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СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЕ

<i>Alyoshin A., Zinovieva E.</i> Stable word complexes of comparative semantics with a component-demonym in the Swedish and Russian languages	5
<i>Gurova E., Taratonkina I., Avakova Yu.</i> Janteloven in Denmark and Norway — To be or not to be?.....	23
<i>Popova O.</i> Structural models of somatisms in the Norwegian language.....	47
<i>Топорова Т. В.</i> Древнеисландская лексема <i>hel</i> 'загробный мир; владелица загробного мира' в «Младшей Эдде» и сравнение со «Старшей Эддой»	64

ЛИТЕРАТУРОВЕДЕНИЕ

<i>Soini H.</i> Folklore components of Finnish rock poetry	79
<i>Korovin A.</i> Neo-romantic hero: Vital characters in Holger Drachmann's short stories.....	95
<i>Koroleva V., Pritomskaya A.</i> Hoffmann traditions in Selma Lagerlöf's novel "Gösta Berling's Saga"	106
<i>Lisovskaya P.</i> Bilden av den ryske tsar Peter hos Strindberg och andra nordiska författare vid sekelskiftet	123
<i>Lotagina A.</i> Reading Karen Blixen in different cultures. "Sailor-Boy's Tale" ("Skibsdrengens Fortælling"): What is lost and gained in self-translation?.....	136

КУЛЬТУРА И КУЛЬТУРНЫЕ СВЯЗИ

<i>Engelbrecht W. W. K. H.</i> The end of Frisian freedom by its confirmation: The Frisian Imperial Privilege of Emperor Maximilian I and its background. Part I: The first charters	153
<i>Statkevich V.</i> Tekeningen van Cornelis Moninckx in de collectie van de Hermitage	172
<i>Хлевов А., Губанов И.</i> Саксы и скальмы: однолезвийное оружие в текстах древнеисландских саг	192



CONTENTS

LINGUISTICS

<i>Alyoshin A., Zinovieva E.</i> Stable word complexes of comparative semantics with a component-demonym in the Swedish and Russian languages	5
<i>Gurova E., Taratonkina I., Avakova Yu.</i> Janteloven in Denmark and Norway — To be or not to be?.....	23
<i>Popova O.</i> Structural models of somatisms in the Norwegian language.....	47
<i>Toporova T.</i> Old Icelandic <i>hel</i> ‘world of the dead, the Dead-Goddess <i>Hel</i> ’ in the Younger Edda and the comparison with the Elder Edda	64

LITERATURE STUDY

<i>Soini H.</i> Folklore components of Finnish rock poetry	79
<i>Korovin A.</i> Neo-romantic hero: Vital characters in Holger Drachmann’s short stories.....	95
<i>Koroleva V., Pritomskaya A.</i> Hoffmann traditions in Selma Lagerlöf’s novel “Gösta Berling’s Saga”	106
<i>Lisovskaya P.</i> Image of the Russian Tsar Peter in the works by Strindberg and other Scandinavian fin de siècle writers.....	123
<i>Lomagina A.</i> Reading Karen Blixen in different cultures. “Sailor-Boy’s Tale” (“Skibsdrengens Fortælling”): What is lost and gained in self-translation?	136

CULTURE AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

<i>Engelbrecht W. W. K. H.</i> The end of Frisian freedom by its confirmation: The Frisian Imperial Privilege of Emperor Maximilian I and its background. Part I: The first charters.....	153
<i>Statkevich V.</i> Drawings by Cornelis Moninckx in the Hermitage collection.....	172
<i>Khlevov A., Goubanov I.</i> Seaxes and skalms: Single-edged weapon in the Old Icelandic texts	192



ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЕ

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STABLE WORD COMPLEXES OF COMPARATIVE SEMANTICS WITH A COMPONENT-DEMONYM IN THE SWEDISH AND RUSSIAN LANGUAGES

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The article is devoted to identifying of general patterns and distinctive features in the structure, meaning and evaluation of stable verbal complexes of comparative semantics of the Swedish and Russian languages with a component-demonym. Stable verbal complexes of comparative semantics with a demonic component are present in both the Swedish and Russian languages. There is a significant quantitative disproportion between stable comparisons and paremias of comparative semantics of both languages, but in the Swedish language in favor of proverbs, and in Russian — in favor of stable comparisons. It can be assumed that the names of evil spirits are more taboo in Swedish stable comparisons, and also comparative phraseological units in general were less subject to lexicographic fixation. The studied proverbs of the Swedish and Russian languages are quantitatively comparable. Structurally, the similarity of the proverbs of the two languages is manifested in the presence of such models as sentences with opposition introduced by adversative conjunctions, and sentences with the presence of a component in the comparative degree. But the analyzed Swedish proverbs are characterized by such models as sentences with adjacent components, identity sentences and sentences built according to the syntactic model “better... than...”, which are absent in

the studied material of the Russian language. In turn, in the analyzed Russian proverbs one can note models that are absent in Swedish ones: sentences built on the principle of syntactic parallelism and collapsed comparison.

Keywords: proverbs, stable comparisons, comparative structure, Swedish language, Russian language, stable verbal complexes, demonyms.

INTRODUCTION

Comparison as a linguistic category has been repeatedly considered in the works of such linguists as V. P. Berkov [Berkov, 1996], K. Lerner, V. Kuperman [Lerner, Kuperman, 1998], K. P. Herberman [Herberman, 1999], P. Seryo [Seryo, 2003], M. I. Cheremisina [Cheremisina, 2006], V. M. Ogoltsev [Ogoltsev, 2009] and others.

The result of the study of the category of comparison as a multi-level formation is the conclusion shared by a number of scientists that “comparison is a weakly centered functional-semantic field, which is based not on a grammatical, but on a semantic category” [Postnikova, 2009, p. 272].

As L. M. Malykh rightly notes, “when characterizing comparison as a semantic category in an explicit or implicit form, scientists proceed from a fairly traditional philosophical understanding of comparison as a problem, first of all, of ‘comparing’, ‘connecting’, ‘correlating’ two objects, that is, making a qualitative comparison, important indicators of which are the establishment of relations of identity and/or likeness” [Malykh, 2011, p. 106].

This article examines stable linguistic units with semantics of comparison. L. I. Roizenon in the second half of the 20th century [Roizenon, 1961; 1973] proposed, in our opinion, a successful term to designate the entire set of such units — a stable verbal complex. Following this researcher, a stable verbal complex is understood as a linguistic unit that arose as a result of phraseologization, which is characterized by the property of reproducibility in language and speech as a ready-made unit of a more complex organization than a word [Roizenon, 1973, p. 100].

The object of this study is stable comparisons (comparative phraseological units) with a formal indicator — the conjunction *som* in Swedish and *как* in Russian, as well as proverbs with the semantics of comparison — proverbs and sayings that explicitly or implicitly contain comparison, in which there is a component — demon. By demonym we mean the names of evil spirits — *черт, бес, дьявол, сатана*.

Issues of research into proverbs and sayings of the Swedish language are addressed in the works of F. Ström [Ström, 1929], E. Sköldbërg [Sköldbërg, 1999], U. Clausén [Clausén, 1991], U. Clausén and E. Lyly [Clausén, Lyly, 1995], B. Svensén [Svensén, 1997], Å. Daun [Daun, 1998]. Swedish stable comparisons were considered only in connection with problems of lexicography [Clausén, 2003], in connection with the identification of different types of metaphors [Allwood, 1983; Svanlund, 2001].

In the scientific literature, stable verbal complexes with a demonic component have so far been studied fragmentarily using material from different languages and in various aspects. For example, the article by O. V. Lomakina and V. M. Mokienko is devoted to the conceptual dichotomy “God — devil” in the phraseology and paremiology of the Rusyn language against the background of other Slavic languages [Lomakina, Mokienko, 2019]. The role of phrasemes with components-theonyms and demonims in revealing the dominants of linguistic consciousness based on the material of the Russian and Polish languages is considered in the work of M. M. Golikova [Golikova, 2018], analysis of a separate proverb *Ни бoгу свечка, ни черту кочерга* ‘Neither a candle for God nor a fire iron for the devil’ is carried out in the article by L. E. Kruglikova [Kruglikova, 2008], a study of phraseological units with a component denoting an evil spirit in English, Turkish and Russian languages is presented in the PhD thesis of A. G. Nurullina [Nurullina, 2017].

Stable verbal complexes of comparative structure and semantics with a demonic component have been studied to an even lesser extent. Thus, we can name single works in which the object of analysis is stable comparisons or proverbs with the component that interests us. For example, along with other phraseological units, such stable verbal complexes were analyzed in works devoted to the cultural semantics of phraseological units with the “devil” component based on the material of the English and Yakut languages [Zakharova, Sidorova, 2017], as well as in the above-mentioned article by O. V. Lomakina and V. M. Mokienko [Lomakina, Mokienko, 2019]. A comprehensive study of Swedish and Russian stable comparisons and paremias of comparative semantics with a demonic component has not been found.

The purpose of this study is to identify general patterns and distinctive features in the structure, meaning and evaluation of the stable word complexes of comparative semantics of the Swedish and Russian languages with a demonic component.

1. SWEDISH STABLE VERBAL COMPLEXES OF COMPARATIVE SEMANTICS WITH A COMPONENT-DEMONYM

In the considered category of the Swedish language, there is a quantitative disproportion between lexicographically recorded comparative phraseological units (stable comparisons) and paremias of comparative semantics with the component of interest to us. The sources of material for the study were "Ordspråk och talesätt med förklaringar" by P. Holm [Holm, 1971], "Svenska ordspråk" by F. Ström [Ström, 1929] and "Ordbok över svenska liknelser" by A. Alösjin [Alösjin, 2020]. From these lexicographic works, using a continuous sample of material, 4 stable comparisons and 20 proverbs with a demonic component were selected. Let us turn to a detailed sequential consideration of these units.

1.1. Stable comparisons of Swedish with a component-demonym

Swedish comparative phraseological units include such demonyms as standards of comparison as: *fan* 'devil', *djävul* 'devil' and *hin håles mor* 'devil's mother'.

All three demonyms are used as a standard for assessing ugly appearance, both as a general assessment: *Ful som fan (djävul)* 'Ugly as the devil', and as a private assessment of an individual part of the body: *Naglar som örnnaklor och näsa som hin håles mor* 'Nails as eagle claws, and a nose like the devil's mother's'.

The standard of comparison with the component *fan* 'devil' can represent a detailed situation, in which a representative of evil spirits either does something absurd — threshes peas on a person: *Han ser ut som om fan tröskat ärter på honom* 'He looks as if the devil was threshing peas on him' or obviously incorrect: *Läsa (tolka) ngt som fan läser bibeln* 'Read (interpret) something like the devil reads the Bible'. In the first of these stable comparisons, we are again talking about a person's appearance. Thus, all four Swedish stable comparisons express a negative evaluation.

1.2. Swedish proverbs of comparative semantics with a component-demonym

1.2.1. Structural models of Swedish comparative semantics paremias

Comparison in the analyzed Swedish proverbs can be expressed with a greater or lesser degree of explicitness.

An explicitly expressed comparison is verbalized in the following ways.

1. Sentences of identity (7 units): *Fan är prästens bästa hund* ‘The devil is the priest’s favorite dog’; *Hin och bödeln äro tjocka släkten* ‘The devil and the executioner are close relatives’; *Advokater och soldater äro satans lekkamrater* ‘Lawyers and soldiers are Satan’s friends in his games’; *Krig är en djävul, som äter guld och skiter kiselstenar* ‘War is the devil that eats gold and produces flints’; *Svärdens klang är satans taffelmusik* ‘The clanking of swords is dinner music for Satan’; *Änkans sorg och fans bön äro lika långa* ‘The sorrow of a widow and the prayer of the devil last equally long’; *Sysslolöshet är fans huvudkudde* ‘Idleness is a pillow for the devil’s head’.

2. Complex sentences with opposition introduced by the conjunctions *och, men* ‘but’ (6 units): *Satan hämtar honom och prästen får betala frakten* ‘Satan takes him, and the priest pays for transportation’; *Snål spar och skruvt tar* ‘The miser saves, and the devil takes’; *Kristna kriga mot kristna, men den ene djävulen icke mot den andre* ‘Christians fight with Christians, but not one devil with another’.

2.1. Parts of a complex sentence with opposition can be identity clauses: *Kyrkan är ett gammalt hus och fan en skalk* ‘The church is an old house, and the devil is a servant in it’.

2.2. The comparative semantics of sentences with opposition can be enhanced by the presence in the proverb of a component representing the comparative degree of the adjective: *Fan är listig men påven är värre* ‘The devil is cunning, but the Pope is even more cunning’; *Djävulens fallrep är starkare än ett ankartåg, men finare än tråden i en spindelväv* ‘The devil’s rope ladder is stronger than an anchor rope, but thinner than the threads of a spider’s web’.

3. Sentences with juxtaposition (3 units).

Logical juxtaposition is understood as the unification in the minds of speakers of a certain linguistic culture of two subjects from different denotative spheres by identifying a common attribute or common characteristic in them, denoted by a predicate in the syntactic model of paremia [Aleshin, 2023]. In the material under study, this category is represented by the following proverbs: *Satan tycker om rika änkor och feta präster* ‘Satan loves rich widows and fat priests’; *Fan och prästen studera tillsammans* ‘The devil and the priest studied together’; *Dit fan*

själv inte vill gå, skickar han en präst eller en käring ‘Where the devil does not want to go, he sends a priest or an old woman’.

4. Sentences built according to the syntactic model “better... than...”: *Bättre fan till rådgivare än ingen alls* ‘It’s better to have the devil as an advisor than no one at all’; *Kvinnan känner konsten bättre än djävulen* ‘A woman has a better art than the devil’.

The implicitly presented comparison is based on the logical-philosophical operation of comparison and has no formal indicators at the linguistic level (2 units in our material): *I brist på tjuv tar fan en biskop* ‘For lack of a thief, the devil takes a bishop’; *Fan är värst, när han står i predikstolen* ‘The devil is the worst when he stands behind the pulpit’ (implicitly about the priest).

1.2.2. Content characteristics of Swedish comparative proverbs with a demonic component

In the analyzed proverbs of the Swedish language, the devil, on the one hand, appears insidious and cunning, it is easy to fall into his network; once you succumb to temptation, it seems that the path he offers is reliable and strong, but those who step on it fail: *Djävulens fallrep är starkare än ett ankartåg, men finare än tråden i en spindelväv* ‘The devil’s rope ladder is stronger than an anchor rope, but thinner than the threads of a spider’s web’. On the other hand, a person always needs advice and help from outside, so *Bättre fan till rådgivare än ingen alls* ‘It is better to have the devil as an adviser than no one at all’.

First of all, in the comparative proverbs under study, attention is drawn to the dichotomy between evil spirits (the devil, Satan) and clergy (priest, pope, bishop). Here are some examples: *Satan hämtar honom och prästen får betala frakten* ‘Satan takes him, and the priest pays for transportation’; *Fan är listig men påven är värre* ‘The devil is sly, but the Pope is even slier’; *Fan och prästen studera tillsammans* ‘The devil and the priest studied together’; *Fan är prästens bästa hund* ‘Devil is the priest’s favorite dog’; *Fan är värst, när han står i predikstolen* ‘The devil is the worst when he stands behind the pulpit’.

In this subgroup of Swedish proverbs, there is, firstly, a direct comparison of the devil and the priest: the same status of both is noted: *Fan och prästen studera tillsammans*; the priest is the devil’s minion and accomplice: *Satan hämtar honom och prästen får betala frakten*. In some

aspects, clergy are superior to the devil, for example, the Pope turns out to be more cunning than the devil: *Fan är listig men påven är värre*. The devil and the priest are identified by their status, they are very close and can even act in the same role, which is especially dangerous, since the priest is endowed with certain powers and enjoys the trust of people: *Fan är värst, när han står i predikstolen*. It should be noted that the church itself appears in proverbs as a house in which the devil serves: *Kyrkan är ett gammalt hus och fan en skalk* ‘The church is an old house, and the devil is a servant in it’.

The idea of functional similarity between the devil and the priest is also confirmed by other Swedish proverbs, in which there is no semantics of comparison, cf., for example: *Medan prästen predikar, går fan ut på strövtåg* ‘While the priest is preaching, the devil goes for a walk’; *När fan blir gammal, blir han präst* ‘When the devil gets old, he becomes a priest’. Moreover, the devil may even surpass priests in his virtue, compare with an ironic wellerism: *Dygden får alltid sitta emellan, sa fan, satte sig mellan två präster* ‘Virtue will sit in the middle, said the devil and sat down between the two priests’.

Of interest are those comparative proverbs with a demonic component, in which the representative of the evil spirit himself seems to make a comparison, for example, makes a thief and a bishop side by side: *I brist på tjuv tar fan en biskop* ‘For lack of a thief, the devil takes a bishop’, rich widows and fat priests: *Satan tycker om rika änkor och feta präster* ‘Satan loves rich widows and fat priests’.

In addition to clergymen, in Swedish proverbs there is an implicit and explicit comparison between the devil and female persons: *Dit fan själv inte vill gå, skickar han en präst eller en käring* ‘Where the devil does not want to go, he sends a priest or an old woman’; *Kvinnan känner konsten bättre än djävulen* ‘A woman has a better art than the devil’; *Ånkans sorg och fans bön äro lika långa* ‘The sorrow of a widow and the prayer of the devil last equally long’. In this case, the devil and the woman either become equal in their capabilities, or the woman turns out to be even more skillful.

In Swedish comparative proverbs, the executioner is close to the devil: *Hin och bödeln äro tjocka släkten* ‘The devil and the executioner are close relatives’, as well as lawyers and soldiers: *Advokater och soldater äro satans lekkamrater* ‘Lawyers and soldiers are Satan’s friends in his games’.

In the proverbs, through the opposition of a stingy person and the devil, stinginess is condemned: *Snål spar och skruttt tar* ‘The miser saves, and the devil takes away’ and idleness, which is figuratively verbalized as ‘a pillow under the devil’s head’: *Sysslöshet är fans huvudkudde* ‘Idleness is a pillow under the devil’s head’.

In Swedish comparative proverbs, war appears in the image of the devil (Satan): *Krig är en djävul, som äter guld och skiter kiselstenar* ‘War is the devil who eats gold and secretes flints’; *Svärdens klang är satans taffelmusik* ‘The clanking of swords is dinner music for Satan’. In this regard, the proverb notes that in comparison with Christians who destroy each other, one devil never fights with another: *Kristna kriga mot kristna, men den ene djävulen icke mot den andre* ‘Christians fight with Christians, but not one devil with another’. In this case, the devil acts as a kind of standard of morality, and the Christians lose in this regard even to him.

2. RUSSIAN STABLE VERBAL COMPLEXES OF COMPARATIVE SEMANTICS WITH A COMPONENT-DEMONYM

The sources of material for the study of Russian comparative stable verbal complexes with component-demonym were the “Dictionary of Comparisons of the Russian Language” [Mokienko, 2003] and the “Big Dictionary of Russian Proverbs” [Mokienko, Nikitina, Nikolaeva, 2010]. In the considered category of the stable verbal complexes of the Russian language, as well as in the Swedish language, there is a quantitative disproportion between lexicographically recorded comparative phraseological units and paremias of comparative semantics with the component that interests us. But quantitatively, unlike the Swedish language, stable comparisons significantly predominate. From these lexicographic works, 69 stable comparisons and 22 proverbs with a demonic component were selected using a continuous sampling of material. Let us turn to a detailed sequential consideration of these units.

2.1. Stable comparisons of the Russian language with a demonic component

Russian comparative phraseological units include as standards of comparison such demonyms as *бес* ‘demon’ (9 units), *черт* ‘devil’ (42 units), *дьявол* ‘devil’ (15 units) and *сатана* ‘satan’ (3 units). Characteristic of the Russian language are two-component stable compari-

sons with the omission of the basis of comparison: *как черт* ‘like the devil’, *как бес* ‘like a demon’, *как сатана* ‘like satan’, *хуже черта* ‘worse than the devil’, *черт чертом* ‘devil as the devil’, *как черти* ‘like devils’, which is explained by the syncretism of the image of comparison (the standard denoting evil spirits) in the Russian linguistic consciousness. Standards-demonyms can act as variants for the same basis of comparison. For example: *носиться (бегать, летать, мчаться, метаться) как бес (бесом)* ‘rush around (run, fly, rush, rush) like a demon (a demon)’ — *носиться (бегать, летать, мчаться, метаться) как дьявол (дьяволом)* ‘rush (run, fly) like a devil’ — *носиться как сатана* ‘run around like Satan’ — *ездить (ехать/проехать, носиться/проноситься, мчаться) как черт* ‘ride (drive/pass, rush) like a devil’; *ловок (ловкий, проворен, проворный) как бес* ‘dexterous (nimble) like a demon’ — *ловок (ловкий, проворен, проворный) как дьявол* ‘dexterous (nimble) like a devil’.

The wide variability of the bases of Russian stable comparisons also attracts attention.

Ideographically, Russian stable comparisons serve for:

- characteristics of fast movement (see examples above); unexpected appearance of someone: *выскакивать/выскочить [откуда] как черт из коробки (коробочки, табакерки, шкатулки)* ‘jump out / jump out like a devil from the box (casket)’;
- chaotic movement: *вертеться (юлить, метаться) как бес перед заутреней* ‘to twirl (toss about, toss about) like a demon before matins’, *вертеться (юлить) как дьявол (дьяволом)* ‘spin around (play around) like a devil’; *вертеться/завертеться (крутиться/закрутиться) как черт перед заутреней* ‘spin/twist (twist/twist) like the devil before matins’, *вертеться/завертеться (крутиться/закрутиться) чертом* ‘spin/twist (twist/twist) like the devil’;
- unclear reasons for human behavior (unconscious desires): *будто (словно, точно) бес вселился* ‘as if (as if, for sure) a demon had taken possession’, *словно бес подмывает [сделать что]* ‘as if the demon was tempting [to do something]’; *в кого будто (словно, точно) дьявол вселился* ‘somebody seems (as if, for sure) to be possessed by the devil’, *кого словно черт под локоть толкает* ‘it’s like the devil is pushing someone’s elbow’;
- characteristics of a person’s intelligence: *умен (умный, проницателен, проницательный) как бес* ‘smart (clever, shrewd) like a de-

- мон', умен (умный) как дьявол, умен (умный) как черт 'smart like a devil';
- personality traits, character traits of a person: *характер (натура) у кого как у дьявола* 'someone's character (nature) is like that of the devil', *хитер (хитрый) как бес* 'cunning like a demon', *хитер (хитрый) как черт, хитер (хитрый) как дьявол* 'cunning like a devil', *злой как дьявол* 'evil as a devil', *злой как [сам] сатана* 'evil as Satan [himself]', *злой как черт* 'evil as a devil', *коварный как дьявол* 'wily as a devil';
 - descriptions of human behavior: *рассыпаться (вертеться) [перед кем] мелким бесом* 'crumble (twirl) [in front of someone] like a petty demon', *ругаться (браниться) как черт* 'swear like a devil', *беситься как черти* 'get mad like devils', *хохотать (смеяться) как дьявол* 'laugh like a devil', *хлопотать как черт* 'work like a devil', *[словно] и [сам] черт ему не брат* '[as if] the devil himself is not his brother', *бегать (бежать) от кого, чего как черт от ладана* 'run from someone like a devil from incense', *бегать (убегать) от кого как от черта* 'run away from someone like from the devil';
 - characteristics of a person's physical qualities: *здоров (здоровый) как черт* 'healthy as a devil', *ловок (ловкий, проворен, проворный) как бес* 'dexterous (nimble) like a demon', *ловок (ловкий, проворен, проворный) как дьявол* 'dexterous (nimble) like a devil';
 - characteristics of a person's physical/physiological state: *голоден (голодный) как черт* 'hungry like a devil', *стар (старый) как черт* 'as old as a devil', *устать как черт* 'get tired like a devil', *усталый как черт* 'tired like a devil';
 - characteristics of human labor: *работать (вкалывать) как дьявол, работать (вкалывать) как черт* 'work hard like the devil', *вкалывать как сто (тысяча, сорок тысяч) чертей* 'work like a hundred (a thousand, forty thousand) devils';
 - descriptions of a person's external appearance: *страшнее (безобразнее) [самого] дьявола* 'uglier than the devil himself', *вид у кого как у дьявола* 'somebody looks like the devil', *смотреть (глядеть) дьяволом (как дьявол)* 'look like the devil', *смотреть (глядеть) сатаной (как сатана)* 'look like the Satan', *грязен (грязный, измазанный, чумазый) как черт* 'dirty (smeared, grimy) like a devil', *вымазаться (измазаться) как черт (черт чертом)* 'get dirty like a devil', *страшен (страшный) как черт* 'ugly like a devil', *черный*

как черт 'black like a devil', вид у кого как у черта 'somebody looks like the devil', красивее черта 'prettier than a devil', рожа у кого как у черта 'someone has a face like the devil', смотреть/посмотреть (глядеть/поглядеть, взглянуть, глянуть) чертом 'look like a devil';

- descriptions of a person's emotional state: бояться кого, чего как черт ладана 'be afraid of someone like a devil of incense', злиться/разозлиться как черт 'to be angry like a devil', радоваться/обрадоваться как черт знает чему 'be happy a devil knows why', бояться кого как [самого] черта 'be afraid of someone like of the devil itself'.

Thus, as in Swedish stable comparisons, demonyms in stable comparisons of the Russian language serve as a standard for characterizing ugly appearance, but at the same time they are also widely used in comparisons characterizing movement, internal qualities, states and behavior of a person.

As in the Swedish language, some demonic standards are included in the description of a detailed stereotypical situation: вертеться/завертеться (крутиться/закрутиться) как черт перед заутреней 'spin (twist) like the devil before Matins', бегать (бежать) от кого, чего как черт от ладана 'run (run away) from someone or something like a devil from incense'. Most Russian stable comparisons express a negative assessment, but some of them characterize the subject positively: умен (умный, проникателен, проникательный) как бес 'smart (clever, shrewd) like a demon', умен (умный) как дьявол, умен (умный) как черт 'smart like a devil', or they are neutral from an assessment point of view, for example, expressions characterizing the intensity of work: работать (вкалывать) как дьявол, работать (вкалывать) как черт 'work hard like the devil', вкалывать как сто (тысяча, сорок тысяч) чертей 'work like a hundred (a thousand, forty thousand) devils'.

2.2. Russian proverbs of comparative semantics with a component-demonym

2.2.1. Structural models of Russian proverbs of comparative semantics

As in Swedish, comparison in Russian proverbs with a demonic component can be expressed more or less explicitly.

Explicit ways of expressing comparison include the following structural models:

1. Sentences with opposition expressed by the conjunction *a* 'but': *Бес и рогат, и хвостат, а корове не брат* 'The demon is both horned and tailed, but to the cow is not a brother'; *От беса крестом, а от свињи пестом* 'From the devil with a cross, and from a pig with a pestle'; *Грозен (страшен) черт, да милостив Бог* 'The devil is terrible, but God is merciful'; *Скупой копит, а черт мошну тачает* 'The miser saves, but the devil sews his purse'; *У богатого сам черт детей качает, а у бедного и Бог люльки бросает* 'The devil himself rocks the rich man's children, but God himself throws the poor man's cradles'; *Хвалился черт всею вселенною овладеть, а Бог ему и над свиньей воли не дал* 'The devil boasted of taking possession of the entire universe, but God did not give him any will over the pig'; *Не бойся черта, а бойся лихого человека* 'Don't be afraid of the devil, but be afraid of the dashing man'. The comparative semantics of such proverbs can be supported by the presence of the comparative degree of the adjective as part of the unit: *Бес всех умнее, а злой дух* 'The demon is smarter than everyone else, but the evil spirit'; *Бес всех умнее, а люди не хвалят* 'The demon is smarter than everyone else, but people don't praise him'; *Черт мудёр, а наш брат мудрей черта*; The devil is wise, and our brother is wiser than the devil' or the form of a noun in the instrumental case with the meaning of comparison: *Не смылит ни бельмеса, а вертится бесом* 'He doesn't understand a word, but twirls like a demon' — in this proverb, the second part is essentially a stable comparison; *Не смылит ни бельмеса, а сердится бесом* 'He doesn't understand a word, but he's angry like a demon'.

2. Sentences with an adverb component in the comparative degree. Such proverbs allow for lexical variability: *Показался (покажется) сатана лучше ясного сокола* 'Satan appeared (will appear) better than a clear falcon'; *Полюбился (полюбитя) сатана пуще (лучше) ясного сокола* 'One fell in love (will fall in love) with Satan more than (better) than with the clear falcon'; *Понравится сатана лучше всякого сокола* 'Satan will please one better than any falcon'.

3. Sentences with syntactic parallelism: *От черта — крестом, от медведя — пестом, а от дурака — ничем* 'From the devil — with a cross, from a bear — with a pestle, and from a fool — with nothing'; *Сатана гордился, с неба свалился; фараон гордился, в море утопился*;

а мы гордимся, куда годимся? ‘Satan was proud and fell from heaven; Pharaoh was proud and drowned himself in the sea; and we are proud, where are we good for?’

4. Sentences with a collapsed comparison: *Все черти равны, все те ж бобры* ‘All devils are equal, all the same beavers’. Compare: *Соболи, бобры, все черти равны* ‘Sables, beavers, all devils are equal’.

The comparison is implicitly presented in those proverbs where representatives of evil spirits are logically compared with a woman, with her equal and sometimes superior qualities. These units are distinguished by wide lexical variability: *Где бес не сможет, туда бабу пошлет* ‘Where the demon cannot, he will send a woman’; *Где дьявол не сможет, там баба переможет* ‘Where the devil cannot, the woman can’; *Где сатана не сможет, туда бабу пошлет* ‘Where Satan cannot, he will send a woman there’; *Где сам черт не смыслит, там бабу пошлет* ‘Where the devil himself doesn’t understand, he’ll send a woman’; *Где черт не сладит, туда бабу пошлет* ‘Where the devil doesn’t cooperate, he’ll send a woman there’; *Где черт не сможет, там баба переможет* ‘Where the devil can’t, the woman can’; *Куда черт не поснеет, туда бабу пошлет* ‘Wherever the devil has time, he will send a woman there’.

2.2.2. Content characteristics of Russian comparative proverbs with a component-demonym

In Russian proverbs of comparative semantics, demonyms are qualified as evil spirits, opposing and hostile to man: *Бес всех умнее, а злой дух* ‘The demon is smarter than everyone else, but he is the evil spirit’; *Бес всех умнее, а люди не хвалят* ‘The devil is smarter than everyone else, but people don’t praise him’. People can be superior to representatives of evil spirits in intelligence: the devil is wiser, and our brother is wiser than the devil.

In the proverbs of the Russian language there is a dichotomy between God and evil spirits: *Грозен (страшен) черт, да милостив Бог* ‘The devil is terrible, but God is merciful’; *Хвалился черт всею вселенною овладеть, а Бог ему и над свиньей воли не дал* ‘The devil boasted of conquering the entire universe, but God did not give him any will over the pig’. One can protect himself from evil spirits by making the sign of the cross: *От беса крестом, а от свиньи пестом* ‘From a demon with a cross, and from a pig with a pestle’; *От черта — крестом, от*

медведя — пестом, а от дурака — ничем ‘From the devil — with a cross, from a bear — with a pestle, and from a fool — nothing’. God should help the poor (but this is not always the case), and the devil serves the rich: *У богатого сам черт детей качает, а у бедного и Бог люльки бросает* ‘The devil himself rocks the rich’s children, but God himself throws the poor man’s cradles’.

The names of evil spirits appear in proverbs in the following oppositions: “demon — cow” (in appearance, the presence of a tail and horns): *Бес и рогат, и хвостат, а корове не брат* ‘The demon is both horned and tailed, but is not a brother to the cow’; “the devil is stingy” (when condemning stinginess): *Скупой копит, а черт кошну тачает* ‘The stingy one saves, and the devil sews his purse’; “The devil is a dashing man,” while a dashing man, according to popular wisdom, turns out to be worse than the devil: *Не бойся черта, а бойся лихого человека* ‘Don’t be afraid of the devil, but be afraid of a dashing man’. The largest group of proverbs verbalizing the opposition are those expressing the opposition “devil (demon, Satan) — woman”.

CONCLUSION

Thus, stable verbal complexes of comparative semantics with a component-demonym are present in both Swedish and Russian languages. The composition of demonyms differs slightly: devil, Satan and devil’s mother in Swedish set expressions and demon, devil, and Satan in Russian language units. There is a significant quantitative disproportion between stable comparisons and paremias of comparative semantics of both languages, but in the Swedish language — in favor of proverbs, and in Russian — in favor of stable comparisons. It can be assumed that the names of evil spirits are more taboo in Swedish stable comparisons, and also comparative phraseological units in general were less subject to lexicographic fixation. Swedish stable comparisons with a demonic component characterize only the external appearance of a person, while Russian stable comparisons give a wide range of characteristics — appearance, physical characteristics, condition, internal qualities of a person, behavior, method of movement. Swedish stable comparisons are distinguished by exclusively negative evaluations, Russian ones are mostly negative, but one can also note evaluatively neutral and even positively evaluative ones, characterizing a person’s intelligence.

The studied proverbs of the Swedish and Russian languages are quantitatively comparable. Structurally, the similarity of the proverbs of the two languages is manifested in the presence of such models as sentences with opposition introduced by adversative conjunctions, and sentences with the presence of a component in the comparative degree. But the analyzed Swedish proverbs are characterized by such models as sentences with adjacent components, identity sentences and sentences built according to the syntactic model “better... than...”, which are absent in the studied material of the Russian language. In turn, in the analyzed Russian proverbs one can note models that are absent in Swedish ones: sentences built on the principle of syntactic parallelism and collapsed comparison. In terms of content, Swedish comparative proverbs are clearly distinguished by their emphasis on comparing the devil and the clergyman, going so far as to recognize their functional identity. In Russian proverbs, the dichotomy “God — evil spirit” stands out. Similarities in the two languages are manifested in the ironic equalization of the abilities of evil spirits and women. The results of the study can be used in compiling a Swedish-Russian dictionary of mythologies and in drawing conclusions about some features of the traditional folk mentality, manifested in set expressions.

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УСТОЙЧИВЫЕ СЛОВЕСНЫЕ КОМПЛЕКСЫ СРАВНИТЕЛЬНОЙ СЕМАНТИКИ С КОМПОНЕНТОМ-ДЕМОНИМОМ В ШВЕДСКОМ И РУССКОМ ЯЗЫКАХ

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Цель данной статьи заключается в выявлении общих закономерностей и отличительных черт в структуре, значении и оценочности устойчивых словесных комплексов сравнительной семантики шведского и русского языков с компонентом-демонимом. Устойчивые словесные комплексы сравнительной семантики с компонентом-демонимом присутствуют и в шведском, и в русском языках. Наблюдается значительная количественная диспропорция между устойчивыми сравнениями и паремиями сравнительной семантики обоих языков, но в шведском языке — в пользу паремий, а в русском — в пользу устойчивых сравнений. Шведские устойчивые сравнения с компонентом-демонимом характеризуют только внешний облик человека, в то время как русские устойчивые сравнения дают широкий спектр характеристик — внешнего облика, физических данных, состояния, внутренних качеств человека, поведения, способа передвижения. Шведские устойчивые сравнения отличаются исключительно отрицательной оценкой, русские — в основном отрицательны, но можно отметить также нейтрально- и даже положительно-оценочные, характеризующие интеллект челове-

ка. Исследуемые паремии шведского и русского языков в количественном отношении сопоставимы. Структурно сходство паремий двух языков проявляется в наличии таких моделей, как предложения с противопоставлением, вводимым противительными союзами, и предложения с наличием компонента в сравнительной степени. Содержательно шведские компаративные паремии ярко отличаются акцентом на сопоставлении черта и священнослужителя, доходящем до признания их функционального тождества. В русских паремиях выделяется дихотомия «Бог — нечистая сила». Сходство в двух языках проявляется в ироническом уравнивании способностей нечистой силы и женщины.

Ключевые слова: поговорки, устойчивые сравнения, компаративная структура, шведский язык, русский язык, устойчивые словесные комплексы, демоны.

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JANTELOVEN IN DENMARK AND NORWAY — TO BE OR NOT TO BE?

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The paper focuses on the concept of the Jante law (*janteloven*), formulated by A. Sandemose in 1933 in his novel *En flyktning krysser sitt spor. Fortelling om en morders barndom* (*A Fugitive Crosses His Tracks. A story about a murderer's childhood*), which later became an element of the cultural code of Denmark and Norway. In this study we follow C. Levisen in his distinguishing between the “literary Jante law”, described by A. Sandemose in his novel, and the “linguistic” Jante law, which is a collocation in the Danish and Norwegian languages. This lexicalization of the concept has been brought about by the specific Scandinavian mentality, conditioned by a number of reasons (the agrarian Scandinavian culture, the Lutheran ethos). In the modern Danish and Norwegian languages the concept of *janteloven* is negative and is used in specific types of discourse (sports, popular culture, business, politics, psychology, schooling, immigration problems, feminism). Besides, there are numerous reformulated Jante laws (*den positive jantelov*, *den omvendte jantelov*, *antijantelov*, *jenteloven*, *Danskerloven*), which proves the precedence of the notion in the Danish and Norwegian cultures. The dominating American individualistic culture influences the development of a new system of values (ambition, self-concern, pushiness are no longer viewed as negative qualities), which results in a conflict between the traditional and the new in the Danish and Norwegian cultures: the Jante law comes into conflict with the so-called achievement culture (*præstationskulturen*). As a social construct and a secret regulator of public relations the *janteloven* has found its place between the number of other concepts (*hygge*, *trivsel* and

so on), yet the *janteloven* has been specifically reflected in political practices, both in its formal expression (development of various “canons”) and in the methods of countering the imposition of certain phenomena on the part of government authorities.

Keywords: *janteloven*, Law of Jante, Danish, Norwegian, Scandinavian mindset.

...endelig kan vi slippe for evigt og altid
at høre for den dødssyge Jantelov
som en skrupskør norsk forfatter
har påduttet os...

(Benny Andersen “Skabssvenskere”)

INTRODUCTION

Each culture has its key words which are connected with specific social values and are reflected in the minds and manners of people. In Scandinavia such key set of social codes is the Jante law (Danish, Norwegian: *Janteloven*; Swedish: *Jantelagen*; Icelandic: *Jantelögin*; Faroese: *Jantulógin*), which denotes a social attitude of disapproval towards expressions of individuality [Levisen, 2012; Trotter, 2015].

The Jante law was created by the Danish-Norwegian author Aksel Sandemose in his novel *En flyktning krysser sitt spor. Fortelling om en morders barndom* (*A Fugitive Crosses His Tracks. A story about a murderer's childhood*) [Sandemose, 2002], published in Norway in 1933 and translated into Danish in 1938. The novel is set in the early 20th century in the fictional town of Jante, modelled upon his native town Nykøbing Mors, Jutland. The novel, which caused heated debate, is a satirical description of the life of people in provincial Denmark with pettiness, greediness and ignorance of its inhabitants, and the ten commandments of the law formulated in the novel formed part of the cultural code of Scandinavia. Numerous research in the field of anthropology and social psychology have revealed that the Danes and the Norwegians consider the Jante law as an integral part of their culture [Jenkins, 2014; Gopal, 2000; Bromgard, Trafimow, Linn, 2014]. To what extent this concept is instilled in the Norwegian culture is shown by the 2018 *Almost Perfect* photo project by three Scandinavian photographers. Each of them focused on some typical characteristic of their country. The Swedish photographer pictured Sweden as the most secular society in the world, the Norwegian photographer focused on the Jante law, while the Danish one showed inebriated young Danes, the alcohol consumption in the country being the highest in Europe [Ramskov Erichsen, 2018].

Though many modern Scandinavians see the Jante law as something authentic, a similar phenomenon can be found in other cultures as well: see the Dutch expression “doe maar gewoon, dan doe je al gek genoeg” (“just act normal, it’s already crazy enough”) and “boven het maaiveld uitsteken” (“don’t put your head above ground level”), Scottish “A kent yer faither” (“I know your father”), Australian “tall poppy syndrome”, Japanese 出る釘は打たれる (“the nail that sticks out gets hammered down”) and the notion of “crab mentality”, wide-spread among the native Filipinos. The author himself described Jante as follows: “But Jante was everywhere; it loomed on the Canadian prairie, it stretched forth across the United States, it blossomed in Jevnaker as it flourished in Jutland” [Sandemose, 1936, p. 88].

Though similar, these phenomena have their own specific cultural features, and being elements of a cultural code can undergo semantic transformation. The paper focuses on outlining the most modern trends in perceiving the Jante law by Danish and Norwegian native speakers, establishing the connection between it and the concept of *hygge*, and defining points of contact between *janteloven* as an ideological concept and ways of its promotion within certain public policy spheres, including those aiming at developing and maintaining an attractive image of Denmark and the Danish culture inside and outside the country. The data from Aranea Web Corpora Project [Araneum Danicum Beta] were used as the study material.

1. THE JANTE LAW IN A. SANDEMOSE’S NOVEL

C. Levisen points to a mistake made by numerous scholars who do not distinguish between the “linguistic Jante law” and the “literary Jante law”, which results in inaccurate conclusions. According to him, in the modern Danish language *janteloven* has been lexicalised, and the novel which gave rise to the concept provides important clues to how this concept became lexicalised [Levisen, 2012, p. 147].

In an attempt to understand and make sense of what was happening in the country between the two wars, Aksel Sandemose writes a book series¹ about Espen Arnakke, in which he studies the behaviour of a man who committed a dreadful act — a murder. To understand the reasons and find an explanation the author immerses himself in studying

¹ “En sjømann går i land” (1931), “En flyktning krysser sitt spor” (1933), “Det stod en benk i haven” (1937), “Brudulje” (1938).

the society which gave birth to him, using this specific case to picture the overall atmosphere and trends. “Why do people behave irrationally? Why, unlike animals, do people act against their own interests?” [Ustvedt, 1976, s. 179]. In his works the author tries to bring to the surface everything irrational, vague and mysterious that lives in any person and may result in a crime.

All four novels are structured in the way to constantly remind the reader of an inseparable connection between the murder and the young man’s past, as well as the place he grew up. In that community something strange is happening to people: they close from each other, watch others with morbid suspicion and distrust. They are always ready to “put others in their place” [Eggen, 1962, s. 535]. The demands and threats the hero had heard since childhood were skillfully formulated in the Jante law, which went on to become a common concept for sociologists, anthropologists and writers all across Scandinavia:

1. Du skal ikke tro at du er noe.
2. Du skal ikke tro at du er like meget som oss.
3. Du skal ikke tro at du er klokere enn oss.
4. Du skal ikke innbille deg at du er bedre enn oss.
5. Du skal ikke tro at du vet mere enn oss.
6. Du skal ikke tro at du er mere enn oss.
7. Du skal ikke tro at du duger til noe.
8. Du skal ikke le av oss.
9. Du skal ikke tro at noen bryr seg om deg.
10. Du skal ikke tro at du kan lære oss noe.

These are the Jante Law’s ten commandments, by means of which “Jante holds Jante down” [Sandemose, 1936, p.77]. Carefully read, the Jante law is not a law in the generally accepted sense. While articles of a regular law cover various spheres, the Jante law line after line repeats the same demand in a slightly different form. The Jante law alludes to the Ten Commandments revealed to Moses by God. While the Ten Commandments are about moral principles and values, the Jante law “demands subservience from a person, not only in terms of outward behaviour, but also in terms of the person’s character, their knowledge and beliefs” [Taratonkina, 2005, p.18].

In the novel there is the eleventh commandment, an implied one: “Maybe you don’t think I know something about you?” [Sandemose, 1936, p.137]. This insidious question most fully displays the nature of

people in Jante, with their distorted psychology. The turpitude is in deception and ambiguity, in the fact that a reference is not made to something specific but takes advantage of anyone's sense of uncertainty and low self-esteem. The unknown "we" puts a person in a subservient position, and their cherished dream now is to get into the company of such people. Vague demands are the best way to use the person's fear and uncertainty against him or her, to expel. Everyone is afraid of being somehow different and subject to moral disapproval on the part of others [Taronkina, 2004, p. 159–166].

Though this "law" was not enshrined in any legal code, which formally makes it unnecessary to abide, many people in Denmark and Norway still follow it. Thus, websites which introduce the culture of Norway point to the fact that the Jante law is still a part of Norwegian culture and mentality.

The same sites give recommendations on finding balance between personal freedoms and being part of the group [Janteloven — En Komplet Guide på Norsk; What is Janteloven?; Janteloven (Law of Jante): Insights into Scandinavian Culture]. Many think that the Jante law promotes equality, cooperation and sense of community. Others believe it limits freedom of expression and creativity, restrains the personality and plurality of its expression. This dualism is rooted in history.

2. HISTORICAL REASONS OF ENTRENCHMENT

The Jante law was formulated by A. Sandemose only in 1933, ninety years ago, yet in Scandinavia it is perceived as an authentic element of the Nordic cultural code. As V. Studentsov rightly points out, it is some kind of an "open secret", which was known to everyone yet before A. Sandemose no one bothered to write about it' [Studentsov, 2022a, p. 8]. Truly, a similar concept is mentioned in works of famous Danish writers. For instance, back in the middle of the 19th century S. Kierkegaard described the life in the country's capital as follows:

Jeg er netop blev [en] til Noget — og derfor er mit Liv at betragte som forspildt her i Kiøbh., hvor man kun kan leve lykkelig og yderst behageligt saa længe man er Ingenting, her i Kiøbh. **hvor der ikke siges stort Andet end Ondt om enhver der er Noget**², hvoraf aabenbart følger, at den der [er] Ingenting, med Stolthed kan sige: mig siges der intet Ondt om [Kierkegaard, 2000, s. 194].

² Here and further our bold text.

H. C. Andersen wrote about the “levelling” mentality in his novel *The Two Baronesses* as well:

Vi ere Alle eet Stykke, Alle gjorde af samme Klat Jord; En kom i Avispapir, en Anden i Guldpapir, men **den Forgyldning skal Klatten ikke være stolt af**. Der er Adel i enhver Stand, men den stikker i Tanken og ikke i Blodet [Andersen, 1849, s.215].

A whole number of historical reasons contributed to the development of this mentality. First of all, among those were close social ties formed by the geographical factor and agrarian culture of Scandinavia, which was long in isolation, on the margins of Europe. In the peasant culture, which is characteristic for its solidarity and mutual assistance, unwritten rules become really relevant, and shame regulates the social behaviour. Shame is based on the fear of losing connection with the community, being a mechanism of maintaining public order and unity of people. Some sociologists view shame as a primary emotion which governs the expression of other emotions (anger, fear, love and grief) [Simonova, 2014, p.267].

According to R. Jenkins, as time passed the peasant mentality, which did not allow anyone to stick out of the group, assimilated the socialist idea of equality. This idea was reinforced by modern nation-building, which placed an emphasis on assumed cultural, social and economic homogeneity of the small country. Though the idea of equality (“Vi er alle ens”) contradicts the 21st century reality, it still plays an important role in everyday life of the Danes [Jenkins, 2014, s.32–33].

Overall, the Scandinavian ideology is a quaint combination of individual and collective values. According to B. Studentsov, the Scandinavians are “adherents of ‘horizontal individualism’”: they “tend to see the people around as their likes and do not strive to change their status” unlike representatives of the culture of vertical individualism, who “focus on sticking out (‘of the crowd’), by all means increasing their social status” [Studentsov, 2022a, p.7].

Another factor which influenced all aspects of life in Scandinavia, including mentality, is Lutheranism with its special ethos [Anttonen, 2018; Borioni, 2014; Østergaard, 2003; Stepanova, 2021; Studentsov, 2022b] and such values as piety, law-abidingness, diligence and modesty. The latter was apparently most significant for the Jante law. According to *The Great Danish Encyclopedia*, it is connected with the Scandi-

navian idea that happiness can be achieved using specific rules which imply careful and humble behaviour: modesty helps avoid greediness on the part of people around you, while pride, according to the Danish saying, is not going to do you any good — “hovmod står for fald” (“pride comes before a fall”) [Janteloven].

It was characteristic for Protestantism to work hard, be thrifty, not to put your interests first. The sense of community, unity, modesty and unpretentiousness were a powerful creating force which played a crucial role in restoring Norway and Denmark after World War II and establishing a welfare state. In this respect the Jante law can be definitely viewed as something positive.

3. JANTELOVEN AS A LEXICALISED UNIT IN THE DANISH AND NORWEGIAN LANGUAGES

In the Danish language the word *janteloven* has emotional and evaluative connotations. This concept is negative to such extent that it can be verbally opposed by highly emotional discourse words [Levisen, 2012, p. 150]. C. Levisen gives the following examples of the opposition of the Danes to *janteloven*: the 1987 New Year’s speech of the Danish Queen Margareth II, in which she called on the people to reverse the Jante law, saying “You must not believe that you are worth nothing” [H. M. Dronning Margrethe II’s nytårstale, 1987]; shocking behaviour of Danish handball trainer and former world champion Anja Andersen, who regularly wore a T-shirt with the print “Fuck janteloven!”, and a new approach in schools rephrasing the Jante law into positive rules to promote self-worth and to prevent bullying in schools [Levisen, 2012, p. 149–151].

