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De usu diversitatis linguarum.

Linguistic past (and present) in the dissertations supervised by Carl Abraham Clewberg (1712-1765) at the *Academia Aboensis*

With the rise of Sweden to the status of a superpower of the Baltic Sea area in the first half of the seventeenth century, a series of institutions of higher education were established in the periphery of the realm, i.e. the *Academia Gustaviana* in Tartu, Livonia (German Dorpat) in 1632, the *Academia Aboensis / Auraica* in Turku, Finland (Swedish Åbo) in 1640, and the *Academia Carolina* in Lund, Scania (1668), complementing the old university of Uppsala founded in 1477. An essential task of these universities was to educate clergy and civil servants. As the knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew was an essential element of the formation of Lutheran ecclesiastics, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a significant development not only of Classical but also Oriental Studies at these institutions. From early on, such figures as Enevaldus Svenonius (1617-1688), a Turku, Uppsala, and Wittenberg graduate, who established an extensive international academic network during his 1654 academic peregrination and served as Professor of Eloquence, then of Theology at Turku,¹ or Daniel Juslenius (1676-1752), Professor of Oriental Languages and subsequently of Theology² at the same institution, combined academic excellence with far-reaching social and political influence, firmly connecting the periphery with the international *Res Publica Litterarum*.

This paper will analyze the comments on the linguistic past and present contained in a series of dissertations supervised by Carl Abraham Clewberg (1712-1765), Professor of Sacred Languages and later third professor of Theology at the Royal Academy of Turku (Sw. Åbo), Finland, between 1746 and 1765. Born in mainland Sweden, he graduated from Uppsala University and undertook a long peregrination in continental Europe as tutor to the young noblemen Ulrik Gustav (1727-1809) and Carl Julius De La Gardie (1729-1786). Powerful patronage and excellent family contacts – he was second cousin to the Uppsala orientalist Carl Aurivillius – combined with remarkable talent and thirst for knowledge made it possible for him to acquire a deep knowledge not only of classical languages but of oriental ones, both ancient and modern. In the course of this European tour he studied Ara-

1 See Pitkäranta (2000).

2 See Merisalo (2017), 96.

bic,³ Persian, and Turkish in Paris and came into contact with such scholarly celebrities as Tiberius Hemsterhuys, Frans Oudendorp, Albert Schultens, Johann David Michaëlis, and Johann Matthias Gesner, the pioneer of Neo-Humanism himself. Upon taking up his position as Professor of Sacred Languages in Turku in 1749, he had already been purchasing books both on behalf of the Academy library and for his large private one, which was to play a significant role in his teaching. Though his teaching revolutionized the Classics at Turku, it was his contribution to Oriental Studies that may be considered the most original feature of his work. In academic politics, the Opinion that he drafted in 1754 for the Academy of Turku on the proposal, forcefully promoted by Bishop Browallius, to transform the universities of the realm into a kind of polytechnic serving immediate practical purposes, helped enhance the role of research at Swedish institutions of higher education and introduce Neo-Humanism to Turku. Having also taught himself Finnish, he was a member of the team that produced a new Finnish translation of the Bible in the 1750s. Clewberg's extensive network of academic and social contacts, efficiently put to use, once again demonstrates the integration of the universities of the Realm of Sweden into the international *Res publica litterarum*.

Among the roughly fifty dissertations supervised by Clewberg between 1747 and 1765, we shall concentrate on three that contain a conspicuous number of observations on languages in general (Hebrew and Arabic in particular), and which deal with the past as well as the present uses. These texts are entitled 1) *On the necessity of an earlier start for the study of the Hebrew language* (*De studio linguae Hebraeae maturius inchoando*, resp. A. Edblad, 10 July 1754), 2) *On the usefulness of linguistic diversity* (*De usu diversitatis linguarum*, resp. A. Gottskalk, 20 July 1754), and 3) *A philological study on the usefulness of the Arabic language in complementing the lexicon of the Hebrew language* (*Specimen philologicum, usum linguae Arabicae, in perficiendo lexico hebraeo, sistens*, resp. M. Avellan, 18 July 1757).⁴

