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Influences of the Greek Literature on  
Johan Ludvig Runeberg, the  
National Poet of Finland.

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Introduction — At the Pythian games held under Callistratus, two men met at Delphi, according to Plutarch's dialog "On the Cessation of Oracles," who came from the opposite limits of the known world, the grammarian Demetrius of Tarsus, returning from Britain, and Cleombrotus, the Sacedaemonian, returning from long wanderings in Egypt, beyond the Red Sea, and in the region of Troglodytes. In a conversation, Cleombrotus gave an account, which he had heard from Amilian, the rhetorician, of a voyage which Amilian's father, Epitherses, once made to Italy. One evening, when near the Echinad Islands, the wind dropped, and the current carried the ship toward

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Pari. All the passengers were still awake. Suddenly a voice was heard from one of the islands calling loudly on a certain Thamus. This Thamus was an Egyptian pilot on the ship, known to but few of the passengers. Twice the voice called, and no answer was given, but the third time Thamus replied. Then the voice came still louder: "When thou comest over against Palodes, announce that the great Pan is dead." This strange voice caused terror among the voyagers, and they debated whether it were better to do the bidding or not. Then Thamus suggested that if the wind blew, he would sail past and hold his tongue, but should there be calm off the island, he would proclaim what he had heard.

The ship drew near Palodes, and, there being neither breath of wind nor ripple

of wave, Thamus shouted out from the stern: "The Great Pan is dead." Then immediately a great lamentation was heard, a mourning for Pan.

On their arrival at Rome, the passengers heralded about the news of Pan's death; and the Emperor, Tiberius Caesar, learning of it, summoned Thamus, and had the news confirmed by him. And as Tiberius died in 37 A.D. having succeeded his stepfather, Augustus, in 14 A.D. the date of the death of Pan has been plausibly assumed to coincide with that of the crucifixion of Christ.

This Plutarchian legend is often alluded to by mediæval authors as a fact. Its essential, if not formal, truth has become almost an article of faith. And yet, in a broader sense, there is as little of essential as of formal truth in the legend of the mystic voice at

Pasi and of the multitudinous lamentations at Palodes. Or, as one may express it, the great Pan of the Greek world is not dead; and neither the birth nor the crucifixion of the great Pan of Christendom has prevented the Greek Pan from being received into Christendom. What we distinguish as the Modern Spirit was expressed fully, forcefully, and poetically by the ancient Greeks; and what is really meant by the vague phrase "return to nature" could be quite appropriately termed a revival of the worship of Pan.

A problem thus naturally presents itself, which may be stated thus: How came it about that altho Greece was overthrown with its institutions and sanctuaries and a new world arose with Christianity, and that notwithstanding the dominion of Christianity for



nearly two thousand years, intellectual Greece still flourishes in the most genuine expressions of popular feeling and sentiment, not only in folk-lore but also in real literature. The Greeks would say that because of the fact that the ΠΟΙΗΤῆ's is inspired, one nation may readily express the thoughts and sentiments of all mankind. The ΠΟΙΗΤῆ's is but the inspired interpreter of the Muse, as the Pythian priestess was of the Delphic deity. "Μαυτὺέσο Μοῖσα, προφάτευσω δ' ἔγω" exclaims Pindar. Sophocles once said to Aeschylus: "ἔϊ καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖς ἄλλ' οὐκ εἰδώς γε" "It was this οὐκ εἰδώς that made Plato speak in disparagement of poetry." The poet, when he sits down on the tripod of the Muses, is not in his right mind. Like a fountain he allows the stream to flow freely, and his art being imitative, he is often compelled to represent

Plato Laws IV

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men under opposite circumstances,  
and thus to say two different things, neither  
could he say if there is any truth in  
either of them, or in one more than in  
the other. "Plato's account of inspiration  
agrees to some extent with the modern  
conception of it. Inspiration of genius  
is partly a direct revelation operating  
as an influence from without to cause  
different modes in which the soul  
puts forth certain powers inherent  
in her nature. Of course, the reason is  
not lost or the personality overpowered.  
But the man's self is raised above the  
normal level. Poetic inspiration, even  
on this lofty view of it, does not dis-  
pense with conscious art. The inspired  
moment may be but the sudden consum-  
mation of a long period of mental travail,  
and even after the creative idea has  
flashed upon the mind, a conscious shaping-



process is necessary to give it complete embodiment. The inspired ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ, whether a poet or orator, is also the cool thinker and consummate artist. An analogous fact meets us in the Sophoclean drama. In the very height of tragic suffering, the actors are always masters of themselves, their reason is undisturbed and vision unclouded. Out of the depth of anguish they seem to gain a heightened intellectual power, a more penetrating insight.

It is this creative genius, poetic inspiration, the swelling up of thought and emotions, the sudden inrush of feelings, that rises as the creative idea into consciousness. Their originality consists. Altho we have no account of the psychological process of the creative activity of any mind, we may safely assert that the wonderful literature of Greece is the product of genius more instinctive and intuitive than reasoning.

Of course, we must not, on the other hand, forget what wearied and tedious experiments, what frequent failures must have added to the perfection of each type of its literature - the drama, epic, elegy, idyl, lyric, history, and oratory. Aristotle notes the gradual and tentative development by which special metres proved themselves adapted to the several kinds of

poetry. "ΠΟΛΛὰς ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛὰς ΜΕΤΑΒΑΛΟΥΣΑ ἢ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ ἘΠΑΥΣΑΤΟ, ἘΠΕὶ ἔΣΧΕΤΗΝ Αὐτῆς Φύσιν." Arist. Poet. II

Thus in the hands of the Greeks each branch of literature came to obey a stringent code of its own for all times. Its early governing traditions answered to our modern artistic sense that art to be progressive must be conservative. In literary development there is growth and orderly advance, no revolutions. Thus the Greek literature has evolved itself in unbroken sequence, without the rude

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mapping of any links, which binds the present to the past, and makes the past live in the present.

Discussion — Johan Ludvig Runeberg became, so to speak, the connecting-link between the Greek literature and subsequent Scandinavian literature. He became in fact the founder of a new school of literature, entirely distinct and separate from those represented by the "Svenska Akademiën," "Gotiska Förbundet," and "Auroraförbundet." He accomplished this by following Greek models. That the Greek literature exerted a great influence on Runeberg from the very beginning of his literary career, no one doubts. His first lessons in the classics *Hist. p. 37.* he received thru a translation of the *Iliad* by Vallenberg and one of *Oenid* by Adlersbeth. At the age of fifteen, Runeberg wrote a poem, "Vargen," of which the biographer

Det berättas: "Uttrycken erinna ofta om Homeros' på så gärande språk, många af de poetiske attributen äro antingen låna från Iliaden eller efterbildningar efter det antika epas; mera efter Iliaden än efter Vergilius, och anskningarna till den grekiska folkediktens tonart och skildringsmetod äro talrika." One or two selections from the poem will illustrate the point. When the aged man hears of the calamity that has befallen his herd, he makes the following harangue, which is an evident imitation after the speech made by Nestor in the seventh canto of the Iliad:

"Dett samma kraft jag hade och rörliga lemmar  
 nu, som förr då jag vallande gick på Lapparnas fjäddar,  
 värjande renarnas snabba tropp mot hungriga vargen,  
 som ifrån skogens djup frambröt ästundlande blodbad.  
 Men då jag såg honom komma i blisken jag föttade hjulet  
 gärande modigt till motes beredd att strida för hjorden."

Denne störtade fram emot mig jag fattade fasta  
höjde med sinig arm det långshuggkastande spjutet  
svängde det åter och fram och kastade slutligt emot mig.  
Utän verkan flydde det icke heller ur handen;  
ty uti varegens öppnade gap det trängde sig våldsam  
krossade benet i nosen och drog honom våldsam  
till jorden, fastnade fast med udden i den. Jag gladdes i själen,  
så likom på ett stökspett vargen spottande hängde,  
Oatt samma kraft jag hade och rärliga lemmar  
nu, visst skulle och denne betala dyra sina offer".