There are different variants of the positive Jante law, the anti-Jante law [Janteloven og den positive, omvendte jantelov] or an updated Jante law in the new reality [Louw, 2020]. The content analysis has been conducted to evaluate the frequency of usage. The search for *fuck janteloven* in Google gives 24,700 results, *den positive jantelov* — 27,200, *anti-janteloven* — 31,200. In search queries connected with *janteloven* in the Danish segment the Google Trends service gives “prins Henrik”³, “Anja Andersen” and “fuck janteloven”; in the Norwegian segment, the title of

³ Prince Henrik of Denmark (1934–2018) was the husband of the Danish Queen Margareth II, born in France, who was often criticized for being unable to adapt to Denmark and accept his new status.

the novel *En flyktning krysser sitt spor*, Petter Northug⁴, Daniel Kvammen⁵.

C. Levisen considers three major types of *jante*-discourses [Levisen, 2012, p. 151–155]. They still function in the Danish Internet space:

1. The first type presents the Jante law as a real social evil. In such texts there is a talented victim bullied by an “imaginary collective majority” (see, for instance: [Buch, 2011; Gjersøe, 2002]).
2. In the second type of discourse authors recognize the existence of the Jante law, yet do not consider it a given, hence it can be discarded. The US is often seen as a role model in this respect (see, for instance: [Seier, 2018; Nordmenn er verdensmestre i normer, 2016]).
3. In the third type of discourse authors pose a bold question of whether the Jante law is dead or alive, thus provoking further debate (see, for instance: [Er Janteloven død? [fotball]; Janteloven er død!, 2019]).

The corpus analysis allowed us to isolate types of discourses in which the concept of *janteloven* is used. Among these are: sports (1), popular culture (2), business (3), politics (4), psychological problems (5), schooling and upbringing (6).

- (1) (DNK) ...**janteloven** virker til at være en by i Rusland for den hurtige kantspiller. Braithwaite har ambitioner, og han er ikke bange for at sige det højt... [Martin Braithwaite].
(NOR) Petter Northug, Mannen fra Mosvik har for eksempel i lang tid uttrykt at han “**driter i Janteloven**”, og at den aldri har stått i veien for han [Petter Northug tar nytt oppgjør med Janteloven, 2020].
- (2) (DNK) Det må hverken være for street eller for frækt, det skal være elegant. Det handler om **at sige fuck janteloven** uden at træde nogen over tæerne, siger hun og indrømmer, at det er en svær balance at ramme [Brandt Hald, 2014].
(NOR) For bloggere handler det mye om hvor mye psykisk press du tåler. Det kan være hardt. Følger du ikke strømmen, er det alltid noen som

⁴ Petter Northug (b. 1986) is a Norwegian cross-country skier and double Olympic champion of 2010, who often appeared in the media because of scandalous behaviour and changed his nickname on Instagram* for @jantelov1.

⁵ Daniel Kvammen (b. 1988) is a Norwegian songwriter and musician who in 2020 released his *Janteloven* single.

* The product of the Meta company, whose activities are recognized as extremist in the Russian Federation.

reagerer på det du gjør, forteller hun. — Men for meg er det enkelt. **Drit i janteloven**, og gjør hva du vil! [Motebloggeren: Janteloven har jeg merket mye].

- (3) (DNK) Det er umuligt at lave forretning i det her land, fordi **janteloven** forbyder folk at tjene penge... [Lykkeberg, 2007]
(NOR) Milliardær og hotellmogul Petter Stordalen kan med trygghet kalles en av de mest fargerike personligheter i norsk næringsliv. Han kan **janteloven** ord for ord, men forretningsmannen, som innvier sine hoteller ved å ankomme på jetski eller rappellere ned langs fasaden i ekte James Bond-stil, har lite til overs for ideen om at ingen skal tro at de er bedre enn andre [Hvis du er den smarteste personen i rommet, har du et problem, 2017].
- (4) (DNK) Fordi, at en borgerlig-liberal regering skal være en borgerlig-liberal regering — ikke bare af navn, men også af gavn. Der er mange gode ting i det, som regeringen har spillet ud med. Men det er også vigtigt at føre en aktiv værdipolitik. Gå op imod **janteloven**. Gå op imod laveste fællesnævner [Ulveman, Beck Nielsen, 2016].
(NOR) Regjeringen gjør rett i å heve seg over den realpolitiske versjonen av Janteloven som foreslås av Asle Toje [Nordbakken, 2019].
- (5) (DNK) “Du må ikke tro du er noget”. “Du skal ikke komme for godt i gang”. Sådan siger **janteloven**. Mange af os har en modvilje eller angst for at tale, tale højt eller fylde noget i sociale sammenhænge [Petersen, 2019].
(NOR) Forskning utført av forskere ved STAMI og Universitetet i Bergen viser at det er mye mobbing på norske arbeidsplasser, og da bør man spørre seg hvorfor det er det i et land som har et så fantastisk demokrati. Det mener jeg handler mye om disse fundamentene, de stygge gruppemekanismene som også kan kalles mobbing — et annet ord på **Janteloven** [Den norske Janteloven er som gift på arbeidsplassen, 2022].
- (6) (DNK) Og hvor vi anderkender at nogle børn er intelligente og det også er ok. Et Danmark hvor **janteloven** er smidt i skraldespanden og forældre ikke behøver gå på listefødder fordi deres børn tilfældigvis ikke er ordinære [Intelligente børn: Forum, 2012].
(NOR) Det norske skoleverket diskriminerer 10–15 prosent av elevene, de mest evnerike, helt fra de begynner i første klasse. Disse barna har ikke noe tilbud som matcher evnene deres, og slik har det vært i alle fall siden **Janteloven** ble nedskrevet... [De evnerike barna går fortsatt for lut og kaldt vann, 2018].

Texts in which Jutland or the Juts are mentioned can be considered as a separate group. The Danes connect the Jante law with this Danish region, as A. Sandemose's native town of Nykøbing Mors is located in Jutland:

Jeg er **jyde**, men tror ikke på **janteloven** [Mosbech, 2015].

It should be mentioned that, according to R. Jenkins, Jutland evokes dual associations in the Danes: on the one hand, it is a deep backward province, while on the other hand Jutland is perceived as a depository of the traditional Danish values [Jenkins, 2014, s. 48].

In Norway there is no such connection between the Jante law and a specific region; however, people firmly associate it with the life in province:

Jeg har vokst opp i **en liten bygd** og har selv følt **janteloven** på kroppen [Næss mot nye høyder, 2003].

Besides, there is a concept of *bygdedyret* (the beast), invented by Tor Jonsson (1916–1951), a writer, to describe negative aspects of countryside societies in Norway. *Bygdedyret* is often called a countryside version of the Jante law:

Det sies at **bygdedyret** er **en form av janteloven**. Bygdedyret hater annerledeshet og har en moralsk pekefinger for hvordan man skal oppføre seg [Skår Ertesvåg, 2016].

The analysis of the Norwegian material allowed us to single out texts dedicated to feminists and powerful women as a separate group:

Nei til **feminisme** som er preget av misunnelse, **jantelov**, sarkasme og selvhøytidelighet [Breen, 2012].

In this respect it should be mentioned that the Norwegians not only created *antijanteloven* (anti-Jante law) or *den omvendte janteloven* (reversed Jante law), but also actively use *jenteloven* (Swedish: *jäntelagen* 'girls' law'), which was written by Gudrun Hjelte, a Swedish journalist. In the Norwegian textbook for foreigners *Bo i Norge* [Manne, 1987] it is phrased as follows:

1. Du skal tro at du er noe.
2. Du skal tro at du er like god som alle andre og alle andre er like god som du.
3. Du skal tro at du er like klok som andre, av og til klokere.

4. Du skal vite at du er like bra som andre. Hvis du vet at du gjør ditt beste, kan du sette pris på dem som er bedre.
5. Av og til vet du mer enn andre.
6. Du er ikke mer enn andre, men du er enestående som alle andre.
7. Du duger til mye.
8. Le av deg selv og din verden — det gjør deg fri.
9. Du skal tro at mange bryr seg om deg.
10. Du skal tro at du kan lære andre en god del og lære av dem.
11. Hvorfor? Fordi du er noen, en som trengs.

Numerous Danish authors of Internet posts point out that *janteloven* is used as a cliché, as well as a synonym of greed or public opinion to justify failure and lack of success. It has become a convenient manipulation tool on the part of representatives of cultural, economic, political or sports elite to explain their failures and fiascos (see, for instance, [Lykkeberg, 2007, 2016; Börneblogger, 2009]).

Another type of discourse where this concept is often found is discourse connected with immigration policies and problems related to immigrants (in more detail see [Gurova, 2021, p. 135–136]). In this respect the literary text of *Danskerloven* (the Law of the Danes) by Maja Lee Langvad⁶, which is a kind of a parody of the Jante law and confirms precedence of the expression at hand [Dette er Danskerloven], is of special interest:

1. Du skal ikke tro, at du er dansker, fordi du er født i Danmark.
2. Du skal ikke tro, at du er dansker, fordi du snakker flydende dansk.
3. Du skal ikke tro, at du er dansker, fordi du er dansk statsborger.
4. Du skal ikke tro, at du er dansker, fordi du bor i Danmark.
5. Du skal ikke tro, at du er dansker, fordi dine bedsteforældre tror det.
6. Du skal ikke tro, at du er dansker, fordi du respekterer de danske love.
7. Du skal ikke tro, at du er dansker, fordi du hejser Dannebrog i din have.
8. Du skal ikke tro, at du er dansker, fordi du kalder nogle for nydanskere.
9. Du skal ikke tro, at du er dansker, fordi du vil dø for Danmark.
10. Du skal ikke tro, at du er dansker, fordi du føler dig dansk.

⁶ Danish writer of South Korean origin, co-editor of literary magazine *Banana Split*.

In the 21st century we are witnessing conflicts between the Western and non-Western civilisations, conflicts of mentalities and cultures across the globe, that is why the problem of integration and immigration is not characteristic of Denmark or Norway alone. The cross-cultural conflict between the traditional and the new in the Danish and Norwegian cultures as a result of globalisation should not be regarded as something specific as well. Vertical individualism is becoming wide-spread in the modern culture: today it is important to be competitive, to stick out of the group, to be different [Kirkebæk, 2016, s. 82]. Thus, the Jante law comes into conflict with the so-called achievement culture (præstationskulturen) [Gurova, 2021, p. 135; Rudå Herløv-Nielsen, 2023], and, according to philosopher Arno Viktor Nielsen, it is being replaced by “X faktorloven” (the X-factor law) [Kofoed Poulsen, 2008]. The American individualistic culture which dominates social media undoubtedly influences the development of new values in young people, and ambition, self-assurance, self-assertiveness are no longer considered negative.

Considering the Jante law from the linguistic point of view, C. Levisen states that a lot of scholars interpret it in a wrong way. He proposes the following cultural scenario for *janteloven* in the framework of Anna Wierzbicka’s semantic theory:

Semantic explication for *janteloven* ‘the Jante law’:

- something;
- people can say what this something is with the word *janteloven*;
- someone can say something about something with this word when this someone thinks like this:
 - a) at many times it is like this:
 - b) some people in a place feel something very bad towards someone in this place, because they know that this someone thinks like this:
 - “I am not like everyone else here”;
 - “I don’t want to do things like everyone else here does things”;
 - c) because of this, these people think like this about this someone:
 - “This someone is someone bad”;
 - d) because of this, these people want this someone to feel something bad they want bad things to happen to this someone; they want this someone to think like this:
 - “I am like everyone else here”;
 - “I want to do things like everyone else here does things”;

e) because of this, these people do bad things to this someone at many times;

f) **everyone can know that it is very bad when it is like this;**
everyone can know that these people are very bad people;
everyone can feel something very bad when they think about it
[Levisen, 2012, p. 155–156].

According to C. Levisen, the final component (f) is most crucial to the concept of the Jante law, and observers who miss this aspect misinterpret the concept altogether. “It is very bad when it is like this” models a strong refutation of the prototypical scenario. Thus, component (f) turns an “anti-social” scenario into an “anti-social” concept, making the Jante law a battle cry for a “positive sociality” in which abusive social behaviour and thinking will not be tolerated [Levisen, 2012, p. 156].

The analysis confirmed the assumption that the concept of *janteloven* is perceived by the Danes and the Norwegians as something negative, which is proved by the following characteristics: *et stort problem i Danmark* (a big problem in Denmark), *talentløse menneskers egen forklaring* (an explanation of the talentless), *en undskyldning* (an excuse), *et PR-redskab* (a PR tool), *skyklapper* (blinkers), *pøbelvælde* (power of the mob), *en stopklods* (stop valve);

destruktive kraften i bygde-Norge (destructive force in provincial Norway), *misundelse* (greed), *mobning* (bullying), *den grå masse* (sheeple).

Besides, a whole range of synonymous expressions has been found confirming the intolerance of this concept and the need to discard it (Table 1). In Norway *janteloven* is perceived ambiguously. On the one hand, A. Sandemose wrote about malignity of unanimity, conformity and intolerance to other people. In this vein in 2005 the Jante law was officially buried as an archaic way of pressurising people, which destroys their self-esteem and excludes individuality [Begraver janteloven nok en gang, 2012]. On the other hand, it is important for Norwegians that a person should not neglect interests of other people, put his or her interests first. In this context *janteloven* is a way to call a person who has crossed the lines to order. Nevertheless, despite a more tolerant attitude to this concept, the Norwegian language also has similar expressions:

The corpus data analysis has shown that in the modern Danish and Norwegian languages the Jante law is opposed by *selvtillid/selvtillit* (self-confidence), *anderkendelse/anerkjennelse* (recognition), *storhed/storhet* (greatness), *nyttænkende/nytenkende* (innovative), *anderledes/*

Table 1. Compatibility of *janteloven* with verbs in the Danish and Norwegian languages

Danish	Norwegian
skide på janteloven	drite i janteloven
fuck janteloven	fuck janteloven
pisse på janteloven	pisse på janteloven
bekæmpe janteloven	bekjempe janteloven
afskaffe janteloven	avskaffe janteloven
bryde med janteloven	bryte med janteloven
være imod janteloven	være mot janteloven
slippe fri fra janteloven	slippe unna janteloven
trodse janteloven	glemme janteloven
fordømme janteloven	heie mot janteloven
sætte janteloven til vægs	begrave janteloven
smide janteloven væk	gi pokker i janteloven
smide janteloven i skraldespanden	ta eit oppgjør med janteloven
sætte (lægge) janteloven til side	myrde janteloven
lægge janteloven på hylden	
skyde janteloven til hjørne	
sætte janteloven ud af spil	
skrotte janteloven	
give janteloven fingeren	

annerledes (different), *et karrieremenneske / en karrierejeger* (a career-minded, ambitious person), *talentdyrkelse/talentsdyrkelse* (development of talents), *ambitioner/ambisjoner* (ambitions), *succes/suksess* (success), *stolthed/stolthet* (pride), which proves the value of the abovementioned qualities in the modern Danish and Norwegian cultures.

4. JANTELOVEN: POLITICS AND CULTURE

According to C. Levisen, *janteloven* makes the actual message very similar to the one encoded in more straightforward and positive concepts like *hygge* and *tryghed* (security) [Levisen, 2012, p. 158]. In this respect special emphasis is put on the assumption that in certain cases *hygge* acts as a means of social control and achievement of standardisation of behaviour [Linnet, 2009, p. 24].

B. Henningsen rightly sees the political aspect in *hygge*, arguing that over the past two hundred years the development of the Danish national identity has been tightly connected with the task of building a social state, the cornerstone of which is social cohesion (*sozialer Zusam-*

menhalt), *hygge* being an essential part of it. According to Henningsen, preservation of social cohesion in the modern society is achieved in the following way: any new member of the Danish society shall, first of all, internalize “Danishness”, in a way, that is consistent with the public perception of it. This kind of “cultural canon” is, in his opinion, linked with the existing order of things and thus subconsciously broadcasts the first Jante commandment: “You’re not to think you are anything special” [Henningsen, 2023].

Therefore, it seems reasonable to examine specific social practices through which the functions of *hygge* and *janteloven* transpire simultaneously attaining political dimension. First of all, they make themselves known through purposeful policy-making of the public authorities, which resulted in ministry regulations known as “canons”⁷. Thus, in 2006 the Danish Ministry of Culture issued a document called Kulturkanonen — the Danish Cultural Canon. It includes 108 works of architecture, fine art, arts and crafts, design, cinema, literature, music, theatre along with works for children.

The preface to the Cultural Canon states that it unites everything that 1) “is recognised or chosen by someone as the best or genuine (*det bedste eller rigtigste*)”; 2) “may be used as a reference point or a model (*rettesnor eller forbillede*) to define the quality of something”; 3) “may be used as a guidance or a starting point (*vejledning eller pejlemærke*) to study something”; 4) “represents major (*største og vigtigste*) Danish cultural heritage assets”. Further in the text it is said that the cultural canon is to 1) “serve as a compass showing the trends and landmarks (*retninger og milepæle*) of the Danish history and culture”; 2) “become a starting point for debate” [Kulturkanon, s. 4].

The abovementioned key characteristics are similar on the way that they reflect an established social consensus, the weight and authority of which is unchallenged, see the adjectives used (“the best”, “the genuine”, “the reference point”, “the role model”). In the text the abovementioned

⁷ After the emergence of the Cultural Canon in the 2000s the following canons appeared: the literary canon (*litteraturkanonen*) in 2005, the historical canon (*historiekanonen*) and the democratic canon (*demokratikanonen*) in 2006, and the Danish values canon (*Danmarkskanonen*) in 2016. The scope of this study doesn’t allow to dwell on them, but they obviously should be addressed in a separate article. For the purpose of this study it should be mentioned that *janteloven* was not included in the Danish values canon.

characteristics appear as an objective reality or a set of patterns out of control of the cognising subject (“a compass”, “a direction”, “a landmark” (*milepæl*)). Besides, the text itself explicitly states that these works have been recognised and chosen by somebody non-personalised (possibly collective), which makes them all the more authoritative. In the framework of this paper the primary importance of the “canon” postulated aimed at formation of the individual’s perception of the culture is of no coincidence, as any discussion requires common reference points well-known to everyone, which is another allusion to *janteloven*.

This finality of judgement obviously caused criticism. For example, in one study the canon was blamed for assuming the self-proclaimed guiding role, setting certain standards, while the vague and evasive nature of the “quality” test cannot become a credible criterion in relation to works of art, which is all the more relevant, as “including certain works into the canon leads to excluding everything else” [Johannesen et al., 2006, s. 3].

Besides, from the point of view of critics the Ministry of Culture’s initiative to a certain extent undermines the efforts to integrate Denmark into globalisation processes, as this project is definitely backward-looking [Johannesen et al., 2006, s. 4], while in the society of the future the national boundaries will be eroded, mutual penetration and collision of different cultures will turn groups of people into some kind of diasporas in their native countries, while the disparity between the centre and the periphery will be eliminated [Johannesen et al., 2006, s. 4]. The “absurdity” of the idea put forward by the Ministry of Culture may be illustrated by a colourful metaphor: “people sitting around a tiled stove waiting for globalisation to come while making efforts to gather around something significant and typically Danish”. Furthermore, to confirm scepticism in respect of the project the author quotes the words of British sociologist Z. Bauman on the individualisation of the process of identity development [Johannesen et al., 2006, s. 5]. Danish critics focus on the extinction of territorial, professional or class communities, which are the guardians of identity (apparently the recognition of this role is to a certain extent a fundamental belief to be appealed to).

Finally, the author argues that nostalgic cherishing of “Danishness” constitutes an attempt to appropriate the understanding of this particular “Danishness”, therefore, the development of such canon and discussions arising therefrom will undoubtedly become a self-glorification project, which will result in division of the society into “a great com-

munity of the Danes and those disadvantaged who are not part of it” [Johannesen et al., 2006, s. 6].

The abovementioned reaction to the Ministry of Culture’s attempt to formalise the components of the Danish cultural code expressed in the works of culture is remarkable. On the one hand, the state presents itself as a transmitter of the opinion of the unidentified majority, viewing it positively as a method of maintaining social cohesion and protection of *hygge* in the social dimension. Yet at the same time the state imposes the “negative” *janteloven*, as it appropriates the right to form the truth. Thus, the attempt of the state to create a collective *hygge* runs into obstacles. First of all, the opponents start perceiving the imposed notion of *hygge* as its destruction, through the opposition “us (Danish) — them (from outside)”. Secondly, they fail to form the “positive” *janteloven*, challenging the validity of the “negative” one [Levisen, 2012, p. 151]. This attempt is made as we start talking about globalisation going beyond *janteloven*, by removing all contradictions through dissolution in the “big world”; yet this approach lacks sustainability. The critics rapidly go to extremes as they condemn themselves and begin imposing the oppressive *janteloven*, simply substituting the opponent and dictating their opinion as the only true one. To this end they appropriate the right to label globalism as *hygge* (*inde i varmen*) and anti-globalism as *anti-hygge* (*ude i kulden*), then identify themselves with the new *hygge* advocates, seeing in them (albeit to a certain extent ironically (*de andre stakler udenfor*)) the victims of the proponents of the “Danishness” (*vores knagefællesskab*) as the advocates of *janteloven* while ignoring the fact that the substitution has been made.

CONCLUSION

The Jante law, created by Aksel Sandemose in 1933, is part of the cultural code in Scandinavia and exists in two hypostases, as a literary text and a lexicalised expression in the Danish and Norwegian languages. The lexicalization of the expression was facilitated by the peculiar Scandinavian mentality, which is a result of historical development and geographical factors.

The concept of *janteloven* has a negative connotation and is used in certain types of discourse (sports, popular culture, business, politics, psychology, schooling, immigration problems, and feminism). The precedence of the concept is shown by the texts which are reformulated

Jante law commandments. In many cases the notion of *janteloven* is used as a cliché, a convenient way to justify failures and lack of successes.

Consistent association of *janteloven* with Jutland in Denmark and the countryside in Norway shows the connection between this concept and the phenomenon which is characteristic for local countryside communities in many countries of the world, which is proven by similar expressions in other languages.

Processes which arose as a result of globalization and Americanization of the Danish and Norwegian cultures have resulted in changed attitude to such qualities as initiative, ambition, self-confidence and assertiveness, which shows transformations in the Scandinavian mentality in view of the changes in the society.

As a social construct and a tacit regulator of social relations *janteloven* is in line with a number of other concepts (*hygge*, *trivsel* and so on); however, *janteloven* is peculiarly visible in political practices, both in its formal aspect (development of various “canons”) and in methods through antagonizing the imposition of certain phenomena on the part of decision-makers. Thus, *janteloven* reveals itself both in “positive” and in “negative” aspects: on the one hand, through the state “pushing” the people into acceptance of certain practices aimed at development of homogeneous social structure; on the other hand, through civil society institutions establishing a soft system of “checks and balances” in the framework of the public discourse aimed at reaching a consensus on a number of matters. In the end, both aspects naturally supplement the existing imperative standard and legal regulation, and in certain cases prepare people for introduction of certain formal rules of behaviour.

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JANTELOVEN В ДАНИИ И НОРВЕГИИ — БЫТЬ ИЛИ НЕ БЫТЬ?

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В статье рассматривается феномен закона Янте (*janteloven*), сформулированного А. Сандемусе в 1933 г. в романе *En flyktning krysser sitt spor. Fortelling om en morders barndom* («Беглец пересекает свой след. Рассказ о детстве убийцы») и впоследствии ставшего элементом культурного кода Дании и Норвегии. Вслед за К. Левисеном в данном исследовании разграничиваются «литературный закон Янте», описанный А. Сандемусе в романе, и «лингвистический закон Янте», имеющий в датском и норвежском языке характер устойчивого сочетания. Лексикализация понятия способствовал особый скандинавский менталитет, обусловленный рядом исторических причин (аграрная культура скандинавских стран, лотеранская этика). В современном датском и норвежском языке понятие *janteloven* имеет отрицательную коннотацию и употребляется в определенных видах дискурса (спорт, поп-культура, бизнес, политика, психология, школьное образование, проблемы с мигрантами, феминизм). Кроме этого, существуют разнообразные переформулированные заповеди закона Янте (*den positive jantelov, den omvendte jantelov, antijantelov, jenteloven, Danskerloven*), что свидетельствует о прецедентности понятия в датской и норвежской культурах. Доминирующая американская индивидуалистическая культура оказывает влияние на формирование новой системы ценностей (амбициозность, самоуверенность, напористость теперь не воспринимаются как отрицательные качества), вследствие чего прослеживается конфликт между традиционным и новым в датской и норвежской культуре: закон Янте вступает в противоречие с так называемой культурой достижений (*prestasjonskulturen*). Как социальный конструкт и негласный регулятор общественных отношений, *janteloven* органично вписывается в ряд других концептов (*hygge, trivsel* и т. д.), однако особое отражение *janteloven* находит в политических практиках, причем как в своем формальном выражении (выработка разнообразных «канонов»), так и в методах противодействия навязыванию отдельных явлений со стороны органов власти.

Ключевые слова: *janteloven*, закон Янте, датский язык, норвежский язык, скандинавский менталитет.

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STRUCTURAL MODELS OF SOMATISMS IN THE NORWEGIAN LANGUAGE

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The development of any language has always been the focus of close attention and thorough study in linguistics, especially at different historical stages. The Norwegian language is a good example to trace the development of anatomical terminology based on its historical stages, including Norwegian somatisms as well as those from other languages, mainly Latin and Greek, including the word-forming elements. Starting with Ancient Scandinavian through the period of Christianity, the Hanseatic League and further on, several structural models have been identified and distinguished. Each period is associated with adoption and adaptation (assimilation) of somatisms. The first group includes one-word somatisms of Germanic origin, one-word non-assimilated and assimilated somatisms of Latin or Greek origin. The second and the largest group consists of two-word somatisms formed by compounding according to different models based on different parts of speech (noun, adjective, numeral, and verb) and the word-forming elements. Each element in a collocation is represented by either a norwegianized Latin or a native part. Three-word somatisms are not so numerous in anatomical terminology. Despite its seeming simplicity, compounding is an interesting phenomenon for studying due to many patterns of combining words in the formation of somatisms. Concerning compounding special remarks are made, taking into account combinatory flexibility and plasticity of the Norwegian language, which makes it possible to enrich its anatomical vocabulary at low cost and to use its own language capacity and resources for developing this language segment.

Keywords: Norwegian language, somatisms, body parts, anatomical vocabulary, structural models, compounding.

INTRODUCTION

The development of any language at different historical stages has always been the focus of close attention. Being a part of professional terminology medical terminology is not an exception and has always been in the purview of linguistics. It is especially inspiring and challenging to discover how this or that language develops and builds its medical terminology, considering not only the native vocabulary but also the influx of other words from other languages. Regarding the history of the language and the periods in its development the following questions can be raised: to what extent can the historical aspect influence the formation of professional terminology on the whole and medical one in particular and what structural models can be singled out considering the historical roots of somatisms in anatomical vocabulary formation? In this case, the Norwegian language seems to be a good example to follow as it has a great number of somatisms and has passed through some distinct stages in its historical development. Moreover, such research can give rise to comparing the structural models in other languages, making the medical vocabulary an inexhaustible source of knowledge for both linguists and medical practitioners.

The objective of this article is to analyze the development of anatomical terminology in the Norwegian language and somatisms in particular, taking into account the historical background and the development of the language through historical stages, thereby grouping the Norwegian somatisms according to their structural models and subsequently identifying some language peculiarities and traits. The lexical corpus was formed according to the following criteria: the Norwegian word must be a noun in the common case denoting this or that body part or a part of the body system, including body fluids, either in singular or in plural form used in the Norwegian medical encyclopedia [Store medisinske leksikon] and registered by such dictionaries as “Stor Russisk-Norsk Ordbok” compiled by Valeriy Pavlovich Berkov [Berkov, 2002], “Stor Norsk-Russisk Ordbok” compiled by Vladimir Dmitrievich Arakin [Arakin, 2001 a, b], “Det Norske Akademis Ordbok” and “Norsk-Russisk Ordbok”.

1. GROUPS OF NORWEGIAN SOMATISMS BASED ON HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Norwegian language belongs to the group of North Germanic languages of the West Scandinavian branch. With its two distinct and rival norms — Dano-Norwegian (Bokmål, or Riksmål) and New Norwegian (Nynorsk), it demonstrates some remarkable features concerning its vocabulary, particularly the anatomical one. Being one of the oldest parts of any language stock because of its direct relatedness to people and their everyday activities the latter is one of the most interesting and attractive for scientific research. The role of such vocabulary in any language is indisputable but the genesis and development deserve a special study considering its historical background. The anatomical vocabulary in the Norwegian language is primarily based on the Bokmål norm (the Dano-Norwegian form). It has passed some important stages in its development in which is some groups of somatisms can be distinguished, including the Norwegian words and borrowings from the other languages, Latin and Greek being the most abundant sources of somatisms. We can suppose that the origins of somatisms denoting the basic body parts could be traced to Proto-Scandinavian, or Ancient Scandinavian, where we find the inscriptions carved in futhark — the runic alphabet dated from AD 200 to 600, which is the oldest evidence of any Germanic language but due to the scantiness of the material (fewer than 300 words) [Scandinavian languages...] makes it impossible for us to think of including many somatisms, at least during this period. We can predict that it is with the emergence of Old Scandinavian (600–1500) when a lot of somatisms appeared in the Norwegian language, particularly during 1150 to 1350. They belong to Old Norse language — a parent language of the modern Norwegian language. It is a classical North Germanic language used from approximately 1150 to 1350, the term “Old Norse” comprising Old Norwegian as well as Old Icelandic.

Numerous examples are found on the basis of “Det Norske Akademis Ordbok”. Some of them, for example, *arm* ‘arm’ and *hake* ‘chin’, are marked as “of common Germanic/Germanic origin”. Most of them, though, are marked as “of Old Norse origin”, e. g. *bryn* ‘eyebrow’, *finger* ‘finger’, *foot* ‘foot’, *gane* ‘palate’, *hals* ‘throat/neck’, *hjerne* ‘brain’, *hjerte* ‘heart’, *hæl* ‘heel’, *kinn* ‘cheek’, *kne* ‘knee’, *legg* ‘leg/shin/calf’, *lever* ‘liver’, *lunge* ‘lung’, *mage* ‘stomach’, *munn* ‘mouth’, *negl* ‘nail’, *nyre* ‘kidney’, *rygg* ‘back’, *strupe* ‘pharynx’, *svelg* ‘fauces/larynx/pharynx’, *tann* ‘tooth’, *tarm*

'gut', *tinning* 'temple', *tunge* 'tongue', *tå* 'toe', *vev* 'tissue' etc. Such somatisms as *albue* 'elbow', *ankel* 'ankle', *ben* 'leg', *brusk* 'cartilage', *bryst* 'chest', *hode* 'head', *hud* 'skin', *hule* 'cavity', *hånd* 'hand', *ledd* 'knuckle/joint', *marg* 'bone marrow', *milt* 'spleen', *nese* 'nose', *virvel* 'vertebra', *øre* 'ear', *øye* 'eye' etc. are marked by "Det Norske Akademis Ordbok" as "dansk form" with simultaneously mentioning them as the corresponding, equivalent or even relative to the forms in Old Norse, making reference to Old Danish in case of *brusk*, *bryst*, *hode*, *hud*, *hule*, *ledd*, *marg*, *milt*, *nese*, *øye*, *øre*. Such somatisms as *hånd*, *marg* and *virvel* are registered as "probable Danish form". In spite of the fact that Norwegian and Danish have Old Norse as the same source language, it is in these forms that the somatisms labelled as "dansk form" exist in present-day Norwegian both orthographically and semantically. This needs a separate study as suppression process of the Norwegian language by the Danish one lasted for many years, even centuries. Among the other somatisms registered by this dictionary are somatisms of Middle Low / Low German origin or "probable of Middle Low / Low German origin", e. g. *ansikt* 'face', *hofte* 'hip', *kjeve* 'jaw', *knokkel* 'knuckle', *krøs* 'mesentery', *leppe* 'lip', *skulder* 'shoulder' etc. Instances of multiple assimilation are noted, for example, from Latin through Middle Low German as in case of *bekken* 'pelvis', from Greek through German in case of *skjelett* 'skeleton', and from Greek through Late Latin and Middle Low German in case of *mandel* 'amygdala'.

The second period is directly related to the advent of Christianity when Latin borrowings started penetrating into the Norwegian language. The first contacts were established with the Roman Empire during the first four centuries AD [Berkov, 2012, p. 37; Norway — Vikings, Fjords, Sami]. It is possible to assume that some borrowings came into Norway during Viking Age (about 800 to 1050) when Scandinavia became open to Europe due to the Christianization and the Latin alphabet came into use with the advent of Christianity [Berkov, 2012, p. 58; Norway — Vikings, Fjords, Sami]. For example, the Viking chiefs established relations with Christian monarchies and the church, especially in Normandy and England [Norway — Vikings, Fjords, Sami]. Such contacts can also be traced to the 12th century when in 1152 or 1153 a Pope's legate (the English cardinal) Nicholas Breakspear arrived to Norway to strengthen the influence of the Roman Empire on Europe [Danielsen et al., 2003, p. 82]. The most abundant influx of new words was during

the Middle Ages due to a rapid development of scientific terms based on Latin and Greek roots. It is through monastery culture that a lot of Latin words entered Norwegian. This was of paramount importance for developing medical vocabulary and new medical words in the Norwegian language. This group includes one-word somatisms presented by the unchanged Latin forms such as *abdomen*, *aorta*, *atrium*, *epiderm/epidermis*, *fibula*, *mediastinum*, *pleura*, *plexus*, *retina* etc. which have remained orthographically unchanged and are used alongside their parallel Norwegian words, the so-called *doublets*, e. g. *abdomen* and *buk*, *fibula* and *leggben/leggbein*. But many underwent certain orthographic changes and became norwegianized Latin forms. Some of them, though, e. g. *epikard*, *myokard* and *perikard* etc. retained the first Greek component unchanged. The main changes are given in Table 1.

Some of them, for example, *alveol*, *appendiks*, *atrium*, *kapillar*, *kornea*, *diafragma*, *epikard*, *erytrocytt* etc. have a parallel Norwegian word, e. g. *blindtarmvedheng/blindtarmsvedheng* for 'appendiks', *lungeblære* for 'alveolus', *hårkar* for 'kapillar'. Many of one-word somatisms were later used in compound words as parts in various combinations. Here, the next period in the development of the Norwegian language is to be mentioned as being an important one concerning the peculiarities of word formation.

Numerous loan translations may have entered Norwegian during the period of the Hanseatic League, or Hansa, when the League dominated in northern Europe in its commercial activity from 14th to 16th century. It is during that period when the Norwegian cities like Trondheim first and after it Bergen became chief prosperous trading ports building a vocabulary bridge between the two languages. To definitely say whether a somatism is a loan translation or not, it is worth checking its etymology. Sometimes it is enough to find the corresponding word in the donating language. In this paper, we present eleven somatisms in Norwegian as examples of typical loan translations with possibly entering the Norwegian language through the Low German language. Also, it is quite possible that during this period a lot of anatomical loan translations were coined in the Norwegian language on the basis of the corresponding terms from German, which is demonstrated by the common parts that we can see in the examples in Table 2.

As seen from the table, the examples of loan translations in the Norwegian language demonstrate part by part translation, sometimes being

Table 1. Orthographic changes of norwegianized Latin/Greek somatisms in the Norwegian language

Orthographic changes	Examples
Change final 'a' into 'e'	arteria > arterie, cella > celle, lympha > lymfe, vena > vene
Omission of final '-a'	membrana > membran, pupilla > pupill, tonsilla > tonsill
Omission of '-um'	dendritum > dendritt, ligamentum > ligament, omentum > oment
Omission of '-us'/'-on' with doubling of 't'	alveolus > alveol, leukocytus > leukocytt, skeleton > skjelett, thrombocytus > trombocytt
'-us'/'-on' > '-e'/'-ie'	ganglion > ganglie, nervus > nerve, bronchus > bronkie
'sk' > 'skj'	skeleton > skjelett
'c' > 'k'	capillus > kapillar, conjunctiva > konjunktiva, cornea > kornea, cranium > kranium, cuticūla > kutikula, epicardium > epikard, myocardium > myokard, pancreās > pankreas, pericardium > perikard
c+'-ūl' > 'kel' with omission of '-us'	musculus > muskel, ventricūlus > ventrikkel
'tas' > 'tet'	extremītas > ekstremitet
'x' > 'ks'	appendix > appendiks, axon > akson, extremītas > ekstremitet, phalanx > falanks
'ph' > 'f'	diaphragma > diafragma, lympha > lymfe, oesophāgus > øsofagus/oesofagus, phalanx > falanks
'eu' > 'ev'(very rarely)	neuron > nevron but: pleura > pleura
'th' > 't'	epithelium > epitel, erythrocytus > erytrocytt, thorax > toraks
'ch' > 'k'	bronchus > bronkie, trachēa > trakea

identical (*mandel* — *Mandel*) or nearly identical to the German word (*blindtarm* — *Blinddarm*), having the same meaning but being spelt according to the rules both in Norwegian and German. Thus, it cannot be ignored that German also had some influence on the Norwegian together with Latin.

The compound structure of Norwegian somatisms make us suppose that they were formed and appeared in the Norwegian language along-

Table 2. Norwegian loan translations from German

Somatism	Norwegian word	German word
artery	pulsåre	Pulsader
atrium	forkammer	Vorkammer
caecum	blindtarm	Blinddarm
cerebellum	lillehjerne	Kleinhirn
cornea	hornhinne	Hornhaut
duodenum	tolvfingertarm	Zwölffingerdarm
iris	regnbuehinne	Regenbogenhaut
retina	netthinne	Netzhaut
tonsil	mandel	Mandel
trachea	luftrør	Luftröhre
ventricle	hertekammer	Herzkammer

side the other somatisms taken from and formed in the same way as in the German language in which compounding is the basic way of formation of anatomical terms. Compounding as the way of word formation is a versatile means of enriching vocabulary of the recipient language. The anatomical one is no exception. Apart from loan translations of somatisms the Norwegian language armed with such a tool as compounding formed even more variants for its own language needs. In our study, the Norwegian anatomical terminology is represented by three groups of examples. The first one includes those ones consisting of names of body parts/fluids and anatomical structures related to them such as tunic, membrane or cavity, e. g., *be(i)nhinne* 'periosteum', *blodkar* 'blood vessel', *brystbein* 'breastbone', *bukhinne* 'peritoneum', *bukspyttkjertel* 'pancreas', *kneledd* 'knee joint', *leggbein* 'fibula', *lendevirvel* 'lumbar vertebra', *lungehinne* 'lung pleura', *nesehule* 'nose cavity', *nyrebekken* 'renal pelvis', *pannehule* 'forehead sinus', *ryggmarg* 'spinal cord', *spyttkjertel* 'salivary gland', *strupehode* 'larynx', *tannbein* 'dentin', *øye(n)bryn* 'eyebrow', *øye(n)vipp(e)* 'eyelash' and many others. Some somatisms consist of either a common word / common words not pertaining to the field of anatomy, e. g. *livmor* 'uterus/womb', *spiserør* 'gullet/esophagus' or a common word unrelated to anatomy and a somatism, thereby posing to metaphoric meaning in such collocations as well, e. g. *armhule* 'armpit',

brystkasse ‘chest’, *endetarm* ‘rectum’, *håndflate* ‘palm’, *kragebein* ‘clavicle / collarbone’, *korsben* ‘sacrum’, *korsrygg* ‘loin’, *leddbånd* ‘ligament/tendon’, *luftveier* ‘airway passages’, *lungelapp* ‘lung lobe’, *lungespiss* ‘lung apex’, *magesekk* ‘stomach’, *nesebor* ‘nostril’, *nyregang* ‘ureter’, *ryggsøyle* ‘spinal column / spine/vertebral column’, *skulderbelte* ‘shoulder girdle’, *skulderblad* ‘shoulder blade’, *spolebein* ‘ulna/radius’, *tannkjøtt* ‘gum’, *urinrør* ‘urethra’, *øye(n)lokk* ‘eyelid’ etc.

The second group comprises hybrid somatisms by which we mean somatisms in which compounding underlies the formation of two-word somatisms where:

- the first part is a norwegianized Latin/Greek part and the second is a part in Norwegian either in singular, e. g. *lymfekar/lymfear* ‘lymph vessel’, *lymfekjertel* ‘lymph gland’, *lymfeknute* ‘lymph node’, *lymfevev* ‘lymphatic tissue’, *nervevev* ‘nerve tissue’, *pleurahule* ‘pleural cavity’ or in plural form, e. g. *lymfeknuter* ‘lymph nodes’, *lymfearer* ‘lymph vessels’, *veneklaffer* ‘vein valves’ etc.;
- the first part is Norwegian and the second part is a norwegianized Latin/Greek part, e. g. *blodcelle* ‘blood cell’, *hjertermuskel* ‘heart muscle/myocardium’, *hulvene* ‘vena cava’, *lungearterie* ‘lung/pulmonary artery’, *lungevene* ‘lung/pulmonary vein’, *magemuskler* ‘belly muscles’, *ringmuskel* ‘sphincter’ etc.;
- both elements in a somatism are norwegianized Latin/Greek parts, e. g. *epitelceller* ‘epithelial cells’, *muskelceller* ‘muscle cells’, *portvene* ‘portal vein’ etc.;
- the first part is Norwegian and the second part is a non-assimilated Latin/Greek part, i. e. with no change, e. g. *lungehilus* ‘lung hilus’ etc.;
- the first part is a non-assimilated Latin/Greek part and the second part is a norwegianized Latin/Greek or vice versa, e. g. *gliaceller* ‘glial cells’, *melanocyt* ‘melanocyte’, *nevrogli* ‘neuroglia’ etc.

Such hybrid combinations are typical in modern medical terminology when Latin/Greek and the other language — Norwegian in our case — reside in a state of natural symbiosis [Lysanets, Bieliaieva, 2018]. Beyond doubt, this is an amazing linguistic phenomenon deserving attention and study. In case of Norwegian, a lot of variants, or patterns, are seen and their number in the language is really great.

Being the most productive way of making the names of body parts in the Norwegian language, compounding demonstrates some other peculiarities. Thus, the third group is based on compounding using the

other part of speech, namely, adjective, e. g. *basalganglier* 'basal ganglia', *hovedbronkie* 'main bronchus', *lillehjerne* 'cerebellum', *mitralklaff* 'mitral valve', *pulmonalklaff* 'pulmonary valve', *sentralnervesystem* 'central nervous system', *smålapp* 'lobule', *størhjerne* 'cerebrum', *stortå* 'a big toe', *trikuspidalklaff* 'tricuspid valve' etc., sometimes with the connective letter -o-, e. g. *atrioventrikulærklaff* 'atrioventricular valve' or a numeral (which is quite rare due to anatomical specificity and scantiness of such body parts), e. g. *tolvfingertarm* 'duodenum'. Prefixes denoting position can also be used, compounding two-word and three-word somatisms, e. g. *mellomgulv* 'diaphragm', *mellomfot* 'metatarsus', *mellomfotsbein* 'metatarsal bone', *mellomhånd* 'metacarpals', *mellomhåndsbein* 'metacarpal bone', *mellomøre* 'middle ear', *overhud* 'epidermis', *overkjeve* 'upper jaw / maxilla', *overleppe* 'upper lip', *underarm* 'forearm', *underkjeve* 'lower jaw / mandible', *underleppe* 'lower lip' etc.

Some examples include the words compounded on the basis of three elements, including different parts of speech and either only Norwegian noun, e. g. *brystskillevegg* 'mediastinum', *bukspyttkjertel* 'pancreas', *regnbuehinne* 'iris', *skjoldbruskkjertel* 'thyroid gland', *tolvfingertarm* 'duodenum' etc. or a noun in Norwegian and a norwegianized Latin/Greek noun in different succession, e. g. *bindevevsmembran* 'connective tissue membrane', *hertemuskelcelle* 'heart muscle cell', *nervecellekropper* 'nerve cell bodies' etc.

It is worth noting that compound consist of two parts: a modifying word and a modified one, where the modified word, or the head of the compound, contributes to the dominant meaning, determines the part of speech and can be inflected while the modifying part does not change [Goumovskaya, 2007]. In terms of occupying the position of either a modifying or a modified part in the Norwegian language one and the same part can change its position, depending on the semantic aspect. Here, the question of combinatory flexibility and plasticity of the language can arise. By it we first of all mean the capacity of a language to be flexible and plastic in creating a lot of combinations based on positional change of parts in a collocation and using its own vocabulary resources, for example, *'hals'* in *halsvirvel* 'cervical vertebra' and *lårhals* 'hip neck' where *'hals'* changes its positions in the word helping to form a new word with a new anatomical meaning. Some more examples of combinatory plasticity are *'ledd'* in *leddbrusk* 'joint cartilage' and *skulderledd* 'shoulder joint', *'hinne'* in *bukhinne* 'peritoneum' and *hinnebueganger*

‘membraneous arches’ or ‘virvel’ in *halsvirvel* ‘cervical vertebra’, *lende-irvel* ‘lumbar vertebra’ and *virvelbue* ‘vertebral arch’. Obviously, the place of an element in a combination is due to strict demands of anatomy as a science. A typical example is the combinations based on the component ‘*herte*’ as only the first (modifying) part in the term, e. g. *hertehinne* ‘epicardium’, *hertekammer* ‘ventricle’, *herteklaff* ‘heart valve’, *hertemuskel* ‘heart muscle / myocardium’, *hertepose* ‘pericardium’ etc., or based on the norwegianized Latin/Greek component ‘*lympfe*’, e. g. *lymfekar*, *lymfekjertel*, *lymfeknute*. On the other hand, the second component can remain unchanged, e. g. ‘*hule*’ in *armhule* ‘armpit’, *brysthule* ‘chest cavity’, *bukhule* ‘abdominal cavity’, *pannehule* ‘forehead sinus’.

As the language developed, more and more words appeared in it to serve the needs of medical terminology and denoting this or that anatomical structure, including eponyms, e. g. *Bowmans kapsel* ‘Bowman’s capsule’, *Glissons kapsel* ‘Glisson’s capsule’, *His’ bunt* ‘His bundle’, *Malpighis legemer* ‘malpighian bodies/corpuscles’, *Purkinje-celler* ‘Purkinje corpuscles/cells’, *Purkinjefibre* ‘Purkinje fibres’, *Schlemms kanal* ‘Schlemm’s canal’, *Tenons kapsel* ‘Tenon’s capsule’, *Wolffs gang* ‘wollfian duct’ etc. This model also follows the model of compounding where a modifying part is presented by an eponym — the proper noun denoting the name of a scientist, anatomist or a researcher used in the possessive case.

The process of adapting and adopting in the Norwegian language seemed to go along with the process of developing its own medical vocabulary as a lot of somatisms have appeared in the language during its historical development. Demonstrating its flexibility and balancing between its native forms and borrowings from the other languages like Greek and Latin the Norwegian somatisms have acquired some peculiarities, which makes it possible to distinguish certain groups based on structural models, or patterns.

2. STRUCTURAL MODELS OF SOMATISMS IN THE NORWEGIAN LANGUAGE

Despite its seeming simplicity of structural models typical of most Germanic languages (affixation, compounding, conversion), some peculiarities can be identified. The following models can be distinguished in the Norwegian anatomical terminology:

1. One-word somatisms of both Germanic and Latin or Greek origin, the latter being presented by unchanged Latin/Greek forms like

abdomen, aorta, atrium, epidermis, fibula, mediastinum, pleura, plexus, retina etc. and they can be referred to as non-assimilated somatisms. This group also comprises the so-called assimilated somatisms — norwegianized Latin somatisms, e. g. *alveol* ‘alveolus’, *bronkie* ‘bronchus’, *celle* ‘cell’ and others.

2. Two-word somatisms in which two parts of speech can be combined and make up one term. Here, depending on their origin, the parts can be presented by:

- two Norwegian nouns, e. g. *blodkar* ‘blood vessel’, *brysthule* ‘chest cavity’, *hjørnetann* ‘canine’, *håndledd* ‘wrist’, *kinntann* ‘molar’, *melketann* ‘milk tooth’, *munnhule* ‘mouth cavity’, *skinnebein* ‘tibia’ etc.;
- two norwegianized Latin/Greek nouns, e. g. *muskelfiber* ‘muscle fibre’, *nervecelle* ‘nerve cell’ etc.;
- a Norwegian noun and a norwegianized Latin/Greek noun occupying the first or the second place in a somatism, sometimes with no change in Latin/Greek part, e. g. *aortaklaff* ‘aortic valve’, *brystmuskel* ‘chest muscle’, *leggmuskel* ‘calf muscle’, *nervebunt* ‘nerve bundle’, *nyrearterie* ‘kidney artery’, *tannemalje* ‘tooth enamel’, *urinleder* ‘ureter’, *urinblære* ‘urinary bladder’ etc.;
- a Norwegian adjective and a Norwegian noun, e. g. *lilletå* ‘little toe’, *tykktarm* ‘large intestine’, *tynntarm* ‘small intestine’ etc.;
- a Norwegian verb and a Norwegian noun, e. g. *bindevev* ‘connective tissue’ etc.;
- a Norwegian numeral and a Norwegian noun/nouns, e. g. *tolvfingertarm* ‘duodenum’;
- a Norwegian prefix denoting position and a Norwegian noun, e. g. *overarm* ‘upper arm’, *underhud* ‘hypodermis’, *underkropp* ‘lower body part’ etc.

