

Sammanfattning på svenska

Syftet med forskningsklustret är att föra samman forskare, doktorander och studenter med expertis inom de förmoderna periodernas filosofi-, kultur- och idéhistoria i gemensam forskning, kurs-, seminarie- och konferensverksamhet i en kreativ forskningsmiljö. Verksamheten förläggs till Medeltidscentret vid Historiska institutionen vid Stockholms universitet, som är nationellt ledande inom detta område. Stockholms universitet har sammantaget garanterat att bidra med ca 6.8 miljoner SEK till klustrets verksamhet. Ansökan omfattar sju kärnmedlemmar, varav en koordinator. Två är för närvarande aktiva vid institutionen för Litteraturvetenskap och idéhistoria, SU, en vid institutionen för Kulturvetenskaper, Lunds universitet, en vid Svenska institutet i Rom, en vid Centret för medeltidsstudier, Bergen, en vid Institutet för musikhistoria, Paris (IRPMF) och en vid Norska institutet i Rom. Därtill kommer två doktorandtjänster finansierade av SU, samt ett antal inbjudna gästforskare. Det gemensamma temat som förenar deltagarna är dygdeetikens utbildningshistoria. Dygdeetiken betraktas ur ett större samhällsligt perspektiv, där bland annat dess roll för formering av stånd- och genusideal står i fokus. Forskningen syftar till att undersöka hur man från senantiken fram till och med 1700-talet hanterat problemen med att lära ut dygd, t. ex.: ansågs det alls möjligt att lära sig dygd? Vilka borde tillägna sig denna utbildning, vilka former tog den och vilka ansågs vara lämpade som lärare?

Sammanfattning på engelska

The research cluster will bring together researchers and doctoral students who specialize in the cultural and intellectual history of the pre-modern periods into a creative research environment. The activities will be hosted by the Centre for Medieval Studies at Stockholm University, a leading Swedish centre in this research field. Stockholm university has agreed to contribute appr. 6.8 million SEK of funding for the activities of the cluster. The cluster involves seven core participants, one of whom serving as co-ordinator. Two are currently working at the dept. for Literature and the History of Ideas, SU, one at the dept. of Cultural Sciences, Lund University, one at the Swedish Institute in Rome, one at the Centre for Medieval Studies, Bergen, one at the Institute for the History of Music (IRPMF) in Paris, and one at the Norwegian Institute in Rome. Two doctoral students will also join the cluster, as will a number of guest researchers. A common theme unites the participants: the educational history of virtue ethics in pre-modern Europe. It will be studied from a broad societal perspective, its function in the forming of social and gender ideals being a main focus of interest. The main goal is a better understanding of how the problems of teaching virtue were answered from late antiquity through to the late 18th century: was it considered possible to learn the virtues? Who should be educated in them, how were they taught, and who were considered the appropriate teachers?

Projektbeskrivning

TEACHING VIRTUE : A RESEARCH CLUSTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION IN PRE-MODERN EUROPE

I. GENERAL PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT

In pre-modern Europe virtue ethics - whether it was Platonic or Aristotelian, Christian or pagan - was the dominant form of moral philosophy. But virtue was much more than just a philosophical concept. According to authorities such as Aristotle and Cicero, virtue defined what it meant to be a good human being. Educating young men and women in the virtues meant, first and foremost, making them human. For this reason, pre-modern conceptions of virtue can tell us a great deal about what it meant to be human in this period, what was considered more human, and what less. Aristotle's answers to these questions were hugely influential: man was a rational, and a political, animal, a thinking being and a citizen. Leading a life of virtue meant making the passions conform to one's reason and participating in the government of the common affairs of one's polity – in other words: to discipline oneself and others. The Christian teaching that man was created in God's image was in many ways consistent with Aristotle, who also conceived of man as neither a god, nor a brute beast. Questions such as these, and the varied answers given through the ages, provide great opportunities for understanding how pre-modern people, citizens and thinkers comprehended what it meant to exist as a human being: to be a man or a woman, a citizen or a subject, a courtier or a king, a peasant or a priest. The concept of virtue was always connected to a notion of humanity and teaching the virtues meant shaping humanity as we know it.