The cup from which the hunters drank  
Pomeberg describes thus in Homeric words:  
"Kostelig var den öfren, polerad och sirad med bildverk.  
Baseri färtjirande ynglingsgestalt med glas uti handen  
vinkade drick. Ät afolla med lagerhvirvar bekransad  
dessa såg man på locket och åter på sidorna sprunget  
muntra gudinnor i fröjdande dans på doftande rosor".

This poem bespeaks from beginning to end an  
early knowledge of and affection for Greek  
models; and it promises a still greater crea-  
tion in the same style, which was also given



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in "Elgshyttarna"

The Homeric minuteness and simplicity are revived by Runeberg. Just as nature running in the groves of apparently simple laws produces the most wonderful phenomena, thus the genius of Runeberg labors to get a clear, definite, and minute vision of the object with which it deals, and then with a few simple strokes, <sup>it paints</sup> it in words just as it sees the object, without adding any ornament or splendour which the real object did not present. Thus the simplicity becomes the very soul in Runeberg. Who can read without marvel such a brief, concise, minute, and comprehensive description as that of Van Esen:

"Stån stod på sin fästetrappa  
Med mossa i krigarsitt,

Med sporrar och ryttarskappa,

Stån ämnade göra sin ridt.

Stån stod där en åttioårig



En hämpe till min och blick,  
 Svårt, högräst, silverhårig,  
 Ser har du hans yttre stich  
 Such a description might have been  
 written by Theocritus, who in a similar  
 manner describes Bombycia.

"Βομβύκια χαρίεσσα, Σύραν καλέοντι τὸ πάντες, Idyl 10.  
 ἰσχνὰν ἄλιόκαυστον, ἔγω δὲ μόνος μελίχλωρον.  
 καὶ τὸ ἴον μέλαν ἔστι, καὶ ἀγραπτὰ ὑάκινθος---  
 βομβύκια χαρίεσσα, οἱ μὲν πόδες ἀστράγαλοι τῆος  
 ἄφωνα δὲ τρύχνος."

In his simplicity Runeberg became  
 the very opposite of the national poet  
 of Sweden, Tegnér; and nevertheless  
 Tegnér admired him for this very  
 reason. Thus he writes once of Rune-  
 berg, even before Runeberg was re-  
 cognized as a great writer: "Beröm-  
 lig är den gedigna och klassiska  
 enkelheten i språk och framställning  
 som en gång för alla här icke

blott till ditt portiska maner, utan  
till ditt väsen, och som är att jämföra  
med en skönhet, som förmår icke  
blott minsk, utan äfven alla vanli-  
ga prydnader, och lika fullt drar allas  
hjärtan till sig utan att veta därom.  
Pumeberg wrote as a Greek sculptor  
would model a statue if he were  
to give concrete form to his concep-  
tion of a deity. He would embody the  
form and features in the image  
which would leave the spectator  
no room for doubt as to which of the  
deities it represented. No one would  
ever suppose Jem of Atricolus to be  
Apollo or Poseidon, altho he is not  
marked by the presence of the eagle or the  
thunderbolt. But if a sculptor should give  
Apollo the characteristic features of Eros,  
the lyre and plectrum would need be placed  
in his hand to tell that the image was

intended to represent the god of music, not that of love. Now, it is a well known fact that the more abstract poetry is, the greater the need of clothing or embodying the ideas in concrete forms by the use of figurative language. But abstract conceptions are as strange to Runberg as they were to the Greek poets.

There are two different ways in which an artist may express his ideal; one way starts out from the abstract idea, which the artist as a poet must labor to make real by giving it concrete form by proper words and phrases; the other starts out from the concrete idea, which must be elevated by conscious art and thus made to embody the ideal. Most poets follow the first way, altho it is the most difficult of the two. The latter way is the most natural; but many who follow it fail because they never rise above the original

concrete object. But real genius endows  
 the concrete with a soul of idealism.  
 This Runeberg did, as a disciple of the  
 Greeks. The Fänrik Stål who inspired  
 Runeberg was not an old soldier, nor  
 yet any one person; it was in the  
 first place ancient Hellas, and second-  
 ly Finland, its sagas, history, people,  
 and nature. It is intentionally that I  
 give Hellas the first place. The earliest  
 poetry of Runeberg is much more Hel-  
 lenic than the latter, with the exception  
 of *Kungarna på Salamis*, published 1863.  
 Before Runeberg wrote *Fänrik Ståls  
 Säger*, he had written *Legender* and *Kung  
 Gjalav*, which next to *Kungarna på Sala-  
 mis* betray more clearly Greek influence  
 than any other part of Runeberg's poetry.  
 A brief selection from *Chrysanthos* will  
 verify this statement:

*Chrysanthos* "Men säg mig

*Legender* p. 59.

Hvilken trakt dig fastsat? Kan du någon  
 Of Archipelagens sköna öar  
 Säg dig födes Paras, Samos, Naxos,  
 Mytilene? Kan du säga du dagen  
 På den rika Aieus kust? En lycklig  
 Fader lyfte dig, kvarhelst du föddes,  
 På sin armar och drömde sälla drömmar.  
 "Selas, svarte ynglingen, med mildrad  
 Stämna nu," det hafomflutna Selas  
 Var mitt hemland, Kallinakes hette  
 Sen som en gång jordisk var min fader,

O, jag minns ännu den mänglesjunga,  
 Löras öar, of rojans alla gudar  
 Sökt och älskad, Artemis, Apollons  
 Fosterhem, jag minns de höga kullar."  
 Runeberg uses an abundance of such  
 compounds as: stormfärskonta, bärupp-  
 fyllda, hednaringarn, hafomflutna,  
 mänglesjunga, Helleneshafrens, blom-  
 stervärdarinnor, brinnhöggyfve, väl-



förståndige, tagelbesjända, "which are most distinctly Homeric, and are found nowhere else in Swedish literature. But he not only imitates Homer in forming compound words, he writes entire epics after Homeric models. In an article published March 1839, B. E. Malmström points out the fact that *Elgskyttarna* is a reproduction in the modern spirit of the *Iliad* and *Starna* of the *Odyssey*. Thus he writes: "Seu upptill honom (Punenberg) herrar dilettanter och imitörer, eftersom i nödvändigt vigein hafva och äfven behöfven mönster. Samlen ihop edra andra vittra förebilder, kännsloutgjuteker, uden stoved og stak, och bränner dem å bälte jänste edra equa stymparefärsök! Gån till antiken och läsen hvad ett formfulländadt vill säga; läsen *Iliaden* eller *Elgskyttarna*, *Odysseu* eller *Starna*." Nevertheless, Punenberg

Eos March 1839,

Not p. 168.



cannot be said to be a slavish imitator. It is quite strange that the such an admirer of the classics, he never translated more than three poems from Latin and Greek. Finland's nature, history and people, yes the very air, were dear to her poet; and in some mysterious way, he was able to fuse the native with the Hellenic. Greece, in a large sense of the word, was revived in Finland. Greece had its Thermopylae; Simonides sang the praise of its heroes in lyric:

Ἰων εἰ θερμοπύλαις θανόντων  
 εὐκλειῆς μὲν ἀτύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πτότμος,  
 βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, προγόνων δὲ μνηστῆς, ὁ δ' ὀϊκτὸς  
 ἔπαινος:

Simon. I

ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐτ' εὐρώς  
 οὐθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἄμαυρώσει χρόνος.  
 ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅδε σηκός οἱ κέταν εὐδοξίαν  
 Ἐλλάδος εἴλετο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ λεωνίδας  
 Σπάρτας βασιλεύς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λεχοιπῶς

ΚΟΤΜΟΝ ΑΪΡΑΟΝ ΚΑΙΟ ΣΕ.

