.

abilities and birthplace [10] of the first mother of all living beings, the queen of the world, and likewise her name and numerous other things where women seem to if not surpass, then at least to equal the dominance of men. It is not quite clear why and by what right some consider the managing of needles and colanders to be a more than ample education and venue of expression for women, and assert that these boundaries which women should not go beyond are pre-ordained, as it were, from heaven. The fact that many women shrink from the more serious arts is not because of some defect of judgment, but more because they simply do not want to apply themselves to them, or are restrained by some more menial business. This has been exemplified by many women who made such progress in letters, that they made quite a few men seem blushing idle in comparison – especially those men who put their eagerness for studies on display rather than pursuing and cultivating it.

Plutarch says that the great Thucydides attaches the highest praise to the kind of woman *about whom there is least conversation, whether to her favour or disfavour; he indisputably considers that the repute of such an honourable woman should be [11] kept indoors, protected from the public eye just like her person.* The prudent philosopher himself holds that *Gorgias appears to be more tactful, then, in wishing women to be known to the public eye not for their appearance but for their good reputation*³. This last opinion seems much better to us.

There is an old debate among the learned as to whether it is more laudable to seek and pursue unknownness by leading a hidden life in seclusion, or the immortality of one's name by doing what is right. Plutarch believes that those who assent to the former opinion, that is to seize glory in the wrong way by encouraging the unknownness of one's name, do not really want to lie hidden; in truth, it is a type of flaunting *to make too much of one's seclusion*, so Seneca argues, *and of withdrawing from the public eye.* This very life, and the fact that we are born human, appears to have come our way by divine benefaction for us to become known, and so whoever throws himself into oblivion and surrounds himself with darkness, the philosopher rightly observes, hates his having been born and so can hardly endure the fact that he has. I am quite sure that no one is too miserable to be touched by the sweetness of glory, for it draws and incites humans to take on their labour undauntedly and their [12] studies tirelessly. Certainly, the greater and more eminent the valour of

³ Both quotations are rendered in Greek and Latin.

someone's mind, the more burning the desire for praise and glory. *It is pursued both by the righteous and the depraved; the former with rightful means, the latter – since he has no morals within him – with guile and treachery.* I would think that it is the true glory of inconstancy to reject that most honest fruit of virtue just as much as to strive for empty reputation and pursue all the shadows of false glory. Why would he who is virtuous not want to be useful? Why would he not, by his own example, want to incite and urge others to honest emulation, to which many arts are indebted for their progress and development?

In this regard, the consideration is mutual between men and women, for while a man should not lie hidden, a woman should not be refused the right to seize glory by virtue and hard work. A reputation received from ancestors is nothing to flaunt if it is soon folded in idle obscurity, making memories of itself no more permanent than the traces of a vessel floating through the waves of the sea. Immortality and true glory will be [13] secured by leisure illuminated with the light of science and philosophy, but to reach it will by no means be easy. We believe that philosophy, like a force for the universal good of man or adornment peculiar to humans is also accorded women (we always except the Holy Scripture, since it is beyond debate just how useful and necessary it is for everyone to know), and that they can also learn it properly. For just as we have considered the true dignity of any science and art, so we should also consider the female capacity, inclination and strength. Not all parts of philosophy are equally useful and honourable, and the best and most relevant ones we consider those revolving around theology and virtuous morals. Nor are all women equally clever and competent, just as is true of men; some are more stupid, some more intellectual, some even utterly senseless either because of some natural defect or of their own fault; these women we condemn altogether, but those who are only somewhat half-witted (for we clearly see that the literate world is for the most part constituted by the less erudite), and those slightly more apt to learn we want to see moved towards philosophy, sustained and prepared [14] by the the aid of fortune so that they can strive for the crest and pinnacle of the sciences with un stumbling feet. Women pressed by poverty, however, cannot philosophise successfully. For what grand inspiration could come to anyone who is burdened by lack of daily sustenance? Wealth is the means necessary for literature and erudition. It is safe to assume that this was the reason why learning was called SBO in the language of the Egyptians, i.e. sustenance enough only for the rich to devote themselves to the liberal arts. If

poor women were to strive for philosophy without the means to do so successfully, they would rather reach that righteous end with bad ways, virtue with crime and philosophy with shameful gains (there are numerous examples of this).

Those who are lucky to have parents who can or want to educate them – either themselves or with the help of someone else noted for virtue and wisdom –, I should think, are best off. For not everyone has the same time for studies, and many women are hampered by the administration of the household and the management of domestic affairs. Therefore, maidens should be slightly more free [15] from these concerns in their youth, but not so much as to make them neglect and set aside their remaining chores, e.g. manual labour, altogether; we would not want to undermine the dignity of these pursuits. We believe a partnerless life is quite profitable for adults and adolescents, and likewise the service of maidservants for those with family. How can any woman be devoted to literature, whose mind is instead always fixed on managing the household? *A partnerless life is a heavenly life*, someone rightly said. Nor is it a vain opinion that this is the best way of life, and that nothing is more blessed than a free bed, granted of course the boon of moderation. Compare partnerless life and life in alliance, and you will presently see which is to be preferred before the other, and which better equips you to strive for philosophy. Thus no one will be surprised if we do not readily agree with the opinion of Tacitus, whom we otherwise quite deservedly hold in the highest regard, when he asserts that *marriage has been the dignity and strength of anyone ever to have strived for greater things*. We will easily agree upon the dignity of a family prepared to tolerate performing duties, if he has understood this, but if not, [16] it will be harder for us to accept it. This opinion is acknowledged by the old philosophers who, as we gather, found the bonds of matrimony quite hateful, like shackles of a free and out-spoken mind. Here, we do not disapprove of or condemn it altogether (which is inappropriate), since I think we know that marriage has been approved and granted by divine, natural and civil law, and that everyone knows that the world could not remain or be delivered from ruin without it. Nor do we advocate unwed life collectively to everyone, but more earnestly to the prudent and to whoever strives for philosophy, as long as they can manage it correctly.

The number of examples of women who successfully devote time to literature and philosophy is so great, that the number deters me from counting them. To bring up a few, however, will be worthwhile in order to shed light on the effortless capability of the female sex correctly to understand any science, and to carry out whatever task she

may have undertaken as soon as she applies herself to it with diligence. The wife of Brontinus of Croton, Theano, who is said to be the first among women to have philosophised and [17] written poems, made considerable progress in letters and particularly in the field of Pythagorean philosophy. There was also another Theano, wife of Pythagoras, of whom we read that she wrote some philosophical commentaries, and also apophthegms and poems in heroic verse. We read reports saying that Pericles (who, according to Clement of Alexandria, also taught her the art of rhetoric) showed the greatest interest in Aspasia of Miletus for her wit and sense of civil discipline, and that Socrates employed her as a teacher of philosophy; Plutarch believes that Pericles' relationship with Aspasia was more on the amorous side. We read that Laschenia of Mantinea or, according to Athenaeus, Lastheneia of Arcadia, and Axiothea of Phlius, who also allegedly wore a man's clothes, devoted themselves to Platonic philosophy, and that their sleep was not lost in vain. The mother-taught Aristippus himself testifies that his daughter Arete did not waste her efforts in letters. Thales tells us that Eumetis or Cleobulina, [18] as she is generally called after her father Cleobulus who was one of the Seven Sages of Greece, was not only known for her riddles composed in hexametric verse, but also had the loftiest mind, and was judicious both in public and personal matters. By her influence, she even made her father rule his citizens more clemently. The matter of Gilberta being so skilled in letters that she, having lied about her sex, dared to rise to the highest pontifical dignity is so known as to make it needless for me to cover it. Lipsius was so astounded by the works, the intellect, the prudence and the judgement of the most honourable Marie de Gournay that he could hardly bear her approaching and even surpassing not only his own learning but also that of his fellow men. It is with quiet admiration we rightly revere the in all aspects nearly perfect learning of the most Serene Queen Christina of Sweden – the most famous one of our time, although wavering in religious matters –; the learning of the incomparable Queen Elizabeth of England, which she decked with many languages, is not flaunted in England alone but has spread farther out and become known [19] to the whole world. So great was Anna and Vendela Skytte's skill in letters, that the illustrious Patron and greatest parent Johan Skytte – contrary to custom – bequeathed an equally large portion of his wealth and possessions to his daughters, who were no less intelligent than their father, as to his sons. Anna Maria van Schurman rose to such a high level of learning, that she is considered a wonder of her age, and was attributed more praise than could ever be earned and sustained by

chance alone. Among the women of Sweden, it is the utmost learning and the spectacular knowledge of uncountable subjects and languages of the most noble and virtuous Sophia Elisabet Brenner which we revere most. In praising her, the Frenchman competes with the Italian while the Dane competes with the rest, each in his native language (there are examples of this that should be brought up to serve as an incentive to virtue for many people, but that the unjust space restraints will not allow). We will not attempt to reach these levels of praise just now; lest we seem to coax her and offend her chaste eyes and ears if it should happen to touch them, we keep it [20] silently hidden in our reverent chests until we let it out to be sung during the time after her funeral, which of course we wish to happen late. Moreover, she has sent us the will of the Skytte family with her own generous hand.

Ignorance of languages delays the journey not a little for those who strive for philosophy: indeed, the use and benefits of languages are so great, that there is no chance of seeking philosophy at all without them. Quite justly, then, we demand that women have knowledge of the erudite languages, that is, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. For languages are faithful guardians, intermediaries and interpreters of things which, when a specific language is spoken to us, produce a natural image of themselves in our minds, and caress our senses with wondrous grace and pleasure. Not even in the best translations will you find any of these things so well brought back to life and expression, that you would not wish for something else elsewhere. I will say nothing of how useful the knowledge of languages is in terms of the Holy Scripture, nor how fruitful and pleasant it is to unfold, examine and absorb the heavenly teachings from their very sources. And who does not know that the power hidden in one language but not in another [21] cannot be expressed without much verbal ambiguity?

Those who are skilled in languages we introduce into the temple of eloquence, where they will learn to put words on what they feel and to communicate whatever they wish to others with elegance and pleasantness. There are those who think that everyone is eloquent enough in matters familiar to them, and we cannot deny that many people possess the greatest fluency of speech and are quite skilled in discourse because of a splendid natural talent or an excellent mind. Such oral skills, however, achieved by nature alone, or speech made up by words adopted from the trivium, are not eloquence, since true eloquence should flourish in its nuanced grasp of many things and be secured by exploring one's abilities daily, and by exercising and practising oratory. Hence we agree with Cicero saying that *wisdom without eloquence*

is to no use for states, whereas eloquence without wisdom most often hinders them greatly, but is never to their avail. It is certain that eloquence is won not only by nature and exercise but by skill also; *this is greater than humans believe, and acquired through many arts and studies. For certainly, it demands [22] a versatile knowledge without which our diction would be rendered inane and almost childish.* The famous king Pyrrhus of Epirus declared just how great is the oratorical power of true eloquence, when he openly confessed that *Cineas had subdued more cities with eloquent oration than he himself with weapons.*⁴

Similarly women have also been, and still are, strong in the art of eloquence, which is testified by monuments from our age as well as that of our fore-fathers. To mention Cornelia here, I think, would be the less relevant since the famous mother-taught Gracchi put her eloquence on display, who, while they outmatched other Roman men with the greatness of their native qualities, drew their distinction from education as much as nature. Aretaphila of Cyrene spoke with such power and pleasantness, that she, so Plutarch tells us, managed to soften the anger of the cruel tyrant Nicocrates with her discretion and eloquent speech. The wife of Agapitus de Colonna calmed the Pope Boniface VIII with her eloquence when he was burning with anger and hatred. Isabella, the wife of [23] King Ferdinand the Catholic, was born to reach distinction and was truly a woman involved in the affairs of men. She loved learning like no one else, and specifically indulged in oratory, observing and often advising those who made mistakes or got their syllables amiss.

