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Published in:

Early Modern Disputations and Dissertations in an Interdisciplinary and European Context

DOI:

[10.1163/9789004436206_030](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004436206_030)

2020

Document Version:

Peer reviewed version (aka post-print)

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Akujärvi, J. (2020). Translation in university dissertations: A study of Swedish (and Finnish) dissertations of the 19th century and earlier. In M. Fridenthal, H. Marti, & R. Seidel (Eds.), *Early Modern Disputations and Dissertations in an Interdisciplinary and European Context* (pp. 779-813). Article 29 (Intersections. Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture; Vol. 71). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004436206_030

Total number of authors:

1

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TRANSLATION IN UNIVERSITY DISSERTATIONS.
A STUDY OF SWEDISH (AND FINNISH) DISSERTATIONS OF THE 19TH
CENTURY AND EARLIER

Johanna Akujärvi

1 Introduction

This study intends to describe translation in dissertations from the universities of the former Realm of Sweden: Uppsala (in modern Sweden; 1477–), Tartu/Tallinn/Pärnu (in modern Estonia; 1632–1665 and 1690–1710), Turku/Helsinki (in modern Finland; 1640–; moved to Helsinki in 1828), and Lund (in modern Sweden; 1666–). Students of university history and of philology in Sweden and Finland have noted the large quantity of translations in dissertations from the 19th century,¹ but as far as is known, the phenomenon has not been studied previously, except by the present author.²

First, the phenomenon of 19th century dissertation translations of ancient literature into Swedish is examined. This part is limited to Greek and Latin source texts with Swedish as the target language in dissertations that are primarily translations and were defended at the faculties of philosophy, thus excluding all those dissertations with translations defended at other faculties (mostly that of theology), as well as all translations from other source languages than Greek and Latin, as well as translations from Greek into Latin, from Latin into Greek, from Swedish into Latin, from Latin into English, and from Greek into Finnish. The study is quantitative and the focus is not on the individual agents or publications, but on the general development of the phenomenon: chronological distribution, choice of source texts, translator, and, as transition to the following section, the rise and fall of the phenomenon.

Next, the occurrence of translation in dissertations prior to the late 18th century is studied, but restricted to dissertations in which translation is a major part, that is, either a translation printed parallel to an edited text with or without commentary, a suggestion of a new translation of Bible passages, or a discussion of an existing translation. Before the very late 18th century,

¹ Heikel I.A., *Filologins studium vid Åbo universitet*, Åbo universitets lärdomshistoria. 5. *Filologin* (Helsinki: 1894) 290–293; Aalto P., *Classical studies in Finland 1828–1918* (Helsinki: 1980) 30, 78; Lindberg B., *Humanism och vetenskap. Den klassiska filologien i Sverige från 1800-talets början till andra världskriget* (Stockholm: 1987) 117–118; Klinge M. et al., *Helsingfors universitet 1640–1990*, vol. 2 (Helsinki: 1989) 397–398.

² Akujärvi J., “*Suethice*. Dissertationer, disputationer och dissertationsöversättningar under 1800-talet”, *Aigis* 14, 1 2014 and Akujärvi J., “*Suethice*. On 19th Century Swedish University Translations of Ancient Literature”, in Jönsson A. – Vogt-Spira G. (eds), *The classical tradition in the Baltic region. Perceptions and adaptations of Greece and Rome* (Zürich – New York: 2017) 253–274.

translation into Swedish does not appear to have occurred in university dissertations, but dissertations from all the universities of the Realm of Sweden do nevertheless point to an intermittent interest in translation, both in the sense of the act of turning a text from one language into another (the source languages vary, but the latter is generally Latin), and in the sense of the product of the act of translating (the product for the most part being the Swedish Bible translation).³ In this part, the focus is on Uppsala University, but material from the three other universities of the Realm of Sweden is also included. Throughout the whole study, the main interest is in describing the dissertation translations as texts, but as a conclusion the relation between the dissertation translations, disputations and other uses of the texts is queried and a tentative sketch of the practice through the centuries is presented, without pretensions of exhausting the question.

The general framework for the study is the educational system at university level in the Realm of Sweden, and, after 1809, Sweden and Finland, the discipline of classical philology, the instruction of Greek and Latin at the universities, and the development of the Swedish and Finnish university systems and their effect on classical philology.⁴ Following the Russian conquest of Finland in 1809 the social conditions cease to be the same for the universities in Sweden and Finland. The institutional developments are not quite parallel in the two countries after that date, but classical philology does develop along similar lines in the two countries. This can be attributed to a common influence – German philology.⁵

2 *Suethice*

Depending on the unit counted, there are either 264 or 841 dissertation translations. The slim single dissertations – many are less than twenty pages – were often part of a dissertation series, with continuous pagination from one part to the other. These dissertation series were sometimes given a new, common title page after completion. Counting the dissertation series, there are 270

³ Cf. the definition in *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. ‘translation’ II.2.a: ‘The action or process of turning from one language into another; also, the product of this; a version in a different language.’

⁴ The following university histories have been used: Annerstedt C., *Upsala universitets historia*, 3 vols. (Uppsala: 1877–1931); Lindroth S., *Uppsala universitet 1477–1977* (Uppsala: 1976); Frängsmyr C., *Uppsala universitet 1852–1916*, 2 vols. (Uppsala: 2010); Klinge *et al.*, *Helsingfors*; Weibull M. – Tegnér E., *Lunds universitets historia 1668–1868*, 2 vols. (Lund: 1868); Tegnér E., *Lunds universitet 1872–1897* (Lund: 1897); Bergman J., *Universitetet i Dorpat under svenska tiden. Gustav II Adolfs sista kulturskapelse* (Uppsala: 1932); Piirimäe H., *Tartu ülikooli ajalugu. I. 1632–1798* (Tallinn: 1982).

⁵ The following works on classical philology in Sweden and Finland have been used: Heikel, *Filologins*; Aalto, *Classical*; Palm J., “Griechisch” and Lundström S., “Latin”, both in Carlsson L. (ed.), *Faculty of art at Uppsala University* (Uppsala: 1976) 35–45 and 47–62; Lindberg *Humanism*.

dissertation translations; 167 (63%) translate Greek and 97 (37%) Latin texts. Counting the single dissertations, there are 841 dissertation translations, which is also the number of disputations that potentially issued from them; 647 (77%) translate Greek and 194 (23%) Latin texts. This is a study of the 841 single dissertations.⁶

The predominance of translations of Greek literature is noteworthy and probably due partly to the influence of the new humanist obsession with archaic and classical Greek culture, language and literature, and partly to the status of the two languages in schools and universities. Latin being an obligatory language at university (until 1852) and it having been studied for years in school with the aim of it being mastered orally and in writing, it was a more impressive test of one’s learning to produce and defend a translation from Greek than to produce one from Latin into Swedish.