1 *De studio linguae Hebraeae maturius inchoando* (1754)

This *pro gradu* treatise forcefully argues for inverting the order of study of the three sacred languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. First of all, language study should precede the study of other subjects since it mainly requires memory, whereas history,

³ The Arabic language, the merits of Arabic culture, and even Arabic numismatics, are well represented in the dissertations, e.g. *De nummis arabicis in patria repertis* (1755, *respondens* M. Lundbeck), studying a series of coins belonging to the *Antikvitetskollegiet* (Board of Antiquities, established in 1661) and the Academy library. The text forcefully argues for the merits of Arabs in securing the ancient heritage: »Dum ex procellis iactabantur Graecanis litterae, ad tutissimum hujus refugiebant portum [...]«.

⁴ Vallinkoski (1962), 113, no. 813.

philosophy, etc. require judgement, which can only be expected of more mature youngsters.⁵ The only explicit citation is found on p. 6, where the authors give a direct quotation from Melanchthon's *Declamatio de eloquentia*.⁶ Hebrew should come first for several reasons: 1) Hebrew is the original language of the world;⁷ 2) it is completely free of loan-words apart those from other Oriental languages;⁸ 3) Hebrew is lexically incredibly rich;⁹ 4) Hebrew has no rhetorical complications but is dignified, simple, and exhibits the proper sobriety of God's language.¹⁰ Consequently, Hebrew should be studied first, before Greek and Latin. It is morphologically simple, unrhetorical, masculine (*mascula eloquentia*).¹¹ The authors then refute further arguments, such as the difficulty of Hebrew vocabulary, which could partly only be understood through related languages and which would entail much work – this is the case for not only Latin and Greek, but German, Danish, and Swedish as well.¹² Contrary to

5 Clewberg/Edblad (resp.), *De studio*, 5-6, ch. 3 : »Omnes hos canones insuper habent, qui studium Scientiarum culturae Lingvarum praeferunt, illud teneriori, hanc robustiori adsignantes aetati. Nam primum quidem naturalem discendi ordinem pervertunt, & ut Svethicum habet proverbium, jumentum postello postponunt. [...] Lingvas plus memoriae & Scientias plus iudicii postulare; arbitra ipsa natura, confectum existimamus, illis a teneris inde ungviculis, his vero robustiore demum aetate incumbendum esse.«

6 Clewberg/Edblad (resp.), *De studio*, 6, ch. 3 : »Qui contrarium sequuntur institutum, similes sunt morioni Melanchthonis, qui, ex more ligna in culinam Heri ferens, solitus est ex ima strue ea revelere, quae sine magno negotio moveri non poterant, interrogatusque, cur id faceret, respondit, se difficillimam laboris partem primum confecturum, summa illa facilius moveri, nec vidit quantum referret ordine singula tollere. Vide tom. 1. sel. Decl. p. 421.«

7 Clewberg/Edblad (resp.), *De studio*, 9, ch. 4 : »Apertis enim indicii constat, quod mundo vix creato primis Parentibus nostris cum ipsa vita, & quidem a Summo rerum Arbitro inspirata sit.«

8 Clewberg/Edblad (resp.), *De studio*, 9, ch. 4 : »adeo ut ne unicam quidem voculam agnoscat, quae extraneis debeatur incunabulis.«

9 Clewberg/Edblad (resp.), *De studio*, 9, ch. 4 : »Porro incomparabilem quoque ubertatem per omnia ostendit. Hoc vel unicum evincit exemplum. Solam frangendi ideam octodecim distinctis verbis exprimunt Hebraei, & quidem ita, ut singulis determinationem quandam specialem insinuent. Plura enumerare non vacat.«