While the concept of virtue was closely connected to pre-modern notions of humanity - an essence common, in theory, to all - it nevertheless excluded many categories of people: women, children and men of the lower orders of society. Virtue was conceived of only as a potential in human nature, and it was not thought to be achieved by all. Some people were described, in other words, as being less than human. Even stranger was, perhaps, the notion that some achieved virtue to such a degree - "heroic virtue" - as to be more than human. Thus, virtue signified nothing less than the border limiting the notion of humanity in the pre-modern world, and must therefore be considered to be a central concept to the thinking of the classical as well as the medieval and early modern periods.

The ideals of virtue that originated in classical antiquity guided the education of Europe's elites over the middle ages and until the end of the Ancien Régime. All through the dramatic social, cultural and political changes of the pre-modern period, virtue ethics provided a constant framework for the discussion of character and social relations. Religious and political discourses adopted the language of virtue for their artistic and literary means of expression. The desired ideals could often be communicated in terms of virtues. Most of this production was didactic in scope. The examples of virtue presented ideals that the reader or viewer should emulate and imbue. But was it really possible to teach virtue, which according to some was an innate quality? Who should be educated and for what? And who was a suitable teacher? The inculcation of virtue presented pedagogical

challenges as much as political concerns throughout the pre-modern period. Teaching virtue is an interdisciplinary research cluster that pools experience from the fields of the arts, philosophy, gender studies, political history and comparative education to explore the functions of virtue and its media in the education of European elites.

The long-term continuity of virtue ethics in education but also its functional malleability makes it a productive focus for studies of pre-modern culture and politics. Virtue ethics was particularly important for rulers, secular elites, and churchmen, but in principle, examples of virtuous behaviour were meant to guide everyone – and so 'virtue' meant quite different things to different people in pre-modern Europe, and different aspects were emphasized in different contexts. In a theological context it could refer to godliness or piety and describe a person who possessed the strength to put aside worldly aspirations in favour of dedication to a life in the service of God. At another extreme, in a purely political context, the word "virtue" could describe cold calculation and something very close to a-moral manipulation, particularly the will and capacity to put the welfare of the state above ethical considerations. In addition, social and gendered norms governed the teaching of virtue. The virtues prescribed for the ruler were not necessarily those prescribed for the ruled, the virtues of the peasant not the same as those of his landlord, the virtues of men not identical to those of women, and so on. The differentiation was inherent in the concept even from its very ancient origins, as illustrated by Plato's argument in *The Republic* that the classes of the state must each perform their proper functions, and by Aristotle's discussion in the *Nicomachean Ethics* of virtue in relation to man's proper "ergon", i.e. function or work.

The ancient philosophical literature formed part of the later European educational curricula. The academic receptions of these texts provide essential departure points for the participants of the research cluster. But Teaching virtue is not primarily a philological venture. It explores the large variety of media employed to teach virtue and the various institutional contexts where this education took place. Mirrors for princes, scholastic treatises, emblems, portraits, drama, preaching and many other literary and artistic genres all made extensive use of concepts of virtue, sometimes closely following the ancient teachings of Plato, Aristotle, and their Hellenistic and late ancient receptions but often employing independent interpretations. Political and cultural institutions such as monarchies, republics, courts, universities and academies were all of great importance for the circulation of these ideals of virtue. But so was the church, which in the Middle Ages adopted virtue ethics to pursue the aim of religious edification. Within the orbit of such institutions, the following are examples of some concrete contexts of teaching virtue that will be discussed by the participants of the cluster. For instance, we will be studying the role of classical virtue in the education offered at the influential colleges for the nobility pioneered by the Jesuits. Educational programmes, students' use of loci and exempla from classical sources in genres such as poetry and panegyrics are among the texts to be utilized. Education through participation, as in the performance of court ballets and student plays, is also a field of particular interest. It was not uncommon to see virtue itself (its personification) portrayed on stage. In fact, some of the greatest monarchs of Europe performed the role of "virtus heroica" themselves. Virtue ethics, as much pre-modern philosophy in general, was often dependent on the use of concrete examples. Consequently participants of the cluster will also be studying the pedagogical use of images and history, as striking imagery and famous words and deeds of individuals were thought to illustrate virtues better than abstract reasoning.