Finland has its tragic Thermopylae; its real heroes are quite similarly immortalized in the poem *Sveaburg*. Finland is another battle-scarred Hellas, groaning under oppression and tyranny. But even after Hellas was enslaved, it was an honor to be a Hellas; and the Finland was lost as a nation, the best that could be said of Muntter was "han var finne". Finland was the Finnish Stalib that told Runberg many a tale of heroic strategy, which the Greeks taught him to mould into living creations that in beauty and strength vied with their own gods. Hence we learn the reason why Runberg became preeminently an epic poet. He wrote lyrics, but "he has undoubtedly been overestimated as a lyric poet." He lacks one great essential of a lyric poet, the frankness to make a full confession of every thought and emotion of his heart. Goethe,

H. Lindgren I

Heine, Hugo, Swinburne, Wallin, and Franzen never hesitated to open their hearts to the world even as children, and share their inmost joys and sorrows with all mankind. Their excesses, weaknesses, doubts, agony, and passions were known to their every reader. But Runeberg could never market his inmost feelings. Snorrlake's well-known phrase is very applicable to him: "Jag torgfar ej mitt hjärtas lust och kval, att skynklas ned med obekanta händer." This the lyric poet must do, his own heart is the one great object in this world, and all besides is considered only in so far as it sympathizes with it, and expresses its emotions. Thus whether he gives expression to his own emotions or something outside of himself, he always makes himself the center of it all, because he never sees the world really objectively but as it is reflected in his own life, and he discerns

a relationship between things, not according to material laws, but as his own imagination in its free flight fancies. Lyric poetry can therefore not depict life as something moving or developing, because any emotional conception is the creation of a moment, nothing more. But such a creation was out of question with Runeberg.

In poetic conception of life, Runeberg always remained a child of antiquity. He looked upon life from a distance; he saw that the joys, sorrows, and struggles of life were real, but he seldom writes of them as if they were a part of himself. He was well aware of this himself; and just because his readers read Runeberg into Svartogihans matter and Idyll och epigram, erotic poems of an early date, he would gladly have seen these poems consigned to oblivion. In a poem, *Min lif*, written in 1834, a sentiment is expressed of which Runeberg

could have been the author  
 "Strid på brädden af en graf,  
 segling på ett vredgat haf,  
 sträfvan på en stiglös stig,  
 o, mitt lif, jag nämmer dig"

Punsberg.

Ἄνθρώπων ὀλίγον μὲν κέρτος, ἀπράκτοι δὲ μελεθδόνεν *Simonides XVII*  
 αἰῶνι δὲ πύρῳ πόνος ἀμφὶ πόνῳ.

ὁ δὲ ἄφουκτος ὁμῶς ἐπικρέμαται θάνατος.

Κείνου γὰρ ἴσον λάχον μέρος ὀλίτ' ἀγαθοί,

ὅστις τε κακός.

Similar comparisons can be made every-  
 where in poetical sentiment of Punsberg and  
 the Greek lyric poets. A few comparisons will  
 illustrate this similarity. Thus Punsberg ad-  
 dresses Fortune:

"Lycka, leende gudinna,

Född att göra stunder finf.

Ej som jöndens herrskarinnor

Af min lyra hälas du.

Utan makt och utan krona,

Utan segrar, utan bratt,

Punsb. Fjällbyghen

Vill du endast mildt försona  
 Munchau här med guldets lott."

" Τύχα, -----

Tragm. Aeschyl. XXV

--- Τι μὰν βροτέοις ἐπέθηκας ἔργοις.  
 καὶ τὸ καλὸν πλεόν ἢ κακὸν ἐκδέθεν, ἄτε χάρις  
 λάμπει περὶ σὰν πτέρυγα χρυσεῖαν.  
 καὶ τὸ τεῶ πλάστικῆι δοθέν μακαριστότατον τελέθει  
 τὸ δ' ἀμαχανίας πόρον εἶδες ἐν ἄλγεσιν,  
 καὶ λαμπρὸν θάος ἄγαγες ἐν σκοτῶ προφερεστάτα  
 θεῶν."

Thus Runberg's conceptions of love and  
 gold are quite identical with those of the  
 Greek poets.

"Nu säg själf hvad gynnare är: att  
 skjuta en fågel,

Runeb. Hanna.

Eller att skjuta en pil i ett hjärta och läm-  
 na det hjälplöst"

--- ὁ πτερωτὸς ἴξος ὀμμάτων Ἔρως

Timotheus I.

ὁ Κύπριδος κυναγός, ἢ φρενῶν ἄκίς

ὁ μὴ τίνων θεοῖσιν ὀρκίον δίκας."

"Skönt är gullet dock mot fattigdomen"

Runeb. Vol. III p. 82.



"Οὐδ' ἐν ἡν ἄρα πᾶλλα πλὴν ὁ χρυσοῦς."

Solia I

On the other hand:

"Strad är gullet mot ett lif of kärlek,  
Strad är höglet mot min framtids lycka."

Pamph. 166 III 83.

"Οὐ χρὴ πόλλ' ἔχειν θυητὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ἕρᾶν" Solia XVII.

These and the like are, of course, universal ideas, parallels of which could be found in almost every literature.

Stung Fjalar and Stungarna på Salamis. A most direct influence of the Greek literature is traceable in the epic tragedy, Stung Fjalar, and the tragic drama, Stungarna på Salamis. We are justified, it appears, in calling Stung Fjalar a tragedy. There is ever a close relationship between epic and dramatic poetry. The drama is developed out of the epic. Both follow action in its development. The epic poet observes especially the unity of time in the development, without indicating the real impulse from which it issues. History is to him a chain of

events, nothing more, whose links he combines in a natural order or succession. To him an action or event is not a real action, it is only a mere stated fact, which he describes with the calmness of a historian, because he never analyzes the source of an action in the will of the actor. For this reason, it follows also that no coherence between the temper of the actor and his fate needs to be observed. In the epic, he is seldom the author of his own destiny.

While the great and noble Achilles is sent off by a premature death, wretched Thersites is permitted to land safely on his native shore.

Just in the same proportion as the lyric limits itself to the inner emotional life, the epic limits itself to the external. It is first the drama that combines both. The underlying principle in the drama is the cause-and-effect consistency. The fortuitous element of the epic vanishes in the drama,

and man is made to carry his destiny in his own bosom. It was because Agamemnon did not shun to sacrifice his own offspring on the altar of his ambition that he entangled himself in the net of an evil destiny. Likewise, Clytemnestra prepared the dagger that was to shed her own blood when she, forgetful of a wife's duty, pressed Agiathus to her bosom. King Fjalav, the hero of the tragedy bearing that name, is at first proud in his own conceit; he believes that he can create his own destiny even in defiance of the gods. Akin to him in character is Gustavus IV in *Honningen*.

"Mannens yfres, väldig, mångbepöfvad,  
 var att segra, som klippan hård,  
 vill han böja allt, dit hans arde tynder,  
 krossa allt, som moter med trots hans bidd."

The feeling of just pride, mingled with defiance and haughtiness is expressed in these lines. Fjalav looks back upon a life

marked by victories and conquests; now he takes an oath in the presence of his warriors to make his people happy by maintaining peace the rest of his life.

"Frid, sade han, skydda jag vill.

Förnimmen, Luthiods söner, er hönings ed!"

Vidgata hyddar, sparda hunder,

Tegar af guldax vare mig segrar mi!"

But into his presence steps unexpectedly the seer, Sargar, and he tells of a greater oath which he had heard "på Klippans spets i lugnet:" "Tjalar har glänt

att gudar skipa människors lott, han tror  
Stolt på sin viljas lag."-----

Han, skaparn af lycka och sed,

Skall se en dag, när fläskad of brott hans ätt  
Slacknar i blygd, hans som den ende,

Sluter som hund sin systers i eldad famn."

Sargar, the Sophoclean seer, departs, and Tjalar resolves to foil the gods by sacrificing his daughter. He commands his trustee

companion, Gólf, to throw her into the sea. Thence she is, however, saved by roaming vikings and brought to the distant court of Maramund, the blind king of the Marvum. Othonna, as she is now named, becomes the light and life of his clouded soul. In vain do his three sons woo her, "vígornas mó;" her longing has found another ideal in the unconquerable viking, Hjalmar, whose fame was sung everywhere. While Hjalmar roams the sea, he hears of the beauty of Othonna and he must own her:

"Sá talté Maramund áir,

Én skatt jag äger, han fardrar derv;

I bardens tórnur derv klingat,

Och lofsat ynglingens háig."

