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**CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY
IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FINLAND:
HENRIK HASSEL AND CARL ABRAHAM CLEWBERG***

OUTI MERISALO

1. Introduction

This article is concerned with the central figures of the Classical curriculum at the *Academia Aboensis*, Henrik Hassel and Carl Abraham Clewberg, from the 1720s until the 1770s, and the development of the position of Classics until the introduction of Neo-Humanism by Henrik Gabriel Porthan in the 1770s.

The *Magnus Ducatus Finlandiae* belonged to the realm of Sweden until 1809. Until 1917 it was under Russian rule as an autonomous Grand Duchy. The Baltic and Karelian parts of the Realm were to be definitively lost after the disastrous wars of Charles XII, which concluded with the treaty of Uusikaupunki (Sw. Nystad) in 1721 that consecrated Russia's new position as a major power of the Baltic Sea area. Sweden would lose the southeastern part of Finland in 1743 and the rest in 1809.

In 1640, Queen Christina had founded the *Regia Academia Aboensis / Auraica* in the capital of the Grand Duchy, in Latin Aboa, in Swedish Åbo and in Finnish Turku, situated on the banks of the river Aura. The Academy was one of a series of Royal universities started by Gustavus II Adolphus who had founded the *Academia Gustaviana* in Dorpat (in Estonian, Tartu) in Livonia as early as 1632.

In the seventeenth century the *Academia Aboensis* housed several important scholars, with Humanist ideas flowing in especially from Germany and the Baltic area.¹ The foundation of the Academy was a significant step

* I have the pleasure of thanking Prof. K. M. Coleman (TCD), who kindly revised my English.

¹ See I. Kajanto, *Humanism in a Christian Society* 1-2, Helsinki 1989-1990; M. Klinge -

in the development of cultural life in Finland. In spite of the wars and the territorial divisions of the eighteenth century, the *Academia Aboensis* continued its activities.² Although its primary function was to produce Lutheran ministers, this did not preclude research of considerable interest.

In the eighteenth century the Enlightenment penetrated Finland as well, sometimes at a surprising speed. The *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* had weakened the position of the traditional post-humanistic education, as it was difficult to see the immediate usefulness of Latin and Greek.

The students of the *Academia Aboensis* normally came from the countryside and on graduating they returned there.³ Utilitarianism was, understandably, very strongly represented at the university, and this situation influenced the position of Latin and Greek in the curriculum. Exact sciences, such as mathematics and medicine, attained significant levels in Turku from the 1720s onwards.⁴ Swedish, the language of administration of the realm, started to gain ground in scientific publications in this period, particularly in economics and natural sciences. In other disciplines Latin maintained its position.

The chair of Poetry was abolished in 1747 in favour of a chair of Economy. From 1748 onwards, this chair also covered chemistry, mineralogy, botany and zoology.⁵ Another attack on the position of Classical languages was launched a few years later. At the beginning of the 1750s the Royal Commission for Education proposed to restructure the whole educational system of the realm by transforming the universities into vocational high schools. This proposal met with vehement criticism from 1752 onwards, especially at the University of Uppsala, where the negative Opinion of the institution was drafted by Carl von Linné. At Turku, Biblical

A. Leikola - R. Knapas - J. Strömberg, *Kungliga Akademien i Åbo. Helsingfors Universitet 1640-1990*, Helsinki 1988.

² Only in 1827 would it be transferred to Helsinki, after the great fire at Turku that destroyed most of the University library.

³ B. Lindberg, "Henrik Hassel - humanist och utilist", *Lychnos* 1990.

⁴ J. Vallinkoski, *The History of the University Library at Turku 2. 1722-1772* (Publications of the University Library of Helsinki 37), Helsinki 1975, 237. This is the opposite of what had prevailed at the Academy until then, see now M. Kallinen, *Change and Stability. The Study of Natural Philosophy at the Academy of Turku, 1640-1713* (*Studia historica* 51), Helsinki 1995.

⁵ Vallinkoski 2.238.

Greek would have been taught at the Faculty of Theology, whereas non-Biblical Greek would have been taught by the professor of Eloquence. In 1754 the Consistorium of Turku gave its Opinion on the proposals, composed by Carl Abraham Clewberg, professor of the Sacred Languages. Understandably, the Consistorium eloquently defended the position of Oriental and Classical languages in the curriculum, fielding both practical, historical and linguistic arguments (see below p. 146). Due to such resistance, the Commission's proposal was abandoned.⁶

As regards Hassel and Clewberg's scholarly activities, the direct documentation is somewhat problematic. Both men published very little themselves but were *praesides* (supervisors) for a considerable number of *dissertationes pro exercitio* (B.A.) and *graduales* (M.A.). Since it was common for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century professors to publish their own research under the name and at the expense of their students, the theses supervised by Hassel and Clewberg can be used to reconstruct their ideas in several fields. Another important source for Hassel is the funeral speech delivered by his most famous pupil, Henrik Gabriel Porthan, in 1777.⁷ Clewberg's views on Classics can be gleaned from the Opinion of the Consistorium in 1754. In addition to these texts, interesting information is provided by the *Indices* (or *catalogi*) *praelectionum*, preserved for almost the total duration of the careers of both men. These catalogues not only give the subjects treated but they often provide a motivation of the choice of the subject as well.

2. *Eloquentiae professio, poeseos professio*

Hassel's ideas have recently been studied by Bo Lindberg.⁸ This chapter will largely be complementary to his article.

Henrik Hassel was born as a minister's son on the island of Åland (Finn. Ahvenanmaa) to the west of Finland in 1700.⁹ In 1714, during the Russian occupation of Finland (the so-called Great Hate), he was sent to

⁶ Klinge 518-523.

