

STUDIA IN HONOREM VIBEKE ROGGEN

Ediderunt

Han Lamers et Silvio Bär

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Studia in Honorem Vibeke Roggen

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**THE THREE NEW GRACES:
ANNA MARIA VAN SCHURMAN, ANNA MEMORATA AND
SOPHIA-ANNA CORBINIANA¹**

PIETA VAN BEEK

Dear Vibeke,

Seneca regarded a letter as a talk between absentees. So, this will be a letter remembering our meetings in Europe at the conferences of the IANLS (The International Association for Neo-Latin Studies). Early Modern Latin, often ignored by classicists in the past, is approached within this association from a variety of disciplines, including law, theology, philosophy, history, (classical) languages and national studies. So delightful and instructive, not only the subjects, but also the persons. I will spend some words on it, as well as on my time with you in Oslo during my search for *Schurmanniana* in Scandinavia. Lastly, a letter is also a way of spreading news. The good news is the discovery of a Latin laudatory poem, written by Augustinus Wisaeus in 1643 and deemed lost. This *elogium* on the new Three Graces Anna Maria van Schurman, Anna Memorata and Sophia-Anna Corbiniana I dedicate to you.

I IANLS

It was in Cambridge, in the year 2000, where I met you for the first time. You were from Oslo, Norway, and I came from Stellenbosch, South Africa. I felt like an antipode, especially in your company and that of the Scandinavian ‘clan’. Complicating matters even more, I spoke a language that no-one knew: Afrikaans. Fortunately, before moving to South Africa in 1988, I had studied Swedish in Utrecht. Even though my knowledge of this language had become somewhat rusty after being resident for twelve years at the downside of planet Earth, it was wonderful to hear the Scandinavian languages from the high north frolicking in my ears again – much more exclusive than the buzz of the

1. Thanks to Antoine Haaker, Zofia Tylewska-Ostrowska, Bart Jaski, Stefan Kiedron, Arie Gelderblom, Jerzy Koch and Dineke Ehlers, s.s.t.t.

main congress languages around us: Spanish, Italian, French, German, English and Latin.

Just like a number of other delegates, I stayed at Clare College where the conference was held, but you preferred to stay over at a youth hostel outside the city. I can still see you walking, on sturdy walking shoes, a walk of a full hour's duration. Such a distance! In South Africa, making use of public transport was already dangerous, let alone walking alone for any distance. Like a Norwegian *Drottning Kristina* with light-coloured eyes, you stood in front of me, fully alive, just as well versed in the classics as she had been. You were not wearing any make-up, the grey strands showed in your hair; you looked every inch a feminist and personified sustainability to me. You went about things in your own way, with a real, generous, radiant smile – so different from the somewhat fake Anglo-Saxon barbie doll (academic) culture to which I had become accustomed.

The Neo-Latinist conferences were important in furthering my research into the polyglot, pious and artistic learned woman Anna Maria van Schurman and other learned European women from the Early Modern period. I was the only researcher in South Africa working on the theme *Women Writing Latin and Greek*. In Cambridge I was to read a paper titled 'Iusfasque foeminas ad Rempublicam Litterariam esse adscribi: Anna Maria van Schurman and her Women's Republic of Letters'. You were to speak on a fascinating topic: a rebus puzzle book in Latin. Before your lecture you carefully showed me a photocopy of that very rare book in an empty classroom. Everywhere you went you took it with you under your arm, afraid for it to be stolen even among academics. But your paper was well received, and in 2001 you obtained your doctorate on this book, *Cestus Sapphicus*. You demonstrated convincingly that it was a rebus puzzle book and not a Latin textbook, as had been claimed previously. A year later your thesis was published in two volumes, translated into English with an introduction and comments: *Intellectual play – word and picture: a study of Nils Thomassøn's Latin rebus book Cestus Sapphicus*.² In a review the work is praised as being meticulously researched, learned and original, which of course also describes the author.³

The next time we met was in Bonn, Germany, in that hot, hot summer of 2003, when even Father Rhine was drying up. Together we appear on the picture that Jens Krahe took of us. I took pictures of everyone present at the

2. Roggen 2002.

3. Tordeur 2005: 238–239.

conference dinner, also of you. To me, Bonn represented a turning point in my life, taking place shortly after the completely unexpected suicide of my academic supervisor Bert van Stekelenburg, who literally jumped ship while on a cruise to Antarctica. He had accompanied me to my first IANLS conference in Avila; the only other Neo-Latinist from the *Cabo de Bona Esperanza*. But I took courage again from the people I met at the IANLS conference, also from you. My book *De eerste studente* was published at the end of 2004, despite all the pressures I experienced.⁴

I do not remember much from Budapest (2006), dazed as I felt by a harrowing intercontinental divorce, but I do remember the conference in Münster (2009), where you presented a paper on the status of Norway in the seventeenth century, as seen through the eyes of a Neo-Latin writer, Trugels Nilssøn from Christiania, at present known as Oslo. He wrote occasional poems for the accession to the throne of Frederick III of Denmark and Norway in 1648, but just as easily praised the transition to absolutism twelve years later.