Hjalmar conquers Maramund and his three sons, and then takes Othonna. Not knowing that she is his sister, he weds her. Sargar's prophesy is fulfilled before the unconscious crime is discovered. The entire

plan is that of an ancient tragedy. Fjalmar returns to his proud father, only to tell him of his terrible fate. Ribouna has upon her own request received death from her lover's hand; and now he lays down his own life as a trespass-offering. The fate has come, Fjalmar takes meekly the bitter cup and acknowledges the powers that be before he ends his own life.

Fjalmar may as a tragic character be classed with Ajax, Oedipus, and Creon. This does not, of course, prevent Runeberg from adding something distinctly native to the tragedy. As did Oedipus, so also Fjalmar resolves to carry out his own purposes in spite of the gods; and as Agamemnon and Creon, so also Fjalmar outrages natural and divine law to assure his power. But the very actions intended to frustrate prophecy fulfill it. Thus Oedipus fled from Corinth to make sure not to become his father's murderer and his mother's



husbands; but in doing so, he plunged into the very snare of fate which he tried to escape. "ΠΡΕΤΑ ΘΕΟΙ ΚΛΕΙΤΤΟΙΣΙΝ ἄΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΝΟΟΝ"

*Stungarna på Salamis* is undoubtedly intended to be, as far as possible, a Greek tragedy. In it as in the ancient Greek tragedies, the gods rule over the destinies of men; and they carry out their purposes thru the actions and unconscious follies of men. *Stungarna på Salamis* stands in a much nearer relation to the Greek tragedies than does *Stung Tjalar*. Still it differs from the same in at least one important feature. In the Greek tragedies are found not only individually acting characters but also a chorus consisting of a number of persons who are witnesses of the actions, and then give vent to their feelings and thoughts generally in lyric songs between the acts. In Runeberg's tragedy, the chorus and at the same time the lyric element is lacking.

The entire tragedy is conversational, at times presenting a monolog in one or another metre. But important as this difference may apparently be, in essential features Danish tragedies are Greek in plan.

The Greek tragedy was a development of the saga, with the song of the chorus as one historical antecedent; hence it could freely use both these elements, but does not so entirely depend on both these elements that it could not be what it is without the latter. This is amply proven in the most finished of the Greek tragedies, those of Sophocles. Sophocles did have the chorus; and according to Aristotle this is an important "μόριον τοῦ ὅλου," but his choruses are in fact actors who by sympathy and counsel follow the main action, in which they are always deeply interested. Of course, they stand aside from the action so as neither to influence any destiny or help to solve any mysteries. Thus in *Antigone*, the

chorus believes with Creon that he had unlimited power over his subjects both in life and in death until Tiresias opens their eyes. And in so far as the action is independent of the chorus, the descriptions of the character of the actors are given in their own words and deeds. Not so in the predecessor of Sophocles, Aeschylus. In some of his tragedies, as far in stance in *Electra* and *Libetides*, the chorus plays such an important part that the entire plot would "fall thru" if it were not sustained by it. Aeschylus also makes the chorus discuss elaborately the main actors. Thus we learn to know Agamemnon, not from his own words and deeds, because they are said and done mostly behind the scene, and then reported to the audience, but from the chorus. The part played by Agamemnon on the scene is interesting in only one place, where his gentleness and calm dignity mingled with deep sadness are revealed in his con-

veneration with Clytemnestra. But this is the  
 action of but a minute, and could therefore  
 readily be pictured on the canvass. Agamem-  
 non and Clytemnestra, who with a trait-  
 tous design spreads the carpet in the king's  
 path, would form the centre, surrounded  
 by the vehicle of the seers, Cassandra, and  
 the bowing, portentously serious chorus.  
 To condense the parts of Oedipus, Electra, or  
 Creon in a similar way would be impos-  
 sible. In Oedipus Tyrannus, the tragic hero  
 is on the scene in every act, and his  
 character and emotions develop throught in  
 a series of situations, which all, from the  
 visit of the multitude in the prolog until  
 the final discovery and confession, close to-  
 gether in one continued action, whose  
 initiative, development, and finish are con-  
 densed in a natural but wonderful way into  
 the space of time allotted to the play. The purely  
 dramatic element forms together with the

lyric element a rounded whole; and if the latter were taken away, the work would lose its beauty but remain complete in plan. Such a Sophoclean play - to arrive at the point - is *Kungarna på Salamis*. It lacks the lyric element, but its place is taken by the people, who act and speak collectively, and by Tekmessa.

From the works of Sophocles, seven tragedies remain. Of these *Oedipus Tyrannos* is the most tragic one. It shows in every detail how *Oedipus* unconsciously completes his own terrible destiny, while all the time doing everything to escape it. He is the representative of all tragic heroes; and it is but natural that every other tragic hero should have some features pointing towards him. This statement is true in regard to *Livokritos*, the tragic hero of *Kungarna på Salamis* and also of *Tjalar*. At the same time as *Oedipus Tyrannos* reveals most

fully of all Sophoclean tragedies the meaning of tragic strife against the inevitable, it lacks one thing that all the other tragedies of the same author possess, a number of active characters. Here the hero is not only one but alone. When he hears the accusation, which he believes to be unfounded, directed against him, he looks about for some human antagonist with whom to measure strength.

He guesses now Tiresias, then Creon to be the cause of all the evil, but is able to find no foundation for his suspicion. No human resentment is the cause of his cruel fate, it is the invisible powers that have first lifted him to a lofty eminence, but to plunge him the deeper.

O.T. 1369-1500

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἑμαυτὸν παῖδα τῆς τύχης κέμων

O.T. 1080.

----- οἶδὲ σοχυνεῖς  
 μὲν ἔς με μίκρον καὶ μέγαν δὲ ὥρισαν."

The other tragedies of Sophocles are uniformly



not as tragic as *Oedipus Tyrannus*, that is,  
 in so far as the tragic element consists  
 in the interference of the invisible pow-  
 ers in human affairs. But as studies in  
 the psychology of life, they are richer.  
 They contain a number of characters  
 besides the hero, who act sometimes with,  
 sometimes against him, but always in  
 an unconscious way aid in the final  
 development. The action in these tragedies  
 has the form of a conflict between the  
 actors grouped in two contending parties.  
 Thus in *Electra* there is a feud between the  
 party of the father and that of the mother  
 in the house of Agamemnon. In this  
 feud, *Electra*, *Protes*, and the chorus en-  
 tend against *Clytemnestra* and *Aigis-  
 thus*. The feud ends in victory for the latter. *Electra* 1508.  
 In *Antigone*, the heroine and the other  
 minor characters contend against *Creon*,  
 while the chorus remains neutral. In

Ajax, the hero has about him a number of faithful friends, Tecmessa, Teucer, and the chorus; his opponents are Athena and the sons of Atreus. In such a tragedy, the tragic element depends on the mutual relation of the contending parties. Of course, such a plot does not prevent one person from being the hero, whose destiny is developed, and whose fate especially appeals to the sympathy of the audience. Such a person may or may not be the tragic hero.

Antigone is the heroine in the tragedy bearing that name, but the tragic hero is Creon. The tragic element consists of the punishment of Creon's impiety. Therefore, the final lesson drawn by the chorus is *Ant. 1347* from the life of Creon, not that of Antigone. Runesberg writes in an essay that in *Kung Tjalar, Hjalmar* and *Othona* are intended to be inferior characters. The same may be said of Antigone as far as

the tragic element concerns her. Of course, there is one essential difference between the two former and the latter characters. Hjalmar and Ahnora act their part in complete ignorance and unconsciously, and they are at least apparently blameless and free from conscious guilt, while Antigone is a positive character, and as a deliberating, free, and moral character, she stands forth as the heroine in the tragedy.

