When the Phoenicians Were Swedish:
Rudbeck's *Atlantica* and Phoenician Studies

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Olof Rudbeck's *Atlantica* (1679–1702) is a characteristically wide-ranging example of Early Modern scholarship in which the author draws on a compendious assortment of evidence to argue that his native Sweden was the cradle of human civilization. Within this discussion, he devotes particular attention to the Phoenicians, whom he attempts to paint as descendants of "Scythians" who had migrated to the Mediterranean from an original Swedish homeland. Drawing upon the work of earlier Phoenician scholars such as Joseph Scaliger and Samuel Bochart, as well as his own, often rather creative, etymologies, he seeks to demonstrate a relationship between the Phoenician language and Swedish. This paper explores how Rudbeck engages with and utilizes the Phoenician people and the Phoenician language in service of his wider proto-nationalist goals and places his work within the wider context of Phoenician studies in Early Modern Europe, a few decades before Barthélemy's decipherment of the Phoenician script (1758). While clearly wrong in many of his conclusions, Rudbeck's work can tell us much about perceptions of Phoenicians at an important time of transition between Renaissance scholarship and the beginnings of modern archaeological and linguistic research.

THE *ATLANTICA*, PROTO-NATIONALIST HISTORY, AND THE EMERGENCE OF PHOENICIAN STUDIES

Born in 1630, the son of a bishop, Olof Rudbeck came to the university at Uppsala at age sixteen. It was there that he would spend most of his life, with the exception of a year-long stay at the University of Leiden. Rudbeck held the chairs of both theoretical and practical medicine—his most notable achievement was the identification of the lymphatic system in 1652, in parallel with Thomas Bartholin in Denmark. This was only part of his expertise. Rudbeck was a true Early Modern polymath and was proficient in mathematics, architecture, and music as well as other disciplines. His magnum opus *Atland eller Manheim,* usually referred to by its Latin title *Atlantica,* incorporates mythology, linguistics, archaeology, history, and ethnography into its argument.

At four volumes and three thousand pages, the *Atlantica* is not a work that permits easy summarization. Like many of the sprawling tomes of Renaissance and Early Modern schol-

arship it defies modern disciplinary boundaries, offering conclusions on history, geography, linguistics, genealogy, and religion. It is in essence a work of proto-nationalism, from its subject matter to the choice of language. In an academic world where the use of Latin was ubiquitous, Rudbeck instead wrote in Swedish and commissioned a Latin translation to be published together with the original. The main thesis is that Sweden, especially the old pagan settlement Gamla Uppsala (about five km from the center of Uppsala), is the cradle of civilization.[1]

Rudbeck's argument is not primarily based in biblical reference, as much research at the time was, and he never claims that Sweden was the location of the garden of Eden or that Swedish was the original language spoken by Adam and Eve. However, like many Early Modern writers he connected his nation's earliest origins with the travels of Noah's offspring. He proposed that Japheth, the eldest son of Noah, who during Early Modern times was often seen as the ancestor of the Europeans, migrated from Mount Ararat, up through Russia and into Sweden. Once he was there, a rich culture flourished. During an exodus around four thousand years ago, led by kings who are now remembered as the Nordic gods, Swedish culture and customs influenced the civilizations around the Mediterranean. Some Swedes settled there and eventually became other people, such as Trojans, Persians, and Phoenicians. Rudbeck also counts the Scythians among them, while simultaneously using the ethnonym *Skyter* "Scythians" for the prehistoric Swedes. This could be under the influence of the Scythian hypothesis, which argued that the Scythians were speakers of the mother language of Europe.[2]

The *Atlantica* is thus part linguistic treatise, part sacred geography, part nationalist origin-myth. The Phoenicians appear as supporting players, wheeled on to lend credence to the wider project of cementing Sweden's linguistic and cultural pre-eminence in European pre-history. For the Phoenicians, this was a familiar role. They had been playing it for centuries in a succession of nationalist epic histories and sacred geographies aimed at forging legitimating links between the prestigious pasts of the Old Testament and classical history and contemporary European nation-states and the monarchs who controlled them.

One might easily draw parallels between Rudbeck's project and that of the late fifteenth-century historiographer and fabulist Annius of Viterbo, whose *Antiquitates* (1498) sought to overturn the traditional supremacy of the Greeks and Romans in narratives of human civilization by positing a direct connection between the Etruscans and Noah.[3] Annius's work cast his native Viterbo as the crucible of postdiluvian Europe and its eclipsing by Greece and Rome as both a lamentable fall and a cruel rewriting of history (Stephens 1989: 98–138; Grafton 1993: 77–78; Collins 2000).[4] This type of argument was common during the early modern period throughout Europe. From Goropius Becanus (1519–72) in the Low Countries (Krop 2016: 109–14) to Vassily Trediakovsky (1703–69) in Russia (Breuillard and Polouek-tov 1994), biblical genealogy is used to back up claims of specific populations, countries, and languages being particularly ancient. The roots of much of this can be found in the

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1. This is calculated between the church at Gamla Uppsala, adjacent to the Vendel Period burial mounds, and the Gustavianum, the main university building during the seventeenth century. Rudbeck planned and led the building work to add an anatomical theatre to the building. The Gustavianum now serves as the university museum.

2. This is seen by some as the scholarly ancestor of the Indo-European hypothesis (Gren-Eklund 2007: 26–27; Campbell and Poser 2008: 19; Burman 2017: 81).

3. Rudbeck was aware and fond of Annius, but accepted that his work was based on forgeries (Rudbeck 1698: 37; Wifstrand Schiebe 1992: 66).

4. Although the formerly lost or fragmentary sources presented by Annius were soon recognized as forgeries, their impact was undeniable. Guillaume Postel based his *De Etruriae Regionis quae prima in orbe europaeao habitata est* (1551) on Annius's material (Kuntz 1981: 37 n. 113; Bouwsma 1957: 46).

political and religious rivalries of the day. Scholars were both themselves sincerely religious and also keen to appeal to the legitimatory agendas of their patrons, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal.

Near Eastern evidence—both real and invented—played a big role in constructing and justifying these world histories. It goes without saying that the Bible and surrounding Jewish traditions were a key touchstone, but there was also an increasing willingness to draw upon extra-biblical sources from the East. Central to Annius's roster of forged ancient sources were the Egyptian Manetho and the "Chaldean" (that is, Babylonian) Berossos, both in reality only known in fragments cited by classical writers. The Phoenicians were brought into the discussion in earnest in the later sixteenth century, with the linguistic discussions of Guillaume Postel (1510–81) and his student Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609). Much of this concerned the Phoenicians' role as transmitters of Levantine civilization to Europe, and in particular the Phoenician writing system's status as intermediary between the Hebrew of the Bible and the Greek and Latin scripts of the classical world. Even without Phoenician epigraphic evidence from which to draw, this seemed clear: Postel had recognized the resemblance between Samaritan writing and Greek and correctly concluded that the letters used by the Samaritans must represent a survival of a form earlier shared with the Jews (Grafton 1993: 629).