The next conference took place in Uppsala (2012), where I presented a paper on ‘*Habent sua fata libelli*: The adventures and influence of Anna Maria van Schurman in Scandinavia’, which dealt *inter alia* with my discovery, in 2007, of a handwritten poem in a copy of Van Schurman’s *Opuscula* kept in the University Library of Oslo. You presented a fascinating contribution entitled ‘Men as trees in Holberg’s *Nicolai Klimii iter subterraneum*’, on the utopian, comical novel of Holberg (1741) dealing with an unknown world beneath us, where people are trees and where student Niels Klim ends up. The topic made me daydream, and I thought of the biblical story of Jotham where the trees wanted to anoint a king (Judges 9:17–21), of the tree warriors in the *Edda* and of the poem by the Dutch poet Ida Gerhardt on the legendary musician Orpheus, who made the trees follow him and who made the stones dance:

Alles is pas aangevangen
Ongemeten zijn de kansen
Orpheus liet de stenen dansen

4. Van Beek 2004; 2007; 2010.

We met again in Vienna (2015), where we read the inscription at the huge stone monument in the garden of the historic main building of the University of Vienna:

*Erinnerung an die nicht stattgefundenen Ehrungen von
Wissenschaftlerinnen und an das Versümmnis, deren
Leistungen an der Universität Wien zu würdigen.*

Der Muse reicht's

Iris Andraschek 2009

This apology by the University of Vienna about ignoring the women in its history was the starting point for researching the contribution of women to science, beginning at the University itself. In the famous inner courtyard, we did not only see the busts and names of Popper, Freud and Wittgenstein, but also those of women such as Maria Freifrau von Ebner-Eschenbach and Elise Richter, who left their mark on scientific knowledge.⁵

On Tuesday morning, you started off immediately with your paper 'Frame and narrative in Petrarch's *Africa*'; my contribution was planned for the Thursday sessions. But something went wrong with the planning: I was listed as chair for the compelling session on *Love*, but at the same time as speaker in the session on *Women*, with a paper '*Vita bonum fragile est: The lost eulogies of Rotger zum Bergen in honour of Anna Maria van Schurman*', on the praise for Van Schurman which had travelled around the world and which had also reached the unknown Rotger zum Bergen in Königsberg (present-day Kaliningrad). My paper was to be presented in a section of the University building far from the session to be chaired, and thus it was impossible for me to chair the paper presented by the well-known and learned Jeanine de Landtsheer from Leuven – may she rest in peace – who would speak on 'Rooms for rent in the House of Love! The case of Benito Arias Montano'. Even though Jeanine attracted a large audience, leaving other presenters in the same time slot with far smaller groups, I really loved to present my narrative on those unknown letters and poems in Latin by Rotger zum Bergen. I experienced once more the sensation of historical discovery which I had felt when I, unexpectedly, found those letters in Amsterdam and Berlin; printed letters which until that time were deemed lost, also by me, presumably burnt during the huge fire in the Duchess Anna Amalia Library in Weimar in 2004.⁶

5. Keintzel and Korotin 2002.

6. Van Beek 2015: 369–399.

I often followed the sessions on women and those by speakers from Scandinavia on Scandinavian Neo-Latin literature, including your papers. But I missed your presentation in Albacete in 2018 since I was recovering from a serious bicycle accident. I was hoping to see you again in August 2021 in Leuven, but due to the corona crisis this large conference with the theme ‘Half a century of Neo-Latin studies’ has unfortunately been postponed for a year. But we will meet again!

II Oslo 2007

We did not only meet at Neo-Latinist meetings; you also invited me to stay with you when I was searching for the legacy of Anna Maria van Schurman in Scandinavia and was visiting archives and libraries to determine if any of her works had survived there. On passing through Oslo on my way to Trondheim, you offered me a warm welcome in your beautiful house near the fjord in Oslo. Together with your husband – who smoked a deliciously smelling pipe – we took a walk to the fjord and watched an amazing sunset. I do not remember clearly whether at that time you had already been engaged in exotic Azerbaijan. I do remember that I was absent-minded enough to forget my research briefcase on the tram. Fortunately, I had left the tram at the terminal stop, and the tram had directly moved on to the depot. You managed to arrange that we could collect the briefcase at the depot, although you grumbled about your students who would now miss a lecture. My apologies once again! But you rejoiced with me when I told you what I found in the University Library. I had been looking for a copy of Van Schurman’s work *Opuscula Hebraea Graeca Latina et Gallica, prosaica et metrica*, which was nowhere to be found, but according to the catalogue it was in the collection. I did not want to leave until I had seen the *Opuscula*. I had the good luck that librarian Hans Henrik Olsen found the work in an unlikely spot. ‘How should I classify the book: as theology, philosophy or literature?’ he asked. ‘All three’, I replied. While examining the book page by page, my eye suddenly fell on a handwritten poem in Latin, with a German translation:

*Non mihi propositum est humanam illudere sortem,
Ait solito vultus sculperè in aere meos:
Haec nostra effigies, quam cera expressimus, ecce
Materia fragilis mox peritura damus*

Fern sey der Vorsatz von mir, das Loos der Menschheit zu täuschen
 Oder in daurendes Erz einzugraben mein Bild!
 Sie hier meine Gestalt in Wachs gebildet! so weih' ich
 Was bald untergehn muss, einem gebrechlichen Stoff.⁷

I recognised it as a variation on a poem from her Latin work the *Eukleria*. I could fill volumes writing about this poem which refers to a beautiful self-portrait of Van Schurman sculpted in wax. A few years after she made it and had added a Latin poem on the side of the work, an inquisitive aunt dropped it on the floor; into pieces. The poem has a long reception history.⁸ As I said, I prefer to offer you an unknown Latin *elogium*, but not before I look back on our shared interests.

In retrospect, I can see that independently from each other, we have both been involved in writing educational textbooks; you about learning Latin, I about learning Dutch for speakers of Afrikaans, co-authored by Dineke Ehlers, entitled *Oranje boven*. We have both been teaching at schools and universities, and together with research on the influence of the classical authors in the Early Modern period, this has resulted in stacks of books and academic articles. Your field was not limited to the classical authors and Nils Thomassøn, but *inter alia* also included the reception of Early Modern Latin in Norway, Petrarch, and the relevance of the classical authors for this day and age. Furthermore, you promoted the compilation of an uncensored Norwegian-Latin dictionary in which the erotic words, which earlier had been left out because of religious considerations, would find a place.

My own research was aimed at disclosing the life and work of the polyglot learned woman Anna Maria van Schurman. This research field was later broadened to include South African Dutch women writers (resulting in 2019 in the work *My Mother's Mother's Mother*) as well as to women and spirituality (published in the magazine of the Utrecht Dom Cathedral, *Handreiking*, since 2013). I also wrote on poetry and was a member of a trust for completing the comprehensive dictionary of the Afrikaans language, *Die Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal*.⁹ Yet another similarity between us was the difficulty in searching for and finding a place in the academic world. You lived in the (in my eyes) very progressive Scandinavia, obtained a tenured position, but

7. Van Beek 2015: 369–399.

8. Van Beek 2012: 208.

9. Van Beek 2018: 24–25; Van Beek and Van Niekerk 2019. See www.annamariavanschurman.org, d.d. 08-06-2021.

despite all of this you were still discriminated against. I fought my battle for women's rights in South Africa, not only for the rights of temporary female staff who – unbelievably – often received only five per cent of the average male remuneration, did not qualify for life insurance, medical insurance, membership of the pension fund or a housing subsidy, and who often were not remunerated during the summer holidays, but also for improving the negative experience to work for the University as a woman. My solo demonstration against these forms of exploitation and discrimination was mostly to the benefit of others.¹⁰ I was the first female lecturer in Greek and Classical Culture at Stellenbosch University, but also put Women's History and the course in Dutch language and culture on the map. At your University, the classical tradition of Norway, and Scandinavia in general, was rooted over decades, recognising the contribution of women as well. You taught Norwegian language and culture in Azerbaijan, and I taught Dutch language and culture in South Africa, in addition to teaching classical languages. I could dwell on many more issues, such as our civil status, preferences, children, and travels, but I end mentioning your admission in 2006 to the *Academia Latinitati Fovendae*, and mine in 2000 to the *Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie van Wetenskap en Kuns* as well as the Dutch *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde*.¹¹

III Laudatory poem on three learned European women from the seventeenth century: Anna Maria van Schurman, Anna Memorata and Sophia-Anna Corbiniana

Search

This unknown Latin *elogium* mentions Three Graces of the Early Modern period: the learned women Anna Maria van Schurman, Anna Memorata and Sophia-Anna Corbiniana. Before starting to discuss the manuscript, the genre, the author and those women, I first would like to focus on the search for the poem. That search was initiated in the 1980s when I reread the work of Paul Tschackert. He had been a lecturer in Breslau (present-day Wrocław) and wrote in his 1876 book *Anna Maria von Schürmann, der Stern von Utrecht, die Jüngerin Labadie's*:

10. See the South African newspapers *Die Burger* 'Vrou betoog by US oor 'onreg', 26 January 2002; *Eikestadnuus* 'Vrou betoog by US', February 2002; *Beeld* 'Akademikus takel US oor tydelikes se regte', February 2002; Van Beek 2013: 168–175.

