



# Albert Schultens as an innovator of Biblical Hebrew philology

Early modern approaches to Biblical Hebrew, account  
of Schultens' published works, and reception studies

by  
JOSEF ESKHULT

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS  
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### Abstract

This volume deals with the innovations in comparative Hebrew philology achieved by the Dutch Orientalist Albert Schultens (1685–1750). It examines the contents and intellectual contexts of his scholarly publications.

The introductory chapters elucidate the disciplinary and hermeneutical contexts of Schultens' work and innovation as a comparative philologist. First, it outlines the goals and extent of biblical philology (*philologia sacra*) as an early modern semi-autonomous discipline comprising textual criticism, language studies, and biblical cultural background. Secondly, it describes the hermeneutical approaches to the language of the Hebrew Bible in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries as a discourse within Old Testament textual criticism, and investigates the views on the state of knowledge of Biblical Hebrew as well as opinions on the nature of Ancient Hebrew, among others held by Martin Luther, Isaac Vossius, Baruch Spinoza, and Richard Simon.

The second part provides an overview of Schultens authorship, in published as well as unpublished works. The third part explores the contents and contexts of Schultens' publications in Hebrew philology, accounting for them in the following order: (1) philological treatises on biblical books, (2) linguistic treatises on comparative Hebrew philology and etymology, (3) speeches on the antiquity of the Arabic language and its kinship with Hebrew, (4) methodological treatises that defend a comparative study of Biblical Hebrew, and (5) treatises that refute the ideas about the holiness and primordial exclusivity of Hebrew language and script.

The fourth part charts the reception of Schultens' programme of comparative Hebrew philology. It explores the principal members of *Schola Schultensiana* and investigates the impact of Schultens' guiding ideas on Semitic scholarship in other European countries, especially Germany and Sweden. The final chapter maps the 19<sup>th</sup>-century historiographical appraisals of Schultens' theory and method.

**Keywords:** Arabic, dialect, etymology, Hebrew, Oriental languages, original meaning, *philologia sacra*, semantics, Semitic languages

**Cover image:** Via Appia near Rome with the ruined tombs of Roman dignitaries. Watercolour painting by Gaetano Facciola, c. 1900. Courtesy of Studio RT Limited (<https://www.antiques-atlas.com/studiort/>); photograph by Richard Thomas.



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## **Preface with acknowledgements**

The Dutch Orientalist Albert Schultens (1685/86–1750) innovated the theory and method of Hebrew etymology and philology. Until now, a thorough study of his theoretical and methodological achievements has been lacking. To fill this gap in scholarship, I present a study in two volumes titled *Albert Schultens as an innovator of Hebrew etymology and lexicography* (vol. 1) and *Albert Schultens as an innovator of Biblical Hebrew philology* (vol. 2).

In October 2017, I presented an outline of a monograph on Schultens as an innovator of comparative Hebrew philology at the seminar on Semitic languages at the Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University. The project gradually evolved into the two research monographs that are now being published. Both before and after 2017, I also prepared textual editions of Albert Schultens' drafts and lecture notes and the records of his dictation. This has resulted in a further volume titled *Albert Schultens' unpublished manuscripts on comparative Hebrew philology*, planned for publication in Brill's series Texts and Sources in Intellectual History.

My research on Albert Schultens derives from a project conducted between 2009 and 2014, which dealt with views on the origins and relationships of languages and linguistic change in early modern Semitic and Germanic language studies. The project was made possible by two research grants. The first was provided by the Royal Society of Humanities in Uppsala (*Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala*). The second was awarded by the Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences in Sweden (*Riksbankens Jubileumsfond*), which also supplied funding for travel to Leiden University Library to study the manuscript archives of Albert Schultens, Jan Jacob Schultens, and Henric Albert Schultens.

The early stages were directed towards the editing of Albert Schultens' manuscripts on Biblical Hebrew philology and of Henric Albert Schultens' historiography of his grandfather's innovations. Subsequently, the research focus shifted to Albert Schultens' innovations in Hebrew etymology and his improvement of comparative Hebrew philology on the basis of his published works and his unpublished dictionary of Biblical Hebrew (1740 through 1749), which is still extant in records of his dictation. This research was supported by grants (awarded between 2016 and 2022) by the Carlo Landberg Foundation for Semitic Language Studies at Uppsala University, which enabled me to carry out further research in the Schultens family archives and to explore Schultens' philological and linguistic publications.

A grant conferred from the Swedish Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (*Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien*) in 2019 facilitated a survey of the records of Schultens' lectures on Hebrew antiquities that are held at the National Library of Denmark (Copenhagen).

Over the past two years, I have undertaken a thorough revision of the book manuscripts while conducting another research project – the editing and philological analysis of a Hebrew translation of the Gospel of Matthew

(1703) and the Epistle to the Hebrews (1713), made by the Christianized rabbi Johan Kemper of Krakow. This project was supported by the Olle Engkvist Foundation (*Olle Engkvists stiftelse*) during almost the same period (November 2023–October 2025).

A grant from the Helge Ax:son Johnson Foundation (*Helge Ax:son Johnsons stiftelse*) in June 2025 has made it possible to revise both volumes, make substantial additions, and complete them.

Grants for the printing of this volume have been provided by the Carlo Landberg Foundation at Uppsala University.

It is with sincere gratitude that I acknowledge the receipt of research grants, travel scholarships, and printing grants.

I am indebted to Peter Stein, Professor of Semitic languages at the University of Jena, for his pertinent comments on the contents of this book, his specific suggestions, especially for a consistent transliteration system of Hebrew and Arabic, and his corrections of minor typos.

I am obliged to my father, Mats Eskhult, Professor Emeritus of Semitic languages, for his diligent reading of the book manuscript at the various stages of its development.

By exploring the origins of the comparative research tradition in Hebrew studies, the present volumes primarily contribute to the history of Hebrew, Arabic, and Semitic philology in the early modern period. They are based on primary sources in Latin, which was the main vehicle for conveying ideas, pursuing scholarly debates, and producing new knowledge. Thus, Latin served as the principal language of oriental philology and of scholarship in all other areas. Latin philology involves textual interpretation, translation, and description. Insofar as the Latin linguistic tradition underpinned the concept of language as a system of grammatical and rhetorical qualities and provided conceptual tools for analysing aspects of phonology, morphology, and semantics, the history of classical philology is also addressed. A wide range of other branches of learning, such as the history of philosophy, intellectual history, the history of biblical hermeneutics, and church history, are also involved in contextualizing linguistic ideas. Through the use of primary sources and an interdisciplinary approach, I hope that these historiographical volumes will contribute to a better understanding of the origins, nature, forms and functions of Hebrew and Semitic language studies in the early modern Western world. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Eleanor Coghill for kindly allowing me to publish them in *Studia Semitica Upsaliensia* and for proofreading the final draft of the first volume.

Uppsala, 5 May 2026

Josef Eskhult

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# PART 1. INTRODUCTION AND SCHOLARLY BACKGROUND





# 1. General introduction

## 1.1 Purpose and scope: Schultens as an innovator

In the history of Semitic philology, the Dutch Orientalist, Hebraist, and Arabist Albert Schultens (1685–1750) is widely recognized as a pioneer in the comparative study of Hebrew. He stood at the pinnacle of Semitic linguistic knowledge of his time and set a new standard for comparative Hebrew philology. His work paved the way for advances in comparative Semitic philology in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The two volumes presented here provide a thorough exploration of the background, content, and impact of Schultens' innovations. This volume specifically addresses the various hermeneutical approaches to the study of Biblical Hebrew in the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. It focuses on the dual concept of “defects of the Hebrew language”, which can refer either to intrinsic faults within the Hebrew language system or to epistemic lacunae within Hebrew philology.

Both the first and the second volumes examine how Schultens: (1) systematized trains of thought in earlier discourses on Hebrew lexicography and grammar, biblical philology (*philologia sacra*), classical philology, and the empiricist theory of knowledge, creating a coherent programme of Hebrew philology; (2) introduced a methodology for classifying the sources of knowledge about Biblical Hebrew; (3) transformed earlier approaches to semantics into the study of Hebrew etymology, using existing conceptual tools to address sound correspondences, morphology, semantic origins, and semantic change; (4) shifted from a logical approach to the directionality of semantic change to an empiricist, sensational approach by applying Lockean epistemology; (5) developed the comparative method of Semitic philology by systematizing regular and sporadic sound correspondences; (6) based this method on a reclassification of the Semitic languages, downgrading Hebrew from its status as the primordial language and conceptualizing Semitic languages as historical dialects of a single ancestor language, with Arabic considered the best aid for reconstruction; (7) extended the application of the comparative method to explain *all* linguistic data, no longer limiting his use of Arabic to clarifying the form and meaning of uncommon and obscure Hebrew words, but also employing it to explore the origins of common and frequent words; and finally, (8) uprooted the old idea in language theology or ideology that Hebrew was the holy, divine, and primeval language of mankind, establishing it as a human language subject to the same conditions as other languages.

He had access to the same linguistic data on Semitic languages as his contemporaries, used the same grammatical and lexicographical tools, and worked within the same conceptual framework for classifying and interpreting that data. However, he reinterpreted the data with a new theory and methodology to clarify the linguistic history of Hebrew and its cognate languages, particularly Arabic.

Since the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, scholars of *philologia sacra* had grappled with textual, grammatical, lexical, and semantic problems in the Hebrew Bible. Schultens set out to challenge existing interpretations of the available data. In doing so, he innovated the theory and methodology of Hebrew philology. Although he was aware of his role as an innovator, for apologetical reasons, Schultens presented himself as merely a renewer of the comparative method, which he believed had been neglected amid the prevailing anti-comparativist sentiment of his time. Thus, he viewed himself as a restorer of “the old and royal method of studying Hebrew” (*vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*).

Given the deep and pervasive impact of Schultens’ research paradigm, it is all the more justified to regard him as an innovator rather than a renewer. These volumes reconsider and reassess his complex role as a pioneering transitional scholar between early modern and modern Semitic linguistics. In this second volume, the impact of his research programme on 18<sup>th</sup>-century Orientalists is explored through a broad selection of scholars, and his legacy in the historiographical appraisal of leading 19<sup>th</sup>-century Semitic philologists is also investigated.

## **1.2 Significance of the research**

The main focus of this volume is on aspects overlooked in previous historiographical scholarship. Since Schultens’ work primarily centred on Biblical Hebrew philology, the second chapter surveys the scope and formation of the semi-autonomous discipline of *philologia sacra*, which was then organized into three parts. Special attention is given to branches relevant to Schultens’ theory and practice, specifically the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible and Oriental philology. The sources for this historiographical survey include early modern handbooks of sacred philology, which have largely been forgotten or ignored. Additionally, Schultens’ own understanding of these two branches is included.

Furthermore, in modern times, little attention has been paid to the early modern hermeneutical debate over the nature of Biblical Hebrew. Today, the early modern discussion of methods for restoring knowledge of Biblical Hebrew seems to have fallen into oblivion. Apparently, no historiographical research has been conducted on this topic. The third chapter presents an account of early modern hermeneutical approaches to Biblical Hebrew, based on primary sources from the leading biblical hermeneutists.

While most of Schultens' published treatises were reviewed in 18<sup>th</sup>-century scholarly journals and some were summarized by 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholars, no comprehensive account of all his scholarly publications on comparative Hebrew philology has yet been provided (Part 3, Chapters 5–9). Nor has there been any detailed discussion of his unpublished writings and the records of his university courses (Part 2, Chapter 4).

Jan Nat examined the writings of various scholars associated with the Schultensian school or loosely connected to it.<sup>1</sup> However, the historical reception and historiographical evaluation of Schultens' theory and method remain underexplored in a broader European context. In the fourth part of the present volume, a comprehensive exploration shows that Schultens' research programme influenced scholars engaged in what Kuhn describes as “normal science” in Oriental philology during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Schultens' reputation as a groundbreaking innovator is clearly not a later invention but is substantiated by primary historical sources.

### 1.3 Sources and method

This volume is primarily based on Schultens' published writings on Biblical Hebrew and, secondarily, on relevant works by early modern Orientalists and classical philologists, especially treatises that introduce the study of the Hebrew Bible and language within the field of *philologia sacra*, as well as grammars, dictionaries, and other treatises on Semitic languages.

In examining Schultens' scholarly publications, I have employed the following philological methods: (1) textual interpretation and translation from Latin to English, (2) description and content analysis, (3) conceptual historical analysis, and (4) intellectual historical contextualization.

Because Latin was the principal language of early modern scholarship, most primary sources are in Latin, with some also in European national languages, such as German and Swedish. Today, the Latin language barrier prevents many scholars from reading Schultens' publications and limits their ability to assess his achievements. As a result, for a modern readership, Latin generally hinders access to Schultens' linguistic ideas and to their disciplinary and hermeneutical contexts. This study helps break down the Latin barrier surrounding Schultens' published works.

In analysing Schultens' conceptual tools in phonetic, morphological, and semantic research, I have aimed not only to trace their origins in the classical tradition but also to clarify the continuities and discontinuities between early modern comparative Hebrew philology and its modern counterpart. Furthermore, in examining the scholarly sources that inspired Schultens' publications, I have employed a contextualist historical method.

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<sup>1</sup> Nat, in *De studie van de Oostersche talen in Nederland in de 18e en de 19e eeuw*, Purmerend 1929, surveys the members of the Schultensian school on pp. 63–103 and other related scholars from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries on pp. 115–122 and 126–146.

## 2. *Philologia sacra*: Constituent fields and major trends

### 2.1 Hebrew philology: The domain and its development

#### 2.1.1 *The term, concept, and extent of philologia sacra*

In the early modern organization of disciplines, Hebrew and Oriental philology were part of biblical philology, designated as *philologia sacra*, a semi-autonomous branch of learning subordinate to theology and biblical interpretation. When applied to Hebrew studies, sacred philology comprised three branches: (1) textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible and its ancient translations, (2) Hebrew and other Semitic language studies, and (3) cultural background.<sup>2</sup> These subjects were formally defined as constituent branches of *philologia sacra* in the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This reflected a synthesis of philological practices within biblical philology since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This section introduces *philologia sacra* as a tripartite discipline. In relation to biblical interpretation (*exegesis sacra*), it served as a method for addressing the critical, linguistic, and socio-cultural aspects of the biblical text.

The term *philologia sacra* appears to have gained acceptance after Salomon Glassius used it as the title of his hermeneutical, grammatical, and semantic handbook of the Bible (1623–1636).<sup>3</sup> In this work, *philologia*

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<sup>2</sup> For a tripartite definition of biblical philology, see Van Miert, *The emancipation of Biblical philology in the Dutch Republic 1590–1670*, Oxford 2018, preface, p. xiii.

<sup>3</sup> Glassius' *Philologia sacra* was first published in two volumes in 1623 and later expanded into five books. The first volume treats the integrity of the canonical writings of the Old and New Testaments, the pre-eminence of the Hebrew and Greek originals over translations (notably the Vulgate) and other inherent qualities of the Bible (such as its clarity), while the second volume deals with the twofold – literal and typological – sense of the Bible. The third and fourth volumes present a grammar of Hebrew, subtitled *Grammatica sacra* (1634), and the fifth book, subtitled *Rhetorica sacra* (1636), deals with figurative language through semantic change of single words (that is, tropes, such as metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche) and with rhetorical syntax by means of figures of speech (*schemata*). In his view of tropes, Glassius follows the Ramist-Vossian tradition. A book on the form of logic, *Logica sacra*, which focuses on different kinds of propositions (i.e. declaratory statements) and figures of reversed logical order, was published by Johann Gottfried Olearius from Glassius' autograph and was added to the 1705 edition of *Philologia sacra* as the sixth volume. Albert Schultens possessed the Frankfurt am Main edition of 1686 and the Amsterdam edition of 1694. See *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, Leiden 1750, p. 22, nos. 206–207 in quarto.

*sacra* only encompasses hermeneutics and philology as tools for biblical interpretation. This is a narrow sense of the term compared with its later development.<sup>4</sup> Before the latter half of the 17th century, sacred philology referred only to hermeneutical principles and to the philological study of the original biblical languages.

In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, Old Testament textual criticism emerged. This field of study, known as *critica sacra*, encompasses the Bible's canon; questions about its division, integrity (i.e. completeness and undamaged condition), and purity (i.e. the superiority of the biblical source languages over translations); the various editions; the historical status of the original languages; and the history of textual transmission and the various ancient translations. The study of Hebrew and other Semitic languages, then conceived as Oriental philology, advanced with the publication of the Paris and London Polyglot Bibles and their accompanying polyglot dictionaries. Hottinger compiled his *Etymologicum Orientale sive Lexicon harmonicum heptaglotton* for students of *philologia sacra*. After 1650, research into the history and culture of the Hebrews and neighbouring peoples (*antiquitates Hebraicae*) also increased, becoming the third constituent of biblical philology. A tripartite architecture of sacred philology was formed, comprising *textual criticism*, *language studies*, and *Hebrew antiquities*. This division of *philologia sacra* was proposed by the German classicist, Orientalist, and historian Christoph Cellarius in the second edition of his *Sciagraphia philologiae sacrae* (1678)<sup>5</sup> and was further developed by the German Orientalist and theologian August Pfeiffer (1640–1698), who subordinated textual criticism of the Bible to *philologia sacra*.

In the preface to his *Critica sacra* (1680), Pfeiffer defines *philologia sacra* as both a discipline and an approach, outlining its goal (*finis*), subject

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<sup>4</sup> Jacob Christoph Bode, *Conspectus systematis philologiae sacrae*, part 1, Basel 1760, p. 4, considers Glassius an example of scholars who restrict the domain of biblical philology too narrowly, viz. to biblical hermeneutics and Hebrew grammar. Ludwig Diestel, in *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche*, Jena 1869, p. 367, likewise states that Glassius treated *philologica sacra* in a narrow sense – first the style and literature of the Bible and then its meaning (in vols. 1–2).

<sup>5</sup> Cellarius, *Sciagraphia philologiae sacrae*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Zeitz 1678, in which the first part of sacred philology is grammar, divided into orthography (i.e. phonology), prosody, etymology (explained as the etymological derivation of words, semantics, and word formation, p. 14), and finally syntax (pp. 24–26). The second part consists of textual criticism of the source languages, the translations, and the spurious books (pp. 27–42), and the third part consists of history, more specifically the biblical rites and antiquities, the origin and development of Oriental languages, and other questions, such as the identities of the authors of the Targums, the Masorah, and the Talmud (pp. 42–43). Glassius' *Rhetorica sacra* is not included as a separate branch, because it is “mainly concerned with the discussion of tropes (*tropologia*), a field that has been invented and cultivated to explain semantics” (p. 45). Schultens owned a copy of *Sciagraphia*, see *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, Leiden 1780, p. 528 no. 3485.

and object (both designated as *subiectus*), and aids (*media*). *Philologia sacra* is presented as the ability to use the original languages of the Bible and other aids to judge the original text and compare it with translations. Using scholastic distinctions, Pfeiffer more precisely delimits the principal internal goal in relation to its primary object as “a philological judgement of the Holy Scriptures and the biblical words and expressions, considered both separately and jointly”, while presenting the lesser internal goal as “a philological judgement of the agreement of the translations with the original text”. The external goal is described as “the true sense of the Holy Scriptures”.<sup>6</sup> The indirect subject is the human mind, while the direct subject in itself – the object – is primarily the authentic and canonical text of the Old and New Testaments, and secondarily its translations and exegetical interpretations.<sup>7</sup> The apocrypha of the OT and the pseudoepigrapha, such as the Talmud and the Koran, are referred to as accidental objects. These aids, or means, are “the holy original languages and other Oriental languages, sacred rhetoric, sacred logic, and the history of the customs and rites”.<sup>8</sup> *Critica sacra* is defined as the application of the aids of sacred philology to its object. It teaches “the way of forming an apt judgement of the perfection and the sense of the holy text, and of the agreement of the translations with the original text.”<sup>9</sup>

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the scope of biblical philology was discussed by the German Orientalist and theologian Johann Gottlob Carpzov and the Swiss theologian Jacob Christoph Beck. In *Critica sacra Veteris Testamenti* (1729, preface, p. 19), Carpzov narrowed the scope of sacred philology to the study of the original biblical languages. Beck broadened the concept of sacred philology in a series of twelve dissertations, *Synopsis systematis philologiae sacrae* (Basel 1760–1776), in which he examined its various branches. In the first piece, sacred philology is defined as a quadripartite discipline comprising grammatical, critical, antiquarian, and hermeneutical fields of study.<sup>10</sup> Beck also argued that the literary-historical discussion of the subject and the aids of sacred philology should be added as a fifth branch.

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<sup>6</sup> Pfeiffer, *Critica sacra*, Dresden 1680, pp. 1–2: “Finis eius est vel internus vel externus. Internus et quidem principalis ratione primarii obiecti est κρίσις sive iudicium philologicum de Scriptis Sacris ipsaque λέξει et φράσει Scripturae tum intra tum extra συνάφειαν spectata; minus principalis ratione secundarii obiecti σύνκρισις sive iudicium philologicum de convenientia versionum cum archetypo textu. Externus finis est verus sacrae scripturae sensus.”

<sup>7</sup> Pfeiffer, *ibidem*, p. 2: “Per se et quidem primum est sacer authenticus et canonicus textus V. & N.T.; secundarium versiones inde expressae, exegeses etc.”

<sup>8</sup> Pfeiffer, *ibidem*, p. 2: 5. “Media sunt linguae sacrae originales, orientales aliae, rhetorica sacra, logica sacra, historia rituum etc.”

<sup>9</sup> Pfeiffer, *ibidem*, p. 2: “tradens modum dextre iudicandi de textus sacri perfectione et sensu nec non versionum cum archetypo convenientia.”

<sup>10</sup> Beck (pres) / Joh. Rud. Burchhard (resp.), *Synopsis systematis philologiae sacrae*, Basel 1760, p. 7 (§ 11).

The practitioners of biblical philology in the late 17th and entire 18th centuries appear to have recognized their discipline as comprising at least the linguistic and antiquarian branches.

In a recent study, *philologia sacra* is defined as a metatheoretical system of characteristic linguistic ideas.<sup>11</sup> Sacred philology may be viewed as a body of knowledge from a social and intellectual-historical perspective, but this characterization does not conform to early modern definitions of this branch of knowledge, even though linguistic theorization did play a role in the lexicographical and grammatical branches of this discipline.

### *2.1.2 The status and historical formation of philologia sacra*

Sacred philology was considered ancillary to theology (*ancilla theologiae*) and closely tied to it as a tool for biblical exegesis. This subordination had both advantages and drawbacks. As long as theology held the position of the supreme branch of learning and knowledge, this status conferred prestige and significance on its philological servant. As a sub-discipline, biblical philology was subject to the theological interests of knowledge, as guided by the University and the Church. After the confessionalization of early modern Europe in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, confessional tenets had repercussions for the theory and practice of Biblical Hebrew philology. Another disadvantage was that Hebrew philology could not define itself as an autonomous discipline. Even less could its principal sub-branches be considered independent disciplines. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, biblical philology remained tied to theology, and more precisely to its most reputable branch in the Protestant world, viz. exegetical theology or biblical interpretation (*exegesis sacra*).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Brinthanan Puvaneswaran, *Sprache in der Geschichte: Etappen der Erforschung des Biblischen Hebräisch*, Berlin 2022, presents *philologia sacra* as an epoch in the history of Hebrew language studies (p. 79), defines it as a metatheoretical system of religiously motivated linguistic reflection (p. 7, cf. p. 80), and describes it as the outcome of the interaction between knowledge of and ideas about Biblical Hebrew, language philosophy, and biblical hermeneutics (p. 80). Some characteristic ideas are identified (pp. 80–83): (1) Hebrew is the primordial language; (2) Hebrew is a perfect language in terms of its ontological relationship between words and their designations; (3) Hebrew is related to other languages; and (4) the other Oriental languages, due to their linguistic, geographical, and cultural proximity to Hebrew, contribute to a better understanding of the Hebrew Bible when dealing with textual criticism and lexical questions, and should form part of the university curriculum.

<sup>12</sup> Philip Schaff, *Theological propaedeutic: A general introduction to the study of theology, exegetical, historical, systematic and practical* [...], part 1, New York 1892, part 1, p. 94, lists the following branches of exegetical theology: (1) biblical philology; (2) biblical geography; (3) biblical natural history; (4) biblical archaeology or antiquities; (5) biblical introduction (to some branch of learning); (6) biblical criticism (textual and literary); (7) biblical canonical philology; (8) biblical hermeneutic philology; (9) biblical history; and (10) biblical theology.



Although some Jewish exegetes thought that the received text of the Hebrew Bible should be corrected,<sup>13</sup> the practice of textual criticism of the Old Testament dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The earliest example appears in the work of Martin Luther, who doubted the reliability of the vocalization and considered it necessary to correct the Hebrew text in a few places.<sup>14</sup> The next significant figure is Sebastian Castellio, who raised the problem of textual corruption in his annotated Latin Bible translation, *Biblia interprete Sebastiano Castalione*, Basel 1551. Here, attempts were made to restore the Hebrew text where it was deemed corrupt, as judged by the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and conjecture.<sup>15</sup>

A more systematic basis for textual criticism emerged only in the wake of 17<sup>th</sup>-century debates over the origin of the Hebrew vowel points, the antiquity of the square script, and the textual integrity of the transmitted Masoretic text as printed in the Soncino (1488) and Bomberg (1518 and 1525) Bible editions.<sup>16</sup> From the 1640s onwards, practitioners of Biblical Hebrew philology were divided into two schools – the critical and the anti-critical – regarding textual criticism of the Old Testament (concerning the reliability of the Masoretic text and the dating of the vowel points), palaeography (concerning the age of the square Hebrew script), and the nature of the Hebrew language and its history.

Discussions of these and other topics were presented in introductions to the study of the Old Testament, in treatises with various titles, initially compiled as collections without any systematic order or organizing principle.<sup>17</sup> In the preface to his handbook of Old Testament textual criticism, Carpzov surveyed the most important treatises in this genre by the authors' confessional affiliations. Among Lutheran authors, he mentions the works of Glassius, Cellarius and Pfeiffer, as well as Lorenz Fabricius' *Partitiones Codicis Hebraei* (Wittenberg 1610), Abraham Calov's *Criticus sacer* (Leipzig 1644) and Johann Christoph Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. 2 (1721), which consists of a history of the Biblical canon, a list of editions and manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible, and a treatise on the Masorah and the Targums.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Dominique Barthélemy, *Studies in the text of the Old Testament: An introduction to the Hebrew Old Testament*, vol. 1, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2012, pp. 3–4.

<sup>14</sup> Barthélemy, *ibidem*, pp. 6–12. See further Sections 3.2.1, p. 57, and 3.2.2, p. 58.

<sup>15</sup> Barthélemy, *ibidem*, pp. 12–13.

<sup>16</sup> Barthélemy, *ibidem*, pp. 13–29, describes the debate between Johannes Buxtorf the Elder and Louis Cappel over the establishment of the vowel points, and the subsequent debate over the integrity of the consonantal text of the Hebrew Bible in light of Cappel's *Critica sacra* and the reaction to it, esp. Jean Morin's support.

<sup>17</sup> See Ludwig Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche* Jena 1869, p. 344, cf. p. 350 regarding Leusden's *Philologus Hebraeus* (1657).

<sup>18</sup> Other Lutheran introductions that are cited are Johann Conrad Dannhauer, *Idea boni interpretis et malitiosi calumniatoris* (Strassburg, 1629); Johann Olearius,

Wolf himself also lists introductions of this kind in chronological order.<sup>19</sup> Among Catholic writers, Carpzov mentions Richard Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1<sup>st</sup> ed. Paris 1678, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Rotterdam 1685), Ellies du Pin's *Dissertation préliminaire ou prolégomènes sur la Bible, tome premier sur l'Ancient Testament* (Paris 1701), R.P. Honeré de Sainte-Marie's *Reflexions sur les regles et sur l'usage de la critique* (Paris 1713), and Giuseppe Pasini's *De praecipuis SS. Bibliorum linguis et versionibus polemica tractatio* (Padua 1716). Among the foremost works of Reformed theologians in this field are Louis Cappel's *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum* (Leiden 1624) and his *Critica sacra sive de variis quae in sacris Veteris Testamenti libris occurrunt lectionibus* "Holy criticism, or on the variant readings that occur in the books of the Old Testament" (Paris 1650), and Johannes Buxtorf the Younger's response to the latter treatise: *Anti-critica sive vindiciae veritatis Hebraicae* (Basel 1653). Other notable works include André Rivet's *Isagoge sive introductio generalis ad Scripturam sacram*, in his *Opera omnia*, vol. 2 (Leiden 1627); Johann Heinrich Hottinger's *Thesaurus philologicus sive clavis Scripturae* (Zürich 1649), book 2, and *Bibliothecarius quadripartitus* (Zürich 1664, part 2, subtitled *Theologia biblica*, chapter 5 "De critica biblica"); Brian Walton's Prolegomena on the Oriental languages to the London Polyglot (vol. 1, London 1657); Johannes Leusden's *Philologus Hebraeus* (Utrecht 1657); *Philologus Hebraeo-Graecus* (Utrecht 1670) and *Philologus Hebraeo-mixtus* (Utrecht 1663); and Johann Heinrich Heidegger's *Exercitationes biblicae* (Zürich 1700). Among the Remonstrants, Carpzov refers to Jean Le Clerc's *Ars critica* (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1697, consisting of 2 volumes and 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1699, increased with a third volume). This concludes Carpzov's review.<sup>20</sup> In Le Clerc's *Ars critica*, a method for studying Latin, Greek, and Hebrew is proposed, a general method for interpreting words and phrases is developed, and general rules for the textual criticism of ancient literature are given, since textual criticism is considered indispensable to making informed judgements about ancient historical writings. Albert Schultens possessed copies of the key handbooks, namely those by Cappel, Buxtorf Junior, Leusden, Walton, Simon, Pfeiffer, Le Clerc, and Carpzov.<sup>21</sup> These introductions deal with numerous linguistic topics related to Hebrew as the original language of the Old Testament.

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*Methodus studii theologici* (Halle, 1664); and Friedrich Scherertz, *Animadversiones sacrae* (Leiden, 1656).

<sup>19</sup> Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. 2, Hamburg 1721, pp. 262–275.

<sup>20</sup> Carpzov, *Critica sacra Veteris Testamenti*, Leipzig 1728, preface, pp. 25–32.

<sup>21</sup> *Pars bibliothecae Schultensiae*, p. 1, nos. 2 (Walton's *Biblia polyglotta*, London 1657), quarto-sized publications, p. 16, no. 10 (Carpzov, *Critica sacra Veteris Testamenti*), p. 18, no. 82 (Simon's *Historia critica Veteris Testamenti*), p. 22, nos. 205 (Pfeiffer's *Opera omnia philologica*), p. 289, nos. 289 (Buxtorf's *Anticritica*), p. 22, nos. 291–293 (Leusden's *Philologus Hebraeo-Graecus*, Leiden edition of 1685, *Philologus mixtus*, Utrecht edition of 1663 and *Philologus Hebraeus*, Utrecht

The search for textual variants, which Louis Cappel saw as a desideratum, was further advanced by Charles François Houbigant in his *Biblia Hebraica cum notis criticis et versione Latina ad notas criticas facta* (Paris 1753), in which the Masoretic vocalization was disregarded.<sup>22</sup> The inquiry into textual variants was continued by Benjamin Kennicott (1776–1780) and Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi (Parma 1784–1788) through their wide-ranging collations of medieval manuscripts (Kennicott describing 1,500,000 readings and de Rossi using 1,793 textual witnesses).<sup>23</sup>

Hebrew language studies emerged during the Renaissance. In Protestant countries of Europe, Hebrew grammar and vocabulary were studied as aids to biblical interpretation and received an impetus from the Reformation's formal principle, namely *sola Scriptura*. Initially, the study of other Semitic languages developed through Western contact with Oriental Christianity, mediated by the Roman Catholic Church. The study of Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Samaritan was promoted by the publication of the Antwerp (1568–1573), Paris (1629–1545), and London Polyglot Bibles (1654–1657).

Beyond scholarly purposes, Oriental philology was also motivated by missionary and commercial interests. The concept of Oriental languages was broadened to include Turkish and Persian as objects of linguistic study. Turkish language studies were justified for diplomatic, missionary, and commercial reasons. At the same time, they were instrumental in advancing the understanding of Arabic through Turkish translations of Arabic dictionaries and grammars.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, in the wake of European trade with the Levant, Western Orientalists such as Edward Pococke, Jacob Golius, Christian Ravius, and Levinus Warner, who travelled in the Orient, brought back large collections of manuscripts in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian.

The study of information about society, life, and customs in biblical texts led to the study of Hebrew cultural history, known at the time as Hebrew antiquities (*antiquitates Hebraicae*). This branch of learning involved contextualizing the cultural and historical circumstances of life, institutions, and events, and it engendered various sub-fields, such as biblical history, biblical geography, biblical chronology, the flora and fauna of Palestine, and

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edition of 1656 (probably 1657), and p. 55, no. 360 in octavo Le Clerc's *Ars critica*, (Amsterdam 1697, two volumes). For Cappel's *Critica sacra*, Paris edition of 1650, see *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, Leiden 1780, p. 16, no. 75 in folio.

<sup>22</sup> Bathélemy, *ibidem*, pp. 31–36; Josef Eskhult, "Latin Bible versions in the age of Reformation and post-Reformation", *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift 2006*, p. 56. The changes in the consonantal text were not included in the textual edition, but were proposed in critical notes after each chapter to improve orthography (*scriptio plena* with *wāw* and *yōd*) and to correct purported grammatical and lexical errors.

<sup>23</sup> Bathélemy, *ibidem*, pp. 36–50.

<sup>24</sup> Both Joseph Scaliger and Thomas Erpenius emphasized the value of Turkish translations of Arabic dictionaries for European Arabists. See Robert Irwin, *For lust of knowing: The Orientalists and their enemies*, London 2006, pp. 78 and 102.

pagan religions in the land of Canaan and in the cultural surroundings of the ancient kingdoms of Israel and Judah.<sup>25</sup>

A combination of linguistic and cultural studies of Hebrew appeared in the form of “Talmudic and rabbinical studies”, which comprised post-biblical Hebrew literature, history, grammar, lexicography, and literary history. This field of study manifested itself, among other things, in Willem Surenhuys’ Latin translation of the Mishna (1698–1703), which was facilitated by existing translations and commentaries on individual tractates. These studies also manifested in the efforts of bibliographers; the Italian Hebrew scholar Giulio Bartolucci published a catalogue of Jewish writers in alphabetical order in three volumes, to which his pupil Carlo Giuseppe Imbonati added a fourth. Each volume was titled *Bibliotheca magna Rabbinica* (Rome 1675–1693). Their work was superseded by that of Johann Christoph Wolf, who distinguished himself with the huge *Bibliotheca Hebraea* in four volumes (Hamburg 1715–1733).

Albert Schultens primarily focused on Hebrew studies. Although he taught Hebrew antiquities throughout his career, he published only his inaugural lecture on the Tabernacle of Moses (1740).<sup>26</sup> He certainly paid attention to textual criticism, but did not pursue it as a separate branch of knowledge. In *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, when describing the 17<sup>th</sup>-century growth of Oriental philology, Schultens mentions improved lexicography of Oriental (i.e. Semitic) languages, literal-minded biblical exegesis, editions of Polyglot Bibles, and a more advanced understanding of the Bible’s socio-cultural context. Without naming any authors, he refers to new dictionaries of Arabic, Chaldaic, Syriac, Rabbinic Hebrew, Ethiopic, and Samaritan, both separately and in polyglot dictionaries.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, he refers to new Bible commentaries focused on the literal sense (most likely those of Johannes Cocceius), new editions of polyglot Bibles providing Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic translations and the Samaritan text (the Paris and London Polyglots), the methodization of Hebrew antiquities (by Adrian Reland, *Antiquitates sacrae veterum Hebraeorum*, Utrecht 1708), the edition of the complete Mishna (by Willem Surenhuys, *Mischna sive totius Hebraeorum iuris, rituum, antiquitatum ac legum oraliū systema*, Amsterdam 1698–1703), treatises on biblical zoology and geography (by Samuel Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, London 1663, and *Geographia sacra*, Caen 1646), the ancient and later religious history of the Arabs (Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis*, Zürich 1651), editions of the Koran in Arabic, the objective and unbiased study of Islam (by Reland, *De religione Muhammedica*, 1705), antiquarian remarks on the customs of the Arabs in the commentary on *Specimen historiae Arabum* (by Edward Pococke), and the growth of collections of Oriental manuscripts across Western Europe.

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<sup>25</sup> See Ludwig Diestel, *Geschichte*, pp. 458–473 (i.e. § 46: “die realen Hülfsmittel”).

<sup>26</sup> Albert Schultens, *Oratio inauguralis de tabernaculo Mosi*, Leiden 1740.

<sup>27</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, Leiden 1738, p. 100 (ch. 4, § 36).

## 2.2 Textual criticism of the Old Testament

### 2.2.1 Preliminaries

In pre-modern textual criticism of the Old Testament, there were two opposing schools. The critical school took an anti-rabbinical stance, while the anti-critical school relied on rabbinical traditions.<sup>28</sup>

They debated three coherent topics: (1) the problem of the origin and antiquity of the vowel points, (2) the issue of whether the square Hebrew letters or the Samaritan script was the earlier script, and (3) the question of the integrity of the Masoretic text of the Old Testament. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Old Testament scholars such as Herbert Marsh and Ludwig Diestel analysed the vicissitudes of these debates.<sup>29</sup> In modern times, the first and the third debates have received renewed attention in the historiography of Old Testament interpretation.<sup>30</sup>

### 2.2.2 The origin of the Masoretic vowel points

The first debate concerned the origin of the vocalization system in the Masoretic transmission of the Hebrew Bible, specifically whether it predated the Masoretes. This question was touched on by medieval scholars, but a thorough discussion only traces back to Elias Levita in his *Masoret ha-Masoret* (1537). Levita's prefaces were translated into Latin by Sebastian

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<sup>28</sup> The two initiators of the critical school were Louis Cappel (in Saumur) and Jean Morin (in Paris). Other key advocates were Brian Walton (in London), Richard Simon, Pierre Daniel Huet (both in France), and Jean Le Clerc (in Amsterdam). Founders of the anti-critical school were the two Buxtorfs (in Basel) and Simon de Muis (in Paris). They were supported by J.H. Hottinger (in Zürich), August Pfeiffer (in Wittenberg, Leipzig and Lübeck), and Johann Gottlob Carpzov (in Leipzig).

<sup>29</sup> Marsh discusses the three topics in *A course of lectures containing a description and systematic arrangement of the several branches of divinity*, Cambridge 1810, lectures X–XI, pp. 72–112. For the revised and enlarged edition, see idem, *Lectures on the criticism and interpretation of the Bible*, Cambridge 1828, lectures VIII–IX, pp. 185–212. Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche*, only deals with the controversy over the vowel points, pp. 333–339.

<sup>30</sup> The 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century debates over the vowel points and textual corruptions of the Masoretic text are the subject of John Brown's article, "A forgotten controversy", *Evangelical Quarterly*, vol. 20 (1948), pp. 46–68. The same disputes are addressed by Dominique Barthélemy in an introductory historical survey to his Text Project of the Hebrew Old Testament: *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 1 (1982), in English translation, *Studies in the text of the Old Testament: an introduction to the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project*, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2012, vol. 1, ch. 1, pp. 2–80. For the vowel-point debate, see also B. Pick, "The vowel-point controversy in the XVI and XVII centuries", *Hebraica* 8:3–4 (April–July 1892), pp. 150–173; Richard A. Muller's chapter "The debate over the vowel points and the crisis of Orthodox hermeneutics", in his book *After Calvin: studies in the development of a theological tradition*, Oxford 2003, pp. 146–155; and Timothy Tzavara, "The early modern debate over the age of the Hebrew vowel points", *Journal of the history of ideas* 81:3 (July 2020), pp. 337–358.

Münster as *Liber traditionum*, published in Basel in 1539. Levita argued that the vowel points are post-Talmudic. This stance supported Luther in his anti-rabbinical positions and his rejection of the vowel points, while Johannes Buxtorf the Elder targeted his *Tiberias* (1620) against Elias Levita.<sup>31</sup> At this time, however, the debate was on the verge of being confessionalized. As Catholics underscored the unreliability of the vowel points and the reliability of the Vulgate, even as a corrective to the Hebrew biblical text, Protestants were compelled to counter this threat by making the divine inspiration of the vowel points a dogma. Despite the confessional divide, the Reformed Hebraist Louis Cappel challenged Buxtorf in *Arcanum punctationis revelatum*, published by Thomas Erpenius in Leiden in 1624. Buxtorf entrusted his son with refuting Cappel, but Buxtorf the Younger's reply was delayed until 1643, by which time his opponent had interpreted his silence as consent or inability to counter him. Cappel then responded in a treatise in 1645, to which his Basel antagonist replied in 1648, and to which Cappel answered in a treatise published posthumously by his son in 1689. Several Protestant Hebraists agreed with Cappel in questioning the antiquity of the vowel points.

### 2.2.3 *The textual integrity of the Hebrew Bible*

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Luther expressed distrust in the accuracy of the Jewish transmission of the biblical text. The question of whether the biblical text had been transmitted in an uncorrupted form through the ages, free of scribal errors and intentional corruptions, became the subject of a chaotic and impassioned controversy between Louis Cappel and J. Buxtorf the Younger.<sup>32</sup> This debate was preceded by a dispute between two French Catholic biblical scholars, Jean Morin (d. 1659) and Siméon de Muis (d. 1644). In his *Exercitationes biblicae de Hebraei Graecique textus sinceritate* (1633), Morin argued that the Jews had transcribed the biblical text negligently, so that we do not possess a genuine text. Regarding the Pentateuch, he concluded that the Hebrew text was incorrect wherever it differed from the Samaritan one, which Morin edited in the Paris Polyglot. He also preferred the Septuagint to the Hebrew text, claiming that the Greek version had greater critical authority because it was much older than the earliest known Hebrew copy. De Muis responded to Morin in *Assertio Hebraicae Veritatis altera* (1634), where he defended the purity of the Masoretic text.<sup>33</sup>

Cappel completed his *Critica sacra* in 1634, but due to theological opposition, he was unable to find a publisher until 1650. In this treatise, he highlights textual differences in the manuscript tradition and demonstrates

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<sup>31</sup> Buxtorf the Elder, *Tiberias*, chapter 9, refutes Levita's arguments.

<sup>32</sup> Barthélemy, *Studies* (2012), pp. 7–9 (Luther) and 19–20 (Cappel).

<sup>33</sup> Marsh, *A course of lectures* (1810), pp. 94–96, idem, *Lectures on the criticism* (1828), pp. 207–209. Cf. Barthélemy, *Studies*, pp. 24–25.

discrepancies between the ancient versions and the Masoretic text. His positions are aptly summarized by the English theologian Herbst Marsh (1757–1839) in his lectures as Professor of Divinity at Cambridge:

In this work, though the author so far trod in the footsteps of Morinus that he combated the strict notions of the elder Buxtorf in regard to the integrity of the Hebrew text, he avoided that extreme on the opposite side, into which Morinus had fallen. He maintained, and *rightly* maintained, that the Hebrew Bible, like all other works of antiquity, had been exposed to the variations which unavoidably arise from a multiplication of copies; but he contended not that the sacred text was thereby rendered uncertain as a rule of faith and manners. He contended that the printed editions were not everywhere so correct, as to warrant the opinion that emendation is superfluous; but at the same time, he admitted that we possess the *means* of emendation. He considered the ancient versions, when applied under proper restrictions, as *one source* of critical authority in ascertaining the genuineness of disputed passages: but he regarded not, with Morinus, a deviation of the Hebrew from the Septuagint or the Vulgate as a *reason* for supposing that in such places the Hebrew was incorrect.

In short, his *principles* of criticism were such, as the best judges have applied to ancient authors in general. Where Cappellus failed, he failed in the *application* of his principles. He was right in asserting that the Hebrew manuscripts, from which the Septuagint and the other ancient versions were made, had not precisely the same text, as modern manuscripts, or printed editions. But he sometimes ascribed to a diversity of *reading* what might rather be ascribed to a diversity of *translation*.<sup>34</sup>

Marsh continues:

He was right in asserting that the authors of the Masorah had not established a Hebrew text, which was free from fault: but he was unjust in not acknowledging the services, which they really performed. He was right in asserting that even the *Masoretic* text had not descended to posterity without variations: but he was unjust to the authors of the Masorah in not acknowledging the care, which they took to preserve it. For if their success has not been complete, either in *establishing* or in

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<sup>34</sup> Herbert Marsh, *A course of lectures containing a description and systematic arrangement of the several branches of divinity*, Cambridge 1810, pp. 96–97; idem, *Lectures on the criticism and interpretation of the Bible*, London 1828, p. 210. The italics appear in both originals. In quoting, I have removed punctuation in object clauses (introduced by “that” or “what”).

*preserving* the Hebrew text, they have been guilty only of the fault, which is common to every human effort.<sup>35</sup>

Cappel's work drew a storm of both opposition and agreement. The aforementioned Morin, a zealous convert (from Reformed to Catholic faith), sought to persuade his fellow Catholics that Cappel's ideas were useful for undermining the authority of the Hebrew original and for enhancing the status of the Vulgate, according to the Council of Trent.<sup>36</sup> Yet, the Protestants were divided. The majority of scholars saw Cappel's standpoint as threatening the certainty of divine revelation, and the Swiss Reformed Church even went so far as to decree that the Hebrew original of the Old Testament was inspired not only in its consonants but also in its vowel points.<sup>37</sup> Buxtorf the Younger replied with a large-scale assault on Cappel in *Anticritica seu vindiciae Veritatis Hebraicae* (Basel 1653). He did not attack Cappel on his weak points, e.g., the mistaken application of his principles, but rather sought to vindicate the integrity of the Masoretic text. "Educated, like his father, no less in the *prejudices* than in the *learning* of the Jewish Rabbins, he adhered to those strict notions on the integrity of the Hebrew text, which can never apply to a work of antiquity."<sup>38</sup> Others, such as Brian Walton in the prolegomena to the London Polyglot Bible, consented to the principles asserted by Cappel and, in this Polyglot, contributed to the formation of a critical apparatus to establish a more accurate text.<sup>39</sup>

#### 2.2.4 Implications for perspectives on the nature of Hebrew

Debates over the phonological and palaeographical status of Biblical Hebrew, as well as over Old Testament textual criticism, raised several interrelated questions about the nature of the Hebrew language. In the preface to his Hebrew grammar (1737), Schultens addresses these interconnected issues. The critical school rejected rabbinical views on the sacred status of the Hebrew script, vowel points, and language, asserting that the Hebrew language and its script lacked sanctity and describing the language as defective, poor, rough, uncultivated, and anomalous.

In response to the critical school's views on Hebrew's primordial status and its post-Babelic survival among the Israelites, Johannes Buxtorf the Younger wrote a 1644 treatise in three parts on the origin, confusion, and

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<sup>35</sup> Marsh, *A course of lectures*, pp. 97–98; idem, *Lectures on the criticism*, p. 211.

<sup>36</sup> See Jean Morin's letter to Francesco Barberini, dated 7 February 1629, in Richard Simon's edition of Jean Morin's correspondence, *Antiquitates ecclesiae Orientalis*, London 1682, pp. 432–435. Cf. Barthélemy, *Studies*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>37</sup> *Formula Consensus Helvetici* (1675) as quoted in Barthélemy, *Studies*, pp. 21.

<sup>38</sup> Marsh, *A course of lectures*, pp. 99; *Lectures on the criticism* (1828), p. 212.

<sup>39</sup> Marsh, *A course of lectures*, pp. 99; idem, *Lectures on the criticism*, p. 213.



preservation of Hebrew as the original tongue.<sup>40</sup> He described Hebrew as “divine in view of its origin, primordial concerning its antiquity, and holy in terms of its dignity.”<sup>41</sup> He accordingly supported the ancient tradition identifying the primeval language of humankind with Hebrew. He cited this opinion as the common and received one, alleging the support of “the most excellent” Jewish and Christian authorities. On every topic, he referenced both ancient and recent sources. In endorsing the traditions, he provided five reasons.<sup>42</sup> By virtue of his authority, Buxtorf consolidated the conception of Hebrew’s unique qualities for generations of Christian Hebraists to come.

### 2.2.5 *Schultens’ views on the Buxtorfian-Cappelian controversy*

In the preface to his commentary on Proverbs, Schultens declares that his comparative linguistic studies are intended to defend the transmitted Hebrew text of the Old Testament. He maintains that this objective is pursued through the principle of analogy, which serves as a foundation and a pillar.<sup>43</sup> He underscores that all his principal treatises were aimed at attaining this goal: *Origines Hebraeae* in two volumes (1724-1738), *De defectibus linguae Hebraeae* (1731), *Clavis dialectorum* (1733), *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae* (1737), and *Commentarius in Jobum* (1748).<sup>44</sup>

In the preface and opening chapters of his Hebrew grammar, Schultens addresses both the critical and anti-critical schools on the antiquity of the Hebrew square script and the biblical vowel points.<sup>45</sup> He positions himself between these two opposing camps<sup>46</sup> and characterizes the Capellian school as acknowledging some degree of holiness in Hebrew, yet criticizing it as “an imperfect, incoherent, poor, unrefined language, entangled in countless

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<sup>40</sup> See Buxtorf the Younger, *De linguae Hebraicae origine et antiquitate*, “On the origin and antiquity of Hebrew”; *De linguae Hebraeae confusione et plurium linguarum origine*; “On the Confusion and the origin of more languages”; and *De linguae Hebraeae post confusionem conservatione et propagine*, “On the preservation and transmission of Hebrew after the Confusion”. Each part was published separately in Basel in 1644. The following year, they were collected with five others into a set of eight dissertations, published as *Dissertationes philologico-theologicae* in Basel in 1645, and republished in 1662. Schultens owned the second edition. See *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 24, no. 288 in quarto.

<sup>41</sup> Buxtorf, *Dissertationes philologico-theologicae* (1662), preface, p. iii: “linguae Hebraeae considerare et explicare coepi originem et antiquitatem, ubi ostensum origine fuisse divinam, antiquitate primam et per aliquot secula unam, dignitate sanctam.”

<sup>42</sup> See Eskhult, *Schultens as an innovator*, Vol. 1, Section 7.3.1, pp. 144–146.

<sup>43</sup> Schultens, *Proverbia Salomonis*, Leiden 1748, praefatio, p. I.

<sup>44</sup> Schultens, *Proverbia Salomonis*, praefatio, p. C (in Roman numerals, i.e. 100).

<sup>45</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, pp. 15–20 and 58–63.

<sup>46</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface (which is numbered from \*recto to \*\*\*verso).

irregularities without counterparts in cultivated languages”.<sup>47</sup> Conversely, the rabbinical or Buxtorfian school defends the divine holiness of Hebrew, asserting that its intrinsic qualities manifest in “wonderful virtues”, including clarity and transparency (*perspicuitas*), impressiveness (*gravitas*), chastity (*verecundia*), wisdom (*sapientia*), and majesty (*maiestas*).<sup>48</sup>

In his early studies, Schultens wavered between these schools, identifying himself with both and thus perceiving himself as both Buxtorfian and Cappelian. He soon recognized that the positions of both schools were not determined “by reasons and arguments”, but rather by “feelings and prejudices”.<sup>49</sup> In the preface, he argues that these schools arose from an extremist stance and summarizes the views of the rabbinical school in six points:

- (i) Not only the vowel points but also their terms, are very ancient, originating with Adam, Moses, or at least with Ezra.
- (ii) All the shewas [i.e. mute vowels] and the critical and diacritical marks trace their origin to Moses or the Prophets.
- (iii) The accents rest on divine authority.
- (iv) The Masoretic textual interchange between lowercase and uppercase letters is authentic.
- (v) All textual variants derive from the tradition of Moses or Ezra.
- (vi) Even irregular vocalizations, even if in prodigious contradiction with the consonants, are based on divine authority, from which it is an expiatory offence to deviate.<sup>50</sup>

As to the tenets of the Cappelian school, Schultens was displeased with the following bold assertions (i–xiii):

- (i) The vowel points are of a late date.
- (ii) The Hebrew text is readable and clear without vowel points.
- (iii) The *matres lectiones* suffice to elucidate obscurities.
- (iv) From the beginning, all Oriental languages in written form lacked vowel points.
- (v) The division into five long or short vowels does not correspond to the phonemic inventory of cognate languages, such as Syriac and Arabic.
- (vi) The diacritic dot in the polyphonous grapheme װ (to distinguish between *šin* and *šin*) is a Masoretic invention and of no utility.

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<sup>47</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, preface, pp. \*r–\*v: “sed tamen pronunciare non dubitat linguam Hebraeam admodum esse imperfectam, pauperem, salobrosam, incultam asperitatibus et anomaliis infinitis implicitam; quae cum cultissimis linguis nulla ex parte comparari queat.”

<sup>48</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. \*r.

<sup>49</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, pp. \*v–\*2r.

<sup>50</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. \*3r.

(vii) The Masoretic vocalization has the scent of human origin and invention, which is certainly artful, but not trustworthy and not consistent with the cognate languages.

(viii) The vowel points may safely be disregarded if something more apt and fuller can be concluded from the consonantal text.

(ix) The vowel points ought to be emended by means of textual criticism in comparison with the Septuagint and other ancient translations.

(x) The consonantal text itself ought to be emended through comparison with the ancient translations.

(xi) The existence of textual corruptions is proved by the existence of textual variants, which are called *ketiv* and *qere*.

(xii) All accents are nonsense and not even to be credited with human reliability.

(xiii) Hebrew grammar will never stand on a reliable basis as long as we accept the Masoretic vocalization.<sup>51</sup>

#### 2.2.6 Schultens' own assumptions

Schultens rejected the positions of both schools. To resolve the controversy, he proposed an intermediate approach centred on the regularity of Hebrew (*analogiae linguae Hebraeae*)<sup>52</sup> in morphology and semantics.<sup>53</sup> was central. This approach sought to challenge the arguments of both the rabbinical and the critical schools.<sup>54</sup>

Schultens asserts that it is easier to assess the beauty and symmetry of a great palace from the remains of its foundations than to determine the regularity of this most ancient language from its remains in the Bible.<sup>55</sup> He states that he uses this metaphor to convict both the rabbinical and critical schools of error. The rabbinical school tended to explain everything it did

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<sup>51</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta*, preface, pp. [\*4v] and \*\*r.

<sup>52</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. \*\*2r. At the end, Schultens states: "Quod analogiae signo impressum, ab invitis quoque assensionem impetrat litesque et discordias terminat. Anomaliae rixis discidiisque patentissimam fenestram relinquunt." "What is impressed by the seal of analogy [i.e. regularity] gains the assent even of the unwilling and terminates fights and discord, while anomalies widely open the door to quarrels and disagreements."

<sup>53</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, pp. \*\*3r–\*\*3v. The concept of analogy in Hebrew (*analogia linguae Hebraeae*, p. \*\*3rr) is applied to morphology (*grammatica*) and semantics, more precisely, to original and primary meanings (*origines*, p. \*\*3v).

<sup>54</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, pp. \*\*v–\*\*2v, argues that ignorance of the regular patterns of Ancient Hebrew led the rabbinical school of thought to assume anomalies. Thus, it is not an imperfection of Hebrew that has given rise to such a multitude of anomalies, but rather the fact that the Rabbis have drawn up their grammars on a too limited linguistic corpus of Ancient Hebrew. For Schultens' assessment of the critical school, see *ibidem*, preface, p. \*\*3v.

<sup>55</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, preface, p. \*\*3r.

not understand as irregularities (*anomaliae*), but these would, in fact, be proved regular if judged by the standard of the ancient language, Schultens maintains. On the other hand, the critical school, for this reason, derided the imperfections of Hebrew, characterizing it as poor, semantically ambiguous and uncertain, uncultivated, rough without purity, and much less beautiful.<sup>56</sup> According to Schultens, it would not yield to any other language in terms of dignity (*dignitas*), richness (*opulentia*), and “the graces of regularity” (*analogiae gratiae*, that is, an elegant regularity), provided that knowledge of this regularity is restored.<sup>57</sup>

Schultens had a precedent in Valentin Ernst Löschner. In his hermeneutic-linguistic ideas about Ancient Hebrew, Löschner sought to counter the critical view that Hebrew is marked by morphological anomalies and semantic ambiguity. By arguing that Ancient Hebrew was characterized by both grammatical and semantically logical regularity, he paved the way for Schultens’ solution.

In the preface, Schultens proposed that a halfway vocalization originally existed through the use of *matres lectionis*. He maintained that the Hebrew Bible initially comprised a consonantal text, consistently read by pronouncing both long and short vowels as “the soul of language”.<sup>58</sup> In his Hebrew grammar, Schultens contends that the original consonantal text of the Old Testament included vocalization only where essential for comprehension. He poses the central question as follows: “Were vowel points added by the holy authors, if the highest necessity required it?” He replies that it is not reasonable to deny this possibility, but requiring more than occasional vocalization is imprudent and detrimental to the good cause.<sup>59</sup>

As circumstantial evidence, Schultens notes that reading texts in related languages (Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic) is facilitated by vowel points and that these texts often require vocalization to be properly understood. For comparison, he holds that vocalization is required when reading al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt* and the Koran.<sup>60</sup>

Schultens favoured the Ketiv readings over the *qere*-variants. He argued that the *ketiv*-readings are supported by evidence from other Oriental (Semitic) languages. This approach was adopted by his Hungarian student Ferenc Csepregi in a thesis submitted during his professorship in Franeker in 1725, and by Jan Jacob Schultens in his master’s thesis of 1742.

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<sup>56</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. \*\*3v, and *De defectibus linguae Hebraeae* (1731), p. 11 (§ 18) “on the accusation of poverty” (*paupertatis dica*) and p. 63 (§ 67) on the critics’ false charge of semantic instability” (*vix certi quicquam et constantis*).

<sup>57</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. \*\*3v.

<sup>58</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. \*3v.

<sup>59</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 61–62.

<sup>60</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, pp. [\*4r–\*4v].

## 2.3 Philologia orientalis: Hebrew and Semitic language philology

### 2.3.1 Oriental languages as a field of study and as a designation

In early modern Europe, Oriental philology was the academic study of the principal Oriental languages: Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic.<sup>61</sup> In the early to mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the teaching of these languages was institutionalized at European universities, as professorships in Hebrew were transformed into chairs of Oriental languages.<sup>62</sup> At Uppsala University, an example of this occurred in 1621.<sup>63</sup> At the University of Wittenberg, the same occurred in 1640, when Andreas Sennert was appointed ordinary professor.

The term “Oriental languages”, *linguae Orientales* in Latin, could be used in various ways. In its narrowest sense, it referred to languages that, in their phonology, morphology, and vocabulary, are historically related to Hebrew, such as Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic, and have been classified as Semitic since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. This term was coined by the historian August Ludwig Schlözer in 1781 and was soon introduced into Oriental philology by Johann Gottfried Eichhorn. Although not taught at universities in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Samaritan, Ethiopic, and Phoenician were also included in the narrow concept. The question of whether Coptic was related to this group of languages was debated.<sup>64</sup> Using the term in its narrow sense, Schultens defined the Oriental languages as “the ancient and genuine languages of the Orient”<sup>65</sup> and excluded Persian and Turkish from this

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<sup>61</sup> See Daniel Stolzenberg, “What was Oriental studies in early modern Europe? ‘Oriental languages’ and the making of a discipline”, in *Allure of the ancient: Receptions of the ancient Middle East, ca. 1600–1800*, edited by Margaret Geoga and John Steele, Leiden and Boston 2022, p. 344: the philologists understood the concept of ‘oriental languages’ “in a relatively stable and restricted sense as referring to Hebrew and other near eastern languages”; p. 349: “Hebrew was the most important oriental language. [...] Indeed, Hebrew can accurately be described as the paradigmatic oriental language. It had temporal priority, both in the sense that it was the first oriental language to be cultivated by Christian Europeans, and also because it was commonly thought to be the oldest language in the world.” p. 351: “Arabic, Chaldaean, and Syriac were the most important oriental languages besides Hebrew. [...] Thus, while Arabic appears as one of the four core oriental languages, Hebrew, Chaldean, and Syriac formed a privileged triad.”

<sup>62</sup> Stolzenberg, “What was Oriental studies in early modern Europe?”, pp. 353–355. However, his statistics on Oriental language professorships for Scandinavia do not agree with the historical circumstances. At Uppsala University, the chair of Oriental and, from 1876, Semitic languages has continued since 1621. At the University of Lund, such a chair existed from 1684 until recently. At Åbo/ Helsinki University, the chair of Oriental languages was established in 1640 and continued until 2009, when Tapani Harviainen retired from his chair of Semitic languages.

<sup>63</sup> See Claes Annerstedt, *Uppsala Universitets historia*, vol. 1, Uppsala 1877, p. 247.

<sup>64</sup> Kircher, *Prodromus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus*, Rome 1636, pp. 133 f.

<sup>65</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, p. 17 (§ 31): “Sat dilucide, tanquam in tabella genealogica, expinxisse mihi videor, quaenam sint linguae illae Orientis antiquae et genuinae, quam cum Hebraea eundem succum radicalem imbibierunt”

category. He considered these Oriental languages part of the theological curriculum.<sup>66</sup>

In a broader sense, Oriental languages referred to all the languages once or still spoken in the Orient – a geographical term corresponding to the extent of the Ottoman and Safavid Empires (Fig. 21–24) and thus roughly encompassing the geopolitical and geocultural area known today as the Near East. This definition included not only the Semitic languages but also Turkish, Persian, Coptic, Armenian, and Georgian.<sup>67</sup> In this sense, Oriental languages were the vernaculars of the Orient, past and present. This was the ordinary understanding of Oriental languages in early modern Europe.<sup>68</sup>

Before 1800, European scholars generally did not consider the languages of East Asia, such as Chinese, Japanese, and Malay, to be Oriental.<sup>69</sup> However, in his orations on Oriental languages delivered at the University of Utrecht on 5 and 8 October 1643, Christian Ravius refers to Central and East Asian languages, including Tataric, Mongolic, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, and Javanese, as Oriental languages.<sup>70</sup> Petrus Filenius likewise included Chinese among the Oriental languages (Section 11.3.1).

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[...]. “I think that I have depicted, like in a genealogical table, sufficiently clearly what languages are the ancient and genuine languages of the Orient that have imbibed the same radical sap as Hebrew”.

<sup>66</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, pp. 17–18 (§§ 30–31).

<sup>67</sup> Andreas Sennert, in *Schediasma de linguis orientalibus*, Wittenberg 1681, discusses Hebrew, Phoenician, Canaanite, Samaritan, Aramaic, Arabic, Persian, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Armenian. In *Introductio ad linguas Orientales*, Cambridge 1706, Simon Oocley discusses the published source texts for the study of Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Persian, Armenian, Coptic, and Turkish. Petrus Filenius, in *Vindiciae linguarum Orientalium*, Åbo 1740, p. 1, includes Turkish, Coptic, Armenian, and Georgian (in Latin *Iberica*) under the term *Orientales linguae* in addition to Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic, and Ethiopic.

<sup>68</sup> Stolzenberg, “What was Oriental studies in early modern Europe?” p. 349: “When early modern Latin writers referred to Oriental languages, they meant: Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldean, Syriac, Ethiopic, Persian, Samaritan, Armenian, Turkish and Coptic.” For instance, it is the Orient of Barthélemy d’Herbelot in his encyclopaedia *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697), which surveys Arabic, Persian and Turkish literature.

<sup>69</sup> Stolzenberg, *ibidem*, p. 351: “East Asian languages, such as Chinese, Indian, and Japanese, were objects of interest in early modern Europe, but scholars did not usually think of them as ‘oriental’”. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 344.

<sup>70</sup> See Ravius, *Panegyrica prima orientalibus linguis dicta*, Utrecht 1643, and *Panegyria secunda orientalibus linguis dicta*, Utrecht 1643. For a survey of these operations, see Eskhult, “Christian Ravius’ Turcic and Semitic studies and his work as an Orientalist in the Swedish state service”, in *Turcologica Upsaliensia*, ed. by Éva Á. Csátó et alii, Leiden 2021, pp. 51–56. In his *Orthographiae et analogiae Ebraicae delineatio*, Amsterdam 1646, Ravius distinguishes between the sacred and primeval Oriental language (dividing it into six dialects: Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic and Ethiopic, see pp. 29–31, 42, and 81–82) and profane Oriental languages such as Persian, Tataric, Mongolic, Malay, and Chinese (pp. 35 and 84).

The occasional inclusion of Chinese within the concept of Oriental languages partly justifies Edward Said's contention: "By and large, until the mid-eighteenth-century Orientalists were Biblical scholars, students of Semitic languages, Islamic specialists, or, because the Jesuits had opened up the new study of China, Sinologists."<sup>71</sup> However, it was not until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century that Chinese began to be conceptualized as an Oriental language. Once Semitic languages had been introduced as a precise term for discussing this specific group of historically related languages,<sup>72</sup> the old term could more easily be used to refer to all the languages of the Near East and of other parts of Asia, such as India and China.<sup>73</sup> – At German universities, Oriental languages split into two major branches in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century:

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<sup>71</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism*, reprinted with a new preface, London 2003, p. 51.

<sup>72</sup> Henric Gerhard Lindgren, *De dialectis Semiticis*, part 1, Uppsala 1822, p. 4: "Linguae, quas Semiticas hodie appellamus, ad nostra fere tempora κατ' ἐξοχήν orientales nominatae sunt. Neque adhuc hic usus penitus abolevit. Primus recentiorum Eichhornius illas, quo a ceteris orientalibus distinguantur, *Semiticas* appellare incepit, quoniam a Semo, Noae filio, plurimi, qui his linguis loquuntur, populi suam ducunt originem. Quamvis tamen ne haec quidem denominatio plene sit apta, nam quidam quoque Chamitae locuti sunt Semitice, antiquiore tamen longe praestat; nam etsi Semitica sit princeps Orientis lingua, partem tantummodo linguarum orientalium constituit." "The languages that we today call Semitic have, par excellence, been called Oriental almost until our time. This usage has not yet been entirely abolished. As the first among recent scholars, Eichhorn began to call them Semitic to distinguish them from the other Oriental languages, because most of the peoples that speak these languages descend from Shem, the son of Noah. Although not even this term is fully appropriate, because some Hamites also spoke Semitic, it is much better than the former term, since despite the fact that Semitic is the foremost language of the Orient, it only forms part of the Oriental languages."

<sup>73</sup> J.C. Swijghuijsen Groenewoud, *Oratio de aetate nostra ad provehenda literarum orientalium studia quam maxime apta*, Utrecht 1832, p. 8: "Late patent literarum orientalium studia. Continent enim non solum Hebraeorum vicinarumque gentium atque Arabum, sed populorum omnino, qui Asiam et Africam incolunt, Aegyptiorum, Indorum, Sinensium adeo linguas atque literas." "Studies of Oriental languages and literatures extend broadly, since they contain not only the languages and literatures of the Hebrews and of their neighbouring peoples and of the Arabs but also of the Egyptians, the Indians and the Chinese." However, in his inaugural oration, the author limits himself to "the languages, dialects and literatures of the ancient Hebrews and of cognate peoples" (*Hebraeorum antiquorum et cognatarum gentium linguae, dialecti ac literae*). On p. 16, Sanskrit, Egyptian and other Oriental languages, such as Chinese (p. 17), are examples of Oriental languages in a broad sense. See also Philip Schaff, *Theological propaedeutic*, vol. 1, New York 1892, p. 103: "The term *Semitic* (as the French, German, and some English writers spell it) or *Shemitic* (after the more accurate transliteration of the Hebrew) has come to us since Eichhorn (1794) and Schlözer (1781), and though not strictly correct, [it] is preferable to the older designation, *Oriental*, which dates from Jerome, but is too comprehensive according to modern ideas about the Orient, which include Central and Eastern Asia and Egypt as well as Western Asia."

Semitic and Indian philology. Many 19<sup>th</sup>-century German Orientalists were both Semitists and Indogermanists.<sup>74</sup> A similar pattern is evident at Uppsala University, where Otto Fredrik Tullberg distinguished himself as both a Semitist and a pioneer of Swedish Indology and Sanskrit research.<sup>75</sup> – At the close of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the term “Oriental languages” was sometimes used as a superordinate category for the language families of Central and Western Asia.<sup>76</sup>

### 2.3.2 *Stages of Hebrew studies 1500–1700: Löscher’s periodization*

In his treatise on biblical hermeneutics, *De causis linguae Ebraeae* (1706), Valentin Ernst Löscher (1673–1749) distinguishes four periods of Hebrew studies from Reuchlin’s time to his own.<sup>77</sup> Schultens regarded Löscher as one of the most learned scholars of his time. In his Hebrew grammar and unpublished manuscripts, he often refers to Löscher’s hermeneutical treatise, which he possessed. In the sale catalogue of the Schultens family library, Albert Schultens’ personal copy is said to be “much annotated”.<sup>78</sup>

The first period falls within the pre-Reformation, when Christians learned Hebrew from Jewish preceptors.<sup>79</sup> The second period coincides with the Reformation (defined as between 1517 and 1550), when “the Christians certainly still learned Hebrew from the Jews, but in another manner, not as beginners, but as those who equalled the learning of their teachers and became more advanced pupils”.<sup>80</sup> The third period is the post-Reformation (defined as spanning 1550 to 1620), “in which our scholars began to surpass

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<sup>74</sup> Holger Gzella, “Expansion of the linguistic context of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament”, in *Hebrew Bible/ Old Testament: the history of its interpretation*, vol. 3:1, edited by Magne Sæbø, Göttingen 2013, p. 136.

<sup>75</sup> Carl Frängsmyr, *Uppsala universitet 1852–1916*, vol. 2:2, Uppsala, 2010, p. 158.

<sup>76</sup> Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl, *Allgemeine Geschichte der morgenländischen Sprache und Litteratur*, Leipzig 1784, pp. 11–12 (§§ 9–10), proposes a classification of Oriental languages into four groups: (1) Turkic-Tataric, Mongolic, and Tongusic; (2) Greek, Armenian, and Georgian (here, as usual in early modern times, called Iberic), Kurdish, Pahlavi, Median, Persian, and “Ost-Indian”, probably the languages spoken in areas once ruled by the British East India Company, e.g., Hindi and Bengali; (3) Egyptian or Coptic; and (4) Babylonian, Hebrew, Arabic, Phoenician, Ethiopic, Syriac, Samaritan, and so-called Chaldaic.

<sup>77</sup> Löscher, *De causis linguae Ebraeae*, Frankfurt (am Main) and Leipzig 1706, where book 1, ch. 9 is titled “Historia restitutionis linguae Ebraeae”, pp. 106–125.

<sup>78</sup> *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, Leiden 1780, p. 526, no. 3461 in quarto: “Val. Ern. Loescherus, De causis linguae Ebraeae, Franc. 1706” with the remark “vel beschript door A. S.” The abbreviation refers to Albert Schultens.

<sup>79</sup> Löscher only designates the four periods chronologically. The second period is counted from the beginning of the Reformation: “repurgata per Lutherum ecclesia”.

<sup>80</sup> Löscher, *De causis linguae Ebraeae*, p. 110: [...] “discere quidem adhuc Christiani a Iudaeis, sed alio iamdum pacto, non ut tirones, sed ut aequaturi magistrorum eruditionem et profectiores discipuli”.



the Jews completely”.<sup>81</sup> The fourth period covers the development between 1620 and 1705, a period in which Christian philologists became “much superior to the Jews in terms of grammatical accuracy, investigation of the roots, exploration of the meanings, and in many other regards”.<sup>82</sup> During this period, scholarship “has more and more penetrated the innermost parts of the Hebrew language and turned ambiguities into certainty and obscurities into light”.<sup>83</sup> The expression “innermost (*adyta*)” denotes the internal formal principle of Hebrew, which Löscher explains as referring to morphological and semantic patterns of regularity (*grammatica et logica analogia*).<sup>84</sup> Löscher argues that Christian Hebraists in this period took over hegemony in Hebrew lexicography from the Jews.<sup>85</sup>

### 2.3.3 General development in the 17<sup>th</sup> century

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Hebrew language studies were characterized by a variety of approaches. The comparative study of Biblical Hebrew and other Semitic languages competed with Jewish studies, while both these approaches were counteracted by anti-comparative and anti-rabbinical reactions.

Previously, Christian scholars derived their knowledge of Hebrew either directly from contemporary rabbis or indirectly from rabbinical grammars and dictionaries of Biblical Hebrew, foremost David Kimchi’s Hebrew dictionary (*Sefer ha-shorashim*) and grammar (*Mikhlol*). After a century of adaptation and acquisition of medieval Jewish linguistic tradition, Christian scholars began to distrust its reliability and developed new methods, mainly:

- (1) textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible in relation to the transmission of the Masoretic text and in relation to ancient Bible translations – an approach that promoted further undertaking in the editing of polyglot Bibles.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Löscher, *ibidem*, p. 115: “in qua nostrates his in litteris Iudaeos omnino superare coeperunt”.

<sup>82</sup> Löscher, *ibidem*, p. 106: “longe illis esse superiores et accurate grammatica et radicum investigatione et indagatione significationum et multis partibus aliis.” In the preceding clause, these features are described as “that which pertains to the innermost parts of language (*ad interiora linguae*) and its true nature (*veram eius indoles*).”

<sup>83</sup> Löscher, *ibidem*, p. 117: “ad adyta linguae magis magisque penetravit, ambigua in cero, obscura in luce posuit”.

<sup>84</sup> Löscher, *ibidem*, p. 162, where *analogia* is equated with *grammaticae anima*; and p. 447, where the inner form (*interior forma*) of Hebrew is explained as regular and certain, with a twofold concept of *analogia*, viz. the grammatical and semantically logical regularity.

<sup>85</sup> Löscher, *ibidem*, p. 117. Cf. Craig 2013: 516.

<sup>86</sup> The Alcala or Complutensia Polyglot (1514–1517) comprised Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and the Aramaic Pentateuch (Targum Onkelos). The Antwerp Polyglot encompassed Hebrew, the Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch and to the historical

- (2) a systematic comparison with other Semitic languages, such as in the polyglot dictionaries of Schindler, Hottinger and Castell,
- (3) a meticulous study of the Biblical Hebrew usage, particularly in the lexicography of Johannes Cocceius and Jacques Gousset.

This shift in attitude occurred between 1610 and 1640 and reached its zenith in the subsequent decades.

In Protestant countries, Christian Hebraists gradually developed a comparative method as a linguistic aid for interpreting the Old Testament. This approach was initiated by Valentin Schindler (1543–1604), whose Semitic polyglot dictionary, *Lexicon pentaglotton*, was published posthumously in Frankfurt am Main and Hanau in 1612. He was motivated to develop a lexical aid for the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1568–1573). He drew on the incipient publication of Arabic texts in Rome in the 1590s, such as the works of the Persian philosopher and physician Avicenna, the Arab geographer al-Idrīsī, and the Greek mathematician Euclid, as translated into Arabic. From around 1630, the comparative method was intensified by the appearance of the Paris and London Polyglots. The multilingual dictionaries of Semitic languages by Hottinger and Castell are closely related to the context of the Polyglot Bible. Other important aids for the grammar and vocabulary of Semitic languages were developed until 1670, after which the expansion of this field of research quickly declined.

Towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, studies of post-biblical Hebrew – the Mishna, the Talmud, and medieval rabbinical Bible commentaries – became the prevailing trend among Christian Hebraists. Pioneering contributions included the translations and philological commentaries on Mishnaic tracts by J. Cocceius in Franeker and by Constantine L’Empereur in Leiden around 1630. These were followed by the publication of Buxtorf’s Talmudic-rabbinic dictionary (Basel 1639–1640), designed to provide a linguistic key to the study of Talmudic and rabbinical literature.<sup>87</sup> John Lightfoot’s commentary on rabbinical phrases and proverbial sayings in the Acts, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* (1658), marked a peak in the study of post-biblical Hebrew in the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and sustained it into the first

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and prophetic books, the Syriac New Testament, the Greek Septuagint, the Latin Bible translation of Santes Pagninus in the revised edition of Arias Montanus, and Alfonso de Zamara’s Latin translation of the Aramaic Targums in the revised edition of Arias Montanus. The Paris Bible Polyglot (1629–1645), edited by the French lawyer Michel Le Jay, comprised Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic, Greek, and Latin. The London Polyglot (1654–1657), undertaken by a team of Cambridge Orientalist and Arabicist scholars under the supervision of Brian Walton, encompassed Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic, Ethiopic, Persian, Greek, and Latin (the Vulgate).

<sup>87</sup> In the early modern period, the term rabbinical literature was used to refer to medieval Hebrew literature (exegetical, philosophical and literary).

decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, culminating in Johann Gerhard Meuschen's *Novum Testamentum ex Talmude et antiquitatibus Hebraeorum illustratum* (1736). Scholars of Hebrew remained engaged with Talmudics and rabbinics for almost fifty years, from 1670 until 1720. A milestone of this research focus was the Latin translation of the Mishnah by Willem Surenhuys. Moreover, the endeavour to reach a better understanding of the Greek New Testament was also related to Christian mission among the Jews in the last decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The foremost representative of this zeal for Judaica was Johann Christoph Wagenseil at the University of Altdorf.<sup>88</sup>

Despite the development of grammatical and lexicographical aids for the study of the Semitic languages, the harmonic, that is, the comparative and parallel-contrastive, method had not yet been universally accepted. At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it lost ground to the study of Judaica and was contested when several Hebraists, led by Jacques Gousset, reacted against comparative study and proposed the isolated study of Biblical Hebrew usage as a superior new method.<sup>89</sup>

#### *2.3.4 Latin Bible translations as aids in the Latin-speaking Republic of Letters*

The Reformation not only produced new translations of the Bible from its original languages into European vernaculars but also prompted individual biblical scholars of Hebrew and Greek to make independent efforts to produce a more reliable Latin translation of the Bible. As for the entire Old Testament, new Latin versions were developed by Santes Pagninus (1527), Sebastian Münster (1534–1535), Leo Jud, assisted by Theodore Bibliander (1543), Sebastian Castellio (1551), Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius (1575–1579), Sebastian Schmidius (1696), and Jean Le Clerc (1693–1731).<sup>90</sup> In his private library, Schultens had access to all of these Latin

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<sup>88</sup> Peter Blastenbrei, *Johann Christoph Wagenseil und seine Stellung zum Judenthum*, München 2004, pp. 52–93; Eskhult, *Andreas Norrelius' Latin translation of Johan Kemper's Hebrew commentary on Matthew*, Uppsala 2007, pp. 47–50.

<sup>89</sup> One of Gousset's precursors was the lexicographer Johann Forster, who paid close attention to context and parallel passages in order to free himself from the rabbinic tradition. Johannes Cocceius used the same method in his comments on biblical texts; however, he did not reject the rabbinic aids.

<sup>90</sup> For a survey of these Latin translations of the Hebrew Bible, see Eskhult, "Latin Bible versions in the Age of Reformation and post-Reformation", in *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift*, edited by Anders Jarlert, Malmö 2006, pp. 31–67. For the Protestant Latin translations, see idem, "Latin Bible translations in the Protestant Reformation: Historical contexts, philological justification and the impact of classical rhetoric on the conception of translation methods", in *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, scholars and their readers in the sixteenth century*, edited by Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean, Leiden 2012, pp. 167–185; idem, "Humanistic Latin versions of the Hebrew Old Testament", in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Budapestinensis*.

translations of the Bible.<sup>91</sup> He frequently consulted some of them, particularly those by Tremellius, Schmidius and Le Clerc, in his works on the Book of Job (1737) and Proverbs of Solomon (1748).

Latin translations of the Bible also influenced the development of Hebrew lexicography. Johannes Buxtorf the Elder used the translations of Pagninus and Tremellius-Junius to facilitate the study of Hebrew among theology students. He adapted his renderings of Hebrew words in his Hebrew and Aramaic dictionary (1607) to reflect their translational values.<sup>92</sup> Since most Latin translators of the Old Testament sought to improve the semantic precision of individual words, their practice did not substantially differ from that of a Hebrew lexicographer.

### 2.3.5 Pre-comparative Semitic language studies

A comparative study of Semitic languages emerged and was developed in biblical commentaries, in polyglot lexicography (by Schindler, Hottinger, and Castell), and in “harmonic grammars” on the Semitic languages. The first comparative grammars were written by Lodewijk (or Loius) de Dieu

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*Proceedings of the thirteenth international congress of Neo-Latin studies.* Tempe & Arizona 2010, general editor Rhoda Schnur, pp. 241–251.

<sup>91</sup> *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 1, nos. 6–7 in folio: *Biblia interprete et cum annotationibus S. Castalionis*, Basil. 1556; and *Biblia Junii et Tremellii*, Genevae 1617, uti est. *Bibliotheca Schultensiana* (1780), p. 1, Bibles in folio, nos. 8 and 10: *Biblia Hebraica et Latina ex versione et cum notis Seb. Munsteri*, Basil 1534, 2 vol.; V. T. Hebraicum cum interpretatione Xantis Pagnini, B. A. Montani et aliorum et N. T. cum versione B. A. Montani, Lips. 1657; nos. 32–35: *Biblia Sacro Sancta V. et N. T. e Sancta Hebr. lingua Graecorumque fontibus translata in sermonem Latinum (a Leone Judae, Th. Bibliandro et C. Pellicano)*, Tiguri 1543; *Biblia Junii et Tremellii et N.T. ex Syriaca lingua a Tremellio et ex Graeca a Theod. Beza in Latinam verum cura Fr. Junii*, Hanov. 1603; *Biblia Latina cum explicatione L. et A. Osiandri*, Francof. 1618 [the Vulgate as revised by Lucas and Andreas Osiander], *Biblia Latina ex versione Seb. Castalionis*, *ibid.* 1697; p. 9, Bible in quarto nos. 85–86: *Biblia sacra ex versione et cum notis Imman. Tremellii et Fr. Junii*, Hanov. 1602; *Biblia sacra ex versione Seb. Schmidii*, Argentor. 1715. 2 vol. p. 14, Bibles in octavo, nos. 52–53: V.T. Latinum Tremellii et N.T. Bezae Amst. 1669, *Biblia Sacra ex Versione Seb. Castalionis*, Lips. 1729, 2 vol. l.g.; p. 17: commentators in folio, no. 9: J. Clericus in G.T., *ibid.* 1708, in *Hagiographa*, *ibid.* 1731, in *Prophetas*, *ibid.* 1731; and p. 27, commentators in octavo: Schmidii versio Lat. Bibliorum V. et N.T. Argentorati 1697.

<sup>92</sup> In his preface to Buxtorf the Elder’s first edition of a Hebrew dictionary, *Epitome radicum Hebraicarum* (1600), p. 4, Amandus Polanus (1561–1610) writes: “To this comes that the meanings of all the words (*significata omnium vocum*) are adapted to the most approved Bible translations (*ad probatissimas Bibliorum versiones*), particularly those by Santes Pagninus and Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, so that you will draw a great advantage from this practice.” This remarkable passage is drawn attention to by Stephen G. Burnett in his study on Johannes Buxtorf the Elder, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*, Leiden 1996, p. 122.

(1590–1642),<sup>93</sup> Johann Ernst Gerhard (1621–1668),<sup>94</sup> Christian Ravius (1613–1677),<sup>95</sup> and Andreas Sennert (1606–1689).<sup>96</sup>

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the relationship among ancient Greek dialects was conceived as a classificatory parallel to the relationship among the Oriental languages in a narrow sense (i.e. Semitic languages),<sup>97</sup> a parallel frequently invoked by Schultens in his linguistic treatises. Theodore Bibliander (1509–1564) is one of the earliest exponents of this view. In his treatise *De optimo genere grammaticorum Hebraicorum*, “On the best kind of Hebrew grammarians” (1542), he refers to the kinship of Semitic languages as a well-known fact of investigation that requires no further demonstration:

Through diligent exploration, it is known that Chaldaic, Assyrian, Arabic and Syriac are so closely related that some regard them as the same language, which is true, if understood in the sense that all the Greek dialects are said to be one Greek language.<sup>98</sup>

Bibliander notes that the speakers of Attic, Ionic, and Doric agree in their dialects<sup>99</sup> and argues that the above-mentioned Semitic languages agree with Hebrew at all levels of language: word meanings, syntax, inflection, phonology, and phraseology.<sup>100</sup> To the Semitic languages specified above,

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<sup>93</sup> de Dieu, *Grammatica linguarum orientalium Hebraeorum, Chaldaeorum et Syrorum inter se collatarum*, Leiden 1628.

<sup>94</sup> Johann Ernst Gerhard, *Harmonia perpetua aliarum linguarum orientalium*, Jena 1647, which is his revised edition of Wilhelm Schickard’s *Institutiones linguae Ebraeae*.

<sup>95</sup> Chr. Ravius, *A generall grammer for the ready attaining of Ebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic and the Ethiopic languages*, London 1649.

<sup>96</sup> A. Sennert, *Hypotyposis harmonica linguarum Orientalium*, Wittenberg 1653.

<sup>97</sup> Raf Van Rooy, *Greece’s labyrinth of languages: A study in the early modern discovery of dialect diversity*, Berlin 2020, pp. 145–148, outlines early modern linguistic ideas about the Greek classificatory parallel to the Semitic dialectal relationship.

<sup>98</sup> Bibliander, *De optimo genere grammaticorum Hebraicorum*, Basel 1542, p. 58: “Diligenti inquisitione cognitum est Chaldaeum, Assyrium, Arabicum, Syriacum sermonem ita finitimos, ut pro uno quidam accipiant, quod verum est, sic, ut omnes Graecorum dialecti una lingua Graeca dicuntur, ea res intelligatur.” Bibliander underlines that the linguistic closeness between Semitic and Chamitic dialects does not need any proof, “since it has many times been proved by ancient and modern writers.” Chaldaic and Assyrian refer to eastern Aramaic in Lower Mesopotamia (*Chaldaea*) and Upper Mesopotamia (*Assyria*), while Syriac designates Western Syriac (*Syriaca*).

<sup>99</sup> Bibliander, *ibidem*, pp. 58–59: “ut non magis congruant Attici, Iones et Dores in dialecto.”

<sup>100</sup> Bibliander, *ibidem*, p. 58: “Tantum autem coniunctionis est cum sermone Hebraico istis omnibus non modo in dictionibus idem apud omnes significantibus,

Bibliander adds Ethiopic (“the language of the Ethiopians”), which, in his opinion, does not deviate much from those just enumerated.<sup>101</sup>

In the preface to his comparative Aramaic grammar, the Italian classical scholar and Orientalist Angelo Canini (1521–1557) defined the cognate languages – Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic – as daughter dialects of Hebrew, which he placed in the presumed position of “the source and origin of other languages” (*linguarum peregrinarum fons atque origo*). He does not explicitly designate this relationship as mother-daughter, but it is implicit in his historical perspective. Canini contends that the differences among these Semitic dialects lie more in writing than in lexical substance. He compares the relationship among the four main dialects of ancient Greek – Attic, Ionic, Doric and Aeolic – with that among the daughter dialects of Latin: Italian, French and Spanish.<sup>102</sup>

The French Orientalist and biblical scholar Samuel Bochart (1599–1667) compared the difference between Hebrew and Phoenician to the dialectal diversity in Greek.<sup>103</sup> He maintains that there was mutual intelligibility between Hebrew and Phoenician:

In Greek, Attic is one dialect, while Aeolic, Doric and Ionic are others. In German, Dutch is known to differ greatly from Swiss. Thus, I readily admit that the Phoenician dialect differed from Hebrew, provided that nobody claims that it was an entirely different language or that it differed from Hebrew to the point that Hebrews and Phoenicians, when speaking their own languages, would not have understood one another.<sup>104</sup>

Schultens’ most important predecessor was Christian Ravius, who employed the classificatory parallel in his comparative grammar of Hebrew, composed in both Latin and English, and in other treatises. Clarifying the phonological, morphological and lexical unity of the Oriental languages, he argued that Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic and Ethiopic, in

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verum etiam in dictionum conformatione atque modificatione et literarum elementis et locutionum formulis” [...].

<sup>101</sup> Bibliander, *ibidem*, p. 59.

<sup>102</sup> Canini, *Institutiones linguae Syriacae, Assyriacae atque Thalmudicae una cum Aethiopicae atque Arabicae collatione*, Paris 1554. preface, p. 1.

<sup>103</sup> Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, volume 2, Caen 1646, col. 702: “Nam ab Hebraicae puritate Phoeniciam dialectum non minus descivisse puto, quam ab Attica Doricam aut Aeolicam.” “For I think that the Phoenician dialect did not deviate from the Hebrew purity any less than Doric and Aeolic from Attic.”

<sup>104</sup> Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, volume 2, Caen 1646, col. 701: “Notum etiam in Graeco sermone aliam esse Atticam dialectum, aliam Aeolicam et Doricam et Ionicam, et in Germanico Belgicam dialectum ab Helvetica multum differre. Sic Phoeniciam dialectum ab Hebraea discrepasse facile concessero, modo ne quis asserat plane aliam fuisse linguam, aut ab Hebraea diversam, ut Hebraeus et Phoenix sua quisque lingua loquentes se mutuo non intelligeret.”

their morpho-phonological essence, are one single language, so that “these dialects are much closer to one another than Ionic, Aeolic, Attic, and Doric are to common Greek.”<sup>105</sup> In *Discourse concerning the easterne tongues* (1648), Ravius argues that in their essence “Arabic roots are Syriac and Ethiopic and Ebrew roots, and the Arabic tongue is the Ebrew, Calde, Syriac, Samaritan and Ethiopic tongue, no diversity at all under heaven of their substance and essence, only all the difference is in accidents and that small too.”<sup>106</sup> In his English-language Hebrew grammar, he states that the lack of comparative grammars and dictionaries of the Oriental languages prevents scholars from discovering “that more perfect unity and identity of these dialects and that they are no otherwise divers tongues than Eolic, Attic, Doric, Ionic are divers from Greek.”<sup>107</sup> In his “Discourse concerning the Easterne tongues,” he restates this parallel, adding that the teaching of Greek dialects is not distributed across different institutional chairs:

Whereas Greek was never hitherto said to be distinct from the Jonien, Attic, Doric, and Aeolic tongues, and therefore states or universities did never settle diverse professors for them, as we do for Ebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, etc. So neither must it be thought that these are diverse tongues, but only one.<sup>108</sup>

This classificatory parallel recurs in an academic thesis on mandrakes (Gen 30:14–16) by Ravius, written in 1656 and submitted to Uppsala University under his own chairmanship:

The Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac and Arabic dialects appear as a single language. After being inauspiciously and mistakenly separated from one another by some scholars, these dialects are thought to differ greatly, although they are coherent, just as Aeolic, Doric, Attic, and Ionic are connected to common Greek as the principal dialects among others.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Ravius, *Orthographiae et analogiae, vulgo etymologiae, Ebraicae delineatio*, Amsterdam 1646, dedicatory letter, p. \* 2: [...] “tot hae dialecti multo propius accedunt invicem, quam ad Graecam communem Ionica, Aeolica, Attica, Dorica.”

<sup>106</sup> Ravius, *A discourse concerning the Easterne tongues, to wit Ebrew, Calde, Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic*, London 1649, p. 45.

<sup>107</sup> Ravius, *A generall grammer for the ready attaining of Ebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic and the Ethiopic languages*, London 1650 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1648), p. 165. Cf. idem, *A discourse concerning the easterne tongues*, London 1649, pp. 47–48.

<sup>108</sup> Ravius, *A discourse concerning the Easterne tongues*, pp. 47–48.

<sup>109</sup> Ravius, *Disputatio de dudaim* “On mandragoras”, Uppsala 1656 (resp. Georg Silnaeus), p. 29: “Ebraea, Chaldaea, Syra et Arabica dialecti apparent uno numero lingua, quae iam infauste quorundam vitio discerptae immane quantum dissidere creduntur, cum cohaereant, ut communi Graecae Aeolica, Dorica, Attica, Ionica praecipuae inter reliquas.”

In the introduction to his polyglot dictionary, *Etymologicum Orientale sive Lexicon harmonicum heptaglotton* (Frankfurt am Main 1661), the Swiss Orientalist and theologian Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667) rejected Ravius’ model of Semitic linguistic kinship, because it ran counter to the established hypothesis that Hebrew is the primordial language. Ravius’ argument presupposes equal status (ἰσοτιμία, i.e. “equality of privilege”) for the so-called dialects. By contrast, Hottinger favours a model of kinship in which Hebrew is regarded as the mother and the other Semitic languages as daughters.<sup>110</sup> He weighs the model of sister dialects against the model of a mother-daughter relationship before deciding in favour of the latter. In the preface to his comparative Hebrew dictionary, he quotes Ravius’ views in *Disputatio de Dudaïm* only to dismiss them immediately:

Some people prefer the term “dialect”. To Christian Ravius, the dialects Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic appear as one single language [...], but I would prefer the relationship of the mother language to a daughter language, because I rightly claim the primacy of Hebrew as the mother and because some are more distant from Hebrew than what may be called dialects. Among the dialects, there is equality of honour. However, this cannot be given to daughters as long as the mother’s authority is retained.<sup>111</sup>

Next, he argues that the differences among the Semitic languages are greater than Ravius admits. Hebrew differs from Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic in the number of phonemes, in the form of graphemes, in inflectional morphology, in the number of stem forms, and in syntax and phraseology:

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<sup>110</sup> Hottinger, *Etymologicum Orientale sive Lexicon harmonicum heptaglotton*, Frankfurt am Main 1661, p. 6: “malim matris ad filiam σχέσιν tum quod Hebraeae, ceu matri, primas iure vendicemus, tum etiam, quod longius ab Hebraea quaedam abeant, quam quae dialecti vocari possint. Inter dialectos ἰσοτιμία, At haec salva matris autoritate filiabus dari non potest.” “I would prefer the relationship of the mother to daughter, because I rightly claim primacy to Hebrew as the mother and because some are more distant from Hebrew than what may be called dialects. Among the dialects, there is equality of privilege. However, this cannot be given to daughters as long as the authority of the mother is retained.”

<sup>111</sup> Hottinger, *Etymologicum Orientale sive Lexicon harmonicum* [...], preface titled “Clavis etymologici harmonici, sive Dissertatio de scopo, usu et methodo huius lexi”, pp. 6–7: “Sunt, qui dialecti hic nomenclaturam amant. Christiano Ravio, *Disputatione de Dudaïm*, p. 29, Hebraea, Chaldaea, Syra, Arabica dialecti apparent uno numero lingua [...], sed malim matris ad filiam σχέσιν tum quod Hebraeae, ceu matri, primas iure vendicemus, tum etiam, quod longius ab Hebraea quaedam abeant, quam quae dialecti vocari possint. Inter dialectos ἰσοτιμία, at haec salva matris autoritate filiabus dari non potest.”



The Greek dialects are chiefly distinguished by the substitution of speech sounds, but as regards Oriental languages (at least some), there is certainly a great resemblance to Hebrew in some features, and yet a greater difference in others. Indeed, Arabic differs from Hebrew in the number and shape of the speech sounds, the number and forms of endings, the cases, the number of roots – Arabic is here richer than all others – the abundance of conjugations, sentence-structure, and phraseology, so that there is no dialect in Greece departing from common Greek in so many regards as Arabic is distant from Hebrew.<sup>112</sup>

In the preface to his comparative Hebrew grammar, Hottinger had, two years earlier, proposed Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic as daughters of Hebrew, describing them as “faithful daughter languages that clearly and distinctly show the same features as their mother” and outlining their degree of relationship to Hebrew: “Aramaic differs from Hebrew (*differt a Hebraismo Chaldaismus*), and Syriac departs more (*longius recedit Syriasmus*) and Arabic is most distant (*longissime abest Arabismus*)”.<sup>113</sup> As for Samaritan and Ethiopic, he simply states that they “do certainly not depart too far”.

## 2.4 The Wittenberg school of Oriental philology

### 2.4.1 Dutch-German academic relations

Schultens was acquainted with the treatises on biblical hermeneutics by German Lutheran theologians, such as Pfeiffer and Löscher, both of whom were connected to the Wittenberg school of Oriental philology. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Dutch universities were oriented towards the Reformed universities of Germany and, to some extent, towards seats of learning in Lutheran principalities. Students from all principalities in Germany, including Lutheran ones, enrolled at Dutch universities, and many German scholars were summoned to occupy chairs at universities throughout the Dutch Republic.<sup>114</sup> In theology and biblical philology, notable examples

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<sup>112</sup> Hottinger, *ibidem*, preface, p. 7: “Graecorum dialecti in elementorum potissimum μεταβολῇ consistunt. At Orientalium Linguarum (quarundam saltem) ita magna in quibusdam cum Hebraea est γειννίασις, ut in reliquis major sit differentia. Arabica certe ab Hebraea differt elementorum numero et figura, terminationum numero et forma, casibus, radicum quantitate (sic Arabica locupletior hic est quam reliquae omnes), coniugationum apparatu, constructione, loquendi formulis, adeo ut nulla sit in Graecia dialectus, quae tot passibus a communi recedat Graeca, quot quidem parasangis ab Hebraea abit Arabica. Neque tamen filia esse desinit, quod in aliis nativum matris vultum, ceu manifestum satis ex ipso sit lexico, luculentissime exprimat.”

<sup>113</sup> Hottinger, *Grammatica quatuor linguarum Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae et Arabicae harmonica*, Heidelberg 1659, pp. 1–2.

<sup>114</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, German students made up an average of 20% of enrolments at the universities of Leiden, Franeker, Groningen, Utrecht and Harderwijk. The presence of German professors at these universities was equally

include Johannes Cocceius, who taught in Franeker and Leiden, and his pupil Johannes Braunius in Groningen, where he was Schultens' Hebrew teacher.

#### 2.4.2 Key members of the school

The school of Oriental philology at Wittenberg emphasized the importance of a joint study of languages related to Hebrew. From the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the comparative approach to Hebrew studies persisted.<sup>115</sup> The school was initiated by Valentin Schindler. It found a prominent advocate in Christian Ravius and continued during the professorship of Andreas Sennert, who had studied Arabic under the guidance of Golius. In his Hebrew grammar, Schultens primarily built on the grammar of Jacob Alting, but the Wittenberg school had a perceptible impact through its rationalist approach to Hebrew grammar.

As a professor of Hebrew at the University of Wittenberg for over twenty years,<sup>116</sup> Valentin Schindler introduced comparative studies of Hebrew. He taught not only Hebrew but also Aramaic and Syriac.<sup>117</sup> He sought to promote the comparative study of these languages through his minor polyglot Bible, *Epitome Bibliorum* (1578), which presents a selection of the Antwerp Polyglot (1569–1572). Christological and central passages from the Old and New Testaments are here given according to the source texts, with

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significant. 300 German scholars served as professors between 1575 and 1750. Of these, 186 were active at Leiden, 27 at Groningen, 32 at Utrecht and 26 at Harderwijk. See further Heinz Schneppen, *Niederländische Universitäten und Deutsches Geistesleben*, Münster 1960. For the number and regional and municipal affiliation of German students at Dutch universities, see pp. 13–16 and 134–139. For the number of German professors at Dutch Universities, see pp. 68–74.

<sup>115</sup> The careers and scholarly treatises of all the professors of Hebrew and Oriental languages at Wittenberg's University until 1817 are thoroughly explored by Hans-Jürgen Zobel, "Die Hebraisten an der Universität Wittenberg (1502–1817)", *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, Jahrgang VII, Heft 6, Halle 1958, pp. 1173–1186. The works of several 17<sup>th</sup>-century professors – Fabricius, Trostius, Jacob Weller, Sennert, and Theodor Dassov – are described by Walter Friedensburg in *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg*, Halle 1917, pp. 476–480. A more recent contribution is Gianfranco Miletto's and Giuseppe Veltri's "Hebrew Studies in Wittenberg (1502–1813): From *Lingua Sacra* to Semitic studies", *European Journal of Jewish Studies*, 2012, pp. 1–21, an English translation of "Die Hebraistik in Wittenberg (1502–1813): von der 'lingua sacra' zur Semitistik", *Henoch* 25 (2003), pp. 93–111, but their article does not supersede Zobel's study.

<sup>116</sup> Schindler's career at Wittenberg over two decades (1571–1592) is described by Zobel, "Die Hebraisten an der Universität Wittenberg", pp. 1177–1178.

<sup>117</sup> In the preface to his 1579 second edition of Jean Mercier's Aramaic grammar, Schindler announced that he would thereafter teach Aramaic and Syriac publicly. He recommends the study of Syriac in its supposed capacity as Christ's mother tongue.

Aramaic, Syriac, Greek, Latin and German translations. Schindler composed it as an aid to theology students who could not afford the expensive Antwerp Polyglot. Schindler's chief merit in Semitic philology, however, is his polyglot dictionary, *Lexicon pentaglotton*, in which Biblical Hebrew is described in its own right and in relation to Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic and its post-biblical stages, Mishnaic and Rabbinic Hebrew. He completed his manuscript between 1593 and 1604 while holding the chair of Hebrew at the University of Helmstedt. Through this polyglot lexicography, he advanced a comparative and parallel-contrastive study of Biblical Hebrew.

Lorenz Fabricius succeeded Schindler to the chair of Hebrew at Wittenberg, but during his tenure (1593–1628), he confined himself to teaching only Biblical Hebrew.<sup>118</sup> The tradition of comparative Semitic language studies survived into the next generation. After earning his master's degree in Wittenberg in 1607, Christoph Crinesius was encouraged by Fabricius to compile a Syriac grammar (*Gymnasium Syriacum*, 1611) and a Syriac dictionary (*Lexicon Syriacum*, 1612). A decade later, Martin Trostius published the Syriac New Testament (1621) and a companion Syriac dictionary (1623). Trostius was appointed extraordinary professor in 1627 and held the chair of Hebrew in Wittenberg from 1628 to 1636. In the preface to his edition of the Syriac NT, Trostius recommends the comparative study of Hebrew through Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic.<sup>119</sup>

Trostius' pupil Christian Ravius is one of the most important theorists in the comparative study of Semitic languages in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>120</sup> In his *Discourse concerning the easterne tongues* (1649), he is the first Wittenberg scholar to refer to Schindler as the great predecessor of a comparative linguistic approach to Hebrew. Schindler "did so much as never any man before him nor yet any other after him till this day in finding out many hundreds of roots to be the same in Ebrew, Calde, Syriac, Arabic or in the Rabbines."<sup>121</sup> He adds: "Because he had that opinion about a community of tongues and dialects and a neernesse [nearness] of some sweet agreement, he called his Dictionary *Pentaglotton*".<sup>122</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Zobel, "Die Hebraisten", p. 1178. Cf. Miletto & Veltri, "Hebrew studies", p. 15.

<sup>119</sup> Miletto & Veltri, "Hebrew studies in Wittenberg", pp.15–16.

<sup>120</sup> Ravius was educated in Wittenberg by Trostius from 1630 to 1635 and continued his studies abroad in Leiden, where he learned Arabic from Golius (1637). In the 1640s, he held non-permanent posts in Oriental languages at the University of Utrecht, the School of Oriental Languages in London, and the University of Oxford. After that, he was an ordinary professor of Oriental languages at Uppsala University (1651–1656 and 1659–1669) and finally at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder (1672–1677). For the former part of his life (until 1650), see Gerald J. Toomer, *Christianus Ravius: An intellectual biography. 1. The Wanderjahre*, Leiden 2023. For his time in Sweden, see Josef Eskhult, "Christian Ravius Turcic and Semitic studies", *Turcologica Upsaliensia*, Leiden 2021, pp. 47–71.

<sup>121</sup> Ravius, *A discourse concerning the easterne tongues*, London 1649, p. 46.

<sup>122</sup> Ravius, *ibidem*, p. 47.

Andreas Sennert held the chair of Hebrew and Oriental languages in Wittenberg for nearly half a century, from 1640 to 1689.<sup>123</sup> He advanced the comparative study of Semitic languages, while also promoting studies in post-biblical Hebrew. He studied with both Trostius in Wittenberg and Jacob Golius in Leiden. Sennert published a comparative grammar of Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic. One of his students, August Pfeiffer, served as an extraordinary professor of Oriental languages at Wittenberg for some years (1668–1671) and published treatises on textual criticism and hermeneutics of the Hebrew Bible, as well as on Hebrew as the original language of the Old Testament and as the supposed primordial language of humankind.

#### 2.4.3 *Schultens' knowledge about Wittenberg Oriental philology*

In all probability, Schultens studied the exegetical works of Martin Luther, as he possessed the Jena edition of Luther's works from 1612,<sup>124</sup> and a separate edition of Luther's commentary on Genesis,<sup>125</sup> which gave him access to Luther's hermeneutical reflection on Hebrew semantics and on the state of knowledge of Hebrew. He also possessed Luther's expositions of the prophets Joel and Micah, the Song of Songs,<sup>126</sup> and Psalm 51<sup>127</sup>, as well as his writing on the bondage of the will (*De servo arbitrio*).<sup>128</sup>

Moreover, Schultens owned an edition of Luther's German Bible translation from 1693,<sup>129</sup> which he evidently used, since he praised Luther for his accuracy as a Bible translator and stated that he never consults Luther's German Bible "without admiration of his talent, discernment and eloquence", despite "that people in that time still had to fight with many

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<sup>123</sup> Miletto & Veltri, "Hebrew studies in Wittenberg", pp. 17–18.

<sup>124</sup> "Martini Lutheri *Opera omnia*, Jenae 1612", see *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, pp. 99, no. 344 in folio.

<sup>125</sup> "Martini Lutheri *Enarrationes in Genesin*, Nürnberg 1653, in two volumes, see *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 18, nr 114 in folio.

<sup>126</sup> *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 66, no. 444 and 459 among Bible commentators in octavo "Martini Lutheri Commentarius in Joelem, Norimb. 1548" and "Mart. Lutherus in Micham et Canticum, Basil 1543."

<sup>127</sup> *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 33 "M. Lutherus in Psalmum LI, Helmstad. 1701."

<sup>128</sup> *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 27, no. 196 among Bible commentators in quarto.

<sup>129</sup> *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 3, no. 43 among Bible and concordances in folio: "Die gantze H. Schrift durch Martin Luther verteutscht. Francof. 1693. 2 vol." Whether Albert Schultens or his son bought the edition of the entire Bible in Hebrew and Greek in Luther's translation, *Evangelische Deutsche Original-Bibel*, Züllichau (Frommann) 1741, is uncertain. See *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 5, no. 14. The Schultens family also possessed the German Pietist Berleburg Bible, *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 3, no. 44 "Biblia Berleburgensia, Berlenb. 1726–1742, 8 vol."

great difficulties”.<sup>130</sup> He also affirms that Luther, “by the ardent force of his great mind”, in his German Bible translation has managed to find the best option, because he always pays attention to “the language and the context”.<sup>131</sup>

Furthermore, Schultens possessed and studied the works of several other Lutheran biblical philologists associated with the University of Wittenberg. In his Hebrew lexicography, Schultens refers to three Hebrew lexicographers active at the University of Wittenberg at some point in their careers: most frequently to Johann Avenarius, sometimes to Johann Forster, and only very rarely to Valentin Schindler.<sup>132</sup> He probably made greater use of Schindler’s dictionary than he acknowledged.

In his private library, Schultens had access to Trostius’ Hebrew grammar (*Grammatica Hebraeae generalis*) and Sennert’s grammar of Oriental, i.e. Semitic, languages (*Hypotyposis harmonica linguarum Orientalium*, 1653).<sup>133</sup> He also possessed works by other Orientalists educated in Wittenberg who held chairs at other universities, namely Christoph Crinesius<sup>134</sup> (in Altdorf), Christian Ravius (in Uppsala and Frankfurt an der Oder), Matthias Wasmuth<sup>135</sup> (in Kiel) and Johann Andreas Danz<sup>136</sup> (in Jena).

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<sup>130</sup> Schultens, *Thomae Erpenii Grammatica Arabica*, Leiden 1748, preface to this re-edition, pp. cxxix–cxxxi: “cuius ego versionem numquam sine admiratione ingenii, iudicii et eloquentiae consulo, etiam ibi, uni pro ratione istorum temporum magnis adhuc multisque difficultatibus colluctandum erit.”

<sup>131</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. cxxx: “ubique optima quaeque ex veteribus et recentioribus, ut omnes reliqui pro suo quisque genio libans, quin ignea virtute magnae mentis ea saepe numero exsculpens ex lingua et serie, quae palmam veteribus ac recentioribus praeripant.” Schultens also quotes a passage (see *Martin Luthers Werke*, TR 1, no. 1041; TR 3, no. 3271a) in which Luther grants that he does not allow himself to be bound by the rules of Hebrew grammar and that he proceeds freely as a translator. Schultens (*ibidem*, preface, p. cxxx) admits that Luther proceeded freely, but thinks that he did so “both religiously and prudently” (“sed et religiose, sed et prudenter”).

<sup>132</sup> *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 6, no. 149 in folio: “J. Forsteri Dictionarium Ebraicum, Basil. 1557”, p. 5, no. 148 “J. Avenarii Lexicon Ebraicum, Witteb. 1568” and p. 6, no. 151 in folio: “V. Schindleri Lexicon Hebr. Chald. Syriac. Talmud. Rabb. et Arabicum, Franc. 1612.”

<sup>133</sup> *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 25, no. 296 in quarto. See also *Bibliotheca Schulensiana*, p. 523, no. 3387: “Mart. Trostii Grammatica Ebraea generalis, revisa ab Andrea Sennerto, Wittemb. 1643” and p. 523, no. 3397: “Sennerti Ebraismus, Chaldaismus, Syriasmus, Arabismus et Rabbismus”, Wittemb. 1666.

<sup>134</sup> *Bibliotheca Schulensiana*, p. 529, no. 3503: “Christoph. Crinesii Lexicon Syriacum, Witteb. 1612 – Eiusdem disputationes 2 de Confusione linguarum, *ibid.* 1610.”

<sup>135</sup> Schultens possessed Wasmuth’s *Hebraismus restitutus* (1666) and *Institutio methodical accentuationis Hebraeae* (1664), see *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 24, no. 274 in quarto: “M. Wasmuth, Hebraismus restitutus, Kil. 1675”, and *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 523, no. 3402. He also owned Wasmuth’s

In his own Hebrew grammar, Schultens refers to Wasmuth and Danz, both of whom continued the rationalist tradition of Hebrew grammar.<sup>137</sup>

Schultens owned Ravius' principal linguistic treatises.<sup>138</sup> Still, in his published treatises (his Hebrew grammar, p. 72), he refers to Ravius only once, though he certainly read them. He agreed with Ravius' linguistic ideas about the classification of Semitic languages as equal dialects, and he adopted Ravius' criterion for distinguishing between language and dialect, namely the Aristotelian distinction between substance and accidents. He also took up some ideas about the morphology and semantics of Semitic languages.

In addition to the above-mentioned treatises, Schultens possessed and read the hermeneutical and exegetical works of August Pfeiffer, Valentin Ernst Löscher and Johann Heinrich May (Majus) the Elder, all of whom were educated in Wittenberg. He was well acquainted with Pfeiffer's works on biblical interpretation and comparative philology. In his *Theses de lingua primaeva* (Leiden UB, MS Or. 1469), Schultens refers to Pfeiffer several times (§§ 27a, 47, 48, 54, 55, 62, 63, 71, 78). In discussing the concept of dialect in Ancient Greek, he cites Pfeiffer's *Diatribē philologica de lingua Galilaea* (Wittenberg 1682).<sup>139</sup> In recounting the debate on the primeval language, Schultens relies on Pfeiffer's summary in *Exercitatio de lingua protoplastorum sive primaeva*, "Exercise on the language of the first human being or the primeval language" (Wittenberg 1663), *Exercitationes biblicae, quibus non pauca Scripturae loca obscura et δυσδιάλυτα vel fusius vel concisius illustrantur*, "Biblical exercises, in which not a few passages of the Scriptures that are obscure and hard to resolve are illustrated either broadly or concisely" (Wittenberg 1670), *Dubia vexata Scripturae sacrae sive loca*

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*Grammatica Arabica* (1654); see *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 529, no. 3519. In the 1650s, Wasmuth studied Arabic with Golius and learnt biblical interpretation from Cocceius in Leiden. From 1665 to 1688, he was a professor in Kiel.

<sup>136</sup> *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 548, nos. 6165 and 6166, including various publications of Johann Andreas Danz, as follows: *Compendium grammaticae Ebraeo-Chaldaicae* (1706), *Literator Ebraeo-Chaldaeus* (1715), *Manuductio viam ostendens compendiosam ad Ebraeae linguae analysin* (1701), *Paradigmata nominum ac verborum* (1716), *Rabbinismus enucleatus* (1714), and *Aditus Syriae reclusus* (1715).

<sup>137</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta*, pp. 15, 27, 28, 54, 92, 98, 121 and 260.

<sup>138</sup> *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 523, no. 3323 in quarto: "Christ. Ravii Orthographiae et Analogiae Ebraicae delineatio, Amst. 1646." Moreover, p. 529, no. 3520 in quarto: "Chr. Ravii Panegyricae duae Orientalibus linguis dictae, Ultr. 1643, 1644. Eiusdem Dissertatio de scribendo lexico Arabico, ib. 1643" and another copy of the latter treatise, p. 530, no. 3530: "Chr. Ravii de scribendo lexico Arab. Lat. Ultr. 1542 [a mistake for 1643]." Finally, p. 548, no. 6147: "Christ. Ravii Praefatio in Manuale Concordantiarum Ebraeo-Chaldaearum, Amst. 1646."

<sup>139</sup> This treatise was republished in Pfeiffer's *Opera omnia, quae extant philologica*, Utrecht 1704, vol. 1, as *Exercitatio decima de dialecto Galilaea*.

*difficiliora Veteris Testamenti*, “Harassed doubts concerning the Holy Scripture or difficult passages in the Old Testament” (Dresden 1679), and *Introductio in Orientem sive synopsis quaestionum nobiliorum de origine, natura, usu et adminiculis linguarum Orientalium et plerarumque extra Europam*, “An introduction to the Orient or a summary of noble questions on the origin, nature, utility and aids of the Oriental languages and most of the languages outside Europe” (Wittenberg 1671). He had access to these treatises in the 1704 edition of Pfeiffer’s collected philological works (*Opera omnia quae extant philologica*, Utrecht 1704),<sup>140</sup> where he could also find Pfeiffer’s treatises on Old Testament textual criticism (*Critica sacra*, Dresden 1680) and on biblical hermeneutics (*Hermeneutica sacra*, Dresden 1687, expanded edition as *Thesaurus hermeneuticus*, Leipzig 1698).

Most importantly, Schultens possessed Löscher’s three books *De causis linguae Ebraeae*, “On the underlying principles of the Hebrew language”, which he considered to be filled with “all the light and copiousness of a very deep learning.”<sup>141</sup> His personal copy of Löscher’s treatise was heavily annotated. In his Hebrew grammar, Schultens refers to Löscher no fewer than 27 times, often approvingly.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 22, no. 205 in quarto: “A. Pfeifferi Opera omnia philologica, Ultr. 1704, 2. vol.” *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 46, no. 608.

<sup>141</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta*, p. 13 “omni luce et copia eruditionis interioris refertos.” Löscher’s treatise is catalogued in *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 526 no. 3461 in quarto: “Val. Ern. Loescherus de causis linguae Ebraeae, Franc. 1706” with the important information: “veel beschrept door A S.” He also possessed other works by V. E. Löscher. See *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 557, no. 6352 in octavo “V. E. Loescheri Litterator Celta cura Jo. Aug. Egenolf, Lips. 1726”, p. 391, no. 4332 “Val. Ern. Loescheri Jon sive origines Graeciae restauratae, Lipsiae 1705”, p. 48, no. 653 in quarto “Valent. Ernst Loescheri Stromateus sive Dissertationes sacrae et literariae, ibid. 1727.”

<sup>142</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, pp. 13, 14, 19, 20, 24, 25, 27, 30, 40, 51, 54, 56–58, 61, 67, 69–70, 87, 89, 99 and 121.

### 3. Hermeneutical background: Restoring Biblical Hebrew

#### 3.1 The defects of Hebrew: A dual hermeneutical concept

##### 3.1.1 Introductory remarks

Christian Hebraists continued the efforts of medieval Jewish scholars to recover knowledge of Biblical Hebrew. The progress in lexical and grammatical descriptions was seen as a continuous process of restoration, similar to the recovery of knowledge of the classical languages, as Renaissance scholars sought to restore the orthography, morphology, semantics, phraseology and syntax of ancient Latin and Greek.

The goal of such a restoration was to achieve perfection in linguistic knowledge. Its opposite was the absence of something essential to perfection or completeness, a lacuna, commonly termed *defectus*.

The fact that there were lacunae in knowledge of Biblical Hebrew was readily acknowledged by all Christian Hebraists, regardless of their denominations, but the contention that Hebrew is inherently marked by lexical poverty and semantic-syntactic ambiguity was a controversial issue. This idea was also associated with the concept of ‘deficiency, imperfection, flaw’, similarly designated as *defectus*.

Accordingly, pre-modern biblical hermeneutics developed a dual concept of Hebrew deficiencies: one concerning knowledge and the other concerning Hebrew’s nature. These hermeneutical positions had a pervasive impact on the theory and practice of pre-modern Hebrew lexicography, particularly in the works of Johann Forster, Jacques Gousset, and Albert Schultens himself.

The emphasis on gaps in knowledge of Biblical Hebrew emerged as a result of the Reformation, while the idea of an imperfection in the nature of the Hebrew language first appeared in Catholic biblical hermeneutics in the wake of the Council of Trent (1545–1563). The idea that Hebrew is subject to intrinsic faults can be traced to the Scottish Jesuit James Gordon Huntly (1541–1620), who also argued that the Vulgate is superior to the transmitted Hebrew text and that a correct and reliable interpretation of the Bible can be found only in the tradition of the Roman Catholic Church. Huntly’s views soon became a subject of controversy among biblical scholars of all factions. Isaac Vossius (1618–1689) went so far as to presuppose a total eclipse of knowledge of Hebrew, while the Dutch Jewish philosopher Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, chapter 7, maintained that biblical interpretation is problematic because Hebrew suffers from both extrinsic and intrinsic deficiencies, the former due to imperfect knowledge



and the latter to the imperfect state of Hebrew. In his handbook of classical and biblical hermeneutics, *Ars critica* (1697), Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736), to some extent, endorsed the idea of intrinsic deficiencies in the grammar and vocabulary of the Hebrew language.

The concept of epistemic lacunae was central to Schultens' theory and practice of Hebrew etymology. Since the terminology coincided with that of intrinsic deficiency, Schultens had to defend himself against the charge of yielding to Catholicism by imposing such a fault on Hebrew. Moreover, in the lexicographical debate, the polysemy of Biblical Hebrew in lexicon and grammar was regarded as a deficiency in both extrinsic and intrinsic senses. For these reasons, an account of the views in the early modern debate on the subject at hand will be provided below.

### 3.2 Martin Luther

#### 3.2.1 Luther's hermeneutical views on Hebrew

In his academic lectures on the books of the Old Testament and in some polemical writings, Martin Luther sought the proper meaning of words and phrases to determine the grammatical and historical sense of the biblical text. In doing so, he provided guidelines for understanding Hebrew. Luther developed his views on the semantics of the Hebrew language over time, from the early 1520s to the middle of the 1550s, and gradually shifted his attitude towards rabbinical Bible commentators from a more conciliatory to a more polemical one.<sup>143</sup> In his lectures on Genesis (1535–1544), he often commented on the semantics of Hebrew words and phrases in polemics against rabbinical interpretation. Luther's anti-rabbinical position in Hebrew semantics was known in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century debate on biblical hermeneutics, as Richard Simon (1638–1712) referred to it in *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*.<sup>144</sup>

In his preface to his German translation of the Pentateuch (1523), Luther argues that Christian scholars have a duty to restore a more complete knowledge of Biblical Hebrew. His position can be reduced to the following points: Because their knowledge of the biblical message is insufficient, the

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<sup>143</sup> Cf. Jerome Friedman, *The most ancient testimony: sixteenth-century Christian-Hebraica in the age of Renaissance nostalgia*, Athens, Ohio, 1983, pp. 195–197; Stephen G. Burnett, "Reassessing the 'Basel-Wittenberg conflict': Dimensions of the Reformation-Era discussion of Hebrew scholarship", in *Hebraica veritas?: Christian Hebraists and the study of Judaism in early modern Europe*, edited by Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson, Philadelphia 2004, p. 193. Cf. Jones G. Lloyd, *The discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: a third language*, Great Britain, pp. 59–63.

<sup>144</sup> Richard Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, Amsterdam 1685 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1679), pp. 335–336 (book 2, ch. 33), where three statements are quoted from Luther's lectures on Genesis (Gen 16: 10; Gen 16:12 and Gen 33:18); see *Martin Luthers Werke*, WA 42, 596: 11–14, WA 42, 597: 22–23 and WA 44, 135: 28–34.

rabbis are unreliable, whereas Christians are better qualified, since they have knowledge of Christ “without which even the knowledge of the language is nothing”.<sup>145</sup> In his exposition of Gen 42:33 (from 1543), Luther similarly declares: “For no one can restore Hebrew grammar except the Christians, who keep the subject matter of the Holy Scriptures, namely Christ, the Son of God, by the knowledge of whom everything else becomes plain and clear.”<sup>146</sup> In his lectures on Joel (1524), Luther pointed out the loss of knowledge of Hebrew among the Jews. Considering the purport of Joel 2:6, he states: “The Jews are not to be trusted in this matter, as they presently do not possess the Hebrew language complete among themselves.”<sup>147</sup>

In his refutation of Jacob Latomus’s 1521 argument, Luther developed a semantic theory according to which each word has a proper meaning that can be varied through figures of speech (such as metaphor, synecdoche, metalepsis, and hyperbole). He argues that the use of figurative language is grounded in the nature of the human mind: “By his nature, every man wants to hear and speak figuratively”. Luther also criticized scholars of Hebrew for drawing a variety of meanings from any Hebrew word in the Targums at the expense of the proper meaning. This practice, he maintains, has given rise to unnecessary lexical ambiguities and a Babylonian confusion of words that impedes understanding. However, if a basic meaning is proposed and other meanings are classified as figures of speech, confusion is removed, and understanding of the proper sense is facilitated.<sup>148</sup>

In his lectures on the book of Genesis (1535–1545), Luther sets out his hermeneutical and semantic program in various passages. In his exposition of Gen 33:18 (June 1543),<sup>149</sup> he comments on the proper meaning of the words Salem and Sichem<sup>150</sup> and states:

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<sup>145</sup> See *Martin Luthers Werke*, Deutsche Bibel (DB), vol. 8, p. 30; in English translation, *Luther’s works*, vol. 35 (Word and Sacrament, 1), p. 249.

<sup>146</sup> In *Genesin enarrationes* WA 44, 510: 34–36: “Neque quisquam potest restituere Hebraeam grammaticam, nisi Christiani, qui tenent rem scripturae sanctae, hoc est, Christum filium Dei, quo cognito reliqua omnia fiunt plana et perspicua.”

<sup>147</sup> Luther, *Praelectiones in minores prophetas*, WA 13: 97: “Iudaeis in hac re nihil est fidendum, qui linguam Hebraeam integram iam non habent apud se.”

<sup>148</sup> Luther, *Rationis Latomianae confutatio* (1521), in *Martin Luthers Werke*, WA 8, 83: 31–33; 8, 84: 14–25 and 8, 86: 7–31.

<sup>149</sup> Luther, *In Genesin enarrationes*, on Gen 33: 18, *Martin Luthers Werke*, WA 44, 135: 24: “Prima quaestio huius capituli est grammatica.” According to the chronology of Luther’s Lectures on Genesis, this passage was delivered in early June 1543. Cf. Peter Meinhold, *Die Genesisvorlesung Luthers und ihre Herausgeber*, Stuttgart 1936, p. 141.

<sup>150</sup> Gen 33:18 reads: וַיָּבֹא יַעֲקֹב שָׁלֵם עִיר שִׁיחַם. The Vulgate has: “Post haec transiit Iacob in Salem civitatem Sichem.” “Then Jacob came to Salem, the city of Sichem.” In his German Bible (last revised ed. 1545) Luther translates this passage: “Darnach zog Jakob mit Frieden zu der Stadt Sichem.” Thus, Luther either interprets the word שָׁלֵם (*šalem*) as an appellative rather than a proper name, as it is in the Vulgate

Above, I have repeatedly stated that there are many words whose meanings the Jews do not know. The usage and knowledge of the language have been lost, so it can never be perfectly restored. There is a multiplicity and variety of obscurity not only in words but also in phrases and constructions, so that we do not know the precise, figurative, and emphatic meanings of very many words and sentences. If Hebrew may be restored in some way to its integrity, this must be done by the Christians, who have the true knowledge of the Holy Scriptures from the New Testament.<sup>151</sup>

Continuing his exposition of the same passage in Genesis, Luther charges the rabbinical expositors with inventing ambiguity in Hebrew words: “The Jews obscure the true sense through their equivocations, by distinguishing the words into various and multiple meanings. They do it deliberately to disseminate questions and errors of all kinds.”<sup>152</sup> He then sets out his principles for semantic research on Hebrew. The central principle is univocality. Each word is presumed to have only one proper meaning:

The diligent and skilful grammarian ought to make an effort to reduce the different meanings to one single, certain meaning, as it is necessary that one word have only one proper and genuine meaning. Let him thus show the individual roots and their proper meanings, and let him thereupon collect the figures, metaphors, allusions, and phrases. The rabbis do not achieve this. Whenever the knowledge of the subject matter collapses, the knowledge of the words and their meanings also collapses.<sup>153</sup>

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(Salem) and in the Septuagint (Σαλημ), or follows the variant reading, the noun שלום (i.e. שָׁלוֹם), “peace”, which he construes as implying בְּשָׁלוֹם, “in peace”.

<sup>151</sup> Luther, *In Genesin enarrationes* WA 44, 135: 27–34 “Supra enim aliquoties dixi plurima vocabula esse, quorum significatio huius linguae, ut haud unquam perfecte restaurari queat. Nec vocum tantum, sed et phrasium et constructionum multiplex et varia est obscuritas, qua fit, ut vim et figuras aut emphases plurimarum dictionum et sententiarum ignoremus. Aut si qua ratione in integrum restitui poterit per Christianos id fiat oportet, qui ex Novo Testamento veram cognitionem scripturae sanctae habent.” This passage was quoted by Richard Simon in *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1685), book 2, chapter 33.

<sup>152</sup> Luther, *ibidem*, WA 44, 135, 34–36: “Iudaei obscurant genuinum sensum suis aequivocationibus, distrahentes vocabula in varias et multiplices significationes, idque studiose faciunt ad serendas questiones et errores omnis generis.”

<sup>153</sup> Luther, *ibidem*, WA 44, 136: 1–6: “Sed diligens et bonus grammaticus debet dare operam, ut varias significationes in unam quandam et certam redigat. Quia necesse est unius vocis esse unam propriam et genuinam significationem. Monstret igitur radices singulas et earum proprietates, postea figuras, metaphoras, allusiones et phrases colligat. Hoc Rabini non faciunt. Quia cadentibus rebus cadunt etiam vocabula et eorum significata.”

Luther argues that the reason why the rabbinical expositors and grammarians do not manage to define the univocal, exact meaning of words is that they do not know the subject matters (*res*) to which the words (*verba*) refer. The subject matter may be the context of the passage, central biblical doctrines, knowledge of Jesus Christ, or knowledge of the New Testament.<sup>154</sup>

In expounding Pharaoh's delegation of his power to Joseph: "According to your word all my people shall be ruled (קִשְׁרָה)" (Gen 41:40), Luther discusses the meaning of the verb קִשְׁרָה – whether it means *osculari*, "to kiss", or *armare*, "to arm oneself". He thinks that the Jewish scholars have not reached any certainty (WA 44, 424: 4–32) and explains his own method for obtaining the simple and true sense according to the analogy of faith:

Above all, I usually consider whether an exposition agrees with the analogy and the sense of faith. At that point, the equivocation is brought to univocal meaning, and the simple and genuine sense of words and phrases is put forward, which the Jews never attain.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Luther, *ibidem*, WA 42, 195: 18–21: "Re igitur non cognita impossibile est, ut verba possint recte intelligi. Etsi enim verborum cognitio ordine prior est, tamen rerum cognitio est potior. Nam mutatis rebus etiam verba mutantur in alium sensum et fit plane nova grammatica." WA 42, 358: 33–34. "Ego perpetuo hanc regulam sequor, ut statuam, verba debere servire rebus, et non e contra res verbis." WA 42, 596, 11–14: "Nugae Iudaeorum, de quibus supra dixi, arguunt eos nihil scire sacrarum rerum et tamen trahunt secum magnos viros, sicut Lyram, et nostro tempore viros in ipsorum lingua doctissimos qui tales nugae saepe admirantur." This passage is quoted by Richard Simon (*Histoire critique*, 1685, p. 335). WA 42, 596, 15–17: "Accidit autem hoc Iudaeis ideo, quia amiserunt cognitionem rei. Notitiae enim duplices sunt: alia, quid nominis: alia, quid rei. Qui notitiam rei non habet, illum notitia nominis non sublevabit." WA 42, 597, 17–20: "Ita si rem habeas bene notam, facilis est grammatica, sicut Horatius quoque monet verba non invita sequi, ubi res bene praevisa, cognita et meditata sit, ubi autem notitia, quid rei, non est, ibi notitia, quid nominis, frustra est." WA 42, 597, 22–23: "Norunt, quid nominis; quid rei, non norunt. Itaque nihil sani docere possunt." This passage is quoted by Richard Simon (*Histoire critique*, 1685, p. 335). WA 42, 600: 20–29 "Hanc sententiam nobis dat non grammatica, quam solam Rabini habent, sed rerum sacrarum cognitio. Ea cum destituatur Rabini, prorsus negligendi sunt. Vos curate, ut primo res bene habeatis notas, postea facile erit grammaticam discere. [...] Porro voco notitiam rerum aliud nihil, quam notitiam Novi Testamenti, eo bene cognito patet universa Veteris Testamenti scriptum. Quia autem Rabini non solum iguorant Christum, sed in totum abiiciunt, quid possumus ex eis discere?"

<sup>155</sup> Luther, *In Genesin enarrationes*, WA 44, 427: 29–31: "Id enim in primis considerare soleo an congruat expositio aliqua cum analogia set sensu fidei. Ibi univocatur equivocatio et elicitur simplex and genuina vis vocabulorum et phrasium, quam Iudaei nunquam assequuntur."

In his Table Talks (November 1540), Luther maintained that the Hebrew Bible cannot be understood without the Greek and Latin translations because the rabbis do not know the precise meaning of the words and have also lost knowledge of the phrases and figures of speech.<sup>156</sup>

In his lectures on Isaiah 9:1–7 (in December 1543), Luther discusses shortcomings in the knowledge of Biblical Hebrew semantics and syntax. Commenting on the unique expression  $\text{בִּיטּוֹן}$  (“boot of one being booted / shoe of one being shod”) in Isaiah 9:5,<sup>157</sup> he describes the contemporary ignorance of its meaning as an epistemic lacuna, which he terms *defectus*. The fact that we have comparatively good knowledge of Biblical Hebrew is only thanks to ancient Greek and Latin translations – the Septuagint and the Vulgate – and to the Hebraizing style of the New Testament. Luther states:

Above, we have encountered some words unknown to the grammarians of the Hebrew language, because, to a great extent, it has fallen into oblivion, as far as practical grammar<sup>158</sup> is concerned, where vocabulary and expressions are learned. In the syntax, there is also a great lack. Unless we had the Latin and Greek Bibles, we would perhaps not possess more than half of the Hebrew language. Admittedly, they have carefully taught the declensions and the conjugations [i.e. the stem forms], but they do not explain the words of things<sup>159</sup> and metaphoric meanings; rather, they obscure them. We should accordingly oppose the rabbis from the New Testament, especially from Paul and John, who have shed light on many words.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Tischreden, vol. 5 (*Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*), Weimar 1919, p. 60: “Wen wir die Greckische und Lateinische bibell nicht hetten, so kunden wir heutt die wortt noch kein wortt in Hebreischen verstehen; den *proprietas verborum* ist bey den Juden da hin, so sindt die phrasen und *figurae* auch dahin.”

<sup>157</sup> Vulgate has “omnis violenta praedatio” (all violent plundering/ taking of booty). In his Hebrew dictionary, *De rudimentis Hebraicis*, Reuchlin explains this passage: “omnis evictio evicta seu praedatio praedata” (all evinced recovering of one’s property, or plundering done). Luther understands  $\text{בִּיטּוֹן}$  as “battle, fight, conflict.”

<sup>158</sup> Luther employs the term “positive grammar”, which is here rendered “practical grammar”, as distinct from “speculative grammar”. According to the medieval taxonomy of grammar, positive grammar comprised orthography (i.e. phonology), morphology, semantics, syntax, and prosody.

<sup>159</sup> “Words of things” likely refers to lexical contents, that is, semantic definitions.

<sup>160</sup> Luther, *Enarratio capituli noni Esaiiae*, WA 40: III, 641–642: “Supra habuimus aliquot vocabula, quae apud Grammaticos in Ebraea lingua ignota sunt, quia concidit magna ex parte, quantum attinet ad grammaticam positivam, ubi docentur vocabula et dictiones rerum. In Syntaxi est etiam magnus defectus. Nisi Latina et Graeca Biblia habuissimus, fortassis Ebraeam vix dimidiam haberemus. Declinationes quidem et coniugationes satis diligenter docuerunt, vocabula rerum et figuratas sententias non explicant, sed obscurant. Occurrendum ergo ex Novo Testamento, praesertim Paulo et Iohanne, qui multa vocabula illustraverunt.”

Luther recommends that Christian scholars learn Hebrew and grammar from the Jews,<sup>161</sup> but thinks that the vowels and punctuation marks have, in several places, been intentionally distorted to convey a meaning that does not agree with a Christological understanding or the New Testament.<sup>162</sup> He exhorts Christian Hebraists to purify the Masoretic text of such interferences in accordance with the hermeneutical rule of analogy of faith.<sup>163</sup> He ends with guidelines for eliminating the tendency among medieval rabbinical expositors towards semantic ambiguity, uncertainty, and the search for a far-fetched sense. He thinks that one should start with the Jewish tradition of biblical semantics, but proposes comparison with the New Testament as a criterion for selecting a certain and correct meaning.<sup>164</sup>

In his exposition of Gen 49:3, Luther repeats his call for a more diligent inquiry into the simple and true sense, while declaring his distrust of rabbinical biblical interpretation. He states:

The one who knows something for certain has no doubt, nor does he waver or say: it is either so or so. Therefore, the rabbis should be avoided with the greatest care, since they impede the study of the Holy Scriptures. They do not exert themselves in favour of monosemy or proper meaning. If I am to read the Bible as an uncertain and ambiguous document, I would more willingly read Virgil or Ovid.<sup>165</sup>

Luther's standpoint was partly based on his fear that Jewish interpretations of the Old Testament would be adopted by Christian expositors, and partly on his urgency about the primacy of the Bible's grammatical and historical sense, which in later Protestant hermeneutics was expressed in the rule *unus unius vocis sensus*, "one sense of one single word."<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Luther, *Vom Schem hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi*, 1543, WA 53, 646: 13–14: "Das man die Sprache und Grammatica von ihnen lernet, das ist fein und wohl getahn", and 646: 16: "Also sollen wir auch die Sprache von ihnen lernen."

<sup>162</sup> Luther, *ibidem*, WA 53, 646: 19–31. Large parts of this passage are quoted by Schultens, *Thomae Erpenii Grammatica Arabica* (1748), preface, p. cxxvii.

<sup>163</sup> Luther, *ibidem*, WA 53, 646: 24–26.

<sup>164</sup> Luther, *ibidem*, WA 53, 648: 5–11.

<sup>165</sup> Luther, *In Genesin enarrationes*, WA 44: 732: 9–15: "Qui vero aliquid certo cognitum habet, non dubitat, nec variat, non dicit: sic vel sic. Ideo summo studio vitandi sunt Rabini, qui imediunt studium sacrarum literarum, non dant operam univocationi aut proprietati. Quod si scripturam ita incertam et aequivocam legere debeo, legam potius Vergilium et Ovidium." Luther, *Tischreden*, vol. 5, p. 59, states that he wishes to write a new preface to his own German Bible translation and warn people against the rabbis.

<sup>166</sup> See, for instance, Salomon Glassius, *Philologia sacra*, Leipzig 1725 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1623), book 2 "On the sense of the Holy Scriptures", part 1, treatise 2, section 1, art. 3, rule 2: "Unus tantum est cuiusque tum vocis, tum contextus Biblici literalis

### 3.2.2 Forster's lexicographic development of Luther's hermeneutical ideas about Hebrew

Johann Forster (1496–1556) was one of the Christian Hebraists on whom Luther relied outside the close circle of Wittenberg scholars. In the early 1530s, he participated in meetings of Luther's Bible translation committee (Sanhedrin). Adopting Luther's proposals for more accurate identification of the proper meaning of Hebrew words and phrases, he composed a Hebrew dictionary, *Dictionarium Hebraicum novum* (Basel 1557), which he completed while holding the chair of Hebrew at the University of Wittenberg (1549–1556). Forster took Luther's view of the incomplete state of knowledge of Hebrew semantics as his point of departure. In the preface to his dictionary, he declared that the semantic ambiguity of Hebrew words is a serious hermeneutical problem.

In his Table talks, Luther refers to his instruction to Forster and Bernhard Ziegler, stating that, "if there is an ambiguity (*aequivocatio*) of a word or a construction, one ought to choose the one that agrees with the New Testament, provided that the grammatical meaning is retained." Luther also advised them to reject the established meaning if it runs contrary to the entire Bible. Luther even recounts that when Forster said, "Well, the rabbis understand it in that way", he used to ask, "Can you make the grammar and vocalization of it in agreement with the New Testament?" If Forster replied in the affirmative, Luther would recommend that reading. Forster and Ziegler were astonished by this method and admitted that they had never believed it possible.<sup>167</sup>

In the preface to his Hebrew dictionary (1556), Forster agreed with Luther's comments on the inability of "the rabbis" (that is, Jewish lexicographers) to reduce the polysemy of Hebrew words to a single proper and univocal meaning. He transformed these ideas into a rejection of the medieval Jewish linguistic tradition. Forster's anti-rabbinical approach was well known in Hebrew lexicography and in discussions of biblical hermeneutics until the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Isaac Vossius recommended Forster as a model for dismissing the medieval rabbinical Bible commentaries.<sup>168</sup>

In the preface to his commentary on the Old Testament, the Lutheran theologian Abraham Calov (1612–1686) defended Forster's rejection of medieval Jewish lexicography<sup>169</sup> against attacks by the Orientalists Wilhelm Schickard (1593–1635) and Theodore Hackspan (1607–1659). In doing so,

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sensus". August Pfeiffer, *Critica sacra* (1680), chapter 5 on biblical interpretation, p. 145.

<sup>167</sup> Luther, WA Tischreden, vol. 5, p. 218, no. 5533.

<sup>168</sup> Vossius, *Ad obiectiones nuperae Criticae sacrae responsio*, p. 56, published as an appendix to the 1680 edition of *De Sibyllinis oraculis* (prefaced in 1672), which Richard Simon had criticized in *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678).

<sup>169</sup> Calovius, *Biblia Testamenti Veteris illustrata*, Frankfurt am Main 1672, "Praeloquium generale", pp. 16–18 under the heading "Ebraeorum nimia veneratio".

Calov simply refers to Luther's positions in the Lectures on Genesis (Gen 25:21, WA 43, 358: 20–31) and in *Vom Schem Hamphoras*.