Poetry is denounced by its hurtful scourgers as being invented only to seduce the minds of stupid people with lascivious rhythms, the numbers and accents of syllables and the empty rumbling of words. Moreover, for deceiving them with the allurements of its narratives and patchwork of lies. They believe that it should by no means be forced upon honest ears. Yet to us, these little delights, the spice of the human intellect, are the more precious. Whoever wishes to philosophise should not avoid poems, but instead we see it fit to apply some philosophical contemplation in writing them in order to draw utility from what gives us pleasure; in this way, we will be governed by our palate no more than by our heart. So to my mind, there is little difference between poets who believe poems should be composed only for the sake of amusement, and little boys who would rather indulge [24] their eyes with the

⁴ Again, the quotation is rendered both in Greek and Latin.

colourful and golden covers of books than their minds with what is hidden inside. Apart from the pleasantness and delight native to poets, you will certainly find usefulness in them as well, for *they strive to be useful and amusing at the same time*. Under the covers and concealments of their words, there lie hidden at least traces of all arts, if not a clear outline. No one will deny that there is a strong connexion and much interchange between this discipline and others, and that it often takes elements from them to conform to its own usage (the task of trying this assertion by going through each and every one of them would be too vast). Indeed, a poet who wants to perform his task rightly must approach this end instructed by the precepts of philosophy. Without them, a mind otherwise brilliant is like a field – likewise fertile – without seeds and cultivation.

I am convinced that the art of poetry begins with nature, is directed by a sense of artistry and perfected by practise, like many other things. And so whoever lavishly praises – and yields too much to – nature, dismissing what comes afterwards as insignificant, is wasting their efforts. [25] Yet, let us not deny that nature does claim the biggest part. As proof, we have those people who although they are not trained in the art, make rhythms and compose poems in such a way as to leave hardly a syllable wanting or needless. At the same time, an intellect without artistry is not sufficient on its own, and a sense of artistry – if there is no intellect – is not enough to produce a rich poem decked with the brilliant ornaments of oratory. Practise makes perfect where these things harmonise. The usefulness of this art, I should think, is so great that no one can praise it with few words, nor seek or even grasp it properly. This was known by the ancient Greeks, who took pains to educate their children in poetry from a early age, *not for the sake of pleasure alone*, (to use the words of Strabo in stead of my own), *but for that of chaste temperance alike*.

This art we claim the more for women, since we can see that they adhere to it slightly more than to other arts, and that many women are attracted to it by unique instinct and inspiration. It should also be added that the pursuit of this art, while sweetly caressing and pleasing anyone who loves it, has more [26] dignity among women than among men, and gives the most pleasure to the delicate sex. This nature has longed to expose what power it has in countless women who have taken to writing so successfully, that they seem to snatch the palm of victory out of the men's hands. Of all the women who in the uncivilised Antiquity were believed to have sung their poetry excited and animated by some divine inspiration and prophetic spirit, I shall

first mention Sibylla of Delphi, who gave answers to those seeking counsel in the sanctuary of Apollo. Some believe that Homer, who surpassed all earlier and later poets in poetic skill, borrowed quite a few verses from her and grafted them into his own works to perfect them. Diodorus Siculus remembers her under the name of Daphne, daughter of the prophet Tiresias, and her wondrous native qualities, praising her efforts and singular skill in composing various oracles. *From whom* (these are his words) *Homer borrowed no slight number of verses, and adorned his own poetry with them.* Phemonoe, Apollo's first priestess of Delphi, allegedly invented the heroic verse, which is acknowledged by Eusebius [27], in that he relates that Pythia was the first priestess to have sung her prophesies in hexametric verse. Plutarch makes known that Telesilla, born into an illustrious family, was made famous no less by her skill with weapons than by her poetry. Sappho of Eresos on Lesbos (or, according to Daléchamps, of Eressos), the daughter either of Scamandronymus, as is held by Herodotus, or of Simo, or of someone else, was the inventor of the Sapphic verse, and wrote nine books of lyric poetry. She also wrote epigrams (for which she is sometimes called the Epigrammatist), elegies, monodies and iambic poetry, as affirmed by Suida. There was another Lesbia from Mitylene, after the former in time but not in artistic skill, who glowed for Phaon (yet Athenaeus tells us that it was another one, from Eressia, who loved Phaon), and was often mentioned by Ovid. Guido Morillus reports that she wrote poems so brilliant and numerous among the Greeks, that she was called the Tenth Muse. We read that Damophila of Lesbos, a friend to and [28] of the same age as Sappho, also wrote many poems; partly love poems and partly poems in honour of Diana. The five books of epigrams written by the lyric poetess Corinna of Thebes, a student of Myrthis, whom Propertius recalls, tells us just how skilled she was in the art of poetry. It is worth noting that she is not to be confused with Thesbia who was made famous by the works of our ancestors, or the girl with whom Ovid was desperately in love. The elegant poem of Erinna of Teos, Telos or Tenos who lived during the time of Dion of Syracuse, which she composed in Doric Greek with 300 lines, and other epigrams are so valued, that they are said to reach almost Homeric dignity. If it were unknown, and if we did not think that the benevolent reader could be attracted, moved and persuaded to give us his approval by the examples already brought up, there could be added infinite more examples of women who have grown famous for their poetry in this and earlier ages – and are still doing so now.

Everyone will agree that a method is the best way to go in all things, but absolutely necessary in the disciplines. If you neglect [29] it, you will do everything irregularly. We readily agree that it is supplied by nature, and that the rank of the disciplines is natural. However, it can not come from nature alone, as it is desired in philosophy. Certainly, a complete structure and understanding of the disciplines requires a more detailed order than the common one. And since the human mind is always subject to error, there are rules and regulations ready at hand to direct, lead and govern the mind in the search for truth, to prevent it straying. The less keenness of judgement she possesses, and the more dimly she foresees and considers what should be avoided, the more necessary and useful we consider the method for a woman who wants to philosophise successfully.

Amongst all disciplines, it is logic or dialectics that is the foremost one – not even with the exception of eloquence –, fighting with the muscles of dialectics, and prostrating its tenacious opponent with legitimately evoked conclusions and, when he rises, transfixing and overthrowing him with repeated thrusts, until he is forced to surrender and submit himself to the victor. Nor [30] indeed is it confined to groups aiming to discuss, and to those who are usually in command of formal speeches, but also serves to extract the truth in any sort of science, or contributes in refuting what is untrue. As proof of the fact that women have not struggled in vain in this discipline, just as in others, there are for example the women, mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, who reached the very pinnacle of the discipline and for that were called Dialecticians.

It is beyond debate that everyone should know the Divine Law, and you can not be ignorant of it without it damaging your well-being. Not to be familiar with the Man-Made Law is shameful; that way, you will not know what is your duty, what is right and wrong, just and unjust, and by your own fault you will inevitably fall into bad ways and severe error. While this ignorance, especially of Natural Right, is blameful in learned women and those who want to philosophise with a clear mind (for how will they preserve their name, when the most eminent part of them has been stripped away?), it is extremely blameful in the daughters of leaders, who, if there is no male heir, are assigned the reign by civil law. Such women are unable to rule rightly and execute their duties justly, unless they consign [31] the management of state affairs to pious, religious, faithful and learned men. Concerning the public practising of law, we do not press it upon women as less necessary or relevant, but it is the coyness of their

sex that stands in the way. Yet history gives us many examples of women who would not let the circumstances of their nature or gown of coyness prevent them debating in the open courts of justice: having carefully addressed the remarks of the defence and been acquitted in the first part of the proceedings, the strong Amaesia quite deservedly received the name *Man-woman*. I will not bring up Afrania, Hortensia and many others. Since knowledge of Law is not only important in public and high functions but also helps conform and direct the customs and practises of humans to a common norm of justice, we will claim it useful also for those women who are beneath the throne.

We do not think anyone can ever congratulate themselves on having a body not liable to sickness and change; but if such happiness would have come to mankind, [32] the art of medicine would have no apparent use. Since we are constantly shifting, suffering and wending our way towards our end, we must search for ways to remain well and restore our sick bodies to good health. It is with this in mind you must assess the value of medicine, because everyone needs it. How quickly does our body catch the infection of diseases? How fragile is it, that it is broken by the lightest breeze? Many people complain about how spiteful nature is in bringing them into such a short lifetime, and how quickly the course of our allotted time passes by. Yet these complaints are altogether different from those of people with feeble health: although only dragging their life on for a limited period of time, they feel as though they have lived for ever. Our fate has given us nothing so precious, that we would not readily expend it to regain our good health. So whoever has help and medicine close at hand is lucky, but whoever can aid himself is luckier. Thus, danger is lessened by delay, for *it is too late to prepare treatment, when the disease has grown strong through long delay*.

All agree that men should and [33] can learn this art thoroughly, but women are often prevented and kept off from it. In the old laws of the Athenians it was made sure that neither slave nor woman learn or practise medicine, but after Agnodice had successfully yet in secret treated ailing women, having accomplished much after disclosing her sex, she ensured that free-born women could treat others unpunished from then on by actively pleading her case before the members of the Areopagus. I certainly do not think this verdict was unjust: should modest women not rather take matters into their own hands if they could, than place themselves at the hands and examination of male doctors? We remember cases where women have been so much

ashamed, that they, leaving all things untried, would rather die than entrust their body to the hands of a doctor. To matrons as well, and to those who have children, medicine is quite useful: for then they themselves would be able to help their little children immediately, who are so often caught and tormented by disease and in need of quick help. Sometimes they [34] treat the sick more successfully than men, even those that male doctors had dismissed as incurable. This we are taught by experience, and male doctors confess it themselves.

However, doctors can not treat the sick safely or make their prayers come true, unless they are quite familiar with the nature and cause of the disease and the constitution of the body before hand. It is apparent to everyone that medicine, whose one purpose is to uphold good health and restore it when poor, rests upon the foundations of Physics, *which supplies the reasons and causes of all doings and happenings produced from the bosom of nature. This discipline is so excellent and so useful that it should be coveted, even – if possible – practised by everyone.* What skill and ambition women have had both in physics and medicine is attested by Saint Hildegard of Bingen among others, who explained natural philosophy in four books, and her abbess, who left one book on simple medicine and one on composite medicine to posterity.

Out of all sciences descending from known elements in nature, metaphysics [35] is the greatest one. This science we should mark out the more for women who strive for philosophy, since, in reflecting on the very first and universal foundations of knowledge and thinking, it is extremely useful in other sciences and skills as well.

Among other arts and disciplines, we find that mathematics is praised by authors, and mathesis was to the particular delight of kings and princes. It aids the human needs and helps and guides our natural abilities. It wonderfully stimulates and excites the minds of students, prepares them to understand other disciplines, and its use shines and gleams in war just as in peace. We are sure that neither Callicrates nor Myrmecides, nor even Lynceus could see quite as clearly as they could in the light of arithmetics and geometry. Apart from being useful in philosophy, these disciplines also aid family mothers and those in charge of the household. The study of geography, to name something else, is so pleasant to women and fascinates them so much, that they compete with men in this discipline.