The translations are distributed unevenly over the century. Table 1 below shows that the production was high between the 1810s and 1840s, with a marked peak in the 1830s with 244 translations. There was a rapid rise in production in the first decade of the 19th century, and an almost equally rapid decline in the 1850s.

Table 1. Chronological distribution 1790–1899 per decade

	90-99	00-09	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-99	Total
GR	2	13	134	177	177	117	14	9	3	–	1	647
LA	–	3	10	15	67	40	45	13	1	–	–	194
GR&LA	2	16	144	192	244	157	59	22	4	–	1	841

‘GR’-row: number of translations of Greek source texts; ‘LA’-row: number of Latin source texts; ‘GR&LA’-row: number of translations of both Greek and Latin source texts for each decade.

The production peaked in the 1830s (see below), but, institutionally, the early 1850s is a break point. The new Swedish university statutes that were passed in 1852 and put into effect over the following two years affected dissertations in general and dissertation translations in particular. Significant changes affected the rules of authoring and defending dissertations. After 1852, the dissertation was to be written and defended by the student without the aid of the *praeses*. Dissertations *pro exercitio* were abolished, and students made public defences only for the master’s degree and doctorate. Swedish and other modern languages, particularly German, were increasingly used as Latin ceased to be the compulsory language.⁷ Scholarly prowess was established as the only standard by which applicants for academic posts were to be judged. The effects on the dissertation translations were fourfold: (1) their numbers decreased significantly,

⁶ For the complete corpus of this section, see Akujärvi, “*Suethice. Dissertationer.*”

⁷ In exceptional cases Swedish was allowed before 1852, too, see Lindberg B., *De lärdes modersmål. Latin, humanism och vetenskap i 1700-talets Sverige*, Gothenburg studies in the history of science and ideas (Göteborg: 1984) 39–40.

(2) the dissertations became slightly thicker, (3) the dissertations became single pieces rather than parts of a series, and (4) the prefaces and comments could be written in Swedish. In Finland the university statutes were changed along similar lines in 1852, but the reform does not affect the corpus of this study, since the last dissertation translation from the Imperial Alexander University of Finland appeared in 1849 (Gylden – Söderholm).⁸ As the university was moved from Turku to Helsinki in 1828, there was a reform making disputations *pro exercitio* at the faculty of philosophy for the master's degree, and those *pro gradu* for the doctor's degree. In Sweden, the highest degree awarded at a faculty of philosophy remained the master's degree until 1872.

Of the 841 dissertation translations 771 (92%) were published before 1852. Nearly 60% of the dissertation translations published in Sweden and all but one of the Finnish are *pro exercitio* (Ingelius 1846), so a steep decline in the dissertation translations is to be expected after 1852. Despite the decline in absolute numbers, the quantity remained high compared to other dissertations in the ancient languages until 1875, after which point only one last dissertation translation appeared in 1894 (Janzon). Greek dominates every decade until the 1852 reform.

Poetry is translated much more than prose. Of the 841 dissertation translations, 618 (73%) translate poetic texts, 223 (27%) translate prose. Of the 618 translations of poetry, 518 (84%) translate Greek and 100 (16%) Latin poetry. Of the 223 translations of prose, 129 (58%) translate Greek and 94 (42%) Latin prose. Translations of Greek poetry thus dominate. In translations from Latin, poetry and prose are almost equal in number.

Table 2 below presents a nearly complete list of source texts/authors.⁹ In the top ten texts from Greek are the Homeric epics, the three tragedians, Demosthenes, Pindar, Plato, Thucydides, *Anacreontea* and *Anthologia Graeca*. No text comes close to the Homeric epics in frequency, with the whole of the *Odyssey* translated in one series and half of the *Iliad* in another. But most dissertations translate only single poems, selections of poems or excerpts of longer texts, whether prose or poetry. The five most translated Latin authors, all translated more than ten times each are: Cicero, Tacitus, Ovid, Horace, Livy. Thus, a few rather predictable texts from the most predictable periods predominate. Excepting Aristotle's *Categories*, Diophantus' *Arithmetica*, and Pomponius Mela's *Geography*, source texts appear to have been chosen on aesthetic, stylistic, and rhetorical grounds, or because of their importance for literary studies (ps.-Longinus' *On the sublime*).

Table 2. Dissertation translations per source text

⁸ The few 19th century dissertation translations that are singled out in the following are listed in Appendix 1 and referred to by *praeses* and respondent, or by author and year, when that is the information on the title page.

⁹ Dissertations to which it has been impossible to assign a single name or title are excluded.

Greek

100+: the Homeric epics (164)

50–30: *Anacreontea* (46), Demosthenes (46), Euripides (37), Aeschylus (36), Sophocles (36)

29–10: Plato (29), Pindar (27), *Anthologia Graeca* (25), Thucydides (22), Hesiod (21), Aristotle (17), Theocritus (16), Sappho (13), Bion of Smyrna (12), the *Homeric hymns* (11), Aristophanes (10)

4: Callimachus, Clemens of Rome, Hermesianax of Colophon, Herodotus, Johannes Chrysostomus, Xenophon

2: Cratinus, ps.-Longinus, Lucian, ps.-Lycophron, Moschus, Musaeus, Theophrastus

1: Apollonius of Rhodes, Cleanthes, Crates of Thebes, Diophantus, Lysias, Mimnermus, Naumachius, Panyassis, Proclus, Quintus Smyrnaeus, Solon, Tyrtaeus

Latin

10+: Cicero (42), Tacitus (32), Ovid (21), Horace (16), Livy (16)

7: Ausonius, Catullus, Plautus, Propertius, Tibullus

4: Juvenal

3: Claudian, *Appendix Vergiliana*

2: Lactance, Martial, Pliny the Younger, Sulpicia, Terence

1: Annaeus Florus, Calpurnius Siculus, Persius, Pomponius Mela, Statius, Valerius Flaccus

Apart from the most-translated texts, the selection of source texts is quite diverse, as it includes both a large number of texts outside the most central canon and a few texts that do not fall within the limits of the primary aesthetic interests. The general aspiration appears to have been to translate the most canonical authors and works, unless there was already an acclaimed translation of that work (as was the case with the works of Vergil). At the same time, a comparison with indices of lectures shows that the translators appear to have preferred those canonical authors that featured less prominently in the lectures.

Table 3 shows that Uppsala University dominates, whereas Lund and Turku/Helsinki produced almost the same number of dissertation translations each. The practice started in Uppsala, most dissertation translations were produced there, and by 1813, when the first one appeared in Lund, 84 had been defended in Uppsala. Whereas translations of Greek dominate in both Uppsala and Turku/Helsinki, with practically the same percentage, more Latin than Greek was translated in Lund.