11. See inter alia the bibliography at the end of this article.

Auch in Breslau kannte man sie; wenigstens hatte hier ein Dichter lateinische Verse auf sie gemacht. Augustinus Wisaeus, Schurmann A.M. etc. (Carm. lit) vratis. 1643. (Exempl. auf der Bresl. Stadtbibl.)¹²

A laudatory poem in Latin on Van Schurman dating from 1643! But Poland was inaccessible at the time I read this. After the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, the doors slowly started to open. I was still living in South Africa when I met a Polish academic in Stellenbosch: Jerzy Koch, who specialised in Dutch Language Studies. I asked him to please check the catalogue of the University Library in Wrocław. He responded quickly after his return to Poland but told me that there was no sign of anyone called Wisaeus or Van Schurman in the section 'Old Prints' in the library.

The Dutch academic Arie Gelderblom assisted me in contacting and starting a correspondence with Stefan Kiedron, Renaissance specialist and academic in Wrocław. He was prepared to take the search further; after extensive attempts he wrote me an e-mail confirming that several print editions of the *Opuscula* and *Eukleria* by Van Schurman were found in the library, as well as the letter from Browne from 1674, in which he opposed Van Schurman's view of the Sabbath day.¹³ He also was successful in tracing an entry in an old handwritten catalogue which mentioned the title of the work that Tschackert had seen in hard copy, namely 'Wisaeus Aug. De literatis virginib. Trib. Nostri saeculi. Schurmann, A.M; Memorata A; Corbiniana S.A.'. But after an extensive search his conclusion was that the work must have been lost. In my book *The first female university student: Anna Maria van Schurman* (1636) I wrote:

In the same year a volume with Latin laudatory poems on Van Schurman was also published in Breslau: *De literaris virginibus tribus nostri saeculi* [On the three learned virgins of our age]. In this work Augustinus Wisaeus compared her to two other learned women from that region: Anna Memorata and Sophia-Anna Corbiniana. (Memorata published a volume of Latin verse, Corbiniana translated a grammar by Donatus from Latin into German and wrote a praise poem on Christina of Sweden.)¹⁴

12. Gotha: Perthes 1876: 13.30; private correspondence with Stefan Kiedron, June-July 2003.

13. Browne 1674.

14. Van Beek 2004, as translated in Van Beek 2010: 169.

I had given up all hope to ever see this laudatory poem with my own eyes, until I met the learned classicist Antoine Haaker at a conference in Tartu which was dedicated to the Greek language in the Renaissance.¹⁵ He was employed by the University of Wrocław and was working on a thesis on the learned French Claudius Salmasius. Antoine was prepared to have a look for me to determine whether something could be found in the university library on Wisaeus and Van Schurman, since the catalogue had recently been digitalised. After a long search he could only confirm the finding of Stefan Kiedron: the laudatory poem of Augustinus Wisaeus had indeed been in the library's collection in 1876 but could not be found at present. It was highly probable that the work had been lost in the carnage of the war – one of its paper victims.

Totally unexpectedly, two years ago I received an e-mail from Antoine. He had found a reference to the poem in an old catalogue of manuscripts in Gdansk, the *Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*.¹⁶ However, he did not mention in which library it was supposed to have survived. He would visit the library and take a photograph for me. But due to the corona crisis he was not able to go to Gdansk. I wrote to several libraries in Gdansk, even phoned them, but with no result. Until I asked Bart Jaski, curator of old printed works at the library of the University Utrecht, whether he knew which library in Gdansk was the successor of the former Old City Library? And maybe an e-mail address? It took one day for librarian Zofia Tylewska-Ostrowska to send me a copy of the laudatory poem by Wisaeus on three learned European women. I could have danced for joy!

15. Van Beek 2018; Haaker 2018.

16. Günther 1903: 124.

The Latin laudatory poem

DE

Literatis VIRGINIBVS TRIBVS, Seculi nostri Ornamentis
 ANNA MARIA SCHVRMANNIA
 ANNA MEMORATA et
 SOPHI-ANNA CORBINIANA.

Tres Charites, quaeso, posthac ne dicite Vates:
 Successit Ternis Ternio quippe nouus.
 Est Schurmannia Belgis, est Memorata Polonis,
 Denique Germanis Corbiniana Charis.
 [5] Et vel pro priscis, quas mundo inuidit olympus
 Est satis una illi Belgica Nympha, tribus.
 Sed si det caelum, succedat Ternio duplex
 ANNARUM: Musas tunc memorate nouas

Celebratissimae earum famae applaudens cecinit Augustinus A. Wiseus.