Education is here understood as encompassing instruction both in the theoretical and practical skills deemed necessary for the elites. Even courtiers often could get by with rather rudimentary academic training in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and military prowess was one of the main aims of their education. But religious education was essential, also for those who did not pursue ecclesiastical careers. The ideals were not fixed, however, and could vary considerably even within the same social group (Asch 2003: 56-57). Medieval and early modern discourses on women's education provide good examples of the malleability of virtue and its political determinants that the cluster sets out to explore. The main aim of women's education was to prepare them for marriage and their future as pious, obedient wives, although views on their training varied considerably (Kelso 1978: 67-77; Maclean 1995: 65). Torquato Tasso distinguishes between the virile virtues of women who are born to rule and those of normal gentlewomen (Tasso 1997: 62). Women who were trained in more than the virtues of chastity, obedience and parsimony, however, were found even outside ruling houses. The question of whether women could be virtuous is relevant here, and the etymological root of the word *vir* emphasises its association with men. Paradoxically, in sixteenth-century discourse the virtuous woman could be someone who transcended the female category, but a parallel concept of appropriate female virtues existed, as pointed out also by Tasso. In the early sixteenth century the influential moralist Juan Luis Vives warned against the academic training of girls, claiming that it would not teach them virtues (Vives 2002: 19). The subject of woman's virtues is complex and intrinsically related to the question of her education. But, as seen above, the understanding of men's virtues also was conditioned by a number of social, political and religiously determined factors.

The research cluster's focus on the educational contexts of virtue engineers a set of novel questions about its mediality and political use: To what extent was it considered possible to teach virtue, and to what extent was virtue thought to be an innate quality? Who was to be educated in virtue? Who were considered suitable teachers? Through which media were these educational programmes conveyed? What was it that made these truly ancient virtues relevant through major societal changes, such as the emergence of feudalism and the modern state? A principal aim is to explore the long-term developments of these issues, by drawing on the broad and varied competences of the participants, who are experts on different time periods and geographical areas, ranging from classical antiquity through to the early modern era, and across different parts of Europe. Teaching virtue in fact advances the hermeneutical insights gained through the interdisciplinary network "Shaping Heroic Virtue. A network for studies in the different uses of shared Christian and Classical traditions in 17th century Catholic and Protestant Europe", supported from 2011 by the Bank of Sweden's Tercentenary Foundation's Initiation grant. The network has focused on a crucial but unexplored theme of early-modern representations of virtue ethics: the theological and political use of the concept of heroic virtue in the confessionally divided Europe of the seventeenth century. The results of the three workshops held so far suggest three methodological and thematic trajectories as central for future research:

1. The traditional appreciation of classical virtue ethics as central to the artistic, philosophical and political-discursive developments of the early-modern era is widely supported. But there are reasons to be critical about the way this field has been obscured by the disciplinary and chronological division of the humanities. Interdisciplinary exchange, of the kind explored within the network, is necessary to determine the larger cultural-historical and political-historical tissue where the individual instances of receptions of virtue ethics acquired their specific meaning.
2. The traditional disciplinary boundaries also impose quite arbitrary chronological strictures,

usually dividing the historical field into the non-communicating vessels of ancient, medieval and early modern and frequently with the risk of obscuring the existence of long-term developments and misinterpreting the ones that can be observed in the short term. Early-modernists, for instance, frequently take the classical references made by their historical actors at face value, thus neglecting the late ancient and medieval reception histories that often foregrounded their works.