### 3.3 Gordon Huntly and Isaac Vossius

#### 3.3.1 Gordon Huntly

In the first book of his *Controversiarum epitomes*, published in 1612, the Scottish Jesuit James Gordon Huntly (1541–1620) advanced the idea of an intrinsic semantic ambiguity in Hebrew. He declared that the Hebrew Bible in the Masoretic transmission is not only inferior to the Vulgate in authority and perspicuity but has also been intentionally corrupted by the Jews. He also argued that the Hebrew language suffers from semantic and syntactic ambiguities, so that “there is hardly any sentence that cannot be translated in different and even contrary senses, unless a living oral tradition and doctrine shows the true and certain sense.”<sup>170</sup>

Reviewing the causes of this ambiguity, Huntly cites the general polysemy of Hebrew vocabulary<sup>171</sup> and the polysemy of verbal roots, both across different stem forms<sup>172</sup> and within the same stem forms.<sup>173</sup> Moreover, he notes difficulties in the morphological analysis of homographic words, since they can be derived from different roots with distinct meanings.<sup>174</sup> To

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<sup>170</sup> Jacob Gordon Huntlaeus, *Controversiarum epitomes*, tomus primus, Augustoriti Pictorum/ Edinburgh 1612, p. 15: “Adeo enim est ambigua lingua ista, ut nulla fere sit sententia, quae non possit in diversos, imo etiam contrarios sensus, verti, nisi adsit traditio et doctrinae vivae vocis, quae ostendat verum et certum sensum.”

<sup>171</sup> Gordon Huntly, *ibidem*, p. 15. “Prima causa est multiplex significatio omnium fere vorum, tum verborum, tum nominum, tum dictionum. Nulla est enim radix, nulla dictio, nulla litera significans apud Hebraeos, quae non habeat diversas significationes.” “The first cause is the multiple meanings of almost all words – verbs, nouns, and particles. For there is no root, no particle, no meaningful letter among the Hebrews that does not have different meanings.”

<sup>172</sup> Gordon Huntly, *ibidem*, pp. 15 f. “Secunda causa est, quod plurima sint verba apud Hebraeos, quae in diversis coniugationibus habent contrarias omnino significationes.” “The second cause is that there are very many verbs among the Hebrews which have completely diverse meanings in different stem forms.” One of his examples is the verb חָטָא, which in the *qal* means “to miss, go wrong; to sin” and in the *piel* “to expiate”.

<sup>173</sup> Gordon Huntly, *ibidem*, p. 16 “Tertia causa est, quia sunt non sunt pauca verba, quae in eadem coniugatione eodemque modo scripta, habeant contrarias omnino significationes.” “The third cause is that there are not a few verbs that in the same stem form – and written in the same way – have completely contrary meanings.” Huntly refers to nine verbs, e.g., בָּרַךְ, which in the *piel* means both “to bless” and “to curse”, and נָצַר, which in the *qal* means both “to watch, guard, keep” and “to besiege, keep blockaded”.

<sup>174</sup> Gordon Huntly, *ibidem*, pp. 16 f. “Quarta causa est, quia vox eadem modo scripta potest descendere a diversis radicibus, quae dissimiles habent significationes.” “The fourth cause is that a word written in the same way may be deduced from different roots, which have different meanings.”



this, he adds a general phonemic and graphemic instability,<sup>175</sup> for instance, the similarity and polyphony of the Hebrew characters *šin* and *śin*, which are not distinguished in the pre-Masoretic transmission of the Hebrew Bible. Finally, he identifies the omission and superfluity of letters and words as causes of intrinsic ambiguities.<sup>176</sup> Huntly's analysis was well-known in pre-modern hermeneutical discourse. It was both presented and refuted by Salomon Glassius in his widely read hermeneutical handbook, *Philologia sacra* (1623).<sup>177</sup>

### 3.3.2 Isaac Vossius

Isaac Vossius made an important contribution to the discussion of the state of knowledge of Hebrew. In his treatise on the value of the Septuagint for Old Testament textual criticism (*De Septuaginta interpretibus*, 1661), he claimed that knowledge of Hebrew had suffered a total loss, or eclipse, in antiquity and that contemporary Jews only pretended to know the biblical tongue. Instead, he maintained that the safe anchor of knowledge of Hebrew is the Septuagint translation, which was made when Hebrew was still a living language.<sup>178</sup> The weight of his position lay more in the bold interpretation of known facts than in the advancement of new arguments. By his scholarly reputation, Vossius succeeded in infusing a ferment of anti-Jewish criticism regarding the state of knowledge of Hebrew in both antiquity and his own time. Schultens perceived Vossius as the one who "claimed that Hebrew was extinct to the point that it cannot be revived" and as the one who "raised a standard for all those who claim that everything in the shipwrecked remains of Hebrew that have been transmitted to us is

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<sup>175</sup> Gordon Huntly, *ibidem*, p. 17. "Quinta causa est maxima similitudo quarundam litterarum, item distinctionum et punctorum, quae proinde facillime inter se commutantur." "The fifth cause is the very great similarity of certain consonants and of distinctive dots, which therefore very easily interchange between themselves." Huntly, *ibidem*, p. 17. "Sexta causa est, quod litterae etiam valde dissimiles et similiter puncta dissimilia inter se commutantur." "The sixth cause is that even very dissimilar letters and likewise dissimilar vowel points interchange with each other."

<sup>176</sup> Gordon Huntly, *ibidem*, p. 17. "Septima causa est, saepe subaudiuntur et omittuntur non tantum litterae, sed etiam integrae dictiones." "The seventh cause is that not only letters but also entire words are implied or left out." "Octava causa est saepe redundant tam litterae quam integrae dictiones." "The eighth cause is that letters as well as entire words often are redundant."

<sup>177</sup> Glassius, *Philologia sacra*, refutes Huntly's reasons in a demonstration of the certainty and clarity of the Holy Scriptures; in the 1705 edition, see pp. 262 and 267–272. Schultens possessed Glassius' *Philologia sacra* in two editions: Frankfurt am Main, 1696, and Amsterdam, 1694. See *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 22, no. 205 in quarto.

<sup>178</sup> Vossius, *De Septuaginta interpretibus eorumque translatione et chronologia dissertationes*, The Hague 1661.

uncertain, vague and fluctuating.”<sup>179</sup> In one passage, Vossius sums up his standpoint as follows:

Although the rabbis, in their writings and conversations, admit that the Hebrew language is lost and that the phrases, the use of vowel points, and the true meaning of the words are unknown, they still, by mere affirmation, easily persuade Christians to believe that there is no indigent rabbi of our time who has not attained greater knowledge of Hebrew than all the seventy translators had together, even though, without the Septuagint, there would hardly remain even three words to be understood.<sup>180</sup>

Vossius, furthermore, in the same passage, argues that the general high esteem for Jewish linguistic learning is due to a low esteem for the Church Fathers, so that “the entire theology has changed into a rabbinology”.<sup>181</sup>

In defence of his view two years later (1663), Vossius reiterated his assertion of the total loss of knowledge of Hebrew<sup>182</sup> and criticized the conception of Hebrew as an intrinsically holy language.<sup>183</sup> The latter point was apparently accepted by Spinoza, adopted by Jean Le Clerc, and developed into a scholarly discourse in the works of Schultens, who put the criticism on a scientific basis.

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<sup>179</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, p. 96, chapter 4, § 31: “Non ignotum eruditus quid magnum in orbe literato nomen contenderit de linguis Hebraeae ita extincta, ut nusquam reviviscere posset.” [...] “Sic erectum vexillum omnia incerta, vaga, fluxa esse clamantibus in linguae Hebraeae naufragis illis reliquiis, quae ad manus nostras pervenerunt.”

<sup>180</sup> Vossius, *De Septuaginta interpretibus*, preface, p. c2r: “Cum et in scriptis et in sermone fateantur periisse linguam Hebraeam, nesciri phrasin, vocalium usum ad veram vocabulorum significationem, facile tamen vel sola affirmatione Christianos inducunt, ut credant nullum esse huius seculi quantumvis famelicum Rabbinum, qui non maiorem linguae Hebraicae adsecutus sit cognitionem, quam omnes simul septuaginta habuere interpretes, sine quibus tamen ne tria quidem quae intelligerentur verba superessent.”

<sup>181</sup> Vossius, *ibidem*, p. c2r: [...] “tota fere theologia in Rabbinologiam sit conversa.”

<sup>182</sup> Vossius, *Appendix ad librum de LXX interpretibus*, The Hague 1663, preface, p. (\* \*)3r: “saltem istud negari non potest periisse veram et antiquam linguae Hebraeae pronuntiationem vel ipsis hoc agnoscentibus Iudaeis”, “at least it cannot be denied that the true and ancient pronunciation of Hebrew is lost, as the Jews themselves admit”; and p. (\* \*)3v: “Nec pronuntiationem tantum, sed ipsam quoque substantiam et intellectum periisse ac tenues tantum superesse reliquias, fatentur etiam ipsi Rabbinum”, “Even the rabbis themselves concede that not only the pronunciation but also the substance and understanding of the language has been lost, and that only insignificant remains are left.”

<sup>183</sup> Vossius, *ibidem*, preface, pp. (\* \*) 2v and (\* \*) 3r.

In his treatise *De Sibyllinis oraculis* (1679), Vossius reiterated his position that the Septuagint is indispensable for understanding Biblical Hebrew, given both the loss of knowledge of it and the distortion and unreliability of the Hebrew text.<sup>184</sup> He concluded that the vowel points and the Jews' grammar are novel and spurious.<sup>185</sup> Knowledge of Hebrew as a national vernacular was lost with the Hellenization of Judea under the Seleucids in the 2nd century BC, but Hebrew continued to be spoken by learned Jews in their schools in Alexandria and Tiberias.<sup>186</sup> Vossius added a new perspective, namely that the ancient Jews did not write a grammar of Biblical Hebrew, since "as long as a language flourishes, a grammar is usually not written".<sup>187</sup> Nor did they show any concern for restoring and preserving their ancestral language. If they compiled a dictionary, it was an onomasticon for explaining proper names.<sup>188</sup>

### 3.4 Baruch Spinoza and his refuters

#### 3.4.1 Linguistic criticism in *Tractatus theologico-politicus*

The notions of extrinsic deficiencies and alleged intrinsic defects of Hebrew were developed by Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677). He proposed these ideas in *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, published anonymously in Hamburg in 1670.<sup>189</sup> In contrast to the biblical scholars mentioned above, Spinoza defended the validity of the Jewish linguistic tradition regarding word meanings. He found it necessary "to assume a certain tradition of the Jews as uncorrupted, namely the meaning of the words of the Hebrew language that we have received from them."<sup>190</sup> He gives three reasons why the lexico-semantic Jewish tradition should not be doubted: (i) It could never have been in anyone's interest to change the meaning of a word (*alicuius verbi significatio*), even if the interpretation of a passage (*sensus orationis*) is often changed. (ii) It is difficult to change the meaning of a certain word, unless this change is attested in the works of the writers who use the word in its accepted meaning (*in recepta sua significatione*). (iii) Common people

<sup>184</sup> Vossius, *De Sibyllinis aliisque quae Christi natalem praecessere oraculis*, Oxford 1679, notably pp. 69, 88–89 and 98.

<sup>185</sup> Vossius, *ibidem*, p. 97.

<sup>186</sup> Vossius, *ibidem*, pp. 95 and 91.

<sup>187</sup> Vossius, *ibidem*, pp. 89: "vetustiores Iudaei nullas sibi construxerint grammaticas"; and 92: "Quamdiu linguae florent, non solent grammaticae fieri."

<sup>188</sup> Vossius, *ibidem*, pp. 89 and 91–92.

<sup>189</sup> For an English translation, see *Tractatus theologico-politicus translated by Samuel Shirley with an introduction by Brad S. Gregory*, Leiden 1989, pp. 142–145. For a Latin-German parallel edition, see Spinoza, *Opera/ Werke Lateinisch und Deutsch, erster Band: Tractatus theologico-politicus*, edited by Günter Gawlick and Friedrich Niewöhner, Darmstadt 1979.

<sup>190</sup> Spinoza, *Tractatus* (1670), p. 91: "[...] in nostra methodo Iudaeorum traditionem aliquam ut incorruptam cogimur supponere, nempe significationem verborum linguae Hebraicae, quam ab iisdem accepimus."

(*vulgus*) share their language with the learned (*docti*), but only the learned are trusted to preserve the correct sense of a statement. Therefore, the learned may change or distort the sense of a statement, but not the meaning of words, implicitly because the meaning of words is a common property of the entire speech community.<sup>191</sup>

In his statements on biblical interpretation, Spinoza set out his hermeneutical programme. For a full and reliable interpretation, three foundations are required: (i) basic knowledge of Hebrew, (ii) semantic analysis of propositions (*sententiae*), and (iii) a historical study of the composition and transmission of each biblical book.<sup>192</sup> Here, he lays out his linguistic method, not only discussing the extrinsic obstacles that make it difficult to acquire complete knowledge of Hebrew but also distinguishing intrinsic equivocal qualities inherent in the language itself. Schultens was well acquainted with Spinoza's linguistic criticism.

Spinoza argued that the extrinsic difficulties of attaining complete knowledge of Hebrew stem from several factors: (i) The absence of lexical, grammatical, and syntactic-rhetorical aids dating back to Jewish antiquity: "The ancient users of this language have not left anything on the foundations and doctrine of this language to posterity."<sup>193</sup> (ii) The fragmentary preservation of Ancient Hebrew due to the limited number of literary documents. (iii) The loss of words for biblical plants and animals, and of the meanings of such words in biblical botany and zoology. (iv) The uncertainty of the precise signification of biblical words, and (v) the loss of knowledge of Hebrew phraseology. From all this, Spinoza infers: "We are not able to hold a perfect knowledge of the Hebrew language."<sup>194</sup> This conclusion should, however, be weighed against what he posited regarding the preservation of knowledge in the Jewish linguistic tradition.

Spinoza argues that "the constitution and nature" of Hebrew are equivocal to the point that so many ambiguities arise that it is impossible to devise a method that can, with certainty, teach us to explore the true sense of

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<sup>191</sup> Spinoza, *Tractatus*, pp. 91–92. He draws a distinction between *significatio verborum* as a semantic category and *sensus orationis* as a hermeneutical category.

<sup>192</sup> Spinoza, *Tractatus* (chapter 7), pp. 85–88.

<sup>193</sup> Spinoza, *Tractatus*, p. 92: "Antiqui linguae Hebraicae cultores nihil posteritati de fundamentis et doctrina huius linguae reliquerunt."

<sup>194</sup> Spinoza, *Tractatus*, p. 92: "linguae Hebraeae perfectam historiam non possumus habere." In the *Tractatus*, Spinoza used the word *historia* in various senses: inquiry, knowledge, and history. Here it means "empirical knowledge", as sometimes in ancient Greek (see Liddell-Scott, *A Greek-English lexicon*, the 1940 edition, s.v. ἱστορία A2: on knowledge obtained by empirical observations.) As a concept of empirical knowledge, the term *historia* is also well attested in early modern philosophical discourse. See Arno Seifert, *Cognitio historica: die Geschichte als Namengeberin der frühneuzeitlichen Empirie*, Berlin 1976.

all Scriptural passages.<sup>195</sup> He contends that Hebrew, to a greater extent than other languages, suffers from lexical and syntactical ambiguities and obscurities. He identifies three reasons. First, he refers to the interchange of Hebrew speech sounds “of the same organ of speech, the lips, tongue, teeth, palate and throat”, for instance, the interchange of the prepositions לָ (‘*æl*), “to, towards”, and לַ (‘*al*), “above, on.” Next, he considers the multiple meanings of Hebrew particles, a point he illustrates with the polysemy of the conjunctions וְ (‘*w*’), “and, but, because, however, then”, and כִּי (‘*kī*), “because, although, if, when, just as, that, and [as a noun] a burning.” Spinoza finally discusses the absence of a clear-cut system of tenses and the absence of a subjunctive mood, which means that ancient biblical writers, without distinction, used the future for the past and the past for the future.<sup>196</sup>

Regarding obstacles arising from “the constitution and nature of the Hebrew language”, Spinoza concluded: “so many ambiguities arise that no method can be devised for determining them all”.<sup>197</sup> In his Hebrew grammar, he likewise claimed: “the Hebrews did not care for anything in less degree than the avoidance of ambiguity.”<sup>198</sup>

Spinoza offers some observations on difficulties arising from the textual transmission of the Hebrew Bible. He notes the absence of original vocalization and punctuation marks.<sup>199</sup> The lack of vowel points is illustrated by a well-known passage, viz. the different readings of מַטֵּה (*m-t-h*) in Gen 47: 31, where the Epistle to the Hebrews 11:2 presupposes the reading *maṭṭæ*, “staff”, while the Masoretes read *miṭṭā*, “bed”. Spinoza argues that this case shows “how unreliable the present points and accents are”,<sup>200</sup> and concludes: “the one who wishes to interpret the Bible without any prejudice ought to doubt the vowel points and examine them anew.”<sup>201</sup> The same conclusion had been drawn by Martin Luther, a point Schultens cited to

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<sup>195</sup> Spinoza, *Tractatus*, pp. 92–93: “ex qua tot oriuntur ambiguitates, ut impossibile sit talem invenire methodum, quae certum sensum omnium orationum Scripturae certo doceat investigare.”

<sup>196</sup> Spinoza, *Tractatus*, p. 93.

<sup>197</sup> Spinoza, *Tractatus*, pp. 94–95: “Ex hac igitur [...] linguae Hebraeae constitutione et natura facile unusquisque conicere potest, tot debere oriri ambiguitates, ut nulla possit dari methodus, qua eae omnes determinari queant.”

<sup>198</sup> Spinoza, “Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraicae”, p. 50: “Nam Hebraei de nulla re minus solliciti videntur fuisse, quam de vitanda amphibiola.” This treatise was published in Spinoza’s *Opera posthuma*, [Amsterdam] 1677.

<sup>199</sup> Spinoza, *Tractatus*, p. 94.

<sup>200</sup> Spinoza, *Tractatus*, p. 94: “quam parum fidei hodiernis punctis et accentibus sit habendum.” Spinoza was not the first to comment on this textual difference. Luther remarked on the ambiguity of this word in his exposition of Genesis 47: 31; see *In Genesin enarrationes*, in *Martin Luthers Werke*, WA 44: 683.

<sup>201</sup> Spinoza, *Tractatus*, p. 94: “atque adeo qui Scripturam sine ullo praeiudicio interpretari vult, de hisce dubitare tenetur et de integro examinare.”

demonstrate that post-Reformation Lutheranism did not follow Luther in its new doctrine of the inspiration of the vowel points.<sup>202</sup>

### 3.4.2 Contemporary refutations of Spinoza's criticism

The Dutch intelligentsia's reaction to Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was not long in coming. The Dutch historian Jetze Touber has surveyed these responses.<sup>203</sup> Beyond refuting Spinoza's dogmatic, historical, moral, and literary ideas about biblical interpretation, the leading scholars also countered his linguistic and philological criticism. Even if they accepted the general validity of Spinoza's tripartite hermeneutical method for Old Testament interpretation, they dismissed his claim that this method poses insurmountable obstacles to a correct interpretation of the Bible.

The Reformed theologian Johannes Melchior, a pupil of Alting, in his refutation *Epistula ad amicum* (1671) admits that Spinoza's first hermeneutical rule is "true and useful", but he thinks that Spinoza contradicts himself when, on the one hand, he asserts that the Jewish tradition has preserved the meaning of Biblical Hebrew words and, on the other hand, claims that the absence of dictionaries and grammars among ancient speakers of Hebrew poses a serious difficulty in achieving full and certain knowledge of the language. Melchior, in contrast, argues that the uninterrupted Jewish tradition of linguistic knowledge constitutes the foundation of both Hebrew dictionaries and grammars,<sup>204</sup> since, as a matter

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<sup>202</sup> Luther, at the end of *Vom Schem Hamphoras*, "On the inexpressible Name", viz. the Tetragrammaton (WA 53: 646: 22–31), declares that one is allowed to change vowel points, punctuation marks and other marks that separate and join the clauses. See Schultens, *Thomae Erpenii Grammatica Arabica* (1748), preface, p. cxxvii. On the contrary, Löscher in *De causis linguae Ebraeae* (1706), pp. 173–178, classified all critics of the antiquity of the vowel points as enemies of Hebrew, e.g. Elias Levita, Joseph Scaliger, Jean Morin, and Louis Cappel. In his preface to the re-edition of Erpenius' Arabic grammar, p. cxxvii, Schultens wonders why Löscher did not add Luther to this catalogue: "quum nemo Nostrorum fortius locutus sit? ut sane nemo fortius, etiam si vellet, loqui potest"; "since none of us has spoken more forcefully, as no one, even if he would wish, can speak more forcefully".

<sup>203</sup> Jetze Touber, *Spinoza and biblical philology in the Dutch Republic, 1660–1710*, Oxford 2018. In chapter 2 (Responses to Spinoza, pp. 76–123), he directs attention to preparations of unpublished rebuttals by the Dutch Orientalists and theologians, such as Jacob Alting, Johannes Braun and Antonius Perizonius, and then addresses the published refutations by Melchior, van Mansvelt, Kuyper, and van Velthuysen.

<sup>204</sup> Melchior, *Epistula ad amicum continens censuram libri, cui titulus: Tractatus theologico-politicus*, Utrecht 1671, p. 34: "Quasi vero non ipse sacer sit voluminosus Codex et Iudaeorum (quibus non lingua, sed puritas periit; ipsas significationes verborum nec potuisse mutari nec ex usu cuiusquam esse potuisse, ait ipse pag. 91) continuatus usus utrumque suppeditat." "As if the Holy Writ is not voluminous enough and as if the continued usage of the Jews does not provide for both [viz. a dictionary and a grammar]. The language of the Jews has not been lost,

of fact, a false grammar cannot be conceived, and the compilation of a dictionary is nothing but the collection of recurrent words.<sup>205</sup> Moreover, he thinks that *hapax legomena* are actually few and do not pose a serious problem, since scholars can always consult the ancient Aramaic and Greek translations.<sup>206</sup> He states that, on the whole, the meaning of words “hardly has changed at all or at least not much” as compared with the contemporary language of the Jews.<sup>207</sup> Spinoza thus exaggerated the difficulties in advancing knowledge of Hebrew and in overcoming semantic and grammatical ambiguities.

In his reply to Spinoza’s remarks on the extrinsic difficulties of attaining complete knowledge of Hebrew,<sup>208</sup> Melchior maintains that such reasoning would imply that even Latin would not qualify as a well-organized language. Even Latin words and particles often have multiple, divergent meanings, and the endings of tenses and moods in some conjugations coincide.<sup>209</sup>

Schultens, who possessed Melchior’s collected works, *Opera omnia theologica, exegetica, didactica*,<sup>210</sup> employed the same argument against Spinoza’s claim that Hebrew is an ambiguous language, repeatedly arguing that the problem of polysemy in Hebrew similarly applies to Latin and Greek.

Spinoza called for an inquiry into the nature and particularity that distinguish the biblical books. Given that New Testament Greek has a Hebraizing character, Spinoza inferred that knowledge of Hebrew (*historia linguae Hebraicae*) is necessary for interpreting both the Old and the New Testament.<sup>211</sup> Van Mansvelt added that “Arabic, Aramaic and Syriac, and of

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but its purity; the meanings of the words cannot possibly be changed, nor has it been to anyone’s interest [to change the meaning of a word].”

<sup>205</sup> Melchior, *Epistula ad amicum*, p. 34: “Grammatica falsa supponi non potest. Lexicon dat vocabulorum hinc inde repetitorum collatio.”

<sup>206</sup> Melchior, *Epistula ad amicum*, p. 34: “ἅπαξ λεγόμενα pauca sunt. Et habemus versiones Chaldaicas et Graecas antiquissimas.”

<sup>207</sup> Melchior, *Epistula ad amicum*, p. 34: “Nec radicum significatio in hodierna Hebraeorum dialecto vix unquam aut non multum saltem ab origine mutata.”

<sup>208</sup> Melchior, *Epistula ad amicum*, p. 34: “Sed Hebraei literas, inquit, eiusdem organi confidunt (in loquendo utique, non in scribendo), adverbiorum et prepositionum multiplex significatio est, item tempora nonnulla distinctis terminationibus distinguere non possunt.”

<sup>209</sup> Melchior, *Epistula ad amicum*, p. 34: “sed quidni et Latina, in qua et vocabula et particula saepe non unius significationis itemque modorum et temporum diversorum coincidens terminatio” [...].

<sup>210</sup> *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 19, no. 126 in quarto: “J. Melchioris Opera omnia Theologica, Franq. 1706. 2. v.” This item recurs as no. 810 in quarto in *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 108.

<sup>211</sup> Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, ch. 7, p. 85–86.

course Greek” should not be excluded,<sup>212</sup> underscoring the value of comparing with other Semitic languages. Regarding lacunae in knowledge of Biblical Hebrew, Spinoza should not overlook the achievements of Hebrew philologists of the 16th and 17th centuries, including Sebastian Münster, Paul Fagius, Joseph Justus Scaliger, Johannes Drusius, Johannes Buxtorf the Elder, John Selden, Louis Cappel, Samuel Bochart, Johannes Cocceius, and Johann Heinrich Hottinger. After all, complete knowledge of a language is not necessary to understand the thought of a speaker or a writer.<sup>213</sup> He acknowledges that there are many inexplicable matters in the Bible, but for this reason, it cannot be assumed that no reliable knowledge exists.<sup>214</sup>

In his reply to Spinoza, Regnerus van Mansvelt infers that the alleged equivocality of Hebrew implies that the Hebrew language cannot be understood, even if we attain perfect knowledge of it. Nor could the ancient Jews, nor the prophets, have understood their own language unequivocally if Spinoza’s assumption holds.<sup>215</sup> As regards Spinoza’s linguistic problems of biblical interpretation, Van Mansvelt admits the validity of Spinoza’s reasons, but not their implications. The interchange of consonants can easily be observed and known; otherwise, it would be impossible to refer to this fact. The prepositions and conjunctions are certainly polysemous, but it does not follow that they cannot be correctly understood from usage and the nature of the Hebrew language. The same answer applies to the tense system. To contest the examples that Spinoza proposed, he simply refers to Cocceius’ Hebrew dictionary.<sup>216</sup>

The Socinian publicist Frans Kuyper took a more polemical tone than other opponents and reproached Van Mansvelt for imprudently admitting too much to the adversary,<sup>217</sup> pointing out that the general tendency of *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is to undermine the authority of the Bible and to prove that its sense is completely inexplorable, all under the guise of providing a method for interpreting the Holy Scriptures.<sup>218</sup> He argues that

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<sup>212</sup> Van Mansvelt, *Adversus anonymum theologico-politicum liber singularis, in quo omnes et singulae Tractatus theologico-politici dissertationes examinuntur et refelluntur* [...], Amsterdam 1674, p. 168: “nullo tamen modo excludentes cognitionem linguae Arabicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae, et Graecae suo modo et ordine non parum utiles.”

<sup>213</sup> Van Mansvelt, *Adversus anonymum*, p. 172.

<sup>214</sup> Van Mansvelt, *ibidem*, p. 173.

<sup>215</sup> Van Mansvelt, *ibidem*, p. 172.

<sup>216</sup> Van Mansvelt, *ibidem*, p. 173.

<sup>217</sup> Kuyper, *Arcana atheismi revelata philosophice et paradoxe refutata, examine Tractatus theologico-politici*, Rotterdam 1676, p. 79: “Nec opus est tantum concedere, quantum Mansfeldius hic et alibi Adversario absque necessitate imprudenter concedit.”

<sup>218</sup> Kuyper, *Arcana atheismi revelata*, p. 74: “Caput VII. De interpretatione Scripturae. Contenta. Capite septimo obtentu methodum tradendi ad sacram



Bible translations convey the message as effectively as the Hebrew source text, as do translations of any profane works written in a foreign language.<sup>219</sup> He also refutes Spinoza's hermeneutical concerns about knowledge of Hebrew, noting that Spinoza "observes five causes of obscurity that have already been exposed by others." He argues that these problems are, for the most part, resolved by Hebrew experts, except for a few animals, plants, and musical instruments. Ignorance of these terms affects only the interpretation of a few passages and thus has limited significance. Finally, Kuyper argues that Spinoza had presupposed the general reliability of the rabbinical tradition of Biblical Hebrew semantics. He concludes: "It follows that it does not matter whether we learn the language from ancient speakers or from more recent writers of this nation, from grammatical and rhetorical rules and from dictionaries."<sup>220</sup>

### 3.5 Nolde, Le Clerc, and Simon

#### 3.5.1 Christian Nolde

Spinoza's argument that the multiple meanings of Hebrew particles demonstrate the intrinsic ambiguities of Hebrew was amplified by the Danish theologian Christian Nolde in his Hebrew-Aramaic concordance of conjunctions and prepositions (1679).<sup>221</sup> The title page states that the work aims to demonstrate the nature and semantic variety of inclinable particles in the Hebrew text. The alphabetical order, combined with comprehensive references and quotations of biblical passages, is intended to ensure that the book can serve as both a dictionary and a concordance.<sup>222</sup>

In the preface, Nolde declares that he has fulfilled a long-anticipated desideratum by providing a concordance of Hebrew particles. He refers to the Lutheran view that theology is grammar: "The Bible cannot be theologically understood before it is grammatically understood."<sup>223</sup> In his semantic distinctions, Nolde was bolder than Spinoza but did not arrive at the same hermeneutical conclusions. He differentiated the meanings of the

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Scripturam interpretandam accommodatam, quo eius auctoritatem lubricum reddat et ostendat eius sensum penitus esse impervestigabilem."

<sup>219</sup> Kuyper, *Arcana atheismi revelata*, p. 75.

<sup>220</sup> Kuyper, *ibidem*, p. 79: [...] Sequitur etiam perinde esse sive linguam ab antiquis sive a recentioribus istius nationis scriptoribus per regulas grammaticales, rhetoricas et dictionaria discamus."

<sup>221</sup> Schultens owned Nolde's concordance. See *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 22, no. 218 in quarto.

<sup>222</sup> Noldius, *Concordantiae particularum Ebraeo Chaldaicarum*, Copenhagen 1679. The subtitle explains the purposes, firstly: *in quibus partium indeclinabilium, quae occurrunt in fontibus et hactenus non expositae sunt, in Lexicis aut Concordantiis, natura et sensuum varietas ostenditur*. Secondly, it continues: *Digeruntur ea methodo, ut Lexici et Concordantiarum loco simul esse possint*.

<sup>223</sup> Noldius, *Concordantiae*, preface, p. 1: "Scripturae [...] non potest intelligi theologicè, nisi prius intelligatur grammaticè."

conjunction ו (w<sup>a</sup>) into seventy-three partly overlapping meanings and those of the conjunction כִּי (kī) into twenty-nine meanings.<sup>224</sup> Moreover, he distinguished the meanings of common prepositions like אֶל ('*al*), עַל ('*al*) and מִן (*min*), which are given twenty-four, thirty-three and eighteen meanings, respectively.<sup>225</sup>

### 3.5.2 Jean Le Clerc

Jean Le Clerc, who was active as a publicist and professor of philosophy, literature and Hebrew between 1684 and the early 1730s (including church history from 1714) at the Remonstrant Seminar in Amsterdam, was an important exponent of the intellectual transformation of European education between 1660 and 1720. His efforts to create a new basis for hermeneutics and textual criticism as applied to Greek, Latin and Hebrew source texts from antiquity are well known.<sup>226</sup> In his *Ars critica* (1697), Le Clerc “heralded a new phase in biblical scholarship”.<sup>227</sup> In his autobiography up to 1699, he himself describes this main work as a combination of the study of philosophy and theology and that of belles-lettres,<sup>228</sup> that is, literary studies of classical languages. Touber points out that Le Clerc’s combination of philology and philosophy gave rise to a form of biblical exegesis that opened the door to discussion of many of the issues Spinoza had touched upon.<sup>229</sup>

In his *Ars critica*, Le Clerc also developed a special hermeneutical programme for Biblical Hebrew. Focusing on extrinsic limitations and intrinsic features, Le Clerc identifies several factors that impede the interpretation of the Hebrew language and biblical text: (i) The fragmentary preservation of Ancient Hebrew due to a limited textual corpus. (ii) Errors in textual transmission even before any translation into foreign languages. (iii) The semantic difficulties posed by hapax legomena and other low-frequency words. (iv) Syntactic ambiguity, especially the confusion of tenses, so that it is unclear whether a past or future state or event is referred to, and (v–vi) insufficient knowledge of the cultural history.<sup>230</sup> Le Clerc had undoubtedly

<sup>224</sup> Noldius, *Concordantiae*, pp. 268–314 and 393–407. See the Appendix below.

<sup>225</sup> Noldius, *Concordantiae*, on the preposition אֶל ('*al*), see pp. 51–65, on עַל ('*al*) see pp. 687–709, on מִן (*min*), see pp. 618–623. Nolde also discusses passages in which these prepositions in Latin are rendered by grammatical cases.

<sup>226</sup> Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested. Philosophy, modernity and the emancipation of man 1670–1752*, Oxford 2006, p. 409, p. 421–425; Touber, *Spinoza and biblical philology*, pp. 116–121.

<sup>227</sup> Touber, *Spinoza and biblical philology*, p. 116.

<sup>228</sup> Le Clerc, *Parrhasiana ou pensées diverses*, Amsterdam 1699, p. 423: [...] “l’on peut voir dans cet ouvrage un essai de ce que l’auteur croit que l’on pourrait faire, si l’on joignoit ordinairement l’étude de la philosophie et de la théologie avec celle des belles lettres.”

<sup>229</sup> Touber, *Spinoza and biblical philology*, p. 121.

<sup>230</sup> Le Clerc, *Ars critica*, p. 122 (part 1, ch. 4, § 3, sub-paragraph 3).

scrutinized Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, from which he borrowed heavily.<sup>231</sup>

Spinoza had ascribed the lack of knowledge of Biblical Hebrew to the absence of Hebrew dictionaries and grammars from antiquity. Le Clerc revised this contention, asserting that the lack of appropriate linguistic aids, such as dictionaries and grammars, is reflected in the translational shortcomings and inconsistencies of the Septuagint.<sup>232</sup> Moreover, he did not consider the Masoretic vocalization reliable, arguing that it emerged when accurate pronunciation of Hebrew was no longer in use.<sup>233</sup>

In a separate dissertation on the Hebrew language, which serves as prolegomena to his Latin translation and commentary on Genesis, Le Clerc argued that Hebrew was lexically poor and semantically and syntactically ambiguous.<sup>234</sup> He concludes as follows:

If we consider the multiple meanings of indeclinable particles, the confusion of the tenses, and the recurrent interchanges of genders, numbers, and persons, on which scholars have written diligently, there is no reason to boast of the perspicuity of Hebrew.<sup>235</sup>

In this context, however, he does not cite Spinoza's controversial authority but rather the Hebrew grammar of Salomon Glassius and the concordance of particles by Christian Nolde.<sup>236</sup> If these works are looked up, Jean Le Clerc

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<sup>231</sup> Israel, *Enlightenment contested*, p. 421.

<sup>232</sup> Clerc, *Ars critica*, p. 124.

<sup>233</sup> Clerc, *ibidem*, p. 125.

<sup>234</sup> Le Clerc, "Dissertatio de lingua Hebraea" § 6, pp. 7–8, in *Genesis sive Mosis prophetae liber primus ex translatione Johannis Clerici cum eiusdem paraphrasi perpetua, commentario philologico* [...], Amsterdam 1693.

<sup>235</sup> Le Clerc, *ibidem*, p. 8: "Iam si consideremus particularum indeclinabilium multiplicem significationem et temporum fere omnium in verbis confusionem addanturque hisce perpetuae enallagae generum, numerorum et personarum, de quibus diligenter viri doctissimi scripserunt, non erit sane quod linguae Hebraicae perspicuitatem iactemus." Le Clerc more or less repeats what he had stated in his attack against Richard Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, namely *Sentiments de quelques théologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire du Vieux Testament*, Amsterdam 1685, p. 431 (letter 19): "La perfection d'une langue consiste en deux choses principalement, dans l'abondance des mots et des expressions, et dans la clarté qui s'y trouve. Et dans la langue hébraïque on ne trouve ni l'un ni l'autre, comme le savent assez tous ceux qui l'ont un peu étudiée."

<sup>236</sup> Glassius included Hebrew and Greek grammars as the third and fourth volumes of his aforementioned *Philologia sacra* (1623), in which he, *inter alia*, comments on the different lexical meanings of conjunctions and prepositions. Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift* (1815), pp. 108, 110 and 118, praised Glassius' Hebrew grammar for the accuracy of its syntactic observations and Nolde's concordance as a useful supplement to extant Hebrew lexicography.

states, it will be plain even to the obstinate that “there is possibly no language that is fuller of ambiguity and obscurity than Hebrew”.<sup>237</sup>

### 3.5.3 Richard Simon

In the first book of *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678), the renowned biblical critic Richard Simon devoted the final two chapters to a discussion of the development of the Hebrew grammatical tradition among Jews in the Middle Ages (book 1, chapters 30–31), thus continuing the Roman Catholic effort to undermine the certainty of the Masoretic text as the foundation of knowledge of Hebrew.<sup>238</sup> From Ibn Janah’s treatise *Sefer ha-Diqduq* (which was then unpublished), he gathered that this learned author admits that knowledge of the Hebrew language was almost lost at the time of Saadia Gaon and that it was restored only through comparison with related languages.<sup>239</sup> Simon accordingly argues that this medieval restoration of the Hebrew language was imperfect. Implicitly, the knowledge of Hebrew is marred by uncertainty, which all the more favours the reliability of the Vulgate (with which he thinks the Hebrew-Arabic dictionary of Ibn Janah often agrees).<sup>240</sup> The French critic cited Luther’s idea about imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew language and its confusing polysemy as proof of his own hypothesis, and approvingly quoted passages of this kind from Luther’s *Lectures on Genesis*.<sup>241</sup>

## 3.6 Pfeiffer, Löscher, and Rambach

### 3.6.1 August Pfeiffer

While Spinoza was generally dismissed as an enemy of the Hebrew language,<sup>242</sup> Le Clerc’s hermeneutical approach gained ground in the Protestant world, among both the Reformed and the Lutheran.<sup>243</sup> In his hermeneutical handbook *Critica sacra* (1680), August Pfeiffer identifies ten

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<sup>237</sup> Le Clerc, “Dissertatio de linguae Hebraica”, p. 8: “Evolvantur *Concordantiae particularum* Chr. Noldii et Glassii *Grammatica sacra*, nota et merito laudata volumina, atque hisce lustratis etiam pertinacibus constabit nullam fortasse linguam plenior ambiguitatis et obscuritatis Hebraica esse.”

<sup>238</sup> Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, Amsterdam 1685, p. 179.

<sup>239</sup> Simon, *ibidem*, p. 174.

<sup>240</sup> Simon, *ibidem*, p. 173.

<sup>241</sup> Simon, *ibidem*, part 2, chapter 23, pp. 334–335.

<sup>242</sup> Löscher, *De causis linguae Ebraeae* (1706) discusses Spinoza in book 1, chapter 13 “Hostes Ebraismi”, see pp. 179–180. Löscher thinks that Spinoza in *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and *Compendium grammatices* has damaged the holy language out of hatred for divine revelation.

<sup>243</sup> Rambach, *Institutiones hermeneuticae sacrae*, 1725, contains a great number of references to Le Clerc, many of which show an acceptance of his ideas.

lacunae (*defectus*) in knowledge of Biblical Hebrew vocabulary.<sup>244</sup> These are: (1) foreign words, (2) hapax legomena of unknown meaning, (3) obsolete or lost verbal roots, (4) general (“formal or abstract”) basic meaning, (5) semantic differentiation of cognate verbal roots, (6) proper names and place names, (7) Hebrew phraseology, (8) the exact meaning of conjunctions and prepositions, (9) misleading lexicographical arrangements of word entries, such as mixing alphabetical order with order by root lexeme, and (10) customs and rites of the Hebrews. To remedy the third lacuna, Pfeiffer refers to the restoration of lost verbal roots discussed by Hottinger in *Lexicon heptaglotton* and *Smegma Orientale* (ch. 7, pp. 116–291). As for the eighth defect, Pfeiffer cites the usefulness of Nolde’s concordance.

### 3.6.2 Valentin Ernst Löscher

Valentin Ernst Löscher arranged his hermeneutical treatise on the Hebrew language titled *De causis linguae Ebraeae*, “The underlying principles of the Hebrew language” (1706), according to the four Aristotelian causes (*aitiae*). In the first book, he treats the efficient and final principles of Hebrew – its origin, its history as a vernacular and learned language, and the history of its restoration. In the second, he deals with the material principles, that is, phonology and morphology. In the third, he addresses the formal principles, such as the form of the Bible’s textual transmission and its grammatical and semantic regularity, in opposition to the alleged irregularity and ambiguity. Moreover, he addresses its pregnancy,<sup>245</sup> its moral virtues, such as holiness and chastity and its linguistic virtues, such as its richness, elegance and wisdom, the last virtue being opposed to the rudeness and barbarity attributed to it by Le Clerc and Richard Simon.

Löscher attributed the concept of grammatical ambiguity to the enemies of Hebrew, particularly to Spinoza, whom he called “the enemy of the revealed truth” (*hostis revelatae veritatis*).<sup>246</sup> Similarly, he attributed the concept of semantic ambiguity to Gordon Huntly and Spinoza, who were the main proponents of this position.<sup>247</sup>

Löscher identified a number of specific lacunae (*defectus*) in the knowledge of Ancient Hebrew. First, he notes the indiscriminate use of the prepositions לָ (‘*æl*) and לְ (‘*al*), as well as the use of the conjunctions וְ (‘*kī*) and וַ (‘*īm*). The multiple meanings of the conjunction וְ (‘*w*’) are

<sup>244</sup> Pfeiffer, *Critica sacra*, chapter 5, section 2, question 3 “Whether the biblical dictionaries existing today are sufficient for an understanding of the holy diction?” See Pfeiffer, *Opera omnia* (1704), pp. 735–739.

<sup>245</sup> Pregnancy is the sense of the rhetorical and hermeneutical term *emphasis*.

<sup>246</sup> Löscher, *De causis linguae Ebraeae*, p. 448, where he explains how he relates the Masoretic vocalization and the grammatical phenomena of Hebrew to the pattern of regularity.

<sup>247</sup> Löscher, *ibidem*, p. 449.

classified as another lacuna. Moreover, Löscher notes that the meanings of many *hapax legomena* are unknown. The fact that lexicographers derive many words from different verbal roots is another deficiency.<sup>248</sup>

Löscher assigns the main lacuna (*defectus*) in the knowledge of Hebrew to the confusing polysemy in dictionaries. He refers to polysemous nominal stems, such as דָּבָר (*dābār*), “speech, word; message, advice; saying, utterance; matter, affair, cause, case, way, manner”; עֵיִן (*‘ayin*), “eye, spring”; פָּנִים (*pānīm*), “face, faces”, often construed with prepositions in the senses “in the presence of, in front of, before, in the manner of”; יָד (*yād*), “hand”; figuratively “strength, power; side; sign, monument”; and רוּחַ (*ruah*), “breath; wind; temper, courage, spirit” (of a living being); desire, mind”. He also refers to verbal roots, such as עָרַב (*‘arab*) “mix; take on or give in pledge; be sweet, pleasing”; סָרַר (*sārar*), “to be stubborn, rebellious, resentful, implacable”; הָלַל (*hālāl*), “to bore, pierce; to play the pipe; to pollute, defile, profane; to begin”; זָכַר (*zākar*), “to remember, mention, record” – often put in relation to זָכָן (*zākān*), “male” – גִּיר (*gūr*), “to sojourn” and “to stir up strife, quarrel”; and גָּדַד (*gāḏaḏ*), “penetrate, cut; go in troops, gather in troops”.<sup>249</sup> Another class of lacunae (*defectus*) consists of verbal roots with contrary meanings, such as בָּרָא (*bārā*), “to create; to destroy”, and בֵּרַךְ (*bēreḵ*), “to bless; to curse”. The true nature and meaning of the derivative verbal stems and the tense system represent still another great defect. The ignorance of special and pregnant meanings (*emphases*) of words and phrases is defined as yet another defect.<sup>250</sup>

In addition, Löscher identified three general causes of the lacunae under consideration: first, the fear of deviating from the rabbinical tradition; second, the neglect of a thorough study of the Hebrew text; and third, the transference of Oriental cultural and linguistic concepts to European ideas that are of a much more recent date. Löscher accordingly recognized the cultural specificity of the Hebrew language,<sup>251</sup> a notion Schultens adopted in his Hebrew lexicography (Section 6.2.2, point 4).

<sup>248</sup> For these defects, see Löscher, *De causis linguae Hebraeae*, book 1, chapter 10, paragraph II, pp. 126–127 and 129.

<sup>249</sup> Löscher, *ibidem*, p. 127. For the English translation, see Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English lexicon (1906). For the root עָרַב (*‘arab*), Löscher distinguishes nine meanings: *miscere*, *negotiarī*, *spondere*, *dulce esse*, *oppignorare*, *gratum esse*, *pertexere*, *advesperascere* and *obscurari*. For the root הָלַל (*h-l-l*), he refers to six meanings (in Latin gerund forms): *fodiendi*, *saltandi*, *vulnerandi*, *profanandi*, *tibicinandi*, and *incipiendi*.

<sup>250</sup> Löscher, *ibidem*, book 1, ch. 10, paragraphs IV–VI, pp. 127–129,

<sup>251</sup> Löscher, *ibidem*, book 1, ch. 10, paragraph VII, pp. 130–131. The third general reason is repeated on p. 448.

### 3.6.3 Johann Jacob Rambach

In his handbook of biblical hermeneutics, Johann Jacob Rambach (1693–1735) confirms that the exploration of the primary meaning of Hebrew words was intended to refute criticism of equivocation and ambiguity in the Hebrew language. Referring to the comparison of parallel passages in biblical usage as a lexicographical method, Rambach states:

From this collation of passages, we particularly arrive at the general conceptual meaning of any word, under which all the specific meanings are comprised. This greatly contributes to overcoming the equivocation and ambiguity of the holy language, a reproach so harshly brought up by the enemies.<sup>252</sup>

Rambach follows Löscher in tracing this preposterous criticism back to the papists, who are eager to “make the Scriptures doubtful and uncertain”.<sup>253</sup> Among the recent enemies of Hebrew, he cites Richard Simon, Gordon, Spinoza, and Le Clerc. Rambach readily admits polysemy in Hebrew<sup>254</sup> but considers the criticism of intrinsic deficiencies in the Hebrew language unreasonable. He argues that the problem of polysemy can be solved by assigning a primary meaning to each root, or at least most roots, and by deriving the other meanings from them.<sup>255</sup>

### 3.6.4 Impact on Schultens

As a member of the school of Hebrew philology in Groningen, where Jacob Alting’s “Scripturarian method” held sway, Schultens took a nuanced and discerning position on Spinoza’s criticism, as reflected in his acknowledgement of extrinsic deficiencies in Hebrew. In his biblical hermeneutics of Hebrew, Schultens was also influenced by August Pfeiffer and Valentin Ernst Löscher, both of whom used the term *defectus* as a hermeneutical term to designate the absence of knowledge in certain fields of the Hebrew lexicon and grammar. It is probable that Schultens adopted the hermeneutical term *defectus* from these two representatives of post-Reformation Lutheranism and used it as a key concept in his linguistic theory.

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<sup>252</sup> Rambach, *Institutiones hermeneuticae sacrae*, the second edition 1725 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1723), book 2, chapter seven, § 6, p. 266: “Ex ista vero locorum inter se collatione is maxime fructus reportandus est, ut *generalem vocis conceptum*, sub quo reliquae specialiores significationes comprehenduntur, quantum fieri potest, adsequamur. Quae res ad iugulandam linguae sacrae aequivocationem ambiguitatemque, quae ipsi ab hostibus acerbe exprobat, quam plurimum confert.

<sup>253</sup> Rambach, *ibidem*, the end note of § 6, p. 269: “Instant hanc tibiam, quanta vi possunt, pontificii, quorum interest scripturam dubiam incerta,que reddere.”

<sup>254</sup> Rambach, *ibidem*, pp. 269 f.

<sup>255</sup> Rambach, *ibidem*, pp. 270 f.

## PART 2. SCHULTENS' AUTHORSHIP: A GENERAL SURVEY





## 4. Career, scholarly programme, and writings

### 4.1 Education, academic positions and linguistic programme

#### 4.1.1 A biographical timeline

Albert Schultens was active as a student and teacher of Hebrew and Semitic philology at Dutch universities for almost fifty years. After studying Hebrew and Arabic in Groningen, Utrecht and Leiden, he taught these languages and Hebrew antiquities in Franeker and Leiden. His academic career is outlined in the timeline below.<sup>256</sup> At the end of this volume, historical maps are presented of Franeker and Leiden (Fig. 30a–30b and 31a–31b) together with details of academic quarters and publishing houses along the Rapenburg Canal, where Luchtmans and Luzac published Schultens' treatises (Fig. 31c). Drawings of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century University buildings of Franeker and the State College in Leiden in are also displayed (Figures 32 and 33a–33b).

1685: Albert Schultens is born in Groningen in mid-July to Johan Schultens and Betta Bothenius.<sup>257</sup>

1700: enrolls at the University of Groningen on September 6.

1700–1706: studies theology and biblical philology in Groningen, with a focus on Hebrew and Arabic.

1706: defends his master's thesis, *De utilitate linguae Arabicae in interpretanda S[acra] Scriptura* ("On the utility of the Arabic language in interpreting the Holy Scripture"), on January 20.

1706: enrolls at the University of Leiden on September 10 as a student of Oriental languages and studies Oriental and Classical philology in the autumn semester and the following spring semester.

1707: studies Arabic in Utrecht with Professor Adrian Reland.

1708: is ordained a minister of the Reformed Dutch Church in Groningen on June 5.

1709: is promoted to doctor of theology at the University of Groningen on July 4.

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<sup>256</sup> A detailed biography is provided in the introduction to my forthcoming textual edition of *Schultens' unpublished manuscripts on comparative Hebrew philology*.

<sup>257</sup> The transmitted date of birth, 22 August 1686, appears to be a mistake tracing back to Albert Schultens himself. According to the baptismal book of Groningen, he was baptised on 21 July 1685 in Martinikerk. See the municipal archive of Groningen, *Groninger Archieven*, Algemeen doopboek 1676–1705, archive no. 124, inventory no. 148, fol. 75v.

- 1709–1711: specializes in classical Arabic poetry and prose by studying works – e.g., *al-Mu‘allaqāt*, Abū Tammām’s *Ḥamāsa*, the Hudhayl poetry, Ibn Durayd’s poems, and al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt* – in the Warner Collection of Oriental manuscripts at Leiden University Library.<sup>258</sup>
- 1711: is appointed ordinary minister at Dorpskerk, Wassenaar.
- 1713: is appointed to the chair of Hebrew and Biblical Antiquities at the University of Franeker on August 14; delivers his inaugural lecture on the sources of knowledge about Biblical Hebrew on November 9. He retains this appointment until 1729.
- 1717: is appointed academy preacher at the University of Franeker.
- 1729: terminates his professorship in Franeker in the spring semester; is appointed director of the State College of Theology in Leiden on August 30; is appointed interpreter of the Warner legacy of Oriental manuscripts at Leiden University Library on the same day, and also obtains the status of reader in Oriental languages, thereby in a way succeeding Professor Carolus Schaaf.
- 1732: holds the readership of Oriental Languages, when it is transformed into a chair of Oriental Languages at Leiden University on May 5.
- 1740: is appointed to the chair of Hebrew Antiquities on July 12, succeeding Taco Hajo van den Honert in this position.
- 1740: begins on October 29, the public dictation of his etymological Hebrew dictionary and continues until December 1749.
- 1750: dies on January 26 after a seven-week-long illness.

#### 4.1.2 Programme for Biblical Hebrew philology

Schultens conducted etymological research on Biblical Hebrew using Classical Arabic prose and poetry, commentators on this literature, and Arabic lexicographers – in brief, the sources he studied during his sojourn in Leiden between 1709 and 1711. He also made use of available printed texts, such as the Koran and Golius’ edition of the history of Timur (Tamerlane). He frequently quotes from his own apographs of old Arabic poetry and prose in his *Origines Hebraeae* (1724) as well as in its companion volume *De defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae*, consisting of dissertations from 1728–1729 (republished in 1731), and his commentaries on the Book of Job (1737) and Proverbs of Solomon (1748).

Schultens introduced a set of theoretical and methodological innovations that constitute his research programme in comparative Hebrew philology:

1. A classification and evaluation of the sources of knowledge of ancient Hebrew for the practice of lexicography and grammar:
  - (a) cognate languages, i.e. languages related by kinship, designated by the terms *dialecti Orientales* and *cognatae dialecti*,

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<sup>258</sup> For the textual corpus, see Eskhult, *Schultens as an innovator*, Vol. 1, pp. 63–64.

- (b) ancient translations of the Hebrew Old Testament,
  - (c) the Jewish tradition of knowledge about Hebrew,
  - (d) the Biblical Hebrew usage in morphology, vocabulary, syntax and style,
  - (e) conjectures by individual lexicographers on the meanings of root morphemes and word forms in Biblical Hebrew.
2. A typological approach to the definition and characteristics of a strict and narrow group of Oriental languages:
    - (a) the limitation of the term Oriental languages, *linguae Orientales*, to Semitic languages with the exclusion of Turkish and Persian,
    - (b) the recognition of characteristics of this group of languages, such as the phonomorphological principle of triradicality in the formation of roots,<sup>259</sup> the semantic principles of forming original or primary meanings and of deriving secondary meanings from them, and the particularity of syntax, phraseology and proverbs.<sup>260</sup>
  3. A reclassification of the historical status of Ancient Hebrew in relation to other Semitic languages:
    - (a) rejection of the presumed status of Biblical Hebrew as identical to the original and primeval language of mankind,
    - (b) classification of Hebrew as a derived sister language on the same level of descent as Arabic and Aramaic.
  4. A historical theory of the origin and development of the narrow group of Oriental languages now classified as Semitic:
    - (a) the assumption of an ancestor language from which the group of Near Eastern languages closely related to Hebrew – those that are today classified as Semitic – have originated, an ancestor language conceptualized as the primeval language of humankind, since Schultens argued that only the Semitic languages retained the nature and character of the primeval language, while all other languages were derived from the Confusion of Tongues at Babel;
    - (b) the assumption that this group of closely related languages underwent phonological, lexical, semantic and syntactic changes, which constitute the basis of their differentiation as dialects.
  5. A theory of the nature and character of Ancient Hebrew:
    - (a) the assumption that Ancient Hebrew, as a living language, had both lexical richness and morphological regularity (analogia),
    - (b) the assumption that the morphology, vocabulary and semantics of Ancient Hebrew can be restored, that is, reconstructed, through comparison with related languages, especially Arabic,
    - (c) the assumption of synchronic variability and diachronic change and changeability of Ancient Hebrew as a spoken language.

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<sup>259</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, Leiden 1737, pp. 2 f.

<sup>260</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*, Leiden 1738, pp. 39–49.

6. Etymological principles:

- (a) a theory of regular phonetic changes, i.e. sound correspondences, between Hebrew and Arabic, and between Hebrew and Aramaic,
- (b) a theory of morphological regularity in Ancient Hebrew, viz. the triconsonantal structure of the root morphemes (*radices simplices*), the possibility of co-occurrence of all consonantal phonemes in the sequence of radicals across the first, second, and third positions, and the formation of derivative stem forms (in Hebrew בְּנִינִים, in Latin *coniugationes*, and, as Schultens terms them, *conjugandi formae* and *derivativae formationes*) and of nominal derivatives in each stem form.
- (c) a theory of the directionality of semantic change from the concrete to the abstract meaning, according to Lockean etymology, that is, the application of John Locke's sensualist epistemology and his cognitive semantics to the principles of etymology.
- (d) a theory of cognitive semantic change and development through metaphor and metonymy.

7. A desacralization of the ontological status of Hebrew as primeval and holy, implying:

- (a) a redefinition of Hebrew as a human language with cognitive, communicative, and social functions,
- (b) a rejection and refutation of claims to its intrinsic holiness.

In his theory and practice of Hebrew philology, Schultens accepted assumptions about certain chronological, ethnographical, and discursive traditions that formed his frames of reference, as follows: (I) pre-modern Jewish-Christian world chronology, (II) biblical and Arabian ethnography of the origins of the Hebrews and the Arabs, and (III) the early modern discourse on the nature and identity of the original and primordial language of humankind and its disintegration into different languages.

Thus, Schultens accepted the Arabian tradition of the Arabs' twofold origin (from the Juktanides in the south and the Ishmaelites in the north). He thought that the Arabic language dates back to about 2000 BC, when the Juktanide Empire was allegedly founded, and assumed that Arabic has been preserved intact since then. Through its historical continuity, Arabic can, in Schultens' opinion, therefore be rightly used as a historical linguistic repository for the morphological and semantic restoration of Ancient Hebrew and for the elucidation of Biblical Hebrew.

#### 4.2 Scholarly production: Published and unpublished treatises

Schultens' scholarly work encompassed Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic philology. His research on Hebrew includes the following domains:

- etymological, phonological, and grammatical treatises, including published commentaries on biblical books,
- biblical interpretation on exegetical and philological subjects in unpublished autograph notes and students' records of academic lectures,
- Hebrew antiquities with a focus on the cultural and religious history of the Israelites, mainly in unpublished records of academic lectures, so-called dictates, but also in the published inaugural lecture as professor of Hebrew Antiquities in 1740.

Schultens' published commentaries and unpublished dictates were intended as aids to preachers and as lexicographic tools for students of Hebrew. The linguistic and philological nature of his biblical interpretation is reflected in the detailed indices of Hebrew and Arabic words appearing in his Bible commentaries, namely the treatises on a selection of difficult passages of the Old Testament (1706–1709) and the commentaries on the Book of Job (1737) and Proverbs (1748). A large number of his lecture notes and dictates testify to his work as a Bible commentator. In his academic lectures, he also commented on entire biblical books, such as Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, and Zechariah. He also translated parts of the Psalms and Isaiah.

Schultens published an almost complete grammar of Biblical Aramaic and Syriac (*Institutiones Aramaeae*, 1745–1749), covering phonology, orthography, the inflection of strong and weak verbs, the inflection of nouns and pronouns, and an account of numerals. He also published editions of Arabic prose, poetry, and historical works, accompanied by translations and notes. He sought to improve Arabic lexicography.<sup>261</sup>

Schultens also published biographical accounts (originally delivered as funeral orations) for deceased colleagues. These include the orations on the classicist Lambert van der Bos (1717), the Hebraist Campegius Vitringa the Elder (1722), and the renowned chemist, botanist, and physician Herman Boerhaave (1738). In an oration on the study of the humanities, *Pro studiis humanitatis*, delivered in Franeker in 1720, Schultens recommends studying Latin grammar, antiquities, history, eloquence, textual criticism, and poetry.

### 4.3 Hebrew language philology: Topics and contents

#### 4.3.1 Classification of publications

In separate philological and linguistic treatises, Schultens, above all, devoted himself to comparative studies of the Hebrew language in the fields of Bible commentary and Hebrew philology:

- (1) philological and linguistic commentaries on various biblical books (1706–1709, 1737, and 1748),

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<sup>261</sup> He furnished his private copy of Golius' Arabic-Latin dictionary with marginal notes, precisely identifying the passage for each author cited by Golius. His copy is extant (*Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* 842 A2, Leiden University Libraries). He also compiled unpublished word-lists of Arabic writers.

- (2) etymological treatises with lexicographical indices for Hebrew and Arabic words (1724–1738),
- (3) phonological and grammatical treatises (1733–1749).

Schultens' comparative Hebrew philology comprises two categories:

- (4) theoretical and methodological treatises (1706–1739).
- (5) treatises providing a critical assessment of the ontological nature of Hebrew as a holy language against the background of the predominant Jewish and Christian traditions (1739–1748).

#### *4.3.2 Survey of topics*

Throughout his career, Schultens sought to establish a solid foundation for comparative Hebrew language studies. He addressed a range of topics, which, in chronological order, can be classified as follows:

- the sources of knowledge of Ancient Hebrew,
- the relationship of the “Oriental dialects” to Hebrew and their value in illustrating Biblical Hebrew semantics
- the particular character of the “Oriental dialects” (that is, Semitic languages) in contradistinction to other language types,
- the archaic and conservative nature of the Arabic language,
- the concept and term “dialect” and the nature of dialectal difference,
- the demonstration of sound correspondences between Hebrew and Arabic,
- the semantics of Biblical Hebrew under the general viewpoint of primary and secondary meanings, the former of which was understood as inherently concrete and sensory<sup>262</sup> in its origin, while the latter was represented as metaphorical,
- the morphological regularity of Biblical Hebrew,
- the ontological status and qualities of Hebrew as purely human,
- the historical status of Biblical Hebrew as the spoken vernacular of the Hebrews (i.e. the Israelites),
- the inappropriateness of the term Biblical Hebrew,
- the social nature and communicative function of the primeval language of humankind and its status as the ancestor (or mother) language of the Semitic language family,
- the history of earlier approaches to Hebrew lexicography and grammar,
- the history of early modern discourse on the primeval language,
- the history of Jewish conceptions of Hebrew as divine and primeval, and of the early modern Christian reception of this idea as a theological doctrine.

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<sup>262</sup> Sensory, that is, that which pertains to the sense perception of external objects.

#### 4.3.3 Survey of specific contents

The contents of each published work could be outlined in chronological order as follows:

*De utilitate linguae Arabicae: prolegomena* (1706)

- the lexical and phraseological difficulties and obscurities encountered in the Old Testament, and the need to study Hebrew in light of cognate languages, particularly Arabic.

*Oratio de fontibus* (1714)

- the sources of knowledge of Biblical Hebrew; the lack of Arabic-Hebrew research; and the disadvantages of relying on Aramaic Bible translations and on biblical linguistic usage, whether explored by phonetic analogy or by lexical parallel passages,
- the internal linguistic change, particularly in the field of lexical meanings,
- the need for external comparative sources in the study of the etymological lexical meanings of Biblical Hebrew,
- the contention that Arabic is “an intact language” in contrast to the fragmentary literary preservation of Ancient Hebrew, as well as of Aramaic and Syriac; consequently, Arabic is the most useful source of knowledge about Ancient Hebrew.

*De defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae* (1728–1729)

- the remaining challenges in Hebrew lexicography and grammar,
- the classification of lacunae in the knowledge of Biblical Hebrew.

*Oratio prima de lingua Arabicae antiquissima origine* (1729)

- the shared linguistic origins of Hebrew and Arabic,
- the external causes of Arabic’s unchangeability.

*Oratio secunda de lingua Arabicae antiquissima origine* (1732)

- the close historical kinship between Hebrew and Arabic,
- the internal causes of Arabic’s unchangeability.

*Clavis dialectorum* (1733)

- the theory and methodology of comparative Hebrew phonology, including the sound correspondences between Hebrew and Arabic.

*Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae* (1737)

- an account of the various conceptions of the nature of Hebrew across different schools of linguistic thought,
- the morphological regularity of Biblical Hebrew.

*Vindiciae Originum Hebraearum et Opusculi de defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae* (1737)

- semantic and etymological principles recapitulate eighteen rules, which are further expanded in *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi* (1738)

*Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2 (1738), the first chapter, published in 1733<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> Albert Schultens (pres.) and Johannes Samuel Tobianus (resp.). *Disputatio ad origines Hebraeas*, Leiden 1733 (chapter 1 of *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2).



- a concise, systematic restatement of the sources of knowledge about Ancient Hebrew,
- an assessment of each source of knowledge,
- the historical relationship between the Oriental dialects and Hebrew,
- a clarification of the concept of dialect.

*Origines Hebraeae*, volume 2 (1738), the fourth and sixth chapters<sup>264</sup>

- a presentation of fifteen objections to Schultens' theory and method of Hebrew-Arabic comparative studies,
- refutation of these fifteen objections.

*Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi* (1738)

- further explanation of the programme for lexical semantics and etymological principles.

*Excursus primus* (1739)

- the contrast between Schultens' method of Hebrew language studies and that of his opponents,
- clarification of the concept of lacunae (*defectus*) in our knowledge of Hebrew, as opposed to the intrinsic imperfection of Hebrew,
- cautions against the danger of rejecting the study of related languages.

*Excursus tertius* (1739)

- an assessment of the ontological status of Hebrew and the distinction between its actual and imagined linguistic qualities,
- arguments in favour of the status of Biblical Hebrew as a vernacular and comments on its regional varieties and individual styles,
- the latent delusion and ineptness of the term Biblical Hebrew.

Prefaces to the commentary on *Proverbia Salomonis* (1748) and the re-edition of Erpenius' *Grammatica Arabica* (1748)

- criticism of the Jewish and early modern Christian notion of Hebrew as holy and divine.

#### 4.3.4 Controversies with Driessen and Van den Honert

Most of Schultens' publications between 1737 and 1739 are related to his controversies with the Dutch scholars Antonius Driessen and Taco Hajo van den Honert. The former challenged him on his etymological method, namely his assumption that the meaning of words should be sought in a sense-perceptible, concrete referential origin, and his emphasis on related Semitic languages over other sources of knowledge, especially the postulation that Arabic traces its origin to the remotest times, has essentially been retained unchanged since then, and is closely related to Ancient Hebrew.

Van den Honert chiefly opposed Schultens on the status of Hebrew as a spoken vernacular in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah and on Schultens'

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<sup>264</sup> Chapter 4: Albert Schultens (pres.) and Simon Schager (resp.), *Disputatio ad origines Hebraeas*, Leiden 1734. Chapter 6: Albert Schultens (pres.) and Simon Schager (resp.), *Disputatio ad origines Hebraeas*, Leiden 1737.

classification of the Semitic languages. He denied that Hebrew had ever been the Israelite vernacular. Regarding language classification, he proposed that Old Aramaic was an intermediate ancestor language in the diversification of the Semitic dialects. Both Driessen and Van den Honert interpreted Schultens' conception of defectus in Biblical Hebrew as referring not so much to epistemic lacunae as to intrinsic deficiencies of this language. Schultens defended his theory and practice of Hebrew etymology against Driessen and Van den Honert in his treatises *Vindiciae Originum Hebraearum et Opusculi de defectibus* ("Defence of the first volume of *Origines Hebraeae* and of The treatise on the deficiencies", 1737), *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi* (1738) and *Excursus primus, Excursus secundus* and *Excursus tertius* (1739).

#### 4.3.5 Academic courses

Schultens drew on his public and private teaching as the heuristic basis for his major publications. This didactic background was emphasized by Schultens' first biographer, probably the Dutch publisher and journalist Elie Luzac (1721–1796). After reviewing Schultens' main publications, he states:

What is astonishing is that, however elaborate the treatises are, whatever their number, they are the result of his leisure time, made possible by a multitude of daily private lectures on Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, Jewish antiquities, and criticism. Nothing was omitted. He devoted himself largely to this and to the advancement of his students. To reach this goal, pain and toil seemed nothing to him.<sup>265</sup>

In fact, Schultens prepared his lexicographical and grammatical publications as public and private courses or as academic disputations. Through the dissemination of his publications, he became the principal preceptor in Hebrew etymology and grammar for several generations.

### 4.4 Hebrew etymology: Unpublished manuscripts

#### 4.4.1 The unpublished Hebrew dictionary

Schultens authored an unpublished etymological Hebrew dictionary titled *Stricturae ad origines Hebraeas* ("Remarks on the semantic origins of Hebrew"). A first version was drafted in the mid-1730s (Or. 1459: A–D,

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<sup>265</sup> "Essay historique sur les ouvrages de Feu Mr. Albert Schultens, professeur en langues Orientales dans l'Université de Leide", in *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savants de l'Europe*, vol. 44, p. 361 (referring to "ouvrages"): "Mais ce qui étonnera, c'est que quelque travaillés qu'ils soient, quelque grand qu'en soit le nombre, ils sont le fruit du loisir que lui laissoit une multitude de Collèges qu'il donnoit chaque jour; *Hébreu, Arabe, Araméen, Antiquités Judaïques, Critique*, rien n'étoit omis; il s'étoit consacré au bien et à l'avancement de ses Disciples; rien ne lui paroissoit peine et travail pour y parvenir."

Leiden University Library). After further refinement, he began printing the dictionary in 1738, but soon abandoned the project. Only a sample was printed.<sup>266</sup> Schultens chose to deliver his Hebrew dictionary as a series of public lectures. Between 1740 and 1749, he completed two-thirds of the Hebrew word-stock, from *’āleḥ* (א) to *sāmek* (ס). Records of the entire course of Hebrew roots survive in libraries in Oxford, Munich, Utrecht, and Blois. Major sections are preserved in libraries in Frankfurt am Main, Bonn, and London, while smaller parts are extant in libraries in Cluj-Napoca, New York, and The Hague. The prolegomena outline Schultens’ programme for comparative Hebrew etymology.

#### 4.4.2 Lockean excerpts and lecture notes

In his archive, Schultens left a bundle of autograph scholarly texts, including lecture notes on Hebrew etymology, biblical philology, and Hebrew antiquities, as well as excerpts from John Locke’s *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, book III. These texts are held by Leiden University Library. Below, important texts included in my forthcoming textual edition are catalogued and described.

- *Locque*: Schultens’ excerpts from Locke’s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, book III, from its French translation by Pierre Coste in the 1729 revised edition,<sup>267</sup> MS Or. 1460 d, pp. 53–57. The excerpts provide evidence of Schultens’ interest in Locke’s theory of language.
- *Praelectiones in Hoseam: prolegomena*, MS Or. 1468 a. This text sketches a programme for Hebrew etymology, integrating it with Greek and Latin etymology to develop Le Clerc’s joint hermeneutics for Latin, Greek, and Hebrew texts (*Ars critica*, 1697).
- *Dissertatio per theses*, MS Or. 1460 h. These autograph lecture notes present a draft of the prolegomena to Schultens’ Hebrew dictionary.
- *De utilitate et necessitate originum*, “On the usefulness and necessity of exploring the original meanings”. MS Or. 1460 q. In this text, Schultens restates and expands his eighteen etymological principles.
- *Theses de lingua primaeva*, “Theses on the primeval language”, in the handwriting of Jan Jacob Schultens, MS Or. 1469: 12. This text examines the nature and identity of the primeval language, expounding Albert Schultens’ views and arguing that, as a parent language, it diversified into Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic. The text is either a record of Albert Schultens’ dictation or a fair copy of Albert Schultens’ complete autograph prepared by Jan Jacob Schultens. The authenticity of Albert Schultens’ authorship is

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<sup>266</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*, p. 90, refers to the incipient printing of his Hebrew dictionary: “Lexicon nostrum Hebraicum iam praelo commissum.”

<sup>267</sup> Locke, *Essai philosophique concernant l’entendement humain*, Amsterdam 1729.

- confirmed by an incomplete draft of the same text titled *De lingua primaeva per theses ad meam mentem*, MS Or. 1460 d.
- *Theses de confusione Babelica*, MS Or. 1469: 12 and 16. The text presents various scholars' interpretations of the biblical narrative of the Confusion of Languages.
  - *De dialectorum ortu*, "On the emergence of dialects" (MS Or. 1460 c, pp. 9–12). This text surveys extant hypotheses about the nature of the Confusion of Languages
  - *De linguarum confusione theses ex mente mea*, MS Or. 1460 e. This text argues that the narrow group of Oriental languages constitutes a linguistic type distinct from other languages.
  - *Theses ad systema meum*, MS Or. 1460 j. This text describes Schultens' comparative method in relation to Old Testament textual criticism.
  - *De paupertate linguae Hebraicae*, MS Or. 1460 l. This text opposes Jean Le Clerc's view of Hebrew as a poor and ambiguous language.
  - *Historia linguae Hebraicae*, MS Or. 1460 c, pp. 1–8. This text offers an overview of the history of Hebrew as a spoken language and its early development as a written language.
  - *Linguae Arabicae cum Hebraea sororia affinitas et cognatio*, MS Or. 1460 m. This text refutes objections to the assumption of a very close kinship between Hebrew and Arabic.
  - *Lingua sancta, cur vocata sit Hebraea*, MS Or. 1460 i. This text explains why medieval Jewish scholars considered Hebrew sacred and shows how Buxtorf the Younger synthesized their reasons.

## 4.5 Bible commentary: University courses

### 4.5.1 Preliminaries: The academic courses on biblical books

During his professorships in Franeker and Leiden, Schultens lectured on several biblical books: the historical books (1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings), Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, and Zechariah. These lectures survive either as autograph notes by himself or as records from his public or private dictation. Most of them concern philology and linguistics; only a few are strictly exegetical. Leiden University Library possesses Schultens' lecture notes on these biblical books, while the student records of the dictation are found at public libraries in the Netherlands, Denmark, the USA, and Great Britain. There are also a few autograph notes on other biblical books, namely Ezekiel, Amos, Joel, and Nahum.

An inventory of autograph lecture notes and records of dictations by auditors and copyists is provided below. Albert van der Heide catalogued the autograph notes in *Hebrew manuscripts of Leiden University Library*, Leiden 1977, pp. 69–71. Valuable supplementary information can be found in Jan Just Witkam's *Inventory of the Oriental manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*, vol. 2, Leiden 2007, pp. 150–152. An important

source is the 1736 auction catalogue of the private library of J.R. van Eerde.<sup>268</sup>

#### 4.5.2 *Historical books of the Old Testament*

Schultens' lecture notes on the historical books of the Old Testament are preserved at Leiden University Library in separate envelopes: MS Or. 1462 (Hebr. 131), listed by Van der Heide as b, c, and d. Envelope b contains a record of Schultens' dictation on 1 Samuel, chapters 1–6, titled “*Dictata viri celeberrimi Alberti Schultens [...] in libros Samuelis sex priora capita*”, from 1730–1732 (137 pages). Envelope c comprises 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings (some 52 quires). Envelope d contains notes on Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther (4 quires and one single leaf).

#### 4.5.3 *Book of Job*

Leiden University Library holds lecture notes from Schultens' private course on the Book of Job. They are contained in MS Or. 1463 (also catalogued as Hebr. 131), with an estimated extent of 1,500 pages. Envelope a contains Schultens' annotated and interleaved copy of his first treatise on Job: *Animadversiones philologiae in Jobum* (Utrecht 1708). The next four envelopes (b–e) contain notes on different chapters. The first and second quires of envelope b contain Schultens' draft of a prolegomenon on the Book of Job (*Prolegomenon in Jobum*), which differs considerably from the preface to his published commentary. In this prolegomenon, the questions of authorship and dating of the Book of Job are discussed in exhaustive detail. Other prolegomena (*Prolegomena in Librum Jobi*) are found in envelope f. The final envelope, lettered f, contains dictates on the Book of Job (*Dictata in Jobum*), comprising pages 11–429.<sup>269</sup> Utrecht University Library holds a record of A. Schultens' lectures on Job, *Dictata amplissima in Librum Jobi* (MS 534: 7 N 15, latter part, 324 pages).

#### 4.5.4 *Psalms*

Leiden University Library holds Albert Schultens' autograph notes on his lectures on the Psalms 1–149, titled both *Praelectiones in Psalmos* and *In Psalmos praelectiones*, MS Or. 1464 (also catalogued as Hebr. 132), envelope c (104 quires, each generally consisting of four leaves). There are also miscellaneous notes on various Psalms, MS Or. 1464, envelope b

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<sup>268</sup> *Bibliotheca Eerdiana sive catalogus librorum, qui studiis inservierunt Jani Rudolphi van Eerde*, Groningen 1836. Van Eerde possessed a large collection of dictates, notebooks and other unpublished treatises of Dutch Orientalists and classical philologists, mainly by A. Schultens, J.J. Schultens, H.A. Schultens, N.J. Schroeder, E.L. Vriemoet, J. Perizonius, J. Luzac, L.C. Valckenaer, J.D. a Lennep and D. Ruhnken; see pp. 321–332. Dictates of Albert Schultens on biblical books and on the dictionary are found on pp. 324 and 327–328.

<sup>269</sup> Van der Heide, *Hebrew manuscripts of Leiden University Library*, p. 70.

(comprising six quires, each consisting of twelve leaves). Schultens also drafted a Latin translation of Psalms 1–71, extant as MS Or. 1464, envelope a (encompassing 21 quires, each consisting of four leaves).<sup>270</sup>

A student's record of almost all the Psalms, 2–143, survives from Schultens' Psalm lectures in Franeker: *Praelectiones Franequeranae ad Psalmos*, extant in Atlanta, Emory University, Pitts Theology Library, MS 432 (vol. 1). Dating this record to 1725–1728 is problematic, since the student associated with it, Dithmar Hackmann (1707–1778), did not matriculate at Leiden to study with Schultens until 1730. Accordingly, he must have copied another student's record of these Psalm lectures in Franeker.<sup>271</sup>

The Documentary Library of Bethlen Gábor College, Romania, holds a record of Schultens' lectures on the Psalms in Leiden during 1732–1735.<sup>272</sup> Moreover, Utrecht University Library holds N.W. Schroeder's excerpts from Schultens' dictation of the Psalms (part of MS 532) and a copy of Schultens' lectures on some Psalms written by Henric Arnold van Marle (MS 533). The University of Aberdeen holds a record of Schultens' dictation on Reland's *Antiquitates sacrae veterum Hebraearum* (MS 1068).

#### 4.5.5 Proverbs and Ecclesiastes

According to the lecture catalogue (*series lectionum*) of Leiden University, Schultens delivered public lectures on the Book of Proverbs from 1732 to 1736<sup>273</sup> and on Ecclesiastes from the autumn semester of 1736 to the spring semester of 1740.<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> Van der Heide, *ibidem*, p. 70.

<sup>271</sup> The student enrolled as Dithmarus Hakman (i.e. Hackmann) at the University of Leiden on 16 December 1730 (*Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, p. 931). On 14 July 1730, he submitted his dissertation כְּמוֹשׁ אֱלֹהֵי מֹאָב *seu dissertatio philologica de Cemoscho Moabitarum idolo*, in Bremen. In his dedication to Schultens, he states that he knows him only from his writings.

<sup>272</sup> *Observationes Philologico-Criticae in Psalmos dictatae a Viro Celeb. Alberto Schultens* [...], Aiud, Bethlen Gábor Dokumentációs Könyvtár, MM 27, part 56 (catalogued under Lázlo Ferenc Dálnoki). The dating is found in the title.

<sup>273</sup> The lecture catalogue for 1732–1735 states: “A. Schultens diebus [...] Iovis et Veneris autem Proverbia Salomonis enucleabit”, “On Thursdays and Fridays Albert Schultens will expound the Proverbs of Solomon”. For the autumn semester of 1732, see Archiven van Senaat en Faculteit der Leidsche Universiteit (abbreviated ASF) 302, fols. 125; for 1733–1736, see Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, vol. 5 (1725–1765), p. 43\*, and ASF 302, fols. 174–175, 178, 241–242, and 280–281.

<sup>274</sup> The lecture catalogue for the autumn and winter semester of 1736 states: “A. Schultens diebus [...] Iovis et Veneris Proverbia Salomonis absolvet, ad Ecclesiasten progressurus.” See Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, vol. 5, p. 59\*. The lecture catalogue for the autumn and winter semester of 1737 states: “A. Schultens diebus [...] Iovis et Veneris autem Ecclesiasten explanabit.” See Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, vol.

In the auction catalogue of Van Eerde's library (p. 327), a manuscript volume, no. 6906, "Annotationes in Proverbia" by Albert Schultens, is listed as possibly his autograph: "autographii?". In the same catalogue (p. 327), there is a volume titled "Observationes criticae philologicae in Ecclesiasten Salomonis" (no. 6907). In the auction catalogue of Van der Palm's library, there is a manuscript volume titled "Alberti Schultens. Dictata in Ecclesiasten Salomonis. 116 pp."<sup>275</sup>

Utrecht University Library holds a record of Schultens' lectures on Ecclesiastes (MS 534: 7 N 15, former part, *Dictata in Ecclesiasten*, 166 pp.). The National Library of Denmark holds a manuscript volume by Schultens, the second part of which is titled "Dictata clarissimi Alberti Schultens in Ecclesiasten Salomonis" (shelfmark NKS 26 quarto), comprising 108 numbered pages on Ecclesiastes 1:1–12:2.<sup>276</sup>

#### 4.5.6 Isaiah

Leiden University Library holds Schultens' autograph translation and lecture notes on Isaiah in MS Or. 1465 (also catalogued as Hebr. 133) and in MS Or. 1466 (Hebr. 134). The translation covers Isaiah 1:1–16:7 in MS Or. 1465, envelope *a* (eleven quires). The notes comprise Isaiah, chapters 1–25, 50–54, and 64, in MS Or. 1465, envelope *b* (23 quires). There are also miscellaneous notes on Isaiah, chapters 5–57, in MS Or. 1465, envelope *c* (9 quires or loose leaves). Finally, there are other miscellaneous notes on Isaiah, chapters 1–8, 43, and 57–60, in MS Or. 1466, envelope *a*.<sup>277</sup>

The National Library of Denmark holds a volume titled "Dictata viri celeberrimi Alb. Schultens in Prophetam Jesaiam" (NKS 19 quarto), which contains Schultens' notes on Isaiah 1:1–25:6 (279 numbered pages).

#### 4.5.7 Jeremiah

Leiden University Library, MS Or. 1467, holds Albert Schultens' lecture notes on the book of Jeremiah in two separate envelopes, *a* and *b* (52 quires + 21 quires). The volume also contains his miscellaneous notes on Jeremiah and Ezekiel in a bundle of 16 quires.<sup>278</sup>

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5, p. 60\*. In the spring semester of 1739, the lecture catalogue reads: "A. Schultens Ecclesiasten explanare pergit."

<sup>275</sup> *Catalogus librorum ac manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Schultensianae, qua, dum in vivis erat, usus est Joh. Henr. van der Palm [...]. Accedit eiusdem viri clarissimi appendix librorum ac manuscriptorum similis argumenti [...]*, Leiden 1841, p. 311, no. 76: *Codices manuscripti Palmiani*, sub-heading *Codices manuscripti nostratium*.

<sup>276</sup> The Latin word *dictata* is the technical term for the student's record taken down by the teacher's dictation. Cf. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. the noun *dictate* 1a.

<sup>277</sup> Van der Heide, *ibidem*, p. 71.

<sup>278</sup> MS Or. 1467c (also catalogued as Hebr. 135c): miscellaneous notes on Jeremiah and Ezekiel (16 quires). See Van der Heide, *Hebrew manuscripts*, p. 71.

Utrecht University Library holds a record of Albert Schultens' lectures on the book of Jeremiah, *Dictata philologica in prophetam Jeremiam* (MS 535, former shelfmark 7 N 16), in two parts: ch. 1–30 (pp. 1–222) and ch. 31–52 (pp. 1–296). The National Library of Denmark owns a student's record of the lectures on Jeremiah, MS NKS 21 quarto: *Observationes in Jeremiam a viro celeberrimo Alberto Schultens in calamum dictata anno 1730, die 25 Septembris*. The dictate in question focuses on the analysis of morphology and semantics. At 188 pages, this record contains Schultens' remarks on Jeremiah 1:1–13:24 and 42:2–49:20. Landesbibliothek Oldenburg holds a record of Schultens' course on Jeremiah from 1730–1731, *Observationes in Jeremiam* (shelfmark Cim I 222).

#### 4.5.8 Hosea, Zechariah, Amos and Nahum

Schultens' lecture notes on Hosea (*Praelectiones in Hoseam*) are preserved in Leiden UB, MS Or. 1468, wrapper *a* (22 quires). In the prolegomena, Schultens introduces his students to the comparative method for Hebrew studies.<sup>279</sup> His autograph lecture notes on Zechariah with prolegomena are extant in two sets in MS Or. 1468: wrappers *d* and *e–f*. Miscellaneous notes on Amos and Nahum are preserved in wrapper *c* of the same volume.<sup>280</sup> There are also dictated commentaries on Hosea 1:1–3:2 and Zech 1:8–14:7, written in the hand of Jan Jacob Schultens.

Utrecht University Library holds a student's lecture notes on Albert Schultens' dictation of Zechariah: *Dictata in Zachariam* (MS 536, former shelfmark 7 N 17, 211 pages). The National Library of Denmark also holds records of his dictation of the prophets Hosea and Zechariah. The one on Hosea is titled “Viri celeberrimi et clarissimi A. Schultens dictata in Hoseam prophetam” (shelfmark NKS 26 quarto). It comprises 249 pages covering Hosea 1:1–14:9. The record of Schultens' lectures on Zechariah from 1722 is titled *Animadversiones in prophetiam Zechariae, anno 1722* (shelfmark MS NKS 28, quarto). It has the character of an exegetical commentary rather than a lexical-linguistic one and contains frequent references to the Bible commentators Vitringa, Cocceius, Grotius, and Louis Cappel.

### 4.6 Hebrew antiquities: University courses

#### 4.6.1 Importance of the subject

Hebrew antiquities (in Latin, *antiquitates Hebraicae*) refers to the cultural history of the ancient Israelites, including their laws, institutions, customs, religious rites, coins, and inscriptions. The subject was intended to explain and contextualize the cultural and historical background of the Old Testament.

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<sup>279</sup> An edition of the prolegomena on Hosea will appear in my forthcoming book on *Schultens' unpublished manuscripts on comparative Hebrew philology* (5.1.2).

<sup>280</sup> Cf. Albert van der Heide, *Hebrew manuscripts of Leiden University Library*, Leiden 1977, p. 71.



In his inaugural lecture as professor of “Hebrew antiquities” in Leiden on 26 September 1740, Schultens defines the Tabernacle of Moses as the centre of all rites and religious antiquities. He recommends a fourfold division of this branch of knowledge into holy places, holy persons, holy things and ceremonies, and holy times, all of which provide a key to understanding the literal sense of the Bible.<sup>281</sup>

#### 4.6.2 *Franeker lectures on Reland’s Antiquitates*

As part of his duties as chair professor of Hebrew in Franeker, Schultens also taught Hebrew antiquities, drawing on Reland’s *Antiquitates sacrae veterum Hebraeorum* (1707), which was divided into four sections covering holy places, holy persons, holy things, and holy times.<sup>282</sup> In his Franeker dictation on Hebrew antiquities, Schultens followed the same subjects and order as Reland but differed in his reasoning style, offering a more exhaustive discussion and sometimes criticizing Reland’s opinions. Several records of these courses survive. Three of them can be dated to the academic years 1718–1719,<sup>283</sup> 1722–1723,<sup>284</sup> and 1727–1728.<sup>285</sup> The British Library holds other records of Schultens’ dictation on Hebrew antiquities, but they are undated.<sup>286</sup> The Allard Pierson Collections of the University of Amsterdam hold Pieter Fontein’s records from 1725 and 1726: *Commentarii in antiquitates sacras veterum Hebraeorum* in two volumes (Hs. 65-258 and Hs. 65-259). The University Library of Aberdeen holds undated records that likely originate from the Franeker course on Hebrew antiquities,<sup>287</sup> as do the

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<sup>281</sup> Schultens, *Oratio inauguralis de tabernaculo Mosis*, Leiden 1740, pp. 23–24.

<sup>282</sup> The same classification recurs in Hartwell Horne’s *Introduction to the critical study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, vol. 2, New York, 1852, pp. 95–129.

<sup>283</sup> *Dictata in Relandi antiquitates Hebraeorum*, MS NKS 401 at the National Library of Denmark. This record comprises 357 numbered pages. The dating of lessons 40–131 shows that Schultens lectured on antiquities on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, except during Christmas, Easter, and Ascension Day.

<sup>284</sup> *Dictata in Relandi Antiquitates Hebraicas*, MS NKS 402, at the National Library of Denmark. The record comprises 378 numbered pages. The colophon reads: “Die 30 Junii anni 1723 finem imposuimus huic exercitio hora 2nda pomeridiana”.

<sup>285</sup> *Dictata de antiquitatibus sacris*, mss. BPL 519 and BPL 520, Leiden University Libraries, both dated to 1728. BPL 519 is divided into the following topics: “Liber I de locis sacris (fols. pp. 1r–106v), Liber II de personis sacris (pp. 107–255), Liber III de rebus sacris (pp. 256–289) and Liber IV de temporibus sacris (pp. 290–405).

<sup>286</sup> MS Egerton 715 *Dictata clarissimi viri Alb. Schultens de antiquitatibus veterum Iudaeorum* follows Reland’s main outline. MS Egerton 716 *Dictata ad Relandi Antiquitates Judaicas ex ore D. Alb. Schultens* covers the same main topics. MS Egerton 717, *Albert Schultensii Antiquitates Judaicas et supplementa*, begins with prolegomena (fols. 2r–4r) on the Talmud as a source of knowledge about Hebrew antiquities and then concentrates on Reland’s four topics.

<sup>287</sup> These records are titled “*Dictata in H. Relandi Antiquitates sacras Hebraicas*” and are found in the same volume as a record of Schultens’ lectures on the Psalms.

two bound volumes of Albert Schultens' *Dictata ad antiquitates sacras Hadriani Relandi* kept by the Trinity College of Cambridge (Add. MS c/173–174) and purchased by Edward Lee in 1829.

#### 4.6.3 Leiden lectures on Hebrew antiquities

In Leiden, Schultens continued lecturing on Hebrew antiquities even before his appointment to this chair. For several years in the 1730s, from the autumn of 1732 to the spring of 1738, Schultens, in his public lectures on Mondays and Tuesdays, taught “questions pertaining to sacred philology”,<sup>288</sup> however, he did not follow the four-part division of Reland's *Antiquitates*. This academic course probably survives in a record at the Library of Geneva dating from 1732 and titled *Praelectiones Academicae in varias materias ex antiquitate Hebraica petitas*,<sup>289</sup> with the first chapter headed “Cap. 1. De Tabernaculi Mosis mysterio”,<sup>290</sup> and in the record titled *Selectae quaedam materiae ad Philologiam spectantes, quae vel praecipue antiquitates Iudaicas pertinent*.<sup>291</sup> At the same time, the ordinary holder of the chair of Hebrew antiquities, Taco Hajo van den Honert, lectured on Fridays on “the noteworthy rites of the Jews”.<sup>292</sup>

After being appointed Van den Honert's successor in 1740, Schultens lectured on various topics in Hebrew antiquities, drawing inspiration from Reland's *Antiquitates*. In the lecture catalogues of Leiden University in the 1740s, it is announced that Schultens “will treat selected subject matters from the Hebrew antiquities”.<sup>293</sup> The University Library of Groningen holds

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<sup>288</sup> From the spring semester of 1733 to the spring semester of 1737, the lecture catalogues (*series lectionum*) of Leiden University repeatedly state: “Schultens diebus Lunae et Martis versabitur in quaestionibus Philologiam Sacram spectantibus”. This statement is a periphrasis for a course on Hebrew antiquities. For *series lectionum*, see Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, vol. 5, pp. 43\*–45\*, 48\*, and 60\*.

<sup>289</sup> This is: “Academic lectures on various subject matters drawn from the Hebrew antiquity”, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS fr. 3375, pp. 270–289. This manuscript is catalogued as *Dictata in lexicon Hebraicum*, which forms the first of three textual units, namely Paul Gyöngyössi de Pettyens' record of Schultens' dictation of his Hebrew dictionary from אבב “to sprout up, shoot forth” to ארג, “to weave” (pp. 1–269). The third unit consists of word lists for various biblical books in the Hebrew Bible (390–685).

<sup>290</sup> This series of lectures, especially this chapter, served as the model for Schultens in his inaugural lecture, *De tabernaculo Mosis*, as professor of Hebrew antiquities.

<sup>291</sup> That is: “Some selected subject matters concerning philology, in particular pertaining to Jewish antiquities”, Library of Geneva, MS fr. 3375, pp. 290–389.

<sup>292</sup> From the spring semester of 1722 to the autumn semester of 1739, the catalogues of public lectures at Leiden University state: “T. H. van den Honert [...] die autem Veneris notabiliores Iudaeorum exponet ritus”. See Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, vol. 4, p. 183\* and vol. 5 (1725–1765), pp. 43\*–45\*, 48\*, 60\*, and 78\*.

<sup>293</sup> As regards Schultens' teaching of Hebrew antiquities in the 1740s, the recurrent phrase in the *series lectionum* of Leiden University is as follows: “Die Veneris

a record dating to 1740: “Dictata A. Schultens in Antiquitates sacras veterum Hebraeorum ab H. Relando” (MS Add. 186).

Leiden University Library holds an autograph manuscript volume of Albert Schultens’ preparatory lecture notes on Hebrew antiquities, shelfmark MS Or. 1461, presumably from the 1740s. It consists of his lecture notes on Reland’s *Antiquitates* (52 quires, each with an extant of four pages) and a collection of lecture notes on specific topics (c. 50 quires), e.g., the Tabernacle, the Ark of Noah, the altar’s horns, the altar’s fire, the seven-lamp lampstand, the wine offerings, the Holy and the Holy of Holies, the primogeniture, the Samaritans, the shechinah, the Urim and Tummim, the cities of refuge, idolatry of the Israelites and Passover. The last part (9 quires) contains notes on the English theologian Thomas Goodwin’s (1600–1680) *Moses and Aaron: civil and ecclesiastical rites used by the ancient Hebrews*, London 1655.<sup>294</sup> This volume (MS Or. 1461) is likely the same as “Albert Schultens’ autograph commentary on Reland’s *Antiquitates* in two volumes”, which was possessed by Henric Albert Schultens,<sup>295</sup> who held two records (“dictates”) of Albert Schultens’ course on Hebrew antiquities.<sup>296</sup>

Columbia University Libraries, New York, holds two records of Schultens’ courses on Old Testament antiquities at Leiden University. One of them is titled *Dictata viri il. Albert Schultens in Antiquitates Hebraicas* (call number X893.1 Sch8, location: Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 6<sup>th</sup> Floor East, Butler Library). The volume (257 pages) opens with a preface on the principal sources of Hebrew antiquities (the Old Testament, Josephus, Philo Judaeus, Talmud Jerushalmi, and Talmud Babli), which appears to be based on Schultens’ classification of these sources in his notebook (Or.

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selectas ex Antiq[uitatibus] Hebr[aicis] materias tractabit”. See Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, vol. 5, for instance, for the spring semester of 1741, p. 79\*.

<sup>294</sup> A Latin translation was made by Johann Heinrich Reitz, *Moses et Aaron seu civiles et ecclesiastici ritus antiquorum Hebraeorum* (1678). Schultens possessed Johann Gottlob Carpzov’s commented reissue, *Apparatus historico criticus antiquitatum Sacri Codicis et gentis Hebraeae*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1748; see *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 273, no. 1859.

<sup>295</sup> *Catalogus bibliothecae quam reliquit Henricus Albertus Schultens*, p. 190: “A. Schultens. *Commentarius ad Relandi Antiquitates Hebraeas*, 2 vols. (Autographum Auctoris)”, listed as manuscript no. 53.

<sup>296</sup> *Catalogus bibliothecae quam reliquit Henricus Albertus Schultens*, p. 190: “A. Schultens. Dictata ad Relandi antiquitates Hebraicas” and “A. Schultens. Praelectiones ad selecta quaedam Philologiae S[acrae] capita”; see manuscript nos. 52 and 53. Johannes Henric van der Palm later came into possession of the former record (no. 52), which is listed in the auction catalogue of his library; see *Catalogus librorum ac manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Schultensianae, qua, dum in vivis erat, usus est Joh. Henr. van der Palm [...]. Accedit eiusdem viri clarissimi appendix librorum ac manuscriptorum similis argumenti [...]*, Leiden 1841, p. 192, no. 45 of the Schultensian manuscripts: “Albert Schultens. Dictata ad Relandi Antiquitates Hebraearum”. It is dated to 1744 in this catalogue.

1462, Leiden University Library). This dictate presents a selection of topics, as announced in the *series lectionum* in the 1740s.<sup>297</sup> The other record (call number MS 94, Union Theological Seminary, Burke Library) consists of two items: *Dictata in antiquitates Hebraeas: de terra sancta; de tabernaculo*, dated 1737, and *Selecta quaedam de sacrificiis et ad spirituale sacrificium N.T. ad calamum dictavit Alb. Schultens*.

#### 4.7 Aramaic and Syriac philology: An unfinished grammar

Until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, European scholars knew Aramaic only from portions of the Old Testament (Gen 31:47, Jer 10:11, Dan 2:4–7:28, Ezra 4:8–6:18; 7:12–26) and the Targums. Their knowledge of Syriac was limited to the Peshitta<sup>298</sup> and to a collection of Syrian ecclesiastical writers, published in Rome by the Lebanese Maronite Orientalist Giuseppe Simone Assemani, in 1719–1728.<sup>299</sup> Schultens published a grammar of Biblical and Targumic Aramaic and Classical Syriac, titled *Institutiones Aramaeae*, in Leiden between 1745 and 1749, but apparently did not use the texts that Assemani had made available. The grammar also lacks a preface, which one would have expected to include an account of the sources and aids used. Schultens' predecessor in Leiden, Carolus Schaaf, refers to the first three sources mentioned above in the preface to his Aramaic and Syriac grammar.<sup>300</sup> Schultens consulted the Aramaic-Syriac grammars by Buxtorf the Elder and Louis de Dieu,<sup>301</sup> since he refers to them in his own grammar. He probably also consulted Hottinger's grammar of Hebrew, Aramaic,

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<sup>297</sup> The subject matters are the Tabernacle, the synagogues, the high priest, Urim and Thummim, the high priest's garment on the day of propitiation, the Sanhedrin, the origin of sacrifices, the question of eating of flesh before the Flood, pp. 159–163, sacrifices as prototypes of the spiritual offerings in the New Testament, different kinds of offering, the paschal lamb, Jephthah's vow, the Passover Feast, the high priest's entrance into the holy, the New Year, the Sabbath, and the Jubilee.

<sup>298</sup> The New Testament in Syriac was made available to European scholars for the first time in 1555 through the efforts of Albrecht Widmanstadt and Moshe of Marduk. The Old Testament in Syriac was first published in the Paris Polyglot of the Bible (*Biblia regia polyglotta*, vols. 6–9) in 1645 by the Lebanese Maronite scholar and priest Gabriel Sionita.

<sup>299</sup> *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementina-Vaticana*, 4 volumes, Rome 1719–1728. Assemani edited Syrian, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts collected in the Syrian monastery of Wadi El Natrun, as well as in Cairo, Damascus and Lebanon. Schultens possessed this publication. *Pars bibliothecae Schultensiae*, p. 6, no. 159 in folio: "J. S. Assemani, Bibliotheca Orientalis, Arab. et Lat. Romae 1719, 4 vol." Assemani also edited the works of Ephraim the Syrian: *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia quae extant*, Rome 1743.

<sup>300</sup> Schultens possessed Schaaf's Aramaic and Syriac grammar and dictionary, *Opus Aramaeum*, Leiden 1686. *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 48, no. 155.

<sup>301</sup> Buxtorf, *Grammatica Chaldaica-Syriaca*, Basel 1615, and de Dieu, *Grammatica linguarum orientalium*, Leiden 1628.

Syriac and Arabic. (*Grammatica quatuor linguarum, Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae et Arabicae harmonica*, 1659).

Schultens' Aramaic and Syriac grammar comprises four chapters. The first deals with phonology, the second and third cover regular and irregular verbs, and the fourth discusses nouns. Schultens evidently planned to include a fifth chapter on particles, but the grammar breaks off at the end of the section on numerals and ordinals.

In the first paragraph, Aramaic is defined as a broad term encompassing Chaldaic (Biblical and Targumic Aramaic) and Classical Syriac. In the second paragraph, Schultens underscores the comparative aim of his grammar, which is to demonstrate the sisterly conformity among the four principal "Oriental dialects". In the following paragraphs, Schultens describes the twenty-two consonants and the vowels of Aramaic and Syriac. This is followed by a classification of consonants into five articulatory groups:

*Litterae gutturales*: ע ה ח א

*Litterae linguales*: ת נ ל ט ד

*Litterae palati*: ק כ י ג

*Litterae dentales*: ש ר צ ס ז

*Litterae labiales*: פ מ ו ב.<sup>302</sup>

Schultens then explores the correspondences between Aramaic and Hebrew, describing those within each consonantal class and those that cross classes. In the latter category, he shows that Aramaic ד, ט and ת correspond to ד, ז, and ש in Hebrew, but this was no innovation, as evidenced by the Aramaic grammars of Sebastian Münster and Angelo Canini.<sup>303</sup>

In the second chapter, Schultens agrees to the division of parts of speech into verbs, nouns and particles, provided that the last category is understood to include pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections. He then examines the verbal or nominal status of the primitive root and concludes that the infinitive is the original form of the root.<sup>304</sup> However, Schultens tends to favour the root's verbal origin. Nouns are derived from the root, and particles originate from both nouns and verbs.<sup>305</sup> For this reason, Schultens begins with the verb, as Erpenius had done in his Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac grammars.<sup>306</sup> As for the regular verb, no fewer than 28 stem forms (*species*) are recognized,<sup>307</sup> of which 14 are in the active voice

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<sup>302</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones Aramaeae*, p. 12.

<sup>303</sup> See further Eskhult, *Schultens as an innovator*, Section 10.1.3, p. 204.

<sup>304</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones Aramaeae*, pp. 32 and 34 f.

<sup>305</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 35.

<sup>306</sup> Erpenius, *Grammatica Arabica* (1613), *Grammatica Hebraea generalis* (1620) and *Grammatica Chaldaea et Syra* (1628).

<sup>307</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones Aramaeae*, pp. 38–42.

and 14 in the passive voice.<sup>308</sup> Schultens maintains that all of these stem forms were commonly used.<sup>309</sup>

In the chapter on the noun, Schultens asserts that derived nouns are regular, have a basic meaning traceable to the infinitive of *pʿal*, and can be formed from all the stem forms by adding the formatives נ, ה, י, ז, ל or ת as prefixes or suffixes to the stem.

## 4.8 Arabic philology: Text editing and other efforts

### 4.8.1 Overview of works

Schultens used Arabic as his primary language for comparison. As noted above, during his sojourn in Leiden and Wassenaar from 1709 to 1713, he studied Arabic prose and poetry in manuscript. As keeper of the Warner Collection at Leiden University Library, he published chrestomathies of Arabic literature in the 1730s and 1740s. In his attempt to pre-Islamize Arabic, he emphasized that Arabic did not begin with Muhammad and the Koran but originated in a remote past, as evidenced by Arabic morpho-phonology and pre-Islamic Arabic poetry.<sup>310</sup> He published samples of pre-classical, classical, and medieval Arabic literature from the abundant Oriental collections in the legacies of Scaliger, Golius, and Warner. He also published rhetorical stories and speeches, designated as *Maqāmāt*, in rhymed and rhythmic prose by the Arab poet al-Harīrī of Basra (1054–1122). In addition, he composed an anthology of alleged pre-classical and classical texts dealing with the fabulous ancient empire of the Joktanides and published a selection of Arabic poetry from the anthology, titled *Ḥamāsa*, by Abū Tammām (788–845). Jan Loop has assessed Schultens’ role as an editor of Arabic prose and poetry, as well as his hypotheses regarding the history of Arabic.<sup>311</sup>

Schultens’ editions of Arabic literature, including his Latin translations and philological notes, can be classified as follows:

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<sup>308</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 45, where a diagram of the stem forms is drawn up.

<sup>309</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 42: “Omnes has species, docendi causa, ordinarias mihi appellare liceat, quatenus pro genio linguae ad omnem radicem adhiberi potuisse videntur cum illo significationis modo ac gradu, quem usus publicus cuique speciei assignarat.” “It may be allowed to me to call all these stem forms ordinary, insofar as they seem to have been able to be used for every root according to the particular nature of the language, together with the manner and degree of meaning that commonly is assigned to each stem form.”

<sup>310</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, pp. 151–156; *idem*, *Concessus Haririri quartus quintus et sextus*, preface, pp. iv–v; *idem*, *Epistola prima*, p. 124.

<sup>311</sup> Loop, “Arabic poetry as teaching material in early modern grammars and textbooks”, in Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton, Charles Burnett (eds.), *The teaching and learning of Arabic in early modern Europe*, Leiden 2017, pp. 230–251; *idem*, “Language of Paradise: Protestant Oriental Scholarship and the Discovery of Arabic Poetry” in Nicholas Hardy and Dmitri Levitin (eds.), *Confessionalisation and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, Oxford 2019, pp. 395–415.

- (a) classical Arabic belletristic prose: the first six stories, *Maqāmāt*, by al-Ḥarīrī (the first three published in 1731, the next three in 1740);
- (b) classical Arabic poetry: the first three books of *al-Ḥamasa* by Abū Tammām (published in 1748);
- (c) medieval Arabic gnomology: a selection from *al-Kalim al-Nawābig* by al-Zamakhsharī (published in 1733);
- (d) medieval Arabic historiography: the biography of Saladin by Ibn Shaddād (published in 1732), and medieval Arabic historians on the Empire of the Juktanides in Yemen, *Monumenta vetustiora Arabiae* (1740) and *Arabia Felix* (published posthumously in 1786).

Schultens devoted himself to improving Arabic lexicography in his linguistic writings, which include word-lists distinguishing primary and secondary meanings of Arabic words. Moreover, he planned to improve existing lexicography by writing glossaries on individual Arabic writers and by annotating Golius' Arabic-Latin dictionary, specifying the sources in old Arabic poetry to which Golius cited without providing specific references. His lexicographical efforts can thus be summarized as follows:

- (a) a glossography on a couple of Arabic authors,
- (b) Arabic indices to his own linguistic treatises and Bible commentaries (Schultens 1724, 1737c, 1740a, 1748a and 1748b),
- (c) marginal annotations in his private copy of Golius' Arabic-Latin dictionary.<sup>312</sup>

The unfavourable presentation of Schultens' Arabic and Hebrew scholarship in Johann Fück's *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1955) appears unwarranted. Schultens' Arabic scholarship bears witness to a lifelong devotion to the study of Arabic. His extensive reading and mastery of Classical Arabic literature cannot be easily dismissed, but as a non-specialist in Arabic, I leave the question of Schultens' knowledge of Arabic to further exploration by qualified scholars.

#### 4.8.2 Editorial philology

##### (1) Arabic gnomology

In the genre of medieval Arabic gnomology, Schultens edited a small number of maxims (*apophthegmata*) from al-Zamakhsharī's collection of proverbial sayings *al-Kalim al-Nawābig*.

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<sup>312</sup> See *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, shelfmark 842 A 2, Leiden University Libraries.

## (2) Arabic rhythmic prose

In the genre of early Arabic belletristic prose, Schultens primarily paid attention to *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, who was of Bedouin descent. Schultens copied and translated the entire book of 50 stories into Latin, but published only the first six conversations in two publications.<sup>313</sup> Importantly, in his explanatory notes, he commented on the etymology of Arabic words and compared them to their Hebrew cognates. The derivations supplied a store of Arabic and Hebrew etymology to comparative Hebrew philologists.

## (3) Arabic biography and historiography

Schultens' works on Arabic biography and historiography include editing the life of Saladin (1732) and producing an anthology of the history of the Joktanides (finished in 1749, published in 1786). Schultens edited the biographies of Saladin<sup>314</sup> by the Kurdish historian Bahā' al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Rafī ibn Shaddād, the Syrian historian and geographer Abū al-Fidā' (known as Abulfeda) and the Arab historian al-Iṣfahānī.<sup>315</sup> The editions were based on manuscripts held at Leiden University Library and included a Latin translation. Schultens' *Index geographicus* of these texts exhibits a great interest in the geography of the Near East. He improved the accuracy of the locations of Middle Eastern cities and regions by using the Arabic geographies of Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (1179–1229) and Abū al-Fidā'.

Schultens also prepared textual editions of Arab historians' testimonies on Arabia in pre-Islamic times. His manuscript was published posthumously in 1786 in an anthology on the Empire of the Joktanides in South Arabia written by the Arab historian and traveller al-Mas'ūdī, known as the Herodotus of the Arabs, and by Abū al-Fidā', and the Egyptian Muslim historian al-Nuwayrī.<sup>316</sup>

## (4) Arabic poetry

In *Monumenta vetustiora Arabiae* (1740), Schultens published proofs of allegedly pre-classical Arabic poetry from the works of Muslim historians in

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<sup>313</sup> Schultens (ed.) *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī. Haririi eloquentiae Arabicae principis tres priores consessus e codice manuscripto bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae pro specimine emissi ac notis illustrati*, Franeker 1731. Idem, *Consessus Haririri quartus, quintus et sextus e codice manuscripto Latine conversi ac notis illustrati*, Leiden 1740.

<sup>314</sup> In Arabic nomenclature, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (1138–1193), sultan of Egypt and Syria and leader of the military campaign against the Third Crusade.

<sup>315</sup> Schultens (ed.), *Vita et res gestae Sultani Almalichi alnasiri Saladini [...] auctore Bohadino f. Sjeddadi. Nec non excerpta ex historia universali Abulfedae. [...] Itemque specimen ex historia maiore Saladini gradior cothurno conscripta ab Amadoddino Ispahanensi [...]*, Leiden 1732.

<sup>316</sup> Schultens, *Imperium Joctanidarum [...]*, Leiden 1786.



the late classical period and the Middle Ages, viz. al-Ṭabarī, al-Iṣfahānī, al-Mas‘ūdī, Abū al-Fidā’, and al-Nuwayrī.<sup>317</sup>

In 1748, Schultens republished Thomas Erpenius’ Arabic grammar, *Grammatica Arabica*, with samples of Arabic literature, including not only the fables of Luqmān, edited by Erpenius and appended to the grammar by Golius in his 1636 re-edition, but also selected passages from Abū Tammām’s *Ḥamasa*,<sup>318</sup> which Schultens considered a sample of pure and genuine Arabic flourishing around the time of Muhammad.<sup>319</sup>

#### 4.8.3 Glossography of individual Arabic writers

Schultens composed glossographical drafts on individual Arabic authors, of which the following are worth noting:

- Lexicographical fragments with examples from Ibn Doreid, MS Or. 1944: 1–2, Leiden University Library.<sup>320</sup>
- Vocabulary based on the fables of Luqmān, MS Or. 1951, Leiden University Library.

#### 4.8.4 Arabic indices to his own major publications

In Schultens’ publications, Arabic indices in the form of small dictionaries, which clearly distinguish the original and proper sense from transferred meanings, are provided for his Bible-philological and linguistic works as follows:

- The first volume of *Origines Hebraeae* (Franeker 1724) includes an index-dictionary comprising 214 entries.
- An Arabic index to the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, the stories, or sessions 4–6 (Leiden 1740), covering 23 pages.
- An Arabic index on *Ḥamasa* (Leiden 1748), comprising 22 pages and 350 entries.
- An Arabic index, with the Hebrew cognates, on *Clavis dialectorum* in its second edition (Leiden 1770), comprising 141 pages.

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<sup>317</sup> Schultens, *Monumenta vetustiora Arabiae sive specimina quaedam illustria antiquae memoriae et linguae ex manuscriptis codicibus Nuweirii, Mesoudii, Abulfedae, Hamasa etc.*, Leiden 1740.

<sup>318</sup> Schultens, [...] *Accedunt excerpta anthologiae veterum Arabiae poetarum, quae inscribitur Hamasa abi Temmam ex Manuscriptis Bibliothecae Academiae Batavae edita, conversa et notis illustrata ab Alberto Schultens.* (...), Leiden 1748. Most of the extracts are from the first book on ‘warlike bravery’ (pp. 304–569), with a few from the second and third books (pp. 570–601).

<sup>319</sup> In praising its nobility and excellence, Schultens agrees with the encyclopaedia of Barthélemy d’Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale ou Dictionnaire universel*, Paris 1697, s.v. ‘Hamassa’, and with al-Tebrīzī, the 11<sup>th</sup>-century commentator on the *Hamāsa*.

<sup>320</sup> This volume is catalogued as *Duo fragmenta lexicographica illustrissimi Alberti Schultens* by de Goeie in *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium*, vol. 5, pp. 150–151.

#### 4.8.5 Planned improvement of Arabic-Latin lexicography

In the 1720s, Schultens planned to revise Arabic lexicography in a five-volume treatise titled *De defectibus linguae Hebraeae*. These plans were never fulfilled, but they are reflected in Schultens' concerns about improving Golius' Arabic-Latin dictionary. He annotated his copy of Golius' Arabic-Latin dictionary with marginal notes,<sup>321</sup> providing references to the work and to passages in which the proposed meanings occur in the Arabic authors Golius cites. More precisely, the manuscript sources are the poems *Mu'allaqāt*, *Ḥamāsa*, and the *Dīwān* (Collection) of the *Hudhayls* (an Arab tribe from Hejaz), as well as the poems by Ibn Durayd and *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. The published texts are Golius' edition of the history of Timur (*Historia Tamerlanis*), Erpenius' edition of the proverbial sayings of al-Zamakhsharī (*al-Kalim al-Nawābig*) and of al-Makīn's history of the Saracenes (*Historia Saracenica*), as well as Schultens' own edition of Arabic biographies on Saladin. At times, he refers to al-Nuwayrī, more precisely, the Arabic poems in his encyclopaedia and world history.

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<sup>321</sup> Albert Schultens' annotated copy is extant in the holdings of Leiden University Libraries: Jacob Golius, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum contextum ex probatoribus Orientis lexicographis*, Leiden 1653, shelfmark B 842 A 2. Jan Jacob Schultens' and Henric Albert Schultens' less annotated copy is extant under the same title, shelfmark 842 A 3.



PART 3. SCHULTENS' PUBLISHED WORKS ON  
HEBREW PHILOLOGY: AN EXPLORATORY  
ACCOUNT AND A CONTEXTUALIZING ANALYSIS



## 5. Commentary on biblical passages and books

### **5.1 *Disputatio theologico philologica de utilitate linguae Arabicae in interpretanda Sacra Scriptura* (1706)**

#### **5.1.1 Preliminaries**

Schultens' treatise on the usefulness of Arabic, *Disputatio de utilitate linguae Arabicae*, has attracted considerable attention, as it is believed to mark a major innovation in the theory and practice of comparative Hebrew language studies. The present section will show that, to a great extent, this claim is unwarranted. In the prolegomena, Schultens merely restates what he encountered in his predecessors, but in his philological analysis, he appears to be independent.

This treatise was defended on 20 January 1706 (see the title page, Fig. 1)<sup>322</sup> and published in Groningen the same year. Only a few copies survive in public libraries.<sup>323</sup> A second edition was issued as part of a publication of Schultens' minor works (*Opera minora*, Leiden 1769, pp. 487–510), but it lacked all the information present on the original title page.

In the prolegomena to *Disputatio de utilitate linguae Arabicae*, Schultens outlines his hermeneutical principles and theoretical foundations:

- Firstly, Hebrew is preserved in a limited linguistic corpus.
- Secondly, we have only imperfect knowledge of Hebrew words that are rarely attested in the Bible.
- Thirdly, the Septuagint dates back to a time when Hebrew had long been in disuse.
- Fourthly, comparison with cognate languages is the only means of exploring, improving, and verifying knowledge of obscure and difficult Hebrew words.
- Fifthly, Arabic attains the same high antiquity as Hebrew and Aramaic, and, as a rich and still living language, it serves the aims of comparative linguistics better than other sources at disposal.

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<sup>322</sup> In his autobiographical notes, Schultens (1738b: 15) mistakenly states that he defended this thesis in 1704. He notes that he avoided a public dispute with Gousset, “something that would not have been appropriate to a young man”. Nonetheless, since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, most biographical accounts of Schultens have claimed that, in 1704, he opposed Gousset in a public dispute.

<sup>323</sup> Copies of the first edition are held by the Bodleian Library (Oxford), the Royal Library of the Netherlands (The Hague), and the University Library of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt.

### 5.1.2 Hermeneutical principles: The impact of Le Clerc

In presenting his hermeneutical basis, Schultens primarily relies on Jean Le Clerc. In the first book of *Ars critica*, Le Clerc, a hermeneutical theorist, offers guidelines for interpreting ancient Latin, Greek, and Hebrew texts. In his advice for the study of Hebrew, he devotes considerable attention to semantic challenges.<sup>324</sup> As a non-traditionalist, he proposed applying the comparative method to solve these problems.

Although Schultens relies on Le Clerc's presentation and rewords his phrases, roughly in the same order as in *Ars critica*, he does not acknowledge his dependence on that work.<sup>325</sup>

In arguing that Biblical Hebrew comprises only a limited textual corpus, Le Clerc declares:

The reasons for this state are as follows: first, only one Hebrew book remains to us, and it is not sufficiently extensive to contain the nature and words of the entire Hebrew language.<sup>326</sup>

Schultens rephrases and amplifies this viewpoint as follows:

Since this language, as far as it has reached our times, is confined within very narrow limits – since it is contained in only one book that is of no great extent – the entire nature and character of it, and so all the words, cannot be comprehended from it.<sup>327</sup>

The observation that the Old Testament constitutes a rather limited textual corpus had repeatedly been noted by Christian Hebraists in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>324</sup> Le Clerc, *Ars critica*, Amsterdam 1697, vol. 1, part 1, chapter 4, pp. 106–137). In §§ 3–4 (pp. 122–124) and §§ 9–10 (pp. 129–132), he addresses the underlying reasons and the hermeneutical aids for attaining knowledge of Hebrew.

<sup>325</sup> In later publications, Schultens certainly refers to Le Clerc, but often only to reject his textual criticism of the Old Testament and his view that the primeval language did not survive Babel. In lecture notes headed “De paupertate linguae Hebraeae” in Leiden UB, MS 1460, textual unit “j” (forthcoming in Eskhult, *Schultens' unpublished manuscripts*), he refutes Le Clerc's contention that Hebrew was lexically poor. In *De defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae* (1731), p. 11, he rejects this view as an error of scholars “who measure the Hebrew vocabulary from its scanty remains in the Bible”, without expressly referring to Le Clerc.

<sup>326</sup> Le Clerc, *Ars critica*, vol. 1, 1697, p. 122: “Cuius rei hae sunt rationes, 1. quia superest tantum nobis unicus liber Hebraicus isque non magnae molis, quo totius Hebraicae linguae indoles et dictiones contineri nequeunt.”

<sup>327</sup> Schultens, *Disputatio de utilitate linguae Arabicae* (1706), p. 3: “Quum autem ea lingua, quanta ad nostram pervenit aetatem, angustis admodum terminis includatur, utpote quae unico tantum libro eoque non magnae molis continetur, tota eiusdem natura ac indoles omnesque adeo voces, ex eo apprehendi non possunt.”

Edward Pococke says: “The Hebrew language in its pure and ancient form is reduced to very narrow limits, since nothing of it, except that which is preserved in the Bible, has come down to us.”<sup>328</sup> In the prolegomena to the London Polyglot, Brian Walton refers to the same circumstance: “Though Hebrew once abounded in words, only a small, damaged part of it survives in the Old Testament today.”<sup>329</sup>

Le Clerc accentuates the topic of defective knowledge of the meaning of rare Hebrew words:

Thirdly, many words occur once or only a few times, and, in fact, in passages where neither the character of the topic nor the context of the statement indicates in what sense they are to be understood.<sup>330</sup>

In affirming the same topic, Schultens states:

Moreover, since many words are *hapax legomena*, or occur only a few times, their meaning cannot be so clearly elicited from the context nor from the character of the topic to which they belong. It is evident that great obscurity is added to this language.<sup>331</sup>

Schultens omits Le Clerc’s Spinozist argument that Hebrew syntax is inherently obscure because of its limited and vague tense system. Instead, he discusses the value of the Septuagint as an aid to interpreting rare Hebrew words. Le Clerc had argued that this translation originated after Hebrew had already ceased to be the Jews’ vernacular. This circumstance, together with the lack of Hebrew dictionaries and grammars at that time, was decisive in

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<sup>328</sup> Quoted from Pococke’s explanatory notes to his edition and Latin translation of Maimonides’ *Bab Musi/ Porta Mosis* (Oxford 1655), “Notarum miscellanea”, p. 5. After proposing a comparison of Hebrew with Syriac and Arabic, he states: “Huius usus et necessitas hinc patet, quod cum lingua Hebraica pura, antiqua, in angustos admodum limites redacta sit, utpote cuius nihil praeter illud quod in Bibliis conservatur, ad nos pervenit” [...].

<sup>329</sup> Walton, *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, vol. 1, London 1657, prolegomena, p. 98, § 7: “Lingua vero Hebraea licet olim vocabulis magis numerosa, mutila tamen et exigua sua parte in Vet[ere] Test[amento] tantum hodie extat” [...].

<sup>330</sup> Le Clerc, *Ars critica*, vol. 1, 1697, p. 122: “3. quia sunt plurimae voces quae aut semel aut pauculis vicibus occurrunt et quidem iis in locis, in quibus nec natura rei nec orationis series nos docent quo sensu sint accipiendae.”

<sup>331</sup> Schultens, *Disputatio de utilitate*, pp. 3–4: “Praeterea cum plurimae sint voces ἄπαξ λεγόμενα aut quae pauculis tantum vicibus occurrunt, ut ex orationis serie et natura rei cui iunguntur, non adeo evidenter earum significatione elici queat, magnam linguae obscuritatem affundi manifesto patet.”



rendering the Septuagint inadequate as a translation.<sup>332</sup> Schultens advanced this reason to support his claim that the meaning of hapax legomena cannot be established solely from the Septuagint. He adds that the same problem applies to Syriac and Arabic Bible translations, which mainly rely on the Septuagint and do not deserve great authority.

Le Clerc expressed the reason concerning the Septuagint as follows:

To this comes the fact that the rather reliable aids available to us for overcoming these difficulties date from centuries when the Hebrew language had long since fallen into disuse and was known only by tradition to a few learned. The most ancient translation is the one called the Septuagint, which was made in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, at least two hundred fifty years after the return from the Babylonian Captivity, when the use of the Hebrew language had been corrupted.<sup>333</sup>

Schultens transformed this argument as follows:

To this comes the fact that all the translations, from which not a little aid could be drawn, were prepared by the time when the Hebrew language had already fallen into disuse. The Septuagint, to which scholars usually attribute primary importance – at present, I do not address whether it is true or false – was written at least two hundred fifty years after the Babylonian Captivity, during which the Hebrew language had been corrupted and had ceased to be pure.<sup>334</sup>

In the practice of Biblical Hebrew philology around 1700, the points discussed above were uncontroversial, but they were hardly applied within a hermeneutical programme before Le Clerc's *Ars critica*.

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<sup>332</sup> Le Clerc, *Ars critica*, p. 124, refers to Louis Cappel's critical notes on the Old Testament (1689) and his own comments on the Pentateuch (1696) for examples of doubtful, faulty and conjectural renderings of difficult passages in the Septuagint.

<sup>333</sup> Le Clerc, *Ars critica*, p. 123 (§ 4): "Ad haec accedit, quod certiora quae nobis suppetunt ad eas difficultates superandas subsidia, sint eorum saeculorum in quibus lingua Hebraica dudum in desuetudinem abierat nec aliter nota erat, nisi traditione inter pauculos eruditos. Antiquissima etiam versio omnium est ea quae LXXviralis dicitur, confecta regnante Ptolemaeo Philadelpho, ducenta quinquaginta minimum annis post reditum e Captivitate Babylonica, in qua linguae Hebraicae usus corruptus fuerat."

<sup>334</sup> Schultens, *Disputatio de utilitate*, p. 4: "Ad haec accedit, quod omnes versiones, ex quibus non leve subsidium hauriri posset, tum demum efformatae sint, cum lingua Hebraica iam dudum in desuetudinem abierat. Nam versio LXX virorum, cui primas ut plurimum deferre solent, verene an falso nunc non tango, ducentis et quinquaginta minimum annis post captivitatem Babylonicam, in qua lingua Hebraea corrupta fuit et pura esse desiit, conscripta est" [...].

Moreover, Le Clerc emphasized the necessity of comparison with related languages as an aid to overcoming the difficulties of biblical interpretation. He argues that Arabic, Aramaic and Hebrew are related to each other like Ionic, Doric and Attic, and consequently, as neighbouring dialects, they serve a useful hermeneutical purpose:

Since it is clear that Arabic, Aramaic and Hebrew are dialects rather than separate languages, just as Ionic, Attic and Doric are dialects, it is now and then useful to take recourse to neighbouring dialects to understand the meaning of Hebrew words.<sup>335</sup>

In proposing the comparative method as a linguistic aid for resolving semantic difficulties, Schultens followed Le Clerc's reasoning. Responding to his own rhetorical question about how we can overcome semantic obscurities and difficulties, he points to the study of cognate languages:

Thus, since we perceive that the Hebrew language is subject to so many obscurities and difficulties, how are we able to overcome them and escape them, so that we may acquire an accurate knowledge of this language? I answer, together with the learned Selden, Greaves, Pococke, Hottinger, Louis de Dieu, Castell, and several others, that knowledge of the daughters of the Hebrew language is absolutely required for this aim, I mean its dialects, the Aramaic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Samaritan, and Arabic languages.<sup>336</sup>

Schultens also makes Le Clerc's point that the Semitic languages are only dialects and are comparable with the dialects of Ancient Greek:

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<sup>335</sup> Le Clerc, *Ars critica*, vol. 1, pp. 128–129: “Cum constet Arabicam, Chaldaicam, et Hebraeam linguam dialectos esse potius quam linguas diversas, quemadmodum Ionicam, Doricam et Atticam dialectos, prodest interdum ad Hebraicarum vocum significationem adsequendam confugere ad vicinas dialectos.”

<sup>336</sup> Schultens, *Disputatio de utilitate*, p. 5: “Itaque cum tot obscuritatibus et difficultatibus linguam Hebraeam premi videamus, qui tandem eas superare et ex iis emergere poterimus? ut accuratam eius linguae cognitionem acquiramus: respondeo cum viris doctissimis Seldenis, Graviis, Pocockiis, Bochartis, Hottingeris, Ludovicis de Dieu, Capellis, Castellis aliisque bene multis, ad id omnino requiri cognitionem filiarum linguae Hebraeae, dialectorum eius dico, Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Aethiopicae, Samaritanae, Arabicae linguarum.” This passage has been quoted and translated by Jan Loop in his intellectual biography, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger: Arabic and Islamic studies in the seventeenth century*, Oxford 2013, p. 74.

All these languages are only dialects, as I said, not differing from Hebrew, just as Doric, Aeolic, Ionic, and Attic make up a single Greek language.<sup>337</sup>

In a treatise on the problems of Bible translation, Le Clerc likewise pointed out the necessity of comparing Semitic languages:

Since the Hebrew language, as it has come down to us, is confined to the small volume of the Old Testament, in which many words and phrases occur only once, or a few times, so that their meaning is not sufficiently clear from the passages, I have often thought that we ought to resort to the neighbouring languages. With great appreciation, I learnt that scholars had done that before me.<sup>338</sup>

In his subsequent works, Schultens frequently drew on cognate languages to support his etymological method.<sup>339</sup>

Accordingly, the method of Semitic language comparativism was almost ubiquitous in scholarly works of the period. As for prior approval of this method, Le Clerc cites the practices of Samuel Bochart, Louis de Dieu, Louis Cappel, and Hiob Ludolf, as well as the lexicographers of polyglot dictionaries, such as Valentin Schindler, Edmund Castell, and Johann

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<sup>337</sup> Schultens, *Disputatio de utilitate*, p. 5: “Omnes ea linguae dialecti tantum, ut dixi, non diversae ab Hebraica linguae sunt, quemadmodum Dorica, Aeolica, Ionica, Attica unam tantum Graecam constituunt linguam.”

<sup>338</sup> Le Clerc, “De optimo genere interpretum Sacrae Scripturae”, § X, second dissertation in the prolegomena to his commented translation of Genesis: *Genesis sive Mosis prophetae liber primus*, Amsterdam 1693, p. d4 recto: “Cum Hebraica lingua, qualis ad nos pervenit, modico V[eteris] T[estamenti] volumine contineatur, in quo plurimae sunt voces et phrases semel tantum occurrentes, aut rariores, neque ex locorum sensu satis dilucidae, confugiendum nobis saepe duxi ad vicinarum linguarum auxilium, quod cum summa laude viris doctissimis ante nos factum videbamus.”

<sup>339</sup> See, for instance, *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, p. 5: “Hebraea dialectus [...] una cum Chaldaica, Syriaca et Arabica dialectis [...] unum corpus linguae constituere debuerunt haud secus atque quatuor illae principes dialecti Graecorum Attica, Ionica, Aeolica et Dorica, ut totidem rami, unum linguae systema constituunt unaque communi stirpe nituntur.” “The Hebrew dialect, along with the Chaldaic, Syriac and Arabic dialects, most likely formed one linguistic corpus, in the same manner as the four principal dialects of the Greeks, viz. Attic, Ionic, Eolic and Doric, although just as many branches, make up one language system and rest on one common stem.” See also Schultens’ *Theses de lingua primaeva*, §§ 84 and 91 (Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac and Chaldaic), § 91 (Attic, Ionic, Doric and Aeolic) and § 92 (old Germanic dialects such as Gothic, Alemannic and Anglo-Saxon), Leiden UB, MS Or. 1469, envelope 12, fol. 8 recto.

Heinrich Hottinger.<sup>340</sup> Schultens only adds John Selden, John Greaves and Edward Pococke, and refers to specific treatises by these scholars.<sup>341</sup>

In *Ars critica*, Le Clerc cautions against the belief in an exact parallel semantic correspondence among the Semitic languages, that is, the idea that the same root always has the same or a similar meaning. Regrettably, Schultens overlooked Le Clerc's *caveat*, as he singled out Arabic as the most suitable language for reconstructing the lost morphology and semantics of Ancient Hebrew:

The more Arabic surpasses other languages in view of its richness and copiousness, the more, by the law of postliminy, it is able to successfully return the rich stores that it once received from the Hebrew mother language.<sup>342</sup>

In advancing the argument of postliminy,<sup>343</sup> Schultens probably relied on August Pfeiffer's argument in *Thesaurus hermeneuticus* (1698), chapter 6, §§ 7–8, where Pfeiffer argues that verbal and nominal roots or derivatives that have not survived in Hebrew are restored through related languages (*cognatae linguae*), particularly Arabic, which remains a flourishing language. He explains his assumption as follows:

That which the other languages have received from Hebrew and thus owe to it as their mother language is rightly claimed or restored to Hebrew through the law of postliminy.<sup>344</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> Le Clerc, *Ars critica*, p. 129.

<sup>341</sup> Schultens, *Disputatio de utilitate*, p. 5, cites the following scholars and treatises: Pococke, *Porta Mosis sive dissertationes aliquot a R. Mose Maimonide*, Oxford 1655; Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, vol. 1: *Phaleg*, Caen 1646; idem, *Hieroicoicon*, London 1663; Louis de Dieu, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamento libros omnes*, Leiden 1648, idem, *Critica sacra sive animadversiones in loca quaedam difficiliora Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, Amsterdam 1693; Hottinger, *Etymologicum Orientale sive Lexicon harmonicum heptaglotton*, Frankfurt am Main 1661; idem, *Smegma Orientale*, Heidelberg 1658; Louis Cappel, *Commentarii et notae criticae in Vetus Testamentum*, Amsterdam 1689 (the chapter "Notae criticae", pp. 396–559); and Hiob Ludolf, *Historia Aethiopica*, Frankfurt am Main 1681.

<sup>342</sup> Schultens, *Disputatio de utilitate*, p. 6: "Arabica autem lingua quanto coeteras copia et amplitudine superat, tanto feliciore successu opes, quas a matre Hebraea lingua accepit, eidem postliminio restituere valet."

<sup>343</sup> In Roman law, postliminy is the right of an exile or a captive to resume former rights and privileges upon returning home.

<sup>344</sup> Pfeiffer, *Thesaurus hermeneuticus sive de legitima Sacrae Scripturae interpretatione tractatio luculenta*, Leipzig 1698, here quoted from the second edition, Leipzig and Frankfurt 1726, p. 250: "Quod ex lingua Ebraea aliae linguae acceperunt adeoque illi tanquam matri debent, illud linguae Ebraicae merito postliminio vindicatur sive restituitur."

However, the fact that Schultens, in *Disputatio de utilitate*, used the term postliminy in the same way as Pfeiffer does not prove direct dependence, because the term appears in several other Orientalists in the same way.<sup>345</sup>

Moreover, Pfeiffer concludes: “When a root is missing in Hebrew, the first recourse is to Arabic”, but he recommends that other languages derived from Hebrew not be neglected.<sup>346</sup> “Even though Aramaic, Syriac, Samaritan and Ethiopic are not equal to Arabic in terms of richness and copiousness, these can supply roots that are vainly sought in Arabic, or they supply meanings that are definitely more appropriate.”<sup>347</sup>

In insisting on Arabic as the primary comparative aid, Pfeiffer is by no means Schultens’ sole theoretical predecessor. Similar statements appear in the works of prominent scholars of the period. At the end of his prolegomena, Schultens acknowledges that Pococke, Bochart, Hottinger, and others have written extensively on this topic.<sup>348</sup>

In arguing for the relevance of Hebrew-Arabic comparison, Schultens also cites medieval Jewish scholars, including Rashi, Ibn Janaḥ, Ibn Ezra, and David Kimchi. He notes that they recommended consulting Arabic when no cognate word exists in the Bible. In his notes to *Porta Mosis*, Pococke refers to these writers as advocates of a comparative approach to resolving semantic problems in Hebrew.<sup>349</sup>

### 5.1.3 Ethno-linguistic prehistory of Arabic

In *Disputatio de utilitate*, Schultens defended Arabic against the claim that it was younger than Aramaic and Syriac. In doing so, he emphasized the twofold Joktanide and Ishmaelite origins of the Arabian nations and language. In developing his views on this topic, he relied on Muslim historiography as interpreted by Edward Pococke in his translation and a commentary on the *History of the dynasties* (*Tārīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*) by the Syrian historian Gregory Barhebraeus (Abū ‘l Farāj). This author stated that the Arabs have a dual ancestry: Qaḥṭan and Adnan.<sup>350</sup> In his

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<sup>345</sup> In his later publications and unpublished manuscripts (e.g., in *Theses de lingua primaeva*), Schultens showed acquaintance with Pfeiffer’s works. He possessed a copy of Pfeiffer’s *Opera omnia philologica*, Utrecht 1704. See *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae* (Leiden 1750), p. 22, no. 205 in quarto.

<sup>346</sup> Pfeiffer, *ibidem*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., p. 229 (chapter 6, § 9): “Itaque deficiente radice Ebraea ad Arabismum primum patet refugium, ita tamen, ut caeterae linguae ex Ebraismo oriundae non negligantur.”

<sup>347</sup> Pfeiffer, *ibidem*, p. 229: “Quamquam enim Chaldaica, Syra, Samaritana, Aethiopica ubertate et copia Arabicae paria non faciant, possunt tamen aliquando suppeditare radices in ipso Arabismo frustra quaerendas vel commodiora certe earum significata.”

<sup>348</sup> Schultens, *Disputatio de utilitate*, p. 10.

<sup>349</sup> Pococke, *Porta Mosis* (1655), the commentary “Notarum miscellanea”, p. 5.

<sup>350</sup> Pococke, *Specimen historiae Arabum sive Gregorii Abulfarajii Malatensis de origine et moribus Arabum*, Oxford 1650, p. 2.

commentary, Pococke distinguishes between the descendants of Joktan or Qaḥṭan as “pure Arabs” (*al-‘Arab al-‘ariba*) and the descendants of Ishmael or Adnan as “Arabicized Arabs” (*al-‘Arab al-musta‘riba*).<sup>351</sup> Pococke explains the distinction between true Arabs and adopted Arabs: the ancestor of the latter, Ishmael, was not an Arab but a Hebrew in lineage and language. After marrying into the house of the Jorhamides in the Hejaz and learning their customs and dialect, the Ishmaelites merged with this northern Joktanide tribe.<sup>352</sup>

Pococke also commented on a passage in Gregory bar Hebraeus’ *History of the dynasties*, in which he describes the culture of the Arabs in pre-Islamic times. In their learning, they were eager to cultivate skill in their own language (*suae linguae peritia*), semantic precision (*sermonis proprietates*), the composition of songs (*textura carminum*) and a refined arrangement of sentences (*compositio orationum*).<sup>353</sup> In his remark on this passage, Pococke reports that the Arabs had several dialects (*plures dialecti*). The dialect of the Himyarites differed from that of the Qurayshites, the first speaker of which was thought to be Ishmael. Explaining Ishmael’s role, Pococke states:

After forming kinship with the Jorhamides through marriage, Ishmael made the language of the Arabs purer and perhaps corrected and refined it according to the norm of the primordial Hebrew language, from which it had deviated considerably. The tradition unanimously holds that Ishmael received the vernacular language from the Jorhamides, not that he taught them a new one.<sup>354</sup>

As Loop points out, Pococke’s interpretation of the early history of the Arabic language “triggered an unprecedented scholarly interest in the Arabic language”, leading to “several editions and translations of Arabic poems, together with translations and etymological and philological annotations,

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<sup>351</sup> Pococke, *ibidem*, p. 39. The commentary was printed two years earlier than the main text and consequently has a separate title page: *Notae in quibus aliquam-multa, quae ad historiam Orientalium apprime illustrandum faciunt, e melioris apud ipsos notae authoribus in medium proferuntur*, Oxford 1648.

<sup>352</sup> Pococke, *Specimen historiae Arabum*, p. 39.

<sup>353</sup> Pococke, *ibidem*, p. 6, a quotation from Gregory bar Hebraeus (Abū ’l-Faraj).

<sup>354</sup> Pococke, *ibidem*, pp. 150–151: “quod non aliter intelligi potest, quam quod Arabum, post affinitatem cum Jorhamidis nuptiarum interventu contractam, linguam defaecatiorem reddiderit et forsitan ad Hebraicae primigeniae normam, a qua longius deflexerat, correxerit et limaverit. Illum enim linguam ipsis vernaculam a Jorhamidis accepisse, non illos novam docuisse.” Cf. Loop, “Language of Paradise”, in Nicholas Hardy and Dmitri Levitin (eds.), *Confessionalisation and erudition in early modern Europe: an episode in the history of the humanities*, Oxford 2019, p. 400.

throughout northern Europe.”<sup>355</sup> Schultens turns out to be a case in point.<sup>356</sup> He accepted Pococke’s ideas but, as usual, did not acknowledge his debt. Explaining why Arabic in the Jewish tradition is frequently termed “the Ishmaelite language” and why Antonio Giggei regards Ishmael as the founder of Arabic, he argues that this claim applies only to the purified dialect of the Qurayshites, in which the Koran is written. He repeats Pococke’s ideas that Ishmael “appears to have restored this dialect to the norm of the Hebrew language, from which it perhaps had deviated quite far”.<sup>357</sup>

The purported Joktanide and Ishmaelite relationship between Arabic and Hebrew had implications for Schultens’ entire theory and practice of comparative Hebrew language studies. In his first oration on the antiquity of Arabic (1729), Schultens restates Pococke’s views on this topic but adopts a broader view of the ethnic origins of Arabic. In his second oration (1732), he addresses internal factors that explain why Arabic is a conservative language and pinpoints the cultivation of Arabic by poets and orators as an efficacious means to this end.

#### 5.1.4 Structure of the entries

When applying the comparative method to clarify obscure biblical passages, Schultens, in his *Disputatio de utilitate*, follows a consistent approach. He generally begins by describing the renderings of a Biblical Hebrew word in the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Targums, and, at times, other ancient Bible translations, such as the Arabic. He then discusses the commentaries of medieval Jewish scholars and contemporary Christian Hebraists. Finally, he refers to the meanings of identical or cognate Arabic words and, more often than not, suggests that this helps to resolve the semantic difficulty of the word or passage under consideration. In many cases, he shows that the renderings in the Septuagint and the Targums agree with the meanings of the corresponding Arabic words. Of the 37 passages discussed, some are from Genesis, Song of Songs, and Deuteronomy; two are from Lamentations; two from the first book of Samuel; fifteen (§§ 8–22) from the Book of Job; three from Proverbs; seven from Isaiah; one from Jeremiah; and four from Ezekiel.