Their natural tendency and wonderfully pleasant voice – where they often surpass men – make the art of music women's own (wishing to be concise, we can not bring

up every [36] application, although they are not without use). Aglaonike daughter of Hegemon, or Aganike daughter of Hegetor, as others have it, was so skilled in astrology that she boasted about being able to call down the moon from the heaven in front of other women – or she merely pretended to in earnest; it is not important here. There are also the astronomical tablets of Queen Elizabeth of Spain.

How generously we praise the discipline of Ethics, which brings a straying nature in order, and teaches us which path to take. And as much as women should pay attention to ethics, so much does aretology excel all other complete states of mind in dignity, and beautifully adorns the female sex. Grant a woman the richest instruments to all arts and sciences and remove her virtue, whose image is expressed and contained by the precepts of ethics, and before your eyes will appear the most hideous beast, foul monster or abominable prodigy. Then it will be impossible to form in one's mind or shape in one's thoughts a more ferocious animal fed with the fruits of [37] philosophy. On the contrary, what could be greater than for a woman to be able to investigate all her duties wisely and with discretion, and with equal readiness undertake, implement and execute them? You will quite rightly say that such a woman is lucky and blessed, and also her husband for having a wife like her, who shines and gleams with virtue no less than gold, pearls or precious jewels with their colourful shimmer.

Some are wrongly convinced that the study of politics is useful and necessary only to those in charge of affairs of state and those who are at the helm of the reign (for this position we have also, quite justly, assigned to women), and so they have taken pains to, as it were, prevent both men and women practising it, who did not rule the state. But although we have agreed to direct politics to the customs and practises of state, and admitted that women are not as suitable as men to take on political functions, we nevertheless believe that everyone should pay attention to it – and some even practise it – for the sake of theory and for the special fruits that flow from it in abundance.

Economics, which is a sort of household [38] state itself, is also part of the management of the state; and so whoever neglects economics also neglects the state, since he will then be a bad citizen. Since the society is a body, as it were, made up by families, it will not be strong unless these families themselves are well in private matters. If we want this domestic society to be made up correctly, there must be those who rule and those who are ruled, just like in a public society, and everyone needs to

do their duty. Everyone knows how useful and necessary this domestic discipline is for married just like for unmarried women. It is for a married woman to know how to love, honour and indulge her husband, how to preserve the female faithfulness, decency and modesty and how to adjust her nature to the ways of her husband – sometimes even by enduring the particularly captious ones. To learn how to raise her children well if only there should be any, and how to manage servants and housemaids with dignity. An unmarried woman should know how to love and revere her parents by closely taking after their virtues but avoiding their faults, if they should have any, and by tolerating and ignoring their weaknesses and defects, and, put briefly, how to live a respectable life with her parents [39] and with her entire family.

Old and recent examples generously brought to us by history recognise both: with Cicero calling history the teacher of life, we cannot see why women should be separated from it, especially since we know that while it is delightful, honourable and amusing, it is also extremely useful. Since women are so devoted to studying this art that they are always occupied with it more than anyone else in their private apartments, they will also reap its rich fruits. For while history brands dishonest men with a permanent mark of disgrace but gives everlasting glory to those who are good, it deters dishonest women – unless their old vices have struck root too far and wide – from crime with fear of disgrace and eternal disrepute; honest women, on the other hand, it draws and encourages to continue tirelessly on their way to virtue with hope of praise and eternal glory. It makes our descendants able to examine our patterns, as it were, and also gives them examples of how to act in private and in public, and it provides us with more experience than even the longest human lifetime could collect. [40] This was known by the famous Zenobia, queen of the Palmyrene empire, who taunted the Roman leaders for a long time: apart from having completely learned the history of the Greeks and the Romans, she, a talent in languages, was so versed in the Oriental history that she herself wrote a summary of it to be used by posterity. We do not speak at random when we say that the Argive burned for this art when she undertook to put down the deeds of Dionysius in writing. The distinguished and noble Catharina Båth, a Swedish Baroness, wrote some genealogical commentaries and single-handedly painted the crests and clan tokens of the families. In these commentaries they say that Messenius' aberrations are detected. The work has not been published yet, but remains with its author.

These are some examples with which we have attempted to follow the present argument. Since our method, having turned and twisted under our hands, has grown larger than it was first supposed to, we now take our hands off the writing tablet – granted that much has been left out – earnestly asking that you, Benevolent Reader, whoever you are, will kindly receive and frankly interpret our work.

4. Commentary

4.1 Dedication and dedicatory poems

Johannis Esbergii] Johan Esberg (1665–1734), was born in Kumla, Närke, the son of Andreas Laurentii Edsbergius and Clara Fogdonia. At the age of 20, he earned his Master's Degree in Theology at the University of Uppsala in 1685 after having matriculated in 1677. Following his first journey through Europe in 1686, during which he made brief sojourns in such cities as Hamburg, Nürnberg, Vienna and Prague and Berlin, he embarked on his second tour in 1689, which found him enrolled at the University of Giessen two years later and appointed Doctor of Theology the same year. His 1694 marriage with Magdalena Lundia, niece of the wife of Olof Rudbeck senior, saw his entrance into the society of the intellectual clerisy of the day, and more specifically that of said Rudbeck and his peers; in 1695, Rudbeck sent a petition to Charles XI imploring him to let Esberg take office as *Pastor Primarius* in Almunge, a function he was subsequently accorded. In 1698 he was appointed professor of Greek Literature after an unsuccessful application for the chair of professor of oriental languages in 1695, and in 1703 Professor of Theology. The same year, and in 1707, he was also the President of the University of Uppsala and 1711 transferred to take office as the Superintendent of Gotland, where he remained for the 23 remaining years of his life. The same year as he presided over Hedengrahn's dissertation, he was also the praeses of the clerical assembly (*prästmöte*).

in Auditorio Gustaviano Majori] Located in the main building Gustavianum of Uppsala University was the Auditorium Gustavianum Majus, the greatest lecture hall of the entire academy, and the customary venue for academic ceremonies such as the defending of a dissertation or oratorial exercises. Gustavianum was funded by an unprecedented donation made by King Gustavus Adolphus, and built between 1622–1625 (Lindroth 1975:21).

Senatori et Consiliario] the *senator* at this time was the Royal Councillor, or *Riksråd*. A *consiliarius* (*rådsherre*), was the member of the *consilium* (*riksrådet*). (Helander 2004, p. 210 and Nordisk familjebok, *riksråd*.)

Academiae...Cancellario] the *cancellarius* of a university was the chancellor (*kansler*). The first chancellor of Uppsala University (note that the dedicatee here held the office at Lund University), was Johan Skytte.

4.1.2 Dedication to Nils Gyldenstolpe

Nicolao Gyldenstolpe] Nils Gyldenstolpe (1642–1709), the son of Juris Doctor Mikael Olai Wexionius Gyldenstolpe, was one of the most prominent confidants of King Charles XI. So great was his favour that he, upon returning from a peregrination in the capacity of envoy in the Netherlands commenced in 1679, was furnished with the office of chancellor of the University of Lund, and appointed the governor of Charles XII, all in 1690 (his was nobility by birth; in 1650, his father had been elevated to the peerage and received the name Gyldenstolpe) (cf. *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*); in addition, we learn from *Svenska adelns ättar-taflor* that he was elevated to count of Noor (Nor) in the parish of Kifsta (modern Knivsta), and to lord over Segerstad and Lidingsnäs (*Lidingenäs*), and some localities in Finland. This is somewhat different to what Hedengrahn says, in that he tells us that Gyldenstolpe, conversely, is count of Segerstad and lord of e.g. Nor.

Moecenati Maximo] The expenses associated with the printing of a dissertation were always covered by the respondent himself, even if he was not the originator of the ideas discussed in it. Printing was expensive, and the respondent would very often publicly dedicate the dissertation to a patron in exchange for e.g. having the printing paid for (cf. Sjökvist 2012, p. 11).

4.1.3 Poem to Nils Gyldenstolpe

The dedicatory poem was a fixed genre, a petrified format. The language was often more or less the same, the style highflown and the metaphors recurrent (Helander 2004, p. 553); the dissertation under scrutiny is no exception. Authors would employ metaphors such as *Aonidum chorus*, *coetus Musarum*, *apex Heliconis* and the like. The order and constellation of the metaphorical words changed more than the words themselves (cf. Helander 2004, p. 553 and the dedicatory poems to Nils Gyldenstolpe and S.E. Brenner).

Tornaiei] this must mean *of Torneå*, but Gyldenstolpe was born in Åbo which is not very close.

Columnam] *statua*, *columna*, *aurum* and *fulchrum* may refer to Gyldenstolpe's name. A Latin translation, for example, could have been *aurea columna*. It is possible that the word *stolpe* is intentionally rendered three times with different words here for rhetorical effect, and *gylden* with *aurea*.

4.1.4 Poem and dedication to Gustav Heidenfeldt

Gustavo Heidenfeldt] Gustav Ericsson Heideman, son of the court judge Eric Ericson in Hedemora, held numerous military titles and offices during his lifetime, of which some are the following: captain at the regiment of *Västerbotten*, lieutenant colonel of the Dal Regiment in 1676 and of the Kronoberg regiment in 1698. Elevated to the peerage in 1677, he received the name Heidenfeldt. His marriage to the Baroness Elisabeth von Schönleben yielded no children, and he was thus the last – and first – of his noble line. (*Svenska adelns ättar-taflor N:o 908*)

telum...Morae] Gustav Heidenfeldt being a man of the military, we will interpret the simile with the *spear of the threatening Pallas* and the *thunderbolt of war* as a testimony of his devastating efficacy in battle.

vili...munere] The *recusatio* was a commonplace occurrence in the literary sphere of the time, and no less so in the genre of dissertations and dedicatory poems or letters. The author would assert his inferiority compared to the dedicatee, and declare his ineptitude facing a major task or enterprise. He would submit himself and his work to the grace and benevolence of the recipient, and hesitate as to whether his mean work was worthy the splendour of his addressee (cf. Helander 2004, pp. 533).

A very illustrating example of the customary *recusatio* is found in another dissertation over which Johan Esberg presided (the following quotation, however, is not addressed to him). It goes "diu animo fluctuavi, dubiusque et suspensus haesi, an praesentem dissertationem, nullâ, nec rerum, nec verborum, nec denique artificii dignitate commendabilem, Tuo Illustrissimo Nomini inscriberem [...]"¹

Musarum in coetu] The metaphor of the Muses was often used to denote academic learning and erudition during the time, in the light of which we must therefore understand the reference here.

doctae...Minervae] Just as *in coetu Musarum* above would be a metaphor for wisdom – [...] *shows how great is the power of women in the society of Muses, i.e. learned people*– this must be a metaphor for essentially the same thing. Minerva being the goddess of wisdom etc., the *castra Minervae* would mean something along

¹ Almgren, G. Nils (defen.) & Esberg, Johan (praes.), *Exercitium Academicum de Tonsura Pontificiis Usu Recepta*. Uppsala 1701.

the lines of *in the camp of the erudite* thus practically the same as in the preceding metaphor.

Apollo] Just like the Muses were metaphors for wisdom and learning, a patron of culture, learning and literature was often referred to as Apollo. (Helander 2004, p. 553). This seems to hold true for this particular passage. The three metaphors with Minerva, the Muses and Apollo would appear to be three different ways of saying basically the same thing: they all have to do with learning and erudition, and express the ability with which women can assert themselves in erudite surroundings.