3. Finally, the participants of the network have gained an increased awareness of the strong educational thrust that lies at the core of virtue ethics and informed its expressions. While the general didacticism of these discourses are frequently mentioned by modern scholars – often referred to as a less appealing quality of the works in question – the pedagogical theory that underpinned them and gave them their wider social significance is insufficiently understood.

Thanks to the interdisciplinary approach of the network it has been possible to overcome the limits of previous research on the subject. During the three first workshops of the "Shaping Heroic Virtue"-network the essentially propagandistic use of the idea of heroic virtue has emerged as an aspect of paramount importance and thus the versatile character of its representations has also been better understood. These important insights have convinced us of the necessity of broadening the scope of our research in virtue ethics to the educational aspects analysed in Teaching Virtue.

The interdisciplinary network “Shaping Heroic Virtue” encompasses the history of art, literature, music, philosophy and political thought. “Teaching virtue” will benefit from the same all-encompassing view. The project will thus both profit from and fulfil the work of the network by studying virtue’s pedagogic elements in such a varied range of sources such as poetry, drama, history, as well as mirrors of princes and political philosophy. A wide range of sources will therefore be brought into the discussion; texts in Latin and the vernaculars, as well as images and other material from a range of archives across Europe.

II. ORGANIZATION, ACTIVITIES AND IMPACT

Teaching virtue is a collaborative research cluster designed to foster interdisciplinary and long-term studies and promote the growth of pre-modern scholarship at Stockholm University. It provides a stable platform for scholarly exchange among a core group of members but also supports the integration of invited international scholars and sustains networking within a larger scholarly milieu. It facilitates the organization of workshops and conferences and promotes pre-modern studies in the education of PhD students and undergraduates.

A half-time (50%) Research coordinator (Andreas Hellerstedt) holds the administrative-executive function with Teaching Virtue but also responsibility to apply for external funding for additional cluster activities. Six part-time (20%) researchers with proven track records and international experience – whose main employment lie with departments such as History, History of Science and Ideas, Philosophy, Comparative literature and Art History – safeguard the cluster’s interdisciplinary and chronological breadth. To this group come two four-year full-time doctoral candidates. These posts are funded by the Stockholm University Department of History and the Faculty of Humanities and the PhDs will be supervised within the Department. The cluster however is not a closed circuit. A large part of the funds offered by the Bank of Sweden’s Tercentenary Foundation will support the

invitations of short-term resident fellows, primarily international senior scholars of exceptional quality. The fellowships are filled by invitation of the core group and these visitor stints will allow for a more intense exchange of ideas and consolidate national and international relations with top scholars and milieus. The cluster currently applies for additional funds for guests and events from private funding bodies, such as the Wenner-Gren Foundation.

Beyond the work on their individual subprojects or theses (in the case of the PhDs) a number of collaborative efforts will unite the members of the cluster. Teaching virtue will host a monthly seminar – open to all – where members and guests discuss their research or current developments in the field. This regular feature in the life of the cluster will also provide occasions for internal meetings, where the members plan future events, invitations, publications etc. In addition to the seminars, Teaching virtue will host three international workshops related to important aspects of the theme. One of these, potentially devoted to the topic of intermediality in the education of virtue in the medieval period, will be arranged in collaboration with and funded by (100000SEK) the Stockholm University Centre for Medieval Studies.

Sustained international links and collaborations offer important opportunities for the members of the cluster and its adjacent milieu. But Teaching virtue will also make a substantial contribution to the impact of pre-modern scholarship on education. In addition to the two externally funded PhD-fellowships, the Stockholm University Faculty of humanities also sponsors the activity of research schools within the thematic remit of the cluster (SEK 250000 per annum). But successful recruitment to pre-modern research – with its unique material challenges – also depends on opportunities for students to acquaint themselves with the area at an earlier stage in their studies. In view of this and to ensure transfer of knowledge to students, members of the cluster will offer a series of interdisciplinary courses intended for advanced students (master's degree programs) that deal with educational aspects of virtue ethics and its media. Courses planned include Stefano Fogelberg Rota teaching "Castiglione's Courtier and the path of virtue" and Andreas Hellerstedt teaching "The History of virtue: from Aristotle to Martha Nussbaum" (both 7,5 ECTS).