⁷ See I. Kajanto, Porthan and Classical Scholarship 26 (AASF B 225), Helsinki 1984. The number of dissertations is 125.

⁸ See n. 2.

⁹ H.G. Porthan, De Henrico Hassel 361.

Strängnäs in Sweden and enrolled at the famous Gymnasium of the town.¹⁰ In 1718 he went to study at the University of Uppsala.¹¹ He graduated from the *Academia Aboensis* in 1726 with the thesis *De usu et applicatione Historiae ad vitam civilem* (*praes.* Daniel Juslenius and Algoth Scarin).¹² In 1728, he obtained the chair of Eloquence at the same university.¹³

2.2. Hassel's teaching

It can safely be said that traditional eloquence was almost completely absent from the teaching of Hassel. Apart from a course in rhetoric based on Vossius (1728),¹⁴ one concerning Tacitus (1732)¹⁵ and five concerning Suetonius (1735-1739),¹⁶ he concentrated on the moral dialogues of Cicero, especially *De officiis*. According to Hassel, this text was *& argumenti dignitate conspicuum, & medio ac temperato orationis genere commendatissimum, adeoque studiosae Juventuti convenientissimum*.¹⁷ It was the first one in a cycle that was repeated several times from the 1740s until the 1760s which included *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, *Somnium Scipionis* and the *Paradoxa*. Porthan provides information on the contents of the lectures: Hassel stressed the fact that history, with the causes and consequences of the events, was an excellent *magistra vitae*, and he managed to keep up the

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 362.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 363. His subjects were Roman and Greek literature, history, philosophy and Oriental languages, see I.A. Heikel, *Filologins studium vid Åbo Universitet. Åbo Universitets lärdomshistoria 5. Filologin* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 26), Helsingfors 1894, 168.

¹² *Ibid.* 365 and note.

¹³ *Ibid.* 366.

¹⁴ *Ordine, Vossii sequendo praecepta Veterum Rhetorum publicè tradere, & praesenti Vitae civilis indoli applicare, Deo Duce, conabitur* (CP 1728).

¹⁵ *Cornelium Tacitum, ob gravem styli majestatem, & rerum Romanarum enarrationem, incorrupto non minus veri studio, quam exacto judicio pragmatico commendabilem, idoneum in primis habuit, quem in gratiam aestimatorum Eloquentiae Civilis, DEO propitio, hoc anno publicè interpretetur* (CP 1732).

¹⁶ *vt C. Svetonium Tranquillum dudum plurimi aestimavit, non minus ob concinnitatem styli tersam & nervosam, quam fidam iuxta ac prudentem rerum Romanarum enarrationem; ita, Divina adfulgente Gratia, hoc anno Academico Illum publice interpretari constituit* (CP 1735).

¹⁷ CP 1749; in 1759: *tam argumenti praestantia, quam temperatae orationis dignitate maxime commendabilem denuo interpretandum eo lubentius se accingit, quo saepius hanc operam Auditoribus non displicuisse jucunda perceperat experientia.*

interest of his public.¹⁸

It is probable that Hassel was responsible for the definition of the contents of his teaching in the reply of the *consistorium maius* to the Chancellor of the university in October, 1750, which stressed the importance of *realia* in the curriculum of Eloquence and Poetry.¹⁹ These ideas, that would seem to suggest some Neo-Humanist influence, will also be seen to be present in the dissertations supervised by Hassel (cf. below). In addition to all this, Hassel taught Latin and Swedish prose composition; including Swedish in the programme of the professor of Eloquence of course reflects the progress of the vernacular at the universities of the realm.²⁰

Until the elimination of the Chair of Poetry in 1747, it was naturally the *Professor Poëseos Ord.*, Andreas Pryss, who was responsible for teaching Latin lyric poetry. In 1727 he is listed as giving a course on *Tristia, ostensurus tum doctrinae in iis notas, tum ingenii lumina, quorum observatione Eloquentiae & Poëseos studiosos feliciter proficere existimabit.*²¹ The formulation seems to represent the typical post-humanistic attitude to

¹⁸ *Cui Mori* (i.e. to study history) *debuimus, quod discipulis quoque et auditoribus Suis Historiae studium commendare soleret non intra nudam subsistens temporum nominumque enumerationem memoria custodiendam, sed eventus sollerter cum caussis effectisque suis expendens, et doctrinas inde elicere vitae utiles enitens; cujus amorem, non exemplo minus quam consiliis praeceptisque, instillare juventuti feliciter ac inculcare noverat*, De Henrico Hassel 365.

¹⁹ According to the reply of the Consistorium maius to the Chancellor who had asked for an opinion on the reform of the University curriculum and which was presented in the meetings of 22 until 26 October 1750, the *Eloquentiae et poëseos professor* was to explain *auctores classici* by means of *ars gramatica, critica, historia critica scriptorum, historia civilis, geographia, cronologia, studium antiquitatum et historia philosophica* without forgetting *ars rethorica, poetica, mythologia* and especially *exercitia stili* in Latin and in Swedish. The ideal study time was three years, during which period the student was supposed to acquire in class no more than the *fundamenta et praxis disciplinarum* - the rest was to be the student's own responsibility (*på det studerande således i stånd satte måge sedan sielfwa kunna underläsandet hielpa sig*), see V.M. Autio, ed., Turun Akatemian konsistorin pöytäkirjat (= TAKP) 16, Helsinki 1972, 370-371. It is interesting to see that the reply makes explicit reference to *antiquitates* which have an important role in Gesner's teaching at Göttingen (*Opuscula minora* 1.58, *Recitationum indictio*, 2 October 1735). Exercises in the vernacular are another point in common between Turku and Göttingen, e.g. *Si qui praeterea in Latino vel Graeco scripto quocumque intelligendo, in Germanicae eloquentiae cultu, in exercitatione scribendi, loquendi, dicendi, antiquitatis cognitione* (*ibid.*).