This idea led Scaliger to depend on cognates between languages with a directly attested historical link, preferring contemporary and native historical accounts, even if they came from pagans, over more removed sources with better religious credentials. Scaliger's principal discussion of Phoenician comes in his commentary on the *Chronicle* of St. Jerome, where he devotes a lengthy digression to comparing the Greek and Roman alphabets with the Phoenician (inferred from Samaritan). He rightly argued that the latter was used originally throughout Canaan before the development of the square Hebrew script (Scaliger 1658: 110; Grafton 1983: 176; Grafton 1993: 628–29). The Phoenician inspiration of the Greek alphabet was mentioned already in ancient sources such as Herodotus (*Histories* V.58.2), but this was the first time the ancient account had been verified using something approaching modern philological techniques and epigraphic evidence.

The first full-length work devoted to the Phoenicians was Samuel Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (1646).[5] Similar to the *Atlantica* in its massive scope, this sought to describe all the peoples descended from Noah, and as such dissolved the ever-porous boundaries between sacred geography and world history. More pertinently, its entire second part was devoted to Canaan. The first of its two books deals with the history and geography of Phoenician expansion into the West; the second addresses the Phoenician language. In many ways, the *Geographia Sacra* sets the pattern for the predominant modes of engagement with the Phoenicians to this day: focus on their maritime voyages and impact on the classical world on the one hand; the Phoenician language's linguistic and philological relationship with Greek and Hebrew on the other.

Bochart was a Protestant cleric at Caen, and, unlike Scaliger and Rudbeck, took the Bible as the supreme source. He was a keen etymologist, and found misbegotten Phoenicianisms everywhere. Despite these shortcomings, Bochart brought not only a direct focus on the Phoenicians which had previously been lacking, but also prodigious direct expertise in several Semitic languages: Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac evidence were all brought in alongside the Phoenician, Greek, and Latin (Shalev 2012: 30). His *Geographia Sacra* achieved great success across Europe, significantly raising the prominence of the Phoenicians in the schol-

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5. For a more thorough discussion of Bochart and his scholarship, see Shalev 2012; Delcor 1991.

arly consciousness and securing their reputation as itinerant Semites who could be imagined anywhere, presenting a ready solution for linking almost anywhere in Europe with the classical and biblical pasts.

This ubiquity seems to have been met with particular enthusiasm on Europe's northern margins, where the distance from the East Mediterranean made attempts at forging such links, such as wandering Trojan refugees, somewhat unsatisfactory. In 1652, soon after the publication of the *Geographia Sacra*, Bochart made a rare excursion from Caen to take up an invitation to spend time at Queen Christina's court (Shalev 2012: 190). During this stay, he crossed paths with Rudbeck. Forty years later, Rudbeck recounts hearing Bochart speak on the myth of Cadmus and Hermonia at a scholarly gathering assembled by the court physician Pierre Bourdelot (Eriksson 2002: 55; Rudbeck 1698: 26–27).

In Britain, there had been earlier attempts to rope the Phoenicians into the construction of a national origin-story, most notably that of John Twyne (ca. 1505–81), but Bochart inspired a new wave of adherents keen to identify Phoenician influence on their own land. Aylett Sammes drew heavily and uncritically from Bochart in his own etymology-fueled fantasy of a connection between Welsh and Phoenician (Brisby 2009: 2; Gerritsen 2012: 186–87). He, in turn, inspired still more outlandish concoctions, such as Charles Leigh's notion of a New Canaan in Lancashire's Ribble Valley or William Stukeley's theories of the Tyrian origins of the Druids (see Shalev 2012: 194; Parry 1995: 308–30; Piggot 1986: 116; Quinn 2018, especially chapter nine).

Rudbeck's work comes at a time of transition for Phoenician studies. Bochart has been seen by some as the beginning of the discipline, but despite the great popularity he brought, in many ways the wave of followers he spawned marks the final phase of the largely Protestant nationalist-historical and sacred-geography mode of Phoenician research. Rudbeck's work comes toward the end of this, merely a few decades before gradually increasing epigraphic evidence and Barthélemy's decipherment of the language inaugurated a new era in which the Phoenicians could for the first time be approached on their own terms though direct sources.

RUDBECK'S PHOENICIANS: ORIGINS AND APPEARANCE

Rudbeck spends more time on discussing the Phoenicians than the other people he includes as descendants of the "Scythians." Much of his discussion of their origins centers around the color red, which is often associated with the Phoenicians in both ancient and modern discussions. There was an ancient belief, most famously reported in Herodotus I.1, that the Phoenicians were from the ἐρυθρά θαλάσσα 'red sea'. This is generally interpreted as meaning the Persian Gulf,[6] although elsewhere (e.g., Demosthenes XIX.304), the "red sea" was clearly an archetypal far-off country that was ill-understood. The ethnic "Phoenician" is frequently connected to the Greek word φοινός 'blood-red'.[7] In modern times, the most common explanation of this is the color of the purple dye famously exported from Phoenicia, but sometimes modern scholars bring up the possibility that it is related to Phoenician appearance.[8] Rudbeck combines this argument and the Phoenicians' association with the

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6. According to Liddell and Scott 1940, s.v. ἐρυθρός, Herodotus was not aware of the Persian Gulf but meant what we now call the Red Sea. This is not supported by the rest of the text.

7. On the etymology of φοινός, see Chaintraine 2009: 1220.

8. The first modern scholar to suggest the explanation based on skin color appears to be Pietschmann 1889: 107. It is mentioned in Speiser 1936: 122, but is not given any credence. It is exceedingly rare to find it discussed or mentioned in twentieth-century scholarship, but it is still mentioned as a possible alternative, along with references to purple dye, in both Salles 2012: 1139 and Bryce 2016: 172.

Red Sea to support his preconceived notion of the origin of the Phoenicians in the far north (Rudbeck 1698: 696).

His argument is two-fold. The first is geographical. He rejects the idea that the ἐρυθρά θαλάσσα is either the Persian Gulf or the modern Red Sea, observing that it is impossible to sail from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean without having to circle the entire continent of Africa. Such a dangerous trip would be foolish if one did not know where one was going.[9] Based on this, it made more sense to Rudbeck that the Phoenicians would have lived to the north, in the Baltic, as it is far closer by sea.

His second argument is linguistic. He rejects that ἐρυθρός means 'red', ignoring (or being unaware of) instances where the word is used in reference to bronze, gold, and blood.[10] Instead, he argues it is an example of Greeks misunderstanding the Swedish sentence:

inom Eira-Sund är inra hafwet, ock burtom Eira Sund Er ytra hafwet
within Öresund is the inner sea, and beyond Öresund is the outer sea (Rudbeck 1698: 696)[11]

The two words *Er ytra*, 'is' and 'outer', were misinterpreted by the listener as *Erytra*, i.e., ἐρυθρά.