10 Clewberg/Edblad (resp.), *De studio*, 10, ch. 4 : »amabilem servat simplicitatem, cui Veneres pro-rsus singulares, quasi fragrantissimo quodam condimento, miram conciliant gratiam. [...] Nam sancta Dei eloquia sancto proponit modo, repudiatis paganismi sordibus, quae ceteras omnes Linguas inquinaverunt, adeoque castissimam animi sanctimoniam omnibus sui cultoribus largissime propinat.«

11 Clewberg/Edblad (resp.), *De studio*, 10-11, ch. 5 : »Si vero integras loquendi formulas consideraveris, incomparabilem animadvertes concinnitatem. Antiqui enim Hebraei masculam sequebantur eloquentiam. Hinc omnes eorum locutiones tam ineptas Sophistarum illecebras, quam vapidas Scholasticorum tricas refugiebant.«

12 Clewberg/Edblad (resp.), *De studio*, 12, ch. 5 : »Sic Latina suis & Graeca suis [*spanios legouménois*] obnoxia est, quibus lucem aliunde foenerari necesse habet. Quid? quod Linguae etjam vivae quaedam ejusmodi vocabula possideant, quae ex dialecticis cognatis necessario illustranda sunt, si peculiarem significandi potestatem ostendere valebunt. Hoc omnibus / p. 13: patere putamus, qui Svecanam, Danicam, & Germanicam debita cum diligentia conferre volunt.«

what many maintain, Latin is not needed as a vehicular language used in grammars etc., since it is often easier to translate Hebrew directly into Swedish.¹³

Consequently, Swedish should be the language of instruction of Hebrew, not Latin. This interestingly reflects the promotion of vernaculars in academic contexts typical of the Age of Utility.

The authors underline the stylistic and rhetorical similarities between the two languages.¹⁴ The word *cognatio*, which may mean either blood kinship or simply resemblance, is used of the relationship of the two peoples in connection with the lack of corruption in the genius of the languages.¹⁵ No other statement on a possibly common origin of Hebrew and Swedish is presented, however. Simplicity, as opposed to rhetorical complications, is advanced as an ideal in both Hebrew and Swedish.

2 *De usu diversitatis linguarum* (1754)

The *De usu diversitatis linguarum* draws heavily – to the point of word-for-word quotation, though very seldom acknowledged (see below) – on a 1747 treatise published in Jena by the Danish theologian Albertus Christophorus Holst¹⁶ entitled [...] *On the necessary but in many ways useful diversity of languages (De linguarum diversitate necessaria, sed multis modis proficua [...])*.¹⁷ Holst starts with the usefulness of lan-

13 Clewberg/Edblad (resp.), *De studio*, 16, ch. 8: »Praeterea vere possumus adfirmare, quod plerique Hebraeorum idiotismi multo facilius Svecano, quam Latino idiomate repraesentari, si non exhauriri, possint. Ratio in promptu. Nam primum quidem vernacula nostra arctiorem quandam familiaritatem cum antiqua Hebraeorum Lingua colit, ob veterem gentis utriusque cognationem & incorruptum idiomatum genium. Nam Svecana nullis Sophistarum tricis depravata, naturalem spirat simplicitatem more Hebraicae, contra vero Latina, ab ineptis his magistellis luxata, inconsultum quoddam artificium redolet.«

14 Clewberg/Edblad (resp.), *De studio*, 16, ch. 8: »Nostra vero Lingua, etsi recentioribus his temporibus edocta sit adfectatas aliarum argutias imitari, usus tamen quotidianus amabilem servat ingenuitatem, cui multi viri docti eximium statuunt pretium, nulli parcentes labori, ut svaviorem ejus saporem omnibus commendent. Nullum igitur dubium superesse potest, quominus plurima, quae ad Hebraismum rite propinandum faciunt, Svetice, quam Latine, commodius inculcari queant ab omnibus istis doctoribus, qui Patriae nostrae natales debent.«

15 Clewberg/Edblad (resp.), *De studio*, 16, ch. 8: »ob veterem utriusque gentis cognationem & incorruptum idiomatum genium.«