Just as do the three above mentioned tragedies, so *Kungarna för Salamis* presents a deadly feud between two contending parties. The tragic plot, character, and situations of this tragedy are Greek through out. The Greek tragedy never brings on the scene other than royal persons, that is as actors of importance, most of whom are first immortalized in the epic. Now, the vicissitudes of human life, fortune and misfortune, joy and sorrow, greatness

and insignificance, and all such contradictions can be most clearly and emphatically pictured in the fate of characters whose downfall becomes as great and pitiable as their fortune in their better days was great and enviable, and whose very greatness tempts to arrogance and crime.

Punchberg assumed a great deal of liberty in choosing subjects and characters for his tragedies. The entire situation in *Hungarna på Salaminis* is quite similar to that of *Electra*. In the latter, Clytemnestra and Aegisthus had treacherously secured possession of the house of Agamemnon, and while they by violence suppress dissatisfaction among the subjects, the return of the rightful heir, Orestes, is anticipated on one side with anxiety and fear, and the other with hopes and longing. In *Hungarna på Salaminis* Punchberg brings us to the "lyckliga, hafomsvallade Salaminis,"

to whose "heliga jord, sitt hem, sin fäderna-  
 härds grund" Ajax sends a greeting before  
 he dies. A pretender, Leikritos, arises, drives  
 old Pelamou from the throne, repels success-  
 fully Tancer, the son of Pelamou, in battle,  
 and then rules as a tyrant, but with con-  
 stant fears for the return of Euryakes,  
 the son of Ajax. The action becomes a con-  
 flict between the parties of Euryakes and  
 Leikritos; to the former adhere Tekussa,  
 the mother of Euryakes, and Eubulos, a  
 fisherman; to the latter Phaiustus, servant  
 of the tyrant, and Leontes, the tyrant's son.  
 Between the two parties, on rather neutral  
 ground, stand the people, careless and in-  
 active as Chrysothemis in *Electra* or Ismene  
 in *Antigone*. Characters of less importance  
 are Styllos, Pedovermen, and the messen-  
 gers. The climax is reached when the  
 tyrant interprets a dubious oracle to mean  
 that Euryakes is dead. At this point a



change is initiated by the arrival of Eury-  
sakes to Salamis, which, together with the  
heroic sense of justice in the tyrant's son,  
leads to the tragic crisis and the triumph  
of justice. As in *Electra* so here, the very  
opposite conditions in the fate of the two  
parties touch at one point. *Electra* receives *Electra* 1126  
her brother just when she imagines her-  
self as about to receive an urn contain-  
ing his ashes, and Agisthus beholds the *Electra* 1456  
dead body of Clytemnestra at the very  
time when he thinks himself about to un-  
cover the dead body of Orestes. In *Kungawa*  
*ji Salamis*, Eurystakes arrives just at the *K. ji S. Act. V. Sc. 4/5*  
time when the opposition rejoices in the  
final victory.

We turn to a brief study of the different  
characters. First we meet Eurystakes, son of  
Ajax, a Sophoclean character, less so as an  
individual, however, than as a son of Ajax,  
and heir to his realm. In the Sophoclean



play, Ajax, he is a small child, uplifted on  
 his father's arm to receive the benediction.  
 Ajax, awaking to a realization of his mad-  
 ness, surrounded by the herd when he im-  
 agines himself as having slain Ulysses  
 and the sons of Atreus, resolves to die since Ajax 479-480.  
 he has stained his own name and he  
 cannot live without glory. Neither the  
 remonstrances of his comrades nor the  
 pleading tears of his wife avail. Ajax only  
 commands the latter to bring him their  
 infant son, whom she had hid away for  
 fear of her husband's madness. A nurse  
 brings the child, and Ajax receives him Ajax 485  
 in ecstasy

It is this child that Runenberg introduces  
 as a grown person, the heir to the robbed  
 throne, and ultimately a victorious king  
 with all the power of his father and with  
 a far happier fate.

After the death of Ajax, Eurysakes and

and his mother had been banished to an uninhabited island in order that the sympathy of the army toward the son of their great Ajax might not prove disastrous to the pretender. After nine years of tragic suffering here, they one day saw a vessel approaching, and from it they soon heard words in the Stelleric tongue. When near the shore, Eurysakes first boarded the ship, and immediately this pushed out on the main, leaving the mother behind. Teknessa, bereft of her son, kept gazing out over the expanse of water until the light of her eyes was gone. Finally traders found her who brought her to Salamis, where she found shelter with a friend of the old home, Eubulos. At this time, a vessel was wrecked off the coast. The entire crew perishes, but a youth was brought unconscious ashore by Styllas, the son of Eubulos. While lying

on the sandy shore in barbarian clothes  
 and apparently dead, this youth still pre-  
 sented such noble features, "en bild så  
 skön som någon stellas födt," so that Act III, Sc. 2.  
 even Seikritos, who sees him, begins to  
 feel anxious because of his likeness  
 to Gias. But the recent oracle made him  
 feel quite safe on the throne, and he  
 commands: "Sör för främringens hval  
 göras kan." Seikritos departs; the youth  
 awaking calls out: "Moder, moder, moder, Act III, Sc. 4  
 o!" Then he asks indirectly about the fate  
 of the crew, and upon hearing of their  
 end, he thanks the gods for rewarding  
 the traitors who had thus kept him from  
 his native shore. When he learns that he  
 is on Salamis, he falls down and in ec-  
 stasy kisses the ground. Then he demands  
 homage from all about him as their king.  
 Teknussa indeed recognizes him, but Ten-  
 bolos still refuses to believe that the son

of Ajax lives. This makes Eurysakes furious, and he hurls forth the most heinous threats:

"Star nu din ofärskände mun fått or-  
 da nog, och har jag nog färdragit? ---  
 Så hör då, fräcke triflare, fätrampade,  
 ledbrutne mask, vanbärdig, shamfögätnes slf,  
 hundöga."

These words sound so familiar to Eubulos so that he is at once convinced that the speaker is no one else but the son of Ajax. He desires to hear more in the same vein: "Nejsluta seko, håll på."  
 "Ja du är son of Ajax, sidan var och han,  
 så säg han ut, när vreden färgade hans hy,  
 och under äskmörk fanna blicken luingade."

This description may plausibly be supposed to be borrowed from the *Iliad* XXII: 132.

Eubulos brings now an armor which once belonged to Ajax; in it Eurysakes appears before the people, who at once recognize in him the great Ajax.

"En gammal man.

Act IV Sc. 12

Q. se, se Ajas, Ajas! Sögn var deras tal,  
som sagt, att Ajas fallit; se, han lever än.

En annan.

"Mit hjärta sprängs of glädje, hell min ungdoms kung!"

In this passage, the inspiration of Neoptolemius, the son of Achilles, description of his reception at Troy in Philoctetes is seen:

"ἦν δ' ἡμᾶρ ἤδη δεύτερον πλεοντί μοι,  
καὶ γὰρ ἴπ' ἄκρον σίγειον οὐρίῳ πλάτῃ  
κατηγόμην. καί μ' εὐθὺς ἐν κύκλῳ στρατῶς  
ἔκραντο πᾶς ἡστιάζετ', ὁμνούντες βλέπειν  
τὸν οὐκέτι ὄντα φῶντ' Ἀχιλλεῖα πάχιν"

Phil. 353-358.

A large multitude of people assemble about Euryakes, grateful to the memory of Pelamion and his son, and eager to enthroned the grandson as their king. But the tyrant is prepared for a contest. It is then suggested that before the anticipated battle takes place, the still vocal Euryakes shall exchange

armor with someone. It is with difficulty that the people persuade him to such a course of action; and when he finally gives his consent, he adds characteristically:

"Märk dock först: din kung,  
han lyder oss, men vill befalla nösta gång."

Act IV Sc. 13

In the ensuing battle, and as a consequence of it, the tyrant and his son fall.

The new king distributes first gifts to his friends; the next that is that of revenge. He thinks it fit to punish Siochitos and Phaiates by bringing their dead bodies to a high mountain where they may be torn and devoured by birds of prey; a plan quite parallel to that of Creon in his dealing with Polycece.