Hosting institution

The project is hosted and co-funded by the Stockholm University Department of History, the largest and top-ranking history department nationally, with internationally competitive research in a number of areas of historical scholarship. The department's research profile – long-term studies of cultural and institutional change – corresponds to the scope of Teaching virtue. Its successful Centre for Medieval Studies – which boasts a strong tradition of interdisciplinarity in medieval studies – will be a natural collaborative partner for the scholars of Teaching virtue. The Centre for medieval studies also co-funds activities arranged by Teaching virtue. Since Stockholm University is situated in the Mälardalen area with its many universities and good communications, the seminars, workshops and educational activities of Teaching virtue will benefit from and contribute to the largest scholarly milieu in Scandinavia. Stockholm's excellent international communications also facilitates the exchange with scholars from abroad.

Published outcome

The seminars, workshops, invited guest lecturers, research schools and other scholarly activities arranged within the cluster will benefit pre-modern studies in Sweden and internationally both in the short and the long term. A number of publications will communicate the insights gained.

Individual projects will be published primarily in the form of articles in journals of the scholars' disciplinary field of interest. The two workshops, however, will result in one volume of essays that also account for the project at large, publicized with an international publisher or in the form of a special issue of an international scholarly journal.

PARTICIPANTS AND SUB-PROJECTS

Andreas Hellerstedt

"A conceptual history of virtue ethics education: the long view in the nordic countries ca. 1300-1800"

Andreas Hellerstedt (PhD in the History of Ideas, Stockholm University, 2009) is currently a post-doctoral research fellow at the section for the History of Ideas and Sciences at Lund University. His research interests lie mainly in the history of political philosophy.

Hellerstedt, who will serve as the coordinator of the cluster, will contribute with a bird's eye view of the history of education and virtue ethics. Using established methodologies of conceptual history (Koselleck 2002, Lindberg 2005, and especially Lindberg 2006), he will trace the shifting uses of and meanings ascribed to a small number of core concepts, such as virtue, innate talent, habit, education, humanity, bestiality, heroism, etc., from the middle ages through to the early modern period up until around 1800. His project thus provides a larger context and a common focus for the other researchers in the cluster. To make the project feasible, it will be narrow in scope geographically and in the choices of materials used. The Nordic countries will be the exclusive focus, and the study will be limited to educational texts, mainly school and university texts together with the long-lived mirrors for princes-genre.

Erik Eliasson

"The levels of virtue: The impact of the neoplatonist conception of the virtues on early Medieval Latin commentators on Aristotle's ethics"

Erik Eliasson (PhD, Uppsala 2005) is a specialist in Ancient philosophy and is currently a Research Fellow at the Swedish Institute in Rome, working on the early Greek commentators on Aristotle's Ethics and on Imperial and Late ancient Platonism. Eliasson's application as docent at Uppsala University is under review.

Erik Eliasson's project explores early medieval changes in Aristotelianism that were to have a profound effect on subsequent developments, and thus lays the foundations for the work of the other participants. The philosophical curriculum of the late ancient commentators situated Aristotle's moral philosophy on a basic level, seen as dealing mainly with the lower levels of virtue, and thus as preparatory for the study of Plato. Apart from the conception of Aristotle as a mundane natural philosopher, to be contrasted with Plato the metaphysician or even theologian, the main