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<sup>355</sup> Loop, “Language of Paradise”, p. 403.

<sup>356</sup> Loop, *ibidem*, p. 403 (referring to Schultens): “His reconstruction of the early genealogy and the transmission of the original language from Joktan to the tribe of Jurhum and to the Quraish, via the purifying intervention of Ismael, after the model of the Hebrew language was copied verbatim by Schultens. But while Pococke, in his annotations presented a complicated and often contradictory panorama of Arab accounts of the antiquity of their language and its preservation, Schultens moulded the material into a straightforward hermeneutic argument” [...].

<sup>357</sup> Schultens, *Disputatio de utilitate* (1706), p. 7: “Videtur autem Ismaël eam ad normam Hebraicae linguae, a qua forsan longius recesserat, revocasse.”

## 5.2 *Animadversiones philologicae in Jobum* (1708)

### 5.2.1 *General contents and background*

The treatise “Philological remarks on Job”<sup>358</sup> was published in Utrecht in 1708 and reprinted in *Opera minora* in 1769 (pp. 1–197). Schultens examines difficult words and phrases in 151 passages. His analysis follows the same structure as his 1706 thesis. The treatise is followed by a sample of observations titled *Specimen observationum Arabicarum in totum Vetus Instrumentum* (pp. 177–203), comprising remarks on some difficult passages in Genesis. Both are followed by indices of biblical passages “being explained anew from Arabic” and of Hebrew words “whose new and hitherto unknown meaning is being elucidated from Arabic”.

In the preface, Schultens cites Samuel Bochart as a source of inspiration for his enterprise. He says that the Book of Job “has always been considered as replenished with Arabisms”, a view already expressed by St. Jerome in his preface to his Latin translation of the Book of Job. Schultens notes that Bochart had planned a commentary on Job, based on his extensive knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic. Bochart briefly announced this plan in *Geographia sacra*,<sup>359</sup> but did not manage to bring it about “to the great detriment of Oriental learning”, as he declares himself ready to test what might be achieved “from illustrating Job through Arabic”, stating that the present undertaking is a continuation of his remarks on Job in his *Disputatio de utilitate linguae Arabicae* two years earlier.

### 5.2.2 *Primary Arabic sources*

To improve the quality of his work, Schultens did his best to increase his use of source-based aids (*praesidia*), his judgement (*iudicium*), and his learning (*eruditio*). From the contents of the treatise, it is evident that he used Golius’ Arabic-Latin dictionary more than before, and broadened his selection of Arabic sources, such as the Koran, the first session of al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt*, al-Tuḡrā’ī’s *Lāmiyyat al-‘ajam*, i.e. “*Lam*-rhyming song of the non-Arabs” (in Edward Pococke’s edition known as *Carmen Tograi*, Oxford 1661), Ibn Arabshah’s *Historia Tamerlanis* and al-Makīn’s *Historia Saracenica*. These served as a textual corpus for his linguistic references, which he used to establish the meanings of Arabic words. Schultens also refers to a manuscript titled “On the traditions of the Muslims” by a certain Kissaeus, who should be identified with Muhammad al-Kisā’ī, the author of *Stories of the Prophets* (*Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā*), which Reland put at his disposal.<sup>360</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> Schultens, *Animadversiones philologicae in Jobum, in quibus plurima hactenus ab interpretibus male accepta ope linguae Arabicae et affinium illustrantur*, “Philological remarks on Job, in which by means of the Arabic language light is shed on many things that so far have been misunderstood by interpreters.” For the title page, see Figure 2.

<sup>359</sup> Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, vol. 1, ch. 15 (in the 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. of 1674, p. 66).

<sup>360</sup> Schultens, *Animadversiones philologicae*, p. 1.



### 5.2.3 Text-critical objective

In the preface, Schultens also states that his treatise on Job aims at the defence of the transmitted Hebrew text. He writes:

Here and there, I have given samples on how the Targumists, Symmachus, Jerome and especially the Septuagint attribute meanings to words that still today are preserved in Arabic, which serves as proof that these words were known to the ancient Hebrews in the same meaning. Through the authority of the Septuagint, I will, by a large number of examples, show that the changes that bold critics of the last century have forced on the Hebrew text are all unjustified.<sup>361</sup>

Schultens thus conceives his semantic research as a reaction to the practice of textual criticism of the Old Testament in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. His main target was Louis Cappel. In his *Critica sacra* (1650) and *Commentarii et notae criticae* (1689), this scholar had argued that the Masoretic Hebrew text is corrupted in several places where it semantically diverges from the Septuagint. By linguistic evidence from Arabic, Schultens tries to demonstrate that the Septuagint and the Targums often provide a sense to Hebrew words that still survives in Arabic.

In his semanticist anti-critical method, Schultens had a predecessor in Edward Pococke. In his explanatory notes to his aforementioned edition and translation of Maimonides' *Porta Mosis* (1658), Pococke had reacted against the Cappelian method of textual criticism. For instance, Pococke comments on the emendation of the transmitted text בָּעָלְתִּי (*bā'alti*), "I was lord, husband" in Jer 31:32 into גָּעָלְתִּי (*gā'alti*), "I disdained". The verbal root בעל, *bā'al*, usually means "to rule over", and in the Jeremiah passage, "to be lord, husband", but the Septuagint renders it "to despise".<sup>362</sup> Pococke defends the Masoretic text by reference to Jewish lexicographers, such as Joseph Kimchi, David Kimchi, and Ibn Janah, all of whom state that this verbal root can also have the meaning "disdain, despise (*fastidire*)".<sup>363</sup> Citing everyday usage of the Arabs, Pococke argues that this sense also occurs in related Semitic languages. Schultens partly followed in Pococke's footsteps.

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<sup>361</sup> Schultens, *Animadversiones philologicae in Iobum*, preface, p. 3: "Specimina etiam quadam hinc inde adpersi, quo pacto veteres interpretes Chaldaei, Symmachus, Hieronymus et praesertim oi Lxx. verbis tribuant significationes in Arabismo hodie conservatas, quod priscis Hebraeis eadem significatione verba illa incognita non fuisse argumento est. Hac etiam ratione ingenti exemplorum copia ostendam mutationes plurimas, quas ex auctoritate τῶν Lxx. Hebraico textui obtrudunt seculi praeteriti critici audaciores, indebitas esse."

<sup>362</sup> Pococke, *Porta Mosis* (1655), "Notae miscellaneae", p. 8.

<sup>363</sup> Pococke, *ibidem*, pp. 6–8.

### 5.2.4 Contemporary reviews

The treatise on Job was reviewed by Le Clerc in *Bibliothèque choisie* the same year it was published. Le Clerc first situates Schultens within the context of his predecessors in Old Testament interpretation: Louis Cappel, Louis de Dieu, and Johann Heinrich Hottinger. He argues that Schultens, as a theologian, is the first to apply this method to the Book of Job ex professo, thereby successfully explaining difficult passages by means of Arabic and, at the same time, demonstrating that the Septuagint often offers a meaning to a Hebrew word that the root of this word has in Arabic. Le Clerc highlights the background of Schultens' research as an anti-method to the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. He cites Pococke's annotations to *Porta Mosis* as a remarkable refutation of unjustified textual criticism. To evaluate Schultens' observations, Le Clerc recommends that the reader have a Polyglot Bible at hand. He gives examples of the usefulness of Schultens' method but advises against excessive comparison with Semitic languages, because phonetically similar words can easily be mistaken for one another even when they have different meanings in each language. For this caution, he refers to his *Ars critica*.<sup>364</sup>

The remarks on Job were also reviewed in the journal *Nouvelles de la république des lettres* in 1716. Like Le Clerc, the reviewer argues that Schultens' most significant finding is that the Arabic language shows semantic agreement with the Septuagint, the Targums, Symmachus, and Jerome in passages where Hebrew words diverge from their ordinary meaning. The review presents twelve examples.<sup>365</sup>

## 5.3 *Animadversiones philologicae et criticae* (1709)

### 5.3.1 Publication details and contents

The treatise *Animadversiones philologicae et criticae ad varia loca Veteris Testamenti*, "Philological and critical remarks on different passages of the Old Testament", was published in Amsterdam in 1709, reprinted there in 1732, and later in Leiden in 1769 as part of *Opera minora* (pp. 95–363). The subtitle reveals its similarity to the treatise on Job: "in which many passages still not sufficiently understood are elucidated and several are moderately proposed to be interpreted anew, chiefly through Arabic".<sup>366</sup>

The treatise comprises 552 pages in octavo format, in which no fewer than 252 passages of the Old Testament are analysed.<sup>367</sup> In this work,

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<sup>364</sup> Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque choisie*, vol. 16, Amsterdam 1708, pp. 372–378.

<sup>365</sup> Jacques Bernard (ed.), *Nouvelles de la république des lettres*, Amsterdam 1716, pp. 657–667. The reviewer is anonymous.

<sup>366</sup> In Latin the sub-title reads: "in quibus ope praecipue linguae Arabicae multa ab interpretibus nondum satis intellecta illustrantur, quam plurima etiam nove explicanda modeste proponuntur." For the title page, see Figure 3.

<sup>367</sup> The remarks are distributed on following biblical books: Gen, pp. 1–40; Exod, pp. 41–54; Lev, pp. 55–68; Num, pp. 83–94; Judg, pp. 95–107; 1–2 Sam, pp. 108–

Schultens demonstrates his progress in Arabic scholarship. To his linguistic corpus, he has added *Historia dynastica* (“History of the dynasties”) by Gregory bar Hebraeus, the Fables of Luqmān, and the Arabic history of Eutychus of Alexandria (877–940 AD). Schultens frequently consults Golius’ and Giggei’s Arabic dictionaries, sometimes indicating their main sources, viz. the dictionaries of al-Jawharī and al-Fīrūzābādī. The treatise ends with an index of biblical passages and an index of Hebrew words in the Bible “that are attributed a new and hitherto unknown meaning from the Arabic language”.

### 5.3.2 Immediate reception

Like the exposition of Job, this treatise attracted the attention of the Republic of Letters. Jean Le Clerc reviewed it in *Bibliothèque choisie* (vol. 20: 2, pp. 435–443). He reminds the reader of the risk of elucidating the Old Testament through Arabic, referring to his discussion in *Ars critica* (1697):

Truly, one should proceed cautiously when explaining Hebrew through other Oriental languages. One can easily be mistaken, because words change greatly in meaning when passing from one language to another, and one can easily be mistaken when passages are obscure. This caution is found in *Ars critica*, vol. 1, part 1, ch. 4, § 3.<sup>368</sup>

In ten examples, Le Clerc demonstrates how Schultens has proceeded in his “new explanations from the Arabic language and other languages of the Orient”. He evaluates Schultens’ book as “to the benefit of those who study the Holy Scriptures in the original”.

In his treatise on the history of German etymology (from 1712), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz pays attention to the commentary in question. Discussing the utility of Arabic for Hebrew etymology, he remarks: “And recently Albert Schultens, a learned theologian in Groningen, has illustrated several passages of the Old Testament from Arabic in a book published in Amsterdam in octavo”.<sup>369</sup>

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122; 1–2 Kgs, pp. 123–129; Ps, pp. 130–196; Prov, pp. 197–274; Song, pp. 275–302; Isa, pp. 303–398; Jer, pp. 399–430; Lam, pp. 431–440; Ezek, pp. 441–457; Dan, pp. 458–474; Hos, pp. 475–495; Obad, pp. 496–502; Nah, pp. 503–514; Hab, pp. 515–527; Zeph, pp. 528–529; Zech, 530–545; and Mal, pp. 550–552.

<sup>368</sup> *Bibliothèque choisie*, vol. 20:2 (art. XII), p. 437. In the French original: “Il est vrai qu’il faut marcher avec precaution dans cette maniere declaircir la langue Hebraïque par les autres Orientales et qu’on s’y peut facilement tromper, parce que les mots changent extrêmement de signification en passant d’une langue dans une autre, et que quand les passage sont obscure, on peut facilement se méprendre. C’est un avertissement qu’on trouvera dans l’*Ars critica*, P. 1, C. IV, § 3.”

<sup>369</sup> Leibniz, *Epistolaris de historia eymologica dissertatio*, Hannover, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, MS 469, fol. 86v: “Et nuper Albertus Schultenius

## 5.4 *Liber Jobi cum nova versione et commentario* (1737)

### 5.4.1 *Purposes*

The work on Job titled *Liber Jobi cum nova versione ad Hebraeum fontem et commentario perpetuo*, i.e. “The Book of Job with a new translation and with a current commentary”, was published in Leiden in 1737 in two volumes, the first comprising pages 1–544 and the second covering pages 545–1232. For the title page, see Figure 4a. In the preface, Schultens states that he planned this work for more than a decade. In another treatise, he says he carried it out over three years, between 1733 and 1736.<sup>370</sup>

According to the subtitle, the treatise “weighs out the main thoughts of ancient and recent interpreters and explores the true sense according to the character of the ancient language”. In the preface, he mentions three aims: (1) to elucidate the beauty and dignity (*decus et pondus*) of the Ancient Hebrew language, (2) with the help of Arabic to trace the natural meaning (*nativa facies*) of a great number of unclear words, and (3) to prove recent renderings and expositions by inquiries into the goal, connection and logical coherence (*scopus, nexus, seriesque*) of each passage under discussion.<sup>371</sup> Excluding the domains of natural philosophy, dogmatics, and homiletics from his purpose, he still argues that his explanation of the grammatical sense may be valuable as an interpretative aid for scholars in these fields.<sup>372</sup>

### 5.4.2 *Previous research, linguistic sources, and results*

As a basis for his exegetical and philological elucidation of the sense of individual passages in the Book of Job, Schultens availed himself of a broad selection of translations and commentaries. His primary aids were commentaries on Job, especially Jean Mercier’s *Commentarii in librum Job* (1573),<sup>373</sup> where the explanations are based on the author’s knowledge of Aramaic and Arabic; moreover, Johannes Cocceius’ *Commentarius in librum Ijobi* (1644),<sup>374</sup> Juan de Peneda’s *Commentarii in Iob* (1600),<sup>375</sup> and the Lutheran Sebastian Schmidius’ *In librum Jobi commentarius* (1670).<sup>376</sup>

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Groninganus theologus eruditus ex lingua Arabica Veteris Testamenti loca complura illustravit libello edito Amstelodami 1709 8<sup>o</sup>.”

<sup>370</sup> Schultens, *Excursus primus*, Leiden 1739, p. 7

<sup>371</sup> Schultens, *Liber Iobi*, Leiden 1737, preface, p. \* verso.

<sup>372</sup> Schultens, *Liber Iobi*, preface, p. \*\*\*\*recto.

<sup>373</sup> Schultens possessed an edition of this work from 1651, which includes Mercier’s commentaries on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Canticles from 1574, all under the title: *Commentarii in Jobum et Salomonis Proverbia, Ecclesiasten et Canticum Canticorum*, Lugd. Bat. 1651. See *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 3, no. 62 in folio.

<sup>374</sup> This commentary originated in Cocceius’ lectures on Job and was published in Franeker in 1644. Schultens possessed it as a part of J. Cocceius’ *Opera omnia*, Amsterdam 1673–1675. See *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 3, no. 89 in folio.

Schultens consulted, with selection and judgement, Luther's German Bible, Latin translations of the Old Testament – notably the so-called Zürich Latin Bible by Leo Jud, the translation by Sebastian Castellio, and that of Tremellius & Junius – the Geneva Bible, the Dutch States Bible, and unspecified English Bibles. Among the works consulted are also Old Testament commentaries by Johann Piscator and Hugo Grotius, as well as the commentary on Job by Johannes Drusius.<sup>377</sup>

Le Clerc's Latin translation of the Book of Job, accompanied by critical-philological remarks,<sup>378</sup> holds a special place. Schultens consistently refers to or quotes from this work, but in most cases only to criticize or improve it. Apparently, he held an ambivalent attitude towards Le Clerc.

In his linguistic comments, Schultens refers to old Arabic poetry and rhythmic prose selected from the textual corpus he studied in Leiden from 1709 to 1711, and to Arabic commentators such as al-Ṭaballabī (16<sup>th</sup> century) and al-Tibrīzī (13<sup>th</sup> century), as well as the Arabic lexicographers al-Jawharī and al-Fīrūzābādī.

Most of Schultens' derivations of Hebrew words from Arabic appear in his commentary on Job. The *Index vocum Hebraearum*, the index of Hebrew words, spans fifty-five pages and contains about 1650 entries. It reportedly provides both original and figurative meanings and thus serves as a minor Hebrew dictionary.

#### 5.4.3 The legacy of Schultens' work on the Book of Job

Schultens maintained acquaintanceships with Dutch Huguenot scholars and scientists. Elié de Joncourt, Jacques Sacrelaire and Jean Nicholas Sebastien Allamand were part of Schultens' circle of supporters.<sup>379</sup> They apparently esteemed his Hebrew philology and jointly translated the Book of Job into French from Schultens' Latin translation, but they did not concern themselves with his commentary. *Le livre de Job* appeared in 1748.<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>375</sup> Schultens owned the second edition, J. de Peneda, *Commentaria in Iob*, Cologne 1605. See *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 3, no. 61 in folio.

<sup>376</sup> Schultens possessed the first edition: S. Schmidt in *Iobum*, Strasbourg 1670. See *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 16, no. 25 in quarto. He also had access to Schmidius' commentaries on the entire Bible. See *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 27, no. 196 in quarto.

<sup>377</sup> Schultens, *Liber Jobi cum nova versione et commentario*, preface, p. \*\*3 recto. On the whole, he did not refer to this category of aids in his commentary.

<sup>378</sup> Le Clerc, *Veteris Testamenti libri hagiographi*, Amsterdam 1731.

<sup>379</sup> De Joncourt (1697–1765) was pastor of the Dutch Reformed church in 's-Hertogenbosch and taught mathematics and philosophy. Sacrelaire (1698–1760) specialized as a publicist, novelist and journalist. Allamand (1713–1787) was appointed professor of mathematics and philosophy in Leiden in 1747.

<sup>380</sup> *Le livre de Job traduit du Latin de Mr. Schultens* par E. de Joncourt, J. Sacrelaire et J. Allamand, Leiden 1748.

Schultens' studies on the Book of Job soon won approval among English scholars. In his metrical division of the Book of Job, the churchman Richard Grey republished Schultens' Latin translation in metrical form, accompanied by a concise selection of Schultens' comments.<sup>381</sup> The Orientalist Leonard Chappelow, professor of Arabic, used Schultens' commentary on Job as a source for his *Commentary on the Book of Job*, Cambridge 1752.

A second abridged Latin edition of Schultens' commentary on Job was provided in 1773 by the German Orientalist Georg Johann Ludwig Vogel (1742–1776).<sup>382</sup> Vogel focuses on linguistic explanations and adds his own comments in square brackets at points where he disagrees with Schultens. This two-volume edition totals 984 pages. It contributed to the spread of Schultens' scholarship in Germany and Scandinavia.

### 5.5 *Proverbia Salomonis* (1748)

The work on the Proverbs of Solomon, *Proverbia Salomonis*, is subtitled *Versionem integram ad Hebraeum fontem expressit atque commentarium adjecit Albertus Schultens*, “An entire translation according to the Hebrew source and a commentary by Albert Schultens”. It was published in Leiden in 1748 by the publishing house of Johan Luzac. For the title page, see Figure 5a. The commentary is likely based on and reflects the academic course on the Proverbs of Solomon that Schultens delivered as public lectures in the 1730s. In the dedicatory letter, Schultens praises the elected King Willem IV of the Netherlands (1711–1751) for his political prudence during the events of 1747, when the Dutch Republic was threatened by a French military invasion.<sup>383</sup>

Schultens generally relied on the following commentators, firstly Cocceius, *Annotationes in Proverbia Solomonis*, the date of which is unknown;<sup>384</sup> secondly, Le Clerc's commentary on Proverbs in *Veteris*

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<sup>381</sup> Richard Gray, *Liber Jobi in versiculos metricè divisus cum versione latina Alberti Schultens, notisque ex eius commentario excerptis*, London 1742.

<sup>382</sup> *Alberti Schultensii Commentarius in librum Iobi. In compendium redegit observationes criticas atque exegeticas adpersit Georg. Ioan. Ludovicus Vogel*, two volumes, Halle 1773. For the title page, see Figure 4b. The second edition (1773) was solely provided with a two-page index on biblical passages and an index of thirteen pages on commented Hebrew words. Although the index lacks a Latin translation of Hebrew words, it is useful as a lexicographical key to Schultens' etymological research. The page references are generally correct.

<sup>383</sup> For a survey of these political events, see Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: its rise, greatness and fall 1477–1806*, Oxford 1995, pp. 1067–1072.

<sup>384</sup> The treatise, which comprises 92 pages, was published posthumously in his *Opera omnia*, vol. 2, 1673. Cocceius dictated his annotations on Proverbs to his students, as stated by his son Heinrich von Coccej in the preface to the first edition of Cocceius' *Opera omnia*, vol. 1, p.\*\*\*v: “Annotationes in Proverbia Salomonis discipulis dictavit.” Presumably he dictated them in lectures during his first eight years in the chair of Hebrew in Franeker (1636–1644). At that time, he also lectured

*Testamenti libri hagiographi*, Amsterdam 1731; and thirdly, the Lutheran theologian Martin Geier (1614–1686), *Proverbia regum sapientissimi Salomonis cum cura enucleata* (“Proverbs of the wisest King Salomon explained with accuracy”), first published in 1653.

Schultens based his comparison of Hebrew and Arabic on the same corpus of primary Arabic sources as in his commentary on Job. The work has the character of a lexicographical commentary and thus contains many of Schultens’ derivations of Hebrew words from Arabic. At the end, there is an extensive index-dictionary of Hebrew words “on which the Arabic language supplies a new light”. The Arabic index comprises around 1080 entries, in which Schultens distinguishes between proper meanings and transferred (metaphoric and metonymic) meanings, according to what he recognizes as such, whether or not they would stand the test of modern scholarship.<sup>385</sup>

Joncourt, Sacrelaire, and Allamand produced a French translation of Schultens’ translation of the Proverbs of Solomon (*Les Proverbs de Salomon*, 1752).<sup>386</sup> In 1769, Vogel published an abbreviated edition of the commentary, accompanied by his own critical remarks in square brackets.<sup>387</sup> This edition includes a preface by Johan Salomon Semler (1725–1791) and a supplement by Wilhelm Abraham Teller (1834–1801). Both are known for their rationalist approach to Old Testament literature.

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on the Book of Job and Ecclesiastes. *Explicatio Kohelet sive Ecclesiastis Solomonis* was published in 1636, and the commentary on Job in 1644.

<sup>385</sup> According to the preface, p. cviii, these Hebrew and Arabic indices were drawn up by Schultens’ student Paul Gyöngyössi de Pettyens, who is commended as “an excellent student of Oriental letters” (*literarum Orientalium eximius cultor*).

<sup>386</sup> *Les Proverbes de Salomon traduits du Latin de Mr. Schultens* par les auteurs de la traduction de Job, Leiden 1749.

<sup>387</sup> *Alberti Schultensii versio integra Proverbiorum Salomonis: et in eadem commentarius, quem in compendium redegit et observationibus criticis auxit Georg. Io. Lud. Vogel*, Halae/ Halle 1769. For the title page, see Figure 5b.

## 6. On the etymology and morphology of Biblical Hebrew

### 6.1 *Oratio inauguralis de fontibus* (1714): Treatise on the sources of knowledge of Biblical Hebrew

#### 6.1.1 *Prints and summary of the main topics*

Schultens took up the chair of Hebrew at the University of Franeker on 9 November 1713, delivering a lecture titled *Oratio inauguralis de fontibus ex quibus omnis linguae Hebraeae notitia manavit horumque vitiis et defectibus*, “Inaugural speech on the sources from which all the knowledge of Hebrew is derived, and on the faults and defects of those”. The speech was published in Franeker in 1714 (for the title page, see Fig. 6). Only a few copies of this edition survive in public libraries today. Schultens issued a second edition as an appendix to the first volume of *Origines Hebraeae*.

Schultens evaluates the extant sources for Hebrew language studies in light of their limitations and pitfalls. He proposes Hebrew semantic etymology as a new, urgent field of research and Arabic as the key aid to its implementation. The speech may be divided into the following topics (with page references to the first and second editions):

- (1) Introduction: the remaining challenges in Hebrew language studies (1714: 2–6, 1724: 2–7);
- (2) Classification of sources for knowledge of Biblical Hebrew (1714: 6–9, 1724: 8–11);
- (3) Cognate languages as a source (1714: 9–10, 1724: 12–13): an assertion of a general lack of available primary sources in these languages, except for Arabic, and a discussion of the reasons for the insufficient use of Arabic as a comparativist aid by Jewish and Christian scholars (1714: 11–16, 1724: 14–20);
- (4) Ancient translations as a source (1714: 16–17, 1724: 21–22): criticism of the paraphrasing nature of the Targums and the overuse of them by Jewish scholars (1714: 17–22, 1724: 22–27);
- (5) Biblical usage as a source, in terms of context and parallel passages (1714: 22–23, 1724: 28–29): criticism of the exclusive use of this method and its insufficiency for establishing a semantic etymology of Ancient Hebrew (1714: 24–27, 1724: 30–34);
- (6) Aggravation of the biblical usage as a source for semantic etymology; attention is directed to diachronic semantic change in every language (1714: 28–29, 1724: 34–37) and to its implications for the semantic etymology of Hebrew (1714: 31–32, 1724: 37–40);



- (7) Arabic is a key aid in exploring the etymological semantics of Biblical Hebrew (1714: 32–37, 1724: 40–47);
- (8) Phonetic similarity of radical consonants as a source: dismissal of the reliability of this method (1714: 38–39, 1724: 47–48);
- (9) Conjectures of semantic relationships as a source: dismissal of this method as arbitrary and subjective (1714: 39–40, 1724: 49)

In general, this outline of the contents aligns with Schultens' own summary of this speech, published in *Via vetus et regia Hebraizandi* (pp. 1–4). There, he refers to all the above-mentioned points except the first and the sixth. He perhaps considered the former only introductory, while the latter serves only as a transitional section for a statement on the usefulness of Arabic in exploring Hebrew etymology.

In the following, some of the classified topics (viz. nos. 1–3 and 6–7) will be discussed further, beginning with an account of the discursive context of this inaugural lecture.<sup>388</sup>

#### 6.1.2 Discursive predecessors: Pococke, Gousset, Le Clerc

The sources of knowledge of Biblical Hebrew had previously been discussed by philologists such as Pococke, lexicographers such as Gousset, and critics such as Le Clerc. In his notes to his edition of Maimonides' *Porta Mosis* (1655), Pococke comments on the available sources for exploring the meaning of rare Hebrew words. He reviews the following five sources: parallel passages, context, ancient translations, traditions of ancient and recent rabbis, and cognate languages.

However, more important to Schultens' choice of topics was the most recent development in Hebrew lexicography. He sought to justify comparative Hebrew linguistic studies against Gousset's sole reliance on Biblical Hebrew as its own interpreter (*interpretes sui ipsius*), based on a careful analysis of all occurrences of any root (nominal or verbal). In the preface to his dictionary, Gousset rejects all the sources of Hebrew lexicography except the biblical usage itself. Thus, to explore the primary meaning of biblical words and phrases, Gousset excludes cognate Semitic languages, the Jewish tradition, and ancient Bible versions.<sup>389</sup>

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<sup>388</sup> In an article on distinguished holders of the chair of Hebrew at the Universities of Groningen and Franeker, Wouter Jacques van Bakkum devotes a couple of pages to Schultens, giving special attention to his inaugural lecture in Franeker, which he considers a life programme conveying the message that one should emancipate oneself from the Jewish and Christian lexicographic tradition and use the Arabic language as the most pertinent aid for exploring Hebrew etymology. See Van Bakkum, "'Hebraeamque linguam' .... 'en de Hebreeuwse taal'", in Zweder van Martels (ed.), *Oefenschool de Muzen, werkplaats der wetenschap: de stichting van de Groninger Academie in 1614*, Hilversum 2014, pp. 136–137.

<sup>389</sup> Gousset, *Commentarii linguae Ebraicae*, Amsterdam 1702, pp. 3–4.

Moreover, Le Clerc discussed available aids for understanding the nature of Hebrew. In *Ars critica* (vol. 1, part 1, chapter 4, § 3), he identifies extrinsic and intrinsic “defects” in interpreting the Hebrew language and the Bible.<sup>390</sup> In his search for ways to overcome these defects, he rejected the traditional aids: the Septuagint and other ancient translations, as well as the Masoretic vocalization, Hebrew grammars, and Bible commentaries by Jews and Christians. He argues that all these aids are unreliable because they originated after Hebrew ceased to be a spoken vernacular and rely on presuppositions about the vowel-point system. All grammars and dictionaries of Hebrew, and all translations of the Bible into European vernaculars, are reportedly impaired by the same faults because they rely on the same aids.<sup>391</sup> To overcome the semantic and grammatical difficulties in interpreting the ancient source text, only two aids remain. The first is the neighbouring and related languages (*vicinae dialecti*), Aramaic and Arabic, which have been widely used since the polyglot dictionaries of Schindler, Hottinger and Castell.<sup>392</sup> The second aid is conjectures based on sound judgement of the subject matter from the Bible itself and its context.<sup>393</sup>

### 6.1.3 *Insistence on remaining challenges*

Old Testament hermeneutical critics and Hebrew philologists of the 17<sup>th</sup> century engaged in a debate over the lack of knowledge of Hebrew. The fact that Spinoza, in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, stressed that knowledge of Biblical Hebrew suffers from both extrinsic and intrinsic “defects” made this topic a burning issue in the Dutch Republic. At the outset of his inaugural lecture, Schultens implicitly joins the debate on the extrinsic deficiencies of knowledge of Ancient Hebrew.

In a Baconian style, Schultens declares, against false notions, that the belief in perfect knowledge of Hebrew is unjustified given the current state of philology:

To the great damage of Hebrew learning and of divine truth a weighty and powerful opinion has pervaded the minds of the cultivators of these studies and covered these by a thick darkness, namely that after so many and so great excellent scholars have toiled and taken efforts in illustrating Hebrew, there is just nothing more that can be contributed and brought to light to the further knowledge of it and that one can safely rest on and

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<sup>390</sup> Le Clerc, *Ars critica* (1697), pp. 122–123, below a heading titled “On the further study of Hebrew literature”.

<sup>391</sup> Le Clerc, *ibidem*, pp. 122–125 and 126–127.

<sup>392</sup> Le Clerc, *ibidem*, pp. 127–130.

<sup>393</sup> Le Clerc, *ibidem*, pp. 132–133.

keep to what the Jews and the Christians have transmitted concerning the meanings, exact sense, natural usage, and quality of the words.<sup>394</sup>

Schultens designates this misconception as “the night of ignorance and error”, to which he himself once was subjected.<sup>395</sup> Imitating Cicero’s description of his changed relationship to Marc Antony and continuing it with an anti-authoritarian style, including a phrase from Livy, Schultens describes the change in his relationship to earlier authorities:

Obscurity is dispelled, the day is dawning, light is growing, and we perceive with our own eyes.<sup>396</sup> The slave yoke of other people’s opinions and positions is lifted from our necks,<sup>397</sup> a yoke that had suppressed our minds and the Hebrew truth.<sup>398</sup>

Schultens declares that Jewish scholars have a knowledge that should not be despised, but is incomplete and suffers from many obscurities,<sup>399</sup> and at the same time, Christian Hebraists are “compelled to admit and regret the ever-present insurmountable difficulties and obscurities”.<sup>400</sup> Then he emphasizes the fact of remaining imperfections, i.e. extrinsic defects, in the contemporary knowledge of Hebrew. In a grand style, he varies this contention in successive clauses as follows:

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<sup>394</sup> Schultens, *Oratio de fontibus*, p. 2. “Est gravis quaedam atque vehemens opinio, quae cum maximo literarum Hebraicarum atque veritatis divinae dispendio animos multorum, qui haecce colunt studia, pervasit densaque obduxit caligine, nihil esse magnopere, quod post tot tantosque excellentium hominum labores, qui in Hebraismo illustrando operam suam collocarunt, ad eius ulteriorem cognitionem conferri ac in lucem produci queat tutoque iis, quae de verborum significationibus, vi, natura, usu et ingenio nobis tradidere tam lu- [3] daei quam Christiani acquiesci posse atque adhaereri.”

<sup>395</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 3: “ut multis undique obscuritatibus laboret”.

<sup>396</sup> Schultens draws this passage from Cicero, *Philippica* 12.2.5. Having stated that “everyone can make mistakes (*cuius hominis est errare*), but that no one but the imprudent remains in his error”, Cicero announces that his relationship with Marc Antony has changed: “Discussa est illa caligo, quam paulo ante dixi, diluxit, patet, videmus omnia neque per nos solum, sed admonemur a nostris.”

<sup>397</sup> Cf. Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, XXII.14.12: “depulsum a Romanis cervicibus iugum”.

<sup>398</sup> Schultens, *Oratio de fontibus*, p. 3. “Ast discussa tandem est ista caligo, diluxit, patet, propriis cernimus oculis; depulsum est a cervicibus nostris iugum illud servile opinionum atque placitorum alienorum, quod mentem nostram veritatemque premebat Hebraeam.”

<sup>399</sup> Schultens, *Oratio de fontibus*, p. 3.

<sup>400</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 3–4. The quotation reads in Latin: “de insuperandis ubivis difficultatibus ac tenebris fateri et deplorare cogantur”.

Indeed, how imperfect is the knowledge of the Hebrew language still in the present day, how incomplete it is in all respects, how disfigured by stains and blemishes, how not put in such a light that it paves a safe pathway to the most difficult passages of the Holy Writ, how gaping, how uncertain, how weak, how based on weak pillars.<sup>401</sup>

Considering this state of remaining ignorance, Schultens declares that his programme for Hebrew language studies is an anti-authoritarian and rational inquiry into the foundations of knowledge of Hebrew:

Assiduous and tireless toil has borne fruit in my studies and concerns, so that no authority should henceforth be valid without reason. Thus, I am able, no longer constrained by any necessity, to inquire, by free judgement, into the foundations on which the most learned scholars and those of high authority have transmitted their explanations of Hebrew.<sup>402</sup>

Schultens is convinced that this inquiry will hopefully undermine the prejudices expressed at the outset of his oration:

I cherish the hope that the unhappy and prejudiced opinion, which has so long delayed and impeded the progress of sacred biblical studies, will be undermined, removed from its place, and eradicated from your minds, no matter how ancient it is, how firmly it has taken hold, or how deeply its roots have struck.<sup>403</sup>

#### 6.1.4 *The five sources of knowledge about Ancient Hebrew*

Schultens grounds his assumption of a historical interruption in the knowledge of Hebrew in antiquity on the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 BC and the ensuing Babylonian Captivity. In his linguistic thinking, Schultens

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<sup>401</sup> Schultens, *Oratio de fontibus*, p. 4: “Sane quam imperfecta ad hunc usque diem Hebraicae linguae cognitio sit, quam non omnibus numeris absoluta, quam naevius suis deformata ac maculis, quam non ea in luce posita, quae viam nobis tutam ad difficillima Sacri Codicis loca muniat, quam hiulca in multis, quam incerta, quam imbecilla, quam infirmis subnixa tibicinibus.”

<sup>402</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 4–5: “[...] assiduus atque indefessus labor hunc mihi studiorum curarumque reddidit fructum, ut nulla amplius sine ratione valeret auctoritas, ut nulla amplius adstrictus necessitate libero iudicio in ea inquirere fundamenta potuerim, quibus doctissimi quique atque summae apud omnes auctoritatis Hebraismum nobis explicatum tradidere.” In the republication of this speech in 1724 the word *indefessus* has been replaced by *improbis*.

<sup>403</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 5: “[...] magna me spes tenet, infaustam illam ac praeiudicatam opinionem, quae tantopere literarum sacrarum feliciorum progressum moratur atque retardat, quantumvis vetusta sit, quantumvis penitus insita altissimisque radicibus defixa, labefactatam mea oratione et rationum pondere iri locoque dimovendam atque ex animis vestris evellendam fore.”

presumes that Hebrew ceased to be a vernacular at this point. He follows the majority opinion in the early modern Republic of Letters. This opinion derives from early Christian Hebraists' reception of Elias Levita's account of the history of the Hebrew language in the preface to his Aramaic dictionary (*Meturgeman*, 1542), in which he states that the Jews forgot Hebrew, the Holy tongue, during the Babylonian Captivity and began to speak Aramaic.<sup>404</sup> The idea, in turn, traces back to various Jewish Midrashim in late antiquity and was repeated by David Kimchi (*Sefer Mikhlol*, preface). Only a few early modern Christian Hebraists opposed this position. In his *Philologia sacra* (1631), Bartelomeus Mayer (1598–1631) maintained that Hebrew remained the Jewish vernacular until the Seleucids in the 2nd century BC.<sup>405</sup> Schultens' approval of established views led him to neglect the Jewish linguistic tradition as an independent source of knowledge. Schultens counts on five sources of knowledge: cognate languages, ancient translations of the Bible, biblical usage, analysis of phonetic similarities, and reasonable conjectural conclusions from the aforementioned sources. He underlines that knowledge of Hebrew is exclusively based on these sources:

Whatever the ancient and recent Jews and rabbis, and whatever the leading and most excellent scholars of ours in this scholarship have brought forward on the quality and nature of Hebrew, and whatever they have transmitted to us regarding the use, force, true meaning and the proper sense of verbs and roots, whether in their dictionaries, commentaries or other works of their learning and diligence, everything is derived from these principles and is founded on these beginnings and foundations.<sup>406</sup>

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<sup>404</sup> For a paraphrase of Elia Levita's preface, see Mats Eskhult and Josef Eskhult, "The language of Jesus and related questions – a historical survey", in *KUSATU: Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt*, vol. 15 (2013), edited by Reinhard G. Lehmann, p. 320.

<sup>405</sup> Eskhult, *ibidem*, p. 321. Mayer's position was challenged by no less than Brian Walton, *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, vol. 1, London 1657, prolegomena, pp. 22 and 404 (cf. 152), but was accepted by Valentin Ernst Löscher and his pupil Johann Gottlob Carpzov, *ibidem*, pp. 323–324. A variant of Mayer's position was defended by Jacob Alting in two dissertations. For a summary, see Schultens, *Excursus tertius*, p. 202.

<sup>406</sup> Schultens, *Oratio de fontibus*, 1714, p. 7: "Quicquid ipsi unquam Iudaei et Rabbini tam veteres, quam recentioris aevi, quicquid nostrorum hominum principes in hoc studio atque excellentissimi de ingenio ac natura Hebraismi, quicquid de verborum ac radicum usu vi, veris notionibus ac proprietate scriptis suis prodidere aut vel in lexicis vel in commentariis vel aliis quibusvis eruditionis atque industriae suae monumentis ad nos transmisere, hoc omne ab his petitur est principii, hoc omne hisce nititur initiis atque fundamentis."

### 6.1.5 Cognate languages as a source of knowledge

Approving the Hebrew primordiality hypothesis, Schultens designates the cognate languages as “true daughters of the Hebrew mother” (*genuinae filiae matris Hebraeae*). Comparison between Hebrew and its cognate languages “supplies us with a most useful and firm foundation, from which the less known usage, character, and meaning of Hebrew verbs and roots are derived”.<sup>407</sup> This, he continues, is evident in the practice of Jewish and Christian scholars, who have taken recourse to Arabic, Syriac, or Aramaic, drawn the meanings of the Hebrew words from these sources, and have not hesitated to compile their dictionaries while relying on them.<sup>408</sup> Schultens agrees with this practice, stating that we owe most of our knowledge of Hebrew to these sources:

Indeed, if we had been without these sources, most of the Holy Writ would have been doomed to eternal obscurity and covered by thick veils, and the Hebrew truth would have hidden itself and escaped our sight.”<sup>409</sup>

Most of the related languages – Aramaic, Syriac, Samaritan, and Ethiopic – were only partially accessible in printed texts. Schultens had yet no idea of the large number of Syriac manuscripts that would later become available. He characterized the scarcity of source texts in these languages as a lacuna (*defectus*), detrimental to Western knowledge of these languages:

Learn and realize with an open and unbiased mind how little advantages, how huge failings, and how great shortcomings there are to be found in this [otherwise] most approvable method of clarifying Hebrew.<sup>410</sup>

For this reason, these languages cannot illustrate the obscurities of Hebrew. On the other hand, there is “a splendid descendant of the Hebrew mother, a

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<sup>407</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 9–10: “usitatissimum simul et firmissimum praebeere fundamentum, ex quo verborum ac radicum Hebraicarum ignotior usus, ingenium et significatio eruatur.”

<sup>408</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 10: “atque ex earum fontibus verborum Hebraicorum hauserunt significationes earumque fide lexica sua formare atque extruere non dubitarunt.”

<sup>409</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 10: “Et sane absque his si fuisset, aeternis damnata tenebris maxima Sacri Codicis pars esset densisque obvoluta integumentis Hebraea veritas delituisset conspectumque nostrum refugisset.” The noun *integumentum* means “veil, envelope, covering”. Like its synonym, *involucrum*, it is often used in Neo-Latin to denote the surface form of a message that hides its real meaning. See Helander, *Neo-Latin literature in Sweden* (Uppsala 2004), p. 125.

<sup>410</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 11: “Ast cognoscite quaeso et mente praeiudicatis opinionibus vacua accipite, quanta sint celeberrimi huius et omnibus comprobatissimi Hebraismum illustrandi methodi incommoda, vitia quanta, quanti defectus” [...].

very ornate and rich daughter language”,<sup>411</sup> which exhibits a great number of literary monuments and an incredible lexical richness, and which presents a vivid image of Ancient Hebrew in its splendour”.<sup>412</sup> This language is Arabic, “which even now is known to very few people” (in Europe), and “is used and resorted to for this purpose by still fewer”.<sup>413</sup>

Schultens maintains that only a very few, or even just one, scholar has contributed to overcoming the difficulties in interpreting the dead Hebrew mother language.<sup>414</sup> This is Samuel Bochart, “the incomparable”. Other Arabists, both Jewish and Christian, are divided into three groups: those who, like the Jewish rabbis, did not reach a level at which they could achieve anything worthwhile; those who, like Hottinger, did not engage in the study of Arabic with the concern and diligence they were capable of; and finally, those who, like Golius, Pococke and Reland, were carried away by the study of the history, religious rites and antiquities of Oriental peoples.<sup>415</sup>

#### 6.1.6 On internal diachronic linguistic change

In his refutation of the sole reliance on the third source of knowledge, i.e. analysis of the Biblical Hebrew language itself, Schultens opposes the method of logical semantics, which he designates as “metaphysical”, because it assumes the primary meaning to be general and abstract. To challenge this method, Schultens envisages a situation in Latin philology in which only Livy’s histories or only Cicero’s orations are presumed to have survived from ancient Latin literature. Is it possible, in such a case, to thoroughly explore the natural character, the derivations, and the abstruse etymological meanings of words? No sound Latin philologist, Schultens infers, would venture to assert that. Still, this is precisely what scholars of the Oriental languages believe. Schultens then outlines his views on the nature of internal linguistic change and argues that linguistic development occurs “gradually and unnoticeably” (*sensim sine sensu*) and is driven by continuous usage (*continuus usus*). He concludes that this insight should be applied to the etymological study of Hebrew.

#### 6.1.7 Arabic as key to Hebrew semantic etymology

Recourse to “the cognate dialects” is necessary to determine the primary meaning of Hebrew words. With all its richness, Arabic best serves this purpose. The most ancient Arabic literature provides a key to exploring the

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<sup>411</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 13: “Hebraeae matris splendidissima propago, [...] eius ornatissima [...] atque amplissima filia”.

<sup>412</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 13: “atque antiquum Hebraismi splendorem viva exprimit imagine”.

<sup>413</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 13: “lingua a per quam paucis in hunc usque diem cognita, a paucioribus in hoc negotio adhibita atque in subsidium vocata fuit”.

<sup>414</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 14: “ad demortuae matris difficultates superandas.”

<sup>415</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 14–15.

lexical and semantic etymology of Ancient Hebrew, not only for restoring the meaning of obscure words and the forms of obsolete derivatives or lost roots, as Bochart and Hottinger once did, but also for discovering the primary meaning of the most common nominal and verbal roots. This is, in fact, the central point in Schultens' linguistic thought, and he himself remarks that he is qualified in Arabic after having studied it from his youth and after having read Arabic manuscripts – “the invaluable and rich treasures of which the Dutch Muses are proud” – in the collections of the University Library of Leiden for several years. This study led him to conclude that he had found a reliable method for investigating the meanings of the ancient and primordial Hebrew mindset (*antiqui ac primaevi Hebraeorum genii*) and for drawing them out of their hidden recesses.

## **6.2 *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 1 (1724): Lack of knowledge of Biblical Hebrew and the practice of Hebrew etymology**

### *6.2.1 History of composition and general contents*

Schultens fulfilled the research programme sketched in his inaugural lecture by presenting his research on the etymological semantics of Ancient Hebrew in *Origines Hebraeae sive Hebraeae linguae antiquissima natura et indoles ex Arabiae penetralibus revocata*.<sup>416</sup>

This treatise comprises thirteen chapters. The first three and the fifth were presented as a series of academic dissertations between 1715 and 1718, each titled *Disputatio philologica sacra ad origines Hebraeas veramque antiquae Hebraeorum linguae naturam et indolem*, “Sacred philological disputation on the semantic origins of Hebrew and on the true nature and character of the ancient language of the Hebrews”.<sup>417</sup> The remaining chapters (4 and 6–13) were almost certainly written between 1718 and 1723. The academic theses and the remaining chapters were compiled into the first volume of *Origines Hebraeae*, published in Franeker in 1724.<sup>418</sup>

In the prolegomena to *Origines Hebraeae* (first published as a thesis in 1715), Schultens argues that the progress of a discipline requires insight into its origins, historical development, and remaining gaps in knowledge (its “defects”), and that Hebrew lexicography is advanced by awareness of these conditions. He then examines the causes of the neglect of Hebrew studies in relation to the flourishing state of Latin and Greek studies. He asserts that

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<sup>416</sup> “The original meanings of the Hebrew language, or the most ancient nature and character of the Hebrew language restored from the inner tracts of Arabia.” For the title page, see Figure 7.

<sup>417</sup> The first dissertation was submitted by the university printer François Halma (1653–1722); the second by the German philologist Petrus Wesseling (1692–1764); and the others by the Dutch students Nicolaus Staphorstius and Sywerdus Boelens.

<sup>418</sup> The second edition of *Origines Hebraeae*, comprising both its first and second volumes, was published in Leiden in 1761 by the publishing houses of Luchtmans and Le Mair.



“the poor didactic method” is the first cause. The small number of Hebrew students and the lack of adequate aids among Jewish and Christian lexicographers are the second and third causes. The lacunae in knowledge of Hebrew are proposed as the fourth cause.

#### 6.2.2 *Four categories of epistemic lacunae*

Well informed about the state of Hebrew lexicography in his time and the discussion of its imperfections, Schultens identifies four categories of lacunae or deficiencies (*defectus*) in Hebrew semantics:

- (1) Infrequent verbal roots with obscure meanings, on which lexicographers are uncertain and contradict each other;
- (2) Verbal roots with a multiplicity of meanings, especially those that are diverse or contradictory;
- (3) Common verbal roots, the secondary meaning of which is well known, while the primary or etymological meaning is unknown;
- (4) Entire phrases (*integrae locutiones*) that mirror the nature of Hebrew are foreign to European scholars because of the difference between the West and the Near East in thoughts and customs (*sensus moresque*).<sup>419</sup> Europeans are unfamiliar with the specific mindset of the ancient world (*singularis antiqui orbis genius*) that remains hidden in the inner tracts of the Orient, unless the Orientals themselves pave the way and guide us.<sup>420</sup>

These lacunae were intended as the outline for a planned quadripartite work titled *Origines Hebraeae*, the contents of which are explained in the prolegomena (pages 26–28). The first book is the one under discussion, while the second addresses criticism of the conjectures of Forster, Bohle, Cocceius, and Gousset. Schultens, however, did not complete this four-volume work. In the first dissertation of the second volume of *Origines Hebraeae*, submitted in 1733, he declares that the goals of the four projected books have already been partially achieved in *De defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae* (1731), in which several chapters – the second, fourth, sixth and eighth – correspond to the four aforementioned lacunae.

#### 6.2.4 *Method: Primary sources and secondary aids*

In the present volume, Schultens explores the meaning of seventeen low-frequency verbal roots. To this end, he turns to early Arabic poetry and prose, consults the exhaustive Classical Arabic dictionaries of the time, namely *al-Šihāḥ* of al-Jawharī and *al-Qāmūs* of al-Fīrūzābādī, and also consults al-Ṭaballabī’s commentary on al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt* and al-Tebrīzī’s commentaries on the *Mu‘allaqāt* and the *Ḥamāsa*.

<sup>419</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 1, pp. 11–15 (§§ 15–20) and 23–25 (§§ 32–33). For a clearer restatement, see *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, pp. 1–2.

<sup>420</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 1, p. 28 (§ 41).

In justifying his enterprise in Hebrew etymology, Schultens later states: “After attaining firmness and maturity in this discipline, I set about the work of *Origines Hebraeae* to release the Hebrew language from its metaphysical captivity, into which it had fallen after its Babylonian Captivity”.<sup>421</sup>

### 6.2.5 Lexical contents

In each chapter, Schultens follows the same outline as in his early publications (1706–1709). The difference is that he now has a better grasp of the sources and tools for Hebrew etymology and more readily refers to the semantic developments of specific words in ancient Latin and Greek. This publication has been described as a quest for a scientific grounding of Hebrew lexicography, in which the meanings of words in the Hebrew Bible are considered secondary, while the primary significations must be traced and explored through Arabic.<sup>422</sup>

In the prolegomena, Schultens examines the verbal root  $\text{נָשָׂא}$  (*yāšaʿ*). Drawing on the Arabic verb *wasīʿa*, he derives the meaning “to be broad, wide, ample” (*spatiosus, laxus, amplus fuit*) for the Hebrew root. He argues that “to save, release, liberate, vindicate” are secondary meanings and that, when metaphorically applied to richness, power, knowledge, happiness, and glory, the verb even takes the sense of “to be influential”.<sup>423</sup>

In the following main chapters, Schultens proposes reliable meanings for many rare Biblical Hebrew verbal roots. In the defence of his derivations in *Vindiciae* (1737) against Driessen, Schultens restated his views, clarifying and supplementing them. To illustrate how Schultens practised his theory and method of Hebrew etymology, his discussion in the first volume of *Origines Hebraeae* is summarized below, with attention to the clarifications and additions in *Vindiciae*.

Regarding the meaning of the root  $\text{בָּלַג}$ , *bālaḡ* (attested in Job 9:27, Job 10:20, Amos 5:9, Psalms 39:14, Jer 8:18), Schultens rejects the various and inconsistent interpretations in the Vulgate (“to turn in pains; to cool; to smile”) and the Septuagint (“to complain; to cool and refresh oneself; to stop and rest; to divide; to torment”). He also disapproves of the suggestions of medieval Jewish scholars, namely “to be strengthened, corroborated; to be recreated, to refresh oneself”, which were partly drawn from the Targums and, to a large extent, were accepted by the 16<sup>th</sup>-century lexicographers, such

<sup>421</sup> Schultens, *Excursus primus*, p. 3: “Captivitatem istam Metaphysicam, Babylonica, unde emergerat, multo graviolem, ut a lingua Hebraea depellerem, iam firmitatis aliquid et maturitatis in arte nostra adeptus, *Originum Hebraicarum* opus aggressus sum.” The term “Metaphysical captivity” refers to logical semantics. The Babylonian captivity likely refers to reliance on medieval Jewish scholarship.

<sup>422</sup> See Van Bakkum, “Hebraeamque linguam”, p. 137.

<sup>423</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 1, pp. 15–20. Gesenius, *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum*, Leipzig 1833, p. 413, s.v.  $\text{נָשָׂא}$ , proposes the same etymological meaning as Schultens with reference to the first volume of *Origines Hebraeae*.

as Reuchlin, Avenarius, and Stockius.<sup>424</sup> He dismisses Forster's suggestion "to cool (down)" from the Vulgate and finds no support in related languages for Cocceius' conjecture "to be easy; to make easy, facilitate", on which the search for the proper meaning ought to be founded. In Arabic, the root under discussion properly means "to shine, gleam". According to al-Jawharī, the verb denotes "to shine like the sun" and "to get light, to dawn" about the aurora. It means "to brighten" when applied to the facial expression and countenance (frons, vultus, os). In the fifth Arabic stem form, it means "to smile, be cheerful". The original, proper meaning "to shine" is demonstrated by a quotation from al-Fīrūzābādī. To prove the use of this meaning in Arabic literature, Schultens quotes a couple of passages from the *Dīwān* of the Hudhayls. He argues that the Hebrew root originally meant the same as "to shine, gleam" (*niteo, enitescere*) in Arabic, and that this meaning explains the metaphor in Job 9:27 ("to show a smile"). In *Vindiciae*, he adds that the original meaning enlightens the secondary uses that survive in the Bible and, in some way, also includes the secondary meanings in Hebrew mentioned above.<sup>425</sup>

To the root קדקד, *qāḏaḥ* (Deut 32:22, Isa 50:11, Jer 15:14, 17:4), Schultens assigns the primary meaning "to entice or produce through hitting or boring" (*tundendo vel terebrando elicit*). He rejects the commonly accepted meaning "to kindle", which is given by the Vulgate (*incendo, succendo*) and the Septuagint (καίω, καίεσθαι), as well as by the dictionaries of Jewish scholars and Christian Hebraists. He points out that the Arabic cognate, according to al-Jawharī and al-Fīrūzābādī, means "to provoke or entice a fire by hits or strikes" on a touchwood. This is illustrated by the custom of the ancient Arabs of making a fire from sparks. Schultens tries to confirm the proposed meaning by references to the Koran and the *Dīwān* of the Hudhayls and by a far-fetched comparison with ancient Latin poetry.<sup>426</sup>

Next, Schultens revises the meaning of the root נפץ, *nāfaṣ*. He does not rely on the various meanings provided by the Septuagint, viz. "to shatter (συντρίβω), break to pieces (συγκόπτω), level with the ground" (ἐδαφίζω), scatter (διασπείρω), disperse (διασκορπίζω)", or those provided by the Vulgate (*contero, confringo, ellido, collido, dispergo*). Citing Arabic and Syriac cognates, Schultens proposes that the Hebrew root should mean "to shake (off or away)" (*excussit*), thereby dismissing the meaning "to dissolve, to scatter (*dispergit*)" found in previous Hebrew lexicography. He argues

<sup>424</sup> Reuchlin, *De rudimentis hebraicis* (1506), p. 83: "contentus est, persistit firme, roboratus est, confortatus est"; Avenarius, *Liber radicum* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1589), p. 83: "refocillatus est, recreatus est"; Stockius, *Clavis linguae sanctae Veteris Testamenti* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1727), p. 136: "se recreare, se confortare".

<sup>425</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 1, pp. 32–50. Cf. idem, *Vindiciae Originum*, pp. 43–53. The proposed etymology is accepted by Gesenius, *Lexicon*, p. 134.

<sup>426</sup> Schultens, *Origines*, vol. 1, pp. 51–88. Cf. idem, *Vindiciae*, pp. 53–59.

that this proposed original meaning better explains biblical passages where the root occurs, for instance, in Dan 12:7 and 1 Kgs 5:9.<sup>427</sup>

The verbal root פָּשַׁשׁ, *pāšaš*, occurs only in Job 16:12, and is attributed the meaning “to break asunder, dash into pieces”, for which al-Jawharī is cited. The related verb form פָּרַשׁ (*pūš*), which earlier lexicography had understood as “to be dispersed, scattered”, is ascribed the primary meaning “to flow apart, overflow, spread” (*difflo*, *diffundo*), for which Schultens refers to al-Jawharī’s explanation of the Arabic cognate as “to inundate”. The proposed meaning is said to provide a better understanding of passages where the verb in question occurs (Zech 1:17, Prov 5:16, and Ps 18:14).<sup>428</sup>

Referring to al-Fīrūzābādī’s explanation of the Arabic cognate *hamma* or *himm*, Schultens argues that the Hebrew root מָמַה, *hāmam*, originally meant “to make or become liquid or fluid, melt (*liquefio*, *liquesco*, *colliquefio*, *tabesco*)”. From al-Ṭaballabī, he learns that this concerns the liquefaction of matter in fire. The proposed meaning gives a good sense to all the passages where the verb is used metaphorically with the meanings “to confuse, trouble, defeat, subdue, and destroy”, since they refer to “making liquid or melting by fear and consternation”.<sup>429</sup> Schultens thinks that the meaning “to make liquid” enables us to recognize how weighty (*gravissima*) and digni (*dignitas*) the metaphorical use (*figura*) is.<sup>430</sup> For the most part, the Septuagint and the Vulgate capture the contextual sense,<sup>431</sup> but neither translation can be used to explore the original meaning. Similarly, the then-extant Hebrew dictionaries only provide an idea of the secondary meaning of the root.<sup>432</sup> The inconsistency of translating the verb in question in the

<sup>427</sup> Schultens, *Origines*, vol. 1, pp. 89–100. Cf. idem, *Vindiciae*, pp. 59–68.

<sup>428</sup> Schultens, *Origines*, vol. 1, pp. 113–120. Cf. idem, *Vindiciae*, pp. 72–78.

<sup>429</sup> Schultens argues that the verb in question is used in a transferred sense in most Old Testament occurrences (Exod 14:24, Exod 23:27, Deut 2:15, Jos 10:10, 1 Sam 7:10, 2 Sam 22:15, 2 Chr 15:6, Esth 9:24, Ps 18:15, Ps 144:6, and Jer 51:34). Only in one passage, Isa 28:28, is it perhaps used in a proper sense.

<sup>430</sup> In *De defectibus linguae Hebraeae* (1731), p. 111, Schultens similarly contends that if we discover the original meaning of the Hebrew verb מָמַה, allegedly “to caress, stroke, fondle”, we will see how its secondary meanings “to praise” and “to still, calm” developed, and the majesty (*maiestas*), impressiveness (*gravitas*) and stability (*constantia*) of the Hebrew language will shine again.

<sup>431</sup> The Septuagint uses the following verbs: συνταράσσω, ἐξανάλισκω, ἀφανίζω, ἐξίστημι, μερίζω, συγχέω and περιάγω. The Vulgate diversifies the meaning as follows: *exterreo*, *perterreo*, *conturbo*, *occido*, *interficio*, *vexo* and *devero*.

<sup>432</sup> Schultens reports that Buxtorf the Elder gives three verbs: *profligare*, *quassare*, *conterere*, “to shutter, shake, crush”. Forster supplies only one: *turbare*, “confuse”. Avenarius paraphrases the meaning as follows: *tumultuando deturbare*, *impetu quodam consternare*, *concitareque tumultum magnum*, “tumultuously throw down, vehemently stir up, to make a great noise”. In *Vindiciae*, Schultens adds that Schindler translates the verb *tumultum facere*, *turbare*, *conturbare*, *concurrere*, *debaechare*, “to make a tumult, disturb, put in disorder, confuse”, while Stockius

ancient Greek and Latin Bibles and in previous Hebrew dictionaries is represented as a lacuna (*defectus*) in the knowledge of the original meaning. In addition, Schultens underlines that the concrete meaning of liquefying in fire and melting was applied to the human mind to signify a state of worry, sorrow, and anxiety.<sup>433</sup>

With reference to the proper meaning of the Arabic cognate ‘-l-l, Schultens asserts that the root ללל, *‘ālāl*, originally meant “to entirely quench the thirst by drinking repeatedly” (*sitim repetitis haustibus penitus extinguere*).<sup>434</sup> He argues that in both Arabic and Hebrew it developed metaphorical meanings, which are explored through Arabic lexicography and Classical Arabic literature and commentators (viz. al-Ṭaballabī on al-Ḥāriri’s *Maqāmāt* and al-Tebrīzī on *Mu’allaqāt* and *Ḥamāsa*). The transferred meanings in Arabic are divided into eleven classes, and most of them are applied to biblical passages:

(I) “to hit with repeated blows, to hurt, torment”: applied to Exod 10:2, Judg 16:15, 1 Sam 6:6, Isa 66:4, Lam 1:12, 1:22, and 2:20.

(II) “to have to do sexually with another repeated times”, so to speak, “to satisfy one’s thirst for pleasure”: applied to Judg 19:25.

(III) “to milk repeatedly, to milk animals, such as the camel”: no biblical example.

(IV) “to milk the eye by iterated weeping, to burst into a flood of tears”: applied to Ps 119: 136, Isa 17:3, Jer 9:17, 13:16, 14:17, Lam 1:16 and 3:51 (cf. Lam 3:48).

(V) “to draw, or milk, the remaining strength (of a camel or cattle) by a last effort”: no biblical example.

(VI) “to glean grapes”: Jer 6:9 and Isa 17:6, combined with the metaphor of satisfying thirst for blood: Judg 8:2, 20:45, Jer 49:9.

(VII) “to collect, or so to speak, “glean, tax”: applied to Isa 3:4.

(VIII) “to charge someone falsely with a crime, to pick with slander: applied to Deut 22:14.

(IX) “to give consolation, to amuse”, as it were to give someone to drink by a happy message, and “to make fun of, deride”: the sense of mocking is applied to Num 22:29, Jer 38:19, and 1 Sam 31:4.

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has *agitare, quassare, conterere, exturbare, in talem confusionem adigere quae perditionem comitem habeat, exterminare, delere*, “to agitate, shake, crush, disturb; reduce to such a confusion that a destruction follows, exterminate, delete”.

<sup>433</sup> Schultens, *Origines*, vol. 1, pp. 121–146. Cf. *Vindiciae*, pp. 78–85. Gesenius, *Lexicon*, p. 255, assumes that *commovit*, “to set in motion”, is the primary meaning.

<sup>434</sup> Schultens, *Origines*, vol. 1, pp. 147–221. Cf. *Vindiciae*, pp. 85–96. This etymology is accepted by Gesenius, *Lexicon* (1833), p. 704, s.v. ללל: “iterum bibit post priorem haustum”, “to drink again after a first draught”. Gesenius notes that this primary notion was extended to blowing, milking, and the gathering of grapes. In later lexicography, the verb ללל is attributed the contextual meanings “to act severely”, “to busy oneself” (BDB, p. 759), and “to glean” (BDB, p. 560).

(X) “to repeatedly exhaust one’s strength, to be sick”: no clear biblical example, though it was likely used in spoken language.

(XI) “to undertake, fulfil and endure difficult deeds”: as a noun or a verb found in a good sense in Exod 10:2, Ps 77:12, and Jer 32:19, and in a bad sense in 1 Sam 25:3, Isa 3:8, and Ps 14:1.

Schultens next addresses the semantically related root נהל, *nāhal*, for which he gives the primary meaning “to lead to water, so that the thirst is quenched” (*prominare ad aquam, ut sitis levetur*), more precisely “by the first gulp or drinking” (*primo haustu potuve*). In establishing this sense, he relies on al-Jawharī, who states that the cognate Arabic verb in the first stem form means “to quiet or still one’s thirst” (*sitim sedavit*) and in the fourth stem form “to drink a first time” (*bibit potu primo*). Schultens maintains that the original meaning cannot be found in the few surviving biblical remains of Ancient Hebrew, while his proposal gives a deeper dimension to several passages where the verb occurs, especially Ps 23:2, which he translates: *in herbis me recumbere mansionibus, ad aquas placidas agit me sitis levandae gratia*, “he makes me lie down in green dwellings, he leads me to pleasant water to still thirst.” The dignity and beauty of other biblical passages are also illustrated by the proposed meaning, e.g. Exod 15:13, Isa 40:11, 49:10, 51:18, and 2 Chr 32:22. However, in still other biblical passages, such as Gen 47:17 and Amos 4:8, the original meaning does not survive because נהל is used in transferred senses regarding hunger, pastures, and nourishment.<sup>435</sup>

The root morpheme יתן, *y-t-n*, preserved in the adjective and noun יתן (*’ēṭān*), is said to have the original and proper meaning “to be perennial” (*perennis fuit*). According to al-Fīrūzābādī, the corresponding Arabic verb *watana* denotes anything that endures and remains in its own place, e.g., a source of continuously flowing water. Schultens maintains that the original and proper meaning is preserved in several biblical passages, where it refers to water. He quotes Amos 5:24, which, in his own translation, reads: *et evolvet sese aquarum instar iudicium et iustitia tanquam perennis fluvius*, “but let justice run down like water and righteousness like an ever-flowing torrent”. He also quotes Exod 14:27, which he translates: *rediit mare ad tō perenne suum*, “and the sea returned to its perennial state”, and finally Ps 74:15, which he renders: *Tu exarescere fecisti flumina perennia*, “you dried up ever-flowing rivers”. He argues that the proposed meaning is also present in Deut 21:4, though he discusses whether it refers to a torrent or a valley. He goes on to examine other passages, such as Gen 49:24, Mic 6:2, and Job 12:19 and 33:19, where יתן is used in the figurative sense of being strong,

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<sup>435</sup> Schultens, *Origines*, vol. 1, pp. 222–237. Cf. *Vindiciae*, pp. 96–107. Gesenius *Lexicon*, p. 595, holds that this root in the obsolete *qal* stem meant something fluid or flowing. In BDB, נהל is given the basic sense “to lead to a watering-place”.

firm, and mighty, and where the basic meaning of permanence and endurance helps us to understand the dignity and beauty of the metaphors.<sup>436</sup>

The verb הָלָה, *hālā*, also spelled הָלָא, *hālā*, is considered to have the original meaning “to be worn” (*teri, tritus fuit*), from which it developed the common secondary sense “to be weak or be sick”. This derivation is drawn from the Arabic lexicographers al-Jawharī and al-Zamakhsharī. Schultens maintains that the notions of tearing off or wearing off (*atteri*) underlie the metaphor of being weak and sick. He represents the derived noun הָלָה, *hālā*, “sickness” as a tearing and scourging blow. The consonantal homonym הָלָה, *hālā*, in the sense of an ornament, can be explained by the verbal act of wearing. It is also asserted that the original meaning “to be worn” provides a semantic agreement in the nominal derivatives (*concordia derivatorum*).<sup>437</sup>

The original meaning of the root רָגַע, *rāga*, is interpreted as “to swing, vibrate” (*vibravit*), or more precisely “to swing swiftly with a trembling movement” (*coruscavit tremulo motu*). Schultens is thus dissatisfied with previous Hebrew lexicography. He traces the usual meanings to Nathan ben Kalonymus (*Sefer yā’ir nāṭīḥ*, c. 1447, published in Latin translation as *Concordantiarum Hebraicarum capita* in 1556) and David Kimchi (*Sefer ha-shorashim*). In the *qal* stem, the root meant “to split, break through”, and in its nominal derivative, “a short moment”, as a fragment of time. In the *niphal* stem, it was given the sense of “to quieten, still”, and in the *hiphil* stem, “to give rest”, meanings that recur in Buxtorf’s *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum*. Cocceius replaced the first sense with “to move”. Avenarius proposed the proper meaning “to move momentarily”. Schultens resorts to the Arabic verb *ra’aḡa* (with the second and third radicals transposed). According to al-Jawharī, it means in the eighth stem form “to be set in a trembling motion” and is used of the flashing of lightning, while al-Fīrūzābādī attributes to it the meanings of “to tremble” (*tremiscere*) and “to flash” (*coruscare*) like the lightning. Schultens concludes that the Hebrew root ought to refer to something flashing or swung by a trembling motion (*tremulo motu coruscum et vibrans*), which agrees with Cocceius’ conjecture. He argues that this explains the meaning of the nominal derivative רָגַע, *rāga*, as “a moment” (*momentum*), implying “the movement or twinkling of the eye” (*movimentum oculi*). The original meaning “to swing, vibrate” aptly illustrates all the biblical passages and consequently proves the semantic stability of Hebrew, Schultens asserts. It makes sense of Isa 51:4 “I will let my justice vibrate as a light (that is, flash forth as a lightning shine) of the peoples”. He renders the phrase *rōga’ hayyām wayyāh<sup>a</sup>mū gallāw* in Isa 51:15 and Jer 31:35 as *Qui vibrat mare, ut flectus*

<sup>436</sup> Schultens, *Origines*, vol. 1, pp. 238–257. Cf. *Vindiciae*, pp. 107–111. Gesenius, *Lexicon*, p. 416, proposes the same etymology: *perennius fuit aqua, hinc firmus, stabilis fuit*, “the water is lasting”, hence “to be firm, stable”. Under the root הָלָה, sub-entry הָלָה, BDB gives the adjective the meaning “perennial, ever-flowing”.

<sup>437</sup> Schultens, *Origines*, vol. 1, pp. 258–281. Cf. *Vindiciae*, pp. 111–115.

*eius infremant*, “He vibrates the sea, so that its waves roar”, and remarks that Cocceius translated the first clause “He moves the sea”. Schultens forces the basic meaning upon passages where the verb is clearly used in the sense of “to rest” (Isa 34:14, 28:12, Jer 31:2 and Deut 65:28).<sup>438</sup>

The root נבט, *nābat*, attested only in the *piel* and *hiphil* stems, is given the etymological meaning “to vibrate, to swing trembling”, and when applied to a glance, it takes on the sense “to look with an intense or vibrating glance” (*tremulus vibravit, micuit, intenta et vibranti acie intueri*).<sup>439</sup>

The root נקף, *nāqaf*, is attributed the primary sense “to stamp to pieces, crush, pound, break the head by a blow” (*tundere, contundere, gravi ictu perfringere caput, caput diffregit*).<sup>440</sup>

By comparison with Arabic *śafaya* “to scrape and sweep away” (*radere, verrere*), the Hebrew root ספף, *sāfā*, is claimed to have the original sense “to scrape” (*radere*), sometimes implying “scrape away” (*aliquando eradere*) and at times “scrape together” (*aliquando corradere*), which developed into the sense “to add, join” (*addere, adiungere*).<sup>441</sup> In this way, Schultens sought to reconcile the contradictory meanings of this root. In Biblical Hebrew, the verb ספף has two opposing semantic fields: on the one hand, “to remove, sweep away, snatch away”; on the other, “to add, join, attach to”. In one passage, Isa 7:20, the original meaning “to scrape off” is retained, since it is used in reference to the beard. In other passages (such as Gen 18:23, 29:15, Num 16:26, 1 Sam 12: 25, 26:10, Ps 40:15, and Prov 13:23) it takes on the transferred sense “to destroy”. Still, knowledge of the original meaning lends grace and splendour to this figurative use. The meaning “to add” appears in Isa 30:1 and Jer 7:21.

#### 6.2.6 Arabic and Hebrew indices as pieces of lexicography

The treatise is supplied with rich indices: one on biblical passages and four on Hebrew, Arabic and Latin words, which serve as glossaries. The first Hebrew index comprises the seventeen Hebrew roots that form the core of the exploration. The second Hebrew index contains 64 entries for other words and phrases examined. The Arabic index comprises 214 entries for roots, lexemes, and phrases that Schultens comments on in the first volumes of *Origines Hebraeae*.

<sup>438</sup> Schultens, *Origines*, vol. 1, pp. 282–314. Cf. *Vindiciae*, pp. 115–121.

<sup>439</sup> Schultens, *Origines*, vol. 1, pp. 315–328. Cf. *Vindiciae*, pp. 121–126. Gesenius *Lexicon*, p. 585, gives the *hiphil* (viz. *hibbūt*) the meaning *aspectavit, intuitus est*, “to look, glance, gaze”. In BDB, the Arabic cognate is given the sense “to well or issue forth” (of water).

<sup>440</sup> Schultens, *Origines*, vol. 1, pp. 329–342. Cf. *Vindiciae*, pp. 127–129. Gesenius, *Lexicon*, p. 628, gives this verb a similar original meaning from Arabic: *cecīdit, percussit*, “to beat, hit, strike, thrust”.

<sup>441</sup> Schultens, *Origines*, vol. 1, pp. 343–372. Cf. *Vindiciae*, pp. 129–132. Gesenius, *Lexicon*, p. 568, gives a meaning similar to Schultens’: *rasit, corrasit, abrasit*.



### 6.3 *De defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae* (1731): Epistemic lacunae of Biblical Hebrew

#### 6.3.1 *History of publication and publication plans*

*De defectibus hodiernis* was first published as a series of dissertations submitted by Dutch and Hungarian students in 1728 and 1729.<sup>442</sup> Schultens states in his *Excursus primus* (pp. 3 and 5) that he began this work in 1727 but had to pause it in 1729 due to “new and more weighty duties”, likely his appointments in Leiden. Two years later, in 1731, the dissertations were republished together as a single treatise in Franeker and titled *De defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae eorundemque resarciendorum tutissima via ac ratione*, “On the present deficiencies in the knowledge of Hebrew and the safest way and method in restoring them”. For the title page, see Figure 8. The preface is dated 26 October (the 7<sup>th</sup> day before *Kalendae* of November) 1730. A reprint was published in the appendix of *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2.<sup>443</sup>

Schultens intended *De defectibus hodiernis* to be the first part of a planned work, the topics of which were outlined as follows:

- (a) uncovering and demonstrating the remaining lacunae in knowledge of Ancient Hebrew, in a set of eight classes,
- (b) methods employed by prominent Hebraists to remedy the extant gaps in knowledge,
- (c) measures to meet the urgent need for a comparative study of cognate languages,
- (d) improving the arrangement of semantic information in Arabic dictionaries, so that the agreement between Hebrew and Arabic in terms of primary and secondary meanings is more easily recognized,
- (e) an unbiased exposition of counter-arguments to his own methodology<sup>444</sup>

The projected five-volume *De defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae* was never completed, but evidently formed the basis of the second volume of *Origines Hebraeae*, in which several chapters correspond to the five parts of the planned work. Schultens himself expressly states in *Excursus primus*, p.

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<sup>442</sup> Each dissertation bears the title *Disputatio [...] de linguae Hebraeae hodiernis defectibus eorundemque resarciendorum tutissima ratione et via*. The first dissertation (§§ 1–34, pp. 1–32) was defended on 11 February 1728 by Jacob Doitsma (1708–1773), the second (§§ 35–69, pp. 35–64) on 18 March 1728 by Petrus Mees (1707–1785), the third (§§ 70–121, pp. 65–112) on 23 June 1728 by Samuel P. Kolosvári from Transylvania, the fourth (§§ 122–174, pp. 113–165) on 9 October 1728 by Theodore Scheltinga from Leeuwarden, and the fifth (§§ 175–232, pp. 165–224) on 19 February 1729 by Johannes Mádi from Hungary. There is no title page for the concluding sixth dissertation (§§ 233–278, pp. 224–266).

<sup>443</sup> When *Origines Hebraeae* were republished in Leiden in 1761, *De defectibus* was likewise included as an appended treatise.

<sup>444</sup> Schulten, *De defectibus hodiernis*, pp. 4–5; restated in *Excursus primus*, pp. 4–5.

4, that *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, ch. 7, which appraises various methods of Hebrew lexicography, corresponds to the second part (topic b) of the plan for *De defectibus hodiernis*. Moreover, the planned exposition of counter-arguments coincides with *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, ch. 5 (pp. 115–131).

### 6.3.2 Schultens' classifications of eight lacunae

In the published *De defectibus hodiernis* (1731), Schultens discusses the shortcomings (*defectus*) in knowledge of Ancient Hebrew, not only in lexical semantics but also in morphology, grammar, and phraseology. Schultens classifies them as follows:

- (1) Omitted and neglected roots (*radices*) to be restored by the law of postliminy from related Semitic languages (pp. 8–44);
- (2) Roots (*themata*) and derivatives (*derivata*) with an unknown, uncertain, or fluctuating meaning (pp. 45–73);
- (3) Verbs that have been assigned an incorrect or unnatural meaning (pp. 74–87);
- (4) Words that, due to metaphors, have multiple and contradictory meanings, a circumstance that eludes the commentators and translators, as long as the original, primeval meaning (*primaeva scaturigo, primaeva potestas*) is hidden and ignored (pp. 87–112);
- (5) Roots with an obvious contextual meaning but an unknown primary and proper meaning (*primigenia potestas, interior proprietates*). This difficulty stems from the scarcity of textual evidence from biblical times and the lack of ancient critical works, implicitly in the form of dictionaries and grammars (pp. 113–189)
- (6) A wide range of common roots that have a well-known secondary meaning, but an obscure original meaning (*origo atque antiquissima indoles*), a difficulty that can be overcome by a comparative study of other Semitic languages (pp. 190–224).
- (7) Forms considered to be irregular in the formation of derivative stems of strong and weak verbs and in the formation of nominal or adjectival derivatives. The irregularities are, in fact, illusory, because the principle of regularity (*analogia*) cannot be discerned in the limited textual corpus of Ancient Hebrew. In the grammatical treatment of Biblical Hebrew, there are ten remaining lacunae (*defectus*) of morphological knowledge (pp. 225–229).
- (8) Entire phrases (*integrae loquendi formulae*) particular to the Orient (the Near East) and expressed in a figurative, metaphorical Oriental grand style (*grandiloquentia orientalis*), suggested by the noble-minded character of the Orientals and the particular nature of the Oriental peoples (chapter 8, pp. 229–269). The inherent copiousness of Hebrew can be demonstrated by the richness of the Arabs.<sup>445</sup>

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<sup>445</sup> Schultens, *De defectibus*, the conspectus of the contents. Cf. *Vindiciae*, pp. 7–8.

In *De defectibus*, Schultens first conceptualized his method as “the old, true, royal and well-consulted road”,<sup>446</sup> in response to accusations of introducing novelty by using Arabic not only to understand rare and obscure Biblical Hebrew words but also to analyze the entire language. Another key concept used from that time onwards is the classicizing concept of *analogia*, in the sense of morphological regularity.<sup>447</sup>

### 6.3.5 *The excessive richness of Ancient Hebrew*

Schultens presupposed that imagined Ancient Hebrew abounded in verbal roots. Like Elias Hutter in his Hebrew dictionary, *Cubus alphabeticus*, and Ravius in various treatises,<sup>448</sup> Schultens sought to define several trilateral roots according to all possible combinations. Starting with the 23 letters of the Hebrew alphabet, he calculated the number of base roots as the cube of 23, which amounts to 12,167. Since not more than 2,000 primary roots are attested in the Hebrew Bible, he concluded that about 10,000 triconsonantal roots have been lost. The number of derivative verbal stems and nominal base morphemes – “conjugated forms and derived inflections”<sup>449</sup> – is estimated to be at least thirty times greater. Schultens concluded that Ancient Hebrew, as a spoken language, comprised 300,000 words.<sup>450</sup> In his Hebrew dictionary, he still adhered to this idea and principle.

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<sup>446</sup> Schultens, *De defectibus*, p. 2: “instituti mei rationem expromam eamque esse veterem, veram, regiam egregie communicatam viam pervictum dabo”. “I will propose the method of my enterprise and will prove that it is the old, true, royal and well-consulted road”. For the concept of a royal road, see p. 173 (note 593).

<sup>447</sup> Schultens, *De defectibus*, pp. 16, 40, 87, 225. On p. 225 it is asserted that the few remains of Ancient Hebrew in Biblical Hebrew do not suffice “to measure the entire copiousness (*amplitudo*) of Ancient Hebrew and accurately establish its regularity”.

<sup>448</sup> Concerning Hutter’s calculations, see Eskhult, *Schultens as an innovator*, Vol. 1, Section 15.2.2. Ravius put forward different estimates of the total stock of roots in Hebrew. In *De scribendo lexico Arabico-Latino dissertation* (Utrecht 1643), p. 12, he argues that there would be 21,952 roots as the cube of 28. In his Hebrew grammar, *Orthographiae et analogiae Ebraicae delineatio* (Amsterdam 1646), p. 81, which Schultens possessed (*Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 523, nr. 3393), he argues that the roots amount to 8,000 as the cube of 20, though also mentioning the calculations of 21,952 as the cube of 28. and 10,648 as the cube of 22. In the final attempt, *A generall grammer* (London 1649), p. 159, Ravius contends that there are only 8,000 as the cube of 20. Cf. *Discourse concerning the eastere tongues* (London 1649), p. 64, where a totality or universality of 8,000 roots is taken for granted.

<sup>449</sup> Schultens, *De defectibus*, p. 9: “per suas coniugandi derivandique formas et inflexiones”. In his Hebrew grammar, Schultens counts derived forms according to the possibility of modifying each base root in various stem forms, such as reflexive, intensive and causative. See his *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, p. 3). He argues that Ancient Hebrew had seventeen derivative stem forms (p. 262, see Figure 10b), from which further word formation is possible through derivation.

<sup>450</sup> Schultens, *De defectibus linguae Hebraeae*, Franeker 1731, p. 9 (cf. *Institutiones ad fundamenta*, p. 3, that all combinations of forming triradical roots were realized

## 6.4 *Clavis dialectorum* (1733): the fact of sound correspondences

### 6.4.1 Editions and general contents

To substantiate his claim of a close relationship between Hebrew and Arabic and to provide a handbook for comparative studies, Schultens published a treatise titled *Clavis dialectorum*. He attached it to his re-edition of Thomas Erpenius' Arabic primer, *Rudimenta linguae Arabicae*. Both were published in Leiden in 1733<sup>451</sup> and reprinted there in 1770. The second edition was supplied with complete indices.<sup>452</sup> The treatise has different titles. The main title page bears the title *Clavis dialectorum* (Figure 9), but the separate title page specifies the title as *Clavis mutationis elementorum*, "Key to the change of speech sounds". A third title is suggested by the heading of the first page. It reads *Clavis dialecti Arabicae*.<sup>453</sup>

The treatise comprises 190 pages and is divided into two chapters. The first concerns consonantal correspondences (*permutatio consonantium*), and the second examines vowel correspondences (*vocalium punctorumque commutatio*). Between these chapters, there is a six-page digression on the transposition of consonants in regular and irregular verbal roots.

Schultens here provides an inventory of sound correspondences between Hebrew and Arabic, occasionally also between Hebrew and Aramaic. He not only establishes regular correspondences but also identifies isolated and sporadic ones. In this inventory, he demonstrates regular sound correspondences with a rich store of examples. Schultens' observations on regular correspondences agree with standard works on Semitic phonology in modern times.<sup>454</sup> His lexical exemplification of regular correspondences is, on the whole, appropriate and relevant (see Vol. 1, Sections 15.1.3–4).

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in Hebrew). Gesenius, *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, Leipzig 1815, p. 47, rejects these computations of Schultens as being based on the false presupposition that all possible combinations were realized, which Gesenius found unlikely considering that Arabic only has half of the possible combinations.

<sup>451</sup> *Rudimenta linguae Arabicae auctore Thoma Erpenio, Florilegium sententiarum Arabicarum ut et Clavim dialectorum ac praesertim Arabicae*, Leiden 1733.

<sup>452</sup> The 1771 edition has the following indices: *Index Arabicus* (142 pages), *Index Hebraeus* (24 pages), *Vocabula Chaldaea*, *Index locorum Sacrae Scripturae* (two pages), *Loca Alcorani* (one page) and *Index Latinus et Graecus* (four pages).

<sup>453</sup> The separate title page, p. 185, reads: "Clavis mutationis elementorum qua dialecti linguae Hebraeae, ac praesertim Arabica dialectus, aliquando ab Hebraea deflectunt", "Key to the change of the speech sounds, by which the dialects of the Hebrew language, in particular the Arabic dialect, deviate from Hebrew". The main headline, p. 187, in capital letters reads: "Clavis dialecti Arabicae" with the under-title in lower-case letters "exhibens mutationes elementorum, quibus in nonnullis differt ab Hebraea", "Key to the Arabic dialect showing the changes of speech-sounds, by which it in several regards differs from Hebrew".

<sup>454</sup> Carl Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen*, vol. 1: Laut- und Formenlehre, Berlin 1908, pp. 128–129), Hans Bauer and Pontus Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten*

#### 6.4.2 Purpose of the treatise

Schultens states different reasons for publishing *Clavis dialectorum*. First of all, he wished to prove his assumption of the close kinship between Hebrew and Arabic. Secondly, he aimed to aid the exploration of Hebrew etymology from a morphophonological point of view. Thirdly, he aimed to improve knowledge of Hebrew by supplementing its lacunae; fourthly, he was determined to promote Arabic studies. In the general preface, he states the first and third reasons.<sup>455</sup>

In an autograph draft of *Clavis dialectorum*, he explains his purposes as comparative and etymological:

To compare the Hebrew language with its dialect and to elucidate the comparison, two keys are required, by the aid of which one can explore the most ancient original meanings of the words and put them in clear and safe light. These original meanings are, so to speak, covered and hidden under a twofold lock and key. The first obstacle concerns the interchange of speech sounds or letters, and the second arises from an apparent difference in meaning.<sup>456</sup>

In the same autograph draft, Schultens also expresses his desire to advance Arabic studies. He states his pro-Arabic purpose as follows: “To nourish and promote the studies of the Arabophiles, I promptly and willingly produce this double key”.<sup>457</sup> He goes on: “Primarily, I will definitely show the interchanges in speech sounds that roots and words undergo when

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*Testaments*, Halle 1922, p. 191, and Sabatino Moscati, *Introduction to the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages*, Wiesbaden 1982, pp. 43–44, with a synopsis of the consonantal system). Leonid Kogan, “Proto-Semitic phonetics and phonology”, *The Semitic languages: an international handbook*, edited by Geoffrey Khan, Michael P. Streck, Janet C.E. Watson, 2013 (HSK 39), pp. 55–59.

<sup>455</sup> Schultens, *Rudimenta linguae Arabicae*, 1733, preface, pp. \* 3r–\* 3v.

<sup>456</sup> Schultens, *Stricturae ad origines*, Leiden UB, MS Or. 1459 D, fols. 452v: “Ad collationem linguae Hebraeae cum dialectis eiusdemque inde illustrationem duae requiruntur claves, quarum ope origines antiquissimae verborum vestigari atque in clara certaue luce collocari possunt. Origines illae videlicet duplice sub clauastro, ut ita dicam, iacent obscuratae atque obseptae, quorum primum nexum est ex mutatione elementorum sive literarum etc. etc., alterum ex significationis apparente discrepantia etc. etc. etc.” In *Clavis dialectorum*, p. 187, Schultens in the same way describes the first key as “an accurate knowledge of the changes that the consonants and vowels undergo (*accurata cognitio mutationum quas elementa tum literarum tum vocalium patiuntur*)” and the second key as “a critical method to arrange the often diverse meanings and to trace them back to their natural proper meaning and most ancient origin” (*methodus critica diversissimas saepe notiones [...] digerendi atque rite deducendi ad filum proprietatis et antiquissimae originis*).

<sup>457</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, fol. 453v. “Ad alenda itaque et promovenda studia philarabum duplicem illam clavim lubens volensque expromam.”

transferred from Hebrew into Arabic, in alphabetical order, and explain them with appropriate examples”.<sup>458</sup>

In a dissertation published in 1734 and included as the fourth chapter in the second volume of *Origines Hebraeae*, Schultens restates the first reason: If the etymological meaning is missing or inadequately understood, it is no wonder that one will find discord and dissonance amid “the great harmony and sisterly concord of Oriental languages” (“in summa harmonia linguarum Orientalium et concordia vere sororia”).<sup>459</sup> *Clavis dialectorum* was published so that everyone would discover “the sweet concord and congruity between these four languages, especially between Arabic and Hebrew,<sup>460</sup> by removing the apparent semblance of disagreement that the substitution of speech sounds or the alteration and diversity of meanings can obstruct in front of the inexperienced and usually do so.”<sup>461</sup>

#### 6.4.3 The pioneers of comparative Semitics

In the same 1734 dissertation, Schultens identifies the third purpose of his *Clavis dilectorum*. Reiterating his aim to improve understanding of sound correspondences, he argues that the polyglot dictionaries by Schindler, Castell, and Hottinger do not match his own achievement. He considers himself the innovator of comparative Semitic phonology:

I also admit that the form and norms of these changes were still unclear to scholars of the previous century, and for this reason, much can be improved in the comparative dictionaries of Schindler, Hottinger, Castell, and others. What is the next step? For this reason, we should not lag in our race but rather strive for perfection as our goal. I provided my *Clavis dialectorum* as motivation. At the same time, it shows that the interchange of speech sounds is not arbitrary or uncertain but follows fixed rules for both consonants and vowels.<sup>462</sup>

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<sup>458</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, fol. 453v. “Ac primo quidem commutationem literarum, quam ex dialecto Hebraea in Arabicam translatae radices vocesque subeunt etc., ordine alphabetico indicabo idoneisque exemplis declarabo etc.”

<sup>459</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, p. 103 (§ 40).

<sup>460</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 103 (§ 41): “Ad hanc harmoniam porro perfectius adhuc elaborandam et omni ex parte complendam, praelucere forte poterit *Clavis dialectorum* a nobis eum in finem edita, ut quam suavis esset consensio ac conspiratio quatuor linguarum inter se, ac praesertim Arabicae cum Hebraea, introspiceretur.”

<sup>461</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 103: “perrupta illa apparenti specie cuiusdam dissensionis, quam vel elementi permutatio vel notionis alteratio ac diversitas oculis imperitorum obicere et potest et solet.”

<sup>462</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 105: “Concesserim quoque omnem illarum permutationum formam et normam necdum satis patuisse seculo praecedenti ac propterea in lexicis harmonicis Schindleri, Hottingeri, Castelli aliorumque multa ad suaviorem concentum posse perduci. Sed quid tum postea? Non sane propterea

However, the actual state of matters was that more than one hundred years earlier, Schindler, in his *Lexicon pentaglotton*, had observed the sound correspondences between these cognate languages and had provided thorough lexical evidence for all of them.<sup>463</sup> He thus well knew “the form and norm” of sound correspondences between these languages. The fact that most examples adduced by Schultens on regular sound correspondences are found in Schindler’s dictionary shows that at this early stage of comparative Semitics, there was already an established collection of examples available to demonstrate the frequent sound correspondences in the Semitic languages.

Moreover, most of Schultens’ Hebrew–Aramaic examples appear in lists of Hebrew-Aramaic sound correspondences in the Aramaic grammars of Sebastian Münster (1527), Angelo Canini (1554), Jean Mercier (1560), and Johann Andreas Danz (1696). Schindler’s pentaglot dictionary is replete with observations on sound correspondences. The introductory list in the Buxtorf Talmudic-rabbinic dictionary (1639) contains many examples, as does the dictionary itself.

## **6.5 *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae* (1737): The principle of morphological regularity**

### **6.5.1 *Background and preface***

Schultens taught Hebrew grammar privately during his professorship of Hebrew and other Semitic languages in both Franeker and Leiden. He used Alting’s *Fundamenta punctuationis linguae sanctae*, “Foundations for the vowel-points of the holy language”, in its third edition (1675) as a model, which he improved, corrected, and expanded, while retaining its paragraph numbering. He likely began teaching Hebrew grammar as soon as he took office in Franeker in 1713.<sup>464</sup> In one of his dissertations on *De defectibus*

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elanguescendum in praeclaro curriculo, sed potius ad perfectionis metam contendendum. Calcar subdidi *Clavis dialectorum* simulque elementorum commutationem non esse vagam et incertam, sed iustis legibus adstrictam, tum quoad literas, tum quoad vocales, demonstrat.”

<sup>463</sup> Schindler, *Lexicon pentaglotton* (1612), see the entries of the letters ט (p. 457), פ (p. 509), צ (p. 1053–54), צ (p. 1509), and ט (p. 1187 on Hebrew *šīn* and Arabic *šīn*). The sound correspondence between Hebrew *zāyin* and Arabic *dal* also occurs under the entry ט (p. 351). Very rarely, he also refers to sporadic sound correspondences between Semitic languages (such as *gīmel-kāf*, *šādē-zāyin*, and *sāmek-šādē*).

<sup>464</sup> In *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, preface, p. \*\*\*r, Schultens designates Alting’s grammar as “most excellent” (*praestantissima*) and states that he has used it “throughout the entire course of his profession” (*qua toto professionis meae cursu usus sum*). A record of Schultens’ lectures on Hebrew grammar was in the possession of the Dutch Orientalist Henric Arent Hamaker; see *Bibliothecae Hamakerianae pars sive catalogus librorum* (Leiden 1836), p. 111, manuscripts, no. 15: “Eiusdem Dictata grammatica de lingua Hebraica” in quarto. It is unclear whether this record is from the lectures in Franeker or in Leiden. Also, the University Library of Leipzig holds a record of Schultens’ syntactic remarks

*hodiernis linguae Hebraeae*, “The present-day defects of Hebrew”, published in 1729, he enumerates ten lacunae in the grammatical treatment<sup>465</sup> that he was to sum up in the preface to his Hebrew grammar, where he endeavoured to remedy the shortcomings of the grammatical teaching of his days.<sup>466</sup> It is plausible that the stuff of *Institutiones* was accumulated in his private teaching of Hebrew grammar for more than twenty years.<sup>467</sup> This assumption is supported by the fact that Schultens was occupied with other publications after his move to Leiden in 1729<sup>468</sup> and with the burdensome teaching at the State College, e.g., the exposition of the Heidelberg Catechism: *Collegium theologicum theoretico-practicum ad Catechesin Heidelbergensem*, between 1729 and 1732.<sup>469</sup> He dates his dedicatory letter to Herman Boerhaave to 1 July 1737 and had his grammar published by Johan Luzac in 1737. For the title page, see Figure 10a.

In the preface, Schultens describes the positions of the critical Cappelian school and the anti-critical school, which he calls rabbinical and Buxtorfian. After recounting the characteristics of each school, Schultens concludes that both are mistaken. The critical school conceived the nature of Hebrew as “poor, uncultivated and rough, and in lack of accuracy and beauty”, while the rabbinical school “imprudently classified as anomalies what they did not sufficiently understand”.<sup>470</sup> Schultens thinks that the anomalies are not intrinsic to the Hebrew language, but depends on the faulty method of the rabbinical school: “It is not the imperfection and irregular principles of the Hebrew language that has given rise to such a multitude of anomalies, but the fault is with the rabbis and the flaw is due to their too narrow and deficient teaching, as they did not arranged their grammars according to the copiousness of the ancient language (*ad veteris linguae amplitudinem*), but

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dictated in Franeker in 1719 (MS Vollers 1114 titled *Viri celeberrimi A. Schultens [...] Animadversiones syntacticae scriptae Franequerae MDCCXIX*, 80 folios, sized 100 x 160 mm. See K. Vollers, *Katalog der islamischen, christlich-orientalischen, jüdischen und samaritanischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig*, Leipzig 1906, p. 440). Finally, a record of a piece of Schultens’ lectures on the published grammar is held by Burgerbibliothek Bern, shelfmark Cod. AA 32.I (A) 1: *Collegium ad grammaticam Hebraeam*, 1736 (comprising 11 folios, 1r–11v).

<sup>465</sup> Schultens, *De defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae*, submitted in a series of dissertations in 1728–1729 and published in Franeker 1731, pp. 226–227 (§ 238).

<sup>466</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta*, preface, p. \*\*4r–\*\*4v.

<sup>467</sup> The title page of *Institutiones* states that Schultens published his grammar “to the use for his private course” (*in usum collegii domestici*).

<sup>468</sup> For instance, his edition and translation of Arabic biographies on Saladin with a geographical index in 1732 and his commentary on the Book of Job in 1736.

<sup>469</sup> See Jan Jacob Schultens’ letter to Johan Barueth, dated 11 May 1775, in J. Barueth (ed.), *Briefwisseling tusschen [...] Jan Jacob Schultens en Johan Barueth [...] over te uitgave van eene regtzinnige verklaring over den Heidelbergschen Catechismus*, Dordrecht 1776, p. 4.

<sup>470</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta*, preface, p. \*\*3r (lines 3–9)



according to the biblical remains (*ad reliquias biblicas*) which does not even contain a twentieth of it, to speak very cautiously.”<sup>471</sup>

### 6.5.2 General contents

After discussing consonants (ch. 1, §§ 1–6), vowel points (ch. 2, §§ 7–25), syllables (ch. 3, §§ 26–45) and vowel changes (ch. 4, §§ 46–54), Schultens moves on to the noun (ch. 5, §§ 55–90) and the particles, predominantly conjunctions and prepositions (ch. 6, §§ 91–106). After that, he arrives at the verb, both the regular (ch. 7, §§ 107–121) and the irregular (ch. 8, §§ 121–135). Though he was not content with treating the noun before the verb, he still retained Alting’s order of priority.<sup>472</sup> The question of the noun’s anteriority to the verb was discussed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>473</sup> Next, he gives an account of vowel changes in verbs with pronominal object suffixes (ch. 9, §§ 136–149). In the final chapters, he discusses the addition of letters in the beginning, middle or the end of words, that is, prefixes, infixes and suffixes (ch. 10, §§ 150–152), the system of accents (ch. 11, §§ 153–160) and the formation of Hebrew words from Aramaic roots (ch. 12, §§ 161–182).

In the chapters on Hebrew phonology, Schultens includes wide-ranging historiographical digressions on the debate over the relative antiquity of the Hebrew script with square letters (that is, the Aramaic script) and Samaritan script (that is, the old pre-exile Hebrew script used by the Samaritans, ch. 1, footnotes) and over the antiquity of the vowel points (ch. 2, footnotes).<sup>474</sup>

### 6.5.3 The concept of analogy

Schultens argues that Ancient Hebrew, by nature, conforms to regularity, a concept he called *analogia* in Latin, which he made the basis of his re-analysis of Hebrew grammar. He continued the rationalist tradition but

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<sup>471</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. \*\*2v (lines 7–15).

<sup>472</sup> See Eskhult, *Schultens as an innovator*, Vol. 1, Section 19.2.2. In his Aramaic-Syriac grammar (1745–1749), Schultens treats the verb before the noun.

<sup>473</sup> August Pfeiffer, in his treatise *Disputatio philologica de analogia linguae sanctae* Wittenberg, 1667, raises the question of whether the noun or the verb was anterior in the historical formation of the Hebrew root. He reports that grammarians do not agree: those who consider the noun prior to the verb include David Kimchi, Abraham de Balmes, Pagninus, Junius the Elder, Buxtorf the Elder, Wilhelm Schickard, Hottinger, Wasmuth and Alting, while those who prefer the verb to the noun include, among others, Elias Levita, Erpenius, Hutter, Schindler, Trostius, Sennert and Otto Walper.

<sup>474</sup> In surveying these debates, Schultens most frequently cites Cappel, Löscher, Hiller, and Buxtorf the Elder, and quite often refers to Le Clerc, Spinoza, Cocceius, Richard Simon, Johann Gottlob Carpzov, Danz, Gousset, and Gerard Vossius. There are also a few references to Grotius, Huet, de Raedt, Bohle, and Justus Lipsius. For a survey of the Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic scripts in the first millennium BC, see John F. Healey, “The early alphabet” in *Reading the past: Ancient writings from cuneiform to the alphabet*, London 2004 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1990), pp. 223 and 226.

developed a new position rather than adopting an intermediate stance between the critical and anti-critical schools. He explained his standpoint as follows: “If Hebrew is restored to what it is in itself, it will yield to no language in terms of dignity, richness and regularity (*analogia*)”.<sup>475</sup> He goes on:

The regularity of the Hebrew language, its beauty, impressiveness, and ancient virtue will not appear it is full bright until the scattered members of the Oriental languages are reunified into one body through the pleasant tie of harmony, and they will recover their former beauty in grammar – which when expressed according to nature can reflect the character of the primordial language – and in the original meanings, in which the simple force and grace of nature shine forth.<sup>476</sup>

Schultens argues that the principle of regularity (*analogia*) has historical priority over that of irregularity (*anomalia*):

Analogy is prior in all languages and the more ancient principle. After that comes anomaly, not to confuse the language, but to make it easier [i.e. more practicable] and to promote it.<sup>477</sup>

#### 6.5.4 The claimed innovation: Supplementing the remaining lacunae in our knowledge of Hebrew morphology

In the preface to his grammar, Schultens states that the morphological analysis of Biblical Hebrew is imperfect. Referring to his treatise *De defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae* (pp. 226–227), he enumerates ten lacunae in grammatical knowledge and concludes that his present grammar addresses these shortcomings, namely:<sup>478</sup>

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<sup>475</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta*, preface, p. \*\*3r (lines 9–12): “quum, si modo sibi restituatur, nulli linguarum nec dignitati nec opulentia nec analogiae gratiae concedat.

<sup>476</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. \*\*3r–\*\*3v. “Nempe analogia linguae Hebraeae eiusque venustas, gravitas, antiqua virtus, tum demum pleno die refulgebunt, quum linguarum Orientalium disiecta membra per suavissimae harmoniae vinculum in unum iterum corpus coalescent pristinumque nitorem recuperabunt tam in grammatica, quae ad naturam ipsam expressa primigeniae linguae characterem implere queat, quam in originibus, e quibus naturae item simplicissima vis et gratia resplendescat.”

<sup>477</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 103: “Nam analogia in omnibus linguis prior et antiquior. Venit deinde anomaliam, non quae turbaret linguam, sed in multis promptiorem redderet ac iuvaret.” In *Theses de linguae primaeva* (Leiden UB, MS Or. 1469), Schultens argues that the primeval language had “an analogical nature” (*anologica constitutio*, §§ 10, 22, 38), that is, a conformity to a morphological regularity, and Hebrew retained this quality (§ 114).

<sup>478</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta*, preface, p. \*\*4 recto and verso.

- (1) increasing the number of stem forms and creating a new classification of stem forms,
- (2) developing a more convenient method for the treatment of weak verbs,
- (3) explaining the semantic functions of the stem forms more accurately,
- (4) describing word formations according to their intrinsic principles,
- (5) distinguishing between nouns and adjectives more clearly,
- (6) treating the particles more diligently and deriving their historical origin from any of the first two grammatical categories (viz. nouns and verbs),
- (7) clarifying the use of prefixes,
- (8) clarifying the use of object suffixes,
- (9) clarifying the meaning of epenthetic and paragodic letters (of *nūn* and *he*) and of paragodic syllables,
- (10) finding out the underlying principle of *dagesh forte*,

This outline was implemented in his published grammar and, at the same time, served as a plan for further improvement. He states: “I dare to hope that something is achieved, but many more, and more important matters remain to be done.”<sup>479</sup> He could have said more than he did, as is evident from his unpublished series of lectures on Hebrew grammar. Compared with Alting’s analysis, Schultens’ grammar represents an advance in several respects, though it often amounts to only small improvements. Below, his contributions to points 1–4 and 6–7 are presented, while the concept of paragodic syllables and the principle of *dagesh forte* are briefly clarified.

In achieving the first purpose, he created a diagram showing eighteen stem forms.<sup>480</sup> In his view of the number of stem forms (*binyānīm*), he differs from earlier grammarians. Some, such as Conrad Bertramus, Buxtorf the Elder and Erpenius, counted four (*qal*, *piel*, *hiphil* and *hitpael*). Others, such as Kimchi and Alting, counted seven (*qal*, *niphal*, *piel*, *pual*, *hiphil*, *hophal*, and *hitpael*).<sup>481</sup> Others still, such as Pagninus, counted six<sup>482</sup> and Spinoza counted eight stem forms (*qal*, *niphal*, *piel*, *pual*, *hiphil*, *hophal*, *hitpael* and *hotpaal*).<sup>483</sup> In his classification, Schultens follows the tradition

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<sup>479</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones*, preface, p. \*\*4 verso: “Aliquid effectum, sperare ausim. Multo tamen plura et graviora conficienda restant.” He argues that the enterprise is difficult and can be reached only by the joint effort of many scholars.

<sup>480</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones*, pp. 262. For the table of stem forms, see Figure 10b.

<sup>481</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 258, where these classifications are accounted for.

<sup>482</sup> The first is the *qal* stem, the second the *niphal*, the third the *piel* and *pual* stems, the fourth the *hiphil* and *hophal* stems, the fifth the *poal* as the passive of *qal*, and the sixth the *hitpael* and *hotpaal* stems. See Schultens, *Institutiones*, p. 258.

<sup>483</sup> Spinoza, *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae*, published in his *Opera posthuma*, pp. 60–79. Spinoza used another terminology: the simple active, the passive, the intensive active, the intensive passive, the derived active, the derived

of Kimchi, Alting and Spinoza for the common stem forms. His innovation lies in classifying uncommon stem forms, many of which are attested in Arabic, Syriac, and Aramaic, as regular in Hebrew and with specific meanings. The form *poel*, which is said to be common in Arabic and Aramaic, means “to do often mutually”, while *poal* is its passive form and *hithpoel* its reflexive (stem forms nos. 8–10). The stem *p<sup>a</sup>alal* arises from repetition of the final two root consonants and means “to do exceedingly or excessively” (no. 11). The next series consists of the forms *pilel* in the active “to do usually”, *pulal* in the passive “to be done usually”, and *hitpalel* as the reflexive with both a frequentative and a habitual sense “to do often and customarily” (nos. 13–15). From Aramaic and Syriac, Schultens reconstructs the stem forms *šaphel* “to actually do” (*sane fecit*) and its passive *šaphal* “to actually be done” (nos. 16–17).<sup>484</sup> Their reflexive forms are either *hitšaphel* or *hištaphel*, “to wish or ask that another do” (no. 18), implying a wish or a requisition, just as with the Arabic stem form *istaphal*.

In his teaching of Hebrew grammar, Schultens claimed that the formation of all the derivative stems is subject to a general rule,<sup>485</sup> namely that these “secondary” stem forms are derived from the simple base stem according to a fourfold process of affixation:<sup>486</sup>

- (i) Gemination of the second radical (*piel* in the active, *pual* in the passive), reduplication of the third radical (*pilel* in the active, *pulal* in the passive) or reduplication of both of the latter radicals (*p<sup>a</sup>alal*). In Schultens’ Hebrew grammar, these are the stem forms listed as nos. 3–4 (*piel* and *pual*) and nos. 13–14 (*pilel* and *pulal*) and no. 14 (*p<sup>a</sup>alal*).<sup>487</sup>

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passive, the reflexive active and the reflexive passive. Schultens does not refer to Spinoza here, but he possessed a copy of Spinoza’s *Opera posthuma*, catalogued in *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 76, among prohibited works, letter designation *c*.

<sup>484</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamena linguae Hebraeae*, pp. 463–468. For an explanation of the uncommon stem forms (no. 9–17), see further Gesenius’ *Hebrew grammar as edited and enlarged by the late E. Kautsch*, Oxford 1910, § 55, pp. 151–153.

<sup>485</sup> Leiden UB, MS Or. 1469, envelope 1: *Tabula formationis specierum derivatarum ex specie primigenia simplici*. The manuscript is in the handwriting of Jan Jacob Schultens, but it probably records only Albert Schultens’ dictation. There are four introductory theses on the classification. The second reads: “Formatio ipsa fit secundum certam legem et normam, quae omnibus verbis est uniusmodi et sui similis.”

<sup>486</sup> Leiden UB, MS Or. 1469, envelope 1: *Tabula formationis specierum* etc. The third thesis classifies the rules for the method of affixation: “Ratio formationis est quadruplex. Aut enim formantur geminatione radicalium litterarum, aut praeformativis litteris servilibus, aut informativis litteris servilibus in mediam vocem insertis, aut postformativis ad finem vocem adiectis.”

<sup>487</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones*, § 108, under letter designation *v*, p. 262,

(ii) Addition of certain elements to the simple stem: through prefixed letters, *he* (ה), *nun* (נ), *šin* (ש) and *tāw* (ת), which give rise to *hiphil* (no. 5), *hophal* (no. 6), *niphal* (no. 2), *šaphel* (no. 16), *šophal* (no. 17),<sup>488</sup> *tiphal* and *taphal*; and through prefixed syllables: *hin* (הִן), *hit* (הִת), and *hot* (הֹת). It is stated that the prefixed syllables *hin-* and *hit-* can be added to all the derivative active stem forms, while *hot-* can allegedly be added to all the derivative passive stem forms. The derivative stem forms that emerged from the syllables *hit-* and *hot-* are, in Schultens' system, classified as *hitpael* in the active and *hotpaal* in the passive (nos. 7–8), *hitpoel* (no. 11), *hitpalel* (no. 15) and *hitšaphel* or *hištaphel* (no. 18).<sup>489</sup>

(iii) Infixation of 'ālef (א), wāw (ו) and yōd (י) between the first and second radical or between the second and third radical.<sup>490</sup> The infixation of wāw between the first and second radicals generates the stem forms *poel* (no. 9) in the active voice and *poal* (no. 10) in the passive voice.<sup>491</sup>

(iv) Suffixation of 'ālef (א), wāw (ו) and yōd (י). It should be noted that the last two categories usually correspond to *verba tertiae hē*.

The second point in the list of ten gaps in grammatical knowledge aims for a new presentation rather than a renewal, as Schultens himself admits (p. 310). The weak verbs are classified as pluriliteral (more than three stem consonants), defective or silent. Each category is further divided into three classes. The four- and five-consonant verbs are classified as either proper or improper (by reduplication or by adding a preformative *tāw*). The defective verbs are those beginning with *nūn*, geminate verbs, and those ending with *nūn* or *tāw* (omitted by earlier grammarians). The silent verbs are those beginning with 'ālef, yōd or wāw [sic!], those with 'ālef, yōd or wāw as the middle stem consonant (so-called “hollow verbs”), and those ending with 'ālef, wāw or yōd.<sup>492</sup>

Schultens' treatment of the third lacuna was a modest improvement over that of his precursors (Alting, Buxtorf the Elder, Glassius and Kimchi's *Mikhlol*). The simple base stem, Schultens says, can assume frequentative, intensive, causative, declarative, reflexive, inchoative, imitative, or desiderative shades of meaning in other stem forms, so that stems are formed as modifications of the primitive stem.<sup>493</sup> He remarks that the formation of such meanings from the same root is attested in Greek and Latin, but in these languages they are considered different verbs. He describes the common stem forms as follows:

<sup>488</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 262.

<sup>489</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 262.

<sup>490</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 262. All the emerging forms are specified in the table.

<sup>491</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 262.

<sup>492</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 311–372, especially pp. 311, 316 and 337.

<sup>493</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 259.

In the simple stem *qal*, the verbs are in the active voice and have either transitive or intransitive meanings. In the latter case, the verbs have *e* (*šērē*) as the second vowel.

The *niphal* makes the meaning passive. Others think that this stem was originally a middle voice that can be expressed in active, passive, or reflexive forms.

The *piel* intensifies verbs in the simple stem form, both transitive and intransitive. The *piel* stem also has a causative function, especially in *qal* verbs with intransitive meaning.

The *hiphil* is the causative stem form (*effectiva species*), so it gives the verbs in the *qal* a causative sense. The *hiphil* verbs can also retain the simple active sense in the *qal* stem.<sup>494</sup> Sometimes, the *hiphil* verbs take on an intransitive sense.

In *hitpael*, the meanings are reflexive, ostentatious,<sup>495</sup> or passive.<sup>496</sup>

In his unpublished lecture notes on Hebrew grammar,<sup>497</sup> Schultens states that he aims to improve the rules laid down by Johannes Buxtorf the Elder in his *Thesaurus grammaticus linguae sanctae* (1609), and by Salomon Glassius in his *Institutiones grammaticae Hebraeae* (part of *Philologia sacra*, 1623).<sup>498</sup> It appears that Schultens originally planned to provide a more detailed analysis of the meanings of stem forms in his published grammar. In the unpublished material, he accordingly makes the following assertions:

The verbs in the *qal* are either transitive (*transitiva*) or intransitive (*intransitiva* or *neutralis*). Transitive verbs are פָּקַד (*pāqad*), “to attend to, visit, muster”, and שָׁמַר (*šamar*), “to keep, retain”. Intransitive verbs are עָמַד (*āmāḏ*), “to stand”; גָּדַל (*gāḏal*), “to be or become great” (properly, according to Schultens, “to be twisted”); צָדַק (*šāḏeq*), “to be just”; and שָׂמַח (*šamah*), “to be happy, rejoice”.

*Niphal* primarily serves as the passive of transitive verbs in the *qal*. In general, the *niphal* lacks verbs that are intransitive in the *qal*, but it sometimes admits intransitive verbs and makes them causative, so that the forms mean the same as *piel* or *hiphil* forms. Moreover, *niphal* often takes a reflexive meaning (*vis reciproca*), for instance, נִשְׁמַר (*nišmar*), “to

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<sup>494</sup> Schultens does not address the assumption that many verbs in the *hiphil* are denominatives, since he supposed that all the nouns had a verbal origin.

<sup>495</sup> That is: “performed, exercised or displayed in a manner calculated to attract attention or admiration” (see *Oxford English Dictionary*).

<sup>496</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones*, pp. 262–266.

<sup>497</sup> Schultens’ private course in Hebrew grammar is preserved in Leiden UB, MS Or. 1460, under the letter designation j, under the heading *Regulae syntaxeos*.

<sup>498</sup> These works are recommended as handbooks of Hebrew grammar by Jean Le Clerc in *Ars Critica*, part 1, ch. 4, § 3.

protect oneself”, and נָקַם, “to avenge oneself”. Kimchi,<sup>499</sup> Buxtorf, and Glassius likewise observed the reflexive function of the *niphal*. Thirdly, the *niphal* designates a reciprocal action (*actio mutua*), for instance, נָלַחַם, “to fight” (allegedly “to be eaten as bread”), נִדְבַר, “to converse, talk”, and נִשְׁבַּע, “to swear an oath” (allegedly originating from the custom of slaughtering seven animals).<sup>500</sup> In addition, it implies an action commanded by oneself, for instance, נִשְׁבַּע in the sense of “to obey”. It may also refer to the result of the verbal action in the passive. Finally, it implies the opposite of the *qal* sense. This negating function was likewise acknowledged by Buxtorf and Glassius.

The *piel* makes intransitive verbs (in the *qal*) transitive, for instance, צָדַק, “justify”, שִׂמַּח, “gladden”, גָּדַל, “strengthen”.<sup>501</sup> This stem also intensifies the meanings of the verbs in the base stem *qal*.<sup>502</sup> Schultens also states that the *piel* can have declarative, conative, and reciprocal meanings. Finally, it can have a privative sense, implying the destruction or removal of something, as שָׁרַף, “to eradicate, uproot” (*eradicavit*), and נָטַח, “to atone for, expiate” (*expiavit a peccato*).<sup>503</sup>

The *hiphil* has the causative function of making intransitive verbs transitive. It also has a declarative meaning. Moreover, it makes transitive verbs doubly transitive. In contrast, Kimchi only acknowledges the causative meaning.<sup>504</sup> Glassius states: “Verbs in this conjugation either cause, permit, let, declare, give an opportunity or procure someone to do something.”<sup>505</sup> Alting assumes causative, declarative and intensifying meanings, and also a simple active meaning if the verb is not found in the *qal* stem.

The *hitpael* has an intensifying and frequentative function. It involves a reflexive meaning, combined with a frequentative one. Buxtorf states that the *hitpael* usually has a reflexive meaning and that this stem form is also sometimes used to denote a frequent action.<sup>506</sup> Glassius enumerates

<sup>499</sup> D. Kimchi, *Mikhol*: “The Niphal is used to represent either the passive or the reflexive.” See William Chomsky (ed.), *David Kimchi's Hebrew grammar systematically presented and critically annotated*, New York 1952, p. 82.

<sup>500</sup> Alting, *Fundamenta punctuationis* (1675), p. 232, discusses some of these forms, but classifies them differently, נִדְבַר as frequentative and נִשְׁבַּע simply as active.

<sup>501</sup> Ernst Jenni drew attention to the transitive-making function of *piel*. See *Das hebräische Pi'el: syntaktisch-semasiologische Untersuchung einer Verbalform im Alten Testament*, Zürich 1968.

<sup>502</sup> Kimchi, *Michlol*, p. 86 says that the *piel* is either transitive or causative in sense.

<sup>503</sup> Alting, *Fundamenta punctuationis* (1675), p. 212, likewise identifies most of the meanings Schultens mentions: the intensifying, the causative, the declarative, the oppositional (*contraria*), and the preservative. Buxtorf, *Thesaurus grammaticus*, adds that the *piel* denotes an opposite meaning, p. 119.

<sup>504</sup> Kimchi, *Mikhlol*, in William Chomsky's 1952 edition, p. 89.

<sup>505</sup> Glassius, *Institutiones grammaticae Hebraeae*, p. 51.

<sup>506</sup> Buxtorf, *Thesaurus grammaticus*, p. 143.

three meanings of the *hitpael*: the reflexive (*reciproca*), the frequentative, and sometimes the simple active. Schultens adds that *hitpael* can also express a reciprocal action, which he defines as an action involving two parties and expressed by the phrases *ad invicem* and *inter se*. Sometimes, the *hitpael* makes an action more prominent or conspicuous. It can denote vain boasting by the subject, for instance, הִתְגַּבֵּר (*hitgabber*), “he boasted that he was brave” (Job 15:2), and הִתְאַשֵּׁר (*hit’asšer*), “he boasted that he was rich” (Prov 13:7). This is an ostentatious or pretentious function. In modern times, the meaning is described as “to make oneself that which is predicted by the verb”, “to show oneself”, and “to affect to be of a certain character”.<sup>507</sup> Most of the meanings identified above are also found in Alting’s grammar: the reflexive, frequentative, simulative (*simulatoria*), intensifying, and passive meanings.<sup>508</sup>

In discussing the principles of word formation, Schultens distinguishes between *simple derivatives*, consisting only of the characteristic stem consonants, and *augmented derivatives*, formed by adding affixes, namely the preformative and postformative consonants *’ālef*, *hē*, *yōd*, *mēm*, *nūn*, and *tāw*, which are included in the mnemonic word הֶאֱמַנְתִּי (*h<sup>e</sup>’emantī*), that is, “I believed” (*credidi*).<sup>509</sup>

In the Hebrew and Arabic grammatical tradition, the parts of speech are nouns, verbs, and particles. The last category includes pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections. In discussing the nature of particles, Schultens recognizes only the distinction between separable and inseparable particles. He rejects Alting’s distinction between declinable and indeclinable particles, arguing that some pronouns are not declined (Alting had classified pronouns as declinable particles), while conjunctions and prepositions are declined because, to a great extent, they have a nominal origin.<sup>510</sup> Schultens derives the Hebrew adverbs, separable prepositions, and conjunctions from either nouns or verbs.<sup>511</sup> He especially investigates the origin of the adverb הֵא, “where?”, which he derives from the interrogative pronoun מִי, “who?, what?”, in archaic Hebrew (*in veteri lingua*). This derivation is allegedly evident in certain Biblical Hebrew phrases. He continues with the adverb הֵא, “there is not”, proposing that it originated from a noun with the meaning “emptiness, vacuity, non-existence”.<sup>512</sup>

Schultens also explores vowel changes that occur when prefixes or inseparable particles are attached to nouns, pronouns, or verbs. He thus surveys the prepositional prefix מִ (*mi-*, from מִן “from”), the relative prefix מִן

<sup>507</sup> Gesenius’ *Hebrew grammar as [...] enlarged by E. Kautzsch*, pp. 149 f. § 54, d.

<sup>508</sup> Alting, *Fundamenta punctationis linguae sanctae* (1675), p. 212.

<sup>509</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, pp. 157–163 (§ 66).

<sup>510</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 224–225 (§ 91), and p. 237 (§ 96).

<sup>511</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 237–237 (under the letter designations מ, מ, and מ).

<sup>512</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 244–245 (§ 100).



(šæ-, from the relative marker אשר, <sup>a</sup>šær, “which”), the demonstrative article ה (ha-, from the pronoun הוא), the interrogative ה (h<sup>a</sup>-, i.e. “I wonder, is that so?”), the connective ו (w<sup>a</sup>) and the prepositional prefixes כ (k<sup>a</sup>), ל (l<sup>a</sup>) and ב (b<sup>a</sup>).<sup>513</sup> He identifies four functions of the article ה (ha), namely the demonstrative, the relative, the vocative, and the local, the last of which designates the direction towards something.<sup>514</sup>

Schultens devotes a paragraph (§ 152, p. 455 ff.) to the paragogic, or so-called “enclitic”, syllables וי, מו and פי in the compounds וידי “in order to”, כמו “as, like” and כפי “according to”. The element וי is derived back to the noun וי, “sufficiency, abundance”; מו is traced from the reconstructed noun maw, “water” (as opposed to the mere common מי (may), which from its alleged sense of dark, colourless water developed the sense of “species, kind”, and פי is the construct state of the noun פה “mouth”.

The use of *dagesh forte* in the *begadkefat* consonants is divided into three functions: the characteristic (with the stem forms *piel*, *pial*, and *hitpael*), the compensative, and the euphonic. Schultens confines himself to the latter two. The compensative use – which should more accurately be called the assimilative – is explained as compensation for “the elision”, or rather the assimilation, of any root consonant. Examples include verbs with *nun* as the first radical, verbs with geminated consonants, elided singular forms, such as ‘ām, “people”, and ‘em, “mother”, and historically elided forms, such as ‘ap, “nose, face; anger” for ‘anp, and baṭ, “daughter” for bant. The euphonic use occurs when *dagesh forte* is added or removed for reasons of elegance or linguistic history, insofar as *dagesh* is omitted in short imperfect forms of verbs with *hē* as the third radical.<sup>515</sup>

## 6.6 *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2 (1738): Theory and practice of Hebrew etymology

### 6.6.1 *Background to the publication*

In 1732, Schultens resumed his work on *Origines Hebraeae* in the form of a new series of academic disputations. Students submitted them under his chairmanship in 1733–1734 (disp. nos. 1–12) and in the spring of 1737 (disp. nos. 13–17). According to the title pages, most of the defences (nos. 5–17) took place in the auditorium of the State College, where the respondents were boarding students: three Polish, two Hungarian,<sup>516</sup> and two Dutch. Soon afterwards, Schultens collected the seven dissertations as chapters of a second volume of *Origines Hebraeae* titled *Originum*

<sup>513</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 247–256 (§§ 101–106).

<sup>514</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 251 (§ 104 under the letter *gimel*, ג).

<sup>515</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta*, p. 123 (§ 44), pp. 148–149 (§§ 51–52).

<sup>516</sup> Paul Gyöngyössi, respondent to disputations nos. 5–7, which correspond to the third chapter of *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, was one of Schultens’ best students and probably served as his amanuensis. The other, Georg Huszti, defended disputations nos. 15–17, which correspond to the 7<sup>th</sup> chapter of *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2.

*Hebraearum tomus secundus*, to which he added a preface (13 pages) outlining the contents of each dissertation. The second volume was published in Leiden in 1738 (comprising 206 pages).<sup>517</sup>

### 6.6.2 General contents

In the first chapter, Schultens develops his classification of the five sources of knowledge of Ancient Hebrew (§§ 1–3). He discusses the degree of kinship between Hebrew and its “related dialects” and assesses their value for exploring the etymological semantics of Ancient Hebrew (§§ 4–24). He limits his concept of ‘Oriental dialects’ to exclude Turkish and Persian (§§ 25–30). Next, he presents and defends his curriculum for Oriental language studies within theological education (§§ 31–32). He illustrates the kinship among Oriental languages with a tree metaphor (§ 33) and concludes this chapter by clarifying his use of the concept of dialect (§§ 34–39).

In the next two chapters (2–3), he explores the verbs קָרַח (*qāraṣ*) ‘to cut off’ and שָׁלָה (*šālā*) ‘to be quiet, at ease’, according to Schultens, “to be safe, secure”. At the end of the second chapter, he proposes some axioms for his etymological research: (i) that the Semitic dialects constitute a single linguistic body, (ii) that they support one another, so that none can be disregarded without detriment, (iii) that Arabic is the richest of the Semitic dialects, (iv) that it has preserved the original lexical meanings, (v) that it provides the key to primary and secondary meanings in Hebrew and other cognate languages, (vi) and that the semantic diversity of Semitic dialects pertains almost exclusively to secondary meanings.<sup>518</sup>

In chapter 4, Schultens refutes Gousset’s theoretical premises and his lexicographical method as a whole.<sup>519</sup> He also offers a historical overview of the development of Hebrew philology (§§ 30–46). In chapter 5, he presents fifteen objections to his theory of comparative Hebrew language studies, and in chapter 6, he refutes each objection with counter-evidence.

In chapter 7, Schultens refutes earlier or competing methods of Hebrew lexicography, grouping them into nine hypotheses.<sup>520</sup> He describes his own

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<sup>517</sup> In consequence of his controversy with Anton Driessen, Schultens republished as appendices to this volume the first and second parts of *Vindiciae* (pp. 1–203) and his two speeches on the antiquity and purity of Arabic (1729–1732). In his preface, dated 30 November 1737, he clarifies this apologetic and polemical reason for his republication. The same appended treatises also recur as appendices in the second edition of *Origines Hebraeae*, vols. 1–2, Leiden 1761. For the title page of the first edition, see Figure 11a, and for the title page of the second edition, see Figure 11b.

<sup>518</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, pp. 43–44 (§ 30).

<sup>519</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 79–95 (§§ 7–29) and pp. 109–114 (§§ 47–53).

<sup>520</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 166–191 (§§ 2–17): (i) Vossianism, (ii) Tridentinism, (iii) joint comparison of ancient Bible translations, (iv) medieval rabbinical lexicography of Biblical Hebrew, (v) Forster’s and Avenarius’ method of semantic research, (vi) the comparative approach through the study of related languages, (vii) Bohle’s

method as a tenth hypothesis, which he defines as a sound return to the comparative approach. After rebutting Driessen's reliance on Hebrew lexicographers (§§ 20–22), Schultens defines the scope of his method, distinguishing it from the above-mentioned methods (except the sixth) and emphasizing the importance of knowing all the Semitic languages (§ 23): “He who does not know all, does not know any profoundly enough”,<sup>521</sup> thus echoing what Castell had voiced in the preface to his polyglot dictionary: “Nobody can attain even one single of these languages perfectly and accurately, without understanding them all”.<sup>522</sup> In the age of polymathy and polyglotism, this was more than an obligatory motto. The urgency stemmed from extensive experience in comparative Semitic language studies.

Below, chapter 1 (see Sections 6.6.3–6.6.6), chapter 5 (see Section 6.6.7), and chapter 6 (see Section 6.6.8) are discussed in greater detail.

### 6.6.3 *Five sources of knowledge*

Schultens, more concisely than before, classifies the sources of knowledge of Ancient Hebrew and ranks them as follows:

- (a) “the cognate dialects (*cognatae dialecti*), primarily Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic; secondly, Ethiopic, Samaritan, and Talmudic-rabbinic,
- (b) ancient translations of the Old Testament, viz. the Greek Septuagint, the Aramaic Targums, the Latin Vulgate, the Syriac Peshitta, and Arabic and Ethiopic translations,
- (c) Biblical Hebrew usage, to the interpretation of which both Jewish scholars and Christian Hebraists have contributed through dictionaries and commentaries on the Bible,
- (d) phonetic similarity and affinity of radical consonants,
- (e) conjectures on the form and meaning of Hebrew words, which, for the most part, were expressed through a logical-semantic method<sup>523</sup> and a picto-semantic approach.<sup>524</sup>

He thinks that lexicographers should always specify which of these sources they use when suggesting a meaning for a Hebrew word. They should accordingly state whether the meaning is based on conjecture, phonemic affinity, context, parallel passages, ancient translations, or related languages.

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logical-semantic method, (viii) Gousset's exclusive limitation on Biblical Hebrew usage, and (ix) Neumann's picto-semantic method.

<sup>521</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 206: “Qui omnes non tenet, nullam satis profunde tenet”.

<sup>522</sup> Edmund Castell, *Lexicon pentaglotton*, preface, p. 3: “Et quidem pace doctiorum, hoc mihi videtur extra dubium: Neminem esse qui harum linguarum vel unam assequi queat perfecte et accurate, qui non intelligit omnes.”

<sup>523</sup> This method, logical conjecture, was directed towards subsuming all meanings under a general abstract concept. See *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, pp. 184–193.

<sup>524</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, pp. 2–3.

The related languages (“dialects”) are claimed to be the foremost source of knowledge and the touchstone for all other sources. Only the “dialects” (i.e. cognate languages) provide the key (*clavis*) to unlock “the primeval, most ancient and proper meanings of the roots before they deviated into metaphors and other secondary uses”.<sup>525</sup> Schultens regarded the cognate “dialects” as the only viable means of reconstructing the semantics and morphology of Ancient Hebrew, but admitted that other sources of knowledge have definite value.<sup>526</sup>

#### 6.6.4 Languages related to Hebrew

When assessing the value of Semitic languages for the etymological semantics of Ancient Hebrew, Schultens first addresses the later stages of Ancient Hebrew: *lingua Rabbinorum* and *lingua Talmudicorum*. Of these, the former is described as “rather pure” and the latter as “impure.” The former “adapts itself to the imitation of the biblical language and borrows a great number of words from Aramaic and Arabic, but conforms them to Hebrew inflection.”<sup>527</sup> It is the language that “the Jewish nation, in some sense, awoke from the ruins of Jerusalem and propagated to our times.” However, being artificial (*lingua factitia*),<sup>528</sup> it can only give “a faint light” to the elucidation of the oldest meanings of the Hebrew words.<sup>529</sup> He characterizes the latter, “the language of the Talmudists”, as “a remarkable

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<sup>525</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 4: “Apparet luce clarius non nisi dialectorum clave reserari posse Hebraeas origines, ide est primaevae, antiquissimas, proprias necdum in metaphoras aliosque usus secundarios deflexas radicum significationes.”

<sup>526</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, p. 205.

<sup>527</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 5: “ad imitationem sermonis Biblici sese componens in subsidium assumit magnam copiam vocabulorum Chaldaicorum, Arabicorum aliorumque iisque Hebraeam quandam flexionem faciemque induit.” Schultens did not make any distinction between Mishnaic Hebrew and Medieval Hebrew, so that the term *lingua Rabbinorum* refers to both.

<sup>528</sup> The Latin adjective *facticius/ factitius* means “made by human art or skill in imitation of something natural”, that is, “artificial, non-natural”.

<sup>529</sup> The prevailing scholarly opinion until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century held that Mishnaic Hebrew was an artificial product, a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic, that never existed as an ordinary language. Moshe Segal, “Rabbinic Hebrew and its relation to Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic” *Jewish quarterly review* 20 (1908–1909), pp. 647–737, republished with more examples in *A grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*, Oxford 1927 (especially pp. 5–15), proved that Mishnaic Hebrew descended from popular Hebrew of biblical times and in some essential morphological and lexical features partly differs both from Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic. Chaim Rabin approved of this view in his 1942 PhD thesis, *The development of the syntax of post-biblical Hebrew*, published in Leiden in 2000. According to Joshua Blau, *Phonology and morphology of Biblical Hebrew*, Winona Lake 2010, p. 10, it is now generally accepted that Mishnaic Hebrew, more properly called Rabbinic Hebrew I (the language of the Tannaim), cannot be an artificial language of the Rabbis.

mixture of many languages”, and therefore it is replenished by linguistic barbarisms. Schultens states that it brings “insignificant utility” (*parum utilitatis*) to his etymological purpose.<sup>530</sup>

Considering the question of whether “the language of the rabbis” has any value for reconstructing the etymological semantics of Ancient Hebrew, he recommends a middle course. On the one hand, Schultens declares that one should not deny the rabbis’ achievement in restoring and preserving for us “a semi-living or rather semi-dead appearance of the ancestral language”.<sup>531</sup> On the other hand, one should not ascribe to them what they could not possibly achieve without the necessary aids.<sup>532</sup>

Addressing “Chaldaic”, i.e. Aramaic, probably Biblical and Targumic, he acknowledges that it has played an important part in the medieval Jewish restoration of Hebrew vocabulary, but, because it is confined to a limited corpus, it suffers from the same restrictions as Biblical Hebrew.<sup>533</sup>

Schultens underlines that Chaldaic and Syriac are so closely related that he usually refers to them by the same designation, namely Aramaic.<sup>534</sup> This comprehensive term for these distinct forms of ancient Aramaic was not new, but it is attested from the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>535</sup> He refers to the Syriac New Testament (1555) and the Syriac Old Testament (the Paris Polyglot, 1629–1645, volumes 6–9), and underscores the significance of indigenous Syriac lexicography, foremost among the dictionaries of Ḥasan bar Bahlul from the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century and Ishō‘ bar ‘Alī from the late 9<sup>th</sup> century. The former played an important part in Edmund Castell’s polyglot dictionary,<sup>536</sup> and the latter in Johann Heinrich Hottinger’s.<sup>537</sup> Schultens maintains that Syriac

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<sup>530</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, p. 5 (§§ 5–6).

<sup>531</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 6: “semi-vivam an dicam semi-mortuam aliquam speciem linguae avitae nobis conservantes.”

<sup>532</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 6 (§ 7)

<sup>533</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 6–7 (§§ 8–9). Cf. p. 10 (§ 17).

<sup>534</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 9: “ut Aramaeae appellatione utramque complecti soleamus”.

<sup>535</sup> In the Bible, Aramaic is designated as *Arāmīt*, that is, Aramaic, but in the Greek Septuagint it is rendered as Syriac. Chaldaic became the usual designation for Biblical and Jewish Targumic Aramaic, while Syriac referred to Christian Aramaic.

<sup>536</sup> Edmund Castell, *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, preface, the second page: “Dictionarium Syriacum Bar Bahluli, ingens volumen in folio, in hoc opus transvectum.” Bar Bahlul’s dictionary of scholarly and technical terms in Syriac was edited by Rubens Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum. Voces Syriacas Graecasque*, 5 vols., Paris 1888–1896, which was soon republished with an introduction and indices as *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule*, 3 vols. Paris 1901. The Syriac-Arabic dictionary of Bar ‘Alī was edited by Georg Hoffmann, *Syrisch-Arabishe Glossen* [Ālaf through Mīm], Keil 1874, and Richard H.A. Gottheil, *Bar ‘Alī (Ishō‘) The Syriac-Arabic glosses* [Nūn through Tāw], 2 vols. Rome 1908–1928.

<sup>537</sup> Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Etymologicum Orientale sive Lexicon harmonicum*, preface p. b4v. See Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*, p. 82.

studies are impeded by the lack of access to Syriac texts. However, he was acquainted with G.S. Assemani's publication of the Syriac Church Fathers in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (1719–1726). Referring to this work, he believes that compiling a Syriac dictionary from “these copious sources” would reveal “the old nature and abundance of this dialect” and promote exploration.<sup>538</sup>

Arriving at the Arabic language, Schultens disclaims the view that this language would be more distant from Hebrew than Aramaic or Syriac.<sup>539</sup> To illustrate the relationship of Arabic to other Semitic languages, Schultens envisages Arabic as the fourth major branch of the primordial tree trunk.<sup>540</sup> Its richness, uncorrupted state, and purity ensure that it encompasses whatever roots Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac once possessed in their earliest origins. It still retains the primary and most ancient meanings of the Semitic roots. As a lexicographical aid, Arabic has the advantage of providing empirical evidence. Schultens attacks previous theorists and practitioners of Hebrew lexicography, such as Avenarius, Bohle, Gousset, Löscher, and Neumann, for inventing formal meanings “which are more perplexed than the Gordian knot”. To explore the original meanings of Ancient Hebrew, one should not build on “the sand of one’s shrewdness and imagination”, but on the old bases and pillars supplied by “the Arabic dialect”.<sup>541</sup>

Schultens describes Ethiopic as a descendant of Arabic, the result of the migration and colonization by “the Joktanides”. After crossing the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb and settling in the heart of Ethiopia, the Joktanides spread their language across the country. Schultens dates this colonization to the time of Moses. He argues that Ethiopic preserves lexical roots lost in other Semitic languages. In view of the fact that only very few remains of Ancient Ethiopic (*Ge‘ez*) have survived, for instance, the Bible translations and some ecclesiastical writings, they do not allow the expectation of a rich harvest, until another Hiob Ludolf makes more texts available, he adds.<sup>542</sup>

Lastly, Schultens discusses the Samaritan language, which originated among the multi-ethnic colonizers sent to inhabit Samaria after the deportation of the ten Israelite tribes. He describes it as a blend of Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic linguistic features. The few remains of it – the Samaritan Pentateuch, published for the first time in the Paris Polyglot, and some liturgical prayers – do not promise much for clarifying Biblical Hebrew semantics.<sup>543</sup>

In his oration on the Queen of Sabaea (1740), Schultens also comments on the relationship between Hebrew and the Himyaritic language, which the Arabs call Sabaeen (Sabaic) and Hadramitic. He believes that there was only

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<sup>538</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, pp. 7–9 (§§ 10–13).

<sup>539</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 9 (§§ 14–15).

<sup>540</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 11–12 (§§ 19–20).

<sup>541</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 10–11 (§§ 17–18).

<sup>542</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 13–14 (§§ 22–23).

<sup>543</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 14–15 (§ 24).

a dialectal difference between the ancestral language of the Sabaeen Queen and the Hebrew of King Solomon. He maintains that the modern South Arabian dialect differs from Hebrew only in the placement of the accent.<sup>544</sup>

In his language classification, Schultens did not include Phoenician, even though Samuel Bochart (*Geographia sacra*, vol. 2, 1646) had shown that it is closely related to Hebrew. The Phoenician script was deciphered by Jean-Jacques Barthélemy in 1758.

After delimiting the scope of Oriental languages to exclude Ottoman Turkish and Persian, Schultens defends the teaching and learning of Oriental languages as part of theological university education. He outlines a curriculum that begins with Biblical Hebrew, then proceeds to Chaldaic and Syriac, followed by Rabbinic and Talmudic Hebrew, then Arabic, and finally Samaritan and Ethiopic. He admits that not all theological students have the opportunity to complete this course, but linguistically talented candidates of the ministry should broaden their erudition through this curriculum, so that the light that “dawned at the Reformation is not thrust back but steadily makes new progress”.<sup>545</sup>

#### 6.6.5 Turkish and Persian as non-Semitic languages

By limiting his concept of Oriental languages to those now classified as Semitic, Schultens excluded Ottoman Turkish and Persian. However, in his time, the term “Oriental languages” usually referred to the languages of the contemporary Orient (Arabic, Turkish, and Persian). Schultens certainly had a solid command of Ottoman Turkish. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, European scholars began writing grammars and dictionaries of Turkish.<sup>546</sup> Schultens possessed most of these grammatical and lexicographical tools<sup>547</sup> and likely availed

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<sup>544</sup> Schultens, *De regina Sabaeorum*, Leiden 1740, p. 38. Hebrew has the stress on the last syllable, whereas the Yemenite dialect has it on the penultimate, and again, Hebrew has the stress on the penultimate syllable, whereas the Yemenites have it on the syllable before the penultimate.

<sup>545</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 17–18 (§ 31).

<sup>546</sup> Turkish grammars were written by Hieronymus Megiser, *Institutionum linguae Turcicae libri quatuor*, Breslau and Leipzig 1612, André du Ryer, *Rudimenta grammatices linguae Turcicae*, Paris 1630, William Seaman, *Grammatica linguae Turcicae*, Oxford 1670, François a Mesgnien Meninski, *Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae institutiones seu Grammatica Turcica* (5<sup>th</sup> volume of his *Thesaurus*), Vienna 1680, and Jean-Baptist Holdermann, *Grammaire turque ou methode courte et facile pour apprendre la langue turque*, Constantinople 1730. Turkish dictionaries compiled in Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century are *Vocabulario nouo Italiano-Turcho*, 1599; Giovanni Molino’s *Dittionario della lingua Italiana-Turchesca*, Rome 1641; Bernard’s de Paris *Vocabolario Italiano-Turchesco*, Rome 1665; and François a Mesgnien Meninski’s *Thesaurus linguarum Orientalium continens lexicon Turcico-Arabico-Persicum Latine explicatum*, Vienna 1680.