"ὅπως γὰρ ἠκόμην,  
πρὸς οὐτὰ δεινὰ ἔκειν' ἔπληπειλημένοι,  
πᾶσαν κόνιν σήραντες, ἢ κατειχέτοιν  
νέκον, μυδῶν τε σῶμα γυμνώσαντες εὖ  
καθ' ἡμέθ' "

Ant 407-410.

" ἐγὼ δὲ σῶ ποδαγὸς ἔσπρόμην πόσει,

Ant. 1197-1200



Πεδίον ἔπ' ἄκρον, ἐνθ' ἔκειτο κελῆς  
 Κυνόσπαράκτον σῶμα πολυείκους ἔτι."

But Euryakes was prevailed upon by his mother to desist from such impiety and cruelty, and instead to raise a monument over father and son.

"Men kommer sijn en obehänt till denna ö; Act V Sc. 5  
 ser dessa namn och frågar hjälpsamt: 'Var ej  
 den döde här er kunnings bittra fiende?'  
 - - - Det svaras: 'Ädla främling, undra ej!  
 Två makter gjort det, starkare än herrens här,  
 ett smligt hjärtas kärlek och en moders bär.'  
 This is the very same offspring of Ajax  
 that Homer and Sophocles have portrayed, the  
 hero of wild passions and mighty deeds.  
 But his devotion to the mother, his frankness,  
 his unaffected belief in himself lend a cer-  
 tain charm to the whole, and we almost  
 see the effect of the paternal benediction.  
 Euryakes is, however, not the hero in  
 this tragedy. Besides it is his just inheritance

rather than his personality that is concerned; neither was it his own exploits but those of his devotees that enthroned him. Fate decreed for him to inherit all without really gaining it, to be the son of Agas rather than of heroic action. This outward significance finds in him a psychological correspondence. In spite of all hardships, Euryclides is still immature, inexperienced, and selfwilled. Life is to him hope, and when he has gained all, revenge is one of his first thoughts; and when he refrains from revenge, it is not for the same reason as Menelaus is moved by in Agas, cowardice, nor is it because of wisdom or piety: "Ej fattar jag hur gudars rätte förmärnas kan, deraf att denne utan graf blir gammal rof." What he does, he does because of his mother; just as Agamemnon acts moved by affection for Polyxena. "ἄλλ' ἐὺ γὰρ μέντοι τοῦτ' ἐπίστασ' ὡς ἐγὼ,

Agas 1052-1090.

Act V Sc. 8.

Agas 1370

σοὶ μὲν νέμοιμ' ἄν τῆσδε καὶ μείζω χάριν,  
 οὗτος δὲ κἀκεῖ κἀνθάδ' ὦν ἔμοιγε ὁμῶς,  
 ἔχθιστος ἔσται σοὶ δεδρᾶν ἔξεσθ' ἄχρης "

Such a character cannot be the hero in a tragedy. It is deceptions in life and the consciousness of guilt that make a character tragic.

We turn next to the tragic hero, Siskritos. He has precipitated the divine and "ἐπιρρητοῖς γέρονσι" ruling family, and made the free government a lawless tyranny over the people. He is a tyrant in the Greek conception of the word. Plato speaks of tyranny as the worst of all governments. As a patricide of his own country, the absolute monarch must, as an enemy of all good people, build his power on the worst elements of society. Sionter characterizes his fathers reign thus:

"Jog har setts ditt folk, jag setts  
 det idlaste fästrampat, trohet, redlighet

för huset döjas såsom straffärfallna brätt,  
och pliktfärgäten fräckhet yfras, och och vildd  
omvärligt sluka byten och begära fler."

This is the reign of Peisakritos, and its tool  
is Phaistes, ῥαϊστῆς (hammer) His cruelty  
is exercised especially on those who are  
known as friends of the house of Ajax. *Fav. Act II: Sc. 3*  
trampas måste kväje vän, af våra farna  
hungars ätt, utrotas all tillgifvenhet för dem.  
Runeberg has made Eubulos a representative  
of those devoted to Ajax. As a prototype for  
him, the author may have had in mind  
the warriors who constitute the chorus in  
Ajax, and who lose all faith in a happy  
return when misfortune befalls their leader. *Ajax 134-40, 692*  
The same character is found in Electra as in  
Eubulos. Just as Electra suffered and endured  
abuse in the house of her mother and  
Aegisthus, so Eubulos suffers want, maltreat-  
ment, and insults thru the personal hatred  
of the tyrant. But such a treatment cannot

send him or cause him to forget Ajax; it has the very opposite effect. He exclaims: "När gudars vrede drabbar arna menskobarn, Act I Sc. 3. är det ej nog att lifvets fröjder svika dem, att brist i rikedomens boning träder in, och hälsa, fägring, krafter viinna, falla af; men och det saktnad flyr, som vet att löja sig för ädets stormar"

Thus also Iphigene speaks in Antigone: "οὐ γὰρ ποτὶ, ὦναξ, οὐδ' ὅς βλάπτῃ μένει Ant 563-64. τοὺς τοῖς κακῶς πράσσουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξίσταται."

And Electra in the presence of the chorus: "δεινοῖς ἤναχ κάσθην, δεινοῖς. Electra 221. ἔξοι, οὐ λάθει μ' ὄργά. ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ δεινοῖς οὐ στήσω ταύτας ἄτας ὄφρα με βίος ἔχη"

And yet it is not so much the unjust and oppressive reign of Siskritas that stirs up such a feeling in the hearts of the people, if it were, there would be calmed by the



manifest change in the tyrant's nature and Act. III Sc. 1.  
 by the prospect of a better ruler in his virtuous  
 son; it is rather the great calamity that to  
 the old inhabitants can neither be augmen-  
 ted nor lessened, the extinction of the  
 house of Ajax. Under it they had lived hap-  
 py; and they had held out in the hope of res-  
 toration. But when the report of the death  
 of Euryseus came, hope was hurried to-  
 gether with the armor of Ajax:

Act IV Sc. 1

"När allt, hvad man i lifvet älskat mest, tags bort,  
 och kärlek ejer endast saknamns tomhet kvar,  
 när natts är i vårt väsen, när vår innes sol,  
 gått ned med själva hoppet om en morgondag,  
 då, yngling, han man andas än, men lifva ej."

Electra utters the same lamentations:

"Φρέστα φίλταθ' ὡς μ' ἀπώλεσας θανῶν  
 ἀποσπάσας γὰρ τῆς ἐμῆς οἴχει φρενὸς,  
 εἴ μοι μοῖρα παρήσαν ἐλπίδων ἔτι,  
 σὲ πατρὸς ἤξειν ζῶντα τιηρόν ποτὶ  
 κα μὲν ταλαίρης"

Electra 808-12.



And the messenger in Antigone:

Καὶ νῦν ἀθεῖται πάντα. Τὰς γὰρ ἠδονὰς  
ὅταν προδῶ σωμάτων δρός, οὐ τίθημι ἐγὼ  
ζῆν τούτου, ἀλλ' ἐμψυχὸν ἠγούμην κρόνον.

Ant. 1165-

Isokritos sees that the throne has cost him more than he that it would; his fear of mind and the love of his own people. A curse follows him of which he cannot rid himself. O, for some atonement!

"Gudar, när skall jag,

Act II Sc 12.

när skall min värd med sidan trohet fattas om?  
Fanns för min ätt ett minne, där så ädel grodd  
sin väst, sin tiefnad fanns; o, om för dertill  
jag ville stycken af mitt eget hjärta så,  
och med mitt blod dem vattna."

Life itself is an unbearable burden to him as long as he must be a cruel ruler.

"Är denna hänsyn en brötning mellan hvad man vill Act II Sc 6  
och hvad man måste, detta köldomhärjande,  
fröjdlösa, stela törnelif, hvars taggar blott  
fä sitta skräckinjagande på stängeln kvar,

är detta lif, så ökenhalt, så glädjetomt,  
 så mångbefinnadt och så litet afundsvärdt,  
 är det att vara konung?