On the three learned young women, ornaments of our age
 Anna Maria van Schurman,
 Anna Memorata and
 Sophi-Anna Corbiniana

Poets, I beg you, from now on do not only praise the three Graces;
 a new trio is succeeding the old.
 Van Schurman is the grace for the Low Countries,
 Memorata for Poland and as the last one Corbiniana for Germany.
 [5] Also this Dutch nymph on her own outweighs all three of the previous
 Graces to whom Olympus denied the earth
 But when heaven allows it, a second trio of Graces will follow, namely that
 of the three ANNAS. Be quick to praise these new muses.

Augustinus A. Wisaeus has celebrated them and applauded them for their fame..

Patronus Dilectus Scribitur Franciscus Skitto.
 DE
 Literatis VIRGINIBVS TRIBVS, Seculi nostri Ornamentis
 ANNA MARIA SCHURMANNIA
 ANNA MEMORATA &
 SOPHI-ANNA CORBINIANA.
 Tres Charites quæso, post hæc ne dicite Vates:
 Successit Ternis Ternio quippe nouas.
 Est Schurmannia Belgis, est Memorata Polonis,
 Deniq; Germanis Corbiniana Charis.
 Et vel pro priscis, quas mundo inuidit olympus,
 Est satis una illi; Belgica Nympha, tribus.
 Sed si det cælum, succedat Ternio duplex
 Annarum: Musas tunc memorate nouas.
 Celebratis capto fauce applaudens cecinit
 Augustinus A. Wisens.

THE LATIN ELOGIUM

Augustinus Wisaeus was the author of this Latin *elogium*. He was born on 17 December 1614 in German Silesia, in Habelschwerdt, now Bystrzyca Kłodzka, a small town in Southern Poland near the border with the Czech Republic. At the time there was no university in Silesia; therefore, he studied at the Maria Magdalena Gymnasium in Breslau. The first known writing of his hand is a eulogy on the Breslau aristocrat Michael Vollgenad, who died on 15 August 1639.¹⁷ Augustinus Wisaeus was called to London as minister of the Lutheran Church, thereafter he became a minister in Rotterdam, the city of Erasmus. The Lutherans were tolerated by the mighty Reformed Church in Holland. They had small congregations which cooperated closely on a national level. An example illustrating this is that Wisaeus had to travel to Amsterdam to be confirmed as minister. At the first attempt, this was unsuccessful due to riotous soldiers during the attack of the stadtholder prince Willem II on Amsterdam in the summer of 1650. But in September 1650, Wisaeus' confirmation did indeed take place. For the rest of his life, he would remain a Lutheran preacher in Rotterdam; initially at the small Martinist church building situated at the Vest (the present-day Goudsesingel); later in a somewhat larger church, but compared to the large, reformed Laurens church in Rotterdam it remained a modest building.¹⁸

Augustinus Wisaeus married Adriana Elisabeth Cuyk van Meteren on 17 September 1653. Their marriage remained childless. Was that the reason why she so often officiated as witness of the baptism in the Lutheran church in Rotterdam? In 1674 Wisaeus even had a child named after him: he baptised Augustinus, son of Catharina Oosters and Johannes Tijt. In this case, his wife also was witness of the baptism, as had happened four years earlier at the baptism of an older sister of Augustinus, named Hester Tijt. It seemed they were close to this family. The Rotterdam Lutheran congregation functioned as regional congregation; its members did not only hail from the city of Rotterdam, but also from surrounding towns and villages such as Oud-Beijerland.¹⁹ From another laudatory poem written by Wisaeus dating from 1678, the *Epicedium in obitum Dom. M. Henrici Cordes*, it becomes clear that he worked closely with other Lutheran ministers in the Netherlands. At the death of this preacher from The Hague, Henricus Cordes, a number of these ministers joined the choir of laments in the form of elegies. They hailed from Haarlem, Rotterdam, Bodegraven, Amsterdam, Middelburg and Gouda. But

17. University Library of Wrocław.

18. Schultz Jacobi 1865: 137–154; 170–176; 240; 413–414.

19. City archives of Rotterdam.

the ring of cooperation was wider, even international in nature: the funeral sermon was held by Johann Schellhammer from Hamburg, who also presented a curriculum vitae of Cordes and published this, together with other eulogies und funeral sermons in Latin and Dutch in 1678 at Wolff in Hamburg (*Der Krancken und Sterbenden Angst- und Freuden-Gedancke*). The poem by Wisaeus is full of wordplay on the name of the preacher Henricus Cordes, for example *cor* – *Cordesius* – *cordicitus*. This he also did in the laudatory poem on the three learned women, and presumably in other writings, as yet unknown.