However, he is also keen to connect ἐρυθρός with the Phoenicians' physical appearance, and in these cases he does interpret it as 'red'. He quotes Strabo I.35, where the Persian Gulf is described as ἐρυθρός 'red', but Rudbeck suggests instead that the adjective refers to the Phoenicians' hair (Rudbeck 1698: 695).[12] He renders ἐρυθρός as *Gulröd*, 'yellow-red', which may mean 'orange'.[13] Later on, he claims that the word "Phoenician" means "the color that is light, bright red, and yellow like the Sun"[14] (Rudbeck 1698: 749). He also argues that the Phoenicians have red skin, which is also how he describes the complexion of northern Europeans (Rudbeck 1698: 717).[15] His main source is the Roman comedy *Poenulus* by Plautus, which features the Phoenician character Hanno. Rudbeck assigns the entire passage to the character Milphio: "What is this bird, that comes wearing a coat? Might he

9. Rudbeck must have been unaware of the ancient sources describing Phoenician voyages around Africa. Herodotus (*Histories* IV.42) describes a Phoenician expedition sponsored by the Egyptian pharaoh Necho II (610–595 BC) to circumnavigate Africa from the Red Sea to the mouth of the Nile. Another Phoenician African expedition is attributed to the Carthaginian Hanno, whose voyage down the West African coast is recorded in a Greek periplous and referred to by Herodotus (*Histories* IV.196) and Pliny (*Natural History* II.169). The extant text has been interpreted as describing the Punic sailors reaching around as far as Senegal, but in this case there is no indication of a full circumnavigation.

10. Ἐρυθρός is used for bronze at *Iliad* XIX.265, gold at Hesiod, *Theogony* 450, and blood at Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 265.

11. All translations from Rudbeck's *Atlantica* are by A. Burman.

12. Rudbeck's interpretation of the Strabonian passage makes very little sense, which supports the observation that his knowledge of Greek was poor (Nelson 1947: 760; Burman 2017: 87). However, it may also be explained by a tendency to careless reading. In the same passage, Rudbeck quotes Bochart, making it sound like he thinks ἐρυθρός should be taken as meaning 'red', but in fact he only quotes part of his argument. Bochart goes on to say that this sea is not named after its color but after the Hebrew king Erythras, i.e., Edom, the royal name of Esau, which incidentally means 'red' (Bochart 1681: 341).

13. The adjective "orange" is first attested in Swedish in 1654, but is then not found until 1840 (see *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*, s.v. *orange* II). The more common term into the twentieth century was *brandgul,* literally 'fire-yellow'.

14. "den färgen som är lius, högröd och gål som Solen."

15. In the first volume, Rudbeck speaks of Scandinavians being "vita till hull och hår" "with white skin and hair," but in the third volume, he instead conceptualizes skin color on a spectrum of red and black/blue (Rudbeck 1698: 694).

have come out of the baths? Yes indeed his face is nice and red"[16] (Rudbeck 1698: 733). This bears little resemblance to the original, which is a dialogue between Milphio and Agorastocles. Only the first clause is correctly rendered by Rudbeck.

> MIL Sed quae illaec avis est, quae huc cum tunicis advenit?
>   numnam in balineis circumductust pallio?
> AGOR Facies quidem edepol Punicast.

> MIL But what is this bird, who comes wearing a tunic?
>   Do you think he had his cloak stolen at the baths?
> AGOR By Pollux, he looks like he's Punic.
> (Plautus, *Poenulus* 975–77)

The mention of the baths has nothing to do with Hanno's skin color, but is about the fact that he is not wearing a cloak (not mentioned in Rudbeck's rendition). The baths would be an obvious place to lose a piece of clothing, as it would be left unattended. However, Rudbeck claims that when someone is *mycket rödbrusigh* 'very ruddy', it is a common idiom to say that the person looks like he has come straight from *Badstugan*—a Scandinavian sauna (Rudbeck 1698: 734).

Thus Rudbeck's argument is that the Swedish origins of the Phoenicians are proven by their supposed red complexion, which differentiated them from the neighboring peoples with darker complexions. Notably, this goes against Rudbeck's explanations of human phenotypes in the first volume of the *Atlantica.* There, he criticizes the Dutch historian Georgius Hornius's claim in *De Originibus Americanis* (1652) that hair color is hereditary, and argues that changes in phenotype are the result of environment, temperament, and health. According to this theory, appearance cannot be used to prove heritage, as it will change depending on the environment. Therefore, it should only be possible to use this argument in relation to the actual people who emigrated, as when Rudbeck brings up Athena's epithet γλαυκῶπις, which he renders as 'blue-eyed' and compares to Scandinavians (Rudbeck 1698: 681).[17] Rudbeck's argument from the first volume is not useful when discussing their distant descendants.

It is difficult to tell if Rudbeck had changed his mind about the origin of phenotypes or held contradicting views. The first and third volumes of the *Atlantica* were written some twenty years apart, giving him plenty of time to reconsider, either because of some evidence or simply for the convenience of the Phoenician argument. There is also the possibility that he did not see this as a contradiction. He may have seen Swedish/Scythian/white features as more "resilient" and therefore more likely to survive even under environmental pressure. However, it is also possible that Rudbeck put aside his earlier belief in order to use this particular argument.

RUDBECK'S PHOENICIAN: SCRIPT

When Rudbeck first discusses the Phoenicians in the first volume of the *Atlantica,* his focus is on writing systems. In his mind, the Greek, Latin, and Phoenician scripts are all descended from Scandinavian runes.[18] He cites Priscian, Pliny, and Plutarch, who state

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16. "Hwar är denna för en Fogel, som kommer i en Råck gånganeds? mån han hafwer kommit uhr Badstugun? Ja ha hans Ansickte är sannerligen fiint och rödt[.]"

17. The epithet γλαυκῶπις is often translated as 'grey-eyed' or 'with gleaming eyes', although sometimes as 'blue-eyed' (Liddell and Scott 1940, s.v. γλαυκός, γλαυκῶπις).

18. Notably, Rudbeck does not argue that runes are the first writing system, as he mentions antediluvian inscriptions (Rudbeck 1698: 11), which he may have seen as Hebrew, a writing system he views as separate from the Runic

that the Greek alphabet originally had sixteen characters, the same number as the Younger Futhark (Rudbeck 1679: 835).[19] Much of the discussion is dedicated to the question of the direction of this relationship. If the Scandinavians had got their writing system from Greek (at least after the Trojan war, when additional letters were supposedly added, cf. Herodotus, *Histories* V.58; Pliny, *Natural History* VII.192), there would have been twenty-four runes, not sixteen (Rudbeck 1679: 838). He argues against the idea that the Greek script comes from Phoenicians for similar reasons, and that Phoenician "had seven other [characters] that were not among the Greeks"[20] (Rudbeck 1679: 847).