16 Albert (Albrecht) Christopher Holst (c. 1717-1787), son of Peder Nielsen and Sophie Jørgensdatter Holst, husband since 1751 of Mette Cathrine Pedersdatter Hasse, brother of Else Marie Pedersdatter Holst, Lucie Emerentse Pedersdatter Holst, and Karen Pedersdatter Holst. He was employed at the Latin school of Viborg and became head of the school at Vordingborg. He had obtained the grade of *magister* in 1749, <https://www.geni.com/people/Albert-Christopher-Holst/6000000021707200381>, 10 July 2018 (dates and family members); date of marriage and degree, *Dansk demografisk database*, http://www.ddd.dda.dk/nygaard/visning_billed.asp?id=154630&sort=f, 10 July 2018. He does not seem to have enrolled at the university of Jena at any point, Köhler/Menz (1986).

17 The work is a *gratulatio* on the occasion of the Jena graduation in theology of Johann Georg Musäus (1719–?). According to the frontispiece it was offered to Musäus by his fellow Latin students

guage for humans, then passes to the language of Adam; the Babelic confusion is touched upon at a later stage. Holst annotates his text, using classical authors, the Bible of course, and also modern scholarship, such as Buffier's *French Grammar* (*Grammaire française*) and the *World History* (*Welthistorie*) translated by Baumgarten.¹⁸ There is none of this in Clewberg / Gottskalk, except a sweeping reference to Holst at the end of ch. 8.¹⁹

The *De usu diversitatis linguarum* opens with a panegyric of speech (ch. 1) quite on the same lines as Holst:²⁰ without language human life would be truly miserable, indeed worse than the life of animals.²¹ The key question of the dissertation is, however: is linguistic diversity a good thing?

The author sketches the background of the Babelic confusion: God wanted to punish mankind for its arrogance.²² The Babelic confusion might look like a punishment, but, according to Clewberg / Gottskalk, it actually brought happiness to mankind. Men would have dispersed over the earth even if they had spoken one language, and this would have created diversity.²³

Linguistic diversity is caused by different personalities,²⁴ new, delightful things encountered,²⁵ and the effect of climate, food etc.²⁶

(»qui in societate cum eo operam Latinis litteris dedere«); see also Köhler/Mentz (1986), 355, line 127 and n. 14. For Musäus' life and career, see Kessler von Sprengseisen (1781), 199.

18 Baumgarten, *Uebersetzung der Allgemeinen Welthistorie*; Canz, *Grammaticae universalis tenuia rudimenta*; Buffier, *Grammaire*.

19 Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 10, ch. 8: »Conf. Albertum Holst, De diversitate L.L.«

20 Holst, *De linguarum diversitate*, 3: »Non loquelam tantum simul cum ratione imperitus est Deus, sed cum primo homine, ne, sociorum sermone deficiente, deficerent hinc oriturae voluptatis occasiones, ipse instituit miscuitque colloquia«.

21 Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 2, ch. 1: »Quis enim ignorat, quod vitam, quam beneficio linguae optimam ducimus, hac deficiente, miseriam, brutorum conditioni fere simillimam, imo ob imbecillitatem nativam, qua brutis etiā inferiores sumus, atque molestam educationem, nullam ducemus.«

22 *Gen.* 11, 4-8.

23 Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 4, ch. 3: »omnes homines, etjamsi nulla ejusmodi exstitisset confusio, ne sic quidem usque in hodiernum diem unitatem linguae fuisse retenturos. Necessum enim erat, ut, multiplicato genere humano, cum eadem non omnibus sufficeret tellus, in varias discederent terrae plagas mortales. Jam vero ea est abundantia rerum in regnis naturae, ut quocumque nos vertamus, aliae semper occurrant, ne de eo dicam, quod plures, antea non cognitae, adhuc tempore detegantur«.

24 Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 4, ch. 3: »mira ingeniorum varietas«.

25 Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 4-5, ch. 3: »jucundae novitatis studium«.