²⁰ See Lindberg 188-190.

²¹ CP 1727.

Ancient texts, seen as literary models that should be heavily annotated. In the years 1728-1747 Pryss lectured on Horace (*Ars poet.*, *Carm.*, *Epod.*),²² Virgil (*Aeneid*, *Georgics*) and Ovid (*Fasti*).

After the elimination of the chair of Poetry in 1747 Hassel became responsible for this subject as well.²³ He did not, however, teach a single course on poets but continued his lectures on Cicero. Some teaching of poetry in private lessons was offered by a *magister docens*.²⁴ The almost complete absence of poets in the curriculum of the years 1747-1755²⁵ was noticed by the Chancellor himself. In 1757 Wilhelm Robert Nääf (1720-1783) was appointed professor *extraordinarius* of Poetry. He seems to have started teaching only in 1761, when he gave a course on the *Carmina* and the *Ars poetica* of Horace.²⁶ There is no information in the programmes of 1762 and 1763 (that of 1764 has not been preserved). In 1765 he taught *Bucolica* and the *Aeneid*; in 1767 and 1768 again the latter (no information being available for 1766). In 1768 Nääf was appointed *ordinarius* in Poetry, in 1770 *ordinarius* in Logic and Metaphysics, and in 1779 *Professor ordinarius quartus* in Theology, to be promoted *tertius* in 1780.²⁷ Paradoxically, his

²² Note the following motivation for the course on the Epodes: *Silenis certe Alcibiadis persimiles, quod non magna praeferant, explanatae vero, pandere praeclara ad usum in vita maximos valeant* (CP 1735).

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ The category of *magister docens*, still extant in the German-type university system of Finland and Sweden, had been established at the *Academia Aboensis* by the end of the 1730s, Klinge 367.

²⁵ The proposal for re-instating the chair of Poetry in 1755 was motivated as follows: *Af de sedermera insände cataloguer och förteckningar på föreläsningarne, har han (i.e. the Chancellor) sedt, det Professoren Hassel endast drifwit underwisningen uti de effter första inrättningen honom tillagde lärostycken, uti eloquentia prosa, hwarmed han ock skal wara wäl nögd, på det professoren må hafwa så mycket tilräckeligare utrymme, at til ungdomens opbyggelse och wetenskapens framgång utöfwa den fullkomliga insigt och mycket behageliga färdighet, som han jämte annan grundelig och widsträkt lärdom derutinnan med allmän approbation äger, hwarom Hans Excellence til hans välförtjenta loford nu billigt omnämna bordt*, TAKP 422.

²⁶ CP 1761. Before his appointment, Nääf had given private lessons (his main post being that of the *adjunctus philosophiae*), which the Chancellor had not found sufficient (*som icke göra tillfyllest för ändamålet, utan måste poësiën här äga lika skiötsel, som eloquentien och de öfriga wetenskaperne, så at therutinnan publice föreläses, examineras och disputeras, cons. maius* 10 October 1755, TAKP 17.422).

²⁷ J.J. Tengström, *Chronologiska förteckningar och anteckningar öfver Finska universitetets fornda procancellorer samt öfver faculteternas medlemmar och adjuncter, från universitetets stiftelse inemot dess andra sekulärer*, Helsingfors 1836, 233; Klinge 141.

first promotion in 1768 seems to have put an end to his teaching in Poetry, and from 1769 it was Henrik Gabriel Porthan, since 1762 *Eloquentiae docens* and since 1764 *Amanuensis Bibliothecae*,²⁸ who, being *injunctam sibi Poeseos arva colendi operam*,²⁹ took over the course on Horace. Porthan, who had been a student of Hassel's without graduating under his supervision, was soon to revolutionise Classics at the Academy by introducing the *Neuhumanismus* à la Winckelmann.³⁰

One might thus suspect some influence of the *Neuhumanismus* of Johann Matthias Gesner (1691-1761) on the teaching of Hassel and his colleagues, notably in the stress on an historicising approach and the importance of *Realienkunde* and the utility of Ancient doctrines in modern life. As we have seen, Hassel taught Cicero's moral dialogues for practical purposes and underlined the role of history as *magistra vitae* at the expense of the study of rhetoric or the perusal of texts for linguistic purposes. Gesner stresses the importance of Ancient texts for real life, as e.g. in OM 1, *Recitationum indictio* of 2 October 1735, 57, where he speaks of the usefulness of Pliny the Younger for people not living in a democracy. However, the aestheticising approach to Ancient literature typical of Gesner and, later, Winckelmann and, in Turku, Henrik Gabriel Porthan, is nowhere to be found in Hassel.

3. LL. SS. *professio ordinaria*

In the period between 1728 and 1739 this post was held by Isaac Björklund, who announced *ubi intervallum annuorum laborum prius Graecae tribuerit litteraturae, posteriori ad colendam Ebraeorum philologiam divertat*.³¹ *Graeca litteratura* meant the New Testament.³² His successor, Gregorius Steenman (1700-1746), appointed in 1741, never took up his

²⁸ M.G. Schybergson, *Historiens studium vid Åbo universitet. Åbo universitets lärdomshistoria 3: Historia*, Helsingfors 1891, 105.

²⁹ CP 1769.