Having discussed the origin of the scripts, Rudbeck moves on to show how the Younger Futhark turned into Greek and Phoenician scripts. His labeling of Phoenician graphemes is based on Greek, leading to him reading *aleph* as /a/ (in fact [ʔ]), *ʿayin* as /o/ (in fact [ʕ]) and *šin* as /s/ (in fact [ʃ]). Although all characters are included in the table in volume three (see Fig. 1), not all are discussed in volume one, as Rudbeck believes only some are derived from Runic. Here, Rudbeck covers fifteen Phoenician characters, corresponding to fifteen of the sixteen runes of the Younger Futhark. The sixteenth rune, ᚿ, does not have a Phoenician counterpart. Rudbeck sees the fact that "the Phoenicians did not have a *V*" as evidence that Greek, which has the letter <υ>, corresponding to Latin <v>, cannot have been derived from Phoenician (Rudbeck 1679: 847).[21]

Rudbeck's description includes drawings of the characters being discussed, counting the number of end-points of each character (see Fig. 2). A character such as <ᛉ>, which has three strokes, has six "ends," two for each stroke. Over time, characters are written faster and become more elegantly rendered. Rudbeck thus sees this rune as the origin for Phoenician *aleph,* which he draws with a rounded belly, unlike the common pointed version: <ᛉ>. The two diagonal strokes have been turned into a loop. He frequently characterizes Phoenician lettering with the word *wig*, 'nimble', enough that he criticizes one character (probably a poorly drawn *koph*): "I can see no nimbleness, only the utmost un-nimbleness"[22] (Rudbeck 1679: 845).

He also identifies many characters, such as <ᚱ> *res,* which he sees as related to <ᚱ>, as derived from *wändrunor,* literally 'turned runes', i.e., mirrored runes. Rudbeck wonders if this use of mirrored runes, as well as what he claims is *i,* a three-pronged character reminiscent of an *m* with a curved upper part, is an attempt to obfuscate the origin of their script. He never gives any reason why this might be. Already here, he acknowledges a connection between Phoenician and Hebrew, noting that the custom of 'turned runes' led to the Phoenician script getting Hebrew pronunciation (Rudbeck 1679: 848). Despite this connection, Hebrew is clearly seen by Rudbeck as separate from the Runic tradition.

To Rudbeck, the meaning or origin of the Phoenician script is no mystery. He believes it to be readable but rare, as much of the writing has been lost. Although Rudbeck ascribes phonetic values to Phoenician both implicitly and explicitly, it is much more about extrapolation from Greek alphabetic order than strong arguments of Phoenician sound values. Crucially, Rudbeck does not distinguish between written and spoken language. He demonstrates

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tradition. Rudbeck dates the oldest rune stones to 2000 *Anno Mundi* based on stratigraphy (Rudbeck 1679: 849) or four to five hundred years after the Great Flood (Rudbeck 1679: 833).

19. The references are not written out, but are probably Pliny, *Natural History* VII.192; Prisican, *Grammatical Institutions* I.12; Plutarch, *Platonian Questions* 1009f. He does not appear to be familiar with the Elder Futhark, but assumes the Younger Futhark is the original.

20. "haft 7 andra, som ey woro ibland dhe Grekers."

21. "Phenicerna hade intet *V*."

22. "kan jag intet see någon wighet utan största owighet uti."

Fig. 1. Table comparing the Phoenician, Greek, Gothic, Hebrew, and Latin scripts and Younger Futhark from Rudbeck 1698: 16, taken from the facsimile in The Swedish Literature Bank, https://lit teraturbanken.se/forfattare/RudbeckOaldre/titlar/AtlandDelIII/sida/16/faksimil, retrieved March 3, 2020

how Runic <ᛒ> /f/ corresponds to Greek <π> /p/ (Rudbeck 1679: 840), using words he had previously used to illustrate the variability between /f/ and /p/, including several true cognates such as Swedish *fader* and Greek πατήρ 'father', Swedish *fut* and Greek πούς 'foot' (Rudbeck 1679: 19). Rudbeck sees the written form and the spoken as intrinsically linked, meaning that the observable relationship between Swedish /f/ and Greek /p/ in many words
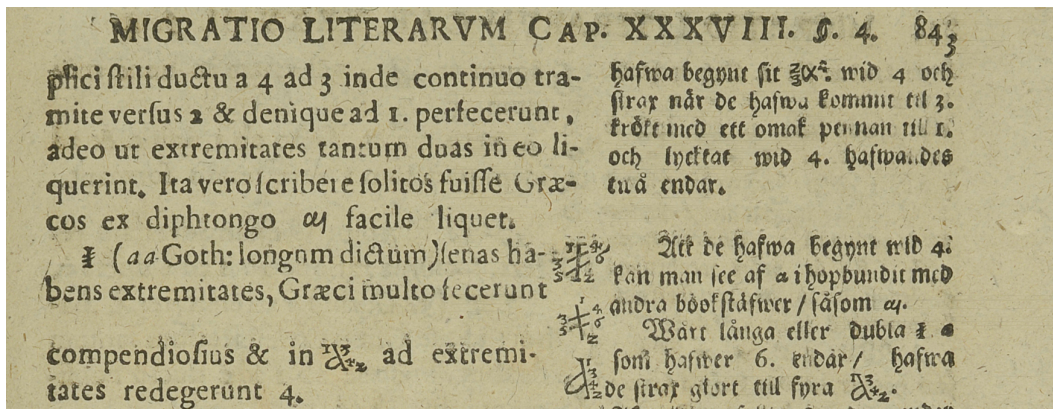
Fig. 2. Rudbeck demonstrating the number of stroke-ends in Runes, Greek, and Latin characters. Rudbeck 1679: 843, taken from the facsimile in The Swedish Literature Bank, https://litteraturban ken.se/forfattare/RudbeckOaldre/titlar/AtlandDelI/sida/843/faksimil, retrieved March 3, 2020

can be applied to the Runic and Greek graphemes too. When Rudbeck lines up the Phoenician, Greek, Gothic, Hebrew, Younger Futhark, and Latin scripts, he is not interested in the values of the individual characters, but the general similarity in form (Rudbeck 1698: 16).

Both the passages discussing Phoenician scripts are isolated from Rudbeck's discussion of Phoenicians as Scythian descendants. When dealing with the Phoenician language, his sources are all onomastic or from Graeco-Roman accounts. However, he is acutely aware of the potential of evidence being lost and unrecoverable. In the opening of volume three, he refers to Josephus's story of the children of Seth who erected two inscribed pillars outlining astrological observations (*Ant* I.70), and points out that as these pillars are not preserved, we cannot use them, but "only talk about those [inscriptions] that are [copied] in books or inscribed and chiseled into stones, metal or wood"[23] (Rudbeck 1698: 11).