26 Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 5, ch. 3: »coeli temperies aut intemperies, climatum ratio diversa, alimentorum potionumque conditio dissimilis«. The passage is nearly a word-for-word quotation from Holst, *De linguarum diversitate*, 6: »Coeli quoque temperies aut intemperies, climatum ratio diuersa, atque adeo alimentorum potionumque conditio dissimilis, haec omnia nihilne conferrent ad linguae discrepantiam«.

The daring plans of humans were no doubt also due to their enjoyment of, for example, the lovely valley that they were living in.²⁷ Humanity would no doubt have been dispersed over the earth even without God's drastic measure, but much more slowly.²⁸

The benefits of dispersion and linguistic diversity are multiple. Firstly, mankind did not starve, as it would have, had it stayed in one place; secondly, poverty invites envy and conflict; thirdly, linguistic diversity also contributed to lessening envy and conflict.²⁹ Dispersion imposed curiosity and brought about discoveries.³⁰ Due to diversity, the Book of Nature is indeed perfectly legible to mankind.³¹

Linguistic diversity also serves to censure dangerous ideas.³² If there were only one language, everybody could read any texts whatever; now, the use of a *lingua eruditorum* protects society at large.³³ This is again an idea also present in Holst,³⁴ who refers here (in footnote y) to Johann Lorenz von Mosheim's preface to the second edition of Nolte's *An Antibarbarus of the Latin Language in four parts (Lexicon Latinae linguae antibarbarum quadripartitum [...])*,³⁵ and Mosheim's preface to the 1723 Hamburg edition of Oberto Foglietta, *On the use and excellence of the Latin language (De linguae Latinae usu et praestantia)* originally published in 1574.³⁶ Through Holst, Clewberg / Gottskalk connect with contemporary discussions of the use of Latin, part of the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* in which Clewberg was heavily involved in 1754, as we have seen above.

27 Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 5, ch. 3: »[...] adeoque dispersui per terram, quantum fieri potuit, praecavisse [...] non ultro a proposito resiliissent, sed variis modis, utpote amoenitate & foecunditate vallis [...]«. Cf. Holst, *De linguarum diversitate*, 6: »amoenitate huius vallis [...] dispersui caedere molirentur«.

28 Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 5, ch. 3: »hoc tamen non fecissent nisi cum maxima mora & spatio temporis«.

29 Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 5-6, ch. 4: »per peculiarem loquelaе confusionem, introducta sermonis discrepantia validus positus fuit obex«.

30 Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 7, ch. 5: »Hac tandem via diversorum terrae tractuum opulentia in mutuos usus commode converti potuit.«

31 Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 8, ch. 6.

32 Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 8-9, ch. 7.

33 Holst, *De linguarum diversitate*, 14: »diversitas linguarum saepius, ni fallor, obstaculo est, quo minus opiniones profanae et noxii errores, qui quidem prorsus coerceri non possunt, ne vsquam innotescerent, tam effuso impetu, ac alias fieri potuit, diuultari, et in vulgus exire queant, imo facilius nonnunquam obliterantur penitus. [...] Si omnia populari, et vbique intelligibili sermone cunctis legenda exhiberentur, facilius fieret, vt dubiis nihil profuturis, et sexcentis difficultatum implexibus minus necessariis [...] irretirentur imperitorum animi, aut alia detrimenta caperent, quibus [...] arbitrator, cauetur, si aliam linguam eruditis propriam adhibere licuerit.« For Foglietta, see Bitossi (1997). The 1744 edition of Nolte's work figures in Clewberg's own library auctioned in 1767, see Anonymous, *Förteknning*, 78.