explanation is the notion of levels of virtue. This notion, perhaps implied even by Aristotle's account of the life of contemplation in book 10 of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, was reinforced by Plotinus and further systematized by his pupil Porphyry, then professed by the latter's pupil Iamblichus. It thus formed part of the conceptual frame for the situating of Aristotle within the late ancient Neoplatonist curriculum (Sorabji 2005, 340f.). The levels of virtue significantly imply a distinction between basic levels attainable by all and higher levels attainable only by the few. The Latin medieval Aristotle commentary tradition solved a problem similar to the late ancient one in a similar and yet different manner. Rather than situating Aristotelian moral philosophy directly within a Neoplatonist account of human virtuous perfection, the task was, when the context permitted digression from pure commentary, to relate it to Scripture and the exempla of Jesus Christ and the Saints. At the same time though, the late ancient commentators' way of reading Aristotle from a mainly Neoplatonic perspective had significant effects on the Latin commentators, as illustrated by many interpretations of Aristotle's notion of 'heroic virtue' (Costa 2008). The interpretations of this virtue directly reveal an underlying appropriation of the notion of levels of virtue.

Eliasson's research will investigate further the actual extent to which the late ancient influences on the Latin commentators included a Neoplatonist reading of the Aristotelian account of the virtues, focusing primarily on the early commentaries by Aquinas, Albert the Great and some 13th century commentaries by Masters of Arts, Radulphus Brito, Giles of Orléans and the anonymous of Erlangen. The key objective will be to establish to what extent the Neoplatonist notion of the levels of virtue is not only used in commenting but actually endorsed by the commentators.

Biörn Tjällén

"Preaching virtue: Moral philosophy and the politics of late medieval pastoral care"

Biörn Tjällén is a medieval historian (PhD Stockholm 2007), currently employed at the Centre for Medieval Studies in Bergen and an expert in late medieval political thought. His project highlights the crucial importance of the church and its pastoral care for the reception and dissemination of virtue ethics in the later Middle Ages.

In the Middle Ages, the spiritual well-being of Christians was exclusively the concern of the church. From the thirteenth century, an increasing zeal to educate the laity resulted in a novel focus on pastoral tools such as preaching and the sacrament of confession (Stansbury 2010). The new mendicant orders were at the forefront of interaction with the laity and it was they who first introduced Aristotle's *Ethics and Politics* – philosophical authorities on the affairs of the world – into the European university curricula. Higher education was primarily intended to serve the various needs of the church. Those who preached and scrutinized the morals of parishioners needed to understand the workings of character building and its societal ramifications (Briggs 2008). Virtue ethics was a central component of the realization of this educational task and this sub-project explores how it informed the instruction of both clergy and laity. It examines a number of ancillary texts – Aristotelian florilegia and compendia (see Hamesse 1974) – which briefed and clarified the intricate ancient philosophical texts for the clergy but also texts that adopted this learning for the needs of pastoral care. Preaching and confession presented practical outlets for the Aristotelian virtue ethics and the main focus of the project is to explore how it shaped the manuals written to help the clergy perform these activities. Texts of this kind – the project takes a particular interest in

the hugely popular but virtually unexplored fifteenth-century works of St Anthony of Florence – were the professional tools for the medieval pastoral care; they adapted the abstract knowledge of the schools to the intricacies of real Christian lives. Of particular interest here, and in conformity with the political-historical thrust of Teaching virtue, are texts that focus on the instruction of various classes of officials or governors, such as judges, barons, bishops and kings. Government, it is clear from this literature, came with its own set of spiritual hazards. The sub-project explores how virtue ethics aided the clergy to identify these perils, evaluate their gravity in terms of sin and help redeem the individual Christian.

Tania Preste

"Performing the virtues: student theatre and Aristotelian virtue ethics in 17th century Sweden"

Tania Preste is an historian (PhD from Università di Trento), specializing in education, cultural institutions and the building of collective identities. She currently holds a scholarship from the Wenner-Gren Stiftelsen at Stockholm University. Her project analyzes the uses of student plays for the purpose of education in the virtues. The project focuses on a critical period in Swedish history (the early 17th century) when the educational system was undergoing fundamental changes in the wake of the reformation and the reconstruction of a strong confessional state.