³⁰ Porthan made a study trip to Göttingen in 1779-1781.

³¹ CP 1728.

³² From 1729 until 1734 Björklund gave courses in the Gospel of St. Luke and the Epistle of St. Paul to the Jews; from 1734 until 1738 he did not teach Greek anymore. He had left Turku by 1739.

post.³³ The 1741-1743 war between Sweden and Russian closed the gates of the Academy for 1742-1743, the chair of Sacred Languages remaining vacant until 1747. That year saw the appointment of a Swede, *magister* Carl Abraham Clewberg (1712-1765), who subsequently (in 1757) became third professor of Theology.

Clewberg was the son of a clergyman and had graduated from Uppsala in 1737. The *Catalogus praelectionum* of 1747 says of him: *in literario itinere, apud exteros versatur; redux, proximo ut speramus, vere, ipse significabit quid sit traditurus*. He stayed abroad, however, even for the following academic year, *inter exteros etiamnum degens*.³⁴ From the 1730s he had been tutor to the youngsters of the noble house of De La Gardie, and had spent the years 1742-1744 in Paris with Count Ulrik Gustav and Count Carl Julius (1729-1786),³⁵ who were staying with their brother-in-law, Count Clas Ekeblad, the Swedish ambassador to the French court and later Chancellor of the Academy.³⁶ Clewberg visited British universities in 1746.³⁷ In July 1746 we find him at the University of Leiden, and in December 1747 at the University of Göttingen, as *ephorus* to Count Carl Julius. In Leiden he probably listened to the famous Orientalist A. Schultens.³⁸ At that time, the professor of Sacred Languages was Tiberius Hemsterhuys (1685-1766) and the professor of Eloquence and History, Frans van Ouden-dorp (1696-1761).³⁹ Göttingen, of course, was the birthplace of *Neuhuma-*

³³ He was appointed second professor of Theology in 1742 by the Russian general Keith, only to become again a simple minister of the Cathedral parish of Turku in 1745, Tengström 203.

³⁴ CP 1748.

³⁵ Clewberg had been enrolled at the University of Uppsala in 1722; together with his brother Christoffer he had had private tuition from Johan Tolsteen (A.B. Carlsson, utg. Uppsala universitets matrikel ... 2. 1700-1750, Uppsala 1919-1953, 152, 220.)

³⁶ 1762-1765, 1769-1771, Klinge 172.

³⁷ See O. Schilling, *Då Theologiae Professorn vid Åbo Academie, Högvördige och Vidtberömde Herren, Herr Mag. Carl Abraham Clewberg ... den 25. i samma månad ned-sattes i sin hvilokammare i Upsala Domkyrka, År 1765. Upprestes detta enfaldiga minne, Upp Helsingiska nations vägnar, af Olof Schilling, s.l.*

³⁸ Heikel 189. Clewberg was very serious about his job in Turku: the protocols of the *Consistorium* mention several sets of books bought by him for the Academy library in Holland in 1747-1749.

³⁹ J.E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* 2, Cambridge 1958 (New York - London 1967), 447-455.

nismus.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, we know very little about Clewberg's and De La Gardie's stay in that town, and the intriguing question whether Clewberg actually made contact with J.M. Gesner, professor of Poetry and Eloquence until 1761, must be left unanswered for the time being. There are, however, a series of documents illustrating Clewberg's attitude to Classics.

Apart from his teaching as professor of Sacred Languages from 1749 until 1757, Clewberg's interests are revealed by the Opinion of 1754 and the catalogue of his personal library, sold at an auction in 1767.⁴¹

It is no exaggeration to say that Clewberg revolutionised the teaching of Sacred Languages. In 1749, he not only taught a public course on Job and delivered private lectures on the Book of Joshua in Hebrew, but he also gave lectures on Plutarch (*De liberorum educatione*), without neglecting Arabic.⁴² Plutarch had been taught in 1725 by Daniel Juslenius, *LL. SS. professor*.⁴³ In 1750, Clewberg switched to Aelian (*Varia historia*),⁴⁴ and made the following announcement for 1751-1752:

*Privatas curas sibi vindicabunt, quarum usus insignior judicabitur, LL. orientis reliquae. Ad notitiam quoque profanorum Graeciae scriptorum viam pandet, daturus consilia pro lectione eorum feliciter instituenda.*⁴⁵

Even his teaching of Hebrew had elements of novelty: in 1752 he announced a course on the *Antiquitates Sacri Codicis & Gentis Hebraeae privatae occupabunt curae*, i.e. *Realienkunde* of the Bible.⁴⁶ In 1752, *In*

⁴⁰ U. Schindel, "Johann Mathias Gesner, Professor der Poesie und Beredsamkeit 1734-1761", C.J. Classen, hrsg., *Die klassische Altertumswissenschaft an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen ...* (Göttinger Universitätschriften a. Schriften 14), Göttingen 1989, 9-26.

⁴¹ Förteckning På den Wackra och talrika boksamling, Som, För detta Theologiae Professoren wid Åbo Akademie, Herr Carl. Abrah. Clewberg Ägt, Hwilken därstädes i instundande Junii månad och Höst-Terminen därpå, igenom offentlig Auction kommer at försäljas, Åbo 1767; see also Vallinkoski 2.130.

⁴² CP 1749.

⁴³ Kajanto 43.

⁴⁴ *Privatim Aeliani Variam Historiam, au Librum Psalmorum. In aliis autem Lingvis Orientalibus, discentium desiderii, pro virili, satisfacere conabitur* (CP 1750-1751).

⁴⁵ CP 1751-52.