3. Three-word somatisms of Norwegian and Latin/Greek origin are registered, e. g. *hovedpulsåre* ‘aorta’ etc., sometimes with a prefix of Latin/Greek origin, e. g. *epitelvev* ‘epithelial tissue’. Here, the structural patterns also follow the compounding model, with a modifying and a modified part occupying its proper place, depending on their anatomical notion, sometimes with preposition as a part of it. Of special note in this group are the compounded forms with the connective -s-, e. g. *bindevevscelle*, *bindevevshinne*, *bindevevsfibre*, *bindevevskapsel*, *blindtarmsvedheng*, *endetarmsåpning*, *underarmsknokler* etc.

The total number of somatisms under study is approximately 252, the group of two-word somatisms accounting for 133 somatisms (52.77%) and the group of one-word somatisms accounting for 96 somatisms (38.09%). The group of three-word somatisms makes a negligible share — 23 somatisms, making up only 9.12%. As it was expected, the figures prove that the group of one-word somatisms lays the foundation for the group of two-word somatisms. They interact with one another making a lot of variants of two-word somatisms due to combinatory flexibility and plasticity. The structural models based on the distribution of components in two-word group of somatisms are given in Table 3.

Table 3. The structural models within the group of two-word somatisms

Structural model	Number
Two Norwegian parts	89
The first part is a norwegianized Latin/Greek part and the second is a part in Norwegian either in singular or in plural form	12
The first part is Norwegian and the second part is a norwegianized Latin/Greek part	17
Both elements in a somatism are norwegianized Latin/Greek parts	5
The first part is Norwegian and the second part is a non-assimilated Latin/Greek part	1
The first part is a non-assimilated Latin/Greek part and the second part is a norwegianized Latin/Greek or vice versa	9
Total	133

As it is seen from the table, the somatisms based on two Norwegian parts make up the leading group, which again points to the capacity of the language to use its combinatory flexibility and plasticity and proves the uniqueness of the Norwegian language to build anatomical vocabulary, using its own resources.

Depending on the part of speech and word-forming elements, some interesting findings are summarized in Table 4.

To study and illustrate the matter further and to present the quantitative ratio of the structural models, it seems reasonable to analyze them in the anatomical text chosen at random, for example, “Lungene” [Store medisinske leksikon] and summarize the data in the table below. The examples were taken by line-by-line principle according to the inclusion criteria.

Table 4. Distribution of parts of speech and word-forming elements in Norwegian somatisms

Parts of speech / word-forming element	Two-word somatisms	Three-word somatisms
noun + noun	105	8
adjective + noun	13	5
verb + noun	1	5
numeral + noun	—	1
prefix + noun	14	4
Total	133	23

Table 5. The distribution of structural models of somatisms in Norwegian based on anatomical text

Structural model	Examples	Number
One-word somatisms of either Germanic and assimilated and non-assimilated Latin/Greek parts	brisselen, lungene, hjertet, nerver, venene, arteriene, bronkiene, pleura, epitelet, mesotel, alveoler, fibrene, bronkiolene, muskulatur, cilier, bronkiol, kapillarer	17
Two Norwegian parts	brysthulen, ribbeina, brystkassen, blodkarene, spiserøret, luftrøret, brystveggen, bukhulen, lungespissen, lungeflatene, lungeroten, lungelapper, lungesekken, lungehinnen, brysthinnen, luftblærer, lungevevet, brystvirvel, bindevev, bruskkam, flimmerhår, lungevene, lungeblærer	23
Two norwegianized Latin/Greek parts	segmentbronkier, nervesystemet, sylinderepitel	3
A Norwegian part and a norwegianized Latin/Greek part occupying the first or the second place in a somatism, sometimes with no change in Latin part (two-word somatisms)	hulvenene, lungehilus, hovedbronkiene, lymfekar, lymfeknuter, plateepitel, bronkialtreet, lappebronkier, begerceller, lungealveoler, bronkiolveggen, lungearterie, alveolgang, kapillarnett, alveolåpninger	15

Structural model	Examples	Number
A Norwegian adjective and a Norwegian noun (two-word somatisms)	midtlipp, smålapper	2
A Norwegian numeral and a Norwegian noun/nouns (two-word somatisms)	—	—
A Norwegian prefix denoting position and a Norwegian word (two-word somatisms)	mellomgulvet, lungeoverflaten	2
Three-word somatisms of only Norwegian or of Norwegian and Latin/Greek origin	hovedpulsåren, brystskilleveggen, ribbeinsbue, lungesekkbladene	4
Total		66

As it is seen from Table 5, out of 66 somatisms presented in the paper one-word, two-word and three-word somatisms of Germanic/Norwegian origin account for 33 instances, including Norwegian adjectives and word-forming elements as parts of a somatism, whereas those of norwegianized Latin/Greek somatisms, including one-word somatisms, also account for 33 instances, once again proving the resourcefulness of the Norwegian language in anatomical vocabulary, on the one hand, and the ability of the language to assimilate the foreign words, on the other hand, thereby balancing between the Norwegian and borrowed forms. One-word somatisms, both of Germanic and Latin/Greek origin, though of not such a large number in this text, form the base for making these combinations, thereby increasing the number of two-word somatisms enormously.

CONCLUSION

The Norwegian anatomical terminology has passed through several periods in its development which are closely connected with the historical stages. Different somatisms ranging from simple ones to more sophisticated in notion appeared in it at different stages, enriching the language and making it universal for medical practitioners. It is in a way universal, on the one hand, due to many borrowings from Latin and Greek but, on the other hand, when it comes to the native corpus of

words, some interesting phenomena can be discovered. Also in spite of the dominance of English, for example, accounting for 80–90 % of all the borrowings over the past decades in Norwegian [Berkov, 2012, p. 102] and intrusion of English into Norwegian in the field of science [Livanova, 2015, p. 141], it is anatomical terminology, including somatisms, that remains relatively stable and rigid in resistance and avoidance of intrusion of English borrowings, partly due to the presence of hybrid forms — norwegianized Latin somatisms. They make the English language in a way useless “to assist” Norwegian in vocabulary formation as similar words have already been coined due to Latin. We should also primarily focus on flexibility and plasticity of the Norwegian language in generating so many forms using, in fact, not so many language tools, compounding being the most productive and universal. All the native words and those borrowed from the other languages over the centuries of language development have laid a solid foundation for the language to somehow experiment with them and use them for its practical purposes. They entered the language gradually, making the anatomical segment more and more sophisticated in denoting body parts and giving rise to new somatisms when it became necessary. Moreover, combinatory flexibility and plasticity are a highly efficient tool for producing so many somatisms, enabling the Norwegian language to enrich its vocabulary at low cost in its natural inner resources and even making them unlimited in scope.

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СТРУКТУРНЫЕ МОДЕЛИ СОМАТИЗМОВ В НОРВЕЖСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

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Развитие любого языка на разных исторических этапах всегда находится под пристальным вниманием и тщательно изучается в лингвистике. Норвежский язык является хорошим примером, позволяющим, основываясь на его исторических этапах, проследить развитие национальной анатомической терминологии, включая норвежские соматизмы, а также заимствования из других языков — латинского и греческого, в том числе словообразовательные элементы. Начиная с древнескандинавского периода через период христианизации, Ганзейского союза и далее, идентифицированы и определены несколько структурных моделей норвежских соматизмов. Среди них можно выделить группу соматизмов, состоящих из одного слова германского происхождения, и ассимилированных и неассимилированных соматизмов латино-греческого происхождения. Вторая, наибольшая по числу группа, включает соматизмы, состоящие из двух слов, образованные словосложением в соответствии с разными моделями и имеющие в своем составе разные части речи (имя существительное, имя прилагательное, имя числительное, глагол) и словообразовательные элементы, в которых части занимают разные позиции в сложном по структуре соматизме, причем они представлены или норвегизированным латинским, или норвежским словом. Также

выделены соматизмы, состоящие из трех элементов, число которых не так велико в норвежской анатомической терминологии. Несмотря на кажущуюся простоту, словосложение представляет собой интересное явление для изучения вследствие наличия вариантов моделей комбинирования слов при образовании соматизмов. Особый интерес представляет в этом случае норвежский язык, демонстрирующий гибкость и пластичность для обогащения своего анатомического словарного запаса при минимальных затратах и использующий свои собственные ресурсы для развития этого языкового сегмента.

Ключевые слова: норвежский язык, соматизмы, части тела, анатомическая лексика, структурные модели, словосложение.

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**ДРЕВНЕИСЛАНДСКАЯ ЛЕКСЕМА *HEL* 'ЗАГРОБНЫЙ МИР;
ВЛАДЕЛИЦА ЗАГРОБНОГО МИРА' В «МЛАДШЕЙ ЭДДЕ»
И СРАВНЕНИЕ СО «СТАРШЕЙ ЭДДОЙ»**

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Целью настоящей статьи является всестороннее изучение др.-исл. лексемы *hel* 'загробный мир; владелица загробного мира' в «Младшей Эдде», прозаическом произведении Снорри Стурлусона (1222–1225), и сравнительный анализ с соответствующей лексемой в «Старшей Эдде», древнеисландском поэтическом эпосе (основная рукопись Codex Regius 2365 второй половины XIII в.). Можно констатировать наличие фундаментальных сходжений, обнаруживаемых у данной лексемы в «Старшей» и «Младшей Эдде», проявляющихся в различных сферах — в общих наиболее частотных падежах (род. и дат.) и синтаксической функции направления, цели, реализуемой глаголами движения, ассоциации с низом, синонимичных предикатах субъекта (*быть, жить*), экстралингвистической детали (*ворот*). Вместе с тем следует отметить и принципиальные расхождения, свойственные этой лексеме в исследуемых памятниках письменности. В «Младшей Эдде» др.-исл. *hel* является гипонимом по отношению к др.-исл. *heimr*, то есть *хель* является одним из миров наряду с Асгардом, Мидгардом и Миром великанов, в то время как в «Старшей Эдде» данная лексема представляет собой антоним к др.-исл. *heimr*, то есть она как царство смерти противопоставляется одному-единственному конкретному миру живых, населенному людьми, — Мидгарду, «среднему огороженному пространству». Этот феномен верифицируют и другие факты, например оппозиция в «Старшей Эдде» *хель* дому (др.-исл. *hús*), человеческому жилищу, ассоциации с людьми (др.-исл. *halir, gumnom*). Если в «Старшей Эдде» доминирует антропоцентрическая позиция при описании др.-исл. *hel*, выражающаяся в том числе и в выборе точки отсчета (*отсюда* (др.-исл. *hedan*), *вниз* от мира людей, *под землю*), то в «Младшей Эдде» превалирует

теоцентризм (*хель* образует оппозицию Асгарду, «асов огороженному пространству», населенному богами).

Ключевые слова: *Младшая Эдда*, *Старшая Эдда*, древнеисландский язык, мифопоэтическая модель мира, грамматика, морфология, семантика, синтаксис, поэтика, сравнительный анализ.

Целью настоящей статьи является всестороннее изучение др.-исл. *hel* 'загробный мир; владелица загробного мира' в «Младшей Эдде» [Sturluson, 1900; Младшая Эдда, 1970], прозаическом произведении Снорри Стурлусона, датируемом 1222–1225 гг., и сравнительный анализ с соответствующей лексемой в «Старшей Эдде» [Edda, 1968; Старшая Эдда, 1963], древнеисландском поэтическом эпосе (основная рукопись: Codex Regius 2365, второй половины XIII в.). Несмотря на очевидные различия между этими памятниками древнеисландской письменности, касающиеся как типа творчества (авторского и безличного), так и их формы (прозаической и поэтической), необходимость сопоставления идентичных лексем не подлежит сомнению по ряду причин. В качестве аргументов в пользу предлагаемого решения могут быть приведены следующие соображения:

- в обоих произведениях древнеисландской литературы объектом рассмотрения являются одни и те же мифологические представления об устройстве Вселенной, образующие систему, отличающуюся целостностью и определенной структурой;
- наличие ссылок в «Младшей Эдде» на те или иные пассажи из «Старшей Эдды» обязывает специалистов учитывать это обстоятельство, если Снорри Стурлусон постоянно ориентировался на этот текст;
- обе «Эдды» как корпус текстов являются единственными в своем роде источниками для реконструкции древнеисландской и — шире — древнегерманской мифологии во всей ее полноте.

Для объяснения расхождений между «Старшей» и «Младшей Эддой» следует обратиться к проблеме относительной хронологии данных текстов. Традиционно предполагается, что песни «Старшей Эдды» архаичнее, и при написании «Младшей Эдды» Снорри Стурлусон ориентировался именно на них, в то время они передавались устным путем, а его собственное произведение стимулировало формирование «Старшей Эдды» как корпуса текстов, зафиксированного на письме.

Таким образом, отдельные несоответствия объясняются следующими причинами: утратой «Старшей Эддой» некоторых сюжетов или мотивов в ходе устной эволюции; непониманием автором «Младшей Эдды» каких-то фрагментов текста «Старшей Эдды», следствием которого были попытки самостоятельной интерпретации или инновации; потенциальным использованием Снорри Стурлусоном несохранившихся источников. Поскольку выбор др.-исл. *hel* 'загробный мир; владелица загробного мира', номинации одного из важнейших локусов эддической модели мира¹, а также его персонификации, в качестве объекта исследования был обоснован нами ранее², так же как и стандартная схема описания лексемы, возникшая на базе исследования русского фольклора [Фольклорная лексикография, 1994, с. 1; Никитина, 1997, с. 360–373] и неоднократно применяемая нами на эддическом материале³, вкратце сформулируем основные принципы исследования. Отправной точкой исследования является контекст. Комплексное изучение лексемы предполагает объединение грамматики текста (распределение по падежам и числам), словосложения, синтаксических функций, мифологии (тяготения к тому или иному мифу или мотиву), экстралингвистического фактора, поэтики (аллитерации, анаграммы и других звуковых приемов).

Переходим к непосредственному лингвистическому анализу др.-исл. *hel* 'загробный мир; владелица загробного мира' в «Младшей Эдде».

1. Заголовочное слово: др.-исл. **hel**, **Hel** 'загробный мир; владычица загробного мира'.

2. Фонетические и морфологические варианты: **ед. ч. им., вин. пад.** (др.-исл. *hel*); **род. пад.** (др.-исл. *heljar*); **дат. пад.** (др.-исл. *Helju*).

3. Контексты: ...*þeir er rétt eru síðaðir, ok vera með honum sjálfum, þar sem heitir Gimlé, enn vándir menn fara til heljar ok þaðan í Niflhel, þat er niðr í enn níunda heim* [SnE 2, 15–17] 'все люди, достойные

¹ Мифопоэтическая модель мира определяется как «сокращенное и упрощенное отображение всей суммы представлений о мире внутри данной традиции, взятых в их системном и операционном аспектах» [МНМ, 1982, с. 161].

² См. [Топорова, 2022, с. 79–97].

³ Ср., например: [Топорова, 2006, с. 9–11] и в других работах.

и праведные, будут жить с ним в месте, что зовется Гимле⁴, а дурные люди пойдут в хель, а оттуда в Нифльхель⁵. Это внизу, в девятом мире⁶; *Angrboða hét gygr í Jǫrtunheimum; við henni gat Loki iii börn; ein var Fenrisúlfr, annat Jǫrmungandr — þat er Miðgarðzormr —, iii. er Hel* [SnE 33, 14] ‘Ангрбодой звали одну великаншу из Великанов мира; от нее родилось у Локи трое детей: первый — Фенрир, волк, второй — Ёрмунганд (он же Среднего огороженного пространства змей), третья — Хель’^{*6}; *Hel kastaði hann í Niflheimr ok gaf henni vald efir IX heimum, at hon skyli skipta ǫllum vistum með þeim, er til hennar váru sendir, en þat eru sótt dauðir ok ellidauðir* [SnE 33, 11–14] ‘А [великаншу] Хель Один низверг в Нифльхейм и поставил ее владеть девятью мирами, дабы она давала у себя приют всем, кто к ней послан, а это люди, умершие от болезней или от старости’; *ok vili hann ríða á Helveg ok freista, ef hann fái fundit Baldr, ok bjóða Helju útlausn, ef hon vill láta fara Baldr heim í Ásgarð* [Gylf. 48, 45–48] ‘и поскачет по дороге в хель испытать, не сможет ли он найти Бальдра и предложит за него выкуп Хель, чтобы она отпустила Бальдра поехать домой в Асгард’^{*}; *hví ríðr þú hér á helvegi <...> ek skal ríða til Heljar at leita Baldrs* [SnE 48, 84–85] ‘зачем ты скачешь сюда по дороге в хель; <...> я скачу в хель, чтобы разыскать Бальдра’^{*}; *En at morni þá beiddisk Hermóðr af Helju, at Baldr skyldi ríða heim með honum, <...> en Hel sagði <...>* [SnE 48, 94–96] ‘А наутро стал Хермод просить Хель, чтобы Бальдр поскакал с ним домой, <...> а Хель сказала <...>’^{*}; *en haldask með Helju, ef nokkurr mælir við eða vill eigi gráta* [SnE 48, 99–100] ‘но он останется с Хель, если кто-нибудь не воспротивится и не станет плакать’^{*}; *Því næst sendu æsir um allan heim ǫrendreka at biðja, at Baldr væri grátinn ór Helju* [SnE 48, 104–106] ‘Асы тут же послали гонцов по всему миру просить, чтобы все выплакали Бальдра из хель’^{*}; *Baldr <...> var eigi leystr frá Helju* [SnE 49, 2–3] ‘Бальдр <...> не был освобожден от Хель’^{*}; *Því næst koma þar Baldr ok Hǫðr frá Heljar* [SnE 52, 7–8] ‘Вскоре приходят из хель Бальдр и Хёд’^{*}; *Hverning skal kenna Loka? — Svá at kalla hann <...> fǫður <...> Jǫrmungandz — þat er Miðgarðzormr — ok Heljar* [Skáld.

⁴ «Защита от огня» [Стеблин-Каменский, 1970, с. 15].

⁵ «Хель и Нифльхель — преисподняя, царство мертвых. Но Хель — это также и богиня преисподней» [Стеблин-Каменский, 1970, с. 122].

⁶ Знак * обозначает дословный перевод автора.

16, 1–4] ‘Какие есть кеннинги Локи? — Его называют <...> отцом Ёрмунганда (а это Мидгарда змей) и Хель’.

4. Количество словоупотреблений: 12.

5. Толкование: см. [Топорова, 2022, с. 79–97].

6. Денотат:

— мир иной, в котором пребывают дурные люди [SnE 2, 15–17], а также умершие от болезней и старости [SnE 33, 11–14];

— боги пытаются освободить Бальдра из хель [SnE 48, 104], «выплакать» его [SnE 48, 104–106];

— Хель боги предлагают выкуп за Бальдра [Gylf. 48, 45–48];

— дочь Локи и великанши Ангрбоды [SnE 33, 14], которую Один низверг в Нифльхейм, владычица иного мира.

7. Грамматическая информация: **ед. ч. им. пад.** (др.-исл. *Hel* [SnE 48, 96]); **род. пад.** (др.-исл. *Heljar* [Skáld. 16, 4]; *frá Heljar* [SnE 52, 7] ‘из хель’; *til heljar* [SnE 2, 17; 48, 85] ‘в хель’), **дат. пад.** (др.-исл. *Helju* [Gylf. 48, 45]; *af Helju* [SnE 48, 95] ‘у Хель’; *frá Helju* [SnE 49, 3] ‘из хель’; *með Helju* [SnE 48, 100] ‘с Хель’; *ór Helju* [SnE 48, 106] ‘из хель’); **вин. пад.** [SnE 33, 11].

8. Этимология: см. [Топорова, 2022].

9. Словообразование: —.

10. Словосложение:

а) в качестве первого элемента композита:

др.-исл. **Hel-blindi** ‘(в) хель слепой’ (< др.-исл. *Hel* и др.-исл. *blindr* («adj. *blind* (*Háv.* 71); *auch name*» [Kuhn, 1968, s. 31]): *Hverning skal kenna Loka? — Svá at kalla hann <...> Helblinda* [Skáld. 13, 1–3] ‘Какие есть кеннинги Локи? — Его называют <...> Хельблиндю’;

др.-исл. **hel-grind** ‘хель-ворота, ворота хель’ (< др.-исл. *hel* и др.-исл. *grind* («f. 1. *gatter, gehege*; 2. *gattertür, tor*» [Kuhn, 1968, s. 82]): *Þá reið Herjóðr, þar til er hann kom at helgrindum; <...> en hestinn hljóp svá hart yfir grindina* [SnE 48, 88–91] ‘Тогда Хермод поскакал, пока не приехал к воротам хель, <...> и конь перескочил через ворота’*;

др.-исл. **Hel-sinni** ‘спутник Хель’ (< др.-исл. *hel* и др.-исл. *sinni* («m. *gefährte*» [Kuhn, 1968, s. 185]): *en Loka fylgja allir Heljar-sinnar, en Múspellz-sonir hafa einir sér fylking* [SnE 50, 36–38] ‘За Локи следуют все спутники Хель, но Сыны Муспелля имеют свое собственное войско’*; *Hverning skal kenna Baldr? — Svá at kalla hann <...> Heljar-sinna* [Skáld. 5, 1–3] ‘Какие есть кеннинги Бальдра? — Его

называют <...> спутником Хель’*; *Hverning skal kenna Höð? — Svá at kalla hann <...> Heljar-sinna* [Skáld. 13, 1–3] ‘Какие есть кеннинги Хёда? — Его называют <...> спутником Хель’*;

др.-исл. **hel-vegr** ‘хель-дорога, дорога в хель’ (< др.-исл. *hel* и др.-исл. *vegr* («*m. weg zur totenwelt*» [Kuhn, 1968, s. 93]): *ok vili hann ríða á Helveg ok freista, ef hann fá fundit Baldr, ok bjóða Helju útlausn, ef hon vill láta fara Baldr heim í Ásgarð* [SnE. 48, 45–48] ‘и поскачет по дороге в хель испытать, не сможет ли он найти Бальдра, и предложит за него выкуп Хель, чтобы она отпустила Бальдра поехать домой в Асгард’*; *ok eigi hefir þú lit dauðra manna — hví ríðr þú hér á helvegi <...> ek skal ríða til Heljar at leita Baldrs* [SnE. 48, 84–85] ‘и не похож ты лицом на мертвых людей; зачем ты скачешь сюда по дороге в хель; <...> я скачу в хель, чтобы разыскать Бальдра’*; *hvert hefir þú nakkvat sét Baldr á helvegi* [SnE. 48, 86] ‘видала ты Бальдра на дороге в хель?’; *en niðr ok norðr liggr helvegr* [SnE. 48, 87] ‘дорога в хель лежит вниз и на север’*;

б) в качестве второго элемента композита:

др.-исл. **Nifl-hel** ‘тумана хель’ («*Nifl-hel, f. the Tartarus of the heathen mythology, deeper down than Hel (Hades); wicked men are said to die a second death and pass from Hel into Niflhel*» [Cleasby, Vigfusson, 1957, s. 455]; < др.-исл. *nifl-* (см. др.-исл. *Nifl-heimr* ‘тумана мир’) и др.-исл. *hel*): *enn vándir menn fara til heljar ok þaðan í Niflhel, þat er niðr í enn níunda heim* (SnE 2, 15–17) ‘а дурные люди пойдут в хель, а оттуда в Нифльхель. Это внизу, в девятом мире’;

11. Количество лексем с др.-исл. *hel*:

а) в качестве первого компонента композита: 4;

б) в качестве второго компонента композита: 1.

12. Словоупотребление в героических песнях: —

13. Количество словоупотреблений в героических песнях: —;⁷

14. Грамматика сложных слов с др.-исл. *hel* в качестве первого компонента: род. пад. subst. **Heljar** + subst.: др.-исл. **Heljar-sinnar** ‘Хель спутники’;

15. Морфологические модели композитов с др.-исл. *hel*: subst. + subst.: др.-исл. **hel-grind** ‘хель-ворота, ворота хель’; **Hel-sinni** ‘спутник Хель’; **hel-vegr** ‘хель-дорога, дорога в хель’; **Nifl-hel** ‘тумана хель’; subst. + adj.: др.-исл. **Hel-blindi** ‘(в) хель слепой’.

⁷ Пункты 12 и 13 актуальны только для «Старшей Эдды».

16. Семантика модели композитов с др.-исл. *hel*: **хель + ворота**: др.-исл. **hel-grind** ‘ворота хель’; **хель + спутник**: др.-исл. **Hel-sinni** ‘спутник Хель’; **хель + дорога**: др.-исл. **hel-vegr** ‘дорога в хель’; **туман + хель**: др.-исл. **Nifl-hel** ‘тумана хель’.

17. Синонимы: —.

18. Антонимы:

хель — Асгард: *ok bjóða Helju útlausn, ef hon vill láta fara Baldr heim í Ásgarð* [Gylf. 48, 45–48] ‘и предложит за него выкуп Хель, чтобы она отпустила Бальдра поехать домой в Асгард’*.

19. Гипероним: —.

20. Гипоним:

мир — хель: *Pví næst sendu æsir um allan heim ørendreka at biðja, at Baldr væri grátinn ór Helju* [SnE 48, 104–106] ‘Асы тут же послали гонцов по всему миру просить, чтобы все выплакали Бальдра из хель’*.

21. Ассоциации:

низ — хель: *enn vándir menn fara til heljar ok þaðan í Niflhel, þat er niðr í enn níunda heim* [SnE 2, 15–17] ‘а дурные люди пойдут в хель, а оттуда в Нифльхель. Это внизу, в девятом мире’; *en niðr ok norðr liggir helvegr* [SnE. 48, 87] ‘дорога в хель лежит вниз и на север’*.

22. **хель** — субъект (что? — подлежащее): —.

23. **хель** — объект (дополнение): *foður <...> Jormungandz ok Heljar* [Skáld. 16, 4] ‘отцом Ёрмунганда и Хель’.

24. Посессоры: умершие от болезней и старости [SnE 33, 11–14]; дурные люди [SnE 2, 15–17].

25–27. —.

28. Атрибуты: —.

29. Предикаты субъекта:

быть: *við henni gat Loki iii börn; ein var Fenrisúlfr; annat Jormungandr — þat er Miðgarðzormr —, iii. er Hel* [SnE 33, 14] ‘от нее родилось у Локи трое детей: первый был Фенрир, волк, второй — Ёрмунганд (он же Среднего огороженного пространства змей), третья — Хель’*;

сказать: *en Hel sagði* [SnE 48, 96] ‘а Хель сказала’.

Предикаты объекта:

бросить: *Hel kastaði hann í Niflheim ok gaf henni vald efir IX heitum* [SnE 33, 11–14] ‘А [великаншу] Хель он [Один] бросил в Нифльхейм и поставил ее владеть девятью мирами’*;

остаться: *en haldask með Helju, ef nokkurr mælir við eða vill eigi gráta* [SnE 48, 99–100] ‘но он *останется* с Хель, если кто-нибудь не воспротивится и не станет плакать’*;

предложить: *ok bjóða Helju útlausn, ef hon vill láta fara Baldr heim í Ásgarð* [Gylf. 48, 45–48] ‘и *предложит* за него выкуп Хель, чтобы она отпустила Бальдра поехать домой в Асгард’*;

просить: *En at morni þá beiddisk Herjóðr af Helju, at Baldr skyldi ríða heim með honum* [SnE 48, 94–95] ‘А наутро стал Хермод *просить* Хель, чтобы Бальдр поскакал с ним домой’*.

Предикаты направления, цели:

выплакать: *at Baldr væri grátinn ór Helju* [SnE 48, 106] ‘чтобы Бальдр был *выплакан* из хель’*;

идти/приходить: *enn vándir menn fara til heljar* [SnE 2, 15–17] ‘а дурные люди *пойдут* в хель’; *Því næst koma þar Baldr ok Hjóðr frá Heljar* [SnE 52, 7–8] ‘Вскоре *приходят* из хель Бальдр и Хёд’*;

освобождать: *Baldr <...> var eigi leystur frá Helju* [SnE 49, 2–3] ‘Бальдр <...> не был *освобожден* из хель’*;

скачать: *ek skal ríða til Heljar at leita Baldrs* [SnE. 48, 85] ‘я *скачу* в хель, чтобы разыскать Бальдра’.

30. Сравнения: —.

31. Звуковая игра:

повтор однокорневого слова: *enn vándir menn fara til heljar ok þaðan í Niflhel* [SnE 2, 15–16] ‘а дурные люди *пойдут* в хель, а оттуда в *Нифльхель*’.

Комментарии: др.-исл. *hel*, *Hel* ‘загробный мир; владычица загробного мира’ обозначает нижний мир, царство смерти, в котором пребывают люди, умершие от старости и болезней, а также его хозяйку. В соответствии с эддическими представлениями состоит из двух частей — собственно подземного мира (др.-исл. *hel*) и его самой глубокой пропасти (др.-исл. *Nifl-hel* ‘тумана хель’). Зафиксировано в «Младшей Эдде» 12 раз исключительно в форме **ед. ч.** как уникальный локус космизированной Вселенной и его персонафикация; в составе падежной парадигмы маргинальное положение занимают **им.** и **вин. пад.** (по одному словоупотреблению), доминируют **род.** и **дат. пад.** (по 5 словоупотреблений), причем велик удельный вес предложных конструкций (*frá heljar* ‘из хель’, *til heljar* ‘к хель’; *af Helju*, *frá Helju*, *ór Helju* ‘от Хель’, *með Helju* ‘с Хель’). Что касается синтаксических функций, то в равной мере представ-

лены объект (в том числе и прямой: *бросать Хель*, *просить Хель*; также *предлагать Хель*, *оставаться с Хель*) и направление, цель (ср. глаголы движения: *идти/приходить*, *скакать в хель*; а также *освободить*, *выплакать из хель*), а субъект редуцирован (*быть*, *говорить*). Принимая во внимание продуктивность глаголов движения, употребляющихся с др.-исл. *hel*, а также композитов, реализующих идею динамики (ср. др.-исл. *hel-vegr* '(к) хель дорога'; *Hel-sinni* 'спутник Хель'), можно констатировать системообразующую роль синтаксической функции направления, цели. Материал «Младшей Эдды» позволяет реконструировать семантическое развитие *хель* (локус) → *Хель* (его персонификация, владелица (ср.: *Хель говорит*; *бросать Хель*, *предлагать Хель*; *оставаться с Хель*)), иллюстрируемое наличием примеров, допускающих двойственную трактовку, ср.: *at Baldr væri grátinn ór Helju* [SnE 48, 106] 'чтобы Бальдр был выплакан из хель / от Хель'*; *Baldr <...> var eigi leyst frá Helju* [SnE 49, 2–3] 'Бальдр <...> не был освобожден из хель / от Хель'*.

Принимает участие в словообразовании, выступая в качестве как первого (др.-исл. *Hel-blindi* '(в) хель слепой', *hel-grind* 'ворота хель', *Hel-sinni* 'спутник Хель', *hel-vegr* '(к) хель дорога'), так и второго компонента (др.-исл. *Nifl-hel* 'тумана хель'). Является гипонимом по отношению к миру (др.-исл. *heimr*), так как репрезентирует один из мифологических локусов, противопоставляется в эддической модели мира Асгарду 'асов огороженному пространству'; ассоциируется с низом; фигурирует в мифе творения, сочетаясь с глаголом бытия, и в мифе о Бальдре. Концепт эддического загробного мира испытал на себе влияние христианского мировоззрения, ср. восприятие *хель* как места пребывания грешников [SnE 2, 15–17]; *Хель* как владелица подземного мира оценивается отрицательно в эддической модели мира, так как она наряду с волком Фенриром и Мировым змеем представляет угрозу для существования космозированной Вселенной во время «гибели богов». На основании языковых данных можно судить об экстралингвистических фактах, ср. *ворота хель* (др.-исл. *hel-grind*).

Сопоставительный анализ др.-исл. *hel*, *Hel* 'хель (иной мир); владелица иного мира' в прозаической и поэтической «Эддах» осуществляется на основании различных параметров, которые отражает приводимая ниже таблица⁸.

⁸ Жирным шрифтом выделены общие компоненты.

Таблица. Сопоставительный анализ др.-исл. *hel* в «Старшей» и «Младшей Эдде»

Параметр	«Старшая Эдда»	«Младшая Эдда»
Количество словоупотреблений	28	12
Наиболее частотные падежи	Дат. (12) ⁹ , род. (10)	Род. (5); дат. (5)
Синонимы	—	—
Антонимы	Дом (др.-исл. <i>hús</i>) Мир (живых; др.-исл. <i>heimr</i>)	Асгард (др.-исл. <i>Ás-garðr</i> 'асов огороженное пространство')
Гипонимы	—	Хель — мир (др.-исл. <i>heimr</i>)
Ассоциации	Низ (др.-исл. <i>neðan</i>); убивать (др.-исл. <i>drepa</i>); люди (др.-исл. <i>halr, halir, gumnom</i>); отсюда (др.-исл. <i>heðan</i>)	Низ (др.-исл. <i>niðr</i>)
Предикаты субъекта	Иметь (Хель имеет; др.-исл. <i>hafi; hefir</i>); жить (Хель живет; др.-исл. <i>býr</i>)	Быть (др.-исл. <i>var</i>); говорить (др.-исл. <i>sagði</i>)
Предикаты объекта	Посылать (др.-исл. <i>sendoð</i>) Хель	Бросать (др.-исл. <i>kastaði</i>) Хель; оставаться (др.-исл. <i>haldask með Helju</i>) с Хель; предлагать (др.-исл. <i>bjóða Helju</i>) Хель; просить (др.-исл. <i>beiddisk af Helju</i>) Хель
Предикаты локуса	Называть (др.-исл. <i>kalla helio í; kalla í helio</i> (5)) в хель; иметь (др.-исл. <i>í helio hafði</i>) в хель	—

⁹ Цифры в скобках указывают количество словоупотреблений.

Параметр	«Старшая Эдда»	«Младшая Эдда»
Предикаты направления, цели	Идти, приходиться в/из хель (др.-исл. <i>i hel koma; fara til heljar; heljar ganga; gecc til heljar; ór helio kom; vitia ór helio</i>); умирать, убивать (др.-исл. <i>deyia ór helio; i hel drepa; i hel drapo; lamðan til heljar</i>) в хель; освободить (др.-исл. <i>leystu helio ór</i>) из хель); падать (др.-исл. <i>falla til heljar</i>) в хель; поворачиваться (др.-исл. <i>snugga heljar til</i>) к хель	Идти, приходиться в/из хель (др.-исл. <i>fara til heljar; koma frá heljar</i>) в хель; скакать (др.-исл. <i>riða til heljar</i>) в хель; освободить (др.-исл. <i>var leystu frá helju</i>) из хель); выплакать (др.-исл. <i>væri grátinn ór helju</i>) из хель
Экстралингвистические факты	Ворота (др.-исл. <i>hel-grind</i>); колесница (др.-исл. <i>með reiðinni á helveg</i>); процессия (др.-исл. <i>hel-for</i>)	Ворота (др.-исл. <i>hel-grind</i>)
Мифы, мифологические мотивы и сюжеты	Миф творения + мифология мирового древа: великанша Хель живет под одним из корней ясеня Иггдрасиля; ониматический акт богов (называть в <i>хель</i>); космологические представления об устройстве Вселенной (пройти девять миров до <i>Тумана хель</i> ; подземные реки, низвергающиеся в <i>хель</i>); эсхатология (люди, боящиеся на <i>дорогах в хель</i> во время «гибели богов»)	Миф творения (о бытии Хель; о бросании Хель богами в Нифльхейм); миф о Бальдре (его освобождении из хель)

Подводя итоги исследования др.-исл. *hel, Hel* ‘хель (иной мир); владелица иного мира’ в «Старшей» и «Младшей Эдде», можно констатировать наличие фундаментальных сходжений, обнаруживаемых у данной лексемы, проявляющихся различных сферах — в общих наиболее частотных падежах (род. и дат.) и синтаксической функции направления, цели, реализуемой глаголами движения, ассоциации с низом, синонимичных предикатах субъекта (*быть*,

жить), экстралингвистической детали (*ворот*). Вместе с тем следует отметить и принципиальные расхождения, свойственные этой лексеме в исследуемых памятниках письменности. В «Младшей Эдде» др.-исл. *hel* является гипонимом по отношению к др.-исл. *heimr*, то есть она является одним из миров наряду с Асгардом, Мидгардом и Миром великанов, в то время как в «Старшей Эдде» данная лексема имеет антоним, др.-исл. *heimr*, то есть она как царство смерти противопоставляется одному-единственному конкретному миру живых, населенному людьми, — Мидгарду, «среднему огороженному пространству». Этот феномен верифицируют и другие факты, например оппозиция в «Старшей Эдде» *хель* дому (др.-исл. *hús*), человеческому жилищу, ассоциации с людьми (др.-исл. *halir, gumnom*). Если в «Старшей Эдде» доминирует антропоцентрическая позиция при описании др.-исл. *hel*, выражающаяся в том числе и в выборе точки отсчета (*отсюда* (др.-исл. *hedan*), *вниз* от мира людей, *под землю*), то в «Младшей Эдде» превалирует теоцентризм (*хель* образует оппозицию Асгарду, «асов огороженному пространству», населенному богами). Нельзя упустить из виду и еще одно обстоятельство — усиленную персонификацию *хель* в «Младшей Эдде» по сравнению со «Старшей», проявляющаяся, в частности, в использовании по отношению к владелице иного мира предиката субъекта *говорить* (др.-исл. *sagði*), а также развитой синтаксической функции предиката объекта, почти не уступающей по частотности (4 примера) наиболее продуктивной функции направления, цели (5 примеров): боги *бросают* великаншу Хель в Нифльхейм, *просят* ее освободить бога Бальдра, *предлагают* ей определенные условия, чтобы осуществить свое намерение возратить Бальдра в Асгард. Следует упомянуть еще одну особенность др.-исл. *hel* в «Старшей Эдде»: приобретение идеологической надстройки и включение в сферу ритуала (ср. др.-исл. *hel-rúnar* ‘хель-руны, руны хель’, погребальную поездку (др.-исл. *hel-fór*), колесницу на *дороге в хель* (др.-исл. *hel-vegr*)).

СОКРАЩЕНИЯ

МНМ — Мифы народов мира

Gylf. — Gylfa ginning — «Видение Гюльви» (SnE)

Skáld. — Skáldskaparmál — «Язык поэзии» (SnE)

SnE — Edda Snorra Sturlusonar — «Младшая Эдда»

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OLD ICELANDIC *HEL* ‘WORLD OF THE DEAD, THE DEAD-GODDESS *HEL*’ IN THE YOUNGER EDDA AND THE COMPARISON WITH THE ELDER EDDA

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The purpose of this article is a comprehensive study of O.-Icel. *hel* ‘the underworld; the dead-goddess *Hel*’ in the Younger Edda, in the prose work of Snorri Sturluson (1222–1225) and a comparative analysis with the corresponding lexeme in the Elder Edda, the Old Icelandic poetic epic (the main manuscript of Codex Regius 2365 of the second half of the 13th century). The material of the Younger Edda allows reconstructing the semantic development of *hel* (locus) → *Hel* (its personification, owner). We can state the presence of fundamental similarities, found in this lexeme in the Elder and Younger Edda, manifested in various areas — in the common most frequent cases (gen. and dat.) and the syntactic function of direction realized by the verbs of motion, association with the bottom, synonymous predicates of the subject (*to be, to live*), extralinguistic details (*gates*). In the Younger Edda O.-Icel. *hel* is a hyponym for *heimr*, that is, it is one of the worlds along with Asgard, Midgard and the World of Giants, while in the Elder Edda this lexeme has the antonym of O.-Icel. *heimr*, that is, as the kingdom of death, it is opposed to one single concrete world of the living inhabited by people — *Midgard*, ‘the middle enclosed space’. If in the Elder Edda the anthropocentric position dominates in the description of O.-Icel. *hel*, then theocentrism prevails in the Younger Edda.

Keywords: the Younger Edda, the Elder Edda, Old Icelandic language, mythopoeic model of the world, grammar, morphology, semantics, syntax, poetics, comparative analysis.

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ЛИТЕРАТУРОВЕДЕНИЕ

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FOLKLORE COMPONENTS OF FINNISH ROCK POETRY*

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This article explores the folklore components of Finnish rock poetry in Finnish and Swedish. It highlights how Finnish rock culture has revived an ancient tradition where poetry and music were intertwined. While musicians of *Amorphis* reference “Kalevala” mythology in the songs like “Tuonela”, “Sampo” and “Kantele”, they do not explicitly mention the names of “Kalevala” heroes in their adaptations of runes. The themes of their lyrics seem to take on a universal quality and are set in modern times. The influence of folklore traditions on Finnish authors is evident even in their English-language works. Ville Sorvali of *Moonsorrow* interprets the runes, trying to understand the intention of their creators, believing that these lyrics resonate with people worldwide. Similarly, Jan Jämsen (Katla), a Swedish-speaking Finn, infuses his native Swedish lyrics for *Finntroll* with imagery of fantastical creatures and incorporates Sámi folk chants *joik* to emphasize their uniqueness. Modern Finnish rock poetry stands out for its multilingualism and references to mythological themes from Finnish and Scandinavian folk poetry. However, the resurgence of metrics and imagery from the “Kalevala” and “Kanteletar” in rock poetry was unexpected. Authors use figurative symbolism that may require a deep understanding of Finnish culture to fully appreciate, even in English-language works. Finnish rock poetry is a diverse and vibrant art form that resonates with universal themes and emotions.

Keywords: Finnish rock poetry, genre features, multilingualism, ethnic components, Kalevala mythology, Kalevala metrics, *Kanteletar*.

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The genre of art song, poetry meant to be sung, has long been developed in Finland, where the connection between poetry and music is widespread. In the article “On the Musicality of Finnish Literature” Heikki Laitinen’s paradoxical view is presented, suggesting that while poetry and music are distinct and incomparable art forms on their own, when combined in a song, a third element emerges that transcends both, creating something “greater than the sum of its parts” [Grünthal, Kainulainen, 2009, p. 5].

It is well-known that a significant portion of epic folklore was traditionally sung, with ballads and romances also being popular forms of musical expression. The term *ballad* itself originates from the Italian *ballare* ‘to dance’. Critic Ingrid Schellbach-Kopra further elaborates on this topic, noting that, “Music adds another layer of depth to the poetic work when set to music” [Schellbach-Kopra, 1984, p. 13]. She cites as an example lines from “Shepherd Poems” (Herdedikter, 1973) by Lars Huldén, a Swedish-speaking Finn poet:

Du kan bli en visa.	‘You can become a song.
Är det så farligt det?	Is it that dangerous?
Ja, det är mycket farligt.	Yes, it’s very dangerous
För har du blivit en visa	Cause once you turn into a song,
står du utanför varje möjlighet	You’re stuck in that moment forever.
till förändring. Visan har naglat	A song
dig som ett skinn på en vägg.	Will nail you
Man skall kasta knivar genom dig.	Like skin to the wall.
[Huldén, 1976, p. 124]	They’ll throw knives at you ¹ .

According to the critic, song poetry should be taken very seriously. Indeed, a song can, in modern terms, nail you to the wall, influencing public consciousness, inspiring, or conversely, suppressing and intimidating individuals.

Finland’s contemporary poetry has closely intertwined with rock music. “Rock music has always been in development, and the picture has changed from year to year,” writes A. Kozlov in his book “Rock: Origins and Development” [Kozlov, 1998].

Rock culture didn’t really take off in Finland until the 1980s, but it soon established itself as a vibrant phenomenon on the global rock

¹ Hereinafter translations from Swedish and Finnish by V. Radolinsky.

scene. Many rock song performers were also writers, and in addition to their musical pursuits, they published and continue publishing collections of poems and novels. Notable figures include Ismo Alanko, Jukka Karjalainen, Kauko Röyhkä, Kari Peitsamo, Gösta Sundqvist, Jarkko Martikainen and Tommi Liimatta. Critic Samuli Knuuti suggests that the popularity of these writers' books was boosted by their lyrics for rock bands [Knuuti, 2013, p. 336].

In the early 80s, Röyhkä left Oulu and went to Helsinki in search of intense experiences, seeking “an antidote to rural melancholy” [Knuuti, 2013, p. 339]. In his song “Shit City” (1986), Röyhkä talks about the railway line leading south and highlights that conforming to mediocrity leads to failure; if one fails, the only option left is to “get out of here” [Knuuti, 2013, p. 339]. Röyhkä-writer clearly expected to win.

In any case, in Finnish rock culture, literary content is as crucial as the music itself. Lasse Koskela believed that some of the best rock poetry emerged in the 1980s: “In fact, all the so-called ‘finnrock’ of this decade (e. g. Dingo, Eppu Normaali, Pelle Miljoona and Juice Leskinen) had rich lyrics” [Grünthal, Kainulainen, 2009, p. 81].

Elias Lönnrot, the compiler of the “Kalevala” and “Kanteletar”, held a negative view on separating words from music. He felt that “the ancient unity of word and tune disintegrated in modern times to the extent that the word became the dominant force in literary poetry (essentially becoming mere text)” [Lönnrot, 1985, p. 10–11]. Finnish rock culture revived an ancient syncretic genre, a tradition where poetry and music were inseparable. And, as we know, the runes of “Kalevala” were sung.

Ismo Alanko and A.W.Yrjänä have successfully revitalized the seemingly forgotten “Kalevala” metric, employing it in their poetry that reflects contemporary themes. In his poem “Kun Suomi putos puusta” (“When Finland Falls from the Tree”) from 1990, Alanko provocatively portrays Finland with the lines “The swamp, the hoe and Jussi, / Martin Luther and the plastic bag...” [Alanko, 1990]. His album of the same title, along with *Paleface's* “Helsinki — Shangri-La”, offer significant insights into the events of the 1990s–2010s and capture the spiritual essence of that era. These albums underscore the critical capacity of Finnish rock lyrics.

In 1982, Martti Syrjä penned “The Land of Sad Songs”, his magnum opus that both parodies and encapsulates the core elements of Finnish blues. His couplet “Unemployment, drink, ax and family / Snow hook,

policeman and the last mistake” exemplifies how “adjectives are unnecessary when the nouns are robust and meticulously chosen” [Knuuti, 2013, p. 335].

Rock music emerged as a form of protest, representing a musical counterculture embraced by individuals with unconventional views on life.

In the 1980s, while observing music fans, Paul Zumthor reflected: “After ten years of liberating parties and tens of millions of fans worldwide, with such a wealth of experiences, nothing can ever return to its former state. <...>. However... the industry emerged victorious. When rock music generates billions of dollars, the voices in our world are muted” [Zumthor, 1983, p. 277–278].

Rock lyrics are multifaceted. On one hand, they encompass topicality, protest and sharp criticism of consumer society. On the other hand, Finnish rock poetry, particularly in the 1990s, is a departure from modernity towards medieval ballads and legends.

It is worth noting a significant characteristic of these works — the vast majority of song lyrics are exclusively in English, with only occasional instances of Finnish compositions. The primary creator of music and lyrics for *Nightwish* is Tuomas Holopainen, who skillfully brought back to life legends and fairy tales featuring dragons, wizards and heroic figures.

Unexpectedly, Finnish rock musicians delved into epic poetry masterpieces such as “Kanteletar” and the “Kalevala”. By incorporating and interpreting universal themes of rock and metal music, these Finnish artists embraced literary traditions. Their lyrics are seen as successors to old folk songs, with the performers likened to “Kalevala” singers participating in a singing competition.

“Kanteletar” (1840–1841) truly embodies the creative essence of the people, fueling and inspiring contemporary poets. Elias Lönnrot approached the folk songs featured in “Kanteletar” with greater caution than he did the “Kalevala” runes; he refrained from taking too many liberties with the composition, avoiding alterations to line placements or name unifications. Lönnrot was concerned about the risk of forgetting everything, emphasizing the urgent need to document lyrical, epic and narrative songs promptly.

