

ARTICLE IV.

THE STUDY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE  
AMONG JEWS AND CHRISTIANS.<sup>1</sup>

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PERIOD II.—THE STUDY OF HEBREW AMONG CHRISTIANS  
(A.D. 1500–1700).

WITH the more general study of antiquity which preceded the Reformation, and received a new impulse from it, there began also amongst Christians the revival of a more lively interest in the study of the original language of the Old Testament. Luther himself declared a knowledge of Hebrew to be of the utmost importance for the establishment of an enlightened creed, and recommended it with almost vehement zeal. "Scanty as the measure of my attainments in the knowledge of the sacred language is, I would not barter that which I possess for all the treasures of the universe. . . . There are some who, when they have learned to pronounce a Hebrew word, immediately think themselves the masters of that sacred language. Unless we have command of it, they will thereupon ridicule and insult us as asses; but if we also are armed with a knowledge of this language we shall be able to shut up their impudent mouths."<sup>2</sup> As Luther, so thought

<sup>1</sup> Continued from vol. xli. p. 477, July, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> Luther's words run thus in Latin: "Etsi exigua sit mea lingue Hebraicæ notitia, cum omnibus tamen totius mundi gazis non commutarem. . . . Qui, cum unam Ebraeam vocem sonare didicerunt, statim putant, se magistros hujus sacrae lingue. Ibi nisi nos eam tenuerimus tanquam assinis illudent et insultabunt; sin autem nos quoque muniti fuerimus cognitione hujus lingue, poterimus eis impudens os obstruere." An interesting article by Professor Delitzsch on Luther as Hebraist is found in Luthardt's *Allgemeine Evangel. Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, Leipzig, Nov. 10, 1883.

Melanchthon. "It is necessary," said the *praeceptor Germaniae*, "to preserve the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue in the church; for, although there are extant interpretations necessary for the people, yet God wills there should always be witnesses of those interpretations. He wills that upon obscure passages the fountains be consulted. . . . How much clearer the meaning is to those who are acquainted with the fountains, the skilful are able to judge. This is plain, that, when the language of the prophets is known, ingenious minds are delighted with the certainty of the sense." His exhortation and example were not in vain. Many hastened to acquire the Hebrew, even under many difficulties and by sacrifices; and they prized it as a most precious accomplishment. Not only were the works of the old Jewish grammarians—the almost exclusive sources of the earlier Christian Hebraists—studied, but learned Jews themselves were sought for as teachers. Thus Jacob Jehiel Loanz, of Linz, and Obadiah ben Jacob de Sforno<sup>1</sup> were the distinguished teachers of Reuchlin; Jochanan Allemano was the friend and preceptor of Pico della Mirandola, and the famous Elias Levita guided the studies of Cardinal Aegidius de Viterbo.

Before, however, we speak of the Christian Hebraists, let us glance at the principal *Jewish* grammarians of that period:

1. *Elijah ben Asher Hallevi*, called also *Elias Levita Habbachur*,<sup>2</sup> whom R. Simon praises as "sans doute le plus savant critique des Juifs, qu'il a tous surpassés dans l'art de la Grammaire,"<sup>3</sup> was born in 1472, and died at Venice in 1549. At Rome, where he instructed the Cardinal Egidio of Viterbo in Hebrew, he wrote, in 1518, his

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Pick in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop. s. v. Obadiah.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. the articles Elias Levita in the Cyclopædias of Kitto, McClintock and Strong, Herzog, and Schaff-Herzog; but more especially Ginsburg's biography in his edition of the Massoreth ha-Massoreth.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire Critique de Vieux Test.*, p. 177.

great grammar, *הַתְּבַחֵר*,<sup>1</sup> at the suggestion and for the use of the cardinal. This grammar, which was the Gesenius of the time, he divided into four parts. The first part discusses the nature of the Hebrew verbs; the second, the changes in the vowel-points of the different conjugations; the third, the regular nouns; and the fourth, the irregular nouns. In the same year he also completed and printed a treatise on the irregular words in the Bible, entitled *סֵפֶר הַהֶרְבֵּכָה*, "The Book on Compounds," because it treats of words composed of different words and conjugations.<sup>2</sup> In 1520 he published at Pesaro a rhymed treatise, entitled *פֶּרֶק אֵילֵהוּ*,<sup>3</sup> divided into four parts. The first part, which is preceded by a separate introduction and table of contents, discusses, in thirteen stanzas or poems, the laws of the letters, the vowel-points, and the accents, and is denominated *פֶּרֶק שִׁירָה*, "*The Poetical Section.*" In the second section, which is also preceded by a separate introduction and table of contents, he discusses, in thirteen chapters written in prose, the different parts of speech, hence called "*The Section on the Different Kinds of Words,*" *פֶּרֶק הַמִּינִים*. The third section, preceded by an introduction only, treats of the numbers and genders of the several parts of speech, and is styled "*The Section of Rules,*" *פֶּרֶק הַמִּדּוֹת*. The fourth section treats on the seven servile letters (*מִשֶּׁה וְכֹלֵב*), and hence is denominated "*The Section on the Serviles,*" *פֶּרֶק הַשְּׂמוּאִים*.

In 1527, when Rome was plundered by the Imperialists under Charles V., Elias went to Venice, where he published in 1538 his celebrated *Masoreth Hammasoreth*,<sup>4</sup> *מִסּוֹרֶת הַמַּסּוֹרֶת*. This work is remarkable, since, in the third

<sup>1</sup> Published at Rome, and often since. Last ed., Grodno, 1822. Translated into Latin by S. Münster, and published under the title, *סֵפֶר הַהֶרְבֵּכָה*, *Grammatica Hebraica, Latinitate donata.* Basel, 1525.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated into Latin by Münster.

<sup>3</sup> Latin translation by Münster, Basel, 1527.

<sup>4</sup> German translation by Chr. G. Meyer, annotated by Semler, Halle, 1772; but the most complete and carefully executed English translation,

introduction, Levita endeavored to prove that the vowel-points now to be found in the Hebrew Bibles are not of the same antiquity with the text; but that they were inserted and put there by the Massorites about five hundred years after Christ; thus calling forth not only opposition, but a controversy which raged for more than three centuries.<sup>1</sup>

Twelve months after the appearance of the "*Masoreth Hammasoreth*," Levita published a treatise on the laws of the accents, entitled סֵפֶר טוֹב טַעַם, "*The Book of Good Sense*," consisting of eight sections.<sup>2</sup> In 1540 he accepted a call from Paul Fagius to assist him in the establishment of a new Hebrew printing-office, and in the publication of several Hebrew books, at Isny, in Suabia. He remained at Isny until 1547, where he published a lexicon, entitled "*The Tishbite*," תִּשְׁבִּי, comprising 712 words used in the ancient Jewish literature.<sup>3</sup> In the same year he carried through the press a Chaldee lexicon, called "Methurgeman," מְתוּרְגֵמָן, "*The Interpreter*." In the year following (1542) he published an *Alphabetical List of Technical Hebrew Words or Nomenclature*, שֵׁמוֹת דְּבָרִים, in four columns: Judæo-German, Hebrew, Latin (by Fagius), and German; which was afterward republished, with an additional column, by Drusus the son, containing the corresponding Greek, and enriched by Drusus the father, Franeker, 1652.