Table 3. Dissertation translations from each university

Uppsala: 503 (first 1797, last 1894; 84 by 1813; 107 by 1816)

Greek: 440 (88%); Latin 63 (12%)

Lund: 170 (first 1813, last 1871; 4 by 1816)

Greek: 59 (35%); Latin: 111(65%)

Turku: 121 (first 1816, last 1827)

Greek: 107 (88%); Latin: 14 (12%)

Helsinki: 47 (first 1830, last 1849)

Greek: 41 (87%); Latin: 6 (13%)

Who were the translators? The answer to this question is not attempted in biographical terms but in terms of their position at the university and of their function at public defence. The reform that was passed in 1852 and came into effect after the graduation ceremonies in Lund (1853)

and in Uppsala (1854) – after 1852 a few dissertations were thus made according to the old rules of examination, but 1852 is used as a shorthand reference – constitutes a breakpoint regarding the question of authorship. After 1852 the student is the author; before that he may be the author, but often he was not. In this study the respondent is assumed to be the author of a pre-1852 dissertation only when he is identified as *interpres*, *auctor* or the like on the title page; in all other instances the *praeses* is assumed to be the author. However, authorship is fluid with regard to dissertations. The *praeses* was always responsible for the content and suitability of the dissertation. Even when a respondent is given as the author, he may have had considerable help from the *praeses* in choosing a subject, finding literature, organising the material, and proofreading.¹⁰ It may thus be assumed that those respondents who worked more independently were called *auctores* or *interpretes*.

Three categories of translators can be identified in this corpus: student, *magister* trying to establish an academic career, and professor.

In the category of student-translator, 149 translators produced 155 translations, as most defended only one translation, but a few wrote dissertation translations both *pro exercitio* and *pro gradu*. 102 are pre-1852, 53 are post-1852 dissertations. Unlike the two other categories of translators, student-translators show a slight preference for Latin source texts: 84 against 71 Greek. As to *praeses*, most student-translators turned to professors of Latin (*eloquentiae et poëseos romanae*) or Greek, which is to be expected in the case of a public defence of a translation of an ancient text. Some sort of cooperation between student and *praeses* is more likely in these cases, than with professors of other subjects (Oriental languages, philosophy, history, astronomy or physics).

In the category *magister*-translator trying to establish an academic career, 31 translators – all *magistri* who did not advance to professor or who stopped translating once they had become professor – produced 110 dissertation translations, generally in series of up to 24 parts. All but one dissertation (Alexanderson 1868) in this group are pre-1852. The title pages' information regarding the rank and position of both *praeses* and respondent shows that some of the translators in this category had not yet advanced beyond the master's degree, while others had become *docens* or *adjunctus* (*ordinarius* or *extra ordinarius*). It also appears that some were at the point of entering a career outside academia. To the extent that their careers can be followed, it appears that three advanced to professors (of Greek, Latin, and philosophy) but that most left the academy for positions in school, church or (state) bureaucracy. Only a few continued publishing translations.

The professor-translators are the fewest in number, but responsible for most translations:

¹⁰ Cf. Klinge *et al.*, *Helsingfors* vol. I, 405 and Henrik Reuterdaahl's description of how Esaias Tegnér helped him with his *pro gradu* dissertation (Tegnér – Reuterdaahl), in *Årkebiskop Henrik Reuterdahls memoarer* (Lund: 1920) 57–58.

fifteen professors translated 576 (73%) of the 787 pre-1852 dissertation translations.¹¹ All translations in this group are naturally pre-1852. Nearly all dissertations form part of a series. So, while the number of dissertations in this group is 576, it contains only 92 titles – 54 series and 38 single dissertations. Many *praesides* appear to have been content to translate a text, divide it and its notes, if there were any, into parts, and distribute it among students who paid the *praeses* for his trouble. Particularly in the serial translations, the students' share of the work is likely to have been limited to defraying the printing costs of their part of the series and adding dedication(s) to family, benefactors, and friends. In addition, the professors presided at 79 public defences of dissertations authored by respondents.

Table 4 below presents the data on the translating professors (mostly professors of Greek or Latin), sorted according to the number of dissertation translations, beginning with the most prolific one. This table shows clearly that the bulk of dissertation translations is tied to just a few people. The four most prolific translators of this group (Tranér, Sjöström, Palmblad, Knös) translated no less than 469 (81%) of the dissertations belonging to this group, or 60% of all translations before 1852 and 56% of all dissertation translations. In Finland this high concentration to a few individuals is even more clear: Sjöström and Linsén are responsible for 97% of all dissertation translations produced in Turku/Helsinki; only four were made without their involvement.¹² Moreover, a comparison of Table 4 with Table 1 shows that the time of activity of the most prolific translators coincides with the peak in the production of dissertation translations. Given the dominance of a few individuals, this conjunction is not surprising, but it does suggest that while the institutional circumstances have to be right for translation to be accepted in the academy, the fact that the number of translations was so high is best accounted for by personal choice.

Table 4. The translating professors

	<i>Trans.</i>	<i>Praes.</i>	<i>Lang.</i>	<i>Univ.</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Share</i>
Johan Tranér (1815–1835)	220	4	GR	U	1807–33	92%
Axel Gabriel Sjöström (1833–1846)	145		GR	TH	1816–46	91%
Vilhelm Fredrik Palmblad (1835–1852)	55	19	GR	U	1836–51	60%
Gustaf Knös (1810–1814)	49	1	GR	U	1809–13	21%
Johan Gustaf Ek (1842–1862)	24	2	LA	L	1833–53	47%
Joseph Otto Höijer (1815–1833)	23	15	GR	U	1810–31	54%
Johan Gabriel Linsén (1828–1848)	18	1	LA	TH	1817–8; 26–42	35%
Carl August Hagberg (1849–1858)	14		GR	UL	1831–42	59%
Ebbe Samuel Bring (1828–1855)	11	17	LA	L	1829–39	10%

¹¹ Strictly chronologically, these are 771, without the 16 defended after 1852 during the period of transition.

¹² Grönblad – Renvall; Gyldén – Sandbäck; Gyldén – Söderholm; Ingelius 1846.

Olof Kolmodin (1805–1838)	10	8	LA	U	1809–15; 30–6	29%
Christopher Dahl (1790–1809)	2	3	GR	U	1797	5%
Esaias Tegnéér (1812–1824)	2	3	GR	L	1817–23	36%
Eric Göttlin (1806–1813)	1		LA	U	1811	12%
Nils Abraham Gylden (1847–1866)	1	1	GR	H	1836–49	6%
Carl Edvard Zedritz (1852–1859)	1	5	LA	U	1851–4	32%

Number of dissertation translations; praeses of dissertations translated by students; source language; university (H=Helsinki; L=Lund; T=Turku; U=Uppsala); period of activity as a translator; share of translations among dissertations

Both institutional and personal factors thus contributed to the decrease of dissertation translations. Institutional factors were the 1852 changes in the university statutes. Students were now to write their own dissertation; the dissertation became more important than the public defence; dissertations *pro exercitio* were abolished; scholarly skill was to be the only grounds for promotion to academic positions. Following another reform in 1879, regarding among other things specialist examination of the scholarly output of applicants for academic positions, the institutional conditions for a modern Swedish university that promoted scientific and scholarly skills, professionalisation and specialisation rather than wide and general learning were established. These changes had an immediate effect on the production of dissertation translations. With the growth of a modern philological scholarship, the scholarly value of a translation was questioned. The incentive to produce translations for the public defence disappeared as the skills these demonstrated were less valued than dissertations presenting new research. However, the decline begins in the 1840s with the passing of the most prolific translators. Personal preference is thus important for both the decline and for dissertation translations being produced in such a large quantity (and for the predominance of Homer and of Latin in Lund). This is even more evident in Finland than in Sweden.