Nevertheless, the performers themselves, or rather female performers, believed that once a song was crafted, it would endure. The creators

of songs and ballads found in “Kanteletar” were predominantly women, including Arhippa Perttunen’s sister, Moarie Perttunen. R. P. Remshuyeva, daughter of performer Sandra Remshuyeva, expressed a somewhat unexpected notion in folklore studies by challenging Elias Lönnrot’s views: “We can also affirm that ancient songs do not fade as swiftly as scholars presumed” [Remshuyeva, 1993, p.6]. However, Lönnrot was undoubtedly correct in advocating for the inseparable unity of word and melody in ancient folk songs. According to Eino Karhu, Lönnrot referred to the ancient syncretic genre where “the song had not yet been divided into text and melody, poetry and music” [Karhu, 1979, p.172]. V. Ya. Propp highlighted in his article “Folklore and Reality” that “epics are meant for singing, not reading; singing seeks freedom and fluidity, while epics remain static...” [Propp, 1976, p.311]. Karhu argued that what renders it “static” is the literary format: “the form of functioning of book poetry in general” [Karhu, 1979, p.172].

However, the cultural gap between written and oral traditions should not be overstated, as noted by S. Yu. Neklyudov, since often the same individuals served as carriers of both forms when they intersected [Neklyudov, 2009].

The oral tradition has not vanished and continues to evolve alongside its written counterpart, following its unique set of rules. The documentation of epic poetry does not always signify the end of the oral tradition. As Paul Zumthor stated, “When the oral tradition of the past fades from view, its manifestations, however significant, can only be tentatively assessed and utilized by referencing the characteristics of the present-day oral tradition. The knowledge they offer is secondary and inherently problematic” [Zumthor, 1983, p.62]. Zumthor believed that the recording of the “Kalevala” in 1835 served as inspiration for the rune singers, leading to a significantly expanded version of the “Kalevala” in 1849. It is now evident that the existence of a written codex, numerous translations and scholarly studies did not hinder the progression of the oral tradition. Rather than being preserved as mere artifacts, folklore was revitalized and transformed into new genres and even different languages. The resurgence of interest in folklore can be attributed to various factors, including, as Neklyudov suggests, “challenging the established canons of verbal art that have become outdated and restrictive... the rejuvenation of literary content and the emergence of fresh artistic forms and stylistic registers” [Neklyudov, 2009].

Amorphis, a unique Finnish band that sings in English, has embarked on a fascinating musical journey in search of its own sound. They have transitioned from heavy death metal to a distinctive style that combines elements of progressive, folk, doom metal and rock, with hints of 1970s psychedelic music. Central to the band's artistic expression are mythological themes from the Karelian-Finnish epic "Kalevala", folk tales, songs and the natural world, reflected in song titles like "Tuonela", "Sampo" and "Kantele". The unexpected and undeniably successful fusion of ancient epic poetry with diverse rock styles positions *Amorphis* as a leading force in the global rock and metal scene, influencing the development of these genres.

Established in 1990, the band initially embraced the heavy and orthodox death metal style prevalent at the time. However, folk music elements began to emerge as early as their first full-length album. Despite being titled "The Karelian Isthmus" (1992), the lyrics by Esa Holopainen and Jan Rechberger are heavily based on Celtic mythology.

I shall have a son,
out of Cornwall shall he come,
that shall be a wild boar,
bristled with steel...
he shall be a man most brave and
noble in thought.

[Holopainen, 1992]

The exception for this album can be considered the instrumental intro and the eponymous "opening statement" by Holopainen, labeled in the booklet as:

The sound of thousand warriors
The fields of thousand battles
Still, in our hearts we can hear
the great hymn of Karelia.

[Holopainen, 1992]

The second album, with the telling title "Tales from The Thousand Lakes" (1994), is full of translations of "Kalevala" runes into English. Thus, after the traditional instrumental introduction follows the song "Into Hiding", which retells the story of one of the heroes of the "Kalevala", the brave Lemminkäinen. Lemminkäinen was not invited to the

wedding of the blacksmith Ilmarinen, held in Pohjola. Offended, Lemminkäinen comes to the wedding uninvited and, after much bickering, kills the landlord. The infuriated landlady, the old woman Louhi, gathers an army, but Lemminkäinen manages to escape. The names of Lemminkäinen and Louhi are not in the text of the song. For comparison, we will provide the same story in the original:

The islander slips into hiding
and takes to his heels
out of dark Northland
the murky house of Sara
he whirled out of doors as snow
arrives as smoke in the yard
to flee from bad deeds.

[Holopainen, 1994]

Jo nyt Ahti Saarelainen
Itse lieto Lemminkäinen,
Pistäiksen on piilemähän,
Painaikse pakenemahan
Pimeästä Pohjolasta,
Sangasta Saran talosta.
Läksi tuiskuna tuvasta,
Savuna pihalle saapi
pakohon pahoja töitä,
Pillojansa piilemähän.

(XXVIII: 0–10)

[Kalevala, 1975, p. 289]

As we observe in *Amorphis*' interpretation of the "Kalevala" verses in the 28th track, and throughout their other songs, the heroes' names are notably absent. This absence lends the stories a universal quality that resonates with contemporary times. Only occasional place names subtly allude to the "Kalevala" text, such as "murky house of Sara" (Sara being a river in Pohjola), indicating the enduring presence of myth in the present. Unlike ancient rune-singers like Lönnrot, author Esa Holopainen does not position himself as such, instead portraying events from his own experiences in the modern world.

The narrative of the drowned maiden may appear as a universal lament in terms of genre if not for its mythological roots. In the song "Drowned Maid", recounting Aino's demise, the author avoids directly naming the lyrical heroine, referring to her as a hen, a common motif in Lönnrot's work and traditional folk verses: "And there I, a *hen*, was lost." This narrative revolves around Aino, whom her brother Joukahainen pledged to Väinämöinen as a bride after failing to outwit the elder in magical contests, leading to Aino's tragic death.

I went to wash at the shore
I went to bathe in the sea

and there I, a **hen**, was lost

<...>

Such the death of the young maid
end of the fair little **hen**.

[Holopainen, 1994]

In W.F. Kirby's classical English translation of the "Kalevala", where the requirements of equimetry are adhered to, alliteration and caesurae are utilized. However, the translator diverges from the original text by referring to Aino as a dove, possibly due to a sense of propriety in not wanting to label a girl as a hen.

Thus the youthful maiden perished
And the **dove** so lovely vanished.

(IV: 371–372)²

[Kalevala, 1923, p. 44]

In contrast, in *Amorphis*' interpretation, equimetry is not strictly followed, yet the term *dove* is not employed. The author refers to Aino as a hen, drawing upon the oral traditions familiar to him from childhood. This choice seems to align with Neklyudov's notion that "any carrier of cultural tradition possesses a much deeper 'folklore' understanding than commonly believed (and than he may realize), acquired through children's readings and speech imbued with phraseological and proverbial forms, through the echoes of oral texts which inevitably reach everyone" [Neklyudov, 2009]. Even in English-language texts, Finnish authors' ethnic perspectives are discernible. Russian translators L. P. Belsky, Armas Mishin and Eino Kiuru mirror Lönnrot by depicting Aino as a hen in their renditions of the "Kalevala".

Menin merta kylpemähän,
Sainp' on uimahan selälle;
Sinne mä, **kana**, katosin,
Lintu, kuolin liian surman.

(IV: 331–334)

[Kalevala, 1975, p. 38]

'I ventured to the sea for a swim,
Drifting on the sea's gentle waves.
I, a little **hen**, tumbled down,
The poor bird met its end.'

² The numbers of runes and verses are in the parentheses.

Amorphis' album "Elegy" (1996) marked a significant evolution. They delved into national poetics, drawing inspiration from "Kanteletar, taikka, Suomen kansan wanhoja lauluja ja wirsiä" ("Kanteletar, or Old Finnish Folk Songs and Poems"), the younger sibling of the "Kalevala", comprising around 700 pieces. The band also maintained the tradition of doom metal style, evident in the opening track "Better Unborn". The following text is adapted from the original in "Kanteletar" by Esa Holopainen:

Better it would be for me
And better it would have been
Had I not been born, not grown
Not been brought into the world
Not had to come to this earth
Not been suckled for the world.

[Holopainen, 1996]

Parempi minun olisi,
Parempi olisi ollut,
Syntymättä, kasvamatta,
Ilmahan sikiämättä,
Maalle tälle täytymättä,
Ilmoille imettämättä.

[Kanteletar, 1985, p. 17]

The 46th song of "Kanteletar", titled "Parempi syntymättä" ("Better Unborn"), is found in the chapter "Songs Common to All," making it suitable for both male and female voices. However, it leans towards the lament of a bride on her wedding day.

Esa Holopainen composed "Better Unborn" for male vocals, aligning with the male-dominated rock lineup. While the song could have been sung by female vocalists, the next track, "Against Widows" (arranged by Olli-Pekka Laine), appears more suited for a male lament, depicting a young man's reluctance to marry a widow.

The Devil weds a widow
Death another's leftovers.

[Olli-Pekka Laine,

Holopainen, 1996]

Amorphis' musicians often gravitate towards the most tragic songs in "Kanteletar". Despite language and metric changes, Esa Holopainen maintains the essence of "sorrow" present in the original collection. It is worth noting the significant song "Kantele", which opens the "Kanteletar" collection and was released as an EP titled "My Kantele" in 1997.

Truly they lie, they talk utter nonsense
Who say that music reckon that one kantele
Was fashioned by a god
Out of a great pike's shoulders
From a water-dogs's hooked bones:
It was made from the grief
Moulded from sorrow

<...>

So it will not play, will not rejoice at all
Music will not play to please
Give off the right sort of joy
For it was fashioned from cares
Moulded from sorrow.

[Holopainen, 1997]

Ne varsin valehtelevat,
Tuiki tyhjeä panevat,
Jotka soittoa sanovat,
Arvelevat kanteletta
Väinämöisen veistämäksi,
Jumalan kuvaamaksi,
Hauin suuren hartioista,
Veen koiran koukkuluista;
Soitto on suruista tehty,
Murehista muovaeltu:
<...>
Soitto ei soita suosioksi,
Laske ei laatuista iloa,
Kun on huolista kuvattu,
Murehista muovaeltu.

[Kanteletar, 1985, p. 3]

The absence of Väinämöinen's name in the arrangement is noteworthy, although references to the pike, water dog and kantele itself are made. In "Kanteletar", it is mentioned that Väinämöinen created the musical instrument: "Arvelevat kanteletta / Väinämöisen veistämäksi". In the arrangement, Väinämöinen's name is omitted, stating that the kantele "was fashioned by a god". However, themes of endless sorrows, grief and sadness are common to both the original and Holopainen's English adaptation. Alongside Holopainen's lyrics, we will provide excerpts from the original text where the song is titled "Eriskummainen kantele" ("Marvelous Kantele"). The melancholy that fills "Kanteletar" is the basis of many folk songs.

In 1999, *Amorphis* released another album with "Kalevala" themes titled "Tuonela". The depiction of the land of death, Tuonela, feels vague and lacking in specificity, almost as if it does not truly capture the essence of Tuonela. The mythological foundation remains elusive and intangible, with the lyrical content intertwined with the musical elements, a reflection of music's integral role from the outset. Nevertheless, there is a prevailing sense that it was the underlying national mythological backdrop that propelled the band to the forefront of the global heavy music scene.

While *Amorphis* continued to draw inspiration from "Kanteletar", in 1995 the metal band *Moonsorrow* emerged on the Finnish music scene. In contrast to many Finnish musicians, Ville Sorvali, one of the band's

founders and a permanent member, prefers writing in his native language, with most of *Moonsorrow's* songs written in Finnish. The band's lyrics draw heavily from Finnish mythology and poetry, although Sorvali offers interpretations rather than mere retellings of myths in an effort to grasp the artistic intentions of their creators.

Pagan deities often feature prominently in Sorvali's poetry. In 2001, *Moonsorrow's* debut album, "Suden uni" ("Wolf's Dream"), was released. The very first song on the album, "Ukkosenjumalan Poika" ("Ukko's Son"), refers to Ukko, the supreme god in Karelian and Finnish mythology associated with harvest, thunderstorms and weather. The song narrates the tale of Ukko's son who was disgracefully banished from heaven due to his inability to control his newfound power. Ukko reappears in Sorvali's composition "Rauniolla" ("On the Ruins"), where the lyrics mention "Ukon voima sydämessä" ("Ukko's strength is in my heart"), depicting Ukko's encounter with a bear.

In the song "Kivenkantaja" ("Stonecutter") from the eponymous album, the theme of stone emerges. Stone, a prevalent motif in Finnish poetry, symbolizes the essence of the North and appears frequently in the art and literature of northern peoples. Ancient Icelandic sagas and North Russian epics depict the transformation of heroic figures into stone. Finnish poets contribute to this "gallery of stones". Sorvali's Stonecutter sits solitary on a rocky cliff. He curses the fate carved in stone, "kiveenhakatun kohtalon".

The concept of a harsh destiny carved in stone alludes to ancient rock drawings and memorial boulder engravings. This imagery reappears in the song "Jotunheim". The narrative revolves around Jotunheim (Jötunheimr), one of the nine realms in Scandinavian cosmology, home to the giants. These lines may allude to Kari, the ancient Scandinavian giant personifying the air driven by the wind.

In the song "Mimisbrunn" ("Mimir's Well"), Hell is "filled with snakes" ("Käärmeitä täynnänsä") [Sorvali, 2016] for a reason. These mythical creatures consume the lives of those who have angered the gods, akin to the fate of Yggdrasil's roots. However, a blade capable of piercing the heart stands against the "serpent's tongue" ("vastaan käärmekieltä").

The term "serpent tongue" may refer to Gunnlaug, an Icelandic skáld from the "Saga of Gunnlaugur Serpent-Tongue" who got that nickname for his sharp-tongued verses.

The mention of snakes becomes a harbinger of doom, as confirmed by the following lines:

Vaan eivät sankarit enää nouse raunioille ja laulumme tuuli vie.	‘No more heroes will rise from the ruins, and our songs will be gone with the wind.’
[Sorvali, 2016]	

In 1997 emerged *Finntroll*, a unique phenomenon on the Finnish music scene. Its distinctiveness lies in blending the traditional *humppa* genre (Finnish polka) with heavy music (symphonic black metal) and lyrics. The band’s founder, Jämsen (Katla), chose to sing in his native Swedish, giving their compositions an authentically “trollish” flavor. The songs’ lyrics, reminiscent of underground dwellers’ speech to European ears, are rich in mythological themes.

Med skrik och skrån som tusen korpars rop Vi sliter oss fram ut ur berg och grop Klor vassa som svärd, käftar lik ulvens Fram kommer vättar, smaka vår eld Vi dricka ert blod, vår livets saft Så mycket av det, vi inte på årtusenden haft Blod och lik nordens kanter randa Vi är här, vi är här. Vätteanda Ögon lysa bland skuggor, näbb och klo Kött skall slitas för okristen tro Ofött barn och havande kvinna de smaka bäst i nattens dimma Riv, bröder, riv!	‘Screaming and screeching like a thousand crows, We crawl out from mountains and holes. Claws sharp as swords, jaws fierce as wolves. Here come the <i>vættir</i> ³ , taste our flames. We drink your blood, our life essence. So much of it, we haven’t had in millennia. Blood and corpses streak the edges of the North. We are here, we are here. <i>Vættir</i> . Eyes shine through shadows, beaks and claws. We rend flesh for the unholy faith. Unborn child and pregnant woman, They taste best in the night’s mist. Tear, brothers, tear!’
[Jämsen, 1999]	

The lyrical motifs of *Finntroll* intertwine with the pagan themes found in the songs of many black metal bands such as *Mayhem*, *Burzum*, *Satyricon* and *Bathory*, which also challenged the Christian tradi-

³ The *vættir* are supernatural beings and nature spirits in Norse mythology [Hellquist, 1922, p.1178–1179].

tion in favor of the original pagan beliefs. Notably, this genre along with its associated subculture originated in Scandinavian countries (initially in Norway with *Mayhem*) in the 1980s, opposing Christianity not only artistically but also through real-life actions such as satanic and pagan rituals, shrine desecration, church burnings, etc. In contrast, *Finntroll's* rebellion was primarily expressed through external elements like distinctive attire which could fit modern trolls, elongated “trollish” ears and subtle makeup.

A counterpoint in the band's work is the juxtaposition of playful, almost toy-like musical motifs with harsh, militant and sometimes violent lyrics. The songs are filled with evil prophecies, clichés and intimidation. While Sorvali's lyrical hero laments his inability to stifle the anger in his soul, the musicians of *Finntroll*, on the contrary, seek to evoke anger and hatred in their listeners. Unlike anonymous folk songwriters, the musicians show a complete lack of compassion in their hearts and willingly sing about the death of their lyrical heroes. Guitarist Somnium and vocalist Katla discussed this aspect in an interview about one of their most revealing compositions, “Slaget vid Blodsälv” (“Battle of the Bloody River”):

Somnium: I just realized myself that the more joyful and happy we sound like, the more gruesome and frightening our lyrics are[,] as a matter of speaking. Some of them have been done [on] purpose and I guess that's something [Finntroll] is all about. We wanna tell people stories about some startling topics which honestly even frighten us from time to time...

Katla: “Slaget...” is about a battle of encirclement where a legion of crusaders get slaughtered by a great bunch of fierce trolls that were lurking to kill them by the river. That's where the name for this song came from [Finntroll Interview].

Finntroll's songs focus more on creating myths than traditional mythology. They explore a deep primordial horror, depicting unknown forces embodied in unseen and bizarre creatures. This theme is enhanced by musical refinements — from symphonic orchestrations reminiscent of Edvard Grieg's academic expressionism (e. g. in compositions like “Svampfest” and “Bakom Varje Fura”), inclusions of Sámi folk chants joik (Sámi *juoigan*, *luohti*, norv. *joik*) to the use of instruments uncommon in Finnish music like banjo (for instance, in “Tomhet Och Tystnad Härska”). Throughout the band's career from 1997 to 2013, the

lyrical content remains consistent: telling various poignant stories about trolls, goblins, nature's forces and human interactions with them, all set to heavy yet upbeat and sometimes playful music.

Female rock bands have become a prominent part of contemporary Finnish rock culture. However, paradoxically, they are moving away from folklore (as we previously mentioned, the songs of “Kanteletar” were predominantly sung by women).

In present-day Finnish rock poetry, personal and social motifs are prevalent, with notable characteristics being multilingualism and references to mythological subjects from folk poetry, both Finnish and Scandinavian. The unexpected resurgence of “Kalevala” meters and imagery from the “Kalevala” and “Kanteletar” in rock poetry is noteworthy. There have also been numerous poignant poems created for rock bands that raise universal questions relevant to everyone.

This suggests that rock poetry has indeed brought about a revival in Finnish verbal art.

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ФОЛЬКЛОРНЫЕ КОМПОНЕНТЫ В РОК-ПОЭЗИИ ФИНЛЯНДИИ*

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В статье рассматриваются фольклорные компоненты рок-поэзии Финляндии на финском и шведском языках. Доказывается, что в финской рок-культуре возродилась древняя традиция, когда поэзия и музыка были неразделимы. Музыканты группы Amorphis обращаются к калевальской мифологии («Туонела», «Сампо», «Кантеле»), но в переложении рун «Калевалы» они не упоминают имен калевальских героев. Сюжеты их лирики приобретают универсальный характер и происходят в современности. Вилле Сорвали, автор песен для Moonsorrow, интерпретируя руны, пытается понять замысел их создателей и считает, что эти тексты могут относиться к любому человеку на свете. Ян Ямсен (Katla), шведоязычный финн, пишет песни для Finntroll на родном шведском языке, воплощая в текстах образы причудливых существ, подчеркивая их необычность вкраплениями народных саамских песнопений «йойк». Современную финскую рок-поэзию характеризуют мультязычие и обращение к мифологическим сюжетам

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народной поэзии Финляндии и Скандинавии. Однако возрождение калевальской метрики и образов из «Калевалы» и «Кантелетар» в рок-поэзии стало неожиданным. Финские авторы даже в англоязычных произведениях используют образную символику, понятную только носителям финского языка. Рок-поэзия Финляндии разнообразна, изобилует яркими стихотворениями и затрагивает вопросы, волнующие каждого человека.

Ключевые слова: финская рок-поэзия, мультиязычие, фольклорные компоненты, калевальская мифология, калевальская метрика, *Кантелетар*.

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NEO-ROMANTIC HERO: VITAL CHARACTERS IN HOLGER DRACHMANN'S SHORT STORIES

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The article focuses on the specific type of literary hero that is common in the short stories of Holger Drachmann, who was considered the most prominent Danish writer in the early 20th century. His first books, “Poems” and a collection of short stories, “With Charcoal and Chalk”, were published in 1872. At the time, Drachmann belonged to the modernist movement and was one of Georg Brandes’ students, but later he changed his political and aesthetic preferences and moved away from the group of Brandes’ followers. Drachman’s artistic style is very special because it has features of Naturalism, Romanticism, Impressionism and Symbolism. But it is possible to conclude that his artistic manner can be called “neo-romantic” according to the contemporary terminology. The characters in his early collections of short stories are vivid, honest, and strong, and they represent the common type of neo-romantic hero that is inherent in other texts related to Neo-Romanticism. Very often Neo-Romanticism is seen as a “reaction” to Naturalism and a return to the principles of Romanticism, but it seems that Neo-Romanticism is much more like Naturalism than Romanticism. The type of neo-romantic hero is closer to naturalistic characters than to romantic characters, because it is a courageous and extraordinary person, an outsider and a rebel, his life is full of desire, risk and adventure, and it looks like a romantic hero, but a neo-romantic hero is a physically and mentally healthy person, and this character is determined by nature and genesis, which is the main feature of Naturalism. Drachman creates a new type of hero in Danish literature: the vital, strong character who struggles with nature and circumstances. His characters have the healthy genetics of ordinary people. Neo-Romanticism in Danish literature was strongly influenced by Naturalism and was the original phenomenon of national literature.

Keywords: Holger Drachmann, Danish literature, short story, Neo-Romanticism, Naturalism, literary hero.

The Danish writer Holger Drachmann was a significant figure in the modernist movement. His poetry, drama and prose were well known during his artistic career, and he was considered one of the most important authors in Danish literature. After Drachmann's death, however, his place in national literature was underestimated, and today his name is mostly associated with literary and art history as one of the Skagen Painters (*Skagengsmalerne*). If at the beginning Drachmann's personal style is limited to the principles of Realism and Naturalism, he later tries to find his own way in literature, and it can be said that it is only Neo-Romanticism according to contemporary terminology (Scandinavian scholars began to use this term, *nyromantisme*, in a broad sense in the second half of the 20th century). P. M. Mitchell wrote: "Drachmann is a good example of how ill a literary-historical label fits a poet. If we try to apply the traditional categories, he is at once a naturalist, a romantic and an impressionist" [Mitchell, 1957, p. 181]. The English scholar was right when he spoke of the complicity of Drachmann's individual way of writing, but this complicity fits Neo-Romanticism as a fact of cultural development at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Nowadays, the term "Neo-Romanticism" is often understood as a broad, boundary-crossing movement in the arts that sought to revive the principles of Romanticism throughout the 20th century. An example of this understanding of Neo-Romanticism is the Encyclopedia of British Neo-Romanticism website: "Neo-Romanticism is a broad tendency in the arts. It is not confined to the British Isles and can be found in other nations as well. The high art form is particularly strong in Eastern Europe, while a powerful hybrid form of pop culture has developed in symbiosis with Japanese culture" [Encyclopedia of British Neo-Romanticism]. In "The Dictionary of Literary Trends of 20th Century", V. B. Zuseva-Özkan wrote: "In general, Neo-Romanticism is such a broad phenomenon (as mentioned above, it is more the spirit of the epoch, 'psychological unity' (Vengerov), than a style with its own poetics) that it is not possible to clearly separate it from related or incorporated movements". [Zuseva-Özkan, 2023, p. 753]. As a result, Neo-Romanticism is not regarded as a specific artistic style or school. But it seems that such a "broad" understanding of Neo-Romanticism is not adequate when we talk about concrete cultural facts. We can certainly find the origins of most phenomena of modern culture in Romanticism, and this is quite normal, because Romanticism as an aesthetic and cultural programme

was universal in its essence. I propose to understand Neo-Romanticism as an artistic and literary movement of the end of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century. All historical and cultural phenomena exist in a concrete time and cannot be extended indefinitely to avoid blurring of concepts and loss of meaning. The current dominant view is as follows: Neo-Romanticism is a reaction to Naturalism and Realism, and it goes back to the aesthetics and poetics of Romanticism. But the first of the neo-romantic tendencies in Scandinavia can be seen in the period of Naturalism's popularity, when Georg Brandes led the modern breakthrough movement and waged war against Romanticism, which had been the main literary school in Denmark until the end of the 1860s, thanks also to Hans Christian Andersen. Between 1871 and 1876, Brandes lectured on aesthetics at the University of Copenhagen and wrote the seminal work "Main Currents in 19th-Century Literature" ("Hovedstrømninger i det 19 Aarhundredes Litteratur", 1872–1890), in which he analysed the contemporary literary process in Europe and formulated the principles of the modern school of "Naturalism" in opposition to the outdated Romanticism. At the time, Brandes' ideas played an important role in intellectual life not only in Denmark, but in Scandinavia as a whole, and they actually set the direction for the development of modern Scandinavian literature. Brandes was at the centre of a group of young writers who were looking for new ways in literature linked to Realism and Naturalism and who rejected Romanticism: Jens Peter Jacobsen, Henrik Pontoppidan, Karl Gjellerup, and Holger Drachmann.

Both Realism and Naturalism demonstrate a different aesthetic and value system from Romanticism. Neo-Romanticism, as a distinct aesthetic movement in Scandinavian culture, appears to be a phenomenon rather different from Romanticism in its genesis and principles. There are more differences than similarities between Neo-Romanticism and Romanticism. On the one hand, Neo-Romanticism grew out of the rejection of Naturalism; on the other hand, Neo-Romanticism largely inherited Naturalism and, together with it, opposed Romanticism as a previous cultural epoch.

The life and work of Holger Drachmann is a good example of the strong connection between Neo-Romanticism and Naturalism. His first volume of poetry, "Poems" ("Digte"), and a collection of short stories, "With Charcoal and Chalk" ("Med Kul og Kridt"), were published in 1872, and under the influence of Ivan Turgenev he wrote the social novel

“An Overcomplete” (“En Overcomlet”) in 1876. Drachmann established himself as a writer of everyday life, creating images of ordinary people whose characters are determined by the environment, conditions, origins, and nature around them. At that time, his style of writing was fully connected with the philosophical and aesthetic principles of Naturalism; there is a specific regionalism in his works, which became common in Danish literature in the mid-19th century and very popular at the end of the century. Danish writers tried to reflect the way of life of the people in the part of Denmark where they grew up: Jutland, Bornholm, Zealand. The principle of “couleur locale” was a Romantic innovation, but the Realists and later the Neo-Romantics also practised it actively. Drachmann idealised the national past, a simple, healthy peasant way of life, and described the destructive influence of modern civilisation and social relations on people. The elements of exoticism, fantasy and an extraordinary hero bring his work closer to Romanticism, but this is only a formal resemblance, for in fact his writing style is largely opposed to Romantic poetics.

Very often, a neo-romantic hero is understood as “a courageous and extraordinary person, an outsider and a rebel, whose life is full of desire, risk and adventure”. And it is possible to agree with these characteristics, this type of hero is very similar to a cliché of the Romantic hero, but it is only an external similarity, because the neo-romantic hero shows completely different appearances from the Romantic one: this is a physically and mentally healthy person, whose character is determined by nature and genesis. He strives for success and happiness at the end of all adventures. He has no part of the self-reflection which is a common feature of Romantic characters.

In Romantic literature, the expression of an “idea” (world view) is much more important than the form of a text. We can see this in the works of the early German and English Romantics, who called for the destruction of genre and practised fragmentation and incompleteness. The most important thing in Romanticism is to show the strange, contradictory hero who stands apart from society, who exists only in opposition to a hostile environment — that is the essential Romantic opposition. This type of hero is supposed to be at a distance from the world around him, but this “distance” is illusory because he is in constant struggle with that world. One of the aims of Romantic literature is to study and describe the interaction between the individual and socie-

ty. In fact, Romanticism focuses on social problems as well as Realism, which follows Romanticism, but in Realism the most important thing is to study how the social environment influences a person. The hero of realists very often changes and deteriorates under the pressure of the environment.

In Naturalism, unlike Romanticism and Realism, the focus is not on the interaction of the individual and society, but on the individual and objective forces, the most important of which is nature. Naturalists show the critical vision of reality that goes back to Realism, but generally the naturalistic conflict lies outside the sphere of human relations. Usually, in this kind of conflict, a hero has to prove himself and expose himself by entering into a struggle, but this struggle is with nature as the only real force in this world, and it requires much more of a person than a struggle with people. This struggle shows all the vices and virtues inherent in man. It seems that we can find the same pathos in neo-romantic works. Exoticism, fantasy, and unusual circumstances are not just entertainment for the reader, but they serve exactly this pathos in neo-romantic literature. H. van der Liet mentioned: “In the context of Drachmann’s oeuvre as a whole, they can be seen as the first evidence of the vivid style that characterised his prose throughout his career and, not unimportantly, these early pieces also show the importance of travel as an essential source of inspiration for his writing as such” [van der Liet, 2007, p. 131].

It seems that Neo-Romanticism as a literary style is much more closely related to Naturalism than it is usually claimed. If Neo-Romanticism is a reaction to Naturalism, this reaction can only be seen in the choice of material: the neo-romantic writer tries to get away from the ordinary and inexpressive events of life, because reality should be bright and colourful. His hero is an attractive image, who does not fight with the world of ordinary people, but with the universe as a whole.

Drachmann wrote his first collection of short stories, “With Charcoal and Chalk”, according to the principles of the Brandes school and Naturalism, but it is possible to recognise his desire to reflect reality in a specific way and to create his own special hero. L. P. Rømhild notes: “From the very first book and in collections such as *I Storm og Stille* 1874 (but with the year 1875 on the title page; SPS I) and *Paa Sømands Tro og Love* 1878 (SPS III) he cultivated this milieu and its naughty types — often, but not only, in an entertaining direction with a certain humorous and

picturesque typification. There is speed and narrative mood in them, sometimes even a sentimental touch; it is their weakness and strength that Drachmann, who was more democratic than most contemporary writers, was very reluctant to see the human animal in the figures of the people. But Drachmann's fishing stories were not as idyllic as the older village and peasant stories of the century, not even — despite the greater dose of pathos — those he wrote in verse. In prose, his fresh style and vividly moving narrative paved the way for a storyteller like Martin Andersen Nexø, especially in his short stories" [Rømhild].

The short story "The Floating Coffin" ("Den svømmende Ligkiste") is an excellent example of the sea tale genre, which focuses on the description of adventure. The hero-narrator and his friend Ole, an experienced sailor, set out on a voyage from the island of Zeeland to Jutland in a small boat. Along the way they come across a strange ship, battered by storms, and apparently abandoned by its crew. Ole gets very excited, takes the oars, and tries to get away from the ship as quickly as possible. Ole calls it a "floating coffin" and tells a story that happened to him many years ago when he was sailing on ships carrying lumber from Canada to the USA. The structure of the short story is based on the principle of *mise en abyme*. The main character in this text is a chief mate who was a cynical and dishonest person. Once he managed to appropriate the ship he was sailing and became a pirate. But he failed in his plans: the ship lost control in a storm and was discovered by Ole's crew. They found all the sailors who had followed the captain dead on board. The ship was named "The Floating Coffin". On the one hand, this is a completely realistic story: there are no elements of mysticism, which are often inherent in such stories of retribution — it is just the story of a strong person, unable to resist circumstances. On the other hand, this text takes on new meanings: there are all the elements of the Gothic tale, with its mystery and amusement, as well as a clear allusion to the Flying Dutchman, but Drachman avoids romanticising the situation. There is a contrast between the evil, mentally defective person — the chief mate — and the vital types — real sailors, of which Ole is one — honest and strong. Their characters are determined by their nature and background.

A similar composition, the principle of *mise en abyme*, is used in the short story "From the Lighthouse" ("Fra Fyrtaarnet"). The plot is based on the drama of true love. The narrator visits an old lighthouse keeper and sees a portrait of a very beautiful girl in his room. The old man tells

his story: many years ago, he rescued a girl from a ship that had sunk in a storm. She was from England and her name was Edith. She stayed with him for several months, waiting for an answer from home. When she wanted to leave him, the hero realised that he loved her and proposed to her, but Edith left him for her home and gave him her portrait as a last gift. The lighthouse keeper kept this love in his heart and never married. The author describes his hero:

The honest narrator's furrowed face had cleared up under the announcement of what had given his life its content and its beauty. I nodded smilingly at him, and he continued, the radiance of the mind still spreading, rejuvenating and softening the hard, sorrowful features [Drachmann, 1906, s. 53].

Here they are — Drachmann's heroes — strong and mentally healthy people, able to be themselves in spite of all circumstances. Their loyalty to duty and their fidelity in love make them reminiscent of romantic figures, but the situations in which they show dignity are very prosaic, without a hint of melodrama.

In other collections, Drachmann continues to paint realistic pictures of the lives of ordinary people, but all his stories have adventures as a necessary element. In the book "I Storm og Stille" (1875), adventures in everyday life are sometimes tragic and sometimes funny, as in the short story "Journey to America" ("Flugten til Amerika"). Two teenagers decide to go on a boat trip, but they get into a storm and have to land on the other side of the strait — in Sweden. Their real adventures begin as in novels about shipwrecks: the heroes avoid danger at sea but face it on land. The natives are very hostile and do not want to help the wet and cold sailors, and the heroes are also accused of attacking one of the locals, who was drunk to death and simply fell down and broke his leg.

The sailors' world is described in detail in the collection "A Sailor's Faith and Love" ("Paa Sømends Tro og Love", 1878), where everyday risk, death and heroism are all part of everyday life. Many of the stories in this collection are about Björn Sivertsen and his relatives, and the narrative form seems to be a family chronicle — a very popular genre in the period of Naturalism. Drachmann's heroes are hard workers who live their lives honestly and do not think of great achievements, even though every day of their lives is filled with struggle and hope. In the story "The Saga of Our Days" ("En Nutids Saga"), Drachmann tells of an absolutely extraordinary event: three sailors miraculously escaped death

in an overturned ship, and that time they considered the most important thing for themselves not to save lives, but to be faithful to their duty. The main character and narrator Ole Christoffersen says:

As it swept past us in the darkness and the storm's toss, we all thought in our poor little boat of one and the same thing: namely, that it would have been the easiest thing in the world for us to jump over to the foreign sailboat. We all knew that where we were, nothing good awaited us. But we also knew that this ship had been entrusted to us and we had given our word to carry it out. A sailor must neither go from his word nor from his ship, as long as there is any possibility of keeping both [Drachmann, 1906, s. 94–95].

These words contain the main pathos of the whole collection, in which the author celebrates human courage, loyalty to the word and honesty. This situation seems extraordinary, unbelievable only for city dwellers, bourgeois, people far from the sea and everyday risks.

Drachmann creates images of ordinary people without romantic exclusivity, they look like realistic types, but in fact his characters are genetically determined and closely related to family, nature, the heritage of their ancestors. He describes the world of Jutlandic sailors, whose images appear in the heroic aureole. The author uses “couleur locale” as an essential part of the poetics of his short stories, which can also be seen as a neo-romantic feature. Everyday life, healthy, simple, and natural, becomes the object of high poetry in Drachmann's artistic system, and he chooses the form of the short story that is most suitable for reflecting ordinary events of reality, extraordinary situations and exotic adventures. In fact, in his first short story collections, Drachmann created a new type of hero and laid the foundation for all Scandinavian Neo-Romanticism. H. van der Liet wrote: “He often used topics of this kind in his work, describing heroic maritime endeavours performed by honest, ordinary people, simply doing their work to the best of their abilities yet rarely receiving proper appreciation from their superiors. Drachmann found these ‘authentic’ working-class heroes in remote, picturesque coastal villages, notably Skagen and Hombeek, north of Copenhagen. In effect, erecting literary monuments for real-life mariners such as Kruse from Skagen or Peder Andersen (‘Store Bjørn’) from Hombeek. Thus, by writing dozens of popular maritime stories, poems, and plays Drachmann ensured his immense popularity in maritime and working class milieus” [van der Liet, 2017, p. 115].

In the end of 1870, Drachmann broke with Brandes and began to promote nationalist ideas in his works: in 1877, he published a book about the Danish-Prussian war of 1864, “Over there from the border” (“Derovre fra Grænsen”). As a result of his new ideological orientation, he became interested in folklore forms and images, which is very typical of Neo-Romanticism. In his work, Drachmann drew on Danish folk tales, beliefs and medieval legends. He wrote fairy tale plays: “The Princess and Half the Kingdom” (“Prinsessen og det halve kongerige”, 1878), “East of the Sun and West of the Moon” (“Østen for Sol og Vesten for Måne”, 1880), “Once Upon a Time” (“Det var en gang”, 1885). The fairy tale novel “Mermaid’s Daughter” (“Vandenæs Datter”, 1881) goes back both to folk ballads and legends and Hans Christian Andersen’s “Little Mermaid”. Short stories from the collection “Troll’s Clothes. Folk legends in Our Time” (“Troll tøj. Folkesagn i Nutidsliv”, 1889–1890) are mostly based on folklore plots and establish the closest connection between the past and the present. The style of these texts is usually very unpretentious, the images are obvious and simple. Drachmann’s gradual departure from Naturalism does not mean that he refuses to describe the lives of ordinary people, but the principles of this description change: the writer increasingly turns to the symbolism and poetics of folklore [Korovin, 2023, p. 38–40].

In fact, it is possible to say that Drachmann was one single Danish Neo-romantic poet, but his work apparently influenced Johan Villem Jensen, who clearly manifested his neo-romantic aspirations in the book of lyrics “Poems” (“Dikte”, 1906) and the collection of short stories “Himmerland Stories” (“Himmerlandshistorier”, 1898–1910). As a writer, he searches for healthy, normal, natural forces rooted in the common people. In this search, he addresses both the biological origins of the nation trying to penetrate into prehistoric times and the patriarchal traditional relations kept in village. Jensen’s heroes are similar to personages from Drachmann’s early short stories: vital persons who are fighting for the happiness and life success.

It can be concluded that Drachmann was a neo-romantic writer who created a new type of hero in Danish literature: the vital, strong character who struggles against nature and circumstances. This type is different from the Romantic hero, who is often thoughtful, unhealthy, and unhappy. It goes back to Naturalism, because the characters are determined by nature, but that nature is the healthy genetics of ordinary

people. Neo-Romanticism as a phenomenon of Danish literature was formed under the direct influence of Naturalism and was the important fact of the literary development from the Modern Breakthrough to modernism.

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НЕОРОМАНТИЧЕСКИЙ ГЕРОЙ — ЖИЗНЕУТВЕРЖДАЮЩИЕ ХАРАКТЕРЫ В НОВЕЛЛАХ ХОЛЬГЕРА ДРАКМАННА

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Статья посвящена исследованию специфического типа литературного героя, получившего свое развитие в новеллах Хольгера Дракманна, считавшегося

в начале XX в. самым выдающимся датским писателем. Его первые книги — лирический сборник «Стихотворения» и сборник новел «Углем и мелом» — вышли в 1872 г. В то время Дракманн был одним из писателей движения прорыва и верным последователем Георга Брандеса, но позже он изменил свои политические и эстетические предпочтения и отошел от Брандеса и его сторонников. Художественная манера Дракманна достаточно своеобразна, поскольку в его произведениях можно найти черты натурализма, романтизма, импрессионизма и символизма, но в целом его творчество может быть отнесено к неоромантизму, если использовать современную терминологию. Герои его ранних сборников новелл предстают полными жизни, честными и сильными, что соотносимо с типом неоромантического героя, присущего и другим текстам, традиционно причисляемым к неоромантизму. Принято считать, что неоромантизм является «реакцией» на натурализм и возвращением к принципам романтизма, но, очевидно, он имеет значительно более общего с натурализмом, чем с романтизмом. Тип неоромантического героя ближе к натуралистическим персонажам, чем к романтическим: хотя он смелый и неординарный человек, аутсайдер и бунтарь, а его жизнь полна страстей, риска и приключений (что напоминает романтического героя), но в неоромантической литературе доминируют физически и душевно здоровые персонажи, чьи характеры определяются природой и происхождением, а это является важнейшей особенностью натурализма. Дракманн в своих новеллах создает новый тип героя в датской литературе: жизнеспособный, сильный характер, борющийся с природой и обстоятельствами; его персонажи обладают здоровой генетикой простых людей. Фактически на датский неоромантизм сильнейшее влияние оказал именно натурализм, что стало отличительной чертой национальной литературы.

Ключевые слова: Хольгер Дракманн, датская литература, новела, неоромантизм, натурализм, литературный герой.

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HOFFMANN TRADITIONS IN SELMA LAGERLÖF'S NOVEL "GÖSTA BERLING'S SAGA"

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The article focuses on the study of Hoffmann traditions in Selma Lagerlöf's novel "Gösta Berling's Saga". The features of Hoffman's poetics in the novel are revealed by using the methodology of the "Hoffman's complex", which is an ideological and thematic complex of motives and stylistic techniques inherent in the works by E. T. A. Hoffman. The "Hoffmann's complex" is manifested in the novel in the problem of the rebellion of the Romantic hero-creator in relation to faith and religion, the problem of the relationship of the Romantic hero with femininity, the opposition of secular and Christian love, the motive of mechanization of man and society in the new capitalist industrial formation. The features of Hoffmann's poetics were manifested in the novel "Gösta Berling's Saga" also in the interweaving of Hoffmann's images (Don Juan ("Don Juan"), Medardus ("The Devil's Elixirs") and plots (a defrocked monk, who under the influence of wine as an incarnate temptation, commits crimes and experiences a split of personality ("The Devil's Elixirs") and a rebellious Romantic hero in search of an unattainable ideal world in which his disintegrated personality must find consolidation ("Don Juan"). The conclusion sums up that S. Lagerlöf, relying on the plot, problems and images of E. T. A. Hoffman's works ("Don Juan", "The Devil's Elixirs", "Adventure on New Year's Eve"), creates the author's concept of spiritual transformation of personality through Christian love and reconsiders the image of a Romantic hero, transforming it into a new type of Christian Neo-Romantic hero.

Keywords: E. T. A. Hoffman, S. Lagerlöf, Hoffman's complex, Neo-Romantic Christian hero, mechanization of man and society, opposition *animate* — *inanimate*.

E. T. A. Hoffmann (1776–1822) was a German Romantic who significantly influenced world literature. The emphasis on the fantastic and the terrible, innovative literary devices and a far-sighted view on the social development determined his success. The traces of Hoffmann's poetics are to be revealed in many national literatures: Russian, English, American, French [Koroleva, 2020, 2023] and German [Koroleva, Pritomskaya, 2023]. The popularity of Hoffmann's works in world literature occurred not only in the epoch of Romanticism, but also at the turn of the 19th–20th centuries, when Neo-Romanticism arose out of interest in the Romantic tradition.

To date, researchers have numerously pointed out the problem of the continuity between Neo-Romanticism and Romanticism in literary studies [Karmalova, 1999; Pakhsaryan, 2007], etc.). Romantic origins in Neo-Romanticism are also manifested in Swedish literature, as V. P. Neustroev writes: “Having arisen as a reaction to the ‘routine’, ‘grey’ everyday life of Naturalism, Neo-Romanticism proclaimed the ideas of bright, festive art. In some cases, Romanticism was in tune with the lofty aspirations of the realist artists. In others, separation from reality was elevated to a principle, and gloomy hopelessness related literature of this kind to the ‘Gothic’ novel, with the poetry of ‘nightmare and horror’, with well-known trends in Modernism” [Neustroev, 1980].

It is important to note that Swedish Romantic school, formed in the period from 1805 to 1830, developed primarily under the influence of German Romanticism. A. A. Matsevich considers: “They [Swedish Romanticists] were influenced by German idealistic philosophy and early German Romanticists, shared their political conservatism. The main Romantic conflict between the ideal and reality received a vague religious and mystical embodiment in the lyrics...” [Matsevich, 1975]. Naturally, Neo-Romanticism originating from Romanticism adopts in Swedish literature many features of German literature and philosophy at the turn of the 19th–20th centuries.

E. T. A. Hoffman considered being one of those German authors who played a significant role in the formation of Swedish Romantic and Neo-Romantic literature. His works were of particular interest to Swedish writers due to vivid images and plots, as well as to unusual narrative architectonics: the intertwining of real and surreal layers at the edge of which fantastic arises. This technique suited a special national world-

view of Swedish Romanticists and Neo-Romanticists, namely the belief that one in the everyday life is constantly surrounded by the miraculous.

At the same time, interest in Hoffmann's work coincided with a reaction to the formation of a new state system. The Swedish economy was shifting to capitalist industrial tracks causing authors to reject the new world order. In this regard, the problem of mechanization of man and society, as well as the fear of automata motive become relevant and are transformed by Swedish authors. These motives were among the leading ones in the E. T. A. Hoffmann's works, what is indicated by the mentions of E. T. A. Hoffman in connection to the works of such writers as A. Strindberg [Matsevich, 1975], B. S. Ingemann [Korovin, 2012] and E. Soya [Neustroev, 1980]. However, to date, the proper study on the problem of the influence of E. T. A. Hoffman's works on Swedish literature has not been conducted.

We believe Selma Lagerlöf to be one of the authors who adopted Hoffmann's tradition. She was personally acquainted with many German-speaking authors and read their works in their original language [Krasavchenko, 2023]. An obvious "Faustian trace" in her debut novel "Gösta Berling's Saga" also reveals Lagerlöf's interest in German literature [Matsevich, 1975]. Lagerlöf's works are usually considered as Neo-Romantic, since she continues the Romanticists' interest in folklore and the patriarchal way of life, local nature and the dialectics of mundane and divine love. However, her unique author's style was formed largely under the influence of German Romanticism and Hoffmann, in particular. The features of Hoffmann's poetics are especially vividly manifested in her debut novel "Gösta Berling's Saga", published in 1891 in the literary magazine *Idun*. According to our hypothesis, a bright layer of Hoffmann intertext is to be found in the novel and can be revealed with the help of the "Hoffmann's complex" methodology. The last was formulated on the example of Russian literature and characterized by a stable and systematic recurrence of the features specific for Hoffmann's poetics [Koroleva, 2020].

Subsequently, for S. Lagerlöf, as a representative of the Neo-Romantic literary school, the following features characteristic for E. T. A. Hoffmann's poetics were of particular relevance: the problem of the rebellion of the Romantic poet against faith and religion; the problem of the relationship between the Romantic hero and femininity, which is actualized in the deconstruction of such archetypal images as "the witch" and "the

fair lady”; the rethink of the concept of Romantic love (opposition mundane and divine love); the problem of mechanization of man and society in the new capitalist industrial formation, which is actualized in the image-symbol of wine as the embodied tempting power, the image of the devil as a personified temptation as well as the motive of duality (split personality, opposition “animate — inanimate”). The features of Hoffmann’s poetics manifest themselves in the novel “Gösta Berling’s Saga” in the use of Hoffmann’s plots (“The Devil’s Elixirs” and “Don Juan”), as well as in the image of the protagonist — Gösta, which in many ways goes back to Hoffmann’s images — Don Giovanni (“Don Juan”), Medardus (“The Devil’s Elixirs”).

Reinterpreting Hoffmann’s motives and images, Lagerlöf builds the concept of one’s spiritual transformation through Christian love and introduces a new type of hero: namely the Christian Neo-Romantic hero, which means a transformed type of a literary hero. It represents a rebellious personality rejecting unlimited personal freedom as the highest value and defining service to people and Christianity as the ideal form of existence. The Christian Neo-Romantic hero remains an “exceptional person in exceptional circumstances”, but uses his abilities only to achieve the common good, since talent in a certain field allows him to alter fate not on a personal, but on a collective level of existence.

We believe that the image of the Christian Neo-Romantic hero is created by Lagerlöf through the interweaving of two Hoffmann’s plots: a defrocked monk who, under the influence of wine as an embodied temptation, commits crimes and experiences a personality split (“The Devil’s Elixirs”) and a rebellious Romantic hero in search of an unattainable ideal world in which his divided personality finds cohesion (“Don Juan”). In addition it includes Hoffmann’s images: the monk Medardus (“The Devil’s Elixirs”) (the image of Gösta Berling before his meeting the Majoreess) and Don Giovanni from the novella “Don Juan” (the image of Gösta Berling at the service in Ekeby), which reflect the path of personality transformation and spiritual metamorphosis of a Romantic hero into a Christian Neo-Romantic hero.

There is a layer of Hoffmann’s intertext from the novel “The Devil’s Elixirs” in the “Gösta Berling’s Saga” as well, namely the plot of a defrocked priest who lost faith in God having fallen under the influence of a certain “mystical” elixir. Hoffmann’s Medardus, after tasting wine, feels like an *Übermensch*. His speeches become convincing to the pa-

rishioners, he feels like he can control people, as a result he commits crimes (murder, incestuous relationship, etc.). This self-perception does not exist without reason. In childhood, Medardus was labelled with the signs of the chosen one: a mark in the form of a cross and an encounter with a wonderful child, in whose image the figure of the Christ Child is guessed. This conveys a special spiritual path the protagonist of the novel was chosen for: his sermons contain grace, which inspires people to spiritual growth and experience a specifically deep prayer experience.