34 Holst, *De linguarum diversitate*, 14.

35 Nolte, *Lexicon*, 20-21.

36 Foglietta, *De linguae Latinae usu*, 38.

The Gift of Tongues on Whitsun is another manifestation of the blessings of diversity. There follow two passages borrowed from Holst.³⁷ It is only here that Clewberg / Gottskalk explicitly acknowledge Holst's contribution.³⁸

At the end, and without support from Holst, Clewberg / Gottskalk refute the argument³⁹ that learning several languages is a waste of time.⁴⁰

The knowledge of other languages also helps to develop linguistic skills in one's mother tongue (here, Swedish).⁴¹

3 *Specimen philologicum, usum lingvae Arabicae, in perficiendo lexico hebraeo, sistens (1757)*

This treatise, which deals with the similarities of Hebrew and Arabic, is comparative in approach. Unlike the preceding dissertations it is (sparsely) annotated. The text starts with the Babelic confusion, which explains on the one hand the existence of different languages and, on the other, their resemblances.⁴² The authors then pass *in medias res*: though Hebrew was the first language on earth, the Arabic language is indeed extremely ancient and most helpful for a better comprehension of Hebrew. The authors first refer to two works by Albert Schultens, the *First discourse on the most ancient origin of the Arabic language as well as its near and sisterly relation with the Hebrew language (Oratio prima de linguae arabicae antiquissima origine, intima ac sororia cum lingua hebraea affinitate [...])*, where the author forcefully argues

³⁷ The passages are to be found in Holst, *De linguarum diversitate*, 13.

³⁸ Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 10, ch. 9: »Dici enim non potest, quot quantaque ex hoc miraculo, in tanta celebritate hominum eveniente, scaturierunt atque redundarunt in seram posteritatem sequelae optimae gravissimaeque. Si eodem sermonis genere convenisset orbis, caruisset eventu gloriosissimo, qui divulgandae probandaeque religioni nostrae sanctissimae tantopere profuit. Conf. Albertum Holst, de diversitate L.L.«

³⁹ A view somewhat later shared e.g. by King Frederick II of Prussia: »Et maintenant cette langue [= French] est devenue un passe-par-tout qui vous introduit dans toutes les maisons et dans toutes les villes. Voyagez de Lisbonne à Pétersbourg, et de Stockholm à Naples en parlant le françois, vous vous faites entendre par-tout. Par ce seul idiome vous vous épargnez quantité de langues qu'il vous faudroit savoir, qui surchargeroient votre mémoire de mots à la place desquels vous pouvez la remplir de choses, ce qui est bien préférable«, Frederick II, *De la littérature allemande*, 404.

⁴⁰ Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 11, ch. 9: »Porro difficultas, si quam adferunt lingvae variae, non tam retardat, quam acuit erecta ingenia, exstimulat, alacriora reddit, quae torperent alioquin & languidius fortasse etiam scientias artesque tractarent.«

⁴¹ Clewberg/Gottskalk (resp.), *De usu*, 12, ch. 9.

⁴² Clewberg/Avellan (resp.), *Specimen*, 1, ch. 1: »Omnes in universum homines, primis temporibus, eadem lingua locutos esse, clare admodum tradunt Sacrae Paginae (a: Gen. XI, v. I). Facta autem, propter aedificationem turris Babelicae, confusione labii, tot diversa paulatim orta sunt idiomata, ut sit omnino vel numerum saltem illorum inire difficile. Hinc itaque est, quod tanta inter multas linguas intercedat adfinitas & nexus, ut ad bene descendam & intelligendam unam, plurimum saepenumero conferat altera.«

for the antiquity and conformity to Hebrew of Arabic, and *The origins of the Hebrew language (Origines linguae hebraeae*, vol. 2, published at Franeker in 1738).⁴³ Schultens, who had also published a treatise on *De defectibus hodiernis linguae hebraeae* at Franeker in 1731, will even be quoted word-for-word on the well-known difficulties of text comprehension due to the frequent cases of *hapax* and *spanios legomena* of the Hebrew parts of the Bible. In the specific passage of *De defectibus*, Schultens illustrates the dearth of textual material available for Hebrew by hypothesizing a Greek-language tradition only including Thucydides and Euripides.⁴⁴ The interesting point, however, is that Schultens' innovative claim that Arabic is the sister and not the daughter of Hebrew is not adopted at any point.⁴⁵

The authors then tackle linguistic change. Nothing is more variable than language.⁴⁶ To prop up this statement, the authors quote Homer, *Il.* 6, 146⁴⁷ on the generations of leaves and men, and Horace, *AP* 68-72⁴⁸ on lexical change. In the study and interpretation of Hebrew there is a great variety of approaches, including the hi-

43 Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*.