⁴⁶ Cf. also the definition of his post, in 1750: *Ling. O.O. et Gr. professio: Lectio lingvarum hebr. et graec. ex libris ecclesiasticis et profanis, lingua caldaica, arabica,*

Graecis ea sedulo proponet, quae maxime in rem fore discentium intellexerit. In 1753 he did not give the contents of the private courses. In 1754 he taught the Gospel of St. Luke and the Psalms, and in 1755, because of administrative tasks, he taught *in Hebraicis aut Graecis* without further detail. In 1756, *privatim in Ebraicis Exodum, in Graecis, Hesiodi Ascraei Opera & Dies explicabit.* In 1757, after his appointment as professor of Theology, he taught exegesis and *Historia Ecclesiastica Veteris Testamenti*, and in 1759 his course on Genesis was characterised by his

stili originalis emphasin, historiam sacram, typos, dogmata & mores, qua fieri poterat brevitate, publicè expositurus. Privatim dicta classica enucleabit, eorumque ad probanda fidei dogmata adplicationem ostendet.

After 1759 Clewberg does not seem to have taught non-Biblical Greek. We have seen, however, that in his years as professor of Sacred Languages, he not only delivered lectures on Plutarch, Aelian and Hesiod but also gave tuition in the independent study of Ancient Greek texts. This programme with all its lacunae - Homer is notably absent -, represents a width of philological interests unknown to Hassel, professor of Eloquence. It is true that although Clewberg's appointment as professor of Theology did not put an end to his teaching of Classics, he subsequently used these texts as a complement to theological ones, as exemplified by the last sentence of the notice for 1759.

Clewberg takes a strong position in favour of the Ancients in the Opinion of the Consistorium (1754) (see above p. 139): in spite of his admiration for Dacier, Pope, Racine, Fontenelle and Holberg, he acknowledges the superiority of Homer, Euripides, Lucian and Plutarch. Oriental languages are useful from a practical point of view, and Classical Greek was the language of the free societies of Ancient Greece. The usefulness of Greek as a linguistic model is shown by the elegance of French and English written by authors well-versed in Greek.⁴⁷ Here it

syriaca et aethiopica, antiquitates judaicae et graecae, accentuatio hebraica, critica sacra vet. et novi testamenti, historia lingvarum orientalium et notitia scriptorum hebr. graec. et arabicum etc., TAKP 16.371.

⁴⁷ Klinge 522-523. This idea, though applied to Latin as well, is also present in the *dissertatio pro gradu magisterii* of A. Gottskalk, *De usu diversitatis lingvarum* (20 July 1754), Vallinkoski 813: *Sic et lingvae lingvis perficiuntur, eoque magis ad unam, exc-*

would not be exaggerating to see some Neo-Humanistic influence, although the aestheticising element is still missing.

According to Porthan, Clewberg was *peritus ipse librorum iudex et conquisitor*.⁴⁸ His library shows him not only as a polyglot - apart from the predictable Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and German, he had books in Finnish,⁴⁹ Italian, French, Spanish, English, Polish, Persian and Turkish - but as a man of extraordinarily varied scholarly and cultural interests.⁵⁰ The library consisted of 2337 volumes, which was an imposing number for Turku.⁵¹ As to Classics, there were 140 volumes of editions of Greek texts, from Homer to Zonaras, with some translations in Italian or French, whereas the Latin texts numbered only 42. In addition to texts there were several

lendam apti reddimur, quo penitius ceterarum elegantiae nobis fuerint perspectae ... Graeciae lepores ad se transtulit suosque fecit Latium. Utriusque spoliis ornata superbit Gallia. On the other hand, in A.S. Edblad's dissertation *De studio linguae hebraeae maturius inchoando* (10 July 1754), Vallinkoski 810, Swedish and Hebrew are compared favourably to such languages as Latin, redolent of *artificium*.

⁴⁸ *Historia bibliothecae R. Academiae Aboënsis...* H.G. Porthans skrifter i urval / Henrici Gabriëlis Porthan opera selecta 3 (SKS 21), Helsingfors 1867, 74.

⁴⁹ He collaborated on a new translation of the Bible in Finnish, Tengström 218. As early as 1754 he knew Finnish well enough to qualify as the minister of the Finnish-speaking parish of Turku, Heikel 195.

⁵⁰ In addition to works related to his academic activities, there is an important amount of texts on European and Swedish history, natural sciences, numismatics (e.g. C. Chiffletius, *De numismate antiquo*), geography and mathematics. There is a significant number of volumes on theatre, e.g. *Nuovo Teatro Italiano cum versione Gallica* (vols. 1 and 3) and the *Traité de la Réformation du Theatre* by Luigi Riccoboni (Förteckning 79) as well as *Le Theatre italien de gherardi tomes 5 et 6 (Amstelodami 1701, in one volume, ibid.)*. This interest would be inherited by his son, Abraham Niclas Clewberg, first librarian at the Academy library, later (1783) Second Director of the Royal Opera in Stockholm and a friend of the theatre-loving king Gustav III, who ennobled him under the name of Edelcrantz, see H. Schück, ed. *Johan Henrik Kellgrens bref till Abraham Niclas Clewberg*, Helsingfors 1894, vii. Porthan lamented the dispersion of the library: *E relicta praeterea egregia suppellectili libraria b. Theologiae Professoris Dn. Caroli Abrahami Clewberg, pulcherrimo aucta fuit incremento, quod longe etiam amplius futurum fuisset, aliquanto majore consilio curaue adhibitis (Bibliotheca 89)*, in note: *quam merito totius acquirendae debuisset consilium iniri, satis docet: raro in nostris oris similis continget opportunitas, literis Graecis, complures egregii libri, Auctores Graeci, Msc. quidam libri Arabici (minoris licet pretii) etc.* We have found Clewberg's copy of Herodian (Fört. 38, in quarto) translated by Politian (H. Estienne 1581), at the Helsinki University Library. This volume was apparently not acquired by the Academy at the auction of 1767: it does not figure in the inventory of books preserved after the disastrous fire of 1827; the nineteenth-century binding is not typical of the Academy either.