4.1.5 Dedicatory poem to, and letter from, S.E. Brenner

Sophiae Elis. Brenner] Sophia Elisabet Brenner was one of the most learned and famous Swedish women of the 17th century. Born in 1659, she received a solid education in letters and languages and later excelled in the composition of poems in various European languages; her eagerness in acquiring learning was endorsed and encouraged by her husband, the polymath Elias Brenner (1647–1717). (cf. Svenskt biografiskt lexikon).

In the context of this dissertation she appears in the capacity of future mother-in-law of Petrus Hedengrahn, who would later marry her step-daughter Regina Brenner. Sophia Elisabet wrote a letter to Hedengrahn for the occasion of his approaching disputation in response to a letter he had sent her (see Introduction). She was an ardent advocator of women's right to receive a solid literary education, and would often discuss her opinions in letters to various prominent figures of the day.

Oeconomicis 1] What is meant by *economics* here is merely the management of household affairs, as opposed to our specified semantic scope of the management of financial means.

Institutum 1] By this, of course, we understand Hedengrahn's impending disputation. It must be assumed that Brenner was quite familiar indeed with his designs, being the step-mother of his future wife, and here she displays her conviction of the literary prowess of women.

nostrae] The original text reads *nostra*, but as the sentence requires the word to be in the genitive case, we will emend it to *nostrae* with *sexus* in the genitive as well.

Paulum...virtus 1] The reference is to the Odes of Horace, more precisely book IV chapter IX lines 29–32. The recipient of the ode is Lollius, and Horace talks about strong men whose virtue has been committed to oblivion, since there was no one to sing its praise; uncelebrated virtue is the same as buried sloth, then, and Horace will not let the virtue of Lollius meet the same fate. With this in mind, it is clear what Brenner means by adducing the quotation: who will ever acknowledge or even be alive to the literary proficiency of women, if it is never celebrated and praised?

Duabus Catharinis 2] The reference is to the two women Catharina Bååt and Catharina Gyllengrip.

Catharina Bååt, daughter of the Chief Justice Jakob Snakenborg and wife of the councillor Lars Eriksson Sparre (married in 1641) is supposed to be the one who made a commentary over, added to and corrected Johannes Messenius' work *Theatrum Nobilitatis Svecanae*, while also painting the family crests. Catharina (Carin) Gyllengrip (d. 1667) was known for her Swedish translation of the German author Martin Hyller's (1575–1651) *Güldenens Schatz-Kästlein (Gyllene Skattkista)* (Elgenstierna)

Celeberrimus Schefferus 2] Johannes Schefferus (1621–1679) was one of the scholars brought to Uppsala university from abroad on the initiative of Johan Skytte and Axel Oxenstierna to meet the growing demand of professors and learned men. Born of German parents, Schefferus received his education at Swiss, French and Dutch universities before taking office as Professor Skytteanus in Uppsala in 1648 (cf. SBL, s.v.) Among his predecessors on the post was Johannes Loccenius, whose daughter Regina Loccenia Schefferus married in 1648 (*Svenska adelns ättar-taflor*, von Scheffer).

His was a prolific scientific authorship, with such titles under his belt as *Lapponia* (1673), *Svecia Literata* (posthumously published in 1680), and a great many other publications discussing a wide variety of subjects. *Svecia Literata* is a comprehensive catalogue of Swedish writers and written works, commenced already in the early 1670s. (SBL above).

Svecia Literata 2] see above.

Vendela et Anna Skytte 2] Anna (1610–1679) and Vendela (1608–1629) Skytte were the daughters of the renowned Johan skytte (see below). In accordance with the ideals of their father, they were both amply educated in letters and languages; the facility with which Vendela assimilated the teachings soon made her name famous in

literate circles, and by the time of her premature death in the plague in 1629, she was proficient in many languages –classical and modern– as well as in many scientific disciplines. There is a striking resemblance here to the early years of the aforementioned Sophie Elisbet Brenner, and one can only speculate as to what great things Vendela Skytte might have achieved if she had not left her earthly life so soon.

In Stålberg 1864 we read that Anna, likewise a talent in letters, died young like her sister; from Elgenstierna, however, we learn that she died in 1679. This must be the same person, since Johan Skytte only had one daughter by the name of Anna.

Heroë...Skytte 2] Having studied at universities in Germany and England Johan Skytte (1577–1645), then a devout ramist, returned to Sweden where he was appointed chancellor of the University of Uppsala in 1622. A prominent figure in the political life of the day, he was one of three driving forces behind the upswing of Uppsala University in the 1620s; the other two were Axel Oxenstierna and King Gustavus Adolphus, for whom Skytte had previously served as a private tutor. (cf. Lindroth 1975, p. 18) Skytte was convinced of the merit of learning in letters and erudition, a course he pursued, as we have seen, in the education of his children.

Tabellae Testamentariae 2] The reference probably is to Johan Skytte's will, a copy of which S.E. Brenner enclosed in her letter to Hedengrahn.

Upsaliense Athenaeum 3] The *Athenaeum* was an institution for learning founded by the Emperor Hadrian and probably situated in the Capitol. Not unlike a university, it would employ a body of staff constituted by experts of various academic disciplines, and furthermore it was a venue for practicians of various arts to come and recite their compositions. (Smith 1870, *Athenaeum*) The reference in Brenner's letters is obviously to this institution, and by *Upsaliense Athenaeum* she simply means the Academy or University of Uppsala.

Ebba Maria de la Gardie 3] Ebba Maria de la Gardie (1657–1697), daughter of Pontus Fredric de la Gardie (see below) and Beata Elisabet von Königsmarck was known for her learning, and composed occasional poems chiefly in Swedish and German. (SBL, s.v.) She seems to have been on cordial terms with S.E. Brenner, according to whom de la Gardie showed her a copy of her spiritual contemplations just two months before she passed away. The fact that Brenner composed a poem in

German for the occasion of de la Gardie's funeral² would also indicate a rather close relationship.

It is somewhat strange that Brenner should not mention E.M. de la Gardie's younger sister Johanna Eleonora de la Gardie in this context, as she has been later considered to surpass the poetic merit and erudition of her sister (Stålberg & Berg 1864, *Johanna Eleonora de la Gardie*). We cannot know for sure, but it might just be because Brenner did not have as close a relationship with Johanna Eleonora as she did with her sister.

Maria Aurora Königsmark 3] Born of German parents, Maria Aurora Königsmarck (1662–1728) was brought up by her mother and educated in accordance with the literary ideals of her day, not unlike her cousins E.M. and J.E. de la Gardie (above). She is alleged to have possessed a striking facility to learn language, and had an eager interest in scientific research and political discussions.

She was born in Stade, Niedersachsen, but upon the loss of her husband in 1673 Maria Aurora's mother moved to Hamburg with her two daughters, whence they later moved to Stockholm in 1680. The migration to Sweden, apparently, had to do with a pressing scarcity of financial means, and this the mother hoped to alleviate by the munificence of her influential Swedish relatives. The elegant and ostentatious life at court had exerted a considerable strain on the family's financial situation, and upon her mother's death in 1691, Maria Aurora left Sweden for good. In 1696 she had a son, the later renowned commander Moritz of Sachsen.

Brenner's words "[...] alteri cedit, et adhuc apud exteros, vitali vescitur aura" must be taken to refer to Maria Aurora's leaving Sweden in 1691.

vitali...aura 3] the phrase is taken from Lucretius' *De Natura Rerum* book five, but appears there as *vesci vitalibus auris*. To feed on vital air, viz. to live (Brenner here puts her knowledge of ancient authors and their writings on display).

Otto Sperling 3] Otto Sperling Jr (1634–1715) was one of many learned men with whom S.E. Brenner entertained epistolary correspondence.³ He was a man of many interests, engaged in such fields as e.g. numismatics, philology and literature (Göransson 2006, p. 79; all biographical information on Otto Sperling Jr. will have

² Die vergebliche Furcht der Kunst-Göttinnen/Bey Absterben der Weyland Hochwolgeböhrnen Fräulein Fr!Ebba Maria de la Gardie. Digitalised by Litteraturbanken.

<http://litteraturbanken.se/#!/forfattare/BrennerSE/titlar/PoetiskeDikter1/sida/132/etext>

³In *Letters of a Learned Lady* (2004) Elisabet Göransson counts 72 preserved letters to 27 different people, but remarks that the number must have been higher.

been taken from here or from DBL). Having studied abroad for a number of years (the Netherlands, England and France), and taken office as a private tutor upon his return in 1662, he earned his Jur. Doc. Degree in Kiel in 1674. Upon being appointed professor – and dismissed – at the institution *Ridderakademien* in Copenhagen, he applied for numerous positions without avail, and was reinstated professor in 1702. The Academy was closed a number of years later, and from that point he earned his living writing to generous patrons and acquaintances for aid.

In this context, he is interesting for having compiled a so called *gynaeceum*, a catalogue of learned women. To that end, he would contact any contemporary woman he wished to include in his work by letter, requesting information about their literary achievements. (Göransson 2006, p. 79) He would also ask male correspondents for information. S.E.Brenner, of course, is quite alive to the merit which Sperling attached to the name of learned women by including them in his *gynaeceum*, as we can see in her letter (*Quanti Vir Excellens...judicabis*).

Luitzowiam Danicam 3] The person to whom Brenner refers is Anne Margrethe Qvitzow (1652–1700). She was a learned lady born on the island Fyn in Denmark, the daughter of Eiles Qvitzow. Admired for her learning and judgment – the products of homeschooling in modern and ancient languages – she wrote Latin epigrams and translated, among other things, Caesar's *de Bello Gallico* and Cicero's *De Officiis*. In 1673, at the age of 21, she submitted information about herself and her family to Otto Sperling upon the latter's request. (*Dansk Kvindebiografisk Leksikon*, article by *Marianne Alenius*.)

The misapprehension on Brenner's part in mistaking the Q for an L rests upon a misreading in the letter where Sperling tells her about Qvitzow (Göransson 2006, p. 53).

Piscopiam Cornaram Italiam 3] Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia (1646–1684) was the first woman ever to earn a Doctoral Degree. The customs of the day along with officials from the Roman Catholic Church worked strenuously to her disadvantage, and would not confer the Doctor's Degree on a woman, but after much persistence on the part of Cornaro and her father, they accepted a compromise in conferring upon her the Doctorate of Philosophy instead of Theology, which was what she had applied for. (*Biographies of Women Mathematicians*)

Fabras Scüderias 4] The reference is to the French writer and novelist Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701), whose novels in the 17th century attracted outstanding

accolades and were received with the utmost appreciation and praise. *Fabras* (faber, *ingenious; skillful*) is simply the adjective describing her, or *Scuderiae*, i.e. women resembling her in literary zeal.

Skaldmoer 4] It is likely that Brenner makes an allusion to the Old Norse word *skáldmæ*r (see Göransson 2004, p. 153)

pergeris 5] The original text reads *pergeris*, which is the 2nd person singular in the future tense and passive voice of *pergere*, but the *-er* has been crossed out in both the print in Gothenburg and that in Södertörn. The marking is made by a later hand, possibly by the printer, and seems to suggest the emendation *pergis*. The grammatical environment would seem to require the form *perrexeris*, but determining whether or not *perrexeris* should be used instead here necessitates knowledge of Brenner's linguistic idiosyncrasies. Quite possibly, she intended to use the future perfect form, but committed a *lapsus mentis*.

Aonidum choro 4] see the exordial remarks on dedicatory poems.

4.2 The dissertation

Deastrorum 1] *Deastri* was the Latin name for idols, Hero-Gods that had once been eminent men but after their death had elevated to Heaven to guard the earth below them. The name *deastri* is derived from their residence in the stars. (Faber 1816).