The rise of the dissertation translation practice is not as easily ascribed to a few causes. Towards the end of the 18th century, an interest in the ancient world and its literature in its own right – rather than study of the Greek language as an ancillary of theology and an instrumental use of Greek and Latin literature – was growing in Swedish universities, Uppsala in particular, under the influence of the German new humanism. Dissertation translations are a clear, but not the first nor the only, manifestation of a shift in focus, from Greek for theological needs and mastery of Latin for practical purposes, towards (pre)classical ancient, particularly Greek, literature and culture.

Few dissertation translations discuss the decision to translate a text, but by their focus on aesthetics, by their concern for literary and poetic qualities of the source texts, by the translators' interest in Swedish poetics and metrics in particular, and by their apparent striving to create something for the Swedish reader to enjoy, they indirectly suggest that translation is all but the

natural outcome of the encounter between a growing interest in ancient literature and early 19th century university education in Sweden and Finland, where language skills, aesthetics, and rhetoric were still at the core of the faculty of philosophy.¹³ Its aim was to give general rather than special competence for teachers, the clergy, and members of the bureaucracy. The mobility of professors between disciplines is an indication of this generalism, and its decrease in the early 19th century is an early sign of increased specialisation. Translations were a good vehicle for showing the students' accomplishments in the fields that education was supposed to prepare them for.

3 Latine

In the late 18th century interest in issues of translation was high. Outside academia the best way to translate poetry was much debated in Sweden.¹⁴ This debate is reflected in dissertations too. Christopher Dahl, the earliest of the above discussed translator-professors, was engaged in translation in several ways. Outside academia he participated in the translation prize competitions of the Swedish Academy with some success.¹⁵ In academia, he presided over strongly hermeneutic Swedish NT paraphrases (explicating the full sense of every word – the Swedish version is three times as long as the Greek), and translations of ancient texts into Latin (Tyrtaeus) – at about the same as time Simonides was edited and translated into Latin in Turku –, and Swedish (Pindar and Tyrtaeus).¹⁶

The Pindar-translations are the first two dissertation translations into Swedish, defended in June 1797. Both publications translate one Olympic ode each; both present two prose versions in parallel, one Latin and one Swedish. The Latin ones are close, heavily influenced by earlier translations, particularly that of Christian Gottlob Heyne, as is explained in the first note of both dissertations, in which a few words are said about the translation. As neither respondent is labelled author on the title page, it is likely that Dahl's input was large, but in both dissertations the Swedish translations are nevertheless called juvenile attempts. Both Swedish versions are, like the NT paraphrases, explicative, adding what they consider necessary in order to understand Pindar's succinct text. Compare, for instance, Pindar's Greek with the Latin and Swedish versions of Dahl – Örnberg:

¹³ Cf. Lindberg, *Humanism*.

¹⁴ On this, see Akujärvi J., "*Hvad är bästa sättet at öfversätta et Skaldestycke? Om svensk översättning av antik poesi c. 1750–1850*", in Kleberg L. (ed.), *Världslitteraturen och dess svenska röster. Bidrag till svensk översättningshistoria* (forthcoming).

¹⁵ Liedgren B., "Christopher Dahl", *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* 9 (1931) 551; Annerstedt, *Upsala* vol. 3.1, 651–652.

¹⁶ All dissertations mentioned in this and the following section are listed in Appendix 2, and referred to by the names of *praeses* and respondent.

Ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις ἀνέμων ὅτε πλείστα | χρῆσις ἔστιν δ' οὐρανίων ὑδάτων, | ὀμβρίων
παίδων νεφέλας. (Pindar *Ol.* 11.1–3)

Est hominibus ventorum nunc plurimus usus, nunc item caelestium aqvarum, pluviarum,
filiarum nubis.

Hvar hamnar Seglaren, utan vind? Hvad, utan regn ifrån himmelen, utan bistånd af
molnets söner, skördar en Åkerman?

Where would the sailor land without wind? What would the farmer reap without rain from
the sky, without the help of the children of the cloud? (My translation of the Swedish
translation in Dahl – Örnberg A2^{r-v})

In the Swedish version the text is amplified with what is explained in notes to the Latin version. The note to ‘hominibus’ explains that sailors and farmers are to be understood for ‘hominibus’, so that is entered into the text; and the statements are turned into (rhetorical) questions, since that makes it more powerful in Swedish, the translator states in another note.

The six parts of Dahl’s Tyrtæus series with Latin prose translation appeared at irregular intervals; the dissertation with the Swedish translation of Tyrtæus is one of the last defended under his presidency. ‘Suethice tradidit’ on the title page suggests that the respondent, Georg Ingelgren, was the translator of this dissertation *pro exercitio*. The source text is rendered nearly word for word; its structure is followed line by line, as far as possible. And it is not a prose translation, but a poetic one which reproduces the metric pattern of the source text. This mode of close translation reproducing the ancient metres – rather than choosing either modern rhymed metres or prose translation – was at that time in the process of being established in Sweden.¹⁷ In the short introduction the author shows his awareness of the German translators and theoreticians that are usually cited by this ‘school’ of translators, as well as the few Swedish precedents that had appeared, including the first parts of Tranér’s long series translating the *Iliad*.

Excepting the Swedish translations, Dahl appears to have been rather typical of those who included translations in dissertations before the 19th century, as the following, admittedly inexhaustive, exploration of uses and occurrences of translation in dissertations until the late 18th century will show. The investigation is focussed on Uppsala University – but includes material from the other universities of the Realm of Sweden – and the men who at one time were professors of Greek, Oriental languages (mainly Hebrew), poetry and/or eloquence, and

¹⁷ See Akujärvi J., “An epic battle. Aesthetic and poetical struggles over the Swedish *Iliads*”, in Goldwyn A. (ed.), *The Trojan Wars and the making of the modern world*, Studia Graeca Upsaliensia (Uppsala: 2015).

professor skytteanus.¹⁸ Before 1800, Latin translation appears in dissertations when it is a translation of Greek in text editions (a related and much rarer case is Greek translation of Latin in text editions), of Hebrew or other Oriental languages (mostly in text editions); when it comes to the Bible, existing translations are studied and new translations – both in Swedish and in Latin – are suggested. Latin translation of (old) Swedish documents occurs in a few rare cases, but these are left out of the study.¹⁹

The Bible, its text and interpretation, is naturally frequent in the dissertations of professors of Greek and Oriental languages. Towards the end of the 18th century, the Swedish Bible translation became the object of dissertations. For instance, in addition to a continual flow of dissertations on single passages of the New Testament, Johan Floderus, Dahl's predecessor as professor of Greek, published two series in more than 20 parts each on NT interpretation. In *Exercitationes philologicae* the existing Swedish Bible translation comes up in the course of analysis, but *Versio Svecana* is explicitly a study of it. In order to avert suspicion of entering the realms of theology, the author stresses in a preface to the first part that he has chosen NT texts and the Swedish Bible translation only because they are of greater personal interest and gain than *profana philologia*. Acknowledging the pioneering feat of the first translators and the lasting value of the existing translation, the author states that nevertheless there are still things that need polishing, mainly due to the development of interpretative aids that the first translators did not have at their disposal. In this dissertation series the Greek text is quoted, its interpretation is discussed at length and a close translation is offered.