During his main discussion of Phoenicians, after twelve pages of tables comparing Scythian and Phoenician words, Rudbeck addresses the question of inscriptions: "[I]f we had some complete Phoenician texts, like those we have of the languages of other old peoples, I am sure we could make this much more complete, but now one has to make do with the things taken from here and there in scholars' books, who here and there mention some words that they received from them"[24] (Rudbeck 1698: 730). During Rudbeck's lifetime, Phoenician and Punic inscriptions had been found, although they remained little known until the second quarter of the eighteenth century.[25] This serves to emphasize the time it could take for discoveries to be recognized in the centers of European scholarship. Even when studies were available, scholars like Rudbeck still relied on early modern trade routes and books could take years to be delivered.

23. "nu allenast tala om sådanna som i dag antingen i Skriffter eller på Stenar, Metall eller Trä hugne och stuckne äro."

24. "hade man några fullkomlige Phœeniciska Skriffter, såssom man uti andra gambla Folkz språkhafwer, så är iag säker att man det än mycket fullkomligare göra kunde, men nu måste man låta sig nöja med det man här och där tagit utur de Lärdas Böcker, som här och där nämna några ord hwilka de bekommit ifrån dem."

25. The Phoenician/Greek bilingual *cippi* from Malta, which Barthélemy later used to decipher Phoenician, were likely discovered sometime in the late seventeenth century, although the exact circumstances are unclear. Barthélemy (1764: 406) states that "For a long time two marbles have been preserved in Malta … Neglected by the Vice-Chancellor Abela, who had published the antiquities of this island, ignored by the rest of Europe, they were brought from this obscurity around 1735 by M. the Commander de Marne" (translation by P. Boyes).

RUDBECK'S PHOENICIAN: LANGUAGE

Rudbeck's main argument in favor of Phoenicians being descended from the Scythians is linguistic. He argues that two peoples who live in different places but speak the same language must be the same people (Rudbeck 1698: 719). A point Rudbeck returns to frequently is his belief that Phoenician and Hebrew, and by extension the people who spoke them, are not the same. Some arguments are taken from the Bible, such as when Rudbeck brings up the Jewish custom of not shaving or cutting one's hair and the prohibition of idolatry, things that he asserts the Phoenicians do. Other characterizations of the Jews in Rudbeck's work appear extrapolated from biblical stories, such as that they, unlike the Phoenicians, did not trade by sea. Other points, such as the claim that Jews were not supposed to mix with other peoples, may be rooted also in Rudbeck's understanding of contemporary Judaism, which was likely to have been sketchy. Jews were seldom allowed to settle in Sweden, despite multiple attempts, although the law forbidding immigration of non-Christians without baptism was not introduced until 1686. At most, he may have had dealings with individual Jewish scholars in Leiden, and may well have crossed path with Queen Christina's Jewish doctor Benedictus de Castro when he was invited to do anatomical demonstrations at court in 1652.

While Rudbeck rejects the idea of Hebrew and Phoenician being related, he does not deny the similarities between the languages. Instead, he explains them as the result of language contact (Rudbeck 1698: 719, 730, 752). Rudbeck suggests that these loans caused Bochart to attempt to shape the Punic monologue in Plautus's *Poenulus* into something more Hebrew-like (Rudbeck 1698: 730).

The Bible is generally absent from his discussion of Phoenician. In dismissing the genetic connection between Phoenician and Hebrew, Rudbeck approaches the Phoenicians from a perspective different from Bochart's biblical one, allowing other avenues to be explored. Rudbeck's secularized approach can be seen in much of his life, most clearly his involvement in the Cartesian contentions in Uppsala, where the debate regarding the influence of the Bible on non-religious matters raged. Although his conclusions are strange to us, his approach to the Phoenicians as their own people outside the biblical paradigm is more modern than that of his contemporaries. Rudbeck also differs from other scholars of his time through the emphasis on language contact as a valid avenue of change (Rudbeck 1698: 160; Burman 2017: 88). He has no patience with the rejection of the importance of loanwords, observing that the ancients were not ashamed of the existence of Scythian loanwords in their language. The situation now, he says, is different. As soon as someone "starts dipping his nose into Greek, Latin, or Hebrew," he attempts to derive everyone else's languages from them, "as if there are no languages other than these in the world"[26] (Rudbeck 1698: 737).

In order to show that Swedish and Phoenician are one and the same, Rudbeck gives twelve pages of comparative material between "all the noblest languages"[27] (Rudbeck 1698: 719). This encompasses some 250 entries. Rudbeck later implies that there are far more, and that listing them all would require a book as long as the whole of the *Atlantica* (Rudbeck 1698: 736). Rudbeck argues that his material proves that Phoenician is descended from Swedish "since the words agree"[28] (Rudbeck 1698: 730).

The material in the first column, marked "Scythian or Swedish," includes both actual Swedish words and names, and hypothetical forms clearly influenced by the Phoenician

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26. "att en som först sätt näsan innom Grekeska, Latinska eller Hebraiska språket', 'lijka såsom intet språk woro mehrea till i werlden."
27. "alla dhe förnämsta Språken."
28. "emedan orden äro eense."

Scythica f. Sveonica. Schytista eller Swenska.	Punica. Phœnicista.	Germanica. Tyska.	Hebræa. Hebreista.	Græca. Grekista.	Latina. Latinska.	Slavonica. Slaweska.	Fennonica. Finska.
Apia, Æsia. Jord, Ærd. h. 150. b. 450.	*Appa. Ert.* Bocc. p. 337.	Erd.	Adama.	Gaja.	Terra.	Semla.	Ma.
Astara, åtrå, aistain b. 409. 410. 416. 487. 510. 525. 571.	*Astera,* Boc. 370.	Lieben.	Ahab, Chahab.	Philein.	Libidinose ardere. Amare	Lubiti, mielo vak.	Ystarys. Rackaus.
Astar-deja. a. 21. b. 52.	*Astarte.* Bocc. 646.	Gottin der wellust.	Nahama, Gogah.	Aphrodite.	Venus.		Ystar. Rackaus.
Agga, Aga. h. 53. Verel. Lex.	*Agga.* Seld. 2. c. 4.	Streiten, stechen, straffen.	Himei, Milcham.	Nypto, Makomaj.	Præliari, pungere, punire.	Walcze bosti.	Sotia, tappela.
Afara, Afart, öfwerfart.	*Abara.* Boc. 329. 605.	Yberfaren.	Habar.	Diaporeuo.	Trajicere	Prepelati	Yletzemenæ.
Aan. b. 466, 468.	*Oan.* Pindar. Bocc. 605.	Fluss.	Nahar.	Potamos.	Amnis.	Reka.	Virta, joki.
Åar.	*Aor.* Bocc. 503. Anon.	Flussen.	Nahar.	Patamoi.	Fluvii.	Reka.	Jokjo.
Ale. c. 431. 382.	*Alon.* Plaut. Pen.	Gott.	Jehova.	Theos.	Deus.	Bug.	Jumala.
Aolla, ilar, åll.	*Aoli.* August. l. 7. loc. c. 17. Bocc. 805.	Ungewitter.	Saha, Ruak.	Keimon, zale.	Tempestas.	Hudaura	Angaratuli, myrskæ, illmæ.
Auden, Oden. a. 210. 213. 217. 727.	*Audon.* Scalig. in Epig. ad Meleagr. Anthol. lib 3. cap. 25.	Herre.	Adon.	Kyrios.	Dominus	Gospud.	Isændæ.
Atta. a. 211. Bocc. 811.	*Atta.* Macrob.	Vatter.	Ab.	Pater.	Pater.	Ozha.	Isæ.
				Χ x x x ⅔			Ak.