In 1547 he returned to Venice, and died there in 1549.

2. *Abraham de Balmes*, of Lecci (1450-1523), a physician, philosopher, and grammarian, is the author of a very valuable and often-quoted grammar (מִקְנֵה אֲבָרָהִים), the Ewald

together with a critical edition of the original, is that published by Ch. D. Ginsburg, London, 1867, under the title, *The Massoreth ha-Massoreth of Elias Levita, with an English Translation and Explanatory Notes*.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Pick, art. Vowel-points, in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop.

<sup>2</sup> Venice, 1538.

<sup>3</sup> Translated into Latin by P. Fagius: *Opusculum recens Hebraicum*, . . . Isny, 1541.

among Hebrew students, in which he frequently opposed David Kimchi.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Samuel ben Elchanan Archevolti*, of Padua, wrote a work on grammar, composition, and prosody, entitled *ערונית הבשם*, in thirty-two chapters (Venice, 1602), in which he combats Levita's views regarding the later origin of the vowel-points.

4. *Isaac ben Samuel Hallevi*, of Posen, is the author of *שיח יצחק*, a grammar in seven sections, which may be considered as the first attempt at a rational treatment of the language.<sup>2</sup>

5. *Judah ben David Neumark*, or *Loeb Hanau*, author of *שורש יהודה*, a Hebrew grammar in six sections, together with a list of the best Jewish grammarians.<sup>3</sup>

6. *Solomon ben Melech*, the author of *מקלל יופי* (Constant., 1549; Amsterd., 1660-61, 1684); *Inmanuel di Benevento*, of Mantua, author of *ליתת חן* (Mantua, 1557); *Jacob Finso*, author of *Dibrey Agur* (Venice, 1605); and others.<sup>4</sup>

Notwithstanding the great reverence of the Fathers for the Old Testament, the Hebrew language was so little known in Christian antiquity that, excepting the authors of the Peshito translation, the only persons who distinguished themselves, and became famous for it, were *Origen*, whose knowledge of Hebrew was moderate, and *Jerome*, whose knowledge was considerable for that period.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edited, with a Latin translation and a treatise on the accents, by Calo Calonymus, Venice, 1523.

<sup>2</sup> First published at Prague, 1628.

<sup>3</sup> Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1693.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Luzzato, Proleg. pp. 58-66; Steinschneider, Jüdische Literatur, p. 459.

<sup>5</sup> In his able article, Hebrew Learning among the Fathers (in Smith and Wace's Dictionary of Christian Biography, vol. ii, London, 1880), Mr. C. J. Elliott thus sums up his inquiry: "With the exception of Jerome, and perhaps of Origen, none of the early Christian writers appear to have possessed any knowledge of Hebrew which was worthy of the name. The knowledge possessed by Epiphanius, to whom we may perhaps add Eusebius and Theodoret, was of an extremely superficial character, and served only, if, indeed, it extended so far as, to enable them to appreciate the value of the great work of Origen. Origen's scholarship was also very rude and ele-

In the Middle Ages some knowledge of Hebrew was preserved in the church by converted Jews, as *Paulus Burgensis* (†1435),<sup>1</sup> and even by Christian scholars, of whom the most notable were the Dominican controversialist, *Raymond Martini* (†1284),<sup>2</sup> and the Franciscan *Nicolaus de Lyra* (†1341), through whose popular commentaries<sup>3</sup> the exegesis of Rashi was conveyed to Luther, and largely influenced his interpretation of Scripture.<sup>4</sup>

mentary; and it yet remains to be ascertained to what extent the Hexapla represented the fruit of his own investigations, or the results of his wise and laborious appreciation of the knowledge of others. The name of Jerome stands out conspicuously, alike upon the roll of his predecessors and of his successors, until the time of the Reformation, as by far the most distinguished, perhaps the only, Christian writer of antiquity who was qualified to make an independent use of his Hebrew acquirements, and to whom the whole Christian church will ever owe an inestimable debt of gratitude for the preservation of so large a portion of the results of Origen's labors, and still more for that unrivalled and imperishable work which has been not inaptly described as having 'remained for eight centuries the bulwark of Western Christianity.' "

<sup>1</sup> See Pick, *Paulus Burgensis*, in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop.

<sup>2</sup> It is worthy to be noticed that this Dominican, long before Levita, regarded the vowel-points as later inventions. In his *Pugio Fidei* (second ed. Leips., 1674) on Hos. ix. 12, he remarks: "Caeterum sciendum, quod nec Moyses punctavit legem, unde Judaei non habent eam cum punctis, *i. e.*, cum vocalibus scriptam in rotulis suis; nec aliquis ex prophetis punctavit librum suum; sed duo Judaei, quorum unus dictus est Nephtali, alter vero Ben-Acher, totum Vetum Testamentum punctasse leguntur; quae quidam puncta cum quibusdam virgulis sunt loco vocalium apud eos: cum quae venissent ad locum istum, et secundum orthographiam debuissent punctare *בְּשׁוֹרִי* *incarnatione mea*, punctaverunt *בְּסוֹרִי* *in recessu meo*, ut opus incarnationis removerent a Deo."

<sup>3</sup> *Postillae Perpetuae in Universa Biblia* (Rome, 1471, 5 vols. fol.; best ed. Antw., 1634, 6 vols. fol.).

<sup>4</sup> See Siegfried: *Rashi's Einfluss auf Nicolaus von Lira und Luther*, etc. (*Merx' Archiv für wissensch. Erforschung des A. Test.* i. 428; ii. 38). By his thorough expositions of the Scriptures, Lyra became one of the greatest aids of the reformers of the sixteenth century, whence the couplet on Luther's exegetical labor by Pflug, bishop of Naumburg:

"Si Lyra non lyrasset  
Lutherus non saltasset,"

which has been paraphrased:

But there was no continuous tradition of Hebrew study apart from the Jews; and in the fifteenth century, when the revival of independent scholarship kindled the desire to add a third learned language to Latin and Greek, only the most ardent zeal could conquer the obstacles that lay in the way. Orthodox Jews refused to teach those who were not of their faith;<sup>1</sup> and, on the other hand, the bigotry of ignorant churchmen desired nothing better than the entire suppression of Jewish learning, and regarded every one who studied or encouraged the study of Hebrew as a Jew. To the difficulty of obtaining instruction in Hebrew we must also add the scarcity of books, for, as we know, the first Hebrew Bible was not printed before the year 1488,<sup>2</sup> and some years elapsed before it was to be had in Germany. Yet, in spite of all difficulties, there was a great thirst after the knowledge of Hebrew, and the cause of learning found its champion in John Reuchlin, whose victorious contest with *Johann Pfefferkorn*<sup>3</sup> and the Cologne obscurantists established the claim of Hebrew studies on scholarship and the church.