The state of the Swedish Bible was topical from the middle of the 18th century. In Turku, under the presidency of Isaac Ross, professor of Oriental languages, dissertations dealing with the Bible translation had already started being defended in the 1760s, when serious discussions of revising the existing Swedish Bible began. Two officially sanctioned revisions of Gustav Vasa's Bible (1540–1541) had been made, one appeared in 1618 the other in 1703. These revisions concerned layout, division of the text, notes, summaries, orthography, conjugation and other matters that in essence are superficial and do not affect the wording.²⁰ After long debate a Bible Commission was formed in 1773 and charged with replacing the old translation

¹⁸ Searches in: Lidén C., *Catalogus disputationum, in academiis et gymnasiis Sveciæ*, 5 vols. (Uppsala, Edman: 1778–1780); Marklin G., *Catalogus disputationum in academiis Scandinaviae et Finlandiae Lidenianus continuatus*, 3 vols. (Uppsala: 1820); Vallinkoski J., *Turun akatemian väitöskirjat (Academia Aboënsis). 1642–1828*, 2 vols. (Helsinki: 1962–1969); Jaanson E.-L., *Tartu ülikooli trükikoda 1632–1710: ajalugu ja trükiste bibliograafia* (Tartu: 2000).

¹⁹ Bång – Serlachius; Benzelius – Hufwedsson Dal. In economics, both Swedish and Latin dissertations occur, e.g. Celsius – Hellant.

²⁰ On the Swedish Bible translation, see Olsson B., “Svenskt bibelöversättningsarbete. En översikt främst med tanke på Nya testamentet”, in 1963 års bibelkommitté, *Nyöversättning av Nya testamentet. Behov och principer*, SOU 1968: 65 (Stockholm: 1968).

with a new one.²¹ Floderus, Dahl, and professors of Oriental languages Carl Aurivillius (in Uppsala 1772–1786), Laurentius Lefrén (in Turku 1772–1784, then professor of theology until his death 1803), and Johan Adam Tingstadius (in Uppsala 1789–1803, then bishop of Strängnäs) were among the first members of the commission. The trial translation that appeared in instalments before the end of the 18th century was the first in a long series,²² until, finally, a new, sanctioned translation appeared in 1917.

At least one critic of the first trial translation appeared in dissertation form. Under the presidency of Matthias Norberg, professor of Greek and Oriental languages in Lund (1780–1826, from 1812 Oriental languages only), *Animadversiones* in the new translation was defended in 1784. Herein the author and respondent discusses a few passages (both OT and NT), where he finds that the translators have misinterpreted the text.

In addition to their translation work in the Bible Commission, both Aurivillius (source language Arabic),²³ Lefrén, and Tingstadius included translation in dissertations defended under their presidency, one of which is the first (to the best of my knowledge) dissertation presenting a continuous translation into Swedish, viz. not of select passages and interrupted by commentary. This translation of the prophet Habakkuk was published in 1791 and, according to the preface, presents a revision of an earlier translation of Habakkuk by the *praeses*,²⁴ but in reality the versions present very minor differences, apart from the division of the text. The text of this translation is included without change in a later edition of Tingstadius' OT translations.²⁵ Bible translations were subject to public defences under the presidency of others also, e.g. Jacob Duvaerus in Uppsala, Gabriel Tidgren, Johannes Poppius and Johannes Henricus Fattenborg in Turku, and Nils Hesselén in Lund.

A generation or three earlier, texts were often edited and translated by professors at Swedish universities, and published – not only in dissertations – in both Sweden and the continent. At Uppsala University rabbinic texts were edited, translated into Latin, sometimes also commented, and defended between the 1690s and the 1730s under the presidency of a series of professors of Oriental languages: Gustaf Peringer (Lillieblad) (1681–1695), Johannes Palmroot (1696–1703), Daniel Lundius (1703–1712), Olof Celsius Sr (1715–1727), and

²¹ On the Bible Commission, see Olsson, “Svenskt” and Larsson T. (ed., intro., com.), *Den gustavianska bibelkommissionen. Första protokolls-boken*, Meddelanden från kyrkohistoriska arkivet i Lund 9 (Lund: 2009).

²² *Prof-öfversättning af then heliga skrift ... af then till swenska bibeltolkningens öfwerseende i nåder förordnade särskilde commission* (Stockholm, Pfeiffer: 1774 [–1793]).

²³ Translations of Arabic source texts were defended in Lund and Turku too.

²⁴ In: *Israëls förlossning utur Egypten. Strödde sånger af hebraiska skalder. Öfversättning ifrån grundspråket* (Uppsala, Edman: 1790).

²⁵ In: *Samling af de skalde-stycken, hvilka i Gamla Testamentets historiska böcker finnas strödda, tillika med propheten Habacucs uppenbarelse. Prof-Öfversättning* (Uppsala, Edman: 1795).

Andreas Boberg (1728–1756). Similarly, at the universities in Pärnu and Lund editions with Latin translation of rabbinic texts were defended under the presidency of Haquin Stridzberg (professor of Oriental languages and Greek in 1684–1712), Nils Stridsberg (adjunct at the faculty of philosophy in Lund), and Carl Schultén (professor in Pärnu 1705–1710; professor of Oriental languages and Greek in Lund 1716–1728). As students in Uppsala, Haquin Stridzberg had defended a dissertation under the presidency of Peringer (Lillieblad), and Schultén one with text and translation under Palmroot.