Using theatre as a means of representing social ideals and values is an ancient practice, and just as ancient is its use as a learning tool within educational institutions. This didactical function was often twofold: on the one hand it was a teaching method that awakened the interest of the students who staged the plays, on the other hand it offered an educational opportunity to the audience. In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe theatre was used in Jesuit colleges with the precise function of educating men destined for public office in rhetoric and the Christian virtues. The same didactic method was also frequently used in the first half of the seventeenth century in Lutheran Sweden. In particular two teachers distinguished themselves by a regular use of performances: Johannes Rudbeckius (1581-1646) who put on many dramas based essentially on the Latin classics and the Biblical text at his own school, and Johannes Messenius who used dramatization at the private school set up in his house in Uppsala in order to teach Swedish history. Messenius wrote numerous dramas in which he illustrated the remote and unrecorded past of the country, arguing strongly for the historical continuity between modern Swedes and ancient Goths. Messenius was very successful. His first play, *Disa*, was performed in 1611 during the yearly winter market (*Distingsmarknaden*), while *Signill* was performed at court the following year.

In both cases the aim was to educate, through theatre, the young students in the ideals of the age, grounded firmly in the virtues of the classical world and Christianity. And, in fact, the plays selected by Rudbeckius represented the virtues of the good citizen and the good Christian, while Messenius put the classical virtues within the context of "gothic" rhetoric, claiming that the goths of antiquity were the exclusive historical inheritance of the Swedish people of his day.

Stefano Fogelberg Rota

"Virtuous dancing: educational aspects in Queen Christina's court ballets"

Stefano Fogelberg Rota is a literary historian (PhD Stockholm University, 2008) and a, currently a visiting scholar at the Institut de recherche sur le patrimoine musical en France (IRPMF) in Paris. Holder of the Salén Foundation scholarship for 2012 he is working on court ballet in Sweden during the seventeenth century. His research deals with courtly milieus and the formation of aristocratic ideals in literary and theatrical spheres. In his project for Teaching virtue he analyses the didactical intentions underlying the court ballets of Queen Christina of Sweden, in particular as they pertain to the educational and propagandistic uses of “exempla” of virtue.

The introduction of French ballet de cour in Sweden in 1638 marked an important step in the development of Swedish court theatre. Court ballet reached its height soon thereafter during Queen Christina’s brief, but eventful, reign (1644-54). This theatrical genre was established in Sweden primarily for educational reasons. In 1636 the Council of the Realm (Riksrådet), through chancellor Axel Oxenstierna (1583-1654), summoned the French maître à danser Antoine de Beaulieu (d. 1663) with the explicit purpose of training the young aristocrats of the court in the art of dancing (Dahlberg 2009; Silfverstolpe 1889). This decision was part of that broader educational programme launched in the first decades of the seventeenth century to improve Sweden’s cultural status in accordance with the country’s newly acquired position as a military power in the Baltic area (Blok 2000).

The Queen’s assiduous participation in the performances and her use of court ballet as a medium of propaganda to express her political decisions endowed this theatre form with a privileged position among courtly entertainments. The political messages conveyed in the libretti of the ballets are always centred on the exemplarity of virtuous ideals, which stands as the focal point of their panegyric appraisals of the Queen’s reign (Gustafsson 1966). Virtue, and in particular heroic virtue, gives, furthermore, certain coherence to the allegorical meanings of the ballets and is intimately connected to the educational claims of the ballets. These are directed, with different aims, both to Christina and to the aristocrats dancing in the performances. In this project Fogelberg-Rota, therefore studies the educational character of the libretti by analysing their underlying aims, and their intended audiences, as well as their rhetorical strategies for expressing these stances.

Kristine Kolrud

"Learning by dancing: virtue in the ballet de cour ‘L’educatione d’Achille’"

Kristine Kolrud is an art historian, specialising in gender, art, and diplomacy in the early modern period. She is currently affiliated with the Norwegian Institute in Rome. Kolrud’s project juxtaposes masculine and feminine ideals of education, using the seventeenth-century ballet ‘L’educatione d’Achille’ (The education of Achilles) as a case study, and focuses in particular on the visual manifestations of virtue.