*Clytemnestra* makes a similar confession:

"ὦ Ζεῦ, τί τῶντα, πότερον εὐτυχῆ λέγω Electra 766  
 ἢ δεινὰ μὲν, κέρδη δέ; λυπηρῶς δ' ἔχει,  
 εἰ τοῖς ἐμαυτῆς τὸν βίον δώσω κακοῖς."

Still the crown is precious, and what are joys  
 but dreams? Thus *Sicakritos* and then *Oedipus*  
 reason

"Ja, det väsenlösa  
 är sällheten, en dröm blottom en dröm, ej mer."

*Ant II* l. 6

τίς γάρ τίς ἄνηρ πλείον  
 τὰς εὐδαιμονίας φέρει  
 ἢ τοσοῦτον ὅσων δοκεῖν  
 καὶ δοξάντι ἀποκρίναί;

*Ant*

There never lived a man so stupid that he  
 could not find some argument in favor of  
 whatever course he chooses. Even τὸ κακὸν *Ant* 622  
 δοκεῖν ποτ' ἔσθ' ἂν τῷ δ' ἔμμεν ὅτ' ἄφρονος  
 θεοῦ ἄγει πρὸς ἅταν."

It is the soothing message from Menelaus, who does not know that Eurystakes will get away from his agents, and the dubious oracles from Delphi which give Leokritos a false assurance, and makes him exclaim:

"Joy heimshar trygg."

Act II Sc. 10.

Like-wise Sophocles lets his heroes repeatedly rejoice at messages, the auspicious character of which the audience is in doubt. Thus Clytemnestra exclaims:

"νῦν δ' - ἡμέρα γὰρ τῆς ἀπαλλάγῃ φόβου  
πρὸς τῆς δ' ἐκείνου δ'."

Electra 783.

Thus the chorus rejoices at the resolve of Ajax to yield to Athena and the sons of Atrides, just before the hero ends his own life. And the same tragic effect is woven into the fate of Oedipus.

Ajax 693-717

Oed. 1086.

From now on, Leokritos hastens on to his fatal destiny. The uprising and revolution are brought about; the battle ensues in which the tyrant kills his own son;

and still thinking that he has killed Eurysakes, he hurries forth to console Tekmessa. But the horrible  $\alpha\rho\gamma\rho\omega\pi\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$  follows at once when Tekmessa unbuckles the helmet and Liochritos sees his "dream-king of Salamis" dead. The illusion is dispelled in the very moment when it seemed most real. The tragic crisis is passed. The tyrant had to pay the price in full for the crime, to atone for which he was unwilling to relinquish the throne. His only consolation is that his dying son had remembered him with a filial farewell-greeting.

"O, att jag likväl hummat om idre älska dig Act V Sc. 6.  
och mera följt din smärning, när så många  
gång, för maktens falska skimmer du mig varnat.  
This is the tyrant's last wish. The Sophoclean  
Agas bids farewell to sun, earth, and father-  
land before he takes his own life. Liochritos  
has but one word "svak" by which he indi- Act V Sc. 5  
cates what his life has been, having pronounced

that he falls on his own sword and dies.

Before the last word is written about Seikuros, it may be fitting to observe the character of his son. We have already seen to what end he came. In life as well as in death, he is quite similar to Antigone in the tragedy bearing that name. Both live and die for principle. Seantes declares:

"Väl vet jag, att min välfärd, ja långt mer än den, Act III Sc. 5  
mitt offer blir på Sikes helga altar om;  
men hvad jag egt och eger och förlora kan,  
hvad gäller detta, då det vägs mot hennes bud?"

Antigone: "οὐδέ σθένειν τοσούτον ἰόβην τὰ σὰ  
κρηρύματα, ὥστ' ἀγρὰ πτα κασφαλήθεων  
κόμινά δύσασθαι θρητόν ὄνσ ὑπερδραμείν."  
Ant. 453-55

But Seantes makes the greater sacrifice.

Antigone commits a deed that causes her death when her lover was in shades, and life had nothing more in store for her. But Seantes enthrones his own rival when it was in his power to secretly end his life and

thereby make the throne his own uncontested possession. Sentes is the second faithful Jonathan; thus he is even more antique than Antigone. Of course, the distinction must be made that Jonathan was moved by heartfelt sympathy for David, whereas Sentes makes the sacrifice as a matter of duty, rather contrary to his deepest inclination. He rejoiced as a child at the rumor of Eurypakes' death. His character bears a certain relationship to a Euripian character, the noble Hippolytus, who also died a martyr of duty. He had thoughtlessly made a promise to conceal from Theseus the illicit love of his unfaithful wife; and even a letter bringing false accusations against him could not persuade him to break the promise. Nay more, he will rather meet death than prove untrue to a pledge. Nevertheless, there is more of



human nature in Crentes than in the latter, for he can roar like a lion in the presence of iniquity. Hippolytus is somewhat of an Orphic philosopher in his conception of life, while Crentes and Antigone are simple-minded children of nature, who in innocence, honesty, and determination do their duty first regardless of consequence.

Hippol 952-

The conflict between duty and desire is in the instance of Crentes greatly intensified thru the influence of his father. History and saga record many sons who have set themselves up against their fathers, as did Hjalmar in King Fjalar, but that a really loving son should as a matter of duty choose to fight against his father on the side of his deadliest foe, and that not in a feverish haste of action, but after a cold deliberation, and that in a conflict which he knew beforehand would be fatal to his father, and yet, that

this conflict ultimately does not mar the loving affection between father and son; this is the situation in *Kungama jä Salamis* of which I can find no prototype in the Greek drama. The offended father might forgive all, as did the tyrant Pericles, who repeatedly begged his son to return his paternal affection, but the more meekly he made this request, the more keenly the son made him feel his filial hatred. Or as David who commanded his followers to deal gently with the youth Absalom; or as it is said of Socrates: "Blott jä ofstärkt syus han öfvervaka striden, ständigt ropande med ängslans stänma: 'Åkten, döden ej min son, den andre ordast, den i Ajas' vapenokänd!'"

Herod. III

Act V Sc. 2.

That is quite natural. But that Socrates can continue to fight seems to prove nothing less than the victory of a keen sense of duty over human nature. Parnberg gives two

reasons why Socrates is so persistent, one is that when he concludes to fight against his father, he knows that life means nothing to him. He explains:

"Men, lif, mitt varma, unga lif, farväl, farväl! Act IV Sc. 11  
 Sin konungeljusfa blomning, att få sluta den  
 i dödens vinter räknar jag för vinning mi!"

The second reason is the hope of reemancipation in a future life. Thus he says:

"Säg honom ändligt, ytterst, att mitt hopp står fast Act IV Sc. 5  
 på vår försöning åter, när i Hades' natt  
 i kungamanteln skimmer bländar över hans öga."

Socrates' affection for Euryclides is founded on a sense of duty, from which death frees, but his affections for Siske and his father are eternal and shall in no wise be marred by any conflict in the glorious liberty of the dead. The same hope animates Antigone in her final struggle.

ἔλθοῦσα μὲντοι κάρτ' ἐν ἑλπίσιν τρέφω  
 φίλην μὲν ἔξειν πατρί, προσφιλῆς δὲ σοί

Ant. 897-99

Μῆτερ, οἶδ' ἄν σε τοῖσι κασιγνήτων κόρα"

Love is not allowed to become the dominating impulse in the lives of Creon and Antigone; but pure, unyielding love is made to fall on and give a certain halo to their dying moments.

It is noteworthy that the tragic crisis in the last two tragedies is marked in one by the judgment on Antigone, in the other by the death of Creon; yet one must not look for the tragic element in the beauty and purity of these characters. The tragic element cannot exist in the happiness of the good or in the misfortune of the depraved, and still less in the misfortune of the good and the good fortune of the depraved. The tragic hero must be neither good nor depraved; neither prominent in virtue nor in vice. The cause of the tragic destiny must therefore be sought, not in habitual wickedness, but in

some single offense. Thus the tragedian is enabled to bring in the cause-and-effect logic, and still to win and hold the sympathy of the audience for that hero by keeping this plan in the background, and by bringing in a force which man cannot direct. Thus the tragedies of Sophocles rest on a religious basis. The gods rule the world with irresistible power, and to search out and follow their plans is real wisdom.