Around the same time, Latin translations of Greek source texts also occur in dissertations from Turku, Uppsala, and Lund. These always include an edition of the Greek source text, sometimes also a commentary. This practice appears to have been limited to a few professors. In Turku, Petrus Laurbecchius, professor *poëseos*, presided over a series of dissertations on Aristotle's *Poetics*, some of which have been lost; the first part (1673) included text, Latin translation, and commentary of the first chapter of the source text. In Uppsala, Georg Wallin Jr, then university librarian, presided over a three-part dissertation series which presented an *editio princeps* of a homily in John the Evangelist by Andrew of Crete from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library; in Minge's *Patrologia Graeca*, this homily is still cited as unedited.²⁶ Laurentius Norrmannus, when professor of Greek (1685–1693), presided over several dissertations in which he edited and translated Greek texts: a declamation and rhetorical treatises of Aelius Aristides in three dissertations (1687 and 1688), rhetorical treatises by Alexander, Phoebammon and Minucianus in one dissertation (1690), and orations and letters by Thomas Magister in two dissertations (1691–1692, 1693–1694). Moreover, under Norrmannus' presidency Erik Benzelius Jr, who had defended an edition with a translation of a rabbinic text under Peringer (Lillieblad) in 1692, also defended a dissertation with his own edition and a translation of a homily of John Chrysostom (1702; continued in Benzelius – Rhyzelius).²⁷ In Lund, Benzelius' son defended an edition with a translation of twenty letters of Libanius under Johan Engeström (1735).

Under the presidency of Andreas Norcopensis (Nordenhielm), professor *eloquentiae*, and that of Julius Micrander, professor of Greek, Jesper Swedberg defended two text editions with translation and commentary. The first edits the *Disticha Catonis* with Joseph Scaliger's Greek translation and a commentary. Later, when bishop of Skara, Swedberg published an extended version, augmented with a German translation by Martin Opitz as well as a Swedish one – probably by himself, though he does not state so explicitly.²⁸ The other is another collection of

²⁶ *Patrologiae cursus completus ... Series Graeca prior ... Patrologiae Graecae tomus XCVII*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: 1865) 801–804.

²⁷ Collected into one edition: *Supplementa homiliarum Joannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani* (Uppsala, Werner: 1708).

²⁸ *Dionysii Catonis disticha de moribus ad filium, cum lemmatibus Sturmii, & graeca versione J. Scaligeri; commentariis illustrata, ac in academia Upsaliensi ann. MDCLXXXI. ad*

moral dicta, the so-called *Similitudes* of Demophilus and his pythagorean sayings. To the Greek texts he added Lucas Holstenius' Latin translation and scholia, and his own commentary. Jesper Swedberg's son, Emanuel Swedberg (Swedenborg), defended under the presidency of Fabian Törner, at that time professor of theoretical philosophy, later of eloquence, an edition of yet more select moral sentences, Publilius Syrus and Seneca, again with Joseph Scaliger's Greek translation and Erasmus' notes, to which he added his own commentary. In all three dissertations, text and translation are juxtaposed, but the translations are not theirs.

4 Disputation and other uses

The types of texts edited/translated differ, as shown in the above patchy review. They are united by the academic context of their creation and the primary purpose of being the foundation for a disputation, but the (secondary) aims and purposes of the dissertations differ, as the following tries to demonstrate. From the 1670s onwards there is not one decade without dissertations with translation forming an integral part, but the production is uneven, and trends and patterns are discernible in the chronological distribution of source languages and types of source texts. Indeed, three waves can be identified: the first lasting from the 1670s to the 1740s, the second from the 1750s to the late 18th century, and the third being the 19th century dissertation translations.²⁹

The edition-translations in dissertations that appeared in the first wave are more voluminous than the ones that appeared in the second half of the 18th century and later. The aim seems to have been to make texts available to students and the learned community; both the *praesides* discussed here, and other professors of Uppsala University, produced a number of other text editions outside the dissertation format, too. Some of the earliest dissertations edit texts that were used for language instruction, even prescribed in the 1693 school ordinance for the study of both Latin and Greek (Norcopensis (Nordenhielm) – Swedberg; Micranders – Swedberg; Törner – Swedberg).³⁰ By adding a Greek translation to the Latin text and a Latin translation to the Greek one, the usefulness of the work is doubled. Given the scholarly commentaries of these dissertations, they are likely aimed at teachers and/or university students rather than schoolboys, but that matter is not addressed in the publication. Both text and translation are edited, and the commentary was the main item of these three dissertations, as suggested by the minutes of the Uppsala University Senate meeting of 22nd September 1681, at which Swedberg was given permission to comment the *Disticha Catonis* in the form of a

disputandum proposita: nunc denuo revisa, ac versione svecana & germanica aucta & in lucem edita (Uppsala: Werner, [1703]).

²⁹ For an overview, see Appendix 3.

³⁰ Laurbecchius – Aschlinus edit, translate and comment Aristotle's *Poetics*, a standard authority in university education.

disputation and to defend it publicly, provided that the dean approved of the theses.³¹ In this as in most of the dissertations studied, the theses are not preserved.

The early Latin translations are mostly printed side by side with an edition of the source text, either Hebrew or Greek, as was often done in text editions across Europe. When both editing and translating were practiced in an educational environment, it became not only a service to the reader – making a text written in a difficult-to-understand language accessible – but also an exercise for the author. Of course, authorship in early modern dissertations is often difficult to determine,³² and time does not allow for an in-depth study of this question here. For practical purposes it has been assumed that the *praeses* is the author, barring any clear indications to the contrary, and that cooperation between *praeses* and respondent is likely in many or most cases. For instance, the many editions with translations of rabbinic texts – in that age of orthodoxy, rabbinic texts were studied as a means for deeper understanding of the text and *Realien* of the OT³³ – often form series. Solomon ibn Melekh’s commentary on *Genesis* was treated by Palmroot, Lundius, Celsius and Boberg, and under Lundius a series of students defended comments on OT prophets by Abraham ibn Ezra. Each dissertation is a finished whole, and the fact that they treat texts that continue or are continued in other dissertations need not argue against the respondents’ authorship but for the *praeses* pushing certain texts into their hands.

But the translation of Yehuda Lebh (Loew) that Schultén initiated in Pärnu (1709) and continued and completed in Lund (1719–1728) is likely to have been his own. From Pärnu, three title pages with dedicatory and gratulatory paratexts are known. Only one, the last in the series, defended by Pastelberg, has an insert,³⁴ but the acta of the faculty of philosophy show that all three defences did take place.³⁵ Less extensive than the edition published in Stockholm

³¹ *Uppsala universitet. Akademiska konsistoriets protokoll*, ed. H. Sallander, 22 vols. (Uppsala: 1968–1977) 22/9/1681.

³² On authorship, see Annerstedt, *Upsala* vol. 2.2, 121–131 and vol. 3.2, 169–176; Sellberg E., “Disputationsväsendet under stormaktstiden”, in Ambjörnsson R. (ed.), *Idé och lärdom* (Lund: 1972) 65–84; Vallinkoski J., “Piiirteitä suomalaisen väitöskirjan historiasta. Väitöstilaisuuden alkajaisitelmä 11. 12. 1948”, *Bibliophilos* 8, 1 (1949) 1–11; Klinge *et al.*, *Helsingfors* vol. 1 382–397.

³³ See Lindroth S., *Svensk lärdomshistoria. Stormaktstiden* (Stockholm: 1975) 220–230.

³⁴ Copies of this dissertation are preserved in at least the university libraries of Tartu and Uppsala; in the Tartu copy the insert ends on page 24 in the middle of a sentence, in the Uppsala copy on page 64, also in the middle of a sentence.