The ballet de cour ‘L’educatione d’Achille e delle Nereidi sue sorelle nell’isola Doro’, performed at the court of Savoy in Turin in 1650 is a performance of ideal princely education. The performance is recorded in an illuminated manuscript in the National University Library in Turin (BNT q.V 58) which, along with other primary sources, provides valuable documentation of the scenography and visualisations of virtue in the ballet. The young duke, Carlo Emanuele II (b.1634 reg. 1638-1675),

is educated by the centaur Chiron and dances (among other roles) the part of Achilles while his sisters appear as Nereids and are educated by the nymphs. Virtue is central to the educational programme of both prince and princesses, and the figure of Virtue appears in the ballet itself. The combination of male and female education is unusual and offers a unique possibility for the study of visual representations of male and female virtues in the context of educational ideals at the court of Savoy. The ballet was performed on the occasion of the marriage of the duke's youngest sister, Adelaide, to Ferdinand Maria of Bavaria, and the theme of princely education is not found in similar seventeenth-century marriage celebrations at the Sabaudian court, nor is the education of princesses the subject of other ballet performances (see Arnaldi di Balme and Varallo 2009). Through the study of the performance of virtue in the ballet and its representations in the illuminated manuscript the aim of the project is to shed further light on the shaping of educational virtues in the ballet and in particular the contrast between the virtues of the duke and those of the princesses.

Jennie Nell

"Swedish Enlightenment and the Exemplum: Honor, Virtue and Magnanimitas in Panegyric Poetry during the Reign of Adolph Frederick and Gustavus III"

Jennie Nell (PhD Stockholm University 2012) currently holds a part-time employment as teacher by the Dept. of Literature and History of Ideas, Stockholm University. Her main areas of competence are: Comparative Literature (in particular Greco-Roman, French Classicist, 18th Century literature as well as American Literature), Greco-Roman History, Art History, Latin and Rhetoric.

Jennie Nell's project investigates the use of the heroic in the late 1700s, and focuses on the secular, rather than the Christian, use of ideas of virtue, combined with Enlightenment moral philosophy, and the theory of Great Men as examples of virtue for all social classes.

Nell intends to look at the enlightenment's secular version of *Virtus Heroica* and the concept of Virtue during the reign of Gustavus III, stemming from the Aristotelian *magnanimitas* or highmindedness – the ideal superhuman incorporating all the finest virtues. Of these virtues, honor (preferably posthumous honor) was considered the most important.

During the reign of Gustavus III, the Cult of Great Men that had already permeated Swedish society during the Age of Liberty was revived and conjoined with the idea of the exemplary citizen. Serious discussions on what constituted a great man flourished and seems to have incorporated the cardinal virtues, only they were transferred to instances of secular action. The cultural climate of Swedish enlightenment lead to the desire to reinstate the value of honor disconnected from Christian ideas, drawing more from Enlightenment moral philosophy, and heavily influenced by ancient thinkers.

Many of the prominent men of letters in Sweden discussed secular heroic honor and the necessity of the Cult of Great Men for an orderly and exemplary society. It was believed that all men from all walks of life needed proper examples, which lead to a "democratization of honor" as the literary scholar Sven Delblanc puts it. Great men, *exempla*, it was argued, could and should be found in all classes, but only an élite of nobles could be true high minded spirits of the Aristotelian kind. Gustavus III himself was highly influenced by the debates, and the royal apparatus surrounding

panegyrics and the king's glory also focused around the idea of the king as a magnanimitas. The poets worked the ideas of the Aristotelian virtues into the praise of the king, and Nell intends to study a considerable amount of these panegyric texts and educational poetry, to demonstrate which virtues were considered the most important to portray in educational contexts, and discuss them in the framework of the moral debates on honor and magnanimitas of the time.

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