It belongs to the tradition of Norse Mythology and, owing to its kinship with the tradition of Pagan idolatry, is of course a highly pejorative epithet in the christly context of the dissertation.

hac...sunt 2–3] In the edition of Seneca that Hedengrahn uses, the numbering of the letters seems to be shifted forwards by one number, making letter number 82, for example, 83 in his edition. The reference here is to Seneca's Moral Letters, *Epistulae Morales*, Book 9 letter 76 (letter 77 in Hedengrahn's edition). The original quotation is "[...] hac antecedit [*sc. homo*] animalia, deos sequitur. Ratio ergo perfecta proprium bonum est, cetera illi cum animalibus satisque communia sunt."

Hedengrahn has re-arranged the quotation somewhat, changing the grammatical order so as to render the quotation compatible with his own grammatical environment (i.e. making the different elements syntactically compatible with one another) and removing some superfluous words. For a brief account of the usage of notes and references, see Introduction.

Haec...instinctu 3] The passage is much influenced by the initial sentences of Descartes' *Discours de la Méthode* (1637), or in Latin *Dissertatio de Methodo recte utendi ratione et veritatem in scientiis investigandi*, where Descartes says: "[...] sed potius vim incorruptè judicandi et verum á falso distinguendi, (quam propriè bonam mentem seu rectam rationem appellamus) naturâ aequalem omnibus nobis innatam esse." (p. 1) That Hedengrahn should have made a reference to Descartes is hardly surprising; just like anyone else, he must have been quite influenced by the new Cartesian philosophy which had made its way into the University of Uppsala in the 1660s (Lindroth 1975, p. 450).

non sufficit...est 3] A line of thought copied from above mentioned *Discours de la Méthode* p. 1; in fact, the wording is nearly identical.

Sine...vivere 4] The source of the quotation is Seneca's *Epistulae Morales* book 2, letter 16. Seneca says: "[...] scio, neminem posse beate vivere, ne tolerabiliter quidem, sine sapientiae studio". Hedengrahn here equates *studio sapientiae* with

philosophia, phrases which in the context are nearly synonymous. One of the definitions of the word *philosophy* in the OED is *the love, study, or pursuit of wisdom, truth, or knowledge*. This definition –and so OED says– is more or less obsolete now, but was quite commonplace in the 17th century. It is upon this semantic scope that the discrepancy in wording rests.

tum...regnarent 4] The reference probably is to Plato's *Res publica* 5.473d, where he says, in translation, "unless philosophers become kings in our states, or those we now call kings and potentates genuinely and competently pursue philosophy [...], there can be no respite from evil in our state [...], nor, in my view, even in the human race. (Loeb)

quod...sepultura 4] The quotation, again, is taken from Seneca's *Epistulae Morales*, this time nr 82, although Hedengrahn cites it as nr. 83 (see above)

Naturae...difficile 5] The author quotes Seneca, this time deriving his quotation from *Naturales Quaestiones* 3.27.2.

Nihil...possit 5] The quotation is from Terence's play *Heautontimorumenos* (The Self-Tormentor), Act IV scene. II; not scene I as cited by Hedengrahn.

virtutis...expultricem 5] The words are not the author's own, but taken from the fifth book of Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes*, and more precisely 5.2.5. The quotation goes "Vitae philosophia dux, o virtutis indagatrix expultrixque vitiorum!"

sacrario Minervae 6] The Shrine of Minerva must here be taken as a metaphor, like those expounded above, for the assembly or society of erudite people.

Simonides 7] Semonides of Amorgos, generally considered to have lived during the middle to the latter half of the seventh century BC, was an iambic poet born on Samos, whence he brought a colony to the island Amorgos. He is most famous for a misogynist typology in which he relates in what ways and aspects women and their dispositions and attributes have been shaped or influenced after the model of various animals, such as the sow, ape and fox. All examples are negative but one, *viz.* the bee, in whose similitude he speaks of the woman in terms of her diligence and virtue.

setis 7] There is a problem here: in the original text, we read "[...] qui Deum ex hispidis suis cetis et exuviis sordidam et squalidam [*sc.* mulierem produxisse vociferatur]", with *cetus* meaning sea monster, sea animal etc. The English translation of Semonides' poem (Diane Arnson Svarlien 1995) has "One type is from a pig--a hairy sow [...]." The Latin translation in the work *Morosophia* by Caspar Ens, to which Hedengrahn refers (see below), goes "[...] Deus creavit illam ex hispida setis

sue [...]”, and adds in the margin *suis naturam habet (sc. mulier)*. The original text has ὄς τανύτριχος, *hairy swine*.

Hedengrahn’s version with *cetis* is obviously wrong, but may be explained if one were to assume that the translation of Semonides’ text in *Morosophia* is the only one to which Hedengrahn has had access, and so that he is not familiar with the content of the poem before hand; Caspar Ens, as we have seen, writes *setis*, and it would be possible for Hedengrahn to have misread an S for a C. While *setis* in itself lacks meaning, *saetis* (*saeta – bristle*) does not. This is almost certainly what Ens means. The reading of ”ex hispida setis sue” as ”created her with bristles (setis), after the hairy swine (hispida sue)” is quite plausible; nor is Hedengrahn’s ”ex hispidis suis setis” is also insusceptible of explanation, if somewhat tautological: ”created her after (in accordance with) the prickly bristles of the sow.”

ἔτώσιον 7] The original prints both have ἔτώβιον; in the Södertörn version, it is changed to ἔτώσιον, the correct form. The Gothenburg version does not make this emendation. I shall adhere to the emendation of the Södertörn version.

è cinere et asina 7] The original text reads ”grey ass”. This may be an attempt at hendiadys on Hedengrahn’s part, or simply a misconception.

Cujus carmina Graeca 7] Semonides was also the author of other Greek iambic poems, of which only fragments are extant today. In Suda, he is also alleged to have written elegiac poems of which none, however, have reached posterity; the elegies, according to Bowie (1986), are to be identified as the two books on the history of Samos.

jam...orbem 8] The quotation is taken from *Lysistrate* by Aristophanes, lines 368–369. There is no certain knowing why Hedengrahn would have both the Greek original and the Latin translation here. It is of course not strictly necessary to have both, but a plausible guess would be that he simply wished to put his erudition and knowledge of ancient literature on display. If so, he would not have been in any way original: knowledge of ancient sources was often flaunted in various literary genres by frequent quotations or references and the greater the extent of one’s knowledge, the higher the esteem of one’s person and integrity.

Moreover, it is evident that Hedengrahn puts a high value on the mastery of classical languages, as testified by his asserting that *jure itaque hanc linguarum eruditarum quas vocant, Hebraicae scilicet, Graecae et Latinae notitiam à mulieribus*

poscimus (p. 20). We must assume that his sentiments apply just as much to himself and his knowledge.

Clem. Alexandrino 8] Clement of Alexandria (ca 150 – ca 215) was the author of a trilogy comprising the three works *Protreptikos*, *Paidagōgos*, and *Strōmateis* of which the last work is the most famous. It is a frequent point of reference with Hedengrahn.

Caspar Ens 8] Caspar Ens (1569 – 1642) was a Dutch playwright and compiler of philosophical and historical works. Judging by what sort of other works he composed,⁴ Ens was not as outspoken a misogynist as Hedengrahn makes him out to be; or if he was, then at least he would seem to have had other sides as well. That said, there can of course be no doubt that *Morosophia* is in part extremely misogynistic.

Morosophia 8] The exception to the above observation is, as said, *Morosophia*, briefly discussed in the note on *setis* above. In chapter 9 entitled "Caput IX. Et feminas sua natura stultas esse, et viros stultos facere", Ens discusses why God assigned so strange and stupid a creature as a woman to the care of men, and renders the misogynist poem of Semonides' in Latin translation. As is understood by the whole title of *Morosophia*⁵, the work is quite influenced by Antonio Maria Spelta (see below), which Hedengrahn observes.

It is not impossible that Hedengrahn was unaware of the existence of this poem until finding it in *Morosophia*. The fact that he would write *cetis* (sea-monster) instead of *setis*, *saetis* (bristles) in his dissertation indicates that he was unfamiliar with the content before hand, which supports the idea.

Antonii Mariae Itali 8] Antonio Maria Spelta (1559–1632) was an Italian poet and historian from Pavia. He was the author of a work called *Sapiens Stultitia* by which *Morosophia* was heavily influenced (see above).

Eusebii locum 8] The reference is not quite clear. The author may suggest that whoever searches in Eusebius' works, or in a specific work, will find examples of people turned malicious, who would never have been expected to.

⁴ Among other things *Indiae occidentalis historia* 1612; *Pausilypus, Sive Tristium Cogitationum et molestiarum spongia* 1631; *Nucleus Historico-Politicus, è probatissimorum Auctorum scriptis excerptus et in sex Tractatulos (quorum Catalogum ultima exhibet pagina) divisus* 1620; *Princeps Auriacus, sive Libertas defensa* 1599.

⁵ *Morosophia: id est, stulta sapientia itemque sapiens stultitia; [...] Opusculum ex variis auctoribus maxime verò Italico Antonii Mariae Speltae scripto concinnatum, et in duos libros tributum.*

Hos...contendit 8–9] In 1595, a satirical dissertation called *Disputatio nova contra mulieres qua probatur eas non homines esse* was published anonymously, and was reprinted on numerous occasions throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Although published anonymously, the author has often been identified as the German critic and Latin poet Valens Acidalius. This is probably what Hedengrahn refers to.

ficulneo 9] *Ficulneus* 2, fig, or of a fig tree, was used in Neo-Latin in the sense of *useless* or *insignificant* (Helander 2004).

Quorum...constat 9] The passage is taken almost verbatim from Henricus Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim's *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus*, p. 3. This shows that the dissertation was associated with the 17th century controversy about women (or at least that the author had knowledge of it), which is further suggested by the fact that Hedengrahn quotes Anna Maria van Schurman in his dissertation as well, who was much involved in the controversy (cf. Nilsson 1973).

omnium...mundi 9–10] The first mother of all living humans is interpreted by Gössman (1985) as Eve.

Lycaeam atque theatrum 10] The *lyceum* being an institution for learning in ancient Rome much like the modern upper secondary school, we must interpret this as being applicable here as well: thus what Hedengrahn means is education. One of the meanings of *theatrum* is a venue or place for exhibition, a stage, and in this context it seems to mean something like a venue for women to express or exhibit themselves. Hedengrahn means that some assert cooking and needlework to be more than ample occupations for women.

quod...Plutarchus 10–11] The relative order, the referencing, and meaning of this passage is somewhat intricate. Plutarchus, the subject governing the quod-subclause with Thucydides, says that the latter attaches the highest degree of praise to the woman about whom there is least talk etc. This – so Hedengrahn tells us – Plutarch does in his work *Mulierum Virtutes (Moralia)*, and more precisely the very beginning. The passage to which Plutarch refers in *Mulierum Virtutes* is found in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* Book 2.36–45, in the latter part of *Pericles' Funeral Oration*: Thucydides merely relates what Pericles is alleged to have said. Thus Hedengrahn relates what Plutarch says when Plutarch relates what Thucydides has related that Pericles said.

Ipsi...notam 11] This passage appears right after the above quotation in Plutarch's *Mulierum Virtutes*. What is interesting about these two quotations is the way in which

Hedengrahn conforms his transitions from discourse to quotation with the grammatical environment (syntactic structure) of the quotation, e.g. "Ipsi autem prudentissimo philosopho (*sc.* Plutarcho) elegantior videtur Gorgias [...]." The transition could scarcely have been any smoother.