<sup>547</sup> *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 531, nos. 3545 and 3551 (du Ryer’s Turkish grammar), p. 554, no. 6288 (Megiser’s Turkish grammar), 6289 (du Ryer’s Turkish

himself of them. He also had a Turkish translation of al-Jawharī's Arabic dictionary, published in Istanbul in 1728,<sup>548</sup> a gift from his Hungarian students, Ferenc Csepregi and György Verestói. He also possessed Turkish literature in manuscript form, e.g. collections of poetry<sup>549</sup> and proverbs,<sup>550</sup> and a Turkish translation of the Fables of Aesop.<sup>551</sup>

Schultens comments on the prevalent inclusion of Turkish and Persian within the term and concept of Oriental languages:

Since Persian and Turkish now hold sway in the Orient and use the Arabic script, they are thought by many to be counted among the Oriental languages and even to have a close kinship with Arabic.<sup>552</sup>

He underlines the grammatical diversity between Turkish and "the Oriental languages" in a narrow, strict sense:

In the verbal conjugations, in the nominal declension, and the rest of the grammar, you will find that this language traces its origin to another region.<sup>553</sup>

He admits that Ottoman Turkish has gradually incorporated "almost the entire Arabic language", adopting some grammatical features from it, in particular "infinitive and participle forms". With its mixture of Arabic, Persian and Turkic elements, Ottoman Turkish represents "a linguistic blend comparable to English".<sup>554</sup> He considered Turkish uncultivated and rough: "It is characterized by a harsh, warlike roughness as its natural quality" in

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grammar), no. 6291 (Molino's Turkish-Italian dictionary), p. 531, no. 3555 (Seaman's Turkish grammar), p. 531, no. 3556 (Holdermann's Turkish grammar), p. 602, no. 3840, manuscripts in quarto: *Vocabularium Arabico Turcicum* p. 605, no. 701, manuscripts in octavo: "*Vocabularium Turcicum cum interpretatione Italica*". *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 6, no. 168 in folio: (Meninski's Turkish-Persian-Arabic dictionary *Thesaurus linguarum Orientalium*).

<sup>548</sup> *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 6, no. 169: "Lexicon Gieuharii Turcice versum, Constantinopoli 1141 sive 1728".

<sup>549</sup> *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 604, nos. 7002 and 700, MSS in octavo.

<sup>550</sup> *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 605, no. 7016, MSS in octavo.

<sup>551</sup> *Bibliotheca Schultensiana*, p. 605, no. 7004, MSS in octavo.

<sup>552</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2. p. 15 (§ 25): "[...] lingua[e] Pesica et Turcica [...] quia nunc dominatum tenent in Oriente et charactere untuntur Arabico, a multis ambitu Orientalium linguarum comprehedi existimantur, quin imo cum Arabica dialecto arctam colere consanguinitatem."

<sup>553</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 16, (§ 28): "In coniugationibus, declinationibus reliquaque grammatica ex alio orbe sermonem huncce emersisse credas."

<sup>554</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 16 (§ 29).



contradistinction to the “soft pleasantness of Persian” and “the masculine weight of Arabic”.<sup>555</sup>

Likewise, Schultens exempted Persian from his narrow concept of Oriental languages. Persian studies in Europe date back to around 1600, when Dutch scholars began to discover lexical and morphological similarities between Persian and Germanic languages. Persian was explained as deriving from ancient Scythian, which then was considered the European proto-language. Schultens argues that the inflectional pattern of Persian attests its Scythian origin.<sup>556</sup> Admittedly, after Persian fell under Saracen rule, it adopted a large number of Arabic loanwords and naturalized them due to the influence of the Islamic religion and the veneration of Arabic.<sup>557</sup>

#### 6.6.6 Concept of dialect and nature of dialectal diversity

The final sections of the first chapter (§§ 34–39) contain a digression on the term dialect, focusing on distinctions between language and dialect, between genuine and spurious dialects (in the sense of daughter languages), and the causes of dialectal change. Evidently, the concept of dialect was ambiguous to Schultens’ contemporaries. In the early modern period, there was no uniform, universally accepted definition of the term.<sup>558</sup> His own use of the concept of dialect thus required an explanation, which he considered all the more important because the concept plays a key role in his theory of comparative Hebrew philology.

When the term dialect emerged as a concept for describing linguistic variety, it merely referred to small variation in pronunciation.<sup>559</sup> Subsequently, it was primarily used as a relational term in opposition to either a mother (ancestor) language or a national standard language. It was

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<sup>555</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 16 (§ 28): “Molli suavitate Persica, mascula gravitate Arabica, horrida quadam et bellatrice asperitate Turcica lingua velut nativo quodam charactere consignantur.”

<sup>556</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, pp. 15–16. Schultens refers to the infinitive endings in *-ten* and *-den*, as well as verbs, such as *griften*, *dasten*, *besten* or *benden* and *murden*, as counterparts of Dutch *grypen*, *tasten*, *binden*, *moorden*, “to seize, hold, bind, die”, and nouns, such as *choda*, God, and *broder*, brother.

<sup>557</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 16.

<sup>558</sup> See further Raf Van Rooy, *Language or dialect?: the history of a conceptual pair*, Oxford 2020.

<sup>559</sup> According to Toon Van Hal and Raf Van Rooy, “‘Differing only in dialect’, or how collocations can co-shape concepts”, *Language and communication* 56 (2017), pp. 95–109, the concept of dialect as the superficial difference between two speech varieties did not emerge until the 16<sup>th</sup> century and gained ground through the use of the phrase *dialecto tantum differre* or *variare*. Cf. Werner Besch, “Dialekt, Schreibdialekt, Schriftsprache, Standardsprache: Exemplarische Skizze ihrer historischen Ausprägung in deutschen”, in Werner Besch, Ulrich Knoop, Wolfgang Putschke, and Herbert Ernst Wiegand (eds.), *Dialektologie: Ein Handbuch zur deutschen und allgemeinen Dialektforschung*, Vol. 2, Berlin 1982, pp. 961–990.

thus adopted as a designation for a daughter language and as a term for regional linguistic variety, a usage that gradually became predominant.<sup>560</sup> Schultens regrets that some of his contemporaries failed to recognize that he used the concept in the former sense (as a daughter language), and that this conceptual confusion impeded their understanding of his entire programme for Hebrew language studies.<sup>561</sup>

Moreover, a specific reason for defining the concept of dialect more precisely was that Gousset had compared the relationship of the “Oriental dialects” – Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic – to Hebrew to the relationship of Italian, Spanish and French to Latin, that is, to Latin as a decayed dialect.<sup>562</sup> Likewise, Driessen used the term dialect to denote a corrupted variety, especially in the context of Romance languages. He argued that all Semitic languages, except Hebrew, had arisen as plebeian and rural varieties, “bastard speech”, and that Arabic had originated among an uncultivated rural people. As such, Arabic was not well-suited to shed light on Hebrew.<sup>563</sup>

In clarifying the concept of dialect, Schultens intended to remove the conceptual confusion surrounding the term. In his linguistic thought, the term meant “daughter language” or “related sister language”, depending on the entities being compared. In any case, it stood in conceptual opposition to the term “language” in the sense of “ancestor language”. Schultens argues that the historical emergence of dialects is related to the geographical separation of speakers of a single language. He conceptualized the ancestor language as a supra-regional and supra-national entity, while dialects were related to the formation of regional varieties among migrating nations.

Schultens argued that the dialects of the Hebrews, Arabs, and Aramaeans are regional and national varieties of an “Oriental”, that is, Semitic, speech community. He equated dialect with the concept of a national language. Accordingly, in distinguishing between language and dialect, he applied both genealogical and geographical criteria.

Schultens mainly used the concept of dialect to describe and analyse varieties of the “Oriental” (that is, Semitic) language and of Ancient Greek. Sometimes, he used the term “dialect” to refer to ancient Germanic languages.<sup>564</sup> He was unwilling to interpret the historical development of Romance languages in terms of dialectal diversification.<sup>565</sup> By his general

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<sup>560</sup> See further Eskhult, “The concept of dialect in the works of three seventeenth-century linguistic theorists”, in Raf Van Rooy (ed.), *Essays in the history of dialect studies: from ancient Greek to modern dialectology*, Münster 2020, pp. 88–89.

<sup>561</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, preface, p. \*2r.

<sup>562</sup> Gousset, *Commentarii linguae Ebraeae*, preface.

<sup>563</sup> Driessen, *Causa linguae Arabicae adversus Arabismi abusum*, 1737, p. 17 f.

<sup>564</sup> Schultens, *Theses de lingua primeva*, § 92, Leiden UB, MS Or. 1469, fol. 8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>565</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, preface, p. \*\*: “Those who designate the Italian, Spanish and French languages as dialects of Latin (*linguae Latinae dialecti*) either ignore what a dialect is or intentionally confuse that which is most distinct.”

definition of language as a supra-national ancestral language, he underscored the unique singularity of the Oriental language:

Just as only one Greek language is acknowledged by everyone, so I will prove that, strictly speaking, only one Oriental language ought to be posited.<sup>566</sup>

In defining the nature of a dialect as opposed to a language, Schultens resorted to the Aristotelian dichotomy of substance versus accident, which had been proposed in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century as a criterion for the language-dialect distinction, first by Christian Ravius.<sup>567</sup> Language is consequently equated with lexical substance (that is, the root morphemes), while dialect is understood as the phonological, semantic and syntactic variations to which this lexical substance is subject. Not acknowledging Ravius as his source of inspiration, Schultens defines dialect as follows:

A dialect is nothing else, and cannot be anything else among those who strive after accuracy, than an external and accidental variation of a single language. This variation does not extend into the internal substance but preserves the foundation intact and undamaged.<sup>568</sup>

Schultens divides the external variations or changes of a dialect into three classes: (1) phonology, (2) semantics, and (3) syntax with phraseology. He considers these variations as causes of the diversity among sister dialects (*sororiae dialecti*).<sup>569</sup>

#### 6.6.7 Methodological objections

In chapter five (October 1734), Schultens himself proposed fifteen objections to his methodology for comparing Hebrew and Arabic. When

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<sup>566</sup> Schultens, *Originum Hebraearum tomus secundus*, chapter I, § 34, p. 20: “quemadmodum una tantum Graeca lingua ab omnibus agnoscitur, sic unam stricte dictam linguam Orientalem statuendam esse evincam.

<sup>567</sup> Ravius, *Orthographiae et analogiae delineatio*, p. 42. For a collection of this and other passages in Ravius, see Eskhult, “The concept of dialect in the works of three seventeenth-century linguistic theorists: Georg Stiernhielm, Claudius Salmasius and Christian Ravius, in *Essays in the history of dialect studies*, edited by Raf Van Rooy, Münster 2020, p. 103. Cf. Raf Van Rooy, *Language or dialect: The history of a conceptual pair*, Oxford 2020, p. 112–113.

<sup>568</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, chapter I (§ 35) p. 20: “Dialectus nempe nihil aliud est nec esse potest apud omnes qui accurate loqui amant, quam unius linguae variatio quaedam externa et accidentalis, quae ad internam eius substantiam non pertingit, sed fundamentum integrum illibatumque conservat.”

<sup>569</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*, p. 20, gives a more systematic presentation of these types of dialectal change, see Section 6.7.5, pp. 181–183.

refuting them in chapter 6, two and a half years later (April 1737), he briefly repeated them.<sup>570</sup> The following are the fifteen objections:

(1) Arabic, the dialect that Schultens primarily uses for etymology, bears a more distant degree of kinship to Hebrew than other related languages do, such as Chaldaic and Syriac.<sup>571</sup> In terms of morphology, Hebrew and Arabic differ in four important respects:<sup>572</sup> (i) the number of derivative verbal stems, (ii) the formation of the regular plural, (iii) the formation of irregular plurals, and (iv) the declension of nouns in grammatical cases. These points of difference are readily observable.<sup>573</sup>

(2) Arabic has a vast lexical richness that is not found to the same extent in Biblical Hebrew, nor in Chaldaic and Syriac.

(3) The meanings of identical roots in Hebrew and Arabic are often different or even opposite.

(4) The Arabic lexical roots are marked by a perplexing confusion and an inexplicable multiplicity of meanings.

(5) Etymology is too arbitrary and speculative a field of study and should be excluded from the proper study of “the pure Biblical Hebrew”.

(6) The “Arabic dialect” decayed from “the old Hebrew purity” due to “the diversity of nations, mental character, life conditions, religion, sacred rites and profane customs”.

(7) It is unlikely that Arabic has preserved its most ancient quality and nature in a firm, unaltered state, since all languages change over time.

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<sup>570</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, chapter 5, pp. 115–131 (§§ 3–22). For a restatement of each objection, see chapter 6, pp. 131–165 (§§ 2–26). For a concise summary of each objection, see idem, *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*, pp. 32–33. Cf. idem, *Excursus tertius*, 1739, pp. 11–14.

<sup>571</sup> The view that Hebrew is more remote to Arabic than to Aramaic was voiced by Hottinger in the preface to his grammar of Semitic languages, *Grammatica quatuor linguarum Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae et Arabicae harmonica*, p. 2: “Differt a Hebraismo Chaldaismus, longius recedit Syriasmus, longissime abest Arabismus.” “Aramaic differs from Hebrew, Syriac departs more, but most distant is Arabic.” This was quoted by Schultens in *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, p. 118 and p. 131 f.

<sup>572</sup> This specification is concisely restated in *Excursus tertius*, p. 26, which I follow here. It is also found in *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, pp. 132–134. In chapter 5, vol. 2, p. 118, the regular plural formation is not mentioned.

<sup>573</sup> In the introduction to his polyglot dictionary, Hottinger similarly describes and explains the diversity of Hebrew and Arabic. He refers to the number and form of letters, the number and form of inflectional endings, the use of case endings, a larger number of lexical roots, a larger number of verbal stem forms, and phraseology. See Hottinger, *Etymologicum Orientale sive Lexicon harmonicum heptaglotton* (1661), preface, a 4 recto: “Arabica certe ab Hebraea differt elementorum numero et figura, terminationum numero et forma, casibus, radicum quantitate, (sola Arabica locupletior hic est, quam reliquae omnes), coniugationum apparatu, constructione loquendi formulis.”

(8) Arabic literature is much later than the Hebrew Bible, as originating in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, just after the time of Muhammad and the composition of the Koran.

(9) Schultens' etymologies always require further support and evidence, and the art of etymology is always in a process of transformation.

(10) Hebrew and Arabic have no affinity with the antediluvian language of humankind, the lexical meanings of which were already lost in prehistoric times, long before the descendants of Joktan, the brother of Peleg, colonized South Arabia and Arabic emerged and was formed.

(11) The testimony of the Arab historians on the ancient Empire of the Joktanides and its uninterrupted duration until the second century AD is not historically trustworthy.

(12) The method that Schultens publicly recommends is unjustified, imprudent and dangerous, because through it

a. Ignorant people are granted the liberty of arbitrariness and of disdaining scholarship;

b. The value of accepted Bible translations is diminished, and the Hebrew source language itself is accused of imperfection, since the knowledge of it suffers from a great many lacunae (*defectus*).

c. The excellent findings of previous and contemporary scholars are detracted and held in lower estimation;

d. A gate for subjectivism is widely opened; everyone is allowed to bring forward anything and to proceed without limit or moderation.

(13) The results of comparative Semitic language studies as practised by Castell, Bochart, Pococke, and Hottinger are considered unimportant and "of a low quality to such a degree that they often obscure rather than enlighten".<sup>574</sup> This criticism was advanced by Gousset in the introduction to his Hebrew dictionary, where he argues that Orientalists such as Joseph Justus Scaliger (in his capacity as an Arabic scholar), Salmasius, Bochart, Hottinger, and Hinckelmann are mistaken in their analysis of polysemous and homonymous words.<sup>575</sup>

(14) Arabic is less useful than Aramaic and Syriac for illuminating Hebrew, since it has decayed by adopting Greek, Latin, Persian and Turkish loanwords, rendering it "impure, luxurious, rough and immense". It is inappropriate to force naturalized Arabic loanwords onto Biblical Hebrew.

(15) The etymological study of Hebrew is unwarranted because, in most cases, the secondary meanings of words can be established by comparing parallel passages.

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<sup>574</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, pp. 127–129 and pp. 160–162. Cf. idem, *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*, p. 33 (objection no. 13).

<sup>575</sup> Gousset, *Commentarii linguae Ebraicae*, p. 6 (right-hand column M.3. and N.3).

### 6.6.8 Refutation of the proposed objections

In chapter 6, Schultens refutes the objections surveyed above. Against the first, he counters that the number of stem forms varies across Hebrew grammars – Kimchi gives eight, Abraham de Balmes counts eleven (cf. Section 6.5.4) – and argues that the accepted low number must be expanded in Hebrew grammar to account for rare, deviating forms according to the pattern of regularity (*analogia*) rather than that of irregularity. (*anomalia*).<sup>576</sup> The regular Arabic plural suffix (-*ūn*) should be compared to Aramaic -*īn*, the rare feminine plural in Hebrew, viz. -*īn*, and the rare dual ending in Hebrew, viz. -*ayin*.<sup>577</sup> The irregular forms of the broken plural in Arabic are explained as originating from collective nouns: “singular forms of nouns and infinitives, to which antiquity added a collective meaning”. Schultens implicitly argues that the broken plurals are irrelevant to a comparative analysis of Hebrew and Arabic.<sup>578</sup> The use of case endings in Arabic corresponds to a functional distinction of grammatical cases in Hebrew.<sup>579</sup>

In response to the second objection, Schultens replies that it is valid only if Biblical Hebrew has been preserved in all its copiousness as it flourished in the past. He restates his claim that most of Ancient Hebrew is lost, while Arabic has been preserved intact, and offers a great number of words and senses, like an immense river and an ocean. According to indigenous traditions, Heber’s sons, Peleg and Joktan, were the ancestors of the Hebrews and the South Arabians. Therefore, the Hebrew and Arabic nations and languages share the same ethno-linguistic origins from the house of Heber (Gen 10:25).<sup>580</sup>

Regarding the third contention, Schultens retorts that the presumed divergence of meanings in Hebrew and Arabic is a shortcoming on the part of the lexicographers. The lexical-semantic difference depends on divergent metaphors. Once the original meaning is restored, the contradictory secondary meanings will be reconciled.<sup>581</sup>

Regarding the fourth objection, Schultens counters that the apparent multiplicity of meanings stems from European lexicographers of Arabic.

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<sup>576</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 132–133. Schultens here refers to his Hebrew grammar.

<sup>577</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 133 f.

<sup>578</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 134: “formae singulares substantivae et infinitivae, quas collectiva potestate auxit antiquitas.”

<sup>579</sup> Schultens refers to *Clavis dialectotum*, pp. 371 f., where this counter-argument is developed but not demonstrated. For a description of the functional distinction of grammatical cases in Hebrew, see Schultens’ Hebrew grammar, *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, pp. 180–181, where the use of prepositions to express the genitive, dative, accusative, or ablative, the use of *status constructus* to express the genitive, and the use of the object marker תָּ (‘et) to express the accusative are demonstrated.

<sup>580</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, pp. 134–135.

<sup>581</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 137.

Giggei and Golius simply reproduced al-Jawharī and al-Fīrūzābādī, whose methods Schultens exemplifies. He adds that if the multiplicity of meanings renders a language vague, Greek and Latin are equally vague as Arabic. He refers to the abundance of secondary meanings of *πτττειν*, *cadere*, and נפל (*nāfal*), all of which originate from the primary meaning “to fall”.<sup>582</sup>

In addressing the fifth objection, Schultens concedes that the art of etymology, since its Roman beginnings, has been open to unrestrained imagination and devoid of solid principles. This applies to the state of recent Hebrew lexicography. He deplores the deep-rooted idea of contrary meaning (*antiphrasis*) and the novel idea of formal meaning (*formalis significatio*). Discretion and prudence are needed in etymological research rather than rejecting it entirely.<sup>583</sup>

Against the sixth objection, Schultens offers a fourfold response. First, this argument applies more to Chaldaic and Syriac than to Arabic, yet scholars are more inclined to use these languages than Arabic. Secondly, everyone agrees that there is a difference between Hebrew and Arabic due to differing customs and rites, but no expert would argue that the kinship is disrupted on this basis. Thirdly, one has to distinguish between what is a particular linguistic property of a nation and what is common to nations that form a community of one language (*unius linguae communitas*) with an ancestral heritage. Fourthly, the linguistic and cultural ties between Jews and Arabs were closer than commonly believed. He even states that Islam is “a reboiled Judaism” (*Judaismus recoctus*), with the implication that “most of Islam existed in Arabia from the most remote times”.<sup>584</sup>

Schultens counters the seventh argument by citing his two speeches on the internal and external causes of the purity of Arabic. He presents the objection as both the most serious and the most illusory one (*ut gravissima, ita speciosissima est obiectio*).<sup>585</sup>

Regarding the eighth objection, Schultens grants that the Koran is the norm for subsequent Arabic language and literature, and that it is not very safe to infer the original meanings of Hebrew from Arabic literature of much later date and of inferior authority to the Hebrew Bible. He concedes that this implies “a great and principal objection” (*magna et capitalis obiectio*), but dismisses it as a void accusation. Firstly, early Arabic lexicography is based on sources that go beyond both the Koran and writers contemporary with Muhammad. It is also based on the pre-Islamic poets, as is evident from al-Jawharī’s dictionary *Ṣiḥāḥ*, which abounds with references to pre-Islamic poets,<sup>586</sup> drawn from the transparent sources (*e limpidissimis fontibus*) of pre-Islamic literature. His successor al-Fīrūzābādī drew on the most

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<sup>582</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 140–149.

<sup>583</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 149–150.

<sup>584</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 150.

<sup>585</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 151.

<sup>586</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 153.

approved Arabic authors when compiling his comprehensive *al-Qāmūs* (i.e. ‘the Ocean’).<sup>587</sup> Secondly, there existed an Arabic high culture and literature long before the time of Muhammad, from which one can form an opinion about the nature and proper meanings of Old Arabic vocabulary.<sup>588</sup> He refers to manuscripts of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry in the library of Leiden University and enumerates those he had copied and that were in his possession: the *Dīwān* of the Hudhayls (*Diwan Hudeiliticum*), the seven *Mu‘allaqāt* and the anthology *Ḥamāsa*. For an orientation on the cultivation of Arabic poetry in pre-Islamic times, he refers to Edward Pococke and to an account in a manuscript by the Abbasid historian Muhammad ibn Hisham.

In response to the ninth objection, Schultens replies that he sets out to explore the original meaning of words in order to reconcile or unify the secondary meanings, but he does not embark on a futile search for the units on which the original meanings are allegedly based.

The tenth objection is admittedly ingenious. Schultens only promises to return to this topic elsewhere. In several treatises, however, he argues for a historical continuity between the primordial language of mankind and the post-Babelic languages of the Semitic family.<sup>589</sup>

Although the eleventh objection can be traced to Campegius Vitringa in his *Commentary on Isaiah* (ch. 20),<sup>590</sup> Schultens bases his position on the authority of Bochart’s *Geographia sacra*, maintaining that the Joktanides settled *Arabia Felix*, whereas the posterity of Cush settled *Arabia Deserta* and *Arabia Petraea*.

To the twelfth objection and its four points of criticism, Schultens addresses the first three. Responding to the first, which appears to concern his dismissal of inquiry into formal lexical meanings, he merely regrets “the envious weakness of the human mind,” which always looks for fast and simple solutions. Turning to the next point, he argues that the religious zeal for extant Bible translations is not genuine if it cannot “tolerate further discussion of the truth”. The third point concerns the concept of defects in Hebrew (see Sections 3.1.1, 6.3.1, 6.5.4 and 6.8.3). He also addresses the concept of defect from a theological perspective. Gousset’s idea that Hebrew is like the sun, which illuminates but cannot itself be illuminated, does not apply to “the heavenly doctrine” because this doctrine does not teach the Hebrew language or the original and proper meanings of its vocabulary.

On the thirteenth objection, Schultens partly considers Gousset to be right, since the main authorities in Oriental learning, such as Bochart and

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<sup>587</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 154.

<sup>588</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 124: “unde de natura et proprietate veteris linguae iudicium ferri queat.”

<sup>589</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 157. Cf. *idem*, *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*, p. 50.

<sup>590</sup> Vitringa, *Commentarius in librum prophetiarum Jesaiae*, Leovardiae/ Leeuwarden 1714, p. 587 (in an exposition of the location of the Arabic Cushites).



Hottinger, are not entirely successful. However, it is unfair to reject their golden observations because of occasional shortcomings.<sup>591</sup>

Against the fourteenth objection, Schultens maintains that foreign word elements are easily recognizable in Arabic. He argues that those who deem Arabic a less suitable aid to Hebrew studies are not well acquainted with the history of the restoration of Hebrew. The first Jewish restorers, for instance, Saadia Gaon, Yehuda Ḥayyuj and Ibn Janah, frequently turned to Arabic. Richard Simon had already made this point, concluding that Saadia Gaon, Yehuda Ḥayyuj and Ibn Janah used Arabic as their vernacular.<sup>592</sup> The contention that the Jews did not know Arabic applies only to those who lived outside the Caliphate of Cordoba and, later, to figures such as Ibn Ezra, Moses Kimchi, David Kimchi, Joseph ben Caspi, Rashi, and Gersonides. Referring to August Pfeiffer, Schultens argues that Arabic is widely regarded as an excellent aid to Hebrew.<sup>593</sup> In his *Hermeneutica sacra*, Pfeiffer states that this fact needs no proof.<sup>594</sup>

In response to the fifteenth objection, Schultens replies that different issues are at stake: semantic, homiletic, exegetical, and ecclesiological. The first concerns the relationship between the basic and secondary meanings of words, more precisely, the meaning that unifies semantic diversity and constitutes “the interior part and life of a language”. Schultens here employs the term *formalis significatio*, “formal meaning”, by which he, in reality, aims at a “unifying meaning” on the basis of Lockean etymology rather than on the basis of Cartesian rationalist linguistics, where “formal meaning” was first coined as a semantic term. Regarding the other issues, Schultens takes his stance as both a Cocceian and an adherent to irenicism in confessional disputes, and accordingly emphasizes the combination of scholarly biblical linguistic learning with Christian faith and piety on biblical grounds.

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<sup>591</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 162.

<sup>592</sup> Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1685), p. 169: [...] “les premiers grammairiens Juifs sont nés dans les païs où l’on parloit alors la langue Arabe, soit à Babylone ou à Jerusalem, soit en Afrique en Andalousie ou en Espagne. Leurs ouvrages ont été premierement écrits en Arabe, puis traduits en Hebreu de Rabbin.”

<sup>593</sup> Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, p. 163–165.

<sup>594</sup> Pfeiffer, *Hermeneutica sacra, sive luculenta et succinta tractatio de legitima interpretatione Sacrarum Literarum*, Dresden 1687, ch. 6, § 7, p. 110, republished in his *Opera omnia* (1704), p. 643: “Hic vero egregie Ebraismo suppetiantur linguae cognatae, praesertim Arabica in hunc usque diem florentissima. Quod apud eruditos nulla indigere probatione putamus.”

## 6.7 *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi* (1738): programme for Hebrew semantics and etymology

### 6.7.1 *The title and general contents*

In 1738, Schultens published the principal work on his theory and method of Hebrew semantic etymology. It is entitled: *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi, asserta contra novam et metaphysicam hodiernam*, “The old and royal way of studying Hebrew, asserted against the new and modern metaphysical method”.<sup>595</sup> For the title page, see Figure 12. In the 1740s, Schultens planned a revised and expanded edition of this treatise.<sup>596</sup>

The treatise consists of two parts. In the first part (pp. 1–34), Schultens offers an autobiographical and historiographical rationale for his comparative Hebrew philology. He recounts his university education in Groningen and his reaction to the novelties introduced by Jacques Gousset in *Commentarii linguae Hebraicae*, which were based on “metaphysical” principles. Schultens’ treatises on Hebrew etymology aimed to refute the logical semantics of Biblical Hebrew. In a review of *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi* in the supplements to the Leipzig journal *Nova acta eruditorum*, the reviewer explains the sense of the word “metaphysical” in the title as “abstract”. Bohle and Gousset had tried to solve the problem of Hebrew polysemy by establishing a general meaning for each root. “Since this general meaning is abstract, Schultens called this method metaphysical,” the reviewer concludes.<sup>597</sup>

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<sup>595</sup> The term “royal way” literally denotes a paved, straight, and wide main road that is safe for travel, trade, troop movement, and communication. It also figuratively refers to a safe way or method to attain a goal. Schultens did not use the term in the sense of a shortcut to knowledge, as in Euclid’s saying: “There is no royal pathway (βασιλικὴ ἀτραπὸς) to geometry” (Proclus’ preface to his commentary on Euclid’s *Elements*). The trade route between Egypt and Mesopotamia was known as the king’s highway (Num 20:18). In the Achaemenid Empire, the road between Susa and Sardis, built by Darius I, was designated the Royal Road (Herodotus’ *Histories* 5.52–54). In the Roman Republic and Empire, a network of paved, straight public roads was built, with the first being the *Via Appia*, begun in 312 BC. In medieval Europe, the highway between Santiago de Compostella and Moscow was called the *Regia Via*, along which kings guaranteed travellers’ safety in exchange for taxes. This explains why Schultens employed the concept of a royal highway to signify a safe method. In the title of *De defectibus linguae Hebraeae*, the concept of methodological safety is expressed by the phrase *tutissima ratio ac via*. In using the metaphor of a highway, Schultens was probably not thinking of public roads in the Netherlands, where travel and transport mainly took place on canals.

<sup>596</sup> In his preface to *Proverbia Salomonis*, p. LXXXIII, Schultens mentions this plan. His personal copy of *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi* is described as richly annotated: “cum plurimis notis manuscriptis Auctoris”. See *Catalogus bibliothecae, quam reliquit Henricus Albertus Schultens*, Leiden 1794, p. 79, no. 412 in quarto.

<sup>597</sup> *Supplementa ad nova acta eruditorum*, vol. 4, pp. 211.

Schultens himself describes his own Hebrew etymology as a fulfillment of the semantic goals that Gousset “in vain” promised in the subtitle of his Hebrew dictionary, and concludes with a summary restatement of the fifteen objections he raised to his own theory and practice of comparative Hebrew language studies. In the second part (pp. 35–112), Schultens restates the same etymological rules as he had already proposed against Driessen and expounds them thoroughly (pp. 39–112).

#### 6.7.2 *The eighteen axiomatic principles*

Schultens sets out the basis of his semantic Hebrew etymology in eighteen axioms. Below, each rule is presented in translation, with the Latin original in footnotes, compared with the text of his refutation of Driessen’s criticism:

1. In the word-stock of all languages, there is something specific, unique, domestic,<sup>598</sup> and individual in both the secondary and primary meanings. This particularity cannot be translated into other languages with the same force, dignity, beauty, and copiousness.<sup>599</sup>
2. Such a particular character is conspicuous in Hebrew and in the Chaldaic, Syriac and Arabic dialects because of their great antiquity.<sup>600</sup>
3. In every language, each word has only one primary and proper meaning.<sup>601</sup>
4. Every language abounds in meanings that are referred to as secondary, which have arisen through metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, irony, catachresis, and other rhetorical tropes.<sup>602</sup>

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<sup>598</sup> This word, literally “belonging to the household”, is here used in the sense of “existing or produced inside a particular region or country”.

<sup>599</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 36: “1. Axioma. Omnes linguae habent aliquid privum, singulare, domesticum, suum, tum in secundariis, tum in primariis significationibus, quod in alias linguis eadem virtute, dignitate, vetustate et amplitudine transfundi non potest.” Cf. *Vindiciae* (1737), p. 17: “I. Omnes linguae habent aliquid singulare, domesticum, suum, praesertim circa origines, quod in alias linguis eadem virtute, dignitate, vetustate et amplitudine transfundi non potest.”

<sup>600</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 36: “2. Hic character multo eminentissimus est ob summam antiquitatem in lingua Hebraea eiusque dialectis Chaldaica, Syriaca, Arabica.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 17: “II. Hic character prae omnibus aliis ob summam antiquitatem eminent in lingua Hebraea eiusque dialectis Chaldaica, Syriaca, et Arabica.”

<sup>601</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 36: “3. Omnes linguae sub uno vocabulo unam tantum significationem primariam et propriam possident.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 18: “3. Omnes linguae sub uno vocabulo unam tantum significationem propriam et primariam possident.” The reviewer in *Supplementa ad nova acta eruditorum*, vol. 4, pp. 212, adds that this meaning is not general, but particular: “Omnes linguae sub uno vocabulo unam tantum significationem primariam et propriam, eandemque non universalem, sed particularem, possidere.”

<sup>602</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 36: “4. Eaedem tamen omnes foecundae sunt in significationes, quas vocamus secundarias per metaphoram, metonymiam,

5. This abundance is so great that the primary and proper meaning of a word sometimes diffuses into thirty, sixty, a hundred, or more secondary and figurative meanings, like a tree that extends its major or minor branches in all directions.<sup>603</sup>

6. Among these secondary meanings, there is apparently no similarity, agreement, or concord, but rather dissimilarity, divergence, and discord. In a well-ordered language, it should not be and cannot be otherwise.<sup>604</sup>

7. An agreement on these divergent and conflicting meanings cannot be found, or at least cannot be demonstrated, unless the primary meaning, from which the secondary meanings are derived, is available.<sup>605</sup>

8. The one single, primary, original, and proper meaning is rare in a language, whereas metaphorical, metonymic, and synecdochic meanings, along with other secondary meanings, are most common and prevail everywhere.<sup>606</sup>

9. This is valid to the extent that the primary meaning does not even occur in an extensive book or in any prolific author, not even in many, whereas secondary meanings fill every page and recur infinitely.<sup>607</sup>

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synecdochen, ironiam, catachresin aliosque tropos rhetoricos.” *Vindiciae*, p. 18, has the same wording except for “aliosque”, where “aliosve”, that is “or others”, is used.

<sup>603</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 36: “5. Tanta haec foecunditas, ut una princeps et propria potestas unius vocabuli sese aliquando ad tringinta, sexaginta, centum et ultra secundarias et tropicas significationes diffundat, haud secus ac stirps ramos maiores, minores quaquaversum dimittit.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 18: “5. Tanta haec foecunditas, ut una princeps et propria potestas unius vocabuli sese aliquando ad tringinta, sexaginta, atque adeo centum secundarias atque translatae explicat et diffundat, haud secus ac stirps ramos maiores, minores quaquaversum dimittit.”

<sup>604</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, pp. 36–37: “6. Inter has secundarias notiones nulla saepe similitudo apparet, conveniente nulla, nulla concordia, sed contra dissimilitudo, discrepantia, pugna. Quae tamen revera nulla esse nec debet nec potest in lingua bene constituta.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 18: “6. Inter has secundarias notiones nulla saepe conveniente, nulla concordia, sed contra dissimilitudo, contrarietas, pugna.”

<sup>605</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 37: “7. Harum dissidentium et pugnantium significationum concordia inveniri plane nequit, certe non demonstrari, nisi prae manibus sit primaria, unde secundariae istae profluxerunt.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 18: “VII. Harum dissonantium significationum concordia inveniri nequit, nisi prae manibus sit primaria, unde secundariae istae profluxerunt.”

<sup>606</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 37: “8. Haec tamen primaria, princeps, propria, una in omnibus linguis est rarioris usus, quum ex adversario metaphoricæ, metonymicæ, synecdochicæ reliquæque illae, quas secundarias dicimus, multo creberrimae sint et passim regnent.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 18: “VIII. Haec tamen primaria, princeps, propria, una in omnibus linguis est rarissimi usus, quum ex adversario metaphoricæ et secundariae multo creberrimae sint et regnum obtineant.”

<sup>607</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 37: “9. Id adeo verum certumque, ut aliquando primigenia potestas in magno libro et auctore copioso, quin et in pluribus, ne semel quidem occurrat, ubi secundariae potestates omnem paginam implent et sexcenties

10. The less the supply of writings in a language, the more difficult is the investigation of the original, or primary, meanings from which the secondary ones have emerged.<sup>608</sup>

11. If a language has survived in only one book, which in an abundant style deals with human and divine matters, it is impossible, by the nature of language, that the original meanings of most words are contained in that book. As implied above, none, or only a few, will be found there.<sup>609</sup>

12. The original meanings, which are not contained in the book we have, cannot be determined or proven from it, even if one spends a lifetime in eager collation and comparison of biblical passages.<sup>610</sup>

13. The secondary meanings that arise from metaphors, metonymies, synecdoches, ironies, and other figures of speech are so arbitrary, free, and loose that, a priori, they cannot be deduced or demonstrated by any human acumen, critical study, or logical or metaphysical speculation. They can only be discovered a posteriori; that is, they become clear through insight into the original meaning and suggest themselves to everyone by their own light and grace.<sup>611</sup>

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recursant.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 18: “IX. Id adeo verum certumque, ut aliquando primigenia potestas in magno libro et auctore copioso ne semel quidem occurrat, ubi secundariae potestates omnem paginam implent et sexcenties recursant.”

<sup>608</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 37: “10. Quo minor copia librorum in aliquo lingua, eo impeditior investigatio originum sive principum notionum, unde secundariae manarunt.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 18: “X. Quo minor copia librorum in aliquo lingua, eo impeditior investigatio harum originum.”

<sup>609</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 37: “11. Si unus tantum codex ex aliqua lingua supersit, qui de rebus humanis et divinis copiose tractet, per naturam ipsam linguae fieri nequit, ut in eo libro plerorumque vocabulorum origines contineantur, sed, ut modo insinuat, vel nullae ibi comparebunt vel rarissimae.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 18: “XI. “11. Si unus tantum codex ex aliqua lingua supersit, per rei naturam fieri nequit, ut in eo plerorumque vocum origines contineantur, sed, ut modo insinuat, vel nullae ibi comparebunt vel multo rarissimae, ut sane vix ducentae dantur radices, quarum princeps illa potestas in Bibliis conservata, quia nulla sese offerebat occasio eam adhibendi.” The last consecutive clause, which does not occur in *Vetus et regia via*, means: “so that there are hardly two hundred roots, of which the primary meaning is preserved in the Bible, because the occasion of using it did not offer itself.”

<sup>610</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 37: “12. Iam vero quae origines in ipso, quo gaudemus, libro non continentur, eae ex illo certe fundo effodi et solide demonstrari nequeunt, etiamsi universam vitam in acerrima collatione et contentione locorum consumeremus.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 18: “XII. Iam vero quae proprietas in ipso, quo gaudemus, libro vel auctore non continetur, eae ex illo certe fundo effodi et erui nequit, etiamsi universam vitam in acerrima collatione et contentione locorum consumeremus.”

<sup>611</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, pp. 37–38: “13. Nempe secundariae illae notiones, quae per metaphoras, metonymias, synecdoches, ironias aliasque figurationes efflorescunt, adeo arbitariae sunt, adeo liberae ac solutae, ut a priori nullo ingenio

14. Because the original meanings in Hebrew should not and cannot have been transferred into any vernacular translation of the Bible, it is not consistent with common sense to try to explore and determine these meanings from translations, ancient or modern.<sup>612</sup>

15. Original meanings, which are not even found in the Hebrew source, can be expressed even less in translation.<sup>613</sup>

16. According to the nature of things and sound reason, the primary or original meanings, which are neither retained nor found in the Bible, cannot be extant there and must not be investigated anywhere other than in its dialects, that is, within the body of Oriental languages.<sup>614</sup>

17. No cognate dialects, in themselves, are sufficient to ensure their original meanings. Rather, they need mutual support and light.<sup>615</sup>

18. No one enters into the kernel of languages and attains a general view and living sense of the original meanings through dictionaries, but

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humano, nulla arte critica, nulla logica aut metaphysica speculatione attingi aut demonstrari queant, sed a posteriori demum reperiuntur, id est per inspectam originem patescunt atque se sua luce et gratia omnibus insinuant.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 18: “XIV. Nempe secundariae illae notiones, quae per metaphoras, metonymias, synecdoches aliasque figurationes efflorescunt, adeo liberae sunt ac solutae, ut a priori nullo ingenio humano, nullo iudicio critico, nullo [sic!] logica aut metaphysica, vel sublimissima, attingi queant, sed a posteriori demum reperiuntur, id est per originem patescunt atque se sua luce et gratia omnibus insinuant.”

<sup>612</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 38: “14. Ut origines Hebraeae in versionem vernaculam quamcumque transfundi nec debuerunt nec sane potuerunt, ita a sensu communi abhorret eas ex versionibus sive veterum sive recentiorum indagare et constituere velle.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 19: “XIV. Ut origines Hebraeae in versionem vernaculam quamcumque transfundi nec debent nec possunt, ita a sensu communi abhorret eas ex versionibus sive veterum sive recentiorum indagare velle.”

<sup>613</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 38: “15. Quae origines in Fonte Hebraeo ne adsunt quidem, multo minus adhuc in versionibus exprimi potuerunt.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 19: “XV. Quae origines ne in Codice quidem Hebraeo conservatae, multo minus adhuc in versionibus exprimi potuerunt.”

<sup>614</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 38: “16. Primariae istae potestates sive origines, quae in Bibliis ipsis non extant nec occurrunt secundum naturam rei et sanam rationem, nusquam alibi nec residere possunt nec vestigare debent, quam in dialectis eius et corpore linguarum Orientalium.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 19: “XVI. Primariae istae potestates linguae Hebraeae, quae in Bibliis non occurrunt secundum naturam et conditionem rei, nusquam alibi nec residere possunt nec vestigare debent, quam in dialectis eius totoque corpore linguarum Orientalium.”

<sup>615</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 38: “17. Nullae dialecti, quibus aliquid inter se cognationis, sibimet sufficiunt ad origines sibi suas praestandas, sed mutuam opem lucemque desiderant.” Cf. *Vindiciae*, p. 19: “XVII. Nulla dialectus sibi sufficit ad origines sibi suas praestandas, sed omnes mutuam opem lucemque desiderant. Nulla satis docte, solide, profunde tenetur, nisi omnes sub conspectu habeantur.” The second sentence means: “We do not know a dialect in a sufficiently learned, firm, and profound manner, unless we have a general view of all dialects.”

only through assiduous reading of ancient books and sources. Those who obtain knowledge only from dictionaries know too little.<sup>616</sup>

### 6.7.3 Explanation of the first rule

In his semantic theory, Schultens takes his point of departure from the typological diversity of languages. This discerning approach traces back to antiquity. The Roman encounter with foreign languages led to the insight into the particularity of their own Latin language, which was conceptualized as *proprietas linguae*, “particular character of language”.<sup>617</sup> This concept is attested in ecclesiastical authors of late antiquity, such as Jerome and Augustine.<sup>618</sup> It survived in the Middle Ages, and in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the concept was also expressed by the term *genius linguae*, known in French as “*génie de la langue*”. The spread of the concept was prompted by the theory and practice of translation in the European Renaissance, where it could refer to the special character of the source language or the target language. Translational theorists of the Italian Renaissance, such as the famous Latin and vernacular humanist Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444), often applied the concept of *proprietas* to the problem of correctly translating the proper meanings of single words and phrases that are particular to the source language. Statements on the typological differences of languages often appear in the works of Jean Le Clerc and represent an insight to which Schultens refers as “proven by the public experience of everyone”,<sup>619</sup> while at the same time acknowledging its consequences at a deeper level.

In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689), John Locke comments on the untranslatability of words that signify complex ideas, especially mixed modes, across languages:

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<sup>616</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 38: “18. Ad interiorem medullam linguarum et originum conspectum sensumque vivum, non per lexica pervenitur, sed per assiduam lectionum librorum fontiumque veterum. Parum sapit, qui e lexicis tantum sapit.” Cf. idem, *Vindiciae*, p. 19: “Is conspectus non in lexicis panditur, sed in libris, quos qui non assidue versat, nunquam ad vivum et vegetum harum linguarum sensum perveniet.” “This general view is not found in dictionaries but in books, and unless we assiduously study them, we will not reach a living and vigorous understanding of these languages.

<sup>617</sup> See Frederick M. Renner, *Interpretatio. Language and translation from Cicero to Tytler*, Atlanta 1989. Latin *proprietas* implies distinctiveness in relation to something other or foreign and to the common, so that it can mean “particularity, particular character, special quality, distinctive feature, characteristic”.

<sup>618</sup> Toon Van Hal, “Génie de la langue: the genesis and early career of a key notion in early modern European learning”, in *Language and history* 56:2 (2013), p. 86.

<sup>619</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 39: “Rem publica omnium experientia comprobata simpliciter nunc pono [...]”

A moderate skill in different languages will easily satisfy one of the truth of this, it being so obvious to observe the great store of words in one language, which have not any that answer them in another.<sup>620</sup>

Schultens quoted this passage in his excerpts on Locke.<sup>621</sup> In his philological treatises, he often refers to a language's particular character as its *genius linguae*.<sup>622</sup> In explaining the first rule mentioned above, he argues that every language has distinctive features in syntax, phraseology, proverbs, and semantics. He points out that Dutch, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew have different syntactic structures and that each national language forms its phrases and expressions according to its own nature (*pro genio quaeque suo*) in relation to ecclesiastical, political, and moral customs. He stresses that proverbial sayings differ between the Orient and the Occident due to material and cultural factors.<sup>623</sup> Still, the particularity of language is primarily traced to the original and transferred meanings of words, the latter of which is attributed to the use of metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche.<sup>624</sup>

Schultens classifies the field of proper meanings into four groups, viz.: (a) the naming of things from an associated quality, (b) the designation of non-physical entities from concrete things,<sup>625</sup> (c) the labelling of the mind's actions by basic and necessary metaphors,<sup>626</sup> and (d) reference to words that

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<sup>620</sup> Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, book III, 5, 8.

<sup>621</sup> Schultens, Leiden UB, MS Or. 1460, envelope "d", fol. 28r, under the heading Locque (i.e. Locke). See my forthcoming edition of these excerpts in *Schultens' unpublished manuscripts on comparative Hebrew philology* (section 5.3.6).

<sup>622</sup> Schultens, *Liber Jobi cum commentario*, title page: "in quo [...] genuinus sensus ad priscum linguae genium indagatur", vol. 1, pp. 28, 39, 73, 108, 143, 150, 152, 188, 219, 278, 294, 330, 347, 367, 486, 497, 514, 515, 527; vol. 2, pp. 550, 604, 633, 647, 655, 687, 707, 736, 873, 885, 972, 1038, 1024, 1050, 1071, 1090, 1176. *Proverbia Salomonis*, pp. 9, 14, 18, 23, 157, 170, 199, 245, 305, 332, 356, 358, 359, 382, 428, 452, 496.

<sup>623</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, pp. 39–40.

<sup>624</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 40–49, treating the semantic diversity between languages.

<sup>625</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 41: "Quae corpore vacant substantiae, rarissime eodem, saepe diverso e fonte denominatae." Examples include words for spirit and soul in Hebrew, רֹּחַ (*ruah*) and נֶפֶשׁ (*naʿfeš*), in Greek, πνεῦμα and in Latin, *spiritus* and *anima*. All these words are derived from breath. A passage (*Asinaria* 895) is quoted in which Plautus uses the word *anima* in the sense of breath ('halitus, spiratio'). For an elucidation of 'anima' in the sense of wind and breath in ancient Latin, see H. Nettleship, *Contributions to Latin lexicography*, Oxford 1896, p. 196.

<sup>626</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 42. "Consimiliter metaphorae adhibitae in omnibus mentis actionibus designandis." Schultens refers to several Latin verbs, for instance, *considerare*, which according to the Roman grammarian Festus, *De significatione verborum*, was denominated from "the looking at stars" (a sideribus contemplandis); moreover *contemplare*, which is derived from the action of predicting by the Roman augurs, and *intelligere*, in which the second part *-legere* is assumed to be "to



stand for virtues, vices, affections, and relations.<sup>627</sup> In the latter groups, the meaning of a designation is secondary, as opposed to the primary sensory and concrete meaning.<sup>628</sup>

He divides the category of transferred meanings into three groups: metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche, and regards these factors of semantic change as natural rhetorical devices that create a wonderful diversity, which he, in accordance with his concept of natural rhetoric, compares to “a natural garden variegated and distinguished by countless flowers and lights of rhetorical speech”.<sup>629</sup>

#### *6.7.4 Explanation of the second and third rules*

In explaining the consequences of the rule for Semitic languages, Schultens defines Arabic as more archaic than Hebrew:

At the same time, the great paradox will be proven, namely that the Arabic dialect, in many respects, more clearly retains and represents the most ancient form of the primordial language, that is, the younger sister is, for the most part, more similar to her mother than the elder sister [i.e. Hebrew] is.<sup>630</sup>

In his conclusion, Schultens recapitulates his new classification of Semitic languages, or rather of the Oriental languages closely related to Hebrew:

The Hebrew language is a daughter and offshoot of the most ancient and rich language used in the antediluvian world for so many centuries. Arabic and Aramaic, which in turn are divided into Chaldaic [i.e. east Aramaic] and Syriac, are offshoots and genuine daughters of the same primeval language.<sup>631</sup>

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collect”. He enumerates other verbs referring to the actions of the mind: “percipere, comprehendere, perpendere, librare, diiudicare, determinare, statuere, decidere.”

<sup>627</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 43: “Quid iam dicam de innumero numero vocum virtutibus, vitiis, adfectionibus, relationibus aliisque rebus signandis inservientium.”

<sup>628</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 43. This is expressly stated with reference to the words of the fourth group: “Vulgus has omnes appellationes cum ideis ipsis confudens profunde ignorat non primarias esse potestates earundem, sed tantum secundarias.”

<sup>629</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 45. [...] “ut, qui hanc materiam intelligat, in qualibet lingua admiretur hortum quendam naturalem, infinitis floribus et luminibus orationis variegatum atque distinctum.” For Schultens’ concept of natural rhetoric, see Eskhult, *Schultens as an innovator*, Vol. 1, Section 14.4.

<sup>630</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 53. [...] “quando grandius simul paradoxum adstruetur dialectum Arabicam in bene multis antiquissimam linguae primaevae formam distinctius retinere ac repraesentare quam Hebraicam, i.e. sororem minorem matri in quam plurimis similiorem esse quam maiorem.”

<sup>631</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 53: “Hebraea dialectus est filia et propago antiquissimae atque copiosissimae illius linguae, qua totus orbis antediluvianus per tot secula usus.

In defending the tenor of his third rule, Schultens argues that unless his assumption of an original lexical monosemy holds true, language would not fulfil a communicative function but would be a system of confusion:

Otherwise, language would not be language, that is, a symbol and interpreter of thoughts, but an instrument of confusion, and speech would no longer be the most excellent gift of the supreme God, but a damage inflicted on humankind as punishment and a source of continuous disorder.<sup>632</sup>

#### 6.7.5 Explanation of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> rules

Schultens expounds the sense of the 13<sup>th</sup> rule as follows:

Those who are acquainted with letters and languages well know that no word, of whatever nature, material or immaterial, does not derive its origin from free will and mutual agreement between men. [...] Everyone who uses a metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, or any other trope surely expresses something free, which does not arise from a natural necessity of the language, but is invited by the nature of the root and then flourishes unrestrained through the pleasant inventions of talented people, which are confirmed by public agreement.<sup>633</sup>

In his clarification of the 17<sup>th</sup> rule, Schultens explains and develops his ideas on dialect. Firstly, he argues that the Latin–Romance historical relationship does not constitute a language-dialect distinction. According to Schultens, the relationship between Latin and Romance languages does not serve as a

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Eiusdem primaevae linguae propaggines atque genuinae filiae sunt dialecti Arabica et Aramaea, quae in Chaldaeam et Syriacam iterum divisa.”

<sup>632</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via*, p. 54: “Ni foret, lingua non foret lingua, index atque interpres sensuum interiorum, sed instrumentum omnis confusionis; et loquela, non amplius esset excellentissimum munus summi Numinis, sed noxa quaedam humano genere ad poenam et conturbationem perpetuam immissa.”

<sup>633</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 94: “Qui tamen in literarum et linguarum adyta admissi, probe callent nullam omnino dari denominationem, cuiuscunque tandem naturae fuerit, *corporeae*, *incorporeae*, quae non ex liberrimo arbitrio consensuque simul hominum inter se originem ducat.” [...] Qui metaphoram, metonymiam, synecdochen, alium quemcumque tropum dicit, planissime aliquid liberum dicit; quod non naturali necessitate in linguis enascatur, sed natura radicis invitante inde solutius efflorescat per praestantium ingeniorum iucundas et consensione publice confirmatas inventiones.” In his course on Greek etymology, *Lectio publica de originibus linguae Graecae*, §§ 8–9 (in Bouke Slofstra’s 2015 and 2017 editions), Hemsterhuis similarly argues that figurative speech in every language depends on the invention of individual persons, who thus contribute to shaping the character of each language. He partly attributes the elegance of ancient Greek to the large number of excellent authors (*Lectio*, § 78).

counterpart to the kinship among the Semitic languages.<sup>634</sup> This assessment depends on his acceptance of the then-predominant view of the origin of Romance languages, according to which the Romance vernaculars were merely formed as mixed languages through the barbarization of Latin after the invasion of Germanic tribes into the Roman Empire in late antiquity.<sup>635</sup>

In his general remarks on the concept of dialect, Schultens says:

A dialect is an external and accidental variation of the same language. It does not reach the internal substance, nor does it distort or corrupt it. If the root and kernel are distorted, it should no longer be called a dialect but a degenerate descendant that has taken on a completely different character.<sup>636</sup>

Schultens reaffirms his views on the principal dialects of Ancient Greek, which he considers to parallel the relationship among Oriental languages in a strict sense (that is, Semitic languages): “The affinity and kinship of the Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic dialects with Hebrew is as narrow as that of Ionic, Doric, and Aeolic with Attic”.<sup>637</sup>

Schultens divides dialectal variation into three categories.<sup>638</sup> The first concerns phonological change, and he comments on this as follows:

The diversities manifest themselves in the outer shell of language (a) by the substitution of a consonant (*ex immutatione litterae*),<sup>639</sup> (b) by the

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<sup>634</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 109. “V. Gravius adhuc offendunt, quum Italici, Hispanici, Gallici, Anglici sermonis eandem fere statuunt relationem erga matrem Latinam, quam Chaldaicae, Syriacae et Arabicae dialecti erga Hebraeam.” “Those who claim that Italian, Spanish and French have the same relationship to Latin as the Chaldaic, Syriac and Arabic dialects have to Hebrew fail more seriously.”

<sup>635</sup> On this hypothesis, see further Josef Eskhult, “Vulgar Latin as an emergent concept in the Italian Renaissance”, *Journal of Latin linguistics* 17:2 (2018), p. 214.

<sup>636</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 109. “I. Dialectus est unius linguae variatio tantum externa et accidentalis, quae internam eius substantiam non attingit, nedum ut eam vitiet atque corrumpat. II. Si radix et medulla vitietur non amplius dialecti appellari debent, sed degeneres propagines, quae in aliam plane indolem defluerunt.”

<sup>637</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 109: “VII. Adfinitas atque adeo consanguinitas dialectorum Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae cum Hebraea aequae arcta est ac Ionicae, Doricae, Aeolica cum Attica.”

<sup>638</sup> Schultens’ classification is translated literally and analysed by Raf Van Rooy, *Language or dialect? The history of a conceptual pair* (Oxford 2020), pp. 178–179. I have paraphrased, rather than translated, the text of the second and third classes.

<sup>639</sup> In Ancient Latin, the term *littera* means both grapheme and phoneme. By the term *littera*, Schultens aimed at a consonant of the Oriental languages, defining it as “a sign by which the movement of the speech-organs is indicated, be it in the larynx, the palate, the lips, the tongue, or the teeth, a movement that is the vehicle, *vehiculum*, of the vowel-sound, *soni vocalis*.” See Schultens, *Institutiones*, pp. 1–2.

substitution of a vowel (*ex vocali permutata*), (c) by the small transposition of either, (d) by the contraction of a form, (e) by the lengthening of the same, and (f) by the different placing of the accent.<sup>640</sup>

Semantic change is classified as the second factor in producing dialectal variation. This kind of variety is produced

- (a) by the introduction of a new proper meaning of words, which is, however, unusual,
- (b) by the rise of secondary meanings, occasioned by metaphors and other tropes,
- (c) by the mutual disagreement between secondary meanings, which still evidently agree in the original sense, and
- (d) by the varying dialectal preservation of the original and primary meanings, since some dialects retain more primary meanings than others.<sup>641</sup>

Syntactic and phraseological change is described as the third factor in the emergence of dialectal variation. This kind of variety is constituted by

- (a) the syntax and ways of construction, which are often very discordant and dissonant despite their basic semantic concord.
- (b) stock phrases originating from the customs and local conditions of each nation.
- (c) the phraseology of each dialect, which all have their specific character. An Attic writer is immediately distinguished from an Ionic; likewise, a Syrian writer is distinguished from an Arabic, and both of them from a Hebrew.<sup>642</sup>

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<sup>640</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 110: "A. In prima classe offerunt se diversitates circa corticem ludentes: 1. Ex immutatione literae. 2. Ex vocali permutata. 3. Ex levicula traiectione utriusque. 4. Ex contractione formae. 5. Ex productione ejudem. 6. Ex accentu aliter et aliter posito."

<sup>641</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 110: "B. Altera classis ad folia et frondes pertingens adhuc plus varietatis parit: 1. In vocibus quibusdam domesticis, quas quaeque gens sibi vel proprias adscivisse vel novasse reperitur. Genus rarum. 2. Frequentissime variatum in significationibus secundariis, quae per metaphoras aliosque tropos invectae. 3. Tantum hinc discrimen saepe existit, ut directa fronte pugnare videantur potestas verborum, quae in origine tam amicissime conspirant. 4. Istius originis alia dialectus prae alia servantior, sic ut in una paucissimae, in altera copiosissimae eadem inveniuntur."

<sup>642</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 110–111: "C. Tertiam classem varietatem consistunt: 1. Syntaxis et ratio constructionis saepe in intima significationum concordia valde discors et dissonans. 2. Formulae in ritibus rebusque domesticis in quaque gente oriunda. 3. Phraseologia universa cujusque gentis genio ita attemperata, ut quemadmodum Atticus scriptor ab Ione primo adspectu discernitur, sic Syrus ab Arabe et uterque ab Hebraeo auctore statim discriminari queant."

## 6.8 *Excursus primus* (1739): Clarification of the concept of “the defects of Hebrew”

### 6.8.1 *A trilogy of digressions from the primeval language*

In 1739, Schultens was involved in a controversy with his colleague Taco Hajo van den Honert over the latter’s 1738 treatise on the identity, nature, and diversification of the primeval language (which formed the third part of his *Dissertationes historicae*). In an apology attached to the second edition in 1739, Van den Honert argued that his professorship of Hebrew antiquities entitled him to discuss the primeval language and its differentiation into the Aramaic, Hebrew, and Arabic dialects, stating that he relied only on historical arguments from biblical genealogies, chronologies, and geographical maps<sup>643</sup> and that he did not oppose “his opponent’s historical-critical etymologies”.<sup>644</sup>

Schultens replied to his Leiden adversary in three treatises, called “excursions”. In the first, he outlined the background of the controversy with Van den Honert. In the second, he showed that Van den Honert denied Hebrew’s status as a spoken vernacular in biblical times. In the third, he refuted his opponent’s views in detail. The excursions were published in 1739: the first in January, the second in June, and the third in September.<sup>645</sup> Below, the first and third treatises are described in greater detail because, more than in the second, Schultens presents his own views on various topics.

### 6.8.2 *General contents*

The title of the first excursion reads: “First excursion on the first chapter of the old and royal way of Hebrew philology with brief remarks on a historical treatise on the primeval language”.<sup>646</sup> In the preface, Schultens expounds his theory and method of etymological semantics and, in antithesis, delineates the basic theoretical assumptions of the Goussetian school. In the treatise, he surveys his scholarly authorship from his inaugural lecture in Franeker in 1713 to the second volume of *Origines Hebraeas* (the chapters of which were originally published as separate dissertations between 1732 and 1737). In doing so, he explains the reasons for defending his theory and method against Driessen. This formed the background to his controversy with the Dutch theologian Taco Hajo van den Honert in 1738–1739.

In 1737, Van den Honert published a revised edition of his treatise “On the lineage of Christ from David,” including a digression directed against

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<sup>643</sup> Van den Honert, *Additamentum apologeticum ad editionem alteram dissertationum suarum historico-biblicarum*, Leiden 1739, p. 8 (§ 12).

<sup>644</sup> Van den Honert, *ibidem*, p. 9 (§13).

<sup>645</sup> The first treatise comprises pp. 1–70, the second one pp. 71–170, and the third one pp. 171–244. For the title page of the first excursion, see Figure 13.

<sup>646</sup> Schultens, *Excursus primus ad caput primum viae veteris et regiae Hebraizandi continens stricturas ad dissertationem historicam de lingua primaeva*, Leiden 1739.

those who recommend the study of “Oriental dialects”.<sup>647</sup> The following year, he published a dissertation on the primordial language.<sup>648</sup> Schultens summarizes the contents of these treatises, in which he takes exception to Van den Honert’s denial that Hebrew was the vernacular of the Israelites in biblical times and to his views on the completeness (*integritas*) of Biblical Hebrew without any lacks (*defectus*), even though those views were intended to counteract the concept of intrinsic defects in Hebrew. In his summary, Schultens states that he disapproves of the validity of these hypotheses, despite having delayed a careful refutation of them.<sup>649</sup>

### 6.8.3 Methodology of Hebrew language studies

Schultens calls for a clearer exposition of the state of the controversy. He sets forth his etymological methodology in five theses and contrasts it with his opponents’ views in five antitheses. As preliminaries, he states that his method is based on empirical demonstration and in the nature of languages. He opposes his method to “the metaphysical one”, which he defines as resting on rationalist abstraction and on supernatural hypotheses. Such a method, he says, “emerged under Gousset’s patronage in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and gradually gained ground in the Netherlands”. Goussetianism is the reason why the study of Oriental languages has declined to the point that his own treatises were no longer studied: “Few people read me, even fewer understand me, and everyone who does not know my case thinks I favour whatever deviates from the old method”.<sup>650</sup> On the contrary, he argues that his case aims “to confirm the old foundations and to promote them in keeping with the dignity of the Reformation and the glory of solid learning”.<sup>651</sup>

Schultens then sets out the principles of his comparative linguistic studies. He proposes them in five theses and gives prominence to the concept of “the defects of Hebrew” as the key concept of his entire method of etymological semantics. A thread runs from his first dissertation in 1706, through the inaugural speech in 1713, to the present outline, in which he is eager to explain his own use of the concept of defect as a lack of knowledge

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<sup>647</sup> Van den Honert, *Christus afkomst uyt David*, Leiden 1737 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1702). The digression is found in book 1, ch. xvi, sect. 54–62, pp. 270–274.

<sup>648</sup> Van den Honert, *Dissertationes historicae: I. de Creatione mundi, II. De situ Edenis [...], III. De lingua primaeva eiusque propagatione*, Leiden 1738. The preface is dated to 1 September 1738.

<sup>649</sup> Schultens, *Excursus primus*, pp. 17–25.

<sup>650</sup> Schultens, *Excursus primus*, preface, p. \*2v “a paucis legerer, a paucioribus intelligerer, ab omnibus fere citra cognitionem causae iudicarer nescio quid fovere, quod a veteri formula descisceret.”

<sup>651</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. \*2v–\*3r: “quum tamen vetera fundamenta constabilirem eaque altius educere ad dignitatem Reformationis et gloriam solidae eruditionis unice conmitterer.”

and to distinguish it from the notion of intrinsic deficiency. The reason for this semantic distinction is the controversy with Van den Honert.

Schultens' main positions read as follows:

(1) We consider it doubtless and self-evident that the Hebrew language is not completely comprised within the narrow limits of the one single Sacred Book, the only one written in this language.<sup>652</sup>

(2) Consequently, there are many roots and derived words that once existed in the living language but are now missing from these limited remains. Thus, a large part of the ancient language is not found in the Holy Writ.<sup>653</sup>

(3) Many meanings of words are also missing, because they are lost or have fallen into oblivion, yet these meanings are needed to understand the weight and beauty of the entire language in its regularity.<sup>654</sup>

(4) This defect or absence of old meanings mainly pertains to the primary meanings of roots, which are generally rare in writings and accordingly are found only in the rich supply of ancient books and literary monuments.<sup>655</sup>

(5) This lack of our knowledge – that is, this absence of meanings – can and should be repaired through the Oriental dialects that have “close kinship and consanguinity” with Hebrew, under the observation of prudence and moderate criticism, which ought to govern all sciences.<sup>656</sup>

In the main text of *Excursus primus*, Schultens states that this set of principles is directed towards “the new metaphysical system of cultivating the Hebrew language” introduced by Bohle, advanced by Gousset, and reaching its highest development by Driessen.<sup>657</sup> Schultens contrasts his own

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<sup>652</sup> Schultens, *Excursus primus*, preface, p. \*3r: “I. Ut dubio vacuum ac per se notum tenemus veterem linguam Hebraicam non totam in artissimis spatiis unius Codicis Sacri, qui solus ista lingua conscriptus superest, comprehendere atque inclusam esse.”

<sup>653</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. \*3r: “II. Ergo multas radices vocesque derivatas, quae vivente lingua aderant, nunc a reliquiis hisce exiguis abesse; atque ita magnam partem linguae veteris deficere, i.e. in Sacro Codice non reperiri.”

<sup>654</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. \*3r: “III. Deficere quoque, id est deperditas et oblitteratas esse, multas significationes verborum, quae ad linguae vel pondus vel decus in omni ambitu et analogia rite capiendum requirantur.”

<sup>655</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. \*3r: “IV. Istum defectum, i.e. istam absentiam significationum veterum, maxime cadere in primigenias radicum potestates, quae semper ut rarissimae in libris, ita profundissimae non nisi summa librorum ac monumentorum veterum copia reperiundae.”

<sup>656</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. \*3v: “V. Hunc defectum cognitionis nostrae, id est hanc absentiam significationum ex dialectis orientalibus, quibus intima cognatio et consanguinitas cum Hebraea, et posse et debere sarciri adhibita prudentia et castiore illa critica, quae omnibus scientiis debet praesidere.”

<sup>657</sup> Schultens, *Excursus primus*, p. 2.

principles with those of practitioners of logical semantics, such as Bohle, Gousset and Driessen, whose foundational tenets he seeks to reconstruct as follows:

Firstly, illustrious Gousset certainly never dared to claim that the Ancient Hebrew language is entirely contained in the Bible, and not even the famous Driessen dared to go so far, though he appears to have been on the verge of doing so.<sup>658</sup>

Secondly, not even Gousset claimed that all Hebrew roots and derived words are retained in the Bible without any damage or loss from the language's history. This would be the same as saying that the entire language is contained in the Holy Writ. Thus, not even the famous Driessen dared to say so.<sup>659</sup>

Thirdly, even the reverend Gousset did not deny that many meanings of words have been lost and have fallen into oblivion. He only asserted that whatever is required for an accurate and clear understanding of the Holy Writ – not only in view of the heavenly truths but also in view of the nature, the regularity, the pregnancy, the semantics and the derivation of the words – is completely preserved and recorded in this Holy Book and cannot and should not be sought elsewhere.<sup>660</sup> Now, as this idea is directly contrary to reason and experience, it culminates in a metaphysical subtlety and sublimity, by which it is contended that Hebrew, being divine, shines by its own beams like the sun and does not need any light from related dialects.<sup>661</sup>

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<sup>658</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, preface, p. 4 / \*3v: “I. Quod ad primum principium certe, numquam dicere ausus fuit ille vir clarissimus veterem linguam Hebraeorum totam in Bibliis contineri, ne celeberrimus quidem Driessen eo progressus, quamvis in praecipiti stetisse videatur.”

<sup>659</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 4 / \*3v: “Ad secundum ne quidem Gussetius asserere sustinuit omnes radices et derivatas voces linguae Hebraeae in Bibliis asservatas sine ullo damno vel defectu, quem lingua temporum fatis passa fit. Qui id diceret, eo ipso totam linguam in Sacro Codice conclusam diceret. Ergo nec clarissimus Driessen id ausus.”

<sup>660</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 4 / \*3v: “Ad tertium: iterum ne reverendus Gussetius quidem multas verborum significationes deperditas et oblivione deletas esse negavit. Asseveravit tantum, quicquid ad Codicem Sacrum accuratissime et enucleatissime intelligendum requiritur – non pro veritatibus tantum coelestibus, sed etiam pro ipsa linguae natura, analogia, emphasi, rhetorica omni et originatione ipsa verborum – id omne in illo Codice ita conservatum et consignatum, ut nusquam alibi quaeri nec possit nec debeat.”

<sup>661</sup> Schultens, *Excursus primus*, p. 4 / \*3v–[\*4r]: “Hoc iam rationi et experientiae directa fronte adversum in metaphysicam exit cum subtilitatem, tum sublimitatem, qua contenditur linguam Hebraeam utpote divinam solis instar propriis radiis refulgere nec ulla alia luce per dialectos adfusa indigere.”



Fourthly, Gousset and his leader and founder, Bohle, openly agree with me in teaching and stressing that the original meanings, that is, the first and formal meanings of words, are not found in translations or in dictionaries, except for a few. About this, there cannot be any controversy between us, nor between people of sound judgement. The pivot of this fourth question turns on this point: Whence can and ought these original meanings, that is, the most ancient meanings, be explored? Either from metaphysical light and acumen that shape formae, or rather formal meanings, by speculation on biblical passages, or according to the light and authority of the dialects?<sup>662</sup>

Fifthly, it is evident why Gousset thought the dialects should be neglected, even though they have always been held in high esteem in the learned world and are the fortress and stronghold of Hebrew learning. Had Gousset been acquainted with them, he would undoubtedly have loved and recommended them as transparent sources.<sup>663</sup>

After explaining his own use of the term “defect of Hebrew” and reconstructing the method of the metaphysical school of Hebrew, Schultens gives an account of Van den Honert’s positions on the divine nature of Hebrew, some of which (nos. 9–12) he interprets as follows:

It ought not to be called into question that God, by his Providence, has preserved this language as one removed from popular use, undamaged and unaffected by any defects, precisely as the Holy Bible, as intimated by the Lord in Matt 5:18.<sup>664</sup>

Likewise, it is imprudent to talk at length about the defects of the Hebrew language and the obscurity arising from them. [...] Those who

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<sup>662</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 4 [\*4v]: “Ad quartum: ipse Gussetius eiusque dux et auspex Bohlius, palam mecum tenent, docent, inculcant origines, id est primigenas et formales significationes verborum, non extare nec in versionibus ullis nec in lexicis, nisi admodum paucas. De eo inter nos nulla est controversia nec esse potest cum ullo sani iudicii homine. Cardio ergo quaestionis hoc quarto numero in eo volvitur: undenam hae origines, id est significationes antiquissimae indagari possint et debeant? Num ex lumine et acumine metaphysico, quod sibi formas sive formales potestates speculando loca Biblica exsculpat, an ad dialectorum lucem et auctoritatem?”

<sup>663</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 5 [\*4v]: “Ad quintum; nunc sponte elucet, cur clarissimus Gussetius dialectos, quae tanto semper honore fuerunt in orbe erudito quaeque revera arcem constituunt et propugnacula eruditionis Hebraicae; deprimendas sibi iudicavit, quamvis eas penitus eliminatas voluerit. Si eas cognitae habuisset vir celeberrimus eas haud dubie et amasset ut fontes limpidos et commendasset.”

<sup>664</sup> Schultens, *Excursus primus*, p. 17 f.: “Non ambigendum propterea, quin Deus hanc linguam, qua linguam, a populari usu diremtam, Providentia sua illibatam atque a defectibus intactam conservavit, aequae ac ipsa Biblia Sacra, idque a Domino insinuari Matt. V:18.”

speaking about the great defect that the Hebrew language has undergone run the risk of serving (hopefully unintentionally) the Papists by gainsaying the integrity of the Holy Scriptures and their transparent clarity.<sup>665</sup>

If one seeks help from the Arabs to repair the defects of Hebrew by means of the Arabic language, one could turn to Isaac Vossius to ask whether the defects and obscurities of the Holy Scriptures cannot be better repaired from the Septuagint? (because, if the language of the Holy Writ is defective and obscure, the Bible itself suffers from defect and obscurity). One could similarly ask the Papists whether these defects and obscurities cannot be removed by recourse to the traditions and the decrees of the Popes and Councils? The Papists would not admit that these authorities are less holy and infallible than the Arabic language.<sup>666</sup>

These reasons stemmed from Van den Honert's misinterpretation of Schultens' use of the concept "defects". After asserting that his opponent fights "against defects staying in the language itself and being inherent to it like stains",<sup>667</sup> Schultens maintains that he has always tried to dispel the ideas about "stains of obscurity, ambiguity, lack of richness and poverty and purported defects that diminish the majesty of the Word of God".<sup>668</sup> The very respect for Hebrew has urged him to inquire into its defects or its lack of knowledge. Since the Reformation, Bible translators, commentators and preachers have consistently acknowledged such defects: "They have not

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<sup>665</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 18: "Imprudētissime proinde facere eos, qui de linguae Hebraeae defectibus tam longe loquantur deque obscuritate vocum Hebraearum ex illis defectibus oriunda." [...] "Verendum esse, ne qui ita loquantur de magno defectu, quem passa sit lingua Hebraea, Pontificiis argumenta ministrent (citra intentionem tamen, ut speratur) adversus illibatam integritatem Sacrae Scripturae eiusdemque clarissimam evidentiam."

<sup>666</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 18: "Si auxilium quaeratur apud Arabes ad defectus illos resarciendos ex dialecto Arabica [...] merito rogare Isaacum Vassium cur defectus et obscuritas Sacrae Scripturae (nam si linguae Sacrae Scripturae defectu laboret, et obscuritate, ipsam quoque Scripturam certissime defectu et obscuritate laborare) non potius resarcienda iudicetur ex versione LXX virali? Merito item rogare Pontificios, cur non defectus illi et obscuritates tollantur ex traditionibus et decisionibus Pontificis Romani ac Conciliorum? Has auctoritates profecto non minus sanctas dicturos eos et infallibiles, quam Arabes sint in sua lingua." Van den Honert is here represented as ironically arguing that Schultens' claim to remedy the defects of Hebrew with Arabic is similar to the boldness of Isaac Vossius in relying solely on the Septuagint and to the Papists in defending the necessity of an oral tradition for interpreting the Bible.

<sup>667</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 46: "contra defectus ipsi linguae insedentes et macularum instar inhaerentes." Schultens evidently refers to the concept of intrinsic defects.

<sup>668</sup> Schultens, *Excursus primus*, p. 47: "Maculas obscuritatis, ambiguitatis, inopiae, penuriae et veros illos defectus, qui maiestatem Verbi divini minuunt semper a Sacra Scriptura depuli et depellere concessabo."

been ashamed to confess this to prove that they have left ‘the Papistic bondage’ for the liberty worthy of the spirit of Christ and the true doctrine.<sup>669</sup>

Schultens denounces Van den Honert’s accusation that he favoured Roman Catholic attitudes towards Hebrew, a language he claimed suffers from intrinsic semantic and syntactic obscurities. Rather, he argues that his concept of defects of Hebrew concerns epistemic lacunae, which have nothing to do with the confessional divide between Protestants and Catholics, as Van den Honert intimated.

Schultens points out that Van den Honert, in fact, criticizes all scholars who acknowledge that “there are many and important passages that are obscure”, as does the entire Christian church, “which awaits a richer measure of light from the Father of lights”.<sup>670</sup>

Van den Honert also held that “Biblical Hebrew does not suffer from any defects but is most rich, clear, and sufficient to the intention of God, who speaks in his Word”.<sup>671</sup> Schultens concludes that the term defect has led to the misinterpretation that “those who supplement Hebrew from its cognate languages would diminish its richness, clarity and sufficiency”. He exclaims: “I am astonished, I am grieved, I am silent!”<sup>672</sup> He considers the controversy “an unhappy battle over terminology among scholars”, arguing that the dispute centres on the notion of the term defects (*idea defectuum*).<sup>673</sup>

#### 6.8.4 Dangers of disregard for the comparative method

In the final part, Schultens justifies comparative Hebrew philology. He upholds the necessity of the “Oriental dialects” for a thorough understanding of Biblical Hebrew, their kinship and consanguinity with Hebrew, the utility of Arabic for exploring the primary meanings of Hebrew words, and the purity and antiquity of Arabic.<sup>674</sup> He underlines the dangers of rejecting the study of related languages (*dialecti*), arguing that negligence would demolish the medieval rabbinical foundation of Hebrew lexicography and of Christian commentary on the Bible, put the lamp of the Reformation under a basket, give the Papists an easy victory in their defence of the authority of the Vulgate, and favour the claims of Vossianism, namely that the key to Biblical Hebrew is lost and that we can rely only on the Septuagint.<sup>675</sup>

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<sup>669</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 47: “qui [...] palam profiteri non erubuerunt, ut vere se servitute Pontificia in libertatem Christi et doctrina veritatis dignam exiisse comprobarent.”

<sup>670</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 22. “The Father of lights” is an appellation of God drawn from James 1: 17, and is very often used by Schultens in his publications.

<sup>671</sup> Van den Honert, *Dissertatio historica de linguae primaeva*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1738, p. 212.

<sup>672</sup> Schultens, *Excursus primus*, p. 44, in Latin: “Stupeo! Doleo! Sileo!”

<sup>673</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 44, in Latin: “infausta literatis logomachia”.

<sup>674</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 64.

<sup>675</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 50; cf. pp. 65–66, the assertions numbered I, IV and V.

## 7. On the origin, antiquity and continuity of Arabic

### 7.1 *De linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine* (1729)

#### 7.1.1 *Preliminaries*

Schultens published two orations on the historical origin of Arabic, its close kinship with Hebrew, and its conservative character. In the first speech, he envisages Arabia as a cultural and geographical entity, develops his views on the ethno-linguistic origins of Arabic, and proposes geographical and political reasons for the language's conservative character. In the second speech, he identifies "internal causes" or mental and cultural reasons for its unchangeability. The choice of these topics was motivated by the objections raised against the use of Arabic in *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 1 (1724). Critics pointed to the late appearance of Arabic, compared with Hebrew, the presumed primordial language.<sup>676</sup>

Schultens delivered the first speech upon resigning his office as rector at the University of Franeker in 1729. It is titled: *Oratio de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine, intima ac sororia cum lingua Hebraea affinitate nullisque seculis prae florata puritate*, "An oration on the most ancient origin of the Arabic language, its internal and sisterly affinity with Hebrew, and its purity not spoiled by the passage of time."<sup>677</sup>

#### 7.1.2 *The cultural concept of Arabia Felix*

In the introductory part, Schultens visualizes the Arabian Peninsula, which he considers identical to the broader geographical concept of Arabia Felix: it is a land abundant in exotic trees and plants, from which articles of commerce are produced that underlie Arabia's fabulous wealth. He depicts this region as an earthly paradise, an Elysian field, a blessed region unchangeable in the natural gifts that Mother Earth has bestowed on it from her cornucopia. He refers to palm groves, balsam-trees, and forests of resinous trees and shrubs from which aromatic saps such as frankincense, myrrh, and ladanum are obtained. He compares the aromatic resinous juices to precious tears that, as merchandise, yield golden returns for their cultivators. He also mentions cinnamon, cassia, and sweet flag (*calamus*

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<sup>676</sup> "Seconde harangue de M. Schultens sur l'antiquité de la langue arabe", *Journal historique de la République des Lettres*, vol. 2, part 1, Jan. and Feb. 1733, p. 119.

<sup>677</sup> This speech was published in Franeker in 1729 and was appended to *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, as *Oratio prima*. For the title page of the first print, see Figure 14.

*aromaticus*). In representing Arabia Felix in this way, he was guided by classical writers such as Herodotus, Diodorus of Sicily, and Pliny the Elder.

This antiquated perspective is presumably the reason why he does not mention coffee. The import of this article had been the primary objective of French expeditions into Arabia Felix (1708–1713), and Schultens possessed Jean de La Roque's report on these expeditions, *Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse* (Amsterdam 1716).<sup>678</sup> The front illustration depicts a copperplate showing European travellers encountering the inhabitants of Arabia Felix, who offer them roasted coffee beans.

From the verbal resemblance between the name of the trade centre Aden and the Garden of Eden, Schultens infers that the port of Aden, by a lucky omen, promises entrance into Arabia Felix as into an earthly paradise.<sup>679</sup>

### 7.1.3 The geographical concept of Arabia Felix

Arabia Felix plays a key role in Schultens' ethno-linguistic thinking. In the early modern period, the geographical concept of this region was guided by ancient Greco-Roman cartography, which divided Arabia into two or three parts. In antiquity, the twofold division into Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix was the most common.<sup>680</sup> The former term designated the western and northern parts of Arabia, whereas the latter referred to the Arabian Peninsula proper. However, in his geographical handbook (in Greek titled Γεωγραφικὴ Ὑφήγησις, i.e. “Geographical guidance”, c. 150 AD), Ptolemy introduced a tripartition of Arabia into *Arabia Petraea* (ἡ Πετραῖα Ἀραβία), *Arabia Deserta* (ἡ Ἐρημὸς Ἀραβία) and *Arabia Felix* (ἡ Εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία). Arabia Petraea was the Roman province of that name, encompassing the Sinai Peninsula, modern Jordan, and northwestern Saudi Arabia. Arabia Deserta referred to the deserts south of Syria, extending east to the Euphrates. Arabia Felix continued to be used to designate the Arabian Peninsula.<sup>681</sup>

In antiquity, Ptolemy's division of Arabia did not gain acceptance,<sup>682</sup> but after his geographical handbook was rediscovered in 1295 and translated into Latin in 1406–1407, it had a significant impact on cartography. A map of Ptolemy's Arabia Felix was printed in Ulm in 1482 (see Figure 25a). The threefold division of Arabia became standard on European maps of Arabia during the Renaissance and the early modern period. For instance, the three

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<sup>678</sup> *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 62, no. 595 in octavo.

<sup>679</sup> Schultens, *Oratio de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine*, p. 3: “pulchro omine terrestris alicuius Paradisi promittit ingressum.”

<sup>680</sup> Bowersock, *Studies on the Eastern Roman Empire*, Goldbach 1994, pp. 363–369.

<sup>681</sup> Claudius Ptolemaios, *Handbuch der Geographie, Griechisch-Deutsch*, ed. by A. Stückelberger and G. Graßhoff, Basel 2006, for maps of Arabia Petraea and Arabia Deserta, see pp. 576–578, 586–590 and 590–591; for maps of Arabia Felix, see pp. 620–636 and 874–875.

<sup>682</sup> Bowersock, *Studies*, p. 365; *Der Neue Pauly*, s.v. Arabia.

Arabias appear on mid-17<sup>th</sup>-century maps of the Arabian Peninsula by the cartographers Nicolas Sanson and Jan Jansson (see Figures 26 and 28).

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, European ideas about the extent of Arabia Felix changed. In his travel report, La Roque, drawing on Arabian sources, redefines Arabia Felix to refer to the southern territories of the Arabian Peninsula: today's Yemen, Oman, and the southern parts of Saudi Arabia.<sup>683</sup> He disapproves of those cartographers who include Hejaz in Arabia Felix. He also notes that the concept of “the three Arabias” does not derive from Arabian geographers and historians.<sup>684</sup> This new concept is also traceable in a historical world atlas, *Atlas historique, ou Nouvelle introduction à l'histoire, la chronologie et la géographie ancienne et moderne*, Amsterdam 1718–1720. On a map of the Ottoman Empire<sup>685</sup> and another of Turkey, Arabia and Persia, Arabia Felix is shown in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Schultens possessed a copy of this work (see Figure 29).<sup>686</sup>

In his geographical conception, or mental map, of Arabia, Schultens, in his 1729 oration, still adheres to the Ptolemaic tripartition. He had access to John Hudson's edition of Ptolemy's geography of Arabia.<sup>687</sup> At the same time, he was informed about the medieval geography of Arabia, including *Taqwīm al-buldān* (“Locating the countries”) by Abū al-Fidā' and *Mu'jam al-buldān* by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī.<sup>688</sup> He describes Arabia Felix as surrounded by seas, namely the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean,<sup>689</sup> and perceives this peninsula as an isolated territory, a location “as hidden as a Garden of Eden”, separated from the rest of the world by the firmest and safest natural barriers, with unsafe seas along the coasts and drift dunes along the northern borders, so that this exotic region has been inaccessible and inviolable to foreigners and explorers in ancient and modern times.<sup>690</sup>

Schultens' equation of Arabia Felix with the Arabian Peninsula is reflected in his repeated references to its inhabitants as *Peninsulani Jemenenses* and *Arabes Eudaimones*, “Yemeni peninsulars and Lucky Arabs”, as superordinate terms for the true Arabs (of Joktanide origins), as

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<sup>683</sup> La Roque, *Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse*, 1716, pp. 119 and 126.

<sup>684</sup> La Roque, *ibidem*, p. 102. As a matter of fact, almost a century earlier, Thomas Erpenius, in his second speech on the Arabic language in 1620, similarly remarked that the threefold division of Arabia differs from that of the Arabs themselves, who divide the Arabian Peninsula into five provinces: “Tehama, Najed, Hejaz, Arouma and Yamana”. See Erpenius, “Oratio II de Arabia lingua”, in *idem, Orationes tres de lingua Arabica et Hebraea*, Leiden 1621, p. 41.

<sup>685</sup> “Carte de l'Empire des Turcs en Asie et en Afrique”, vol. 5, 1719, before p. 28.

<sup>686</sup> *Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*, p. 13, no. 350 in folio.

<sup>687</sup> John Hudson (ed.), *Geographiae veteris scriptores Graeci minores. Accedunt Geographica Arabica*, vol. 3, Oxford 1712, see text no. 7: Ptolemaei Arabia.

<sup>688</sup> Schultens used these treatises to locate Near Eastern cities and regions in Ibn Shaddad's biography of Saladin; see the “Index geographicus” of his edition.

<sup>689</sup> Schultens, *Oratio de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine*, p. 3.

<sup>690</sup> Schultens, *Oratio de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine*, pp. 30–31.

opposed to the Arabicized nations of *Arabia Petraea* and *Arabia Deserta*, whom for some reason he considered to be of Cushitic ethnicity. As inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula, the Arabs of Hejaz still appear to have been included within the broad concept of Arabia Felix, despite their descent from Ishmael. In the 1740s, Schultens revised his geo-linguistic ideas about Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix by including the Hejaz within Arabia Deserta<sup>691</sup> and equating Arabia Felix with only the south-western parts of the Arabian Peninsula. In this way, he adapted to recent developments in these geographical concepts. However, by the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, Bochart had distinguished the Hejaz as a separate region, neither part of Arabia Petraea nor of Arabia Felix.<sup>692</sup>

#### 7.1.4 Ethnic origins of “the true Arabs” of Arabia Felix

At the end of his exordium, Schultens discusses the ethno-linguistic origins of the Arabs using a tree metaphor. The tree represents the Arabic nation and language. In tracing its origins, Schultens proposes Heber (Gen 10:25) as the sole preserver of the primordial language and inquires into the ethnic origins of the inhabitants of Arabia Felix, tracing them back to their two ancestors, Qaḥṭan and Ishmael. After identifying Qaḥṭan, whom “the Arabs commemorate as the most ancient ancestor of their nation and language”, as a variant of the biblical Joktan, the son of Heber, he examines the evidence supporting the assumption that the Qaḥṭanides peopled the Arabian Peninsula. Schultens does not date their migration but assumes it occurred in prehistoric times, soon after the dispersion of humankind at Babel in the late third millennium BC.<sup>693</sup>

In tracing the Joktanide or Qaḥṭanide ethnic origin of the Arabs of Arabia Felix, Schultens drew on Samuel Bochart’s discussion in *Geographia sacra* (vol. 1, book 2, ch. 15; see Figures 26a and 26b). Bochart adduced various reasons for his view that the Joktanides settled in Arabia Felix rather than in India, as Flavius Josephus suggested. He argues that the indigenous Arabian tradition should be accorded high credibility and that the tribal and place names testify to a Qaḥṭanide origin, since the Catanite tribe (Κατάνιται),

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<sup>691</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima ... ad F. O. Menkenium*, 1749, p. 116.

<sup>692</sup> Bochart, *Geographia sacra* (1674), vol. 1, “Phaleg”, p. 142: “Nimirum regio Hegiaz Patraeam Arabiam a Foelice dirimit et proprie ad neutram pertinet. Nam ad Foelicem Graeci nulla ratione referunt, cum nihil sit infoelicus.”

<sup>693</sup> According to the widely accepted world chronology of the early modern period, the Creation occurred c. 4000 BC, the Flood of Noah 1656 years after the Creation, and the Dispersion of humankind at Babel 1757 years after the Creation. Schultens accepted this chronology. He supposed that the primeval language endured for more than 1700 years (see, e.g., *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*, p. 50), that Joktan was born 102 years after the Flood (*Oratio de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine*, p. 10), and that the Joktanides reigned in the Arabian Peninsula for nearly three thousand years (p. 11).

mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geography* VI, vii, 23), derives its name from Qaḥṭan.<sup>694</sup> He cites the city name Baisath-Joctan, south of Mekka, as another piece of evidence for a Joktanide origin. On the authority of the Byzantine chronicler Theophanes, he also asserts that the Homerites are descended from Joktan.<sup>695</sup> For his topography of the Arabian Peninsula, see Figure 26b.

Schultens adopted Bochart's line of reasoning. Wrestling with the location of Mesha and Sephara,<sup>696</sup> between which the thirteen sons of Joktan are said to have had their dwelling places (Gen 10: 30), he refers to the suggestions of Bochart (Muza and Dhaphar), of Jewish scholars (Mekka and Medina), and of Flavius Josephus (India).<sup>697</sup> Leaving this question open, he ascertains that the descendants of Joktan definitely settled in Arabia Felix for various reasons, including its geographical proximity to Mesopotamia, its suitability for interconnected settlements, its opportune isolation, and the fact that two sons of Joktan, Hazarmaveth (Haṣarmāwet) and Sheba (Gen 10:26),<sup>698</sup> are recognized as colonizers of Arabia Felix. He also refers to the linguistic traces of Qaḥṭanide colonialization in Arabian place names, such as the city Baisath-Joctan; the region of the Hadramites; the old name of the capital city of Yemen, Uzal (later Sana'a), which recalls the name Uzal, the son of Joktan; and finally the city Saba, which is reminiscent of the name of Sheba, the son of Joktan (Gen 10:26).

In biblical genealogy, Joktan is Peleg's younger brother, and their father is Heber (Gen 10:25). In Christian biblical interpretation since late antiquity, Heber was, under the influence of Augustine (*De civitate Dei*, XVI, 11), represented as the sole preserver of the primordial, pre-Babelic language of humankind. Schultens drew on this exegetical tradition to propose a common origin for Hebrew and Arabic: Joktan brought the primeval language to Arabia, where it developed into Arabic. For this reason, Arabic should not be called the daughter of Hebrew but rather its sister, more precisely, its twin sister (*soror et quidem gemella soror*).

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<sup>694</sup> Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, Frankfurt am Main 1674, p. 111.

<sup>695</sup> Bochart, *ibidem*, p. 111. Bochart shows that the Homerites are well known in Greco-Roman ethnography and historiography (Ptolemy, Pliny the Elder, Arrian), though often confused with the Sabaeans (by Procopius of Gaza and Philostorgius), whereas the Amanites are identified with the Yemenites. Classical authors presupposed that both tribes settled the southern tracts of Arabia Felix.

<sup>696</sup> In the Hebrew original, Sephara is spelled with an enclitic *-h*, which indicates direction and therefore translates as "towards Sephara."

<sup>697</sup> Édouard Lipinski, "Les Sémites selon Gen 10,21–30 et Chr 1,17–23", *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 6:2 (1993), pp. 193–215, identifies Meša' with Mešša', which he situates in north Arabia. He equates Sephara with Mount Sabir in south Yemen.

<sup>698</sup> Lipinski, *ibidem*, likewise identifies *H<sup>a</sup>ṣarmāwet* with the ancient kingdom of Hadramawt in the north-west of the Aden region. In a later article, "Les Chamites selon Gen 10,6–20 et Chr 1,8–16", *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 5:2 (1992), pp. 147–149, Lipinski identifies biblical Sheba with the famous south Arabian Sheba', though classifying its inhabitants as descendants of Kush.



Schultens designates the Arabs of Arabia Felix as *‘Arab al-‘Ariba*, “true Arabs”, and calls the nomadic Arabs of *Arabia Petraea* *‘Arab al-muta‘arriba*, “Arabicized Arabs”, with regard to their adopted Arabic identity. He gives the Arabs of *Arabia Deserta* the seemingly synonymous designation *‘Arab al-musta‘riba*, explaining that they “only prefer the name of Arabs”.<sup>699</sup> Schultens redefined traditional terminology, in which the first term refers to Yemeni Arabs, while the latter two terms refer to Ishmaelite Arabs. Schultens, in contrast, suggests that all the Arabs of *Arabia Deserta* and *Petraea* were Cushites of Hamitic origin. This raises the question of how Schultens managed to subsume the Ishmaelite Arabs under the concept of the peninsular Arabs. Indigenous Arab historiography recognizes Ishmael as the second ancestor of the Arabic nation. Schultens refers to the story recounted by Pococke (who draws on Bar Hebraeus) that Ishmael, by marriage, was integrated and assimilated into the Arabs of the Hejaz (viz. the Jorhamides). He also refers to the tradition reported by Pococke that Ishmael refined their Arabic language after the model of his ancestral Hebrew, and that the Quraysh tribe, “the undoubted posterity of Ishmael”, retained the Arabic language in its Ishmaelite dialect, “in which Muhammad, himself a Qurayshite, boasted himself to have written the Koran”.<sup>700</sup>

The kinship between Arabic and Hebrew was reinforced by the Ishmaelite lineage of the Arabs in the Hejaz, who are implicitly included in the concept of peninsular Arabs in its Ptolemaic sense. This ethno-linguistic view holds that the North Arabic literary sources Schultens used for comparison with Hebrew are highly relevant because they allegedly mirror both the Qaḥṭanide and Ishmaelite linguistic origins of peninsular Arabic.

#### *7.1.5 External causes of the diachronic stability of Arabic*

European scholars pointed out some extra-linguistic causes of the supposed unchangeability of Arabic. In his oration on Arabic in 1620, Erpenius maintains that the five major provinces of the Arabian Peninsula had never been subjected to foreign nations and had always been independent states with their own kings, with whom the Romans had allied.<sup>701</sup> In his account of the Arabic language in the prolegomena to the London Polyglot, B. Walton argues that Arabic has remained unchanged from Joktan onwards because the Arabs have neither mixed with other nations nor been subdued by foreigners and compelled to learn their language.<sup>702</sup>

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<sup>699</sup> Schultens, *Oratio de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine*, p. 17. Schultens admits that in later times the term Mostarabs referred rather to the nations subjected to the Muslims in northern Africa.

<sup>700</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>701</sup> Erpenius, “Oratio II de Arabia lingua”, p. 41.

<sup>702</sup> Walton, “In biblia polyglotta prolegomena”, in *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, London 1657, ch. 14 “De lingua Arabica”, p. 97: “linguam ... a Jectane sine mutatione continuatam credendum est, praesertim cum mixturam nullam aliarum gentium cum

Schultens conformed to previous discourse by advancing extralinguistic causes for his contention that the peninsular Arabs sustained an undamaged purity of their inherited language. In both his first and second orations on the antiquity of Arabic, he identifies the geographical isolation of the Arabic Peninsula as a factor that has prevented linguistic contact with other nations and thus hindered the linguistic decay of Arabic. Because of their geographical isolation, the peninsular Arabs have secured political freedom and have never been subjected to foreign empires or expelled from their own dwelling places.<sup>703</sup> Secondly, he refers to the customs of the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula that prohibit marriage with foreigners to maintain ethnic and linguistic homogeneity among themselves.<sup>704</sup>

In both orations, he cites a third reason: the three thousand years of dynastic continuity among the Joktanide kings.<sup>705</sup> He argues that the documents of Arabia Felix (*monumenta Arabiae Felicis*) will prove political continuity from the earliest times to the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, when military expeditions against South Arabia, especially the kingdom of the Himyar, ended political freedom and dynastic continuity. Schultens refers to the campaigns in AD 525, which were led by Ethiopians from Abyssinia and organized by the Byzantine Empire.<sup>706</sup>

Schultens substantiated the external causes by reference to Pliny the Elder and Diodorus of Sicily, who expressly state that no empire has ever brought Arabia Felix under its dominion, not the Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, or Roman Empire.<sup>707</sup>

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ipsis tradant Historiae nec ab aliis victi victorum linguam addiscere coacti sunt, quas causas esse potissimas mutationis linguarum docet experientia.”

<sup>703</sup> Schultens, *Oratio altera de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine*, pp. 6–7. The same reasons are restated in *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, preface, p. \*\* 3 recto.

<sup>704</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 30–31.

<sup>705</sup> Archaeological evidence indicates that kingdoms and tribal confederations existed on the Arabian Peninsula in the first millennium BC. In southern Arabia, the kingdoms included Himyar (110 BC – AD 525), Saba (10<sup>th</sup> century BC – AD 275), and Hadramaut (8<sup>th</sup> century BC – AD 290). In northern Arabia, there were political unions, such as the Qedar confederation (9<sup>th</sup> century BC – 1<sup>st</sup> century BC). In Hejaz, the Thamud confederation existed (8<sup>th</sup> century BC – 5<sup>th</sup> century AD), and in eastern Arabia, the kingdoms of Dilmun (late 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC – 6<sup>th</sup> century BC), Gerrha, and Tylos (ancient Bahrain) flourished. For treatises on ancient Arabian history, see Herrmann von Wissmann, *Über die frühe Geschichte Arabiens und das Entstehen des Sabäerreiches* (Wien 1985), Israel Eph'al, *The ancient Arabs: Nomads on the borders of the fertile crescent, 9<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries B. C.* (Jerusalem 1982), Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the coming of Islam*, (London 2001), Greg Fischer (ed.), *Arabs and Empires before Islam* (Oxford 2015), and Alessandra Avanzini, *By land and by sea: A history of South Arabia before Islam recounted from inscriptions* (Rome 2016).

<sup>706</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 32–33. *Oratio altera de linguae Arabicae origine*, p. 7.

<sup>707</sup> Schultens, *Oratio de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine*, p. 34.

Diodorus characterizes the Arabs as “a liberty-loving nation” and states that the Sabaeans have “royal successors (βασιλέας διαδεχομένους) by descent (ἐκ γένους)”.<sup>708</sup> Schultens observes that the word διαδεχόμενοι (“successors”) corresponds to Tobbaei, which, he contends, was a ruler title among the Himyarites. According to Bar Hebraeus, the principal royal family among the Himyarites had plenty of “kings, lords, sovereigns and Tobbaei”. Schultens thinks that this passage should be translated: “kings, lords, mighty men, succeeding one another by the title Tobbaei”.<sup>709</sup>

## 7.2 *De linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine* (1732)

### 7.2.1 *Internal causes of the stability of Arabic*

At the end of his 1729 speech, Schultens had deferred his explanation of the internal causes to the unspoiled purity of Arabic to a better occasion. An opportunity arose when he took office as professor of Oriental languages in Leiden in June 1732.<sup>710</sup> He opens his lecture with an exordium in which he vividly depicts the Hebrew and Arabic languages as two date palm trees. Schultens declares that the date palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*) is one of the noblest trees of the Near East in terms of beauty, a well-formed trunk, neat leaves, a long vegetative life, pleasant and splendid flowers and fruits, and usefulness for all the needs of life (implicitly, as food, medicine, and material – leaves for weaving, the trunk as timber).<sup>711</sup> He considers the gendered nature of the date palms wonderful: the female date palm cannot bear fruit unless it is pollinated by the male date palm.<sup>712</sup> He proposes this as a metaphor for the interaction between Hebrew and Arabic in etymology: the Hebrew female date palm (*palma femella*) cannot yield its pregnant and rich original meanings to its cultivators unless it is pollinated by the Arabic male date tree (*palma mascula*).<sup>713</sup> The prejudices against the Arabic date palm must be eliminated, first and foremost, the misconception that Arabic is a relatively late language and represents a decayed stage.<sup>714</sup>

Schultens accordingly sets out to refute preconceived ideas and to vindicate the antiquity and stability of Arabic. In doing so, he identifies internal causes, namely the Arabs’ mental and psychological attitudes

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<sup>708</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* II, 1, 5 and III, 47, 4.

<sup>709</sup> Schultens, *Oratio de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine*, p. 40.

<sup>710</sup> This speech was published in Leiden in 1732 and later reprinted as an appendix to *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2. For the title page of the second edition, see Figure 15.

<sup>711</sup> Schultens, *Oratio altera de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine intima ac sororia cum lingua Hebraea cognatione nullisque seculis prae florata puritate*, 1732, p. 2; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1738, p. 34. The ordinary botanical term is *Phoenix dactylifera*.

<sup>712</sup> Schultens, *Oratio altera*, p. 3; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1838, p. 35. Carolus Linnaeus coined the term dioecious (*dioicus*) to describe the gender-specific properties of date palms.

<sup>713</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 3–4; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1838, pp. 35–36. In using this metaphor, Schultens presupposes a natural pollination by wind.

<sup>714</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 5; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1838, p. 37.

towards their language, and other cultural reasons for “the stable state of Arabic, by which it always remained similar to itself”. First of all, he cites the Arab tradition, which holds that their language is the oldest, or at least traces its origin to the primeval, an idea that he interprets as a collective memory of the ethno-linguistic origins from Joktan.<sup>715</sup> He also points to the Arabs’ admiration for their own language, which they consider superior to all other languages for its richness, force, nerve, and power; its figurative speech, grandiloquence, splendour, and majesty; and its sublimity.<sup>716</sup> In his early publications, Schultens employed the concept of a distinct Oriental style. In his commentaries on the Book of Job and Proverbs, he more precisely conceptualized the styles of the Orient (*stylus Orientis* or *stylus Orientalis*) and the Arabs (*stylus Arabum*) as figurative, sublime, proverbial, and sententious.<sup>717</sup> His guiding idea was that the Arabs are the bearers of ancient Oriental wisdom, as evidenced by their use of enigmas, allegories, parables, proverbs, and sententious statements.<sup>718</sup>

Schultens furthermore points to the Arabs’ firmness in retaining the old form of their language and their rejection of novelties, and corroborates this assertion by referring to a statement by the Turkic historian al-Safadī, who says: “In previous times, the Arabs did not boast of anything except the sword, hospitality and eloquence”,<sup>719</sup> which was confirmed by Gregory Bar Hebraeus, who, in the *History of the dynasties* (ninth dynasty), comments on the pre-Islamic cultivation of the Arabic language among the Arabs.

The learning of the Arabs, of which they boasted, was based on their knowledge of their ancestral language, on their careful inquiry into the proper meanings of the language, and on the elaborate composition of songs and orations.<sup>720</sup>

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<sup>715</sup> Schultens, *Oratio altera*, 1732, pp. 8–10; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1738, pp. 39–41.

<sup>716</sup> Schultens, *Oratio altera*, 1732, p. 10; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1738, pp. 42–44.

<sup>717</sup> Schultens, *Animadversiones philologicae et criticae*, 1709, pp. 158, 191, 244, 314, and 419. Idem, *Liber Jobi cum [...] commentario*, 1737, vol. 1, pp. 279, 285, 518 “stylus Orientis”, p. 162 “sublimior Arabum stylus”, p. 380 “sublimior stylus Arabum”, p. 329 f. “in figurato sermone Arabum”; vol. 2, p. 556 “stylus Orientis”, p. 712 “in sublimiore et sententioso Orientis stylo”, p. 814 “varietas et densitas emblematum in sublimiore stylo Orientis”, p. 819 “nobiles Orientis figurae”. Idem, *Proverbia Salomonis*, 1748, p. 23 “stylus Orientis”, and p. 544 “pro stylo Orientis”.

<sup>718</sup> Schultens, *De regina Sabaearum*, Leiden 1740, p. 35.

<sup>719</sup> Schultens, *Oratio altera*, 1732, p. 14, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1738, p. 46: “Non gloriabantur, inquit Alsaphaius, antiquissimi Arabes, nisi gladio, hospite, eloquentia.” *Monumenta vetustiora Arabicae*, preface, p. 1: “Arabes antiquitus non habebant, quo gloriarentur, quam gladio, hospite et eloquentia.” In *Monumenta*, preface, p. 4, the third quality is expounded as an admiration of the ancestral language and a cultivation of it by which one strived to preserve its beauty and transmit it to posterity.

<sup>720</sup> Schultens, *Oratio altera*, 1732, pp. 14, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1738, p. 46: “Eruditio [...] Arabum, in qua sese gloriose iactabant, sita erat in linguae patriae peritia et

Schultens goes on to refer to the similarly conservative disposition of the Arabs to retain old customs and archaic forms of speech, and to reject everything that lacks a primeval character.<sup>721</sup> Regarding the latter observation, he refers to Bar Hebraeus's statement in the quotation above: the Arabs use words in their proper sense. This is interpreted as an endeavour to explore and retain the original and primary meanings of words, so that the natural character of the language (*nativus linguae genius*) was preserved intact.<sup>722</sup> Arab poets and orators were successful in expressing the vanishing original meanings of words, while imparting them with grace and transmitting them to posterity.<sup>723</sup> They gathered at meetings and markets to compete in orations and songs for the honour of being the most skilled in the ancestral language, as in the literary contests in Ancient Greece,<sup>724</sup> where the fame and glory of the winners in the Olympiads even surpassed the honours bestowed on the triumphing Roman imperators, Schultens says, adding that the orators and poets in Arabia were held in higher esteem than the Olympic winners.<sup>725</sup> Therefore, not even Greece has produced as many orators and poets as Arabia has, both before and after Muhammad.<sup>726</sup>

Schultens finally argues that the use of an alphabetic script among the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula had a conservative effect on their linguistic usage. Upholding his hypothesis that Job was an Arab and dating his lifetime to the second millennium BC, he assumes that the Book of Job attests to the use of script among the ancient Arabs.<sup>727</sup> He thinks that the Joktanides brought script to Arabia Felix and that it was similar to that of the Hebrew tradition (probably aiming at Paleo-Hebrew).<sup>728</sup> He does not refer to the old South Arabian script, nor does he distinguish it from the Arabic alphabet, as did Pococke,<sup>729</sup> but he supposed that at least some early form of the alphabet had been used by the South Arabian civilization.

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accuratissima investigatione proprietatum sermonis cum carminum orationumque elaboratissima textura." Schultens likely used Pococke's edition (Oxford 1663), but not his accompanying Latin translation (*Historia compendiosa dynastiarum*, p. 101).

<sup>721</sup> Schultens, *Oratio altera*, 1732, p. 16; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1738, p. 48.

<sup>722</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, 1732, pp. 17–18; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1738, pp. 48–49. As regards the quotation of Bar Hebraeus' *History of the dynasties*, cf. Section 5.1.3 above.

<sup>723</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, 1732, p. 18; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1738, p. 49.

<sup>724</sup> In ancient Greece, there were four Panhellenic games: the Olympic Games and the Nemean Games in athletics only; the Pythian Games in Delphi, and the Isthmian Games in both poetry and athletics. The winners received different prizes: in the Olympic games, a wreath of olive; in the Nemean games, a wreath of wild celery; in the Pythian games, a wreath of laurel; and in the Isthmian games, a wreath of pine.

<sup>725</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, 1732, p. 19 f.; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1738, p. 50.

<sup>726</sup> Schultens, *Monumenta vetustiora Arabiae*, Leiden 1740, preface, p. 4.

<sup>727</sup> Schultens, *Oratio altera*, 1732, p. 21; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1738, p. 53.

<sup>728</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, 1732, pp. 20–22; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1738, p. 52.

<sup>729</sup> Pococke, notes on Bar Hebraeus, *Specimen historiae Arabum*, p. 155. During the Danish expedition to South Arabia (1761–1767), Carsten Niebuhr, in *Beschreibung*

Schultens concludes his arguments with a discussion of the origin and use of script in the Ancient Near East. To begin with, he reflects on the nature of writing. Quoting the Roman poet Lucan (AD 39–65), he states that script is tantamount to recording speech in rude characters so that it endures.<sup>730</sup> It is intended to lend a stable permanence to speech, which itself is “as fluctuating, vanishing and disappearing as the air it strikes”.<sup>731</sup> Schultens did not accept the established view that the Phoenicians invented the alphabet, a view which Lucan took for granted.<sup>732</sup>

In discussing the origin of alphabetic scripts, he reconsiders the merits of the Phoenicians, Assyrians and Babylonians. With reference to the ancient historian Berossus, Schultens credits the Babylonians with using a script on small baked bricks for observations of the stars over a long period of time.<sup>733</sup> He traces the use of script to the ancestors of these nations in the biblical genealogies. In his view, the Noachides invented the script after migrating from the mountain of Ararat and introduced it in Babylonia, Syria, Phoenicia, and Arabia. The forms of the letters were most likely the same as those used by the Hebrews, but it is unclear whether Paleo-Hebrew or square Hebrew letters are meant.<sup>734</sup> Schultens adopts a position similar to that of Eusebius of Caesarea, who held that the Hebrews were the inventors of all learning and culture. Through the Phoenicians, knowledge of the arts and sciences was transmitted to the Greeks. Augustine approved of these views. In his opinion, the antediluvian ancestors of the Hebrews were also the originators of a written language.<sup>735</sup>

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von Arabien (1772, p. 87), reports that the local inhabitants told him about the Himyaritic inscriptions on rocks in Yemen and showed him samples of the script, but he had no opportunity to make his own observations.

<sup>730</sup> Lucan, *De bello civili* III, 221: “manusuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.”

<sup>731</sup> Schultens, *Oratio altera*, 1732, p. 19; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1738, p. 51.

<sup>732</sup> The Phoenicians played a key role in developing the alphabet, but their twenty-two-letter alphabet (dating from c. 1100–1050 BC) descended from earlier linear proto-alphabets, such as Proto-Sinaitic and Proto-Canaanite. See John F. Healey, “The early alphabet”, in *Reading the past: Ancient writings from cuneiform to the alphabet*, p. 221.

<sup>733</sup> Schultens, *Oratio altera*, 1732, p. 20; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1738, p. 52.

<sup>734</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, 1732, pp. 20–22; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1738, p. 52. In *Clavis dialectorum*, p. 323, Schultens appears to assume that the letterforms and ordering of the South Arabian script were similar to those of the old Hebrew alphabet. Healey, “The early alphabet”, p. 220, argues that it is related to the Proto-Canaanite script, from which the South Arabian alphabet branched off c. 1300. He establishes the order of the twenty-nine South Arabian letters as follows: h, l, ḥ, m, q, w, š, r, b (or ḡ), t, s, k, n, ḥ, ś, f, ’, ‘, d, g, d, ḡ (or b), t, z, ḍ, y, ṭ, ṣ/ z. See Healey, *ibidem*, p. 220. For the letter forms, see *ibidem*, p. 220.

<sup>735</sup> Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 39. Schultens may have drawn some ideas from his teacher Johannes Braunius’ inaugural lecture *De sapientia Hebraeorum* (“On the wisdom of the Hebrews”), Groningen 1681.

## 8. Writings in defence of the comparative method

### 8.1 *Vindiciae* (1737): A controversy with Driessen

#### 8.1.1 General contents of the publication and the preface

Towards the end of August 1737, Schultens prepared a defence of his theory and practice of Hebrew etymology against Antonius Driessen's attacks.<sup>736</sup> The treatise is titled *Vindiciae Originum Hebraearum et Opusculi de defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae*.<sup>737</sup> The publication consists of three parts: justification of *Origines Hebraeae* (vol. 1), in which the etymological derivations in this work are defended (pp. 1–132); justification of *Opusculus de defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae* (pp. 133–203), in which Arabicizing derivations are vindicated; and *Stricturae*, "Brief remarks" (pp. 204–264), in which Schultens gives reasons for his new translation of the Book of Job.<sup>738</sup> Schultens discusses his own etymological writings and subjects Driessen's counter-proposal of etymological and semantic principles in *De veris causis et auxiliis* to severe criticism. In doing so, he sets forth his eighteen etymological and semantic principles, which would later form the basis of his next methodological work, *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi* (1738).

In the preface, Schultens outlines the background of the controversy. In his treatises *De defectibus* (pp. 4–5) and *Origines Hebraeae* (vol. 2, ch. 5), he had invited a gentle and friendly debate on his principles. At first glance at the title of Driessen's *De veris principiis*, which the author sent to him in May 1737, the month of its publication, Schultens thought that a scholar finally had answered his call for a public discussion, but this proved, allegedly, to be a rash conclusion: When considering the title, he suspected Driessen of prejudice, and when reading through the various treatises, he

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<sup>736</sup> Driessen spelled his given name "Antonius", but in modern biographical surveys, the forms of the first name vary between "Antonius" and "Anthonius".

<sup>737</sup> In English translation, the full title reads: "Vindications of *Origines Hebraeae* and *De defectibus linguae Hebraeae* against the famous Driessen's treatise 'On the principles and aids in interpreting Biblical Hebrew' (*De veris causis et auxiliis interpretandi linguam Hebraean Biblica*). To this come my succinct remarks (*Stricturae*) on the same famous scholar's considerations on the new translation of the Book of Job." Leiden 1737. For the full title in Latin, see the bibliography.

<sup>738</sup> The first two parts of *Vindiciae* (pp. 1–203) were republished as an appendix to *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, 1738.

fully realized this scholar's ignorance of the state of the controversy and his unjust, ungentle and hostile manner, despite his pretence of pious zeal.

Driessen's criticism had wider repercussions than the counter-attack in *Vindiciae*, prompting Schultens to adopt a more systematic theoretical approach, combined with a more polemical stance, as evident in his subsequent works, especially *Via vetus et regia Hebraizandi* (1738), *Excursus primus* (1739), the preface to his etymological Hebrew dictionary (October 1740), and the essay on the primeval language in *Theses de lingua primaeval* (c. 1740; MS Or. 1469).

### 8.1.2 Background and progression of the controversy

Antonius Driessen (1683–1748) was one of the most prominent and prolific Cocceian theologians of his time. He was a controversialist and a defender of Reformed Orthodoxy.<sup>739</sup> Driessen's scholarly output spans dogmatics, practical theology, biblical hermeneutics, the interpretation of the Old and New Testaments, and theological philosophy.<sup>740</sup> His writings testify to his acumen as a dogmatist, Bible commentator, and philosopher. Attention has so far focused on Driessen's positions on three topics: (1) natural theology, especially the role of reason in relation to divine revelation and faith; (2) causality in relation to divine providence; and (3) the nature of man, with attention to the interplay and distinction between body and soul.<sup>741</sup>

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<sup>739</sup> Abraham Jacob van der Aa, 'Anthonius Driessen', *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, vol. 4, pp. 339–443; Glasius, 'Driessen, Anthonius,' *Godgeleerd Nederland*, vol. 1, pp. 384–390. Laurentius Knappert characterizes Driessen as a polemical dogmatist inclined to hereticize his opponents. See the article "Driessen, Antonius" in *Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 4, Leiden 1918, pp. 525–529. C.J.J. Clements and Jacob van Sluis describe Driessen's dogmatic and philosophical works in their article on 'Driessen, Anthonius', in *Biografisch Lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands Protestantisme* (BLGNP), Kampen 2002, pp. 155–158. The same works are reviewed by Jacob van Sluis in the biography "Anthonius Driessen" in *Encyclopedie Nadere Reformatie*, vol. 1: Biographieën, pp. 223–227. To the church historian Annaeus Ypey, *Geschiedenis van de kristelijke kerk in de achttiende eeuw*, vol. 8, Utrecht 1807, pp. 52–53, Driessen stood out as a zealous defender of Reformed orthodox tenets, always ready to refute dogmatic deviations. Driessen's colleague, Cornelius van Velzen (1696–1752), who held one of the chairs of theology in Groningen, called Driessen "a salamander that always lives in fire"; see the *Handbook of Dutch Church history*, Göttingen 2015, p. 376.

<sup>740</sup> A bibliography with a brief characterization of each work is present in Johann G. Heinsius, *Unpartheyische Kirchen-Historie Alten und Neuen Testamentes*, vol. 3, Jenae/ Jena 1754, pp. 1119–1122. A complete bibliography is provided by Asa Goudriaan and Jacob van Sluis, 'Driessen, Anthonius' in *Biografisch Lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands Protestantisme*, Kampen 2002, pp. 158–162.

<sup>741</sup> Asa Goudriaan, in *Reformed orthodoxy and philosophy, 1625–1750: Gisbert Voetius, Petrus van Mastricht and Anthonius Driessen*, Leiden 2006, discusses Driessen's positions on these three issues; see pp. 20–26, pp. 65–73, pp. 160–172, pp. 182–187 and pp. 249–259.



Antonius Driessen was born on 12 March 1683 in Sittard, in the Duchy of Jülich. After studying philology, philosophy, and theology at the High School of 's-Hertogenbosch and at the universities of Franeker and Leiden, he served as a pastor in Eisden, Maastricht, and Utrecht. In 1717, he was appointed professor of theology at the University of Groningen. In his inaugural oration, Driessen lectured on brotherly love (*Oratio inauguralis de Philadelphia*),<sup>742</sup> but he was soon involved in acrimonious exegetical and dogmatic disputes,<sup>743</sup> defending Reformed Orthodoxy against the threat from Leibnizian-Wolffian philosophy.<sup>744</sup>

In the mid-1730s, Driessen turned his attention to biblical interpretation and prepared commentaries on Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and the Major and Minor Prophets. He published his commentary on Job (*Dilucidatio analytica libri Jobi*) in 1737 but postponed publication of the other commentaries for several years.<sup>745</sup> In his biblical commentaries, he focused on the content, purpose, and logical coherence of the biblical text, as can be seen in the different approaches of his and Schultens' commentary on the Book of Job.<sup>746</sup>

Driessen's logical approach to Bible commentary differed from Schultens' and made him aware of his disagreement with Schultens over the method of semantic research and the degree of reliability of Arabic as a linguistic aid in explaining Biblical Hebrew. His overarching objective was to test Schultens' hypotheses. Rejecting Schultens' semantic principles, he

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<sup>742</sup> See Driessen's autobiographical notes until 1717: "Catalogus scriptorum auctoris cum editorum tum ineditorum", in *Dilucidatio analytica libri Jobi*, Groningen 1737, pp. 136. The autobiographical account is followed by a list of his own writings, ibidem, pp. 136–142. He also told his biography at the end of *Tractatus de omnibus revelationum divinarum modis* [...], Groningen 1737, pp. 412–420.

<sup>743</sup> The dispute on the nature of God with the Groningen philosopher Jacob Wittich (1718–1719) is analysed by Andreas Strazzoni, *Burchard de Volder and the Age of the Scientific Revolution* (2019), pp. 178–197. Goudriaan, *Reformed orthodoxy and philosophy*, p. 23, records the writings of this quarrel. Cf. Driessen's own account, "Catalogus scriptorum auctoris", *Dilucidatio analytica libri Jobi*, p. 136 f.

<sup>744</sup> Asa Goudriaan, "Anthonius Driessens theologische kritiek up de Leibniziaans–Wolffiaanse filosofie", in *Onderwijs en onderzoek: studie en wetenschap an de academie van Groningen*, edited by A. H. Huussen, Hilversum 2003, pp. 185–207.

<sup>745</sup> These works are *Dilucidationes analyticae Psalmorum, Proverbiorum, Cantini Canticorum, Jesaiae*, Groningen 1743 and *Dilucidationes analyticae prophetiarum Jeremiae huiusque Threnorum, Ezechielis, Danielis, Hoseae et reliquorum prophetarum omnium*, Groningen 1744.

<sup>746</sup> Driessen, "Dissertatio de veris causis et auxiliis", *Dilucidatio analytica libri Jobi*, p. 1: "Ipse magis circa literalem, ego magis circa realem, breviter dilucidata litera, sensum, praesertim circa perperuam huius libri analysin, occupatus fui." "He is more occupied with the literal sense; I am, after briefly clarifying the literal meaning, more occupied with the sense related to the contents, especially concerning the continuous analysis of this book."

relied on the Hebrew dictionary of Christian Stockius, *Clavis linguae sanctae Veteris Testamenti* (1717), in which a logical semantic method was used to determine the general meaning of words, from which the particular, often figurative, uses were derived.<sup>747</sup> Driessen fully endorsed this semantic method.<sup>748</sup>

Driessen maintained that there were dogmatic problems with Schultens' approach to biblical philology, arguing that the controversy has serious implications for the Christian interpretation of the Bible:

It is not some unimportant war of grammar that is being waged between us, but it concerns the true sources from which the true meaning of the Divine Scriptures is derived and on which all doctrines concerning salvation depend.<sup>749</sup>

In reply to Schultens' ironical remark about Driessen's controversialist endeavour to defend Reformed orthodoxy, Driessen declares: "Schultens falsely and virulently ridicules my intention, though indirectly. I believed and believe that this old friend was tenacious in orthodoxy. I never expected that he would do that."<sup>750</sup> In the preface to *Vindiciae*, Schultens dismissed Driessen's claim of pious zeal as insincere, wondering what it would have

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<sup>747</sup> On Stockius' Hebrew dictionary, see Eskhult, *Schultens as an innovator*, Vol. 1, Section 6.6.4, pp. 120–121.

<sup>748</sup> Driessen, *Causa linguae Hebraeae*, p. 31: "Stockius in suo Lexico passim inquirat quid vox generatim significet et quomodo sub generali significato contineantur particulae. [...] Atque ego declaro hanc verissimam esse methodum, quam diu optavi et laetus in Stockio observavi et probavi, sed magis firmandam iustisque accessionibus locupletandam." "Everywhere in his dictionary, Stockius inquires into what a word means in general and how particular meanings may be contained within a general meaning. [...] I declare that this is the truest method, which I long desired and was pleased to observe and approve of in Stockius, but which needs to be further confirmed and enriched by due additions."

<sup>749</sup> Driessen, *Causa linguae Hebraeae adversus Arabismi abusum*, Groningen 1737 p. 3: "Non leve aliquod bellum grammaticale me inter et ipsum geritur. Sed agitur de veris fontibus, unde fluat verus divinorum oraculorum significatus, a quo omnis doctrina salutifera pendet." He reiterated this in his third anti-Schultensian treatise, "Tristitia Arabismi interim detera purissimo sermoni Hebraeo-Biblico", in *Linguae Hebraeo-Biblicae interiora*, p. 1. The phrase "bellum grammaticale" likely alludes to Andrea Guarna's allegorical dialogue *Bellum grammaticale*, Cremona 1511, and to Justus Georg Schottelius' *Horrendum bellum grammaticale*, Braunschweig 1673.

<sup>750</sup> See Driessen, *Causa linguae Hebraeae adversus Arabismi abusum*, Groningae/Groningen 1737, p. 34: "Hocce meum institutum, quamvis indirecte, false et virulente suggillat Schultensius. Veterem amicum et quem credidi et credo orthodoxiae tenacem esse tale quid facturum numquam speraveram." Driessen writes "indirecte", aiming at Schultens' ironical attitude towards him. Cf. *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, p. 169.

looked like if his opponent had really shown “the pious zeal, by which he himself thinks to be animated”.<sup>751</sup>

### 8.1.3 Driessen’s anti-Schultensian treatises

To oppose Schultens’ method of pursuing Hebrew etymology, Driessen published a treatise titled *Dissertatio de veris causis et auxiliis interpretandi linguam Hebraeam biblicam*, “Treatise on the true principles and aids in interpreting the Hebrew language”, which forms the prolegomena to his commentary on the Book of Job (1737).<sup>752</sup> In this treatise, Driessen argues that Schultens, without necessity and against the rules of true hermeneutics, overlooks the established meanings of Hebrew words because he neglects the aids that Providence has placed at the disposal of Bible commentators, namely (i) the Greek translation, i.e. the Septuagint; (ii) other ancient Bible translations; (iii) Jewish commentaries on the literal meaning; and (iv) Hebrew dictionaries by Christian Hebraists.<sup>753</sup> As his principal etymological method, Driessen gives priority to the context and the collation of similar passages, and holds that this approach should be informed by the principles of logic and metaphysics. He expresses his basic view in a passage that reads as follows: “Sound philosophy, aided by the consideration and collation of Scriptural passages and by accepting the long-established aids, achieves more than all Arabia.”<sup>754</sup>

Driessen presumes that ancient translations and Hebrew lexicographers transmit either the primary or the secondary meaning. Secondary meanings help the reader to derive a general primary meaning from the particular applications of that meaning in biblical usage.<sup>755</sup> In contrast, the Arabic lexicographers provide unreliable aid, since they only compile secondary and figurative meanings, in which they take delight and from which the

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<sup>751</sup> Schultens, *Vindiciae*, preface, p. \*3v: “si pio zelo, quo se animatum credit, indulgere voluisset.”

<sup>752</sup> Driessen, *Dilucidatio analytica libri Jobi*, Groningen 1737. The preface is dated 1<sup>st</sup> May, 1737. Driessen added *Considerationes ad viri clarissimi novam versionem libri Jobi*, “Considerations regarding the new translation of the Book of Job by a renowned scholar”, which comprises about 50 pages and criticizes selected passages in Schultens’ Latin translation of Job.

<sup>753</sup> Driessen, *Dissertatio de veris causis et auxiliis*, pp. 2–3. In his treatise *Causa linguae Hebraeae*, p. 22, he underlines that the mentioned aids are not infallible: “Statuo versiones Orientales aliasque cum vetustiores cum recentiores, Rabbinos, Lexicographos suam adferre opem, sed nulli infallibilitatem tribuo, sed saltem pro mediis habeo” [...], “I state that the ancient and recent Oriental translations, as well as other translations, the rabbis, and the lexicographers are helpful in their own way, but I do not ascribe infallibility to anyone, and I at least use them as means” [...].

<sup>754</sup> Driessen, *Dissertatio de veris causis et auxiliis*, p. 61: “Sanior Philosophia ancillata locorum Scripturae meditatione, collationi et longo usu probata auxilia assumens plus praestat quam omnis Arabia.”

<sup>755</sup> Driessen, *Dissertatio de veris causis et auxiliis*, p. 4.

primary and general meaning cannot be drawn directly.<sup>756</sup> Schultens thus inquires in vain for the primary meaning in Arabic dictionaries. However, through reasoning, scholars can extract general meanings from secondary meanings recorded in Arabic dictionaries, though the secondary meanings will only obscure the general meaning.<sup>757</sup> Still, if the usual aids are joined with sound reasoning, they are superior to Arabic, Driessen concludes.<sup>758</sup>

Actually, Driessen thought that Schultens, by relying on Arabic, had turned away from “the royal way”, that is, the safe method, of studying Hebrew, on which “the pious and learned ancestors have walked”, and had departed from the true meaning of the Holy Writ, thus thrusting “a new language” on the Holy Bible against its own will.<sup>759</sup> Rejecting Schultens’ etymologies, he repeatedly underlines that it is necessary to trace a primary general meaning,<sup>760</sup> from which all particular meanings are deduced and to which all biblical occurrences are applicable and adaptable,<sup>761</sup> and that the meanings Schultens adduces or borrows from Arabic are not general or applicable to all biblical occurrences, but are an alleged application of the general meaning to particular cases.<sup>762</sup>

In the same year (1737), Driessen published a second treatise, in which he subjected Schultens’ key assumptions to scrutiny: that the Arabic language is exceedingly ancient, that it is related to Hebrew as a sister dialect, and that it has remained unchanged since antiquity. The treatise is titled *Causa linguae Hebraeae adversus Arabismi abusum*, “On the case of the Hebrew language against the misuse of Arabic”.<sup>763</sup> In the preface, Driessen examines the Masoretic vowels and accents and argues that the accents are a better aid to interpreting Hebrew than Arabic. Driessen also remarks that there is no reason to use a logical method in grammar while refraining from it in semantics, as Schultens does.<sup>764</sup> His main criticism is that Schultens neglects the proper and primary meanings of Hebrew words and instead imparts them with “foreign, false, uncertain, secondary, transferred, invented meanings from Arabic dictionaries”.<sup>765</sup> Moreover,

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<sup>756</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, pp. 5 and 79.

<sup>757</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, p. 79.

<sup>758</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, pp. 4 and 64.

<sup>759</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, p. 3, lines 17 and 26.

<sup>760</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, pp. 15, 18, 29 and 31. Driessen employs the expression *primus universalis significatus*, sometimes varying it with *primus significatus*, *primigenius significatus* and *primarius significatus*, “the first, primordial and primary meaning”.

<sup>761</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, pp. 37, 53, 57 and 62.

<sup>762</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, pp. 8, 26, 29, 37 and 73

<sup>763</sup> This treatise examines Schultens’ two speeches on the antiquity and purity of Arabic (1729 and 1732) and a passage on the universality of semantic changes in the inaugural lecture on the sources of knowledge of Biblical Hebrew (1714).

<sup>764</sup> Driessen, *Causa linguae Hebraeae*, praefatiuncula, p. 1.

<sup>765</sup> Driessen, *Causa linguae Hebraeae*, p. 7: “Si enim tot significatus biblicos primigenios, proprios, simplices migret et peregrinos, falso, incertos, secundarios,

Driessen examines Schultens' preface to his commentary on the Book of Job, in which he observes the hesitation about whether to designate Hebrew as the mother or the sister of Arabic.<sup>766</sup>

Driessen also reviews Schultens' reply to his objection regarding the archaic origins of Arabic in Schultens' *Origines Hebraeae* (vol. 2, ch. 6), namely, that Arabic lexicographers drew on pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. Driessen points out that Schultens does not explain how far back Arabic poetry can be traced. Even if it predates Muhammad by several centuries, it is still far removed from the time of Joktan (in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC), who is said to have brought Heber's language to Arabia, where, according to Schultens, it was preserved unaltered for three thousand years.<sup>767</sup> On the contrary, Driessen suggests that Arabic emerged as a socially low variety among unlearned and uncultivated people and characterizes it as "a plebeian and rustic language".<sup>768</sup> Schultens employs an unscientific method when he "without demonstration presupposes as a proved truth that the meaning in Arabic lexicographers is the same as in the antediluvian world and in the Holy Scriptures".<sup>769</sup>

Like Schultens, Driessen was acquainted with Valentin Ernst Löscher's treatise *De causis linguae Ebraeae* (1706). The difference is that Driessen used it to argue against the overuse of Arabic in the explanation of Biblical Hebrew. Löscher had advised against excessive use of Arabic in restoring lost forms and word meanings in Hebrew, in order "not to shamefully lose the Hebrew sources in the Arabic ocean."<sup>770</sup> Driessen welcomed Löscher's objection and cited it several times.<sup>771</sup>

Commenting on the seventh chapter of *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, Driessen maintains that Schultens, in his overview of earlier hypotheses of Hebrew philology (see Section 6.6.2 above, p. 158, footnote 519), fights with "long ago defeated enemies as if it were an equal battle", since he, in a highly rhetorical manner, criticizes already overcome and outdated theories and thus pretends to prove what is long ago established and self-evident.

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tralatos, inficetos ex Arabum lexicis advehat [...], videt oculatus quisque quo tandem haec abire possint."

<sup>766</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, p. 18. [...] in praefatione in Jobum haesitet sitne lingua Hebraea Arabicae mater an soror. Neque determinat utra soror sit natu maior, Arabica illa an Hebraea.

<sup>767</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, p. 12 f. He deems that this is one of the main hypotheses of Schultens; cf. p. 32, lines 20–25.

<sup>768</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, pp. 17 f.

<sup>769</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, pp. 22 f.

<sup>770</sup> Löscher, *De causis linguae Ebraeae libri III*, book 1, ch. 10, § 14, p. 138: "Refrinari hanc licentiam ponique limites huius studio par est, ne in Oceano isto fontes Ebraeos aliquando turpiter perdamus."

<sup>771</sup> Driessen, *Causa linguae Hebraeae*, p. 15 (quotation) and p. 33 in a paraphrase: "ne, ut cum doctissimo Löscherlo loquar, in Oceano Arabico fontes Hebraeos turpiter perdamus." Cf. *Tristitia Arabismi iterum detersa*, p. 4.

Arguing that his own method is at variance with previous hypotheses, Driessen defines it as an assiduous consideration of individual Hebrew words, a comparison of passages in which they occur, and the use of the aids that “Providence has granted us”, especially the Greek translation of the Old Testament, the most ancient and principal aid.<sup>772</sup> He denies endorsing Samuel Bohle’s views, which he describes as “diametrically opposite” to his own, thereby implicitly highlighting differences in views on additional aids, such as the use of Bible translations and rabbinical commentaries. Driessen does not see himself as an inheritor of Bohle’s intellectual legacy; rather, the assumption of a primary general meaning derives from common sense.<sup>773</sup> Driessen describes the primary and abstract meaning as “the meaning of a word considered in itself, not determined by something else or applied to particular things”. He also contends that the primacy of the abstract meaning of words is a universal feature across all languages.

At the end of his treatise, Driessen examines his opponent’s historical assumptions and semantic principles and presents Schultens’ etymological programme as follows:

The proper and primary meanings of words are not simple, abstract, and largely general, but, through a reversal of the order of nature, they are metaphorical, emblematic, and particular. The meanings of words, even those that express mental entities and their nature, attributes, and affections, and those that express metaphysical truths whatsoever, do in their origin not refer to something mental but to something physical.<sup>774</sup>

In 1739, Driessen published his third anti-Schultensian treatise titled *Tristitia Arabismi iterum deteresa purissimo sermoni Hebraeo-Biblico*, “The grievous nature of Arabic, being cleansed again by means of the pure Biblical Hebrew language”.<sup>775</sup> It is subtitled: “The primary, simple, proper, and general meaning in Hebrew, restored to all the roots with which the famous Schultens has endowed a new meaning from Arabic. Also, the

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<sup>772</sup> Driessen, *Causa linguae Hebraeae*, p. 22: “Requiro sedulam dictionis Hebraeae meditationem variorumque in quibus occurrit locorum collationem, utor adminiculis quae benigna Dei providentia nobis concessit, versione Graeca quam antiquissimum et praestantissimum adminiculum agnosco.”

<sup>773</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, p. 29.

<sup>774</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, p. 32: “Vocum significatus proprios et primigenios, non esse simplices, abstractos et magnam partem universales, sed inverso naturae ordine metaphoricos vel emblematicos et particulares; Vocum <significatus>, etiam quae entia spiritualia, <et> eorum naturam, attributa et affectiones et veritates qualescunque metaphysicas expriment, in origine sua dicere non spirituale sed corporeum quid.”

<sup>775</sup> This treatise was published in Driessen’s *Linguae Hebraeo-Biblicae interiora*, Groningen 1739.

grievous nature of Arabic is removed from Job.”<sup>776</sup> In the introductory preface (47 pages), he continues his discussion of the Masoretic text’s authority and devotes some space to the controversy between him and Schultens. In doing so, Driessen characterizes the controversy “not as a quarrel on grammar” but as a dispute over “by what rules and means the true meaning is established” and over the distinction between “metaphorical and proper meaning, general and particular meaning, primary and secondary meaning”.<sup>777</sup> He emphasizes that philology needs the support of logic and metaphysics: “The study of philology is deplorable unless it is united with sound logic and metaphysics.”<sup>778</sup> He declares that he is ready to subscribe to the eighteen semantic rules that Schultens presented in *Vindiciae* and *Vetus et regia Hebraizandi*, provided that several of them receive a rationalist or logistic reinterpretation.

Driessen also argues that, in its semantic processes, Hebrew differs from all other languages because it is a divine, ‘pre-Babelic’ language, whereas post-Babelic languages,<sup>779</sup> such as Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Dutch, are not.<sup>780</sup> A concrete referential origin of words can be assumed valid only for languages other than Hebrew.<sup>781</sup>

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<sup>776</sup> The outline of the treatise *Tristitia Arabismi* is as follows: the first part, pp. 1–58, is a vindication of *De veris causis et auxiliis* against *Origines Hebraeae*. The second part, pp. 59–86, is an iterated criticism of *De defectibus hodernis*. The third part, with the subtitle *Tristitia Arabismi Jobo detera*, presents renewed disapproval of Schultens’ new translation of the book of Job (pp. 86–129).

<sup>777</sup> Driessen, *Linguae Hebraeo-Biblicae interiora*, Introductoria praefatio, p. \*\*\*\*\*3v: “Non disputatur [...] de linguae Hebraeae vel dialecti Arabicae exterioribus del de grammaticalibus quibusdam [...], p. \*\*\*\*\*4r: “sed de figendo vero significato, quibus legibus et quibus mediis et de diiudicando significato metaphorico a proprio, universali a particulari, primigenio a secundario.”

<sup>778</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, Introductoria praefatio, p. \*\*\*\*\*4v: “quam deplorandum sit studium philologia non coniuncta cum recta logica et metaphysica” [...].

<sup>779</sup> Driessen, *Linguae Hebraeo-Biblicae interiora*, Introductoria praefatio, p. \*\*\*\*\*4r: “Negatur omnino illa cognatio linguae quae Deum habet immediate auctorem et linguarum ex confusione natarum; dicimus diversissimum esse genium et ineptissime ab his ad illam quem argumentari.”

<sup>780</sup> Driessen, “Tristitia Arabismi iterum detera”, in *Linguae Hebraeae interiora*, Groningae/ Groningen 1739, for instance, p. 69: “Dicit se ad sua illustranda multa ex Graecis Latinique adduxisse. Sed haec iam saepius sunt retutata ex distincto genio linguae Hebraeae et linguarum ex confusione natarum.” “He says that he had adduced much from Greek and Latin to illustrate his etymologies, but this is already repeatedly refuted because of the distinct nature of Hebrew and languages that have emerged from the Confusion.” Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 37, lines 24–31;

<sup>781</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, p. 82: “[...] si vel darem omnibus in linguis ex confusione natis vocum non tantum plurimarum, sed omnium, notionem primam et propriam esse corporeum quid, inde secundario translatam ad spiritualia, sic tantum patebit maximum illud discrimen inter Hebraeam reliquasque linguas.” “Even if I were to grant that the primary and proper meaning of not only most, but all words in the

Driessen thinks that his three anti-Schultensian treatises inculcate that the general, abstract, primary and simple meaning should be distinguished from secondary and transferred meanings.<sup>782</sup> Driessen also challenges Schultens on the nature of primary meaning,<sup>783</sup> a topic Schultens did not address in his eighteen axioms. He deems it contradictory that Schultens presumes the primary meaning is rare across all languages, including Hebrew, while at the same time affirming that the Oriental languages constitute a linguistic type in this respect.

Driessen develops his earlier definition of the concept of primary meaning:

You ask: “What is then the simple and primary meaning?” You can easily understand it if you reason philosophically from the true principles of metaphysics that pay attention to the simple notions of things. There is a meaning of a root considered in itself, still in the abstract, not yet applied to any particular concrete thing, a meaning considered in its origin, in contradistinction to the one that usage, not origin, has bestowed on a word. This is the proper meaning in contradistinction to the transferred and figurative meaning.<sup>784</sup>

Driessen thinks Schultens’ idea that the primary and simple meaning of Hebrew roots and stems is physical is nothing but “a stupid error”.<sup>785</sup> Even if the simple and primary meaning of a word is physical (*corporeum quid*), it does not follow that this can be applied to Hebrew in its capacity as the

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languages that have emerged from the Confusion is something physical and that it was transferred to the mental sphere, this would only make the great difference between Hebrew and other languages evident.” Cf. *idem*, *ibidem*, p. 13 f.

<sup>782</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, *Introductoria praefatio*, p. \*\*\*\*\*r: “omnis mea Dissertatio [de causis at auxiliis], Causa linguae Hebraeae et nunc denuo Tristitia Arabismi hoc adversum ipsum inculcat significatum universalem, abstractum, primigenium, simplicem, qui unus est, distinguendum esse a secundariis et tralitiis etc.

<sup>783</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, *Introductoria praefatio*, p. \*\*\*\*\*r: “Quaeritur, quae sit vera notio significationis propriae et primariae et per quas leges figatur et dignoscatur.”