Fig. 3. Table of "Scythian," Phoenician, German, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Slavic, and Finnish. Rudbeck 1698: 719, taken from the facsimile in The Swedish Literature Bank, https://litteraturban ken.se/forfattare/RudbeckOaldre/titlar/AtlandDelIII/sida/719/faksimil, retrieved March 3, 2020

glosses. For instance, *Thor, Taur*, and *Tharan,* all variants of the same Norse theonym, look suspiciously like the supposed Phoenician words *Taran* and *Thoor,* for which Rudbeck gives Eusebius as a source (Rudbeck 1698: 729).[29] Scythian here represents the ideal pre-form of Swedish. This column frequently includes references to this and previous volumes of the *Atlantica.* The second column is Phoenician. Most words have references, the most common being to Bochart. There are also references to ancient sources such as Festus, Hesychius, and Plautus, and early Christian sources, such as Eusebius and Julian the Apostate. The other six columns are German, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Slavic, and Finnish. These columns never include sources to the words. Sometimes, one or more of these six columns are left blank or

29. The reference is likely to Eusebius's *Preparation for the Gospel* I.10, which mentions the supposed Phoenician god *Tauthus* and the Egyptian *Thouth.* The <o> form is thus not glossed as Phoenician by Eusebius, but is still given since it looks rather like the Swedish *Thor.*

marked with dashes (cf. Rudbeck 1698: 725). If there is a difference between these ways of marking the lack of a corresponding word, it is not made clear.

When the modern linguist looks at Rudbeck's table, the immediate instinct is to approach it as comparative material. However, it is not often that all the material matches. The truly comparative material is found in the two first columns, Scythian/Swedish and Phoenician. The others serve rather to show the dissimilarities. It cannot be a coincidence that Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Slavic, and Finnish are all identified elsewhere as *Hufwudspråk* 'main languages', Rudbeck's version of the mother languages in modern linguistics. Thus this can be seen more as the translation or explanation of these words than comparative material in itself. Often the Latin is the most literal translation of the Swedish. This use of Latin for glossing is seen later in volume three, when he discusses Phoenician and Swedish placenames (Rudbeck 1698: 740–49).

Bochart is without doubt Rudbeck's most commonly cited source in the table, being cited for ninety-three words, most often as the only source. His use of the material is at times eclectic. In some cases, Rudbeck cites a word as Phoenician that Bochart connects to another language, particularly Hebrew, but also Syriac, Chaldean, and Arabic.[30] Usually, when a reference to Bochart exists in the Phoenician column, words in the Latin column tend to be taken from Bochart too. Sometimes, the words are simply similar, e.g., Bochart's *libidine ardere* and Rudbeck's *libidiose ardere* (Bochart 1681: 370; Rudbeck 1698: 719). Elsewhere, the same Latin words appear, e.g., *arx* (Bochart 1681: 583; Rudbeck 1698: 724) and *coercere* (Bochart 1681: 602; Rudbeck 1698: 726). However, Rudbeck tends not to engage with the Hebrew material in Bochart in his Hebrew column. The reference is always given in the Phoenician column.

At times, Rudbeck interprets Bochart's material very freely. The reference to Bochart supporting "Phoenician" *Ura* leads only to a discussion of the name *Urania* (Bochart 1681: 371; Rudbeck 1698: 729). Elsewhere, he gives a Phoenician word as *kachar,* which Bochart gives as *chacra* (Bochart 1681: 602; Rudbeck 1698: 724). Some page numbers are incorrect, as when he cites a page of Bochart containing the word *daula* (instead of *daal,* which Rudbeck quotes).[31] In some instances, we have been unable to find the material Rudbeck ascribes to Bochart. It is possible that they are fabricated, but Rudbeck does not mind giving words without references, making this unlikely. He may simply have referred to different editions of Bochart.[32]

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30. The Hebrew words taken as Phoenician by Rudbeck are *kar* (Bochart 1681: 405; Rudbeck 1698: 725), *hall, halmis* (Bochart 1681: 391; Rudbeck 1698: 723), and *car* (Bochart 1681: 405; Rudbeck 1698: 724). The Syriac words are *marnas* (Bochart 1681: 824; Rudbeck 1698: 726) and *nesib* (Bochart 1681: 827; Rudbeck 1698: 726). *Rheda* is Phoenician in Rudbeck 1698: 729 but Chaldean in Bochart 1681: 746–47. Rudbeck 1698: 729 gives *tya, teja* as Phoenician, while Bochart 1681: 829 gives Arabic *taier*, from the root *tair*. Arabic also appears in Bochart's discussion of the etymology of *Camulodunum* (Bochart 1681: 755), which he claims is derived from Arabic *kamala, kimal* 'master'. Rudbeck gives *gimala, giemala, kamala* in the Phoenician column for Scythian/Swedish *hamala, giomala, gumme* (Rudbeck 1698: 723).

In a notebook (held at R13 Carolina) of Rudbeck's containing comparative lists much like the one found in Rudbeck 1698: 719–29, he includes Chaldean, Egyptian, and Arabic in this column. His stance on the origin of Arabic and other Afro-Asiatic languages is unclear.

31. Rudbeck 1698: 722 claims *daal* is on p. 735 of Bochart 1681, while it is in fact on p. 440.

32. Most references align with the 1646, 1651, and 1681 editions. For the sake of simplicity, we refer to the 1681 edition, which fits the whole of *Geographia Sacra* into one volume. The Aurivillius catalogue of Uppsala University library, which lists volumes in the university library in 1796, lists only the 1692 volume, where the page numbers differ from the 1681 edition considerably. This indicates that this version was either acquired after Rudbeck's work on Phoenician and the university owned an earlier edition that he used, or that Rudbeck had his own copy, which he preferred to the university's 1692 edition.

Rudbeck cites very few other contemporary authors. After Bochart, the most common is the Dutch cartographer Jans Janssonius (1588–1664), who is cited for sixteen toponyms (Rudbeck 1698: 720–24, 726, 728–29). The English Hebraicist John Selden (1584–1654) is cited four times (Rudbeck 1698: 719, 721–22). Scaliger (Rudbeck 1698: 719) and the Swiss botanist and doctor Caspar Bauhin (1560–1624) (Rudbeck 1698: 723) are cited for one word each.[33] The majority of the sources cited are ancient. These include Hesychius, Macrobius, Josephus, and Livy. He also cites both the epitomizer Festus and the fourth-century CE writer Festus Avenius, but appears to see them as one and the same.[34] He also includes eighteen words ascribed to Plautus, all of which are found in the first five lines of Hanno's Punic speech, discussed below. Early Christian and Byzantine writers such as Jerome, Tzetzes, and Eusebius also feature. Frequently, Rudbeck does not give specific references, but only puts down the author's name, as was common at the time.