44 Clewberg/Avellan (resp.), *Specimen*, 4-5, ch. 2: »Quo angustius habitatur, h.e. quo minus scriptorum habetur, eo majoribus difficultatibus, ac tenebris laborari / necesse est. Ponamus, ait porro, casum cujus fingendi & ad propositum meum deducendi necessitate imponit commune praejudicium, quo status quaestionis nostrae vix cognitus nedum perspectus gravatur. Supersint modo ex illa Graecorum affluente opulenta Thucydidis & Euripidis praeclari labores, omni reliqua lingua penitus deleta & extincta. Quisquamne mortalium sibi persvadebit, aut alii persvadere conabitur, se ex indefessa & adtentissima volutatione illorum auctorum, tum specialius, cujusque sententiae pondus ac decus esse eruturum, cum omni illo lumine quod ad primitivam indolem thematum desiderari potest.« Note: »(c) in Libro de Defectibus Hodiernis Linguae Hebraeae eorundemque resarciendorum tutissima via ac ratione. Edit. Franekeruae A(nn)o MDCCXXXI.« The passage is taken from Schultens, *De defectibus*, 114 par. 125: »[...] Quo ergo angustius habitatur, hoc est, quo minus Scriptorum habetur, eo majoribus difficultatibus ac tenebris laborari necesse est«, and par. 126: »Ponamus casum, cujus fingendi, & ad propositum meum deducendi, necessitatem [...] conabitur? se ex indefessa & attentissima volutatione illorum Auctorum, tum generalius sensum Universi contextus assecuturum esse, tum specialius cujusque sententiae pondus ac decus esse eruturum, cum omni illo lumine quod ad primitivam indolem thematum, naturam metaphorarum, profundosque recessus totius orationis reserandos desiderari potest.« Note the absence of page indication in the reference and the tacit omission of »generalius [...] esse«.

45 I thank Jan Loop (University of Kent) for pointing out Schultens' idea of the status of Arabic (Berlin, May 2016).

46 Clewberg/Avellan (resp.), *Specimen*, 6, ch. 3: »Hoc vero tanto minus mirum cuipiam videri debet, quanto certius constat, eam esse lingvarum indolem & naturam, ut primariae significationes in secundarias successu temporis abeant, & ab his quasi suffocentur. Nihil enim volubilius & ad diversos flexus pronius est quam lingua«.

47 »Even as are the generations of leaves, such are those also of men. As for the leaves, the wind scattereth some upon the earth, but the forest, as it burgeons, putteth forth others when the season of spring is come; even so of men one generation springeth up and another passeth away«, tr. Murray (1924).

48 »Mortalia facta peribunt / Nedum sermonum stet honos & gratia vivax, / Multa renascentur, quae jam cecidere, cadentque, / Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus: / Quem penes arbitrium est, & jus & norma loquendi«.

eroglyphic hypothesis of Caspar Neumann (1658-1715);⁴⁹ among these approaches the use of Arabic is clearly preferred by the authors.⁵⁰ Since Arabic derives from Hebrew (the original language of mankind) and since it has changed very little in the course of time, it provides ample information on the older language.⁵¹ It is also very well documented.⁵² These characteristics are so evident and well-demonstrated by earlier scholarship that the authors refer in a note to Bochart, Hottinger,⁵³ and Schultens without further specification.⁵⁴ At the end of the chapter, there is a generic reference to Schultens on the resemblances between Hebrew and Arabic.⁵⁵ Despite the sweeping statement, a demonstration follows, with references to Christian Stock's dictionary, no doubt the *Dictionarium breve Chaldaeo-Rabinicum* published together with his *Clavis*, and to the dictionary of Johann Leonhard Reckenberger (1702-1773), no doubt the *Liber radicum, sive Lexicon Hebraicum*, published in Jena in 1749.