Nimis...discedere 11] The reference is to Seneca's *Epistulae Morales* nr. 68. Seneca discusses that one should not boast leisure and make too pronounced a point of one's retirement.

Philosophus 11] The Philosopher in this case is Plutarch, and the passage to which Hedengrahn alludes appears in his *Moralia* under the subcategory "an recte dictum sit latenter esse vivendum", where he says that *qui vero seipsum in obscuritatem conjicit, ac se tenebris involvit, vitamque inanis similem sepulchri facit, is ipsum videtur ortum fastidire, et quod exstiterit inique ferre*. Hedengrahn copies these lines more or less verbatim.

Sectantur...fallaciis 12] The reference is a paraphrase of a line found in Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* cap. XI. The original phrase goes "Nam gloriam honorem imperium bonus et ignavus aequae sibi exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic quia bonae artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit." (ed. McGushin 2003.)

Hanc...licebit 14] In *Hieroglyphica* 1556, under the title *Litterae Aegyptiacae* on p. 227 we can read an account of the usage of making letters in ancient Egypt ([...] *propterea quod et iunco illi, et atramento hujusmodi de sepia exempto scriptitabant, neque ad hunc usum alio utebantur instrumento*) and we learn that the highest glory was attached to erudition (a custom handed over to the Greeks and Romans) since only the rich could devote their time to learning in letters ([...] *primariam apud eos nobilitatem dignationemque eorum fuisse, qui literas callerent, cum literis non nisi locupletes operam darent*). Horapollo, an extremely influential author on the subject of Egyptology and on whom, no doubt, Valeriano heavily modeled his *Hieroglyphica*, explains the relation between the Egyptian word SBO and sufficient nourishment thus: "[...] and they depict a sieve, because the sieve being originally an instrument for making bread is constructed of reed; and they thereby intimate that every one who has a subsistence should learn the letters, but that one who has not should practise some other art. And hence it is that among them education is called SBO, which when interpreted signifies sufficient food [...]" In *Hieroglyphica* by Valeriano, we read that "sane apud Aegyptios institutio, si quos habuimus codices in damno non sunt,

SBO nuncupabatur: cuius interpretationem plerique ponunt, victus opulentus, vel ad necessitatem idoneus [...].”

This exposition on Hedengrahn’s part is of course not strictly relevant to the line of argument, but again it is a good opportunity for him to put his vast knowledge on display.

I would like to thank Ph.D Åke Engsheden for valuable advice on this subject. **quaestu** 14] In the original print, we read *quaesturâ*, yet the *-ra* has been deleted in both versions by a later hand, making for the reading *quaestu* instead. This emendation seems to be correct.

Matrimonium...fuisse 15] The original source of this reference is Tacitus’ *Agricola* chapter 6, but instead of sourcing *Agricola* directly Hedengrahn cites Justus Lipsius (see below), who employs the quotation in his *Epistolarum Selectarum Centuria Quarta Miscellanea Postuma* and more precisely in letter 23 to one Petrus la Torrius.

The meaning of this quotation has been somewhat distorted both by Hedengrahn and Lipsius, and appears in those contexts to signify something different from its original sense. Hedengrahn uses it to signify marriages in general (which he considers an obstacle on the journey to wisdom) and so does Lipsius, but in *Agricola* it refers to a specific marriage, *viz.* that between Gnaeus Julius Agricola (40–93 AD) and Domitia Decidiana. Having edited the works of Tacitus, we must assume that Lipsius was well aware of the misconstruction of his own allusion; Hedengrahn, however, may well have been ignorant of it, having omitted to consult the original source in favour of Lipsius’ letters. This idea may be supported by the fact that Hedengrahn says ”no one shall wonder that we do not agree with Tacitus, whom we otherwise quite deservedly magnify and venerate.”

Theano...uxor 16] The actual identity of Theano (6th century BC) is much disputed, as seems to be almost everything about her person. (cf. Plant 2004, whence all biographical information on Theano is derived); there may have been two Theano, and there may have been one. She may have been the wife, daughter or pupil of Pythagoras. Another tradition makes her the wife of Brontinus of Croton (to whom Hedengrahn refers). In *Stromata* by Clement of Alexandria (see note above) book 1, we read that Theano allegedly was the first woman ever to have cultivated philosophy and written poems. In his work, Clement does not make any problematisation concerning Theano, as seems to have been a later trend. Plant (2004) does not make a categorical distinction between the two Theano like Hedengrahn does. He furthermore

denies the authenticity of the poems and apophthegms ascribed to her, since they must be the product of a later hand.

Aspasiam Milesiam 17] Aspasia of Miletus (ca. 470–400 BC), according to *Stromata*, was trained by Socrates in philosophy and by Pericles in rhetoric. Menagius, in his *Historia Mulierum Philosopharum* on p. 8, holds that Aspasia taught rhetoric to Pericles and rhetoric and philosophy to Socrates.

In Plutarch's *Life of Pericles (Parallel Lives)*, to which Hedengrahn makes a reference, we read that "Aspasia, as some say, was held in high favour by Pericles because of her rare political wisdom" (LOEB)

lib.12.Deipn. (ref q)] Hedengrahn's note. The extended abbreviation reads "Liber 12 *Deipnosophistae*". *Deipnosophistae* (sophists at dinner) was a satirical-philosophical collection of dinner discussions on a vast array of subjects, encompassing 15 volumes. It was written by the Greek author Athenaeus (fl. c.2nd–3rd century AD), and constituted a tangible contribution to the long tradition of sympotic literature (EAG).

Lascheniam...Phlasiam 18] Although he does not say so explicitly, it is likely that Hedengrahn derives his information about Laschenia Mantinea from *Graecorum Romanorumque Illustrium Vitae* by Plutarch, in Latin translation. Exactly which one cannot be established: there are many, and they are often quite similar. In one of them⁶, we read in the section of Plato "sed et mulieres sub eo (*sc.* Platone) philosophiae vacasse certum est, Lascheniam scilicet ex Mantinea, et Axiotheam Phlasiam, quam et viriliem habitum induisse dicunt." In another edition, made by one Michael Isingrinus two years earlier in Basel, we read exactly the same (p. 382c). No wonder, then, that Hedengrahn employs almost exactly the same words in his dissertation.

There seem to exist two names of the same woman: Laschenia of Mantinea and Lastheneia of Arcadia. In *Deipnosophistae* book 12, 546d–e we read *Lasthenia of Arcadia*. They do seem to be the same person based on what is related about them.

Aretam...filiam 17] Arete (meaning truth) was the daughter of Aristippus, the hedonistic founder of the Cyrenaic school of philosophy (c.435–c.356 BC). In Diogenes Laertius (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 2.65–104), we find an enumeration of concise dialogues between Aristippus and others seeking to call him to account for his controversial values and opinions. We also read that Arete was the pupil of her

⁶ *Plutarchi Cheronei Graecorum Romanorumque illustrium vitae, è Graeco in Latinum versae. Tomus Secundus* edited by one Paulus Mirallietus in Lyon 1548, p. 539.

father, and that she, in turn, was the teacher of her son Aristippus Jr. It is to him Hedengrahn refers as μητροδιδάκτος, [taught by one's mother], and not her father Aristippus of Cyrene.

Eumetidem 17] Eumetis (fl. c.550 BC) was the daughter of Cleobulus (see below), and was often called Cleobulina after her father, as Hedengrahn observes. His reference is to Plutarch's *Dinner of the seven wise men*, which is a part of *Quaestiones Conviviales* in turn constituting the 8th book in the vast opus called *Moralia*. Expanded, Hedengrahn's reference reads *Convivium septem sapientum*, i.e. the Seven Sages [of Greece]. In that section of *Quaestiones Morales*, Thales tells his companions about the famous Eumetis, and Neiloxenus, another participant at the dinner, relates how her riddles, *aenigmata* (Diogenes Laertius tells us that they were composed in hexameter [*Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.89]) have made their way as far as to Egypt. Thales lauds her for her "wonderful sense, statesman's mind and amiable character", and for the fact that she even induced her father to act with more clemency against his citizens. (*Dinner of the seven wise men; Moralia* 148d–e. Babbitt 1928.)

patris...sapientum 17] Cleobulus, according to Diogenes Laertius in his *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.89, was a native to Lindos (on Rhodes) and had studied philosophy in Egypt. Adept in the composition of verses like his daughter, Cleobulus composed a large number of poems himself. He was one of the Seven Sages of Greece, as we are informed by *Suda* (*Suda*, s.v.), along with Thales of Miletus, Bias of Priene, Pittacus of Mitylene, Solon from Athens and Chilon from Sparta; men not necessarily philosophers but famous for their wisdom and prudence in matters private and political (EAG). *Suda* relates that Cleobulus died an old man, at the age of 70.

Gilbertam 18] This is a very interesting episode in papal history. Sometime during the Middle Ages, legend has it that a maiden by the name of Gilberta fell in love with a monk, and accompanied him on his journeys dressed as a man. Having acquired learning surpassing that of any of her contemporaries, she came to Rome to teach some of the most eminent thinkers of the day, and was subsequently elevated to the pontifical office as Joan VIII which she allegedly held for about two years. Unable to resist the urges of passion, however, she was soon pregnant and on horseback gave birth to a child. She died or was killed in the aftermath of her exposed betrayal.

This is the story related in a work called *Chronica Universalis Mettensis* written by the Dominican Jean de Mailly around 1250. It is the first piece of writing ever to

relate the legend of Joan, and it much emphasises the dubious veracity of the story. (Rustici 2006, p. 4, from whom information on Pope Joan is derived). Several subsequent works on and references to Joan were produced in the 13th century, but what really made the story known to posterity was a work called *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* written in the late 13th century by the Dominican Martinus Polonus.

As we can see from Hedengrahn, the today generally acknowledged spuriousness of the story had not been established by 1699. On the contrary, it seems to be a piece of incontestable truth judging by Hedengrahn's saying "*res est notior quam ut me interprete egeat*".

Mariae Gornacensium 18] Marie de Gournay was a self-taught author and lady of letters. Having read the *Essais* by Montaigne in her early 20ies, she was much inspired and sent him a personal letter which led to their meeting and becoming devoted friends. This meeting is what contributed most to her making her name in the most dignified intellectual circles of the day, making the acquaintance of among others Henry Dupuy, the cardinal Richelieu, and Justus Lipsius (it was the latter who introduced her to Europe as a lady of letters). Among other things, she wrote proto-feminist works concerning equality (*Égalité des hommes et des femmes* 1662), and a novel treating her discussions with Montaigne (*Promenoir de M. Montaigne* 1584) etc. (All information from Noiset 2004, pp. 7–13.)

ut...tulerit 18] The reference Hedengrahn makes is to a work by Justus Lipsius called *Centuria Miscellanea*, which is a sort of catalogue of his epistolary correspondence with friends and acquaintances, in a number of volumes. The edition I have accessed is a posthumous one printed in 1675 by one Andreas van Hoogenhuysen, and is a complete collection of Lipsius' *Centuria Miscellanea*. Hedengrahn is precise in rendering the reference.