Throughout this table, Rudbeck is liberal with the meaning of the words. He gives *Aphaca* as Phoenician for 'Venus s[iue] Terra', citing Eusebius where there is a mention of a place called Aphaca, where there is a temple to "the hateful demon Aphrodite" (Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* III.55.2, quoted after Cameron and Hall 1999: 144.) When aligning the gloss *Arc* with words meaning 'ship', his source is the *Argonautica Orphica*, apparently in reference to the ship *Argo* (Rudbeck 1698: 720).[35] This tendency is seen several times in Rudbeck's use of toponyms found in Bochart, where the words in the six last columns are all the same, meaning 'town' or 'city' (see Table 1). Rudbeck may well have been aware that words meaning 'town' or 'market' were common place names, such as *köping* 'market-town', which appears as a toponym, on its own and in compounds, throughout southern and central Sweden. However, he has turned this on its head and approached every toponym as a possible word for 'town'.

As with his etymologies elsewhere, Rudbeck's comparisons between Scythian and Phoenician allow for a lot of difference. Both vowels and consonants are frequently exchanged. In the first volume, he sketches out common routes of language change, including some now well-known mechanisms such as contraction and metathesis. He also observes that some changes happen more easily than others, such as changes between stops with the same point of articulation (Burman 2017: 85). The idea of regular and exceptionless language change is not one Rudbeck is familiar with, but he believes that there are changes that are more likely to happen than others.

The most extensive "Phoenician" text Rudbeck and his contemporaries had access to was Hanno's Punic speech in Plautus's comedy *Poenulus*. It was transmitted with an accompanying Latin text, which has now been shown to be generally correct (Gray 1923; Gratwick 1971, 1972; Krahmalkov 1988). Like Bochart before him, Rudbeck makes use of this Latin interpretation and attempts to analyze the Phoenician. Of the eleven lines of Hanno's speech, Rudbeck discusses four and a half of them (*Poenulus* 930–33, 939). All eighteen words in the table of comparison whose source is given as Plautus are from these lines. Rudbeck

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33. Despite only citing him once in the table, Rudbeck praises Scaliger elsewhere for his learnedness (Rudbeck 1698: 730).

34. Rudbeck cites Paulus-Festus, two epitomes based on the Augustan antiquarian Marcus Verrius Flaccus's *De Verborum Significatu,* twice. One, given as *mappula, mamphulla* by Rudbeck 1698: 726, is described as Phoenician in the source (Festus 132–33L, *mapalia*), which is not the case with *abyle* (Rudbeck 1698: 720), given as *abynes in* Paulus ex F. 17L. Rudbeck cites Festus Avenius's *Descriptio Orbis Terrae* (lines 98–103, 615)*,* a translation of a Hellenistic geographic poem by Dionysius Periegetes, in relation to the toponym *Gadir* twice, once at length (Rudbeck 1698: 699–702) and the other in the table of glosses (Rudbeck 1698: 722).

35. The Phoenicians are never mentioned in the *Argonautica Orphica*.

Table 1. Three examples from Rudbeck's Phoenician table of words
purportedly meaning 'town'

Scythian/Swedish	Phoen.	German	Hebrew	Greek	Latin	Slavic	Finnish
Holb	olbo, obla	stat	ir kiriah	polis	civitas	mestu	caupungi
Tun, tunum, tuna	tuna	stat	ir kiriah	polis	civitas	mestu	caupungi
Thaeby	Thebe	stat	ir kiriah	polis	civitas	mestu	caupungi

Note: *Holb* = Rudbeck [1698] 1947: 716, *tuna* and *Thaeby* Rudbeck [1698] 1947: 718. In the original, references to Bochart are included in the Phoenician column: *olbo* Bochart 1681: 463, *tuna* Bochart 1681: 390 and *Thebe* Bochart 1681: 463.

gives his own version of the Latin interpretation, which means roughly the same as the text found in the manuscripts, but has different wording and is in prose rather than verse. The reason for this is probably that Rudbeck seeks to provide a word-for-word interpretation to support the way he has broken up the text. He argues that the text, which has survived in *scripta continua*, has multiple instances of elision. In the first line, he interprets *Thalonim* as *The Alonim*. Generally, his rendition of the Punic lines is the same as in the *Poenulus*, with two exceptions. All manuscripts give the beginning of *Poenulus* 930 as *Ith* or *Yth*, while Rudbeck gives *Ni th*, with an extra <n>, making it look more like the Swedish first person plural pronoun, which during Rudbeck's lifetime had started shifting from *I* to *ni.* In line 934, he renders an <m> as <rn>, reading *byrna* instead of *byma,* making it more like *barna* 'the children' (Rudbeck 1698: 732). This appears to be a case of Rudbeck getting ahead of himself, because in the previous line, he gives *bymi,* which he interprets as the same word, only later reinterpreting it as *byrni*.

  Although Rudbeck's approach to language is comparative in many ways, he generally does not create hypothetical forms. His analysis of Hanno's speech is an exception to this. He gives four versions of the first line, meaning "you [gods] above and below, who govern this city" (here given with Rudbeck's italics intact):

1. *Ni*   *th*   *Alonim*   *Valonji*   *th*   *si*   *cora*   *thissima*   *consith,*
2. Ni   the   Aloni   Valoni   the   sim   garda   thissima   gansitha,
3. Ni   de   Aloner   Valoner   the   som   gardarna   thessa   besittia,
4. *Vos*   *illi*   *Superi*   *inferiq.*   *illi*   *qui*   *urbi*   *huic*   *praeseditis*
(Rudbeck 1698: 732)

  The first is Plautus's Phoenician text with Rudbeck's word divisions. Sentences three and four are translations thereof, provided by Rudbeck. It is the second line that is of particular interest. It bridges the gap between the Phoenician and the seventeenth-century Swedish, both filling in elided vowels in the Phoenician (*th* and *the*) and explaining changes in the language (*cora* and *garda*). In the case of the last word, Rudbeck gives the form *gansitha* as a transitional form between *consith* and *besittia,* using a voiced velar to broach the gap between the voiceless velar and the voiced dental. Only twice does Rudbeck refer to words

that are lost.[36] Both times he cites Olaus Verelius's lexicon *Index Linguæ Veteris Scytho-Scandicae sive Gothicae* (1691)*,* which Rudbeck helped edit.