In the beginning of the novel Lagerlöf also portrays the effects of alcohol as a mystical elixir on the Romantic hero's personality. The minister Berling, just as well as Hoffmann's Medardus, is the chosen one. His service also transmits divine grace: "He stood alone, completely alone in his pulpit; his spirit took flight toward the open skies above him, his voice became strong and powerful, and he proclaimed the glory of God. <...> He was a man of inspiration. He abandoned what he'd written, thoughts came down upon him like a flock of tame doves. He felt as though it wasn't he who was speaking, but he also realized that this was the greatest thing on earth, and that no one could reach higher in radiance and majesty than he, who was standing there proclaiming the glory of God" [Lagerlöf, 1959, p. 3]. Even the appearance of Gösta betrays signs of being chosen, characteristic to a Romantic hero: "...everything about him was beautiful, elegant, expressive, warmed by the flame of the mind and heart" [Lagerlöf, 1959, p. 3]. Alcohol also deprives Berling of the preaching talent: the joy of prayer fades in him; he indulges in selfishness, feels sorry for himself and blames the parishioners for his sins. The hero loses his position of the minister, and then the inspired "poet" Gösta turns into a miserable hermit seeking death. Alcohol pushes the protagonist to a vile deed: he sells the starving girl's last bag of flour to get drunk.

In this regard, alcohol becomes a symbol of embodied temptation. It awakes in the Romantic hero the qualities that, according to Lagerlöf, are negative: individualism, a tendency to voluntarism, selfishness. Thus, the author debates with the idea of the exclusivity and infallibility of a Romantic hero. Alcohol should push the character to the wrong path: from serving God, from the position of a priest, in which the chosen hero leads ordinary people to enlightenment and spiritual transformation, to egoism and complacency. This image-symbol in the "Gösta Berling's Saga" echoes the novel "The Devil's Elixirs". In both cases, alco-

hol provokes a split of personality, what is now being tormented by ambivalent aspirations — virtue and sin — which makes it more difficult for the characters to resist passions and temptations.

The soul of the hero weakened by a personality split is hunted by evil spirits — a personified temptation in the face of the devil. Gösta is also associated with Hoffmann's artist Francesco, who, under the influence of wine, meets the devil and, yielding to the persuasion, paints Saint Rosalia in the guise of the pagan goddess Venus: "Undoubtedly," resumed the Count, "this old Syracusan wine would pour new strength into your veins, and put to flight that bodily indisposition under which, reverend sir, you now seem to labour" [Hoffmann, 1994, p. 36]. Under the influence of alcohol, Berling also summons the devil Sintram and enters into a contract with him. According to it, he must ruin Ekeby and destroy the life of the Majoreess, who gave him home, for the sake of saving his own soul. From that moment on, the priest is driven only by selfish motives. Like Medardus, he interferes with the lives of ordinary people and destroys them. The fact that Gösta is the God-chosen one (likewise Medardus in Hoffmann's novel) intensifies the struggle of passions in him. Medardus and Gösta do not just indulge themselves, but commit mortal sins. Their resistance becomes a spiritual feat, since it consists in finding the cohesion of a split soul. Medardus and Berling must find a consolidating force in Christianity and return to the bosom of the church. Thus, one of the features of the Christian Neo-Romantic hero according to Lagerlöf becomes a sincere faith in Christian moral ideals.

Another point is that Lagerlöf's view of the "passionary" qualities of the Romantic hero is in many ways related to Hoffmann's ideas, as indicated by the similarity of the images of Medardus and Berling. A gifted person's resistance of moral beliefs should be tested, according to both authors. Medardus must withstand temptations; atone for his ancestral sin in order to redirect his strength and serve God. Gösta must also gain the right to lead the people like a true preacher. The Neo-Romantic hero, following the Romantic one, must prove he is worthy of possessing outstanding qualities by gaining spiritual cohesion and achieving harmony of the psyche.

The plot of personality integration in the novel is also connected to another layer of Hoffmann's intertext. The image of the transformed Gösta, who entered the service of the Majoreess, goes back to the image

of Don Giovanni (Don Juan) from Hoffmann's novel "Don Juan". The nickname of Berling's horse (Don Juan), riding which he kidnaps women, hints at it. It is necessary to explain why specifically Hoffmann's perception of Don Juan's image is of great importance for our analysis. As an "eternal image", the image of Don Juan undergoes significant changes from its origin to the era of Romanticism.

By Tirso de Molina, he appears as a cruel seducer who treats women ravenously. At the same time, Moliere's Don Juan shows only the rudiments of human morality. Then Hoffmann rethinks this image and turns him from a negative character into a Romantic hero [Rosenkranz, 1829]. Hoffmann's Don Giovanni is fighting fate. In his search for an ideal, a special state of mind (which seems though unachievable) he is still surrounded by the philistines, and that causes him great suffering. He "relentlessly and greedily pounces on all the temptations of the mundane world, trying in vain to find satisfaction in them" [Hoffman, 1991, p. 90]. The ideal of Romanticism is on a different plane than the ideal of de Molina and Moliere. It becomes even more difficult to achieve (if it is even possible) and goes beyond the opposition of "spiritual — material", entering the philosophical plane.

Since the German Romanticist himself in his novella "Don Juan" does not give an answer how this highest spiritual harmony is achieved, S. Lagerlöf offers in her novel her own solution. It consists in the need to transform Don Juan from a Romantic hero into a Christian Neo-Romantic hero, which means to use spiritual Christian values in the reaching the ideal world E. T. A. Hoffman was looking for. Thus, the image of Gösta Berling develops by analogy with the image of Don Juan. Under the influence of alcohol as a symbol of embodied temptation, Gösta, disappointed in the service of God, which brought him neither satisfaction or joy, turns to the carnal and mundane, and like Don Juan, finds solace in drinking and affairs with women. Lagerlöf's protagonist seduces and abandons them, dissatisfied with the sincere love that they can offer him. Berling's unrestrained hedonism ruins Ekeby, which reflects primarily on the lives of ordinary peasants. All this is done under the auspices of the "free spirit", which distinguishes all cavaliers, both from the deadened capitalist and from the common people. Gösta Berling's rhetoric is that hedonism, selfishness and frivolity are a kind of ideal that reveals the cavalier's inner potential. In this pursuit of freedom, the author sees the strength of spirit and an extraordinary personality,

which corresponds to the idea of a classic Romantic hero. However, Lagerlöf rejects the values of Romanticism because they do not meet her definition of happiness and goodness. In her opinion, the individualism of the Romantic hero does not bring happiness to either the protagonist or the people around him, which the author expresses in the image of Gösta, the Neo-Romantic hero.

One of the reasons for Lagerlöf's rejecting the ideals of Romanticism is the consumptive attitude towards women, which Berling also demonstrates. It is impossible to deny that the "Gösta Berling's Saga" is a feminist work, since Lagerlöf herself supported women's rights in Sweden. The craving for the mundane is destructive for Gösta himself and the people around him, primarily women. This is actualized in the problem of the relationship between the Romantic hero and femininity. Gösta's selfish, deeply patriarchal attitude towards women, the desire to own them only from carnal motives (which in the novel are opposed to Christian and heavenly love), is disastrous for the female characters. Therefore, Berling calls the Majoress, who gave him shelter, money and a chance for a normal life, a "witch". He sees only negative character traits in her and reduces all her creative activity to selfish and greedy motives. Nevertheless, Lagerlöf deconstructs the archetypal image of a witch in her novel. Margarita Celsing is not an infernal figure and does not sell her soul to the devil for personal benefits. Men consider the Majoress being a witch only for her extraordinary willpower and manager's talent, which, according to patriarchal ideas, are exclusively masculine qualities. Celsing turns out to be an ordinary wise woman with a strong character. Lagerlöf debates the traditional Christian idea of a woman as an inherently sinful being who is unable to go beyond Romantic views on femininity. A patriarchal society defines women like Margarita as witches because it cannot provide them with personal freedom.

Through the prism of the image of Don Juan Gösta is trying to put on himself women are seen only as tools for satisfying his own needs, and the so-called "strong women", like the Majoress, are perceived by the former priest as a supernatural threat — witches in cahoots with the devil. Such an attitude towards women causes their suffering or death: the Majoress through the fault of Berling is expelled from the house that she built on her own and made prosperous. Marianne lost her parents and, being disfigured by illness, is abandoned, then married to a man who hunts only for her money. Countess Elizabeth loses her child,

family and her own home. Ebba Dohna committed suicide and Anna remained the young widow of the unloved man, and even an innocent broom vendor loses her mind and dies. Lagerlöf is convinced that the main character must learn to love and respect women not for their ideal image, which is also hunted by Don Giovanni and which is promoted by Romantic literature, but for their true human essence and personal qualities, the presence of which the Romantic hero tends to deny, because he is carried away only by the idealized image of a “fair lady”. Lagerlöf deconstructs this stable image as well. Marianne, who, according to the characters of the novel, is the ideal of beauty and femininity, shows features atypical for female characters in Romantic literature. She is able to defend her own beliefs, wants to have the freedom to control her life, has psychological problems that are unusual for a “fair lady” (Marianne has a doppelganger, who mocks her infatuation). The heroine also refuses to accept blind worship, she seeks mutual and sincere love based on rapport and common views. Lagerlöf deprives Marianne of her beauty (she becomes infected with smallpox) in order to emphasize the idea that the value of a woman is not in her beauty, but in her human qualities.

The germs of this feminist rhetoric are also found in Hoffmann’s novella, in which Anna, for the first time in the history of the Don Juan image appears equal to him, capable of perceiving an ideal world, also striving for the Romantic ideal and suffering from its unattainability. If Hoffmann’s Don Giovanni sees in Anna a kindred spirit who could ease his torments, then Gösta must first follow the path of spiritual transformation and purification in order to see a personality in the women he meets. Thus, one of the most important characteristics of the Christian Neo-Romantic hero is the attitude towards women as spiritually equal people. Lagerlöf also changes the ending of “the Myth of Don Juan”. Hoffmann’s Don Giovanni outgrew violence against his beloved but did not escape her death. The transformed Don Giovanni — Gösta deters the death of Anna-Elisabeth. The ideal of Christian love as a transformative force saves the characters. Berling and the countess are united not by a love of art, as it happens in Hoffmann’s novella, but by a craving for an ideal that is achievable, according to Lagerlöf, which distinguishes her idea from the Romantic one. This ideal is the Christian way of life, expressed in helping one’s neighbour. An episode of a home performance is significant. Gösta plays a lover disguised as a monk. The pro-

tagonist must get rid of the acquired role of a lovelace, a Don Juan, and be filled with Christian love, because God has endowed him with the talent of preaching, with strength sufficient to resist destructive temptation not on a personal level, but on the level of the whole community. Nevertheless, until Gösta realizes what his spiritual path is, his behaviour is disastrous for Ekeby. The “passionary” qualities of the Romantic hero endow Berling’s activity with a force that destroys the way of life in Värmland. The split psyche of Gösta is not capable of creation. The destructive behaviour of the hero extends to everything around him. His selfish aspirations allow him to decide the fate of the Majoreess and the mansion built by her labour and will in a second. Gösta makes a pact with Sintram based on his views of the good. At the time of signing the contract with the devil, Berling thinks only of his personal rebellion against the philistine lifestyle and is driven only by his dislike of the “witch” Majoreess.

Sintram the devil appears in the novel as a divisive force, he is a personified temptation. Sintram appears on Christmas Eve, when wine has captured the minds of the cavaliers, repeating the Hoffmann’s plot of “Adventures on New Year’s Eve”. If the 12 cavaliers of Ekeby correspond to the 12 apostles led by Gösta-Christ, then the “13th cavalier” [Lagerlöf, 1959, p. 32] is Judas — Sintram. Such a parallel matches the *modus operandi* of this character. Sintram awakens the worst features in people, which goes back to the traditional Christian idea of the devil, who intervenes in human life not directly, but only pushes people to evil: discord, lies, envy and betrayal. Sintram does not do anything definitely “evil”, he only whispers rumours to the characters, causes doubts and fears in them, and thus almost brings Ekeby to ruin. Sintram is especially harmful for women, because it affects men with patriarchal beliefs, in whose power the Majoreess, Elitizabeth, Marienne and Anna find themselves. Sintram convinces their fathers, husbands and grooms of their sinfulness, of the need for punishment for a negligent sister, wife and bride. The men in Lagerlöf’s novel become easily seduced by the exhortations of the tempter, while the women are the only strong-minded characters in the novel. Even Berling falls under the influence of Sintram, who convinces him of the unnatural origin of the Majoreess’ strong will and independence (calls her a “witch”).

Sintram’s power over Ekeby is also manifested in the motive of mechanization, which goes back to Hoffmann (“The Automata”, “Sand-

man”, “Little Zaches called Cinnabar”). Mechanization in the works of the German Romanticist is expressed through the grotesque (living inanimate objects in “The Golden Pot”, falling in love with a doll in “The Sandman”, the absent boundary between toys and people in “The Nutcracker and the Mouse King”). Lagerlöf refuses this Romantic approach. The mechanization of society, modern for the author, consisting in large-scale capitalization, is no longer something grotesquely surprising, as in the time of Hoffmann. The problem of mechanization of man and society in an industrial society is being rethought and rationalized (casual rationalization).

Significant is that Sintram, being a semi-infernal figure, in real life is a holder of capital — a factory owner, which indicates the author’s attitude to the change of formation as a real evil. Industrialization is here a metaphor for the devil’s power over human society. So, the poor, enslaved by Sintram, think only about money. The rich, under the influence of the devil, care only about how to spend money. Peasants living without Christian love, cut off from the traditional way of life, feel as living dead: “So then, he wants to die, so that’s what he wants. I wouldn’t wonder much about that, if only he were alive. <...> Do you think you have to be lying stiff and cold, nailed under a coffin lid, to be dead? Don’t you think I can see how dead you are, Gösta Berling?” [Lagerlöf, 1959, p. 16–17].

Gösta justifies his contract with evil spirits by trying to escape from this mechanization of the new industrial society: “Remember, now,” says Gösta, “that we take the seven estates in order to save our souls, but not to be iron-work owners who count their money and weigh their iron. No dried-up parchments, no purse-proud money-bags will we become, but gentlemen will we be and remain” [Lagerlöf, 1959, p. 37]. The protagonist tries to release himself and the inhabitants of Ekeby from the power of the new capitalist economy imposed by Sintram: “We have debts to the wicked Sintram, and he can take everything from us. Of course Ferdinand is engaged to the rich Anna Stjärnhök; but she is tired, — she is tired of him. And what will become of us, of our three cows, and our nine horses, of our gay young ladies who want to go from one ball to another, of our dry fields where nothing grows, of our mild Ferdinand, who will never be a real man? What will become of the whole blessed house, where everything thrives except work?” [Lagerlöf, 1959, p. 52]. However, Sintram repeatedly hints that Gösta is just a tool in his hands, through which the devil expands his power. The protagonist living idle-

ly without Christian love is dangerous not only for his immortal soul, but also for everyone around him, since his actions cause death and pain. Lagerlöf insists that a Neo-Romantic hero with special talents has no right for individualism. The power of personality the Neo-Romantic hero is endowed with places on him the responsibility to direct it in a socially useful direction, whereas the Christian religion gives precise instructions on how to do this.

The problem of mechanization reaches its climax in the chapter “The Drought”, describing how human society is so mired in hostility and malice that nature itself is dying under its negative influence. Only the fervent prayer of the pastor saves Värmland. The priest who has fulfilled his duty dies of happiness in front of the altar. This is Lagerlöf’s civic ideal — a spiritual feat in the name of the common good. However, Gösta is not imbued with the priest’s feat and does not change his lifestyle. Berling’s unwillingness to get on the right path and moderate his selfishness leads to a riot, where the deadened rebellious people are described as “ghosts, bears and trolls” [Lagerlöf, 1959, p. 351]. Here, the dehumanization motif acquires a Hoffmann’s appearance, as the scale of mechanization has reached its peak. Lagerlöf, following the German Romantic, describes people who have lost their identity as anthropomorphic beings from hunger and anger, devoid of self-awareness and soul, through the grotesque. Such an overlap of layers of real and unreal narrative, at the edge of which fantastic arises, is a characteristic feature of Hoffmann’s poetics (“Adventure on New Year’s Eve”, “The Nutcracker and the Mouse King”, “Little Zaches called Cinnabar”, etc.).

The peasant uprising becomes a turning point for Gösta when he realizes that his lifestyle has led to colossal consequences. This expresses the emphatic opposition of the Romantic hero to society. Nevertheless, Lagerlöf condemns Romantic individualism and proclaims the non-Romantic need to live following the laws of Christian love for the common good. Gösta must consolidate the parts of his personality — the priest and the cavalier — that is, direct his potential as a Romantic hero to serve God and people, and not to a selfish search for an unattainable ideal or an unreal world. The Christian Neo-Romantic hero is able to create an ideal world himself, which will be an Eden on Earth, that is, it will contribute to the formation of a community or society living according to Christian laws. This is Lagerlöf’s innovation in relation to Hoffmann: the author believes that the hero and the philistines should

not become antagonists. The poet, as a “passionarian”, should lead the philistines to a better spiritual life by the power of the chosen-one, and not separate himself from the crowd.

As far as creativeness or talent are inseparable from the image of the Romantic hero, it is necessary to consider this characteristic of the Christian Neo-Romantic hero separately. As mentioned earlier, the image of Gösta does not correspond to Hoffmann’s poet (“The Golden Pot”, “The Jesuit Church in H.”, etc.). Berling’s work is not art in his usual sense, it is a gift of preaching, but not dogmatic ecclesiastical, but purely Christian, born of fervent faith and love for one’s neighbour. In short, the transformed protagonist frees people’s souls from oppression, motivates them. Berling’s poetic gift is to put words coming from God into a speech that touches the heart. Lagerlöf’s artist does not sacrifice everything for the sake of art (“The Jesuit Church in H.”, “Kreisleriana”), does not achieve personal well-being through creativity (“The Golden Pot”). The creative principle restrains Gösta, not allowing worldly passions to lead him away from God completely (the hero withstands Sintram, saves Elizabeth, inspires Marianne and the Majoress).

The significant point is that art for Lagerlöf is a word full of Christian love. The Romantic understanding of creativity acquires a tragic shade in the novel: in the images of an inventor who is unable to repeat miracles, disappointed by the social uselessness of his gift, and refuses it; in the image of old Löwenborg, whose music no one will ever be able to hear. Such art, according to Lagerlöf, does not contribute to achieving the ideal of Christian harmony, as it is purely individualistic in nature. It is impossible to inspire with the eternal sun and silent music, whereas a word (sermon, poetry) can change the lives of dozens of people. Thus, the author renounces both the ideal of Goethe, the Faustian hero, and the ideal of Hoffmann, the Romantic musician.

The most important quality of the Christian Neo-Romantic hero, however, is living in accordance with Christian values, in which Lagerlöf sees a way to achieve social and spiritual harmony for all people, and not just for an individual. The author is considered one of the representatives of Scandinavian philosophical and religious Neo-Romanticism [Koblenkova, 2010]. Researchers Y. V. Karolinskaya, P. A. Lisovskaya, N. A. Press, etc. also noted the Christian orientation of S. Lagerlöf’s novels. The motive of the intervention of higher forces, the manifestation of miracles, and revelation as a turning point in the life of the hero runs

through all the work of the Swedish author (“Invisible Links”, “Herr Arne’s Treasure”, “Christ Legends”, etc.). Christian dogmas become the central idea of such Lagerlöf’s novels as “Miracles of Antichrist” and “Jerusalem” as well. The Christ-like protagonist also appears in the novel “The Outcast”. The motive of forgiveness becomes the leading one in the novels “Miracles of Antichrist” and “Monsieur Arne’s Treasure”.

Gösta Berling obtains the integrity of his personality and saves Ekeby only by turning to Christian values. The character rethinks the sacrifice of the priest, who died in fervent prayer, because he sees in it a miracle of faith, and in the pouring rain — a miracle of the Lord. Countess Elizabeth expresses in her angry monologue the need to turn to God and live according to his laws, and then grants Gösta one of the Christian miracles — forgiveness. This forces Berling to rethink what he has accomplished in six years of living in Ekeby. Only by humbling himself and abandoning individualism, Gösta finds spiritual harmony and spreads it to the inhabitants of Ekeby through the talent of a preacher.

This circle of “Christian values — renunciation of God — return to Christian values” is also found in Hoffmann’s novel “The Devil’s Elixirs”. Medardus, who left the monastery, eventually returns and finds personal integrity and peace only inside the walls of the monastery. Thus, both the Lagerlöf’s protagonist and the Hoffmann’s protagonist go the path of spiritual transformation under the scheme “being chosen for a spiritual mission — initiation through wine — renunciation of the Christian God — search for the integrity of the personality in the mundane — disappointment and identity crisis — revelation — return to Christian ideals and spiritual integrity”.

To summarize, Lagerlöf rethinks the image of the Romantic hero introduced by Hoffmann and suggests a new type of hero — the Christian Neo-Romantic hero. Individualism, hedonism, mundane love and faith in one’s being the chosen one, characteristic of Romanticism, appear in the novel as destructive aspirations. Only when Gösta is imbued with the misfortune and suffering of others, is filled with love for them, the power of the Neo-Romantic hero allows him to spread Christian love all over Ekeby. Therefore, the protagonist defeats capitalist mechanization imposed by the devil — the drought passes, Sintram dies, and the curse is lifted from the Majoreess and her business flourishes again. Gösta eventually finds happiness in a Christian marriage with Elizabeth, loving the woman for her personal virtues, not an ideal image.

Thus, the presence of a bright layer of Hoffmann's intertext is to be found in Selma Lagerlöf's novel "The Gösta Berling's Saga". Based on the plot, problems and images of E. T. A. Hoffman's works ("Don Juan", "The Devil's Elixirs", "Adventure on New Year's Eve"), the Swedish author creates the unique concept of spiritual transformation through Christian love and rethinks the image of a Romantic hero, transforming it into a new type of Christian Neo-Romantic hero.

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ГОФМАНОВСКИЕ ТРАДИЦИИ В РОМАНЕ СЕЛЬМЫ ЛАГЕРЛЁФ «САГА О ЙЕСТЕ БЕРЛИНГЕ»

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Статья посвящена исследованию гофмановских традиций в романе Сельмы Лагерлёф «Сага о Йесте Берлинге». Черты гофмановской поэтики в романе рассматриваются с помощью методологии «гофмановского комплекса», который представляет собой идейно-тематический комплекс мотивов и стилистических приемов, присущих творчеству Э. Т. А. Гофмана. «Гофмановский комплекс» проявляется в романе в проблеме бунта романтического героя-творца по отношению к вере и религии, в проблеме взаимоотношений романтического героя с женственностью (актуализируется в деконструкции таких архетипических образов, как «ведьма» и «прекрасная дама», в переосмыслении концепции романтической любви), оппозиции мирской и христианской любви, мотиве механизации человека и общества в новом капиталистическом индустриальном обществе (актуализируется в образе-символе вина как воплощении искушающей силы, образе черта как персонафикации искушения, в мотиве двойничества, которое проявляет себя как раскол личности, а также в оппозиции «живое — неживое»). Черты гофмановской поэтики проявились в романе «Сага о Йесте Берлинге» также в переплетении гофмановских образов: Дон Жуан («Дон Жуан»), Медардус («Эликсиры дьявола») — и сюжетов: лишенный сана монах, который под влиянием вина как воплощенного искушения совершает преступления и переживает раскол личности («Эликсиры дьявола»), и бунтующий романтический герой в поисках недостижимого идеального мира, в котором его дезинтегрированная личность должна обрести консолидацию («Дон Жуан»). Делается вывод о том, что С. Лагерлёф, опираясь на сюжет, проблематику и образы произведений Э. Т. А. Гофмана («Дон Жуан», «Эликсиры дьявола», «Приключения в новогоднюю ночь»), создает авторскую концепцию духовного преображения личности через христианскую любовь и переосмысливает образ романтического героя, трансформируя его в новый тип христианского неоромантического героя.

Ключевые слова: Э. Т. А. Гофман, С. Лагерлёф, гофмановский комплекс, неоромантический христианский герой, механизация человека и общества, оппозиция живое — неживое.

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BILDEN AV DEN RYSKE TSAR PETER HOS STRINDBERG OCH ANDRA NORDISKA FÖRFATTARE VID SEKELSKIFTET

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Artikeln redogör för hur den ryske tsaren Peter den store är avbildad och tolkad i några texter av vissa framstående nordiska författare vid slutet av 1800-talet och början av 1900-talet. Analysens medelpunkt står dock vid en kort novell av August Strindberg under rubriken ”Den store”, som ingår i samlingen ”Historiska miniatyrer” (1905). Förvånansvärt nog är denna berättelse ett exempel på en i högsta grad apologetisk tolkning av den berömda ryske regenten och hans död. Strindbergs bild av Peter den store läses ställd mot bakgrunden av författarens ambivalenta inställning till tsarens främsta fiende Karl XII, samt till den svenska författarens självuppfattande och position inom samtida litterära kretsar. Dessutom bekräftar novellen ”Den store” den provi-detialistiska historiesynen, som författaren förklarar vara huvudprincipen för sin uppfattning av historiens gång. Den ryske Peter blir alltså den, som till skillnad från den svenske Karl lyder Guds plan och vilja. I motsats till Strindberg antyder hans landsmän Selma Lagerlöf och Verner von Heidenstam en betydligt mindre komplimentär läsning av Peter och hans styre. Däremot uttrycker dansken Georg Brandes på 1880-talet och normannen Knut Hamsun i början av 1900-talet ett fullständigt godkännande av Peter I. Båda två gör det som följd av sina respektive Rysslandsbesök. Dock i fallet med Hamsun är detta godkännande väldigt svagt och kontroversiellt grundat. En av slutsatserna kan var den att när de ovannämnda författarna avbildar monarken i frågan är det snarare fallet av självprojektion än av historiskt berättande.

Nyckelord: Peter den store, historiskt berättande, August Strindberg, *Historiska miniatyrer*, Karl XII, Selma Lagerlöf, Verner von Heidenstam, *Karolinerna*, Georg Brandes, Knut Hamsun, Dmitrij Merezhkovskij, Aleksandr Pusjkin, Ilja Repin, Ivan IV den förskräcklige.

Strindbergs novellsamling ”Historiska miniatyrer” tillkom år 1905 och hade som intention att illustrera hur den gudomliga försynen manifesterar sin vilja alltigenom historiens gång. Om sin uppfattning av världshistorien uttalar sig Strindberg öppet och lite skrytsamt i ett av breven till sin tyske översättare Emil Schering i januari 1903: ”Der jag har gjort Synthesen af mina Antiteser, är Synkretist och providentialist = Den Medvetna viljan upptäckt i verldshistorien!”¹ [August Strindbergs Brev, 1974, s. 244]. Tre veckor tidigare i brevet till Vilhelm Carlheim-Gyllensköld utropar författaren med en lika skrytsam forskarglädje: ”Jag har lärt mig verldshistorien utantill!” [August Strindbergs Brev, 1974, s. 241].

Som ett av den gudomliga viljans lydiga ombud väljer Strindberg bl. a. en rysk härskare av Romanovskläktet. I ”Historiska miniatyrers” andra del ingår en novell med namnet ”Den Store”, som handlar om en dag i Peter I:s liv och redogör för en rad viktiga händelser under tsarens regeringstid. Strindbergs historieskrivning i novellsamlingen som helhet omfattar dock flera tusen år. Samlingen inleds nämligen med en novell om Mose och avslutas med en berättelse om den franska revolutionen. Valet av personer, länder och epoker styrs av författarens subjektiva vision av det historiska schackpartiet spelat av Gud och är avsett att illustrera författarens metod. Berättelsen om en av de mest omtalade ryska tsarerna heter avsiktligt apologetiskt ”Den store” och handlar om tsar Peter den förste (reg. 1682–1725), då hans styre var på sin höjd. Novellen är inklämd mellan texterna ”Vita berget” och ”De sju goda åren”. Den förra handlar om slutskedet av det trettioåriga kriget, alltså slutet av 1630-talet, och är den enda som omedelbart anknyter till svensk historia. Den andra novellens handling är ägnad åt Preussens Fredrik den store och hans brevväxling med Voltaire ca 1752–1753.

Självklart är det inte bara Strindberg, som kring sekelskiftet så flitigt intresserar sig för historien. Det är en period i Europas kultur och tänkande då såväl återknytningen till gångna tider som sökandet efter historiska mönster och paralleller är väldigt efterfrågade och i full gång på många estetiska och filosofiska plan. Den europeiska kulturens, liksom även kristendomens historia, jämte enskilda personers roller i den, utforskas i verk av sådana tankestorheter som till exempel Ernest Renan

¹ Här återoppar Strindberg den planerade artikelserien i Svenska dagbladet under rubriken ”Världshistoriens mystik”. Den ursprungliga stavningen i breven här och nedan är bevarad.

(1823–1892) och Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900). Värt att nämna är att Lev Tolstojs historiska epos ”Krig och fred” (1865–1869) översätts till svenska för första gången redan år 1886, men det var inte i denna anda det svenska historiska berättandet kom att utvecklas, utan snarare i den nationalromantiska.

Närmare sekelskiftet blomstrar utgivningen av både historisk forskning och historisk fiktionsprosa också i Sverige. Det är ganska iögonfallande att nyromantiken kring sekelskiftet, och även dess föregångare under det tidiga 1800-talet, kräver att det väljs en viss *belle époque*, placerad någonstans i gångna tider. Dess funktion blir att stå som motvikt till det mindre spännande nuet och med sin heroiska glans utgöra kontrast mot samtiden, som saknar hjältebragdernas lyster. Det lagom avlägsna 1700-talet verkar vara ett perfekt val. Av naturliga geografiska och historiska skäl får Rysslands historia avsevärt utrymme i detta berättande, inte minst 1700-talet, inklusive Peter den stores regeringstid. Bland de viktigaste författarna bör nämnas den svenska poetiska renässansens två främsta figurer, nämligen Oscar Levertin (1862–1906) och Verner von Heidenstam (1859–1940). Den förre intresserade sig dock inte för Ryssland utan snarare för orienten. Dessutom låg Levertins både vetenskapliga och konstnärliga intressen till betydande del inom gustavianerna, alltså 1700-talet. År 1899 kom ut hans samling ”Rococonoveller”, tre år tidigare tryckte han sin kulturhistoriska undersökning ”Från Gustaf III:s dagar” (1896).

Verner von Heidenstam, som, till skillnad från Levertin, blev ganska tagen av nationalromantiken vid sekelskiftet, ägnar sin diktning åt den Karolinska tiden (1654–1718), och särskilt dess slutfas, då Sverige förlorade i Stora nordiska kriget och blev av stormaktstiteln. År 1896 företog diktaren en omfattande resa i Karl XII:s spår och besökte bl. a. Konstantinopel, Bender, Poltava, Moskva och Sankt Petersburg. Som resultat utgav han år 1898 en novellsamling i två volymer med titeln ”Karolinerna”. Boken, som beskriver soldatkungens östra fälttåg, blev med tiden obligatorisk läsning i svenska folkskolor. Förutom framställningen av konungen och hans män ned till den enklaste soldat innefattar samlingen även ett porträtt av Karls främsta fiende, nämligen ryske tsar Peter. I novellen med ett talande namn ”Katerinuschka, mor lilla...” träffar vi Peter och hans fru, samt Mensjikov, sonen Alexei och en del andra vid hovet. Handlingen utspelar sig en vinternatt i Moskva, och tsaren i berättelsen framstår som en ganska svärmodig, hårt supande och djupt

olycklig tyrann, vars maktbörda ofta är honom högst outhärlig, men lika grymt ter sig hans styre för folket. Blodet, både i direkt och metaforisk betydelse, löper som en röd tråd genom berättelsen. I novellens exposition står det, att tsaren är på gränsen till vannsinnat och att hans reformförsök är alla till ondo. Karaktäristiskt nog är att man gör narr av Peters omtalade intresse för diverse yrken och hantverk, vilket annars brukar lovprisas: ”Satt han icke i resvagnen eller vid sitt mikroskop så botade han sjukdomar som en läkare, gjorde stöflar som en skomakare, båtar som en skeppsbyggare, elfenbenspjeser som en svarfvare, eller också afhög han hufvud som en bödel” [Heidenstam, 1898, s. 239–240]. Inte helt oväntat återger von Heidenstam narrativet om tsarevitj Alexei och redogör för de tragiska förhållandena mellan fadern och sonen. Det som framstår ganska uppenbart är att von Heidenstam avsiktligt tenderar att blanda ihop två historiska händelser, nämligen Alexeis död i fängelset 1718 och tsar Ivan IV:s sons Fjodors bråda död 1581. Förklaringen till detta kan vara den, att von Heidenstam möjligen blev imponerad av två historiska målningar som han sannolikt sett på Tretjakovgalleriet under sitt besök i Moskva, nämligen ”Ivan den förskräcklige och hans son Ivan den 16 november 1581” av Ilja Repin från 1885 (i folkmun kallad ”Ivan den förskräcklige mördar sin son”) samt en minst lika berömd historisk målning av Nikolaj Ge (Gay) från år 1871, som heter ”Peter I förhör tsarevitj Alexei Petrovitj i Petershof”. Om tsarevitj skriver von Heidenstam så här: ”I de forntida tsarernas styfva sidenpäls och små turkosbesatta stöflar tyckte han sig i sitt afstängda slott granska hofguldsmedens arbeten...” [Heidenstam, 1898, s. 240]. Och lite längre fram står det följande: ”Hur ångestfullt hade han icke med sin Affrosinja, förklädd, rymt ända ned till Neapels vinberg för att gömma sig undan denne fader, som nu höjde käppen öfver hans hufvud! Han gick baklänges mot vrån” [Heidenstam, 1898, s. 241]. En snabb blick på Repins tavla avslöjar att den mördade sonen Ivan har på sig en styv kaftan av siden och stövlar av läder prytt med turkosfärgade medaljonger. Vid hans fötter ligger en käpp, det förmodade mordvapnet. På Nikolaj Ges tavla förkroppsligar Alexei den yttersta graden av faderrädsla och bilden av Peter uttrycker det djupa och skoningslösa föraktet för en person som är svag och saknar självförtroende. På ett ställe, när tsaren avser tala med sin favoritknekt, omnämner för övrigt von Heidenstam Ivan IV direkt: ”Därför ville tsaren pröfva honom, och med Ivan den förskräckliges raseri i blicken och en moskovitisk handtverkares godmodighet i skrattet

sade han till honom: — Wjasemskij, min gosse...” [Heidenstam, 1898, s.242]. På så sätt verkar spekulationen om von Heidenstams avsiktliga sammanblandning av den historiske Peter med en annan grym tsar samt med historisk målarkonst vara välgrundad.

Strindbergs bok ”Historiska miniatyrer” (i likhet med von Heidenstams ”Karolinerna”) bestod av ett tjugotal berättelser och marknadsfördes av förläggaren som ”världshistorien i fickformat”, med andra ord som efterfrågad och underhållande lektyr. Conny Svensson åberopar dock i Samlade Verk litteraturvetaren Martin Lamm, som förmodat att ”Historiska miniatyrer” hörde till ”det nödvändiga brödskriveriet” efter att nyckelromanen ”Svarta fanor” hade refuserats av förläggarna tidigare på året. Det har också påpekats att ordet ”miniatyrer” i bokens titel syftar på att författaren själv inte satte särskilt högt värde vid sitt verk [Svensson, 1997, s.267]. Dock är det svårt att bortse från det faktum att Strindbergs intresse för både Sveriges och världens historia var djupt och passionerat: novellsamlingen i fråga, regentdramerna, ett betydande antal anteckningar och arbetspapper från Gröna säcken m. m. bekräftar hans sökande efter den historiska saninningen och särskilt efter ett mönster i världens gång, vilket han faktiskt tycker sig ha upptäckt ett par år före tillkomsten av ”Historiska miniatyrer”. 1903 höll Strindberg på publicera en serie artiklar under rubriken ”Världshistoriens mystik” i Svenska Dagbladet. Den får vi tolka som en teoretisk föregångare till novellerna. Strindberg hade även denna gång en vision om ett mönster, enligt vilket hans syn på den globala historiska utvecklingen kunde återges. Som påpekats ovan är, enligt honom, ”världshistorien ett kolossalt schackparti av en ensam spelare som leder både vitt och svart (och — *P.L.*), är fullständigt opartisk” [Strindberg, 2004, s.20].

Handlingen i novellen ”Den store” kan ganska precist knytas till 1718, eftersom det står att Sveriges Karl XII vid tidpunkten redan är död, men tsarevitj Alexej fortfarande är vid liv, fast vi vet att året för hans död i fängelset är också 1718. Egentligen dog tsarevitj Alexej nio månader innan kulan träffade Karl XII vid Fredriksten, men sådana mindre oegentligheter går att avfärda som rena bagateller när det gäller historisk fiktion eller pseudohistoriska narrativ. Von Heidenstam är försiktig nog att inte ange några datum, men till exempel kallas Alexeis älskarinna för en ”rödhårig finsk trälinna” [Heidenstam, 1898, s.239], vilket inte hade någonting med den egentliga kvinnan att göra.

Expositionen i Strindbergs novell är följande: vi möter tsaren en tidig morgon i hans enkla lanthus vid Finska vikens strand, där han ägnar sig åt brevskrivande ”i skjortärmarna, med nedkavade stoppade strumpor och grova skor” [Strindberg, 1997, s. 213]. Själva valet av morgontiden verkar symboliskt. Till skillnaden från von Heidenstam, som satte sin berättelse i en vinternattlig miljö antyder Strindberg en ny dag och ett nytt lands gryning. I den ryska historieskrivningen och inte minst i folkmunnen talas det ofta om ”snickartsaren”, som hade enkla vanor och ägnade sig åt diverse hantverk. Strindberg följer i dessa spår och blir lydligt en del av den tradition som visar tsar Peter som en anspråkslös person, som stod vanligt folk nära. Denna bild är inte sann, men levde kvar inpå hela 1900-talet och längre fram. Å andra sidan har detta avsiktliga framhävande av Peters enkla omgivning sina paralleller till samlingens första novell ”Egyptiska Träldomen”, som handlar om Isaks födelse och räddning. Den börjar nämligen så här: ”Den gamle ebenisten och schatullmakaren Amram bodde vid älvstranden i en lerhydda täckt av palmblad” [Strindberg, 1997, s. 6]. Vidare i berättelsen omnämns bland annat många andra judars tro på att Israels gud är över dem och att den gammaltestamentelige profeten Abrahams undergivenhet är Guds vilja, när han är beredd att offra sin son. I novellen ”Den store” framhävs motivet om tsarevitj Alexejs fångslande och kommande rättegång, som faderns undergivenhet gentemot Guds plan och hans medvetna offer, som i sin tur kommer att leda till landets blomstrande: ”Du krävde Abraham på hans son, och Abraham lydde; Du korsfäste din ende egen son för mänskornas frälsning; tag mitt offer, Du fruktansvärde, om Du fordrar det! — Men ske icke min vilja, utan din, och gånge denna kalken ifrån mig, om Du så vill! Amen, i Kristi namn amen!” [Strindberg, 1997, s. 224]. Som bekant är dog Alexej i sin cell i Peter-Paulsfästningen innan domen blev verkställd. Karakteristiskt nog jämförs tsaren här inte bara med den judiske profeten, utan också med Kristus på Olivberget, som ber Gud fader att spara honom från lidandets kalk.

Ganska uppseendeväckande sammanfaller denna tolkning av tsarens skoningslösa hårdhet mot sin son och villighet att offra honom med den doktrin som dominerade i det sovjetiska populärhistoriska narrativet. Det byggde i sin tur till stor del på Alexej Tolstojs storslagna roman ”Peter den förste” från 1930 (”Tsar Peter” i svensk översättning kom redan 1933), som var författad på direkt beställning av Stalin. Boken är snillrikt skriven, men genom hela handlingen offras ymnigt de

enskilda människornas känslor och liv för de statliga intressenas skull. Denna apologetiska bild av Peter den store bildar motsats till den ryske Alexander Pusjkins tolkning av tsarens gestalt i den berömda långdikten "Bronstryttaren" från 1833, vari monarken framstår, först som Gud skaparen, och sedan som skoningslös tyrann. Det är förmodligen den mest kända avbildningen av Peter och ett av de viktigaste verken i rysk litteraturhistoria överhuvudtaget.

I Strindbergs gestaltning av Peter finns, förutom det avsiktliga närmandet av tsarens uppenbarelse till det enkelt folkliga, ett drag som syftar på tsarens fysik, nämligen att författaren jämför tsaren med några slags kraftiga djur. Som bekant var Peter över två meter lång och detta ledde till en del spekulationer både i folkmun och i konsten. Vid sidan om längden lade man märke till tsarens mustascher, vilket avspeglas i luboktryck, där man karikerade honom i gestalt av en gigantisk katt. På tal om katter och andra djur läser vi hos Strindberg: "hans huvud föreföll otroligt stort, men var icke så stort; halsen var en tjurs och kroppen en jättes" [Strindberg, 1997, s. 213]. Längre fram utvecklas beskrivningen: "Ibland syntes detta granna huvud med korta håret som ett vildsvins, och när skrivaren slickade på gåspennan som en skolgosse, visade sig tänder och en tunga som ett sköldhållande lejons" [Strindberg, 1997, s. 214]. Denna besatthet av tsarens huvud verkar lite överdriven. Å ena sidan är lejonet en symbol för Sveriges kungamakt och på detta sätt visar kanske Strindberg än en gång sitt misstycke för Karl XII, då han menar att det är den ryske Peter som är lejonet, inte den svenske Karl. Å andra sidan får man förmodligen spekulera om att Strindberg var ganska mån om sitt eget huvuds likhet med ett lejons man och på så sätt jämför han sig själv med Peter, som han uttryckligen sympatiserar med. Självfallet får Strindbergs novell tolkas som öppet polemisk med von Heidenstams bild av Karl XII i "Karolinerna", med bilden av den svenske kungen som en tragisk storhet och Peter I som av en halvgalen härskare med brist på självförtroende och anlag för hysteriska utbrott. Polemiken manifesterar sig dessutom i de båda novellernas titlar: "Katerinuschka, mor lilla..." syftar på tsarens labila tillstånd som liknar barnets och beroende av sin hustru, "Den Store" får tolkas som "den, som var stor på riktigt". I Strindbergs regentdrama "Carl XII" (1901) är det däremot den svenske kungen som framstår som galen och liknar ett spöke. Vid ett par tillfällen kallar dramatikern honom nedsättande för en "Don Quichotte", alltså för en galning som gått vilse i sina drömmier. Det finns anteck-

ningar, som visar att Strindberg planerade skriva en pjäs om Peter I, som aldrig blev av [Svensson, 1997, s. 290].

Som främsta stoffkälla för Strindbergs novell om den ryske tsaren nämner forskarna ett verk av en polsk historiker Kazimierz Waliszewski, nämligen en biografi i två band med titeln ”Peter der grosse” (1899), som ingår i Strindbergs efterlämnade bibliotek. Waliszewski gav ursprungligen ut sitt verk ”Pierre le Grand” på franska år 1897, dock fanns det en svensk översättning av Axel Bergström redan 1898, vilket är bevis på samtida efterfrågan på den typen av litteratur. Under Sovjettiden avfärdades Waliszewskis icke-marxistiska verk, som Romanovapologetiskt samt svagt ur vetenskaplig synpunkt. När Sovjet föll hundra år senare började man direkt trycka om Waliszewski i omfattande upplagor. I sina verk sysslade författaren med självhärskarens privatliv och detaljer om livet vid hovet. Även Strindberg hämtar dessa hos den polske historikern, och det verkar som att även von Heidenstam gjorde det, eftersom flera motiv och handlingstrådar i deras noveller om tsaren är samma. Det är de värdeladdade utgångspunkter, som skiljer sig.

Det visade sig att Strindbergs yngre kollega Knut Hamsun (1859–1952) också var en flitig läsare av Waliszewskis bok om tsar Peter. År 1899 företog han en omständig resa i Ryssland. 1903 kom han resebok ”I Eventyrland” ut. Där omnämner hans Peter den store vid några tillfällen, samt citerar en gång direkt ur den polskens författarens bok: ”Waliszewski fortæller i sit Værk om Peter den Store: da Bergholz i 1722 var i Moskva overvår han en tredobbelt Henrettelse med Stejle. Den ældste af Forbryderne døde efter seks Timers Pinsel, de to andre overleved ham. Da den ene af disse under store Lidelser havde faat løftet sin sønderbrudte Arm lidt forat tørre sig i Ansigtet mærked han at han havde spildt nogle Blodsdraaber paa Hjulet hvorpaa han laa. Han brugte da den lemlæstede Arm engang til og tørred Blodet af saa godt han kunde. *Med slige Mennesker kan man komme langt*” [Hamsun, 1903, s. 56–57]. Utdraget ur Waliszewski, valt av Hamsun, leder snarare tankarna till von Heidenstams novell, än till Strindbergs. ”Katerinuschka, mor lilla...” innehåller nämligen en episod av meningslöst barbari och blodigt självooffrande av just adjutanten Wjasemskij, knekten, som tsaren hållit så mycket av. På så sätt verkar Hamsuns val av episod ur Peters regeringstid föga smickrande, särskilt med tanke på att den var avsedd

² Kursiveringen är min. — P.L.

att framstå som exemplarisk. Dess syfte var att rättfärdiga den ryska maktens grymhet. Hamsun godkänner och berömmar tsarens blodtörstighet som ett sätt att bygga en effektiv stat, och det till skillnad från Strindberg, som visserligen omnämner dessa inhumana sätt, men antar att tsaren led både av sin mission och av pliktens tvång.

Selma Lagerlöf, som jämte von Heidenstam får nämnas bland Strindbergs främsta litterära rivaler vid sekelskiftet på hemmaplan, har också gett uttryck för sina funderingar vad gäller den ryske tsaren. Dock bygger hennes intryck på andra källor än Strindbergs och är av motsatt karaktär. Hon var nämligen en flitig läsare av Dmitrij Merezhkovskijs romansvit ”Kristus och Antikrist”, vars tredje del kom ut 1905 och heter ”Antikrist, Peter och Alexej” i översättning till svenska av Ellen We[st]er. I Merezhkovskijs verk framstår kampen mellan tsaren och hans förstfödde son som en strid mellan det hedniska och det kristna, alltså det vilda och det humana. Peters gestalt bildas kring hans tyranniska strävan att kuva Alexej, som står för den gammalryska ursprungliga tron på Kristus. I detta mån sammanfaller Lagerlöfs perspektiv med von Heidenstams.

För att illustrera det som finns gemensamt hos Merezhkovskij och Lagerlöf i hänseende till Peter den stores gestalt kan man citera ett avsnitt ur hennes tal till Svenska akademien år 1926, där hon minns sitt besök på Tretjakovmuseet fjorton år tidigare: ”Där var till exempel tavlan över Peter den store, där han satt till häst på Röda torget nedanför Kreml och åsåg strelitzernas avrättning. <...> Där var den utmärkta tavlan, som återgav tsar Peter och hans son Alexej. Där förekom ingen våldshandling, men det förakt, som den kraftige, livsduglige tsaren kände för den slöe, nästan idiotiske sonen, var så livligt återgivet, att man förstod det drama, som skulle följa” [Lagerlöf, 1945, s. 53]. Lagerlöf använde sig faktiskt ganska ofta av beskrivningar av konstföremål för att uttrycka sin egen inställning till olika företeelser. Enligt henne föll Alexei, som lammet, offer för sin far, djuret, som också är ett av namnen på Antikrist.

Det har också påpekats av tidigare forskning, nämligen av Dmitrij Sjarypkin, att Lagerlöf blev inspirerad av Pusjkins långdikt ”Bronsryttaren”, då hon i kapitlet ”Karlskrona” i ”Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige” väcker upp bronsstatyn av kung Karl XI, som i sin tur till fots börjar förfölja pojken Nils. Hos Lagerlöf är den gående bronskungen dock inte alls lika skrämmande som den ridande bronstsaren, som jagar den arme Eugenij, huvudpersonen i Pusjkins verk. Pusjkin

jämställer som sagt tsaren med det gamla testamentets Gud, skaparen, som är mycket sträng, hämndlysten och destruktiv. Bronsryttarens jakt efter Eugenij leder till den unge mannens galenskap och död [Sharypkin, 1975, s. 126–128].

Även hos Strindberg framstår Peter som ett slags gud med många uppenbarelser. Än är han jätte- och lejonliknande, självsvåldig, än nyckfull, leklysten, t. o. m. pojkaktig. Det understryks att Katarina, hans till kroppen lika bastanta fru, ofta tilltalar honom ”min gosse” och behandlar sin make som ett slags barn: ”Du får inge brännvin så tidigt, min gosse!” [Strindberg, 1997, s.216]. Om Petersburg säger tsaren ”min stad”, om flottan ”min flotta, som jag har byggt”, han går ut i ”sina gårdar” med medicinalväxter, mönstrar ”sina merinofår, som han själv infört” etc. Och han drar sig inte för högfärdiga monologer, där han själv framstår som Rysslands fader och moder, ja, som Ryssland självt: ”Mongolen stod ju en gång in i Schlesien och skulle ha ödelagt Västerlandet, om inte vi ryssar räddat det. <...> och jag förbannar var och en som söker hindra mig i mitt lovliga ärende att göra Ryssland till östra Europa från att ha varit västra Asien, och jag slår ner vem det vara må som rör vid mitt verk, vore det så min egen son” [Strindberg, 1997, s.216]. Vilket, som vi vet, han faktiskt gjorde, men Strindberg urskuldar honom detta.