In the letter (p. 176 in the edition) which Hedengrahn sources, a mesmerised Lipsius writes "*quae tu es, quae sic ad me scribis? Virgo? vix facis fidem [...]. Nescio an gavisus sim saeculi, an doluerim sexus nostri causâ*" (*who are you, who write to me thus? A lady? You hardly seem like one [...] I do not know if I am happy on behalf of our age or sad on that of our sex*). In the next sentence, Lipsius rhetorically asks "*accedere tu ad nos vis? imò supra nos ascendere, atque ita facito, deo hominibusque faventibus: certè me, qui te ignotam amo [...]*" (*do you wish to approach us? Even rise above us? Do it, and may god and humans favour it: I certainly will, adoring you*

although I do not know you). This is what Hedengrahn refers to when saying that Lipsius "[eam] ad suam sui que sexus doctrinam accessisse, et supra eos ascendisse quasi aegrè tulerit". As we can see, Lipsius does not seem quite as adverse to the ambitions of this wondrous lady as Hedengrahn makes out.

In religionis...claudicantem 18] Hedengrahn uses a metaphor representing a vacillation, or more concretely, a limp in religious matters on Queen Christina's part.

eruditionem...ornatam 18] Queen Elizabeth I of England's education was such as would fit any male royal heir, and it focused much on modern and ancient languages. One of her teachers, the famous humanist Roger Ascham, spoke of her as exceedingly adept in assimilating his teachings and new languages, and apart from Latin and Greek she was fluent in e.g. Italian and French (EBO s.v.)

Quantum...partem 19] As Sophia Elisabet Brenner relates in her enclosed letter, Johan Skytte bequeathed equal shares of his properties and possessions to his daughters as to his sons. This information, of course, comes directly from her letter which as we have seen was a response to a petition made by Hedengrahn for Brenner to give him examples of learned women.

Anna Maria à Schurman 19] Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) was one of the most famous learned women in Europe of her day, and has remained a symbol for literary and academic prowess among women to this day. She was born in Germany but raised in the Netherlands, and having received a fine education in her youth showed signs of her extraordinary prowess in the disciplines; among other things, she is reported to have known some 16 languages. Like many other erudite women of her day, she entered epistolary correspondence with members of the intellectual clerisy, and thus cultivated her ties with the literary world. (Alenius, *Anna Maria van Schurman and Women's natural right to study*)

As we will see in the following, Hedengrahn bases much of his reasoning regarding the necessity of knowing classical languages when reading the Holy Scripture on texts written by Schurman (see more below).

Gallus...Danus 19] The *Danus* here may be identified as Otto Sperling, the Dane with whom Brenner entertained the most prolific correspondence. However, not the only one; Brenner was also in contact with the Danish bishop of Fyn Thomas Kingo in the 1690s (Göransson 2006, p. 46). I have been unable to retrieve the identity of the Frenchman and the Italian.

Sequenti...relinquimus 20] If we are to interpret these lines literally, Hedengrahn never had the chance to praise Brenner properly as he died in 1727 and she in 1730; but of course there can be no doubt that he availed himself of every opportunity to do so.

Tabellae Skyttianae 20] See *Tabellae Testamentariae* above.

Sunt...desideres 20] This whole passage is very modelled on a letter from Anna Maria van Schurman to the professor of Theology André Rivet dated 1638. Schurman writes that "linguae enim, fidi custodes sunt, immo interpretes eorum quae nobis sapiens reliquit vetustas: quae ubi in suo idiomate nobis loquitur, genuinam animo exhibet sui imaginem, et mira quadam gratia ac lepore sensum nostrum afficit: quod jure merito in omnibus versionibus, quantumlibet optimis, desideramus."

Elisabeth Gössmann⁷ remarks that the reason why Hedengrahn does not refer to his source here is because he cannot bear that a woman wrote something he could not write himself. I do not agree with her: as we have seen throughout, Hedengrahn not always renders the sources of his references and quotations, and there is no reason to believe that this particular instance is due to spite. On the usage of quotations in Neo-Latin literature, see Benner & Tengström 1977, pp. 32–34.

sapientiam...nunquam 21] the quotation is from Cicero's work *De Inventione*, book I, and rendered verbatim which, as we have seen, was not always the case.

est...elocutio 21–22] The quotation is made up of fragments from Cicero's *De Oratore*, detached from their respective contexts. The first part *est...collectam* is from book I.5.16 (In Cicero, however, we read *collectum*) and the second part is a paraphrase of Cicero's "[...] nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum atque artium scientiam consecutus: etenim ex rerum cognitione efflorescat et redundet oportet oratio. Quae, nisi res est ab oratore percepta et cognita, inanem quandam habet elocutionem et paene puerilem." (book I.5.20).

ille...Pyrrhus 22] Hedengrahn's source is Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*.

Cineas was an orator from Thessaly who flourished by the turn of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. Having been educated by Demosthenes he served alongside king Pyrrhus (c.318–272 BC) by whom he was sent out in the capacity of ambassador to various locations to advocate surrender during the many wars fought by Pyrrhus. Reminiscent of Demosthenes himself in his oratorical expertise, Cineas was widely

⁷ Gössmann 1985, p. 146

known as an orator of inimitable skill, and Plutarch, as Hedengrahn tells us, relates that Pyrrhus used to say that more cities had been won by Cineas through oratory than by himself with weapons.

Corneliae 22] Cornelia Scipionis Africana (190/191–100 BC) was the daughter of Scipius Africanus and Aemilia Paulla and mother of the two brothers Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus (see below). Noted for giving traditional maternal care to her two sons, raising them as a widow without enlisting the services of an attendant, Cornelia came to epitomise the ideal matron, mother and virtuous lady with her high education (she was educated in the Greek and Latin language and literature, and is said to have spoken Greek fluently), excellent interest in her sons and their careers, and traditional ways (Hemelrijk 1999, pp. 64–67).

Celebratissimi Gracchi 22] In his *Lives on Tiberius Gracchus* 1.5, Plutarch writes that "these sons Cornelia reared with such scrupulous care that although confessedly no other Romans were so well endowed by nature, they were thought to owe their virtues more to education than to nature." (Transl. by Bernadotte Perrin for Loeb.) Their education would have been exceedingly thorough given the solid learning of their mother and the interest in Greek literature of their grand-father Scipio Africanus (Hemelrijk 1999, p. 65).

Aretaphila Cyrenaea 22] By Plutarch's account in his *De Virtutibus Mulierum* 19 (*Virtutes Mulierum*, Hedengrahn's reference), we gather that Aretaphila of Cyrene (fl. c.50 BC) was a very cunning yet virtuous noble woman who, because of his deep infatuation with her, was the only one able to assuage the onslaught of the despot Nicocrates. Having killed her husband Phaedimus, he compelled her to marry him. Following a series of machinations on his life on her part, he still found himself weaker and more ambivalent in managing her misdemeanour than he would otherwise have been, but subsequently resolved to put her through torture, much to the satisfaction of his mother Calbia. Together with her beautiful daughter, Aretaphila contrived a scheme involving Nicocrates' brother Leander, which would see Leander presently doing away with his brother (however Plutarch relates that while he did eliminate his brother, the despot was still there in that he himself ruled with recklessness and vehemence).

Bonifacium VIII 23] Benedict Caetani was elected pope in 1294 under the name of Boniface VIII. He belonged to a very influential family in medieval Rome, much like the Colonna family. There had existed a family feud between the anti-papal members

of the Colonna family and the Caetani, and the fact that a member of the Caetani family had now been elected pope would only have served to exacerbate the situation for the Colonna. (EBO, *Boniface VIII*)

The pope was so enraged that he destroyed the Colonna family stronghold Palestrina, diminishing the strength and valour of the family considerably. I have not found the material to which Hedengrahn refers when speaking of Agapitus and Boniface VIII.

Agapiti...conjux 23] Agapitus Colonna, member of the noble family of Colonna, seems to have been a senator of Rome during the 13th century. I have been unable to find any information on his wife.

Isabella...uxor 22–23] Isabella I of Castile (1451–1504) was a Spanish queen married to King Ferdinand V (1452–1516), with whom she laid the foundations of a modern and unified Spain (Bakewell & Holler 2010, p. 83).

Hedengrahn's source here is Justus Lipsius' *Monita et Exempla Politica*, which is included in the *Opera Omnia...Tomus Quartus* to which I have referred previously (though then *Tomus Secundus*). Lipsius tells us that Isabella took an ardent interest in *ipso Latinae linguae pronuntiatio et sono*, and that she, when momentarily free from her serious concerns and duties, would divert her mind with the study of grammar.

Virilium...mulier 23] This can refer either to her involvement in state affairs and her wielding power next to her royal husband, or her predilection for learning and her ardent interest in letters, both of which would have been signified as specifically male occupations.

cum...poëtae 24] The phrase goes back to the *Ars Poetica* by Horace, verse 333. He says "aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae / aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae." In the first line, he says that poets will either be of use or entertain, and in the second line that they can speak about both what is pleasant and what is proper or suitable.

non...gratiâ 25] The reference is to Strabo's *Geographica* (Hedengrahn is slightly amiss in the order of letters in his reference, writing *Georg* instead of *Geogr*) I.16.3, where the author makes an exposition on the subject, rendering the opinions of e.g. Eratosthenes (c.276–c.195/194 BC), Greek polymath from Cyrene generally thought to have invented the scientific discipline of geography, and states that poetry is employed in the education of children *not for the mere sake of entertainment, of course, but for the sake of moral discipline*.

Sibillae Delphicae 26] The Sibyl of Delphi. Diodorus of Sicily (see below), in his *Library of History* IV.66 (not 68, as found in Hedengrahn) remarks that the name *Sibylla* was given to those inspired, since it is derived from the word *sibyllainein*, which means, Diodorus says, to be inspired in one's own tongue. Thus in this context *Sibylla* should be treated more as a title than a personal name, although the usage shifted from *Sibylla* being treated as a personal name to being treated as a title between the 5th and the 4th centuries BC (EBO, *Sibyl*.)

Daphnis...filiae 26] Having vanquished Thebes, the Epigoni abducted Daphne, daughter of the blind seer Teiresias, and consigned her to the temple of Delphi. Equally proficient in prophecy as her father, she cultivated her talents in Delphi and grew renowned for her skill in composing oracles and poetry (Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History* IV.66).

Phe-monoe...vates 26] Eusebius, in his *Chronicon* book 2. His original Greek *Chronicon* has not been retrieved, but we have an Armenian translation of both book 1 and 2, and a Latin translation by Jerome, albeit merely book 2. When Jerome's *Chronicon* is spoken of, then, it is a translation of Eusebius *Chronicon* book [tomus] 2.

The 17–18th century classical scholar Johann Albert Fabricius (1668–1736), in his *Bibliotheca Graeca* p. 154 relates "primam Pythiam vatem fuisse Phemonoën, et primam hexametro versu oracula cecinisse", and refers to Strabo, Eusebius and Pausanias among others as his sources.

addit calculum 26] The *calculus*, a small stone, was employed in the most ancient times to be the decisive factor in a vote; the white stone, *calculus niveus*, was presented for approval or acquittal, and the black stone, *calculus ater*, for disapproval and rejection. In his *Metamorphoses* 15.41, Ovid writes that "mos erat antiquus niveis atrisque lapillis, his damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa" (accessed from the Latin Library)

hexametris versibus 27] hexameter and heroic verse (*carmen heroicum*) are used interchangeably, the latter being synonymous with dactylic hexameter in Antiquity.