<sup>784</sup> Driessen, *Linguae Hebraeo-Biblicae interiora*, p. 13: “Interrogas, quid igitur significatus ille simplex et primigenius? Facile intelligis, modo velis philosophari ex veris metaphysices principiis, quae notiones rerum simplices adtendit. Est significatus radices per se spectatus, hactenus in abstracto, nondum in concreto huic vel illi subiecto adplicitus, spectatus in ipsa sua origine, contradistincte ad eum quem non nativitas, sed usus vocis dedit; est significatus proprius contradistincte ad tralatitium et figuratum.”

<sup>785</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, p. 13: “Alius isque crassissimus error omnen ipsius philologiam Arabicam pervadens est primigeniam et simplicem radicum Hebraearum notionem esse corporeum quid.” What Driessen here calls the Arabic philology of Schultens refers to his Arabicizing Hebrew philology.



divine and pre-Babelic language. Driessen presents his argument as a rhetorical question:

Could it be concluded that the simple and primary meaning of roots and words in the antediluvian language refers to something physical rather than something mental, unless it is secondary, bearing in mind that this language, as preserved in the Bible, with God as its author and not arising from the Confusion, is the most rational and most suited to the rational nature of the right created man?<sup>786</sup>

In Driessen's view, the faculty of sensation (that is, sense perception) is a quality of the mind. Sensation is therefore mental. Driessen adopts the Augustinian position that the soul's or mind's sensory perception acts through the mediation of its bodily organs. The body does not have sensations, but the mind sees and hears through its sensory organs. What is the ground for supposing that physical notions underlie the primary meaning of words?<sup>787</sup> Or, to put it otherwise, "what is that which is seeing, the mind or the eye?"<sup>788</sup> Childlike people will, without reasoning, reply 'the eye', but the meditator will attribute this quality to the mind.

Regarding 'post-Babelic' languages, Driessen leaves open the question of whether a concrete or an abstract word meaning is primary, but argues that Biblical Hebrew, by its nature, is different from other languages, which are formed by men who, after having lost the true concepts of their minds and mental matters, "confuse primary notions with the secondary ones and secondary notions with the primary ones".<sup>789</sup>

#### *8.1.4 Schultens' criticism of Driessen's semantic method*

In his *Vindiciae*, Schultens argues that the aids for Hebrew semantic research that Driessen has proposed as guidelines in *De causis et auxiliis* do not address the state of the controversy. He affirms that he shares Driessen's views on the ancient translations, the rabbis, and the lexicographers of Hebrew as important aids, but retorts that they cannot be considered a means

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<sup>786</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, p. 14: "an inde sequitur etiam in lingua ante-diluviana in scripturis conservata, quae ipsum Deum habet auctorem, non nata ex confusione, quae lingua est rationalissima, hominis recti creati naturae rationali convientissima, primas et simplices radicum et vocum notiones corporeum quid, nihil spirituale significare, id non nisi secundario significare?"

<sup>787</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, p. 82. "Distingue iam actionem mentis ab organis, quibus mediantibus sic agit, quatenus est notio illa corporea quae verbis illis subsit?"

<sup>788</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, p. 82: "Sed quid proprie videt, mens an oculus?"

<sup>789</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, p. 82: "Homines a lingua sancta et a vera religione alienati, qui veros conceptus animae suae, rerum spiritualium amiserunt, veras notiones confuderunt primas pro secundariis, secundarias pro primis habuerunt, quid hoc ad notiones simplices quales sunt in sermone biblico?"

for discovering the primary meanings of Hebrew words.<sup>790</sup> He asks himself why Driessen does not include the related Semitic languages as an epistemic source among the established aids, even though they were used by medieval Jewish scholars as well as by Christian lexicographers.<sup>791</sup> In illustrating Hebrew through “Oriental dialects”, Schultens argues that he follows in the footsteps of the principal theologians and philologists of the last three centuries and that this method should be recognized as “the royal way in supplementing the defects of the ancient versions, the rabbis and the dictionaries”.<sup>792</sup>

Schultens thinks that Driessen’s distinction between primary and secondary meanings does not clarify the state of their controversy, but concedes that it demonstrates his opponent’s learning, acumen, and critical judgement: “You possess the utmost endeavour of human ingenuity. Nothing more sublime or more solid than that has all in one been produced in the learned world to splendidly strengthen Hebrew philology and promote it to its supreme height.”<sup>793</sup>

Schultens reduces Driessen’s theory of Hebrew philology to a set of six guiding assumptions, which he presents as follows. (i) The ancient Bible versions, the rabbis, and the lexicographers contain everything needed to establish the Hebrew language as a whole, especially to elucidate primary meanings. (ii) These aids shed light not only on secondary meanings but also on primary meanings. Otherwise, Providence would not have shown sufficient concern for the Church. (iii) Though the ancient versions and lexicographers differ, attentive consideration and critical judgement enable everyone to determine whether a Hebrew word is correctly understood and whether that meaning is primary. (iv) There is no need to seek evidence from the Oriental languages, since logic and metaphysics bring the clearest light.<sup>794</sup> (v) Regarding the meaning of words that occur rarely or only once in the Bible, it is possible to obtain, if not the proper meaning, at least one that does not contradict the sense of the biblical passage. (vi) Concerning derived words whose verbal roots are not found, critical judgement will determine what the root was and its meaning, if indeed the word is not attested.<sup>795</sup>

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<sup>790</sup> Schultens, *Vindiciae*, p. 9.

<sup>791</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 10.

<sup>792</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 11.

<sup>793</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 14: “Habes ultimum conatum ingenii humani, quo nihil vel sublimius vel solidius quicquam productum in orbe erudito ad rem Hebraicam magnifice constabiliendam atque ad supremum culmen uno momento provehendam.”

<sup>794</sup> Schultens refers to a range of passages in which Driessen presents logic and metaphysics as the primary aids of semantic research.

<sup>795</sup> For this systematization of Driessen’s basic assumptions, see *Vindiciae*, pp. 15–16, and *Excursus primus*, pp. 51 f. The last two assumptions are more or less quoted

Schultens derides these principles and accuses his opponent of exhorting his own students to shun the study of Hebrew and related languages, mockingly praising their good fortune in having chosen guidelines that allow them to ascend the heights of learning without toil. In contradiction to Driessen's etymological aids and semantic principles, Schultens proposes eighteen axiomatic rules for the study of Hebrew etymology, which he later presents in *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi* (as shown above, Section 6.7.2).

It is noteworthy that the controversy with Driessen compelled Schultens to reflect on his method of comparative semantic etymology. In his earlier writings, he had proposed theoretical conclusions but had not presented them as a program, as he did in *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*, the bulk of which (pp. 39–112) explains his eighteen principles of comparative Hebrew philology. Driessen did not ignore the etymological bases of his Leiden opponent but disapproved of them and pinpointed the latter's guiding assumptions before Schultens himself had theorized the principles underlying his comparative Hebrew studies.

Before reviewing his opponent's principles, Schultens illustrates his disagreement with Driessen by reporting an encounter with a student. Soon after Schultens' appointment to the chair of Oriental languages at Leiden, a student of theology and philosophy at the University of Groningen joined his class to study Hebrew more deeply. The student lacked linguistic talent but placed great value on Hebrew and appeared eager to learn it. After some weeks or months of study, the student opened a conversation with him about the methods and means of teaching and learning Hebrew.<sup>796</sup> Schultens recounts the dialogue:

- He asked: Is it necessary to undertake such a long journey to attain thorough knowledge of Hebrew and to explore the Oriental dialects, which are so widely diffused?
- I answered: “Another way is not allowed by the nature of things and is not known to me.”
- He replied: “Are there not good translations and dictionaries made by great scholars in this field of learning?”
- I said: “Indeed, there are!”
- He inferred: “Consequently, there is no reason to enter on such a long and difficult journey.”
- I asked: “Why?”

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from Driessen, *De causis et auxiliis*, p. 78. Driessen put a condition on the last assumption: “if it really is the question of an absent word”, because he thinks that many derivatives are mistakenly considered to be so, since they may be argued to be originally biconsonantal or triconsonantal.

<sup>796</sup> Schultens, *Vindiciae*, p. 13.

– He answered: “Because, without effort, I can choose the best of these translations and dictionaries, as I am equipped with training in logic and metaphysics.”

– I replied: “Nothing is more deceptive than a judgement that has not been promoted and invigorated by an assiduous reading of the source texts themselves. Moreover, there is considerable dissension and contradiction among the dictionaries. Furthermore, the primary meaning, which offers us an idea of the natural beauty of the Hebrew language, is not to be found in any translation or dictionary.”

– Then he rejoined: “I do not despair of overcoming all these dissensions and obscurities by the light of philosophy and of eliciting the primary meaning, which conceals itself, by assessing the mixture of different meanings.”

At this point, the dialogue ceased. Schultens reports, except that he added with a smile: “I am not myself endowed with such a blessed vein of ingenuity that I can ever attain such a height in my own domain of learning.”<sup>797</sup>

#### 8.1.5 Schultens on Driessen’s semantic principles

Schultens defends his use of Arabic for Hebrew etymology, dismissing Driessen’s objections as mere metaphysical speculation, and assumes that the concrete referential origin of meaning agrees with the specific nature of any language, because, as a non-divine language, Hebrew follows the same semantic principles as Greek and Latin.

Driessen dismissed the etymology of the Hebrew verbal root *יָשָׁא*, *yāšaʿ* (in the *hiphil* *הִישִׁיעַ*, *hōšāʿ*, “to save”) from Arabic *wasīʿa*, “to be wide, capacious; make broad or ample”, claiming that Arabic dictionaries usually

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<sup>797</sup> Schultens, *Vindiciae*, pp. 13–14: “Rogat num necesse foret ad cognitionem interiorem linguae Biblicae tam longum iter ire atque etiam dialectos tam late fusas perrimari? Respondi aliam viam nec naturam rei dare nec mihi cognitam esse. Ibi ille: An non *optimae* dantur *versiones* et *lexica* a magnis in hac palaestra viris confecta? Sane vero, inquam. Ergo, inquit, non est cur tam longum et molestum iter suscipiatur. Quid ita? inquam. Nempe, inquit, ex illis *versionibus* et *lexicis* optimum quidque non ita difficulter seligere potero, bona *logica* et *metaphysica* armatus. Tum ego: Nil fallacius isto iudicio, quod non assidua lectione ipsorum fontium alitur et vegetatur. Ingens praeterea *lexicorum* inter se dissensio. Denique in nullis *versionibus*, *lexicisve* reperiri est, pro magna saltem parte, illud *primigenium*, quod nativam pulchritudinem linguae aspiciendam praebet. Ibi tum ille: Non despero, inquit, me omnes illas dissensiones et obscuritates ad lumen *philosophiae* perrempturum, quin ipsum illud *primigenium*, quod delitescit, vel ex farragine dissonantium notionum exsculpturum. Hic finis factus; nisi quod subridens adjicerem mihi non tam beatam esse ingenii venam, ut ad tantum in arte mea fastigium unquam posse eniti.”

convey a secondary meaning.<sup>798</sup> Driessen maintains that the Hebrew verb (in the *hiphil*) ought to have the soteriological sense “to rescue from sins” and that the semantic connection to salvation is distorted by the alleged meaning “to make wide, broaden”. In the New Testament, no equivalent has the suggested denotation “to broaden”. Rather, it is the notion of “to save, keep intact” that has given rise to “to broaden”.<sup>799</sup>

Schultens admits that Arabic lexicographers do not always distinguish between primary and secondary meanings and that there are roots whose primary meanings they cannot define. Despite that, he states in defence of Arabic lexicographers and their usefulness:

After having occupied myself with them every day and still do so, I can confirm, with due public reverence, that they, by far, in most of the language, unfold the simple notions of things, and thus themselves establish the primary meanings or offer them to be established by others. I always wish that the study of lexicographers were joined with the reading of the most excellent writers, so that we have a taste of the sources themselves and imbibe a living sense of the language.<sup>800</sup>

Schultens proves himself an empiricist by urging the study of Arabic from primary sources to correct misrepresentations of the Arabic lexicographers and to supplement their omissions.

He also presents his rebuttal to Driessen’s criticism of his etymology of the root *וָשָׂא* (*yāšaʿ*), noting that Arabs have always used the corresponding verbs *wasīʿa* and *wasāʿa* in the sense of “to make broad or wide” about physical things (*in rebus corporeis*), which means that the notion of being broad and wide has nothing to do with the notion of salvation and happiness. Otherwise, one could contend that the opposite notion of narrow space or straits (*angustia*, *arctus locus*, *angustus locus*) originally emerged from the notion of “distress, calamity, and evil”. Driessen’s logical principles, he remarks, “promise the learned world an etymological dictionary by which

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<sup>798</sup> Driessen, *De causis et auxiliis*, p. 9 (lines 10–15). This is more clearly restated in *Tristitia Arabismi*, p. 25 (lines 19–35).

<sup>799</sup> Driessen, *De causis et auxiliis*, pp. 10–11, *Tristitia Arabismi*, p. 25 f. and *Causa linguae Hebraeae*, p. 1.

<sup>800</sup> Schultens, *Vindiciae*, p. 28: “Ego, qui eos quotidie versavi atque etiamnum versor, cum publica reverentia debita confirmare possum utique eos in longe maxima parte linguae simplices rerum notiones evolvere atque ita primigenios significatus vel per se figere vel aliis fingendis porrigere. Cum lexicographis tamen semper coniungi volumus lectionem praestantissimorum auctorum, ut sic ex ipsis fontibus sapiamus atque vivum sensum linguae imbibamus.”

we learn to remove our minds from matters and physical things and to draw our true ideas from the very pure source of metaphysics”.<sup>801</sup>

In *De defectibus hodiernis*, Schultens derived the etymological meanings of the common Hebrew words גדל (*gādal*), “to be great”; חכם (*hākam*), “to be wise”; and צדק (*ṣādaq*), “to be righteous”, from the concrete meanings of the corresponding Arabic words. Because each language has its own nature and primary meanings, the semantic ideas of Oriental peoples often differ from those of Occidental peoples, he says.<sup>802</sup> He claims that *gādal* originally means “to firmly twist and twine” (a rope or cord), that *hākam* initially signified “to be closely joined, compact, or durable”, and that *ṣādeq* etymologically denotes “to be rigid or inflexible”.<sup>803</sup>

Driessen had rejected all these etymologies. In the case of *gādal*, he argued that a notion being applied to both mental and physical entities ought to have a general common denominator, which he identifies as “to be great”.<sup>804</sup> As for *hākam* and *ṣādeq*, Driessen says it is absurd to assume that, in their proper sense, wisdom and righteousness would refer to physical things and, only in an improper sense, to God and human beings.<sup>805</sup>

Schultens counters this objection by distinguishing between abstract and concrete meanings and by developing his ideas on the typological diversity of every language. He argues that Driessen, through his idealist theory of language, focuses on abstract meaning.<sup>806</sup> With reference to Driessen and his likes, he says:

They always confuse the philosophical idea, which is abstract, with the grammatical idea, which is concrete. In every language, the concept of greatness or grandeur is the same, but in its concrete meaning, it varies widely in origin according to the nature and characteristics of each language. A Hebrew designates, in the concrete sense, anything great or grand in one way with a word assigned to it through public usage; a Greek in another way; a Roman in still another way, unless something is derived directly from the Greek origin.<sup>807</sup> The same difference applies to

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<sup>801</sup> Schultens, *Vindiciae*, pp. 29–41. For the quotation, see p. 34: “orbi erudito promittunt lexicon etymologicum, quo a materia et corporeis rebus mentes avocare atque ex purissimo fonte metaphysices veras ideas haurire condiscat.” Here, the term metaphysics means “abstract reasoning”.

<sup>802</sup> Schultens, *De defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae*, p. 191.

<sup>803</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 191, 202 and 211.

<sup>804</sup> Driessen, *De causis et auxiliis*, p. 73 (lines 7–4 from the bottom of the page),

<sup>805</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, p. 76 (lines 12–14 from the top of the page).

<sup>806</sup> Driessen, *ibidem*, p. 181 (lines 2–3 from the top of the page).

<sup>807</sup> [Greek origin] Schultens consented to the ancient idea that Latin originates from Greek through the Aeolic dialect.

all other nations, which differ from one another not only in dialect but also in the entire scope of the language.<sup>808</sup>

Restating his point, he ends:

Whoever is asked what the verbal root לָדָל (*gāḏal*) in its primeval origin meant to the Hebrew speaker would be the most mistaken etymologist if he replies “to be great”, because this is a philosophical and abstract idea, whereas the question aims at the grammatical and concrete idea, which is particular, peculiar, specific, and distinctive of each language.<sup>809</sup>

With reference to Schultens’ semantic theory, Driessen, in one passage, said: “a deficiency pervades every hypothesis and method of this learned man”.<sup>810</sup> Schultens used this charge as the point of departure for an ironic digression:

Just imagine that the Hebrew language is divine and therefore should be expounded in a more divine way, not through the uncertain support of cognate dialects, but through the most reliable metaphysical principles, which bring order to what is confused and infuse life into a dead body.<sup>811</sup>

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<sup>808</sup> Schultens, *De defectibus hodiernis*, p. 179: “Confundunt nempe perpetuo ideam philosophicam, quae abstracta, cum idea grammatica, quae concreta. In omnibus linguis magnitudo sive granditas, abstracte considerata, una eademque est, sed concreta multam differentiam et varietatem originis recipit secundum cuiusque linguae genium et proprietatem. Aliter nempe Hebraeus in concreto aliquid magnum aut grande designat, vocabulo ad id per usum publicum dicato, aliter Graecus, aliter Latinus, nisi directe e fonte Graeco aliquid in Latium defluxerit. Par ratio reliquarum nationum, quae quidem non dialecto tantum, sed universa lingua discreperit.”

<sup>809</sup> Infelicissimum proinde originatorem ageret, qui rogatus, quid Hebraeis in primaeva stirpe fuerit לָדָל, responderet magnum esse. Haec enim est idea philosophica et abstracta, quum interrogatio tendat ad ideam grammaticam et concretam cuique linguae propria, priva, domestica et plane sua.

<sup>810</sup> Driessen, *De causis et auxiliis*, p. 43: “defectus est regnans in omni V[iri] D[octi] hypothesi et methodo”.

<sup>811</sup> Schultens, *Vindiciae*, p. 113: “Frustra fui et crassis meis principiis nimis adhaesi. [...] Regnat defectus hicce per universam meam hypothesin, quae nuspiam abstractas vel metaphysicas significationes in primigeniam sedem admittit. Hoc est illud, quod alibi quoque confessus sum Latinas et Graecas literulas iudicium mihi meum corrupisse. In illis certe nil tale reperio. Ne in ulla quidem lingua humana. Scilicet divina est Hebraeorum lingua, divinius propterea enucleanda, non per incerta illa subsidia cognatarum dialectorum, sed per certissima principia metaphysica, quae confusissima quaeque in ordinem redigere et velut corpori mortuo animam infundere valeant.”

## 8.2 *Excursus tertius* (1739): A continued fight with Van den Honert

### 8.2.1 *Background and contents*

As discussed above (Sections 4.3.4 and 6.8.2), Taco Hajo van den Honert argued that Biblical Hebrew had never been a spoken vernacular. This idea was first proposed in his third edition of *Christus afkomst uyt David* and was exhaustively defended in *Dissertatio historica de lingua primaeva eiusque propagatione*, “Historical treatise on the primeval language and its continuity”.<sup>812</sup> In the fourth chapter of the latter treatise, Van den Honert proposes that Biblical Hebrew, *lingua Hebraeo-Biblica*, was neither the everyday spoken language of the patriarchs nor the vernacular of the Israelite people.<sup>813</sup> He claims that the patriarchs used Hebrew only for domestic divine worship (*in sacris domesticis*), even though God revealed “his mysteries” in this language to a holy line of patriarchs both before and after the Flood.<sup>814</sup> Abraham spoke an ancient form of Aramaic as his vernacular, and after he arrived in Canaan, he replaced it with ancient Canaanite. From the time of Moses, when public divine worship was instituted, Hebrew was reduced to a sacred language (*sacer usus*).<sup>815</sup> He also held that Biblical Hebrew is of divine origin, not as the antediluvian primordial language, but due to the divine inspiration of the Holy Writ.<sup>816</sup>

Furthermore, Van den Honert defended the designation of Hebrew as the holy language (*lingua sancta*) not because he claimed it possessed any natural holiness,<sup>817</sup> but for the following reasons: (i) it is the language in which God revealed himself to the patriarchs, (ii) it is the unique language in which God commanded the prophecies of the Old Testament to be written down, and (iii) it is a language which God, by his Providence, has preserved

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<sup>812</sup> Van den Honert, *Christus afkomst uyt David*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1737, pp. 270–274, and idem, *Dissertatio historica de lingua primaeva eiusque propagatione*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1738, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1739, pp. 204–237. The first and second chapters of the latter treatise deal with the primeval language before and after the Flood, classifying the postdiluvian language into three branches: Japhetite, Chamitic and Semitic, and deriving the Semitic languages from Old Aramaic. The third chapter discusses the Confusion of languages at Babel. The fourth chapter addresses the question of the use of Hebrew in ancient times. The fifth chapter goes into the ethnic origin of the Arabs from literary evidence, the origin of Arabic from Old Aramaic and the spread and cultivation of Arabic after the time of Muhammad.

<sup>813</sup> Van den Honert, *Dissertationes historicae [...] III. De lingua primaeva eiusque propagatione*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1739, pp. 210–211. In Dutch, he employed the term “Volks-taal”, see *Christus afkomst uyt David*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. pp. 270–274).

<sup>814</sup> Van den Honert, *De lingua primaeva eiusque propagatione*, chapter 1, §§ 11–15, pp. 169–172; chapter 4, § 2, p. 208, § 9, p. 213, § 10, p. 214.

<sup>815</sup> Van den Honert, *ibidem*, ch. 4, §§ 8–9, pp. 212–214.

<sup>816</sup> Van den Honert, *ibidem*, ch. 4, p. 207.

<sup>817</sup> Van den Honert, *ibidem*, ch. 1, pp. 79–81, and ch. 4, § 3, pp. 203–204, where he nevertheless argues that there was likely a continuity and a consistency between the primeval language of humankind and Biblical Hebrew.



uncorrupted and without defects in the Biblical text – a tenet to be defended “against the Papists”.<sup>818</sup>

Schultens reduced Van den Honert’s views to two main hypotheses “on which everything else depends”:

(1) Hebrew has never been the vernacular of any nation, not even of the Israelites.

(2) Hebrew is unique and of divine origin and authority in the meaning and structure of every single word.<sup>819</sup>

At the end of *Excursus primus* (p. 70), Schultens asked his opponent to explain his views in light of these two hypotheses. Van den Honert replied in the second edition of his *Dissertatio de lingua primaeva*. Schultens perused it and noted his opponent’s weak points and polemical hints. These marginal notes show how he reacted to Van den Honert’s arguments.<sup>820</sup> In *Excursus secundus*, Schultens analyses his opponent’s views of Hebrew as outwardly holy (pp. 71–83), non-vernacular (pp. 84–98), divine (pp. 99–104), and without defects (pp. 105–122). Schultens acknowledged that Hebrew may be called the holy language but underlined that it remains a human language. (*humana lingua*).<sup>821</sup> He concluded that, despite renouncing the idea of an intrinsic holiness of Hebrew, Van den Honert still attributed supernatural, divine, and unique qualities to it. He regarded this as the paradox on which his opponent’s rejection of the vernacular status of Hebrew depended.<sup>822</sup>

In *Excursus tertius*, Schultens refutes the ideas mentioned above. The full title is: “Third excursion on the first and second edition of the *Dissertation on the primeval language and its apologetic addition*”.<sup>823</sup> He originally composed his refutation in twenty chapters, corresponding to his twenty points of counter-evidence, but after learning that his opponent’s health was declining, he condensed this outline and gave his replies a less polemical tone. The published third excursion consists of six chapters that review the Jewish and Christian schools of thought, which hold that Hebrew possesses

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<sup>818</sup> Van den Honert, *ibidem*, ch. 4, § 32, pp. 236–237.

<sup>819</sup> Schultens, *Excursus primus*, p. 66; *Excursus secundus*, p. 71. Cf. Van den Honert, *Dissertatio de lingua primaeva* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), ch. 4, §§ 5–6 (hypothesis 1) and ch.1, § 2, p. 248; ch. 4, § 1, p. 207; and § 32, p. 236 f. (hypothesis 2).

<sup>820</sup> Schultens’ personal copy of Van den Honert’s *Disertationes historicae. I. De creatione mundi, II. De situ Edenis, III. De lingua primaeva eiusque propagatione* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1739) is extant at Leiden University Library, shelfmark 1166F9.

<sup>821</sup> Schultens, *Excursus secundus ad editionem primam et secundam Dissertationis de lingua primaeva*, Leiden 1739, pp. 77–78 and 80.

<sup>822</sup> Schultens, *Excursus secundus*, pp. 82–83 and 144, cf. pp. 129–130.

<sup>823</sup> Schultens, *Excursus tertius ad editionem primam et secundam dissertationis de lingua primaeva eiusque additamentum apologeticum*, pp. 171–244. For the title page, see Illustrations, Figure 16.

intrinsic holiness and supernaturality. Refuting the claim that Biblical Hebrew was not a vernacular language, Schultens argues for its vernacular use on account of the phonology and morphology of Hebrew in relation to universal features of human languages (chapter 2, pp. 185–193). He then presents literary evidence from the Old Testament to show that Biblical Hebrew was a spoken vernacular (chapter 3, pp. 193–202), and finally contests the idea that Biblical Hebrew is a language complete in itself (chapter 4, pp. 203–229).

### 8.2.2 *Ideas about the ontological status of Hebrew*

In the third excursion, Schultens traces the idea of an intrinsic holiness of Hebrew to the kabbalistic and rabbinical schools of thought and discusses its adoption across different intellectual currents: viz. the use of a pictographic semantic method to analyse Hebrew, the view that Hebrew is a supernatural language, and the position that Hebrew can be understood immediately without external means, a standpoint associated with theological enthusiasm or fanaticism.

According to the kabbalistic outlook, Biblical Hebrew has an intrinsic holiness (*interior sanctitas*) and a lucidity that enable one to “contemplate the nature of God and his virtues, perfections and operations”. Only this language is capable and worthy of being the language of the divine revelation. The Hebrew text is thought to be filled with mystical meanings that may be explored through three exegetical methods: *gematria*, *notarikon*, and *sifra*.<sup>824</sup> Moreover, Adam was endowed with this supernatural and divine language, and from him it was transmitted uninterruptedly down to Moses, through whom the tradition was committed to writing,<sup>825</sup> but only the shell of the truth was revealed to the common people in the written law, while the core of the secrets was transmitted to chosen wise men in every generation through a continuous oral tradition.<sup>826</sup>

In the rabbinical school, Schultens continues, Hebrew is ascribed qualities that are foreign to “sound theology, philosophy and philology”.<sup>827</sup>

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<sup>824</sup> Schultens, *Excursus tertius*, pp. 176–177. *Gematria* (likely a Greek loanword from γεωμετρία) refers to the connection of words that have the same numerical sum. It is based on the fact that each Hebrew letter has a numerical value and on the supposition that words with the same sum are interchangeable. This method was a crucial hermeneutical tool in Jewish mysticism (the Kabbala). *Notarikon* refers to the formation of new words as acronyms or from both the initial and terminal letters in a verse or a phrase. It is based on the idea that the biblical text was written according to stenographic principles. *Sifra* is a special kind of midrash concerning the Book of Leviticus. The first two methods are found in the hermeneutical rules (*middot*) of rabbi Eliezer ben Yose ha-Galili in the second century AD.

<sup>825</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 177–178.

<sup>826</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 178.

<sup>827</sup> Schultens, *Excursus tertius*, p. 183. The same phrase occurs on pp. 69 and 75.

According to the rabbis, Hebrew, spoken by God and the angels, was infused into Adam in its full extent – in terms of matter, form, syntax, and meaning – and, by its external and internal qualities, it expresses and corresponds to the nature of things, and is accordingly the language that corresponds to the holiness of the land and nation of Israel (*sanctitas et terrae et gentis Israeliticae*), while other nations are precluded from it.

Addressing rabbinic influences on Christian biblical philology, Schultens states that the picto-semantic school draws on kabbalistic ideas. It attributes divine meaning and power to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet and derives wonderful meanings from them. Even if it does not question the use of Hebrew as the Israelite vernacular, the school still avows “the supernatural wisdom, light and perfection of the Hebrew language”. Some presuppose that Biblical Hebrew possesses supernatural features in addition to its commonly accepted qualities of impressiveness (*gravitas*), dignity, excellence and splendour. This image of Hebrew comes close to what Gousset had in mind when he repudiated aids to the interpretation of the Bible, such as related languages, rabbinical tradition, and ancient versions.

Finally, some regard Hebrew as the most logical language (*omnium linguarum rationabilis maxime*), a quality attributed to “its divine and heavenly glory, light, truth and perfection”. This reasoning distinguishes between human and divine language. While human languages should be assessed by the principles of the arts of the humanities, Biblical Hebrew, as an alleged divine language, is supposed to be elucidated through “the divine principles of metaphysics”, that is, abstract reasoning.

Schultens redefined the ontological status of Hebrew from a divine to a human language, subject to linguistic change in time and space. In *Theses de lingua primaeva*, he similarly challenged the notion of Hebrew’s intrinsic holiness by emphasizing the language’s social functions.<sup>828</sup>

### 8.2.3 Evidence for the vernacular use of Hebrew in antiquity

Schultens refutes the conception that Biblical Hebrew is divine, supernatural, and holy by pointing out that it follows the principles of all languages in its morphological, syntactic, and semantic features. The principles of human languages are subdivided into the simple natural ability of language speakers and the artful, or rhetorical, use of a language. Schultens asserts that Hebrew qualifies as a human language in both

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<sup>828</sup> Leiden UB, MS Or. 1469: 12 *Theses de lingua primaeva*, § 3: “Proinde et lingua, quae futurum esset instrumentum societatis colendae in vita super terris, non potuit esse caelestis” [...]. “Therefore, language, which was to serve as a means for cultivating society in life on this earth, could not be heavenly”; and § 6: “Itaque qui Adamo linguam divinam datam dicunt, eum hominem conditum et humanae societati colendae destinatum haud reminiscuntur.” “Accordingly, those who claim that a divine language was given to Adam do not remember that he was a man created and determined for cultivating society.”

respects. Setting forth evidence for the status of Hebrew as a human language, Schultens then refers to the vowel changes of Biblical Hebrew and argues that pronunciation adapted itself to the perception and euphony of the human ear (e.g. in the formation of plurals, in genitive constructions, in pronominal affixation of verbs, and in the formation of weak verbs through elision, contraction, and syncopation). Furthermore, the fact that Hebrew is historically related to Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic is another proof of its human nature and vernacular function.

Schultens presents substantial literary evidence in favour of the popular and public use of Hebrew in antiquity. Proper names of persons and places, both profane and sacred, prove the popular use of Hebrew, as does the variety of pronunciation, for instance, the well-known distinction between *sibbolet* and *shibbolet* (Judg 12:6). Other evidence for the public, solemn use of Hebrew in biblical times includes, inter alia, the public triumphal song of Moses after the crossing of the Red Sea (Exod 15:1–19), the promulgation of the Law to the assembly of the Israelites (Exod 20), the public reading of blessings and curses (Josh. 8), the song of Moses before the assembly of Israel (Deut 32:1–43), Solomon’s public prayer at the dedication of the temple (1 Kgs 8:22–53), and the public use of psalms in the divine service. All these circumstances bear witness to Hebrew as a once-living language.

Schultens also considers the individual styles of the sacred writers as evidence that Hebrew was a vernacular, arguing that the biblical writers’ natural faculties were not excluded during inspiration. Rather, their faculties “did not cease but were increased, enriched, and sanctified to the dignity of the vernacular language”.<sup>829</sup> Their natural abilities are reflected in the variety of specific styles, according to each writer’s education, circumstances, and fortunes. If Hebrew had not been the vernacular of the sacred authors, the Holy Writ would have had “one and the same style, one and the same form of construction, and the same appearance”.<sup>830</sup>

The controversy between Van den Honert and Schultens over whether Hebrew was a living vernacular in biblical times parallels the famous controversy among 15<sup>th</sup>-century Latin Renaissance humanists over whether Latin or Italian was the vernacular of the Romans.<sup>831</sup>

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<sup>829</sup> Schultens, *Excursus tertius*, p. 230: [...] “naturalem facultatem linguae non cessasse in sacris vatibus, sed eam divinitus auctam, ditatam, sanctificatamque fuisse in omnem decentiam et dignitatem orationis vernaculae.”

<sup>830</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 231: “Varium illum habitum usumque linguae patriae sacris scriptoribus dedit varia idoles, varia educatio et institutio, varia conditio et fortuna.” [...] “Si iam Hebraica lingua sacris scriptoribus non fuisset vernacula, unus tantum stylus, una constructionis forma, una linguae facies in Sacro Codice reluceret.”

<sup>831</sup> Flavio Biondo, Poggio Bracciolini and Francesco Filelfo cited evidence from ancient Latin authors in favour of the popular use of Latin in antiquity. The treatises of the debate were published by Mirko Tavoni, *Latino, grammatico, volgare: Storia di una questione umanistica*, Padua 1984, pp. 200–301. For an analysis, see Eskhult,

#### 8.2.4 On Biblical Hebrew as an inappropriate term

Schultens also comments on the conceptual confusion between the qualities attributed to the words of God in the Bible and the intrinsic qualities attributed to the Hebrew language. He contests the idea that Biblical Hebrew is a complete language and argues that the designation “Biblical Hebrew” (*Hebraeo-Biblica*) is inappropriate, provided that (i) it is supposed to refer to Ancient Hebrew in its entirety, (ii) it is believed to exclude gaps of our knowledge (*defectus*), (iii) it is associated with the qualities of holiness (*sanctitas*) and supernatural majesty (*supernaturalis maiestas*), (iv) it is used to support the idea of a divine origin (*divina origo*) and authority (*auctoritas*), (v) it is designed to attribute to Hebrew a self-contained completeness, which, when established by assiduous reading of the Hebrew Bible and attention to its usage, serves as a sufficient source of knowledge about all the words and particles and their construction, (vi) it is intended to make the study of related languages superfluous, and (vii) it is meant to raise Hebrew above the status of a human language (*supra humanam conditionem*).<sup>832</sup>

#### 8.2.5 Envisaged threats to biblical hermeneutics

Schultens touches upon several hermeneutical problems that arise if the vernacular use of Ancient Hebrew is questioned in any way. One of them is Isaac Vossius’ claim that knowledge of Hebrew disappeared with the fall of Jerusalem (in 586 BC), which implies that no one has access to it except by divine inspiration.<sup>833</sup> If Vossius is correct, all knowledge of Biblical Hebrew must be derived from the Septuagint.

Another problem concerns the implicit questioning or undermining of the divine revelation’s efficiency in the Old Covenant for the Israelites, its original recipients. Communication between God and the people for his own possession would simply have failed if the Israelites, as the hearers and readers of the divine revelation, had not spoken or understood the language in which God revealed himself. Consequently, it is concluded that there is an indivisible connection between the truth of divine revelation and the use of a vernacular as a means of communication.<sup>834</sup>

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“Vulgar Latin as an emergent concept in the Italian Renaissance”, *Journal of Latin linguistics* 17:2 (2018), pp. 201–213.

<sup>832</sup> Schultens, *Excursus tertius*, pp. 206–209.

<sup>833</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 238: [...] “ut nulli mortalium ad eam accessus patere possit, nisi per inspirationem.”

<sup>834</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 240, where the purport of this problem is not stated as clearly as in *Excursus primus*, p. 67, to which Schultens refers and where he infers that divine revelation would be inaccessible to both modern scholars and the ancient Jews: “Aio verbum revelationis inaccessum nobis fore, si lingua Hebraea vel divina plane esset illo sensu adpectuque vel a populari Hebraeorum usu diremta illique genti non vernacula olim. Quid? An non Iudaeis ipsis idem illud verbum revelationis tunc semper inaccessum mansisse, hoc est, revelationem non fuisse revelationem

Yet another problem is that the Reformed Church will be deprived of its weapons against Roman Catholic theologians when the latter urge the primacy of the Vulgate. The Reformed scholars would have no objection to the use of a language unknown to the common people in divine service.<sup>835</sup>

Schultens also warns of the danger of reducing everything concerning knowledge of Hebrew to the Jewish tradition, treating it as infallible and transmitted “from Moses and the prophets, through Ezra and Nehemiah, the Great Synagogue, the Kabbalists, the Masoretes and the rabbis until it reached our own time”. He declares: “If we open the gate to bring this opinion, like a Trojan horse, inside the walls with our own hands, the Reformation and the Christian religion will collapse and be burnt down.”<sup>836</sup>

### 8.3 *Epistolae* (1749): A counter-offensive against Reiske

#### 8.3.1 *Background of the controversy*

Schultens pursued a final controversy with his former student Johann Jacob Reiske (1716–1774). The clash was occasioned by the latter’s harsh reviews of Schultens’ recent works in the international Leipzig journal *Nova acta eruditorum*. In December 1748, Reiske examined Schultens’ edition of a selection of *Ḥamāsa*, a ten-volume anthology of Arabic popular songs or poems collected and published by Ḥabīb ibn Aws al-Ta’i Abū Tammām. A month later, he assessed Schultens’ translation and commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon.<sup>837</sup> In these reviews, he disapproves of Schultens’ methods, in particular the emphasis on historical etymology at the expense of synchronic semantics in Hebrew and Arabic, and the preference for biblical philology rather than the more urgent need to edit Arabic texts from the collection of manuscripts in Leiden University Library.

The conflict originated in the Schultens’ disagreement with Reiske on the method of commenting on ancient Arabic poetry. The controversy was fuelled by their opposing views on the functions and relationship of Hebrew

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manifesto inde consequetur?” He argues, p. 68, that Van den Honert’s hypothesis that Hebrew was not the vernacular of the Hebrews shakes the foundations and pillars of divine revelation: “primam, quod lingua Hebraea Hebraeis non vernacula forte fuerit, ipsa revelationis fundamenta ac firmamenta sollicitare.” In *Excursus tertius*, p. 240, Schultens concludes “Totum caput tertium huius *Excursus* qui oculo remetietur, omni paragrapho indivulsum reperiet nexum inter veritatem revelationis Israeli datae et inter usum vernaculum linguae, qua Deus eloquia iis sua consignavit.”

<sup>835</sup> Schultens, *Excursus tertius*, pp. 240–241.

<sup>836</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 242: “Haec si aperiatur porta [...] Reformatio simul ac religio tanquam Equo Troiano nostrorummet manibus intra moenia intromisso concident atque conflagrabit.”

<sup>837</sup> See *Nova acta eruditorum*, December 1748, pp. 690–704, review of “Thomae Erpenii Grammatica Arabica cum fabulis Locmanni etc. Accedunt excerpta Anthologiae veterum Arabiae poetarum, quae inscribitur Hamasae Abi Tammam”; *Nova acta eruditorum*, January 1749, pp. 5–20, review of “Proverbia Salomonis”.

and Arabic philology. To Schultens' resentment, Reiske neglected the study of Hebrew during his sojourn in Leiden, avoided using Arabic in biblical interpretation, and tried to redefine Arabic as an autonomous discipline.

### 8.3.2 *Reiske's manuscript studies of Arabic in Leiden*

Reiske himself admitted that he made progress in Arabic in Leiden thanks to Schultens' private teaching and his generosity in providing him with Arabic manuscripts from the public library.<sup>838</sup> He arrived in Leiden on 6 June 1738 to avail himself of the abundant Arabic collections.<sup>839</sup> In the first four years of his stay (from 1738 to 1742), Reiske adapted to Schultens' wish that he study pre-Islamic and Classical Arabic poetry in the Warner Collection.<sup>840</sup> To comply with Schultens, he also brought the Arabic manuscripts into better order according to their formats.<sup>841</sup> However, during the latter four years (from 1743 to 1746), he focused on Arabic historiography and medicine.<sup>842</sup>

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<sup>838</sup> Johann Jacob Reiske, *Von ihm selbst aufgesetzte Lebensbeschreibung*, Leipzig 1783 (published posthumously by Ernestine Christine Reiske), p. 22: "Ich besuchte Herrn Schultens Collegia; er erwies mir die Liebe, und communicirte mir arabische Manuscripte aus der öffentlichen Bibliothek. Er wuste es wohl, daß ich sie mit nach Hause nahm; doch wollte er das nicht wissen. Es wurde vorgegeben, ich schrieb sie für ihn in seinem Hause ab, wo ich täglich hingieng, mich mit seinem Sohne, dem itzigen Prof. Schultens [...] im arabischen zu üben." Reiske, "Gedanken, wie man der arabischen Literatur aufhelfen könne, und solle", in *Geschichte der königlichen Akademie der schönen Wissenschaften zu Paris*, vol. 11, Leipzig 1757, p. 158f.: "Hätte Herr Schultens sich nicht eines und das andere, das ich verlangte, in seinem Namen geben lassen; und hätte er mir nicht verstattet, es in seinem Hause zu gebrauchen, unter dem ausgesprengten Vorwande, ich schriebe es für ihn ab: so würde ich vielleicht nicht eine arabische Zeile von Leiden mit weggebracht haben."

<sup>839</sup> Reiske, *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 21; cf. p. 11 on the thirst for Arabic manuscripts. In "Gedanken", p. 158, Reiske states that he arrived in Amsterdam on 6 June 1738.

<sup>840</sup> Reiske, *ibidem*, p. 23: "Mehr dem alten Schultens zu Liebe, als aus eignem Triebe, sahe ich mich in den arabischen Poeten um, und gab davon im Jahre 1740 zur Probe die Moallacah des Tharapha heraus" [...]. Reiske, "Gedanken", p. 159: "Herrn Schultensen zu gefallen, hielt ich mich bey den arabischen Dichtern länger auf, als ich würde gethan haben, wenn ich die leidensche Bibliothek zu meinem willkührlichen Gebrauche gehabt hätte." He also declares that he otherwise would have devoted his time to copying historical and political literature.

<sup>841</sup> Reiske, *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 23. Henric Evelinus Weyers, "Commentarii de codicibus Orientalibus Bibliothecae Leidensis", in *Orientalia edentibus T.G.J. Junybol, T. Roorda, H.E. Weyers*, Amsterdam 1846, pp. 303–304, comments on the relationship between Reiske's handwritten Index of Arabic manuscripts and Heyman's Catalogue (1716), arguing that Reiske's Index coincides with Heyman in its descriptions of manuscripts but is easier to use because it has a more convenient order than Heyman's (where the contents are used as an ordering principle) and because Reiske inserts cross-references to Heyman's Catalogue.

<sup>842</sup> Reiske, *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 28.

In 1742, Reiske edited one of the *Mu‘allaqāt* poems, that of Ibn al-‘Abd Ṭarafah, a topic which was proposed to him by Schultens himself.<sup>843</sup> In the preface to his edition (pp. ix and xii), Reiske acknowledges his indebtedness to Schultens, who had proofread his manuscript and provided research materials (apographs of al-Nahhas’s commentary on Ṭarafah and of the *Dīwān* of the Hudhayls). However, Reiske disagreed with Schultens on the scope of the linguistic notes, specifically whether semantic and etymological notes were necessary and whether a Latin translation should be provided. Schultens advised Reiske to provide linguistic explanations similar to those in his own edition of al-Ḥarīrī and to translate not only Ṭarafah into Latin but also Nahhas’ Arabic commentary and his own quotations from old Arabic poetry.<sup>844</sup> Reiske did not comply with this advice. As a result, Schultens did not favour Reiske as much as he had before.<sup>845</sup> He managed to prevent him from graduating with a master of philosophy and instead persuaded him to study medicine. Reiske heeded the advice and earned a medical doctorate on 6 May 1746. He left Leiden because his hope of an academic career there was precluded, in Oriental languages by Jan Jacob Schultens and in Classical languages by the German student David Ruhnken.<sup>846</sup>

### 8.3.3 Reiske’s criticism of Schultens’ basic assumptions

On his return to Germany, Reiske was appointed in 1748 as an extraordinary professor of Arabic at the University of Leipzig (however, he was reimbursed only by a stipend that was paid irregularly and, after 1755, not at all). The publisher of the internationally reputable journal *Nova acta eruditorum*, Otto Friedrich Mencke, wished to attach Reiske to review literature on Semitic and Greek philology. Reiske received no remuneration for this task, but saw an opportunity for vengeance.<sup>847</sup>

Schultens’ Latin translation of Proverbs and his reissue of Erpenius’ Arabic grammar, together with an appended edition of selected parts of Abū Tammām’s *al-Ḥamāsa*, appeared in Leiden in 1748. Reiske reviewed these publications for *Nova acta eruditorum* in December 1748 and January 1749. Regarding the re-edition of Erpenius’ Arabic grammar, he criticizes the decision to add a preface refuting rabbinic views on the divine origin of the

<sup>843</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima ad amplissimum et excellentissimum virum F. O. Menckenium perscripta*, Leiden 1749, p. 10.

<sup>844</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 10.

<sup>845</sup> Reiske, *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 23.

<sup>846</sup> Reiske, *ibidem*, p. 26 and p. 33.

<sup>847</sup> Letter from Reiske to Bernard, November 1748. See Richard Foerster’s edition of Reiske’s correspondence: *Johann Jacob Reiske’s Briefe*, Leipzig 1897, no. 141, p. 327 (lines 27–29): “Praeterea Menckenius id mihi debet indulgere et licentiam bilem meam effundendi reputo pro praemio mei laboris, quandoquidem aliud nullum habeo.”



Hebrew language and script. He grants that these “futile and absurd ideas” deserve refutation, but thinks they have nothing to do with Arabic grammar and are as unexpected as a treatise on the Kabbala in an edition of Horace’s Latin poetry.<sup>848</sup>

As for Abū Tammām’s *al-Ḥamāsa*, Reiske appraises the quality of the manuscript readings in Schultens’ textual edition of Abū Tammām’s *Ḥamāsa* and the likelihood of the proposed etymological derivations. Having defined Schultens’ key term *origines* as “primary meanings or, more correctly, mother meanings, from which the others have come, regardless of how different and diverging they are”,<sup>849</sup> Reiske, however, raises objections to the validity and value of Schultens’ etymological method. He argues that the study of Arabic etymology is entangled with such difficulties that it is questionable whether it is worth pursuing. “If anyone wishes to undertake this task properly”, he states, “it requires a complete grasp of all Arabic grammarians, lexicographers, and poets, and the whole extent of the Arabic language together with Greek and Latin”.<sup>850</sup> Reiske proposes a synchronic approach to the acquisition of Arabic. Neither the speaker nor the hearer, neither the writer nor the reader, in the past and in the present, is concerned about the original meanings of words that are in actual use in their Arabic language community. Oral and written communication in Arabic, past and present, presupposes knowledge of how the language is actually used in the Arabic speech community, not the original meanings of words. Not even ancient Arab poets understood the original meanings of the words they used with such refinement; yet they understood their own poems and could confirm that others did. Therefore, a modern reader will understand ancient Arabic poems without fully grasping their original meanings. In our time, Germans, Dutch, French, and English speakers do not know the origins of their own languages and still speak and write prudently and eloquently.<sup>851</sup>

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<sup>848</sup> Reiske, “Thomae Erpenii Grammatica Arabica cum fabulis Locmanni. Accedunt excerpta anthologiae veterum Arabicae poetarum, quae inscribitur Hamasa Abi Tammam”, in *Nova acta eruditorum*, 1748, p. 691.

<sup>849</sup> Reiske, *ibidem*, p. 692: “origines, hoc est, primae vocum significationes vel, ut rectus dicamus, significationum matrices, e quibus ceterae, utcunque diversae et abhorrentes, emanarunt.”

<sup>850</sup> Reiske, *ibidem*, p. 693: “Nam, qui digne hoc opus exequi velit, ille ut grammaticos et lexicographos et poetas omnes omnemque linguae Arabicae Graecaeque simul et Latinae ambitum, in promptu et numerato habeat, necesse est.”

<sup>851</sup> Reiske, *ibidem*, p. 693: “Arabes ipsi veteres poetae, quorum verba sic limantur, primas suorum verborum vires ignorabant, et nihilo minus tamen intelligebant ipsi sua scripta poterantque aliis intelligentibus approbare. Unde spes est nos quoque ab illis exarata intellecturos esse, etiamsi Arabicas origines perfecte non calleamus. Id exemplo nostro patet qui Germani, Batavi, Galli, Angli, quamvis originum nostrarum ignorantissimi, sapienter tamen et eleganter loquimur et scribimus.” See further Loop, “Kontroverse Bemühungen um den Orient. Johann Jakob Reiske und die deutsche Orientalistik seiner Zeit”, in *Johan Jakob Reiske: Leben und Wirkung*.

By this, Reiske suggests that only the meanings currently in use deserve exploration, arguing that research into original meanings involves speculative, subjective reasoning and risks imagination. The less an etymologist knows, the more audacious are his suggestions. Focusing on etymology often overlooks more important topics, such as Arabic grammar, and prevents people from improving their understanding of Arabic through practical training.<sup>852</sup> Reiske disapproves of a non-historical study of Arabic literature and recommends paying attention to the historical context of the poems, the authors, and the people as a whole.<sup>853</sup> Despite his severe criticism, Reiske admits that he does not completely reject Schultens' etymological method, as he knows from his own experience that it is well established and that some original meanings are so clear that even the most stubborn cannot refuse to accept them.<sup>854</sup>

In a letter to his German-Dutch friend Jean Etienne Bernard in early 1749, Reiske openly stated that he hoped to sow the seeds of future quarrels with Schultens and wished to assume the role of the deceased Antonius Driessen as his opponent.<sup>855</sup> In a letter to another addressee, Lodewijk Caspar Valckenaer, four years later, in 1752, he declares that, in submitting these reviews, he sowed the seeds of the disagreement because he was animated by disappointment towards his former benefactor, believing that Schultens had neglected to promote his career in the Netherlands.<sup>856</sup>

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*Ein Leipziger Byzantinist und Begründer der Orientalistik im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Ebert and Hanstein, Leipzig 2005, p. 62; Fischer, *Die deutsche Aufklärung und der Islam*, vol. 4: *Höhere Bildung und Islam*, Norderstedt 2010, pp. 89 f.

<sup>852</sup> Reiske, *ibidem*, p. 693. Cf. Loop, "Kontroverse Bemühungen", p. 62.

<sup>853</sup> Reiske, *ibidem*, p. 694. Cf. Loop, "Kontroverse Bemühungen", pp. 62 f.

<sup>854</sup> Reiske, *ibidem*, p. 694: "Non omnem omnino damnamus in hoc genere positum laborem, neque ipsa huius artis aedificii fundamenta subversum imus, quae in solido iacta esse bene novimus, ipso usu edocti, tam luculentas quasdam esse origines, id est dissonantium significationum concentus, ut vel a contumacissimo repudiari nequeant."

<sup>855</sup> Letter from Reiske to Johan Stephan Bernard 1 February 1749. Foerster (ed.), *Johann Jacob Reiske's Briefe*, no. 141, p. 327 (lines 26–27): "In iis semina magnorum ignium et motuum sparsi, de quibus quid fiet tempus docebit." [...] And p. 327 (lines 30–31): "Driessenius nuper mortuus est, quod significas. Gaudium Schultensio, sed aliunde ipsi tempestas surgit, non expectata."

<sup>856</sup> Letter from Reiske to L. C. Valckenaer, 10 October 1752. Foerster, *Reiske's Briefe*, no. 200, p. 427 f.: "Iacta tunc malorum et discordiarum, quae deinceps eruperunt, semina. [...] Percussum aes tinnit. [...] Satius tamen fuisset ista omnia celare, quam reverentiam praeceptori et benefactori debitam gratique animi leges violare. Sed homines sumus; ambitione inflamur. Indignatio quoque multum in me valuit, quod viderem virum Arabizantium aetate sua principem, hominis, quem norat Arabicarum literarum calidissime si quis unquam amantem, adeo nullo in loco habere fortunam, ut de commoda statione in Belgio mihi procuranda, quod facile potuisset efficere, ne per somnium quidem cogitaret. [...]"

#### 8.3.4 *Schultens' response: The external circumstances*

Schultens did not receive notice of the reviews until the middle of July 1749 and replied to Reiske in two public letters addressed to Friedrich Otto Mencke, editor of the journal *Nova acta eruditorum*. Over the course of two months, he composed his 140-page refutation of Reiske's first review. By the middle of November 1749, when he began to fall ill with fever attacks, he had finished his 130-page response to Reiske's second review. The letters were published by Johan Luzac in Leiden and sent to the professors of the University of Leipzig.<sup>857</sup> As a result, the editor Mencke soon wrote an apology letter to Schultens on 29 December 1749.<sup>858</sup>

Schultens' letters are marked by acrimony, evident in frequent invectives and defamatory remarks against Reiske, who is not addressed by his proper name but designated by circumlocutions, such as our critic, reviewer, blindfolded gladiator (*andabata*), hater of light and true learning, and a person incurable even after three visits to the health resort Anticyra,<sup>859</sup> and a little critic (*momulus*). Schultens speaks at length about Reiske's lack of interest in Hebrew, his ignorance of comparative Hebrew philology, and his disloyalty to Schultens as benefactor during the sojourn in Leiden.<sup>860</sup>

#### 8.3.5 *The first public letter*

In the first public letter,<sup>861</sup> Schultens reflects on the fact that this time he is opposed by a competent Arabist, who "can be counted among the most well-versed in Arabic", and who, as Reiske himself admits, was "instructed, equipped, and armed" by Schultens during his stay in Leiden.<sup>862</sup>

Reiske criticized the suitability of Schultens' choice of topic for the preface to his reprint of Erpenius' Arabic grammar, in which Schultens

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<sup>857</sup> Reiske, *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 47.

<sup>858</sup> Mencke's letter of apology was edited by Foerster, *Johann Jacob Reiske's Briefe*, pp. 371–372.

<sup>859</sup> This expression conforms to proverbial sayings about Anticyra as a place for remedying insanity. See August Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer*, Hildesheim 1962 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1890), p. 27 (s.v. Anticyra).

<sup>860</sup> Reiske, *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 47: "In beyden machte er mich auf das schändlichste herunter, schrie mich für einen Atheisten aus. [...] Zum Glück für mich konnte er mir anders nicht nachsagen, als daß ich ein stolzer, kühner, unbesonnener, eitler und undankbarer Jüngling sey, der nach Gott und Menschen nicht frage."

<sup>861</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima ad amplissimum et excellentissimum virum F. O. Menkenium*, Leiden 1749, published by Johan Luzac. For the title page, see Fig. 17.

<sup>862</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima*, p. 2: "ut inter versatissimos pro usu exteriori linguae numerari possit"; p. 2: "ut ipse praedicat, a me ipso instructus, ornatus, armatus". In his autobiography (*Von ihm selbst aufgesetzte Lebensbeschreibung*, Leipzig 1783, p. 22), Reiske acknowledged that Schultens gave him access to the Arabic manuscripts of the public library and allowed him to copy Arabic manuscripts that were on loan from the public library, likely in his own residence at the State College.

refutes Jewish opinions about the holiness of the square Hebrew script. Reiske admitted that these opinions deserve refutation, but remarked that the refutation is out of place, asking: “What does Arabic grammar have in common with rabbinical fancies?” He continued: “Those who are eager to learn the rudiments of this language do not need anything like that and do not expect it more than they would expect a treatise on Kabbala from an editor of the poetry of Horace (just to illustrate by an example).”<sup>863</sup>

Schultens replies that there is “no more apt and more opportune place for such a treatise” and counters that Arabic grammar is the primary aid for revealing and refuting the kabbalistic ideas about the holiness of the Hebrew language and script.<sup>864</sup>

Reiske then turned to the characteristics of Schultens’ commentary on *Ḥamāsa*, where grammatical analysis is followed by an explanation of the original meanings of words, that is, “the mother meanings (*significationes matrices*), from which the other meanings, however much they differ and diverge, are derived”. Reiske dismissed the grammatical notes as superfluous and declared that the meticulous exploration of the primary meanings, which Schultens “urges with such a fervour”, “are not as useful and necessary as Schultens believes them to be”.<sup>865</sup>

In refuting this objection, Schultens defends the relevance of etymological semantics as follows:

What is more noble and excellent than exploring the primary meanings of words, or, as he corrects himself, the mother meanings? No one, no one, learned and unlearned alike, doubts that this forms the centre and middle point of this field of learning and the kernel and soul of languages, without which we possess only a shell, or even a body, but a dead body, especially if this language no longer is flourishing in living use, but has completely withered away and become extinct. To clarify the original meanings of a dead language is the same as to restore it to life and to recover its vigour and the semantic bases of its real splendid tropes and embellishments.<sup>866</sup>

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<sup>863</sup> *Nova acta eruditorum*, Dec. 1748, p. 690: “Arabicae autem grammaticae cum Rabbiniarum commentis commune quid est? Elementorum istius linguae cupidi horum certe nihil requirunt neque expectant magis quam an editore Horatii (exemplum enim allegandum est) dissertationem de Cabbala probabiliter expectant.”

<sup>864</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima*, p. 5 and p. 7.

<sup>865</sup> *Nova acta eruditorum* 1748 (December), pp. 692–693.

<sup>866</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima*, p. 9: “Ecquid nobilius excelsiusque, quam primas vocum significationes vel potius, ut semet corrigit, significationum matrices eruisse? Nemo, nemo, literatus vel illiteratus juxta, ambigat, quin hoc centrum constituat et meditullium scientiae istius atque adeo medullam ipsam et animam linguarum, sine quo cortex tantum habetur vel et corpus, sed corpus mortuum, praesertim si quae lingua non vivo amplius usu florescit, sed penitus defloruit, atque extincta est.

Schultens elaborates on Reiske's implicit distinction between living and dead languages. The former are imbibed with one's mother's milk and learnt through daily use, reading, hearing and conversation, while the latter are learnt only in ancient books. Here belong Hebrew, Chaldaic and Syriac, and even Arabic, however much it still lives and flourishes, as it is studied among Europeans: If their method of language learning is considered, it is a half-dead language (*quasi mortua*), since it is only acquired by "learned labour and study".<sup>867</sup> The point is that such a method only causes confusion if it is not directed towards learning the original meanings (*origines*), that is, the proper and primordial meanings (*propriae et primitivae potestates*).<sup>868</sup>

On the occasion of Reiske's comment on Schultens' "detrimental eagerness for etymology" (*noxius originandi pruritus*), Schultens responds:

Truly, the original meanings reveal the power of transferred semantics in every language. Without them, neither the grace nor the dignity of languages is fully perceived, although the external usage is well perceived. Everyone who knows the basics of rhetoric admits that the original meanings remain inaccessible in the Hebrew language. This led to the abstract study of "formal meanings", forged and devised in the workshop of imagination. Bohle introduced this study in the past century, and Gousset pursued it at the beginning of this century. Both of them neglected the true and natural sources of knowledge and the fact that all the related dialects have their own particular characters.<sup>869</sup>

Schultens also replies to Reiske's argument that etymology is an arduous enterprise whose outcome does not repay the toil:

What do I hear? Would not such an enquiry, which opens the innermost parts of the Hebrew language, discloses its rhetorical grace, richness, dignity and power, and supplies a clue to unlock the genuine meanings of

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Origines ergo linguae mortuae enucleasse est ei vitam et vigorem et vera sua lumina atque ornamenta reddidisse."

<sup>867</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima*, p. 22: [...] "ipsa Arabica quoque, quantumvis vivat vigeatque [...], nobis Europaeis utique quasi mortua est censenda, quippe quae non nisi erudito labore ac studio comparari inter nos queat."

<sup>868</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima*, p. 22.

<sup>869</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima*, p. 11: "Sane vero. Nam origines, ut supra visum, lumen accendunt rhetoricum omnibus in linguis, sine quibus nec gratia nec dignitas earum satis intropicitur, etiamsi forte externus earum usus teneatur. Has in lingua Hebraea adhuc desiderari, nemo non agnoscit, qui vel primis rhetorices elementis est imbutus. Hinc studium illud metaphysicum significationes formales, quas vocabant, excudendi ex officina imaginationis, quod Bohlius in seculum elapsum, Gussetius in nostrum hocce cum maxime volvens, invexit spretis veris et nativis fontibus omnibusque dialectis res sibi suas habere iussis."

the Holy Bible, together with its splendid tropes and embellishments, by which it is distinguished, be worthwhile? It is clear that he who disdains and despises etymological meanings has never touched upon this topic and tasted its sweet fruit.<sup>870</sup>

Reiske raised the problem of pursuing Arabic etymology, arguing that it requires extensive reading of Arabic grammarians, lexicographers, and poetry, as well as mastery of Ancient Greek and Latin. Schultens replies that this objection is typical of a lazy rather than an industrious scholar. If his opponent had taken advantage of the opportunity to study etymology during his time in Leiden under Schultens' guidance, he would have praised the usefulness of this field of study.<sup>871</sup>

Reiske certainly acknowledged that Schultens' etymological comments on *al-Hamāsa* facilitate the understanding of Arabic. Schultens answers curtly that his etymology has a wider scope than Arabic studies:

Is it really true that my original meanings promise only an easier way to Arabic? Rather, they promise more thorough and more fruitful knowledge of all dialects – Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, and all those that have grown from the trunk of the primeval language. [...] It is especially at this point that my work aims, and this is what I have set as the main goal in my derivations.<sup>872</sup>

Reiske had also contended that the ancient Arab poets did not know the precise significance and force of their words, yet still had a good understanding of their own writings and were understood by others. Schultens responds:

When he desires to hit me with an axe, he crushes his own legs. No people have been more eager for their own language, before and after Muhammad, than the Arabs. This is the glory of the ancient poets and the

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<sup>870</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima*, p. 14: “Quid audio? An operae pretium ferre non videtur id studium, quod penetralia lingua Hebraeae referans rhetoricamque eius gratiam, ubertatem, dignitatem ac potentiam recludens, clavem porrigit sacri Codicis ad eius genuinos sensus cum luminibus et ornamentis nativis, quibus praeifulget, pandendos? Apparet materiam originum earumque suavisimum fructum nunquam delibasse, qui eas fastidiunt atque despectant.”

<sup>871</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima*, p. 14.

<sup>872</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima*, p. 16. “Sed verumne meas origines promittere solummodo expeditiorem viam linguae Arabicae? Immo vero promittunt quoque interiorem et foecundiorum notitiam dialectorum omnium, Hebraeae, Chaldaee, Syrae omniumque quae una stirpe linguae primaevae efflorere. [...] Quo vel maxime collineat mea opera quemque praecipuum mihi in originationibus scopum praefixi.”

masters of rhythmic speech, who flourished in almost endless numbers. All writers bear similar and concordant testimony to it; splendid proofs and documents testify to it, which the commentators of old and recent Arabic poets have collected. I have adduced such evidence in my notes to al-Ḥarīrī, al-Nawābīg, and to the present excerpts from *Ḥamāsa*.<sup>873</sup>

Schultens continues:

He who completely ignores the primary meanings of words will not even in his own vernacular make the distinction between what is the proper sense and what is the improper sense that deviates through metaphors and other rhetorical tropes, although he attains the general sense.<sup>874</sup>

Reiske maintained that philologists of Arabic poetry should not give up hope, even if they do not fully understand the original meanings. Schultens restricts this hope to an understanding of the external, synchronic usage and thinks that Reiske contradicts himself by conceding that ancient Arab writers had a good grasp of the original meanings despite their imperfect knowledge, while at the same time denying that modern Arabists can comprehend and explore these original meanings.

To support his argument, Reiske pointed out that the Germans, Dutch, French, and English are ignorant of the original meanings of their words, yet are able to express themselves in a prudent and elegant manner. Schultens counters by citing the literary cultivation of German in prose and poetry, the etymological lexicography of the French Academy and Gilles Ménage, and the vivid eloquence in English, in which semantic extensions and rhetorical devices presuppose sensitivity to the original meanings of words.

Schultens finally asks whether his opponent would consider etymological studies of Greek and Latin superfluous. If he does, he would spoil his own scholarly reputation and “precipitate himself from the top of criticism, to which he has elevated himself”.<sup>875</sup> If he does not, he would undermine his

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<sup>873</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima*, p. 17: “Securim mihi injicere gestiens, sibi ipse crura suffringit. Nulla gens studiosior linguae suae ante et post Muhammedem, quam Arabum illa. Veterum poëtarum et rhythmicorum, quorum innumerus fere numerus floruit, haec palma. Id omnes scriptores pari ac consona voce testantur, testantur luculenta indicia et documenta, quae scholiastae poëtarum veterum et recentiorum in medium contulere; qualia passim in notis meis ad Haririum, ad Nawabig, ad excerpta haec ex *Hamasa* adduxi.”

<sup>874</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima*, p. 18: “Qui primas verborum vires plane ignorat vel in vernacula sua, nunquam quid proprie dictum sit, quid improprie et per metaphoras aliosque tropos rhetoricos deflexum internoscet, etiamsi generatim sensum assequatur.”

<sup>875</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima*, p. 22: “atque e fastigio critico, in quod semet evexit, semet ultro praecipitabit” [...].

own attack on the value of Schultens' exploration of the original meanings, "in which metaphorical, metonymical and transferred senses are bound together by a pleasant and powerful link".<sup>876</sup>

### 8.3.6 *The second public letter*

Schultens opens his second letter by portraying Reiske as an ever-changing Proteus who both deceives and insults the learned world. But in this second publication, he has bound this elusive and transformable man "with such strong bonds and knots that he never will escape by deceits and tricks".<sup>877</sup>

Schultens refutes Reiske's contention that he was almost the first to use Arabic to explain Hebrew in a systematic way, since most earlier scholars "hesitantly at a distance envisaged such a method". He replies that the rabbis who lived in Spain in the 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries spoke Arabic as their vernacular, used it to explain Biblical Hebrew words, and made this method the basis of lexicography. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, Christian Hebraists adopted this method in their Hebrew lexicography.<sup>878</sup>

Reiske's second point was that the first Christian Hebraists drew all their Hebrew knowledge from the "impure sources of the rabbis". Schultens replies that the first Christian Hebraists of the 16<sup>th</sup> century relied on Jewish rabbis, and some of them had them as their teachers or informants. Soon, however, they looked for other methods, for instance, a comparative study of Semitic languages. Schultens also defends the general reliability of the rabbinical transmission of knowledge of Biblical Hebrew. The one who condemns its usefulness opens the door to hurtful opinions that threaten to shake the solid foundations and ruin the beautiful edifice of Hebrew philology. The question is in what sense the rabbinical tradition is to be called impure. This criticism is right if it refers to the Jewish imagination of Hebrew as a holy language preserved intact in a holy lineage only among the Jews, and if it targets the uncritical and unsystematic method of Jewish scholars in assigning contradictory meanings to the same root. However, Schultens concludes that Reiske probably did not aim at this kind of impurity, since he arrogantly despises and belittles the value of etymological lexicography.<sup>879</sup>

Reiske denied the high antiquity attributed by Schultens to the Arabic language and pre-Islamic poetry. Schultens responded that the objection that Arabic emerged quite lately is not new and that he had himself refuted this argument in *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2 (1738).<sup>880</sup> By the way, in a letter to Johann David Michaelis in the spring of 1749, Reiske rejects Schultens'

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<sup>876</sup> Schultens, *Epistola prima*, p. 22: "quibus usus metaphorici, metonymici, tropique in universum omnes, suavi ac potenti copula inter se devinciantur" [...].

<sup>877</sup> Schultens, *Epistola altera*, dedicatory letter to Mencke, pp. \*2 recto-verso.

<sup>878</sup> Schultens, *Epistola altera*, pp. 8–11.

<sup>879</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 13–15.

<sup>880</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. 122–125.



high dating of the Arabic language and literature, dismissing it as ignorant, mistaken, and improbable. Reiske argues that the Arabs did not write books before the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD and that only a few documents date to before the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Making an exception for the collections of poems, the so-called Diwans (*dawāwīn*), he thinks they were compiled from an oral tradition after the time of Muhammad.<sup>881</sup>

In his translation of the Book of Proverbs, Schultens proceeded with great precision and literalness, in accordance with his own etymological derivations. In a selection of illustrative passages, Reiske had scrutinized this method. Schultens, in turn, devoted most of his refutation to defending his translation of these passages and to explaining his underlying etymological ideas.<sup>882</sup> In doing so, he quotes extensively from the Arabic dictionaries of al-Jawharī and al-Fīrūzābādī. In one passage, Prov 25:10, he defends his derivation of the Hebrew polysemous noun חֶסֶד (*ḥesed*) meaning “goodness, kindness, favour, mercy” and “shame, reproach” from the Arabic root *ḥašada*, which he attributes with the sense of swelling or turgid abundance and sappiness.<sup>883</sup>

Another passage commented on by Reiske is Prov 3:8, “it will be health to your body”, where the expression “to your body” in Hebrew is לְשֶׁנֶךָ.<sup>884</sup> Reiske criticized Schultens for defending the reading of this Masoretic text (*lectio difficilior*) and for not accepting “the easy and apt conjecture” of Le Clerc, viz. לְבִשְׁךָ,<sup>885</sup> remarking that Schultens is ready “to defend the improbable beyond the limits of credibility”.<sup>886</sup> In his reply, Schultens expounds his view on textual criticism of the Old Testament and links it to his programme for comparative Hebrew language studies:

I defend the integrity of the Hebrew Bible through a thorough knowledge of Ancient Hebrew and by extending its borders, which the Masoretes had already narrowed too much. By these aids, I shut the door on critical licence, the door our reviewer would like to be widely open to him. He gets annoyed at this and reiterates that I defend the improbable, though it is indistinctly unknown to him what is probable and improbable in Hebrew. [...] It is a burning question for him that I do not admit that the Holy Bible is filled with countless faults and that I bring to light, clear as

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<sup>881</sup> See letter to Michaelis 4 April, 1749: “Quae A. Schultensius secus sentit, non moror. Bene novi plenum illum et occupatum nimis magnifica de Arabum antiquitatibus opinione multa tradidisse incomperta, evidenter falsa et ne quidem probabilia.” See Foerster (ed.), *Reiske's Briefe*, p. 332.

<sup>882</sup> Schultens, *Epistola altera*, pp. 29–120

<sup>883</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 79. See further Eskhult, *Schultens as an innovator*, Vol. 1, Section 19.5.1, pp. 312–313.

<sup>884</sup> שֶׁן (*šōr*), in the proper sense “navel”, here by synecdoche “body”.

<sup>885</sup> בָּשָׂר (*bāšār*) properly means “flesh”.

<sup>886</sup> Schultens, *Epistola altera*, p. 33.

day, passages where the critics always used to claim there is night and darkness, since they themselves were oppressed by ignorance of the ancient realm and copiousness which the Hebrew dialect in past times possessed, and which are now being reclaimed and re-established by me through the restoration of the analogy [i.e. the morphological regularity] and through the original meanings obtained from the sister dialects.<sup>887</sup>

### 8.3.7 *Aftermath of the controversy*

In his autobiography, Reiske justifies his criticism of Schultens. Contrary to what he states in his letter to J.E. Bernard and L.C. Valckenaer (see the end of Section 8.3.3), he maintains that his personal relationship with Schultens did not affect his reviews. His intention was merely to act as an impartial reviewer, from whom one ought to expect a profound and correct account.<sup>888</sup> He concludes:

All that I remarked against Schultens is true and will remain so forever. It should have been said by someone else, not by me. But at that time I thought: You ought to say it; your conscience and your duty as a reviewer require it of you. Mr. Schultens damages sacred philology with his foolish derivations. By his manner of using Arabic, he makes the holy exegesis suspect and ridiculous. You have to restrain this bad habit, for there is no one except you who could do it. This was the main reason why I seized the pen against him.<sup>889</sup>

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<sup>887</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. 34: "Integritatem Codicis Hebraei defendo ex veteris linguae penitiori cognitione eiusdemque amplificatis pomoeriis, quae a Masorethis iam tum nimium arctata fuerant. His praesidiis succinctus, portam occludo licentiae criticae, quam sibi patentissimam discuperet homo noster. Hoc ringitur, et me improbabilia defensare dictitat, cui quid probabile, quid improbabile in Hebraicis, iuxta incompertum. [...] Scilicet hoc urit eum, quod non infinitis mendis obsessum Codicem sacrum agnoscam, quodque lucem et diem praestem, ubi critici noctem et tenebras esse clamitabant, ipsi iisdem oppressi ob ignorantiam vetustae illius ditionis et amplitudinis, qua dialectus Hebraea olim praedita fuit, et in quam ea denuo per restitutam analogiam perque origines e sinu sororiarum dialectorum erutas, a nobis vindicatur atque immittitur".

<sup>888</sup> Reiske, *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 47.

<sup>889</sup> Reiske, *ibidem*, p. 48: "Alles, was ich wider Herrn Schultens erinnerte, ist wahr, und wird ewig wahr bleiben; nur hätte es ein anderer sagen sollen, und nicht ich. Aber damals dachte ich: Du mußt das sagen, dein Gewissen, deine Pflicht als Recensent fordert das von dir. Herr Schultens schadet mit seinen thörigten Originationen der heiligen Philologie. Er macht mit seiner Art, das Arabisch anzuwenden, die *Exegesisin sacram* verdächtig und lächerlich. Du mußt dem Umwesen steuern, denn niemand ist außer dir, der das thun könnte. Dieses war der vornehmste Grund, warum ich die Feder wider ihn ergriff." [...]

In his autobiography, Reiske also reports that he had openly expressed his critical opinions during his sojourn in Leiden, approximately as follows:

I did not keep secret my insight that the art Schultens employs to pursue and promote Arabic is not the right art and cannot be very fruitful. In his derivations, there is too much of the spider's web and too many conditional, uncertain, and vain assumptions that confer no advantage. If one wishes to benefit from Arabic, one should not pursue it as a theologian but rather use it to enlighten and enrich history, geography, mathematics, physics, and medicine.<sup>890</sup>

Schultens and Reiske were thus divided in their views on the epistemic role of Arabic. To Schultens, knowledge of Arabic was subordinated to the goals of biblical interpretation and Hebrew philology. In Reiske's view, Arabic should not serve these exegetical and linguistic aims of knowledge, but be a separate field of learning reserved for a few professional Arabists and include all kinds of literary genres.

The dispute between Schultens and Reiske contributed to a polarization between the Schultensian school and Reiske. In defence of Schultens, the Leiden journalist Elie Luzac wrote an intellectual biography of Schultens, in which he glorified Schultens' scholarly achievements.<sup>891</sup>

In the historiography of Hebrew and Arabic studies in Europe, Reiske's evaluation of Schultens' scholarship (Section 8.3.3) and his justification of it in his autobiography have been considered reasonable, especially since Fück agreed with Reiske.<sup>892</sup> In modern surveys of the controversy, Reiske's plea for a secular Arabic philology is often cited.<sup>893</sup> One can also add that Reiske

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<sup>890</sup> Reiske, *Lebensbeschreibung*, pp. 31 f.: "Ich [...] machte also kein Geheimniß draus, daß, nach meiner Einsicht, die Art des Herrn Schultens anwendet, das Arabische zu treiben und zu befördern, die rechte Art nicht sey, und daß sie nicht viel fruchten könne. In seinen Originationen sey zu viel Spinnengewebe, zu viel willkührliches, schwankendes, leeres, das wenig oder gar keinen Nutzen schaffe. Wolle man dem Arabischen aufhelfen, so müsse man es nicht als Theologe treiben; <sondern> die Historie, Geographie, Mathematik, Physik und Medicin daraus aufklären und bereichern."

<sup>891</sup> It was published anonymously in *Bibliothèque raisonnée*, "Essai historique sur les ouvrages de Feu Mr. Albert Schultens", vol. 44:2, Amsterdam 1750, pp. 344–364. In my textual edition of Schultens' unpublished manuscripts on comparative Hebrew philology, this historical eulogy will be reprinted as an appendix.

<sup>892</sup> Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1955, pp. 105–108.

<sup>893</sup> Tapani Harviainen and Klaus Karttunen point out that 18<sup>th</sup>-century scholars should not be judged by 20<sup>th</sup>-century standards. See their article "The outset of Arabic studies in Finland" [...], *Travelling through time: essays in honour of Kaj Öhrnberg*, ed. by Sylvia Akar et alii, Helsinki 2013, p. 434. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Anton Theodor Hartmann described Reiske's criticism as exaggerated and as

appears to have overlooked the fact that Schultens was not a professor of Arabic, but rather held the chair of comparative Hebrew language studies as a professor of Oriental languages in Leiden. A couple of times in the years 1738 and 1739, he even called himself only a professor of Hebrew.<sup>894</sup> Reiske was unable to make an objective assessment of Schultens' theory and practice of Hebrew etymology.

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focused on the blameworthy. See Hartmann's *Linguistische Einleitung in das Studium der Bücher des A. T.*, Bremen 1818, p. 271.

<sup>894</sup> Schultens, *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*, p. 29 (§ 38) referring to Driessen's complaints against Schultens' etymology: "Qui tales conatus in professore linguae Hebraeae prudenter et reverenter exercitos criminatur" [...], "He complains about such endeavours, prudently and reverently exercised by a professor of the Hebrew language" [...]; *Excursus primus*, p. 65: "Ut linguae Hebraeae professor publicus ergo bene gnarus quid dicam et quid bonis documentis comprobare valeam ad tribunal Reipublicae Literatae, nunc commoneo omnes, qui *dialectos* aequis auribus ferre nequeunt" [...], "Accordingly, as a public professor of the Hebrew language, I am well aware of what I say and what I am able to prove by good examples before the court of the Republic of Letters, I now remind everyone who cannot hear the word 'dialects' with fair-mindedness." This is followed by a statement of the various dangers of disapproving of comparative Hebrew language studies, both to scholarship and to the Reformed Church. For an account of these dangers, see Section 6.8.4 above.

## 9. Further refutation of the concept of the holiness of Hebrew

### 9.1 *Proverbia Salomonis* (1748), preface: Refutation of the idea of Hebrew as a holy and divine language

#### 9.1.1 *General contents*

Schultens refutes Jewish and Christian views on the status of Hebrew as sacred and primeval.<sup>895</sup> He argues that the entire discourse has been shaped by a specific Christian theology, according to which Hebrew is the primeval and intrinsically holy language, preserved only “in a holy lineage” of the patriarchs leading down to the “holy nation” of the Hebrews or Israelites, with the express exclusion of other nations. By the power of tradition, this concept was perpetuated and became “the truth”. Only a few critics – probably Grotius, Huet, and Le Clerc – had ventured to reject it.<sup>896</sup>

#### 9.1.2 *Protestant language theology*

In discussing the underlying assumptions of this long-established complex of ideas, Schultens argues that it originated among the Jews. After it was accepted by the first generation of Christian Hebraists, it spread into Protestant theology. He identifies a set of prevalent conceptions of the Hebrew language in the writings of Jewish scholars.

- Biblical Hebrew is identical to the language infused into Adam.
- This language possesses exceptional qualities, including eminence, dignity, superhuman wisdom, and divine holiness (*sanctimonia divina*). By the last criterion, Hebrew deserves the title “the holy language”.
- After the Babylonian Confusion, the holy primeval language was transmitted only along the holy line of the Hebrews as a legacy.

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<sup>895</sup> Schultens, *Proverbia Salomonis*, Leiden 1748, preface, dated 2 May 1748, pp. i–cviii. He was not the first to reject it. Isaac Vossius, Spinoza, and Le Clerc had criticised this long-established opinion (see Eskhult, *Schultens as an innovator*, Vol. 1, Section 7.4.5). Schultens was certainly well acquainted with their arguments.

<sup>896</sup> For an account of their views, see Eskhult, *Schultens as an innovator*, Vol. 1, Sections 7.4.2 (Grotius), 7.4.3 (Huet), and 7.4.4 (Le Clerc). Schultens reviewed the early modern debate on the primeval language in *Theses de lingua primaeva*, §§ 34–78.

- All other nations of humankind were deprived of the primeval language because of the crime of building the tower.
- The primeval language is the mother of all languages.
- The holy Hebrew language will be the language of the blessed in heaven.<sup>897</sup>

Schultens argues that these ideas were adopted as tenets of faith by Christian scholars and “struck deep roots in their schools”.<sup>898</sup> In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Christian Hebraists learnt Hebrew from the rabbis and absorbed their views on the history of the Hebrew language. In the following century, these views were adopted by most Christian philologists and theologians.<sup>899</sup> When the critical school of Hebrew philology discovered on what loose grounds the divine and primeval status of the Hebrew language was founded, “they laid the axe to the root and cut down everything with one blow”.<sup>900</sup>

### 9.1.3 *The typological diversity of languages*

Schultens interpreted the narrative of the Confusion of languages at Babel as a paradigmatic explanation of the origin and emergence of linguistic diversity. He held the view that it aimed at typological diversity among certain language families.

In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, a new interpretation had asserted itself, according to which the Confusion of languages at Babel was conceived as the starting point of a continuous process of dialectal diversification of the original language. Schultens argued that this model could be applied to only the Semitic languages in their capacity as dialects of the primeval language.<sup>901</sup> Therefore, he claimed that new main languages were formed at Babel (*novae linguae matrices*), but expressly exempted the ancestral Semitic language.<sup>902</sup>

In arguing that the formation of new language groups took place at the Confusion of Languages, Schultens cites fundamental morphological differences, for instance, between Armenian, Persian, Turkish, Greek, and Latin.<sup>903</sup> The primeval language was neither entirely extinguished (*excisa*) nor torn into pieces (*concisa et concerpta*), but continued in uninterrupted use among Semitic-speaking nations after Babel.<sup>904</sup>

Buxtorf the Younger played a crucial role in the discourse on the primeval language. In his treatises on the antiquity, confusion, and preservation of the Hebrew language (1644), he had adopted and defended

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<sup>897</sup> Schultens, *Proverbia Salomonis*, preface, pp. ix–xi and xiii–xviii.

<sup>898</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. xii–xiii.

<sup>899</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. xxviii–xxix.

<sup>900</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. xxxii.

<sup>901</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. lxiv–lxv.

<sup>902</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. xcii.

<sup>903</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. lxviii, lxxxviii, and xcii.

<sup>904</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. xcii.

the inherited ideas.<sup>905</sup> Schultens maintains that Buxtorf was overwhelmed by the weight of Jewish tradition when accepting Kabbalistic ideas<sup>906</sup> about the holiness of Hebrew and its exclusive preservation within a holy lineage, excluding other peoples.<sup>907</sup> Such ideas, he implies, might be expected from a Kabbalist such as Guillaume Postel (1510–1581) rather than from a Reformed scholar known for orthodoxy.<sup>908</sup> He concludes:

Having reviewed all the authorities and arguments by which Buxtorf imagined he had proved that Hebrew is the mother of all languages, I conclude that his case lacks any right or reason. Rather, it is completely gainsaid by nature, reason, and experience, and by the analogy [that is, regularity] and the entire character of the primeval language and its dialects. It also obscures the role of divine Wisdom in forming and dividing languages.<sup>909</sup>

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<sup>905</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. xli–lxxi.

<sup>906</sup> Schultens, in *Excursus tertius*, p. 177, and in the preface to the 1748 re-edition of *Thomae Erpenii Grammatica Arabica*, p. cxxxvi, defines Kabbala as referring to a transmission of a heavenly doctrine from the beginning of the world to posterity in a holy line of chosen descendants from Adam to Moses. He identifies the Spanish Jewish philosopher Yehuda ha-Levi (c. 1079–1141), author of *Sefer ha-Kuzari*, as the originator of the idea that the primeval language was transmitted in such a way; see Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. cxxxiv, cxxxix–cxlii and xlv–cxlviii. However, Schultens did not observe the impact of Augustine on Christian exegetical tradition. The Augustinian historical-theological argumentation actually merged with the Jewish medieval development of the idea under the influence of the Kabbala. See Eskhult, “Augustine and the primeval language in early modern exegesis and philology”, *Language and History*, vol. 56:2 (2013), pp. 108–116, and “The primeval language and Hebrew ethnicity in ancient Jewish and Christian thought until Augustine”, *Revue d’études augustiniennes et patristiques*, 60:2 (2014), pp. 291–347.

<sup>907</sup> Schultens, *Proverbia Salomonis*, preface, pp. lxxviii–lxxx and lxxxi–lxxxix. He thinks that Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic have equal right to be called dialects of the primeval language as Hebrew; see *ibidem*, p. lxxxiii. In the preface to his re-edition of Erpenius’ *Grammatica Arabica*, pp. cliii and cxxxiii, he complains that this idea has excluded the Joktanides, the Ishmaelites, the Edomites, and the Canaanites from being held as worthy of receiving their due share in the primeval language. Cf. Schultens, *Theses de lingua primaeva*, § 104 (Leiden UB, MS Or. 1469, fol. 9<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>908</sup> Schultens, *Proverbia Salomonis*, preface, p. clxvi.

<sup>909</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. lxxxix: “Concludo tandem, lustrata acie auctoritatum et rationum, quibus *matrem linguarum omnium* esse *Hebraicam* pervinci arbitrabatur cl[arissimus] dissertator, hanc causam omni iure, omni fundamento esse destitutam; quin eam naturae, rationi, experientiae, analogiae et universae indoli linguae primaevae cum suis sibi dialectis, e diametro adversari atque adeo admirabilem Numinis sapientiam in linguis constituendis et ordinandis offuscare.”

In his survey of the previous discourse, Schultens underscores that no proper distinction has been made between dialect and language. Referring to his planned treatise *De lingua primaeva*, he says:

That treatise will argue and prove that the greatest scholars have not reasoned very well, because they have never distinguished between a dialect and a language when discussing the primeval language, although they should have learnt, given their high level of erudition, that there is a very great difference between a dialect and a language.<sup>910</sup> [...] The confused ideas about Biblical Hebrew being primeval would not have entered our scholarship if dialect and language had been properly distinguished.<sup>911</sup>

## **9.2 *Thomae Erpenii Grammatica Arabica* (1748), preface to the re-edition: Refutation of the idea of a Hebrew holy script**

### *9.2.1 Context, purpose, and discursive background*

In 1748, Schultens republished Thomas Erpenius' Arabic grammar. In the dedicatory letter (to the university curator Willem Bentink), he notes that the progress in Oriental philology during the 17<sup>th</sup> century is indebted to the achievements of this eminent scholar.<sup>912</sup> At the same time, he identifies a counter-current to this linguistic Orientalism, namely Jewish opinions regarding the exclusivity of Hebrew as a holy tongue, the square script as holy and divine, and a holy lineage that, through uninterrupted transmission,

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<sup>910</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. xc: "Eadem quoque dissertatio discussum adstructum dabit non felicissime calculos subductos a maximis virorum, quum in disceptanda lite de lingua primaeva nunquam distinxerunt inter dialectum et linguam, quum tamen pro lumine suae eruditionis compertissimum haberent maximum esse discrimen dialecti et linguae." In his authorship, Schultens often used the terms language and dialect indiscriminately, but in this context, he regards language as a supranational and supraregional mother language [that is, ancestor language], while the dialects are its daughter languages as historically descended from it and regional diversifications. Consequently, dialect in this sense is the same as a cognate language. In his unpublished *Theses de lingua primaeva*, §§ 105–106 (Leiden UB, MS Or. 1469), Schultens distinguishes between language and dialect. In § 105, he states: "If the question is raised *to what language* do the antediluvian proper names of persons and places belong, the answer is easy: to the language the remnants of which remained for a very long time among the Chaldaeans, Syrians, and Hebrews, and until this day still flourish among the Arabs." The next paragraph (§ 106) reads: "But if the question is raised *to what dialect* do the same antediluvian names belong, the answer is easy as well: to none, because all dialects, each in its particular form, are much younger than the times of Adam and the subsequent times."

<sup>911</sup> Schultens, *Proverbia Salomonis*, preface, p. xciv: "Hae tenebrae de *dialecto Sacri Codicis* omnino *primaeva* in materiam nostram nunquam incubuissent, si inter *dialectum et linguam* rite discriminatum fuisset."

<sup>912</sup> Schultens, *Thomae Erpenii Grammatica Arabica*, dedicatory letter, pp. 20–21.



has sustained the Hebrew language and script.<sup>913</sup> He argues that these opinions are contrary to the linguistic principle of the Reformation, namely the study of biblical and Oriental languages,<sup>914</sup> and claims to have detected an anti-Christian programme.<sup>915</sup>

Schultens sets two targets for criticism: the Jewish conception of two distinct Hebrew scripts, one holy and one profane, and the way in which Christian scholars accepted this idea. His source of information was Buxtorf the Younger's treatise *De literarum Hebraicarum genuina antiquitate*, "On the true antiquity of the Hebrew letters",<sup>916</sup> where the testimonies and reasons pro and contra the use of Hebrew square script for the Hebrew Bible before the time of Ezra are discussed. Buxtorf first surveys testimonies in favour of the identity of the square script with the original script of the Law among representatives of Judaism in antiquity<sup>917</sup> and in recent Judaism, where he probes the opinions of Ibn Ezra, Rashi, Maimonides, Abraham de Balmes, Azariah de' Rossi, and others.<sup>918</sup> Next, he explores the Jewish proponents of the two Hebrew scripts, the holy and the profane,<sup>919</sup> and traces the reception of this complex of ideas among Christian Hebraists, such as Guillaume Postel, Theodore Bibliander, Nicholas Fuller, and others.<sup>920</sup> Postel's views are summarized as follows:

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<sup>913</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, title page: "Praefatio imaginariam linguam, scriptionem et lineam sanctam Iudaeorum confutat", "The preface refutes the imaginary conceptions of the language, the script and the holy lineage of the Jews".

<sup>914</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, dedicatory letter, pp. 22–23.

<sup>915</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, dedicatory letter, p. 24.

<sup>916</sup> This treatise was first published under the title *De literis Hebraeorum*, Basel 1644, but was the subsequent year integrated as the fourth dissertation into Buxtorf's *Dissertationes philologico-theologicae*, Basel 1644, which was republished in Basel 1662, pp. 167–246. Schultens possessed the 1662 edition.

<sup>917</sup> Buxtorf the Younger, "De literarum Hebraicarum genuina antiquitate" in *Dissertationes philologico-theologicae*, Basel 1662, p. 169. More precisely, he surveys the opinions of Yehuda ha-Qodesh and Mishnaic sages, Amoraim (also called the Gemarists), the writers of additions to the Talmud (*Tosephot*) and the Geonim (i.e. the heads of the rabbinic academies in Babylonia).

<sup>918</sup> Buxtorf the Younger, *ibidem*, §§ 10–21, pp. 170–185.

<sup>919</sup> Buxtorf the Younger, *ibidem*, § 44, pp. 201–205 and again § 68, pp. 235–239. Among the writings adduced are Jacob ibn Ḥabib, *Ein Ya'acob*, "Well of Jacob", (Salonica/ Thessaloniki 1516), Samuel Archevolti, *Arugat ha-Bosem*, "Bed of spices" (Venice 1602–1603), Gedaliah ibn Yahya, *Shalsholet ha-Kabbala*, "Chain of tradition" (1549–1587) and Azariah de' Rossi, *Me'or 'Enayim* "Light of the eyes" (Mantua 1573).

<sup>920</sup> Buxtorf the Younger, *ibidem*, § 45, pp. 205–213, where Buxtorf focuses on the views of Guillaume Postel in the following works: *De Etruriae regionis originibus* (1551), *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium alphabetum introductio* (1538) and *De originibus seu de varia et potissimum orbi Latino insonsyderata historia* (1553). Other scholars discussed by Buxtorf are Jean Boulaese, *Hebraicum alphabetum* (1576), Giovanni Pantheo, *Voarchadumia contra Alchimiam* (1550),

The Hebrew (square) letters are the very same that were given by God to Adam and Moses, but they were mystic and sacred, so they were not employed except for sacred use until the time when Ezra published them and designated them for public use. The other script was external and profane for civic use. Moses used it when he transcribed the Law to the tribes of Israel. He used the holy writing only for the copy that was handed over to the tribe of the Levites.<sup>921</sup>

To refute these ideas, Schultens used Buxtorf's collection of data as the basis for his own synthesis. He relied on Buxtorf's survey of Jewish authorities on the co-existence of the Samaritan and Hebrew square scripts. In exploring the reception of this doctrine among Christian Kabbalists, he also relied on Buxtorf but added several other proponents.<sup>922</sup>

### 9.2.2 Contents

Schultens' preface comprises 172 pages and examines the conception of two distinct Hebrew scripts (one holy and one profane) from a historical perspective. It probes the views of Jewish scholars in the Middle Ages and

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Theodor Bibliander, *De ratione communi omnium linguarum* (1548), and Nicolas Fuller, *Miscellanea theologica* (1616).

<sup>921</sup> Buxtorf the Younger, "De literarum Hebraicarum genuina antiquitate" (see idem, *Disserationes philologico-theologicae*, 1662), p. 206: "Literas Hebraicas hodiernas esse ipsissimas literas Adamo et Mosi a Deo datas, sed mysticas et sacras fuisse, ut extra usum sacrum nullus earum fuerit usus, donec Esdras eas publicavit et in publicum usum destinavit. Aliam autem scripturam fuisse externam et communem, qua in rebus civilibus usi fuerint, qua etiam Moses pro singulis tribubus Israëlīs exemplar transcripserit. Scriptura enim sancta unicum tantum ab eo scriptum fuisse, illud nempe quod tribui Leviticae ab eo traditum fuerat."

<sup>922</sup> The Jewish linkage of the language of the Torah with the Hebrew is explained by Raphael Loewe as follows, in my summary and paraphrase:

God not only created the world in the language of Torah, that is, the Pentateuch but also "consulted the Torah as the blueprint of the creative process". As pre-existent to the creation, though not co-eternal with God, it had a notionally written form. The script was interrelated to the Hebrew language, as "the metaphysical quality of its language communicated itself to the Hebrew alphabet". Accordingly, rabbinical Judaism insisted on an integral link between its language and its script and claimed the idiosyncratic uniqueness of both. As a hallmark of Jewish identity, the Hebrew script for a long time maintained itself as a medium for the writing of non-Hebrew vernaculars, such as Arabic, German, Italian, and Spanish, to which the Jews were accultured. The openness of the Karaites to the Arabic script reflects their rejection of the rabbinical tradition.

See Loewe, "Hebrew linguistics" in Giulio Leschy (ed.), *History of linguistics, vol. 1: The eastern traditions of linguistics*, London and New York 1994, pp. 101–102.

the Renaissance, then traces the Christian reception<sup>923</sup> with a focus on Buxtorf's work, through which the idea of a holy Hebrew script allegedly crept into the stronghold of Protestant orthodoxy.<sup>924</sup>

Schultens opens the preface with a quotation from the geographical description of Judea made by Gaius Iulius Solinus. In *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, ch. 35, this Roman encyclopaedist presents Judaea from two perspectives. On the one hand, it is a fertile region; on the other, it is infertile, like the Dead Sea region. The twofold description presented itself to Schultens as a metaphor for Jewish linguistic thought about their language and script.<sup>925</sup>

Schultens addresses the controversy over whether pre-exilic Hebrews used the Samaritan alphabet (the Old Hebrew script) or the Hebrew square script. Schultens quotes the testimony of Jerome, in which the scribe Ezra is reported to have introduced the square script, while the Samaritans and Hebrews alike used the same script up to that time. He also quotes the Talmud Babli, Sanhedrin, which acknowledges that the Jews learnt to use the square script in Assyria (*kʿtaḇ Aššūrīt*) and continued to use it after their return to distinguish themselves from the Samaritans. Schultens here relied on Joseph Justus Scaliger (*Animadversiones in chronologica Eusebii*), who proposed that Phoenician is the prototype of the Aramaic, Hebrew, and Samaritan scripts.<sup>926</sup> Schultens incidentally remarks that the term *kʿtaḇ Aššūrīt* is wrongly interpreted as “blessed script”, derived from the verb אָשַׁר (*ʾāšar*), “to be happy, fortunate”, in keeping with some medieval rabbis who thought that it should not be understood as “Assyrian script”.<sup>927</sup>

Schultens continues to discuss Buxtorf the Younger's acceptance of the Jewish idea of a twofold Hebrew script, sacred and profane.<sup>928</sup> Claiming that the Basel philologist adopted it in his controversy with Cappel without

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<sup>923</sup> Schultens, *Thomae Erpenii Grammatica Arabica*, preface to the re-edition, pp. xxii–lii on the opinions of the Jews, pp. liii–lxvii on the views of Christian scholars.

<sup>924</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. lxv. Schultens probes Postel's views on pp. liii–lvi, discusses Buxtorf's use of Postel, p. cv, where he criticizes Buxtorf's dealings with Postel, although Buxtorf himself states that he does not quote Postel as if he would approve of every statement; see Buxtorf, “De literarum Hebraicarum genuina antiquitate”, *Dissertationes historico-theologicae*, 1662, § 45, p. 211.

<sup>925</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. i–iii.

<sup>926</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. lxcii–lxxxvii. Schultens used Buxtorf as a source in his quotations from Scaliger and others. See Buxtorf, “De literarum Hebraicarum genuina antiquitate”, § 2, p. 167–168.

<sup>927</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. xxiii. Schultens shows that this idea is found in Archevolti's *Arugat ha-bosem* and Jacob ibn Ḥabib's *Ein Ya'acob*, a collection of exegetic-homiletic material from the Talmud titled. See Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. xxxii–xxxiii and xxxvi–xl for Archevolti, pp. xliii– xlv and xlvii–xlix for *Ein Ya'acob* (which is often called *Ein Israel*).

<sup>928</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. lxxxvi–cxviii. Cf. pp. cliii–cliv.

realizing its perilous dogmatic implications,<sup>929</sup> he rejects the whole conception: “Is the dignity of Hebrew sustained by the square figures of the Hebrew letters? Is the authority and majesty of the Hebrew text supported by the square script?”<sup>930</sup>

Schultens then observes Caspar Neuman’s adaptation of the kabbalistic doctrine about the secret meaning of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet and Löscher’s acceptance of Neuman’s hypothesis.<sup>931</sup> Besides, he demonstrates that the belief that the Canaanite language and script should be excluded from any connection with the holy language and script depends on the Jewish idea of a tradition of divine matters in a lineage of chosen and holy descendants from Adam to Moses and to the people of Israel.<sup>932</sup> Schultens demonstrates that his idea appears in Yehuda ha Levi’s *Sefer ha-Kuzari* (book 1, chapters 47 and 95), and remarks that Buxtorf unexpectedly approved of it.<sup>933</sup> He remarks that this could have been expected from Postel, but not from “our most orthodox Buxtorf,” and maintains that Buxtorf damaged Oriental learning by subscribing to the idea of a holy language of a special possession (*s’gullā*).<sup>934</sup> Schultens expresses the hope that Christian scholars in the future will neither admire such far-flung ideas nor fight for them as the stronghold of orthodoxy (*tamquam pro orthodoxiae arce*).<sup>935</sup>

Schultens refutes the idea that the Hebrew square script was preserved by transmission (*Kabbala*) through a holy lineage from Adam to Ezra, who allegedly permitted only the common use of the script in which the Law was originally given.<sup>936</sup> The view that God consulted the holy script before creating the world<sup>937</sup> is also contested, as is the notion that the holy letters are capable of a sublime wisdom, holiness, spirituality, life, and light.<sup>938</sup>

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<sup>929</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. cii.

<sup>930</sup> Schultens, *Thomae Erpenii Grammatica Arabica*, preface to the re-edition, p. lxxxix.

<sup>931</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. cxix–cxxv, cf. p. cxvii–cxviii.

<sup>932</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. cxxvi–cxxxiii, pp. cxxxiii–cli.

<sup>933</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. cxxxv, pp. cxliii–cxlvi.

<sup>934</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. cxlvi, and pp. cli–cli. c

<sup>935</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. clviii and clix: “Cavebunt, spero, in posterum doctores Christiani ne vitim hancce Sodomaeam et arborem genealogicam linguae sanctae admirentur eiusque vel aura se contingi amplius patientur, nedum ut pro dogmate Iudaico tamquam pro Orthodoxiae arce propugnent, quod rite examinatum et penitius introspectum omnem orthodoxiam funditus subvertit, Spiritum Gratiae ac Gloriae tam sub V. quam sub. N. T. contumelia afficit sanguinemque Foederis utriusque proculcat.”

<sup>936</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. xxv–xxvi. This idea is demonstrated by a quotation from *Shalsholet ha-Kabbala* of Gedaliah ibn Yahya (c. 1515–1587).

<sup>937</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. xxix–p. xxx.

<sup>938</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, pp. xxx– xxxi.

### 9.2.3 Remedy: *The comparative study of Semitic languages*

At the end of the preface, Schultens proposes a countermove against Goussetianism and pictographic mysticism. Since these two currents have restrained and suppressed the study of the Semitic dialects, the most efficacious remedy is the revival of the comparative study of the Semitic languages. This will lead to a new understanding of their internal historical coherence and of the nature of the Hebrew language:

To make these studies, which are now in an almost perishing condition, flourish again and to produce ever more abundant fruits, we should not only touch upon the thresholds of the dialects or keep staying in the outer halls, but we should force our way even to their innermost rooms. The purpose is that, through such a deeper and firmer knowledge of them, their mutual harmony and true sisterly connection, by which they constitute and represent one body of the primeval language, may grow clear, that the natural character of the Hebrew dialect, with its ancient richness and wonderful endowments, may shine forth from the candlestick of the Church, and that whatever obscurity yet remains may be cleared up by a blissed light.<sup>939</sup>

Schultens asserts that his present reissue of Erpenius' Arabic grammar serves a comparative aim, because Erpenius' Arabic grammar offered scholars entry to "the very rich dialect of the primeval language". It paved the way for what was thought to be inaccessible, and as a consequence "great scholars began to admire its incredible concord with the Hebrew dialect and to compete in shedding limitless light on the Hebrew diction".<sup>940</sup>

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<sup>939</sup> Schultens, *Thomae Erpenii Grammatica Arabica*, preface to the re-edition, p. clix–clx: "Ut autem studia illa tantum non intermortua revigescant atque ad laetiores usque ac usque fructus exuberent, non limina tantum dialectorum salutanda, non in atriis subsistendum, sed a penetralia ipsa connitendum, (p. clx) ut per illam interiorem et solidiorem notitiam, tum earundem harmonia dilucescat ac vere sororia connexio, qua unum idemque corpus linguae primaevae constituunt atque repraesentant, tum Hebraicae dialecti nativa indoles cum veteri opulentia et dotibus admirandis super candelabro refulgeat Ecclesiae, atque lata luce, quicquid adhuc obnubilatum, disserenetur."

<sup>940</sup> Schultens, *ibidem*, p. clx–clxi.

PART 4. THE SPREAD AND THE RECEPTION OF  
SCHULTENS' PROGRAMME FOR COMPARATIVE  
HEBREW PHILOLOGY



## 10. Dutch and wider European reception

### 10.1 The Dutch school of Hebrew philology

#### 10.1.1 Preliminaries

The reception of Schultens' theory and method in Hebrew etymology and grammar dates back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as evidenced in the works of Hebrew philologists in the Netherlands, Germany, England, and Sweden. The earliest reception appears in dissertations and other academic treatises by Schultens' students in Franeker and Leiden. Schultens' legacy was transmitted, developed, adapted, and modified by the Dutch school of Hebrew philology, the so-called *Schola Schultensiana*, which had advocates at all the centres of learning in the Netherlands (Leiden, Groningen, Harderwijk, Franeker, and Amsterdam). In the first generation, the most important exponents of the school were Jan Jacob Schultens (d. 1778), Nicolaus Wilhelm Schroeder (d. 1798), and Gerard Kuypers (d. 1798). In the second generation, Everard Scheidius (d. 1794) and Henric Albert Schultens (d. 1793) stand out as the greatest members of the school.<sup>941</sup> Another promoter of Schultensian philology was Joannes Willmet (d. 1835). In the third generation, Johannes van der Palm (d. 1840) was the foremost supporter of Schultens' intellectual legacy.

#### 10.1.2 Schultens' students

Since knowledge of Hebrew was required to be ordained as a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church, we may assume that Schultens taught Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic to all or most of his theology students during his thirty-six years of teaching at the universities of Franeker (1713–1729) and Leiden (1729–1749). In his inaugural speech in 1732, he addresses the students of theology as “you who wish to be irrigated from the living and lasting spring-wells of Zion according to the richness of the heavenly truths”, and exhorts them not to stop at the first rudiments of Classical and Oriental learning, but to enter into the core of these languages.<sup>942</sup>

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<sup>941</sup> In his doctoral thesis, *De studie van de Oostersche talen in Nederland in de 18e en 19e eeuw*, Purmerend 1929, Jan Nat explores the advocates of the Schultensian school from the first to the third generation, from the 1740s to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Nat begins his account with Jan Willem Kals and Johann Jacob Reiske, though neither of them supported Schultens' guiding ideas.

<sup>942</sup> Schultens, *Oratio altera de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine*, second edition, published as an appendix to *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, Leiden 1738, p. 57.



The matriculation register of Leiden University records all the enrolling students by name, age, faculty affiliation, native city, and country. In the second quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, 200 students were enrolled, 104 of whom were Dutch and 96 foreign.<sup>943</sup> Dutch students from all provinces, mainly from Holland,<sup>944</sup> made up the majority of theological students, roughly 75%. Theological students from abroad were mainly Polish, Hungarian, Scottish, and Swiss, but students of theology and Hebrew philology also came from Germany, England, Lithuania, Denmark, Sweden, Ireland, and the Dutch colonies.<sup>945</sup> Many were admitted as boarding students at the State College. Except for those from Scandinavia, theological students from abroad seem to have belonged to the Reformed Church. This also applies to Hungarian students from Transylvania, where the Calvinist denomination was prevalent in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Foreign students played a key role in the international diffusion of Schultens' theory and method of comparative Hebrew philology across Europe. One of the earliest students to apply Schultens' linguistic method to biblical textual criticism was Ferenc Csepregi (1700–1758), a Hungarian from Transylvania.<sup>946</sup> In his philological-theological dissertation “On the authenticity of selected *ketiv*-variants (*Dissertatio philologico-theologica de authentia selectiorum Cethibim*)” submitted in 1725, he defended the hypothesis that the *ketiv*-readings of the Masoretic text may be supported by a comparative study of Arabic. Schultens praised Csepregi's sensible approach to this kind of textual criticism: “By the help of Arabic, Csepregi has sensibly and successfully explained most of the problems connected to the diversity of Masoretic readings, both by evident arguments and conclusive examples”.<sup>947</sup>

Another accomplished Hungarian student was Paul Gyöngyössi. As a boarding student at the State College,<sup>948</sup> he defended the third dissertation in Schultens' second series of *Origines Hebraeae* in 1733. He attended and recorded Schultens' classroom dictation of his Hebrew dictionary, noting his name in the prolegomena in October 1740 (MS fr. 3375, Geneva University Library). In 1748, he compiled indices of Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, and Greek words for Schultens' translation and commentary on Proverbs. In 1753, he

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<sup>943</sup> Willem Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame, II*, Amsterdam, 2002, p. 189.

<sup>944</sup> Otterspeer, *ibidem*, pp. 189–190.

<sup>945</sup> Willem du Rieu (ed.), *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae 1575–1875*, The Hague, pp. 925–1029 (autumn 1729–autumn 1749).

<sup>946</sup> Csepregi enrolled at the Frisian University on 21 September 1721. After leaving, he was in 1728 appointed professor of church history at the University of Cludianopolis (Cluj-Napoca, Romania) and held the chair of theology from 1737.

<sup>947</sup> Schultens, *De defectibus linguae Hebraeae*, p. 226.

<sup>948</sup> Gyöngyössi was enrolled on 30 October 1731 and became a boarding student of the State College, where he passed his basic examination on 14 February 1732; see ASF 304, Archive of the Faculty and Senate, Leiden University Libraries.

graduated in medicine from the University of Harderwijk with a thesis titled *De empiricis remediis* (on empirical medical remedies) and later became a physician in the Russian Empire.

Dithmar Hackmann was a skilled German student. He began his Hebrew studies in Bremen under the guidance of Conrad Itken, but, prompted by Schultens' reputation, he enrolled at the University of Leiden in December 1730. Hackmann remained there for almost six years before taking office as minister of the Reformed Church in Wassenaar. In 1735, he published a philological commentary on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus,<sup>949</sup> in which he expounded selected passages by comparing them with old Arabic poetry and medieval Arabic lexicography. Hackmann expressed gratitude to Schultens by preparing a Hebrew-Latin index to the commentary on the Book of Job, which details the primary and secondary meanings. In the preface to this commentary, Schultens praises Hackmann for his "learned and unique efforts" in creating an index that will lead students and scholars to "the core of Hebrew and Arabic words and phrases".<sup>950</sup>

György Huszti, a Hungarian from Transylvania, matriculated at Leiden in 1735<sup>951</sup> and studied there for about five years. In June 1737, he defended the last chapter of Schultens' *Origines Hebraeae*, and the next year, he submitted his own philological dissertation on the synonyms of the Hebrew language, illustrated by their origin.<sup>952</sup> He deals with a set of Hebrew synonymous verbs with the sense "to release, to liberate" and aims to show that these verbs differ in their original meanings, thereby supporting the Schultensian hypothesis that originally language did not allow synonyms, as proper meanings were concrete and signified a specific referent. Having returned to his home country, he compiled a brief Hebrew dictionary, *Lexicon Hebraicum*, in which he recorded the primary meanings in accordance with Albert Schultens' views.<sup>953</sup>

The Swiss student Antoine-Noé Polier submitted a dissertation in 1739 in which he inquired into the purity of the Arabic dialect compared with that of the Hebrew dialect in relation to the language before the Flood.<sup>954</sup> Polier's

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<sup>949</sup> Dithmar Hackmann, *Praecidanea sacra, sive animadversionum philologico-criticarum ad textum originale Veteris Testamenti. Tomus primus exhibens Genesin, Exodum et Leviticum*, Leiden 1735.

<sup>950</sup> Schultens, *Liber Jobi cum nova versione* [...], preface, p. \*\*\*\*\*r.

<sup>951</sup> *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae*, p. 956 (2 June 1735).

<sup>952</sup> Georg Huszti, *Dissertatio philologica de linguae Hebraeae synonymis ex origine illustrandis*, Leiden 1738.

<sup>953</sup> G. Huszti, *Lexicon Hebraicum exhibens primarias radicum significationes* ("A Hebrew dictionary showing the primary meaning of roots"), Aiud, Documentary Library of Bethlen Gábor College MS 161, comprising 91 pages (fols. 1r–46r).

<sup>954</sup> Antoine-Noé Polier de Bottens, *Dissertatio philologica, qua disquiritur de puritate dialecti Arabicae comparatae cum puritate dialecti Hebraeae in relatione ad antediluvianae linguae* (1739). Polier enrolled at Leiden University in 1737. He served as pastor in his native city, Laussance, for sixteen years and became head of

main hypothesis is that Arabic is more archaic than Hebrew and Aramaic and that it retains more of the purity and simplicity of the primeval language, which corresponds to proto-Semitic in modern terminology. Polier argues that Arabic retains older forms in verbal and nominal morphology, as well as in some prepositions, pronouns, and cardinal numbers. After serving as pastor in his native city, Laussance, for sixteen years, he became head of the Protestant French seminary there in 1759. He contributed nine articles to the *Encyclopédie* of Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond D'Alembert.

Johannes Rattelband from Amsterdam submitted a dissertation in 1740 on the agreement of Arabic with Hebrew throughout the language.<sup>955</sup> From a synchronic viewpoint, he seeks to demonstrate agreement between Arabic and Hebrew in phonology, morphology, and semantics. He asserts that the Arabic alphabet has six more consonants than Hebrew, only because it adds diacritic points to aspirated phonemes (ح *ḥā'*, ذ *ḏal*, ض *ḏād*, ظ *ẓa'*, غ *ḡayn*, ث *ṭā'*), which do not form distinct letters in the Hebrew alphabet. He compares this phenomenon to the Hebrew distinction between unaspirated and aspirated pronunciations of the letters כ (bēṭ), ג (gīmel), ד (dālet), ק (kāf), פ (pē), and ת (tāw). Moreover, in discussing verbal morphology, Rattelband addresses the question of whether *niphal* is the passive of *qal* or a separate stem form, noting that no other Semitic language forms the passive with a *nūn*-prefix, and concludes that it is a middle voice with reflexive and reciprocal meaning.<sup>956</sup>

In 1743, the Dutch student Gerard Kuypers submitted a dissertation on a number of passages of the Old Testament, restored and illustrated by means of the cognate dialects.<sup>957</sup> He defends the need for a comparative study of Ancient Hebrew, arguing that its attestation in the Old Testament does not encompass its full extent as a spoken vernacular. He frequently uses the

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the Protestant French seminary there in 1759. He contributed nine articles to the *Encyclopédie* of Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond D'Alembert.

<sup>955</sup> Johannes Rattelband, *Dissertatio philologica de convenientia admirabili dialecti Arabicae cum Hebraea in universo linguae ambitu* (1740). Rattelband matriculated at Leiden University in 1735 (*Album studiosorum*, p. 955). He served as a preacher in Holysloot, then in Koog aan de Zaan and Leeuwarden. He was later appointed academy preacher in Franeker (1765–1791).

<sup>956</sup> Wilhelm Gesenius later on arrived at the intermediate position that *niphal* is a stem form of its own, but from a semantic perspective serves as the passive of *qal*, see *Ausführliches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache mit Vergleichung der verwandten Dialekte*, Leipzig 1817: Christian Wilhelm Vogel, p. 257.

<sup>957</sup> Gerard Kuypers, *Dissertatio academica ad varia Veteris Testamenti loca ex dialectis vindicata et illustrata*, Leiden 1743. Kuypers (1722–1798) enrolled as a student of theology at Leiden University in 1739 (see *Album studiosorum*, p. 979). He studied Hebrew and Arabic with Schultens until 1744, when he became assistant pastor in Amsterdam. After serving as ordinary minister in Jutphaas, Nijkerk and Winschoten he took up the chair of theology at Groningen University in 1765 with the office of academy preacher.

Arabic sources published by Schultens and refers to the *Mu'allaqah* in Reiske's edition. Kuypers himself contributed to Arabic philology through his edition of the Arabic poems attributed to Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, *Ali Ben Abi Taleb carmina Arabice et Latine* (1745), in the preface, where he supports the comparative method of his teacher, Albert Schultens, and the necessity of making more Arabic sources available in print.

Another Dutch student, Gerard Johannes Lette, submitted a thesis in 1745 titled "Academic dissertation on the most impressive song of Deborah illustrated from the innermost parts of the Orient",<sup>958</sup> in which he explains the Song of Deborah by comparing it with early and medieval Arabic literature. On Schultens' recommendation, he published a revised version of his thesis as *Observationes philologico-criticae in augustissima Deborah et Mosis Cantica Judic. V. et Exod. XV* in Leiden in 1748. He also devoted himself to Arabic editorial philology.<sup>959</sup>

The dissertations of Huszti, Polier, Rattelband, Jan Jacob Schultens (on whom see Section 10.1.3), Kuyper, and Lette were republished in 1772 as part of a collection of theses submitted under the chairmanship of Albert Schultens. According to the collection's preface, it was intended as a testimony to the progress of Hebrew and comparative philology.<sup>960</sup>

Schultens also had a number of students who, under his guidance, took the opportunity to acquire proficiency in Arabic, although they did not submit any theses. Among these were Lodewijk Caspar Valckenaer and the German students Johan Jacob Reiske and Nicolaus Wilhelm Schroeder.

Valckenaer was an attentive listener to Schultens' private lectures. Between 1737<sup>961</sup> and 1739, he carefully took down his teacher's dictation. His records comprise Schultens' classes on Hebrew etymology: the

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<sup>958</sup> Gerard Johannes Lette, *Dissertatio academica ad augustissimum Deborahae canticum ex intimis Orientis penetrabilibus illustratum*, Leiden 1745. Lette was born in 1725 and enrolled at Leiden University in 1740, and became a pastor of a Reformed Dutch congregation at Valkenburg outside Leiden in 1747.

<sup>959</sup> Lette published Ka'b ibn Zuhayr's panegyric on Muhammad and the *Mu'allaqah* of the poet Imru' al-Qays with Levinus Warner's Latin translation: *Caab ben Zoheir. Carmen panegyricum in laudem Muhammedis. Item Moallakah Amralkeisi cum scholiis et versione Levini Warneri*, Leiden 1748.

<sup>960</sup> *Sylloge dissertationum philologico-exegeticarum ex diversis auctoribus editarum*, vol. 1, Leiden and Leeuwarden 1772. Volume 2 of this collection contains dissertations that appeared under the chairmanship of Jan Jacob Schultens and Nicolaus Wilhelm Schroeder. The editors acknowledge all these dissertations as having great value in their own right, because the two Schultens and Schroeder "educated excellent students, who followed in their tracks and endeavoured even themselves with happy success to shed light on the Hebrew language and obscure passages of the Holy Scriptures, above all by means of Arabic" (vol. 1, preface, p. 1). On the title pages of the original publications, these students are all referred to as authors of their dissertations.

<sup>961</sup> *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575–1875*, p. 966.

*Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, the fables of the supposed pre-Islamic sage Luqmān (cf. Sura 31), most of the Suras of the Koran, and Arabic sayings in an al-Zamakhsharī's anthology *al-Nawābiḡ al-Kalim*, of which Schultens had published a selection in his re-edition of Erpenius' Arabic primer (1733).<sup>962</sup>

### 10.1.3 Jan Jacob Schultens

Jan Jacob Schultens (1716–1779) studied theology and Oriental languages in Leiden in the 1730s and early 1740s.<sup>963</sup> After holding the chair of Oriental languages at Herborn for five years (1744–1749), he was appointed to the chair of theology and Oriental languages at Leiden in 1749.<sup>964</sup> In the subsequent year, he succeeded his father as director of the State College and as interpreter of the Warner Collection.<sup>965</sup> His most important publication in Hebrew philology is the treatise he submitted under his father's chairmanship on the utility of languages related to Hebrew in safeguarding the textual integrity of the Hebrew Bible,<sup>966</sup> where he demonstrates the value of comparative philology for textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, more precisely for the defence of the transmitted biblical text. In the introductory chapter (pp. 4–32), he accurately describes and analyses the various schools of Hebrew philology in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Jan Jacob did not publish any further treatises on Hebrew etymology and grammar, but continued to pursue his research and teaching in accordance with his father's principles. He wrote a treatise on archaic usage in Psalm 68,<sup>967</sup> composed a critical and exegetical commentary on Hosea 6:7,<sup>968</sup>

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<sup>962</sup> MS BPL 469 at Leiden UB contains Valckenaer's own records of Schultens' dictation *De originibus Hebraeis*, fols. 1–23, *ad Hariri dissertationes*, fols. 24–27, *Monita ad Alcoranum*, fols. 28–148, *Ad fabulas Locmanni*, fols. 129–154, *Florilegium sententiarum Arabicarum*, fols. 155–188. Schultens' publication is titled *Florilegium*; see Erpenius, *Rudimenta*, Leiden 1733, pp. 150–184. Al-Zamakhsharī's proverbs were published in their entirety by Henric Albert Schultens, *Anthologia sententiarum Arabicarum*, Leiden 1772.

<sup>963</sup> Jan Jacob Schultens enrolled at Leiden University twice, on 9 March 1730 for the sake of honour under the rectorship of Hermann Boerhaave, and on 14 September 1733 as a student in the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, both times as “Joannes Jacobus Schultens, Lugduno-Batavus”; *Album studiosorum*, p. 927 and p. 945. His doctoral thesis in theology treated Phil. 2:5–11 and was titled *Dissertatio theologica inauguralis ad locum apostoli Philipp. II: 5–11*, Leiden 1743.

<sup>964</sup> Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, vol. 5, p. 311. Jan Jacob took up his duties on 22 September 1749 with a speech titled *Oratio inauguralis de fructibus in theologiam redundantibus ex penitiorum linguarum Orientalium cognitione*, “On the fruits abounding in theology from a thorough knowledge of Oriental languages”.

<sup>965</sup> Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, vol. 5, p. 331; cf. Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen in Nederland in de 18e en de 19e eeuw*, Purmerend 1929, p. 67.

<sup>966</sup> Jan Jacob Schultens, *Dissertatio academica de utilitate dialectorum ad tuendam integritatem codicis Hebraei*, two parts (149 pages), Leiden 1742.

<sup>967</sup> Leiden UB, MS Or. 1474: *Dissertatio Celeberrimi Viri J. Schultensii in Psalmum*

provided grammatical comments on Psalms 1–43,<sup>969</sup> trained himself as an Arabist by reading Arabic oratory, poetry, and biography,<sup>970</sup> and sought to improve Arabic lexicography through his lexicographical collectanea and marginal annotations to Golius' Arabic-Latin dictionary.<sup>971</sup> Occupied with the ecclesiastical controversies of his time, he was prevented from publishing more in Hebrew philology and from publishing anything at all in Arabic philology. He obviously harboured a dislike for the popularizer Johann David Michaelis in Göttingen. The German scientist Johann Beckmann, who visited Jan Jacob Schultens during his educational journey in the Netherlands in 1762, states that in his lectures Jan Jacob used to designate Michaelis as “den Goettingischen windverkooper” (that is, “the chatterbox of Göttingen”)<sup>972</sup> and described him as a prolific plagiarizing writer: “Michaelis is a scribacious and impudent creature who has a terrific itch to put together new works and is shameless enough to plunder others whenever he himself cannot find anything new.”<sup>973</sup> Probably, Jan Jacob did not so much react to Michaelis' criticism of his father's overuse of Arabic for Hebrew etymology<sup>974</sup> as to his appropriation and plagiarism of Albert

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68. See Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental manuscripts of the library of the University of Leiden*, vol. 2 (MSS Or. 1001–Or. 2000), p. 154.

<sup>968</sup> Leiden UB, MS Or. 1472 c (also catalogued as Hebr. 140), *Exercitatio Critico-Exegetica, ad locum Hos. VI:7. 1778*. See Witkam, *Inventory*, vol. 2, p. 153.

<sup>969</sup> Leiden UB, MS Or. 1473 (Hebr. 141). See Witkam, *Inventory*, vol. 2, p. 154.

<sup>970</sup> Leiden UB, MS Or. 1492: his own and H.A. Schultens' notes on *Maqāmāt* of al-Harīrī; Leiden UB, MS Or. 1494: his excerpts from Imru' al-Qays; Leiden UB, MS Or. 1495: remarks on Ibn Arabasha's biography of Timur. See Witkam, *ibidem*, p. 157–158.

<sup>971</sup> Leiden UB, MS Or. 1497 (his excerpts from al-Gawhari's Arabic dictionary, his excerpts from Golius, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, and his lexicographical annotations on Arabic. He supplied his private copy of Golius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* with marginal notes; see Leiden UB, shelfmark 842 A 7–8 and 843 A 10. The Dutch lexicographers of Arabic, Georg Wilhelm Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, Halle 1830–1837, and Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy, *Suppléments aux dictionnaire arabes*, Leiden 1881, profited from Jan Jacob Schultens' notes on Golius. See Arnoud Vrolijk, “‘A Sublime Treasure of Pretious Manuscripts’: the Schultens's legacy in Leiden University Library and the elusive purchase of 1806”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, third series, vol. 19, part 3 (July 2009), p. 289.

<sup>972</sup> Johann Beckmann's travel journal “Dagboek van zijne reis door Nederland”, ed. by G.W. Kernkamp in *Bijdraag en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, vol. 33, Amsterdam 1912, p. 381. The word *windverkoper* means ‘seller of idle talk’, and perhaps also implies ‘share-dealer’ and ‘short-seller’, because the word “wind” was used to refer to speculation in contemporary Dutch financial discourse.

<sup>973</sup> Beckmann, *ibidem*, p. 382: “Michälis ist, sagte Herr Schultens, animal scribax, impudens, der einen gewaltigen pruritum nova parturiendi hätte und der unverschämt genug wäre, andern zu plundersn, wenn er selbst keine nova finden könne.”

<sup>974</sup> Cf. Nat., *De studie van de Oostersche talen in Nederland*, p. 71.

Schultens' key ideas in his *Beurtheilung der Mittel* (1758), even regretting that Michaelis managed to preserve his scholarly reputation.<sup>975</sup>

#### 10.1.4 Van Waenen

Cornelis van Waenen (d. 1797) qualifies as an important member of *Schola Schultensiana*, despite not pursuing an academic career after completing his studies at Leiden University. Instead, he served as a Reformed Church minister in South Holland (Noordeloos and Maassluis). He matriculated at Leiden as a student of theology in December 1750, and eight years later, in the middle of February 1759, he submitted his *Specimen philologicum de linguae Hebraeae pomoeriis ampliandis*, “Philological proof for broadening the boundaries of Hebrew” under the chairmanship of Jan Jacob Schultens. The treatise, which comprises 107 pages, can be described as a theorization in which the core principles and key concepts of Schultens' programme of Hebrew philology are explained and contextualized against the backdrop of other early modern linguistic theorists, such as Le Clerc, Löscher, Ravius<sup>976</sup> Buxtorf the Elder, and Salomon Glassius. His thesis was republished in *Sylloge dissertationum philologico-exegeticarum*, vol. 2, 1775, pp. 719–810.

The author's guiding ideas are that Ancient Hebrew was a rich language according to the principle of natural rhetoric, based on a simple, certain, and stable regularity (*analogia*), and that this richness enabled usage to be semantically precise, syntactically clear, and rhetorically embellished. Van Waenen, in this way, responds to Le Clerc's opinion in the treatise *De lingua Hebraica* (1693) that Hebrew was inherently ambiguous and obscure due to its lexical poverty.<sup>977</sup> Le Clerc had assessed the number of Ancient Hebrew roots based on the literary remains in the Hebrew Bible, but Van Waenen argues that it should be calculated according to the lexical copiousness of the common ancestor from which Hebrew grew, along with Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Samaritan. These “dialects” can be used to extend the boundaries of “the Hebrew dialect”, despite their differences in phonology, semantics, and syntax. This is demonstrable in the three parts of speech in Hebrew grammar: nouns, verbs, and particles.

Van Waenen goes on to discuss triliterality as the original morphological structure of the Hebrew root. This “architectonic simplicity” is established solely on the basis of Hebrew and its cognate dialects. Thus, Caspar Neumann's hypothesis of an original Hebrew biradicalism is refuted. However, Van Waenen also subscribes to Schultens' contention that Ancient Hebrew had no co-occurrence restrictions in forming triconsonantal roots.

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<sup>975</sup> Beckmann, “Dagboek”, p. 382: “Er besorgte, dasz Michälis famae et laudis superstes seyn möchte [...]”.

<sup>976</sup> Considering the fact that Schultens only once referred to Christian Ravius, it is worth noticing that Ravius is referred to and quoted several times. See Van Waenen, *De linguae Hebraeae pomoeriis ampliandis*, Leiden 1759, pp. 7, 8, 13, 17, 28, 33

<sup>977</sup> Van Waenen, *De linguae Hebraeae pomoeriis ampliandis*, pp. 2–5.

The principle of triliterality was not due to the perfection of the trinary number, as Johann Andreas Danz believed, nor to the representation of the mystery of God's Trinity, as Pagninus and Ravius<sup>978</sup> supposed, but rather to "the sufficiency of the principle for forming an ample and powerful language".<sup>979</sup> In addition, van Waenen attempts to refute the arguments of the Swedish Orientalist Johan Engeström in his *Grammatica hebraea biblica* (1733), which support an original biradicalism, on the grounds that the primitive meaning of the root can be linked to the simple idea or concept of the first two radicals.<sup>980</sup> According to picto-semantic principles, this simple idea is conceived as the unity of the two notions associated with each letterform. Van Waenen responds that Engeström confuses various kinds of simplicity: physical simplicity in relation to components (that is, indivisibility), mental simplicity (that is, the simple idea as opposed to the complex), semiotic simplicity (that is, the relationship between the signifier and the signified), and linguistic simplicity (that is, the conformity of language to regularity).<sup>981</sup>

The author gives considerable attention to Schultens' doctrine of stem forms in Hebrew, presenting it in a more analytical and exhaustive manner.<sup>982</sup> Regarding the *niphal* stem form, he shows that the observations on its meanings (i.e. passive, middle voice, reflexive, impersonal, and active) had been anticipated by Buxtorf the Elder (*Thesaurus grammaticus*, 1609), Glassius (*Grammatica sacra*, 1626) and Danz (*Interpres Ebraeo-Chaldaeus*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1694). In discussing other derivative stem forms, he refers to Michaelis' *Beurtheilung* (in Latin *Examen criticum subsidiorum, quibus intermortuae linguae Hebraeae cognitio comparatur*), to present an alternative method of explanation.<sup>983</sup> He also refers to Schultens' treatises, including, interestingly enough, his unpublished Hebrew dictionary.<sup>984</sup>

Furthermore, Van Waenen demonstrated his skill as an Arabist in his edition of the Sayings of Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (AD 597–661), which included linguistic and critical notes and a Latin translation. This was first published in 1806 in Oxford from a manuscript in the University Library of Leiden by

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<sup>978</sup> Ravius, *Orthographiae et analogiae delineatio* (1646), p. 42.

<sup>979</sup> Van Waenen, *ibidem*, pp. 14–18.

<sup>980</sup> Cf. Lutz Edzard, "Biblical Hebrew", in *The Semitic languages: An international handbook*, ed. by Stephan Weninger, Berlin 2011, p. 488: "Without engaging in the debate about the diachronic precedence of biradicalism and triradicalism, one can observe that the core semantics of a root often appears to be associated with just two radicals."

<sup>981</sup> Van Waenen, *ibidem*, pp. 19–20.

<sup>982</sup> Van Waenen, *ibidem*, pp. 33–64.

<sup>983</sup> Van Waenen, *ibidem*, p. 39.

<sup>984</sup> Van Waenen, *ibidem*, p. 38. In the sale catalogue of the private library of his son, Albertus Jacobus van Waenen, *Bibliothecae Waenianae pars*, Leiden 1827, p. 96, there is an item in five volumes titled "A. Schultens Lexicon Hebraeum a litera א usque ad lit. ו ineditum".



the English Arabist Joseph White and the Dutch scholar Herman Muntinghe.<sup>985</sup>

#### 10.1.5 Scheltinga

Theodorus Scheltinga was a student of Schultens in Franeker, where he enrolled in 1724, and in Leiden, where he matriculated in 1730 and studied for one year. In 1728, he served as respondent in the fourth disputation of *De defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae*. As a Reformed minister in Arum, Frisia, he published a treatise on the sin and punishment of Nadab and Abihu (Lev 10:1–2).<sup>986</sup> After a call to ministry in Arnhem, he wrote a commentary on Habakkuk.<sup>987</sup> The latter work earned him the chair of theology and Oriental languages at Harderwijk in 1751. In his inaugural lecture, Scheltinga restates Schultens' programme for a comparative study of Hebrew. After dismissing methods that rely on specific Jewish traditions or on a kabbalistic decipherment of the biblical text, he discusses the importance of a comparative approach. Citing Schultens, he emphasizes the value of comparative study for six reasons:

- It confirms the accuracy of the Jewish understanding of the grammar and synchronic semantics of the Hebrew Bible.
- It confirms the antiquity of the Masoretic vocalization.
- It restores knowledge of lost roots and hidden meanings of Ancient Hebrew, which only survive as goods “from a shipwreck” (*tanquam ex naufragio*). This especially concerns the semantic change that the original meaning has undergone through metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche.
- It restores the morphological regularity (*analogia grammatica*) of Ancient Hebrew.
- It confirms the authenticity of the transmitted consonantal text and safeguards it from criticism of corruption or uncertainty, because it reveals that the marginal notes of the qere reflect that the Masoretes did not fully understand a particular word, meaning, or form, or were unfamiliar with the spelling.
- It contributes to a better understanding of obscure words and phrases that have not been clarified in common translations, and it helps in understanding words for clothing, animals, and plants that are uncertain in the Jewish tradition.<sup>988</sup>

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<sup>985</sup> Van Waenen, *Sententiae Ali ibn Abi Talebi Arabice et Latine. Ex codicibus manuscriptis descripsit. Latine vertit et annotationibus illustravit Cornelius van Waenen*, Oxford 1806 (428 pages). Cf. Nat, *De studie*, pp. 81 f.

<sup>986</sup> Scheltinga, *De fato Nadabi et Abihu libellus singularis*, Harlingen 1742.

<sup>987</sup> Scheltinga, *Commentarius in Habacucum prophetam philologico-theologicus*, Leiden 1747.

<sup>988</sup> Scheltinga, *Oratio inauguralis pro promovenda Sacri Hebraei Codicis maiestate externa ope et auxilio dialectorum Orientalium*, Harderwijk 1751, pp. 23–31.

Between 1759 and 1763, Scheltinga carried out the third principle above by restoring lost Hebrew roots from Arabic in a lexicographical work titled *Manuale Lexicon Hebraicum*, which remains unpublished. It comprises words from א ('ālef) through ז (šade) in four volumes, spanning 1557 leaves. The manuscript is still extant in the Allard Pierson Heritage Institute of the University of Amsterdam.<sup>989</sup>

#### 10.1.6 Schroeder

The German Orientalist Nicolaus Wilhelm Schroeder was one of the most prominent advocates of the Schultensian school. For most of his career, he was active at the University of Groningen. He held the chair of Oriental languages for fifty years, from 1748 until 1798, and contributed to the propagation of Schultens' programme of Hebrew philology at the University of Groningen. For his inaugural lectures, he chose topics close to those treated by Schultens. In Marburg in 1743 and 1745, first as an extraordinary and then as an ordinary professor of Oriental languages, his opening lectures dealt with the ancient origins of Arabic and its close kinship with Hebrew, the reasons for gaps in knowledge of Biblical Hebrew, and the best method for removing them. When he took up the chair of Oriental languages and Greek in Groningen in 1748, he lectured on the foundations of solid knowledge of Hebrew.<sup>990</sup>

Accordingly, when Schroeder enrolled at Leiden University on 29 May 1744, he had already specialized in Arabic. The reason for his sojourn in Leiden was Schultens' renown, to whose comparative and Arabicizing method of Hebrew etymology he fully subscribed. During his half-year stay, he completed his philological commentary on Isaiah 3:16–24, *De vestitu mulierum Hebraearum*, "On the luxury dressing of Jerusalem women", in which he used the same classical Arabic sources as Schultens. According to Carl Siegfried, this treatise stands at the peak of Semitic linguistics of the time.<sup>991</sup> Schroeder also became acquainted with Schultens, who praised his learned work in a preface dated 31 October 1744.

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<sup>989</sup> Scheltinga, *Manuale Lexicon Hebraicum deperdita verborum in Bibliis themata ex dialecto Arabica restituens* has the shelfmark VI C 11–14. It is briefly described by Maurits B. Mendes da Costa, *Catalogus der Handschriften*. Vol. 2: *De Handschriften de Stedelijke Bibliotheek met de latere Aanwinsten*, Amsterdam 1902, p. 7, no. 37. For this reference, I am indebted to Klaas van der Hoek, curator of manuscripts. Cf. Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen*, p. 82.

<sup>990</sup> The Latin titles of these orations are in chronological order: *Programma academicum de antiqua linguae Arabicae origine et hinc fluente intima eius cum Hebraea consanguinitate*; *Oratio de causis defectuum, quibus hodierna linguae Hebraeae cognitio laborat optimaque eas tollendi ratione* (unpublished); and *Oratio de fundamentis, quibus solida linguae Hebraeae cognitio superstruenda*.

<sup>991</sup> *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 32, 1891, p. 525: "Die Arbeit steht auf der Höhe der damaligen semitischen Sprachwissenschaft". Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen*, p. 75, quotes Siegfried's eulogy in extenso.

Schroeder assumed the task of revising Schultens' *Institutiones ad fundamenta* on the basis of his own practice of teaching Hebrew grammar. In the preface to his amended edition, Schroeder describes the differences and changes in his work compared with Schultens'. He changed the presentation method to make it easier for beginners to understand. In particular, he added observations on Hebrew syntax that Schultens did not treat at all. He praises Schultens for having shed new light on Hebrew grammar, especially on its morphological regularity (*analogia*) as opposed to its alleged inclination to irregularity (*anomalía*). He considers the principle of regularity, *analogia*, a prerequisite for a valid restoration of Ancient Hebrew grammar, but still thinks that Schultens' presentation is not appropriate for the public teaching of beginners because it contains too much information and is excessively theoretical. He still follows Schultens' principle of morphological regularity, but presents it in a briefer, more concise, and clearer way. He deviates from Schultens by embracing the medieval Hebrew-Arabic grammatical tradition in addressing the verb before the noun, arguing that the reverse order most likely reflects the influence of the Greco-Latin grammatical tradition.<sup>992</sup>

Schroeder also developed the practice of Hebrew etymology in a series of dissertations titled *Disputatio philologica exhibens observationes selectae ad origines Hebraeas* (1755–1760), which he published in one volume in Groningen in 1761 (reprinted in 1762). In the preface to this final edition, he adopts Schultens' programme of semantic and etymological assumptions:

To the loss of those who study ancient languages, the primary meanings (*propriae et primariae notions*) of words have long since been forgotten due to the passage of time and have been replaced by improper and secondary meanings, which do not allow us to understand the inner nature of languages and the precise significance of words. This lack of original meanings is especially evident in the limited remains of Ancient Hebrew, which have been collected, like a shipwreck, into one sacred book. The nature of the primary meanings cannot be sought in the limited corpus of Biblical Hebrew but must be unlocked by the Arabic language as an aid, as the great Schultens has demonstrated.

There still remained etymological obscurities in need of elucidation, and to that end, Schroeder endeavoured to contribute. In doing so, he employed the same sources as Schultens and followed the same method, namely to explain the remaining challenges owing to the uncertainties of previous scholarship, in order to put forth a fresh solution from the indigenous Arabic lexicography and Arabic literary sources, which would prove the validity of

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<sup>992</sup> Schroeder, *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, Groningen 1766, preface, pp. 1–5.

the proposed meaning in the biblical passages, at the same time as it would give a new hermeneutical dimension and permit us to perceive the interplay between proper meanings and metaphors in terms of the impressiveness and beauty of figurative expressions. Sometimes, Schroeder also draws attention to similar semantic developments in Latin by quoting Roman authors, mainly poets. There are occasional references to Schultens' publications, such as *Clavis dialectorum* and the commentaries on the Book of Job and Proverbs. He likely had access to excerpts from a record of Schultens' dictation of his Hebrew dictionary,<sup>993</sup> but did not refer to them explicitly.

Schroeder lectured on Genesis, the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Major and Minor Prophets. Records of his dictation are extant at Utrecht UB and at Amsterdam University's Allard Pierson heritage collections.<sup>994</sup>

#### 10.1.7 *Verschuir*

Schroeder had talented students, the most prominent of whom was Johannes Henric Verschuir (1735–1803).<sup>995</sup> In 1756, he defended a thesis on Hebrew etymology, *Disputatio philologica exhibens observationes selectas ad origines Hebraeas*, and one year later, he submitted *Disputatio philologica exhibens observationes miscellaneas in selecta S. S. loca*. Both were likely written by Schroeder as chairman. In his inaugural lecture as professor of Oriental languages in Franeker ten years later, Verschuir maintains that Hebrew language studies were innovated by Albert Schultens and refutes objections against Schultens' alleged overuse of Arabic.<sup>996</sup> He argues that the commonly known meanings of words are confirmed only when Arabic is used for comparison, and that newly discovered meanings can be applied aptly to biblical passages. Schultens' principles of etymology imply that monosemy gives rise to polysemy: the primary meaning is originally single, while many secondary meanings arise from semantic change, which may differ or even seem contradictory. By knowledge of the original meaning, the secondary meanings can be brought into order. Since the original meaning is generally less common than the secondary meanings, the related languages must be consulted. These, Verschuir concludes, are the unshakable foundations that Schultens laid for etymology.<sup>997</sup> However, the method can be misused, he admits, if primary meanings are applied to

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<sup>993</sup> See *Pars altera Bibliothecae Schroederianae*, Groningen 1834, p. 10, no 89: "Excerpta quaedam, ex Lexico Schultensiano descripta. Cont[inet] pag[inas] 536".