För att återknyta till Strindbergs skildring av Peters utseende bör här nämnas Selma Lagerlöfs kända obehag inför kattedjuret. När hon återger det för sin dikning vanliga motivet om konfrontationen mellan vilddjursmänniskan och Kristusmänniskan, är det ofta kattedjuret, som växer inom den förra [Lagerroth, 1963, s.406]. Man kan alltså dra slutsatsen, att det djurliknande som Strindberg berömmar i Peters gestalt, hos Lagerlöf blir tecken på det helt motsatta.

I Ryssland har tsar Peters framstående roll i landets öden föga ifrågasatts, dock har det ofta förts diskussioner om den är alltigenom positiv eller är mörkt skuggad av hans grymma metoder och självsvåld. Den historiska tolkningen av Peter och hans tid har naturligtvis alltid berott på dagens politiska läge, alltså på om det var reformernas eller reaktionens vindar som blåste. Georg Brandes besökte Ryssland på 1880-talet och gav 1888 ut en högst intressant och utförlig reseskildring, ”Indtryk fra Rusland”, som framstår som en tämligen balanserad redogörelse för rysk historia, rysk kultur och ryska skick. Brandes motstod allt, som kunde tolkas som romantiken, därför lovprisar han författarna, som stod nära hans förståelse av verklighetens sanningsegna avbildning,

nämligen Lev Tolstoj, Dostojevskij, Korolenko m. m., samt skriver sympatiskt om de unga revolutionärerna. Det ges också en hel del utrymme i "Indtryk fra Rusland" åt Peter den store som ett slags symbol för allting som kunde tolkas som progressivt i detta land och lett till landets modernisering. Han kallar Peter för "Den geniale Musjik", "den berömteste og mest typiske Russer", samt för den, som "fremfor Alt følte sig tiltrukket af de mekaniske Opfindelser" [Brandes, 1888, ss. 40–41]. När Brandes besökte Sankt Petersburg i slutet av 1880-talet anmärkte han nämligen, att "Reaktionen i Rusland er endda i dette Øjeblik så stærk, at blot Besiddelsen af Falconnets *Peter den Store* i formindsket Størrelse snarer tages som en Tegn paa rejeringsfjendsk Sindelag end paa det modsatte: Peter var en Væstens Mand, en Europæer" [Brandes, 1888, s. 58]. Brandes ser Peters roll som alltigenom positiv vad det gällde både det förflutna och det framtida, tsarens gestalt kunde på så sätt sättas emot allt det reaktionära.

I stora drag har de främsta nordiska diktarnas tolkning av Peter den stores gestalt både gemensamma och skilda konturer. Selma Lagerlöf och Verner von Heidenstam snarare demoniserar tsaren, framställer honom som uttrycket för den grymma ondskan immanent för vildar. Knut Hamsun verkar däremot ha misstolkat mer eller mindre allt, som han sett och hört i Ryssland och om Ryssland, och därför berömmar han den ryska grymheten och undersåtarnas ödmjukhet som den bästa praxis för statsförvaltningen. Strindbergs gestaltning av tsar Peter får bedömas som apologetisk, t. o. m. nietzscheansk. Peter den store "hade rätt" [Strindberg, 1999, s. 204] enligt honom, och den svenske kungen blev av författaren kallad för en "som inte kan offra sina små tycken och passioner för sitt fädernesland" [Strindberg, 1997, s. 215]. Dock är det inte helt klart om det är författarens tycke för den ryske tsaren, som gäller, eller är det hans misstycke för både von Heidenstam och för Karl XII, som går först.

De litterära porträtten av Peter den store är trots allt inte så många, inte ens i den litteratur som är skriven på ryska. På det sättet utgör Strindbergs novell "Den store" samt de andra nordiska författarnas tolkningar av denna historiska figur, om inte en otvivelaktig, så dock en värdefull insats för diktningen om den ryske tsaren. Dessa tolkningsförsök i sin tur talar mer om sina upphovsmän och deras samtid än om den riktige Peter I och hans epok.

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IMAGE OF THE RUSSIAN TSAR PETER IN THE WORKS BY STRINDBERG AND OTHER SCANDINAVIAN FIN DE SIÈCLE WRITERS

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The article deals with the image and the characterization of Russia's tsar Peter the Great in a number of texts by some prominent Scandinavian writers from the turn of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The main focus is though on a short story "The Great" (English transl. "The Great Czar") from the collection "Historical Miniatures" (1905) by August Strindberg. Surprisingly enough this text proves to be an example of a highly apologetic narration of the famous Russian ruler and his doings. In the analysis suggested the reception of Peter is set against the background of Strindberg's complicated relation to Peter's foe Carl XII of Sweden, as well as to the Swedish writer's self-perception within the contemporary literary circles. Moreover, "The Great" proves to be a manifestation of a providential view of history proclaimed by the author. In contrast to Strindberg his fellow nationals Selma Lagerlöf and Verner von Heidenstam suggest a much less complimentary interpretation of both tsar Peter and the time of his rule. On the other hand, the Danish Georg Brandes and Norway's Knut Hamsun express quite acclamatory, though in the case of Hamsun vaguely based, views of Peter I. This lets us to conclude that the depiction of the monarch by the authors mentioned tells us more about themselves than about the tsar in question.

Keywords: Peter the Great, historical fiction, August Strindberg, *Historical Miniatures*, Karl XII, Selma Lagerlöf, Verner von Heidenstam, *The Charles Men*, Georg Brandes, Knut Hamsun, Dmitry Merezhkovsky, Aleksandr Pushkin, Ilya Repin, Ivan IV the Terrible.

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READING KAREN BLIXEN IN DIFFERENT CULTURES.

“SAILOR-BOY’S TALE” (“SKIBSDRENGENS FORTÆLLING”):

WHAT IS LOST AND GAINED IN SELF-TRANSLATION?

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The paper analyses Karen Blixen’s short story “The Sailor-boy’s Tale”, which opens her collection “Winter’s Tales” (1942), in comparison with the Danish translation made by the author in the same year. The Danish text is considered the result of a process of auto-translation, recoding, and adaptation of the text for the Scandinavian reader. In the Danish version, the prose is more rhythmic and the descriptions are more vivid, which enhances the sensual authenticity. However, allusions to English and American authors and quotations are translated into Danish, which obscures their significance as markers of intertextual dialogue. Additionally, the dialogue with Scandinavian pretexts and paintings familiar to the Danish reader becomes more pronounced.

Keywords: Karen Blixen, Isak Dinesen, Danish literature, selftranslation, E. M. Forster, *Winter’s Tales*, intertextuality.

Karen Blixen (1885–1962) is one of the well-known examples of self-translating authors. If we talk about the early to mid-twentieth century, she finds herself among such names as V. Nabokov, S. Beckett, A. Strindberg, and E. Södergran. Unlike her contemporaries, Blixen used a pen name for her English editions. The majority of her English works were published under the pseudonym Isak Dinesen. The writer’s choice of a male pseudonym follows a long tradition of women writers using male names to increase the reception of their work, as male literature was historically better received than female literature.

K. Blixen attributed her choice of English as the main language of communication with her readers to her desire to write for a larger audience and for economic reasons [Brantly, 2002]. In addition, English was her main language of communication in Africa among British settlers, aristocrats and officials, where she lived from 1914 to 1931. Thus, most of her works were written keeping in mind the anglophone world and taking into account the cultural baggage of English-speaking readers. Her first works were therefore coolly received in Denmark.

The present paper aims to take a closer look at the first story in the collection of short stories “Winter’s Tales” (1942) “The Sailor-Boy’s Tale” (“Skibsdrengens fortælling”) as a result of self-translation, by some scholars called “transcreation” [Steponavičiūtė, 2011] and adaptation of the text to the perception of readers belonging to different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, who have experience in reading texts and are familiar with works of art from different cultures.

When comparing the English and Danish texts, the English text is considered the first original and the Danish text the second original [Gentes, Van Bolderen, 2021].

The focus of the research is on what changes the short story has undergone as a result of self-translation at the textual (lexical and syntactic levels), and what factual changes occur at the story level. Another important question is whether the Danish version retains all the clues to intertextual dialogue with the predecessor works that are familiar to Anglo-American audiences.

K. Blixen’s “Winter’s Tales” in both English and Danish versions retains a reference to two English texts, W. Shakespeare’s “The Winter’s tale” (1623), R. L. Stevenson’s “The Master of Ballantrae: A Winter’s Tale” (1889), and the German text “Deutschland — ein Wintermärchen” (1844) by H. Heine. It was written over a period of five years and published in 1942 in both England and the USA in English. The author took only two months (from 11.05 to 11.07.1942) [Behrendt, 2010, s. 406] to translate and “recode” a new version for Danish readers.

A comparison of the changes that occurred during the process of “recoding” as a result of self-translation into Danish is rather complicated because of the fact that the Danish version remained unchanged, while the English version was corrected and amended with each new British edition until 1958 [Roper, 1998]. It means, that by 1958, there

were also significant discrepancies between the British and American versions of the book.

D. Roper cites the memoirs of Blixen's secretary Ulla Rask, who shares a description of how the writer worked when writing the Danish version of the book. She would dictate the translation, then finalise it herself, then dictate it again, making changes. Sometimes the Danish version of translation appeared before the finished English, which means that the English and Danish texts were sometimes worked on simultaneously [Roper, 1998].

Similar to other bilingual authors, the writer switches from one cultural code to another not by translating but by rewriting her texts, refining them stylistically and making some factual changes. Despite the writer's claim that writing in English came naturally after living in Africa, her English versions contained errors that were corrected by her editors, as well as there are some danisms that remained.

First of all, it concerns the translation of idioms. For example, in the English version of "The Sailor-boy's Tale" to describe the girl Nora a loan translation of the Danish idiom *at være slank som en ål* is used: "She was... *as slim as an eel*" [Dinesen, 2001, p. 9]. In another short story "The Pearls" the writer uses calque of the Danish proverb *Hæleren er lige så god som stjæleren*: "The receiver of stolen goods is no better than a thief" [Dinesen, 2001, p. 48], while there is an English proverb about the same: *The receiver is as bad as the thief*.

Researchers of Blixen's texts agree on the main features that characterise her prose — stylization of the oral narrative, high density of references to various pretexts, irony and ambivalence of her plots, which allow for multiple interpretations and suggest a special strategy of involving the reader in exploring the hidden relationship between events and providing his or her own interpretation of the story. Usually, Blixen establishes a dialogue with numerous previous texts, indicating a possible connection by means of various markers (quotations, paraphrases, plot parallelism, names of characters or places where the action takes place).

Susan Brantly points out that "the more a reader becomes aware of the hints, clues, allusions, and hidden meanings in the text, the deeper will be the reader's understanding" [Brantly, 2002, p. 1]

The ideological basis of K. Blixen's artistic worldview is to a large extent to be found in the principles according to which the world of the French and Danish Symbolists (S. Mallarmé, G. Vanor, S. Claussen)

functions: understatement, reality as a reflection of the world of ideas [Gabriel, 1994; Jørgensen, 1994] and the artistic world of E. M. Forster, who in his essay “Aspects of the Novel” (1927) develops the idea of the god-author and the artistic universe created by him and introduces the phenomenon of “homo fictus” — a character created by many predecessor authors [Forster, 2010].

For readers who lived during Blixen’s time, her allusions would have been more noticeable, as many of the texts which she refers to were recently written and therefore better known, such as K. Hamsun’s novels. However, the reading experience among the educated population in Europe was much more extensive than it is now. Furthermore, readers from Norway, Denmark, and Sweden perceived authors from these countries as culturally closer due to their shared history. Additionally, German culture had a significant impact on Danish culture during the 19th century. It seems that the reaction of the critics on the publication of “The Winter’s Tales” in Danish in a way proves the obviousness of the intertextual references. According to S. Brantly, the Danish critic Henning Kehler expressed his dissatisfaction with the writer’s use of pastiche technique, stating that “She has that truly feminine capacity to be able to copy superbly” [Brantly, 2002, p. 102].

The numerous semantic gaps in K. Blixen’s texts, which have to be filled, are revealed at a moment when there is a pause in the action, a sudden silence in the conversation or a long glance in the mirror. The characters in the short story turn white or red, faint, remain silent for a long time and always reveal a total change in their attitude towards the events and the change in their behavior. For example, the young girl from “The Sailor-Boy’s Tale” that gives the main character a kiss for an orange says at their first meeting that she is looking out for a man she is going to marry [Dinesen, 2001, p. 9]. At their last meeting she promises she will never marry anybody, as long as she lives [Dinesen, 2001, p. 12]. In “Pearls” the main character starts with the intention she would “never cry quarter, but that this must be her husband’s part” [Dinesen, 2001, p. 40]. But at the end of the story she admits, that “she will cry as loud as she can” [Dinesen, 2001, p. 48].

The references, that can be found both in English and in Danish texts by K. Blixen, evoke both the events from her own life and real persons, the literary pretexts and works of art. One of the many examples of how she turns the personal experiences into the narrative elements could be

the fact that one of the prototypes for Adelaide from “Ib and Adelaide” is a distant relative of the writer Agnes Krag-Juel-Vind-Frijs [Lasson, Selborn, 1992]. Another example is to be found in the “Sailor-boy’s Tale”: In the short story there is a mention of Takaunga, with its ruined minaret, where a Lappish witch flies to visit her sister, after having turned herself into a falcon. P. Behrendt indicates, that this location near Mombasa was the home of Karen Blixen’s lover Dennys Finch-Hatton [Behrendt, 2010, p. 285].

The names and appearances of the author’s characters, together with the landscapes described, serve often as a “portal” to the world of numerous images of predecessors. One and the same character can have features that identify him with several characters from texts of different cultures, thus creating an ironic dialogue and bringing together several authors from different periods and cultures on the plane of one text.

Depending on the reader’s cultural background and preferences, some markers cease to work, and with them the works alluded to by the author recede into the shadows, while others, on the contrary, become more obvious.

In his analysis of the intertextual dialogue that begins with the names of the characters in “Alkmene”, Jürgen Hiller draws a portrait gallery of the ancestors of William and Alkmene and Jens and Gertrud, which he finds in the Bible, the texts of Homer, H. Kleist, J. W. Goethe, S. S. Blicher [Hiller, 2020]. Another long gallery of portraits and a dialogue are to be found in the short story “The Bear and the Kiss” from 1958 [Lomagina, 2020].

Thus, the events in the author’s text develop in a similar or, more often, diametrically opposed way to the situations described in the texts referred to by means of markers, one of which can be the character’s name. In other cases, the reference alludes to the possibility that a character’s action or destiny may develop in a certain pattern beyond the plot, or allows to suspect the potential features of the character with that name.

Among the list of creations of predecessor authors with whom the writer enters into dialogue, there are a fair number of fine art objects. Some of them should arise in the reader’s memory thanks to the mention of the title or author, such as the names of the historical painting “Olav Tryggvason” by P.N. Arebo in the short story “The Bear and the Kiss” [Lomagina, 2020] or the names of Titian and Veronese in the short story “Eloise” [Sørensen, 2002]. Sometimes the presence of intermedial

interaction can be proved if there is a reference to it in another text by Blixen [Stahr, 2020].

As the newlyweds in the short story “The Pearls” go on a wedding trip to the Hardanger fjord, it sends, most likely, ironically the attentive reader to the famous painting by Norwegian artists H. Gude and A. Tidemann “Wedding Procession at Hardanger”, then the clue would be the name of the famous fjord and the description of beautiful views. In the same text, the views of Norwegian mountains with waterfalls and a rainbow above them is a generalized landscape, that alludes to the Norwegian landscape painter J. K. Dahl (“Rainbow over Stalheim”) and perhaps also J. Bauer’s illustrations to “The boy who was never afraid” by A. Smedberg, the story that is mentioned in the text.

The story “The Sailor’s Tale”, in the Danish version “Skibsdrengens fortælling”, is, on one hand, paired with the gothic short story “The Monkey” from “Seven Gothic Tales”, since it also deals with the transformation of a man into an animal, combined with murder and the magic of the moon. However, this story shares also similarities with the later text “The bear and the kiss” in that it features a witch (who is an alter ego of K. Blixen herself) that provides a young man with a magic drink, her support and protection. Despite her outward unattractiveness, the witch also has a certain erotic power over the young man.

The short story is commonly interpreted by scholars as a narrative of initiation that centers around the growth and maturity of a young man. The plot, in brief, is that a young man on a ship rescues a falcon that has become entangled in the rigging at the top of the mast. When the ship arrives in the Norwegian town of Bodø, he wanders around the town, meets a 14-year-old girl, gives her an orange and she promises him a kiss in return. She asks him to come back the next day for the kiss. On his way to the girl’s house, however, the young man is stopped by a group of drunken Russian sailors who want to have a drink with him. One of them confesses his love to the boy and won’t let him out of his drunken embrace. The young man kills him with a knife in an attempt to free himself and manages to get a kiss from the girl, even though he is wanted for murder. Unexpectedly, he is helped by an old Lappish woman who everyone thinks is a witch. She hides him in her hut and threatens the sailors who come looking for him with a curse. As she leaves, she tells the young man that she is the same falcon he saved from the mast and promises him many adventures in life and the love of girls.

Among the quite numerous studies of the correlation between the English and Danish versions of Blixen's short stories it is worth mentioning two main ones, where most of the changes made in the Danish version were summarized. The first one is the article by E. Bredsdorff, where he compares the translation of *Seven Gothic Tales* into Danish and the English text. He notices that the language and the style of the narration differ a lot in the Danish version. In his research he mentions a change in dates, some names, number of different subjects, different paragraphing [Bredsdorff, 1985].

L. Kure-Jensen notes the following changes in the writer's style when switching to Danish: richer vocabulary, dramatizing effect, higher degree of specificity and elaboration of concepts [Kure-Jensen, 1985]. Overall, both researchers note an improvement in style in the Danish translation of the short stories.

When comparing the texts of "The Sailor-boy's Tale" and its Danish version, the differences fit into the pattern formulated by the researchers.

A question of time and quantity: In the Danish text, the events take place in early May, not April; the girl Simon meets has one long plait, not two; the sailor Ivan wants to remember himself as a young man at 17, not 16 as in the Danish version. Finally, whereas in the English edition Simon stands for 5 minutes in the dance hall and realizes what has happened to him, in the Danish text it takes 10 minutes.

All character names, toponyms and the names of the ships are the same in the Danish text as in the English. The only change occurs with the name of the ship's dog, with whom Simon stays on board before his unauthorized shore leave. In the English version, it is "Balthasar", the same name as old Jolyon's dog in "The Forsyte Saga" by J. Galsworthy. In the Danish edition the dog is named "Alert", perhaps as a more obvious dog name that is loaded with additional meaning (in the commentary on this short story, P. Behrendt cites its possible modern equivalent "Kvik" — "smart, quick"). However, it is possible that the name is still literary and comes from a novel by the German writer Jean Paul Richter (1763–1825), who, like K. Blixen 100 years later, was fond of literary ciphers, anagrams and mystifications.

In Jean Poul's novel "The Life of Fibel" (1812), a dog of the same name appears. Then the ironic scene of Fibel and the forester's daughter first kiss under the magical influence of the moon in the German writ-

er's text, and Fleur's transformation in the moonlight and Jon's first kiss in Galsworthy's novel are echoed in K. Blixen's short story. It is also a coincidence that Jon Forsythe cannot remember whether the kiss lasted ten seconds or ten minutes, while the character in the Danish short story does not know whether the kiss lasted a second or an hour.

Another difference is that the Danish version is much more detailed and accurate in the way it visualizes the action. Here are some examples:

<i>Sailor-boy's tale</i>	<i>Skibsdrengens fortælling</i>
"came down to sell bead-embroidered leather-goods"	"for at sælge perlebroderede lædervarer, og knapper og knivskafter af rensdyrhårn "
"wiped the knife"	"Tørrede kniven af i Ivans klæder "
"led him to the door"	" tog ham i ærmet , ledte ham til døren"
"so that his head swam"	"det blev sort for øjnene af ham, og hele verden gyngede op og ned som et skib i høj sø "
"gave him a little push down the doorstep"	"gav ham et let stød, så at han kom hurtigt ned ad trinnet "
"a lamp hang from the ceiling"	"der hang en tranlampe i en kæde fra loftet"
"she pressed her young face to his and kissed him tenderly"	"hun pressede sin unge, slanke krop imod hans mellem gærdestavene, og kyssede ham"

Another stylistic feature in the Danish version of the text is the use of more adjectives in the form of epithets, which enhances the effect of descriptiveness and sensory authenticity. Additionally, adjectives, nouns, and verbs are often paired with synonyms or antonyms. The use of repetitive parts of speech and alliteration, which is more frequent in the Danish text, creates a rhythmic effect and reinforces the perspective of the third-person narrator.

<i>Sailor-boy's tale</i>	<i>Skibsdrengens fortælling</i>
"mute, deadly fight"	"den stumme kamp på liv og død "
"and expect no help from others"	"at det kun er børn og fæhoveder , der stoler på, at andre skal hjælpe dem"
"Simon has been small for his age all his life"	"Han havde hele sin barndom været lille af sin alder, en spinkel, svag dreng "

“a mark to pay for the blood you have spilled”	“en mark for dit skind og det blod, du har mistet”
”bewildered boy”	“den svimle og fortumlede dreng”
”drunk”	“fuld eller vanvittig ”
“her face, cool as the moonlight”	“hendes ansigt, der var blidt og køligt som fuldmånen selv”
“I promise you, that I will never marry anybody, as long as I live”	“Nu lover og sværger jeg dig, at jeg aldrig vil gifte mig med nogen anden end dig , så længe jeg lever”

In addition to the differences between the two versions of the short story, there are also some elements that remain unchanged, which feel alien in both languages. For example, in the English version of the short story, the description of the summer evening and the moonlit landscape above the sea compares the calm water to milk mixed with water, which may not be a common comparison in English: “The pale evening was all round him, the sky was faintly roseate, **the sea was quite calm, like milk and water**, only in the wake of the boats going inshore it broke into streaks of vivid indigo” [Dinesen, 2001, p. 10].

To a reader from an English-speaking reading culture, the comparison of calm sea water to a mixture of milk and water looks new. However, to readers of the Danish version with a background in reading Scandinavian literature, it may refer to Norwegian realities.

In the Danish version, when describing the sea surface, the author writes that it is not only calm but also colourless. The colourlessness of the sea is like a mixture of milk and water, a Norwegian drink for which the Norwegian word *mælkeblende* is used, which sounds quite different in Danish. The description of the sea thus looks like this “Himlen var Ganske svagt rosenrød, **søen var blikstille og farveløs som mælkeblende**, kun i kølvandet efter de både, der roede indefter brød den i en stribe af indigo” [Blixen, 1972, s. 8].

P. Behrendt noted the use of the Norwegian word in the Danish version of the short story in a commented edition of the short stories: “Mælkeblende: blanding af (sur)mælk og vand (efter det norske)” [Behrendt, 2010, s. 283].

In Norwegian literature from the 19th century to 1942, the word *melkeblende* appears with three meanings: firstly, in the direct meaning

of “drink” (S. Undset, A. Garborg, A. Skram, H. Ibsen), secondly, in the description of the appearance, especially the eyes, in the meaning of being colourless “like water” (K. Hamsun, S. Undset, J. Lie).

The use of the word *melkeblande* to visualise a landscape is less frequent: the whitish air resembling *melkeblande* during a nighttime storm in May is found in Nini Roll Anker’s “I Amtamandsgaarden”. In A. Skram’s story “Fru Ines”, the flow of dirty water in a ditch is compared to *melkeblande*. The closest to the description of the sea in Blixen’s story is S. Undset’s description of water in her novel “Olav Audunssøn og hans børn” where the foaming water around the bathing children is compared to *melkeblande*.

Possible references to texts of Norwegian literature, where the mention of *melkeblande* could serve as a key to trigger a comparison between the plots, are not very convincing. But a series of landscapes by Norwegian artists, including those who depicted the sea at Bodø, such as Eilert Adelsteen Normann (1848–1918), Sophus Jacobsen (1833–1912), Knud Baade (1808–1879), Georg Anton Rasmussen (1842–1914) captured the sea in different moods: both mirror-like calm, with foam over the stern of the boat, and moonscapes during white nights, and stormy, and the merging of sky and sea into a single whole. So, it is possible that in all three descriptions of the sea in the short story we are dealing with ekphrasis, which is quite consistent with the writer’s view of the world as the result of a creative act performed by God, and that the comparison to the Norwegian milk-and-water drink is a clue for understanding it.

A turning point in the story is the appearance of the moon in the sky. Under its influence, Simon finally decides to leave the ship and meet Nora. She resembles the description of the girl: her round, clear face and presumptuous smile, the moon is described by the same epithets: “round, demure, presumptuous” [Dinesen, 2001, p. 10], “rund, stille og hovmodig” [Blixen, 1972, s. 8] in Danish.

If we follow the principle of “repetition” and assume the possible existence of characters, quotations and plot twists from predecessors, we can try to find among the works known to the writer a girl and a moon connected by similarities. One obvious would be Swann’s description of his falling in love with Odette in the novel “In search of lost time” by M. Proust (1871–1922), which can be found in the writer’s library at Rungstedlund. “Sometimes, as he looked up from his victoria on those fine and frosty nights of early spring, and saw the dazzling moonbeams

fall between his eyes and the deserted streets, he would think of that another face, gleaming and faintly roseate like the moons, which had, one day, risen on the horizon of his mind and since then had shed upon the world that mysterious light..." [Proust, 2003, p. 852].

But the last appearance of the moon, which Simon notices on the doorstep of the old witch's house, is described differently. In the English version "there was a wide ring round the moon" [Dinesen, 2001, p. 14]. "Natten var svagt diset nu, og der var en stor ring omkring månen" [Blixen, 1972, s. 13]. The ring around the moon in both English and Danish tradition signifies a change of weather, which can be understood as an impending storm, literally and metaphorically. Simon is in danger or, on the contrary, the danger will pass him by. The English saying "Ring around the moon, brings a storm/rain soon" speaks of this. In Danish it sounds similar: "Hjul om sole giver omslag inden tre dage" [Behrendt, 2010, s. 284]. However, there is a possibility, that the English phrase is a quote from the poem "Farewell" by James Russell Lowell (1819–1891): "*There's a wide ring round the moon, The ghost-like clouds glide by, And I hear the sad winds croon A dirge to the lowering sky*". The poem is about saying goodbye to a dead beloved. If the plot of the short story enters into dialogue with this poem, the reference to it could mean that Simon will never meet Nora. For the Danish reader, this allusion will probably go unnoticed.

K. Blixen significantly strengthens the relationship between the events of the Danish text by schematically contrasting two kisses, the kiss of the girl that Simon expects to receive and the kiss of the sailor Ivan that keeps him away. In the English version, Ivan does not kiss the young man on the lips, so the choice between loving a man and falling in love with a girl does not seem so pointed. The absence of this detail in the English version may have been censored.

In Nora's last promise, there is a small change when switching to Danish. In the English version, she promises never to marry, while in the Danish version, she states that she will not marry anyone except Simon. If we assume that all details in Blixen's texts are verified and nothing is accidental, this difference can be explained by the fact that the writer had in mind the types of relationships from different literary works. Perhaps she was thinking in the first case about the fate of June Forsyte and about Ramborg from Sigrid Undset's novel in the second.

It is thought that some of the allusions are intended for readers from different linguistic backgrounds. For example, the bird on the ship refers to S. Coleridge's English poem about the old mariner and the story of a sailor called Simon Hatley from G. Shelvock's travelogue, which inspired S. Coleridge. At the same time, Scandinavian readers may recall an episode from the Danish work "The Hunt Letters" ("Jagtbreve"), written by K. Blixen's father, W. Dinesen. In both episodes, the birds (an albatross and a falcon) are killed by sailors. In Blixen's story, this scene foreshadows and ultimately determines the fate of the young man who, in contrast, saves the disoriented falcon.

At the same time, a significant part of the allusions should be equally noticeable to all readers in Europe and America. It is about the use of references to the Bible, Greek mythology and ancient literature in Blixen's texts. The short story being examined contains only a few such allusions. The sailor Ivan recalls himself as a young "little lamb of God" and then carries the boy "like a bear that carries a sheep" [Dinesen, 2001, p. 11]. This is an obvious paraphrase from the Bible. This episode paraphrases the conversation between David and Saul, where David promises to defeat Goliath. David explains: "Your servant used to tend his father's sheep, and whenever a lion or bear came to carry off a sheep from the flock..." This allusion then equates Simon, who killed the giant Ivan, who resembles a bear in appearance, smell and behavior, to David, who defeated a superior opponent.

The setting of the novel in both the English and the Danish version has clear references to the Norwegian novels by K. Hamsun (1859–1952), especially "Benoni" and "Rosa" (1908) and the author's favorite antagonist, S. Undset and her novel "Kristin Lavransdatter" (1920). It should be noted that at the time of writing both authors had been translated into English and received international recognition.

When compared to Hamsun's texts several parallels emerge. The main events of the short story take place in the Norwegian town Bodø (Bodo in English spelling), which is situated in Norland, the setting of many of Hamsun's works dealing with the life of fishermen and sailors.

Simon's ship arrives to be loaded with herring. The novel "Benoni" describes in details how the locals depend on herring fishing, drying and selling. One of the characters in the story resembles a character in the novel "Benoni": Blixen also has a Jewish merchant who sells watches. K. Blixen, like K. Hamsun, writes that the watches were mostly of

bad quality, but the sailors bought them anyway and showed them off. Among Hamsun's characters in "The Rose" there is a Lappish sorcerer. He is feared by the locals and believed to be able to cast spells. This character is, as is often the case with the author, the double of the witch in Blixen's short story.

These coincidences bring to life Hamsun's problematic, especially his theme of love-hate, complex relationships between a man and a woman that usually end tragically and the sailor's life and travelling. Is it possible that the relationship between Blixen's two young characters could develop in the same way?

In S. Undset's novel, there are several coincidences with Blixen's story. The name of the main character, Simon, is the same as that of Kristin's first fiancé. The similarity is strengthened by the fact that Kristin's younger sister in Undset's novel, who is 14 years old like Nora, is in love with him.

Not only does the name of the Lappish witch Sunniva make her a doppelganger of St Sunniva, the patron saint of northern Norway, as Aage Henriksen writes in his essay "The Divine Child" [Henriksen, 2017, p. 240], a rather typical oxymoron in the author's texts (a holy witch), but also a double of Erlend's attractive and erotic mistress from "Kristin Lavransdatter", who bears the same name. This suggests that the witch and the young girl Nora are rivals for a young man in the short story.

The following table lists possible predecessor characters to the three main protagonists, each denoting a possible perspective, characteristic or pattern by which events might develop further.

Compared to Simon, his prototypes share similar themes, such as the struggle to choose one's destiny, a desire for adventure, a love for a girl and the sea, a passion for poetry, or a talent for storytelling.

The female characters in the short story are presented as opposites in terms of their external qualities, such as age, beauty, and ability to help. The old woman is in addition said to be a witch, while the young one is a daughter of a parson. Another pair of oppositions can be seen when considering the girl's name, Nora, which refers the reader to H. Ibsen's most famous play. One of Nora's characterizations in the play is repeatedly mentioned by her husband, Torvald, and by herself: that of a care-free bird. This reinforces her opposition to the falcon-witch. Although the old woman assures the young man that "all females of this earth

<i>Witch Sunniva</i>	<i>Sailor-boy Simon</i>	<i>Teenage girl Nora</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — patron saint of Norway — the seductress, Erlend's lover in S. Undset's "Kristin Lavransdatter" — H. C. Andersen's Lappish woman from "The Snow Queen" — the which from the sagas — the alter ego of Karen Blixen herself — the double of the Lappish sorcerer in K. Hamsun's "Rosa" — the falcon caught in the tackle-yarn upon the mast of the ship = "L'Albatros" by Ch. Baudelaire; "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" by S. Taylor Coleridge; Boganis "Jagtbreve" — a falcon during the hunt, which leads the hunter to a future love = K. Hauch "Valdemars sang"; W. Shakespeare "Winter's Tale" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Kristin's first fiancée in S. Undset's "Kristin Lavransdatter" — the sailor-boy in K. Hamsun's novels — "The Sailor-Boy" from the poem by A. Tennyson — the sailor in "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" by S. Taylor Coleridge — Simon Hatley from G. Shelvocke's "A Voyage Round the World by Way of the Great South", where he shot a black albatross — Fibel, writer from Jean Poul's "Leben Fibels" — Jon Forsyte, young dreamer and poet — a young man on a crossroad between a love to a woman and a love to a man; — Hercules' choice between Vice and Virtue: being a sailor and being married 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Nora, Ibsen's character in the "Doll's House", who resembles a bird — the pastor's daughter Rosa in the novel Benoni — K. Hamsun's female character in love, waiting outside the fence for her beloved — Ramborg, the Kristin's sister of 14 years old, the wife of Simon — one of the female characters in "The Forsyte saga" by J. Galsworthy

hold together" [Dinesen, 2001, p. 16], she sends him to the sea instead of returning him to his beloved. Simon, playing the role of Hercules at the crossroads, chooses the fate of a sailor and a storyteller.

What possibilities does Nora open to the young man Simon through intertextual play? Erotic love: she will be very beautiful, young, slim as an eel, a possible Hamsun's love-hate, Ibsen's family relations from "The Doll's House". What Sunniva promises: her patronage, the love of all the girls, the long happy journey as a sailor, a long life as a good story.

As a result of comparing the English and Danish texts of the short story, several types of differences can be distinguished:

- minor plot changes, possibly related to censorship or switching to a pre-text from another culture;

- visual specification of the characters' actions in the Danish text;
- an increase in the rhythmic nature of the prose in the Danish text;
- enhancing the third-person narrator's perspective in the Danish text.

The cultural adaptation of texts for Danish or Scandinavian readers is not intentional, but certain markers that are imperceptible to Anglophone readers may become more pronounced for Scandinavian readers. At the same time, many texts and works of fiction are familiar to all the readers with a European or American upbringing. These include biblical and ancient Greek allusions.

The short story under consideration maintains the main features of intertextuality with intermedial elements, such as references to paintings, which are characteristic for Blixen's work. The clues evoking the dialogue with the pretexts are objects or phenomena of nature, quotations, names of characters, and similarities in the setting and circumstances.

The authors' polylogue creates a narrative that is open to multiple interpretations, while also reinforcing through repetition the idea of a universe narrated by a narrator-God.

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**ПРОЧТЕНИЕ КАРЕН БЛИКСЕН В РАЗНЫХ КУЛЬТУРАХ.
ЧТО ТЕРЯЕТСЯ И ПРИОБРЕТАЕТСЯ ПРИ АВТОПЕРЕВОДЕ?
(НА ПРИМЕРЕ НОВЕЛЛЫ «РАССКАЗ КОРАБЕЛЬНОГО ЮНГИ»)**

Для цитирования: *Lomagina A. Reading Karen Blixen in different cultures. “Sailor-Boy's Tale” (“Skibsdrengens Fortælling”): What is lost and gained in self-translation? // Скандинавская филология. 2024. Т. 22. Вып. 1. С. 136–152. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2024.109>*

В статье анализируется новелла Карен Бликсен *The Sailor-boy's Tale* («История корабельного юнга»), которая открывает ее сборник *Winter's Tales* («Зимние сказки») (1942), в сравнении с переводом на датский язык, выполненным авто-

ром в 1942 г. Датский текст рассматривается как результат автоперевода, перекодирования и адаптации текста для читателя со скандинавским кругом чтения. В то время как в датском варианте усиливаются ритмичность прозы и чувственная достоверность описания, которая, в частности, выражается в усилении визуализации текста, — аллюзии к английским, американским авторам и цитаты переводятся на датский и их значение как маркеров интертекстуального диалога затеняется. Более ярко начинает звучать диалог со скандинавскими претекстами и живописными полотнами, знакомыми датскому читателю.

Ключевые слова: Карен Бликсен, датская литература, автоперевод, Э.М. Форстер, *Зимние сказки*, интертекстуальность.

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КУЛЬТУРА И КУЛЬТУРНЫЕ СВЯЗИ

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THE END OF FRISIAN FREEDOM BY ITS CONFIRMATION: THE FRISIAN IMPERIAL PRIVILEGE OF EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I AND ITS BACKGROUND. PART I: THE FIRST CHARTERS*

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The article discusses the history of the only ratified charter that confirmed the so-called Charles Privilege that would have enacted Frisian freedom (a presumably thirteenth-century falsum). This charter was issued by Roman King Maximilian I on 23 September 1493 on request of representatives from the West Frisian territories. This article discusses the background of this privilege. It gives a brief overview of the development of Frisian liberty in its relation to Frisian history. Then the so-called Magnus Legend, being connected with Frisian freedom, is discussed. It discusses briefly the alleged privilege of Charlemagne and the Frisian privileges of Roman King and Count of Holland William II (1248) and the Emperor Sigismund (1417). A sequel of this article is planned for publication in the next issue of *Scandinavian Philology*. In that paper, a more closely look will be given at Maximilian's privilege, after which Frisian freedom ended in 1498 for nearly 450 years. It will obtain as well a complete edition of the Latin text of the charter and its English translation.

Keywords: Frisia, Latin, Charles Privilege, Frisian freedom, Maximilian I, Sigismund, William II.

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INTRODUCTION

In Frisian history, the concept of *Frysk en fry*, Frisian and Free, is an important part of the self-identification of Frisian people. Many pieces have been written about this, culminating in 2003 in the major exhibition *Die Friesische Freiheit des Mittelalters — Leben und Legende* in Aurich. The researcher Oebele Vries, in particular, has contributed a great deal to the research. His main publications are *Het Heilige Roomse Rijk en de Friese Vrijheid* [Vries, 1986], *Die Friesische Freiheit: ein Randproblem des Reiches* [Vries, 2012a] and *Frisonica libertas* [Vries, 2015]. From the Middle Ages onwards, the Frisians argued that Charlemagne had bestowed them with their freedom in gratitude for help in defeating the Saxons as well as in taking Rome. No charter was ever issued for this, however, a fact maliciously referred to by chroniclers in the service of the Counts of Holland such as Jacob van Maerlant (c. 1230 — c. 1300) in his *Spiegelhel Historiaal* (“Mirror of History”), Part III, Book VIII, chapter XCIII (mainly lines 115–222) and Melis Stoke (c. 1235 — c. 1305) in his *Rijmkroniek van Holland* (“Rhyme Chronicle of Holland”), book I, lines 243–258. Shortly, however, after Stoke wrote his *Rijmkroniek*, in the years 1290–1305, a copy of a privilege for the Frisians by Charlemagne, usually called Charles Privilege, appeared for the first time, in a copybook of William III, Count of Holland, from 1317–1336 [Die Urkunden der Karolinger I, 1906, s. 393–397]¹.

On 23 September 1493, now 530 years ago, the Roman King Maximilian I issued a privilege confirming not only two earlier genuine privileges in favour of the Frisians, bestowed by the Roman King William II in 1248 and by the Roman King Sigismund in 1417², but as well the above-mentioned alleged Charles Privilege³ which was cited at the time by many Frisians as the basis of their freedom, presenting this charter as genuine. Maximilian was thus the first official high authority to acknowledge this Charles Privilege, notwithstanding that he declared himself “etiam si privilegia Karoli aliter non ostendantur” [despite the fact that Charles’ original privilege could not be shown] which shows a certain suspicion about its authenticity. The Latin version of Maximil-

¹ Original: Copybook of Count William III of Holland, Nationaal Archief, Hague, Great Register of Friesland, Archiefnr. 3.01.01, inv. no. 324.

² Tresoar, Leeuwarden, Verzameling Aanwinsten 345, inv. no. 788.

³ Preserved in: Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Dresden, Friesländer Privilegien 1417. Bestand 10024, Geheimer Rat, Loc. 08194/05. fol. 5–9v.

ian's 1493 privilege was unknown for a long period of time. Vries [1986, p. 125] knew only the German version⁴. In 2000, the Latin original text was found, preserved in the same archive [Vries, 2012b, p. 113, note 62]. The transcription to be published in the next paper will be the first edition of the Latin text.

Roman King William II, Count of Holland, referred in his charter issued in Aachen on 3 November 1248 in gratitude for the help of the Frisians in the capture of the coronation city of Aachen for the first time to rights and liberties granted to the Frisians by Charlemagne⁵. The next official affirmation of Frisian freedoms was as late as in 1417 by the Roman King Sigismund in 1417. The original of this charter is preserved now in the Frisian regional historical centre Tresoar in Leeuwarden, with shelf mark Verzameling Aanwinsten 787. Oebele Vries [Vries, 1986, p. 251–255] transcribed the Latin text and published a Frisian and Dutch translation of the charter in the jubilee year 2017, without reproducing the Latin original [Vries, 2017]. A second affirmation was a draft of a new Frisian privilege by Emperor Frederick III in 1479, preserved now as well in Tresoar under shelf mark Verzameling Aanwinsten 345, inv. Nr. 788 as a loan from the Ducal Archive of Guelders. The text was printed first in 1787 [Schwartzenberg en Hohenlansberg, 1767, p. 682–686, Dutch translation, p. 686–689]. Because of Frederick's death on 19 August 1493, the draft did not enter into force [Vries, 1986, p. 119–120].

Finally, a third affirmation was presented in the charter by the Roman King Maximilian I of 23 September 1493, being the subject of this article. Both the latter privileges contain the complete text of the fictitious Charles Privilege, albeit with some adjusted dates. In his own privilege, Maximilian explicitly refers to all three previous “Frisian” charters: “nostra regia de novo concedimus per presentes omnia privilegia Wilhelmi et Sigismundi Regum, Frederici Tercii Imperatoris genitoris nostri colendissimi et omnium aliorum Romanorum Imperatorum et Regum predecessorum nostrorum” (‘we reaffirm, with our royal authority, all the privileges of Kings William and Sigismund, of Emperor Frederick the Third our most honoured progenitor, of all other Emperors and Roman Kings, our predecessors’).

⁴ Preserved in: Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Dresden, Friesländer Privilegien 1417, Bestand 10024, Geheimer Rat, Loc. 08194/01, fol. 34–40v.

⁵ Text [Hägermann, 1977, p. 365–357], compare [Richthofen, 1882, p. 319–320].

The Charles Privilege included a provision that the Frisians should annually elect a *potestas* as their representative to the Empire. The Roman King Maximilian I used this to gain control of the Frisians. Since the Frisians proved incapable of electing a representative, Maximilian appointed Duke Albrecht III of Saxony as *gubernator* and *potestas* of Frisia west from the Lauwers river in 1498. Emperor Frederick III had earlier appointed Ulrich Cirksena (1408–1466) as first Imperial Count of East Frisia in 1464. With both acts, the traditional Frisian freedom ended.

This paper is divided in two parts. In the present first part, after a brief introduction to Friesland and Frisian freedom, the circumstances of the privilege of William II of 1248 and that of Sigismund of 1417 are discussed. The second part, to be published later, will discuss the Frisian privilege issued by Maximilian I in 1493, giving as well the complete Latin text with an English translation of the thus far unedited charter.

1. THE FRISIAN LANDS

As is evident from the three privileges of 1248, 1417 and 1498, it was not always clear even to contemporaries, which areas belonged to the Frisian territories. Around 700 AD, when a kind of Frisian kingdom existed, referred to in the nineteenth century as *Magna Frisia*, the entire area from the Zwin to the Weser was Frisian. Note, however, that the generally used term *Magna Frisia* is no historic name but invented by nineteenth-century scholars [de Langen, Mol, 2021, p. 116]. This area was conquered by Charles Martel and Charlemagne in several campaigns between 719 and 772. In the years 782–785, the Frisians joined the revolt of the Saxons led by Widukind (743–807) against the Franks. After Widukind's capitulation in 784, Charlemagne suppressed the Frisian revolt and broke the power of the Frisian nobility by taking their paternal inheritance rights from them. The Charles Privilege refers, however, to this event by stating quite the opposite: according to its text the Frisians helped Charlemagne defeat “Liudger” (= Widukind).

Shortly afterwards, around 785, Charlemagne had local law recorded in the *Lex Frisionum* (‘Law of the Frisians’), presumably because of the Diet in Aachen in 802 where Charlemagne issued laws for all his territories [Nijdam, 2021, p. 139–143; *Lex Frisionum*, 1982]. As is the case with most medieval Frisian legal texts, the surviving text was not recorded until the 1557 edition by Basilius Johannes Herold (1514–1567).

Eckhardt [Lex Frisionum, 1982, p. 11] states that a ninth-century codex, now lost, existed in Reims.

This *Lex Frisionum* divided the Frisian area into three larger units: from the Sincfal (river Zwin) to the river Vlie, from the Vlie to the river Lauwers and from the Lauwers to the river Weser [Nijdam, 2021, p. 140–141]. With the exception of the region Westfriesland, the first mentioned area soon lost its Frisian character. This region, now part of the Dutch province Noord-Holland, was as such part of *West Friesland* (i. e. West Frisia), by which in the literature on Frisian history is meant all Frisian territories west of the Lauwers river, i. e. mainly the present province Fryslân. Between the eighth and the eleventh century, Frisians from the area of the present Netherlands colonised the west coast of Schleswig, forming thus the North Frisian territories. This North Frisian region was never officially counted, however, as part of the Frisian lands.

From the early 13th century onwards, the Frisian territories were referred to as the Frisian Sea Lands. Traditionally, they were seven, although in practice there were many more Frisian *terrae*. The first Frisian area to define itself as a land was Rüstringen at the mouth of the Weser, which concluded a treaty with the Hanseatic city of Bremen in 1220. At the time, the *terra Rustringie* used a seal showing *Rex Karul(us)* on a throne with a crown on his head and imperial apple and lily sceptre in his hands, a direct reference to the idea that Frisian freedom would have been received from Charlemagne [Bremmer, 2004, p. 122; Vries, 2015, p. 231; Van Lengen, 2003, p. 98].

The natural conditions and the fact that, up until the 11th century, the Frisians lived mainly isolated on hundreds of artificial hills, the mounds, meant that no feudal system could develop. These mounds are called *terp* in Friesland, *wierde* in Groningen, *Warft* in Northern Germany, *værft* in Denmark and *hallig* in Northern Friesland. At present, 1542 of them still exist in the Dutch provinces Fryslân and Groningen and several hundred along the North German coast. A good impression of the problem is provided by De Langen and Mol [de Langen, Mol, 2021, p. 83–93]. Formally, there was a feudal ruler. For example, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa established in 1165 for West Frisia a condominium of the Count of Holland and the Bishop of Utrecht and the Roman King Rudolf I invested Reinald Duke of Guelders with the same Frisian dominions in 1290. In actuality, the area ruled itself and attempts by feudal lords to gain legitimate control of Friesland ended more than

once with the death of the usurper. To this day, the monuments of the Battle of Oldenswort (29 June 1252) and the Battle of Warns (26 September 1345) recall, respectively, the death of the Danish king Abel (1218–1252) and that of William IV, Count of Holland (1307–1345) and their unsuccessful invasions [Kunz, 2009; Groustra, 1978].

Only with the systematic embankment of the Frisian lands, from the 12th century onwards, the area became more unified. It was mainly, however, the wealthy monasteries, especially those of the Cistercians and Norbertines, that benefited from the embankments and subsequent reclamation of fertile land. A local structure gradually developed of elected judges, originally referred to as *asega* and from the second half of the 13th century called *grietmannen* west of the Lauwers and *redjeven* east of it [Algra, 1991, p. 221, 255–264; Vries, 1986, p. 17–21; Roll, 2010].

Increasing pressure from neighbouring feudal territories made an explanation for this situation necessary. The idea of “imperial indissolubility”, whereby the Frisians were directly subordinate to the Emperor, a concept that emerged in the same period as well for the free imperial cities, provided a logical explanation. To settle mutual issues, Frisian representatives began meeting annually from 1216 onwards at the Upstalsboom near Aurich on Tuesday after Whitsunday. These meetings are documented for the periods 1216–1231 and 1323–1327. Presumably, the traditional Frisian legal texts were recorded as a result of these meetings [Algra, 1991, p. 202–203; Meijering, 1974; Schuur, 2010, p. 188]. However, Nijdam [2021, p. 152] points towards recent research suggesting that the old central *thing* was rather in Franeker or Dokkum.