As there were reformers before the Reformation, there also were some Hebraists before Reuchlin, as the two Tübingen professors, *Wilhelm Raymundi* and *Conrad Summerhart*,<sup>4</sup> whose pupil, *Conrad Pellicanus* (†1556), composed the first Hebrew grammar, "*De modo legendi et intelligendi*

"If Lyra had not harped on profanation  
Luther had not planned the Reformation."

<sup>1</sup> Reuchlin says in the preface to the third book of the *Rudimenta*: ". . . . cum nostrates Judaei . . . . neminem in eorum lingua erudire velint idque recusant cujusdam Rabi Ami auctoritate, qui in Talmud ita dixit: Non explanantur verba legis cuiquam gentili eo quod scriptum est qui adnuntiat verba sua Jacob, praecepta sua et judicia sua Israel, non fecit similiter omni genti."

<sup>2</sup> De Rossi, *Annales Hebraei Typographici*, Sec. xv, Parma, 1795.

<sup>3</sup> Pick, art. John Pfefferkorn, in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopaedia*.

<sup>4</sup> Schnurrer. *Nachrichten von den Lehrern der hebr. Literatur in Tübingen*, p. 2.

*Hebraeum* (Strassburg, 1504),<sup>1</sup> whilst a monk at Tübingen, and only between twenty-two and twenty-six years of age.<sup>2</sup> Besides these we must mention *Sebastian Murrho*, of Colmar, and a friend of Wimpheling and Reuchlin, *John Wessel*.<sup>3</sup> But the man who opened up the path to the scientific cultivation of the Hebrew language, and who laid the foundation to the study of this language among Christians, at least in Germany,<sup>4</sup> was

1. *John Reuchlin*.

John Reuchlin<sup>5</sup> was born at Pforzheim in 1455, and died at Stuttgart in 1523. His teachers in Hebrew were Jehiel Loanz and Obadiah Sforno. In 1498 he commenced his instruction in Hebrew at Heidelberg, which, however, was done privately on account of the fanaticism of the monks. Besides at Heidelberg, he also instructed at Ingolstadt, where John Forster, John Eck, and Jacob Ceporinus were among his pupils; at Stuttgart, where Christopher Schilling, John Œcolampadius, John Cellarius, Bartholomew Caesar, and others attended his lectures. Besides this oral instruction, he prepared for learners his *Rudimenta linguae hebraicae una cum Lexico* (Phorcae, 1506), which he closed with these words: "*Exegi monumentum aere perennius*." As an apology for the publication of his work, he quotes a constitution of Pope

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted in fac-simile by E. Nestle (Tübingen, 1877), reviewed by Kautzsch in Schürer's *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1878, No. 19.

<sup>2</sup> A lively picture of the difficulties that lay in the way of Hebrew study is found in *Das Chronikon des Konrad Pellikan*, ed. B. Riggerbach (Basle, 1872).

<sup>3</sup> His life is given by Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation* (Hamburg, 1842), ii. pp. 285-685. English translation by R. Menzies, *Reformers before the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1855), 2 vols.

<sup>4</sup> On the study of Hebrew in England, see Welton, *John Lightfoot* (Leips., 1878), p. 129. In Italy, Hebrew was cultivated by Pico of Mirandola (†1494), in France by Santes Pagninus (†1527) and F. Vatablus (†1547).

<sup>5</sup> Comp. L. Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin* (Leips., 1871), and *Studium der hebr. Sprache in Deutschland vom Ende des XV. bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Breslau, 1870).

Clement V., who allowed the study of Hebrew; and how little prepared he thinks the readers of his work, he indicates by the exhortation to read this work not like others, from the left to the right, but from the right to the left.<sup>1</sup> The whole is divided in three parts: the first speaks of the necessary requirements for the reading of Hebrew, viz., of the alphabet, vowels, and syllables, pp. 5-8; pp. 9-31 contain reading exercises; and pp. 32-259, the first part of the lexicon, comprising letters א to ט; the second part, pp. 260-545, contains the second part of the lexicon, from letters י to ט; the third part, pp. 546-621, contains the grammar proper. In the preparation of his work he followed Kimchi's *Sepher Michlol*. He followed his own method, freeing himself as much as possible from the old traditional ways. He often corrected the translation of Jerome and Nicolaus de Lyra. But the same right which Jerome claimed for himself with regard to the Septuagint version, and Lyra with regard to Jerome, and Paul of Burgos concerning Lyra, he also claimed for himself; and though he held them in high esteem, yet truth was to him above every thing.<sup>2</sup> Besides the *Rudimenta*, he wrote *De accentibus et orthographia linguae Hebraicae* (Hagenau, 1518).

Another famous Hebraist of this time is the Jewish convert,

## 2. Matthäus Adrianus.

He was the teacher of *Pellikan* and of *Wolfgang Fabricius Capito*. In 1513 Adrianus went to Heidelberg, where he instructed in Hebrew privately, and where the famous

<sup>1</sup> Canon: "Non est liber legendus hic ceu caeteri  
Faciem sinistra dextera dorsum tene  
Et de sinistra paginas ad dexteram  
Quaecunquae verte quae latine videris  
Legito latine hebraea si sint insita  
A dextera legenda sunt sinistrorsum."

<sup>2</sup> "Quamquam enim Hieronymum sanctum veneror ut angelum, et I. yram colo ut magistrum, tamen adoro veritatem ut deum." Preface to the third part.

*John Brentz*<sup>1</sup> and *John Œcolampadius*<sup>2</sup> were among his pupils. In 1517 we find Adrianus at Liege, where he instructed Berselius, a friend of Erasmus. In the same year we find him also at Louvain, where *Sebastian Nucenus* was among his pupils. For some time he was also professor at Wittenberg, which he left in 1521. When and where he died is unknown. Adrianus<sup>3</sup> was one of the greatest Hebraists of his time. He is the author of *Introductio ad linguam hebraeam* (Basil., 1518; Haganoae, 1519), and his *Oratio de linguarum laude, Lovanii habita* (A. 1519), was published, Wittenberg, 1520.

More prominent than Adrianus was Reuchlin's pupil,

### 3. *Johann Böschenstein.*

He<sup>4</sup> was born in 1472 at Esslingen. On account of his great Hebrew knowledge he was thought to be of Jewish origin, and had much to suffer. For some time he instructed in Hebrew at Augsburg, Ingolstadt, Wittenberg, and Heidelberg. He died after 1530. Among his pupils we mention Caspar Amman, Johann Eck, and Sebastian Sperantius, bishop of Brixen. At Wittenberg, Böschenstein published a Hebrew grammar, *Hebraicae Grammaticae institutiones studiosis sanctae linguae*, 1518. In this grammar, which he dedicated to the elector of Saxony, he speaks of his adversities in the following manner: "The Jews hated me, because I taught a science hitherto unknown to Christians; unlettered and uneducated priests accused me of associating with Jews, whereas I only made use of them so far as to carry their wild vines into the vineyard of the Lord."<sup>5</sup> At Augsburg he undertook

<sup>1</sup> Beyschlag, *Leben des Brenz*, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Herzog, J. Œcolampadius, in Herzog and Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopaedia*.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. L. Geiger, *Studium*, p. 41 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Geiger, l. c. p. 48 sq.