Augustinus Wisaeus passed away on 22 October 1701. The funeral sermon was held by his successor in Rotterdam, Johannes Wilhelmus van Sonten, and published as *Eeren-gedagtenisse*.²⁰

Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) was ‘a young woman of miraculous learning’. No woman has been more famous in Europe than her; she was celebrated for her language studies (she was proficient in fourteen languages), knowledge of theology, philosophy and philology, piety, poetry, for drawing up a grammar of the Ethiopian language, for her books and other writings, and for her works of art. She conjured a kaleidoscopic image to other people. Thousands of people visited her in her house in Utrecht; not only students and scholars, but also queens, for instance Christina of Sweden, Maria de Medici of France, Henrietta Maria of England, Marie Louise Gonzaga of Poland, and members of the Dutch House of Orange. Politicians, writers, artists, theologians and other scholars from all over Europe wanted to see, describe and portray her, or wanted her signature in their *alba amicorum*.

Born in Cologne, when she was still a little girl, she and her family had to flee to the maternal family castle of Dreiborn near Aachen, from where they came to Utrecht. Anna Maria lived for more than fifty years in Utrecht, on and around the Dom Square. As an exceptionally bright girl, she was allowed to attend Latin classes at home with her brothers, and in 1636 she was called upon to celebrate the foundation of the Utrecht University by writing a poem in Latin for the opening day. She had more than seven hundred copies of the poem printed to distribute among the attendees. In this poem she complained about the fact that women were excluded from the institution and pleads for their admission. She herself obtained permission to attend classes (as an exception) and thus she became the first female university student of Europe.

20. Van Sonten 1701.

Her work *Opuscula Hebraea Graeca Latina et Gallica, prosaica et metrica* was printed and reprinted several times. People collected her polyglot calligraphic works of art and cut her signature from letters or from *alba amicorum*. Although she distanced herself from her learning at a later stage in her life when she left the city, university and church of Utrecht and joined the radically religious proto-communist group following Jean de Labadie in 1669, people remained in awe of her learning, especially as demonstrated in her Latin autobiography *Eukleria*, published in two parts. In the Frisian village of Wieuwerd she died peacefully.²¹

Praise for Van Schurman could be found all around Europe in many languages, travelled on a ship to America and Africa, and evidently also reached Breslau, where Augustinus Wisaeus lived and worked. It is still unknown whether he visited her in Utrecht after he had settled in Rotterdam or whether she came to visit him in Rotterdam. In any case, it seems that she did not keep the laudatory poem which he undoubtedly sent to her in 1643 or shortly afterwards. Towards the end of her life, just like St. Augustine, she recalled and burned all eulogies, which in her opinion had been written by *mendaces panegyrici*, lying eulogists.²²

Anna Memorata (ca. 1612/5–1645) was of Czech descent. Her father was Andrzej Jakub Memoratus, a well-educated man who settled in Leszno, a town between Breslau and Poznań. Here a large cultural centre had been established by the Czech Brethren after the Protestants had lost the devastating battle of White Mountain near Prague (1620). Anna's father became the minister of the Czech Brethren in Leszno. There were a number of excellent schools, printers and publishers in the town. Anna Memorata received a humanist education from her father but was also tutored by the famous philosopher and educator Comenius. Apart from being proficient in Czech, Polish and German, she also knew Latin and Greek. She often signed her writing with 'Anna Memorata, virgo Polona' ('the Polish virgin'). She wrote poems in varying metres on important men such as Samuel Specht and on the wedding of Mauritius Rudolphi Gogowiensis and Magdalena Schuller. In the anthology *Laurifolium*, compiled by Chrystian Teodor Schosser and published in 1641, some of her poems were included. Prominent intellectuals

21. Saxby 1987; Van Beek 2010; Wyles and Hall 2016; Van Beek 2016; Van Beek 2018; Haaker 2018.

22. Van Beek 2020: 269–296.

of her time compared her to Anna Maria van Schurman; she does so herself in some of her occasional poems. Unfortunately, she died young, in 1645.²³

Sophia-Anna Corbiniana was born in Leipzig (16??) and blossomed in Breslau and in Warsaw (1670). According to Louis Jacob, in his work *Bibliothèque des femmes illustres par leurs écrits*, she was a German learned woman. The Belgian Latinist Jozef IJsewijn refers to her as the Polish woman Sophia Corbiniana, a clever Latinist.²⁴ In the period between 1641 and 1669, she wrote poems in Latin, but these were published in their entirety as late as 1975. In a manuscript in the Vatican, two poems from her hand appear, which she wrote when Fabio Chigi became pope in 1655. She signed these poems as ‘Sphianna Bernharda, nata Corbiniana’, which indicates that she was married at the time and had subscribed to the Catholic faith.