Telesillam 27] Telesilla (fl. 510 BC) was a Greek poetess from Argos, more famous, as Hedengrahn says, for her prowess in warfare than in poetry. Plutarch, in *Mulierum Virtutes*, speaks of Telesilla only briefly, relating that when the men had been defeated, she led women fit for service to victory against Cleomenes of Sparta instead. Pausanias, in his *Description of Greece* 2.20.8–9, however treats the subject

at somewhat greater length: when Telesilla found that the men were no longer fit for battle, she put all those aside who were not capable of warfare, collected the arms necessary from sanctuaries and abandoned houses and rallied the strong women, positioning them where she knew Cleomenes would attack. At the end of the passage, Pausanias remarks that the victory had more to do with mercy on the part of Cleomenes than anything else, saying "then the Lacedaemonians, realising that to destroy the women would be an invidious success while defeat would mean a shameful disaster, gave way before the women,"

Eresia 27] "from Eresos". There is debate whether Sappho was born on Eresos, a small southwest village on the island of Lesbos, or on Mitylene, which was in any case the homeground of the Sappho family's influence.

Dahlekampio 27] The reference is probably to Jacques Daléchamps (1513–1588), a French botanist, surgeon, editor and translator of Greek texts. He is noted for translating Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* into Latin, and for his great work *Historia Generalis Plantarum*. I have not found Hedengrahn's reference in *Historia Generalis Plantarum*.

Scamandronimi 27] The question of the identity of Sappho's father was, and still is, one without a definite answer. Herodotus, in his *History* book 2 or *Euterpe* 135 (the different books are named after the muses), holds that her father's name was Scamandronymus, but other alternatives have been presented as well; nowadays Scamandronymus is generally acknowledged to have been the name of her father. (LAW)

carminis Sapphici 27] the Sapphic Stanza was an Aeolic meter originating with Sappho or possibly her contemporary and acquaintance the lyric poet Alcaeus. In antiquity, a sapphic stanza had three hendecasyllabic lines (three lines with eleven syllables each) and one Adonic line at the end. (LAW)

Suida 27] Hedengrahn's reference here is not to the *Suda* itself but to *Suidas*, who was long thought to have been the author of *Suda*.

Mitylenaea 27] See note on *Eresia* above.

Phaonem 27] According to legend, Phaon was an old boatsman in Mitylene. When visited by Aphrodite in the disguise of a crone, he took her across the water and received some ointment as a token of her gratitude, and was thus made young and beautiful. It is said that Sappho precipitated herself from a cliff because of unrequited love for Phaon. (LAW)

cujus...mentio 27] Nr. 15 of Ovid's *Epistulae Heroidum*, from Sappho to Phaon, is a plaintive elegy about unreciprocated love.

Guido Morillus 27] Aegidius, or Giles Morel, lat. Morellus was a royal printer and editor in Paris. His family was noted for being skilled printers, and he edited and printed both Greek and Latin works, among which was a history over church fathers published in 1639 (NHGA).

Damophilam 27] Flavius Philostratus (c.170–c.247 AD) tells us in his work *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* book 1 chapter 30, that the Pamphylian lady Damophila was a close acquaintance of Sappho and that she, among other things, composed a poem in honour of Artemis.

Corinna...Lyrica 28] Corinna was a Greek lyric poetess born in Tanagra in Boeotia. She is said to have been the teacher of Pindar and in turn the student of Myrtis. Noted for writing in her native Boeotic dialect, she won the acclaim of many contemporaries and is said to have emulated the poetic prowess of Pindar. Because of her prolonged residence in Thebes, she was sometimes called *Thebana*. Her various poems, choral songs, epigrams etc. were collected in five volumes (William Smith 1867).

Propertius, to whose *Elegies* (2.3) Hedengrahn refers, merely mentions Corinna briefly: "[...] et sua cum antiquae committit scripta Corinnae, / carmina quae quivis non putat aequa suis."

Thesbia 28] Under the heading *Corinna*, in Aegidius Forcellini's *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon Tomus Primus*, we read "nomen trium feminarum, quae arte Poeticae praestiterunt. Prima fuit Thebana, seu Tanagraea Myrthidis discipula [...], secunda Thesbia, veterum monumentis plurimum celebrata. Tertia floruit Ovidii temporibus, ipsi Poetae carissima." The edition I have accessed was printed in 1771. It would seem that Corinna was considered to be the name of three different women, which is different to what Smith (1867) tells us.

Erinnae...Teniae 28] There is a conflict of facts here: Eusebius (in Jerome's *Chronicon* on p. 203) says that Erinna the Greek poetess was well known, or flourished, by the beginning of the 107 Olympiad, i.e. 352 BC. To be inferred from Eusebius then, is the fact that she was contemporary with e.g. Demosthenes (384–322 BC), and also Dion of Syracuse (c.408–354 BC), as Hedengrahn observes. But *Suda* tells us that she was a companion and contemporary of Sappho, which would put her in the 7th century BC (*Suda On Line*).

Among other things, Suda also relates that Erinna was the author of the 300 lines long Doric poem called The distaff, *Elakate*, and that her verses equalled those of Homer.

Just as the matter of period is uncertain, so is the matter of birth location; possible alternatives include Teos in Ionia, Telos, Tenos or Rhodes (*Nordisk Familjebok, Erinna*) hence Hedengrahn's ambivalence as to how exactly to denominate her.

quarum...mentio 30] the reference is to the daughters of Diodorus Cronus (died c.284 BC) who was one of the most famous dialecticians of his day. His daughters (rendered in the order given by Clement of Alexandria in *Stromata*) were called Menexene, Argia, Theognis, Artemesia, Pantaclea.

fortis Amaesia 31] Although he leaves it unsaid, Hedengrahn's reference here is Valerius Maximus and his *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Liber VII*, chapter 3, in which we read of the deeds of Amesia, Afrania and Hortensia. Apart from what Hedengrahn has appropriated from Valerius, we read that Amesia received the epithet Man-woman *quia sub specie feminae virilem animum gerebat*. (TheLatinLibrary.com, whence all passages by Valerius Maximus have been retrieved.)

Afraniam...taceo 31] The reason why Hedengrahn omits to relate the feats of Afrania and Hortensia most likely is that Valerius speaks of Afrania (but strangely not Hortensia) in terms of acrid reproach, and thus that the tone of the accounts would be incompatible with the topic of his dissertation: Afrania's appeals in court Valerius dismisses as "barkings unheard of in the Forum" (*inusitatis foro latratibus*), and writes that she would plead her own cause and that of others "not because she lacked advocates, but because she abounded in impudence" (*non quod advocatis deficiebatur, sed quod impudentia abundabat*).

For Hortensia's valiance, however, Valerius accounts in much the same way as he does for Amesia, *viz.* quite positively. He writes that when the triumvirs had levied heavy taxes on the matrons, Hortensia pleaded their cause and effected a considerable tax relief with eloquence reminiscent of her father's (*repraesentata enim patris facundia*).

Serò...moras 32] The quotation is from Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*, line 91–92. What Hedengrahn states seems to be at variance with the sense of Ovid's actual words. *Ita minus ex morâ erit periculum* (*thus, danger is lessened by delay*) is not compatible with *serò medicina paratur, quum mala per longas invaluerint moras* (*it is too late to*

prepare treatment, when the disease has already grown strong). The usual Ovid tradition has *convaluere* instead of *invaluere*.

Agnodice 33] The only source of information on Agnodice (c.4th century BC) we have is the work *Fabulae* written by a Latin author called Hyginus (c.64 BC–17 AD) (EWA). As such, there is no determining with certainty whether or not the story is true. Agnodice was the first Greek female obstetrician and physician, and Hyginus tells us that she studied medicine with Herophilos (335–280 BC) but had to disguise herself as a man in order to be able to practise it, since no women were allowed to practise medicine in Ancient Greece. Not knowing that Agnodice was really a female, the male practitioners grew exasperated since no woman would let them treat her, and when Agnodice's habit was disclosed, *viz.* to lift her skirt before her patients lest they should be too ashamed to commit themselves to her care, she was prosecuted by the Athenian *Areopagus* for illegally practising medicine, but was acquitted from the charges; owing to the support of eminent women, Hyginus tells us, the *Areopagus* even changed the legislation, exempting free-born women from the prohibition (Latin text retrieved from Boriaud 1997).

The entire passage "Ne servus...obtinuit" is strongly modelled on Hyginus, albeit not in regard to choice of words (although we find *verecundia* in both), and so it appears that Hyginus has been Hedengrahn's reference.

S. Hildegardis de Pinguia 34] The influence and renown of Hildegard of Bingen in her capacity of Benedictine nun and abbess, founder of Benedictine monasteries, earthly vessel of divine visions etc. is unprecedented, save perhaps by the Holy Bridget of Sweden. In addition to interpreting Godly visions, she was also the author of various pieces on things pertaining to medicine and our natural elements; some time between the years 1151 and 1158 she wrote and published her *Physica*, a work expounding the healing powers of natural elements in our surrounding, and *Causae et curae*, a medical manual treating the nature and constitution of the human body and its diseases. (Iversen and Westman 1997, pp. 21–31)

Hildegardis Abbatissa 34] In all likelihood, the reference is to Jutta, who was Hildegard's abbess and teacher in the isolated cubicle in which they lived. Jutta came from an affluent background, but chose to devote her life to the service of God; in so doing, she spent her entire life in a cell reminiscent of a dungeon, with prayer, contemplation and manual labour like knitting as primary pastimes.

That Jutta was the author of books on simple and composite medicine seems to be a misconception on Hedengrahn's part (or that of his source); instead, *liber simplicis medicinae* and *liber compositae medicinae* are generally identified with *causae et cura* and *Physica* respectively, books written by Hildegard herself (Companion to Hildegard of Bingen pp. 252–253).

Non...queat 35] Callicrates and Myrmecides were Greek architects who flourished in the 5th and 6th centuries BC respectively. Callicrates is famous for constructing Parthenon together with his co-sculptor Ictinus, and Myrmecides, while mostly mentioned in connexion with Callicrates, made a name for himself by producing minute sculptures from various materials. (Neudecker, *Myrmecides*).

Aglaonice...gloriaretur 36] In his *Obsolescence of Oracles* (part of *Moralia*; 417a–b), Plutarch tells us that Aglaonice, the daughter of Hegetor, would deceive spectators into thinking that she pulled down the moon when she had calculated the time and place of an eclipse. Little seems to be absolutely certain about Aglaonice, neither her name nor her birthdate. While some refer to her as Aglaonice others would rather call her Aganice, and there is no knowing for sure which is right.

Plutarch calls her Aglaonice and her father Hegetor, but Hedengrahn calls her either Aglaonice and her father Hagemon (Hegemon), or Aganice and Hegetor. This suggests that Hedengrahn has relied upon a later source.

habitus animi 36] The phrase is used by Cicero in *De inventione* 1.36.1.

prodigium 37] In the margin of the print at Södertörn, a later hand has deleted the word *prodigium* when it appears for the second time, most likely because of the reiteration.

eaque 37] In both the prints, the form *easque* is used, but crossed out by a later hand, making it *eaque*. The latter is the right form after *officia*, and so I have chosen to adhere to the emendation.

quam...vitae 39] Cicero refers to history as the "teacher of life" in *De Oratore* II. 36.

Zenobiam Palmirenorum 40] Zenobia (240–c.275 AD) was the queen of the Palmyrene Empire in Syria, and posed a serious threat to Rome and its leaders by annexing important places such as Egypt to her empire; warfare, however, did not serve her well in the long run, being defeated and taken hostage by the emperor Aurelian. After that, accounts vary; some say that Aurelius gave her an estate as a token of his indulgence, while others claim she died in Bosphorus fairly soon after her captivity (Kytzler 1994)

Argineten 40] The name probably means argive, "from Argos", but it is not clear exactly who this argive is, nor which Dionysius is referred to. Probably Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

Catharina Bâth 40] See note on *Duabus Catharinis* above.

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