<sup>5</sup> "Odio Judaeis eram quod literas publicarem hactenus vulgo Christiano ignotas, a plerisque indoctis et male imbutis sacrificis criminabar judaice consuetudinis quibuscum eatenus conversatus sum quatenus feraces eis vites auferrem in vineam domini conserendas."

a new edition of Moses Kimchi's grammar at the wish of the publisher Sigismund Grimm.<sup>1</sup>

The learning of Hebrew was also promoted by two pupils of the famous Elias Levita, Paul Fagius and Sebastian Münster.

#### 4. Paul Fagius

was born in 1504.<sup>2</sup> He was for some time professor of Hebrew at Strassburg, but most of his time he spent at Isny, even after he had left Strassburg in 1537. Among his pupils were *Johann Drakonites*, *Martin Crusius*, *Jacob Hartmann*, and *Jacob Velocianus*. At Isny, Fagius established a Hebrew printing-office, from which he issued, in 1541, Levita's *Tishbi* in a Latin translation. Besides Levita's works, he also edited the writings of other Jewish scholars. Of his own writings, we mention his Hebrew grammar, *Compendiaria isagoge in linguam hebraeam*, 1543. In 1549 Fagius was called to Cambridge in England as King's Reader of Hebrew; he did not, however, live long enough to enter upon his duties. He died November 12, 1549, in the same year in which Elias Levita died.

A greater Hebraist than Paul Fagius was

#### 5. Sebastian Münster.

He was born at Ingelheim in the Palatinate, in 1489. At sixteen years of age he went to Tübingen, where Stapfer and Reuchlin became his teachers. He was professor of Hebrew at Heidelberg, and subsequently at Basle, where he died May 23, 1552. He was proud of his Hebrew learning, and regarded himself, besides Reuchlin and Pellicanus, as the third who had really promoted the study of Hebrew;<sup>3</sup> and John Eck said of him that there never

<sup>1</sup> Rudimenta Hebraica Mosche Kimchi revisa, Augsburg, 1520. Comp. Wolf, Bibliotheca Hebraea, vol. iii. p. 810.

<sup>2</sup> Geiger, l. c. p. 65 sq.

<sup>3</sup> In the preface to his *Opus Consummatum*, he says: "Primus omnium qui nostro aevo colere et plantare coepit hebraicam linguam, fuit doctissimus vir Johan. Reuchlin sive Capnion . . . huic fere coevus in hoc sacro studio, incomparabilis ille vir, dominus Conradus Pellicanus . . . his ego תלמידי tertius accessi, anno scilicet Christi 1509.

was a man in Germany who was so well acquainted with the Hebrew language as Münster.<sup>1</sup> He translated the works of Levita, published a revised edition of Reuchlin's Grammar (1537), and translated some books of the Old Testament into Latin. He even went a step farther, and published an edition of the Old Testament with a new Latin translation.<sup>2</sup> If he had done nothing more besides the publication of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, he would deserve an honorable place in the galaxy of those who promoted Hebrew learning. But he did more than this. With the aid of Jewish writers, whose works he consulted, he prepared a new Latin translation, thus putting himself in opposition to the church, which acknowledged Jerome's translation. Münster was also the first to write a Chaldee grammar.<sup>3</sup>

A greater impetus was given to the study of the Hebrew language when it was introduced into the studies of the universities. At Heidelberg, where Reuchlin and M. Adrianus had taught it privately, in 1521 Böschenstein was appointed the first public teacher. Having resigned his position in 1522, the chair of Hebrew remained vacant till 1524, when Sebastian Münster was appointed. He occupied his position till 1527. His successors were very insignificant. In 1551 the Jewish convert Paul Staffel-

<sup>1</sup> In *Super Aggaeo Propheta Jo. Eckii Commentarius* (Solingen, 1538), we read: "Nam cum Munsterus frequenti studio et diligentia non poenitenda tantum in Hebraeis literis profecerit, quantum vix alius in Germania et cum Judaeis sermone patrio ausus sit congregari, verebar ne Judaei supra modum captiosi nobis Christianis insultarent: Ecce hic vester Rabi Munsterus, qui plurimum doctus in lingua sancta apud nos famatur, religiosus ex divi Francisci ordine, unde reputator apud vos Nazarenos habetur."

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Rosenmüller, *Handbuch für die Literatur der bibl. Kritik und Exegese* (Göttingen, 1797), vol. i. p. 269 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Chaldaica grammatica ante hac a nemine attentata, sed jam primum per Sebastianum Munsterum conscripta et aedita, non tam ad Chaldaicos interpretes quam Hebraeorum commentarios intelligendos Hebraicae linguae studiosis utilissima . . . Basilea MDXXVII.* For Münster's grammatical and lexical works, comp. Steinschneider, *Bibliographisches Handbuch* (Berlin, 1859), pp. 96-8; Fürst, *Bibliotha Judaica*, ii. p. 407 sq.; Geiger, *Studium*, p. 74 sq.

steiner<sup>1</sup> was appointed. How long he was professor there is unknown. Looking at Wittenberg, we find there, after the refusal of Reuchlin, as first Hebrew teacher, John Böschenstein, who was followed by Bartholomew Caesar. Matthias Adrianus remained at Wittenberg only a short time, and was succeeded in 1521 by Matthias Aurogallus. He died November 10, 1543. He wrote a Hebrew grammar,<sup>2</sup> which was a good book for its time, and assisted Luther in his work of translation. Aurogallus was followed by Lucas Edenberger, who again was succeeded by the famous theologian Matthias Flacius Illyrikus, who left Wittenberg in 1547. For some time the chair of Hebrew was filled by Paul Eber, who was succeeded by Reuchlin's pupil Johann Forster. He was born at Augsburg, July 10, 1495, and died at Wittenberg, Dec. 8, 1556. Having studied Greek and Hebrew at Ingolstadt, under Reuchlin, and theology at Leipsic and Wittenberg, he became one of Luther's favorite pupils, and was, on his recommendation, made preacher in Augsburg, 1535. But here, as afterwards in Tübingen, his strict and exclusive Lutheranism brought him in conflict with his colleagues. In 1549 he was made professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg. He is the author of *Dictionarium Hebraicum novum, non ex rabinorum commentis, nec nostratium doctorum stulta imitatione descriptum, sed ex ipsis thesauris sacrorum Bibliorum et eorundem accurata locorum collatione depromptum, cum phrasibus scripturae veteris et novi testamenti diligenter annotatis* . . . . Basileae, 1557 and 1564. We have purposely given this long title, because Forster was the first Lutheran divine who wrote a Hebrew lexicon. In the preface, p. 3, he thus expresses himself: "In scholis et dictionariis oportet regnare non inania somnia Rabbinorum, sed quantum assequi possumus, propriam ex fontibus S. S. sumtam

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Pick, art. Staffelseiner, in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopaedia.