Although the Frisians managed to fend off threats from outside, Frisian freedom fell victim to a threat from within. Although the judges, *grietmen* (bailiffs) and *redjeven* could in principle be chosen from all free Frisians, over time it was very often the members of more wealthy families who regularly held these positions. Gradually, especially in East Frisia, a caste of chieftains, who in the late 14th century began to feel increasingly equal to the nobles outside Frisia, was formed. The less wealthy Frisians still reacted to this in the early fifteenth century by referring to their emancipation by Charlemagne [Schmidt, 2003, p. 347–348]. Increasing growth of power among some of the chieftains’ clans, especially the Tom Brok clan from East Frisian Norderland, led to tensions that eventually culminated in the Great Frisian War (1413–1422), fought in the East Frisian area between the chieftains’ clans Tom Brok

and Abdena, and in the Frisian areas west of the Ems and Dollard between the Schieringers and the Vetkopers.

Since various local allies of the main parties often gave their support alternately to one main party or the other, the warring parties increasingly asked for “foreign” help from the Counts of Holland, the city of Groningen, the Dukes of Saxony, the Duke of Guelders and the city of Bremen. As a result, Frisian freedom ended by the end of the 15th century. This came about first in East Frisia, where the chieftain family Cirk-sena were elevated to Counts of East Frisia in 1464. With the 1482 treaty with the surrounding Ommelanden, the non-Frisian speaking city of Groningen practically gained control of the area of today’s province of Groningen. In the present Dutch province of Friesland, Frisian freedom ended in 1498 with the appointment of Duke Albrecht III of Saxony as *gubernator* and *potestas* by Emperor Maximilian I. The last areas to lose their freedom were the Stellingwerven in September 1500, the Butjadinger and Stadlander Frisians after the lost battle of Langwarden against Johann V Count of Oldenburg (1514) and the land of Wursten on the right bank of the Weser, annexed in 1524 by the archbishopric of Bremen.

2. THE FIRST CONFIRMATION OF “FRISIAN FREEDOM”

The Frisians were convinced that they had received their freedom from Charlemagne. It was in fact his son Louis the Pious who granted all free Frisians the status of ‘nobles’ in 820 to strengthen the defence of the northern coasts against the Normans [Vries, 2012a, p. 45]. His condition was that they pay an annual *huslotha*, a certain amount of money per fireplace. This was also recalled by the Frisians themselves in 873 when they remarked at a raid by the Normans that “se non debere tributa solvere nisi Hludowico regi eique filiiis” (“they owed tribute to no one but to King Louis and his sons”)⁶.

Traditional Frisian freedom meant, among other things, that Frisians were not obliged to perform military service outside Frisia. As with the free imperial cities, crusades called upon by the Roman King or the Emperor were an exception. Remarkably, from the Second Crusade (1147–1149) until the Sixth Crusade (1228–1229), Frisians participated fairly enthusiastically. The first genuine official confirmation of Frisian

⁶ Annales Fuldenses..., 1891, p. 80. See [Roll, 2010, p. 190].

freedom has to do with a crusade. Abbot Menco of the Premonstratensian monastery Bloemhof in Wittewierum north-east of the city of Groningen mentioned in his *Cronica Floridi Horti* § 30 that Pope Innocent IV declared a crusade in 1246 against Emperor Frederick II, whom he had excommunicated. There were financial difficulties, however, and in 1247 the Friar Minor Wilbrandus together with Albertus Suerbeer, Archbishop of Riga, arrived in Frisia to urge the Frisians to go anyway, as told in *Cronica Floridi Horti*, § 31 (540) [Janse, Janse, 1991, p. 364]:

Venerunt autem <frater Wilbrandus et Aldbertus archepiscopus Livonie etc.> post Exaltationem sancte Crucis Groninge, muniti multis litteris et auctoritatibus dispensationum **necon et privilegiis super libertatibus Frisonum**. Convocatis igitur ibi abbatibus ac aliis prelatibus Frisie et iuratis ac nobilibus laicis, et maxime crucesignatis, ostensis litteris suis et auctoritate, indixerunt tempus passagii transmarini in Maio proximo anno futuro, mandantes ut omnes crucesignati se ad illud tempus prepararent. Sed reclamatum est ab omnibus, quod propter brevitatem temporis, penuriam argenti et navium incertitudinem nullo modo tam cito possent preparari: et sic dilatum est usque ad Maium sequentis anni. Sed tunc propter obsidionem Aquensis civitatis, ad quam plurimi Frisiones iverunt, iter transmarinum est dilatum, et vota auctoritate domini pape commutata.

(‘Brother Wilbrand and Albert, Archbishop of Livonia etc., came, however, after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross to Groningen, equipped with many letters and indulgences, **as well as privileges for the Frisians**. There they summoned abbots and other Frisian prelates, the chosen judges and noble laymen, especially those who had received the sign of the cross. They showed their letters and the authorisation and announced that in May 1248 the great crossing over the sea would take place. There was wide-spread protest, however, because of the short preparation time, lack of money and uncertainty about the ships. There was no way they could be ready so soon, and the crusade was postponed until May 1249. This overseas voyage was also postponed, however, because of the siege of the city of Aachen, where most of the Frisians were going, and the vows were adjusted on the Pope’s authority’.)

Jurrien Schuur [Schuur, 2010, p. 183] argues that the said *privilegia super libertatibus Frisorum* stood at the origin of the Frisian freedoms. As Abbot Menco mentioned in the quoted piece, the purpose of the crusade was changed at the request of the freshly chosen counter-Roman King William II, Count of Holland, to aid in the siege of the coronation city of Aachen. The Frisians played a decisive role in the conquest of that city partly due to their courage and partly because of their hydraulic en-

gineering skills. In gratitude, they were released from their crusade vow and William II issued a privilege on 3 November 1348, explicitly stating [Hägermann, 1977, p. 366]:

Noverit ergo tam presentium etas quam posteritas futurorum, quod nos pensatis meritis Frisonum omnia iura, libertates et privilegia concessa Frisonibus universis a **Karolo magno imperatore**, antecessore nostro sancte memorie, liberaliter innovamus et presentis scripti patrocinio perpetuo confirmamus.

(‘May therefore both the present and future descendants know that having considered the merits of the Frisians <at the siege of Aachen>, we benevolently renew all the rights, liberties and privileges granted to all Frisians by **Charlemagne, Emperor**, our predecessor saintly memory, and confirm them with the eternal protection of the present charter.’)

William’s privilege explicitly refers to the valiant help of the Frisians at the siege of Aachen in the months of June to October 1248, and Men-co describes how that practical Frisian help was provided, as told in the *Cronica Floridi Horti*, § 32 (541) [Janse, Janse, 1991, p. 366]:

Cumque fere tota estate fuissent obsessi, circa autumnum supervenerunt Frisones occupants planiciem campi versus aquilonem et chorum, ante introitum civitatis, quam nemo principum prius audebat occupare. Aqua etiam ab oriente onstructa fuit aggere fortissimo bene XL pedum in altitudine, et sic aque precluse occupaverunt ad minus terciam partem civitatis. Unde dicti cives videntes se ex omni parte coartatos, elegerunt inire pacem et concordiam cum rege et tradere in manus eius civitatem.

(‘After having besieged the city for almost the entire summer, the Frisians came to their aid in the autumn and encamped in an open field on the north and north-west side in front of the city gate, where previously none of the princes had dared to encamp. They made a solid dam as high as forty feet in the east, with which they dammed the water, and consequently the cut-off water covered at least a third of the city. When the citizens of Aachen saw that they were surrounded on all sides, they decided to make peace and make a treaty with the king and surrender the city into his hands.’)

Melis Stoke, *Rijmkroniek III* (lines 910–953) attributes, however, the results of the Frisian hydraulic activity to internal treachery. According to him, a man from the city was said to have designated a secret spring, after which water from that spring inundated the city in a great flood. Stoke did not, of course, make mention of any gratitude by William II to the Frisians.

3. THE MAGNUS LEGEND

Melis Stoke briefly mentioned in his *Rijmchroniek* the story that the Frisians allegedly took Rome for Charlemagne and were in gratitude freed from their wooden collars. This siege of Rome was said to be related to an attack on Pope Leo III, whom several Roman aristocrats wanted to blind. Maerlant, *Spiegel Historiael*, Part III, Book VIII, ch. XCIII, lines 215–222 [De Vries, Verwijs, 1863, p. 165], relates the story in more detail and also adds a reference to a privilege that he believed “to be false as it was sealed with butter”.

Around the time both chroniclers were writing, the first references to the Magnus legend and the Charles Privilege seem to have been noted. The *Magnus Saga* is presumably one of the oldest Frisian stories, but was not recorded in writing until the 15th century in several Old Frisian juridical manuscripts [Noomen, 1989, p. 18–20]. Thus, the legend's antiquity is under discussion. M. P. van Buijtenen [1953, p. 147] dates the legend back to the 11th century, H. Schmidt [1972, p. 526–527] dates to the 12th century, but most researchers date with Bremmer [2004, p. 123], to the 13th century. It is recorded as well at length in Dutch in the *Coronieke van Vrieslant* (c. 1440) [Huisman, 2010, p. 158], and in a Latin version in the anonymous *Historia Frisiae* (c. 1490). The only manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 461) is from c. 1490 and belonged to the Nuremberg humanist Hermann Schedel (1440–1514). According to Bremmer [2004, p. 123], the text must date from 1248, with additions from around 1330, as it ends with the siege of Aachen in that year and does not mention the Frisian victory in Warns of 1345 [Reimers, 1939, p. 114–151].

According to the last-mentioned version, the legend claims that three brethren Friso, Bruno and Saxo moved part of their people from India to north-west Europe because of overpopulation. Saxo settled near the Elbe and became the progenitor of the Saxons, Bruno founded Brunswick near the Weser and became progenitor of the Westphalians, and Friso occupied the North Sea coast, where his seven sons formed the seven Frisian Sea Lands. Descendants of Friso's sons elected twelve men to lead the people, the *asega*. These twelve went to Charlemagne and placed the Frisian people in his service. Since then, the Frisian people had been directly subordinate to the Emperor. The Frisians consequently helped Charlemagne conquer Rome. The Frisians were led by their

chosen standard-bearer Magnus. After the conquest of Rome, Charlemagne offered the Frisians as much gold and silver as they could carry, but the Frisians instead insisted on their freedom. They only surrendered the city to the Emperor after the so-called *Magnuskerren* (Magnus Statutes) had been issued and they could lay down their wooden collars which they wore as a symbol of slavery. As Van Buijtenen [1953, p. 17–18], shows, this “liberation of the neck” — in Frisian: “ther mithe capade hira fria halsar” (‘they bought herewith their free necks’) — is a consequence of no longer understanding the old Frisian translation of the Latin *libertas* with *frihals*. Pope Leo III also had a church built for the Frisians to commemorate their courage.

The legend contains a grain of truth. Indeed, Pope Leo III had been ambushed in Rome in 799 by armed men who had threatened to rip out his tongue and blind him. Intervention by Duke Winniges of Spoleto (†822) prevented this. The Pope then fled the city and travelled to Paderborn to seek the help of Charlemagne. The latter had the Pope escorted back to Rome, had his enemies punished and came himself to the Eternal City in November 800, where he was crowned Emperor during the Christmas Eve service. There is a *Chiesa dei Frisoni*, officially known as the *Santi Michele e Magno*, near St Peter and the Vatican at the place where the “Frisians”, the people from the Low Countries, had their *schola* since the 9th century. The oldest reference is that the Frisians actually welcomed Pope Leo III back to Rome there in 799 [Verweij, 2014, p. 14]. During the raid on Rome by the Saracens in 846, the schola was pillaged and damaged. After the final victory against the Saracens in 849, Pope Leo IV had the schola rebuilt and expanded with a small church. Pope Leo IX granted permission to the Frisians to bury their dead there in 1053. The church was destroyed in 1084 during the Sacco di Roma and rebuilt in 1141. Around 1300, an inscription was placed, recording the foundation of the church above the graves of the Frisian defenders of Rome in Carolingian times [De Blaauw, 1992–1993; Stellingwerf, 2007].

In the early 17th century, the cult of St Magnus was associated with the church, presumably because of an inscription in the church, made around 1300, documenting the transfer of the saint’s relics from Trani to Rome and some of it to Frisia⁷:

⁷ Text according to [Halbertsma, 1868, p.164]. The conjecture is suggested by [Noomen, 1989, p.21]. Picture of the inscription in [Stellingwerf, 2007, p. 14–15].

Per idem tempus exercitu Gallia revertente tres illorum milites de Frisia, Ilderado de Groninga et Leomot de Stavera, et Hiaro, et Celdui ancilla Dei de <E>slinga, hi beati Magni corpus in loco qui dicitur Fundi invenerunt. Quo invento in illorum provincia portare et condire decreverunt, sed divina gratia coherente postquam ad Sutrinam partem ventum est amplius deferre non prevaluerunt, quia bis et ter territi. Et per somnium moniti Romam revertentes, sanctum corpus secum tulerunt. Unde factum est quod illorum devotionis causa partem brachii a se segregari ab illis permisit, partes autem ceterae in crypta prefata remanserunt, super quam sicut dictum est, ecclesia iam fuerat facta.

(At the same time, when the army returned to Gaul, three knights from Frisia, Ilderado from Groningen, Leomot from Stavoren and Hiaro, and Celdui, a nun from Esens, found the body of Saint Magnus in the place called Fondi. When they found it, they decided to carry it to their province and bury it there, but through the grace of God they were unable to carry the body any further after they came close to Sutri, because they were frightened twice or thrice. And warned in a dream, they returned to Rome and took the holy body with them. There a decision was made that because of their devotion <the Pope> allowed them to separate part of the arm, the other parts, however, remained in the said crypt, above which, as stated, a church was already built.)

The personage of Magnus in all probability has its origins in Saint Magnus of Anagni or of Trani (†251 AD), who was a bishop in Turenum, today Trani in South Italian Apulia, in the first half of the third century. He had to flee from there because of the persecution of Christians by the Emperor Decius (250–251). He went to Fundi (present Fondi) where Decius' soldiers found him and other Christians in a cave and suffered martyrdom by decapitation in Fabrateria Vetus (present Ceccano) in Italy [Sausser, 2003]. His worship began in Lazio in the 7th century and flourished from the 12th century onwards.

Paul Noomen [1989, p. 21–22] identified the above-mentioned place names with Groningen and Stavoren, these being the most important towns in Dutch Frisian lands, and with Esens (in Latin Eselinga) in East Frisian Harlingerland, where there is indeed a Magnus church with relics of the saint. The nun would then be from the Benedictine double monastery at Esingfelde near Esens, renamed by the Augustinians in 1420 in Marienkamp [Deeters, 1978].

The transformation of Saint Magnus into a military leader must have taken place in the 13th century. One reason may be confusion with another saint, Magnus of Cuneo, who was a Roman officer of the fa-

mous Theban Legion decimated at Agaunum (St-Maurice-en-Valais) in 286 AD and whose feast day is also celebrated on 19 August. As Hugenoltz [1982, p. 180–182] demonstrated, the church of Anagni became an important church for the Popes since 1159, during the struggle between the Popes and the Emperors. Gregory IX, Pope in 1221–1247, often resided in Anagni and must have been at the core of an adaptation of the vita of Magnus who was now transformed into a genuine martyr.

Noomen [1989, p. 17–21] has demonstrated relations between several churches consecrated to the saints, especially in the bishopric of Utrecht and in Frisian territories. One of the sites where St Magnus was worshipped was probably the old tufa church of Wons in Westergo near to the main West Frisian port Harlingen. The seal of the countryside of Wonseradeel from 1270 displays on one side a knight with a flag and a shield with the imperial eagle, the legend says “+SIGILLVM CETVS WELDINGE IN WESTERGO”, the counter-seal shows St Magnus as enthroned bishop with the legend “+SCS MAGNVS DVX FRISONVM”. Further interpretation of the knight then made out of St Magnus a Magnus Forteman, *vexillifer* of the Frisians before Rome [Noomen, 1989, p. 23–24; Van Lengen, 2003, p. 12]. In the sixteenth century, the inscription in the Frisian Church in Rome was interpreted as a testimony for the transfer of Magnus’ relics to Harlingen, and even an entire Forteman lineage was coined, whose progenitor Gustavus Forteman is said to have founded the city of Harlingen in 777 [Noomen, 1989, p. 7–8]. The word “Slinga” from the inscription was then interpreted as a result of a misunderstanding by the stonemason of the word H<ER>LINGA, this is Harlingen.

4. THE ALLEGED PRIVILEGE OF CHARLEMAGNE

The Magnus Saga also mentions that Charlemagne issued a privilege. As Antheun Janse [1991, p. 8–9] has proved, the first real copy of the alleged Charles Privilege is the above-mentioned copy in the Archives of the Counts of Holland from 1319. This first text, dated in 459 AD (*sic*), begins, like the privilege of the Roman King William, with “Karolus favente divina clementia Romanorum rex et semper augustus” (‘Charles, by the grace of God eternally glorified king of the Romans’) and mentions later Pope Gregory instead of Leo III. This chaotic dating is corrected in later versions, especially in the 15th century.

Janse believes that the possible initiator of this forgery was Willem Berthout van Mechelen (†1301), Bishop of Utrecht, who used the chaotic situation in the County of Holland after the murder of Floris V (1296) to call on the West Frisians to revolt against Holland in 1297, and at the same time declared a crusade against Holland. The Frisian territories originally belonged to the sphere of power of the bishoprics of Utrecht, Bremen and Münster. West Frisia was also claimed by the Counts of Holland, who regarded the landscape as ancestral soil — their progenitor Gerulf (c. 850 — 898/914) having been named *comes Fresonum*, Count of the Frisians, by Emperor Charles III in 882. Similarly, the Counts of Oldenburg and the Imperial City of Bremen claimed the East Frisian territory. The idea that the Bishop of Utrecht could have been the initiator of the Charles Privilege is compatible with the theory of Oebele Vries [2015, p. 244–247] that the style of the forged charter and the reference to a chosen *potestas*, like the North Italian *podesta*, points to an author who studied in Bologna as several Frisians did.

5. THE 1417 PRIVILEGE

The discussion now moves to Sigismund's Privilege issued on 30 September 1417, almost 605 years ago. The Emperor stated that he recently received a request “nobis dilectorum universorum incolarum et inhabitantium tam Orientalis et Occidentalis Frisie *Die Friefriesen* vulgarite numcupatorium” (‘from all our beloved of all our beloved inhabitants and residents of both East and West Frisia who are called the Free Frisians in the vernacular’). And he confirms in great detail all the privileges: “libertates gratas, immunitates, franchises, iura, privilegia et litteras” (‘the given freedoms, immunities, exemptions, rights, privileges and charters’), which his predecessors had bestowed on the Frisians. These rights are granted explicitly to the “mares et feminae, iuvenes et adulti” (‘men and women, youngsters and adults’) — essentially an echo of various provisions of Frisian land-laws. All of them are imperially impartial, just as the Frisian tradition of freedom wanted. The Frisians cannot be obliged “ad serviendum nobis vel successoribus nostris antedictis extra Terras prefatas ac eorum fines et limites” (‘to serve us or our successors outside the said Lands or their frontiers and limits’) or to pay tributes, unless they be disloyal to the Emperor or his successors. The Frisians were allowed to mint their own money in the Frisian capital of Leeuwarden. There was, however, a problematic point at the end

of the document, for Sigismund renewed the *huslotha* in the form of a precisely circumscribed imperial tribute, for which the *grietmen* were made responsible.

The edict was issued at a time when the Frisian Sea Lands were torn apart by a great internal conflict. Since 1413, the Great Frisian War had been raging between the Schieringers (Speakers) and the Vetkopers (Fat-Buyers) in West Frisia and their allies, the Abdena clan against the Tom Brok clan in East Frisia. It was the former who addressed Sigismund in 1416, so they by no means represented the whole of the Frisian people. According to the Frisian *headling* Jancko Douwama van Oldeboorn (c. 1482–1533) in his *Boeck der Partijen* (1523), the name *Schieringers* originated from the poor who wished to negotiate and *Vetkopers* from the rich people that were used to buying fat. The first had their centre in the Cistercian monastery of Klaarkamp, the Vetkopers were joined with the city of Groningen [Douwama, 1849, p. 20–21, 57–58, 67].

Precisely in the spirit of the document, the Emperor imposed an Imperial ban on the Vetkopers and the city of Groningen in 1418, which was on their side at the time. The Emperor's envoys did not succeed, however, in forcing obedience out of them, which led to the disappointment of the Schieringers, who now in turn refused to pay the prescribed tribute. They instead paid homage to Johann of Bavaria, administrator of the county of Holland, being the hereditary Frisian enemy, as their lord. He managed to push back the Vetkopers and the great feud was ended in 1422.

This charter is considered a milestone in the acknowledgement of Frisian identity and it is no coincidence that Arno Brok, King's Commissioner in Friesland, installed on 28 September 1417 a large copy of this document in the Province House⁸ of the Frisian capital Leeuwarden [Replica van vrijheidsdocument...].

CONCLUSION

In a following article, the Frisian Privilege of Maximilian I, issued on 23 September 1493 will be discussed. In that article, as well a complete edition of the text together with pictures of the original document and an English translation will be given.

⁸ The *Provinciehuys* (Province House) is the headquarters of the province of Friesland and the seat of the Province Council and the King's Commissioner.

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КОНЕЦ ФРИЗСКОЙ СВОБОДЫ В РЕЗУЛЬТАТЕ ЕЕ ПОДТВЕРЖДЕНИЯ: ФРИЗСКАЯ ИМПЕРСКАЯ ПРИВИЛЕГИЯ ИМПЕРАТОРА МАКСИМИЛИАНА I И ЕЕ ПРЕДЫСТОРИЯ. ЧАСТЬ I: ПЕРВЫЕ ХАРТИИ*

Для цитирования: *Engelbrecht W. W. K. H. The end of Frisian freedom by its confirmation: The Frisian Imperial Privilege of Emperor Maximilian I and its background. Part I: The first charters // Скандинавская филология. 2024. Т. 22. Вып. 1. С. 153–171. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2024.110>*

В статье рассматривается история единственной ратифицированной хартии, подтверждавшей так называемую Карлову привилегию, которая вводила в действие фризскую свободу (предположительно фальшивку XIII в.). Эта грамота

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была издана римским королем Максимилианом I 23 сентября 1493 г. по просьбе представителей западнофризских территорий. В статье рассматривается история возникновения этой привилегии. Дается краткий обзор развития фризской вольности в ее связи с фризской историей. Далее рассматривается так называемая легенда Магнуса, связанная с фризской свободой. Кратко рассматриваются предполагаемая привилегия Карла Великого и фризские привилегии римского короля и графа Голландии Вильгельма II (1248) и императора Сигизмунда (1417). Продолжение этой статьи планируется к публикации в следующем номере журнала «Скандинавская филология». В этой статье будет более подробно рассмотрена привилегия Максимилиана, после которой в 1498 г. фризская свобода закончилась почти на 450 лет. Кроме того, в ней будет представлено полное издание латинского текста хартии и ее английский перевод.

Ключевые слова: Фризия, латынь, Карлова привилегия, фризская свобода, Максимилиан I, Сигизмунд, Вильгельм II.

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TEKENINGEN VAN CORNELIS MONINCKX IN DE COLLECTIE VAN DE HERMITAGE*

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In dit artikel worden drie tekeningen van Nederlandse schilder Cornelis Moninckx (1623–1666) uit de collectie van de Hermitage beschreven. De bladen, die hier voor het eerst gepubliceerd worden, zijn afkomstig uit drie verschillende collecties die een belangrijk onderdeel vormen van de verzamelingen van het museum. Ze zijn uitgevoerd een kenmerkende techniek: met zwart krijt op perkament. Twee tekeningen zijn gesigeneerd door Moninckx zelf. Een ander blad wordt door de auteur van dit artikel op basis van de stilistische kenmerken toegeschreven aan het werk van Cornelis Moninckx. Van zijn oeuvre is niet veel bewaardgebleven: een corpus genretekeningen, een paar gravures en een beeldhouwproject. Drie volledig afgewerkte bladen op groot formaat uit de Hermitage breiden het bekende veld van zijn werken aanzienlijk uit. Dit onderzoek van Moninckx' werken uit de Hermitage geeft aanleiding om na te denken over mogelijke interpretaties van zijn onderwerpen. De thema's zijn onlosmakelijk verbonden met visuele traditie en volkse humor. Moninckx richtte zich op het werk van zestiende-eeuwse meesters, met name Pieter Bruegel de Oude. Ook toonde hij belangstelling voor zijn tijdgenoten zoals Adriaen Brouwer, Adriaen van Ostade. In dit artikel worden zijn tekeningen zowel iconografisch als qua vorm en stilistiek onderzocht. Er wordt een vergelijkende analyse toegepast en de werken worden in een kader geplaatst met andere bekende werken van de kunstenaar.

Sleutelwoorden: Tekening, Cornelis Moninckx, State Hermitage Museum, 17^e-eeuwse kunst van de Noordelijke Nederlanden, genrekunst, Verleiding van Sint Antonius.

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Genreafbeeldingen speelden een belangrijke rol in de kunst van de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 17^e eeuw. De taferelen waren toegankelijk en interessant voor een zeer breed publiek. In dit artikel wordt de ontwikkeling van het genre in het werk van Cornelis Moninckx behandeld. Daarbij wordt een poging gedaan om drie werken van hem te identificeren die tot nu toe onbekend waren in wetenschappelijke kringen. Zijn levensverhaal maakt het mogelijk om de tekeningen in een context te plaatsen aangezien er iconografische en stilistische overlappings met andere kunstenaars zijn.

Cornelis Moninckx was 17^e-eeuwse Haagse tekenaar. Hij is zowel bij het brede publiek als in wetenschappelijke kringen nauwelijks bekend. Hij richtte zich voornamelijk op genreafbeeldingen en liet slechts enkele tientallen bladen na. Zijn tekeningen hebben een afgewerkt karakter en zijn gemakkelijk herkenbaar aan de techniek: zwart krijt op perkament. Het is opmerkelijk dat perkament als materiaal voor tekeningen in de mode kwam bij Haagse kunstenaars uit de jaren 1630 en 1640. Het werd gebruikt door Hendrik Hondius de Oude (1573–1660), Gerrit de Heer (1606–1652), Paulus Potter (1625–1654) en Pieter Quast (1606–1647).

Zijn leven is nauwelijks bestudeerd. Zijn naam duikt af en toe in enkele documenten op. Zelfs Abraham Bredius (1855–1946), de grote Nederlandse kunsthistoricus en meester van archiefonderzoek, — kon niet voldoende materiaal vinden over de kunstenaar. Hij voegde alle gevonden informatie over de tekenaar samen in een tekst over zijn andere familieleden en naamgenoten [Bredius, 1889].

De biografische lacunes in studies over Cornelis Moninckx zijn onder andere te wijten aan een vrij vroege verwarring: Arnold Houbraken (1660–1719), de Nederlands schilder en schrijver maar ook auteur van een boek over kunstenaars, verwart biografieën van Cornelis en zijn oudere broer Pieter (1606–1686). Data en feiten zijn onjuist. Hij schrijft Cornelis een lang verblijf in Italië toe, maar in werkelijkheid is dat een verwijzing naar Pieter Moninckx. Houbraken halt ook hun sterfdata door elkaar, waaruit hij een onjuiste conclusie trekt dat de meester een hoogbejaarde man werd, boven de tachtig [Houbraken, 1976, p.276]. Het leven van Cornelis Moninckx blijkt echter nogal kort en tragisch.

Veel vroege naslagwerken noemen 1606 als geboortjaar van Cornelis maar hij blijkt veel later ter wereld te zijn gekomen. In een document van 19 januari 1643 wordt hij ingeschreven in het gilde als een kunstenaar van twintig jaar oud. Hij moet dus in 1623 zijn geboren. [Bredius,

1889]. Aan het begin van zijn carrière blinkt de jonge schilder blijkbaar uit, hij gaat al vrij vroeg het vak in. In 1647 trouwt hij met Maria Terborch, de zus van beroemde Nederlandse genreschilder Gerard Terborch (1617–1681). Op 23 oktober 1650 liet het echtpaar zijn eerstgeboren zoon Joseph dopen in de Grote Kerk van Den Haag [Muelen, 1887, p. 40].

In de jaren 1650 is Cornelis Moninckx actief en komt vaak voor in Haagse financiële verslagen. Daaruit blijkt onder meer dat hij zijn werk verkoopt, geld leent en materialen koopt. De jonge kunstenaar nam elke klus aan. Samen met zijn zwager, de schilder Paul Dinant (?–1658), gaf Moninckx ook les in luitspelen. Dit instrument was in de 17^e eeuw populair en voor een hoogopgeleid persoon was het belangrijk om hem te kunnen bespelen. Cornelis Moninckx deed dat op een vrij hoog niveau. Hij gaf verder muzikles aan de zoon van de stathoudersecretaris Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), die zelf zeer bedreven was in muziek [Lehmann et al., 2019].

Cornelis Moninckx was echter niet in staat om zijn kunst te keven. Vanaf de tweede helft van de jaren 1650 leende hij steeds vaker geld. Hij raakte zelfs betrokken bij een aantal duistere zaakjes die tot een onderzoek leidden. Blijkbaar werd de kunstenaar, die te veel begon te drinken, een handlanger van de valsemunter Jan Rutgersz Crom (?–1665). Hij hielp hem bij het maken van valse gouden dukaten. Volgens het proces-verbaal ontmoetten Moninckx en Crom elkaar in de Gouden Leeuw. Maar ze betaalden ook met vals geld in andere kroegen in Den Haag. Vanaf 1664 stond Moninckx onder verdenking, maar huiszoekingen bij de kunstenaar leverden weinig op. Medewerkers van de magistraat namen een aantal schilderijen en mappen met tekeningen en gravures mee, maar vals geld werd nooit gevonden. A. Bredius suggereert dat geld niet lang in het bezit bleef bij Moninckx die schulden had [Bredius, 1889].

Moninckx blijft actief, hij maakt een frontispice-project voor een boekeneditie van de dichter, jurist en politicus Jacob Cats (1577–1660) [Hollstein Dutch, 83–1 (2)]. Hij ontwerpt de grafsteen van opperbevelhebber van de Nederlandse marine, luitenant-admiraal Jacob van Wassenaer Obdam (1610–1665). Het monument, bestaande uit marmer in verschillende kleuren, zal worden gemaakt door de beeldhouwer Bartholomeus Eggers (ca 1637 — ca 1692) en staat in de Sint-Jacobskerk te Den Haag [Scholten, 2003]. Vruchteloos werk, geldgebrek en

alcoholmisbruik ondermijnen zijn gezondheid en hij sterft in november 1666. Het beroemdste lid van de Moninckx-dynastie was Maria (1673/76–1757), een kleindochter van Cornelis. Ze verwert bekendheid als schilder van een aantal bloemrijke aquarellen voor botanische atlasen [Wijnands, 1983].

De genrekunst in het midden van de 17^e eeuw was in de Noordelijke Nederlanden buitengewoon gevarieerd. Op een aantal grote, voltoide bladen vinden we boerentaferelen, uitgevoerd met zwart krijt of loodstift op zwaar papier of gegrond perkament. Het is een traditie die teruggaat tot Pieter Quast en is overgenomen door een aantal tijdgenoten: Hendrik Potuyl (1613–1652/55), Gerrit de Heer, zijn zoon Willem (1638–1681), en ook Cornelis Moninckx. De belangrijkste motieven waren komische scènes uit de boerenleven zoals tavernebezoek, dorpsfeesten en charlatans. Ze passen in de traditie van 16^e-eeuwse kunst en zetten de genrelijn van Pieter Bruegel de Oude (1525–1569) en zijn zonen voort. Een andere belangrijke bron waren grafische werken van Roelant Savery (1576–1639), met name zijn serie *Naer het leven*. De kunst van deze tekenaars is onlosmakelijk verbonden met de folkloristische traditie van het volkstheater. De meesters van dit genre raken geïnspireerd spreekwoorden, liedjes en vrolijke kluchten over het ruwe boerenleven.

Het Hermitage Museum bezit drie tekeningen van Cornelis Moninckx, die hier voor het eerst worden gepubliceerd. Twee bladeren geven geen twijfel over het auteurschap, omdat ze gesigneerd zijn door de kunstenaar. De eerste tekening (afb. 1) kwam in de Hermitage terecht als onderdeel van de collectie graaf Heinrich von Brühl (1700–1763) uit Dresden, die in 1768 werd gekocht door Catharina II (1729–1796)

Het werk is in een van de albums geplakt (de collectie telde in totaal 1076 tekeningen in 14 albums). Het blad heeft een signatuur van de auteur — *C. Monincks fecit* in de rechter benedenhoek. De tekening is gemaakt in kenmerkende techniek van de kunstenaar (perkament, zwart krijt). Het grootformaatblad is een afbeelding van een dorpsfeest waarbij vrolijke aangeschoten boeren zich in de open lucht rond een tafel verzamelen.

Dergelijke composities verwijzen naar boerentaferelen van Pieter Bruegel de Oude die sinds de 16^e eeuw populair waren. Deze onderwerpen waren kenmerkend voor kunstenaars gedurende in de hele zeventiende eeuw: David Vinckboons (1576–1632), Pieter Quast, Adriaen Brouwer (1605–1638), Adriaen van Ostade (1610–1685) en zijn leerling



Afb. 1. Cornelis Moninckx. Dorpsfeest. Midden van de 17^e eeuw.
Tekening in zwart krijt op perkament. 24 × 28 cm. Invent. no. OR-7985

Cornelis Dusart (1660–1704). De boeren hebben een ietwat karikatuurraal, grof uiterlijk en leiden een vrolijk en mateloos leven, dat vaak belachelijk wordt gemaakt door moralistische kunstenaars en schrijvers. De weinig verfijnde boerenmoraal, alcoholmisbruik en losbandige feestvreugde maakten deel uit van de culturele traditie. Zulke stichtelijke en komische afbeeldingen waren populair onder de burgerij. Deze interpretatie van de Moninckx-tekening blijkt zowel uit de stilistiek van de afbeelding, maar ook iconografische traditie. Denk aan een gravure van Jan van de Velde (1593–1641), gemaakt door Claes Jansz Visscher (1587–1652) in 1617. [Hollstein Dutch, 137–1 (2)] waarop een boerenfeest te zien is. De afbeelding is voorzien van een inscriptie in het Latijn die de scène uitlegt en het voorziet van de begrippen buitensporige vrolijkheid en ongebreidelde bacchanalia¹.

Het blad uit de Hermitage is een voltooide en zorgvuldig uitgewerkte tekening van de meester. Qua stijl en compositie komt het overeen met andere bekende gesigeneerde werken van Moninckx. Hij verplaatst zijn compositie naar de linkerkant van het blad — een groep boeren rond

¹ Bacchanalia negligere apud rusticos nefas est... si id ferre nequeant quod redundat evomunt.

een tafel. Een paar figuren zitten aan tafel, de anderen staan erachter, omhelzen meisjes en buigen hun hoofd voor een kus. Achter de boeren staat een bouwwerk dat kan duiden op een plaatselijke herberg. Het gebouw is bewust in vervallen staat afgebeeld: het dak hangt opzij en de ramen zijn schots en scheef. Er staat een grote boom in de buurt. De rechterkant van de compositie is door Moninckx vrijgelaten, op een jongensfiguur na die onderaan de compositie bij een hek zit. Daarboven zien we een fijn getekend landschap met een dorp in de verte, herkenbaar aan de daken en een kerktoren.

Een dergelijke nadruk op slechts één deel van de compositie was kenmerkend voor Moninckx' tekeningen. Een tekening van een boerenfeest uit het Rijksmuseum² lijkt qua onderwerp, stilistisch en compositie het meest op het blad uit de Hermitage. De twee bladeren hebben ook identieke formele kenmerken. De tekening uit de Nederlandse collectie is uitgevoerd in zwart krijt op perkament, heeft een vergelijkbare auteurssignatuur en ongeveer dezelfde afmetingen³. In dit geval verplaatst de kunstenaar alle actie naar de rechterkant. Hij groepeert zijn vrolijke boeren voor de muren van een taveerne en een machtige dennenboomstam. Voor een grotere figurengroep beeldt hij een draperie af met kusende koppels erachter. In het midden zien we ook een ton die als een tafel fungeert. Aan de linkerkant laat de kunstenaar een ruimte open die zich uitstrekt in een licht getekend landschap. Van onderen wordt het begrensd door het beeld van een onkruidstruik en een gebroken trog.

Beide tekeningen behandelen het thema van het promiscue en zorgeloze boerenleven. Ze zijn gevuld met kenmerkende iconografische types van dorpelingen. Ruwe mannen met baretten en mutsen, vrouwen die bier drinken en de liefkozingen van hun minnaars beatwoorden, kinderen die het gedrag van volwassenen naapen. In een tekening uit Amsterdam reikt een klein meisje naar een muzikant die doedelzak speelt.

Doedelzakspeler en boerendansen waren favoriete motieven in de moralistische literaire traditie vanaf de zestiende eeuw. Dergelijke visuele beelden komen we ook tegen op genregravures van Albrecht Dü-

² Cornelis Moninckx. Boerendrinkgelag in de open lucht. Midden 17^e eeuw. Perkament, zwart krijt. 24,5 × 27,2 cm. Invent. no. P-T-1890-A-2415. Rijksmuseum.

³ De tekening komt uit de collectie van Abraham Bredius en is een van de belangrijke bron voor de historicus om nate denken over artistieke kenmerken van Cornelis Moninckx.

rer [Albrecht Dyurer, 2022, p.244]. Schrijvers van stichtelijke teksten herinnerden aan de heidense oorsprong van dit vermaak. Ze verwezen naar de Bijbel: de dans ter meerdere glorie van het Gouden Kalf en de dans van Salome. Dansen tijdens een kermis werd vooral veroordeeld als het promiscue feestgedruis op een kerkelijke feestdag viel [Jongh, Luijten, 1997, p. 116]. Het is bekend dat dansen verbonden is met erotische toespelingen. Zulke afbeeldingen verschenen bij Bruegel en werden onderdeel van het boerengenre. In de tekening van Cornelis Moninckx accepteren de dorpelingen de avances en kussen van hun aangeschoten vrijers terwijl ze naar doedelzakmuziek luisteren.

Op het blad uit de Hermitage is een kinderfiguur bezig met een afkeurenswaardige bezigheid. De jongen rechts hurkt neer en leegt zijn darmen. Hij is niet in het minst in verlegenheid gebracht door het feest dat vlak naast plaatsvindt. Deze figuur schijnt een raisonneurpersonage te zijn ons aan het lachen moet brengen, maar ook de onsmakelijkheid van het gebeuren te benadrukt. Een dergelijke aanpak was vooral kenmerkend voor Pieter Quast [Statkevich, 2023]. Hij plaatst poepende personages in scènes van boerenfeesten en in teferelen met charlatans. Dat zijn jongens of honden, duidelijk gescheiden van de hoofdgroep. Zo gaat het ook bij Moninckx. Maar bij Andries Both (1612–1642) was dit een geliefd motief. Deze personages illustreren Reukzin in series over de vijf zintuigen [Hollstein Dutch, 13–2 (4)]. Grove humor met betrekking tot menselijke fysiologie was in zwang bij veel meesters van de genreschilderkunst in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. De goudse schilder Aert van Waes (1620–1675) paste zo'n grap toe zelfs op zijn eigen kunst. Hij beeldde een schilder af die op een palet poept [Hollstein Dutch, 10]. En Arnold Houbraken vertelt in zijn boek over kunstenaars een fysiologische anekdote uit het leven van Adriaen Brouwer: hoe de vrolijke schilder een leerling was van Frans Hals (1582–1666) en op zijn kinderen paste [Houbraken, 1976, p. 191].

Moninckx' tekeningen zitten ook vol met andere satirische details. Een blad uit het Rijksmuseum toont een boer die een pijp rookt en een biertje aanbiedt aan een oude vrouw. Pijproken kan volgens dichter en moralist Jacob Cats van liefdenivel opwekken [Vloten, 1862, p. 23]. Roken en het inschenken van alcohol creëren een open mise-en-scène met een licht erotische zweem. De leeftijd van deze boerin verradt de grap van ongelijke liefde. Het tafereel is ook bekend van afbeeldingen uit de Duitse Renaissance, met name van Lucas Cranach de Oudere (1472–



Afb. 2. Cornelis Moninckx. Kaartende boeren. Midden 17^e eeuw.
Tekening in zwart krijt op perkament. 21 × 31 cm. Invent. no. OR-16163

1553). In Nederland werd buitengewoon populair in de eerste helft van de 17^e eeuw dankzij een lied Gerbrand Bredero (1585–1618) [Tummers et al., 2018, p. 123]. Een soortgelijke lezing van deze scène wordt ook aangeduid door de gevulde portemonnee die de kunstenaar ostentatief aan haar jurk bevestigd.

De tweede tekening (afb. 2) uit de Hermitage heeft ook een signatuur in de linker benedenhoek en is in een vergelijkbare techniek uitgevoerd.

Het Hermitage-blad kwam voort uit de collectie van I. I. Betskoy (1704–1795), waarvan een deel in 1924 werd overgedragen uit de Kunstacademie. De verzameling tekeningen werd in Frankrijk gekocht door een vooraanstaande edelman uit Catherina's tijd. De bladen hebben het merkteken van de eigenaar: een kleine, bloemvormige stempel [Lugt, No. 2878a]. De vroege geschiedenis van deze verzameling is tot dusver onbekend. De ongelijke aard van de collectie doet echter vermoeden dat ze in haar geheel, zonder zorgvuldige selectie, werd aangekocht door I. I. Betskoy.

De Hermitage-tekening is een kaartspelscène. Boeren zijn buiten rond een tafel bij het hek. De drie mannen verdiepen zich in hun kaarten, een paar anderen staan even stil om toe te kijken. Aan de rechterkant verschuimt weer een kleine jongen. Hij is door de kunstenaar op een laag krukje geplaatst en zijn broek is al uitgetrokken. Net als op

anderetekeningen van Moninckx speelt hij de rol van komische raisonneur, die de humoristische en stichtelijke context van de scène aangeeft.

Qua compositie en expressie is de tekening uit de Hermitage te vergelijken met een ander blad uit het Rijksmuseum⁴. Dit is ook een scène met drinkende boeren die buiten rond een vat zitten. De een pakt een grote bierpul, de ander knuffelt een meisje en de derde slaapt al. Een andere boerenfiguur is op de achtergrond te zien — geen twijfel dat hij staat te plassen. Dergelijke personages kwamen vaak voor in feestlijke scènes en benadrukten de rauwheid van de landelijke zeden. De compositie op de Amsterdamse tekening is iets naar links verschoven, met een hek naast de tafel en een biggetje dat erachter wegloopt. Moninckx laat een ruimte open aan de linkerkant en tekent de contouren van huizen in de verte. Op de tekening uit het Rijksmuseum laat de meester iets meer ruimte over dan in het werk uit de Hermitage, waar de figuren dichter bij de rand van het blad staan.

Het artistieke handschrift van de meester is gemakkelijk te herkennen, zijn boerentypes lijken niet echt op de karakters van andere tekenaars die in dezelfde techniek werken en vergelijkbare thema's kiezen. In zijn proefschrift vergelijkt V. A. Sadkov Potuyl en Moninckx: *“De eerste modelleert plastische volumes voorzichtiger en streeft ernaar de omringende ruimte weer te geven. Een ander is dol op kalligrafie zo dun als een spinnenweb. Moninckx legt de nadruk op het weergeven van de contouren van gezichten en figuren. Zijn boeren met grote hoofden lijken in de verte op personages van Savery's Naer aet leven”* [Sadkov, 1997, p. 41]. Hij is inderdaad nauwgezet in het uitwerken van de figuren met enigszins karikaturale gelaatstrekken. Zijn boeren zijn herkenbaar aan hun grote neuzen, gezichtsuitdrukking en ogen: vrij groot met zware, licht hangende oogleden. Hij is zeer nauwkeurig in de uitvoering van zijn werken. Zorgvuldig, maar enigszins stijf, tekent hij de plooien van de kledingstukken, toont het oppervlak van hout of bont — alles leeft of het nu een hoedrand is of varkensharen.

Ondanks de inteme composities van de twee tekeningen hierboven, zijn het toch complete werken, zoals de meeste van zijn grafische werken. Soms vormen gelijksoortige bladen een serie. De Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden bezit vier tekeningen van Cornelis Moninckx, een serie

⁴ Cornelis Moninckx. Gezelschap van boeren gezeten rond een ton. Midden 17^e-eeuw. Perkament, zwart krijt. 25,2 × 29 cm. Invent. no. RP-T-00-336. Rijksmuseum.

genretafereelen met als thema de vijf zintuigen⁵. Bijna alle Nederlandse meesters van het boerengenre maakten soortgelijke series. Deze werken van Moninckx lijken qua onderwerp en artistieke taal op de hierboven besproken voorbeelden, hoewel hun composities verticaal georiënteerd zijn. Ruimtelijke oplossingen en de karakteristieke uitwerking van figuren en gezichten verraden de hand van de meester. De behandeling van onderwerpen is ook opmerkelijk: de enigszins karikaturale gedrongen, groothoofdige figuren van de boeren en grove humor.

Geur wordt voorgesteld door een groep boeren die terugkeren van een feest, twee ondersteunen een derde. Deze is vrolijk en onvast ter been van het drinken. Een ander personage dat met zijn gezicht naar de kijker staat, knijpt zijn neus dicht. Links wordt de compositie begrensd door een uitgestrekte boom, rechts zijn in de verte stadspoorten te zien. Deze compositietechniek is kenmerkend voor Moninckx. Gerafelde kleren, onverzorgd haar en grimassen op de gezichten dragen bij aan het komische effect. Deze behandeling van Geur was niet nieuw en is ook terug te vinden bij andere kunstenaars, zo is de gravure van Aert van Waes⁶ verwant met het werk van Moninckx. Het bevat een rijmende regel: *“Seecker dat is geen Roy, wat mach dat varken drincken. Die Reuck is niet heel moy, gans velten is dat stincken”*.

Gezicht beeldt Moninckx uit via een scène voor de haard. Boeren komen bijeen rond een open haard om zich te warmen. De een warmt zijn handen, de ander steekt zijn pijp aan met gebruik van een houtblok uit het vuur. In het midden valt een zware man op met een bierkan. Hij kijkt ongelukkig naar de kinderen rechts. De jongen strekt zijn armen uit naar het meisje, zijn spel is een imitatie van het gedrag van de volwassenen. Op de achtergrond staat een jong stel dat op het punt staat elkaar te omhelzen. Dit soort komische motieven, waarbij kinderen volwassenen imiteren, was heel gebruikelijk in de Nederlandse genreschilderkunst.

⁵ Cornelis Moninckx. Geur. Midden 17^e eeuw. Perkament, zwart krijt. 23,6 × 20 cm. Invent. no. PK-T-AW-679. Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden.

Gezicht. Midden 17^e eeuw. Perkament, zwart krijt. 23,5 × 20 cm. Invent. no. PK-T-AW-682. Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden.

Horen. Midden 17^e eeuw. perkament, zwart krijt. 23,5 × 20 cm. Invent. no. PK-T-AW-681. Bibliotheek van de Universiteit Leiden.

Reuk. Midden 17^e eeuw. Perkament, zwart krijt. 23,5 × 20,2 cm. Invent. no. PK-T-AW-680. Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden.

⁶ Aert van Waes (?). Reuk. Midden 17^e eeuw. Gravure. 20,6 × 14,1 cm. Invent. no. RP-P-1889-A-14360. Rijksmuseum.

Op het beroemde genreportret van Frans Hals kijkt een jongen in een bierpul⁷. Op een ander van zijn Vijf Zintuigen-schilderijen drinkt hij wijn uit een berkenmeier⁸. Zulke grappen gaan onder andere terug op spreekwoorden: “*Zoals de ouden zingen, zo piepen de jongen*”. Het was vaker onderwerp van de Vlaamse schilder Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678)⁹. Een hond en een kat staan naast kinderen afgebeeld, de kat is op een voetenwarmer gesprongen om aan het geblaf te ontsnappen. Er zit ook een kleine uil op een zitstok boven een open haard. Vanaf Jeroen Bosch (1450–1516) symboliseerde deze vogel in de Nederlandse cultuur domheid en losbandigheid [Bax, 1949, p. 191].

Gehoor wordt door Moninckx voorgesteld als een ruwe boerendans. Eén man slaat met een sleutel op een metalen kolentang en stampet het ritme. Zijn vriend danst. De ruimte is door de kunstenaar getekend met slechts een paar architecturale elementen: houten balken en hekken. Over een van de balken loopt een muis: luidheid leidt tot verval en armoede.