What was published during her lifetime was a Latin compendium with didactic and philological observations on the Latin grammar of Aelius Donatus, teacher of the Church Father Hieronymus. It was published in Breslau in 1640 under the title *Annae Sophiae Corbinianae Compendium Donati cum Observationibus Didacticis et Philologicis*. She also wrote a laudatory poem in Latin on Queen Christina of Sweden and had it printed on a separate sheet in *plano* format. This poem was included in a convolute manuscript which forms part of the collection of the University of Wrocław, just like a grammar written by Donatus which she translated from Latin to German and reworked for use as a school grammar textbook. Kiedron is of the opinion that the school grammar was not printed in Breslau, and neither was the laudatory poem to Queen Christina.²⁵

The Latin laudatory poem

The Latin laudatory poem was an *elogium* on three learned women of the seventeenth century, namely, Anna Maria van Schurman, Anna Memorata and Sophia-Anna Corbiniana. The central section of an *elogium* is the *exemplificatio*, where the person who is praised is compared to a well-known mythological or historical figure. Wisaeus does this here by comparing the three women to the Three Graces from classical antiquity. According to Greek

23. Wierzbowski 1895; Memorata 1998; Partyka 2010: 563–571.

24. IJsewijn 1977: 169.

25. Lewandowski 1975; Stefan Kiedron, private e-mail dated 14 July 2003.

mythology, the classical three Graces or Charites were the daughters of Zeus with Eurynome: Aglaea ('Shining'), Euphrosyne ('Joy') and Thalia ('Blooming'). They were gracious and extraordinarily beautiful, and as such they have often been portrayed in painting and sculpture. An often-used compliment for a learned woman was 'Tenth Muse' (a compliment Plato already gave to Sappho), 'Fourth Grace' or 'New Sappho'. Wisaeus could have portrayed each of them separately as the Fourth Grace, but improved on this concept by placing them all in a single group and offsetting them against the classical Three Graces.

Elogia on learned women combined praise on their learning, virginal state, country, modesty, ancestry, piety and beauty.²⁶ On their piety, modesty and ancestry Wisaeus did not say a word, on their learning and virginity just the words 'literatibus' and 'virgo'. But he does praise the countries where the Three Graces reside: the Low Countries for Van Schurman, Poland for Anna Memorata and Germany for Sophia-Anna Corbiniana. Their beauty is evident from the fact that he calls them ornaments, pearls of their age. Pearls represent the top of purity and beauty. The Three Graces themselves personified beauty and grace, so Wisaeus is paying them a huge compliment by making this comparison. And what a lucky coincidence that the Early Modern trio all have the name Anna in their full names; allowing them to become the **Three Anna Graces**. They are also unique, since only these three countries can claim one of these learned women as their own.

Wisaeus first mentions the three women as one group; the classical Three Graces compared to these modern Graces. But in line 6, his focus shifts to Van Schurman as an individual; she alone outweighs the classical Three Graces taken together. By doing this, he also introduces a hierarchy of the women's level of learning: Van Schurman is foremost among the three. He already indicated this by mentioning Anna Maria van Schurman first, followed by Anna Memorata and finishing with Sophia-Anna Corbiniana, but as from line 6 he states this sequence explicitly. When one takes into account the number of writings published by these women during their lifetime, his preferential treatment of Van Schurman is justified. On the other hand, the work of the other two learned women from Poland and Germany has mainly survived in manuscript form and was often published at a later stage. In 1643 Van Schurman had already published her poems on the University of Utrecht, her book *Paelsteen van de tijd onzes levens* as well as the *Amica Dissertatio*

26. Van Beek 2010: 135–137; Kajanto 2003; Laureys 2014: 1148–1150; Van Beek 2018: 269–296.

and *Dissertatio* in separate editions. This also applies to several treatises published in the work of others, such as the essay on the healing of the blind man (Mark 8:22–26, in the work of Van Beverwijck).²⁷

There exist other laudatory poems on learned women where they are compared to each other in the poem, for instance Sophia Elisabeth Brenner to Van Schurman. But nowhere in the titles of such poems is a similar compliment to be found as in this one, referring to these young, most learned women by name: Anna Maria van Schurman, Anna Memorata and Sophia-Anna Corbiniani. At the time of writing, he was still resident in Breslau, Silesia, which was German territory, but in close proximity to Poland. This is probably the reason why he is also singing the praises of both a German and a Polish learned young woman. He does not mention Van Schurman's noble descent; probably to prevent the other two women to pale in comparison.