<sup>2</sup> Compendium Hebr. et Chald. Grammat., Wittenberg, 1525, 1531; Basil., 1539. Steinschneider remarks that out of this grammar Luther learned the Hebrew.

significationem : quae semper praelucere nobis et tanquam columna ignis in conspectu esse debet, quod a Christianis scriptoribus hactenus non est factitatum; sed fascino Judaico uni themati duo, tria, etiam plura, et quidem dissimilia tribuerunt significata, ut in tam multiplici varietate nescias quae cujusvis vocis in quolibet scripturae loco propria significatio et ita in ambiguo haereas. Cum tamen singula themata unam tantum eamque propriam et principalem habeant significationem nec plures," etc. "His aim was," says Bleek, "to discover the meaning of the Hebrew words, partly by careful comparison and consideration of the various places in which the same word is found, partly by comparison of the different related words. In this method he proceeded on the supposition (which also verifies itself in a general way in numberless instances, and which in later times has repeatedly been taken up anew and pursued farther), that words ought to be related in meaning when they have two consonants common to them, or the same consonant only transposed, or consonants pronounced by the same organ. Yet the one-sided pursuit of this method could not have kept him from many misconceptions, and still less could he have reached his object by it alone, had he not retained the Jewish tradition in his memory, and been many a time, even unconsciously, guided by it in fixing the significations."

Forster's lexicon elicited a rejoinder from the Jewish convert, Johannes Isaacus.<sup>1</sup> Of Forster's pupils we mention the famous Laelius Socinus. For a time the chair of Hebrew was again occupied by Paul Eber. In 1560, March 18, Heinrich Moller delivered his inaugural ad-

<sup>1</sup> *Meditationes hebraicae in artem grammaticam . . . . contra confusissimum D. Johannis Fursteri quandoque Professoris Wittenbergensis Lexicon . . . . Coloniae, 1558.* He tells us that, after having finished his work, he became acquainted with Forster's lexicon. He first intended to write against him, but when he heard that he was dead he gave up that idea, "ne vel cum larvis certare (quod dici solet) vel mortuum mordere videremur." Since, however, Forster had many admirers, he could not keep back.

dress as professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg.<sup>1</sup> He seems to have been followed by Paul Fagius' pupil, Johannes Draconites (1565).

Reuchlin's successor at Tübingen was Robert Wakefield, who left in 1530, and died at Oxford in 1534. His successor at Tübingen was Jacob Jonas, who resigned his position in 1533 and went to Vienna.

At Leipsic we find in 1519 John Cellarius,<sup>2</sup> and a little later Bernhard Ziegler.

At Basle we find Johannes Œcolampadius, the pupil of Reuchlin, Wolfgang Fabritius Capito, a pupil of M. Adrianus, and Sebastian Münster.

At Zurich, Hebrew was taught by Jacob Ceperinus (1522-23), and Conrad Pellikan (1526-56), whose pupils were Johann Frisius and Sebastian Guldibeck. Pellikan's successor was Peter Martyr, a pupil of Emmanuel Tremellius<sup>3</sup> at Lucca.

At Freiburg we find in 1521 as teacher of Hebrew, Johannes Lonicerus, who was succeeded by Michael Däle von Aach (1522-31). His successor was Johannes Molitor, who resigned his office in 1546 in favor of Johann Hartung, who was followed by Oswald Schreckenfuchs (1552-75).

At the same time as at Zurich, Theodor Fabritius (1525) ventured to teach the Hebrew at Cologne in public. The great success which attended his lectures, more especially his efforts in promoting evangelical knowledge, caused the prohibition to lecture any more at the university. As he, however, continued giving private lectures, he had to leave the city in 1527. He died at Zeitz in 1570.<sup>4</sup> An-

<sup>1</sup> *Adhortatio ad cognoscendam linguam hebraeam* (in *Corpus Reformationum*,— Melancthon's opera,— vol. xii. col. 385-92).

<sup>2</sup> He wrote: *Isagogicon Johannis Cellarii Gnostopolitanae in hebraeas literas omnibus hebr. literarum candidatis non minus utile quam necessarium*, Haguenoae, 1518.

<sup>3</sup> Comp Pick, art. Tremellius, in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopaedia*.

<sup>4</sup> He wrote: *Institutiones grammaticae in linguam sanctam, Coloniae, 1528*, and often, and *Tabulae duae, de nominibus Hebraeorum una, altera de verbis, Basileae, 1545*.

other Hebrew teacher at Cologne was Johannes Isaacus, mentioned above.<sup>1</sup>

When the Marburg University was founded, in 1536, Sebastian Nucenus, of Holland, a pupil of Adrian, who after his teacher's departure had continued his studies in Hebrew, was called as first professor of Hebrew. He had lectured before, at Louvain and Ghent, but on account of his liberal views he was persecuted by the monks. He then went to Wittenberg to continue his studies in Hebrew, and accepted afterward the call to Marburg. He died April 18, 1536, and wrote *De literarum, vocum, et accentuum hebraicorum natura*, etc., Marpurgi, 1532. His successor was Johannes Lonicerus (1536-69).

At Vienna the study of Hebrew was promoted by the Jewish convert Antonius Margaritha, who in 1533 was appointed first professor of Hebrew. In the year 1544 the Italian Francis Stankarus was appointed professor, but had to resign his position in 1546 on account of his leaning towards Protestantism. Two other professors were Andreas Plank and Johann Sylvester (1552-54). The former is the author of *Institutiones Grammatices Ebraeae*.<sup>2</sup> For the Erfurt university it was intended to call, as professor of Hebrew, George Wicel, but Luther and Justus Jonas interfered, since Wicel had become a zealous Roman Catholic.<sup>3</sup>

At Königsberg, where a university was founded in 1543, we find in 1546 Andreas Wesseling (1546-51) as professor of Hebrew. His *Oratio de studiis linguae ebraicae* is printed in *Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. xi. (1843) col. 708-

<sup>1</sup> Besides his work against Forster, he wrote *לשון למודים*, Perfectissima hebraea grammatica, commodo admodum ordine in tres libros distincta . . . Coloniae, 1557. For a biography of Isaacus, comp. the art. s. v. Isaac Levita in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopaedia.

<sup>2</sup> Viennae Austriae, 1552. This book is the more remarkable, since it is the first good Hebrew print executed at Vienna.

<sup>3</sup> Wicel wrote *Idiomata quaedam linguae sanctae in scripturis veteris testamenti observata*. Moguntiae, 1542.