<sup>994</sup> See P.A. Thiele, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae Universitatis Rheno-Trajectinae*, Utrecht and The Hague 1887, pp. 153–156 (MS 492–MS 526), and J. Hellendorn, *Catalogus der Handschriften*, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1899, pp. 312–313 (MS 639–648).

<sup>995</sup> Cf. Nat, *De studie van Oostersche talen*, pp. 79–80.

<sup>996</sup> Verschuir, *Oratio inauguralis de interpretatione S.S. Veteris Testamenti grammatica*, Franeker 1767, pp. 19–28.

<sup>997</sup> Verschuir, *Oratio inauguralis*, pp. 27–28 and 30.

biblical passages without distinction and regard for the genres – historical prose, poetry, and prophetic orations.<sup>998</sup> He refers to Michaelis’ review of Schultens’ shortcomings but thinks Schultens is excusable, as he was seized by the pioneer’s eagerness.<sup>999</sup> Finally, he argues that an Orientalist may gain much from knowledge of Greek and Latin when exploring Hebrew grammar and etymology.<sup>1000</sup>

Other prominent students of Schroeder were Dideric Adrian Walraven (1732–1804) and Herman Muntinghe (1752–1824).<sup>1001</sup>

#### 10.1.8 Scheidius

Everard Scheidius (1742–1794) was a pupil of Schroeder in Groningen.<sup>1002</sup> In 1763, under Schroeder’s chairmanship, he submitted a thesis presenting etymological observations on selected Old Testament passages.<sup>1003</sup> In 1767, he was appointed professor of Oriental languages at the University of Harderwijk, and two years later also professor of Old Testament interpretation. He published Ibn Durayd’s Arab poems (1768), al-Jawharī’s Arabic dictionary (1774–1776), Arabic proverbial sayings, including a part of al-Maydani’s proverbs (1779), and Ibn Durayd’s short lyric poems, *Qaṣīda al-Maqṣūr* (*Idyllium Arabicum*, 1786). In 1772, he compiled his recent academic dissertations on Hebrew etymology into a single volume, *Observationes etymologicae*.<sup>1004</sup> In the preface to his incomplete Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic dictionary (‘āleḥ through nūn), *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum manuale in codicem sacrum Veteris Testamenti*, published in two volumes in Utrecht, 1805–1810,<sup>1005</sup> Scheidius describes how he conformed to Schultensian principles in his lexicography by placing the primary meaning first in every entry, and agrees with Schultens’ eighteen etymological principles (in his *Via vetus et regia Hebraizandi*).

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<sup>998</sup> Verschuur, *ibidem*, pp. 30–31. “Abutuntur Schultensiana methodo, qui primarias vocum significationes omnibus promiscue locis sine discrimine applicant.”

<sup>999</sup> Verschuur, *Oratio inauguralis*, p. 35.

<sup>1000</sup> Verschuur, *Oratio inauguralis*, pp. 37–38.

<sup>1001</sup> Nat, *De studie van Oostersche talen*, pp. 81f. Walraven succeeded Henric Albert Schultens to the chair of Oriental languages in Amsterdam in 1779. As a professor, he built on the foundations laid by Alb. Schultens and N.W. Schroeder. Muntinghe taught dogmatics, hermeneutics, and biblical exegesis as professor of theology in Harderwijk (1781–1798) and Groningen (1799–1822). His magnum opus was a history of humankind (*Geschiedenis der menschheid naar den Bijbel*, 1801–1819).

<sup>1002</sup> Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen in Nederland*, p. 83.

<sup>1003</sup> Scheidius, *Dissertatio ad quaedam Veteris Testamenti loca*, Groningen 1763.

<sup>1004</sup> Scheidius, *Observationes etymologicae, quibus primaevae linguae Hebraeae stirpes una cum praecipuis propaginibus suis strictim explicantur*, “Etymological observations, in which primordial roots of the Hebrew language are concisely explained together with their main derivatives”, Zutphen 1772.

<sup>1005</sup> Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen in Nederland*, pp. 86–87.

#### 10.1.9 Henric Albert Schultens

Henric Albert Schultens (1749–1793), the son of Jan Jacob Schultens, developed the method of the school to which he belonged by birth and education. Inspired by distinguished English Orientalists such as Benjamin Kennicot, Robert Lowth, and William Jones, all of whom he met in Oxford during his educational journey in 1772, He supplemented the philological method by incorporating considerations of textual criticism and literary aesthetics. He also revised his grandfather's method by making it clearer in his lectures, correcting its flaws, and opposing the excessive pursuit of Hebrew etymology and a strictly literal approach to translation.<sup>1006</sup> Between 1773 and 1778, Henric Albert held the chair of Oriental languages at the *Athenaeum Illustre* of Amsterdam, where his predecessors, Cornelis Hugo Vonck and Willem Koolhaas, had introduced the Schultensian programme of Hebrew philology.<sup>1007</sup>

In 1778, Henric Albert succeeded his father to the chair of Oriental languages and the position of interpreter of the Warner Collection of Arabic manuscripts. In his inaugural speech on the history and state of Arabic studies in the Netherlands, he discusses Albert Schultens' dependence on classical philology, showing how it influenced his grandfather's theory and practice of Hebrew studies. He states that Albert Schultens:

- (1) compared the style of the biblical poets with that of Greek epic and dramatic authors such as Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, and Euripides, who are distinguished by an elevated style comparable to Oriental poetry, in order to elicit and illustrate the abstruse meanings of biblical words and phrases,
- (2) studied ancient Latin prose authors to learn a pure style, to improve his own factual Latin prose, and to expand his vocabulary, enabling him to translate common Semitic words and phrases more eloquently,
- (3) studied Latin authors of grammar and etymology to lay a basis for comparison when investigating primary and secondary meanings and to obtain a general model for semantic theory<sup>1008</sup>

In preparation for public or private lectures, Henric Albert translated Job 1–28, Psalms, Proverbs, and Isaiah into Latin. He also commented on these books<sup>1009</sup> and expounded Lamentations, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets.<sup>1010</sup>

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<sup>1006</sup> See Theodor Juynboll, *Oratio de Henrico Arentio Hamakero*, pp. 9 and 51–53.

<sup>1007</sup> See Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen in Nederland*, p. 88.

<sup>1008</sup> Henric Albert Schultens, *Oratio de studio Belgarum in literis Arabicis excolendis*, Amsterdam 1779, pp. 40–43.

<sup>1009</sup> Leiden UB, MSS Or. 1481 (Job), Or. 1482 (Psalms), Or. 1483 (Proverbs and critical notes on Ecclesiastes) and Or. 1484 (Isaiah). See Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental manuscripts* [...], vol. 2, Leiden 2007, pp. 155–156.

He planned to translate the entire Old Testament into Dutch, but the only outcome was a translation of Job 1–28, published by Herman Muntinghe.<sup>1011</sup> As an Arabist, he devoted himself to editing Arabic manuscripts, especially Aḥmad ibn Muhammad al-Maydānī's collection of classical Arabic proverbs, with translation and commentary.<sup>1012</sup>

In his views on textual criticism of the Old Testament, Henric Albert took a different stance from that of his grandfather and father, both of whom had defended the integrity of the Masoretic text. In a letter to the Scottish theologian Robert Findley (c. 1789), he declared that he was not averse to questioning the Masoretic text and placed himself between “the boldness of the critics and the scrupulous fear of the anti-critics”.<sup>1013</sup>

As a professor of Oriental languages in Leiden, Henric Albert presented two series of lectures on the history of Hebrew philology in Europe, especially in Western Christianity.<sup>1014</sup> In one of these series (MS Or. 1477), probably delivered in the autumn semester of 1792,<sup>1015</sup> he enquires into Albert Schultens' achievements as a Hebrew comparativist and biblical philologist, offering a historiographical analysis of his theory and method of Hebrew philology. As one of the last great representatives of the Dutch school of Oriental philology, he championed the theoretical innovations of its founder. A fervent advocate of both comparative Hebrew philology and textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Henric Albert fully appreciated the

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<sup>1010</sup> Leiden UB, MS Or. 1485. The British Library holds a volume of dictates mistakenly attributed to Albert Schultens: “Dictata in Prophetas Hoseam, Joelem et Amos”, MS Egerton 719. This record comprises dictates on Hosea (fols. 1r–79r), Joel (fols. 80r–93r) and Amos (fols. 94v–100r). It should be attributed to Henric Albert Schultens' dictation, since it contains references to scholars later than Albert Schultens, for instance, J. D. Michaelis, J. G. Eichhorn, and Johann August Dathe.

<sup>1011</sup> *Het boek Job uit het Hebreeuſch vertaald met aanmerkingen*, Amsterdam 1794.

<sup>1012</sup> He published a sample in London in 1773: *Specimen proverbiorum Meidanii. Ex versione Pocockiana*. A larger collection (450 proverbs out of a total of 4766) was published posthumously: *Meidanii proverbiorum Arabicorum pars*. Leiden 1795.

<sup>1013</sup> H.A. Schultens, Letter to Robert Findley, quoted by J. Kantelaar, in *Lofreden op Henrik Albert Schultens*, Amsterdam 1794, p. 83: “quippe cupio mediam viam sectari inter Criticorum audaciam et Anti-criticorum religiosum timorem”.

<sup>1014</sup> See Leiden UB, MS Or. 1477 and MS Or. 1478. In MS Or. 1477 Henric Albert accounts for the cultivation of Hebrew philology, both among Jewish rabbis (fols. 2r–7r) and among Christian Hebraists after the Reformation (fols. 8r–31r).

MS Or. 1478 consists of eight separate lectures. Lectures 1–2 concern the history of Hebrew philology in the Christian church (pp. 1–45). Lectures 3–5 deal with the utility of Arabic for gaining a better understanding of Biblical Hebrew (pp. 49–99). Lecture 6 addresses the usefulness of Aramaic for the same purpose (pp. 99–113). Lecture 7 treats the poetry of the Oriental peoples (pp. 114–118). Lecture 8 (ten unnumbered pages) deals with Hebrew grammar. In these latter lectures, the ideas of Albert Schultens are discussed only twice in passing: referring to his concept of dialect (p. 73) and to his principle of analogy as opposed to that of anomaly (p. 124).

<sup>1015</sup> For the dating of this academic course, see Appendix 1 below (pp. 366–371).

scholarly challenges and the innovations of his grandfather's work.<sup>1016</sup> These lectures, which are extant in Henric Albert's autograph, qualify as of great value in the history of the reception of Albert Schultens. Below, the sections on the scholarly programme are presented along with some introductory and concluding remarks.<sup>1017</sup>

[1r] In all disciplines that aim at progress and perfection, it is above all useful to study their history and understand how and by what method they have grown from their first beginnings to finally reach their present state. For this reason, I do not need to justify my decision to transmit historical and literary knowledge about the cultivation of the Hebrew language, especially among Christians, after the renewal of language studies. Such knowledge is agreeable and beneficial to all students of this discipline, enabling them to form a correct opinion of the modern method of Old Testament interpretation and paving the way for further progress and for completing what several factors have so far prevented us from accomplishing.

Although there is a great abundance of topics to discuss on this subject, the scarcity of time compels me to be brief. I cannot dwell on individual parts, so I will first briefly touch upon the notable vicissitudes of Hebrew language studies from the Babylonian Captivity to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when Christians essentially began to cultivate these studies. After that, I will thoroughly describe the methods and practices of this cultivation from the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the present. Throughout, I will point out the sources from which richer knowledge and greater illumination of these subjects should be sought.

The vicissitudes of Hebrew, as with every language, are closely connected to those of its native speakers. Ever since the time of Moses, this language has been diligently cultivated and refined. During the flourishing reigns of David and Solomon, and even during the reigns of later kings, in whose time Isaiah, Micah, Amos, Obadiah, Nahum, and Jeremiah lived, it possessed great vigour and honour. Soon after the Babylonian Captivity, when the kingdom was on the verge of destruction and being shaken by serious blows, it began to decline. Thus, the Hebrew language was no longer in use at the time of the final destruction of the commonwealth, and before that time, it had already become extinct,

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<sup>1016</sup> In a letter to Christian Friedrich Schnurrer (29 February 1788), Henric Albert points out that he has "an ardent eagerness to defend Schultensianism" (*ardentius Schultensianismi tuendi studium*), which he thinks is natural for him as a grandson of Albert Schultens, and which he asks the addressee to overlook. See the quotation of the letter by Jacob Kantelaar, in his *Lofreden op Henrik Albert Schultens*, p. 86.

<sup>1017</sup> Leiden UB, MS Or. 1477, fols. 1r, 8r, 25r–29r and 31r. The Latin original is edited in Appendix 1. The English translation below is my own.



leaving nothing to posterity except the few books that form the canon of the Old Testament.<sup>1018</sup> [...]

**[8r]** *On the studies of the Christians in the cultivation of the Hebrew language and literature*

It is publicly known and cannot be denied that Hebrew scholarship and sacred philology are flourishing in our time. This becomes even clearer and more striking when one considers how scanty the knowledge of Hebrew was among Christians from the earliest days until the period just before our own time. Such a comparison will heighten admiration for the advances of our own time. If the reasons for such a conspicuous change are traced, the true reason why we should preserve and defend this glory – nay, rather, why we should further promote it by continuing our studies – will also be better understood. It will therefore be worthwhile to explain more carefully the changes in circumstances that the study of Hebrew among Christians underwent.

**[25r]** Now, from what I have reported so far, everyone will recognize the main impediments that have delayed a sound interpretation of the Old Testament. Truly, as long as the authority of the Jews prevailed, and the guidelines were merely sought in the ancient Bible translations, and as long as the recommended approach to this literature was such that it would be despised in the study of other languages because of its emptiness and arbitrariness, there was certainly much activity, but only little progress in gaining grammatical knowledge of Hebrew and in interpreting the Old Testament based on this knowledge.

Moreover, in this state of affairs, the holy textual criticism – this valuable support for sound interpretation – could not vindicate itself, chiefly because the Jews held a preconceived opinion about the integrity of the Hebrew Bible, as if it were supreme and unimpeachable, and because grammatical knowledge was still unstable and not based on definite and certain principles, without which there can be no genuine criticism.

To the great advantage and benefit of sacred philology, Albert Schultens devoted all his efforts in this century to elucidating the remains of the Hebrew language by comparing it with its neighbouring languages. By his achievements, we can now enter upon an excellently levelled and reinforced path. In order that this may not appear as only my own vague statement, it delights me to show what Albert Schultens specifically

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<sup>1018</sup> Henric Albert Schultens rejected the common opinion of his contemporaries that Hebrew was lost in the wake of the Babylonian Captivity. In the lecture, he traces this opinion back to Jewish tradition, accepted as authoritative by most 16<sup>th</sup>-century Christian Hebraists, and instead argues that it was a question of a gradual change. The Jewish people retained Hebrew as a vernacular long after the Babylonian Captivity, but only the learned had a perfect knowledge of it (Or. 1477, fols. 1r–3r).

accomplished, and what aids and equipment were subsequently added to the pursuit of sacred philology.

At the beginning of this century, when, as a young theologian, Schultens turned his attention to the study of Hebrew, the subject had almost fallen into disrepute and neglect. In our country, Adrian Reland – a talented and erudite scholar – was the only one to defend it significantly. However, he did so by devoting himself in particular to those parts of Hebrew studies – such as sacred geography and the ancient ceremonies and customs of the Jews – that are hardly connected with grammatical interpretation.

**[26r]** In general, the rabbinical school and the Goussetian method of studying Hebrew predominated. Hardly anyone applied Arabic to the study of Hebrew, as Erpenius, Golius, Bochart, Schindler, Hottinger, and Pococke once did. However, encouraged by these examples, Schultens applied himself to studying Arabic in printed sources. Also, being deeply kindled by love for Greek and Latin, he recognized the absurdity of philosophizing about the study of languages, as Gousset did. He also realized that genuine knowledge of Hebrew should be obtained from its cognate languages<sup>1019</sup> rather than from the unreliable and often unreasonable teachings of the Jews.

In his early years, he thus achieved excellent results by comparing several Old Testament passages with Arabic, Syriac, and Aramaic texts. After reaching maturity, he began to derive certain rules of interpretation from these sources to accurately explain them, and, by evident reasons and examples, to demonstrate their efficiency and necessity, thus vindicating them against the envious displeasure of some opponents. Within a few years, no one who wished to be a good interpreter, or to be regarded as such, could conduct an investigation without applying these same rules to it and without drawing on these same principles.

The entire method of the Schultensian doctrine is founded on the following basis and foundation:

The Hebrew language, once commonly considered the primeval and most ancient of all, emerged only after the dispersion of families mentioned in Genesis 11,<sup>1020</sup> and it emerged as a dialect, just like Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic, from the antediluvian primordial language, which, having become extinct long before, left these four daughter dialects behind. Thus, these four dialects are united by a sisterly bond and belong to one and the same language as their

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<sup>1019</sup> The term dialect in the Latin original corresponds, as used by Schultens, to the modern concept of cognate or related language.

<sup>1020</sup> This reference appears to be a mistake for Genesis, chapter 10, on the dispersal of the nations descending from Sem, Ham and Japheth.

common mother, just as Attic, Ionic, Doric, and Aeolic belong to one and the same Greek language.

Moreover, it follows from this principle that the primary meaning of words is one and the same, and common to all, though it subsequently diverges into many disparities, according to the specific nature and character of each dialect. For this reason, it is clear that these languages can serve as excellent mutual aids in obtaining the primary meaning and establishing it in a probable way. This principle, being generally valid, serves a prominent role in illustrating the remains of the Hebrew language, which are scarce and tiny, for nothing of its linguistic richness remains except the books of the Old Testament. Within these narrow limits, how better can the meaning of words, particularly the infrequent ones, [27r] be clarified than through the dialects that stem from one and the same origin? This is especially true of Arabic, a cognate language, which, unlike the other dialects, remains living and vigorous to the present day, encompassing all that richness. Indeed, if only a single book of the Dutch language remained, would any person of sound mind hesitate to turn to the related German language to explain the usage encountered in this surviving book? And yet Arabic differs no more, not to say less, from Hebrew than German differs from Dutch.

Now this plain approach, which was not permitted to be pursued due to deference to the Jews, was eventually declared worthy of being pursued by one or two insightful scholars. However, as they failed to free themselves of the superstitious belief in the holiness of the Hebrew language, which obstructed their path like a thorny hedge, they attracted no followers. In fact, they soon returned to their Jewish teachers, the keepers and guardians of their own holy language.

Having removed this obstacle, Schultens proceeded to use the related dialects most successfully not only to elucidate single passages in the Old Testament but also in his general grammatical teaching, which he learnt to illustrate and lay down by means of the grammatical teaching of the Greeks and Romans.

If Albert Schultens had not been endowed with knowledge of Greek and Latin from an early age, a study he pursued without interruption throughout his life, he would not have been able to achieve what he did or to establish his new doctrine so firmly with suitable explanations. He lit his candle from the torch of the Greeks and Romans, and when he observed that the main reason for the confused state of Hebrew studies was the lack of a reliable and consistent analogy [that is, morphological regularity], according to which the entire system could be expounded, he restored this analogy from the neighbouring dialects and eliminated

innumerable anomalies from “technical grammar”,<sup>1021</sup> which serves the duty of explaining the forms of words, but which had been locked up and encumbered by anomalies. He then moved beyond this field, turning to the dialects to find out the meanings of words, explore their origins, and, as it were, examine, by a genealogical manual, how some meanings always originate from others according to the innate particular character of each nation and the common nature **[28r]** of all languages.

What could illuminate more clearly how useful this investigation is for the proper study of ancient languages than the similar efforts so successfully undertaken by Hemsterhuis and Valckenaer in the Greek language and literature? The comparison of dialects is no less useful for explaining the exact meaning of entire phrases, discerning and assessing idiomatic phrases, and above all, clarifying the true meaning of figures of speech, particularly the loftier ones that are characteristic of the Orient.

In the art of grammar, there is accordingly no part that is not illustrated by this scholar’s teaching. Subsequently, several others succeeded in doing the same, refining the presentation in both general and particular respects. Among them, Schroeder is the most prominent. Like Schultens, he is very skilled in interpreting the Old Testament, and through his fruitful combination of Greek and Latin with the study of Oriental languages, he has improved the knowledge of Hebrew in particular by contributing to the clarity, brevity, certainty, and perfection of its grammatical rules. This merit pertains not only to the elementary teaching, but all the more to the entire character of the language, the syntax of which, as is well known, was explained by him so beautifully and so exactly.

Furthermore, the success of the Schultensian doctrine in our time has increased the reputation of the art of criticism, which had been harassed and gainsaid everywhere by dreadful hatred. This may seem strange to those who know how reluctant Albert Schultens was, according to the practice of his time, to exercise the art of textual criticism. Though this is true indeed, it is not difficult to explain. What was it that so far had suppressed this art? Of course, it was the vain Jewish boast of the holiness and divine origin of Hebrew. Almost all Christians followed the Jews in this assertion. It was argued that, since this language is preserved in the books of the Old Testament, these books were spared the common fate of other books and did not suffer any fault or corruption, despite being copied thousands of times. Schultens overturned this opinion about holiness, but only to facilitate the study of grammar. At the same time, he removed the main cause of the hateful harassment that had restrained critics from practising this art.

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<sup>1021</sup> Presumably, this is the same thing as positive grammar, which treated phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax and prosody (Section 3.2.1, p. 56).

[29r] Once the Jewish superstition had vanished among the Christians and anyone believing Hebrew to be holier than New Testament Greek was ridiculed, the art of criticism quickly began – as if through a widely opened door – to occupy the realm of Old Testament studies by the same principles and conditions as those that had been introduced to New Testament studies almost unnoticed.<sup>1022</sup> The art of criticism first emerged about forty years ago through Houbigant, whose splendid edition of *The Hebrew Bible along with critical notes and a Latin translation* was published in Paris in 1753. However, the unskilfulness of this scholar, combined with his boldness and thoughtlessness, attracted few followers.

[31r] I have said enough to show that Hebrew language studies are flourishing in our time and that those who wish to pursue them can follow a prepared and easy path. Accordingly, accept me as ready and willing to lead you on this path and to guide your steps faithfully along it. My official duty commands me to do that.

These lectures, here partially translated, give a clue to the possible impact of Henric Albert's observations on Sir William Jones' ideas about the common historical descent of the Indo-European languages. Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher argued that Jones was influenced by Albert Schultens' ideas about the kinship of Semitic languages as being descended from a common source. With reference to Sir William Jones, he states:

In general, I have not found any comment on this topic in books related to this discipline, but it seems to me that in his discovery, it helped him to know the Semitic languages. Not only did he know Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic, as stated above, but he also corresponded with H. A. Schultens, the grandson of A. Schultens, who, as stated above [p. 69], managed to discover the close kinship among the different Semitic languages. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Jones was aware of this opinion of the elder Schultens, at least through his grandson, and that this opened his eyes to the same kinship among Indo-European languages. This hypothesis requires thorough elucidation.<sup>1023</sup>

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<sup>1022</sup> Henric Albert does not mention any specific work, but he probably had in mind Wettstein's and Griesbach's critical editions of the Greek New Testament. Johann Jakob Wettstein's edition of *Textus receptus*, published in Amsterdam, 1751–1752, presented a collection of manuscript variants, earlier editions, ancient translations, and patristic sources: *Novum Testamentum Graecum editionis receptae cum lectionibus variantibus codicum manuscriptorum, editionum aliarum, versionum et patrum* [...], 2 vols. Johann Jakob Griesbach's edition *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Halle, 1774–1775, 2 vols., presented an emended text based on a grouping of manuscripts into Western, Alexandrian and Constantinopolitan textual witnesses.

<sup>1023</sup> Kutscher, תולדות מחקר הלשון העברית על רקע הבלשנות הכללית, vol. 2, Jerusalem 1970, p. 78 (part of ch. 8). This is my English translation of the Hebrew original.

Kutscher was unable to fully substantiate his suggestion because he apparently had no access to Schultens' published and unpublished writings from 1737 to 1749. However, some circumstances lend credibility to Kutscher's idea. In his diary notes from his stay in England (September 1772–May 1773), Henric Albert was probably correct in noting that Sir William Jones was motivated to devote himself to Arabic after reading the anthology of old Arabic poetry published by Albert Schultens. In his fourth anniversary discourse on the Hindus (1787), Jones acknowledges his indebtedness to Arabic scholarship in Leiden, *inter alia*, by referring to Albert Schultens' publication of a few *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī and "Ancient memorials of Arabia" (*Monumenta vetustiora Arabiae*, 1740). After taking up the chair of Oriental languages at the High School (*Athenaeum Illustre*) in Amsterdam in 1773, Henric Albert sent Jones his inaugural lecture,<sup>1024</sup> in which he touches upon Albert Schultens' principle of elucidating Biblical Hebrew through related languages.<sup>1025</sup> Jones had an opportunity to learn more when he visited his correspondent in Leiden in the autumn of 1780, a few years before he departed for India.

#### 10.1.10 Joannes Willmet

Joannes Willmet (1750–1835) was another exponent of the Schultensian school, active before and after the Fall of the Dutch Republic. The son of a merchant in Amsterdam, he studied history and poetry at *Athenaeum Illustre* under Pieter Burman the Younger, but soon, in the autumn of 1767, set off for Harderwijk to learn Oriental languages with Everard Scheidius. In 1772, he continued his education in Leiden under the tutelage of Jan Jacob Schultens.<sup>1026</sup> He displayed a profound knowledge of Arabic in his *Lexicon linguae Arabicae in Coranum, Haririum et vitam Timuri* (1784), where he especially explores the Koran, *al-Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, and Ibn Arabsha's biography of Timur. In its extent and size, this lexicon (824 quarto-sized pages) was more manageable than the four folio-sized volumes of Giggei and the lexicon of Golius (1461 pages in folio). Willmet set two aims: to give the primary meanings of Arabic roots and to elucidate Arabic phrases and proverbial sayings. In this way, he hoped to increase Arabic learning and facilitate the understanding of the Bible.<sup>1027</sup> Willmet benefitted from the

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<sup>1024</sup> John Shore Teignmouth (ed.), *Memoirs of the life, writings and correspondence of Sir William Jones*, London 1805, appendix, letter no. XXV, p. 450.

<sup>1025</sup> Henric Albert Schultens, *Oratio de finibus literarum orientalium proferendis*, Amsterdam 1774, pp. 7–10. He argues that it is unnecessary to dwell on this topic, because the learned world unanimously approves of this comparative method, and scholars in the Netherlands, England and Germany successfully pursue it.

<sup>1026</sup> See further Hermannus Bouman, *Geschiedenis van de voormalige hieldersch Hoogeschool en hare hoogleraren*, vol. 2, Utrecht 1847, p. 509.

<sup>1027</sup> Willmet, *Lexicon linguae Arabicae in Coranum, Haririum et vitam Timuri*, Rotterdam 1784, preface, p. V.

support of the leading Dutch Arabists of his time, namely Edward Scheidius, who suggested the enterprise, H.A. Schultens, who favoured the project by reading the proofs, and N.W. Schroeder, who shared his Arabic erudition with Willmet through correspondence.<sup>1028</sup>

Willmet conformed to the Schultensian school in exploring the primary meanings of each root. Yet in the preface, he discusses both the advantages and the pitfalls of etymology. Etymological meanings provide a link (*nexus*) between opposing meanings and offer clues for tracing semantic development and cultural history.<sup>1029</sup> The misuse of etymology in earlier lexicography requires great caution: a meaning that is only particular and not predominant should not be taken as the original meaning, and one should avoid pretending that etymological meanings are reliable and undoubted, since only a tenth or a centesimal deserves such an honour. He makes an exception for etymological meanings confirmed by indigenous Arabic lexicography or cognate dialects. All other etymological meanings should be accepted only as conjectures, even if support is alleged in Arabic authors. On this point, Willmet states that criticism of “the great Schultens” is not unjust but exaggerated. As the innovator of Arabic studies, he made mistakes that are tolerable and excusable. Another misuse is to attribute the original meaning to derived forms, as Gerard Lette did, since words gradually adopt metaphorical and other transferred meanings.<sup>1030</sup>

In explaining the meanings of Arabic words, Willmet generally followed Golius’ Arabic-Latin dictionary, except when it differed from the Arabic authors or their commentators. In his dictionary, he noted: “what is true, or only has the semblance of truth, in the works of Schroeder, the three Schultens, Venema, Hackmann, Lette, and Scheidius, or according to what he has discovered himself”.<sup>1031</sup> Willmet refers to the works of Albert Schultens more than one hundred times, mostly to his commentary on Job and Proverbs and to his notes on the editions of the excerpts from *Hamāsa* (1748) and of the first six books of *al-Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (1731–1740), to *Clavis dialectorum* (1733), and to *Animadversiones philologicae et criticae ad varia loca V.T* (1709).

Willmet succeeded Scheidius to the chair of Oriental languages in Harderwijk in 1794, and in 1804, he took up the chair of Oriental languages at *Athenaeum Illustre* in Amsterdam. In his inaugural lecture titled *Oratio de retinenda antiqua Batavorum in litteris orientalibus gloria*, “Oration on retaining the old glory of the Dutch in oriental learning and letters”, he glorified the Netherlands as the abode of the humanities and as having brought forth a range of eminent scholars ever since the days of Scaliger, Heinsius, and Grotius until the time of Hemsterhuis and Ruhnken. Erpenius

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<sup>1028</sup> Willmet, *ibidem*, pp. IV, XV and XVI.

<sup>1029</sup> Willmet, *ibidem*, p. XII.

<sup>1030</sup> Willmet, *ibidem*, pp. XII–XIV.

<sup>1031</sup> Willmet, *ibidem*, pp. XII.

and Golius initiated the study of the living and rich Arabic language, but their Herculean efforts were unexploited, as long as the study of post-biblical Hebrew was the foremost concern. Albert Schultens, as an eagle-like scholar, restored the joint study of all Oriental languages and, with no less sagacity than Tiberius Hemsterhuis in Greek, explored the regularity of the Hebrew language and the true original meanings of Hebrew words.<sup>1032</sup>

Continuing with an assessment of followers of Schultens, Willmet directs special attention to N.W. Schroeder as an ideal Schultensian scholar, arguing that he combined the qualities of German, Dutch, and French Orientalists from the past and present: Golius', Albert Schultens', and Scheidius' intimate knowledge of languages; Cappel's, Houbigant's, and Kennicott's sense for textual changes; Hunt's and Michaelis' acumen and wide learning; Mendelsson's elegance of translation; Verschuir's and Johan Peter Berg's subtlety of judgement; Schurrer's and Arnold's prudence and liberality; Henric Albert Schultens' and Sebald Rau's elegant diction; Lowth's, Sir William Jones', and Herder's ability to perceive, feel, and express poetical talent; and Eichhorn's heuristic ability and use of an embellished style.<sup>1033</sup>

In 1812, Willmet presented a report on the state of Oriental language studies in the Netherlands to the Royal Dutch Institute. In discussing achievements in the semantics of Biblical Hebrew, he refers to Albert Schultens' *Origines linguae Hebraeae* and *Lexicon originum*.<sup>1034</sup> Willmet possessed a copy of Schultens' Hebrew dictionary in seven volumes.<sup>1035</sup>

#### 10.1.11 Van der Palm

After the Dutch Republic's dissolution in 1795, the Schultensian school endured for another generation. Along with Joannes Willmet, it was represented by Johannes Henric van der Palm (1763–1840), who had studied under Valckenaer, Ruhnken, and Henric Albert Schultens, the last of whom has been characterized as “his favourite instructor, who imbued him with that genuine taste for Oriental languages and literature which was so peculiar to him”.<sup>1036</sup> Van der Palm himself wrote his thesis on Ecclesiastes: *Ecclesiastes philologice et critice illustratus* (1784). It fully conforms to his teacher's philological method, discussing etymological matters in reference to Albert Schultens' relevant publications and providing a critical analysis of the biblical text based on ancient translations and other Semitic languages.

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<sup>1032</sup> Willmet, *ibidem*, pp. 14–15.

<sup>1033</sup> Willmet, *ibidem*, pp. 15 and 41–48.

<sup>1034</sup> Willmet, *Schets van den staat der Oostersche litteratur in Holland in de achttiende eeuw*, 1812, p. 157

<sup>1035</sup> *Bibliotheca Wilmetiana*, Amstelodam 1837, p. 240, manuscripts, no. 92: “[Schultensii, A.] Lexicon orig. Hebraic. 7 tom. s.l.a. nitid.”

<sup>1036</sup> Nicolaas Beets, *Leven en karakter van Johannes Henricus van der Palm*, Leiden 1842, p. 12. In English translation by J. P. Westervelt, *Life and character of J. H. van der Palm*, New York 1865, p. 10 f.



When Van der Palm was appointed to the chair of Oriental languages and antiquities in Leiden, he expressed his gratitude to the Curators of Leiden University as follows: “It will be my endeavour as an alumnus of the Schultensian school and an intimate friend of the most excellent Henric Albert to exhibit at least a faint resemblance of him, as it is reckless to wish to equal his merits”.<sup>1037</sup> After his inauguration as professor in June 1796, Van der Palm bought Henric Albert Schultens’ entire private library.<sup>1038</sup>

In 1799, he left the University to pursue politics, serving on an educational committee in The Hague (1799–1805). In 1806, he resumed his academic career with an appointment to the Leiden chair of sacred literature and eloquence, which soon included the teaching of Oriental languages. In this position, he taught three courses as part of his public teaching: “Hebrew grammar, Hebrew antiquities, and philologico-critical analysis of the books of the Old Testament”.<sup>1039</sup> He preferred to lecture on Old Testament poetry (i.e. Psalms, Job, Song of Songs) and, in doing so, commented on aesthetic features before presenting a grammatical and philologico-critical analysis,<sup>1040</sup> suggesting that he dealt with grammar, etymology, and textual criticism, precisely as in his thesis on Ecclesiastes.

Van der Palm’s teaching method probably facilitated his major project of translating the entire Bible into Dutch. As an able Orientalist with a focus on literary, etymological, and critical aspects of Biblical Hebrew philology, he considered himself qualified for this task. After issuing a prospect in 1816, he set about the enterprise in 1817, finishing the Old Testament in 1822 and the New Testament in 1825.<sup>1041</sup> He also translated the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, completing his translation in 1830. In the preface to his translation of the Pentateuch, he announces his affiliation with the Dutch school of Oriental philology, asserting that, in terms of linguistic knowledge, etymology, and biblical interpretation, it is superior to the German school founded by Michaelis.<sup>1042</sup>

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<sup>1037</sup> Beets, *ibidem*, p. 143 f.: “spondeam recipiamque me Schultensianae disciplinae alumnum atque optimi Henrici Alberti quondam familiarem (cum tanti viri laudes aequare velle temerarium sit) aliquam eius veluti umbram exprimere conaturum.”

<sup>1038</sup> Arnoud Vrolijk, “‘A Sublime Treasure of Pretious Manuscripts’: the Schultens’ legacy in Leiden University Library and the elusive purchase of 1806”, p. 284.

<sup>1039</sup> Beets, *ibidem*, p. 83; in the English translation, p. 79.

<sup>1040</sup> Beets, *ibidem*, p. 83; in the English translation, p. 79.

<sup>1041</sup> The six quarto-sized separate parts were published into one volume in 1825: *Bijbel bevattende alle de boeken des Ouden en Nieuwen Verbonds*, Leyden.

<sup>1042</sup> J.H. van der Palm, *Bijbel, eerste stuk bevattende de vijf Boeken van Mozes: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri en Deuteronomium*, Leiden 1818, preface, p. 28. The passage is quoted by Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen*, p. 100 f. Van der Palm mentions Schultens, Schroeder, Scheidius, A.J. Arnoldi and Muntinghe as representatives of the Dutch school of Orientalism.

## 10.2 The general legacy of Schultens in the Netherlands

### 10.2.1 Elie Luzac the Younger

The anonymous biographer of Schultens – undoubtedly the journalist and publisher Elie Luzac (1721–1796) – refers to Schultens’ theory and method by paraphrasing a passage in the preface to *Excursus primus*:

In a few words, the fundamental principles and truths on which he bases the usefulness and absolute necessity of dialects for the understanding of Hebrew are these:

1. It is beyond dispute that the Ancient Hebrew language is not entirely contained in the holy books written in this language.
2. Many roots and several derived words, which existed when this language was spoken, are no longer to be found in the limited remains of it. Therefore, the search for the greater part of the ancient language in the Holy Scriptures is in vain.
3. We are also in lack of many meanings of words that are necessary to grasp the grace, force, and regularity of this language.
4. One should observe that this lack principally concerns the true and proper meaning of the primitive roots, which are always very rarely found in books and which can only be recovered by a great quantity of ancient literary works.
5. Finally, this lack can only be restored by the study of the Oriental dialects, which have an intimate connection with Hebrew and a common ancestor. It is self-evident that here, as in all other branches of learning, one must proceed with caution and always have before one’s eyes the rules of sensible criticism.<sup>1043</sup>

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<sup>1043</sup> “Essay historique sur les ouvrages de Feu Mr. Albert Schultens”, *Bibliothèque raisonnée*, vol. 44:1, Amsterdam 1750, p. 352. The French original reads: “Voici donc en peu de mots les Principes et les vérités fondamentales sur lesquelles il appuie l’utilité et l’absolue nécessité des Dialectes pour l’intelligence de l’*Hébreu*.”

1. Il est hors de conteste que l’ancienne Langue *Hébraïque* n’est pas toute renfermée dans les seuls Livres Sacrés écrits en cette Langue.

2. Il résulte de-là que plusieurs Racines et plusieurs Mots dérivés, qui avoient lieu lorsque cette Langue se parloit, ne se trouvent plus dans le peu qui nous en reste et qu’ainsi on chercheroit envain dans les Livres Sacrés la plus grande partie de la Langue ancienne.

3. Il nous manque aussi plusieurs significations de Mots nécessaires pour bien saisir la grace, la force, et l’analogie de cette Langue.

4. Il faut remarquer que ce défaut tombe principalement sur la vraie propriété des Racines primitives, qui étant toujours extrêmement rares dans les Livres, ne peuvent se trouver que dans une grande abondance d’anciens monumens.

5. Enfin ce défaut ne peut se réparer que par l’Etude des Dialectes *Orientaux*, qui ont avec l’*Hébreu* une liaison intime et une Mère commune (353), bien entendu qu’ici, comme dans toutes les autres Sciences, il faut marcher avec prudence et avoir toujours devant les yeux les règles d’une sage Critique.”

### 10.2.2 Valckenaer and Ruhnken

A student of both Hemsterhuis and Schultens, Lodewijk Caspar Valckenaer and his pupil David Ruhnken (1723–1798) were among the first to comment on the similarity of linguistic approaches between Albert Schultens and Tiberius Hemsterhuis. Since then, Dutch philologists and intellectual historians have paid close attention to the parallels between them in terms of their careers and linguistic ideas.<sup>1044</sup>

Some further remarks on Hemsterhuis' course of life are accordingly appropriate. Having enrolled at the University of Groningen on 25 August 1698,<sup>1045</sup> he studied philosophy, mathematics, Greek, and Hebrew for three years. After matriculating at Leiden University on 30 September 1702,<sup>1046</sup> he followed the classical philologist Jacob Perizonius' lectures on eloquence for two years.<sup>1047</sup> In 1704, he was appointed professor of philosophy and mathematics at *Athenaeum Illustre* of Amsterdam, where he remained until 1720, when he assumed his professorship of Greek in Franeker. After twenty years, he took up the same chair in Leiden.

In 1743, Valckenaer writes in his *Observationes academicae*:

I will confine myself to some general observations pertaining to the exploration of the origins of Greek. I will only spread sparks; I will solely point to the path and speak with little pretension, but I will, to some extent, broaden the path shown by Hemsterhuis and Schultens. This path

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<sup>1044</sup> Notably Nicolaas van Kampen, *Beknopte Geschiedenis der Letteren en Wetenschappen in de Nederlanden*, vol. 2, The Hague 1822, p. 281. Referring to Schultens and Hemsterhuis, he states: “Beiden waren stad-, tijd- en ambtgenooten, zoowel te *Franeker* als te *Leyden*. Beiden baanden zich een’ nieuwen weg ter beoefening dier twee talen, waarin de oorkunden van onzen Godsdienst zijn opgesteld, en beiden op dezelfde wijs door de *Analogie*. Hemsterhuis bewees de overeenkomst van het *Latijn* met het *Grieks*, Schultens die van het *Arabisch* met het *Hebreeuws*.” Cf. Jan Gerard Gerretzen, *Schola Hemsterhusiana: de herleving der Grieksche studien aan de nederlandsche universiteiten* [...], Nijmegen & Utrecht 1940, pp. 112 and 276–278, and Jan Noordegraaf, “Dutch philologists and general linguistic theory: Anglo-Dutch relations in the eighteenth century”, Vivien Law and Werner Hülsen (eds.), *Linguists and their diversions. A Festschrift for R. H. Robins on his 75<sup>th</sup> birthday*, Münster 1996, section 4.1. Irene Zwiép, “Schultens, Albert”, in *Lexicon grammaticorum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., p. 1365, maintains that both shared an insistence on the importance of historical etymology, but while Hemsterhuis attempted to reconstruct the forms of Greek words, Schultens focused on reconstructing the primary meanings of Hebrew words. In his autobiography (*Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 124), Reiske argues that Schultens and Hemsterhuis, as bosom friends, developed the same etymological method for Arabic and Greek.

<sup>1045</sup> *Album studiosorum Academiae Groninganae*, Groningen 1915, p. 44.

<sup>1046</sup> *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugdono-Batavae*, p. 772.

<sup>1047</sup> Gerretzen, *Schola Hemsterhusiana*, p. 83.

will be turned into a highway to discover the origins of Greek, to find the almost elusive primitive roots, to establish the proper meaning of words, separate from the figurative and metaphorical meanings, and to repair the deficiencies of the dictionaries we hold in our hands.<sup>1048</sup>

But what we wish for the Greek language, the excellent Albert Schultens has already achieved for the Hebrew language in many published works. What the envious crowd detracted from him during his lifetime, honour will restore to him after his death, in double measure.<sup>1049</sup>

In his eulogy on Tiberius Hemsterhuis, the classical scholar David Ruhnken argues that Hemsterhuis, reasoning by analogy,

explored primitive verbs consisting of two or three letters and their natural meaning; moreover, he reduced all the forms and inflections to a system, extracted secondary and later meanings from the primary ones, and exhibited not only their kinship but also their development.<sup>1050</sup>

After that, he declares:

What Hemsterhuis, by the light of analogy, introduced into the study of Greek, his fellow citizen, coeval, co-pupil, colleague, friend, and sole defender of the scholarship that he represented as a professor, Albert Schultens, at the same time, brought into Oriental languages.<sup>1051</sup>

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<sup>1048</sup> Valckenaer, *Observationes academicae, quibus via munitur ad origines Graecas investigandas*, edited posthumously by Everard Scheidius in Utrecht in 1790, pp. 6–7: “Itaque nos tantum dabimus observata, quae quidem ad origines Graecas investigandas pertinent generaliora. Nos tantum scintillas spargemus. Nos tantum semitam ducemus, sive ut minus ambitiose loquar, semitam ab Hemsterhusio et Schultensio monstratam nonnihil dilatabimus; quae semita postea erit via facienda ad origines Graecas detegendas, ad primitiva paene fugitiva reprehendenda, ad propriam vocum significationem a figuratis et metaphoricis discretam constituendam, ad lexicorum, quae in nostris manibus versantur, resarciendos nonnullos defectus.”

<sup>1049</sup> Valckenaer, *Observationes academicae*, p. 258: “Quod autem nos in lingua Graeca desideramus, id in Hebraea, multis voluminibus editis, praestare adgressus est idem vir excellentissimus, Albertus Schultensius — cui quoque, quod vivo detraxerit invida turba, post obitum duplici foenore reddet honos.”

<sup>1050</sup> Ruhnkenius, *Elogium Tiberii Hemsterhusii*, Leiden 1768, pp. 17–18 (§ 41): “Huius analogiae tanquam filo ductu simplicissimas verborum formas, quae binis tribusve literis constarent, et una cum iis natas significationes indagavit, formas omnes et flexiones ad certam rationem revicavit, ex primariis notionibus secundarias et consequentes elicit, earumque non solum cognationem, sed etiam migrationes ostendit, commentitias anomalias, quibus grammatici omnia perturbassent expolit.”

<sup>1051</sup> Ruhnkenius, *ibidem*, p. 18, § 42: “Etenim quod analogiae lumen Hemsterhusii linguae Graecae, id eodem tempore Orientalibus intulit Hemsterhusii civis, aequalis,

### 10.2.3 Bruckner

In his controversy with the English linguist John Horne Tooke (1736–1812,<sup>1052</sup> the Dutch scholar John Bruckner (1726–1804)<sup>1053</sup> invokes the principle of regularity in Schultens' works. With reference to the function of the definite article, Bruckner states:

According to the very learned Schultens, the energy of the article is nowhere more conspicuous than in the Oriental languages. [...] Is it possible that the *incredibilis vis et elegantissima brevitatis* here ascribed to the article are the result of a mere desire of dispatch in the communication of thoughts? And should we not look out for a more regular cause in the production of this effect?

I quote here Professor Schultens, because he was an excellent judge in those matters, and to convince you of it, I shall adduce but one proof. Long before you thought of it, that is about sixty years ago, he had laid it down as a fact that: "Grammarians had all along mistaken the road which leads to the proper explanation and etymology of particles" [...]. And immediately after comes a long string of Hebrew adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions which he proves to be no more than nouns in that language.<sup>1054</sup>

Mr. Schultens adheres to this plan in all his writings. He endeavours everywhere to banish from the theory of languages all notions of mystery, all kinds of anomalies, and to account for the nature of every part of speech by bringing it as near as possible to its first origin.<sup>1055</sup>

### 10.3 The legacy of Schultens in Germany

Schultens' theory and practice of Hebrew philology, including his new classification of Semitic languages, spread across Central, Western, and Northern Europe. The first stage of the historical reception dates back to Schultens' lifetime and was promoted through personal encounters between him and foreign scholars. This section explores Schultens' impact on Hebrew philology in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Germany.

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condiscipulus, collega, amicus, unicus literarum, quas profitebatur, vindex, Albertus Schultensius."

<sup>1052</sup> John Horne Tooke published *Epea Pterontea, or Diversions of Purley*, in 1786.

<sup>1053</sup> For most of his life, Bruckner served as a pastor of the Walloon congregation of Norwich, England. For a short period, he appears to have held a pastorate in Leiden, where he associated with Hemsterhuis and Schultens. He was a polyglot, being able to deliver his sermons in Dutch, Latin, French and English. On him, see Jan Noordegraaf, "Dutch philologists and general linguistic theory", section 3.1.

<sup>1054</sup> Bruckner refers to Schultens, *Institutiones*, section VI, § xci and § xcvi.

<sup>1055</sup> Bruckner (who used I. Cassander as a pseudonym), *Criticism of the diversions of Purley in a letter to Horne Tooke*, London 1790, pp. 16–17.

### 10.3.1 Johann David Michaelis

Johann David Michaelis (1717–1792) is generally considered an epoch-making scholar in the history of Hebrew philology.<sup>1056</sup> Approving of Schultens' principles for the semantics and etymology of Biblical Hebrew, he brought about a methodological synthesis of the Schultensian and Halle schools, thus introducing Schultens' approach to Hebrew philology in Germany in a modified form.<sup>1057</sup>

In his autobiography, Michaelis notes that his father, Christian Benedict Michaelis, was his principal teacher in his education as a Semitist. From him, he learnt Biblical Hebrew, Rabbinic Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic.<sup>1058</sup> It is likely that he was also tutored by Johann Simonis (1698–1768),<sup>1059</sup> who at an early stage (c. 1735) was inspired by Schultens to investigate the primary meanings of the Hebrew roots and their derivatives. Michaelis taught Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, and Syriac as a “Privatdozent” in Halle from 1742 to 1745. For the rest of his life, he served as a professor of philosophy in Göttingen (as an ordinary professor from 1750 onwards). He never attained the chair of Oriental languages,<sup>1060</sup> but lectured privately on the subject, focusing in particular on the meanings and etymology of Biblical Hebrew words.<sup>1061</sup> The collected material was finally published in *Supplementa ad lexica Hebraica*, comprising six volumes (Göttingen 1784–1792). According to Johann Christoph Friedrich Schulz (1747–1806), Michaelis learnt from Schultens how to explain Hebrew through its related “dialects”, especially Arabic. Schulz assumed that Michaelis was the first foreigner to spread the Schultensian method outside the Netherlands.<sup>1062</sup>

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<sup>1056</sup> See, for instance, Gesenius, *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, p. 133: “Nach der Schultensischen Periode machte J.D. Michaelis Epoche” [...].

<sup>1057</sup> Loop, “Kontroverse Bemühungen um den Orient”, p. 61, argues that Michaelis' development of Schultens' method can be traced to Reiske's formative impact. However, as will be shown below, Michaelis' adaptation of Schultens' central ideas evidently began some years before Reiske's public criticism of them.

<sup>1058</sup> Michaelis, *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 20. Cf. idem, *Beurtheilung*, p. 261, n. 23.

<sup>1059</sup> Michaelis, *Critisches Collegium* (1758), p. 38, refers to Johann Simonis as his friend and benefactor (“mein werther Freund und Gönner”).

<sup>1060</sup> Michaelis, *Lebensbeschreibung von ihm selbst abgefaßt*, Leipzig 1793 (edited by Johann Matthäus Haffenkamp), p. 43: “Professor der orientalischen Sprachen, wie mich manche genannt haben, bin ich nie gewesen, ob ich sie gleich lehrte.”

<sup>1061</sup> Michaelis, *Critisches Collegium über die drey wichtigsten Psalmen von Christo*, Frankfurt und Göttingen 1759, preface, p. 1, states that he held this course at the request of students who needed a course on the Hebrew lexicon, “Collegium über das hebräische Lexicon”, according to the example of Schultens.

<sup>1062</sup> Schulz, “Bemerkungen über J.D. Michaelis litterarischen Character”, appended to Michaelis, *Lebensbeschreibung* (1793), p. 243: “Von Schultens lernte er das Hebräische aus den noch lebenden Dialecten desselben, besonders aus dem

In his Hebrew grammar, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Halle 1745), Michaelis establishes the rule that the *qal* stem conveys the verb's basic meaning and may also have secondary meanings. In a note, he defines "Grund-Bedeutung" as "the meaning of a word from which all the subordinate and other meanings of its derivatives have arisen".<sup>1063</sup> Without this knowledge, he continues, the beauty of the language is disfigured, its syntactic structure is obscured, and the precise significance of secondary meanings remains uncertain. For further study of this topic, he refers readers to Schultens' *De defectibus* and *Origines Hebraeae*.

Moreover, Michaelis posits that the basic meaning usually designates a thing "that falls under the external senses", that is, something that belongs to external sensation, while meanings that refer to moral matters are merely secondary.<sup>1064</sup> In a note, he justifies this sensationalist assumption by reference to the nature of the communicative process underlying human speech. When inventing new words, material words were chosen, or words falling under the senses, while it seems impossible that moral and other invisible things, like virtue or wisdom, could have constituted the basis for the primitive idea that forms the referent of the word meaning.

Michaelis thus rejected the logical approach to semantics, according to which the primary meaning is general and specific meanings are derived from it, as Stockius had done in *Clavis linguae sanctae Veteris Testamenti* (1717). Ironically, he remarks that only among philosophers and scholars is the primary meaning considered general.<sup>1065</sup>

Next, Michaelis turns to the sources of knowledge of Hebrew words after the language had ceased to be spoken in antiquity: (1) comparison of biblical passages in which the word occurs; (2) conjectures about the primary meaning through comparison of primary words and derivatives; (3) the ancient Jewish tradition of secondary meanings, as assessed from old Bible versions; (4) the use of the word in question in languages related to Hebrew; and (5) investigation of parallel or cognate roots, for instance, verbs with *mediae wāw* or *yōd*, geminated verbs, and verbs with *primae nūn*. Michaelis recommends using these aids together, taking exception to exclusive reliance on one or two possibilities,<sup>1066</sup> a shortcoming attributed to Driessen, who confined himself to the first two options above. After a digression on false sources of knowledge, namely comparison with languages unrelated to Hebrew, the picto-semantic method, and blind faith in the rabbinic

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Arabischen, zu erklären." [...] "Michaelis war der erste Ausländer, der diese Schultensische Behandlungsart des Hebräischen ausserhalb Holland verbreitet hat."

<sup>1063</sup> Michaelis, *ibidem*, p. 102 (§ 72a): "Grund-Bedeutung ist diejenige Bedeutung eines Worts, aus welcher alle dessen und seiner derivatorum übrige Bedeutungen entstanden sind."

<sup>1064</sup> Michaelis, *Hebräische Grammatik*, Halle 1745, pp. 102–103 (§ 72b).

<sup>1065</sup> Michaelis, *Hebräische Grammatik*, p. 103.

<sup>1066</sup> Michaelis, *Hebräische Grammatik*, pp. 104–106.

tradition,<sup>1067</sup> Michaelis acknowledges that he has drawn much of his account from Schultens' *Origines Hebraeae*.<sup>1068</sup>

Such is the first edition of Michaelis' Hebrew grammar (1745). The treatise in which Michaelis exhaustively presented his views on the means of acquiring knowledge of Biblical Hebrew is titled *Beurtheilung der Mittel, welche man anwendet, die ausgestorbene Hebräische Sprache zu verstehen*, "Evaluation of the means that are used to understand the extinct Hebrew language" (365 pages), published in Göttingen in 1757. According to the Orientalist and literary historian Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, this publication was the result of Michaelis' first ten years in Göttingen, during which he studied Schultens' writings. Here, Eichhorn says, we encounter the diligent pupil of Schultens.<sup>1069</sup> Michaelis had made a personal acquaintance with Schultens during his educational travels through the Netherlands and England in the spring of 1741, when he visited him there.<sup>1070</sup> In the preface to *Beurtheilung*, Michaelis indeed refers to Schultens as his master and guide, though he still disguises his dependence on him, since he makes it a matter of principle not to cite previous scholarship in detail.<sup>1071</sup> Nonetheless, at the end of his treatise, he acknowledges that he used the same method as Schultens. Throughout *Beurtheilung*, he relied on Schultens as his primary authority, though he occasionally amended or criticized him.<sup>1072</sup>

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<sup>1067</sup> Michaelis, *Hebräische Grammatik*, pp. 107–108.

<sup>1068</sup> Michaelis, *ibidem*, p. 108: "Siehe von dieser Materie Schultens Origines Heb. T. II, c. I, IV und V aus welchen ich manches von dem hier gesetzt genommen."

<sup>1069</sup> J.G. Eichhorn, "Eichhorns Bemerkungen über J.D. Michaelis litterarischen Character" (which is appended to J.D. Michaelis, *Lebensbeschreibung*), p. 182: "Die ersten zehn in Göttingen verlebten Jahre scheinen ihn hauptsächlich die ächten Quellen der hebräischen Philologie und die Schriften Albert Schultens beschäftigt zu haben. Eine Frucht davon war (A. 1756) seine *Beurtheilung der Mittel*, in welcher man dem fleissigen Schüler Schultens, der mit seinem Lehrer dachte, überall begegnet."

<sup>1070</sup> Michaelis, *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 28: "Unterweges in Holland hatte ich den berühmten Schultens kennen lernen, der mir unter allen holländischen Gelehrten am besten gefiel, auch sehr gütig gegen mich war."

<sup>1071</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, preface, the second page: "Vielleicht wird unter allen diesen keiner sein, mit dem ich so sehr übereinstimme, als mit dem seel[igen] Schultens. Ich habe ihn nicht angeführt, als wenn ich Beispiele besser erläuterter Wörter von ihm borgte, denn ich wolle überhaupt die Schrift nicht durch Anführungen, die nichts aufklärten, verdunkeln oder vergrössern. Ich habe aber viel von ihm gelernt, welches ich gleich zum voraus bekenne, um ja nirgends, wo ich etwas von ihm genommen habe, eines gelehrten Diebstahls schuldig zu werden."

<sup>1072</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, p. 364: "Man wird freilich leicht gewahr werden, daß ich in gewissen Haupt-Sachen eben den Weg erwähle, den Schultens [...] abermahl gangbahr zu machen gesucht hat"; p. 162: Schultens' high regard for Arabic; p. 191: Schultens' principle of an original monosemy; pp. 213–214: Schultens' misuse of transposition in his etymology; pp. 238–239: Schultens' failure to consult Syriac lexicography; pp. 258–262: Schultens' faults in using Arabic for his biblical



At the outset of *Beurtheilung* (§ 4), Michaelis outlines his semantic method. He distinguishes between the basic meaning (“Grund-Bedeutung”) and derived meanings (“abgestammte Bedeutungen”), which arise through metaphor and other forms of semantic change.<sup>1073</sup> Next, he assumes that the basic meaning is not the most common but the rarest, since it is usually lost.<sup>1074</sup> Furthermore, he contends that the basic meaning in every language refers to things belonging to the sense perceptions of external objects<sup>1075</sup> and is consequently very specific.<sup>1076</sup> Only later did referential content develop to designate moral customs, abstract ideas, and invisible things.<sup>1077</sup> The further back the derivations are traced, the simpler the meanings will appear and the more sensory their referents will be.<sup>1078</sup> In Hebrew etymology, it is a mistake to suppose that the basic meaning is general and encompasses the derived meanings, as Samuel Bohle argued.<sup>1079</sup>

Moreover, in his discussion of the semantic differences among the same words in Oriental (that is, Semitic) languages, Michaelis maintains that these different meanings are reducible to a single basic meaning.<sup>1080</sup> He furthermore argues that cognate languages are the best, richest, and most reliable means of getting to the bottom of Biblical Hebrew, and that the still-living Arabic language is the most important among them.<sup>1081</sup> In fact, the Oriental languages are so closely related that they should more accurately be

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interpretation; p. 270: Schultens’ etymology of the root יָשַׁע, in the *hiphil* הִישִׁיעַ; and p. 295: Schultens’ dictation of a Hebrew dictionary and its methodological faults.

<sup>1073</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, pp. 9 f. and 15.

<sup>1074</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, p. 10.

<sup>1075</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, pp. 11 f. “Von den Grund-Bedeutungen der ersten Stamm-Wörter in allen Sprachen ist sehr vermuthlich, da sie Dinge bezeichnet haben müssen, die in die äußern Sinne fallen.”

<sup>1076</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, p. 12: [...] “und da sie Anfangs nicht vieles unter sich begriffen haben, oder daß sie, wie man es nennet, sehr speciell gewesen sind.”

<sup>1077</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, p. 12: “Hatte aber ein Wort erst diese seine in die Sinnen fallende Bedeutung, so konnte man moralische Dinge, abstracte Ideen, und allerley unsichtbaren Sachen, die einen Nahmen gebrauchten und eine Aehnlichkeit mit der Grund-Bedeutung hatten, damit benennen.”

<sup>1078</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, pp. 12 f: “Je weiter wir in der Etymologie der Sprachen zurück gehen, von denen wir einiger maßen etwas vollständiges wissen [...], je einfacher und je sinnlicher werden die Bedeutungen der Worte.”

<sup>1079</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, pp. 13–14: “Die Irrthum selbst ist dieser: man hat gemeint, die Grund-Bedeutung müßte allgemein seyn, und die Neben-Bedeutung unter sich begreifen, daher man diese *speciales* und jene *generalem*, zu nennen pflege.” Michaelis used these semantic assumptions to refute Bohle’s logical semantics, which he designates as an uninformed philosophical philology (diese Unwissenheit der philosophischen Philologie). See *Beurtheilung*, pp. 44–45.

<sup>1080</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, p. 191. Cf. Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, p. 86.

<sup>1081</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, pp. 147 and 154.

considered dialects of a single Oriental language,<sup>1082</sup> and all these dialects should therefore serve as aids to a deeper understanding of Biblical Hebrew.<sup>1083</sup> Agreeing with Pococke, Bochart, Celsius, and Schultens, Michaelis considers Arabic the most reliable language for this field of study.<sup>1084</sup> When evaluating Arabic as an aid, he confines himself to noting that:

No one has praised, defended, and used Arabic as the right means of acquiring knowledge with greater eagerness than the blessed Schultens. I hope that no student of Oriental languages will remain unacquainted with his writings, particularly his *Origines linguae Hebraicae*, which I prefer to most of the others.<sup>1085</sup>

However, Michaelis also notes that he does not agree with everything Schultens has written, arguing that Schultens favoured Arabic at the expense of Aramaic and Syriac<sup>1086</sup> and that it was this preference for Arabic that led him to neglect Ishō‘ bar ‘Alī’s Arabic-Syriac dictionary (from the 10<sup>th</sup> century), although he had access to it in Leiden University Library.<sup>1087</sup>

Michaelis thinks that Schultens’ commentaries on Job and Proverbs exceed the bounds of ordinary biblical exegesis and are hardly worth the time spent reading them because of their verbosity (“Weitläufigkeit”), but if used as dictionaries, they are incomparable,<sup>1088</sup> although some proposed etymologies are based on occasional and conditional transpositions and interchanges of consonants between Arabic and Hebrew.<sup>1089</sup>

Still, Michaelis makes it clear that he does not intend to diminish Schultens or his merits:

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<sup>1082</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, p. 146: “daß diese Sprachen [...] nicht so wohl eigene und besondere Sprachen als vielmehr bloße Dialecten einer und eben derselben weit ausgebreiteten Sprache sind, zu der die Hebräische gleichfalls gehört”; and p. 155: “sie sind im eigentlichen Verstande nur Mund-Arten oder Dialecten einer großen Sprache, die ich in der einfachen Zahl die Morgenländische nennen möchte.”

<sup>1083</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, p. 167.

<sup>1084</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, p. 162.

<sup>1085</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, pp. 258 f.: [...] “sondern nur so viel melden, daß niemand dieses richtige Erkenntniß-Mittel mit grösserem Eifer angepriesen, vertheidiget und gebrauchet hat als der seelige Schultens, von dessen sämtlichen Schriften, sonderlich seinen *Originibus linguae Hebraicae*, als die ich den meisten andern vorziehe, ich wünsche, daß sie keinem Liebhaber der morgenländischen Sprachen unbekannt bleiben mögen.”

<sup>1086</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, p. 155. Cf. p. 210.

<sup>1087</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, p. 234. In fact, there is no single remark based on this dictionary in *Origines Hebraeae* and the commentaries on Job and Proverbs.

<sup>1088</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, pp. 259–260.

<sup>1089</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, pp. 213–214.

My sincere opinion of him is that among his predecessors there might certainly have been some greater Arabists, but that these never can claim equal merits in [the application of] Oriental language erudition, because he demonstrated by so many examples the true use of Arabic for the elucidation of the Bible, and also, at a decisive moment, defended and saved it against the fierce opposition of ignorant people. An impartial love for truth and concerns that his shortcomings may continually grow among those who imitate him have compelled me not to conceal this.<sup>1090</sup>

Michaelis also mentions Schultens in his unpublished treatise *Geschichte der morgenländischen Sprachen*, of which he completed only the first chapter on the oldest language of humankind.<sup>1091</sup> He conceptualizes the character of primeval language, whose main features are said to include onomatopoeic word formations, figurative language based on sensory meanings, and a scarcity or absence of grammatical inflection.<sup>1092</sup> Michaelis also discusses the reasons for linguistic change, which he thinks include different pronunciations of speech sounds, grammatical inflection of words, and the development of new meanings. In expressing his views on the last point, he maintains the same opinion as in his published treatises and states: “Originally, each word had only one meaning, and other meanings subsequently arose from this. One calls it the basic meaning.”<sup>1093</sup> In exploring this basic meaning, the lexicographers often seek a general notion to which the derived meanings may be subordinated, but he says this practice of etymology is completely false, adding that Schultens, in a sharp-

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<sup>1090</sup> Michaelis, *Beurtheilung*, p. 262: “Meine aufrichtige Meinung von ihm ist, daß es zwar unter seinen Vorgängern einige größere Araber [i.e. Arabisten] gegeben haben könnte, daß aber diese um die morgenländische Sprachgelehrsamkeit nie gleiche Verdienste mit ihm vorgeben können, weil er den wahren Gebrauch des Arabischen in so sehr vielen Beispielen zur Aufklärung der Bibel gezeigt, und zugleich bey den heftigsten Widersprüchen der Unwissenden in einem entscheidenden Zeit-Punct behauptet und gerettet hat. Die unparteyische Wahrheits-Liebe, und die Beysorge, daß seine Fehler in den Nachahmern stets wachsen möchten, haben mich gedrungen dies nicht zu verschweigen.”

<sup>1091</sup> Michaelis’ autograph of *Geschichte der morgenländischen Sprachen* (101 pages) is extant in Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, under shelfmark MS Mich. 76. According to the outline on p. 6, the contents of the other chapters were planned as follows: ch. 2: the history of Hebrew, Samaritan and Rabbinic; ch. 3: the history of Chaldaic, Syriac and Talmudic; and ch. 4: the history of Arabic and Ethiopic.

<sup>1092</sup> Michaelis, *Geschichte der morgenländischen Sprachen*, MS Mich. 76, § 10, pp. 33–38.

<sup>1093</sup> Michaelis, *Geschichte*. MS Mich. 76, § 5, p. 10 f.: “Jedes Wort hat im Anfang nur eine einzige Bedeutung, und aus diesem aufstehen hernach die übrigen Bedeutungen. Man nennet dieses die Grund-Bedeutung.”

witted way, opposed this false conception.<sup>1094</sup> He also makes clear that the basic meaning of nouns likely “falls under the external senses”.<sup>1095</sup>

In examining the status of Hebrew as the mother tongue in biblical times, Michaelis refers to Schultens’ *Excursus tertius*, ch. 2,<sup>1096</sup> and in refuting the status of Hebrew as a holy language, to all three *Excursus*, particularly *Excursus secundus*.<sup>1097</sup>

With the exception of his *Supplementa ad lexica Hebraica*, Michaelis, as an Orientalist, mainly republished and supplemented the works of other scholars, for instance, Robert Lowth’s seminal treatise on Biblical Hebrew poetry, *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum* (“On the sacred poetry of the Hebrews”, Oxford 1753), which Michaelis supplied with notes and an analysis of word repetitions at the ends of lines (Göttingen 1758–1762); Bochart’s pioneering work on biblical geography, which Michaelis supplemented in his public lectures on Genesis, chapter 10, and Ezekiel, chapter 27, and published as gleanings after Bochart’s harvest: *Spicilegium geographiae Hebraeorum exterae post Bochartum* (two parts, Göttingen 1769–1780), and Edmund Castell’s Syriac dictionary, which was published separately from the 1669 Heptaglot dictionary.<sup>1098</sup> He also issued his German translation of Erpenius’ Arabic grammar together with Schultens’ anthology of Abū Tammām’s *Ḥamāsa*.<sup>1099</sup> Schroeder was astonished that Michaelis had published an Arabic grammar, given the difficulty of the task.<sup>1100</sup>

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<sup>1094</sup> Michaelis, *Geschichte der morgenländischen Sprachen*, MS Mich. 76, pp. 12 f.

<sup>1095</sup> Michaelis, *Geschichte*, MS Mich. 76, p. 13: “Die Grund-Bedeutungen des Nenn-Wortes müssen alle so beschaffen seyn, daß sie in die äußeren Sinne fallen.”

<sup>1096</sup> Michaelis, *Geschichte*, p. 60.

<sup>1097</sup> Michaelis, *Geschichte*, pp. 58 and 65.

<sup>1098</sup> Michaelis (ed.), *Edmundi Castelli Lexicon Syriacum ex eius Lexico heptaglotto seorsim [...]*, two parts, Göttingen 1788. Michaelis commissioned Johann Friedrich Ludolf Trier to publish the Hebrew section of Castell’s polyglot dictionary under comparison with his *Supplementa ad lexica Hebraica: Edmundi Castelli Lexicon Hebraicum ex eius Lexico heptaglotto seorsim typis descriptum annotatis in margine vocum numeris ex Joannis Davidis Michaelis Supplementis ad lexica Hebraica*, part 1, Göttingen and Leipzig 1790, part 2, Helmstedt 1792.

<sup>1099</sup> Michaelis, *Erpenii Arabische Grammatik abgekürzt, vollständiger und leichter gemacht nebst den Anfang einer Arabischen Chrestomathie aus Schultens Anhang zur Erpenischen Grammatik*, Göttingen 1771. The publication is preceded by a long preface (112 pages). In the revised and improved second edition (1781), Michaelis suppressed the name of the original author on the title page, since he thought that his supplements and improvements had made Erpenius’ Arabic grammar his own. See Michaelis, *Arabische Grammatik*, Göttingen 1781, preface to the second edition, p. 1, where he states that his indebtedness to Erpenius is acknowledged in the reprinted preface to the first edition.

<sup>1100</sup> Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen*, p. 78. H.S. Nyberg, *Johan Adam Tingstadius, orientalist och biskop: minnesteckning*, Stockholm 1953, p. 74, argues that, by modern standards, Michaelis’ knowledge of Arabic was so limited that he would not have passed a BA examination.

### 10.3.2 Johann Jacob Reiske

The German Arabist Johann Jacob Reiske is known as the pioneer of Arabic philology as an independent discipline,<sup>1101</sup> and he is often cited as a critic of Schultens' etymological derivations. Nevertheless, his achievements as an Arabist can be seen in part as the result of his eight-year stay in Leiden (1738–1746), during which he devoted himself primarily to copying Arabic manuscripts, some of which he published upon his return.<sup>1102</sup> Reiske's goal, however, was not to study comparative Semitic philology with Schultens,<sup>1103</sup> in particular, not to elucidate Biblical Hebrew through Arabic.<sup>1104</sup> He states that he learnt little from Schultens' private teaching, but all the more from his publications.<sup>1105</sup> Reiske, on the other hand, acknowledged Schultens as a

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<sup>1101</sup> Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, pp. 108–124; Jan Loop, “Kontroverse Bemühungen um den Orient”, pp. 77–85; Andreas Fischer, *Die deutsche Aufklärung und Islam*, vol. 4: *Höhere Bildung und Islam*, pp. 88–124.

<sup>1102</sup> Jan Loop, “Johann Jacob Reiske”, in David Thomas and John Chesworth (eds.), *Christian-Muslim relations. A bibliographical history*, vol. 14: *Central and Eastern Europe*, Leiden 2020, pp. 199–200. Shortly before his death, Reiske handed his copy of al-Maydānī's proverbs to the Dutch Orientalist Edward Scheidius. Reiske's autograph copies of Arabic manuscripts are listed in a catalogue appended to his *Lebensbeschreibung* (1783), pp. 152–172.

<sup>1103</sup> Reiske, “Gedanken”, p. 151, admits that he did not follow Schultens' advice to join Arabic studies with Hebrew, Chaldaic and Syriac, and to pursue Arabic on a theological basis: “Der selige Herr Schultens prophezeihete es mir. Er sagete, wenn ich mit dem Arabischen auf Universitäten Nutzen schaffen und was kommen wollte, so müßte ich das Hebräische, Chaldaäische und Syrische damit verbinden und die Sache auf einem theologischen Fuß treiben.” Idem, *ibidem*, p. 152: “Das ich das Arabische nicht auf theologische Studia anwende, das hat seine Ursachen.” And p. 163: “Für mich zwar, und für Leute, die meinen Sinn haben, ist die Anwendung des Arabischen auf das Hebräische etwas gleichgültiges.” Cf. Loop, “Johann Jacob Reiske”, p. 198: “The fact that Reiske did not approach Arabic studies with a religious mindset is, however, extremely significant. In contrast to most of his European predecessors and contemporaries, his interest in Arab language, literature and culture was not driven by theological, missionary or exegetical objectives. He was extremely critical of the use of Arabic as a linguistic key to the Hebrew Bible, as it was practised and promoted by leading Orientalists of his day, and he was not interested in the apologetic comparisons between Christianity and Islam” [...].

<sup>1104</sup> Reiske, “Gedanken” (1757), p. 148, regrets that Arabic studies in Europe so far have been under the dominion of theologians, who have only used Arabic to expound the Hebrew Bible. Though Reiske thinks that Arabic is the foremost aid – “Nun ist die arabische Sprache darunter das vornemste” – this approach to Arabic has turned into a theological belief in Arabic that is unfruitful and doubtful, since Western theologians generally do not know more Arabic than the Arabic alphabet.

<sup>1105</sup> Reiske, “Gedanken” (1757), p. 159: “Von Herrn Schultens selbst habe ich wenig gelernt, und mehr aus seinen Schriften, als aus seinem Umgange.” He does not consider the private teaching (*collegia*) of Dutch professors, including Schultens, to be of high standard: “Seine Collegia waren so beschaffen, wie der berühmtesten Holländischen Gelehrten ihre, die ich gehöret habe. Wüßte man sie aus ihren

tireless editor of Arabic literature and hoped that another Schultens would emerge to reap a double harvest.<sup>1106</sup>

### 10.3.3 Groddeck, Bode and Schelling

Benjamin Groddeck (1728–1776) studied Oriental languages at the University of Wittenberg and became a professor of Oriental languages at the High School of Danzig. In a separate treatise (Wittenberg 1747), he showed an unbiased receptivity to the new ideas put forward by Schultens, not only concerning semantic origins and semantic change but also the classification of the Semitic languages.<sup>1107</sup>

The influence of the Schultensian principles of Hebrew etymology is also evident in the inaugural lecture delivered in 1754 by Christoph August Bode (1722–1796), who served as an extraordinary professor of Oriental languages at the University of Helmstedt. Recognizing Schultens as his authority, Bode presents Schultens' etymological programme in full. He begins with the semantic theory and then turns to the main sources for investigating the primary meanings of Hebrew.<sup>1108</sup>

The Orientalist Friedrich Joseph Schelling (1737–1812, the father of the famous philosopher Friedrich von Schelling) published a treatise on the usefulness of Arabic for gaining a thorough insight into Hebrew, approving of Schultens' views on the close kinship between Hebrew and Arabic.<sup>1109</sup> He maintains that Arabic is useful for several purposes: to corroborate a known meaning, to discover an unknown meaning, and to correct a partially known meaning.<sup>1110</sup> He illustrates this with an example from Schultens, namely the derivation of the adjective יָטָא from the Arabic verbs *yatana* and *watana*, which denote “ever-flowing water”,<sup>1111</sup> a fact that earlier scholars had not paid attention to. He argues that this fits all the biblical passages, both in the proper sense (Amos 5:24; Ps 74:15; Exod 14:27; Deut 21:4) and in the transferred sense “permanent, enduring, or firm” (Job 12:19; Mic 6:2; Gen 49:24; Num 24:21; Jer 5:15, 49:19, 50:44; and Prov 13:5). Schelling claims that Arabic can be used to uncover uncommon meanings of Hebrew words, which may have been the original ones.<sup>1112</sup> However, he cautions that Arabic

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Collegiis beurtheilen, so würden sie gewiss dabey verlihren, und manche kaum das Ansehen eines mäßigen Schulmannes behaupten können.”

<sup>1106</sup> Reiske, “Gedanken” (1757), p. 147.

<sup>1107</sup> Groddeck, *De necessaria linguarum Arabicae et Hebraeae connexione*, Wittenberg 1747.

<sup>1108</sup> Christoph Bode, *De primaria radicum Hebraearum significatione ex dialectis Orientalibus et maxime quidem Arabica eruenda commentatio*, Helmstedt 1754.

<sup>1109</sup> Schelling, *Abhandlung von dem Gebrauch der arabischen Sprache zu einer gründlicheren Einsicht in die hebräische*, Stuttgart 1771, p. 14.

<sup>1110</sup> Schelling, *ibidem*, pp. 44 ff. and 86 ff.

<sup>1111</sup> Schelling, *ibidem*, p. 45: “von einem immerfort fliessenden Quellenwasser”.

<sup>1112</sup> Schelling, *ibidem*, pp. 53–55.

should not be consulted without necessity when determining words that have a clear and undoubted meaning.<sup>1113</sup> Schelling trusts that Schultens knew the Arabic usage so well that his assessments are reliable. By his sensibility, he could judge the exact meaning of words and phrases, and by his acquaintance with literature, he was able to prove it by reference to passages in the best Arabic authors.<sup>1114</sup>

#### 10.3.4 Hebrew lexicographers of the Halle school

Two members of the Halle school of Hebrew philology, Johann Christian Clodius and Johann Simonis, adopted Schultens' use of Arabic in Hebrew lexicography, though they did not accept the Schultensian research paradigm in all its parts. They instead took an eclectic approach to the various sources of knowledge of Biblical Hebrew and the Hebrew dictionaries. They agreed with Schultens that Arabic should be placed first among the Semitic languages. Clodius republished Gousset's Hebrew dictionary as *Lexicon linguae Hebraicae* (Leipzig 1743), and immediately after that he published a supplementary dictionary, *Lexicon Hebraicum selectum* (Leipzig 1744), in which he employed Schultens' etymological findings in Arabic to establish the meaning of rarely attested Hebrew words.

Johann Simonis (1698–1768), professor of church history and antiquities in Halle, was a pupil of Johann Christian Michaelis and Christian Benedict Michaelis. He was already acquainted with Schultens' main works on Hebrew etymology in his treatise on nominal derivatives in Biblical Hebrew, *Arcanum formarum nominum Hebraeae lingua* (Halle 1735), where he explains the origin and basic etymological meaning (*formalis significatio*) of nouns. In the preface, he states that he does not share Bohle's definition of the concept of formal meaning, but rather agrees with Schultens' emphasis on the meaning of derived forms in *De defectibus linguae Hebraeae*.

In his next publication, *Onomasticum Veteris Testamenti* (Halle 1741), Simonis explained the names of persons and places in the Old Testament as appellatives and clarified their etymology by comparing them with other Semitic languages, following Schultensian principles.<sup>1115</sup>

Finally, Simonis drew on Schultens' etymology in his dictionary of Biblical Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic, *Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (Halle 1756). His purpose was to provide an alternative to the commonly used dictionaries of Buxtorf the Elder, Cocceius, and Stockius,

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<sup>1113</sup> Schelling, *ibidem*, p. 71.

<sup>1114</sup> Schelling, *ibidem*, pp. 89–91.

<sup>1115</sup> Carl Siegfried, "Simonis, Johann", *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. 34, p. 379: "Daran schloß sich 1741 das „Onomasticum Veteris Testamenti“, in welchem er eine vollständige Sammlung der Personen- und Ortsnamen des A. T.'s gab und zugleich eine etymologische Deutung derselben nach Schultens'schen Prinzipien versuchte."

which he considered too dependent on the rabbinic tradition.<sup>1116</sup> In his dictionary, he relies more than these lexicographers on related Semitic languages, furnishing more grammatical information on how verbs are construed and providing an account of the textual bases of uncertain word forms (the *ketiv*- and *qere*-variants). However, he seems not to have managed to free himself from the logical-semantic method of subsuming specific meanings under a general one, since he declares: “If the meanings of one and the same root are contrary, they are subordinated to a general meaning, which is derived from other Semitic languages, and from it specific meanings are derived so that each agrees with the general one.”<sup>1117</sup> Although he refers to Schultens’ works and, in many entries, accepts his proposals, he adopts an eclectic approach in gathering information from other lexicographers and scholars, primarily Avenarius, Cocceius, Hottinger, Pfeiffer, Bochart, Gousset, Ludolf, Matthäus Hiller, and Jean Le Clerc.

In the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Halle school adopted key elements of Schultens’ semantic theory and method. This led to a synthesis of Schultensian principles with the Halle school’s focus on Syriac and Aramaic. This development is noticeable in J.D. Michaelis, *Supplementa ad lexica Hebraica* (1784–1792); Johann Christoph Friedrich Schulz’s revised edition of Cocceius’ dictionary (1777); and Johann Gottfried Eichhorn’s revised edition of Simonis’ dictionary (1793).

#### *10.3.5 The historiography of Wilhelm Friedrich Hezel*

In the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Schultens was regarded as the pioneer of Hebrew lexicography and grammar, not only in the Netherlands but also in Germany. In his *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Litteratur* (Halle 1776), the German Orientalist Wilhelm Friedrich Hezel (1754–1824) presents Schultens as an innovator in Hebrew lexicography and grammar throughout Europe. Adopting the metaphor of dwarfs standing on the shoulders of a giant, he continues:

He is and remains the greatest innovator in all of Europe, and even if other scholars now or in the future look farther than Schultens, they will always have to confess that they are standing on his shoulders and, naturally, look farther than he did.<sup>1118</sup>

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<sup>1116</sup> Simonis, *Lexicon manuale*, preface, p. 2\* v.

<sup>1117</sup> Simonis, *Lexicon manuale*, preface, p. 3\* r: “ubi radix aliqua et nomina exinde derivatae significationes prae se gerebant apparenter inter se discordes, notionem quondam *generalem*, quam *formalem* vulgo vocant, ope praesertim reliquarum linguarum Orientalium erutam fundamenti loco posuerim indeque significatus *specialiores* ita derivarim, ut singuli in *generalem* illum conspirent” [...].

<sup>1118</sup> Hezel, *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Litteratur*, p. 322: “Er ist und bleibt auf immer der größte Instaurator in ganz Europa, und wenn auch heutiges Tags oder in Zukunft andere Gelehrte wieder weiter sehen, als Schultens, so werden



Hezel recommends Schultens' *Clavis dialectorum* as valuable for beginners because it provides a key to the regular and sporadic sound correspondences between Hebrew and Arabic.<sup>1119</sup>

### 10.3.6 Frommann and Herder

Ten years after Schultens' preface to his work on *Proverbia Salomonis*, a Coburg dissertation was submitted "On the alleged holiness of Hebrew as the origin of abundant errors".<sup>1120</sup> The author, the Orientalist Erhard Andreas Frommann, was acquainted with Schultens' ideas and argued that the concept of a specific holiness of Hebrew has given rise to several assumptions: (1) the high-minded nature of Hebrew in moral virtues, (2) the status of Hebrew as the primeval tongue of divine origin, and (3) the unique grammatical status of Hebrew, especially its being found in a certain pregnancy (*emphasis*), which is expressed by phraseology and syntax.

The Prussian philosopher and literary critic Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) studied dictionaries of ancient languages to determine how the principles of sensuousness and imagery underlie the origins and development of meaning.<sup>1121</sup> He testified to his study of the dictionaries of Biblical Hebrew made by Cocceius, Castell, and Simonis, as well as their supplements, including Schultens' etymological treatises.<sup>1122</sup> This inquiry was aimed at tracing the transition from the sensory to the figurative in the meanings of Hebrew words, and, more generally, served Herder's goal of becoming cognisant of "the true art of invention of the human mind" and "the logic of the figurative language in the primordial past".<sup>1123</sup> Jan Loop

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sie doch immer gestehen müssen, daß sie auf dessen Schultern treten und nun freilich weiter sehen, als er."

<sup>1119</sup> Hezel, *ibidem*, pp. 322 and 363.

<sup>1120</sup> Frommann (pres.), *Disputatio philologica de opinata sanctitate linguae Hebraicae foecunda errorum matre*, Coburg 1758.

<sup>1121</sup> Herder's point of departure is that human language offers insight into human nature. In *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache*, Berlin 1772, pp. 108 and 110, he postulated the principles of sensuousness or sensuality (i.e., conformity to sensory perception) and figurative language, characterized by vivid imagery and emotion, as the criteria for linguistic primordality.

<sup>1122</sup> Herder, *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, Dessau 1782, pp. 16–17: "Jetzt studiere ich die besten, die wir haben, Castelli, Simonis, Cocceji und auch ihre reichen Beihelfer, Schultens, Schröder, Sturr, Scheid und wer sonst einzeln oder mit andern dazu beiträgt." Idem, *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache*, p. 114: "Schultens hat sich an der Entwicklung einiger solchen Originum der hebräischen Sprache Ruhm erworben." "Schultens has earned fame through studying the development of some original meanings of this kind in the Hebrew language."

<sup>1123</sup> Herder, *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie* (1782), p. 16: "Man wird in den Wörterbüchern [...] dahin kommen, das Wesentliche und Zufällige in der Bedeutung zu unterscheiden, die sanfte Übergänge zu finden, und auch in Ableitung

attempts to demonstrate that Schultens' theory of the nature of the primeval language was a source of inspiration for Herder.<sup>1124</sup>

Herder emphasized the importance of studying Schultens' philological treatises. In one of his letters on the study of theology (first published in 1780), he describes the Hebrew of the Old Testament as a plain, rural, poetic, and unphilosophical language without abstraction, and defines it as a living, national language.<sup>1125</sup> He credits Schultens with introducing this view. Herder concludes that this has affected biblical exegesis:

After Schultens had removed the prejudice that the Hebrew language was spoken in heaven and instead recommended its younger sister or daughter on earth, the study of it has since received a completely new vigour in biblical exposition.<sup>1126</sup>

Herder advises theology students not to neglect Schultens' works, particularly *Origines Hebraeae*,<sup>1127</sup> pointing out that they are replete with a

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der Wörter, in Anwendung der Metaphern eine wahre Erfindungskunst des menschlichen Geistes, die Logik der Bildsprache früherer Zeiten inne werden."

<sup>1124</sup> Loop, "Von dem Geschmack der morgenländischen Dichtkunst. Orientalistik und Biblexegese bei Huet, Michaelis und Herder", in D. Weidner (ed.), *Urpoesie und Morgenland: Johann Friedrich Herders Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, Berlin 2008, pp. 178–183. It should be noted that Loop misinterprets a passage in *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*, p. 50, where Schultens maintains that the primeval language was characterized by a richness of words and grandeur of thought. The latter quality is described as *magnis sensibus plena*, "full of great thoughts", or "capable of great thoughts". Loop interprets the word *sensus* as implying sensory impressions, but in the plural, Schultens used this word only to denote "thoughts". In *Vetus et regia via*, p. 7, he attributes to Hebrew the qualities of internal grandness of every thought, richness, magnificence, and splendour (*sensuum omnium interna granditas, ubertas, magnificentia et splendor*). In *Proverbia Salomonis*, preface, p. LXXIV, Schultens claims that the primeval language was capable of grand thoughts, *capacissima magnorum sensuum*. However, he favours the principle of a primordial sensuousness in MS Or. 1460 q; *De utilitate et necessitate originum*, fol. 5v.

<sup>1125</sup> Johann Gottfried Herder, *Briefe, das Studium der Theologie betreffend*, part 1 (erster Theil), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Weimar 1785, second letter, p. 12: "In der alten, planen, ländlich-poetischen, unphilosophischen, Abstraktionslosen Sprache der Ebräer lesen wir das alte Testament"; and p. 11: [...] "man lerne eine lebendige, menschliche Nationalsprache" [...]. Herder, *ibidem*, p. 13, considers these linguistic premises to provide a hermeneutical basis for reading the Holy Scriptures in their original setting and for entering into the thoughts and feelings of Oriental people.

<sup>1126</sup> Herder, *ibidem*, p. 11, "Seitdem Schultens das Vorurtheil wegbrach, daß die Ebräische Sprache im Himmel gesprochen werde, und dafür ihre jüngere Schwester oder Tochter auf Erden empfahl; seitdem hat das Studium derselben in Erklärung der Bibel einen ganz neuen Schwung bekommen."

<sup>1127</sup> Herder, *ibidem*, p. 11: "Versuchen Sie immer seine Schriften, insonderheit seine *Origines*, bey Ihren Arbeiten, nebenhin zu lesen."

philosophical understanding of the Near Eastern languages, because Schultens “tasted the kernel and did not nibble at the shell”.<sup>1128</sup> He ascertains that Schultens’ writings deserve to be read as those of a pioneer and as the source of his followers’ ideas, and concludes: “One finds gold mines in him, but then one should not read, but dig – even for the general language history of the most ancient times”.<sup>1129</sup>

In his journal *Adrastea* (1801–1803), Herder praised Schultens’ use of Arabic, the language of a living civilization, to elucidate Biblical Hebrew, an extinct language. He argues:

One must try a living sister language, the great Schultens said, when no further path to the foundation of an extinct sister language is available. Accordingly, he wrote his *Origines Hebraeae* and On the defects of the Hebrew language, works full of acumen and genuine philosophical spirit. In the same way, he also commented on the Book of Job and Proverbs.<sup>1130</sup>

## 10.4 British, Swiss, and Irish scholars

### 10.4.1 British reception

In Great Britain, Schultens’ programme of Hebrew philology spread through the efforts of John Parkhurst (1727–1797) and James Robertson (1714–1795). The former compiled *A Hebrew and English lexicon without points*, published in London in 1762, and revised and expanded it in the second (1778) and third (1792) editions. In his Hebrew lexicography, he followed the method of distinguishing between “the primary idea or notion of each Hebrew root” and “secondary or derived senses”.<sup>1131</sup> He considers this distinction to be one of the principal features of his lexicon, in which Schultens is acknowledged as a precursor: “he is hardly enough to be commended that he constantly [...] aims at giving a clear leading or primary idea or sense to each Hebrew root”,<sup>1132</sup> which Parkhurst himself understands

<sup>1128</sup> Herder, *ibidem*, p. 12: “Der Geist seiner Schriften ist voll von Lehre und Philosophie der Morgenländischen Sprachen. Dieser Autor hat den Kern gekostet und nicht an der Schale gekauet.”

<sup>1129</sup> Herder, *ibidem*, p. 12: “Meistens bleibt er immer auch Quelle, und die andern rauschen als Bächlein. Ungeachtet seines hie und da unseligen Fleißes [...], findet man Goldgruben in ihm; da muß man nicht lesen, sondern graben – auch zur allgemeinen Sprachengeschichte der ältesten Zeit.”

<sup>1130</sup> Herder, *Adrastea*, vol. 6, part 1, Leipzig 1803, p. 60: “An einer lebendigen Schwestersprache, sagte der große Albert Schultens, muß man es versuchen, wenn man in den Gründen der gestorbenen Schwester nicht weiter fort kann. So schrieb er seine *Origines Ebraeas*, sein Werk von den Mängeln der Ebräischen Sprache, Werke voll Scharfsinns und echten philosophischen Geistes. So erläuterte er den Hiob, die Sprichwörter.”

<sup>1131</sup> Parkhurst, *A Hebrew and English lexicon*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London 1778, preface, p. III.

<sup>1132</sup> Parkhurst, *ibidem*, preface, p. III.

to be “the fundamental principle of explaining this sacred language.” In exploring the primary meanings, Parkhurst considered the biblical usage by “a diligent and close examination and comparison” and consulted the ancient versions. In explaining the secondary meanings, he had recourse “to the eastern dialectical [sic!] languages, particularly to the Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic”.<sup>1133</sup> In using Arabic, Parkhurst availed himself of Schultens’ printed works, most likely *Origines Hebraeae* and the commentaries on Job and Proverbs, and his manuscript Hebrew dictionary. He states:

In applying the Arabic language in particular to these purposes, I have been much assisted not only by the printed works of the celebrated Albert Schultens, formerly professor of the Oriental Languages in the University of Leyden, but also by a manuscript Hebrew lexicon of the same author, kindly communicated to me by the Rev. and learned Mr. Woide, chaplain of his Majesty’s Dutch chapel at St. James.<sup>1134</sup>

Parkhurst argues that Schultens’ daily contact with “the florid and highly figurative, not to say bombast, style of the Arabian writers” enticed him to overuse Arabic and transform “some strictly just, proper and philosophical expressions of the Hebrew Bible into tropes and figures”.<sup>1135</sup>

The Scottish Orientalist James Robertson proved to be a true follower of Schultens. In his treatises on the antiquity of Arabic and on the antiquity of the vowel points of the Hebrew Bible,<sup>1136</sup> He asserts and develops Schultens’ tenets, for instance, by dating the Arabic language to the second century after the Flood, by claiming that it was preserved intact for almost three thousand years, and by arguing that the *Mu‘allaqāt* poems prove that Muhammad spoke the same language as the Joktanides and the Ishmaelites.<sup>1137</sup> This endorsement also served the aim of counter-acting the tendency towards Hutchinsonianism, that is, the reception of the views of the English scholar John Hutchinson (1674–1737), who upheld the primacy of Hebrew, dated the emergence of Arabic to the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, and rejected Arabic as an adequate aid for elucidating Biblical Hebrew.<sup>1138</sup>

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<sup>1133</sup> Parkhurst, *ibidem*, preface, p. III.

<sup>1134</sup> Parkhurst, *ibidem*, preface, p. III.

<sup>1135</sup> Parkhurst, *ibidem*, preface, p. III.

<sup>1136</sup> Robertson, “Dissertatio de origine, antiquitate, conservatione, indole et utilitate linguae Arabicae eiusque intima affinitate et convenientia cum lingua Hebraea” and “Dissertatio de genuina punctorum vocalium Hebraicorum antiquitate”, both published as an introduction to his commentary on the Pentateuch: *Clavis Pentateuchi sive analysis omnium vocum Hebraicarum* [...], Edinburgh 1770.

<sup>1137</sup> Robertson, “Dissertatio de origine [...] linguae Arabicae”, pp. 21 and 28.

<sup>1138</sup> Robertson, *ibidem*, pp. 4, 6, and 26. Hutchinson’s views on the superiority and uniqueness of Hebrew were adopted by Benjamin Holloway in *The primaeivity and preeminence of the sacred Hebrew above all other languages, vindicated from the*

#### 10.4.2 Jacob Christoph Beck

In his survey of the discipline of sacred philology, Swiss scholar and Basel professor of Old Testament exegesis, Jacob Christoph Beck, discusses Schultens' linguistic ideas in relation to the method of exploring the original meanings of Hebrew words. Two schools are distinguished here: the Buxtorfian school, in which the meanings of words are determined by studying the biblical usage and comparing it to the Targum, and the Schultensian school, in which the original meanings are investigated by comparing them not only to Oriental Bible versions but also and especially to related languages, all of which are conceived as dialects of one and the same Oriental language. Beck expounds the procedure of the Schultensian philologist: When a certain dialect does not provide sufficiently probable original meanings, which are defined as the proper and primordial meanings, one should take recourse to other dialects, especially Arabic. Beck does not side with either party but venerates the Buxtorfs as teachers of Hebrew and Aramaic throughout Europe while admiring Schultens and his followers. He recommends that his students choose the area of Oriental learning and literature they prefer, since no one can master everything. One may study either rabbinic studies with the Buxtorfs or Arabic philology with Schultens. It is concluded that Buxtorf attributed too much to the rabbis, while Schultens credited the Arabs too much.<sup>1139</sup>

#### 10.4.3 John Lanigan

In his prolegomena to the Bible (*Institutiones biblicae*, Pavia 1793), the Irish theologian and historian John Lanigan (1758–1828)<sup>1140</sup> discusses the origin

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*repeated attempts of the Reverend Dr. Hunt to level it with Arabic* (Oxford 1754). Even Parkhurst apparently showed himself a Hutchinsonian in his preference for an unvocalized Hebrew Bible, of which he based his Hebrew dictionary.

<sup>1139</sup> Becius, *Synopsis systematis philologiae sacrae*, part 3, Basel 1763, pp. 8–12.

<sup>1140</sup> Lanigan was educated at the Irish College in Rome and held the chair of the Holy Scriptures at the University of Pavia between 1789 and 1796. He formed part of the Catholic Enlightenment. He published his *Institutiones* as an introduction to the history of the biblical books, as a second part was planned to comprise Hebrew antiquities, and a third part biblical hermeneutics. Lanigan is most known for his ecclesiastical history of Ireland (1822). He also published his inaugural oration on the origin and progress of biblical hermeneutics, *De origine et progressu hermeneuticae sacrae oratio* (1789), and a hermeneutical essay titled *Saggio sulla maniera d'insegnare ai giovani ecclesiastici la scienza de' libri sacri* (Pavia). As a hermeneutist, he proposed a Christocentric approach to biblical interpretation, the essence of which is summarized: "the Old Testament was written because Christ was coming, the New Testament because he came." See James Feehan, "Forgotten by history: the life and time of John Lanigan. D.D., D.C.L., D.D.S., priest, professor and historian", *Tipperary historical journal* 2005, p. 45. For further discussion, see Grazia Grasso, "L'hermeneutique biblique de John Lanigan, disciple irlandais de Pietro Tamburini", *Études Irlandaises* 46:2 (2021), pp. 7–24.

of languages and the antiquity of Oriental languages. In doing so, he discusses the new classification of Semitic languages:

As men skilled in these languages have demonstrated, Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, and other languages commonly called Oriental are merely dialects of one and the same language (*nonnisi dialecti sunt unius eiusdemque linguae*), which by some is called Semitic (*quae a nonnullis appellatur Semitica*), but by others, perhaps more correctly, Oriental. Therefore, it is pointless to inquire which of these dialects is the most ancient, since, as regards their basic structure (*quod ad basim ipsarum spectat*), they are all equally ancient. However, it is evident that each of them, over time, has adopted something new and so to speak, accidental.<sup>1141</sup>

In a footnote, Lanigan refers to three eminent Orientalists who support this new classification: Albert Schultens, Joseph de Guignes (1721–1800), and Johann David Michaelis. Concerning Schultens, he refers to *Origines Hebraeae*, the preface to the commentary on Proverbs (*Praefatio ad Proverbia*) and the unpublished *Dissertatio de lingua primaeva*, which likely should be identified with *Theses de lingua primaeva* (Leiden UB, MS Or. 1469, envelope 12). He demonstrates that Schultens taught that Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic are dialects of a single language, and that the primeval language (after the Confusion of Languages) was restricted to the inhabitants of Babylonia, thereby granting supreme linguistic primordially not only to Hebrew but also to Arabic, Aramaic, and Syriac.<sup>1142</sup> Lanigan also refers to Schultens' comparisons of typological similarities among Semitic languages and the dialects of Ancient Greek:

Due to its beautiful contractions and other polished features, Hebrew is most closely comparable to the Attic dialect in this regard. Arabic, which retains ancient forms to a greater extent, deserves comparison with Ionic. In this comparison of the Oriental languages, Chaldaic and Syriac occupy a position almost the same as that of Aeolic and Doric among the Greek dialects.<sup>1143</sup>

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<sup>1141</sup> Lanigan, *Institutionum biblicarum prima pars, qua continetur historia librorum sacrorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, volume 1, Pavia 1793, p. 119. My translation of the Latin original. This statement is found in book 1, ch. 2, § 34, which deals with the identity of the primeval language.

<sup>1142</sup> Lanigan, *ibidem*, p. 120.

<sup>1143</sup> Lanigan, *ibidem*, p. 121. See Schultens, *Proverbia Salomonis*, Leiden 1748, preface, pp. xcvi–xcvii. Lanigan quotes from the second edition, p. 59.

## 11. The reception at the universities of the Swedish realm

### 11.1 The Universities of Lund and Greifswald: Refusal and neglect

#### 11.1.1 Preliminaries

In the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, Schultens' research paradigm was disseminated at the national universities of the Swedish realm. At the University of Lund, his comparative method and etymological theory met with little success, as the exclusive reliance on Biblical Hebrew usage and theories of picto-semantics and biradicalism had already gained ground there. At Uppsala University, Schultens' research programme was accepted with a few adaptations, and at Åbo University, it was approved as a counterweight to the picto-semantic method. At the provincial University of Greifswald, however, it was hardly discussed. This chapter explores the various responses to Schultens' guiding linguistic ideas at the Universities of Lund, Uppsala, and Åbo, and explains the reasons for the lack of a reception in Greifswald.

#### 11.1.2 Sven Munthe

The Lundensian Orientalist and theologian Sven Johan Munthe (1714–1774) refused to accept Schultens' programme for Hebrew etymology in a series of three dissertations submitted between 1742 and 1748. The work is titled *Origines Hebraeae ex ipsius Heberi angulis revocatae, sive radicum Hebraearum antiquissimae et originariae significationes ab ipsissimis earundem primitivis erutae*, “Hebrew origins brought back from the hidden recesses of Heber, or the most ancient and original meanings of Hebrew roots derived from their primitives”. In the preface, Munthe explains that the very title is polemical and directed against Schultens' *Origines Hebraeae*. Instead of resorting to Arabic, he adheres to the opposite approach and cites the rule of his teacher Johan Engeström (1699–1777): “The surest method of removing the apparent ambiguity of words and establishing their original meaning is found within the limits of the Hebrew language through the comparison of various usages, parallel passages, related primitives, and derived words”.<sup>1144</sup> In the introductory chapter, Munthe gives an account of

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<sup>1144</sup> Munthe, *Origines Hebraeae*, preface, pp. 2 f.: “tutissimam viam tollendi vocum apparentem ambiguitatem atque originariam stabiliendi significationem quaeri intra ipsius linguae Hebraeae pomeria conferendo vocum usus varios atque parallelismos nec non primitivorum atque derivationum affinem seriem.” In his *Grammatica Hebraea biblica seu lingua Hebraea restituta* (Lund 1733, 302 pages), Engeström, in a preliminary discourse, advocates Neumann's picto-semantic method and theory

the established methods for acquiring knowledge of Biblical Hebrew, namely the Jewish tradition, the ancient Bible versions, the related Oriental languages (referring to Bochart, Pococke and Schultens), analysis of Biblical Hebrew through context and parallel passages, and comparison of related roots. Munthe considers himself a follower of the last method. Discussing a number of polysemous roots, he attempts to prove that Schultens' interpretation of al-Jawharī's lexicography is incorrect and that the original meanings can be explained from general ideas associated with Hebrew biradical primitive roots through a picto-semantic method.

### 11.1.3 Petrus Munck and his encounter with Andreas Boberg

Munthe's student, the Orientalist and theologian Petrus Munck (1732–1803), defended the biconsonantal approach to Hebrew morphology in a treatise submitted in two parts in 1756 and 1759 under the title: *Dissertatio historico critica de recentioribus Hebraismi restituendi principiis*, "Historical-critical dissertation on the recent principles in the restoration of Hebrew". Munck presents Munthe as a critic of Schultens' comparative approach and, conversely, as an advocate for the restoration of semantic origins through the study of the usage and character of the Hebrew language itself.<sup>1145</sup> He asserts that Munthe's predecessors in the chair of Oriental languages, Carl Schultén and Henric Benzelius, employed picto-semantic principles, while Engeström defended not only the method of determining the meaning of Hebrew roots from the signification of the letterforms but also the hypothesis of an original biradicalism of Hebrew roots.<sup>1146</sup> Munck also cites other scholars who favoured these methods.<sup>1147</sup>

At Uppsala University, Andreas Boberg (1678–1756), who held the chair of Oriental languages from 1728 to 1756, promoted conventional Hebrew philology and opposed the novel theories of Hebrew semantics and morphology. During a leave of absence from his position of lecturer in Oriental languages in Lund, Munck spent the autumn semester of 1754 in Uppsala in search of a permanent position. Meanwhile, he tried to persuade

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of a primitive Hebrew biradicalism (pp. 13–16). Under Engeström's auspices, Munthe defended the theory of an original biradicalism in his thesis *De Hebraeorum primitivis bilitteris* ("On the biconsonantal primitive roots of the Hebrews", 1738).

<sup>1145</sup> Munck, *Dissertatio historico critica de recentioribus Hebraismi restituendi principiis*, part 1, Lund 1756, p. 26.

<sup>1146</sup> Munck, *ibidem*, part 1, p. 15 and pp. 21–24.

<sup>1147</sup> Among them are Petrus Rubens, a royal secretary and state translator of Turkish, in the unpublished treatise *Index seminum ad radices prout in Stockii Clave linguae sanctae Veteris Testamenti obveniunt relatorum*; Johan Göransson, a student of Engeström, in his Hebrew grammar, *Grundritning til det heliga språket*, Stockholm 1747, and in his apology of it against Boberg, *Försvarskrift*, Stockholm 1748; and Elias Trägård, in his 120-page summary of Engeström's grammar, *Compendium grammaticae Ebraeo-Biblicae*, Greifswald 1755, supported the theory of an original biradicalism. See Munck, *ibidem*, pp. 28–31; *ibidem*, part 2, Lund 1759, p. 9–13.



Boberg to allow him to teach Munthe's biconsonantal and picto-semantic theory.<sup>1148</sup> Boberg refused and advised Munck to give his course at "a more convenient place where it could find firmer approval".<sup>1149</sup> In a letter to Munck, he dismissed his addressee's theory and method, referring to Christian Benedict Michaelis' doubts about the picto-semantic and biradical hypotheses<sup>1150</sup> and to Johann Gottlob Carpzov's rejection of these methods.<sup>1151</sup> Boberg also cited Löscher's disapproval of the picto-semantic method, even though this scholar defended the theory of biradicalism, as Munck demonstrated.<sup>1152</sup>

In a biography of his teacher, Eric Hydrén points out that Boberg rejected the theory of an original Hebrew biradicalism and admonished his students not to be led astray by these novelties, thereby contributing to the fact that the new hypotheses were viewed with "much distaste" in Uppsala.<sup>1153</sup>

#### 11.1.4 Georg Wilhelm Overcamp and Elias Trägård

The University of Greifswald was under Swedish rule until 1815. Except for a reference to Schultens' writings in a 1756 dissertation, his principles of Hebrew etymology and philology left no trace. The Greifswald Orientalists endorsed the views of Lutheran orthodoxy on the history of the Hebrew language and the textual integrity of the Hebrew Bible, as articulated by August Pfeiffer, Valentin Ernst Löscher, and Johann Gottlob Carpzov. In addition, after J.D. Michaelis had absorbed and transformed Schultens' etymological ideas into a new synthesis in his *Beurtheilung*, there was little opportunity for a separate reception.

As a professor of Oriental languages in Greifswald (1718–1739), Nicolaus Köppen focused on Hebrew grammar, post-biblical Hebrew literature, and Hebrew antiquities. His successor, Georg Wilhelm Overkamp

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<sup>1148</sup> Munck, *Dissertatio historico critica*, etc., part 2, Lund. 1759, p. 13.

<sup>1149</sup> Munck, *ibidem*, p. 2, p. 15, a passage in Boberg's letter to Munck, dated 24 January 1755: "på en beqvämare ort, derest den kunde äga säkrare bifall".

<sup>1150</sup> Chr. B. Michaelis, *Dissertatio philologica, qua nova hypothesis etymologica Hebraea de vocum seminibus ac litterarum significatione hieroglyphica modeste expenditur*, "Philological dissertation, in which the new etymological Hebrew hypothesis on the germens of words [i.e. biconsonantal roots] and the pictographic meaning of letterforms are moderately assessed", Halle 1717.

<sup>1151</sup> J. G. Carpzov's handbook of Old Testament textual criticism and hermeneutics, *Critica sacra Veteris Testamenti*, Leipzig 1728, pp. 192–196.

<sup>1152</sup> Munck, *ibidem*, part 1, pp. 16–17, quotes Löscher's letter to Henric Benzelius (dated 29 May 1729), in which Löscher denounces the picto-semantic method as a principle of Hebrew philology, only allowing a restricted use of it *for hapax legomena*, yet subscribes to the theory of an original biradicalism of Hebrew roots: "contentus doctrina de seminibus biliteris et de vocabulorum familiis, unde provenerunt radices Ebraeae. Hanc enim certam et utilissimam iudico."

<sup>1153</sup> E. Hydrén, "Herr Prof. And. Bobergs lefwernes beskrifning", in the journal *Den Swenska Mercurius*, vol. 2, ed. by C. Chr. Gjörwell, May 1757, p. 723–724.

(1739–1775), focused on the same topics as well as the interpretation of the New Testament. Nevertheless, he was familiar with Schultens’ philology. In a dissertation, in which he discussed the question of “whether and to what extent the Arabic language contributes to an easier understanding of Hebrew and therefore should be taught at universities”, he argued in favour of its inclusion. To prove the value of Arabic for Old Testament exegesis, he cited Schultens’ *Animadversiones criticae et philologicae* (2nd ed., 1732) and recommended reading his other writings.<sup>1154</sup>

Elias Trägård (1721–1798) taught Oriental languages at the University of Greifswald for nearly fifty years. He was educated at the University of Lund from 1736 to 1744, primarily studying philology under Johan Engeström,<sup>1155</sup> whose influence led him to embrace Gussetian and Neumannian approaches to Hebrew philology. After receiving permission to teach at Greifswald, he was appointed assistant lecturer in Oriental languages and ancient literature in 1756, and he was honoured with the title of professor in 1770. In a thesis on the principles of the restoration of Hebrew, Trägård endorses the theory of Hebrew biradicalism, arguing that the root’s basic meaning is tied to its first two consonants and that this method can be used to resolve the problem of polysemy.<sup>1156</sup> In a thesis on the primordial Hebrew words, he contends that words in every language originally signified physical things perceived by the external senses, citing the sensualist maxim *Nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuit in sensu*, and the Wolffian-Lockean philosopher Georg Friedrich Meyer (1718–1777), who introduced elements of Locke’s theory of knowledge and philosophy of language to Germany and had a significant impact on the German Enlightenment.<sup>1157</sup> Arguing that the biradical root originally had a meaning with a sensory referent, he cites the Hebrew word for fish (*dāg*) as an example: It is absurd to derive it from the verbal action “to multiply like fish” (*dāgā*).<sup>1158</sup>

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<sup>1154</sup> Overkamp (pres.) / Engel (resp.), *An et quatenus lingua Arabica ad Hebraicam facilius perdiscendam conducatur et proinde in Academiis tractanda sit* (1756), p. 12.

<sup>1155</sup> See further Gustaf Hampus Bergman (pres.) / Gustaf Lindström (resp.), *De Elia Trägård eiusque scriptis paregon historico-literarium*, Lund 1823, pp. 8–9.

<sup>1156</sup> Trägård (pres.) / Carl Fredrik Wiebe (resp.), *Disputatio philosophico philologica breviter exhibens vera et generalissima restituti Hebraismi principia*, Greifswald 1750, pp. 10–11; Trägård (pres.) / Anders Berzelius (resp.), *Observationes philologicae de radicibus linguae Hebraeae trilitteris*, Greifswald 1776, pp. 2 & 10. In his abridgment of Engeström’s grammar of Biblical Hebrew (*Compendium*, preface, pp. a4 r–v), Trägård abandoned the theory that the Hebrew letters represent abstract semantic principles because the whole concept was associated with the Kabbala, which hindered acceptance of the theory of biradicalism.

<sup>1157</sup> Trägård refers to Meyer’s *Rettung der Ehre der Vernunft wider die Freygeister* (1747), p. 198: “Wer die Natur unserer Sprachen versteht, der weiß, daß beynahe alle Wörter, ihrem ersten Ursprunge nach, körperliche sichtbare Dinge bedeuten.”

<sup>1158</sup> Trägård (pres.) / Enewald Isaac Widebeck (resp.), *Discursus philologicus de vocibus linguae Hebraeae primitivis*, Greifswald 1776, pp. 5 and 7.

Trägård avoided writing about Schultensian views of Hebrew philology. In a thesis on the meaning of the hapax שׁוּח (śāwah), “to walk or wander about” in Gen 24:63, he asks whether related languages, especially Arabic, can serve as aids in determining the meaning of uncommon Hebrew words. Hesitating to use such aids, which Michaelis had already assessed in his *Beurtheilung*, Trägård maintains that the meanings of cognate words may not only differ in related languages but also be contrary. He thinks it is safer to rely solely on comparisons of cognate roots within the same language. For this view, he refers to Löscher’s *De causis linguae Ebraeae* (1706).<sup>1159</sup>

## 11.2 Uppsala University: Approval by Carolus Aurivillius

### 11.2.1 Aurivillius’ education in Uppsala and his educational journey

The introduction of Schultens’ linguistic ideas to Sweden can be attributed to the Swedish Orientalist Carolus Aurivillius (1717–1786).<sup>1160</sup> He was the oldest son of Magnus Aurivillius (1673–1740), a churchman who served as the confessor to King Charles XII and later became the bishop of Karlstad. On the King’s and his own return from the Ottoman Empire in 1715, Magnus became a vicar at Maria Magdalena in Stockholm, where Carolus was born in 1717. Enrolling at Uppsala University in 1729,<sup>1161</sup> he first studied with his younger brothers Petrus, Magnus, and Samuel under the tutelage of Master Selling.<sup>1162</sup> In the 1730s, he received a polymathic education at the university, covering theology, metaphysics, ethics, eloquence, classical poetry, and Hebrew. At that time, Olof Celsius’ *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, “History of the language and erudition of the Arabs” Uppsala 1694)<sup>1163</sup> remained a key work in awakening interest in

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<sup>1159</sup> Trägård (pres.) / Jonas Uddesson (resp.), *Meditatio philologica de notione vocis שׁוּח*, Greifswald 1778, pp. 4–5.

<sup>1160</sup> Shortly after his death, his son Per Fabian Aurivillius prepared a biography of Aurivillius in two slightly different versions, Uppsala University Library, MS X 251a and MS X 251b (Aurivillius). These biographical notes served as the basis for Johannes Floderus’ obituary *Oratio parentalis in memoriam viri amplissimi et celeberrimi [...] professoris [...] Caroli Aurivillii*, Uppsala 1786. Floderus’ biography was summarized in German by J.D. Michaelis in *Neue Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek*, vol. 5, 1788, art. 82, pp. 72–88. Aurivillius’ letters to his father (1730–1740) are another biographical source. Aurivillius is a Latinized form of Örbyhus, the birthplace of Carolus’ ancestor, Olaus Christophori Aurivillius.

<sup>1161</sup> See A.B. Carlsson, *Uppsala universitets matrikel*, vol. 2 (1700–1750), p. 205.

<sup>1162</sup> Master Selling (Mag. Selling), mentioned in the primary sources, is likely identical with Olaus Petri Selling (c. 1700–1751) of Stockholm. He matriculated at Uppsala University in 1720 as a theology student and was ordained in 1734.

<sup>1163</sup> According to Aurivillius’ biography of Celsius, “Vita Olavi Celsii”, *Nova acta Regiae Societatis scientiarum Upsaliensis*, series 2, vol. 2, 1775, p. 298, the entire work was undoubtedly composed by Celsius himself (“est tamen certissimum Nostri et ingenio et calamo totam deberi”). Cf. Bertil Boëthius, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 8, p. 252. However, Bernd Roling, “Arabia in the light of midnight sun: Arabic

Arabic studies in Sweden. However, Aurivillius apparently did not learn Arabic during his graduate studies in Uppsala.<sup>1164</sup>

From 1741 to 1744, Aurivillius undertook an educational journey abroad to Germany, France, and the Netherlands.<sup>1165</sup> During these years, he studied in Jena, Halle, and Paris, spending one academic year at each. In Jena, he attended Johann Gottfried Tympe's courses in Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, and Rabbinic Hebrew.<sup>1166</sup> In Halle, he studied Syriac and Arabic under Christian Benedict Michaelis, who lodged and boarded him. In Paris, he improved his knowledge of Arabic. Here he came into contact with the Orientalist Etienne Fourmont, professor of Arabic at *Collège Royal*, who offered him teaching in Arabic, bestowed upon him his own publications, lent him Arabic manuscripts, and allowed him to copy his unpublished Arabic grammar.<sup>1167</sup> He also visited the public libraries of Paris (Bibliothèque du Roi, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Bibliothèque Mazarine, and Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor). On his return to Sweden, he spent one month (June 1744) in the Netherlands, mainly in Leiden, where he met Schultens at his residence at the State College<sup>1168</sup> and attended some of his lectures on

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studies in Sweden between Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad and Jonas Hallenberg", in J. Loop, A. Hamilton and Ch. Burnett (eds.), *Teaching and learning Arabic in early modern Europe*, pp. 95–102, mistakenly attributes authorship of this dissertation to both the chairman, Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad, and the respondent.

<sup>1164</sup> In a letter to J.D. Michaelis dated 20 October 1752, Aurivillius states that ten years ago he first learnt the rudiments of Arabic (*Arabicae literaturae rudimenta*) in Halle under the tutelage of Christian Benedict Michaelis.

<sup>1165</sup> Aurivillius' travel journal, Uppsala University Library (UUB), MS X 251a, is highly informative. He apparently wrote his travel diary in two versions. One is fully preserved and records the places he visited, the scholars he met, and the dates and names in his correspondence. The other, preserved only for the year 1744, recounts what he did each day, what the scholars he met told him, which libraries and bookshops he visited, and which public lectures he attended. I am indebted to Fredrik Thomasson, PhD, for providing me with a digital copy of these two versions of Aurivillius' travel journal.

<sup>1166</sup> UUB, MS X. 251a, fol. 2r: On 7 October 1741, Aurivillius began to attend Tympe's *Collegium Chaldaico-Syriacum* and on 12 October *Collegium Rabbinicum*. He also began to follow Johann Georg Walch's theological-literary course.

<sup>1167</sup> Aurivillius' autograph copy of Étienne Fourmont's *Grammaire de la langue Arabe à l'usage du Collège Royal de France* is held at Uppsala University Library, MS R. 159. It is dated February 1744: "Anno 1744 mense Februario".

<sup>1168</sup> Ibidem, MS X 251b. He met Schultens on 10 June 1744 at his residence together with the secretary of the Swedish legation in The Hague, Baron Christer Horn (1716–1775). He states that Schultens spoke to them in French and was very polite: "den 10 [...] följde [jag] Baron Horn till Schultens. Hos herr D[octo]r Schultens, som talte franska och var rätt höflig." He took leave of Schultens on 28 June 1744. He states that Schultens, who partly spoke French and partly Latin, bid him farewell in a courteous manner: "den 28. tog avsked hos Schultens, som dels talte fransyska, dels latin och på ett höfligare sätt skilde sig med mig än jag kan beskrifva."

Hebrew etymology, biblical antiquities, and grammar.<sup>1169</sup> At the public library, he studied books and manuscripts. At the bookshops in Leiden and Amsterdam, he took the opportunity to purchase publications of Dutch scholars, including those of Schultens.

Back home in Stockholm,<sup>1170</sup> Aurivillius began writing a Hebrew dictionary with Arabic cognates<sup>1171</sup> and set out to compile an Arabic dictionary.<sup>1172</sup> He graduated from Uppsala University in 1746.

### 11.2.2 Aurivillius' dissertation *De usu dialecti Arabicae*

In May 1747, Aurivillius, as chairman, submitted his *Disputatio philologica de usu dialecti Arabicae in indaganda vocum Ebraicarum significatione propria et originaria*, "A philological dispute on the utility of Arabic in exploring the original meaning of Hebrew words". It stands out primarily as the result of his studies of Pococke, Celsius, and Schultens, as well as his own lexicographical work. Determining the meanings of Biblical Hebrew words was a central problem in early modern Hebrew philology, and the importance of Arabic lent general legitimacy to Arabic studies.<sup>1173</sup> Celsius described this as the primary task of Arabic in biblical exegesis.<sup>1174</sup>

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<sup>1169</sup> See Aurivillius' detailed version of his travel journal (March–July 1744), UUB, MS X 251b (Aurivillius). During the second week of his Leiden sojourn, Aurivillius attended Schultens' lecture on June 15 at 3 p.m. on the change of vowel points in verbs when object suffixes are attached; on June 16 at 11 a.m., he attended lectures on Jewish antiquities, and that same day at 3 p.m. he heard Schultens explaining the root קטר as part of the course on Hebrew etymology. Johannes Floderus, *Oratio in memoriam Caroli Aurivillii*, p. 18, emphasized the encounter with Schultens by stating: "Sed praecipue tamen in hac urbe illum detinuit ardens studium fruendi celeberrimi Doctoris Alberti Schultensii institutione in illis doctrinarum partibus, quae inde a iunioribus annis ut deliciis habuerat. Isti quum satisfecisset cupiditati, invisit Hagam et Dortrechtum." "His burning interest in hearing the teaching of the famous scholar Albert Schultens in those areas of learning in which he had delighted ever since his youth detained him in this city. After he had satisfied this wish, he visited The Hague and Dordrecht." Dordrecht is here a mistake for Utrecht.

<sup>1170</sup> In Stockholm, Aurivillius earned his living as a supervisor for the sons of Baron Wachslager (Georg Henrik, d. 1740) and thereafter (until 1752) as a tutor for a pupil in the home of the director Meyer (likely Gerhard Meyer, d. 1784).

<sup>1171</sup> Aurivillius, *Parallelismus linguae Ebraeae Biblicae cum dialecto Arabica institui coeptus a Carolo Aurivillio A° 1746*, Uppsala University Library, MS R. 118. The dictionary was begun in Stockholm in 1746. It covers the entire alphabet (*ālef* through *tāw*) and comprises about 90 quarto-sized folios (7v–98r).

<sup>1172</sup> These lexicographical collections are titled *Combinationes omnes trilaterae, quotquot in lingua Arabica sunt possibiles, cum additis significationibus propriis et frequentius obviis* [...], UUB, MS R. 154. Aurivillius lists all possible roots in Arabic and provides information on their proper and commonly used meanings. According to the title page, the work was begun in Stockholm in July 1747.

<sup>1173</sup> H.S. Nyberg, *Johan Adam Tingstadius, orientalist och biskop* (1953), p. 41.

<sup>1174</sup> Celsius, *Historiae linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, pp. 195–196.

The background is set out in the unpublished introduction to this thesis, *De usu dialecti Arabicae*.<sup>1175</sup> After recounting the history of the Arabic language and Arabic studies in Europe, Aurivillius describes the characteristics of Schultens' Hebrew philological method. In this context, he cites Edward Pococke: "A student of theology cannot lack knowledge of Arabic without endangering the truth".<sup>1176</sup> He notes that Bochart, in his *Hieroicoicon*, and Celsius, in his *Hierobotanicon*, set the standard for assessing the usefulness of Arabic in biblical philology, but Schultens made further advances in Hebrew etymology. Before positioning himself as a defender of Schultens' method,<sup>1177</sup> he outlines the central points of Schultens' programme:

This polymath thought that the proper, most ancient, and exact meaning of each Hebrew root should be explored through Arabic, which, under its guidance, would help clarify and bring the various meanings of one and the same Biblical Hebrew root into agreement. By this approach, reason would be given for derived words according to the conspicuous meaning of each underlying root. He deemed that his opinion was so well supported by examples and reasons that no one would think otherwise, at least among scholars and philologists.<sup>1178</sup>

Aurivillius continues: "But others, especially Van den Honert and Driessen, held opposing opinions, as did Sven Munthe, who is an honour of the Carolean University of Lund."<sup>1179</sup>

In the first part of the published treatise (§§ 1–13), Aurivillius discusses the semantic bases, the historical assumptions, and the nature of

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<sup>1175</sup> Aurivillius, *De usu dialecti Arabicae*, Uppsala UB, MS R. 158, fols. 1r–7v.

<sup>1176</sup> Aurivillius, ibidem, R. 158, fol. 5v, paraphrases a passage in Pococke's "Notae miscellaneae" to the edition of Maimonides' *Porta Mosis* (1655, p. 12): "Ego vero [...] Theologo adeo utilem existimo, ut si textum Hebraicum aliquando penitus excutere necessarium ducat, ea sine manifesto veritatis praeiudicio, ne dicam, dispendio, carere non possit." Celsius, *Historiae linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, p. 194, quotes Pococke's exact words.

<sup>1177</sup> Aurivillius, ibidem, Uppsala UB, MS R. 118, fol. 6v.

<sup>1178</sup> Aurivillius, R. 158, fol. 6r: "Putaverat vir πολυμαθάστατος fore ut Arabismi ope indagaretur Ebraicae cuiuslibet radicis propria et antiquissima potestas, ad cuius deinde cynosurae ductum diversae sub una eademque radice Biblicae significationes tum intelligerentur melius, tum ad concordiam redigerentur derivatorumque in ipsa quae radici subsit notione conspicua statim redderetur ratio. Arbitratus quoque est exemplis et rationibus sententiam a se tam firmatam, ut ex literatis quidem et linguae peritis qui contra sentiret nemo unquam inveniretur."

<sup>1179</sup> Aurivillius, R. 158, fol. 6r–6v: "Sed aliter visum est aliis, Honerto inprimis et Driessenio et qui Carolinae apud Londenses Academiae haud vulgare decus est Suenoni Munthio." From 1745 to 1769, Munthe held the chair of Oriental languages and Greek in Lund, teaching Oriental languages, including Persian and Turkish.

lexicographic aids for the use of Arabic in Hebrew etymology. In the second part (§§ 14–17), he provides a sample of derivations of Hebrew words from Arabic, based on Schultens' results. The contents are summarized below to aid understanding of Aurivillius' way of reasoning.<sup>1180</sup>

§§ 1–2: Every language consists of words, each of which originally had a specific, proper meaning. As a result of semantic development, words may nevertheless acquire different, even opposite, meanings. This is partly due to the use of metaphors, in which words are used to designate new referents, and partly to a striving for eloquence, whenever available words are used in a new sense to designate referents for which there already are words with a proper meaning. For that reason, a distinction ought to be made between the original and primary meaning (*significatio originaria et primitiva*) and the derivative and secondary meaning. The origin and relations of agreement among secondary meanings can only be established by exploring the original and primary meanings.

§§ 3–4: According to Arabian and Syrian historiography, Joktan, also known as Qaḥṭan, is the ancestor of the South Arabs.<sup>1181</sup> He spoke the same language as his brother Peleg, which they learnt from their father Heber. At this point, Aurivillius refers to Celsius' *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum* (pp. 2–5), and Pococke's edition of al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī's poem *Lāmiyyat al-'ajam* (*Lamiato'l Ajam, Carmen Tograi*, Oxford 1661). As suggested by Celsius, *ibidem* (p. 9), Hebrew and differed only slightly for many generations. Joseph's brothers spoke to the Ishmaelite merchants without an interpreter, as did Moses to his father-in-law, Jethro.<sup>1182</sup> Aurivillius argues that Arabic changed only over time, as every language does. He restates this point in § 9, asserting that Arabic has retained its purity to the present day.<sup>1183</sup> In a marginal note in his unpublished draft of the entire dissertation, he quotes Schultens' definition of the concept of dialect almost verbatim.<sup>1184</sup>

§ 5: There is a difference between Arabs and Arabs: the true Arabs of southern Arabia, *Arabia Felix*, are ethnically distinct from the inhabitants

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<sup>1180</sup> Bernd Roling, "Arabia in the light of midnight sun", p. 118, underestimates Schultens' influence on Aurivillius' theory and practice of Arabic philology for Hebrew semantics. In *De usu dialecti Arabicae*, p. 26, Aurivillius states that his derivations are chiefly indebted to Schultens.

<sup>1181</sup> Aurivillius, *De usu dialecti Arabicae*, pp. 4–5.

<sup>1182</sup> Aurivillius, *De usu dialecti Arabicae*, pp. 5–6.

<sup>1183</sup> Aurivillius, *De usu dialecti Arabicae*, p. 14.

<sup>1184</sup> In the draft (UUB MS R. 158), Aurivillius comments: "Dialectus est unius eiusdemque linguae variatio quaedam externa et accidentalis, quae ad internam eius substantiam non pertingit, sed fundamentum integrum illibatumque conservat." Except for the addition of the word *eiusdemque* this agrees with Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2 (1738), p. 20 (ch. 1, § 35).

of *Arabia Petraea* and *Arabia Deserta*.<sup>1185</sup> According to Arabian sources, the Himyarites of *Arabia Felix* used an alphabetic script in the earliest times.<sup>1186</sup>

§ 6: Arabic should be classified as a descendant of Hebrew, provided that Hebrew is conceived as the primeval language, or as a branch of the same trunk as Hebrew, if Hebrew is more probably regarded only as the language of the Israelites until the Babylonian Captivity.

§ 7: Two-thirds of the Hebrew vocabulary is traceable to Arabic roots, often with the same or similar meanings. When comparing Hebrew to Arabic, one must note that six Arabic sounds are missing from the Hebrew alphabet (ذ, ظ, غ, خ, ض, and ث) and that there are regular sound correspondences, such as those between ַ and ذ, between ֿ (śin) and ش, and between ֿ (śin) and ث, as well as sporadic correspondences, such as those between ֿ and غ, between ֿ and ي, and between ֿ and و. Furthermore, the kinship between Hebrew and Arabic is evident in the verbal conjugation paradigm, the formation of several stem forms, the pronouns and pronominal suffixes, and the use of particles. Differences in the number of stem forms, the dual form, and the broken plural do not contradict the general agreement.

§ 8–9: Hebrew and Arabic are characterized by similar semantic changes, expressed through comparable metaphors and metonymies. However, unlike Hebrew, Arabic has remained undamaged and unchanged, owing to external and internal circumstances, such as the geographical isolation of the Arabian Peninsula and the Arabs' deliberate conservatism in preserving the purity of the language, as attested by the witnesses bar Hebraeus and al-Safadī.

§ 10: The meanings of Biblical Hebrew words should be divided into two classes: words used in their primary meaning and words used in a transferred meaning. As in Greek, Latin, and European national languages, the primary meanings have often fallen into oblivion, while the secondary meanings are common.<sup>1187</sup> This has befallen Hebrew even

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<sup>1185</sup> Aurivillius cites Bochart (*Geographia sacra*), Hottinger, *Smegma Orientale*, and Pococke (preface to *Carmen Tograi* and notes to *Specimen Historiae Arabum*).

<sup>1186</sup> Schultens likely relied on Pococke's statement in his notes to *Specimen historiae Arabum* (1655, p. 155). In *Clavis dialectorum* (1733, p. 323), Schultens maintains that the Himyarites in *Arabia Felix* had an alphabet in *abjad* order, with letterforms distinct from the common Arabic script and from the Kufic script.

<sup>1187</sup> In his draft (MS R. 158), Aurivillius cites several Latin words from Schultens' works, e.g., *calleo*, "know by experience, understand", which in the proper sense means *callosus est*, "to have hard and thick skin"; *hostis*, "enemy", in the proper sense the same as *peregrinus*, "foreigner"; *mactare*, "to honour with gifts", in the proper sense equivalent to *magis augere*, "to increase more"; *integer*, "entire", in the proper sense *non tactus*, "untouched"; and *confutare* and *refutare*, "to confute, refute, bring to silence", in the proper sense "keep back, check, repress".



more, because the Hebrews were accustomed to Oriental eloquence, in which semantic changes and figurative phrases (*troporum et figurarum usus*) were more frequent. Words used in their primary meaning may be explored through a study of the biblical text, while words with transferred meanings that give rise to polysemy pose difficulties, for instance, הלל (*hālāl*), “to shine”; “to be boastful, praise”; “to be infatuated”, חלל (*hālāl*), “to pierce, hurt; to play the pipe, to pollute, profane”; and “to begin”, חסד (*hāsād*), “to be kind, merciful, gracious”; and “to be reproached”, ענה (*ānā*), “to answer, praise, testify”; and “to afflict, humble, subdue”, ערם (*āram*), “to be naked; to be shrewd, crafty”; and “to be heaped up”, צדה (*ṣādā*), “to become rusty”; and “to lay waste”, רגע (*rāḡa*), “to make in a moment; to vibrate, tremble”; and “to be at rest” and שבה (*šābah*), “to stroke with a gentle hand, to touch; to praise”; and “to quiet, soothe”.<sup>1188</sup>

§§ 11 and 13: Arabic can illuminate the origins of Hebrew words, as scholars such as Pococke, Hottinger, Bochart, Celsius, and Schultens have demonstrated, but sometimes even Arabic is insufficient to recover the primary meanings of Hebrew. One also needs Chaldaic, Syriac, Samaritan, and Ethiopic, through which etymological suggestions can be confirmed. Still, Arabic provides a veracious clue, like Ariadne’s thread, to the original meanings in the labyrinth of Hebrew semantics.<sup>1189</sup>

§ 12: It is problematic that Arabic lexicographers have assigned a multiplicity of meanings to a single root without coherence and order. To this objection, Aurivillius replies, with Schultens, that it is not the fault of the Arabic language but of European lexicographers,<sup>1190</sup> such as Giggei and Golius, who preserved the unarranged heaping of all possible meanings in indigenous Arabic lexicographers, even though these lexicographers had no intention of finding any primary meaning from which the secondary can be deduced, like a spring into channels. Therefore, one should improve one’s dictionaries by reading Arabic literature and observing how words are constructed, how their various derivative and figurative meanings can be subsumed under the same root, and what particular meanings the words take on in phrases. By such a proceeding, the primary meaning can be discovered. This study requires the reading of Arabic historians, poets, and orators, including their commentators. In this way, semantic stability will be evident, enabling Arabic speakers to retain the primary meaning of each word while also allowing the use of figurative language.

<sup>1188</sup> Aurivillius, *De usu dialecti Arabicae*, pp. 17–20. In the draft (MS R. 158), Latin renderings are provided, and some other examples are also given, e.g., חלק, “to be smooth, slippery; to divide”, לון in the *qal* “to lodge, pass the night”, in the *hiphil* “to murmur”, and גאל, in the *qal* “to redeem”, in the *piel* “to defile, desecrate, pollute”.

<sup>1189</sup> Aurivillius, *De usu dialecti Arabicae*, pp. 21–22.

<sup>1190</sup> Schultens, *De defectibus linguae Hebraeae*, p. 140: “Non linguae culpa illa, sed lexicographorum”, “It is not the fault of the language but of the lexicographers.”

§ 14: Among the original meanings that were intended by the author of the biblical book, there are some interesting examples. One is the adjective עָרָב, to which he attributes the meaning “to be perpetual, ever-flowing” from Arabic, which fits Amos 5:24 and other passages.<sup>1191</sup>

§ 15: Among roots with secondary meanings that cannot be explained solely by reference to biblical usage, several examples are adduced, such as יָשַׁע (*yāšaʿ*), which in the *hiphil* means “to save”, from the original meaning “to be broad and spacious” (*amplus, spatiosus fuit, late patuit*), a sense discernible in Arabic *wasiʿa* and *wasāʿa*, “to be capacious”, and which he evinces from passages, where יָשַׁע is opposed to צָרַר, “to be narrow, restricted” (Ps 34:6, Ps 44:8, Isa 14:8). Moreover, צַדִּיק, “to be righteous”, originally meant “to be rigid, rough”, and חָכָם, “to be wise, prudent”, originally denoted “to be solid”. Another example is נָצַח, in the *qal* “be pre-eminent”; in the *piel* “act as overseer”, which initially referred to the notion “to be sincere”. Similarly, בִּין (*b-y-n*) originally signified “to discern” (one thing from another), a sense noticeable in the nominal derivative בֵּין, “an interval, space between”, and evident in the *hiphil* “to perceive, to understand”.

§ 16: The agreement among different secondary meanings of the same root can be restored in Arabic by exploring its primary meaning. The polysemous root קוּה serves as an illustrative example. Three meanings are known: “to wait”, “to collect”, and “to flow together”. These senses are brought into agreement through the primary meaning “to twist ropes together”. The second and third meanings can easily be reconciled with the proposed original meaning, while “to wait” derives from the metaphorical notion of tension: “to protect oneself by a solid hope”.

§ 17: Moreover, there are nouns with well-known meanings but no reasonable connection to any verbal root. For instance, the verb מָלַט in the *hiphil* denotes “to escape; deliver” and “to give birth”, but the nominal derivative מַלְטָה (*mālaṭ*) means “mortar, cement”. Aurivillius suggests that a common denominator for the meanings of the root *mālaṭ* might be “to be slippery”. The relationship between the verb קוּה (*qāwā*), “to wait”, and the derived noun תְּקוּוּהָ (*tiqwā*), “hope”, is another example. The divergent senses of *qāwā* can be unified under the notion of the tension of a rope, as demonstrated. The relationship between the particle עוֹד (ʿōd), “further, again”, and the verb עוֹדֵד (ʿūd), “to call as witness; to witness”, can be explained by the act of returning or doing again, as in the Arabic cognate.

In the corollaries of *De usu dialecti Arabicae*, Aurivillius states in the third thesis that just as the ancient Greek dialects are dialects of the same language, so Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic are only one single Oriental language. In the draft of this thesis (UUB, MS R. 158), he

<sup>1191</sup> F.J. Schelling (see Section 10.3.3 above) used the same example to demonstrate the adequacy of Schultens’ etymological method.

quotes similar statements by Hinckelmann in the preface to his edition of the Koran (1694), by Pfeiffer in *Introductio in Orientem*, and by Schultens in *Origines Hebraeae* (vol. 2, p. 11).<sup>1192</sup>

### 11.2.3 *Excursus: Aurivillius' editorial enterprise of an Arabic manuscript*

As an unpaid assistant lecturer in Oriental languages, Aurivillius in 1752 edited the Arab historian and geographer Ibn al-Wardi's tenth chapter on botany in his *Cosmography* (*Kharīdat al-ʿAjāʾib*, "The Pearl of Wonders") from a manuscript donated to Uppsala University by Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeldt.<sup>1193</sup> Though this enterprise was not primarily tied to the impact of Schultens' Hebrew and Arabic philology in Sweden, it was, in some way, related to the importance of Arabic within the Schultensian research paradigm. It is the first Swedish edition of an Arabic text. Due to the lack of Arabic types for printing, Aurivillius was unable to continue editing Ibn al-Wardi's *Cosmography* as he intended. The idea of publishing parts of this work had been proposed by Celsius the Elder,<sup>1194</sup> as is acknowledged in the preface. In his explanatory notes, Aurivillius compares Ibn al-Wardi's Arabic names of the plants to those in the binary taxonomy of Carolus Linnaeus.<sup>1195</sup>

### 11.2.4 *Aurivillius' invitation to Christopher Clewberg's inauguration*

In 1757, when the chair of Oriental languages became vacant after Boberg's death, the Academic Senate nominated Aurivillius as the first candidate, but the king appointed Christopher Clewberg instead. In his role as rector magnificus for the academic year 1757–1758, Aurivillius wrote an extensive invitation to Clewberg's installation as professor, the topic of which was

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<sup>1192</sup> The ultimate source is Ravius, *A discourse concerning the easterne tongues*, p. 5: "Ebrew, Calde, Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic are but one and the same language"; p. 38: "I must come to the fifth point, to shew that these six languages, viz. Ebrew, Calde, Syriac, Samaritic, Ethiopic, and Arabic, are but one."

<sup>1193</sup> C. Aurivillius (pres.) and Ephraim Axelsson (resp.), *Ex opere cosmographico ibn Alwardi particulam Latine versam et illustratam notis*, Uppsala 1752.

<sup>1194</sup> Celsius, *Hierobotanicon sive de plantis Sacrae Scripturae*, vol. 2, Uppsala 1747, p. 492.

<sup>1195</sup> Aurivillius' interest in Linnean botany as an aid to biblical interpretation was further developed by his pupil Samuel Ödmann (see Henning Wijkmark's biography *Samuel Ödman*, pp. 80–84, 208–209). In his youth, Aurivillius supplemented Linnaeus' herbaria with some unknown plants he collected during the summer vacations at his father's bishop's manor estate in Ekenäs, Vermlandia (MS X 251b: Per Fabian Aurivillius' biografi över Carolus Aurivillius, sin far, p. 4). He possessed Linnaeus' botanical works but does not qualify for the title of a Linnean Orientalist, contrary to Benjamin Hübbe's proposal in "The Fauna of fallen Babylon – Carl Aurivillius on the animals in Isaiah 13:21 and the task of Bible hermeneutics", in *Apotheosis of the North: the Swedish appropriation of Classical antiquity around the Baltic Sea and beyond*, ed. by B. Roling, Berlin 2017, p. 215.

announced as *De necessitate Hebraeae linguae*.<sup>1196</sup> In this invitation, issued on 18 November 1757, Aurivillius himself expounds his ideas about the theory and practice of Hebrew philology.

Referring to Erpenius, Golius, Bochart, Ravius, Pococke, and Schultens as authorities in comparative Hebrew philology, Aurivillius comments on the close kinship of the Semitic languages in their root stocks, derived verbs and nouns, pronouns and particles, syntax, and figurative language. In exploring the remains of a very ancient language, Hebrew philologists will not be aided by reading the Hebrew Bible once or twice, by ancient versions, by Jewish scholars, or by a superficial knowledge of the cognate Semitic languages. While Aramaic and Syriac are only able to give a faint image of their own antiquity, “the still flourishing Arabic in its munificence and fullness” provides the guidelines, so one can grasp “the colour of the Hebrew language, its nature and, so to speak, its soul”.