The poem has eight verses written in beautiful Latin and consists of four disticha, each containing a hexameter and a pentameter, including use of alliteration and end rhyme. The metre is satisfactory, except in the third verse: *Est Schurmannia Belgis, est Memorata Polonis*. 'Belgis' and 'Schurmannia' both end with a metrical foot, thus lacking a metrical pause or caesura in the middle of the verse. The word 'Batavis' instead of 'Belgis' would have been a better choice: *Est Schurmannia Batavis; est Memorata Polonis*.²⁸ Wisaeus ends his laudatory poem with *novas Musas* ('new Muses'), referring to the Three Graces who are all named Anna. From the phrase 'new Muses' (*novas Musas*) to 'Nine Muses' (*novem Musas*), it is but a small leap. Van Schurman indeed received the compliment of being all Nine Muses rolled into one from her professor and mentor Voetius,²⁹ but in Wisaeus' laudatory poem she still has to share this praise with the other Anna Graces, although she was singled out as being the most important. The last verse serves as an exhortation to praise the Three Anna Graces as being the new muses.

Manuscript

The original copy of the Latin laudatory poem described in this article forms part of the collection of the Polish Academy of Science in Gdansk. The manuscript is bound into a voluminous folio (Ms. 1202) with the title *Miscellanea manuscripta maximeque Polono-Prussico-Gedanensia*, which contains a variety

27. Van Beek 2010: 263–264.

28. With thanks to Antoine Haaker.

29. Van Beek 2020.

of hand-written texts. On folio 263 one finds the following: ‘Augustinus A. Wisaeus, De literatis virginibus tribus seculi nostri ornamentis, Anna Maria Schurmannia, Anna Memorata et Sophi-Anna Corbiniana, 4 lat. Disticha’. As from 1783 (or shortly thereafter) it had been part of the collection of the city library after having been in the possession of Gabriel Schumann (1699–1730). He copied the poem by hand in a book (containing a variety of texts) which after his death became part of the collection of Valentinus Schlieff (1680–1750). According to Schlieff’s last will and testament, the complete collection Schumann-Schlieff was donated to the *Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanenses* (at present the library of the Polish Academy of Science in Gdansk).

It so happened that the manuscript from Gdansk was also used by Joseph Rink, teacher of religion at the strictly Catholic Maria school for girls. In 1911 he published, as part of the year planner for 1910–1911, an addendum about education for girls. In this work he gives extended praise to the work of the nun Lioba, but also mentions in passing the Latin poem of Augustinus A. Wiseus on the three learned women Anna Maria van Schurman, Anna Memorata and Sophia-Anna Corbiniana. Rink quotes the Latin poem in full and adds a German translation from the hand of Professor Zimmermann from Langfuhr, who probably was the person who copied the Latin poem from the original in the city library of Gdansk.³⁰

Von den drei literarischen Jungfrauen, den Perlen unsers Jahrhunderts.
Anna Maria Schürmann, Anna Memorata und Sophie Anna Corbiniana

Dichter, preiset, ich bitt’ euch, nunmehr nicht drei Charitinnen,
Denn zu den früheren drei sind nun drei neue gestellt.
Belgien hat die Schürmann und Polen die Memorata
Corbiniana sodann is den Germanen beschert.
Aufwiegt die alten drei, die die Götter der Erde geneidet,
Schön die Eine sogar, die aus Belgien stammt,
Aber wird allen der Himmel gewährt, dan gibt es der Gratien
Zweimal drei: Nun flugs auch neue Musen ernannt.

Ihrem sehr berühmten Ruhme Beifall spendend sang dieses Augustinus A.
Wiseus

30. Rink 1911: 27.

This version by Rink still does not explain, however, the reference to the text of Breslau (1643), of which Tschackert mentioned to have seen a printed version in 1876. Is it possible that the manuscript was moved from Breslau to Gdansk between 1876 and 1911? No, the manuscript in Gdansk did not at any time leave the library since it arrived there after the death of Schumann, according to librarian Zofia Tylewska-Ostrowska. Furthermore, on an old pink slip of paper in the card catalogue of the University Library in Breslau, the format is described as being a folio, indicating a so-called printed *Fliegend Blatt*, dating from 1643. Whether Schumann in Gdansk copied the poem from the original handwritten version by Wisaeus or from the printed version which existed in Breslau can only be determined by a careful comparison of the Gdansk copy with the two others. But these other two versions remain lost.

Vibeke, the riddle has at least been partially solved, but so many questions still remain. Where and when did Wisaeus meet the three Annas, if at all? Did he have a preference for women who had their roots in two countries? As a *pensionado* you will have plenty of time to continue the search. Should you prefer to dedicate your time to something else, no hard feelings. May life treat you kindly!

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