15. His successor was Francis Stankarus, and was succeeded by Johann Sciurus.

At Rostock the first Hebrew professor was appointed in 1553 in the person of Andreas Wesseling, who was recommended by Melanchthon. His successor was in 1577 Henning Adendorp and Nicolaus Goniäus.

We had occasion to refer to the fact that Hebrew scholars went from Germany to England to promote Hebrew learning there. It will, therefore, not be out of the way to glance at the state of the study of Hebrew in England.

Of the earliest Christian scholars who had some knowledge of Hebrew, we mention the venerable Bede and his pupil Alcuin. During the reign of William II. some rabbis were permitted to open a school in the University of Oxford, where they taught Hebrew. Nor were there wanting converts to the Christian faith, who gladly imparted their knowledge of Hebrew to others.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the school in Oxford, the Jews had schools in London, York, Lincoln, Cambridge, and other towns, and, in consequence of this, many English ecclesiastics, of whom might be mentioned Robert Grosseteste,<sup>2</sup> bishop of Lincoln, and Roger Bacon, the celebrated Franciscan monk, became familiar with the Hebrew. The latter must have had an extensive knowledge of the Hebrew, since, in a letter addressed to Pope Clement IV., he professed that he could impart to an apt and diligent scholar a knowledge of Hebrew in three days.<sup>3</sup> Who the teachers of Robert Dodford, and especially of Lawrence Holbeck, the author of a Hebrew lexicon,<sup>4</sup> were, we are at a loss to

<sup>1</sup> Anthony à Wood refers to one Nicholas Harpsfield, saying "Circa CIOCCCIIX Hebraicam linguam in Oxonia per quendam Judaeum ad fidem Christi conversum legi coepisse."

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Schaff-Herzog Encycl. s. v.

<sup>3</sup> "Certum est mihi quod intra tres dies quemcunque diligentem et confidentem docerem Hebraeum et simul legere et intelligere quicquid sancti dicunt et sapientes antiqui in expositione sacri textus, et quicquid pertinet ad illius textus correctionem, et expositionem, si vellet se exercere secundum doctrinam doctam." Epist. de laud. S. Script. ad P. Clement IV.

<sup>4</sup> This curious work was possessed in manuscript by Robert Wakefield.

know; but it seems that Hebrew must have been studied to a great extent, and, as in Germany, the Church of Rome did not look upon it with a favorable eye. Nevertheless the study of Hebrew was continued, and in 1530 a Hebrew professorship was founded at Oxford—the first Hebrew professorship instituted in England. The first incumbent of this chair was Robert Wakefield, the successor of Reuchlin at Tübingen. He was called from Cambridge, where he had given instruction in the Hebrew to the members of the university. At Cambridge Wakefield was succeeded by John Shepreve; in 1549 the famous Paul Fagius (to whom reference has already been made) was appointed King's Reader of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, and as Fagius died in the same year, his place was filled by the learned Tremellius (of whom mention has already been made), who was assisted by Coevellarius, a native of France. The study of Hebrew once established, it was even enjoyed by ladies. The stimulating influence of the Reformation promoted Hebrew learning, for which England has afterward become so famous. And here our survey must be closed.

We have noticed the efforts which were made everywhere to promote the study of Hebrew; but the dependence upon the rabbins, in which the juncture of circumstances placed the founders of the study of Hebrew, gave rise also to a Tradition-epoch with them, in which what had been empirically learned was in the same way retained and propagated.<sup>1</sup> Thus Sebastian Münster followed closely Elias Levita; Santes Pagninus<sup>2</sup> in his *Institutiones Ebraicae*, gave only extracts from Jewish writers, and followed

<sup>1</sup> Schultens has keenly and severely described this tendency in his *Origines Hebr.*, p. 290 sq., where he concludes: "Et fuere tamen semperque existuri forte tam summissi miratores devotique amatores Rabbistorum, ut ultra eos sapere recusent atque ne latum quidem unquam ab iisdem deflectere sustineant."

<sup>2</sup> This Dominican of Lucca (b. about 1470; d. at Lyons in 1527) is the author of (1) *Thesaurus linguae sanctae*, Lyons, 1529 (improved ed. Leyden, 1572); (2) *Institutiones Ebraicae*, Lyons, 1526, and often.

D. Kimchi for the most part, without using any effort of his own to increase or reconstruct their materials. A still further hold was given to this method by the rise of Buxtorf and his school.

#### 6. John Buxtorf,<sup>1</sup>

the father, was born at Camen, in Westphalia, in 1564; was professor of oriental languages at Basle from 1591, where he died in 1629. Like his son, he promoted the thorough study of the Hebrew by diligently availing himself of the works of Jewish authors also. He wrote: 1. *Praecepta gramm. hebr. breviter proposita*, Basil., 1605, and often (English by Jo. Davis, London, 1656); 2. *Thesaurus gramm. ling. sanct. hebr.*, Basil., 1609, latest 1663 (a work distinguished as respects careful collection and copiousness, and where the syntax also is more carefully treated than previously); 3. *Lexicon hebraeo-chald.*, *ibid.*, 1607 and often; 4. *Manuale Hebr. et Chaldaic.*, *ibid.*, 1612; 5. *Concordantiae Bibl. hebr. nova et artificiosa methodo depositae*, etc., *ibid.*, 1632, latest ed. by B. Baer, Berlin, 1863; 6. *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudii*, etc., Basil., 1639, new ed. by B. Fischer, Leipsic, 1869-74; 7. *Tiberias, s. Comment. Masoreticus ad illustr.*, etc., *ibid.*, 1665, the best work up to this day, which has been written by a Christian on the Masora. This work was written in defence of the antiquity of the vowel-points and accents, and their divine authority.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Kautzsch, Johannes Buxtorf der Aeltere, Basel, 1879.

<sup>2</sup> Against the Tiberias wrote Ludov. Capellus, born at Samur in 1586 and died in 1658. Capellus, we are told, sent his work (*Arcanum punctuationis revelatum*) in manuscript to Buxtorf, for his examination, who returned it with the request that it might not be printed. He then sent it to Erpenius at Leyden, who was so convinced by its arguments and learning, that, with the sanction of the author, he published it at Leyden in 1624. In 1650 Capellus published his *Critica Sacra* (Paris, 1650; Halle, 1775), in which he assaulted the integrity of the Masoretic text, and it was against this work that Buxtorf, junior, wrote his *Anticritica*. The whole controversy is treated by G. Schnedermann in his *Die Controverse des Ludovicus Capellus mit den Buxtorfen*, Leipsic, 1879. It is interesting to know that the authority of the Masoretic text and punctuation—by the influence of Buxtorf's school—was elevated to a dogma in the *Formula Consensus*

In the footsteps of his father followed

7. *John Buxtorf,*

the younger, born at Basle, Aug. 13, 1599, and died Aug. 17, 1664. He carried out most of his father's plans and principles, and wrote: 1. *Dissert. philol. theol. de lingua hebr.*, Basil., 1644, and often; 2. *Tractatus de punctor. vocal. origine*, etc., *ibid.*, 1648; 3. *Anticritica, seu vindiciae veritatis Hebraicae; adversus Ludov. Capelli Criticam quam vocat sacram*, *ibid.*, 1653 (see the previous note).