Rudbeck describes this second line as "how our language expresses them [Plautus's verses] in our old texts," but immediately after this he refers to Ulfila's Gothic Bible (Rudbeck 1698: 732).[37] The line is not recognizable as Old Swedish, and seems not intended to be that. Perhaps these old texts are not any extant works, but the runic books Rudbeck claims were burned when Sweden became Christian. The expressed purpose of presenting the versions of this one line is "so that it can be observed how well they align"[38] (Rudbeck 1698: 732). While it is placed in the middle, the second line is not a missing link between Phoenician and Swedish, but is an ancestor. In essence, it is a primitive form of linguistic reconstruction. It only has two supposed cognates, and uses little to no theoretical framework or well-defined methodology, but at its core, its purpose is the same as the proto-language reconstructed by a modern-day comparative linguist. In the words of Roger Lass: "To reconstruct is to reverse time, and make the products of that reversal accessible: as objects of intellectual contemplation, portions of the historical record, sources of new knowledge" (Lass 1993: 157).

Rudbeck does not have asterisks to show what is hypothesized and what is not, and his understanding of the burden of proof is radically different from ours. Furthermore, there is no genetic relationship between Swedish and Phoenician as he proposes. The argument itself is alien, even laughable, to us, but Rudbeck's reasoning that led him there is reminiscent of methods now central to the discipline of historical linguistics.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The discussion of Phoenician in the third volume is the first to deal with language, rather than the etymology of individual words, since the first volume. His ideas outlined there have now been fleshed out. In the first volume, he discusses "main languages," a concept not unlike language branches. At times one language (e.g., Scythian) will be set up as a main "node." In the third volume, Rudbeck makes statements that rather imply his belief in the existence of a mother language. He observes that it is fascinating that there are words that Phoenicians and "we," i.e., Swedish speakers, share, and have been using in the same meaning for four thousand years, the time that has elapsed since the Scythian exodus (Rudbeck 1698: 734). The next observation is based on the idea that Germans, English, Danes, and Dutch, as well as some Italians, French, and Spaniards are descended from Scythians: "And I think […] that if one found some of their old writings there, one would probably find some words, which could show that they spoke one language"[39] (Rudbeck 1698: 735). As such writings are not available, Rudbeck says he will work to "search for them" (Rudbeck 1698: 735), presumably the words showing that these peoples spoke one language.[40]

Rudbeck advocates caution in this kind of etymologizing, giving an example of an absurd Scythian translation. He reports that on the Indian island Malabar, there is an herb called *Kakka-schiti.* Jokingly, he suggests that this could be from Scythian, as every letter is the

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36. The first lost word is *ische* or *hiske* (dialectal *häske* 'family, kin', see Verelius 1691: 119; *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*, s.v. *häsk*). The second is *Thoihom* 'damage', the reality of which is more unclear. This may be a case of Rudbeck extending the meaning of Swedish *tom* 'empty, poor' to posit the word *Thoi* 'misfortune'.

37. "såsom wårt måhl dhem utförer i wåra gambla Skriffter."

38. "att de kunna sees huru rätt dhe träffa."

39. "Och tror jag wäl […] att der man fingo någre af deras gambla Skriffter, skulle man wäl finna några ord, som och kunde wijsa att de hafwa talat ett Språk."

40. "dem efftersökia."

same as Scythian words, even if the words do not mean an herb. He gives an example of a far-fetched semantic argument: "this herb has got its name from the fact that when an ox, cow, or horse eats of it, it cacks and shits"[41] (Rudbeck 1698: 737). Although modern audiences mainly remember Rudbeck for his more far-fetched etymologies and this passage shows a lack of self-reflection, it also shows his sense of scholarly discipline and integrity, even if he was not good at applying this to himself.

Rudbeck's project and methods show both similarities and differences with the prevailing fashions in serventeenth-century Phoenician studies. His work draws from and resembles that of Bochart in its scope and its interest in geography, and is in line with many other works of the time in its patriotic concern with seeking the origins of modern nations in ancient population movements. However, he does not share Bochart's sense of the absolute pre-eminence of the Bible as a source; his more secular approach to sources is closer to that of scholars like Scaliger. Like him, Rudbeck sees value in a people's own literature as a source for their early history. When dealing with Swedish history, he prefers to use the Eddas and other Old Norse works rather than other sources. His tendency to reinterpret sources to fit into his own history of the Scythians, though academically dubious (to say the least), show-cases his understanding that sources cannot be taken at face value. Rudbeck is reluctant to accept anything supernatural or otherworldly that is not found in the Bible, which leads him to reinterpret mythical elements as more prosaic ones, both in Graeco-Roman myths and Old Norse ones. Gods become generals and kings, strange creatures become machines of war and ships.

This goes well with his more hands-on approach to antiquity. He discusses runic inscriptions extensively, and uses archaeology and stratigraphy, especially when proposing chronologies. Rudbeck's interest in language contact puts him apart from his contemporaries, as does his view of the Bible. While Rudbeck was wrong about the relationship of Phoenician and Hebrew, his hypothesis that these two languages are not related but are only similar through contact depends on his view of the Bible as not necessarily central in all instances.

This being said, Rudbeck does not put this methodology into practice throughout his work. When he mentions that he wishes that Phoenician books had survived, it is a comment on the language, not on getting information from a Phoenician perspective. The only Phoenician inscriptions he mentions are coins, which were sent to him by his correspondents, among them Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld, who conducted a "Gothic tour" to North Africa and southern Europe where he looked for evidence of the Swedish exodus (Eriksson 2002: 429). He does not spend much time discussing them, but only says that they bear "pure Gothic runes"[42] (Rudbeck 1698: 38). We do not know how well preserved these coins were, but even if they were in good condition, Rudbeck's convictions were strong enough to skew his reading. He would have been unlikely to have been able to see any Phoenician inscription longer than coin legends in person. Sweden, despite its new position as a geopolitical power, was still a poor country in both finance and culture. No inscriptions from the Mediterranean would be brought there during the seventeenth century. Rudbeck himself only left Sweden once, when he spent time in Leiden as a young man, long before starting work on the *Atlantica*.

It is partly this geographical isolation that is the reason why Rudbeck does not have a position in the history of Phoenician studies. The isolation was also ideological. Rudbeck's

41. "den Örten bekommit nampn deraf, emedan när en Oxe, Koo eller Häst äter där af, så Kackar och skiter han."

42. "rena Gothiska Runer."

proto-nationalist focus on Swedish prehistory was alienating to scholars abroad and served to hinder wider notice of other parts of his scholarship contained in the *Atlantica*. This is the greatest difference between Rudbeck and many of his contemporaries. The studies of Phoenicians by other European scholars of the seventeenth century tended to concentrate specifically on the Phoenicians. When there was a broader point argued, it would concern biblical narratives or the Graeco-Roman world, both well-established parts of the intellectual framework. Rudbeck uses the Phoenicians, as well as all other peoples he discusses at any length, as a means to an end. This end was to create a prehistory of Sweden that rivaled the geopolitical expansion that had taken place during the seventeenth century. Ultimately, Rudbeck's goal undermined his own broader international legacy.

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