To prove the difficulty of studying Hebrew etymology without taking advantage of related languages, Aurivillius adduces an example that illustrates Schultens’ opinion that the Bible constitutes too small a linguistic corpus to allow reconstruction of the original meanings of Ancient Hebrew. He posits the case of a non-Swede who is given a book written in Swedish with the same size as the Hebrew Bible. This person is told to learn Swedish from this book, excluding all other Swedish-language books. He is supplied with Swedish grammars and dictionaries written in a language known to him, but only based on this single book, and authored by people who do not have Swedish as their mother tongue and who have not learnt it fully. He is also given access to translations of this book in several languages he understands, but they differ in many passages. Aurivillius concludes: Let this man, as a beginner, read and re-read the book entrusted to him. Let him record every word and every form that he finds and consult his aids. Let him try to eliminate their contradictions. Let him deduce the general meaning of every word from parallel passages and by means of logical abstraction. Let him distortedly classify words that are coincidentally homophonous under one and the same root. Let him scrutinize the letterforms and assign primitive meanings to each, so that in various combinations they form the oldest morphemes and reveal the oldest word meanings. By such a painstaking effort, he will no doubt gain an understanding of the Swedish language, but he will be unable to assess the primordial and oldest meanings of the individual words in this language (*vocum in illa singularum primaevae et vetustissimae significationes*) and will be uncertain whether his conjectures agree with the nature of the language. Aurivillius ends up:

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<sup>1196</sup> The programme of invitation is titled: “Magnis literarum patronis, patribus civibusque academicis et urbicis Rector Academiae Upsaliensis Carolus Aurivillius, poeseos professor regius et ordinarius, S[alutem] P[lurimam] D[icit].”

Still, this is the method, parts of which have more or less been embraced since the time when the Hebrew Bible first began to be studied after the abolition of barbarity<sup>1197</sup> by those who either were unable to look at the bright face of the dialects or were afraid that this would not allow them to continue believing that there is a shorter way than the one that requires the efforts of a whole century, as well as the accuracy of successful geniuses, as affirmed by those who study the dialects.<sup>1198</sup>

Aurivillius also remarks on the methodological differences in dealing with Biblical Hebrew and modern languages, but in doing so, apparently confuses linguistic reconstruction with language learning:

I would not like to try to restore [that is, reconstruct] a very ancient language by means of a method that no reasonable man would use to learn a more recent language, or that he would consider rash and ridiculous if he were told to deal with a modern vernacular.<sup>1199</sup>

#### 11.2.5 Aurivillius' academic dissertations on Hebrew philology

As a professor of Oriental languages at Uppsala University from 1773 to 1785, Aurivillius chaired more than thirty dissertations, all of which he authored. These treatises contain numerous references to Schultens,<sup>1200</sup> and the Schultensian apparatus of linguistic terminology appears throughout, e.g., *sororia dialectus*, “sister dialect”, *analogia*, “regularity”, *copia*, “richness”, *amplitudo linguae*, “linguistic copiousness”, *propria significatio*, “proper meaning”, and *originaria significatio*, “original meaning”.

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<sup>1197</sup> after the expulsion of barbarity] that is, after the restoration of Hebrew studies at the Reformation.

<sup>1198</sup> Aurivillius, “Magnis literarum patronis, patribus civibusque academicis et urbicis” [...], *Programmata Upsaliensia*, vol. IV, no. 117, p. 3: “Atqui haec illa est methodus, cuius partes nunc has, nunc illas, plus minus amplexati sunt, quotquot ab eo tempore, quo legi Hebraeus codex primum coepit pulsa barbarie dialectorum nitidam faciem aut conspicari not potuere aut ne impediret veriti sunt, quo minus compendiaria illud via pervenisse ipsi viderentur, quo ut perveniatur vel integri impensis saeculi felicissimorum sociata fide ingeniorum opus esse dialectorum studiosi pronuntiant.”

<sup>1199</sup> Aurivillius, *ibidem*, p. 4: “nollem tamen in antiquissimae linguae restituendae studio tentari talia, quae in recenti addiscenda nemo cum ratione aggressus fuerint aut in vernaculis hodie tractandis, quae levicula et paene ludrica censerentur.”

<sup>1200</sup> References to Schultens appear in the following: *Oratio morientis Jacobis ad filios*, “The dying Jacob’s oration to his sons” (1775), *De primitivis linguae Hebraeae*, “On the primitives of Hebrew” (1779), *De numero coniugationum in lingua Hebraea*, “On the number of conjugations [i.e. stem forms] in Hebrew” (1780), *Decalogus Hebraicus ex Arabica dialecto illustrates* (1782–1783) and *Examen variantium lectionum in texto Hebraeo prophetae Hoseae*, “An analysis of variants in the Hebrew text of the prophet Hosea” (1782).

In his dissertations, Aurivillius nonetheless displays originality and independence from Schultens, partly because he does not accept all of Schultens's assumptions and partly because he approves of other authorities, such as Johann David Michaelis, Robert Lowth, and Nicolaus Wilhelm Schroeder. His admiration for Michaelis is evident in his work as the main translator of the Old Testament for the Gustavian Bible commission. In the minutes taken during the meetings, Aurivillius conspicuously often refers to Michaelis' German Bible translation (*Deutsche Übersetzung des Alten Testaments mit Anmerkungen*) whenever his own Swedish translation (of a particular passage) is questioned by the other members.<sup>1201</sup> In 1785, the Swedish Bible Commission completed a provisional translation.<sup>1202</sup>

Aurivillius' dissertations on Biblical Hebrew philology were highly appreciated by Michaelis, who argues that they are of the same high quality as Celsius' *Hierobotanicon* (1745–1747) and that the reason why Aurivillius has not reached the same reputation as Celsius and Schultens is that he has not collected his dissertations in a separate volume.<sup>1203</sup> To set this right, Michaelis collected all of them, including *De usu dialecti Arabicae* (1746), and published them in Göttingen in 1790.<sup>1204</sup> He urges his fellow countrymen to read them and praises Aurivillius as the greatest Orientalist of the time in Sweden, and perhaps even in Germany, given the extent of his philological learning.<sup>1205</sup> Thinking of Schultens, he concludes that Aurivillius did not adopt any of “the favourite mistakes” (Lieblingsfehler) of the teachers abroad.<sup>1206</sup>

In his dissertation, *De primitivis linguae Hebraeae* (1779), Aurivillius took a clear position in the ongoing debate over whether the original roots of Hebrew were bi- or triradical. His treatment was prompted by the current debate over this question at the universities of the Swedish realm, where it was a matter of controversy. The biradical origin had long been defended by the Lundensian Orientalists, and three years earlier (1776), Elias Trägård had submitted a thesis endorsing biradicalism. Aurivillius admits that some

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<sup>1201</sup> The minutes of the Bible Commission of King Gustav III are held in the National Archives of Sweden in Stockholm. Vols. 1–13 and 15–38 concern the meetings of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. For the records of the first volume, 1773–1774, see the edition made by Tord Larsson, *Den gustavianska bibelkommissionen. Första protokollsboken utgiven med inledning och kommentar*, Lund 2009.

<sup>1202</sup> In the published *Prof-öfversättning af then heliga Skrift*, Stockholm 1774–1785, Aurivillius translated the Pentateuch, Josh, Judg, 1–2 Sam, Job, Psalms, and the Prophets. Tingstadius, however, revised and retranslated several of these books.

<sup>1203</sup> Michaelis, *Neue Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek*, vol. 5, Göttingen 1788, p. 75. Cf. Michaelis' preface to his republication of Aurivillius' dissertations in 1790.

<sup>1204</sup> C. Aurivillius, *Dissertationes ad sacras literas et philologiam Orientalem pertinentes*, “Dissertations pertaining to the Holy Bible and Oriental philology”.

<sup>1205</sup> Michaelis, *Neue Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek*, vol. 5, p. 72.

<sup>1206</sup> Michaelis, *ibidem*, p. 88.

pronouns and conjunctions are more readily derived from biconsonantal roots, but, as a rule established by the nature of Hebrew and related languages, Hebrew roots were originally triconsonantal, and most biconsonantal ones were once triconsonantal, even though the triradical words often admitted only one vowel and were therefore monosyllabic.<sup>1207</sup>

Aurivillius also addresses the question of whether Hebrew roots were originally nominal or verbal. Schultens had argued that all nouns are derived from verbal roots, but Aurivillius takes a middle ground, assuming that primitive words are either nominal or verbal in origin. In his view, the nominal origin is natural, given the epistemic priority of sense perception, as evident in words for members of the body and in words designating natural phenomena. Names of animals, vegetables, and minerals most likely had their own original designations, and, in all probability, the numerals were original as well.<sup>1208</sup> Although no rule can be established as to whether the nominal or verbal idea takes precedence as the primitive one, Aurivillius claims that it is easier to derive meaning from a noun than from a verbal action.<sup>1209</sup> The noun originally had the form of an absolute infinitive.<sup>1210</sup>

In his review, Johann David Michaelis argues that this dissertation sought to challenge two common premises among Hebrew grammarians: (1) the roots of the Oriental languages are always triradical; (2) the roots are always verbs, and nouns are derived from them. However, Michaelis contends that these assumptions had already been reconsidered by 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians. In his opinion, many roots of Oriental languages consist of only two radicals, but this does not invalidate the rule of triradicality. In Oriental languages, the biradical roots of an earlier human language were transformed into triradical roots.<sup>1211</sup>

### 11.3 Åbo University: Responses of caution and approval

#### 11.3.1 Petrus Filenius and Jacob Abraham Alanus

In 1740, Schultens' method of Hebrew philology was discussed in a thesis presented at Åbo University and titled *Vindiciae linguarum Orientalium*. It was submitted by Jacob Abraham Alanus under the chairmanship of Petrus Filenius. According to the title page, J.A. Alanus is the author, but the treatise appears to be a collaborative effort. The linguistic reflection mirrors Filenius' education in Lund, Oxford, and Paris rather than the respondent's, even though he was the son of Abraham Alanus, who held the chair of Oriental languages in Åbo in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The respondent states

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<sup>1207</sup> Carolus Aurivillius (pres.) / Samuel Ekeröth (resp.), *De primitivis linguae Hebraeae*, Uppsala 1779, pp. 3–6 (§§ 2–3).

<sup>1208</sup> Aurivillius / Ekeröth, *ibidem*, pp. 6–10 (§§ 4–6).

<sup>1209</sup> Aurivillius / Ekeröth, *ibidem*, pp. 12–15 (§ 8).

<sup>1210</sup> Aurivillius / Ekeröth, *ibidem*, pp. 11–12 (§ 7).

<sup>1211</sup> Michaelis, *Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek*, vol. 23, Frankfurt am Main 1785, pp. 65–67. Michaelis refers to the latest edition of his Hebrew grammar.

that he had access to Filenius' copies of Schultens' *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 1 (1724) with the appended *Oratio inauguralis de fontibus*, etc., and *Clavis dialectorum* (1733). It appears that the respondent's role in this case was limited to conveying Filenius' ideas and committing them to writing.<sup>1212</sup>

Filenius had studied Biblical and post-biblical Hebrew at the University of Lund in the 1720s, when Carl Schultén (1677–1730) held the Lundensian chair of Oriental languages with a focus on *studia rabbinica*. Appointed professor in Åbo in 1736, he obtained royal permission to continue his education abroad. In Oxford, he took advantage of Jean Gagnier's Arabic instruction and met George Sale. In the spring of 1738, he studied at the *Collège Royal* in Paris with Étienne Fourmont.<sup>1213</sup> Filenius arrived in Åbo in June 1740 and submitted his dissertation on 22 December of that year.

The thesis is a product of Filenius' education abroad. It presents the latest research on the study of Oriental languages in the broadest sense, including not only the languages of the Near East but also Chinese. Schultens' comparative method is approved (pp. 11–13), after which the picto-semantic method is problematized (pp. 13–16), which Löscher and Engeström are said to have “tried to raise to the status of probability”. Hebrew polysemy, especially the phenomenon of roots having contrary meanings, cannot be explained by this method. Consequently, it is rejected, with reference to a passage in Schultens' inaugural oration on the sources of knowledge of Hebrew. Filenius objects to Schultens' etymological method in *Origines Hebraeae* and *Clavis dialectorum* because of its sole reliance on Arabic when applying the comparative method. While he concedes that Arabic helps elucidate Biblical Hebrew, as the Jewish scholars Yehuda Ḥayyuj and Ibn Janah did in the Middle Ages,<sup>1214</sup> he argues that it is not suitable for explaining all the words in the Hebrew Bible, as Schultens supposes. Filenius infers that Schultens' approach implicitly denies the continuity and reliability of the Jewish tradition. He exhibits a dual attitude towards Schultens' key assumptions:<sup>1215</sup> While the fragmentary preservation of Ancient Hebrew should be acknowledged, the assumption that Hebrew entirely ceased to be spoken and understood in antiquity should be rejected. On the contrary, he claims that knowledge of Hebrew still flourishes in

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<sup>1212</sup> Ivar Heikel, *Filologins studium vid Åbo universitet*, Helsinki 1894, p. 189, discusses the question of authorship and assumes that Filenius is the real author.

<sup>1213</sup> See Bengt Hildebrand's article, “Petrus N. Filenius”, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 16, pp. 1964–1966; for the information above, see p. 1964.

<sup>1214</sup> Filenius notes that Richard Simon, Andreas Sennert, and Edward Pococke praise Ibn Janah for his use of Arabic in Hebrew grammar and lexicography. He also states that Jean Gagnier (1670–1740) translated Ibn Janah's grammar or dictionary (unclear which) into Latin but did not publish the translation.

<sup>1215</sup> Petrus Filenius (pres.) / Jacob Abraham Alanus (resp.), *Vindiciae linguarum Orientalium dissertatione philologica comprehensae*, Åbo 1740, p. 17: “Sunt autem heic nonnulla concedenda, nonnulla penitus neganda” [...].



Synagogue services and religious practices throughout Poland, Germany, and England.<sup>1216</sup> Furthermore, Filenius does not deem Schultens' argument in favour of the antiquity and unchangeability of Arabic conclusive. He argues that it is contradictory to think that Hebrew was extinguished in the wake of the Fall of the Jewish Kingdom in 586 BC<sup>1217</sup> and at the same time, to presuppose that Arabic has survived in an unbroken continuity, as Schultens contends, asserting that "the same language still flourishes in Mecca, as once flourished in Jerusalem".<sup>1218</sup> In the latter part of the thesis, Filenius discusses Étienne Fourmont's views on Chinese chronology in *Reflexions critiques sur les histoires des anciens peuples* (Paris 1735) and on the Chinese script and language in *Meditationes Sinicae* (Paris 1736).<sup>1219</sup> He frequently refers to the British Enlightenment project of world history titled *An Universal History from the earliest account of time to the present*, which, in its first edition (London 1736–1744), appeared in five volumes until 1740. Filenius himself contributed to a section on Jewish history.<sup>1220</sup>

Filenius was a restless scholar. In 1741, he exchanged his Orientalist chair for a theological professorship. Due to the Russo-Swedish War (1741–1743), he fled Åbo and served as professor of Oriental languages in Lund for two years (1742–1744). Subsequently, he was appointed dean of Linköping and, in 1762, bishop of Linköping. Had he retained his professorship in Åbo longer, Schultens' reception at Åbo University would likely have been more profound and comprehensive.

### 11.3.2 Carolus Abraham Clewberg

Carolus Abraham Clewberg was receptive to Schultens' linguistic ideas. He was educated at Uppsala University in the 1720s and 1730s and in Paris, Leiden, and Göttingen in the 1740s. He was not a pupil of Aurivillius but a fellow student. Both deepened their knowledge of Arabic under the guidance of Etienne Fourmont in Paris, with Clewberg studying for a couple of years (1741–1744). Both attended Schultens' lectures in Leiden, with Clewberg attending for at least one semester, the whole autumn of 1746,<sup>1221</sup> and

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<sup>1216</sup> Filenius / Alanus, *Vindiciae*, p. 18.

<sup>1217</sup> Filenius / Alanus, *ibidem*, p. 19.

<sup>1218</sup> Filenius / Alanus, *ibidem*, p. 19, referring to Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 1, p. 30: "eandem adhuc linguam Meccae florere, quae Hierosolymis olim viguit".

<sup>1219</sup> Filenius / Alanus, *ibidem*, pp. 23–33.

<sup>1220</sup> For Filenius' participation in *An Universal History*, see Bengt Hildebrand, "Petrus N Filenius", *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 16, p. 1964, which cites Christopher Henric Braad's unpublished five-volume biographical work *Ostrogothia literata* (from the 1770s), held in the Diocesan Library of Linköping.

<sup>1221</sup> Clewberg enrolled at Leiden University on 16 July 1746: *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, vol. 1, 1875, p. 1011: "Carolus Abrahamus Cleefberg Suecus, Ephorus Illustris Comitit". Clewberg was the tutor to Count Magnus Julius de la Gardie's sons. According to an 18th-century source cited by Gunnar Castrén in

perhaps the following spring semester as well. In 1748, Clewberg studied at the University of Göttingen, probably attending the lectures of J.D. Michaelis.<sup>1222</sup>

Even before his return to Sweden in December 1748, Clewberg had been appointed to the chair of Oriental languages at the University of Åbo on 11 November 1746, in recognition of his proficiency in Arabic. In his inaugural oration on the dignity and utility of the Oriental languages, he argued that the remnants of Ancient Hebrew in the Hebrew Bible do not allow us to form an opinion of the language in its entirety, and that related dialects, especially Arabic, are needed to elucidate its morphological regularity (*analogia grammatica*) and to restore the ordinary meaning of rare words and the basic meaning of common words. He also discussed the poetry and eloquence of the Arabs.<sup>1223</sup> In 1757, he allowed his student Michael Avellan to submit a treatise titled *Specimen philologicum usum linguae Arabicae in perficiendo lexico Hebraeo sistens*, “A philological specimen proposing the utility of Arabic in completing a Hebrew dictionary”. In all probability, Clewberg is the author, except for the last two pages on Finnish-Arabic phono-lexical agreements.

The first part (§§ 1–5) outlines the guiding principles of Schultens’ method of Hebrew etymology, drawing on *Origines Hebraeae*, *De defectibus*, and the 1729 oration on the antiquity of Arabic. In summary, the argument proceeds as follows (pp. 1–10):

Because Arabic is the richest of the Oriental languages and still flourishes, it is the best linguistic aid for elucidating Old Testament Hebrew. In Hebrew lexicography, Arabic, due to its large textual corpus, is useful for restoring roots whose derivatives appear in the Old Testament and for exploring the primary meanings of words, from which figurative meanings have grown like from a stem. One and the same root often has different, sometimes opposite, meanings, because it lies in the nature of language that primary meanings develop into secondary ones, by which they, so to speak, are choked. To remedy these deficiencies, scholars have resorted to various methods, but without consensus: some rely on early Bible versions, others on the meanings of the letterforms (that is, the shapes of the letters), and still others on related languages, especially Arabic, which is rich and still living. Among these approaches, the picto-semantic one is not even worth discussing, as it is absurd and

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“Carl Abraham Clewberg”, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 8, p. 633, Clewberg was staying in Leiden at the beginning of 1747.

<sup>1222</sup> Clewberg matriculated at the University of Göttingen on 27 December 1747. See *Die Matrikel der Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen 1734–1837*, edited by Götz von Selle, Hildesheim 1937, p. 64.

<sup>1223</sup> See *Lärda tidningar för år 1749*, Stockholm 1749, p. 395 (14 December 1749), for a review of Clewberg’s inaugural oration delivered in November 1749.

entirely unfounded. The problems of Hebrew lexicography are best solved by recourse to Arabic, from which many lost roots can be successfully restored, and many primary meanings can be derived. This is possible because Arabic is a closely related daughter of Hebrew and has not changed from its remotest origins to the present, and thus serves as a faithful repository of the treasures entrusted by its Hebrew ancestor.

The second part (§§ 6–8) is a piece of etymological lexicography that provides evidence for the methodological claims through derivations from Arabic of roots and meanings that have been lost in Biblical Hebrew.<sup>1224</sup>

### 11.3.3 Subsequent reception: Michael Avellan and Isaac Ross

Several dissertations submitted at Åbo University in the third quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century cite Schultens as an authority on the history of the Arabic language and comparative semantics. Michael Avellan, mentioned above, authored a dissertation on the causes of the purity and perpetual flourishing of Arabic (1759), in which Schultens is cited along with Golius, Bochart, Hottinger, Pococke, and Celsius the Elder. Following Schultens, Avellan appraises both the external and internal reasons for the conservation of the ancient character and purity of Arabic.<sup>1225</sup>

In 1772, Isaac Ross, professor of Oriental languages in Åbo, allowed his student Johannes Törnquist to submit a thesis titled *De methodo Hebraizandi metaphysica*, “On the metaphysical method of studying Hebrew”, which analyses the premises and consequences of the logical approach to Hebrew semantics in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. This approach is defined as a method that rejects ancient translations, related languages, and the Jewish tradition (p. 3) and relies solely on comparing related roots in the Hebrew Bible to derive both general (“primary and formal”) and derived (“secondary and material”) meanings. Ross acknowledges that every language has both proper and transferred senses of words. To understand the nature of proper meanings, it is necessary to “descend to the plain physical world”, which is equated with the things themselves and with their sensory perception. Once the specific proper meaning has been established in this way, one can proceed to the general meaning. Ross maintains that the controversy between Gousset and Schultens centred on whether the primary (and “formal”) proper meaning is general or specific. He remarks that this is partly a question of terminology, namely, what is meant by “proper

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<sup>1224</sup> For an account and analysis of the derivations, see Tapani Harviainen and Klaus Karttunen, “The outset of Arabic studies in Finland with notes on Finnish: Carolus Clewberg and Michael Avellan”, in *Travelling through time: essays in honour of Kaj Öhrnberg*, edited by Sylvia Akar, Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila and Inka Nokso-Koivisto, Helsinki 2013, pp. 435–444 and 450–453.

<sup>1225</sup> Michael Avellan (pres.) and Carolus Avellan, *De causis puritatis ac floris perennis linguae Arabicae*, Åbo 1759, pp. 8 and 13–18.

meaning”. However, since the proper meaning derives from a specific referent, Ross concludes that “truth no doubt stands on the side of Schultens”<sup>1226</sup> and that Gousset misused the term “proper meaning” to denote a general meaning.

## 11.4 Private and public access to Schultens’ publications

### 11.4.1 The private libraries of Aurivillius, Clewberg and others

Before university libraries were equipped with substantial collections (in the decades around 1800), European academics had to maintain extensive, well-stocked private libraries. Accordingly, Andreas Boberg acquired Albert Schultens’ key publications.<sup>1227</sup> Carolus Abraham Clewberg owned many of Schultens’ publications,<sup>1228</sup> which he most likely purchased while studying in Leiden in 1747. Aurivillius likewise managed to acquire most of Schultens’ scholarly works, buying the key publications during his stay in the Netherlands in June and July 1744. At the end of his travel journal, he noted the following works, partly with purchase prices in the Dutch currency of florins and cents:

|                                    |                                                  |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Schultens in Jobum                 | 6.                                               |
| Saladini Vita                      | 4.10.                                            |
| Haririi Consensus                  | 4.4                                              |
| Defectus hodierni linguae Hebraeae | [without note of purchase price]                 |
| Schultens Origines                 | [without note of purchase price] <sup>1229</sup> |

Upon returning to his homeland, he obtained additional works of Schultens. In 1754, he obtained three publications already bound together: *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*, *Excursus tres*, and *Epistolae duae ad Menkenium*. In

<sup>1226</sup> Isaac Ross (pres.) / Johannes Törnquist (resp.), *De methodo Hebraizandi metaphysica*, Åbo 1772, p. 8: [...] “veritas a partibus Schultensii sine dubio stat.”

<sup>1227</sup> Förteckning på salig Linguarum Orientalium professorens i Uppsala Herr Andreas Boberg bokförråd, Uppsala 1759. See p. 13, no. 101: *Schultensii Clavis dialectorum*, p. 16, no. 176 *A. Schultensii Origines Ebraeae*, Voll. II. 1724. 1738, p. 16, no. 177: *Eiusdem De defectibus linguae Ebr.* 1731, p. 16, no. 178: *Eiusdem Fundamenta linguae Ebraeae* 1737, p. 19, no. 252: *Schultensii Comment. in Jobum* 1737, p. 24, no. 398: *Schultensius in Proverbia Salomonis* 1748.

<sup>1228</sup> Förteckning på den wackra och talrika boksamling som för detta theologiae professoren vid Åbo Academie, Herr Carl Abrah. Clewberg, ägt, Åbo (Frenckell) 1767. See on p. 14: *Vita et res gestae Sultani almacini Saladini cum versione Latina Alb. Schultens*, on p. 19: *A. Schultensii Liber Jobi cum nova versione et commentario perpetuo*, Lugd. B. 1737, on p. 29: *A. Schultensii vetus et regia via Hebraizandi. Eiusdem Excursus ad diss. hist. de lingua primaeva*, on p. 34: *Th. Erpenii Rudimenta linguae Arabicae. Item Florilegium sententiarum Arabicarum et Clavis dialectorum, opus Schultensii*, and on p. 50: *A. Schultens. Dissertationes philologicae septem*.

<sup>1229</sup> UUB, MS X 251b (Aurivillius), the cursory journal of travel.

1779, he bought the two-volume collection of dissertations submitted under the chairmanships of Albert Schultens, Jan Jacob Schultens, and Nicolaus Wilhelm Schroeder. At another time, he purchased Schultens' *Animadversiones philologicae et criticae ad varia loca Veteris Testamenti* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1732). On yet another occasion, he bought Schultens' *Florilegium sententiarum Arabicarum*, with *Clavis dialectorum* appended, from Anders Gomerus (1713–1770), an Upsalian student of theology.

In *Decalogus Hebraicus ex Arabica dialecto illustratus* (1763), Jacob Jonas Björnsthåhl refers to almost all of Schultens' scholarly publications,<sup>1230</sup> but states that access to them is very difficult.

After Aurivillius' death, his copies of Schultens' works were put up for sale in an auction catalogue of his private library.<sup>1231</sup> A copy of the catalogue is still extant, with the names of the buyers and the selling price of each item noted.<sup>1232</sup> The prices were generally high because the auction attracted many interested parties, foremost Uppsala University Library, as well as foreign publishing houses (such as Luchtmans in Leiden) and individual Swedish scholars. The copies of Schultens' works were purchased by Aurivillius' pupils, Johan Adam Tingstadius, Johan Niclas Hageman, Mattias Norberg, and Magnus Eurén, or by Uppsala University Library.

#### *11.4.2 Acquisitions by Uppsala University Library (1768–1787)*

During Andreas Norrelius' tenure as chief librarian (1735 to 1749), new acquisitions in Hebrew philology generally focused on rabbinic and Jewish studies. This state of affairs changed after the historian Berge Frondin became head of the University Library in 1757. In the third quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Schultensian research programme achieved a breakthrough at Uppsala University, and the library began acquiring copies of Schultens' principal publications. According to the account book, several of Schultens' works were purchased for the library on 18 August 1768 from "Professor Clewberg".<sup>1233</sup> Christopher Clewberg, professor of Oriental languages at Uppsala University from 1757 to 1760 (after which he became a professor of

<sup>1230</sup> J.J. Björnsthåhl (pres) and J.A. Tingstadius (resp.), *Decalogus Hebraicus ex Arabica dialecto*, Uppsala 1763, pp. 10–11, footnote no. 5.

<sup>1231</sup> *Bibliothecae, quam olim collegerat in Academia Upsaliensi linguarum Orientalium professor [...] Carolus Aurivillius, sectio prior, and sectio posterior*, Uppsala 1787–1788. In the former part, see p. 3, no. 46 in folio; p. 46; nos. 154–155 in quarto, p. 50, nos. 210–215 in quarto, p. 75, no. 675 in quarto, p. 110, no. 1221 in quarto). In the latter part of the catalogue, p. 87, no. 1371, in octavo. The auction took place in Uppsala on 10 October 1787 and on 8 February 1788.

<sup>1232</sup> I am indebted to Professor Per. S. Ridderstad, the current owner of the annotated catalogue, for information on buyers and prices from the auction. The prices are given in *daler* (i.e., thalers/ dollars) and *öre*, probably in copper, though perhaps in silver, as these coins remained in circulation despite the 1776 monetary reform.

<sup>1233</sup> Uppsala University Library, Bibliothekets arkiv, E. 7: Räkenskaper 1735–1779, p. 638: "Af Herr Professor Clewberg köpt till Bibliotheket följande böker" [...].

theology), sought to make his own copies of Schultens' treatises available to the public. The following books are listed with their purchase prices: "Commentarius in Jobum" (48 copper thalers), "Commentarius in Proverbia Salomonis" (32 copper thalers), "Origines Ebraicae" (two vols., 28 copper thalers), "Fundamenta linguae Ebraeae" (18 copper thalers), the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī: "Consensus Haririi ex codice Arabico manuscripto" (12 copper thalers), and "De defectibus linguae Ebraeae" (6 copper thalers).<sup>1234</sup> The four books mentioned last were bound shortly after the purchase.<sup>1235</sup>

At the sale of Aurivillius' library, Uppsala University Library purchased Schultens' edition and translation of the biography of Saladin and the volume containing *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi, Excursus tres ad caput primum Veteris et regiae viae*, and *Epistolae duae ad Menkenium*.<sup>1236</sup> Aurivillius' copy of *Sylloge dissertationum philologico-exegeticarum* (the collection of dissertations for which A. Schultens, J.J. Schultens, and N.W. Schroeder acted as chairmen) was also obtained. This agrees with the University Library's acquisition catalogue for 1788, drawn up by the chief librarian, Per Fabian Aurivillius.<sup>1237</sup>

In the catalogue of the theological faculty's collections, begun by Frondin in 1768 and continuously updated, Schultens' works on biblical interpretation are listed. In addition to his commentaries on Job and Proverbs and his *Sylloge dissertationum*, Schultens' treatises from 1708–1709 are recorded: *Animadversiones philologicae in Jobum* and *Animadversiones philologicae et criticae ad varia loca Veteris Testamenti*.<sup>1238</sup> Exactly when these publications were obtained is uncertain, but they were obtained at least by 1788.

Uppsala University accordingly acquired copies of Schultens' works. These acquisitions met the needs of Upsalian Orientalists. The catalogue of library loans from 1787 to 1795 shows that Schultens' works were borrowed

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<sup>1234</sup> Some of these books, *Liber Jobi cum commentario*, *Proverbia Salomonis*, and *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, bear the initials C.C. as the owner's signature, whereas the other books (*Origines Hebraeae*, *De defectibus*, and the edition of the first three *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī) lack any owner's signature.

<sup>1235</sup> Uppsala University Library, Bibliotekets arkiv, MS E. 7: Räkenskaper 1735–1779, p. 648.

<sup>1236</sup> In his fair copy of Berge Frondin's inventory of the philosophical library of UUB (Bibliotekets arkiv, MS K. 127), Erik Filenius (1742–1788) added these four publications to Frondin's list. He also added Schultens' anthology of Arab historians who wrote about the Empire of the Joktanides in South Arabia: *Sylloge scriptorum Arabicorum de imperio antiquissimo Joctanidarum sive Sabbaeorum*, Leiden 1749, but the date and place of publication are incorrect; they should be Harderwijk 1786.

<sup>1237</sup> Uppsala University Library, Bibliotekets arkiv, K. 127, p. 9: "Saladini Arab. et Lat. Ed. Alb. Schultens. Lugd. B. 1732", p. 15: "Schultens *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*, 1738, *Eiusdem Excursus tres*, 1739, *Eiusdem Epistolae duae*, 1749"; and p. 23: "Sylloge dissertationum [...] 1772–75. Vol. 2".

<sup>1238</sup> Uppsala University Library, Bibliotekets arkiv, MS K. 42 (the letters R–Z).

by professors, such as Tingstadius and Hageman, as well as by postgraduate students, such as Laurentius Lindien and Brynolf Hesselgren.<sup>1239</sup>

In contrast, the University of Lund did not provide public access to Schultens' philological and etymological treatises. The only publications available were his editions of Arabic poetry and of Arabian historical writing on the Himyarite Empire of South Arabia: *Monumenta vetustiora Arabiae* and *Historia imperii vetustissimi Joctanidarum in Arabia Felici*.

## 11.5 Uppsala University: Continued success of Schultens' principles

### 11.5.1 Introduction

There is no doubt that Aurivillius played a crucial role in advancing Oriental languages at Uppsala University. During his three appointments (1747–1786), he taught Arabic to two generations of Swedish Orientalists, including Jacob Jonas Björnsthål, Peter Forsskål, Johan Niclas Hageman, Johan Adam Tingstadius, Matthias Norberg, Abraham Thorberg, Ephraim Axelsson, and Jonas Hallenberg.<sup>1240</sup> He also taught Turkish to Johan David Åkerblad.<sup>1241</sup> The historiographers of Swedish Oriental studies maintain that

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<sup>1239</sup> Uppsala University Library, Bibliothekets arkiv, MS G. 1 a (utlåningsregister). Lars Lindien (1764–1828) submitted the fourth part of *Decalogus Hebraicus ex Arabica dialecto illustratus* as respondent in Uppsala in 1788 and the fifth part as chairman in the same year. Brynolf Hesselgren (1770–1830) prepared his *Specimen philologicum de pretio versionis Veteris Testamenti Syriacae*, Uppsala 1795.

<sup>1240</sup> The last two are less well known as Arabists. In 1756, Ephraim Axelsson copied Aurivillius' own apograph of Etienne Fourmont's Arabic grammar. The following year, he copied Ibn Ibrahim Zanjani's Arabic grammar, *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* ("Book of derivation"), written in 1254 and first published in Rome in 1610 by Giovanni Battista Raimondi (1536–1614) as *Liber Tasriphi: Compositio est Senis Alemami*. The Arabic title is *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf, ta'lif al-shayk al-limani*. These two copies are held in Uppsala University Library among the manuscripts of Anders Svanborg, MS R. 128. Axelsson almost certainly copied *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* from Aurivillius' apograph, which is identified as "Grammatica Tasrif dicta" in *Bibliotheca quam collegit Carolus Aurivillius* (vol. 1, p. 147, no. 1676 in quarto).

Jonas Hallenberg (1748–1834) was educated by Johan Ihre and Aurivillius. He served as official historiographer of the Swedish realm from 1784. Although most of his published writings pertain to Swedish history, his comparative dictionary includes Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac, among other languages. It is still extant in manuscript at Uppsala University Library (MS R. 31–MS R. 62), as are his miscellaneous observations on Arabic (MS R. 133a–b), his interpretation of inscriptions on Arabic coins (MS R. 155), his notes on the Oriental languages and Russian (MS R. 156), and his observations on Malayalam (MS R. 132).

<sup>1241</sup> For Aurivillius' instruction in Turkish to Åkerblad, see Per Fabian Aurivillius' biography of his father, UUB, MS X 251b. The passage is quoted (in English translation) by Fredrik Thomasson, *The Life of J.D. Åkerblad. Egyptian decipherment and Orientalism in revolutionary times*, Leiden 2013, p. 22. Obviously, Aurivillius learnt Turkish in the 1750s. In 1773, he delivered his inaugural lecture, *De vario ad se invicem habitu linguarum Arabicae, Persicae et*

Aurivillius' professorship advanced Hebrew and Semitic language studies at Uppsala University.<sup>1242</sup> The flourishing state of Oriental language studies in Uppsala can be attributed in part to the reception of Schultens' programme for comparative Hebrew language studies. Aurivillius himself credited this prosperity to the teaching of Celsius the Elder.<sup>1243</sup>

#### 11.5.2 Domey, Forsskål, and Björnståhl

In the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the impact of Schultens' programme of Hebrew philology was evident in the works of several Upsalian Orientalists. Olof Domey (1726–1796) began his academic career as an Arabist. He studied Arabic under the guidance of J.D. Michaelis in Göttingen and graduated in 1754 with a translation of the Koran's second Sura. In 1757, he submitted a dissertation at Uppsala University titled *Stricturae philologicae, quibus radices et voces nonnullae Ebraeae in lexicis vulgo desideratae restituntur*, "Philological remarks, in which some Hebrew roots and words missing in the dictionaries are restored". He examines rare and difficult word forms in Proverbs and seeks to show that even morphologically irregular forms are regular and accepted in Hebrew usage. Domey frequently cites Schultens' Hebrew grammar and commentary on Proverbs, and sometimes his commentary on Job, his Notes on selected passages in the Old Testament, and *Origines Hebraeae* and *Clavis dialectorum*. In 1758, Domey became a lecturer in Arabic at Uppsala University, but soon resigned to devote himself solely to theology.

When he was a lecturer in Oriental languages (1747–1752) and professor of poetry (1753–1771), Aurivillius taught two talented students, Peter Forsskål (1732–1763) and Jacob Jonas Björnståhl (1731–1779), Arabic and comparative Hebrew philology. Forsskål studied Arabic with Aurivillius in

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*Turcicae*, "On the relationship among Arabic, Persian, and Turkish". The title is recorded by P.F. Aurivillius (MS X 251b), but the speech itself is no longer extant.

<sup>1242</sup> K.U. Nylander, "Semitiska studier i Sverige under flydda tider", *Ny svensk tidsskrift*, vol. 10, 1889, p. 353. C. Annerstedt, *Uppsala universitets historia*, vol. 3:2, p. 397, and K.V. Zettersteen, *Arabiska studier i Sverige*, Uppsala 1946, p. 20.

<sup>1243</sup> Aurivillius, "Vita Olavi Celsius", *Nova acta Regiae Societatis scientiarum Upsaliensis*, series 2, vol. 2, 1775, p. 303: "Fervebant ergo in Upsaliensi Academia optimi viri disciplina et institutis linguarum studia et antiquitatis tum Ecclesiasticae tum Historiae reliquae, fundamenta illa humanitatis et munimina, quorum adhuc nos inter quae illaesa viget existimatio Celsiusanae accepta auctoritati exemploque referenda est." "Thanks to the teaching and tuition of an excellent scholar, the study of languages and of ecclesiastical and other historical antiquities, which are the foundations and safeguards of the humanities, is vigorously pursued. The esteem for them, which still lives undamaged among us, is indebted to the authority and example of Celsius." In this biography, Aurivillius also comments on Celsius' Arabic dictionary (Uppsala University Library, MS R. 113), noting that it is based on Celsius' study of Arabic source texts. (the Fables of Luqmān, the Koran, the New Testament in Arabic, and Pococke's *Specimen historiae Arabum*).



the early 1750s and, soon after, Oriental philology with J.D. Michaelis in Göttingen. In a letter to Michaelis in 1757, Forsskål states that Aurivillius upholds many of Schultens' principal tenets.<sup>1244</sup> He also describes the Lundensian scholar Petrus Munck's treatise *De recentioribus Hebraismi restituendi principiis* as an account of the Swedish reception of Neumann's picto-semantic method, and adds that it is evident that Munthe's *Origines Hebraeae* is a clearly anti-Schultensian work.<sup>1245</sup> In his capacity as a botanist, Forsskål participated in the Danish Arabia expedition, but he died of malaria in Yarīm (then called Jerim), South Arabia, in July 1763. Thanks to his Arabic skills, he was able to explore Egypt's flora. This work was published in 1775 by Carsten Niebuhr as *Flora Aegyptiaco-Arabica*. Forsskål's work stands out as an example of an interdisciplinary endeavour at a time when polymathy had not yet given way to specialization.

Björnsthåhl, who was descended from a military family,<sup>1246</sup> enrolled at Uppsala University in 1754 and chose Oriental languages as his primary subject.<sup>1247</sup> In 1763, he submitted a dissertation titled *Decalogus Hebraicus ex Arabica dialecto illustratus*, which demonstrates the usefulness of Arabic for interpreting the Decalogue (Exod 20:2–17). It analyses the vocabulary of the first commandment (Exod 20:2–6) through Classical Arabic, frequently citing the writings of Albert Schultens and J.D. Michaelis. The preface asserts “the use and the necessity of the Oriental dialects, especially Arabic, in expounding the Hebrew Bible”.<sup>1248</sup> Björnsthåhl's starting point is that Hebrew should be studied by comparing it with its related languages, the most important of which is Arabic, since “the same language still flourishes in Mecca, as once flourished in Jerusalem”, with no greater disparity than that between Danish and Swedish or between Attic and Ionic.<sup>1249</sup> The

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<sup>1244</sup> Letter from Forsskål to J.D. Michaelis, dated 3 April 1757. In reviewing the candidates for the chair of Oriental languages after Boberg, Forsskål states, with reference to Aurivillius: “Der erste ist bekanntermaßen ein Orthodoxe[r] in der Philologie und hält viele von Schultens Grundsätzen.” See J.G. Buhle, *Literarischer Briefwechsel von Johann David Michaelis*, Erster Theil, Leipzig 1794, p. 345.

<sup>1245</sup> See the end of Forsskål's letter to Michaelis on 3 April 1757.

<sup>1246</sup> Olof Espeling, in *Minne öfver Jacob Jonas Björnsthåhl* (Stockholm, 1785, p. 7), states that Jacob Jonas' grandfather was a captain in the cavalry of Westrogothia and that his father was a sergeant in the infantry regiment of Sudermannia.

<sup>1247</sup> Espeling, *Minne*, 16: “Han utvalde orientaliska litteraturen till sitt hufvudämne”.

<sup>1248</sup> J.J. Björnsthåhl (pres.) / J.A. Tingstadius (resp), *Decalogus Hebraicus ex Arabica dialecto illustratus*, p. 1, where the preface has the heading “usus et necessitas dialectorum Orientalium, inprimis Arabicae, in explicatione codicis Hebraei”.

<sup>1249</sup> Björnsthåhl / Tingstadius, *ibidem*, p. 9: “eandem adhuc linguam Meccae florere, quae Hierosolymis olim viguerit, haud maiori discrimine, quam quod nos Suecos a Danis, vel Atticos a Ionibus seiungat”. This is a restatement of a passage from Schultens' *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 1, p. 30: “eandem adhuc linguam Meccae florere, quae Hierosolymis olim viguit, haud maiori discrimine, quam quod nos a

Decalogue is chosen for its status as an ancient Hebrew document in which no word is said to lack a phonetic and semantic counterpart in Arabic. The Arabic meaning either confirms the sense of the Hebrew word, illustrates its original and primary meaning more fully, or reveals a latent or uncertain meaning.<sup>1250</sup> Björnsthål despised and derided the logical (“metaphysical”) and picto-semantic (“hieroglyphical”) methods, describing them as monsters that had nearly suffocated the comparative study of related languages.<sup>1251</sup> This dissertation earned Björnsthål respect abroad, especially from J.D. Michaelis.<sup>1252</sup> During the first three years of his Grand Tour (1767–1770), he studied Arabic, Syriac, and Turkish at the *Collège Royal* in Paris under the tutelage of Joseph de Guignes, Le Roux Deshauterayes, and Le Grands. By the time he met Jan Jacob Schultens in Leiden and Henric Albert Schultens in Amsterdam in 1774,<sup>1253</sup> he was an experienced Orientalist with insight into the significance of the Schultensian research paradigm.

### 11.5.3 Johan Adam Tingstadius

Johan Adam Tingstadius (1748–1827) matriculated at Uppsala University in 1759. Aurivillius was his principal teacher of Oriental languages,<sup>1254</sup> even though Aurivillius had not yet obtained the professorship. In June 1766, Tingstadius continued his studies in Greifswald, where, on 5 July 1768, he served as chairman of the defence of his treatise, *De ortu et cognatione linguarum Orientalium*, “On the origin and kinship of the Oriental languages”. Citing the leading authorities in Oriental philology, Bochart, Hottinger, Pococke, and Walton, he presented the 17<sup>th</sup>-century pre-Schultensian comparative method, according to which Chaldaic, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic, and Ethiopic, as daughter languages, can recover many

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Germanis seiungit”, but the example of dialectal difference (Dutch and German) is replaced with Swedish and Danish and is supplemented with Ionic and Attic.

<sup>1250</sup> Björnsthål / Tingstadius, *ibidem*, p. 12.

<sup>1251</sup> Björnsthål / Tingstadius, *ibidem*, p. 3.

<sup>1252</sup> Espeling, *Minne*, p. 20: “‘Decalogus’ skaffade honom äfven utlänningarnas agtning, ibland andra Hr. Hofrådet och Riddaren Michaelis.” According to K.V. Zetterstéen, in “Björnsthål, Johan Jacob”, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 4, p. 724, *Decalogus* bears witness to wide reading, sound judgement, and an emphasis on the importance of Arabic for the fruitful study of Hebrew. H.S. Nyberg states that Björnsthål’s *Decalogus* and *Vindiciae significationis vocis* בָּר in Ps. II v. 12 demonstrate remarkable insight into various Semitic languages, a judgement quoted by Österling, in *Jacob Jonas Björnsthål*, Stockholm 1947, p. 178. *Decalogus Hebraicus ex Arabica dialecto illustratus* was continued by Aurivillius (parts 2–3, 1782–1783), J.N. Hageman (part 4, 1788), and Laurentius Lindien (part 5, 1788).

<sup>1253</sup> See Eskhult, *Schultens as an innovator*, Vol. 1, Section 20.2.7.

<sup>1254</sup> H.S. Nyberg, *Johan Adam Tingstadius, orientalist och biskop* (1953), p. 15.

lost words and meanings of their Hebrew primeval mother language.<sup>1255</sup> Having served as a respondent to Björnsthål's dissertation on the Decalogue, he understood and could apply Schultens' comparative method. Though he does not refer to Schultens, Tingstadius describes Arabic as the protectress of the stores, riches, dignity, and nobility of the Oriental language (*idioma Orientalis*),<sup>1256</sup> and argues in favour of Arabic's purity and unchangeability by the same reasoning Schultens used in his second oration on the origin of the Arabic language.<sup>1257</sup> In discussing the mutual agreement among the Oriental languages, he maintains that they share the same roots and that these roots often retain their proper and primary meanings, while their secondary meanings differ.<sup>1258</sup> This view derives from Schultens but may also have been drawn from Michaelis' *Beurtheilung*. It seems that Tingstadius refrained from openly citing Schultens, adapting to the local intellectual climate. Instead, he frequently cites Löscher's *De causis linguae Ebraeae* as a recognized authority in Greifswald and occasionally Engeström's Hebrew grammar. Overall, Tingstadius exhibits thorough knowledge of the subject, a high degree of independence, elegant style and diction, and wide reading of 17<sup>th</sup>-century scholars of Oriental philology.<sup>1259</sup>

Back in Uppsala, Tingstadius submitted the thesis *De natura et indole linguarum Orientalium communi*, "On the common nature and character of the Oriental languages" (1770), which he presents as a continuation of his dissertation mentioned above. At the outset of the preface, he paraphrases Schultens' classification of these tongues: "I present to you, benevolent reader, six languages, or rather dialects, of the ancient Orient as branches of one and the same tree and maternal stem, founded on the same root and

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<sup>1255</sup> J.A. Tingstadius (pres.) / Johannes Clarström (resp.), *Meditationes historico-philologicae de ortu et cognatione linguarum orientalium*. See pp. 5 and 12 for Hebrew as the primeval language, and pp. 25–30 for the comparative method.

<sup>1256</sup> Tingstadius / Clarström, *ibidem*, p. 16.

<sup>1257</sup> Tingstadius / Clarström, *ibidem*, p. 17, where the external and internal factors discussed by Schultens are summarized: the geographical isolation of the Arabian Peninsula, the immunity of its interior from contact due to trade, marriages with foreigners and foreign armies, the conservatism of the Arabs in retaining old forms and old significations, and the alleged annual literary competitions in Arabia.

<sup>1258</sup> Tingstadius / Clarström, *ibidem*, p. 27: [...] "plures radices habent communes significatione quoque plerumque servata eadem, propria praesertim et primaria, cum in secundariis discordia nonnunquam oriatur, quod in dialectis saepius usu venire nemo mirabitur." On the preceding page, p. 26, he claims that Arabic restores more roots to Hebrew than any other related language and preserves many meanings that do not survive in the limited remnants of Ancient Hebrew.

<sup>1259</sup> Because the public library at the University of Greifswald did not possess all the treatises quoted and referred to by Tingstadius, these sources were likely consulted in the private library of a Greifswald Orientalist, most likely Trägård. This assumption agrees with Tingstadius' additional quotations from Horace, Diodorus of Sicily, Augustine, and Gaius Marius Victorinus. Trägård taught ancient literature.

mutually connected by ties of close kinship, that is to say, Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic and Samaritan. If they are separated and dissociated, the major dialects of Ancient Greece may be separated on the same principle, as the famous Albert Schultens says.”<sup>1260</sup> In treating the comparative phonology of Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, and Syriac, Tingstadius relies in part on Schultens’ Hebrew grammar and his *Clavis dialectorum*. In the end, he denounces the picto-semantic method, which attributes internal meanings to the letterforms, as unreasonable.

Tingstadius taught Oriental languages at Uppsala University for thirty years, 1773–1803. He was appointed ordinary professor in 1789. In addition to his teaching and dissertations, he applied himself to Hebrew lexicography. His findings were published in eight parts as *Supplementorum ad lexica hebraica specimina academica*, “Academic samples of supplements to Hebrew dictionaries”, Uppsala 1791–1803. In his study of Hebrew etymology, Tingstadius often consulted Schultens’ commentaries on Job and Proverbs, which he bought at the sale of Aurivillius’ library.

On the occasion of his Swedish translation of the Psalms, Tingstadius had his student Anders Svanborg defend a dissertation on Psalms 1–2 (May 1794). His discussion is at variance with Schultens’ assumption that the original meanings are generally lost in the Hebrew Bible. Instead, Carolus Aurivillius’ approach to Hebrew etymology is proposed, which holds that not all primary meanings have disappeared and that Hebrew dictionaries contain more than secondary and transferred meanings.<sup>1261</sup>

As bishop of Strängnäs (from 1803 until his death), Tingstadius published a treatise titled “Various remarks on the Hebrew and Arabic dialects” (1820),<sup>1262</sup> intended as an introduction to a Hebrew grammar. He sets out from Schultens’ biblical model of a historical kinship between Hebrew and Arabic, based on a common ancestry from Heber, whose son Joktan allegedly “spoke the same Semitic language as his father Heber and

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<sup>1260</sup> J.A. Tingstadius (pres.) / Eric Bergsten (resp.), *De natura et indole linguarum Orientalium communi*, Uppsala 1770, preface: “Sistimus tibi, B[enevole] L[ector], sex Orientis antiqui linguas, vel potius dialectos, tanquam ramos unius arboris, unius maternae stirpis, iisdem nixas radicibus, arctissimis inter se connexas cognationis vinculis. Hebraicam loquor, Chaldaicam s[ive] Targumicam, Syriacam, Arabicam, Aethiopicam atque Samaritanam, quas qui divellunt dissociantque, eodem iure, ut verbis utar cel[eberrimi] Alb[erti] Schultens, dialectos maiores Graecorum dissociare poterunt.” Tingstadius here refers to Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2 (1st ed. 1738), p. 196, a printing error for p. 19. He also relies on Schultens’ description of the Semitic languages as branches, *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>1261</sup> J.A. Tingstadius (pres.) / A. Svanborg (resp.), *Animadversiones philologicae et criticae ad loca quaedam Ps. Dav. I et II*, Uppsala 1794, p. 6.

<sup>1262</sup> Tingstadius, *Strödde Anmärkningar öfver Hebreiska och Arabiska Dialecterna att bifogas vid den Grammatica man i dess språk helst vill följa [...]*, Uppsala 1820. According to H.S. Nyberg, *Johan Adam Tingstadius, orientalist och biskop*, p. 155, this publication is in all probability based on his lectures as a professor in Uppsala.

his brother Peleg”.<sup>1263</sup> This kinship was strengthened by the kinship of the languages spoken by the descendants of Ishmael and Esau.<sup>1264</sup> When using Arabic to elucidate Biblical Hebrew, the question is entirely about ancient Arabic, “which is found in the writings of learned Arabs and which among the dialects of Arabia is still spoken purely by the mountaineers of Yemen and the Arab Bedouins”, rather than modern Arabic, which is spoken in the Arabian commercial cities and “relates to ancient Arabic roughly as the languages of Italy to ancient Latin”, as quoted from the German scientist Carsten Niebuhr’s *Beschreibung von Arabien* in its French translation of 1774.<sup>1265</sup> Tingstadius emphasizes that the limited corpus of Ancient Hebrew makes comparison with its sister languages, such as Arabic, necessary for reconstructing the linguistic richness “that belonged to the Hebrew tongue in a time when it was still among the living languages”.<sup>1266</sup>

In his survey of “dialectal varieties in the pronunciation of speech sounds belonging to the common language of the Hebrews and the Arabs”,<sup>1267</sup> Tingstadius observes most of the sound correspondences: (1) Hebrew ט, z – Arabic ذ, d, (2) Hebrew ת, h – Arabic ح, h, (3) Hebrew ש, ‘ – Arabic غ, g, (4) Hebrew צ, s – Arabic ض, d, (5) Hebrew ש, s – Arabic ظ, z, (6) Hebrew ש, s – Arabic ש, š, and (7) Hebrew ש, š – Arabic س, s, to which he adds “like the Ephraimites” (Judg 12:6). Mainly relying on Schultens’ *Clavis dialectorum*, Tingstadius gives one or two examples of each change.<sup>1268</sup> Like Schultens, he argues that the Hebrews actually possessed the speech sounds ḥā’ and

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<sup>1263</sup> Tingstadius, *ibidem*, p. 1: “Han [Joktan] talade samma Semitiska tungomål som hans fader *Heber* och hans broder *Peleg*.”

<sup>1264</sup> Tingstadius, *ibidem*, p. 1.

<sup>1265</sup> Tingstadius, *ibidem*, p. 2.

<sup>1266</sup> Tingstadius, *Strödde Anmärkningar*, p. 4: “När inom en så liten boks gränser som innefattar det Gamla Testamentets Bibliska Skrifter, hvilkas Grundspråk vi kalla det hebreiska, ingen kan hoppas att finna all den språkrikedom innesluten som fordom tillhörde det hebreiska tungomålet på en tid då det ibland de lefvande egde rum, måste det vara nödvändigt att de flera på systerspråk (jag menar gamla Arabiskan) författade skrifter gifva det hebreiska oberäkneligt ljus.”

<sup>1267</sup> Tingstadius, *Strödde Anmärkningar*, p. 10: “de dialectförändringar uti bokstävernans uttal som tillhöra Hebreers och Arabers gemensamma tungomål.”

<sup>1268</sup> Tingstadius, *ibidem*, pp. 10–13: (1) Hebrew עוּז, “to seek refuge” – Arabic ‘ud, and זכר, zākār, “to remember” – Arabic ḏakara, “to mention”; (2) Hebrew חטא ḥāṭā, “to miss the goal; to sin” – Arabic ḥaṭī’a, “to make a mistake, miss the target”; (3) Hebrew צַעַר, ṣā’ar “to be small, lowly” – Arabic ṣagura, “to be small, little”; (4) Hebrew צֶלַע, ṣelā, “rib, ridge, side chamber” – Arabic ḏila, “rib, side”; (5) Hebrew צֶלֶם, ṣelēm, “carved image” – Arabic ḏalama, allegedly “to be obscure, shadowy”, otherwise “to cut off”; and (6) Hebrew בָּשָׂר, bāšār, “flesh” – Arabic bašar, and שָׂמַח, šamah, “to be glad, rejoice” – Arabic šamaḥa, allegedly “to sprout, flourish”, otherwise “to be proud”.

*gayn*, using softer pronunciations of *het* and *‘ayin*, although in writing they did not distinguish the softer sounds from the harder ones.<sup>1269</sup>

In his Hebrew grammar, Schultens maintained that the original pronunciation of segholates was monosyllabic, as in Arabic.<sup>1270</sup> Tingstadius declares that many segholates were once monosyllabic, for instance: כָּרֶם, *kæraem*, “vineyard”, for *karm*; בָּגָד, *bægæd*, “garment, dress, mantle”, for *bigd*, and קֳדָשׁ, *qodæš*, “holiness, sanctity”, for *qodš*.<sup>1271</sup> He argues that knowledge of the original Hebrew forms is provided by Arabic and is useful for more easily learning the suffixed forms of segholates “without a lot of unnecessary rules and exceptions from these rules”.<sup>1272</sup>

More than twenty years after the publication of his Latin supplements to Hebrew lexicography, Tingstadius translated a selection into Swedish and published it in 1824. In the preface, he summarizes his views on Hebrew etymology. In accordance with Schultens’ research programme, he argues:

We do not possess any dictionaries by native Hebrew speakers from the period when Hebrew was a living vernacular. It is impossible to find the richness of a living mother tongue within the confines of the Hebrew Bible. The scholar must therefore seek enlightenment in the languages related to Hebrew and in ancient Bible translations. Biblical Hebrew certainly allowed for many synonyms, but it mainly lacked the semantic nuances needed to designate relations between ideas. This lack gave rise to polysemy, so that one and the same word could have more than one meaning. The Bible translator ought to test the meanings of each word in light of the sense they convey in biblical passages. This state of affairs makes Bible translation a protracted and painstaking enterprise. Its goal is a faithful translation that resembles the beauty and semantic force of the original.<sup>1273</sup>

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<sup>1269</sup> Tingstadius, *ibidem*, p. 11: “I anledning hvaraf med stor sannolikhet kan slutas att Hebreer i deras språk jemväl nyttjat ett dubbelt elementum ח och ח, det ena lindrigare och det andra hårdare uttaladt, ehuru de i hebreisk skrift icke blifvit åtskilda.” And p. 12: “Sannolikt är att Hebreerne såsom Araberne nyttjat ett dubbelt ש, det ena hårdare och det andra lindrigare uttaladt.”

<sup>1270</sup> Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, p. 203: “In his vetus pronuntiatio relucet per unam syllabam, quae in dialecto Arabum obtinet.”

<sup>1271</sup> For these and other segholates, see Hans Bauer and Pontus Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (1922), pp. 455–461.

<sup>1272</sup> Tingstadius, *Strödde Anmärkningar*, p. 6: “utan tillämpning av en hop obehöfliga regler och undantag ifrån regler”.

<sup>1273</sup> J.A. Tingstadius, *Philologiske anmärkningar öfver strödda ställen i Gamla Testamentets grundspråk: ett bihang till hebreiska lexica*, Strengnäs 1824, preface dated 19 July 1823, see pp. 1–2. The Swedish text paraphrased above reads: “I betraktande så väl deraf att efterverlden icke eger lexica skrefna af infödda Hebræer under den tid då det hebraiska tungomålet var ett lefvande språk, som af omöjligheten av att inom en så liten boks gränсор, som hebraiska bibelns, finna alla

Tingstadius cites Schultens as “the polymath and linguistically proficient” (den mångkunnige och språkvittre).<sup>1274</sup> When these samples were published, he had been Bishop of Strängnäs for 21 years, during which he devoted most of his efforts to completing the new Swedish Bible translation commissioned by Gustaf III in 1774.<sup>1275</sup> What Tingstadius did not realize was that Schultens’ scholarship was being surpassed by Gesenius’ *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, which appeared in 1810–1812. What he published during his academic career was certainly at the forefront of Hebrew philology, but by 1824 the tide had turned. A new era of European Oriental philology had dawned with Napoleon’s military and scientific expedition to Egypt (1798–1801). The contemporary Swede Johan David Åkerblad (1763–1819), a diplomatist and Orientalist, used his knowledge of Coptic to partially decipher the demotic script on the Rosetta Stone, discovered by French troops in July 1799. His important contribution paved the way for the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphs by Thomas Young and Jean-François Champollion.<sup>1276</sup>

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rikedomar af ett lefvande språk förvarade, måste det för forskaren vara ett ämne af största vikt att så väl i förenämnda tungomåls släktsspråk, som i världens äldre och yngre bibeltolkningar söka ljus. [...] Ett sådant språk kan vara ganska rikt på synonyma ord, men lika fullt fattigt på namn för nyanser i relationerna idéerna emellan. Hvadan sker att orden i sådana språk måste låna [= låna] sig åt flera än en bemärkelse. Skyldigheten, som i anledning heraf åligger tolken, ökar fördens skull hans mödor att pröfva hvilken bemärkelse tillhörer hvart ord, på hvart ställe, der det förekommer. Allt detta gör bibeltolkningen till ett långvarigt och mödosamt arbete. [...] Läsaren kan lofva sig en trogen öfversättning, som i den mån [= mån] hon sannt uttrycker sitt original, skall uti skönhet och styrka närmast lika det.”

<sup>1274</sup> Tingstadius, *Philologiske anmärkningar*, p. 35 (on Job 19:3).

<sup>1275</sup> A preliminary Bible translation, *Prof-öfversättning af then heliga Skrift*, was completed in 1793. Before and after he became a member of the Bible commission in 1786, Tingstadius published his own translations of individual books: Proverbs (1783), Song of Deborah (1785), Hosea (1791), Psalms (1794 and 1813), Job (1797 and 1807), Song of Songs (1799), Isaiah (1805), and the Minor Prophets (1813). As a bishop, he was the driving force behind the completion of the new Swedish Bible translation. When it was discussed at the 1815 Parliament, it was not approved, partly because the era of Romanticism set another agenda, namely the restoration of the old ecclesiastical order. H.S. Nyberg, *Johan Adam Tingstadius, orientalist och biskop*, p. 359, remarks: “Placerad i gapet mellan två epoker försvann hela det gustavianska bibelverket ljudlöst genom en fall-lucka och kom aldrig att mer att spela någon roll i det kyrkliga livet.” “Placed in the gap between two epochs, the entire Gustavian Bible enterprise disappeared silently through a trapdoor and never played any further role in ecclesiastical life.”

<sup>1276</sup> Åkerblad’s, Young’s, and Champollion’s contributions are succinctly described by W.V. Davies, “Egyptian hieroglyphs”, in *Reading the past. Ancient writings from the cuneiform to the alphabet*, London 1990, pp. 119–128. On the contribution of Åkerblad, see Thomasson, *The life of J.D. Åkerblad*, pp. 233–238.

#### 11.5.4 Abraham Thorberg and Magnus Eurén

In 1787, Abraham Thorberg (1759–1790) succeeded Tingstadius as a lecturer in Oriental history and literature. In his *Outlines for a critical history of the oriental language* (Uppsala 1785), he argued that the original Oriental language had, over time, diverged into dialects and had been named after the countries where they were spoken. He maintained that Arabic is the foremost Oriental dialect because it is ancient, has retained its purity, is rich in vocabulary, and has an extensive literature.<sup>1277</sup> In his unpublished lecture notes, he refers to Albert Schultens as one of the greatest philologists of his time.<sup>1278</sup>

Magnus Eurén (1763–1824), a nephew of Carolus Aurivillius, enrolled at Uppsala University in 1778 and was appointed a teacher of Oriental languages in 1786, but preferred a position as a lecturer in biblical languages at the High School of Karlstad, where on 21 November 1787 he delivered his inaugural lecture on the utility of Arabic for a thorough knowledge of Greek and Hebrew: *De usu dialecti Arabicae in acquirenda intimiori cognitione linguarum, cum Graecae, tum imprimis Hebraicae*.<sup>1279</sup>

### 11.6 Oriental philology and the Schultensian legacy around 1800

#### 11.6.1 Mattias Norberg

Mattias Norberg (1747–1826) studied Oriental languages under Carolus Aurivillius from 1768 to 1773. However, he did not pursue the Schultensian programme of Hebrew studies during his forty years as professor of Oriental languages at the University of Lund (1780–1820). In his inaugural lecture, *De optima methodo linguas Orientales discendi* (1782), he proposed a reformed approach to learning Oriental languages: one should begin by learning the correct pronunciation of speech sounds from indigenous speakers, rather than from European grammarians, and only then proceed to the study of grammar, vocabulary, semantics, and phraseology. Among the Semitic languages, one should begin with Arabic, because its pronunciation is still living and the basic meaning of the words remains intact. After that, one should continue with Aramaic and Syriac, and finally learn Hebrew. Norberg contributed to the transformation and revitalization of the didactics of Semitic languages at the University of Lund. There is no trace of Schultens' legacy, except that Arabic was given the most prominent place.

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<sup>1277</sup> Thorberg, *Utkast till en kritisk historia om österländska språket*, Uppsala 1785, pp. 1–2 and 5.

<sup>1278</sup> Thorberg, UUB, MS R. 152, “Föreläsningar i österländsk litteratur”: “Schultens var bland de största philologerna på sin tid och possiderade det arabiska språket i en ganska hög grad.” Thorberg left in manuscript *Index geographicus Orientis* (UUB, MS R. 114) and commentary on Proverbs (UUB, MS R. 115).

<sup>1279</sup> Before leaving Uppsala in 1787, he bought copies of two works by Schultens at the public sale of Aurivillius' library: his Hebrew grammar and his treatise on the contemporary lacunae in Hebrew philology (*De defectibus*, etc.).



The emphasis on modern Arabic was due to his having learnt it from a native speaker (an inhabitant of Mecca) during his visit to Istanbul between 1779 and 1781.

As a professor, Norberg taught Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, and Turkish. Of the 158 dissertations published under his chairmanship, only four deal with Hebrew etymology, covering nouns, pronouns, verbs, and particles.<sup>1280</sup> Importantly, he did not follow Schultens' principles, even though he possessed Schultens' principal programmatic treatises on Hebrew etymology – the two volumes of *Origines Hebraeae* (which he bought at the sale of Aurivillius' private library), and *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*. These books are listed in the sale catalogue of Norberg's private library.<sup>1281</sup>

Norberg devoted himself primarily to publishing the Mandaic *Ginza Rabba*, often called the Book of Adam,<sup>1282</sup> a project he had begun during his studies abroad in Göttingen, Paris, and Milano (1777 to 1779). He edited the Mandaic text in Syriac transliteration, provided a Latin translation, and supplied a Mandaic dictionary. Before that, he edited the Syriac translation of Jeremiah and Ezekiel in Origen's fifth column of his Hexapla.<sup>1283</sup> In a poem, Esaïas Tegnér celebrates Norberg's reputation as the editor of *Ginza Rabba*, addressing his former teacher as a friend of the Orient.<sup>1284</sup>

Although Norberg modernized the study of Semitic languages, he upheld the traditional view that Hebrew was the mother of the world's languages. In his unpublished Swedish lectures on the history of the Hebrew language, "Hebreiska språkets historia" (1796), and in unpublished essays on the problem of global language classification,<sup>1285</sup> he retained the idea that the Semitic languages derive from Hebrew<sup>1286</sup> and that all other languages, to varying degrees, are related to Hebrew as the primordial language.

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<sup>1280</sup> Norberg, *Etymologia linguae Hebraeae*, Lund 1807–1808.

<sup>1281</sup> *Förteckning på dem af framledne cancellie-rådet och riddaren m[ed] m[era]l doct. Matth. Norbergs efterlemnade böcker*, Hernösand 1826. In this catalogue, several publications of Schultens are listed: *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*; *Origines Hebraeae*, 2 vols.; *Liber de defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae*; *Oratio de linguae Arabicae antiquitate*; and *Haririi [...] tres priores consessus*.

<sup>1282</sup> Norberg, *Codex Nasaraeus, liber Adami appellatus*, I–III, Lund 1815–1817.

<sup>1283</sup> Norberg, *Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris*, Lund 1787.

<sup>1284</sup> In the dedicatory poem to Norberg for the poem *Nattvardsbarnen*. Tegnér addresses Norberg as "Orientens vän": "Kom, du Orientens vän, du Nordens heder".

<sup>1285</sup> Jan Agrell, *Studier i den äldre språkjämförelsens allmänna och svenska historia fram till 1827*, Uppsala 1955, pp. 175–178.

<sup>1286</sup> Agrell, *ibidem*, p. 178, states that Norberg received the idea about Hebrew as the primeval language from the outdated views on language relationships, particularly from Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 1 (1724), where this idea is still taken for granted, but Agrell disregards the fact that Schultens, in his published works from 1737 onwards, rejected this opinion.

### 11.6.2 Pehr Malmström and Johan Bonsdorff

Pehr Malmström (1758–1834) studied at Uppsala University from 1776 to 1785 and most likely attended the lectures of Carolus Aurivillius. In 1789, he was appointed professor of Oriental languages in Åbo. In 1791, he submitted a dissertation on the various uses of Near Eastern languages and literature across all disciplines, namely theology, philology, history (antiquarian, political, religious, scientific, intellectual, and scribal, as concerned with the art of writing, and the history of man), auxiliary branches of history (genealogy, chronology, geography, numismatics), philosophy, jurisprudence, medicine, natural history, and economics. In discussing the philological use, he states that “the Oriental language”, defined as a term for historically related “dialects” (comprising Aramaic, Syriac, Hebrew, Phoenician, Arabic, and Ethiopic, and excluding Egyptian, Persian, and Turkish), contributes to the science of etymology by resolving the controversy over the nature of the primordial meaning of words. In Western languages, traces of physical-semantic origins are obliterated, but in “the Oriental language”, the sensuous origins remain transparent.<sup>1287</sup> Malmström returns to this issue when he examines the epistemological use of the Oriental “language” in determining the origin of ideas in the human mind: “Had philosophers taken due notice of the universal and absolute sensuality of this language, they would not have doubted in the order and manner in which the human mind proceeds in acquiring ideas.”<sup>1288</sup> Malmström does not mention Schultens, yet his reference to a strictly defined Oriental language in the singular, his emphasis on the sensory nature of semantic origins in “this language”, and his exclusion of Persian and Turkish from any historical relationship with “the Oriental language” clearly reveal the impact of the Schultensian tradition he assimilated during his education in Uppsala. As a teaching aid for his private lectures on Arabic, Malmström edited a selection of the Koran (up to Sura 2:48) in Arabic, with a Latin translation. This edition presented an emended text based on a comparison of Marracci’s and Hinckelmann’s editions, as well as consultation of manuscripts and commentaries.<sup>1289</sup> Having occupied himself with cataloguing Oriental manuscripts and coins in the Royal Library in Stockholm, he retired from his Orientalist chair in 1794 and was soon appointed royal librarian.

Johan Bonsdorff (1772–1840) first studied at Åbo University, probably with Malmström, and then took advantage of Tingstadius’ teaching at

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<sup>1287</sup> Petrus Malmström (pres.) / Gabriel Krogius (resp.), *De vario usu literaturae Orientalis*, Åbo 1791, p. 14.

<sup>1288</sup> Malmström / Krogius, *ibidem*, p. 24: “Si ad universalem et absolutam linguae huius sensualitatem rite semper attendissent philosophi, ambiguum illis haudquaquam visum fuisset, quo ordine et gradu mens humana in ideis acquirendis fuerit progressa.”

<sup>1289</sup> Malmström, *Specimen Alcorani Arabice et Latine*, parts 1–2, Åbo 1793–1794.

Uppsala University for some semesters, enrolling there in October 1792. Upon returning to Åbo in 1794, he was appointed lecturer in Oriental languages. In this position, he wrote, ten years later, a dissertation titled *De difficultate proprietatem vocabulorum in lingua Hebraea constituendi*, “On the difficulty of establishing the proper meaning of words in the Hebrew language” (1805), in which he argued that words in Hebrew, as in all languages, have a simple, concrete, and sensory origin, from which moral, abstract, and general meanings develop through metaphors. The role of cognitive metaphors makes language depend on the nature of human cognition and on consciousness of the world around. He cites Schultens as one of several scholars (along with J.D. Michaelis, Aurivillius, Simonis, and Schulz) who have advanced a reliable method for studying Hebrew etymology.

In his treatise, Bonsdorff also considers difficulties in Biblical Hebrew etymology, namely (1) the limited corpus of texts, in contrast to the state of preservation of ancient Greek and Latin literature; (2) the question of which meaning was the original when one has to choose between two alternatives with sensory or physical referents; (3) the polysemy and homonymy of Hebrew and Arabic words; and (4) the difficulty of making a correct judgment about the sound correspondences – whether regular or sporadic – between Hebrew and Arabic. As a professor of Oriental languages between 1807 and 1812, Bonsdorff did not develop these ideas but only discussed exegetical questions of the Old Testament from a rationalist perspective.

### 11.6.3 Anders Svanborg

After enrolling at Uppsala University on 3 October 1789, Anders Svanborg (1770–1812) studied Semitic languages with Tingstadius for several years and graduated in 1794. The following year, he submitted a thesis on the utility of Syriac for elucidating Biblical Hebrew, in which he endorsed the Schultensian research paradigm, which involves exploring original meanings, applying the principle of regularity (*analogia*) to explain uncommon Syriac stem forms, and comparing languages.<sup>1290</sup> In 1797, Svanborg was entrusted with the position of assistant lecturer in Chaldaic and Syriac. During the early years of his tenure as a lecturer, he took leave to study Hebrew and Arabic philology under the guidance of Oluf Gerhard Tychsen (1734–1815) in Rostock. He apparently focused on acquiring a broad knowledge of contemporary treatises on Oriental language studies and Arabic literature.<sup>1291</sup>

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<sup>1290</sup> Svanborg, *De usu dialecti Syriacae in illustrando Hebraismo*, part 1, Uppsala 1795, p. 7.

<sup>1291</sup> UUB holds two manuscript volumes of Svanborg’s reviews of contemporary Oriental scholarship; see R. 127 (dating from 1797–1798) and R. 123. Svanborg summarizes the contents in Johan Ihre’s preface to his etymological dictionary of

In 1805, Svanborg was appointed to the chair of Oriental languages. As a professor, he taught a course in Hebrew grammar.<sup>1292</sup> In the introduction, dated 11 December 1807, he outlines the history of Hebrew language studies from antiquity to his own time. His evaluation of Schultens' transformation of comparative Hebrew philology was informed by his learning in *historia literaria Orientalis*. Svanborg ascribes a pioneering role to Schultens, whom he thinks "the glory is reserved for having restored the study of the Hebrew language to its original dignity and elevating it to real philology by purifying it from useless babble."<sup>1293</sup> He highlights the methods that Schultens used to bring order to the grammar and lexicography of Biblical Hebrew. These methods are said to be the comparison with Classical Arabic, which systematized Hebrew morphology according to the principle of regularity, and the comparison with related languages, which validated and improved the results of previous lexicography. In praise of Schultens, he writes:

This great philologist showed, with the light and fervour of truth, the right and only way to study this very ancient language. He proved that knowledge of the languages related to Hebrew, especially the well-cultivated Arabic, is entirely indispensable to a Hebrew philologist, and that, without it, grammar becomes a chaos of inextricable forms, devoid of order and coherence, in which the exceptions exceed the rules, and one exception follows another. He also proved that, without the aid of the dialects, the dictionaries would remain in a state of confusion, in which the adduced meanings are unproven, uncertain, or false, lacking philological order and connection, precisely as they were handed down by the rabbis through a careless tradition.<sup>1294</sup>

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Swedish (*Glossarium Suiogothicum*, Uppsala 1769), R. 127, pp. 89–95, and Herder's *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache*, R. 127, pp. 96–106.

<sup>1292</sup> Svanborg, UUB, MS R. 128:5: Utkast till föreläsningar över hebreisk språklära.

<sup>1293</sup> Svanborg, *ibidem*, fol. 3v: "Den äran att insätta hebreiska språkstudium uti dess ursprungliga värdighet och att genom rening från onyttigt joller upphöja det till verklig philologie war Albert Schultens förbehållen."

<sup>1294</sup> Svanborg, *ibidem*, fols. 3v–4r: "Denne store philolog visade med sanningens ljus och varma rätta och enda vägen att studera detta urgamla språk. Han beviste att en grundlig kännedom af Hebreiska slägtspråken, i synnerhet af det väl odlade Arabiska, är för en Hebreisk philolog alldeles oundgängelig, utom hvilken grammatiken blir till ett chaos af outredda former utan ordning och sammanhang, der undantag öfverstiga reglorna, och undantag för [?] undantag [4r] måste antagas; att utom dialecternas bistånd lexica stanna i samma förvirring, der bemärkelserna blifva obeviste, osäkre eller falska utan filologisk ordning och samband, just sådane, som de genom vårdslösad tradition kommit ur Rabbinernas händer." Like the rest of the introduction, this passage is written with a blunt pencil, and some words contain combinations of letters that are difficult to accurately discern, for instance, *slägtspråken*, "historically related languages", and *vårdslösad*, the perfect participle of the verb *vårdslösa*, which is a derivative of the adjective *vårdslös*, "careless,

Svanborg then outlines a twofold reaction to Schultens' method. Narrow-minded and incompetent scholars met it with a clamour, as if it were a heretical doctrine, considering it a threat to religion if the holy language were allowed to be studied "according to true philological principles",<sup>1295</sup> while scholars of a more critical mindset received it with acclaim. Notable among the latter was J.D. Michaelis, who is said to have given Schultens' method a good reputation that quickly spread throughout Europe.<sup>1296</sup>

In his own theory and practice of Oriental philology, Svanborg persisted in upholding the Schultensian views on the original identity of Hebrew and Arabic and on the unchangeability of Arabic. In an essay on the history of Oriental literature that remains unpublished, he states: "The Arabs are remarkable in having retained the customs, the practices, and the language of their ancestors unchanged for almost four thousand years."<sup>1297</sup> Svanborg further developed these ideas in the preface to his Arabic anthology, *Öfningar i arabiskan* ("Exercises in Arabic", 1802):

In the Arabian countryside, Arabic is still spoken with the same simplicity and purity as in the age of the patriarchs. The fact that a language has retained its character and purity for several thousand years is remarkable. [...] Our Holy Scriptures gain full clarity from Arabic, since they are written in a language essentially the same as that of the Arabs, who trace their origin to Joktan, the son of Heber, the ancestor of the Hebrews. These tribes were exposed to the same climate, lived in

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negligent, neglectful". I am grateful to Annie Burman, PhD, for identifying the correct reading *slätspråken*, proposing the possible reading *för*, and confirming the reading *rätta*, and to Carina Burman, associate professor, for solving the puzzle of the reading *vårdslösad*. I also thank Kia Hedell, librarian at Special Collections, Uppsala University Library, for suggesting the readings *med* and *varma*, the latter of which is a nominal variant of *värme*.

<sup>1295</sup> Svanborg, *ibidem*, fol. 4r: "Att denna nya lära skulle finna häftigt motstånd låg i sakens natur. [...] Ett allmänt rop uppstod mot denna kätterska method, och den tacklösa hopen instämde deri – man bäfvade för religionen, ifall det tillätes att efter sanna philologiska grunder studera dess heliga språk."

<sup>1296</sup> Svanborg, *ibidem*, fol. 4r. [...] "J.D. Michaelis [...] gaf åt Schultens' method ett anseende som hastigt spriddes kring största delen av Europa."

<sup>1297</sup> Svanborg, *Om den österländske literaturen: dess öden och beskaffenhet*, UUB, MS R. 128, p. 38: "Araberna äro märkvärdiga at hafva behållit sina förfäders seder, bruk och språk snart fyra tusend år oförändrade." For the history of the Arabic language, he refers here not only to Schultens' writings but also to those of Olof Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, Johann Heinrich Michaelis, *Historia linguae Arabicae*, Johann David Michaelis, *Beurtheilung der Mittel*, and Schelling, *Abhandlung von dem Gebrauch der Arabischen Sprache*.

similar countries, and shared the same customs; consequently, they had the same character in thought and linguistic expressions.<sup>1298</sup>

Svanborg accordingly transmitted the same ideas he had learnt from his authorities: Albert Schultens, Johann David Michaelis, and his own teacher Tingstadius. He never abandoned his conceptions of the uniformity and unchangeability of Arabic, even as subtler views had been advanced as a result of travels to the Near East. For instance, Carsten Niebuhr, the only survivor of the Danish Arabia expedition (1761–1767), in his *Description of Arabia*, emphasized the regional differences in Arabic and the fact that ancient Arabic differs from the modern spoken vernacular.<sup>1299</sup> Svanborg was acquainted with Niebuhr's observations and paraphrased them in Swedish,<sup>1300</sup> but he did not adjust his views on the history of the Arabic language. Instead, he sided with the Orientalist Johann Jahn in Vienna, who argued that Arabic has changed only accidentally over time.<sup>1301</sup>

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<sup>1298</sup> Svanborg, *Öfningar i arabiskan*, Uppsala 1802, preface, p. 3: [...] "på landsbygden i Arabien talas ännu detta språk i samma enfald och renhet som vid patriarkernas tid. Att ett språk igenom flere årtusenden bibehåller sitt ursprungliga lynne och renhet [...] är något så eget [...]. Våra heliga urkunder vinner ur dessa fullkomlig klarhet. De äro författade på ett språk som i sin grund är ett med arabernas, vilka från Joktan, son of Heber, Hebréernas stamfader, leda sitt ursprung. Båda stammarna lefvde under lika himmel, i lika länder, egde samma seder och bruk; de fingo därigenom samma lynne i tankar och uttryck." Cf. Mats Eskhult, "Anders Svanborg som arabist med tonvikt på hans läromedel", *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-samfundet i Uppsala årsbok 2014*, pp. 15–16.

<sup>1299</sup> Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, under the heading "Die Arabische Sprache", p. 84: "Jetzt trifft man vielleicht in keiner Sprache so viele Mundarten an, als in der arabischen", i.e. "In the present day there is perhaps no language in which one finds so many dialects as in Arabic." In the preface, Niebuhr underlines the diachronic change of Arabic: "The modern Arabic spoken in the Hijáz is to the ancient Arabic very much what the language of Italy is to ancient Latin. The different Arabic dialects have their parallel in those of Italy, and outside Arabia they have the same relation to one another that the Provençal, the Spanish, the Portuguese, etc. have." [...] "But it must not be supposed that one understands Arabic because one has learnt Arabic from old books. Their vulgar language has changed much, although not as much as European languages." See C.W.H. Sealy's English translation, *Description of Arabia*, Bombay 1889, pp. 34–35.

<sup>1300</sup> MS R. 124, UUB: "Nuförtiden finner man till äfventyrs i intet språk så många munarter som i arabiskan. Se Niebuhr om Arabien, p. 83." [...] "Det nyare arabiska språket som talas i Hejas förhåller sig emot det gamla ursprungliga nästan såsom Italiens mot det gamla latinska. Arabernas åtskilliga munarter förhåller sig såsom åtskilliga dialecter i Italien, och det arabiska språket utom Arabien såsom provensalskan, spanskan och portugisiskan, och så vidare.

<sup>1301</sup> Jahn, *Arabische Sprachlehre*, Vienna 1796, preface, pp. xi–xiv. Svanborg (in UUB, MS R. 127) approved of Jahn's preface.

In his selection of texts for his anthology – which consists of Luqmān’s fables, a collection of 35 Arabic proverbs, Sura 55 of the Koran, and al-Ṭughrā’ī’s poem *Lāmiyyat al-‘ajam* – Svanborg remained faithful to the older stage of Oriental scholarship. He retained the Erpenian tradition of starting with Luqmān’s fables, which he dated to the time of King Solomon. These fables and the collection of proverbial sayings are put forward as samples of Arabic in its golden age and as proofs of an ancient Oriental wisdom,<sup>1302</sup> while the sample from the Koran is said to illustrate Arabic of the silver age.

In the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, Upsalian Orientalists were among the first to adopt Schultens’ innovations in comparative Hebrew language studies and diligently integrated the advances of German Orientalists, yet Svanborg does not appear to have shown comparable receptivity to the new directions that Oriental philology was taking in his own time. As an Arabist, he was also not sensitive to the trend towards broadening the textual basis for studying Arabic. In the decade before the publication of his Arabic textbook (1802), Arabists had produced new samples of Arabic literature in a variety of genres and subjects, for instance, Tychsen’s *Elementale Arabicum* (1792), and E.F.K. Rosenmüller’s *Arabisches Elementar- und Lesebuch* (1799). Johann Jahn published his *Arabische Chrestomathie* in the same year as Svanborg’s anthology. More importantly, a new era was about to dawn with Antoine Silvestre de Sacy’s *Chrestomathie Arabe* (1806).

#### 11.6.4 Jacob Wallenius

At the University of Greifswald, Schultens’ comparative philology received no attention in the works of Jacob Wallenius (1761–1819), who, after the chair of Oriental languages had been suspended for twenty years (i.e., since 1775), attained it by royal appointment on 25 November 1795.<sup>1303</sup> The reasons for this continued neglect were varied. A principal reason was that no tradition of comparative Hebrew philology had yet been established at the university in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Wallenius was certainly educated as a classical and Hebrew philologist at Uppsala University between 1778 and 1783, attending the lectures of Carolus Aurivillius, Johan Niclas Hageman, Johan Floderus (professor of Greek), Pehr Suedelius, Jacob Axelsson Lindblom (professors of rhetoric), and the historian Eric Michael Fant.<sup>1304</sup>

However, as a professor, Wallenius apparently devoted himself more to literary criticism than to Hebrew and Oriental philology. He held the Orientalist chair alongside professorships in aesthetics, Latin, and German,

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<sup>1302</sup> However, Luqmān’s fables are actually an Arabic adaptation of Aesop’s fables and date from the Middle Ages. Similarly, Erpenius based his collection of Arabic proverbial sayings on contemporary Arab informants.

<sup>1303</sup> See Wallenius’ autobiography up to 1800, *Einige Begebenheiten meines Lebens*, edited by Dirk Alvermann, Greifswald 2016, pp. 227 and 288.

<sup>1304</sup> Wallenius, *Einige Begebenheiten meines Lebens*, pp. 42 and 56.

publishing and lecturing on these subjects.<sup>1305</sup> During his tenure as a professor, he continued to play a key role in the cultural exchange between Sweden and Pomerania during the Gustavian era (1772–1809), as he had as vice-librarian at the University of Greifswald (1786–1794).<sup>1306</sup> He maintained correspondence with the Swedish publisher Carl Christopher Gjørwell. However, the Napoleonic Wars took a heavy toll on him. Between the autumn of 1807 and January 1810, French troops occupied Swedish Pomerania. As an ardent Gustavian royalist, Wallenius could not accept foreign rule. Feeling uneasy and restless, he resigned his academic post in 1810 to become a vicar in Patzig on Rügen. As a Greifswald academic, he followed in the footsteps of Elias Trägård, whom he described as his “daily associate and counsellor”, his “perpetual benefactor and friend” and “a thorough scholar, whom it was very pleasant and instructive to visit”.<sup>1307</sup>

Wallenius published a few dissertations on Hebrew philology. One of them addresses the question of orientalisms in the Greek New Testament, *Dissertatio philologico-critic de orientalismi Novi Testamenti* (two parts, 1802). He maintains that the entire Greek New Testament shows “evident and frequent traces of the Oriental languages”.<sup>1308</sup> He refers to the first notable writers on this topic, Sebastian Pfochenius (*De linguae Graecae Novi Testamenti puritate*, 1633) and Thomas Gataker (*De Novi Instrumenti stylo*, 1648), as well as many subsequent authorities, such as Johannes Vorstius (*De Hebraismis Novi Testamenti*, 1665). Other dissertations deal with the craft of Tubal-Cain in Gen 4:22 (1803), the song of Lamech in Gen 4:23–24 (two parts 1804), and the destruction of the Assyrian army in 2 Kgs 19:53 (1799). None of them contains references to Albert Schultens.

Wallenius translated the apocryphal Book of Wisdom from Greek into Swedish (*Salomos vishet*, Greifswald 1786) and accompanied his translation with philological and critical remarks. In his Greifswald dissertations, he presented his views on topics in the Book of Wisdom, such as the death of the firstborn in Egypt (1798) and Solomon’s prayer for wisdom.

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<sup>1305</sup> Wallenius, *Einige Begebenheiten meines Lebens*, p. 255.

<sup>1306</sup> Andreas Önnersfors, *Svenska Pommern: kulturmöten och identifikation 1720–1815*, Lund 2003, in which Wallenius’ contribution as a literary critic in Swedish Pomerania is discussed along with his reflections on cultural identity as an immigrant Swede. Wallenius remarked significantly: “Ich war beides, Fremd und Bekannt, Ausländer und Eingeborener.” Quoted by Dirk Alverman in the preface to the edition of Wallenius’ autobiography.

<sup>1307</sup> Wallenius, *Einige Begebenheiten meines Lebens*, p. 268: “Er war fast täglich mein Gesellschafter, ein Ratgeber, immer mein Freund und Gönner. [...] Er war ein grundgelehrter Mann. Es war sehr angenehm und lehrreich, ihn zu besuchen.”

<sup>1308</sup> Jacob Wallenius (pres.) / Jacob Andreas Åbygge (resp.), *Dissertatio philologica-critica de orientalismi Novi Testamenti*, Greifswald 1802, p. 10: “Totus Novi Testamenti codex Graecus luculentissima frequentatissimaque linguarum Orientalium vestigia prodit.”



## 12. Historiographical assessments in the 19<sup>th</sup> century

In the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Schultens' programme of comparative Semitic language studies was no longer fully embraced. Although its tenable elements were integrated into the theory and method of Semitic philology, the programme itself entered a historiographical stage. Only in its particulars did Schultens' scholarship remain relevant to Hebrew etymologists and biblical expositors. Across Western Europe, including the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, France, and England, Schultens' legacy was evaluated.

### 12.1 Dutch, Italian, and French scholars

#### 12.1.1 Hamaker

Henric Arent Hamaker (1789–1835) was a Dutch Semitist who published on Arabic, Phoenician, and Samaritan, and who had an impact on Old Testament interpretation and textual criticism. He was a professor of Oriental languages at Franeker and Leiden.<sup>1309</sup> As a student of Joannes Willmet, Hamaker can be seen as an epigone of the Schultensian school.<sup>1310</sup> He possessed Schultens' principal publications in Hebrew and Arabic philology.<sup>1311</sup> In a review of Georg Wilhelm Freytag's re-edition of Abū Tammām's collection of Arabic poetry, *al-Ḥamāsa*, Hamaker distinguishes three stages of Arabic studies in Europe from the Middle Ages to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century: (1) the scientific and philosophical stage, marked by the medieval reception of Aristotle through Latin translations of Arabic originals; (2) the historical-philological stage, represented by Erpenius, Golius, Pococke, Selden, and d'Herbelot; and (3) the biblical-philological stage, with Albert Schultens as a groundbreaker. Hamaker explains:

From these beginnings, though praiseworthy in themselves, the subsequent periods made little progress. However, the great Albert Schultens completely changed the method. When he understood that the dignified Hebrew language, which he had received in a deranged and

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<sup>1309</sup> From 1815 to 1817, Hamaker held the chair in Franeker, and from 1822 to 1835 in Leiden. In the meantime, he served as an extraordinary professor in Leiden. For his life, see Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen in Nederland*, pp. 129–136, and Th. W. Juynboll, *Oratio de Henrico Arentio Hamakero* [...], Groningen 1837.

<sup>1310</sup> Juynboll, *ibidem*, pp. 10–11.

<sup>1311</sup> See *Bibliothecae Hamakerianae pars sive catalogus librorum de rebus ac literis Orietalibus deque arte grammatica* [...] viri celeb. H.A. Hamaker, Leiden 1836.

neglected state from his predecessors, could be restored and renewed through the related dialects, especially Arabic, he directed the most acute talents to the interpretation of ancient Arabic poems and to a more careful study of grammar and lexicography, at a time when interest in historical investigations was growing cold.<sup>1312</sup>

### 12.1.2 Juynboll

Hamaker's pupil, Theodoor Willem Johannes Juynboll, wrote a biography of his teacher.<sup>1313</sup> In the preliminaries, he outlines the state of Oriental language studies in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Netherlands. In doing so, he attributes a key role to Albert Schultens, who dispelled inherited prejudices and paved the way for the comparative study of Semitic dialects. He is said to have used Arabic to elucidate Hebrew etymology, improve dictionaries, emend the text of the Old Testament, and explain its difficult passages.<sup>1314</sup> It must be regretted, Juynboll continues, that many of Schultens' students failed to follow in their teacher's footsteps. Some lacked proficiency in Arabic, while others were too cautious. To the latter category, he counts Jan Jacob Schultens and Henric Albert Schultens.<sup>1315</sup>

Juynboll follows Hamaker's periodization of the history of Arabic studies in Europe and proposes that Albert Schultens inaugurated a linguistic period (*periodus grammatica*) devoted to the study of Arabic lexicographers and commentators on Arabic literature.<sup>1316</sup>

In an oration on the state of Oriental language studies in his own time, delivered upon his installation as professor of Oriental languages at the High

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<sup>1312</sup> Hamaker, *Bibliotheca critica nova*, vol. 3, Leiden 1827, pp. 288–289: “At his inceptis, quantumvis laudatissimis, insequentia tempora suffragata non sunt, quorum rationem penitus commutavit vir magnus Albertus Schultensius, qui cum Hebraicae linguae dignitatem, quam contaminatam et abiectam a decessoribus acceperat, dialectorum, et imprimis Arabicae, subsidio restitui et instaurari posse animadvertisset, doctrina sua et exemplo hoc effecit, ut refrigescente historicae investigationis alacritate, acutissima quaeque ingenia ad vetusta Arabum carmina interpretanda, ad grammaticam et lexicographiam accuratius considerandam, translata sint.”

<sup>1313</sup> Juynboll, *Oratio de Henrico Arentio Hamakero, studii literarum Orientalium in patria nostra vindice praeclaro* [...], Groningae 1837.

<sup>1314</sup> Juynboll, *ibidem*, p. 9: “Prodit magnus Albert Schultensius. Hic studio linguae Hebraicae et Arabicae animo addidit. Plerorumque inveteratis erroribus profligatis primus viam munivit ad Semiticarum dialectorum, praesertim vero Arabicae, comparisonem recte instituendam eamque adhibendam cum etymologiae Hebraicae illustrandae, tum etiam lexicis emendandis et libros V.T. eiusque locis difficilioribus expediendis.”

<sup>1315</sup> Juynboll, *ibidem*, pp. 9 and 51–53. Juynboll notes that Jan Jacob Schultens published no further works in Hebrew studies beyond a couple of writings (his dissertation in 1742 and his inaugural oration in 1749). See Section 10.1.3 above.

<sup>1316</sup> Juynboll, *ibidem*, p. 19. Cf. Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen*, pp. 127 f.

School of Franeker in 1831, Juynboll cites Schultens and Erpenius as the Dutch founders of Arabic studies in Europe.<sup>1317</sup> Considering the increased knowledge of Oriental languages, the textual editions of Arabic authors in every genre, and the grammatical advances in Arabic initiated by Silvestre de Sacy, based on indigenous Arab grammarians, and in Hebrew by Gesenius and Ewald (referred to as de Sacy's German counterparts), Juynboll states:

Anyone who denies Albert Schultens, Schroeder, and other old scholars their due merits should not be acquitted of suspicion of envy. Auditors, these names are immortal and will remain so. But it is likewise a great injustice to regard all earlier authorities as superior to, for instance, Gesenius and Ewald.<sup>1318</sup>

### 12.1.3 Luzzatto

Samuel David Luzzatto's (1800–1865) *Prolegomeni ad una grammatica ragionata della lingua ebraica* (Padua 1836)<sup>1319</sup> is divided into three parts: the history of Hebrew grammatical scholarship until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the history of the Hebrew language, and a survey of the rules of inflection in Biblical Hebrew, followed by appendices on Hebrew punctuation. Luzzatto intended this as an introduction to his subsequent Hebrew grammar, *Grammatica della lingua ebraica* (Padua 1853–1867).

The first part of the prolegomena (§§ 1–44) outlines “the origins and the milestones of the grammatical study of the holy language among Israelites and among the Christians”.<sup>1320</sup> In his discussion of the linguistic writings of Albert Schultens (§ 25),<sup>1321</sup> Luzzatto considers it an example of the dialectical principle that one extreme is opposed to another before the happy medium is found. He accordingly contends that Schultens moved from “a metaphysical method”, based on abstraction and reasoning, to “a hardly less

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<sup>1317</sup> Juynboll, *Oratio de hodierna studii linguarum orientalium conditione*, Franeker 1832, p. 15.

<sup>1318</sup> Juynboll, *ibidem*, p. 15. The final point reads in the Latin original: “Invidiae non esset absolvendus, qui Alberto Schultensio, Schroedero aliisque Veteribus, magna merita abiudicaret. Nomina illa, Auditores! sunt manentque immortalia! – Verum summa quoque est iniuria Veteres omnes anteponere Gesenio v. c. et Ewaldio” [...]. To recent scholars Juynboll adds Taco Roorda, pupil of van der Palm and Hamaker and author of an Arabic grammar (*Grammatica Arabica*, 1834).

<sup>1319</sup> An English translation by Aaron D. Rubin, titled *Prolegomena to a grammar of the Hebrew language* with notes and additional material, was published in Piscataway in 2005. For an analysis of the intellectual contexts and scholarly aims of Luzzatto's prolegomena, see Marco Di Giulio, “S. D. Luzzatto's Programme for Restoring Jewish Leadership in Hebrew Studies”, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 105: 3, pp. 340–366.

<sup>1320</sup> Luzzatto, *Prolegomena to a grammar of the Hebrew language*, p. 4.

<sup>1321</sup> Luzzatto, *ibidem*, pp. 43–44.

fallacious” method, the nature of which is not determined. Still, he thinks that it has “a semblance of truth” because it seems “less arbitrary” and describes Schultens as the advocate of a comparative method combined with a rationalist systematization.<sup>1322</sup> Assuming that Aramaic presents a better means of forming an opinion about pre-classical Hebrew (“the primitive image of the Hebrew language”), he dissociates himself from Schultens’ idea that Arabic is closest to the primeval language, that is, proto-Semitic.

Luzzatto heavily criticizes Schultens’ recourse to Arabic as a means “to explain everything in the Hebrew”, particularly in his lexicography, which entails a change in “the meaning of the most common words”. He admits that Ibn Quraysh and Ibn Janah used Arabic to explain “less obvious Hebrew words”, but in doing so, Schultens “went beyond all fair limits”.

Luzzatto also questions Schultens’ assumption (in his Hebrew grammar) that many forms in Ancient Hebrew appear only as anomalies in the extant biblical corpus of Hebrew, whereas they are widely used and regular in Arabic. He ultimately rejects Schultens’ specific grammatical positions, namely his Altingian method of measuring syllable length,<sup>1323</sup> his doctrine of the derivation of nouns and particles from verbs, and his doctrine of the segholate forms. The first is said to have fallen into oblivion,<sup>1324</sup> the second was abandoned by Gesenius,<sup>1325</sup> and the third still prevails, though it lacks plausibility and has finally been questioned by Luzzatto himself.

#### 12.1.4 Quatremère

In a historical survey of Hebrew lexicography by Christian scholars from Reuchlin’s *De rudimentis hebraicis*, the French Orientalist Étienne-Marc Quatremère refers to Schultens’ project of a Hebrew dictionary.<sup>1326</sup> In his

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<sup>1322</sup> Luzzatto, *Prolegomena*, p. 3,

<sup>1323</sup> In his Hebrew grammar, *Arcanum punctationis linguae sanctae* (1654), Alting argued that Hebrew prosody is based on the time units (in Latin, *morae*) required to pronounce a syllable. He used this principle to explain the choice between long and short vowels in the Hebrew Bible: a long vowel took two *morae*, while a short vowel took one *mora*. In *Compendium grammaticae Ebraeo-Chaldaicae* (1699), Johann Andreas Danz developed Alting’s theory into a system of three length units. See Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, Leipzig 1815, pp. 123–124; B. Pick, “The study of the Hebrew language among the Jews and the Christians: Period II: the study of Hebrew among the Christians (A.D. 1500–1700)” in *Bibliotheca sacra* 42 (1885), p. 491; and Duane L. Christensen, “Two stanzas of hymn in Deuteronomy 33”, *Biblica* 65:3 (1985), p. 385.

<sup>1324</sup> According to Christensen, “Two stanzas of hymn in Deuteronomy 33” (p. 385), the Altingian-Danzian prosodic theory survived until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>1325</sup> Schultens himself suggested that the infinitive is the origin of both verbs and nouns (see his *Institutiones Aramaeae*, pp. 34–35).

<sup>1326</sup> See *Journal des savants*, Paris 1844, pp. 607–612, for Quatremère’s survey, which serves as an introduction to his review of Jean-Baptiste Glaire’s *Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Paris 1843 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. Paris 1830).

private library, Quatremère had access to Schultens' Hebrew grammar and lexicographical writings, including his Hebrew dictionary, a record of which he owned. He describes Schultens as a scholar perfectly acquainted with the Arabic language<sup>1327</sup> and gives prominence to Schroeder and Scheidius as advocates of the Schultensian school of Oriental philology:

Albert Schultens' hypotheses were enthusiastically received by his numerous pupils, among whom were two men of eminent learning, Edward Scheidius, so well-versed in Arabic literature, and Nic. Wilh. Schroeder, who has become immortal for his masterpiece of Oriental learning, *Commentarius de vestitu mulierum Hebraearum*, and to whom we owe one of the best Hebrew grammars ever published. Germany, likewise, followed this impulse; and in emulation, a range of Arabic etymologies were born under the pens of many writers and, with more or less success, were applied to the words of the Hebrew language.<sup>1328</sup>

Assessing the weaknesses of the Schultensian approach to Hebrew philology, Quatremère refers to the overuse of Arabic and the disregard for other Semitic languages in comparative lexicography:

Doubtless, the ideas of Schultens and his school rested in part on a foundation of indisputable truth. Certainly, Arabic is as ancient as Hebrew and is closely related to it. By offering the invaluable advantage of still being alive and of possessing a literature as immense as it is varied, it ought to offer great help to those who wish to study the particularities of Ancient Hebrew in depth. Still, Arabic, despite its vast vocabulary, is far from sufficient to resolve the difficulties posed by the text of the Bible. To Arabic must necessarily be added, among other aids, the languages of peoples who, at all times, have had close relations with the Jews: that is to say, especially Chaldaic and Syriac. It may even be established that, if, as far as grammatical forms and idioms are concerned, Arabic is the one that provides the most assistance, Syriac

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<sup>1327</sup> Quatremère, "Lexicon manual Hebraicum et Chaldaicum [...] Auctore J.B. Glaire, Parisiis 1843", *Journal des savants*, p. 610.

<sup>1328</sup> Quatremère, *ibidem*, p. 610: "Les hypothèses d'A. Schultens furent accueillies avec transport par ses nombreux élèves, parmi lesquels on comptait, entre autres, deux hommes d'un savoir éminent, E. Scheidius, si versé dans la littérature arabe, et Nic. Guill. Schoeder, qui s'était immortalisé par un chef-d'œuvre d'érudition orientale, son *Commentarius de vestitu mulierum Hebraearum*, et auquel nous devons une des meilleures grammaires hébraïques qui aient été publiées. L'Allemagne suivit également cette impulsion; et l'on vit naître à l'envi, sous la plume d'une foule d'écrivains, une nombreuse suite d'étymologies arabes appliquées avec plus ou moins de succès aux mots de la langue hébraïque."

offers, perhaps, when it comes to the explanation of words, an even more reliable and more abundant resource.<sup>1329</sup>

He continues:

Moreover, among the scholars who uncritically adopted Schultens' ideas, many were far from possessing thorough knowledge of Arabic. Several had studied the language only superficially and were content to borrow its etymologies from Golius' lexicon. These conjectures, often unjustified and unnatural, were far inferior to the hypotheses proposed by Schultens, Scheidius, and Schroeder, since men of such merit and erudition can offer their readers real instruction even in places where they are mistaken.<sup>1330</sup>

Having briefly referred to the Hebrew dictionaries and lexicography of Simonis, Eichhorn, and Dindorf, and having recommended Michaelis and Winer for their considerate and valuable observations, Quatremère arrives at Gesenius, whose achievement is regarded as a re-establishment of Hebrew philology on reliable grounds, following in the footsteps of Schultens, Michaelis, and other scholars.<sup>1331</sup>

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<sup>1329</sup> Quatremère, *ibidem*, p. 611: "Sans doute, les idées de Schultens et de son école reposaient en partie sur un fond d'une vérité incontestable. À coup sûr, la langue arabe ayant probablement une origine aussi ancienne que la langue hébraïque, ayant avec celle-ci des rapports intimes, offrant, de plus, l'avantage inappréciable d'être encore aujourd'hui vivante et de posséder une littérature aussi immense que variée, doit offrir un grand secours pour ceux qui veulent étudier à fond les idiotismes du langage antique des Hébreux. Mais l'arabe, malgré la vaste étendue de sa phraséologie, est loin de suffire pour résoudre les difficultés que présente le texte de la Bible. Il faut nécessairement joindre à l'arabe entre autres secours les idiomes des peuples qui ont eu, dans tous les temps, des rapports intimes avec les Juifs: je veux dire, surtout, ceux des Chaldéens et des Syriens. On peut même assurer que, si, pour ce qui concerne les formes grammaticales, les idiotismes, la langue arabe est celle qui fournit le plus de secours, la langue syriaque offre, peut-être, sous le rapport de l'explication des mots, une ressource encore plus sûre et plus abondante." [...]

<sup>1330</sup> Quatremère, *ibidem*, p. 611: "En outre, parmi les savants qui adoptèrent aveuglément les idées de Schultens, il s'en trouvait beaucoup qui étaient loin de posséder une connaissance approfondie de la langue arabe. Plusieurs n'avaient étudié cet idiome que d'une manière extrêmement superficielle, et se contentaient d'emprunter leurs étymologies au lexique de Golius. Et ces conjectures, souvent gratuites et peu naturelles, étaient bien inférieures aux hypothèses émises par Schultens, Scheidius, Schroeder, puisque des hommes d'un pareil mérite, d'une aussi solide érudition, peuvent même, dans les endroits où ils se trompent, offrir encore à leurs lecteurs une véritable instruction."

<sup>1331</sup> Quatremère, *ibidem*, p. 612: [...] "entreprit de rétablir la philologie hébraïque sur ses véritables bases sur les pas de Schultens, de Michaelis et d'autres savants."

### 12.1.5 Renan

In *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (1858), Ernest Renan (1823–1892) outlines the history of Hebrew philology from antiquity to the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see pp. 165–178). He contends that while some medieval Jewish scholars, such as Saadia Gaon, Ibn Janah, and Ibn Quraysh, used Arabic to deepen their understanding of Biblical Hebrew, later Jewish scholars abandoned this method as their knowledge of Arabic declined. Schultens was the first to successfully reintroduce this hermeneutical approach, applying the methods of classical philology to the study of Semitic languages. The shortcoming stemmed from his exclusive reliance on Arabic at the expense of other Semitic languages and from his neglect of other hermeneutical aids, such as the Jewish tradition and the ancient Bible versions:

It was the famous Albert Schultens who, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, put this powerful hermeneutical method into practice with truly effective results. He belonged to the great Dutch school of philology, which, among its members, had counted or still counted Hemsterhuis, Valckenaer, Lennep, Ruhnkenius, and Scheidius, and whose characteristic feature was to combine the study of Oriental languages with that of classical languages. Hebrew philology owes Schultens lasting recognition for the vigour with which he pursued his favourite idea: the clarification of Hebrew through Arabic. Yet one should recognize that he applied this principle in a far too exclusive way. The parallels he believed he had discovered between the two languages are sometimes subtle and sometimes forced; he did not take other Semitic languages into account. If, in fact, Arabic provides great insight into the syntax and general structure of the Hebrew language, one should know that, for the lexicographical part, the analogies drawn from Arabic are very deceptive. Aramaic is a much safer guide here. Otherwise, Schultens was mistaken in neglecting other hermeneutical means, such as the Jewish tradition and the aid of ancient versions. His most renowned pupil was Schroeder, professor in Groningen, who carried Hebrew grammar to the highest point of perfection it had yet attained.<sup>1332</sup>

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<sup>1332</sup> Renan, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques*, Paris 1858, pp. 178–179: “Ce fut le célèbre Albert Schultens qui remit en œuvre, au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, d’une manière vraiment efficace, ce puissant moyen herméneutique. Il faisait partie de la grande école de philologie hollandaise, qui avait compté ou qui comptait encore dans son sein Hemsterhuys, Valckenaer, Lennep, Ruhnkenius, Scheid, et dont le caractère était d’allier l’étude des langues orientales à celle des langues classiques. La philologie hébraïque doit à Schultens une éternelle reconnaissance pour la vigueur avec laquelle il réalisa son idée favorite: l’éclaircissement de l’hébreu par l’arabe; néanmoins il faut reconnaître qu’il appliqua ce principe d’une manière beaucoup trop exclusive. Les parallélismes qu’il croit découvrir entre les

Renan argues that the Schultensian school marked a methodological shift: it introduced “a purely profane method” (une méthode purement profane) to the study of Hebrew, signifying emancipation from theology and a step towards the historical-critical method that later advanced in Germany among a range of biblical scholars and critics, including the two Michaelis, Simonis, Eichhorn, Winer, Gesenius and Ewald.<sup>1333</sup> The validity of Renan’s claim to this point is weak unless Schultens’ views on Hebrew as a merely human language and his insistence on comparing it with cognate languages are what is meant by a profane method.

To conclude, none of the latter three scholars (Luzzatto, Quatremère, and Renan) questioned Schultens’ semantic assumption that the original or primordial meaning of words is not to be sought in general notions but in concrete phenomena.

## 12.2 German scholars in the early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century

A multifaceted historiographical response to Schultens’ programme emerged within German Orientalism from the early to the late 19th century. In the first half of the century, German Old Testament scholars assessed Schultens’ work, focusing on the question of the lasting value of his theory and method. In many cases, this involved criticism of Schultens’ practice rather than of his theory.

### 12.2.1 Meyer

In his history of Bible interpretation from the Reformation onwards, *Geschichte der Schrifterklärung seit der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften* (Göttingen 1805), Gottlob Wilhelm Meyer (1768–1816), professor of theology in Altdorf and Erlangen, stressed the novelty of Schultens’ semantic and etymological theory. In the fourth volume, which covers the period from Pietism to the emergence of historical-critical biblical interpretation, he describes Albert Schultens’ scholarship. In the first section on linguistic aids to biblical interpretation (pp. 9–141), Meyer, among other things, discusses Schultens’ academic career, his main treatises up to 1738, his principle of comparison with cognate languages, his concept of dialect,

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deux langues sont quelquefois subtils et forcés; il ne tient pas assez compte des autres idiomes sémitiques. Si l’arabe, en effet, fournit de grandes lumières pour l’intelligence de la syntaxe et de la structure générale de la langue hébraïque, il faut reconnaître que pour la partie lexicographique les analogies tirées de l’arabe sont fort trompeuses; l’araméen est ici un guide bien plus sûr. Schultens avait d’ailleurs le tort de négliger les autres moyens herméneutiques, tels que la tradition juive et le secours des anciennes versions. Son plus illustre élève fut Schroeder, professeur à Groningue, qui porta la grammaire hébraïque au plus haut point de perfection qu’elle eût encore atteint.”

<sup>1333</sup> Renan, *ibidem*, p. 177.



and his method and practice of Hebrew etymology.<sup>1334</sup> Schultens' semantic and etymological principles (in *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*, pp. 36–38) are translated into German and presented as the theoretical culmination of his scholarship.<sup>1335</sup> Impressed by their high degree of validity, Meyer states:

In addition to an even deeper knowledge of language, guided by the true philosophy of language, Albert Schultens sought firmer principles. [...] We must concede to this great linguist the merit of having founded a generally tenable theory of Hebrew word-research on reliable principles, guided by a true philosophy of language, and of having successfully explained it through comparison with other languages.<sup>1336</sup>

Yet Meyer criticizes Schultens' presumption that basic meanings, which are not supposed to be preserved in Biblical Hebrew, are generally preserved in the cognate languages and may therefore be discovered there, because those meanings may well have been lost in those languages as well.<sup>1337</sup> Meyer also criticizes Schultens for favouring Arabic at the expense of the other cognate languages.<sup>1338</sup>

In his discussion of Michaelis' *Beurtheilung*, Meyer notes that Michaelis is deeply indebted to Schultens' theoretical writings and makes frequent use of them.<sup>1339</sup> Still, Meyer points out that it is unfair to accuse him of merely transmitting Schultens' principles. Rather, Michaelis corrects and enriches Schultens' theory, since he had formed his own opinion on the subject.<sup>1340</sup>

### 12.2.2 Gesenius

Wilhelm Gesenius (1786–1842) is considered the founder of modern Hebrew lexicography. After studying theology, Hebrew, classical languages, and history at the University of Helmstedt, he set about working on his epoch-making dictionary of Biblical Hebrew at the age of twenty, in early 1806. After four and a half years, the first part of *Hebräisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch* was published in Leipzig in 1810, and the second part appeared in 1812. In the prefaces, he sets out his principles of Hebrew

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<sup>1334</sup> Meyer, *Geschichte der Schrifterklärung*, vol. 4, 1805, pp. 12–13, 73–89.

<sup>1335</sup> Meyer, *ibidem*, pp. 36–38.

<sup>1336</sup> Meyer, *ibidem*, p. 73: “Nach festeren Grundsätzen rang, bey noch tieferer Sprachkenntniss, von ächter Sprachphilosophie geleitet, ein Albert Schultens.” [...] p. 82: “Wir müssen diesem großen Sprachforscher allerdings das Verdienst zugestehen, unter der Leitung einer ächten Sprachphilosophie, eine im Ganzen sehr haltbare Theorie der hebräischen Wortforschung auf sichern Principien aufgeführt, und durch die Analogie andrer Sprachen sehr glücklich erläutert zu haben.”

<sup>1337</sup> Meyer, *ibidem*, p. 82.

<sup>1338</sup> Meyer, *ibidem*, p. 83.

<sup>1339</sup> Meyer, *ibidem*, p. 84.

<sup>1340</sup> Meyer, *ibidem*, p. 84.

lexicography and expounds his views on earlier scholars, especially Schultens and his school. At the outset, he declares that his purpose is “to recognize the usage of the Hebrew dialect in its independence and to place it in its correct relationship to the usage of the related Semitic dialects”.<sup>1341</sup> This statement implies a depreciation of Schultens’ emphasis on the coherence of the Semitic languages at the expense of their individuality. Admittedly, Gesenius continues, there is no need to reassert the value of related languages after the achievements of Schultens and Michaelis. However, each Semitic dialect has its own permanent and independent usage, so lexicographers should not force meanings from one “dialect” onto those in another.<sup>1342</sup>

At the end of the preface to the first volume, Gesenius states that he has used Schultens’ commentaries on Job and Proverbs as a mine of information on Arabic culture and language rather than as a source of etymological and exegetical explanations. Schultens’ extensive reading of Arabic literature makes these commentaries useful for supplementing Arabic lexicography and for forming opinions about Arabic imagery, phrases, and semantic changes.<sup>1343</sup>

In the preface to the second volume, Gesenius discusses the specific failures of previous Hebrew lexicography, including the disregard for the possibility that Biblical Hebrew might exhibit provincialisms in form and meaning that resemble phenomena in other Semitic languages. Secondly, he refers to the misuse of Arabic in employing this dialect to explain the basic meanings of Hebrew words, both uncommon and common; thirdly, to the neglect of the study of Aramaic; and fourthly, to the neglect of studying analogous nuances of word meanings in related languages, though admitting that Schultens has paid attention to this phenomenon. Finally, Gesenius points out the need for more knowledge of the correspondences and transpositions of speech sounds.

Gesenius revised his *Handwörterbuch* several times. In the second edition (1823), he replaced the prefaces of the first edition with a single preface in which he classifies the sources of knowledge for Hebrew lexicography into: (1) the Hebrew of the Old Testament itself, (2) traditional knowledge of Hebrew, divided into the ancient Bible versions and medieval Jewish dictionaries, grammars, and Bible commentaries, and (3) the cognate

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<sup>1341</sup> Gesenius, *Hebräisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch über die Schriften des Alten Testaments*, part 1, Leipzig 1810, preface, p. IV, where Gesenius states that his foremost endeavour has been: “den Sprachgebrauch des hebräischen Dialekts als solchen in seiner Selbstständigkeit aufzufassen und in ein richtiges Verhältnis gegen den Sprachgebrauch der verwandten semitischen Dialekte zu setzen.”

<sup>1342</sup> Gesenius, *ibidem*, p. V. Gesenius lived in the age of Romanticism, in which the individuality and cultural-historical specificity of language began to be emphasized.

<sup>1343</sup> Gesenius, *ibidem*, p. XXIX.

languages.<sup>1344</sup> Re-evaluating the order of priority of these sources, Gesenius claims that Biblical Hebrew usage (for which he used the concordances of Mario de Calasio and Johannes Buxtorf the Elder) is the best means for determining the proper or ordinary meanings of words, but warns against an exclusive reliance on this source. One should turn to related languages to explore the etymology of infrequent words. The catalogue of his library shows that he had sooner or later acquired Schultens' principal publications.

In his Hebrew lexicographical practice, Gesenius used Schultens' publications with discretion and sensitivity.<sup>1345</sup> While preparing the first edition, he read Schultens' *Origines Hebraeae*, *De defectibus hodiernis*, *Clavis dialectorum*, commentaries on Job and Proverbs, early notes on Job (1708), and remarks on selected biblical passages (1709). He refers to these publications, whether or not he approves of the etymological proposals and the suggested evidence of underlying Arabic words and antiquities. He applied a historical-logical method to the arrangement of each word's meaning. From the primary meaning, other significations were deduced in a logical sequence.<sup>1346</sup> In discussing homonymous words, he did not, as Schultens and Michaelis did, seek a unifying etymological explanation; instead, he divided them into separate roots, using Roman numerals.<sup>1347</sup>

In later editions of *Handwörterbuch*, both in its original German (1823, 1828, and 1834) and in the Latin translation (*Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti libros*, 1833), Gesenius revised some of his principles. Most importantly, he grouped homonymous roots with quite diverse meanings under a single entry, though not necessarily forcing them

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<sup>1344</sup> Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, Leipzig 1823, preface which is titled "Über die Quellen der hebräischen Wortforschung nebst einigen Regeln und Beobachtungen über den Gebrauch derselben", p. 1. See also Miller, *The influence of Gesenius*, p. 22.

<sup>1345</sup> The catalogue of Gesenius' private library, *Bibliotheca Geseniana sive catalogus librorum et typis editorum et manu scriptorum, inscriptionum*, etc. Halle 1843, shows that Gesenius gradually acquired Schultens' most important works. See page 7, no. 160: *Origines Hebraeae*, volumes 1–2, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Leiden 1761; p. 8, no. 187: Schultens' Hebrew grammar *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., Leiden 1737; p. 39, no. 855: *Liber Jobi cum nova versione et commentario perpetuo*; p. 42, no. 914: *Proverbia Salomonis*; p. 50, no. 1064: *Animadversiones ad varia loca Veteris Testamenti*, Amsterdam 1709; p. 50, no. 1071: *Opera minora*, Leiden 1759, p. 97, no. 2214: Schultens' republication of Erpenius' Arabic grammar with Schultens anthology of *Ḥamāsa*; p. 97, no. 2215: *Florilegium sententiarum* and *Clavis dialectorum*; p. 97, no. 2216: *Epistola prima ad Menkenium*; p. 100, no. 2271: *Haririi tres priores consessus*; p. 105, no. 2370: *Historia imperii vetustissimi Joctanidarum in Arabia Felice*; and p. 107, no. 2399: *Vita et gesta Sultani Saladini*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Leiden 1755.

<sup>1346</sup> Edward Frederick Miller, *The influence of Gesenius on Hebrew lexicography*, New York 1927, p. 28.

<sup>1347</sup> Miller, *The influence of Gesenius*, p. 41.

under a single original meaning, since new meanings can be accidental. He also expanded comparisons with cognate languages, drawing extensively on evidence from Arabic. Surprisingly, he approved of the theory of a biconsonantal origin of triconsonantal roots, “to be able to trace words of quite different signification to a single primary notion”.<sup>1348</sup>

In his *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift* (1815), Gesenius demonstrates his expertise in the history of Hebrew lexicography and grammar from antiquity to his own time. He classifies the period from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century as the fourth period of Hebrew language studies (pp. 116–136), during which the Dutch school of Hebrew and Oriental philology held sway. He characterizes Schultens’ programme as a recourse to Arabic cognates to elucidate the semantic development of Hebrew words, from their often scarcely preserved original, sense-perceptible, and basic meaning to the emergence of various transferred meanings.<sup>1349</sup> He thinks that Schultens’ method suffered from several inadequacies and limitations, such as the one-sided use of Arabic at the expense of other cognate languages, especially Aramaic; the neglect of context and of distinct Hebrew usage (which the ancient Bible translations and the Jewish tradition often represent correctly); exaggerated claims about the importance of the primary meaning and its impact on secondary meanings; audacious, arbitrary, and injudicious opinions about individual passages; and overly bold etymological derivations. Furthermore, Gesenius deems that Schultens presented all this in a lengthy style without discernment.<sup>1350</sup>

As for the field of Hebrew grammar, Gesenius, however, describes Schultens’ improvement as innovative: “For grammatical studies, Schultens provided the first thorough work based on Altingian grammar, with deep

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<sup>1348</sup> Miller, *The influence of Gesenius*, pp. 36–49; see p. 45 for the quotation.

<sup>1349</sup> Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift. Eine philologisch-historische Einleitung in the Sprachlehren und Wörterbücher der hebräischen Sprache*, Leipzig 1815, p. 127: “Sie [...] haben zum Hauptzweck mit Hülfe des Arabischen überall die sinnliche, oft specielle, Grundbedeutungen auszumitteln, welche in die wenigen Ueberbleibseln des Althebräischen nur selten erhalten seyn könne, aus diesen die übrigen herzuleiten und überhaupt die Bilder, Phrasen, Tropen des hebräischen Sprachgebrauchs aus der verwandten Sprachweise der Araber zu erläutern.”

<sup>1350</sup> Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache*, p. 128: “Dahin gehören zu einseitige Benutzung des Arabischen Dialekts auf Kosten der übrigen, namentlich des aramäischen; Vernachlässigung des Zusammenhanges und des individuellen hebräischen Sprachgebrauchs (welchen Versionen und Rabbinen oft richtig wiedergeben), um arabische Bedeutungen anzubringen, daher oft gezwungene, willkürliche, geschmacklose Auffassung einzelner Stellen; zu weit hergeholte etymologische Hypothesen und Combinationen; endlich übertriebene Emphasen, insofern man sich den Grundbegriff immer auch noch zu den abgeleiteten hinzudenken soll, was doch in einer lebenden Sprache durchaus undenkbar ist. Dazu kommt noch ungemeine Weitschweifigkeit und Geschmacklosigkeit des Vortrags.”

insight into the structure of the Semitic languages, especially Arabic, and at the same time with a correct language philosophy.”<sup>1351</sup>

### 12.2.3 Mahn

Ernst August Philipp Mahn (1787–1845) discussed Schultens’ theory of lexical semantics in *Darstellung der Lexicographie* (1817).<sup>1352</sup> He accepted Schultens’ eighteen axioms in *Via vetus et regia Hebraizandi* as, on the whole, very useful and correct,<sup>1353</sup> claiming that they serve as a theoretical model for discovering basic meanings and for the logical arrangement of derived meanings.<sup>1354</sup> Quoting each axiom, Mahn uses them as a point of departure to discuss their content from a semasiological perspective.<sup>1355</sup> In his comments, he approves of most of the axioms, while modifying some (nos. 9–11 and 16) and rejecting others (nos. 12 and 14).

Mahn situates the axioms within contemporary philosophical-linguistic discourse to show the correspondence between sensational and intellectual conceptions, on the one hand, and the physical and moral individuality of a nation, on the other.<sup>1356</sup> In his explanation of Schultens’ first axiom, he argues in favour of the parallel historical development of language and thought.<sup>1357</sup> The second axiom is justified by reference to the doctrine of three typical linguistic ages of world history: the sensible, the metaphorical, and the philosophical.<sup>1358</sup> In his remark on the third axiom, Mahn compares the development of new meanings to the setting of new stamps on coins:

We can no longer recover the original sensory meaning of many words. In the wonderful workshop of language, many coins have been assigned new value over time.<sup>1359</sup>

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<sup>1351</sup> Gesenius, *Geschichte* (1815), p. 127: “Für das grammatische Studium lieferte Schultens das erste ausführliche mit tiefer Einsicht in den Bau der semitischen Sprachen, besonders der arabischen, zugleich mit richtiger Sprachphilosophie abgefasste Werk, auf den Grund der Altinschen Grammatik gebaut.”

<sup>1352</sup> Mahn, *Darstellung der Lexicographie nach allen ihren Seiten: ein Beitrag zur philologischen Erklärungskunst* [...], first volume, Rudolstadt 1817. Mahn served as professor of Oriental languages in Rostock (1818–1845).

<sup>1353</sup> Mahn, *Darstellung*, vol. 1, p. 203). “im Ganzen für sehr brauchbar und richtig”.

<sup>1354</sup> Mahn, *ibidem*, pp. 200 f., § 118.

<sup>1355</sup> Mahn, *ibidem*, pp. 203–242. Cf. Brigitte Nerlich, “The renewal of semantic questions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: The work of Karl Christian Reisig and his successor”, *History of the Language Sciences*, vol. 2, (HSK 18:2), pp. 1597 f.

<sup>1356</sup> Mahn, *ibidem*, pp. 202 f. By the term nation, Mahn in all probability meant an ethnically defined community of language users.

<sup>1357</sup> Mahn, *ibidem*, pp. 203–204.

<sup>1358</sup> Mahn, *ibidem*, p. 206 (§ 120).

<sup>1359</sup> Mahn, *ibidem*, p. 215 (§ 125): “Die ursprüngliche sinnliche Bedeutung vieler Wörter können wir nun gar nicht mehr aufdecken; in der wunderbaren

Mahn declares that the search for the basic meaning of words often relies on an arbitrary method, but considers it unfair to blame Schultens too harshly without regard for the time in which he lived.<sup>1360</sup>

In his exposition of the sixth axiom, Mahn links language to nation (in the sense of language community) and to human thought:

Once a language has been invented, a nation rises above the world of sensation. Thus, language, which was initially largely an echo of the sense-perceptible world and of what was felt, now becomes an expression of what is thought.<sup>1361</sup>

#### 12.2.4 Hupfeld

As a professor of theology and Oriental languages in Marburg, Hermann Hupfeld (1796–1866) published an article in 1827 titled *De emendanda ratione lexicographiae Semiticae commentatio* (“Remarks on improving the method of Semitic lexicography”),<sup>1362</sup> in which he classified the history of Semitic lexicography into four stages:

- (1) Western reception of indigenous lexicographical traditions.
- (2) Stages of etymological morphology and etymological semantics, which aimed to simplify the treatment of vocabulary, specifically:
  - (a) the theory of a biconsonantal root (Neumann and Löschner);
  - (b) the theory of the semantic development of the trilateral root from a single primary concrete meaning to a variety of secondary meanings, in which Arabic allegedly provides access to the primary meanings of the Ancient Hebrew word-stock (Schultens and his Dutch school).
- (3) Description of the actual lexical usage of Semitic languages, especially Hebrew, from a synchronic perspective (Gesenius).<sup>1363</sup>

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Sprachwerkstätte ist im Laufe der Zeit mancher Münze ein neuer Werth aufgeprägt.” The metaphor of coins traces back to Quintilian, *Inst. orat.* 1.6.1

<sup>1360</sup> Mahn, *ibidem*, p. 216 f.

<sup>1361</sup> Mahn, *ibidem*, p. 223, § 128: “Ist die Sprache einmal erfunden, so erhebt sich eine Nation über die Sinnenwelt; so wird die Sprache, die Anfangs grösstentheils Nachhall der Sinnenwelt, des Gefühlten war, nun Ausdruck des *Gedachten*.”

<sup>1362</sup> The article was published as a gratulatory essay for his teacher, Albert Jacob Arnoldi (1750–1835), in a publication titled *Viro summe venerando Alberto Jacobo Arnoldio* (Marburg 1827). The dedicatee is addressed as “descended from the heroic lineage of the Schultensians” (*ex Schultensiorum heroa gente oriundus*, preface, p. III). He was a maternal grandson of Albert Schultens, whose daughter Allegonda (1717–1755) was married to Valentin Arnoldi (1712–1793). Having matriculated at the University of Leiden on 3 September 1772, A.J. Arnoldi studied for several years under the guidance of Jan Jacob Schultens. He was professor of dogmatics and biblical interpretation in Marburg for forty years (1789–1829).

<sup>1363</sup> Hupfeld studied with Gesenius in 1823, dedicated *Exercitationes Aethiopicae* (1825) him and succeeded him to the chair of theology in Halle in 1843.

(4) A need for a more accurate etymological exploration of each Semitic language separately, since, with the exception of Ethiopic (thanks to Hiob Ludolf), their lexicography remains at the first stage.<sup>1364</sup>

Hupfeld describes the characteristics of the Schultensian school as follows:

Rejecting any consideration of the semantics of letterforms and biliteral roots, they focused solely on internal meaning, a method they mastered through their profound and nearly extravagant competence in Arabic, as they tried to restore the original meanings from “the interior regions of Arabia” and reduce the variety of meanings to a few related to sense perception. But the time was not yet ripe for this praiseworthy and difficult project.<sup>1365</sup>

Hupfeld proposed a renewal of Semitic etymological lexicography and outlined the following four principles for its further development:

- (1) Scholars should scrutinize the meanings of both verbs and nouns, since the true meaning is often hidden in the nominal forms from which verbs have been derived as denominatives.<sup>1366</sup>
- (2) Every word has a sense-perceptible and concrete origin as the referent of its meaning. Only that which is the object of sense perception is to be considered primary and original.<sup>1367</sup>

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<sup>1364</sup> Hupfeld, “De emendanda ratione lexicographiae Semiticae commentatio”, p. 2. It may be added that, even 200 years after Hupfeld’s judgement of the state of the art, there is still no etymological dictionary of the Arabic language.

<sup>1365</sup> Hupfeld, *De emendanda ratione*, pp. 3 f.: [...] “qui spreta illa quae circa literas versatur ratione et seminum biliterorum perscrutatione solum interni sensus rationem sequentes, qua pollebant Arabicae praesertim linguae facultate insigni ac fere luxuriante origines „ex Arabiae penetralibus” revocare studebant, hanc universam significationum varietatem ad paucorum notionum earumque sensibus patentium numerum redigere anniti. Sed nondum matura erat illa tempora molimini ut laudabili ita maxime arduo.”

<sup>1366</sup> Hupfeld, “De emendanda ratione”, p. 5: “Universa significationum, non in verbo solum sed etiam in nominibus occurrentium farrago comprehenda et diligenter excutienda est. Saepissime enim accidit, ut vera notio in formis nominalibus lateat, unde verbi ipsius denominativae fluxerunt.”

<sup>1367</sup> Hupfeld, “De emendanda ratione”, p. 6.: “Omnium quae vocabulis expressae sunt notionum origo est externa et sensibilis, neque pro vere primaria et originaria habenda est, nisi quae sensibus percipi possit.” To prove this claim, Hupfeld, pp. 6 f., quotes Jacob Grimm (*Deutsche Grammatik*, 2, 84 f.): “In der Wurzel erscheint die sinnliche Bedeutung früher, die geistige später.” This process, Hupfeld argues (p. 7), gives us insight into the workshop of languages (*introspicere linguarum officinam*) and into how a variety of meanings can grow from a small storehouse.

- (3) A word can have only one primary meaning. It is not possible for a word to have had several different meanings from the beginning.<sup>1368</sup>
- (4) In every language, words are usually derived from verbal roots rather than from nominal ones.<sup>1369</sup>

In discussing the second and third principles, Hupfeld evaluates Schultens' semantic theory. His assessment of the second principle may be paraphrased as follows:

To some extent, Schultens recognized it, but because of his disregard for the true nature of original meaning and for analogy with other Semitic languages, he arbitrarily and randomly posited as primary meanings those that lack internal similarity or kinship with other Semitic languages, and thus indulged his ingenuity rather than using a reliable method.<sup>1370</sup>

In evaluating how Schultens put the third rule into practice, Hupfeld argues as follows:

Schultens was not misguided in considering every Hebrew root comparable to Arabic, nor in investigating the origin of Hebrew meanings in the rich Arabic dialect,<sup>1371</sup> but he made a mistake in equating an invented or derived meaning in his Arabic sources with the primary one and in forcing it on Hebrew against its will.<sup>1372</sup>

Hupfeld does not believe that deriving the primary meanings of Hebrew words from cognate languages, such as Arabic, is inherently invalid:

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<sup>1368</sup> Hupfeld, "De emendanda ratione", p. 7: "Una tantum vocis cuiusque origo (h. e. significatio primitiva) esse potest, non plures aut diversae in eadem voce primitus se exserere potuerunt." Hupfeld claims that Grimm (*Deutsche Grammatik*, 2, 76 f.) has applied this rule to the German language.

<sup>1369</sup> Hupfeld, "De emendanda ratione", p. 9: "Totius linguae fundamentum ac origo contineri videtur verbis, ex his derivanda nomina."

<sup>1370</sup> Hupfeld, "De emendanda ratione", p. 7: "Hoc aliquatenus recte vidit Schultensius [...]. In eo tantum peccavit Schultensius, quod non satisperspecta vera originum natura neque consultahunc in finem caeterarum linguaum analogia, pro lubitu saepe aut levi quadam et frivola similitudine ductus eas fingeret, in quibus nullam cum caeteris similitudinem internam aut necessitudinem deprehenderis, magis ingenii lusibus indulgens, quam certa ratione usus."

<sup>1371</sup> Hupfeld, "De emendanda ratione", p. 8: "Non igitur in eo absurde egisse putandus Schultensius, quod nullam non radicem hebraicam cum arabica comparabilem duceret atque ex hac dialecto, utpote longe fecundissima, toties repeteret origines hebraicas."

<sup>1372</sup> Hupfeld, "De emendanada ratione", p. 8: "Id vero deliquit, quod saepe aut fictam aut derivatam significationem pro primaria expromeret et hebraicae invitam obtruderet."



Dialects share a common origin and originally constituted a single language. Accordingly, it is impossible that the single roots of the same form were initially diverse. Each dialect transforms the store of roots into a particular usage. It can retain or lose the primary meaning of any root. From this, it follows that the primary and secondary meanings can be recovered from other dialects. Perfect knowledge of a root cannot be attained unless it is compared with the whole group of dialects.<sup>1373</sup>

Regarding the fourth principle – the question of the historical origin of nouns and verbs, in which Schultens had favoured the verbal origin – Hupfeld appraises the arguments for nominal and verbal anteriority and concludes:

The appellations that designate a state of sense-perceptible things – either a quality or an action – are to be classified neither as nouns nor as verbs, but rather as both. It is only a question of grammatical categorization, which in turn depends on the viewpoint from which the state is considered. If considered in itself, it is a verb, but if the subject in which the state is performed is considered, it is a noun,<sup>1374</sup> although they do not adopt the same perspective.<sup>1375</sup> Generally, however, the verb is anterior to the noun, inasmuch as the quality precedes the qualified and the designation the designated. Hence, every noun should be derived from a verbal origin, with the exception of onomatopoeic words.<sup>1376</sup>

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<sup>1373</sup> Hupfeld, “De emendanada ratione”, p. 8: “Nam cum communis originis constet esse dialectos, atque primitus unam tantum linguam constituisse, fieri non potest, ut singulae eiusdem formae radices primitus diversae fuerint. Quoniam autem ea inter eiusdem originis dialectos intercedit ratio, ut traditum sibi radicem penum in suum quaeque usum converteret, atque ex eadem radice alia aliud propaginum genus derivaret, primaria significatione modo servata modo perdita, patet, si qua desideretur significatio, sive primaria sit sive etiam derivata, eam ex caeterarum dialectorum hac vel illa petendam esse, neque perfectam cuiusque radices comparari posse cognitionem, nisi comparata universa dialectorum familia.”

<sup>1374</sup> Hupfeld refers to Franz Bopp (*Lehrgebäude der Sanskritsprache* § 106) and Valentin Ernst Löschner (*De causis linguae Hebraeae*, p. 367) for similar views.

<sup>1375</sup> Hupfeld, “De emendanda ratione”, pp. 10–11: “Quamquam non multum repugnem, si quis dixerit, appellationes istas statum (h. e. qualitatem sive actionem nativam) rerum sensibilibus designantes, *neutrum* horum esse: nec verbum nec nomen, sive etiam *utrumque*, quippe utriusque semen continentes. [...] Pro duplici enim cuiusque status respectu vel verbum vel nomen vel denique particula dici potest: si merum per se cogites, verbum habes; sin subjectum, in quo se exserit, respicias, nomen habes.”

<sup>1376</sup> Hupfeld, “De emendanda ratione”, p. 11.

In his Hebrew grammar (1841), Hupfeld commented on the history of European Hebrew grammatical writing. He divides the Hebrew grammatical tradition into three periods before the time of Gesenius and Ewald<sup>1377</sup> and maintains that the third period was characterized by the expansion of grammatical perspectives through new sources of knowledge, namely comparison with sister languages and language philosophy.<sup>1378</sup> Placing Schultens at the beginning of the third period, he outlines his principal assumptions: namely, the original unity of the Oriental languages, their descent from a perfect primeval language, and the scant preservation of the primeval language in the Oriental daughter languages.

Hupfeld argues that Schultens' linguistic ideas were welcomed as soon as both rationalist theology and language philosophy had emerged in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Germany:

When the great intellectual uproar in theology since the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century broke the bonds of traditional faith and corrected superstitious ideas about the origin of the Hebrew language and its vowel signs, the Danzian system<sup>1379</sup> also declined, and the need for an analogous and rational treatment of language asserted itself. Schultens' ideas now found a favourable reception and entered into an alliance with the newly awakened German philosophy of language.<sup>1380</sup>

### 12.2.5 Delitzsch

In 1838, Franz Delitzsch published a tripartite prolegomenon intended to serve as an introduction to Hebrew grammar and lexicography.<sup>1381</sup> It is

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<sup>1377</sup> Hupfeld, *Ausführliche hebräische Grammatik*, Kassel 1841, pp. 21–26.

<sup>1378</sup> Hupfeld, *ibidem*, p. 26: “Drittes Zeitalter. Erweiterung des grammatischen Gesichtskreises durch Eröffnung neuer Erkenntnisquellen, vornehmlich Analogie der Schwestersprachen und Sprachphilosophie.”

<sup>1379</sup> According to Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, p. 122, Johann Andreas Danz (*Nucifrangibulum*, 1686; *Literator Ebraeo-Chaldaeus*, 1696) developed a philosophical-demonstrative system of Hebrew grammar.

<sup>1380</sup> Hupfeld, *Ausführliches hebräische Grammatik*, pp. 27 f.: “Und als die große geistige Aufregung der Gemüther seit der Mitte des 18ten Jahrhunderts in der Theologie die Bande des Traditionsglaubens sprengte und die superstitiösen Vorstellungen vom dem Ursprung der hebräischen Sprache und ihrer Vocalzeichen berichtigte, da sank auch das Danzische System und das Bedürfnis einer analogen und rationalen Behandlung der Sprache machte sich geltend; die Ideen von Schultens fanden nun willigen Eingang und schlossen einen Bund mit der neuerwachten deutschen Sprachphilosophie.”

<sup>1381</sup> The title reads on the first page: *Iesurun sive prolegomenon in concordantias Veteris Testamenti a Iulio Fuerstio editas libri tres auctore Francisco Delitzschio*, Grimmae/ Grimmen: Jul. Maurit Gebhardt 1838, while the second title page reads שפת ישורון [Šefat yešūrūn] *Isagoge in grammaticam et lexicographiam linguae Hebraicae contra G. Gesenium et H. Ewaldum auctore Francisco Delitzschio*.

divided into three books, the first of which is on the rise and progress of Hebrew studies from its earliest beginnings to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1382</sup> The second book treats the origin, nature, and dignity of Hebrew; the value of the Jewish tradition; internal comparison within Hebrew; comparison with the Semitic dialects Aramaic and Arabic; and the nature of the post-biblical stage of Hebrew. In the third book, Delitzsch defends the etymological and grammatical comparison of Hebrew with Indo-European languages, especially Sanskrit.<sup>1383</sup> In the first book, Delitzsch divides the history of Hebrew studies within the Christian church into seven periods,<sup>1384</sup> placing Schultens at the beginning of the fifth period.