Buxtorf's most distinguished scholar was

8. *Matthias Wasmuth,*

professor at Kiel, born in 1625, and died in 1688. He paid special attention to the vowel-changes and the accentuation, and wrote *Hebraismus facilitati et integritati suae restitutus*, Kiel, 1666 (2d ed. by Opitz, Leips., 1695). It contains: 1. *Nova grammatica compendiosa*; 2. *Accentuationis Hebraeae institutio methodica*; 3. *Vindiciae Sacrae Scripturae Hebraeae*. On the same platform stands

9. *Solomon Glass,*

professor at Jena, born in 1593, and died at Gotha in 1656. He was a careful and penetrating observer of the internal structure of the language, and has especially offered important remarks on the syntax in his *Philologia Sacra*, Jena, 1623, latest ed. by Dathe and Bauer, 1776-97.

Besides these we may mention

10. *Wilhelm Schickhard,*

professor at Tübingen, born in 1592, and died 1635. He wrote: *Methodus ling. S., breviter complectens universa*, etc., Tübing., 1614; *Horologium hebraicum*, *ibid.*, 1623, greatly valued and much used on account of its shortness, reprinted more than thirty times.

Nevertheless, there were even then attempts made to treat Hebrew philology more independently and freely.

Helvetica (1675), but not without protest from the wiser Protestantism of France. For even in France Capellus was supported by such members of the Romish Church as Morinus and Richard Simon.

These were, however, but first attempts, which never fully succeeded from the want of necessary scientific principles; still, the opposition thus raised was of use. So Theodor Bibliander (†1564),<sup>1</sup> of whom Löscher says (p. 158): "*Rabbinos spernit et ex S. cod., in quo uno purum Ebraismum superesse credit, eundem restaurandum putat.*" In the same direction labored in reference to lexicography Reuchlin's pupil, Forster (of whom we have spoken above), who was followed by Joh. Avenarius (†1590), the author of *Liber Radicum* (Witeb., 1568 fol.), in which he wished to decipher the meanings by a combination of the Hebrew roots with similar Greek, Latin, and German words, and therefore blundered, for the most part, in incorrect combinations of the oriental with the western. To the same school also belonged

11. *Samuel Bohle,*

born in 1611, and died in 1639, at Rostock, as professor of Hebrew, who, in his *XIII. dissertatt. de formali significatione S. Script. eruenda* (Rostockii, 1637), wished to trace back the various meanings of the words always to one general conception, for the most part a conception of a metaphysical nature. Besides Bohle, Gousset and others, who labored in the same line, will be mentioned at the end of this section.

As to the more important grammarians, we mention:

12. *Johannes Drusius,*<sup>2</sup>

born at Oudenard, in Flanders, June 28, 1550; was in 1577 professor of oriental languages at Leyden, and of Hebrew at Franeker in 1585, where he died in 1616. He wrote: *Grammatica linguae sanctae nova*, Franeker, 1612; *Opuscula quae ad grammaticam spectant*, *ibid.*, 1609.

13. *Louis de Dieu,*

born at Vliessingen, April 7, 1590, and died at Leyden,

<sup>1</sup> He wrote: *Institutiones gram. de ling. hebr.*, Tiguri, 1535; *De optimo genere Grammaticorum hebr. Commentarius*, Basil., 1542. Cp. Christinger, Theodor Bibliander, *Ein bibliographisches Denkmal*. Frauenfeld, 1867.

<sup>2</sup> He was also Professor of Hebrew at Oxford.

December 22, 1642. He pursued with perseverance the analogies between Hebrew and the Aramaic dialects, and wrote: *Compendium grammaticae Hebraicae*, Leyden, 1626; *Grammatica Trilinguis Hebraica, Syriaca et Chaldaica*, *ibid.*, 628 (new ed. by Dav. Clodius, 1683).

14. *Thomas Erpenius*,

born at Gorkum, Holland, September 7, 1584; professor of oriental languages at Leyden in 1613, where he died November 13, 1624. He was chiefly renowned as an Arabic scholar, but wrote on Hebrew grammar also: *Grammatica Hebraea generalis*, Leyden, 1620.

15. *Joh. Heinrich Hottinger*,

born at Zurich, March 10, 1620; from 1656 to 1660 professor of oriental languages at Heidelberg, and died in 1667, while preparing to settle at Leyden. As a scholar he was minute and careful in the collection of materials, and evinced an aptitude for critical investigation. He wrote: 1. *Erotemata linguae sanctae*, Tiguri, 1647-66; 2. *Thesaurus philologicus seu clavis S. S.*, etc., *ibid.*, 1649 and often; *Grammatica quatuor linguarum, Hebr., Chald., Syr., et Arab. harmonia*, Heidelberg, 1658; 4. *Etymologicum orientale, seu Lexicon harmonicum heptaglotton*, Francofurti, 1661.

16. *Joh. Alting*,

born at Heidelberg in 1608; professor of Hebrew at Groningen, and died in 1679. He wrote *Fundamenta punctationis linguae sanctae*, 1654, and often. He was the first who propounded the untenable theory of a Hebrew prosody based on the principle of *morae*, called the *systema morarum*, according to which all syllables have, irrespective of the consonants with which they commence, two complete *morae* or units of time, and that a long vowel contains two, a short vowel or consonants only one. Thus in לֹ (lō) the two *morae* are made up by the long vowel; in גַּם (gām) by the short vowel *pathah* and the consonant מ (m); in the first syllable of עֵי by the short vowel *hireq* and the *daghesh forte* in י; in the first syllable of יֵן by the

*pathah* and the *daghesh forte implicitum* in ה; in פה by the short vowel *seghol* and the quiescent ה; in the first syllable of פה by the short vowel *seghol* and the tone; in the first syllable of פה by the *pathah* and the *methegh* or half-tone.