³⁵ *Acta facultatis philosophicae in Academia Dorpatensi ab ipso anno restorationis ... 1690 ... postmodum Pernaviensi*, ms in Tartu University Library, F. 7 no. 30, fol. 50^r–51^v. I thank Janika Päll for drawing my attention to Schultén’s work in Estonia, for checking the physical copy(/ies) in Tartu University Library, and for helping me with the minutes of the faculty of philosophy.

in 1711 – after Schultén’s period in Pärnu and before the one in Lund – the Pärnu dissertation is identical to the Stockholm print in layout, font, page breaks and ornamental strip etc., as far as it goes.³⁶ The text and translation of this edition appears to be identical with parts 1–6 of the Lund dissertation series. “Pars prima” on the title page shows that it was designed to be the first part in a Rabbi Jehuda Lebh edition and translation. “Pars secunda” is extant in a manuscript, preserved in the Royal Danish Library (signum NKS 258 kvart).³⁷ The second part was printed as parts 7–15 of the Lund dissertation series; the Copenhagen manuscript was the master for the dissertations, as suggested by the names of all the respondents jotted down at appropriate (for the most part) chapter breaks. Time has not allowed for studying how well the at times untidy translation, with numerous deletions and changes in the manuscript, compares to the printed version. The whole series was reissued posthumously (1731), edited by Schultén’s son.³⁸ Translation in Tartu/Pärnu appears to be limited to this one professor, who came from Uppsala and ended up in Lund.

A minority of the dissertations have prefaces, and when they do, they speak of the text and translation of the dissertation as a means for exercise (Peringer – Skunk), but also as a service to the learned community – the choice to translate is motivated by the fact that there is no known translation (Palmroot – Fahlenius) –, and when the translator is the *praeses* to students (Norrmannus). Most who edited and translated Greek texts in dissertation format confined themselves to one text. Norrmannus is an exception, with the series of editions of Aelius Aristides, rhetorical treatises, works by Thomas Magister, and homilies of John Chrysostom. Most were defended by more than one respondent, but only the dissertations on Thomas Magister are presented as series. In the case of Norrmannus’ Aristides series, the question of authorship is unusually easy to determine as the title pages state ‘praeside, editore, ac interprete Laurentio Norrmanno.’ Before the first dissertation with edition-translation (defended by Eek and Ström), Norrmannus published *πρεσβευτικὸς πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα* at his own expense outside academia.³⁹ This was counted as the first part in the Aristides series, as shown by the first dissertation’s pagination which continues from page 66. For the complete series a collective

³⁶ *DCXIII legum hebræorum pars prima ductu rabbi Jehudæ Lebh Schwertsensis; versione, notis, paraphrasi* (Stockholm, Keyser: 1711).

³⁷ The first page is designed as the title page of *pars prima* and identical except for *pars secunda* and for the listing of items that Schultén has added at the end of the text. I thank Jürgen Beyer for discovering this manuscript and sharing his finding with me.

³⁸ *DCXIII leges hebræorum ductu rabbi Jehudæ Lebh Schwertsensis; versione, notis, paraphrasi*, ed. C.J. Schultén (Lund, Decreaux: 1731).

³⁹ *Aelii Aristidis rhetoris Adrianensis, nomine legatorum Graecorum ad Achillem oratio ... de codice manuscripto descripsit ac edidit, versione Latinâ, brevibusque notis illustravit* (Uppsala, Keyser: 1687).

title page was also issued.⁴⁰ In the collections of some libraries the different parts have been bound together. In Lund University Library, for instance, all parts are collected into one copy (signum Klass. Grek. [Aristides, Ael. 1688]), but the single dissertations are also held in the library's dissertation collections.

When dissertations are bound into new tomes, some of their parts are easily lost, such as title pages, theses, and other paratexts. At the same time as they are given a new function outside their primary academic context, they become more difficult to study as dissertations. However, in the case of Norrmannus' Aristides volume, something is also gained. In the preface addressed to the students of the university in the first part, Norrmannus explains that when he was transported from professor of logic and metaphysics to 'the more pleasant province of Greek letters,' he started to search for some suitable text to edit for use at the university. He was allowed to work with a manuscript in the possession of baron and councillor Clas Rålamb, his patron and benefactor, that contained texts by Aelius Aristides, one of which (the *Presbeutikon*) had not yet been edited, as far as he could tell. He decided to publish it at his own cost. He explains that, in order to make the text available for those who do not know Greek well, he supplied the text with a Latin translation adapted to the needs of the beginner; Aristides' bold style, however, makes the translator's work very hard, and close translation impossible.⁴¹ In the dedication to Rålamb, Norrmannus suggests that Aristides will be more welcome and familiar to many thanks to the translation, but adds that his new Latin clothes are more simple and uncouth than the original Greek garment.⁴² A *praefatio interpretis* precedes the edition-translation of the *Ars rhetorica*, considered spurious now. Here Norrmannus explains that, though he would have preferred to continue searching for some unedited text to publish, he finally decided upon a text that is important for students of rhetoric but rare and impossible to get hold of. The Greek text edits the Aldine edition of Aristides' *Ars rhetorica* and the translation aims to get the meaning clearly through rather than to produce a polished text, he explains.⁴³ In these liminary texts Norrmannus presents his project: to publish new manuscript discoveries, or at least rare texts, to make them accessible with translation and commentary, and to thereby further Greek studies. When the whole Aristides series was completed, not only a collective title page, but also a dedication to Queen Ulrika Eleonora (dated 24th August 1688), and a two-page correction addressed to *lector candide* were issued. In it Norrmannus recants his claim to be the first to edit the *Presbeutikon*, for, he explains, Elias Obrecht, professor

⁴⁰ Laurentius Norrmannus, *Orationem Aristidis utramque, de codice manuscripto; duosque Artium oratoriarum libros, De vetustâ, eâdemque adhuc unicâ, editione Aldinâ; descripsit, edidit, versione Latinâ, notisque necessariis, illustravit* (Uppsala, Keyser: 1688).

⁴¹ Norrmannus, *Orationem* s.p. ('Ornatissimae Florentissimaeque Juventuti academicae').

⁴² Norrmannus, *Orationem* s.p. ('Illustrissime atque Excellentissime Domine Patrone Maxime').

⁴³ Norrmannus, *Orationem* s.p. ('Praefatio interpretis' preceding *Artium oratoriarum* I).

skytteanus, brought Joachim Camerarius' edition (Hagenau 1535) to his attention. He was astonished by the information, he says, and describes extensively how he came to believe that his edition was indeed an *editio princeps* since he had not found any mention of the other edition in any of the bibliographic tools available.