⁵¹ Cfr. Vallinkoski 2.233.

volumes of scholarship from Marcus Antonius Sabellicus to Angelo Maria Ricci. Ricci taught at the University of Florence and was an ardent partisan of the study of Greek, especially of Homer. His *Dissertationes Homericae*, published in 1733, stress the necessity of reforming the teaching methods of the Classical languages by eliminating memorisation of grammatical rules and by focusing on content and style in reading texts.⁵² Clewberg's library was complementary to the University library, lacking in profane Greek texts. At the auctions of 1767 and 1772⁵³ the University Library only bought printed and manuscript works in Arabic.⁵⁴

Philology was thus absent from the teaching of the professor of Eloquence but it was represented in that of the professor of Sacred Languages who, in the 1750s, did not limit himself to Biblical Greek. The influence of *Neuhumanismus* on Clewberg's academic activities remains a moot point. His re-introduction of Classical Greek into the curriculum, his interest in *Antiquitates* in his theological teaching, maybe also his interest in the *stylus originalis* of Biblical texts, and especially his library (which also contained Gesner's commentary on Aesculapius, Hygieia and Telesphorus)⁵⁵ - all these facts together suggest that his ideas were at least parallel to Gesner's. It is, however, quite obvious that this never solidified into a Neo-Humanistic programme. An important reason might be Clewberg's predominantly Orientalistic and theological interests, as well as his academic duties. It would, however, be interesting to speculate on the impact of his library and his private teaching on students and colleagues.⁵⁶

⁵² Förteckning 49 (in quarto): *Ab Ang. M. Riccii Orationes Homericae*. We have used *Dissertationes Homericae habitae in florentino Lyceo ab Angelo Maria Riccio Graecarum literarum prof. quibus accedunt eiusdem orationes pro solenni instauratione studiorum 1-4. Florentiae 1841.*

⁵³ Vallinkoski 2.130.

⁵⁴ Tengström 218: "Af hans i Orientaliska, Grekiska och Theologiska Litteraturen betydliga boksamling inköptes efter hans död för akademiska Bibliothekets räkning, utom flera tryckta verk åtskilliga Arabiska manuskript". According to Heikel 189 the books bought by the library in 1771 were parts of the Quran, quranic exegesis and two Arabic grammars, see also Vallinkoski 2.133.

⁵⁵ *J.M. Gesneri Marmoris Cassellani, quo Aesculap. Hygaea & Telesphorum celebr explicat* (Förteckning 50).

⁵⁶ Vallinkoski 2.233 presents figures: of quotations of Classical authors (Greek, Latin, Paleo-Christian down to c. 450) in dissertations between 1722 and 1772, 75.1 % were taken from texts present in the Academy library. 24.9 % must have come from texts of a different origin, e.g. owned by the *praeses*.

4. Dissertations supervised by Hassel and Clewberg

The dissertations supervised by Hassel are rarely about philology. In 1745 (4 May) the future traveller and explorer Wilhelm Ross defended his *Theses philologicae ... pro gradu* (Vallinkoski 1626).⁵⁷ Rhetoric is treated in three theses between 1735 and 1751.⁵⁸ Lizelius-Hassel's *De dotibus ...* heavily criticises this discipline:

naturam patet longe pluris aestimandam esse; utpote quae etiam sine doctrina saepe multum valet (p. 3)

In fact, Hassel-Fontell's *De perspicuitate orationis* is a theoretical treatise on semantics, with a list and a description of the problems in communication caused by polysemy, homonymy, metaphoric use and diachronic variation of meaning. There are also remarks on the vernacular, and on translation.⁵⁹

This dissertation also exemplifies what we know, through Porthan, to have been Hassel's stylistic ideal: the Simple Style. Without mentioning his name, the author quotes Quintilian:

Vulgus est magister loqvendi, & hominem faciliū, quam verbum civitate donaverit princeps (p. 10)⁶⁰

Hassel's attitude to purely linguistic research is highly negative: the principal achievement of the Renaissance had been the knowledge of the three Sacred languages, Hebrew, Greek and the Latin of Antiquity; now it is important to learn other languages. Since, however, there are so many new fields of learning to be covered, one should not insist on linguistic studies. Language is only a means of communication, and rhetoric has a lower

⁵⁷ Also note *Aphorismi philologici de certitudine linguae sacrae hebraeae* (Benedictus Krook, 29 June 1745, Vallinkoski 1635).

⁵⁸ *De dotibus naturalibus oratori necessariis* (*resp.* Andreas Lizelius, 27 June 1735, Vallinkoski 1567); *De perspicuitate orationis* (*resp.* Mauritius Wilh. Fontell, 1 June 1748, Vallinkoski 1649); *De usu et abusu eloquentiae* (*resp.* Gabriel Peteche, 2 May 1751, Vallinkoski 1661).

⁵⁹ See especially pp. 15-16.