Alting's system was developed and diffused by

17. *Joh. Andr. Danz,*

born in 1654, in the district of Gotha, and died in 1727, as professor of oriental languages and theology at Jena. He was a man of extensive learning and remarkable subtlety of mind, but deficient in judgment, and hence liable to artificial and fanciful speculations. He wrote: 1. *Nucifrangibulum S. S. V. T.*, etc., Jenae, 1686; 2. סתרי פתח, *Interpres hebr. chald.*, *ibid.*, 1694, being the second part or syntax to the preceding work; 3. סתרי פתח, *Literator hebr. chaldaici.*, etc., *ibid.*, 1694; 4. *Compendium gramm. ebr. chaldaic.*, *ibid.*, 1699 and often (9th ed. by Hirt). He is chiefly remarkable for having developed Alting's system, and diffused the *systema trium morarum*. But by his system he was compelled to reckon *two* initial consonants likewise as one *mora* only, so that, *e. g.*, שפ is not longer or weightier than פ. This system, which long had a firm hold upon German scholars, and was not, properly speaking, set aside till Vater and Gesenius overthrew it, was carried out more fully by

18. *J. Fr. Hirt,*

born at Apolda, in Thuringia, August 14, 1719, and died at Jena in 1783, in his *Synt. observationum philol. crit. ad linguam Vet. Test. pertinentium* (Jenae, 1771), and by

19. *Joh. Werner Meiner,*

whose deeper and more philosophical treatment of that theory only served to show its futility and worthlessness in a stronger light, by his *Die wahren Eigenschaften der hebr. Sprache* (Leips., 1748), and *Auflösung der vornehmsten Schwierigkeiten der hebr. Sprache*, *ibid.*, 1757.

Whatever the objections to the Alting-Danzian system may be, which in general was also followed by H. B.

Starke in his *Lux grammat. hebr.* (Leips., 1705), and by Bened. Spinoza in his *Compend. grammat. hebr.* (Amst., 1677),<sup>1</sup> and which was last defended by Joh. Joach. Beller-mann in his *Versuch über die Metrik der Hebräer* (Berlin, 1813), and Jos. Levin Saalschütz, in *Von der Form der hebr. Poesie* (Königsberg, 1825)—“it still retains the merit of having first constructed the edifice of Hebrew grammar on scientific principles.”

Other grammarians of this period were:

20. *Joh. Leusden,*

born at Utrecht in 1624, since 1649 professor of oriental languages, and died in 1699, was the author of several grammatical and lexicographical works compiled with industry and ability. He wrote: 1. *Pauca et brevia quaedam praecepta ad notitiam ling. Hebr. et Chald. acquirendum*, etc., Traj. ad Rhen., 1655; 2. *Philologus Hebr.*, etc., *ibid.*, 1663; 3. *Philologus Hebraeo-mixtus*, etc., *ibid.*, 1663, containing fifty essays pertaining to Jewish and biblical literature; 4. *Synopsis Ebraismi et Chaldaismi*, *ibid.*, 1667.

21. *Joh. Cocceius,*

born at Bremen in 1603, and died in 1669. Though he has been accused of being fanciful as an interpreter, yet he was long popular by his grammatical works: 1. *Lexicon et commentarius sermonis Hebr. et Chald. V. Test.*, Amst., 1669; 2. *Observationes ad J. Buxtorfii epitomen gram. hebr.*, Frankfurt, 1689.

22. *Christoph. Cellarius,*

who died in 1707, was a thoughtful and learned orientalist, who understood and compared the kindred languages, and wrote: 1. *Sciagraphia philologiae Sanct. cum etymologica*, etc., Cizae, 1678; 2. *Grammatica hebraica in tabulis synopticis*, *ibid.*, 1681; 3. *מנהג תפוח לשון הקודש*, s. *S. Script. hebr.*

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Jac. Bernays in the appendix to Schaarschmidt, *Cartesius und Spinoza* (Bonn, 1849), and A. Chajes, *Ueber die hebräische Grammatik Spinoza's* (Breslau, 1869).

*stilus et modus loquendi probatis regulis, etiam exemplis*, Leucopetrae, 1673 (3d ed. 1679).

With these men must also be connected:

*Jac. Gousset*, born at Blois, October 7, 1635, died November 4, 1704, as an exile, in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, at Groningen, where he was professor of theology and Greek. He is the author of *Commentarii linguae Ebraicae* (Amstelad., 1702 fol.; new edition by Clodius, with the title, *Lexicon linguae Ebr.*, Lips., 1743). In this work, on which he had spent forty years, Gousset proceeded much more prudently and profoundly in the adduction of his fundamental ideas than his predecessors. "With him, also, the Hebrew is a sun which needs no other light; and so we must proceed with it as we should with a letter written in foreign characters, which we sought to decipher. The context and the parallel passages, accordingly, are the means to be employed for finding the right meaning of a word." The chief service of this school, to which also belongs Christ. Stock (at Jena, died in 1713, and author of *Clavis linguae sanctae Vet. Test.*, 1717 and often), consists in the closer observation of the *usus loquendi* of Scripture, and the merits of Gousset especially, in this respect, have not received the acknowledgment they deserve.

"By these efforts," says Hävernick, "the end was undoubtedly reached of attaching weight to the variety of linguistic phenomena. But the endeavor at systematic arrangement was not yet placed upon the *basis* of these phenomena. The original simplicity of form and meaning can be ascertained only by means of etymology, and to this, after some little known attempts,<sup>1</sup> the interesting investigations of a Caspar Neumann and a Val. Löscher were directed."

*Caspar Neumann* was born at Breslau in 1648, where he died in 1715, as professor and preacher. He wrote: *Gen-*

<sup>1</sup> See on these Carpzov, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 186 sq., 196.

*esis linguae sanctae Vct. Test. perspicue docens*, etc. (Norimb., 1696); *Exodus linguae sanctae* (1697-1700, in four parts); *Clavis domus Heber*, P. i.-iii. (1712-15).

Valentin Ernst Löscher, born in 1673, was superintendent at Delitzsch, in 1707 professor of theology at Wittenberg, and died in 1749 at Dresden. He wrote *De causis ling. Ebr.*, (Frankfort and Leipsic, 1706), a very learned book, and one which contains much that is valuable for the history of the Hebrew language and the study of it.

As to their investigations, we find that "their attention was in the first instance directed to the *formal* conception of the stems, to which the earlier developed systems for the most part led. Both set out from the principle that the *radices* of the Hebrew are *biliterae* (according to Neumann, "*characteres significationis*"; according to Löscher, "*semina vocum*"), and that the ground meaning of the bilitera must be evolved from the meaning of the letters composing it. Very careful and valuable were the observations which these writers made as to the rise of the trilitera from the bilitera. More fluctuating and less certain is the *significatio hieroglyphica* or *symbolica* (according to Neumann),<sup>1</sup> or the *valor logicus* (according to Löscher), which was ascribed to particular letters, though even here there is much which is not to be viewed as arbitrary play, and which a further pursuit of the subject, such as Löscher earnestly desired, has brought to greater accuracy."

Against the attempts of both these men, Chr. B. Michaelis wrote his *Diss. de vocum seminibus et litterarum significatione hieroglyphica* (Halae, 1709), and Carpzov, in his *Critica Sacra*, p. 192 sq. Gesenius, in his *Geschichte der hebr. Sprache*, p. 125, stigmatized the performances of these men as "monstrous theories," while Hupfeld, in his *De emendanda lexicog. semit. ratione*, p. 3, has given a more worthy criticism.

<sup>1</sup> Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christl. Kirche* (Jena, 1869), says: "Neumann lavished an abundance of sagacity on the absurdities of this hieroglyphic system, with which he even dazzled a Valentin Löscher," p. 454.