It has been unfeasible to trace all mentions of the dissertations and respondents in the acta of the universities, but the minutes of the Uppsala University Senate, published until 1699, have records on some of the respondents in this study.⁴⁴ The edition-translation dissertations are spoken of differently than other dissertations. 'Disputera,' the verb still used in Swedish for defending a (doctoral) thesis, is commonly used when the dean of the faculty of philosophy reports *disputaturos* and their subjects to the Senate. For edition-translations this is only used when the focus is on the respondents' theses,⁴⁵ otherwise verbs meaning 'pay' and 'publish' are used.⁴⁶ The occurrences are few, and data contradicting this pattern is not unlikely to turn up if the search is widened to the unpublished records of the Senate and faculty of philosophy, but it seems that one did not 'defend' an edition-translation dissertation, but the theses attached to it – according to the constitutions, all arguments at the disputation were to be presented in syllogistic form.⁴⁷ However, only a minority of the dissertations studied here preserve the theses, at least in the copies inspected for this study.

The production of the second wave is less homogeneous. The dissertations are shorter, but they can form long series, such as the one beginning with Hylander – Bruhn in 1784. Hebrew is not the only Oriental source language as Arabic is translated in several dissertations. Whereas translation from Hebrew source texts was limited to rabbinic literature in the first wave, in the second it was limited to the OT. Both Latin and Swedish are target languages, the latter initially only when the Swedish Bible translation was at issue. Uppsala University does not dominate as much as before. In the 1790s Greek texts other than NT and Christian writings

⁴⁴ *Uppsala universitet, Akademiska konsistoriets protokoll*, ed. H. Sallander: Norberg – Swedberg 22/9/1681 (see above); Norrmannus – Eek & Ström 27/4/1687; Norrmannus – Christierninus 25/2/1691; Norrmannus – Elfvius & Georg Oxenwaldt (I have not found this name in any of the title pages nor in Lidén, *Catalogus*) 23/11/1692; Peringer – Skunk 13/4/1692. On the unreliability of the records, see Annerstedt, *Upsala* vol. 2.2, 126.

⁴⁵ 27/4/1687: 'Petrus Ek Nericius will disputera theses mis[c]ellaneas sammaledes och Jonas Ström Angermannus' (*Petrus Ek Nericius wants to defend theses mis[c]ellaneas, as does Jonas Ström Angermannus*).

⁴⁶ 'will påkosta att vita S. Naziansenis ederas' (*wishes to pay for editing the vita of S. Naziansenis*, 25/2/1691); 'begära få publicera något af vita Gregorii Nazianzeni ex Thoma Magistro' (*desire to publish a part of vita Gregorii Nazianzeni ex Thoma Magistro*, 23/11/1692); 'will ... uthgifwa en tractat af Maimonide' (*wishes to edit a treatise by Maimonides*, 13/4/1692).

⁴⁷ Constitutions as quoted in Annerstedt, *Upsala* vol. 2.2, 127 n. 1: 'in omnibus autem disputationibus argumenta semper in forma syllogistica proponentur.'

began to be translated. Excepting the Arabic texts, the dissertations deal with texts that all educated people knew. The issue was not to make unknown or little known texts available for the first time, but to present new interpretations of them. As the sanctioned Swedish Bible translation was up for revision, the dissertations that examined existing or suggested new Bible translations were contributions to the ongoing debate on the interpretation of certain passages and preferable form of translation. Many of the *praesides* were, moreover, members of the Bible Commission. Pindar, Tyrtæus, and Simonides, Greek poets that had circulated widely across Europe in editions and translations for centuries, were translated anew. The prefaces speak of the good quality of the texts, of the authors being read and appreciated through the ages, of the selection being appropriate as an academic ‘specimen’ (Lagus – Mollerus) or ‘exercise’ (Dahl – Frölich), but also of the translation offering a new and better rendering of the source text when compared to the existing ones (Malmström – Krogius). These are a first indication of what was to become the third and most powerful wave of dissertations with translation, which was even more powerful than shown above because of this study’s focus on only Greek and Latin as source languages and Swedish as target language. To offer a Swedish translation of an ancient text was another means of producing a new interpretation. In this case the translations did not rival existing ones, since they treat previously untranslated texts, which is mostly the case with the 19th century dissertation translations. Here, too, the dissertations reflect trends outside academia, viz. the growing interest in Greek poetry in Swedish translations of ancient literature.

These translations generally have extensive commentary, which was part of the new interpretation as much as the translation – and of what was examined; the theses, too, were essential in the disputation, but they are not preserved to the same extent as the other parts of the dissertation. In 19th century dissertation translations the scope of the commentary tends to decrease, as do the introductions. Though a dissertation translation had the potential to be an excellent means for philological teaching and examination,⁴⁸ late dissertation translation series suggest a decline of the public defence. Parts of a dissertation series were generally defended in quick succession over the course of one year, possibly more. It was not uncommon that the *praeses* of a dissertation series presided both in the morning and afternoon. But some series from Lund, translations of Latin, raise the question of how the dissertations were defended and, indeed, whether they were defended at all. According to the title page information, one *praeses* would preside at the defence of up to five, seven or ten parts of dissertation translations on one and the same day. The disputations were for the master’s degree to boot. If these dissertations were subjected to a public defence, it is small wonder that one of the arguments for the 1852 reform of the university statutes was misuse of the the old system, in which the *praesides* could use dissertations as a cost-free medium to publish their work. Every third year, when the number of disputations peaked, with the graduation ceremony for the master’s degree approaching, the long dissertation series are likely to have been a much needed means of lightening the

⁴⁸ Klinge *et al.*, *Helsingfors* vol. 2, 397–398.

workload.⁴⁹ Translations – long ones of source texts such as the Homeric epics (one series in 90 parts, another in 57 parts), the *Anacreontea* (37 parts), female Greek poets (37 parts), the tragedies of Aeschylus (25 parts), Sophocles (28 parts), and Euripides (33 parts) – could be divided into parts and distributed among students who would each pay the cost for printing his section of the translation and present it at the public defence.

To sum up: From the 1670s, when the first dissertation with translation as a substantial component was defended, dissertations with translations appeared every decade until the last dissertation translation of the 1890s, after which time translation only occasionally occurs in text edition dissertations. The form, function, aim, and purpose of offering translation in dissertations have all changed through the centuries, but, despite the great differences between the three waves of dissertations with translation identified in this study, they are united by the fact that, through their transmutations, they present that type of dissertation with translation that corresponds to the needs and demands of their times – and, thus, represent dissertation types that gave the respondent reasonable rewards in their future career.⁵⁰

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⁴⁹ Cf. Klinge M. – Sarjala J. (eds.), *Henrici Gabrielis Porthan Opera Omnia edidit Porthan-seura*, vol 11.1 (Turku: 2001) XXIII.

⁵⁰ Research for this article started with funding from the Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation for the project *Translated into Swedish. Ancient literature and its Swedish translators (16th to 21st centuries)*, and has been continued within the framework of two projects funded by the Swedish Research Council, *Classics Refashioned. Swedish Translations of Ancient Literature* (grant 2016-01884) and *Helleno-Nordica. The Humanist Greek Heritage of the Swedish Empire* (grant 2016-01881).

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