"ΠΟΛΛῶ Τὸ ΦΡΟΝΕῖΝ ἔΥΘΥΜΟΝΙΟΣ  
ΠΡΩΤὸΝ ὑΠἈΡΞΕΙ· ΧΡῆ ΔΙ ἘΣ Τῶ ΘΕῶΝ  
ΜΗΔΕῖΝ ἄΣΕΠΤΕῖΝ· ΜΕΓΆΛΟΚ ΔΙ ΛόΓΟΙ  
ΜΕΓΆΛΑΣ ΠΛΗΓΑΣ ΤῶΝ ὑΠΕΡΆΥΧΩΝ  
ἈΠΟΤΙΘΑΝΤΕΣ

γῆρα τὸ φρονεῖν ἔδίδαξαν"

"Stad äv menskan, att mot er hon stormar! Kung Själens  
Stjärnor loka i snödd nyid  
Sen i genom molnen of jorden ödem,  
Senn i lek en fläkt of er vilja styr."

Aut. 1947-53.

Such a religious conception of life is not conflicting with the old conception of the government of the deities. These appear in the tragedy, sometimes as men, as in *Agamemnon*, then again as seers and oracles, as in *Electra* and *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Hung Gjalar*; and again their intervention is perceptible in peculiar turns of action. This multiplicity of manifestation of the gods is characteristic of the period to which tragedy belongs. It marks a transition from mysticism to rationalism. The ancients believed firmly in a certain punishment for every crime, even where the perpetrator did his utmost to frustrate divine purpose. The tragic element is found in this very conflict between human ingenuity and divine law. To make this conflict the more apparent, the tragedies deal with heroes of great power and wisdom, whom the gods entangle in their own cleverness until there is no



escape. Thus runs the tragedy of life. Life is but empty shadows, changing as do the waves of time; and it is granted none to know his final destiny.

καὶ Μάρτις οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐφεστώτων ἄποτοῖς" Ant. 1160

In this conception of divine flaw, is revealed also goodness and loving providence, which brings the guilty to confession of guilt and to subjective atonement. But Peneberg, Aeschylus, and Sophocles emphasize this truth that the gods teach men wisdom thru suffering. Still, it seldom happens that the tragic hero will bend his own will under that of the gods, and learn the wisdom that will show him how to atone for wrong-doing ere it is too late. Oedipus has, to be sure, learned meekness thru suffering; but his implacable hatred toward his own sons and his native land cannot be reconciled to a conception of him as a truly purified character. Electra,

with all her virtue and father, remains an antique Beatrice Cenci, a murderer with no trace of contrition. The keen suffering of Ajax does not bring out any confession of guilt. He thinks himself an object for relentless divine anger and implacable hatred. When therefore no god will stand by him, he leaves the realm of the gods as a disaffected vassal, and hurling back their gifts, he goes to hide himself in shades.

In greatness as a poetic creation, Aem in Antigone is far inferior to Ajax; but by his confession of guilt and justification of divine justice, the former stands morally higher, approaching Hector and Ulysses; and none of these two was a depraved character. Ponceberg has personified all the cowardice, treachery, and depravity of Agrius and of Plato's tyrant in Thais, who also becomes

one of the most despicable characters in all literature. His dying words were:

O, Erinyes! - - - - -

Act. V. Sc. 5

Er jag war i lifvet, bliv genom döden er."

This marks a sharp contrast to the anxious piety thru which even Agamemnon expects to escape final punishment. Priokritos and Creon show their best traits in dealing with their sons; and it is remarkable how both are alike punished by the fate of these. Still the dissimilarity between these two characters is greater than the similarity. Creon is a pharisee; Priokritos is a publican. Creon was entitled to his throne; and the consciousness of this makes him arrogant and self-sufficient.

"ἔχω κράτη δὴ πάντα καὶ θρόνους ἔχω"

Act. 173

"ἄλλω γὰρ ἢ μοι κρὴ μετῆς δὲ ἄρχειν χθονος;"

" 736

and when his pride is wounded, he mocks at both natural and divine law:

"Κάτω νῦν ἔλθοῦ; εἰ φιλητέον, φίλει κείρους"

Act. 524

Seiakritos is guilty from the first; he is not entitled to the throne. He has become a slave under ambition, and he knows it, and would gladly atone for it in some way, only so it would not cost him the throne. Even when he thinks his rival dead, his first thought is that of expiation.

"Jem, honom öfver honom, allherstare, Act V Sc. 6  
jag lofvar åt ditt altar hekatombens gård."

He has not yet seen that divine justice is not bribed by hecatombs, and that the deity does not accept of half expiation. But when he learns of what he has lost, son, throne, all, he stands forth as victorious in submission to the gods. Gär dies defying the gods, Oren dies in despair, Seiakritos and Fjalar conquer even in death, and exclaim:

"Jag har lärt er hämnas, ej jag blygges  
Att omig löja för er när en gång."

Kung Fjalar

"Mätt är jag på lifvet och omenohlig starkhet,  
 är mig ringa vorden. Jag går till er."

The tragedies of Rimborg lead to recon-  
 ciliation, not only between gods and men,  
 but also between man and man. In  
 this they differ somewhat from the Greek  
 tragedies. Even the beautiful Antigone  
 leaves the scene hating her enemies,  
 which hatred is expressed by the chorus.  
 Tekmessa is the one Sophoclean charac-  
 ter in which is combined feminine  
 kindness, love, and charity toward all  
 alike. She represents the spirit of com-  
 plete reconciliation and full forgiveness  
 in *Stungarna på Salamis*.

Tekmessa is one of these feminine  
 characters that give Sophocles the greatest  
 glory. No other original tragedian has  
 been able to produce so beautiful and  
 pure femininity as Sophocles has produced.  
 Tekmessa borrows some traits from



Homer's Andromache; but her position in  
 the house of Ajax as one saved from  
 slavery by real chivalrous love makes  
 her endure everything from her lord,  
 which could be out of question with  
 Andromache. Still, she dares to appeal to  
 the fact that she is mother of a son and  
 has consequently the right to expect the *Ajax* 808-10.  
 love and confidence of her lord. The Tek-  
 messa in *Sungama gi Salamis* is the  
 same loving and gentle character. She  
 remains ever faithful to the memory  
 of her lord; and not only endures all  
 for her son, but above all she maintains  
 thru all the vicissitudes of her life the  
 same loving and forgiving nature.  
 She has suffered most, and is most forgiving.

In her position in the tragedy, Tekmessa  
 reminds of Tereias in *Antigone*. Both  
 appear to stem the tide of evil. But Tereias  
 speaks in dubious oracles; he is like



Sargar in King Tjalar, a gloomy, mysteri-  
 ous being, that appears on the scene  
 when danger threatens. But it is only  
 when they are provoked that they actually  
 speak in definite predictions. Tekmesa  
 does not look for signs or oracles; she  
 carries the oracle in her own breast. In  
 the beauty of goodness and in the ex-  
 pectation of a happy future and first  
 of all in meek, self-sacrificing godli-  
 ness, Leontes and Tekmesa become  
 Christian characters, in whom Runeberg  
 incarnates his own ideal, which is not  
 the wild viking, nor the adventurous  
 knight; but the child of meekness and  
 firm trust in the final victory of right.  
 And in so far as the tragedies of  
 Runeberg portray the best and noblest  
 in his own people, they can be said to  
 be created in the spirit of native  
 Finland.

Runeberg was a copious writer; but he always thought before he wrote. As a thorow student of literature, he received inspiration from many sources; and one of the principal sources was the Greek literature, in which he was instructor for many years. Still, it must be said of him that first and last he wrote in the spirit of Finland, inspired by its nature, people, and history, and thus he became above all else the great National Poet of Finland.