Tastzin wordt afgebeeld als een scène waar een boer een kwakzalver bezoekt — een ander geliefd onderwerp uit de Nederlandse schilderkunst. Het gaat terug op een humanistisch plot — de verwijdering van de steen der dwaasheid. De ongelukkige boer in het midden is overgeleverd aan oplichters. Hun pronkkleding is belachelijk. Een van de genezers draagt een molensteenkraag, de andere heeft een hoed op met een veer en aan zijn riem zit een sierlijke dolk. B. Stanton-Hirst vergelijkt dit motief bij Pieter Quast met het kostuum van Capitano uit de *Commedia dell’Arte* en wijst op het ongewone en komische karakter van de dokterskleding op schilderijen van Jan Steen (1626–1679) [Stanton-Hirst, 1982]. Voor de kijker wordt een beenoperatie afgebeeld. Dorpsgenezers misleiden niet alleen hun dwaze en goedgelovige patiënten, maar hun ingrepen brengen ook voor lichamelijk lijden teweeg. Soortgelijke scènes zijn in overvloed te vinden bij Adriaen Brouwer, die geïnteresseerd was in het overbrengen van emotie. Van Pieter Quast is een vergelijkbaar schilderij bekend [Sokolova, 2017, p. 211]. Vreemd genoeg brengen

⁷ Frans Hals. Twee lachende jongens. 1626. Doek, olieverf. 69,5 × 58 cm. Invent. no. Br. L. 4. Museum Boijmans van Beningen, Rotterdam.

⁸ Frans Hals. Jongen met een glas wijn (‘Smaak’). 1626–1628. Paneel, olieverf. D — 38 cm. Invent. no. G2476. Staatsmuseum, Schwerin.

⁹ Jacob Jordaens. Zoals de ouden zingen, zo piepen de jongen. 1638. Doek, olieverf. 120 × 192 cm. Invent. no. 677. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen.



Afb. 3. Cornelis Moninckx. De verleiding van de Sint Antonius. Midden van de 17^e eeuw. Tekening in zwart krijt op perkament. 29 × 37,7 cm. Invent. no. OR-19902

schedels en kolven in het interieur dorpsdokters dichter bij afbeeldingen van alchemisten, die ook als charlatans en bedriegers golden.

De laatste tekening van Cornelis Moninckx (afb. 3) uit de Hermitage komt uit de Stieglitz School.

In de Hermitage kwam het rond 1920 terecht. Het blad maakt deel uit van een achttiende-eeuws Frans groen reliëfleder album. Vooraan staat de tekeningenlijst met het veronderstelde auteurschap. De samensteller van dit album schreef de tekening toe aan Adriaen Brouwer. Het verschil in de manier van tekenen met deze meester is echter duidelijk. Brouwers grafische referentiewerken zijn op papier uitgevoerd in pen en bruintint en komen op een vrije, brede manier tot hun recht¹⁰. De tekening in de Hermitage is daarentegen zwart krijt op perkament. Het verschil met het werk van Brouwer was al duidelijk toen het blad van de Stieglitz School arriveerde. In de inventaris stond het vermeld als toegeschreven aan deze kunstenaar. Tot nu toe is er echter geen andere suggestie gedaan over het auteurschap van de tekening, terwijl een vergeli-

¹⁰ Adriaen Brouwer. Boeren in een herberg. 1630 Papier, pen en kwast in bruine tonen. 19,2 × 15,6 cm. Invent. no. 1895.0915.1133. Brits Museum.

jking met de werken van Cornelis Moninckx ons ervan overtuigt dat het werk van zijn hand is. Dit blijkt zowel uit de techniek als uit stilistische kenmerken van het werk.

De tekening toont een onderwerp dat enigszins afwijkt van de hierboven besproken nalatenschap van de kunstenaar; het is de verleiding van de heilige Antonius. Dit thema is sinds de middeleeuwen populair in Nederland. Het is opmerkelijk dat juist h genremasters het afbeelden. De verleidingsscènes van de heilige waren gevuld met veel fantastische bizarre demonen en bleken geliefd bij het publiek. De Spaanse theoloog en biograaf José de Sigüenza (1544–1606) schrijft in zijn verhandeling uit 1605 over de geschiedenis van de Orde van de Hiëronymus, in zijn commentaar op het drieluk "Verleiding van de heilige Antonius" van Jeroen Bosch¹¹: *"Antonius wordt omringd door talloze fantastische monsters die door de duivel zijn gemaakt om de vrome ziel in verwarring te brengen. Hij schiep dieren, woeste hersenschimmen, monsters, vuur, skeletten, adders, leeuwen, draken en verschrikkelijke vogels in zoveel soorten dat je je alleen maar kunt verbazen over zijn vermogen om zoveel vormen uit te voeren. Maar dit alles bewijst dat Gods barmhartigheid ons verheft en ervoor zorgt dat we niet afdwalen, dat we niet bezwijken voor de fantasieën van de duivel die angst, gelach, woede of andere ongebreidelde passies veroorzaken"* [Fricke, 2015].

Dit waardevolle kenmerk kan ook worden toegepast op de beelden die de traditie van Bosch voortzetten, op de kunst van Pieter Bruegel de Oude en op de meesters uit de zeventiende eeuw. Er zijn tientallen schilderijen over dit onderwerp bekend van met name David Teniers de Jonge (1610–1690). Hij was onlosmakelijk verbonden met de artistieke traditie van Pieter Bruegel en auteur van talrijke boerentaferelen. Uit documenten weten we dat Sint Antonius ook door Adriaen Brouwer is geschilderd. Dit schilderij bevond zich zelfs in de collectie van Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), maar het lot ervan is nu onbekend [Clippel, 2004]. De kluizenaar werd ook door andere genreschilders afgebeeld, onder anderen door Joos van Craesbeeck (1625–1660), Frans Francken de Jonge (1581–1642), David Vinckboons en Cornelis Saftleven (1607–1681). Dit kan worden verklaard door het feit dat de levendige en fantasierijke scène van de marteling van de heilige in de zeventiende eeuw beschouwd werd als fantastische schilderkunst genaamd spookerijen

¹¹ 1505, Nationaal Museum voor Oude Kunst, Lissabon.

en niet als religieuze kunst [Nile, 2013]. Dit genre stond vrij laag naast boerentaferelen en werd beschouwd als iets onwaardigs of komisch. Het is dan ook niet verwonderlijk dat het onderwerp van de bekoring van de heilige Antonius deel uitmaakt van het werk van Cornelis Moninckx, die gespecialiseerd was in afbeeldingen van boerenfeesten.

De verleiding van de heilige Antonius uit de Hermitage is vrij traditioneel. In het midden van de compositie staat een oude man met een Bijbel in zijn handen en een klein varkentje naast zich. Dit dier komt ter sprake in vitae van de heikige volgens "Legenda Aurea" van Jacobus de Voragine [Voraginskii, 2017, p. 153] en werd zijn onmisbare attribuut. In de kruinen van de bomen achter de heilige is zijn hut te zien. Het is een eenvoudig houten huis, de oude man wordt omringd door allerlei zoömorf als antropomorfe demonen. Hun types zijn heel opmerkelijk en weerspiegelen een aantal ideeën over de verschijning van demonen die kenmerkend zijn voor de 17^e eeuw, evenals de voortzetting van eerdere iconografie.

In het midden staat een kleine demon die qua uiterlijk lijkt op de afbeelding van boeren die Moninckx heeft gemaakt. Hij biedt de heilige een kruik aan en houdt een klein wijnavat met een kraantje aan de zijkant omhoog. Hij is als een kermisnar gekleed. Een van zijn benen is opgetrokken en rust op een stok. Dit brengt zijn beeld dichterbij de deugnieten en kreupelen van de kermis. Het iconografische type van de demon die Sint Antonius een glas wijn aanbiedt was een van de meest voorkomende. Soms was dat een naakt of juist een aristocratisch gekleed meisje, wat extra verleiding was. Vaak vinden we zulke personages bij Jan Bruegel de Oude (1568–1625)¹². In dit geval gebruikt Moninckx het motief ook dubbel — met een pronk bokaal die vlak voor de ogen van het oudere personage hangt. De kijker merkt deze gouden bokaal niet meteen op, we kunnen aannemen dat dit een bewust zo gedaan is en dat de bokaal meer hoort bij de wereld van visioenen en illusies die Sint Antonius overmeesteren.

Er is nog een ander monster met zijn benen in verschillende richtingen gedraaid. Het rust op houten steunen, die vaak voorkomen in scènes met kreupele mensen. Dit detail weerspiegelt de houding van de Vroegmoderne samenleving ten opzichte van lichamelijke gebreken van

¹² Jan Bruegel de Oude. Verleiding van Sint Antonius. Ca 1603. Koper, olieverf. Invent. no. 667. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wenen.

mensen, die werden beschouwd als straf voor hun zonden. Verschillende verminkingen werden ook geassocieerd met het idee dat de duivel onmogelijk een gezond mens kon creëren en dat er noodzakelijkerwijs lelijkheid in zijn volgelingen zat [Davidson, 2012, p. 110]. Veel van de demonen in Moninckx' tekening bestaan alleen uit hoofden, hebben geen lichaam en bewegen op kikkerbiljetjes. Een soortgelijk motief komt voor bij Frans Francken de Jonge's werken over demonen¹³. Een van zulke hoofden bij Moninckx draagt een helm en rookt een pijp. Veel andere demonen zijn lelijk met onnatuurlijk langgerekte neuzen, soms fallisch van vorm. Een van de monsters, bedekt met pokdalige vlekken, draagt een bril. Brillen werden sinds de late middeleeuwen beschouwd als een teken van geestelijke blindheid en kwamen vaak voor op afbeeldingen van godslasteraars van Christus en Farizeeën.

Op de tekening zijn veel gewapende demonen te zien. Ze zijn gekleed in ouderwetse harnassen, sommigen gewapend met hellebaarden, pieken en knotsen. Een van hen doelt met een haakbus. Gewapende monsters komen vaak voor in scènes met demonen en dienen als allegorie van toorn. Deze doodzonde wordt op dezelfde manier afgebeeld op een gravure die gebaseerd is op een tekening van Pieter Bruegel de Oude [Pieter Brueghel the Elder, 2001, p. 158]. Een ander geval zijn afbeeldingen van artilleriestukken, die vrijwel nooit op dergelijke schilderijen worden afgebeeld. Een zeldzaam voorbeeld van een geschut in de scène van de bekoring van Sint Antonius is het werk van Jacques Callot (1592–1635) [Goldstein, 2011, p. 77]. De eerste gravure van de Franse meester werd in 1617 gemaakt en de tweede in 1635. Er bestaat ook een tekening van Frans Francken de Jonge¹⁴, maar het is onwaarschijnlijk dat Moninckx deze kende.

Een van de monsters ziet eruit als een gedrongen man met een baard. Hij is gekleed in een weelderig licht carnavalskostuum naar de mode van de 16^e eeuw. De mouwen van zijn wambuis hebben wijde ruches en zijn hoed is versierd met linten en veren. Hij ziet eruit als een landsknecht. Hij speelt fruit en slaat op de trommel. De verschijning van demonen wordt vaak geassocieerd met het duivelse geluid dat ze maken. Hun gedrag doet denken aan de volkstraditie waarbij plegers van mis-

¹³ Frans Francken Jr. Heksenkeuken. 1606 Paneel, olieverf. 54,5 × 66,5 cm. De Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

¹⁴ Frans Francken Jr. De verleiding van de heilige Antonius. 1605–1610. Pentekening in bruinton. 19,7 × 29,2 cm. Brits Museum.

drijven in een vernederende optocht door de straten moesten lopen en zij door het volk werden bespot..De dader werd geslagen en kreeg te maken met een luidruchtige menigte. In de Russische geschiedschrijving is deze traditie bekend onder de Franse naam *charivari* [Bakhtin, 1990, p. 163]. In Nederland werd het *scherminkelen* of *ketelmuziek* genoemd, waarbij de eerste term de voorkeur had, omdat het woord *ketelmuziek* ook vaak werd gebruikt om te verwijzen naar het lawaai tijdens festivals en carnavals [Moens, 1994, p. 38]. Dergelijke vernederende processies hoorden bij het leven in de Nederlandse dorpen van de Vroegmoderne Tijd. Veel plegers van zedenmisdrijven werden aan deze straf onderworpen. Het was gebruikelijk om de snelle huwelijken van weduwnaars, zwangerschap en het verlies van maagdelijkheid voor het huwelijk of de weigering om te trouwen te veroordelen.

Een groot deel van de monsters heeft een zoömorf uiterlijk, waarmee de traditie van dergelijke helse wezens van Jeroen Bosch wordt voortgezet. Ze combineren kenmerken van verschillende dieren: honden, amfibieën of vogels. Sommigen hebben naakte vrouwelijke borsten, wat duidt op de wellust en promiscuïteit van deze wezens. Een van de demonenparen linksonder is zelfs al overgegaan tot de coïtus. In het midden van de compositie ligt een klein monster op de grond, met opgeheven poten die eindigen in slangenstaarten en een rond lichaam. Moninckx heeft dit schepsel ontleend aan de werken van Pieter Bruegel de Oude. Vergelijkbare monsters komen voor in zijn gravure "Lust" uit de serie "Zeven Dodelijke Zonden" [Pieter Brueghel, 2001, p. 153] en in het schilderij "Val der Engelen" uit Brussel.

De stilistiek getuigt van het auteurschap van Cornelis Moninckx. Soorten demonen en het uiterlijk van de oude man zelf doen denken aan zijn boerenafbeeldingen. Grote neuzen, ogen met hangende oogleden en expressieve gezichtsuitdrukkingen vallen op. In de meeste van zijn werken zie je baardige dorpelingen met een sluwe knipoog en een spottende limlach, die hier veranderen in helse wezens. Moninckx blijft in zijn werk trouw aan zichzelf door aandacht aan stoffen te besteden. De plooiën van de soutane van Antonius en de gewaden van de demonen zijn vrij stijf, terwijl het gebladerte van de bomen is weergegeven in lichte, fijn afgeronde lijnen. De tekening van de afzonderlijke motieven komt ook overeen. Het biggetje in de Amsterdamse tekening en het varken van Sint Antonius vertonen opmerkelijke overeenkomsten, in lichaamsstructuur, uiterlijk en de uitwerking van borstelharen. Het is

niet moeilijk om de favoriete compositie van de meester te herkennen. Op de linkerkant van het blad staat een groep demonen en de heilige grijsaard, met een boomstam en zijn hut aan de rand. Verder laat hij ruimte vrij en brengt hij de compositie in evenwicht met een andere groep monsters, kleiner van schaal en afgebeeld aan de rechterrاند. De voorgrond van de tekening werkt Moninckx voorzichtig uit, hij groepeerde de mise-en-scène van demonen en tekent zorgvuldig de klistruik in de rechter benedenhoek. Een soortgelijke aanpak was te zien in de andere tekeningen die hierboven zijn besproken, waar de voorgrond voor boerenfeesten werd gevuld met zorgvuldig getekende stenen, gebroken potten, boomstammen en andere resten.

Samengevat is het overzicht van de tekeningen van Cornelis Moninckx uit de Hermitage een interessante selectie van drie volledige werken van de kunstenaar, verschillend van onderwerp. De tekeningen zijn hier voor het eerst gepubliceerd en vormen een aanvulling op de studie naar de tot dusver weinig bekende meester. Deze bladen geven inzicht in de specifieke en herkenbare individuele stijl van de kunstenaar met zijn uitgewerkte details en vrije landschappen. Zijn werk vormt niet de hoofdlijn in de ontwikkeling van de genrekunst in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, maar het vertoont wel verwantschap met hoofdstromingen van zijn tijd. Moninckx verwijst naar het werk van andere kunstenaars, hij leent verschillende motieven, compositieschema's en stilistische manifestaties van onder anderen Pieter Bruegel de Oude, Adriaen Brouwer, Adriaen van Ostade. Tegelijkertijd blijft hij eerder in hun schaduw, zoals veel meesters uit die tijd, in het bijzonder Pieter Quast, die in geest en tijd dicht bij de kunstenaar stond. De tekeningen in dit artikel werpen een op onbekende bladzijden in het oeuvre van de kunstenaar. Zijn oeuvre wacht nog op een uitgebreide studie en veel feiten uit zijn leven en werk blijven tot nu toe onbekend.

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DRAWINGS BY CORNELIS MONINCKX IN THE HERMITAGE COLLECTION*

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The article analyses three drawings by the Dutch artist of the middle of the 17th century Cornelis Moninckx (1623–1666) from the collection of the State Hermitage Museum. Cornelis Moninckx (1623–1666) from the collection of the State Hermitage Museum are analysed. The sheets presented are published for the first time. The drawings come from three different collections, which are important components of the museum's graphic collections. They are executed in a technique characteristic of the artist: black chalk on parchment; two drawings are signed by the author, and another was attributed by the author of this article on the basis of the stylistic features of Cornelis Moninckx's work. Only a corpus of genre drawings, a few engravings and a design for a sculpture have survived from the master's artistic legacy. Three finished and large-format sheets from the Hermitage collection considerably expand the known field of the master's works. The study of Moninckx's works from the national collection gives grounds for assumptions about the reading of the subjects. The themes chosen by the master are inextricably linked with pictorial tradition and folk humour. Moninckx turned to the work of the masters of the 16th century, in particular Pieter Bruegel the Elder, and was interested in the work of his contemporaries: Adriaen Braughel the Elder, Adriaen Brauwer, Adriaen van Ostade and others. In this scientific article, the master's drawings are analysed from both the point of view of iconography, and formal and stylistic method, and a comparative analysis is applied. The works are put in line with other known works by the artist.

Keywords: drawing, Cornelis Moninckx, State Hermitage Museum, Dutch art of the 17th century, household genre, the Temptation of St Anthony.

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САКСЫ И СКАЛЬМЫ: ОДНОЛЕЗВИЙНОЕ ОРУЖИЕ В ТЕКСТАХ ДРЕВНЕИСЛАНДСКИХ САГ

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В статье рассматривается проблема использования в боевых условиях и классификации однолезвийного короткоклинкового оружия германских и соседних с ними народов Европы раннего Средневековья — боевых ножей-саксов. Авторы рассматривают имеющиеся многочисленные археологические находки в контексте терминов, употребляющихся в современных скандинавских языках, а также обращаются к анализу вариантов использования терминов «сакс» и «скальм» в архаических текстах. Представлен контекстный анализ употребления этих терминов в поэтических текстах песен «Старшей Эдды» и прозе исландских саг, относящихся к различным подтипам. По мнению авторов, термин «скальм» имел весьма специфическое назначение и вышел из повседневного употребления — как обозначение реального типа оружия — задолго до эпохи викингов. В текстах, описывающих эпоху викингов, скальмами устойчиво вооружены не люди, а противостоящие им темные и негативные персонажи — тролли, йотуны и т. д. Однако в героической эпической традиции скальмами, напротив, пользуются герои; именно скальмы вошли в состав поэтических формул, описывающих экипировку героев эпоса. Есть основания полагать, что этот термин приходит из глубокой древности и к эпохе викингов становится анахронизмом, приобретая новые коннотации и негативный смысл.

Ключевые слова: сакс, скальм, однолезвийное оружие, эпоха викингов, исландские саги, саги о древних временах, *Старшая Эдда*.

История оружия прочно и неразрывно связана с политической, социальной и культурной историей. Особенное значение оружейный фактор приобретает в переходную эпоху классового образования и раннего политогенеза, той самой «военной демократии», которая породила в итоге современную европейскую и североевропейскую реальность. Всеобщая вооруженность и прочная привязка социального статуса мужчины к его способности владеть оружием и применять его в соответствующей ситуации помещают оружейно-ведческий фактор в поле приоритетного внимания исследователя.

Наряду с универсальным древковым вооружением (копья — фреамеи, ангоны, «крылатые» рогатины и пр.), которое составляло вместе со щитом своего рода «базу» комплекса вооружения, раннее Средневековье характеризуется неуклонным ростом популярности клинкового оружия. Связано это было с его высокой эффективностью, а возрастание численности клинков детерминировалось развитием производительных сил, увеличением добычи железа и, естественно, стимулировалось потребностями военного дела. При этом отметим, что прослеживаются две магистральные линии. Позднеримский кавалерийский меч-спата породил варварские подражания эпохи Великого переселения народов, от них произошли мечи меровингского типа и их северное ответвление — вендельские хрингсверды, неоднократно упоминающиеся в скандинавских и англосаксонских текстах. Им наследовали легендарные каролингские мечи, почти на пять столетий ставшие основным типом клинкового оружия Европы и сопредельных регионов.

С другой стороны, германский мир породил свою собственную линию традиции — саксы, то есть боевые ножи. Нередко встречающееся определение «коротколезвийное оружие» применимо к ним лишь с оговорками, поскольку саксы имели различную длину, и к экземплярам типа находок из Вимозе или Темзы этот термин вряд ли может быть отнесен. Понятие «сакс» включает в себя крайне вариативные по форме, технике изготовления и способу использования образцы вооружения размером от сравнительно небольшого ножа до того, что можно определить скорее как палаш, тесак или прямую саблю. Объединяющей характеристикой этих предметов вооружения служит в гораздо большей степени их однолезвийность и преимущественная ориентация на рубящий

удар в ближнем бою, хотя практически всегда их заостренный конец позволял наносить эффективные колющие удары.

Важно отметить, что саксы занимали ту самую «демократическую» нишу, являясь относительно простым в изготовлении и дешевым эрзац-аналогом меча. Их широчайшая популярность свидетельствует о том, что они были материально доступны очень многим в качестве единственного клинкового вооружения. При этом у воинов побогаче сакс часто был дополнением к мечу и мог использоваться как сам по себе, так и, возможно, в паре с «основным» двулезвийным клинком (как в XVI в., например, использовались шпага и дага). Вариативность форм, размеров, украшение лезвия руническими надписями (граффити или интарсия), появление гибридных форм в виде однолезвийных «каролингов» на рубеже вендельского времени и эпохи викингов — все это однозначно свидетельствует в пользу демократизма саксов и их «народного» характера. Что заставляет более пристально взглянуть на этот предмет вооружения и прояснить особенности его бытования в эту непростую эпоху.

Генезис и историческая эволюция саксов многократно становились предметом обсуждения [Казанский, 2012, с. 111–124; Brown, 1997; Underwood, 2000; Henson, 2001; Pollington, 1996]. Они появились, насколько можно судить, лишь в железном веке. Саксы известны в Великой Дании как минимум с III в. до н.э. Постепенно они завоевали широчайшую популярность и оформились в самостоятельный подкласс холодного клинкового вооружения. Нам известны короткие клинки длиной от 7,5 до 15 см — в сущности, просто домашние ножи. Встречаются весьма крупные саксы, достигающие 80 см, однако в основной массе их длина варьировалась в пределах 40–50 см. Они занимали нишу универсального рубящего и колющего оружия ближнего боя с клиновидным в поперечном сечении, простым непрофилированным лезвием, имеющим прямую режущую кромку и, как правило, относительно выраженный спуск на обухе (рис. 1).

Эти признаки, как указывают исследователи, обеспечивают саксам периода Великого переселения народов и чуть более позднего времени типическую узнаваемость [Short]. Надо также заметить, что эволюция саксов подробно и вполне успешно была не так давно рассмотрена в работе Томаша Власатого [Vlasatý, 2020].

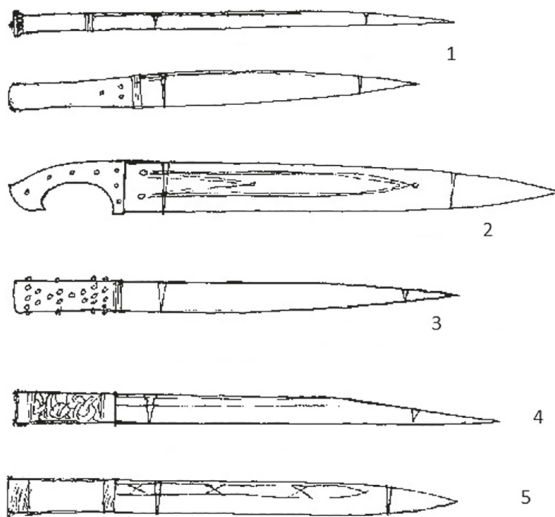


Рис. 1. Основные типы саксов. 1 — Хьёртшпринг, 350 г. до н. э.;
2 — Вимозе, 150–200 гг.; 3 — Вендель/Вальсърде, VI–VII вв.;
4 — англосаксонский сакс; 5 — лангобардский сакс, VII в.

Относительно подробно, в соответствии с состоянием источникового фонда, разработана и типология этого вида вооружения [Docherty]. Популярность саксов базировалась на их универсальности: как и топор, они могли быть использованы в очень широком диапазоне и были одновременно и бытовым повседневным предметом, и эффективным оружием.

Надо отметить, что саксы были не только «этническим» оружием германских племен. Как всякий удачный и эффективный вид вооружения, они снискали популярность и у многочисленных соседей германцев, особенно в меровингский (вендельский) период [Olsén, 1945]. Однако в германском мире, известном своим равнодушием к оружейной тематике, саксы заняли особое место: насколько мы можем судить по источникам (археологическим, изобразительным, письменным), к меровингскому периоду сакс у мужчины в германском мире был таким же обычным и неотъемлемым предметом костюма, каким был, скажем, кинжал-бебут у кавказских народов в Новое и Новейшее время (рис. 2).

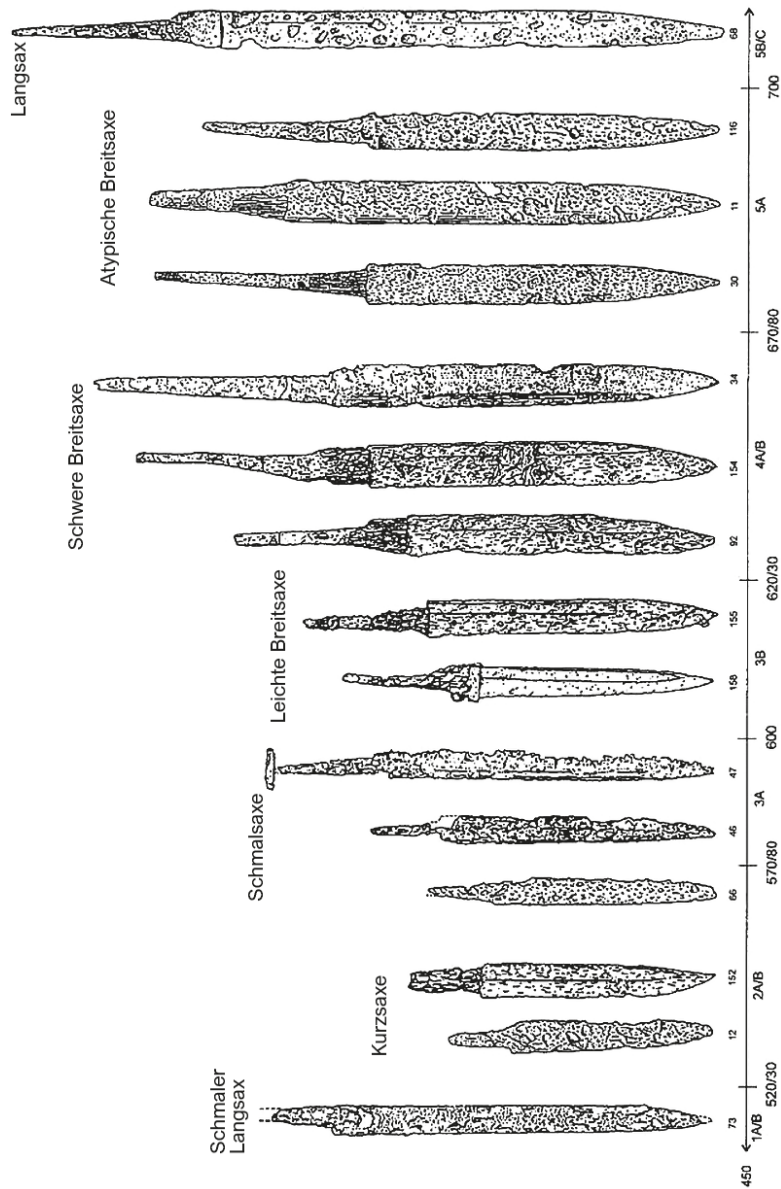


Рис. 2. Развитие форм саксов в V–VIII вв. (по Т. Власагому и Г. Шмитту)

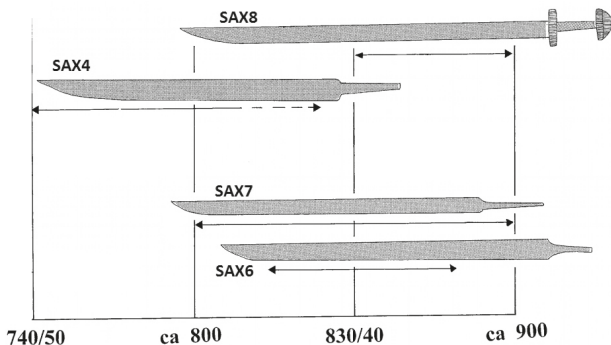


Рис. 3. Эволюция однолезвийных клинков в Норвегии в VIII–X вв.
(по Т. Власотому и А. Нёргорд Йоргенсен)

Саксы понемногу исчезают из археологических комплексов Скандинавии в течение IX — начала X в. Они вытесняются более универсальными и дорогими каролингскими мечами в период наиболее интенсивной экспансии викингов. Активные набеги и захват трофейного оружия, покупка его у западных производителей, а также расширение производства «каролингов» в самой Скандинавии обеспечивали потребности и удовлетворение «модного» запроса. После этого, в X в., наступает кратковременный «ренессанс» саксов, и они вновь начинают попадать в погребения и встречаться в виде случайных находок. Однако к началу XI в. в большинстве регионов Скандинавии саксы как боевое оружие и атрибут воина окончательно выходят из употребления (рис. 3).

Точное время угасания популярности саксов установить затруднительно — с распространением христианства быстро редуцируется традиция погребать воинов с оружием, оно попросту не попадает в резко обедневшие комплексы. С другой стороны, иные категории источников (в частности, изобразительные) не дают удовлетворительной информации об этом. Так, ни на ковре из Байё, ни на знаменитой норвежской вышивке со всадником, ни у шахматных фигур с о. Льюис нет ничего, напоминающего однолезвийные саксы: они полностью заменены каролингскими мечами.

За пределами Скандинавии дело обстояло иначе. В континентальной Европе, на Западе, саксы исчезли куда раньше — видимо, они не попали в стандартный набор вооружения уже у каролинг-

ских всадников и пехотинцев. Что касается Восточной Европы, то там все наоборот — саксы продолжают употребляться и в более позднее время [Салмин, 2016, с. 466–475; Стасюк и др., 2018, с. 264–274].

Большой интерес представляют термины, которыми обозначалось это оружие. При этом мы должны понимать, какие затруднения связаны с этим вопросом. Авторы текстов нередко употребляли обобщающие термины и архаизмы. Так, христианские писатели, как правило, являясь духовными лицами, отчасти были связаны каноном исторического повествования, отчасти могли не разбираться в тонкостях военного дела. Скандинавские же фиксаторы текстов саг и поэтических строф отстояли от описываемых событий во времени. Так, ко временам Снорри саксы уже пару веков как не употреблялись.

В континентальной традиции регулярно употреблялись термины «сакс», «лангсакс» (очевидно, «длинный нож») и «скрамасакс» (обычно понимаемый как «нож ран», «наносящий раны»). Что касается последнего термина, то его трактовка выглядит достаточно очевидной: так, в современном норвежском *skramme* означает царапину или рану, возникшую от какого-либо предмета или оружия (ср. *skram* в значении открытого рудника, разреза для добычи ископаемых). Отсюда же, судя по всему, и глагол *at skræma/skremta* — ‘напугать, испугать, вселить страх’ и ряд его производных. Термин, судя по всему, весьма древний, восходящий к индоевропейским корням (*skrama* и в современном хинди, например, означает «царапать»).

Разумеется, в точности сопоставить эти термины с имеющимися в фондах музеев типами клинков затруднительно. Обычно оружейеды и археологи принимают за правило, что «лангсаксами» называли ножи с длиной клинка примерно от 40 см, которые неоспоримо имели исключительно боевое предназначение (использовать такой клинок как бытовой нож довольно неудобно и нелепо). В таком случае скрамасакс — это еще более длинный клинок, предназначенный для рубящего удара, по сути однолезвийный меч. Точные подтверждения этому умозаключению предоставить затруднительно, поскольку реальные клинки, обильные в «болотных находках» и в погребальном инвентаре, и термины, упоми-

наемые в текстах, существуют в своего рода параллельных мирах и фактически не соприкасаются.

При этом в древнескандинавских текстах — как в сагах, так и в песнях «Старшей Эдды» — периодически встречается еще один специфический термин *skalm*. Судя по контексту, не может быть никаких сомнений, что за ним скрывается некий клинковый предмет вооружения — относительно короткий меч или, собственно, сакс. Слово это может быть до какой-то степени прояснено следующей аналогией. Хотя в датском языке термин *skælm* обозначает плута или шутника, однако имеет место и устойчивая идиома *Imorgen er en skælm*, что приблизительно может быть переведено как «неведомая угроза будущего (завтрашнего дня)». Рассматривая боевое оружие как инструмент угрозы, можно проследить некоторые, хотя и относительно смутные, аналогии.

Однако остаются вопросы, каково соотношение понятий «сакс» и «скальм» и каким образом мы можем развести эти термины, соотнося их с материальным, вещественным, оружейным миром. Сказать со всей определенностью, какая археологическая реальность скрывается за термином «скальм» и как это соотносилось с саксом, довольно затруднительно. Помочь в прояснении этого вопроса могут тексты саг, в которых упоминаются эти, безусловно, жизненно важные для людей того времени предметы вооружения.

Анализ исландских саг, как представляется, помогает прояснить археологическую реальность термина «скальм», его связь с саксом и конкретику применения в бою, хотя сделать это с полной уверенностью достаточно затруднительно. В сагах, которые имеют надежную внутреннюю хронологию, часто упоминаются саксы и даже описывается их военное использование до начала XI в.

В некотором смысле «Сага о Ньяле» является рекордсменом в части упоминания саксов. Так, в ней младший брат героя Гуннара вооружен именно саксом, в то время как сам Гуннар предпочитает меч, копьё и часто использует лук. Подробно описывается техника применения сакса в бою. Например, Торвальд «хватает нож» (в саге — *handsax*) [Сага о Ньяле, XI], впоследствии лишаясь руки, перерубленной секирой Тьостольва; Глум атакует саксом, и его лезвие вонзается в древко секиры, но владелец сакса побежден [Сага о Ньяле, XVII]; у Кольскегга есть сакс, «лучше которого

нет»; на поясе у Атли тоже сакс [Сага о Ньяле, XXXVI]; видимо, тем же — вызывающим восторг в начале саги саксом — вооружен Кольскегг в других эпизодах [Сага о Ньяле, LIV, LXIII, LXXI]; именно саксом вооружен Торкель, спорящий со Скарпхедином [Сага о Ньяле, CXX].

Эпизоды, связанные с Гуннаром, надежно датируются началом последней четверти X в. по внутренней хронологии саги. Следовательно, и все остальные эпизоды тяготеют к этому времени или соотносятся с ним по относительной хронологии очень близко. Есть в саге и загадочная фраза — у Гуннара был отличный меч, подарок Эльвира, но в той же фразе он бежит к кораблю Вандиля *a saxid*, то есть «с саксом» [Сага о Ньяле, XXX]. Кроме того, упоминается также некий Эйдис Железный Нож (*Eydis járn saxa*) [Сага о Ньяле, CXIX].

В «Саге о Греттире» Греттир в начале XI в. достает свое любимое впоследствии оружие — роскошный однолезвийный сакс — из кургана некоего знатного норвежского вождя. Судя по внутренней хронологии саги, в курган этот сакс должен был попасть около середины X в. Греттир исключительно активно использует сакс — по частоте упоминания этого оружия (52 раза упоминается сакс, на фоне всего лишь 21 упоминания меча) текст саги можно признать выдающимся. С момента добычи оружия Греттир непрерывно употребляет свой сакс в самых неожиданных ситуациях. Он действует им обычно во вполне традиционной манере, но также поражает своих врагов и искусным и внезапным ударом по голове обухом клинка [Сага о Греттире, XLVIII]. Есть и крайне интересный эпизод, в котором Греттир проникает в логово великана-йотуна, где, помимо висящего на стене меча (*sverd*), в арсенале йотуна фигурирует некий *heptisax*, в русских переводах обычно обозначенный как «тесак» [Сага о Греттире, LXVI]. В буквальном смысле этот термин можно понимать как «сакс с рукояткой», что довольно странно по самой сути, ибо трудно представить сакс без рукояти. Остается, видимо, предположить, что это некий акцент на особой конструкции этой рукояти, сохранившийся в сагах.

Во включенной в сагу фантастической истории, повествующей о борьбе с женщиной-троллем, Греттир также в итоге поражает ее своим саксом. Однако неожиданно в арсенале великанши фигурирует именно некий скальм. На это последнее обстоятельство

особенно следует обратить внимание. Упоминания в исландском фольклоре однолезвийных боевых клинков в целом тяготеют к определенной закономерности. Сакс и скальм, как правило, фигурируют в фантастических историях о сражениях с отвратительными великанами — троллями и троллихами, а также с мертвецами из курганов. Показательно, что такие истории встречаются не только в «сагах о древних временах», но и в «сагах об исландцах». Встречаются и другие комбинации: например, тролля либо некстати ожившего мертвеца герои поражают неким клинком, который именуется скальмом или саксом, причем сколько-нибудь ощутимого различия между этими видами оружия в фантастических сагах и сказочных сюжетах, включенных во вполне исторические саги, усмотреть не получается.

Отметим отдельно и такой момент: в отличие от термина «сакс», термин «скальм» как обозначение реального боевого оружия в тех эпизодах саг, которые хронологически достаточно надежно могут быть соотнесены с эпохой викингов, фактически не встречается. Так, в частности, есть уникальный случай убийства именно скальмом; еще в одном случае скальм упомянут в знаменитом эпизоде саги о Греттире — здесь этим термином определен рабочий нож-тесак при разделке туши кита, который (внезапно, ситуативно и вынужденно) используется как оружие [Сага о Греттире, XII].

Надо указать на несколько примеров использования сакса в фантастических историях фольклорного типа, включенных в саги об исландцах вполне реалистического характера (что вполне объяснимо, поскольку древние исландцы, безусловно, безоговорочно верили в существование троллей и прочих фантастических существ).

Так, сакс упомянут в эпизоде борьбы с мертвецом, защищающим в кургане свои сокровища. Этот весьма популярный сам по себе фольклорный и эпический мотив благополучно прижился и в родовых сагах — например, именно в борьбе с мертвецом, защищающим свои сокровища в кургане, отбирает Греттир свое любимое впоследствии оружие — богато украшенный сакс. Однако, пожалуй, самый выразительный пример такого рода содержится в саге, которую исследователи относят к жанру «саг о древних временах». Это «Сага об Эгиле Одноруком и Асмунде Убийце Берсерков» (Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana).

Меньше чем месяц спустя после их приезда Аран внезапно упал замертво, когда входил в свои палаты. Тело обрядили для погребения согласно обычаю. Асмунд воздвиг над Араном курган и подле тела разместил коня вместе с уздой и седлом, а также стяги и оружие, сокола и пса, которые принадлежали покойному. Аран был посажен в кресло в полном воинском облачении.

Асмунд принес в курган другое кресло и расположился в нем после того, как курган был закрыт. В первую ночь Аран встал с кресла, убил сокола и собаку и съел их. Во вторую ночь он опять встал, убил коня и разорвал его на куски; затем он стал рвать плоть коня зубами, и кровь стекала у него изо рта, откуда он ел. Он предложил Асмунду разделить с ним трапезу, но Асмунд ничего не ответил. В третью ночь на Асмунда напала сонливость, и он пришел в себя лишь тогда, когда Аран схватил его за уши и оборвал их.

Асмунд выхватил *сакс* и снес Арану голову. Затем он развел огонь и сжег Арана, обратив его в пепел. Асмунд направился к канату и был поднят наверх. Затем курган снова закрыли.

Асмунд забрал все сокровища из кургана с собой [Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana, VII] (перевод И. Б. Губанова).

Но если сакс, как мы ранее видели, употреблялся и в эпизодах, описывающих сражения между людьми («Сага о Ньяле», некоторые места «Саги о Греттире» и др.), то в сагах (особо подчеркнем — именно в прозаических текстах саг) слово *скальм* употребляется практически исключительно в сказочных сюжетах — им вооружены тролли и троллихи или, как вариант, противостоящий им герой-победитель.

И здесь особенно показателен пример, где фигурируют великанша с саксом и великанши со скальмами. Это отрывок из очень короткой «саги о древних временах», которая носит название «Сага об Иллуги Зяте Грид» (Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra). Вполне фольклорный сюжет сватовства отважного юноши, победившего злых великанш и снявшего древнее заклятие, сам по себе весьма занимателен, однако мы отметим здесь лишь случаи употребления интересующих нас терминов:

...на этих его словах Грид бросила Иллуги назад. Он повернулся к своей невесте и очень обрадовался. И когда ему с ней было очень хорошо, Грид обмотала его волосы вокруг своей руки, отдернула его к краю кровати и замахнулась *саксом* ему в голову:

— Смелый ты, но теперь ты тут же будешь убит.

Но Иллуги сказал, что не боится смерти...

... Тогда Грид сказала:

— ... Ведь таким способом я многих убила, всех, кто испугался моего ужасного *сакса*. Шестнадцать храбрых мужчин я убила этим ножом, и это была вовсе не женская работа...

... И никогда ты не освободишься от этого проклятия, пока не встретишь такого человека, который не испугается твоего огромного *сакса*, которым ты замахнешься.

... И в конце этого рассказа в пещеру вошли семь великанш с острыми *скальмами*, напали на Грид и рубили ее сильно и часто. Хильд очень перепугалась. Иллуги пришел к Грид на помощь, и рубил их быстро и часто, и не останавливался до тех пор, пока все они не умерли, и тогда он сжег их в костре [Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra, IV] (перевод И. Б. Губанова).

При этом совершенно в ином контексте термин «скальм» употребляется в эпосе. В эпических песнях «Старшей Эдды» термин «скальм», например, используется трижды.

В фундаментальном с мировоззренческой точки зрения «Прорицании Вёльвы» при описании грядущего века насилия перед последней битвой богов и чудовищ и гибели богов (Рагнарёк) используется эпитет «век скальмов» (наряду с «веком секир»). Не менее любопытно и то, что в двух героических эпических текстах — в «Речах Хамдира» и во «Второй песне о Гудрун» — *скальмы* как обозначение клинкового оружия героев оба раза встречаются в составе стандартизированной формульной системы (согласно теории Милмэна Пэрри и Альберта Лорда), то есть варьирующейся ритмической модели, которую сказитель может в нужный момент быстро извлечь из памяти в процессе порождения устной поэтической речи. В обеих песнях герои эпоса «подпоясаны скальмами», причем в сочетании с красными плащами, которыми они «встряхивают».

Так, во фрагменте из «Речей Хамдира», в котором герои готовятся выступить против конунга Ёрмунрёкка, дабы отомстить за убитую им жену, их сестру Сванхильд: *Skóku loða, skalmir festu* ('встряхнули плащами, скальмы прикрепили...') [Hamðismál, 16] (перевод И. Б. Губанова).

«Вторая песнь о Гудрун» содержит такое описание внешности воинов: *...höfðu loða rauða, stuttar brynjur, steypða hjalma, skalmum gyrðir...* ('имели плащи красные, короткие кольчуги, острые (букв.

«крутые») шлемы, *скальмами подпоясаны...*») [Guðrúnarkviða in forna, 19] (перевод И. Б. Губанова).

Заметим при этом, что наряду с термином «скальм» в обеих песнях активно используются и более употребительные, традиционные, названия мечей — *sverð*, *mæki* и *hjör*. Очевидно, следует предположить, что тут подразумеваются мечи с обычными длинными обоюдоострыми клинками.

Необходимо принимать во внимание весьма существенное базовое противоречие. С одной стороны, перед нами общество, в котором оружию и его применению уделяется не просто повышенное, но основное внимание. Со времен культуры боевых топоров, через традицию бронзового века и ранних германцев к скандинавскому миру раннего Средневековья — и от двух последних к рыцарской субкультуре — красной нитью проходят трепетное и восторженное отношение к оружию и его ритуализация. Поэтому любой термин, связанный с вооружением, не может быть ни малозначимым, ни «проходным» — для германца и скандинава здесь не бывает мелочей, и всякое определение несет существенную смысловую нагрузку. С другой стороны, мы имеем дело все же с достаточно архаическим языком, в котором слабо представлены родовые понятия — в нем отсутствует привычный для человека нашего времени «меч как таковой», подразделяющийся на множество типов. Напротив, существует множество разных видов рубящего клинкового оружия, каждый из которых вполне достоин отдельного термина. Вероятнее всего, за терминами *sax*, *skalm*, *sverð*, *mæki*, *hjör* и другими словами изначально стояли вполне специализированные типы клинков, разница между которыми была предельно очевидна для любого современника, причастного воинской субкультуре, но ускользает от нас на хронологической дистанции. Вопросом при этом остается, в какой степени эту разницу ощущали и понимали люди, изустно передававшие тексты и фиксировавшие их спустя несколько столетий.

Однако вернемся к саксам и скальмам. Авторам представляется достаточно очевидным, что, когда эти два вида однолезвийного оружия (достаточно быстро, на самом деле) выходят из употребления в реальной жизни, обозначающие их термины постепенно переходят в сказочно-фольклорные тексты, то есть в фантастические истории о сражениях с великанами, великаншами и мертве-

цами. Хотя в фантастических сюжетах убийств великанш и троллей термины «сакс» и «скальм» зачастую вполне синонимичны, необходимо отметить, что в сагах сакс исключительно широко и активно употребляется и в сценах реальной борьбы (в отличие от скальма). Это происходит, если судить по той самой внутренней хронологии саг, вплоть до начала и даже середины XI столетия.

При этом стоит указать, что именно до этого времени в археологических комплексах — пусть не слишком часто, но устойчиво — продолжают встречаться массивные однолезвийные боевые ножи-саксы. То есть перед нами как раз тот крайне нечастый случай, когда датировка вещей по имеющимся текстам исключительно точно и надежно соотносится с датировками, получаемыми методами археологии. Получается, что данные исландских саг в данной ситуации вполне отражают синхронные действию исторические реалии. Именно саксами, а не обоюдоострыми мечами, конечно, могли быть вооружены как брат Гуннара с Конца Склона в конце X в., так и Греттир в первой трети XI в. Отдельного осмысления заслуживает вопрос, как именно могли называться в обыденной жизни знаменитые однолезвийные мечи с рукоятями каролингского типа, в немалом числе бытовавшие на рубеже эпохи викингов в северных странах. По общему облику это меч, но однолезвийный клинок однозначно переводит его в категорию саксов. Нет сомнения, что эта тема требует придирчивого и отдельного внимания.

Очевидно также и то, что термин «скальм» — что бы ни скрывалось за ним — перестает употребляться для обозначения реального вида оружия задолго до так называемой эпохи викингов. В этот период им как раз вооружены не люди, а всяческая нечисть и «нелюдь». При этом в эпический героический век именно скальмами подпоясаны герои — Сёрли и Хамдир из «Речей Хамдира» и лангобарды из «Второй песни о Гудрун». Присутствие скальмов в составе поэтических формул, описывающих снаряжение героев, вполне может свидетельствовать об архаизме этих эпитетов меча, именно об устойчивом восприятии их как свидетельства «старины», признака древности и эпичности происходящего события. Определенным аналогом может выступить, например, былинный «меч-кладенец», нередко оказывающийся, в отдельных поздних вариантах былин, еще и в руках героя-«солдата». Вряд ли

рассказчики более позднего времени, созидавшие из этих формул и хранившие живой устный героический эпос, вполне осознавали, как именно выглядели архаические клинки, обозначаемые этими формулами. Данные археологии не дают внятного ответа, с какими конкретно артефактами эпохи Великого переселения народов можно соотнести термин «скальм». В любом случае даже со словом «сакс» слишком много неясностей. На этом фоне «скальм» определенно является своеобразным научным вызовом и требует углубленного и внимательного исследования.

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SEAXES AND SKALMS: SINGLE-EDGED WEAPON IN THE OLD ICELANDIC TEXTS

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The article examines the problem of the use in combat conditions and classification of single-edged short-bladed weapons of the Germanic and neighboring peoples of Europe in the early Middle Ages — combat knives seaxes. The authors consider the numerous existing archaeological finds in the context of terms used in modern Scandinavian languages, and also turn to the analysis of options for using the terms “seax” and “skalm” in archaic texts. A contextual analysis of the use of these terms in the poetic texts of songs from the Elder Edda and the prose of Icelandic sagas belonging to various subtypes is presented. According to the authors, the term “skalm” had a very specific purpose and fell out of everyday use — as a designation for a real type of weapon — long before the Viking Age. In the texts describing the Viking Age, it is not people who are consistently armed with skalms, but the dark and negative characters opposing them — trolls, jotuns, etc. However, in the heroic epic tradition, skalms, on the contrary, are used by heroes; it was the skalms that became part of the poetic formulas describing the equipment of the heroes of the epic. There is reason to believe that this term comes from ancient times and by the Viking Age it became an anachronism, acquiring new connotations and negative meaning.

Keywords: seax, skalm, single-edged weapon, Viking Age, Icelandic sagas, sagas of ancient times, Elder Edda.

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