Delitzsch accordingly portrays Schultens as both a hyper-Arabist and the father of the comparative study of Hebrew:

Albert Schultens, the founder of the hyper-Arabizing school, should also be considered the father of the comparative study of Hebrew, which differs markedly from the previous harmonic method and, indeed, is a father in an excellent way.<sup>1385</sup>

It seems that the scholars who adopted a rationalistic attitude towards the biblical narrative were largely inclined to view Schultens as their precursor, whereas Delitzsch, on the other hand, regarded him as a forerunner of the

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<sup>1382</sup> The first book was translated from the Latin original into English by William Wadden Turner (1810–1859), professor of Oriental literature at Union Theological Seminary, New York, as “Outlines of the history of Hebrew philology” in *The American Biblical repository and Classical review*, New York 1843, vol. X, no. 19, art. 7, pp. 190–219. Schultens is discussed on pp. 207–209 of this translation.

<sup>1383</sup> Delitzsch, *Iesurun*, see the conspectus of the three books on pp. xiv–xvi: book 1 pp. 3–40, book 2 pp. 41–108, and book 3 pp. 111–240.

<sup>1384</sup> Delitzsch’s seven periods are as follows: (1) the age of Origin and Jerome, who relied on Talmudic rabbis; (2) the age of medieval and pre-Reformation Hebraists, foremost Nicolas of Lyra, Reuchlin and Pagninus, who relied on medieval Jewish scholarship; (3) the Reformation era, which, by recourse to the Jewish tradition, made further progress than in the previous age; (4) the post-Reformation period, distinguished by a gradual dissociation from the Jewish tradition and the emergence of a parallelistic-contrastive study of Oriental languages alongside the internal study of Biblical Hebrew usage; (5) the age of hyper-Arabic dialectal comparison; (6) the empirical-rational period, synthesizing earlier methods and marked by a sustained high appreciation of Arabic, neglect of Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew, and a denial of the Sanskrit-Semitic linguistic kinship; and finally (7) a historical-analytical study, in which the neglected Jewish tradition is reconsidered and the internal features of the Hebrew language are studied in phonology, morphology and etymology. This periodization suggests that Delitzsch hoped for a return of Hebrew philology and biblical studies to the Jewish tradition.

<sup>1385</sup> Delitzsch, *Iesurun*, p. 27. “Albertus Schultens, uti scholae ὑπεραραβιζούσης auctor, sic etiam parens studii linguae hebraicae comparativi, quod ab harmonico superioris aetatis valde diversum erat, censendus est et egregie sane.”

unjustified dissociation from the rich Jewish tradition of biblical scholarship, which had proved itself so fruitful in biblical studies since the eve of the Reformation. In this context, Delitzsch deplores Schultens' fierce polemics against the Jewish tradition of the sanctity of the Hebrew language:

He attacked Jewish tradition most furiously, declaring that all who favoured it were infected with the plague; he also endeavoured, not merely by vehement language, but as it were with the very thunders and lightnings of eloquence, to level before him all who, imbued with the errors of the foul Synagogue, maintained that Hebrew was a sacred and primeval language.<sup>1386</sup>

In the conspectus of the first book, Schultens is represented as "the critic of the fanatic Jewish tradition". Delitzsch blames Schultens and his followers for having overlooked the comparatively late origin of Arabic:

Such was the blind zeal with which Schultens fought for the dignity and authority of Arabic that he declared it a more perspicuous language than Hebrew, not perceiving that, being much later, it needs illustration from Hebrew rather than Hebrew from it. His rash opinions were the source of many errors, which his followers multiplied to an incredible extent. These Arabicizing Hebraists never thought of inquiring into the antiquity and origin of Arabic, its primitive relationship to Hebrew, and the nature and differences of each language, so as to determine more accurately the degree to which the former might properly be employed in elucidating the latter. [...] Thus it came about that Arabic, a much younger and, through the fault of those who treated it, a much more obscure language, came to be regarded as the very key of Solomon for unlocking the secret recesses of the sacred tongue. This perverse and inconsiderate system of employing Arabic was so firmly established and interwoven with Hebrew lexicography and the exegesis of the Old Testament that even in our own time it has scarcely been eradicated.<sup>1387</sup>

Delitzsch maintains that Schultens did not distinguish between comparison between related languages ("dialects") and comparison between unrelated languages (*comparatio dialectica et exotica*). Allegedly, Schultens confined the former to the narrow limits of Arabic and neglected Chaldaic.<sup>1388</sup>

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<sup>1386</sup> Delitzsch, *Jesurun*, p. 25.

<sup>1387</sup> Delitzsch, *Jesurun*, pp. 26 f.

<sup>1388</sup> Delitzsch, *Jesurun*, p. 27. Turner, "Outlines of the history of Hebrew philology", p. 209, clarifies Delitzsch's terms dialectic and exotic comparison as follows: "By *comparatio dialectica* the writer means the comparison of a language with another of the same stock, as the Hebrew with the Arabic; and by *comparatio exotica*, the comparison with one of a different stock, as the Hebrew with the Sanskrit."

### 11.2.6 Summary and conclusions

To sum up, we have seen how Gesenius developed his theory and practice of Hebrew lexicography as an anti-reaction to Schultens' scholarship. Gesenius and Meyer were critical of Schultens' application of his theory, while Mahn developed the concept of a national language community as the driving force behind semantic variability and development. None of them, however, was critical of Schultens' theory that the basic meaning should be sought in the sensory and concrete referent of a word. They shared Schultens' rejection of the idea of an inherent holiness of Hebrew.

Hupfeld distinguished between Schultens' theoretical programme and its less felicitous implementation. Delitzsch wished to recover the Jewish tradition in Hebrew linguistics and saw in Schultens a hyper-Arabicizing historical threat to this endeavour.

## 12.3 German scholars around 1870: Diestel and Mühlaus

In the latter half of the century, the time was ripe for an objective reassessment of Schultens' programme in comparative Hebrew grammar and lexicography. At the same time, this historiography attests to a living engagement with the Schultensian legacy. Mühlaus qualifies as both a witness to the reception and a modern historiographer.

### 12.3.1 Diestel

In his *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche* (1869) Ludwig Diestel (1825–1879) divides Hebrew studies in Christian Europe into seven periods. He puts the scholarship of Albert Schultens in the sixth period, that is, the emergence of scholarly opposition against the dominion of orthodoxy. Diestel discusses Schultens' efforts in the chapter on the history of Bible exegesis and in the chapter on the auxiliary disciplines of Bible exegesis, namely Hebrew grammar and Hebrew lexicography.<sup>1389</sup>

Diestel comments on Schultens' linguistic merit as follows:

The epoch-making significance that ought to be ascribed to Albert Schultens in Hebrew grammar, and even more so in lexicography, is less applicable to biblical interpretation. His great merit, however, lies in the fact that, with the help of Arabic, he subjected the inherited tradition to penetrating criticism regarding the meaning of the words.<sup>1390</sup>

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<sup>1389</sup> Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche* (Jena 1869), § 44b, pp. 438 f. and § 45, pp. 450–452 and 454–455.

<sup>1390</sup> Diestel, *Geschichte*, pp. 438 f. "Die epochemachende Bedeutung, welche Albert Schultens [...] in Betreff der hebräischen Grammatik, mehr noch der Lexikographie zuzuschreiben ist, eignet ihm weniger der Exegese. Sein grosses Verdienst besteht indess darin, dass er die hergebrachte Ueberlieferung in den Wortbedeutungen einer eindringenden Kritik unterzog mit Hülfe des Arabischen."

In the history of Hebrew etymology, Schultens' sound principles mark a profound change. Diestel refers to *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi* for a summary of Schultens' theory of semantics:

Schultens most aptly summarized his ideas in an assertive and polemical manner in the treatise *Vetus et regia via hebraizandi* (Leiden, 1738), in which the eighteen principles present the soundest views on the nature of language in general and of Hebrew in particular.<sup>1391</sup>

Diestel argues that Schultens' reconceptualization of Hebrew as a human language was his main contribution to Hebrew linguistics. This reconceptualization rendered Hebrew a subject of scientific study and ended the dominant influence of the rabbinical tradition.

But the epoch-making aspect lies in the fact that he raised language to the level of the real human and therefore made it the object of scientific research, so that the whole foundation of grammar thus became another, and its task was no longer absorbed in the representation of vowel changes, and that he finally broke the spell of rabbinic tradition forever and clearly showed a genuinely scientific path.<sup>1392</sup>

Considering Schultens' views on whether Hebrew is divine or human, Diestel places him in the conflict between the rabbinical and critical schools of Hebrew philology:

Albert Schultens was epoch-making; instead of the rabbinic tradition, he proposed the scholarly analogy of the Semitic dialects as the basis of Hebrew linguistic research. [...] Schultens considered himself to stand between two directions, both extreme, mutually exclusive, and at odds with each other – this is how he himself describes it in the preface to his Hebrew grammar (*Institutiones*).<sup>1393</sup> [...] According to the “rabbinic

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<sup>1391</sup> Diesel, *Geschichte*, p. 455: “Am treffendsten hat Schultens seine Ideen thetisch und polemisch zusammenfassend dargestellt in der Schrift: *vetus et regia via hebraizandi*, Lugd. Bat. 1738, in deren 18 bändigen Hauptsätzen die gesundeste Anschauung vom Wesen der Sprache überhaupt und der hebräischen insbesondere entwickelt wird.”

<sup>1392</sup> Diesel, *Geschichte*, pp. 451–452: “Aber das Epochemachende liegt darin, dass er die Sprache auf das Niveau des Aechtmenschlichen rückte und sie dadurch zum Object wissenschaftlicher Forschung machte, dass mithin die ganze Basis der Grammatik eine andere wurde und ihre Aufgabe nicht mehr in Darstellung der Vokalveränderungen aufging, dass er endlich den Bann rabbinischer Tradition für immer brach und einen ächt wissenschaftlichen Weg deutlich zeigte.”

<sup>1393</sup> Diestel, *Geschichte*, p. 450: “Epoche machte Albert Schultens, der statt der rabbinischen Tradition die wissenschaftliche Analogie der semitischen Dialecte als Basis der hebr. Sprachforschung hinstellte. [...] Schultens sah sich zwischen zwei

school”, Hebrew is sacred and divine, far superior to all other languages in every respect; according to the “critical” (among others, Cappel), it is poor, rough, uneducated, deficient, full of innumerable anomalies, and, in the prophets, totally obscure, ambiguous, and confused. Both tendencies agree that the nature of the Hebrew language is completely exceptional – the former considers it super-human, the latter sub-human; the former divine, the latter barbaric.<sup>1394</sup>

Diestel describes Schultens’ own position and the impact it had on his reclassification of Hebrew in relation to other Semitic languages.

Hebrew is analogous to the other Semitic languages; it is genuinely human and occupies an honourable place among its sisters: the abundance of its anomalies is merely apparent, since we possess so few literary monuments; if literature were greater, the anomalies would become widely prevailing regularities, and the appearance would disappear. Vowels, even vowel signs, have always existed; the former belong to the essence of language, the latter to that of writing; whether the signs of today were always written in this way is another matter. One should not despise tradition, but keep in mind that only through the elucidation of the other dialects are its antiquity, dignity and conformity clarified.<sup>1395</sup>

### 12.3.2 Mühlau

As editor of revised editions of Gesenius’ Hebrew dictionary, Ferdinand Mühlau (1839–1914) was well acquainted with the Hebrew lexicographical tradition. In 1870, he published an essay on Albert Schultens’ significance

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Richtungen, beide extrem, beide sich kontradictorisch ausschliessend und einander befehdend – so schildert er es selbst in der praefatio seiner *Institutiones*.”

<sup>1394</sup> Diestel, *Geschichte*, p. 451: “Nach der ‘rabbinischen Schule’ ist das Hebräische heilig und göttlich, alle anderen Sprachen in jeder Hinsicht weit überragend; nach der ‘kritischen’ (Cappellus) ist es arm, rau, ungebildet, mangelhaft, voll unzähliger Anomalien, vollends in den Propheten dunkel, vieldeutig, verworren. [...] Beide Richtungen stimmen darin überein, dass die Natur der hebr. Sprache völlig exceptionell sei – jene halten sie für über-, diese für untermenschlich, jene für göttlich, diese für barbarisch.”

<sup>1395</sup> Diesel, *Geschichte*, p. 452: “Das Hebräische steht in Analogie mit den andern semitischen Sprachen, ist ächt menschlich und nimmt im Kreise ihrer *Schwester* eine ehrenvolle Stelle ein: die Fülle ihrer Anomalien ist blosser *Schein*, da wir nur so wenige Denkmale besitzen; wäre die Literatur grösser, würde das Anomale zum weitherrschenden Gesetze werden und jener Schein verschwinden. Vokale, selbst Vokalzeichen, sind stets dagewesen, jene gehören zum Wesen der Sprache, diese zu dem der Schrift: ob die *heutigen* Zeichen stets so geschrieben seien, stehe auf einem andern Blatte. Man verachte nicht die Tradition: aber erst durch Beleuchtung seitens der andern Dialecte erhelle ihre *vetustas, dignitas, harmonia*.”

for modern Hebrew linguistics,<sup>1396</sup> in which he accounted for the lexicographical and grammatical innovations initiated by Schultens, whose etymological principles he describes as follows: Languages that are so close to each other that they may be called dialects of one and the same language share a common set of roots with a single basic and primary meaning (“Grundbedeutung”), but with different derived and secondary meanings. The basic meaning ought to be sense-perceptible rather than abstract. In most cases, the basic meaning has been lost in Hebrew and Aramaic, but it can be found in old Arabic. Mühlau thinks that this is a valid etymological semantic principle and summarizes it as follows:

All meanings of a lexical entry must be reduced to a basic meaning related to sensation, and the dialect that preserves this sense-perceptible basic meaning, or a meaning close to it, in most examples, is the relatively oldest dialect.<sup>1397</sup>

By applying this principle to Hebrew and other Semitic languages, Schultens made an epochal contribution to Hebrew lexicography:

By applying it to the Semitic languages, especially Hebrew, with vast reading and erudition, it became epoch-making for Hebrew lexicography. The way was paved for a correct standard of etymology, and it was thus put on truly scientific tracks.<sup>1398</sup>

Mühlau argues that the principal works in which Schultens’ lexicographical research is contained – the two volumes of *Origines Hebraeae* and the commentaries on Job and Proverbs – present etymological derivations and lexical explanations that are partly generally accepted and partly deserve to be generally approved. Referring to Michaelis’ *Beurtheilung* (p. 295), he states that the planned Hebrew dictionary was not completed.<sup>1399</sup>

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<sup>1396</sup> Mühlau, “Albert Schultens und seine Bedeutung für die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft”, *Zeitschrift für die gesamte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 31, 1870, pp. 1–21.

<sup>1397</sup> Mühlau, “Albert Schultens und seine Bedeutung”, p. 14. “Alle Bedeutungen einer Wortfamilie müssen auf eine sinnliche Grundbedeutung zurückgeführt werden und derjenige Dialect, welcher diese sinnliche Grundbedeutung für die grössere Anzahl von Beispielen bewahrt hat oder dessen Wörter ihr in ihrer Bedeutung am nächsten stehen, ist die relative älteste.”

<sup>1398</sup> Mühlau, “Albert Schultens und seine Bedeutung”, p. 14: “Dadurch dass er ihn mit Aufwand grossartiger Belesenheit [...] auf das Semitische, speziell das Hebräische anwandte, wurde er für die hebräische Lexicographie von epochenmachender Bedeutung. Die richtige Norm für die Etymologie war gegeben und die letztere somit in wahrhaft wissenschaftliche Bahnen geleitet.”

<sup>1399</sup> Mühlau, “Albert Schultens und seine Bedeutung”, p. 14.



Mühlau also claims that Schultens made groundbreaking contributions to Hebrew grammar, particularly through his *Institutiones linguae Hebraeae* (1737). By applying the principle of comparison with cognate languages, which he terms “das Prinzip der Dialectvergleichung”, to Hebrew grammar, Schultens laid a scientific foundation for his linguistic approach. Schultens’ approach has two merits in the foundation of Hebrew linguistics: his principle of comparison with cognate dialects and his historical classification of Hebrew in relation to the other Semitic languages. This result paved the way for a scientific treatment of Hebrew linguistics in lexicography and grammar.

The great progress in Hebrew linguistics owes to Schultens insofar as he asserted the principle of dialect comparison and showed the correct position of Hebrew among the other Semitic languages, thus making a truly scientific lexical and grammatical treatment of them possible. This achievement is of utmost importance from two viewpoints.<sup>1400</sup>

On this account, Mühlau claims that Schultens is the precursor of contemporary comparative linguistics and the indirect founder of a reliable method of Old Testament interpretation:

Indirectly, the works of Schultens and his school can be regarded as the first precursors that made modern linguistics possible, with the great Wilhelm von Humboldt as its founder, following Herder’s ingenious investigations into the origin of language. Directly, however, Schultens – and this is what should be of the greatest importance to us theologians – placed the interpretation of the Old Testament on new and firmer foundations.<sup>1401</sup>

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<sup>1400</sup> Mühlau, “Albert Schultens und seine Bedeutung”, p. 19: “Der grossartige Fortschritt, den die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft den Arbeiten Schultens’ darin verdankt, dass er das Princip der Dialectvergleichung geltend machte und dem Hebräischen seine rechte Stellung im Verhältniss zu den übrigen semitischen Sprachen anweisend eine wahrhaft wissenschaftliche lexicalische und grammaticalische Behandlung derselben ermöglichte, ist in doppelter Hinsicht von höchster Bedeutung geworden.”

<sup>1401</sup> Mühlau, “Albert Schultens und seine Bedeutung”, p. 19: “Mittelbar sind die Arbeiten von Schultens und seiner Schule als die ersten Vorläufer zu betrachten, welche die moderne Sprachwissenschaft ermöglichten, deren Begründer nach Herders geistvollen Untersuchungen über den Ursprung der Sprache der grosse Wilhelm von Humboldt wurde. Unmittelbar aber – und das ist es was uns Theologen von höchster Bedeutung seyn muss – stellte Schultens die Auslegung des A. Ts. auf neue, festere Grundlagen.”

## 12.4 Encyclopaedia Britannica 1880

In the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed., entry on the Hebrew language, William Robertson Smith summarizes Schultens' programme for Hebrew studies as follows:

In the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Semitic studies had their chief seat in Holland, where Albert Schultens took up the comparative method with fresh energy, and applied it to Hebrew on a scale which gave a new shape to the study of the language. Schultens laid emphasis on the limited extent of the Old Testament literature, which makes it an inadequate record of the phenomena of the Hebrew language, and proposed to supply these defects by a large use of the dialects, mainly of the Arabic, in which he had wide and accurate reading. His *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae* (1737) mark an advance on previous grammars, and in his commentaries is accumulated an enormous mass of material of the highest value for the lexicographer. Schultens founded an influential school, of which Schroeder was the chief ornament; but his method was easily abused, and fell into discredit in the hands of arbitrary expositors like Venema. After Holland, Germany became the chief seat of Hebrew studies.<sup>1402</sup>

In *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed., entry on Schultens, the contributor, Robertson Smith, evaluates Schultens' work as follows:

Schultens was the chief Arabic teacher of his time, and in some sense a restorer of Arabic studies, but he differed from Reiske and De Sacy in mainly regarding Arabic as a handmaid to Hebrew. His chief work was to vindicate the value of comparative study of the Semitic tongues against those who, like Gousset, regarded Hebrew as a sacred tongue with which comparative philology has nothing to do. Schultens, on the other hand, certainly went much too far in his appeals to Arabic for the interpretation of the Old Testament; the laws of comparative Semitic philology were not yet known, so that the comparison of roots was often guesswork, and the value of the exegetical tradition in Hebrew was not accurately determined. Hence he did not leave so much of permanent value for Hebrew grammar and lexicography as might have been expected from his learning; but the systematic illustration of phrases and modes of thought from Arabic literature, e.g., in his *Liber Jobi*, has a higher value, which has been too much overlooked in the reaction against the extravagances of the school he founded.<sup>1403</sup>

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<sup>1402</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 11 (1880), p. 601,

<sup>1403</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 21, p. 459.

## Summary

This study examines the innovations in Biblical Hebrew philology achieved by the Dutch Orientalist Albert Schultens. It explores the contents and contexts of his scholarly publications. The text is divided into twelve chapters, arranged in four parts.

The introductory part elucidates the scholarly and hermeneutical contexts of Schultens' work and his innovation as a comparative philologist. The first section of the second chapter outlines the goals and tripartite scope of the early modern discipline of biblical philology (*philologia sacra*). As applied to Hebrew, this comprised textual criticism of the Old Testament, linguistic studies of Hebrew in relation to cognate languages, and the study of the religious and cultural history of ancient Israel and neighbouring nations. The next sections provide a more thorough exploration of the early modern development of textual criticism and Hebrew language philology. These branches were determined by the positions of the critical Cappelian school and the anti-critical rabbinical-Buxtorfian school. Section 2.2 shows that these schools differed not only in their views on the origin of the Masoretic vocalization and the historical transmission of the consonantal text but also in their widely diverging views on the nature of the Hebrew language. In his assessment of these two schools, and in his theory and practice of morphology, semantics, and etymology, Schultens endeavoured to take a middle position between the critical and anti-critical schools. Finally, Schultens was also acquainted with the Wittenberg school of Oriental language philology (Section 2.5).

The subsequent chapter explores hermeneutical approaches to Biblical Hebrew in the Reformation and post-Reformation periods, with a particular focus on the dual concept of defects of Hebrew, which, in an extrinsic sense, referred to lacunae in knowledge of Hebrew and, in an intrinsic sense, to deficiencies in the nature of Hebrew as a language system. Chapter 3 examines the views of influential biblical scholars on the state of knowledge of Biblical Hebrew and on the nature of Ancient Hebrew, including Martin Luther, James Gordon Huntly, Isaac Vossius, Baruch Spinoza, Richard Simon, and Valentin Ernst Löscher.

The second part provides an overview of Schultens' career, research programme, and authorship, including both published and unpublished works. It serves as both an introduction and a supplement to the third major part of this volume. At the outset, notable events in Schultens' life and

career are presented in a biographical timeline, and the main topics of his comparative Hebrew language studies are summarized. This is followed by an outline of the topics in his linguistic and biblical philological publications, along with a survey of each publication's topics. Next, a number of his unpublished minor essays in comparative Hebrew philology are briefly described. His lecture notes and the records of his dictation on the historical books, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, and Zechariah are surveyed. Finally, the records of Schultens' courses in Hebrew antiquities are examined. In Franeker, he lectured on holy places, holy persons, holy things, and holy times, following the model of Adrian Reland's *Antiquitates sacrae veterum Hebraeorum* (1707). In Leiden, however, he chose more specific topics, such as the Tabernacle of Moses, which was the subject of his inaugural oration as chair professor of Hebrew antiquities in 1740. Next, an overview of the contents of Schultens' Aramaic-Syriac grammar is provided. Finally, the scope of Schultens' text editing in Arabic philology is demonstrated.

The third part explores Schultens' publications in Hebrew philology, grouping them into five thematic fields, each organized chronologically. Chapter 5 describes and analyses Schultens' philological treatises on biblical books. First is *Disputatio theologico philologica de utilitate linguae Arabicae in interpretanda Sacra Scriptura* (1706), the introduction to which clearly builds on Le Clerc's hermeneutical approach to Biblical Hebrew studies and on Pococke's views on the history of the Arabic language. The other treatises in this category include critical remarks on the Book of Job, *Animadversiones philologicae in Jobum* (1708), critical remarks on a selection of passages from the entire Old Testament, *Animadversiones philologicae et criticae* (1709), and his commentaries on the Book of Job and the Proverbs of Solomon: *Liber Jobi cum nova versione et commentario* (1737) and *Proverbia Salomonis* (1748).

Chapter 6 describes and analyses Schultens' linguistic treatises on the etymology, phonology and morphology of Biblical Hebrew. Schultens' first publication as a professor in Franeker was his inaugural speech on the sources of knowledge of biblical Hebrew, *Oratio inauguralis de fontibus ex quibus omnis linguae Hebraeae notitia manavit* (1714), which forms part of the pre-Enlightenment questioning of traditional authorities and represents a quest for a new, safe authority. Arabic is selected as the most reliable source and authority for determining the historical or etymological semantics of Biblical Hebrew. In subsequent publications, *Origines Hebraeae*, vols. 1–2 (1724–1738) and *De defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae* (1731), Schultens demonstrated how Arabic could be used in Hebrew etymology and how it surpassed all previous sources of knowledge. In these treatises, the hermeneutical concept of “defects of Hebrew” in an extrinsic sense played a significant role. In *Clavis dialectorum* (1733), Schultens aimed to demonstrate the identity of Hebrew phonemes in relation to Arabic, as well

as the sound correspondences between the two languages. In his Hebrew grammar, *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae* (1737), Schultens sought to establish the regularity of Ancient Hebrew morphology in response to both the critical and the anti-critical schools. In *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi* (1738), he presented his theory and method of semantic etymological research in a set of 18 rules, which he discussed in detail. In his first treatise against Taco Hajo van den Honert, *Excursus primus* (1739), Schultens clarified his views on the external “defects of Hebrew”, that is, the epistemic lacunae, or gaps of knowledge, in Hebrew philology. He recommended the comparative method and anticipated the threats to Hebrew philology if it were abandoned.

Chapter 7 examines Schultens’ speeches on the antiquity of the Arabic language and its kinship with Hebrew. In the first speech, the geographical concept of Arabia Felix, which encompassed the entire Arabian Peninsula – a legacy of Claudius Ptolemy – was central to Schultens’ ethno-linguistic views on the origins and historical development of Arabic. Schultens portrays Arabic as an archaic and stable language, adducing three extra-linguistic factors that underpin this historical integrity and stability: (1) the geographical isolation of the Arabian Peninsula, (2) the ethnic and linguistic homogeneity of the Arabs, and (3) the political continuity of sovereignty. In the second oration, Schultens discusses the internal causes of the stability of Arabic and attributes a key role to the Arabs’ conservative attitudes towards their language. He opens his speech by presenting the Arabic language as a male date palm that pollinates and fructifies Hebrew, the female date palm, yielding fruit by improving insight into the original meanings of Biblical Hebrew words. This metaphor serves as a defence of Schultens’ Hebrew-Arabic comparisons in particular and, implicitly, of comparative Semitic language studies in general.

Chapter 8 offers a descriptive and contextual account of methodological treatises that defend a comparative study of Biblical Hebrew against contemporary opponents: Antonius Driessen on semantic and etymological principles, the authority of Arabic, and the role of aids other than cognate languages (*Vindiciae* 1737); Taco Hajo van den Honert on whether Hebrew was a spoken vernacular of the Hebrews in biblical times (*Excursus tertius* 1739); and Johann Jacob Reiske on the value of Hebrew etymology, the difficulty of Arabic etymology, and the historical origins of the Arabic language (*Epistola prima and Epistola altera* 1749).

Chapter 9 examines treatises that refute claims about the holiness and exclusivity of the Hebrew language and script. These are the prefaces to the commentary on Proverbs and to the re-edition of Erpenius’ Arabic grammar.

Based on primary sources, the final part, comprising three chapters, charts the 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century historical and historiographical reception of Schultens’ research programme in Hebrew and Semitic language studies and Bible interpretation. The first section of Chapter 10 maps how Schultens’

guiding linguistic ideas were received and developed by the exponents of the Dutch school of Hebrew and Arabic philology (*Schola Schultensiana*) in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The study follows a roughly chronological order, beginning with Schultens' students during his lifetime and continuing with advocates of the school in the second and third generations. Henric Albert Schultens' views on his grandfather's merits and faults are presented through the editing and translation of selected passages from his lectures on the history of Hebrew philology. The reception among other Dutch scholars is examined in a separate intermediate section (10.2). The final two sections explore how the Schultensian research programme spread beyond the Netherlands to other European countries, particularly Germany, where its most important advocate was Johann David Michaelis.

Chapter 11 traces the dissemination of Schultens' programme for comparative Hebrew philology and etymology to the universities of Uppsala and Åbo, and explains why it was rejected and suppressed at Lund and Greifswald. Among the Upsalian Orientalists, special attention is given to Carolus Aurivillius, who, after returning from his educational journey following his meeting with Albert Schultens in Leiden in June 1744, introduced Schultensian philology at Uppsala University. The views of other Upsalian proponents of Schultensian comparative Semitic philology, such as Johann Adam Tingstadius and Anders Svanborg, are also examined. At Åbo University, Schultens' comparative philology was initially presented by Petrus Filenius and Carolus Abraham Clewberg, scholars who had acquired expertise in Semitic languages through study abroad. The latter attended Schultens' courses for at least one semester, probably for one year.

At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the historical reception of Schultens entered a new historiographical phase. Chapter 12 outlines the evaluation of Schultens' scholarly programme in Old Testament interpretation and Semitic language studies. In the Netherlands, we encounter Henrik Arent Hamaker and Theodor Willem Johannes Juynboll; in Italy, Samuel David Luzzatto; and in France, Étienne-Marc Quatremère and Ernest Renan. In Germany, Wilhelm Gesenius and Hermann Hupfeld assessed Schultens' theory and practice of Hebrew etymology and grammar. The chapter shows how Gesenius initially developed his theory and practice of Hebrew lexicography in opposition to Schultens' scholarship, and how he addressed the objections he raised to Schultens' application of Hebrew etymology. Gesenius' emphasis on Schultens' overuse of Arabic has been reiterated to the present day. Hupfeld appraised Schultens' semantic theory and his use of Arabic, arguing that Schultens failed not in his theory but only in his practice of equating meanings in Arabic sources with the primary meanings of Biblical Hebrew words. In the latter half of the century, German scholarship was ripe for reassessment, which was undertaken by Ludwig Diestel and Ferdinand Mührlau. Their analyses have remained the most comprehensive surveys of the content and context of Schultens' comparative philology.

## Appendix 1: Henric Albert Schultens' historiography of the scholarly achievements of Albert Schultens: The Latin text

### Manuscript source, and dating

Henric Albert Schultens' lectures on the history of Hebrew philology survive in his autograph (Leiden UB, MS Or. 1477).<sup>1404</sup> In the textual edition, I have selected the portion in which Schultens' research programme is discussed (fols. 25r–29r) together with introductory remarks (on the value of an awareness of the history of disciplines, on the cultivation of Hebrew as a living language, and on the importance of understanding the historical development of Hebrew philology) and a concluding statement (fol. 31r).

On internal evidence, these lectures should be dated between 1788 and 1792. They were probably delivered in the autumn semester of 1792, before November, when he contracted an infectious disease that led to catarrhal fever and, moving down into the chest, developed into pneumonia, which ultimately terminated his life on 12 August 1793.<sup>1405</sup> Just before the end of his lectures (fols. 29r–30r), Henric Albert gives heed to the results of Old Testament textual criticism in the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He states that the art of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible emerged as a branch of learning “about forty years ago” with Houbigant's anti-Masoretic, unvocalized Hebrew Bible, *Biblia Hebraica cum notis criticis et versione Latina ad notas criticas facta*, published in Paris in 1753. He then mentions Benjamin Kennicott's *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus* (Oxford 1776–1780), which presented a collation of c. 600 manuscripts and 52 prints, and Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi's collation of medieval manuscripts, *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti*, published in Parma in four volumes between 1784 and 1788. Since the latter work is described as “recently published” (“haud ita pridem”), the lectures ought to be dated after

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<sup>1404</sup> The main text is written on the recto side, while additions and corrections appear on the verso side of the front cover and on folios 1–6, 9–14, 19, 20, and 22. The treatise comprises thirty full pages, each measuring 210 x 170 mm, with an average of 35 lines per page. The front cover recto contains the shelfmark numbers and a Leiden University stamp (“Acad. Lugd.”). The back cover recto (fol. 31r) contains a few lines, and the back cover verso is blank. For samples, see Figures 20a–20b.

<sup>1405</sup> Jacob Kantelaar, in *Lofreden op Henrik Albert Schultens*, p. 72, states that Henric Albert, on 24 November 1792, was affected by a severe catarrhal fever (eene kwaadaardige zinkingskoorts), which caused a chest disease (eene borstziekte).

1788. Another clue is the wording of a letter addressed to the Scottish theologian Robert Findlay, which should be dated 29 December 1789.<sup>1406</sup> In language similar to that used in the lectures, Henric Albert expounds on the rise of textual criticism of the Old Testament and its implications for Hebrew philology.

**Praelectiones: Textual edition of selected texts**<sup>1407</sup>

[1r] Quandoquidem in omni genere disciplinarum, in quibus elaborandum sit ad bene perficiendum, inprimis iuvat cognoscere earum historiam atque intelligere qua via et ratione a primis initiis identidem crescendo tandem pervenerint ad eam conditionem, in qua cum proxime versantur, nulla mihi opus sentio commendatione consilii, quod cepi tradendi notitiam quandam literariam excultae linguae Hebraicae, praesertim a Christianis post renatas literas. Cuiusmodi notitia et per se non iniucunda est et insignem utilitatem affert omnibus harum literarum studiosis, ut recte iudicetur de hodierna Veteris Testamenti interpretandi ratione et via emuniatur ad progrediendum ulterius atque perficiendum, quod plures antea causae impediverant, quo minus perficeretur.

Quum vero magna sit super hoc argumento rerum dicendarum copia et tamen temporis angustia cogat sectari brevitatem, non potero singulis partibus diu immorari, sed obiter atque strictim primum percurram vicissitudines maxime notabiles literarum Hebraicarum ab exilio Babelico ad XV seculum post Christum, quo tempore Christiani potissimum coeperunt eas excolere; deinde huius culturae a seculo XV ad nostra usque tempora rationem ac modum describam paullo enucleatius indicatis passim fontibus, ex quibus uberius harum rerum notitia aut maior illustratio petenda sit.

Vicissitudines linguae Hebraicae, ut linguarum omnium, habuerunt artissimam cum vicissitudinibus ipsius gentis coniunctionem. Quum enim inde ab aetate Mosis diligenter exculta atque perpolita in florentissimo reipublicae statu sub Davide et Salomone, quin etiam sub regibus postremis, ad quorum aetatem Jesaias, Michas, Amosus, Nahumus, Obadja et Jeremiah pertinent, in magno vigore esset atque decore, mox ab exilio Babelico ad interitum vergente gravissimisque casibus iactata republica, ita coepit descescere, ut ultimum reipublicae excidium non attigerit, sed iam ante illud tempus extincta fuerit, neque de se quidquam posteris reliquerit praeter paucos illos libros, quod canon Veteris Testamenti complectitur. [...]

[8r] *De studiis Christianorum in litteris Hebraicis excolendis*

Quod vere passim praedicatur atque ingratum esset negare florentissimam esse hac nostra aetate conditionem literarum Hebraicarum et philologiae

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<sup>1406</sup> For this dating, see Johannes van der Berg, *Religious currents and cross-currents: essays on early modern Protestantism*, Leiden 1999, p. 238 n. 44.

<sup>1407</sup> Source: Leiden University Libraries, MS Or. 1477, fols. 1r, 8r, 25r–29r and 31r.



sacrae in universum, id longe clarius elucescit animumque percellit fortius, si attendatur ad conditionem, in qua eadem literae inter Christianos fuerant a primis initiis usque ad aetatem huic nostrae proximam. Per quam comparisonem cum crescat nostrorum temporum admiratio, tum, si causae indagantur quae tam insignem mutationem effecerint, rectius cernitur genuina ratio illud decus conservandi atque tuendi, quin continuo studio promovendi ulterius. Itaque operae pretium erit vicissitudines, quas cultura literarum Hebraicarum apud Christianos subiit paullo diligentius exposuisse. [...]

[25r] Iam ex iis quae huc usque retuli intelligitur, quibus impedimentis bona interpretatio Veteris Testamenti potissimum retarderetur. Nimirum, quamdiu vel praevalebat Iudaeorum auctoritas vel omne praesidium quaerebatur in versionibus antiquis vel talis has literas tractandi ratio commendabatur, quam in aliarum linguarum studio nemo esset, quin sperneret propter ineptiam et frivolitatem, multum quidem movebatur, at parum promovebatur tam in grammatica linguae Hebraicae cognitione, quam in interpretatione Veteris Testamenti huic cognitione superstruenda.

Neque enim hoc rerum statu critica sacra, utileque<sup>1408</sup> illud bonae interpretationis subsidium, caput efferre poterat, primum, quoniam Iudaei praeibant ad iudicandum de integritate Codicis Hebraici tanquam summa et illibata; deinde, quoniam instabilis erat neque ex certis principiis ducta peritia grammatica, sine qua nulla est critica genuina.

Itaque magno philologiae sacrae commodo atque emolimento Albertus Schultensius hoc nostro seculo omnem operam convertendo ad reliquias linguae Hebraicae ex vicinarum dialectorum collatione illustrandas efficit, ut cum maxime viam incedamus egregie complanatam atque emunitam. Quod ne nimis vage a me dictum esse videatur, iuvabit ostendisse quod a Alberto Schultensio potissimum praestitum sit et quaenam praesidia vel ornamenta ad philologiam sacram deinceps accesserint.

Scilicet initio huius seculi, quum Schultensius iuvenis theologus animum applicaret ad studium literarum Hebraicarum, iacebant fere hae literae in contemptu ac neglectu. Solus erat in nostra patria Relandus, vir eleganti ingenio et doctrina, qui eas tueretur magna cum laude, ita tamen ut operam maxime conferret in tales eruditionis partes quae minus arcte coniunctae essent cum interpretatione grammatica, veluti ad geographiam sacram et<sup>1409</sup> antiquos Iudaeorum ritus et mores.

[26r] Praevalebat autem in universum vel Rabbinica vel Gussetiana has literas tractandi ratio. Nec ferme quisquam erat, qui ad exemplum Erpenii, Golii, Bocharti, Schindleri, Hottingeri, et Pocockii Arabicas literas ad Hebraicas applicaret. His tamen exemplis Schultensius excitatus<sup>1410</sup> cum ad

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<sup>1408</sup> utileque] The manuscript. has *utilemque*.

<sup>1409</sup> Et] Between *et* and *antiquos*, the ms. has a word crossed out, *antiquitates*, which was replaced by the present phrase *antiquos ritus et mores*.

<sup>1410</sup> excitatus] *incitatus* on the line; *in* is replaced by *ex* above the line.

Arabicos Libros legendos se conferret essetque praeterea Graecarum Latinarumque literarum amore mirifice incensus, fieri non poterat quin cerneret primum quidem in linguarum studio ineptum esse cum Gussetio philosophari, deinde etiam genuinam linguae Hebraicae cognitionem ex dialectis, non item ex incerta, quin saepius perversa Iudaeorum doctrina, hauriendam esse. Igitur postquam in prima iuventute egregio successu plura Veteris Testamenti loca per collationem linguae Arabicae, Syrae et Chaldaicae illustrasset, vir factus coepit certas interpretandi regulas ex his fontibus derivare, eas diligenter explicare earumque vim ac necessitatem tam evidentibus rationibus atque exemplis demonstrare et adversus nonnullorum obstrepantium invidiam vindicare, ut intra pauca annos nemo bonus interpret Veteris Testamenti vel esse vel haberi vellet, quin interpretationem ad ipsas illas regulas exponeret duceretque ex iisdem principiis.

Nititur autem universa doctrinae Schultensianae ratio hac veluti basi atque fundamento:

Linguam Hebraicam, quae pro omnium prima et antiquissima vulgo habebatur, exortam demum esse post dispersionem familiarum, de qua refertur Gen. XI eamque per modum dialecti aequae ac Chaldaica, Syriaca ac Arabica fluxisse ex prima lingua antediluviana, quae dudum mortua 4 has filias reliquerit. Igitur 4 has dialectos sororio vinculo coniunctas ad unam eandemque linguam tanquam ad communem matrem pertinere, quemadmodum Attica, Ionica, Dorica, Aeolica dialecti pertinent ad unam linguam Graecam.

Iam cum ex hoc principio porro consequatur primam vocum significationem, quantumvis haec deinceps secundum peculiarem cuiusque dialecti naturam atque indolem tendat in multa diverticula, unam esse et communem omnibus, mox elucescit has linguas egregiam sibi opem invicem praestare posse ad primas istas notiones eruendas et probabiliter constituendas. Quod cum in universum valeat, tum potissimum locum habet in illustrandis reliquiis linguae Hebraeae tam paucis et tenuibus, ut de omni copia linguae nihil supersit praeter libros Veteris Testamenti. Undenam igitur in his tantis angustiis de vocum praesertim rariorum significatione [27r] melius constabit, quam ex dialectis ab eademque stirpe enatis, maxime ex dialecto Arabica, quae in hunc usque diem, quod reliquis non contigit, viva et vigeta, omnem illam copiam complectitur? Profecto si de nostra lingua Belgica unus duntaxat liber remansisset, equis sanae mentis homo dubitaret ad explicandam istius libri dictionem in subsidium vocare affinem linguam Germanicam? Et tamen Arabica lingua ab Hebraica haud magis, ne dicam minus, discrepat quam Germanica a Belgica.

Iam vero hanc tam planam interpretandi viam, quam Iudaeorum obsequium ingredi non patiebatur, fuerat quidem subinde unus aut alter ex perspicacioribus qui ingrediendam esse contenderet. Sed cum non satis

evellerent superstitiosam de linguae Hebraeae sanctitate opinionem, quae instar senticeti viam istam impeditam tenebat, nullos adeo comites accipiebant, quin ad Magistros Judaicos sanctae suae linguae depositarios atque custodes mox pedem reducerent.

Hoc igitur impedimento sublato Schultensius praeivit optimo successu adhibuitque affinitatem dialectorum non tantum in illustrationem singularium locorum Veteris Testamenti, vero etiam ad doctrinam grammaticam in universum, cuius ambitum ex doctrina grammatica Graecorum et Latinorum perlustrare didicerat atque emetiri.

Nisi enim Albertus Schultensius a prima iuventute praeclare imbutus fuisset literis Graecis et Latinis, quas per omnem vitam studio haud intermisso persecutus est, profecto non potuisset praestare quod nunc praestitit novamque suam doctrinam idonea causarum explicatione tam firmiter stabilire. Sed de Graecorum Latinorumque lumine lumen suum accendens cum videret praecipuam causam fluctuantis studii Hebraicarum literarum in eo residere, quod nulla esset certa atque constans analogia, ad quam tanquam ad communem normam omnis ratio huius studii exponeretur, restituit hanc analogiam ex dialectis vicinis, et primo quidem ex grammatica technica, cuius officium est vocum formas explicare, profligavit innumeras anomalias, quibus obsita erat atque impedita, deinde autem ultra hos fines progrediendo easdem dialectos applicuit ad eruendas vocum significationes, harum originem indagandam et veluti genealogico ductu investigandum, quomodo aliae identidem ex aliis enatae essent, secundum ingenium gentis et communem omnium [28r] linguarum naturam.

Quae investigatio quam usum habeat ad veteres linguas bene cognoscendas, quid evidentius declarat quam similis opera ab Hemsterhusio et Valckenaerio in Graecis literis tanto cum successo collocata? Nec minus profuit collatio dialectorum ad explicandam vim integrarum dictionum, ad idiotismos loquendi bene cernendos et iudicandos et imprimis ad declarandum genuinum sensum figurarum, praesertim sublimiorum, quae propriae sunt coelo Orientali.

Nulla igitur pars est grammatices, quin huius viri doctrina collustraretur; eandemque operam plures deinceps successerunt, qui sive in universum sive singillatim perpolirent. Inter quos Schroederus unus omnium cum maxime eminet, qui praeter quam quod ad exemplum Schultensii et aequae felici connubio literarum Graecarum et Latinarum cum literis Orientalibus praeclare versatus est in interpretatione Veteris Testamenti, auxit inprimis ornavitque scientiam linguae Hebraicae regularum grammaticarum perspicuitate, brevitate, certitudine atque perfectione. Quae quidem laus non spectat ad solam doctrinam elementarem sed vero maxime pertinet ad universam sermonis indolem, quae ex syntaxeos ratione pulcherrime et exactissime ab eo exposita cognoscitur.

Iam porro per Schultensianae doctrinae successus critica diris odiis superiore seculo vexata atque passim agitata hac nostra aetate caput extulit.

Quod quidem mirum videri possit iis, qui norunt quantopere Albertus Schultensius pro ratione sui temporis a critica abhorreret. Attamen res est verissima nec difficilis ad explicandum. Quid enim hanc artem tam diu oppressit? Nempe inanis Iudaeorum, quos Christiani tantum non omnes sequebantur, iactantia de sanctitate et divina origine linguae Hebraicae, quae igitur lingua in libris sacris Veteris Testamenti conservata eximebat hos libros communi aliorum fato, ut nullam omnino labem aut corruptelam, etsi millenis vicibus descripti, contraherent. Iam Schultensius profligavit istam opinionem sanctitatis, etsi uno duntaxat consilio, ut iuvaret rem grammaticam, sed vero sustulit simul praecipuam causam odiosae insectationis, quae criticos ab usu huius artis cohibebat.<sup>1411</sup>

Et mox [29r] ubi Iudaica superstitio apud Christianos abierat in desuetudinem, ut rideretur, qui Hebraicam linguam sanctiorem esse crederet lingua Graeca Novi Testamenti, critica, veluti ianua patefacta, etsi paucis aditum praeculentibus, ditionem Veteris Testamenti occupare coepit iisdem ferme legibus atque conditionibus, quibus in Novum Testamentum immissa erat, vix ullo condiscante. Emergit autem critica inde ab annis fere 40, primum per Houbigantum cuius splendissima editio *Biblitorum Hebraeorum cum notis criticis et versione Latina ad notas criticas facta* prodiit Parisiis 1753. Sed huius viri partim imperitia, partim audacia ac temeritas paucos alliciebat ad sequendum. [...]

[31r] Satis dixi ad ostendendum felicem esse hac nostra aetate literarum Hebraicarum conditionem, et qui in iis elaborare velint planam atque facilem viam habere, quam sequantur. Ad hanc igitur viam vobis praeundam et gressus per eam fido ductu regendos, quod officii mei ratio iubet, promptum me et paratumque accipite.

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<sup>1411</sup> Quid enim ... artis cohibebat] Cf. H.A. Schultens, "Letter to Robert Findlay", as quoted by Jacob Kantelaar, *Lofreden op Henrik Albert Schultens*, pp. 82–83: "Quid enim Criticam tam diu oppresserat? Nempe inanis et ridicula opinio sanctitatis linguae Hebraeae, quae, in libris sacris servata, passim censi debet hos libros exemisse communi aliorum fato, ut nullam omnino labem, etsi millenis vicibus descripti, contraherent. Iam avus meus profligavit istam opinionem sanctitatis, uno quidem consilio, ut iuvaret rem grammaticam, sed vero simul sustulit praecipuam causam odiosae insectationis, quae plurimos ab usu Criticae artis cohibebat." The background of this passage is that Findlay had published essays in favour of the integrity of the Masoretic text in a controversy with B. Kennicott, viz. *Two letters to the Reverend Dr. Kennicott* (1762) and *Vindication of the sacred books* (1770). In the letter to Findlay, Henric Albert Schultens announces that he is not foreign to textual criticism of the Old Testament, even though he is a grandson of Albert Schultens ("etsi Albertus Schultens nepos, a Critica me non alienum esse profiteor") and states that he wishes to keep the middle course between the boldness of the critics and the scrupulous fear of the anti-critics ("quippe cupio mediam viam sectari inter Criticorum audaciam et Anti-criticorum religiosum timore"). See Kantelaar, *Lofreden*, pp. 82 and 83.

## Appendix 2: Nolde on the polysemy of the conjunctions

ו and וְ

**The conjunction *wāw*:** ו, וְ, וּ (*w<sup>o</sup>*, *ū*, *wā*)

Christian Nolde, *Concordantiae particularum Ebraeo-Chaldaicarum*, Copenhagen 1679, pp. 268–314.

In Biblical Hebrew, the conjunction *waw*, when prefixed to verbs, nouns, or entire clauses, serves numerous syntactic functions that may be rendered lexically in various ways. It connects words, clauses, and sentences in the senses of “and”, “and especially”, “in particular”, “also”, and “and also”. It contrasts ideas: “but”, and sometimes introduces circumstantial clauses: “when”, “since”, or “though”. It has the function of continuing the preceding tense (*waw* consecutive), whether the perfect or imperfect tense. Moreover, it can express intention: “that” or “so that”, and mark an informal inference or consequence: “so”, “then”, or “therefore”.

The meanings recognized by Nolde are as follows: 1. and (*et*), 2. so much (*adeo, usque adeo*), 3. oh!, alas! (*ah!*) 4. otherwise (*alias, alioquin*), 5. I wonder? Do you think? Is it so, really? (*an, num?*), 6. is it so or not? (*annon?*), 7. before (*antequam*), 8. with (*apud*), 9. and however (*atqui, cum tamen*), 10. or (*aut*), 11. certainly, truly, indeed (*certe, profecto, omnino*), 12. against (*contra*), on the contrary (*econtra, sed econtra*), 13. together with (*cum, una cum*), 14. at last (*denique, tandem*), 15. until (*donec, usque dum*), 16. while, as long as (*dum*), 17. behold! (*ecce*), 18. also; and also (*etiam, atque etiam*), 19. and it (*et id, idque*), 20. and mainly; and above all (*et praecipue, et imprimis*), 21. and certainly (*et quidem*), 22. alas!, well (*heus, age*), 23. he (*hic, ille*), 24. already, already before (*iam, iam ante*), 25. here (*ibi*), 26. therefore (*ideo, propterea*) 27. that is (*id est*) 28. even, yes even (*imo, quin imo*), 29. from there (*inde*), 30. I say, I mean (*inquam*, as a parenthetical word) 31. all in all (*in summa*), 32. moreover (*insuper, praeterea*), 33. meantime, in the meantime (*interea, interim*), 34. likewise, similarly (*item*), 35. again (*iterum, rursus*), 36. at once, immediately (*mox, ilico*), 37. for (*nam, enim*) 38. namely (*nempe, nimirum*), 39. neither (*neque*) 40. further, furthermore (*porro*), 41. and after that (*postea, et postea*), 42. after (*postquam, et postquam*), 43. firstly (*primum*), 44. I ask (*quaeso*) 45. as long as (*quamdiu*) 46. although (*quamvis, quamquam, cum tamen*), 47. since (*quandoquidem*), 48. so much as (*quantum*) 49. for this reason, on that account, therefore (*quare, quamobrem, itaque*) 50. because (*quia, eo quod*), 51. certainly (*quidem*), 52. rather on the contrary (*quin potius*), 53. who (*quis, qui*), 54. something which (*quod*), 55. and as far as some is concerned (*et quod attinet ad*), 56. whatever (*quodcumque*), 57. just as (*quomodo, quo pacto*), 58. when (*quum, quando*), 59. but (*sed, at, vero*), 60. if, but if (*si, quid si*), 61. so (*sic, ita*), 62. as, like, in the same way as (*sicut, quasi, quemadmodum*), 63. or (*sive*), 64. both ... and; as well as (*tam ... quam*), 65. however; and however (*tamen, et tamen, quum tamen, sed tamen*) 66. so

truly (*tam vere*), 67. only, at least (*tantummodo, saltem*), 68. then (*tunc*), 69. there, where (*ubi*), 70. on the other hand (*vicissim*), 71. from where (*unde, ex quo*) 72. so that (*ut, ita ut*), 73. o that (*utinam*).

### **The conjunction וְ**

Nolde, *ibidem*, pp. 393–407.

In Biblical Hebrew, the subordinating conjunction וְ has many functions, for instance, of introducing an object clause (“that”), an explicative clause, (“for”), a temporal clause (“when”), a conditional clause (“if”), and a causal clause (“because, since”), as well as of adding force and distinctness to an adverb or interjection.<sup>1412</sup>

The meanings proposed by Nolde are: 1. because (*quia*), 2. whether? (*an, utrum?*), 3. Do you think? Is it so, really? (*annon, nonne?*), 4. certainly (*certe, omnino*), 5. until (*donec, usquedum*), 6. and (*et*), 7. perhaps (*fortassis*), 8. therefore (*ideo, propterea*), 9. even, yes even (*imo, quin imo*), 10. for (*nam*), 11. unless (*nisi, si non*), 12. after that (*postquam*), 13. I ask (*quaeso, obsecro*), 14. how? how much? (*quam, quantum*), 15. although (*quamvis, quamquam*), 16. since (*quandoquidem, quoniam*), 17. the less (*quanto minus*), 18. for this reason, on that account (*quare, quamobrem*), 19. which, who (*quis, qui*), 20. that (*quod*), 21. just as (*quomodo, quo pacto*), 22. when (*quum, quando*), 23. but (*sed, at*), 24. if (*si*), 25. or (*sive*), 26. for sure (*nam certe*), so truly (*tam vere*), 27. however (*tamen, attamen*), nonetheless (*nihilominus*) 28. so that (*ut, ita ut*), and 29. o, that (*utinam*).

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<sup>1412</sup> *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English lexicon*, s.v. וְ, pp. 471–474.

# Tables of transliteration

## 1. The Hebrew alphabet

| Form of letters | Names     | Transliteration with allophonic distinction of <i>begadkefat</i> | Approximate conventional pronunciation                              |
|-----------------|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| א               | 'ālef     | ʾ                                                                | [ʔ] The glottal stop, as in <i>honour</i>                           |
| ב               | bēṭ, bēt  | ב b<br>ב ḅ                                                      | [b] as in <i>boy</i><br>[v] as in <i>cave</i>                       |
| ג               | gīmel     | ג g<br>ג ġ                                                       | [g] as in <i>go</i><br>[dʒ] as in <i>George</i>                     |
| ד               | dāleṭ     | ד d<br>ד ḍ                                                      | [d] as in <i>door</i><br>[ð] as <i>th</i> is <i>this</i>            |
| ה               | hē        | h                                                                | [h] as in <i>house</i> , silent at the end of words                 |
| ו               | wāw       | w                                                                | [w] as in <i>wine</i>                                               |
| ז               | zāyin     | z                                                                | [z] as in <i>size</i>                                               |
| ח               | hēṭ       | ḥ                                                                | [χ] <i>h</i> as in German <i>nach</i> , Scottish <i>loch</i>        |
| ט               | ṭēṭ       | ṭ                                                                | [tʰ] an emphatic <i>t</i> as in <i>table</i>                        |
| י               | yōḏ       | y                                                                | [y] as in <i>you</i>                                                |
| כ, final form ך | kāf, ḳāf | כ k<br>כ ḳ                                                      | [k] as in <i>king</i><br>[χ] as in Scottish <i>loch</i>             |
| ל               | lāmed     | l                                                                | [l] as in <i>light</i>                                              |
| מ, final form ם | mēm       | m                                                                | [m] m as in <i>milk</i>                                             |
| נ, final form ן | nūn       | n                                                                | [n] n as in <i>name</i>                                             |
| ס               | sāmek     | s                                                                | [s] s as in <i>sweet</i>                                            |
| ע               | 'āyin     | ʿ                                                                | [ʕ] a guttural sound: a slight guttural stop                        |
| פ, final form ף | pē, fē    | פ p<br>פ f                                                       | [p] p as in <i>plain</i><br>[f] f as in <i>find</i>                 |
| צ, final form ץ | ṣādē      | ṣ                                                                | [sʰ] ṣ, an emphatic <i>s</i> as in <i>tsunami</i> , Germ. <i>zu</i> |
| ק               | qōf       | q                                                                | [q] q, an emphatic <i>k</i>                                         |
| ר               | rēš       | r                                                                | [r] r as in <i>room</i> , Scottish <i>Murray</i>                    |
| ש, sometimes שׁ | śīn       | š                                                                | [ʃ] š as in <i>show</i>                                             |
| ז               | śīn       | ś                                                                | [ʔ] ś as in <i>sour</i>                                             |
| ת               | śīn       | ת t<br>ת ṭ                                                      | [t] as in <i>tea</i><br>[θ] as in <i>thin</i>                       |

## 2. The Arabic alphabet

| Form of isolated letters | Names      | Transliteration                         | Approximate pronunciation                           |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| ا                        | ʾalif      | ʾ                                       | [ʔ] the glottal stop                                |
| ب                        | bāʾ        | b                                       | [b] as in <i>bed</i>                                |
| ت                        | tāʾ        | t                                       | [t] as in <i>tent</i>                               |
| ث                        | ṭāʾ        | ṭ                                       | [θ] as <i>th</i> in <i>thing</i>                    |
| ج                        | jīm        | j                                       | [dʒ] as in <i>jam</i>                               |
| ح                        | ḥāʾ        | ḥ                                       | [ħ] a sharp <i>h</i>                                |
| خ                        | ḫāʾ        | ḫ                                       | [x or χ] as in Germ. <i>nach</i>                    |
| د                        | dāl        | d                                       | [d] as in <i>dear</i>                               |
| ذ                        | ḏāl        | ḏ                                       | [ð] as <i>th</i> in <i>this</i>                     |
| ر                        | rāʾ        | r                                       | [r] as in <i>run</i>                                |
| ز                        | zāy        | z                                       | [z] as in <i>zone</i>                               |
| س                        | sīn        | s                                       | [s] as in <i>sun</i>                                |
| ش                        | šīn        | š                                       | [ʃ] as in <i>shine</i>                              |
| ص                        | ṣād        | ṣ                                       | [sʰ] as in <i>tsunami</i>                           |
| ض                        | ḏād        | ḏ                                       | [dʰ] an emphatic <i>d</i> like <i>dawn</i>          |
| ط                        | ṭāʾ        | ṭ                                       | [tʰ] an emphatic <i>t</i> as in <i>table</i>        |
| ظ                        | zāʾ or ḏāʾ | conventionally z,<br>in most dialects ḏ | [ðʰ] a voiced pharyngeal fricative of ḏ             |
| ع                        | ʿayn       | ʿ                                       | [ʕ] a guttural sound                                |
| غ                        | ġayn       | ġ                                       | [ɣ or ʁ] a gurgling sound in the back of the throat |
| ف                        | fāʾ        | f                                       | [f] as in <i>father</i>                             |
| ق                        | qāf        | q                                       | [q] a backed <i>k</i>                               |
| ك                        | kāf        | k                                       | [k] as in <i>king</i>                               |
| ل                        | lām        | l                                       | [l] as in <i>light</i>                              |
| م                        | mīm        | m                                       | [m] as in <i>moon</i>                               |
| ن                        | nūn        | n                                       | [n] as in <i>now</i>                                |
| ه                        | ḥāʾ        | h                                       | [h] as in <i>house</i>                              |
| و                        | wāw        | w                                       | [w] as in <i>wonder</i>                             |
| ي                        | yāʾ        | y                                       | [y] as in <i>you</i>                                |



### 3. The Aramaic alphabet

| Form of letters | Names     | Translitteration with allophonic distinction of <i>begadkefat</i> | Approximate conventional pronunciation                                          |
|-----------------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| א               | 'ālaf     | ʿ                                                                 | [ʔ] The glottal stop, as in <i>honour</i>                                       |
| ב               | bēṭ, bēt  | ב b<br>ב ḅ                                                       | [b] as in <i>boy</i><br>[v] as in <i>cave</i>                                   |
| ג               | gāmal     | ג g<br>ג ġ                                                        | [g] as in <i>go</i><br>[dʒ] as in <i>George</i>                                 |
| ד               | dālaṭ     | ד d<br>ד ḍ                                                       | [d] as in <i>door</i><br>[ð] as <i>th</i> is <i>this</i>                        |
| ה               | hē        | ה                                                                 | [h] as in <i>house</i> , silent at the end of words                             |
| ו               | wāw       | ו                                                                 | [w] as in <i>wine</i>                                                           |
| ז               | záyn      | ז                                                                 | [z] as in <i>size</i>                                                           |
| ח               | hēt       | ח                                                                 | [χ] <i>h</i> as in German <i>nach</i> , Scottish <i>loch</i>                    |
| ט               | tēt       | ט                                                                 | [tʰ] an emphatic <i>t</i> as in <i>table</i>                                    |
| י               | yōḏ       | י                                                                 | [y] as in <i>you</i>                                                            |
| כ, final form ך | kāf, ḳāf | כ k<br>כ ḳ                                                       | [k] as in <i>king</i><br>[χ] as in Scottish <i>loch</i>                         |
| ל               | lāmad     | ל                                                                 | [l] as in <i>light</i>                                                          |
| מ, final form ם | mim       | מ                                                                 | [m] m as in <i>milk</i>                                                         |
| נ, final form ן | nun       | נ                                                                 | [n] n as in <i>name</i>                                                         |
| ס               | semkaṭ    | ס                                                                 | [s] s as in <i>sweet</i>                                                        |
| ע               | 'āyn      | ע                                                                 | [ʕ] a guttural sound: a slight guttural stop                                    |
| פ, final form ף | pē, fē    | פ p<br>פ f                                                        | [p] p as in <i>plain</i><br>[f] f as in <i>find</i>                             |
| צ, final form ץ | ṣādē      | צ                                                                 | [sʰ] ṣ, an emphatic <i>s</i> as in <i>tsunami</i> , Germ. <i>zu</i>             |
| ק               | qōf       | ק                                                                 | [q] q, an emphatic <i>k</i><br>[r] r as in <i>room</i> , Scottish <i>Murray</i> |
| ר               | rēš       | ר                                                                 | [ʃ] š as in <i>show</i>                                                         |
| ש               | šīn       | ש                                                                 | [t] as in <i>tea</i>                                                            |
| ת               | tāw, ṭāw | ת t<br>ת ṭ                                                       | [θ] as in <i>thin</i>                                                           |

## 4. Hebrew vowels

| Whole vowels                                                               | Conventional pronunciation                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>ֿ pataḥ</p> <p>ֿ qāmæṣ</p> <p>ֿ seḡōl</p>                               | <p><i>a</i> (short, <i>ă</i>)</p> <p>generally <i>ā</i> (long), sometimes <i>â</i> (short); in the latter case called <i>qāmæṣ ḥāṭūf</i></p> <p><i>æ</i>, often short, but my transliteration does not distinguish between short <i>é</i> and long <i>ē</i></p>                                                             |
| <p>ֿ šērē</p> <p>ֿ hīræq</p> <p>ֿ ḥōlæm</p> <p>ֿ qibbūṣ</p> <p>ֿ šūræq</p> | <p>usually <i>ē</i> (long), sometimes <i>e</i> (short, = <i>ě</i>)</p> <p>usually <i>ī</i> (long), sometimes <i>i</i> (short)</p> <p>usually <i>ō</i> (long), sometimes <i>o</i> (short)</p> <p>usually <i>u</i> (short, <i>ŭ</i>), rarely <i>ū</i> (long)</p> <p>usually <i>ū</i>, rarely <i>u</i> (short, = <i>ŭ</i>)</p> |
| Reduced vowels                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| ֿ šwa mobile                                                               | <i>ə</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| ֿ ḥāṭef pataḥ                                                              | <i>a</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| ֿ ḥāṭef qāmæṣ                                                              | <i>ā</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| ֿ ḥāṭef s <sup>ə</sup> ḡōl                                                 | <i>æ</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |

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<sup>1416</sup> This publication should not be confused with Kutscher’s *Toldot ha-lashon ha-‘ivrit*, published in English translation as *History of the Hebrew language* (1982).

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# Illustrations

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- Figure 14. Albert Schultens, *Oratio de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine*, Franeker 1729.
- Figure 15. Albert Schultens, *Oratio altera de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine*, title page, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Leiden 1738.
- Figure 16. Albert Schultens, *Excursus tertius ad editionam primam et secundam dissertationis de lingua primaeva*, Leiden 1739.
- Figure 17. Albert Schultens, *Epistola prima [...] ad F.O. Menkenium*, Leiden 1749.

Figure 18. Albert Schultens, *Epistola altera [...] ad F.O. Menkenium*, Leiden 1749.

*Henric Albert Schultens' historiography of Albert Schultens: Samples of his lectures on the history of Hebrew philology*

Figure 19. Portrait of Henric Albert Schultens. Oil painting by Hendrik Wybrand.

Figures 20a–20b. H.A. Schultens' lectures on Albert Schultens' contribution to the history of Hebrew philology: Samples

*Historical maps of the Near East (Ottoman Empire, Arabia, and Persia)*

Figure 21. Abraham Ortelius, “Turcici Imperii decriptio”, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Antwerp 1574.

Figure 22. Jan Jansson, “Turcicum imperium”, *Newer atlas, oder Weltbeschreibung*, vol. 2, Amsterdam 1640.

Figure 23. Frederick de Wit, “Nova Persiae, Armeniae, Natoliae et Arabiae descriptio”, *Atlas*, Amsterdam 1688.

Figure 24. Henri Chatelain, “Carte de la Turquie, de l’Arabie et de la Perse”, *Atlas historique*, vol. 5, Amsterdam 1719.

*Topographical historical maps of the Arabian Peninsula*

Figure 25. Claudius Ptolemy, Map of the Arabian Peninsula, *Geographical guidance*, Ulm 1482.

Figure 26. Nicolas Sanson, “L’Arabie Petrée, Deserte et Heureuse”. *L’Asie en plusieurs cartes nouvelles et exactes*, Paris 1652.

Figures 27a–27b. Samuel Bochart, “Descriptio terrarum in quas dispersi sunt structores Turris Babel”, *Geographia sacra*, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1692: the entire map, and a detail of the Arabian Peninsula.

Figure 28. Jan Jansson, “Arabiae Felicis, Petraeae et Desertae nova et accurate delineatio”, *Novus atlas sive theatrum orbis terrarum*, vol. 6, Amsterdam 1658.

Figure 29. Detail of the Arabian Peninsula from Henri Chatelain’s “Carte de la Turquie, de l’Arabie et de la Perse”.

*Historical maps of Franeker and Leiden*

Figures 30a–30b. Map of Franeker, 1698, by Frederick de Wit.

Figures 31a–31d. Map of Leiden, 1649, by Joan Blaeu: the inner city and details of the publishing houses along the Rapenburg Canal and the State College.

*Historical pictures of buildings in Franeker and Leiden*

Figure 32. Franeker University Building: a drawing.

Figures 33a–33b. The State College in Leiden in the 18<sup>th</sup> century: a 3D model and a painting of the inner courtyard.

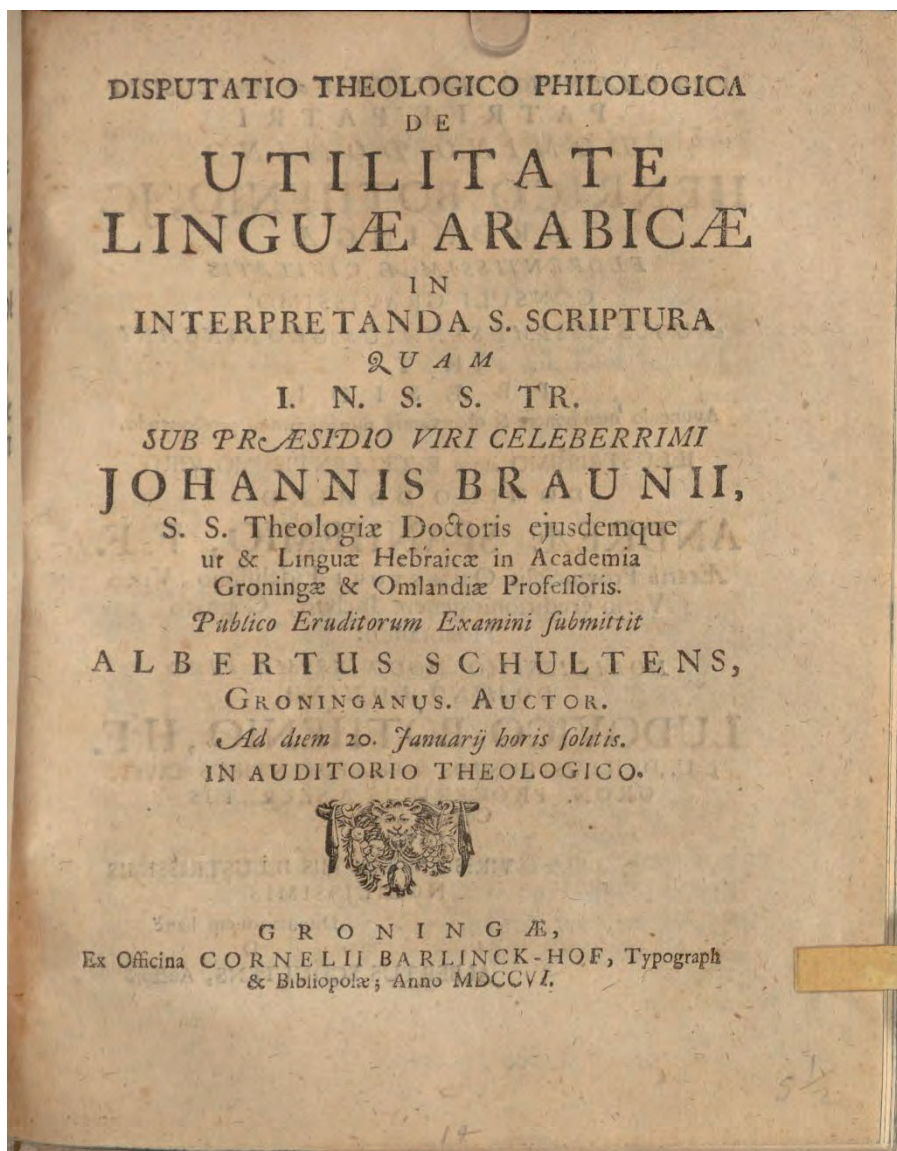


Figure 1. Johannes Braunius (chairman) / Albert Schultens (author and respondent), *Disputatio theologico philologica de utilitate linguae Arabicae in interpretanda Sacra Scriptura*, Groningen 1706. Courtesy of the University Library Eichstätt-Ingolstadt (<https://www.ku.de/bibliothek>), classification code: Siegel 04/1B I 447, angeb. 18.



ANIMADVERSIONES  
PHILOLOGICAE  
I N  
J O B U M,

*in quibus plurima hactenus ab Inter-  
pretibus male accepta ope linguae  
Arabicae & affinium  
illustrantur*

A B .

ALBERTO SCHULTENS  
GRONINGANO.

Accessit Specimen Observationum Arabicarum  
in totum Vetus Instrumentum.

*Cum Indicibus necessariis.*



TRAJECTI BATAVORUM,  
Apud GUILFELMUM BROEDELLET. 1708.

Figure 2. Albert Schultens, *Animadversiones philologicae in Jobum* [...], Utrecht 1709. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.

ANIMADVERSIONES  
PHILOLOGICAE  
ET  
CRITICAE  
AD VARIA LOCA  
VETERIS TESTAMENTI.

In quibus, ope præcipue Linguae Arabicæ,  
multa ab Interpretibus nondum satis in-  
tellecta illustrantur, quam plurima  
etiam nove explicanda mo-  
deste proponuntur

AB  
ALBERTO SCHULTENS,  
GRONINGANO, *S.S. Theol. Doctore.*



AMSTELÆDAMI,  
Apud Viduam SEBASTIANI PETZOLDI  
& FILIUM. 1709.

Figure 3. Albert Schultens, *Animadversiones philologicae et criticae ad varia loca Veteris Testamenti* [...], Amsterdam 1709. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.



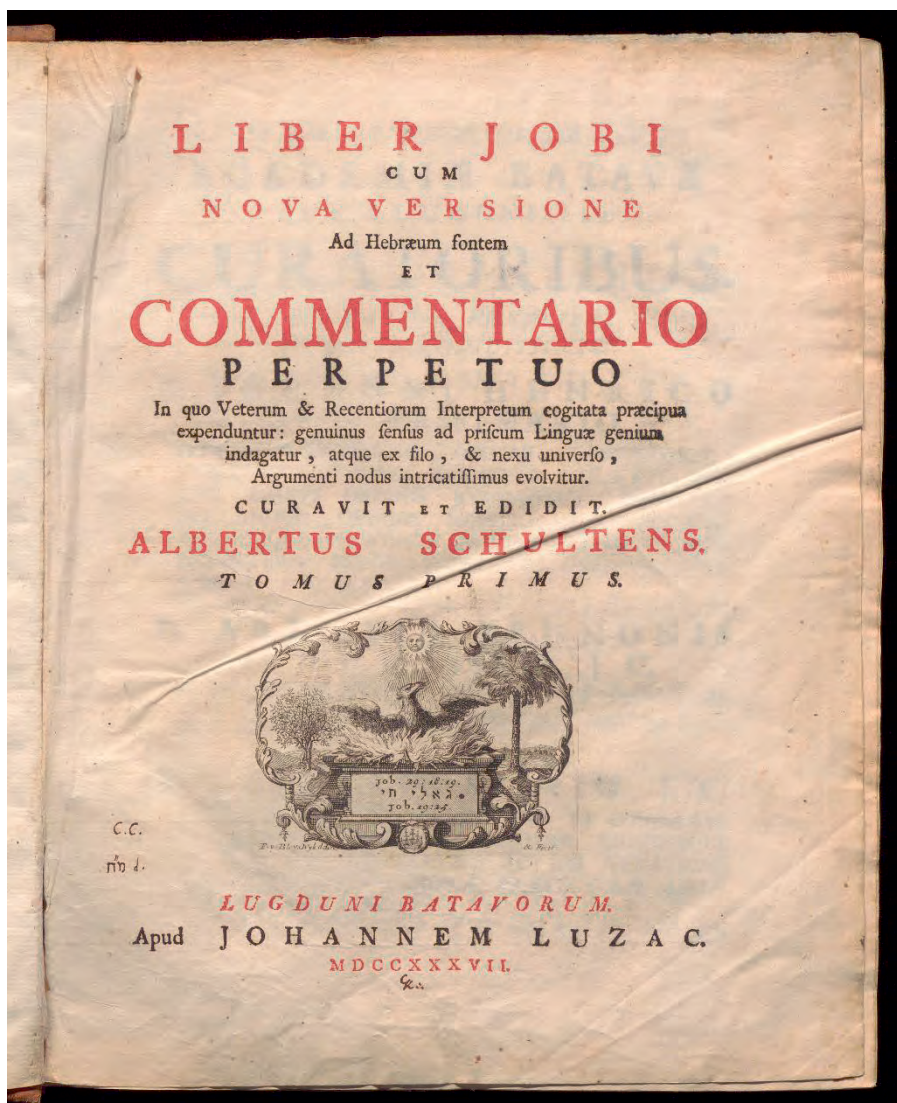


Figure 4a. Albert Schultens, *Liber Jobi cum nova versione ad Hebraeum fontem et commentario perpetuo* [...], Latin translation of the Book of Job with commentary. First edition, Leiden 1737, title page. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.

ALBERTI SCHVLTENSII  
COMMENTARIUS  
IN  
LIBRVM IOBI

---

IN COMPENDIVM REDEGIT  
ET  
OBSERVATIONES CRITICAS  
ATQVE  
EXEGETICAS

ADSPERSIT  
GEORG. IOAN. LVDOVICVS VOGEL, A. M.

---

TOMVS PRIMVS.



---

HALAE MAGDEBVRGICAE,  
APVD IO. IAC. CVRT.  
MDCCCLXXIII.

S.

Figure 4b. Albert Schultens, *Commentarius in librum Jobi*, second edition, Halle 1773, by Georg Johann Ludwig Vogel. Courtesy of Linköping Diocesan Library (Linköpings stiftsbibliotek).

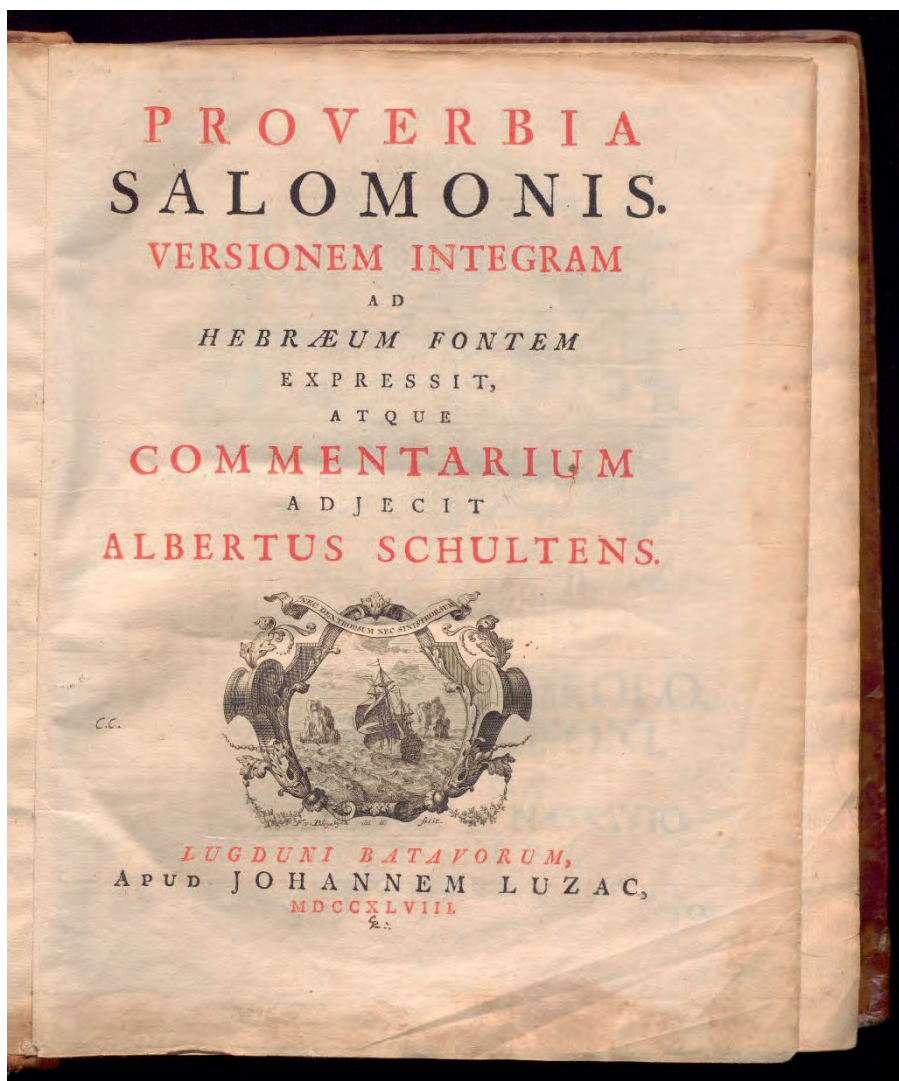


Figure 5a. Albert Schultens, *Proverbia Salomonis*, Latin translation of the Proverbs with commentary. First edition, Leiden, 1748. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.



ALBERTI SCHVLTENSII  
VERSIO INTEGRA  
PROVERBIORVM  
SALOMONIS

ET IN EADEM  
COMMENTARIVS  
QVEM  
IN COMPENDIVM REDEGIT  
ET OBSERVATIONIBVS CRITICIS

AVXIT  
GEORG. IO. LVD. VOGEL. A. M.  
AMPL. PHILOS. ORD. ADIVNCT.

---

ACCESSIT  
AVCTARIVM INTERPRETATIONVM  
PER  
GVIEL. ABRAH. TELLERVM  
V. C.

---

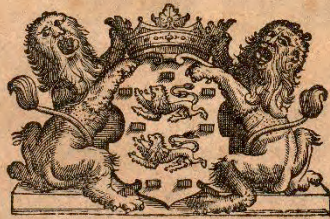
PRAEFATVS EST  
IO. SALOMO SEMLER.

---

HALAE  
APVD IO. IAC. CVRT.  
MDCCLXIX.

Figure 5b. Albert Schultens, *Versio integra Proverbiiorum Salomonis et in eadem commentarius*, second revised and abridged edition, Halle 1769, by G.J.L. Vogel with a preface by Johann Salomon Semler. Courtesy of Linköping Diocesan Library (Linköpings stiftsbibliotek).

ALBERTI SCHULTENS  
S: S: THEOL: DOCT:  
**ORATIO**  
**INAUGURALIS**  
D E  
FONTIBUS EX QUIBUS OMNIS  
LINGUAE HEBRAEAE NOTITIA  
MANAVIT HORUMQUE VI-  
TIIS ET DEFECTIBUS  
DICTA PUBLICE  
I N  
TEMPLO ACADEMICO  
*Quint. Id. Nov. MDCCXIII.*  
Quum Ordinariam Linguae Hebraeae  
Professionem in Illustri Frisiorum Academia  
solenni ritu auspicaretur.



FRANEQUERAE,  
Excudit FRANCISCUS HALMA, F. F. Illustr. Frisiae Ordd.  
atque eorundem Academiae Typograph. Ordinari. MDCCLXIV.

Figure 6. Albert Schultens, *Oratio inauguralis de fontibus ex quibus omnis linguae Hebraeae notitia manavit horumque vitiis et defectibus*, Franeker 1714. Source: The National Library of Denmark (Det Kongelige Bibliotek), Copenhagen. Courtesy of the National Library of Denmark.



ORIGINES HEBRÆÆ  
SIVE  
HEBRÆÆ LINGUÆ

Antiquissima natura & indoles

EX

ARABIÆ PENETRALIBUS

Revocata

AB

ALBERTO SCHULTENS.

LIBRI PRIMI

TOMUS PRIMUS.

Cum Indicibus.



FRANEQUERÆ,

Excudit **HENRICUS HALMA**, Illustr. Frisæ  
Ordd. atque Eorundem Academiæ Typogr. Ordin.  
**MDCCLXXIV.**

Figure 7. Albert Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae sive Hebraeae linguae antiquissima natura et indoles ex Arabicae penetralibus revocata*, vol. 1, Franeker 1724. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.



D E  
DEFECTIBUS HODIERNIS  
LINGUÆ HEBRÆÆ,  
EORUNDEMQVE RESARCIENDORUM  
TUTISSIMA VIA AC RATIONE.  
ORIGINIBUS HEBRAICIS  
SUBSERVIENS OPUS.  
AUCTORE  
ALBERTO SCHULTENS.



FRANKEVERÆ,  
Ex Officina WIBII BLECK Bibliopolæ, 1731.

Figure 8. Albert Schultens, *De defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae eorumque resarciendorum tutissima via ac ratione*, Franeker 1731. Published as a companion (“subserviens opus”) to *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 1. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.

RUDIMENTA  
**LINGUÆ ARABICÆ**  
 AUCTORE  
 THOMA ERPENIO.  
**FLORILEGIUM**  
 SENTENTIARUM ARABICARUM  
 UT ET  
**CLAVIM DIALECTORUM,**  
*ac præsertim*  
**A R A B I C Æ,**  
*adjecit*  
 A L B. S C H U L T E N S.



*And: Gomerus.  
 ups: MDCCXL.*

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,  
 Apud **SAMUELEM LUCHTMANS,** 1733.  
*Academia Typographum.*

*Sc*

Figure 9. Albert Schultens, *Clavis dialectorum*, a treatise attached to the re-edition of Thomas Erpenius' *Rudimenta linguæ Arabicæ*, Leiden 1733. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library. The emblem reads: Tuta sub aegide Pallas, "Pallas is safe under her shield". The owner's signature on this copy is "And[reas] Gomerus", dated Ups[aliae] MDCCXL (Uppsala, 1740).

INSTITUTIONES  
AD  
FUNDAMENTA  
LINGUÆ HEBRÆÆ.  
QUIBUS  
VIA PANDITUR  
AD EJUSDEM  
ANALOGIAM  
RESTITUENDAM, ET VINDICANDAM.  
IN USUM  
COLLEGII DOMESTICI  
EDIDIT  
A. SCHULTENS.



C.C.  
LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,  
Apud JOHANNEM LUZAC,  
MDCCLXXVII.

Figure 10a. Albert Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae* [...], Leiden 1737. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.



gationem, ex sententia nostra, redigendas. Hic autem vel crassius, & populari via; vel subtilius, & erudita ratione, procedere licet.

Prior Catalogus hic esto.

|    |                                                            |                                     |                                          |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 1  | <i>Kal, five Pabal,</i>                                    | פָּעַל                              | <i>fecit.</i>                            |
| 2  | <i>Nipbal</i>                                              | נִפְעַל                             | <i>factus est.</i>                       |
| 3  | <i>Pibbel Dageff.</i>                                      | פִּיעַל                             | <i>factavit.</i>                         |
| 4  | <i>Pybhal Dageff.</i>                                      | פִּיעַל                             | <i>factatus est.</i>                     |
| 5  | <i>Hipb-hil</i>                                            | הִפְעִיל                            | <i>facere fecit.</i>                     |
| 6  | <i>Heph-bal.</i>                                           | הִפְעַל                             | <i>facere factus est.</i>                |
| 7  | <i>Hitbpabbel Dageff.</i>                                  | הִתְפַּעַל                          | <i>factitavit reciproce.</i>             |
| 8  | <i>Hotbpabhal Dageff.</i>                                  | הִתְפַּעַל                          | <i>factitatus est, reciproce.</i>        |
| 9  | <i>Pohel</i>                                               | פּוֹעַל                             | <i>factavit alteri.</i>                  |
| 10 | <i>Pohal</i>                                               | פּוֹעַל                             | <i>passivum ejusdem.</i>                 |
| 11 | <i>Hitbpohel</i>                                           | הִתְפּוֹעַל                         | <i>factavit alter alteri.</i>            |
| 12 | <i>Pebal-bal</i>                                           | פְּעַלְעַל                          | <i>identidem factitavit.</i>             |
| 13 | <i>Pib-lel.</i>                                            | פִּעַלְלִי                          | <i>fecit, cum habitu.</i>                |
| 14 | <i>Pyblal</i>                                              | פִּעַלְלִי                          | <i>factus est, cum habitu.</i>           |
| 15 | <i>Hitbpab-lel</i>                                         | הִתְפַּעַלְלִי                      | <i>factitavit, cum habitu.</i>           |
| 16 | <i>Schaph-bel</i>                                          | שִׁפְעַל                            | <i>sane fecit.</i>                       |
| 17 | <i>Schoph-bal</i>                                          | שִׁפְעַל                            | <i>sane factus est.</i>                  |
| 18 | { <i>Hitb-schaph-bel</i><br>vel<br><i>Hisch-taph-bel</i> } | { הִתְשַׁפְּעַל<br>הִשְׁתַּפְּעַל } | <i>Cupivit<br/>ut faceret<br/>alter.</i> |

Sunt

Figure 10b. Albert Schultens, *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae*, Leiden 1737, p. 262: Schultens' classification of recorded and reconstructed stem forms in Ancient Hebrew, presented in a table. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.

ORIGINUM  
HEBRÆARUM

TOMUS SECUNDUS.

CUM

VINDICIIS TOMI PRIMI,

NEC NON

LIBRI DE DEFECTIBUS HODIERNIS

LINGUÆ HEBRÆÆ

ADVERSUS CL. DISSERTATOREM.

ACCEDIT

GEMINA ORATIO

DE

LINGUÆ ARABICÆ ANTIQUITATE

ET SORORIA COGNATIONE CUM HEBRÆA ETC.

AUCTORE

A. SCHULTENS.

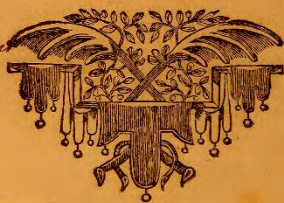


LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,  
Apud SAMUELEM LUCHTMANS, 1738.  
Academia Typographum.

Figure 11a. Albert Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, the second volume, Leiden 1738, published together with the first part of his *Vindiciae*, his treatise *De defectibus hodiernis linguae Hebraeae*, and his two orations on the antiquity of Arabic. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.

**ORIGINES HEBRAEAE**  
 SIVE  
 HEBRAEAE LINGUAE  
 ANTIQUISSIMA NATURA ET INDOLES,  
 EX  
 ARABIAE PENETRALIBUS  
 Revocata  
 AB  
**ALBERTO SCHULTENS**  
 EDITIO ALTERA,  
 Cui adjectum opusculum  
 DE  
**DEFECTIBUS HODIERNIS LING. HEBR.**

*Torn. II. Euth. memorat  
 ad Gen. 49: 10.*



LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,  
 Apud **SAMUELEM ET JOANNEM LUCHTMANS,**  
 ET  
**JOANNEM LE MAIR.** 1761.

AD.

Figure 11b. Albert Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, second edition of the first and second volumes, Leiden 1761. Courtesy of Linköping Diocesan Library (Linköpings stiftsbibliotek).





Figure 12. Albert Schultens, *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*, Leiden 1738. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.

EXCURSUS PRIMUS  
A D  
CAPUT PRIMUM  
VIÆ VETERIS, ET REGLÆ,  
HEBRAÏZANDI.  
CONTINENS  
STRICTURAS  
A D  
DISSERTATIONEM  
HISTORICAM  
D E  
LINGUA PRIMÆVA, ETC. ETC.  
AUCTORE  
ALBERTO SCHULTENS.



LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,  
Apud JOHANNEM LUZAC  
MDCCLXXXIX.

℥.

Figure 13. Albert Schultens, *Excursus primus ad caput primum veteris et regiae viae Hebraizandi* [...], Leiden 1739. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.

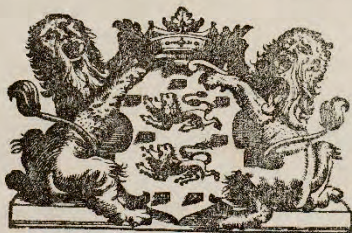


ALBERTI SCHULTENS  
O R A T I O  
D E  
L I N G U Æ  
A R A B I C Æ

Antiquissima Origine, Intima ac  
fororia cum Lingua Hebræa  
affinitate , nullisque seculis  
præflorata puritate.

H A B I T A

Quum FASCES ACADEMICOS iterum  
deponeret  
K A L. J U N I I S M D C C X X I X.



F R A N E Q U E R Æ;

Excudit GULIELMUS COULON , Illustr. Frisæ  
Ordd. Academiæ Typogr. Ordinær. M D C C X X I X.

Figure 14. Albert Schultens, *Oratio de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine* [...], Franeker 1729. Source: The National Library of Denmark, Copenhagen. Courtesy of the National Library of Denmark.

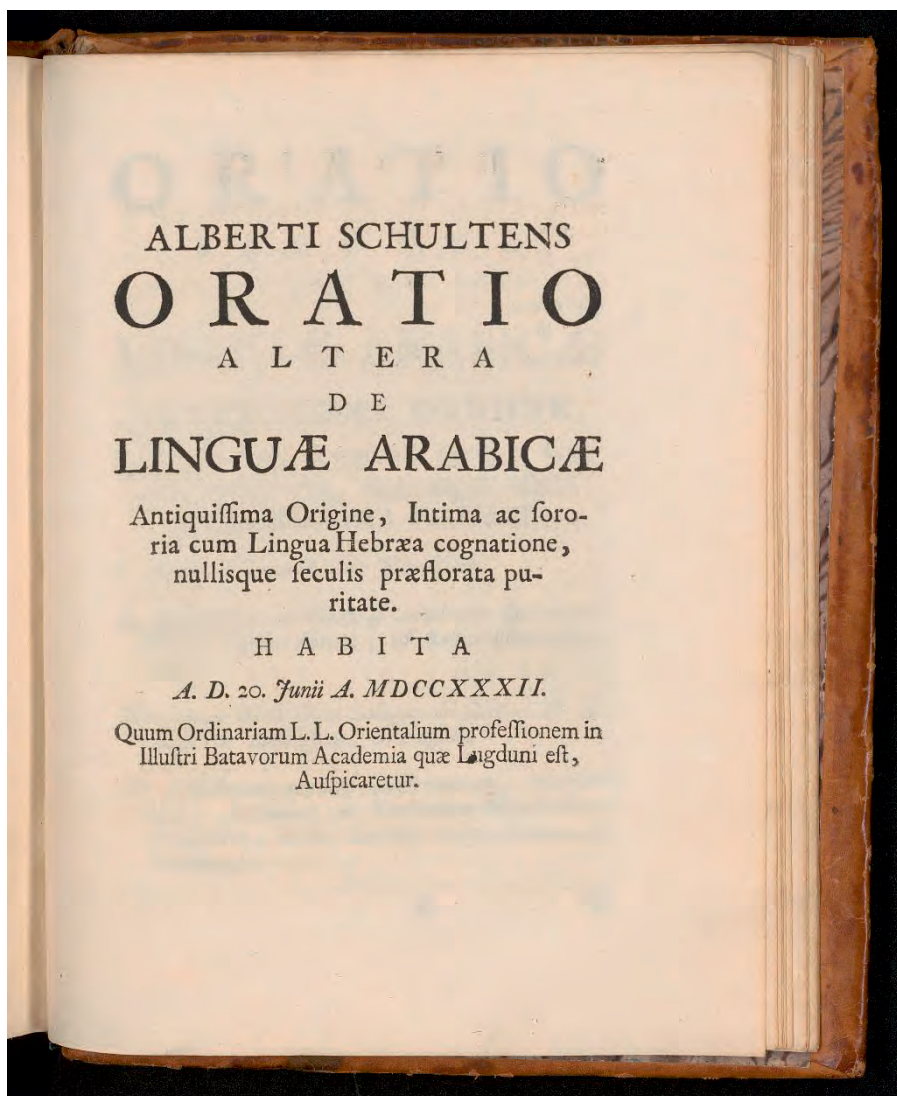


Figure 15. Albert Schultens, *Oratio altera de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine*, title page of the second edition, published as an appendix to *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, Leiden 1738. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.

EXCURSUS TERTIUS  
AD  
EDITIONEM PRIMAM  
ET SECUNDAM  
DISSERTATIONIS  
DE  
LINGUA PRIMÆVA,  
EJUSQUE  
ADDITAMENTUM APOLOGETICUM.  
AUCTORE  
ALBERTO SCHULTENS.



LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,  
Apud JOHANNEM LUZAC.  
MDCCLXXXIX.

Figure 16. Albert Schultens, *Excursus tertius ad editionam primam et secundam dissertationis de lingua primaeva*, Leiden 1739. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.



ALB. SCHULTENS  
 EPISTOLA PRIMA,  
 A D  
 AMPLISSIMUM  
 ET  
 EXCELLENTISSIMUM  
 VIRUM  
 F. O. MENKENIUM  
 PERSCRIPTA.  
 IN QUA  
 NUPERA RECENSIO GRAMM. ERPEN.  
 CUM PRÆFAT. ET ACCESSIONIBUS  
 EX HAMASA, SUB EXAMEN  
 DEVOCATUR.



LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,  
 APUD JOHANNEM LUZAC,  
 MDCCXLIX.

κ.

Figure 17. Albert Schultens, *Epistola prima ad amplissimum et excellentissimum virum F.O. Menkenium perscripta* [...], Leiden 1749, title page. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.

ALB. SCHULTENS  
EPISTOLA ALTERA,  
A D  
AMPLISSIMUM  
E T  
EXCELLENTISSIMUM  
VIRUM  
F. O. MENCKENIUM  
P E R S C R I P T A.  
I N Q U A  
NUPERA RECENSIO COMMENTARII  
IN PROVERBIA SALOMONIS  
SUB EXAMEN DEVOCATUR.



LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,  
APUD JOHANNEM LUZAC,  
MDCCXLIX.

Figure 18. Figure 17. Albert Schultens, *Epistola altera ad amplissimum et excellentissimum virum F.O. Menckenium perscripta* [...], Leiden 1749, title page. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.

**Henric Albert Schultens' historiography of Albert Schultens: Samples of his lectures on the history of Hebrew philology**

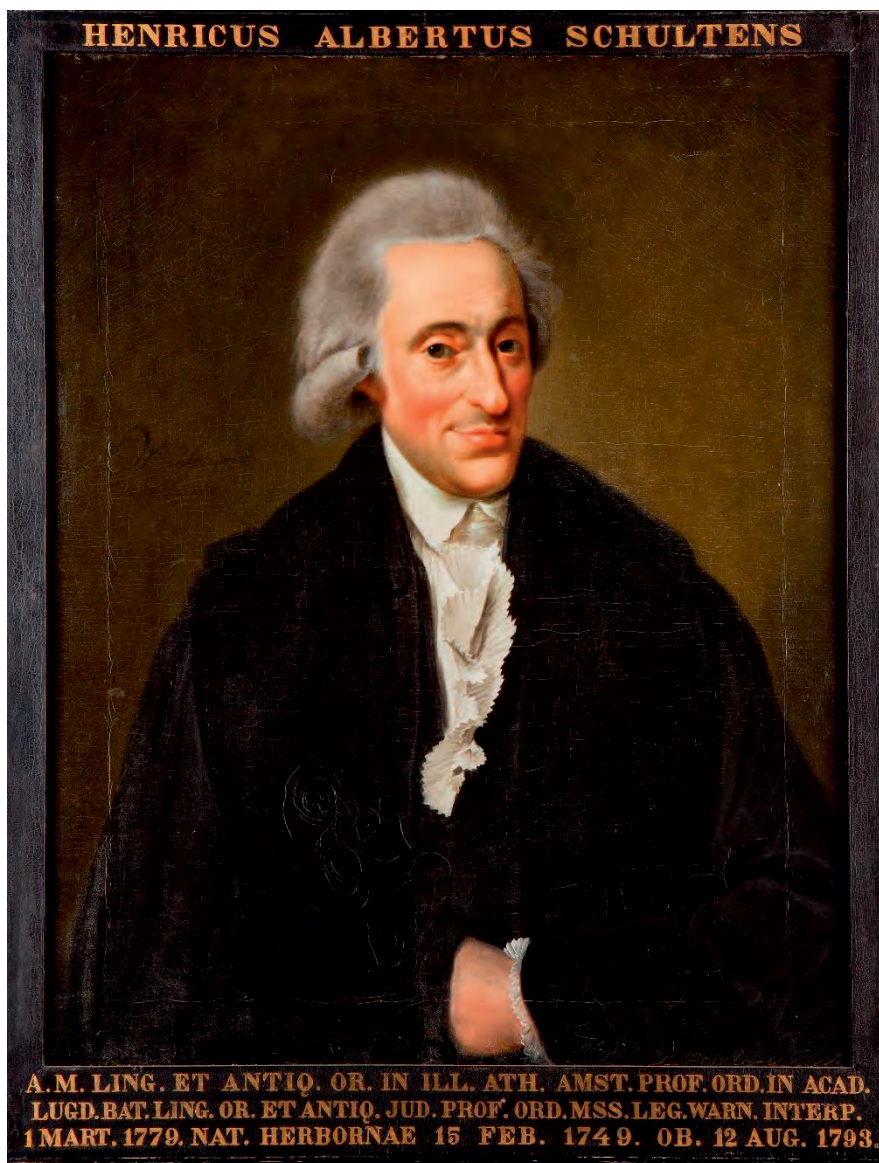


Figure 19. Portrait of Henric Albert Schultens. Oil painting by Wybrand Hendriks, of uncertain date, presented to Leiden University by Catharina Elisabeth de Sitter in 1796. Measures: 765 x 605 mm. Source: *Icones* 197, Leiden University Libraries. The caption lists his positions as professor of Oriental languages and antiquities at the *Athenaeum Illustre* in Amsterdam and of Oriental languages and Jewish antiquities at Leiden University, where he also served as *Interpres manuscriptorum Legati Warneriani*. Courtesy of Leiden University Libraries.



instituta, vix sēder ē tū ~~secundariae~~ <sup>secundariae</sup> et figuratae, &  
 in primas atq; primas ostendunt. Quae explicandi rās, opreſſi gēg  
 v. ~~habuerunt~~ <sup>Versionis vlt.</sup> & aliam linguam auxilio, ~~et~~ <sup>et</sup> ~~secundariae~~  
~~incomprehensibiles~~ pendebat a solo ingenio; cuius pūti magis & acum  
 erat, & opiculi sagacitas ita magis mēgior litterarū Hebraicarū  
 studiū succedat ad oprehendi subtilitatem, atq; voluti Griculū Metā.  
 philosophicae immario.  
 Jam ex iis q̄ hac uirg retuli illigis, q̄o immediatē ~~procedit~~  
 bona interpretatio V. T. potius retardaret. Nimirū gndia & pūali-  
 bat Iudaeorū coritas & or pūdiū q̄rebat in Versionibz antiquis &  
 talis hac litterarū tractandū rās gndabat, qm in aliam linguam  
 studiū nemo ēet q̄ merneret ppter inentiam et frivolitatem,  
 multū q̄dem movebat, et parū pmovebat, tam in Grammatica  
 linguāe Hebr. cognitione, qm in interpretatōe V. T. hūc cognitioni  
 suastruda. Neg in hoc nū statu, Critica Sacra, utatēq; illud  
 bonae interpretatōis fūdiq; causat efferre poterat. Primū quāq;  
 Iudaei pūbeant ad iudicandū de integritate Codicū Hebr. Enim  
 summa et illibata; deū quāq; instabilis erat, nos ex certis  
 principibz ducta pūta Grammatica, sine q̄ nulla ē Critica genu-  
 ina. Itaq; magno Philologiae & gmodo atq; emolūmēto d. S.  
 hoc nūo Seculo oem opam opūlo ad reliquias L. A. ex vicinā dia-  
 lectorū collatū illustrandas, efficit ut q̄ mae viam incedatq; egn-  
 gie opūlatam atq; eminentiam. Ad ne nimis vage a me dictū ēe  
 videat, iurabit testis, qd ab d. S. potius pūto, et q̄ram v  
 pūdia & ornāmēta ad Philologiam & deinceps accēberrēt.  
 Scilicet in iis hūp Seculi, q̄q; Schultziū, juvenis Tharbz,  
 aū applicaret ad studiū litterarū Hebr. iacebant tū hac litterae  
 in otio et neglectu. Solū erat in nra patria Reland, Vir  
 elegantis ingenio atq; doctrina, q̄ eas tueret magna opūla, ita  
 tam, ut opem mae opūrit in talis eruditōis partibz q̄ mīg  
 arcto q̄ iurata ēent q̄ opūlatōe Grammatica; voluti d. Geo-  
 graphiam & et ~~de~~ <sup>de</sup> ~~antiquos~~ <sup>antiquos</sup> Iudaeorū ritū ac mores.

Figure 20a. Henric Albert Schultens. Lectures on the history of Hebrew philology, with lines 8 onward addressing the state of sacred philology at the beginning of the 18th century, when Albert Schultens began his studies. Source: Leiden UB, Special Collections, MS. Or. 1477, fol. 25r. For the textual edition, see Appendix 1; for the translation, see Section 10.1.9. Courtesy of Leiden University Libraries.

Praevalabat aut in univ. & Rabbinica & Chaldæica hæc literarum  
 tractandi ratio. Nec ferme propterea erat, qd ex pto Eugenii Golii,  
 Borcharti, Schindleri, Maltzgeri, Potockii, Arabicas literas ad  
 Hebraicas applicaret. Hæc tam ex pto Schultens<sup>ex</sup> docuit qd ad chr.  
 libros legere se offerret, eaq pteina Græcorum Latinarumq literarum  
 amore misceat, fieri o poterat qd cerneret, primo qdem in  
 linguarum studio inest eo qd Libetio philosphari; deie in genui-  
 nam linguam Hebr. cognitionem ex dialectis o item ex incerto, qd  
 sapia ppro Sadacon doctrina haududam ee. Igr pnt qm in prima  
 simplicitate egregia successu plura V. S. loca p collationem linguarum chr. Syr.  
 et Chald. illustraret, Vir factus coepit certas interpretandi regular ex  
 his fontibus derivare, eas diligenter explicare, earum vim ac necessitatem  
 tam evidenter ratiocinans atq ex pto demonstrare, et ad pto omullos ob-  
 streptis invidiam vincit, ut intra paucos annos nemo longi usque  
 V. S. et eet v. haberi vellet, qd interpretandem ad pto illas regulas  
 opponeret, duceret, ex eadem principiis.

Nitt aut univ. doctrinae Schultensianae ratio hæc veluti  
 basi atq fundamentum. Linguam Hebr. q p pto prima et antiqua  
 vulgo habebat, exortam demq ee pnt dispositionem familiarem, de qua  
 Albert Gen. xi, earum p modis dialectis, acq ac Chald. Syr. et chr.  
 hæc ex prima lingua adileviana, q, dudu mortua, q hæc filias  
 reliquerit. Igr q hæc dialectos sororis vincula qunctas ad unam  
 eandem linguam, Enim ad eam matrem ptinere; qm admodum  
 Attica, Ionica, Dorica, Eolica dialectis ptinent ad unam. Igr  
 tam q ex hoc principio parra qrequat, primam vocem sciam, qnt  
 vis hæc deinceps, qd peculiaritatem cujqs dialecti nam atq involu-  
 tidat in multa difficultate, unam ee et eam oib, mox elaceret,  
 hæc linguas egregiam sibi qnem ramicem potare pnt ad primas  
 rotas nosse erigere et pfectiliter artitexere. Qd q in univ. velat  
 te potius loci habet in illustrandis reliquis linguas Hebr. tam paucis  
 et tenuis, ut de o copia linguarum nihil ~~no~~ suprit pto libros V. S.  
 Lindensem igr in his tñs angustis de voce, preterea rarior, sciam

Figure 20b. Henric Albert Schultens. Lectures on the history of Hebrew philology, on this page discussing the characteristics of Albert Schultens' theoretical and methodological innovations in Old Testament interpretation and Biblical Hebrew philology. Source: Leiden UB, Special Collections, MS Or. 1477, fol. 26r. For the textual edition, see Appendix 1; for the translation, see Section 10.1.9. Courtesy of Leiden University Libraries.



## Historical maps of the Near East (Ottoman Empire, Arabia, and Persia)



Figure 21. Abraham Ortelius, “Turcici Imperii decriptio”, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Antwerp 1574. Location: Lund University Library. Digitization: Retrieved from ALVIN, a platform for digitized cultural heritage and digital collections in Sweden, <https://alvin-portal.org/>.



Figure 22. Jan Jansson, "Turcicum imperium", *Newer atlas, oder Weltbeschreibung*, vol. 2, Amsterdam 1640. Location: Uppsala University Library. Digitization: Retrieved from ALVIN (<https://alvin-portal.org/>).





Figure 23. Frederick de Wit, “Nova Persiae, Armeniae, Natoliae et Arabiae descriptio”, *Atlas*, Amsterdam 1688. Location: Uppsala University Library. Digitization: Retrieved from ALVIN (<https://alvin-portal.org/>).



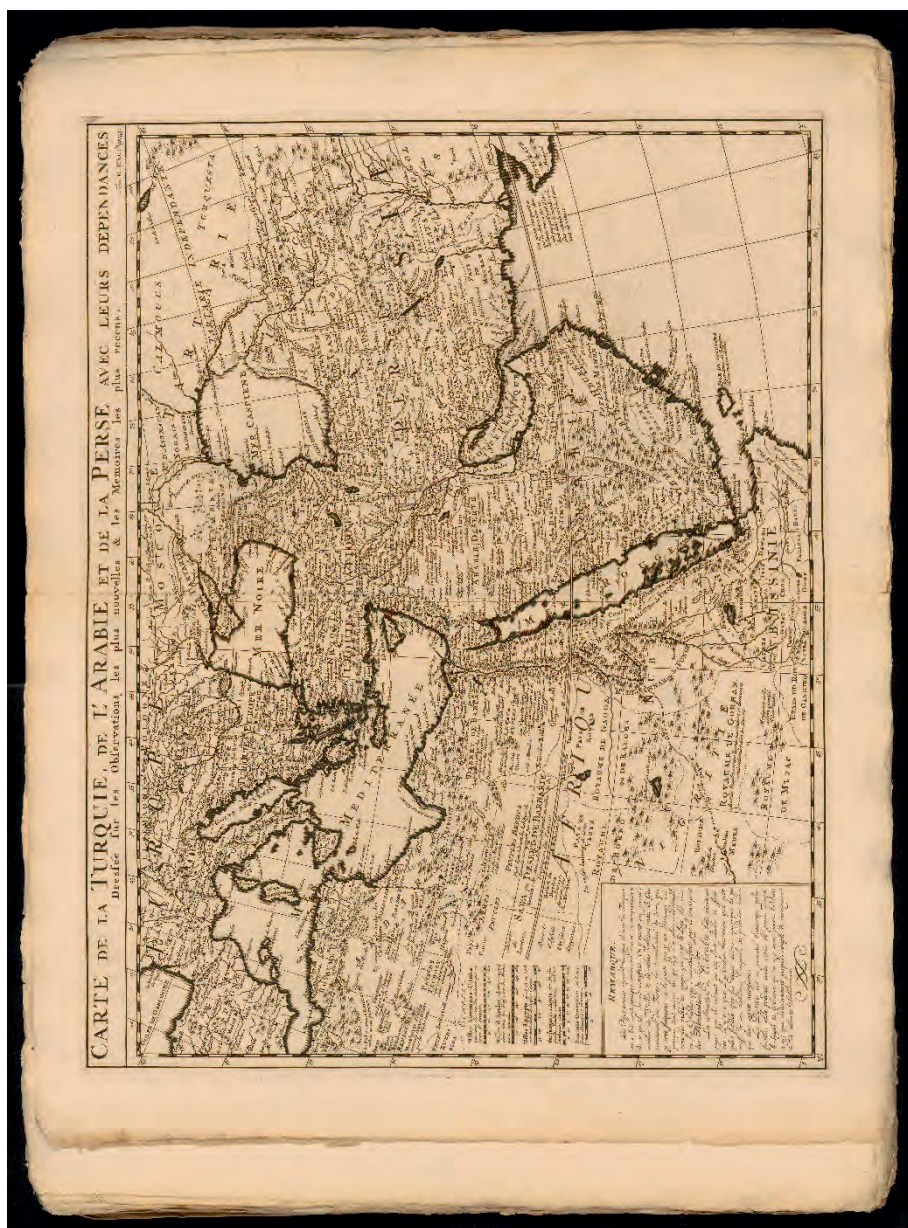


Figure 24. Henri Chatelain, “Carte de la Turquie, de l’Arabie et de la Perse”, *Atlas historique ou nouvelle introduction à l’histoire, chronologie et géographie ancienne et moderne*, vol. 5, Amsterdam 1719. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library. This map is also available at ALVIN (<https://alvin-portal.org/>).

## Historical maps of the Arabian Peninsula



Figure 25a. Claudius Ptolemy (Ptolemaios), Γεωγραφικὴ Ὑφήγησις, “Geographical guidance”, in Nicolaus Germanus (ed.), *Cosmographia*, Ulm 1482. The sixth map of Asia depicts Ptolemy’s understanding of the Arabian Peninsula and the province of Kerman (*Carmania*). This detail shows only the Arabian Peninsula. Uppsala University Library, shelfmark: Ink. 32:10 Fol. maj.). Digitization: Retrieved from ALVIN (<https://alvin-portal.org/>).

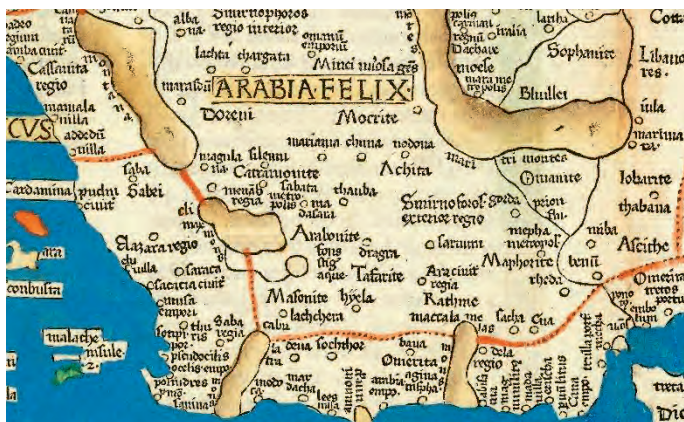


Figure 25b. Detail of the historical region Arabia Felix in its narrow and proper sense, approximately corresponding to present-day Yemen.



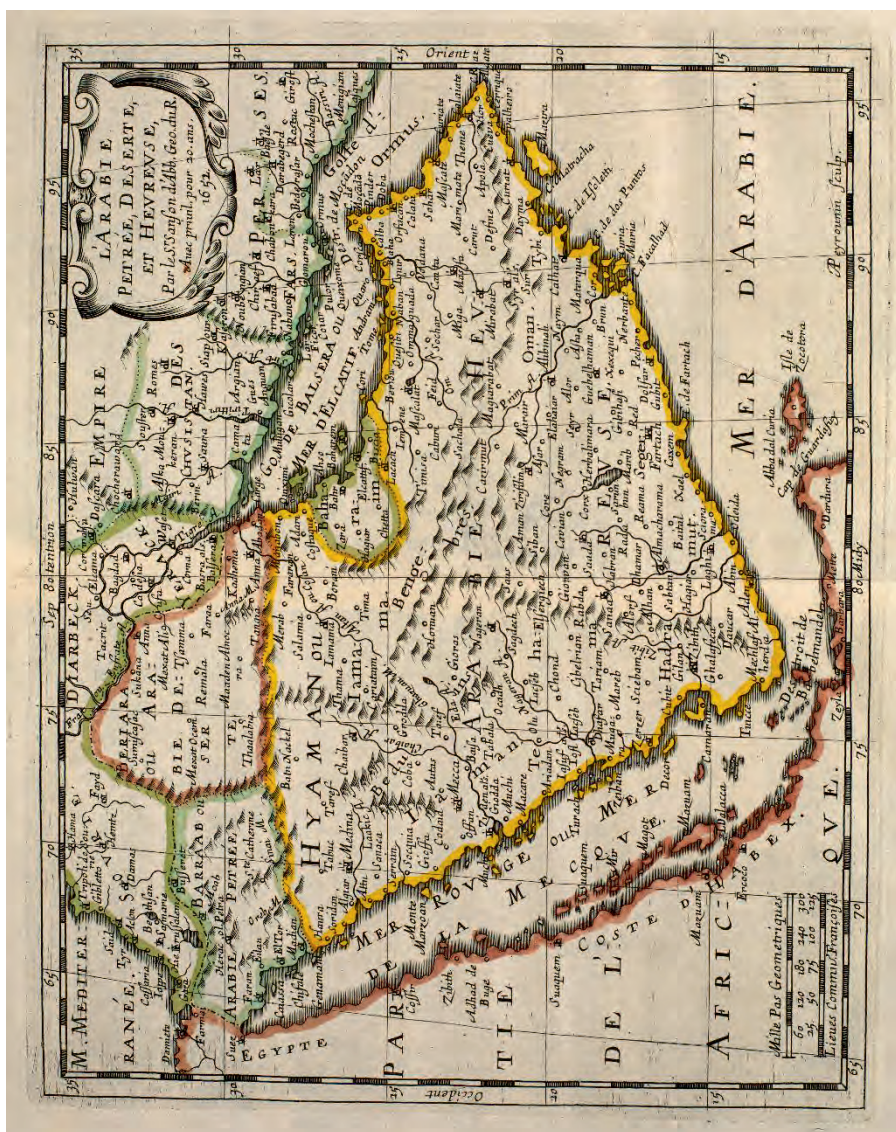


Figure 26. Nicolas Sanson, “L’Arabie Petrée, Deserte et Heureuse”, in idem, *L’Asie en plusieurs cartes nouvelles et exactes*, Paris 1652. Source: The National Library of Denmark (Det Kongelige Bibliotek), Copenhagen. Courtesy of the National Library of Denmark. Sanson (ibidem, p. 27) equates Arabia Felix with the Arabian Peninsula: “L’Arabie Heureuse est une grande presqu’Isle”.

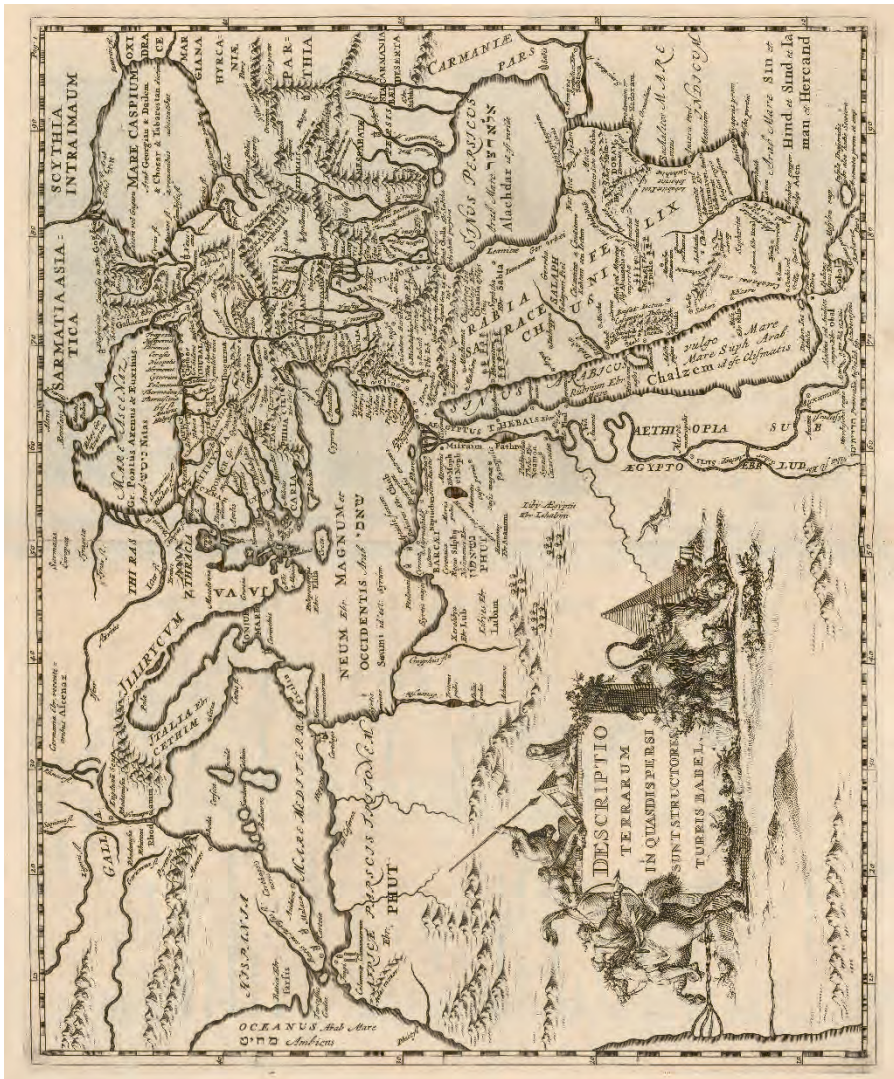


Figure 27a. Samuel Bochart, “Descriptio terrarum in quas dispersi sunt structores Turris Babel”, “Description of the countries into which the nations that had built the Tower of Babel were scattered”, *Geographia sacra*, vol. 1 subtitled *Phaleg*, Caen 1651. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.





Figure 27b. A detail of Bochart's map showing the Arabian Peninsula. Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.





Figure 28. Jan Jansson (Johannes Janssonius), “Arabiae Felicis, Petraeae et Desertae nova et accurata delineatio”, in *Novus atlas sive theatrum orbis terrarum: tomus sextus, in quo orbis antiquus seu geographia vetus, sacra et profana, exhibetur* (“New atlas or theatre of the world: sixth volume, in which the Ancient World or the ancient geography, sacred and profane, is exhibited”), Amsterdam: Jansson, 1658. English translation titled: “A Current and Correct Depiction of Arabia Felix, Arabia Petraea, and Arabia Deserta.” Digital source: Retrieved from the Library of Congress (World Digital Library Collection, access: <https://www.loc.gov/item/2021668412/>). Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington.



Figure 29. Detail of the Arabian Peninsula, detached from Henri Chatelain's "Carte de la Turquie, de l'Arabie et de la Perse" (Figure 24). Courtesy of Uppsala University Library.



## Historical city maps of Franeker and Leiden

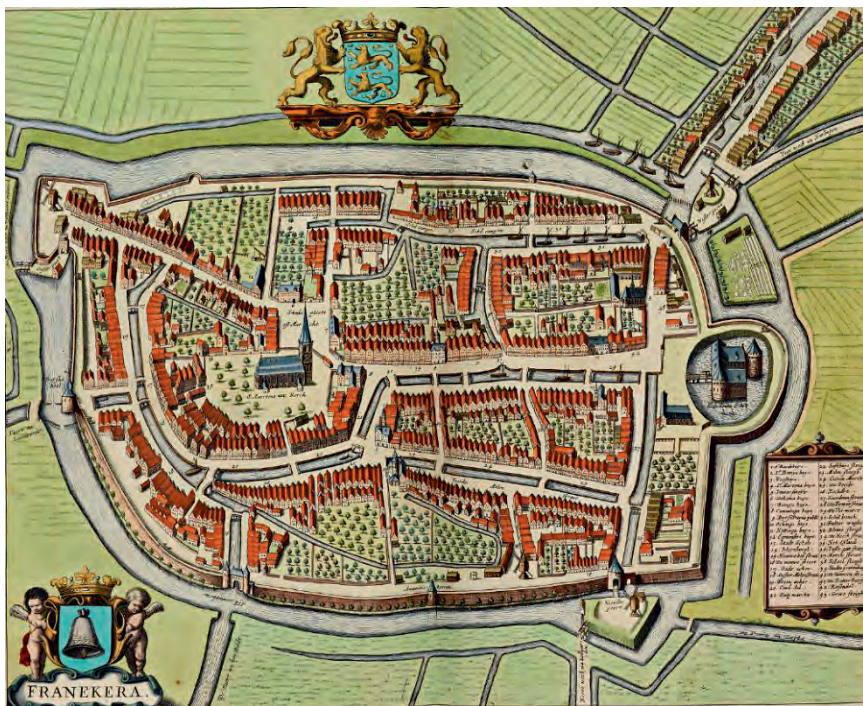


Figure 30a. Map of Franeker, facing south. Source: Frederick de Wit's book of towns in the Dutch Republic, in Latin: *Theatrum ichnographicum omnium urbium et praecipuorum oppidorum Belgicarum XVII provinciarum percurrat delineatarum*, Amsterdam, c. 1698–1700, plate 51. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. Link: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Atlas\\_de\\_Wit\\_1698-pl051-Franeker-KB\\_PPN\\_145205088.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Atlas_de_Wit_1698-pl051-Franeker-KB_PPN_145205088.jpg).

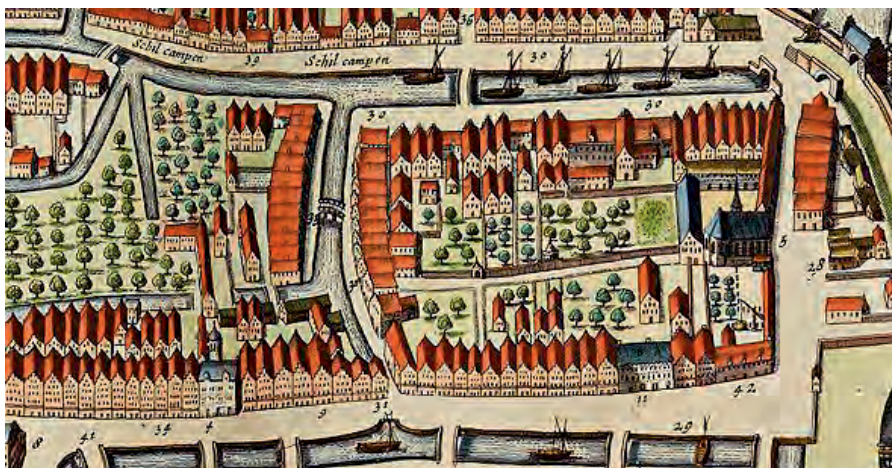


Figure 30b. Details of the south-western part of the city centre. The university building complex is marked as no. 5. Today, it is situated at Vijverstraat 10.



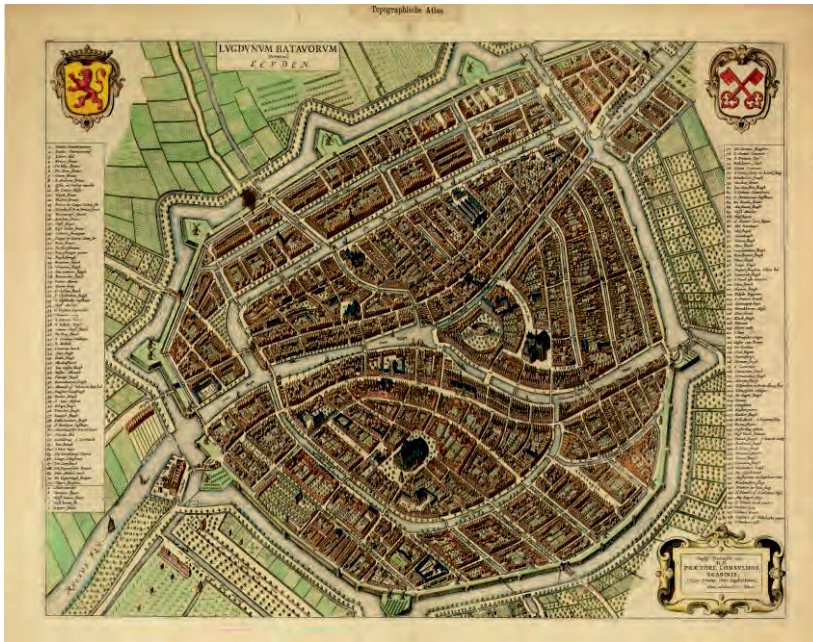


Figure 31a. Map of Leiden, 1649. Source: Joan Blaeu's city and town atlas of the Netherlands, *Novum et magnum theatrum urbium Belgicae liberae et foederatae*, Amsterdam 1649. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. Link: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LeidenBlaeu.jpg>.

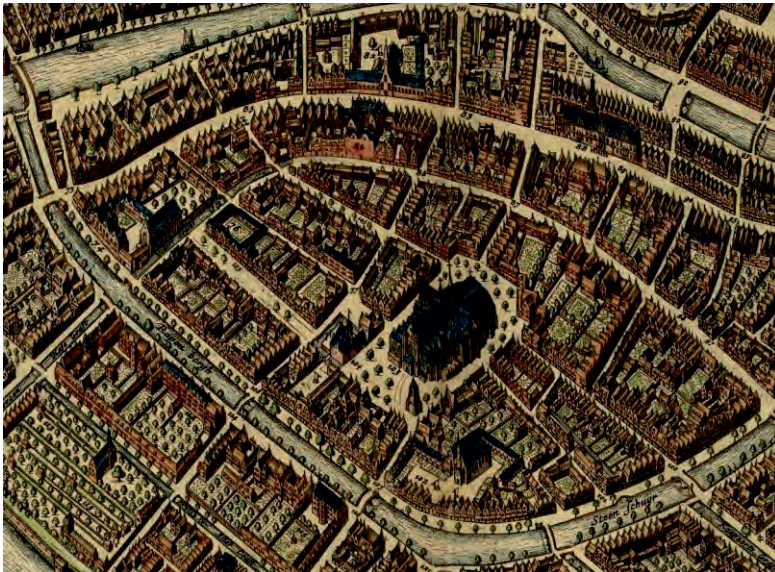


Figure 31b. The city centre: Detail of the map above, showing, among other things, the Pieterskerk cathedral in the centre and some districts to the west, including the Town Hall (*Het Raethuys*, no. 88).

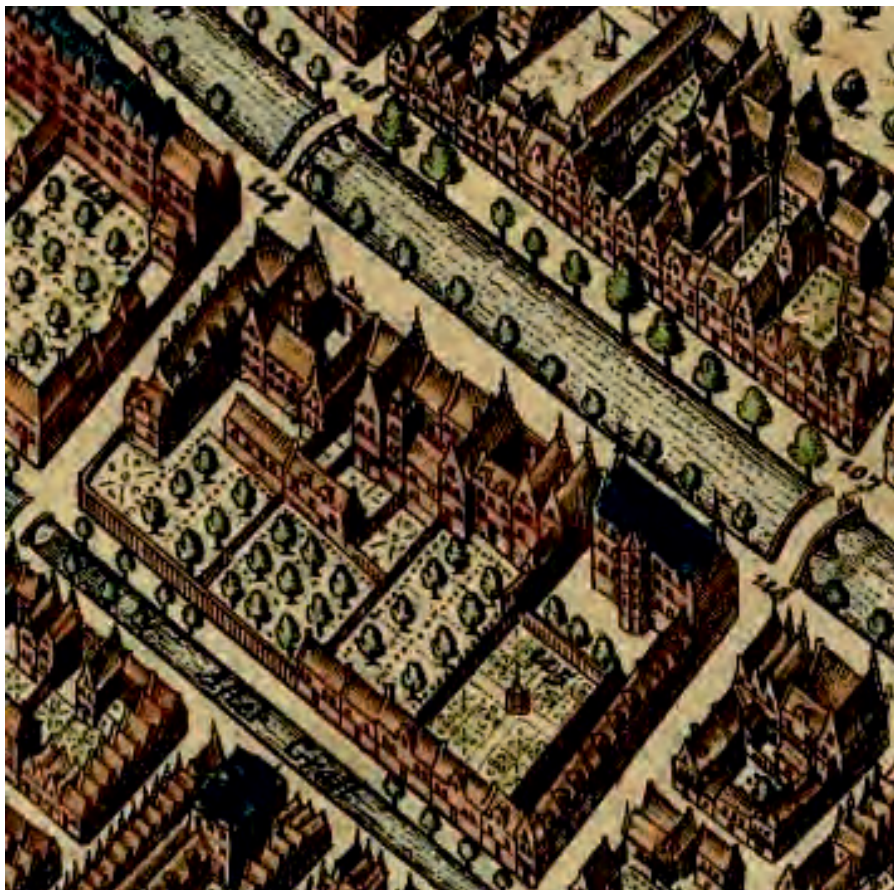


Figure 31c. Detail of Blaeu's map above: the city block between Doelenbrug and Nonnenbrug, west of the Rapenburg Canal, then known as “the realm of Pallas” (a place of learning and wisdom). The main building of Leiden University (Rapenburg 73), now the *Academiegebouw*, remains to the left of Nonnenbrug. Behind it, *Hortus botanicus* is shown (no. 115). In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, most of the buildings along this section of the canal (Rapenburg 73, 71, 69A, 69B, 64 and 56) housed publishing houses and booksellers. The buildings next to the University (Rapenburg 73–71) were owned by successive printers of the University: the Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin (1583–1585), the Orientalist Franciscus Raphelengius (1586), the Elzevir family (first in 1625, Bonaventura Elzevir and Abraham Elzevir, who bought the Oriental printing types, including the Plantin Hebrew types, from the Leiden Arabist and printer Thomas Erpenius), and Pieter van der Aa (1716).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> L. Fuks and R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew typography in the northern Netherlands*, Leiden, 1984, pp. 11–14. The authors frequently cite A.M. Ledeboer, *De*



In the adjacent building (Rapenburg 69B), Jordan Luchtman established a publishing house in 1683. Samuel Luchtmans inherited the firm in 1708, introduced the motto *Tuta sub aegide Pallas*, “Pallas is safe under her shield”, in 1714, and was appointed university printer in 1730. The Luchtmans’ firm continued until 1802, when it was taken over by Johannes Brill (1767–1856). Because the Luchtmans had Arabic types, they published Schultens’ work on Arabic philology: the textual edition of ibn Shaddād’s biography of Saladin (1732) and re-editions of Erpenius’ Arabic primer (1733) and Arabic grammar (1748), along with anthologies of Classical Arabic literature. Schultens’ *Vindiciae* (1737), which contains many quotations from medieval Arabic lexicography and Classical Arabic poetry, was published by the Luchtmans, as was one of Schultens’ principal works on Hebrew etymology, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, to which his *Vindiciae* and orations on the Arabic language were appended. Part of Schultens’ private library (*Pars bibliothecae Schultensianae*) was auctioned at the Luchtmans’ house from 19 to 25 October 1750.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the building to the left (Rapenburg 69A) housed the Lucaz family’s printing presses, publishing house, and bookshop. Johan Luzac (1702–1786), one of the sons of the refugee Huguenot merchant Jean Luzac from Bergerac, France, established a publishing house at this address in 1731.<sup>2</sup> Between 1737 and 1749, Johan Luzac published Schultens’ works on Hebrew philology, beginning with his Hebrew grammar and culminating in the second letter to Friedrich Mencke. For the Hebrew grammar and the commentaries on the Book of Job and Proverbs, where the Hebrew text is printed in parallel columns with Schultens’ Latin translation, the Plantin-Raphelengius types were used. In the publication of Schultens’ work on Proverbs, Johan Luzac appears as the publisher on the title page, while Elie Luzac appears as the printer in the colophon.<sup>3</sup>

From 1750 to 1763, Elie Luzac rented a house at Rapenburg 63. In the next block along the canal after Doelenbrug, Henric Albert Schultens, while holding the chair of Oriental Languages at Leiden, rented an apartment at Rapenburg 49. Further north, Professor Hermann Boerhaave lived at Rapenburg 31.

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*boekdrukkers en uitgevers in Noord-Nederland*, Deventer 1872, and to Mohlhuysen, “De academiedrukkers”, *Pallas Leidensis MCMXXV*, Leiden 1925.

<sup>2</sup> P. van Dijk, *De beste Krant van Europa: Johan Luzac (1746–1807) en de Gazette de Leyde*, Amsterdam (AUP) 2018, p. 33. Cf. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurler et alii, *Het Rapenburg. Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht*, vol. VIa–VIb subtitled “Het Rijck van Pallas”, Leiden 1992. For a survey of the Leiden book trade and Leiden printers in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, see Rietje van Vliet, *Elie Luzac (1721–1796): Bookseller of the Enlightenment*, Enschede 2014, chapter 2, pp. 23–29.

<sup>3</sup> See Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew typography*, pp. 60–62 (nos. 77–79).

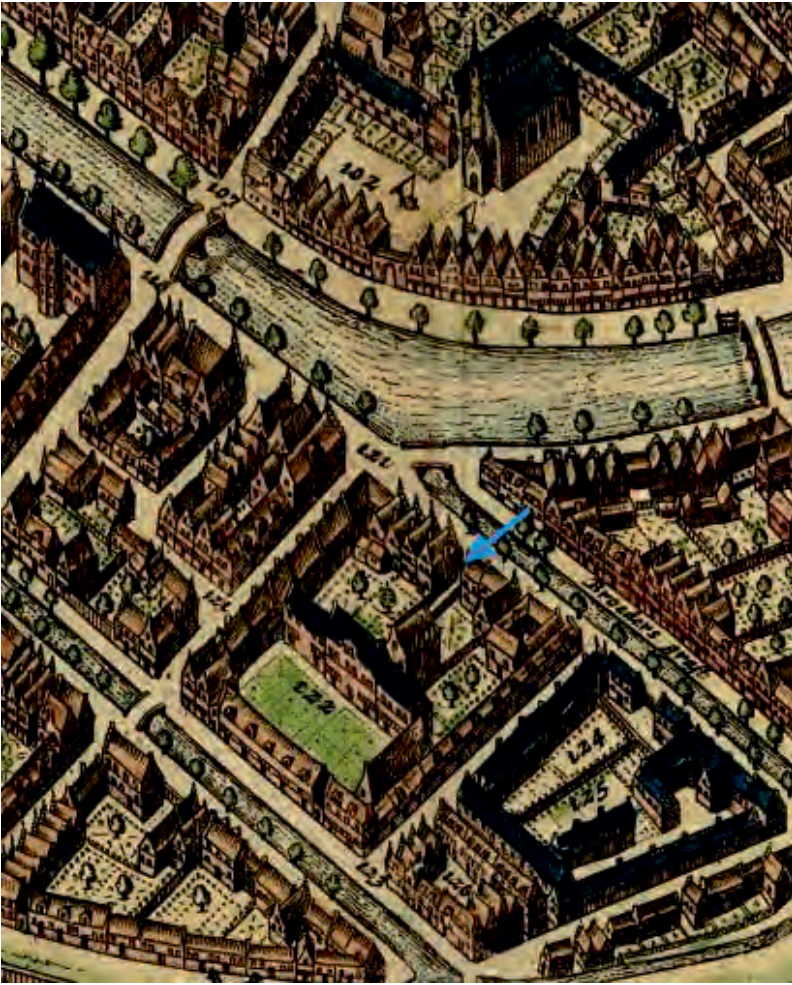


Figure 31d. Leiden, 1649. Detail of the State College and the adjoining city blocks. Source: de Blaeu's city and town atlas (Figure 31a above). In the explanation of signs, no. 122 refers to the States College: *'t Duytsche Collegie*. The State College (*Staten Collegie*) was a complex of buildings in the block south-west of the Rapenburg Canal. It was housed in the former Cellite Cloister (*Cellebroeders Klooster*), which was rebuilt and enlarged in the 1620s,<sup>4</sup> when it was given a rectangular form and a new entrance door was built (see the blue arrow for its location). On the other side of the Rapenburg Canal, the University Library was situated in the former Beguin Chapel (*Falijde Bagijnen*, no. 102).

<sup>4</sup> For the appearance of the Cellite Cloister before 1620, see the depiction of it in Pieter Bast's map of Leiden from 1600. See Regional Archive Leiden, *Erfgoed en Omstreken* (PV\_PV329.2). Bast's depiction well agrees with the ground plan of the Cellite Cloister from 1589.

## University building of Franeker and the State College in Leiden: Drawings



Figure 32. University of Frisia, “Academia van Vrieslant”: An illustration showing the Franeker University Building in the centre background, located in front of a courtyard, and surrounded by porticos, with the University Church on the left. Drawing by Pieter Feddes van Harlingen, published in Pierius Winsemius, *Chronique ofte historische geschiedenis van Vrieslant*, Franeker 1622, p. 759. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. Link: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Academia\\_van\\_Vrieslant.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Academia_van_Vrieslant.jpg).



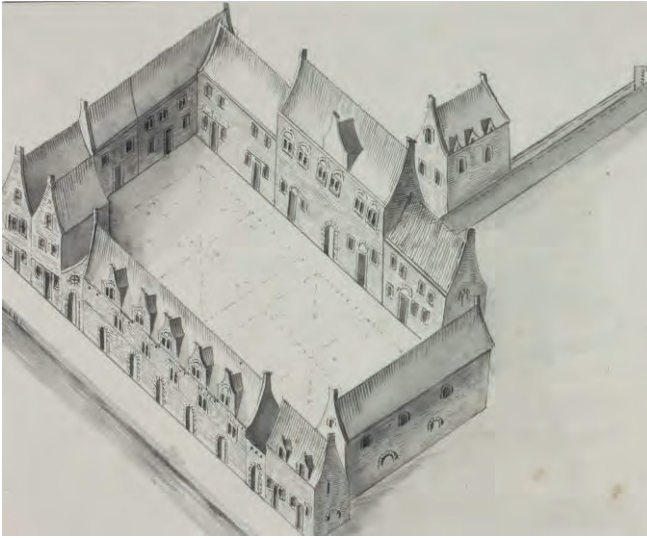


Figure 33a. The State College: an anonymous 3D model, definitely made after the 1620s reconstruction and probably dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Source: *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken* (PV\_PV25425). Courtesy of *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken* / Leiden Regional Archives. The director's house was located at the end of the path that began at the State College gate (see Figure 31d). It presumably occupied the central portion of the eastern side of the building complex on both the upper and ground floors.



Figure 33b. The inner courtyard of the State College, viewed from the north. Watercolour drawing by Jacob Timmermans, 1788. In the background, the southern building is visible. It consisted of a lecture hall, probably with a small reference library, a kitchen, and a dining room. The director's residence on the left is inaccurately depicted. More realistic depictions appear in Blaeu's city map of Leiden (1649; Fig. 31d) and in the 3D model above. Source: *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken* (PV\_PV16304). Courtesy of *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken* / Leiden Regional Archives.

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