For further corroboration of the utility of Arabic in Hebrew studies, the authors quote Bochart's slightly anti-Talmudic statement on the extraordinary value of Arabic.⁵⁶ The authors add a short list of Finnish words that apparently show similarities to Arabic, though without any kind of speculation on common origins.⁵⁷

49 Strongly rejected by the authors: »*absurdam esse, ac lubrico valde fundamento*«, Clewberg/Avellan (resp.), *Specimen*, 8, ch. 4. The authors refer to Carpvov's *Critica* and the authors quoted there, as well as Krook/Längman, *Hypothesin*.

50 Clewberg/Avellan (resp.), *Specimen*, 7, ch. 4: »maxime tamen opulentam & adhuc florentem illam Lingvam Arabicam consulendam volunt. Huic ultimo adlatæ sententiæ etiam nos adsensum *notum* denegare non possumus.«

51 Clewberg/Avellan (resp.), *Specimen*, 9, ch. 5: »Jam vero ostendi potest, Arabicam ab Ebraea ortam, matrem, per totum fere lingvæ ambitum, artissima cognatione ac necessitudine referre [...] parum vel nihil communibus illis linguarum vicissitudinibus expositam, pristinam ac nullis seculis præflor^{at}am servasse puritatem.«

52 Clewberg/Avellan (resp.), *Specimen*, 9, ch. 5: »ingenti copia ac ubertate ceteras Ebraeæ filias long^{ius} antecellat [...].«

53 For Hottinger, see now Loop (2013).

54 Clewberg/Avellan (resp.), *Specimen*, 9, ch. 5 and 10, n: e: »testes solum modo locupletissimos appellamus Bochartum, Hottingerum, Schultensium, aliosque LL. OO. Coryphaeos, qui hanc veritatem passim inculcarunt & ita dedere demonstratam, ut talpa caeciorem esse oporteat, qui eam in dubium vocare sustineat.«

55 Clewberg/Avellan (resp.), *Specimen*, 10, ch. 5: »Lectoremque nostrum hoc scire cupidum ad Cel^{ebrem} Schultens mittimus.«

56 Clewberg/Avellan (resp.), *Specimen*, 18, ch. 8, produces a direct quotation from Bochart's preface, perhaps from the edition of 1692, 62: »Nihil mihi tam profuit quam Arabicæ lingvæ qualiscunque cognitio, & *paucis interjectis*: itaque si quis Arabum Scriinia sedulo compilaret, plura ex iis eliceret ad solidam Sacrae Lingvæ cognitionem, quam vel ex vasta illa Talmudicorum farragine, vel Magistrorum commentariis omnibus (f) [In Praef. ad Hjer.]« Note here the omission of *pertinentia* after *cognitionem* and of *ex* before *Magistrorum*, as well as minor spelling differences. The 1692 third edition by Leusden was available in Clewberg's library, Anonymous, *Förteknig*, 6: »Sam. Bocharti Phaleg & Hierozoicon. Edit. tertia. a. 1692. Voll. II.«

57 Clewberg/Avellan (resp.), *Specimen*, 19, ch. 9: »brevem subnectere catalogum vocum Fennicarum cum Arabicis amice convenientium adgrediar.« For Finnish Rudbeckianism, see Merisalo (2016).

Conclusion

The dissertations supervised by Clewberg, a scholar extremely well-connected both socially and academically, whose own extensive library complemented the university collection, reveal an up-to-date contemporary orientalist bibliography, in some treatises well-documented, in others referred to only implicitly. Apart from expected assumptions, such as the status of Hebrew as the first language of the world, there are interesting observations, quite in accordance with modern thought, on linguistic development, language learning, and the uses of multilingualism. Swedish and Finnish are compared with Hebrew and Arabic but no common genesis is postulated. No foundation myths à la Rudbeck and Juslenius are presented. The multitude of languages is attributable to and consistent with the *jucundae novitatis studium* that already inspired the post-Babelic peoples scattered all over the earth, enjoying the benefits of what at first sight might have seemed a catastrophe but in fact turned out to be essential for human development.


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