⁶⁰ See also *Theses miscellaneae* (Hassel-Adam Gerhardus Sacklinius, Vallinkoski 1633): *Inter caeteras stili virtutes primum locum tribuimus perspicuitati* (th. 9).

priority than practical needs:

*Praecepta Rhetorica, a Graecis atque Romanis tradita, non magis conveniunt praesenti negotiorum indoli, & stilo, qui jam obtinet, civili, quam Jus romanum cum Jurisprudencia & praxi fori hodierna congruit.*⁶¹

Iiro Kajanto has recently covered Hassel's dissertations rather thoroughly. Most of the theses supervised by H. were on history, and covered rather large fields. Depending on the *respondentes* these texts are either essays, with a minimum of indication of sources, or well-documented treatises. Some of them, such as the heavily annotated *De fati libertatis romanae* 1-2 (*resp.* Petrus Ringh, 1740), give evidence for quite an extensive knowledge of the most important historians, Greek (Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch) and Latin, and take into account some seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars as well. In spite of the absence of official teaching of non-Biblical Greek until 1750, the students quite obviously knew their texts. Roman history seems to have been a subject favoured by Hassel, from Caesar's murder (1732) and Octavian's takeover of the Roman state (1733) to the expansion of Rome (*De magnitudine Romana per imprudentiam vicinorum* 1-2, Petrus Jusleen, 29 May 1756–13 July 1757, Vallinkoski 1669-1670).⁶² These texts are characterised by a conspicuously critical attitude towards Rome. As we have seen, history was the ideal *magistra vitae* for Hassel, a Humanistic idea that had developed into the concept of pragmatic history in the seventeenth century when history had been reduced to a series of *exempla*. A knowledge of *antiquitates* was essential for understanding texts.⁶³ Although the theses do not refer to contemporary political events, it is not difficult to see the relevance of such themes as political freedom and imperialism for subjects of the Swedish realm, especially in the 1750s, with, on the one hand, the democratic system in vigour from 1721 until 1771 and, on the other hand, Prussian successes in the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War.

If Hassel was critical of Roman politics, his attitude to the Latin language and the culture it transmitted seems to have been outright negative.

⁶¹ Theses Misc. 2 (Henricus Eriici Carling, 1745, Vallinkoski 1630, no. 24).

⁶² Kajanto 26.

⁶³ Th. philosophicae (A.G. Sacklinius, 20 June 1745, Vallinkoski 1633), no. 3 and 4.

The theses stress the derivative character of Roman culture and even deny Latin the position of an original language of learning: it was only thanks to the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages that it came to have that role. Greek has better credentials for its status, and in *De diverso gustu reipublicae literariae* 1 (1751) the author speaks in favour of Greek culture. It would, however, be precipitous to characterise Hassel as a Philhellenist: although the Greeks were superior to Romans in philosophy,⁶⁴ they proposed many a fallacious idea. They are also condemned as arrogant in a dissertation of 1745, the ground being the fact that they called other nations barbaric.⁶⁵ Another dissertation praises the Roman religion at the expense of Greek, the first being *simplicior* and *honestior*.⁶⁶ The Romans were militaristic.⁶⁷ These statements do not seem indicate to a Neo-Humanistic Hellenomania, but rather a negative judgement of both Greeks and Romans.

As we have seen, Hassel also showed interest in Swedish. According to one thesis, the vernacular is appropriate for scientific texts.⁶⁸ Some people maintain that eliminating Latin would destroy civilisation, but they are wrong.⁶⁹ It is interesting to note, however, that there is not a single thesis in Swedish supervised by Hassel.

It is consequently not surprising that Hassel, together with his colleague in natural sciences, C.F. Mennander, should have shown himself for the Moderns:

*non dubitamus accedere illis, qui pro recentioribus pronunciant*⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Theses philosophicae (Sacklinius, Vallinkoski 1633, th. 17).

⁶⁵ Theses philosophicae, Paul. Krogius, 8 May 1745, Vallinkoski 1627, th. 18 and 19.

⁶⁶ *De magnitudine Romana* 1 (Petrus Jusleen, 24 May 1756, Vallinkoski 1669, p. 3).

⁶⁷ Theses philosophicae (Krogius, Vallinkoski 1627, no. 22).

⁶⁸ Theses Miscellaneae (Ericus Lemquist, 1745, Vallinkoski 1623, no. 13).

⁶⁹ *Qui ex hac parte etiamnum sibi a barbarie metuunt, nimis utique sunt scrupulosi* (Th. Misc. Vall. 1633, Sacklinius, 1745, no. 6).

⁷⁰ The first mention of the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* is found in the dissertation of J. Odenius (Theses misc. 1, 17 April 1745, Vallinkoski 1625) in 1745 (Kajanto 38). Mennander supervised a dissertation called *Nonnulla monumenta controversiae illustris: an recentioribus vel antiquioribus palma eruditionis sit tribuenda* (Israel Altan, 20 June 1753, Vallinkoski 2453) which presents a careful comparison of the achievements of both sides. Without depriving the Ancients of their merits, the author votes for the Moderns because of the results of cumulative sciences. Mennander was, however, no blind admirer of the Moderns, but also appreciated part of the heritage of Antiquity.

Utility and reason emerge as the mainstays of the ideology represented by Hassel's theses, and the idea of a continuous progress of mankind is essential.⁷¹ The dissertation *De praesenti reipublicae literariae flore* (1754) is in fact a history of scholarship. The author proclaims the ideas of science and progress, and takes up a position against the predominance of Latin in scientific communication. J.M. Gesner is mentioned in a dissertation from 1766, *De impedimentis nonnullis linguae Latinae addiscendae*,⁷² which criticises current teaching methods, memorisation of rules etc., to be compared with similar remarks by Ricci and Gesner himself.

Philology is, on the contrary, the prevailing subject in dissertations supervised by Clewberg. There are very few statements on the value of the field. From the theological point of view, Clewberg sticks to Lutheran Orthodoxy.⁷³ Most of the theses deal with Biblical semantics. There is also a dissertation comparing the *koine* with Classical Greek which underlines the necessity of knowing the latter in order to understand the New Testament.⁷⁴ It is interesting that even theses on specifically Biblical subjects, such as *De Mose vitulum aureum potabilem reddente*⁷⁵ make extensive use of Classical authors, such as Pliny the Elder, Flavius Josephus, Pausanias, Strabo, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Aristotle, Plutarch, Seneca and Caesar,⁷⁶ and compare the specific problem with conditions in the Greek and Roman world. Secondary bibliography is modern⁷⁷ and the sources are indi-

⁷¹ Theses Miscellaneae (11 April 1745, Ericus Lemquist, Vallinkoski 1623) no. 22: *Felicitas hominis est continuus ad majores perfectiones progressus*.

⁷² Kajanto 42.

⁷³ Both Nature and Revelation are evidence for God. Clewberg does not accept any criticism of the text of the Bible as it has been handed down to modern times, since admitting even one mistake made by a copyist would endanger the authority of the Holy Book, see e.g. Clewberg - M. Pazelius, *Dissertatio psalmum CXLV. vindicans ... pro gradu...*, 16 July 1751, Vallinkoski 792).

⁷⁴ *Aphorismi philologici de genio sermonis originalis novi testamenti*, M. Forsinius, 23 Dec 1756, Vallinkoski 822.

⁷⁵ Abrahamus Indrenius, *Fil.*, 28 June 1755, Vallinkoski 817.

⁷⁶ E.g. A.A. Indrenius' *De Mose* uses Justinus, Musonius, Aristotle, Pausanias, Sophocles, Plato, Aelian, Plutarch, Xenophon, Valerius Maximus, Dio Cassius, Strabo, Clemens of Alexandria and Talmudic scholars.

⁷⁷ In dissertations on Arabic, among others, Pococke, Joh. Ben. Carpzow (Carpzovius), Giggejus, in Biblical studies Stock, Bochart (*Hierozoicon*), Selden, all of them seventeenth or eighteenth century. Schultens' works are quoted with admiration by Avellan in the *Specimen*. It is worth noting that modern travellers are also drawn on; the model for this could be found e.g. in Balthasar Ludwig Eskuche, *Erläuterung der heil. Schrift aus*

cated with great precision. This is quite different from what we have seen in Hassel's output. Some dissertations cover vast fields, such as the diss. grad. *De poenis coelibum apud veteres*,⁷⁸ on Biblical, Greek and Roman history.

Clewberg's speciality, which probably kept him from developing Classical studies at Turku, were dissertations on Arabic, such as *Specimen philologicum usum linguae arabicae in perficiendo lexico hebraeo sistens*,⁷⁹ and *De nummis arabicis in patria repertis*, which is a treatise on Arabic paleography as well as numismatics. According to the *De nummis* the Arabs are a very important people for Westerners because they have saved so many Greek works and thus merit our admiration⁸⁰ (p. 1). This does not, however, mean that the author would approve of Mohammed, that he calls *impostor*.⁸¹ Clewberg seems to have allowed the author to examine his own collection of coins.⁸² The style is simple, just as in Hassel's dissertations, but the notes are more precise and numerous, and, in the case of the *De nummis*, the factual information presents elements of novelty.

5. Conclusion

We have seen that Henrik Hassel, *Professor eloquentiae*, was not interested in the study of Classical languages, criticised the use of Latin in non-scientific contexts, did not appreciate traditional rhetoric, considered the Moderns superior to the Ancients and wanted the programme to be of immediate utility for civil servants. He was interested in Ancient texts as material for historical study which was to be useful for modern life. His ideas could be characterised, with Bo Lindberg, as Christian Enlightenment: belief in the progress of humanity thanks to empirical science, hostility to philosophical speculation, and, to round up the whole, Lutheran Orthodoxy. Clas-

morgenländischen Reisebeschreibungen 1-2. Lemgo 1750-1755, often quoted e.g. in L. Settermark, *Dissertatio academica Esa. VII:14 veram notionem eruens* (3 July 1756, Vallinkoski 819).

⁷⁸ A.A. Indrenius, 26 July 1757, Vallinkoski 823.

⁷⁹ M. Avellan, 18 May 1757, Vallinkoski 823.

⁸⁰ M. Lundbeck, 25 June 1755, Vallinkoski 816; for the coins, see Vallinkoski 2.174. P. 1: *Dum ex procellis iactabantur Graecanis litterae, ad tutissimum hujus refugiebant portum...*

⁸¹ E.g. p. 23.

⁸² P. 16, where the author discusses a Persian coin from 1721 belonging to Clewberg.

sical studies certainly gained very little from this attitude. The Professor of Sacred Languages, later professor of Theology, Carl Abraham Clewberg, gave new vigour to the study of Classical Greek in the first half of the 1750s and set new standards of scientific inquiry in the field of Oriental and Greek studies. His prevalently Orientalistic and theological interests probably kept him from introducing a more thorough reform, and Hassel's line remained predominant in Classics. In 1764 Matthias Calonius (later professor of Law from 1778 until 1816) published, *sine praeside*, his dissertation, which was to be the first part of *De nova facie orbis Europaei circa saeculum reformationis exorta*, a comprehensive account of Western culture from early Middle Ages to the Renaissance. This work introduced a new, distinctly historicising approach at Turku,⁸³ and prepared the way for full fledged Neo-Humanism. Porthan would then definitively open up the *Academia Aboensis* for continental Neo-Humanistic influence in the 1770s.

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⁸³ Klinge 710-711.